

Enochian Angel Magic: From John Dee to the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn

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Abstract

This dissertation seeks to define the importance of John Dee's interpretation of mediaeval and Renaissance esoterica regarding the contacting of daemons and its evolution into a body of astrological and terrestrial correspondences and intelligences that included a Biblical primordial language, or a *lingua adamica*. The intention and transmission of John Dee's angel magic is linked to the philosophy outlined in his earlier works, most notably the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, and so this dissertation also provides a philosophical background to Dee's angel magic. The aim of this dissertation is to establish Dee's conversations with angels as a magic system that is a direct descendant of Solomonic and Ficinian magic with unique Kabbalistic elements. It is primarily by the Neoplatonic, Hermetic, Kabbalistic, and alchemical philosophy presented in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* that interest in Dee's angel magic was transmitted through the Rosicrucian movement. Through Johann Valentin Andreae's *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz anno 1459*, the emphasis on a spiritual, inner alchemy became attached to Dee's philosophy. Figures such as Elias Ashmole, Ebenezer Sibley, Francis Barret, and Frederick Hockley were crucial in the transmission of interest in Dee's practical angel magic and Hermetic philosophy to the founders of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. The rituals of the Golden Dawn utilized Dee's angel magic, in addition to creative Kabbalistic elements, to form a singular practice that has influenced Western esoterica of the modern age. This study utilizes a careful analysis of primary sources including the original manuscripts of the Sloane archives, the most recent scholarly editions of Dee's works, authoritative editions of original documents linked to Rosicrucianism, and Israel Regardie's texts on Golden Dawn practices.

Contents

Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1: The Philosophy and Practice of Dee’s Angel Magic	9
<i>Ficino and Pico: The Hermetic Roots of Dee</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>The Practice of Dee’s Angelic Magic</i>	<i>23</i>
Chapter 2: Rosicrucianism and Dee’s Hermetic Philosophy	41
<i>Early Rosicrucianism and the Monas Hieroglyphica</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>The Children of Rosicrucianism: Heirs to the Legacy of John Dee.....</i>	<i>50</i>
Chapter 3: The Golden Dawn of Enochian Magic in the Modern Era.....	64
<i>Enochian Magic and the Golden Dawn System.....</i>	<i>64</i>
Conclusion	81
Appendix.....	84

Illustrations

Figure 1 - The Almadel, taken from <i>Ars Almadel</i>	84
Figure 2 - ‘Table of Practice’ from <i>Ars Paulina</i>	85
Figure 3 - John Dee’s ‘Holy Table’ from the <i>True & Faithful Relation</i>	86
Figure 4 - <i>Tabula Angelorum Bonorum</i> 49.....	87
Figure 5 - Sigils of the Planetary Angels from the <i>Magical Calendar</i>	88
Figure 6 - Imagines from the <i>Magical Calendar</i>	89
Figure 7 - The Sigillum Dei from Sloane MS 313 of <i>Liber Juratus</i>	90
Figure 8 - John Dee’s <i>Sigillum Dei Aemeth</i>	91
Figure 9 - The Great Table.....	92
Figure 10 - The Cross Representing the Elements	93
Figure 11 - The Ternary and Quaternary of the Cross	93
Figure 12 - The Cross Divided: Perspective One	93
Figure 13 - The Cross Divided: Perspective Two.....	93

Introduction

John Dee's (1527-1609) conversations with angels have been the subject of scrutiny of various parties since their inception. Nobles were divided in their opinions of the supernatural. Dee and his notorious scribe, Edward Kelly, were praised, supported, threatened, or betrayed for their experiments in super-celestial magic; a kind of magic especially noted amongst detractors for its risk in contacting chthonic spirits.¹

The traditional Christian perspective regarding the summoning of angels has been suspect since the Middle Ages due to the biblical assertion that, whatever the entity's own claims, a 'demon' may appear in the guise of an 'angel', especially those bearing non-traditional names (II Corinthians 11. 13-14). What made Dee capable of accepting this risk while expecting positive results?

Prior to his conversations with angels, Dee's reputation was that of a learned man of the highest caliber. He had been offered the position of Court Mathematician by the kings and emperors of various countries after his lectures on Euclid at the University of Paris in 1550.² His personal library's vastness was well marked as the largest in all of England.³ His comprehensive mastery of its contents and its ramshackle organization made his presence necessary in order to even navigate it.⁴ The quality of the library and its learned archivist were such that it was frequented by the leading lights of the day, including Queen Elizabeth herself.⁵ Why would such a man of such great erudition

¹ Peter J. French, *John Dee: the World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 109.

² French, pp. 4-5.

³ William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, MA, 1995), pp. 30-2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ György E. Szönyi, 'John Dee', in *DGWE*, pp. 301-9 (p. 302).

seemingly eschew reason, turn his back on his higher learning, instead attempting to receive the answers to his life's scholarly inquiries from a crystal ball?

In Dee's final years and those following his death, the dangerous reputation of a magus dealing in super-celestial magic caught up with him. Despite Dee's low reputation after his death, Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) published his Rosicrucian work, *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz anno 1459* (or the *Chemical Wedding*; 1616),⁶ which featured Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* on the invitation to an allegorical wedding that described the process of the inner alchemy of the human spirit (which will be further discussed later in this dissertation).⁷ Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) also made it his mission to collect Dee's writings and corresponded with his son, Arthur Dee (1579-1651), with the intention of writing a biography on Arthur's father, which was never completed.⁸

Méric Casaubon (1599-1671) used Dee's journals to write the *True & Faithful Relation* (1659) that, at the time, seemed to seal Dee's fate (despite Casaubon's noting of and respect for his pious and fervent Christianity) as a deluded diabolist who had clearly overstepped the station of man in the spiritual hierarchy by attempting to directly contact and hold conversation with angels.⁹

Frederick Hockley is thought to have been a member of the possibly spurious Society of Eight and possessed a great interest in Dee's use of crystals to contact

⁶ Johann Valentin Andreae, *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz*, ed. and trans. by Joscelyn Godwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1991), p. 157, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=ZoTluErKnr4C&pg=PA157#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 17 May 2011].

⁷ Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 85.

⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, 'Elias Ashmole', in *DGWE*, pp. 105-7 (p. 106).

⁹ Méric Casaubon, 'Preface', in *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits* (hereafter *TFR*) (London: D. Maxwell, 1659), pp. 1-55 (pp. 30-1), <<http://books.google.com/books?id=iikdAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 27 June 2011].

angels.¹⁰ Hockley and MacKenzie's works and reputations were highly regarded by William Wynn Westcott who, alongside Samuel Liddel MacGregor Mathers and Robert Woodman, founded the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in 1888.¹¹ The Golden Dawn's Second Order introduced its members to Dee's Enochian tables and angel magic in the form of *Book H*¹² and Enochian Chess.¹³

This dissertation shall attempt to treat the following questions: How did Dee's philosophy and angel magic prove resilient enough to survive Casaubon's damning persecution and persist into the modern era? What was the importance of Enochian angel magic to the Western esoteric traditions?

The first chapter, in two sections, will examine the sources of influence on John Dee's angel magic. The first section will present the sources of Dee's Hermetic philosophy that served as his rationale for his capability to perform theological magic; namely Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and the *Corpus Hermeticum* and their reflections in Dee's works. The second section will investigate the sources of practical magic that Dee used as inspiration for his own practice (directly or indirectly); namely Peter de Abano, Johannes Trithemius, Heinrich Agrippa Cornelius von Nettesheim, and the various pseudoepigraphic or authorless grimoires such as the *Liber Juratus Honorii*, *Ars Paulina*, *Ars Almadel*, *Ars Notoria*, and *Arbatel de Magia Veterum*, and others.

¹⁰ Frederick Hockley, 'On the Ancient Magic Crystal and Its Connexion with Mesmerism', in *The Rosicrucian Seer: Magical Writings of Frederick Hockley*, ed. by John Hamill (Wellingborough, UK: The Aquarian Press, 1986), pp. 184-200 (pp. 190-1).

¹¹ William Wynn Westcott, 'Historical Lecture', in *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, pp. 99-104 (p. 99).

¹² Stephen Skinner and David Rankine, *Practical Angel Magic of Dr John Dee's Enochian Tables: Tabularum Bonorum Angelorum Invocationes* (London: Golden Hoard Press, 2004), pp. 296-81.

¹³ Steve Nichols, *Enochian Chess: Book One - Foundations* (Raleigh, NC: Lulu.com, 2006), p. 12.

The second chapter, in two sections, will examine the transmission of John Dee's Hermetic philosophy after his death. The first section will present John Dee's Hermetic and Apocalyptic philosophies as transmitted through the Rosicrucian writings of the *Fama Fraternitatis*, *Confessio Fraternitatis*, and the *Chemical Wedding*. The second section will investigate the transmission and revival of Dee's practical magic through the fringe-Masonic societies; especially through Frederick Hockley.

The third chapter will examine the transmission of Enochian angel magic within the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and its direct descendent order, the Stella Matutina. The examination will include *Book H*, Enochian Chess, the connection of Enochian angel magic to spiritual alchemy, Robert Felkin's usage of Dee's angel magic within the Stella Matutina, and the reformation of the Stella Matutina into the Order of Smaragdum Thalasses; the Order of Smaragdum Thalasses being the last known Golden Dawn organization to have made use of Enochian angel magic.

Overall, this dissertation intends to illustrate the resilience and importance of John Dee's philosophy and its transmission from his angelic conversations to the highly influential Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and thus to the modern era.

Chapter 1: The Philosophy and Practice of John Dee's Angel Magic

It might be so if madness were simply an evil; but there is also a madness which is a divine gift, and the source of the chiefest blessings granted to men. For prophecy is a madness, and the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses at Dodona when out of their senses have conferred great benefits on Hellas, both in public and private life, but when in their senses few or none.¹

In his outline of the history of magic and exaltation to the divine, Szönyi highlights the furies of Plato's *Phaedrus*.² In *Phaedrus*, Socrates praised the madness that comes as a gift from the Muses, which Szönyi equates to an occult knowledge only available to the 'hypersensitive elect'.³

As mentioned before, Méric Casaubon praised John Dee's Christian piety and goodness (though he also regarded Dee as deluded and a bit gullible) throughout the preface to his *True & Faithful Relation*.⁴ French neatly illustrated the fall of Dee's reputation in the centuries after his death and illustrated how Casaubon's perception of pious delusion was further degraded into 'execrable insanity' by Thomas Smith in his *Vita Joannis Dee* (1707).⁵ By the nineteenth century, the character of Dee had devolved from Casaubon's misled, pious scholar to an immoral conjuror of spirits⁶ and a necromancer fit for sensationalist fiction.⁷ Calder aptly noted that the nineteenth century likely viewed all sixteenth century science as 'devil-ridden superstition' and quoted a treatment of Dee by an anonymous writer in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1842):

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. by Benjamin Jowett (1994-2009), <<http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/phaedrus.html>> [accessed July 4, 2011] (para. 111 of 410).

² Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2004), p. 22.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Casaubon, 'Preface', *TFR*, pp. 30-1.

⁵ French, p. 15.

⁶ William Godwin, *The Lives of the Necromancers* (London: Frederick J. Mason, 1834), p. 390.

⁷ William Harrison Ainsworth, *Guy Fawkes; or, the Gunpowder Treason: An Historical Romance* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1841), pp. 32-39, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=UgwWAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 4 July 2011].

The majority of them were in all probability half mad and those who were whole mad of course set the fashion and were followed as the shining lights of the day.⁸

Regarding Dee in comparison to his assistant, Kelly, the article stated, ‘Dee was more respectable, because he was only half a rogue; the other half was made up of craziness.’⁹ Dee seemed to be possessed by this Platonic, divine madness and eschewed the orthodox Aristotelian assertion¹⁰ that science was to be the deduction of causal demonstrations on the basis of self-evident principles that could only be intuited and not demonstrated within a given discipline.¹¹ The undercurrents of Neoplatonism that accepted magical practice within Arabic Aristotelianism provided a framework through which Neoplatonic philosophy, and thus Hermetic philosophy, could be combined to form a perspective that allowed the practice of magic to be considered a viable applied science.¹²

John Dee’s angelic conversations were not the casting off of his high learning, but the very application of it in a context of divine madness. The next section will examine the Hermetic background of Dee’s angel magic.

Ficino and Pico: The Hermetic Roots of Dee

This dissertation cannot effectively present Dee’s Hermetic philosophy without addressing Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), the translator of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and the author of *De religione Christiana*, *De Triplici Vita*, *Libri Tres*, *Theologica Platonica*,

⁸ ‘Dr. Dee’, in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, January-June 1842, pp. 626-629 (p. 626), <<http://books.google.com/books?id=MfZFAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 4 July 2011].

⁹ Ibid., p. 629.

¹⁰ French, p. 161.

¹¹ Cees Leijenhorst, ‘Aristotelianism’, in *DGWE*, pp. 97-102. (p. 98).

¹² Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee’s Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 125-42.

and *Epistolae*,¹³ and a densely annotated *Omni Divini Platonis opera* (1532), all of whose books sat on Dee's shelves.¹⁴ In a time when the age of a work lent it greater authority,¹⁵ Ficino, and all other scholars of the Renaissance, believed Hermes Trismegistus to have been a very real figure and a pre-cursor to all Greek wisdom:

Of the sources for his magic to which Ficino himself refers the most are the *Asclepius* and, of course, Plotinus. The *Asclepius*, like the *Orphica*, had great authority for Ficino because it was a work of Hermes Trismegistus, a *priscus theologus* even more ancient than Orpheus, indeed contemporary with Moses; Plotinus was merely a late interpreter of this antique Egyptian wisdom.¹⁶

Ficino applied the Hermetic writings as the basis of Neoplatonic philosophy. He believed the Plotinian lemma '*De Favore Coelitus Hauriendo*' to be an expansion on the ability of man to create gods in the making of statues as described by Hermes in *Asclepius* 24 and 37.¹⁷ The similarities to Christianity present in Platonic and Neoplatonic texts assisted in their assimilation into Ficino's theology¹⁸ and provided a fine vehicle for his Hermetic Christianity.¹⁹ While this section deals with the philosophy behind Dee's angel magic, Ficino's own theological magic is deeply rooted in his theological philosophy and must be examined.

Ficino's Hermetic-Christian magic was transmitted through the Stoic and Aristotelian elements of the stellar influences on man,²⁰ a philosophical framing of

¹³ French, p. 50.

¹⁴ Stephen Clucas, 'Introduction', in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies In English Renaissance Thought*, ed. by Stephen Clucas, 193 (2006), 1-22 (p. 18), <<http://books.google.com/books?id=B5oDcIWv--sC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 4 July 2011].

¹⁵ Antoine Faivre, 'Hermetic Literature IV: Renaissance-Present', in *DGWE*, pp. 533-544 (p. 537).

¹⁶ D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), p. 40.

¹⁷ Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark, 'Introduction', in *Three Books on Life*, ed. and trans. by Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clarke (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1998), pp. 3-90 (p. 29).

¹⁸ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 128.

¹⁹ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 45.

²⁰ Walker, p. 38.

magic that Dee shared.²¹ Like the Greek sources it drew on, Ficino's Christian super-celestial magic was 'daemonic' (not to be confused with the Christian invective 'demonic').²² As Ficino states:

[...] every person has at birth one certain daemon, the guardian of his life, assigned by his own personal star which helps him to that very task to which the celestials summoned him when he was born. Therefore anyone having thoroughly scrutinized his own natural bent [...] by the aforesaid indicators will so discover his natural work as to discover at the same time his own star and daemon. Following the beginnings laid down by them, he will act successfully, he will live prosperously; if not, he will find fortune adverse and will sense that the heavens are his enemy.²³

Furthermore:

Now remember that you receive daemons or, if you will, angels, more and more worthy by degrees in accordance with the dignity of the professions, and still worthier ones in public government; but even if you proceed to these more excellent [levels], you can receive from your Genius and natural bent an art and a course of life neither contrary to, nor very unlike, themselves.²⁴

Ficino's cosmos are composed of a hierarchy of 'good' and 'bad' daemons assigned to the planets and the houses of the zodiac whom are responsible for communicating the will of the *Anima Mundi* to the inferior spheres.²⁵ Ficino believed that through astrological interaction with nature, 'celestial goods' can descend to the pious magus' 'rightly prepared spirit' to receive fuller gifts from beneficial daemons.²⁶ Interestingly, Ficino outlines a talismanic imagery in order to connect with his astral daemons that is clearly influenced by the *Picatrix*.²⁷ We shall use the planet Mercury as our example:

²¹ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 41.

²² Kaske and Clark, 'Introduction', in *Three Books on Life*, p. 28.

²³ Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, p. 371.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

²⁵ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 84.

²⁶ Ficino, p. 369.

²⁷ Szönyi, pp. 84-5.

