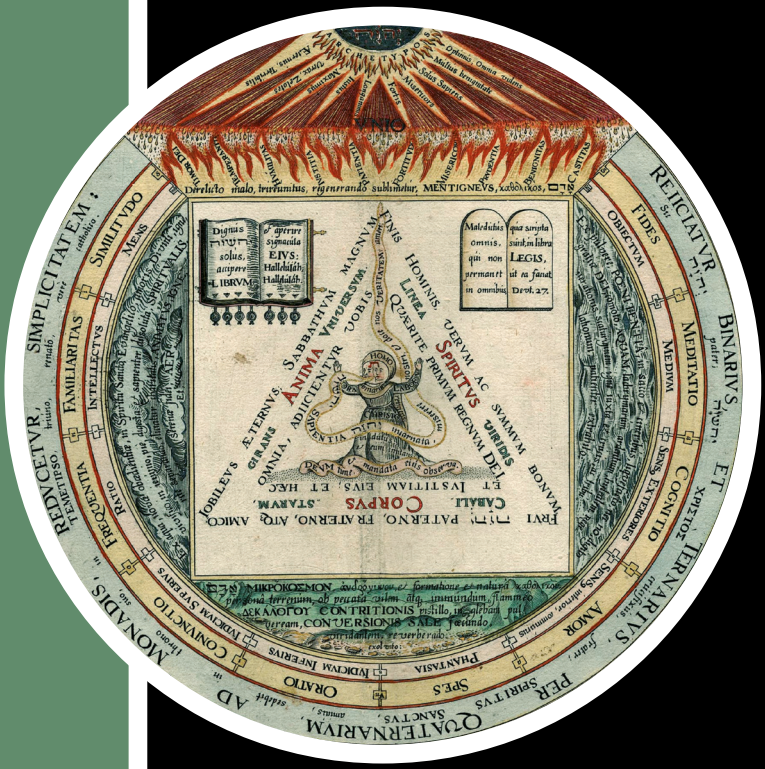
The Mage's Images: Heinrich Khunrath in His Oratory and Laboratory

Volume 2

Theosopher & Christian Cabalist

Peter J. Forshaw



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Peter J. Forshaw



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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

For Wendy, Cecil, Hilda, and May



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Introductory Note

This is the second volume in a four-volume monograph on the life and works of the German alchemist, magus and Christian-Cabalist Heinrich Khunrath of Leipzig (1560–1605), 'doctor of both medicines and faithful lover of Theosophy.' Its two chapters focus on the more religio-philosophical dimensions of Khunrath's writings. Chapter 3 begins with an investigation of the significance of the theosophical approach underpinning his work, his sense of being a lover of divine wisdom, one taught by God. This begins with notions of theosophy from antiquity to the early modern period; then moves to some contemporary representatives and influences on his own theosophy, Valentin Weigel (1533–1588) and Johann Arndt (1555–1621), before paying attention to Khunrath's approach, including his repeated injunction 'Ora et Labora' (Pray and Work), how this manifests in his reading of the Three Books of Scripture, Nature and Oneself, and his promotion of Ten Grades of Cognition and a Ladder of Conjunction and Union. Chapter 4 investigates Khunrath's interest in Christian Cabala, providing some background information about Jewish Kabbalah, discussion of possible sources for his ideas, including Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), and Johann Pistorius (1546–1608), followed by a detailed analysis of his Christian-Cabalist *Sigillum Dei* or Seal of God.

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CHAPTER 3

Khunrath the Theosopher – a Lover of Divine Wisdom

> 'For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with Wisdom' (Wisdom 7:28) [...] This saying of the Sage struck [...] my mind when I read it. Good God, what is this? God loves none but him that dwells with Wisdom. He does not dwell, however, with Wisdom, unless he walks in her ways, he loves God with all his heart, and his Neighbour as himself, who first and before all things seeks the kingdom of God, who fears God, and works righteousness, that is, a Theosopher, who alone is a countryman of true Wisdom.[1]

⁘

This chapter considers the general conceptual framework within which Khunrath embedded his cabala, magic, and alchemy. In the majority of his works he describes himself as a 'Theosopher' (Fig. 3.1), or rather a 'faithful lover of Theosophy', and is listed as such in Johann Jacob Brucker's *Historia critica philosophiae* (Critical History of Philosophy, 1743).[2] To most people, this probably conjures up visions of the 'Teutonic Theosopher' Jacob Boehme (1575–1624)

1 *Amph.*II, 155 'Perculsit ... animum meum, dum legebam, Vox haec Sapientis. Devs bone, quid hoc est? neminem diligere Devm, nisi eum, qui cum Sapientia inhabitet: Inhabitat autem cum Sapientia, non nisi in viis eius qui ambulat; qui Devm ex toto corde amat, & Proximum sicut seipsum; qui primùm & ante omnia quaerit regnum Dei; qui timet Devm, & operatur iustitiam, hoc est, T<h>eosophvs, qui solus verae Sapientiae incola.' Carlos Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', in Carlos Gilly and Cis van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto/ Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th–18th Centuries: The Influence of Hermes Trismegistus*, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), Vol. 1, 325–350, at 342 points out that the word *Sapientia* (Wisdom) occurs over three hundred times in the *Amphitheatre*.

2 Johann Jacob Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae* (Leipzig, 1743), Vol. IV, Part 1, Chapter III 'De Theosophicis', 675. For a brief introduction to Brucker, see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Western Esotericism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 63f. For a more extended discussion, see Fernando Vidal, *The Sciences of the Soul: The Early Modern Origins of Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 166ff.

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FIGURE 3.1
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail: The Theosopher. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

or the Russian Helena Blavatsky (1831–1891) and the Theosophical Society.[3] Blavatsky does indeed number Khunrath among the members of her extremely eclectic tradition, describing him as 'a most learned Kabalist, and the greatest authority among mediaeval Occultists',[4] and one early owner of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* saw fit to bind Boehme's *Four Tables of Divine Revelation* into his copy.[5] Khunrath's Theosophy, however, should not be confused with either of these forms, for it displays a more active engagement with all levels of reality (physical, hyperphysical and divine) than his slightly younger contemporary, Boehme, and, save for the occasional reference to gymnosophists, contains little of Blavatsky's orientalism, nor, of course, her anti-Christian orientation.[6]

Starting with a brief survey of the use of the term *Theosophy* up to the sixteenth century, we shall then consider what Khunrath intended by it, looking

3 Antoine Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition: Studies in Western Esotericism*, trans. Christine Rhone (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 4.

4 For Blavatsky's references to Khunrath see, for example, H.P. Blavatsky, *Collected Writing*, Vol. I (1874–1878) (Wheaton, Ill.: The Theosophical Press, 1966), 286–7, 329.

5 See London, Wellcome *Amphitheatrum* 3560/d/2 where they appear in German. For the 1654 English version of these tables, see Robin Waterfield (ed.), *Jacob Boehme*, Western Esoteric Masters Series (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2001), 214–239.

6 For an introduction to Boehme's theosophy, see the essays in Ariel Hessayon and Sarah Apetrei (eds.), *An Introduction to Jacob Boehme: Four Centuries of Thought and Reception* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991). On Blavatsky's version, see Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein (eds.), *Handbook of the Theosophical Current* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Olav Hammer, 'Theosophy', in Christopher Partridge (ed.), *The Occult World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 250–259.

at his qualifications to be a theosopher and his vision of what such an individual could become, before entering into a detailed investigation of his 'way of correctly philosophising', or *ways* of Prudence and Understanding, outlined in the *Amphitheatre*, which has been called 'the most influential contribution to theosophy at the turn of the seventeenth century'.[7]

1 Pre-Modern Uses of the Term Theosophy

While the term *Philosophy* is attributed to Pythagoras (*c.*570–*c.*480/495 BCE) and the invention of the term *Theology* is assigned to Plato (*c.*428–*c.*348 BCE),[8] along with the idea that the goal of philosophy is to become 'godlike',[9] the date of their confluence in the term *Theosophy* is less certain. Perhaps the earliest use of the term by a philosopher appears in the *De abstinentia* (On abstinence) of the Neoplatonist Porphyry (234–305), where he states that he who is a 'philosopher, and priest of the highest God … strives by himself alone to approach the only God',[10] giving as an example the Indian Brahmins who 'theosophize'.[11] Such a *Theosophos* is the embodiment of a philosopher, artist and priest of the

7 Hanns-Peter Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy: Alchemy and Piety in Late Sixteenth-Century Germany', in O. Hammer and C.K.M. Von Stuckrad (eds.), *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 137–156, at 140.

8 See Christoph Riedweg, *Pythagoras, His Life, Teaching and Influence*, translated by Steven Rendall (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 90ff. For more on Pythagoras, see Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie (comp. & trans.) and David Fideler (ed.), *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Phanes Press, 1988), 30 and *Iamblichus On the Mysteries and Life of Pythagoras* (Frome: The Prometheus Trust, 1999). Plato, *Republic*, 379A uses the term θεολογιας [*theologias*], Vol. 1, trans. Paul Shorey, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930; repr. 1953), Vol. 1, 183 defined as '… the patterns or norms of right speech about the gods …'.

9 A.H. Armstrong (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek & Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 82. See also Johann Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica: On the Art of the Kabbalah*, translated by Martin and Sarah Goodman (New York: Abaris Books, 1983; repr. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books, 1993), 231 'Pythagoras himself said that man could become an immortal god.'

10 Jean-Louis Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1988), 5 'by himself, to elevate himself, alone to alone, to a communion with the divine.' See Porphyry, *De abstinentia ab animalibus necandis libri quatuor*, in Epicteti *Enchiridion* (Cambridge, 1655), Lib.II.49, 90 'qui Philosophus est, & Dei altissimi sacerdos […] operam dans ut solus per se Deo solo appropinquet …'.

11 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 7. See Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, Lib.IV.17, 167 'θεοσοφειν' [*theosophein*]. Its elements can already, however, be found in the *Phaedrus* 239 B where Plato speaks of θεια φιλοσοφια [*theia philosophia*], or 'divine philosophy'. On the significance of Porphyry in the context of early theosophy, see

highest order within one individual.[12] Porphyry's fellow Neoplatonist Iamblichus (*c.*250–*c.*325) also speaks of θεοσοφου Μουσης [*theosophou Mousēs*] 'the muse of divine wisdom' in *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldaeans and Assyrians*,[13] and yet another influential Neoplatonic thinker, Proclus (412–485) refers to Hellenic and 'foreign' (i.e., Chaldaean) theosophy in several of his works.[14]

The term *Theosophy* also appears in the Christian tradition, with the elements of the word being found early on in Paul's reference in 1 Corinthians 2:7 to σοφιαν Θεου [*sophian Theou*], 'The Wisdom of God'.[15] In the *Stromata*, Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–215) uses *Theosophos* with the meaning 'moved by divine science.'[16] In his *Praeparatio evangelica* (Preparation for the Gospel), Eusebius (254–340) asserts that Christianity is 'a new and a real *théosophia*' (i.e., a divinely inspired religion) and provides some definition of the *théosophoi* when alluding to those Hebrews 'whose souls, illuminated by the divine light have apprehended truth itself, and received its instruction.'[17] One of Origen's followers, Didymus the Blind (*c.*311–398) describes King David as 'divinely wise'[18] and both him and his son Solomon as *Théosophos*.[19] In the early sixth

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Pier Franco Beatrice, *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia: An Attempt at Reconstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), xxv.

12 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 3.

13 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*, Translated with Introduction and Notes by Emma C. Clarke, John M. Dillon, and Jackson P. Hershbell (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 291. Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 8. See Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Liber*, ed. Gustavus Parthey (Berlin: Libraria Friderici Nicolai, 1857), Lib. 7.1, 249 'Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς θεοσόφου Μούσης κἀκεῖνα δεῖται εἰς τὴν διάλυσιν τὰ ἀπορήματα· πρότερον δέ σοι βούλομαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεολογίας διερμηνεῦσαι.' Although Siémons translates this as 'divinely inspired muse', I have tended towards Nicolao Scutellio's Latin translation in Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum* (Rome, 1556), 126 'divinae sapientiae musa'.

14 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 9: Proclus, *In Platonis Theologiam* (Bk v, 35), *In Platonis Timaeum* (Bk ii, 57, 10), and *In Platonis Rempublicam* (ii, 225, 4 and 22–3).

15 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 10. See 1 Corinthians 2:7 'But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world, unto our glory.'

16 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 3; Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 10.

17 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 12 Eusebius (254–340) *Praeparatio Evangelica* (xi. 5. 1).

18 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 13 *In Ecclesiastem* (v, 10).

19 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 13 *In Zaccariam* (ii, 270) and *In Ecclesiastem* (xxxiv, 2).

century, writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite,[20] drawing from the works of Iamblichus and Proclus, made use of the plural term *theosophoi* several times, in *Celestial Hierarchy*,[21] *Mystical Theology*,[22] and *Divine Names*, in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish between *theologia*, *theosophia*, and divine philosophy.[23] The same period sees the collection of pagan theological texts with the title *Theosophia* by an anonymous Monophysite theologian, with the aim of demonstrating a basic harmony between Christianity and pagan theology, including pagan prophecies of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation.[24] John Scotus Eriugena's ninth-century translation of and commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysian works imported the term for a Latin readership, where, in the High Middle Ages, it appears in commentaries on Pseudo-Dionysius by Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1151) and Albertus Magnus (*c*.1200–1280). Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253) uses the term *theosophoï* in his *Summa philosophiae* as a synonym for the authors of Holy Scripture, to distinguish them from theologians who were the interpreters of such *theosophia*, generally taken to mean the 'Wisdom of God' or the 'science of divine things.'[25]

Renaissance translators of Pseudo-Dionysius and the Neoplatonists, however, most notably Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), drop the term *theosophia*, simply translating it as *theologia* or *sapientia divina* (divine wisdom),[26] while

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20 On the dating of Pseudo-Dionysius, see Jaroslav Pelikan, 'The Odyssey of Dionysian Spirituality', in Colm Luibheid (trans. and ed.), *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987).

21 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 15 *In Zaccariam* (II, 5) 'all the theosophoi (men instructed in divine things) and all the interpreters of the divine inflatus'; 16 (XV, 2) the theosophoi are referred to as men whose divine knowledge enabled them to represent celestial essences by pure symbols, like fire.

22 Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 15 *Mystica Theologia* (Intro 1.1) the holy Trinity is invoked as 'presiding over the theosophia of the Christians'. See too Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theologiae Mysticae seu Theosophiae Arcanae et Reconditae, itemq*[*ue*] *veterum & novorum Mysticorum* (Frankfurt, 1702), 5 'Hinc celebris ille Dionysius mox ab initio Sacrosanctam Trinitatem ceu ἔφορον της χριστιανων θεοσοφίας, i.e. Inspectricem christianæ Theosophiæ invocat [...] *Dionys. Areop*. Cap.1. Theol. Myst.§.1.'

23 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 3 and Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature*, 16 *Divinis Nominibus*, Chap. II.

24 Albert Henrichs, 'What is a Greek God?', in Jan N. Bremmer and Andrew Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 19–39, at 21. See Beatrice, *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia: An Attempt at Reconstruction*.

25 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 3.

26 Carlos Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', in Carlos Gilly, Anja Hallacker, Hanns-Peter Neumann and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 2014), 9–22, at 12.

his contemporary, 'the last of the Scholastics', Gabriel Biel (*c.*1420–1495) makes little difference in meaning between *theosophia* and *theologia*.[27] Two of Khunrath's favourite authors, Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) make no use of the term *Theosopher*, but do use *Theosophist* (*theosophista*) as a pejorative term for argumentative Scholastic theologians, akin to the distinction between genuine argumentation of philosophers and the rhetorically deceptive reasoning of sophists.[28]

A rehabilitation of the term *Theosophia* comes in the form of Balthasar Flötter's dedicatory preface to his 1567 edition of Paracelsus's *Philosophia Magna* (Great Philosophy), where the author is described as 'Theodidacto ac Theosopho Viro', a Divinely-taught and Divinely-wise Man;[29] the term *Theodidaktus* having been employed by Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) and Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588) to denote one whose knowledge comes directly from God.[30] As both Antoine Faivre and Carlos Gilly point out, the use of the term *Theosophia* in its early modern sense first appears in the work of an unknown follower of Paracelsus, the *Arbatel de Magia veterum* (Arbatel on the Magic of the Ancients), published in Basel in 1575. Even there, though, it appears simply as a generic term for wisdom due to the illumination of God and spirits; not including the later notion of knowlege of natural things, which is consigned instead to the category of *Anthroposophia*.[31] It is not until the unpublished manuscript *De antiqua philosophia et divina Veterum Magorum*

27 See, for example, the often republished *Gabrielis Biel sacre theosophie licentiati nostre tempestatis profundissimi* (1510/1514/1517), especially the Lyon, 1524 edition, which includes an account of Biel's life from Trithemius's *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*. Khunrath, no doubt attracted by Biel's association with the term *theosophia* was apparently familiar with his work, quoting him in *Amph.*II, 69 and describing him as 'easily the most capable among the more recent Sententiaries' (Gabriel Biel inter recentiores Sententiarios facilè dexterrimus).

28 Antoine Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 24. See Johann Reuchlin, *Defensio Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis LL. Doctoris contra Calumniatores suos Colonienses* (Tübingen, 1513), sig. H^{v}. See Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De incertitudine et vanitate declamatio invectiva* (Cologne, 1531), Cap. XCVII. De theologia scholastica, sig. Yiij^{v}.

29 See Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle (eds.), *Der Frühparacelsismus* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), Part 2, 620.

30 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 12.

31 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 13; Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 12, 35. Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 342: 'Not mentioned either is the magical book *Arbatel*, from which Khunrath nevertheless derived the central idea of the *Amphitheatrum*, which is that of "Theosophia", as the highest science and at the same time the epitome and method of the true sciences.' A more extensive manuscript version of the *Arbatel* can be found in London, British Library, Sloane MS. 3851, ff. 5–50. See Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's*

Sapientia recuperanda (On Ancient Philosophy and the Divine Wisdom of the Ancient Mages recovered), of the pietist Johann Arndt (1555–1621), dating from his period of theological studies in Basel, in 1580/81 that we find Theosophy presented as 'right ancient philosophy', the 'divine and natural wisdom of the ancients', with Theosophers the 'excellent lovers of divine wisdom' (vortreffliche Theophilosophi).[32]

2 Characteristics of Early Modern Theosophy

The seventeenth-century radical Pietist Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), whose *Unpartheyische Kirchen und Ketzer Historie* (Impartial History of the Church and Heretics, 1699–1700) makes a very favourable mention of Khunrath,[33] provides us with extremely useful reflections on Theosophy in his *Historia et descriptio theologiae mysticae seu theosophiae arcanae et reconditae* (History and Description of Mystical Theology or Arcane and Recondite Theosophy, 1702), where he explains that *Theosophia* denotes either the Wisdom *of* God or *about* God.[34] This calls to mind a distinction that Garth Fowden makes during his discussion of the interdependence of 'human and divine knowledge, reason and intuition' in Hermetism: 'As he rose in due course from *epistēmē* towards *gnōsis*, the Hermetist was increasingly likely to face the World and Man as of lesser intrinsic interest than God, and to long for knowledge *of* God rather than merely knowledge *about* Him.'[35] Arnold's list of the main concerns of Mystical Theology or Theosophy displays a preference for the former:

Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion (London: Routledge, 1988; reprint 2013), 212, 297.

32 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 13. Hanns-Peter Neumann, 'Narren, Forscher, Kuriositäten. Khunraths *Amphitheatrum* im Kontext der Enthusiasmus-Debatte der Aufklärung', in Gilly, Hallacker, Neumann and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, 363–378, at 375 seems to suggest that Arndt's *De antiqua philosophia* is influenced by Khunrath, although this seems unlikely as Khunrath would only have been 20 years old at the time of its composition and wouldn't publish the first edition of the *Amphitheatrum* for another 15 years.

33 Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688*. 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1699–1700), Vol. 3, 11–14. On Arnold, see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 120ff.

34 Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theologiae Mysticae*, 5 '8. Vero quoque hujus vocis *Theologiæ* sensui concordat vocabulum *Theosophia*, quod Sapientiam Dei aut de Deo denotat.'

35 Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 102.

recognition (*agnitio*) of God; regeneration by casting off the old Adam and putting on the new man, Christ; self-abnegation; mystical union with God; participation with the sacred communion of God's nature; and illumination of the human heart, all of which mysteries are communicated through parables, occult and recondite phrases, enigmas and hieroglyphs.[36]

Although Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), the reform theologian whose name is so strongly connected with the Rosicrucian manifestos, is far less charitable towards Khunrath, he provides a useful contemporary definition of Theosophy in his sketch of an ideal state, *Christianopolis* (1619), as 'a science which does not recognize any human invention or research, but which owes its whole existence to God. Where nature ends, this begins; and, taught by the highest divinity, it preserves its sacred mysteries religiously.' As Faivre remarks, 'theosophy means humility, obedience, submissive receptivity.' It shares the same *auditorium* as dialectics and metaphysics, but with the significant difference that it is taught by God.[37]

This harmonises with Faivre's proposal in *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition* (2000) of three main characteristics shared by most early modern theosophical works, amongst which he includes Quirinus Kühlmann's *Kühlpsalter* (The Cool Psalter, 1684–86), Gottfried Arnold's *Das Geheimnis der göttlichen Sophia* (The Mystery of the Divine Sophia, 1700) and Johann Georg Gichtel's *Theosophia Practica* (Practical Theosophy, 1722).[38] These characteristics are:

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36 Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theologiae Mysticae*, 33. Many of these traits are shared with the Pietist Order of Salvation, 'a series of stages that describe what happens on the way toward full union with Christ'. See Christian T. Collins Winn, Christopher Gehrz, G. William Carlson, and Eric Holst (eds.), *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2012), 188: Election (*electio*), Call (*vocatio*), Illumination (*illuminatio*), Conversion (*conversio*), Regeneration (*regeneratio*), Justification (*justificatio*), Mystical Union (*unio mystica*), Renovation (*renovatio*), Conservation (*conservatio*), Glorification (*glorificatio*). Johann Arndt is given as a major source.

37 Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis: An Ideal of the 17th Century*, translated by Felix Emil Held (Urbana, 1914; repr. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2017), 217. Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 37 'De Theosophia: Hoc idem auditorium superiori adhuc contemplationi servit. Haec theosophia est, nihil humanae inventionis, indagationisve agnoscens, omnia Deo debens. Ubi natura desinit, haec incipit, et a superno numine edocta, mysteria sua religiose servat … Scrupuletur philosophia, theosophia acquiescit; opponat illa, haec gratias agit: haesitet illa, haec secura ad Christi pedes recumbit.'

38 See Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 10 for a more extensive list. See also Faivre's entry on 'Christian Theosophy', in Hanegraaff et al (eds.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 258–267.

1. speculation on the interrelationships between God, Man and Nature,
2. the primacy of myths of foundation or origin as a point of departure for this speculation, as well as a general fondness for mythemes, such as the Sophia, angels, the Primaeval Androgyne, the World Soul, the Fall (of Lucifer, Adam, Nature);[39]
3. the idea that Man, through the power of his creative imagination, has the potential to explore all levels of reality or 'ascend' to higher worlds.[40]

Related to these three characteristics are various dominant themes. Correspondences are seen as existing between all levels of reality. Every object in nature is a sign concealing a secret and so a knowledge of divine things can have its beginning in the deciphering of such 'signatures' in the material world.[41] Nature is alive and suffering because of sin and the Fall of Adam and Man's salvation through theosophical knowledge will also lead to the redemption of the macrocosm.[42] By the use of his imagination, by 'interiorizing' the world in his mind, the theosopher can effect a reconnection between various levels of reality. There is also the idea of transmutation of both nature and its investigator, the possible aligning of alchemical transformation with the traditional mystical stages of purgation, illumination, and unification.[43] This belief in the interconnectedness of all reality is manifest, too, in the syncretic tendencies of much theosophical thought, the practice of concordance and the search for common denominators existing between different traditions, embodied in the pansophic notion of a 'total' science, a system of universal knowledge, such as that envisioned by Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) and Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670).[44] Paradoxically, as globalising as this desire for wisdom might have been, the final theme Faivre identifies is the practice of

39 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 8 and Introduction, xxviii.

40 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 8.

41 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, Introduction, xxi.

42 For more on this notion, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

43 Mystical stages described, for example, in Bonaventure's 'The Triple Way, or Love Enkindled'. This is rare in alchemical texts, but see, for example, the Paracelsian Gerard Dorn's comparison of degrees of meditation with alchemical processes in *De Philosophia Chemica ad Meditativam comparata*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (Strassburg, 1602, repr. 1659), Vol. 1, 418–457.

44 For Alsted on Khunrath, see Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 148, 156. See also Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta* (Herborn, 1630), Vol. 7, 2355 which distils the essence of the *Amphitheatre*. My thanks to Howard Hotson for this information.

initiation, protection of treasured knowledge from the profane and its secret transmission from master to disciple.[45]

3 Proto-Theosophers and Theophrastia Sancta

Faivre argues that the 'Birth and the First Golden Age of the Theosophical Current' occurred towards the end of the sixteenth century.[46] His claim that the origins of theosophy as a recognisable current of discourse can be found in Lutheranism, with its openness to free inquiry and its mixture of mysticism and rationalism in the milieux of the nobility and physicians,[47] receives support in Arnold's explanation that the word *Theosophia* came to be used by Protestant Doctors, such that it appeared in the writings of both Lutherans and Reformers, in particular as a way of distinguishing themselves from Scholastics whom they felt were more concerned with theological quarrels than divine doctrine.[48]

Faivre considers three German thinkers in particular to have been the 'proto-theosophers' (Fig. 3.2), direct precursors to the full-blown theosophy of Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), namely, Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605), and Johann Arndt (1555–1621).[49] Like Boehme, all three drew inspiration from the writings of the revolutionary Swiss natural philosopher and religious thinker Theophrastus Paracelsus of Hohenheim (1493–1541).[50] Faivre describes them as responsible for assimilating Paracelsus's ideas on the sympathies connecting micro- and macro-cosm into a 'more global vision'.[51] This vision, incorporating as it does elements of both natural philosophy and religion, is perhaps best represented by Carlos Gilly's discussion of

45 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, Introduction, xxif.

46 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 5ff.

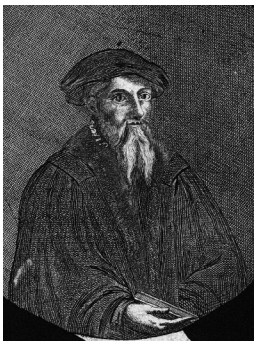
47 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 9.

48 Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theologiae Mysticae*, 5–6.

49 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 6, 50.

50 Boehme's circle of friends included the Paracelsians Balthasar Walther (1558–*c.*1630), Abraham Behem (d. 1599), and Bartholomäus Scultetus (1540–1614), the latter two both editors of Paracelsian works. On Boehme's familiarity with Paracelsian thought, see Lawrence M. Principe and Andrew Weeks, 'Jacob Boehme's Divine Substance Salitter: Its Nature, Origin, and Relationship to Seventeenth Century Scientific Theories', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 22:1 (March, 1989): 53–61. On Boehme's circles, see Leigh T.I. Penman, 'Jacob Boehme's Intellectual Networks and the Heterodox Milieu of His Theosophy, 1600–1624', in Hessayon and Apetrei (eds.), *An Introduction to Jacob Boehme: Four Centuries of Thought and Reception*, 57–76.

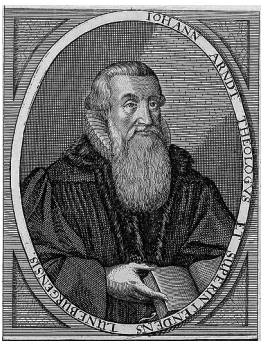
51 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 6.



Valentin Weigel (1533–1588). Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek der Stadt Trier/Stadtarchiv



Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



Johann Arndt (1555–1621). Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève

FIGURE 3.2 Faivre's three proto-theosophers

'Theophrastia Sancta' or 'Holy Theophrastia', of Paracelsianism as an alternative religion, in conflict with orthodoxy, one that considered scientific investigation an important part of religion.[52] Gilly argues that Paracelsus's 'Theophrastian sect', his new school of medicine propounding medical theory at odds with prevalent academic traditions of Aristotelian natural philosophy and Galenic medicine,[53] coupled with his rejection of the 'Mauerkirchen' (walled churches) of both Rome and the reformers (Zwinglians, Lutherans, Anabaptists),[54] and his hope instead for a church of the spirit, subject only to God and Nature, became after his death, for those followers committed to a full-spectrum philosophical and theological Paracelsianism, a new religion of 'Two Lights', the

52 Carlos Gilly, '"*Theophrastia Sancta*" – Paracelsianism as a Religion, in Conflict with the Established Churches', in Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *Paracelsus: The Man and His Reputation, His Ideas and their Transformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 151–185. Gilly (164) points out that the phrase, coined by Adam Haslmayr (1560–1630), first appeared in print in Benedictus Figulus's preface to *Pandora Magnalium Aurea et Benedicta* (Strasbourg, 1608). See also Gilly's German essay, '"Theophrastia Sancta": Der Paracelsismus als Religion im Streit mit den offiziellen Kirchen', in Joachim Telle (ed.), *Analecta Paracelsica* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 425–488.

53 Gilly, '*Theophrastia Sancta*' [English], 152.

54 See Gilly, '*Theophrastia Sancta*', 152 citing Paracelsus's *De secretis secretorum theologiae* in which he criticised the Pope and the reformers: 'One man seeks the gospel amongst the Papists in Rome, another amongst the Zwinglians, a third one amongst the Lutherans, a fourth one amongst the Anabaptists, etc'. Gilly also cites *De Septem Punctis Idolatriae christianae* (*c.*1525) for Paracelsus's rejection of the 'Mauerkirche'.

Light of Grace and the Light of Nature.[55] Hanns-Peter Neumann describes their approach as one of 'spiritual experimentalism', combining piety and natural science, with divine inspiration as the foundation of its epistemology; with one of the major early proponents of Paracelsianism, the Swiss alchemist and physician Adam von Bodenstein (1528–1577), promoting Paracelsian philosophy as a non-denominational universal Christian religion.[56] Neumann argues that Khunrath likewise embraced the notion of a 'non-confessional, invisible *ecclesia spiritualis*', as the foundation of every visible church.[57]

Although I am not entirely convinced of Faivre's grounds for classifying these three thinkers as 'proto-theosophers' – given that Khunrath explicitly calls himself a 'faithful lover of theosophy' – this cluster is nevertheless fortuitous in light of the fact that Khunrath includes the dissenting Lutheran pastor Weigel or 'Vigelius' in a shortlist of the most learned men of his era, along with Reuchlin, Erasmus, Luther, Agrippa, and Paracelsus,[58] and corresponded with Arndt, who wrote the earliest known commentary on the 1595 *Amphitheatre*. Before we look at Khunrath's work in more detail, let us first meet Faivre's two other proto-theosophers.

4 Valentin Weigel (1533–1588)

Khunrath's interest in Paracelsus could be expected to predispose him to the writings of the non-conformist Saxon pastor, Valentin Weigel,[59] like him a

55 Gilly, '*Theophrastia Sancta*', 153, 166. Cf. Paulus Ricius's reference in his Praefatio, in Johannes Pistorius (ed.), *Artis Cabalisticae; hoc est, Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae Scriptorum* (Basel, 1587), 4 to 'Gratiae et naturae lumen, mutuam praestant opem'. On the two lights, see Paracelsus, *Opus Paramirum*, in Andrew Weeks (ed. and trans.), *Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus Von Hohenheim, 1493–1541): Essential Theoretical Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 298.

56 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 139, 145.

57 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 147.

58 *Amph.*II, 30. Sylvain Matton, 'L'influence de l'humanisme sur la tradition alchimique', *Micrologus: Natura, scienze e società*, 3 (1995): 279–345, at 343 points out that Khunrath ignores Erasmus's mockeries of alchemists [in the *Colloquies*] and includes him in his list of the wisest men of his time. The German physician and alchemist Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), *Opera Omnia medica* (Paris, 1641), 937 recognizes Khunrath's affinity to Weigel: 'Valentine Weigel Cap.14 scribit: "Wer alle seine Vernunfft und Verstand einsondert in den inwendigsten Grund, in stiller gelassenheit seines Hertzens, seiner Seele, und wartet auff Gott, der wird erfahren, was der inwendige Grund und Zeugniss des Geistes sein." Quæ eadem Paracelsi, Henrici Cunradi in Amphitheatro, & ipsius Crollii est sententia.'

59 On Weigel, see Andrew Weeks, *Valentin Weigel (1533–1588): German Religious Dissenter, Speculative Theorist, and Advocate of Tolerance* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000). See also Berthold Kress, *Divine Diagrams: The Manuscripts and Drawings*

graduate of the University of Leipzig.[60] None of Weigel's works appeared in print during either his or Khunrath's lifetimes, but they circulated in manuscript amongst his followers.[61] They represent a confluence of the Rheno-Flemish mysticism of Jan van Ruysbroeck (*c.*1293–1381), Johannes Tauler (*c.*1300–1361), Meister Eckhart (1260–1328) and the late fourteenth-century *Theologia Germanica* with the writings of Paracelsus.[62] In the 1570s Weigel became increasingly inspired by Paracelsian natural philosophy and medicine, including such works as *De vita longa* (On Long Life, 1562),[63] *De fundamento sapientiae* (On the Foundation of Wisdom, 1565), and *Astronomia Magna: oder die gantze Philosophia Sagax der großen und kleinen Welt* (Great Astronomy, or the whole Sagacious Philosophy of the Macro- and Micro-cosm, 1571).[64] In *Ein nützliches Tractätlein vom Ort der Welt* (A Useful Little Treatise on the Place of the World, 1576) Weigel combines elements from Meister Eckhart and the *Theologia Germanica* with material from Hermes Trismegistus and Paracelsus.[65] A selection of Weigel's genuine and pseudepigraphic works can be found together with theological-philosophical writings under the name of Paracelsus in *Philosophia mystica* (Mystical Philosophy), which finally appeared in book form in 1618.[66]

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of Paul Lautensack (*1477/78–1558*) (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 279ff IV on *Pseudo-Weigel*; Leigh T.I. Penman, *Hope and Heresy: The Problem of Chiliasm in Lutheran Confessional Culture* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2019), 23–24; Gabriele Bosch, *Reformatorisches Denken und frühneuzeitliches Philosophieren. Eine vergleichende Studie zu Martin Luther und Valentin Weigel* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2000), 142–225.

60 Weeks, *Valentin Weigel* (*1533–1588*), 6. See also Steven E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 203–245 Chapter 8 on Valentin Weigel.

61 See Valentin Weigel, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, translated and introduced by Andrew Weeks; Preface by R. Emmet McLaughlin (New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 19 where we learn that the first of Weigel's works to appear in print was *De Vita Beata* (Halle, 1609), the same year as the posthumous publication of Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*.

62 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 50; Weeks, *Valentin Weigel* (*1533–1588*), 169.

63 Weigel, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, 35.

64 See for example, Weigel, *Gnothi seauton* (Neustadt, 1615), 52 for a reference to *Philosophia Sagax*, as well as to the 'noble gabalistic art' (Edle Kunst gabalistica, 12); 102 *De fundamento sapientiae*. On the impact of Paracelsus on Weigel, see Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, XV, 103.

65 Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 219.

66 Paracelsus and Weigel, *Philosophia Mystica, darinn begriffen, Ellff unterschidene Theologico-Philosophische/ doch teutsche Tractätlein/ zum theil auß Theophrasti Paracelsi, zum theil auch M. Valentini Weigeli* (Neustadt, 1618). Gilly points out that some of the works appearing under Paracelsus's name, including *Astronomia Olympi Novi* and *Theologia Cabalistica* were in fact by Adam Haslmayr. See Gilly, '*Theophrastia Sancta*', 171. On the issue of Weigel's genuine works and the pseudonymous or pseudepigraphic publications, such as *Astrologia theologizata* and *Vom Wege und Weise alle Dinge zu erkennen*, many of which are

In works like *Gnothi seauton* (Know Thyself, 1615) and *Libellus Theosophiae* (A Booklet of Theosophy, 1618),[67] disillusioned with what he considered to be the failure of academic theology to engage with the requirements of true faith, Weigel shifted the locus of theology inwards, stressing the importance of self-knowledge, particularly with reference to ethics and the recognition of vice, claiming that 'ignorance of oneself and God is the greatest enemy to men'.[68] He was an advocate of freedom of the will and rejected the belief that human nature was irreparably mired in sin.

Asserting the authority of the lay believer and the inner word, Weigel rejects those who are merely 'Schriftgelehrten', learned in scripture, but lacking in piety.[69] His radical anticlerical and anti-authoritarian convictions are emphasised in *Der güldene Griff* (The Golden Grasp), dating from 1578,[70] where he declares that 'All knowledge of divine things comes from man himself and not from books … if only the universities and wise men of the world could grasp this.'[71] The only truly relevant book is one revealed to him by divine grace: 'For from it all books had been written from the beginning of the world, and this book is in me and in all human beings, in the great and the small, in young and in old, in the learned and the unlearned … the Book of Life'.[72]

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ascribed to his colleague Benedict Biedermann (*c*.1543–1621), see Weeks, *Valentin Weigel* (*1533–1588*), 179f. See also Žemla, 'From Paracelsus to Universal Reform: The (Pseudo-) Paracelsian-Weigelian *Philosophia Mystica* (1618)', *Daphnis* 48 (2020): 184–213.

67 According to Weeks, *Valentin Weigel* (*1533–1588*), 74ff Weigel wrote *Gnothi seauton* in 1571; it was first published in 1615: ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, *Nosce teipsum, Erkenne dich selbst. Zeiget und weiset dahin/ daß der Mensch sey ein Microcosmus, das gröste Werck Gottes/ unter dem Himmel/ Er sey die kleine Welt/ unnd tregt alles in jhme/ was da finden wird/ in Himmel und Erden/ und auch darüber*. See also ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, *Nosce teipsum, Erkenne dich selbst O Mensch: Heisset Astrologia Theologizata* (Neustadt, 1618). But see Žemla, 'From Paracelsus to Universal Reform', 196 where he writes that some scholars suggest Johann Arndt was the author of two works attributed to Weigel: *Nosce teipsum* and *Astrologia Theologizata*, with reference to Jole Shackelford, 'Western Esotericism and the History of European Science and Medicine in the Early Modern Period', *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 20 (2014): 173–203, at 185–86, who in turn refers to an article by Matti Repo, 'Astrologische Alchemie als Vorbild der Neuen Geburt bei Johann Arndt: ein Beitrag zu den frühesten Einflüssen Arndts im Schwedischen Königreich', in Anders Jarlert (ed.), *Johann Arndt – Rezeption und Reaktion im Nordisch-Baltischen Raum* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1999), 57–83.

68 Weigel, *Philosophia Theologica*, in Paracelsus and Weigel, *Philosophia Mystica*, 196–215, at 203 '*Ignorantia sui ipsius & Dei* ist der gröste Feind im Menschen.'

69 Weigel, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, 24.

70 See *On the Place of the World* (1576) and *The Golden Grasp* (1578), in Weigel, *Selected Spiritual Writings*.

71 Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 211.

72 Weigel, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, 16.

In his *Kirchen- oder Hauss-Postill* (Church- or House-Postil), composed around the same period, 1578–79, Weigel perseveres with his anti-establishment thinking: 'No one knows of God's ever having taken a scholar out of the university and made him a pastor or prophet. Simple men, who think little of themselves, have always been chosen.'[73] He has far more faith in the inspiration of the Holy Spirit: 'We become, with David, more learned than all our teachers … For after one hour with the Spirit a peasant graduates to doctor.'[74] In the *Postill*, he laments further that,

> Many thousands … know nothing of the inner world, inner hearing, the signs of the Father's presence, or the indwelling Christ. Such blindness and ignorance come from the false teachers who wrongly interpret the Scripture and have the power, through the assistance of the government, to command that nothing be heard of God, lest it be 'Schwenckfeldian', 'enthusiastic', or 'Osiandrian'.[75]

Weigel and his deacon Benedict Biedermann shared sympathies with some of the ideas of another heterodox thinker, the Protestant reformer and spiritualist, the Silesian noble Kaspar von Schwenckfeld (*c.*1489–1561).[76] Schwenckfeld propounded the doctrine of the 'spiritual Church' and disputed with Luther over the status of Scripture and the Sacraments, rejecting the 'outward' institutional Church as incapable of providing true spiritual guidance, which could be found only in direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit.[77] He taught, furthermore, that the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, were so fused together, or rather, that the flesh of Christ was so absolutely deified or converted into God himself, that no distinction between them remained, as a consequence of which the regenerate could live without sin.[78] Such radical claims could not but cause unease in the orthodox community.

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73 Weigel, *Kirchen- oder Hauss-Postill*, Bk 2, 167, in Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 224.

74 Weigel, *Kirchen- oder Hauss-Postill*, 64, in Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 228.

75 Weigel, *Kirchen- oder Hauss-Postill*, Bk 2, 173, cited in Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 224.

76 Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 203, points out that in 1598 Weigel's co-worker and deacon for eighteen years, Benedict Biedermann, 'was discovered to be a devotee of certain "Schwenckfeldian errors" (in truth the views of his mentor)'. On Weigel as a 'Lutheran heretic', see Carl P.E. Springer, 'Valentin Weigel (1533–1588)', in George Thomas Kurian and James D. Smith (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Christian Literature*, 2 vols. (London: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), Vol. 2, 633–634.

77 See Ronald Arbuthnott Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950; rpt. 1959), 122, 170.

78 Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, Translation and Introduction by Peter Erb; Preface by Heiko A. Oberman (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), xvii.

Khunrath, who, according to Gilly, is the first to mention Weigel outside his own small circle,[79] voices similar sentiments to Weigel in the *Amphitheatre*: 'Let it likewise be a response to the objection of a lack or want of various languages, namely, of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and so forth. For GOD is wont to bring forth Sages and Doctors from those who only know their own mother tongue.'[80] This is doubtless one intended point of the phrase on top of the tabernacle in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving, 'Happy is he who has Jehovah for his counsellor.'[81]

Disenchanted with the violent quarrelling and divisiveness of his contemporaries, Weigel was a major advocate of universal religion, of religious tolerance, reasserting the fundamental Petrine statement in Acts 10:34–5 that 'God is not a regarder of persons', i.e. that none, even the mightiest, are exempt from judgement and salvation is open to all, a sentiment repeated by Khunrath.[82] At the same time, through his interest in Paracelsian texts like the *Astronomia Magna*, Weigel avoids the extremes of that form of mysticism that rejects the world, and displays some of the existential concreteness of Luther's theology,[83] although his espousal of the doctrine of the Two Lights, *Lumen Gratiae* and *Lumen Naturae*, that is, illumination from both divine grace and nature, was considered heretical by more orthodox Lutherans.[84] One of these, the polemical Nicolaus Hunnius (1585–1643), condemned Weigel's Theology as 'an incomprehensible, dangerous, annoying, yes false and godless teaching, and accordingly for everyone who loves his eternal salvation to flee and to avoid as poison for the soul', in his *Christliche Betrachtung der newen Paracelsischen und Weigelianischen Theologie* (A Christian Contemplation of the New Paracelsian and Weigelian Theology, 1622).[85] Weigel's notion of man

79 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 342.

80 *Amph.*II, 8–9 'Idem sit responsum ad obiectionem defectus vel carentiae linguarum variarum, puta, Hebraicae, Græcae, Latinae, &c. Solet enim DEVS excitare quoque Sapientes & Doctores ex iis, qui solam & vnicam callent linguam maternam.'

81 See also *Amph.*II, 96 'Felix cui sic IEHOVAH à Consiliis'; 110 'Felix igitur, terque quaterque felix, qui IEHOVAM habet à consiliis, quemadmodum est in Oratorio nostro' (Happy, therefore, three and four times happy, he who has IEHOVAH for his counsellor, as is [shown] in our Oratory).

82 *Amph.*II, 153, 171. See also *Amph.*I, 30 in which Khunrath also cites Romans 2:11 and Colossians 3:25, where Paul can be found expressing the same sentiment. See also Weigel, in Weeks, *Valentin Weigel* (*1533–1588*), 65, 101 'God is not a regarder of persons.'

83 Weeks, *Valentin Weigel* (*1533–1588*), 51f.

84 Susanna Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 191.

85 See Nicolaus Hunnius, *Christliche Betrachtung der newen Paracelsischen und Weigelianischen Theologie* (Wittenberg, 1622), 144–45 'Darumb ist Weigelij Theologia eine unverstendliche/ gefährliche/ Ergerliche/ ja falsche und Gottlose Lehre/ und demnach

the microcosm containing the concentrated essence of the whole universe, an idea reaching back to Macrobius's fifth-century *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*,[86] discussed, for example, in *Gnothi seauton*, concerning man as he is both naturally (in body and spirit) and supernaturally (in soul), according to Christ's teachings,[87] was to exert considerable influence on Khunrath's theory and practice.[88]

The binary antitheses listed by Weigel between Adam and Christ, or as he explains, between natural and supernatural Adam (in the sense of 1 Corinthians 15), as an aid to knowing the two both 'inwardly and outwardly' (innerlich und eusserlich),[89] provide a useful extra dimension to the *Amphitheatre*'s first two circular engravings of *Christ-Cruciform* and *Adam-Androgyne*.[90] Khunrath's use of the exhortation to 'Know Thyself' in the latter engraving no doubt

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einem jeden/ der seine ewige Seeligkeit liebet/ zuflihen und als ein Seelengifft zumeiden.' See Žemla, 'Heinrich Khunrath and His Theosophical Reform', *Acta Comeniana* 31 (2017): 43–62, at 46. On Hunnius, see Penman, *Hope and Heresy: The Problem of Chiliasm in Lutheran Confessional Culture, 1570–1630*, 115–16.

86 Ivo Purš, 'Rudolf II's Patronage of Alchemy and the Natural Sciences', in Ivo Purš and Vladimir Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II: Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Prague: Artefactum, 2016), 139–204, at 147. Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis*, 185, 2.12.11 'ideo physici mundum magnum hominem et hominem brevem mundum esse dixerunt (and so the natural philosophers said that the world was a great man and man a miniature world). The theory of the Microcosm-Macrocosm can also be found in Hippocrates's *On Regimen* and in Democritus. For the former, see Andrew Gregory, *The Presocratics and the Supernatural: Magic, Philosophy and Science in Early Greece* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 85; for the latter, Lois N. Magner, *A History of the Life Sciences*, Third edition (New York, Marcel Dekker, Inc., 2002), 24; Frédéric Le Blay, 'Microcosm and Macrocosm: The Dual Direction of Analogy in Hippocratic Thought and the Meteorological Tradition', in P.J. van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context: Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 27–31 August 2002)* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 251–70. See also Andrew Gregory, *Early Greek Philosophies of Nature* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 115–117, 'Macrocosm/microcosm?' in relation to the works of Anaximenes, Plato's 'relation between the motions of the heavens and the human mind' in the *Timaeus* and Aristotle's statement concerning 'the small world' and 'the large' in *Physics* VIII, 2, 252b24–7.

87 Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 213.

88 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 51.

89 Weigel, *Gnothi seauton* (1615), 63. Consider, in particular, 1 Corinthians 15:21–22 'For by a man came death, and by a man the resurrection of the dead. And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive'; 45–47 'The first man Adam was made into a living soul; the last Adam into a quickening spirit. Yet that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; afterwards that which is spiritual. The first man was of the earth, earthly: the second man, from heaven, heavenly' (Douay).

90 See the table in Weigel, *Gnothi seauton* (1615), 72–73 and 74 on natural and supernatural Adam.

has Weigel's work, as much as the famous axiom from the temple of Delphi, in mind.[91] Equally influential is Weigel's identification of salvation with the three ways of sensory, intellectual and revealed knowledge. His discussion of the five senses and various psychological faculties more than likely influenced Khunrath's inclusion of the Grades of Cognition (to be discussed later in this chapter) in his engraving of *Adam-Androgyne*.[92] With its references to the *Corpus Hermeticum*'s 'New Birth described in *Mercurius to Tatius*', Weigel's *Gnothi seauton* was also, perhaps, the inspiration behind Khunrath's inclusion of the *Pimander*'s opening account of divine revelation in the *Amphitheatre*'s *Pyramid* engraving.[93]

5 Johann Arndt (1555–1621)

Johann Arndt, sometimes hailed as the father of natural theology and Lutheran Pietism,[94] and 'the most influential Lutheran since the Reformation',[95] is best known as the author of *Wahres Christentum* (True Christianity, 1605), later expanded and published as *Vier Bücher von wahrem Christenthumb* (Four Books of True Christianity, 1610), namely, the books of Scripture, Life (Christ),

91 See, for instance, Oswald Crollius, *Philosophy Reformed & Improved in Four Profound Tractates* (London, 1657), 48, which mentions both Agrippa and Delphi.

92 See Weigel, *Gnothi seauton*, 24f on the three kinds of eye (oculum sensualem, rationalem, & mentalem). On the senses, reason, judgement and so forth, see 26ff. See also Weigel, *Libellus Theosophiae* (Neustadt, 1618), 15ff concerning mens, ratio, imaginatio.

93 See Weigel, *Gnothi seauton*, 50 for Weigel's 'as Mercurius says to Tatius' (wie Mercurius saget ad Tacium) and 117 'Solche Newegeburt beschrieben *Mercurius at Tatium*'. See Ficino's *Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Potestate et Sapientia Dei, cui titulus Pimander* (Venice, 1481), sig. b.8^{r}ff for Trismegistus to Thot, concerning death and mutations; C3^{r}ff on 'transmutations' and 'mutations' of creatures. In *Gnothi seauton*, 117 and 124 Weigel also refers to 'Proculus', presumably the Neoplatonist Proclus, whose works were likewise translated by Ficino.

94 F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 202 and more recently Christopher B. Barnett, *Kierkegaard, Pietism and Holiness* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 6. See also Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 22; Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 151; Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen (ed.), *Holy Spirit and Salvation: The Sources of Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 208.

95 Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 25. See also Hanns-Peter Neumann, *Natura sagax – Die geistige Natur: Zum Zusammenhang von Naturphilosophie und Mystik in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel Johann Arndts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), 2.

Conscience, and Nature.[96] In *True Christianity*, Arndt engages with such themes as the indwelling Christ, rebirth by faith, true repentance and renewal by the Word of God, and conformity to Christ, with the ultimate goal being perfection of the believer in mystical union with Christ.[97] Hermann Geyer considers *True Christianity* to be a work of Spiritualist-Hermetic theology, and as such a radical alternative to orthodox Lutheranism, representing 'a new genre of writing and a new kind of Protestant piety',[98] a work that was to become 'the most widely read book in German Protestant history'.[99] Arndt rarely refers directly to Luther; instead, like Weigel, he includes references to the *Theologia Germanica* – so greatly valued by Luther –, the famous devotional work the *Imitatio Christi* (Imitation of Christ) of Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), the sermons of the Rhineland mystic Tauler, the *Book of Visions and Instructions* of the Italian mystic Angela of Foligno (1248–1309), the French Cistercian *Doctor Mellifluus* Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), author of the famous *Sermons on the Song of Songs*,[100] and Johann von Staupitz (*c*.1460–1524), Luther's confessor in the early 1500s,[101] together with passages taken from Weigel, Schwenckfeld, and Paracelsus.[102] Arndt was encouraged to study the writings of Paracelsus by Theodor Zwinger, during his time as a student of medicine in Basel.[103]

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96 For more on Arndt, see Hermann Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit: Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum" als Programm einer spiritualisch-hermetischen Theologie*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001); Thomas Illg, *Ein anderer Mensch werden: Johann Arndts Verständnis der Imitatio Christi als Anleitung zu einem wahren Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht unipress, 2011); Hans Schneider, *Der fremde Arndt: Studien zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung Johann Arndts (1555–1621)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Volkhard Wels, *Manifestationen des Geistes: Frömmigkeit, Spiritualismus und Dichtung in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014).

97 Arndt, *True Christianity*, Introduction, xi–xvii.

98 On Arndt and the radicals, see Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, Part 3, 37.

99 Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 29.

100 See *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works*, Translation and Foreword by Gillian Rosemary Evans; Introduction by Jean Leclercq (New York: Paulist Press, 1987); Angela of Foligno, *Complete Works*, translated, with an introduction by Paul Lachance; Preface by Romana Guarnieri (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1993); Johannes Tauler, *Sermons*, translated by Maria Shrady (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1985).

101 See David Curtis Steinmetz, *Misericordia Dei: The Theology of Johannes von Staupitz in its Late Medieval Setting* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

102 Arndt, *True Christianity*, Book 2, Chapter 7. For more on Arndt and mysticism, see Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus und Orthodoxie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 109ff. Concerning these influences on Arndt, see also Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 3.

103 Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 31. See also Johannes Wallmann, 'Johann Arndt (1555–1621)', in Carter Lindberg (ed.), *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 21–37. 23. For letters from Arndt to Zwinger, and from the Paracelsian Bernard Penot to Arndt, see Wilhelm

As with Weigel, Arndt's emphasis is less on the book-learning of professional theologians and more on personal devotion:

> Everyone now endeavors to be eminent and distinguished in the world, but no one is willing to learn to be pious. Everyone now seeks out men of great learning, from whom one may learn the arts, languages, and wisdom, but no one is willing to learn from our only teacher, Jesus Christ.[104]

Arndt had praised the *Amphitheatre* as early as 1596/97 in his work against Calvinist iconoclasm in the duchy of Anhalt, the *Ikonographia* or commentary on the right use and misuse of pictures in the Bible.[105] As Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann explains in his discussion of Arndt's 'Theology of Emblems', in his defense of images Arndt argues that pictures and the art of painting have their origin in God, from the visions and revelations of the holy patriarchs and prophets, which are received in four different ways:

1. Face to face, as was the case with Moses;
2. Through the Holy Spirit in the hearts and minds of prophets, as was the case with David, particularly when he played his harp; the prophet Elijah also heard spiritual string music;
3. When seers have waking visions, as was the case with the prophets Samuel and Zechariah;
4. In dream visions, while sleeping, as in Jacob's vision of the ladder.[106]

Most significantly for our story, in a discussion of the Signatures of nature in the ninth chapter of *Ikonographia*, we read:

> For as the Lord God revealed divine mystery through images, in the old and new Testament, so Nature too, and God planted the prophecies through images in Nature. For the whole of Nature, and all elements, animals, vegetables, minerals, are full of wondrous figures, characters, and images, by which they give themselves to be known, and reveal all their mystery through images, and from them can all things be learned, that is natural, indeed just as well as from a written book, as now an excellent

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Kühlmann and Joachim Telle (eds.), *Der Frühparacelsismus* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001), Part 1. For more on Arndt in Basel, see Wallmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995), 153ff.

104 Arndt, *True Christianity*, 21–22.

105 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 345. See also Illg, *Ein anderer Mensch werden*, 21ff, 285ff; Jörg Jochen Berns (ed.), *Von Strittigkeit der Bilder: Texte des deutschen Bildstreits im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 923.

106 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, 22, citing Arndt, *Ikonographia*, 13v–14r.

> Philosopher, and investigator of nature, writes in his glorious and wonderful Amphitheatre of divine and human wisdom.[107]

This is an extremely early reference to Khunrath's 1595 *Amphitheatre*, made just a year or two after its publication. Arndt was evidently impressed by what he saw, for in a letter dated Christmas Day 1599, appositely titled *Von dem grossen Geheimnis der Menschenwerdung* (On the Great Mystery of the Incarnation), discussing the Paracelsian conception of the Flesh of Adam and Flesh of Christ,[108] sent to his 'honourable, respectable, and well-learned friend' (Ehrenvester/ Achtbahrer/ und Wohlgelährter Freund), Erasmus Wolfart, Arndt declares: 'From Doctor Khunrath's book, called the *Theatre of Eternal Wisdom*, I have learned to know God and true Wisdom from the writing of the macro and microcosm.'[109] Praise indeed! Given Arndt's phrasing, could this, perhaps, be the first time that Wolfart – who, following Khunrath's premature demise, would be entrusted a decade later with seeing the expanded 1609 edition through the press – heard of Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*?[110]

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107 Johann Arndt, *Ikonographia. Gründtlicher und Christlicher Bericht/ Von Bildern/ jhrem uhrsprung/ rechtem gebrauch und mißbrauch/ im alten und newen Testament* (Halberstadt, 1596/97), f. 32^{v} 'Denn gleich wie Gott der Herr Göttliche geheimnus durch Bilder geoffenbaret/ im altem und newen Testament: Also die Natur auch/ und hat Gott die Weissagungen durch Bilder in die Natur gepflantzet/ Denn die gantze Natur/ und alle Elementa, Animalia, Vegetabilia, mineralia, sind voller wünderlicher Figuren/ Zeichen und Bilder, dadurch sie sich zuerkennen geben/ und offenbaren alle jre geheimnus durch Bilder/ und aus denselben kan alles gelernet werden/ was natürlich ist/ ja so wol/ als aus einem beschribenen Buche/ Wie jetzo ein fürtrefflicher Philosophus/ und Naturkündiger/ in seinem herrlichen und wunderbarlichen Amphitheatro sapientiae divinae & humanae schreibet.'

108 Illg, *Ein anderer Mensch werden*, 106. For more, see Dane T. Daniel, 'Paracelsus on the "New Creation" and Demonic Magic: Misunderstandings, Oversights, and False Accusations in His Early Reception', in Allison B. Kavey (ed.), *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5–33.

109 Johann Arndt, *Das Grosse Geheimnüß der Menschwerdung des Ewigen Worts: In einem Send-Schreiben an seinen guten Freund/ Erasmum Wolfartum, Notar. Publ. Caes. &c. Erkläret und verfasset* [n.p., 1676], bound together with Christian Hoburg, *Theologia Mystica; Oder Geheime Krafft-Theologia der Alten* (Amsterdam, 1700). My edition: Frankfurt am Main: Johann Nicolaus Andreae, 1717, following 412; new pagination, 8 'auß Dr. Khunraths Buche/ genannt Schau-Platz der ewigen Weißheit/ habe ich gelernet Gott und die rechte Weißheit auß der Schrifft der grossen und kleinen Welt zu erkennen'.

110 On the Khunrath-Arndt-Wolfart correspondence, see Peter J. Forshaw, 'Unexpected in the Octagon: Heinrich Khunrath's Presentation Copy to Erasmus Wolfart', in Hans Thomas Hakl (ed.), *Octagon II. The Quest for Wholeness – Esoterische und religionswissenschaftliche Forschungen von akademischen Autorinnen und Autoren in englischer Sprache* (Gagenau: Scientia Nova, 2016), 71–89.

It becomes clear that Arndt is familiar with more than just the *Amphitheatre*, for in the same 1599 letter he mentions Khunrath's definition of Nature in the third chapter of his *Confessio*, by which he must mean *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597).[111] Indeed, we discover that Arndt and Khunrath were corresponding with one another, for Arndt informs Wolfart that 'Doctor Khunrath challenges me from the Book of Tobit that one should hide the secret of the King, but reveal God's wonders;[112] I answer: There is a very big difference between God's wonders and the King's secrets; one must highly praise the wonders, but seal the secrets, otherwise they are secrets no longer.'[113] Arndt replied with a rapid return of post: 'as soon as I had read Doctor Khunrath's accompanying interpretations of my letter, within two hours, without much pondering, I had written this'.[114]

What we discover is that Arndt was sufficiently impressed with the 1595 *Amphitheatre* to write the first reader's report, which was eventually included in the 1608 edition of Khunrath's *On the Fire of the Mages and Sages* as an anonymous commentary: *Judicium und Bericht eines Erfahrnen Cabalisten und Philosophen/ über die 4 Figuren deß grossen Amphitheatri D. Heinrici Khunradi* (The Judgement and Commentary of an Experienced Cabalist and Philosopher concerning the Four Figures of Doctor Heinrich Khunrath's Great Amphitheatre).[115]

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111 Arndt, *Das Grosse Geheimnüß* (Frankfurt, 1717), 3 'und wird das Wörtlein Natur allhier nicht nach Gottes-Gelährter Leute Weise/ oder also verstanden/ wie es im dritten Capitel der Confession Dr. Henrici Khunradi, herrlicher erkläret ist/ nemlich von dem (2) Licht und Leben aller Creaturen.' Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 345 suggests that Arndt is referring to Khunrath's publication of the following year, *Symbolum Physico-Chymicum* (1598), 19, although that work is not divided into chapters. The third chapter of *Chaos* (1597), 67 opens with the words 'Freylich ist die NATUR ein Höchstweises/ sich selbst bewegendes/ lebendigmachendes/ uberaus sehr mechtiges und wunderthetiges LICHT und FEWER/ etc …'.

112 Tobit 12:7 'For it is good to hide the secret of a king: but honourable to reveal and confess the works of God' (Douay).

113 Arndt, *Das Grosse Geheimnüß*, 14 'Aber Dr. Khunrath wirfft mir für auß dem Buch Tobia: Der Fürsten Heimligkeit soll man verschweigen/ aber GOTTES Wunder offenbahren; Ich antworte: Es ist ein sehr grosser Unterscheid zwischen Gottes Wundern und der Fürsten Geheimnüssen; Die Wunder muß man höchlich preisen/ aber die Geheimnüssen versiegeln/ sonst seynd sie nicht mehr geheime.'

114 Arndt, *Das Grosse Geheimnüß*, 15 'Habe dieses ohn vorhergehend Nachdencken/ zur Stund wie mirs zuflosse/ nicht durch sonderliche Bewegung/ alsobald als ich Dr. Khunraths beygeschriebene Auslegungen über meinem Brieff gelesen/ innerhalb zwo Stunden nach einander geschrieben'. Hans Schneider discusses their correspondence in 'Johann Arndts Studienzeit,' *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 89 (1991): 133–175, at 154; idem, *Der fremde Arndt*, 69.

115 [Arndt], *Judicium und Bericht eines Erfahrnen Cabalisten und Philosophen/ über die 4 Figuren deß grossen Amphitheatri D. Heinrici Khunradi*, published by Benedictus Figulus

In the *Judicium* Arndt declares that Khunrath intends to show how Solomon, in the Biblical Books of Proverbs and Wisdom, 'laid the groundwork and foundations of Natural *Magic*, supernatural *Cabala* and Divine *Theology*'.[116] This knowledge is connected with 'three lights and spirits: *Magic* is the natural light and the natural spirit; *Cabala* is a supernatural light and spirit, an angelic spirit; *Theology* is the light of GOD, the Holy Spirit.'[117] The first magical light is equated with the Paracelsian 'Light of Nature' (110), the second Cabalistic light with the radiance and light in the breast-plate of the high-priests (111). There are two main types of influence: 'Influence of Heaven' and Divine Influence. The former concerns those who live according to the natural astrological influences of the stars and hence live in a Pagan way; those who live according to the Divine Influence, we learn, live under the Holy Spirit and are Christians.[118] The notion of stripping oneself of astral influences in order to be open to the influence of the Holy Spirit most likely derives from Paracelsus's *De Vita Beata* (On the Blessed Life, *c.*1535),[119] although Arndt and Khunrath may also have been familiar with a manuscript version of the pseudo-Weigelian *Astrologia theologizata* (1617), propounding similar beliefs, which was then included in the above-mentioned compendium of 'Paracelsian' and 'Weigelian' works, the *Philosophia mystica* (1618).[120] The notion of stripping oneself of astral

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as an appendix to Heinrich Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (Strassburg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1608). See Kristine Hannak, 'Johann Arndt (1555–1621) and the "Crisis of Piety" of Jacob Böhme's Time', in Bo Andersson, Lucinda Martin, Leigh Penman, Andrew Weeks (eds.), *Jacob Böhme and His World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 145–165, at 147.

116 [Arndt], *Judicium* (1608), 107–8 'Darzu hat er eingesetzt/ die denckwürdigsten unnd tieffsinnigste[n] Sprüche/ auß dem Buch der Weißheit/ Darauß wil man beweisen/ das Salomon in diesen seine[n] Büchern den grundt und Fundament gelegt hab/ der Natürlichen *Magiae*, ubernatürlichen *Cabalae* unnd Göttlichen *Theologiae*.'

117 [Arndt], *Judicium* (1608), 116 'Also müsset jhr nun die drei Liechter und Geister underscheyden: *Magia* ist das natürliche Liecht/ unnd der natürliche Geist; *Cabala* ein ubernatürlich Liecht unnd Geist/ Ein Englisch Liecht; *Theologia* ist das Liecht GOTTES, der heilige Geist.'

118 [Arndt], *Judicium* (1608), 113 'Wer nach dem irdischen Himmel lebet/ unnd nach seinem natürlichen Einfluß/ der lebet Heydnisch: Wer aber nach dem ubernatürlichen Himmel lebt/ lebet nach dem heiligen Geist/ der lebet Christlich. Darumb seyndt zweyerley *Influentiae*, oder Einflüß/ Der natürliche Einfluß/ *Influentia Cœli*; und *Influentia Divina*: welcher nach dem Göttlichen Einfluß regieret wirdt/ der lebet Christlich/ der ander Thierisch.'

119 Paracelsus, *Vita Beata – Vom seligen Leben*, in *Neue Paracelsus-Edition. Theologische Werke*, Vol. 1, edited by Urs Leo Gantenbein in collaboration with Michael Baumann and Detlef Roth (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 359 'Die influenz der alten kreatur ist in die stern gesetzt, nun aber ein menschen der neuen kreatur die influenz des heiligen geist.'

120 *Theosopho quodam anonymo avtore, Astrologia Theologizata, Hoc est: Quod Externvs Homo cvm omnibvs operibvs, quantumuis lumine naturae in omni scientiarum genere*

influences calls to mind Arndt's writings about the twofold birth of a Christian man, who 'has two birth lines in himself, the fleshly line of Adam and the spiritual line of Christ', 'the new and the old man, the old and the new birth, the old and the new Adam, the earthly and the heavenly image, the old and the new Jerusalem, flesh and spirit, Adam and Christ in us, the internal and the external man.'[121]

Arndt points out that 'the author of the *Amphitheatre*' teaches this with words in the Prologue and then drives the message home with four engravings or 'figures':

> In the First Figure he touches on all three Lights, Natural, Supernatural and Divine. Or Natural, Angelic and Divine, that is *Magic*, *Cabala*, and *Theology*, and includes all three in the first *Figure*, on account of the holy *Trinity*; and there are Hebrew Names, which stand in a circle: firstly, GOD's names, or Divine power, for GOD's names are Divine powers, of which names there are 72. But no-one knows how to use them other than a Cabalist, and *Cabala* concerns itself mainly with the Divine names. From these Names of God flow now the Angelic Names, which also stand in a circle in the first Figure and are nothing other than Angelic powers. Now from these Angelic powers depend the natural powers of the Firmament, the *Heavenly Powers*, of which the Lord says: 'The powers of the heavens set themselves in motion.'[122]

This is a useful partial description of the contents of the *Amphitheatre*'s first circular figure, although also a little confusing. Khunrath only provides 10 divine names, not 72, and then the names of ten angelic orders, rather than, strictly

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splendidus, deponi, abnegari & plane emori: Internvs avtem per Lvmen Gratiae assvmi, confessione & vita praedicari, & soli Deo ad regni caelestis haereditatem capiendam viuere debeat (Frankfurt, 1617).

121 Arndt, *True Christianity*, 37–38.

122 [Arndt], *Judicium* (1608), 118 'In der ersten Figur/ begreiffet er alle drey Liechter/ Natürlich/ Ubernatürlich/ Göttlich. Oder: Natürlich/ Englisch/ Göttlich: Daß ist/ *Magia*, *Cabala* und *Theologia*, unnd beschleust alle drey in die erste einige *Figur*, umb der H[eiligen] *Trinitet* willen/ Und sind die Hebreische Namen/ die im Circkel stehen: Erstlich GOTTES Namen/ oder Göttliche krafft: Dann GOTTES Namen sind Göttliche krefften/ Derer Namen GOTTES sind 72. Wie sie aber zugebrauchen/ weiß niemandt dann ein Cabalist/ und gehet die *Cabala* vornemblich umb mit den Göttlichen Namen. Auß diesen Namen GOTTES fliessen nun die Namen der Engel/ die auch in der ersten *Figur* im Circkel stehen/ unnd seyndt nichts dann Englische kreffte. An diesen Englischen krefften hangen nun die natürlichen krefft deß Firmaments/ die *Virtutes Cœlorum*, davon der HERR sagt: Deß Himmels kreffte werden sich bewegen.'

speaking, 'Angelic Names', such as Gabriel or Raphael. Arndt's statement that the angelic names flow from the divine names suggests that he is 'reading' the circular figure centrifugally, moving outwards from the central figure of Christ and the Pentagrammaton, but could it be that in mentioning 72 Divine Names, he is instead moving inwards from the circumference, mistaking the extensive Hebrew text of the Decalogue for those 72 names? Whatever the case, the rest of Arndt's description gives a clear sense of the themes of each engraving, although I would argue that the fourth figure is Khunrath's theosophical combination and summation of the preceding three figures:

> So, the first Figure teaches primarily of the *Cabala*, though it does intermingle *Magic* with it. The second teaches of *Magic*, the third of *Chymistry*, for *Chymistry* is a type and part of *Magic*. And no-one will ever understand *True Chymistry*, who does not first of all learn and grasp *Magic* … In the fourth Figure the *Amphitheatre* teaches of *Theology in the Oratory* and *Theology* is nothing other than *Alloquium Divinum*, a conversation with God through prayer and through the Holy Spirit.[123]

Gilly points out that *Alloquium divinum* (Divine Conversation) is a 'foundational concept' in Arndt's theosophy, a notion developed as far back as his unpublished manuscript *De antiqua philosophia*, dating from his period of theological study in Basel, in 1580/81:

> That fountain, however, is that divine and natural wisdom of the ancients, and antique philosophy, which I call ALLOQUIUM DIVINUM. With this I remind all theologians, physicians, jurists, philosophers [that] the Apostles and Prophets entered through this door. By this method the sincere mystical doctors, healthy physicians are divinely instructed, created, inaugurated, [and] confirmed as incorruptible priests of justice and excellent Lovers of Divine Wisdom (*Theophilosophi*).[124]

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123 [Arndt], *Judicium* (1608), 119 'Also lehret vornemlich die erste *Figur* die *Cabalam*, wiewol auch die *Magiam* mit eingemischet. Die andere lehret *Magiam*: Die dritte *Chymiam*: Dann *Chymia* ist ein *Species* unnd stück der *Magiae*. Und wird niemandt in Ewigkeit *Chymiam Veram* verstehen/ der *Magiam* nicht zuvor lernet und begreiffet … In der 4. *Figur*, lehret das *Amphitheatrum Theologiam in Oratorio*, und ist *Theologia* nichts anders/ dann *Alloquium Divinum*, ein Gespräch mit GOTT durchs Gebet/ unnd durch den heiligen Geist.'

124 Justus Groscurd, *Angelus apocalypticus, Schola enthusiastica et Scriptura coeli. Das ist, Drey wundertolle Fastnachts Auffzüge deß newen Schwermers Pauli Nagelii Lipsensis* (Braunschweig, 1622), 33–34. 'Alloquium divinum' is a foundational concept in Arndt's theosophy, as *De Antiqua Philosophia* (1580) shows: 'Est autem fons ille divina illa et

Arndt's *De antiqua philosophia* even turns out to be the source of one of the gratulatory poems at the beginning of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*, the *Oratio Theosophica* (Theosophic Prayer), signed 'Christianus Cordatus' (Prudent Christian).[125] As Arndt was a friend of both Khunrath and Wolfart, the reasons for maintaining anonymity, both as author of the *Judicium* and the *Oratio Theosophica* are unclear. Even twenty years after the initial appearance of the *Judicium*, one of Arndt's intimate friends, Christoph Hirsch, himself writing under the Rosicrucian pseudonym Josephus Stellatus, was reluctant to reveal Arndt as its author.[126] As Arndt was also a friend of Johann Valentin Andreae, who had a distinctly low opinion of Khunrath, and these works appeared after Khunrath's death, perhaps Arndt deemed it more circumspect to remain anonymous, in order not to estrange himself from Andreae with further praise of the *Amphitheatre*?

Given our cluster of 'proto-theosophers' influenced by Paracelsus and Rheno-Flemish mysticism, it is interesting to note that the publisher of a 1610 edition of Arndt's *Four Books*, Johann Francke (*c.*1547–1625) of Magdeburg,[127] who had published a German edition of the *Theologia Deutsch*, together with Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* in 1606, and material associated with the Rosicrucian movement,[128] was to reissue Khunrath's *On Primaterial Chaos*

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naturalis veterum sapientia, et antiqua Philosophia, quam ALLOQUIUM DIVINUM definio. Huc revoco omnes Theologos, Medicos, Iureconsultos, philosophos, per hoc ostium ingressi sunt Prophetae et Apostoli. Hac ratione divinitus erudiuntur, creantur, inaugurantur, confirmantur sinceri Doctores mystici, salutares Medici, iustititae sacerdotes incorrupti et praeclari Theophilosophi'. See Gilly, 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath', 151.

125 *Amph.*I, 17. See Joachim Telle, *Alchemie und Poesie: Deutsche Alchemikerdichtungen des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 479–80 for reference to the 'Oratio theosophica'. See also Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 345.

126 Gilly, 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath', 150. On Arndt's contact with Hirsch, see Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, Vol. 3, 140ff '*Cabala* im *liber naturae* bei Christoph Hirsch'.

127 See Leigh T.I. Penman, '*Paraluther*: Explaining an Unexpected Portrait of Paracelsus in Andreas Hartmann's *Curriculum Vitae Lutheri* (1601)', in Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (eds.), *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: An Album Amicorum for Charles Zika* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 161–184, at 176 who describes him as 'the infamous Johann Francke … of Magdeburg, an opportunistic pirate publisher who would later issue the suppressed theological works of the dissident Zschopau pastor and follower of Paracelsus, Valentin Weigel'. See also Albert Kirchhoff, 'Ein speculative Buchhandler alter Zeit: Johann Francke in Magdeburg', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* 13 (1890): 128–45; Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, Part 3, 35ff.

128 Theodor Harmsen, 'The Mind's Eye: Images of Creation and Revelation', in Peter J. Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 152–178, at 155.

in 1616,[129] Paracelsus's *Philosophia de Limbo Aeterno* two years later in 1618, and issue Weigel's suppressed theological works during the decade 1609 to 1619.[130]

Szulakowska's notion that Khunrath, Weigel and Arndt were promoting 'spiritual experience of an individual revelatory insight which is the effect of the "unio mystica" with God through the Holy Spirit,' accurately recognises a shared theme in their works,[131] although there is no real evidence to support her claim that Khunrath's 'theosophical alchemy and cabbalism was acquired directly from Weigel'.[132] It is clear, however, that Khunrath's compatriot, the physician, alchemist and natural philosopher Daniel Sennert (1572–1637) recognised him and Weigel as both sharing sentiments similar to those of Paracelsus, and that both, too, were accused of enthusiasm.[133]

6 Enthusiasm

A term found in Plato, Hesychius, Suidas, and Plutarch, an 'Enthusiast' was someone who experienced raptures and divine revelations,[134] from the Greek

129 Francke also published Conrad Khunrath's translation of a speech that King James I of England gave to Parliament on 19 March 1605: *Zween schöne Tractat: Davon der Erste in sich begreifft die Oration Welche Jacobus König zu groß Britannien/ etc. in der letzten Session deß Parlements Anno Christi 1605 gehalten* (Hamburg, 1607).

130 See Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, 212–213. For Weigel's works Francke used the publisher pseudonym Knuber.

131 Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 128.

132 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 81. See Chapter 4 in this work, where Reuchlin is a far more significant source for Khunrath's Cabala.

133 Sennert, *Opera Omnia medica* (1641), 937; idem, *De Chymicorum cum Aristotelicis et Galenicis consensu ac dissensu liber I* (Wittenberg, 1619), 118–119. For more on Sennert, see Walter Pagel, *The Smiling Spleen: Paracelsianism in Storm and Stress* (Basel: Karger, 1984), 86f.

134 H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901): ἐνθουσιασμός [*enthousiasmós*], *inspiration, enthusiasm*, from ἐνθουσιαζειν [*enthousiazein*], to be ἔνθεος [*entheos*], *inspired* or *possessed by the god, be rapt, be in ecstasy*. See Plato, *Timaeus*, 71 E, trans. R.G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. 1999), 187 'no man achieves true and inspired divination when in his rational mind, but only when the power of his intelligence is fettered in sleep or when it is distraught by disease or by reason of some divine inspiration.' See also Yulia Ustinova, *Caves and the Ancient Greek Mind: Descending Underground in the Search for Ultimate Truth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) and her more recent *Divine Mania: Alteration of Consciousness in Ancient Greece* (London: Routledge, 2018). For a more general discussion, see Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion*. On Weigel being accused of enthusiasm, see Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, 13.

entheos, 'inhabited by God's Spirit'[135] or 'engodded'.[136] Its earliest attested occurrence is in the statement of Democritus (*c.*460–*c.*370 BCE), 'Everything a poet does with enthusiasm and divine *pneuma*, is very good'.[137] In the *Timaeus*, Plato (428–347 BCE) had written that true and inspired divination is only achieved when the power of the rational mind is fettered in sleep, distraught by disease or by *enthousiasmos* (divine inspiration),[138] and Aristotle (384–322 BCE) had discussed the impact of *enthousiasmos* in the context of music.[139] The encounter with the divine, mingling with the god, was the core experience of ancient ecstatic initiation rites.[140] Plutarch (46–*c.*119 CE), who was a priest at Delphi, famous for its oracle, the *Pythia*, writes of how the god Apollo 'puts into her mind visions and creates the light in her soul for inspiration (*enthousiasmos*)'.[141] Iamblichus (*c.*245–*c.*325 CE) writes of the independence of the soul from the body prior to death, when it is 'joined to the Gods' by divine enthusiasms, and describes *Enthousiasmos* as 'the soul's most appropriate condition'.[142]

Moving from classical antiquity to early modern Germany, along with accusations of *Schwärmerei*, that is, heretical tendencies, *Enthusiasmus* was levelled as a term of abuse against the radical or spiritualist Protestants. Critical of those who claimed to hear the voice of God directly, unmediated by Scripture, Luther had coined the term "Schwärmer" (taken from the designation for swarming, stirred-up bees).[143] Such practices were emphatically rejected:

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135 Lionel Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm: Prophecy and Religious Experience in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 3 'These enthusiasts … claimed to be possessed by the Holy Spirit and defended an exclusive relationship with God. The Spirit allegedly infused them with the power to foretell the future (prophecy), perform miraculous cures (thaumaturgy) and speak in tongues (glossolalia), and often led them to challenge any form of authority. Enthusiasm was thus fundamentally transgressive. In short, it epitomised the Reformation gone out of (ecclesiastical) control.'

136 Ustinova, *Divine Mania*, 3.

137 Ustinova, *Divine Mania*, 31, 268.

138 Ustinova, *Divine Mania*, 56.

139 Ustinova, *Divine Mania*, 130. See also Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 1225a22 concerning people who are inspired *enthousiontes*.

140 Ustinova, *Divine Mania*, 126.

141 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 'Oracles at Delphi', 397c.

142 Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 81, 92.

143 Michael Heyd, *"Be Sober and Reasonable": The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 11 n. 1.

> In these matters, which concern the external, spoken Word, we must hold firmly to the conviction that God gives no one his spirit or grace except through or with the external Word which comes before. Thus we shall be protected from the enthusiasts – that is, from the spiritualists who boast that they possess the Spirit without and before the Word and who therefore judge, interpret, and twist the Scriptures or spoken Word according to their pleasure. … Whatever is attributed to the Spirit apart from such Word and sacrament is of the devil.[144]

Another notable example of such condemnation is the Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger's *Der Widertoeufferen Ursprung* (On the Origin of the Anabaptists, 1560), whom he denounced as 'enthusiasts', 'ecstatics', and 'enraptured':

> When they awoke from their ecstatic sleep and dreams, they started to tell of wonderful visions that the spirit had revealed to them, and of what they had seen in another world … They then ran around like madmen and shouted in the streets, the day of the Lord, we announce to you the day of the Lord.[145]

Such *Enthusiasm* appears to have been an identifying trait of Paracelsus and his followers. The humanist and imperial physician Johannes Crato von Krafftheim (1519–1585) evidently considered Paracelsus to be the *Magister Enthusiastarum* (Master of Enthusiasts), by which he meant those who 'reject all things in the writings of antiquity as false and erroneous, taking God and I know not what other medical books as [their] foundation …'.[146] In *Examen philosophiae novae*, which translates as *The Swarm* (or *Examination*) *of the New Philosophy* (1615), Khunrath's erstwhile fellow student at Basel, the more conservative Lutheran controversialist Andreas Libavius (1560–1616), curses all Paracelsian Mages along with their *Enthusiasms* and diabolical raptures,[147]

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144 Martin Luther, 'Schmalcald Articles,' Pt. 3, art. 8, para. 3–12, in Kärkkäinen (ed.), *Holy Spirit and Salvation*, 156–157.

145 Claire Gantet, 'Dreams, standards of knowledge and orthodoxy in Germany in the sixteenth century', in Randolph Conrad Head and Daniel Eric Christensen (eds.), *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture: Order and Creativity, 1500–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 69–87, at 78. For more on Bullinger and the theological critique of enthusiasm, see Heyd, "*Be Sober and Reasonable*".

146 Gilly, "*Theophrastia Sancta*", 155 'more Enthusiastarum in Theologia omnia scripta vetustatis tanquam falsa atque erronea reiiciunt, sibique Deum firmamentum et nescio quae alia libros Medicinae esse fingunt'.

147 Andreas Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (Frankfurt, 1615), 78.

singling out Agrippa and Khunrath as particular culprits.[148] Libavius lays the blame for the abstractions of such *Enthusiastic Philosophers* firmly at Plato's door, as well as their unwarranted faith in diabolical works like the Hermetic *Pimander*.[149] He condemns the *Amphitheatre*'s *Pyramid* engraving with its words from Trismegistus's *Pimander*, which Khunrath has written beneath Hermes' Chymical Tablet.[150] Following Libavius, the German Aristotelian physician and transmutational alchemist Daniel Sennert (1572–1637) was to attack Khunrath, Weigel and others as fanatics and heretics in *De Chymicorum cum Aristotelicis et Galenicis consensu ac dissensu* (On the Agreement and Disagreement of the Chymists with Aristotelians and Galenists, 1619).[151]

Several decades later, in his *Treatise concerning Enthusiasme* (1655), the orthodox Anglican Méric Casaubon (1599–1671), known for his condemnation of John Dee's Actions with Spirits,[152] particularly singles out the 'Teutonick Chimerical extravagances' of German mystics like Weigel as being responsible for Quakerism and other English enthusiasts.[153] The Cambridge Platonist Henry More (1614–1687) was likewise to criticise Paracelsians, Theosophists,

148 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 101ff 'Nosce teipsum, hoc est, omnia secundum magos Crollium, Agrippam, &c., Thrasybuli symbolum'.

149 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 67 'Tertio dicit *Hermes se aciem mentis ad superna erexisse*, qui debuit prius videre ea quae in praesentia ante pedes erant. At quae superna? Abstractiones illas *Enthusiasticorum Philosophorum* quales in *Platonis* scriptis occurrunt de *Idearum*, & vi supercoeli dorso contemplatione.' Like Bullinger, Libavius also singles out Anabaptists for particular opprobium: 'Ludovici imperatoris, & aliorum fanaticorum & Ecstaticorum magorum, vel superstitiosorum. ... Ita credendum fuisset Enthusiastis seu Anabaptistis superiorum temporarum, Iohanni Leidensi' (67–68). Jan van Leiden, also known as Jan Beukelsz (1509–1536), Anabaptist leader and prophet of the Münster Rebellion, turned the city into a millenarian Anabaptist theocracy, with himself self-proclaimed 'King of Münster' in 1535; but was captured, tortured and executed the following year. See Anthony Arthur, *The Tailor-King: The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Muenster* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).

150 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 67.

151 Antonio Clericuzio, *Elements, Principles and Corpuscles: A Study of Atomism and Chemistry in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2000), 26.

152 *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for many Yeers between Dr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits*, edited by Meric Casaubon (London, 1659). See Stephen Clucas, 'Enthusiasm and "damnable curiosity": Meric Casaubon and John Dee', in R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr (eds.), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 131–148. See also Egil Asprem, *Arguing with Angels: Enochian Magic and Modern Occulture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012), Chapter 2 in particular.

153 Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise concerning Enthusiasme* (1655) (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1970), 167. On Casaubon and enthusiasm, see Ryan J. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science, and Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), Chapter 5.

and Quakers in his *Enthusiasmus triumphatus* (1662) for their 'Philosophick Enthusiasms',[154] and claims to divine inspiration.[155]

Khunrath, for his part, readily admits to being an 'Enthusiast', speaks in the *Amphitheatre* of being 'ineffably rapt in God'[156] and in *On Primaterial Chaos* claims to be inspired by *Sophia Enthusiastica*, by Wisdom conceived by *Afflatio Numinis*, the Breath of Divine Power, or the Divine Breath.[157] He angrily challenges the calumnies of his opponents:

> Listen, you slanderer, you scornfully say that I am an Enthusiast, because I speak of *Visions* or Seeings and similar Revelations (nevertheless from Good-Spirits) in my current book; so I say with truth that you are a foolish fantasist, who does not yet know, or from thoughtlessness has never considered what the word Enthusiast actually means; [much less] what an Enthusiast rightly is. … [If] *Enthusiasm, that is, Afflatio Numinis*, the Divine Breath (*sino quo afflatu, teste etiam Cicerone, nemo unquam vir magnus*,[158] without which no-one ever becomes a splendid gifted clever person) is fanaticism, [then] so too must have been Bezaliel, Achaliab and all other wise men into whose hearts God has bestowed Wisdom, and so on …[159] Whence [then] are found so many excellent *geniuses*,

154 Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, Or, A Discourse of the Nature, Causes, Kinds, and Cure, of Enthusiasme* (London, 1662), 33–34. On More, see Daniel C. Fouke, *The Enthusiatical Concerns of Dr. Henry More: Religious Meaning and the Psychology of Delusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

155 Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (1150–1750) (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 338.

156 *Amph.*II, 187 'in DEVM, ineffabiliter, rapi'.

157 *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [Aix^{r}] 'Sophia Enthusiastica, SAPIENTIA, quae Numinis afflatu concipitur'. This can perhaps be equated with Weigel's notion of two kinds of wisdom. See Weeks, *Valentin Weigel: Selected Spiritual Writings*, 158 'The natural *Sophia* or wisdom encompasses the works of nature, namely, the whole Adam before and after the fall and the entire order of the creatures. The supernatural *Sophia*, however, encompasses the whole of Christ in accordance with both states of being, that is, the Creator of the new creature of heaven.'

158 Trans. (*without which divine breath, according indeed to Cicero, no-one ever becomes a great man*).

159 *Chaos* (1597), sigs. [Aviij$^{r–v}$] 'Höre du Lestermaul/ sprichstu spöttlich/ ich sey ein Enthusiast/ dieweil ich in kegenwertigen meinem Buch von Visionibus oder Gesichten/ und sonderlichen (jedoch Gut-Geistlichen) Offenbarungen sage; so sprech Ich mit Warheit du seyest ein Narrischer Phantast; Der noch nicht wisse/ oder aus unbesonnenheit je nicht bedencke/ was das wörtlein Enthusiast eigentlich heisse; Wil geschweigen was Enthusiast recht sey. Ist Enthusiasmus, h.e. Afflatio Numinis, das Göttliche anhauchen (sine quo afflatu, teste etiam Cicerone, nemo unquam vir magnus, ohne welches niemals eine fürtreffliche hochbegabte geschickte Person sey worden) schwermerey/ so müssen auch

> *discernible anywhere*, in all Arts and Sciences from the beginning of the world until our times, as namely from GOD's singular inspiration, inner *vocation* or calling, instruction and prompting?[160]

Cicero was a central figure in the Latin curriculum of the Renaissance and early modern university; thus Khunrath's quotation of him here and the appearance of the same Ciceronian declaration from *De Natura Deorum* (On the Nature of the Gods), that 'No one is ever a great man without divine inspiration' on the transverse ceiling beam closest to the reader in the *Amphitheatre*'s *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving would have resonated with the majority of his readers, perhaps helping to sanitize Khunrath's embrace of enthusiasm.[161] At the same time, in the quote above, Khunrath makes it clear that the over-riding message of that famous engraving is that both his religion and science (forgive the anachronism) partake of his enthusiasm.

Khunrath continues, 'Fie to you, who mock Enthusiasm in such an unchristian way, and who only abusively focus on its abuse. You should beg God that he make you into a good Enthusiast.'[162] At the conclusion of this tirade, however, Khunrath is careful to draw a distinction between *Enthusiasmus* and *Schwärmerei*, stating 'Take this Christianly to heart and leave me Enthusiasm unscorned. I have nothing to do with its misuse', asking in the margin 'What do Heretics (*die Schwerme*) give to a Lover of Divine Wisdom (Philo-Theosophum)?'[163] Perhaps this is what Khunrath has in mind when,

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Bezaleel/ Achaliab/ und allerley Weisen/ denen GOTT die Weisheit ins Hertz gegeben/ etc …'

160 *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [Aix^{r-v}] 'Woher seint vom anfang der Weld her/ bis auff diese unsere zeit/ so viel fürtreffliche ingenia, in quovis scibili, in allerley Künsten unnd Wissenschafften funden/ als fürnemlich aus GOTTES sonderbarer Eingeistung/ innerlicher vocation oder Berueffung/ Unterweisung und Antreibung?'

161 'SINE AFFLATV DIVINO NEMO VNQUAM VIR MAGNVS'. See also *Amph*.II, 110 'Quapropter nemo vnquam (quod etiam Cicero obseruauit & annotauit lib.2. de Natura Deorum) vir Magnus, sinè afflatu Diuino'; *Amph*.II, 137, 164. See Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. lxvi. See also a work cited by Khunrath: Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber XV de Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Frankfurt, 1592), 924f Exerc 307.4 *De affectibus*, at 925 'Itaque bruta non dicuntur velle, sed instigari: vnde Instinctus dicitur à Natura: sicut à Diis Afflatio apud M. Tullium.'

162 *Chaos* (1597), sig. [Aix^{v}] 'Pfuy dir/ der du Enthusiasmum unchristlich verspottest/ und nur alleine nach dem misbrauch misbreuchlich darvon redest. Du soltest GOTT bitten/das er dich zu einem guten Enthusiastem machte'.

163 *Chaos* (1597), sig. [Ax^{r}] 'Behertzige dieses Christlich/ unnd lass mir Enthusiasmum unverachtet. Mit dem Missbrauch hab ich nichts zuthun.' In the margin: 'Was geben einen Philo-Theosophum die Schwerme an?' On this distinction between Enthusiasm and Heresy, see Neumann, 'Narren, Forscher, Kuriositäten', 372. Khunrath signs the preface to

speaking of divine inspiration in *De Igne magorum*, he appears to be at odds with at least one of Kaspar von Schwenckfeld's followers, exclaiming, 'You wanton mocker of Enthusiasm, you should stop your Bacchanalian romp with the Schwenckfeldian against me here.'[164]

Although it is easy to imagine that Khunrath might have had Libavius in mind as a mocker of enthusiasm,[165] it is less clear whom he could have intended by the Schwenckfeldian. One possible candidate linked with the circle of Khunrath's patron, Vilém Rožmberk, is a 'leading Schwenckfeldian', the Augsburg city physician Karl Widemann (d. 1638), who had acted as secretary to the Anglo-Irish alchemist Edward Kelley (1555–1597), was a major collector of Paracelsian manuscripts, with connections to the earliest propagandists of the Rosicrucian Manifestos and the first publisher of the Paracelsian *Theologica* and genuine and pseudepigraphic Weigelian writings.[166] Other possible figures are the physician, theologian and astrologer, Samuel Eisenmenger (1534–1585), alias Syderocrates, editor of *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana* (1585), who was expelled from the orthodox Lutheran university of Tübingen due to his

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the 1597 edition of *Chaos*, sig. [Axii^{r}] as 'Henricus Khunrath Lipsens. Philo-Theosophus & Medic. Utriusque Doct'.

164 *De Igne Magorum*, 24 'Du leichtfertiger Spötter deß Enthusiasmi/ magst deinen Bachantischen aufzug mit dem Schwenckfeldischen wider mich alhie nur einstellen.' 'Auffzug' is translated more literally as 'parade', but 'song and dance' seems to catch the pejorative meaning here. On this turn of phrase, see both Luther and Paracelsus. Luther, *Sermons*, with reference to jackasss and dunces: Weimarer Ausgabe, Vol. XLVII, 670 'Theologi sind Esel, Bachanten, vel solt wider geeselt und gebachentisirt werden'; Paracelsus, *Fragmenta Medica Liber Quatuor Columnarum medicinae*, in Johann Hüser (ed.), *Opera, Bücher vnd Schrifften* (Strassburg, 1603), Vol. 1, 143 'Wie schlecht steht es euch an/ das ir so Bachantisch lassen merken, das euch weder der Theologus, noch Juristen/ noch die Spraach, noch der Poet, noch kein Profession darumb loben kan, sondern prüffen und merken, daß ihr euch selbst schenden.'

165 See, for example, Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 78 'Tu vero *Enthusiasmos* tuos, & raptus diabolicos, qui sunt Paracelsistis Magis cum sagis, & strigibus communes'; 101 'Enthusiasta es, aut ebrius, aut somnio, vel melancholia correptus'; 290 'Alij in *Ensoph* per Cabalam & scalam *Iacobi* ascenderunt, & omnem Remp. angelorum descripserunt. Novi puerum, qui per Ecstasin in montem Veneris raptus, cum reverteretur, mira diceret, ut Sagae & alij Enthusiastici.'

166 Gilly, 'Theophrastia Sancta', 163ff. On Widemann, see R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1973), 216; for his circle of friends, Carlos Gilly, 'Iter Rosicrucianum. Auf der Suche nach unbekannten Quellen der frühen Rosenkreuzer', in Frans Anton Janssen (ed.), *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz. Vorträge gehalten anlässlich des Amsterdamer Symposiums 18.–20. November 1986* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1988), 63–89, at 73–82.

heterodox religious views, or his favourite student, the Schwabian physician and astrologer Helisäus Röslin (1545–1616).[167]

7 The Anti-Trinitarians' Contempt of Divine Tri-Unity

Despite his defence of Enthusiasm, it appears that Khunrath nevertheless felt compelled to emphasise a certain degree of orthodoxy. This was possibly due to his support for the doctrines of Paracelsus, whom the Swiss physician and natural historian Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) had accused of being a follower of Arius, the fourth-century heretical denier of the eternal nature of the Logos and the existence of the Trinity (despite the heavily trinitarian nature of Paracelsus's philosophy).[168] Gessner was perhaps suspicious of the contact Paracelsus had with the sixteenth-century anti-trinitarians Michael Servetus (*c.*1509/11–1553) and Faustus Socinus (1539–1604).[169]

There had been an anti-trinitarian scandal in Heidelberg in 1570 when a group of ministers within the Palatine church denied the eternal divinity of Christ. One of them, Johann Hasler (1548–1585) had spent time at Basel in 1565, with Theodor Zwinger as his mentor, and had become interested in Paracelsian

167 Gilly, 'Theophrastia Sancta', 160–161. Röslin's *De Opere Dei creationis seu de Mundo hypotheses* (Frankfurt, 1597) includes material of interest to Khunrath, including references to John Dee (3), the Pythagorean Tetraktys as the first pyramidal number ('primus pyramidalis numerus'), in the context of Cabalistic philosophy (11), the three Paracelsian principles, Mercury, Sulphur and Salt (12, 30), considerations of the faculties of the soul (33f), and so forth.

168 Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 142; Ivo Purš, 'The Habsburgs on the Bohemian Throne and Their Interest in Alchemy and the Occult Sciences', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, 93–127, at 104.

169 On contacts of Paracelsus with Servetus and Socinus, see Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel: S. Karger, 1958), 43; Andrew Weeks, *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 31 Servetus; Mihály Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism (1566–1571): From Servet to Palaeologus* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1996). John Christian Laursen and R.H. Popkin (eds.), *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2001), Volume IV 'Continental Millenarians: Protestants, Catholics, Heretics', includes Howard Hotson, 'Arianism and Millenarianism: The Link Between Two Heresies from Servetus to Socinus', 9–35. For references to Anti-trinitarianism in Eastern Europe, see Graeme Murdock, 'Eastern Europe', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London: Routledge, 2000), 190–210, at 199, who writes that in the 1570s support for anti-Trinitarianism was particularly strong in eastern Transylvania and in Hungarian-speaking towns, and of the emergence of a radical wing of anti-Trinitarian clergy, known as Sabbatarians, who denied the divinity of Christ.

ideas, as can be seen in his *De logistica medica* (On medical logistics, 1578). Ironically, one of the fiercest opponents of Paracelsus, the Swiss theologian and physician Thomas Erastus (1524–1583) was himself caught up in the affair and accused of harbouring anti-trinitarian sentiments.[170]

In the *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath makes a strong point of vilifying Arius and the Antitrinitarians, arguing that alchemy, the Art of Fire, adequately confirms the triune nature of the Creator, which underlies all creation:

> May this fanatical, heretical, blasphemous and most pestilential saying of the Arians: 'There was a moment (that is, a time, or eternity, or whatever Arius either wanted or might have been able to understand) in which he (the son of GOD) did not yet exist',[171] be nothing and vanish, now, and return to the nothing that it was before. This is set in stone, against all Antitrinitarians, drawn Macro- and Micro-Cosmically from the Book of Nature: the instruction of FIRE, GOD's most irrefutable Professor of natural philosophy in this World, trying and testing all sublunary things, shows you the TRI-UNE CREATOR, Physico-Chemically explaining the great Book of Nature, such that you might perceive tri-une Creation universally and particularly to show, represent [and] teach TRI-UNE ELOHIM (who in the Beginning created the Heaven and the Earth, etc. Genesis 1). Next: the BODY, SPIRIT [and] SOUL from which MAN is composed sufficiently express the tri-une Divine Likeness according to which tri-une Man is made. ... IN SUM: ALL THINGS [ARE] TRI-UNE, because they have been made by the TRI-UNE. This is the wonderful voice of GOD, in Nature through Creation. See the third figure of this Amphitheatre [the *Rebis* or *Alchemical Hermaphrodite*], proposition 1, distinction 7. ... Therefore, let us listen to the Son of GOD and what ... he says about himself in his Biblically, Macro- and Micro-Cosmically written word; not to Arius, not to Heretics, the scales of the Devil.[172]

170 Christopher J. Burchill, *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians: Johann Sylvan, Adam Neuser, Matthias Vehe, Jacob Suter, Johann Hasler*, Vol. IX, *Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Repertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles* (Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1989), 190, 210. See also Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr., 'Swiss Students & Faculty at the University of Heidelberg', in Jordan J. Ballor, David S. Sytsma, and Jason Zuidema (eds.), *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 255–269, at 261.

171 William Bright (ed.), *The Orations of St Athanasius Against the Arians According to the Benedictine Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Oration 3.41.47.

172 *Amph.*II, 68 'Esset & euanescat, nunc, redeatque in nihilum, quae fuit antè nihil, fanatica, haeretica, blasphema pestilentissimaque vox Arianorum haec: Fuit aliquando (scilicet

One particular person Khunrath may have had in mind is the French alchemist Nicolas Barnaud (*c*.1539–1604), who was accused of spreading 'horrible heresies'.[173] Didier Kahn argues that 'there is good evidence for Barnaud's connections with Fausto Sozzini', indeed with the whole antitrinitarian group in Poland.[174] Like Khunrath, a graduate of Basel Medical School, like him in the circle of the Swiss humanist Theodor Zwinger, and another who had Vilém Rožmberk as patron,[175] Barnaud was the author of alchemical works like the *Commentariolum in Aenigmaticum quoddam Epitaphium* (A Brief Commentary on a certain Enigmatic Epitaph, 1597), which contained his speculations on the Aelia Laelia Crispis puzzle inscription and Nicholas Melchior's alchemical Mass,[176] the *Triga chemica: de lapide philosophico tractatus tres* (The Three-Horse Chemical Chariot: Three Treatises on the Philosophical Stone, 1599), which included the emblematic alchemical *Book of Lambspring*, and the *Tractatulus Chemicus*, *Theosophiae Palmarium* (A Little Chemical Treatise,

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tempus, siuè æternitas, aut quicquid Arius subintelligere vel volet vel potuerit) quo (filius Dei) nondum erat. Adamantinum hoc, contra Antitrinitarios omnes, ex Libro Naturæ, Macro- & Micro-Cosmicè, desumtum: Creatorem Trivnvm Ignis, omnia sublunaria probantis & iudicantis, Dei Professoris physici in hoc Mundo inuictissimi, doctrina tibi ostendit; Physico Chemicè explicando Librum Naturæ magnum; ita, vt Creatvram triunam sentias vniuersaliter & particulariter confiteri, repraesentare, docere Elohim (qui in Principio creauit Caelum & Terram, &c. Gen.1.) Trivnvm. Deinde: Corpvs, Spiritvs, Anima, ex quibus constat Homo, similitudinem satis exprimunt Diuinam triunam, ad quam Homo triunus factus. ... Svmma: Trivna omnia; quia á Trivno facta. Vox Dei mirabilis, in Natura per Creaturam, haec. Vide figuram Amphitheatri huius tertiam, propos. 1. distinct. 7. ... Audiamus igitur Dei Filium, quid (voluntate & mandato Patris, qui nostri caussa misit eum) dicat de seipso in verbo suo Biblicè, Macro ac Micro Cosmicè scripto; non Arium, non Swermeros, diaboli squamas.'

173 Kahn, 'Between Alchemy and Antitrinitarianism: Nicolas Barnaud (ca. 1539–1604?),' in Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 81–96, at 91.

174 Kahn, 'Between Alchemy and Antitrinitarianism', 86, 91. Barnaud could have been charged with Arianism, as we can read in a 1612 pamphlet of Catholic origin, titled *Le Magot genevois*.

175 Kahn, 'Between Alchemy and Antitrinitarianism', 82 enrolled at the University of Basel in 1575, in the circle of Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588), and it was to Zwinger that he addressed medico-alchemist letters 1582 83, 86; 83 close to one of the great patrons of alchemy, Wilhelm Vok von Rosenberg (d. 1592), one of the most powerful personalities of Bohemia, and a faithful supporter of Emperor Rudolf II, but also well-known for his religious tolerance.

176 See Gabor Farkas Kiss, Benedek Lang, and Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, 'The Alchemical Mass of Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis: Text, Identity and Speculations', *Ambix* 53 (2006): 143–159.

the Masterpiece of Theosophy, 1601).[177] On the surface, Khunrath and Barnaud share much in common: alchemy, patrons, and an interest in presenting their work as Theosophy. Such similarities may, however, have been too close for comfort for Khunrath. Furthermore, his promotion of the Kabbalah, when the Jews were known for their rejection of the Trinity, with even Marrano converts to Christianity suspected of secretly harbouring anti-trinitarian sentiments,[178] must have left Khunrath suspect in the eyes of the defenders of orthodoxy. Hence the repudiation of anti-trinitarianism found on the title page of *Symbolum Physico Chymicum* (1598), which I have used as the heading for this section,[179] and the fierce passage from the *Amphitheatre* quoted above, claiming that alchemy itself provided 'an irrefutable argument … against all Antitrinitarians.'[180] Such strategies, however, apparently only enjoyed limited success. According to the early Freemason Herman Fictuld (1700–*c.*1777), Khunrath was accused of heresy at least once during his lifetime.[181] On 1 February 1625, a full twenty years after Khunrath's death, the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne condemned the *Amphitheatre* in no uncertain terms as a work 'pernicious, blasphemous, impious and dangerous to faith.'[182]

8 An Unorthodox Lutheran?

This censure of the *Amphitheatre*, however, was issued by the Catholic Sorbonne and Khunrath was a Protestant; but what shade of Protestant? In his list of the most learned men of his era, along with Reuchlin, Erasmus, Agrippa, and Paracelsus, Khunrath includes the religious reformer Martin

177 See Thomas Willard, 'The Enigma of Nicolas Barnaud: An Alchemical Riddle from Early Modern France', in Richard Caron, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jean-Louis Vieillard-Baron (eds.), *Ésotérisme, Gnoses & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 199–213.

178 Richard H. Popkin, 'Marranos, New Christians and the Beginnings of Modern Anti-Trinitarianism', in Yom Tov Assis and Yosef Kaplan (eds.), *Jews and Conversos at the Time of the Explusion* (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1999), 143–160.

179 Khunrath, *Symbolum Physico Chymicum* (Hamburg, 1598), title page: 'Despectum Antitrinitariorum Triunitatis Divinae'.

180 Kahn, 'Between Alchemy and Antitrinitarianism', 93.

181 Hermann Fictuld, *Der längst gewünschte und versprochene Chymisch-Philosophische Probier-Stein* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740), 69 'Er war in seinem Leben vor einem Ketzer ausgeruffen.'

182 Carolus Duplessis d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus* (Paris, 1728–36), 162 'perniciosum, blasphemum, impium & in fide periculosum.' For more on the Sorbonne condemnation, see Chapter 7: Epilogue.

Luther (1483–1546).[183] Khunrath was born in Leipzig, a stronghold of orthodox Lutheranism,[184] and later lived in the free city of Hamburg, a safe haven for many Lutherans,[185] as well as in nearby Magdeburg, which had been the most important centre of Gnesio-Lutherans earlier in the century.[186] He is generally considered Lutheran, numbering Lutherans and Calvinists as friends.[187] The poet Johannes Seusse (1566–1631), who wrote one of the lapidary poems in the 1609 *Amphitheatre* was presumably a Lutheran, being on the Ecclesiastical Council of the Elector of Saxony,[188] as was the Poet Laureate Matthaeus Zuber (1570–1623), author of another of the *Amphitheatre*'s gratulatory poems.[189] Khunrath's *Quaestiones Tres* (1607), includes an address to the 'most famous and excellent Man, Master Heinrich Khunrath, Doctor of Both Medicines, distinguished Chemist' by a fellow doctor and physico-chemist, Zacharias Brendel (1553–1626), professor of philosophy and medicine at the Lutheran University of Jena, and the book is itself dedicated to the Calvinist Joseph DuChesne (1544–1609),[190] with DuChesne likewise acknowledging Khunrath as his 'distinguished friend' in his *Ad Veritatem Hermeticae Medicinae* (For the Truth of

183 *Amph.*II, 30. Curiously, Gilly omits Luther's name from the list, in both Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 343 and 'Das *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* von Heinrich Khunrath'.

184 Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, 'German medical education in the eighteenth century: the Prussian context and its influence', in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 177–205, at 179.

185 Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg, 1529–1819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 11.

186 Robert M. Kingdon, 'Calvinism and resistance theory, 1550–1580', in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 193–218, at 202. See Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, 94f on the Gnesio-Lutheran defence of Luther's doctrine of divine ubiquity and real presence in the Eucharist against the Philippists, followers of Philipp Melanchthon.

187 Sten Lindroth, *Paracelsismen i Sverige till 1600-Talets Mitt* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1943), 109 considers the fundamental ideas in the *Amphitheatre* as 'ur ortodox luthersk synpunkt'.

188 *Amph.*I, 15. Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, Vol. 3, 12.

189 *Amph.*II, 14. Matthaeus Zuber, *Epigrammatum Confuseanorum Farrago* (Augsburg, 1595); *Epimictorum epodaetyos* (Oels, 1608); *Monostichologia* (Amberg, 1616). Other works include *Rosibella hoc est amores et suspiria in floridiore iuventa, fallendi temporis et excitandi animi caussa scripta* (1617); *Geniale rusculum* (Nuremberg, 1622); and *Quaternio miscellorum poiētikōn* (Augsburg, 1695). The *Synechmus* was published, for example, in Wittenberg, with Zuber dating the preface, sig. A2^{v} 'Datum Witebergae, Anno 99, mense Aprilis, intra aediculam Callirhoes Lutheranae'.

190 Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres* (Leipzig, 1607), sig. A3^{r} 'Virum Clariss. Atque Excellentis. Dn. Henrici Khunrath, Utriusque Medicinæ Doctorem, Chymicum insignem.'

Hermetic Medicine, 1604).[191] As mentioned above, the Paracelsian-influenced Pietist theologian Johann Arndt praises the *Amphitheatre*, as does the Baroque follower of Jacob Boehme, Quirinus Kühlmann (1651–1689), who was burned to death as a heretic in Moscow.[192]

Khunrath also had Catholic acquaintances, for *Quaestiones Tres* is also dedicated to the at times confessionally ambiguous John Dee (1527–1608),[193] who nevertheless was ordained a Catholic priest.[194] As mentioned in Chapter 1, Dee is known to have been visited by Khunrath in Bremen in 1589 and it was doubtless the English magus who put Khunrath in contact with his former patron in Bohemia, the religiously moderate Vilém Rožmberk (1535–1592), Catholic patron of Jesuits, but married more than once to a Protestant.[195] Khunrath was friends, too, with the jurist and alchemist Johann Grasshoff (*c.*1560–1618).[196] Like Khunrath, Grasshoff also had an influential Catholic patron, being medical advisor to an ardent supporter of the Counter-Reformation, Emperor Rudolf II's

191 Joseph Quercetanus, *Ad Veritatem Hermeticae Medicinae ex Hippocratis veterumque decretis ac Therapeusi* (Paris, 1604), 11 'insignis amicus meus Henricus Conradus D. Medicinae Hamburgi'.

192 Quirinus Kühlmann, *Neubegeisterter Böhme* (Leiden, 1674), 72 'der verwunderungswerthe mann, Heinrich Kunrath, eine hochansehnliche Zierath seines Leipzigs'. For information on Kuhlmann, vide supra, Chapter 1: Prologue.

193 Khunrath, *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. A2^{r} 'Ad Magnificos Doctissimos et Celeberrimos Viros Dn. Ioannem Dee, Londiniensem …'.

194 Glyn Parry, *The Arch Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 29; For recent work on Dee, see Nicholas H. Clulee, 'John Dee at 400: Still an Enigma', in Michael T. Walton, Bruce T. Moran, and Karen V.H. Parshall (eds), *Bridging Traditions: Alchemy, Chemistry, and Paracelsian Practices in the Early Modern Era* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2015), 226–249. See the special issue of *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 43 (2012), 'John Dee and the sciences: early modern networks of knowledge', edited by Jennifer M. Rampling; Stephen Clucas (ed.), *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006).

195 Petr Mata, 'Constructing and Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The High Nobility and the Reformation of Bohemia', in Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A.J. Szabo (eds.), *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800* (New York: Berghahn Books 2011), 10–29, at 24.

196 Known also as Johannes Grassaeus or Crassaeus, Chortolassaeus, Crotolassaeus. Claus Priesner, 'Grashof(f)/Graßhof(f), *Johannes*,' in Claus Priesner and Karin Figala (eds.), *Alchemie: Lexikon einer hermetischen Wissenschaft* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1998), 165–166, at 165 gives the death date as 1623; Joachim Telle, '*Grasse, Johann*', in *Killy Literaturlexikon*, edited by Wilhelm Kühlmann (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2009), Vol. 4, 377 gives 1618, as does Thomas Lederer, 'Leben, Werk und Wirkung des Stralsunder Fachschriftstellers Johann Grasse (nach 1560–1618)', in Wilhelm Kühlmann and Horst Langer (eds), *Pommern in der Frühen Neuzeit: Literatur und Kultur in Stadt und Region* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1994), 227–237.

cousin, Ernest of Bavaria (1554–1612), Prince-elector-archbishop of Cologne, as well as bishop of Münster, Hildesheim, Freising and Liège.[197] Ernest was 'one of the most outstanding Catholic patrons of Paracelsianism', although his support for the publication of Paracelsian works waned once Paracelsus's works were placed on the index of prohibited books in 1599.[198] Grasshoff's most influential alchemico-cabalistic work, the *Arcani artificiosissimi Aperta arca* (Open Chest of the most Artful Secret, 1617), is dedicated to Ernest, and the title page of *Ein philosophischer und chemischer Tractat: genannt Der kleine Baur* (A Philosophical and Chemical Treatise, called the Little Farmer, 1618) records that it is from the library of the 'most reverend Lord Ernest Elector and Bishop of Cologne'.[199]

What does seem to be the case is that Khunrath was very much an independent thinker, and well read, as is intimated by his declaration (and protestation) that,

> If required, I can adduce very many similar examples, for Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists and the rest, each from their own theological writings. Why then do you want to accuse, so to vex me?[200]

Given the number of enemies pictured in the *Calumniators* engraving, Khunrath apparently successfully managed to antagonise people from diverse walks of life and religious persuasions.

Although I have some reservations concerning Sten Lindroth's argument that the *Amphitheatre*'s basic position reveals an 'ur-orthodox Lutheran viewpoint', his observation that Khunrath's references to seeing himself in God and God in himself (*Amph.*II, 23), to conforming to the example of the Archetype (*Amph.*II, 72, 105, 123, 127), and having Christ as a brother (*Amph.*II, 186) all constitute acceptable Lutheran doctrine is convincing.[201] Neumann's claim that Khunrath frequently refers to Luther is difficult to sustain, but he is correct in pointing out Khunrath's references to orthodox Lutherans such as the

197 Hiro Hirai and Hideyuki Yoshimoto, 'Anatomie du chymiste sceptique: Robert Boyle et le secret de ses premières sources sur la croissance des métaux', in Myriam Dennehy and Charles Ramond (eds.), *La philosophie naturelle de Robert Boyle* (Paris: Vrin, 2009), 91–116, at 107.

198 Purš, 'Rudolf II's Patronage of Alchemy and the Natural Sciences', 160.

199 Grasshoff, *Der kleine Baur* (1618), title page: 'Ex Bibliotheca Arnspurgensi Reverendiss. Dn. Ernesti Electoris & Episcopi Coloniensis.'

200 Khunrath, *Magnesia Catholica Philosophorum* (Magdeburg, 1599), 141 'So kan ich auch den Papisten/ Lutheranern/ Calvinisten und anderen/ einem jeden aus seiner Theologen Schrifften/ dergleichen similium sehr sehr viel exempla/ auff den Nothfall/ vorstellen. Was woltet jhr euch dann zeihen/ mich viel zu vexieren.'

201 Lindroth, *Paracelsismen i Sverige till 1600-Talets Mitt*, 109.

polyhistor Michael Neander (1529–1581), Professor of Mathematics and Medicine at the University of Jena,[202] and Johannes Olearius (1546–1623), Professor of Hebrew Language and Theology at the Academia Julia in Helmstadt.[203] Ulrike Kummer has discovered that Khunrath's theo-alchemical poem in *Symbolum physico-chymicum* (Physico-Chymical Creed, 1598), 'Ein philosophisch Lied, Von Salt-Leib Werdung deß Geists des Herrn: So Gen. 1.2 auff dem Wasser schwebete' (A Philosophical Song on the Incorporation of the Spirit of the Lord, which moved on the face of the waters in Genesis 1:2, in Salt),[204] is a contrafacture of Luther's song from 1524 'Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ' (Praise be to You, Jesus Christ), the Hauptlied, or principal hymn, for Christmas Day, from *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn* (A Booklet of Spiritual Song, 1524).[205] Kummer convincingly argues that Khunrath's modelling his poem on Luther's reveals his 'mental proximity' to early Lutheran orthodoxy. Considering Khunrath's explicit condemnation of Anti-Trinitarians on the *Symbolum*'s title page, it is certainly worth noting that passages in the *Symbolum* are clearly modelled on the Athanasian Creed, this being the same Athanasius who authored *Against*

202 See *Amph.*II, 154 for a reference to Neander. Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 146 refers to both Neander and Olearius. On Neander, see David E. Smith, *History of Mathematics* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), 332f.

203 See *Amph.*II, 6 for a reference to Olearius. According to Michael J. Halvorson, *Heinrich Heshusius and Confessional Polemic in Early Lutheran Orthodoxy* (London: Routledge, 2010), 40 Johannes Olearius (1546–1623) became Professor of Hebrew Language and Theology at the Academia Julia in Helmstadt in 1578. His works included an *Oratio in obitum Jacob Andreae* (Oration on the death of Jacob Andreae, Helmstedt, 1580) and a *Warnung und Bericht wider der Calvinischen Verwüstung* (Warning and Report against the Calvinist Devastation, Halle, 1597). See also David Fors Freeman, '"Those Persistent Lutherans": The Survival of Wesel's Minority Lutheran Community, 1578–1612', in Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin (eds.), *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 397–407, at 401f.

204 An early English translation by Elias Ashmole, dated 16 February 1651 exists in British Library Ms. Ashmole 1459, ff. 99–106 'A Philosophicall short songe of the incorporating of the Spirit of the Lord in Salt'. For more, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy. A Latin edition of the *Symbolum*, published by the radical Pietist Andreas Luppius (1654–1731), appeared under the title *Urim & Thurim* [sic] *sive Symbolum physico-chymicum*, in *Tractatus duo De natura elementorum* (Amsterdam, 1702).

205 Johann Walter, *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* (Wittemberg, 1524), sig. Dvi^{v}–E^{r}. For an analysis, see Ulrike Kummer, 'Alchemie und Kontrafaktur. Bemerkungen zu Heinrich Khunraths *Symbolum* (1598)', *Daphnis-Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 41:2 (2012): 565–580. Khunrath may have used a later edition, for example, Luther's *Geistliche Gesäng und Psalmen auch Hymni und andere Chorgesänge* (Spiritual Songs, and Psalms, and Hymns and other Choral Songs, Regensburg, 1584), where the song appears in the section 'On the Future and Incarnation of Jesus Christ', 1^{r} Von der Zukunfft unnd Menschwerdung Jesu Christi; 5^{v}–7^{r} 'Gelobet seyst du Jesu Christ/ …'.

the Arians.[206] Although Kummer argues that there is no evidence for polemical, ironical or blasphemous material in either the *Symbolum* or the 'Philosophical Song',[207] taking into account Andreas Libavius's orthodox denunciation of the blurring of boundaries between religion and alchemy, it is evident that Khunrath's emphasis on the conformity between alchemical and Lutheran doctrine was not palatable to all.[208]

Neumann, however, mentions several aspects of Khunrath's theosophy that would have offended dogmatic Lutheran theologians: 1) His definition of the secrets of nature as sacraments revealed by divine wisdom; 2) His 'synergetic' position, implying that man should be active in approaching the divine grace, at the same time as maintaining that such actions can only be successful with God's support; 3) His claims that God's son would have incarnated even if mankind had not been sinful, simply as a result of God's love for mankind.[209]

Szulakowska's estimation of Khunrath as professing a pietistic form of Lutheranism based on Weigel sounds appropriate, although her suggestion that he was 'engaged in a two-pronged resistance against both the paganistic theurgists and the scholastic Churchmen' is less persuasive.[210] It is true that Khunrath, like other Paracelsians condemned the scholastic abuse of philosophy, those who philosophise paganly and profanely (having particularly Aristotle and Galen in mind),[211] as is clear from this impassioned passage against polluting the minds of impressionable students:

> You have not taught rightly, you who are slaves to the lies of certain Greeks. You have been and [still] are the seducers and corrupters of tender youth. Oh pestilential audacity! Wherefore, admonished by our Sage

206 Kummer, 'Alchemie und Kontrafaktur', 570. See 577–580 for Kummer's close comparison of passages from Latin and German editions of Khunrath's *Symbolum* and the *Symbolum Athanasii contra Arianos scriptum*.

207 Kummer, 'Alchemie und Kontrafaktur', 572.

208 On Libavius in relation to Khunrath, see Peter J. Forshaw, 'Vitriolic Reactions: Orthodox Responses to the Alchemical Exegesis of Genesis', in Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw (eds.), *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 111–36; idem, '"Paradoxes, Absurdities, and Madness": Conflict over Alchemy, Magic, and Medicine in the Works of Andreas Libavius and Heinrich Khunrath', *Early Science and Medicine* 13 (2008): 53–81. On Libavius's policing of disciplinary boundaries more generally, see Bruce T. Moran, *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy: Separating Chemical Cultures with Polemical Fire* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications 2007).

209 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 148. See *Amph*.II, 69.

210 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, xxi.

211 *Amph*.II, 216. See also *Chaos* (1597), 286, 423.

> and by so many and such great faithful [and] beloved interpreters of WISDOM, the lights of the falsehoods of certain unenlightened Pagans being abandoned, and condemned to exile beyond the Caspian mountains, turn at last to the truth.[212]

There is no evidence, however, that Khunrath was particularly opposed to 'paganistic theurgists', if by that is meant those who practise a neoplatonically influenced form of angelic magic, à la Ficino, or a more Christian Cabalistic version, à la Reuchlin.[213] As shall be seen in Chapter 5's discussion of Khunrath's magic, he himself sounds to be practising some Christian form of theurgy, in which, much to Libavius's disgust, he is perfectly content to describe the 'sanctuary of the angels' with the alternative pagan name of the 'temple of Minerva,'[214] and throughout his writings and in the *Amphitheatre* engravings displays a humanist fondness for pagan authors like the 'wise pagan, Cicero,' Seneca, Virgil, and Athenaeus.[215] Whatever the case, Khunrath is generally reputed with displaying a theocentricity, or rather biblical Christocentricity,[216] striking even for one living during the German Reformation.[217]

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212 *Amph.*II, 30 'Non rectè docuistis, vos qui estis mancipia Græcorum quorundam mendacium: fuistis & estis seductores & deprauatores teneræ iuuentutis. O audaciam pestilentem! Quocirca admoniti à Sapiente nostro SAPIENTIÆque tot ac tantis interpretibus fidelibus dilectis, Ethnicorum quorundam non illuminatorum falsitatum luminis derelictis, & vltra montes Caspios in exilium relegatis ad veritatem tandem conuertimini …'.

213 On theurgic approaches in Ficino's *De vita libri tres* (Florence, 1489), and Christian theurgy in Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494), see Jean-Pierre Brach, 'Magic IV: Renaissance – 17th Century', in Wouter J. Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 731–738, at 733. For a brief consideration of Ficino and theurgy, see Brian P. Copenhaver, *Magic in Western Culture: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 79–81; Guido Giglioni, 'Theurgy and Philosophy in Marsilio Ficino's Paraphrase of Iamblichus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*', *Rinascimento* 52 (2014): 3–36. For more on Reuchlin, see Elliot R. Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law: Theurgy and the Christian Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', *Kabbalah: A Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts* 13 (2005): 7–41; Bernd Roling, 'The Complete Nature of Christ: Sources and Structures of a Christological Theurgy in the Works of Johannes Reuchlin', in Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 231–266.

214 *Amph.*II, 34 'in Minervæ templo Micro-Cosmico meo'; 99 'Sanctuarium SAPIENTIÆ; Minervæ templum MicroCosmico'.

215 *Amph.*II, 87 'Cicero Ethnicus prudens'.

216 John Warwick Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible: Johann Valentin Andreæ (1586–1654) Phoenix of the Theologians*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), Vol. 1, 17 f.n.

217 Fictuld, *Der längst gewünschte und versprochene Chymisch-Philosophische Probier-Stein*, 60 'Gar nothwendige drey fragen von D. Heinrich Cunrad in Leipzig, de 1607. Es sind

It would not be correct, however, to overly identify Khunrath with Weigel or Arndt. As a practising doctor of medicine and physico-chymist, with a concern for the physical, psychological and spiritual, his work more fully embodies Paracelsus's broad spectrum of pursuits than either the pastor Weigel or the 'prophet of interior Protestantism' Arndt, who were both first and foremost theologians.[218] Nor would it be wise, while acknowledging the inspiration these 'proto-theosophers' drew from Paracelsus, to simply assume that they were all practising an extended Paracelsianism, or indeed an identical 'proto'-theosophy. If anything, Weigel and Arndt could be argued to represent less an 'extended' than a 'truncated' form of Paracelsianism, more closely resembling the sublimation of its discourse in the fusion of rudimentary Paracelsian chemical theory with Christian mysticism in the theosophy of Boehme.[219] As shall be shown, although Khunrath is indeed indebted to Paracelsus and shares much in common with Arndt and Weigel, he draws from an extremely diverse range of sources in the formulation of his theosophy.

9 A Faithful Lover of Theosophy

Khunrath presents himself as *Theosophiae Amator*, a Lover of Theosophy, on the title page of the first edition of the *Amphitheatre* in 1595.[220] A couple of years later, in *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597), he provides several glosses and

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wenige Blätter, aber sein mit der Liebe Jesu erfulltes.' Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, Vol. 3, 12 'findet man zuforderst in seinen schrifften, daß er zum grunde alles seines vortrags das göttliche wort.'

218 For the description of Arndt, see Arndt, *True Christianity*, 1.

219 G.C. Adolf von Harleß, *Jakob Böhme und die Alchymisten: ein Beitrag zum Verständniss J. Böhme's* (Berlin: Verlag von Gustav Schlawitz, 1870); Jean-François Marquet, 'Alchimie et théologie chez Jacob Boehme', in Didier Kahn and Sylvain Matton (eds.), *Alchimie: art, histoire et mythes: actes du 1er colloque international de la Société d'Étude de l'Histoire de l'Alchimie* (Paris: S.É.H.A., 1995), 665–670; Hans Schmiedehausen, 'Alchemie und Theosophie. Jakob Böhmes Denken und ein Kupferstich aus einem Werk des Paracelsisten Heinrich Khunrath', in Hans Martin Leichle (ed.), *Die Morgenröte bricht an: Jakob Böhme, naturnaher Mystiker und Theosoph* (Evangelischen Akademie Baden, Karlsruhe 1999), 76–99; Lawrence M. Principe and Andrew Weeks, 'Jacob Boehme's Divine Substance Salitter: Its Nature, Origin, and Relationship to Seventeenth Century Scientific Theories'; Zuber, 'Jacob Böhme and Alchemy: A Transmutation in Three Stages', in Andersson et al (eds.), *Jacob Böhme and His World*, 262–85.

220 Antoine Faivre, 'Le courant théosophique (Fin XVIe–XXe Siècles): Essai de Périodisation', in Bertin (ed.), *Politica Hermetica*, 7 (1993) *Les postérités de la théosophie: du théosophisme au new age*, 6–41, at 14 suggests that Khunrath is the first responsible for the use of the word theosophy to qualify his genre of literature.

descriptions of the word Theosophy, translating the Latin terms *Theosophus*, *Theosophia*, *Theosophicè*, respectively, as *Gottweiser* (God-knower), *Göttliche Weißheit* (Divine Wisdom), and *Gottweislich* (God-wisely),[221] while admitting that the terms *Philotheosophus, Philotheosophia*, and *Philotheosophicè* could just as well apply, giving more clearly the sense of the Theosopher as a 'Lover of Divine Wisdom,' a modification of the Pythagorean *Philosopher* as 'Lover of Wisdom'.[222] Bearing in mind Khunrath's interest in Cabala, Robert Scott's description of the primary reference of *Hokmah* (Wisdom) in Hebrew seems pertinent:

> unusual skill or ability, to expertness of a particular kind, attained by training and experience added to special gifts. This was the secret of the true craftsman, like Bezalel who was 'filled with divine power (literally 'spirit'), in wisdom, intelligence, knowledge, and craftsmanship to design and make objects of gold, silver, and bronze.'[223]

Khunrath's theosophy embraces both the speculative, contempative insights of sapiential mysticism and the technical skill born of long practical experience. His reference to the 'Old Theosophers before us' in *Chaos*, clearly shows that he did not consider himself to be coining a new term,[224] and it is possible as both Faivre and Gilly suggest that he was influenced in his choice of the term *Theosophia* by its appearance in the *Arbatel, de magia veterum*, a small but influential Paracelsian book on natural and supernatural magic published

221 *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [Aviij^{r}]. The passage is quoted in full in Wilhelm Kühlmann, 'Endzeit, Restauratio und Elias Arista. Signaturen des paracelsistischen Dissidentismus', in Friedrich Vollhardt (ed.), *Religiöser Nonkonformismus und frühneuzeitliche Gelehrtenkultur* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2014), 199–222, at 204. Concerning Khunrath's definition, see also Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, 321; Neumann, *Natura Sagax*, 146.

222 Ambrosius Calepinus, *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium Decem Lingvarvm* (Lyon, 1598), Vol. II, 317–8. Perhaps Khunrath has Arndt's variant 'Theophilosophi' from *de Antiqua Philosophia* in mind? Boehme's biographer, the occult philosopher Abraham von Franckenberg writes of 'philotheosophia Valentini' in *Theophrastia Valentiniana*, included in Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen-und Ketzer-Historie*, Vol. 3, 1218.

223 *Proverbs. Ecclesiastes*, Vol. 18, xvii, cited in Willem A.C. de Bruijn, *Book-Building: A Historical and Theoretical Investigation into Architecture and Alchemy* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Bartleet School of Architecture, University College London, 2010), 120.

224 *Chaos* (1597), 44 'den Alten Theosophis vor uns'. Cf. Jacques Gaffarel, *Abdita divinae cabalae mysteria contra Sophistarum Logomachiam defensa* (Concealed Mysteries of the Divine Cabala, defended against the Sophists' Disputes over Words, Paris, 1625), 16, who refers to Empedocles, Democritus, Plato and Pythagoras as 'ancient lovers of Theosophy'.

in Basel in 1575, not long before Khunrath arrived there to begin his studies.[225] Although Khunrath could likely have encountered the term in orthodox theological works, such as those of the German scholastic philosopher Gabriel Biel (*c.*1420–1495),[226] as well as the 'rival' term *Magia Divina*, as favoured, for instance, by Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) and Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597) – the *Amphitheatre*'s title after all includes the category of 'Divine Magic'[227] – the *Arbatel*'s use of 'theosophy' to mean 'knowledge of governance through angels' certainly comes closest to embracing the wide-ranging occult ambitions of Khunrath's theosophy.[228]

In the *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath defines Theosophy as 'Wonderful JEHOVAH's *Wonder-working Catholic Theology, in the Ternary* (that is Biblically, Macro and Micro-Cosmically), the VOICE OF GOD in All, through All, from All, to All.'[229] This is surely intended to call to mind Ephesians 4:6 'One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in us all', and the Trinitarian interpretations of theologians like Irenaeus, Origen, Hippolytus and Athanasius, emphasising the motion of the divine will, *from* the Father, *through* the Son and *in* the Spirit.[230] It should be noted, here, however, that Khunrath's sequence seems slightly at odds with the traditional sequence, in that the 'in all' of the Holy Spirit comes before the 'through all' of Christ, this version perhaps emphasising the earthly incarnation of Christ and his universal presence in creation? There is surely an implicit Christologo-centrism to the definition in the use of the term *Wonder-working* (*mirifica*), which can only be an allusion to Johann

225 *The Arbatel of Magick: or, The Spiritual Wisdom of the Ancients*, in [pseudo-] Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (London, 1655).

226 See *Amph.*II, 69 for a reference to Biel. The term appears, for example, in the title of Biel's *Sacre theosophie licentiati nostre tempestatis profundissimi* (Lyon, 1510).

227 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 13.

228 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 12.

229 *Amph.*II, 147 (mispaginated as 145 [T2r]) 'THEOSOPHIA *est Theologia, in ternario*, (hoc est, Biblicè, Macro & MicroCosmicè) *Catholica*, IEHOVÆ *Mirabilis mirifica*, (vers.157.) VOX DEI in Omnibus, per Omnia, de Omnibus, ad Omnes.'

230 Edward Burton, *Testimonies of the ante-Nicene fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1831), 52–53: Irenaeus 'per omnia autem Verbum et ipse est caput Ecclesiae: in omnibus autem nobis spiritus, et ipse et aqua viva; Hippolytus "The Father is over all, the Son through all, and the Holy Ghost in all"; Athanasius: God the Father … is over all; and revealed in the Son, inasmuch as he extends through all; and in the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as he operates in all by the Word which is in him.' See also Matthew R. Crawford, *Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 44; Irene Dingel (ed.), *Antitrinitarische Streitigkeiten: Die tritheistische Phase (1550–1568)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 79.

Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico – On the Wonder-working Word*, concerning the overarching power of the Christian-Cabalist name for Christ.[231]

10 Theodidaktos – Taught by God

Khunrath's definition, more than anything else, brings out the sense that his Theosophy is both a *Theo-* and *Philo-sophy*,[232] concerned with the knowledge of things human and divine.[233] He does, in fact, once describe the Theosopher as 'a lover of TheoSophy, that is a philosopher',[234] more exactly as a 'God-wisely reformed Philosopher',[235] one who is a 'Friend of God',[236] a term calling to mind the medieval German mystical movement of the 'Friends of God'.[237] Such a Theosopher becomes one of the θεοδιδακτοι [*theodidaktoi*], those 'taught by God',[238] in the sense of John 6:45 'And they shall all be taught of God' (διδακτοι του θεου) and 1 Thessalonians 4:9 'for yourselves have learned of God (θεοδιδακτοι) to love one another', and is consequently both a 'God-Knower and a God-Loving Man', cultivating a cognitive and affective relationship with the divine.[239] Khunrath believed that biblical figures like David, Solomon and

231 For more on this, see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

232 *Chaos* (1597), 45.

233 *Amph.*II, 169–170.

234 *Amph.*II, 213 'vt TheoSophiæ amator, h.e., philosophus'.

235 *Chaos* (1597), 410 'GOTT-weislich reformirter Philosophus.'

236 *Chaos* (1597), 415 'Sie seynd keine *Theosophi*, und derhalben nicht *Amici Dei*.' See Exodus 33:11 'And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man is wont to speak to his friend'; James 2:23 'Abraham believed God […] and he was called the friend of God.'

237 Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200–1350)*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (London: SCM Press, 1998), Vol. III, 310.

238 *Chaos* (1597), 256 '*Theo & Philosophis* den Gott weise gelehrten/ und wahrer Weißheit liebenden'; Preface, sig. [Aix]^{r} 'Theodidactos;' 408: 'θεοδιδακτοι Divinitus edocti, von Gott gelehrte Philosophi/ seind die besten und gewissesten.'

239 *Chaos* (1597), 185 'Theosophus, das ist/ ein Gott Weiser und Gott Liebender Mensch.' In light of the fact, mentioned above, that the earliest uses of the term *Theosophia* appear to be found in writings of the neoplatonists Porphyry and Iamblichus, it is worth noting that one of the earliest uses of *Theodidaktus* is as the cognomen of Ammonius Saccas, the tutor of Plotinus. Peter Baylen [Pierre Bayle], *Historisches und critisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1741), Vol. 1, 190. One of Khunrath's favoured authors, Erasmus, includes a speaker Theodidactus in his *Colloquies*, 'Convivium Religiosum' (The Godly Feast). See *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 39–40, *Colloquies*, translated and annotated by Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). See also *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 67–68, *Spiritualia and Pastoralia: Exomologesis and Ecclesiastes*, edited by Frederick J. McGinness, translated by Michael J. Heath and James L.P. Butrica (Toronto: University

the prophets were Theosophically-inspired men taught directly by God, and that Hermes had been taught 'Theo-Didactically' by Pimander, the 'Mind of Divine power'.[240] In the *Citadel* engraving, he also writes of the Wise begotten by Elohim being 'θεοπνευστοι [*theopneustoi*]', that is, 'inspired by God'.[241] This, surely, is the significance of the quote from the psalter lying open before Khunrath in his portrait, engraved when he was 45 years old: 'Thou hast taught me, O God, from my youth: and till now I will declare thy wonderful works'; a review of his life, recognition of divine creation, and acknowledgement of divine inspiration.[242]

It is predictable that such claims to divinely inspired knowledge would attract the condemnation of more conservative thinkers. Such is the case in the *Principia Theologiae Fanaticae, quam Theophrastus Paracelsus genuit, Weigelius interpolavit* (Principles of Fanatical Theology, which Theophrastus Paracelsus begat and Weigel gave new form, 1619) of the polemical Lutheran scholastic theologian Nicolaus Hunnius (1585–1643). Hunnius writes sarcastically of the 'trifles of the fanatics' (fanaticorum nugas), of

> a certain new tribe, of varied origin, ἑρμαφροδιτος [hermaphroditos – hermaphrodite] and *Chymicotheological* in profession, spiritual, with holy pretence, essentially united with Christ, directly instructed by the inspiration of God, and thus θεοδιδακτος [theodidaktos]; hence with a profound knowledge of all things, with the faculty of examining human

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of Toronto Press, 2015), 157 'the pursuit of godliness (pietas) was paramount. Because the *ecclesiastes* was entrusted with the noblest calling of instructing others in godliness, so godliness had to be fostered in these collegia before all else so that the young man "render his heart the purest possible source of speech"; for it is from the pure heart that divine knowledge is acquired and grows, and only with such a heart can one speak words of the divine Spirit and be "instructed by God" (θεοδιδακτος).' See 1 Thessalonians 4:9 'But as touching brotherly love ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God (theodidaktoi) to love one another' (KJV).

240 *Amph.*II, 154 'A Pimandro, h.e. Mente Divinae potentiae (θεοδιδακτικως) [*theodidaktikōs – theo-didactically*] instituêris'. This gloss of the name Pimander also appears in Agostino Nifo's *De Intellectu* (Venice, 1503), 607 'Pimander, mens divinae potentiae'.

241 Liddell & Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 668 θεοπνευστοι [*theopneustoi*], *inspired of God*. See 2 Timothy 3:16 'All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice.'

242 Vulgate Psalm 70:17. Khunrath's version is identical to Luther's translation of Psalm 71:17 'Gott, du hast mich von Jugend auf gelehret; darum verkündige ich deine Wunder.' James Limburg, *Psalms* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 444 notes that the expression 'from my youth' occurs in Psalms 71 and 129. In Psalm 71, it calls for a review of an individual's life, whereas in Psalm 129, 'the psalm writer is recalling the history of a nation, portrayed as a person.'

> hearts, predicting future events; spiritually interpreting the scriptures, of producing miracles.[243]

Khunrath's 'Theosophic Philosophy of Truth'[244] or 'orthodox and truly Theosophical method of Philosophising'[245] entails far more than the Aristotelian scholastic theology and philosophy he must have encountered at the universities of Leipzig and Basel, from his claim that one becomes a perfect and complete Theosopher though Divine-Magic and Christian-Cabala. This assertion far more calls to mind the fifteenth-century 'Father of Christian Cabala', Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's sense of the primacy of magic and cabala as a means of understanding the Christian dispensation in his *Conclusiones Nongentae in omnigenere scientiarum* (900 Conclusions concerning every kind of Knowledge, 1486).[246]

11 Hermetic Philosophy and Pansophy

Given his reference to Hermes being taught 'theo-didactically' by Pimander and his engagement in the art of alchemy, Khunrath's Theosophy is very much a Hermetic Philosophy.[247] Neumann considers the *Amphitheatre* to constitute the 'most influential expression of the combination of Hermeticism and

243 Nicolaus Hunnius, *Principia Theologiae Fanaticae, quam Theophrastus Paracelsus genuit, Weigelius interpolavit* (Wittenberg, 1619), sig. A2^{r} 'nova quaedam gens, origine varia, professione ἑρμαφροδιτος, *chymicotheologica*, simulatione sancta, Spiritualis, cum Christo essentialiter unita, immediato Dei afflatu instructa, & sic θεοδιδακτος: hinc profunda omnium rerum scientia, facultate corda humana perscrutandi; futura praedicendi; scripturas Spiritualiter interpretandi, miracula edendi, …'.

244 Khunrath, *Symbolum*, 14 'Est ergò Philosophia Veritatis Theosophica, ut credamus, sciamus & confiteamur.' See also *Pyramid* engraving.

245 *School of Nature*: 'Philosophandi methodo orthodoxa vereque Theosophicâ'.

246 *Amph.*II, 154. On Pico, see, for example, Antonella Ansani, 'Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola's Language of Magic', in Ilana Zinguer (ed.), *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 89–104. See Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

247 For a translation, see Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek 'Corpus Hermeticum' and the Latin 'Asclepius' in a new English Translation, with notes and introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; repr. 1995; repr. 2000). See also Cees Leijenhorst, 'Francesco Patrizi's Hermetic Philosophy', in Roelof van den Broek and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (eds.), *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 125–146; Karl Schuhmann, 'Francesco Patrizi und die hermetische Philosophie', in *Karl Schuhmann, Selected papers on Renaissance Philosophy and on Thomas Hobbes*, edited by Piet Steenbakkers and Cees Leijenhorst (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004), 157–170; Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Altered States of Knowledge: The Attainment of Gnosis in the Hermetica', *The International Journal of the*

alchemy – or spiritual piety and natural science.'[248] Khunrath's philosophy is a *philosophia pia*, in which the search for Truth is attained through 'pious investigation, assiduous prayers and tireless works, in Oratory and Laboratory.'[249] Just as in the *Pimander* Hermes Trismegistus, whom Khunrath states 'was inspired by the Divine Spirit',[250] asks to be taught about the nature of things and to know God, so the Lutheran theosopher seeks knowledge not only of the secrets of nature, but also preparation for spiritual transformation from the Old Adam into the New.[251]

Indeed, Khunrath's Theosophy has pansophical ambitions, aiming at understanding 'as much in Natural, Artificial, Mechanical things, etc. as in Metaphysical and Divine', and as such far exceeds the scope of the predominantly metaphysical theosophy propounded by Weigel, Arndt, or Boehme.[252] With his interest both in the mechanical arts (which generally included alchemy, medicine, optics, agriculture and navigation)[253] and in union with the Divine, i.e. the realms of physics and metaphysics, Khunrath more closely resembles another 'early protagonist of mystically and theosophically-oriented alchemy,' the Flemish chemical philosopher Gérard Dorn (*c.*1530–1584), editor and commentator of Paracelsus, whose writings range from the construction of alchemical furnaces to a *philosophia speculativa* leading to union with God, his works occupying almost 400 pages in the first volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum*.[254]

Platonic Tradition 2 (2008): 128–163; idem, *Hermetic Spirituality and the Historical Imagination: Altered States of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

248 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 139.