For example, if anyone looks for a special benefit from Mercury, he ought to locate him in Virgo, or at least locate the Moon there in an aspect with Mercury, and then make an image out of tin or silver; he should put on it the whole sign of Virgo and its character and the character of Mercury. [...] The form of Mercury: a man sitting on a throne in a crested cap, with eagle's feet, holding a cock or fire with his left hand, winged, sometimes on a peacock, holding a reed with his right hand, in a multicolored garment.²⁸

The *Picatrix* states the following of the stones proper to each planet and the formation of figures:

Of the metals, Mercury has quicksilver and part of tin and glass, and of stones it has emerald and all stones of this type has part of azumbedich. [...] The image of Mercury according to Hermes is the image of a man with a rooster on his head, sitting in a throne; his feet look like those of an eagle and in the palm of his left hand he has fire and under his feet are the signs stated before. This is its form.²⁹

Dee's magical practice likewise exhibited angels that corresponded to the planets through the metals associated with them³⁰ and the respective days of the week.³¹

However, Dee owes much of the structure of his seals and talismans to Giovanni Pico, discussed later in this section.

Supplied with the basis of ancient, newly unearthed lore anterior to the Neoplatonists and Arabic astrological magic, Ficino's theology was drawn from this long-forgotten, secret wisdom worthy of the title *prisca theologia* (Ficino's idea of a primordial faith from which all faiths stem).^{32 33} The next section of this chapter will address in detail just how influential the quest for a singular, united faith was to Dee.

²⁸ Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, pp. 332-7.

²⁹ *The Latin Picatrix: Books I & II*, ed. and trans. by John Michael Greer and Christopher Warnock (USA: Renaissance Astrology Press, 2009), pp. 103-6.

³⁰ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic*, ed. by Joseph Peterson (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 2003), pp. 134-5.

³¹ Dee, 'Cap. 7: Some Recitall, and Contestation by the Peculier Offices, Words, and Dedes, of the 7 Heptarchicall Kings and Princes, in Theyr Peculier Dayes, to be Used', in *De Heptarchia Mystica of Dr. John Dee*, ed. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 1997), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/dee/hm.htm>> [accessed 17 July 2011].

³² Kocku von Stuckrad, *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.), pp. 56-9.

³³ Faivre, 'Hermetic Literature IV: Renaissance-Present', in *DGWE*, p. 534.

In 1614, a mere six years after Dee's death, a long debate on the authenticity of *Corpus Hermeticum's* antiquity came to an end. Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), Méric Casaubon's father, correctly identified the *Corpus Hermeticum* as having been written in the second and third centuries C.E.³⁴ Still the Hermetic (and intrinsically Platonic and Neoplatonic)³⁵ influences on the culture and science of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment —while controversial³⁶— are arguably visible.³⁷

The importance of the blend of Neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophy that amalgamated the Great Chain of Being as represented by Ficino (further supported by Johannes Trithemius and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, discussed later) cannot be overlooked.³⁸ The Great Chain of Being as a concept predates Greek thought and was vitally important in the forging of cosmologies.³⁹ As Lovejoy⁴⁰ and Szönyi⁴¹ both pointed out, Proclus used Cicero to succinctly summarize the idea and metaphor of the Great Chain of Being connecting all things to God:

Since, from the Supreme God Mind arises, and from Mind, Soul, and since this in turn creates all subsequent things and fills them all with life, and since this single radiance illumines all and is reflected in each, as a single face might be reflected in many mirrors placed in a series; and since all things follow in continuous succession, degenerating in sequence to the very bottom of the series, the attentive observer will discover a connection of parts, from the Supreme God down to the last dregs of

³⁴ Ibid., p. 534.

³⁵ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 73.

³⁶ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 17.

³⁷ Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1964), p. 447-50.

³⁸ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 25-30.

³⁹ Jean-Pierre Brach & Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Correspondences', in *DGWE*, pp. 275-9 (p. 276).

⁴⁰ Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), p. 63, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=ByHNG8GzUeAC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 6 July 2011].

⁴¹ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 25.

things, mutually linked together without a break. And this is Homer's golden chain, which God, he says, bade hang down from heaven to earth.⁴²

The *Hermetica* alone supplies no means through which to interact with the entities above Man in this Great Chain, and so Ficino developed his methods from Arabic and mediaeval medicine, matter theory, physics, and metaphysics all based upon his studies in Neoplatonism.⁴³ Copenhaver gives special attention to Proclus in the formation of Ficino's magic, an idea and further acknowledged and corroborated by Clulee⁴⁴ and Szönyi.⁴⁵ The most significant connection in regards to the connection of Neoplatonism to the *Hermetica* is Proclus' statement

Thus all things are full of gods [...]. The authorities on the priestly art have thus discovered how to gain the favor of powers above, mixing some things together and setting others apart in due order.⁴⁶

Ficino thought this to be Hermes Trismegistus' understanding of the cosmos as relayed by Proclus,⁴⁷ as exemplified in *Asclepius* in Hermes' discourse on the ensouled gods created by man in the forms of statues.⁴⁸ Thus, man can form a way to interact with intermediary entities by creating the images of gods. Proclus suggested the practice of a ceremonial magic in mentioning that through consecrations and divine services practitioners could achieve 'association with the [daemons], from whom they returned forthwith to actual works of the gods'.⁴⁹

⁴² Macrobius, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 63.

⁴³ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 130.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 128-35.

⁴⁵ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, pp. 64-5.

⁴⁶ Proclus, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Asclepius: The Perfect Discourse of Hermes Trismegistus*, ed. and trans. by Clement Salaman (London: Duckworth, 2007), p. 77.

⁴⁹ Proclus, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 65.

Ficino derived the natural ingredients of his magic from Proclus' *De Sacrificio*,⁵⁰ which he included in his *De Vita*:

Under the Solar star, that is Sirius, they set the Sun first of all, and then Phoebean daemons, which sometimes have encountered people under the form of lions or cocks, as Proclus testifies, then similar men and Solar beasts, Phoebean plants then, similarly metals and gems and vapor and hot air. By a similar system they think a chain of beings descends by levels from any star of the firmament through any planet under its dominion. If, therefore, as I said, you combine at the right time all the Solar things through any level of that order, i.e., men of Solar nature or something belonging to such a man, likewise animals, plants, metals, gems, and whatever pertains to these, you will drink in unconditionally the power of the Sun and to some extent the natural power of the Solar daemons.⁵¹

Ficino clearly felt the weight of what he perceived as a monumental discovery of a tradition of theology and philosophy that had remained unbroken from Hermes to Plato.⁵² The assertions of a world full of gods by Hermes, the Stoics,⁵³ Plato, and the Neoplatonists clearly impressed themselves on Ficino, but, with the further connection of Arabic medicine and Hermes' fortunate student being none other than Asclepius (the Greek god of medicine of healing), it seems a matter of course that so pious and learned a theologian would craft a magical system when it was so neatly assembled before him. One question remained: how does one make this daemonic, astrological magic compliant with Christianity? Dee faced a similar question in his conversations with angels, though Ficino chose a much different solution.

Where Ficino drew on nature to connect with the planetary daemons, Dee drew on the planetary daemons to connect with nature.⁵⁴ All of Dee's sigils, talismans, and

⁵⁰ Brian P. Copenhaver, 'Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the De vita of Marsilio Ficino', in *Renaissance Quarterly* (1984), 37: 4, pp. 523-554 (p. 551), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2860993>> [accessed 4 July 2011].

⁵¹ Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, p. 311.

⁵² Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 15.

⁵³ Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 23-4.

⁵⁴ Deborah Harkness, *John Dee's Conversation with Angels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 157-8.

orations came from the angels themselves in compliance, rather than reliance, with esoteric literature available to him.⁵⁵ It seemed Dee believed he had found a path that reconciled celestial magic with Christianity more aptly than Ficino's daemonic astrology; a path less 'daemonic' and more 'angelic'.

Ficino relied on the ancient Christian authority of Lactantius (c. 240-320).

Lactantius, a Christian apologist, utilized Hermes Trismegistus' *Asclepius* in reconciliation with Christianity as the 'original faith of mankind' in his work *Divinae Institutiones* (304-313).⁵⁶ While this text is not a directly supportive work of Hermeticism,⁵⁷ it shows a precedent for Hermetic philosophy to be used as a method of reconciling differing patterns of belief. Ficino found this argument a viable counter-balance to St. Augustine of Hippo's (354-430) objection to *Asclepius* in Book VIII of *De civitate Dei* (415-417).⁵⁸ Ficino also found Lactantius' argument in support of his idea of the *prisca theologia*.⁵⁹ These arguments linking Christianity to Hermeticism are certainly felt in Dee's reworking of grimoire magic into a profoundly Christian, prayer-based practice at its inception.⁶⁰

Plato's key role in Ficino's cosmology also necessitated a Christian sanitization. Here again, we find Plato's four furies, the 'divine madnesses', but combined with the theology of the Christian Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, wherein each madness

⁵⁵ TFR, pp. 158-9.

⁵⁶ Caroline Nicholson and Oliver Nicholson, 'Lactantius, Hermes Trismegistus and Constantinian Obelisks', *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, 109 (1989), pp. 198-200 (p. 200), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/632052>> [accessed 13 December 2009].

⁵⁷ Paulo Lucentini and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, 'Hermetic Literature II: The Latin Middle Ages', in *DGWE*, pp. 499-525 (p. 501).

⁵⁸ Lucenti and Compagni, *DGWE*, p. 500.

⁵⁹ Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 36.

⁶⁰ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 53-4.

(prophetic, religious-mystical, poetical, and love) brings the aspirant closer to unity with God.⁶¹

In the *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* (1558), Dee seems to have agreed with Ficino on the stars indeed having powers that mankind can benefit from, but through the use of mirrors rather than the agency of daemons.⁶² Clulee compares the *Propaedeumata* to Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564) stating that where the *Propaedeumata* presents man's interaction with the cosmos as a mechanically physical fact, the *Monas* sought to illustrate the power of symbols over that which the symbols represent.⁶³

Thus, Dee more clearly illustrates his acceptance of Ficino's Neoplatonic-Hermetic theological philosophy within the *Monas*.⁶⁴ In the Neoplatonic paradigm, Calder underlines Proclus (and ancient mathematicians such as Theon and Nicomachus) as a figure of important influence on Dee's philosophy in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* in terms of the notion of One, or Unity.⁶⁵ Proclus posed a problem wherein the One, or God, can only be approached by analogy or negation and supplies the analogy that '[t]he One is like the sun's light which illuminates the world and radiates far and wide while it remains undiminished at its source'.⁶⁶ Dee seems supremely confident of his attempt to communicate the One in a single symbol rife with countless analogies:

Though I call it hieroglyphic. he who has examined its inner structure will grant that all the same there is [in it] an underlying clarity and strength almost mathematical, such as is rarely applied in [writings

⁶¹ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 88.

⁶² Ibid., p. 158.

⁶³ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 117.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 166.

⁶⁵ I. R. F. Calder, 'Chapter VI: Numbers - Logistical, Formal and Applied (The Ground of Artes - The Monas - Alchemy; 1558-1564)', in *John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist* ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 1952), <<http://www.johndee.org/calder/html/Calder6.html>> [accessed 9 July 2011] (para. 24 of 74).

⁶⁶ Lucas Siorvanes, *Proclus: Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 180, <http://books.google.com/books?id=2_iuy9GeHHEC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 9 July 2011].

on] matters so rare. Or is it not rare, I ask, that the common astronomical symbols of the planets (instead of being dead, dumb, or, up to the present hour at least, quasi-barbaric signs) should have become characters imbued with immortal life and should now be able to express their especial meanings most eloquently in any tongue and to any nation?⁶⁷

The recent scholarly opinion regarding the Hermetic element of Dee's philosophy as illustrated in the *Monas* is unified and agreed upon by Walton, Clulee, Szönyi, and Harkness⁶⁸ in the following:

Since the Creator made the whole cosmos, not with hands but by the Word, understand that he is present and always is, creating all things, being one alone, and by his will producing all beings.⁶⁹

Ficino's reconciliation of his philosophy, magic, and Christianity were highly formative to Dee's justifications for his questionably heretical angelic conversations. However, Dee also incorporated Kabbalistic elements Ficino eschewed. Ficino's friend, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, artfully reconciled Kabbalah with Platonic and Hermetic philosophy, as well as Christianity.⁷⁰ The connection of the divinity of the cosmos and man's ability to connect with them through images is granted new depths when combined with the power of names presented in practical Kabbalah, as written by Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), and further linked with Hermeticism and Christianity through Pico. Pico's contribution to the Hermetic-Kabbalistic philosophy most certainly piqued Dee's interests, as exemplified in his Hermetic-Christian definition of the 'real Cabbala' in his *Monas Hieroglyphica*.⁷¹

⁶⁷ John Dee, 'A Translation of John Dee's "*Monas Hieroglyphica*"' (Antwerp, 1564), with an Introduction and Annotations by C. H. Josten', in *Ambix* (1964), 12, 84-221 (p. 121).

⁶⁸ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 166.

⁶⁹ *The Way of Hermes: New Translations of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius*, trans. by Clement Salaman and others (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2004), p. 31.

⁷⁰ Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 19-20.

⁷¹ Dee, '*Monas Hieroglyphica*', pp. 133-5.

It is fascinating and highly relevant to this essay that Pico proclaimed Ramon Llull's works, or the *Ars Raymundi*, to be Kabbalistic.⁷² Ramón Llull (1232/3-1316) channeled the idea of the Great Chain of Being in his assertion of the capacity of man to ascend the *scala naturae*, or the ladder of nature, through intellectual contemplation.⁷³ Llull used the combination of a series of nine letters (B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and K) representing 'absolute attributes', to which nine relations, nine questions, nine subjects, nine virtues, and nine vices were added.⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ The resulting number of binary combinations was calculated to be 17,804,320,388,674,561, which Llull explored with the use of geometrical figures meant to enumerate the terms and generate combinatorial pairings of the aspects of reality.⁷⁶ The acceptance of pseudo-Llullian alchemical and Kabbalistic works as authentic in conjunction with his mystic, mathematical diagrams only served to make the *Ars Raymundi* all the more appealing to Dee.⁷⁷ Pico argues that Llull's usage of combining letters of the Hebrew alphabet was not unlike Kabbalistic techniques⁷⁸ and relied on Llull's *Ars Combinatoria* for his own system.⁷⁹

Regarding Pico's own system, in his *Nine Hundred Theses* (1486), he succinctly states his thoughts on Kabbalah and Platonism:

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Stephen C. Bold, *Pascal Geometer: Discovery and Invention in Seventeenth-Century France* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), p. 155, <http://books.google.com/books?id=3aV8VytDAkkC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 10 July 2011].

⁷⁴ Yates, 'The Art of Ramon Lull: An Approach to It through Lull's Theory of the Elements', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1954), 17: 1/2, 115-73 (p.116), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/750135>> [accessed 9 May 2010].

⁷⁵ Bold, p. 155.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ French, *John Dee*, pp. 48-9.

⁷⁸ Fabrizio Lelli, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola', in *DGWE*, pp. 949-54 (p.951).

⁷⁹ Yates, 'The Art of Ramon Lull: An Approach to It through Lull's Theory of the Elements', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1954), 17: 1/2, pp. 115-73 (p.115), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/750135>> [accessed 9 May 2010].

11>10. That which among the Cabalists is called <[...] Metatron> is without doubt that which is called Pallas by Orpheus, the paternal mind by Zoroaster, the son of God by Mercury, wisdom by Pythagoras, the intelligible sphere by Parmenides.⁸⁰

He then addresses Kabbalah and Christianity:

11>7. No Hebrew Cabalist can deny that the name Jesus, if we interpret it following the method and principles of the Cabala, signifies precisely all this and nothing else, that is: God the Son of God and the Wisdom of the Father, united to human nature in the unity of assumption through the third Person of God, who is the most ardent fire of love.⁸¹

Pico's clear devotion to Hermetic philosophy was illustrated in the dedication of ten theses to 'Mercury Trismegistus' that explicated man's connection to a living nature, and thus to a God who is present in that life.⁸² Pico clearly believed in not merely the syncretism of faiths, but the reconciliation of seemingly disparate religious, philosophical, and cultural paradigms.

Johannes Reuchlin boldly deepened the connections between Kabbalah and Christianity in a time when Judaism was defined as a form of Satanism, perhaps even if unwitting.⁸³ Pico's *Theses* inspired Reuchlin to write *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) in defense of Pico, and the central work on Christian Kabbalah, *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517).⁸⁴ In *De Verbo Mirifico*, Reuchlin presented what he believed to be the reality and name of the Christian God made known through the Son in the pentagrammaton, the five lettered name he believed to signify Jesus Christ.⁸⁵ *De Verbo Mirifico* was listed

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 525.

⁸¹ Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses: The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems*, ed. and trans. by S. A. Farmer (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 2003), p. 523.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 341-343.

⁸³ Massimo Introvigne, 'Johannes Reuchlin', in *DGWE*, pp. 990-4 (p. 990-1).

⁸⁴ G. Lloyd Jones, 'Introduction', in *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, trans. by Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1993), pp. 16-22.

⁸⁵ Charles Zika, 'Reuchlin's De Verbo Mirifico and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1976), 39, pp. 104-38 (p.130), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/751134>> [accessed 10 July 2011].

in Dee's catalogue and it is quite likely Dee was familiar with its material based on the tone of his magical practices⁸⁶ and some of the aphorisms in the *Propaedeumata Aphoristica*.⁸⁷ Through Pico and Reuchlin, the idea that the presence of God existed in images was expanded to include names of power.⁸⁸ This presentation of the Kabbalah in a Christian, magical context was a crucial element to Dee's practice.⁸⁹

The encoding of the *Sigillum Dei Aemeth*,⁹⁰ the Kings and Princes of the *Heptarchia Mystica*, and the divine names of the nations of the world and the angels overseeing them in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii* all go to great lengths to identify the names of the angels.⁹¹ Dee presumably considered the use of these names crucial to contacting the angels in order to achieve divine understanding related to their offices, though there are no existing records of Dee ever using the names and orations described in the aforementioned books in such a way.