249 *Amph.*II, 37 'pia inuestigatione, assiduis precibus, & laboribus indefessis in Oratorio & Laboratorio.'

250 *Amph.*II, 168–9 'Mercurii Trismegisti (qui Spiritu afflatus Diuino) exordium Pymandri …'.

251 Neumann, 'Between Heresy and Orthodoxy', 150.

252 *Amph.*II, 41 'tam in Naturalibus, Artificialibus, Mechanicis, &c. quàm in Metaphysicis atque Diuinis.'

253 William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994; repr. 1996), 58–9.

254 Purš, 'The Habsburgs on the Bohemian Throne and Their Interest in Alchemy and the Occult Sciences', 125; Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 7. For more on Dorn, see Kahn's entry in Priesner and Figala (eds.), *Alchemie, Lexikon einer hermetische Wissenschaft*, 112–114, at 113 and idem, 'Les débuts de Gérard Dorn d'après le manuscrit autographe de sa *Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* (1565)', in Joachim Telle (ed.), *Analecta Paracelsica*, Heidelberger Studien zur Naturkunde der frühen Neuzeit (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), Vol. 4, 59–126; idem, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France* (1567–1625) (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007), 196ff. Khunrath was aware of Dorn's work, which is mentioned in *Athanore* (Magdeburg, 1603), 24 'Wiewohl da mans *conferirete*, war es ein ding; Dann die Turba macht sie einig/ in deme sie saget/ das das wirckende nicht entfliehe von dem nachfolgenden/ (*vel, ne Phasianus volet ante insequentem, ut habet Exemplar*

Both Dorn and Khunrath more closely resemble Paracelsus in the encyclopaedic or pansophic scope of his activities,[255] propounding a truly 'Catholic' theosophy in the sense of one that was all-encompassing in its endeavours.[256]

12 Khunrath's Theosopher

Khunrath refers to the theosopher or theosophers at various points in the *Amphitheatre*. His most complete description is found in the *Isagoge* or Introductory Commentary to the *Amphitheatre*'s most famous engraving, Circular Figure 4, the *Oratory-Laboratory* (Fig. 3.3). There we learn that the Theosopher is one who:

1) has the ideal of a healthy body and a healthy mind;[257]
2) avoids Sophistry but pursues 'Eternal Wisdom';
3) is not caught up in the pursuit of impure worldly wisdom;
4) is taught by God, mediately or immediately, by a spiritual or corporeal master,[258] and by the Books of Scripture and Nature;
5) has sufficient wealth to guarantee his independence of thought;
6) has practical experience in Physico-Chemistry;
7) observes God's majesty as revealed in the activity of his minister, Nature, in the physical world;
8) studiously imitates and attracts Nature in his work;
9) patiently and serenely waits in the Fear of God for the fruits of his works in order to use them charitably for the help of his neighbour; and
10) keeps the secrets of divine wisdom for fear of their abuse and his consequent punishment.[259]

Grataroli: *sivè, ne fugiens prius avolet, quàm ipsum persequens, ut habet textus* Dornej) und das sich das Fewer lest machen …'. See Dorn (ed.), *Trevisanus De Chymico Miraculo, Quod Lapidem Philosophiae appellant. Dionys. Zecharius Gallus de eodem. Auctoritatibus varijs Principum huius artis, Democriti, Gebri, Lullii, Villanovani, confirmati & illustrati per Gerardum Dorneum* (Basel, 1583), 40 'ne fugiens prius avolet quam ipsum persequens.'

255 Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine*, 9.

256 *Amph*.II, 89.

257 *Amph*.II, 212. See too 86, 168.

258 Cf. *Calumniators*: 'Traditio Praeceptoris, Lumini naturae fideliter congruens' (The Instruction of a Teacher, faithfully agreeing with the Light of Nature). See also Khunrath, *Confessio*, 3–4 'Ego partim habeo a Magistro, cui in aeternum sit bene, amen: partim vero ex Revelatione divina.'

259 See *Amph*.II, 212–3 for all these criteria.

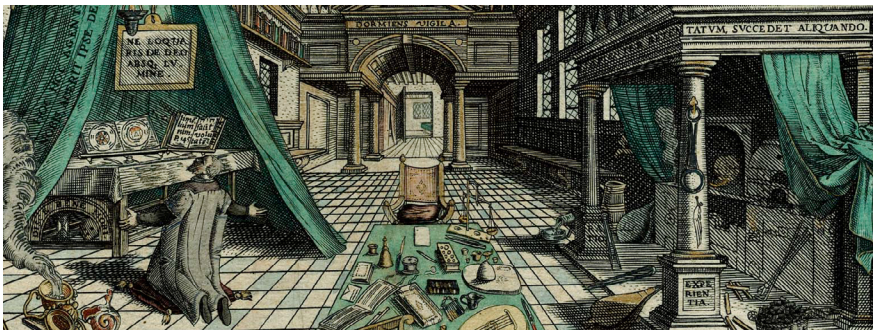


FIGURE 3.3 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail. Memorial Library, Rare Books Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The latter stipulation is reinforced a few pages later, with a reminder of the advice from Matthew 7:6, not to give that which is holy to dogs, accompanied by the wish,

> May you fraternally talk together about the wonderful works of God;[260] in the company of TheoSophers, that is, of those who thirst for, follow and love from the bottom of their hearts the TRUTH OF TRUE WISDOM, even in defiance of the devil and his scales.[261]

In the *Calumniators* engraving, Khunrath reiterates these qualifications and enlarges on them with a detailed list of requirements, including the *Koinai-Ennoiai*,[262] the Stoic 'Common Notions from the LAW Divinely written in our hearts, consciously arisen and born with us, from which [comes]

260 Cf. Acts 2:11 'magnalia Dei' (the wonderful works of God).

261 *Amph* II, 220 'Inter vos de magnaliis DEI fraternè conferatis; in coetu TheoSophorum, hoc est, VERITATEM SAPIENTIÆ VERÆ ex animo amantium, sitientium atque sequentium, etiam in despectum diaboli squamarumque istius.' The expression 'the devil and his scales' is found in Luther's works. See the postscript to Martin Luther, *The Consolatory Tesseradecad for "the weary and heavy laden"*, in *Select Works of Martin Luther*, translated by Henry Cole (London: T. Bensley, 1824), 174. See also Martin Luther, *Scholia in Esaiam Prophetam*, in *Exegetica Opera Latina*, edited by Henricus Schmidt (Erlangen and Frankfurt: C. Heyder and H. Zimmer, 1861), Vol. XXIII, 337 'furorem diaboli ac squamarum, quae diabolo adhaerent, hoc est impiorum membrorum ejus'.

262 According to Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, 'Titus of Bostra and Alexander of Lycopolis: A Christian and a Platonic Refutation of Manichaean Dualism', in Richard T. Wallis and Jay Bregnan (eds.), *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 337–349, at 340 the Stoic term *koinai ennoiai*, also used by Plutarch and Origen, refers to 'those imprints left on the human mind by common experience'.

the testimony of Conscience; genuine Natural Judgement, sound Reason, the *Criteria* of the teachings in philosophy and all the Arts, and the square of certainty.'[263] These are discussed by several authors used by Khunrath: by Plutarch in *De communibus notitiis* (On Common Notions),[264] by Cicero in *The Tusculan Disputations* 1.40 and *De Inventione* 1.42,[265] by Michael Neander (1529–1581) in *Methodorum in omni genere artium brevis hyphēgēsis* (Brief Guide of Methods in all kinds of Arts, 1556),[266] and by Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) in *De veritate fidei Christianae* (On the Truth of the Christian Faith, 1568).[267]

In the *Calumniators* engraving, Khunrath's two theosophical representatives, representing the Oratory on the left and the Laboratory on the right, stand by two stones at the base of a large pile of rocks, indicating the path to follow (Fig. 3.4). The stone on the left mentions the 'infallible sacrosanct codex of the BOOKS OF GOD'; that on the right, the 'macrocosmic truth-telling BOOK

263 *Calumniators*: 'KOINAI ENNOIAI, h.e. Notitiae communes ex LEGE in cordibus nostris Divinitus scripta nobiscum nascentes et conscientialiter ortae: Vnde Conscientiae testimonium; Iudicium Naturale sincerum; Ratio sana; in philosophia et omnibus Artibus κριτήρια Doctrinarum, et certitudinis normae.'

264 Plutarch could be a possible source, since Khunrath, *Amph.*II, 38 cites his *Book on the Industry of Animals*, i.e. *Moralia, De sollertia animalium* (On the Cleverness of Animals) and *Bruta animalia ratione uti* (Whether Beasts are Rational), includes an unacknowledged quote from Plutarch's life of Alexander on *Amph.*II, 18, and probably also draws an anecdote concerning Alexander the Great, *Amph.*II, 178 from Plutarch's *Lives*. The *Koinai ennoiai* are discussed in *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* (*Moralia* 1058e–1086b) 1059c, 1084f–1085c. See Robert B. Todd, 'The Stoic Common Notions: A Reexamination and Reinterpretation', *Symbolae Osloenses* 18 (1973): 47–76.

265 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 1.30 'consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est.' See Walter Watson, 'Invention', in Richard O. Brooks (ed.), *Cicero and Modern Law* (London: Routledge, 2009), 371–387, at 376.

266 Neander, mentioned by Khunrath in *Amph.*II, 154, discusses the *Koina* in *Methodorum in omni genere artium breuis & succincta ὑφήγησις* (Basel, 1556) 35 'Κοινα [*Koina*] autem, id est communia, sunt, quae in alio atque alio genere scientiae usum habent. talia sunt [*axiomata, e koina ennoiai*], per quas demonstratio, alicubi assumptis in auxilium definitionibus, hypothesibus, & prius demonstratis, absoluitur'; 37–38 '*Ennoiai* autem dicuntur, quod sedes talium noticiarum in mente existit, & mente comprehunduntur [sic]. Estque haec sententia Platonis de axiomatis rectissima, quod videlicet eorum noticiae sint radius quidam in mentibus nostris reliquus, aut sopitus: & quidem propter istum radium rutilantem, principiorum certitudo constat.'

267 For a reference to 'Luis Vives', see *Amph.*II, 48. For Vives on the Stoic doctrine of common notions (*Koinai ennoiai*), see Brian P. Copenhaver and Charles Schmitt (eds.), *Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 205; Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), 249f. See also D.C. Andersson, 'Juan Luis Vives (1492/93–1540): A Pious Eclectic', in Paul Richard Blum (ed.), *Philosophers of the Renaissance*, translated by Brian McNeil (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 133–147.



FIGURE 3.4 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Calumniators*, detail, central image. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

of the Divine Power and Light of NATURE', i.e. God's two books of Scripture and Nature.[268] Next to these are two larger messages, flanking the central image of the 'Cave of Nature' (Antrum Naturae), emphasising the importance of human experience and divine revelation:

> [Left] The EXPERIENCE of those, about whom, because they had the STONE of the wise FROM THIS our Saturnian MAGNESIA, there is constant, learned and serious discourse among the sons of the Doctrine.[269]

268 *Calumniators*: Left: 'Sacrosanctus BIBLIORVM DEI codex infallibilis'; Right: 'LIBER Numinis et Luminis NATVRÆ macrocosmicus veridicus'.

269 *Calumniators*: 'EXPERIENTIA eorum, de quibus, quod LAPIDEM sophorum EX MAGNESIA HAC nostra ♄[nia] [Saturnia] habuerint, apud Doctrinae filios, grauis, eruditus et constans est sermo'.

> [Right] Secret Revelation from God the Father of Lights, made either immediately through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or mediately through a good Angel, etc.[270]

Although it might be expected that the message about Experience and the Stone should be placed on the right hand side, following the Book of Nature, while that concerning Revelation should be on the side of the Oratory, Khunrath has gone against expectations, thereby emphasising the reciprocity and interconnectedness of his thesophical practices and his ter-tri-une conviction that 'Cabala, Magic and Alchemy conjoined, should and must be used together with and alongside one another.'[271]

Rising above these stones stand ten flames, despite the best attempts of Beelzebub and the 'Chief of the Diabologues' (Praefectus diabologorum), to extinguish them with spit and holy water, aided by an 'honour-stealing shamefully-lying Poet,' spouting forth 'Scandalously-Lying Honour-stealing Songs'.[272] These flames are possibly intended to call to mind those rising from the rock bearing the text of the *Emerald Tablet* and opening of the *Pimander* in the *Pyramid* engraving, as well as the tongues of fire, likely alluding to the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, in Circular Figure 1, and Khunrath's presentation of alchemy as the art of fire in Circular Figure 3. Read from left to right, these flames list things indispensable to the Theosopher:

1. The Instruction of a Teacher, faithfully agreeing with the Light of Nature.
2. *Cheirotechnia*, or 'Deftness of hand'.[273]
3. The Consensus of Philosophers, according to the Law of Nature and the Testimony of Sacrosanct Biblical Scripture.
4. The true and proper Names, which are the *Signs* of things, in the cardinal languages.[274]
5. Fire, spagyrically trying and judging all things.
6. The symbolic harmony of Jhsvh christ with the Philosophers' Stone, and vice versa.

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270 *Calumniators*: 'revelatio arcana a deo Patre Luminum, vel immediatè per Spiritus sancti inspirationem, vel mediatè per Angelum bonum, &c. facta.'

271 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (Strassburg, 1608), 87 'Kabala, Magia, Alchymia Coniungendae, Sollen und mussen mit und neben einander angewendet werden.'

272 *Calumniators*: 'Ehrendiebischen schandlügenerischen Poeten'; 'Schandt-Lüegenerische Ehren-diebische carmina'.

273 Χειροτεχνια [*Cheirotechnia*], lit. '*handicraft*', as in Plato, *Republic*, Book ix 590 C.

274 I.e., in Hebrew, Latin and Greek.

7. The keen and orthodox DISTINCTION of USE from Abuse.
8. The Divine character of NATURE, called the natural SIGNATURE of natural things.
9. The Natural ORDER and perpetually immutable series, according to DIVINE will and Institution, in the Macrocosmic book of NATURE, and
10. The wise investigation and application of HIEROGLYPHS, in which many secret Mysteries of the Wise lie hidden.[275]

With this list, Khunrath reinforces his message that the true Theosopher should be an advocate of both the *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa*, as is made abundantly clear in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving and in his repeated injunction *Ora et Labora* (Pray and Work), on the understanding that one serves no purpose without the other.[276] A similar sense of balance, as well as the practical voice of a medical doctor, can be heard in the emphasis on the importance of health of both body and mind, which took first position in the preceding list of qualifications.[277] In this Khunrath resembles Dorn, who writes of the usefulness of spagiric medication for perfecting the body so that it suffers no discomforts and causes no distractions while the mind is involved in divine meditation.[278] Both men place a similar emphasis on the value of the study of Nature, combined with a belief in divine revelation, in being directly inspired by the Holy Spirit; both, too, shared an interest in the work of the abbot Trithemius.[279]

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275 *Calumniators* engraving: '1) TRADITIO Præceptoris, Lumini NATVRÆ fideliter congruens; 2) XEIPOTEXNIA pro dono, DEI gratia, meo, partim propria, partim aliorum, quæ ad me peruenit; 3) CONSENSVS philosophorum, ad Legem Naturæ et ad Testimonium SS.æ Biblicæ Scripturæ, orthodoxus; 4) NOMINA propria et genuina, quæ rerum σημεια, in linguis cardinalibus; 5) IGNIS, omnia etiam spagiricè probans et judicans; 6) HARMONIA JHSVH CHRISTI cum LAPIDE phil[osophoru]m, symbolica et contra; 7) DISTINCTIO VSVS ab Abusum acuta et orthodoxa; 8) Divinus NATVRÆ characterismus; SIGNATVRA rerum naturalium naturalis, dictus; 9) ORDO, in NATVRÆ libro Macrocosmico Naturalis et series, juxta voluntatem ac Institutionem DIVINAM, sempiternè immutabilis; 10) HIEROGLYPHICORVM, in quibus Mysteria Sapientum multa delitescunt recondita, sapiens indagatio et applicatio.' This list is not numbered in the engraving.

276 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 13.

277 Cf. *Amph.*II, 138 'How distorted and depraved human Nature is, the daily infirmities, hallucinations, shadows, errors adequately attest' (Quàm distorta & deprauata sit Natura humana; quotidianæ infirmitates, hallucinationes, tenebræ, errores, satis testantur).

278 Gerard Dorn, *De Philosophia Meditativa*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (Strassburg, 1602, repr. 1659), Vol. 1, 399–417, at 402–5.

279 See Dorn's *De Spagirico artificio Io. Trithemii sententia* (Johann Trithemius's Thoughts on the Spagyric Art) in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 1, 388–399.

13 Qualifications to be a Magus

Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), Benedictine abbot of Sponheim, 'Great splendour of Pansophia' (Pansophiae splendor magnus), i.e. of 'universal wisdom',[280] and humanist bibliophile is known to have been one of Reuchlin's Greek teachers and believed to be one of Paracelsus's teachers; and as such would have been of great interest to anyone delving into occult philosophy.[281] This is particularly the case with Khunrath, whom we know possessed a manuscript copy of Trithemius's *Antipalus Maleficiorum* (Adversary of Black Magic),[282] in which he discusses multiple forms of divination and presents what Paola Zambelli calls his 'Bibliography for Necromancers'.[283] In a famous letter to Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, 'On matters suitable to the true Magus', dated 26 June 1503, the German abbot lists requirements for a magus that are extremely similar to those for Khunrath's theosopher, and it is highly likely that the latter was basing his criteria on just such a list.[284] In the letter we learn that,

280 Kurt Goldammer, *Paracelsus-Studien* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Kärntner Geschichtsvereins, 1954), 39. See also Trithemius's reference in *Epistolarum familiarum* (Hagenau, 1536), 324 to an 'opus Panalethiam' (Universally True work).

281 Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine*, 9; Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 15. On Trithemius, see Noel L. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999); Anthony Grafton, 'A Contemplative Scholar: Trithemius Conjures the Past', in Anthony Grafton, *Worlds made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), Chapter 3.

282 See Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic*, 63, n. 79 'For this part of the *Antipalus* (not to be found in all MSS.), see Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Stuttgart, 2 ° cod. 212 (Trithemius's friend, Konrad Peutinger, owned it), fols. 118r–30v, 236r–45r; Cornell University Library, cod. M61 (folios not numbered). This miscellany, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in the possession of Heinrich Khunrath, seems to have been copied, in the library of the Elector of Brandenburg (see its first part, fol. 1r: "Liber Abdelachi [sic] vatis Arabi de sortilegis ad Delium regem Persarum") considering the fact that a preface dated 1510 refers to Joachim and his angel Iaymiel; the second part of the MS, fol. 1r says that the *Antipalus* originates "ex manuscriptis Serenissimi Electoris Joachimi". For the authenticity of the books named here speaks the fact that book 5 (here in part 2, fol. 5r dated Würzburg, 20 October 1508) and also several recipes at the end of book 4 are found in a manuscript of proven authority.

283 Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic*, Appendix One, 101–112.

284 It is interesting to note that Khunrath could have found a reference to a 'lover of sacred Theosophy' (sacrae … amator Theosophiae) in one of Trithemius's letters. See Trithemius, *Epistolarum familiarum* (Hagenau, 1536), 219, letter to canon Rogerius Sycamber.

1. it is not the work of a single day, and is not for the poor or unlearned, but for one who has
2. ability in languages, knowledge of astronomy – which includes astrology,
3. many books on the subject, and
4. a most learned preceptor in the art. It is important that he knows
5. the superior and inferior divisions of all the universe,
6. how to choose the right time, place, planet and so forth for a particular work,
7. to which planetary rulership each thing belongs,
8. the property, order, grade and so forth of all intelligences,
9. has worthy companions, either by nature or by learning, for those things which cannot be perfected alone,
10. is of firm confidence and resolve, and
11. keeps all magical matters secret, be that the operations, times, or practitioners.[285]

Another of Khunrath's sources, the Italian natural magician, Giovanni Battista Della Porta corroborates Trithemius's advice with his own daunting list of requirements in Book 1, Chapter 3 of *Magia Naturalis* (1558; 1589), 'The Instruction of a Magician, and what manner of man a Magician ought to be'. There we discover that,

> it behoveth a Magician … to be an exact and a very perfect Philosopher … Then also he must be a skilful Physician: for both these Sciences are very like and neer together; and Physick, by creeping in under colour of Magick, hath purchased favour amongst men. … Moreover, it is required of him, that he be an Herbalist … He must be as well seen also in the nature of Metals, Minerals Gems and Stones. Furthermore, what cunning he must have in the art of Distillation … He must also know the Mathematical Sciences, and especially Astrologie … Moreover, he must be skilful in the Opticks … These are the Sciences which Magick takes to her self for servants and helpers; and he that knows not these, is unworthy to be named a Magician. He must be a skilful workman, both by natural gifts, and also by the practise of his own hands; for knowledge without practice and workmanship, and practice without knowledge, are

285 See Ioannis Trithemii Abbatis Spanheymensis, *De Septem Secundeis, id est, intelligentijs, siue Spiritibus Orbes post Deum mouentibus, reconditissimæ scientiæ & eruditionis Libellus* (Cologne, 1567), 100–116 'Ioannes Tritemivs Abbas Spanheymensis ad illustrissimum Dominum D. Ioachimum Marchionem Brandenburgensem de rebus conuenientibus vero Mago.' Cf. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology*, 122–123.

> nothing worth. … Lastly, the professor of this Science must also be rich: for if we lack money, we shall hardly work in these cases: for it is not Philosophy that can make us rich; we must first be rich, that we may play the Philosophers.[286]

Although Trithemius and Della Porta are describing magicians rather than theosophers, their recommendations serve as useful comparison. Needless to say, with such stringent requirements, the true theosopher is a *rara avis*, for as Khunrath says, paraphrasing Horace, 'it is not easy for every man to go to Corinth, still less to the treasury of WISDOM!'[287] Indeed, he believes that it is a divine inner calling, only to be followed by those fit for the undertaking, in accordance with the adage that 'Mercury is not fashioned of just any wood'.[288] Thus it is that in the *Amphitheatre*'s *Citadel* engraving the adept has to pass through a gate guarded by Hermes, cross a drawbridge, and then pass through a triumphal archway bearing the words 'NON OMNIBUS' (Not for All) before gaining access to the heart of the citadel. Hence, too, the reference on the *Amphitheatre*'s title page, 'To scarcely one out of thousands', apparently derived from the Talmudists: '*You may have many friends, but in fact you should reveal your secret to scarcely one out of thousands*,'[289] with Khunrath elsewhere claiming that scarcely one out of thousands reach the harbour of truth,[290] or recognise the Stone for what it is worth.[291]

14 Ora et Labora

The *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath claims, Christianly teaches 'WITH TRUE WISDOM, TO WHOM, WHAT, WHERE, BY WHAT MEANS, HOW LONG, WHY, HOW, [AND] WHEN it may and should be done'.[292] Its 'Theo-Sophical Method'[293]

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286 This translation is from the English edition, John Baptista Porta, *Natural Magick* (London, 1658), Book 1, Chapter 3. *The Instruction of a Magician, and what manner of man a Magician ought to be*, 3–4.

287 *Amph.*II, 162. Horace, *Epistles*, Book 1, Epistle 17, l. 36.

288 *Amph.*II, 121. See Galen, *De differentiis pulsuum*, Lib.IV, in Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 34, *Adages* II vii 1 to III iii 100, translated and annotated by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1993), 143 II.x.42.

289 *Amph.*II, 172: '*Sint tibi amicorum plures, arcanum uerò tuum vix è millibus uni reuela.*' See also *Magnesia*, 45.

290 *Amph.*II, 215.

291 *Magnesia*, 45. See also *Amph.*I, 22.

292 *Amph.*I, 7 'SAPIENTIA VERA, CVI, QVID, VBI, QVIBVS AVXILIIS, QVAMDIV, CVR, QVOMODO, QVANDO, fieri possit ac debeat.'

293 *Amph.*II, 92, 'methodo TheoSophica'; 154; *School of Nature*.

involves the reading and understanding of the inter-relationships between the Three Books of Scripture, Man and Nature, expressed in what Khunrath describes as the various 'voices or diverse languages of Wisdom.'[294] These span the whole spectrum of Divine, Human, Macro- and Microcosmic Wisdom, expressed Cabalistically as *Bereshit* and *Mercavah*, knowledge of things natural and divine, after the manner of Paracelsus in *Astronomia Olympi novi* (Astronomy of the New Olympus), as Theology, Medicine, and Astronomy,[295] or more grandiloquently as Theo-Sophical, Juridical, Physical, Physico-Medical, Physico-Chemical, Physico-Magical, Hyperphysico-Magical and Christian-Cabalistical forms of Wisdom.[296]

Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, and by extension his Theosophy, is an Opus Θεωρητικον και Πρακτικον, a Theoretical and Practical Work,[297] making the classical Greek distinction between *Theoria* – the philosophical pursuit of truth – and *Praxis* – active participation in the public life of the *polis* – incorporating the ways of both Contemplation and Action, as portrayed in the *Oratory-Laboratory*.[298] For him there is an absolutely necessary interrelation between *Oratio* (Prayer) and *Laboratio* (Work), which are seen as mutually reinforcing activities, each representing valid approaches to truth, the one internally by the Light of Grace, through knowledge of God and oneself; the other externally by the Light of Nature, knowledge of both the macro- and microcosm.[299] In the *City of God*, Augustine had emphasised the virtue of balance, stating that

> no man has a right to lead such a life of contemplation as to forget in his own ease the service due to his neighbour; nor has any man a right to be so immersed in active life as to neglect the contemplation of God.[300]

Their essential unity is graphically depicted in the image of the androgyne in Circular Figure 2, whose male and female arms respectively bear the words

294 *Amph.*II, 19 'Voces SAPIENTIÆ has, linguasvè varias'. 'Voces' could also be translated as 'Words'.

295 *Amph.*II, 55. See Paracelsus, *Astronomia Olympi Novi*, in Paracelsus and Weigel, *Philosophia Mystica* (Neustadt, 1618), 34.

296 *Amph.*II, 119; see too 24, 30, 57, 60, 108, 147 (mispaginated as 145 [T2r]), 189, 211, 216, 220.

297 *Amph.*I, 6 [Theōrētikon kai Praktikon].

298 *Chaos* (1597), 297 '& Theoreticè & Practicè/in ORATORIO & LABORATORIO.' See Radler, 'Actio et Contemplatio/Action and Contemplation', 212.

299 Cf. Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 57 on Weigel's reading of Paracelsus.

300 Charlotte Radler, 'Actio et Contemplatio/Action and Contemplation', in Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 211–22, at 213. Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Marcus Dodds (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), 697–98.

'Pray' and 'Work'. The Christian doctor, Khunrath argues, should seek to ground his theory in Scripture, rather than being overly dependent on the works of pagan authorities like Aristotle and Galen, favoured by the scholastics who 'un-philosophically separate *Oratory* and *Laboratory*'.[301] The aspiring Christian Philosopher is advised to 'be one in life and actions' in accordance with the motto *Ora et Labora*,[302] for then 'Knowledge and understanding are conjoined, so that we may learn to meditate; meditating to search after knowledge; seeking [knowledge] to pray to GOD; and praying, to work.'[303]

15 Ora, Oratio, Oraculum

Much of Khunrath's message can certainly be understood by simply translating the words *Ora* and *Labora* as the two imperatives 'Pray' and 'Work'.[304] Nevertheless, it proves fruitful to follow his advice to seek the spirit and not just the letter. While *Ora* undoubtedly has the sense of *Oratio* (Prayer), as shall be seen in subsequent chapters, as a term interpreted in its widest sense it embraces a whole range of 'precatory practices', including cognate terms like *Oration* and *Oracle*;[305] thereby introducing the consideration of contemplative activities like scriptural exegesis and insights from revelation and prophecy, as well as hyperphysical or supernatural magic where oration becomes synonymous or contiguous with invocation.[306] The two-fold activity of *Oratio* as being both

301 *Chaos* (1597), 416 'Das ORATORIVM und LABORATORIVM trennen sie gantz unPhilosophisch von einander.' Cf. *The Water-Stone of the Wise Men*, translated by J.H., together with *Paracelsus, His Aurora, & Treasure of the Philosophers* (London, 1659), 105 'If therefore now thou hast employed thy self with much diligence in thy Oratory, and has the known matter at hand, then mayst thou commodiously apply thy self to a studious diligence in thy Laboratory, and apply thereto a convenient Manual Labour, and so make a beginning.'

302 *Amph.*II, 133 'Esto, vita & factis, qui vis videri, dici ac esse Philosophus Christianus.'

303 *Amph.*II, 5: 'scientia & cogitationes hîc coniunguntur, vt discamus meditari, meditando inuestigare scientiam, inuestigando precari DEVM, & precando laborare.'

304 Although most readers nowadays would probably immediately suspect that Khunrath was borrowing from or making a reference to the monastic Rule of St. Benedict, who argued that 'the brothers should have specified periods for manual labour as well as for prayerful reading', the 'Ora et Labora' phrase has only been used by the Benedictines since its coining by the German abbot Maurus Wolter (1825–1890) in the nineteenth century. See M.D. Meeuws, 'Ora et Labora: devise benedictine?', *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 54 (1992): 193–214.

305 For references to oracles in the *Amphitheatre*, see *Amph.*II, 3, 22, 70, 155; and the *Entrance* engraving for a reference to 'seven oracular laws'.

306 See Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (Cologne, 1533), Book 1, Chapter 71, XCIf *De sermonibus complexis, & carminibus, incantamentorumque virtutibus &*

prayer and 'reading' (*Lectio*) is clearly seen in Circular Figure 4 where Khunrath is shown kneeling before his Oratory (Fig. 3.1 above). On the altar table we see a bible, open on the Royal or Davidic Psalm 145, verse 19, declaring 'YHVH does the Will of them that fear him'.[307] The Psalter enjoyed an especially important place in Christian tradition, bearing in mind that the Benedictines organized each day around the Divine Office, with all 150 psalms sung every week.[308] The significance of this particular verse can be seen, for example, in its citation by Luther in *On the Freedom of a Christian*, where he writes,

> we are priests, which is far more than being a king, because the priesthood makes us worthy to stand before God and intercede for others. … Through his priesthood he [a Christian] is powerful before God, for God does what he asks and wishes, as is written in the Book of Psalms: 'God fulfills the desire of he who fears Him, and hears his prayer.'[309]

In the *Oratory-Laboratory*, the theosopher Khunrath is his own priest, kneeling before God and communicating directly with the divine.

Psalm 145:19 seems a particularly revealing choice in light of Khunrath's modification of one of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's Orphic *Conclusions*, 'He who has not attracted Pan (that is, the GOD of all Nature) approaches Nature in vain' and the accompanying exhortations to 'request GOD to WILL for us', to 'draw the will from the Lord'.[310] On the altar-table we also see the

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astrictionibus (Of many words joyned together, as in sentences, and verses, and of vertues, and astrictions of charms), where he lists 'Carmina, incantamenta, imprecationes, deprecationes, orationes, invocationes, obtestationes, adiurationes, exorcismata & huiusmodi' (verse, enchantments, imprecations, deprecations, orations, invocations, obtestations, adjurations, conjurations, and such like).

307 Vulgate Psalm 144:19 'He will do the will of them that fear him: and he will hear their prayer, and save them.' A phrase also appearing in John Dee's *Libri Mysteriorum*. See Joseph H. Peterson (ed.), *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic* (Boston, MA/York Beach, ME: Weiser Books, 2003), 364 'Voluntatem timentium se faciet deus'. On the Davidic Psalms, see C. Hassell Bullock, *Encountering the Book of Psalms: A Literary and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004), 72f.

308 E. Ann Matter, 'Lectio Divina', in Hollywood and Beckman, *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, 147–156, at 148, 150.

309 Martin Luther, *On the Freedom of a Christian*, edited and translated with an introduction by Tryntje Helfferich (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 2013), 28–29.

310 *Amph.*II, 134. Cf. S.A. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486) – The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems* (Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 514–5, 10>28 'Frustra adit naturam et protheum, qui pana non attraxerit' (Whoever does not attract Pan approaches nature and Proteus in vain). Ralf Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar* (Hamburg: Peter Jensen Verlag an der Lottbek, 1991),

Amphitheatre's first two circular figures, depicting Christ as Divine Wisdom and Man in the form of Adam-Androgyne as the Theosopher, the quasi-divine Lover of Divine Wisdom.[311] *Oratio* constitutes, in fact, the 'reading' of what Khunrath at times speaks of as the three books of Scripture, Man and Nature,[312] at times as the standard two books of Bible and Macrocosm, plus Man as the Microcosm, each of which gives access to the others.

Wisdom in the Oratory is a combination of Theosophical mental practice and divine inspiration.[313] It is primarily a case of the adept paying attention to the voice of God speaking in all things, without which he will never achieve any understanding, either of matters terrestrial or divine.[314] Using the eyes of both the Physico-Chemical body and the Cabalistic and Divinely-Magical body and mind,[315] he must pray, and in so doing he will hear, see and observe the 'wonder-working voice, wonderfully speaking, sounding [and] thundering forth

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40 does not believe Khunrath means the god Pan, preferring to gloss it as the 'Allumfassende' (all-embracing), but this ignores the Renaissance 'translation' of Pan as a symbol for Christ. See Johannes Goropius Becanus, *Opera, Hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe, Hermathena, Gallica, Hieroglyphica, Francica, Vertumnus, Hispanica* (Antwerp, 1580), 267. Note the presence of Pan together with the Sibyl's cry from Virgil, and other Khunrathian phrases in Johann Hartmann, *Opera Omnia Medico-Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1690), Tomus IV. Disputationes Chymico-Medicæ, II. Disputatio Hermetica, 20 'At quis afflatus æthereus tam subitò mentem percellit, & ad sublimia raptat? quæ fulminea ista vox? procul hinc, procul ite profani: frustra Naturam adit, qui Pana non attraxerit: fures & latrones posticum ingressi de Principiis sine Principio, de Deo sine Deo loquentes. Prostrati igitur corporibus, sublimatis, & exaltatis animis in aditu preces, & ἀρὰς huic aræ imponamus, & in limine salutemus eum qui solus ἐι, qui dat esse, nosse, velle, posse, ut respondeat nobis ex adytis: γνωθι σεαυτον imò Nosce Omnia. Principium à IHOVAH, IHOVAH sunt omnia plena …'.

311 *Amph.*II, 194. See also *Chaos* (1597), 210 'Ein Theosophus … wie in secunda Amphitheatri … figura'.

312 See, for example, *Amph.*II, 19 'in Libris Naturæ atque Creaturæ, SS.æ Scripturæ, & Conscientiæ propriæ' (in the Books of Nature and Created being, of Sacro-Sanct Scripture and one's own Conscience); *Amph.*II, 30 'properate … ad libros, inquam, SS.æ Scripturæ, Naturæ, & vosmetipsos' (make haste to the books, I say, of Sacrosanct Scripture, Nature, and yourselves); *Amph.*II, 222 'Gazophylaceo EIVS Catholico, Tertriuno, Libris nimirum SS.æ Scripturæ, Naturæ & Conscientiæ puræ ac rectæ' (HIS Catholic, Ter-tri-une Treasury, namely, the Books of Sacrosanct Scripture, Nature and a pure and upright Conscience).

313 *Amph.*II, 162. As shall be seen later, Khunrath is being extremely specific with the term 'mental', meaning the highest psychological faculty of the *mens* (mind), rather than the lower faculty of *ratio* (reason).

314 *Amph.*II, 92.

315 *Entrance* engraving. See also *Amph.*II, 16 'oculis Mentis & Corporis videbis sponsae beatae delitias' (with the eyes of the Body and the Mind you will see the delights of the blessed bride).

of WONDERFUL JEHOVAH, in Sacrosanct Scripture, Nature and Oneself.'[316] One of the Theosopher's tasks is to act as interpreter of the many languages used by God to communicate with his faithful, either by offering new translations of scripture to highlight some of the limitations of the older versions, employing new exegetical methods, such as those offered by Kabbalah, to provide a greater latitude for interpretation and the discovery of new truths, or by learning to read the signs and signatures in nature and man.

16 Exegesis: Interpreting the Three Books

Although Khunrath has been accused of confusing different levels of discourse,[317] nothing could be further from the truth. In the *Isagoge* to Figure 4, he makes it perfectly clear that the texts of the Three Books have to be read on various exegetical levels (Fig. 3.5). Speaking, for example, of Scriptural reading he alludes to the four traditional levels of *Literal*, *Allegorical*, *Tropological*, and *Anagogical* interpretation, which had first been formulated by John Cassian (*c*.360–435).[318] These represented, respectively, 1. what was actually taking place in the biblical narrative, 2. the allegorical understanding relating to Christ and the Church; 3. the moral sense relating to God and the Christian soul; and 4. a level of reading in which the text 'speaks for the ingathering of all things at the end of times.'[319] Khunrath omits the *Allegorical* sense, supplying instead a *Moral* sense, although this is usually identified with the *Tropological*.[320]

Khunrath goes beyond the Catholic four-fold *Quadriga*, however, supplementing the four standard levels with further *Historical*, *Physical*, *Typical*,

316 *Amph.*II, 211 'vocem mirificam, mirabiliter sonantem, tonantem & loquentem, IN SS.ª SCRIPTVRA; NATVRA; SEMETIPSO.'

317 James Elkins, *What Painting Is: How to Think about Oil Painting, Using the Language of Alchemy* (New York/London: Routledge, 2000), 113.

318 Daniel Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 43. See John Cassian, *Collationes*, 14, chap. 8 'Of Spiritual Knowledge', ed. J. Pinchery, *Sources chrétiennes* 54 (Paris, 1958), 189–93. On Cassian's four-fold exegesis (*historia, allegoria, anagoge, tropologia*), see Mette Birkedal Bruun, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 33–37.

319 Matter, 'Lectio Divina', 149.

320 *Amph.*II, 211. Khunrath does, however, refer to the allegorical sense elsewhere. See *Amph.* II, 6, 148, 158. For more on this, see Forshaw, 'Vitriolic Reactions'. Cf. the four-fold reading of the works of Homer on Hieroglyphical, Political, Poetical, and Grammatical levels, mentioned by Michael Maier in *Arcana arcanissima* (1614), 280. For the four-fold traditional rabbinic exegesis of the Torah, see the next chapter on Khunrath's Cabala.

Cabalistical and *Theo-Sophical* approaches.[321] The Book of Nature, for its part, is to be read on the various Theo-Sophical, Physical, Physico-Medical, Physico-Chemical, Physico-Magical, Hyperphysico-Magical and Christian-Cabalistical levels already mentioned above.[322] As the Bible refers to Nature, we find a great deal of cross-referencing between these two 'books', particularly in relation to those books at the beginning and end of the Bible, dealing as they do with Creation and Apocalypse.[323] This proliferation of exegetical levels, far beyond the traditional four-fold schema, represents, perhaps, a Herculean effort on Khunrath's part to assimilate new knowledge into his Christian framework, to reconcile laboratory observation and praxis with philosophical learning and religious belief, thereby integrating scriptural *auctoritas* and empirical *experientia* into a unified vision of the world in harmony with the doctrines of his faith.[324]

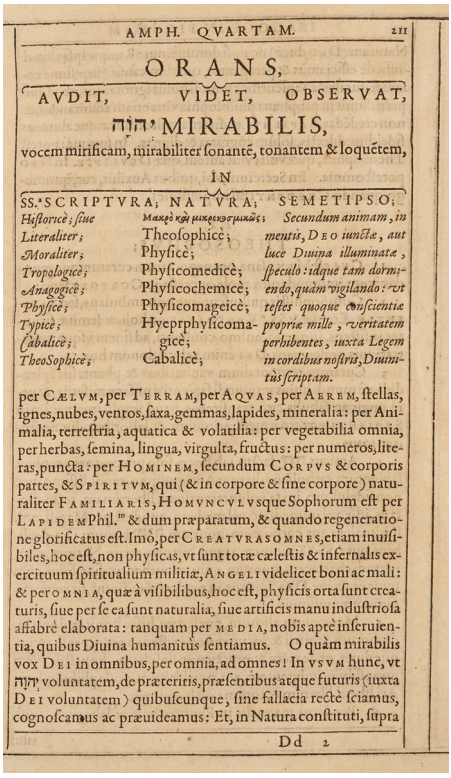
A mid seventeenth-century French manuscript translation of the *Amphitheatre* in the Ritman Library, Amsterdam, *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle composee par Henry Khunrath de Lipsic amateur de la Theosophie*, dating from

321 See also *Magnesia*, 12. For another example of augmented levels of exegesis, by one of Khunrath's contemporaries, just before the publication of the first edition of the *Amphitheatre*, see Leo Catana, 'Giordano Bruno's Hermeneutics: Observations on the Bible in *De Monade* (1591)', in Killeen and Forshaw (eds.), *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science*, 91–108 where Bruno discusses nine levels of meaning. For a discussion including both Khunrath and Bruno, see Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'The Dialectic of the Absolute Beginning. On a Copper Engraving in Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', in Henning S. Hufnagel, Anne Eusterschulte (eds.), *Turning Traditions Upside Down: Rethinking Giordano Bruno's Enlightenment* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 199–219. See also Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* (Antwerp, 1572), in which the Old Testament is read 'politice, physice, mathematice, metaphysice sive theologice', as discussed in Andreas B. Kilcher, 'Kabbalistische Buchmetaphysik Knorrs Bibliothek und die Bedeutung des Sohar', in Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 211–223. John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564), explicitly mentions four levels of exegesis: '*Mathematicè, Magicè, Cabalisticè, Anagogicèque explicata*'. See C.H. Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica" with an Introduction and Annotations', *Ambix* 12 (June and Oct. 1964): 84–221, at 155; John Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564), 12r. Dee's tendency to read texts on multiple levels resurfaces in his *Compendious Rehearsal*, written in 1592, where he recalls giving lessons in Paris in 1550, on 'Euclide's Elements Geometricall, *Mathematicè, Physice et Pythagoricè*'.

322 For more on scriptural exegesis, see Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), in particular Karlfried Froehlich's 'Johannes Trithemius on the Fourfold Sense of Scripture: The *Tractatus de Inuestigatione Scripturae* (1486)', 23–60.

323 See the *Pyramid* engraving and *Amph.*II, 205. See also Khunrath, *Athanor* (1599), 6.

324 Part of this appeared previously in Forshaw, 'Vitriolic Reactions'.


AMPH. QVARTAM. 211

ORANS,

AVDIT, VIDET, OBSERVAT,

יהוה MIRABILIS,

vocem mirificam, mirabiliter ſonantẽ, tonantem & loquẽtem,

IN

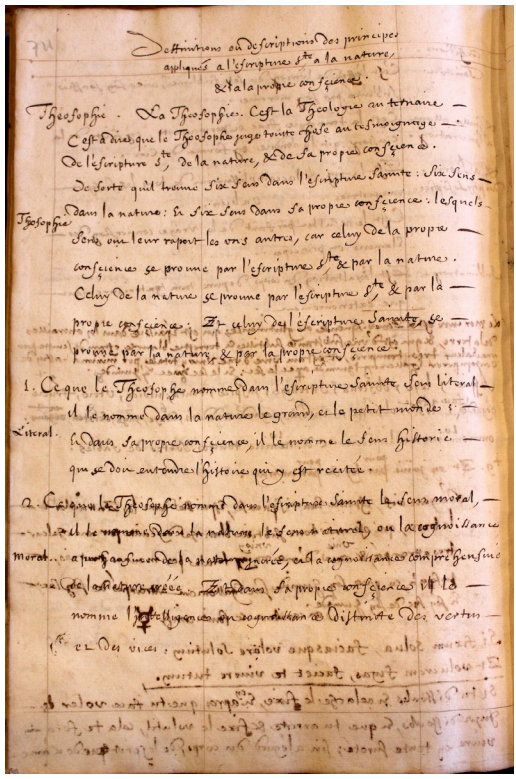
SS.ª SCRIPTVRA; NATVRA; SEMETIPSO;

Hiſtoricè; ſiue	*Μακρὸς καὶ μικρόκοσμος;*	*Secundum animam, in*
Literaliter;	Theoſophicè;	*mentis, Deo unctæ, aut*
Moraliter;	Phyſicè;	*luce Diuina illuminatæ,*
Tropologicè;	Phyſicomedicè;	*ſpeculo: idque tam dormi-*
Anagogicè;	Phyſicochemicè;	*endo, quàm vigilando: vt*
Phyſicè;	Phyſicomageicè;	*teſtes quoque conſcientiæ*
Typicè;	Hyeprphyſicoma-	*propriæ mille, veritatem*
Cabalicè;	gicè;	*perhibentes, iuxta Legem*
TheoSophicè;	Cabalicè;	*in cordibus noſtris, Diuimi-*
		tùs ſcriptam.

per CÆLVM, per TERRAM, per AQVAS, per AEREM, ſtellas, ignes, nubes, ventos, ſaxa, gemmas, lapides, mineralia: per Animalia, terreſtria, aquatica & volatilia: per vegetabilia omnia, per herbas, ſemina, lingua, virgulta, fructus: per numeros, literas, puncta: per HOMINEM, ſecundum CORPVS & corporis partes, & SPIRITVM, qui (& in corpore & ſine corpore) naturaliter FAMILIARIS, HOMVNCVLVSque Sophorum eſt per LAPIDEM Phil.m & dum præparatum, & quando regeneratione glorificatus eſt. Imò, per CREATVRAS OMNES, etiam inuiſibiles, hoc eſt, non phyſicas, vt ſunt totæ cæleſtis & infernalis exercituum ſpiritualium militiæ, ANGELI videlicet boni ac mali: & per OMNIA, quæ à viſibilibus, hoc eſt, phyſicis orta ſunt creaturis, ſiue per ſe ea ſunt naturalia, ſiue artificis manu induſtrioſa affabrè elaborata: tanquam per MEDIA, nobis aptè inſeruientia, quibus Diuina humanitùs ſentiamus. O quàm mirabilis vox DEI in omnibus, per omnia, ad omnes! In VSVM hunc, vt יהוה voluntatem, de præteritis, præſentibus atque futuris (iuxta DEI voluntatem) quibuſcunque, ſine fallacia rectè ſciamus, cognoſcamus ac præuideamus: Et, in Natura conſtituti, ſupra

Dd 2

FIGURE 3.5 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), 211 Multiple levels of Exegesis. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246


FIGURE 3.6 Ritman Ms. 490, fol. 721 discussion of exegetical levels. Ritman Library, Amsterdam

1646, belonging to the 'Counsellor and Secretary of the King, House, Crown of France and its Finances and former Alderman of the City of Paris,' Claude de Bourges,[325] includes commentary that provides insight into how he engaged with Khunrath's various levels of exegesis (Fig. 3.6).[326] The passage deserves

325 Amsterdam, Ritman Library, Ms. BPH M490 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle composee par Henry Khunrath de Lipsic amateur de la Theosophie*. For information on Claude de Bourges, see François Alexandre Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse … de France* (Paris, 1776), Vol. XI, 728 'Conseiller-Secretaire du Roi, Maison, Couronne de France & de ses Finances, ancien Echevin de la ville de Paris.' See note at the start of the MS: 'Appartenan au noble homme Claude de Bourges – Conseiller-Secretaire du Roy Maison Couronne de France et de ses finances …'.

326 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 20.

to be quoted in full for its explanations of the terminology introduced in the three columns of Fig. 3.5:

> Theosophy is Theology in the ternary, that is to say that the Theosopher judges all things by testimony of holy scripture, nature, and his own conscience, such that he finds six senses in holy scripture, six senses in nature, and six senses in his own conscience, which senses have their connections, each with the others, for that of one's own conscience proves itself through holy scripture and through nature; that of nature proves itself through holy scripture and one's own conscience; and that of holy scripture proves itself through nature and one's own conscience.[327]
>
> 1) That which the Theosopher calls the *Literal* sense in holy scripture, in nature he calls the macrocosm and microcosm. And in his own conscience he calls it the historical sense, by which should be understood the story that is recounted.[328]
>
> 2) What the Theosopher calls the *Moral* sense in holy scripture, in nature he calls the natural sense or the apprehensive knowledge of uncreated nature and the comprehensive knowledge of created nature.[329] And in his own conscience he calls it understanding and cognition distinct from the virtues and vices.[330]

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327 For the following French transcriptions from Ms. BPH M490, *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle composee par Henry Khunrath de Lipsic amateur de la Theosophie*, 721–723 see Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 20–21, with a few minor changes. *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, f. 721 'La Theosophie. C'est la Theologie au ternaire. Cest a dire que le Theosophe juge toutte chose au tesmoignage de l'escripture sainte, de la nature, & de sa propre consçience, de sorte qu'il trouve six sens dans l'escripture sainte: six sens dans la nature: et six sens dans sa propre consçience, lesquels sens ont leur raport les uns [avec les] autres, car celuy de la propre consçience se prouve par l'escripture sainte, & par la nature. Celuy de la nature se prouve par l'escripture sainte, et par la propre conscience. Et celuy de l'escripture sainte, se prouve par la nature, et par la propre conscience.'

328 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 721 '1) Ce que le Theosophe nomme dans l'escripture sainte sens literal, il le nomme dans la nature le grand et petit monde. Et dans sa propre consçience, il le nomme le sens historic, qui se doit entendre l'histoire qui y est recitée.'

329 On the difference between apprehensive knowledge from intutition and existential insight, and comprehensive knowledge from reality-oriented thinking and imagination, see Yvonne Agazarian and Susan Porter Gantt, *Autobiography of a Theory: Developing the Theory of Living Human Systems and its Systems-Centered Practice* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2000), 207. Cf. Anthony Burgess, *CXLV Espository Sermons Upon the Whole 17th Chapter of the Gospel According to St. John: Or, Christs Prayer Before his Passion Explicated* (London, 1656), 639 'Paul in 2 Tim. 1.22 the people of God are said *to know God, to know Christ*; There is an apprehensive knowledge, though not a comprehensive'.

330 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 721 '2) Ce que le Theosophe nomme dans l'escripture sainte le sens moral, il le nomme dans la nature le sens naturel, ou la cognoissance

3) What the Theosopher calls the *Tropological* sense in holy scripture (which is a sense composed of two or more allegories, such as the example of the Sower of seeds)[331] in nature he calls the work of Beresith, a natural magic, dissolving, separating and reuniting the work of nature known to him by art, tradition or by nature. And in his own conscience he refrains from all vicious habits and practises all the virtues with the assistance of God Jehovah principally for the glory of God and then for his own health and that of his neighbour.[332]

4) What the Theosopher calls the *Anagogical* sense in holy scripture (which is to say elevated and sublime, or justice from the bottom up) in Nature he calls the naturally medicinal sense, which of itself is part of the work of Beresith or natural magic, and part of the work of Mercavah, or supernatural magic. And in his own conscience he disposes himself to ask pardon of God for his sins, concerning which he humbly confesses, at the feet of the priest confessor, by which God absolves him with mercy and ordains and enjoins for him proper penitence by proportionate justice from creature to creator.[333]

5) What the Theosopher calls the *Typical* sense in holy scripture, which means 'figured', to properly understand the demonstration of the three times, by which the wise man contemplates things and indicates the calling, communicated immediately or mediately, of God and this reasoning of things past foreseeing and predicting those to come. In nature he calls it the Cabalistic and Theosophical sense, the work of Mercavah or the supernaturally magical, which is the symbolic reception

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aprehensive de la nature incrée, et la cognoissance comprehensive de la nature créée [sic]. Et dans sa propre consçience il le nomme l'intelligence ou cognition ce distincte des vertus et des vices.'

331 See Matthew 13:1–23 for the Parable of the Sower.

332 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 722 '3) Ce que le Theosophe nomme dans l'escripture sainte le sens Tropologic (qui est un sens composé de deux ou plusieurs alegories, dont l'exemple est du Semeur) dans la nature il le nomme l'oeuvre du Beresith ou naturelle magie, disolvant, desprivant et reünissant l'oeuvre de la nature a luy cognüe par art, par tradition ou par nature. Et dans sa propre consçience il se prive de touttes habitudes vitieuses, et practique touttes les vertus avec l'assistance de Dieu יהוה principallement pour la gloire de Dieu & en suite pour son salut part[iculier] et celuy de son prochain.'

333 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 722 '4) Ce que le Theosophe nomme dans l'escripture sainte le sens Anagogic (qui est a dire elevé et sublimé, Ou bien justice du bas en haut) dans la nature il le nomme le sens naturellement medeçinal, qui de soy est partie oeuvre du beresith ou naturelle magie, & partie oeuvre du mercava, ou surnaturelle magie. Et dans sa propre conscience il se dispose a demander pardon a Dieu de ses pechés, dont il se confesse humblement, au pieds du prebtre confesseur, par lequel Dieu l'absout par misericorde, & luy ordonne et enjoint penitance convenable par justice proportionnée de la creature au createur.'

of divine revelation, which teaches us pious and useful conversation with the good angels, ministers of divinity,[334] in order to acquire the salutary knowledge of God and the Messiah, knowledge, union and enjoyment of oneself and true understanding of holy scripture, so as to have a continuous sense both of things human and divine, providing he has received it theosophically. And in one's own conscience he calls it the granting of graces that one renders to God continually, of assistance that one always receives from him, as much mediately as immediately in the execution that he makes of his commandments, and in his Church, even though he may not have deserved them.[335]

6) What the Theosopher calls the *Natural* sense in holy scripture (which is the creation that he brought about of creatures), in order to manifest his glory outside himself, by the creator; in nature he calls theory and practice in the Oratory and Laboratory, in order to possess in perfection the work of the denary. And in his own conscience he calls it the sense by which he admires the graces that God effects in his visible and invisible creatures, and the prediction of the effects of his glory that they communicate. Praise to God, Praise to God, Praise to God. So be it.[336]

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334 For more on this, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic.

335 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 722–723 '5) Ce que le Theosophe nomme dans l'escripture sainte le sens Typique, qui ~~veut dire figuré~~, pour bien entendre la demonstration des trois temps, par laquelle l'homme sage contemple les choses & indique la vocation communiquée immediatement ou mediatement de Dieu & ce resonnement des passées prevoiant & prognostiquant celles de l'advenir. Dans la nature il le nomme le sens Cabalique Theosophique, l'oeuvre du mercava ou surnaturellement magique <superscript: magie>, qui est la reception symbolique de la revelation divine, laquelle nous enseigne une pieuse et utile conversation avec les bons anges ministres de la divinité, pour s'acquerir la cognoissance salutaire de Dieu et du messie, la cognoissance, union & jouissance de soy mesme, et la vraye Jntelligence de l'escripture sainte pour avoir un ressentiment continuel des choses divines et humaines, assurant l'avoir receüe theosophiquement. Et dans la propre consçience il le nomme les octrois de graces qu'il rend a Dieu continuellement, des assistances qu'il reçoit tousjours de lui, tant mediattement qu'immediattement, ~~de~~ en l'execution qu'il faict de ses commandemens, & de son Eglise; quoy qu'il ne l'aye pas merité.'

336 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 723 '6) Ce que le Theosophe nomme dans l'escripture sainte le sens naturel (qui est la creation qu'il a faicte des creatures,) pour manifester sa gloire hors soy, par le createur; dans la nature il le nomme la Theorie et pratique de l'oratoire et du laboratoire, pour possedder en perfection l'oeuvre du denaire. Et dans sa propre consçience il l'appelle, le sens par lequel il admire les graces que Dieu faict en ses creatures visibles & invisibles, & la prediction des effets de sa gloire que leur communique. Loüange a Dieu. Loüange a Dieu. Loüange a Dieu. Ainsy soit il.'

In these reflections on the senses of the various levels of interpretation, we have some indication of how De Bourges understood Khunrath's *Isagoge* and attempted to combine traditional Catholic four-fold exegesis, intertwined with Cabalistic and Midrashic exegesis of the Cabalistic themes of Bereshit and Mercavah, together with related 'theosophical' levels of interpretation.

17 Labora

The *Citadel* engraving's admonition to 'PRAY Theo-sophically' and 'WORK Physico-Chymically' (Fig. 3.7) leaves us in no doubt that *Labora* entails manual work, most notably for Khunrath, the practice of medicine and alchemy.[337] We see his Protestant work ethic in action in the assertion that wisdom only comes with industry,[338] the emphasis on the rewards and fruits of labour,[339] both for oneself and one's neighbour, along with the consequent condemnation of idleness as the 'seat of Satan'.[340] Although he claims that God 'sells ALL THINGS to those who work', Khunrath is careful, nevertheless, to imply that man should not seek divine rewards by virtue of merits gained through 'good works' alone, but argues like Luther that they come solely as a gift of grace,[341] a gift that can be withdrawn because of sin.[342] At the same time, although this gift does not come by virtue of study and works, which are not meritorious *in themselves*, we need to obtain God's will by showing our willingness through



FIGURE 3.7 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1609), *Citadel*, detail. "PRAY Theo-sophically"; "WORK Physico-Chymically". Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

337 Cf. *Amph.*II, 212–3.

338 *Amph.*II, 138, 145. See too *Chaos* (1597), 400–401.

339 *Amph.*II, 139, 162.

340 *Amph.*II, 40 'otium puluinar Sathanae'.

341 *Amph.*II, 113. On Luther and good works, see B.A. Gerrish, 'Piety, Theology, and the Lutheran Dogma: Erasmus' Book on Free Will', in idem, *The Old Protestantism and the New: Essays on the Reformation Heritage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 11–26, at 12.

342 *Amph.*II, 134.

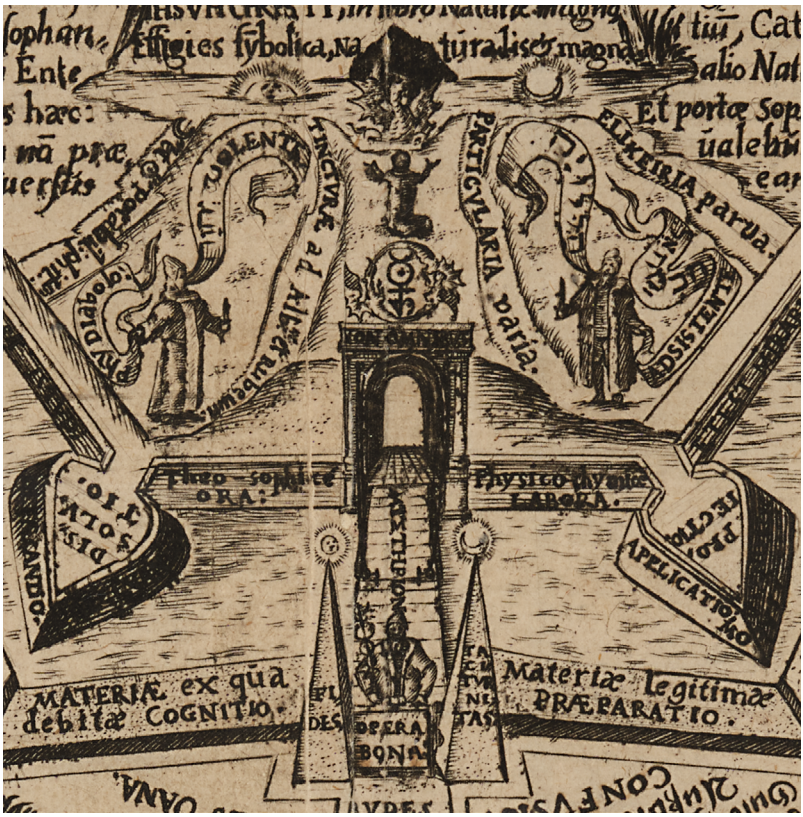


FIGURE 3.8 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail of gateway. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

prayer in the oratory and work in the laboratory.[343] The condemnation of hypocrites who merely mouth the words of religion can be seen in his insistence that only they are friends of Christ who actually *do* the things he tells them.[344] It is clear, however, from Circular Figure 4, where the Laboratory is framed by two pillars bearing the words *Ratio* and *Experientia*, that other levels of 'activity' are also implied, as suggested by the obvious fact that the very word *Labora* contains the word *Ora* embedded within it, and Khunrath's observation that religious *Opera Bona* (Good Works) can be both mental and manual.[345] The inseparability of *Ora* and *Labora* is revealed, too, when the 1609

343 *Amph.*II, 133, 141.
344 *Amph.*II, 23.
345 *Amph.*II, 40.

Amphitheatre's editor, Erasmus Wolfart, writes of striving 'with Works' in both Oratory and Laboratory.[346] The image of Hermes guarding the *Citadel* gateway (Fig. 3.8), which itself bears the words OPERA BONA, implies that it is the very combination of these with the *Opus Magnum* of alchemy that identifies the true Christian theosopher.

18 The Triune Apocalyptic Key

'I wish to learn the nature of things, and to know God.'[347] This quote, from the famous first text of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the *Pimander*, rendered into Latin by Marsilio Ficino in 1463,[348] appears in the *Amphitheatre*'s *Pyramid* engraving and succinctly sets forth the scale and scope of Khunrath's Theosophic ambition: to know and understand all created being and to come to know (indeed unite with) God. The extent of Khunrath's ambitions must certainly have astounded some of his contemporaries and it is clear that he faced opposition from his challenge: 'You, sciolist, who, hardly in a Christian manner, deny that GOD can be known by us, dispute over these words with our Sage.'[349] For Khunrath, this comprehensive vision of all reality, God, the Universe and Man, constitutes the full meaning of the word *Sacrament*, for like Paracelsus he explains that it contains Theology, Medicine, and Astronomy, or according to Solomon 'knowledge of the Divine mysteries, prudence in political governance and administration, and the order, causes [and] dispositions of things in the whole of Nature, the virtues of heavenly things and the powers of earthly things.'[350]

346 *Amph.*I, 9.

347 *Amph.*II, 169 '*cupio rerum Naturam discere*, DEVMQVE *cognoscere*' and *Pyramid* engraving, from the *Pimander*. Although one or two phrases are missing from the in-text quote it is a close reproduction of Ficino's translation of the *Pimander* (minus one or two phrases), as found bound with Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Ægyptiorvm, Chaldæorum, Assyriorum* (Lyon, 1570), 367. A slightly different version appears in the *Pyramid* engraving. In English, see Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius* (1995), 1 [1–4].

348 Brian P. Copenhaver, 'Hermes Theologus: The Sienese Mercury and Ficino's Hermetic Demons', in John W. O'Malley, Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson (eds.), *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 149–184, at 178.

349 *Amph.*II, 107 'Tu sciole, qui parum Christianè negas, DEVM à nobis cognosci non posse, litiga super verbis hisce cum Sapiente nostro.'

350 *Amph.*II, 55 'Diuinorum mysteriorum cognitionem; politicae administrationis & gubernationis prudentiam; totiusque Naturae rerum ordinem, causas, affectus, caelestium virtutes, & terrestrium vires.' See also *Amph.*I, 11.

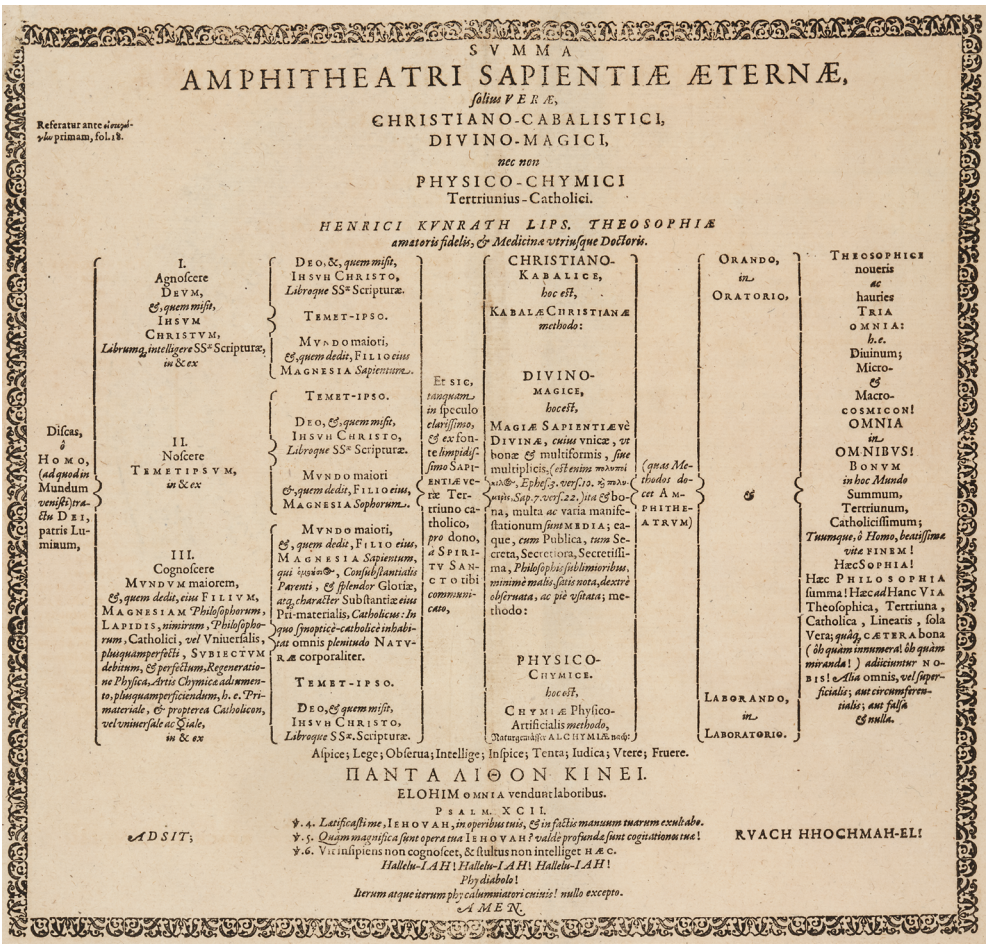


FIGURE 3.9 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), inserted table: *Summary of the Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

In two synoptic tables Khunrath sets forth his 'Ter-tri-une, Catholic, True Philosophy and the Method of Philosophising',[351] or 'Tri-une Apocalyptic Key,'[352] to theoretical and experiential knowledge of these three domains: the Divine, the Micro- and the Macrocosmic worlds. In the first of these tables, the *Summary of the Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom* (Fig. 3.9), Man is exhorted to learn to

351 *Amph.*II, 216.

352 *Amph.*I, 7 'APOCALYPTICA CLAVIS TRIVNA'.

I. Recognise (*Agnoscere*) GOD and IHSVH Christ through Christian-Cabalist prayer in the Oratory, on the basis of the Sacrosanct Scriptures;
II. Know (*Noscere*) THYSELF (Microcosm), through Divine Magic;
III. Understand (*Cognoscere*) the greater WORLD (Macrocosm) and its SON, MAGNESIA of the Philosophers, through Alchemy in the Laboratory.[353]

Each of these goals is interconnected: the recognition of God, for example, cannot take place without an understanding of Scripture 'in and from' God, oneself, and the greater world; indeed, all three goals require knowledge of all three 'books'. The Recognition or Apprehension of God (*Agnitio Dei*) is communicated Christian-Cabalistically, Self-Knowledge (*Cognitio sui ipsius*) Divinely-Magically, and Understanding of the Macrocosm (*Cognitio Mundi maioris*), Physico-Chymically.[354] As the *Summary* explains, these three methods are taught 'by praying in the Oratory' and 'by working in the Laboratory'. In the final, concluding column of the table, Khunrath exults:

> This is SOPHIA! This is highest PHILOSOPHY! This is the Theosophical, Ter-triune, Universal, Direct, only true WAY *to* It, and by which the OTHER goods (*Oh! how innumerable! Oh, how wonderful!*) *are given to* US! Everything else *is either superficial or circumferential, or false and void*.[355]

19 I. The Book of God in the Ternary

As has been touched on above, Khunrath variously represents this knowledge as one, two, or three 'books.' The notion of the world as a book had already appeared, for example, in Synesius's early fifth-century treatise on dreams

353 Khunrath's editor, Erasmus Wolfart, summarises the aims in *Amph.*I, 10.

354 *Amph.*I, 7 'Agnitionem, Cognationem, Unionem & Fruitionem Jehovae; Cognitionem Sui ipsius; Cognitionem ac Fruitionem Mundi Maioris' (Recognition, Association, Union and Enjoyment of Jehovah; Understanding of Oneself; Knowledge and Enjoyment of the Greater World). See also Wolfart's Greetings to the Reader, *Amph.*I, 10 where he writes, 'VALE, & hoc Amphitheatro fruere, ad Agnitionem DEI, Cognitionem tuiipsius, dignotionem Naturæ, ad illuminationem Animæ, puritatem Spiritus, sanitatem Corporis' (FAREWELL, and have the use and enjoyment of this Amphitheatre for the Recognition of GOD, Knowledge of yourself, the discernment of Nature, illumination of the Soul, purity of the Spirit, [and] health of the Body).

355 *Summa* table: 'Hæc SOPHIA! Hæc PHILOSOPHIA Summa! Hæc *ad* Hanc VIA Theosophica, Tertriuna, Catholica, Linearis, sola vera; *quâq*[*ue*] CÆTERA bona (*ôh quàm innumera! Ôh quàm miranda!*) *adiiciuntur* NOBIS! *Alia* omnis, *vel superficialis; aut circumferentialis; aut falsa & nulla*.'

De insomniis,[356] which was translated into Latin by Ficino in 1489.[357] The same concept had appeared in Germany as early as Konrad von Megenberg's *Das Buch der Natur* (The Book of Nature, 1350),[358] and Paracelsus wrote of the *Libri naturae* to be understood by the Light of Nature, declaring 'He who wishes to explore nature must tread her books with his feet.'[359] Another potential source may be Agrippa. During his commentary on Wisdom 7:7, 'Wherefore I wished, and understanding was given me: and I called upon God, and the spirit of Wisdom came upon me', Khunrath tacitly borrows from Agrippa's *Liber de Triplici Ratione Cognoscendi Dei* (Book on the Threefold Way of Knowing God, 1516). The treatise opens with a description of the fate that befell Man due to the Fall, in which Man lost his share of wisdom, with Agrippa drawing from both biblical scripture and hermetic literature, including the *Pimander* and *Asclepius*. He then progresses to his notion of three 'books', the first for the heathen, living under the Law of Nature, the second for the Jews, under the Law of the Old Testament, the third for the Christians following the revelation of Christ. The following chapters emphasise the importance of Faith as a tool to know God, as a way of freeing man's mind from the body, in order for it to be united with God. The prophet Elijah is provided as an exemplar of such faith (James 5:17–18), together with a poem in Greek, attributed to Zoroaster, translated by Ficino, describing the union of the soul with God.[360] Khunrath paraphrases Agrippa's advice to 'withdraw into Yourself, deem nothing impossible for you. Trust in the Lord [and] you will understand and will succeed'.[361]

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356 Niketas Siniossoglou, *Radical Platonism in Byzantium: Illumination and Utopia in Gemistos Plethon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 261.

357 Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 128.

358 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953; repr. 1990; repr. 2013), 321–322.

359 Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine*, 56. On the Book of Nature, see Allen G. Debus and Michael T. Walton (eds.), *Reading the Book of Nature: The Other Side of the Scientific Revolution* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1998); Klaas Van Berkel and Arjo Vanderjagt (eds.), *The Book of Nature in Early Modern and Modern History* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), especially Peter Harrison, 'The "Book of Nature" and Early Modern Science', 1–26; Kenneth J. Howell, *God's Two Books: Copernican Cosmology and Biblical Interpretation in Early Modern Science* (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).

360 Marc Van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 72. See 'Zoroastes' or *Magica* (*id est philosophica*) *dicta Magorum ex Zoroastre*, vv. 19–20, in Bohdan Kieszkowski, *Studi sul platonismo del Rinascimento in Italia* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1936), 159. See James 5:17–18 'Elias was a man passible like unto us: and with prayer he prayed that it might not rain upon the earth, and it rained not for three years and six months. And he prayed again: and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit' (Douay).

361 *Amph.*II, 109 'Tu fac similiter; recurre in Teipsum, nihil supponas (ex & in DEO) in te (auxiliaturi atque auxiliantis DEI promissiones habes, vers.10.) impossibile: Confidas

Khunrath took these bookish metaphors a stage further, dividing the Book of Nature into the two volumes of the Macrocosm and the Microcosm, or as he puts it 'the Book of GOD in the ternary, the *Catholicon*, which is Sacrosanct Scripture and both Worlds, the greater and the lesser.'[362] It has already been suggested that Khunrath's use of the phrase *Know Thyself* may have been influenced by Weigel's book *Gnothi seauton*. If such is the case, then Weigel's notion there of a threefold school of knowledge: School of Man, School of the Light of Nature, and School of God, could well have been the prototype for Khunrath's Three Books.[363] Although he is avoiding scholastic terms, Khunrath's Three Books also show more than a passing resemblance to categories proposed, for example, by the medieval *Doctor Subtilis* Duns Scotus (1265–1308) or indeed the Jesuit Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), in their divisions of the science of being into the study of God as *ens increatum/infinitum*, the World as *ens creatum materiale*, and the human soul as *ens creatum immateriale*,[364] or, in other words, natural theology, cosmology and rational psychology.[365]

Khunrath does occasionally make use of other metaphors for this threefold knowledge, such as the 'tri-une mirror of tri-une Divine majesty',[366] the three 'gates and door-posts of Eternal Wisdom',[367] the 'fruits of Wisdom'[368] and even

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in DOMINO, (Christiano Cabalisticè obsecrando) intelliges; velis Theo-Sophicè, & consequeris.' [You must act similarly; withdraw into Yourself; may you deem nothing (from and in GOD) impossible (you have the promises of GOD who does and will help you, verse 10) for you. May you trust in the LORD (entreating Christian-Cabalistically) [and] you will understand; wish Theo-Sophically and you will succeed]. Cf. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *Liber de Triplici Ratione Cognoscendi Dei*, Cap. III, in E. Garin, M. Brini, C. Vasoli, and C. Zambelli (eds.), *Testi Umanistici su l'Ermetismo* (Rome: Fratelli Bocca, 1955), 150 'recurre in teipsum, emergas ex corpore, nihil supponas in te impossibile, confidas et intelliges, velis et consequeris.' For a brief discussion of the *Liber de Triplici Ratione*, see Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke and Paul Richard Blum, 'Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535): Philosophical Magic, Empiricism, and Skepticism', in Blum (ed.), *Philosophers of the Renaissance*, 124–132, at 130.

362 *Amph.*II, 148 (mispaginated as 146 [T2^{v}]) 'Librum DEI in ternario Catholicon, qui est, SS.^{a} Scriptura, & Mundus vterque, maior & minor'. As mentioned in Chapter 1: *Prologue*, the Greek term *Catholicon* can also translate as 'universal'.

363 Weigel, *Gnothi seauton*, 56. Another possible source for this is Weigel's *De Arcano omnium arcanorum*, as noted by Daniel Colberg, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1690–1691), Vol. 2, 168 'Weigel schreibt in seinem *De Arcano omnium arcanorum* (1588), p. 345 darvon also. Das erste Buch ist die Welt/ gestehet auff vier Seulen *Archantis* und die vier *Elementa*, und die Welt selber. Das ander Buch ist schrifftlich/ als *Apocalypsis*. Das dritte Buch ist die Menscheit'.

364 Charles H. Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' in Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; repr. 1996), 537–638, at 605.

365 Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' 617.

366 *Amph.*II, 108 'speculo maiestatis DIVINÆ triunius triuno'.

367 *Amph.*II, 24 'Fores & postes SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, sunt numero tres.'

368 *Amph.*II, 164 'sunt enim hæ tres cognitiones fructus SAPIENTIÆ.'

siphons from the ocean of Wisdom;[369] but whichever image is used, it is clear that they each embrace all levels of Wisdom, from Nature to Self to God,[370] being three 'good paths' to natural, supernatural and divine Wisdom,[371] with the Book of Man most frequently taking the intermediary position, recalling man's privileged position in the philosophies of Ficino and Pico, as the *nodus* or *copula mundi*, partaking as he does of both a terrestrial body and a celestial soul.[372] Discussing the three 'gates' of Eternal Wisdom, Khunrath provides a little more detail, describing them as 'the Sacrosanct Bible, Creature and Nature, i.e., the whole Macro-Cosm with all the heavenly militia of the Spiritual army; and the Micro-Cosm, according to the body and Spirit; and, finally, the Divine Mind or soul in man.'[373]

These realms or perhaps theatres of experience are also expressed in a seven-fold way. Echoing John's Apocalypse, the 'book' is described as having seven seals,[374] and is elsewhere represented as the 'House of Wisdom', hewn out of seven pillars (Fig. 3.10): the body, spirit, and soul of the Macrocosm, a further three: the body, spirit and soul of Man the Microcosm; with the seventh pillar being 'the Letters, with which the Word is written in the Books [of the Bible]'. In this septenary division we get a clearer idea of what Khunrath intends by the Books of Nature and Man, and he further clarifies this by explaining that the former is concerned with all three components of the Macrocosm with Spiritual creatures, plus the Body and Spirit of Man, while the latter is solely concerned with the 'Divinely-inspired Mind or Soul in man'.[375]

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369 *Amph.*II, 77 'Ex Oceano SAPIENTIÆ, per Libri eius tertriunius Catholici siphones.'

370 *Amph.*II, 108.

371 *Amph.*II, 21, 167.

372 See Marsilio Ficino, *Platonic Theology*, translated by Michael J.B. Allen with John Warden, edited by James Hankins, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), Vol. I, Book III, Chapter II, 231ff; Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, Fifth Exposition, Chapter Seven, in *On the Dignity of Man, On Being and the One, Heptaplus*, translated by Charles Glenn Wallis, Paul J.W. Miller, and Douglas Carmichael (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998), 136.

373 *Amph.*II, 24 'Fores & postes SAPIENTIÆ ÆTERNÆ, sunt numero tres, puta, Biblia SS^{a}. Creatura atque Natura, hoc est, Macro-Cosmus cum tota cælestis exercitus Spiritualis militia, totus; & Micro-Cosmus, secundum corpus ac Spiritum: denique, Mens siuè anima in homine Diuina.'

374 *Amph.*II, 109, 148 (mispaginated as p. 146 [T2^{v}]).

375 *Amph.*II, 90 'TRIVNA, videlicet. Primò, NATVRA atque CREATVRA, hoc est, Mundus maior totus, cum creaturis Spiritualibus; & Corpus ac Spiritus Hominis, id est, Mundi minoris: Secundò, MENS, siuè ANIMA homini Diuinitus inspirata: Tertiò SS.^{a} Scriptura; quod est VERBVM DEI Biblicè scriptum … LITERÆ, quibus VERBVM in BIBLIIS scriptum, columna vna & septima'. Khunrath quotes Proverbs 9:1 'Wisdom hath built herself a house: she hath hewn her out seven pillars.'

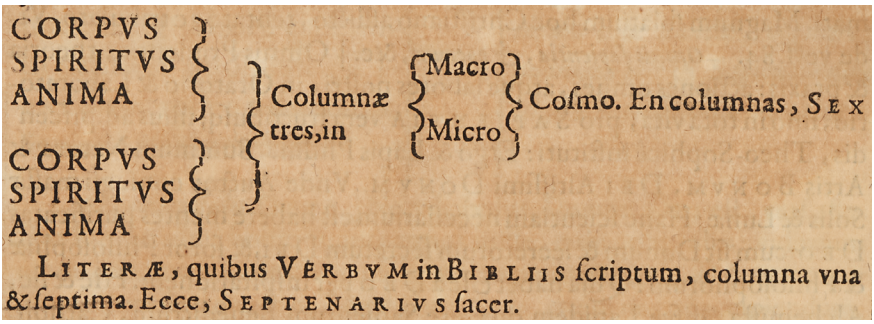


FIGURE 3.10 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II.90: The Seven Pillars of the House of Wisdom. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

Early on in the *Amphitheatre* we find a passage in which Khunrath provides a relatively straightforward explanation of the instruction received concerning body, spirit and soul:

> Instruction, which Divinely falls to one's lot, comes to be embraced with great quickness of mind, with heavenly and holy desire. Let it here be noted that it is a learned Intelligence, not that vulgar, common and easily attained kind; but that which knows celestial, Theological, macro- and micro-cosmic instruction. It is divided into *Justice*, which concerns the soul of man; *Judgement*, which concerns his body; [and] *Rectitude*, which concerns his spirit, and morals, whose duty and calling it forms; so that one acts religiously in divine matters, justly in human, [and] rightly in one's own, towards God, men and oneself.[376]

This passage evidently made a strong impression on one seventeenth-century reader, whose Ramist diagrammatic rendition of the information can be found in a copy of the *Amphitheatre* in the Warburg Institute, London (Fig. 3.11).[377]

376 *Amph.*II, 4: '*Et suscipiendam*] Eruditio, quæ Diuinitùs contingit, magna solertia, cælesti & sancto desiderio amplectenda venit. Notanda etiam hîc est erudita Intelligentia; non vulgaris illa, communis & cuiuis obuia; sed quæ cælestem eruditionem sapiat, Theologicam, macro & microcosmicam. Hanc distribuit in *Iustitiam*, quæ animam hominis concernit; in *Iudicium*, quod corpus; in *Rectitudinem*, quæ spiritum, mores, & cuiusque officium ac vocationem conformat: vt sanctè agat in diuinis, iustè in humanis, rectè in propriis, erga Deum, homines, ac seipsum.'

377 London, Warburg Institute, Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 4 Eruditio (Instruction) diagram.

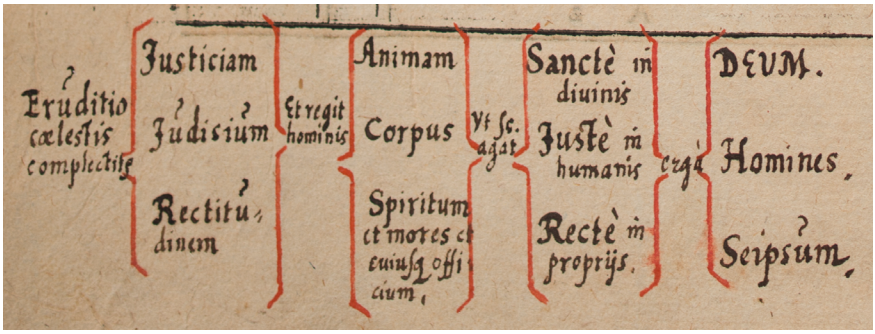


FIGURE 3.11 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 4 *Eruditio* (Instruction), marginal diagram. Michael Innes Collection, Warburg Institute, London



FIGURE 3.12 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), II, 60 *Agnitio*, *Notio* and *Cognitio* diagrams. Michael Innes Collection, Warburg Institute, London

The same reader later draws two small marginal diagrams (Fig. 3.12), representing the interplay between the books of Scripture, Nature and Oneself, and their related *Agnitio*, *Cognitio*, and *Notio*.[378]

In these Three Books we have a strong impression of Khunrath's notion of theosophy as a composite art, as in the above-mentioned assertion in *De Igne magorum* where he declares that Cabala, Magic and Alchemy are 'conjoined' and should and must each be combined with one other.[379] Belief in the concord between the books of Scripture and Nature had been expressed long before by thinkers like the follower of Ramon Lull, Ramon Sibiuda (*c*.1385–1436), Professor of Theology at Toulouse, in his *Liber naturae sive creaturarum* (Book of Nature or of Creatures), or *Theologia naturalis*, who argued that both books were divine revelations, the former specific and mediate, the latter general and immediate, with the understanding that while the first could only be properly interpreted by clerics, the second could be read by lay and cleric alike.[380] Khunrath's use of the literary commonplace *Liber librum explicat* (Book explains

378 Annotation at the top of *Amph*.II, 60.

379 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum*, 87 'KABALA, MAGIA, ALCHYMIA Conjugendæ, Sollen und müssen mit und neben einander angewendet werden.'

380 Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' 544. Ramon Sibiuda, professor of philosophy, theology and medicine at the University of Toulouse (d. 1436). See Paul Richard Blum, *Philosophy of Religion in the Renaissance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 14f. See also Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 12.

book) – which in the case of alchemy usually alluded to the need for careful intertextual reading and compilation due to the practice of dispersal of knowledge in alchemical literature – to imply that similar practices could take place in either direction with the books of scripture and nature, must have provoked a great deal of opposition among more orthodox religious thinkers.[381]

In Paracelsian terms, Khunrath elsewhere explains that the Theosopher can acquire the 'true *interpretation* or explanation and definition of the book of holy biblical scripture from the Light of Nature in the book of creation',[382] and doing so can claim not only to have the *Articles* of the Christian Faith, but also of a rationally justified religion; in such a way that Christian belief based on Scripture is supported by understanding based on the powers of reason drawing evidence from 'uncrazed' (i.e. theosophically trained and restrained) senses.[383] In Khunrath's opinion theosophical doctrine appertains not just to the explanation of the first article of faith, of the Apostolic Creed: 'I believe in God the Father almighty creator of heaven and earth'; but also to a clearer understanding of all the other articles, providing affirmation for the *Thomists*, i.e., those weak in faith, after the doubting disciple who needed physical evidence of Christ's resurrection.[384]

Cf. Michel de Montaigne's *An Apology for Raymond Sebond*, Introduction and Translation by M.A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1987).

381 *Chaos* (1597), 294 'Liber librum explicat, ein Buch verdolmetzscht und leget auß das andere: das Buch der Biblischen Schrifft das Buch der Natur; und das Buch der Natur hinwiederum das Buch der Biblischen Schrifft.' See also *Amph.*II, 207, 213. See Jürgen Strein, 'Siegmund Heinrich Güldenfalks *Sammlung von mehr als 100 Transmutationsgeschichten* (1784)', in Wilhelm Kühlmann and Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke (eds.), *Iliaster: Literatur und Naturkunde in der Frühen Neuzeit, Festgabe für Joachim Telle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg: Manutius Verlag, 1999), 275–283, at 278 regarding Siegmund Heinrich Güldenfalk's *Die himmlische und hermetische Perle oder der göttliche und natürliche Tinctur der Weisen* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1785): 'Nicht zufällig wird die *Himlische und hermetische Perle* mit ein Zitat des Theoalchemikers Heinrich Khunrath eingeleitet: "Das Buch der Natur erklärt das Buch der heiligen schrift; Und die Biebel erklärt das Buch der Natur: Eins erklärt immer das andere."' (4). See also Michael Maier, *Tripus aureus* (Frankfurt, 1618), 118 'Liber librum aperit, ut vir doctus Arnoldus asserit, Velut & Anaxagoras de eodem opere testatur.' See also Lawrence M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 44 'One book opens another'; Tara Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority in the Holy Roman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 27 'a commonplace in alchemical liteature, emphasizing the importance not just of books, but also of reading them properly.'

382 *Chaos* (1597), 306 'daß man auß dem LICIT [sic] der NATUR im Buch der CREATUR haben kan wahre interpretation oder auslegung und erklerung des Buchs der heiligen Biblischen SCHrifft.'

383 *Chaos* (1597), 306–307 'wir [...] können schawen/ mit unverrückten Sinnen begreiffen und Vernünfftig fassen.'

384 *Chaos* (1597), 307–308.

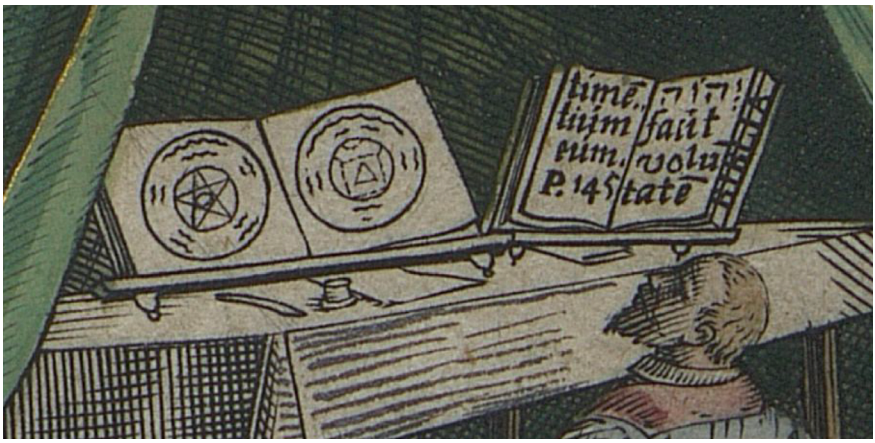


FIGURE 3.13 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail: Bible. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

Let us now consider in more detail some of the ideas embodied in Khunrath's Three Books, inquiring into his notions concerning God, Man and Nature.

20 Book of God, Book of Scripture

> To the eternal, invisible, only wise, best of all, infinite and omnipotent Jehovah Elohim Tzebaoth, God of Gods, Being of beings, three in one, holy, holy, holy Father, and Son, incarnated in the fullness of time, Jhsvh Christ, and the Holy Spirit; Perpetual Author, Preserver, Governor of all Things formed and created existing in the Whole Universe; to his most benevolent Catholic Lord and Protector, filially fearing, solely loving, and most humbly adoring Him, and justly praising Him with due devotion, for all eternity.[385]

So begins the *Amphitheatre*, with an invocation of the power of God, referring both to the Old Testament vision of the One Being knowable only through

385 *Amph.*I, 3 'aeterno, invisibili, soli sapienti, omnivm optimo, infinito et omnipotenti יהוה אלהים צבאות deo deorvm, enti entivm vnitrino, sancto, sancto, sancto, Patri, & Filio, in plenitudine temporis incarnato, Jhsvh Christo, nec non Spiritvi sancto; Vniuersarum Rerum creatarum ac conditarum in Toto Vniverso existentium Avthori, Conservatori, Gvbernatori, Perpetuò; Domino ac Patrono suo Catholico, benignissimo, filialiter timendo, vnicè amando, humillimeque adorando, & in omnem æternitatem, deuotione debit<o>, meritò laudando.' See also *Amph.*II, 123.

his attributes and to the New Testament vision of God as Holy Trinity, focussing particularly on the more personal relationship with the benevolent figure of Christ, with Man's relationship to this one and triune God described in terms of fear, love, adoration, devotion and praise. In this section we shall consider Khunrath's preoccupation with God as Creator, Eternal Wisdom and the Bestower of Gifts.

Man's *Summum Bonum* or Highest Good and the *Amphitheatre*'s main goal, is the 'Recognition, Knowledge, Association, Union and Fruition of JEHOVAH, CREATED BEING and NATURE, and MAN HIMSELF, that is, Catholically ALL THINGS.'[386] The fundamental act of the Theosopher is the *Agnitio Dei*, the recognition or acknowledgement that God exists, indeed not that he merely *has* being, but that He *is* the 'Being of Beings',[387] or 'Tri-Une Spiritual Being' itself.[388] Although Khunrath more commonly describes the Godhead as 'Triune' (Triunus), and often visually represents this with the triangular Pythagorean Tetraktys, in the quote above he employs the term 'Unitrinus', which calls to mind the fifteenth-century theologian and philosopher Nicholas of Cusa's 'circulus infinitus unitrinus',[389] a circularity and infinity consonant with a work called the *Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom*.

Khunrath presents much of his vision of God and His relation to His creatures and creation in the *Amphitheatre*'s first and second circular figures. Although a more thorough examination of Circular Figure One will be reserved for Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala, due to its proliferation of Hebrew names and terms, it is worth noting the centrality of the image of what appears to be

386 *Amph.*II, 162 'Agnitionem, Cognitionem, Cognationem, Vnionem & Fruitionem IEHOVÆ, CREATVRÆ atque NATVRÆ, HOMINISque IPSIVS, hoc est, Catholicè OMNIA.' See also *Amph.*I, 7 and the *Amphitheatre*'s *Summa* Table.

387 *Amph.*I, 3. Cf. Anon, *Colloquium Rhodostauroticum trium personarum* (N.p., 1624), 138 'Apostolus ait I. Corinth.12. Varia sunt dona, unus attamen est spiritus. Vni loqui datur de sapientia, alteri loqui datur de agnitione, iuxta illum spiritum', where in the discussion of the various gifts of the Holy Spirit, one 'is given the word of wisdom: and to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit' (Douay). Here *agnitio* is translated as 'the word of knowledge', which seems to imply a more proactive, evangelical mission, beyond the acknowledgement of God's existence.

388 *Amph.*II, 221 'Quapropter ô JEHOVAH, ENS SPIRITVALE, TRIVNVM.'

389 Bernard McGinn, '*Unitrinum seu Triunum*: Nicholas of Cusa's Trinitarian Mysticism', in Michael Kessler and Christian Sheppard (eds.), *Mystics: Presence and Aporia* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 90–117. See also Diana Bormann-Kranz, *Untersuchungen zu Nikolaus von Kues De theologicis complementis* (Stuttgart & Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1994), 25. Cf. Nicholas of Cusa, *De Docta ignorantia*, edited by Ernest Hoffmann and Raymond Klibansky (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1932), Book I, Chapter 29, 39, ll. 20–21 'non habebis unum et tria vel e converso, sed unitrinum seu triunum'. On the presence of hermetic ideas in Cusa's *De Docta ignorantia*, see Paolo Lucentini and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, 'Hermetic Literature II: Latin Middle Ages', in Wouter J. Hanegraaff et al (eds.), *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 499–529, at 510.

cruciform, resurrected Christ, borne up on the wings of a bird so fiery that it calls to mind both the pentecostal dove of the Holy Spirit and the mythical phoenix.[390] Perhaps this fiery bird is a symbol both of Christ's baptism and resurrection, for Khunrath's 'incarnated in the fullness of time' in the quote above echoes a phrase in a passage in Irenaeus's *Against Heresies* that refers to the Holy Spirit descending on Christ at his baptism.[391] The image is also, perhaps, a symbol of the Theosopher's potential, for Khunrath writes elsewhere of 'Our penitently washed and purified Mind joined with the SPIRIT OF GOD'S WISDOM, TheoSophically raised up with wings, and sublimated, by the fire of Divine love, to the ἁγιαστηριον [*Hagiastērion*], that is, the *Sanctuary of good Spirits*, or of GOD's Angels (which can be done by man, as much waking as sleeping)'.[392] This image of Christ is undoubtedly for Khunrath, the 'SEAL of the Father, not only the IMAGE EIKΩN [*Eikōn – Icon*], but the ἀπαυγασμα [*apaugasma – radiance*] and true brightness of the Father's glory.'[393]

In contrast to the visual immediacy of the presence of Christ and the Holy Spirit, God the Father is represented by a dark sphere above, bearing the Hebrew words אין סוף [*Ein Sof – Without Limit*], denoting the infinite Godhead as the Abyss, the ultimate ineffable being, beyond the comprehension of man,[394] the *deus absconditus* of Calvin and Luther.[395]

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390 On the phoenix as a symbol for both resurrected Christ and sign of the future resurrection of all baptized faithful, see Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols and Settings of Early Christian Baptism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 275. As a symbol of death and resurrection in alchemy, see Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *Alchemical Death and Resurrection: The Significance of Alchemy in the Age of Newton* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Libraries, 1990), 9. Note that in the frontispiece of A.T. Limojon Sieur de St. Didier, *Le triomphe hermetique* (Amsterdam, 1689), the triangle of the sign for fiery sulphur contains a phoenix.

391 Irenaeus, *Adversus Valentini, et similium Gnosticorum Haereses, libri quinque* (Paris, 1576), Lib. III, 199 'Spiritu itaque descendente super praedictam dispositionem, & filio Dei unigenito, qui & Verbum est patris, veniente *plenitudine temporis incarnato*, in hominem propter hominem …' (Matthew 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:32). My italics.

392 *Amph.*II, 168 'SPIRITVI SAPIENTIÆ DEI iuncta Mens nostra, pœnitentialiter lota atque mundata, TheoSophice eleuata alis, & sublimata, igne amoris Diuini, in ἁγιαστηριον, hoc est, *Sanctuarium Spirituum bonorum*, siuè DEI Angelorum, (quod fieri potest homine tam vigilante, quàm dormiente).'

393 *Amph.*II, 209 'SIGILLVM Patris, IMAGO non tantum, vel EIKΩN sed & ἀπαυχασμα, & verus gloriæ Patris splendor, DEI VERBVM, DEI VIRTVS, & DEI SAPIENTIA incarnata.' Printed ἀπαυχασμα [*apauchasma*], but most likely a misprint for ἀπαυγασμα [*apaugasma*], *radiance, effulgence*. Cf. Wisdom 7:26 'For she is the brightness of eternal light;' Hebrews 1:3 'Who, being the brightness of his glory and the figure of his substance and upholding all things by the word of his power, making purgation of sins, sitteth on the right hand of the majesty on high.'

394 *Amph.*II, 73–4.

395 See Gerrish, *The Old Protestantism and the New*, Chapter 8, "To the Unknown God" Luther and Calvin on the Hiddenness of God. See also the London, 1647 translation by

21 Deus Pater Archetypos – God, the Father, the Archetype

It is clear in the opening passage of the *Amphitheatre*, addressed to *YHVH Elohim Tzebaoth*, Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, that Khunrath chooses to emphasise the creative aspects of God's Nature as 'Perpetual Author, Preserver, Governor of the whole body of formed and created things existing in the whole Universe', i.e. God as Creator and as Lord of the angelic hosts. As an alchemist, Christian Cabalist and magus, Khunrath is especially drawn to the vision of God as the Archetype of the World, the First *Exemplar* of the World.[396] This notion of God as *Archetypos* is further developed in the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure, in this case providing clues to how Khunrath perceived the relationship between God and Man. Somewhat reminiscent of the set of three volvelles in the thirteenth-century Franciscan logician and philosopher Ramon Lull's *Ars Brevis*, which sought to approach God through the contemplation of nine divine 'dignities' or 'axioms' (goodness, greatness, eternity; power, wisdom, love; virtue, truth, and glory),[397] Khunrath's second circular figure depicts ten rays, bearing thirteen attributes (Eternal, Terrible, Just, Merciful, etc) emanating from the Sun of the divine Archetype.[398]

From these attributes we gain a strong impression of the Old Testament two-fold hand of God, both Helper and Avenger, the powerful and forbidding 'YHVH Elohim Tzebaoth [Lord God of Hosts], GOD OF GODS, BEING OF BEINGS,' demanding recognition of the helpful hand and fear of the vengeful, and exacting punishment from those like Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar who ignore His authority.[399] As with all Khunrath's theosophy, acknowledgement and knowledge of God involves practice as much as theory. It is not simply the

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John Sparrow of Boehme, *The Clavis or Key, or An Exposition of Some Principall Matters, and Words in the Writings of Jacob Behmen*, printed in *The Works of Jacob Behmen*, 2:7; *Sämtliche Schriften*, 9:81–82 in Wolfson, 'The Holy Cabala of Changes: Jacob Böhme and Jewish Esotericism', *Aries* 18.1 (2018): 1–33, at 4 'The Ancient Rabins among the *Jews* have partly understood it, for they have said, that this Name is the Highest, and most Holy Name of God; by which they understand the working Deity in Sense: and it is true, for in this working sense lies the true life of all things in Time and Eternity, in the Ground [*Grund*] and Abyss [*Ungrund*]; and it is God himself, namely the Divine working Perceptibility [*Empfindlichkeit*], Sensation [*Findlichkeit*], Invention, Science [*Wissenschaft*], and Love [*Liebe*]; that is, the true understanding in the working unity, from which the five senses of the true Life spring. Each Letter in this Name intimates to us a peculiar virtue [*Kraft*] and working [*Wirckung*], that is, a Form in the working Power.'

396 *Chaos* (1597), 79–80 'GOTT der HERR ARCHETYPUS Mundi, das Erste *Exemplar* der Welt.'

397 Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' 540. See also Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, translated with an introduction by Stephen Clucas (London: Continuum, 2000), 46f. See Figs. 2.62–64 in the preceding chapter on Khunrath's Images.

398 For more see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Christian Cabala.

399 *Amph.*II, 32–3, 138.

ability to speak about the Divine Nature, but also the active accomplishment of His will, that is to fear God and believe in His mercy, to live in conformity with His commandments,[400] by following the Old Testament Law of the Decalogue and the New Testament Law of Conscience.[401] Hence Khunrath's claim that soundness of body and outer life is due to piety and the fear of God,[402] indeed that the whole duty of man is to Fear God and avoid evil,[403] in accordance with the belief that 'Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.'[404] Although this at first sounds baleful, Khunrath explains that by this he does not mean the 'servile' fear of the guilty expecting punishment, but the 'filial' fear of the theologians,[405] by which he presumably intends something like the fear of loss of grace rather than of retribution.[406]

22 Filius Theanthropos – the Divinely-Human Son

This discussion of the filial brings us to the second person of the Trinity, and the epitome of the beneficent aspect of divinity, Christ as God the Son, or in Khunrath's usage, God the Brother, a sentiment also found in Weigel.[407] As θεανθρωπος [*theanthrōpos*], *God-Man* or *Divine Man*, a term Khunrath possibly took from Reuchlin's *On the Wonder-Working Word*,[408] Christ is the most personal of the hypostases and as such the focus of Khunrath's devotion, the symbol of man's perfection, the perfect microcosm, linking God and the universe he embodies, as both the purest image of the divine exemplar and the highest perfection of creation.[409]

Thus it is that we find the Hebrew words חכמה אל (*Chochmah-El*) on the tent-like tabernacle of the Oratory in the fourth circular figure, signifying

400 *Amph.*II, 107, 157.
401 *Amph.*II, 125. See Figure 1 for the Decalogue and *Shema* prayer, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.
402 *Amph.*II, 137.
403 *Amph.*II, 88, 150 (mispaginated as 148 [T3^{v}]).
404 Proverbs 7:1, 9:10.
405 *Amph.*II, 102.
406 See Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 48 concerning Recanati on two types of fear: internal and external 'The external fear is below love, and the internal is above love.'
407 Circular Figure 2. See Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, 167.
408 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 952 '*theanthropos* illum: id est, Deum hominem'; in the margin: '*theanthropou Christi confirmatio*'.
409 *Amph.*II, 44–5, 57.

Christ as the 'Wisdom of God',[410] to whom all petitions are addressed, the 'Eternal Wisdom' of the *Amphitheatre*'s title.[411]

Such is Christ's love for man, Khunrath informs us, echoing the slightly heretical sentiments of Alexander of Hales (*c*.1185–1245) and Duns Scotus (*c*.1266–1308), that he would have incarnated anyway, whether or not mankind needed saving from sin.[412] He is the Way, Truth and Life of Mankind,[413] its Light, Salvation and Wisdom,[414] and as such the Archetype to be imitated by all Christians,[415] after the manner of the *Imitatio Christi* (Imitation of Christ) of the fifteenth-century Canon Regular Thomas à Kempis, whose writing was of such importance to Weigel and Arndt:[416] by following the life and activities of Christ, being prepared to undergo similar trials and tribulations,[417] to be 'thoroughly broken by the *Fire of the Cross*',[418] through sincere self-abnegation

410 *Hhochmah él*; elsewhere חכמה *Chochmah* (Wisdom) אל *El* (God), which in *Amph*.II, 16 is equated with 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life', a phrase usually associated with Christ, as in *Amph*.II, 21 which refers to John 14:6 'Jesus saith to him: I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me.' Cf. Wisdom 7:22 and the "polypoikilos sophia tou Theou" (manifold wisdom of God) of Ephesians 3:10.

411 This Hebrew phrase does not exist in the Bible, but perhaps equates to Paul's description of Christ in 1 Corinthians 1:24 as *Christon theou dynamin kai theou sophian*/*Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam* (Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God).

412 *Amph*.II, 69. On the heretical notion of 'Incarnation even without a Fall', found in Origen, Tertullian, Duns Scotus and others, see G.C. Berkouwer, *The Work of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), 2, citing Abraham Kuyper, *De Vleeswording des Woords* (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1887), 28. For a more extensive discussion, see Jack Mahoney, *Christianity in Evolution: An Exploration* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011), Chapter 4: Incarnation without the Fall, esp. 71–72 where he cites Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* on the question 'Whether, if mankind had not sinned, God would nevertheless have become incarnate.' This had already been answered in the negative by Augustine but was to become almost 'a Franciscan doctrine' due to the influence of Duns Scotus. One of Khunrath's named sources, Gabriel Biel espoused this doctrine. Mahoney (73) says that the first to claim this was the 12th-century Benedictine abbot, Rupert of Deurtz.

413 *Amph*.II, 16, 21.

414 *Amph*.II, 43.

415 *Amph*.II, 23, 52.

416 See *Amph*.II, 82 'Homo proponit, Devs disponit' (Man proposes, God disposes), a saying found in Thomas À Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, translated by Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952), 48. For Arndt's translation, see *Zwey alte und edle Büchlein. Das Erste. Die Deutsche Theologia … Das Ander. Die Nachfolgung Christi* (Magdeburg, 1605). For Weigel's references to both the *Theologia Germanica* and *Imitatio Christi*, see *De Vita Beata*. Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, 84.

417 *Amph*.II, 50, 114.

418 *Amph*.I, 20 'per *Ignem crucis*, probè fractus'. Cf. *Johann Arnd's sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum und dessen Paradiesgärtlein* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1850), xx 'Wenn Du mit Deinen Gaben die Kierche willst weiden, so gieb zu, daß sie durch das Feuer des Kreuzes gekocht werden, damit sie recht wohlschmeckend werden.' Cf. the note

and symbolic death, and most particularly to act with love towards one's neighbour. For Khunrath, Christ is both the Wisdom assisting God at the time of Creation and the Saviour of Mankind, spoken of 'in the beginning' of both Genesis 1:1 and John 1:1. He is at pains to show both the divinity and eternity of Wisdom,[419] conceived by God,[420] begotten, not created,[421] which already existed before Creation,[422] and which is the same as the incarnate Word.[423]

The Christocentricity of Khunrath's works cannot be doubted when at the heart of the *Amphitheatre*'s first circular engraving we see the image of Christ, encircled by the words uttered at the very moment of his death on the cross, 'Truly HE WAS the son of GOD' (Vere filius DEI ERAT IPSE)[424] and 'In this sign you will conquer' (IN HOC SIGNO VINCES),[425] surrounded by a nimbus of light from which all the universe radiates or depends.[426] His representation here not as the suffering, crucified, but the victorious, resurrected Christ suggests the influence of a Lutheran and more optimistic form of Protestant eschatology.[427] Khunrath could well have chosen the latter phrase, too, because of its association with the famous fourth-century dream vision of Emperor

in Arndt, *Sechs Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum, welche handeln von heilsamer Busse* (Reutlingen: B.G. Kurtz, 1833), 540 'hiemit wird abgebildet, wie Gott einen Christen durch das Feuer des Kreuzes zum Steigen tüchtig machet, und dahin bringet.' See Neumann, *Natura sagax*, 176 concerning the Fire of the Cross, Arndt's 'Schule der Traurigkeit' and Khunrath's 'Tribulatio est Schola practica'.

419 *Amph.*II, 64, 67–9.

420 *Amph.*II, 65.

421 *Amph.*II, 64, 133.

422 *Amph.*II, 55.

423 *Amph.*II, 68.

424 See Matthew 27:54 and Mark 15:39.

425 See Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. James Freake, ed. Donald Tyson (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1993; repr. 2009), 564. See also Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 55. See also Johann de Monte-Snyder, *Metamorphosis Planetarum* (Amsterdam, 1663), 132 'Welches dem Großmächtigem keyser in den Wolcken gezeiget ist/ mit der Umbschrifft: In hoc signo vinces. Dieses Fähnlein ist ein Zeichen der Victori, und gehöret auff die Sonne.'

426 G.E. Monod-Herzen, *L'Alchimie Méditerranéenne: Ses Origines et son but, La Table d'Émeraude* (Paris: Adyar, 1963), 119.

427 Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 33. Cf., however, Urszula Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom: Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse in the Protestant Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 3, quoting from Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: Chicago University Press; London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 225 'Luther's was a mortifying theology. It had as its object the crucified Christ who revealed God in his concealment, while its subjective corollary was the believer who experienced Christ's death as his own … Protestant art flourished above all in epitaphs, tombstones and graveyards, and in the festivals of death staged by Baroque

Constantine, well-known for his equanimity towards all parties within the Church, as he reveals himself more than once as sharing Weigel's sentiments that the true Church is neither sectarian nor partisan but universal, accepting all.[428] Given Khunrath's time spent at the imperial court in the early 1590s, immediately preceding the preparation of the 1595 *Amphitheatre*, the inclusion of an emperor so close to the heart of such a Christian seal could also, of course, be a politic nod in the direction of Rudolf II.[429]

23 Spiritus Polypoikilos – Multiform Spirit

Finally we turn to the third person of the trinity, the Holy Spirit, the friend,[430] the link (*vinculum*) between Man as body and God as soul that vivifies, by virtue of which the two may be united.[431] At times Khunrath's synthesis of Hebrew, Stoic and Neoplatonic language gives rise to a seeming confusion of terms and this is especially apparent in his application of the Greek *Pneuma*, Hebrew *Ruach*, Latin *Spiritus* and German *Geist*, all in varying ways rendering the meaning of Spirit, but at times conflated with the *Anima* or Soul.[432] Khunrath does, indeed, seem to acknowledge the possibility for confusion, but reassures that '*There are diversities of Graces, but the same Spirit*. And there are diversities of ministries, but the same LORD. And there are diversities of operations, but the same GOD, who worketh ALL IN ALL.'[433] It is, nevertheless, often difficult to determine the difference between God described as a Fire and a Spirit pervading and animating all things,[434] the *Omnia in Omnibus* (All in all) of Corinthians,[435] hinting at a divine omnipresence, equated with Virgil's statement from the *Eclogues* that 'All things are full of Jove',[436] and, for example,

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Trauerspiele … funeral effigies … and … long decorative lists of proper names, replaced the old icons of the saints …'.

428 Weeks, *Valentin Weigel*, 135–6.

429 See also the inclusion of Rudolf's motto "ADSIT" on the 1609 *Title page*, which bears Rudolf's 10-year privilege at the bottom, as well as appearing prominently at the foot of the *Summa* table.

430 *Amph.*II, 105.

431 *Amph.*II, 54.

432 For more on *Ruach*, see *The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 5th edition, n.d.), 1160–1162.

433 *Amph.*II, 111, quoting 1 Corinthians 12:4–6.

434 *Chaos* (1597), 279 'Gottes/ der ein Feuer und Geist ist.'

435 See above the cave entrance in the *Entrance* engraving, 1 Corinthians 12:6 & 15:28.

436 *Amph.*II, 67 'Iovis omnia plena'. Virgil, *Eclogue* III 'Ab Jove principium Musae; Jovis omnia plena'; Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 909: 'Virgil … qui cecinit

the one Spirit which works in all things,[437] as the 'vapour of the power of God emanating in the universe',[438] which is at the same time multiple and multiform (πολυποικιλος),[439] subtle and mobile (ἐυκινητος).[440] It is difficult at times to know whether Khunrath is making a clear distinction between the New Testament Holy Spirit or the Old Testament Spirit of the Lord.

Khunrath does, however, claim that this 'Spirit' is 'triply familiar to the wise', and distinguishes its manifestations in three ways, as it relates to the three divine, macro- and micro-cosmical 'books'.

> 1. Divinely; immediately; through Influence, Light and Motion; mediately, Biblically and even associated with human flesh.[441]

The first manifestation of spirit sounds to be the personal Holy Spirit, or what Khunrath most frequently refers to as רוח חכמה אל *Ruach Chochmah-El*, the 'Spirit of the Wisdom of God'. Khunrath glosses the Hebrew word רוח *Ruach*, denoting an 'invisible force', as *wind*, *breath*, or *spirit*.[442] Like the term *Spiritus* with Marsilio Ficino,[443] *Ruach* represents an extremely important cluster of concepts for Khunrath, indeed the connecting or associative principle behind all of the Theosopher's activities. As we shall see in this and the following chapters, as well as relating to the Spirit of the Lord that moved on the face of the waters in Genesis, and the breath God infused into Adam in the *Bereshit* of Christian-Cabala,[444] *Ruach* is also connected in Khunrath's writings with the

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inter pecora: Iovis omnia plena'. See Henrichs, 'What is a Greek God?', 22 'poignant definition of Greek polytheism παντα πληρη θεων' [panta plērē theōn] 'everything is full of gods', as quoted by Aristotle, *De anima* 1.5.411a8.

437 *Amph.*II, 150 (mispaginated as p. 148 [T3^{v}]).

438 *Amph.*II, 57 'VAPORIS VIRTVTIS DEI EMANANTIS IN VNIVERSVM.' Cf. Wisdom 7:25.

439 πολυποικιλος [*polypoikilos*] 'multiple, multiform.' *Amph.*II, 24, 56, 111, 195–6. Cf. Wisdom 7:22 and the 'polypoikilos sophia tou Theou' (manifold wisdom of God) of Ephesians 3:10.

440 *Amph.*II, 56 ἐυκινητος [*eukinētos*] 'easily moved, nimble.'

441 *Amph.*II, 111 '1. Diuinitus, immediatè; Influentiâ, Lumine & Motu: Mediatè, Biblicè, nec non in carne humana assumpta.' See also, *Amph.*II, 60 'Influentiâ, Lumine & Motu Diuino'; 91 'solis Diuini tantùm Influentia, Lumine & Motu.'

442 *Chaos* (1597), 65–66 '... RUACH ELOHIM, des GEISTS DER HERRN, oder (wie die Hebraeer verlateinet reden) FLATUS der Wehung oder des Hauchens des HERRN'. Cf. William Glen Moncrieff, *Spirit: on the Hebrew Terms Ruach and Neschamah, and the Greek term Pneuma* (London: Ward & Co., 1853), who discusses the various meanings of *Ruach* as (7) *wind*, *blast*, *air*, *tempest*, *whirlwind*, (8) *breath*, (16) *spirit*.

443 Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (eds. and trans.), *Marsilio Ficino, Three Books on Life: A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 257.

444 Genesis 2:7.

Physico-Chymical distillation of *spiritus* as the quintessence of animals, vegetables and minerals, Physico-Magical manipulation of *spiritus* in talismans, and Hyperphysico-Magical dealings with angelic spirits.[445]

Although the name רוח חכמה *Ruach Chochmah*, the Spirit of Wisdom, is found in the Old Testament,[446] *Ruach Chochmah-El* seems to be a new Christian-Cabalist term devised by Khunrath to specifically denote the Holy Spirit of the Trinity and give a clear sense of the way the Holy Spirit (*Ruach Chochmah-El*) proceeds from Christ (*Chochmah-El*), who in turn comes forth from God (*El*),[447] in accordance with the traditional Latin formulation of the double procession of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son.[448] It is clearly a phrase of some significance for Khunrath as he includes it high up on the right-hand obelisk of the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page (Fig. 3.14).

Khunrath occasionally also refers to this manifestation of *Ruach* as the Spirit of Wisdom[449] or Spirit of Sophia.[450] It can act 'immediately' by penetrating all things and regulating the *machina mundi*,[451] and 'mediately' through an 'Angel of Light' or by one of its 'Natural or Artificial Organs', i.e. the Sons of Wisdom.[452] Substantiating each with biblical references, Khunrath provides a long list of this Spirit's powers: it creates, it fills the whole world, bestows wisdom and the skill of speaking, performs miracles by virtue of signs and wonders,

445 Giordano Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity and Essays on Magic*, edited by Richard J. Blackwell and Robert de Lucca (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; rpt. 2004), 130, 135.

446 For רוח *Ruach* (Spirit) חכמה *Chochmah* (Wisdom), see Exodus 28:3 'And thou shalt speak to all the wise of heart, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, …' and Deuteronomy 34:9 ' And Josue the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom, because Moses had laid his hands upon him'; for *Ruach Chochmah ve Binah* (The Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding), Isaiah 11:2 'And the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah.' Ephesians 1:17 'That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and of revelation, in the knowledge of him.'

447 *Chaos* (1597), 50 'Ruach Hhochmah-El des Geistes der Weisheit Gottes'; Cf. *Chaos* (1597), 314 for Khunrath's German gloss of the words 'Adsit; Ruach Hhochmah-El; in te L (אל) lectus!' as 'Es sey Da; der Geist der Weisheit Gottes; in dir Gott der auserlesene!' *Amph.*II, 181 'Ruach Hhochmael, Spiritus Sapientiae divinae.'

448 Kärkkäinen (ed.), *Holy Spirit and Salvation*, 140, 169.

449 *Amph.*II, 60, 71, 95, 136, etc., in connection with Wisdom 1:6 'For the spirit of wisdom is benevolent, and will not acquit the evil speaker from his lips: for God is witness of his reins, and he is a true searcher of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue'; Wisdom 7:7 '*Wherefore I wished, and understanding was given me: and I called upon God, and the Spirit of Wisdom came upon me.*'

450 *Amph.*II, 109, 119.

451 *Amph.*II, 60.

452 *Amph.*II, 136.

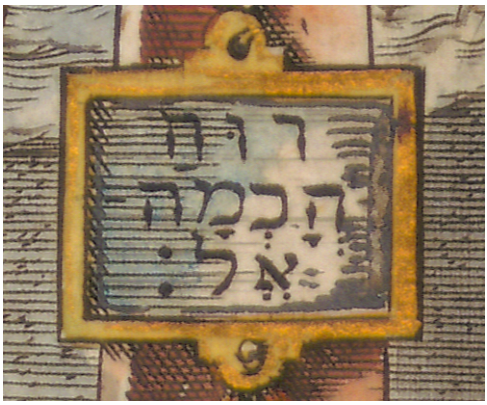


FIGURE 3.14
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title page*, detail: *Ruach Chochmah El – Spirit of the Wisdom of God*. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

investigates the deeps of God, searches all things, distributes goods, sanctifies, bestows grace and peace, justifies, makes men free, moves hearts to good works and invocation, forgives sins, reveals mysteries, is the author of every holy revelation and vision and the master of hidden things, bestows faith, incites pious motions, and teaches the faithful.[453] Although Khunrath never uses the Hebrew term *Ruach ha-Qadosh* – 'Spirit of the Holy (One)'/'Holy Spirit' – his notion of the revelatory powers of *Ruach Chochmah-El* certainly resembles the description of the Holy Spirit made by one of Pico della Mirandola and Reuchlin's major sources, the thirteenth-century Italian Kabbalist Menahem ben Benjamin Recanati (1250–1310):

> Know that prophecy [...] is divided into three parts. The first part is called *Nebu'ah* (Prophecy) and it was attained by the prophets. The second part is called *Ruah ha-Quodes* (The Holy Spirit); it was attained by David, Solomon, Daniel, and other pious men, and it is below prophecy. The third part is called *Bat Qol* (the Daughter of the Voice); it is below the holy spirit and it was attained by the wise men of Israel after the cessation of prophecy.[454]

It is the Familiar Spirit (Spiritus Familiaris),[455] 'both within the body and without the body',[456] the 'author of the Fear of God',[457] the bringer of goods

453 *Amph.*II, 109–111.
454 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 51. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 333 on the *Bath Qol*, or voice from heaven.
455 *Amph.*II, 133.
456 *Amph.*II, 211.
457 *Amph.*II, 102.

and gifts,[458] the Principal Spirit by which Khunrath prays to be Cabalistically, Magically and Physico-Chemically confirmed.[459] Khunrath is careful to make clear he has no dealings with any 'diabolical familiar spirit',[460] advises against approaching 'Nigromantic, Wicked Spirits, diabolical familiars transforming themselves into Angels of Light',[461] and stresses the fact that God's blessing is necessary for any undertaking.[462] Thus we find the Holy Spirit being personally addressed by Khunrath, like a guardian angel,[463] in a prayer described as the 'Author's Daily Wish' at the end of *On Primaterial Chaos*, when he entreats,

> O Ruach Hhochmah-El, you Spirit of the Wisdom of God, dwell henceforth the time of my whole life with me, and be always my secret, regular and friendly *Preceptor*, instructor and counsellor, in Oratory and Laboratory, and otherwise in all my other acts and deeds; such that, from the lord god, through your counsel, teaching, instruction, direction and guidance, in all things I may have good will, good knowledge, good ability and well-being, Amen.[464]

Khunrath's personal 'Spirit of Assistance' is asked to assume not just the role of teacher but also be the helper who 'presides over the Laboratory of the Wise' and guards the alchemist's work from the interference of the Devil.[465] Khunrath is undoubtedly sincere, however, telling us from personal experience that 'I understood more, in a quarter of an hour, indeed in an instant (by the instruction, I suspect, of my good Genius assisting me by the grace of God)

458 *Amph.*II, 36, 97.

459 *Amph.*II, 123. This is taken from Psalm 50:14. But see above, Chapter 1, footnote 1, where Erasmus indentifies the Principal Spirit as God the Father.

460 *Amph.*II, 122.

461 *Amph.*II, 153.

462 *Amph.*II, 134.

463 *Chaos* (1597), 438, margin: 'His sit spiritus tibi familiaris'.

464 *Chaos* (1597), 438 'Teglicher Wunsch des Authoris. O Ruach Hhochmah-El, du Geist der Weisheit Gottes/ wohne auch forthin die Zeit meines gantzen Lebens mir bey/ und sey allezeit mein geheimer/ gemeiner und freundlicher Præceptor, Unterweiser und Rathgeber/ in Oratorio und Laboratorio, und sonsten in Alle meinen anderen Thun und Lassen; also/ das von gott dem Herrn/ durch deinen Rath/ Lehr/ Unterweisung/ Leitung und Führung/ in Allen ich habe Wol-Wollen/ Wol-Erkennen/ Wol Können und Wol Seyn/ Amen.'

465 *Amph.*II, 33. The prayer apparently made a more positive impression on Gottfried Arnold, who includes it in *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historien*, Vol. 2 (1741), 332.

than previously in the space of a whole year',[466] and promises his reader that 'with the power and assistance of this SPIRIT you will be capable of ALL THINGS.'[467]

The second and third manifestations of Spirit are those found in created being and shall be discussed in more detail in the section below concerned with the Book of Nature. Let it suffice here to provide Khunrath's explanation that it manifests:

> 2. Macro-Cosmically in Nature (which is RUACH ELOHIM, Genesis 1, or the Soul of the World), Catholically, that is, with universal power and operation, in the Philosophers' Stone; Particularly, in every single Created being, as much spiritual as corporeal, and those things which come from them, throughout the whole created universe.[468]

In the Macrocosm or Greater World, Khunrath's second manifestation of Spirit is רוח אלהים *Ruach Elohim*, which features so prominently in the lower section of the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page (Fig. 3.15), as the Biblical 'Spirit of the Lord', that moved over the waters in Genesis 1:2.[469] According to Khunrath it is also the Neoplatonic *Anima Mundi*, the 'Soul of the World', which he never describes with the same sense of person or intellect as the *Ruach Chochmah-El*, the 'Spirit of the Wisdom of God'.[470] Contrary to Szulakowska's claim that it is 'Christ as Creator God',[471] this spirit is instead the vital principle active 'particularly' in all created being and sought for in its 'universal' state by the alchemists in the preparation of the Philosophers' Stone. It is presented by Khunrath as

466 *Amph.*II, 109 'in quadrante horulæ, imò in momento, (suspicor institutione Genii mei boni gratia DEI mihi adsistentis) me plus intellexisse, quàm antea spatio anni totius.'

467 *Amph.*II, 111 'Virtute & assistentia SPIRITVS huius poteris OMNIA.'

468 *Amph.*II, 111 '2. Macro-Cosmicè Naturâ (quæ RVACH ELOHIM, Gen. 1. aut Anima Mundi) Catholicè, hoc est, vniuersali virtute ac operatione, in Lapide Philosophorum; Particulariter, in singulis Creaturis, tam spiritualibus quàm corporalibus, & quæ ex hisce sunt, per totum vniuersum creatum.'

469 For example, Genesis 1:2 'And the Spirit of God moved over the waters'. But see also *Amph.* II, 9 'The Spirit of the LORD hath spoken by me, says David, 2 Samuel 23:2, and his word by my tongue.' This becomes more puzzling when we take into account Amph.II, 100 'It makes the Sons of GOD, Romans 8:14, Whoever are led by the Spirit of GOD, they are the sons of GOD'.

470 See Miklós Vassányi, *Anima Mundi: The Rise of the World Soul Theory in Modern German Philosophy* (Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2011), Introduction, for a discussion of the Soul of the World in Plato, Plotinus, Classical and Early Modern Conceptions of the World Soul; Chapter 6 on Böhme and Oetinger; and Chapter 8 on Giordano Bruno's *De la causa, principio et uno* (Venice, 1584) and *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* (London, 1584).

471 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 24, 92.



FIGURE 3.15 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title page*, detail: *Ruach Elohim mediantibus Schamaim – Spirit of the Lord with the Heavens mediating*. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

the Servant of the Macrocosm, the counterpart to Christ as the Saviour of the Microcosm.[472] In a gloss of Wisdom 7:22 'In Wisdom is the Spirit', that sounds like a theory of divine emanation influenced by the Kabbalistic Tree of Life, Khunrath explains that this spirit is 'πνευμα μονογενες και πολυμερες [*pneuma monogenes kai polymeres*], Only-born or Only-begotten, and Manifold, because, born and come forth from that simple and Unique Nature of GOD, it spreads itself as if though branches, throughout these innumerable parts of the World.'[473] He adds that 'Multiplicity is also attributed to this Spirit of GOD,

472 For more on the relation between Christ and the Philosophers' Stone, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

473 *Amph.*II, 56 'Est & dicitur πνευμα μονογενὲς και πολυμερὲς, *Vnigenus siue Vnigenitus, & Multiplex, quod ab illa simplici Vnicaque DEI Natura ortus & profectus, se per has Mundi partes innumeras, quasi per ramos diffundat.*' Most of this definition is not original to Khunrath, but in fact lifted verbatim from Stephanus, *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (1557), 99^{r} n. 22.

on account of the variety of virtues and powers infused in the Things, into which it descends.'[474]

> 3. Micro-Cosmically, in Man, and indeed σωματικως [*sōmatikōs* – *somatically*], that is, corporeally, or in solid matter, in body and Spirit, by reason of the fifth Essence, simply, [in] the Soul or mind, which is a particle of the Divine breath.[475]

The third manifestation of this Spirit is in the Microcosm, both in man's non-intellective body and spirit, by which he is linked to the second manifestation, *Ruach Elohim*, and as his intellective soul, whereby he is linked with the first manifestation, *Ruach Chochmah-El*, which becomes the divine light of Truth shining in the 'purified Soul or Mind of the Theosophically purged man.'[476] Here, we have both the sense that this *spiritus* is the breath of life (*spiraculum vitae*) infused into Adam in Genesis 2:7,[477] but also an intimation of man's proximity to the divine, from Khunrath's borrowing the expression that man's mind is a 'particle of the Divine breath'. This possibly comes from the first-century BCE Roman poet Horace's *Satires*, most likely via Erasmus, who introduces the Horatian phrase in a passage in *De ratione concionandi* (On the Method of Preaching), asserting that 'there is nothing in man more outstanding than the mind' for it reflects 'a kind of image of the divine mind … nowhere does man approach nearer the nature of eternal divinity than in mind and speech, which the Greeks call νους και λογος [*nous kai logos*].'[478]

Although Khunrath is undoubtedly familiar with the terms he is using to describe the essential nature of the manifestations of spirit in the divine, macro- and micro-cosmic realms of existence, there are times when, caught

474 *Amph.*II, 56 'Multiplicitas huic Spiritui DEI etiam tribuitur ob varietatem virtutum ac virium Rebus infusarum, in quibus versatur.'

475 *Amph.*II, 111 '3. Micro Cosmicè, in Homine, & quidem σωματικως, hoc est, corporaliter, siuè in concreto, in corpore ac Spiritu, ratione Essentiæ quintæ, simpliciter, Animâ siue mente, quæ particula aurae Diuinae.'

476 *Amph.*II, 34 '& Anima aut Mente, hominis Theosophicè purgati, mundata.'

477 Genesis 2:7 'And the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth: and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Douay).

478 Horace, *Satires* II, 2, l. 79 'atque adfigit humo divinae particulam aurae', in Horace, *Satires, Epistoles, Ars Poetica*, translated by H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1999), 143 'and fastens to earth a fragment of the divine spirit.' See *Collected Works of Erasmus. Spiritualia and Pastoralia: Exomologesis and Ecclesiastes* 1, 256–7, "The Evangelical Preacher," Book One, *Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi*, 256–7 'It was surely wonder at this that led the greatest philosophers to suspect that human souls are like the sparks of that unchanging light; imitating them, Horace wrote: "And fixes on the ground a particle of air divine".'

between juggling Hebrew, Greek and Latin terms, inconsistencies seem to appear. One such example is when the 'Spirit of Wisdom' (1st manifestation) is described as the regulator of the *machina mundi*, a role surely more fitting for the *Anima mundi* (2nd manifestation). As mentioned above, Khunrath definitely gives the sense that the latter is subordinated to the former. Perhaps Khunrath's *Ruach Elohim* and *Ruach Chochmah-El* should be understood as the spiritual counterparts to Paracelsus and Weigel's *Light of Nature* and *Light of Grace*, with both spirits emanating into the universe and working in tandem? While it is ultimately the 'fertile flame of the Holy Spirit' that vivifies all things,[479] it is the *Ruach Elohim* as container of all forms that 'animates' them, on the lines that just as the individual human soul is a particle of the divine breath, so too the 'World Soul' is a particle of the Holy Spirit.[480]

24 II. Book of Nature, Book of Creation

KNOW NATURE
UNIVERSALLY
and PARTICULARLY

from the BOOK
OF SACROSANCT SCRIPTURE; OF NATURE HERSELF,
who is both the whole Greater World; and the Lesser World,
that is, man, namely, according to his body and spirit,
and lastly
either mediately, from good ANGELS, or immediately,
in the mirror of your purified mind,
from
GOD HIMSELF;
Theosophically; Physically; Physico-medically;
Physico-chemically; Physico-magically;
Hyperphysico-magically; [and]
Cabalistically.[481]

479 *Amph.*II, 63 'Quis Spiritus sancti lætam flammulam, omnia viuificantem satis amare poterit?'

480 *Amph.*II, 111. Cf. Quercetanus, *The Practise of Chymicall, and Hermeticall Physicke, for the preservation of health*, translated by Thomas Tymme (London, 1605), Cij^{v} 'Therefore the second cause, is called *Nature*, because by the same, as by a vital instrument, God, who is the first cause worketh all things.'

481 The start of *Isagoge* 3, Introduction to the *Alchemical Rebis*. *Amph.*II, 190 'NATVRAM NOSCE, VNIVERSALITER & PARTICVLARITER; ex LIBRO S.S.Æ SCRIPTVRÆ: NATVRÆ

As one of Khunrath's contemporaries – indeed one whose *Psychologia Anthropologica* (Anthropological Psychology, 1594) and *Logicae Rameae et Melanchthonianae Collatio et Exegesis* (Collation and Interpretation of Ramean and Melanchthonian Logic, 1599) were issued in Hanau by Wilhelm Anton, the publisher of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* – Otto Casmann (1562–1607), Protestant priest and rector in Stade, explains in his *Ethica theosophica* (Theosophical Ethics, 1602), there are two parts to the knowledge of God: that of God himself and that of his works.[482] The belief that it was possible to know God *ex facturis suis* as promulgated by Christian writers like Thierry of Chartres since the twelfth century was the basic impetus behind Khunrath's theosophical imperative to 'Know the World'.[483] Knowledge from the Book of Nature was the *radix omnium scientiarum*, the very foundation of the university *trivium* and *quadrivium*, not to mention physics and metaphysics.[484] It is hardly surprising, then, that Creation as the reflection of the activity of divinity is, as Faivre argues, one of the favoured themes of the theosophers.[485] This is the import of the *Amphitheatre*'s engraving of the *School* or 'Public Sanctuary of Nature' as well as of *Isagoge* 3's references to the book or mirror of Nature,[486] and of what Khunrath calls the ability to 'Physically and Philosophically see and know … from the Creature, as if from the bright and clear mirror of Nature, the CREATOR.'[487] In it we have the impression of the double meaning of both the Greek Κοσμος [*Kosmos*] and Latin *Mundus*, as 'magnificent ornament and

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IPSIVS, qui est, & Mundus maior, totus: & Mundus minor, h.e. homo, puta, secundum & corpus & spiritum suum: *denique* aut mediatè, ex ANGELIS bonis; aut immediatè, in speculo mentis tuae purgatæ, *ex* DEO IPSO; Theosophicè; Physicè; Physicomedicè; Physicochemicè; Physicomagicè; Hyperphysicomagicè; Cabalicè.'

482 Otho Casmannus, *Ethica Theosophica* (Frankfurt: [Libraria] Paltheniana, 1602), 330.

483 *Chaos* (1597), 307 'Nosse Mundum', the message of Circular Figure 3, the *Alchemical Rebis*.

484 Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' 544–5. On the metaphor of the Book of Nature, see Liselotte Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol* (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University Press, 1970), 66–7; Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 319–326; Horapollo, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, translated and introduced by George Boas, with a new foreword by Anthony T. Grafton (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), Introduction, 4.

485 Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 58.

486 *Amph.*II, 193, 207, 213.

487 See the *School of Nature* engraving, which also cites Romans 1:20: 'Nam, hae Philosophandi methodo orthodoxa vereque Theosophicâ, ex Creatura, tanquam ex illústri & perspicuo Naturæ speculo, CREATOREM, … Physicè & Philosophicè videre nosseque possumus.'



FIGURE 3.16 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), table: 'THREE THINGS, there are, that primordially constitute the WORLD'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

superior beauty' as well as 'World',[488] the University of God,[489] in which Fire is God's professor,[490] and Nature 'God's never idle minister.'[491]

Chiding those whom he considers to have misconceptions about the world (most likely the Aristotelians), Khunrath advises them to learn 'the NATURE of NATURE, that is what she is, what is her Being; what, how great and of what sort is her Law, by whom she has been assigned to Creation, and to what end.'[492] For this purpose he proposes a synthesis of material from various traditions in a table from the *Amphitheatre* concerned with 'Three Things that primordially constitute the World' (Fig. 3.16). By listing three 'primordials' from

488 *Chaos* (1597), 79 '(Dann bey den Griechen hat die Weld ihren Nahmen Κοσμος, und bey den Latinern Mundus, von der herrlichen zier und fürtrefflichen schönheit).' Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 894.

489 *Amph.*II, 149 (mispaginated as 147 [T3r]).

490 *Amph.*II, 216.

491 *Amph.*II, 191–2.

492 *Amph.*II, 66 'NATVRÆ NATVRAM, hoc est, quid sit, quod eius Esse, quæ, quanta & qualis Lex eius, à quo indita Creaturae, in quem vsum.'

each of these religio-philosophical traditions, Khunrath attempts to show the underlying unity between the various systems (Mosaic, Hermetic, Paracelsian, etc.) which he uses as sources. These authorities are listed in order of priority as 1) Moses, 2) Hermes and the most ancient Wise men, 3) the ancient Philosophers, 4) the Physico-Chemists, and 5) the *Elementistae*.

From the time of the early Church Fathers, the study of the Mosaic account of Creation in Genesis had been regarded as a necessary introduction to the understanding of the universe.[493] Similar to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in the *Heptaplus* (1489), Khunrath takes the book of Genesis as the foundation for the Christian-Cabalist work of *Bereshit*, the wisdom of nature, with its author, 'Moses, Truest historian of all Nature' as the primary authority.[494] The second set of Khunrath's authorities belong to Ficino's *prisca theologia* or *prisci sapienti*, the tradition of those who though not Christian showed evidence of sympathetic teachings, as possible foreshadowers of Christianity, the *ancient theology* or its representatives, the *ancient wise*, including Hermes, Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Zoroaster.[495]

The Hermetic *Pimander* provided a description of creation that complemented the account in Genesis and the *Emerald Tablet* of Hermes Trismegistus was understood as teaching of the correspondences interconnecting all levels of existence.[496] These authorities are in turn supplemented by the classical tradition of ancient philosophy, by which Khunrath presumably intends works like Plato's *Timaeus*, Iamblichus's *De Mysteriis*, and Plotinus's *Enneads* that exerted a profound influence on Renaissance thought. In fourth place we have the Physico-Chemical philosophers, with Paracelsians like Gérard Dorn and Joseph DuChesne envisioning Creation as a divine chemical separation.[497] Finally, we have a reference to the Earth, Water, Air and Fire of the 'Four Elementists' (*Quatuor Elementistarum*), which at first sounds as though

493 Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne Book Co., 1965), 24f.

494 *Amph.*II, 127 'MOSEH, Veracissimus totius Naturae historicus' and the *Amphitheatre* table 'THREE THINGS, which primordially constitute the WORLD'.

495 See Daniel P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Duckworth, 1972); Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964; repr. 1990), 98; Marsilio Ficino, *The Philebus Commentary*, translated and edited by Michael J.B. Allen (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), Introduction, 21.

496 Allen G. Debus, *The French Paracelsians: The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5.

497 Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, 25; idem, *The French Paracelsians*, 5, 10.

Khunrath is alluding to the Presocratic elemental theory of Empedocles,[498] although the inclusion of the Quintessence (*Essentia Quinta*), suggests, perhaps, the Aristotelians.[499]

Each column in the table presents a threefold system containing (1) gross matter, (3) a formal principle, and (2) an intervening medium or mediator. For example, that which is CAELUM, i.e. HEAVEN, for Moses, is SPIRITUS according to Hermes, is the MEDIUM between Matter and Form according to the ancient Neoplatonic and Stoic Philosophers, which in turn is MERCURY or Aethereal Spirit according to the Physico-Chemists, and Air & Fire according to the Elementists.

The 'Corollary' that Khunrath adds beneath the table gives some idea of how he intended the table to be read, particularly on a Paracelsian level in relation to Mercury, Sulphur and Salt:

> *If you consider the conditions of these three PRINCIPLES from various points of view, Physically, Physico-Medically, Physico-Chemically, etc. and indeed firstly either* [*each*] *of itself, or mixed together*; 2ndly *abstractly or concretely*; 3rdly *Purely* [*or*] *impurely* (For the excrement for Sulphur is a sooty fat; [that] for Salt is uncultivatable earth;[1007] for Mercury is phlegm); 4thly *in dissolved, volatile, or molten* [*states*]*; in coagulated or*

498 Giannis Stamatellos, *Plotinus and the Presocratics: A Philosophical Study of Presocratic Influences in Plotinus' Enneads* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 142. Tilton, 'Of Ether, Entheogens & Colloidal Gold: Heinrich Khunrath and the Making of a Philosophers' Stone,' in Aaron Cheak (ed.), *Alchemical Traditions: From Antiquity to the Avant-Garde* (Melbourne: Numen Books, 2013), 355–420, at 412 suggests that the 'four-elementers' most likely represent 'those like Gesner who deal only with the four elements and are unable to research "theosophically" with the help of the quintessence'. Cf. *Chaos* (1597), 199 'Es seind in Ihme VIERE: Erde/ Wasser/ Lufft und Fewer/ (nach austeilung der vier Elementisten).'

499 Andrea Falcon, *Aristotle and the Science of Nature: Unity without Uniformity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 113f. Cf. *Amph*.II, 129 'Quatuor Elementarius quatuor elementariè loquitur' (The Master of the four Elements speaks elementally of the four elements). Cf. *Paterfamilias Scoto-Philosophicus proferens de thesauro suo Nova et Vetera, seu Theses ex Universa Philosophia* (Überlingen, 1757), 7 'Ex Physica Universali … 2. Uti & Elementistarum tam Veterum quam Recentiorum, nec non Chymicorum principia Corporum integritati potius quam naturalitati inservire videntur. 3. Parem a nobis sententiam fert Democraticum Epicuri systema a Gassendo restauratum.' See also Friedrich Häussermann, 'Pictura Docens. Ein Vorspiel zu Fr. Chr. Oetingers Lehrtafel der Prinzessin Antonia von Württemberg', *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* (1966–1967), 65–153, at 88 who makes use of the term *Elementistae*. Although I cannot find the word 'elementista', R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; repr. 1999), 163 gives 'elementicus' as 'specialist in the elements.'

> *fixed* [*states*]. *Then you will be able to extricate yourself successfully from the labyrinth of objections. Let these things for the present be enough for the son of the* DOCTRINE.[500]

Ultimately, of course, underlying this tripartite structure of the world is the Christian Trinity, for Khunrath's aim is to offer a theosophical exegesis of the biblical account of Creation, where classical philosophical foundations can be reinterpreted in a Christian context.

While Khunrath is careful to state that his aim is to understand not how the world was 'created', which surpasses human understanding, but simply how it was 'constituted',[501] from what it was made, the implication is that by contemplating the act of divine creation, the physico-chemist will be able to replicate the process on a smaller scale. He sums up the main themes of world-creation as concerning,

> Chaos, the primordial ὑλη [*Hylē*], or primal Matter; the Soul of the World, called Nature; the Medium, that is, Aethereal Spirit (which is Heaven) joining and uniting (at GOD's command) the two extremes, namely Matter and Form, Body and Soul, in the sublunary globe; concerning Heaven, that is, aethereal Spirit made firm above, whence [it is called] Firmament; concerning the Principles, the Elements and their Fruits; concerning all things which are contained [in the Universe] from the highest Heaven to the lowest Centre of the Earth; and concerning the whole ornament of the Macro- and Micro-cosm (which for Cabalists is the Work of Bereshit, that is, the WISDOM OF NATURE).[502]

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500 *Amphitheatre* Table 'Three Things': 'COROLLARIVM: *Si horum trium* PRIMORVM *conditiones diuerso Physicè, PhysicoMedicè, PhysicoChemicè &c, consideraueris respectu, & quidem primò uel per se, aut inuicem mixta*; 2. *In abstracto, uel in concreto*: 3. *Purè, impurè*: (Est enim Sulphuri excrementum pingue, fuliginosum: Sali, terra surda; Mercurio, phlegma.) 4. *In soluto, uolatili, aut fluxili; in coagulato, siue fixo: tunc ex labyrintho obiectionum feliciter poteris te extricare. Sufficiant hæc in præsentia filio* DOCTRINAE.'