The significant link between Pico and Dee was the transmission of the combined Hermetic, Kabbalistic, and Platonic ideas through Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (1533), especially in regards to the threefold world (elementary, celestial, and intellectual/supercelestial)^{92 93} that Dee presents in his *Mathematicall Praeface to the Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara* (1570). Dee utilized this threefold world as

⁸⁶ French, *John Dee*, p. 53.

⁸⁷ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 160.

⁸⁸ Harkness, *John Dee's Conversation with Angels*, 179-81.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 89-148.

⁹¹ *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, ed. and trans. by Geoffrey James (San Francisco: Weiser Books, 2009), pp. 29-178.

⁹² Paul Richard Blum, 'Pico, Theology, and the Church', in *Pico della Mirandola: New Essays*, ed. by M. V. Dougherty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 37-60 (pp. 56-7), <http://books.google.com/books?id=LntTGc5AAykc&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 10 July 2011].

⁹³ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, ed. by Donald Tyson, trans. by James Freake (Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn Publishing, 2007), p. 3-4.

the basis of his supercelestial magic dealing with ‘intelligences’ or angels.⁹⁴ His treatment of the threefold world in the *Mathematical Preface* follows:

All things which are, & haue beyng, are found vnder a triple diuersitie generall. For, either, they are demed Supernaturall, Naturall, or, of a third being [...] which, by a peculier name also, are called *Thynges Mathematicall*.⁹⁵

The linkage between the emanations of God in Neoplatonism influencing Kabbalistic works has been conjectured, but regardless of such a connection,⁹⁶ the theological philosophies seemed to have been more separated by the cultures that espoused them rather than the actual contents of their literature.⁹⁷ The inclusion of Kabbalah into the Neoplatonic and Hermetic philosophy under the auspices of a deeper Christianity influenced Dee’s thought, and eventually his magical practice. This will be evidenced and examined in greater depth in the following section treating his angelic conversations.

The Practice of Dee’s Angelic Magic

Dee’s angel magic, while not unique in the use of its traditional scrying methods, is considered novel due to the meticulously recorded tables, names, symbols, and *lingua adamica* later incorporated from the mysteries revealed by the angels to Dee through his scryer, Edward Kelly (1555-1597).^{98 99} However, Peterson is not unfounded in his critique of the singularity attributed to Dee’s system. Peterson states Dee’s methods are

⁹⁴ Harkness, *John Dee’s Conversation with Angels*, pp. 46-7.

⁹⁵ Dee, *The Mathematicall Praeface to Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara* (London: John Daye, 1570), <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22062/22062-h/22062-h.htm>> [accessed 10 July 2010] (para. 4 of 103).

⁹⁶ Harkness, *John Dee’s Conversation with Angels*, pp. 173-4.

⁹⁷ Lenn Evan Goodman, *Neoplatonism and Jewish Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 331, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=m0yhkWuqIqYC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 10 July 2011].

⁹⁸ Geoffrey James, ‘Preface to the Weiser Edition’, in *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. xi-xii.

⁹⁹ Joseph Peterson, ‘Introduction’, in *John Dee’s Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 1-46 (p. 2).

a ‘face-lift’ of methods well-known by other Renaissance occultists with a ‘veneer of new names and symbols’.¹⁰⁰ Clucas’ recent research on the connections of Dee’s angel magic with mediaeval Solomonic grimoires supports this assertion.¹⁰¹ However, Szönyi rightly chastises Clucas for neglecting the importance of the ‘high magicians’ and Renaissance humanists on Dee’s magic, reminding the reader to take into account Dee’s wide reading and syncretistic philosophy and the tremendous resource Agrippa’s *De Occulta Philosophia* provides.¹⁰² It is the intention of this section to reconcile these two views in order to gain a more comprehensive perspective on Dee’s magic.

Dee utilized Ficino’s astrological daemons and Pico’s empowering of names in what Nicolas Weill-Parot refers to as ‘addressative’ magic, where the focus of the magic is the relationship between the spirit and the magician rather than the origin of the power of the magical object or nature of the ‘addressee’ (the latter case being ‘non-addressative’ magic).¹⁰³ In Dee’s cosmos, the angels were his complete focus and what systematic elements he incorporated were at the behest of the angels.

Clulee rightly identifies the lack of ritual preparations, quasi-sacramental ceremonies, Orphic hymns, fumigations, candles, or foods, though this dissertation

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Stephen Clucas, ‘John Dee’s Angelic Conversations and the Ars Notoria: Renaissance Magic and Medieval Theurgy’, in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought*, ed. by Stephen Clucas (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2006), 231-273, <http://books.google.com/books?id=B5oDcIWv--sC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 10 July 2011].

¹⁰² Szönyi, *John Dee’s Occultism*, p. 202.

¹⁰³ Nicolas Weill-Parot, ‘Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries): “Astrological Images” and the Concept of “Addressative” Magic’, in *The Metamorphosis of Magic: from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters Publishers, 2002)

disputes the claim that no talismans¹⁰⁴ or incantations were used.^{105 106 107} It is the assertion of this dissertation that the conflict on what separates magic (including talismans and incantations) from religion (including holy symbols and prayers) has clouded this issue, and so this dissertation will treat the notion of magic as a synonym of the word religion.¹⁰⁸

This dissertation has already treated the notion in Ficino's Hermetic philosophy that there is a divine presence in the images of God. Pico and Reuchlin further expanded this to include the power of holy names. Bearing this in mind, a brief introduction of the works to be discussed follows.

The oldest relevant works to begin this examination are the mediaeval *Ars Almadel*, *Liber Juratus Honorii*, and *Ars Notoria*.¹⁰⁹ The history of the *Ars Almadel* can ostensibly be traced back to Persia and the Far East, but the mediaeval versions were highly Christianized.¹¹⁰ The *Almadel* was a device associated with bringing one in direct touch with the angelic world, and it is reasonable that some iteration of it appears in magical practice in the Renaissance and well past the nineteenth century (see Appendix; fig. 1).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ *The Enochian Invocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 39-52.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-64.

¹⁰⁶ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁷ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁸ Hanegraaff, Wouter J., 'Magic I: Introduction', in *DGWE*, pp. 716-719 (p. 718).

¹⁰⁹ Clucas, 'John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*', pp. 241-3.

¹¹⁰ Jan R. Veenstra, 'The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic', in *The Metamorphosis of Magic*, pp. 189-215 (pp. 192-3).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

The *Liber Juratus* contains detailed instructions to create the earliest version of the *Sigillum Dei Aemeth*¹¹², which the angels perfected for Dee¹¹³ to enhance the connection between man and the divine.¹¹⁴ Clucas notes that Dee was known to have the *Juratus* in his collection, and, while he credited Reuchlin and Agrippa's works for assistance with the *Sigillum Dei*, neither author's works contain visual representations of the seal.¹¹⁵

The *Ars Notoria* deserves special attention. Some of the orations it contains—a few of which show striking similarities to the *Liber Juratus*¹¹⁶—are composed of a mixture of Latin and some vocabulary that shows characteristics of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic words for God, divine attributes, angels, or virtues that were perceived as being an Adamic language.¹¹⁷

The ultimate goal of all these mediaeval texts was to contact higher entities (daemons, angels, genii, etc.) with perfumes, orations, names of God and the angels, talismans, crystals, and astrological timing in order to obtain a virtually unlimited amount of hidden wisdom.¹¹⁸ The difference with Dee's intentions were in his insistence on Christianity as the prime element. Dee's fervent Hermetic Christianity, which he believed could dissolve the barriers to unity in Christianity, prompted French to

¹¹² 'Here Follows the Making of the Seal of the True and Living God', in *Liber Juratus Honorii, or The Sworne Booke of Honorius*, ed. and trans. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 2009), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/juratus/juratus.htm#aemeth>> [accessed 12 July 2011].

¹¹³ John Dee, *Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 89-148.

¹¹⁴ Harkness, *John Dee's Conversation with Angels*, pp. 35-7.

¹¹⁵ Clucas, 'John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*', pp. 244-5.

¹¹⁶ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *The Lesser Key of Solomon: Detailing the Ceremonial Art of Commanding Spirits Both Good and Evil*, ed. by Joseph Peterson (York Beach, ME: Weiser Books, 2001), pp. xi-xx (p. xvi).

¹¹⁷ Clucas, 'John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*', p. 242.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 242-44.

speculate on Dee's possible association with the 'Family of Love', a secret sect that attached no significance to outward rituals.¹¹⁹

Returning to the topic of angels, the first conversation recorded between Dee and Kelly illustrates a connection between mediaeval and Renaissance grimoires to Dee's angel magic. The assignment of the classic four archangels' to the cardinal directions is consistent with both the *Liber Juratus* and Agrippa's 'Scale of the number four' from *De Occulta Philosophia*.¹²⁰ Peterson aptly points out that the three angels Anchor, Anachor, and Anilos make appearances with barely altered names in the *Heptameron*, *Clavicula Salomonis*, *Ars Goetia*, *Ars Notoria*, and *Liber Juratus*.¹²¹ Furthermore, of seven sets of planetary angelic septenaries used in the creation of the *Sigillum Dei Aemeth*,¹²² two are certainly drawn from outside sources; one is drawn from the Jewish names of the planets with a Hebrew name of God (El) attached as a suffix (Zabathiel, Zedekiel, Madimiel, Semiel, Nogahel, Corabiel, and Leuanael)¹²³ and the other is the list of angels referred to as 'those who stand in the presence of God' by Agrippa in the 'Scale of the Number Seven' in his *De Occulta Philosophia* (Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Cumael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael, and Gabriel)¹²⁴ that also correspond with Geonic lore and Pseudo-Dionysius' angelic hierarchy.¹²⁵ These sources exhibit a perfect blend of Jewish and Christian sources to please the Kabbalistic Christian tendencies of Dee.

It is little wonder that the *Arbatel de Magia Veterum* (1575), a work Dee drew parallels to Trithemius' *Steganographia* with its overtly positive and Christian,

¹¹⁹ French, *John Dee*, p. 124.

¹²⁰ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, p. 25.

¹²¹ Ibid, pp. 26-9.

¹²² *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, p. 186.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 124.

¹²⁴ Ibid. pp. 144-5.

¹²⁵ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, p. 29.

Paracelsian tone (with speculated connections to Christian theosophy),¹²⁶ was of interest to him.¹²⁷ The *Arbatel* presents itself in a septenary of septenaries worth of aphorisms, many of which are broken into seven items. The theme of septenaries is prevalent in the revelations of the angels to Dee.¹²⁸ The *Arbatel* features a spiritual hierarchy where the intermediaries are called Olympic spirits (perhaps emulating Paracelsus, whose influence is evident throughout the text)¹²⁹, each of whom feature at least an iteration of the number seven within each spirit's own hierarchy and offices.¹³⁰ This septenary scheme includes all the multiples of seven descending from forty-nine (49, 42, 35, 28, 21, 14, and 7; this goes especially for Aratron and Bethor).¹³¹ The 'septenary of septenaries' theme in relation to Dee will be explored further later in this section.

The reconciliation will begin with the famous 'shewstone' and its role in Dee's magic. In the *Ars Paulina*, the prayer entitled 'The Conjunction of the Holy Guardian Angel' makes specific mention of the use of a stone on a table of practice (see Appendix; fig. 2), or a table set with symbols of significant correspondences,¹³² in order to contact one's guardian angel:

O thou great and blessed N. my angell guardian vouchsafe to descend from thy holy mansion which is Celestial, with thy holy Influence and presence, **into this cristall stone**, that I may behold thy glory; and enjoy thy society, aide, and assistance, both now and for ever hereafter. [Emphasis mine]¹³³

¹²⁶ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *Arbatel: Concerning the Magic of the Ancients*, ed. and trans. by Joseph Peterson (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2009), pp. ix-xxxii (pp. xxix-xxx).

¹²⁷ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, p. 212.

¹²⁸ Harkness, p. 182-3.

¹²⁹ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *Arbatel*, pp. x-xiii.

¹³⁰ *Arbatel*, pp. 29-41.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-35.

¹³² 'The Art Pauline of King Saloman', in *The Lesser Key of Solomon*, pp. 109-45 (pp. 144-5).

¹³³ *Ibid.*

The operation described in the *Ars Paulina* is another example of daemonic astrology not unlike Ficino's, wherein the hierarchy angels necessary to contact one's 'Daemon of the Birth Geniture', 'Genius', or 'Guardian Angel', is discovered by knowing one's astrological ascendant and hour of birth.¹³⁴ The hour of birth presents a seal, or talisman, that is placed on a table of practice during the conjuration with a crystal ball.¹³⁵ If the experiment is successful:

[Y]ou will at last see strange sights and pasages [passages] in the stone and at last you will see your genius: Then give him kind entertainment as you was [were] before directed declaring to him your minde and what you would have him doe.¹³⁶

It is possible that Trithemius' influence on the *Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis* was substantial. In the *Ars Paulina*, the spirits featured¹³⁷ were lifted from the second book of Trithemius' *Steganographia*.¹³⁸ Another connection is suggested between Trithemius, Agrippa, and the *Magical Calendar* (1620), an influential grimoire that that seems to be an eclectic combination of *De Occulta Philosophia*, *Heptameron*, and Pseudo-Paracelsus' *Archidoxis of Magic*.¹³⁹ McLean asserts that while the text clumsily connected Trithemius to the *Magical Calendar*, the connection may not be baseless due to the evident influence of Agrippa, who in turn learned his knowledge of magical symbolism from Trithemius.¹⁴⁰ This connection is relevant due to the use of the angelic

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 132-3.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 144-5.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 145.

¹³⁷ Ibid. p. 110.

¹³⁸ Johannes Trithemius, 'Cap. III: CVIVS PRINCEPS CAMVEL, HABENS SVB', in *Steganographia*, ed. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 1997), pp. 12-3, <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/tritheim/stegano.htm#chap3>> [accessed 12 July 2011].

¹³⁹ Adam McLean, 'Introduction', in *The Magical Calendar: A Synthesis of Magical Symbolism from the Seventeenth-Century Renaissance of Medieval Occultism*, ed. and trans. by Adam McLean (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1994), pp. 5-18 (pp. 5-8), <http://books.google.com/books?id=WvXC3H6Z_MC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 12 July 2011].

¹⁴⁰ Adam McLean, 'Introduction', p. 11.

symbols that appear in the *Magical Calendar*, which are also present in the ‘Table of Practice’ in the *Ars Paulina* (see Appendices I and II). The theme of planetary magical symbols is continued by Dee through his own mathematical perspective.

John Dee’s own table of practice (see Fig. 3) used a hexagram and seven talismans of angels that Uriel identified:

Uriel: —They are the ensignes of the Creation; wherewithall they were created by God known onely by theyr acquayntance and the manner of theyr doings.¹⁴¹

These talismans were to be made out of ‘purified tynne’ or to be painted on the table.¹⁴² After this, Uriel granted Dee seven tables of letters.¹⁴³ The angel then instructed Dee on the use of the talismans:

Ur: Beholde, I teache. There are 49 Angels glorious and excellent, appointed for the government of all earthly actions [...]. Theyr names are comprehended within these Tables [...]. The letters are standing uppon 7 equall numbers. The Number before them is signifying, teaching and instructing (from the first table to the last,) which are the letters that shalbe joyned to gither: Begynning all, with B, according to the disposition of the number untyll the 29 generall names be known. The first 29 are more excellent than the rest. Euery name doth consist uppon the quantity of the place: euerie place with addition bringeth furth his name, which are 49.¹⁴⁴

The final ritual implement of note is the aforementioned *Sigillum Dei Aemeth* (see fig. 8) that was created using names of the septenary of septenary angels. This seal was also drawn from several sources, one of which was Dee’s personal manuscript of the *Liber Juratus* (Sloane MS 313; See fig. 7).¹⁴⁵ The *Sigillum* is indeed a talisman that encodes Dee’s angelic hierarchy using Kabbalistic methods; again, reminiscent of the use of the tables of Hebrew characters to draw out names as laid out in *De Occulta*

¹⁴¹ John Dee’s *Five Books of Mystery*, p. 399.

¹⁴² Ibid. p. 400.

¹⁴³ Ibid, pp. 166-73.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 170-1.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Peterson, ‘Manuscripts’, in *Liber Juratus Honorii, or The Sworne Booke of Honorius* (2009), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/juratus/juratus.htm>> [accessed 17 July 2011] (para. 45 of 47).

Philosophia (III:25).¹⁴⁶ In Dee's case the methods used to create the representations of the angels' names is just as crucial to what the *Sigillum* represents as the sacred names it bears.

For example, the heptagon immediately inside the outer ring features the letters 'ZlIRHia', etc. from the top, going clockwise. The angel Uriel relates the following to Dee:

UR: [...] Thow must set down these letters onely, by 7, in a spare paper, thus:

Z	l	l	R	H	i	a
a	Z	C	a	a	c	b
p	a	u	p	n	h	r
h	d	m	h	i	a	i
k	k	a	a	e	e	e
i	i	e	e	l	l	l
e	e	l	l	M	G	+

[Note: I have interspersedly shaded the names to better illustrate how they are read downwards]

UR: Rede-----Begyn at the first and read downward.

Δ: I rede thus, Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Cumael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael, Gabriel.

UR: Thow hast red right.

Δ: Praysed be God.¹⁴⁷

The number forty-nine is exhibited in this square, as well as another that encodes the names of the angels Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel, Corabiel, and Leuanael in another 7x7 square that is read diagonally to generate the names.¹⁴⁸ The completed *Sigillum* includes the encoded names of forty-nine angels. The central heptagram includes seven angels I, Ih, Ilr, Dmal, Heeo, Beigia, and Stimcul¹⁴⁹ identified as the Sons of Light,¹⁵⁰ and the innermost heptagon of E or Il, An, Ave, Liba,

¹⁴⁶ 'Chapter XXV: How the Hebrew Mecubals Drew Forth the Sacred Names of Angels Out of the Sacred Writ, Which Bear the Name of God, with the Tables of Ziruph, and the Commutations of Letters and Numbers', in *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 538-46.

¹⁴⁷ John Dee's *Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 123-4.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, pp. 139-147.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁵⁰ *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, p. 40.

Rocle, Hagonel, and Ilemese¹⁵¹ are identified as the Sons of the Sons of Light¹⁵² received a detailed system of orations, talismans, and included a planetary angelic hierarchy of forty-nine angels (see fig. 4) that Dee later compiled into his *Compendium Heptarchiae Mysticae* and refined into his *De Heptarchia Mystica*.¹⁵³

To clarify the chronology, the first book John Dee received from the angels was not the *Liber Loagaeth*, as Harkness' excellent book on Dee's angel magic relates,¹⁵⁴ but the source material for Dee's *De Heptarchia Mystica* was received first, as evidenced in his *Mysteriorum Libri Quinque*, a work Harkness cites via Whitby (though Peterson notes the number of errors in transcription and translation and no comparison of *De Heptarchia Mystica* with Sloane MS 3188)¹⁵⁵. The angels delivered to him the material that became the *De Heptarchia Mystica* from the dates April 29th to November 21st in 1582,¹⁵⁶ and the material that became the *Liber Loagaeth* did not begin its delivery until March 24th, 1583.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the order of the most notable angelic revelations were received in the following order: The crafting of the Holy Table and ritual implements (March 10-15, 1582);¹⁵⁸ the crafting of the *Sigillum Dei Aemeth* (March 19-21, 1582);¹⁵⁹ the reception of the material that became the *De Heptarchia Mystica*, including the *Tabula Angelorum Bonorum 49* proper (see fig. 4)¹⁶⁰ (April 29-November 21, 1582);¹⁶¹

¹⁵¹ John Dee's *Five Books of Mystery*, p. 138.

¹⁵² *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, p. 41.

¹⁵³ Peterson, 'Editor's Introduction', in *De Heptarchia Mystica of Dr. John Dee*, (paras. 1-7).

¹⁵⁴ Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, p. 41.

¹⁵⁵ Peterson, 'Introduction', in *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 36-7.

¹⁵⁶ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, p. 183-254.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-71.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-73.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-148.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 173.

¹⁶¹ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, p. 183-254.

the reception of the material that became the *Liber Loagaeth*, including the Great Table (See Appendix; fig. 9)¹⁶² that was used to derive the characters of the regions of the earth used in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii et Victoriae Terrestris*¹⁶³ and the names of the angels in the *Tabula Bonorum Angelorum Invocationes*,^{164 165} (March 23-May 6, 1583);¹⁶⁶ the material that became the *48 Claves Angelicae* (April 14-July 13th, 1584).¹⁶⁷ The listing of the nations as named by God and man as detailed in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii* make their appearances on May 21st-23rd, 1584.¹⁶⁸ The beginnings of the derivations of the angelic names and stations featured in the *Tabula Bonorum Angelorum Invocationes* are noted on June 20th, 1584 with mention of the 24 Seniors, and are further detailed throughout the explanation of the Great Table.¹⁶⁹

Returning to the practical application of the above-listed works, the *Tabula Angelorum Bonum 49* (a table received by Dee on April 29, 1582)¹⁷⁰ details 49 angels (which Harkness likens to the Lullian and Kabbalistic wheels)¹⁷¹, the greater scheme of the hierarchy begins with King Carmara (or Uriel), Prince Hagonel, The Seven Sons of Light, The Seven Sons of the Sons of Light, the forty-two ministers of Prince Hagonel, and then seven Kings and Princes with each royal pair assigned forty-two ministers.¹⁷²

¹⁶² *TFR*, pp. 172-81.

¹⁶³ British Library, Sloane MS 3191, fols. 55b-56a, <http://www.themagickalreview.org/enochian/mss/sloane_3191/> [accessed 25 July 2011].

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 52b-80b.

¹⁶⁵ *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 117-77.

¹⁶⁶ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 261-405.

¹⁶⁷ *TFR*, pp. 82-210.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-159.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-85.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-73.

¹⁷¹ Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, p. 185.

¹⁷² *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 120-71.

Five more angels are added to each of the seven lower Kings and Princes to generate the forty-nine angels of the *Tabula Angelorum Bonum*.¹⁷³ Dee was also granted what he termed the Great Table that he used to draw, among many other things,¹⁷⁴ the characters of the ninety-one portions of the earth detailed in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii*¹⁷⁵ in a method highly reminiscent of Agrippa's magic square methods for deriving the symbols for the 'intelligences' and 'spirits' of the planets.¹⁷⁶ When calculated with the numerous Angels of the Quarters, the resulting number of angels is truly astounding and further confused by angels sharing names (the four Hagonels)¹⁷⁷ or bearing multiple names (examples by King Carmara or Uriel).¹⁷⁸ The great lengths Dee went to in order to receive these names displayed Dee's unwavering belief in the Kabbalistic notion that the knowledge of the divine names would assist in transmitting the knowledge of the Book of Nature to him.¹⁷⁹

The Great Table is significant in later practices of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (there called the Enochian Tablets or Watch Towers)¹⁸⁰, and so will be detailed here according to John Dee's original model. The Great Table is a 25x27 table containing 664 seemingly random letters (the central cross of letters contains eleven blank spaces).¹⁸¹ The Great Table is divided into four larger sections around the central cross representing the four cardinal directions with six angels (called Seniors) ascribed

¹⁷³ James, 'Appendix A: The Practice of Enochian Evocation', in *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 179-91 (pp. 184-5)

¹⁷⁴ *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 103-177.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-118.

¹⁷⁶ Donald Tyson, 'Appendix V: Magic Squares', in *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 747-51.

¹⁷⁷ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, p. 190-1.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁹ Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, pp. 172-194.

¹⁸⁰ Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, 6th edn (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publishing, 2003), p. 624.

¹⁸¹ *The Enochian Invocation of Dr. John Dee*, p. 117.

to each direction; the upper left quadrant dedicated the six Seniors of the East, the upper right to the six Seniors of the South, the lower right to the six Seniors of the West, and the lower left to the six Seniors of the North.¹⁸² A cross is used (one row of letters in the middle horizontally, two rows of letters in the middle vertically) to further divide each of these quadrants into four sub-quadrants each.¹⁸³ The letters in each quadrant are used to draw the letters for the names of the angelic Seniors, and the letters in each sub-quadrant are used to draw the letters for the names of the angels of medicine, precious stones, transformation, the four elements, natural substances, transportation, mechanical arts, and secret discovery.¹⁸⁴

Each domain of angels drawn from the sub-quadrants receives 16 angels, four for each direction.¹⁸⁵ To each direction is given three mystical names, called banners, of each of the four directions drawn from the horizontal, one-lined section of each quadrant's cross.¹⁸⁶ The names of these banners, as well as Dee's intent for these angels, is given in his oration:

Through these, your twelve mystical names: Oro, Ibah, Aozpi, Mor, Dial, Hctga, Oip, Teaa, Pdoce, Mph, Arsl, Gaiol, I conjure and pray most zealously to your divine and omnipotent majesty, that all your angelic spirits [...] might be called from any and all parts of the universe, or at any time in my life, through the special domination and controlling power of your holy Names [...]. [...] I command that they happily satisfy me in all things and at all times of my life, by accomplishing each and every one of my petitions—if not by one means then by another—[...] by Your united ministry and office O God. Amen.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 121-5.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp 127-77.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 120.

The frequently recurring theme of a septenary of septenaries in Dee's methods for generating the names of angels and the angelic hierarchies themselves also has great Kabbalistic significance. The angels gifted Dee with the *Liber Loagaeth*,¹⁸⁸ a book composed of ninety-eight tables of 49x49 letters.¹⁸⁹ Dee then received what the angels proclaimed to be the *lingua adamica*, the very language of God.¹⁹⁰ It was in this language that the angels Nalvage and Gabriel delivered to Dee the *Claves Angelicae*.¹⁹¹ The intention of these *Claves*, or Keys, was stated by Nalvage:

I am therefore to instruct and inform you, according to your Doctrine delivered, which is contained in the 49 Tables. In 49 voyces, or callings: which are the Natural Keyes, to open those, not 49, but 48 (for one is not to be opened) Gates of understanding, whereby you shall have knowledge to move every Gate, and to call out as many as you please, or shall be thought necessary, which can very well righteously, and wisely open unto you the secrets of their Cities & make you understand perfectly the contained in the Tables.¹⁹²

The fifty (or forty-nine) Gates of Understanding (or Binah) are the secrets of the word of God, the Torah.¹⁹³ Eleazar of Worms (c. 1176-1238) believed that the wisdom that lay hidden in the word of God could be sought by man.¹⁹⁴ In the Jewish myth of the creation of the Golem, Shemuel he-Hasid was said to have created nearly the perfect man, but for one quality; he could not speak, for only God could bestow the power of speech.¹⁹⁵ Eleazar was of the mind that man in the act of creation did indeed take on the

¹⁸⁸ John Dee's *Five Books of Mystery*, p. 263.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 287.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 268-71.

¹⁹¹ *TFR*, pp. 82-210.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁹³ Moshe Idel, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretations* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 211-2, <http://books.google.com/books?id=2_OrsAn8BM8C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 20 July 2011].

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Karl Erich Grözinger, 'Between Magic and Religion: Ashkenazi Hasidic Piety', in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, ed. by Karl Erich Grözinger and Joseph Dan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), pp. 28-43 (pp. 41-2), <<http://books.google.com/books?id=6UWycTtUF94C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 20 July 2011].

likeness of the Creator, if a little lower,¹⁹⁶ hence why the bestowment of speech could not be duplicated and why God only delivered forty-nine of the Gates of Understanding and not fifty.¹⁹⁷

The esoteric significance of the number forty-nine in Kabbalah in relation to the fifty Gates of Understanding is further supported by the following quote from the Zohar:

When the Israelites proclaim the unity (of God) expressed in the mystery of the twenty-five letters of the Shema (the creed of the Unity) and in the twenty-four letters of the response, and each person in the congregation is doing this with devoutness, then all those letters unite as one and ascend as one unity. Then the forty-nine gates are opened which signify the mystery of the Jubilee.¹⁹⁸

The source of the theme of sacred septenaries in Dee's work is undeniably Kabbalistic. In Judaism (and to a lesser extent, Christianity), the *Shabbat*, or Sabbath, is the day of rest that happens on the seventh day of the week. This concept expands in Judaism to the *Shemittah*, the year of rest for the land.¹⁹⁹ On the year of *Shemittah*, no sowing or reaping occurs, all private loans are cancelled, and it is prohibited to treat land as personal property; thus all produce can be eaten by one and all and cannot be bought or sold.²⁰⁰ In the case of *Shemittah*, after seven *Shemittah* cycles (forty-nine years), the fiftieth year is a special year of jubilee called Yovel.²⁰¹ Note the theme of freedom that is attached to the respite from work. In Kabbalistic tradition, the *Shemittah* is applied to the cosmos with every 7,000 years considered a world-age, or a cosmic

¹⁹⁶ Paul Krzok, 'The 49 Powers in Kabbalah', in *The Hermetic Journal* (1988), 40, 26-34 (p. 27).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ *Zohar*, ed. and trans. by Harry Sperling and others, 5 vols. (London: The Soncino Press, 1973), III, p. 401.

¹⁹⁹ Dovid Marchant, *Gateway to Shemittah* (Nanuet, NY: Feldheim Publishers, 2007), pp. 23-4, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=06VWXqYxICgC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 22 July 2011].

²⁰⁰ 'Shemittah: The Sabbatical Year' (2007), <http://www.ou.org/news/article/shemittah_the_sabbatical_year/> [accessed 22 July 2011] (paras. 9-10 of 15).

²⁰¹ Marchant, pp. 413-4.

week for God.²⁰² Each of these cosmic ‘days’ is dedicated to one of the seven *Sephirah* (the septenary is maintained due to the lack of participation by Keter, Binah, and Hokhmah in the lower world) and the ‘weeks’ are ruled by each of the seven planets.²⁰³ Together, the *Sefirot* and the planets define the tone of that age, but the last thousand years, not unlike a cosmic *Shabbat*, returns the cosmos to a chaos left undefined by the *Sefirot* or planets.²⁰⁴ Likewise, after 49,000 years, a cosmic Yovel occurs for the next 1,000 years where all of creation returns to Binah (called ‘the mother of the world’), including the seven *Sefirot*, and the cycle begins anew.²⁰⁵ It is a possible interpretation that the end of this cycle could be equated with the apocalypse,²⁰⁶ as no Kabbalist posited an infinite number of cosmic jubilees and investigation into that topic is forbidden.²⁰⁷

Dee may have had these Kabbalistic ideas transmitted to him by a fellow seeker of the *lingua adamica*²⁰⁸ and translator of the *Zohar*, Guillaume de Postel (1510-1581).²⁰⁹ Postel’s character was not unlike Dee’s; he was a dedicated scholar, a collector of books, and both saw themselves as prophets of a new age.²¹⁰ Dee was known to possess

²⁰² Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York: New York Times Book Co., 1974), pp. 120-2.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar*, trans. by Arnold Schwartz and others (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), pp. 123-6, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=fGi2m7PnwkwC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 23 July 2011].

²⁰⁷ Scholem, pp. 120-2.

²⁰⁸ Kees Dekker and Cornelis Dekker, *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 46, <http://books.google.com/books?id=sOV5_giY6ssC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 23 July 2011].

²⁰⁹ Jean-Pierre Brach, ‘Guillaume Postel’, in *DGWE*, pp. 970-4 (p. 971).

²¹⁰ Szönyi, *John Dee’s Occultism*, p. 149.

Postel's *De Originibus* (1553), where an Ethiopian priest described the *Book of Enoch*, a text unavailable to John Dee.²¹¹

The two met in France in 1551, and though it is unknown whether the two discussed *Enoch*, his reference to 'a mighty watchman' angel who dwelt in a 'Watch-Tower'²¹² bears similarities to *Enoch*.²¹³ ²¹⁴ Edward Kelley's vision of the four Watchtowers is also exemplary of the likelihood of Postel discussing the *Book of Enoch* with Dee.²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ Postel and Dee's similarities extend into the realm of a Hermetic Christianity's *prisca theologia* in the attempt to discover a redemption from Christian difference through Adamic wisdom.²¹⁷ Donald Laycock logically argued that, since Enochian does not resemble any proto-Semitic, Egyptian hieroglyphic, or Sumerian scripts, and has more in common with Ethiopic script, that perhaps Dee had an Ethiopian manuscript of the *Book of Enoch* (or some other Ethiopian manuscript), which he was unable to read and instead used as inspiration for Enochian.²¹⁸

The *Book of Enoch*, like Dee's magic, was a subject of divided opinion. Some held the knowledge imparted by the Watchers, or the fallen angels, to be the evil source of the miracles associated with magicians and astrologers, while others, such as

²¹¹ Ibid, pp. 188-91.

²¹² *TFR.*, p. 170.

²¹³ 'Section 1 (Chapters I-XXXVI)', in *Book of Enoch*, ed. by R. H. Charles, trans. by August Dillman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. 57-105, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=vwA3AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 23 July 2011].

²¹⁴ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, pp. 190-1.

²¹⁵ Edward Kelley, 'Dee's Golden Medallion of the Four Watchtowers' ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 1584), <<http://www.donaldtyson.com/wtowers.jpg>> [accessed 9 August 2011].

²¹⁶ Kelley, 'A Vision: The Sign of the Love of God Toward his Faithful' ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 1584), <http://www.themagickalreview.org/enochian/kelley_vision.php> [accessed 9 August 2011].

²¹⁷ Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2004), pp. 353-8, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=uCFORrO7f44C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 23 July 2011].

²¹⁸ Donald Laycock, *The Complete Enochian Dictionary: A Dictionary of the Angelic Language as Revealed to Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley* (York Beach, ME: Weiser Books, 2001), p. 28.