501 *Chaos* (1597), 193 'was zu seiner Constitution'; *Amph.*II, 151. See also *Amph.*II, 196 where Khunrath explains that κτιζειν [*ktizein*], the ability 'to create' belongs to God alone.

502 *Amph.*II, 72–3 'de Chao; de ὑλη primordiali, siuè Materia prima: de Mundi Anima, dicta Natura: de Medio, hoc est, Spiritu Æthereo, (qui cælum) duo extrema, Materiam puta & Formam; Corpus ac Animam, in globo sublunari (DEI nutu) copulante & vniente: de Cælo, hoc est, Spiritu æthereo, superius firmato, vnde Firmamentum: de Principiis, Elementis, eorumque Fructibus: de omnibus quæ à supremo Cælo ad infimum Terræ Centrum continentur: deque toto ornatu Macro ac Microcosmi: (quod Cabalistis est Opus de Beresith, hoc est, SAPIENTIA NATVRÆ).'



FIGURE 3.17 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595) manuscript copy, *Rebis*, detail, *Ruach Elohim* רוח אלהים as Form (MORΦH, Morphē) brooding over the Waters (YΛH, Hylē, Primal Matter). Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen GKS 1765, f. 67r

As little research has been done into the uses of these terms in sixteenth-century discussions of cosmogenesis we shall look at some of those most frequently used by Khunrath in more detail.[503] Following his sequence, let us begin with Chaos.

25 Χαος – Chaos

Chaos was a topic to which Khunrath repeatedly returned in his works, as revealed by the titles of *Confessio* [...] *de chao physico-chemicorum catholico* (1596), *Vom hylealischen* [...] *Chaos* (1597), and *Symbolum physico chymicum* [...] *de chao* (1598).[504] Although Chaos shall be treated of in more detail

503 In relation to Khunrath, see also Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programm von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', in Gilly, Hallacker, Neumann and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, 41–83, especially 45f where he discusses Khunrath's cosmology.

504 As mentioned in Chapter 1, this work also appeared in German as *Naturgemes-alchymisch symbolum, oder, gahr kurtze Bekentnus* [...] *von allgemeinem, naturlichen, dreyeinigen, wunderbaren, und wunderthätigen, allergeheimbsten Chao der naturgemessen*

in Chapter 6, on Khunrath's alchemy, a few thoughts can be introduced here. At the start of *On Primaterial Chaos* (1597), Khunrath tells us that God 'in the beginning, by the Word created from nothing a PRI-MATERIAL and first of all beginnings of the world CHAOS (from which he afterwards constructed the whole Macrocosm).'[505] This was composed of 'Heaven' and, in Hebrew terms, the 'AERETZ Tohu va Bohu',[506] 'formless and void' Earth (Heb. ארץ *Eretz*) and Water, 'confusedly mixed',[507] the shadowy, watery Abyss or Deep, incapable itself of movement.[508] Describing it by the enigmatic terms 'Ovum Mundi, *filius unius diei*,'[509] (World Egg, *son of one day*), presumably referring to the first day of Creation when it was born from the 'seed and substance' of the Father,[510] Khunrath explains that Chaos, like man, is a microcosm, containing the essence of the whole world.[511] It is ὑλη [*Hylē*] from which the four

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Alchymisten: desz philosophischen universal und grossen Steins rechten naturlichen unnd eigenen Subjecto, oder, waren und einiger Materia (Hamburg: P. von Ohr, 1598).

505 *Chaos* (1597), 1–2 'das der ALLEIN EINE DREY-EINIGE GOTT/ Vater, Sohn und HEILIGER GEIST/ am Anfang/ durchs WORT/ aus NICHTS erschaffen habe/ EIN PRI-MATERIALISCH und aller erstes Weld-anfangs CHAOS, (daraus hernacher die gantze GROSSE WELT erbawen).' For other references to the Philosophers' 'NIHIL, Nichts' (Nothing), see *Chaos* (1597), 158, 176; and *Confessio*, 18–19. Regarding Paracelsus and DuChesne, see Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, 25–6.

506 *Chaos* (1597), 75; Genesis 1:2.

507 *Amph.*II, 196.

508 *Chaos* (1597), 2 'Wesserigem finsterem ABGRUNDE oder TIEFFE'. See Matter, 'Lectio Divina', 150 on Augustine concerning the 'dark abyss', which is dark because of the disordered flux of spiritual formlessness.

509 *Chaos* (1597), 195–196 'Mundi OVVM Philosophorum: Catholicè Macrocosmicon, filius vnius (SVI) diei, der SOHN eines (seines) Tages'; 273 'Est enim Mundi majoris OVVM Catholicon, in aëre generatum, à spiritualitate Terræ, ut inquit Philosophus'. See Martin Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae sive Dictionarium Alchemisticum* (Frankfurt, 1612), 214 'Filius vnius diei, id est, lapis Philosophicus, der Philosophisch Stein. Filius vnius diei, id est, Ouum.' Cf. Vulgate Genesis 1:5 which speaks of 'Dies unus' (day one), not 'dies primus' (first day).

510 *Amph.*II, 198 'è semine & substantia parentis'.

511 *Chaos* (1597), 22, 59, 172; *Magnesia*, 49–50. See, however, Michael Toxites, who interprets 'Filius unius Diei', as not the primal materia of Chaos, but as 'the ultima materia, the end-product, the Phoenix, i.e., the Philosophers' Stone' in *Onomastica II, I Philosophicum, Medicum, Synonymum ex varijs vulgaribusque linguis. II. Theophrasti Paracelsi: hoc est, earum vocum, quarum in scriptis eius solet usus esse, explicatio* (Strassburg, 1574), 435. See also Paracelsus, *Fasciculus medicinae veteris et non novae* (Frankfurt, 1581), 130r 'Filius unius diei, est lapis philosophicus. … Foenix/ vel Phoenix, est filius unius diei'; Gerard Dorn, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Frankfurt, 1583 and 1584), 44; Ruland, *Lexicon* (1612), 214 'Filius unius diei, id est, lapis Philosophicus'; idem 'Filius unius diei, id est, Ouum'; 222 'Foenix vel phoenix, filius unius diei, Der Philosophisch Stein;' Hieronymous Reusner, *Pandora, das ist die edelste Gab Gottes* (Basel, 1588), 293 'Filius unius diei. i. ouum,

Hylementa or elements (Earth, Water, Air and Fire),[512] the three Paracelsian principles (Mercury, Sulphur and Salt), and subsequently all metals and minerals and everything else in Creation comes forth.[513] In *Magnesia catholica philosophorum* (1599), Khunrath adamantly argues the case for the existence of one primordial substance, declaring that just as there is one God, one World, one Christ, one Church and so forth, so too is there one universal primal matter, and consequently one universal Philosophers' Stone.[514]

26 רוח אלהים – Ruach Elohim – Spirit of the Lord

Together with primal matter there is a corresponding primal form.[515] This is the already-mentioned *Ruach Elohim*, the Spirit of the Lord or the Breath of God, a divine power or emanation of divine power,[516] which existed before Creation and, according to Wisdom 1:7, fills the whole world.[517] Khunrath provides us with three Latin versions of the first occurrence of *Ruach Elohim* in the Bible, in Genesis 1:2. While using the Vulgate translation of the Spirit of the Lord that '*ferebatur super aquas*' (moved over the waters),[518] he also offers Jean Calvin's variant of the Spirit of the Lord 'qui agitabat se in superficie AQUARUM' (which moved itself on the surface of the Waters),[519] and a version possibly influenced by the Italian reformer Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590), in which the Spirit of the Lord 'brooded (*incubabat*) over the waters' (Fig. 3.17).[520] Although the three mean essentially the same thing, Khunrath's variant translations do allow for additional layers of meaning. The verb *agito* can also imply

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ein Ey/ ein Sohn des tags'; 300 'Lapis maior, ist zusammen gesetzt auß vier Elementen/ unnd wird genennt filius unius diei, der Sohn eines tags.'

512 *Chaos* (1597), 178 'Hinc Elementa dicta q. Hylementa'; 179 'hylementis MVNDI'. Cf. Robert Fludd, *Tomi Secundi; Tractatus Secundus; De Praeternaturali Utriusque Mundi Historia* (Frankfurt, 1621), 1 'Literae Hebraicae dicuntur elementa quasi Hylementa.'

513 Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, 26.

514 *Magnesia*, 21–2.

515 *Chaos* (1597), 64 'Materia und Forma, LEIB und SEEL.'

516 *Symbolum*, 15.

517 *Symbolum*, 15 Wisdom 1:7 'For the spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world: and that, which containeth all things, hath knowledge of the voice.'

518 *Symbolum*, 14 'RUACH ELOHIM, SPIRITUS DOMINI, qui Gen.1.2. ferebatur super Aquas.' See also *Amph*.II, 195.

519 *Chaos* (1597), 255. See 'Joannis Calvini Commentarii in Primum Librum Mosis, vulgo Genesin,' in *Ioannis Calvini noviodunensis Opera omnia, in novem tomos digesta* (Amsterdam, 1671), Vol. 1, 1 'et Spiritus Dei agitabat se in superficie aquarum'.

520 Circular Figure 3 and *Amph*.II, 193, 195. See Hieron. Zanchii, *De operibus Dei intra spacium sex dierum creatis opus* (Neustadt, 1591), 207 'Spiritus Domini incubabat aquis'.

the mental processes of meditation and deliberation, permitting perhaps the optimistic belief that by focused mental effort the alchemist's innate spirit can influence the materials he is working on in the laboratory.[521] The verb *incubo* has the sense of a bird brooding over and hatching its eggs, most particularly the alchemical *Avis Hermetis* (Bird of Hermes), and includes the notion of the *Ruach Elohim* as a constant source of heat to quicken inert matter.

In an extended passage, Part IV of the Isagoge to the Third Circular Figure, Khunrath asks 'What is רוח אלהים *Ruach Elohim*, which brooded over the waters? Genesis 1.' He answers that it is,

> SPIRIT, the holy Breath, the breathing of holy YHVH; the Vapour of the power of almighty and all-possessing GOD, and a certain vivifying and powerful emanation or emission of vital fertility of the first and highest mover,[522] from the deepest recess of his Divinity; namely of the IDEAS, or Exemplars, Species, the primordial and radical seminal Reasons, the operative wills, and the effective causes of all things, conceived and pre-existent in the mind of the supreme maker, the ARCHETYPE. ... RUACH ELOHIM is the internal and ουσιωδης μορφη [*ousiōdēs morphē*] or substantial and essential FORM of all things;[523] the universal SOUL of the

521 See Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879; repr. 1996), 71–2. On the alchemists' use of *spiritus*, see also Frank Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists* (London: William Heinemann, 1952; repr. St Albans, Herts: Paladin, 1976), 230. Not to forget the famous Virgilian line from *Aeneid* VI 'mens agitat molem' (mind moves matter).

522 Wisdom 7:25 'For she is a vapour of the power of God and a certain pure emanation of the glory of the almighty God: and, therefore, no defiled thing cometh into her.'

523 For reference to the Greek phrase ουσιωδης μορφη [*ousiōdēs morphē*] (translated as *forma substantialis* in Latin), see Porphyry's Isagoge and Commentary on Aristotle's *Categories, Isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, edited by Adolf Busse, in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1887), Vol. 4, Part 1, 133, l. 15. For further references to *morphē* and *ousiōdēs*, see Aristotle's *De anima*. On *ousia*, see Christos Evangeliou, *Aristotle's Categories and Porphyry*, second edition (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 60–73. For Porphyry's use of the Peripatetic account of the hylomorphic and essential form, the former being '"nature" in the most proper sense', see Riccardo Chiaradonna, 'Aristotle's *Physics* as an Authoritative Work in early Neoplatonism: Plotinus and Porphyry', in Michael Erler, Jan Erik Heßler, and Federico M. Petrucci (eds.), *Authority and Authoritative Texts in the Platonist Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 163–177, at 174. See also Proclus's commentary on the *Timaeus*, in Richard Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200–600 AD* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005), Vol. 1 Psychology (with Ethics and Religion), 198. On Aristotle's statement that the 'essential form' of a substance is its 'nature', that is its internal principle of change and rest, see *Physics* 2.1, 192b 13–15.

> World;[524] the substantial Virtue, existing of itself, cause of every creature abiding in this World; the truly FIFTH ESSENCE (because uncreated); and (to quote a much-used expression) the most essential and substantifying NATURE of things.[525]

At the same time as being described as a breath, for Khunrath *Ruach Elohim* is also a light,[526] the (Paracelsian) Light of Nature,[527] arising from God's primordial *fiat*,[528] the biblical 'Light shining in the darkness',[529] shining in all spiritual and corporeal creatures.[530] It is, in fact, Nature herself as a 'most-wise, self-moving, quickening, exceedingly mighty and miraculous Light and Fire', a spiritual power,[531] coming from God who is himself spirit and fire.[532]

524 Cf *Chaos* (1597), 78 'die innere FORMAM oder SEEL der Weld.'

525 *Amph.*II, 195 'QUID EST רוח אלהים RVACH ELOHIM, QUI INCUBABAT AQUIS? GENES. I. רוח אלהים RVACH ELOHIM, est SPIRITVS, Spiraculum, anhelitus יהוה sancti, sanctus; Vapor virtutis DEI omnipotentis atque omni tenentis, & EMANATIO quædam, emissiovè, foecunditatis vitalis, primi summique motoris, viuifica atque virtuosa, è profundissimo, Diuinitatis suæ recessu; IDEARVM, videlicet, siuè, Exemplarium, Specierum, Rationum seminariarum, primordialum & radicalium, voluntatum opificum & causarum effectricum, in ARCHETYPI, opificis summi, mente (חכמה Hhochmah in SAPIENTIA, Bonitate eius, causante eas) conceptarum atque præexistentium, rerum omnium, in Mundo, postea futuro, producendarum & fiendarum. QVÆ (ELOHIM, creatore & conditore, VERBO suo, dicente ac præcipiente. Genes.I.) res omnes, quas extare voluit, in hoc Theatro Mundano, produxerunt, esseque fecerunt: in globo sublunari, vestitæ TERRA & AQVA, ὑλη siue Materia prima, communi & vniuersali, CÆLI interuentu. Addo: RVACH ELOHIM est μορφὲ sivè FORMA, rerum omnium, interna, ὀυσιώδης & essentialis: Mundi ANIMA vniuersalis: Virtus substantialis, per se subsistens, causa omni creaturæ, Mundi huius subsistendi: ESSENTIA (quia increatus) verè QVINTA: & (vt voce dicam vsitatissima) ipsissima substantificaque rerum NATVRA.'

526 *Chaos* (1597), 78 'dieses LICHT (die NATUR) ist eine Emanation oder Herfürfliessung/ von [...] GOTT.'

527 See *Chaos* (1597), 68 where the Soul of the World is equated with the Light of Nature. See also *Amph.*II, 204.

528 *Amph.*II, 132.

529 *Chaos* (1597), 68 'Lux lucens in Tenebris', referring to John 1:5.

530 *Chaos* (1597), 69.

531 *Chaos* (1597), 67 'ist die NATUR ein Höchstweises/ sich selbst bewegendes/ lebendigmachendes/ uberaus sehr mechtiges und wunderthetiges LICHT und FEWER/ ja ein mechtig-krefftiger Geist/ oder Geistliche Krafft/ von [...] GOTT.'

532 *Chaos* (1597), 279.

In a fusion of Christian Cabala and Platonism, Khunrath describes *Ruach Elohim* as having its origin in the 'Archetypal, Intellectual or Mental, Incorporeal, Invisible, Ideal World',[533] as an emanation or flowing forth of vitalising fertility from the *Abyss*, the unknowable depths of God, wherein dwell the forms, exemplars, types, primordial and radical seminal reasons and effective causes of all things imagined,[534] conceived and pre-existing in the mind of the Archetype or first Exemplar of the World,[535] and its supreme creator and fashioner.[536] Issuing from the prime-mover, it is described as 'a completely self-moving and life-making power of true perpetual motion.'[537] This for Khunrath was genuine perpetual motion, not that sought mechanically by contemporaries at Rudolf's court in Prague, such as the Dutch inventor Cornelis Drebbel (1572–1633),[538] or Nikolaus Reusberger at Vilém's court in Cesky Krumlov,[539] but that represented for him in the hermetic *Emerald Tablet* by the 'fortitude of all fortitude, because it overcomes every subtle thing and penetrates every solid'[540] and by the Cabalists as the 'Green Line encircling the Universe'.[541] In Aristotelian terms, Khunrath argues that *Ruach Elohim* is ἐντελεχεια [*entelecheia*], interpreted by the Italian scholar Hermolaus Barbarus (1454–1493) in his translation of the fourth-century eclectic philosopher Themistius's paraphrase

533 *Chaos* (1597), 78 'Mundus Archetypus, Intellectualis, sive Mentalis, Incorporeus, Invisibilis, Idealis.'

534 *Amph.*II, 74, 195.

535 *Chaos* (1597), 79–80 'GOTT der HERR ARCHETYPUS Mundi, das Erste *Exemplar* der Weld/ bey den Hochgelarten genennet.' The Latin translation of this phrase, 'primum mundi exemplar', is found, for example, in Marsilio Ficino, *Plotini Divini illius e Platonica familia Philosophi de Rebus Philosophicis libri LIIII. in Enneades sex distributi* (Basel, 1562), 106.

536 *Amph.*II, 195.

537 *Chaos* (1597), 65 'einer vollstendigen sich selbst bewegenden und lebendigmachenden Krafft des waren MOTVS PERPETVI' and 231 where Khunrath speaks of the seminal reasons of things as the 'Scintilla MOTUS PERPETUI'.

538 Zbigniew Szydlo, *Water which does not wet hands: The Alchemy of Michael Sendivogius* (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute for the History of Science, 1994), 82. On Drebbel, see Vera Keller, 'How to Become a Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosopher: The Case of Cornelius Drebbel (1572–1633)', in Sven Dupré and Christoph Lüthy (eds.), *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011), 125–151.

539 Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, 212.

540 *Amph.*II, 56–7 and *Pyramid* engraving.

541 See Circular Figure 2 and *Chaos* (1597), 92 'Linea viridis Cabalistarum girans Universum.' Cf. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 533 '11>29 What the Cabalists say, that a *green line circles the universe*, speaks appropriately to the final conclusion that I stated from the mind of Porpyrhy.' See also Johann Daniel Mylius, *Anatomia Auri sive Tyrocinium Medico-Chymicum* (Frankfurt, 1628), 3 'Lineam Viridem Benedictam ubique generantem'. For more see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

of Aristotle's *De anima* (On the Soul), as *perfectihabia*,[542] that which preserves, animates and vivifies all things.[543]

Ruach Elohim, we learn, is an uncreated Fifth Essence.[544] It is 'the vital Principle in nature; the source of action, the origin of fertility, the moderator of the generations and transplantations and all actions of natural things; the Species of Things'.[545] It is both one in essence and number and yet πολυποικιλος [*polypoikilos*], or multiform.[546] Khunrath explains this in *Chaos* (1597) as indicated by the singular of the word *Ruach* and the plurality of the word *Elohim*, which can mean both God and gods, i.e. angels. He explicitly states, however, that 'RUACH ELOHIM in this place in MOSES is *not* the Third person of the GODhead', which, as we have argued, is *Ruach Chochmah-El*, the Spirit of the Wisdom of God.[547] He returns to this the following year in *Symbolum Physico-Chymicum* (1598), where he again points out the plurality of the Hebrew word *Elohim*, but here describing *Ruach* as the Holy Spirit of the Elohim, by which he means the Holy Spirit of all three persons in the Trinity:

> For RUACH is ELOHIM, that is, OF THE GODS, creating Heaven and Earth. GOD and World. THEOCOSMOS. RUACH or Holy Spirit of the

542 *Symbolum*, 12 '(ut ἐντελέχεια, h.e. perfectihabia, Motusve Naturae perpetuus)'. See also *Chaos* (1597), 65 'ENTELAEXIA: quam Hermolaus Barbarus Perfectihabiam interpraetatus est.' Cf. *Libri paraphraseos Themistii Peripatetici acutissimi* … Interprete Hermolao Barbaro (Venice, 1502), Themistius De anima liber secundus interprete Hermolao Bar. Cap.1. 'Divisio entium: & qui sit perfectihabia & quotuplex', sig. [kv^{v}] 'Verum perfectihabia bifariam in rebus est uno modo ut scientia altero ut contemplatio & consideratio.' See also Heinrich Bullinger's references to *perfectihabia* in the context of kabbalah, in *Sermonum Decades quinque de potissimis Christianae religionis capitibus* (Zurich, 1552), Vol. 3, 1, Decades 1–4, 2.

543 *Amph.*II, 57.

544 *Amph.*II, 195, 129.

545 *Chaos* (1597), 89 'in quo RERUM, Seminariae Rationes delitescebant; vitale PRINCIPIUM in NATURA; Actionis fons, Foecunditatis author, Generationum & Transplantationum omniumque Actionum Naturalium moderator; SPECIES RERUM.' For reference to *species*, see also *Chaos* (1597), 176 'eine innere Speciem […] besondere Speciem, formam, figuram oder gestalt.'

546 *Amph.*II, 195.

547 See *Chaos* (1597), 76 '(dann RUACH ELOHIM ist an diesem Orte im MOSE nicht die dritte Person der GOTTheit/ sondern wie angehört: Das wörtlein ELOHIM zeiget für sich selbst gnugsam an pluralitatem in CREATORE, man darffs aus dem RUACH nicht erst erzwingen).' My italics. This appears to contradict, for example, Paracelsus, who in *Liber de sancta trinitate* (1524), II, 3; 262–263, asserts that 'the light of nature, the knowledge of humans about all worldly things, is nothing other than the Holy Spirit of God the Father' (lumen naturae, das wissen des menschen in allen weltlichen dingen, ist nichts als der heilig geist von gott dem vatter).

> Holy ELOHIM: GOD. … RUACH of the perfect ELOHIM (Father, Son & Holy Spirit).[548]

It would appear from Khunrath's admonition that it would also be inappropriate to identify *Ruach Elohim* with the second person, Christ as Wisdom (*Chochmah-El*), which Khunrath also describes as 'multiform'.[549] The latter is presumably based on Ephesians 3:10, where Paul uses the term πολυποικιλος [*polypoikilos*] in the phrase 'ἡ πολυποικιλος σοφια του Θεου' [*hē polypoikilos sophia tou Theou*] (the manifold wisdom of God), in order to highlight 'the wonderful complexity of God's plans, followed by the culmination of all of those plans in Christ.'[550]

In the *Amphitheatre*'s third *Isagoge*, Part IV, concerning the *Ruach Elohim*, Khunrath states:

> This is the ONE (by essence and number) Spirit of GOD; the one catholic Soul of this one corporeal and visible Universality; [one] and yet πολυποικιλος [*polypoikilos*], that is, multiform (Wisdom 7:22, Ephesians 3:10)[551] and its various rays and SPARKS dispersed and scattered from it throughout the whole huge mass of the lump of primal matter; and [these] innumerable sparks of the one universal Soul, distinct and subsequently separate in place and body-mass, and compass, are indeed now residing distinctly and separately, in the distinct parts of the world.[552]

In Part VI of the same *Isagoge*, 'How *Ruach Elohim* was conceived, through the mediation of Heaven', Khunrath glosses *polypoikilos* as 'multiform or full of forms, or rather the very FORM itself of things'.[553]

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548 *Symbolum*, 15–16 'Est enim ELOHIM, h.e. DEORUM creantium Coelum & Terram. RUACH. DEUS & Mundus THEOCOSMOS. Sanctus ELOHIM Sanctorum RUACH sivè Spiritus: DEUS … Perfecti ELOHIM (Patris, Filij & Spiritus Sancti) RUACH …'.

549 *Amph.*II, 24.

550 Gregory S. MaGee, *Portrait of an Apostle: A Case for Paul's Authorship of Colossians and Ephesians* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 157. Ephesians translation from KJB and Douay.

551 Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*: πολυποικιλος [*polypoikilos*], *much-variegated, manifold*. See Wisdom 7:22 'For in her is the spirit of understanding: holy, one, *manifold*, subtle, eloquent, active, undefiled, sure, sweet, loving that which is good, quick, which nothing hindereth, beneficent'; Ephesians 3:10 'That the *manifold* wisdom of God may be made known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places through the church.' For particular reference to 'Sophia Polypoikilos', see Thomas Schipflinger, *Sophia-Maria: A Holistic Vision of Creation* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1998), 47.

552 *Amph.*II, 195–6.

553 *Amph.*II, 196 'QUOMODO רוח אלהים RUACH ELOHIM, CAELO MEDIANTE, CONCEPTUS … πολυποικιλος [*polypoikilos*], h.e. multiformis aut formarum plenus, immò ipsissima rerum FORMA'.

In Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy, we shall consider the analogical harmony that he perceived between Christ as Son of the Microcosm and the Philosophers' Stone as Son of the Macrocosm. Although it is never explicitly stated, it would appear that Khunrath conceives of the relation between *Ruach Elohim* and the Stone as analogous to that of *Ruach Chochmah-El* and Christ.

Khunrath's equation of *Ruach Elohim* with the *Anima Mundi* most closely resembles the material pneumatic principle of the Stoics, which vivifies the world;[554] indeed, as stated above, he describes it as Nature herself, God's Vicar or Minister in natural things;[555] called θεου φωνη [*theou phōnē*], the 'Voice of God',[556] the 'SPIRIT of his mouth' (SPIRITUS oris eius).[557]

Using terminology similar to Ficino, who translated the Plotinian *logoi spermatikoi* as *seminales rationes* in *De Vita libri tres* (Three Books on Life, 1489), declaring that the World Soul 'possesses by divine power precisely as many seminal reasons of things as there are Ideas in the Divine Mind' and through these "seminal reasons" it 'fashions the same number of species in matter',[558] Khunrath describes *Ruach Elohim* as that in which the seminal reasons or the pure essential forms of things are concealed.[559] Thus he can speak in the passage above of both the one universal spark of the Soul of the World,[560] and the 'various rays and SPARKS dispersed and scattered from it throughout the whole huge mass of the lump of primal matter.'[561] What we do not find, however, in Khunrath's writings is the Ficinian conception of the seminal reasons in things as active powers in the sense of individual spirits or deities ruling the celestial signs; they are spoken of instead as abstractions in a far more impersonal manner.[562] A possible exception to this can be found in the somewhat ambiguous statement that 'these Spirits are the authors and origins of the generations and corruptions, of the specific virtues, of all things, and the

554 See S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962; repr. 1987), 3f, 37f and idem, *Physics of the Stoics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959; repr. 1987), *passim*.

555 *Magnesia*, 62.

556 *Amph.*II, 57; *Chaos* (1597), 82 'Die NATUR vocem Dei.' The Greek phrase θεου φωνη can be found, for example, in Acts 12:22: 'And the people made acclamation, saying: It is the *voice of a god*, and not of a man.' (Douay), concerning Herod, who was promptly struck with sickness by an angel for not giving the glory to God.

557 *Amph.*II, 73, 128. See *Amph.*II, 66 for the original source of this phrase 'BY THE WORD OF THE LORD *the Heavens were established and all the power of them by the spirit of his mouth*', Psalm 33:6 (Douay).

558 Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, 243.

559 *Chaos* (1597), 89, 189; *Amph.*II, 74.

560 *Amph.*II, 130; *Chaos* (1597), 63 'universal FEUER-FUNCK der SEELE der Weld.'

561 *Amph.*II, 195 'variæ eius radii atque SCINTILLÆ, per totius ingentem, materiei primæ massæ, molem, hinc inde dispersæ ac dissipatæ.' See also *Chaos* (1597), 94; *Magnesia*, 20–21.

562 See Lohr, 'Metaphysics,' 571.

knowledge of the whole of Nature is derived from them.'[563] Whatever the case, Khunrath's interest in them is undeniable, as a doctor in those concerned with the human body;[564] as an alchemist in the seminal reasons of minerals,[565] and most particularly in the idea that the soul of the Philosophers' Stone was itself a spark of the *Anima Mundi*.[566]

According to Khunrath, with its light and sparks the *Ruach Elohim* penetrated right to the very centre of the raw, confused and unformed mass of virginal Chaos, seed-plot of the World to come. *Ruach Elohim* 'informed' this Chaos, impregnating it with a pure soul, filling it with warmth, quickening and fertilising it, illuminating what was shadowy, ordering what was confused.[567] Then, as spirit and light, it was itself conceived in the womb or intimate centre of matter and concretised and 'incorporated' (analogous to Christ's incarnation),[568] in order to maintain the whole structure of the Macrocosm.[569]

Partly motivated by religious scruples, perhaps, Khunrath is careful to emphasise that although the Spirit of the Lord penetrates to the centre of matter, its 'incorporation' takes place 'not with the confusion [mixing] of RUACH ELOHIM in Primal Matter, but with the assumption of primal matter into RUACH ELOHIM'.[570] Evidence of the provocative nature of his claims is found in yet another outburst from Libavius, this time to Khunrath's description of 'the WOMB or UTERUS of the Greater World, in which the SPIRIT OF GOD … is conceived and made a body'.[571] Libavius is incensed by such a materialist-sounding description of events, protesting that 'that Spirit was not conceived in the womb of the great world'.[572] He is equally outraged by the presence of the phrase 'רוח אלהים *mediantibus* שמים' [*Ruach Elohim mediantibus Schamaim – Spirit of the Lord with the heavens mediating*] on the 1609 *Amphitheatre* title page, where it appears at the bottom of the page, superimposed on the waters (see

563 *Amph.*II, 60 'Hi Spiritus sunt authores & origines generationum & corruptionum, specificarum virtutum, omnium rerum, & ab his dependet totius Naturae cognitio.'

564 *Chaos* (1597), 189 '(per scintillam NATURAE ad humanae carnis Naturam specificantem).'

565 See *Magnesia*, 48, 76–7 for specific references to the seminal reasons of minerals.

566 *Amph.*II, 198–9.

567 *Amph.*II, 197 'RUACH ELOHIM … FORMA (semetipso) sic informauit.'

568 *Symbolum*, 14. See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy, for a discussion of Khunrath's 'Song on the Incorporation of the Spirit of the Lord in Salt.'

569 *Chaos* (1597), 67, 70–71.

570 *Symbolum*, 18 'non confusione RUACH ELOHIM in Materiam primam, sed assumtione materiae primae in RUACH ELOHIM, schamajm, ut jam antea dictum, mediante.'

571 Circular Figure 3: 'MATRIX siuè VTERVS Mundi maioris, in quo RVAH-ELOHIM … conceptus corpusque factus est.'

572 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (Frankfurt, 1615), 103 'Sed nec *Spiritus ille in utero magni mundi conceptus est*.'

Fig. 3.15 above). He expostulates, 'Thrasybulus abuses that *Ruach Elohim* [...] as if the Spirit of God had made things amidst the waters, when Scripture says that the Spirit of the Lord was far above the waters like an eagle flies with wings extended over its chicks.'[573] In the *Amphitheatre*, Libavius bemoans, 'you see nothing except ravings and depravations of the divine oracles'.[574]

27 שמים – Schamaim – Heaven

In Part V of the *Amphitheatre*'s third Isagoge, 'What is Heaven?', with reference to holy scripture and the *Emerald Tablet*, somewhat resembling Ficino's treatment of *spiritus*, Khunrath explains,

> Heaven is the corporeal Aethereal Spirit, or the spiritual aethereal body,[575] not subject to corruption, permeating the machine of the whole World;

573 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 103 'Abutitur isto *Rhuah* [sic] *Elohim Thrasybulus* ille in suo *amphitheatro* ubi scribit Hebraicis literis (nosti Magos has efficaciores censere ad effecta magica) *Ruah Elohim mediantibus Schamaijm*, quasi Dei Spiritus res condiderit aquis mediantibus, cum scriptura dicat latum fuisse super aquis Spiritum Domini sicut aquila volat alis extentis super pullis suis.' By way of comparison, see Michael T. Walton, 'Robert Boyle, "The Sceptical Chymist," and Hebrew', in Gerhild Scholz Williams and Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr. (eds.), *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine, & Astrology in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002), 187–205, at 203 who writes that 'Boyle saw *semina* in the waters of Genesis because the text uses the verb *merachephet* to describe the action of God's spirit *hovering* over the primordial waters. By looking at another place in the Bible where the verb is found (Deut.32:11), where it is used to describe a female eagle fluttering or hovering over her nest, Boyle concluded that God hatched the world by hovering like a female bird over the seed-imbued waters.' See also idem, 'Genesis and Chemistry in the Sixteenth Century,' in Debus and Walton (eds.), *Reading the Book of Nature*, 1–14, at 6 where he quotes from the Paracelsian Peter Severinus's *Idea medicinae philosophicae* (Basel, 1571): 'On these four [elements], by nature incorporeal, unorganized, void, the Creator established light and number, the seeds of all things. [This was done] completely incomprehensibly by power of his word and spirit which hovered over the water.'

574 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 103 'Nihil vides nisi deliramenta, & oraculorum divinorum depravationes.' On this, see Forshaw, 'Vitriolic Reactions', 125–126.

575 Cf. D.P. Walker, *Spiritual & Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958; repr. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000; repr. 2003), 13 discussing Ficino's definition of spirit as 'a very subtle body; as it were not body and almost soul. Or again, as it were not soul and almost body'. Citing Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists*, 11f Walker adds that this cosmic spirit 'is also that of the alchemists'. See also Peter J. Forshaw, 'Marsilio Ficino and the Chemical Art', in Stephen Clucas, Peter Forshaw, and Valery Rees (eds.), *Laus Platonici Philosophi: Marsilio Ficino and His Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 249–271.

> that which is above was made firm by the Word of the Lord, hence the [word] Firmament; that which is below is incorporated into the whole sub-lunar mass. One Heaven of one and the same essence and substance; that which is below, and that which is above. It, nevertheless, may, by the wise labour of Physico-chemistry, be made manifest to the senses and investigated for the benefit of man.[576]

Just as for Ficino, *spiritus* mediates between body and soul, so in Part VI of this *Isagoge*, we find Khunrath stating that 'It is the unanimous judgement and consensus of those truly philosophising, that the EXTREMES cannot conjoin, link and unite, without a medium agreeing with them.'[577] The extremes of Form (*Ruach*) and Matter (*Chaos*) cannot join, without a mediator.[578] For Khunrath, this intermediary is שמים, *Schamaim*, the aethereal spirit,[579] the 'MEDIUM partaking, after its fashion, of the two extremes (because [it is] Spiritual body and corporeal Spirit).'[580] This he equates with the Stoic or Neoplatonic *Spiritus Mundi* (Spirit of the World),[581] 'an extremely fine substance akin to the human *spiritus* that permeates the cosmos and is the medium of occult actions', as discussed in Ficino's *De vita libri tres*,[582] but also, famously, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where we read that heaven and earth 'are nourished by a world

576 *Amph.*II, 196 'CÆLVM, est SPIRITVS ÆTHEREVS corporalis, vel corpus æthereum spirituale, corruptioni non obnoxium, totius Mundi machinam permeans: superius, VERBO DOMINI, firmatum, hinc FIRMAMENTVM; inferius, massæ sublunari, toti incorporatum: Vnius eiusdemque & essentiæ & substantiæ Cælum vnum; id quod inferius, & id, quod superius. Illud, tamen, labore Physicochemiæ sagaci, in vsum hominum, ad sensum potest manifestari atque tractari.'

577 *Amph.*II, 196 'EXTREMA, sine medio, eoque conueniente, coniungi, copulari atque vnire non posse, est vnanimis verè philosophantium vox atque consensus.' See, for example, Georg Liebler, *Epitome philosophiae naturalis, ex Aristotelis summi Philosophi libris ita excerpta* (Basel, 1561), 151 'nam extrema sine medio cohaerere non possunt'.

578 *Amph.*II, 196; *Chaos* (1597), 63–64.

579 *Amph.*II, 73, 127.

580 *Amph.*II, 197 'CÆLI, igitur, MEDII, extremorum amborum, suo modo (quia corpus Spirituale & Spiritus corporalis) participis.'

581 As mentioned above, in Khunrath's table of 'Three Things which constitute the world,' *Spiritus* in the philosophy of 'Hermes, and the most ancient Wise Men' is comparable to Air and Fire of the Specialists in the Elements. For the Stoics, *spiritus* or *pneuma* was a mixture of these two elements. See G. Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du stoicisme à S. Augustin* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945; repr. New York: Garland, 1987), 172–174.

582 See Penelope Gouk, 'Music and Spirit in Early Modern Thought', in Elena Carrera (ed.), *Emotions and Health, 1200–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 221–239, at 235. On Ficino's doctrine of the *spiritus mundi*, see Walker, *Spiritual & Demonic Magic*, and Hiro Hirai, 'Concepts of Seeds and Nature in the Work of Marsilio Ficino', in Michael J.B. Allen and Valery

spirit flowing through every part of the soul, moving matter, and penetrating the entire universe.'[583]

Khunrath describes *Schamaim* as a 'synoptically catholic *scintilla* or spark of the *Ruach Elohim*' and, like the latter, it is also at times described as the scriptural *Lux lucens in tenebris* (Light shining in darkness).[584] Most likely drawing from Reuchlin and Agrippa, who in turn had it from Ficino,[585] Khunrath tells us that this Hebrew word *Schamaim* is derived, as it were, from

> Esch va Maim; Fire and Water,[586] Watery Fire or Fiery Water, in Greek αιθηρ [*Aithēr*], as it were ἀιθαηρ [*aithaēr*], from ἀιθω [*aithō*], 'I burn' and ἀηρ [*aēr*], spirit; Burning Spirit: A fiery-spirited water; a watery fiery spirit; a fiery spirit-water.[587]

Rees (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 257–85, esp. 273–76.

583 Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 6, 724–7. Purš, 'Rudolf II's Patronage of Alchemy and the Natural Sciences', 150.

584 *Symbolum*, 12 'Spiritum Mundi hic intellige aetherum, hoc est Schamajm. Scintilla Animae Mundi, hoc est, Naturae quae Ruach Elohim, synopticè catholica: Lux lucens in tenebris.'

585 For a direct reference to Agrippa on this, see *Chaos* (1597), 64. Cf. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (2009), 44 'Of the Spirit of the World.' See also, idem, 461 'But aether is derived according to the Greek grammar from *aetho*, which signifies to burn, and *aer spiritus quasi aethaer*, that is, a burning spirit'. See Ficino, *Three Books of Life*, 257. See also Johann Reuchlin, *Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales Hebraici* (Wittemberg, 1529), Sig I8r–v 'cœli, & est semper pluralis uocis, & nunquam reperitur pronunciari singulariter, propter aquas quæ supra & infra sunt, scripsit enim literatissimus Ioseph Kimhi pater duorum illustrium grammaticorum Dauidis & Moseos quod cœli sic dicti sunt quasi … id est illic sunt aquæ, eo q[uæ] sit firmamentum in medio aquarum, quod diuidit aquas ab aquis Gene.i.'

586 *Chaos* (1597), 64 'Dann Schamaim hat seines Namens ursprung von Esch va Maim, h.e. Ignis & Aqua, Fewer und Wasser.' For the probable original source, see Aryeh Kaplan (trans.), *The Bahir Illumination* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser 1979; repr. 1989), 21 (v. 59); 37 (v. 99); 56 (v. 153). See also the court alchemist to Moritz of Hesse, Johann Rhenanus, *Solis e Puteo Emergentis: Sive Dissertationis Chymio technicae Libri Tres* (Frankfurt, 1613), Lib.II *De Lapide Philosophico*, 7 who similarly refers to Chaos, Schamaim, Ruah. Cf. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 549 on Fire and Water as the *Sephiroth Geburah* and *Chesed* united in *Tiphereth* 'II>67 Through the saying of the Cabalists, *The heavens are made from fire and water*, we are simultaneously shown both the theological truth of the *sefirot* themselves, and the philosophical truth that the elements in heaven exist only according to their active power.'

587 *Amph.*II, 127 'quasi Esch Va Maim; Ignis & Aqva; Ignis Aqueus vel Aqua ignea: Græcè αιθηρ, quasi ἀιθαηρ, ex ἀιθω, ardeo & ἀηρ, spiritus; Spiritvs ardens: Ein Geistfewriges wasser; Ein wasseriger feweriger Geist; Ein feweriges Geistwasser'. See also *Symbolum*, 8 'Schamajm, h.e. Spiritu æthereo (von Geistfewrigen Wasser/ wässerigen fewrigen Geiste/ oder fewrigen Geistwasser).' Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 955 '*Schamaim* nominant, quasi אשומים *Esch vmaim*: id est, ignem & aquam: αιθαηρ

Elsewhere we find a slightly different derivation: *aether*, we are told, has its name from

> AETHESTHAE, παρα το ἀισθεσθαι [*para to aisthesthai*], that is, *à fulgore*, from a clear bright flash, glimmer and shine, as Plato rightly teaches, regardless of what Aristotle vainly prattles on about it in his phantasies about the eternity of the world, contrary to the Divine truth of holy scripture.[588]

From the derivations of *aether* provided by Khunrath, it is clear that he is alluding to Aristotle's ideas concerning its etymology in *Meteorologica*,[589] *On the Heavens*,[590] and *On the Cosmos*;[591] with Khunrath accepting instead those supplied by Anaxagoras and Plato.[592]

Schamaim, we learn, relates to *Hyle* or primal matter as a husband to his wife, giving rise to lower bodies in the earth no differently than a male transfuses his seed into the female, causing the elements to mix and communicating forms and species.[593] Animated by *Ruach Elohim*, *Schamaim* is the principal cause whereby the elements, although of contrary natures, are mixed and conjoined together. It is the author of all things, the instrument by which God acts in human beings, the cause of all that is engendered by communicating form and species, which it introduces into prepared matter, fertilising all seeds.[594]

[aithaēr] nanque dicitur quasi αιθαηρ [aithaēr] ex ἀιθω [aithō], id est, ardeo, & αηρ [aēr], id est, spiritus, nomen iuxta Graecorum grammaticam, ardentem spiritum significans'.

588 *Chaos* (1597), 65 'von AETHESTHÆ, παρα το ἀισθεσθαι, das ist/ à fulgore, von klaren hellen blitzen/ schimmern und scheinen/ seinen namen hat/ als Plato recht leret/ ungeachtet was Aristoteles vergebens dawider schwatzet/ seine Phantastereien/ Von Ewigkeit der Weld/ wieder die Göttliche warheit der heiligen Schrifft' See also *Amph.*II, 127. Plato discusses aether in the *Epinomis* and in *Cratylus*. In the latter *aether* is the element of which the body of *daimones* is constituted. See Francesco Ademollo, *The Cratylus of Plato: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 195–6. For Aristotle on the eternity of the cosmos, see Aristotle, *On the Heavens* (279b–283b), Book 1, Chapters 10–12. In a marginal note in *Chaos* (1597), 65 Khunrath refers to Plato's *Cratylus*, which mentions ether in 410B, as that which 'always runs and flows about the air.' See the Loeb translation by H.N. Fowler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1995), 93.

589 Aristotle, *Meteorologica* (339 b 21f), trans H.D.P. Lee, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952; repr. 1987), 13.

590 Aristotle, *On the Heavens* (270 b 22), trans. W.K.C. Guthrie, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939; repr. 1986), 25.

591 Aristotle, *On the Cosmos* (392 a 6), trans. D.J. Furley, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955; repr. 1992), 351.

592 For Anaxagoras, see Aristotle, *On the Heavens* (270 b 24–5), 25; (302 b 4–5), 285.

593 *Amph.*II, 133.

594 *Amph.*II, 133.

28 Three Heavens

God distributes this *Schamaim* triply into three heavens: the first or 'inferior', the second or 'superior', and the third or 'super-supreme'.

29 1) The Lower Sublunar Heaven

In the First Heaven of 'Earth and Water' all the elements of the inferior globe and their fruits are filled with this fiery water or 'aethereal spirit'. It penetrates all the sublunar bodies in order to be 'not only the seat and vehicle of the SOUL of the World, but also the conjoining MEDIUM and the LINK binding and uniting the two extremes.'[595] It is the Spirit of the Quintessence, *in Concreto*, having a middle nature, called by some the 'Sixth' Essence;[596] by others the alchemical *Azoth*, the inextinguishable 'fire of *Ruach Elohim*, the holy spirit of holy God.'[597] It is the 'Giant Fire of Nature', the Paracelsian *Alcool vini*,[598] which is the Spirit, Water and Fire that the Physico-Chemists reveal in their laboratories,[599] and

595 *Amph.*II, 127 'non tantùm sedes & vehiculum ANIMÆ Mundi, verum quoque MEDIVM coniungens & VINCVLVM copulans atque vniens duo extrema.'

596 *Chaos* (1597), 199–200 'Animiret oder geseliget mit dem GEIST QVINTAE ESSENTIAE dem fünfften wesen/ welches ist die Seele der Weld: So von etlichen auch CELVM genant wird/ in Concreto; Est enim SCHAMAIM, Spiritus aethereus sivè Celum, ANIMAE vehiculum & sedes. Was etliche de Sexta Essentia, und von der Mittel-NATVR gar scrupulosè fürgeben/ mag man bey ihnen selbst lesen.' Cf. W.G.L. Randles, *The Unmaking of the Medieval Christian Cosmos, 1500–1760: From Solid Heavens to Boundless Aether* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 28 'it was he declared no doubt in an attempt to avoid having to choose between Aristotle's fifth essence and the water of Genesis, "of a sixth essence (*sexta essentia*)" a definition which the Spanish Jesuit theologian Francisco Suarez (1548–1617) was later to criticize from a more orthodox Aristotelian point of view as being "obscure".' For another rare reference to the 'sixth essence', although with a very different interpretation in the declaration that 'God is the Sixth Essence', see Will-Erich Peuckert (ed.), *Theophrastus Paracelsus, Werke*, 5 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965–1976), Vol. 5, 25 'Gott selber ist, und ist die sexta Essentia und das medium aller Dinge. Denn Gott ist die Sexta Essentia.'

597 *Chaos* (1597), 231 'Est enim IGNIS RUACH ELOHIM, SPIRITUS DEI Sancti Sanctus, perpetuò inextinguibilis [...] der Geist Quintæ Essentiæ unsers AZOTH.'

598 According to J.R. Partington, *A History of Chemistry*, 4 vols (London: Macmillan & Co., 1961–1962), Vol. 2, 149 'Rectified spirit of wine'. See also Edmund O. Von Lippmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1923), 104–5.

599 *Amph.*II, 127. Cf. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber XV de Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Frankfurt, 1592), Exercitatio 23 [index: Aether Cardani descendit a sua sphaera in distillationem] *Caloris diuisio, & modi*, 110 'Quaerendus iam

as such corresponds to the fourteenth-century Franciscan alchemist John of Rupescissa's Quintessence or *Caelum* (Heaven),[600] and to the Neoplatonic *Spiritus Mundi*, discussed by Ficino and called by him both 'quintessence' and 'the heavens'.[601] Alchemically, it is 'Divine Water' (aqua divina), sometimes (rather confusingly) called *Pneuma*,[602] the *Aqua Communis* (Common Water) or *Vinum Catholicon* (Universal Wine), imbibed by all men, vegetables, animals, and minerals, which can be manifested to the senses and collected for man's use by the careful analysis of chemists.[603] It is, Khunrath believes, the 'aethereal liquid' that the German humanists Peter Apian (1495–1552) and Bartholomaeus Amantius (d. *c.*1556) reported to have been found perpetually burning in a monument at Padua in Italy.[604]

30 **2) Rachia: the Firmament of Heaven**

The Second 'Upper' Heaven is one 'not mixed with the Elements and their superfluities' but solidified into *Rachia* (Heb. רקיא), a 'solid, firm and compact extension or expansion', the 'firmest vault' of heaven, or Firmament, harder and 'more durable than any brass and adamant'.[605] Here, as elsewhere in the

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tibi quintus calor est, quasi nova quinta essentia, qui non ignis sit, sed ignis Aegyptius. Id quod tibi facile fiet: qui in distillationes descendere iubes Aetherem de conuexo Lunae.' See also Johann Christophor Steeb, *Coelum Sephiroticum, Hebraeorum, per Portas intelligentiae, Moysi revelatas* (Mainz, 1679), 44 'quod artificialiter experiri licet, in spiritus vini destillatione … in pulverem redigat … per Alembicum … Sal volatile.'

600 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 24.

601 See Forshaw, 'Marsilio Ficino and the Chemical Art', 260, citing Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, III.3, 257.

602 *Amph.*II, 129 'Est & Cælestis aqua, inquit, siuè potius Diuina Chemistarum, quam & Democritus & Mercurius Trismegistus nouêre, modò *Diuinam aquam*, modò *Scythicum laticem* appellantes.'

603 *Chaos* (1597), 219 and *Amph.*II, 196. The 'Vinum Catholicon' flows from the foot of the 'Antrum naturae' (Cave of Nature) in the *Calumniators* engraving.

604 *Amph.*II, 128–9. See also *De Igne Magorum*, 103 for references to Agrippa, Della Porta, and the *Aureum Vellus* on ever-burning lamps. See Petrus Apianus and Bartholomæus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt, 1534), sigs. CCCXXXVII & CCCXXXVIII.

605 *Amph.*II, 128 'Secundò, SVPERIVS, non mixtum Elementis eorundemque superfluitatibus … RACHIA (hoc est, extensio siuè expansio solida, firma & compacta;) Vndè Latini FIRMAMENTVM, Germani eine Veste rectè dixerunt: nam quouis ære & adamante est durior & durabilior …'. On *Rachia*, see Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 956 רקיא n.m. extended surface, (solid) expanse, *firmamentum*.

Amphitheatre, Khunrath repudiates claims that the firmament of heaven has suffered diminution since the fall of Adam and Eve.[606] This Firmament is visualised as a 'great space or high gap between Heaven and Earth, which is and is called *Locus*,' like an arch dividing the waters beneath it, in the lower heaven, from those above, 'for Heaven and Earth were not able to exist without an interstice.'[607] This space that was originally entirely empty was then filled with watery humours, whose vapours and exhalations continually evaporate from the inferior region to become meteors, and is occupied, too, by the Sun, Moon and stars that move there. This is God's 'wonderful, perpetual, Universal Macrocosmic Laboratory', where Nature presides and works.[608]

31 3) The Super-Supreme Empyrean

Thirdly, above *Rachia, Schamaim*, the Firmament of Heaven, we enter the Super-Supreme Heaven, a region of water on the surface nearest to us, and of fire on the more distant. Here *Schamaim* is not mixed at all with the Elements (as in the First Heaven), nor is it soiled with their excrements and superfluities, nor congealed into a solid body (as in the Second). Here it constitutes the 'most pure, most subtle, fiery, most clear, surpassingly-perfect [...] Supercelestial Waters.'[609] This is the most lucid Empyreum Heaven, alluded to by Paul in 2 Corinthians 12:2,[610] and indeed the inaccessible light of 1 Timothy 6:16,[611] in whose fiery essence the Quintessence of Divinity divinely dwells, the

606 *Amph.*II, 66, 128.

607 *Amph.*II, 130 'spatium quoddam magnum altumve interuallum, inter Cælum & Terram, quod est & dicitur LOCVS ... ita nec Cælum & Terra, ... absque interstitio & distantia esse potuerunt.'

608 *Amph.*II, 131 'Mirabile DEI Mirabilis Laboratorium Macro Cosmicon, Naturâ præsidente aut Laborante, perpetuum, Catholicon.'

609 *Amph.*II, 130 'AQVAS SVPERCÆLESTES esse ... purissimas, subtilissimas, igneas, lucidissimas, plusquamperfectas'. Cf. Use of the term 'plusquam perfectum' by one of Khunrath's Paracelsian contemporaries, Joachim Tanckius (1557–1609), *Artis Chemiae Instructio* (Leipzig, 1605), 98 'Theophr. ein plusquam perfecta medicin'.

610 2 Corinthians 12:2 'I know a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth), such a one caught up to the third heaven' (Douay).

611 1 Timothy 6:16 'Who only hath immortality and inhabiteth light inaccessible; whom no man hath seen, nor can see; to whom be honour and empire everlasting. Amen.'

Ἁγιαστηριον [*Hagiastērion*], the Sanctuary of Angels, who continually look upon the face of God.[612]

Thus, through these three heavens we have a schema for the influence of divine power, emanating from the Supersupreme Third or Empyrean Heaven, the realm of Ideas, down through the interstitial space of the Firmament of the Second Heaven, to the First Heaven of the sublunar world, pervaded by aetherial spirit, the quintessence, where its extracted 'sixth' essence, 'Divine Water' or *Azoth* is collected by those busy alchemists.

32 III. Book of Man, Book of Conscience

Now let us turn to the character of the third 'Book', Man himself. The focus of the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure is the human being, Adam and Eve, the Theosopher,[613] as can be seen in the second *Isagoge*'s sequence for the three books, 'In Us, and in Nature, and in Scripture',[614] and in the presence of the famous Delphic (and Weigelian) exhortation to self-knowledge, γνωθι σεαυτον [*gnōthi seauton*], *Know Thyself*.[615] The theosopher gains both self-knowledge and self-understanding,[616] when, 'with the Deific light shining brightly', he perceives, observes and contemplates himself, 'in the tri-une mirror of tri-une Divine majesty (which is the created Universe, the written and incarnate Word, and the Divinely inspired Soul in ourselves), with the eyes both of the body and of the mind'.[617] Khunrath makes it clear, though, that

612 See *Amph.*II, 131–2, 142. The term Ἁγιαστηριον (Sanctuary), is found in the *Septuagint*, Leviticus 12:4.

613 *Chaos* (1597), 210 'Ein Theosophus ... Wie in Secunda Amphitheatri [...] figura.' See also *Amph.*II, 194.

614 *Amph.*II, 188.

615 See too *Chaos* (1597), 307 'Nosse Seipsum.'

616 *Amph.*II, 53, 99.

617 *Amph.*II, 108 'Te ipsvm autem cognosces, quando collucente luce Deifica, in speculo maiestatis Divinæ triunius triuno (quod est, vniversvm creatum, Verbvm scriptum & incarnatum, Animaque Diuinitus nobis inspirata) oculis & corporis & mentis.' Khunrath's reference to *Lux Deifica* possibly has in mind the Prologue of the Rules of Saint Benedict. See Benoît Standaert, 'A Monastic Perspective on Divine Revelation', in Mohammad A. Shomali and William Skudlarek (eds.), *Monks and Muslims: Monastic and Shi'a Spirituality in Dialogue* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgial Press, 2012), 1–9, at 4 who quotes from the Prologue to the Rule of St Benedict: 'attentis oculis ad deificum lumen'. Following Edward Grant (ed.), *A Source Book in Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), Vol. 1, 383, Khunrath's use of *Lux* instead of *Lumen* is significant, as being closer to the divine source: 'Between lux and lumen there is a difference. Lumen is a certain emission, or irradiation, by the substance of lux. Lux is the original substance from which lumen arises.'

self-knowledge is only a step, albeit an important one, towards the greatest knowledge, that of God: 'Truly, it is a great part of Wisdom to know Created Being and Nature; a greater to know Oneself; the greatest and highest to know God.'[618] In the second *Isagoge* he quotes from Augustine's *Soliloquies* in support of this joint endeavour: 'Grant it, Lord, that I may know myself and come to know thee.'[619] Hence, too, the inclusion of the *Pimander* quote in the *Pyramid* engraving where, in a dialogue with the divine Mind, Hermes Trismegistus is illumined by the light of divinity in a dream or hypnagogic vision, subsequently learning that only by knowing himself, by self-recognition, does man come to know God. In the words of Pimander, 'he who has understood himself advances towards god.'[620]

The quest for self-knowledge had long been popular among Christian writers. Augustine had discussed 'Know Thyself' in *On the Trinity*.[621] In his *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (Oration on the Dignity of Man), Pico della Mirandola had declared that 'Know thyself' 'arouses us and urges us towards the knowledge of all nature, of which man's nature is the medium and, as it were, the union. For he who knows himself, knows all things in himself, as first Zoroaster, and then Plato wrote in the *Alcibiades*.'[622] In his turn, too, Agrippa, in *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Three Books of Occult Philosophy, 1533), observed that 'whosoever therefore shall know himself, shall know all things in himself, especially he shall know God, according to whose image he was made.'[623] Another of Khunrath's most learned men of the era, Erasmus, had emphasised its importance in his *Adages* and in the *Enchiridion militis Christianae* (Handbook of the Christian Soldier, 1503), a work quoted more than once in the *Amphitheatre*.[624] As mentioned above, Weigel took the Greek precept *Gnothi seauton* as the

618 *Amph.*II, 108 'SAPIENTIÆ reuera pars magna, nosse Creaturam atque Naturam; maior, seipsum; maxima & summa, DEVM.'

619 *Amph.*II, 108 'Da, DOMINE, nosse me & nouerim te.' Cf. Augustine, *The Soliloquies*, Book II, i.1, in *Augustine: Earlier Writings*, edited and translated by John H.S. Burleigh (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), 41 'O God, who art ever the same, let me know myself and thee.'

620 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 5. See also Ronald R. Cox, *By the Same Word: Creation and Salvation in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 304.

621 Augustine, *On the Trinity, Books 8–15*, edited by Gareth B. Matthews; translated by Stephen McKenna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Book 10, Chapter 9, 53–54.

622 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man*, in *On the Dignity of Man, On Being and the One, Heptaplus*, translated by Wallis, Miller, and Carmichael, 14–15. See Plato, *Alcibiades* I (132 C).

623 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (2009), 580.

624 See Desiderius Erasmus, *The Enchiridion of Erasmus* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), 143 'The man who knows nothing of himself knows nothing at all.' See also Erasmus, *Adages, Collected Works of Erasmus*, *Adages* I vi 1 to I x 100, translated

title of one of his books. Self-consciousness, as it were, is thus a prerequisite to universal-consciousness, to consciousness of the divine, and indeed, if we are to believe Khunrath's claims, to deification and divine-consciousness.[625] The importance of the Latin version of the saying (Nosce teipsum) in the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure was not missed by Libavius, who sarcastically quotes the oracular saying with special reference to Khunrath, remarking 'Know Thyself, that is, everything according to the Mages, Croll, Agrippa, etc, [and] Thrasybulus's *Symbolum*.'[626]

Although there may well have been a physico-medical component to this self-knowledge,[627] and for the ancient Greeks knowing oneself included an awareness of external relations, of knowing one's place in relation to the gods and society,[628] in the context of the radical Reformation, the oracular utterance encouraged a state of contemplative interiorisation, of continuous, self-critical introspection, whereby the theosopher strives to know not only the virtues and vices, but also the very functioning of his own soul. In the universities there was great debate among the scholastics on the faculties of the soul, as subject of the 'intermediate' science between physics and metaphysics,[629] described by the newly coined term *Psychologia*. The Greek term 'Psychology' first appeared in the title of ΨΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΑ, *hoc est, De hominis perfectione, animo, et in primis ortu hujus* (Psychology, that is, on Man's Perfection, the Soul, and above all, its Origin, 1590) by the Calvinist professor of philosophy, Rudolph Goclenius the Elder (1547–1628); subsequently in Latin in the *Psychologia Anthropologica, sive doctrina animae Humanae* (Anthropological Psychology, or the Doctrine of the Human Soul, 1594–1596) of the humanist professor of philosophy and

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by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), Vol. 32, 62 1 vi 95 'Nosce teipsum'.

625 Fernand Roulier, *Jean Pic de la Mirandole* (1463–1494), *Humaniste, Philosophe et Théologien* (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 1989), 413.

626 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 101 'Nosce teipsum, hoc est, omnia secundum magos Crollium, Agrippam, &c, Thrasybuli symbolum.' Here Libavius may be referring to both the *Amphitheatre*'s Circular Figure 2 and to the *Symbolum Physico-Chymicum* (1598), which also stresses the importance of awareness of man's triune nature.

627 See, for example, Deborah Harkness, '*Nosce teipsum*: Curiosity, the humoural body and the culture of therapeutics in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England', in R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr (eds.), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 171–192.

628 Matthew Bell, *Melancholia: The Western Malady* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 132.

629 See, for example, Pico della Mirandola quoting Themistius in Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 295 'Scientia de anima est media inter scientias naturales et diuinas.'

theology, Otto Casmann (1562–1607).[630] Notwithstanding Luther's vilification of much of the Latin tradition's medieval theology and Aristotelian-based scholasticism, under the influence of his collaborator in reform Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) Protestant psychology continued to take as its substrate the culmination of Aristotle's natural philosophy, his teachings on the soul, *De anima* and *Parva naturalia*.[631] This influence was modified, however, by an influx of texts from outside the Aristotelian corpus, such as Plato's *Republic*, *Timaeus* and *Phaedrus*, Neoplatonic works like Plotinus's *Enneads*, Iamblichus's *De mysteriis*, and Synesius's *De insomniis*, along with works from the sceptical tradition in the form of Cicero's *Academica* and Sextus Empiricus's *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*.[632]

33 Ten Grades of Cognition

TABLE 3.1 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595/1609), Circular Figure 2: Grades of Cognition

	Gradus Cognitionis	Grades of Cognition
10.	Mens	Mind
9.	Intellectus	Intellect
8.	Ratio	Reason
7.	Judicium Superius	Higher Judgement
6.	Judicium Inferius	Lower Judgement
5.	Phantasia	Phantasy
4.	Sensus Interior, Communis	Inner, Common Sense
3.	Sensus Exteriores	Outer Senses
2.	Medium	Medium
1.	Objectum	Object

In the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure, Khunrath lists ten Degrees of Knowledge or Grades of Cognition (*Object*, *Medium*, *Outer Senses*, *Inner* or *Common Sense*, *Phantasy*, *Lower Judgement*, *Higher Judgement*, *Reason*, *Intellect* and *Mind*, Table 3.1), involving a human being's 'sensitive' and 'intellective'

630 Katharine Park and Eckhard Kessler, 'The Concept of Psychology,' in Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; repr. 1996), 455–463, at 455. See also Peter J. Forshaw, 'Casmann, Otto', in Marco Sgarbi (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy* (Spring International Publishing, 2017), 1161–62.

631 Eckhard Kessler, 'The Intellective Soul,' in Schmitt and Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 485–534, at 516, 518.

632 Park and Kessler, 'The Concept of Psychology,' 460.

souls.[633] These ten grades serve as a model for the causal analysis of the entire process of sense-perception, presenting it as a complete chain of causes and effects beginning with the external material *Object* of sense, moving to the bodily organs of the external and internal senses, and then to the intellective soul, the perception of archetypes and ideas, the apex of which, the immaterial *Mens* or Mind intuits, envisions and ultimately unites with the divine.[634] Michelle Karnes remarks that cognition was guaranteed a central place in Christian theology when Augustine 'located a person's greatest likeness to God precisely in his or her act of knowing.'[635]

Anyone with an early modern university education, especially a physician like Khunrath, would have recognised these ten grades as originating in Aristotle's *De anima* (On the Soul), first translated from Greek into Latin in the mid-twelfth century and attaining prominence in Latin scholasticism in the thirteenth.[636] Many influential commentaries exist, from Philoponus and Pseudo Simplicius in the sixth century, to Averroes and Aquinas in the High Middle Ages, Agostino Nifo (*c.*1469–1538) and Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) in the Renaissance, Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540),[637] Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560),[638] and Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) in early modernity.[639] One

633 Circular Figure 2: 'Gradus Cognitionis: Obiectum, Medium, Sensus Exteriores, Sensus interior, communis, Phantasia, Iudicium Inferius, Iudicium Superius, Ratio, Intellectus, Mens.'

634 Katharine Park, 'The Organic Soul', in Schmitt and Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 464–484, at 472. See also Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 43.

635 Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 13, 64.

636 Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 34.

637 Valerio Del Nero, 'A Philosophical Treatise on the Soul: *De anima et vita* in the Context of Vives's Opus', in Charles Fantazzi (ed.), *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 277–314.

638 Günter Frank, 'Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Reformer and Philosopher', in Blum (ed.), *Philosophers of the Renaissance*, 148–162, at 157. The works of Vives, Melanchthon and Gessner were printed together in *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de Anima & Vita Libris tres* (Zurich, 1563).

639 Aristotle, *On the Soul, Parva Naturalia, On Breath*, trans. W.S. Hett, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936; repr. 1995), Book II. vii, 105–107. On the commentary tradition, see H.J. Blumenthal, *Aristotle and Neoplatonism in Late Antiquity: Interpretations of the De Anima* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Sander W. De Boer, *The Science of the Soul: The Commentary Tradition on Aristotle's* De anima, *c. 1260–1360* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013); Paul J.J.M. Bakker and Johannes M.M.H. Thijssen (eds.), *Mind, Cognition and Representation: The Tradition of Commentaries on Aristotle's* De anima (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Richard Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell

of Khunrath's medical friends, Zacharias Brendel the Elder (1533–1626) was himself the author of *Annotata in libellum Philippi Melanchthonis de anima* (Observations on Philip Melanchthon's Booklet on the Soul, 1598).[640] One likely influence on Khunrath's choice to include these grades in a diagram is Valentin Weigel, who discusses cognition at length in *Der güldene Griff* (The Golden Grasp, composed 1578; published 1613, Fig. 3.18).

In view of the high esteem in which Khunrath holds Johann Reuchlin, whose *De verbo mirifico* (On the Wonder-Working Word, 1494) is cited and recommended more than once in the *Amphitheatre* and is in fact the unacknowledged source of much of the *Isagoge* to Circular Figure 2, it is perhaps not so surprising to discover that these grades of cognition bear more than a passing resemblance to the 'ten *sephiroth* by which man apprehends all things' in Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica* (On the Cabalistic Art, 1517). The *Sephiroth* Reuchlin is speaking of here are not the usual Hebrew terms, which shall be discussed in the following chapter on Christian Cabala, but instead: 'the object, the *diaphane*, outer sense, inner sense, *phantasia*, lower judgement, higher judgement, reason and intellect [...] The highest thing in man – mind – is something else again.'[641] As the term *diaphane* refers to the 'transparent medium' of vision mentioned by Aristotle in his discussion of cognition in *On the Soul*,[642] it is clear that these ten '*Sephiroth*' must be what Khunrath means by the 'Ten Christian-Cabalistic garments noted in the Second Figure' in the commentary on the *Amphitheatre*'s first verse,[643] its ten 'paths of life' and 'ten garments of Regeneration'. Khunrath then states in a gloss on *The Paths of Life* (Proverbs 2:19), that 'He who, Theosophically clothed in the ten garments of Regeneration, walks in them is UNITED WITH GOD.'[644] With a Christian

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University Press, 1990). On Gesner, see Anja-Silvia Goeing, 'Storing to Know: Konrad Gessner's *De Anima* and the Relationship between Textbooks and Citation Collections in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton, and Paul Michel (eds.), *Collectors' Knowledge: What Is Kept, What Is Discarded* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 209–242. See also the collection of essays in Simo Knuuttila and Pekka Kärkkäinen (eds.), *Theories of Perception in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), in particular Knuuttila's 'Aristotle's Theory of Perception and Medieval Aristotelianism', 1–22.

640 Paul Oskar Kristeller (ed.), *Iter Italicum* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), Vol. III, 569.

641 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 51. Presumably the external object equates to the lowest of the *sephiroth*, *Malkhut* (Kingdom), while the highest grade of cognition, *Mens* (Mind), is equated with the *Sephira Kether* (Crown).

642 Aristotle, *On the Soul, Parva Naturalia, On Breath*, II. vii, 105–107.

643 *Amph.*II, 4 'indutis vestimentis Christiano-Cabalisticis DECEM, figura Amphitheatri huius secunda annotatis.'

644 *Amph.*II, 49–50 '*Semitas vitae*] DECEM: quas vide Figura Amphitheatri huius secunda. Qui vestimentis Regenerationis decem Theosophicè vestitus ambulat in illis, VNITVR DEO' (*The paths of life*] TEN: see them in the second Figure of this Amphitheatre. He who,

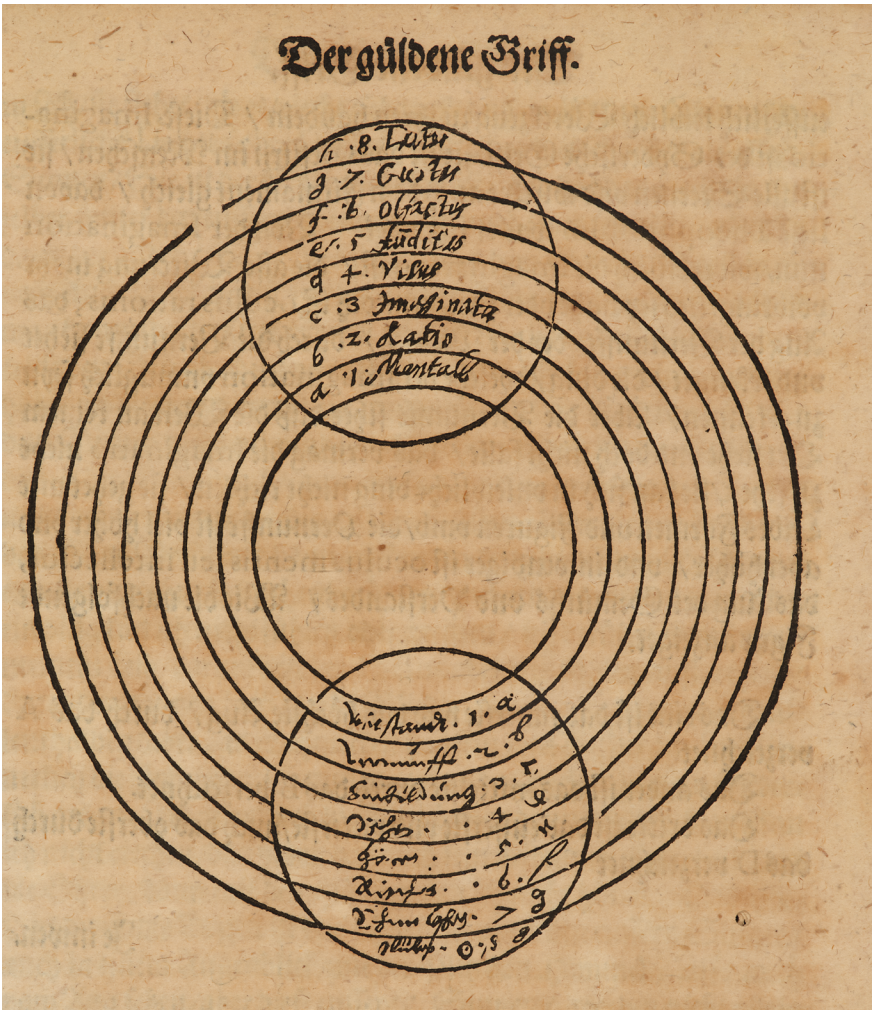


FIGURE 3.18 Weigel, *Der güldene Griff* (1613), sig. [Ciiij^{v}]: Cognition. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2428

interpretation of this verse, he adds that these paths 'blessedly led the Cabalist Mages coming from the East … to the fountain of life, the Ocean of WISDOM, by the Micro- and Macro-cosmically risen shining star of Wisdom.'[645] Khunrath's

Theosophically clothed in the ten garments of Regeneration, walks in them is UNITED WITH GOD).

645 *Amph.*II, 49–50 'ad vitæ fontem, SAPIENTIÆ Oceanum, feliciter deducunt Magos Cabalistarum ab Oriente (vt est vers.170.) venientes, prælucente SAPIENTIÆ stella, Micro & Macrocosmicè orta'.

ten grades, like Reuchlin's ten Aristotelian-sounding *Sephiroth*, should be regarded as the 'ten rungs of the ladder on which we climb to know all truth, be it of the senses, or of knowledge, or of faith.'[646]

In itself, this attempt to draw correspondences between the *Sephiroth* and the Grades of Cognition was nothing new in Christian Cabala, for a similar approach can be found in Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusions*, where he descends from the highest *Sephirah* (Table 3.3).

> I adapt our soul to the ten *sefirot* thus: so through its *unity* it is with the first, through *intellect* with the second, through *reason* with the third, through *superior sensual passion* with the fourth, through *superior irascible passion* with the fifth [and so forth].[647]

The reader may at first be puzzled by this association between Aristotelian and Kabbalistic thought, but if we recall that one of the major influences on Pico's transmission of Kabbalah was Abraham Abulafia (1240–1291), we should remember that his ecstatic approach was underpinned by the *Guide for the Perplexed* of the extremely Aristotelian philosopher Moses Maimonides (1135–1204).[648] Moshe Idel points out Abulafia's 'use of Aristotelian ideas for the expression of personal experience', and the view that 'the human intellect is capable of transformation into Divinity'.[649] Idel, furthermore, quoting Abulafia, writes of 'the ultimate compound, which is man, who comprises all the Sefirot, and whose intellect is the Active Intellect; and when you will untie its knots you will be united with it in a unique union'.[650]

Although the Kabbalistic *Sephiroth* are usually regarded as symbols of the progressive emanations of God into the world, here Reuchlin (and Khunrath) appears to be presenting a microcosmic, human series of ascent complementing the divine descent. His explanation that 'Just as God wears the Crown in the kingdom of the world, so is the Mind of man chief among the ten *sephiroth*,'[651] implies that the first and highest *sephirah* or divine emanation, *Kether* (Crown),

646 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 51.

647 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 549 11>66. For a discussion of these categories, see [Giovanni] Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*, edited by Francesco Borghesi, Michael Papio and Massimo Riva (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 'Overview of the Text', 84.

648 Moshe Idel, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 16.

649 Moshe Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 131.

650 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 132.

651 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 51.

is mirrored by *Mens* or Mind in man.[652] This suggests a parallel reading of the rest of the two sequences, down to the tenth and lowest Kabbalistic *sephirah Malchuth* (Kingdom), denoting the earth, and its counterpart, the *Object* in the Aristotelian Grades of Cognition (Table 3.2).

TABLE 3.2 Comparison of Aristotelian Grades of Cognition and Kabbalistic *Sephiroth*

	Aristotle, *De Anima*	**Kabbalistic *Sephiroth***
1.	Mind	Kether
2.	Intellect	Chochmah
3.	Reason	Binah
4.	Higher Judgement	Chesed
5.	Lower Judgement	Geburah
6.	Phantasy	Tiphereth
7.	Inner, Common Sense	Nezah
8.	Outer Senses	Hod
9.	Medium	Iesod
10.	Object	Malchuth

TABLE 3.3 Comparison of Reuchlin and Pico's Grades of Cognition

	Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*	**Pico della Mirandola, *Cabalistic Conclusions***
1.	Mind	Unity
2.	Intellect	Intellect
3.	Reason	Reason
4.	Human Judgement; *Judicium humanum*	Superior Sensual Passion
5.	Brute Judgement; *Judicium Sensitivum*/*Brutum*	Superior Irascible Passion
6.	Appearance; *phantasia*	Free Will
7.	Inner Sense	Through all as related to 'superiora' (higher things)

652 See David S. Ariel, *Kabbalah: The Mystic Quest in Judaism* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 133 'Man is conceived as a structure parallel to and analogous with the *Sefirot*.'

TABLE 3.3 Comparison of Reuchlin and Pico's Grades of Cognition (*cont.*)

	Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*	**Pico della Mirandola, *Cabalistic Conclusions***
8.	Outward Sense	Through all as related to 'inferiora' (lower things)
9.	Shimmer; *diaphane*	Through a mixture of both
10.	Object[a]	Through the power by which it inhabits the first dwelling-place (habitaculum)[b]

a Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 48–49.
b Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 549 11>66.

It is evident, however, that Khunrath's ten grades were unacceptable to more orthodox contemporaries. In *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), Libavius predictably declares the 'Gradus cognitionis magica [sic]' (magical Grades of cognition) to be un-Christian.[653]

Although the three main divisions of the soul (vegetative, sensitive, intellective) represent a hierarchical 'ladder of nature' or 'great chain of being', defined metaphysically according to their increasing abstraction from matter and theologically according to their increasing closeness to God, in scholastic philosophy the highest functions nevertheless relied on input derived from the senses for the generation of knowledge, in accordance with the Aristotelian dictum that all knowledge is derived from the senses.[654] Thus it is that the first two grades in Khunrath's list (*Obiectum*, *Medium*) concern the external object of perception and that which had become the basis of the philosophical understanding of sensation, the sense image or *species*. Although 'the sense object cannot be received by the sense in its essence on account of its materiality it produces an image which the sense can receive and by which it can be perceived.'[655] This image is the sensible *species*, an immaterial quality impressed on the surrounding medium like a seal on soft wax, which 'resembles the object as a portrait does the sitter [...] Every sense object constantly

653 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 69.
654 Richard H. Popkin, 'Theories of Knowledge', in Schmitt and Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 668–684, at 668 cites Aristotle's *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*.
655 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 471.

emits a multitude of such *species* (visible, auditory, olfactory, and so forth) in all directions.'[656]

From Khunrath's occasional reference to the idea of *species* it may be that this is what he means by 'medium',[657] although in light of the fact that Simone Simoni (1532–1602), Professor of Philosophy and Medicine in Leipzig during Khunrath's studentship,[658] writes that the doctrine of *species* had been rejected by some of 'the most illustrious philosophers of [his] time', it could be that by the word 'medium' Khunrath alternatively intends instead some form of *spiritus* or air, possibly even the 'ethereal spirit' of heaven.[659] However these impressions from the objects were transmitted, whether the *species* were the medium themselves or *spiritus* was the medium carrying the *species*, once they reached the appropriate *Outer Sense* organ (eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin) they provoked physical changes causing a 'motion' defined as 'sensation' in the organs of *Inner Sense* located within the brain (*Common Sense* and *Imagination* in the anterior cerebral ventricle; *Phantasy* and *Estimation* in the middle ventricle; *Memory* in the posterior ventricle). Once in the organs of *Inner Sense*, the *species* were impressed on an internal medium, the vaporous *spiritus* filling the sense organs and the nerves.[660]

While the *Outer Senses* dealt with present objects, these *Inner Senses* dealt with absent, past or even non-existent objects.[661] *Common Sense* compared the individual data – described as similitudes or images – gathered by the various *Outer Senses*, and perceived qualities such as size, shape, number and motion that fell under more than one sense. Although the Middle Ages had postulated a varied group of *Internal Senses*, including Cogitation, Phantasy, Imagination

656 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 472.

657 *Amph.*II, 74, 132, 195; *Chaos* (1597), 89, 159, 218.

658 According to Lohr, 'Metaphysics', 622 Simoni was accused of Arianism in 1575.

659 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 481. See also Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 15 who writes that '*species* (sometimes called "intentional" or "sensible" *species*) which radiated out from these objects into the surrounding medium, usually the air, transmitting images of the qualities physically … through the medium to the eye. In this way, the *species* carried the likenesses or "similitudes" of visible forms from object to eye … One of the most important expositions of these ideas was Bacon's *De multiplicatione specierum* (1262) based on an epistemology in which objects act *on* passive recipients, leaving impressions in their senses and intellects which translate into conceptual images … received by the "internal" senses as "phantasms" and eventually "intelligible *species*".'

660 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 472.

661 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 469. See also Richard G. Newhauser, 'The Senses, the Medieval Sensorium, and Sensing (in) the Middle Ages', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), Vol. 3, 1559–1575.

and Common Sense, by Khunrath's time the list was often winnowed down to a single function, usually termed *Imagination*,[662] which stored sense data before passing it on to the memory.[663] Paracelsus, whose writings undoubtedly influence Khunrath's reading of any Aristotelian material, places particular emphasis on what can be accomplished by a strong imagination, claiming that it is the 'beginning of all magical works',[664] that 'he who imagines compels herbs to put forth their hidden nature that is in them. So also imagination in the uncertain arts compels the stars to do the will of the one who imagines, believes, and works.'[665]

Although Khunrath subsumes most of the inner senses under the umbrella-term *Common Sense*, he does mention one faculty separately, that of *Phantasy*, which was traditionally understood as combining and dividing the sensory data, generating new images, mental pictures called *phantasmata*, which have no counterparts in external reality.[666] Khunrath's use of Reuchlin's term *Phantasy* over *Imagination* is somewhat surprising, for he must have been aware that while Paracelsus has many passages praising the power of the

662 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 480–1.

663 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 469.

664 Paracelsus, *De la Peste et de ses causes et ses accidents* (Avers, 1570), Lib.IV, Cap.III, 120 'Vous sçavez combien vaut la forte imagination, laquelle est un commencement de toutes operations magicques'; Paracelsus, *De Peste*, *Liber Primus*, Das Dritt Capitel, in Johann Hüser (ed.), *Opera, Bücher und Schrifften* (Strassburg, 1603), Vol. 1, 364 'Euch ist gnugsam wissend was die strenge Imagination thut/ welche ein anfang ist aller Magischen wercken'. See also Pagel, *The Smiling Spleen*, 104.

665 Paracelsus, *Philosophia Sagax*, in Johann Hüser (ed.), *Opera, Bücher vnd Schrifften* (1603), Vol. 2, 'Probatio in Scientias Artium Incertarum,' 512–514, at 513 'Nun der Imaginirt/ zwingt die Kreutter/ daß jr verborgene Natur herfür muß kommen/ was in jhnen ist. Also auch Imaginatio der Incertarum Artium dergleichen zwingt/ daß das Gestirn muß das thun/ das der will/ der da Imaginiert/ glaubt/ und wirkcet.' On Paracelsus and Imagination, see Heinz Schott, 'Paracelsus and Van Helmont on Imagination: Magnetism and Medicine before Mesmer', in Scholz Williams & Gunnoe, Jr. (eds.), *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine, & Astrology in Early Modern Europe*, 135–147; idem, '"Invisible Diseases" – Imagination and Magnetism: Paracelsus and the Consequences', in Grell (ed.), *Paracelsus: The Man and His Reputation, His Ideas and Their Transformation*, 309–322. See also the section on *Vis Imaginativa*, 'From Jacob's Sheep to the Magic Seed of Paracelsus', in Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 100f; Peter J. Forshaw, '"Morbo spirituali medicina spiritualis convenit": Paracelsus, Madness, and Spirits', in Steffen Schneider (ed.), *Aisthetics of the Spirits: Spirits in Early Modern Science, Religion, Literature and Music* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), 287–305, at 289 concerning Paracelsus's *De Virtute Imaginativa* (On Imaginative Virtue, 1590), where Paracelsus writes that an adept with a powerful imagination may even magically "give birth to a spirit".

666 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 469; Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, 11.

human imagination, which he considered vital for the accomplishment of all magical action, he had little good to say about Phantasy, declaring that

> there are physicians without imagination, without faith, and they are called phantasists. Phantasy is not imagination but is the cornerstone of folly. Such work for any result, but do not study in the school in which they should study. Now he who is born in imagination finds the power of Nature, that is hidden within, which the body with its phantasy cannot find. For imagination and phantasy differ from one other. Imagination exists in the perfect spirit, phantasy exists in the body without a perfect spirit.[667]

It is possible that Khunrath's decision to stick with Reuchlin's Greek *Phantasia* rather than the Latin *Imaginatio* was influenced by the German *doctor universalis* Albertus Magnus (*c*.1200–1280) or the Italian philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), both of whom distinguish between a lower *imaginatio* and a higher *phantasia*.[668]

Whatever his choice of term, it seems evident that Khunrath intends by *Phantasy* something resembling Paracelsus's *Imagination*, for he explains – in

667 *Philosophia Sagax* in Paracelsus, *Opera, Bücher vnd Schrifften* (1603), Vol. 2 'Probatio in Scientias Artium Incertarum,' 512–514, at 513 'Nun ist nicht minder/ es seind Artzt ohn Imagination/ ohn glauben/ und seind Fantasten geheissen: Die Fantasey ist nit Imaginatio, sondern ist ein Eckstein der narrheit: Solche machen in ein grattwol/ lernen nit auß der Schul/auß der sie lernen sollen. Nun der aber in der Imagination geboren wird/ der find die krafft der Natur/ was in jr verborgen ist/ das der leib durch sein Fantasey nicht finden mag. Dann Imaginatio unnd Phantasia theylen sich von einander. Imaginatio ist in perfecto Spiritu, Phantasia ist im Leib ohn ein perfecto Spiritu.' The alchemical *Rosarium Philosophorum* (Frankfurt, 1550), sig. Biij^{v} makes a similar distinction between 'true' and 'fantastic' imagination: 'Et hoc imaginare per veram imaginationem et non fantasticam'.

668 On Albertus, see Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 42, 55. Khunrath mentions Albertus at least once, in a marginal note in *Chaos* (1597), 387. On Ficino's varying notions concerning phantasy and imagination, see Sophia Howlett, *Marsilio Ficino and His World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 111ff, 129–30; Eugenio Garin, '*Phantasia* e *imaginatio* fra Marsilio Ficino e Pietro Pomponazzi', in M. Fattori and M.L. Bianchi (eds.), *Phantasia-Imaginatio* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), 3–20. Khunrath does display a preference for Greek over Latin forms, e.g. *Mageia* instead of *Magia*, *hyperphysicus* instead of *supernaturalis*. On Paracelsus distinguishing 'the false, or extravagant imagination – *fantasia* –' from 'the true, authentic one', see Antoine Faivre, 'The imagination … You mean fantasy, right?', in Wouter J. Hanegraaff, Peter J. Forshaw, and Marco Pasi (eds.), *Hermes Explains: Thirty Questions about Western Esotericism* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 80–87, at 86. For a detailed consideration of imagination and phantasia, see Marieke J.E. van den Doel, *Ficino and Fantasy: Imagination in Renaissance Art and Theory from Botticelli to Michelangelo* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

one of many exerpts lifted from François Vatable's commentaries on the books of the Old Testament in Robert Estienne's *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (1557) – that φανταζεσθαι [*phantazesthai*] means '*to imagine and to inform something by thought and mind*,' and claims that through it Wisdom 'presents herself' to the minds and thoughts of men 'in order to reveal herself and amicably communicate with them', most significantly by way of visions and dreams.[669] Karnes makes clear the importance of imagination as the faculty that,

> enabled any transition from sensible to intelligible apprehension. Imagining the life of Christ drew on the power of imagination to impel the meditant from Christ's humanity to his divinity. Imagination did not participate in the highest forms of contemplation, but it did guide the meditant to the point at which mystical transports began.[670]

Imagination works cognitively and affectively to draw the soul closer to God.[671] One of Aristotle's most ambitious statements concerning imagination in *De anima* was the assertion that 'the soul never thinks without an image'. These images (*phantasmata*) were provided by the imagination, with the consequence that every act of cognition involves imagination.[672]

The following two grades of cognition, termed by Khunrath *Lower* and *Higher Judgement*, by Reuchlin *Brute* and *Human Judgement*,[673] and by Pico 'Superior Irascible Passion' and 'Superior Sensual Passion', presumably correspond to the traditional faculties of *Estimation* and *Memory*. The *Vis Aestimativa* accounts for 'instinctive reactions of avoidance or trust',[674] a memorable example used by Avicenna in *De Anima* being that of the sheep that is able to understand the danger that a wolf represents for it, even if it has never met a wolf before.[675]

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669 *Amph.*II, 62 (mispaginated as 42) '*imaginari, & cogitatione ac mente aliquid informare.*' Cf. Stephanus [Robert Estienne], *Biblia utriusque Testamenti. De quorum nova Interpretatione et copiosissimis in eam annotationibus* (Geneva, 1557), 98r.

670 Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 5.

671 Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 23.

672 Aristotle, *De anima*, III.7, 431 a16–17. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 36 Aristotle 'makes the same assertion in his *De memoria*, there offering a geometric analogy. As we cannot think about the general concept "triangle" without imagining a certain triangle of a certain size, so, apparently, we can never understand without making use of some mental image.'

673 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*/*De Arte Cabalistica*, 49.

674 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 469; Simon Kemp, *Cognitive Psychology in the Middle Ages* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 53.

675 Avicenna Latinus, *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus*, I, pars 1, cap. v, ed. by S. van Riet (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1972), 86. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 50

The *Memory* stores both those images derived from the *Outer Senses* as well as the *phantasmata* and the reactions of *Estimation*. It differs from *Phantasy* in the fact that it recognises its contents as part of past experience.[676] Robert Markus provides a clear sense of the importance of *Memory*, which contains 'everything the mind is capable of knowing or thinking about', being 'the whole potential knowledge of an individual mind at any one time.' It is not, moreover, simply Epimethean in its functioning, but has a Promethean quality, for placed within memory are 'the forms by which the mind knows in potentia all that it knows before it knows anything.'[677]

Next, we come to the faculties of the Intellective soul, the grouping of *Ratio*, *Intellectus* and *Mens*, or *Reason*, *Intellect* and *Mind*.[678] The generally accepted definition for *Ratio* is the faculty of the soul that coordinates the images supplied by the *Inner Senses* according to the rules of logic, and becomes involved with the experiences, desires and needs of the body as transmitted by the perceptual faculties. Man's unique position in creation arises from the fact that while he shares the faculties of the lower, sensitive soul with the animals and his *Intellect* with the *Intellectus Divinus*, he shares his *Reason* with nothing in the universe. *Reason* is exclusively human, a discursive and reflective faculty capable of turning in whichever direction it chooses, which enables man to escape from the three deterministic systems of providence, fate, and nature that control his intellect, imagination, and body.[679]

It would be extremely convenient to be able to bracket these Grades of Cognition with the external *Object* at one end and God as the 'Agent' Intellect at the other, but Khunrath seems to have had other ideas. Rather than giving the impression of the final category, *Mens*, as being the separate divine agent intellect, with which the human potential intellect is conjoined or assimilated,

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'Estimation is one of the new powers Avicenna introduces to the discussion of faculties, as that which processes intentions.' For more on this, see Jon McGinnis, *Avicenna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 113–115 on the estimative faculty; 98 on the sheep and wolf; Michael-Sebastian Noble, *Philosophising the Occult: Avicennan Psychology and 'The Hidden Secret' of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 142–145.

676 Park, 'The Organic Soul', 469.

677 Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 72, citing and commenting on R.A. Markus, 'Marius Victorinus and Augustine', in A.H. Armstrong (ed.), *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967; repr. 2007), 329–419, at 371.

678 For further references, see *Amph.*II, 3, 82, 113, 133.

679 Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (London: Constable, 1970), Vol. 2, 512.

according to Averroes or Albertus Magnus,[680] Khunrath's notion of 'MIND, or the Divinely inspired SOUL of man', has a definite sense of being part of the human soul, though perhaps indeed 'external' in the sense of 'incorporeal'.[681]

34 The Threefold Eye and Three Kinds of Vision

Khunrath speaks more than once of the 'ears as much of the reason, intellect and mind, as of the senses or the body'[682] and likewise of the 'eyes of my mind, intellect, reason and senses,'[683] or more generally of the doors 'of your senses, reason, intellect and mind.'[684] In this he may well be revealing the influence of Augustine, who writes of three kinds of vision: *visio corporalis*, *spiritualis* and *intellectualis*, involving the outer eye, inner eye (seeing images presented to the imagination), and eye of the mind,[685] or indeed of Valentin Weigel, who develops the concept of a threefold eye in *Der güldene Griff*, from the outermost, the *Visus sensualis* or *imaginatio*, related to the senses; moving inwards to the *Oculus rationis*, and finally the innermost eye, *Oculus mentis seu intellectus*, closest to the eternal or inner eye of God.[686] Moving from the eyes of the senses to those of the mind, drawing from Platonising philosophy and Solomonic wisdom in support of his theosophy, Khunrath remarks in a commentary on Wisdom 8:2,[687]

> Who (as Cicero the Pagan rightly writes about WISDOM, from Divinely illumined Plato) if she were seen with sensual eyes, she would arouse

680 Bernard Blankenhorn, *The Mystery of Union with God: Dionysian Mysticism in Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015), 163.

681 *Amph.*II, 90 'TRIVNA, videlicet. Primò, NATVRA atque CREATVRA, hoc est, Mundus maior totus, cum creaturis Spiritualibus; & Corpus ac Spiritus Hominis, id est, Mundi minoris: Secundò, MENS, siuè ANIMA homini Diuinitus inspirata: Tertiò SS.ª Scriptura; quod est VERBVM DEI Biblicè scriptum.'

682 *Amph.*II, 3 'Auribus tam rationis, intellectus & mentis, quam sensuum siuè corporis'.

683 *Amph.*II, 82 'oculos mentis, intellectus, rationis ac sensuum meos.'

684 *Amph.*II, 113 '*Assidentem foribus*, &c.] Quibusnam? Sensuum tuorum, Rationis, Intellectus ac Mentis.'

685 Veerle Fraeters, 'Visio/Vision', in Hollywood and Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, 178–188, at 179.

686 Weigel, *Der güldene Griff* (Frankfurt, 1697), caps 3, 4, 6, 7.

687 Wisdom 8:2 'Her have I loved, and have sought her from my youth, and have desired to make my wife, and I was captivated by love of her beauty.'

> marvellous love in all.[688] How much and what sort of love she aroused in Solomon (who perceived her with the eyes of the Mind, as is fitting too for us lovers of Theosophy to use) is sufficiently clear from the present verses.[689]

It appears that Khunrath's experience of the divine, or desire for such, is not simply visual, but one that literally and metaphorically engages all the senses,

> O Wisdom, open the eyes of my mind, that I may see you; my ears that I may hear you; purge my senses, Reason and Intellect that I may understand you; touch the tongue of my heart that I may taste you![690] and finally bring it about, I beg you, that I may be raised up by the attraction of your Magnet, sublimated by the fire of your Spirit, joined and united with you.[691]

One of Khunrath's preferred ways for modifying consciousness seems to be fasting, which, we are told, 'sharpens the Intellect [and] elevates the Mind',[692] and he entreats the 'Spirit of Assistance' to 'wisely instruct, direct, dispose, aid, advance, make fortunate and blessed', respectively, his 'Mind, Intellect, Reason,

688 Cicero, *De Finibus*, Book 2, chapter xvi, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914; repr. 1999), 141 'Could we see her, what passionate love would she awaken'. See also Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, chapter 5, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913; repr. 1956), 17 '"and if," as Plato says, "it could be seen with the physical eye, it would awaken a marvellous love of wisdom".'

689 *Amph.*II, 63 'Quæ (vt rectè de Sapientia scripsit Cicero Ethnicus ex Platone Diuinitus illuminato) si oculis cerneretur carnalibus, mirabiles omnibus excitaret amores. Solomoni (oculis Mentis qui eam aspexit, sic uti & Nos Theosophiæ amatores decet) quales ac quantas excitauerit, ex præsentibus sufficienter patet.' Khunrath lifted this passage from Stephanus, *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (1557), 99^{v} 'adamavi formam eius, quae (ut scripsit Cicero ex Platone) si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret.'

690 On the motif of the tongue of the mind or heart, see also Rufinus (Aquileiensis.), *Commentarius in 70 Davidis Psalmos* (Lyon, 1570), 120 [Psalm 51] 'Linguam cordis commendat in hoc loco, non oris; habet enim cor nostrum linguam suam'. See also Johannes Tauler, *Sermones de tempore & de sanctis totius anni: planè piissimi, reliquaqúe* (Cologne, 1603), Sermo 1, 194 'Intelligit enim ipse linguam cordis, animae intentionem, & intimam essentialem.'

691 *Amph.*II, 19 'O Sapientia, mentis meæ aperi oculos, vt te videam; aures, vt te audiam; sensus purga, Rationem & Intellectum, vt te intelligam; cordis tange linguam, vt te gustem! denique fac, quæso, Magnetis tui tractu leuer, Spiritus tui igne sublimer, coniungar & vniar tecum.'

692 *Amph.*II, 157 'Ieivnivm … Intellectum acuit; eleuat Mentem.'

Thoughts and Senses, Actions and [...] Works.'[693] He does occasionally refer to the relation between the highest two cognitive grades, once in a remark about the 'Light of the Divinely illumined Mind, falling (Enthusiastically) on the Intellect,'[694] and more fully in a declaration that evokes the opening passage of the *Pimander*, when Hermes is enlightened by the 'Divine Mind':

> Only those who are faithful and experienced will understand this, in whom, the affective senses and the purely human reason being asleep, the Divinely kindled LIGHT of the MIND falls on the Intellect, moving the free will to believe, which is the MOST NOBLE WAY OF KNOWING.[695]

In his discussion of the revelation Hermes receives from the *Nous* or Divine Mind, in the *Pimander*, Umberto Eco provides useful ways of discriminating between the activities of Reason, Intellect and Mind: according to Plato *Nous* is the faculty that engenders ideas, while, according to Aristotle, it is thanks to the *Intellect* that we recognize substances.[696] While the operations of *Dianoia* encompass reflection and rational activity, leading to the *epistēmē* of 'scientific knowledge', in contrast *Nous*/*Mens* 'the faculty of mystic intuition,' was, in the words of Hanns-Peter Neumann, the 'suprarational entry point for divine light',[697] and *Noesis* a form of non-rational illumination, participating in 'instantaneous and non-discursive vision'.[698] Whence it is that Khunrath tells us in the *Amphitheatre* that he has 'carefully noted down my conversations, works, and the thoughts of my prophetic mind'.[699] This looks back to the

693 *Amph.*II, 133 'Mentem, Intellectum, Rationem, Cogitationes & sensus, Actiones atque Labores omnes sapienter instituat, dirigat, disponat, adiuuet, promoueat, fortunet, beet.'

694 *Amph.*II, 49 'sed Lumine mentis Diuinitus illustratæ (Enthusiasticè) cadente super intellectum, & mouente liberam credendi voluntatem: quæ nobilissima est omnium rerum sciendarum via.'

695 *Amph.*II, 159 'Intelligent hæc non nisi fideles & experti; quibus, sopitis sensibus affectuosis & ratione nudè humana, LVMEN MENTIS Diuinitus accensum cadit super Intellectum, mouens liberam credendi voluntatem: quæ NOBILISSIMA NOTITIÆ VIA.'

696 See Plato, *Philebus* 28c.

697 Hanns-Peter Neumann, 'Eine deutsche Übersetzung des *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* aus dem 18. Jahrhundert: Der *Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*', in Gilly, Hallacker, Neumann and Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae – Schauplatz der ewigen allein wahren Weisheit*, 379–382, at 382.

698 Umberto Eco, 'Interpretation and history', in Umberto Eco, with Richard Rorty, Jonathan Culler, and Christine Brooke-Rose, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, edited by Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)„ 23–44, at 33.

699 *Amph.*II, 148–149 'sermones, labores, cum meos tum aliorum mentisque præsagæ conceptus, sedulò annotaui.' Cf. William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, *Alchemy*

distinction between the two types of knowledge, *epistēmē* and *gnōsis*, in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, where we learn that 'Gnosis is the goal of *episteme*', the latter involving knowledge of creation as an essential preliminary to knowledge of God.[700]

Here we should consider the influence of Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*, where, after dividing all these faculties into three regions, the first 'Sense' (Object, Medium, Outer Sense), the second 'Judgement' (Inner Sense, Appearance, Brute Judgement), and the third 'Intellect' (Human *Judgement*, Reason, Intellect), he describes *Mind* as 'mistress of all of these, since with light from above it illumines and makes complete man's intellect'.[701] This is presumably the significance of Khunrath's reference to the Mind inebriated with God as the Micro-Cosmic Moon of the Cabalists, able to see, as if through a mirror (i.e. by reflected light) itself in God and God in itself.[702] This trickle-down effect is also mentioned in the earlier *De Verbo Mirifico*, where Reuchlin explains that 'Mind illumines reason, and reason flows to the senses, all is one spirit'.[703] Reuchlin adds that the 'Truth of lower things is the object of reason, of higher things [the object] of the mind'.[704]

Perhaps the reference to the mind being 'illumined' and its light falling on the intellect in turn could be referring to something like a variant of the Jesuit Franciscus Toletus's (1532–1596) notion of the illumination process being split into two phases, the first being an external illumination (of the *Mind*) from which the intelligible *species* of the singular originated; and the second, an internal illumination of this same *species* (in the *Intellect*), which produced

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Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chymistry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 57 who note that Joan Baptista Van Helmont combined 'instanteneous understanding through *intellectus*, revelations in dreams, and what we might recognise as rational investigations' as part of his rejection of scholastic culture of disputation.

700 See, for example, Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 100–101 'Hermes speaks of knowledge of the stars as an essential *preliminary* to knowledge of God, and part of the "preparatory exercise" (progymnasma) that the soul must perform in the world, so that when it reaches the point where it may contemplate the divine realm it will not lose its way.'

701 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 49.

702 *Amph.*II, 109. Cf. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 541 '11>51 Just as the full moon was in Solomon, so the full sun was in the true Messiah, who was Jesus'; 543 '11>54 What the Cabalists say, that we will be beatified in the shining mirror restored to the saints in the future world, is exactly the same, following their principles, as that which we say, that the saints will be beatified in the Son.'

703 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 957 'Mens illuminat rationem, & ratio fluit in sensum, omnia unus animus.'

704 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 893 'veritas inferiorum rationis, superiorum mentis, obiectum est.'

the universal object of intellection.[705] Alternatively, similar to the Portuguese Thomist theologian and philosopher John of St Thomas (1589–1644), perhaps Khunrath conceived of the *Intellect* as dealing with the universal *species* relating to the mediate knowledge of the sensible world, while the *Mind* as the highest faculty of the human soul dealt with that which was knowable *per se*, without the need of intermediary *species*, and known immediately (i.e. God).[706] A final possibility comes from Khunrath's description of *Mind* (partly taken from Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica*), as the 'higher and more lucid Spark of the human soul, Divine and immortal, which God has endowed with a condition of such a kind that from the innate desire of its Nature, and with whatever powers it may, it strives and ceaselessly yearns for the highest and most excellent things.'[707] From this description, it would appear that the highest Grade of 'Cognition', strictly speaking, is in fact one of 'Volition', whereby man moves from a state of knowledge to one of love in his ultimate union with God.

Although Khunrath's real sense of the difference between the three intellective faculties remains a mystery, what does seem clear is that while he may well have subscribed to some Aristotelian theories on the apprehension of knowledge through the physical senses, with his Christian-Cabalist and hyperphysical magical claims to divine revelation, reinforced by Reuchlinian and Paracelsian criticism of the inability of syllogistic reasoning to penetrate the divine mysteries,[708] there can be little doubt that Khunrath considered man's highest psychological faculty, *Mens* or Mind, a superior conduit to knowledge from (and of) the Trinity and related spiritual beings. An influential precedent for this could be found, for example, in the fourteenth-century *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (The New Pearl of Great Price) of the Italian alchemist, Petrus Bonus, who, despite the heavily Aristotelian nature of his book, renounces a theory of knowledge based solely on the senses, opening himself to Platonic themes of divine inspiration, to an intuition surpassing human reason, knowledge which enters from above, falling initially on the intellect and

705 Kessler, 'The Intellective Soul', 512.

706 See Kessler, 'The Intellective Soul', 509 for the ideas of John of St Thomas.

707 *Amph.*II, 192 (mispaginated as 193) 'MENS, humani animi scintilla altior & lucidior, Diuina ac immortalis, quam DEVS id generis dotauerit conditione, vt ex insito sibi Naturæ suae desiderio, quibuscunque possit viribus, ad summa & optima tendat, indesinenter appetit …' See Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, Lib.I, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 615.

708 For Reuchlin's criticism of the sophistries of the Aristotelian syllogism, see *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 57, 61, 143, 145; *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 922. On Reuchlin and Paracelsus, see James Joseph Bono, *The Word of God and the Languages of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), Vol. 1: Ficino to Descartes, 127.

ultimately on the senses, before once more returning to the intellect, by an almost alchemical circulation.[709]

35 The Ladder of Conjunction and Union

In *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum* (Platonic-Hermetic Christianity, 1690–91), the Lutheran heresiologist Ehregott Daniel Colberg (1659–1698) condemns *Spagyrico-Hermetical* and *Platonico-Metaphysical* enthusiasts, who write, for example, of the deification of man and transformation into God, a process that involves 'ecstatic love' and 'divine, deifying love', as well as 'knowledge of God according to supra-mental union, that is super-mental conjunction and super-intellectual union'.[710] Such Conjunction and Union is, indeed, the central focus of the *Amphitheatre*'s engraving, for Khunrath explains that,

709 Barbara Obrist, *Les Débuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique* (*XIV^e–XV^e siècles*) (Paris: Éditions le Sycomore, 1982), 63 'Est autem et principium unum: aliud ab his excelsum et divinum quod est sicut clavis et nexus illorum, sine quo non potest perfici opus hoc, quod supra omnem rationem naturalem, debet cadere in intellectum, ante principium operationis, et ultimo in sensum. Et hoc est quod induxit Platonem, investigando Philosophiam incipere ab intellectu et finire in sensu, et iterum redire et reflectere ad intellectum via circulari: cuius contrarium fecit Aristoteles [...] Deinde scivimus per canones alios, scilicet non naturales, sed alchemicos et divinos.' An additional interesting thought, at least from an alchemical context, in the *Pretiosa margarita novella* (Venice, 1546), 92^v is 'In intelligentia enim & mente divina sunt ideae omnium naturalium, in intellectu autem ideae omnium artificialium' (For the ideas of all natural things are in intelligence and the divine mind, while the ideas of all artificial things are in the intellect).

710 Colberg, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum*, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1690), 70 'Verstande als dem die heutigen Enthusiasten führen/ dem Enthusiasmo das Eiß gebrochen haben. Zu dem Ende ziehet er an ihre verblümte *hyperbolische* und wie er redet/ *Spagyrico-hermetische* und *Platonico-Metaphysi*sche *terminos*, welche die *Enthusiasten* begierig ergreiffen/ und ihr Gifft drunter verstecken. Dergleichen sind/ *hominis Deificatio, in Deum transformatio, animam mori, propriam formam amittere, actione omni destitui, Deum solum agere, hominem tantum pati, exstaticus amor, divinus, deificans amor, divina caligio, divina unctio, cognitio Dei secundum unitionem supra mentem, id est, supermentalem conjunctionem, superintellectualemque unionem, motus animæ circularis & in semetipsum introitus*, &c.' It would appear that this passage was not original to Colberg, but lifted from writing condemning enthusiasm by the staunchly orthodox Dutch Calvinist and Utrecht professor of theology Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676): *Tractatus duo: Unus* περι των ασκητικων, *sive de Exercitiis Pietatis; alter de Coelo Beatorum* (Gorinchem, 1679), 80, again in a passage condemning enthusiasm 'quasi Spagyrico-hermeticis & Platonico-metaphysicis, (ex. gr. *hominis deificatio, in Deum transformatio*, &c. apud Carthus. de Fonte lucis art. 15.16.18.) *animam mori ... superintellectualemque unionem* ... &c. apud eundem Carthusianum, de Contemplatione, & Pseudo-Areopagitam, & reliquos Mysticos'; this time with Marsilio Ficino being singled out for blame. On Colberg, see

> the Reduction to the Simplicity of the Monad (concerning which [see] the second figure of this Amphitheatre) is the Method or way by which MAN can and must be regenerated, reinstated in [his] integrity [...] to be made a new man, conjoined, illumined and united with GOD, and as it were DEIFIED.[711]

As the *Amphitheatre*'s Prologue informs us, its purpose is 'the STUDY of true WISDOM and of the way of correctly PHILOSOPHISING,'[712] and this is presented as hierarchical grades of theory and practice. In the Grades of Cognition, we examined what Reuchlin described as 'not the "what" so much as the "how" of acting'.[713] Now, in this section on the Ladder of Conjunction and Union, we shall consider the "what" of acting.

The most commonly cited source for this notion of hierarchical grades of ascent towards the divine was Jacob's dream vision of the ladder reaching up towards heaven, as described in Genesis 28:10–19, at the place he named Bethel, the 'House of God'. In his *Oration on the Dignity of Man* (1486), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola had used it as the model for a graduated process of mental development.[714] In another of his works, *De Ente et Uno* (On Being and the One, 1491), Pico presents a ladder with four rungs of sensible, rational, intellectual, and mystical knowledge,[715] endeavouring, as Avery Dulles has pointed out, to formulate 'a single system which should be at once *pia philosophia* and *docta religio*.'[716] The four basic stages can in their turn be variously subdivided

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Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition*, 11; Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 107ff. On Voetius, see Aza Goudriaan, *Reformed Orthodoxy and Philosophy, 1625–1750: Gisbertus Voetius, Petrus van Mastricht, and Anthonius Driessen* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

711 *Amph.*II, 70 'Reductio ad Monadis Simplicitatem (de qua in secunda Amphitheatri huius figura) est Methodus siue via, quâ debeat ac posset HOMO regenerari; in integrum restitui; ad DEVM, à quo dissensione propria defecit, Diuinitus reuerti; fieri nouus homo; coniungi, illuminari, atque vniri DEO, & quasi DEIFICARI.'

712 *Amph.*I, 19 'Prologvs hic præsens SCALÆ cuidam STVDII SAPIENTIÆ veræ, recteque PHILOSOPHANDI rationis.'

713 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 51.

714 Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, 9–10.

715 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De Ente et Uno*, *On Being and the One*, translated by Paul J.W. Miller (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1965), Cap. V, 412/414.

716 Avery R. Dulles, *Princeps Concordiae: Pico della Mirandola and the Scholastic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), 154; 156 'Pico ... believed that divine revelation pertained to natural knowledge as well as to religion. He likewise held the converse position that human philosophy not only furnished understanding of nature but served as the initiation to religion ... philosophy justifies itself by preparing men for religion ... If he was a fideist in philosophy, he was a rationalist in religion.' Pico saw *scientia* and *sapientia* as a continuum. See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*,

into further degrees. For example, one of Pico's *Conclusions* speaks of this graduated process as the 'Science' which encompasses all the particular arts and sciences that enable man's reason to comprehend the multiple aspects of reality.[717] Based on the idea that when one of the soul's faculties is functioning, the others lose their operativity,[718] he describes how, for instance, natural philosophy combines sensory activity with reason, while mathematics combines the imagination and reason,[719] thereby implying a graded sequence of meditative exercises, leading to the development of increasingly rarefied mental faculties and increased abstraction or dislocation from the soul's lower faculties.[720] Ultimately, Pico envisions this ascent as a gradual process of meditative absorption, working upwards (and inwards), from reason's lower discursive faculties still connected with the senses towards more beatific states of contemplative abstraction:[721]

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294 *Conclusiones secundum Themistium* 3 'Scientia de anima est media inter scientias naturales et diuinas.' Cf. Eugene F. Rice, *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 4 on Augustine, *De trinitate*, XII, XV 'Knowledge of human things is *scientia*. Wisdom is the knowledge of divine things … *sapientia* is an intellectual cognition of eternal things and *scientia* a rational cognition of temporal things.'

717 Roulier, *Jean Pic de la Mirandole* (*1463–1494*), 380 'Sunt in nobis hæc artes atque scientiæ, sunt in tota cognoscente natura varia genera cognitionum id quod in corporum turba diversarum virtutum varia privilegia'.

718 Roulier, *Jean Pic de la Mirandole* (*1463–1494*), 432 *Commento* (*Particulare*) Stanza IV, 553 'Quando l'anima nostra è nell'esercizio di qualche sua potenzia o virtù più efficacemente fissa, più debile rimangono le operazione dell'altre …'.

719 Roulier, *Jean Pic de la Mirandole* (*1463–1494*), 380 'Dans la *cognitio physica, ratio cum sensu consequitur*, tandis que dans la *cognitio mathematica, ratio cum phantasia consequitur*.'

720 Roulier, *Jean Pic de la Mirandole* (*1463–1494*), *Commento* (*Particulare*) Stanza IV, 557 'qualche volta si dice l'anima essere separata dal corpo, ma non el corpo da lei; e questo è quando ciascuna delle potenzie dell'anima, eccetto quella che 'l corpo nutrisce, chiamata vegetativa, è ligata e non opera niente come se in tutto non fusse; il che, come è detto, accade quando la parte intellettuale, regina dell'anima, è in atto e opera.' See Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Commentary on a Canzione of Benivieni by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, trans. Sears Reynolds Jayne (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 149 'Sometimes the soul is said to be separated from the body, rather than the body from the soul. This occurs when all of the faculties of the soul, except that which nourishes the body, called the vegetative soul, are paralysed and do not do anything, as if they did not exist. This occurs, I said, when the intellect, the queen of the soul, is functioning actively.'

721 Marsilio Ficino, *Opera* (Basel, 1576), I, f. 653 *Epistolarum*, Lib.I, # 96, 'De anima': 'quantò longius se à corpore sevocat, tantò efficacius intelligit, ac melius foeliciusque se habet', trans. 149 'The more it [intellect] withdraws itself from the body, the more effectively it understands and the better and happier it is.' Cf. Pico's famous letter to Hermolaus Barbarus, in W. Parr Greswell, *Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of Mirandula*, etc., (London: Cadell and Davies, 1805), 200 'Abstract yourself from sense and retire into the inmost recesses of your mind.'

> If you see a philosopher determining all things by means of right reason, him you shall reverence: he is a heavenly being and not of this earth. If you see a pure contemplator, one unaware of the body and confined to the inner reaches of the mind, he is neither an earthly nor a heavenly being; he is a more reverend divinity vested with human flesh.[722]

In his commentary on Pico's *Conclusiones cabalisticae*, Arcangelo da Borgonuovo (d. 1571), censured along with Khunrath, Pico and other Christian Cabalists in Libavius's *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615),[723] speaks of Jacob's vision at Bethel, referring also to other discussions of ladders by Augustine and Richard of St Victor.[724] Theophilus Aretius includes Jacob's ladder in his dedicatory poem at the beginning of the *Amphitheatre*,[725] and Khunrath mentions it several times, speaking of ascending '(like Jacob by the ladder) to the Work of MERCAVA,'[726] of the house of God (*Beth-El*) built by Jacob at the site of his vision,[727] and in a prayer asking: 'Kindly grant us, O LORD, that we may have our hearts on high in YOU; and that we might, as if by Jacob's ladder, be able to ascend mentally to and into you, through your Biblically, Macro and Micro-Cosmically written WORD, Amen.'[728]

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722 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio*, in *Joannis Pici Mirandulae Omnia Opera* (Paris, 1517), sig. [S.vi^{v}] 'Si recta philosophum ratione omnia discernentem, hunc venereris; caeleste est animal, non terrenum. Si purum contemplatorem corporis nescium, in penetralia mentis relegatum, hic non terrenum, non cæleste animal; hic augustius est numen humana carne circumvestitum.' Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, translated by Elizabeth Livermore Forbes, in Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller and John Herman Randal (eds.), *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1948), 223–254, at 226.

723 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 102 'Hac scala & cœli porta quam horribiliter abutantur Magi, videre est in *Dæmonomania Pistorij*, & dogmatibus *Cabalistarum Iohannis Pici*, quæ commentariis illustravit *Archangelus Burgonovensis minorita*. Ea quinquaginta constare dicitur gradibus usq[ue] in *Ensoph*, quanquam *Kunrathus* tantum VII. assumserit'; 253 'gradatim per scalam Cabalisticam usque in *Ensoph* ascendere.'

724 Archangelus Burgonovensis, *Interpretationes in Selectiora Obscurioraque Cabalistarum Dogmata*, in Ioannes Pistorius Nidanus, *Artis Cabalisticae: hoc est, Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae Scriptorvm*, Tomus 1 (Basel, 1587), 816. For more on Borgonuovo, see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Christian Cabala.

725 *Amph.*I, 12.

726 *Amph.*II, 73 'ascendes (veluti per scalam Iacob) ad Opus de MERCAVA.'

727 *Amph.*II, 117. See the painting in British Library, Sloane Ms.181 where the words 'Beth-El' can be seen on what appears to be a book at the foot of the altar.

728 *Amph.*II, 126 'Sursum corda, in TE vt habeamus, benignè largire nobis ô DOMINE! vtque per VERBVM tuum Biblicè, Macro & MicroCosmicè scriptum, tanquam per scalam Iacob ad & in te mentaliter ascendere queamus. Amen.'

Another well-known use of this metaphor of ascent is the twelfth-century Carthusian Guigo of Chartreuse's *Scala Claustralium* (Ladder of the Monks), with its four rungs describing the stages of the contemplative life: *Lectio* (Reading), *Meditatio* (Meditation), *Oratio* (Prayer) and *Contemplatio* (Contemplation).[729] Guigo provides his readers with a vivid sense of the relations between these different practices:

> Reading, as it were, puts the food whole into the mouth, meditating chews it and breaks it up, prayer extracts its flavor, contemplation is the sweetness itself which gladdens and refreshes.[730]

Pseudo-Dionysius's *De mystica theologia* (On Mystical Theology) spoke of the notion of union as the goal of the ascent to God; deification as transformation into God.[731] Both historian Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann and occultist A.E. Waite describe Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* as an '*Itinerarium mentis in Deum*' (Journey of the mind to God),[732] having in mind the well-known mystical work by the thirteenth-century Franciscan Bonaventure (1217–1274).[733] Bonaventure's *Itinerarium* sets out six steps towards union with God, involving consideration of God: 1) through his vestiges in the universe, 2) in his vestiges in this visible world, 3) in his image imprinted on our natural powers, 4) in his image reformed through the gifts of grace, 5) the divine unity through its

729 Matter, 'Lectio Divina', 152; Thomas H. Bestul, 'Meditatio/Meditation', in Hollywood and Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, 157–166, at 160.

730 Matter, 'Lectio Divina', 152.

731 Moshe Idel and Bernard McGinn (eds.), *Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: An Ecumenical Dialogue* (New York: Continuum, 1999). See in particular McGinn's 'Love, Knowledge and *Unio Mystica* in the Western Christian Tradition', 59–86 and Idel's 'Universalization and Integration: Two Conceptions of Mystical Union in Jewish Mysticism', 27–57. For Pseudo-Dionysius on deification, see *In ecclesiam hierarchiam*, in Dionysius Cartusianus, *Super omnes S. Dionysij Areopagitae libros* (Cologne, 1536), Ar. 1, f. C1^{v} F: '[Deificatio autem est ad deum, quantum possibile & similitudo & unitas] i. deificatio ista est excellens assimilatio deiformis, & cum deo unitio quantum possibile est, utpote servata identitate naturae creatae. Estque deificatio per participationem, non consumpto esse creato, sed supernaturaliter decorato, quemadmodum omnis res dicitur transformari in id, cuius actionibus magis insistit, ut homo libidinosus in porcum, gulosus in lupum.'

732 A.E. Waite, *The Secret Tradition in Alchemy: its Development and Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926), 257.

733 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog Verlag, 2013), Vol. 2: 1600–1660 (2013), 9. On Bonaventure, see Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 17ff.

primary name which is *Being*, and 6) the spiritual and mystical transport of the mind in which rest is given to our understanding and our affection passes over entirely to God.[734] It is easy to see how this relates to Khunrath's 'Three Books', with the first two stages relating to the external world or the Book of Nature, the following two stages dealing with the image of God in the Mind or the Book of Man, and the final two stages dealing with the essential and personal attributes of God, or the Book of Scripture.

Khunrath presents his itinerary in two ways. As shown in the *Entrance* engraving, the main body of the *Amphitheatre* is itself formed of seven grades or steps (gradus) leading to the Sanctuary of Eternal Wisdom, for which the Prologue provides brief outlines.[735] In Circular Figure 2, we find an extended 'Ladder of Union' of ten steps, corresponding to the ten 'Grades of Cognition'. Before a more detailed look at the steps of this Ladder, let us first consider the general description of the *Amphitheatre*'s seven grades in the Prologue.[736]

36 Prologue: Seven Steps to the Sanctuary

The main text of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath's commentaries on 365 predominantly Solomonic verses from the Bible, is divided into seven sections, like 'a mystical LADDER of SEVEN orthodox STEPS, by which (GOD calling and guiding, GENIUS stimulating, TALENT co-operating, due and diligent WORK bringing to completion) a THEOSOPHICAL ascent is made … to the ENTRANCE of the AMPHITHEATRE.'[737]

734 Bonaventure, *The Journey of the Mind to God*, translated by Philotheus Boehner and edited by Stephen F. Brown (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 1993), 4. See also Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 83–84.

735 *Amph.*I, 20–22. For an internal reference, see *Amph.*II, 183.

736 For Khunrath's brief expositions of these grades, see *Amph.*I, 20–22.

737 *Amph.*I, 19 'SCALÆ … GRADVVM orthodoxorum SEPTEM mysticæ assimilatur, quâ (DEO vocante & ducente, GENIO stimulante, INGENIO cooperante, LABORE debito ac sedulo absoluente) … ascensus fit THEOSOPHICVS ad AMPHITHEATRI … PORTAM.' Perhaps Khunrath is influenced here by the seven planets of the Ptolemaic Cosmos, seven metals of traditional alchemy, or indeed by the seven stages of the ascent to God in the *Pimander*. See also *Amph.*II, 183 '*but ascend now* Theosophically *To and INTO the AMPHITHEATRE OF WISDOM HERSELF, and its ENTRANCE, by its LADDER of seven Grades;* [*and*] *most observant of the SEVEN LAWS attached to them, enter with a not hypocritical devotion, and contemplate HER attentively with eyes as much of the Mind as of the Body and Reason, both penitently and ritually purged of the baseness of the ignorance and fantasies of the spirit of seduction; and* Wisely *seek to attain your salvation, both temporal and eternal, AMEN*' (*sed AD & IN AMPHITHEATRVM IPSIVS SAPIENTIÆ ipsum, huiusque PORTAM, per SCALAM* Graduum septem suam, *nunc* Theosophicè *ascendite; in illud, LEGVM ibidem affixarum*



FIGURE 3.19 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *School of Nature*, detail: Summit Entrance. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

Looking at the *Amphitheatre*'s engravings we appear to have two stages or representations of ascent: 1) from the valley, up the mountain side to the Entrance of the Amphitheatre (Fig. 3.19), as shown in the *School of Nature* and then 2) a flight of seven Theosophical steps, as pictured in the *Entrance* engraving (Fig. 3.20).[738] The first ascent is unmarked, with no steps cut into the mountain (despite the presence of man-made steps on the other side of the river, behind the hermits' grottoes), but with a flight of steps leading into the cave mouth; the second ascent clearly shows the seven high steps hewn into the rock, leading into a tunnel that has a fairly natural cave-ceiling above, but with a floor that has been artificially levelled below.

Septem obseruantissimi, deuotione non hypocritica ingredimini, & Eam, oculis tam Mentis quàm Rationis ac Corporis cum pœnitentialiter tum à ruditatum phantasiarumque spiritus seductionis sordibus ritè repurgatis, accuratè contemplamini; inque salutem vestram, & temporalem & æternam, Sapienter *sequimini, Amen*).

738 *Entrance* engraving: 'PORTA AMPHITHEATRI SAPIENTIAE AETERNAE, solius UERAE, &c. angusta quidem, sed tamen satis augusta, IEHOUAE consecrata ideoque ad eam per SCALAM suam mysticam, prologeticam nimirum illam, sibi præfixam, picturâ hîc significatam graduum septem Theosophicorum uerè Philosophicam' (The ENTRANCE OF THE AMPHITHEATRE of the only TRUE, ETERNAL WISDOM, etc. is narrow indeed, but august enough, [and] dedicated to JEHOVAH and therefore let an ascent be made to it by its mystical, truly Philosophical LADDER, namely that prolegomenary one, prefixed to it, signified here by the picture of the seven Theosophical steps).



FIGURE 3.20 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Entrance*, detail: Seven Steps. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

In the *Prologue*, Khunrath introduces the goal of each step. The *Amphitheatre*'s 1st grade consists of the affective practice of cultivating a 'singular ardent feeling of benevolence towards human kind', calling all to listen to wisdom, first for their own benefit, and then purely for the love of wisdom, and to obey its teachings.[739] The 2nd consolidates on the initial attraction, requiring obedience and perseverance in abandoning impure worldly wisdom, withdrawal from its presence and the encouragement of others to do

739 *Amph.*I, 20 'ex singulari beneuolentiæ affectione erga genus humanum'. See *Amph.*II, 3, where 'The First Prolegomenary Grade' opens with Khunrath's commentary on Proverbs 1:1 '"Hear, my son" says SHELOMOH, the Wise King …'.

the same, developing a critical sense of discrimination and discernment.[740] In the 3rd grade one seeks to know and understand what is meant by Eternal Wisdom, and consequently the meaning and purpose of true 'Christian' philosophy.[741] In the 4th step one learns about the origin and source of true Wisdom, in which 'books' it is transmitted, and whom to turn to as teacher,[742] while in the 5th one comes to know to whom wisdom should and should not be given, how to recognise a genuine pupil from a sophist, how and when wisdom can be sought.[743] The 6th grade teaches of the fruits and treasures of wisdom, the various gifts God bestows, and the kinds of study that constitute true philosophy.[744] Finally, in a somewhat evangelical tone, the 7th warns the reader away from sophists and urges the philosophical defence and confession of Truth, its communication and preservation for future generations,[745] which is of course what the *Amphitheatre* itself explicitly claims to be doing.[746]

Bearing this seven-fold structure in mind, looking through the *Amphitheatre*, one discovers various sets of practices. There is, for instance, a list of seven:

> faith, hope, cherishing-love (*dilectio*), humility, patience, invocation and glorification of the Divine name,[747]

740 *Amph.*II, 36 'The Second Prolegomenary Grade' opens with a commentary on Proverbs 4:1 'Hear, O children, the Instruction of a Father', including Khunrath's observation 'For, where the flesh is more subdued, the Spirit is more illumined.'

741 *Amph.*II, 55 'The Third Prolegomenary Grade' opens with Wisdom 6:24 'What WISDOM is'.

742 *Amph.*II, 77 'The Fourth Prolegomenary Grade' opens with Proverbs 2:6 'JEHOVAH gives Wisdom'.

743 *Amph.*II, 94, 'The Fifth Prolegomenary Grade' opens with Proverbs 12:2 'The good shall draw gracious purpose from JEHOVAH'.

744 *Amph.*II, 145 'The Sixth Prolegomenary Grade' opens with Wisdom 7:11 'Now all good things came to me together with her'.

745 *Amph.*II, 173 'The Seventh Prolegomenary Grade' opens with Proverbs 4:14 'Do not enter the paths of the wicked'. *Amph.*II, 173 '*Ne delecteris*, &c.] Quando tandem ad hunc septimum Sapientiæ gradum conscendisti, vide ne rapiaris malorum hominum moribus & affectibus tanquam torrente: Constantiam Angelicam affectabis, nec inclinent cor tuum mundanæ illecebræ, quemadmodum mulieres idololatricæ cor Regium Solomonis inclinant' (*Be not delighted*, etc.] When you have finally climbed to this seventh grade of Wisdom, take care lest you be seized by the morals and affections of wicked men as if by a torrent. You shall strive after Angelic Constancy, and let not worldly attractions turn your heart, like the idolatrous women turned the heart of King Solomon).

746 See *Amph.*I, 6.

747 *Amph.*II, 181 'fidem, spem, dilectionem, humilitatem, patientiam, inuocationem & Nominis Diuini glorificationem.'

as well as a longer set of fourteen virtues and practices:

> the good way is the way of wisdom, justice, sanctification, redemption, truth, life [...], of humility, gentleness, constancy, taciturnity, faith, charity, hope, patience.[748]

The Ladder of Conjunction and Union (*Scala Coniunctionis & Unionis*), however, is the dominant set, appearing as it does (if you read the small-print) in the central, yellow band of the second circular 1595 engraving, that of Adam-Androgyne.[749] As shown in Table 3.4 below, it consists of ten grades, *Fides* (Faith) being the first or lowest rung on the ladder and *Similitudo* (Likeness)

TABLE 3.4 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595/1609), Circular Figure 2: Ladder of Conjunction and Union (ascending)

	Scala Unionis	Ladder of Union
10.	Similitudo	Likeness
9.	Familiaritas	Familiarity
8.	Frequentia	Frequency
7.	Conjunctio	Conjunction
6.	Oratio	Prayer
5.	Spes	Hope
4.	Amor	Love
3.	Cognitio	Knowledge
2.	Meditatio	Meditation
1.	Fides	Faith

748 *Amph.*II, 50 'Via bona est via sapientiæ, iustitiæ, sanctificationis, redemptionis, veritatis, vitæ ... Via bona est via humilitatis, mansuetudinis, constantiæ, taciturnitatis, fidei, charitatis, spei, patientiæ.'

749 As mentioned in Chapter 2 on Khunrath's images, the letters [s] [c] [a] [l] [a], etc, forming the words *Scala Unionis*, can be found in the small boxes separating the terms *Fides*, *Meditatio*, and so forth. Khunrath refers to this ladder in *Amph.*II, 4 'ascendendo per Scalam Coniunctionis & Vnionis, nec non descendendo per Gradus Decem Cognitionis' (ascending by the Ladder of Conjunction and Union, and descending by the Ten Grades of Understanding); and *Amph.*II, 93 'Vias Prvdentiæ & Intelligentiæ, hoc est, Gradus Cognitionis ac Scalam cum Deo Vnionis' (The ways of Prudence and Understanding, that is, the Grades of Cognition and the Ladder of Union with God).

the last and highest. If the ladder is truly intended as a graded sequence of stages of ascent to union with God, it is at first sight somewhat perplexing. It is easy to understand how *Fides* (Faith), belief that God exists, would be the necessary prerequisite for any ascent to God; it is less clear why for example, *Conjunctio* is only the seventh stage on the ladder and not at its summit, or why *Meditatio* stands in second place while *Oratio* not until the sixth. What does Khunrath see as being the essential difference between prayer and meditation? The most problematic rungs of the ladder are those of *Conjunctio*, *Frequentia* and *Familiaritas*, for which Khunrath provides little by way of explanation, although their translation as *Conjunction*, *Concourse*/*Frequency* and *Familiarity* does at least imply progressively more intimate relationship with the divine, climaxing in a form of mystical identification with *Similitudo* (Likeness).

It is evident that a certain amount of perplexity concerning the significance of the steps on this ladder existed even among Khunrath's contemporaries. This can be seen, yet again, from the highly critical Libavius, who in *De horribili impietate Magiae Paracelsicae* (On the Horrible Impiety of Paracelsian Magic), remarks that Khunrath intends a ladder 'in *unione illa Gabalistica* cum Deo' ('to *that Gabalistic union* with God'), while in the margin it is described as 'Thrasybuli Magia' (Thrasybulus's Magic), which implies a possibly broader latitude of interpretation, including more 'worldly' purposes.[750] The following sections shall present material that seems relevant to speculating on the meaning of these ten practices, which Khunrath clearly considered essential for his Theosophy.

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750 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 68–69. Libavius uses the term 'Gabalistic' instead of 'Cabalistic', explaining on p. 62 that 'Gabalistica [means] the Fork-Art, the art of the forks by which witches are carried aloft' (Gabalistica die Gabel-kunst/ ars furcaru[m] quibus striges euehuntur); 103 'diabolic magic, the Fork-ride, that is Gabalistica' (diabolica magia der Gabel-fahrt/ hoc est Gabalistica). See Emile Grillot de Givry, *Witchcraft, Magic & Alchemy*, trans. J. Courtenay Locke (London: George G. Harrap & Company Limited/Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931), 57 for a reproduction of Hans Baldung's image of a witch riding a fork (1514). See also Oswald Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1609), 38–39 'Hæc est ars Gabalisticam … Hinc verus Magus seu Sapiens, Astrorum operationem attrahere potest in imaginem, lapides, metalla ut eandem cum Astris exerceant vim atq[ue] potentiam: Exemplum sit Speculum incensorium per quod radii Solis cum calore ad nos derivantur. Quicquid oculis videmus in maiori mundo: hoc idem Imaginatio potest quoq[ue] producere: sic omnes herbæ, omnia crescentia, omnia metalla, per imaginationem & veram Gabaliam possunt produci. Hæc autem est pars Magiæ Gabalistica dicta, quæ tribus columnis innititur, Primo Veris precibus in Spiritu & Veritate factis, ubi in Sancto Sanctorum fit unio Dei & Spiritus Creati, ubi Deus interno spiritu, non vi vocabulorum, sed in Silentio sacro, absq[ue] oris apertione & anhelitu compellatur: Secundo Fide Natvrali …'.

37 **1) Fides (Faith)**

The *Amphitheatre*'s ten-step ascent begins with the fundamental requirement of Faith, as Khunrath states at the top of Circular Figure 2:

> It will be fitting for Us, therefore, to offer ourselves first piously washed and penitently purified, and, on bended knee, to commend ourselves, with sincere faith, to the Deific Light.[751]

The honey of Divine Wisdom, we are told, is prepared 'from the flower of your Mind', that is, from 'Faith, Love, Hope and Invocation',[752] with the first of these representing the first rung of Khunrath's ladder. As Khunrath includes Luther, Erasmus, Reuchlin, Agrippa and Weigel in his list of 'the most learned men of the past and our age',[753] it seems appropriate here to bear in mind Luther's primary doctrine of *Sola Fide*, justification 'by faith alone',[754] Erasmus's belief that 'Faith is the only avenue to Christ',[755] and Reuchlin's assertion in *On the Wonder-Working Word* that 'Only right Faith is the doorway of miracles'.[756] Elsewhere in the same work Reuchlin adds that 'through faith our mind is conjoined … with the supernal intelligences and with God'.[757]

Likewise, we have Agrippa's Neoplatonically influenced statement that

> by faith man is made somewhat the same with the higher powers and enjoys the same power. Hence Proclus says: As the faith which is credulity is below knowledge, so the faith which is true faith is supersubstantially above all knowledge and understanding, conjoining us immediately with

751 Circular Figure 2: 'Decebit Nos, igitur, prius piè lotos atque pœnitentialiter purgatos, offerre, supplicesque, fide sincera, commendare Deificæ Luci'. See also *Amph.*II, 187, 108 for further reference to the Deific light.

752 *Amph.*II, 75 '& ex flore Mentis tuae, hoc est, fide, amore, spe & inuocatione paratur mel Sapientiæ Diuinæ.'

753 *Amph.*II, 30 'viri anterioris nostræque ætatis Doctissimi'.

754 John Dillenberger (ed.), *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writing* (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 299.

755 Erasmus, *Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 66, *Spiritualia: Enchiridion, De Contemptu Mundi, De Vidua Christiana*, edited by John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 55.

756 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 904 'Sola enim recta fides est ianua miraculorum.' See *Amph.*II, 104; *De Igne Magorum*, 41–2.

757 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 893 'per fidem fit mens nostra cum supernis intelligentijs … & cum Deo coniuncta.'

> God. For faith is the root of all miracles, by which alone (as the Platonists testify) we approach God and obtain divine virtue and protection.[758]

Weigel also waxes eloquent about Faith in *Der güldene Griff* and gives a particularly convincing argument for why *Fides* should be the foundation of Khunrath's Ladder:

> Just as the saving faith is or brings with it all virtues, and everything that can be called good, so too it is the compass, criterion, the measuring rod, [and] yardstick for measuring the heavenly Jerusalem with its inhabitants. Don't be surprised that I say that faith is all things, that it is the Judgement by which all sects are known and judged, [that] it is the eye through which all spirits are tested and seen. Whoever has faith has Christ and all things in Christ.[759]

Related to this, Khunrath quotes further from Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*: 'GOD *struck a pact with man; not just with anyone, but with him who is renowned for Holiness, Piety, Religion,* [*and*] *indeed above all by the confidence of* BELIEF.'[760] This Belief or Faith consists of *Agnitio Dei* (Recognition of God), as the necessary precursor of *Cognitio*, in the Apostolic *Credo*, 'I believe', in God as Creator, Christ as Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit as Sanctifier.[761] Faith is not something to be acquired by man's mental ability, but through an act of grace, coming as a *donum dei*, a gift of God, through the Holy Spirit.[762] It is trust, too, in God's providence, for in the words of the philosopher-alchemist Morienus, 'Everyone who fears is not perfect in the truth.'[763] Another of Khunrath's favoured

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758 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CCXVII–CCXVIII, 'Denique per fidem efficitur homo aliquid idem cum superis: eademque potestate fruitur. Hinc Proclus ait: Sicut fides quae est credulitas, infra scientiam est, sic fides quae est vera fides est super substantialiter supra omnem scientiam et intellectum, nos deo immediate coniungens. Est enim fides omnium miraculorum radix, qua sola (ut Platonici testantur) ad deum accedimus, divinamque adsequimur protectionem virtutemque.'

759 Weigel, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, 203 *The Golden Grasp*, Chapter 23 *That faith alone is the right judgement, and the knowledge of God, and the testing of spirits*.

760 *Amph.*II, 104–5 '*Fœdus cum homine*, inquit, DEVS *percutit, non quocunque, sed cum eo, qui Sanctimonia, Pietate, Religione, potissimum uerò* CREDVLITATIS *fiducia clarescat.*' Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 914.

761 Cf Luther's *Sermons on the Catechism*, in Dillenberger (ed.), *Martin Luther*, 207ff.

762 *Amph.*II, 4. Cf. Weigel, *Golden Grasp*, 203.

763 *Amph.*II, 105 '*Omnis qui timuerit, in ueritate non est perfectus.*' See Morienus's *Sermo*, in Jean-Jacques Manget (ed.), *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1702), Vol. 1, 512 'Omnis enim qui timuerit, in veritate non est perfectus.'

sources, Paracelsus, in a discussion of the creative power of the imagination in *Astronomia Magna*, states that

> Imagination is confirmed and perfected by Faith, so that it becomes true. For each doubt destroys the work and renders it imperfect in the spirit of Nature. Therefore, faith should be located in the place of imagination, for faith determines the will.[764]

By *Faith*, Khunrath does not mean the simple performance of external practices, attending church, celebrating the festivals, and civic munificence, which can just be a cover for hypocrisy.[765] Such can represent a dead rather than a live and active faith and he is especially critical of those theologians who make great pronouncements about faith, but demonstrate little in the way of active faith in their behaviour.[766] Nor does he mean the arrogant faith in one's own wisdom, industry, riches and gifts demonstrated by many.[767] The two vices of infidels are ἀπιστια [*apistia – unbelief*] and audacity or rashness towards God.[768] Unbelief is like the left hand that refuses God's gifts, the loss of miracles, the impediment to obtaining 'great and admirable things' from God and to perfecting them in ourselves. As such it is a crime against God and oneself, for He will not unite with one who does not believe and such a one will fall into despair.[769] With Faith, however, nothing is impossible.[770] Early on in the *Amphitheatre*, modifying a line by Juvenal, Khunrath states that 'As much as anyone submits himself to the Divine, so much will he have Faith; as much as he has faith, so much will he have the power of miracles.'[771] For the mind theosophically and mystically prepared by Faith and Invocation, the name of

764 Paracelsus, *Philosophia Sagax*, 513 'Aber weitter ist auch noht zu wissen/ daß Imaginatio confirmiert wirdt und vollendt durch den Glauben/ also daß es warhafftig geschehe. Dann ein jegliche zweyfflung bricht das Werck/ und machts unvollkommen im Geist der Natur. Darumb Glauben an dem ort die Imagination bestetten soll/ dann Glauben beschleust den willen.' Paracelsus immediately goes on to say that there are three kinds of Faith or Belief: in God, in the Devil and his works and in the Light of Nature. N.B. in *Zehender Theil Der Bücher und Schrifften* (Basel, 1603), 270 there is the variant 'besterigen'/besserigen.

765 *Amph.*II, 118.

766 *Amph.*II, 10.

767 *Amph.*II, 119.

768 *Amph.*II, 105.

769 *Amph.*II, 105.

770 *Amph.*II, 9.

771 *Amph.*II, 10 '*Quantum quisque patitur Diuini, tantum habet & Fidei: quantum fidei, tantum mirificae virtutis.*' Cf. Juvenal, Satire III 'Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,/ Tantum habet et fidei.'

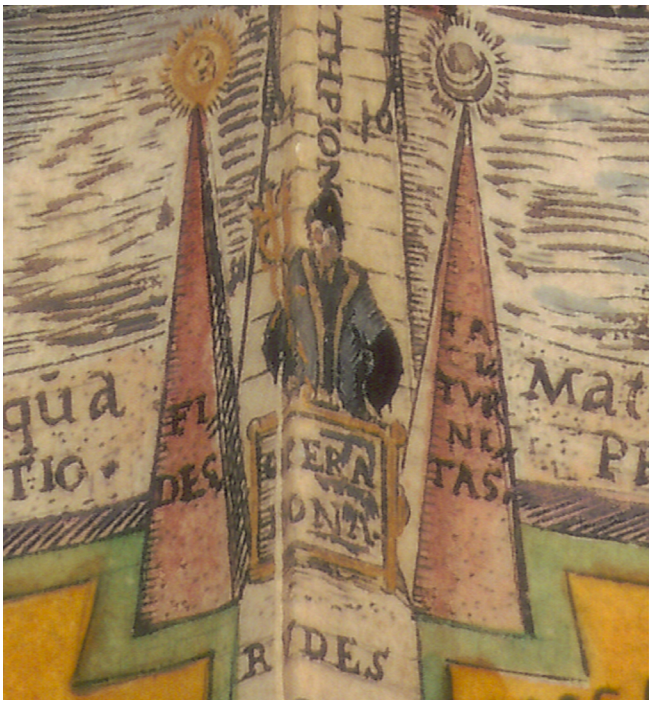


FIGURE 3.21
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail, Obelisks: Fides & Taciturnitas. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen

Christ is the effective cause of all divine miracles.[772] Faith is truly 'the doorway of miracles',[773] and unless we enter nothing else is possible, be that spiritual ascent, alchemy, magic, medicine or indeed prophecy. With the latter in mind, moreover, we must 'Believe in order to Perceive', for as the righteous man lives by his faith, so the seer sees by it.[774] In other words, 'Believing, you obey GOD; being obedient, you fear GOD; fearing him, you live correctly; living correctly, you purify [your] heart; having a pure heart, what you believe, you shall see.'[775]

Fides for Khunrath is often paired, in a Terentian way, with *Taciturnitas*, that 'Silence' or secrecy concerning the mysteries before the unworthy.[776]

772 *Amph.*II, 75.