Clement of Alexandria, contested that the wisdom of the Watchers may indeed be the wisdom of God.²¹⁹

In Dee's case, the goal of his intricate septenarial cycles is evidenced in the ultimate purpose of the *Liber Loagaeth*:

Oute of this, shall be restored the holy bokes, which have perished euen from the begynning, and from the first that Liued. And herin shall be deciphered perfect truths from imperfect falshode, True religion from fals and damnable errors, With all Artes; which are proper to the use of man, the first and sanctified perfection; Which when it hath spred a While, THEN COMMETH THE ENDE.²²⁰

Thus Dee's Platonic 'divine madness' led him to the purpose of Christianizing the world under a faith that reconciled all differences and provided a path of salvation in the face of the *apocalypse*. Despite his fallen reputation later in life and after his death, others would bear the torch of his mad hope for the salvation of man through Adamic wisdom.²²¹

This chapter has already exemplified the focus on the theme of septenaries represented in the connection of the seven classical planets, a septenary-based system of intermediary intelligences, and the Kabbalistic use of the names of God. Dee's magic neatly combined Ficino's planetary daemons and Pico's practical Kabbalah in a practice that championed what Dee believed to be a viable expression of the syncretic Hermetic Christianity that both of the Italian humanists espoused. Finally, the ultimate expression of Dee's angel magic and the septenary is resolved in the opening of the forty-nine Gates of Understanding and the delivery of God's true faith to mankind at the brink of the apocalypse. The legacy of the Hermetic *prisca theologia*, a faith capable of uniting all of mankind, with Dee's apocalyptic tone that would be later utilized by the

²¹⁹ Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 181.

²²⁰ BL, Sloane MS 3188, fol. 101v, <http://www.themagickalreview.org/enochian/mss/sloane_3188/img/101v-102r.jpg> [accessed 18 July 2011].

²²¹ Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 76-9.

Seventeenth-Century utopian movement in the form of Rosicrucianism, which the next chapter will now explore.

Chapter 2: Rosicrucianism and Dee's Hermetic Philosophy

John Dee's tarnished reputation did not dissuade adherents of his intricate philosophy and noble goal of a Hermetic Christianity capable of providing the world with salvation. Seventeenth-Century Europe was in the midst of a political, religious, and epistemological crisis.¹ Szönyi argues that new approaches in Seventeenth-Century natural philosophy and science had created a vacuum that experimentation with magic was more than ready to fill.² Szönyi's assertion is exemplified in Valentin Weigel's (1533-1588) belief that the inner spirit reigned over outer nature, including alchemy, Paracelsian elementals, daemons, and spirits, and inspired radical theologians to push forward interpretations of esoterica that focused on an inner transmutation rather than the outer mastery of nature.³

Johann Arndt (1555-1621) was one such figure (influential in his own right regarding the Pietist movement) who accepted the works of Weigel and Paracelsus, among others.⁴ Arndt's seminal Pietist work was his *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1605-1610),⁵ a work that greatly influenced one Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654).⁶ ⁷ Andreae translated extracts of Arndt's work into Latin around 1615, praised Arndt's model of Christianity wherein Christians live their lives in accordance to the faith they professed in his *Mythologia christiana* (1619), and dedicated his

¹ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism I: First Half of the 17th Century', in *DGWE*, pp. 1009-1014 (p. 1009).

² Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 264.

³ Andrew Weeks, 'Valentine Weigel', in *DGWE*, pp. 1165-6 (p. 1166).

⁴ Dietrich Blaufuß, 'Pietism', in *DGWE*, pp. 955-60 (p. 956).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Tobias Churton, *Invisibles: The True History of the Rosicrucians* (Hersham, UK: Lewis Masonic, 2009), p. 37.

⁷ Roland Edighoffer, 'Johann Valentin Andreae', in *DGWE*, pp. 72-5 (p. 72).

utopian work *Christianopolis* (1619) to Arndt.⁸ Andreae also surrounded himself with friends who espoused utopian agendas, such as Tobias Hess (1586-1654), Christoph Besold (1577-1638), Abraham Hölzl, Tobias Adami and Wilhelm van der Wense.⁹ Adami and van der Wense were disciples of Tommaso Campanella, author of the utopian *Civitas Solis* (1602). *Civitas Solis* was notable in its shared similarities between the proposed utopian communities presented in Andreae's *Christianopolis* and the *Picatrix*'s Adocentyn.^{10 11}

The utopianism displayed in the works above was joined with profound Hermetic influence in the *Fama Fraternitatis, Deß Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europae geschrieben* (1614; hereafter called the *Fama*), *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615; hereafter called the *Confessio*, largely attributed to Andreae, Hess, and Besold) and the *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreutz Anno 1459* (1616; hereafter called the *Chemical Wedding*, which Andreae claimed authorship of).¹²

In a time rife with apocalyptic and utopian philosophy that made extensive use of Hermetic philosophy and Kabbalism, one wonders what John Dee's role constituted in the cry for a spiritual and epistemological revolution. An interesting link between Dee and Andreae exists through Dee's acquaintance with Heinrich Khunrath (1560-1605), who in turn was known to maintain correspondence with Johann Arndt.¹³

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Christopher McIntosh, *The Rosicrucians: The History and Mythology of an Occult Order* (Wellingborough, UK: Crucible, 1987), pp. 43-4.

¹⁰ Allison Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: the Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont* (1614-1698) (London: Brill, 1999), p. 95, <http://books.google.com/books?id=BZzK-LFe_QEC&pg=PA95#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 23 May 2011].

¹¹ Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, p. 370.

¹² Roland Edighoffer, 'Johann Valentin Andreae', p. 74.

¹³ Joachim Telle, 'Heinrich Khunrath', in *DGWE*, pp. 662-3 (p. 662).

This chapter will explore the linkage between Dee and Andreae as well as the transmission of Dee's Hermetic philosophy, namely through his *Monas Hieroglyphica*. Rosicrucianism adopted an interest in Dee's *Monas*, which kept alight the torch of his uniquely equipped form of angel magic until it was delivered into the hands of Frederick Hockley.

Early Rosicrucianism and the *Monas Hieroglyphica*

In Tübingen, Johann Valentin Andreae and his two close friends, Tobias Hess and Christoph Besold, are thought to have formed an inner circle amongst a group of like-minded acquaintances in order to produce the Rosicrucian Manifestos, the *Fama* and the *Confessio*; two works that sparked a furor of more than 200 responses between 1614-1620 (both positive and negative)¹⁴ in Reformation-era Europe.¹⁵ The titular symbol of John Dee's philosophical work, the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, served as the emblem of *The Chemical Wedding* and from that point on Dee was connected to the Weigelian, inwardly alchemical transmutation of the soul.

Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), an antiquarian and founding member of the Royal Society with a great interest in alchemy, astrology, and astral magic,¹⁶ possessed a profound interest in Dee and his angel magic.¹⁷ Ashmole hoped to explore these themes in a biography of Dee that he never completed.¹⁸ In his book, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), Ashmole related a connection between the Rosicrucian movement

¹⁴ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism I', in *DGWE*, p. 1009.

¹⁵ Churton, *Invisibles*, pp. 57-9.

¹⁶ Joscelyn Godwin, 'Elias Asmole', in *DGWE*, pp. 105-107 (p. 106).

¹⁷ Tobias Churton, *The Magus of Freemasonry: The Mysterious Life of Elias Ashmole—Scientist, Alchemist, and Founder of the Royal Society*, (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2006), pp. 145-7.

¹⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, 'Elias Ashmole', p. 106.

and Dee. The connection, as Yates attests,¹⁹ was on June 27th, 1589 in Bremen when Dee met Heinrich Khunrath (1560-1605).²⁰ It is not known what the two discussed, but Yates noted the appearance of Dee's *Hieroglyphic Monad*²¹ in Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1595) in the image of the alchemical hermaphrodite where the 'O' of 'AZOTH' on the Raven/Peacock/Swan's²² breast is the circular part of Dee's symbol.²³

Khunrath's theosophical alchemy and Kabbalism was a continuation of Weigel's inward mysticism²⁴ and his stance was, despite its criticism of scholastic Lutherans, mediatory in much the same way as Arndt and Weigel.²⁵ Szulakowska asserts the importance of Dee's position as a mentor of Khunrath, as evidenced in his proclamation of Dee in his *Quaestiones Tres Per-Utilis* (1607) as 'Londinensem [...] hoc est, Sapientiae Sincerioris Gazophylacem magnum; Angliae Hermetem', an accolade repeated in his *Amphitheatrum*.²⁶

Szönyi aptly points out that despite his reputation in his homeland as the sorcerer who conjured angels, Dee was well-received on the continent due to the more positive reputation conferred on the author of the philosophically elegant *Monas Hieroglyphica*.²⁷ This image of Dee, as an important contributor to Pietism rather than

¹⁹ Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 51.

²⁰ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, p. 264.

²¹ Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 51.

²² Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), p. 44.

²³ Heinrich Khunrath, 'The Hermaphrodite', in *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hamburg: 1595), <<http://specialcollections.library.wisc.edu/khunrath/hermfig1750.html>> [accessed 31 July 2011].

²⁴ Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 80-1, <http://books.google.com/books?id=ZJox8Eh-gs8C&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_s_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 31 July 2011].

²⁵ Ibid., pp. xviii-xxi.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

²⁷ Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism*, pp. 269-70.

as a sorcerer who talked to spirits, makes the Rosicrucian interest in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* more appealing; especially after being so well regarded by Khunrath and found to be compatible with Arndt's theosophy. But how did Dee's *Hieroglyphic Monad* come to be included in Andreae's *Chemical Wedding*?

Tobias Churton posits a few interesting possibilities as to how the *Hieroglyphic Monad* was included in Andreae's *Chemical Wedding*. First: Andreae may have 'lifted' Dee's symbol from the *Amphitheatrum* for use in *The Chemical Wedding* despite his poor regard for Khunrath's Kabbalistic, alchemical Christology and suggestions of the existence of a Christian 'para-religion' that ignored the sacrament of brotherhood and selfless love.²⁸ Second: another unidentified party involved in the creation of *The Chemical Wedding* insisted on its inclusion.²⁹ Third: Andreae obtained the *Hieroglyphic Monad* directly from the work itself, despite never having written about it.³⁰

Still another possibility is the transmission of the *Monas Hieroglyphica* through the first person who responded to the *Fama Fraternitatis* with wishes to join the nonexistent society. The response of Adam Haslmayr (c. 1560-1630) was included in the first printing of the *Fama* and its endorsement of Rosicrucianism served to turn what was perhaps intended as an allegorical organization into what was perceived as a recruitment pamphlet for the true teachings of Paracelsus.³¹ Haslmayr's response echoed the ecstatic outcry of many other impressed readers of Rosicrucian texts; the

²⁸ Churton, *Invisibles*, p. 131.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ McIntosh, pp. 49-50.

popular Paracelsian influence on the *Monas* only served to bolster its reputation amongst the spiritual, or ‘true’, alchemists.³²

The *Monas Hieroglyphica* had been republished in Lazarus Zetzner’s *Theatrum Chemicum* (1602) and was available across Europe.³³ Haslmayr included the *Hieroglyphic Monad* in several of his manuscripts, including the *Novum Lumen Physico-Chemicum* (1616), *Consideratio Figurae Ergon et Parergon Fratrum RC* (1626),³⁴ and *Amphitheatrum Chymicum Sacrum* (1629).³⁵ Carlos Gilly (a scholar noted for his skepticism regarding Dee’s influence on Rosicrucianism),³⁶ conceded that through Haslmayr’s imitation of Dee’s symbol in his *Consideratio Figurae* the *Monas* may have served as a source of influence in the inclusion of a work in the first edition of the *Confessio* that also used the *Monas* as a source of inspiration: the *Secretioris Philosophiae Consideratio Brevis* (1615).^{37 38}

The *Consideratio* features direct quotations of the first 13 Theorems of the *Monas* interspersed throughout its writing and is credited to the pseudonymous Phillipus a Gabella, though he makes absolutely no mention of Dee in his work and replaces the word ‘*monas*’ with ‘*stella*’.³⁹ The positive reception and influence of the *Monas* was

³² Szönyi, ‘Paracelsus, Scrying, and the Lingua Adamica: Contexts for John Dee’s Angel Magic’, in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies In English Renaissance Thought*, ed. by Stephen Clucas, 193 (2006), 207-30 (pp. 211-2), <<http://books.google.com/books?id=B5oDcIWv--sC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 10 August 2011].

³³ Szönyi, *John Dee’s Occultism*, pp. 265-6.

³⁴ Carlos Gilly, ‘Theophrastia Sancta’—Paracelsianism as a Religion, in Conflict with the Established Churches’ (2003), <http://www.ritmanlibrary.nl/c/p/res/art/art_01.html> [accessed 1 August 2011] (para. 45 of 68).

³⁵ Peter J. Forshaw, ‘The Early Alchemical Reception of John Dee’s *Monas Hieroglyphica*’, in *Ambix* (2005), 52: 3, pp. 247-69 (p. 264-5), <http://uva.academia.edu/PeterForshaw/Papers/403551/The_Early_Alchemical_Reception_of_John_Deess_Monas_Hieroglyphica> [accessed 1 August 2011].

³⁶ Szönyi, *John Dee’s Occultism*, pp. 265-6.

³⁷ Gilly, (para. 45 of 68).

³⁸ Forshaw, pp. 264-5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

indeed notable in continental Europe, but uncredited usage of the symbol was not limited to the *Consideratio*. Gerard Dorn, a translator responsible for altering Paracelsus' works from German to Latin, featured Dee's *Hieroglyphic Monad* on the cover of his *Chymisticum Artificium Naturae* (1568; published four years after the first edition of the *Monas Hieroglyphica*).⁴⁰ Other plagiarisms include: Cesare della Riviera's *Il Mondo Magico de gli Heroi* (1605), where Riviera openly lifted Dee's insight that the Latin numerals for fifty, five, and ten form the word LVX (or Light); the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegypticus* (1653-1655) featured both the original Monad (he dubbed the *Crux Hermetica*) and a variant (dubbed the *Crux Ansata*) in a chapter on 'Mathematica Hieroglyphica'; and Johann Christoph Steeb's *Coelum Sephiroticum* (1679) also retitled his own variant of the Dee's Monad, renamed the *Sigillum Hermetis Mercurii Trismegisti*.⁴¹ If imitation is indeed the sincerest form of flattery, then Dee had more than a few devoted admirers.

Given that the *Monas Hieroglyphica* was held in such high regard as to merit repeated plagiarism, it made it more likely that Andreae knowingly used the *Hieroglyphic Monad* despite his misgivings for Khunrath. Perhaps he sought to uplift what he perceived as a potent, but misguided, vehicle for world-wide reformation and so he attempted to mold it in a fashion that conformed to his own vision of the inward spiritual transmutation that occurs with true Christianity. Andreae distanced himself entirely from Rosicrucianism due to the failure of *The Chemical Wedding* to cease attachments to Pagan philosophy and theosophy that he found to be in conflict with his own view of Christianity.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 256-7.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Churton, *Invisibles*, p. 131

Regardless of how the *Monas* was included in *The Chemical Wedding*, Dee's expanded vision of the cross granted further depth to the its Christian context by using Kabbalistic techniques to enhance the cross' profundity through numerological, symbolic, and alphabetical analyses.⁴³ To Dee the cross was a ternary of two lines and a central meeting point⁴⁴ representing the body, spirit, and soul⁴⁵ and reasonably the Holy Trinity (see fig. 11).⁴⁶ The cross also contained a quaternary of four right angles created by four straight lines that also create a 'secret' octonary⁴⁷ representing the four classical, terrestrial elements of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth (see fig. 10). The ternary and quaternary virtues of the cross also add up to a septenary representing the seven planets, the seven days of the week of the creation, and numerous other significances,⁴⁸ via the two lines, the point at which they bisect, and the four straight lines.

Dee also bisected the cross to create what he perceived as the Latin characters for the numbers five (V; see fig. 12) and fifty (L; see fig. 13), evidencing a quinary derived from a denary, representing a marriage of spirit and matter.⁴⁹ This bisecting of the cross also reflects the Hermetic adage 'As Above, So Below'.^{50 51}

The *Monas Hieroglyphica* and the *Confessio* bear similarities. In the *Monas*, Dee differentiates between the 'real cabbala' and the vulgar cabbalistic grammar.⁵²

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 107-8.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 181.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 157.

⁴⁶ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism I', in *DGWE*, p. 1010.

⁴⁷ Dee, '*Monas Hieroglyphica*', p. 157.

⁴⁸ Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 274-5.

⁴⁹ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism I', in *DGWE* p. 1010.

⁵⁰ H. Stanley Redgrove, *Alchemy: Ancient and Modern*, 2nd edn (Gloucester, England: Dodo Press, 1922), p. 37.

⁵¹ Dee, '*Monas Hieroglyphica*', p. 171.

⁵² Forshaw, p. 259.

[...] No mortal may excuse himself for being ignorant of this our holy language, which, in the aphorisms [1 directed] to the Parisians, I have called the real cabbala, or [the cabbala] of that which is, as I call that other and vulgar one, which rests on well-known letters that can be written by man, cabbalistic grammar or the cabbala of that which is said. The real cabbala, which was born to us by the law of the creation (as Paul intimates), is also [a] more divine [gift], since it invents new arts and explains the most abstruse arts very faithfully, as others, following our example, may try out in some other field.⁵³

The *Confessio* makes much the same claim of the ‘great book of nature’ which ‘stands open to all men’, but, like Dee’s ‘real cabbala’, ‘few can read and understand the same’.⁵⁴ The book prophesies a coming time when ‘honour shall be given to the tongue’ and from there all the senses and the awakening of the whole of humanity.⁵⁵ The *Confessio* further states that the Rosicrucian brotherhood possesses a language capable of ‘expressing and declaring the nature of all things’.⁵⁶

It seems logical that such an awakening that prepared man to receive the ‘real cabbala’ was the signifier of a change, or transmutation, of the soul. The *Chemical Wedding* utilizes hallmark alchemical imagery to tell its tale, but in such a manner that focuses on the spiritual change of the soul.⁵⁷ The *Chemical Wedding* has Christian Rosencreutz, the hero of the Rosicrucian Manifestos, invited to a wedding that requires the passing of a variety of tests where Christian Rosencreutz proves his worth and is rewarded with bearing witness to the bizarre unfolding of events leading up to the wedding.⁵⁸

⁵³ Dee, ‘*Monas Hieroglyphica*’, pp. 133-5.

⁵⁴ ‘Confessio Fraternitatis, or the Confession of the Laudable Fraternity of the Most Honorable Order of Rosy Cross, Written to All the Learned of Europe’, in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, ed. by Frances Yates, trans. by Thomas Vaughan (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 312-22 (pp. 318).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 91.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-91.

Yates noted the deeply symbolic nature of the *Chemical Wedding* to have its basis in an inner, spiritual alchemy within the soul of the individual.⁵⁹ On the Fourth Day, it is noteworthy that six Royal Persons are beheaded⁶⁰ and resuscitated on the Fifth Day,⁶¹ their blood used on the Sixth Day to speed the growth of a bird.⁶² The colorful transformation of the bird is reminiscent of the classical alchemical stages of *nigredo* and *albedo*.⁶³ However, rather than being gifted with a physical gold, the worthy souls bearing witness to the wedding are made 'Knights of the Golden Stone'.⁶⁴ It was not any metal that was transmuted in the wedding, but the participants themselves.

Rosicrucian literature grew and progressed to the point that its philosophy began to be included in more tangible organizations, such as The Royal Society, though subtly due to Dee's infamy caused by Casaubon's *True & Faithful Relation*.⁶⁵ The next section will examine how Dee's practice and philosophy returned to England and eventually to the hands of Frederick Hockley, who in turn influenced the rituals and thought of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

The Children of Rosicrucianism: Heirs to the Legacy of John Dee

Despite the intense interest in Rosicrucian literature, the movement remained merely literary; it wasn't until the eighteenth century that history saw the first groups openly

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 85.

⁶⁰ Andreae, 'The Chymical Wedding - The Fourth Day' ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 2011), <<http://www.levity.com/alchemy/chymwed4.html>> [accessed 31 May 2011] (para. 76 of 81).

⁶¹ Andreae, 'The Chymical Wedding - The Fifth Day' ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 2011), <<http://www.levity.com/alchemy/chymwed5.html>> [accessed 31 May 2011] (para. 84 of 88).

⁶² Andreae, 'The Chymical Wedding - The Sixth Day' ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 2011), <<http://www.levity.com/alchemy/chymwed6.html>> [accessed 31 May 2011] (para. 46 of 73).

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Andreae, 'The Chymical Wedding - The Seventh Day' ([n.p.]: [n.pub], 2011), <<http://www.levity.com/alchemy/chymwed7.html>> [accessed 2 August 2011] (paras. 34-44 of 51).

⁶⁵ Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 247-8.

labeling themselves as Rosicrucian.⁶⁶ There is some irony in that Dee's lack of popularity did not seem to affect the enthusiastic reception in England of an esoteric philosophy that he provided with a formative influence.

Robert Fludd is credited with bringing Rosicrucianism to England with several writings in support of the Rosicrucian Manifestos. Andreas Libavius (1540-1616), a German Lutheran alchemist, wrote a polemical *Analysis of the Confession of the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross* (1615) where he accused the Fraternity of heresy, sedition, and diabolical magic.⁶⁷ Fludd provided a vigorous counter-argument in his *Apologia Compendiara* (1616) supporting the notion that the Rosicrucians provided a renovated Christianity and further developed this argument in his *Tractatus Apologeticus* (1617),⁶⁸ which concluded with his own request to join the Fraternity.⁶⁹ John Dee's divine madness for the secret hidden in the Book of Nature was shared by Fludd and those other diligent scholars of Western esoterica who wrote works attempting to bring to the human mind the intentions and machinations of the divine.

Michael Maier (1569-1622), a German alchemist who lived in England from 1609-1616,⁷⁰ was another scholar who found that Rosicrucianism agreed with his own notions in addition to his millenarianism and Lutheran heterodoxy, which spurred him to provide writings that further spread a positive view of Rosicrucianism in the land that had rejected Dee.⁷¹ Hereward Tilton asserts that Maier treated the initials 'R. C.' as a

⁶⁶ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism I', in *DGWE*, p. 1014.

⁶⁷ William Huffman, 'Introduction', in, in *Robert Fludd*, ed. by William Huffman (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books), pp. 13-38 (pp. 22-3).

⁶⁸ Sylvie Edighoffer, 'Robert Fludd', in *DGWE*, pp. 371-5.

⁶⁹ Huffman, 'Introduction', p. 23.

⁷⁰ Hereward Tilton, 'Michael Maier', in *DGWE*, pp. 747-9 (p. 748).

⁷¹ Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix: Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Michael Maier* (1569-1622) (Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), p. 118, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=bpXuNjTQv44C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 4 August 2011].

hieroglyph under which the alchemists of Germany were working.⁷² Maier's interpretation of Rosencreutz's initials extended the *Monas*' form of divine attribution to certain symbols to the legendary father of Rosicrucianism.⁷³ In his envisioning of the Rosicrucians, Maier emphasized and expounded on the alchemical aspect as the key principle and ultimate focus of the Fraternity.⁷⁴

Other figures that supported Rosicrucianism in England include Samuel Hartlieb (1595-1662), John Drury (1595-1680), and Amos Comenius (1592-1670), who were all in contact with Johann Valentin Andreae and were also responsible for translating Andreae's utopian writings.⁷⁵

Hartlieb and Comenius had large roles in the creation of the highly influential 'Invisible College'. Hartlieb was responsible for convincing Comenius to come to England in the first place.⁷⁶ Once there, Comenius penned the *Via Lucis* (1641), a work describing a pansophic college that eschewed professorships in divinity, civil laws, and rhetoric and replaced them with technical, tangible teachings in glass and metal working.⁷⁷ Sadly, as Comenius was proposing his educational reform, civil war erupted in England and sundered Comenius' hopes despite interest from the ruling class.⁷⁸ The

⁷² Ibid, p. 145.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 146.

⁷⁵ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism: From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century', in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality* (hereafter *MES*), ed. by Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman (Chestnut Ridge, NY: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1992), pp. 186-209, (pp. 204-5).

⁷⁶ P. M. Rattansi, 'The Intellectual Origins of the Royal Society', in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* (1968), 23: 2, 129-43 (pp. 133-4), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/530982>> [accessed 6 August 2011].

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Churton, *Invisibles*, pp. 229-30.

ghost of Comenius' educational outline lived on in the form of what Robert Boyle dubbed the 'Invisible College'.⁷⁹

The Invisible College served as a common ground for scholars to escape the turmoil of the times⁸⁰ through a pansophic virtual institute that existed in the minds of those who agreed with an improved form of education that utilized experimentation.⁸¹

Thomas Vaughan (1612-1666), an alchemist, a member of the Royal Society with active relationships with its founding members (Thomas Henshaw and Robert Moray), and a former rector, scribed a translation of the *Fama* and *Confessio*⁸² with a lengthy preface.⁸³ He entitled this work the *Magia Adamica*, clearly alluding to Fludd's *Philosophia Moysaica*.⁸⁴ It also bears mention that Vaughan also praised Agrippa, Trithemius, and Reuchlin in several of his works.⁸⁵

Vaughan's translation of the *Fama* and *Confessio* returns us to Elias Ashmole, who copied the two works by hand from a manuscript before *Magia Adamica* was published.⁸⁶ Ashmole was an important figure in the transmission of Dee's works; he attempted to rescue John Dee's reputation through his skills as an antiquarian.⁸⁷ Ashmole combined Rosicrucianism and the continental reception of the *Monas Hieroglyphica* to form an excellent vehicle for Dee. The Rosicrucian theme of scholarly, epistemological reform served to increase the chances that a dedicated erudite would

⁷⁹ Dorothy Stimson, 'Comenius and the Invisible College', in *Isis* (1935), 23: 2, 373-88 (p. 377), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/224951>> [accessed 6 August 2011].

⁸⁰ Rattansi, pp. 133-4.

⁸¹ Stimson, p. 380.

⁸² Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism', in *MES*, pp. 204-5.

⁸³ Alan Rudrum, 'Thomas Vaughan', in *DGWE*, pp. 1157-9, (p. 1159).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism', in *MES*, pp. 204-5.

⁸⁷ Churton, *The Magus of Freemasonry*, p. 260.

eventually take note of and carefully compile Dee's works in a light far brighter than the one Méric Casaubon provided in his *True & Faithful Relation*.

On August 20, 1672, Elias Ashmole received John Dee's manuscripts (including the *48 Claves Angelicae*, *Liber Scientiae Auxilii*, and *De Heptarchia Mystica*) in a parcel from Thomas Wale.⁸⁸ Wale and his wife related to Ashmole the story behind the manuscripts on September 10 of the same year. By chance, the late and former husband of Wale's wife had owned a chest that once belonged to Dee.⁸⁹ After discovering the manuscripts they at first ascribed little worth to them and roughly half were lost 'under pyes & other like uses'.⁹⁰ Fortunately, their worth was later discovered and as a result the remaining manuscripts were saved from the Great Fire of London in 1666.⁹¹

Ashmole was connected to Rosicrucianism and its prescribed epistemological reform through his correspondence with Samuel Hartlieb⁹² and his philosophical 'father', William Backhouse (1593-1662), who supposedly taught Ashmole the secret of the Philosopher's Stone near his death.⁹³ The prominence of the *Monas* may have provided a revitalized view of Dee for Ashmole to capitalize on, which is precisely what he endeavored to do.

In 1674, Ashmole transcribed the first book of Dee's *Mysteriorum Libri Quinque* and followed up with interest in a biography and investigations into Dee's character.⁹⁴ Initially, the investigations were done by proxy through fellow antiquarian John Aubrey,

⁸⁸ Elias Ashmole, 'Preface', in *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 47-9.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 163-6.

⁹³ Churton, *Magus of Freemasonry*, pp. 150-5.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 263-4.

but later Ashmole conducted them personally.⁹⁵ Ashmole personally travelled to Dee's home at Mortlake and interviewed one 'Goodwife Faldo' who had the pleasure of viewing an eclipse with John Dee.⁹⁶ He also interviewed Rowland Dee, John Dee's grandson, who gave him a great deal of information as passed on to him by his father, Arthur Dee (Ashmole had translated Arthur Dee's *Fasciculus Chemicus* in 1650)^{97, 98}

Despite never finishing his biography of John Dee, Ashmole succeeded in collecting and preserving Dee's legacy.⁹⁹ At his death, Ashmole bequeathed his collection and library to the University of Oxford. Furthermore, Ashmole was one of the founding members of the Royal Society;¹⁰⁰ a group concerned with the Baconian notion of the 'absolute regeneration of science' through experimentation rather than mere observation, which included alchemical experimentation.¹⁰¹

William Lilly (1602-1681), a friend of Ashmole's who was responsible for maintaining interest in astrology,¹⁰² also bears mention in the transmission of Dee's angel magic for his accounts of those who used crystals to contact angels. This was exemplified in the cases of Richard Delahay,¹⁰³ William Hodges,¹⁰⁴ Sarah Skelhorn,¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 264-5.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 144.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 265-7.

⁹⁹ Joscelyn Godwin, 'Elias Ashmole', in *DGWE*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Allen Moe, 'Tercentenary of the Royal Society', in *Science* (1960), 132: 3442, 1816-22 (p. 1817), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1706765>> [accessed 12 August 2011].

¹⁰¹ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923-58, repr. 1964), VII, pp. 66-8.

¹⁰² Joscelyn Godwin, 'Elias Ashmole', in *DGWE*, p. 106.

¹⁰³ *William Lilly's History of His Life and Times from the Year 1602-1681* (London: Charles Baldwin, 1822), pp. 67-8, <http://books.google.com/books?id=S7U_AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 21 August 2011].

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 115-6.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 228-9.

and one who called himself Mortlack (perhaps drawing on Dee's reputation through his home on the Thames; Lilly denounced him as a 'pretending ignoramus' for his failures to conjure Queen Mab, which were attributed to Lilly's presence after multiple failures).¹⁰⁶ Lilly also gave some account of Dee and Kelly and began to conjecture on their failure to receive clearer answers from the angels.¹⁰⁷ He stated that Kelly was likely to blame due to his viciousness, thus making the angels disobedient, but suddenly ceased his postulation, merely stating, 'but I could give other reasons, but those are not for paper'.¹⁰⁸

What now follows is a brief outline of Rosicrucianism's influence within Freemasonry essential to later arguments in this dissertation. Though Rosicrucianism inspired the epistemological offshoots exemplified in the Invisible College and the Royal Society, it was not until 1777 that an organization existed that openly bore the name 'Rosicrucian'.^{109 110} In 1630, Petrus Mormius claimed to have met a man named Rose who stated he was a part of an order of the Gold and Rosy Cross.¹¹¹ From this point in history onward, the words 'Gold' and 'Golden' in the names of Rosicrucian groups persist to the Rosicrucian-influenced Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.¹¹²

In 1654 in Nuremburg, an alchemical society with clear Rosicrucian elements counted Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716), who was very interested in the *Chemical*

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 234.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 223-7.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 227.

¹⁰⁹ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism I', in *DGWE*, p. 1014.

¹¹⁰ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism II: 18th Century', in *DGWE*, pp. 1014-7 (p. 1015).

¹¹¹ Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism', in *MES*, p. 206.

¹¹² Roland Edighoffer, 'Rosicrucianism II', in *DGWE*, p. 1014.

Wedding,¹¹³ as a member.¹¹⁴ In 1710, Samuel Richter, under the name Sincerus Renatus, published *Die wahrhaffte und vollkommene Beschreibung des philosophischen Steins der Bruderschaft aus dem Orden des Gülden- und Rosenkreutzes denen Filiis Doctrinae zum Besten publiciret*; a work that outlined the practical organization and continuation of the ‘Society of the Golden and Rosy Cross’.¹¹⁵ Again, despite claims of the existence of such a society within the work, no such society existed.¹¹⁶

The complete works of Renatus first appear in 1741 and presented a philosophy in direct opposition of the materialistic atheism of the Enlightenment.¹¹⁷ After 1741, a number of Rosicrucian elements were added to Freemasonic lodges, as well as the first documented organizations that claimed to be ‘Rosicrucian’ in their title.¹¹⁸

The most relevant of movement to this dissertation is that of the Golden Rosicrucians of the Ancient System, a movement that grew within Freemasonry¹¹⁹ and attempted to assert its primacy as a tradition with greater erudition than anything Freemasonry could offer.¹²⁰ The organization flourished within Freemasonry from 1777 until 1782 when J. C. Wöllner (1732-1800), a figure significant to the rapid growth and popularity of the Ancient Order, responded to the attempt to remove Rosicrucianism from Freemasonry.¹²¹ This was done at the Convention in Wilhemsbad with a

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ George M. Ross, ‘Leibniz and the Nuremberg Alchemical Society’, in *Studia Leibnitiana* (1974), 6: 2, 222-48 (pp. 237-40), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40693740>> [accessed 14 August 2011].

¹¹⁵ Roland Edighoffer, ‘Rosicrucianism II’, in *DGWE*, p. 1014.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 1014.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Roland Edighoffer, ‘Rosicrucianism’, in *MES*, pp. 206-7.

¹¹⁹ McIntosh, pp. 84-6.

¹²⁰ Ibid, pp. 89-93.

¹²¹ Roland Edighoffer, ‘Rosicrucianism II’, in *DGWE*, p. 1017.

memorandum asserting the intent of the Ancient Order to uplift Freemasonry while reserving the higher grades for themselves.¹²²

Despite the fall of the Ancient Order, the influence of Rosicrucianism as a form of fringe-Masonry was not extinguished and continued on in France (established in 1754) where it eventually influenced British Freemasonry in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish of Rite of Freemasonry; the 18th degree is notably entitled the Rose-Croix of Heredom.¹²³ In England, the transmission of angel magic continued through the prominent English occultists Ebenezer Sibly (1751-1799), Francis Barrett (1774-ca. 1830), and Frederick Hockley (1809-1885).