773 *Amph.*II, 104 (mispaginated as 92) 'Quemadmodum enim ianua miraculorum, impetrandique à DOMINO Bona & Dona mirabilia manus, est Fides.'

774 *Amph.*II, 105 'Vt iustus viuit sua fide; ita videns videt fide … Fidas, vt videas.' Cf. Romans 1:17 'The just man liveth by faith'.

775 *Amph.*II, 69 'Credendo subiugaris DEO; subiugatus, times DEVM; quem timens, rectè viuis; rectè viuendo, cor mundas; mundo corde, quod credis, videbis.'

776 *Amph.*II, 194 mentions Harpocrates in the context of silence, while *Amph.*II, 59, 109 mentions him in the context of meditation. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 145 and Agrippa (2009), 443f. See also Terence, *The Andrian*, Act 1, Scene 1, ll. 33–35 'nil istac opus est arte ad hanc rem quam paro,/ sed eis quas semper in te intellexi sitas,/ fide et taciturnitate', in Terence, *The Woman of Andros, The Self-Tormentor. The*

Such is the case at the very beginning of the *Amphitheatre* when Khunrath speaks of the 'TRI-UNE APOCALYPTIC KEY of the hidden mysteries … with its Triune, holy, fair and just LAW, that is, of FAITH, legitimate SILENCE and Good WORKS',[777] as also in the *Citadel* engraving, where they appear in the form of two Egyptian obelisks, flanking the entrance, labelled on the left '*Fides*' and on the right '*Taciturnitas*' (Fig. 3.21).[778] This Taciturnity must, at least on one level, represent respect for the secrecy of the ineffable mysteries, in the sense of Christ's advice not to cast pearls before swine.[779] A similar sentiment is expressed, somewhat paradoxically, in one of Khunrath's other publications, *On Primaterial Chaos*, in the phrase, *Arcana publicata vilescunt*, 'Mysteries made public become worthless'.[780] Khunrath reflects on this silence further in the same work:

> No one may [disclose] the NAME of our STONE to anyone or indiscriminately make it common knowledge without damning his own soul, for one cannot answer for that to GOD. On account of which true lovers of philosophy (as *Rosinus* testifies) have preferred to die, rather then disclose the art to unworthy people. The SATURNINE AGE is not yet here in which everything will be confidently common to all.[781]

There is possibly another meaning to the pairing of *Taciturnitas* and *Fides*, in the sense of 'Silence' not simply as protection of the mysteries, but as the hope in acquiring them, of φιληκοια [*philēkoia*], the profound silence and

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Eunuch, edited and translated by John Barsby, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 52–53 (It's not your art that's needed for what I have in mind, but qualities which I have always known you possess, loyalty and discretion). See also Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494), sig. c3^{r} 'quod Terentianus Simo quaesivit in Sofia/ fidem & tacurnitatem.'

777 *Amph.*I, 7 'APOCALYPTICA CLAVIS TRIVNA … Lege sua Triuna, sancta, aequa & iusta, id est de FIDE, TACITVRNITATE legitima & OPERIBUS bonis.' See also Khunrath, *Lux in Tenebris*, 29.

778 See also *Amph.*II, 50.

779 *Amph.*I, 8; *Amph.*II, 102, 139, 217. See Matthew 7:6.

780 *Amph.*II, 217 and *Chaos* (1597), 32.

781 *Chaos* (1597), 36 'Den NAMEN unsers STEINS darff niemand jederman/ und ohne unterscheid in gemein offenbaren/ bey verdammung seiner Seelen/ dann man könte es gegen GOTT nicht verantworten. Derowegen etliche Philosophi (wie Rosinus bezeuget) lieber haben sterben wollen/ als den Unwürdigen die Kunst zu offenbaren. Das SATVRNISCHE SECULVM ist jetzo noch nicht/ in welchem alles vertrewlich gemein sein sol …'. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1 and *Fasti* on the Saturnine or Golden Age in which peace, love, plenitude and justice reigned. See Jonathan Morton, *The Roman de la Rose in Its Philosophical Context: Art, Nature, and Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), Chapter 4 The Golden Age.

attentiveness of one listening for God,[782] like that of the patient disciples of Pythagoras,[783] for Khunrath tells us that 'many of the natural arcana and heavenly mysteries are acquired by Faith, Prayer and Taciturnity.'[784] Familiar as he was with the *Pimander*, Khunrath was likely also aware of *Corpus Hermeticum XIII*, with its subtitle 'On being born again, and on the promise to be silent'.[785] With Khunrath's fondness for the phrase 'Ora et Labora', now so associated with the Benedictines, it might also be worth bearing in mind here Benedict's rule on *Taciturnitas*, as the self-discipline required to master one's thoughts and tongue.[786]

Claude de Bourges' already-mentioned seventeenth-century French manuscript translation of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* provides us with additional insight into how one near contemporary interpreted Khunrath's second circular figure and how he perceived the relationship between its two sequences in the practices of the Oratory and Laboratory:

> It is necessary to ascend by the Ladder of Conjunction and Union, whose degrees are *Faith*, *Meditation*, and the others that you find in this band of the circle of the second figure, and after having, by a profound meditation, ascended to the summit it is necessary to descend by the Grades of Cognition which are the *Object*, *Diaphanum* or *Medium* … I will simply say that the first ten degrees of Union should take us to indubitability and those of Cognition to perfection, the one is the Oratory, the other the Laboratory. And in order to hope for the enjoyment of this great good it is necessary in meditating to begin with the degree of *Faith*. To believe firmly that he [God] is, otherwise we comport ourselves with a negligence which will divert us from the just desire. That is why our author demands a Faith [that is] complete and sincere.[787]

782 *Amph.*II, 160.

783 *Amph.*II, 65, 136. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*/*De Arte Cabalistica*, 145–7 on the silence of the Pythagorean initiates.

784 *Amph.*II, 142 'Fide, oratione & taciturnitate multa acquiruntur mysteria cælestia & arcana naturalia.'

785 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 49ff. See also Daniel Merkur, 'Stages of Ascension in Hermetic Rebirth', *Esoterica* 1 (1999): 79–96.

786 Terrence G. Kardong, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 119 RB 6: *On Silence* (De taciturnitate).

787 Amsterdam, Ritman Library, Ms. BPH M490 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, ff. 20–21 [1609:4] 'Il fault monter par leschelle de conjonction et union dont les degrez sont foy, Meditation, et les autres que vous trouverés en ceste suitte du cercle de la deuxiesme figure, et apres estre par une profonde meditation, monte jusques au sommet fault descendre par les degrés de cognoissance qui sont l'obiet, le diaphane ou le milieu,

Later in the same commentary, in the context of Khunrath's terms and doctrines, we find reference to the '24 Conditions of Lull'.[788] Although these are not explained, Lull's definition of Faith in the *Ars generalis ultima* (Ultimate General Art) seems most apposite, especially when considering possible connections between the two sets of grades included in the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure:

> Faith is the medium through which the intellect earns merit and rises to its prime object, which instills faith into the intellect, so that it may be as a foot the intellect uses in its ascent. And since the intellect has another foot of its own nature, namely understanding, it climbs upward like a man climbing a ladder with both feet, who begins by putting the foot of faith on the first rung, with the foot of the intellect coming next, and likewise with the second rung, where the foot of faith comes first as the intellect continues to ascend step by step with faith coming first and understanding second, just as in a disputation, doubt comes first, followed by affirmation or negation.[789]

As a final word on Faith, in a consideration of animals and their symbolism, Khunrath reflects on 'the fidelity of Dogs'.[790] As mentioned in the previous chapter on Khunrath's images, a dog appears in Khunrath's portrait and the observant reader will find a distinctly canine presence in all the rectangular engravings. This could of course simply be a memorial to Khunrath's pet but could just as well symbolise his ever-present faith.

J'expliqueray en d'autres endroits, Je diray seullement que les dix premiers degrez d'union nous doivent porter a l'indubitabilite et ceux de cognoissance a la perfection l'un est l'oratoire, l'autre la laboratoire. Et pour esperer la Jouissance de ce grand bien fault en meditant commencer par le degre de la foy. Croire fermement qu'il est, autrement nous nous porterions en une negligence qui nous destourneroit du juste desire, C'est pourquoy nostre autheur demande une foy entiere et sincere.'

788 Amsterdam, Ritman Library, Ms. BPH M490 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 729–30 mentions 10 terms and 15 dogmas of Khunrath; 24 conditions of Lull. See Ramon Lull, *Opera ea, quae ad inventam ab ipso artem universalem, scientiarum artiumque Omnium Brevi compendio* (Strassburg, 1598), 65–67 where, in a discussion of the revolutions of one of the Lullian wheels we read of 12 conditions, 12 propositions and 24 questions.

789 Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 164 *Ars generalis ultima* in *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina*, I–V (Palma, 1959–1967).

790 *Amph.*II, 39 'De Canvm fidelitate ...'.

38 2) Meditatio (Meditation)

In his *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (1503), Erasmus writes of how in Plato's *Phaedo*, Socrates describes philosophy as a practising of death, and explains that by this he means that the mind, insofar as it can, withdraws from the physical and sensible world and applies itself to those things beyond sense, perceptible only to reason.[791] This seems very close to Khunrath's idea of 'theosophical meditation'.[792] The intimation of his theosophy as preparation for death can be found in Figure 4's injunction at the base of the Oratory table, '*Disce bene mori*' (Learn to die well, Fig. 3.22),[793] and Khunrath speaks in various places of the necessity of the seditious senses being closed and restrained, of the soul being made quiet and pure of all passion,[794] while simultaneously striving 'in the outer-limits and solitary spaces of the Mind' to be 'separated from sensible things, by withdrawing into GOD, into the deepest recess of His sublimation or exaltation.'[795]

Implicit, too, in the skull and hourglass beneath the Oratory table is the *memento mori*, reflection on mortality and the transitoriness of life, and the medieval and early modern *Ars moriendi* or *Art of Dying*.[796] This resonates with Paul's message concerning Christ's death and resurrection as a guarantee of personal resurrection, following the death of vices related to Adam, in

791 Erasmus, *CWE* Vol. 66, *Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, 44. Plato, *Phædo* (64 A). See Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (New York: Random House, 2009), Chapter 23, 'That to Philosophize is to Learn how to Die.' See too Elliot R. Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law: Theurgy and the Christian Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', *Kabbalah: A Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts* 13 (2005): 7–41, at 27 'prior to apprehending the vision the soul must depart from onself' … 'to drive home the point that envisioning God is dependent on the separation of the soul from the body, a simulation of death that is brought about through contemplative practices.' See also Alena Richterova, 'Alchemical Manuscripts in the Collections of Rudolf II', in Purš and Karpenko (eds.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II: Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 249–291, at 266; at 290 'Vera philosophia est mortis meditatio.'

792 *Amph.*II, 130 'meditationi Theosophicae'.

793 See also *Amph.*II, 22, 155, 173–4.

794 *Amph.*II, 159, 187.

795 *Amph.*II, 15 'In extrema ac solitaria Mentis, à sensibilibus separatæ, in DEVM retractione; in profundissimo Suæ sublimationis aut exaltationis recessu.'

796 Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: The ars moriendi in the German Reformation (1519–1528)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). See Christopher Sutton, *Disce mori: Learne to Die* (London, 1600). See Albrecht Claasen (ed.), *Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart: Ein philosophisch-ethischer Diskurs über die Jahrhunderte hinweg* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); Johannes Gerson's *Opusculum tripertitum* (N.p., 1613), De arte moriendi, cap.3; de scientia mortis, 11 ars moriendi woodcuts. See also Nancy Lee Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: A Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).



FIGURE 3.22 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Figure 4: *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail 'Disce Bene Mori' (Learn to Die Well). Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

1 Corinthians 15:22, 31 'And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive … I die daily …'. The treatise *Homo disce mori*, published in Hamburg in 1593, provides, for example, seven rules for the preparation for death, including advice to know oneself, one's sinful nature, whence arises contrition, faith, remission of sins, recognition of Christ, new obedience, *memoria mortis*, and so forth.[797] The book's *Hodie mihi, cras tibi* (Today [death comes] for me, tomorrow for you) finds echoes in Khunrath's warning to rulers and leaders of his day, 'Today a King, tomorrow a corpse. *Death makes sceptres equal to hoes*.'[798]

In meditation, as a process of private self-examination, the theosopher studiously and carefully weighs all things in the balance of his soul,[799] self-knowledge requiring that he scrutinise himself, noting the 'marks, deformities, and blemishes' of his body, spirit and soul.[800] Following Solomon's advice in Proverbs 16:1, he prepares his soul, by offering himself, ordering things in his brain and deliberating in his soul,[801] on, for instance, the transience of life,

797 Martin Mylius, *Homo disce mori, et Lege quid Revelat tibi Spiritus sanctus in agone personarum* (Hamburg, 1593), 263–265 'Septem regulae praeparationis ad mortem'.

798 *Amph.*II, 11. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 10:12 '… a king is today, and to-morrow he shall die.' See *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin* (1591), edited by Peter M. Daly and Leslie T. Duer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 243 [1591, 371] *'Mors sceptra ligonibus æquans*, Death maketh Kings Scepters equall to poore mens mattockes.' See also Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari & amorose* (Lyon, 1574), which also contains *Le Imprese Heroiche et Morali*, 204 'Mors sceptra ligonibus aequans'.

799 *Amph.*II, 161.

800 *Amph.*II, 108 'Tunc videbis qualis sies, videbis naeuos, menda & maculas corporis, spiritus & animæ.'

801 *Amph.*II, 82 'Homo praeparat animam, hoc est, sibi proponit, ordinat in suo cerebello deliberatque animo.'

the insubstantiality of worldly allurements, and the inevitability of death.[802] Union with God cannot take place without the theosopher being far removed from himself, indeed without the abnegation of himself,[803] through fasting and abandonment of all corporeal desires.[804] This surely constitutes a symbolic death, one which cannot take place without assiduous meditation, through which the spirit exercises, stabilises and fixes itself on higher notions, gradually migrating 'from bad things to Good; from corporeal things to Spiritual; from sensible things to Mental; from earthly things to Divine.'[805] In a passage on Christ as Truth incarnate, Khunrath states, 'In imitation of true WISDOM, all her pupils shall meditate on truth', which is presumably exactly what the adept is doing in front of the open book holding the *Amphitheatre*'s first two circular figures in the *Oratory-Laboratory*.[806] The presence of the psalter on the Oratory's altar-table reminds us that meditation was frequently connected with reading and private recitation, with concentrated intensity, of a text, such as the psalms, which are 'ready-made vehicles for meditation'.[807]

In the *Pyramid* engraving Khunrath presents the opening of Hermes Trismegistus's visionary encounter with the divine spirit Pimander:

> As I was thinking about the Nature of things and was directing the acuity of my Mind towards higher things, the bodily senses already being dormant.[808]

This famous passage from the *Corpus Hermeticum* informs how the mind seeking to know itself must withdraw from the otherness of sense-perception, abandon the sensible world, and turn inwards with an intellectual detachment.[809] As mentioned above, in relation to Pico's *Oratio*, this is envisioned as a gradual process of meditative absorption, working both 'inwards' and 'upwards' from

802 See, for example, *Amph.*II, 12, the long meditation on life as being 'more fleeting than smoke, emptier than a shadow'; *Amph.*II, 42 on honours, pleasures and riches which recede and vanish in smoke.

803 *Amph.*II, 105.

804 *Amph.*II, 157, 210.

805 *Amph.*II, 62 (mispaginated as 42) 'A malis ad Bona; à corporalibus ad Spiritualia; à sensibilibus ad Mentalia; à terrenis ad Diuina nos pedetentim migrare oportet, si Bonorum, si Spiritualium, si Diuinorum velimus esse capaces.'

806 *Amph.*II, 21 'Ad imitationem SAPIENTIÆ veræ, omnes alumni eius meditabuntur veritatem.'

807 Matter, 'Lectio Divina', 148; Bestul, 'Meditatio/Meditation', 157.

808 *Pyramid* engraving and *Amph.*II, 168 'Cum de RERVM NATVRA cogitarem, ac MENTIS aciem ad SVPERNA erigerem, sopitis iam corporis sensibus.'

809 See, for example, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: Shepheard-Walwyn, 1975), Vol. 1, 148–9, Letter 96 '*On the Soul*'. See also Merkur, 'Stages of Ascension in Hermetic Rebirth', 83. See also Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, *Corpus Hermeticum XIII*, 50 'Leave the senses of the body idle, and the birth of divinity will begin.'

the reason's lower discursive faculties still connected with the senses towards higher states of abstraction.

Understanding what Khunrath considered to be the difference between Grade 2 *Meditatio* and Grade 6 *Oratio* (Prayer) is less apparent, especially when he cites one of the popular *Meditations* – attributed to Augustine, but written in the late eleventh century, possibly by Jean de Fécamp[810] – which to all intents and purposes is a prayer (chapter 35 in the *Liber Meditationum* opens with the description *Preces amore Jesu ferventes*).[811] Meditation is frequently mentioned linked with another term originating with Augustine, that of soliloquy.[812] This is usually in the form of 'meditation and soliloquy',[813] but Khunrath also speaks of meditating by Christian soliloquy.[814] He advises the reader more than once to meditate Harpocratically, explaining that 'it is one of those things that are better understood, appreciated and valued with silence than with words.'[815] The contrast between sound and silence seems implicit too in the psalmodic reference to 'the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart',[816] and also in the desire 'to praise with a grateful soul, to meditate more profoundly.'[817]

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810 Bestul, 'Meditatio/Meditation', 160.

811 *Amph.*II, 45: 'Concordat cum hisce nostris Divus Augustinus, Medit. cap.7. & 8. inquiens: *Amo te*, DEVS *meus, amore magno, magisque te amare cupio, da mihi ut amem te semper quantum volo, quantum debeo, ut tu solus* [*sis*] *tota intentio mea, & omnis meditatio mea, te mediter per dies sine cessatione, te sentiam per soporem in nocte, te alloquatur Spiritus meus, tecum* [*con*]*fabuletur Mens mea; lumine sanctæ visionis tuæ illustretur cor meum, ut te duce, te rectore, ambulem de virtute in virtutem, tandemque videam te* DEVM *Deorum in Sion, nunc quidem per Speculum* [*et*] *in ænigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem, Amen*' (Divine Augustine agrees with these our [words] in his *Meditations*, chapters 7 and 8, saying: *I love you, my* GOD, *with a great love; and I desire to love you even more; give to me that I may love you always as much as I desire, as much as I should, so that you alone are my whole purpose and all my meditation, that I may meditate on you every day without cease, may know you at night in sleep; that my Spirit may speak with you, that my Soul talk with you; that my heart be illustrated by the light of your holy vision, so that, with you as leader, you as guide, I might walk from virtue to virtue, and that finally I might see you* GOD *of Gods in Zion, now in truth through a Mirror in dark sayings; but then face to face, Amen*). See [Pseudo-]Augustine, *Liber Meditationum*, Caput XXXV *Preces amore Jesu ferventes*, in Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi *Opera Omnia*, 16 vols (Paris, 1841), Vol. 6, col. 929.

812 See *Augustine: Earlier Writings*, 48. For more, see Brian Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

813 *Amph.*II, 16, 71, 116, 159.

814 *Amph.*II, 79.

815 *Amph.*II, 109 'Hîc siste gradum, & super hoc Harpocraticè meditare: est vnum ex illis, quæ silentio potius, quàm sermone assequuntur, laudantur, commendantur.'

816 *Amph.*II, 117 'Eloquia oris mei, & meditatio cordis mei' (Psalm 19:15).

817 *Amph.*II, 192 'animo collaudare grato, profundius meditari.'

Khunrath speaks of meditating while fasting in the Oratory, which implies a more introverted and introspective activity,[818] perhaps even the inducing of hypnagogic states,[819] and his talk of meditating 'standing, sitting, walking, lying down, by the light of the Sun, of the Moon, on sea-shores, by rivers, in meadows, mountains, forests, woods, even by lamps or wax candles, in a suffumigated room (to refresh the animal spirits of the brain)' certainly suggests that meditation was frequently in the form of silent contemplation, in- or out-doors (as in the *School of Nature*).[820] In a similar fashion, one of Khunrath's readers, the English Paracelsian physician and occult philosopher Robert Fludd (1574–1637) speaks of 'internal and mental prayer or spiritual meditation', in line with the condemnation of verbose heathen prayers in Matthew 6:7.[821] Such also is the sense of *Meditatio* in Gérard Dorn's *Dictionary of Theophrastus Paracelsus* (1583), repeated in the *Lexicon of Alchemy* (1612) of the German Paracelsian Martin Ruland the Younger (1569–1611), defined as 'when a man has an inner dialogue with someone else, who is however not seen. As with God calling him, or with himself, or with his good angel.'[822] As Augustine's examples of both meditation and soliloquy constitute extremely personal addresses to God, perhaps there is the sense that *Meditatio* involves internal and personal address, while *Oratio* is more external and uses psalms and other pre-existing biblical material?

The Canon Regular and Scholastic theologian Hugh of St Victor (1096–1141), the 'venerable Hugo', from whose *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* (On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith, 1137) Khunrath quotes in both the *Amphitheatre* and *Chaos*,[823] discussing the rational soul's three ways of seeing (Thinking,

818 *Amph.*II, 71.

819 See James Justin Sledge, 'Between *Loagaeth* and *Cosening*: Towards an Etiology of John Dee's Spirit Diaries', *Aries* 10.1 (2010): 1–35, in particular the discussion of altered states of consciousness and hypnagogic states, 22f.

820 *Amph.*II, 148 (mispaginated as 146 [T2^{v}]) 'stans, sedens, deambulans, recumbens, ad Solem, ad Lunam, ad ripas, flumina, in pratis, montibus, syluis, nemoribus, etiam ad lampadem siuè candelam ceream, in camera (ad recreandum spiritus animales cerebri) suffumigata.' On animal spirits, see Antonio Clericuzio, 'The Internal Laboratory: The Chemical Reinterpretation of Medical Spirits in England (1650–1680)', in Piyo Rattansi and Antonio Clericuzio (eds.), *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), 51–83, at 66f.

821 Robert Fludd, *Medicina Catholica seu Mysticum Artis Medicandi Sacrarum* (Frankfurt, 1629), 177 'Orationem internam & mentalem seu meditationem spiritualem (Matth.6.7.).'

822 Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 327 'Meditatio dicitur, quoties cum aliquo alio colloquium habetur internum, qui tamen non videtur. Ut cum Deo ipsum invocando, vel cum seipso, vel proprio angelo bono.' Cf. Dorn, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1583), 64.

823 *Amph.*II, 19 'nec mirum, si, vt inquit Hugo, *Mirabilis mirabilia operetur*' (Nor is it any wonder if the wonderful one performs wonders). See Hugh of Saint Victor (1096–1141),

Meditating and Contemplating), had explained that while *Thinking* 'occurs when the mind becomes aware of things passing through it' and *Contemplation* is 'the piercing and spontaneous intuition of the soul, which embraces every aspect of the objects of understanding', *Meditation* is 'the concentrated and judicious reconsideration of thought, that tries to unravel something complicated or scrutinizes something obscure to get at the truth of it.'[824] In his well-known *Didascalion de studio legendi* (Didascalion on the Study of Reading, late 1120s), Hugh explains:

> Meditation is sustained thought along planned lines: it prudently investigates the cause and the source, the manner and the utility of each thing. Meditation takes its start from reading but is bound by none of reading's rules or precepts, for it delights to range along open ground, where it fixes its free gaze upon the contemplation of truth, drawing together now these, now those causes of things, or now penetrating into profundities, leaving nothing doubtful, nothing obscure … There are three kinds of meditation: one consists in a consideration of morals, the second in a scrutiny of the commandments, and the third in an investigation of divine works.[825]

While *Contemplation* is an immediate grasp, as it were a *gestalt* awareness, *Meditation* is a pondering, an 'inquisitive power of the soul', as in Khunrath's striving to 'learn to meditate; meditating to search after knowledge; seeking [knowledge] to pray to GOD; and praying, to work.'[826] What is particularly striking in this last quote is that although with meditation ascension is mental rather than physical, containing an element of asceticism and, following the *Pimander*, the experience of mental detachment from the body, constituting what Dan Merkur calls 'an ontological change in the status of the mind',[827] the

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De sacramentis Christianae fidei, in J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1880), Vol. 176, [Libri II, Pars VIII De Reparatione Hominis], Cap.XI, col. 469 'Et verum est quia mirum est; nec tamen sit mirum, quia opus Dei est. Non est mirum si mirabilis mirabilia operatur.' See also *Chaos* (1597), 88 'Es ist kein Wunder/ spricht der Ehrwürdige alte Lehrer Hugo gar fein/ das der WUNDERBARE auch wunderbare dinge thue und würke.'

824 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, translated by a Religious of C.S.M.V. (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), 183: The Soul's Three Ways of Seeing.

825 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalion*, 3.10, translated by Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 92–3, cited in Bestul, 'Meditatio/Meditation', 160.

826 *Amph.*II, 5 'Scientia & cogitationes hîc coniunguntur, vt discamus meditari, meditando inuestigare scientiam, inuestigando precari DEVM, & precando laborare.'

827 Merkur, 'Stages of Ascension in Hermetic Rebirth', 84.



FIGURE 3.23
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *School of Nature*, detail, Theosopher meditating outdoors (or in his imagination), kneeling before an open psalter. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977



FIGURE 3.24
Theosopher at Prayer, *Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae* London, British Library Ms. Sloane 181, detail. © The British Library Board

culmination of at least this sequence of meditation, the search for and acquisition of knowledge from God, is 'work', be that as a physician with a patient or as an alchemist in the laboratory.

There is, however, also a strong sense of inquiry into the ineffable, for instance, in Khunrath's meditation on the divine names.[828] Khunrath saw *Meditatio* as having 'degrees of ascents',[829] graduating from meditation on nature, as in the *School of Nature* engraving (Fig. 3.23), to the images of Christ and the Androgyne, which we see him regarding on the Oratory table (Figs. 3.24 & 3.25), leading then perhaps to the visualisation of an internal image in the imagination, and to the comprehension of progressively more abstract forms.

Meditatio may well include contemplation of nature and of oneself, but it is always, ultimately, at least for a theosopher, *Meditatio sacra*, with its goal being Union with the divine.[830] As shall be discussed in Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic, Sloane manuscript 181 in the British Library contains versions of both Circular Figures 1 and 2, in which the central images have been stencilled or gilded onto mirrors, such that whoever contemplates them sees himself gazing

828 *Amph.*II, 187–8.

829 *Amph.*II, 62 'Sunt gradus ascensionum.'

830 See Johann Anselm Steiger, '*Meditatio sacra*. Zur theologi-, frömmigkeits- und rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Relevanz der "Meditationes Sacrae" (1606) Johann Gerhards', in Gerhard Kurz (ed.), *Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000), 37–56, at 49 with a reference to Khunrath, Arndt and Breckling.



FIGURE 3.25 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail: Theosopher meditating in front of *Amphitheatre* Circular Figures 1 & 2. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

out from these potent symbols, which are superimposed on his face, surely encouraging some form of mystical reflection and identification with Christ, Eternal Wisdom and Adam, the spiritually reborn inner man, Lover of Wisdom.

39 3) Cognitio (Knowledge) and 4) Amor (Love)

In his seventeenth-century translation of the *Amphitheatre*, commenting on the Ladder of Union, Claude de Bourges writes

> It is necessary to meditate in order to happily attain *Knowledge*, which will be to pass through the second degree of Union, for *Meditation* based on the principles makes [one] configure the subject of *Meditation* mentally and in spirit until such a point that one perceives the truth which must be put into practice as a result of *Knowledge*.[831]

When writing of Neoplatonically ascending in thought to the One, both Ficino and Pico distinguished between logical understanding and

831 Amsterdam, Ritman Library, Ms. BPH M490 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 23 'Il fault mediter pour heureusement parvenir a la science, qui sera passer par le second degré d'union, car la meditation appuiee sur les principes faict dessigner mentallement et en esprit le subiet de meditation jusqua tel point que l'on appercoiue la verité laquelle doit estre mise en pratique par l'effect de cognoissance.'

dialectical contemplation, which is the summit of the soul's intellectual activity.[832] Ultimately, the thought by which the human soul is able to transcend itself is not the process of discursive reasoning concerned with the abstraction of universal ideas, but rather an intuitive vision of intelligible reality.[833] In Hugh of St Victor's terms, this is the movement from meditation to contemplation, as it were a paradigm shift of the soul, a transition from *ratio* to *intellectus*, *scientia* to *sapientia*, *epistēmē* to *gnōsis*, to the more-than-rational conclusion of a dialectical process in the goal of *amor intellectualis*. In the 'Outline of the Third Grade', Khunrath's use of the terms *nosse* and *scire* to denote two different forms of knowledge, the one experiential, the other intellectual seems to suggest a similar understanding.[834]

The two stages following *Meditatio*, i.e., *Cognitio* and *Amor*, taken together could be argued to denote Cognitive and Affective, or intellectual and voluntaristic approaches to God, surely implied in Khunrath's repeated reference to *bene Velle & Nosse*, to both 'know and desire well'.[835] These two approaches to God were made famous in Ficino and Lorenzo de' Medici's debate about whether perfect beatitude resided in the contemplation or enjoyment of God,[836] with Ficino deciding that 'our end is to see God through the intellect, having seen God to enjoy Him through the will, since our *summum bonum* is the highest object of our highest power or the most perfect action concerning it.'[837]

The philosopher thus ascends from the angelic level of the contemplative Cherubim to that of the loving Seraphim, for as Ficino tells us in *De Amore*, what ultimately takes us back to heaven is not our knowledge, but our love of God.[838]

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832 Roulier, *Jean Pic de la Mirandole* (*1463–1494*), 383. See Pico, *De Ente et Uno*, Cap.v, 412/414, where he divides the four rungs of this ladder into sensible, rational, intellectual, and mystical knowledge.

833 Eugenio Garin, 'Images and Symbols in Marsilio Ficino,' in *Portraits from the Quattrocento*, trans. V.A. and E. Velen (London: Harper & Row, 1972), 142–160, at 145.

834 Cf. McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism* (*1200–1350*), 79 and Jeremias 9:24 'he understandeth and knoweth me'.

835 *Amph.*II, 107; *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [11^{v}], 369, 438.

836 Jill Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', in Schmitt and Skinner (eds), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 303–386, at 351.

837 Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia Platonica*, in Raymond Marcel (trans. & ed.), *Théologie Platonicienne de l'Immortalité des Ames*, 3 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition « Les Belles Lettres », 1964), Vol. 2, Lib.XIV, Cap.2, 250 'Finis ergo noster est per intellectum Deum videre, per voluntatem viso Deo frui, quia summum bonum nostrum est summae potentiae nostrae obiectum summum sive actus perfectissimus circa ipsum.'

838 Marsile Ficin, *Commentaire sur le Banquet de Platon*, *De L'Amour*, présenté et traduit par Pierre Laurens (Paris: Société d'édition « Les Belles Lettres », 2002), Oratio IV, Cap.VI [38^{r}], 83 'Quod [...] nos celo restituit non dei cognitio est, sed amor.'



FIGURE 3.26
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Citadel*, detail: The Heart-Shaped Sign. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

So it is that in the *Citadel* engraving, the one, true gate is indicated by the curious heart-shaped sign (Fig. 3.26) discussed in the previous chapter.[839] Elsewhere, Khunrath urges, 'Let your HEART be the workshop of orison and prayers, instrument of the most holy sighs, and the dwelling-place of piety.'[840] In Circular Figure 1 with Christ at its centre, we find the *Shema* Prayer of the Old and New Testament Commandments, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind – Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'[841] Love involves both that of God, the recognition of his goodness and cherishing-love (*dilectio*) towards humanity,[842] in particular in the incarnation of Christ for the salvation of mankind,[843] manifested as a love of one's 'God-, Truth-, and Art-loving (Θεο-Ἀληθη-και τεχνη-Φιλω) Neighbour', whom one should love as one's own self.[844] Love of God, Khunrath emphasises, is the real meaning of the biblical proverb that 'Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom'.[845] It is not the 'servile fear' of the guilty conscience fearing punishment, but the divine and salutary filial fear of sin, coming from

839 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 37.

840 *Amph.*II, 52 'COR tuum officina sit orationis & precum, instrumentum sanctissimorum gemituum, & domicilium pietatis.' In the same passage he writes 'Tu vide, vt ab hoc veneno COR tuum custodias: serues autem illud & aperias Cælesti Sapientiæ, timori DEI, fidei incorruptæ, (quæ purificat cor) charitate infucatæ, spei immotæ, patientiæ infractæ, humilitati amabilissimæ' (See, then, that you guard your HEART from this venom. May you preserve it, moreover, [and] open it up to Heavenly Wisdom, the fear of GOD, uncorrupted faith (which purifies the heart), unfeigned charity, unshaken hope, undiminished patience, [and] most lovely humility).

841 Deuteronomy 6:5 and Mathew 22:37–39.

842 Otho Casmannus, *Ethica Theosophica* (Frankfurt, 1602), 332 'AMOR Dei est, quo homo cognoscens Dei bonitatem & dilectionem erga se, Deum vicissim super omnia diligit. Ios.28. Syrac.2.' Here I am following Matter's consideration of the semantic field of love: *caritas*, *amor* and *dilectio*, in 'Lectio Divina', 153.

843 *Amph.*II, 69.

844 *Amph.*I, 4 Transliteration: *Theo-Alēthē-kai-technē-Philō*.

845 Proverbs 1:7, 9:10.

God himself, which is a superior and most excellent love,[846] entailing love of justice and a corresponding hatred of injustice.[847] Filial fear of God is the very epitome of Love, for to fear the Lord is to love Him,[848] and His Creation in one's neighbour.[849]

In rapturous tones evocative of medieval love mystics, for whom the 'seeing' of God often gave way to synaesthetic and gustatory metaphors of kissing, tasting, drinking and inebriation,[850] Khunrath declares 'Oh this DIVINE ART OF DIVINE LOVE, which this our Amphitheatre teaches'[851] and 'Oh wonderful Art of Divine Love, unknown to the impure world! Happy is he who tastes the love potion of WISDOM; most happy is he who gets drunk from it'.[852] He is careful, however, to distinguish such from that profane love praised by the pagan poet Ovid.[853] It should not, perhaps, be surprising to discover that Khunrath appears to quote (but not cite) the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153),[854] for as with much of medieval mystical literature, Love and its various stages and manifestations lies at the heart of Bernard's mysticism.[855] It was he, for example, who wrote of the three kisses by which

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846 *Amph.*II, 102, 105. Cf. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 120–121 'And behold, the fear of this who comprehends is double-fold, for it is [both] fear (or "awe") of [His] Grandeur, and fear [which is coupled with] love'; … 'the intellect requires the spiritual posture of love, while the imagination brings about fear, since, according to Abulafia, there is a direct relationship between imagination, blood and fear.'

847 *Amph.*II, 72. On the difference between servile and filial fear, see Brian Davies, *Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Guide and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 238.

848 *Amph.*II, 102.

849 *Amph.*II, 121.

850 Fraeters, 'Visio/Vision', 182.

851 *Amph.*II, 84 'ô ARTEM AMORIS DIVINI DIVINAM hanc, quam docet Amphitheatrum hoc nostrum.'

852 *Amph.*II, 63 'O Artem Amoris Diuini mirabilem, mundo incognitam immundo! Felix, qui poculum gustat amatorium SAPIENTIÆ, felicissimus, eò qui inebriatur.'

853 *Amph.*II, 102–3.

854 *Amph.*II, 26: the phrase 'nolite obturare aures vestras' (do not stop up your ears) is possibly from Bernard of Clairvaux, In Psal. *Qui Habitat* Sermo XIV, in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completes: Series Latina* (Paris, 1854), Vol. 183, col. 237. See also *Amph.*II, 28 'Dominus pauperes implet bonis, & diuites dimittit inanes' (The Lord fills the poor with goods, and sends the rich away empty). Cf. Bernardi Claravallensis, *Opera omnia* (1667), 410 'Benediximus Dominum, qui humiles excelsos facit, esurientes implet bonis, & divites dimittit inanes'. Neumann, *Natura Sagax*, 164 observes that Khunrath draws on the same mystical sources as Arndt: Ambrosius, Basilius, and Bernhard of Clairvaux.

855 See Bernard McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism: From Gregory the Great to the Twelfth Century*, Vol. II of *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (London: SCM Press, 1995), 193ff.

the Christian comes progressively closer to God: the abjection and repentance of the 'kiss of the feet,' the conversion and discipleship of the 'kiss of the hand,' and the divine union of the 'kiss of the mouth.'[856] With Khunrath we find that the further the adept progresses along his path, his relationship with Wisdom as Sophia, Minerva, the 'mystic concubine Abysag the Sunamite',[857] and the bride in the *Song of Songs* is described in terms of increasing intimacy, from a friend in meditations and soliloquies,[858] to sister,[859] bride,[860] wife,[861] and mother of God's goods and gifts,[862] with the adept being encouraged to kiss the soft lips of Sophia and her ladies-in-waiting (the sciences and arts) 'with the kiss of theory or practice.'[863] Like Bernard of Clairvaux he draws attention to the significance of the 'kiss of the mouth':

> For true wisdom is tender, familiar and humane to such an extent that she could never send away [her] lover without a most sweet response; but replies with an inner, occult, intellectual and mental voice; sometimes even with a kiss of delight and a most divine motion, as in the Song of Songs 1:1, Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth, for his fruit is sweet to my palate.[864]

856 Kärkkäinen (ed.), *Holy Spirit and Salvation*, 3, 127, 129; Matter, 'Lectio Divina', 151.

857 See *Amph.*II, 59, 101, 114 for references to the *Song of Songs* and *Amph.*II, 63 'Incipe, obsecro, tu mystica concubina Abysag Sunamites cubare in sinu meo.'

858 *Amph.*II, 159.

859 *Amph.*II, 163.

860 *Amph.*II, 46, 97.

861 *Amph.*II, 97; see also 50, 72 on marriage with Wisdom.

862 *Amph.*II, 145.

863 *Amph.*II, 33 'osculo theoriae aut praxeos.' Cf. Antoine Faivre, 'Sensuous Relation with Sophia in Christian Theosophy', in Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal (eds.), *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 281–307. Faivre believes that 'it is probably the *Amphitheatrum* that sparked off the strong interest in the Divine Wisdom over the three following centuries, beginning with Boehme's sophiology' (282).

864 *Amph.*II, 114 'adeo enim blanda, familiaris & humana est vera sapientia, vt nunquam sinè suauissimo responso amatorem dimittat: sed voce interna, occulta, intellectuali & mentali respondeat; interdum etiam osculo iucunditatis, & motu diuinissimo, vt est Cant.1.vers.1. osculetur me osculo oris sui: nam fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo'. Khunrath has in fact compounded parts of Canticle of Canticles 1:1 and 2:3. He could also be alluding to the Cabalistic notion of *binsica* or *mors osculi* (death from the kiss) as discussed, for example, by Pico in his *Conclusions*. See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 525 Cabalistic Conclusions Confirming the Christian Religion 11>11 'The way in which rational souls are sacrificed by the archangel to God, which is not explained by the Cabalists, only occurs through the separation of the soul from the body, not of the body from the soul except

For Khunrath this love finds its perfect object in the love of Christ as the Wisdom of God. He is quick to remind the reader that Philosophy after all means the 'Love of Wisdom',[865] and any philosopher who seeks true wisdom will receive a reciprocal response from Wisdom.[866] 'Love and you will be loved,' Khunrath exclaims, borrowing from Cyprian, and assures his reader that 'The love of someone living in true faith is capable of All Things.'[867] Indeed no conjunction can take place 'unless love arises, and holy desire.'[868] Echoing Thomas à Kempis, Khunrath exhorts his reader to imitate Christ as the Archetype,[869] the practice of Love being realised in *Caritas* (Charity) and *Eleemosyna* (almsgiving), in the act of love towards one's neighbour, which is the true law of the New Testament.[870]

Otto Casmann writes that such love is the justification for self-knowledge, which becomes a form of *Sancta Philautia*, Holy Self-Love, expressed in the act by which man descends into and examines himself and discerns his virtues and vices.[871] As such it differs greatly from the *Philautia* or egotistical self-love of pride, the source of all evils, and that love of the impure world, so thoroughly condemned by Khunrath,[872] as by Erasmus before him.[873] Rather than the *Philautia* that manifests as insincere munificence,[874] Khunrath's aim is for the genuine care of the needy, in the giving of alms, food, clothing and medical assistance, notably, not just to Christians but to all mankind.[875] This love also expresses itself in the exercise of perfect equity (ἐπιεικεια – *epieikeia*) towards

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accidentally, as happens in the death of the kiss, of which it is written: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints*.'

865 *Amph*.II, 77.

866 *Amph*.II, 72.

867 *Amph*.II, 13 'Dilige, & diligeris.' Cf. D. Caecilii Cypriani, *Opera* (Paris, 1616), 483 'Scriptum est … ut diligas eum ex toto corde tuo, & ex tota anima tua, & ex tota mente tua. Dilige, & diligeris'. See also Seneca, *Letters* 9.6 'I shall show you a love potion without a drug, without a herb; without the incantation of any sorceress: if you want to be loved love' (si vis amari, ama). See Anna Lydia Motto, *Additional Essays on Seneca* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 37.

868 *Amph*.II, 114–115 'Non potest fieri coniunctio & copulatio, nisi interueniente amore, sanctoque Desiderio.'

869 Amph.II, 45 'Amicus nonne magnus, qui moritur hostis amore? In hoc Archetypum fideliter imitantes, sapimus, possimus ac impetramus OMNIA.'

870 Erasmus, *CWE* Vol. 66, *Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, 78 'For the whole law is fulfilled in one word: "You shall love your neighbor as youself."'

871 Casmannus, *Ethica Theosophica*, 340.

872 *Amph*.II, 102.

873 Erasmus, *CWE* Vol. 66, *Handbook of the Christian Soldier*, 83.

874 *Amph*.II, 52.

875 *Amph*.II, 156, 170; *Chaos* (1597), 300–301.

the misdemeanours of one's neighbour,[876] in the practice of clemency, where rather than being condemned they should be corrected and encouraged to reform. Echoes of Weigel's tolerance can be heard in the advice:

> Give to all, if not to Christianity or Religion, at least to humanity; in this you will imitate the Best and Greatest Archetype, who makes the Sun rise as much for the wicked as for the Good, and gives food and clothing to ALL men collectively, each and every one individually. GOD loves a cheerful giver.[877]

Another quote from Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* serves as a useful link between this and the following stage, as well as a reminder of the initial step on the ladder: 'God is love, man is hope, faith is the link of both'.[878]

40 5) Spes (Hope)

Although *Hope* is traditionally the second of the three theological virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity), here it comes after the others and is the stage of stoical patience and perseverance, present on the *Amphitheatre*'s title page in the word *Perseverando* and the metaphor of the runner in the amphitheatral stadium enduring the race, in the understanding that 'he who perseveres till the end will be crowned.'[879] The alchemical quest for the Philosophers' Stone is certainly a marathon, with many slips and falls. One of the Erasmian-sounding adages in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving gives a clear sense of the dogged

876 *Amph.*II, 143. See 2 Corinthians 10:1 on the *epieikeias tou Christou* (meekness of Christ). On *Epieikeia*, see Tony Burns, *Aristotle and Natural Law* (New York: Continuum, 2011), 53 regarding *epieikeia* in Book V, Chapter 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. *Epieikeia*, or equity, represents 'a prudent moderation of the written law, transcending the exact literal interpretation of the latter'. This equity or moderation is evident in Khunrath's motto on his coat-of-arms: 'Nec Tumide, Nec Timide,' again taken from the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

877 *Amph.*II, 170 'Da omni: si non Christianitati aut Religioni, saltem humanitati: in hoc imitaberis Archetypum Opt[imum] Max[imum] qui tam malis quàm Bonis exoriri facit Solem, datque victum & amictum OMNIBVS, cunctis, singulis ac vniuersis. Hilarem datorem diligit DEVS, 2. Cor. 9,7.'

878 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 896 'Deus amor est, homo spes est, vinculum utriusque fides est.'

879 *Amph.*II, 61 '*Qui perseuerabit usque ad finem, coronabitur.*' See also *Amph.*II, 180, where Proverbs 30:5 seems fitting for both alchemy as the art of fire and the amphitheatre metaphor: '*Every word of GOD is fire-tried: he is a buckler to them that hope in him.*' For a more extensive discussion of the amphitheatre metaphor, see Chapter 2 on Khunrath's Images.

determination and enduring hope necessary for the completion of the Work: 'WISELY TRIED AGAIN, ONE WILL AT LENGTH SUCCEED.'[880]

Such hope in the final outcome is supported by Proverbs 23:18 and 24:14.[881] Steadfast hope and resolute patience, Khunrath explains, is the practice of humility,[882] the hope for God's mercy,[883] and for the goods and gifts of Wisdom.[884] It is dependence on Christ, whose name has been impressed like a seal on the theosopher's heart with the 'Hammer of firm hope',[885] the ability to 'wait patiently for the manna of Eternal WISDOM falling like dew from above';[886] in a state of 'hoping without doubt to joyously receive (from Divine clemency) what has been requested; keeping watch for YHVH IN THE MORNING, in the monastic, or as it were hermetic CHAPEL or SANCTUARY of the ORATORY, for the sake of holy WISDOM.'[887] A particular hope of Khunrath's, we discover, is for prophecy, as revealed in his remark that 'you shall very much

880 Circular Figure 4: 'SAPIENTER RETENTATVM, SVCCEDET ALIQUANDO.' Cf. Erasmus, *CWE* Vol. 31, 154 Adage I ii 13, which states 'It may turn out that a person scores a success after trying over and over again.' See also Erasmus, *Opera* (Basel, 1540), Epistolarum Liber XXIII, to Abbot Paulus Volzius, 885 'Semper hoc agendum in omni vita, & crebro retentatum, succedet aliquando.' At the same time, Khunrath is careful to counsel against 'Vain Hope,' in the *Citadel* engraving: '[Preparing] the UNIVERSAL, or rather UNIVERSALS, namely many and varied … transmutative TINCTURES for the Red or White [Stones], either from MINERALS, for instance of Antimony, [and] Lead. *Likewise* from Vitriol; Sulphur, etc. Or, from METALS, like lead, etc. as if from the pseudo-Magnesias; or indeed from metallic Silver or Gold, without reducing them to Primal Matter, by means of Primal Matter; and [without] Physical Regeneration by surpassing-perfection. VAIN HOPE (VNIVERSALE, imò UNIVERSALIA scilicet multa & varia … TINCTVRÆ transmutatoriæ ad Album et Rubrum, Vel ex MINERALIBVS, V[erbi] C[ausâ] ♁ij [Antimonij]; ♄^{ni} [Saturni] *Item* ♁^{o} [Vitriolo]; ♆^{re} [Sulphure]; &c. Vel; ex METALLIS, ut ♄^{no} [Saturno]; &c. tanquam ex pseudo-Magnesiis; imò etiam ☽^{a} [Luna] aut ☉^{e} [Sole] metallicis; absque reductione eorundem in Materiam primam, per Materiam primam; & plusquam-perfectione, Physica Regeneratione. SPES VANA).

881 Proverbs 23:18 'Because thou shalt have hope in the latter end: and thy expectation shall not be taken away'; Proverbs 24:14 'So also is the Doctrine of WISDOM to thy Soul: which when thou hast found, thou shalt have hope in the end, and thy hope shall not perish.'

882 *Amph.*II, 52. See also *Amph.*II, 96 'About which Psalm 147:11 says: *The LORD taketh pleasure in them that fear him: and in them that hope in his mercy*'; *Amph.*II, 108 'Thus Psalm 147:11 encapsulates the substance of this Doctrine: *The* LORD *taketh pleasure in them that fear him, and in them that hope in his mercy.*'

883 *Amph.*II, 96, 108.

884 *Amph.*II, 10.

885 *Amph.*II, 209 'MALLEO spei firmae.'

886 *Amph.*II, 187 'illam SAPIENTIÆ Æternæ, desuper rorantem mannam … patienter expectare.'

887 *Amph.*II, 210 'indubitanter sperans: in SACELLO siue ADYTO, ORATORII, monastico, aut quasi eremitico, ad יהוה pro SAPIENTIA sancta, MANE vigilans.'

wish that it may be permitted you to drink from the silver cup of the Patriarch Joseph [...] in which he prophesied and divined about future events.'[888]

Piety brings hope and the fruit or reward of this hope is life and perpetual felicity,[889] for 'he who trusts in the LORD shall be set on high, or (as it says in Hebrew) *fattened* in body, Spirit and Soul. So that in this way there may be a healthy mind in a healthy body, Macro and Micro-Cosmically, internally and externally.'[890] Khunrath exhorts his readers never to lose hope in the goods and gifts of Eternal Wisdom and reminds them of the earnest hope of the lame beggar healed by Peter in Acts 3. Such hope, Khunrath assures, 'will teach you to contemplate with your Eyes now, my brother, and with your Mind all this our Amphitheatre, and to find the Light of ALL truth in the eternal light.'[891]

41 6) Oratio (Prayer)

'The door of Wisdom is truly the fear of GOD and assiduous prayers.'[892]

Oratio or Prayer takes many forms. In *De Modo Orandi* (On the Way of Praying), Hugh of Saint Victor wrote of three kinds of prayer: the first of these, *precatio*, being humble and devout supplication, without determination or petition (*petitio*), or 'undetermined narration' (*narratio*) for a determined petition, and *insinuatio* or 'indicating what is wanted without petition but solely through narration'. 'Pure Prayer' (*pura oratio*), on the other hand, is when 'out of an abundance of devotion the mind is so inflamed that, about to make a request to God, it is so transformed before the magnitude of his love

888 *Amph.*II, 101 'Ex poculo verò Iosephi Patriarchæ, Gen. 44. vers.5. argenteo, in quo prophetabat & vaticinabatur de futuris, vt bibere tibi liceat, peroptabis.' In this Khunrath resembles John Dee who envisioned himself as God's chosen prophet. Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion*, 223. See also Stephen Clucas, 'Dreams, Prophecies and Politics: John Dee and the Elizabethan Court, 1575–1585', in Kate Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan and Sue Wiseman (eds.), *Reading the Early Modern Dream* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 67–80.

889 *Amph.*II, 28. See also *Amph.*II, 118–9; *Amph.*II, 28 'Pietas nullum potest afferre timorem mali, sed spem & præmium vitæ: est enim arbor vitæ, cuius fructus pax & gaudium Spiritus' (Piety can bring no fear of evil, but hope and the reward of life; for it is the tree of life, whose fruits are peace and gladness of Spirit).

890 *Amph.*II, 86 'Qui sperat in DOMINO, subleuabitur, seu (vt Hebraicè sonat) *impinguabitur*, corpore, Spiritu & Anima: ita, vt sit mens sana in corpore sano: Macro & Micro-Cosmicè; internè & externè.'

891 *Amph.*II, 10 'Oculis nunc, mi frater, & Mente contemplare Amphitheatrum hoc nostrum totum, in luce æterna te inuenire docebit Lucem veritatis OMNIS.'

892 *Amph.*II, 42 'Quemadmodum ostium Sapientiæ verè est timor DEI & assiduæ preces.'



FIGURE 3.27 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1609), *School of Nature*, detail: *Jeiunium – Precatio – Eleemosyna*. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

it even forgets its petition'.[893] In the *Scala Perfectionis* (Ladder of Perfection), the fourteenth-century English Augustinian mystic Walter Hilton likewise described three degrees of prayer, beginning with spoken standard prayers, then spontaneous spoken prayer without any particular set of words, and finally without speaking, in the heart alone, when the human soul becomes an altar, burning with the fire of love.[894]

Similar approaches can be found in the writings of Khunrath's correspondent, the pietist Johann Arndt, author of the *Judicium* on the *Amphitheatre*, and one of Faivre's three proto-theosophers. Arndt speaks of 'Degrees or gradual Risings' of prayer, intimated by the words in Luke 11:9, 'Ask, seek, knock'.[895] Initially prayer should request those graces essential to performing the duties of a Christian life, but then should seek after 'sublimer degrees of devotion.'[896] Arndt helpfully describes five degrees of prayer:

893 Rachel Fulton Brown, 'Oratio/Prayer', in Hollywood and Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, 167–177, at 171.

894 Fulton Brown, 'Oratio/Prayer', 174.

895 On Paracelsus's fondness for this phrase, see Berthold Heinecke, 'The Mysticism and Science of Johann Baptista van Helmont', *Ambix* 42 (1995): 65–78, at 68.

896 Arndt, *The Garden of Paradise: or, Holy Prayers and Exercises* (London: J. Downing, 1716), Preface, xvii.

1) repentant imploring of pardon for sins and transgressions;
2) 'Practical Prayer', for the obtaining and improving of Christian virtues, without which all other forms of prayer become mere hypocrisy. This form can either be read from a book, or uttered ex-tempore;
3) 'Strong and powerful Sighs, without any audible Voice attending them,' after the manner of Hannah and 'the Woman in the Gospel, whose Prayer did burst Forth into a Flood of Tears, without the Utterance of one Word added to it';
4) The fourth degree, in contrast, is with 'great Joy and Exultation of Heart,' the uttering of praises to the Lord, the example offered being that of Mary's *Magnificat*;
5) The fifth degree 'flows from a great and burning Love of God,' wherein the soul is united in so close a manner with God, that it can neither think, hear, see, taste, nor perceive anything but God who is 'unto her ALL in ALL.' The soul is 'overwhelmed by the Love of God, and, as it were, transformed into it.'[897]

Turning to Khunrath, we find that he uses many terms for types of prayer,[898] including supplication (*supplicatio*), intercession (*postulatio*), soliloquies (*soliloquia*), conversation (*colloquio*; *conversatio*),[899] invocation (*invocatio*), prayer (*precatio*),[900] vow (*votum*), and thanksgiving (*gratiarum actio*),[901] and refers to various types of psalms (Penitential, Benedictory, Maledictory, Liberatory, Protective).[902] John Cassian provides some sense of the significance of these different types of prayer: supplication or confession 'seems especially appropriate for beginners … goaded by the memory of past sin', while vows are

897 Arndt, *The Garden of Paradise*, Preface, xv–xvii.

898 For examples of Khunrath's prayers, see *Amph.*II, 16, 34, 82, 88, 112, 126, 182–3, 222. Khunrath quotes from the *Blessed Mother's Magnificat* in *Amph.*II, 98.

899 *Amph.*II, 135 'colloquio secretè fruatur dulcissimo IEHOVÆ spirituumque bonorum'; *Amph.*II, 147 (mispaginated as 145) 'cum Angelis bonis … pia & vtilis conuersatio.'

900 *Amph.*II, 109 'inuocatio, siuè preces.'

901 *Amph.*II, 117. For a list of precatory forms, see *Amph.*II, 79: supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings (supplicationibus … orationibus, postulationibus: & gratiarum actionibus).

902 *Amph.*II, 103 'Psalmus hic quemadmodum alii pœnitentiales; Benedictorii; Maledictorii; Liberatorii; Vindictorii.' Cf. C. Hassell Bullock, *Encountering the Book of Psalms: A Literary and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004) which provides a list of psalms of praise, worship, lament, thanksgiving, truth, to the earthly king, the heavenly king, to wisdom and imprecatory psalms. For an insightful close analysis of precatory clauses in Pseudo-Solomonic orations (*legitimating*, *desiderative*, *mediatory*, *protective*), see Stephen Clucas, 'John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*: Renaissance Magic and Mediaeval Theurgy', in Stephen Clucas (ed.), *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 231–273, at 249–50.

'appropriate for those making progress in the acquisition of virtue and in the exaltedness of their souls.' Intercessions or pleas are 'suitable for those who live as they have promised to do, who see the frailty of others and who speak out for them because of the charity that moves them,' and thanksgiving 'suits those who have pulled the painful thorn of penitence out of their hearts and who in the quiet of their purified spirit contemplate the kindness and mercy that the Lord has shown them'.[903]

According to Khunrath, the prerequisite for the acceptance of any prayer is that it be a 'sacrifice, which comes forth from a penitent, contrite and humble heart; otherwise it is abominable to GOD.' Indeed, an 'immaculate holy life is all a prayer in the sight of GOD, an acceptable sacrifice, a most pleasing form of worship for GOD', for ultimately God pays attention not to words, but deeds.[904] While he does not specifically mention prayers of repentance, Khunrath frequently refers to the tears of penitence, as a means of obtaining Christian-Cabalist and magical knowledge,[905] and his many references to *Jeiunium* or fasting with prayer could itself be seen as a corporeal form of penitential prayer. King David is cited as an example of one who, although a sinner, adulterer and murderer, nevertheless 'always raised himself again by repentance',[906] and the theosopher is urged to recite psalms every day after the manner of David.[907]

In the image of the hermit praying before the crucifix in his cave, from the *School of Nature* engraving, we find the grouping of the words *Jeiunium*, *Precatio* and *Eleemosyna* at the cave entrance (Fig. 3.27). This is possibly an allusion to the encyclopedic *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (*c.*560–636), where we read,

> Whoever wants his prayer to fly to God, let him make two wings for it, fasting and almsgiving (*Eleemosyna*), and it will ascend and be heard more quickly.[908]

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903 Fulton Brown, 'Oratio/Prayer', 170.

904 *Amph.*II, 120 'Oratio quæ DEO acceptum debet esse sacrificium, proficiscatur ex corde pœnitente, contrito & humili; aliàs DEO est abominabilis. … Quin vita sancta immaculata, tota est apud DEVM oratio, sacrificium acceptabile, cultus DEO gratissimus.' See also Circular Figure 4.

905 *Amph.*I, 20; *Amph.*II, 16, 27, 30, 37, 43, 44, etc. and Circular Figure 2.

906 *Amph.*II, 8 'quoties per pœnitentiam semper resurgebat.'

907 *Amph.*II, 103.

908 *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies*, translated by Priscilla Throop (Charlotte, Vermont: MedievalMS, 2005; revised 2013), Vol. 1, Book 6, Chapter 19, para. 64.

Khunrath leaves his reader in little doubt of the high value he places in fasting as a superior form of ascetic practice, preparation of the microcosmic temple of the human body, spirit and soul for the reception of the divine:

> Fasting undertaken in a Christian fashion, with abstinence from excessive food and drink and forbidden pleasures, with mourning-clothes and humility of soul, confession of sins and prayer, sincerely soliciting Divine Clemency, is like the brooms with which we are swept and cleaned for the coming of the Sacrosanct host, in his triune, Microcosmic, restored, Catholic temple (the second figure of this Amphitheatre, …). For FASTING masters the flesh, engenders humility, puts to flight temerity, kindles the light of Chastity, sharpens the Intellect, elevates the Mind, administers wholesome counsel, dispels maladies, and obtains (from grace) Divine grace.[909]

From various references to the School of the Cross and Tribulations,[910] to being 'thoroughly broken by the *Fire of the Cross*,'[911] it seems that Khunrath complemented the asceticism of fasting with a strict regimen of prayer, being on vigil from the break of day,[912] in the cruciform posture of the Χριστοφορος [*Christophoros*] or 'bearer of Christ',[913] with the conviction that, for any hope of spiritual rebirth or regeneration, the aspirant must be prepared symbolically to die and descend with Christ into the Hells before he can sit with him in

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909 *Amph.*II, 157 'Ieiunium Christianè institutum eum abstinentia à nimio cibo & potu illicitisque voluptatibus, cum luctu & humilitate animi, peccatorum confessione & precatione Diuinam Clementiam simpliciter ambiente, est instar scoparum, quibus euerrimur atque purgamur pro aduentu SS^ti^ hospitis, in templum suum Catholicon (figura Amphitheatri huius secunda, & vers. 218.) triunum, Microcosmicon, renouatum. Domat enim IEIVNIVM carnem; humilitatem parit, fugans temeritatem; Castitatis lumen accendit; Intellectum acuit; eleuat Mentem; salubria consilia administrat; fugat morbos; & impetrat (ex gratia) gratiam Diuinam.'

910 *Amph.*II, 27, 103, 144.

911 *Amph.*I, 20 'per *Ignem crucis*, probè fractus.' See also *Amph.*II, 144 'IGNE quoque crucis ac tribulationum scrutatur corda & renes' (And He examines hearts and kidneys with the FIRE of the cross and tribulations).

912 *Amph.*II, 79.

913 *Amph.*II, 23 'O IEHOVAH mane in me, vt maneam in te, Christophorumque me constitue' (O JEHOVAH, abide in me, that I may abide in you, and make me your 'Christophore'); 210 '& ore ac corde Χριστοφορος, CRVCIFORMITER, hoc est, in SPIRITV & VERITATE, sine intermissione' (*Christophoros – Bearing Christ*] in both mouth and heart, CRUCIFORMLY, that is, in SPIRIT and TRUTH, without interruption); & Circular Figure 4.

Heaven.[914] Khunrath removes any suspicion of these practices merely being forms of spiritual exhibitionism by reminding the reader of Matthew's advice: 'when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.'[915] Indeed, Khunrath emphasises the importance of private prayer, claiming that while formerly the assistance of Wisdom was public, now it is private, indicative of the 'private love' between Wisdom and the Mind, even, it appears, when the theosopher is in his bed:

> our mind, separated from the contagion of earthly things, through arcane contemplations inwardly cleaves to GOD; such that within the sanctuary of one's bed-chamber, Christian-Cabalistically, Divine-Magically and Physico-Chemically enjoying super-Celestial, Macro and MicroCosmic delights, one may be able to cry out (rejoicing) from mouth and heart with Isaiah 24:16, 'My secret to myself, my secret to myself.'[916]

Arndt's second degree of prayer, the practical request for assistance and gifts, is represented by Khunrath's reference to supplications and intercessions,[917] as in the example of his petitionary prayer modelled on one by the fourth-century Early Church Father John Chrysostom:

> I ardently pray (with John Chrysostom), and from the bottom of my heart, that kind and merciful GOD may hear my prayers and sighs, may open the ears of my heart, and impress faith in me, give me, and all devoted followers of true Wisdom, a mind fit for divine mysteries, sober reasoning,

914 *Amph.*II, 114 'Oportet nos prius esse cum CHRISTO in Orco, antequam cum eo ascendimus in Cælum' (It is necessary for us first of all to be with Christ in the infernal regions, before we may ascend with him to Heaven). *Orcus*, the abode of the dead, the infernal regions. See Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1,115; 6, 762; Virgil, *Aeneid* 6, 273. It can also mean *Death*, Lucretius 5,996; Horace *Epistles* 2,2,178. See also *Amph.*II, 205 'DESCENSVS ad inferos solatii pleni; RESVRRECTIONIS victoriosæ; cum corpore in vtero virgineo internis assumpto, in cælum ASCENSIONIS gloriosæ' (his DESCENT, full of consolation, to the hells; his victorious RESURRECTION; his glorious ASCENSION into heaven with the body assumed from the internal things in the virginal womb).

915 Matthew 6:6. See *Amph.*II, 109.

916 *Amph.*II, 116 'mens nostra, à terrenarum rerum contagio secreta, per arcanas contemplationes DEO penitus adhærescat, ita vt intra cubiculi sui penetralia super Cælestibus, Macro & MicroCosmicis delitiis: ChristianoCabalisticè, DiuinoMagicè, & PhysicoChemicè, perfruens secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi cum Esaia 24,16. ore ac corde (ouans) clamitare possit.'

917 *Amph.*II, 79.

> and a life full of kind services and virtue, so that we might always think, meditate and take care of those things which are of GOD and which are beneficial for us in all life. Amen, says every lover of Wisdom, Amen.[918]

The most common term Khunrath uses for this is 'invocation' of God, with the Lord's Prayer being the ideal example.[919] As shall be seen in the chapters on Cabala and Magic, Khunrath places a great deal of importance on the invocation of the various divine and angelic names towards various ends. According to Casmann, *Invocatio* or *Precatio* can also take the form of *Juramentum*, or the act of making vows to God.[920] Khunrath clearly regards this as a licit activity, for he speaks of the Old Testament practice of promising God Eucharistic Sacrifices when in great difficulty or as acts of gratitude, such as Jacob's vow, after seeing the celestial ladder in his dream, to build *Beth-El*, the house of God.[921] Prayer for the Christian should be a constant reiteration, too, of the vow of filial obedience made in baptism, a renewal of the pledge of faith and an expression of gratitude towards God.[922]

Khunrath implies that the Invocation of God is an important form of *Agnitio* or Recognition, and that non-invocation presupposes ignorance and neglect of God.[923] He declares that the Spirit of the Lord, as the 'author of every holy revelation and vision and the master of hidden things [...] moves hearts to good works and invocation', but Wisdom will not come unless chosen

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918 *Amph.*II, 110 'Precor (cum Iohanne Chrysostomo) ardenter, & ex imo pectore, vt misericors & benignus DEVS exaudiat preces & gemitus meos, aperiat aures cordis, & obsignet in me fidem, det mentem mysteriorum diuinorum capacem, sobriam ratiocinationem, & vitam plenam officiorum & virtutis, mihi, & omnibus veræ Sapientiæ studiosis sectatoribus, vt semper cogitemus, meditemur & curemus ea, quæ DEI sunt, & nobis in omni vita salutaria, Amen, dicat omnis Sapientiæ amans, Amen.' See 'Joan Chrys. in epist. ad Rom.' in Pierre Pithou, *Comes theologus, sive spicilegium ex sacra messe* (Paris, 1684), 44–45 'Domine Deus misericors & benigne, exaudi preces & gemitus Ecclesiae tuae: aperi aures cordium, & obsigna fidem in mentibus nostris: patefac nobis Evangelium justitiae, & da mentem divinorum mysteriorum capacem, sobriam ratiocinationem, ac vitam plenam officiorum virtutis, ut semper meditemur curemusque ea quae tua sunt, & nobis in omni vita salutaria, propter meritum unigeniti Filii tui Jesu Christi mediatoris ac salvatoris nostri. Amen.'

919 *Amph.*II, 68. See also 81–2.

920 Casmannus, *Ethica Theosophica*, 334–6.

921 *Amph.*II, 117. It is telling that the most extensive examples Khunrath provides are prayers for the subjugation of enemies, as on *Amph.*II, 28, 83.

922 *Amph.*II, 117, 118.

923 *Amph.*II, 137–8.

and invoked.[924] The positioning of *Oratio* after *Amor* on the Ladder of Union receives some explanation with the observation that 'first of all a burning desire of the mind arises', followed by 'invocation, or prayers.'[925]

Although they are not discussed in as much detail, we do also find evidence of Khunrath practising the other degrees of prayer mentioned by Arndt. Thus we have reference both to the weeping, moans and sighs constituting the third degree,[926] which are often far more genuinely expressive of piety than lip-service, however eloquent;[927] and also to the exuberant expression of gratitude, reverence, rejoicing, admiration and honour, of the fourth stage, which is a major feature of the *Amphitheatre*.[928] This praise and adoration takes the form of daily soliloquies,[929] and the use of the psalms, recommended by Paul as a way of speaking to God and of thanksgiving.[930] There can be little doubt of the immense value Khunrath places in the Psalter, before which he kneels on the islet in the *School of Nature* engraving (Fig. 3.23), with him describing it as the 'universal promptuary',[931] and there is the clear sense that the singing of psalmodic hymns took him to Arndt's fifth degree of prayer, with his description of one suitable for 'rousing the mind to sacred things',[932] and the holy love of Wisdom being the 'flame of the Holy Spirit, kindled with assiduous prayers.'[933] Referring to David's promises in the psalms to declare God's name to his brethren (22:23) and to teach the unjust God's ways (51:15), Khunrath states such vows are the 'seal of your prayer, by which you pledge your faith and

924 *Amph.*II, 110–111 'Mouet corda ad bona opera & inuocationem. … Vndè omnis sanctæ reuelationis ac visionis est & dicitur auctor; absconditarumque rerum magister …'.

925 *Amph.*II, 109 'Animi primùm in eo oritur desiderium ardens.'

926 *Amph.*II, 52. See too 69–70, 85, and 177 where there is the sense of the use of prayers and sighing as a form of exorcism. For more on tears, see also Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* as discussed in Antonio T. De Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining. Ignatius Loyola: A Philosophical Hermeneutic of Imagining through the Collected Works of Ignatius de Loyola* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), in particular 219ff.

927 *Amph.*II, 117.

928 *Amph.*I, 8.

929 *Amph.*II, 187.

930 *Amph.*II, 157.

931 *Amph.*II, 103. See also Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theologiae Mysticae* (Frankfurt, 1702), 99 where he describes the place of *Ora* in his *Via Sapientiæ*, Part II. *Illuminativa* Rationis: '*Ora* Hymnis Psalmodicis, & jucundis multiformis naturæ ac artis spectaculis, dormientem in anima tua genium devotè & ingeniosè excitato.'

932 *Amph.*II, 188 'sacris animi concitandi caussa.'

933 *Amph.*II, 115 'Iste verò sanctus amor Sapientiæ est flammula Spiritus sancti, incensa precibus assiduis.'

gratitude to God'.[934] Ultimately *Soliloquium*, the inner dialogue,[935] becomes *Colloquium*, 'the most sweet conversation of JEHOVAH and of the good spirits subdelegated by GOD',[936] or, following Arndt's favoured term, *Alloquium* or *alloquium divinum*,[937] leading to the next stage on the ladder:

> Just as those who wish to enter into marriage (*Conjugium*) start from friendly conversation (*Colloquium*), just so those who seek marriage with Eternal Wisdom engage in pious, holy, most beautiful and most pleasant thoughts about her, and they set before the eyes of [their] minds a most lovely image of wisdom, … These sustained thoughts about the fullness of Wisdom, are the link and bond, endowed with celestial magnetic power; they are the seed-plots of the conversations and soliloquies (*alloquiorum* & *soliloquiorum*) of Divine Wisdom.[938]

This calls to mind Iamblichus's neoplatonic discussion of prayer in *De mysteriis*, where he says that it has three stages: in the first 'the soul is collected and becomes conscious of the presence of the gods', which sounds similar to Khunrath's *Agnitio dei* (Recognition of God); then in the second stage the theurgist is conjoined to the gods and experiences their gifts, before finally in the third stage experiencing a complete union (*henōsis*) with the divine.[939] Elsewhere Iamblichus offers a three-fold distinction between 'mere participation', 'communion', and 'union'.[940] Continuing with a theurgic theme, but this time in the context of Jewish Kabbalah, Elke Morlok writes, 'With the "correct"

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934 *Amph.*II, 118 'sigillum orationis tuæ, quo fidem & gratitudinem tuam DEO obstringis.'

935 According to Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity*, 64 the term *Soliloquium* was first coined by Augustine.

936 *Amph.*II, 135 '& suo modo colloquio secretè fruatur dulcissimo IEHOVÆ spirituumque bonorum à DEO subdelegatorum.'

937 See Neumann, *Natura Sagax*, 224 on inner conversation with God.

938 *Amph.*II, 113–114 'Quemadmodum qui coniugium inire volunt, à colloquio amico initium faciunt: ita qui sapientiæ Æternæ coniugium ambiunt, pias, sanctas, pulcherrimas, amabilissimas de ea suscipiunt cogitationes, & ante oculos mentis proponunt sibi imaginem illam sapientiæ formosissimam, qualem sapientissimus Regum, in prioribus Prouerbiorum capitibus depingit, & in lib. Sap.7. Hæ cogitationes de sapientiæ plenitudine susceptæ, sunt vinculum & copula, virtute magnetica cælesti prædita: sunt seminaria alloquiorum & soliloquiorum Diuinæ Sapientiæ.' See also *Amph.*II, 117 'Alloquium puri, intimi & sinceri cordis; scrutator cordium amat' (The searcher of hearts loves the conversation of a pure, intimate and sincere heart).

939 See Gregory Shaw, 'Taking the Shape of the Gods: A Theurgic Reading of Hermetic Rebirth', *Aries* 15 (2015): 136–169, at 163, where he cites Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*. See Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* (2003), 347 on being conjoined with gods; 349 on man being divinised.

940 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*, III.10–13.

intention during prayer, the mystic may activate the divine energy within the linguistic structure and obtain a theurgic effect on high',[941] providing a particularly insightful passage from Elliot Wolfson:

> Prayer is typically perceived as 'the product of man's yearning for the most intimate of all human communications, for the opportunity to open his heart and his mind in adoration and supplication to the divine presence'. Whether the roots of this twofold yearning are found in man's sense of insufficiency or in a sense of wonder about the mystery of life, the net effect is the same: prayer originates in and is sustained by the deep gap that separates infinite and finite. The act of prayer is precisely the bridge that attempts to overcome the boundary separating man and God.[942]

42 7) Conjunctio (Conjunction)

The next rung of the ladder intimates of how Khunrath, in Christian terms, hoped to bridge the divide between God and man, through the *Conjunction* of Christ, Eternal Wisdom, with the Theosopher, Lover of Divine Wisdom, or in other terms, the interface between Christ as *Theanthrōpos* (θεανθρωπος) or divine man,[943] and the 'MAN OF GOD' (ὁ του θεου ἀνθρωπος), from 2 Timothy 3:17.[944]

In the Christian mystical tradition the *Conjunctio* had for centuries been a symbol of the *Conjugium*, the wedding of the soul to the divine bridegroom in the *Song of Songs*.[945] Both Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and William of St Thierry (1085–1148) wrote elaborate commentaries on this work, William

941 Elke Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 234.

942 Elliot R. Wolfson, 'Mystical-Theurgical Dimension of Prayer in *Sefer ha-Rimmon*', in David R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), Vol. 3, 41–79, at 59.

943 *Amph.*II, 44.

944 2 Timothy 3:17 'That the man of God may be perfect, furnished in every good work.' In the margin Khunrath cites the preceding verse, 2 Timothy 3:16 in *Amph.*I, 4 'All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice', but clearly intends the following verse to be included due to the main text's dedication: 'v. TOTI SS.æ BIBLICÆ SCRIPTVRÆ, vtili ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum, in Justitia; vt perfectus sit HOMO DEI ad omne opus bonum instructus' (v. To the whole of Sacrosanct Biblical Scripture, useful for teaching, reproving, correcting, [and] instructing, in Justice; so that the Man of God may be perfect, prepared for every good work).

945 For references in the *Amphitheatre*, see *Amph.*II, 63, 159.

in particular speaking of how the matching beauty of the now purified soul and the groom enable them to hold sweet conversation in which 'they begin to taste the joy of mutual joining' (*Conjunctio*).[946] In similar vein, in his commentary on Wisdom 6:18,[947] drawing from the *Zodiacus Vitae* (Zodiac of Life, 1536) of the Neapolitan poet Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus (*c.*1500–*c.*1551), and most likely Erasmus's *Enchiridion* (Handbook), Khunrath writes

> *Love*] Conjunction and coupling cannot take place unless love arises and holy desire. … And, whoever loves, is made worthy of being loved.[948] Truly this holy love of Wisdom is the flame of the holy Spirit, kindled with assiduous prayers. With it glowing in our hearts, the first entrance to celestial Wisdom is laid open. For to have loved Wisdom, is almost to have acquired it.[949]

In his *Conclusiones Cabalisticae*, Pico had spoken of the soul being 'conjoined with Divinity.'[950] Although this is not the top rung of the *Amphitheatre*'s ladder, it is clear that the adept has already attained a heightened state of consciousness, for Khunrath tells us, in language resembling that of a Jewish Kabbalist cleaving to the divine Name YHVH,[951] that 'all the powers of the Heavens, all earthly powers, every diabolical power, all things that, from the influence of sin and the devil, infest the bodies and souls of men' will give way to one who

946 McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 243.

947 Wisdom 6:18 'For her beginning is the most true desire of instruction; and indeed the care for instruction, love.' See *Amph.*I, 46 'Initium enim ipsius est verissima eruditionis cupiditas: cura verò eruditionis, amor.'

948 See Marcellus Palingenius, *Zodiacus Vitae* (Amsterdam, 1628), Lib.XII: Pisces, 310, 'Ergo opus est, praeter iam dicta, ut numina amemus/ Vaementer; nam quisquis amat fit dignus amari.' Erasmus, Letter to Paul Volz, in P.S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), Tom. III 1517–1519, 364 'quasi sapientiam amasse, propemodum parasse sit'. This originally appeared in the preface to Erasmus, *Enchiridion* (1518), 6.

949 *Amph.*II, 114–115 '*Amor*] Non potest fieri coniunctio & copulatio, nisi interueniente amore, sanctoque Desiderio. … Et, quisquis amat, fit dignus amari. Iste verò sanctus amor Sapientiæ est flammula Spiritus sancti, incensa precibus assiduis. Hac in cordibus nostris micante, patefit aditus ad Sapientiam cælestem primus. Nam Sapientiam amasse, propè parasse est. Adeò fidelis est in amore Sapientia Diuina, vt sanctum sui amorem ferre nequeat, quin amantem reclamet, & sanctum amoris desiderium impleat.'

950 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*, 363; Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 50.

951 Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 234 'The final aim of prayer and initiation into the sefirotic structure is the understanding of the Torah as woven on the Tetragrammaton and the cleaving to this name.'

in faith has 'conjoined, coupled and rightly united' with the Christian Cabalist name of Christ, YHSVH.[952] In the twelfth century Richard of Saint Victor wrote that the highest form of spiritual vision is anagogic in nature, in which the soul temporarily contemplates the glorified Christ and understands everything from his point of view. The soul in an *excessus mentis* participates in the beatific vision of the saints and martyrs.[953] Khunrath's contemporary, and admirer,[954] the alchemist, cabalist, theosopher and supporter of the Rosicrucians Julius Sperber (*c*.1540–1616), also known as Julianus de Campis, writes of such conjunction or union in his *Kabalisticae precationes* (Kabbalistic Prayers, 1600): 'To be in ecstasy (*in excessu mentis*), that is, to be raised or to ascend to heaven, to be united or conjoined with God Himself, and to be illumined by the Holy Spirit'.[955]

Elliot Wolfson provides an evocative insight into conjunction or cleaving (*devequt*) in the context of Jewish Kabbalah:

> When the worshipper has climbed to the top of the ladder of prayer, the scala contemplativa, … in this place of conjunction … a place tellingly designated in one Zoharic passage as 'the place that is no place' … there is perfect harmony, indeed convergence, of the human and divine wills. … The one conjoined to the infinite through prayer comprehends time as the momentous and momentary renewal of what has always never been, an understanding that entails the ability to act miraculously, wondrously, in a manner unbound to causal sequence, recreating, as it were, the moment when the world was brought into being from nothing.[956]

An equally dramatic indication of the state of *Conjunctio* can be found in Khunrath's Cabalistic analogy of God as the Sun and the human soul, the *Mens* (Mind) in particular, as the Moon:

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952 *Amph*.II, 75. For more on this see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Christian Cabala.

953 Fraeters, 'Visio/Vision', 181.

954 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 17.

955 Julius Sperber, *Kabalisticae precationes, sive selectiores sacrosancti nominis divini glorificationes* (Magdeburg, 1600), [*7r] 'Ad Lectorem … In excessu mentis esse, id est, ad coelum elevari vel ascendere, cum ipso DEO uniri seu coniungi, & a Spiritu sancto illuminari.' On *excessus mentis*, see Psalms 30:23; 67:28; IV Esdras 5:33. On Richard of St. Victor's use of *excessus mentis* in *De arca mystica*, V, as the sixth and final level of contemplation, see Steven Chase (ed.), *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2002), 337. On *excessus mentis* (literally: being out of one's mind), see McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism* (2013), 194–196.

956 Elliot R. Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau: Kabbalistic Musings on Time, Truth, and Death* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 95.

> The Mind intoxicated with GOD sees, as in a mirror, GOD in itself and itself in GOD; and what is more, ALL THINGS that it wants or wishes [...] This is the Micro-Cosmic Moon of the Cabalists, waxing, full, and waning, with the approach, diametrical opposition [and] declination of the Divine SUN. When the Moon is waxing, good Spirits will be present, at GOD'S command; at the time of the Full Moon, GOD Himself [will be present]; when the Moon is waning, pray to GOD, lest you be held back and led away from the straight path of Truth, by the powers of darkness.[957]

Here we have the implication that, as in astrology when planets move in and out of conjunction, the Sun and Moon in and out of eclipse, the stage of *Conjunctio* is not regarded as a permanent state. Even this level is but a foretaste of the true Union with God; here we are still at a stage, however blessed, when the mind continues to regard itself as somehow still separate from the One.[958] It is a fleeting intuition of divinity, which comes and goes, or perhaps in the terms of the wedding metaphor, the marriage has taken place, but has not yet been consummated; in alchemical terms the 'child' has not yet been conceived.[959]

The final three rungs of Khunrath's Ladder of Union are by far the most problematic. They all seem to be alluding to states of increasing closeness to God, similar to those of the Jewish Kabbalists, in the mystical cleaving to God called *Devequt*, which had various levels, including 'Equanimity', the indifference of the soul to praise or blame; 'Solitude', being alone with God; the 'Holy Spirit' and 'Prophecy'.[960] While Khunrath provides some clues as to what he means by the final state of *Similitudo*, he gives very little indication of what he intends by the preceding states of *Frequentia* and *Familiaritas*. The very fact that in one place he speaks of the 'Ladder of Conjunction and Union',[961]

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957 *Amph.*II, 109 'Mens inebriata DEO videt, tanquam in speculo, DEVM in se, & se in DEO; imò, quæ vult aut optat OMNIA. ... Hæc Luna Cabalistarum Micro-Cosmica crescens, plena, decrescens; accessu, oppositione diametrali, declinatione SOLIS Diuini. Luna crescente, iussu DEI, aderunt Spiritus boni; Tempore Plenilunii, DEVS ipse: decrescente, ora DEVM, ne tenebrarum potestatibus tenearis ac seducaris à semita Veritatis recta.'

958 See McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism* (1995), 209.

959 See, for example, Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), 88, figs. 63 and 64 from Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (Oppenheim, 1618) or 173, fig. 317 from Johann Daniel Mylius's *Philosophia reformata* (Frankfurt, 1622).

960 Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974; repr. New York: Penguin/ Meridian Books, 1978), 174f.

961 *Amph.*II, 4.

suggests, perhaps, that at first he had in mind a ladder of seven stages to complement the seven grades of the *Amphitheatre*, before finally adding a further three stages to correspond to the ten Grades of Cognition.

43 8) Frequentia (Concourse & Constant Practice)

Frequentia is the most puzzling term, as it literally means a numerous assembly, as it were 'concourse' rather than 'intercourse.'[962] Khunrath follows the word 'conjoined' with 'coupled', however, on several occasions in the *Amphitheatre*, which encourages the latter interpretation, as a mystical consummation of the divine wedding.[963] Elsewhere, he speaks of Wisdom associating with the blessed angels and conjoining with God,[964] and of how the purified soul joined to the Spirit of God's Wisdom, i.e. the third hypostasis, the Holy Spirit, is raised up to the ἁγιαστηριον [*Hagiastērion*] or *Sanctuary of Good Spirits*, where it presumably enjoys the company of angels.[965] The most obvious interpretation, then, is to read *Frequentia* as referring to the greater regularity of the *Conjunctio*, with increasingly frequent visits to the *Sanctuary*, which gradually develops into the next level of *Familiaritas* with the angels, although, strictly speaking, if this is the intention then Khunrath should, perhaps, have used the word *Frequentatio* rather than *Frequentia*.[966] There are very few occurrences of *Frequentia* in the Bible, but Hebrews 12:22 at least uses it in the context of an assembly of angels: 'But you are come to mount Sion and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem and the *company* of many thousands of angels.'[967] As such perhaps Khunrath intended this stage as that of sharing with the angels in rejoicing in the presence of God.[968]

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962 Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 780 '*frequentia*, an assembling in great numbers, a numerous attendance, concourse, multitude.'

963 *Amph.*II, 72, 75, 114.

964 *Amph.*II, 112.

965 *Amph.*II, 168.

966 Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 780 '*frequentatio*, frequency, frequent use, a crowding together.'

967 My italics. The only other examples I could find are 2 Esdras 4:2, Numbers 16:9, 16:27, 27:22, 2 Paralipomenon/Chronicles 30:25, all of which speak of gatherings of one form or other.

968 Cf. Paul S. Macdonald, *History of the Concept of Mind: Speculations About Soul, Mind and Spirit from Homer to Hume* (London: Routledge, 2017), Vol. 1, 223 concerning Ficino's idea that 'the soul is an imperfect mind, the angel is a perfect mind, and God alone is the truth above the level of minds'. Perhaps Khunrath's transition between *Frequentia* and *Familiaritas* involves the movement from an imperfect human to a perfect angelic mind?

44 Gerard Dorn's Speculative or Meditative Philosophy

TABLE 3.5 Comparison of Khunrath's Grades of Cognition and Union with Dorn's meditative philosophy

	Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595)		**Dorn, *Clavis* (1567)**	**Dorn, *De Artificio supernaturali* (1583)**
1.	Fides	1.	Studium Philosophorum	Studium
2.	Meditatio	2.	Cognitio	Cognitio
3.	Cognitio	3.	Amor Philosophicus	Amor
4.	Amor	4.	Frequentia	Similitudo
5.	Spes	5.	Virtus	Frequentia/Communio/ Familiaritas
6.	Oratio	6.	Potentia	Fidelitas
7.	Conjunctio	7.	Miraculum	Virtus
8.	Frequentia	8.		Dignitas
9.	Familiaritas	9.		Potentia
10.	Similitudo	10.		Miraculum

An alternative interpretation, however, can be found in a work that shares some similarities with Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, the *Clavis Totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* (Key of the Whole Chymistical Philosophy, 1567) of the Paracelsian Gérard Dorn.[969] Dorn's *Clavis* also contains a ladder and although it has fewer rungs, which are not identical with Khunrath's, there are some shared terms, including the elusive *Frequentia* (Table 3.5). In the second part of the

969 Gerardus Dorn, *Clavis Totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* (Lyon, 1567), 126 'Secunda Pars, Speculativae Philosophiae gradus septem, per quos ad sublimia menti patet aditus'. Note the variant, *Clavis Philosophiae Chemisticae*, in *Theatrum Chemicum*, Vol. 1 (Strassburg, 1602; reprinted in 1659), 228 'Secunda Pars Speculativae Philosophiae gradus septem vel decem continens, per quos ad sublimia patet aditus' (seven or ten grades by which one seeks entrance to more sublime things). A German edition was published by Zetzner in Strassburg, 1602: *Schlüssel der Chimistischen Philosophy*, in which the 7 stages are recapitulated on 245–46 (Studio/Cognitio/Amor/Frequentia/Virtus/Potentia/Miraculi) in a different sequence to that on pages 4–5 (Studium, Lieb, Frequentia, Experientia, Tugend, Potentia, Constantia). See also *De Artificio Supernaturali*, in the same volume, 401 'Studium generat cognitionem: cognitio parit amorem: Amor, similitudinem, similitudo communionem: communio Fiduciam, Fiducia, virtutem: Virtus dignitatem: Dignitas potentiam, Potentia miraculum.' Cf. Trithemius, *Epistolarum familiarum libri duo* (Hagenau, 1536), 92 in a letter to Germain de Ganay, though it does not include 'Fiduciam, Fiducia'.

book called *Speculativa Philosophia*, Dorn lists seven grades: 1. *Study of the Philosophers*, 2. *Knowledge*, 3. *Philosophical Love*, 4. *Frequentia*, 5. *Virtue*, 6. *Power*, and 7. *Miracle*.

Dorn initially defines his *Speculative* or *Meditative* philosophy as

> the voluntary distraction of the well-composed mind from the body, by which the spirit (animus) is able more easily to dwell on the investigation of truth. In order to speculate truly and well requires a good disposition of the body, which does not impede the mind.[970]

Dorn gives us possible insight into Khunrath's inclusion of 'disce bene mori' (Learn well to die) in the *Oratory-Laboratory*, with his explanation that the distraction of the mind from the body is called by some a 'voluntary death' (voluntariam mortem), by which the soul and spirit join together and acquire power and mastery over the body, something that the spirit on its own cannot achieve. This results in a 'supernatural transition',[971] by which 'Mind arises and the inner man is reborn'.[972] Dorn develops this in *On the Physical Light of Nature, Chosen from Genesis* (*De Naturae Luce Physica, ex Genesi Desumpta*, 1583), stating that 'Our bodies can voluntarily die, maintaining their natural life, and our spirits or souls intellectually and supernaturally be distracted from their bodies, but with the physical bond not dissolved.'[973]

What becomes clear is that while everyone is endowed with a body, spirit (*animus*) and an immortal soul (*anima*); most people do not have the highest

970 Dorn, 'Speculativae Philosophiae Gradus Septem vel Decem continens, per quos ad sublimia patet aditus,' in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 1, 228–276, at 232 'Speculativa Philosophia dicitur bene compositae mentis à corpore voluntaria distractio: qua facilius circa veritatis cognitionem versari queat animus. Ad bene vereque speculandum, requiritur bona corporis dispositio, quae mentem non impediat.' Cf. Dorn, 'De Philosophia Meditativa,' in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), vol. 1 (399–457), 399: 'Philosophia meditativa est bene compositae mentis a corpore voluntaria distractio, qua facilius circa veritatis cognitionem versari queat animus. Ad vere meditandum requiritur etiam bona corporis dispositio, quae mentem non impediat'.

971 Dorn, *Philosophia Meditativa*, 401 'Mentis a corpore distractionem, quam voluntariam mortem nonnulli vocant, acquirunt anima & animus simul juncta potentiam ac dominium in suum corpus, quam solus animus non ita liberam habebat, ob reluctans medium per quod supernaturalis transitus fieri debuit.'

972 Dorn, *Philosophia Meditativa*, 400 'Mens exurgit, & internus homo per spiraculum vitae aeternae … renatus.'

973 Dorn, *De Naturae Luce Physica, ex Genesi Desumpta* (Frankfurt, 1583), 81 'Purioris etenim ac sincerioris Christianae Philosophiae sectatorum opinio est, corpora nostra voluntarie mori posse, manente vita naturali, spiritusque nostros sive animas intellectualiter ac supra naturam a suis corporibus distrahi, non dissoluto vinculo Physico.'

grade of cognition, *Mens* or Mind: 'there are very few who have the perfect mind of the adept; many who have an inchoate mind; and even more who have none at all.'[974] In this, it sounds as though Dorn is influenced by the *Corpus Hermeticum*, especially the *Pimander*, where we get the same sense that not all people have 'mind'.[975]

Dorn describes the general human condition in which man's spirit is dominated by the desires of his body as the state of the 'Binarius'. Before even approaching the first step of the ladder, the practitioner should first engage in prayer and implore divine assistance. Only when man looks upwards towards God and separates himself from the body can there arise the rare condition of the spirit (*animus* or *spiritus*) becoming conjoined with the immortal soul (*anima*) in a '*Conjunctio Metaphysica*', which gives rise to the *Mens* (Mind, highest level of the rational soul).[976] This is the '*Unio prima*', the 'First Union', brought about by the continuous *Study of the Philosophers*, in particular moral philosophy, in the ladder's 1st grade.[977] But this is by no means the whole story. The union of the spirit and soul is only the *First Union*, which does not yet make a Wise Man, but instead a 'Mental Disciple of Wisdom' (mentalem Sophiae discipulum).[978] A *Second Union* is necessary, when the newly created *Mind* reconnects with the purified body to become a 'Vir Sapiens,' or Wise Man, who then hopes and waits for that complete and blessed *Third Union*, the state of deification with the *First Unity*, i.e. God.[979]

From *Studium* one ascends to the 2nd grade, *Cognitio*, 'certain and indubitable resolution concerning the truth of any conceived opinions,' knowledge of

974 Dorn, *Philosophia Meditativa*, 402 'Qui vero perfectam adepti sunt mentem paucissimi: qui inchoatam habent, multi: & qui nullam, plurimi. Caeterum & bona corporis dispositio ad veram contemplationem est valde utilis, etsi non perinde necessaria.'

975 Copenhaver, *Hermetica, Corpus Hermeticum* 1, 5.

976 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 1, 233 'Paucissimi sunt qui cum animo conjunctam habent animam' (There are extremely few who have the soul conjoined with the spirit). On the conjunction of *anima* and *animus* leading to the *Mens*, see 246, 257–8.

977 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 1, 238 'Ex hac separatione resultat unio prima, spiritus scilicet cum anima, per studium philosophiae moralis continuatum' (From this separation results the first union, namely of spirit with soul, through the continuous study of moral philosophy).

978 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 1, 236.

979 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 1, 236 'Nec humana mens componi melius quam dispositione metaphysica, post divinae gratiae donum tamen. Ex his omnibus concludimus, speculativam philosophiam in separatione corporis, unione mentali facta, consistere. Sed haec unio prima nondum facit Sophum, at mentalem Sophiae discipulum tantum: mentis cum corpore secunda Sophum efficit, completam illam & beatam unionem tertiam cum unitate prima sperantem & expectantem.'

what and who he is, on whom he depends, or whose he is, and for what end he was created.[980] The 3rd grade is *Philosophical Love*, the 'Love of Sophia', with Sophia defined as 'the highest wisdom of the Truth of all things' and Love as the 'insatiable desire for known truth'.[981]

Dorn defines his 4th grade, *Frequentia*, as 'perseverance in relation to the love of truth' and the 'approach to virtues by way of unremitting diligence', in the sense of both 'constant attendance' and 'frequent repetition'.[982] Paul Ferguson's translation of *Frequentia* as 'Constant Practice' fits well here and reminds us of the significant presence of the word *Perseverando* beneath the tetraktys on the 1609 *Amphitheatre* title page.[983] This stage involves the eradication of hostility, avoidance of wicked thoughts and deeds, and, with an analogy to gardening, the continuous 'weeding' and 'watering' of the heart by constant meditation on the word of God.[984] In his recapitulation of this grade, Dorn explains in terms doubtless familiar to any working in an alchemical laboratory, that 'it is impossible for any craftsman to become deft in and at ease with his craft, unless he makes his work into a habit by constant practice and assiduity.'[985]

Dorn only discusses seven grades in detail in the *Clavis*, but he does present a ladder of ten grades in another work, *De artificio supernaturali* (On the Supernatural Art), where we find the extra stages of *Similitudo*, *Fiducia*, and *Dignitas*.[986] Although he does not provide any explanations, Dorn introduces

980 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, 243 'Cognitio est opinionum de veritate quorumvis conceptarum, per experientiam certa & indubitata resolutio [...] Nemo verò potest cognoscere se, nisi sciat quid, & quis ipse sit, à quo dependeat, vel cujus sit [...] & in quem finem factus sit.'

981 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, 253 'Ph[ilosophia] Quid philosophia? S[piritus]: Amor est Sophiae. Ph[ilosophia] Sophia quid. S. Veritatis omnium sapientia summa est. Ph. Quid amor? S. Cognitae veritatis est desiderium insatiabile.'

982 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, 250 *De frequentia quarto gradu philosophico. Capitulum v. In quo Mens, Corpus, & Frequentia colloquuntur*, 251 'Cum Frequentia sit concepti circa veritatis amorem perseverantia, non alius quam per assiduitatem ad virtutes aditus.'

983 Gerardus Dorn, *The Speculative Philosophy of Gerhard Dorn*, translated by Paul Ferguson, with an introduction by Adam McLean (Glasgow: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, No. 34, 2008), 61.

984 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, 262 'Vide igitur qui cum hortis agam, duobus modis eos curo, videlicet eradicatione & irrigatione.'

985 Dorn, *De Speculativa Philosophia*, 263 '*Recapitulatio quinti Capituli, gradusque quarti*. Impossibile est artificem aliquem in arte sua promptum idoneumque fieri posse, nisi per frequentiam & assiduitatem operis habitum sibi contrahat.' See Ferguson (trans.), *The Speculative Philosophy of Gerhard Dorn*, 63.

986 Dorn, *De Artificio Supernaturali*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. I, 277–325, at 322 'graduum decem Philosophiæ speculativæ seu adeptæ quorum exposuimus septem.'

a rhetorical trope known as a *gradatio* or *climax*, an ascending chain of virtues, beginning with study and culminating in the supreme virtue of 'Miracle':[987]

> *Study* generates *Knowledge*. *Knowledge* gives rise to *Love*; *Love* to *Similitude*; *Similitude* to *Frequency*, or *Communion*, or *Familiaritas*. *Communion* [gives rise to] *Fidelity*. *Fidelity* to *Virtue*. *Virtue* to *Dignity*. *Dignity* to *Power*, and *Power* performs the *Miracle*.[988]

Here Dorn is borrowing from Trithemius, who provides an almost identical sequence in one of a collection of his letters added to the 1567 edition of *De Septem Secundeis, id est intelligentijs, sive Spiritibus Orbes post Deum moventibus* (On the Seven Secondaries, that is, intelligences, or Spirits moving the Orbs after God), published the same year as the *Clavis*, where we find the nine-stage progression: Study, Knowledge, Love, Likeness, Communion, Virtue, Dignity, Power, Miracle.[989] There, in a letter to the French bishop of Orléans, Germain de Ganay (d. 1520), Trithemius describes this as the 'sole path

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987 Anyone interested in knowing more about this rhetorical figure of *Climax* or *Gradatio*, of which Trithemius, Dorn and Khunrath are all so fond, should consult David Norbrook, 'Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Elizabethan World Picture,' in Peter Mack (ed.), *Renaissance Rhetoric* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), 140–64, esp 156–7; Ben Witherington, *New Testament Rhetoric: An Introductory Guide to the Art of Persuasion in and of the New Testament* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2009), 230. Scriptural models can be found in 2 Peter 1:5–7, Romans 5:3–5, and Wisdom 6:17–20.

988 Dorn, *De Artificio Supernaturali*, 323 'Studium generat cognitionem. Cognitio parit amorem. Amore similitudinem. Similitudo frequentiam, sive communionem, aut familiaritatem. Communio fiduciam. Fiducia virtutem. Virtus dignitatem. Dignitas potentiam, & potentia Miraculum efficit.' For a slight variant, see *De Spagirico artificio*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. I, 388–399, at 397. *De Artificio Supernaturali*, 322 states that 'sic fietur per similitudinem tuus binarius, id est, spiritus & corpus, in unum ternarium perfecte jungatur, per quaternarium ejusque gradus' (In this way, through *similitude* your binary, that is, spirit and body, is perfectly joined into one ternary, by means of the quaternary and its grades). For more on Pythagorean symbolic numbers, see Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

989 Ioannis Tritemii Abbatis Spanheymensis, *De Septem Secvndeis, id est, intelligentijs, siue Spiritibus Orbes post Deum mouentibus, reconditissimæ scientiæ & eruditionis Libellus* (Cologne, 1567), 72 'Studium generat cognitionem, cognitio autem parit amorem, amor similitudinem, similitudo communionem, communio virtutem, virtus dignitatem, dignitas potentiam, et potentia facit miraculum.' On *De Septem Secundeis*, see Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic*, 78–80 who gives 1522 as the date of first publication (which first appeared as *De Septem secundadeis*), for this astrological-angelogical 'chronologia mystica' of world ages governed by different angels. Trithemius's letter to Germain de Ganay first appears in *Epistolarum familiarum* (1536), 91–92.

to the goal of magical perfections both divine and natural.'[990] Dorn reveals his debt to the abbot and slightly modifies his own sequence in another treatise, *De Spagirico Artificio Jo. Trithemii sententia* (Johann Trithemius's Opinion about the Spagiric Art), with the observation that 'true and wholesome science gives rise to Knowledge of God, Knowledge to Love, Love to Frequency, Frequency to Familiarity, Familiarity to Fidelity, Fidelity to the accomplishment of everything that you could wish,' where *Frequentia* and *Familiaritas* are now taken as two distinct grades, as they are in the *Amphitheatre*.[991] There Dorn defines *Frequentia*, 'by which love, created by continuous devotion, is fostered through constant contemplation combined with prayer in order to increase an already-conceived faith, hope and love in a heart that dwells amid these celestial things and is almost united with them.' Dorn defines the following stage, *Familiaritas*, as that which 'is acquired through frequency of conversations of this kind with the divine.'[992] In a discussion of states of consciousness the movement between the two grades of *Frequentia* and *Familiaritas* could perhaps be translated as the stabilization of a transitory altered state into an enduring altered trait, the extension of a peak experience into a plateau experience.[993]

45 9) Familiaritas (Familiarity)

With Khunrath, *Familiaritas* has a sense of intimacy, such as that implied in his request for the Spirit of Wisdom, itself described as 'Holy Spirit, the friend',[994] to act as the 'familiar' helping 'spirit',[995] through whose intervention he may approach, conjoin and unite with God.[996] At one point he even names this

990 Trithemius, *De Septem Secvndeis*, 72–3 'Hoc iter vnicum ad finem magicarum perfectionum tam diuinarum quàm naturalium.'

991 Dorn, *De Spagirico artificio*, 397 'Scientia enim vera & salutaris, Dei parit cognitionem, cognitio amorem, amor frequentiam, frequentia familiaritatem, familiaritas fiduciam, fiducia omnium quæ postulaveris impetrationem.'

992 Dorn, *De Spagirico artificio*, 398 'Quartus est frequentia, qua conceptus amor continuo cultu, per crebras contemplationes orationibus conjunctas, fovetur in argumentum fidei, spei, & amoris jam conceptorum, in supernis versante corde his propemodum unito. Quintus gradus est familiaritas, quae per frequentiam ejuscemodi conversationum cum divinus acquiritur.'

993 Roger Walsh, 'The Transpersonal Movement: A History and State of the Art', *The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* 25:2 (1993): 123–139, at 128.

994 See Figure 2 'Spiritvs sanctvs Amicus'.

995 *Amph.*II, 221. See too 15–16, 133, 157, 158.

996 *Amph.*II, 93.

familiar spirit of assistance, with an angelic-sounding name, saying that it is none other than *Hhochmahél*, the Wisdom of God Jehovah himself.[997] This notion of *Familiaritas* referring to familiarity with angels and spirits is supported by a work of the late fifteenth-century Christian theurgist, the hermit Pelagius, who writes of 'the sweetest knowledge and familiarity with good angels and spirits' in *De proprio Angelo in somniis apparente cum reuelatione* (On one's own Angel appearing in dreams with revelation, 1502).[998]

The clearest sense of what Khunrath intends by this stage on the ladder comes when he speaks of Wisdom as having an 'Eternal familiarity with Eternal GOD'; thus those who have a familiarity with her also have a familiarity with God, whereby they 'may be made friends of God and appointed Prophets to whom GOD (as a friend to a friend) mediately or immediately reveals his mysteries.'[999] This, surely, is what Khunrath means by beholding the 'glory of God face to face'.[1000] Elsewhere, explaining that Wisdom is the intermediary of the 'friendship' which must be struck up with God, because she joins man to God,[1001] Khunrath entreats her, beseeching 'delight in me and join yourself to my mind, so that I may be a friend of GOD, that I may delight in you, and may transmigrate wholly into GOD.'[1002] Although Khunrath here uses the term *Amicitia* rather than *Familiaritas* for 'friendship', it could be that by *Conjunctio* he is speaking of a relationship with the more personal hypostasis of Christ as the Bridegroom, while the later stage of *Familiaritas* refers to the relation with

997 Amph.II, 123 'Nota: SPIRITVM quidem optat, citat, vocat adsistentiæ atque familiarem SAPIENTIÆ veræ studiosus: sed quem aut qualem? Reuera haud alium, quam Hhochmahél, hoc est, SAPIENTIÆ DEI IEHOVÆ ipsius vers. 223' (Note: He who is studious of true WISDOM indeed wishes for, summons and calls upon the familiar SPIRIT of assistance; but who or what sort of [spirit is it]? In reality, none other than that of Hhochmahél, that is, of the WISDOM OF GOD, of IEHOVAH himself, verse 223).

998 'Magistri Pelagii heremitae de proprio Angelo in somniis apparente cum reuelatione', in Jean Dupèbe, 'L'Ecriture chez l'ermite Pelagius: Un cas de theurgie chrétienne au XV^e^ siècle', in Roger Laufer (ed.), *Le texte et son inscription* (Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1989), 113–53, at 125 'cum bonis angelicisque spiritibus dulcissimam quandam contrahit notitiam [&] familiaritatem'. For more on Pelagius, see Chapter 5 on Khunrath's magic.

999 *Amph.*II, 61 'quod Amici fiant DEI, constituanturque Prophetæ, quibus DEVS (vt amicus amico) mediatè vel immediatè reuelat arcana sua.' See also *Amph.*II, 168. Khunrath's use of the phrase 'friends of God' may show the influence of Johann Tauler (*c.*1300–1361), preacher in the Friends of God movement. Another connected with the Friends of God was Heinrich Seuse (*c.*1295–1366), author of his own *Book of Eternal Wisdom*. See Kenneth D. Boa, *Conformed to His Image: Biblical and Practical Approaches to Spiritual Formation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2001), 491.

1000 *Amph.*II, 115 'videndo de facie ad faciem gloriam DEI.'

1001 *Amph.*II, 146.

1002 *Amph.*II, 154 'in me laetare mentique te iunge meæ, vt amicus sim DEI, laeter in te, & transmigrem totus in DEVM.'

the more abstruse person of God the Father, and as such constitutes *Isagoge* 2's 'experience of divinity', before the final stage of absorption into God.

46 10) Similitudo (Likeness)

In *De Trinitate* (On the Trinity), Augustine explains that the mind resembles what it knows, and as a result, 'We are like God inasmuch as we know Him.'[1003] The conviction that knowledge consists in likeness between the knower and the object known was often expressed in the definition of truth as 'the adequation of the intellect with its object.'[1004] In the context of Khunrath's sources, such an idea is voiced in *Corpus Hermeticum* XI:

> You must think of god in this way, as having everything – the cosmos, himself <the> universe – like thoughts within himself. Thus, unless you make yourself equal to god, you cannot understand god; like is understood by like.[1005]

A similar sentiment is expressed by the hermit Pelagius, just mentioned above, where in the same text he writes that the angel 'does not establish contact save by way of a certain intellectual likeness, namely, the human mind shaking off earthly, carnal and corruptible things, ascending with a pure intellect, is conjoined through a relationship of an angelic nature'.[1006]

This state is the apogee of all those meditations and contemplations, the bringing together (according to the *Corpus Hermeticum*) of 'all the sensations of what has been made, of fire and water, dry and wet' with the advice to 'be everywhere at once, on land, in the sea, in heaven; be in the womb, be young, old, dead, beyond death. And when you have understood all these at once – times, places, things, qualities, quantities – then you can understand

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1003 Augustine, *On the Trinity* (2002), 37. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, IX.xi.16 'in quantum deum novimus similes sumus.'

1004 Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition*, 81. Cf. Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* (2003), 61 concerning 'likeness by constant consorting', i.e. a progression from *Familiaritas* to *Similitudo*.

1005 *Corpus Hermeticum* XI.19–20, in Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 41. See also Merkur, 'Stages of Ascension in Hermetic Rebirth', 85.

1006 Dupèbe, 'L'Ecriture chez l'ermite Pelagius', 144–145 'Quod non contingit (nisi) [cum] quadam similitudine intellectuali, videlicet se mens humana terrenis carnalibusque et corruptibilibus excutiens, pura intellectu euadens, coniungitur angelicae per cognationem naturae.'

god.'[1007] Hence the elemental and alchemical imagery of the soul's purgation in Circular Figure 2; the advice to 'learn well to die' in Circular Figure 4. As Christian Bull observes, the Hermetist 'makes himself like god by means of his imagination, that is, by exercising the faculty of *nous*.'[1008] Hence the importance of the opening passage of the *Pimander* in the *Pyramid* engraving, which, combined with early modern identification of *Pimander* with Christ,[1009] and the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body throughout the universe, encourages the convergence of hermetic, alchemical, and Christian Cabalist thought in Khunrath's theosophy.[1010] Not to be neglected, either, is the influence of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*, where, in a discussion of the four frenzies described by Plato in *Phaedrus*, we find love exercising its powers of transmutation on the human mind:

> Now the fourth kind of Phrensie proceeds from *Venus*, and it doth by a fervent love convert, and transmute the mind to God, and makes it altogether like to God, as it were the proper image of God; whence *Hermes* saith, O *Asclepius*! Man is a great miracle, an animal to be honoured and adored: for he passeth into the nature of God, whereby he becomes God: … The soul therefore being converted, and made like to God, is so formed of God, that it doth above all intellect, know all things by a certain essential contract of Divinity.[1011]

1007 *Corpus Hermeticum* XI.19–20, in Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 41. On Ficino and Bruno's readings of this passage, see Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), 31–33, 198–199.

1008 Christian H. Bull, with reference to *Corpus Hermeticum* 11.2, 4, in 'Ancient Hermetism and Esotericism', *Aries* Vol. 15:1 (2015): 109–135, at 122.

1009 See, for example, Lazzarelli, *Crater Hermetis*, 30.4, in Wouter J. Hanegraaff (ed.) and Ruud M. Bouthoorn (ed. and trans.), *Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500): The Hermetic Writings and Related Documents* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 263 'I will praise Christ Jesus under the name of Pimander, which is explained by Hermes as the Mind and the Word of divine power.' See also 19 'Jesus is the Logos and the Word, the Mind and Wisdom, who first was Pimander in the mind of Hermes.' In *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 83 Florian Ebeling mentions the religious reformer Sebastian Frank (1499–1543), who declared in his *Guldin Arch* (N.p., 1538), 47 that the *Pimander* contained 'all that is necessary for a Christian to know'.

1010 See Aviva Rothman, 'From Cosmos to Confession: Kepler and the Connection Between Astronomical and Religious Truth', in Patrick J. Boner (ed.), *Change and Continuity in Early Modern Cosmology* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 115–133, at 119.

1011 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1651), Book 3, Chapter xlix, 507. See Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'The Platonic Frenzies in Marsilio Ficino', in Jitse Dijkstra, Justin

As a Christian Theosopher, the notion of *Similitudo* most frequently used by Khunrath is with reference to God's decision in Genesis 1:26 'Faciem hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram' (Let us make man to our image and likeness).[1012] With the use of this term, Khunrath firmly locates himself in the Christian-Neoplatonic tradition stretching back through Ficino to Bonaventure, Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St Thierry.[1013] William, for example, presents the whole process of ascent as 'the soul's gradual regaining of the *similitudo Dei*', Man's original likeness to God lost with the Fall.[1014] At this highest level of spiritual experience there is the necessary transition from man as the image of God, and thus somehow still externalised, to man as likeness, partaking of the same being. While *Conjunctio* still has a sense of distinctness, the marriage of two beings, here the soul attains to a mystical union by transcending and passing over not only the visible world, but also itself. In the relinquishing of all intellectual activity, in a state of pure love, oblivious of himself, the mystic is transformed into God.[1015] This would seem to be the final goal of that 'most influential devotional book in Western Christian history', the *Imitatio Christi*.[1016]

In his *Libellus Theosophiae* (Booklet of Theosophy), Weigel states that the Spirit of Truth transmutes itself into holy souls, which are 'similitudines DEI' (likenesses of GOD), Spirit into Spirit.[1017] As Khunrath explains, 'the higher a man's mind ascends and rises in the knowledge of GOD and Nature, the more it is filled by it with sweetness and joy; whence the soul is more and more inflamed with the love of the Creator and is UNITED with GOD.'[1018] The potential era-

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Kroesen & Yme Kuiper (eds.), *Myths, Martyrs and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 553–567.

1012 *Amph.*II, 124, 221. Cf. Vulgate 'Faciamus hominem …'.

1013 See McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism* (1995), Chapter 5 on Bernard of Clairvaux and Chapter 6 on William of St. Thierry.

1014 McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 245.

1015 Bonaventure, *The Journey of the Mind to God*, Chapter 7, 37–8.

1016 Barbara Newman, 'Latin and the Vernaculars', in Hollywood and Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, 225–239, at 236. See Žemla's contrast, in 'Heinrich Khunrath and His Theosophical Reform', between the Lutheran orthodoxy and the spiritualists: while the former spoke of 'the consoling and redeeming faith in Christ *for us* and the externally imputed justification (*iustitia imputativa*), … the spiritualists accentuated the essential dwelling of Christ *in us* (*inhabitatio essentialis*), the essential justification and essential unity with Christ, [which] involves an important cooperation on the part of man who has to *imitate* the poor life, death and resurrection of Christ.'

1017 Weigel, *Libellus Theosophiae* (Neustadt, 1618), 2 'der Geist der Warheit … transmutiret sich in der heiligen Seelen/ quae sunt DEI similitudines, Geist in Geist …'.

1018 *Amph.*II, 170 'Quò enim altius mens hominis in cognitionem DEI, Naturæque ascendit & exurgit, eò maiore lætitia, & suauitate perfunditur: vnde & amore Creatoris animus magis magisque inflammatur, DEOque VNITVR.'

sure of separation between subject and object in the ecstatic encounter of Hermes and Pimander, when the 'visionary's mind is … one with the divine mind – "both" being nothing but light',[1019] is represented in Circular Figure 2 by the flames rising from 'Fiery-minded Adam' (MENTIGNEVS … אדם) to join with the fiery rays descending from YHVH the Archetype.[1020] The Christian Cabalist Francesco Giorgio (1466–1540) intimated of such in *De Harmonia mundi* (On the Harmony of the World, 1525), in a mixture of alchemical and cabalistic language:

> The mind carried aloft to the mirror of divine clarity also feels the fiery heat, which from reverberating becomes like that light: whence it liquefies, is resolved and finally is conflated into one with God himself illustrating … Who cleaves to God, is made one spirit with him. Which union takes place not just through love and affection, … but also through transmutation, which is done through ecstasy, and a kind of rapture.[1021]

This, then, is the ultimate goal, the summit of both sets of steps in Circular Figure 2:

> *By the ways of Prudence*] The ways of Prudence and Understanding, that is, the Grades of Cognition and the Ladder of Union with God, by which the Wisdom of Iehovah … descending by the clemency of his benign will, while We on the other hand, Theosophically ascending, penitently clad in the Denary (Signature of perfection) garment of Regeneration, approach, with the intervention of the holy Spirit, we conjoin, and unite with God, so that we may delight in Iehovah here and in eternity; see these ways, I say, in the second figure of this Amphitheatre.[1022]

1019 Hanegraaff, 'Altered States of Knowledge: The Attainment of Gnosis in the Hermetica', 140–141.

1020 See Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy for discussion of the term 'Mentigneus'.

1021 Francesco Giorgio, *Harmonia mundi totius Cantica tria* (Venice, 1525), Cantici Tertii, Sexti Toni, Cap. xvii Amore unitur, 399^{v}–400^{r} 'In speculum igitur divinae claritatis subvecta mens/ sentit quoque calorem igneum: qui ex reverberante illa luce consequitur: unde liquefit/ resolvitur, & tandem cum ipso illustrante Deo in unum conflatur … Qui adhaeret Deo, unus spiritus efficitur cum eo. Quae unio fit/ non tantum per amorem/ & dilectionem/ … Sed etiam per transmutationem, quae fit per extasim, & excessum quendam.'

1022 *Amph.*ii, 93 '*Per vias Prudentiæ*] Vias Prvdentiæ & Intelligentiæ, hoc est, Gradus Cognitionis ac Scalam cum Deo Vnionis, per quam Iehovæ Sapientia (cui deliciæ esse cum filiis hominum) benignæ voluntatis suæ clementiâ descendente, Nobis contra vestitu Regenerationis Denario (perfectionis Signatvra) pœnitentialiter amictis, Theosophicè ascendentibus, Spiritus sancti interuentu approximamus, coniungimur,

47 Deification

The question remains as to the *degree* of Union with the divine. What Khunrath describes sounds far beyond the intermediary uniting with God through grace and the traditional rituals of the Church. But is the end-state a direct encounter with God, as other, in the depths of the soul or a union *without distinction*?[1023] At times it appears to be the former, whether presented as an elevated relationship with God, kinship with Christ, or friendship with the Holy Spirit, that somehow preserves the distinction between Creator and creature:[1024]

> Then IEHOVAH, the Father; IHSVH CHRIST crucified, the Brother; HOLY SPIRIT, the Friend, will enter into you, will dwell and be seated, KING, in his Micro-Cosmic palace or throne, YOURSELF, tri-une, reborn, truly catholic, as in the second figure of this Amphitheatre. Transmuted into [something] better by penitential Washing, Isaiah 1:16, you will join and unite with GOD, you will be illumined by a ray of the supercelestial Sun.[1025]

Elsewhere, however, this purging and transmutation sounds suspiciously like the neoplatonic sense of indistinct union (henosis) with the One,[1026] or the fused identity of God and the soul in Meister Eckhart's metaphor of the *ground*, in which 'God's ground is the soul's ground, and the soul's ground is God's ground'.[1027] Bernard McGinn observes that while 'some of the radical

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& vnimur DEO, vt hîc & in æternum IEHOVAH fruamur; vias, inquam, has vide figura Amphitheatri huius secunda.'

1023 See, for example, the Flemish Canon, John Ruusbroec (d. 1381) on three interdependent forms of union in his *Little Book of Enlightenment*, in Bernard McGinn, 'Unio Mystica/Mystical Union', in Hollywood and Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, 200–210, at 208.

1024 McGinn, 'Unio Mystica/Mystical Union', 202 on Origen's theories of union.

1025 *Amph.*II, 105–6 'Tunc IEHOVAH Pater: IHSVH CHRISTVS crucifixus, Frater; SPIRITVS SANCTVS Amicus, introibit in te, habitabit atque sedebit, REX, in palatio aut throno suo MicroCosmico, TEMETIPSO, triuno, renato, verè catholico, vt est figura Amphitheatri huius secunda. Lotione pœnitentiali, Esaiæ 1,16. in melius transmutatus, coniungêris atque vnieris DEO: radio Solis supercælestis illuminaberis.' See also Circular Figure 2: 'Sic יהוה pater, יהשוה ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ crucifixus, frater; SPIRITVS SANCTVS, amicus; sedebit in throno suo, in TEMETIPSO triuno, renato, uerè catholico' (Thus YHVH the Father, YHSVH CHRISTOS crucified, the brother; [and] Holy Spirit, the friend; will sit in his throne, in Your truly catholic, triune, reborn Self).

1026 McGinn, 'Unio Mystica/Mystical Union', 200 with reference to Plotinus, *Enneads*; 203 with reference to Pseudo-Dionysius, *Mystical Theology*.

1027 McGinn, 'Unio Mystica/Mystical Union', 206.

Protestant reformers used the language of indistinct union', most Protestant mystics, including Johann Arndt, 'tended to employ traditional expressions of love union.'[1028]

A passage in the *Amphitheatre*, from the start of the section on Conjunction and Union, deserves to be considered in more depth here:

> The Reduction to the Simplicity of the Monad [...] is the Method or way, by which MAN can and must be regenerated, reinstated in integrity, Divinely brought back to GOD whom he deserted by his own dissension, to be made a new man, conjoined, illumined and united with GOD, and as it were DEIFIED.[1029]

'Reduction to the simplicity of the Monad,' discussed in more detail in the following chapter on Khunrath's Cabala, analogous to the reduction of matter to its primal state in the alchemical laboratory, is the way that fallen man, the Old Adam, can be regenerated and returned to a prelapsarian state. Circular Figure 2 of Adam-Androgyne could, perhaps, be argued to stand for both Adam before the Fall and the desired state of being 'reinstated in integrity'. Writing of an early modern 'spiritual alchemy of rebirth', Mike Zuber identifies Khunrath as 'among the very first to explicitly posit an analogy between the Incarnation of Christ, the preparation of the philosophers' stone and the rebirth (*regeneratio*) of the individual believer'.[1030] Carter Lindberg states that while orthodoxy regarded rebirth as one element within the *ordo salutis*, it is *the* central motif for Pietism, which understood it as comprising the entire process of salvation.[1031]

1028 McGinn, 'Unio Mystica/Mystical Union', 209.

1029 See *Amph.*II, 70. In Circular Figure 2, Khunrath describes the spiritual regeneration of man in the language of alchemical purgation, something discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 on his alchemy. See also *Amph.*II, 106. For the Latin, see footnote 711 above.

1030 Mike A. Zuber, 'Spiritual Alchemy from the Age of Jacob Boehme to Mary Anne Atwood, 1600–1900' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 20 June 2017), 50. In *Alchemie. Die Königliche Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2012), 146 Jörg Völlnagel emphasises the importance of rebirth or regeneration in Circular Figure 2, giving it the title '*Der erneuerte Mensch*' (Renewed Man).

1031 Carter Lindberg, *The Third Reformation: Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1983), 161. See also Douglas H. Shantz, 'The Origin of Pietist Notions of New Birth and the New Man: Alchemy and Alchemists in Gottfried Arnold and Johann Heinrich Reitz', in Christian T. Collins Winn, Christopher Gehrz, et al. (eds.), *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 29–41.

Khunrath here seems to be suggesting something more than a return to a prelapsarian, Edenic state, in which Adam and Eve heard the voice of God walking in paradise (Genesis 3:8); indeed, there is the sense that the theosopher can go beyond this and unite with God. Regeneration or Rebirth appears to be a necessary stage (or possibly two stages)[1032] in a sequence that leads to becoming something more than simply *a* 'new man', but rather union with *the* New Adam, Christ. Writing of the 'Lapis Divinus' (Divine Stone), Khunrath asserts that 'It is the Formula of our Spiritual and corporeal REGENERATION,'[1033] which suggests that man's body and spirit are both regenerated, but not the soul. Here Khunrath possibly has the Paracelsian neologism *Aniadum* in mind, defined in Martin Ruland's *Lexicon of Alchemy* (1612) as the 'celestial body', planted in Christians by the Holy Spirit, or 'the spiritual man (*homo spiritualis*) regenerated in us'.[1034] As for why the soul is not mentioned, perhaps one of Boehme's followers, Johann Georg Gichtel (1638–1710), can cast light on this. In *Von der drey Principien und Welten im Menschen* (On the Three Principles and Worlds in Men, 1736), otherwise known as the *Theosophia Practica* (Practical Theosophy, first edition 1696), Gichtel says that 'in rebirth we do not receive a new soul, but indeed a new body'. The soul 'has no need of rebirth but only a renewal and a turning from the outer to the inner, since it will be renewed with pure godliness'.[1035]

In the passage above, on the reduction to the simplicity of the Monad, we notice the insertion of an experience of illumination in between the stages of conjunction and union. This is implied by the rays of light above the square of the four elements in Circular Figure 2, radiating down from the ARCHETYPOS

1032 Here I have in mind the series of stages on the way toward union with Christ, as listed by Collins Winn, et al (eds), *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity*, 188 in n. 36 above. See the distinction made by Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) between *Reformatio* (the restructuring of our priorities that is effected by self-discipline); *Regeneratio* (the deeper transformation made possible by this restructuring but accomplished by the Lord); and *Renascentia* (Rebirth), with which the latter is sometimes equated. See Emanuel Swedenborg, *Divine Love and Wisdom*, translated by George F. Dole; Introduction by Gregory R. Johnson (West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2010), 277.

1033 *Amph.*II, 205 'Formula REGENERATIONIS & Spiritualis & corporalis nostrae'.

1034 Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 41–42 'Aniadum, est coeleste corpus, quod in nobis Christianis plantatur a spiritu sancto per sacrosancta Sacramenta. Vel est homo spiritualis in nobis regeneratus'.

1035 Johann Georg Gichtel, *Eine kurtze Eröffnung und Anweisung Der dreyen Principien und Welten im Menschen/ in unterschiedlichen Figuren vorgestellet* (Regensburg, 1736), 69 25. 'Und muß wohl angemercket werden, daß wir in der Wiedergeburt keine neue Seele empfangen; aber wohl einen neuen Leib: und also die Seele keiner Wiedergebärung nöthig hat; sondern nur eine Erneuerung und Umwendung aus dem Aeussern ins Innere, da sie mit der reinen Gottheit renoviret wird.'



FIGURE 3.28 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595), Circular Figure Two, *Adam-Androgyne*, detail: VNIO. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt GrFol. 4/16

YHVH at the top of the image to the upward-flickering tongues of fire below, in the medial space, surmounted by the word VNIO (just visible in black letters), where the drops of heavenly manna rain down onto the theosopher (Fig. 3.28). This highest level of spiritual transformation indicated in *Isagoge* 2 is echoed by Khunrath's description of being,

> DIVINELY set alight, illustrated, illumined, sanctified, to DELIGHT IN יהוה [YHVH], TO EXPERIENCE DIVINE THINGS; and what is more, to be ineffably rapt in GOD, and as it were DEIFIED.[1036]

The idea of deification (with its cognates: divinization, theosis, apotheosis and exaltation), of making someone or something divine or of becoming divine, reaches far back into antiquity and can be found discussed in many of the sources used by Khunrath. As David Litwa makes clear, 'there is no single form of deification … but the many types are united by a set of interlocking themes: achieving immortality, wielding superhuman power, being filled with supernatural knowledge or love – and through these means transcending normal human (or at least "earthly") nature.'[1037] For Saint Paul deification, or rather

1036 *Amph.*II, 187 'DIVINITUS, accendi; illustrari; illuminari, sanctificari; יהוה FRUI; DIVINA PATI; immò, in DEVM, ineffabiliter, rapi; & quasi DEIFICARI.' For more on this in an alchemical context, see Chapter 6.

1037 M. David Litwa, *Becoming Divine: An Introduction to Deification in Western Culture* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2013), 1. See also Paul M. Collins, *Partaking in Divine Nature: Deification and Communion* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 1 concerning 2 Peter 1:4 'By whom he hath given us most great and precious promises: that by these you may be made partakers of the divine nature: flying the corruption of that concupiscence which is in the world.' See *Amph.*II, 10 for reference to 2 Peter 1.

Christification, assimilation or identification with Christ, required death or the second coming of Christ.[1038] The Neoplatonist Porphyry believed that deification came about through virtue,[1039] while Gregory of Nazianzus requests God to 'deify me by baptism'.[1040] For Augustine, too, deification comes not by man's efforts, but through divine grace, God exalting and ennobling human nature by enabling it to share not in His essence, but in his attributes. Augustine makes a careful distinction between likeness and identity that sheds light on Khunrath's possible reasons for placing *Similitudo* at the top of his ladder: 'deification means *likeness* to God, and likeness always presupposes difference even in the thick of similarity.'[1041] While for the 'Father of Ecstatic Kabbalah', Abraham Abulafia (1240–1291) *devequt* or 'cleaving to God' takes place through visualizations and permutations of the Divine Name,[1042] in light of the highly figurative nature of the *Amphitheatre*'s images, perhaps Augustine's final stage of deification holds more sway, being the vision of God, when the mind is lost in wonder at the sight of God.[1043] A powerful statement of this is found in 2 Corinthians 3:18, where believers become the 'same image' of (or as) Christ: 'But we all beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.'[1044]

While not central to Luther's writings, deification is nevertheless a significant theme.[1045] As is the case with Weigel, Luther's works reveal the influence of the *Theologia Germanica*, with its description of the deified human being (*vergotter mensch*).[1046] Following Ephesians 3:19, man is filled with the fullness of God, for He 'pours out upon us his dear son and [pours] himself into us, and he draws us into himself, so that he becomes totally human and we become totally deified.'[1047] While following Augustine's (and Aquinas's) declaration that 'God was made man, in order that man might become God',[1048] Luther was careful to argue that humans can become divine (*divini*), but not God

1038 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 68. On Pauline identification with Christ, see Galatians 2:19–20; 1 Corinthians 6:17.

1039 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 129.

1040 Kärkkäinen (ed.), *Holy Spirit and Salvation*, 63, 11. On theosis see also 28, 29; on deification, 59, 165.

1041 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 124–125.

1042 Idel, *Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 34, 98.

1043 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 130–131.

1044 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 58.

1045 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 187.

1046 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 176.

1047 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 179.

1048 Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, The Orders of Society* (Cambridge:

(*deus*).[1049] By participation, through Christ, in God's attributes (true, just, holy, etc, as listed in the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure), man can become godlike.[1050] The first rung on Khunrath's Ladder is Faith, which resonates with Luther's claim that 'by faith man becomes god' (fide enim homo fit deus).[1051] Luther's analogy of red-hot iron glowing like fire due to its union with fire seems particularly apposite for the *Amphitheatre*'s fiery images of Christ in Figure 1 and of 'fiery-minded' Adam in Figure 2.[1052]

> The man, united with GOD, by reason of GOD is made as it were a human God or a Divine man, that is, he is as it were DEIFIED, and is, therefore, capable of whatever he wishes; he wishes, however, what GOD HIMSELF wishes.[1053]

The first part of this statement concerning man's deification comes directly from Reuchlin's *On the Wonder-Working Word*;[1054] the latter half, however, may have had one of Weigel and Luther's shared sources, Johannes Tauler (1300–1361), as its inspiration, in the declaration that 'A human becomes so divinized that everything which he is and does, God is and does in him'.[1055] In the emphasis here on 'wishes', perhaps here we have a transition from cognition to volition, to the Lutheran and Augustinian notion that deification

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Cambridge University Press, 1995; repr. 1998), 146. See Augustine, *XIII Sermones de Tempore*; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Part III, Q.1, Art. 2., 703–4.

1049 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 173.

1050 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 181.

1051 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 182.

1052 On Luther's analogy, see Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 184.

1053 *Amph.*II, 203 'homo, vnitus DEO, ratione DEI fit quasi Deus humanus, aut homo Diuinus, h.e. quasi DEIFICATVR; & propterea potest, quæ vult; vult, autem, quæ DEVS IPSE'. See also *Amph.*II, 154 'fiat quasi DEVS humanus, vel quasi homo Diuinus'. Cf. Ronald Levao, *Renaissance Minds and their Fictions: Cusanus, Sidney, Shakespeare* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 67 '"Man is God," Cusanus writes in *De coniecturis*, and then qualifies: "He is not absolutely God because he is man; he is therefore a human god" (2.14)'. On 'deus humanus', see also Charles de Bovelles, *Liber de Sapiente* (Paris, 1510), Cap.XLI, on the difference between 'Deus divinus', 'Deus angelicus' and 'Deus humanus', i.e., God, Angel and Man. See Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Springer Facmedien, 1927), 390. On 'homo divinus', see Loris Sturlese, *Homo divinus: philosophische Projekte in Deutschland zwischen Meister Eckhart und Heinrich Seuse* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2007).

1054 See *Amph.*II, 154 'verum quoque est Capnionis, lib. de Verbo Mirifico, hoc, quod homo vnitus DEO, fiat quasi DEVS humanus, vel quasi homo Diuinus.' See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 896 'Poterunt autem inenarrabili unione coniungi, ut unus idemque & humanus Deus & diuinus homo'.

1055 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 172.

is expressed through love, both of Christ and of one's neighbour?[1056] This idea finds support in the words of William of Saint Thierry, who, writing in the *Golden Epistle* of how the Holy Spirit deifies the human soul and of the 'unity of spirit' that makes the person one with God, declares, 'No longer does it merely desire what God desires, not only does it love him, but it is perfect in its love, so that it can will only what God wills.'[1057]

Khunrath could have found support for his belief in deification in other, less religiously orthodox, occult and esoteric sources. In terms of Hermetic rebirth, the *Pimander* concludes, 'This is the final good for those who have received knowledge: to be made god'.[1058] While Paul and Luther imply that this only occurs at death or 'on the last day',[1059] the theurgists can experience this while alive, albeit in a state detached from the body:

> The benevolent and gracious gods shine their light generously on theurgists, calling their souls up to themselves, giving them unification, and accustoming them, *while they are still in their bodies*, to be detached from their bodies and turned to their eternal and noetic principle.[1060]

Here, Garth Fowden's observation concerning the notion of *palingenesia* in the *Corpus Hermeticum* deserves to be mentioned:

> Rebirth is emphatically not a repetition of physical birth, but a bursting into a new plane of existence previously unattained, even unsuspected,

1056 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 183.

1057 John Arblaster, 'The Pious Jackal and the Pseudo-Woman: Doctrines of Deification in Late Medieval France', in Louise Nelstrop and Bradley B. Onishi (eds.), *Mysticism in the French Tradition: Eruptions from France* (London: Routledge, 2015), 121–148, at 132. See William of Saint Thierry, *The Golden Epistle: A Letter to the Brethren at Mont Dieu*, trans. T. Berkeley and J. Déchanet (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 94.

1058 *Corpus Hermeticum*, 1.26, in Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, 6. See also Merkur, 'Stages of Ascension in Hermetic Rebirth', 84.

1059 Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 68, 186.

1060 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*, 41.4–11, in Gregory Shaw, 'Taking the Shape of the Gods', 161–162. April D. DeConick, 'What is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?', in April D. DeConick (ed.), *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 1–24, at 2 identifies mysticism of early Judaism and Christianity as 'centered on the belief that a person directly, immediately, and before death can experience the divine, either as a rapture experience or as one solicited by a particular praxis'. See Litwa, *Becoming Divine*, 97 on transcending bodily limitations in a state of ecstasy, literally 'standing outside' of oneself, as an interpretation of *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.6–7 that 'It is impossible, my son, for the soul who has beheld the beauty of the Supreme Good to become a god while in the body.'

> albeit available potentially. It is, in fact, a negation of physical birth, in that our first birth imprisons the soul in the body, while our rebirth liberates it.[1061]

Such meditations were not lost on Renaissance promoters of Hermetic philosophy. Ficino had dwelt on deification, for example, in a letter *De raptu Pauli* (On Paul's Rapture).[1062] Discussing the four Platonic frenzies in *De amore* (On Love), Ficino describes the state of Apollonian prophetic frenzy, as being 'when the soul rises above mind into unity'.[1063] In *Platonic Theology*, Ficino explains that man's intellect merges with whatever it touches: 'the intellect seeks to know all things and in knowing them dresses itself entirely in their form, the consequence is that it seeks to become all things, hence it attempts to become God, in whom are all things, when it attempts to become all.'[1064] He would have been able to cite from Plotinus's *Enneads* in support:

> For one must come to the sight with a seeing power made akin and like to what is seen. No eye ever saw the sun without becoming sun-like, nor can a soul see beauty without becoming beautiful. You must become first all godlike and all beautiful if you intend to see God and beauty.[1065]

1061 Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 108–10. He notes that while '*Corpus Hermeticum* IV [A discourse of Hermes to Tat: The mixing bowl or the monad] and XIII [A secret dialogue of Hermes Trismegistus on the mountain to his son Tat] agree in envisaging the experience of rebirth (and the divine vision that follows it) as taking place within the span of mortal life, the *Poimandrēs* holds that it may occur only after death.'

1062 On Ficino and deification, see Jörg Lauster, 'Marsilio Ficino as a Christian Thinker: Theological Aspects of his Platonism', in Allen and Rees (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, 45–69, at 50, 59–60. See also Trinkaus, *In our Image and Likeness*, xx–xxi; Brach, 'Magic IV: Renaissance – 17th Century', 732f.

1063 Ficino, *De Amore*, Oratio VII, Cap.XIV, 259 'cum anima supra mentem in unitatem surgit, futura praesagit'.

1064 Marsile Ficin, *Théologie platonicienne de l'immortalité des âmes* (Paris: Société d'édition « Les Belles Lettres », 1964), Volume 2, Lib.XIV, Cap.III, 258 'intellectus quaerat res omnes intelligere et intelligendo formis earum penitus vestiatur, consequens est ut quaerat res omnes effici, inde nititur Deus fieri, in quo sunt omnia, dum nititur omnia fieri.'

1065 Plotinus, *Ennead* 1.6.9 'On Beauty', translated by A.H. Armstrong, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966; repr. 2000), 261. György E. Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 315. In *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book 3, Chapter 36 Agrippa extensively quoted Lazzarelli's *Crater hermetis* to prove the possibility of deification. See Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. James Freake, ed. Donald Tyson (1993; repr. 2009), 582 'God gave man reason that like deities/ He might bring forth gods with capacity'.

Ficino's contemporary, Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500) touches on the possibility of deification in the *Crater Hermetis*, where we hear of the 'god-creating ray which the Almighty pours down upon us'.[1066] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Giulio Camillo (*c.*1480–1544) claimed that the secret objective of his *Theatre of Memory* was to teach the three arts of metamorphosis: alchemy, which transforms physical objects; eloquence, which acts on words; and deification, which transforms the human mind into a divine one.[1067]

The most likely direct source for Khunrath's introduction of the concept of deification, however, is Johann Reuchlin's description of the process in *De arte cabalistica*:

> This is what used to be called "deification," when exterior sense passes from the immediate object to the inner sense, and that passes to the imagination, imagination to thought, thought to reason, reason to understanding, understanding to reflection, and reflection to the light which enlivens man and clasps to itself that enlightenment.[1068]

Reuchlin's final stage, that of clasping enlightenment, surely has in mind the Kabbalistic idea of *devequt* or cleaving to God. Moshe Idel describes the Jewish notion of *ihud* (union) as 'that state in which the human soul or its intellect cleaves to an external object, making the two of them into one. … Unity entails the overwhelming of man's limited consciousness by spiritual or more comprehensive intellectual contents, an overwhelming which brings about the obliteration of the individual consciousness.'[1069] Reuchlin gives no indication of whether the interpenetration of man's highest level of consciousness and

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1066 Hanegraaff and Bouthoorn, *Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500)*, 235, 255.

1067 Lina Bolzoni, 'The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo: Alchemy, Rhetoric, and Deification in the Renaissance', in Peter J. Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 66–80, at 71 an unpublished treatise titled *De transmutatione*. See the text reproduced in Bolzoni, 'Eloquenza e alchimia in un testo inedito di Giulio Camillo', *Rinascimento*, 24 (1974): 243–264.

1068 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 47. Kocku Von Stuckrad, *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 107; Charles Zika, 'Reuchlin and Erasmus: Humanism and Occult Philosophy', in idem, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–97, at 88 n. 55 'the deification which is the aim of Reuchlin's art … Reuchlin's description of deification recalls the Johannine text (John, 6:56) referring to the Eucharist.'

1069 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 124. For Idel on 'The Ascent through the Ten Sefirot', see idem, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005), 47ff. See also Idel and McGinn, *Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*.

the divine mind necessarily results in an annihilation of consciousness, simply stating that at this stage there is a perfect identity of the 'subject', 'object' and 'act' of knowledge, because 'intellect, intelligising, and the object of the intellect are one and the same'.[1070]

Circular Figure 2 presents Adam as an androgyne, that is, before the separation into Adam and Eve, and thus before the Fall.[1071] This beatific state existed for Adam at the time of his Creation and would have continued but for the fact that the Devil, the spirit of division, introduced dissension or dissimilitude between the will of God and Man.[1072] Man lost touch with his original likeness to God, becoming divided in himself, torn between bestial and heavenly life,[1073] and succumbed to lies, ignorance, 'idolatry, superstition, contempt of invocation and of God.'[1074] The message in the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular engraving seems to be that Man's task is to regain the androgynous perfection of primordial prelapsarian Adam, and that the only way to achieve this is by the total rejection of division through abnegation of the self, symbolised by Khunrath, as by Trithemius, Dorn (and Dee) before him, as the rejection of the 'Binary' and reduction to the 'simplicity of the Monad'.[1075] Through this, man will be able to see and unite with God:

> Man, regenerated by the rejection of the Binary … is made neighbour and friend …, joined and united, as much in this life as in the one to come,

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1070 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*/*De Arte Cabalistica*, 50–51 'intellectus intelligens & intellectum sint unum et idem'. Although Reuchlin does not mention it, the original source for this is Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, XII.ix.4, 1074b 33–35, trans. Hugh Tredennick, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933; repr. 1997), 165, 'Therefore Mind thinks itself, if it is that which is best; and its thinking is a thinking of thinking.' Reuchlin may well have been familiar with the same idea from Moses Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. See *Rabi Mossei Aegyptii dux seu director dubitantium aut perplexorum* (Paris, 1520), sig. xxvii^{r} 'Iam scis verbum manifestum quod philosophi dixerunt de Creatore, quod ipse est intellectus & intelligens & intellectum: & quod ista tria sunt unum in Creatore: & non est ibi multitudo.'

1071 Thanks to Ficino's translation of and commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, the description of the complete soul in which two halves were once united would have been familiar to many of Khunrath's readers. See Plato, *Symposium* 191D–E.

1072 *Amph*.II, 69.

1073 Thereby resembling the devil: *Amph*.II, 90.

1074 *Amph*.II, 138.

1075 For more on this, see the following chapter on Khunrath's Cabala, Circular Figures 2 and 3; *Amph*.II, 71, 105. On the Bonaventuran sense of 'Reduction' as a metaphysical principle, a *regressus* or *reditus* to God, see McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism* (1998), 91f. On Dee in relation to binary, ternary, and Monad, see Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, 110f for his discussion of the 'Alchemical Magic' in Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564).

> with GOD, who is eternal and immortal BEING. *For blessed are the clean of heart: for they shall see* GOD, Matthew 5:8.[1076]

By reading the *Amphitheatre*'s three 'books' in the sequence 'In US, in NATURE, in SCRIPTURE', the Theosopher first seeks to know his own soul, which as microcosm ultimately embodies or reflects all things, and then, studies, loves, and cares for humanity and the world at large, purging and purifying himself in the process, emulating and loving God, such that he eventually unites with God to become like Christ, a divine man.[1077] Khunrath's conception of the Theosopher's deification recalls the Ficinian position in which man is conceived of not only as the *image* of God, but as potentially 'a god on earth and a god in the world to come'.[1078]

Khunrath's ultimate vision is that of total purification of the microcosm (body, spirit and soul), in order for the 'righteous Spirit' to enter into man's 'innermost parts.'[1079] After the example of Solomon, one should seek the removal of vanity and lies from the soul and moderation of fortune for the body.[1080] The Theosopher must tread a straight line, diverging neither to the right nor to the left,[1081] stoically controlling his affections,[1082] and soberly refraining from over-indulgence,[1083] in accordance with the Delphic advice μηδεν ἀγαν [*mēden agan*], in Latin *Ne quid nimis* (Nothing in excess).[1084] The very motto 'Nec temere, nec timide' (Neither rashly, nor timidly) on Khunrath's coat of arms in the *Oratory-Laboratory* engraving is a popular example of the Aristotelian moral mean between the extremes of excess and deficiency advocated in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in this case the virtue of courage as the mean between rashness and cowardice.[1085] Through self-knowledge and by conforming to the

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1076 *Amph.*II, 115 'DEO, qui ENS æternum & immortale, Homo reiectione Binarii … regeneratus, fit proximus atque amicus, … iungitur atque vnitur; tam in vita hac, quàm futura. *Beati quippe mundo corde: quoniam ipsi* DEVM *videbunt.* Matth.5,8.'

1077 *Amph.*II, 153.

1078 Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, Vol. 2, 476.

1079 *Amph.*II, 71.

1080 *Amph.*II, 137.

1081 *Amph.*II, 53.

1082 *Amph.*II, 140.

1083 *Amph.*II, 35.

1084 See Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man* (1998), 14 and Erasmus, *Adages*, *Collected Works of Erasmus* Vol. 32 (1989), 63 I vi 96.

1085 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* II.6. See Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', 339. A variant of Khunrath's motto can be found on the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page: 'Nec tumide, nec timide' (Neither arrogantly, Nor timidly). See also Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus* Vol. 66, *Handbook*, 42 'fear and recklessness, foolish counsellors.'

divine Archetype, in the person of Christ, the Theosopher undertakes to purify his whole being in order to become a vessel, habitation or organ of God,[1086] a temple for the reception of the Holy Spirit.[1087] His penitentially-purified heart and divinely-illumined soul become an internal and invisible Oratory,[1088] expressed variously as the Micro-cosmic temple of Minerva,[1089] the *Beth-El* (house of God), the Quintessential Heavenly Tabernacle,[1090] or the inner Ἁγιαστηριον [*Hagiastērion*], the Sanctuary of Wisdom,[1091] corresponding to the macrocosmic 'Sanctuary of the Angels'.

In this state the Theosopher experiences the mystical kiss of the *Song of Songs*,[1092] 'being inspired by Divine Power; Divinely moved; rapt, transfigured',[1093] entering a state of 'enthusiastic' ecstasy when he is outside himself and rapt in God,[1094] like Paul caught up to the Empyrean Heaven.[1095] Khunrath describes it in traditional mystical (and musical) terms as a *transitus*,[1096] perhaps alluding to that famous passage in the *Asclepius*,

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1086 *Amph.*II, 120.

1087 *Amph.*II, 34, 71, 122; *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. [11ᵛ], 'in Temetipso (qui Templum DEI es, I Cor.3.16).'

1088 *Amph.*II, 116.

1089 *Amph.*II, 34 'Minervae templo Micro-Cosmico', 99.

1090 *Chaos* (1597), 313 'BETH-EL, domus DEI, ein Quintessentialisch Himlisch Tabernacul oder Hütte des HERRN HERRN.'

1091 *Amph.*II, 99. Cf. Guillaume Postel's reference to 'Unity, and the sacro-sanct adytum of Deification', in *Absconditorum a constitutione mundi clavis* (Amsterdam, 1646), 120 'Et hoc Mysta noster, Capite inprimis XV, intendit, dum Mentem, DEI & NatURae magnalia & mirabilia contemplantem, ad Interiora Velaminis *aeternae Veritatis* cognoscenda atque percolenda, fideliter introducit. Idque mystico sacrae MONOTRIADOS artificio: quo Tria Rectae, vel & Circuli aut Trianguli Puncta, in *Quartum*, seu Radicale divinissimae hujus scientiae CENTRUM, velut ad Unitatem, ac adytum *Deificationis* sacro-sanctum, coagmentantur & obsignantur.'

1092 *Amph.*II, 63, 114.

1093 *Amph.*II, 16 'Afflari enim Numine; Diuinitus affici; rapi; transfigurari; doceri te, Spiritus sancti vnctione, experieris'.

1094 *Amph.*II, 168.

1095 *Amph.*II, 131–2.

1096 *Amph.*II, 69 'O Diuinissimum in DEVM transitum hunc! (Oh this most Divine passing over into GOD!).' See Detlef Metz, *Gabriel Biel und die Mystik* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), 14, 20, 406 on the various experiences of the mystics, including *cognitio experimentalis Dei, raptus, visio, transitus*. On notions of *transitus*, see Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 413f. See also Boyd Taylor Coolman, 'The Medieval Affective Dionysian Tradition', in Sarah Coakley and Charles M. Stang (eds.), *Re-thinking Dionysius the Areopagite* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 85–102, at 87 on Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* and his description of the soul's final "passing over" (*transitus*) out of itself and into God as an affective ecstasy of love over knowledge: "In this passing over,

> What a great miracle is Man, O Asclepius, a being worthy of reverence and honour. For he passes into the nature of a god (in naturam dei transit) as though he were himself a god.[1097]

Or he writes in Kabbalistic and Pythagorean terms familiar from Reuchlin, of a 'transmigration' or transmutation into God,[1098] evoking again the idea of philosophy as a preparation for death, the climax of union being a *mors mystica*, total identification with the passion of Christ on the Cross.[1099]

While it was a fundamental tenet of orthodox Christian doctrine, however, that man would only attain his supreme good after death, when his immortal soul would enjoy the perpetual vision, contemplation and fruition of God to perfection,[1100] Khunrath along with Ficino, Reuchlin, and Dee believed that some privileged individuals could attain for short periods of time while still alive states of contemplative rapture, anticipating the final union with God.[1101] He believed that the 'Friend of God' could rise above the level of the angelic beings in the *Sanctuary* to become something incomparably more:

> Eternal WISDOM delights to such an extent in the holy minds of men … that she transforms them into herself, such that Man mentally migrates into the company and sanctuary of God's good Angels, and what is more,

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if it is to be perfect, all intellectual activities must be left behind, and the height of our affection must be transferred and transformed into God."

1097 Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964), 28. 'Propter haec, o Asclepi, magnum miraculum est homo, animal adorandum et honorandum. Hoc enim in naturam dei transit, quasi ipse sit deus', in A.D. Nock and A.J. Festugière (eds.), *Corpus hermeticum* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954), Vol. II, 301f.

1098 *Amph.*II, 154. See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 913 '& homo migret in Deum, & Deus habitet in homine. … qua transmutamur in Deum & naturam humanam excedimus … in hoc divinissimo in Deum transitu … Deus enim spiritus, verbum spiratio, homo spirans' (& man migrates into God, & God dwells in man … by which we are transmuted into God and surpass human nature … in this most divine *transitus* into God … For God is spirit, the word breath, man the one breathing). See also Zika, 'Reuchlin and Erasmus: Humanism and Occult Philosophy', 88 n. 55 on Reuchlin's description of deification as drawing on the Johannine text relating to the Eucharist (John 6:56). For more on early modern notions of *transmigratio*, see Brian Ogren, *Renaissance and Rebirth: Reincarnation in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), in particular Chapter 7 'The Allegorical Veridicality of Transmigration'.

1099 McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism* (1998), 108–10.

1100 Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', 317, 350.

1101 Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', 351. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah/De Arte Cabalistica*, 123. See Ficino, *De Raptu Pauli*, in Ficino, *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1561), Vol. 1, 697–706; John Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564).

into GOD himself (even in this life), [and] GOD dwells in man, sitting [as] King on his tri-une, reborn, truly universal Microcosmic throne.[1102]

48 Conclusion

Looking back at the final stages of the *Grades of Cognition*, *Intellectus* and *Mens*, it is easy to imagine that Ehregott Daniel Colberg might have had Khunrath's engraving in mind when formulating his condemnation of practices aiming for 'knowledge of God according to supra-mental unition, that is super-mental conjunction and super-intellectual union'.[1103] In the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure Khunrath set forth a complex combination of ideas that must have been a source of inspiration for those interested in developing their own theosophical systems of hermetic, cabalistic and magical practice, but were evidently highly problematic for more orthodox religious thinkers like Libavius and Colberg.

Examining Khunrath's theosophy we begin to see that he aims to embrace and subsume multiple philosophical categories for religious ends, not only proposing theories about the nature of physical and spiritual being but also promoting practices for the perfection of both, as epitomised by the theosophical ambition to attain and obtain the Sons of the Micro- and Macro-cosm, the two Stones, of Wisdom and of the Wise, giving rise not only to the health, wealth and glory of Wisdom from Proverbs 3:16,[1104] but far more importantly to well-being of the Soul.[1105]

In the *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath presents his two ways of Prudence and Understanding.[1106] Ascending on the Ladder of Conjunction and Union, the Theosopher's ultimate aim is to unite with the divine. Modelling his life on

1102 *Amph.*II, 69 'SAPIENTIA Æterna inter delitias habet, vt eas in seipsam transformet; ita, vt Homo mentaliter migrat in consortium & sanctuarium Angelorum DEI bonorum; imò, in DEVM (etiam in hac vita) ipsum, DEVS habitet in homine; sedens Rex in throno suo Microcosmico, triuno, renato, verè catholico.'

1103 Note the sequence given by Colberg is supra-*mental conjunction* and super-*intellectual union*, whereas, strictly speaking, with Khunrath's sequences it should surely be *super-intellectual conjunction*, followed by *supra-mental union*. See Colberg, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum*, Vol. 2 (1691), 70 'cognitio Dei secundum unitionem supra mentem, id est, supermentalem conjunctionem, superintellectualemque unionem.'

1104 See the large dragon in the *Citadel* engraving and *Amph.*II, 163, Verse 319 quoting Proverbs 3:16 'Length of days is in her right hand: and in her left hand riches and glory.'

1105 *Amph.*II, 78.

1106 *Amph.*II, 93 'Vias PRVDENTIÆ & INTELLIGENTIÆ, hoc est, Gradus COGNITIONIS ac SCALAM cum DEO VNIONIS.'

the archetypes of YHVH and Christ, the Theosopher's Work ultimately aims at a form of deification or Christification, in which emotional and intellectual identification with Christ culminates in an ecstatic union with God, *Monas* and *Omnia*, the One and the All, leading to a state in which he participates in God's operations. 'In GOD he is capable of all things', Khunrath confides: 'Behold the Secret [...] nothing is impossible to the BELIEVER!'[1107]

49 Ascent and Descent

We have already looked at the seventeenth-century French translation and commentary on the *Amphitheatre* by Claude de Bourges, where he wrote of the necessity of climbing the ladder of conjunction and union and then of descending by the grades of cognition, with the former taking us to 'indubitability' and the latter to 'perfection', 'the one in the oratory, the other in the laboratory'.[1108]

De Bourges is a careful, attentive reader, noting that, contrary to expectations, when writing of the way of understanding, Khunrath does not speak of *ascending* through the Grades of Cognition, in the Aristotelian sense of acquiring epistemic knowledge arising from the senses' awareness of the external objects of creation, this knowledge then rising from the faculties of the sensitive soul to those of the intellective soul. Instead, Khunrath writes of '*descending* by the ten grades of Cognition'.[1109] This sounds more like the consequences of Hermes's encounter with Pimander in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, when the human mind experiences gnosis, 'direct and unmediated, supra-rational, salvational access to the supreme spiritual level of reality',[1110] with the adept then having the task of climbing down the branches of the Tree of Life, as it were, of bringing the fruits of this transformed awareness of reality back down to earth and everyday life. As in the Hermetic *Emerald Tablet*, there is an ascent from

1107 *Amph.*II, 212. See also 86, 134; *Chaos* (1597), 393–394 'Derhalben lasset uns zusehen/ das wir Gottes Freunde sein/ & tunc Theosophicè ac Physico-Chymicè in hac Arte poterimus OMNIA.' See D. Krausmüller, 'The Rise of Hesychasm', in M. Angold (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Vol. 5: *Eastern Christianity*, 101–126, at 124 for a discussion of Gregory Palamas's distinction between God's essence and His glory or operations.

1108 Amsterdam, Ritman Library, Ms. BPH M490 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, 20–21.

1109 *Amph.*II, 4 'ascendendo per Scalam Coniunctionis & Vnionis, nec non descendendo per Gradus Decem Cognitionis.' My italics.

1110 Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 372.

earth into heaven, followed by a descent again to earth.[1111] Epiphanies and intuitions, be they from dreams, flashes of inspiration, or inspiring conversation with fellow practitioners, still had to be grounded, translated, for instance, into medical and chymical practice.

The theosophical message in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* was far from palatable to all. Ironically, one of his most attentive readers is one of his most antagonistic calumniators, Andreas Libavius (whose increasingly shrill voice shall be heard from time to time throughout this book). It is worth noting, however, that Libavius is not as attentive as De Bourges and has missed Khunrath's statement about '*descending*' via the Grades of Cognition:

> He who has Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* will be able to see in the sixth image a globe containing a triangle and square in the centre, showing three spheres at the circumference in the midst of which is the ladder of union, which contains *faith*, *meditation*, *knowledge*, *love*, *hope*, *prayer*, *conjunction*, *frequency*, *familiarity*, *likeness*: which he doubtless thought should be shown in *that Gabalistic union* with God. … In the first sphere he has set forth the *grades of cognition*, which are: *object*, *medium*, *outer senses*, *inner*, *common sense*, *phantasy*, *lower and higher judgement*, *reason*, *intellect*, *mind*. If he thought in this way he would be able to *ascend* to the *Archetype Jehovah* he did not think according to Evangelic scripture, which shows that *Christ is the true door and true ladder*, and the guiding spirit through the doctrine of faith. *No-one comes to Christ except to whom it is given by the Father, and whom the Father draws*. John 6:44.[1112]

1111 In the *Pyramid* engraving the *Emerald Tablet* states, 'It ascends from earth into heaven, and again descends to earth, and receives the power of [those] things above and [those] below.' (ascendit à terra in coelvm, itervmqve descendit in terram, & recipit vim svperiorvm & inferiorvm).

1112 Libavius, *Examen philosophiae novae* (1615), 68–69 'Qui *amphitheatrum Kunrathi* habet, is in sexta imagine videre potest globum in medio, triangulo, & quadrato constantem, ambitu tres sphaeras exhibentem in quarum media est scala unionis, quae complectitur *fidem, meditationem, cognitionem, amorem, spem, orationem, coniunctionem, frequentiam, familiaritatem, similitudinem*: quae ille proculdubio putavit spectanda esse etiam in *unione illa Gabalistica* cum Deo. … In sphaeram prima *gradus cognitionis* retulit, qui sunt: *obiectum, medium, sensus exteriores, sensus interior, communis, phantasia, iudicium inferius & superius, Ratio, intellectus, mens*. Si isto modo putavit ascendi posse usque ad *Archetypon Iehovam*, non cum scriptura Evangelica putavit, quae *ostium verum, veramque scalam Christum*, & spiritum ducem per doctrinam fidei monstrat. *Ad Christum nemo pervenit nisi cui datum est a patre, & quem pater trahit*. Iohan. 6. vers. 44. Mirum autem est ei defuisse memoriam.' My italics on the word *ascend*.

Notwithstanding Libavius's disapproval of the *Amphitheatre*, it is impossible to ignore the impact that it had on more radical Paracelsian, Weigelian, and Rosicrucian thinkers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As Gilly quite rightly observes, it is thanks to Khunrath and his books that the terms 'Theosophy' and 'Theosophers' spread in such a relatively short period of time amongst both supporters and opposition.[1113]

Although Gilly is inclined to dismiss Khunrath's use of the newly-coined, hyphenated, compound terms, *Christiano-Kabalisticum*, *Divino-Magicum* and *Physico-Chymicum* as 'pompous word combinations' – rather than as sincere attempts to convey the specificity of his intentions and the hybridity of his practice – he nevertheless praises the *Amphitheatre* for its 'truly coherent sophiology of God, nature and man, together forming a quintessential combination of most of the elements of Renaissance Hermetic philosophy, Christian Kabbalah and Paracelsian-Weigelian world views.'[1114] The following chapters will now examine in greater detail Khunrath's three major practices, his 'Theosophical Mediators',[1115] 'Christian Cabala, Divine Magic, and Physico-Chemistry, whose Triune study is true Catholic THEOSOPHY.'[1116]

1113 Gilly, 'Khunrath und das Entstehen der frühneuzeitlichen Theosophie', 15. With a slight modification of Gilly, who writes of *Theosophie* and *Theosophisten*. I argue that Khunrath distinguishes between good 'Theosophers' and bad 'Theosophists'. See, for example, *Amph.*II, 58 'Grant me, Oh JEHOVAH, that I do not tremble inside, and do not fear the destructive power of the Theo-Sophists in public life, Amen' (Largire mihi, ô IEHOVAH, intus ne paueam, foris ne formidem Theo Sophistarum fulmen, Amen); 70 'There are certain Theosophists, scorners, impure worldlings, prattlers' (Sunt quidam Theosophistæ, nasutuli, mundani immundi, locutelei); 29 'See, then, O Tyrants, that you have to answer for your tyranny, as much towards strangers as to your subjects; [and you] O Theo-sophists, for [your] fanatic, impious, blasphemous, incurable passion for disputing, at which you insolently work' (Videte ergò Tyranni, vt habeatis quod respondeatis pro tyrannide, tam erga peregrinos, quàm subditos vestros: Theosophistæ, defanatico, impio, blasphemo & insanabili, quo insolenter laboratis, disputandi cacoëthe); 148 'with Theo-Sophers and Theo-Sophists; with the good [and] the bad, the white [and] the black' (cum Theo-Sophis atque Theo-Sophistis; bonis, malis; albis, nigris). Gilly, ibid, 11 mentions for example, 'the philosophical movement from Paracelsus, Weigel, Arndt, Sclei, Crollius, Haslmayr, Nollius, Hirsch, Fludd, Boehme, Franckenberg, van Helmont, Kozak, Comenius to Maul, Welling and Oetinger, or the "Brotherhood of the Theosophers of RosenCreutz".'

1114 Gilly, 'The *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* of Heinrich Khunrath', 342.

1115 *Amph.*II, 92 'Media Theosophica'.

1116 *Amph.*II, 25 'per Christiano Cabalam, Diuino Mageiam, & Physico Chemiam: quod studium Triunum, vera THEOSOPHIA Catholica'.

CHAPTER 4

Christian Cabala's Wonder-Working Word

1 The Origins of Christian Cabala

Khunrath's Christian engagement with the Jewish mystical tradition of Kabbalah lies at the heart of his theosophy.[1] Kabbalistic notions of emanations of the Godhead into the universe and the power contained in divine and angelic names pervade his philosophical outlook. This chapter begins with a brief consideration of the main aspects of Jewish Kabbalah and Christian Cabala preceding Khunrath, most notably in the works of the first Christian 'phenomenologists of Kabbalah',[2] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), before examining evidence of related ideas in Khunrath's own works.



FIGURE 4.1
Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae, detail: Christ on Cross above IHSVH. London, British Library Ms. Sloane 181. © The British Library Board

1 Please note: when referring to the Jewish tradition, the term 'Kabbalah' is used; but when to the Christian tradition, especially in Latin, it becomes 'Cabala'. Cf. Andreas Libavius, *Appendix necessaria Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (Frankfurt, 1615), 76 'Kabbalah, seu, ut vulgo scribitur, Cabala' (Kabbalah, or, as it is commonly written, Cabala). On Kabbala and Cabala, see also Pierre Béhar, *Les Langues Occultes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1996), 247; Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 173.

2 Moshe Idel, 'Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah', in Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 49–65, at 63.

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The Hebrew term קבלה Kabbalah, which translates as 'reception', 'received lore', or 'tradition', refers to the Jewish esoteric teaching that emerged in the High Middle Ages in Provence and Northern Spain,[3] though with claims to revelations reaching back to Moses during his encounter with Jehovah on Mount Sinai, where he received a two-fold revelation, a 'literal' written and 'spiritual' oral Law, being told 'These words shalt thou declare, and these shalt thou hide' (2 Esdras 14:6). The former were the Ten Commandments; the latter secret oral teachings transmitted from master to disciple over the generations to the elect few.[4] Others believed that God had revealed the names of all things to Adam in the Garden of Eden, the correct pronunciation of which evoked their true essence,[5] or that Adam had learned Eternal Wisdom from the book held by Raziel, angel of the highest Mysteries.[6]

For the Kabbalist, the words of oral and written law formed an enormous library of mystical symbols speaking of the interaction between the Godhead as emanator and all that emanated forth. Anticipations of Kabbalah can be found in earlier material that exerted a profound influence on its development, including the Hekhalot or Heavenly Halls literature, dating back to late antiquity,[7] and the earliest extant Hebrew text of speculative thought on cosmology and cosmogony, the proto-kabbalistic *Sepher Yetzirah* (Book of Formation), traditionally attributed to Abraham,[8] which dates from sometime

3 For brief introductions to Kabbalah, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974; repr. New York: Penguin/Meridian Books, 1978), 42ff on the first to call themselves 'Kabbalists'; Joseph Dan, *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Elliot R. Wolfson, 'Beyond the Spoken Word: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Medieval Jewish Mysticism', in Yaakov Elman and Israel Gershoni (eds.), *Transmitting Jewish Traditions: Orality, Textuality & Cultural Diffusion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 166–224, at 176.

4 Lohr, 'Metaphysics', 580. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 121, 126.

5 Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol*, 39.

6 See Concepción Gonzalo Rubio, *La Angelología en la Literatura Rabínica y Sefardí* (Barcelona: Ameller Ediciones, 1977), 58; Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 72; Steve Savedow (trans. and ed.), *Sepher Rezial Hemelach: The Book of the Angel Rezial* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 2000); Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law: Theurgy and the Christian Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 315. On Adam as the first recipient of Kabbalah, see Guillaume Postel, *Le thrésor des prophéties de l'univers*, Introduction and Notes by François Secret (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 201 and Judith Weiss, 'Guillaume Postel's "Idea of the Zohar"', *Aries* 19.2 (2019): 248–263, at 253.

7 See, for example, James R. Davila, *Descenders to the Chariot: The People Behind the Hekhalot Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Vita Daphna Arbel, *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature* (Albany, NJ: State University of New York Press, 2003).

8 Weiss, 'Guillaume Postel's "Idea of the Zohar"', 253.

between the second and fourth century CE.[9] The notion of emanations from the Godhead first took a distinctive form in this work, which introduced concepts that became central to Jewish philosophy and mysticism and it is undoubtedly one of the most fertile sources of inspiration for Kabbalistic commentaries.[10]

2 Proto-Kabbalah of the *Sepher Yetzirah*

The most representative of these concepts in the *Sepher Yetzirah* are the speculations on the Hebrew alphabet and the *Sephiroth*.[11] The creative powers of God are seen as being embodied in the 22 Foundation Letters of the Hebrew alphabet with which the Creator engraved the Divine Names and fashioned the Universe. Each letter corresponds to a different principle of creation, having its own distinctive power.[12] Each letter and name 'represents a concentration of energy and expresses a wealth of meaning which cannot be translated, or not fully at least, into human language.'[13] Language, moreover, is considered not merely referential, but forms the 'very fabric of the cosmos; letters, words, and certain formulations … imbued with creative, transformative, and even soteriological power.'[14] By permutating or manipulating these letters, the Kabbalist can understand and influence created things.[15]

Connected with this are early references to ten metaphysical principles called *Sephiroth* (singular *Sephirah*) that subsume the archetype of every created thing and mediate between God and the universe.[16] The term *Sephiroth*

9 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 23. This dating has been contested, with others suggesting as late a date of composition or 'emergence of Sefer *Yeṣira* into the light of day' as the tenth century. See A. Peter Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira: Edition, Translation and Text-Critical Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 1.

10 Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, edited by Raphael J. Zwi Werblowsky; translated from the German by Allan Arkush (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 25.

11 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought*, 220–227 'The Book Yezirah and the Archetypes of the Alphabet'.

12 Aryeh Kaplan (trans.), *Sefer Yetzirah: The Book of Creation* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1990; repr. 1993), 254. Yitzchak Ginsburg, *The Alef-Beit: Jewish Thought Revealed through the Hebrew Letters* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 309.

13 Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, translated by Ralph Manheim (New York: Schocken, 1969), 36.

14 Ra'anan Boustan, 'Secrets without Mystery: Esotericism in Early Jewish Mysticism', *Aries* 15:1 (2015): 10–15, at 10–11.

15 Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 27.

16 See Marvin A. Sweeney, 'Ten Sephirot', in Karel Van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter Willem Van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1995; repr. 1999), 837–843. See also Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 96–116.

itself is generally translated as 'numerations' or 'measures',[17] being associated, too, with the word *sappir* (sapphire) as a symbol for the radiance of God.[18] The 22 Hebrew letters plus the 10 *Sephiroth* constitute what the *Sepher Yetzirah* calls the 'thirty-two wondrous paths of wisdom', by which God created the universe, 'with three types of things: with writing and numbers and speech'.[19]

3 *Bahir*: Book of Illumination

After the *Sepher Yetzirah*, the 'earliest extant text of Kabbala proper' was the *Sepher ha-Bahir* (*Book of Illumination* or *Brilliance*),[20] first appearing in manuscript form in the second half of the twelfth century, composed either by Isaac the Blind (d. 1235) or one of his school.[21] Gershom Scholem considered it the product of the intermingling of Jewish Gnosticism and Neoplatonism.[22] The *Bahir* presents itself as a series of dialogues between master and disciples, providing commentaries on the first chapters of Genesis, on the hidden significance of the Hebrew letters, on statements from the *Sepher Yetzirah*, and so forth. For the first time, it introduces the concept of the *Ilan* or divine tree, with ten branches, a system of emanations, which constitute the divine *pleroma*. The *Sephiroth* had already been introduced in the *Sepher Yetzirah*, but it was in the *Bahir* that they first came to be regarded as divine attributes,

17 François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), 82; Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 72.

18 Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 81. Sweeney, 'Ten Sephirot', 838.

19 Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira: Edition, Translation and Text-Critical Commentary*, 59, version C.

20 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 58. See Kaplan (trans.), *The Bahir* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1979; repr. 1989). For an in-depth analysis of the *Bahir*, see Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, Chapter 2, 49ff. See also Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 312ff.

21 On the concept of the *Sephiroth* in the *Bahir*, see Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, Chapter 2 'The Book *Bahir*', sections 5 to 8; Kaplan, *The Bahir*, intro. ix. For a selection of early Kabbalistic works, see Dan (ed.) and Kiener (trans.), *The Early Kabbalah* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986). On the issue of dating Kabbalah, see, for example, Ronit Meroz, 'The Middle Eastern Origins of Kabbalah', *The Journal for the Study of Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry* (February, 2007): 39–57. For further work on the *Bahir*, see Jonathan Dauber, *Knowledge of God and the Development of Early Kabbalah* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Elliot R. Wolfson, *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), Chapter 2; Joseph Dan, *Gershom Scholem and the Mystical Dimension of Jewish History* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), Chapter 5.

22 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 45. See also David Biale, *Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 58.

powers emanating from the Godhead.[23] Individual *Sephiroth* of this "tree of emanation" were linked with specific psalmodic utterances and the important *Kedushah* prayer, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of his glory.'[24] The *Bahir* introduced the new idea that the *Sephiroth* included a feminine power, the *Shekhinah* in the lowest *Sephirah*, *Malkhut* (Kingdom).[25]

4 The Works of Bereshit and Merkavah

Kabbalah is generally presented as having two main preoccupations: *Ma'aseh Bereshit* (Work of Creation), based on the exegesis of Genesis 1 and 2, and *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (Work of the Chariot), visions and reflections concerning the Throne on its Chariot described in the first chapter of Ezekiel, that is, respectively, the realms of cosmogony and theosophy.[26] These two streams of speculation are seen as complementary, in the belief that 'to know the stages of the creative process is also to know the stages of one's own return to the root of all existence.'[27] Kabbalists, like their more orthodox rabbinic co-religionists, drew their inspiration from Holy Scripture, although their approach involved a revolutionary reinterpretation of its content, uncovering new theosophical and mystical levels of meaning in each verse.[28] Every biblical noun in the Torah became a symbol for one of the emanations of the Godhead and every verb described their dynamic interplay;[29] it being the Kabbalists' task to discover interpretations of the Torah and invent keys for the understanding of its symbolism.[30]

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23 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 96ff.

24 Kaplan, *The Bahir*, 47. The *Kedusha* is Isaiah 6:3 and appears at the start of the *Isagoge* to the *Amphitheatre*'s first circular figure, *Amph*.II, 185, which is discussed in this and the following chapter.

25 Joseph Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and its Historical Significance,' in Joseph Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books & Their Christian Interpreters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997), 65. Peter Schäfer, *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), Chapter 6 'The Shekhinah in the Bahir'.

26 For concise introductions to these terms, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 10–21, 88f. For this two-fold division, see Agrippa, *De vanitate*, in *Opera* (Lyon: Beringos Fratres, [1550]), Vol. 2, Chapter 47, 99 and Giorgio Raguseo, *Epistolarum mathematicarum seu De diuinatione* (Paris, 1623), 334–336, who states this is Pico's division.

27 Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1954), 20.

28 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 5–6.

29 See Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 57 on Gikatilla's notion of the whole Torah as an explication of the name of God.

30 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 6.

5 *Zohar*: Book of Splendour

From the end of the thirteenth century, the *Sepher ha-Zohar* (Book of Radiance or Splendour) became the authoritative text of Jewish mysticism.[31] The *Zohar* was composed or compiled by the Spanish rabbi Moses ben Shem Tov de Leon (*c*.1240–1305), who claimed to be drawing from pre-existing manuscript material reaching back to the second-century rabbi Shimon bar Yochai.[32] Much more extensive than its predecessors, the *Zohar* includes such works as the *Sifra diTzni'uta* (Book of the Hidden), *Idra Rabba* (Great Assembly), *Idra Zuta* (Smaller Assembly), *Ra'aya Meheimna* (Faithful Shepherd) and *Midrash haNe'elam* (Hidden Midrash), with commentaries on the Torah ranging from the nature of God and the structure of the cosmos, the concept of a primordial man, *Adam Kadmon*, the emanation of the four worlds of *Atziluth*, *Beriah*, *Yetzirah*, and *Assiah*, the nature of souls, redemption, forces of evil (*kliphoth*), and how the individual practitioner relates to God and creation.[33] The *Zohar*'s aim is never to simply provide one authoritative interpretation of scripture, but instead to promote the idea that there are 'seventy alternative explanations of the Torah',[34] in fact 'all the words of the Torah … can all bear several meanings, and all good, and the whole Torah can be expounded in seventy ways, corresponding to seventy sides and seventy wings.'[35]

In the *Zohar* we find further reformulations of notions of the *Sephiroth*. Though similar to the Neoplatonic vision of the universe issuing forth in a series of hierarchically ordered emanations from the divine monad, as discussed, for

31 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 57. Useful extracts are found in Gershom Scholem (ed.), *Zohar, The Book of Splendor: Basic Readings from the Kabbalah* (New York, Schocken Books, 1976). For more theoretical analysis see Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, translated by Arnold Schwarz, Stephanie Nakache and Penina Peli (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Pinchas Giller, *Reading the Zohar: The Sacred Text of the Kabbalah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Boaz Huss, *The Zohar: Reception and Impact* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2015); Melila Hellner-Eshed, *A River Flows from Eden: The Language of Mystical Experience in the Zohar* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

32 Gershom Scholem, 'Moses ben Shem Tov de Leon', in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972, vol. 12), cols. 425–427; Ronald L. Eisenberg, *Essential Figures in Jewish Scholarship* (Plymouth: Jason Aronson, 2014), 133.

33 See Daniel Chanan Matt (trans.), *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1983); Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*; Giller, *Reading the Zohar*.

34 Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon (trans.), *The Zohar* (London & New York: The Soncino Press, 1984), Vol. 1, 149; Daniel C. Matt (ed.) *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), Vol. 1, 257.

35 Sperling and Simon (trans.), *The Zohar*, 171. As Liebes writes in *Studies in the Zohar*, 152 'It should be noted that Christian discussions of Genesis 1:1 may have exerted a general influence on the way the Zohar interpreted this verse.'

example, by Plotinus (*c*.205–270) in his *Enneads*,[36] the *Sephiroth* have a more dynamic quality in that while they govern creation and determine its fate, they do not embody the same sense of stasis as the Neoplatonic system, but partake of a reciprocal relationship with creation, such that the actions of the individual Kabbalist are also held to decide the fate of the *Sephiroth* themselves.[37] Each *Sephirah* is associated with certain *Middoth*, or qualities of God, such as wisdom, understanding, knowledge, truth, righteousness, which denote a corresponding ethical attribute in human behaviour.[38] The devout Kabbalist who achieves this quality on earth becomes integrated into the mystic life and the harmonic world of the *Sephiroth*, thereby harmonically contributing to the whole system.[39] In the *Zohar* the idea is propagated that the realms of good and evil are to an extent commingled and man's purpose in life is to separate them.[40] The *Sephiroth* were to become one of the central features of theosophical Kabbalah.[41]

6 Ten Sephiroth on the Tree of Life

From the thirteenth century onwards we find the idea that each *Sephirah* comprises all others successively in an infinite reflection of the *Sephiroth* within themselves: we read, for example, of the 620 'Pillars of Light' in *Kether*; of the 32 'Paths' in *Chochmah*; of the 50 'Gates' in *Binah*; of the 72 'Bridges' in *Chesed*, and so forth.[42] From the fourteenth century the *Sephiroth* came to be depicted in increasingly sophisticated diagrams of *Ilanot* (Trees), listing the symbols appropriate to each *Sephirah*, often with the inverted cosmic tree growing downwards from its root, the first *Sephirah*.[43] These ten hierarchical

36 On Plotinus and emanation, see *Ennead* III.8.10, V.2, VI.8. See John M. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), Chapter 6 'Emanation and Necessity'.

37 Dan, 'Introduction', in Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah*, 13. See, in particular, Plotinus, *Ennead* V for his discussion of emanations. See also R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1972), 61ff.

38 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 21; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 347–354.

39 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 174.

40 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 125.

41 The sequence I provide is that used by Khunrath and his sources.

42 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 113.

43 On the *Ilan HaHokhmah*, or Tree of Wisdom diagrams see Marla Segol, *Word and Image in Medieval Kabbalah: The Texts, Commentaries, and Diagrams of the Sefer Yetsirah* (New York: Pagrave Macmillan, 2012), 71ff; on the diagram as an inverted tree, with roots in the heavens and branches in the created world, 70. On *Ilanot*, see also J.H. Chajes, *The*

TABLE 4.1 The ten *Sephiroth* (descending)

Hebrew	*Transliteration*[a]	*Translations*[b]
כתר	Kether	Crown or Diadem
חכמה	Hochmah/Chochmah	Wisdom
בינה	Binah	Understanding/Intelligence/Providence
חסד	Haesed/Chesed	Love/Loving Kindness/Goodness/Mercy
גבורה	Geburah	Power/Strength/Gravity/Seriousness
תפארת	Tiphereth	Beauty/Compassion
נצח	Nezah	Endurance/Victory
הוד	Hod	Splendour/Praise
יסוד	Iesod	Foundation
מלכות	Malchuth	Kingdom

a All the first versions of transliterations provided are from the table in Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), Book 2, Cap.XIII 'De Decade, & eius scala', CXXVIII–CXIXX; idem, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), 218–219, which has a slight variant for Hochma. Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae Liber* (1587), 931–32 where we find, in a rather muddled sequence: *Hochma*, *Binah*, *Kether*, *Nezach*, *Hod*, *Tiphereth*, *Geburah*, *Malchuth*, *Haesed*, and *Pahad*.

It is interesting to note a similar sequence in Jean Thenaud's *La saincte et tres chrestienne Cabale, metrifiẽe* (*c.*1515–1520), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Français 882, f. 33^{v} where there is an image, 'La figure theomantique en la quelle sont selon les cabalistes les caractheres des noms de dieu' (The theomantic figure in which there are, according to the cabalists, the characters of the names of God). There we discover the sequence: 1. Kether, 2. Hochma, 3. Binath, 4. Nezah, 5. Hod, 6. Tiphereth, 7. Geburath, 8. Malcuth, 9. Hesed, 10. Pahad.

b Latin translations of the Hebrew names for the *Sephiroth* can be found in several of Khunrath's sources. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 703: corona, sapientia, prudentia sive intelligentia, clementia seu bonitas, gravitas vel severitas, ornatus, triumphus, confessio laudis, fundamentum, regnum. Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), Book 3, Cap.X 'De emanationibus divinis, quas Hebraei Numerationes …', 368–373: Cether/Corona seu diadema; Hochma/Sapientia; Bina/Providentia, seu intelligentia; Haesed/Clementia, sive bonitas; Geburach/ potentia, gravitas, fortitudo, securitas, iudicium; Tiphereth/ ornatus, pulchritudo, gloria, voluptas; Nezach/triumphus, & victoria; Hod/laus, & confeßio, & decor, & celebritas; Iesod/fundamentum; Malchuth/ regnum & imperium. Paulus Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 121–122: 1. Supremum diadema, 2. sapientia, 3. prudentia, 4. gratia/magnificentia/misericordia, 5. fortitudo, iudicium, 6. gloria, 7. aeternum, 8. confessio, 9. fundamentum, 10. regnum. See also Raguseo, *Epistolarum mathematicarum seu De diuinatione* (1623), 340: Hebrew & Latin translation: Corona, Sapientia, Intelligentia, Clementia, Fortitudo, Ornatus, Triumphus, Honor, Fundamentum, Regnum; with *Einsoph* as 'infinitatem'.

emanations of divine power mediating between God and the created universe, were to become one of the central features of Kabbalah.[44] The earliest printed version of the *Etz Chaim* or 'Tree of Life' available in a work aimed at Christian readers appeared in the *Sha'arei 'Orah* or *Gates of Light*, 'a kind of mystical mapping of the sefirotic world'[45] by the Spanish Kabbalist, Joseph Gikatilla (1248–*c*.1305). It was translated into Latin by the German Jewish convert to Christianity Paulus Ricius (Paolo Ricci, 1480–1541) and published as the *Portae Lucis* in 1516 (Figs. 4.2 & 4.3).[46] Another version of the Tree appeared in Ricci's *De Coelesti Agricultura* (On Celestial Agriculture, 1541, Fig. 4.4), a work dedicated to Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) and his brother Ferdinand I (1503–1564),[47] and later included in the anthology of Jewish Kabbalah and Christian Cabala, *Artis Cabalisticae Tomus I* (1587), compiled by Johann Pistorius (1546–1608), a Lutheran who turned first to Calvinism and then to Catholicism, eventually becoming confessor to Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612).[48]

Kabbalistic Tree (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022); idem, 'Kabbalah Practices/Practical Kabbalah: the Magic of Kabbalistic Trees', *Aries* 19:1 (2019), 112–145; idem, 'The Kabbalistic Tree as Material Text', *Henoch* 43:1 (2021): 162–196.

44 Although it never appears in Khunrath's work, there is sometimes the introduction of an eleventh *Sephirah*, *Da'at* (Knowledge). See, for example, Pinchas Giller, *Kabbalah: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 54–56.

45 Elke Morlok, 'Visual and Acoustic Symbols in Gikatilla, Neoplatonic and Pythagorean Thought', in Forshaw (ed.), *Lux in Tenebris: The Visual and the Symbolic in Western Esotericism*, 19–49. Cf. Idel, *Ascensions on High*, 215. See also Mary Carruthers on memory and architecture of thinking, *Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr 2003), 7–24, 221–222, 230, 255, 275–276; eadem, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; repr. 2008), 221, 295 n. 45.

46 On Ricius, see Crofton Black, 'From Kabbalah to Psychology: The Allegorizing Isagoge of Paulus Ricius, 1509–41', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 2:2 (2007): 136–173; Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, 87–99; Stefan Tilg, 'Zu Paulus Ricius (ca. 1480–1541/1542): eine außergewöhnliche Karriere in der Zeit des Humanismus', *ASCHKENAS – Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 16:2 (2006): 561–582.

47 See Purš, 'The Habsburgs on the Bohemian Throne and Their Interest in Alchemy and the Occult Sciences', 99 concerning Hebraic and Cabalistic studies.

48 Purš, 'Rudolf II's Patronage of Alchemy and the Natural Sciences', 170. For Ricius's Latin translation, see Joseph Gikatilla, *Portae Lucis, Haec est porta Tetragrammaton iusti intrabunt per eam* (Augsburg, 1516); Rabi Iosephi Castiliensis, *de Porta Lucis Tractatus pulcherrimus*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 138ff; for a modern translation, Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla, the son of Abraham, *Sha'are Orah: Gates of Light*, translated by Avi Weinstein (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1994).

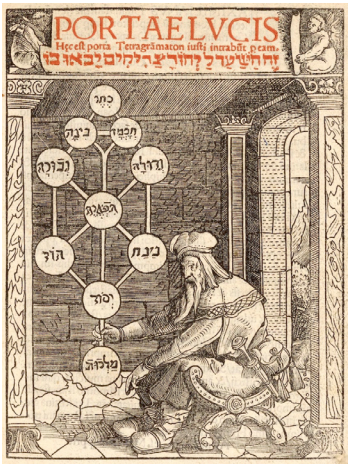
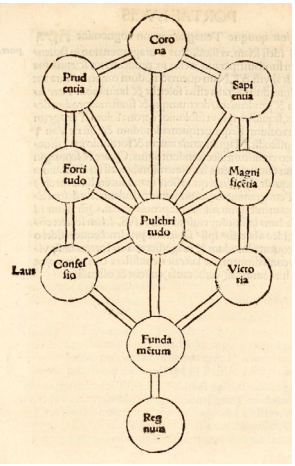


FIGURE 4.2
Gikatilla, *Portae Lucis* (1516), title page. Ritman Library, Amsterdam



Tree of Life diagrams

FIGURE 4.3
Gikatilla, *Portae Lucis* (1516), sig. Kiiij^{v}. Ritman Library, Amsterdam

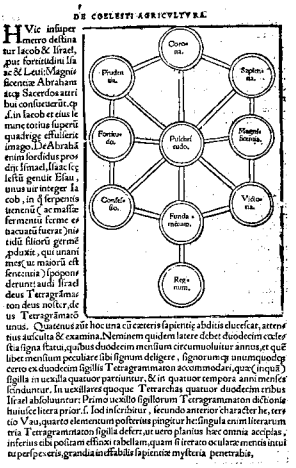


FIGURE 4.4
Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura* (1541), CXIII^{v}. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

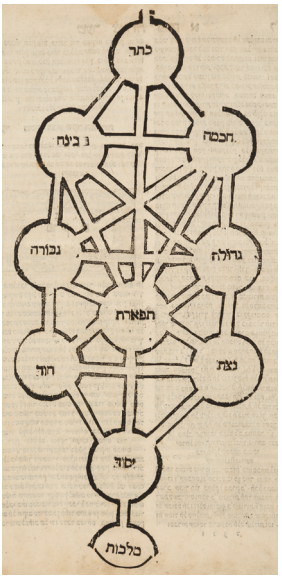


FIGURE 4.5
Cordovero, *Pardes Rimonim* (1591), 39^{v} Tree of Life. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM ROF A-67

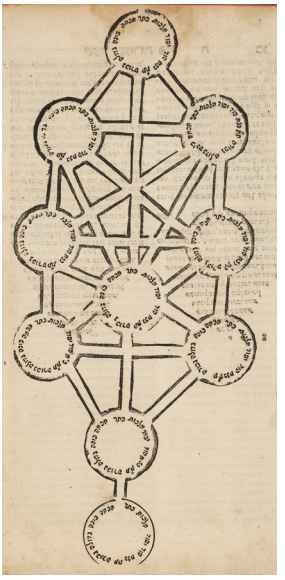


FIGURE 4.6
Cordovero, *Pardes Rimonim* (1591), 43^{v} Tree of Life. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM ROF A-67



FIGURE 4.7
Cordovero, *Pardes Rimonim* (1591), 89^{v} Divine Name. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM ROF A-67

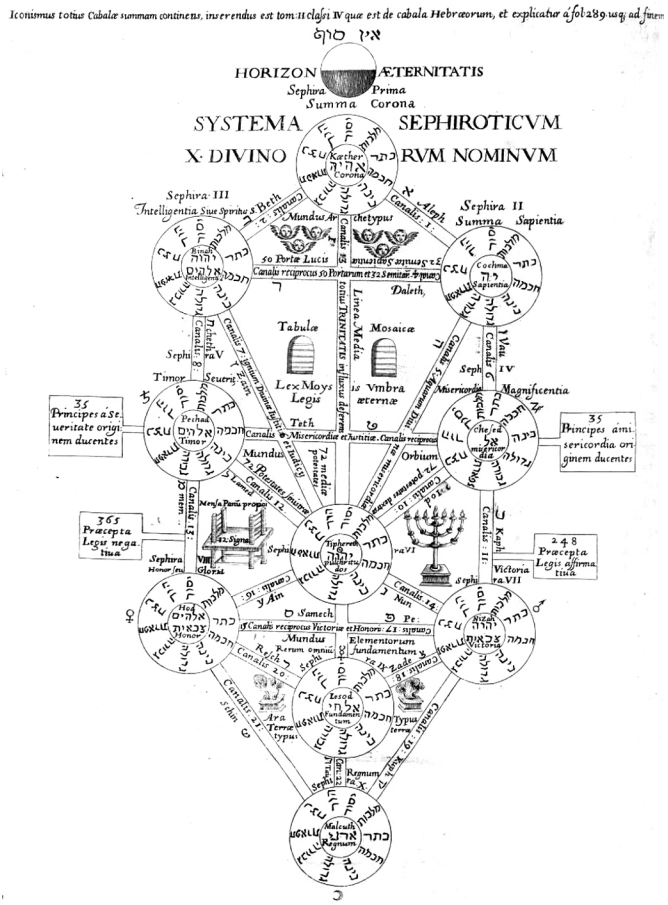


FIGURE 4.8
Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1653), Vol. 2, Part 1, between pp. 288–9 'Systema Sephiroticum'. Bayerische StaatsBibliothek Munich

What has come to be the standard version, with different proportions from Ricci's versions, is modelled on a diagram that appeared in the Hebrew print edition of Moses Cordovero's *Sepher Pardes Rimonim* (Book of the Orchard of Pomegranates, Figs. 4.5 & 4.6), written in Safed in 1548; published in Cracow in 1591, where we also find representations of the divine name (such as Yah and Hu in a large Aleph, Fig. 4.7).[49] By the seventeenth century, the Christian West had access to elaborate representations of the Tree of Life in the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Egyptian Oedipus, 1652–54, Fig. 4.8) and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata* (Kabbalah Unveiled,

49 Segol, *Word and Image in Medieval Kabbalah: The Texts, Commentaries, and Diagrams of the Sefer Yetsirah*, 170 n. 22.

1677–78, Fig. 4.9),[50] the top three 'supernal' *sefiroth* often equated by Christian Cabalists with the three persons of the Trinity.[51]

Following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and then from Portugal in 1497, kabbalistic works and doctrines enjoyed a wide dissemination throughout Europe in Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities.[52] By this time, as Moshe Idel has shown, there were three major models of Kabbalah: 1) the ecstatic or prophetic Kabbalah of the school of the Spanish kabbalist Abraham Abulafia (1240–1291) with its emphasis on the permutations of the *Shemoth* (divine names) for possible union with the divine; 2) a Theosophical-Theurgical Kabbalah, as exemplified by the Italian rabbi Menahem Recanati (1250–1310) with its focus on the *Sephiroth*, and 3) an astromagical Kabbalah articulated by the Italian humanist philosopher Yohanan Alemanno (1435–*c.*1504).[53] Recanati is mainly concerned with the ten *Sephiroth* as divine emanations and engages in a symbolic exegesis of scripture as the way to unravel their mysteries. The father of prophetic Kabbalah, Abulafia, on the other hand, concentrates on the names of God and their permutations as a spiritual contemplative discipline by which man can attain union with the divine.[54] Each of these models

50 Athanasius Kircher, 'Systema Sephiroticum', in the section 'Cabala Hebraeorum', *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1652–54), Vol. 2 (1653), Part 1, 209–360, inserted between 288–89; Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala Denudata, seu, Doctrina Hebræorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque theologica: Opus Antiquissimæ Philosophiæ Barbaricæ variis speciminibus refertissimum*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1677–84), Vol. 1 (1677) '"Apparatus in Librum Sohar", Pars Quarta quae continet explicationem Arborum seu Tabularum', 195–255. This contains the analysis of 16 figures. For Figure XII, see 233–235.

51 Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 142. See Alon Goshen-Gottstein, 'The Triune and the Decaune God: Christianity and Kabbalah as Objects of Jewish Polemics with Special Reference to Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne's *Milhemet Mitzva*', in Theo L. Hettema and Arie van der Kooij (eds.), *Religious Polemics in Context* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), 165–97.

52 See the essays in Karl Erich Grözinger and Joseph Dan (eds.), *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

53 Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280–1510: A Survey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 328f 'Three Kabbalistic Models'. For an early modern discussion of a threefold Cabala (Cabala triplex), see Raguseo, *Epistolarum mathematicarum seu De diuinatione* (1623), 327–371 Epistola v. *De Cabala*, at 330–331 where he differentiates between: Cabala Raimundi, Magorum, & Hebraeorum. The first *Cabala of Raymund Lull* is 'ars quaedam ab eodem excogitata, qua brevi temporis spatio, scientias omnes se docere facile posse professus est', with reference to the pseudo-Lullian *De auditu Cabalistico*; the second, *Cabala of the Mages* 'occulta scientia est, qua observatis quibusdam siderum constitutionibus, rebusque agentibus, & patientibus simulpositis, admirabiles effectus eduntur: id, quod interdum solis naturae viribus, interdum vero Daemonum etiam auxilio, contingere solet'; while *Cabala of the Jews* 'mystica dicitur Divinae Scripturae expositio, quae mentem ad sublimia elevat, hominem a fluxis, & mortalibus rebus ad caelestium, & divinarum contemplationem ducit, eiumque sapientissimum reddit.'

54 On Abulafia and Recanati, see Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, *passim*. Abulafia's belief in possible union with the divine is a rather heterodox notion in Judaism.

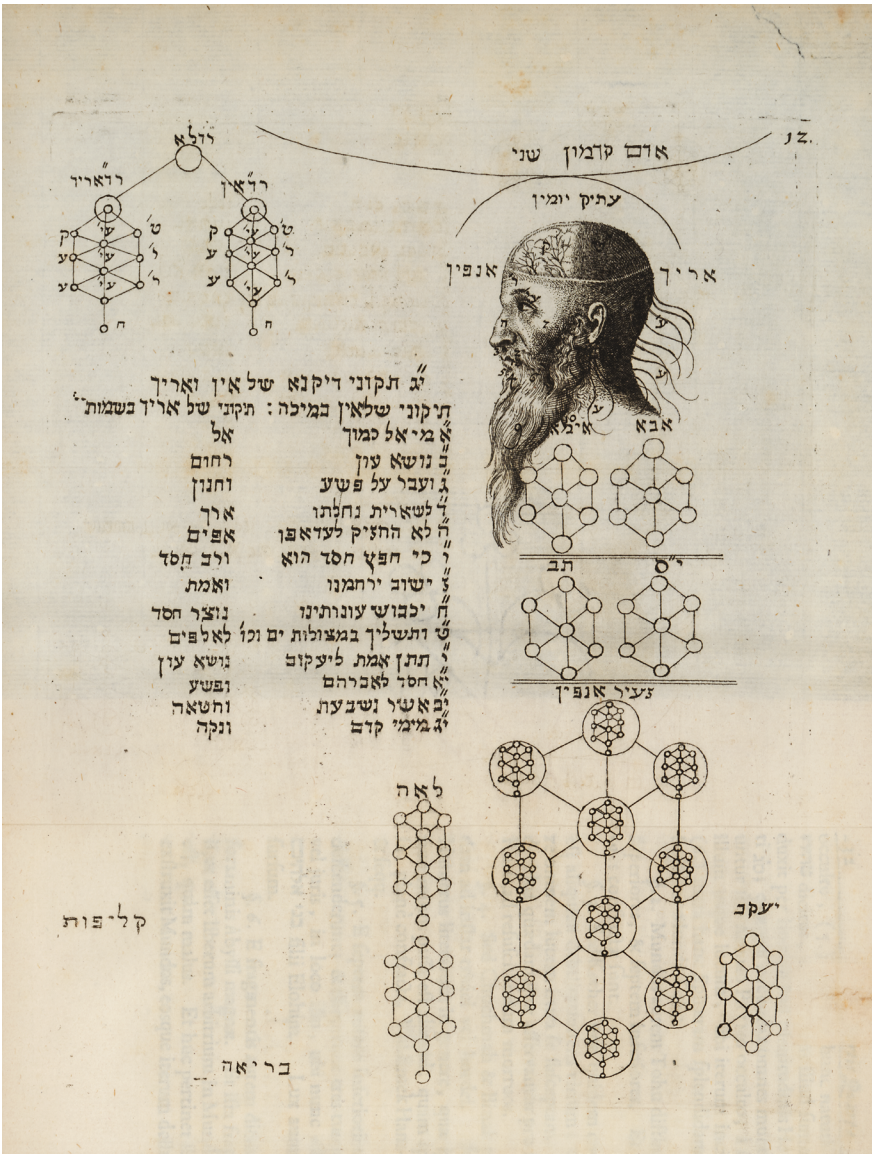


FIGURE 4.9 Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata* (1677–78), Vol. 1, Figure XII. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM RON A-4458

represents different combinations and considerations of the balance between *Kabbalah iyyunit* and *Kabbalah ma'asit*, or speculative and practical Kabbalah, between scriptural exegesis and operative action.[55]

55 Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 328ff.

7 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and the Genesis of Christian Cabala

When we turn to Christian interest in Jewish doctrines, it is worth bearing in mind Joseph Dan's distinction between Christian Hebraism and Christian Kabbalism: for the former, the acquisition of 'a systematic knowledge of the Hebrew language enables one to understand better the Hebrew bible, and thus gain new insights into the sources of Christianity'; while for the latter 'non-biblical Hebrew traditions, or oral traditions of biblical interpretation preserved by the kabbalists, serve as an independent source demonstrating the truth of Christianity.' Dan goes further and argues that 'interest in the kabbalah was new … an expression of dissatisfaction with the accepted sources and a quest for new affirmations of the Christian message.' He sees this openness to non-Christian sources as another thread in the Renaissance rediscovery of antiquity, of the *prisca theologia* (ancient theology), valuing material attributed to Zoroaster and Hermes, Pythagoras and Orpheus, the Chaldean Oracles and Egyptian hieroglyphs.[56]

Various individuals have been proposed as responsible for the birth of a specifically Christian Cabala.[57] The oldest record of a conversion to Christianity due to kabbalistic interpretation of scripture is found in Abulafia's *Gan Na'ul* (Sealed Garden), where he mentions a group of disciples who converted to Catholicism.[58] Two early candidates are the conversos Raymund Martini (1220–1285), whose *Pugio Fidei* (Dagger of Faith) contains Christological speculations contributing to the notion of a Christian appropriation of Kabbalah, and the philosopher and anti-Jewish polemicist Abner of Burgos (b. *c.*1270),

56 Dan, 'Introduction', in Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah*, 14–15.

57 For literature on Christian Cabala, see François Secret's classic, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964), as well as his *Hermétisme et Kabbale* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1992); Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah*. See also Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, as well as his three-volume survey of significant figures, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Vol. 1: *15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (2012); Vol. 2: 1600–1660 (2013); Vol. 3: 1660–1850 (2013), and the somewhat older work by Joseph Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944). See also Andreas Kilcher, *Sprachtheorie der Kabbala als ästhetisches Paradigma: Die Konstruktion einer ästhetischen Kabbala seit der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 1998) for reflections, for example, on 'Kabbala als Sprachmagie'. For a discussion of Jewish responses, see Idel, 'Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah'.

58 Gershom Scholem, 'The Beginnings of the Christian Kabbalah', in Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books & Their Christian Interpreters*, 17–51, at 25 writes that the oldest documentation of a conversion to Christianity attributable to kabbalist methods of exegesis is found in the work of Abulafia, who gives the account of how some of his disciples rearranged the letters of 'in his shadow' in the Song of Songs 2:3 to discover the words 'his cross'.

later known by his conversion name Alfonso of Valladolid.[59] A third candidate sometimes mentioned, this time a Christian by birth, is the Majorcan mystic Ramon Lull (1225–1315), under whose name appeared the pseudepigraphic *De auditu Kabbalistico* (On Kabbalistic audition), which, notwithstanding its title, shows little evidence of any knowledge of the Jewish tradition.[60] The Spanish converso Paulo de Heredia's (*c*.1420–1486) *Iggeret ha-Sodot* (Epistle of Secrets), cited by influential Christian exponents of and commentators on Kabbalah, such as Petrus Galatinus (1460–1540) and Athanasius Kircher (1601/2–1680),[61] is sometimes considered to be the first recognizable work of Christian Cabala, though of a somewhat dubious reputation, due to Heredia's tendency to cite from unidentified, possibly non-existent kabbalistic works and to distort quotes from genuine sources like the *Zohar*.[62]

Christian speculation about the Kabbalah first really seems to have taken root during the Florentine Renaissance of the fifteenth century. While Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) was busy translating and writing commentaries on the works of Plato, Plotinus, and Hermes Trismegistus, his younger contemporary Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) began studying kabbalistic works, as part of his project to create a syncretic *philosophia nova*, a synthesis of Aristotelian and Platonic thought with esoteric doctrines gleaned from *prisci theologi* like Zoroaster, Orpheus, Hermes Trismegistus and Pythagoras. Pico is the first author raised as a Christian who is known to have read an impressive amount of genuine Jewish Kabbalah, under the tutelage of Yohanan Alemanno and Flavius Mithridates (1450–1483).[63] Pico considered himself 'the first among Latin scholars to refer directly to the kabbalah';[64] his work certainly marks a watershed in the history of Hebrew and Aramaic studies in Europe, leading

59 Scholem, 'The Beginnings', 18; Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 227–235; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Political Theology in Renaissance Christian Kabbala: Petrus Galatinus and Guillaume Postel', *Hebraic Political Studies*, 1:3 (2006): 286–309, at 291–293.

60 Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala*, 117; Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Brill, Leiden, 2000), 27.

61 See Secret, 'L'*Ensis Pauli* de Paulus de Heredia', *Sefarad* 26 (1966): 79–102; 254–271; Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala: 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 281–300; idem, 'Political Theology in Renaissance Christian Kabbala', 293–298.

62 Scholem, 'The Beginnings', 30ff.

63 M.V. Dougherty, 'Three Precursors to Pico della Mirandola's Roman Disputation and the Question of Human Nature in the *Oratio*', in M.V. Dougherty (ed.), *Pico della Mirandola: New Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 114–151, at 140 concerning Alemanno; Sheila Rabin, 'Pico on Magic and Astrology', 156 concerning Mithridates.

64 Scholem, 'The Beginnings', 21. This is corroborated by Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 89 who tells us that 'the use of the term "Kabbalists," or "Kabbalics," was first introduced to the Latin by Pico della Mirandola. Before him it was unknown'.

Chaim Wirszubski and G. Lloyd Jones to call him the 'Father of Christian Kabbalah/Cabala'.[65]

So enthusiastic was Pico about this Jewish mystical tradition that in 1486, at the age of 23, the 'Phoenix of his Age' published 900 *Conclusiones Philosophicae Cabalisticae et Theologicae* (Philosophical, Cabalistical and Theological Conclusions), hoping for a debate in Rome before Pope Innocent VIII and leading theologians and scholars of his day.[66] In this work Pico introduced the Christian West to his own Christian form of Cabala, in the prefatory *Oration*, later titled 'On the Dignity of Man',[67] and in 119 Conclusions on the 'Science of Cabala'. These were divided into 47 'Cabalistic Conclusions according to the Secret Teaching of the Wise Hebrew Cabalists',[68] which were taken directly from Jewish sources, including Recanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Gikatilla's *Gates of Justice*, and the *Bahir*, and 72 'Cabalistic Conclusions according to my own opinion, strongly confirming the Christian Religion from the very Principles of the Hebrew Wise Men'.[69] The latter drew from works by Abulafia, Azriel of Gerona, and Recanati, whose writings contain numerous quotes from the *Zohar*. All of this was augmented by additional references to Kabbalah in other groups of conclusions, including those on magic, on the teachings of Mercury Trismegistus, Zoroaster, and the Orphic Hymns.[70]

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65 G. Lloyd Jones, 'Introduction', in Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 16. On Pico and Kabbalah, see Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, Cap.III 'Pic de la Mirandole et le Milieu Italien de la Kabbale Chretienne'; Klaus Reichert, 'Pico della Mirandola and the Beginnings of Christian Kabbala', in Grözinger and Dan (eds.), *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, 195–207; Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*. On Pico as creator of the "first true Christian Cabala", see Bernard McGinn, 'Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought', in Richard H. Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner (eds.), *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), 11–34; Kocku Von Stuckrad, 'Christian Kabbalah and Anti-Jewish Polemics: Pico in Context', in Olav Hammer and Kocku von Stuckrad (eds.), *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–23.

66 On Pico more generally, see Dougherty (ed.), *Pico della Mirandola: New Essays*.

67 For translations of the *Oration*, see Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, trans. Forbes in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*; *On the Dignity of Man, On Being and the One, Heptaplus*, trans. Wallis, Miller, and Carmichael. See also Brian P. Copenhaver, 'The Secret of Pico's *Oration*: Cabala and Renaissance Philosophy', *Midwest Studies in Philosophy*, XXVI (2002): 56–81.

68 'Conclusiones Cabalisticae Numero XLVII Secundum Secretam Doctrinam Sapientum Hebraeorum Cabalistarum.' See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*.

69 'Conclusiones Cabalisticae Numero LXXII Secundum Opinionem Propriam, ex ipsis Hebraeorum Sapientum Fundamentis Christianam Religionem Maxime Confirmantes.' See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)*.

70 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 343, 421, 489, 497–503, 507, 511.

Pico's two major influences were Abulafia and Recanati, representatives of quite different types of Kabbalah, the former ecstatic, the latter theosophical-theurgical. The presence of both these traditions is evident in the first of Pico's 'Cabalistic Conclusions Confirming the Christian Religion' (11>1), where he declares, 'Whatever other Cabalists say, in a first division I distinguish the science of Cabala into the science of *sefirot* and *shemot*, as it were into practical and speculative science.'[71] This division implies two variant conceptions of kabbalah: the speculative kabbalah of the emanations and the practical or ecstatic, prophetic kabbalah of the divine names. Pico's first group of kabbalistic conclusions is almost exclusively concerned with the *sephiroth*, while the second group, which begins with the above distinction, engages with both approaches. Although Pico never enters into a detailed or systematic discussion of the important kabbalistic doctrines of the *Sephiroth*, the paths of wisdom, and the gates of intelligence, he does show that he is aware of these teachings from genuine Jewish sources and understands their relation to kabbalistic theories of creation and revelation.[72] The proposed debate in Rome never took place and the Pope ended up condemning thirteen of Pico's theses as heretical, including the Magical Conclusion that 'There is no science that assures us more of the divinity of Christ than magic and Cabala'.[73] Despite these condemnations, Pico continued to show an interest in Kabbalah and the claims that he made concerning the Kabbalah in his *Conclusions* were to leave an enduring impression on early modern esoteric thought. We find many of the themes adopted by later Christian Cabalists, such as the vital significance of the Hebrew letters and their connection to the *Sephiroth*, as well as the privileged status of the Hebrew language with relation to magic.[74]

In the *Heptaplus* (1489), subtitled *On the Sevenfold Narration of the Six Days of Creation*, published three years after the *Conclusions*, Pico provides a 'multiple-level exegesis' containing seven chapters, all dealing with the first day

71 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 519.

72 On the extent of Pico's knowledge of Hebrew material, see Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*. On the Latin translation of the *Sepher ha-Niqqud* for Pico della Mirandola, see Yosef Giqatilla, *The Book of Punctuation: Flavius's Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited by Annett Martini with a Foreword by Giulio Busi (Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2010).

73 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 497 (9>9). See Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 112, Reichert, 'Pico della Mirandola and the Beginnings of Christian Kabbala', 199, though none were taken from the kabbalistic theses.

74 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, Cap.111; Reichert, 'Pico della Mirandola and the Beginnings of Christian Kabbala', 195–207.

of creation from a different perspective.[75] Although he avoids using the term Cabala throughout the work, a final section, an epilogue, contains a detailed Christian-Cabalist exegesis or 'Exposition of the first phrase of Genesis 1:1: *In the beginning*'.[76] The non-semantic aspects of language and communication familiar to Jewish midrashic and kabbalistic exegetes, and appropriated by Pico in the *Conclusions* and *Heptaplus* form the basis of the following section.[77]

8 Exegetical Techniques in Jewish Kabbalah

In the course of his discussion of Jewish Kabbalah, Pico explicitly states that one primary motivation for his interest lies in certain exegetical techniques that can be used for evangelical purposes against Jews and heretics.[78] Traditional rabbinic exegesis of the Torah used a four-fold system resembling the Christian *quadriga* of literal, allegorical, moral, and mystical levels of reading scripture.[79] An important aspect of the new concept of language that Pico found in his 'kabbalistic' sources, however, was a set of exegetical techniques

75 B.C. Novak, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Jochanan Alemanno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 125–47, at 136.

76 Paul Richard Blum, 'Pico, Theology, and the Church,' in M.V. Dougherty (ed.), *Pico della Mirandola: New Essays*, 37–60, at 55.

77 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 71 points out that these methodologies are not confined to kabbalah; they are part of midrashic exegesis, which is based on the belief in language as a divine instrument by which God created the world.

78 A substantial portion of this section has appeared in my essays: 'Kabbalah', in Christopher Partridge (ed.), *The Occult World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 541–551; 'Christian Kabbalah', in Glenn Alexander Magee (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Western Mysticism and Esotericism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 143–155; and 'The Genesis of Christian Kabbalah: Early Modern Speculations on the Work of Creation', in Caroline Vander Stichele and Susanne Scholz (eds.), *Hidden Truths from Eden: Esoteric Readings of Genesis 1–3* (Semeia Studies, Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 121–144.

79 On fourfold exegetical systems, including Gikatilla's fourfold *Perush* (Interpretation), *Be'ur* (Explanation), *Pesher* (Clarification) and *Derush* (Homily-Exposition), see Moshe Idel, *Language, Torah, and Hermeneutics in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), Chapter 3. Cf. Pico's discussion of Talmudic exegesis and differentiation between *Sehel* (Tropologicus) and *Cabala* (Anagogicus), in Joannis Pici Mirandulae *Omnia Opera* (Paris, 1517), Apologia, sig. [Ivj^{v}] 'Et istum modum sequuntur maxime doctores Talmutici. Tropologicus dicitur sehel, quem sequuntur Abraam abnazara, ubi litteraliter non exponit et Levibengerson et multi allii et ante omnes Rabi Moyses Aegypticus. Anagogicus dicitur cabala, et hoc quia illo expositio quae dicitur ore dei tradita Moysi et accepta per successionem … est sublimior et divinior sursum nos ducens a terrenis ad caelestia a sensibilibus ad intelligibilia, a temporalibus ad aeterna, ab infimis ad supremam, ab humanis ad divina, corporalibus ad spiritualia.' See also A. Van der Heide, 'Pardes: Methodological Reflections on the Theory of the Four Senses', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 34 (1983): 147–159; Moshe Idel, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah*

having no counterpart in the Christian interpretation of scripture. The Jewish method of exegesis held a fundamental difference: the Christian exegete unravelled meaning while leaving the text itself intact; the Kabbalist, however, employed interpretative techniques that reshaped and transformed the written text, decomposing or atomising it into its constitutive elements, the Hebrew letters, indeed even reducing those into their parts, discovering (or inventing) a plethora of new meanings in seemingly familiar material.[80] Joseph Dan explains this 'extension of meaning to non-semantic aspects of language':

> Hebrew exegesis regarded many components of language as integral parts of divine revelation, including the shapes of the Hebrew characters, the vocalization signs (*nekudot*) and the musical signs (*te'amim*), the names of the letters and of the signs, the 'crowns' (*tagin*) adorning the letters in sacred writings, the numerical value of letters (*gematria*), the possibilities of transmuting letters and exchanging them, and many others.[81]

These textual elements were combined and permuted according to three main hermeneutical techniques, most memorably represented by Joseph Gikatilla's acronym in his *Ginnat 'Egoz* (Nut Garden).[82] The three letters of the Hebrew word for 'garden' (גנת, GNTh/*Ginnat*) denote the techniques of *Gematria* (arithmetical computations), *Notarikon*/*Notariacon* (manipulation of letters into acronyms and acrostics) and *Temurah* or *Tseruf* (permutation, commutation, or transposition of letters).[83] As Gikatilla explains in the *Sefer ha-Niqqud* (Book of Punctuation),

> The Torah is a fabric woven of letters. For when you say the word *Bereshit* (in the beginning) the six letters of which are combined, through the act of combination of these letters and the depth of the implications of their

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and Interpretation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 429–435; Gershom Scholem, 'The Meaning of the Torah in Jewish Mysticism', *Diogenes*, 4:14 (Summer 1956): 36–47.

80 On Kabbalistic exegesis, see, Brian P. Copenhaver, 'Number, Shape, and Meaning in Pico's Christian Cabala: The Upright *Tsade*, the Closed *Mem*, and the Gaping Jaws of Azazel', in Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (eds.), *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), 25–76.

81 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 70–71.

82 Khunrath never cites Gikatilla, but is doubtless aware of him from Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533) Book 2, Chapter 10 where, for instance, we read of the 'Seven habitations of infernals, which Rabbi Joseph of Castilia the Cabalist describes in the Garden of Nuts.'

83 Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 72, 225. See also Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 299.

revolutions and combinations the prophets entered into and perceived the depths of the Torah.[84]

One of the most evocative and succinct statements of the exegetical potential of these approaches is found in the Spanish scholastic philosopher Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz's *Cabalae totius brevissimum specimen* (A very brief Explanation of the Whole of Cabala, 1643), where he writes that 'Cabala, therefore, or the Theology of the Hebrews, has as it were six sacred faculties or species' (namely: *Transmaterialization*, *Transformation*, *Transfiguration*, *Transposition*, *Transpunction*, & *Transnumeration*).[85]

9 Gematria

Because every Hebrew letter possesses an inherent numerical value (Fig. 4.10), every letter, word and phrase in the Torah has a mathematical significance by which correspondences can be found between words and phrases that have

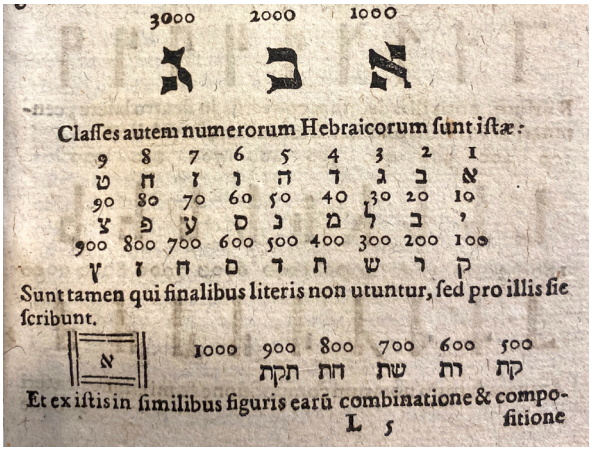
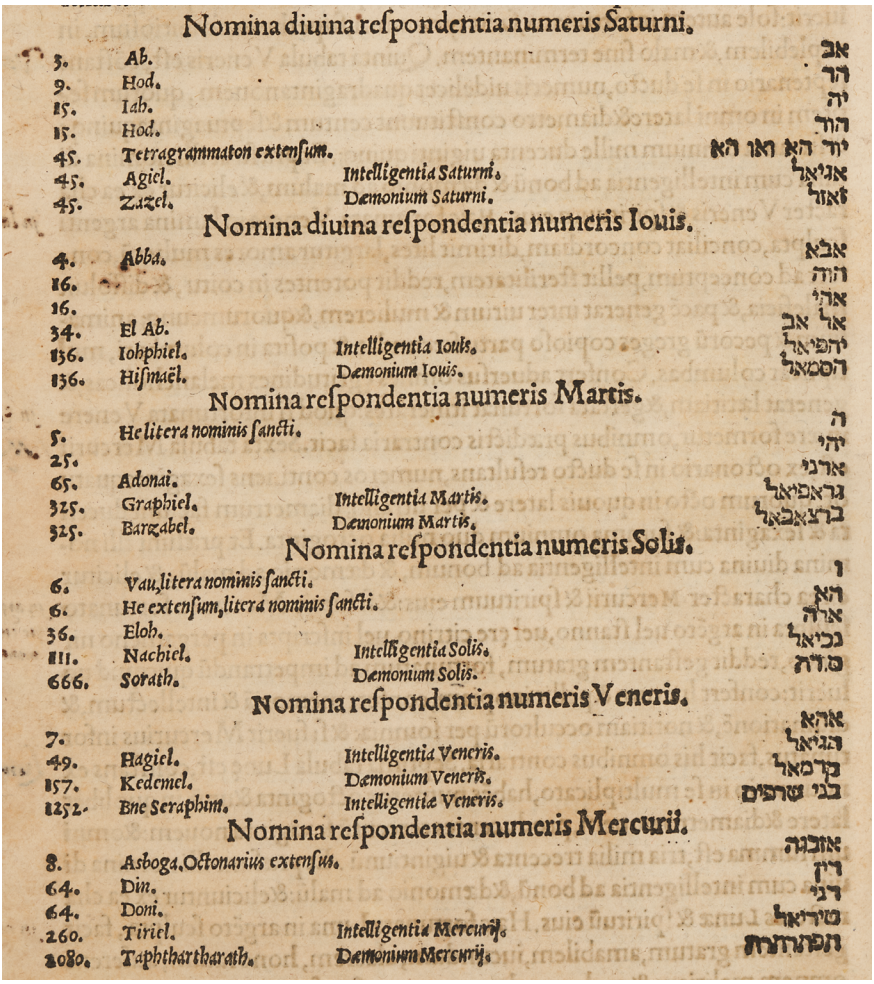


FIGURE 4.10
Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book 2, Chapter 19, in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), 169 Hebrew Alphabet. Allard Pierson, Amsterdam PH1830

84 Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 177. On the Latin translation of the *Sefer ha-Niqqud* for Pico della Mirandola, see Yosef Giqatilla, *The Book of Punctuation: Flavius's Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version*, edited by Annett Martini with a Foreword by Giulio Busi.

85 Ioan Caramvelis Lobcowitzi, *Cabalae totius brevissimum specimen*, in Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), *De anagrammatismo quae cabalae pars est* (Brussels, 1643), 67ff, at 68 'Cabala igitur, seu Hebraeorum Theologia, sex facultates sacras (nimirum *Transmaterializationem, Transformationem, Transfigurationem, Transpositionem, Transpunctionem, & Transnumerationem*) velut species habet.' Lobkowitz then goes on to list them with Hebrew terms. See Yossef Schwartz, '"On Rabbinic Atheism": Caramuel's Critique of Cabala'.


Nomina diuina reſpondentia numeris Saturni.

3.	Ab.		אב
9.	Hod.		הד
15.	Iah.		יה
15.	Hod.		הוד
45.	Tetragrammaton extenſum.		יוד הא ואו הא
45.	Agiel.	Intelligentia Saturni.	אגיאל
45.	Zazel.	Dæmonium Saturni.	זאזל

Nomina diuina reſpondentia numeris Iouis.

4.	Abba.		אבא
16.			והה
16.			אהי
34.	El Ab.		אל אב
136.	Iohphiel.	Intelligentia Iouis.	יהפיאל
136.	Hiſmaël.	Dæmonium Iouis.	הסמאל

Nomina reſpondentia numeris Martis.

5.	He litera nominis ſancti.		ה
25.			יהי
65.	Adonai.		ארני
325.	Graphiel.	Intelligentia Martis.	גראפיאל
325.	Barzabel.	Dæmonium Martis.	ברצאבאל

Nomina reſpondentia numeris Solis.

6.	Vau, litera nominis ſancti.		ו
6.	He extenſum, litera nominis ſancti.		והא
36.	Eloh.		אלה
111.	Nachiel.	Intelligentia Solis.	נכיאל
666.	Sorath.	Dæmonium Solis.	סורת

Nomina reſpondentia numeris Veneris.

7.			אהא
49.	Hagiel.	Intelligentia Veneris.	הגיאל
157.	Kedemel.	Dæmonium Veneris.	קדמאל
1252.	Bne Seraphim.	Intelligentiæ Veneris.	בני שרפים

Nomina reſpondentia numeris Mercurii.

8.	Asboga, Octonarius extenſus.		אזבוגה
64.	Din.		דין
64.	Doni.		דני
260.	Tiriel.	Intelligentia Mercurij.	טיריאל
2080.	Taphthartharath.	Dæmonium Mercurij.	תפתרתרת

FIGURE 4.11 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (July 1533), Book 2, Chapter 22, CXLVIII Gematria: Divine names corresponding to the numbers of the planets. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1680

nothing to do with one other on the lexical level,[86] thereby revealing internal resonances within seemingly disparate sources.[87] Even the most literal and mundane-sounding text could, by means of the isopsephic equations in the technique of *Gematria*, be reinterpreted in novel ways, giving it a symbolic

86 Reichert, 'Christian Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century', 131.

87 Dan and Kiener, *The Early Kabbalah*, 11.

transvaluation, imbuing it with new depth.[88] The 32 'wondrous paths of wisdom' with which the *Sepher Yetzirah* opens, for example, are denoted by the Hebrew letters ל *Lamed* (with the value 30) and ב *Beth* (with the value 2), which combine to form the Hebrew word לב '*Leb*', meaning 'heart'.[89] These letters are also the first and last letters of the Torah – the *Beth* of בראשית (*Bereshit*), the first word of Genesis 1:1 and the *Lamed* of ישראל (*Israel*), the last word of Deuteronomy 34:12. Thus the five books of Moses constitute the 'heart' of the Kabbalah, together with the ten *Sephiroth* and the 22 letters of the alphabet that form all the *Shemoth* or divine names.[90] On a more sophisticated level, Abulafia provides support for the traditional claim that the world was created with ten utterances by demonstrating that the phrases the 'Work of Creation' מעשה בראשית (*Ma'aseh Bereshit*) and 'with ten names' בעשרה השמות (*Ba-'asarah ha-shemot*) both add up to the same total of 1328.[91] Abulafia also provides the oldest documentation of a conversion to Christianity due to a kabbalistic style of exegesis of Song of Songs 2:3 'As the apple tree among the trees of the woods, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow, whom I desired: and his fruit was sweet to my palate.' The letters of the word בצלו (under his shadow) are shuffled to form the word צלבו (his cross), to yield the meaning 'I love his cross' or 'I live happily in the shadow of his cross';

88 As Joseph Dan points out in 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', this is not, strictly speaking, solely the domain of Kabbalistic exegesis, but is also found in midrash. See also Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, 237 who observes that 'this method of dividing the word *bereshit* into its separate components is already found in the Midrash aggada … and is a set feature of the *Tikkunei Zohar*.' On isopsephic equations between *Bereshit* and *bethora jatsar*, 'he created in the law', i.e., 'in the Torah', both phrases adding up to 913, see Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), Vol. II, Pars 1, 218; Cherubinus a Sancto Josepho, *Bibliotheca criticae sacrae theologiam positivam scholastica fere methodo* (Louvain, 1704), 460. For a variant equation of *Bereshit* with *Bemisuath ase*, i.e., with an 'affirmative precept', see Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 220–221.

89 Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 168. Kaplan, *The Bahir Illumination*, 23 Section 63 'The heart (*Lev*) is thirty-two. These are concealed, and with them the world was created. He said "These are the 32 Paths." [note 41]'; 36 Section 98 'And what is this Heart? It is the 32 hidden paths of wisdom that are hidden in it. [note 89]'.

90 Moshe Idel, *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 67 'All these things are comprised in Sefer Yezirah, and this is the reason why the Sages opened [Sefer Yezirah] with LB, and it is the essence of the written Torah, as we said B of *Bereshit* [and] L of Israel. … In the hand of that man there was a knife, and he was erasing the *aleph* of the word 'emet and there remained 'met' [death]'; 157 'Shit means six in Aramaic, and below the author mentions six limbs'. See also Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 198; Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), Vol. II, Pars 1, 260.

91 Black, *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics*, 143.

or rearranged to form the word צלוב, giving the reading 'in the shadow of the crucified.'[92] Khunrath would have been familiar with some Gematric calculations from Book 2 of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, in which Chapter 19 treats 'Of the marks of the Hebrews and Chaldeans, and certain other marks of the Magicians' (Fig. 4.10),[93] while Chapter 22 includes a table of divine names corresponding to the numbers of the seven planets, following the Ptolemaic sequence from Saturn to the Moon (Fig. 4.11).[94]

10 Notarikon/Notariacon

The technique of *Notarikon*, or the 'manipulation of letters' was essentially a technique making use of acrostics or acronyms, on the assumption that passages in the Torah could be interpreted by taking single letters from a string of words to create new words, or, vice versa, that the individual letters of a single word formed a chain of the initials of different words. The letters concerned were sometimes indicated by a mark placed above them; hence the term *Notarikon* 'from the marks or *notaria* on the top of each letter,' similar to the practice of notaries and actuaries.[95] One example of *Notarikon* popular in Christian-Cabalist works, including Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, is an amulet on which the Hebrew letters בווו BVVVV are written on the obverse and the letters צמרכח TsMRKH on the reverse (Fig. 4.12).[96] These groups of characters are the initial and final letters of the first five verses of Genesis and, as such, 'a representation of the creation of the world',[97] by which one shall be free from all mischiefs of men and evil spirits.[98]

92 Scholem, 'The Beginnings', 25.

93 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), Lib.II, Cap.XIX, 236 'De notis Hebraeorum & Chaldaeorum, & quibusdam aliis Magorum notis.'

94 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), Lib.II, Cap.XX, 'De planetarum mensulis, earumque virtutibus & formulis …', 242–253, at 247–248.

95 Reuchlin, *On the Art of Kabbalah*, 299.

96 The final letter of TsMRKH is confusing because the final word of verse 5 is the 'd' of *ekhad* (one); perhaps the feminine form *Ekhat* is being substituted and what looks like ח *Cheth* is really a ת *Tav*? Strictly speaking, as Kircher makes clear in *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54), Vol. II, Pars 1, 343, the final letter of TsMRKH is from the word 'Night', the conclusion of the first part of verse 5.

97 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1993), 477.

98 See Reuchlin, *On the Art of Kabbalah*, 349; Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CCXXXI, Book 3, Chapter XI 'Of the Divine Names, and their Power and Virtue'.



FIGURE 4.12 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (July 1533), CCXXXI, Book 3, Chapter XI 'Of the Divine Names, and their Power and Virtue': 'Genesis' Amulet. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1680

In the same chapter of *De Occulta Philosophia*, Agrippa includes

> a sacred seal more efficacious against any diseases of man, or any griefs whatsoever, in whose foreside are the four squared names of God, so subordinated to one another in a square, that from the highest to the lowest those most holy names or seals of the Godhead do arise, whose intention is inscribed in the circumferential circle, but on the backside is inscribed the seven-lettered name ארארית Ararita, and his interpretation is written about, viz. the verse from which it is extracted (Fig. 4.13).[99]

The sixteen cells of the square on the front of the seal horizontally contain the divine names *Yahweh*, *Adonai*, *Jiai* (ייאי), equal in value to the name *El*,[100] and *Ehieh*, while around the circumference we read the Jewish *Shema* prayer from Deuteronomy 6:4 *Yahweh Eloheinu Yahweh Echad*, 'God our God is one God'.[101] On the reverse of the seal we find the word *Araritha* in the centre, every letter with a notarical dot on top; around the circumference this word is expanded into: אחד ראש אחדותו ראש ייחודו תמורתו אחד (*echad rosh acheduto rosh Iechudo temurato echad*) and translates as 'One [represents] the principle of his unity, the principle of his singularity [and] his permutation – [all of which are] One.'[102]

99 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1993; repr. 2009), 476.

100 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (2009), 475.

101 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (2009), 474. The right-hand column of the magic square in the centre of the seal contains the letters YAYA, which are in *Notarikon* the initial letters of the four words *Yahweh Eloheinu Yahweh Echad*.

102 My thanks to John MacMurphy for help with unpacking this term. See *De Occulta Philosophia*, in Agrippa, *Opera* (Lyon, Beringos Fratres, n.d.), Vol. 1, 273. The transliteration is based on Arcangelo da Burgonovo, *Dechiaratione sopra il nome di Giesu* (1557), 182r, translated as 'Questo e la unita, capo, over prencipio, dell'unita sua, principio della sua singularita, sua vicissitudine, uno.'



FIGURE 4.13 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), Book 3, Chapter XI, 277 'Of the Divine Names, and their Power and Virtue': 'Sacred seal against any diseases of man, or any griefs'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 62-6338

11 Temurah or Tziruf

Temurah, 'permutation', 'commutation', or 'transposition' of letters, also called *Tziruf*, 'combination' or 'metathesis,' is when 'a letter may be posited to stand for another letter through the alphabetical circle', such that 'one word written with one set of letters symbolically designates another word composed of different letters.'[103] This derives from a practice found in the *Sepher Yetzirah*, where new alphabets are created from permutations of the standard one. As there are 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet, there are consequently 22 variations or 'revolutions of the alphabet.' A great deal of importance was placed in this technique for the discovery of divine and angelic names. So, for example, with the 22nd alphabet permutation known as אתבש (*Athbash*), where the first letter of the standard alphabet א (*Aleph*) is substituted by the last letter ת (*Tau*), the second letter ב (*Beth*), by the penultimate letter ש (*Shin*) and so on, the divine name יהוה (YHVH), *Yahweh*, is transformed into another divine name, the *vox mystica* or *magica* מצפץ (MSPS), *Mazpaz*, complete with its own mystical meanings.[104]

12 Exegetical Examples from Pico's *Conclusions* and *Heptaplus*

Pico is well aware of these interpretative techniques, indeed one of the most memorable of his Cabalistic Conclusions concerns the secrets of the numerations (i.e. *Sephiroth*) to be discovered by an exegete with a thorough understanding of the Hebrew alphabet:

> 28.33 There are no letters in the whole Law which in their forms, conjunctions, separations, crookedness, straightness, defect, excess, smallness,

103 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 295.

104 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 297 'the Name of God, Mazpaz, is written with the four letters MSPS. On this our friend Mirandola says: "The Name of God of four letters MSPS, should be taken as referring to the kingdom of David."' Then follows an explanation that it is created by the 'last alphabet, the twenty-second of the book called *Sepher Yesirah* … called *Athbas*.' Pico della Mirandola discusses it in Cabalistic Conclusion 28.29 'Nomen dei quatuor litterarum, quod est ex mem, sade, pe, et sa/de, regno Dauidis debet appropriari.' See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 356–7. In his notes Farmer points out that the "kingdom of David" is code for the tenth *Sephirah*, *Malkhut* (Kingdom). Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 44, 56 suggests that Pico's reading is inspired by the Bahir. Archangelus de Burgonovo, *Cabalistarum selectiora, obscurioraque dogmata* (Venice, 1569), 132$^{r–v}$ likewise mentions the attribution of the "kingdom of David" to Malkhut.

> largeness, crowning, closure, openness, and order, do not reveal the secrets of the ten numerations.[105]

In the *Heptaplus*, Pico performs his own separations and conjunctions of letters, thereby generating a series of words from the term *Bereshit*:

> Among the Hebrews, this phrase is written thus: בראשית *berescith*. From this, if we join the third letter to the first, comes the word אב, *ab*. If we add the second [letter] to the doubled first, we get בבר, *bebar*. If we read all except the first, we get ראשית, *resith*. If we connect the fourth to the first and last, we get שבת, *sciabat*. If we take the first three in the order in which they come, we get ברא, *bara*. If, leaving out the first, we take the next three, we get ראש, *rosc*. If, leaving out the first and second, we take the two following, we get אש, *es*, etc.[106]

Following these 'death-defying permutational and anagrammatical leaps', as Umberto Eco wrily puts it,[107] Pico then proceeds to explain the meanings of these individual words:

> *Ab* means 'the father'; *bebar* 'in the son' and 'through the son' (for the prefix *beth* means both); *resit*, 'the beginning'; *sabath*, 'the rest and end'; *bara* 'created'; *rosc*, 'head'; *es*, 'fire'; *seth*, 'foundation'; *rab*, 'of the great'; *hisc*, 'of the man'; *berit*, 'with a pact'; *thob*, 'with good'.[108]

Having broken down the original word *Berescith*, analysing it into his 12 separate words, Pico then reassembles them to produce one extremely Christian-Cabalist message:

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105 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 358–359 'Nullae sunt litterae in tota lege quae in formis, coniunctionibus, separationibus, tortuositate, directione, defectu, superabundantia, minoritate, maioritate, coronatione, clausura, apertura, et ordine, decem numerationum secreta non manifestent.'

106 Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, trans. Carmichael, 171–72. This passage is quoted in full in Sixtus of Siena, *Bibliotheca sancta* (Venice, 1566), 224–25. We also find a variant of it in Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 953.

107 Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 121.

108 Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, translated by Charles Glenn Wallis, Paul J.W. Miller, and Douglas Carmichael (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998), 172. Pico's text can also be found in Athanasius Kircher, *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* (Rome, 1636), 263–264. See also Blaise de Vigenère, *Traicté des chiffres, ou secretes manières d'escrire* (Paris, 1587), 135^{v}–136^{r}, which provides a similar selection of combinations from 'Menahem Rachanat sur le commancement de Genese'. On Pico's slight manipulation of the Hebrew text, see Black, *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics*, 216, n. 11.

> The father, in the Son and through the Son, the beginning and end or rest, created the head, the fire, and the foundation of the great man with a good pact.[109]

In this way, Pico aims (or claims) to show how 'the whole plan, relationship, and felicity … of the four worlds' is 'uncovered and explained in this one word,' *Berescith*.[110] With this technique of analysing one word and then synthesising twelve new words he provides a summary for all the preceding elements in the *Heptaplus*: the 'great man' refers to the macrocosm, the 'head', 'fire', and 'foundation' refer to the three worlds (angelic or intellectual, celestial and sublunary), the 'pact' to their inter-relationship, 'good' because it unites all with God.[111] This knowledge is necessary for man's ascent to the divine.

One of the most influential examples of *Gematria* provided by Pico and his Christian-Cabalist successors relates to the most powerful Jewish name for God, the ineffable *Tetragrammaton*, or name of four letters, YHVH, the revelation of which to Moses 'endowed humanity with the capacity to become divine'.[112] As Pico intimates in one of his own Cabalistic Conclusions:

> Anyone who knows how to unfold the quaternarius into the denarius will have the method, if he is skilled in the cabala, of deducing the name of seventy-two letters from the ineffable name (11>56).[113]

This is achieved by a form of Gematria sometimes called *Mispar Bone'eh* (Building Value),[114] by which one cumulatively adds up the values of the groups of

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109 Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, 172.

110 Black, *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics*, 215.

111 Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, 173; Black, *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics*, 215–16.

112 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 313. For much more on the Tetragrammaton, see Hillel Ben-Sasson, *Understanding YHWH: The Name of God in Biblical, Rabbinic, and Medieval Jewish Thought* (New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2019) and Robert J. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God: From the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

113 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 542–543 'Qui sciverit explicare quaternarium in denarium habebit modum, si sit peritus Cabalae, deducendi ex nomine ineffabili nomen lxxii. litterarum.'

114 See Moshe Idel, *Representing God*, edited by Hava Tirosh-Samuelson and Aaron W. Hughes (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 141 on the Tetraktys and the Tetragrammaton as Symbol, with reference to Reuchlin. Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae Liber*, 941 on the Pythagorean Tetraktys 'cuius emanatio per formam quidem in angelis, per participationem veram in animabus rationalibus, per imaginariam in rationis expertibus, per umbratilem in corporum figuris reperitur, & sempiternae cuiusdam pluviae consuero

letters of the divine name, for example when they are aligned according to the points of the Pythagorean *Tetraktys* (Fig. 4.14), a triangle formed of ten dots, representing the entire numerological perfection from monad to denary (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10).[115] By cumulatively adding the sum of each of the four lines of Hebrew letters arranged in a pyramidal form (from Y at the apex, through YH and YHV on the second and third tiers to YHVH at the base), we reach the significant total 72,[116] associated, for example, with the *Shem ha-meforash* or 72-letter name of God, 72 psalmodic verses and related angelic powers.[117] This *Tetragrammaton-Tetraktys* was apparently engraved on silver triangles and worn on the body as a protective amulet, with the belief that 'the four layers of Hebrew glyphs represent the "Four Worlds," four principles of manifestation, and four aspects of one's being' (*Tzelem*, *Nefesh*, *Ru'ach*, *Neschamah*); the ten letters corresponding to the *Sephiroth* on the Tree of Life.[118]

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more ab excelso ad ima defluit universa rigando' (the emanation of which is indeed found through form in the angels, through true participation in rational souls, through the imaginary in things wanting reason, through the shadowy in the figures of bodies, and in the usual manner of a certain eternal rain, it flows down from the highest to the lowest, watering everything).

115 *Chaos* (1597), 209. Readers of the *Chaos* (1616) edition may have been puzzled as the image is misprinted as a triaktys rather than a tetraktys. On the Tetraktys, see Robert Meurant, 'The Tetraktys of Polyhedra', in G.A.R. Parke and C.M. Howard (eds.), *Space Structures* 4 (London: Thomas Telford, 1993), Vol. 1, 1138–1147, at 1140 'The Pythagorean Tetraktys … exhibits symbolism of the central monad, the mirror-image duad, the triangular triad, the four-level tetrad, and finally the decad … The integration of three- and four-fold symbolism is particularly apt, three symbolising the heavenly realm and four the earthly.' Proclus says: 'Sacred Number springs from the uncorrupted Monad, and proceeds to the Divine Tetraktys, she who breeds All; and assigns the proper bounds to all, Whom we the pure immortal Decad call.' Cf. Pico della Mirandola, *De Ente et Uno*, *On Being and the One*, trans. Miller, 60 and John Dee, *Monas Hierolyphica* (Antwerp, 1564), 13; Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica" with an Introduction and Annotations', 159.

116 See Gaspar Schott, *Technica Curiosa, sive Mirabilia Artis* (Nuremberg, 1664), Part 2, 982 where he explains this disposition of the letters in the form of a triangle.

117 See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 543 11>56; Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 267. This idea can even be found in the alchemical *Aureum Vellus*, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1659), Vol. 5 *Aurei Velleris* liber secundus, 407: 49 gates, Jubilee, 72 names of angels: Cabalisticus, Reuchlin, 'ex libro Psalmorum divini nominis revelata expositio'; 72 angels: 'sicut ex numero Tetragrammati arithmetica proportione progreditur numerus septuaginta duo, ita ex signaculo creatoris, quodam effluxu divino septuaginta duo angeli producuntur.' See also Valentina Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord: Lists, Mysticism, and Magic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 109 'The Emphasis on 72'; 112.

118 Jacobus G. Swart, *The Book of Sacred Names* (Johannesburg: Sangreal Sodality Press, 2012), 213–214; idem, *The Book of Seals and Amulets* (Johannesburg: Sangreal Sodality Press, 2014), 79.

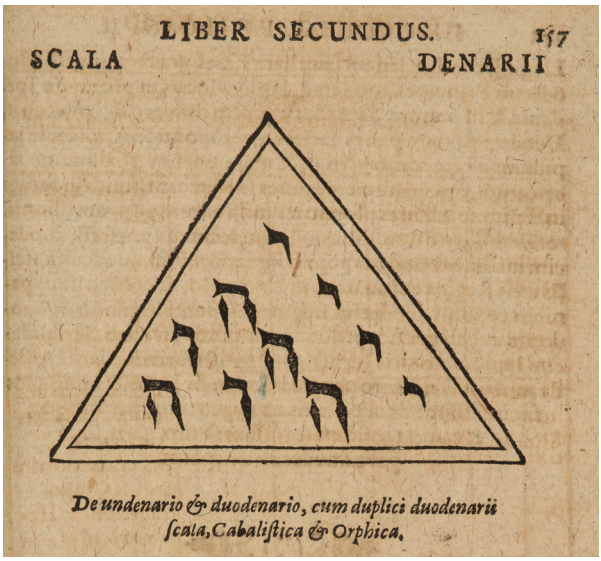


FIGURE 4.14
Tetragrammaton & Tetraktys in Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), 157. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 62-6338

TABLE 4.2 How to unfold the Quaternarius into the Denarius

Yod	(10)										=	10
Yod	(10)	+	He	(5)							=	15
Yod	(10)	+	He	(5)	+	Vau	(6)				=	21
Yod	(10)	+	He	(5)	+	Vau	(6)	+	He	(5)	=	26
											=	72

Pico's alleged initial motivation for studying the Kabbalah is for evangelising against heretics and Jews. In the *Apologia* he composed in 1487 – following the condemnation of 13 of his theses as heretical – he avows that his motive is 'to do battle for the faith against the relentless slanders of the Hebrews.'[119] As his second set of Cabalistic Conclusions explains, his intention is one of 'providing powerful confirmation of the Christian religion from the very principles of the Hebrew Sages,' so that the Jews can be refuted by their own kabbalistic books.[120] His Cabala combines the Christian concept of the divine act of redemption through Jesus with notions of creation and revelation common to both Judaism and Christianity, in order to provide a Christian interpretation for existing texts and adopt recognizable doctrines, symbols and methods for

119 Copenhaver, 'The Secret of Pico's *Oration*: Cabala and Renaissance Philosophy,' 75.
120 Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man*, 29, 32.

apologetic and polemical purposes. The midrashic and kabbalistic method of reading Hebrew texts without diacritic marks, that is, without any vowel indicators, increases interpretative possibilities and generates multiple readings of a single text, including the possibility of proving the supremacy of the name of Jesus and the mystery of the Trinity.[121]

Pico's Cabala should not, however, be viewed simply as Christian apologetics, for he moves beyond the confirmation of Christianity. In his desire to establish the unity of truth he suggests correspondences between not just Judaism and Christianity, but also proposes connections with Platonism, mysticism and magic. Chaim Wirszubski emphasizes that Pico viewed Kabbalah from an entirely new standpoint, arguing that 'he is the first Christian who considered cabala to be simultaneously a witness for Christianity and an ally of natural magic.'[122] Joseph Dan likewise suggests that even early Christian-Cabalist works like Pico's conveyed the message that non-biblical Jewish sources also held great relevance for their Christian readers, not only as a way of strengthening and upholding their faith, but as a way of reinvigorating the Christian religion, discovering a deeper, more profound understanding of its nature, including the possibility of personal transformation and spiritual transfiguration.[123] Indeed, the extreme nature of the claims Pico makes regarding the role of Kabbalah was instrumental in ensuring a wide-spread interest in this mystical Jewish tradition, among both sympathetic and antagonistic audiences.

13 Johann Reuchlin's Neo-Pythagorean Cabala

Although Pico della Mirandola gets the credit for first introducing the term Cabala into Christian circles, Khunrath's major Christian-Cabalist source is one of his fellow country-men, the German scholar Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), described by Charles Zika as 'one of the key figures of European scholarship and intellectual life at the turn of the sixteenth century'.[124] A close

121 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 523.

122 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 151. On the relation between Pico's Cabala and magic, see Flavia Buzzetta, *Magia naturalis e scientia cabalae in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2019).

123 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin,' 57.

124 Charles Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century', *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 104–138, at 104. On Reuchlin, see also Moshe Idel, 'Johannes Reuchlin: Kabbalah, Pythagorean Philosophy and Modern Scholarship', *Studia Judaica* 16 (2008): 30–55; reprinted in Idel, *Representing God*, 123–148; Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung: Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala', in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 9–48.

reader of the *Amphitheatre* will find various citations and numerous unattributed quotations from Reuchlin's cabalistic works.[125] Frequently referred to by his Greek humanist name "Capnion",[126] Reuchlin was another polyglot, like Pico, fired by the search for divine teachings of the ancient philosophers and theologians, in particular the new enthusiasm for Kabbalah.[127] Reuchlin directed his already considerable Latin and Greek language skills to the study of Hebrew, and represents a more systematic and in-depth engagement with Jewish Kabbalah. Having the claim to be the first to translate Greek into German, Reuchlin was also the first German scholar to promote the study of Hebrew.[128] Besides writing a Hebrew dictionary and grammar, *De rudimentis hebraicis* (On Hebraic Rudiments, 1506, Fig. 4.15),[129] he edited and translated the penitential psalms (1512),[130] allegedly the first Hebrew text to be printed in Germany,[131] and most significantly wrote two of the most influential books of Christian Cabala, *De Verbo Mirifico* (On the Wonder-Working Word, 1494) and *De arte cabalistica* (On the Cabalistic Art, 1517). In these works Reuchlin introduced the Latin West to the names and theories of some of the important fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Jewish and Kabbalist thinkers, including Azriel of Gerona, Eleazar of Worms, Menahem Recanati, and most of all Joseph Gikatilla.[132] Reuchlin evinces a far more positive attitude towards Jews than Pico; indeed he is famed for his defense of Jewish books, including the

125 Direct, unacknowledged lifts from Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica* can be found, for example, on *Amph.*II, 4, 10, 57, 65, etc.

126 'Smoky', a Greek pun on Reuchlin's surname, which he derives from the German word for 'Smoke' (Rauch).

127 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 88.

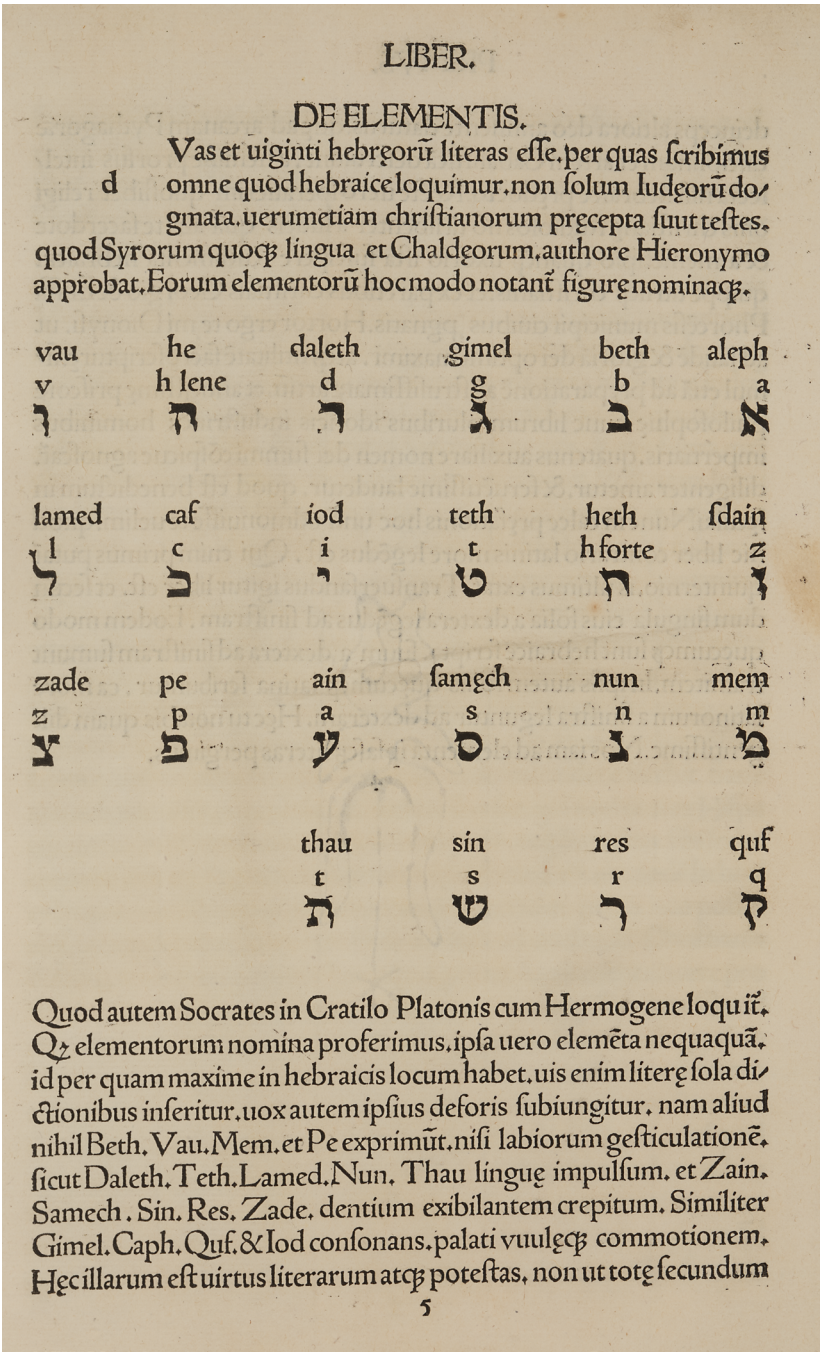
128 See Reuchlin's concluding letter to Pope Leo X in *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 357.

129 Shimeon Brisman, *History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 2000), Vol. 3, Part 1, 54. A work used by Martin Luther, who was also familiar with *De Arte Cabalistica*, and consulted Reuchlin as an expert on Hebrew. See William J. Wright, *Martin Luther's Understanding of God's Two Kingdoms: A Response to the Challenge of Skepticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 94.

130 Reuchlin, *In septem psalmos poenitentiales interpretatio* (Tübingen, 1512); Brisman, *History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*, 54; Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 51.

131 Werner Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation: Some Reformation Controversies and their Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 68; G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 25.

132 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 95. Joseph Dan, in *The Christian Kabbalah*, 63 points out that some of these works are not regarded by Jews as kabbalistic. Eleazar of Worms, for example, is a 'prominent writer of the Kalonymus school of Jewish esoterics in medieval Germany who are usually called the "Ashkenazi Hasidim".'



LIBER.

DE ELEMENTIS.

Vas et uiginti hebręorũ literas eſſe, per quas ſcribimus
d omne quod hebraice loquimur, non ſolum Iudęorũ dogmata, uerumetiam chriſtianorum prędicta ſuut teſtes.
quod Syrorum quoqꝫ lingua et Chaldęorum, authore Hieronymo
approbat. Eorum elementorũ hoc modo notant figurę nominaqꝫ.

vau	he	daleth	gimel	beth	aleph
v	h lene	d	g	b	a
ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א

lamed	caf	iod	teth	heth	ſdain
l	c	i	t	h forte	z
ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז

zade	pe	ain	ſamęch	nun	mem
z	p	a	s	n	m
צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ

thau	ſin	res	quf
t	s	r	q
ת	ש	ר	ק

Quod autem Socrates in Cratilo Platonis cum Hermogene loquit.
Qz elementorum nomina proferimus, ipſa uero elemẽta nequaquã.
id per quam maxime in hebraicis locum habet. uis enim literę ſola dictionibus inſeritur. uox autem ipſius deforis ſubiungitur. nam aliud
nihil Beth. Vau. Mem. et Pe exprimũt. niſi labiorum geſticulationẽ.
ſicut Daleth. Teth. Lamed. Nun. Thau linguę impulſum. et Zain.
Samech. Sin. Res. Zade. dentium exibilantem crepitum. Similiter
Gimel. Caph. Quf. & Iod conſonans. palati vuulęqꝫ commotionem.
Hęc illarum eſt uirtus literarum atqꝫ poteſtas. non ut totę ſecundum

5

FIGURE 4.15 Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506), 5 Introduction to the Hebrew Alphabet. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM ROF A-413

much-condemned Talmud, in his Battle of the Books with the Jewish converso Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1523).[133]

14 On the Wonder-Working Word (1494)

The year of Pico's death saw the publication of *De Verbo Mirifico* (On the Wonder-Working Word), a conversation in three books between the Greek Epicurean philosopher Sidonius, the Jew Baruchias and the Christian Capnion.[134] Reuchlin's first Christian-Cabalist work was significant for its ideas about language and the contribution it made to the Renaissance debate on the occult powers and properties of words and names, discussing as it did the interests of

> Certain curious explorers of arcane things … the recondite powers of words, and abstruse energies of expressions, and the divine characters of secret names … the symbols of that sacred Philosophy, and revered signs of supernatural virtues.[135]

It contained extraordinary examples of marvellous deeds achieved through the wonder-working word, from feeding the hungry and curing the sick to exorcising demons and reviving the dead. Reuchlin makes his intentions clear in the opening letter to the book, declaring that his task is 'to elucidate the occult property of names; and so from these, and from such numerous and great names, the occasion of our finally choosing one supreme, wonder-working and blessed name'.[136]

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133 See Idel, 'Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah', 52. For varied perspectives on this episode, see Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Daniel O'Callaghan (ed. and trans.), *The Preservation of Jewish Religious Books in Sixteenth-Century Germany: Johannes Reuchlin's Augenspiegel* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

134 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala', 9. According to Béhar, *Les Langues Occultes de la Renaissance*, 21 Pope Alexander VI's revocation of the ban against Pico in 1493 enabled the publication of Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* in 1494. For more on *De Verbo Mirifico*, see Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century'.

135 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 874 'Rerum arcanarum curiosi quidam exploratores … reconditae verborum vires, & abstrusa vocum energiae, & divini secretorum nominum characteres … sacrae illius Philosophiae symbola, & veneranda supernaturalium virtutum signacula.'

136 Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*', 106.

Like Pico, Reuchlin also shows a familiarity with other esoteric traditions and at times a syncretic interest in combining them. In *De Verbo Mirifico* he quotes the Hermetic *Asclepius* more than once, most extensively, following Pico in his *Oration*, the passage beginning with 'Man is a great miracle'.[137] He holds particular reverence, however, for Pythagoras of Samos (*c*.570–*c*.495 BCE), whom he praises as the 'sun of all arcane Philosophy, from whom the art first received its name.'[138]

In the third book of *De Verbo Mirifico*, Reuchlin launches into a full-blown declaration of how the most powerful Jewish four-letter Divine name, the *Tetragrammaton* יהוה YHVH, had been superceded by the five-letter Christian *Pentagrammaton*. This is the name 'above all others' יהשוה YHSVH, vocalized as *Yehoshua*, the mystical name of Jesus,[139] the 'Deifying word' and 'spiritual figure of Christ'.[140]

15 On the Cabalistic Art (1517)

Appearing over two decades later, *De Arte Cabalistica* is presented as a series of conversations between representatives of the three monotheistic religions, the Christian Pythagorean Philolaus, the Muslim Marranus and the Jewish Kabbalist Simon ben Eleazar, described as a descendent of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, author of the Zohar. As Joseph Dan observes, it is the Jew, Simon; not the Christian Philolaus, who is the dominant figure.[141]

As well as being a propagator of the Cabalistic art, Reuchlin also regarded himself as a restorer of Pythagoreanism, originating in the doctrines of the sixth-century BCE 'Lover of Wisdom', Pythagoras.[142] Reuchlin proudly states that,

137 Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*, 108–109; Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 945.

138 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 884 'sol omnis arcanae Philosophiae, à quo id artificium nomen primo accepit, Pythagoras Samius.'

139 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law: Theurgy and the Christian Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 313. This shall be discussed in more detail below in the context of Khunrath's first circular image of Christ Cruciform Resurrected.

140 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 972 'Pentagrammaton est spiritalis figura Christi … verbum Deificum'.

141 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 73.

142 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 57. On Reuchlin's Pythagoreanism, see Christopher S. Celenza, 'The Search for Ancient Wisdom in Early Modern Europe: Reuchlin and the Late Ancient Esoteric Paradigm', *The Journal of Religious History* 25:2 (June 2001): 115–133.

> For Italy, Marsilio [Ficino] published Plato, for the French, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples restored Aristotle; I, Capnion, shall complete the number and shall explain to the Germans Pythagoras, who has been reborn through me. … This however could not have been done without the Cabala of the Jews, because the philosophy of Pythagoras had its origins in the precepts of the Cabalists.[143]

In a scholarly, humanistic way, Kabbalah is presented not as 'the result of new, individual revelation or experience', but as 'traditions preserved in old manuscripts and by oral transmissions of secrets from generation to generation.'[144] Reuchlin propounds his belief in the fundamental similarity between Pythagorean and Kabbalistic teachings, which are 'of the same stuff', the intention of both being 'to bring men's minds to the gods, that is, to lead them to perfect blessedness.'[145] Both communicate their mysteries by means of symbols, signs, adages and proverbs, numbers and figures, letters, syllables and words.[146] Hence the symbolic similarities between the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* and the Pythagorean *Tetraktys*.[147]

Reuchlin explains, through Philolaus, that the Pythagorean *Tetraktys* is the 'idea of everything created.'[148] He supplies an etymology, stating that '*Tetras* is Greek for "quaternity", and *actis* is Greek for "beam",' and explains that the *Tetraktys* is a symbol of the graduated descent of God's 'Light' into matter.[149] Any Cabalist would immediately see an implied correspondence between the ten points of the *Tetraktys* and the ten Cabalistic *Sephiroth* or numerations, symbolising the progressive emanations of God into the world.[150] Marranus,

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See also Idel, 'Johannes Reuchlin: Kabbalah, Pythagorean Philosophy and Modern Scholarship'.

143 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 38–39 'Italiae Marsilius Platonem edidit, Galliis Aristotelem I. Faber Stapulensis restauravit, Implebo numerum & Capnion ego germanis per me renascentem Pythagoram … exhibebo. Id tamen absque hebraeorum Cabala fieri non potuit, eo quod Pythagorae philosophia de Cabalaeorum praeceptis initia duxit …'.

144 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 62.

145 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 233. See 232 'Nam quod aliud intendit vel Cabalaeus vel Pythagoras, nisi animos hominum in deos referre, hoc est ad perfectam beatitudinem promovere.'

146 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 232.

147 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 63–4; for more on the *Tetraktys* see idem, 48.

148 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 193.

149 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 155.

150 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala', 38 'wenn das Y als Aufblick auf eine Pyramide gedeutet wird' [Reuchlin gets this from Virgil's *Aeneid* (x 101)] wo es heißt, daß das Haus Gottes, die 10, eine Pyramide sei: "decimo Deum domus alta, cuius quidem culmen est unitas, parietes trinitatis et superficies quaternitas";

in his turn, remarks that 'It seems to me that Pythagoras took the Jews' Tetragrammaton, or rather the four letters which go to make up the name of the Savior, and changed it into the Greek Tetraktys symbol.'[151]

For Reuchlin, Pythagoras's system is Cabala,[152] renamed as *Philosophy*,[153] the science by which man could become an immortal god.[154] Reuchlin defines Cabala in Pythagorean terms as either 'symbolic philosophy' or 'symbolic theology':[155]

> Kabbalah is simply (to use the Pythagorean vocabulary) symbolic theology, where words and letters are code things, and such things are themselves code for other things. This drew our attention to the fact that almost all Pythagoras' system is derived from the Kabbalists.[156]

Elliot Wolfson's observation of a crucial distinction in Reuchlin between the association of gold with 'Kabbalah proper (Cabala) and silver with "kabbalistic art" (arte cabalistica), which comprises the "complicated rules and human skills" in which the esoteric teaching is wrapped', encourages the speculation that, given the title of Reuchlin's book, his focus is more on introducing his Christian peers to the lesser "kabbalistic art", rather than, *strictu sensu*, to Kabbalah proper. Wolfson refers to a Maimonidean idea cited by Reuchlin as a dictum of the kabbalists: 'The account of creation is the natural science and the account of the chariot is divine science', and suggests that for Reuchlin, 'the literal sense, the kabbalistic art, is correlated with physics since it deals with the material world, and the symbolic sense, the secrets of Kabbalah, with metaphysics or matters that pertain to the intelligible realm.'[157]

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idem, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala: 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 185. For Reuchlin on the Tetraktys, see in particular *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 193–195.

151 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 157.

152 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 241.

153 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 127.

154 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 231. See 230 'Nam ipse dixit hominem posse fieri deum immortalem.'

155 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 241. See 238 'Cabalam aliud nihil esse nisi (ut Pythagorice loquar) symbolicam theologiam'. See Idel, 'Introduction', Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 39 'I have therefore written of the symbolic philosophy of the art of Kabbablah so as to make Pythagorean doctrine better known to scholars.'

156 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 241. For more on this notion, see Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism*, 13ff.

157 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 24. With reference to Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 95.

In this syncretistic way, according to Moshe Idel, Reuchlin becomes the founding figure of a new tradition, a symbolic reading of Kabbalah that promotes not specifically Jewish conceptualizations of Kabbalah, but rather an academic tradition that emphasizes the importance of symbols derived from Christian, Jewish, Neoplatonic, and Pythagorean sources.[158] The foundation for this was Reuchlin's 'conviction that Greek philosophy and Jewish wisdom can only culminate in Christianity.'[159] Stéphane Toussaint observes, however, that Pico's enthusiastic associations between the Orphic Hymns in magic and Psalms of David in his notion of Cabala, seem to evaporate in Reuchlin's writings, where all magical language is reabsorbed into Hebrew, above all in the concentration of all effective power in the Christian-Cabalist divine name YHSVH.[160]

In Scholem's opinion, Reuchlin's main contribution was his 'association of the dogma of the incarnation with a series of bold speculations on the kabbalistic doctrine of the divine names of God,' particularly in Book 3 of *De Verbo Mirifico*, where he sets forth his notion of the Cabalist name of the Christian Messiah, the *Pentagrammaton*, YHSVH, the name that supercedes the Jewish *Tetragrammaton* YHVH.[161] Following on from Pico, Reuchlin provides his readers with further examples of the techniques of speculative kabbalistic exegesis, but he is far more interested in the theurgical techniques of practical kabbalah. Schmidt-Biggemann suggests that Reuchlin's claim that Christian truth was concealed in Kabbalah was a step further than Pico's notion of Kabbalistic exegesis as useful for Christian polemic.[162] Dan sees Reuchlin as a reformer of German Christianity and praises his use of Talmudic sources as ancient truth relevant to Christian faith as 'an act of courage and determination that separted the Christian kabbalists, … from the Christian mainstream'.[163]

There is still no consensus concerning the ultimate impact of Reuchlin's work. Idel argues that Reuchlin's approach resulted in an 'obliteration of the theurgical nature of this mystical lore',[164] while Wolfson believes 'the inherent

158 See Idel, 'Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah', 49–65; Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 27, 65.

159 Stéphane Toussaint, 'Ficin, Pic de Mirandole, Reuchlin et le pouvoir des noms: À propos de Néoplatonisme et de Cabale chrétienne,' in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 67–76, at 75.

160 Toussaint, 'Ficin, Pic de Mirandole, Reuchlin et le pouvoir des noms: À propos de Néoplatonisme et de Cabale chrétienne,' 72–75.

161 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 198.

162 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala', 24.

163 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 61, 64.

164 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 9, with reference to Moshe Idel, 'Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb: Some Phenomenological Remarks', in Michael Terry (ed.), *The Hebrew Renaissance* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1997), 10–16, at 14–15.

theurgical potency of the letters – a cornerstone of Jewish esotericism – and the kabbalistic understanding of language as the locus of secrecy captivated Reuchlin's imagination',[165] noting that 'theurgy was understood to be an integral part of ancient Hermeticism, a teaching/practice, a path, congruent with kabbalistic lore in the syncretistic minds of Renaissance Christian kabbalists.'[166] Jean-Pierre Brach is another who considers Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* a form of Christian theurgy.[167]

Dan does not find 'the same intense emphasis on the connection between kabbalah and magic which is present in the works of Pico',[168] while Zika highlights Reuchlin's 'systematic articulation of a divinely instituted magic', in which Kabbalah is an essential ingredient.[169] For him, Reuchlin emphasises the performative, ritualistic dimension of Cabala that gives the pious practitioner access to the occult properties of nature;[170] and, as discussed in the previous chapter on Khunrath's theosophy, he provided a structure for the adept's deifying ascent towards union with the divine.

Whatever may be the case regarding such details, Reuchlin placed the Cabala in the context of some of the leading intellectual developments of his time, generating considerable interest in the doctrine of divine names and practical Cabala, and on the other hand encouraging speculative attempts to achieve a synthesis between Cabalistic motifs and Christian theology. So informative was Reuchlin's exposition that from his time on no writer who touched on Christian Kabbalah with any thoroughness did so without using him as a source.[171]

Let us conclude this section with what Schmidt-Biggemann considers Reuchlin's clinching argument for Christian Cabala, in an example of Gematria concerning the typology of the Tree and the Cross:

> At any rate, the better Kabbalist sages tried to liken this figure of the Cross to the tree of the bronze serpent set up in the desert, though they did so silently and secretly. This they did through Gematria, that is, numerical equality, for *selem*, meaning 'Cross', and *es* meaning, 'Tree', both have letters symbolizing one-hundred-and-fifty. So passing from one to

165 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 36.
166 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 9–10.
167 Brach, 'Magic IV: Renaissance – 17th Century', 733.
168 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 80.
169 Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century' (2003), 68.
170 Bono, *The Word of God and the Languages of Man*, Vol. 1, 128. See also Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*'.
171 Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance*, 60.

another, from cross to tree and tree to cross, is easy. But I put a finger to my lips, Time is brief, my good friends, and I am restricted from saying all I might wish.[172]

16 Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy

Reuchlin's influence on subsequent generations of Christian Cabalists is considerable, especially in Reformation Germany, where he was the teacher of the Benedictine abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), famed for his *Theologia magica*,[173] who in his turn had Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), author of the *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (Three Books of Occult Philosophy, 1533), as protégé.[174] As early as 1509 we find Agrippa delivering a public course of lectures on Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* at the University of Dôle.[175] The following year he entrusted his first draft of *De Occulta Philosophia* (1510) to Trithemius while he went on a mission with a 'most secret purpose' to Henry VIII's court in England.[176]

In his treatise *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (On the threefold way of knowing God, 1516), a work from which Khunrath tacitly paraphrases a passage in the *Amphitheatre*,[177] Agrippa states that God has given man three books of

172 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 353–55. Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala', 48 mentions that *Zelem* (Cross) and *Etz* (Tree) have the same numerical value: 150. See also Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 329–330.

173 See Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe*.

174 See Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, (1997), lvii for Trithemius' letter to Agrippa.

175 See Agrippa's letter concerning Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* in *Opera*, Vol. 2 as an emphasis on its importance.

176 Van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa: The Humanist Theologian and his Declamations*, 21. For a facsimile of the 1510 manuscript, see Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia libri tres* (Cologne, 1533), edited by Karl-Anton Nowotny (Graz: Akademische Druk-und-Verlaganstaldt, 1967), Appendix 1, 519–586.

177 See Khunrath, *Amph.*II, 109 'recurre in Teipsum, nihil supponas (ex & in DEO) in te (auxiliaturi atque auxiliantis DEI promissiones habes, vers.10.) impossibile: Confidas in DOMINO, (Christiano Cabalisticè obsecrando) intelliges; velis Theo-Sophicè, & consequeris.' Cf. Agrippa, *Liber de Triplici Ratione Cognoscendi Dei*, Cap.III, in *Testi Umanistici su l'Ermetismo*, 150 'recurre in teipsum, emergas ex corpore, nihil supponas in te impossibile, confidas et intelliges, velis et consequeris.' Khunrath borrows from Agrippa elsewhere, as in *Amph.*II, 175, where we find an unacknowledged quote from Agrippa, *In praelectionem Hermetis Trismegisti, de potestate & sapientia Dei*. See Agrippa, *Opera* (Lyon: Beringos

knowledge: the book of creatures to pagan philosophers, the book of law to the Jews, and finally the book of the Gospel to the Christians. Among the knowledge conferred to the Jews is the Kabbalah, which teaches 'the numerous holy names of God and the angels that must be invoked and enumerates the various corporeal activities by which men are made as it were similar to the gods, conforming themselves to divine beings by certain steps they pass beyond them to the eternal lights of the Father, filled with which they obtain knowledge of God above the laws of nature.'[178]

A far different tone is found in Agrippa's *De incertitudine & vanitate scientiarum declamatio invectiva* (An Invective Declamation on the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Sciences, 1531), where the exegetical methods of the '*Cabala* of the *Jews*' are castigated in Chapter 47 'Of the Cabalists' as

> nothing else, but a most pernicious Superstition, the which by Collecting, Dividing, and Changing several Words, Names and Letters dispersed up and down in the Bible … they dissolve the Members of Truth, raysing up sentences, Inductions, and Parables of their own, apply thereto the Oracles of Divine Scripture to them, defaming the Scriptures, and affirming their Figments to consist of them, Blaspheme the Word of God by their wrested suppositions of Words, Syllables, Letters and Numbers.[179]

Despite its ascerbic tone, however, *De incertitudine & vanitate* is a valuable source of information on the Cabala: it is described as a 'double science' (duplicem … scientiam): *Bresith* [*sic*] or Cosmology:

Fratres, [1550]), Vol. 2, 1090. Cf. Vittoria Perrone Compagni, *Ermetismo e cristianesimo in Agrippa: il De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2005), 26.

178 Agrippa, *Liber de Triplici Ratione Cognoscendi Dei*, 152 'Hinc multiformia tam Dei quam angelorum sacra nomina invocanda edocet, variosque corporeos actus enumerat, quibus homines, tamquam similes facti diis, conformando se divinis per quosdam gradus, ad aeterna patris lumina transcendunt, quibus repleti Dei cognitionem ultra naturae morem assequuntur.'

179 Agrippa, *De incertitudine & vanitate scientiarum declamatio invectiva* (Cologne, 1531), Cap. xlvij, sig. [h vi^{v}–i^{r}], at [hviii^{v}] 'Est itaque nihil aliud haec Iudaeorum cabala, quam pernitiosissima quaedam superstitio, qua verba, & nomina, & literas, sparsim in scriptura positas, pro arbitrio suo, colligunt, dividunt, transferunt, & alterum ex altero facientes, solvunt membra, veritatis, sermones, inductiones, & parabolas hincinde ex proprijs fictionibus construentes, aptare illis volunt eloquia dei, infamantes scripturas, & dicentes sua figmenta ex illis constare, calumniantur legem dei, & per impudenter extortas supputationes dictionum, syllabarum, literarum, numerorum tentant violentas & blasphemas perfidiae suae inferre probationes.' Trans. *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1676), 124.

> explaining the powers of things created, natural, and celestial, and expounding the secrets of the Law and Bible by philosophical reasons: which truly upon this account differs nothing at all from natural magic,[180]

and *Mercava*, which concerns,

> the more sublime contemplations of divine and angelic virtues, and of sacred names, and seals, being a certain symbolical divinity, in which letters, numbers, figures, things, and names, and tops of elements, and lines, points, and accents, are all significative of most profound things, and great secrets.[181]

Agrippa distinguishes between two types of *Mercava*: Arithmancy, called *Notariacon*, 'treating of angelical virtues, names, and seals, also of the conditions of spirits, and souls' and Theomancy 'which searcheth into the mysteries of divine majesty, as the emanations thereof, and sacred names, and pentacles, which he that knows may excel with wonderful virtues; as that when he pleaseth, he may foreknow all future things, and command whole nature, have power over devils, and angels, and do miracles.'[182]

In Agrippa's compendious encyclopedia of esoteric thought, *De Occulta Philosophia*, published two years later in 1533, a work that provides possibly

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180 Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (1676), 121–125, at 121 'Now this *Cabala* they divide into three parts: the first contains the knowledge of *Bresith*, which they call also *Cosmology*, explaining and teaching the force and efficacie of things created, Natural or Celestial; expounding also the Laws and Mysteries of the Bible according to Philosophical reasons, which for that cause differs little from Natural Magick'; *De Vanitate* (Lyon, [1550]), 77 'Ejus vero duplicem tradunt scientiam, unam de Bresith, quam & Cosmologiam vocant, videlicet rerum, creaturarum, naturalium & coelestium vires explicantem, & legis, Bibliaeque arcana philosophicis rationibus exponentem, quae profecto hac ratione nihil differet a magia naturali …'.

181 Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (1676), 122 'the knowledge of more sublime things, as of Divine and Angelical Powers'; *De Vanitate* (Lyon: Beringos Fratres, [1550]), 78 'Alteram vero ejus scientiam vocant de Marcana [sic], quae est de sublimioribus divinarum, angelicarumque virtutum ac sacrorum nominum, & signaculorum contemplationibus quaedam quasi symbolica Theologia, in qua literae, numeri, figurae, res & nomina, & elementorum apices, ac lineae, puncta & accentus nomina sunt profundissimarum rerum & magnorum arcanorum signivicativa [sic].'

182 Agrippa, *De Vanitate* (Lyon: Beringos Fratres, [1550]), 78 'Hanc rursus bifariam secant, in Arithmantiam videlicet quae notaria convocatur, de angelicis virtutibus, nominibus signaculisque etiam daemonum ac animarum conditionibus tractans: atque in Theomantiam, quae divinae majestatis mysteria, emanationes, sacraque nomina & pentacula scrutatur: quam qui norit, hunc ajunt admirandis pollere virtutibus, ita quod dum velit, futura omnia praesciat, toti naturae imperet, in daemones, & angelos jus habeat, & miracula faciat.'

the most enduring image of early modern Christian Cabala, we find a very different spirit. Despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that Agrippa only shows knowledge of the works of Christian Cabalists like Pico, Reuchlin, Ricci and Giorgio, rather than direct engagement with Hebrew or Aramaic sources, this work was to become one of the most widely-consulted sources for Cabala in the Christian world. Agrippa presents a similar intermingling of Pythagorean, Neoplatonic and kabbalistic ideas to Reuchlin. Here we find iterated claims to Hebrew being the 'original language' and the significance of the 22 letters as the foundation of the world.[183] Scholem considers the place of honour in *De Occulta Philosophia* is accorded to practical Kabbalah and arithmology, for Book 2 is a rich source of information on the occult and kabbalistic significance of numbers,[184] the Hebrew alphabet's combination of numbers and letters;[185] while Book Three devotes whole chapters to discussions of the *Sephiroth*,[186] numerical calculations of the names of God, angels and spirits,[187] and the significance of the Biblical matrix-languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) for Agrippa's notion of a sacralized magic.[188] Here, too, we find discussed Plato's notion of the unity of word and referent, the natural signification of language from *Cratylus* and the biblical narrative of Adam's naming of the animals.[189] Agrippa extends this idea of knowledge of the world being discovered through the study of Hebrew to the mysteries of other early alphabets and languages, such as Greek and Latin, much as John Dee was to attempt later in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564).[190]

17 John Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad

John Dee (1527–1608/9), mathematician, natural philosopher, and astrologer to Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603), had most of the best-known Christian-Cabalist

183 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (2009), Book 1, Chapter lxxi. Of the proportion, correspondency, reduction of Letters, etc, 224.

184 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 198; Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*,' 138. See also Christopher I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels: Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 149–159. On Christian Cabala's relations with Occult Philosophy, see Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, cap.XI. and his work on *Hermétisme et Cabale*.

185 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 310.

186 *Ibid*, 467ff.

187 *Ibid*, 474ff.

188 Pierre Béhar, 'Von der Mystik zur Magie: Die Verwandlung der christlichen Kabbala von Reuchlin zu Agrippa von Nettesheim', in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 101–107, at 102.

189 See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 107, 111, 313.

190 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 122–3, 126–7.

works in his famous library (including those of Pico, Reuchlin, Agrippa, Galatinus, Giorgio, and Borgonuovo), and he displays an interest in Cabala in several of his writings.[191] In the 18th aphorism of his astronomical work, the ΠΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΑΦΟΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ (*Propaedeumata aphoristica* – An Aphoristic Introduction concerning certain outstanding virtues of Nature, 1558), he mentions 'notariacal designation', giving permutations of letters resembling those in Jewish Kabbalah. In his most famous occult work, dating from 1564, the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, '*Mathematicè*, *Magicè*, *Cabalisticè*, *Anagogicèque explicata*' (The Hieroglyphic Monad, mathematically, magically, cabalistically and anagogically explained),[192] he again mentions a cabalistic exegetical technique, this time that of 'the Tziruph (or Thmura) of the Hebrews' in the 23rd theorem.[193] In the 15th theorem, Dee writes of a 'cabbalistic anatomy of our monad', by which he means a deconstruction of his hieroglyph, which he believes supports the astrological theory of the Sun being exalted in the Zodiac sign of Aries and the Moon in Taurus (Fig. 4.16).[194]

With this deconstruction of his hieroglyph, Dee probably had in mind the way Jewish Kabbalists could deconstruct, for example, the elements of the Hebrew letter *Aleph* א into a central *Vav* ו flanked by two *Yods* י (Fig. 4.17). By this they could show that the very first letter of the alphabet, with the value 1 could, by numerical addition of the values of its three components, also give rise to the value of 26 (*Vav* = 6; *Yod* = 10). Any Kabbalist would know that this equated to the most powerful Divine Name, the Tetragrammaton: יהוה YHVH, whose component letters (Yod = 10; Heh = 5; Vav = 6) also total 26.[195]

Dee also refers to a 'cabbalistic expansion of the quaternary' in Theorem 8, just like that mentioned by Pico, introducing a Reuchlinian reference to the Pythagorean *Tetraktys*.[196] In a letter generally referred to as his 'Discourse

191 See Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson (eds.), *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990).

192 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 154.

193 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 155 'Cabalistically, and anagogically explained'.

194 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 168–9 'Alia nostrae MONADIS sese offert Anatomia Cabalistica'.

195 Dan and Kiener, *The Early Kabbalah*, 155. See Egidio da Viterbo's method of analysing the Hebrew letter *Aleph* in the *Libellus de litteris hebraicis* (Booklet on Hebrew Letters, 1517); Aegidius Viterbensis, *Libellus de litteris Hebraicis*, translated from the Latin with introduction and notes (Jerusalem: Carmel Publishing House, 2012). See also Brian Copenhaver and Daniel Stein Kokin, 'Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters*: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67:1 (Spring 2014): 1–42, at 13.

196 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 159. See also p. 169 Theorem XV 'another cabbalistic anatomy of our monad'. On Dee and Cabala, see , Michael T. Walton,



FIGURE 4.16 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), 15r Deconstructed Monas showing the astrological signs Aries and Taurus. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826

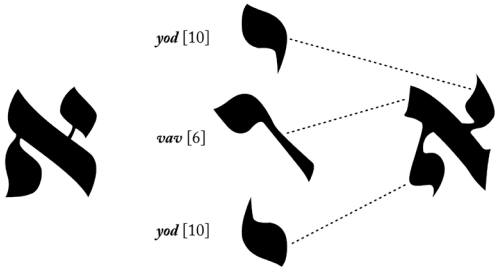


FIGURE 4.17 Aleph א = Yod י + Vau ו + Yod י
COURTESY OF TJALLING JANSSEN

Apologeticall' (1595) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he defends his interest in 'Philosophicall studies and exercises,' Dee mentions another work he had written in 1562, but now unfortunately lost, the *Cabalae Hebraicae compendiosa tabella* (Compendious Tables of Hebrew Cabala).[197]

We should note, however, that although Dee asserts the importance of God's gift of letters to mankind and acknowledges the importance of Hebrew, he shows a tendency to move away from a focus on that language, forging instead his own Cabala of Greek and Roman letters, geometrical, astrological and alchemical symbols, in order to discover the secrets of God and Creation.[198] In the *Monas* he resembles his Christian-Cabalist predecessors in his admiration for the *Denarius*, the number Ten, 'symbol of perfection', but relates it alchemically to the number One and the primaterial Chaos from which all things are created. Rather than focussing on the alpha-numeric letters of Hebrew, for example, he provides an anatomy of the Roman letter (and numeral) "X" (10), splitting it into two "V"s (5s); turning it on its side, to create two "L"s (50s), and

'John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*: Geometrical Cabala', *Ambix* 23:2 (July 1976): 116–123; Karen De León-Jones, 'John Dee and the Kabbalah', in Clucas (ed.), *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought*, 143–158; Håkan Håkansson, *Seeing the Word: John Dee and Renaissance Occultism* (Lunds Universitet: Ugglan Minervaserien 2, 2001), 180ff; Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs*, 90ff.

197 Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion*, 83.

198 On Dee's training as a Greek scholar and his familiarity with the Greek letters as numbers, see Peter J. Forshaw, 'The Hermetic Frontispiece: Contextualising John Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad', *Ambix* 64:2 (2017): 115–139, at 4–6.

so forth, calling to mind the method of 'anatomising' the Hebrew letter Aleph, mentioned above.[199]

Despite all these reflections on symbolic notations and being classed by the anti-enthusiast classical scholar Méric Casaubon (1599–1671) as 'a Cabalistical man, up to the ears,'[200] Dee gives the distinct impression that he is not particularly interested in the Jewish Kabbalistic exegesis of scripture. What he takes from Kabbalah is less Pico and Reuchlin's emphasis on the primacy of Hebrew, more an anatomising attitude towards 'text', be that in the book of Scripture or Nature. In the *Monas*, he makes a distinction between a 'Cabala of the Real' and a 'Cabala of the Word':

> the former is called in the books, *Real Cabala*, or του ὀντος [tou ontos] of that which exists …; the latter which is the common [form], *Cabalistic Grammar* or του λεγομενου [tou legomenou] of that which is said; which rests on the best-known letters, able to be written by men.[201]

Interested in the Book of Nature, Dee turns away from practising an exclusively "literal" Cabalistic reading of printed books to one connected with magic and the deciphering of the hieroglyphs or signatures of Nature, written by the hand of the Creator.[202] Five years before the publication of the *Monas Hieroglyphica*,

199 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 169–170.

200 Stephen Clucas, 'Enthusiasm and "damnable curiosity": Meric Casaubon and John Dee', in Evans and Marr (eds.), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, 131–148, at 144; Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs*, 165; Walton, 'John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*: Geometrical Cabala', 116.

201 A modified version of the translation found in Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 7r: 'Realem nominavi Cabalam, sive του ὀντος: Ut illam vulgarem alteram; Cabalisticam nomino Grammaticam sive του λεγομενου; quae notißimis Literis, ab Homine Scriptibilibus, insistit.' Cf. Khunrath, *Amph.*II, 6.

202 Perhaps this is the reason for Dee's description of the *Monas* as both '*Cabalisticè, Anagogiceque explicata*', i.e., explained Cabalistically and Anagogically, where he is clearly differentiating between Cabala, which many Christian Cabalists explain precisely as anagogic exegesis. See, for example, Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*, edited by Borghesi, Papio, and Riva, 72; Karen Silvia De Leon-Jones, *Giordano Bruno and the Kabbalah: Prophets, Magicians, and Rabbis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 27. See also Jacques Gaffarel, *Abdita divinae cabalae mysteria* (Paris, 1625), 11 'Cabala est secretior Divinae legis expositio, ex ore Dei a Mose recepta … quae similitudinem habet eius expositionis, quam nos Anagogicam nominamus.' Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica*, sig. Diii^{v}, in Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 98 'Cabalistae illlam legis expositionem sequentes, quae per quaedam symbola mentis elevationem ad superos & ad rem divinam quam maxime propellit, hanc appellant graeci vestri anagogicam institutionem, quae non modo philosophia sit sed & sophia ipsa, hoc est, sapientia'. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 99 for the unfortunate mistranslation

Dee received the Venetian alchemist Giovanni Agostino Pantheo's novel combination of alchemy and cabala, the *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam* (Voarchadumia against Alchemy, 1530) as a gift from Giovanni Baptista Agnelli.[203] This copy survives in the British Library and although Dee's extensive annotations display some interest in the 'literal' Cabala, including calculating the value of his name according to one of the *Voarchadumia*'s alphabets, the *Transitus fluvii* (Crossing of the River), which appears a few years later in Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533, Fig. 4.18), and the discovery that it adds up to the highly significant Kabbalistic numbers 666 and 72,[204] it seems likely that he was ultimately more interested in Pantheo's hybrid 'Cabala of Metals' (*Cabala metallorum*).[205]

Dee's cabalistic leanings are not only towards the natural world and the work of *Bereshit*. As shall be mentioned in the following chapter on Khunrath's magic, Dee is equally famous, or notorious, for the 'Actions with Spirits' he performed with his scryer Edward Kelley, which survive in the British Library Sloane manuscripts and were edited in 1659 by Meric Casaubon in *A True & Faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits*. This work displays similarities with medieval Solomonic magical texts that used Hebrew power words, such as the well-known *Clavicula Salomonis, Ars Almadel Salomonis, Ars Notoria Salomonis*, and the *Cabala Mystica* or *Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*. The introductory Latin prayer from

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of *anagogia* as allegory. Dee, however, seems to be implying that while he makes use of the third of the four forms of traditional Christian exegesis in the *Monas*, for him Cabala is something else. Cf. Archangelus de Burgonovo, *Apologia fratris Archangeli de Burgonovo Agri Placentini … & Conclusiones Cabalisticae* (Bologna, 1564), 21 'Si Cabala fuit ab ore Dei tradita, illi non licet contradicere: ergo cabala non pertinet ad expositionem anagogicam, vel allegoricam sacrae scripturae'.