The role of Sibly, a doctor and brother of the noted Swedenborgian pastor Manoah Sibly,¹²⁴ was that of a rejuvenation of interest in Rosicrucianism within English occultism in the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ Sibly's goal seemed in line with Dee's aims and those inspired by the epistemological reform presented in Rosicrucianism; the combination of esoterica and science to form a more complete whole.¹²⁶ Sibly's *Complete Illustration of the Celestial Art of Astrology* (four volumes; 1784-1792), despite clear plagiarism of sources (and those not even the best on the topic), was well-circulated. In the *Celestial Art*, Sibly presented a Swedenborgian view of a Christian spirit world separate from the physical,¹²⁷ and provided a brief description of seven good angels and their seven demonic counter-parts complete with lamens and names

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ McIntosh, p. 109.

¹²⁴ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 106-7.

¹²⁵ John Hamill, 'Introduction', in, *The Rosicrucian Seer*, p. 20.

¹²⁶ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 107.

¹²⁷ Ebenezer Sibly, *The Complete Illustration of the Celestial Art of Astrology* (London: 1826), p. 1063, <<http://www.archive.org/details/newcompleteillus00sibluoft>> [accessed 15 Aug 2011].

presented in a manner and purpose reminiscent of those described in the *Ars Goetia* in the *Lemegeton*.^{128 129}

Sibly's personal library was passed to the bookseller, John Denley, and from Denley to the occultist Francis Barrett.¹³⁰ Barrett's successful work, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; being a complete system of Occult Philosophy* (1801), was a book that plagiarized selected chapters of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, and Abano's *Heptameron*, among others, while giving the impression that these sources were only a handful among many and that Barrett had translated all of the works himself.¹³¹ Barrett's inclusion of *The Art of Drawing Spirits Into Crystals* in his *Magus*, which he attributed to Trithemius, is highly relevant to this dissertation for its inclusion of angel magic similar to Dee's practice, as well as the *Ars Paulina* of the *Lemegeton*.^{132 133} The premise of *The Art of Drawing Spirits* is a simpler representation of angel magic involving a miniaturized table of practice that the crystal ball sits on, candles, a magic wand, and a torch for burning suffumigations. The prayer/orations are quite similar to Dee's,^{134 135} as is the use of a series of questions similar to what Dee used in his first recorded angelic conversations to positively identify the spirit in question.^{136 137} Godwin conjectures that Barrett's only

¹²⁸ *The Lesser Key of Solomon*, pp. 7-108.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 1092-5.

¹³⁰ Gilbert, 'Francis Barrett', in *DGWE*, pp. 163-4 (p. 163).

¹³¹ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 118.

¹³² Johannes Trithemius, 'The Art of Drawing Spirits Into Crystals', in *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; being a complete system of Occult Philosophy* (London, 1801), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/tritheim/trchryst.htm>> [accessed 17 August 2011].

¹³³ 'The Art Pauline of King Saloman', in *The Lesser Key of Solomon*, pp. 144-5.

¹³⁴ Johannes Trithemius, 'The Art of Drawing Spirits Into Crystals', (para. 4 of 26).

¹³⁵ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 52-5.

¹³⁶ Johannes Trithemius, 'The Art of Drawing Spirits Into Crystals', (paras. 17-20 of 26).

¹³⁷ *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, pp. 61-5.

original contributions to the *Magus* may have been a result of his own visions in the crystal.¹³⁸ Barrett's deep interest in crystal-gazing is probably best evidenced through the works of his acquaintance, Frederick Hockley.¹³⁹

Arthur Edward Waite, an influential member of the Golden Dawn and founder of the Fellowship of the Rosy Cross,¹⁴⁰ wrote of Hockley, 'Among the many persons who in recent years have conducted experiments with the crystal, one of the most successful was the late Frederick Hockley [...].'¹⁴¹ The bulk of Hockley's life is a mystery, though we know he expressed an interest in crystals and magic mirrors.¹⁴² This interest evolved with, as Godwin puts it, the 'Madison Avenue' draw of Spiritualism.¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ He was also an adherent of Mesmer's animal magnetism and well schooled in astrology.¹⁴⁵ In terms of Spiritualism, Hockley was familiar with all its forms, but he believed the most fool-proof method of contacting spirits (whether angels or deceased persons)¹⁴⁶ was through scrying with a crystal or mirror.¹⁴⁷ Hockley believed the use of crystals originated with the Jews, who were given the method through divine command by Urim and Thummim as told in Exodus 28:30.¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ It is also clear that, despite Hockley's acceptance as a

¹³⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, pp. 118-9.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁴⁰ R. A. Gilbert, *Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians* (Wellingborough, UK: The Aquarian Press, 1983), p. 8.

¹⁴¹ Arthur Edward Waite, *The Occult Sciences: A Compendium of Transcendental Doctrine & Experiment* (Pomeroy, WA: Health Research Books, 1996), p. 108, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=UZxH2j8oyEsC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 21 August 2011].

¹⁴² Hamill, 'Introduction', p. 12.

¹⁴³ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 188.

¹⁴⁴ Hamill, 'Introduction', p. 12.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 171.

¹⁴⁷ Hamill, 'Introduction', p. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 171.

¹⁴⁹ Hockley, *Invoking by Magic Crystals and Mirrors* (York Beach, ME: The Teitan Press, 2010), p. 4.

Rosicrucian, his later membership in Freemasonry, and the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia six years after its inception, he was aware of the spurious origins of these movements, keeping himself distanced from them.¹⁵⁰

Much to Hockley's disappointment and quite like John Dee, he was unable to see anything in the crystal and was resigned to using what he termed a 'speculatrix' in order to perform his experiments.¹⁵¹ His desperation led him to attempt to find a means to see visions within the crystal.¹⁵² This resulted in an encounter with an evil spirit that demanded his obedience in return for a favor, which he refused.¹⁵³ Hockley addressed the argument of Dee's conversations with angels being mere psychological events by stating that Dee could not have been so narrow-sighted as to have mistaken his own thoughts for the visions and responses of the angels.¹⁵⁴

Hockley's pursuit in finding methods to enrich his crystal magic through esoteric manuscripts is clearly presented in his own collection, copying, and production of them.¹⁵⁵ Ebenezer Sibly plays a prominent role of influence, as exemplified in Hockley's transcription and reception of a number of Sibly's manuscripts.¹⁵⁶ The interest in Sibly served as a point of connection between Barrett and Hockley, as both were acquainted with Denley.¹⁵⁷ Denley had lent Sibly's manuscripts to Barrett who used them to create his *Magus*;¹⁵⁸ According to Hockley's own words, Denley often

¹⁵⁰ Hamill, 'Introduction', pp. 18-20.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁵² Hockley, 'Raising the Devil', in *Rosicrucian Seer*, pp. 129-31.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Hockley, 'On the Ancient Magic Crystal and Its Connexion with Mesmerism', p. 195.

¹⁵⁵ Hamill, 'Introduction', p. 11.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 118.

complained to Hockley that Barrett never repaid him with even a copy.¹⁵⁹ Hockley, on the other hand, freely lent from his own library and became an important resource to his acquaintances and successors.¹⁶⁰

One such beneficiary was Kenneth Robert Henderson MacKenzie (1833-86), who referred to Hockley as the ‘most profound Occult student in the country who has preserved his results in an admirable form so as to be easy of reference’.¹⁶¹ Such was his friendship with Hockley that after his meeting with Eliphas Lévi at Paris in 1861 he went straightaway to Hockley to discuss it upon his return to England.¹⁶² MacKenzie was an esotericist who Waite described as ‘multifarious’¹⁶³ for his numerous occult projects.¹⁶⁴ MacKenzie was an expert on high-degree Freemasonry and Rosicrucian fringe-Masonry of continental Europe; his friendship with Hockley neatly connects angel magic and Spiritualism with crystals to Rosicrucian-themed organizations.¹⁶⁵ Both Hockley and MacKenzie became members of the Society of Eight, and other members included Francis Irwin, occultist Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1854-1918), and the alchemist Rev. William Alexander Ayton (1816-1909).¹⁶⁶ Hamill noted that Dr. William Wynn Westcott (1848-1925) was distrusted by Hockley, MacKenzie, and Irwin and was never granted admittance into the Society and postulated that perhaps Westcott

¹⁵⁹ Hamill, ‘Introduction’, p. 21

¹⁶⁰ Peterson, ‘Introduction’, in *The Clavis or Key to the Magic of Solomon* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2009), p. xiii.

¹⁶¹ Kenneth Robert Henderson MacKenzie, ‘Extracts Concerning Hockley from the MacKenzie-Irwin Correspondence’, in *The Rosicrucian Seer*, pp. 90-5 (p. 90).

¹⁶² Hamill, ‘Introduction’, p. 13.

¹⁶³ Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought: A Retrospective Review in the Form of Memoirs* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 1992), p. 225, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=asKVBdREC7wC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 22 August 2011].

¹⁶⁴ Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1984), pp. 27-33.

¹⁶⁵ Goodrick-Clarke, ‘Hermeticism and Hermetic Societies’, in *DGWE*, pp. 550-8 (p. 552).

¹⁶⁶ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, p. 222.

created the Golden Dawn in response to this refusal.¹⁶⁷ Bearing these connections in mind, it is not a long leap of logic to accept Goodrick-Clarke's assertion that MacKenzie played a role in the formation of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia.¹⁶⁸ MacKenzie's fascination with Tarot cards was certainly transmitted into the Golden Dawn¹⁶⁹ and his knowledge of Rosicrucian fringe-Masonic orders may have inspired the grade-system for the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn due to his familiarity with the Gold and Rosy Cross materials.¹⁷⁰

Westcott, a Coroner of the Crown, and Mathers, a self-styled occult scholar, went on to create the first temple of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in 1888 with the assistance of The Supreme Magus of the SRIA, William Robert Woodman.¹⁷¹ Westcott openly praises Hockley and MacKenzie in his Historical Lecture (under his magical name Sapere Aude),¹⁷² and their influence (and through that influence, the tradition of Dee's angel magic) was certainly felt.

¹⁶⁷ Hamill, 'Introduction', p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ Goodrick-Clarke, 'Hermeticism and Hermetic Societies', p. 552.

¹⁶⁹ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁰ Goodrick-Clarke, 'Hermeticism and Hermetic Societies', p. 552.

¹⁷¹ Gilbert, 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn', in *DGWE*, pp. 544-550 (pp. 544-5).

¹⁷² William Wynn Westcott, 'Historical Lecture', p. 99.

Chapter 3: The Golden Dawn of Enochian Magic in the Modern Era

This chapter will examine the transmission of Enochian Angel Magic through the Golden Dawn and those groups it directly influenced. The complex hoaxes involving Anna Sprengel,¹ Mather's unveiling of Westcott's 'deception', and the detailed reasons for and ramifications of the schisms of the Golden Dawn in 1900 have all been well-documented by Howe, Gilbert, and others. The overview of this chapter's examination will be based on the historical transmission of Golden Dawn practice to Regardie's publication of the ritual documents of the Stella Matutina.

Enochian Magic and the Golden Dawn System

Westcott, Mathers, and Woodman, acting 'as co-equal' Chiefs according to Westcott,² opened 'the Isis-Urania Temple No. 3, of the Order of the G.D. in the Outer' on March 1st, 1888 and had seven members initiated as Neophytes by the end of the month (four men and three women).³ After the first year, the Order numbered sixty members between three temples (fifty-one men and nine women).⁴ Despite his claim of 'co-equality' among the Chiefs, it was Westcott who ran the Golden Dawn in its early years.⁵ His initial intent for the Order was for it to be a Rosicrucian-modeled society purposed with the study of 'classical medieval occult science', as Westcott put it.⁶ Westcott's Rosicrucian influences were exemplified in the reading of his *Man, Miracle, Magic* to the members of the Isis Temple, where he took to heart the definition of magic

¹ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 28.

² Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 34.

³ Gilbert, 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn', in *DGWE*, pp. 546.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 34.

⁶ Ibid.

from the preface of the *Lemegeton*.^{7 8} In *Man, Miracle, Magic*, he elevated the Rosicrucian Adept of the spiritual wisdom taught by the Golden Dawn beyond that of Spiritualist mediums.⁹

In this era, the document known as *Book H* marks the beginning of the Golden Dawn's involvement with Dee's Angel Magic. The contents of *Book H* are an eclectic selection from Sloane MS 307 that Westcott, Ayton, Frederick Leigh Gardner (1857-1930), and Allan Bennett (1872-1923) all had access to.¹⁰ Authorship is unknown. *Book H* is mainly derived from Dee's Great Table¹¹ that is used to generate the angels' names in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii*.¹² Note the following paragraph from *Book H*:

The name of this Great Angelical and Mighty Angel, or King of ye Easy BATAIVAH upon whom all the Angels and Spirits of the Four Lesser Angles attend and give obedience, call forth the forerecited Six Seniors, whose offices are to give Scientium Rerum Humanorum et Judicium according to the nature of their parts.¹³

However, the name BATAIVA or BATAIVH, as used in Dee's *Liber Scientiae Auxilii*, is an angelic 'Name of God' with the power to command the six senior angels of the East, not the name of an angel in particular as stated above.¹⁴ Taking the aforementioned into account the next paragraph provides a curiosity:

Now for the Sixteen Servient Angels next in order under the Six seniors in the easter Quadrangle. Their names may be collected and composed out of each lesser Angle attendant on the greater Angle thus: - In the uppermost Angle attendant on the left of this Quadrangle there is a small Cross of black

⁷ 'Preface', in *The Lesser Key of Solomon*, p. 3.

⁸ Westcott, 'Man, Miracle, Magic: From the Ancient Rosicrucian Dogmata', in *The Magical Mason: Forgotten Hermetic Writings of William Wynn Westcott, Physician and Magus* (Wellingborough, UK: The Aquarian Press, 1983), pp. 66-70.

⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁰ Skinner and Rankine, pp. 49-50.

¹¹ 'Angel Magic from Alan Bennett's Magical Diary', in *Practical Angel Magic of Dr John Dee's Enochian Tables*, pp. 271-81 (p. 272).

¹² The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee, pp. 117-21.

¹³ 'Angel Magic from Alan Bennett's Magical Diary', p. 272.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 122.

letters whose perpendicular lyne goeth upwards [...] making the name of God Idoigo the which is used to call forth ye subsequent good Angels, who are attendant next in order under those Sixteen Angels next succeeding the Six Seniors according to their graduation.¹⁵

Book H gives an explanation of God Names in complete conformity to Dee's usage of God Names in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii*.¹⁶ Due to the eclectic nature of *Book H* and its usage of Dee's angel magic, it is difficult to conjecture what purpose the assignment of 'BATAIVAH' as an angel served, but alterations and unique interpretations of Dee's material are a hallmark of the Golden Dawn's use of Enochian and angel magic.

Westcott and Mathers' Enochian Chess is a fine example of the inventive usage of Enochian angel magic.¹⁷ Originally called 'Rosicrucian Chess', Enochian Chess again utilized Dee's Great Table, but this time as a chess board.¹⁸ Chaturaji, an Indian game of four-handed chess that used dice, is the most likely source of inspiration for the four-handed style of play exhibited in Enochian Chess.¹⁹ Frederic Villot's short tract on the Kabbalistic and astronomical sources of chess also asserts that the game had been invented by Egyptian priests.²⁰ This is fascinating due to the overtly Egyptian appearances of the chessmen in Enochian Chess.²¹ The possible existence of chess suggested in hieroglyphics discovered in Luxor, Thebes, and Palmyra of origins pre-

¹⁵ Angel Magic from Alan Bennett's *Magical Diary*, p. 272.

¹⁶ *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 128.

¹⁷ Chris Zalewski, *Enochian Chess of the Golden Dawn* (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1994), pp. 4-5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁹ Nichols, pp. 95-9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²¹ Chris Zalewski, pp. 33-79.

dating ancient Rome lend possibility to this conjecture, especially if Alexander the Great ever chanced across Chess in his travels through India and Persia.²²

Enochian Chess was intentionally rife with elemental and astrological correspondences in order to train those who had achieved the rank of Zelator Adeptus Minor and act as a means of divination²³ in the secretive Second Order of the Golden Dawn, the Ordo Roseae Rubeae at Aureae Crucis.²⁴ The four quadrants of Dee's great table were assigned elements and referred to as the 'Four Angelic Watchtowers' and 'Elemental Tablets'.²⁵ The elements naturally correspond to the four winds as given in *Book H*,²⁶ the four elemental triplicities of the Zodiac, and the four seasons.²⁷ As Israel Regardie reflects:

[T]he actual documents on the subject that were shown to me were vague and obviously incomplete, giving no indication as to the true nature of this matter. No doubt it was intended, by those who wrote the papers and devised the system, that the Adept should apply his own ingenuity to the bare-bones provided of the game, and formulate from that skeleton outline, as from the Enochian Tablets themselves, a complete system of initiation, and a profound magical philosophy.²⁸

Regardie described the usage of the elemental colors (Yellow/Air, Red/Fire, Blue/Water, Black/Earth)²⁹ to create a 'Flashing Tablet', or a talismanic game board constructed of pyramids.³⁰ Each of the four Elemental Tablets is given correspondences

²² George Walker, 'Chess in the East', in *The Chess Player's Chronicle* (London: R. Hastings, 1844), IV, pp. 180-8 (p. 184), <<http://books.google.com/books?id=h3wEAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 27 August 2011].