203 See Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature*, 204, n. 31 where she discusses Dee's inscription 'ex dono magister Joannis Baptistae Danieli[s]' at the top of the title page, with Robert and Watson's argument in *John Dee's Library Catalogue* that Dee actually received the book from a Venetian alchemist living in London, Giovanni Baptista Agnelli, author of *Apocalypsis spiritus secreti* (London, 1566). See also Lauren Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman: Astrologer, Alchemist, and Physician* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 108.

204 Joannes Augustinus Pantheo, *Voarchadumia contra Alchimiam* (Venice, 1530). British Library shelfmark C.120. b.4. (2.). At the top of the title page Dee has written: 'Joannes Dee 1559 18 Junij ex dono magister Joannis Baptistae Danielis'.

205 For more on this, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy and Peter J. Forshaw, '*Cabala Chymica* or *Chemia Cabalistica* – Early Modern Alchemists and Cabala', *Ambix* 60:4 (November, 2013): 361–389.


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est alia, quam vocant Transitus fluvij. Et horum omnium characteres & figuræ tales sunt.

Scriptura cœlestis.

Theth Cheth Zain Vau He Daleth Gimel Beth Aleph

Zade Pe Ain Semech Nun Mem Lamed Caph Jod

Tau Schin Res Kuff

Scriptura Malachim.

Zain Vau He Daleth Gimel Beth Aleph

Nun Mem Lamed Caph Jod Thet Cheth

Res Kuff Zade Pe Ain Samech Samech Schin Tau

Scriptura Transitus fluvij.

Cheth Zain Vau He Daleth Gimel Beth Aleph

Samech

FIGURE 4.18
Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), 317 Magical Alphabets. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1830

Dee's *Mysteriorum Liber Primus* (First Book of the Mysteries) shows his belief in the utility of the *Shemoth*, the Hebrew divine names: 'Let the Will of Jehovah Zebaoth be done: Let the Will of Adonai be done, let the will of Elohim be done, O Blessed and Most Beneficent Almighty Trinity, yield to me (John Dee) this request, for such a method, whereby to most appease you. Amen.'[206]

206 Dee's *Mysteriorum Liber Primus* (First Book of the Mysteries). See Joseph H. Peterson (ed.), *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic* (Boston, MA/York Beach, ME: Weiser Books, 2003).

18 Sources for Khunrath's Knowledge of Cabala

Reading Khunrath's works, particularly the *Amphitheatre*, we quickly realise that his main sources for Christian Cabala are his fellow Christians, Reuchlin, Agrippa, and Dee. As he quotes from Pico's *Conclusions* on the Orphic Hymns in both the *Amphitheatre* and *Chaos*, referring to him as 'that great Count, Pico della Mirandola', it seems reasonable to assume he was also aware of Pico's Cabalistic ideas.[207] The mention of a 'Scalichius' on the same page in *Magnesia Catholica Philosophorum* in which he refers to Pico, Capnion and Agrippa in a discussion of the demon Azazel,[208] is most likely a reference to the Croatian humanist Paul Skalich de Lika (Stanislav Pavao Skalić, *c*.1534–1575), author of *Encyclopaediae, seu Orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quam prophanarum, Epistemon* (Expert Knowledge of the Encyclopaedia, or the World of Disciplines, both sacred and profane, 1559) – apparently the first book to be called an encyclopaedia.[209] There Skalich had written, for example, of 'Revolutio alphabetaria' as the most perfect method to all types of knowledge, had mentioned the significance of the 'forms, conjunctions, separations, tortuosity, direction, etc' of Hebrew letters, had given the cumulative value of YHVH as 72, mentioned the *Shemhamphoresh* or hidden name of God, and quoted from the *Sepher Yetzirah*.[210] Skalich was also the author of another work whose title must surely have appealed to Khunrath, the *Occulta Occultorum*

207 *Amph*.II, 134. See too *Chaos* (1597), sig. [Axij^{v}], for a direct quote from Pico's Orphic Conclusion 'Frustra Naturam adit, qui PANA non attraxerit', as well as a line from the Orphic hymn to Pan; *Chaos* (1597), 244 for 'Pan, Omnia, Alle … *Magnus* Pan Naturæ, der Grosse der Natur/ so Alles Ist.' See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 514–5 '10>28 Frustra adit naturam et protheum, qui pana non attraxerit' (Whoever does not attract Pan approaches nature and Proteus in vain). He does not, as Szulakowska states in *The Alchemy of Light*, 91 dedicate *Chaos* to the long-dead Pico.

208 *Magnesia* (1599), 147 'Attestantibus hoc Pico Mirandulae Comite; Capnione, Agrippa & Scalichio.' Khunrath may have consulted Skalich's *De demonio infernali*, which Pistorius mentions in his *Daemonomania Pistoriana. Magica et Cabalistica morborum curandorum ratio* (Lauingen, 1701), with reference to being devoured by Azazel; elsewhere mentioning Skalich in the context of the mysteries of the Hebrews, 57, 73, 127.

209 William N. West, *Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 16. The *Encyclopaediae* was published in Basel, 1559 and Köln, 1570. See Purš, 'The Habsburgs on the Bohemian Throne and Their Interest in Alchemy and the Occult Sciences', 93ff for more information on Paulus Schalichius (Skalic), court chaplain to Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. Like Pistorius, he appears to have changed confession more than once, from Catholic, to Reformed and back again to Catholic.

210 Skalich's *Encyclopaediae* (Basel, 1559) is bound with his *Theses Mysticae Philosophiae* and *Revolutio alphabetaria, seu perfectissima ad omne genus scientiarum Methodus*. For the reference to the *Sepher Yetzirah*, see 244–246.

Occulta (1556). It is a work influenced by Pico's programme of universal wisdom in the *Conclusions*, in the way that Skalich devotes separate chapters to the mysteries of the Jews, Chaldaeans, Persians, Orphics, Pythagoreans, Arabs, Greeks, and Latins.[211] Chapter 3 'On the Mysteries of the Hebrews', begins with Canon I, a discussion of the *Sephiroth* and concludes with Canon XXIX on the *Tetragrammaton*.[212]

Khunrath also cites one of the professors from the University of Basel, the Swiss physician and humanist Theodor Zwinger (1533–1588), best known nowadays as the editor of the encyclopaedic *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, 'perhaps the most comprehensive collection of knowledge to be compiled by a single individual in the early modern period', which first appeared in 1565 and enjoyed multiple reprints.[213] The *Amphitheatre* contains a reference to Cabala as the oral transmission of secrets to initiates from Zwinger's *Hippocratic Tables* (1579):

> This majesty of the arts was of [such] long standing, that they were not communicated save to initiates, either by word of mouth, to those called ἀκροατας [*akroatas – hearers*],[214] whence the Cabala of the Hebrews has its name; or by writing, but that obscure, whereby the profane multitude

211 The final chapter (p. 98), explicitly refers to Pico's 'profound inquisition' on the first word of the Book of Genesis, "Bresit", presumably intending Pico's exegesis of the term in the final chapter of *Heptaplus*.

212 Paul Skalich de Lika, *Occulta Occultorum Occulta* ([Vienna], 1556), 19–37 *De Mysteriis Hebraeorum*. In Canon I (p. 19) he provides an intriguing set of translations of the *Sephiroth*: 'coronam, sapientiam, providentiam, clementiam, potentiam, gloriam, triumphum, laudem, intellectum, ecclesiam' and is undoubtedly quoting the *Sepher Yetzirah*: 'Decem numerationes praeterquid, decem & non novem, decem & non undecim …' (p. 20). On Skalich/Scaliger, see François Secret, 'La tradition du De omni scibili à la Renaissance: l'oeuvre de Paul Scaliger', *Convivium* 23:4 (1955), 492–97 who describes him as 'most representative of that thinking which intimately combines Lullism and Kabbalah', writing at the 'confluence' between the two Renaissance Hermetic currents. From this position, it was his intent to restore and reform the *Ars Lulliana* through the work of Pico and Reuchlin.

213 Helmut Zedelmaier, 'Navigieren im Text-Universum: Theodor Zwingers Theatrum Vitae Humanae', *Metaphorik* 14 (2008): 113–135, at 113 'Theodor Zwingers *Theatrum vitae humanae* ist die vielleicht umfangreichste Wissenssammlung, die ein einzelner Mensch je in der frühen Neuzeit erstellte.' Theodor Zwinger, *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1565; 1571, 1586, 1604). The 1586 and 1604 title pages change the title to 'Theatrum Humanae Vitae'.

214 Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 53 ἀκροατας, '*hearer, disciple, pupil.*' See Romans 2:13 and James 1:22, 23, 25. See also Alexander Loveday, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary convention and social context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; repr. 2005), 43 'Theophrastus pinpoints the distinction between the two approaches rather neatly: "Of the (two) forms of discourse, one concerns itself

> be kept away from it, and the secret be communicated only to those who understand.[215]

Cabala was presumably a subject in which Zwinger had a deal of interest, given his long-term correspondence with the influential French representative of Christian Cabala Guillaume Postel (1510–1581),[216] who in 1548 made a translation with commentary of the *Zohar* and in 1552 published Latin translations of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, and the *Sepher ha-Bahir*, predating the first Hebrew printing of these works by ten years.[217] Although never mentioned by Khunrath, it is worth noting that the celebrated Orientalist Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), author of *Synagoga Judaica* (1603), 'the first extensive account of Jewish religious beliefs and practices written by a non-Jew for a Christian audience'[218] and of the *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* (1640), who was professor of Hebrew at Basel for thirty-nine years, appears in the Basel matriculation register on the page after Khunrath.[219]

In the *Amphitheatre*, one of the sources Khunrath mentions is the German pedagogue Michael Neander (1525–1595),[220] author, among other works, of *Sanctae linguae Hebraeae Erotemata* (Questions of the Holy Hebrew Language, 1567), which included a discussion of Cabala,[221] influenced by Reuchlin in its

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with the audience (*tous akroatas*), the other with the facts (*ta pragmata*): the former is [the one] pursued by poets and orators, the latter by philosophers".'

215 *Amph.*II, 101 'Vetus hæc artium, inquit, fuit maiestas, vt non nisi initiatis communicarentur, vel viua voce, quos ἀκροατας dixere, vndè Cabala Hebræorum nomen habet; vel scripto, sed eo obscuro, quo profanum vulgus arceretur, & solis intelligentibus … arcanum communicaretur'. Cf. Theod. Zuingerus, *Hippocratis Coi Asclepiadeae gentis sacrae coryphaei viginti duo commentarii Tabulis illustrati* (Basel, 1579), 37.

216 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 190. They corresponded for 14 years, from 1566 to 1580.

217 Saverio Campanini (ed.), *The Book of Bahir: Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Version* (Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2005), 118. Although Postel's *Zohar* commentary was unpublished during his lifetime, it circulated in manuscript and was known to many Christian Cabalists of his time. On Postel, see William J. Bouwsma, 'Postel and the Significance of Renaissance Cabalism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 15 (1954): 218–232; Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel: Prophet of the Restitution of All Things: His Life and Works* (The Hague: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1981).

218 Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; repr. 2004), 28.

219 See *Rektoratsmatrikel der Universität Basel*, Vol. 2 (1586–1653), Basel Universitätsbibliothek, AN II 4:46r. Andreas Kilcher includes Buxtorf in a list of 'classics of Christian kabbalah', alongside Reuchlin, Pistorius, Kircher, Leibniz, Wachter and Rosenroth in 'Philology as Kabbalah', in Boaz Huss, Marco Pasi and Kocku Von Stuckrad (eds.), *Kabbalah and Modernity: Interpretations, Transformations, Adaptations* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 13–28, at 18.

220 *Amph.*II, 154.

221 Michael Neander, *Sanctae linguae Hebraeae Erotemata* (Basel, 1567), 181, especially 514ff 'De Cabala Iudaeorum'.

definition of Cabala as a 'mystical doctrine that signifies symbolic Theology', adding that 'not only letters and names are signs of things, but also the things of things'.[222] Neander even suggests that 'the apostle Paul, in 1 Timothy 1:15 seems to refer to Cabala when he writes "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, [which Neander glosses as 'Cabala'] that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners".'[223]

Another possible influence on Khunrath's notions concerning Christian Cabala is the Venetian priest and cabalistic alchemist Giovanni Agostino Pantheo (d. 1535), already mentioned in the section on John Dee, who develops his hybrid "Cabala of Metals" in two works: the *Ars transmutationis metallicae* (Art of Metallic Transmutation, 1518, Fig. 4.19) and *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam* (Voarchadumia against Alchemy, 1530/1550).[224] Although Khunrath does not mention Pantheo by name, he more than once uses the phrase 'Voarch Beth Adamoth' (Gold from two rubies),[225] which is the literal Hebrew

222 Neander, *Sanctae linguae Hebraeae Erotemata*, 517 'Cabala doctrinam mysticam significat Theologiam symbolicam, non scripto olim proditam, sed ex ore aliorum acceptam, קבל enim accipere significat. Ita ut non modo literae ac nomina sint rerum signa, verum res etiam rerum.'

223 Neander, *Sanctae linguae Hebraeae Erotemata*, 517 'Ad hanc vocem Cabala videtur alludere Apostolus 1. ad Timoth. Vbi scribit: Fidelis & certus sermo est, & omni acceptione seu Cabala dignus, quod Iesus Christus venit in mundum ut peccatores salvos facerit.' For more on Cabala, Neander refers his reader to Paul Fagius's commentaries on Chapter 26 of Genesis and 11 of Numbers, in the *Biblia Chaldaica*, presumably in *Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia* (Strasbourg, 1546); to Petrus Galatinus, in *De Arcanis Catholicae veritatis* (Basel, 1550); to Reuchlin's cabalistic works and to his *Speculum Oculare*, i.e. *Augenspiegel* (Tübingen, 1511); to Antonius Margarita, in *De Caeremoniis Iudaeorum*, presumably *Der gantz judisch Glaub* (Augsburg, 1530), to Guillaume Postel's *Liber de Originibus, seu de Hebraicae linguage antiquitate* (Paris, 1538), Cap. 17, and finally Book 10, Chapter 1 of Ludovicus Rhodiginus's *Antiquarum Lectionum commentarii libri xvi* (Venice, 1516). For the reading of 1 Timothy 1:15, as a reference to Cabala, see John Gill's *Exposition of the Entire Bible* (Dublin: Gill, 1887).

224 On Pantheus, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), Vol. V, 537–40; Hilda Norrgrén, 'Interpretation and the Hieroglyphic Monad: John Dee's Reading of Pantheus's *Voarchadumia*', *Ambix* 52:3 (November, 2005): 217–245. See also Forshaw, 'Cabala Chymica or Chemia Cabalistica – Early Modern Alchemists and Cabala'. For the references to "Cabala of the Metals", see Pantheus, *Voarchadumia* (Venice, 1530), 'metallorum Cabala', 11^{r}, 22^{r}; (Paris, 1550), 'metallorum Cabala', 15^{r} 23^{r}; 'cabala metallorum', 53^{v}.

225 *Magnesia*, 92 'Aus diesem/ und sonsten keinem andern/ natürlichen grunde gehet VOARCH BETH ADAMOTH der alten Weisen'; 184 'und finden VOARCH BETH ADAMOTH, ja alles/ was sein Philosophisch Hertz begehret.' See also *Lux in Tenebris*, 23. For speculation on what these terms mean, see Michael T. Walton and Phyllis J. Walton, 'The Geometrical Kabbalahs of John Dee and Johannes Kepler: The Hebrew Tradition and the Mathematical Study of Nature', in P. Theerman and Karen Hunger Parshall (eds.), *Experiencing Nature: Proceedings of a Conference in Honor of Allen G. Debus* (Dordrecht:

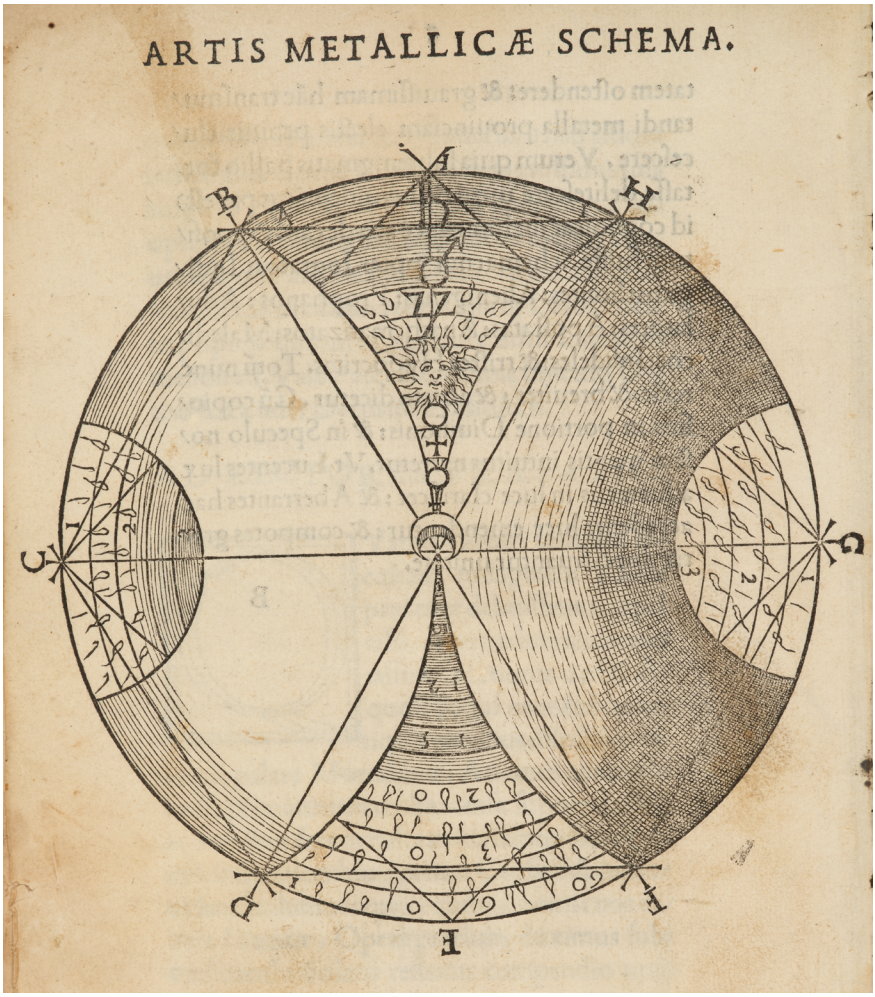


FIGURE 4.19 Pantheo, 'Schema of the Metallic Art'. *Ars transmutationis metallicae* (Venice, 1518), preceding 6r. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1081

translation of Pantheo's explanation of the title of his work *Voarchadumia*.[226] It is of course possible that Khunrath first encountered this phrase in Dee's

Spring, 1997), 43–60, at 54 n.11 '*Voarchadumico*, *voarch beth adumoth*, and *edom* seem to refer to the person illuminated by primordial light who can see in the red stone carbuncle the two "red things," the reigns of fire and water.'

226 Pantheus, *Voarchadumia* (1530), 10r 'denominari ab Auro ex duabus rubeis: quod Chaldaeo idiomate componitur ab Voarch (Auro) particula Indica primitiva: & Mea a adumót Hevraice (ex duabus rubeis) quod Latine significat Aurum duarum rubearum: hoc est duarum caementationum perfectarum.' The Hebrew אדם (*adam*) translates either as the noun 'carnelian' or the adjective 'red.' Khunrath's phrase more exactly gives the meaning

Monas Hieroglyphica, where it appears as 'Voarh Beth Advmoth'.[227] The fact that Johann Friedrich Jung's 1602 manuscript copy of the 1595 *Amphitheatre* in the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen includes a copy of the *Voarchadumia*'s 'Aperio Librum et Septem Signacula' (I Open the Book and the Seven Seals) image (see *Mage's Images*, Vol. 1, Chapter 2, Fig. 2.60) shows that at least one contemporary reader saw a connection between the two works.[228]

19 Other Potential Sources

It seems more than likely that Khunrath was familiar with the *Artis Cabalisticae Tomus I* (Volume I of the Cabalistic Art, 1587), an anthology of works of Jewish Kabbalah and Christian Cabala by the controversialist and historian Johann Pistorius of Nidda (1546–1608), already mentioned above, who was to convert from Calvinism to Catholicism the following year, eventually becoming confessor to Emperor Rudolf II.[229] The first (and only) volume of *Artis Cabalisticæ: hoc est, Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae, Scriptorum, Tomus I* (Of the Cabalistic Art, that is, of the Writers of Recondite Theology and Philosophy), which has been called the 'Bible of Christian Cabala',[230] was published in Basel in 1587, the year before Khunrath's graduation and, as Philip Beitchman argues,

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of 'Gold (*Voarch – Auro*) from two (*ex duabus* – the letter *beth* = the number 2) rubies (*adamoth – rubeis*).'

227 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, 7^{v}; Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica"', 136–7.

228 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1765, f4^{r}. Cf. Pantheus, *Voarchadumia* (1530), 36^{r} and idem, *Ars transmutationis metallicae* (Venice, 1518), preceding 6^{r}.

229 Pistorius, *Artis cabbalisticæ, h. e. reconditæ theologiæ et philosophiæ scriptorum tomus I.* (Basel, 1587). On Pistorius, see Hans-Jürgen Günther, 'Dr. Johannes Pistorius (1546–1608). Ein Arzt, Humanist und Theologe prägt badische Geschichte', *Aquae* 95:28 (1995): 37–70; idem, 'Johannes Pistorius Niddanus d.J.: Humanist, Arzt, Historiker, Politiker und Theologe (1546–1608)', in Gerhard Taddey et al. (eds.), *Lebensbilder aus Baden-Württemberg*, Vol. 19 (1998): 109–145. On Pistorius's *Artis Cabalisticae* as an anthology of older kabbalistic works and on the most popular (Agrippa, Galatinus, Giorgio, Reuchlin) or prolific (Gaffarel, Philippe d'Aquin, Kircher, Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie) Christian Cabalist authors, see Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 126. See also Carlos Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600: Ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt* (Basel und Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1985); Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Vol. 2, 680–683.

230 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiennes*, 280.

'there is probably no more important or influential publication on Cabala in the Renaissance, especially from a Christian … point of view'.[231]

The *Artis Cabalisticae* contained the already-mentioned works by Reuchlin and the Latin translation of Gikatilla's *Sha'arei 'Orah* (Gates of Light), by one of Reuchlin's friends,[232] Paolo Ricci, which originally appeared in 1516.[233] Pistorius's volume also includes the most famous of Ricci's Kabbalistic works, the four-part religio-philosophical synthesis of Kabbalistic and Christian sources, *De Caelesti Agricultura* (On Celestial Agriculture, 1541), the fourth book of which is an introduction to the Kabbalah in a series of fifty theorems.[234] Ricci discovered in Kabbalah the mysteries of the Trinity, the eternal generation of the Son of God, redemption through the passion and blood of the Messiah, and his resurrection. He was widely-read in Hebrew sources and, with the zeal of a convert, published a series of short tracts under the title *Sal Foederis* (Salt of the Covenant) in 1507, intended to defend Christianity against the calumnies of the Jews. In 1514 Ricci became physician to Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), for whom in 1519 he prepared a new Latin translation, with commentary, of the *Talmud*.[235]

Less overtly kabbalistic, Pistorius's work also includes a 1564 Latin translation by Giovanni Carlo Saraceni of the famous *Dialoghi d'amore* (Dialogues of Love), of the Portuguese Jewish physician, poet and philosopher Judah Leon Abravanel (*c.*1465–*c.*1523), known to Christian readers as Leone Ebreo. The

231 Philip Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 134.

232 Bernd Roling, 'Synkretismus im Werk des Paolo Ricci', in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 77–100, at 77. See also Roling, 'Prinzip, Intellekt und Allegorese im Werk des christlichen Kabbalisten Paolo Ricci (gest. 1541)', in Giuseppe Veltri and Annette Winkelmann (eds.), *An der Schwelle zur Moderne: Juden in der Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 155–87.

233 Ricius had been commissioned to translate Kabbalistic literature by Pope Sixtus IV. See Franz Posset, *Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522): A Theological Biography* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 610.

234 Ironically, despite his Jewish origins and obvious erudition, and despite the orthodox, non-magical nature of Ricci's Kabbalah, he was accused by a priest of not propounding true Kabbalah, 'because he presented this doctrine in another light than that of Pico.' See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 89. On Ricius, see also Secret, 'Notes sur Paolo Ricci et la Kabbale chrétienne en Italie', *Rinascimento* 11 (1960): 169–192; Black, 'From Kabbalah to Psychology: The Allegorizing Isagoge of Paulus Ricius, 1509–1541'; Saverio Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead: The Adaptation of the Androgynous Motif in Early Christian Kabbalah', in Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (eds.), *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 355–376; Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala*, 67–74.

235 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*, Vol. 2, Chapter 4: Paulus Ricius, 209–261.

Dialoghi contains three dialogues between Philo and Sophia on the nature of love.[236] The *Artis Cabalisticae* also includes the *Liber de Creatione* (Book concerning Creation), a Latin version of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, a commentary on Pico della Mirandola's kabbalistic theses, *Cabalistarum selectiora, obscurioraque dogmata* (Very Select and Obscure Dogmas of the Cabalists, 1569),[237] by Arcangelo da Borgonuovo (d. 1571), one of the disciples of the Venetian scholar Francesco Giorgio (*c*.1460–1540), himself author of two large, widely-read volumes: *De Harmonia mundi totius cantica tria* (Three Canticles on the Harmony of the Whole World, 1525) and the *Problemata* (1536), the Kabbalah central to both. Borgonuovo is also the author of a *Dechiaratione sopra il nome di Giesu* (Declaration on the Name of Jesus, 1557), essentially an expansion of the final chapters in Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*.[238]

In light of the importance of the ideas of Paracelsus for Khunrath's philosophy, a possible influence of Paracelsus's genuine and pseudepigraphic writings on Khunrath's Cabala should not be disregarded.[239] Although Paracelsus probably derived much of the knowledge of what he variously calls "Cabala", "Gabala", or "Gabalia",[240] from Agrippa, he nevertheless shares the same

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236 Leone Ebreo, *Dialogues of Love*, translated by Damian Bacich and Rossella Pescatori; edited by Rosella Pescatori (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). See Cecil Roth, 'Introduction,' in Leone Ebreo, *The Philosophy of Love* (*Dialoghi d'Amore*), translated by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes (London: The Soncino Press, 1937). On Leone Ebreo and the *Dialogues*, see Arthur M. Lesley, 'Proverbs, Figures, and Riddles: The *Dialogues of Love* as a Hebrew Humanist Composition', in Michael Fishbane (ed.), *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History* (Albany, NJ: State University of New York Press, 1993), 204–225.

237 It has been suggested that Borgonuovo's commentary on Pico's theses was lifted from his master's unpublished work. See Chaim Wirszubski, 'Francesco Giorgio's Commentary on Giovanni Pico's Kabbalistic Theses', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 145–56; Giulio Busi, 'Francesco Zorzi: A Methodical Dreamer', in Joseph Dan (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books & Their Christian Interpreters*, 97–125, at 99–100. On Borgonuovo, see Paolo Edoardo Fornaciari, 'L'*Apologia* di Arcangelo da Borgonuovo in difesa delle *Conclusiones cabalisticae* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola', *Vivens homo* 5 (1994): 575–91.

238 See Forshaw, 'The Genesis of Christian Kabbalah'.

239 Johann Christoph Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit oder Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Schwarzkünstler, Goldmacher, Teufelsbanner, Zeichen-und Liniendeuter, Schwärmer, Wahrsager, und anderer philosophischer Unholden* (Leipzig, 1780), Vol. VII, 189 describes Paracelsus as 'ein Kabbalist und Charlatan'.

240 *De Natura Rerum*, in Paracelsus, *Opera* (1603), Vol. 1: 880–921, at 903; Paracelsus, *Das Büch Paragranum* (Frankfurt, 1565), sig. 15^{v} *Gabalisticam*; 50^{r} *Gabalisticam scientiam*; margin: *Gabalia* gibt einen waren *Astronomum und Medicum*. Influenced by the *Versuch einer Kritik der echtheit der Paracelsischen Schriften* (Berlin: Georg Reimer Verlag, 1894–1899) of medical historian Karl Sudhoff (1853–1938), modern scholarship has tended to

appreciation of the Hebrew language as possessing unusual virtues, powers and properties, springing from the original Adamic tongue.[241] Johann Hüser's 1603 multi-volume edition of Paracelsus's *Bücher und Schrifften*, for example, contains a wide variety of statements concerning Cabala, ranging from *De Natura Rerum*'s 'the Cabalistic Art had its origin with the old Magi', rather than from Jewish sources,[242] to the *Fragmenta Medica*, where we learn that 'Adam and Moses … searched for that within themselves that is in man and opened it, and it belongs all to Cabala; they knew no strange things from the devil or spirits, but from the Light of Nature.'[243] Heinz Schott observes that such an inward approach to the divine sources of spiritual light recalls the mystical practices of Jewish Kabbalah, with Paracelsus's Light of Nature evoking the *Sephirotic* emanations of divine light.[244]

In the pseudepigraphic, but undeniably popular *Aurora Thesaurusque Philosophorum* (Aurora and Treasury of the Philosophers, 1577) we find Cabala mentioned on the very first page and later read of its prophetic nature and the insight it provides into terrestrial and celestial creation:

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distinguish sharply between genuine and spurious Paracelsian works. Joachim Telle's position was one of accepting the medical works as genuine; rejection of the chrysopoetic as spurious, e.g. Joachim Telle, 'Benedictus Figulus: Zu Leben und Werk eines deutschen Paracelsisten', in G. Mann and B. Fabian (eds.), *Medizin historisches Journal* 22:4 (1987): 303–326, at 320; idem, 'Johann Huser in seinen Briefen. Zum Schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert', in Joachim Telle (ed.), *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 220. Urs Leo Gantenbein has a less polarised approach concerning Paracelsus and transmutation, see e.g. 'Paracelsus und die Quellen seiner medizinischen Alchemie', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Religion und Gesundheit: der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 129–134, at 115–119. See also Andrew Weeks, 'Paracelsus', in Partridge (ed.), *The Occult World*, 99–106. My approach in this monograph is that if Khunrath seems to present a book as the work of Paracelsus, it is treated as such for its relevance to Khunrath's work.

241 Paracelsus, *De Natura Rerum*, Lib.IX, *De Signatura Rerum Naturalium*, in Hüser (ed.), *Bücher und Schriften* (Frankfurt, 1603), Vol. 1, 908f, at 918, in the section 'Von ettlichen besondern Zeichen der natürlichen und ubernatürlichen.'

242 Paracelsus, *De Natura Rerum*, in Hüser (ed.), *Bücher und Schriften*, Vol. 1, 880–921, at 903 'Daher hat die Kunst Caballistica ihren ursprung genommen bey den alten Magis, davon wir in den Büchern der Caballia weitleuffig tractieren.' See Hartmut Rudolph, 'Die Kabbala im Werk des Paracelsus', in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 109–120, at 111, 114.

243 Paracelsus, *Fragmenta Medica*, in Hüser (ed.), *Bücher und Schriften*, Vol. 1, 141 'Sich Adam an/Moysen, und ander/ die haben das in jhnen gesucht/ das im Menschen war/ und das geöffnet/ und alle Gabalischen/ und haben nichts frembdes kennt/ vom Teuffel/ noch von Geisten/ sondern vom Liecht der Natur.'

244 Heinz Schott, '"Invisible Diseases" – Imagination and Magnetism: Paracelsus and the Consequences', in Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *Paracelsus: The Man and His Reputation, His Ideas and Their Transformation*, 309–322, at 313.

> Cabala, by anagogy, seems to trace out the way to God for men, how they may act with him, and prophesy from him. For Cabala is full of divine mysteries, just as Magic is full of natural secrets: it teaches how predictions are to be brought forth from the nature of things present and to come. For its operation consists in all creatures, as much with celestial as with terrestrial bodies, inwardly known, what is concealed within them, what virtues lie hidden, for what they were originally designed, and with what properties they are endowed.[245]

In Paracelsus's genuine cosmological work, the *Astronomia Magna* (composed *c.*1537; first published in 1571), the 'Ars Cabalistica' is a potent adjunct to natural magic and with it the Paracelsian magus can accomplish as much in a month as Nature takes in a year.[246] In his *Liber de religione perpetua* (Book on Perpetual Religion, *c.*1533) Paracelsus gives us a strong sense of how important Cabala is for reading the Book of Nature, be that man the microcosm or the contents of the macrocosm:

> If we would know the inner nature of man by his outer nature; if we would understand his inner heaven by his outward aspect; if we would know the inner nature of trees, herbs, roots, stones by their outward aspect, we must pursue our exploration of nature on the foundation of the cabala (in den grund der gabalier).[247]

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245 Paracelsus, *Aurora Thesaurusque Philosophorum* (Basel, 1577), 14 [misprinted as 41] 'Cabala, ex anagogia, viam ad Deum hominibus struere videtur: quinam cum ipso agendum, & ex ipso prophetandum. Nam plena est divinis mysterijs Cabala, uti Magia naturalibus arcanis: praesagia siquidem illa ex natura futurorum & presentium effari docet. Eius enim operatio consistit in creaturis omnibus tam coelestibus, quam terrenis corporibus cognoscendis intrinsecus, quid in ipsis occultetur, quae vires lateant, cui destinata sunt ab initio, tum quibus proprietatibus dotata.' See also Gerard Dorn's commentary in the 1583 edition, 14 where we read 'ars illa divina Cabala, quae de divinis Dei nominibus primum … disserit' (that divine art Cabala, which firstly discusses the divine names of God); 16 presents 'Magiam, Cabalam, Alchimiam' as a group of related practices.

246 Paracelsus, *Philosophia Sagax*, in Hüser (ed.), *Bücher und Schriften*, Vol. 10 (1603), 41 'Unnd in Summa/ was die Natur vermag in einem Jahr zu thun/ das vermag sie in eim Monat/ auch in den Gewechsen deß Erdreichs zu vollbringen. Und diese Species heist mit jrem rechten Nammen Ars Cabalistica'.

247 Jolande Jacobi (ed.), *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, translated by Norbert Guterman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 133. See *Liber de religione perpetua*, in Paracelsus, *Theologische Werke 1: Vita beata – Vom glückseligen Leben*, edited by Urs Leo Gantenbein and Michael Baumann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 314–315 'Darum zu erkennen den menschen in seinem innern wesen durch das äußer, den himmel in seinem innern wesen durch das äußer, die bäum, kräuter, wurzeln, stein zu erkennen in

Further Paracelsian references to Cabala can be found in works of those promoting Paracelsian philosophy, such as the French physician and alchemist Jacques Gohory (1520–1576),[248] who states in his *Compendium of Theophrastus Paracelsus* (1568) that the *ars combinandi* or *alphabetaria revolutio*, as well as the part of magic concerned with the virtues of the 'higher supralunar powers', are also called Cabala by the Jews.[249] Gohory even paraphrases one of Pico's Magical Conclusions: 'we will say that characters belong to magic, numbers to cabala, and the letters are in someway intermediary between the two'.[250] These numbers, Gohory informs us, again from Pico, are both 'formal' and 'material' – the former being the Ternary and Denary, the latter the Unarius, Binarius and so forth.[251]

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dem innern durch das äußer, ist vonnöten, dass die naturales alle gangen in den grund der gabalier.'

248 Leo Suavius (aka Jacques Gohory), *Theophrasti Paracelsi Philosophiae et medicinae utriusque universae compendium* (Paris, 1578). On Gohory, see François Secret, 'Jacques Gohory et le *Paracelsian revival*', *Chrysopoeia* 5 (1992–1996): 467–470. See also Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme*, *passim*; Debus, *The French Paracelsians*, 26ff.

249 Gohory, *Compendium*, 191 'Ars tamen combinandi seu alphabetaria revolutio, seu methodos procedendi in scientiis. item pars magiae virtutibus superiorum supra lunam, ab Hebraeis etiam Cabala dicitur nomine generali.' Cf. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 297; Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme*, 167.

250 Gohory, *Compendium*, 194 [mispaginated as 195] 'characteres proprios esse magiae, numeros vero Cabalae, literas esse quodammodo medias inter utrosque.' Cf. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 502–3 9>25 'Sicut caracteres sunt proprii operi magico, ita numeri sunt proprii operi cabalae, medio existente inter utrosque, et appropriabili per declinationem ad extrema usu litterarum' (Just as characters are proper to a magical work, so numbers are proper to a work of Cabala, with a medium existing between the two, appropriable by declination between the extremes through the use of letters).

251 Gohory, *Compendium*, 194 [mispaginated as 195] 'Quilibet numerus praeter ternarium & denarium sunt materiales, illi sunt formales, & in Arithmetica mystica sunt numeri numerorum.' This is reasserted in a later section *De Cabala numerali* (213). See Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 502–3 9>23 'Quilibet numerus praeter ternarium et denarium sunt materiales/ in magia; isti formales sunt, et in magica arithmetica sunt numeri numerorum' (Every number besides the ternarius and denarius are material numbers in magic. Those are formal numbers, and in magical arithmetic are the numbers of numbers). Another Paracelsian who displays a familiarity with Pico's Cabalistic theorems is Bernard Penot (1519–1617), who, in *De Denario Medico* (Bern, 1608), modifies Pico's Cabalistic Conclusion 56 'If he is expert in Cabala, one who knows how to extend the quaternary into the denary will have a method for deriving the name of 72 letters from the ineffable name' as 'He who knows how to expand the quaternary into the denary is able to penetrate into the depths of the sciences.' See Purš and Karpenko, 'Alchemy at the Aristocratic Courts of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown', 89 concerning Bernard Gilles Penot who worked in Prague among a circle of Paracelsian physicians in the circle of Tadeáš Hájek during the 1590s.

The *Onomastica II* (1574) of the German physician Michael Toxites (1514–1581), dealing with the frequently neologistic terminology in Paracelsus's writings, contains an influential definition of Cabala.[252] In the preface Toxites explains that Paracelsus took much 'from the art of the Cabalists' (ex Cabalistarum arte), and followed their advice to protect his knowledge from the vulgar by employing already existing enigmatic words from the alchemists as well as creating new words from various languages, including the titles of two of his most influential works, the *Paragranum* and *Paramirum*.[253] Toxites writes,

> Cabala, Cabalia, or the Cabalistic Art is a divine science, that reveals to us God's teaching concerning the Messiah, brings about friendship with the angels for its practitioners, bestows knowledge of all natural things, and, shadows having been driven away, illustrates the mind with divine light. The word is Hebrew and is in Latin *receptio* [reception].[254]

Reuchlin, Pico and the Franciscan Orientalist Pietro Galatino (1460–1540) are mentioned by name.[255] According to Toxites the latter asserts that through the

252 On Toxites' *Onomastica*, see Jean-Marc Mandosio, 'Lex lexiques bilingues philosophiques, scientifiques et notamment alchimiques', in Jacqueline Hamesse and Danielle Jacquart (eds.), *Lexiques bilingues dans les domaines philosophiques et scientifiques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 197–205. On his role in the Paracelsian publishing industry, see Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority in the Holy Roman Empire*, 23f. Nummedal also mentions another Paracelsian *Onomasticum* (1574–83; my copy Cologne, 1587) by Leonhart Thurneisser zum Thurn (1531–1596). It does not contain an entry for Cabala, but there are entries for "Cabalistic words," e.g., 18 'Abzachochor: Diß ist ein Cabalistischs wort/ und bedeut des *Chaos*,' and references to Jewish Cabalists, Pico, and Lull's *ars combinandi* (34–35).

253 Toxites, *Onomastica II. I Philosophicum, Medicum, Synonymum ex varijs vulgaribusque linguis. II. Theophrasti Paracelsi: hoc est, earum vocum, quarum in scriptis eius solet usus esse, explicatio* (Strasbourg, 1574), sig. α 3r 'Theophrastus ex Cabalistarum arte multa accepit: quaedam ex diversis linguis, ut paragranum, paramirum, Carboanthos, & similia nova confinxit: non pauca à Chemistis ficta usurpavit.'

254 Toxites, *Onomastica II*., 410–412 'Cabala, Cabalia, sive cabalistica ars, scientia est divina, quae nobis Dei doctrinam de Messia patefacit, cum angelis amicitiam cultoribus suis contrahit: rerumque naturalium omnium cognitionem tradit, ac divino lumine mentem pulsis tenebris illustrat. Vox est Hebraea, Latinis dicitur receptio.' For a modern comparison, see Figala and Priesner, 'Kabbala, *Kabbalah*, *Cabbala*', in Figala and Priesner (eds.), *Alchemie: Lexikon einer Hermetischen Wissenschaft*, 187–190.

255 Galatino was the author of *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (On the Mysteries of Catholic Truth, 1518), which introduced Christian readers to the Talmud and quickly became an important text of Christian Cabala. On Galatino, see Giuseppe Veltri, 'Der Lector Prudens und die Bibliothek des (uralten) Wissens: Pietro Galatino, Anatus Lusitanus und Azaria de' Rossi', in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 133–142.

science of Cabala the ancient Jewish rabbis acknowledged the Trinity and that Christ was the son of God. Toxites also states that Paracelsus wrote much about this 'certain and celestial science', directs his readers to the *Astronomia Magna*, and mentions Paracelsus's belief that the Persians were more correct practitioners of Cabala than the Jews, as proved by the fact that the three Magi went to adore Christ in Bethlehem.[256]

Toxites's brief description of Cabala enjoyed some success, for variants are included in the *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Dictionary of Theophrastus Paracelsus, 1583) by the Flemish alchemist and physician Gérard Dorn (*c*.1530–1584) and then later in the *Lexicon Alchemiae* (Lexicon of Alchemy, 1612) by the German alchemist and Paracelsian physician Martin Ruland the Younger (1569–1611), much of his information lifted verbatim from the preceding works of Toxites and Dorn. Dorn and Ruland slightly modify Toxites's original text, stating that Cabala is a '*most occult* science, said to have been divinely transmitted to Moses', but the essential message remains the same.[257] In all three dictionaries, the emphasis is on Cabala as an art bestowing knowledge of things natural and the prospect of supernatural revelation, in keeping with the general message of Christian-Cabalist authorities. Dorn expresses a high regard for Cabala, elsewhere, for example in *Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum* (A Collection of Paracelsian Chymistry on the Transmutations of Metals, 1581), where he writes that 'Cabala seems to build a road for me to God by anagogy … for cabala is full of divine mysteries.'[258]

Taking the Christian appropriation of Jewish Kabbalah into consideration and Paracelsus's famous rejection of the pagan philosophy of Aristotle and Galen,[259] it is arguable that the Mosaic basis of Cabala would have appeared far more legitimate as an adjunct to the Paracelsian Christian philosophy of nature, particularly with the Christian reorientation being given to Kabbalah

256 Toxites, *Onomastica* II, 411–412.

257 Dorn, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (Frankfurt, 1583), 25–26 'Cabala vel Cabalia, est occultissima scientia quae divinitus una cum Lege Moysi tradita fuisse fertur'; see also Dorn's "explicatio", on 104; Martin Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (Frankfurt, 1612), 108 'Cabala, Cabalia, Ars Cabalistica, est scientia occultissima, quae divinitus una cum lege Mosi tradita fuisse fertur.'

258 Gerard Dorn, *Congeries Paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum* (Frankfurt, 1581), 161–2 'At ipsa Cabala ex Anagogia viam ad Deum hominibus struere videtur, ac docere quinam cum ipso vivendum, & ex ipso solo prophetandum sit. Nam plena divinis est mysterijs Cabala, uti Magia naturalibus arcanis: praesagia siquidem illa futurorum, ex natura praeteritorum & praesentium effari docet …'.

259 Andrew Weeks, 'The Invisible Diseases of Paracelsus and the Cosmic Reformation', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, 507–523, at 510.

during Paracelsus's time by Pico, Reuchlin and others, and the later adoption of Paracelsian ideas by Lutheran and Calvinist thinkers seeking an alternative to the medieval dogmatic theology of the Schools.[260]

The anti-Paracelsian (and anti-Khunrathian) Andreas Libavius, whose critical voice we heard in the previous chapter, provides particularly sarcastic comments concerning the 'mysteries of Paracelsian Cabala' in *Nota XXXIV. De mysteriis Cabalae Paracelsicae* of his *Appendix necessaria Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (An Indispensable Appendix with Segments of Chymical Arcana, 1615).[261] 'Kabala', we learn, 'is the bolthole of the Paracelsians', who 'conceive of it as they please when they don't want to give a reason for what they do and at the same time they aren't guided by the principles of Kabala, but Kabala is forced to accommodate itself to them and to submit to their inclination'.[262] In a passage criticising the physician Henning Scheunemann (1570–1616), who knew Khunrath,[263] Libavius provides his own notion of three kinds of Cabala, the first being the Laws received by Moses and then set down in writing in the Talmud; the second, relating to the prophets; the third that of the rabbis who 'collect the biblical letters and syllables of the holy language, convert, transform, [and] transmute them into numbers and in this

260 On anti-Scholastic sentiments among Paracelsians, see Weeks, *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation*, 51. On anti-Scholastic and anti-Aristotelian attitudes in the 'Christian philosophy' of a Catholic alchemist influenced by Paracelsus, see Georgiana D. Hedesan, *An Alchemical Quest for Universal Knowledge: The 'Christian Philosophy' of Jan Baptist Van Helmont (1579–1644)* (London: Routledge, 2016), xiii, 37.

261 On Libavius's reservations about Cabala, see Moran, *Andreas Libavius and the Transformation of Alchemy: Separating Chemical Cultures with Polemical Fire*, 117ff. Another condemnation that links Cabala and Paracelsians is discussed in Didier Kahn, 'La condamnation des thèses d'Antoine de Villon et Etienne de Clave contre Aristote, Paracelse et les « cabalistes » (1624)/The condemnation of Antoine de Villon's and Etienne de Clave's theses against Aristotle, Paracelsus and the «cabalists»', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 55:2 (2002): 143–198.

262 Libavius, *Appendix necessaria Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (Frankfurt, 1615), 76 'Kabala perfugium est Paracelsistarum, iuxta quam omnia pro lubitu fingunt quorum rationem reddere nequeunt & tamen non ipsi principiis Kabalae reguntur, sed Kabala cogitur se accommodare, parereque ipsorum ingenio.' Libavius is most likely alluding to Khunrath's use of 'Kabala' in his portrait engraving and 'Christiano-Kabalisticum' in the *Amphitheatre*'s title.

263 Henning Scheunemann, *Hydromantia Paracelsica* (Frankfurt, 1613); *Medicina Reformata, seu Denarius Hermeticus Philosophicus Medico-Chymicus* (Frankfurt, 1617). For a direct reference to Khunrath and his Athanor, see *De Morbo Sulphureo Cagastrico* (Frankfurt, 1610), Epistola Dedicatoria, B2^{v}.

way treat of the names of God.'[264] From the opening sentence, it is clear whom he has primarily in mind with his criticisms:

> Wonders are produced by the Paracelsians, promising Christian-Kabalist, divinely-magical, physico-chymical, ter-triune, Universal [things], Fie the Devil.[265]

Cabala is an identifying trait of Paracelsian philosophy, and Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, apparently, is a prime representative.[266]

20 Cabala in Khunrath's Works

What is immediately apparent on the 1609 *Amphitheatre*'s title-page (Fig. 4.20), where we see the Tetragrammaton יהוה [YHVH] in a *Tetratkys*, אש [*Esch* – Fire], שמש [*Shemesh* – Sun],[267] and אורים יה [*Urim Yah* – God's Lights] at the

264 Libavius, *Appendix necessaria Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (1615), 76 'Tertiam excogitarunt interpretes rabini, qui literas & syllabas biblicas linguae sacrae colligunt, in numeros vertunt, mutant, transmutant, atque ita tacitos sensus eiiciunt praesertim nomina Dei mirabiliter tractantes.'

265 Libavius, *Appendix necessaria Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (1615), 76 'Mira produntur à Paracelsistis, promittentibus Christiano Kabalistica, divinomagica, physico-chymica, tertriuna, Catholica, Phy Diabolo'.

266 See Daniel Sennert, *Tractatus de Consensu, & Dissensu Galenicorum & Peripateticorum cum Chymicis*, Caput XIII. *De Fundamentis Medicinae*, in *Opera omnia medica* (Paris, 1641), Vol. 1, 937 for references to Paracelsus, 'Heinrici Cunradi in Amphitheatro' and Croll as sharing sentiments with Weigel; 1002 for a discussion of the 'Cabalistica Magia Paracelsi'. Sennert recycles Libavius's comment: 'Cabala Paracelsistarum commune perfugium est', and singles out Ernestus Burgravius, in particular his *Achilles Panoplos Redivivus, seu Panoplia physico-vulcania* [sic] (Amsterdam, 1612), a work which plagiarised a great deal of material from Khunrath. See Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic for more information.

267 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title page*, 'Shemesh'. Cf. Robert Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (London, 1659), 62 'Touching the second, which dependeth on the cabalisticall enucleation of the Hebrew word, for the Latin word *Sol* or the *Sun* in English, is written thus in Hebrew שמש where we have two ש or *Shins*, which the Cabalists do make the Symbolicall character of fire and light, and מ *Mem* in the middle, which importeth a watery corpulency, for Mem is the Symbolicall expression of the waters; as if we should say, that the humid nature of the heavens being contracted in their center, is illuminated with a double proportion of the divine emanation streaming down, or flowing from the *Sephiroth* or Cabalisticall numeration, called *Tiphereth* or pulchritude and beauty. Whereby it is argued, that this heavenly mass is made a Tabernacle for the Spiritual Sun or beauteous and divine Spirit of Light.'



FIGURE 4.20 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title page*, detail of Hebrew words. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

top of the page,[268] רוח אלהים *mediantibus* שמים [*Ruach Elohim mediantibus Schamaim*] at the bottom,[269] and רוח חכמה אל [*Ruach Chochmah El*] on the right hand obelisk, is that Khunrath has some knowledge of Hebrew.[270] This is obvious, too, from his references in the text to the Hebrew original of biblical quotes,[271] as well as in some of his circular and rectangular engravings. The format of the *Amphitheatre* as a commentary on the sayings of the Jewish king Solomon, presenting translations from the Latin Vulgate, Hebrew Hagiographa and Greek Septuagint, displays Khunrath's determination to make his contribution to the complexities of interpreting Holy Scripture. What first looks

268 *Amphitheatrum* (1609), *Title page*: 'Aurim Yah', in the triangle on the right.

269 Khunrath may have adopted his transliteration of *Schamaim* from Paul of Prague's *Mysterium Novum* (Helmstadt, 1580), sig. Dvi^{v} 'vaaretz schamaim oseh Iehova' of Psalm 121, translated as 'Gott Schöpffer Himmels und der Erden'. The same may be the case for his transliteration of משיח as *Maschiach* (Messiah) in the *School of Nature* engraving. See *Mysterium novum* (1580), sig. Dviii^{v}. The same transliteration appears in the painting in British Library Sloane MS 181, in the phrase 'IHSVH Maschiach' in the incense smoke rising from the thurible.

270 This being said, it is nevertheless worth bearing in mind Katelyn Mesler's observation that a knowledge of Hebrew divine names, which a reader could learn from early Christian authorities like Jerome and Isidore of Seville is 'not necessarily indicative of any real contact with Hebrew'. Katelyn Mesler, 'The Latin Encounter with Hebrew Magic: Problems and approaches', in Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (eds.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 85–98, at 88.

271 *Amph.*II, 24 '(Legitur enim *Hhochmoth*, quod est plurale)'; 59 '(*Schir haschirim*, hoc est, Cantico Canticorum)'; 64 '(Verbum *Canah*; quod acquirere significat),' '(*Nasac* enim (quod hic legitur) Hebræis *dominari* significat)'; 65 '(*Meckablim*, h.e. Cabalistæ in suo *emoru Hachamim*, dixerunt Sapientes)'; 78 '(vt Hebræus textus innuit …)'.

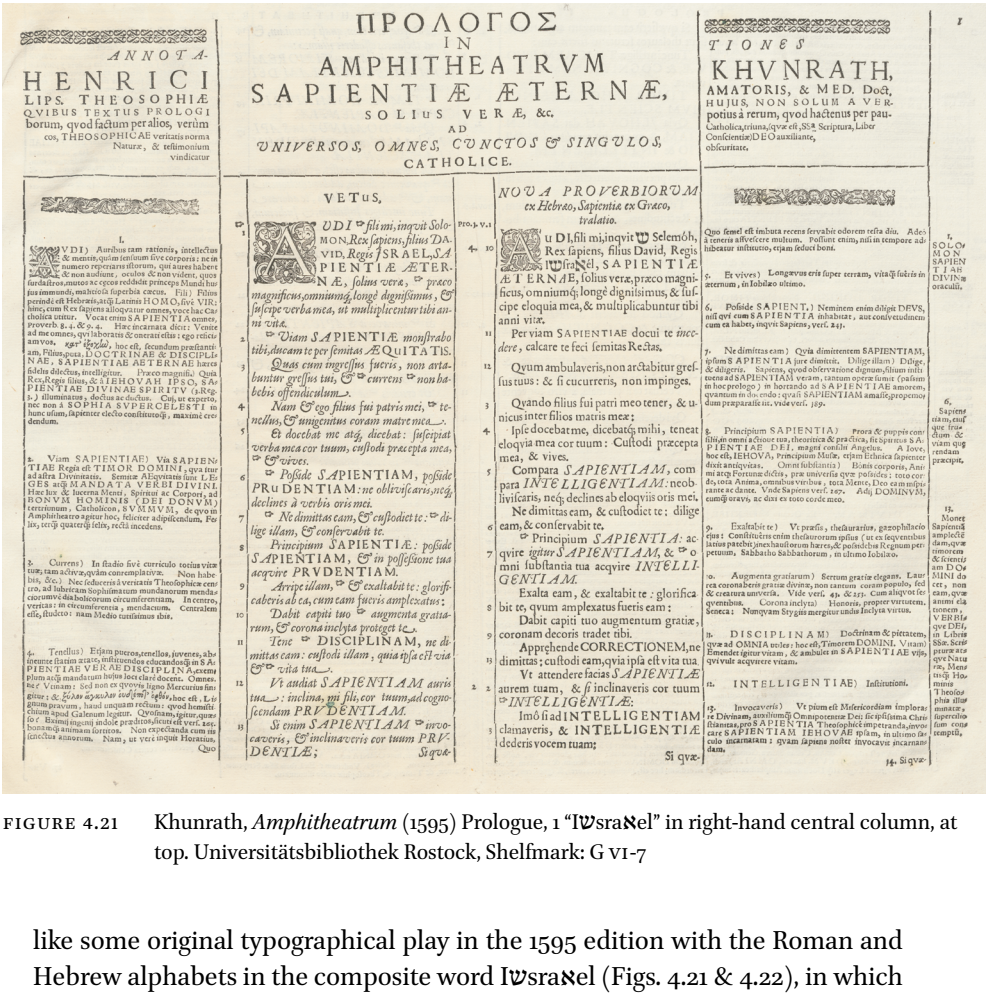
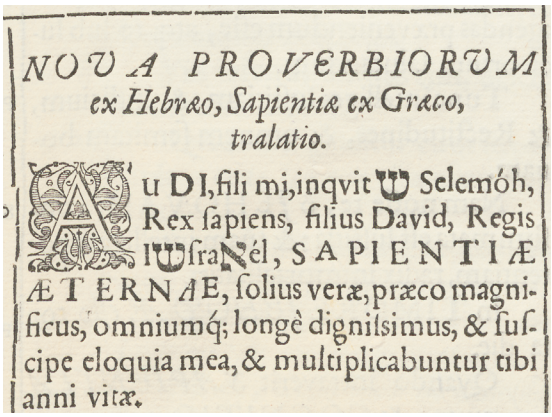


FIGURE 4.21 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595) Prologue, 1 "Iשsraא el" in right-hand central column, at top. Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7

like some original typographical play in the 1595 edition with the Roman and Hebrew alphabets in the composite word Iשsraא el (Figs. 4.21 & 4.22), in which we see emphasised the two letters that form the Hebrew word for Fire: אש,[272] and might, therefore, suspect a Khunrathian allusion, for example, to fire of the holy spirit or alchemical fire, turns out to be less novel than first estimated: it is lifted from the *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (Bible of both Testaments, 1557, Fig. 4.23),[273] of Robertus Stephanus (Robert Estienne, 1503–1559), the work

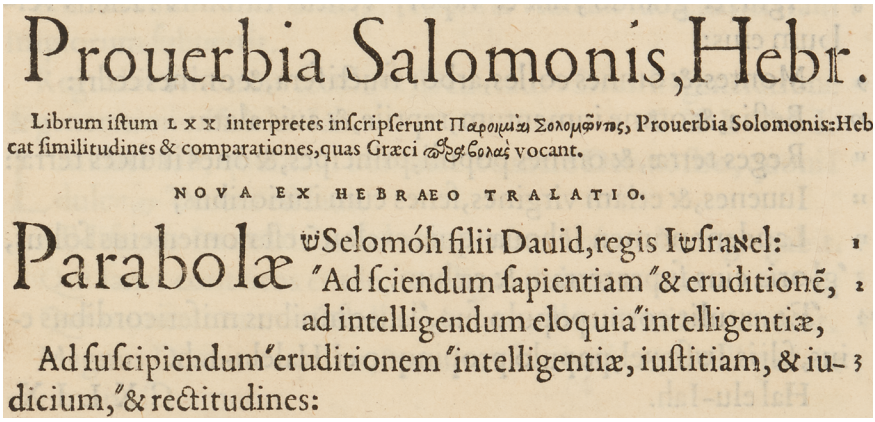
272 *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 1. In this Khunrath is undoubtely drawing from the biblical commentary published by Robert Estienne in 1557. The same play on 'Israel' is found in *Biblia utriusque Testamenti. De quorum nova Interpretatione et copiosissimis in eam annotationibus*, Proverbia, 61v. A close reading of the *Amphitheatre* reveals the (unacknowledged) influence of this work on Khunrath's commentary.

273 Stephanus [Robert Estienne], *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (Geneva, 1557), 61v.


NOVA PROVERBIORVM
ex Hebræo, Sapientiæ ex Græco,
tralatio.

AUDI, fili mi, inqvit ש Selemóh,
Rex ſapiens, filius David, Regis
IשſraNél, SAPIENTIÆ
ÆTERNAE, ſolius veræ, præco magni-
ficus, omniumq; longè dignissimus, & ſuſ-
cipe eloquia mea, & multiplicabuntur tibi
anni vitæ.

FIGURE 4.22
Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595), Prologue, 1, detail: "IשsraNel". Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Shelfmark: G VI-7


Prouerbia Salomonis, Hebr.

Librum iſtum LXX interpretes inſcripſerunt Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος, Prouerbia Solomonis: Hebcat ſimilitudines & comparationes, quas Græci Παραβολὰς vocant.

NOVA EX HEBRAEO TRALATIO.

Parabolæ ש Selomóh filii Dauid, regis IשſraNel: 1
″Ad ſciendum ſapientiam ″& eruditionẽ, 2
ad intelligendum eloquia ″intelligentiæ,
Ad ſuſcipiendum ″eruditionem ″intelligentiæ, iuſtitiam, & iu- 3
dicium, ″& rectitudines:

FIGURE 4.23 Stephanus, *Biblia utriusque Testamenti* (1557), Vol. 2, *Proverbia*, 61ᵛ "IשsraNel". Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam OTM: OF 80-85, 86

from which Khunrath obtained Sante Pagnini's translations for the sapiential verses and the commentaries by François Vatable.

That Khunrath communicated with German Jews on Cabalistic matters seems likely from one or two remarks on how contemporary Jews pronounced or translated certain words, for example the use of *Sphiros* in place of *Sephiroth*, as discussed later in this chapter.[274] Indeed, he explicitly states,

274 *Amph.*II, 57, 82, 165. Although, he could also have found this use in Paulus Ricius, *In Cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagogae* (Augsburg, 1515), sig. 6ᵛ '38. Paradigmatica haec decem nomina hyperbolice (quemadmodum & alia duorum hominum membra participative) decem sphiros id est numerationes, & harum quamlibet varijs cognominibus vocitari placuit: quorum nonnulla in medium verbi causa afferimus.'

'Jews, Christians, sectarians, even atheists; I have listened to them all, scorning none.'[275]

He is, nevertheless, well aware of running the risk of criticism for including such Hebrew terms in his work and justifies his decision in these words:

> Someone may ask why I have introduced HEBREW into this Amphitheatre? But if he really knew the import of this Decree of the Priesthood of Zoroaster (Prince of sacred things): IN SACRED MATTERS YOU SHOULD NEVER CHANGE THE BARBAROUS (by which is understood, Hebrew) NAMES, he would by no means interpret it in the wrong way.[276]

Without a doubt, here Khunrath has *De Verbo Mirifico* in mind, where we read that 'Zoroaster, the first theologian of the pagans forbad to change the *barbara verba*', which Reuchlin interprets as Hebrew or close derivatives, 'by which God was said to have spoken with man, and men with angels, in person and not through an interpreter, face to face … as a friend is accustomed to speak with a friend.'[277] In his turn, Reuchlin undoubtedly has Pico's Magical Conclusion 9>22 in mind, that 'No names that mean something, insofar as those names are singular and taken per se, can have power in a magical work, unless they are Hebrew names, or closely derived from Hebrew.'[278] All three were doubtless aware of the same admonition in the *Chaldaean Oracles*, where Julian the Theurgist receives the warning 'ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μὴποτ' ἀλλάχης' (Do not change the *nomina barbara*), for 'the names handed down by the gods to each race have ineffable power in the initiation rites', power that would be lost

275 See *Amph.*II, 149 (mispaginated as 147), 'cum Iudæis, Christianis, sectariis, imò atheis; audiui omnes, spernebam nullum.'

276 *Amph.*II, 82 'Quærat aliquis, cur introduxerim in Amphitheatrum hoc HEBRÆA? At certè si sibi esset cognita vis Sacerdotii Decreti Zoroastri (sacrorum Principis) huius, IN SACRIS NOMINA BARBARA (Hebræa intelligens) NVNQVAM MVTAVERIS; id sinistrè haud interpretaretur.'

277 Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 914 'Zoroaster primus ethnicorum Theologus vetat barbara verba mutari. Barbara vero dicuntur Hebraica vel proxime inde derivata … quo Deus cum homine, & homines cum angelis locuti perhibentur coram & non per intepretem, facie ad faciem, … sicut solet amicus loqui cum amico.'

278 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 500–501 9>22. 'Nulla nomina ut significatiua, et inquantum nomina sunt singula et per se sumpta, in magico opere uirtutem habere possunt, nisi sint hebraica, uel inde proxime deriuata.' Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 920 'Quare mihi non indocte visus est Romae nuper quidam nobilis Philosophus proposuisse, nulla nomina in Magico licitoque opere aeque virtutem habere, sicut Hebraica, vel inde proxime derivata, eo quod omnium primum haec Dei voce formantur. Illud autem in quo potissimum Magicam exercet natura vox est Dei.'

if they were to be translated into Greek.[279] Reuchlin emphasised that 'not all words possess divine power … but those which the highest God of the World and of men, or the sharp-sighted angels by the command and providence of God composed in a certain way, resonating the harmony of eternity, the steadfastness of divinity, breathing the compact of beneficent dispensation, like perceptible monuments of imperceptible deification.'[280] A few pages later, Reuchlin reminds his reader that 'the images, characters, letters and words or names or expressions assigned to us by God are holy … the holy names were not invented by men, but instituted by God himself.'[281] Such an attitude goes hand-in-hand with the early modern occult philosophers' fascination with foreign and magical alphabets, such as those found in Trithemius's *Polygraphia* (1518), Pantheo's *Voarchadumia*, or Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.[282]

Although Khunrath makes few direct references to Jewish sources, he does cite Philo Judaeus (*c.*25 BCE–50 CE) on the Decalogue,[283] mentions the Jerusalem Targum,[284] and quotes the 'Talmudic' saying, 'You may have many friends, but in fact you should reveal your secret to scarcely one out of thousands,' which he has probably lifted from Ricci's *De Talmudica Doctrina Epitome* (Epitome on Talmudic Doctrine) in Pistorius's anthology.[285] He mentions the Jewish convert to Christianity, Elchanon Paul of Prague, whose

279 Julianus, the Theurgist, *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, Translation, and Commentary* by Ruth Majercik (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 106–107, fragment 150. For a discussion of these ideas in a Kabbalistic context, see Morlok, *R. Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 160–166.

280 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 913 'Igitur non omnia verba numen possident … sed quae summus Mundi & hominum Deus, vel angeli perspicaces iussu providentiaque Dei certo modo composuerunt, aeternitatis harmoniam resonantia, divinitatis tenacia, beneficae dispensationis compagine spirantia, tanquam insensibilis deificationis sensibilia monumenta.'

281 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 920 'sacras esse imagines, characteres, literas & verba sive nomina seu voces à nobis Deo dicatas, … nomina sacra non ab hominibus inventa, sed ab ipso Deo instituta.'

282 Johannes Trithemius, *Polygraphiae libri sex* (Basel, 1518; repr. Frankfurt, 1550), Book 6; Agrippa, *Opera* (1550), Book 2, chapters 29–30. See also manuscripts such as Codex Voss. Chymn. Q.51 in Leiden. Richterova, 'Alchemical Manuscripts in the Collections of Rudolf II', 258ff. Pantheo's *Voarchadumia* (1530) includes the Hebrew alphabet with transliterations (sigs. $12^{r–v}$), a variant set of Hebrew letters given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai (sigs. $13^{r–v}$), the 'Transitus fluvii' (Crossing/Passing the River) alphabet, possessed by Abraham (sigs. $14^{r–v}$), and the Enochian alphabet (sigs. $14^{v}–15^{r}$).

283 *Lux in Tenebris*, 14.

284 *De Igne Magorum*, 6 'Und solle (wie etliche KABAListen schreiben als in dem alten Buch TARGUM HIEROSOLIMITANUM genandt zusehen).'

285 *Amph.*II, 172 'Obseruandum Talmudicum hoc: *Sint tibi amicorum plures, arcanum uerò tuum vix è millibus uni reuela.*' Cf. Paulus Ricius, *De Talmudica Doctrina Epitome*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 276.

'missionary work',[286] of 'Speculative Cabbala',[287] *Mysterium novum* (New Mystery), first published in Helmstadt in 1580 (Fig. 4.24); reprinted in Vienna in 1582, treats of the kabbalistic use of Hebrew letter permutation to prove that the names of Jesus and Mary appear in the Old Testament and in kabbalistic works and that Jesus is prophesied as the true Messiah.[288] In the Hebrew preface to his work, the author includes an acrostic, informing the observant reader that 'I, Elchanan, son of Rabbi Menachem, nowadays known as Paul of Prague, … etc'.[289] It is tempting to see this as the inspiration behind the *Consilium Dei* acrostic that Khunrath includes with his portrait engraving in the *Amphitheatre*.

Khunrath is careful to emphasise, moreover, that whatever scriptural words are used, be they Hebrew, Greek or Latin, they should be understood in more than their literal etymological sense and he reminds the reader that the 'Book, without the key of the Holy Spirit, is of no use at all.'[290] To drive home the fact that the reader must scrutinise every last detail of the scriptures in order to discover their hidden truths, Khunrath quotes the Lutheran Johannes Olearius (1546–1623), Doctor in Theology and Professor of Hebrew Language at the Julian Academy, Helmstadt, eulogising the Cabala, with the lines,

> Not a jot, not a tittle of the law, not a letter written in the Prophetical style will perish. […] Who could believe that so much importance could

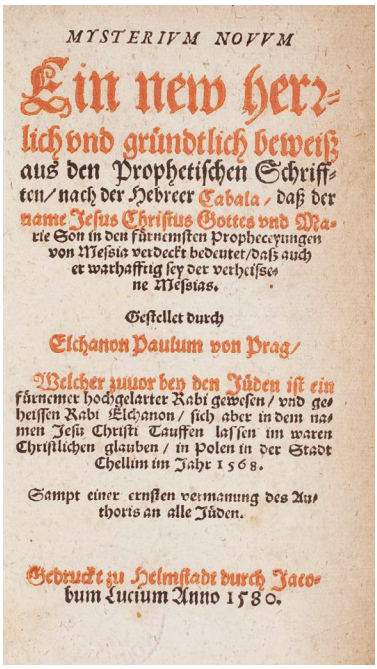
286 Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era*, 127 'Paul Elchanan, a Jewish convert to Lutheranism, wrote a missionary work, *Mysterium Novum. Ein neu herrlich Beweiss aus den Prophetischen Schriften nach der Hebraeer Cabala* (Helmstedt, 1580), which employed some kabbalistic arguments to try and pesuade other Jews to convert.'

287 Robert J. Wilkinson, 'The Poetic Transformation of Christian Cabbala: Gematria between Divination and Honorific Poetry in the German Lands of the Eighteenth Century', *Aries Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 20:2 (2020): 173–206, at 186.

288 *Amph.*II, 6. See Elchanon Paulus von Prag, *Mysterivm Novvm: Ein new herrlich vnd gründtlich beweiss aus den Prophetischen Schrifften/ nach der Hebreer Cabala/ daß der name Jesus Christus Gottes vnd Marie Son in den fürnemsten Propheceyungen von Messia verdeckt bedeutet/ daß auch er warhafftig sey der verheissene Messias …* published by Lucius (Helmstadt, 1580); reprinted in Vienna by Michaël Apffel (1582). Max Seligsohn, 'Paulus of Prague (Elhanan ben Menahem)', in Isidore Singer (ed.), *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1901–1906), Vol 9, 563–64 mentions that Paul was also author of *Solida et Perspicua Demonstratio de ss. Trinitate* (Leipzig, 1574), *Symbolum Apostolicum* (Wittenberg, 1580) and *Jona Quadrilinguis* (Helmstadt, 1580), the Book of Jonah in four languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German).

289 Ruth Von Bernuth, 'Zu Gast bei Nikolaus Selnecker: Der jüdische Konvertit Paulus von Prag in Leipzig', *Simon-Dubnow-Institut Jahrbuch* XIII (2014): 15–36, at 33. See Elchanon Paulum von Prag, *Mysterium Novum* (1580), Aviij^{r}–Biij^{r}. The German translation can be found on Biij^{v}: 'Ich Elchanon, son des Rabi Manachem … etc'.

290 *Amph.*II, 77 'Liber, sine claue Spiritus sancti, non prodest quicquam.'


MYSTERIVM NOVVM

Ein new herr-
lich vnd gründtlich beweiß
aus den Prophetischen Schrifften/ nach der Hebreer Cabala/ daß der name Jesus Christus Gottes vnd Marie Son in den fürnemsten Propheceyungen von Messia verdeckt bedeutet/ daß auch er warhafftig sey der verheissene Messias.

Gestellet durch

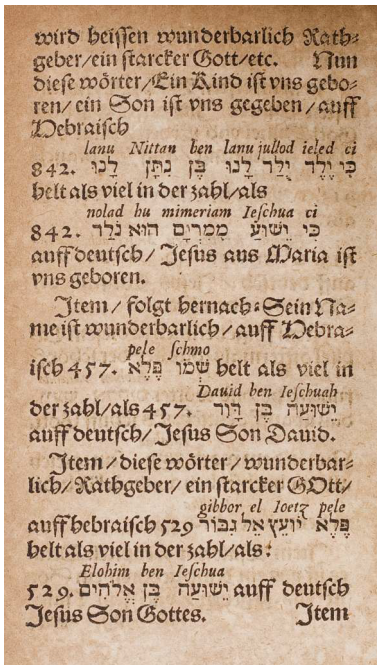
Elchanon Paulum von Prag/

Welcher zuuor bey den Jüden ist ein fürnemer hochgelarter Rabi gewesen/ vnd geheissen Rabi Elchanon/ sich aber in dem namen Jesu Christi Tauffen lassen im waren Christlichen glauben/ in Polen in der Stadt Chellim im Jahr 1568.

Sampt einer ernsten vermanung des Authoris an alle Jüden.

Gedruckt zu Helmstadt durch Jacobum Lucium Anno 1580.

FIGURE 4.24
Elchanon Paul von Prag, *Mysterivm Novvm* (1580) title page. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel


wird heissen wunderbarlich Rathgeber/ein starcker Gott/etc. Nun diese wörter/Ein Kind ist vns geboren/ein Son ist vns gegeben/auff Hebraisch

Ianu Nittan ben Ianu iullod ieled ci

842. כִּי יֶלֶד יֻלַּד לָנוּ בֵּן נִתַּן לָנוּ

helt als viel in der zahl/als

nolad hu mimeriam Ieschua ci

842. כִּי הוּא נִלְרָד מִמִּרְיָם יְשׁוּעַ

auff deutsch/ Jesus aus Maria ist vns geboren.

Item/ folgt hernach: Sein Name ist wunderbarlich/ auff Hebraisch 457. פֶּלֶא שְׁמוֹ

pele schmo

helt als viel in

Dauid ben Ieschuah

der zahl/als 457. יְשׁוּעָה בֶּן דָּוִד

auff deutsch/ Jesus Son David.

Item/ diese wörter/ wunderbarlich/ Rathgeber/ ein starcker GOtt/

gibbor el Ioetz pele

auff hebraisch 529 יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר פֶּלֶא

helt als viel in der zahl/als:

Elohim ben Ieschua

529. יְשׁוּעָה בֶּן אֱלֹהִים auff deutsch Jesus Son Gottes. Item

FIGURE 4.25
Elchanon Paul von Prag, *Mysterivm* Novvm (1580), sig. D^{v}. Examples of Gematria. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

> be contained in such little marks. Consider [...] the name of IESU, drawn forth from Hebrew sources, and you will be convinced.[291]

These lines, incidentally, with one or two variants, can be found in Paul of Prague's *Mysterium Novum*. In the *Mysterium Novum*, Paul includes *gematria*-style calculations (Fig. 4.25) for the phrases 'Jesus is born unto us from Maria' (842); 'Jesus, son of David' (457), and 'Jesus, son of God' (529), which are respectively equated with phrases from Isaiah 9:6 'For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given' (842); 'His name is Wonderful' (457), and 'Wonderful, Counsellor,

291 *Amph.*II, 6 'Nullus apex, nullum de lege peribit Iota,/ Nulla Prophetali litera scripta stylo. [...] Quis credere posset/ Exiguis tantum pondus inesse notis:/ Aspice [...], de nomine IESV/ Fontibus Hebræis eruta; certus eris.'

Mighty God' (529).[292] For him this is evidence that the coming of Jesus the Messiah was anticipated in the Old Testament.[293]

As mentioned above, this linking of Jewish exegetical traditions and the Christian Cabalist name of Christ יהשוה YHSVH was well-known in Khunrath's time from the highly influential works of Johann Reuchlin, who is without doubt Khunrath's major cited source concerning Cabala. He expresses great admiration for Reuchlin, whom he places at the head of a list of 'the most Learned men of the past and our age'.[294] More than once he directs his reader to chapters in Reuchlin's *On the Wonder-Working Word*,[295] praising him as 'most learned Capnion (may his memory be everlasting for his divine skill in Cabalistic practice)'[296] and as 'a man who can never be sufficiently praised';[297] at other times he quotes from both *De Verbo Mirifico* and *De Arte Cabalistica* without citing Reuchlin as the source.[298] The presence of Reuchlin's wonder-working word IHSVH at the conclusion of Khunrath's 1588 Basel theses (Fig. 4.26) proves that he was already influenced by Reuchlin's work in his twenties, long before

292 Elchanon Paulus von Prag, *Mysterivm Novum* (1580), sig. D^{r-v} 'Ein Kind ist uns geboren/ ein Son ist uns gegeben' (842), 'Jesus aus Maria ist uns geboren' (842), 'Sein Name ist wunderbarlich' (457), 'Jesus Son David' (457), 'wunderbarlich/ Rathgeber, ein starcker Gott', and 'Jesus Son Gottes' (529). See also Walter Begley, *Biblia Cabalistica or the Cabalistic Bible* (London: David Nutt, 1903), 47.

293 In a section 'Von der Cabbala und Schememphoras' in *Judaismus oder Jüdenthum* (Hamburg, 1707), 40–49, the Lutheran pastor Johann Müller (1598–1672), divides 'Cabbala' into two parts: *practica* and *speculativa* (and *contemplativa*), with 'Elchanan Paulus, a baptised Jew' being singled out for writing an entire book 'wherein he presents 75 proofs, all drawn from letters and numbers in the mannter of the cabbalists, that Jesus is the true Messiah' (43: 'Elchanan Paulus/ein getauffter Jude/ hat ein gantz Buch hievon geschrieben/ darinne er 75. Beweiß anführet/ alle auff Cabbalistische Art aus Buchstaben und Zahlen erzwungen/ daß Jesus der wahre Messias sey.') See p. 44 for a 9-cell magic square containing the word אמת *Emet*, based on Psalm 85:12 אֱמֶת מֵאֶרֶץ תִּצְמָח.

294 *Amph.*II, 30 'conqueruntur mecum viri anterioris nostræque ætatis Doctissimi, inter quos *Reuchlinus, Erasmus, Lutherus, H.C. Agrippa, Philippus Theophrastus Paracelsus, Vigelius*.'

295 *Amph.*II, 58 (Book 2, Chapter 17); 68 (Book 2, Chapter 16); 77 (Book 1, Chapter 7); 104 [mispaginated as 92] (Book 2, Chapter 6); 123 (Book 3, Chapters 19 & 20); 154.

296 *Amph.*II, 77 'doctissimus Capnio (cuius ob Cabalisticæ exercitationis diuinam peritiam memoria sit sempiterna).'

297 *Amph.*II, 104 [mispaginated as 92] 'vir nunquam satis laudatus'.

298 Unacknowledged verbatim borrowings and obvious modifications from Reuchlin's *De arte* can be found on *Amph.*II, 4, 10, 65, 89, 95, 109; the same applies for *De Verbo Mirifico*, on *Amph.*II, 90, 102, 124, 131, 171, 172, 209, 216. See also the hymn in *Isagoge* 2 and the Oracular Laws from *De Verbo Mirifico* in the *Entrance* engraving and in *Isagoge* 1 & 2. *De Arte Cabalistica*, 51 is possibly the source for the Grades of Cognition in Circular Figure 2.

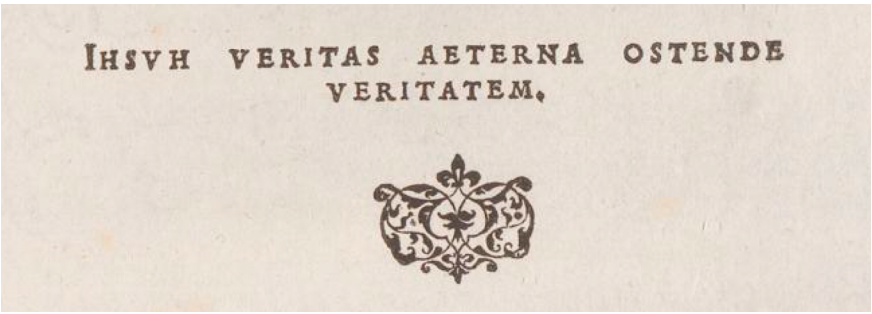


FIGURE 4.26 Khunrath, *De signatura rerum naturalium theses* (1588), end, sig. Aj^{r}. Universitätsbibliothek Basel

the publication of the *Amphitheatre*, indeed before his encounter with John Dee in Bremen, the following year in 1589.[299]

To a contemporary reader, the influence of Reuchlin's 'triple identification'[300] of Pythagoreanism, Cabala and Christianity must have been immediately apparent from the top of the 1609 *Amphitheatre*'s title-page where the Pythagorean *Tetraktys* figures so prominently, bearing within it the symbolic progressive emanation of the *Tetragrammaton* YHVH;[301] both enclosed within a radiant triangle, symbol of the Holy Trinity.[302] Reuchlin's neo-pythagoreanism has some impact on the *Amphitheatre*, where we find the admonitions: 'Remember here to study Pythagorically'[303] and 'Metoposcopically, Physiognomically, [and] Chiromantically examine men, as Pythagoras did disciples, for several days.'[304] Direct lifts from *De Verbo Mirifico* combine references to Pythagoras and Hebrew, 'As no one has ever truly been a follower of Pythagoras, as a most learned man attests, who did not perceive the Gods (*Elohim*),'[305] or mention his disciples and cabalists in the same breath:

299 See Khunrath, *De signatura rerum naturalium theses* (Basel, 1588), sig. Avi^{r} 'IHSVH VERITAS AETERNA OSTENDE VERITATEM'.

300 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and its Historical Significance', 61.

301 See Albert M. Potts, *The World's Eye* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 73–4.

302 Ilia Rodov, 'Hebrew Script in Christian Art', in Geoffrey Khan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Vol. 3, 462–477, at 472.

303 *Amph.*II, 136 'Ibi Pythagoricè studere memento; ne sis filius ante patrem: fraternè moneo.'

304 *Amph.*II, 141 'Ergô, Metoposcopicè, Physiognomonicè, Cheiromanticè, explora homines, discipulos, vti Pythagoras, per dies aliquot.'

305 See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, 32 'Sic nemo unq[uam] uere Pythagoricus fuit: qui non deos senserit.' The 1595 *Amphitheatrum*, II, Verse 158 includes 'testante doctissimo Capnione' – 'according to most learned Capnion', i.e. Reuchlin. The verb 'sentire' also has the connotation of 'experience', perhaps implying an enthusiastic state of possession or rapture.

> Those writing about the arts and masters of the arts believe in anyone skilled in his art;[306] the Pythagoreans were satisfied with his αύτος ἐφα [*autos epha*], "he said it";[307] *the Meckablim*, that is the Cabbalists, with his *emoru Hachamim*, "the Wise have spoken".[308] You who profess to be a Christian, follow the Christians' πιστευσον [*pisteuson*], "*Believe*".[309]

Reuchlin's Cabala, moreover, is a philologist's Cabala of words and names. Although he discusses the arithmological exegetical techniques of Jewish tradition,[310] it is evident that his humanist background places more importance in the linguistic and etymological understanding of scripture and, indeed, further, on what he saw as the innate power in Hebrew words and names. This seems even more so the case with Khunrath, who mentions '*Notarieken*, *Gimetria*, [and] *Tevosrache*'; respectively the substitution of a word for a word, a letter for a word, or a letter for a letter, but does so in what sounds like a slightly dismissive manner, calling such techniques the 'inferior', 'literal' Cabala of the Jews, that concerns itself with letters and ciphers.[311] Khunrath's spelling of the

306 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 61 'So we must do as specialist writers and artists do: trust individuals in their own fields. (Quare faciamus oportet ut singulares technographi & artifices docendo solent, Credamus unicuique in arte sua perito).'

307 See Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, I.v.10 '… respondere solitos "Ipse dixit"; "ipse" autem erat Pythagoras,' trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933; repr. 1979), 13 'Pythagoreans […] are said to have been accustomed to reply "He himself said so," "he himself" being Pythagoras.' See also Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 33, *Adages* II i 1 to II vi 100, translated by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 279 Adage II i 60 'Ipse dixit' (He said himself).

308 See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 147. On the Meckablim, see Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 89 '*Mekablim*, "receivers," for their meditations on the sublime, in which they move from lower things to higher.' Cf. Thomas Vaughan, *Magia Adamica* (London, 1650), 132 for *Emoru Hechamim*.

309 See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 147. See *Amph.*II, 65 'Credunt technographi & artifices cuiuis in sua arte perito: Acquieuerunt Pythagorei in suo αυτος ἐφα, *ipse dixit: Meckablim*, h.e. Cabalistæ in suo *emoru Hachamim*, dixerunt Sapientes: sequere tu, qui Christianum te profiteris, Christianorum πιστευσον, crede: cui? illi, in quem credis.' Misprinted as 'thechnographi'.

310 See Idel, 'Johannes Reuchlin: Kabbalah, Pythagorean Philosophy and Modern Scholarship', in Idel, *Representing God*, 137 '*Symbol stands for Gematria*'.

311 *Amph.*II, 91. See also *Chaos* (1597), 411–412 'Ich rede allhier nicht de *Cabala illa literali*, so in Buchstaben und Ziffern bestehet/ und bey den Juden noch heutiges Tages sehr breuchlich; sondern von einer viel höhern: Ja/ von der allerhöchsten.' See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 295. The third technique is also called *Tziruf*, 'combination' or 'metathesis', when 'a letter may be posited to stand for another letter through the alphabetical circle'. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 300f 'These, then, are the parts that make up the art: *Gematria* (or Arithmetic), *Notariacon* (manipulation of letters), and *Themura* (commutation of letters).'

first exegetical technique as 'Noterieken' in the 1595 *Amphitheatre* suggests the influence of Paul of Prague's *Mysterium novum*, where we find the same transliteration;[312] this also applies for Khunrath's use of the term 'Tevosrache' instead of 'Tziruf' or 'Themura'.[313]

Reuchlin's very description of Cabala in *De Arte Cabalistica* finds an echo in Khunrath's own definition of Cabala as:

> Theosophically allotted, symbolic RECEPTION of Divine revelation, as much Universally as Particularly, either immediately, or by a suitable medium (by which we may humanly know Divine things), for the salutary recognition of GOD and the Messiah; for the understanding, union and fruition of the separate Forms of Nature (in Macro- and Micro-Cosm) and of ourselves; and also for the true comprehension of Sacrosanct Scripture.[314]

The original Latin of this passage from Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* is presented in the table below, for comparison with a passage from Reuchlin's *On the Cabalistic Art*:

TABLE 4.3 Comparison between Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* and Reuchlin, *De arte Cabalistica*

Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609)	**Reuchlin, *De arte Cabalistica* (1517)**
CABALA est **Diuinæ reuelationis, ad salutiferam DEI**, & Maschiah agnitionem; **Formarum separatarum**, Naturæ (in Macro & MicroCosmo) nostrique ipsius cognitionem, vnionem, & fruitionem; necnon SS.æ Scripturæ intellectum	Est enim **Cabala divinae revelationis, ad salutiferam dei** & **formarum separatarum** contemplationem traditae, **symbolica receptio**, quam qui coelesti **sortiuntur** afflatu, recto nomine Cabalici dicuntur, eorum vero

312 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (Hamburg, 1595), 6; Elchanon Paul of Prague, *Mysterium novum* (1580), [Cvij^{r-v}] *noterieken*; but also Cij^{r} *Noteriekon*. The posthumous 1609 edition of the *Amphitheatre* has two variants: *Amph.*II, 6 *Neoteriken*; 91: *Notarieken*.

313 Elchanon Paul of Prague, *Mysterium novum* (1580), Cvij^{r} and Fvj^{r-v}: *teuos rasche*. Paul of Prague spells the other technique, Cv^{v}: *Gimatria*; Cvij^{r} and Fvj^{r-v}: *Gematria*. It is interesting to note Khunrath's preference for terms used by a Jewish converso author, rather than those provided by Reuchlin.

314 *Amph.*II, 147 (mispaginated as 145 [T2^{r}]) 'CABALA est Diuinæ reuelationis, ad salutiferam DEI, & Maschiah agnitionem; Formarum separatarum, Naturæ (in Macro & MicroCosmo) nostrique ipsius cognitionem, vnionem, & fruitionem; necnon SS.æ Scripturæ intellectum verum; vel immediatè, aut medio conueniente (quo Diuina humanitus sentire possimus) tam Vniuersaliter quàm Particulariter, TheoSophicè sortita, Symbolica RECEPTIO.'

TABLE 4.3 Comparison between Khunrath (*cont.*)

Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609)	**Reuchlin, *De arte Cabalistica* (1517)**
verum; vel immediatè, aut medio conueniente (quo Diuina humanitus sentire possimus) tam Vniuersaliter quàm Particulariter, TheoSophicè **sortita**, **Symbolica Receptio.**	discipulos cognomento Cabalaeos appellabimus, & qui alioquin eos imitari conantur Cabalistae nominandi sunt.[a]

a Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517), VI^{v}. Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 62; English translation 63: 'Kabbalah is a matter of divine revelation handed down to further the contemplation of the distinct Forms of God, contemplation bringing salvation; Kabbalah is the receiving of this through symbols. Those who are given this by the breath of heaven are known as Kabbalics; their pupils we will call Kabbalaeans; and those who attempt the imitation of these are properly called Kabbalists.'

Reuchlin and Khunrath's definitions are similar, both describing Cabala as 'Symbolic Reception', but they are not identical.[315] Khunrath does not employ

315 On the various layered levels of the meaning of 'Symbol' in Reuchlin, see Idel, 'Johannes Reuchlin: Kabbalah, Pythagorean Philosophy and Modern Scholarship', 137–140, where Symbol stands a) for *Gematria*; b) *Temurah*, i.e. permutation of letters; c) substitution of letters; d) a Magically Functioning Name. Khunrath does not follow Reuchlin, however, in further describing Cabala as 'Symbolic Theology'. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, 241: 'Cabalam aliud nihil esse nisi (ut Pythagorice loquar) symbolicam theologiam, in qua non modo literae ac nomina sunt rerum signa, verum res etiam rerum. Quo animadvertimus Pythagorae philosophiam fere omnem esse a Cabalaeis ortam, qui pari modo symbolicum tradendi morem ad graecos transtulit …' (238; Eng 241). Perhaps he found Bonaventure's definition in *Itinerarium mentis in deum* too limiting: 'per symbolicam [theologiam] recte utamur sensibilibus, per propriam [theologiam] recte utamur intelligibilibus, per mysticam [theologiam] rapiamur ad supermentales excessus'. Cited in Steven E. Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis: A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson and Martin Luther (1509–16) in the Context of their Theological Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 50, n. 1. Perhaps Khunrath was aware of the Cistercian Andres de Azitores/Acitores, *Theologia symbolica, sive hieroglyphica: pro totius Scripturae Sacre iuxta primarium et genuinum sensum commentarijs* (Salamanca, 1597). Cf. the Dutch Jesuit Maximilian van der Sandt (1578–1656), *Theologia mystica seu Contemplatio divina* (Mainz, 1627), 4 who discusses Jean Gerson's *Opusculum* and three kinds of theology: *theologia symbolica, theologia propria* and *theologia mystica* in relation to the works of Pseudo-Dionysius, where the first relates to the use of the symbols of *Lion, Light or Lamb* for God; for which reason this symbolic theology is called Omninomius, because it expresses God's 'possession of every name'; concerning *Theologia Mystica*, 'mysticum' is intepreted as 'absconditum' or 'occultum'.

all of Reuchlin's rather idiosyncratic terms, e.g. *Cabalici*,[316] *Cabalaeos*, and *Cabalistae*, but those who receive this wisdom are variously referred to as *Cabalistae*,[317] *Mecubalim*,[318] or *Meckablim*.[319] The latter term is also used by Reuchlin, who defines *Meckablim* as 'receivers' on account of 'their meditations on the sublime, in which they move from lower things to higher; this tradition they received from their elders and passed on to their followers.'[320] According to this definition, Cabala can be understood, at least on one level, as being concerned with the devotional, speculative and exegetical use of already received revelation in the form of the Holy Scriptures.

With Khunrath, however, there is also the strong sense that the 'mediate and immediate' reception of Cabala is in the form of a *continuing* revelation, not just as part of a secret oral tradition from human master to disciple dating back to Moses's privileged original 'reception' of the divine mystery on Sinai. Hence, perhaps, Khunrath's omission of Reuchlin's 'traditae', in the sense of 'tradition' handed down from master to disciple; presumably thereby placing more emphasis on the possibility that this 'reception' can be 'immediatè', i.e., directly from God, 'aut medio conueniente', or by a suitable medium, i.e., by angelic visitation and revelation. It is possible that one of the 'suitable mediums' that Khunrath has in mind is divination. His use of the word 'allotted' (*sortita*), as a variant of Reuchlin's 'those who are allotted this by heavenly inspiration' (quam qui coelesti sortiuntur afflatu), perhaps implies some form

316 On *Cabalici*, see Leo Suavius, *Theophrasti Paracelsi Philosophiae et Medicinae Utriusque Universae, COMPENDIUM* (Basel, 1568), 191 'DE CABALA: Cabala mihi alia est universalis, universi mundi opera complectens, alia particularis, quae individui rationes collimat. Cabala proprie Hebraeis est mysteriorum successiva tradito a Mose (qui a Deo accepit) ad alios. Ars tamen combinandi seu alphabetaria revolutio, seu methodus procedendi in scientiis. item pars magiae virtutibus superiorum supra lunam, ab Hebraeis etiam Cabala dicitur nomine generali. Cabalici autem libri sunt Talmud Hierosolymitanus, & Talmud Babylonius. Quae proficiscuntur ex ijs libris Cabalicis, oracula dicuntur, ut ex Elia Hebraeo.'

317 *Amph.*II, 6; 19 'Christiano-Cabalistis'.

318 *Amph.*II, 90 'Hebræorum Mecubalim, id est, qui acceperunt à DEO' (Of *the things that are*] Of existing things, which truly are and exist, that is, of Things human and Divine: of the Work of Mercavah and Beresith, as say the Mecubalim of the Hebrews, that is, those who have received from GOD). It is curious to note that in a cosmopolitan list of experts in magic, *Amph.*II, 147 (mispaginated as 145 [T2ʳ]), Khunrath includes Hebrew Prophets and Cabalists, immediately after Egyptian Priests and 'Mekubales': '*Ægyptiis Sacerdotes & Mekubales*, Hebræis *Prophetæ & Cabalistæ*'. These categories were repeated in William Davison, *Les Elemens de la Philosophie de l'Art du Feu ou Chemie* (Paris, 1651), 6 'par les Aegyptiens, Prestre & Mekubale, par les Hebreux, Prophete & Cabaliste'.

319 *Amph.*II, 65.

320 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 88.

of divination by lots, a practice advocated in the *Amphitheatre*, along with geomancy,[321] though it is made clear that inspiration and revelation were to be seen as coming from divine and angelic sources.[322] Khunrath claims that his Cabala is one received from the 'highest of all',[323] and explains that the study of Cabala has several levels, consisting of 'the worship of Divine Beings, dealings with Spiritual Beings and conversation with them, and the investigation of Natural Things'.[324]

This is undoubtedly the implication of the radical pietist Johann Arndt, whom we have already encountered praising Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* in his *Ikonographia* (1596). In the anonymously published *Judicium*, appearing with Khunrath's *De Igne Magorum* (1608), we read that

> when, now, someone perceives the light to a greater degree, and sees it in invisible creatures, such as in angels and human souls, indeed in all spirits, and can see all angelic power, and can use it, he is a *Cabalist* [...]; as *Magic* is a light, and a knowledge of all natural things which concern this temporal life, so *Cabala* is the same for heavenly spiritual things, which concern the soul, and especially knowledge of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. For *Cabala* reveals the hidden mysteries of Scripture concerning the Messiah, mysteries that lie hidden beneath the letter of Scripture [...] *Cabala* [is] a supernatural light and spirit, an angelic light.[325]

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321 On lots, see *Amph.*II, 83, 85; on geomancy, *Amph.*II, 86, 91.

322 *Confessio*, 2–3.

323 *Chaos* (1597), 412 'von der allerhöchsten.'

324 *Amph.*II, 147 (mispaginated as 145 [T2r]) '*studium apud Hebræos Cabalæ summè perfectum & absolutum, cum in Diuinorum cultu, Spiritualium tractatione atque cum iis conuersatione, & Naturalium inuestigatione, piè ac sapienter consisteret.*' Khunrath is in dangerous territory here. See, for example, Antonii Possevini Mantuani, Societatis Iesu, *Bibliotheca selecta Qua agitur de ratione Studiorum* (Rome, 1593), 439 who writes 'INTERROGATIO III. *Cum inter Lutheranos ij nominentur Sacerdotes, atque Episcopi, qui res Spirituales & Sacras administrant, nonne hi sunt aliqua saltem ex parte Sacerdotes, & Episcopi?* RESPONSIO. Nec nomen, neque rerum Spiritualium tractatio, sed rite suscepta Consecratio efficiunt Sacerdotium, aut Episcopatum.'

325 Cf. [Arndt], *Judicium*, 110–111 'Wann nun einer das Liecht ferner erkennen/ und siehet in den unsichtbaren Creaturen/ alß in den Engeln und Menschlichen Seelen/ ja in allen Geistern/ unnd kan sehen alle Englische krafft/ und kan sie gebrauchen/ der ist ein *Cabalist;*' 112 'wie die *Magia* ein Liecht ist/ unnd erkendtnisse aller natürlichen dinge/ diß zeitliche Leben betreffent: Also machet sich *Cabala* zu den Geistlichen Himlischen dingen/ die Seele betreffent/ sonderlich aber zu der Erkantnuß unsers HERREN JESU CHRISTI. Dann *Cabala* offenbahret die verborgene Geheimniß der Schrifft vom Messia/ welche geheimnuß unter dem Buchstaben der Schrifft verborgen ligen;' 116 '*Cabala* [ist] ein ubernatürlich Liecht unnd Geist/ Ein Englisch Liecht.'

With the definition of Cabala that Khunrath gives us above, we have both the standard etymology of 'that which is received' and the emphasis that this is a 'symbolic' rather than a literal reading.[326] As discussed in the previous chapter on Khunrath's Theosophy, he makes it abundantly clear, in the *Isagoge* to the *Amphitheatre*'s Fourth Circular Figure, that he expects his readers to be aware of multiple levels of reading:[327]

TABLE 4.4 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Isagoge 4, multiple levels of exegesis

PRAYING

HE HEARS — HE SEES — HE PAYS ATTENTION TO

The wonder-working voice, wonderfully speaking, sounding [and] thundering forth of WONDERFUL YHVH

IN

SACROSANCT SCRIPTURE; — NATURE; — ONESELF;

Historically; or	**Μακρο και μικροκοσμικως**	*According to the soul, in the*
Literally;	[*Makro kai mikrokosmikōs*]	*mirror of the mind joined with*
Morally;	*Macro and microcosmically;*	*GOD, or illumined by Divine*
Tropologically;	Theosophically;	*light; and this as much when*
Anagogically;	Physically;	*sleeping as waking; as also the*
Physically;	Physico-medically;	*thousand witnesses of one's own*
Figuratively;	Physico-chemically;	*conscience, attesting the truth*
Cabalistically;	Physico-magically;	*according to the Law Divinely*
Theo-Sophically;	Hyperphysico-magically;	*written in our hearts.*
	Cabalistically;	

326 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 61.

327 *Amph.*II, 211 'Orans, Audit, Videt, Observat יחוה Mirabilis, vocem mirificam, mirabiliter sonantem, tonantem & loquentem, in Sacrosancta Scriptura (Historicè; siue Literaliter; Moraliter; Tropologicè; Anagogicè; Physicè; Typicè; Cabalicè; Theosophicè), [in] Natura (Μακρο και μικροκοσμικως; Theosophicè; Physicè; Physicomedicè; Physicochemicè; Physicomageicè; Hyperphysicomagicè; Cabalicè), [in] Semetipso (Secundum animam, in mentis, DEO iunctae, aut luce Divina illuminatae, speculo: idque tam dormiendo, quàm vigilando: ut testes quoque conscientiae propriae mille, ueritatem perhibentes, iuxta Legem in cordibus nostris, Divinitus scriptam).'

From this table (Table 4.4), which displays more affinity with the Catholic notion of the fourfold *Quadriga* than it does with Luther's insistence on sole adherence to the Literal sense, it is clear that Khunrath regards Cabala as useful for interpretation of both God's books, Scripture and Nature.[328]

Like Reuchlin and Agrippa before him, Khunrath makes use of the twofold division of Cabala into *Mercavah* and *Bereshit*, writing of knowledge 'of existing things, which truly are and exist, that is, of Things human and Divine: of the Work of Mercavah and Beresith'.[329] Concerning the former, he states that 'you will ascend (like Jacob by the ladder) to the Work of MERCAVA, which is the WISDOM of Divinity, concerning more sublime contemplations, truly spiritual knowledge;'[330] while the latter is glossed as knowledge of 'the whole ornament of the Macro and Microcosm (which for Cabalists is the Work of Beresith, that is, the WISDOM OF NATURE)'.[331] Khunrath's rather unusual transliteration of the Hebrew word בראשית *Bereshit*, the first word of Genesis "In the Beginning", as *Beresith*, is most likely influenced by Arcangelo da Borgonuovo, who uses the same orthographic form in Pistorius's anthology, *Artis Cabalisticae Tomus I* (1587), as well as in other works.[332]

Khunrath would certainly have encountered an openness to exegetical possibilities in the works of Pico and Borgonuovo, and it is possible that he also drew inspiration for his multiple levels of reading from the *Monas*

328 On Khunrath in relation to exegesis, see Forshaw, 'Vitriolic Reactions: Orthodox Responses to the Alchemical Exegesis of Genesis'. For more see, Michael T. Walton, *Genesis and the Chemical Philosophy: True Christian Science in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: AMS Press, 2011).

329 *Amph.*II, 90 '*Horum quæ sunt*] Entium, quæ reuera sunt & extant, hoc est, Rerum Diuinarum & humanarum: Operis de Mercava, & de Beresith.'

330 *Amph.*II, 73 'ascendes (veluti per scalam Iacob) ad Opus de MERCAVA, quod est, SAPIENTIA Diuinitatis, de sublimioribus contemplationibus, scientia verè spiritualis.'

331 *Amph.*II, 73 'toto ornatu Macro ac Microcosmi: (quod Cabalistis est Opus de Beresith, hoc est, SAPIENTIA NATVRÆ).'

332 See Archangelus de Burgonovo, *Cabalistarum selectiora, obscurioraque dogmata*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 731ff, at 861 'Legem divinam Beresith'. See also idem, *Apologia fratris Archangeli de Burgonovo Agri Placentini* (1564), sig. 6^{v} 'Opus de Beresith est sapientia naturae, & opus de Mercava est sapientia Divinitatis.' Another less likely possibility is via Meister Eckhart, who cites Moses Maimonides on the 'opus de Beresith (scilicet Gen. 1) est scientia naturalis, et opus de Mercaba (scilicet Ez. 1) est sapientia spiritualis'. See Udo Kern, *Der Gang der Vernunft bei Meister Eckhart* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), 58, n. 14. See Black, *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics*, 135 n. 171 for the use of 'Beresith' and 'Mercana' [sic] in a Latin translation of Maimonide's *Guide of the Perplexed*, *Dux seu director dubitantium aut perplexorum* (Paris, 1520), f. 2^{v}. Khunrath does not this time follow Paul of Prague's *Mysterium novum*, for example, which provides the transliteration *bereschit* (sig. D^{r}). For a less esoteric source, see Robert Etienne, *Biblia* (Paris, 1545), 1^{r} Liber Genesis, Hebraice Beresith.

Hieroglyphica, which, as stated above, Dee presents as 'Mathematically, Magically, Cabalistically and Anagogically explained'.

It is worthy of note, moreover, that Arndt's *Judicium*, making a distinction between Magic and Cabala, emphasises the latter's verbal rather than numerical aspect, declaring that:

> *Magic* reveals its mysteries through prepared images, *figures*, *characters*, and through the commendable art of *Signatures*, and signed knowledge. But *Cabala* shows or rather conceals, its Wisdom in dark words, proverbs, riddles, deeply-meaningful discourse, whence the prophets spoke in a cabalistic way in many of the Scriptures, such that beneath the letters much heavenly wisdom lies hidden.[333]

Philip Beitchman is mistaken in arguing in *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance*, that Khunrath displays a 'structural distrust of a *Jewish* Cabala, taken to be perverted by a crassly materialistic magic, while a Christian sort would be abstract, elevated, and spiritual,' for, as we shall see in the following chapter, Khunrath was greatly interested in 'physical' forms of magic. Nor, as should be obvious by now, is it simply the case that 'Cabala, to become usable *gold*, needs to be cleaned of its Hebrew *dross*', for Khunrath evidently found a knowledge of Hebrew and the Jewish Kabbalistic exegetical techniques a source of inspiration.[334] One such example is his unpacking of John Dee's enigmatic phrase at the end of the *Monas Hieroglyphica*: 'In Te L lectus ivdicat veritatem' (Fig. 4.27), which Kurt Josten simply translates as 'intellect examines the truth'.[335]

Khunrath's knowledge of Hebrew, however, enables him to provide a secondary meaning in his work *On Primaterial Chaos*, where he extends the

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333 Arndt, *Judicium*, 114 'Die *Magia* offenbahret ihre Geheimnuß durch Bilderzurichten/ *Figuren*, *Character*, und durch die löbliche Kunst die *Signatur*, und *Scientiam signatam*. Die *Cabala* aber offenbahret ja verberget jhre Weißheit in dunkelen worten/ Sprüchen/ Rätzeln/ tieffsinnigen Reden/ Darumb die Propheten viel in der Schrifft Cabalistischer weise geredt haben/ da unter dem Buchstaben viel heimlicher Weißheit verborgen liget.'

334 Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word*, 176.

335 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, 219. Josten, 'A Translation', 171 misses the significance of Dee's reference to 'El' in Theorem xvi, 16. note: This subtlety is lost in the typography of the 1602 *Theatrum Chemicum* edition, 243. See Ludovica Koch et al, *Etimologia: pratiche e invenzioni* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1983), 176 'Te lo conferma un'altra "etimologia": tu stesso sei raccolto nel tuo cervello (*intellectus*/*in te lectus*); cerca solo di non addormentarti su quel letto!' See Peter J. Forshaw, '"Possibly the most obscure work ever written by an Englishman?": The Early Alchemical Reception of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*', *Ambix* 52:3 (Nov. 2005): 247–269, at 250–251.

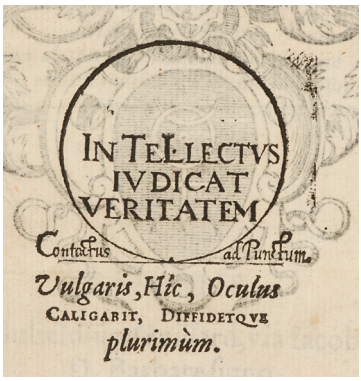


FIGURE 4.27 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), 28 'INTELLECTVS IUDICAT VERITATEM'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1826 A

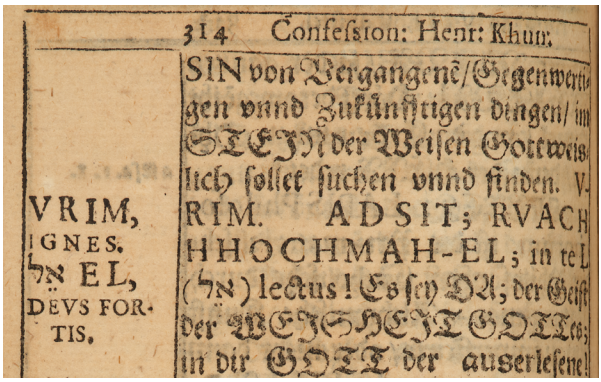


FIGURE 4.28 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 314 'in te L (אל) lectus!'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 A

phrase 'Adsit; Ruach Hhochmah-El' that appears on the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title-page, with the words '*in te* L (אל) *lectus*!' (Fig. 4.28).[336] By this he shows how John Dee's large Roman letter 'L' in the word INTELLECTVS can be read as a homophone for the Hebrew word אל [*El – God*]. Dee has cleverly positioning the letter 'L' by the central point of the circle, indicating the centrality of God, along the lines of the famous axiom, 'God is a circle whose centre is everywhere …'.[337] In the margin, Khunrath adds the gloss: 'אל EL, DEUS FORTIS' (Strong God). This enables the translation 'May the Spirit of the Wisdom of God be present, [who is] *elect in you*, O God!'[338] Admittedly, this does not

336 See Chapter 2 on Khunrath's Images for a discussion of the imperial cryptogram 'ADSIT'.

337 This sentiment has variously been attributed to Nicholas of Cusa's *De docta ignorantia* (I, 11–12 and III, 1); Eckhart, *Lectio I super Ecclesiastici* Cap.24, 23. Nn. 17–20; Hermes Trismegistus in *Liber Hermetis*, *Liber Termegisti*, Cod. Paris, 6319 (14th century); Cod. Vat 3060 (1315), and Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia platonica* XVIII, 3, III: 'Deus est circulus spiritualis, cuius centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam'.

338 *Chaos* (1597), 314 'VRIM. ADSIT; RUACH HHOCHMAH-EL; in te L (אל) lectus! Es sey DA; der Geist der WEISHEIT GOTTes; in dir GOTT der außerlesene!' This is difficult to translate: 'außerlesene' has the sense of 'select' or 'chosen'; while 'lectus' can mean 'chosen', 'choice', 'excellent'. For Khunrath's translation of 'Ruach Hhochmael' as 'Spiritus Sapientiae divinae' (Spirit of Divine Wisdom), see *Amph.*II, 181. The expanded version of '*In te* El *lectus*' possibly has other allusions. The Latin word 'Lectus' literally means 'Bed'. Khunrath at one place mentions St. Ambrose (*Amph.*II, 48) and may have been aware of his statement in *De virginibus* concerning Song of Songs 3:7, 'For Solomon made himself a *lectus* from the wood of Lebanon … What is this *lectus*, if it is not a type of our body?'. This perhaps

exhibit a particularly deep knowledge of Hebrew. Knowledge that אל means 'God' could easily be found in the works of Reuchlin and Agrippa, but at least it shows Khunrath reading in a 'cabalistic' spirit.

Confirmation that Khunrath was at least on the same wave-length as Dee can be found in the latter's discussion of the magical seal used in his actions with spirits:

> So I turned to the second boke and browght sigillum Aemeth: and there chose the Word Ilemese. He then axed me, which letter of this name I liked best, and I sayd, L: bycause it conteynded the name representing God: El.[339]

It would be interesting to know whether either Khunrath or Dee were familiar with the *De Visione Beatifica* (On the Blessed Vision) of the thirteenth-century Franciscan *Doctor Subtilis*, Duns Scotus (*c.*1266–1308), where in a section *De obiecto visionis beatificae* (On the object of the blessed vision), we find the very same phrase 'intellectus judicat veritatem' in a discussion of three different kinds of apprehension of the blessed vision: *Simple*, *Judicative*, and *Discursive*; the third being when 'the intellect rightly judges the truth of a proposition'.[340]

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allows for a reading of '*In te* El *lectus*' as '*incorporated* in you, Oh, God'. For a similar style of Christian Cabalist wordplay, in which the German word *Mensch* (Human Being) is shown to contain the Latin words *Ens* (Being) and *Mens* (Mind), as well as intimate of Christ, see Sibylle Rusterholz, 'Elemente christlicher Kabbala bei Abraham von Franckenberg', in Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala*, 183–197, at 192–3 'M.ENS.CH Mensch, das Word Mensche sagt dir: was vor ein Mench du bist: Im Wort, in dir ist MENS: ist ENS: was mehr? Ein CHrist.'

339 Peterson (ed.), *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, 22. See Casaubon, *A True and Faithful Relation* (London, 1659), 199 'I am Ile Mese, the servant of the highest' and Dee's marginal note: 'Ilemese. He is one of *sigillum Dei*, one of the Septenarii.'

340 See *Scotus Academicus seu Universa Doctoris Subtilis, Theologica Dogmata* (Venice, 1744), Vol. 1, 331 'Tertia denique est *Discursive*, qua intellectus judicat veritatem unius propositionis recte sequi ex aliis cum quibus necessariam habet connexionem.' Khunrath mentions Scotus on *Amph.*II, 69. According to Roberts and Watson (eds), *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, Dee owned several books and manuscripts of Scotus's works, although this text is not mentioned by name. A manuscript of Abraham Lambspring's alchemical poem, with a Latin translation, *Libellus, De Lapide Philosophico*, by Nicolaus Majus, dating from 1607 in Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg M I 92 has Dee's phrase 'inTeLlectus iudicat veritatem' on the title page. It is interesting to note a reappearance of this phrase in Guillaume Postel's (1510–1581), *Absconditorum a Constitutione Mundi Clavis* (A Key to those things that have been hidden since the Creation of the World, Amsterdam, 1646), edited by Abraham von Franckenberg, 125 in the image of a Key with the words 'Intellectus Judicet Veritatem & Qui potest capere, capiat.'

It is possible, too, that Khunrath's reference to Dee's 'Aphorisms to the Parisians',[341] rather than Szulakowska's supposition of it being to the astronomical speculations in *Propaedeumata aphoristica* (1558), is to Dee's lost work on adeptship, addressed to the Parisians, the 1562 *Cabbalae hebraicae compendiosa tabella*, a title which again suggests an appreciation for some form of Jewish Cabala.[342]

It is their shared interest in Nature that prompts Khunrath and Dee to turn away from practising an exclusively 'literal' Cabalistic reading of printed books to one connected with magic and the reading of the hieroglyphs or signatures of Nature, indeed of all Creation, in the belief that,

> Heaven has its signs. Fire, Air, Water, Earth; Vegetables, Animals, Minerals, Metals have their signatures. Angels have their marks. All the Prophets, all the Apostles, and all the Saints; even the Saviour himself has the sign of the Son of Man, the figure of the Cross.[343]

Thus, when referring to Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*, where mention is made of *Gemetria, Notariacon, & Tzyruph*,[344] Khunrath quotes Dee's distinction between his *Real Cabala* and the *Cabalistic Grammar* in the *Monas*: 'the former [kind] from [its] signature he calls *Real Cabala*, or the *Cabala* του όντος [*tou hontos – of that which exists*];[345] but [he calls] that latter vulgar [kind], which devotes itself to the best-known letters, which can be written by man, *Cabalistic Grammar*, or του λεγομενου [*tou legomenou – of that which is said*].'[346]

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341 *Amph.*II, 6 '(vt Ioannes à Dee Londinensis exprimit, in suis ad Parisienses Aphorismis, & in Præfatione ad Regem Maximilianum Monadi Hieroglyphicæ præfixâ)' (as John Dee of London, expresses it, in his Aphorisms to the Parisians, and in the Preface to King Maximilian prefixed to the *Monas Hieroglyphica*).

342 Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, 83. Clulee suggests the same in 'John Dee and the Paracelsians', in Allen G. Debus and Michael T. Walton (eds.), *Reading the Book of Nature: The Other Side of the Scientific Revolution*, 111–132, at 130. See Dee *Monas*, 134–7.

343 *Amph.*II, 142 'Caelum habet sua signa. Ignis, Aër, Aqua, Terra; Vegetabilia, Animalia, Mineralia, Metalla, suas habent signaturas: Angeli habent suas notas: omnes Prophetæ, omnes Apostoli, omnesque Sancti: imò Saluator ipse habet signum Filii Hominis Crucis figuram.'

344 Josten, 'A Translation of John Dee's "Monas Hieroglyphica" with an Introduction and Annotations', 132.

345 Cf. Joseph de Laporte and Remi Olivier, *L'Esprit de l'Encyclopédie* (Geneva, 1772), Vol. VI, 231 'On rapporte aussi a la *cabale reelle* ou *non-artificielle*, l'alphabet astrologique & céleste, qu'on attribue aux Juifs'.

346 *Amph.*II, 6 'Geometria, *Notariacon* & *Tzyruph*. Et hanc quidem ex signatura vocat *Cabalam Realem*, siue του όντος; illam autem vulgarem, *Cabalisticam Grammaticam*, siuè του λεγομενου; quæ notissimis literis, ab homine scriptibilibus insistit.' Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*,

Khunrath would have known from the *Sepher Yetzirah* in Pistorius's *Artis Cabalisticae* that the Cabala of the Word should not be reduced to 'mere' letters in printed books, because the letters of the Hebrew alphabet were employed by God as the actual instruments of creation:

> Twenty-two letters: he engraved them, he weighed them, he transmuted them, he combined them and created with them every soul that is and will be created.[347]

Despite Dee's apparent rejection of the 'best-known letters' in preference for alchemical permutations of the elemental material of Creation, we should not forget that, while not restricting himself to permutations of Hebrew letters, he was happy to forge his own Cabala of Greek and Roman letters, geometrical, astrological and alchemical symbols,[348] in order to discover secrets of God and creation. Whence, I assume, Szulakowska's speculation on 'Cabalistic graphology', i.e., Dee strove to decipher Nature's signatures and thus to read the handwriting of God.[349] In a similar way, Khunrath extended the range of his Cabala, applying it to all three 'books' of God, Man and Nature, the revealed word, the micro- and macro-cosm.

6v; Josten, 'A Translation', 133. See also Theorem XXIII, Josten, 'A Translation', 209 'the Tziruph (or Thmura) of the Hebrews.' See also Wayne Shumaker (trans. & ed.), *John Dee on Astronomy: Propaedeumata Aphoristica (1558 & 1568), Latin and English* (Berkeley & LA: University of California Press, 1978), 129 for reference to 'notariacal designation.' This even won the approval of the generally scathing Andreas Libavius, who is favourable towards Dee's idea of permutations of elements of his hieroglyphic monad in order to generate the signs for chymical materials and operations, in chapter 6 'De sermone Chymico & notis quibusdam' of *De Sceuastica artis* (1606). See Libavius, *De Sceuastica Artis* (Frankfurt, 1606), in *Die Gerätschaft der chymischen Kunst: Der Traktat "De Sceuastica Artis" des Andreas Libavius von 1606, Übersetzung, Kommentierung und Wiederabdruck*, ed. B. Meitzner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), Cap.VI, "De sermone Chymico & notis quibusdam," sig. Hh6v. See Forshaw, 'The Early Alchemical Reception of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*', 266. Khunrath could well have known, too, of Luther's avowed loathing of 'cabalistic grammar'. See A.A. Miller, 'The Theologies of Luther and Boehme in the Light of their Genesis Commentaries,' *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970): 261–303, at 267 Luther: 'I hate this cabalistic grammar. They also say that in the Syriac and Chaldean languages the word *Rech* means the same as *Rex* in Latin. But yet if one is allowed to cabalize in this manner, I can more easily fit *Rech* to the German word *Reich*.'

347 *Abrahami de Creatione*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 870 'Viginti duas literas sculpsit, ponderavit, transmutavit, composuit, & creavit cum illis omnem animam creatam & creandam.' Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 100–101. Martin Sicker, *Aspects of Jewish Metarational Thought* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2005), 133.

348 See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 230–1.

349 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 64.

In this context it should be noted that Ehregott Daniel Colberg (1659–1698), although deeply critical of what he regards to be 'Fanatic Theology', in his *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum* (1690–91) identifies its first principle, Cabala, as 'inner Revelation' from 'divine inspiration and revelation' and cites the claim that by it men can know angels, spirits, indeed all things. He also makes the point that by this Cabala should not be understood that '*Cabalam literalem* und *superstitiosam*', which confines itself to speculative readings of Scripture, but rather a practical form of *Mercavah* that deals with 'high things, the holy names and signs, divine and angelic powers'. Colberg is surely drawing from Agrippa's *De Vanitate* (1550) here, for he follows him in his division of *Mercavah* into two parts: 1) *Notoriaca*, which sets the powers, names and signs of angels, the nature of devils or *daemons* and of souls against each other, and 2) *Theomantica*, which seeks the mystery of divine majesty and the holy names.[350] It was through this art of Cabala, Colberg reports, that the 'fanatics', amongst whom he includes the Paracelsians, believe Moses and the prophets accomplished so many signs and wonders.[351]

This is not to say that Khunrath never makes use of numerical symbolism, especially in his 'ter-tri-une' *Amphitheatre*. Theodor Aquilinus, in his laudatory poem at the beginning of the *Amphitheatre*, highlights the importance Khunrath places on these very numbers, One and Three.[352] He makes abundant use of the symbolic qualities of the Denary, Septenary, Quaternary, and Monad, with Dee's hieroglyphic *Monad* (or a variant thereof), appearing in three of the *Amphitheatre*'s engravings. One of these, the *Alchemical Citadel*, offers many possibilities for a Dee-style interpretation: Twenty-one entrances are shown,[353] twenty of which describe fraudulent or mistaken methods and choices of substances for achieving Gold, the Elixir, the Homunculus, and so forth.[354] Given that the *Citadel*'s inner archway is surmounted by Dee's *Hieroglyphic Monad*, a possible explanation for the 21 gates could be found where Dee writes of the symbolism of the letter X, saying that it is the 21st letter of the Latin

350 Colberg, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum* (1710), 137–8 '*Mercava* […] von hohen Dingen/ göttlichen und englischen kräfften heiligen Namen und Zeichen handelt/ welche in zwey Theile getheilet wird/ derer eines *Notoriaca*, die Kräffte/ Namen und Zeichen der Engel/ die Beschaffenheit der Teuffel oder *dæmonum* und der Seelen gegen einander setzet: Das andere *Theomantica*, das Geheimniß göttlicher Majestät/ und die heiligen Namen/ erforschet'.

351 Colberg, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches Christenthum* (1710), 147–8.

352 *Amph.*I, 16 'Aeterna monas & trias' (the eternal monad and triad).

353 Cf. Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 110 on how interconnecting the points of a heptagon generates 21 lines. Therefore, we have the significant figures 3 and 7 interrelating.

354 Similar to a longer list of 46 examples which appear towards the end of *Chaos* (1597): 'Trewhertzige Warnungs,' 440–469.

alphabet, represents the number 10 (i.e. the perfection of the Denary),[355] as well as the multiplication of the Ternary by the Septenary, its four arms form the Quaternary and, surely important to Khunrath, it is the sign of the Cross.[356] One possible example of Khunrath's appreciation of the alpha-numeric nature of Hebrew letters is the fact that the guardian of the *Citadel*'s true gateway is Hermes, traditionally the discoverer of both numbers and letters.[357] Khunrath would certainly have been aware that Reuchlin records in *De Arte Cabalistica* that *Samekh*, the fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, 'is a symbol of the "doorkeeper," who is called *Kokhab*; in Latin, *Mercury*.'[358] In the *Citadel* engraving the gate could be argued to represent the fifteenth 'side' of the Star Fort. Through the gateway and the archway bearing Dee's *Monas* we see several figures, the one on the right a Christian-Cabalist saying 'הללויה ADSISTENTE חכמה אל' (Chochmah El [Wisdom of God] helping, Hallelujah). There is even the possibility that the heart in the engraving's foreground holds Cabalistic significance: as mentioned above, the Hebrew word for 'heart' לב [*Leb*] with the numerical total of 32, symbolises the 32 paths of the Tree of Life, as well as the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet plus the 10 *Sephiroth*.[359] Here it indicates the correct pathway into the heart of the *Citadel*. Perhaps the mountainous rock that dominates the centre of the image is a composite symbol of Christ (as Rock)[360] and the *Shekhinah*, i.e. the feminine aspect of the godhead? In the *Zohar* the *Shekhinah* is the *even shetiyah* (foundation stone), 'a point which is in the middle of the world, and the world expands from there, to the right and to the left and upon all sides':[361]

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355 See Circular Figures 1 and 2 concerning the 10 *Sephiroth* of the Tree of Life, 10 *Shemoth* or Names of God, Angelic Orders, Commandments, Attributes of God, etc.

356 Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, 13r Theorem VIII; Josten, 'A Translation', 159.

357 Antoine Faivre, *Eternal Hermes: From Greek God to Alchemical Magus*, translated by Joscelyn Godwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1995), 46, 153. Socrates speaks of Theuth in the *Phaedrus* 274 as the inventor of numbers and letters.

358 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 323.

359 ל (Lamed) = 30 and ב (beth) = 2. See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 198; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 180 mentions a play on the double meaning of the phrase *hokhmat ha-zeruf* in *zeruf ha-otiot* (the combination of letters) and *zeruf ha-levavot* (the purification of hearts). See Chapter 3, Theosophy, Fig. 3.26 The Heart-Shaped Sign.

360 For more on this see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy. See also Rabbi Isaiah Horowitz (1565–1630), *The Generations of Adam* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1996), 298 'Know my sons, may their Rock protect them, that this matter of the keys that are entrusted to human hands has remained a secret concealed by the true kabbalists who enter into the counsel of God. It has been passed on from kabbalist to kabbalist, going back to Moses on Sinai.'

361 Isaiah Tishby (ed.), and David Goldstein (trans.), *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts*, 3 vols (London and Washington: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994), Vol. 2, 552, 570–71, 620.

> This stone was created from fire, air and water. … Sometimes waters flow from it, and the deeps are filled. This stone stands as a sign in the center of the world. It is the stone that Jacob set up and established, the basis and sustenance of the world. This is the significance of 'And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar' (Genesis 31:45).[362]

Interplay between the verbal and numerical significations of letters is found in *On Primaterial Chaos*, where Khunrath provides us with an etymology for the alchemical *Elixeir*.[363] He glosses the term as *Fortitudo* (Strength) – surely recalling the *Emerald Tablet*'s phrase 'totius fortitudinis fortitudo fortis' (the strong strength of all strength)[364] – with the explanation that 'El' in Hebrew means *Potens* or *Fortis* (Mighty or Strong) in Latin, in Roman numerals 'ı' means One; 'x' is Ten and a *Symbolic* number of total perfection; and the Greek word ἴρ [*eir*][365] is in Latin *splendor sive scintilla aut fulgor* (a bright shining,

362 Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, Vol. 2, 571. Biblical verses that relate to the *Shekhinah*, the feminine aspect of the Godhead in the *Zohar*, such as Psalm 118:22 'The stone which the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone', become associated with Christ in Western alchemical literature. See, for example, the Khunrath-influenced seventeenth-century *Wasserstein der Weisen* (Frankfurt, 1619) of Johann Siebmacher (1561–1611). See also Zuber, 'Spiritual Alchemy', 232, 242, 262, 307 on the *Lapis-Christus* analogy and the heavenly cornerstone, in the context of Abraham von Franckenberg and Friedrich Breckling. For more, see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

363 Perhaps this use of the variant spelling 'Elixeir' instead of 'Elixier' is a Paracelsian practice? Cf. Adam von Bodenstein, *Isagoge in excellentissimi Philosophi Arnoldi de Villa Nova, Rosarium* (Basel, 1559), 15 'elixeir absolutissimi Solis'. The same spelling reappears in Khunrath's *Quaestiones Tres*, sig. [Avi]ʳ 'ELIXEIR VITAE'.

364 *Pyramid* engraving 'HIC EST TOTIVS FORTITVDINIS FORTITVDO FORTIS; QVIA VINCET OMNEM REM SVBTILEM, OMNEMQVE SOLIDAM PENETRABIT.' Khunrath provides a German translation: 'Diss ist uon aller STERCKE die STERCKESTE STERCKE.' *Amph.*II, 56–57 'Hic MOTVS (loquar cum Hermete, ex tabula, à VIRIDITATIS Benedictæ foecunditate, quæ VENVS Philosophorum, ob cuius tractationem conscriptio illius instituta, sic appellata *Smaragdina*) est totius fortitudinis fortitudo fortis.' [This MOTION (let me say with Hermes, from the tablet, which, from the fecundity of its Blessed GREENNESS, which is the VENUS of the Philosophers, concerning the treatment of which his treatise was written, is thus called *Emerald*) is the strong fortitude of all fortitude]. Cf. H. Stanley Redgrove, *Alchemy, Ancient and Modern* (London: William Rider & Sons Ltd, 2nd ed., 1922), 40–41 'This thing is the fortitude of all fortitude, because it overcomes all subtle things, and penetrates every solid thing'; John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry, An Outline of Alchemy, Its Literature and Relationships* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1936; rpt. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 54 'This has more fortitude than fortitude itself, because it conquers every subtle thing and can penetrate every solid'; Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists*, 77–78 'This is the strong fortitude of all fortitude: because it will overcome every subtle thing and penetrate every solid'.

365 "Suidas" defines the Greek word ἴρ as 'lustre' or 'brilliance', sometimes of lightning. See Immanuel Bekker (ed.), *Suidae Lexicon* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1854), 333.

fire-spark or flash). Stringing these components together gives EL-I-X-EIR, which means a 'bright shine, flash and spark of the uniquely Mighty and Strong.'[366] According to its varied preparations it is called EIR, X-EIR, I-X-EIR, EL-I-X-EIR, indicative of a movement from an initial spark or flash to the final product of the transformative Elixir, and a sequential development resembling the progressive emanations of YHVH in the *Tetraktys*.[367]

This speculative etymology, drawing on the three matrix languages (Hebrew, Latin and Greek) evidently made an impression on Johann Friedrich Jung, author of the preface to the 1602 German edition of Gerard Dorn's *Schlüssel der Chimistischen Philosophy* (Key of Chemical Philosophy), who translates the word 'Eleysiria' (Elixir) as the 'strongest and simplest medicine of all', following this definition with a paraphrase of Khunrath's deconstruction of the word in *Chaos*.[368] In an intertextual, interdisciplinary way, it is interesting to note that the infamous Latin medieval manual of necromantic magic, the *Picatrix*, glosses the term 'elixir' with the very same meaning of strength: 'And this name elixir is interpreted as the fortitude that breaks other fortitudes', by

366 *Chaos* (1597), 54 'Dahero heist es ELIXEIR, FORTITUDO, STERCKE [...] und heist eigentlich EL in Hebräischer Sprache so viel/ als bey den Latinern POTENS oder FORTIS, Mechtig und Starck/ I, bedeut Eins; X, Denarium, PERFECTIONIS numerum, Zehen/ eine Symbolische Zal aller Vollkommenheit; Das G[r]iechisch wörtlein ἔιρ, heist in Latein splendor sive scintilla aut fulgor, ein heller schein/ Fewr-Funck oder Blix: So wird nun (sage ich) EL-I-X-EIR recht und eigentlich heissen/ splendor fulgureus sivè scintilla perfecta Unici Potentis ac Fortis, Ein heller schein/ Blix und Fewer-Funck des einigen Mechtigen und Starcken.' Cf *Magnesia*, 88 where Khunrath defines the 'GROSSE EL-I-X-EIR' as 'FORTItudo, ja splendor fulgureus sive scintilla perfecta unici Potentis ac Fortis' ('refulgent splendor or perfect spark of the one Strength and Power'). Cf. *Confessio ... De Chao Physico-Chemicorvm catholico* (1596), 20 'Vnde dictum Elixir, h.e. Fortitvdo'. Cf. *Lux in Tenebris*, 6 'auß den vier Elementis gezeuget/ mit der Natur allgemeinem Geist-fewrigem fünckelein synopticè animiret'. See also Khunrath's derivation of *Aether* in *Chaos* (1597), 65 'AETHESTHAE, ... that is, *à fulgore*, from a clear bright flash, glimmer and shine' ('AETHESTHAE, ... das ist/ à fulgore, von klaren hellen blixen/ schimmern und scheinen').

367 *Chaos* (1597), 56. See Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Vol. II, 406 for Trevisan's insight into 'Elixir'.

368 Dorn, *Schlüssel der Chimistischen Philosophy* (1602), Vorrede, 115–116 'Eleysiria/ das ist die aller Stärckeste unnd einfaltigsten Medicinen genennet werden. Denn El: by den Hebreern so viel als bey den Latinern Potens/ das ist Mächtig unnd Starck heißt. I. bedeut eins: X. so viel als zehen/ aller vollkommenheit ein Symbolische zal: Ἔιρ ein Griechisch wörtlin/ Lateinisch Splendor sive scintilla, ein glantzender schein/ oder durchtringenden blitz/ als der vermög seiner heimlich verborgenen Krafft/ wie ein Mächtiger plitz Marck und Bein durchtringet ...'. There is a marginal note identifying the source: 'Hein. Conrad. Confess. de Chao. Phys. fol. 54', i.e. the 1597 edition.

which it means the four elements (earth, water, air and fire).[369] Khunrath's 'cabalistic' analysis of the phrase goes further, however, linking the sought-for alchemical elixir with one of the Hebrew divine names, *El* – the very name Dee incorporates into his above-mentioned 'InTeLlectus' image – then shows its Pythagorean significance as both Monad and Denary, the latter the perfect sum of the points of the *Tetraktys*, with the 'spark' or 'flash' denoting the 'fiat lux' moment of light and creation.[370] Khunrath's trilingual Greco-Latino-Hebraic analysis of the word *Elixeir* may have been inspired by the somewhat more modest etymology of *Elixir* found, for example, in Bernard Trevisan's *Opuscula Chemica* (1605): '*Elixir*, from the word *è*, that means "from or out", and from the word *Lixis*, which means a water, for all these things were made from water …'.[371] An even earlier example of an alchemist finding significance in the originary meaning of letters is Constantine of Pisa, who in his *Book of the Secrets of Alchemy*, compiled in 1257, writes

> According to etymology, it [L] is so called from *lucidando* and from *illuminando*, i.e. making clear that which is obscure, and throwing a

369 *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghayat al-hakim: Text, Introduction, Appendices, Indices*, edited by David Pingree (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986), Book 1, Chapter 2, 5 'Et scias quod proprietas lavature que dicitur elixir est compositur ex terra, | aere, igne et aqua. Et iste quatuor fortitudines adunantur in ea et reducuntur ad ipsius proprietatem et naturam … Et istud est secretum elixir secundum sapientes antiquos. Et hoc nomen elixir interpretatur fortitudo que alias fortitudines frangit convincendo et transmutat de una proprietate ad aliam quousque reducit eam ad sui similitudinem.' Maslama al-Majriti, alleged author of the *Picatrix*, known in Arabic as *Ghayat al-Hakim* (Goal of the Wise), was also author of the alchemical work *Rutbatu'l-Hakim* (Step of the Wise). See E.J. Holmyard, 'Maslama al-Majriti and the Rutbatu'l-Hakim', *Isis*, 6:3 (1924): 293–305. Liana Saif, however, in *The Arabic Influences on Early Modern Occult Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 28, argues that these works are now believed to be composed by Maslama al-Qurtubi (d. 964).

370 This notion of 'flash' calls to mind Jacob Boehme's transforming salnitrous *Schrack*, or flash, described by Andrew Weeks as 'the shock of human self-recognition … the Wisdom of Sophia … redemption through Christ'. See Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth Philosopher and Mystic*, 177, and 106 'The dry resistance of the *Prima Materia* of *Herbigkeit* is subdued and transformed into a passive materiality by the *Schrack* as a bolt of light'. I and X as monad and denary could well stand for primal and ultimate matter in alchemy.

371 Bernard Trevisan, *Opuscula Chemica* (Leipzig, 1605), 297 'Azot, das ist, ein spiritus animatus … Es wird aber das Elixir also genant/ von dem wort è, das heisset Von oder aus/ Und von dem wort Lixis, das heisset ein Wasser, denn aus dem Wasser werden alle diese dinge gemachet/'. Khunrath refers to Trevisan in several works: *Chaos* (1597), 31, 118, 134, 141, 165, 292, 336, 376, 465; *Magnesia* (1599), 10, 64, 131, 134, 156; *Athanor*, 23, 24, 31, 32, 37; *Amph.*II, 150, 154.

> greater light on that which is intelligible … for the intellect is the eye of the mind.[372]

Khunrath's sequential reconstruction of *Elixeir* has its parallel, and perhaps model, in a work cited by him elsewhere, the late medieval *Consilium Conjugii, seu de massa Solis et Lunae* (Advice on the Union, or on the Mass of the Sun and Moon), in which Gratianus says:

> Mercury in all his disposition, is made *Xir*; melted in the Lion, is made *Ixir* in the earth: melted in the ferment is made *Elixir*. For Mercury is made three-named in his adaptation, first he is made *Xir*, secondly *Ixir*, thirdly *Elixir*. *Xir* is fusible Mercury, and tinges with a tincture that is not fixed, nor does it transmute; *Ixir* is prepared Mercury, and is both separate and tinging with a fixed tincture, according to its quantity, but not transmuting, i.e., while it is in the Lion; *Elixir* is melted Mercury, tinging, and transmuting inseparably.[373]

372 Barbara Obrist, 'Visualisation in Medieval Alchemy', *Hyle: International Journal for Philosophy of Chemistry* 9:2 (2003): 131–170, at 140 Constantine of Pisa, *Book of the Secrets of Alchemy* compiled 1257.

373 Khunrath's probable source is *Ars chemica* (Strasbourg, 1566), 215–216 'De quibus Gratianus dicit, Mercurius in omni dispositione sua, fit Xir, in Leone inceratus, fit Ixir in terra, In fermento inceratus fit Elixir. … Mercurius namque trinominis efficitur in aptatione sua, primo fit Xir, secundo Ixir, tertio Elixir. Xir est Mercurius fusibilis, & tingit tinctura non fixa, nec mutat: Ixir est Mercurius praeparatus, & separatus & tingens fixa tinctura, pro quantitate sui, sed non mutans, scilicet dum est in Leone. Elixir est Mercurius inceratus, tingens, & mutans inseparabiliter.' For a similar treatment of "Ir" (Manus seu mancipans), "Xir" (Mercurius fusibilis), "Ixir" (Mercurius præparatus, & separatus), and "Elixir" (Mercurius inceratus), see *Consilium Conjugii*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Vol. 2: 259–261. See also Robert M. Schuler (ed.), *Alchemical Poetry, 1575–1700: From Previously Unpublished Manuscripts* (London: Routledge, 1995; repr. 2013), 381 concerning the seventeenth-century author Bassett Jones's *Lithochymicus*, where we find the explanations that *Xir* = Solvitur in aquam; *Ixir* = Destillatur in aerum; *Lixir* = Reducitur in Ignem; and *Elixir* = Coagulatur in terram; while *Lapis* = Perficitur firma fixione. Schuler points out that *Ixir* 'occurs several times in the *Turba Philosophorum*.' Cf. Nicolaus Barnaudus (ed.), *Tractatulus Chemicus, Theosophiae Palmarium dictus anonymi cuiusdam Philosophi antiqui* (Leiden, 1601), B6^{r-v} 'Prop. 4. *Amplius autem ex tribus Yxia constare videtur*;' 'Prop. 5. *Ex quatuor potius Elixir esse compositum*;' 'Prop. 6. *Etiam ex pluribus & multis Ixir constare*;' 'Prop 7. *Denique huius Yxir compositio ex omnibus fieri videtur*.' See also *Tractatus Aureus*, Chapter 7, in *Theatrum Chemicum* (1659), Vol. 4: 697: 'Certus aurei color ad rubedinem, & natura est dulcedo, ideo de eo sericum constituimus quod est Ixsir' (It has the unchanging colour of gold to the rubedo, and its nature is sweetness; so that from it we make silk, which is Ixsir). Rather than 'sericum' (silk), it is possible that the original term was 'sericon'. On this see Jennifer M. Rampling, 'Transmuting Sericon: Alchemy as Practical Exegesis in early modern England', *Osiris* 29 (2014): 19–34.

21 Aben – Stone

A similar approach, one that intimates of a divine dimension to the physical products of alchemy, through juxtapositions and combinations of Hebrew letters, i.e., the exegetical technique of *tzyruph*, is found in the *Amphitheatre*'s *Citadel* engraving. Above the dragon perched on a triangular or pyramidical rock can be found a radiant triangle or pyramid, the divine Form, as it were, of the Philosophers' Stone.[374] Ralf Töllner believes that it contains the three Hebrew letters באר [BAR], forming the word *Ber*, meaning 'Well', which is certainly a possibility, given the presence of the pool of water below.[375] Although he does not mention the interpretation of 'Well', Giorgio Raguseo (1580–1622), who taught natural philosophy at Padua, discusses these three letters BRA as of importance to 'Christiani Cabalistae' in the form of the word ברא *bara* (created), because they can be understood notarically as the root letters or initials of 'the three persons of the most Holy Trinity', i.e., אב *Ab* (Father), בן *Ben* (Son), and רוח *Ruach* ([Holy] Spirit).[376] What Raguseo doesn't mention, but doubtless knew, given his familiarity with genuine Jewish sources, as well as the works of Reuchlin,[377] is that ברא (created) is the second of the opening

374 On numbers but also pyramid shapes, including the *Tetraktys*, see Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel, 1556), Book 39, esp. 291r–292v.

375 Töllner, *Der unendliche Kommentar*, 37, 104. The Pietist physician Johann Philipp Maul (1662–1727) discusses '*be'er*, באר, from which the noun *be'er*, fountain, is derived' (*Beer*, באר, wovon das *Substantivum Beer*, Brunne/herkomt) in the context of chymistry, the mysteries of nature and the prophecies of the Law, in *Medicina theologica, chymico irenica, et christiano-cabbalistica* (Wesel, 1713), 825; later on at 1030 he refers to 'הפילסופים אבן *Eben ha Philosophim*', 'Stone of the Philosophers, or the highest medicine' (oder die Höchste Medicin). Be'er Sheva, sometimes translated as "Well of the Oath", is mentioned as being named by Isaac in Genesis 26:33.

376 Raguseo, *Epistolarum mathematicarum seu De diuinatione* (1623), 347 'Christiani Cabalistae ex literis א ב ר quae in verbo ברא continentur, tres sanctissimae Trinitatis personas אב בן רוח hoc est Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum eduxerunt.'

377 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 953 discusses the letters BRA, as the first three letters of the first word of Genesis, stating that 'Bra: quod est creauit: & quo in principio Moysi liber incipiet' (Bra: which is "created" and with which "in the beginning" the book of Moses starts). See also Libavius, 'Nota XXXIV. De mysteriis Cabalae Paracelsicae', in *Appendix necessaria Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (1615), 77 who also points out possible risks, such as that the B of Bara could just as easily mean *Barah* (daughter) as *Bar* (son), which could lead to the heretical declaration that 'the daughter created the world': 'Sed tu dic qua demonstratione convinces Beth Ebraicum designare Deum patrem, Res filium, Aleph Sp. Sanctum? Quid ni Beth signet filium ex Barah, unde Bar filius? Syriace Bera filia est iisdem literis ברא Num & filia creavit mundum?'

words of Genesis 1:1, *Bere'shit bara Elohim et ha-shamayim we-et ha-ares* (In the beginning God created heaven and earth).[378]

Writing just a few years before Khunrath's 1595 *Amphitheatre*, Antonio Ricciardo (Rizzardi, b. 1576), discusses three different Hebrew words for Stone (*Selangh*, *Zur*, and *Aben*) in his *Commentaria Symbolica* (1591), explaining that '*Aben* has in it two mysteries: for the first and second letter says *Ab* which is interpreted *Father*, the second and the third say *ben*, and are interpreted *Son*; whence it follows that there is love between father and son, which is the third person, i.e. the Holy Spirit.' He then goes on to point out how the stone (Petra) is almost everywhere a sign for Christ, as was the stone which Jacob had as a pillow, and the stone that was on the well of the shepherds, seen by Jacob, and the 12 stones of the high-priest's breastplate on which were written the names of the 12 tribes of Israel.[379] This interpretation was in fact nothing new, for it can be found decades earlier in the famous *De Harmonia Mundi* (1525) of Francesco Giorgio, who likewise writes that 'euen אבן hebraice lapidem significat' (Aben אבן signifies stone in Hebrew), going on to provide the same deconstruction of the word into Father and Son, concluding 'God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ: Who on the one hand is the water flowing from the stone, on the other hand is himself said to be the stone itself.'[380]

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378 This transliteration of the Hebrew is taken from Elliot R. Wolfson, *Language, Eros, Being: Kabbalistic Hermeneutics and Poetic Imagination* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 517, n. 89.

379 Antonio Ricciardus, *Commentaria symbolica* (Venice, 1591), Vol. 2, 130r 'Petra in lingua Sancta tribus nominibus appellatur Selangh. Zur, & Aben, … Aben & in se habet duo mysteria: nam prima, & secunda littera dicit. Ab. & interpretatur pater, secunda, & tertia dicit, ben, & interpretatur filius, unde sequitur, ut inter patrem, & filium insit amor, qui est tertia persona, id est Spiritus. S. & observandum est petram in Sacris litteris fere ubique, sig. Christum Dominum, ut fuit petra, quam habuit Iacob pro cervicali, & petra quae erat supra puteum pastorum, quae observata fuit a Iacob, & duodecim petrae in quibus erant inscripta nomina duodecim tribuum Iudaeorum.' For *Zur*, see Psalm 81:16; for *Sela*, see, e.g., Isaiah 32:2. For a reference to Jacob's Well, see John 4:5–6.

380 Francisci Georgii, *De Harmonia Mundi totius Cantica tria* (Venice, 1525), Cantici Primi, Tonus Septimus, 129^{v} Cap.v 'Quid mihi notent lapides: Nam euen אבן hebraice lapidem significat, cuius dictionis si duae primae litterae accipiantur, אב ab faciunt, quod Patrem significat: Si autem media cum ultima coniungitur בן ben constituunt, quod Filius interpretatur. אבן igitur quod nos dicimus petram/ & Patrem & filium resignat, qui idem sunt, reprobati quidem ab illis aedificantibus, & construentibus, doctrinas & statuta hebreis, siue gentilibus non confientur Deum Patrem, & Filium eius Iesum Christum: Qui nunc aqua fluens de petra, nunc ipsa eadem petra dicitur.' Presumably referring to 1 Corinthians 10:4 'And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ' (KJV). See also Exodus 17:6; Numbers 20:11; Psalm 105:41. Giorgi's transliteration 'euen' is the phonetic spelling of 'aben'.

In Khunrath's case, with his interest in both Cabala and alchemy, it is most likely that the letters above the dragon are א *Aleph*, ב *Beth and* נ *Nun*, forming the word אבן *Aben*, 'Rock' or 'Stone'. In Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*, for instance, he would have read

> For who in that century then would have shown to me the father and the son in the stone, whom holy scripture brings forth in Hebrew [as] *Aben*? *Ab*, indeed, corresponds in that language to signify *father*; and *ben son*; from which three letters in two connected syllables is formed *Aben*, i.e. stone.[381]

He could also have found a similar reading in *De Arte Cabalistica*:

> So *Aleph* accepts this letter as the closest letter to itself and as the most productive, and it is called *AB*, meaning "father of all generating and producing" … by joining on to the final letter *Nun*, *Beth* produces *Ben*, meaning "son." This is the first production in the deity and the beginning of otherness; hence it is called "beginning," although it is the second emanation from infinity, the second Kabbalistic *Sephira*, through which all things have been made.[382]

Here we have a clear sense of the Christian-Cabalist progression from *Ab*, Father, associated with the first *Sephira* Kether (Crown) to *Ben*, Son, linked with the second *Sephira*, Hhochmah (Wisdom). Khunrath would have found confirmation of this Christian interpretation in the third book of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, where we read, 'there are two other names *Zur* and *Aben* both of them signifie a solid work, and one of them expresses the Father with the Son'.[383]

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381 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 953 'Quis enim in illo mihi sæculo tunc ostendisset patrem & filium in lapide: quem sancta scriptura Aben hebraice protulit? Constat uero, ab, in ea lingua patrem significare: & ben filium: quæ tres litteræ in duas syllabas connexæ Aben: id est lapidem conficitur.'

382 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 289. See also Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 12.

383 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London, 1651), Book 3, Chapter XI, 'Of the Divine names, and their power and vertue', 371 '… & the name *Emeth* אמת which is interpreted Truth, and is the seal of God; and there are two other names *Zur* צור and *Aben* אבן both of them signifie a solid work, and one of them express the Father with the Son; and many more names have we placed above in the scale of numbers; and many names of God and the Angels are extracted out of the holy Scriptures by the Cabalisticall calculation, Notarian and Gimetrian [Gematria] arts, where many words retracted by certain of their letters make up one name, or one name dispersed by each of its letters signifieth or

In *On Primaterial Chaos*, Khunrath deconstructs *Aben* in an alchemical context as signifying not the Father and Son of the Holy Trinity, but instead their physico-chymical counterparts in nature: 'ABEN, in Hebrew Stone: Father & Son in the Stone. AB in that language means Father; Ben, Son; meaning here the Greater World and its Son.'[384]

There is yet another potential significance to the three letters of the word *Aben*. In light of Khunrath's theosophical interest in revelation, it is possible that he was aware of a permutation of the letters as נבא [Nebhä] 'to prophesy'.[385] Again, Reuchlin is the most likely support for such speculation, where in *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506), he writes: 'נבא He Prophesied, it was foretold', with reference, for example, to Joel 2:28 'and your sons and your daughers shall prophesy: your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions'.[386]

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rendreth more. Somtimes they are gathered from the heads of words, as the name *Agla* אגלא from this verse of the Holy Scripture …'.

384 *Chaos* (1597), 282 'ABEN, Hebraicè Lapis: Pater & Filius in Lapide; AB, in ea lingua Patrem significat: BEN, Filium: Mundus major hic notetur, eiusdemque Filius.' See Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1997), 479, n. 20 and 1 Corinthians 10:4 on Christ as the Rock. See also Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 49, 65, 283. See also Joachim Frizius, *Summum Bonum* (Frankfurt, 1629), 17 'Habemus in hoc enim unico אבן in hoc (inquam) lapide Cabalistico, Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum sanctum: quod etiam ex ipsius cortice seu literis non est difficile indicare, cum lingua Hebraica אב. Ab, denotet patrem, & בן Ben filium. At vero ubi pater & filius adsunt, spiritus quidem sanctus abesse nequit.' A reference to Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* appears in the margin. See also Paulus Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura*, in Pistorius (ed.), *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 147 'Plerumque etiam Edonai ספיר אבן [*Aben Sapir*] Saphireus Lapis dicitur, quoniam ipsum totius mundanae fabricae fundamentum extat: unde omnia sua expetunt commoda. Appellatur itidem & אבן הראשה [*Aben Harosha*] capitalis lapis, à quo ingenita caducave entia in opere principij promuntur inesse.' See also Ioan Caramvelis Lobcowitzi *Cabalae totius brevissimum specimen*, in Erycius Puteanus, *De anagrammatismo quae cabalae pars est* (Brussels, 1643), 72 'His ideis instructi ad Cabalam Transformativam deveniamus, & videamus, qui citatus Guido Fabricius Boderianus, nomen אבן Eben, *lapis*, continuum'; 73 'exponat. *Apud peritos scientia de divino Auditu*, ait, *quos* מקובלים Mecvbalim vocant, אבן Eben significat Patrem & Filium, uno complexu, ad ostendendum Patris & Filii unitatem in essentia. Tres autem litera, tres Hypostases in una ὀυσια [*ousia*] demonstrant. Et hos est mysterium quod scribitur in Psalmis: Lapis, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, factus est in caput anguli. Et ideo Christus vocatur a Daniele אבן, lapis abscissus sine manibus. Huc usque ille.'

385 See James Strong, *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1890), נבא, phonetic spelling *naw-baw*; prophesy; Numbers 11:25 Douay: 'And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spoke to him, taking away of the spirit that was in Moses, and giving to the seventy men. And when the spirit had rested on them they prophesied, nor did they cease afterwards.'

386 Reuchlin, *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (Pforzheim, 1506), 301 'נבא Prophetavit. vaticinatus est. Ioelis, ij. Et prophetabunt filij uestri. et Ieremiae. xxiij. Prophetant in Baal. inde nomen propheta et participium prophetans. et cetera deriuata reperies in eodem capitulo. & Deuteronomij. xxxiiij. Et non surrexit ultra propheta.'

22 Sol/Shemesh

A simple example of *Notariacon* is found in the unfolding of the Latin word for 'Sun' (SOL, Fig. 4.29) in the initial letters of the words 'Sol Omnibus Lucet' (the Sun shines on All), and in reverse order, thereby symbolising perhaps an internal power, as 'Lumen Omnibus Stimulans' (Light stimulating all things) or 'Lux Omnia Servans' (Light serving all).[387] This symbolic use of letters is found, too, in Khunrath's inclusion of the alchemical word for Mercury of the Philosophers, *Azoth* in Circular Figure 3, where it appears on the body of the *Avis Hermetis* (Bird of Hermes). Highly significant for the alchemists, like ELIXEIR the word AZOTH is another polyglot word, considered to be formed of the first and last letters of the three matrix languages – Latin a and z, Greek α (*alpha*) and ω (*omega*), and Hebrew א (*aleph*) and ת (*tau*), – and encapsulates the message of the whole diagram: the transformation of *Prima materia* into *Ultima materia*, the 'vile' into the 'blessed.'[388] The sense of universal signification is reinforced by the fact that the central letter 'O' of Azoth appears to be Dee's hieroglyphic Monad.[389] The best-known example of *Notariacon* in an alchemical context is the VITRIOL acrostic: 'Visita interiorem terrae rectificando invenies occultum lapidem' (Visit the interior of the earth and by rectifying you shall find the hidden stone), as found in, for example, Basil Valentine's *Azoth* (1613).[390]

Other potential Cabalistic references appear, for example, in the form of the two pillars or obelisks flanking the *Amphitheatre*'s 1609 title page.[391] Given Khunrath's investment in the wisdom of Solomon, there is a possible allusion to the two pillars Solomon set up in the porch of the temple, *Jachin* and *Boaz*,[392] mentioned, for example, by Gikatilla in the *Portae Lucis*, available to Khunrath

387 *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 59. Cf. Benedictus Figulus, *Rosarium Novum Olympicum et Benedictum* (Basel, 1608), 74 'Lumen Naturale, id est Christus [...] Super Omnia Lucens.'

388 See Basil Valentine, *Azoth, Sive Aureliae Occulta Philosophorum, Materiam Primam* (Frankfurt, 1613), 65; idem, *Azoth: L'Occulta Opera Aurea dei Filosofi* (Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 1988), 103. See Coudert, *Alchemy: The Philosopher's Stone* (London: Wildwood House Ltd., 1980), 31 for the identification of Azoth as a deformation of the Arabic word for 'Mercury' al-zauq.

389 As mentioned in Chapter 2 on Khunrath's Images, this has been disputed by Joachim Telle.

390 Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy*, 120. See the engraving of Atlas holding up the heavens in Basil Valentine, *Azoth* (1613), 49 and the circumference of the circular engraving on p. 52.

391 Not to forget the 1608 *Amphitheatre* title page, where we see the coat of arms of the city of Magdeburg with the notarical sequence V.D.M.I.Æ., initial letters of a phrase based on 1 Peter 1:25 'Verbum Domini manet in aeternum' (The Word of the Lord endures forever).

392 1 Kings 7:21 'And he set up the pillars in the porch of the temple: and he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof Jachin: and he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz' (KJV).

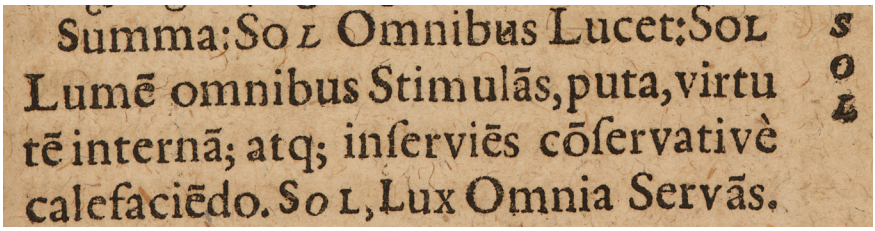


FIGURE 4.29 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 59 *Notariacon* of SOL. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 63-2996

in Ricci's translation.[393] Khunrath connects the left pillar (i.e., Boaz), which in Kabbalah is seen as a symbol of Judgement, with the Hebrew words for 'Sun' שמש [*Shemesh*] and 'Fire' אש [*Esch*],[394] while the right pillar, standing in the sea, is linked with the Moon and Water of Love or Mercy.[395] This alludes to the two primary names of God, יהוה YHVH, appearing at the top of the page in the *Tetraktys*, and the name אלהים [*Elohim*] that appears towards the bottom in the expression רוח אלהים *mediantibus* שמים (Spirit of the Lord with the Heavens mediating).[396] Cabalistically, these names are usually identified with the two primary expressions of God's primordial power: the Attribute of Mercy (YHVH) and the Attribute of Judgement (*Elohim*), appearing, for instance, in Genesis 2:4 'When YHVH-Elohim made Heaven and Earth.'[397] On the right hand pillar we find a plaque bearing the words רוח חכמה אל (*Ruach*

393 Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla, the son of Abraham, *Sha' are Orah: Gates of Light*, trans. Weinstein, 144.

394 Fire represents the abode of *Prima materia* become *Ultima materia*. Cf. Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, 56–7. See Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 479 on *Esch* as the fire of God, literally, when referring to lightning (3 Kings 18:38) and figuratively as God's wrath (Deuteronomy 32:22).

395 Stephen G. Wald, *The Doctrine of the Divine Name: An Introduction to Classical Kabbalistic Theology* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholar's Press, 1988), 55. See also Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 180. I admit that this is highly speculative, because Khunrath nowhere mentions the Kabbalistic Tree of Life in the *Amphitheatre* and his engraving of the *Sephiroth* presents them in a circle, but there is a possibility that the two pillars of the title page could be construed as *Jachin* and *Boaz*, with an implied middle pillar, descending from the Tetraktys above to the pyramid shaped stone below.

396 See too *Amph.*II, 142, 197.

397 Wald, *The Doctrine of the Divine Name*, 36. Cf. *Amph.*II, 32 'Manus DEI in omnibus creaturis. Estque duplex: Auxiliatrix, & Vltrix' (The hand of GOD is in all creatures and it is twofold: Helper and Avenger). Cf. Vulgate Genesis 2:4 '… the Lord God made the heaven and the earth.'

Chochmah-El – Spirit of the Wisdom of God) referring to the Christian Cabalist third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit.[398]

Aben is not the only example of Khunrath making use of the exegetical techniques resembling those in Midrash and Kabbalah to reveal (or discover) correspondences between the alchemical Stone and Christ, respectively the 'Sons' of the Macro- and Micro-cosm.[399] Another example of this kind of Cabalist-style word-play that links a significant alchemical substance with a divine name can be found in his interpretation of 'Magnesia', the primal matter of the Stone, as 'Magnes-Iah' (Magnet of God) or 'Magnum AES-JAH' (Great Copper of God), where *Yah* יה is another of the Hebrew names for God (and the second row of Khunrath's *Tetragrammatical Tetraktys*).[400]

This 'Cabalistical' way of placing emphasis on the importance of *aes*, generally translated as copper, or one of its alloys, bronze or brass,[401] is also found in an author mentioned several times by Khunrath, the notable English alchemist, George Ripley (*c*.1415–1490).[402] In his *Liber de Mercurio et Lapide*

398 Not as Szulakowska states in *The Alchemy of Light*, 91 'RUAH-HHOCHMAH-EL, which is the second sephiroth of Divine Wisdom on the right axis of the Tree.' For more on Khunrath's use of such terms, see Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy.

399 For more on this see Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

400 *Citadel* engraving: 'Magnes-JAH; magnum AES-JAH.' See also the reference in *Magnesia*, 52 to 'Magnes-Yah' and *Chaos* (1597), 358 'MAGNES-IAH, der Magnet des Herrn'. Cf. Nicolaus Barnaudus (ed.), *Tractatulus Chemicus* (Leiden, 1601), B7^{r} 'Magnesiam vocarunt eò quod magna est res, in qua maximum arcanum.' See also Thomas Norton's (*c*.1433–*c*.1513) unpacking of the word *Magnetia* in the *Ordinall of Alchimy*, in Elias Ashmole (ed.), *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), 42–43 'What is *Magnetia* to say in our speache:/ *Magos* is Greeke, *Mirabile* in Latine it ys,/ *Aes* is *Money*, *ycos Science*, *A* is God ywisse./ That is to say it is such a thinge,/ Wherein of Money is wonderous divine Cunninge;/ Now here you may know what is *Magnetia*,/ *Res aeris in qua latet scientia divinaque mira* (A thing of money [copper] in which a divine and wondrous knowledge lies hidden).' Ashmole points out that 'from the first word of his Proeme and the Initial Letters of the six following chapters (*discovered by acromonosyllables and syllabic acrostics*) we may collect the author's name and place of residence' (437).

401 Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 8 'Aes seu Cuprum a Germanis' (Aes or Copper according to the Germans); Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 5 'The medieval distinction between bronze and brass was blurred, and the Latin term *aes* was used to designate both'.

402 For Khunrath's references to Ryplaeus/Riplaeus, see, *Chaos* (1597), 97, 119 (12 Gates), 165, 465; *Magnesia* (1599), 109. On Ripley, see Jennifer M. Rampling, *The Experimental Fire: Inventing English Alchemy, 1300–1700* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2020); eadem, 'Establishing the Canon: George Ripley and his Alchemical Sources', *Ambix* 55:3 (November, 2008): 189–208; 'Depicting the Medieval Alchemical Cosmos: George Ripley's *Wheel* of Inferior Astronomy', *Early Science and Medicine* 18 (2013): 45–86; 'Transmission and Transmutation: George Ripley and the Place of English Alchemy in Early Modern Europe', *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2012): 477–499.

Philosophorum (Book on Mercury and the Philosophers' Stone), Ripley unpacks the word Bras[s]:

> But what is further to be considered in the nature of our brass, from its Tetragrammatical, that is four-lettered name, you will easily understand from the English word or name of *Aes* with these four letters, namely, B.R.A.S., that is brass, which signifies the word *Aes* in Latin. First of all, therefore, by B. is signified the first body of our work, which is our sweet and bitter olive, and our brass permanent in its form. By R., however, is signified the root of our work, and the permanent source of radical humor, which is our red tincture, and the red rose, which putrefies and purifies all things for generation in its kind. But A. signifies our father Adam, who was the first man, and is the one from whom the first woman Eve was born. Whence one can understand that in that place is a male and a female. Know therefore that our brass is the beginning of our work, our gold and our olive. For it is the primal matter of metals, just as man is the first of man and woman. S., however, signifies the soul of our life and the spirit of life, which God breathed into Adam, and into all creatures, which spirit is in fact called the quintessence.[403]

In a similar fashion to Khunrath's inventive *Magnes-Yah*, the tip of the right-hand pillar on the 1609 *Amphitheatre* title page bears the words אורים [*Urim*] and יה [*Yah*]. The divine name *Yah* יה is directly connected with the second *Sephirah* of Wisdom (*Chochmah*), as a principle of Creation.[404] The word אורים is 'unpointed', that is without diacritic marks, without any vowel indicators, and thus open to more than one interpretation, in accordance with

403 *Georgii Riplaei Canonici Angli Opera Omnia Chemica* (Kassel, 1649), *Liber de Merc. Philos.* 116–117 'Quid vero ulterius in natura aeris nostri considerandum sit, ex nomine ejus tetragrammato h.e. quadrilitero facile percipies ex aeris vocabulo seu nomine Anglico quatuor his literis, nempe B.R.A.S. hic est bras, quod verbum Latine aes significat. Inprimis itaque per B. significatur primum corpus operis nostri, quod est dulcis & amara oliva nostra, & aes nostrum permanens in forma sua. Per R. vero significatur radix operis nostri, & scaturigo humoris radicalis permanentis, qui est tinctura nostra rubea, & rosa rubea, quae putrificat & purificat omnia ad generationem in genere suo. A. vero significat patrem nostrum Adam, qui erat primus homo, est quo prima mulier Eva nata est. Unde intelligere potest, quod ibi sit masculus & foemina. Cognosce igitur, quod aes nostrum est principium operis nostri, aurum nostrum & oliva nostra. Nam est prima materia metallorum, quemadmodum & homo est primus hominis & mulieris. S. vero significat animam vitae nostrae & spiritum vitae, quem inspiravit Deus in Adam, & in omnes creaturas, qui quidem spiritus vocatur quinta essentia.'

404 See Circular Figure 1 and Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 273, 343.

Pico's observation on the exegetical possibilities of Hebrew writing in his *Conclusions*.[405] It is thus possible to translate *Aurim*/*Urim* as either 'Fires' or 'Lights', thereby allowing the themes of Creation and Revelation to coincide in the same 'symbolic' word.[406] In Hebrew *Urim* is technically the plural of *Or* (Light), as, for example, יהי אור [yehi 'or], the 'Fiat Lux' of Genesis 1:3.[407] In the *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath gives us a literal gloss of the singular form of the word in the phrase: 'LIGHT (in Hebrew AOR) [...] author of splendour and illumination.'[408] It is tempting to read this phrase as an allusion to the two most important works of Jewish Kabbalah, the *Bahir* (Illumination) and *Zohar* (Splendour). It could also possibly be alluding to astral influences, as when Khunrath describes the stars as *Aot* (the Hebrew for 'sign', 'omen', or 'letter' being אות [ot]).[409] He could certainly have encountered Ricci's note concerning אות in Pistorius's *Artis cabalisticae*, where he explains that it is pronounced 'Oos' and means 'sign'.[410] It is worth bearing in mind, too, that the French astrologer and librarian to Cardinal Richelieu, Jacques Gaffarel (1601–1681), interested in Cabala, though critical of Khunrath, created an engraving of the stars as Hebrew characters in a celestial map.[411] There is even the possibility that when Khunrath writes of the 'Micro-cosmic Moon of the Cabalists,' the image of the human soul basking in the reflected light of God as the 'Father of Lights',[412] there could also be an allusion to the *Shekhinah*, the female aspect

405 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 551. For a discussion of this, see Idel, 'Infinities of Torah in Kabbalah', 150, where he quotes Gikatilla. See also Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 181.

406 The masculine noun אור (*'or*), meaning 'light'. Like the verb, this noun is used in all expectable ways, from the light of creation (Genesis 1:3) to the light of the sun (Isaiah 30:6), the light of instruction (Proverbs 6:23), the light of one's face (Proverbs 16:15), and the light of God (Psalm 4:6, Isaiah 10:17). Cf. the masculine noun אור (*'ur*), meaning 'flame' (Isaiah 50:11, Ezekiel 5:2).

407 See Hartley Lachter, 'Kabbalah, Philosophy, and the Jewish-Christian Debate: Reconsidering the Early Works of Joseph Gikatilla', *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 16:1 (2008): 1–58, at 24 concerning the Hebrew term *yehi* (let there be) spelled YHY, in the phrase 'let there by light'. YHY is significant for Gikatilla because it employs the first two letters of the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, as well as the letters of a secondary divine name, YH (*Yah*), and indicates a primary form of creation through the divine essence, HWYH.

408 *Amph.*II, 132 'vndè quid fit LVX, (Hebraicè, AOR) Gen.1,3. Authrix splendoris atque illuminationis ...'.

409 *Amph.*II, 131.

410 Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 168.

411 See Peter J. Forshaw, 'Concealed Mysteries and Unheard-Of Curiosities: Jacques Gaffarel's Defence of Celestial Writing and Divine Kabbalah', in Hiro Hirai (ed.), *Jacques Gaffarel between Magic and Science* (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2014), 13–26.

412 *Amph.*II, 109 'Hæc Luna Cabalistarum Micro-Cosmica crescens, plena, decrescens; accessu, oppositione diametrali, declinatione SOLIS Diuini.'

of the godhead, who is often compared to the moon, is purely receptive, and shines with the light reflected upon her.[413]

23 Urim and Thummim

In *De Igne Magorum Philosophorumque* (On the Fire of the Mages and Sages), Khunrath provides his intepretation of *Urim* as 'Fires' when he claims that the Roman goddess Vesta, with her eternally-burning fire, derives her name from אש יא Esch-Iah (God's Fire),[414] and that the Persian god Orimasda is essentially a foreshortened form of the Hebrew words אורים Urim (Fires) and Esch-Iah (God's Fire).[415] Johann Arndt's *Judicium* makes a similar association, declaring that 'Ur means fire in Chaldaean, and therefore this town in *Chaldaea* got its name from the fact that the *Philosophers*, who had this wonderful Fire, lived there,' and that this was a 'Magical, Wonderful, Mysterious, hidden Fire, a *Secret* of all Nature.'[416] Arndt is of course refering to the famous city of 'Ur of the Chaldees', alleged birthplace of the patriarch Abraham.[417] The association is also made with the mysterious *Urim* of the Old Testament, connected with the תומים [*Thummim*] revered for their oracular powers.

As Moshe Idel writes, 'opinion is divided' as to their natures. Abraham Abulafia, whose thought exerted such an influence on Christian Cabala, suggests that the *Urim* and *Thummim* are two distinct types of mystical experiences, the former the lower, involving visions of lights;[418] the latter being the

413 Tishby, '*The Wisdom of the Zohar*', Volume 1, 107.

414 *De Igne Magorum*, 18. Cf. Johann Joachim Becherus, *Opuscula Chymica rariora* (Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1719), Prolegomena, 11 'אש יא Esch-ia vel Es-ia Græcè ἑστία [*Hestia*, i.e. Vesta], i.e. ignis Jehovæ.' See also Becher, *Tripus Hermeticus Fatidicus, Pandens Oracula Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1689), 10 '*Ignis inextinctus* Delphis, unde [*Hestia*] quasi אש יא Esch-ia vel Es-ia i.e. Ignis Jehovae. ἑστία [*Hestia*] & *Vesta* eadem. Graeci olim nominibus à vocali incipientibus diligamma praeposuerunt. Iisdem Latini v consonantem praefixerunt. V & F ejusdem soni. ἑστία Dea fingitur, undè? De *Tripode* variae sententiae.'

415 *De Igne Magorum*, 9.

416 [Arndt], *Judicium*, 122 'Dann Ur heisset auff Chaldæisch Fewer/ unnd hat diese Stadt in *Chaldæa* darumb den Namen bekommen/ weil daselbst die *Philosophi* gewohnet/ die diß wunderbarliche Fewer gehabt haben [...] Sondern das ist das Magische/ Wunderliche/ Geheimbste/ verborgene Fewer gewesen/ ein *Secret* der gantzen Natur.'

417 See Nehemiah 9:7, as well as Genesis 11:28, 11:31, 15:7.

418 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 78 'According to Abulafia, the revelation of light is characteristic of "prophetic" experience among the Kabbalists who followed the Sephirotic system. There is extensive basis for this statement; in the writings of R. Isaac the Blind, and particularly in those of R. Azriel of Gerona, we find an abundance of symbols related to light.'

highest level of prophecy, with the vision of a human figure appearing before the practitioner.[419] For Abulafia the *Urim* (Lights) are so called 'because they enlighten their words', they 'allude to the inner light and the light which comes from the Active Intellect' (Prince of the Face), the reason why 'the intellective soul is portrayed as the moon, receiving its light from the sun.'[420] The eleventh-century French rabbi Rashi noted that in *gematria Urim* and *Thummim* equal the *Shemhamphorasch*, the Name of 72 Letters. Such can also be found in the *Zohar*, where it is written 'and it is customary in the 72-letters inscribed, which are the secret of the Holy Name, and all of them are called Urim and Tummim.'[421] In the following century, the Spanish Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1167) suggested that they alluded to the seven planets.[422] A manuscript copy of the 1608 *Amphitheatrum* in Amsterdam, made in 1702 by 'F. Bruno Eremita', includes a marginal note next to a reference to the Urim and Thummim in relation to the Divine Philosophers' Stone in Isagoge 3, that provides several useful interpretations of their meaning: 'An explanation or interpretation of the Urim and Thummim, that is Illumination and Perfection – or knowledge and purity of life or according to our common saying Doctrine and Truth'.[423]

The Urim and Thummim exerted an equal fascination and confusion on Christian readers. In *Of the Urim and Thummim of the Jews*, Paracelsus distinguishes between three kinds of gold: Vulgar, Chymical, and Divine; on the following page stating that 'Celestial Gold' is called *Ens omnis privationis expers* (Being free of all privation), or *Thummim*.[424] In *De Harmonia Mundi* (1525), Francesco Giorgio explains that 'Urim signifies illustrations, from אור, i.e., *or*, which is light, but in the plural signifies doctrine that has many parts and

419 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 105–108, 158–161.

420 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 106.

421 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 105.

422 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 105.

423 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson MS PH 355 (208), Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1702), Isagoge 3, Part IX, 204 margin: 'Explicatio vel interpretatio de VRIM et THUMIM, h. est Illuminatio et Perfectio – vel scientia et puritas vitae aut justa Vulgatam nostram Doctrina et Veritas.'

424 See Paracelsus, *Of the Chymical Transmutation, Genealogy and Generation of Metals and Minerals, also of the Urim and Thummim of the Jews*, translated by Robert Turner (London, 1657), 54–55. For biblical references to the Urim and Thummim, see Exodus 28:30, Leviticus 8:8, Numbers 27:21. For references by Khunrath, see *Amph.*II, 59, 204; *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede [Axi^{v}], 314; *De Igne Magorum*, 9, 98. See also *Chymical, Medicinal, and Chyrurgical Addresses: Made to Samuel Hartlib, Esquire* (London, 1655), 5 'The *Vrim & Thummim* were substance; for *Moses* put them into the breast-plate, the words signifie light and perfection, knowledge and holiness, manifestation and truth.' Elias Hutter, *Dictionarium harmonicum* (1598),)(2^{r} 'Urim & Thummim … hoc est, Illuminatio & perfectio του λογου και λογέιου.'

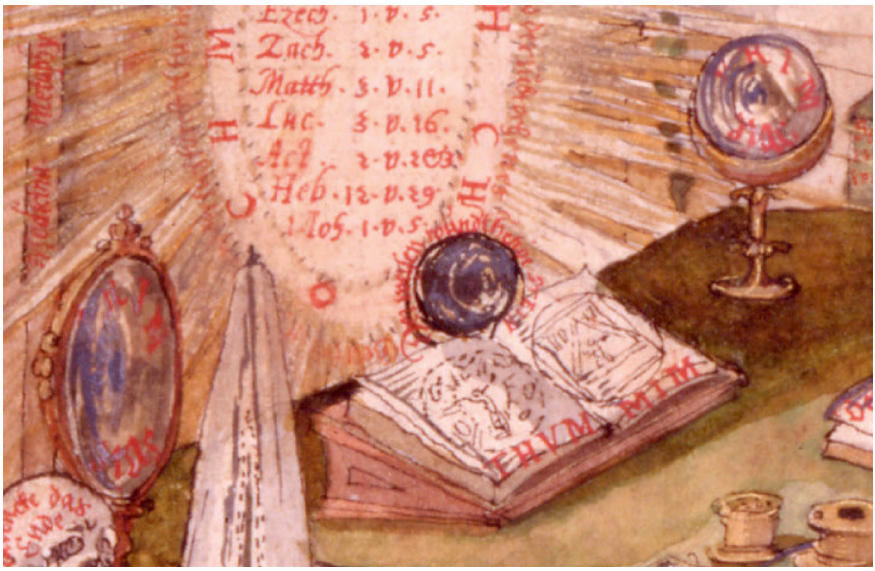


FIGURE 4.30 *Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae*, detail: Urim and Thummim, London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 181. © The British Library Board

considering a thing on all sides (collustratio). And Tumim [sic] designates perfections, and removal from any stain of lower things through the love of God.'[425] In the *Judicium*, Arndt explains that the 'Cabalistic light' in Aaron's breastplate was also called *Ur* and *Urim*, a light which had been infused in precious stones by Moses, and which the Cabalist can do likewise.[426] In a similar vein, and emphasising the alchemical connotations, Khunrath states that the Urim and Thummim of the Cabalists are the Divine manifestation of the Philosophers' Stone, which 'resists diabolical powers; and wondrously accomplishes innumerable other no less excellent things',[427] and by means of which *Jehovah* speaks 'cabalistically' to the Theosopher.[428] With this he is possibly responding

425 Georgi, *Harmonia Mundi* (1525) 1, IIII, 4: LIX^{v} 'Thronorum quinque proprietates, caput IIII Sed vim verborum interpretando, urim illustrationes significat: ab אור .i. or/ quod est lux: sed plurale multiplicem doctrinam, & collustrationem (qua refertus sacerdos esse debet) significat. Tumim vero perfectiones, & remotiones ab inferiorum quacunque macula per Dei amorem designat.'

426 [Arndt], *Judicium*, III.

427 *Amph.*II, 58.

428 *Amph.*II, 204. *Zohar* II: 243b suggests that the Urim and Thummim were the 72- or 42-letter name of God. On common belief in the prophetic powers of the Urim and the 12 stones on the breastplate of Aaron, see, for example, Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), Book IX, Chapter V. 'The diversitie of true prophets, of urim, and of the propheticall use of the twelve precious stones conteined therein'; Booke XI, Chapter XI 'Of the Cabalisticall art, consisting of traditions and unwritten verities learned without booke, and of the division thereof.'

to Reuchlin's taunt in *De Verbo Mirifico* that the divine name IHSVH is the Philosophers' Stone that the *archimists* [sic] seek in vain.[429] In the Sloane 181 manuscript *Tabulae Theosophicae Cabbalisticae* (Cabbalistic Theosophical Tables), related to the *Amphitheatre*, in the British Library, the word Urim appears on what appears to be two crystalline mirrors, perhaps monstrances, a solar-shaped one on the left, lunar on the right, while Thummim is linked with the *Amphitheatre*'s first two circular images of Christ and Adam Androgyne (Fig. 4.30).[430]

24 Sigillum Dei: Khunrath's Christian-Cabalist Seal of God

Nowhere does Khunrath's interest in Jewish Kabbalah more clearly reveal itself than in the *Amphitheatre*'s First Circular Figure. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Raphael Patai points out that one 'has the impression of seeing a complex Jewish emblem written in Hebrew': a central figure from which radiate eight concentric rings, five in Hebrew letters, forming 'a veritable brief anthology of important quotations and names of Jewish religious significance.'[431] This figure is a compendium of some of the *loci communes cabalistici*, as it were, in particular the most powerful Divine Names,[432] which Arndt in the *Judicium* considers to be the prime concern of Cabala,[433] the choice of the Name most suitable for the 'operation' being essential for the successful accomplishment of the adept's goal of understanding and influencing the cosmological structure of the *Sephiroth*.[434] Let us look at this figure in more detail, moving inwards from the circumference to the centre.

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429 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 977 'hic lapis philosophorum, longe quidem eum exuperans, de quo Archimici errantes contendunt.'

430 London, British Library, Sloane MS 181. For more see the following chapter on Khunrath's Magic, in *The Mage's Images*, Vol. 3, Chapter 5.

431 Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 156.

432 *Amph.*II, 124 'Eligite … ex hoc conventu, de tali exercitu, ex hac fermè Nominum Sacrorum legione, quo fit potissimum in eiuscemodi operationibus, quibus operam datis, piè utendum' (Choose from among this assembly, this army, and nigh on this legion of Sacred Names that which most suits to be made pious use of according to the particular nature of the operations to which you are devoting your time). Cf. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 663 'We must invoke the sacred names of God, but those especially, which are significative of the thing desired, or any way applicable to it; as for the destruction of enemies we must invoke the name of God's wrath, of the revenge of God, fear of God, justice of God, fortitude of God.'

433 [Arndt], *Judicium*, 105 'gehet die Cabala vornehmlich mit den göttlichen namen um' (The Cabala concerns itself mainly with Divine Names).

434 Yohanan Alemanno (*c.*1435–after 1504), in Moshe Idel, *The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance*, trans. Martelle Gavarin, in Bernard

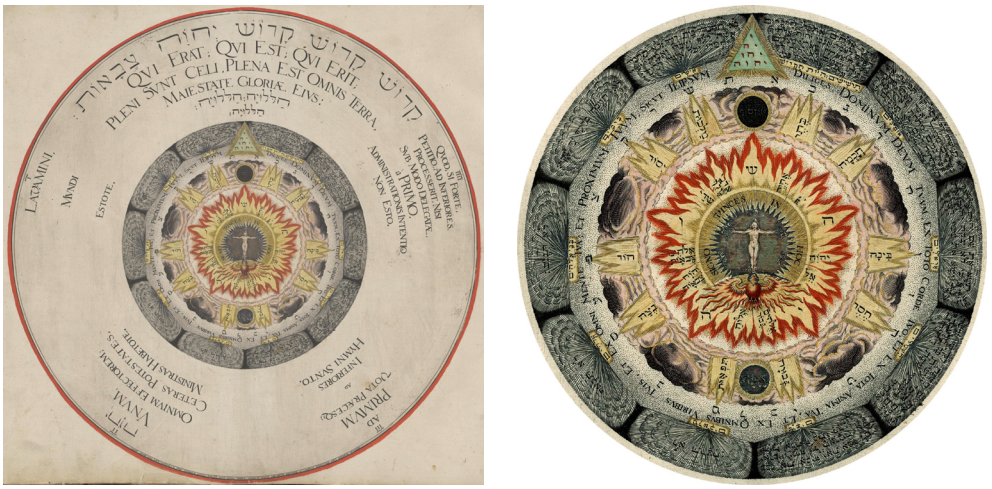


FIGURE 4.31 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595), Circular Figure 1, Left: Full engraving; Right: Centre detail. Memorial Library, Rare Books Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison

25 1. Circumference: Tetraktys and Decalogue

As on the *Amphitheatre*'s title page, we see the Pythagorean *Tetraktys* (Fig. 4.31), a symbol of the graduated descent of God's 'Light' into matter.[435] Reuchlin has much to say about it, calling it the 'source of everlastingness.'[436] It displays 'all the gods and the gods' powers, and is the source of perpetual nature dwelling in our minds', and its fourfold quality manifests in various ways as the four elements in Chaos, the four seasons in the Heavens, the four winds in the Air, the harmonic proportions of music, and so forth.[437] The *Tetraktys*'s four levels admit multiple readings, including the descending hierarchy of the four elements (Fire, Air, Water, Earth), the four magnitudes (point, line, plane, solid), the forms of simple bodies (pyramid, octahedron, icosahedron, and cube), or the faculties of judgement (intellect, science, opinion, sense).[438] Occurring in

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Dov Cooperman (ed.), *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983), 188–200, at 207 'The prayer of those versed in esoteric wisdom is superior … they know which prayer suits which particular emanation.' Cf. Gikatilla, *Gates of Light*, 13 'If one does not know how to concentrate on the very Name which is the key to the answer to his request, then who is to blame if the request is not granted?'

435 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 155.

436 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 151.

437 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 940–41 'omnibus dijs, Deorumque virtutibus praeferunt, & perpetuae naturae fontem esse in animos nostros manantem'.

438 See the second-century Neoplatonist Theon of Smyrna's description of eleven different sets of correspondences to the *Tetraktys* in *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad*

the writings of Pico, Agrippa, and Dee, the *Tetraktys* represented the entire numerological perfection from monad to decad.[439] As Severio Campanini observes, the number ten dominates theosophical Kabbalah as well as the Pythagorean tradition.[440]

Hence Khunrath's reference to ten as the 'symbolic number of total perfection' in his definition of the word *Elixeir* given above,[441] and to the Wise being penitentially clad in the 'Denary (Signature of perfection) garment of Regeneration,' calling to mind the Kabbalistic notion of the *Sephiroth* as garments.[442] In *On Primaterial Chaos*, Khunrath provides descriptors for the two forms of *Tetraktys* that he uses, that with points described as *Physico-Chymical* (Fig. 4.33), while the one with the Tetragramaton is *Divinely-Magical* (Fig. 4.32).[443] The latter includes a phrase from the Nicene Creed, 'Lumen de Lumine', where it is followed, in the original, by 'Deum verum de Deo vero', making clear that the 'Light from Light', 'True God from true God' is Christ. Khunrath glosses the phrase as 'A light from the Eternal Light', adding that it represents the 'Fifth Essence in Abstract, which some, in respect of the purest Spiritual Condensed named the Sixth [essence].'[444]

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legendum Platonem utilium (On Mathematics Useful for the Understanding of Plato), in Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 425. See also Siemen Terpstra, 'An Introduction to the Monochord', *Alexandria: The Journal of the Western Cosmological Traditions* 2 (1993): 137–166, at 147.

439 *Chaos* (1597), 209. Cf. Pico della Mirandola, *De Ente et Uno*, 60 and Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, 13; Josten, 'A Translation', 159. Christopher Whitby, *John Dee's Actions with Spirits* (London: Routledge, 1988; repr. 2013), Vol. 1, 130 mentions that in a letter to Rudolf II, Dee plays on the geometry (triangular) and alphabetical position (4th letter) of the Greek *delta* that symbolises his surname, calling himself 'Triplicis Alphabeti, litera Quarta', thereby linking his name with the *Tetraktys*. For the letter (August 17, 1584), see Casaubon, *A True and Faithful Relation*, 218. See Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, 197. For more on the Denary, see Johannes Meursius (1579–1639), *Denarius Pythagoricus, Sive, De Numerorum, usque ad denarium, qualitate, ac nominibus, secundum Pythagoricos* (Leiden, 1631).

440 Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', 363.

441 See also *Chaos* (1597), 54 'X, Denarium, PERFECTIONIS numerum, Zehen/ eine Symbolische Zal aller vollkommenheit.'

442 *Amph.*II, 93 'vestitu Regenerationis Denario (perfectionis SIGNATVRA) pœnitentialiter.' On *Sephiroth* as garments, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 104; *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment*, trans. Matt, 33.

443 *Chaos* (1597), 68 Tetraktys in margin with YHVH on it 'Lumen de Lumine, in exortum: Ein Licht vom ewigen Lichte'; 209 regular tetraktys of dots in margin: 'En, Physico-Chymice hic habes; Divino-Magice, pag. 68.'

444 *Chaos* (1597), 68 'Ein Licht vom ewigen Lichte. Essentia Quinta in Abstracto, quam nonnulli, respectu Concreti Spiritualis purissimi, Sextam nominarunt'.

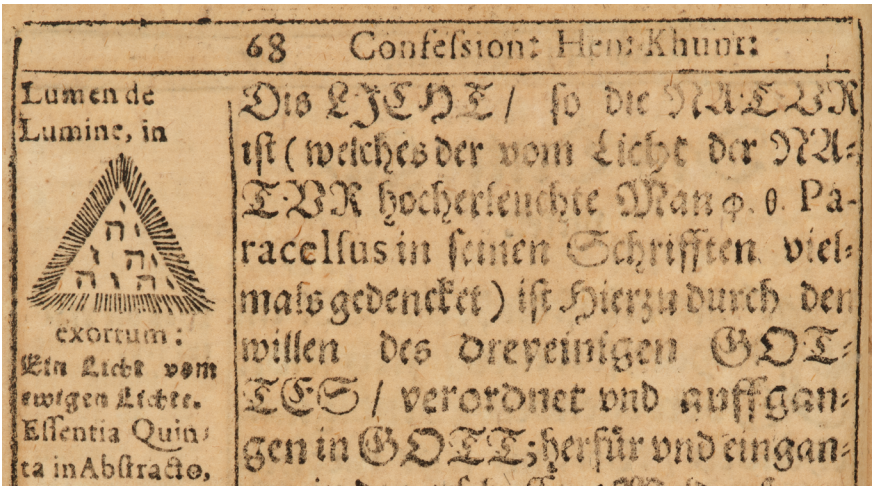


FIGURE 4.32 Khunrath, *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (1597), 68 Divinely-Magical Tetraktys. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 A

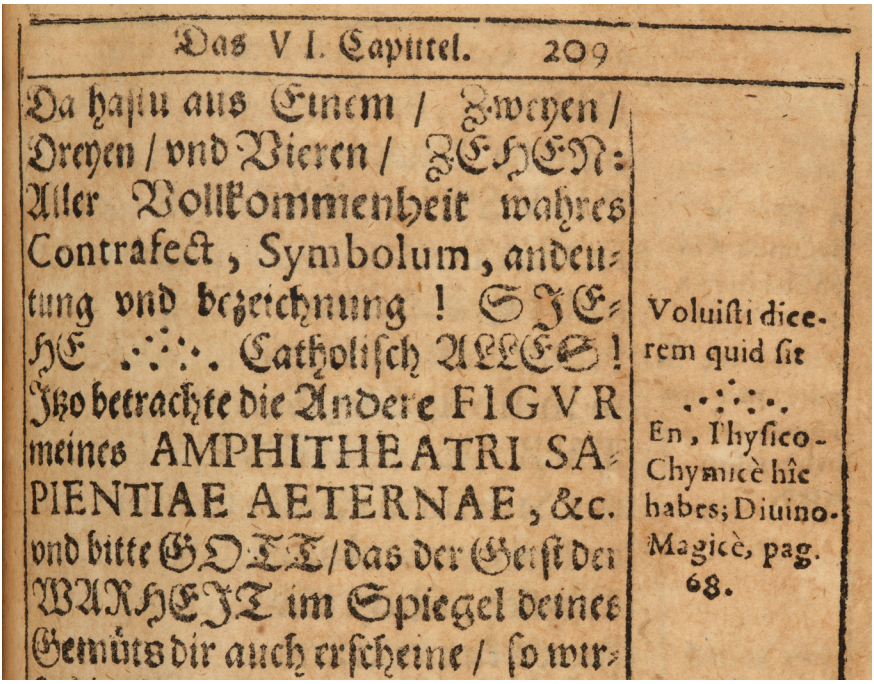


FIGURE 4.33 Khunrath, *Vom Hylealischen Chaos* (1597), 209 Physico-Chymical Tetraktys. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH2055 A



FIGURE 4.34
Three Versions of the Tetraktys, in Geißler, *Baum des Lebens* (1682), 61. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna

A useful indicator of how one of Khunrath's readers regarded the use of the Tetraktys appears in the *Baum des Lebens* (Tree of Life, 1682, Fig. 4.34) of the legal scholar Friedrich Geißler (1636–1679), who cites Khunrath's *Amphitheatre*, *Chaos*, and *Athanor* on more than one occasion, often in the company of Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*.[445] On one page Geißler includes a diagram labelled 'Scala sive Revolutio Cabalistica Denarii' (Ladder or Cabalistic Revolution of the Denary), with three versions of the Tetraktys, representing a 'Cabalistic Expansion of the Quaternary': 1) *Physico-Chemically* as the Tetraktys with ten points; 2) *Arithmetically* as the sum of the numbers 1 to 4; and 3) *Divinely-Magically* as the progressive manifestation of the Tetragrammaton yhvh (with the indication that this computes to the number lxxii, i.e., 72).[446]

445 See Friedrich Geißler, *Baum des Lebens, das ist: Gründlicher Bericht vom wahrhafftigen Auro Potabile wie ingleichen vom Wunderbahren Stein der Weisen/ oder Großen Elixir derer Philosophen* (Jena, 1682), 5, 25, 31, 33, 34–38, 44–46, 49, 41, 54, 59, 63 for references to Khunrath; 8, 40, 57, 60 to Dee; 16, 61, 64 to Dee and Khunrath. See also Friedrich Geißler, *Excellens Nostri Viridis Panacaea Leonis Cabalistice desumta: ex Illo Sapientum Antiquorum, Aenigmate: Visitabis Interiora Terrae, Rectificando, Invenies Occultum Lapidem Verae* (*Universae*) *Medicinae* (Nuremberg, 1678), 5, 7, 16 (where he refers to Khunrath's Isagoge to Circular Figure 3, the Rebis, Question 8, where Khunrath discusses the threefold regimen of the preparation of the Stone).

446 Geißler, *Baum des Lebens*, 61 'Quaternarii Expansio cabalistica.' The very same page discusses Theorem xx of Dee's Monas: 'Monas per Binarium, Ternariumque progressa in Quaternario purificato, sibi uni restituatur (per Aequalitatis proportionem),' immediately followed by a reference to Khunrath 'in *Amphitheatro* Fig. 3. in Circumscriptione: Rejiciatur binarius, & ternarius, per quaternarium ad monadis reducetur, simplicitatem. Worüber die Erklährung. Idem Khunrath setzet: *Tract. de Chao* pag. 203. 204.'



FIGURE 4.35 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), title page detail: Tetragrammaton & Tetraktys. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Shelfmark 3, 273c, 01293 S-1977

In the *Amphitheatre*'s First Circular Figure and on the 1609 title page the original points of the Greek Tetraktys have been replaced by the Hebrew letters of the *Tetragrammaton*, YHVH, a variant that Khunrath would have known from Book 2 of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.[447] This combination is discussed by Reuchlin in *De Arte Cabalistica*, when the character Marranus says:

> It seems to me that Pythagoras took from the Jews' Tetragrammaton, or rather the four letters which go to make up the name of the savior, and changed it into the Greek Tetraktys symbol.[448]

The progression of the letters Y, YH, YHV, YHVH (י *Yod*, ה *Heh*, ו *Vav*, ה *Heh*, Fig. 4.35) as hypostases possibly intimate of the emanations of God's power down through the Four Worlds: from the Divine World of *Azilut*, through the Spiritual World of *Beriah* and the Formative World of *Yetzirah* to the Physical World of *Assiyah*.[449]

The following page refers the reader to Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, 'Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Elementa sunt singula TRIPLICIA, ut sic QUATERNARIUS compleat DUODENARIUM: & per SEPTENARIUM in DENARIUM progrediens, ad supremam Unitatem (unde omnis Virtus & mirabilis Operatio dependet) fiat Progressus.'

447 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), Cap. XIII. 'De Decade, & eius scala', 219.

448 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 157. For more on 'The Tetraktys and the Tetragrammaton as Symbol', see Idel, 'Johannes Reuchlin: Kabbalah, Pythagorean Philosophy and Modern Scholarship', 141ff.

449 De Guaita, 'An analysis of the Rosy-Cross after Heinrich Khunrath', in *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, edited by Adam McLean and translated by Patricia Tahil (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus 7, 1981), 53–67, at 54 suggests this symbolises the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Living Universe. Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi, *Kabbalah: Tradition of Hidden Knowledge* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980; repr. 2005), 78 suggests that 'the outer circle of Ten Commandments represents the Physical World of Asiyyah, the Hebrew alphabet the Formative World of Yezirah, the Sefirot … the Creative World of

One possible analysis of this sequence of letters could be the descent from the initial point of the *Yod*, which signifies the number ten as the Denary contains all perfection within itself. Reuchlin explains that 'Yod, that is, is named the beginning and the denary, that is, it designates the end of number, and most simply penetrates every number, since it bears the sign (nota) of unity.'[450] On the next level *Yod* joins with *Heh* to become the divine name *Yah*, connected in Circular Figure 1 with *Chochmah* (Wisdom). The third tier of the Tetraktys holds the name *Yod Heh Vav* (Yehou), with permutations of which the *Sepher Yetzirah* says God sealed the six extremities of the universe (the dimensions of above, below, east, west, north, south).[451] In a similar fashion, in *De Arte Cabalistica*, Reuchlin calls it 'the seal of God with which *Ehieh* sealed the world'.[452]

Beriah, and the corresponding God-Names (fiery circle) the divine world of Azilut.' The same interpretation can be found in Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century*, 43. These four worlds are described by Kircher in *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1653), Vol. 2, 435–437, highest to lowest as Archetypal, Angelic, Celestial and Elemental.

450 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 942 'Iod: id est, principium nominetur, & denarium: id est, finem numeri designet, & omnem numerum simplicissime penetret, quoniam notam prae se ferat unitatis.'

451 *Liber de Creatione*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 869–870 '*Quinque*] sigillavit superius & suspexit: sigillavit cum יהו. Sex] sigillavit inferius & despexit: & sigillavit cum יוה. *Septem*] sigillavit oriens & antespexit & sigillavit cum היו. *Octo*] sigillavit occidens & retrospexit & sigillavit cum והי. *Novem*] sigillavit meridiem, respexit à dextra & sigillavit cum ויה. Decem signavit septentrionem & respexit à sinistra & sigillavit cum הוי. Haec sunt decem ineffabilia, Spiritus Dei vivi, Aer, Aqua, Ignis, Sursum, Deorsum, Oriens, Occidens, Septentrio, Meridies.' Adapted from Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 89–90 'Five] He sealed above and he turned upwards and sealed it with YHW. Six] He sealed below and he turned downwards and sealed it with YWH. Seven] He sealed the east and he turned in front and sealed it with HYW. Eight] He sealed the west and turned behind and sealed it with WHY. Nine] He sealed the south, turned to his right and sealed it with WYH. Ten] He sealed the north and turned to his left and sealed it with HWY. These are the ten ineffable things [Hayman: '*Sefirot*'], the Spirit of the living God, Air, Water, Fire, Above, Below, East, West, North, South.' Hayman provides three recensions, which do not agree on the assignment of permutations of the three letters to the various directions; nor do they fully agree with the version in Pistorius. For more on 'Yehou', see note 547 below.

452 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 300 'Est enim sigillum Dei יהו quo Ehieh sigillavit mundum, & dicitur אמת id est verum, quippe quod in seipsum arithmetice multiplicando nascitur.' See Agostino Giustiniani, *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldaeum* (1516), 138r–140r, cited in Saverio Campanini, 'On Abraham's Neck. The *Editio Princeps* of the *Sefer Yesirah* (Mantua 1562) and Its Context', in Giuseppe Veltri and Gianfranco Miletto (eds.), *Rabbi Judah Moscato and the Jewish Intellectual World of Mantua in the 16th–17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 253–278, at 263. See also Gaffarel, *Abdita Divinae Cabalae Mysteria* (Paris, 1625), 45 'Sigillum Dei est IHV, Iehou, quo Ehieh

Finally, as the foundation, we have the most powerful Jewish divine name יהוה *Yod Heh Vav Heh*, the Tetragrammaton. Its letters represent a numerical progression: *Yod* as the first letter is both 10 and 1. The second letter *He* has the alphanumeric value of 5 and contains the numbers 2 + 3. Reuchlin explains that 'the Binary and first Ternary form the Quinary, which produced by the supreme light [is] the first ray of the intellectual World'.[453] The third letter *Vav*, with the value of 6, functions grammatically as the coordinating conjunction "and" – as in *Esch va Maim* (Fire and Water) – and as such Reuchlin explains that it links the numbers 1 + 2 + 3.[454] After a brief passage praising Man as a great miracle, after the fashion of the Hermetic *Asclepius*, quoted by Pico in his Oration, and his ability to transform into the nature of God, to know daemons, and be conjoined with divinity, and how the rational soul is the medium between the visible and invisible worlds, Reuchlin tells us that the final *He* represents the midpoint of the denary, and as such symbolises the 'reduction of man to divinity'.[455]

As mentioneed above, by adding up the sums of each row of Hebrew letters in this version of the Tetraktys we discover the numerical sequence 10 + 15 + 21 + 26 = 72, the total representing the traditional Kabbalistic doctrine, found in the *Sepher Raziel*,[456] as well as works of Christian Cabala, such as Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* and Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*,[457] of the *Shemhamphorasch* in its manifestation as the seventy-two-fold Name of God, derived boustrophedonically from the three verses of Exodus 14:19–21.[458] An alternative Christian-Cabalist reading is that it symbolises seventy-two Names of God, and their corresponding angels, traditionally linked with 72 verses, mostly from the Psalms, which contain 3-letter Hebrew names of God.[459]

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sigillavit mundum, & dicitur EMT, Emet, id est verum, quippe in seipsum arithmetice multiplicando nascitur.'

453 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 943 'binario & primo ternario, constat quinarius, qui productum a suprema luce, prima intellectualis Mundi radium.'

454 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 943–4.

455 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 945 'Haec est ultima ה He, reductio quidem hominis ad divinitatem, hic est finis, his terminus, haec meta, hic limes & perfectio nominis huius'.

456 Lawrence Schiffmann and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 119.

457 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), Lib.3, Cap.25 refers to the 72 angels of the Schemhamphorae.

458 Copenhaver, 'Number, Shape, and Meaning in Pico's Christian Cabala', 50.

459 See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 275. Presumably, influenced by just this computation, [Arndt], *Judicium*, 118 mistakenly believes that the outer ring of Circular Figure 1 contains the seventy-two names of God 'Und sind die Hebreische Namen/ die im Circkel stehen: Erstlich GOTTES namen/ oder Göttliche krafft: Dann GOTTES Namen sind

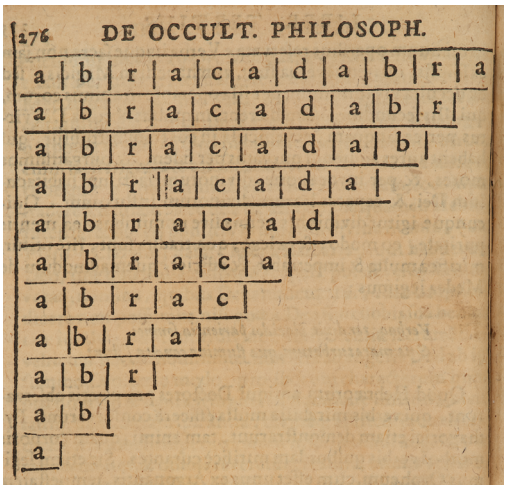


FIGURE 4.36
Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), 276. *Abracadabra* formula of Serenus. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 62-6338

A telling example of the risk Khunrath took in presenting such a combination of Pythagorean numerology and Hebrew letters can be found in Libavius's *De abominabili impietate magiæ Paracelsicæ* (On the Abominable Impiety of Paracelsian Magic, 1615), in which the author accuses Khunrath of imitating the third-century pyramidical figure of the *Abracadabra* formula of Serenus (Fig. 4.36), thereby associating himself with Simon Magus (condemned in the Acts of the Apostles) and other magicians of ill repute.[460]

It could well be the case that Khunrath was aware of the derivation of the *Abracadabra* formula from the Hebrew אב [*Ab*], בן [*Ben*] and רוח הקדש [*Ruach ha-Kodesh* – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit].[461]

The Name (literally "ha-shem") on the fourth and final row of his Cabalistic *Tetraktys*, YHVH, is the most immediate expression of God's creative and providential power,[462] known in Kabbalistic tradition as the First of the 'Fifty Gates

Göttliche krefften/ Derer Namen GOTTES sind 72.' That it really contains the Decalogue was recognised, however, by Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 101: 'globus cum decalogo nominibus Dei'.

460 Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 62. See Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 476, 481, 828 for the connection of 'Abracadabra' with the early third-century Roman Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, author of the *Liber Medicinalis* or *De medicina præcepta saluberrima*, who in chapter 51 recommends an amulet against malaria in the form of the Abracadabra triangle.

461 Paolo Martino, *Abracadabra* (Rome: Editrice «il Calamo», 1998), 18 *Ab, Ben Ruah-hakodesh*. See, however, Athanasius Kircher, *Arithmologia, sive De abditis Numerorum mysteriis* (Rome, 1665), 192–193 who claims it derives from the name of the gnostic Aeon Abraxas.

462 Wald, *The Doctrine of the Divine Name*, 61.

of Understanding'.[463] Libavius states as much a few pages further on in his condemnation of Khunrath:

> In the preceding figure, in which the Decalogue is engraved in Hebrew with the names of God, and other things, he ascends through *Ensoph* to the magical triangle of Jehovah. Indeed, the Magi have 50 Gates of Intelligences from the five predicables and the ten predicates, multiplied among themselves.[464]

Driving home the importance of this first circular Amphitheatral figure as a representation of the totality of God, is the single word *Omnia* (All) beneath the Tetraktys, as in Khunrath's oft-used expression 'Omnia in Omnibus', from Corinthians, God is 'All in all.'[465] The Tetraktys is embedded in the outermost ring of Khunrath's circular figure, that which contains an edited down version of the Hebrew of the Decalogue from Exodus 20:1–17.[466]

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463 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 253. *Amph.*II, 73 'Tu Christiano-Cabalista, Physico-Mage, & Physico-Chemista, Orando & Laborando (quemadmodum docet Amphitheatrum hoc) sapienter ingrediendo per quinquaginta Intelligentiæ portas, circa quas studia tantopere desudant Cabalistarum, Diuinitus à Mosáh Dei seruo receptas, & Gen.1. ordine miro annotatas' (Oh you, Christian Cabalist, Physical-Mage, and Physical-Chemist, by Praying and Working (as this Amphitheatre teaches) by wisely entering through the fifty gates of Understanding, to which endeavours so many of the Cabalists exert themselves, Divinely received by Moses the servant of God and noted down in wonderful order in Genesis 1). On the Tetragrammaton, see Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, Chapter 9 'The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton', 313–350; Chapter 12 'The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists', 416–459. See also Brian Ogren, 'The Forty-Nine Gates of Wisdom as Forty-Nine Ways to Christ: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's Heptaplus and Nahmanidean Kabbalah', *Rinascimento* 49 (2009): 27–43.

464 Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 69 'In praecedente figura, cui *Decalogum* Hebraice inscripsit cum *Dei nominibus*, & aliis, per *Ensoph* ad *triangulum magicum Iehovah ascendit*. Magi etiam 50. portas habent intelligentiarum ex quinque praedicabilibus & 10. praedicamentis inter se multiplicatis.' On the predicables and predicates, see, for example, Joseph M. Victor, *Charles de Bovelles, 1479–1553: An Intellectual Biography* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1978), 132 concerning Ramon Lull's *Liber de Quinque Praedicabilibus et Decem Praedicamentis* (1313). The 5 *praedicabiles termini* or predicable terms: genus, species, difference, particularity, and accidents and 10 distinctions or predicates: substance, quantity, quality, relation, action, *passio*, *habitus*, *situs*, time and place.

465 1 Corinthians 12:6; 15:28.

466 There is another version at Deuteronomy 5:6–21. See *The Zohar*, trans. Sperling and Simon, Vol. 1, 23 for a reference to the first and second versions of the Ten Commandments. For more on the various versions of the Decalogue, see Joseph P. Hester, *The Ten Commandments: A Handbook of Religious, Legal and Social Issues* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2003).

TABLE 4.4 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595/1609), Circular Figure 1 Hebrew in the 10 sections of the circumference

Circular Figure 1, moving clockwise from the Tetraktys	Khunrath's Hebrew text Exodus 20:1–13	Exodus :– (King James Version), with biblical verse numbers provided, the same as the Luther Bibel (1545)
1	וַיְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהִים, אֵת כָּל-הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לֵאמֹר	1. And God spake all these words, saying,
	אָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים:	2. I am the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.
	לֹא-יִהְיֶה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, עַל-פָּנָי	3. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
2	לֹא-תַעֲשֶׂה לְךָ פֶסֶל, וְכָל-תְּמוּנָה, אֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל, וַאֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ מִתָּחַת – וַאֲשֶׁר בַּמַּיִם, מִתַּחַת לָאָרֶץ.	4. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.
	לֹא-תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָהֶם, וְלֹא תָעָבְדֵם: כִּי אָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ,	5. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I am the LORD thy God.
3	לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת-שֵׁם-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ, לַשָּׁוְא: כִּי לֹא יְנַקֶּה יְהוָה, אֵת אֲשֶׁר-יִשָּׂא אֶת-שְׁמוֹ לַשָּׁוְא	7. Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.
4	זָכוֹר אֶת-יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, לְקַדְּשׁוֹ	8. Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.
	שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד, וְעָשִׂיתָ כָּל-מְלַאכְתֶּךָ	9. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work.
	וְיוֹם, הַשְּׁבִיעִי-שַׁבָּת, לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	10. But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God.

TABLE 4.4 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595/1609) (*cont.*)

Circular Figure 1, moving clockwise from the Tetraktys	**Khunrath's Hebrew text Exodus 20:1–13**	**Exodus :– (King James Version), with biblical verse numbers provided, the same as the Luther Bibel (1545)**
5	כַּבֵּד אֶת-אָבִיךָ, וְאֶת-אִמֶּךָ – לְמַעַן, יַאֲרִכוּן יָמֶיךָ, עַל הָאֲדָמָה, אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ	12. Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
6	לֹא תִרְצָח	13. Thou shalt not kill.
7	לֹא תִנְאָף	14. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8	לֹא תִגְנֹב	14. Thou shalt not steal.
9	לֹא-תַעֲנֶה בְרֵעֲךָ עֵד שָׁקֶר	16. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
10	לֹא תַחְמֹד, בֵּית רֵעֶךָ; לֹא-תַחְמֹד אֵשֶׁת רֵעֶךָ, וְעַבְדּוֹ וַאֲמָתוֹ וְשׁוֹרוֹ וַחֲמֹרוֹ, וְכֹל, אֲשֶׁר לְרֵעֶךָ	17. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

Although Khunrath sounds slightly apologetic about the presence of Hebrew in this first figure (Table 4.4),[467] that is probably more concerning the technical terms of the *Sephiroth* and *Shemoth*, for the Hebrew Decalogue was already available in works like Gilbert Génébrard's *Hebraicum Alphabetum* (1564), which includes a parallel-text version, or Elias Huther's *Künstlich New ABC Buch* (1593), which aimed to introduce young Christian men to the Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer and so forth in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German.[468] It is interesting to note, however, that a manuscript copy of the

467 *Amph.*II, 82 'Quærat aliquis, cur introduxerim in Amphitheatrum hoc HEBRÆA?' (Someone may ask why I have introduced HEBREW into this Amphitheatre?).

468 Elias Hutherus, *Künstlich New ABC Buch, darauß ein Junger Knabe/ die nötigsten vier Hauptsprachen Ebraisch, Grieckisch, Lateinish, Deutsch zugleich so leicht/ als ein allein/ mit grossem vortheil lesen lernen kan/ allgemeiner Christlichen Jugend zum besten angestellet* (Hamburg, 1593), sig. Cij^{v}–D^{r} 'Decem Praecepta' D^{v}–Diiij^{r} 'Symbolum Apostolicum';

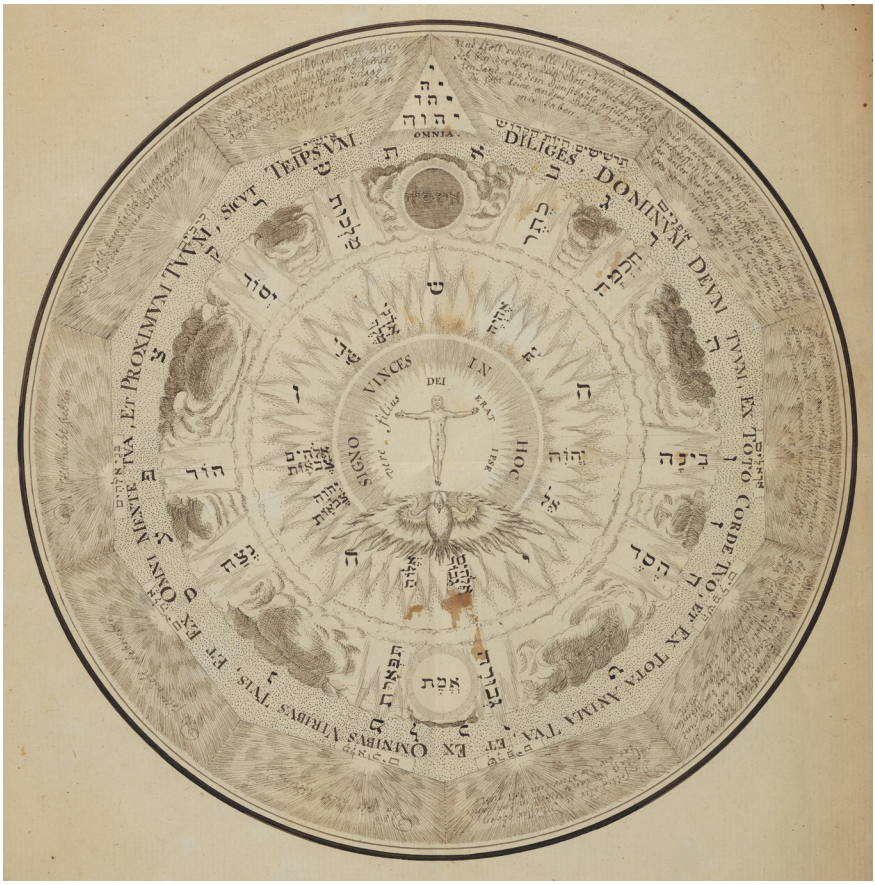


FIGURE 4.37 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Circular Figure 1, Decalogue Translated into German. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Ms. 3263

Amphitheatre in Darmstadt has replaced the Hebrew with a German translation of the Decalogue in its reproduction of Circular Figure 1 (Fig. 4.37). Apparently it was overwhelming for at least one reader.

The reason for the high profile presence of the Decalogue, presumably, is that for the purposes of the theosophical practitioner all spiritual work necessarily begins with observing the Ten Commandments, the common ground on which Talmudist and Kabbalist, orthodox Christian, Catholic or Protestant, familiar, for example, with Luther's *Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote* (A Short Exposition of the Decalogue, 1520), and Christian Cabalist all base their

Diiij^{v}–E^{r} 'Oratio Dominica'; followed by sacraments; benedictions, thanksgivings; Giij^{v}–Giiij^{r} 'Numeri'; Huther provides both Hebrew script and transliteration.

religious practice.[469] Khunrath calls his reader's attention to the 'mystery' of this particular 'Denary' in *Magnesia* (1599), with a reference to Philo's *Liber de Decalogo* (Book on the Decalogue), calling it the 'perfect Number, most familiar to GOD, and the equal of all Wisdom'.[470] For Khunrath the Christian Cabalist, a firm believer in the continuing possibility of personal divine revelation, the Decalogue must surely have been a memorial of Moses's own divine encounter and subsequent reception of sacred law on Mount Sinai.

Although Idel argues that Christian Cabalists marginalised the role of the Commandments and consequently diminished the theurgical impact of ritual performance,[471] such would seem not to be the case with Khunrath, who, while he may well have placed them at the circumference of his image, presents them as the interface between humanity, the angelic and the divine.

26 2. The Angelic Hierarchy

TABLE 4.5 The Decalogue aligned with the Angelic Orders

1	Thou shalt have no other gods before me.	*Tarshishim/Hayoth ha-Qadosh*
2	Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.	*Ophanim*
3	Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain.	*Aralim*
4	Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.	*Chashmalim*
5	Honour thy Father and thy Mother.	*Seraphim*
6	Thou shalt not kill.	*Malachim*
7	Thou shalt not commit adultery.	*Elohim*
8	Thou shalt not steal.	*Bene Elohim*
9	Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.	*Cherubim*
10	Thou shalt not covet.	*Aishim*

469 See Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', 363 'The main limbs of the body of the Law are the commandments of the Decalogue.'

470 *Magnesia*, 55 'Denarium, Philo lib: de Decalogo, Numerum DEO familiarissimum, perfectum, & totius Sapientiæ comparem appellat. Nota mysterium.' On the virtues of the denary, see Philo, *On the Decalogue*, trans. F.H. Colson, Vol. VII, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937; repr. 1998), 15–21.

471 Idel, 'Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah', 56.

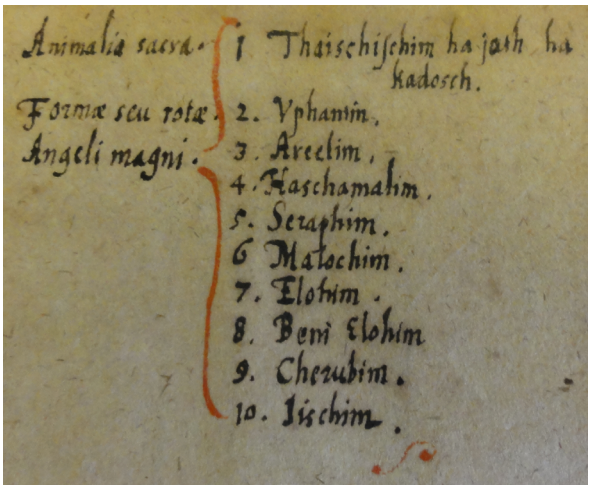


FIGURE 4.38
Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1609), Angelic Orders on one of the end-pages. Michael Innes Collection, Warburg Institute, London, Shelfmark FGH 5602

Moving inwards from the Ten Commandments we discover the names of ten orders of angelic beings, appearing in a ring, suggesting perhaps a corresponding angelic 'choir' presiding over each commandment (Table 4.5).[472] The names are given in Hebrew and a copy of the 1609 *Amphitheatre* in the Warburg Institute, London gives the sense that Hebrew was unfamiliar to at least some of Khunrath's early readers, with a transliteration of the angelic orders in a seventeenth-century hand provided in the margin (Fig. 4.38).[473]

These names are given as the תרשישים *Tarshishim* (Brilliant Ones/Splendours) or חיות הקדוש *Chayoth ha-Kadosh* (Holy Living Ones/Creatures), אופנים *Ophanim* (Wheels), אראלים *Aralim* (Brave Ones/Heroes), חשמלים *Chashmalim* (Glowing Ones/Heralds), שרפים *Seraphim* (Burning Ones), מלאכים *Malachim* (Messengers), אלהים *Elohim* (Godly Beings/Rulers), בני אלהים *Bene Elohim* (Sons of Elohim), כרבים *Cherubim* (Fullness of Knowledge/Powers), and אישים *Aishim* (Men/Man-like Beings).[474] Various lists of the angelic orders exist.

472 The Law (of Moses) is said to have been given through angels in Acts 7:53 or spoken by angels in Hebrews 2:2. See *The Mage's Images*, Vol. 3, Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic for tables concerning the angelic orders in relation to the commandments, etc.

473 It is interesting to note that engravings of angels taken from an unidentified early modern publication have been bound in at various section breaks, e.g., the image of Uriel, for example, between 184–185 just before *Isagoge* 1.

474 In an unpublished commentary on Pico's Cabalistic Conclusions Numbering 47, with reference to the second conclusion, Brian Copenhaver provides a list from the Zohar: '*mal'akim*, *'er'elim*, *serapim*, *hayyot*, *'opanim*, *hamsal'im* (*hasmal'im*), *'elim* (*kerubim*), *'elohim*, *beney 'elohim*, *'isim*, meaning Messengers, Heroes, Burners, Living Things, Wheels, Heralds, Powers, Rulers, Sons of God and Men'. On these angelic orders, see *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. The etymology of Cherubim is disputed. I am following

The Bible mentions nine, although there are usually ten orders in Jewish tradition.[475] Dionysius the Areopagite discusses nine orders in detail in his *De Coelesti Hierarchia* (On the Celestial Hierarchy),[476] as does Duns Scotus in his *De Angelis* (On Angels),[477] and Pico della Mirandola lists nine orders in his *Cabalistic Conclusions*.[478] Although Reuchlin's focus is more on the Divine Names of God, he too mentions some of these orders (*Hasmalim*, *Haioth*, *Ophanim*, and *Tharsisim*) as well as one or two particular names of angels in *De Verbo Mirifico* (*Uriel*, *Asariel*, *Zuriel*, *Abir*, and *Maetattron*), expanded into a list of 72 angelic names in *De Arte Cabalistica*.[479] There does not seem to have been a clear consensus on either the choice or sequence of angelic orders, particularly when one, *Elohim*, is also a name of God (even though it literally translates as 'gods', being the plural form of the divine name *El*).[480] Likewise, *Malachim* is often taken as 'angels' or 'messengers' in Greek, but also 'gods' in Latin.[481] Given Khunrath's familiarity with the works of Agrippa, it seems safe to assume that this sequence most likely derives from *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533) or from Paolo Ricci's *De Coelesti Agricultura* (1541, Table 4.6).[482]

Pico della Mirandola's play on the Augustinian interpretation of cherubim as *plenitudo scientiae*. See Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*, 80. For more see G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, translated by David E. Green (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995), Vol. 7, 307ff, which discusses various possibilities, including 'pray, bless', plow, bring near, unite.

475 For references, see Isaiah 6:2 (*Seraphim*); Genesis 3:24 (*Cherubim*); Colossians 1:16 (*Thrones*, *Dominations*, *Principalities*, *Powers*); Ephesians 1.21 (*Principality*, *Power*, *Virtue*, *Dominion*); Romans 8:38 (*Angels*, *Principalities*, *Powers*). See Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 284. Chayot ha Kodesh (Ezekiel chaps 1 & 10); Ophanim (Ezekiel 1 & 10); Erelim (Isaiah 33:7); Hashmallim (Ezekiel 1:4); Seraphim (Isaiah 6); Malakim (messengers, angels); Elohim (Godly beings); 'Bene Elohim (Sons of Godly beings); Ishim (manlike beings) (Genesis 18:2; Daniel 10:5).

476 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, translated by Colm Luibheid and Paul Rorem (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1987), 143–191. See also Andrew Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989), Chapter 3, The Angelic Choirs.

477 Scotus Academicus, *De Angelis* (Rome: Typographia Sallustiana, 1901), 71ff.

478 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 346–7. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 22.

479 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, Lib.II, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 946; *De arte cabalistica* in idem, Lib.III, 697–698.

480 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 263.

481 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 265.

482 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CXXVIII, Book 2, Chapter 13 'Of the Number Ten, and the Scale thereof', where he mentions that his list is according to Dionysius, according to Hebrew traditions. Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 121 'Archetypi hominis membra decem sunt ordines angelorum, quos Hebraico uocabulo appellant Haias Hakadesch, Offanim, Erelim, Hasmalim, Seraphim, Malachim, Elohim,

TABLE 4.6 Comparison of Angelic Orders

Ricci	*Haias Hakadesch*	*Offanim*	*Erelim*	*Hasmalim*	*Seraphim*	*Malachim*	*Elohim*	*Bene elohim*	*Cherubim*	*Ischim*
Pico	*Cherubim*	*Seraphim*	*Hasmalim*	*Haiot*	*Aralim*	*Tarsisim*	*Ophanim*	*Tephsarim*	*Isim*	–
Reuchlin	*Hayoth hakodesh*	*Ophanim*	*Aralim*	*Hasmalim*	*Seraphim*	*Malakhim*	*Elohim*	*Ben Elohim*	*Cherubim*	*Ishim*
Agrippa	*Haioth hakados*	*Ophanim*	*Aralim*	*Hasmallim*	*Seraphim*	*Malachim*	*Elohim*	*Bne Elohim*	*Cherubim*	*Issim*
Khunrath	*Tarshishim Chayoth ha-Kadosh*	*Ophanim*	*Aralim*	*Chasmalim*	*Seraphim*	*Malachim*	*Elohim*	*Beni Elohim*	*Cherubim*	*Aishim*

According to Reuchlin, it is by contact with angelic powers that a man can learn of the Divine Names of God and come to perform miracles.[483] Through invoking the angels by their names the Christian Cabalist strives to cultivate their friendship and thus to connect with those beings delegated by God to manage all the forces of creation, on whom depend the operations of the firmament, the heavenly bodies and their virtues, and the lower powers of nature.[484] This is clearly an aspect of Cabala that has links with magical practice and further discussion of Khunrath's dealings with angels will be reserved for the following chapter's analysis of his 'Hyperphysical' magic.

27 3. A Prayer for Christians and Jews

Moving inwards once more within Circular Figure One, in the next ring we find a Latin translation of a verse from the beginning of the *Shema* prayer:

Bene elohim, Cherubim. Sacra uerò Theologorum schola hos ordines uocat, Seraphim, Cherubim, thronos, dominationes, uirtutes, potestates, principatus, archangelos, angelosque. Decimus uerò ordo est, quem Cabalei unà cum pluribus priscorum Theologorum, atque Peripateticorum sapientum animasticum dicunt, & Hebræa uoce Ischim (hoc est uiros) cognominant.' Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder. Das ikonologische Programme von Khunraths *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*', 47 mentions 50 names of angels taken from Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica* (1517), 70; Pistorius, 715. For Reuchlin's list, see *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 321. For Pico's list, see Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 'Forty-Seven Cabalistic Conclusions … These according to the Opinions of Others', 346 28.2 'Novem sunt angelorum hierarchiae quarum nomina Cherubim, Seraphim, Hasmalim, Haiot, Aralim, Tarsisim, Ophanim, Tephsarim, Isim'.

483 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 123.

484 [Arndt], *Judicium*, 105.

'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thine Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy might' (KJV), the saying of which, according to Gikatilla, 'opens the gates of prayer.'[485] Khunrath must be well aware, of course, that this verse from Deuteronomy 6:5 appears in slightly different versions in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. A quick comparison of the Latin shows that Khunrath is quoting Luke 10:27: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and they neighbour as theyself' (KJV).[486] The end of the quote from Luke is the fundamental Jewish religious commandment from Leviticus 19:18, 'and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself',[487] which of course also happens to be an influential statement from Matthew 19:19.[488] This combination of both Old and New Testament verses acknowledges Christian debt to the Jewish tradition and must have been a valuable example for Khunrath of how Christianity and Kabbalah could be shown to be in harmony, for the gospel of Matthew 22:36–9 describes these injunctions as being the first and second great commandments of the Law.[489] Readers familiar with the works of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola would have recognised this verse from the Christian Cabalist context of his *Conclusions*.[490] Paracelsians familiar with Dorn's compilation, *The Compendium of Great Astronomy* (1584) would have encountered the same

485 *Shema Yisrael* (Hear, O Israel), the first two words of Deuteronomy 6:4. Khunrath's phrase is from the following verse, Deuteronomy 6:5 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua, …'. Cf. Gikatilla, *The Gates of Light*, 38. On the significance of the *Shema* Prayer in Judaism, see Norman Lamm, *The Shema: Spirituality and Law in Judaism* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1998).

486 Circular Figure 1: 'Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum, Ex Toto Corde Tuo, Et Ex Tota Anima Tua, Et Ex Omnibus Viribus Tuis, Et Ex Omni Mente Tua; Et Proximum Tuum, Sicut Teipsum'. Luke 10:27 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis, et ex omni mente tua et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.' Cf. Matthew 22:37 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua'. Mark 12:30 'diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, et ex tota virtute tua.' Khunrath's Latin version of Luke follows that found in both Stephanus, *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (Geneva, 1557), Vol. 2, 88 and the Sistine and Clementine Vulgates, published, respectively, as *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis* (Rome, 1590 and 1592), 961.

487 Cf. Douay translation: 'Thou shalt love thy friend as thyself.' 'Diliges dominum deum tuum, ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis, et ex omni mente tua; et proximum tuum, sicut teipsum'.

488 'Honour thy father and thy mother, and, Thou shalt love they neighbour as thyself' (KJV).

489 Matthew 22:36–9 'Master, which is the greatest commandment in the law? Jesus said to him: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

490 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 547 11>64. In the text, *Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*, etc from Deuteronomy 6:4, which are the opening words of the liturgical Shema.

verse in a discussion of the 'ars Cabalistica' or 'Gabalia' in relation to magic, with the warning that unless one observes this advice and rejects all vice, one does not become a Magus.[491]

28 4. 22 Foundational Letters

Emerging from this heart-felt exhortation is a ring of the 22 foundational letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which Reuchlin tells us are 'the basis of the world and of the Law.'[492] Wolfson comments on how 'the theurgic efficacy accorded the letters of the Hebrew alphabet,' and 'the kabbalistic understanding of language as the locus of secrecy captivated Reuchlin's imagination'. He mentions a passage in which Reuchlin 'speaks of the "alphabetical Kabbalah" (alphabeticaria haec Cabala) through which "are laid open the greatest mysteries of the divine" (arcana diuinorum maxima).'[493]

Readers familiar with the Book of Psalms would probably have connected these 22 letters with the Bible open on Khunrath's Oratory table in his fourth circular figure (Fig. 4.39), which declares 'יהוה facit voluntatem timentium eum. P[salmus] 145' (Yehovah, does the will of them that fear him, Psalm 145:19). This is 'the most famous of all liturgical psalms', and, according to the Talmud, whoever recites it daily is 'assured of a place in the World to come.'[494] Psalm 145 and in particular this verse, 'He will do the will of them that fear him: and he will hear their prayer, and save them',[495] clearly holds an important message for Khunrath, for he quotes or cites it several times in the *Amphitheatre*: 'For the LORD (there is nothing more certain) will do your will, you who fear him';[496] 'For nothing is impossible to him who believes, because the LORD does the will of them that fear him'.[497] It drives home the sapiential message of Proverbs 1:7

491 Paracelsus, *De Naturalium & supernaturalium arcanorum, mysteriorum, Dei quoque magnalium, ad artes & scientias adeptas consequendum optima consideratione: Compendium* (Frankfurt, 1584), 453.

492 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 329. Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 108.

493 Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 325, 327. See Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517), LXXIIII[r]; idem, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 335.

494 Arnold S. Rosenberg, *Jewish Liturgy as a Spiritual System: A Prayer-by-Prayer Explanation of the Nature and Meaning of Jewish Worship* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 57.

495 Douay Vulgate Psalm 144:19.

496 *Amph.*II, 4 'Faciet enim DOMINVS (nihil certius) voluntatem tuam, qui times eum, Psal.145,19'.

497 *Amph.*II, 72 'Huic enim credenti nihil impossibile, quia DOMINVS facit voluntatem timentium eum, Psalm.145.19.' See also *Amph.*II, 119 'On the other hand, [the opposite] is the highest consolation, which our Sage sings here in Psalm 145:18, The LORD is nigh

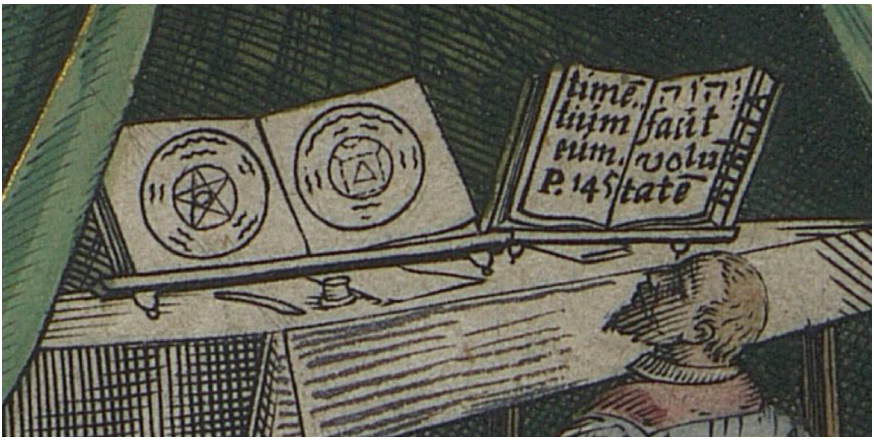


FIGURE 4.39 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595) *Oratory-Laboratory*, detail: Psalm 145. Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz, Shelfmark 46 N. 11

that 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom'. In the context of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, Psalm 145 is arguably the most structured acrostic poem in the Bible, because each verse begins with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet, moving from Aleph to Tau.[498]

Agrippa similarly calls the letters 'the foundation of the world, and of the creatures that are, and are named in it, and every saying'.[499] His description of the number 22 as signifying the 'fullness of Wisdom' must also surely have been in Khunrath's mind, given the *Amphitheatre*'s title, as well as Dee's assertion in the *Monas* of the importance of God's gift of letters to mankind.[500] Commenting on Khunrath's engraving, the nineteenth-century founder of the Ordre

unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. He will do the will of them that fear him: and he will hear their prayer, and save them' (E conuerso summa est consolatio, quod Sapiens noster hîc cum Psalmo 155,18 [sic] cantat: propè est DOMINVS omnibus inuocantibus eum, omnibus inuocantibus eum in veritate. Voluntatem timentium se faciet, & deprecationem eorum exaudiet, & saluos faciet eos).

498 On the 'Acrostic Structure' of Psalm 145 and the use of acrostics as mnemonic or didactic devices, see A.K. Lama, *Reading Psalm 145 with the Sages: A Compositional Analysis* (Carlisle: Langham Monographs, 2013), 57–58, 166.

499 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), Lib.I, Cap.LXXIII, XCIIII *De virtute scripturae, & de imprecationibus & inscriptionibus faciendis*, XCVI 'Sunt itaque vigitinduae literae fundamentum mundi & omnium creaturarum quae sunt & nominantur in eo, & omne dictum, & omne creatum, ex illis sunt, & ex earum revolutionibus nomen, & esse, & virtutem sortiuntur.' See also Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word*, 81.

500 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), Lib.II, Cap.XV, p. CXXXVI, 'XXII plenitudinem sapientiae significat.' Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 299; Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, 4^{r}, 5^{r}; Josten, 'A Translation', 123, 127.

Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix, Stanislas de Guaita (1861–1897) considers these letters to be a condensation of the whole doctrine of the proto-kabbalistic *Book of Formation*, the *Sepher Yetzirah*, as representing the Formative World of *Yetzirah*.[501]

While never cited by Khunrath, the *Sepher Yetzirah* would have been available to him in Pistorius's collection of Jewish and Christian material in *Artis Cabalisticae*.[502] There Khunrath could have read of the 32 paths of wisdom by means of which Yah, the Lord of hosts, 'engraved. He created the world with three books … *written, numbered, uttered*'.[503] As mentioned above, the number 32 represents the 10 *sephiroth* and the 22 letters of the alphabet, the former the 'basis' and the latter the 'foundation' of creation.[504] Yah 'carved and hewed' in the basis of the 10 *sephiroth* the 'twenty-two basic letters'.[505] These letters are 'the foundation … they are engraved by the voice, incised in the spirit, assembled in utterance …'.[506]

These all form one divine name:

> And he makes something from nothing, from these [letters he makes] every expression (Idiomata) and every creature … and the sign of this matter: twenty-two smallest things (iotalia) and one body.[507]

Gikatilla's *Gates of Light* was also included in Pistorius's anthology, in which Khunrath could have read, 'For there are many rooms within rooms and

501 Stanislas de Guaita, *Essais de Sciences Maudites*, in Papus, *The Qabalah: Secret Tradition of the West* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1977; repr. 2000), 153.

502 *Abrahami de Creatione & Cabalistinis, Hebraicè Sepher Iezira, Liber*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 869–872.

503 *Abrahami de Creatione*, 869 'Triginta duabus vijs scientiae, maxime mirabilibus & occultis יה Deus צבאות sculpsit nomen suum. Creavit Mundum tribus libris videlicet: ספר, ספיר, ספור: id est, *scriptis, numeratis, pronunciatis*.' See also Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 59.

504 Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 64, 79. 'Twenty-two letters: he engraved them, he weighed them, he transmuted them, he combined them and created with them every soul that is and will be created.' See *Abrahami de Creatione*, 870 'Viginti duas literas sculpsit, ponderavit, transmutavit, composuit, & creavit cum illis omnem animam creatam & creandam.' Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 100–101.

505 *Abrahami de Creatione*, 869 'Et sculpsit & incidit cum illo viginti duas Literas.' Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 83.

506 *Abrahami de Creatione*, 870 'Viginti duae literae sunt sculptae in voce, incisae in spiritu, collocatae in prolatione …'. Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 93.

507 *Abrahami de Creatione*, 870 'Et omnia Idiomata & omnis creatura ex illis … & de nihilo fecit aliquid … & signum huius rei, viginti duo iotalia & unum corpus.' Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 101. For the term 'iotalia', the translator must have had in mind Matthew 5:18 'For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle shall not pass of the law, till all be fulfilled.'

hidden secrets within hidden secrets in every single letter of the letters of the Torah.'[508] The thirteenth-century Rabbi Nahmanides, whom Reuchlin claims as a source, speaks of two paths that 'emerge out of the same conglomerate of letters, which were written primordially as a sequence of letters but which could be divided in more than one manner':[509] the 'path of commandments' concerns a physical or human-oriented realm, while the 'path of names' reflects a metaphysical-divine one.[510] The letters of the alphabet here seem to emerge out of the encircling Decalogue and, as we shall see, move inwards towards the Divine Names, suggesting, then, a movement from the outer physical towards the central metaphysical realm.[511]

Khunrath would certainly have been aware of both the traditional associations of each Hebrew letter, *Aleph* as the Way or Rule, *Beth* as the house, *Gimel* as retribution, *Daleth* books, and so forth from Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*,[512] but also of how the latter develops the significance of the Hebrew alphabet, showing how each letter has its own more profound symbolic resonance:

> From *Aleph* to *Yod* the [10] ranks or bands of angels are signified, which philosophers call separate intelligences and incorporeal and insensible, free forms [...] This abode is called the "world of the angels" or the "angelic world." Then the letters from *Kaph* to *Sade* are designated the [8] ranks of the heavens.[513] They have been given the powers of God the Creator and are regulated by the angels' influence. This place is called the "world of wheels" or "spheres." From *Sade* to *Thau* come the [4] four elements with their forms and all the things mixed from these elements, both living and not living [...] They are directed by the influence of the angels and the

508 Gikatilla, *Sha'arei 'Orah* 11:130, trans. Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 177, 289. See *Rabi Iosephi Castiliensis de Porta Lucis Tractatus pulcherrimus*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 138ff.

509 Idel, 'Allegory and Divine Names in Ecstatic Kabbalah', 329.

510 Idel, 'Allegory and Divine Names in Ecstatic Kabbalah', 341; Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 181.

511 Thomas B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Thomas B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2009), 479 argues that 'the entire Decalogue is a revelation of the divine name Yahweh,' first introduced to Moses in Exodus 3:13–15. The first section of the Decalogue (20:3–13) explores the meaning of the name for the divine-human relationship; the second section outlines the social implications of the name.

512 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 315. See also Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 6.

513 These eight ranks must include the seven planets plus the fixed stars. See Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CXXIII, Scale of the Number 8, which lists the 'Octo coeli visibiles' (Eight visible heavens) as 'Coelum stellatum' (Starry Heaven), 'Coelum Saturni' (Heaven of Saturn), 'Coelum Iovis' (Heaven of Jupiter), etc.

> spheres. The whole of this is called the "world of the elements." In it is man, who is called the "small world" or, in Greek, the *Mikrokosmos*.[514]

The elegance of Khunrath's design can be seen in the way the beginning and end of the Hebrew alphabet, the *Aleph* א and *Tau* ת, corresponding to the Greek *Alpha* and *Omega*, are placed directly beneath the *Tetraktys* and the word *Omnia* (Fig. 4.41).[515] As with the Hebrew version of the Decalogue, the presence of the Hebrew alphabet should not have posed any difficulties for educated readers. It had been present, after all, in popular educational works like Gregor Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* (1503).[516] Others would have known the letters and their numerical values from Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533).[517] Of course, as already mentioned in Chapter 2 on Khunrath's Images, any Jewish reader would immediately have noticed that the Hebrew alphabet is printed in the opposite direction to what would be expected in a Jewish work, such as Cordovero's *Pardes Rimonim* (1591, Fig. 4.40): Khunrath's letters of the alphabet progress clockwise, as if read from left to right, rather than counter-clockwise, from right to left as in Hebrew.

A Jewish reader would be far more aware that these letters were also numbers and one versed in Kabbalah would surely know of how the 22 letters placed around a circle give rise to 231 interconnecting lines, described as doors or gates, as written in the *Sepher Yetzirah*:

> The twenty-two letters are the foundations, placed in a sphere with two hundred and thirty-one doors. When the sphere rotates forwards, it signifies good, when backwards, the opposite.[518]

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514 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 319. Strictly speaking, it should not be '*Sade* to *Thau*', but rather '*Kuph* to *Thau*' (in Reuchlin's transliteration, 316) because '*Sade*' has already been included in the previous order.

515 My thanks to John MacMurphy for the suggestion that Khunrath's placing of the letters in the circle invites the reader to see a possible *Athbash* cipher, as used in the exegetical technique of *Temurah*.

516 Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg, 1503), Lib.1, Tractatus 1, [no page number, no siglum] where he provides their names in Latin, e.g., aleph, beth, gimel, with the letters printed correctly from right to left.

517 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), 236, Lib.2, Cap.XIX Agrippa prints them from right to left, but neglects to provide a guide to pronunciation.

518 See Abraham, *Liber de Creatione*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae Liber* (1587), 870 'Viginti duae literae, Fundamenta, collocatae in sphaera cum Ianuis ducentis triginta & una. Sphaera directe rotate, bonum significat. Retrograda econverso.' Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 98 describes it as a 'wheel'. On p. 100 Hayman explains that the correct formula for the number of combinations and permutations of letters is 231. See also Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 111.

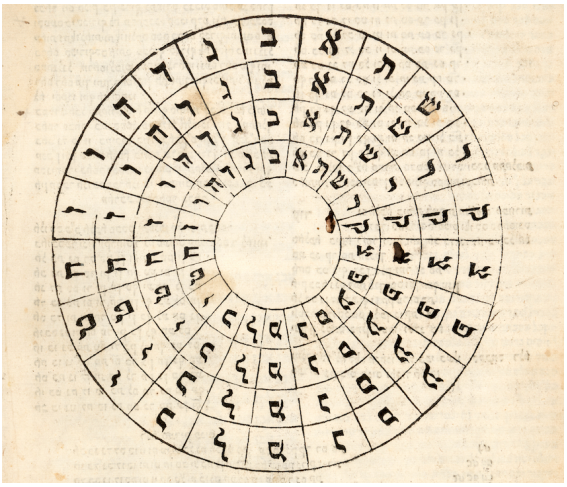


FIGURE 4.40
Cordovero, *Pardes Rimonim* (1591), 109^{v} Counter-clockwise progression of Hebrew Alphabet. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM ROF A-67

29 5. Ensoph – The Infinite

Moving still further inwards at this point we find a black circle or sphere at the top of the ring, directly below the Tetraktys, *Aleph* א and *Tau* ת, bearing the words אין סוף *Ein Soph* (Fig. 4.41), or as Khunrath prefers to transliterate, following Pico and Reuchlin, *Ensoph*, in white letters.[519] This phrase represents the most abstruse and unknowable aspect of the Godhead, the 'nondifferentiated unity',[520] that which is 'without' (*Ein*) 'limit' or 'end' (*Soph*) or the apophatic 'Infinite', the 'source of all being',[521] that Reuchlin calls the Abyss of the mystery of God.[522]

519 Transliterated by Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 703 as *Ensoph*: 'Ensoph sit Alpha & ω.' See also Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 69.

520 Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau: Kabbalistic Musings on Time, Truth, and Death*, 74.

521 Wolfson, *Language, Eros, Being*, 198. For an extended discussion of *Ein Sof*, see Sanford L. Drob, *Symbols of the Kabbalah: Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives* (New Jersey: Jason Aronson Inc., 2000), 60–119 '*Ein Sof*: The Dialectic of the Infinite'.

522 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 285; *Amph.*II, 54. See Konstantin Burmistrov, 'Christian Orthodoxy and Jewish Kabbalah: Russian Mystics in the Search for Perennial Wisdom', in Hammer and Von Stuckrad (eds.), *Polemical Encounters: Esoteric Discourse and Its Others*, 25–54, at 32ff '*Ein-Sof, the Infinite and Indescribable God*'. See also Gershom Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*, foreword by Joseph Dan, trans. Joachim Neugroschel, ed. Jonathan Chipman (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), 60; 46, 229–232.



FIGURE 4.41
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1, detail: *Tetraktys* and *Ensoph* (Infinite). Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

In *De Arte Cabalistica*, Reuchlin writes:

> Ensoph, Infinity [...] is unknowable and unutterable, hidden away in the furthest recesses of his divinity, into the unreachable abyss of the foundation of light, so thus nothing is understood to come from him [...]. He is being and non-being – all that to our rational minds seems contrary and self-contradictory. He is like a being apart, untrammelled oneness, uncomplicatedly binding all together.[523]

More briefly, Khunrath states:

> *Ensoph*, Infinity; the abyss, night, for one investigating foolishly; [but] Light, the Sun, for the faithful, wisely believing the simple truth of Sacrosanct Scripture.[524]

523 Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517), XXIr; idem, *On the Art of the Kabbbalah*, 121. Cf. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 440. Translation modified to reflect Reuchlin's original transliteration of *Ensoph*.

524 *Amph.*II, 65 'Ensoph, infinitudo; abyssus; nox, insipienter percontanti; Lux, Sol, fideli; simplicem ss.æ Scripturæ veritatem sapienter credenti.' For multiple references to the Abyss, see *Amph.*II, 73–4. Khunrath mentions *Ensoph* more than once: *Amph.*II, 54, 57, 65, 197, 207, and 213, always with a sense of jubilation and excitement: *Ensoph!*, almost as a substitute for 'Amen' or Hallelujah.

Khunrath follows Reuchlin in considering *Ensoph* the 'abyss of the mystery of God',[525] when all that can be said is the word itself, repeated in a kind of ecstatic cry, like Solomon in Ecclesiastes 7:24:[526] '*Ensoph*! *Ensoph*! Depth of depths and height of heights'[527] or '*Ensoph*! *Ensoph*! deep! deep! I shall be silent'.[528]

Like Pico in his Orphic Conclusions, who declared that 'Night in Orpheus and *Ensoph* in the Cabala are the same', Khunrath equates the Kabbalistic and Orphic principles:

> Orpheus calls this natural Abyss Night, Darkness, Mist, invisible Diana, unseen by any mortal, naked, that is, in the hymn which begins like this: Νυχ γενεσις παντων [*Nyx genesis pantōn*], *Night genesis of all*.[529]

It is likely that Khunrath knew that the Danish promoter of Paracelsian medicine – and friend of Johannes Pistorius[530] – Petrus Severinus (Peder Sørensen, 1542–1602) had included Pico's quote from the Orphic hymn to Night in his *Idea Medicinae Philosophicae* (Idea of Philosophical Medicine, 1571). There Sørensen discusses Orphic Night, otherwise conceived as the Hippocratic Abyss:

> Light is associated with the flowing forth of seeds in generation, and darkness with the reflowing of seeds in corruption, as the body returns to the 'dark' potentiality of Orphic Night or the Hippocratic Abyss.[531]

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525 *Amph.*II, 54 '(ô abyssum mysterii DEI! non est in hoc vnionis Diuinæ puncto, volentis, per se aut currentis, sed miserentis DEI. *Ensoph! Ensoph!*).'

526 See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 61 'This it seems is what moved Solomon to cry "Profound depths …" (or "Deep, deep," as in the Hebrew) "who will find them?" …'.

527 *Amph.*II, 197 'Ensoph! Ensoph! profunditas profunditatum & altitudinum altitudo!'

528 *Amph.*II, 57 'Essentia Divinus. OMNIA IN OMNIBVS. Vers.303. Ensoph! Ensoph! profunda! profunda! Obmutesco.' Cf. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 60 'Salomon cum ait, Alta profunditas seu profunda profunda, ita enim hebraice legitur, quis inveniet eam?'

529 *Amph.*II, 74 'Hanc Abyssum naturalem vocat Orpheus Noctem, Tenebras, Nebulam, Dianam inconspicuam, à nemine mortalium visam, nudam scilicet, in hymno qui sic incipit, Νυχ γενεσις παντων.' See Orphic Hymn 3 'To Night' in Thomas Taylor's translation of *The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus* (London: Robert Triphook, 1824), reissued as *Hymns and Initiations* (Frome: The Prometheus Trust, 1994), 30. Cf. Pico, in Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 511 10>15 'Night in Orpheus and *Ein-Sof* in the Cabala are the same.' Reuchlin also refers to Orphic Night. See *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 953–4.

530 Jole Shackelford, *A Philosophical Path for Paracelsian Medicine: The Ideas, Intellectual Context, and Influence of Petrus Severinus: 1540–1602* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 219; 108. See also 110, 220, 222.

531 Shackelford, *A Philosophical Path for Paracelsian Medicine*, 174. Shackelford (225) points out a further reference to Orphic Night by another influential Paracelsian, the French

Ensoph transcends the emanations, or is in some sense the unity of all ten *Sephiroth*, relating to them, according to the Catalan Kabbalist Azriel of Gerona (*c.*1160–*c.*1238), in the same way as the Platonic One to the Many.[532] While God as *Ensoph* is beyond human comprehension, according to Reuchlin the Kabbalists strive to intuit the emanation of His power through the Second Gate of Understanding, the World of Archetypes.[533]

30 **6. Emet – Truth**

Finally, in this band of clouds and blazes of light we find another sphere standing as the counterpart to the dark sphere of *Ensoph*, a pale sphere at the bottom of the ring, bearing the word אמת *Emet*, i.e., Truth, written in dark letters (Fig. 4.42). The word *Emet* in Khunrath's Cabala has echoes of the word *Azoth* in his alchemy, being formed of the first, middle and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet (*Aleph* א, *Mem* מ and *Tau* ת), as Joseph Gikatilla informs in the *Gates of Light*, and Francesco Giorgio in *De Harmonia Mundi* (1546);[534] as

physician to King Henri IV, Joseph Duchesne (1544–1609), who writes in *Liber de priscorum philosophorum verae medicinae materia* (Saint Gervais, 1603), sig. vii^{r-v} 'sis rursus etiam spiritualia corporea, vel astralia, ut vocat Paracelsus: invisibilia visibilia, & quae modo in orco Hippocratis, vel nocte Orphei vel puteo Democriti occulta iacebant, nunc manifesta fieri possunt' (the spiritual can be made corporeal, or astral, or as Paracelsus says, the invisible can be made visible, and those things that once lay hidden in Hippocrates' *Orcus*, or Orpheus' night, or Democritus' well, can now be made manifest). See also Hiro Hirai, *Medical Humanism and Natural Philosophy: Renaissance Debates on Matter, Life and the Soul* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 120–121.

532 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 237. Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 59. Szulakowska is misleading in speaking of it as 'the sephiroth "Ayin" [from] which emanates yet another aspect of God as the sephiroth "Ayin Sof" (Eternal) who is the actual Creator-God.' *Ein Sof* is above or beyond the sephirotic system of the Tree of Life.

533 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 275. *Pace*, Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 122 who claims that the figure of Christ is the 'En Soph' itself, which is rather unlikely given Christ's incarnation.

534 Gikatilla, *The Gates of Light*, 222; Francesco Giorgio, *De harmonia mundi* (1546), Canticus Secundus, Tonus Quartus, Quid sit veritas, Cap.1. 'Hinc mysterio non modico in antiquißima lingua (quae sancta dicitur) veritas sic describitur אמת. In quo verbo prima litera alphabeti, media, & extrema connexae conueniunt: Nam א Aleph est prima ת Tau ultima מ Mem verò media, & cum earum punctaturis profertur emet: Quibus literis indicatur tota rerum textura, egressus videlicet à principio in rem ipsam, atque reversio in finem.'



FIGURE 4.42
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1, detail: *Emet* (Truth).Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Linz

such it embraces all the letters of the Torah.[535] The Christian Cabalist would doubtless recall Christ's declaration in Revelation 22:13 that he is 'the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last' (KJV) as well as John 14:6 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life'.[536] Jewish Kabbalists could cite Jeremiah 10:10 'YHWH Elohim Emet' (The Lord is the true God),[537] aware that their practice is also called *Derek ha-'Emet*, the Way of Truth.[538] In the *Zohar*'s discussion of the opening words of Genesis, *Bereshit bara Elohim* (In the beginning the Lord created), and the question why God began with the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *beth*, we read the account of how,

> all the letters presented themselves before Him in reversed order. The letter *Tau* advanced in front and pleaded: May it please Thee, O Lord of the world, to place me first in the creation of the world, seeing that I am the concluding letter of *EMeTh* (Truth) which is engraved upon Thy seal, and seeing that Thou art called by this very name of EMeTh, it is most appropriate for the King to begin with the final letter of *EMeTh* and to create with me the world.

To which the Creator replied:

535 Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 172. See also 61 'signifying thereby that truth is comprehensive of all the semiotic ciphers that weave the fabric of the holy language'.

536 Cf. Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 163 who provides Old Testament verses for a Jewish perspective: "I, the Lord, am first" (Isa 41:4) … "And of the last ones, I am he" Isa. 41:4. See also Isaiah 44:6 'I am first and I am last, and besides me there is no god.'

537 Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 266.

538 Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, 'Kabbalah and Science in the Middle Ages: Preliminary Remarks', in Gad Freudenthal (ed.), *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 476–510, at 496.

> Thou art worthy and deserving, but it is not proper that I begin with thee the creation of the world, since thou art destined to serve as a mark on the foreheads of the faithful ones (*vide* Ezek. IX, 4)[539] who have kept the Law from *Aleph* to *Tau*,[540] and through the absence of this mark the rest will be killed; and, further, thou formest the conclusion of *MaWeTh* (death). Hence, thou art not meet to initiate the creation of the world.[541]

Those intimately familiar with Jewish exegetical techniques would also be aware of the number of times *Emet* could be discovered in Scripture through *Notarikon*: in the initial letters, for example, of Psalm 85:12 ***Emeth Meéretz Titzmach*** (Truth springs forth from the earth).[542] Any Kabbalist would also have been aware of *Emet* as the seal on the forehead of the *Golem*, the homunculus or artificial man created by permutations of the *Tetragrammaton*, a story best known in connection with the famous Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel (d. 1609) of Rudolf II's Prague; with a variant recounted by Reuchlin concerning the prophet Jeremiah.[543] Khunrath, for his part, encapsulates the significance of this whole first circular amphitheatral figure with the declaration that 'GOD is true; Christ the truth; the Holy Spirit the spirit of truth,'[544] and explicitly refers to 'the seal of God' (which is EMES, TRUTH, the first figure of this Amphitheatre).[545] He would have found this notion of *Emet* as the Seal

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539 Ezekiel 9:4 'And the Lord said to him: Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem: and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof' (Douay).

540 This sense of keeping the Law 'from *Aleph* to *Tau*' may well be another implication of Khunrath's inclusion of the Hebrew alphabet in his engraving.

541 *The Zohar* (1984), Vol. 1, 9. For more on this, see Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 157.

542 Harvey J. Hames, *Like Angels on Jacob's Ladder: Abraham Abulafia, the Franciscans, and Joachimism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), xiii.

543 See the *Citadel* engraving and *Amph.*II, 211. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 333 and Idel, *Golem*. See also Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 38.

544 *Amph.*II, 52. Cf. Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*, 42 'Deus enim spiritus, verbum spiratio, homo spirans' (For God is the spirit/breath, the word the breathing, man the breather/the one breathing).

545 *Amph.*II,10 'sigillo DEI (quod est EMES, VERITAS, figura Amphitheatri huius prima).' See also *Amph.*II, 155 '(Est enim EMES, VERITAS, DEI sigillum, figura Amphitheatri huius prima).' On the use of *Emes* instead of *Emet*, see Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 180 who writes *Emet* in Hebrew, but transliterates it as *Emes*, with the gloss, 'id est verum seu veritas'; 183 'EMES: id est, Deus verax.' This could be explained by the difference between Sefardi and Ashkenazi pronunciation. Khunrath may also have had the 3 Mother letters of the Hebrew alphabet, *Aleph*, *Mem*, and *Shin*, i.e., 'EMESh', at the back of his mind. See *Abrahami de Creatione*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 870 'Tres matres Emes & ex illis tres patres, cum his omnia creata sunt.' Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 116 'Three primary letters: Alef, Mem, Shin. And from them were born three fathers from whom everything was created.'

of God in both Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*,[546] and Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*, where we read, 'For יהו [Yehou] is the seal of God with which *Ehieh* sealed the world,[547] and it is called אמת, i.e., true, because of the fact that it is born from multiplying itself by itself'; Reuchlin's explanation being that the numerical value of the divine name *Ehieh*, multiplied by itself gives the same value as both *Emet*, and *Adonai Shalom*, Lord of Peace.[548] Anyone familiar with the Talmud, like Reuchlin, would have remembered the declaration that 'The seal of God is truth'.[549] It is worth noting that Khunrath positions the sphere of *Emet* in between the fifth *sephirah, Geburah*, and the sixth, *Tiphareth*, perhaps aware that one of the alternative designations for the latter, together with *Rahamim* (Compassion), and *Mishpat* (Balanced Judgement), was *Emet* (Truth).[550] Although he never refers to the *Shekhinah*, described by Scholem as the feminine element in divinity, he may have known of the doctrine that the 'lower Shekinah is stamped with that seal, which is the seal of Truth, and all forms of the seal are impressed in it.'[551]

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546 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1651), Lib.3, Chapter XI. 'Of the Divine names, and their power and vertue', 371 '& the name *Emeth* אמת which is interpreted Truth and is the seal of God.'

547 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 300 'Est enim sigillum Dei יהו quo Ehieh sigillavit mundum, & dicitur אמת id est verum, quippe quod in seipsum arithmetice multiplicando nascitur.' The name יהו appears in the *Sepher Yetzirah* in a discussion of the ten *Sephiroth*. See Agostino Giustiniani, *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldaeum* (Genoa, 1516), 138^{r}–140^{r}, cited in Campanini, 'On Abraham's Neck. The *Editio Princeps* of the *Sefer Yesirah* (Mantua, 1562) and Its Context', 263. See also Gaffarel, *Abdita Divinae Cabalae Mysteria*, 45 'Sigillum Dei est IHV, Iehou, quo Ehieh sigillavit mundum, & dicitur EMT, Emet, id est verum, quippe in seipsum arithmetice multiplicando nascitur.' As mentioned above, יהו [Yehou] is the third tier of the Tetragrammatical Tetraktys.

548 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 287; see also Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 64, 76.

549 *Shabbat* 55a; *Yoma* 69b; *Sanhedrin* 64a. See Steven S. Schwarzschild, 'Truth', in M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (eds.), *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 20, 162 and Adele Berlin (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 753 'Truth is the seal of the Holy One, blessed be He' (*Yoma'* 69b).

550 *Zohar: Pritzker Edition*, trans. Matt, Vol. 1, Introduction, L. See also Flavius Mithridates' translation of Kabbalistic material for Pico della Mirandola in Busi (ed.), *The Great Parchment: Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, The Hebrew Text, and an English Version* (Turin: Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), 64 'Veritas autem est sigillum ipsius dei sancti et benedicti qui est unus … et dixerunt אחד id est unus idest sigillum quo tu sigillas nos etiam cum eo sigillamus, quia sigillum tuum veritas est in qua sculpta sunt omnia sigilla et dicitur אמת emeth idest tota lex integraliter ab aleph usque ad thau, et hoc est quod scribitur in lege, aleph thau idest principium et finem dominum deum tuum timebis et illi soli servies et nomine suo iurabis et in eo coniungaris …'.

551 See Christian Schöttgen (1687–1751), *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1742), Vol. II, 409 'Et Schechina inferior obsignata est illo sigillo, quod est sigillum Veritatis, & omnes formae sigilli in eo sunt impressae …'. See Gershom Scholem, 'Shekhinah: The

31 7. Sephiroth: Emanations of the Divine

The *Isagoge* or *Introductory Commentary* to Circular Figure 1 begins with the *Kedushah* prayer (קדוש קדוש קדוש, Kadosh, Kadosh, Kadosh), the *Trisagion*, 'Holy, Holy, Holy YHVH Zebaoth, Who was, Who is, Who is to come, The Heavens are full, all the Earth is full of the Majesty of his Glory' (Fig. 4.43).[552] According to the *Bahir* this concerns Wisdom and the *Sephiroth*,[553] the ten garments with which transcendent God clothed Himself, in order to relate to His creation,[554] when He created the world.[555] So it is, then, that, set within the same band of clouds as the *Ensoph*, in blazes of light shining forth from the dark abyss of the 'Infinite', stand the Names of the ten 'Emanations' of the *Sephiroth*,[556] described in Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* as 'ten Names that form the mortal conception of God, whether they be part of his essence or attached to him specifically, and whether they be conceptual or actual.'[557] As has been set out in Table 4.1 above, Khunrath provides the standard set of Hebrew terms: *Kether*, *Chochmah*, *Binah*, *Chesed*, *Geburah*, *Tiphereth*, *Nezah*,



FIGURE 4.43 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595), Circular Figure 1: *Kedushah* Prayer in Hebrew. Memorial Library, Rare Books Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Feminine Element in Divinity', in idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*. For modifications of Scholem's argument, see Wolfson, *Circle in the Square: Studies in the Use of Gender in Kabbalistic Symbolism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), 99.

552 Cf. Isaiah 6:3 'Qui erat; qui est; qui erit: pleni sunt cæli. plena est omnis terra maiestate gloriæ eius' (Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of his glory).

553 Kaplan, *The Bahir*, 47.

554 Kaplan, *The Bahir*, 91.

555 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 345 'For God was clothed with 10 garments when he created the world.'

556 *Amph.*II, 58.

557 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 285.



LIBER SECUNDUS. 155
SCALA.

In Archetypo.	יהיהיה ו יהי Nomen quadriliterũ, collectum decem literarum:			יד האואהא Nomen quadriliterum extẽ ſum decem literarum.		
	אהוה Eheie. כתר Keth.	יחוה Jod Tetragrammaton. הבמה Hochima	אלהים יחוה Tetragr, Elohim. בינה Binah.	אל El. חסד Hæſed	גבר אלהים Elohim Gibor. גבורה Geburah.	אלוה Eloha. תפארת Tiphereth.
In mundo intelligibili.	Seraphim, Haiot ha Kados Matatron	Cherubim. Ophanim. Jophiel.	Throni. Aralim, Zadkiel.	Dominationes. Hafmalim Zadkiel.	Poteſtates, Seraphim. Camael.	Virtutes. Malachim. Raphael.
In mundo cœleſti.	Reſchithagalalim. Primũ mobile	Masloch. Sphæra Zodiaci.	Sabbathai. Sphæra Saturni.	Zedech, Sphæra Jovis.	Madim. Sphæra Martis.	Schemes. Sphæra Solis.
In mundo elemẽtali.	Colũba.	Pardus.	Draco.	Aquila	Equus.	Leo.
In minori mundo	Spiritꝰ	Cerebrũ.	Splen.	Hepar	Fel.	Cor.
In mundo infernali.	Pſeudotheï.	Spiritus mendacij.	Vaſa iniquitatis.	Ultores ſcelerum.	Præſtigatores.	Aereę poteſtates.



156 DE OCCULT. PHILOSOPH.
DENARII.

	אלהימצבאות Nomen Elohim Sabaoth.			Nomina Dei decem literarum.
צבאות יהוה Tetragrãmaton Sabaoth. נצח Nezah	צבאות אלהים Elohim Sabaoth. הוד Hod.	שדי Sadai. יסוד Jeſod.	אדני Adonai. melech. מלכות Malchur.	Decem nomina Dei. Decem Sephiroth.
Principatus. Elohim. Haniel.	Archangeli. Bne Elohim, Michael	Angeli. Cherubim. Gabriel.	Animæ beatæ. Iſſim. Anima Meſſiæ.	Decem ordines beatorum ſecundum Dionyſ. Decem beatorum ordines juxta traditiones Hebræorum. Decem angeli præſidentes.
Noga. Sphæra. Veneris,	Coahab. Sphæra Mercurij	Leuanah. Sphæra Lunæ.	Holoniefodot. Sphæra elementorum.	Decem ſphæræ Mundi.
Homo.	Serpens.	Bos.	Agnus.	Decem animalia ſanctitatis ad ſuperos relata,
Renes.	Pulmo.	Genitaua.	Matrix.	Decem artus intrinſeci hominis,
Fuſſæ feminatrices malorum.	Criminatores five exploratores.	Tentatores five ſidiatores.	Animæ pravæ & damnatæ.	Decem damnatorum ordines.

FIGURE 4.44 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), 155–56 'Scale of the Number Ten'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 62-6338

Hod, *Yesod*, and *Malchuth*. He does not, however, provide a full set of transliterations from Hebrew, indeed in the *Amphitheatre* we find only *Hhochmah*, *Hhochmach* and *Chochmach*, for the second *Sephirah* (Wisdom), and the name for the third *Sephirah*, *Binah* in the angelic names *Benahél*/*Binahél*.[558] Although Khunrath is greatly influenced by Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*, it is worth noting that he does not imitate him in mistakenly substituting the name for the ninth *Sephirah Yesod* with that of *Pachad* (which is really an alternative name for the fifth *Sephirah Geburah*),[559] but provides the more traditional sequence,

558 *Hhochmah* and *Chochmach* (*Amph.*I, 27; *Amph.*II, 18); Hhochmach (*Amph.*II, 70) *O Hhochmahel! O Benahél!* (*Amph.*II, 44), O Hhochmahél, Sapientia Dei! ô Binahél, Prudentia Dei! (*Amph.*II, 88). The transliterations used for the full set of *Sephiroth* are taken from Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CXXVIII–CXIXX.

559 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae Liber* (1587), 932 '*Pahad*: id est, *timor*' (Pachad, i.e., fear). See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 45.

most likely taken from Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book 2, 'Scale of the Number Ten' (Fig. 4.44).[560]

Khunrath specifically refers to the ten *Sephiroth* as the 'TEN Emanations of GOD, from the sacred Sources', calling them 'SEPHIRUTH or (as many of the Hebrews pronounce it nowadays) SPHIRUS, that is, Numerations or Emanations',[561] and 'SPHIROS.'[562] These variations on the standard terminology help possible identification of some of his unnamed sources. Although he never cites Paolo Ricci, it is possible that he got the term 'Sphiros' from Ricci's *In Cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagogae* (Introductions to the Learning of the Cabalists or Allegorizers, 1510), where he writes, 'It was agreeable for these ten paradigmatic names hyperbolically to be called … ten *Sphiros*, that is, numerations, and with various cognomens of these, as it pleased.'[563] As for 'SEPHIRUTH', the same transliteration is used by the Christian Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf, who studied in Basel at the same time as Khunrath.[564]

These emanations are the 'sparks and the rays of Divinity',[565] by which 'TRI-UNE ELOHIM progressed into the totality of things, wrapped around, as it were, by ornaments and garments worthy of such majesty.'[566] Through meditation the 'Mind of the blessed' can theosophically touch the fringe of these

560 Additional material can be found in *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book 3, Chapter 10 'Of Divine Emanations, which the Hebrews call Numerations': Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, Lib 3, Cap.x. (1997), 287–290. Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder', 50 argues that the names for the *Sephirah Binah* and *Netzach* are misprinted, with typographical confusion between the letters *Beth* ב, *Nun* נ, and *Kaph* כ. This also seems to be the case with the name *Chochmah-El* on the canopy of the Oratory in Circular Figure 4, where the engraver has used a ה (*he*) instead of a ח (*chet*). Cf Katherine Eggert, *Disknowledge: Literature, Alchemy and the End of Humanism in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 113, 115, 282 n. 9.

561 *Amph.*II, 58 'Emanationes DEI Cabalistæ ex Sacris fontibus numerant DECEM quas appellant SEPHIRVTH, siue, (vt Hebræorum multi hodie pronuntiant) SPHIRVS, hoc est, Numerationes aut Emanationes, inter quas SAPIENTIAM loco numerant secundo.'

562 *Amph.*II, 82.

563 Ricius, *In Cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagogae* (1510), sig. 5^{v} '38. Paradigmatica haec decem nomina hyperbolice … decem sphiros id est numerationes, & harum quamlibet varijs cognominibus vocitari placuit.' See also sig. 6^{v} '52. Omnes eiuscemodi decem sphiros (ut gerundinus Mose, & rabi menahem rechanad: sic & divine ordinationis volumen enunciant) primus Adam quamdiu voluptatis hortum inhabitat mentis intuitu absque legis dictamine noscit.' See also *Abrahami de Creatione*, 869 which uses the plural of this form: *Sphiroth*.

564 Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 15.

565 *Amph.*II, 58 'scintillæ & radii Diuinitatis.'

566 *Amph.*II, 82 'quibus totus ELOHIM TRIVNVS in vniuersitatem rerum progressus est, quasi ornamentis & vestibus tanta maiestate dignis, circumdatus.'

garments and draw down God's virtues into his own being. Khunrath tells his reader that he has treated of this in the first figure of the *Amphitheatre*.[567] In his second set of *Cabalistic Conclusions*, Pico provided one particular approach for gaining insight into the *Sephiroth*, and support for the inclusion of the Hebrew alphabet in this figure, in a way that goes far beyond a mere grasp of the pronunciation of the letters and contribution to semantic meaning. Although Pico's conclusion has already been quoted above, it is worth slowly re-reading in order to gain some sense of how much material Khunrath has provided in his first circular figure, for profound meditation and contemplation:

> There are no letters in the whole Law which in their forms, conjunctions, separations, crookedness, straightness, defect, excess, smallness, largeness, crowning, closure, openness, and order, do not reveal the secrets of the ten numerations (28.33).[568]

Khunrath is not alone in using the metaphor of the *Sephiroth* as garments, which also appears in the works of other Christian Cabalists, sometimes as the Holy Trinity plus the seven archangels.[569] His interest in triplicities, be that in the belief in the three divine hypostases of the Godhead, human body, spirit and soul, or the Paracelsian *tria prima*,[570] manifests here in a focus on what was regarded to be the highest *Merkavah* (Chariot), the first *Sephirotic* triad of *Kether* (Crown), *Chochmah* (Wisdom), and *Binah* (Understanding).[571] He seems to be alluding to this in the phrase from the apocryphal 2 Esdras 14:47, 'I shall pour forth, or breathe my Spirit upon you, which is the stream of the Intellect, the fountain of Wisdom, the river of Knowledge, the inexhaustible treasure of riches'.[572] It is possible that he also had in mind Pico's gloss of these waters as the *libri scientiae cabalae* and his explanation that the 'stream of Intellect' denotes 'ineffable theology concerning supersubstantial deity',

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567 *Amph.*II, 82: 'quarum fimbrias quoties ipsa Mens beatorum Theo-Sophice attigerit, toties respondet Devs; tetigit me aliquis: nam & Ego sensi virtutem de me exiisse, vers. 222. & 252. Egimus de hisce prima Amphitheatri huius figura.' This quote is lifted from Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*. See Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 931 'Sequuntur adhuc novem Dei vestimenta, quorum fimbrias quoties ipsa mens beatorum attigerit, toties respondet Deus: Tetigit me aliquis: nam & ego sensi virtutem de me exijsse.'

568 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 28.33.

569 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, 265.

570 See *The Mage's Images*, Vol. 3, Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

571 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, 139.

572 *Amph.*II, 25; see also *Amph.*II, 44 '*O Hhochmahel! ô Benahél!* ô fructuosissimum in nos Sapientiæ veræ aduentum!' (*O Hhochmahel! O Benahél!* O most fruitful advent of true Wisdom in us!), and *Amph.*II, 88 'O Hhochmahél, Sapientia Dei! ô Binahél, Prudentia Dei!' (O Hhochmahel, Wisdom of God! O Binahel, Prudence of God!).

the 'fountain of Wisdom', 'exact metaphysics concerning the intelligences and angelic forms', and the 'river of Knowledge', 'surest philosophy concerning natural things.'[573]

Khunrath's most frequent references are to the second and third *Sephirah*, *Chochmah* and *Binah*. He is particularly concerned with the second emanation, *Chochmah*, which, like Pico, he equates with Christ as both the Word and Wisdom of God.[574] This is the import of the words חכמה אל *Chochmah-El* (Wisdom of God), on the tabernacle before which the theosopher is praying in Circular Figure 4.[575]

It is important to emphasise here that although Khunrath would have been able to see representations of the standard Kabbalistic Tree of Life, complete with its three pillars and ten *Sephiroth*, he chose to present them instead in a circular, wheel-like or annular form. Precedents did exist for alternative schema. Circular *Sephiroth* diagrams appear in medieval manuscripts, inspired by a description of the *Sephiroth* in the *Sepher Yetzirah*: 'Their end is fixed in their beginning as the flame is bound to the burning coal', which seems particularly apposite for the fiery nature of Khunrath's figure.[576]

Different schema, such as representations of the *Sephiroth* in the form of the letter *Aleph*, combined with the hands and feet of the divine anthropos, in a series of concentric circles or squares, can be found in Moses Cordovero's *Pardes Rimonim* (Orchard of Pomegranates).[577] A *Key of Solomon* manuscript, dating from around 1550, containing the 'Secrets of Zahel', also contains an image with the *Sephiroth* in a circle.[578] Athanasius Kircher featured an annular

573 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, 132 citing Pico's *Apologia* and *Oratio*.

574 Cf. *Amph*.II, 18 which cites Proverbs 8:1 'Doth not Wisdom (חכמה HHOCHMAH) cry aloud and Prudence (בינה BINAH) put forth her voice.' On Pico's equation of the *Sephirah Chochmah* with Christ, see Wirszubksi, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, 167–8; Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', 356.

575 Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 91 misidentifies *Ruach Chochmah-El* (Spirit of the Wisdom of God) with the *Sephirah Chochmah* (Wisdom), which is unfortunate as it aligns the Holy Spirit with the second emanation instead of the third, *Binah* (Understanding), which was the more standard attribution among Christian Cabalists. See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 181. She then compounds the problem (92) by arguing that the third *Sephirah* was ruled by *Ruach Elohim* (the Spirit of the Lord, which moved over the waters in Genesis 1), which she mis-identifies with Christ, despite Khunrath's explicit identification of it as Nature or the *Anima Mundi*, on *Amph*.II, 111.

576 See Segol, *Word and Image in Medieval Kabbalah*, 81ff. Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 74. See also p. 98 'It is fixed on the Hook, on a wheel with two hundred and twenty-one gates. The wheel rotates backwards and forwards.'

577 Giller, *Reading the Zohar: The Sacred Text of the Kabbalah*, xvii; Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 82.

578 My thanks to Joseph Peterson for informing me about this *Key of Solomon* manuscript VadSlg Ms. 334 'Secrets of Zahel' dating from around 1550 in the Vadian Collection (Vadianische Sammlung) in St Gallen, Switzerland.



FIGURE 4.45
Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1653), Vol. 2, Part 1, 302. Large Aleph & Annular Representation of *Sephiroth*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

form of the *Sephiroth* (Fig. 4.45) in *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Egyptian Oedipus, 1653), with the explanation that the central letter *Aleph*, containing the ten *Sephiroth* represents the archetypal man, while the surrounding ring, also containing the ten *Sephiroth*, is the 'circle of divine infinity' and the 'inaccessible abyss of the fount of light', in which 'all things are one, and God all in all things'.[579] In Chapter 2's introduction to Khunrath's engraving the non-Jewish clockwise progression of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet was noted. The same is the case for Khunrath's *Sephiroth*, in contrast, for example to Kircher's annular form, where we find them rotating in a counter-clockwise direction.[580] The same is the case with Khunrath's presentation of the *Shemoth* or divine names.[581] A partial Latin translation of Cordovero's work would be published in the mid-seventeenth century, in Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* (Kabbalah Unveiled, 1677), together with some variant representations of the *Sephiroth* (Fig. 4.46).[582]

579 Kircher, *Oedipus Aegpytiacus* (1653), Vol. 2, Part 1, 'Cabala Hebraeorum', Cap.IX, § 1. *Alia repraesentatio decem Sephiroth sub similitudine figurae humanae*, 300–303, image at 302, citing *Pardes* on 303, when discussing the image of the letter *Aleph* containing the ten *Sephiroth* inside a circle that also contains the *Sephiroth*. The explanation given is that the *Aleph* represents the archetypal man (Archetypum hominem), surrounded by the 'circle of divine infinity' (circulus divinae infinitudinis) and the 'inaccessible abyss of the fount of light' (fontani luminis inaccessam abyssum), in which 'all things are one, and God all in all things' (omnia unum sunt, & Deus in omnibus omnia).

580 Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Egyptian Oedipus, 1653), Vol. 2, Part 1, 302.

581 Vide infra, Chapter 4 on Khunrath's Cabala.

582 See, for example, the discussion of the *Kliphotic* realms in the analysis of Figura XVI in *Kabbala Denudata*, Vol. 1, 'Apparatus in Librum Sohar Pars Quarta, Quae continet

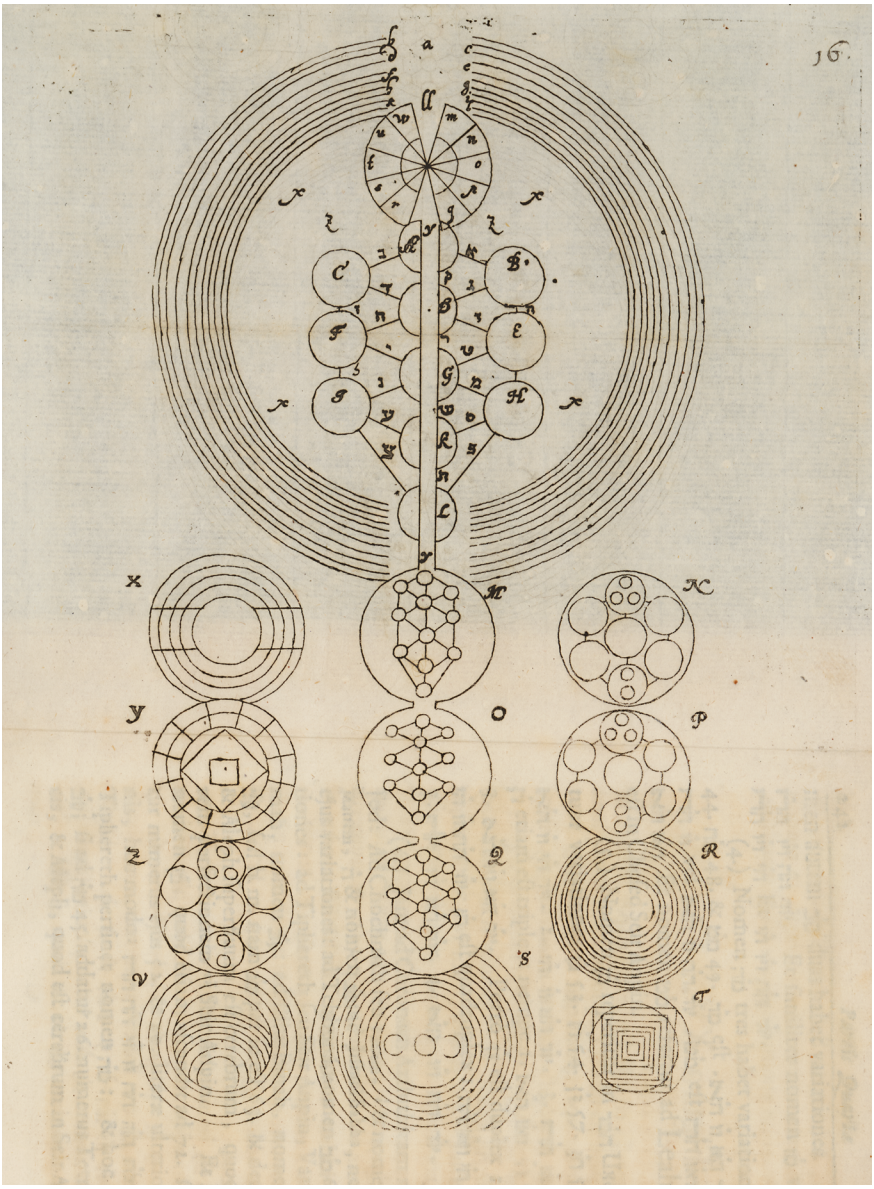


FIGURE 4.46 Rosenroth, *Kabbala Denudata* (1677), Vol. 1, Figure 16. Variant Representations of *Sephiroth* and *Kliphoth*. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM RON A-4458

Khunrath never really explicitly discusses the *Sephiroth*, but the *Amphitheatre* does contain a brief passage about divine emanation with a focus on Wisdom, surely with the intention of alluding to the second *Sephirah*:

> [Everything] emanating from GOD is certainly Divine; WISDOM is an EMANATION OF GOD; therefore she is Divine, and eternal. The Emanations of GOD are the sparks and rays of Divinity. These phrases should be noted: 'I proceeded from GOD', John 8:42.[583] 'You sent me, I came out from the Father', John 17:8.[584] From this place of Emanation,[585] the definition of true Philosophy is confirmed. … *Of the Glory of the Almighty*, [etc.] Hence WISDOM incarnate, John 17:4 [says] *Father, I have glorified thee on the earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. And now glorify thou me, O Father, with thyself, with the glory which I had, before the world was, with thee*. And a bit further on: *Because I came out from thee*, that is, emanated.[586]

Khunrath then refers his reader to the short Book 2, Chapter 17 of Reuchlin's *On the Wonder-working Word*, where he presents an ineffable trinity of the Hebrew names *Hu*, *Ehieh* and *Esth* [sic]; then adducing similar trinities in the hymns of Orpheus (Night, Sky, Ether) and Homer (Zeus, Athena, Aphrodite), pointing out that Athena, born from the head of Zeus, equates with Roman Minerva and Hebrew *Chochmah* – all meaning Wisdom – and concluding with the value, in relation to the ternary, of the Virgilian (or Pythagorean) maxim 'God delights in an odd number' (numero Deus impare gaudet).[587] The Christian Cabalists were nothing if not syncretic.

Explicationem Arborum seu Tabularum', 195ff, at 253. The Trees or Tables are bound as end plates at the back of the volume.

583 John 8:42 'Jesus therefore said to them: If God were your Father, you would indeed love me. For from God I proceeded and came; for I came not of myself, but he sent me.'

584 John 17:8 'Because the words which thou gavest me, I have given to them. And they have received them and have known in very deed that I came out from thee; and they have believed that thou didst send me.'

585 i.e., the second place or *Sephirah Chochmah* or Wisdom.

586 *Amph.*II, 58 'Ex DEO Emanans certè Diuinum; SAPIENTIA, DEI EMANATIO est; quare Diuina, æterna. Emanationes DEI, scintillæ & radii Diuinitatis. Obseruandæ phrases: Ego ex DEO processi, Iohan.8,42. Misisti me, Exiui à patre, Iohan.17,8. Ex hoc Emanationis loco firmatur definitio Philosophiæ veræ, vers.167. *Claritatis Omnipotentis*, &c.) Hinc SAPIENTIA incarnata Iohan.17.4. *Pater, ego te clarificaui super terram; opus consummaui, quod dedisti mihi, ut faciam: & nunc clarifica me tu pater, apud temetipsum, claritate, quam habui, priusquam Mundus esset, apud te*. Et paulò post: *Quia à te exiui*, hoc est, emanaui.'

587 *Amph.*II, 58. See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 929 'ad ineffabilem unam Trinitatem, & trinam unitatem'. According to Schmidt-Biggemann,

As Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* exerted such an influence on the *Amphitheatre*, a brief look at what he has to say about the first *Sephirah*, *Kether*, seems in order:

> Kether … is the first abyss of inaccessible divinity, and the ocean of majesty, and infinite power of all things, as much of those which are as those which are not: no contradiction will escape it, no entanglement will restrain it, no dialectic reasoning of Philosophy will afflict it, … finally this crown hanging down from divinity, obstacles removed, penetrates the whole kingdom. They call its name כתר *Kether*.[588]

Khunrath would likely be aware from Pico's 'Cabalistic conclusions confirming the Christian Religion' that

> Anyone who knows the correspondence of the Ten Commandments through the conjunction of astrological truth with theological truth will see … whatever other cabalists say, that the first commandment corresponds to the first numeration [i.e. first *Sephirah*, Kether], the second to the second, the third to the third, the fourth to the seventh, the fifth to the fourth, the sixth to the fifth, the seventh to the ninth, the eighth to the eighth, the ninth to the sixth, the tenth to the tenth.[589]

If we look closely, however, at Khunrath's edited version of the Ten Commandments in Circular Figure One, we see that his associations of *Sephiroth* with Commandments do not correspond with those in Pico (Table 4.7).

Philosophia perennis, 96–7 Reuchlin identifies *Hu* with Dionysius's '*t'auton*'; the third name is *Esth* (fire), which is interpreted as the beginning of the world, the Holy Spirit. Schmidt-Biggemann, however, is not always reliable, identifying (p. 98) the fourth *Sefirah Chesed* with *Pahad* (Justice and Sword), when the latter really appears as an alternative name for the fifth *Sefirah Gevurah*. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 230. On the maxim, see Virgil, *Eclogue* 8:75.

588 See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 931 'Kether … prima est inaccessibilis divinitatis abyssus, & maiestatis pelagus, & infinita omnium potestas, tam quae sunt quam quae non sunt: hanc nulla subterfugiet contradictio, hanc nulla prohibet implicatio, hanc nulla moderatur Philosophiae dialectica ratiocinatio, … hoc denique diadema totum a divinitate pendens regnum obicibus ruptis penetrat. Nomen eius vocant כתר *Kether*.'

589 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 541 11>49. But see Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', 365 concerning the juggling necessary for Pico's correspondence between the Ten Commandments and the *Sephiroth*.

TABLE 4.7 The Decalogue aligned with the *Sephiroth*

	Ten Commandments	Khunrath	Pico
1	Thou shalt have no other gods before me.	Kether	Kether
2	Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.	Chochmah	Chochmah
3	Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain.	Binah	Binah
4	Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.	Chesed	Netzach
5	Honour thy Father and thy Mother.	Geburah	Chesed
6	Thou shalt not kill.	Tiphereth	Geburah
7	Thou shalt not commit adultery.	Netzach	Yesod
8	Thou shalt not steal.	Hod	Hod
9	Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.	Iesod	Tiphereth
10	Thou shalt not covet.	Malkhut	Malkhut

32 8. Shemoth: the Names of God

Although the ultimate essence of the Godhead is unknowable and described with the apophatic term *Ensoph*, there are *Nomina Divina*, names by which divinity is known and addressed. Plato had discussed them in the *Cratylus*, Jerome had written of them to Marcellas, and Dionysius the Areopagite had written of them in his *Divine Names*.[590] The thirteenth-century Kabbalist whose writings exerted a great deal of influence on Pico and Reuchlin, Abraham Abulafia, the Father of Ecstatic or Prophetic Kabbalah,[591] considered *Derekh ha-Sephiroth* (The Way of the *Sephiroth*) to be useful for beginners, to be superceded by *Derekh ha-Shemoth* (The Way of the Names), attained only

590 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, 52 'Hieronymus ad Marcellam: decem nomina dei commemorat. Dionysius Areopagita prope quadragintaquinque: alij septuagintaduo.'

591 Cf. Idel, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah*, 140 who adds that 'according to Cordovero, the most sublime form of Kabbalah is not the study of the *sefirot*, which originates in the Zohar, among other places, but rather, it is the Kabbalah of the letters and their combination. However, "this Kabbalah is almost unavailable … and in its place we find the Divine Names, their functions and combinations as they are derived from Biblical verses, together with the knowledge of their functions; how they derive power, and their place in the supernal *Merkavah* (Divine Chariot). This knowledge is almost unavailable … and an introduction to it will be found in these three gates (in *Pardes Rimmonim*), the Gate of the Letters, the Gate of the Vowel Points and the Gate of the cantilation notes".'

after profound contemplation of the *Sepher Yetzirah*.[592] As Idel observes, in Abulafia's writings the theme of the divine name was 'pivotal for the changes at the end of time'; recitations of the divine names inducing changes in human consciousness, with names capable of bringing the practitioner to the level of prophecy, possessing hidden powers capable of transforming reality by 'renewal' of souls.[593] Johann Arndt, in his *Judicium*, similarly considers the divine names to be the prime concern of Christian Cabala, and it is surely with this in mind that Khunrath has placed them closer to the centre of his circular figure than the ten *Sephiroth*.[594] He must surely have been inspired by Reuchlin's assertion in *De Verbo Mirifico*, concerning the Tetragrammaton, that 'the Name elevates the human mind; [what is] Signified cleaves to the elevated mind'.[595]

Within a blazing pentacle of fire can be seen ten of the most potent Divine Names, in a clockwise sequence, from the top: *Ehieh* אהיה, *Yah* יה, *YHVH* יהוה, *El* אל, *Elohim Gibor* אלהים גבור, *Eloha* אלוה, *YHVH Zebaoth* יהוה צבאות, *Elohim Zebaoth* אלהים צבאות, *Schadai* שדי, and *Adonai Melech* אדני מלך.[596] These names refer to different aspects or activities of the Godhead.[597] It is interesting to see that Khunrath does not slavishly follow either Agrippa or Ricci in the attributions of the divine names to the *Sephiroth*. As Table 4.8 below shows, the correspondences are similar, but identical to neither.[598]

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592 Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 54. On Abulafia, see Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 10. See also Moshe Idel, *Messianic Mystics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), Chapter 2: Abraham Abulafia: Ecstatic Kabbalah and Spiritual Messianism.

593 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 14, 18–19; idem, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 53, 77. On the status of the divine names and their powers in Abulafia, see Moshe Idel, *Enchanted Chains: Techniques and Rituals in Jewish Mysticism* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2005), 76–79.

594 See *Amph.*II, 124 for Khunrath's reference to 'NOMINA DEI, fig Amphitheatri huius prima à me annotata' (the NAMES OF GOD noted down by me in the first figure of this Amphitheatre).

595 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 936 'Nomen humanam mentem elevat: Significatum elevatae menti adhaeret.'

596 Cf. Ricius, *Theses*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 121 'Cunctæ denique hic expositae decades, à decem sanctissimis, exemplaribusque Dei nominibus ducunt originem, ad eaque respiciunt, & tendunt uniuersa, hoc est, Eheie, Iah, Tetragrammaton prolatum Elohim, El, Eloha, Elohim Tetragrammaton Zeuaos, Elohim Zeuaos, Schadai Aedonai.'

597 See Idel, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah*, 140 on the Divine Names and their functions. See also Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, Book 3, LXV^{r} ff. where he discusses the sequence YHVH, Ehieh, Yah, Adonai, El, Elohim, Eloha, Adonai [again], Sadai, Sabaoth.

598 Circular Figure 1. Cf. Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book 2, 'Scale of the Number Ten'; Ricius, *De Coelesti Agricultura*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 121–122. Neither Pico nor Reuchlin provide information that allows for the creation of such a table of correspondences. For a detailed analysis of Ricius's correspondences, see Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', in particular the table on 364. See also Ricius's *Aphoristicae in*

TABLE 4.8 Correspondences between *Sephiroth* and *Shemoth* in Khunrath, Agrippa, and Ricci

Sephiroth	**Khunrath**	**Agrippa**	**Ricci**
Kether	*Ehieh*	*Eheie*	*Eheie*
Chochmah	*Yah*	*Iod Tetragrammaton*	*Iah*
Binah	*YHVH*	*Tetragrammaton Elohim*	*Tetragrammaton pronounced Elohim*
Chesed	*El*	*El*	*El*
Geburah	*Elohim Gibor*	*Elohim Gibor*	*Elohim*
Tiphereth	*Eloha*	*Eloha*	*Eloha*
Nezah	*YHVH Zebaoth*	*Tetragrammaton Sabaoth*	*Tetragrammaton Zevaos*
Hod	*Elohim Zebaoth*	*Elohim Sabaoth*	*Elohim Zevaos*
Iesod	*Schadai*	*Sadai*	*Schadai*
Malchuth	*Adonai Melech*	*Adonai Melech*	*Aedonai*

The first divine name in each sequence is *Ehieh*. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, discussing Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*, quotes:

> God's first name is *Ehieh*, who is. This is God, who withdraws into the most remote corner of his divinity, into the immeasurable depth of his darkness and who, giving up his concealment, reveals himself to Moses: I am who I am – Ehieh.[599]

This is the name of God that God himself revealed.[600] From the ineffable darkness of the abyss of *Ein Sof*, here we have the first revelation of the divinity, in the bush that was on fire and yet not burnt, from out of which God spoke and revealed a name. As Moshe Idel poignantly put its, 'by means of the recitation of the divine name Moshe knew God and God knew him … by means of the name, Moses became the anointed of God.'[601] When Moses received this

Cabalistarum Eruditionem (Pavia, 1509), sig. [B2^{v}] '39. Prima sphira eheie, diadema supremum, privatio, pater, mens', etc.

599 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis*, 96.

600 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung', 13.

601 Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 73.

name, 'he attained the very essence of wisdom and the highest level in the renewal of miracles and wonders.'[602]

A voice issuing from a fire must surely have held great resonance to an alchemist! Khunrath gives some indication of how he understands these names by similarly discussing אהיה *Ehieh* and the phrase spoken by God to Moses in Exodus 3:14 '*Ehieh eser Ehieh*, I will be he who will be'.[603] He explains that this name refers to the past, present, and future, with the implication that it is *eternally* significant, as implied in the *Amphitheatre*'s title, and he relates it to John's 'ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, from him THAT IS, and THAT WAS and THAT IS TO COME' from Revelation 1:4.[604] There is thus the implication that this Old Testament name, *Ehieh*, anticipates the future coming, namely the return of the Messiah and is an example of how Khunrath, like Pico and Reuchlin before him, sought to use their knowledge of Hebrew to make 'Cabalistic' readings of the Old Testament as 'proof' of the eternal existence of all three persons of the Holy Trinity, thereby refuting, for example, the heresies of Arius and the Antitrinitarians, and, in theory, converting the Jews.[605]

The great importance Khunrath places in the invocation of the divine names is testified by a long passage in the *Amphitheatre*, in which he shows himself to be a careful reader of scripture:

> Learn, therefore, with Seth, to invoke the NAME OF GOD, Genesis 4, final verse;[606] with Abram, Genesis 12:8, 13:4, and (Abraham) 21:33;[607] with

602 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 21.

603 On Ehieh, see Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 301, 303; Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico*', 54.

604 *Amph.*II, 67. άπο του ὁ ὠν, και ὁ ην, [και ὁ] ἐρχόμενος, i.e., ab eo QVI EST, & QVI ERAT, & QVI ERIT. The Greek is slightly mangled on 67, with the 'καὶ ὁ' of the final phrase missing. In the painting concealed within the front cover of London, British Library, MS Sloane 181 Khunrath includes *Ehieh* as well as the Greek term *Ōn* (*Being*), which appeared in the Septuagint translation of Exodus 3:14.

605 *Amph.*II, 68. For a provocative essay arguing that the *Sephiroth* could be argued to represent not a Triune but indeed a Decaune God, see Goshen-Gottstein, 'The Triune and the Decaune God'.

606 Genesis 4:26 'But to Seth also was born a son, whom he called Enos: this man began to call upon the name of the Lord.'

607 Genesis 12:8 'And passing on from thence to a mountain that was on the east side of Bethel, he there pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east. He built there also an altar to the Lord, and called upon his name;' Genesis 13:4 'In the place of the altar which he had made before. And there he called upon the name of the Lord;' Genesis 21:33 'And Abimelech, and Phicol, the general of his army, arose and returned to the land of the Palestines. But Abraham planted a grove in Bersabee, and there called upon the name of the Lord God eternal.'

Moses, Exodus 34:5;[608] with Aaron and his sons, Numbers 6, final verse;[609] with the Israelite people, Deuteronomy 26:2, 28:10 and 32:3;[610] with David and all Israel, 1 Chronicles 13:6 and 16:2 and 8, and Psalm 115:4;[611] with Solomon, 3 Kings 8:23 and 43;[612] 2 Chronicles 6:20;[613] with Elijah, 3 Kings 18:24;[614] with Elisha, 4 Kings 5:11;[615] with King Asa, 2 Chronicles 14:11;[616] with the judge Jehoshaphat, 2 Chronicles 20:6 and 9;[617] with Jesus, the son

608 Exodus 34:5 'And when the Lord was come down in a cloud, Moses stood with him, calling upon the name of the Lord.'

609 Numbers 6:27 'And they shall invoke my name upon the children of Israel: and I will bless them.'

610 Deuteronomy 26:2 'Thou shalt take the first of all thy fruits, and put them in a basket, and shalt go to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, that his name may be invocated there;' Deuteronomy 28:10 'And all the people of the earth shall see that the name of the Lord is invocated upon thee: and they shall fear thee;' Deuteronomy 32:3 'Because I will invoke the name of the Lord: give ye magnificence to our God.'

611 1 Paralipomenon 13:6 'And David went up with all the men of Israel to the hill of Cariathiarim which is in Juda, to bring thence the ark of the Lord God sitting upon the cherubims, where his name is called upon;' 1 Paralipomenon 16:2 'And when David had made an end of offering holocausts and peace-offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord;' 1 Paralipomenon 16:8 'Praise ye the Lord, and call upon his name: make known his doings among the nations;' Vulgate Psalm 114:4 'and I called upon the name of the Lord. O Lord, deliver my soul.'

612 3 Kings 8:23 'And he said: Lord God of Israel, there is no God like thee in heaven above, or on earth beneath: who keepest covenant and mercy with thy servants that have walked before thee with all their heart;' 3 Kings 8:43 'Then hear thou in heaven, in the firmament of thy dwelling place, and do all those things, for which that stranger shall call upon thee. That all the people of the earth may learn to fear thy name, as do thy people Israel, and may prove that thy name is called upon on this house, which I have built.'

613 2 Paralipomenon 6:20 'That thou mayest open thy eyes upon this house, day and night, upon this place wherein thou hast promised that thy name should be called upon.'

614 3 Kings [= 1 Kings] 18:24 'Call ye on the names of your gods, and I will call on the name of my Lord: and the God that shall answer by fire, let him be God. And all the people answering said: A very good proposal.'

615 4 Kings [= 2 Kings] 5:11 'Naaman was angry and went away, saying: I thought he would have come out to me, and standing would have invoked the name of the Lord his God, and touched with his hand the place of the leprosy, and healed me.'

616 2 Paralipomenon 14:11 'And he called upon the Lord God, and said: O Lord, there is no difference with thee, whether thou help with few, or with many. Help us, O Lord our God: for with confidence in thee, and in thy name, we are come against this multitude. O Lord thou art our God. Let not man prevail against thee.'

617 2 Paralipomenon 20:6 'And said: O Lord God of our fathers, thou art God in heaven, and rulest over all the kingdoms and nations. In thy hand is strength and power; and no one can resist thee;' 2 Paralipomenon 20:9 'If evils fall uon us, the sword of judgement, or pestilence, or famine, we will stand in thy presence before this house, in which thy name is called upon: and we will cry to thee in our afflictions. And thou wilt hear, and save us.'

of Sirach, 51:14;[618] with Jeremiah, Lamentations 3:55;[619] with Azariah in the midst of the fire,[620] Daniel 3:26;[621] with the three men, Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, in the furnace of burning fire, ibid, verse 52;[622] with the Priests, 1 Maccabees 7:37;[623] with the disciples of Christ and all the saints and pious men, with the Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6:9.[624] Likewise John 14:13 and 15, and 16:23.[625] Oh LORD GOD, how Admirable is your Name in all the Earth, Psalm 8, verse 1 and last.[626] I will sing to the name of the LORD, the Most High, Psalm 7, last verse.[627] I will be glad and rejoice in you, I will sing to your name, Oh Most High, Psalm 9:3.[628]

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618 Ecclesiasticus 51:14 'I called upon the Lord, the father of my Lord, that he would not leave me in the day of my trouble, and in the time of the proud, without help.'

619 Lamentations 3:55 'I have called upon thy name, O Lord, from the lowest pit.'

620 Azariah = Abed-nego. Cf. Daniel 1:7 'And the master of the eunuchs gave them their names: to Daniel, Baltassar: to Ananias, Sidrach: to Misael, Misach: and to Azarias, Abdenago' (Douay).

621 Daniel 3:25–6 'Then Azarias standing up prayed in this manner: and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire, he said: Blessed art thou, O Lord the God of our fathers, and thy name is worthy of praise and glorious for ever.'

622 Daniel 3:52 'Blessed art thou, O Lord the God of our fathers: and worthy to be praised and glorified and exalted above all for ever: and blessed is the holy name of thy glory and worthy to be praised and exalted above all in all ages.'

623 1 Maccabees 7:37 'Thou, O Lord, hast chosen this house for thy name to be called upon therein, that it might be a house of prayer and supplication for thy people.'

624 Matthew 6:9–13.

625 John 14:13 'Because I go to the Father; and whatsoever you shall ask the Father in my name, that will I do; that the Father may be glorified in the Son.' As John 14:15 reads 'If ye love me, keep my commandments,' perhaps John 14:14 is intended 'If you shall ask me any thing in my name, that I will do.' In his French translation of the *Amphitheatrum, Amphithéâtre christiano-kabbalistique, divino-magique, physico-chimique, ter-tri-uno-catholique de l'Éternelle Sapience, seule vraie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Chacornac, 1900), 66 Émile-Jules Grillot de Givry supplies John 15:16 'You have not chosen me; but I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain; that whatsoever you shall ask of the Father in my name he may give it you.' John 16:23 'And in that day you shall not ask me any thing. Amen, amen, I say to you: If you ask the Father any thing in my name, he will give it to you.'

626 Vulgate Psalm 8:2 'O Lord our Lord, how admirable is thy name in the whole earth! For thy magnificence is elevated above the heavens;' Vulgate Psalm 8:9 'O Lord our Lord, how admirable is thy name in all the earth!'

627 Vulgate Psalm 7:18 'I will give glory to the Lord according to his justice: and will sing to the name of the Lord the most high.'

628 Vulgate Psalm 9:3 'I will be glad and rejoice in thee: I will sing to thy name, O thou most high.'

> JEHOVAH is his Name, Judith 9:10 and 16:3.[629] IEHOVAH ZEBAOTH, LORD OF HOSTS is my Name, Isaiah 51:15.[630]

This long list of mainly Old Testament verses is capped by Christological references from the New Testament, but with encouragement to consult the Cabalists:

> *Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the* LORD (manifest to men in Eternal WISDOM incarnate, IHSVH CHRIST, John 17:6)[631] *shall be saved*, Joel 2:32; Acts 2:21; Romans 10:13.[632] The Doctrine of the Cabalists on the names of GOD and the Ten SPHIROS (verse 137) or EMANATIONS or Numerations (as they call them) of GOD, should be referred to in this matter.[633]

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629 Judith 9:10 'And know not that thou art our God, who destroyest wars from the beginning. And the Lord is thy name;' Judith 16:3 'The Lord putteth an end to wars: the Lord is his name.'

630 Isaiah 51:15 'But I am the Lord thy God, who trouble the sea, and the waves thereof swell. The Lord of hosts is my name.' The whole passage appears in *Amph.*II, 81–2 'Discito ergo NOMEN DEI inuocare cum Seth, Gen.4. vers.vlt. cum Abram, Gen.12,8.13,4. & (Abraham) 21,33. cum Moseh, Exod.34,5. cum Aaron & filiis eius, Num.6.v.vlt. cum populo Israelitico, Deut.26,2.28,10. & 32,3. cum Dauid & toto Israel, 1. Paralip. 13,6. & 16,2. & 8. Psal.115,4. cum Solomone, 3. Reg.8,23, & 43. 2.Paralip.6,20. cum Elia, 3. Reg. 18,24. cum Eliseo, 4. Reg.5,11. cum Rege Asa, 2. Paral.14,11. cum Iosaphat iudice, 2.Paral.20,6. & 9. cum Iesu Syrach, 51,14. cum Ieremia, Thren.3,55. cum Azaria, in medio flammae, Dan.3,26. cum tribus viris, Sidrach, Misach, Abednago, in camino ignis ardentis, ibid.vers.52. cum Sacerdotibus, 1. Maccab.7,37. cum discipulis Christi & omnibus sanctis ac piis, Oratione Dominica, Matth.6,9. Item Iohan.14,13. & 15. & 16,23. O DOMINE DEVS, quàm Admirabile est Nomen tuum in Vniuersa Terra, Psal. 8.v.1. & vlt. Psallam Nomini DOMINI Altissimi, Psal.7.v.vlt. Laetabor & exaltabo in te, psallam Nomini tuo Altissime, Psal.9,3. IEHOVAH est Nomen illi, Iudith 9,10. & 16,3. IEHOVAH ZEBAOTH, DOMINVS EXERCITVVM est Nomen meum, Esa.51,15.'

631 John 17:6 'I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou hast given me out of the world. Thine they were; and to me thou gavest them. And they have kept thy word.'

632 Joel 2:32 'And it shall come to pass, that every one that shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved: or in mount Sion, and in Jerusalem shall be salvation, as the Lord hath said, and in the residue whom the Lord shall call;' Acts 2:21 'And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved;' Romans 10:13 'For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

633 *Amph.*II, 82 '*Omnis quicunque inuocauerit Nomen* DOMINI (manifestatum hominibus in SAPIENTIA Æterna incarnata, IHSVH CHRISTO, Iohan.17,6.) *saluus erit*, Ioël.2,32. Actor.2,21. Rom.10,13. Huc referenda est Doctrina Cabalistarum de nominibus DEI, & Decem SPHIROS (vers.137.) siuè EMANATIONIBVS aut Numerationibus (vt vocant) DEI.'

The very first page of the seventeenth-century French manuscript translation of the *Amphitheatre* in the Ritman Library, Amsterdam, contains a table of the Divine Names and *Sephiroth* inspired by Khunrath's engraving, with additional material providing interpretations of the Hebrew (Fig. 4.47). Comparison with Table 4.8 above shows that De Bourges does not exactly follow Khunrath's sequence of the divine names, duplicates the entry for *Eloha*/*Tiferet*, omitting *Yah* and *Yesod*, but adds an entry for *El hai* (Table 4.9), but it is nevertheless a revealing example of a reader extracting meaning from the *Amphitheatre*.

TABLE 4.9 Claude de Bourges, *Amphyteatre de la Sapience* (1646), fol. 1, Divine Names and Sephiroth

	Divine names		**Sephiroth**
1	*Eheie*	I have been, I am, I will be	*Keter* – Crown
2	*Jehova* [Yah]	He was, he is, he will be	*Hocma* – Knowledge in making of the universes, Wisdom
3	*Elohim* [YHVH]	Justice, Judgement, Creator, Father of all things;	*Binah* – Prudence, Intelligence
4	*El*	Strong god	*Hesed* – Mercy Misericorde
5	*Sadai* [Elohim Gibor]	All Powerful	*Pahad* – Fear
6/9	*Eloha*	Lord/Seigneur	*Tiferet* – Glory
7	*Jehova Sebaot*	Constituting armies or military exercises	*Nesah* – Thunder foudre
8	*Elohim Sebaot*	Exercises of the armies of the visible earth	*Hod* – Ornemant majesty
10	*Adonai*	Lord	*Malcut* – Reigne/ Kingdom
11 & 12	*El hai*		*Jesod* – gives life to all material things; foundation of the rational soul; or name of god who makes feeble created beings subsist.

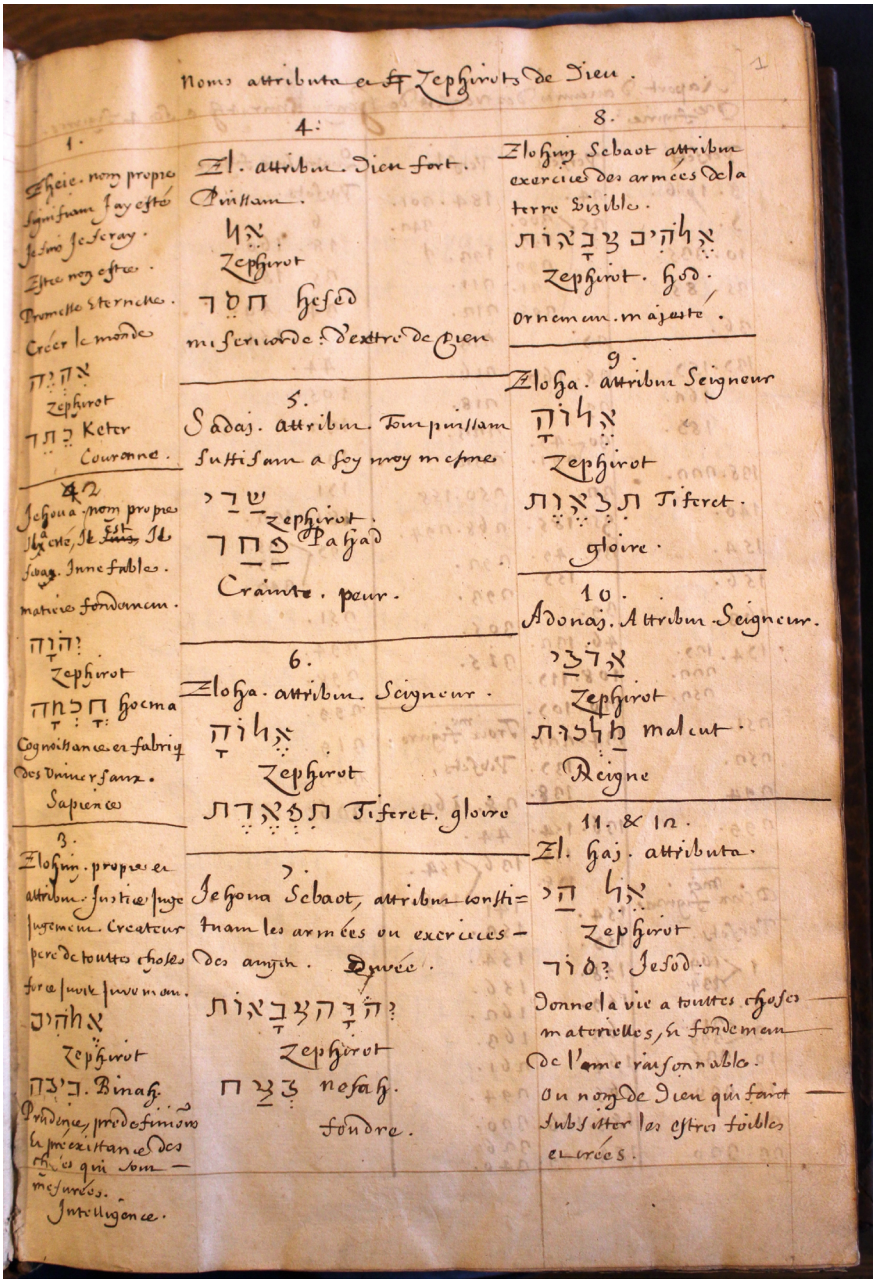


FIGURE 4.47 Khunrath, *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience eternelle*, f. 1 Divine Names and Sephiroth. Ritman Library, Amsterdam, Ms. M490

33 **9. יהשוה YHSVH, Pentagrammaton, Verbum Mirificum**

In the context of Cabala and occult philosophy, the cruciform posture of Khunrath's Christ (without the presence of the Cross), within a circle, calls to mind Agrippa's human figures in geometric shapes in Book 2 of *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533, Fig. 4.49). Agrippa's microcosmic man as the measure of the universe becomes Khunrath's Christ at the centre of creation.

The ten divine names appear in a radiant pentagram of fire, comprised of five major flames along with five sets of eight smaller flames, forty-five in total. One possible meaning for this is an allusion, perhaps, to pseudo-Dionysius's forty-five names of God.[634] With the proliferation of Hebrew, there is another possibility: in standard *Gematria*, called *Mispar Hechrachi* or *Ragil*, following the regular numeric attributions of the Hebrew letters, 45 is the value of the Hebrew word אדם Adam (א = 1 + ד = 4 + ם = 40). In the method of *Gematria*

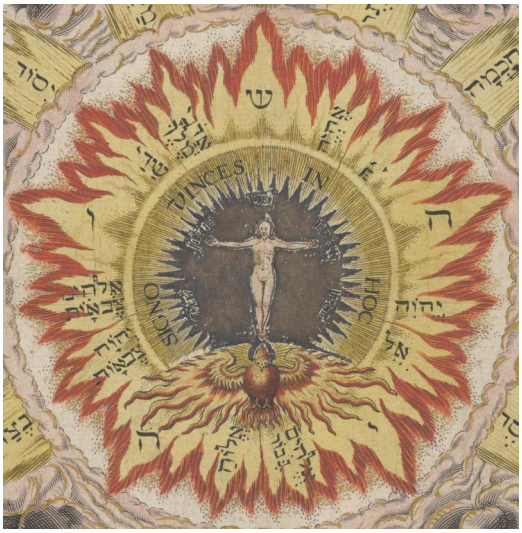


FIGURE 4.48
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 1, detail: YHSVH Pentagram. Memorial Library, Rare Books Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison

634 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 474 '*Dionysius* reckoneth up 45 Names of God and Christ.'



FIGURE 4.49 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CLXI Human figure in circle. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1680 BPH OG23

called *Mispar Schemi* or *Milui*,[635] in which the value of a word is calculated by spelling the name of each letter and then adding up the values of these letter-words, the *Tetragrammaton* יהוה YHVH, with letters spelled out as יוד-הא-ואו-הא Yod-He-Vav-He, comes to the total 45, representing the 45-letter

635 The same name, *Mispar Gadol*, is also used for another method, which spells the name of each letter and adds the standard values of the resulting string. For example, the letter Aleph is spelled Aleph-Lamed-Peh, giving it a value of 1 + 30 + 80 = 111. My thanks to John MacMurphy for advice on these terms.

Name of God.[636] Such a numerical equivalence between the human and divine must have surely been significant for a Christian Cabalist, like Khunrath, devout believer in the incarnation of Christ as the Second Adam.[637] Additionally, by working with *Gematria*, the Hebrew word *Emet* (Truth) read as a number has the value 441, which can be reduced to 45.[638] In its turn 45 can be reduced to the number 9 and in light of Khunrath's reference to this figure as the *Sigillum Dei*, on a magical level, from his reading of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, he would know that the magical *Tabula Saturni* (Square of Saturn, Fig. 4.50) is composed of 9 cells containing numbers totalling 45.[639] This may at first seem a rather odd association to make between the pagan deity and the *Seal of God*, but Idel notes that Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* seems to be the first to mention Saturn and Sabbath in a contest with a positive overtone.[640]

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636 Gaffarel, *Abdita Divinae Cabalae Mysteria*, 70 on how the number 45 is the total of 'Yod He Vau He' and also *Adam*. Louis Jacobs, *A Jewish Theology* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973), 150 provides the various calculations: 45 letter name: yod (yod = 10, vav = 6, dalet = 4), *he* (he = 5, alef = 1), *vav* (vav = 6, alef = 1, vav = 6), *he* (he = 5, alef = 1). Cf. Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), Lib.2, Cap.XXII, CXLVIII 'Nomina divina respondentia numeris Saturni' 3. Ab, 9 Hod, 15 Iah, 15 Hod, 45 'Tetragrammaton extensum.' On the terms for types of Gematria, see Daniel Krochmalnik, 'Die Bibel entschlüsselt: Zahlenexegese in der jüdischen Tradition und Moderne', in Michaela Bauks, Ulrich Berges, Daniel Krochmalnik, and Manfred Oeming (eds.), *Neue Wege der Schriftauslegung* (Münster: L. Verlag, 2019), 99–160, at 106–107.

637 See also Elliot R. Wolfson, 'Angelic Embodiment and the Feminine Representation of Jesus: Reconstructing Carnality in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper', in Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (eds.), *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 395–426, at 412 on *Tetragrammaton* as having the numerical value of forty-five, the same value as the word Adam, leading to the conclusion that 'Jesus is the potency of God adorned in the corporeal body.'

638 Abulafia noted that the words *Emet* (Truth) and *Gachelet* (Coal) shared the same value of 441. See Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah*, 64; Richard Smoley and Jay Kinney, *Hidden Wisdom: A Guide to the Western Inner Traditions* (Wheaton, Ill: Quest Books, 1999; repr. 2006), 90 'Truth binds all things together, just as the coal binds the flame to it.' See also Hames, *Like Angels on Jacob's Ladder*, 74. *Emet*: א Aleph = 1, מ Mem = 40, ת Tav = 400 which adds to the total 441.

639 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 244. See also Kircher, *Arithmologia, sive de abditis Numerorum mysterijs* (1665), 64–65; idem, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1653), Vol. 2, Part 2, 46: 'Cum itaque 9, quadratum primum Saturni, quem totius Vniversi mentem, vt in Sphynge mystagoga exposuimus, appellabant, pingere volebant, huius numeros intra nouem quadratula eo artificio disponebant, vt singuli ordines numerorum, normales, transuersi, diagonales, simul iuncti, vnum & eundem numerum restituerent, vt sequitur.' The character for Saturn/Lead figures prominently in the *Calumniators* engraving.

640 Moshe Idel, *Saturn's Jews: On the Witches' Sabbat and Sabbateanism* (London: Continuum, 2011), 114.

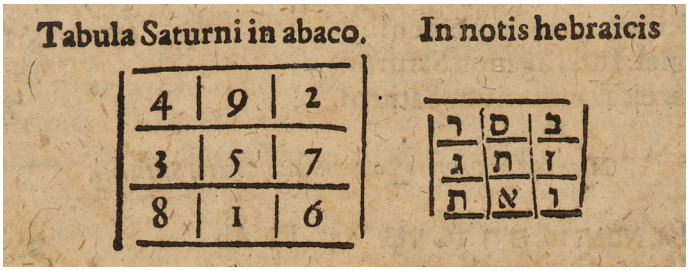


FIGURE 4.50 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* in *Opera* (Beringos Fratres, n.d.), Book 2, 178 Squares of Saturn. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 62-6338

One of the main attractions of Kabbalah for Reuchlin was the multiplicity of divine names in Hebrew and he was apparently inspired by Pico's brief references to the name of Jesus in a kabbalistic context in several of the *Cabalistic Conclusions* 'according to his own opinion', most notably in a passage in which he links the letter *Shin* with both the name of Jesus and the Hebrew word *Shabbat*, i.e Sabbath, meaning rest or cessation:

> 11>14. By the letter <ש>, that is, *shin*, which mediates in the name Jesus, it is indicated to us Cabalistically that the world then rested perfectly, as though in its perfection, when *Yod* was conjoined with *Vav* – which happened in Christ, who was the true Son of God, and man.[641]

Khunrath's Christocentricity and the debt he owes to Reuchlin is most explicit here at the heart of the *Amphitheatre*'s first circular engraving where we discover that the five largest tongues of fire each bear one letter of the *Wonder-Working Word* יהשוה YHSVH.[642] This is Reuchlin's Christian-Cabalist name for Jesus, the *Pentagrammaton* or Name of Five Letters, representing the new era of the reign of Christ, superceding the *Tetragrammaton* יהוה YHVH of the Jewish *Yahweh*. The *Amphitheatre*'s first figure, we are told, is

641 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 522–523, 526–527, Theses 11>7, 11>8, 11>14, 11>15. Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, 165–6; idem, 'Giovanni Pico's Book of Job', 186, where Pico also proposed a five letter Cabalistic name for Jesus, with Shin in the middle, but as יהשוש [YHSVS]; Idel, 'Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb,' in idem, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 227.

642 De Guaita, in McLean (ed.), *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, 55. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 262 'The number 5 is of no small force, for it consists of the first even, and the first odd, as of a female, and male: for an odd number is the male, and the even the female.'

> the Holy Cross, Christ Himself crucified, in the first figure of this Amphitheatre, CRUCIFORMLY conquering the kingdom of the Devil, in which character of the ancient Magi we too may Theo-Sophically conquer.[643]

As a gloss to the biblical declaration 'Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the LORD shall be saved', found in both Old and New Testaments (Joel 2:32; Acts 2:21; Romans 10:13),[644] Khunrath indicates precisely which Name of the Lord should be used: 'made manifest to men in Eternal WISDOM incarnate, IHSVH CHRIST.'[645] There is, perhaps, a particular reason for the choice of the expression 'manifest' here. In *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506), Reuchlin had contended that, according to the Hebrew letters comprising it, the name 'Jesus' meant 'the hidden God'.[646] This was rejected by Luther, who made use of this work, consulted with Reuchlin as an expert in Hebrew, and was even familiar with *De Arte Cabalistica*, though he had no time for Cabala.[647] While clearly inspired by Reuchlin's Cabala, with his reference to the 'manifest' rather than 'hidden', Khunrath appears to be attempting to maintain at least a toe-hold in Lutheran orthodoxy.

The Jewish Tetragrammaton, YHVH, the 'unpronounceable' *anekphoniton*, is comprised solely of vowels in Hebrew.[648] Reuchlin explains that it is made pronounceable (as *Yehoschua*)[649] by the addition of the letter ש (*Shin*),

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643 *Amph.*II, 57 'Crux Sancta Christus ipse crucifixus, figura Amphitheatri huius prima, CRVCIFORMITER vincens diaboli regnum, in quo veterum Magorum charactere & nos Theo-Sophicè vincemus'. The word 'conquer' most likely alludes to the phrase from Constantine at the centre of the figure: 'In this sign you shall conquer'.

644 Joel 2:32 'And it shall come to pass, that every one that shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved: or in mount Sion, and in Jerusalem shall be salvation, as the Lord hath said, and in the residue whom the Lord shall call;' Acts 2:21 'And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved;' Romans 10:13 'For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

645 *Amph.*II, 82 '(manifestatum hominibus in SAPIENTIA Æterna incarnata, IHSVH CHRISTO, Iohan.17,6.).'

646 See also Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 969 'Et ita יהשוה *Ihsuh* nomen tetragrammatis literis & una ש *Schin* consonante pronunciatur, ut eum denunciet qui est יה *Iah*: id est, Deus, & סוה *Savah*: id est, velatus' (And so YHSVH the name with the four letters of the Tetragrammaton and one consonant *Shin* is pronounced, in order to declare him who *Yah*, i.e. God, and *Savah*, i.e. concealed).

647 See William J. Wright, *Martin Luther's Understanding of God's Two Kingdoms: A Response to the Challenge of Skepticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 94.

648 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 265, 331. See also *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* (1587), 968–69.

649 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung', 22. Note José Bouman and Cis Van Heertum (eds.), *Divine Wisdom – Divine Nature: The Message of the Rosicrucian Manifestoes in the Visual Language of the Seventeenth Century* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2014), 92 'Allowing for a

significantly for him the first letter of the word שם [*Shem*], meaning 'name' and of שמן [*Shemen*], 'oil', thereby signifying the 'Anointed', i.e. the Messiah.[650] (Hence the reason for the large letter *Shin* over the oil-lamp in Fig. 1 at the start of this chapter).[651] We are told that 'there is no other name more holy or religious, whose letters are God, whose syllables are Spirit, whose saying is God and Man'.[652] The medial letter *Shin* designates Christ as God and Man, who both make one, it is the consonant that makes the ineffable Tetragrammaton effable.[653]

Reuchlin develops this further, stating that any Cabalist 'who knows anything about Kabbalistic Gematria will agree that the numerical value of the letter S comprises the other four letters, and that it also possesses the same properties of clemency and mercy.'[654] Bearing in mind the fiery nature of Khunrath's first circular figure, it should be mentioned that this letter – S – held profound significance for Christian Cabalists and alchemists alike as representing the principle of Fire אש [*Esch*].[655] As Khunrath could have known

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significant spelling error (the name of Jesus is spelt in Hebrew with an *ayn* at the end, not a *he*, rendering the interpretation in effect invalid)'. See also Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, 109f, where he discusses three forms of the name Jesus in Hebrew: *Yeshu*, *Yeshu'a*, and *Yehoshu'a*.

650 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 972 'Apud Hebraeos ab ש Schin incipit שם Sem: id est, nomen, & שמן Schemen: id est, oleum'. See also Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 50. On the insertion of *Shin* into the divine name, see also Brian P. Copenhaver, 'Lefevre d'Etaples, Symphorien Champier and the Secret Names of God', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 189–211, at 195 with reference to speculations by the fourth-century theologian Evagrius (195), Jerome (197) and Cusanus (201).

651 Described by Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 970 with the letter Shin, for oil, on its body, with the letter Yod, symbol of divinity in the place of the taper; where the two combine, there the fire burns.

652 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 965 'Nec est ullum aliud nomen quod sanctius & religiosius constat, cuius literae Deus, cuius syllabae Spiritus, cuius dictio Deus & homo est.'

653 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 968–9.

654 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 115. As YHVH variously computes to 26, 45, or 72, perhaps Reuchlin has in mind the *Atbash* permutation of YHVH as מצפצ MZPZ through the technique of *Temurah*, the letters of which are 40 + 90 + 80 + 90 = 300, the value of the letter Shin. See Joseph Dan, *The "Unique Cherub" Circle: A School of Mystics and Esoterics in Medieval Germany* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1999), 120 'YHVH in *etbash* is MZPZ, which is in Gematria "with mercy".'

655 Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, 97. See Béhar, *Les Langues Occultes de la Renaissance*, 19 'Le ש ou "S" est, pour les cabalistes, le symbole du feu ou de la lumière.' See also David de Planis Campy, *L'Ouverture de L'Escolle de Philosophie Transmutatoire Metallique* (Paris, 1633), 117 'Les trois lettres Mères: Aleph, Mem & Shin – l'Aleph denotant le Sel dont tout est produit icy bas: le Mem, la substance Mercurielle de Nature d'Eau, comme veut le Iezirah, *præficit*

from Pistorius's edition of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, God 'made *Shin* rule over fire'.[656] The *Amphitheatre*'s first circular figure of fire and light most likely alludes to the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles as tongues of fire at Pentecost (Acts 2:1–5), possibly to the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor,[657] as well as to Khunrath's notion of tribulation and of being broken 'per *Ignem Crucis*' (by the *Fire of the Cross*).[658] Bearing in mind the discussion of *Emet* (Truth) above in connection with Christ and now this link with the letter *Shin*, it is curious to discover in the *Zohar* that 'the *shin* is a letter of truth, that letter by which the Patriarchs communed with God.'[659]

At the very start of the 1595 *Amphitheatre*, Khunrath's new translation of Proverbs 1:1 begins 'HEAR, O my Son, said wise King ש Solomon, son of David, King of Iשsraאél', where we find ש linked with Solomon, the paragon of Wisdom, and אש (Fire) with God's chosen people.[660] By the addition of this letter ש, God the Father as YHVH is able to manifest in the world as YHSVH, Christ the Son, promoting generation by enabling the Spirit to descend into matter.[661] It was surely seen as significant that the letter ש (*Shin*) as the penultimate letter in the Hebrew alphabet immediately preceded the ת (*Tau*) symbolising Man.[662]

The importance of the character ש or '– S –' to Khunrath is clear in the way it appears in two of the *Amphitheatre*'s rectangular engravings: in the *Entrance* (Fig. 4.51), where we see the phrase: '– S – [is] a really truly DIVINE μυστηριον [*Mystērion – Mystery*]; which justly seizes all spectators, especially the more penitent, with admiration and love for it,'[663] and in the *Calumniators* (Fig. 4.52), which displays this letter – S – at the centre of another pentagram

ipsum Mem æquis. Et le Shin le Souphre spirituel de Nature du feu, ainsi que le veut le mesme livre susdit, *præficit ipsum Shin igni*.' See also Wolfson, 'Language, Secrecy, and the Mysteries of Law', 315, who explains that 'in Kabbalah it is common to explain *shin* by Notaricon as standing for *shem yhwh niqra*, that is, "The ineffable is called YHWH".'

656 *Abrahami de Creatione*, 870 'Fecit regnare ש Sin in igne.' Cf. Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 122.

657 Matthew 17:1–9; Mark 9:2–13; Luke 9:28–36.

658 *Amph.*I, 20.

659 *The Zohar* (1984), Vol. 1, 9.

660 *Amphitheatrum* (1595), 1 'Audi, fili mi, inqvit ש Selemóh, Rex sapiens, filius David, Regis Iשsraאél …'. In *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 945 Reuchlin explains by a play on words that the name 'Israel' can symbolise the union of 'man' אישׁ *Isch* and 'God' אל *El*.

661 De Guaita, 'An analysis of the Rosy-Cross after Heinrich Khunrath', in McLean (ed.), *The Amphitheatre Engravings of Heinrich Khunrath*, 56.

662 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 325.

663 *Entrance* engraving: '– S – MYSTHPION profectò verè DIUINVM; et qvod spectatores omnes, præsertim penitiores, in admirationem et amorem illius meritò rapit.' For a discussion of the term 'mystery' by Luther, see *The Pagan Servitude of the Church*, in Dillenberger (ed.), *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writing*, 327f.



FIGURE 4.51 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609) '– S –', *Entrance*, detail. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

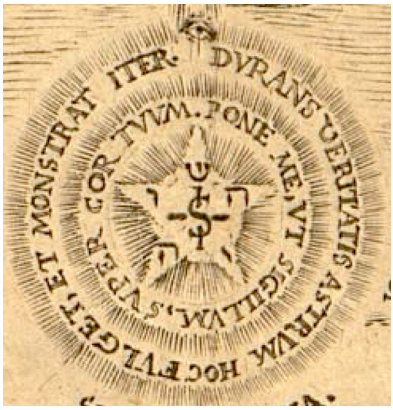


FIGURE 4.52 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609) '– S –', *Calumniators*, detail. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

of light bearing the name יהשוה YHSVH. Here we have a further example of Jewish Kabbalah being appropriated by Christians for confirmation of their faith,[664] as well as the implication that all true Cabala has Christ as its source and goal.[665] In his discussion of how Moses introduced mankind to the name *Ehieh*, Idel stated that so too will the Messiah introduce a new name.[666] As Schmidt-Biggemann states, the point of Khunrath's investment in the potential of Kabbalistic divine names is that they culminate in the name of the Christian Messiah, Jesus.[667] Furthermore, while Charles Zika argues that the purpose of Reuchlin's discussion of the *Pentagrammaton* is to 'establish the fact that the power of divine names resides only in their Hebrew form';[668] that the *verba* and *nomina barbara*, i.e., the Greek, Chaldean and the indecipherable hieroglyphs are for Reuchlin by-products of an original Hebrew,[669] Schmidt-Biggemann suggests that the universal power of the Christian-Cabalist divine name IHSVH

664 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 307.
665 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 301.
666 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 140.
667 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung', 10. See Pico, in Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 11–15, 526 'Per nomen Iod, he, uahu, he, quod est nomen ineffabile quod dicunt Cabalistae futurum esse nomen messaie …'.
668 Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate', 122. See also Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, 46.
669 Zika, 'Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate', 122.

is derived from the fact that it is a polyglot combination of the three scriptural languages (like the alchemical word AZOTH):

> The first letter I is Latin and Greek, it transcribes the Hebrew *Yod*; the second, H, must be read as a Greek *Eta* [H], the third, S, is again Latin, and stands for the Hebrew *Shin* [ש], the fourth, V, is a possible reading of the Hebrew *Vau* [ו], the fifth letter H reads as a Latin H or a Hebrew *Heh* [ה].[670]

In support of this inspired reading, Schmidt-Biggemann mentions the medieval Jesus-monogram adopted by the Jesuits, IHS (which Khunrath includes in the *Alchemical Citadel* engraving).[671] This can either be taken as an acronym for 'Iesus hominum salvator' (Jesus Saviour of Men), in which each Latin letter represents a Latin word, or it can be read as a composite of Greek and Latin letters, in which the central 'H' may be read as a Greek *Eta*, in between a Latin I/J and S, to provide a mixed abbreviation for the name JESU.[672]

Needless to say, not all Christians shared such convictions and, yes, of course, Libavius once again protests, with the objection that 'Iesus noster non vocatur IHSVH' (Our Jesus is not called IHSVH), and that Khunrath, Croll, and any who follow their suit by invoking such a name are no better than the impious Jews, violating the second commandment against taking the Lord's name in vain, like the 'Schemhamphoristic Magi'.[673]

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670 Schmidt-Biggemann. 'Einleitung', 16 'Der erste Buchstabe I ist lateinisch und griechisch, er transkribiert das hebräische י. Der zweite Buchstabe h muß als griechisches η gelesen werden, der dritte Buchstabe s ist wieder lateinisch zu lesen, er steht für das hebräische ש; der vierte Buchstabe u ist eine mögliche Lesart des hebr. ו, der fünfte Buchstabe liest das h als lateinisches h oder als hebräisches ה.'

671 Alison C. Fleming, 'St Ignatius of Loyola's "Vision at La Storta" and the Foundation of the Society of Jesus', in Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (eds.), *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 225–249, at 244.

672 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Einleitung', 17. On this see Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 971. Schmidt-Biggemann goes on to discuss a precursor of Reuchlin's IHSVH in Nicholas of Cusa's name *Jhesua* (22), as well as pointing out that (19) Lefèvre d'Étaples, editor of works of Cusanus, was the first to make a connection between Cusa, Pico and Reuchlin in *Quincuples Psalterium* (Paris, 1513), 'I HE V HE … Iunctim sic IHVHE, iunge igitur Sin id est s in medio: fiet JHESVHE, nomen benedictum regis nostri et salvatoris omnium.' See also Schmidt-Biggemann, 'History and Prehistory of the Cabala of JHSUH', where he discusses variants of the name of Jesus, including Yeshua, Yehoshua, as well as formulations such as IHS: 'In Hoc Signo'; 'In Hac Salus', 'In this sign is salvation' and 'Iesus, Heiland, Seligmacher' (Jesus, Lord, Saviour).

673 Libavius, *Examen Philosophiae Novae* (1615), 73 'XIII *Ianua vnico diuinißimo nomine* IHSVH. Nimirum & hîc spiritus mendacij se prodit. … Crollius vnicum nomen IHSVH substituit, nec minus contra secundum præceptum peccet quam Magi Schemhamphoristæ.' In the margin, he writes '*Deprauatio nominis Iesu, vel potius pro uero Iesu, Magici cuiusdam Idoli*

34 **10. Christ θεανθρωπος**

In a fiery aureole, at the centre of the figure stands Christ θεανθρωπος [*theanthrōpos*], the divine man, resurrected, displaying the five marks of the Cross, encircled by a slightly modified version of the Centurion's confession, the words spoken at the crucifixion in Matthew 27:54 'Truly *this* was the Son of God',[674] as 'Truly *He* was the Son of God', and the famous words 'In Hoc Signo Vinces' from Emperor Constantine's dream vision, 'In this sign you shall conquer'.[675] Khunrath would have been familiar with the variant of this that appears as a magical seal in Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533, Fig. 4.53).

Having started at the circumference with the Decalogue – literally 'Ten Words' – and having moved through various sets of ten, we now arrive at the *Logos*, the 'name above every name', as Khunrath puts it,[676] possibly with the verse from Philippians 2:8–11 in mind, which speaks of the crucifixion and of Christ being exalted through receiving 'a name which is above all names', that 'every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is the glory of God the Father.' So it is, that at the heart of this extremely Jewish figure, overflowing with biblical Hebrew, the alphabet of world creation and the Law, divine emanations and manifestations, we have a Christian core, in the incarnated and crucified Jesus, the resurrected Christ, the embodiment and archetype of divine Wisdom for Khunrath's theosophical adept at prayer in the *Amphitheatre*'s Oratory.

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assumtio in confusionem magorum', giving a philological analysis of the name of Christ and criticism of those who make use of IHSVH. Cf. Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1609), Præfatio Admonitoria, 46 'miraculorum Janua Unico Divinißimo Nomine IHSUH.' Libavius lays the blame for Croll's error on Khunrath: 'XIV Mira est vero scriptio IHSVH. Hanc idem transtulit *Crollius* ex amphitheatro magico *Kunrathi.*'

674 Stephanus, *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti* (1557), Vol. 3, Matthew 27:54 'Centurio vero, & qui cum eo erant servantes Iesum, viso terrae motu & his quae facta fuerant, timuerunt vehementer, dicentes, Verè filius Dei erat iste' (Douay: Now the centurion and they that were with him watching Jesus, having seen the earthquake, and the things that were done, were sore afraid, saying: Indeed this was the Son of God). Khunrath slightly modifies the words in the Vulgate, providing 'Vere filius Dei erat ipse, changing the pronoun from 'iste' (that/he) to 'ipse' (he/himself).

675 See Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1997), 564 'There was a mark or sign showed to Constantine, which many did call the cross, writ upon in Latin letters, *In hoc vince*, i.e. In This Overcome …'. Constantine's vision was discussed, for example, by Eusebius in *The Church History*, translation and commentary by Paul L. Maier (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2007), 305f; idem, *Life of Constantine*, Translated with Introduction and Commentary by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), Chapter 28.

676 *Amph.*II, 75 'Nomen vero IHESVS est nomen supra omne nomen.'



FIGURE 4.53 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (July 1533), CCLXXVII. Three circular seals, left: 'In Hoc Vince' (In this you will conquer); centre: Hygeia Pentagram/Pentacle; right: sign received by Machabeus from an angel. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH1680

As such, this first circular figure is as much oral as visual. For Reuchlin, Khunrath, and others after him (Croll, Geißler, Mögling), the *Pentagrammaton* YHSVH was the divine name par excellence, that rang out, reverberated and resonated through the cosmos, spreading outwards and taken up by the ranks of angels close to the periphery of Khunrath's first circular figure and proclaimed throughout creation. This was an engraving not simply to be viewed and read, but to be recited and declaimed.

35 A Christian-Cabalist Adam Androgyne

In the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular engraving (Fig. 4.54) the focus shifts from the central figure of Christ resurrected to the image of androgynous Adam-Protoplast or First-Formed Man, whose creation was described in Genesis 1:26–27 and 2:7.[677] If Figure 1 provides an external macrocosmic hierarchy of emanation from the Godhead, this second figure concerns itself more with the internal relation between God and the individual human microcosm. Aspects of this image have already been discussed in previous chapters, but space shall be devoted here to a consideration of some of its more Christian-Cabalistic elements. Although, as Elliot Wolfson writes, there is clearly in the androgynous figure of Adam-Eve some sense of heterosexuality

677 See Genesis 2:21–23 for the creation of Eve. For Khunrath's use of the term 'Protoplast' in relation to Adam, see *Amph.*II, 10, 81, 137, 221.

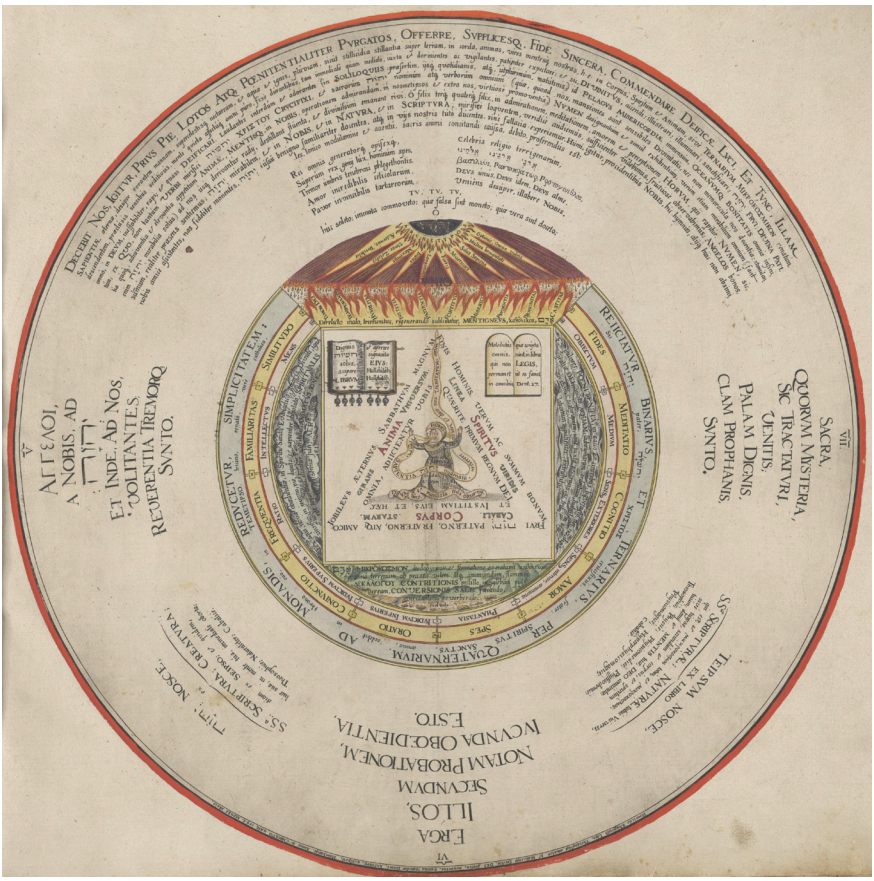


FIGURE 4.54 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2: *Adam Androgyne*. Memorial Library, Rare Books Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison

'understood dynamically as a mutual commingling of opposites', a 'crossing of gender boundaries', in which 'the female can become male and the male female',[678] here the focus appears to be more on the commingling of human and divine, or rather the cleaving (*devequt*) of the Kabbalist to the divine in the state of *unio mystica*.[679]

678 Elliott Wolfson, 'Is there any room for women in Jewish kabbalah?', in Hanegraaff, Forshaw, and Pasi (eds.), *Hermes Explains: Thirty Questions about Western Esotericism*, 243–251, at 246; idem, *Circle in the Square*, 79–121.

679 Adam Afterman, 'Time, Eternity and Mystical Experience in Kabbalah', in Brian Ogren (ed.), *Time and Eternity in Jewish Mysticism: That Which is Before and That Which is After* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 162–175, *passim*, with particular reference to Abulafia.

Khunrath's choice to present this androgynous figure of Adam-Eve here could have been influenced by 'one of the most read books in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* (Dialogues of Love), which were included in Pistorius's cabalistic anthology.[680] His third and most elevated dialogue, 'On the Origin of Love', is the culmination of a journey which starts with Aristotle's physics but 'ends in a metaphysics formulated as a Platonic revelation of Holy Scripture'.[681] Part of this dialogue includes a myth shared by Plato and the Bible, that of the androgyne, with Aristophanes' account in the *Symposium* being confirmed in the book of Genesis.[682] Leone depicts a 'dualistic cosmos governed by a system that is universally hermaphrodite', with the heavens male and the earth female.[683] In the *Zohar*, 'Adam Kadmon reflects the gender bipolarity of the Godhead' (which includes the female aspect of the *Shekhinah*). This macrocosmic formulation is likewise reflected in the microcosm of Adam-Eve, although, as Rossella Pescatori notes, 'paradoxically, the separation of genders is the fulfillment of creation'.[684] The two protagonists of Leone's dialogues, male Philo and female Sophia, represent the two halves of the androgyne, whereas in Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* we have Christ as Sophia and Adam-Androgyne as the Theosopher in love with divine wisdom.

Rather than simply focusing on the beginning of the world and the creation of Adam and Eve, Leah DeVun's research provides another intriguing possibility, especially in light of Khunrath's emphasis on regeneration and rebirth: the notion, found in some medieval theologians, that all post-resurrection bodies were androgynous, that 'the most elevated state of humanity was the absence of binary sex', with salvation representing a reconciliation of opposites, including a return to undifferentiated sex.[685] Is this part of what Khunrath means by 'rejection of the binary'? If so, that would make Circular Figure 2 not simply a

680 Rossella Pescatori, 'The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's *Dialogues of Love*', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval & Renaissance Studies* 38 (2007): 115–28, at 115. See also Moshe Idel, 'The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's "Dialoghi d'amore" and its cultural implications', *Kabbalah* 15 (2006): 77–102.

681 Pescatori, 'The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's *Dialogues of Love*', 118.

682 Pescatori, 'The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's *Dialogues of Love*', 121.

683 Pescatori, 'The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's *Dialogues of Love*', 123, citing Naomi Yavneh, 'The spiritual eroticism of Leone's hermaphrodite', in M.C. Brink, A.P. Horowitz and J.R. Coudert (eds.), *Playing with Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 85–98.

684 Pescatori, 'The Myth of the Androgyne in Leone Ebreo's *Dialogues of Love*', 125.

685 Leah DeVun, 'Heavenly hermaphrodites: sexual difference at the beginning and end of time', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 9:2 (2018): 132–146, at 132, 134, 136–137.

penitential reminder of sin and the Fall, but truly an aspirational image of the world to come.[686]

While Christ, who also had a double (and perhaps even, in the *Amphitheatre*, a hermaphroditic) nature as both god and man *stands* at the heart of Figure 1, here in the centre of Figure 2 *kneels* – like Khunrath in the Oratory – a composite figure. On the clothes of this androgynous or ambisexual figure we read the message, 'MAN having put on CHRIST, rejecting the binary; and imitating him, Fear GOD, and keep his commandments.'[687] The first part of this phrase, as mentioned in Chapter 2, doubtless alludes to Galatians 3:27, 'For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ'; the latter to Ecclesiastes 12:13, 'Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is all man.' Khunrath refers to this elsewhere in the *Amphitheatre*, when he states 'Patiently bearing one's cross, one carries also Christ's; having put [him] on, one imitates him.'[688] It is only after 'having put on Christ', by rejecting the binary[689] within himself 'by means of the powers Divinely conferred him',[690] and by imitating Christ,[691] that Man can attain his 'true and highest good', when, Khunrath promises his reader, 'יהוה [YHVH] the Father, יהשוה [YHSVH] Χριστος [*Christos*] crucified, the brother; [and] HOLY SPIRIT, the friend; will sit on his throne, in YOUR truly catholic, triune, reborn SELF.'[692] As Wayne Meeks observes, 'reunification follows directly from having "clothed yourselves with Christ" (Galatians 3:28), that is, "the new man".' 'Putting on' Christ is preceded by having 'taken off' or 'laid aside' 'the old man' (Colossians 3:9; Ephesians 4:22);[693] the Old Adam being replaced by the New Adam. This notion of 'putting on Christ', re-formation of

686 For more insightful reflections on the androgynous and hermaphroditic see Leah DeVun's *The Shape of Sex: Nonbinary Gender from Genesis to the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).

687 Circular Figure 1: 'HOMO binarium reijciens CHRISTO indutus: & eum imitans. DEVM time, & mandata eius obserua.' On the notion of 'putting on Christ', see Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 66, *Handbook*, 76, 87, 89. See also J. Albert Harrill, 'Coming of Age and Putting on Christ: The Toga Virilis Ceremony, Its Paraenesis, and Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Galatians', *Novum Testamentum* 44:3 (July, 2002): 252–277.

688 *Amph.*II, 114 'Crucem patienter ferens suam, baiulat & Christi; quo indutus, eundem imitatur.'

689 Schmidt-Biggemann, 'Der Text der Bilder', 53 misconstrues the final word of Khunrath's phrase 'Homo binarium reijciens' (Man, rejecting the binary) as 'reitereris', translating it as 'du wirst wiederkommen' (you will return).

690 *Chaos* (1597), 34 'pro viribus DIVINITUS sibi concessis'.

691 Circular Figure 2. See also *Amph.*II, 23, 104, 125.

692 See *Amph.*II, 186. See also *Amph.*II, 105–6.

693 Wayne A. Meeks, 'The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of the Symbol in Earliest Christianity', *History of Religions* 13:3 (1974): 165–208, at 181 putting on Christ; 183 'clothed yourselves with Christ' (Galatians 3:28).

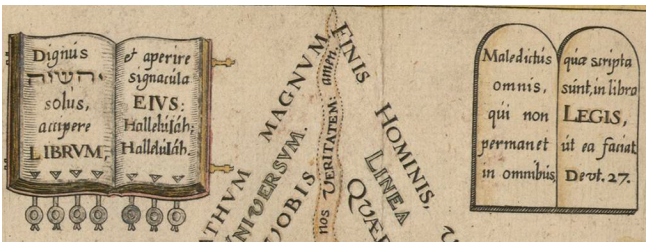


FIGURE 4.55 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, detail: Book of Seven Seals and Tablets of Decalogue Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Shelfmark: JG 10

human nature through conformity with Christ, imitation of the perfect exemplar was at the heart of the *philosophia Christi*, as promoted by Erasmus.[694] The Theosopher clothed with Christ is perhaps an echo of God clothed with the garments of the *Sepiroth*.

Circular Figure 2 contains some continuities with Circular Figure 1. Above the head of the central androgynous being appear the two stone tablets of the Decalogue (on the right) and the open Book of Seven Seals (on the left), bearing the Hebrew letters of the Pentagrammaton YHSVH (Fig. 4.55); as such the circumference and centre of the previous engraving.[695] The intimate relation of the androgyne to the preceding circular figure is reinforced by the scroll issuing from its mouth, imploring 'YHSVH, incarnate Wisdom of YHVH, have pity on us and teach us the TRUTH, Amen.'[696]

There is even a sense of alphabetical progression: While Circular Figure 1 includes all 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, with a focus on its penultimate letter ש (*Shin*) in the Christian-Cabalist divine name YHSVH, in this second circular figure importance is placed on the final letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the letter ת (*Tau*), which is visible on the forehead of Adam Androgyne (Fig. 4.56). The significance of this letter, sometimes described as the 'sign of signs',[697] of 'contemplative conformity with Christ',[698] is found in the *Isagoge*

694 Jennifer A. Herdt, *Putting on Virtue: The Legacy of the Splendid Vices* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), Chapter 4 Erasmus – *Putting on Christ*, 112.

695 The Decalogue in Exodus 20:2–17 and Deuteronomy 5:6–17; the Seven Seals in the Book of Revelation Chapters 6–8.

696 Circular Figure 2: 'יהשוה SAPIENTIA יהוה incarnata, miserere nostri, et doce nos VERITATEM: amen.' Cf. Psalm 24:5 'Direct me in thy truth, and teach me; for thou art God my Saviour' (Dirige me in veritatem tuam et doce me quoniam tu es Deus salvator meus).

697 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 5.

698 McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism*, 99. See Petrus Joannus Faber, *Alchymista Christianus* (Toulouse, 1632), 88–9; Robert Fludd, *Medicina Catholica* (Frankfurt, 1629), 85.



FIGURE 4.56
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1595), Circular Figure 2, detail of letter Tau on the Androgyne's forehead. UniversitätsBibliothek Basel, Shelfmark: JG 10

to Figure 4, where Khunrath describes the Theosopher 'Divinely marked, and as it were adorned and covered, on the forehead of the inner man, with the truly catholic signature, the TAU, taking the place of a MITRE, or GOLDEN SACERDOTAL LAMINA, or ROYAL CROWN.'[699] Although not explicitly mentioned, an allusion could be intended to various biblical verses speaking of signs on foreheads, in both the Old and the New Testament.

In Ezekiel 9:4 the 'men that sigh, and mourn for all the abominations that are committed' against God in Jerusalem are marked on their foreheads with the letter *Tau*.[700] This is elaborated in the *Zohar*, where we learn that they are marked with a 'tau of ink so that the angels of destruction will not prevail over them', while a 'tau of blood' is placed 'on the foreheads of the wicked so that the angels of destruction will prevail over them.' According to Wolfson the letter *Tau* 'concomittantly signals *tihyeh* and *tamut*, "you shall live" and "you shall die"' and is thus both the mark of life and the mark of death, empowering 'the faithful so that they may participate in the dispensation of divine judgement.'[701] Idel provides a different account related to the theme, one particularly apposite in any discussion of Khunrath's Adam Androgyne:

699 *Amph.*II, 209 'ת, verè catholici signatura, MITRÆ, aut LAMINÆ AVREÆ SACERDOTALIS, CORONÆve REGIÆ loco, hominis interioris fronte, diuinitùs notatus, & ceu obtectus atque ornatus.'

700 Ezechiel 9:4 'And the Lord said to him: Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem: and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof'. Reuchlin mentions this at the start of the final chapter of *De Verbo Mirifico*, in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae*, 978 'Tau crucis salvavit consignatos' (The Tau of the cross saved those signed [with it]), adding that in antiquity the cross was 'vetus magorum character' (an old sign of the mages).

701 Wolfson, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 160–161, 168.

> "Adam and Eve" in gematria equals 'my father and my mother' (*avi ve-imi*) and their secret is blood and ink, and this latter is proven by this name, YHWH, and one who merits it will have engraved upon his forehead a *taw* – for one a *taw* of blood, for the other a *taw* of ink. And the secret of the *taw* of blood … is that she is born … And from there comes your soul and every magician will be turned about the path of magic, and one who does so 'spills' blood. And the secret of the *taw* of ink is 'and the woman-that-gives-birth'. Thus, you have one for when she is born and another when she gives birth.[702]

We also find several references to seals or marks on the forehead in the Book of Revelation. The majority of these are signs of the faithful, the chosen of God: 7:3 'Hurt not the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we sign the servants of our God in their foreheads'; 9:4 'And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree: but only the men who have not the sign of God on their foreheads'; 14:1 'And I beheld, and lo a lamb stood upon mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty-four thousand, having his name, and the name of his Father, written on their foreheads.' For Christians this could be understood as the mark of baptism, that 'the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the *tau*, even in the 1st century BC was written as an X or perhaps a ✝.'[703] As in the Old Testament, we also find example of a deadly mark, in Revelation 13:16 with marks of enslavement to the Beast: 'And he shall make all, both little and great, rich and poor, freeman and bondmen, to have a character in their right hand, or on their foreheads'.

Circular Figure 2 must be regarded as the summation of many aspects of Khunrath's Cabalistic doctrine.[704] If the *Amphitheatre*'s first circular figure is of Christ as Divine Wisdom (Sapientia/Sophia/Hhochmah), the second figure is of the Theosopher as the Lover of Divine Wisdom.[705] If the first figure is the *Sigillum Dei*, the Seal of God, the second is the image of the one who is signed, sealed, imprinted, impressed. Francesco Giorgio, writing cabalistically, provides a memorable unpacking of the name Adam as a combination of the

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702 Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 99.

703 Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, 113.

704 *Amph.*II, 115 'Regnum hoc Sabbathum est Sabbathorum, Iobel vltimus, (de quibus ex Cabalistarum doctrina, nos in secunda Amphitheatri huius figura) & Terra viuentium, hoc est, immortalitas, quæ vita æterna' [This Kingdom is the Sabbath of Sabbaths, the ultimate Jubilee (to which, from the Doctrine of the Cabalists, we [have alluded] in the second figure of this Amphitheatre) and the Land of the living, that is, immortality, which is eternal life].

705 See *Chaos* (1597), 210 'Ein Theosophus … Wie in Secunda Amphitheatri. … figura.'

material and the divine, stating that 'Man is the most perfect simulachrum of God … whence he is called First-formed (Protoplastes) ADAM, for *Aleph* [A] signifies "divinity", *Daleth* [D] "celestial nature", and *Mem* [M] "corruptible matter".[706]

Khunrath likewise employs the expression *Adam Protoplast*, first-formed Adam, created as both male and female, who existed in perfect union before the Fall and represents at the same time the inner man and human nature, the most perfect of all created things.[707] It is possible that he had also encountered Kabbalistic doctrines concerning *Adam Kadmon* (Primordial Man) or *Adam ha Rishon* (The First Man) as an influence for this image.[708] In the *Zohar*, for example, we read of 'the mystery of the creation of the first man, who was created with two faces (male and female combined).'[709] The Kabbalistic notion of *du-parzufim*, the 'two countenances', differs from Khunrath's representation in that in the Jewish account Adam and Eve are first created 'back-to-back' and eventually embrace 'face-to-face'.[710] In the *Amphitheatre*'s second circular figure, the heads of Adam and Eve are side-by-side, the letter *Tau* extending over both their foreheads. One possible interpretation from a Christian perspective may be the union of the Theosopher with Sophia, or the androgyne as the dwelling place of the celestial Virgin (Sophia).[711] In Joseph Gikatilla's *Gates*

706 Mennens, *Aurei Velleris sive sacrae philosophiae vatum selectae ac unicae mysteriorumque Dei, Naturae, & Artis admirabilium, Libri tres* (Antwerp, 1604), 406–407, 409. See also a statement attributed to 'Franciscus Venetus Minorita' (i.e., Francesco Giorgio) in Guillaume Mennens, *Aurei Velleris … Libri tres, Theatrum Chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1660), Vol. 5, 240ff, at 373 'Homo, inquit, est perfectissimum Dei simulachrum … unde vocatus est Protoplastes ADAM. Aleph enim significat divinitatem, Daleth naturam caelestem, Mem autem naturam corruptibilem.'

707 See *Amph.*II, 10, 81, 137, 221 for references. Cf. Edgard Jégut (trad.), *Traité des Révolutions des Âmes: Sepher Ha-Gilgulim*, 378–9. See also Kaplan, *The Bahir*, 198.

708 On Adam Kadmon, see, for example, Scholem, *Major Trends*, 265: In Lurianic kabbalah, Adam Kadmon, the primordial man, is 'nothing but a first configuration of the divine light which flows from the essence of the *Ein-sof* into the primeval space of the *Tsimtsum*'. For conflicting Christian interpretations of Adam Kadmon, as 1) unregenerate man; 2) Jesus Christ, see respectively Johann Philipp Maul (1662–1727), *Medicina theologica* (1713), 146, 782 and Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont (1614–1698) in Allison P. Coudert *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–1698)* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 127–129. My thanks to Mike Zuber for these references.

709 *The Zohar* (1984), Vol. 1, 10. For more on the theme of Adam androgyne, see Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead'.

710 Pinchas Giller, 'Nesirah: Myth and Androgyny in Late Kabbalistic Practice,' *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 12:3 (2003): 63–86, at 66, 70. See also Moshe Idel, 'Androgyny and Equality in the Theosophico-Theurgical Kabbalah,' *Diogenes* 208 (2005): 27–38, at 27ff.

711 Antoine Faivre, 'From Prelapsarian Androgyny to Multipolar Constructs of "Love" (Aspects of Christian Theosophy in German *Naturphilosophie*),' in Fabio Merlini, Lawrence E.

of Light, where 'each and every entity is conceived of as andyrogynous', 'one active and influential, the other passive and recipient',[712] the double figure of Adam and Eve is a symbol of the androgynous unity of God, or more specifically the androgynous nature of the lowest *Sefirah* on the Tree of Life, *Malkhut*, itself seen as a symbol of the *Shekhinah*, the female aspect of the Godhead.[713] Gikatilla provides some sense of the significance of this symbolic figuration of the human form and the potential theurgic influence of human acts on the divine realm:

> One who gazes at the form of the First Man, it is as though he gazes at the forms of all of the worlds, for the exaltation or flaw of all of the worlds depends on the form of Adam, since the form of Adam is like a sign for all of them. … What did Adam do? He debased his form with the sin that he sinned, causing a flaw with that sin in the Creator and the creation.[714]

In Khunrath's second circular figure we have the process of creation flowing forth from God, whose most powerful divine name, YHVH, stands at the very top of the engraving (Fig. 4.57), beneath which appears the Greek term 'ARCHETYPOS', the original pattern from which all copies are made.[715] Saverio Campanini identifies a terminological shift that took place in the meaning of 'Archetypus' (Latin) in Christian Cabala: for Ricci it means the world of angels, while for Giorgio it designates the mystical shape of the Godhead.[716] For Khunrath, the latter seems more to be the case, with a particular focus, it seems, on the second person of the Trinity:

> For if you listen to him, and you Christianly imitate [him] (as the Archetype) then you will be an adoptive son of GOD, in [his] real son; beloved in the beloved; Wise, in WISDOM, you will please GOD, since you dwell with WISDOM.[717]

Sullivan, Riccardo Bernardini and Kate Olson (eds.), *Eranos Yearbook* 70 (2009/2010/2011): Love on a Fragile Thread (2012), 274–295, at 274.

712 Idel, 'Androgyny and Equality in the Theosophico-Theurgical Kabbalah,' 32.

713 Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics*, 121, 128, 299.

714 Lachter, 'Kabbalah, Philosophy, and the Jewish-Christian Debate', 48 quoting from Gikatilla's *Sefer ha-Meshallim*, 6.

715 David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 88.

716 Campanini, 'Shaping the Body of the Godhead', 368 n. 50.

717 *Amph.*II, 16 'Hunc si audieris, Christianèque (tanquam Archetypum) imitatus fueris, etiam tu filius eris DEI adoptiuus in filio genuino; dilectus in dilecto; Sapiens, in SAPIENTIA, placebis DEO, quoniam inhabitas cum SAPIENTIA.' Cf. Romans 8:15 'you have received



FIGURE 4.57 Khunrath, *Amphitheatre* (1595), Circular Figure 2 *Adam-Androgyne*, detail of Archetype and *Middoth*. Memorial Library, Rare Books Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison

It is noteworthy that the Tetragrammaton, the fiery Archetypos, and the ten rays issuing forth from its splendour are unconstrained by the bands encircling the rest of the image. The rays extend down into a boundary zone of water (or celestial dew), where they unite (explicitly indicated by the large word VNIO), with the ten Judaeo-Christian virtues striving upwards as ten flames.

Incarnated within the square or quaternary of the four elements (and all that is created from them), delimited by the word O-MN-I-A at its corners (Fig. 4.58),[718] we discover the Microcosmic Ternary of Body (*Corpus*), Soul (*Anima*) and Spirit (*Spiritus*), together with a reference to the 'Green Line of the Cabalists, encircling the universe' (Linea viridis Cabalistarum girans Universum).

We know that Khunrath was familiar with Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusions* and he was presumably aware of Pico's interpretation of the 'Green Line' as 'Heaven', the Hebrew word for which, *Schamaim*, being important for Khunrath, both cabalistically and alchemically.[719] Khunrath may well also

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the spirit of adoption of sons, whereby we cry: Abba (Father).' See Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 66, *Handbook*, 86 on Christ as the archetype.

718 This word O-MN-I-A (All/Everything) is not present in the 1595 version. I imagine that it is included as a way of connecting this image with the OMNIA beneath the *Tetraktys* in Circular Figure 1.

719 For Pico della Mirandola's references to the Green Line, see Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, 349 'When Solomon says in his prayer in the Book of Kings, *Hear O heaven*, by heaven we should understand the green line that circles the universe.' See also p. 533. For other references to this green line, see Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 97, 319 and Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, 26, 181 who equates it with the third *Sephirah*, *Binah*. See also Wirszubski, 'Francesco Giorgio's Commentary on Giovanni Pico's Kabbalistic Theses', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 145–56, at 154 on how Francesco Giorgio 'correctly grasped the implication of the interrelation between the view that a green line (*Intelligence*) encircles the universe and that God is everywhere and nowhere.' See also Jacques Gaffarel, *Curiositez inouyes, sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans,*

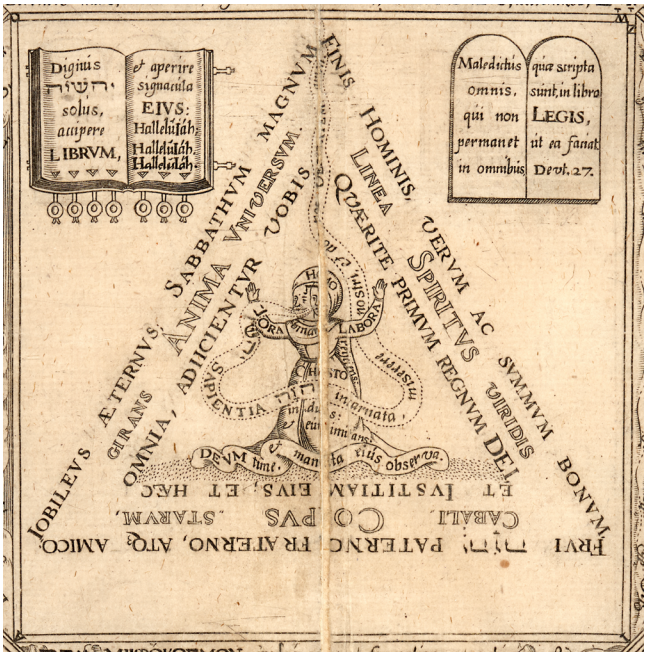


FIGURE 4.58
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), Circular Figure 2, detail: Square of Four Elements and O-MN-I-A. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, PH3246

have been aware of Arcangelo da Borgonuovo's commentaries on Pico's Cabalistic Conclusions in *Cabalistarum selectiora obscurioraque Dogmata* (1569), included in Pistorius's anthology. There we discover that some people think that the 'Green Line' signifies the *Anima Mundi* or Soul of the World, others call it *Cheter Elion*, that is the Supreme Crown from which all divine emanations flow forth, while still others consider it to be the *Tetragrammaton*, with its 12 permutations, said to be the 12 archetypal signs, the heavenly Zodiac.[720] Although not in Pistorius's version of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, another recension links the Green Line with the formlessness (*tohu*) and void (*bohu*) of the earth in Genesis 1:2, stating that '*Tohu* is a green line which surrounds the world. *Bohu* is the slimy stones sunk in the abyss between which the water comes

Horoscope des Patriarches, et Lecture des Estoilles (Paris, 1629), 423 'si ce filet ou cercle vert estoit le cercle, ou ligne appellee par les Cabbalistes *linea viridis quae circuit universum*'; Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1653), Vol. 2, 294 on the *Sefira* Tiphereth and the 'linea viridis.' Many of these are probably based on material Pico found in Menahem Recanati's *Perush 'al ha-Torah 'al derekh ha-emet* (Commentary on the Torah following the Way of Truth), which was translated into Latin for Pico by Flavius Mithridates; later published in a Hebrew edition in Venice in 1523. See Idel, *Absorbing Perfections*, 87.

720 Arcangelo da Borgonuovo, *Cabalistarum selectiora obscurioraque Dogmata* (1569), 210^{r}; 217^{v}.

out.'[721] The Spanish Kabbalist Rabbi Shem Tov Ibn Gaon (1283–*c.*1330), takes this further, stating that '*Tohu* is what we call "Green Line", which is *Teshuvah*', the latter being identified as the second *Sephirah Binah*.[722] In a similar vein, in the Babylonian Talmud (Hagigah 12a) Khunrath could have read that 'Chaos is a green line encompassing all the world', a notion that would surely resonate with the author of an alchemical work *On Primaterial Chaos*.[723] Khunrath may well have accepted all these interpretations, but I suspect that for him the most resonant was that of the Green Line as the Soul of the World, which he frequently equates with the *Ruach Elohim* that brooded over the waters in the Genesis account of creation.[724]

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721 Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira*, 85. For a discussion of these terms, see Ogren, *The Beginning of the World in Renaissance Jewish Thought: Ma'aseh Bereshit in Italian Jewish Philosophy and Kabbalah, 1492–1535* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), Part 2.

722 Moshe Halbertal, *Nahmanides: Law and Mysticism*, translated from the Hebrew by Daniel Tabak (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 364 n. 7.

723 Babylonian Talmud, Chagigah, 12a–b. See *A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud*, in Michael L Rodkinson (trans.), *The Babylonian Talmud*, Vol. 3, Tracts Pesachim, Yomah and Hagiga (London: *Forgotten Books*, 2008), 455 'We have learned in a Boraitha: Chaos is a green line compassing all the world, and from it darkness springs, as it is written [Ps. xviii.12]: "He made darkness his hiding place, round about him".' See Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 279 n. 169 'This is what the Talmud (hagigah 12b) meant by its definition of the tohu as "a green line that surrounds everything".' Matt, *The Zohar*, Vol. 3, 79, n. 596 "*line of chaos*" 'The verse reads: *He will stretch over it a line of chaos and plummet-stones of void*. See BT Hagigah 12a: "Chaos is a green line encompassing the whole world, from which darkness issued".' Dan, *The "Unique Cherub" Circle*, 91–92 'The commentator begins with the surprising statement which identifies the divine illumination described in the poem with the "green line," which, according to Talmudic tradition, surrounds the whole world. … The Talmudic statement is an exegesis of the term "Tohu" in Gen. 1:2. This statement was not elaborated in detail in Talmudic-Midrashic literature, and remains a mysterious commentary on a mysterious subject; … It seems that the author views the "green line," the "garden of tulips," … as the line dividing the divine from the non-divine. The Creation signifies a separation between the divine illumination, and the divine essence (represented by the Shekhinah), and the borderline is marked by the line, the tulips. … In the "end of days," this line of demarcation will be crossed, and God shall again engulf all existence with His illumination and his Shekhinah.' See also Rabbi Azriel in Dan (ed.), *The Early Kabbalah*, 104 'Before the existence of dimension, however, He sent forth upon dimension the straight line in order to separate the undifferentiated. This is the "unformed" [tohu] of Genesis 1:2; within it was nothing of substance. What it did contain, however, were essences without dimension, form, or corporeality. These essences then assumed corporeality in both dimension and form. The refuse and dross were separated to one side and the effulgence and purity to another, whereupon the green line – which surrounds and darkens – was created.'

724 For more on this see Chapter 3 on Khunrath's Theosophy. For those interested in the theme of the 'green line', see Gerard Dorn, who quotes Pico's definition, glossing it as the 'soul of the green world, that is living and, from God, vivifying … the lower world', in *Theophrasti Paracelsi Aurora Philosophorum* (Frankfurt, 1583), 64 'Memini iam

36 Rejection of the Binary

As was mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, *Similitudo* (Likeness) with God is expressed in the *Amphitheatre* not only in terms of a metaphysics of fire and light but also in the language of Pythagorean symbolic number, something that Reuchlin intimately connects with Cabala.[725] The most notable instance of Khunrath's engagement with such arithmosophy is found precisely in the *Amphitheatre*'s engraving of the androgynous Adam-Protoplast. There, in the outer ring, encompassing the Grades of Cognition and the Ladder of Union, we read:

> Let the Binary be rejected, and the Ternary be reduced, by means of the Quaternary, to the simplicity of the Monad.[726]

This is, in many ways, the main focus of the engraving, with the androgyne a slightly paradoxical figure, representing at one and the same time the 'Binarius' as the duality to be rejected, and the sought-for unity of the 'Monad'.[727]

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excellentißimi cuiusdam paradoxici verbi, nobilißimi viri D. Ioannis Comitis Mirandulae: linea viridis (inquit) gyrat universum, id est, anima mundi viridis, id est, vivens & ex Deo vivificans, gyrat, hoc est, circumvoluit universum mundum, intelligito naturam superiorem totam, nedum circumagit, verum etiam inferiorem gubernat vivificando, ac in singulos annos instaurando virorem, id est, vitam, globulum terrae & aquae renovando.' See also Thomas Vaughan's preface to the Rosicrucian Manifestos: Eugenius Philalethes, *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R.C., commonly of the Rosie Cross* (London, 1652), Preface, sig. C7^{v} 'Cabalists Linea viridis, or green Line, a Mystery not rightly apprehended even by some of the Mekkubalim, but certainly the Modern Rabbins know it not at all. It is the last Midah or Propriety of the Sephiroths, for it receives and includes all the Influences of the Sphiristical Order. It compasseth the Heavens, and in them the Earth, like a green Rain-bow, or one vast Sphere of Viridity, and from this Viridity the divine Influences are showr'd down like Rain through the aether into the Globes of the Fixed Stars: for what the Air is to the Globe of the Earth, such is the aether to the Globes of the Stars, and here lies a Secret of the Mekkubalim, for they tell us, there is a double Venus, in duplici Aere. But of this enough. I will now speak of the Philosophers Secret, and blessed Viridity, which is to he seen and felt here below. It is the Proteus of the old Poets; for if the Spirit of this green Gold be at Liberty, which will not be till the Body is bound, then will he discover all the Essences of the Universal Center.'

725 See Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism*, 13 'Kabbalah as Symbolic Theology according to Modern Scholarship'.

726 Circular Figure 2: 'Reiiciatvr Binarivs, et Ternarivs, per Quaternarivm, ad Monadis Redvcetvr, Simplicitatem.'

727 For an occult reading of this, see Papus, *The Qabalah: Secret Tradition of the West*, 174. Cf. *Amph*.II.4 'Sis ergò in Timore Dei (indutis vestimentis Christiano-Cabalisticis Decem, figura Amphitheatri huius secunda annotatis) totus reiiciendo Binarium, & Ternarium per Quaternarium ad Monadis simplicitatem' [Be therefore in the Fear of God (having put on the Ten Christian-Cabalist garments, noted in the second figure of this Amphitheatre)

The Devil, we are reminded, 'introduced dissension or dissimilitude between the will of GOD and Man'[728] and such duality is the cause of all our ills: 'A double-minded man is inconstant in all ways,'[729] because in Pauline terms, 'the external man is φθειρομενος [*phtheiromenos – corrupted*], who, with his desires, corrupts and is corrupted.' Therefore, the Binary, the old, fallen Adam, must be rejected.[730] The only true way to peace (and here Khunrath tacitly borrows from Erasmus's *Enchiridion*) is 'to wage war with ourselves, as much bodily as spiritually, externally and internally, and to Christianly repel the BINARY [...] that is to unyieldingly resist our vices'.[731]

A previous owner of the 1608 edition of the *Amphitheatre* in the Ritman Library, Amsterdam, adds a slightly novel interpretation of the sequence of symbolic numbers on the book's endpage (Fig. 4.59):

> Let the Binary, i.e. Your dissension from God, be rejected; see the Prologue verses 23, 27, 218, 157, and the Ternary, i.e. Body, Spirit and Soul; see the Prologue verses 158 and 100, by way of the Quaternary YHVH; see Reuchlin *De Verbo Mirifico*, chapter 22 will by reduced to the Simplicity of the Monad; see ... [?] ..., theology, chapters 22 and 44.[732]

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completely rejecting the Binary, and reducing the Ternary by the Quaternary back to the simplicity of the Monad]. See also *Amph.*II, 14. The Binary is obviously not 'a reference to Christ as the MONAD, in his dual nature of human and divine', as Szulakowska proposes in *The Alchemy of Light*, 109, for that would mean that Khunrath's call to reject the binary would mean a rejection of Christ.

728 *Amph.*II, 69 'Phy Diabolo, qui dissensionem aut dissimilitudinem introduxit DEI & Hominis voluntatem.'

729 *Amph.*II, 77 'Vir duplex animo, est inconstans in omnibus viis suis.' See James 1:8 'vir duplex animo inconstans in omnibus viis suis'. Cf. Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 34, 186 Adage III i 12 'Duplices viros' (Double men). See also *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550), Dij^{v} 'Nec vir duplex animo, sine felle et cervice, vel mente variabilis, nec nimis festinus aut capitosus'.

730 *Amph.*II, 135 'Sic etiam Paulus externum hominem φθειρομενος dicit, qui cum desideriis suis corrumpit & corrumpitur. BINARIVS ergò reiiciendus. Vide figuram Amphitheatri huius secundam.' Cf. Ephesians 4:22 'To put off, according to former conversation, the old man, who is corrupted according to the desire of error.'

731 *Amph.*II, 14 'Ad hanc peruenientiendi vera ratio est, si cum nobismetipsis bellum geramus, tam corporale, quàm spirituale, externum & internum: si BINARIVM (vt est figura Amphitheatri huius secunda) Christianè reiicimus, quod est, cum vitiis nostris acriter depugnemus.' Cf. Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (Basel, 1518), 21 'Christus enim unus eam donat, quam mundus non potest dare. Ad hanc perveniendi una ratio est, si cum nobis ipsis bellum geramus, si cum vitiis nostris acriter depugnemus.'

732 Ritman Library, Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), Owner's Endpage Notes: 'Rejiciatur Binarius, i.e., dissensio Tua a Deo vid: prolog.v. 23, 27, 218, 157 et Ternarius, i.e., Corpus, Spiritus et Anima vid. Prolog. v. 158 et 100, per Quaternarium יהוה vid. Reuchl. de V.M. c. 22 ad Monadis reducatur simplicitatem vid. ... [?] ... θgiam c. 22 et 44.' The phrase

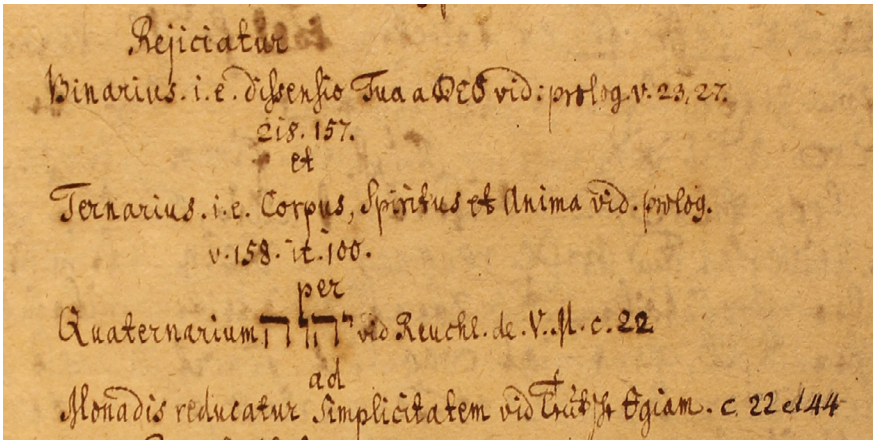


FIGURE 4.59 Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), Owner's Endpage Notes. Ritman Library, Amsterdam

Khunrath (in yet another unacknowledged borrowing, but this time from Reuchlin) explains what he means by the Ternary in the *Isagoge* to the Adam-Androgyne engraving, writing of the manna of eternal wisdom falling like dew (at the top of the engraving) and sinking deep into the 'reborn MICROCOSMIC TERNARY', the body, spirit, and soul of Man.[733] Apparently Man's body, spirit and soul are not innately united, but are to be 'joined together' through

'BINARIUM, in SEMETIPSIS, ut TERNARIUS per QUATERNARIUM ad MONADIS reducatur SIMPLICITATEM' (The Binary in itself, as the Ternary through the Quaternary is reduced to the simplicity of the Monad) appears in *Chaos* (1597), 33–34. See Chapter 5 on Khunrath's Magic, where I suggest that the author of the notes is Julius Sperber.

733 *Amph.*II, 187 'TERNARIVM MICROCOSMICVM renatum'. Much of this passage is lifted verbatim from Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494), [C3v]. Concerning these terms, the reader is directed to the Second Circular figure on *Amph.*II, 216 'Soli Diis (ELOHIM) geniti potuêre: hoc est, ii, qui (vt est figurâ secunda) reiiciendo Binarium, Ternarium per Quaternarium reduxerunt reducereve ad Monadis simplicitatem (Diuina cooperante gratia) ex animo student' [Only those begotten by the Gods (ELOHIM) have been imbued [with it], that is, those who (as is seen in the second figure) by rejecting the Binary, have reduced or strive with all their heart to reduce the Ternary by means of the Quaternary to the simplicity of the Monad (Divine grace cooperating)]. See also *Amph.*II, 146 'Quare in reductione ad Monadis simplicitatem esto totus: tunc consequeris. Vide Verss.157. 158. & 213. & secundam huius Amphitheatri figuram' (Therefore, let all be in the reduction to the simplicity of the Monad. Then you shall obtain [her]. See Verses 157, 158 and 213, and the second figure of this Amphitheatre). A marginal note in the Ritman Library's 1608 copy, *Amph.*II, 216 reads 'vide Epistolam Trithemij ad Comitem Westenburgh p. 41 et 45' (See Trithemius's Letter to Count Johannes Westenburg, pages 41 and 45), which must mean he is using Lazarus Zetzner's 1613 edition of Trithemius's *De Septem Secundeis*, where the letter appears on pages 38–48. Unity, binary, ternary and quaternary are discussed on both 41 and 45.

meditation, fasting, soliloquy,[734] and by imitating Christ (which somewhat resembles Dorn's statement of the necessity of creating *Mens* or 'Mind', discussed in the previous chapter).[735] The highest grade of the Ladder of Union, the 'most Divine passing over (transitus) into GOD', cannot, however, be accomplished 'except by rejection of the Binary'.[736] Thus, Khunrath urges his fellow men to purify body, spirit and soul in order to more closely approximate the divine, in the understanding that 'conjunction and union is made of similars, not dissimilars'.[737] All this is done 'by means of the Quaternary,' the square enclosed by its four elements (Earth, Water, Air, and Fire), which Khunrath uses as a symbol for the raw material of microcosmic man, elsewhere beseeching God to 'let the earth of my Mind be opened, and let the New Man sprout forth.'[738] Although this seems clear from the engraving, it is interesting to see that the above-mentioned owner of the 1608 edition of the *Amphitheatre* instead equates the Quaternary with the Tetragrammaton, the four letter name YHVH, citing Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* as source.[739]

In *De artificio supernaturali*, introduced in the previous chapter, Gerard Dorn describes the Binary as body and spirit in a divided state, with the body tending downwards towards gross, earthly things and the spirit striving upwards towards heaven; the Ternary is that state when the body is made conformable to the nature of spirit and the two become conjoined for a higher purpose.[740] This conjunction is brought about by way of the Quaternary of the four elements, which seems to mean by a gradual purification and sublimation

734 *Amph.*II, 71.

735 Figure 2. See also *Amph.*II, 23, 104, 125.

736 *Amph.*II, 69 'O Diuinissimum in DEVM transitum hunc! Qui fit, non nisi reiectione Binarii.'

737 *Amph.*II, 23 'Similium enim fit coniunctio & vnio, non dissimilium'. See also *Amph.*II, 105.

738 *Amph.*II, 127 'aperiatur terra Mentis meae, & germinet hominem nouum.' Cf. Isaiah 45:8 'rorate caeli desuper et nubes pluant iustum aperiatur terra et germinet salvatorem et iustitia oriatur simul ego Dominus creavi eum' (Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a saviour: and let justice spring up together: I the Lord have created him). Further discussion of the four elements is reserved until the final section of Chapter 6 on Khunrath's Alchemy.

739 None of the three books of *De Verbo Mirifico* in either the original 1494 edition, that published in Lyon in 1552, or in Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae* contain 22 chapters, but Book 2, Chapter 21, may have been intended, for it concerns the Tetragrammaton: 'De literis quatuor nominis יהוה, & figuris characterum Geometricis, & formis numerorum Arithmeticis' (On the four letters of the name YHVH, and on Geometrical figures of the characters, and Arithmetical forms of the numbers).

740 Dorn, *De Artificio Supernaturali*, 322 'Quod si debeat in hac vita; superandus erit per ternarium binarius, id est, corpus ad spiritus naturam conformandum est, & spiritus ita corpori conjungendus, ut in eo pacem habeat.' On Dorn see Jean-François Marquet, 'Philosophie et alchemie chez Gerhard Dorn', in Jean-Claude Margolin and Sylvain Matton (eds.), *Alchimie et philosophie à la Renaissance* (Paris: Vrin, 1993), 215–221.

of the body, spirit and soul, from its basest, earthy aspect, upwards towards the fieriness of the heavens.

As has already been mentioned in Chapter Two, Dorn is the author of *Monarchia Physica*, also known as *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate* (1577), a short work written 'in defense of the Paracelsian principles'.[741] There he provides geometrical representations of what he means by the Unary (Fig. 4.60), Binary (Fig. 4.61), and Ternary (Fig. 4.62), as well as one specifically 'On the Medicinal Ternary', i.e. the Paracelsian *Tria Prima* or Three Principles of Mercury, Sulphur and Salt (Fig. 4.63), plus images of the 'first three principles of true medicine, proved by mystical measures' (Fig. 4.64) and 'of the principles of false medicine, disproved by mystical measures'.[742]

An immediate source for such ideas (if not the images themselves) is most likely Reuchlin, who equates his Christian version of Kabbalah with Pythagorean mysticism, in particular the conceptual links he sees between the most famous Hebrew name for God, the four-letter *Tetragrammaton*, YHVH and what he calls the 'first principle of the Pythagorean system,' the 'one great thing above all things', the *Tetraktys*.[743]

Another likely source is Book 2 of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, chapter 13 of which is devoted to the denary.[744] We know that Khunrath was interested in this material because he directly refers to Agrippa's chapter on the

741 Gerard Dorn, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate, Soli Deo Sacra*, in Gerardus Dorneus, *Aurora Thesaurusque Philosophorum, Theophrasti Paracelsi, Germani Philosophi, & Medici præ cunctis omnibus accuratissimi* (Basel, 1577), 65–117. It is further described as, *Monarchia Physica per Gerardum Dorneum, in defensionem Paracelsicorum Principiorum, à suo Præceptore positorum*.

742 It contains images 'De Unario' (71), 'De Binario' (76), 'De Ternario' (81), 'De Ternario Medicinali' (89); 'Principiorum verae Medicinae trium, primorumque, per mensuras mysticas approbatio' (101); 'Principiorum falsae Medicinae per mysticas mensuras reprobatio' (103). Dorn explains that Unity does not permit contrariety and, as a consequence, no infirmity. The world was created by God in the image and likeness of Unity. Man, however, was seduced by the Duality of the Binary and cast down into the contrariety of multitude and inobedience, stripped of his garments of perfection, both in health of body and mind, and contracted the ruin of all vice, infirmity and the misery of disease. See Dorn, *Monarchia*, 74 'Unitatem … contrarietatem non admittit, & per consequentiam, nullam infirmitatem. Mundus cum ad Imaginem, & similitudinem unitatis a Deo creatus sit, … hominis obedientia, multitudinemque nullam efficerent, usquedum per Dualitatem Binari seductus, in multitudinis contrarietatem, & inobedientiam praecipitasset, vesteque perfectionis exutus, tum sanitate mentis & corporis, omnis vitij labem, infirmitatis, & morbi miser contraxit.'

743 Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 127. See also p. 155 where Philolaus states 'As "one who received," he [Pythagoras] can quite justly be termed a Kabbalist.'

744 Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), CXXVIII, Book 2, Chapter 13 'Of the Number Ten, and the Scale thereof'.

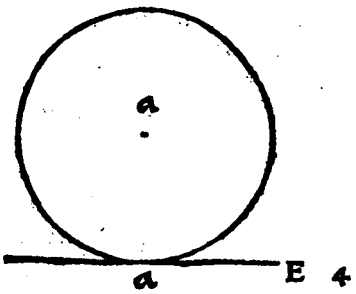


FIGURE 4.60 Dorn, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate* (1577), "Simulacrum" of the Unary (71). The Wellcome Library, London

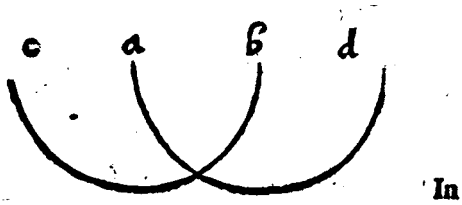


FIGURE 4.61 Dorn, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate* (1577), "Simulacrum" of the Binary (76). The Wellcome Library, London

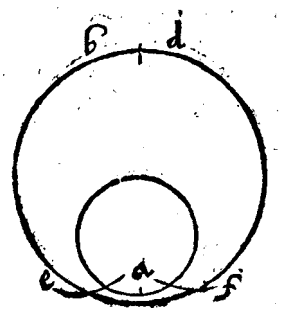


FIGURE 4.62 Dorn, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate* (1577), "Simulacrum" of the Ternary (81). The Wellcome Library, London

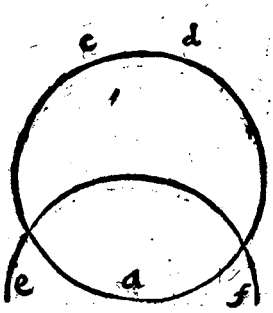


FIGURE 4.63 Dorn, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate* (1577), "Simulacrum" of the Ternary restored to the simplicity of Unity (86). The Wellcome Library, London

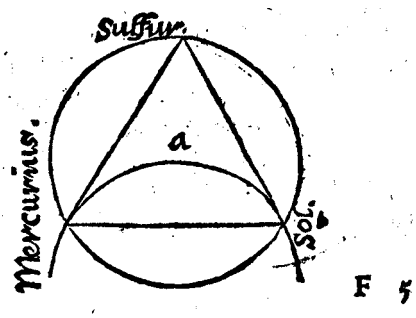


FIGURE 4.64 Dorn, *Monarchia Triadis, in Unitate* (1577), "Simulacrum" of the restored medicinal Ternary (89). The Wellcome Library, London

'Mysteries of the Septenary' in *On Primaterial Chaos*,[745] as well as to that on the 'Scala Unitatis' (Ladder of Unity),[746] and would likely be familiar with Agrippa's chapters on the other significant numbers, two, three and four. In the *Amphitheatre* he also at one point refers to a treatise on the mysteries of

745 *Chaos* (1597), Vorrede, sig. Aij^{v} 'De Septenarii Mysteriis, vide cap. 10 lib. 2. de occulta Phil. H.C. Agrippae.'

746 *Chaos* (1597), 6 'lib.1 de occulta Philosophia in scala unitatis.'

numbers by Guillaume d'Oncieu (*c.*1560–1630), presumably his *Numeralium Locorum Decas* (The Ten Numeric Positions, 1584).[747]

A third possible source for Khunrath's Pythagorean-sounding phrase must be Agrippa's mentor the abbot Trithemius, whose qualifications for being a magus have already been compared to Della Porta's magician and Khunrath's ideal theosopher.[748] The influence of Trithemius's speculations on numbers and their importance to Paracelsian philosophers is testified by the entry in Martin Ruland's *Lexicon of Alchemy* (1612), where he states that 'Trithemius's Unity is the reduction of the ternary to union through the casting off of the binary', which 'is both supernatural and spagyric'; indeed 'it is the foundation of the investigation of hidden things.'[749] This was lifted from the *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1583) of Dorn, who was one of the main Paracelsians to promote Trithemian ideas.[750] This was particularly the case in the already mentioned *De spagirico artificio Iohannis Trithemii sententia* (Johann Trithemius's Opinion about the Spagiric Art) – previously published under the title *Lapis Metaphysicus, sive philosophicus* (The Metaphysical, or Philosophical Stone, 1570) – where we discover a phrase very similar to Khunrath's: 'Let the binary be rejected and the ternary will be convertible to the simplicity of unity'.[751] This is developed further in Dorn's comparison of the doctrines of Trithemius and the *Emerald Tablet* of Hermes Trismegistus:

747 *Amph.*II, 39. See Guilielmus Onciacus, *Numeralium Locorum Decas, in omni ferè scientiarum genere mysticis referta propositionibus* (Lyon, 1584), which deals with the symbolic significance of the numbers one to ten. Another possible source could be Petrus Bungus's *Numerorum Mysteria* (Bergamo, 1591).

748 On John Dee's fascination with the same symbolic numbers, see Stephen Clucas, 'Pythagorean Number Symbolism, Alchemy, and the Disciplina Noua of John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*', *Aries* 10:2 (2010): 149–167. For a primary source, see Jacques Gohory, *De Vsu & Mysteriis Notarum Liber. In quo vetusta literarum & numerorum ac diuinorum ex Sibylla nominum ratio explicatur* (Paris, 1550).

749 Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae* (1612), 483 'Vnitas Trithemii est ternarii in vnionem reductio per abiectionem binarii estque supernaturalis & spagyrica: fundamentum abstrusarum rerum indaginis. Hac posteriore Philosophiæ parte fit transitus ad priorem per medium Philosophiæ moralis.'

750 Dorn, *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi* (1583), 92.

751 See Dorn, *De Spagirico Artificio Io. Trithemii sententia*, 393 'Rejiciatur itaque binarius, & ternarius ad unitatis simplicitatem convertibilis erit'. See also Dorn, *De Naturae Luce Physica, ex Genesi Desumpta* (Frankfurt, 1583), 338 'Ut modò clarè vobis demonstrem imaginem reductionis ternarij ad unitatis simplicitatem, per abiectionem binarij: tum etiam qua ratione quaternarius per coniunctionem in ternario quiescere possit, & unà cum eo particeps unionis fieri, notate.' On Trithemius's influence on Dorn's thinking, see Kahn, *Alchimie et Paracelsisme en France*, 145.

> By Unity is understood that which Hermes explains in other words, and by a similitude taken from Genesis. 'What (he says) is above', and so forth.[752] For the Binary is denoted by Hermes by above and below. Trithemius says 'Let the Binary be rejected and the Ternary will be convertible to [the simplicity of] Unity.' So does Hermes in other words, 'For accomplishing (he says) the miracles of One thing.' It should particularly be noted here that Unity is understood by the two men in two different ways. Hermes numbers Unity, as we have said, by below and above, while Trithemius by the constitution of the first number from the Unary. Unity is measured by both of them in a very different way, the former by the reduction of above and below to a likeness located in the 'miracle';[753] the latter by rejection of the Binary, and conversion of the Ternary into the Unary. In a wonderful way both indeed arrive at the same conclusion: therefore, Unity itself is natural and yet divisible, or rather numerable in the Binary, and the Ternary is revertible into another Unity, which is called the second Unity, beyond which it is not permitted to go.[754]

Trithemius emphasised the importance of an understanding of the source of all number in a 1503 letter 'On the Three Principles of Natural Magic' to Count Johann von Westenburg:

> Whatever Astronomers, whatever Mathematicians, whatever Magi, whatever the Alchemists, the envious persecutors of nature, whatever the

752 This refers to the *Emerald Tablet*, 'Quod est superius, *est sicut id* quod est inferius'.

753 It is worth remembering that the 'Miracle' is the highest stage in Dorn's *Meditative Philosophy*.

754 Dorn, *De spagirico artificio* (1659), in *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1:388 'Intelligitur de unitate quam Hermes alijs verbis, & per similitudinem a Genesi sumtam explicat. Quod (inquit) est superius, & quae sequuntur. Binarius enim ab Hermete per inferius & superius denotatur, Reiiciatur (ait Trithemius) binarius, & ternarius ad unitatem convertibilis erit. Idipsum Hermes alijs verbis, Ad perpetranda (inquit) miracula unius rei. Apprime notandum hoc loco unitatem ab utroque duobus modis intelligi. Siquidem Hermes unitatem numerat, ut diximus, per inferius, & superius. Trithemius vero per numeri primi constitutionem ab unario. Longe diversa ratione post uterque metitur unitatem: Unus reductione superioris & inferioris ad similitudinem in miraculo positam: Alter abjectione binarij, conversioneque ternarij in unarium. Ambo sane mira ratione conveniunt in eandem sententiam. Est igitur ipsa, naturalis tamen, unitas divisibilis, sed potius numerabilis in binarium, & ternarius in alteram unitatem revertibilis, quae secunda dicitur unitas, ultra quam progredi non licet.' See also Dorn, *De artificio supernaturale* (1659), in *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1:321. This second unity is possibly to be equated with the 'second union' mentioned in the previous chapter, when the conjoined spirit and soul, now 'Mind', according to Dorn, then rejoin with the body in a superior 'second union'.

> even worse Necromancers with all their demons claim, this thing itself, this element that is not an element, by means of a number remote from itself, reduced simply to a unity by conjunction with itself, knows how to discern, know, rectify, discover, and to perfect by its own principles without any accompanying malice.[755]

A few lines later, it becomes clear that Trithemius is thinking of the Pythagorean *Tetraktys*:

> Every performance of wonders consistent with the limits of nature descends from unity through a binary to the ternary, not before however it rises from the quaternary through the order of grades to simplicity.[756]

A phrase that closely resembles Khunrath's wording first appears in a letter written by Trithemius to the counsellor to the king of France, Germain de Ganay (d. 1520), on 24 August 1505.[757] De Ganay, later Bishop of Orleans and Cahors, corresponded not only with Trithemius, but also with Marsilio Ficino, and was patron and protector of the humanist theologian Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (*c*.1450–1537) who dedicated his treatise on natural magic to De Ganay.[758] In his letter Trithemius sets forth his philosophical ruminations

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755 Trithemius, *De Septem Secvndeis, id est, intelligentijs, siue Spiritibus Orbes post Deum mouentibus, reconditissimæ scientiæ & eruditionis Libellus* (1567), 85–86 'Quicquid Astronomi, quicquid Mathematici, quicquid Magi, quicquid inuidentes naturae persecutores Alchymistæ, quicquid dæmonibus deteriores Necromantici promittunt, nouit discernere, intelligere, rectificare, inuenire, suisque principijs aptata sine malitia perficere.' Some of this is recycled in Agrippa's 1527 letter to Aurelius of Aquapendente, attached as an appendix to *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), 565.

756 Trithemius, *De Septem Secvndeis*, 86–87 'Omnis itaque naturae consistens limitibus operatio mirandorum ab unitate per binarium in ternarium descendit, non prius tamen quàm à quaternario per ordinem graduum in simplicitatem consurgat: nam si quatuor numerare velis, non aliter quàm ab vno scis inchoandum & dicis vnum, duo, tria, quatuor, quæ simul sumpta faciunt decem.'

757 Jo. Trithe. Ab. Spanheymensis Germano de Ganay viro doctissimo Salutem, in Trithemius, *De Septem Secvndeis*, 65–76, at 66 'Reijciatur binarius & ternarius, ad unitatem convertibilis erit.' On Trithemius's letter to De Ganay, see Nicholas H. Clulee, '*Astronomia inferior*: Legacies of Johannes Trithemius and John Dee', in William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton (eds.), *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001), 173–233, at 191ff.

758 Eugene F. Rice, 'The *De Magia Naturali* of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples', in Edward P. Mahoney (ed.), *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 19–29, at 20–21.

concerning number, in the context of an interpretation of the *Emerald Tablet* of Hermes Trismegistus:

> The ternary must be completely reduced to unity (unitatem),[759] if the mind wishes to attain perfect understanding of these things. For the Unary (Unarius) is not a number, and from it all number arises. *Let the binary be rejected and the ternary will be convertible to unity*. … What is above is like what is below, and what is below is like what is above, because all number consists only of unities, for accomplishing the many miracles of One thing. Is it not true that all things flow from one thing from the goodness of the One, and whatever is conjoined with unity cannot be diverse, but fructifies by the simplicity and adaptation of the one? What is born from unity? Surely the ternary? Listen: The Unary is simple, the binary composite, but the ternary is reduced to the simplicity of unity. I am not Trithemius of threefold mind, but delighting in the ternary number in one mind, which truly gives birth to a marvellous offspring.[760]

A little later, Trithemius explains that 'unless unity is brought about, there will be no conjunction of likeness in the mind, nor participation in the good, and without these no transcendence; and unless these take place, one cannot attain either the understanding of things above or proper activity of things below.'[761] He goes on to describe the 'way to higher things,' by which the ancient

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759 Cf. Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*, for his translation of Unitas as 'Unit'. See Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, 90–91.

760 My italics. Trithemius, *De Septem Secundeis*, 66–67 'Ad unitatem reducendus omnino est ternarius, si mens harum rerum velit intellectum consequi perfectum. Unarius enim non est numerus, & ex ipso numerus omnis consurgit. Reijciatur binarius & ternarius, ad unitatem convertibilis erit. … Quod est superius, est sicut quod est inferius, et quod est inferius, est sicut quod est superius, quia solis unitatibus constat omnis numerus ad perpetranda miracula unius rei multa. Nonne res omnes ab una re fluunt bonitate unius, et quicquid unitati coniungitur, non potest esse diversum, sed fructificat simplicitate & aptatione unius? Quid ex unitate nascitur? Nonne ternarius? Accipe. Unarius est simplex, binarius compositus, ternarius vero ad unitatis reducitur simplicitatem. Non sum Trithemius mentis triplicis, sed in una mente numero gaudens ternario, qui vere parit mirabilem foetum.' See also Trithemius, *Epistolarum familiarum* (1536), 89–91. Cf. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology*, 125 where Brann describes this as a Pythagorean-Hermetic composite. See also Clulee's slightly different translation in '*Astronomia inferior*: Legacies of Johannes Trithemius and John Dee', 192. Gerard Dorn quotes this passage in *Jo. Trithemii Sententia de Spagirico Artificio*, in *Theatrum Chemicum*, Vol. 1, 392.

761 Trithemius, *De Septem Secvndeis*, 71 'Nisi enim fiat unitas, non fiet similitudinis in mente coniunctio, neque boni participatio, et sine his nulla transcensio: nisi autem haec praecedant, neque superiorum intelligentiam, neque inferiorum propriam consequi poterit operationem.'

wisemen perceived things considered beyond human comprehension by the present-day wise, a way which by now should look familiar: '*Study* generates *Knowledge*. *Knowledge* gives rise to *Love*; *Love* to *Likeness*; *Likeness* to *Communion*. *Communion* to *Virtue*. *Virtue* to *Dignity*. *Dignity* to *Power*, and *Power* performs the *Miracle*. This is the sole path to the goal of magical perfections both divine and natural.'[762]

Trithemius declares that without an understanding 'by way of numbers, grades and series, the magus would be unable to give power to his images, the alchemist to imitate nature, a man to compel spirits, a prophet to predict the future, or any inquiring person to understand the way of experiments.'[763]

With this declaration in mind, here we should mention the fifteenth-century hermit Pelagius, who shall be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Gilly convincingly argues that Pelagius's manuscript work *Περι ἀνακρισεων των ὑπνωτικων* [Peri anakriseōn tōn hypnōtikōn] or *De hypnoticis anacrisibus* (On Dream Visions) is the ultimate source for Khunrath's 'fundamental sentence' on rejecting the binary.[764] There we learn that

> [Those] who know how to make the Pythagorean Binary [= the angelic intellect], descend, and to call back the Ternary [= mind, human soul] to the Monad [= divine mind]; for unless a man learns to elevate the Binary to the Monad, like turbid wine in the dregs, he does not reduce it to the desired purity. Unity exists in the Binary once only, which, when subtracted from the known subsisting line of order by the holy Quaternary [= operation of the mind], ascends to the purest and most subtle society of its Monad.[765]

762 Cf. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology*, 127.

763 Trithemius, *De Septem secundeis*, 86 'Sine huius medij finis principijque cognitione per numeros, gradus & ordines, nec Magus imaginibus virtutem daret sine crimine, vel etiam cum scelere dare potest, nec Alchymista imitari naturam, nec homo spiritus compellere, nec futura prædicere vates naturæ, nec quisquam curiosus experimentorum capere rationem.'

764 Gilly, *Magic, Alchemy and Science*, Vol. 2, 143. On *De hypnoticis anacrisibus*, see Jean Dupèbe, 'L'ermite Pelagius et les Rose-Croix', in Carlos Gilly and Friedrich Niewöhner (eds.), *Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen in 17. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2002), 134–57, at 134. See also the extended note on *Peri anacriseon* (1480), 437 n. 270. The French manuscript translation of the *Amphitheatre*, Amsterdam, Ritman Library, Ms. BPH M490 *L'Amphyteatre de la Sapience*, 665 includes marginal reference to '*Anacryse*.'

765 Gilly, *Magic, Alchemy and Science*, Vol. 1, 289 'Qui et Binarium [= intellectum angelicum] Pitagoricum noverunt descendere et Ternarium [= mens anima humana] in Monadem [= mentem divinam] revocare; nisi enim didicerit homo Binarium sublimare in Monadem, quasi turbidum in faecibus vinum non reducit ad optatam puritatem. In Binario semel dumtaxat consistit unitas, quae cum a subsistente cognita ordinis linea per

While fascinating, this passage, with the interpolated interpretations, somehow only muddies the waters. Rejecting the binary when it is interpreted, for instance, as the Old Adam, or the spirit of division, seems a reasonable suggestion, while rejecting the angelic intellect, on the other hand, seems at first sight a somewhat self-defeating proposition.[766] Calling to mind Khunrath's Grades of Cognition, however, we do see a progression from 'angelic intellect' to 'divine mind'.

Not to be neglected, of course, is the most important Unity of all, God. Weigel develops this through the metaphor of a metaphysics of light in his *Libellus Theosophiae* (1618): 'God is unity and unity is God … Thus, God is Light and Light is God and Light and God are one and the same … Therefore, God is most rightly symbolised by one or unity.' The binary, on the other hand is alterity, a composite, differing greatly from unborn and uncreated God.[767]

As Khunrath emphatically states,

> Reduction to the simplicity of the Monad does not take place unless the Binary is rejected. There is no union with IEHOVAH, unless [there is] first of all a turning away from Yourself, and abnegation of yourself.[768]

Some sense of how Khunrath intends his readers to repel the Binary and aim for Unity with God, in the context of his engraving of Adam-Androgyne, is gleaned from one particular passage in the *Amphitheatre*:

Quaternarium [= operationem mentis] sacrum substracta fuerit, in purissimam et subtilissimam suae Monadis societatem evadit.' Gilly is quoting from the fragment in Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 2902, 269r–277 (cit. 271r–272r).

766 Gilly, *Magic, Alchemy and Science*, Vol. 1, 293, n.20 provides a gloss of these terms taken from a fragment in Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 2902, f. 271r–272r. There we find a broader latitude of interpretation: 'Unitas et Monas frequenter ponuntur pro Mente divina et principio totius … Binarius aliquando ponitur pro intellectu angelico, aliquando etiam pro Mente humana … Ternarius pro Mente sive anima humana semper accipitur … Quaternarius, in hoc libro, pro operatione mentis ponitur' (Unity and the Monad are frequently used for the divine Mind and the principle of the whole … the Binary is sometimes used for the angelic intellect, sometimes even for the human Mind … the Ternary is always understood as the human Mind or soul … the Quaternary, in this book, is used for the operation of the mind).

767 Weigel, *Libellus Theosophiae* (1618), 22 'Deus est unitas & unitas est deus … Sic Deus est Lux & lux est Deus & Lux & Deus idem & unum sunt …'; 23 'ad alteritatem seu duo seu binarium numerum. Sic igitur Deus per unum seu unitatem symbolicatur rectissime: ita creatura per alteritatem notatur: Deficit enim ab unitate. … Sicut binarius numerum est unus & habet unitatem & est etiam duo. Nam compositus est ex uno & uno. Et sicut binarius numerus compositus est & multum differt ab incomposito ingenito & non facto Deo.'

768 *Amph.*II, 105 'Non fit ad Monadis simplicitatem reductio, nisi reiiciatur Binarius: non cum IEHOVAH vnio, nisi prius à Teipso deuiatio, & tui abnegatio.'

> [T]he LORD whom (as LORD) she [Wisdom] fears, is GOOD; she hates arrogance and pride, because she fears the Greatest, the Eternal, the Terrible, the Strong; she hates the wicked way because she fears Him who sees all things, the Jealous, the Just; she detests the mouth with a double tongue, because she fears the Best, the only Wise, the one Speaking Truly; and thus the FEAR OF JEHOVAH IS THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM, which is to delight in JEHOVAH, Patient, Merciful, and of great Benevolence. See the second figure of this Amphitheatre. This is our reformation in the example of the Archetype, in whose image and likeness (Genesis 2) we are formed.[769]

Here Khunrath is referring to the qualities radiating from the central sun of the Archetype at the zenith, as it were, of the second circular engraving (Fig. 4.57 above). There we find ten rays containing thirteen qualities or attributes, connected to ten corresponding religious virtues (Table 4.10).

TABLE 4.10 Divine attributes (*Middoth*) and corresponding human virtues

***Middoth* – divine attributes**		**Corresponding human virtues**	
Æternus, Terribilis	Eternal, Terrible	Timor Dei	Fear of the Lord
Uerax, Zelotes	True, Jealous	Temperantia	Temperance
Maximus	Greatest	Humilitas	Humility
Iustus	Just	Justitia	Justice
Longanimis	Long-Suffering	Patientia	Patience
Fortis	Strong	Fortitudo	Fortitude
Misericors	Merciful	Misericordia	Mercy
Solus Sapiens	Only Wise	Prudentia	Prudence
Multus benignitate	Of Great Benevolence	Benignitas	Benevolence
Optimus, Omnia uidens	Best, All-Seeing	Castitas	Chastity.

769 *Amph.*II, 72 'DOMINVS, quem (vt DOMINVM) timet, BONVS: odit arrogantiam & superbiam; quia timet Maximum, Æternum, Terribilem, Fortem: odit viam prauam; quia timet omnia videntem; Zelotem, Iustum: os bilingue detestatur; quia timet Optimum, solum Sapientem, Veracem: & sic TIMOR DOMINI INITIVM SAPIENTIÆ, quod est, frui IEHOVAH Longanimi, Misericordi, multoque Benignitate. Vide figuram Amphitheatri huius secundam. Hæc nostra ad Archetypi exemplar, ad cuius imaginem & similitudinem (Gen.2.) sumus formati, reformatio.'

Although the Archetype is shown as sending forth ten rays, looking more closely it actually displays thirteen attributes, with Khunrath providing some justification for this elsewhere by listing ten of the attributes and then declaring 'and thus the Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom, which is to rejoice in Patient, Merciful, and Highly Bounteous Jehovah'. Khunrath is well aware that the source for these divine attributes is a passage in Exodus 34:6–7, where Moses exclaims 'Oh LORD, our GOD, Good, Gracious, Merciful, Mild Patient, of great Mercy and Goodness.'[770] In the Jewish tradition, these are the thirteen *Middoth*, the 'modes of God's action', or 'aspects', 'attributes', 'measures' of God,[771] 'as He is experienced by human beings.'[772] They are thirteen 'divine attributes of mercy',[773] sometimes seen as forming a ladder of ascent towards the divine, as divine hypostases mediating the connection between the cosmic and the divine.[774] These are reflected in Circular Figure 2 by corresponding virtues to be cultivated by the devout theosopher: the four moral or cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance), plus six others, with varying lists found from the Middle Ages onwards.[775]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the reader who strives to reform him or herself after the Archetype is encouraged with the promise of being able to counteract the consequences of the Fall. The passage bears repeating:

> the Reduction to the Simplicity of the Monad (concerning which see the second figure of this Amphitheatre) is the Method or way, by which MAN can and must be regenerated, reinstated in integrity, Divinely brought back to GOD whom he deserted by his own dissension, to be

770 *Amph.*II, 75 'DOMINE, DEVS noster, Bone, Benigne, Misericors, Clemens, Longanimis, multæ Misericordiæ & Bonitatis.' Cf. Exodus 34:6 'And when he passed before him, he said: O the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, patient and of much compassion, and true.' See Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 313, 347–354. See also Barbara Binder Kadden and Bruce Kadden, *Teaching Mitzvot: Concepts, Values, and Activities* (Denver: A.R.E. Publishing, 2003), 219. For more on Exodus 34:6–7, see W. Gunther Plaut (ed.), *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981), 663–664.

771 Wolfson, *Language, Eros, Being*, 211; idem, *Alef, Mem, Tau*, 95.

772 Yosef Blau (ed.), *The Conceptual Approach to Jewish Learning* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 2006), 63.

773 Dan, *Early Kabbalah*, 61 discussing Section 127 from the Bahir.

774 See Elliot Wolfson, 'Megillat 'Emet we-'Emunah-Contemplative Visualization and Mystical Unknowing', *Kabbalah* 5 (2000): 55–110, who describes a ladder of ascent based on the *middot*. See also Lachter, 'Kabbalah, Philosophy, and the Jewish-Christian Debate', 23.

775 On these virtues, see Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, 369–381.

> made a new man, conjoined, illumined and united with GOD, and as it were DEIFIED.[776]

Here, once again, we find the influence of Reuchlin, whose *On the Wonder-Working Word* Khunrath cites as evidence of such potential theosis: 'the man united with GOD is made, as it were, a human GOD, or, as it were, a Divine man.'[777] As with other elements of Khunrath's Christian Cabala, this representation of Adam as a hermaphroditic or androgynous figure and the accompanying assertion concerning deification must have been, for some, yet one more sign of his condemnable Enthusiasm.[778]

37 Cabalistic Conclusions concerning Khunrath

As François Secret points out in his seminal work *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1963), much of Christian Cabala was in the end neither Christian nor Cabala.[779] Joseph Dan reiterates this, arguing that

> it should not be taken for granted that the term 'kabbalah' as a component of the phrase "Christian kabbalah" has the same meaning that it has in other, mainly Jewish, contexts; nor should it be taken for granted that "Christianity" in this phrase is identical in its meaning to any other of the numerous messages of this term throughout the ages.

Dan goes on to suggest that the very 'term "Christianity" in the phrase "Christian kabbalah" is a new phenomenon', constituting 'a discourse between Christians about the nature of Christianity.'[780]

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776 *Amph.*II, 70 'Reductio ad Monadis Simplicitatem (de qua in secunda Amphitheatri huius figura) est Methodus siue via, quâ debeat ac posset HOMO regenerari; in integrum restitui; ad DEVM, à quo dissensione propria defecit, Diuinitus reuerti; fieri nouus homo; coniungi, illuminari, atque vniri DEO, & quasi DEIFICARI'.

777 *Amph.*II, 154 'verum quoque est Capnionis, lib. De Verbo Mirifico, hoc, quod homo vnitus DEO, fiat quasi DEVS humanus, vel quasi homo Diuinus.' See Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*, 27 'Poterunt autem inennarabili unione coniungi: ut unus idemque & humanus deus & diuinus homo'.

778 See Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, Or, A Discourse of the Nature, Causes, Kinds, and Cure, of Enthusiasme* (London, 1656), 29–31 where he mentions the idea of a hermaphroditic Adam as an identifying doctrine of the Enthusiasts.

779 Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens*, 361.

780 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin', 57–58, 68.

What material was distilled or despoiled from genuine Jewish sources was undoubtedly at times adopted, adapted, mutilated or transmuted out of recognition by its Christian adherents. The early story of Christian Cabala is one of Catholic exponents, such as Pico, Reuchlin, and Giorgio, with Khunrath one of the first Lutherans to display an interest in the subject, although there is little sense of much confessional difference in the way that he engaged with the subject.[781] Following a remark by Moshe Idel, I would argue that in Khunrath's case the issue is less that he as 'a Christian has adopted some forms of Jewish esoteric traditions,' but that he 'has adopted a Kabbalistic type of thinking'.[782] Here I have in mind Khunrath's 'cabalistic' unpackings of significant (alchemical) words, his value of Hebrew as the *Ursprache*, the primordial language of Creation, and in particular his espousal of the divine Christian-Cabalist name for Jesus, a name of vast potential in his Oratory. Judith Weiss's preference for the term "Kabbalistic Christian", rather than "Christian Cabalist", in her research on Guillaume Postel, seems a particularly useful shifting of emphasis and perspective.[783]

Although Khunrath shows an awareness of Jewish techniques of word permutation, he displays little inclination towards the more complex calculations of 'literal' Kabbalah, engaging instead in Neo-Pythagorean speculations on symbolic numbers, on the basis of the *Tetraktys*; nor does he restrict himself, like Jewish Kabbalists, to the interpretation of the scriptures, but promotes, like John Dee, the notion of a 'Cabala of the Real', new readings of the Book of Nature.[784] This should not be taken, however as a particular sign of any overt anti-semitism, certainly nothing along the lines of Agrippa's comment in *De Vanitate* on the 'Judaical ferment of Cabalistical superstition.'[785] While the *Amphitheatre* does include some rather standard early modern fare concerning the inability of the Jews to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem,[786] Khunrath shows signs of admiration in one of his rare allusions to his metaphor of an

781 On Dee's switches from Protestantism to Catholicism and back, plus possible contacts with Familism, see Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature*, 129, 149. On Dee's ordination as a Catholic priest, see Parry, *The Arch Conjuror of England: John Dee*, 29, 69.

782 Idel, 'Introduction,' in Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, v–vi.

783 See Judith Weiss, 'Structure Amid the Chaos: The Quadruple Structure in Guillaume Postel's Thought', *The Journal of Religion* 99:3 (2019): 361–82.

784 For more on this see *The Mage's Images*, Vol. 3, Chapter 6 on Khunrath's alchemy.

785 Agrippa, *The Vanity of the Arts and Sciences* (1675), 125.

786 *Amph.*II, 207, 213, and a reference on p. 32 'Et sicut Iudæi frustra conantur extruere & instaurare templum Hierosolymitanum: ita veniet propediem tempus, quo emergit NOVA LVX THEOSOPHICA, quam Sapientuli nostri, frustrâ extinguere conabuntur' (And as the Jews vainly try to build and restore the temple of Jerusalem; so, soon, the time will come



FIGURE 4.65
Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1608), title page, detail. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

amphitheatre, when, in referring to the 'supremely perfect and absolute study of Cabala with the Hebrews' and comparing it to the practices of other nations, he states 'these (the Jewish Cabalists), with [their] very benevolent Guide, have considerably outstripped the others, in one and the same stadium.'[787] This sounds more like Khunrath promoting an irenic approach towards Jewish literature, inspired by the courageous stance taken by his hero Reuchlin, rather than Katherine Eggert's sensationalist accusation of Khunrath engaging in ethnic cleansing.[788]

Neither Pico, nor Reuchlin ever explicitly call their Cabala "Christian",[789] and it is the Franciscan Jean Thenaud (1480–1542) who is the first known author to write of a "Christian" Kabbalah, in *Traité de la Cabale* or *Traité de la Cabale chrétienne* (*c*.1521), which summarizes some of the earlier Latin studies.[790] Thenaud's work, however, remained an unpublished manuscript and it is Khunrath's *Amphitheatre* that was to become the first published work to

in which the New Theosophic Light comes forth, which our Wiseacres will strive to extinguish in vain).

787 *Amph*.II, 147 '*idem quod studium apud Hebræos Cabalæ summè perfectum & absolutum, … hi, in vno eodemque stadio, Duce benigniore, longè præcurrerent illos*'.

788 Eggert, *Disknowledge*, 110 accuses Khunrath of racial cleansing, arguing: 'From first to last, these four engravings show how alchemy washes away the taint of the alchemist's debt to Jewish learning'. Aside from being unconvincing as an argument, this completely ignores Pico, Reuchlin and Khunrath's insistence on the importance of the Hebrew language for practices of magic.

789 Indeed, in *De Verbo Mirifico* (Pistorius edition, 1587), 966 Reuchlin writes of "Pythagorean Cabala" (Pythagoricam Cabalam). For other classifications of Cabala, see E.H., *Ein ausführlicher Tractat, Von Philosophischen Werck Des Steins der Weisen* (Hamburg, 1702), 99 which includes a catalogue of Cabalistic works at the end, allegedly from a 1614 manuscript in Leipzig, including "Adami Protoplasti Cabala", "Kabala divina & super coelestis", "Kabala Angelica", "Cabala almadelistica major", "Cabala symbolica", "Kabala naturalis", "Cabala Revelatoria", "Kabala adepta", "Kabala Voarchadumica" and many more; in total 69 titles related to magic and Cabala.

790 Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala*, 89ff; Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens* 153ff; Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God*, 337–338.

explicitly describe itself as "Christian Kabalist" (Christiano-Kabalisticum).[791] This Christian-Cabalist aspect is particularly prominent on the title page of the 1608 edition (Fig. 4.65), although the phrases 'Christlich-Cabalisch' and 'Christlich-Cabalistischen' already appear in Khunrath's early 1597 publication *On Primaterial Chaos*,[792] and 'Christlicher Kabala' in the 1603 edition of *On the Philosophical Athanor*.[793] Comparing Christian Cabala to Jewish tradition, Idel characterises the Christian enthusiasm for publishing treatises as a shift from esoteric to exoteric, from texts to be studied by an elite to the more readily available dissemination of Jewish and Christian material in print.[794] Given the obscure nature of the material, however, and the cryptic way it was often presented to its Christian readers, perhaps what appears exoteric for Jewish readers steeped in Kabbalistic lore remained dauntingly esoteric for less informed Christians.

Gershom Scholem, who was certainly familiar with Khunrath's work,[795] is perhaps close to what Khunrath had in mind with his definition of Christian Kabbalah as 'the interpretation of kabbalistic texts in the interests of Christianity … or the use of kabbalistic concepts and methodology in support of Christian dogma.'[796] It is clear that Khunrath is familiar with Hebrew, from his occasional remarks on terms from the Old Testament, and in his impressive *Seal of Truth* there is strong evidence of his indebtedness to Kabbalah for the conceptual system of the *Sephiroth*, as well as of his reverence for Hebrew as a language of primordial power, no more so than in the presence of the *Shemoth*, the Divine Names. Khunrath's brand of Christian Cabala incorporates kabbalistic elements along with much of the Neo-Pythagoreanism found in his main source, Johann Reuchlin, with whom he appears to have shared a similar aim

791 The title page of the 1595 *Amphitheatre* simply uses the adjective 'Cabalisticum', with no Christianisation.

792 Khunrath, *Chaos* (1597), 404 'Christlich Cabalistischen'; 409 'Christlich-Cabalisch'.

793 See *Athanore* (1603), 59. The next major work to make use of the term is Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* (1677–78), which includes the *Adumbratio Kabbalae Christianae*. Kenneth Mackenzie's *Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* (1877; repr. Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1987), 450 even mistakenly attributes the *Kabbala Denudata* to Khunrath: 407 'The learned may consult further authorities on this curious subject in the Kabbala Denudata of Heinrich Khunrath, 1677 … for the scholar, H. Khunrath's three rare quartos, the Kabbala Denudata, would be the best guide.'

794 Idel, 'Jewish Thinkers versus Christian Kabbalah', 57–58.

795 Gershom Scholem, *Bibliographia Kabbalistica: Verzeichnis der gedruckten die jüdische Mystik* (*Gnosis, Kabbala, Sabbatianismus, Frankismus, Chassidismus*) *behandelnden Bücher und Aufsätze von Reuchlin bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1927), 84 Khunrath (Hanau nicht Hanover!).

796 Scholem, 'The Beginnings', 17.

of discovering a deeper, more profound understanding of the nature of his own religion, of reinvigorating Christianity, and of attaining magical power, personal transformation and spiritual transfiguration.[797]

For better or for worse, Khunrath became known as a promoter of Christian Cabala. A near contemporary example is in the *Bibliotheca classica* (1611/1625) of print corrector and preacher Georg Draud (1573–1635), who includes him in a list with Pico and Reuchlin (and Capnion, not realising that this is Reuchlin's pseudonym).[798] More condemnatory is the polyhistor Burkhard Gotthelf Struve's (1671–1738) inclusion of Khunrath among a list of reprobate books with the comment, 'we damn however that perverse cabala that Henricus Khunrathus practised', singling out the *Amphitheatre*, 'in which he wishes to explain at one and the same time all Theology and all Chymistry and Philosophy, but his figures are obscure with perverse doctrines.'[799]

In the *Amphitheatre*'s first circular figure, Khunrath provides a highly original image of how a Christian Cabalist could adopt and adapt aspects of Jewish theosophical and ecstatic Kabbalah to create a complex pattern of spiritual emanation, with Christ as the focal point and supreme Name for Christian-Cabalist practice. Each of the ten traditional Hebrew names of God from the Old Testament can be read as corresponding to one of the ten *Sephiroth*, which in turn corresponds with one of the Angelic choirs, and those successively with a verse from the Decalogue.[800] Obviously this figure can be read both centrifugally, as it were, from the centre to the circumference, as the emanation or descent of God's power into progressively grosser and more physical realms of existence, or centripetally, from the circumference to the

797 Dan, 'The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin,' 55–56, 68.

798 Georg Draud, *Bibliotheca classica* (Frankfurt, 1625), 1325 where he is listed under 'Cabalistica', in the group Petrus Bongus/ Ioan. Capnionis/ Iodocus Clichtoveus/ Ioan. Pici/ M. Ioan Bapt. Hehenstreit/ Henrici Khvnrath/ Io. Reuchlin. In the same volume, 897–8 Khunrath and his works appear under *Libri Medici*, in the section on *Chymica*, alongside Croll, Dorn, Libavius, Maier, etc. For a rare reference to Draud, see Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest, 1575–1725*, 106.

799 Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, *Introductio in notitiam rei litterariae et usum bibliothecarum* (Jena, 1706), 464 'Damnamus autem perversam istam cabalam, quam exercuit Henricus Khunrathus. Hic enim *amphitheatrum*. … scripsit Hamburgi 1611. f. quo omnem sive Theologiam sive & Chymiam & Philosophiam explicare voluit. Sed figurae obscurae ipsius dogmatibus perversis.'

800 Papus, *La Kabbale: Tradition secrète de l'Occident* (Paris: Georges Carré, 1892; repr. 1903), 72 'A chacun des chœurs angéliques, Khunrath fait correspondre encore l'un des versets du décalogue: c'est comme si l'ange recteur de chaque degré ouvrait la bouche pour promulguer l'un des préceptes de la loi divine.'

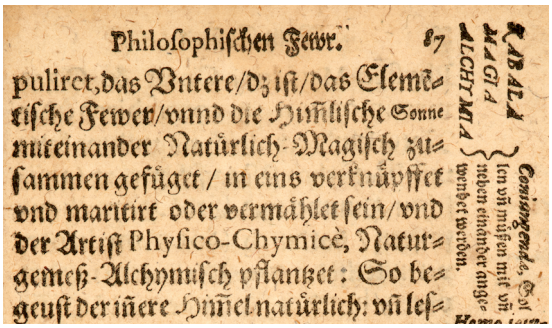


FIGURE 4.66
Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum* (1608), 87 'Kabala Magia Alchymia'. Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, OTM OK 63-2996

centre, as the path of inwardness or 'ascent' of the human soul to Christ.[801] As such, Khunrath's engraving can be looked on as a chart for directed meditation and prayer, detailing which angelic order and thus which emanation to target, a guide to attaining, in his words, the 'Temple of Minerva',[802] or, in less pagan terms, the ἁγιαστηριον [*Hagiastērion*] or Sanctuary, such that 'man mentally migrates into the company and sanctuary of God's good Angels'.[803] As shall be discussed in subsequent chapters, Khunrath goes further than any of his Cabalistic sources in attempting new fusions of Cabala with his other practices, in the conviction that 'KABALA, MAGIC and ALCHEMY' should be used together (Fig. 4.66).[804] In the following chapter we shall explore this further, delving into the magical elements in Khunrath's theosophy.

801 See McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 300 'on the notion of the centripetal and centrifugal image … the centripetal image as the surcease of all desire in the perfect contemplation of God; the centrifugal impulse for transcendence and the centripetal desire for immanence'.

802 *Amph.*II, 99 'Minervae templum MicroCosmicon'.

803 *Amph.*II, 69 'Homo mentaliter migrat in consortium & sanctuarium Angelorum DEI bonorum'. Cf. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 142 on the main purpose of the Torah and of the Kabbalah, i.e., 'that man should attain the level of the angels called *Isim* and cleave to them for eternal life, until human beings shall turn into separate angels after being, beforehand – human beings in actuality and angels in potential, but on a lower level.' Man's transformation from transient essence to eternal takes place when he attains 'prophecy'.

804 Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum*, 87 'KABALA, MAGIA, ALCHYMIA Conjugendae, Sollen und müssen mit und neben einander angewendet werden.' Cf. Gershom Scholem, *Alchemy and Kabbalah*, translated by Klaus Ottmann (Putnam, Connecticut: Spring Publications, 2006), 90–91 'Kabbalah, magic, and alchemy shall and must be combined and used together.'

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