²³ Steve Nichols, *Enochian Chess: Book One*, p. 12.

²⁴ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 75-87.

²⁵ Chris Zalewski, pp. 6-9.

²⁶ Angel Magic from Alan Bennett's *Magical Diary*, in *Practical Angel Magic of Dr John Dee's Enochian Tables*, pp. 271-81.

²⁷ Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 257-9.

²⁸ Regardie, p. 683.

²⁹ Steve Nichols, p. 141.

³⁰ Regardie, p. 684.

through association with the Tetragrammaton (YHVH, the Hebrew four-lettered name of God), which is applied like a grid to each Elemental Tablet with each Hebrew letter given astrological and elemental significance.³¹ The complexity of the correspondences is increased through the division of every square into four triangles, or a ‘pyramid’, with each triangle bears a different elemental color based on its placement on the board.³² The top triangle is assigned a Tarot trump, the right triangle a Geomantic figure,³³ the bottom triangle bears the Hebrew letter corresponding to the Tarot trump, and the left bearing a zodiacal or elemental attribution based on its position in relationship to the Tetragrammaton grid.³⁴ That the basis of this game is the Great Table of Dee used as a game board makes each square a talisman containing a dizzying array of correspondences.

Enochian angel magic was also attributed to spiritual alchemy, which has already been illustrated in this dissertation as a hallmark of Rosicrucianism. Mary Anne Atwood is credited with providing the foundations for the spiritual alchemy of the Golden Dawn with her book *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery* (1850).³⁵

Atwood’s alchemy took a note from Eliphas Lévi in equating Mesmer’s experiments with animal magnetism as a lesser manifestation of the ‘astral light’:

The philosophical stone, the universal medicine, the transmutation of metals, the quadrature of the circle, and the secret of perpetual motion, are thus neither mystifications of science nor dreams of madness. [...] [T]here exists in nature a force which is immeasurably more powerful than steam, and by means of which a single man, who knows how to adapt and direct it, might upset and alter the face of the world. [...] This agent, which barely manifests under the uncertain methods of Mesmer’s

³¹ Chris Zalewski, pp. 26-30.

³² Ibid., pp. 29-30.

³³ Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 398-99.

³⁴ Chris Zalewski, pp. 26-30.

³⁵ Mark S. Morisson, *Modern Alchemy: Occultism and the Emergence of Atomic Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 35.

followers, is precisely that which the adepts of the middle ages denominated the first matter of the great work.³⁶

Here follows an example of Atwood's account of Mesmerism and alchemy:

We pray the liberal reader to reflect, therefore, and link his imagination to the probabilities of reason, and ponder on the testimony of experience, and believe that Mesmerism, as it is mechanically practiced in the present day, is a first step indeed, and this only before the entrance of that glorious temple of Divine Wisdom which a more scientific Handicraft enabled the ancients experimentally to enter, and from its foundation build up, as it were, a crystalline edifice of Light and Truth.³⁷

Gilbert succinctly stated the goal of Atwood's alchemy 'was to attain a form of exalted mesmeric trance through which enlightenment can come upon one'. Atwood's book was initially suppressed by her father, Thomas South, who decided the world was not ready for her great revelation; it was not to be reprinted until 1918, after Atwood's death.³⁸ The limited availability of the *Suggestive Inquiry* likely made it desirable for collectors of occult texts, such as members of the Golden Dawn.³⁹ Naturally, the alchemist member of the Golden Dawn, Rev. William Alexander Ayton, gained access to a copy.

On March 27, 1890, Ayton exhibited his familiarity with the *Suggestive Inquiry* in his letter to Frederick Leigh Gardner recommending the book to him, though he warned him that it would be difficult to obtain.⁴⁰ Ayton was a laboratory alchemist who kept his lab underneath his house to prevent the bishop from finding it.⁴¹

³⁶ Eliphas Lévi, *Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual*, trans. by Arthur Edward Waite (London: George Redway, 1896), p. 13.

³⁷ Mary Anne Atwood, *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1850), p. 500, <<http://www.archive.org/details/suggestiveinquir00atwo>> [accessed 27 August 2011].

³⁸ Ellic Howe, *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn: The Letters of the Revd W.A. Ayton to F.L. Gardner and Others 1886-1905*, edited by Ellic Howe (Wellingborough, UK: The Aquarian Press, 1985), p. 50.

³⁹ Morisson, pp. 35-6.

⁴⁰ William Alexander Ayton, '27 March 1890', in *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 50-1.

⁴¹ Morrison, p. 42.

Ayton joined the Golden Dawn at the age of seventy-two in 1888 and had a great many connections.⁴² He was a friend of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and supporter of her Theosophical Society, a Freemason, the grand master of the North of the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor,⁴³ and may have been acquainted with Lévi in the 1860s.⁴⁴ Despite his sincere respect for the Theosophical Society, Ayton gave high praise to the Golden Dawn in a letter of congratulations to Gardner on ascending to the Second Order:

We beg to congratulate you on your advancement to 5 = 6. Most certainly this Order gives you much more of the practical working of the Occult than the T[h eosophical) S[ociety], and is really the best aid to the TS.⁴⁵

Ayton privately instructed Second Order Adepts on the practice of alchemy⁴⁶ and he voiced his belief in the reality of both a physical and a spiritual alchemy.⁴⁷ Ayton was known to have been very interested in John Dee, as evidenced in his translation of Thomas Smith's *Life of John Dee* (originally published in 1707; 1908 by Ayton).⁴⁸ He attempted to apply Enochian angel invocations to alchemy, and that notion seems to have been reflected in later Golden Dawn practice.⁴⁹ Regardie's accounts of the Golden Dawn tradition (as derived from Dr. Robert Felkin's Golden Dawn splinter organization,

⁴² Ibid., p. 41.

⁴³ John Patrick Deveney, *Paschal Beverly Randolph: A Nineteenth-Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian, and Sex Magician* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 255, <http://books.google.com/books?id=mEGaU3Yaxs4C&source=gb_s_navlinks_s> [accessed 29 August 2011].

⁴⁴ Morrison, p. 41.

⁴⁵ Ayton, '5 April 1895', in *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn*, p. 81-2.

⁴⁶ Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 123-4, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=rQYaGEBuRHYC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 29 August 2011].

⁴⁷ Ayton, '17 May 1890', in *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 56-7.

⁴⁸ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, pp. 55-6.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

the Order of the Stella Matutina)⁵⁰ appear to illustrate the mingling of both practical and spiritual alchemy into a single, ritualistic, magical act of an indefinite span of time:

Now let the matter putrefy in the Balneum Mariae in a very gentle heat, until darkness beginneth to supervene; and even until it becometh entirely black. If from its nature the mixture will not admit of entire blackness, examine it astrally till there is the astral appearance of the thickest possible darkness, and thou mayest also evoke an elemental form to tell thee if the blackness be sufficient. But be thou sure that in this latter thou **art** not deceived, seeing that the nature of such an elemental will be deceptive from the nature of the symbol of Darkness, wherefore ask thou of him nothing *further* concerning the working at this stage but only concerning the blackness, and this can be further tested by the elemental itself, which should be either black or clad in an intensely black robe. (Note, for this evocation, use the names, etc., of Saturn.) When the mixture be sufficiently black, then take the curcubite out of the Balneum Mariae and place it to the North of the Altar and perform over it a solemn invocation of the forces of Saturn to act therein; holding the wand by the black band, then say: "The voice of the Alchemist" etc. The curcubite is then to be unstopped and the Alembic Head fitted on for purposes of distillation. (Note: In all such invocations a flashing tablet should be used whereon to stand the curcubite. Also certain of the processes may take weeks, or even months to obtain the necessary force, and this will depend on the Alchemist rather than on the matter.)⁵¹

Note the use of directions, 'Flashing Tablets', astrological correspondences, and the Classical elements. All of these factors have already been exemplified in the game of Enochian Chess, save for the actual use of invocations. This act is clearly derived from the Zelator Adeptus Minor ritual of initiation, invocations, evocations of spirits talismanic implements, and the attention to the cardinal directions.⁵² Here follows a section of the Adeptus Minor ritual:

Before the Door of the Tomb, as symbolic Guardians, are the Elemental Tablets, and the Kerubic Emblems, even as before the mystical Gate of Eden stood the watchful Kerubim, and the Sword of Flame. These Kerubic Emblem be the powers of the Angles of the Tablets. The Circle represents the four Angles bound together in each Tablet through the operation of the all-pervading Spirit, while the Cross within forms with its spokes the Wheels of Ezekiel's Vision; and therefore are the Cross and the

⁵⁰ Gilbert, 'Stella Matutina', in *DGWE*, pp. 1091-3.

⁵¹ Regardie, p. 395.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 221-47.

Circle white to represent the purity of the Divine Spirit. And inasmuch as we do not find the Elements unmixed, but each bound together with each - so that in the Air we find not only that which is subtle and tenuous, but also the qualities of heat, moisture and dryness, bound together in that all-wandering Element; and further also that in Fire, Water and Earth we find the same mixture of Nature - therefore the Four Elements are bound to each Kerubic Emblem counterchanged with the colour of the Element wherein they operate; even as in the Vision of Ezekiel each Kerub had four faces and four wings. Forget not therefore that the Tablets and the Kerubim are the Guardians of the Tomb of the Adepti. Let thy tongue keep silence on our mysteries. Restrain even the thought of thy heart lest a bird of the air carry the matter.⁵³

Note the attribution of angels and the Kabbalistic application of the numbers of faces and wings granting a magical cohesion to the symbolism of the Elemental Tablets. These two examples provide an interesting contrast to the ‘addressative’ magic of Dee. Golden Dawn alchemy notes the length of time dependent on the will of the ‘addressee’, and the Adeptus Minor ritual focuses on the instruments and the roles of the ‘addressees’ more than the angels.⁵⁴ Rosicrucianism inspired the internal transmutation to such a degree that the angels and spirits as presented in Regardie’s text can be argued to be manifestations of the mind of the ‘addressee’, and thus a ‘nonaddressitive’ form of magic. In the case of the Golden Dawn, rather than being ‘astrological images’, as Weill-Parot uses in his example of ‘nonaddressative’ magic, the images and talismans are arguable inner alchemical images that serve as focuses of the mind to assist in inner transmutation.⁵⁵ The success of external alchemy in Regardie’s *Golden Dawn* was secondary to the success of the inner transmutation.⁵⁶ As Ayton relates in a letter:

I have just had a letter from my most learned friend [unidentified], saying that he is more and more convinced that one must first attain to *Spiritual* Adeptship, before you can get the Physical Adeptship of [alchemical] Transmutation. I think I have evidence to the contrary, but I should not like to set my

⁵³ Ibid., p. 233.

⁵⁴ Weill-Parot, p. 169.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 176.

⁵⁶ Regardie, pp. 399-400.

opinion against that of a man who, in addition to a natural genius for the Occult, has been at it since childhood, has the best books and MSS, and knows the whole subject.⁵⁷

Ayton's letter gives evidence to the idea that it was not merely a Golden Dawn notion that the alchemical process within was the primary focus, but that it was an attitude of the esotericism of the modern era. Where the Renaissance man, John Dee, had sought to understand the Book of Nature, it seems the modern man sought to understand the Book of Man.

Returning to the Zelator Adeptus Minor ritual, the clear influences of Rosicrucianism based on its reenactment of the discovery of Christian Rosencreutz's vault and the further addition of his resurrection are fully illustrated.⁵⁸ The link between Dee and Rosicrucianism remained unbroken. The role of Dee's angel magic was not central to the Golden Dawn practice, as its usage has been greatly expanded beyond what is contained in Dee's surviving writings. Instead, Westcott and Mathers likely saw the potential for correspondences contained within Dee's work and used it to further deepen and enrich the rituals and practices, much like Dee used the *Sigillum Dei Aemeth* to enrich and focus his communication with the angels. This enrichment of Golden Dawn rituals was passed to Dr. Robert Felkin (1853-1926).

Felkin joined the Golden Dawn in 1894 and was initiated into the Second Order in 1896.⁵⁹ Felkin attributed his success to his connection with the Secret Chiefs (who he later contacted through the 'Sun Masters')⁶⁰ of the Third Order, and successfully convinced John William Brodie-Innes (1848-1923) of this contact as evidenced in a

⁵⁷ Ayton, '17 May 1890', in *The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 56-7.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 233.

⁵⁹ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 240.

⁶⁰ Christina Stoddart, *Light-Bearers of Darkness* (London: Boswell Printing & Publishing, 1930), pp. 87-8.

letter Felkin received from him in 1902.⁶¹ In the same year, Felkin produced a proposal of reform for the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn that would do away with the name and have the Second Order be transformed into ‘a centre or common meeting ground for students interested in all branches of the occult sciences’ devoid of any grades or further teaching.⁶² The First Order grades were to serve as tests to provide access to this ‘common meeting ground’ and those members of ‘kindred occult societies’ could be conferred the grade of 5=6 to achieve immediate access to this meeting ground.⁶³ In many ways, Felkin’s proposal for the Second Order resembled the Rosicrucian-inspired societies such as the Invisible College and the Royal Society; the proposal presented a place to exchange ideas for the advancement of man.

In 1903, Felkin’s proposal was rejected, but following a chaotic meeting that sought to place Brodie-Innes as its new Chief, Arthur Edward Waite proposed that the order was of a mystical rather than occult nature and that all others who disagreed were free to leave.⁶⁴ According to Felkin:

[A] split occurred, as Waite and his followers denied the existence of the Third Order, refused to have examinations in the inner, objected to all occult work, and said they must work upon purely mystic lines.⁶⁵

The meeting descended into chaos and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was dissolved.⁶⁶ Three splinters resulted: Arthur Edward Waite retained the original Isis-Urania Temple in London focusing on the ‘mystical’ nature of the Golden Dawn, Brodie-Innes took the Amen-Ra Temple focusing on Golden Dawn’s ‘occult’ nature,

⁶¹ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 240.

⁶² Ibid., p. 241.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ Stoddart, p. 86.

⁶⁶ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 44.

and Felkin founded a new branch named the Order of the Stella Matutina with the Amoun Temple in London.⁶⁷ The Stella Matutina is the ultimate source from which Israel Regardie's influential information on Golden Dawn rituals chiefly derives, and so this dissertation shall focus on the Stella Matutina as the historical inheritor of the legacy of the Golden Dawn.⁶⁸

The Stella Matutina was founded under the auspices of Felkin's Sun Masters, who were members of 'the Sun Order', the same order the Secret Chiefs belonged to.⁶⁹ Felkin's method of contact and the reception of orders came in the form of automatic writing, and his order likewise took a neither an occult nor mystic focus, but rather one of astral fantasy that took Westcott's creation of the Secret Chiefs literally.⁷⁰ Felkin was not alone in his support of the existence of the Secret Chiefs. Brodie-Innes also instructed his members on the reality of the Sun Masters, though where Brodie-Innes merely wished to return to Mathers' notions of the Secret Chiefs, Felkin wanted to physically find them.⁷¹

Conveniently, Dr. Felkin made psychic contact with the 'Arab Teacher' he called 'Ara Ben Shemesh'.⁷² This Arab readily states he came:

[...] from 'The Temple in the Desert,' and those who live there are the 'Sons of Fire.' There are three *ranks-Neophytes or Catechumens*; the Accepted and Proven; and the Indwellers. The last are those we call Masters. They live in personal communion with the Divine (deified), and being no longer bound in the flesh (liberated) their material life is entirely a matter of will. So long as they are required as teachers, so long may they continue to inhabit the earthly tabernacle. When they have completed their task they have only to cease to will and they will dematerialise. Christian Rosenkreutz came to us and

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 69-76.

⁶⁸ Gilbert, 'Stella Matutina', in *DGWE*, p. 1093.

⁶⁹ Stoddart, p. 87.

⁷⁰ Gilbert, 'Stella Matutina', in *DGWE*, p. 1091.

⁷¹ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 255.

⁷² Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 44.

learnt much. From us he took the letters C.R., the true interpretation is one of the great mysteries of the Universe.⁷³

Felkin became enamored with Rudolph Steiner (1861-1925) after meeting him in Germany in 1910, possibly believing him to be part of an inner, secret order connected with original, German Rosicrucianism.⁷⁴ This spurred a series of events where Felkin attempted to make contact with this supposed Rosicrucian order. Felkin sent Neville Meakin, a member of the Stella Matutina sent under the guidance of Ara Ben Shemesh, to speak with Steiner again.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, Meakin died on the return trip (a pilgrimage meant intended to repeat Christian Rosencreutz's journeys as outlined in the *Fama*) in 1912.⁷⁶ The same year, Felkin received the approval of Ara Ben Shemesh to travel to meet with Steiner himself.⁷⁷ The results of his visit to Germany were extraordinary.

In June and July 1912 Frater F.R. and Sarar Q.L. were able to go to Germany, and altogether visited five Rosicrucian Temples in different parts of the Continent, and- were initiated themselves, Sorar Q.L. obtaining grades equivalent to our 7=4 and Frater F.R. 8=3. ... The rituals not being in MS. form, they are memorised.⁷⁸

Felkin claimed to have met with a Rosicrucian Order in Germany that confirmed the identity of a real Anna Sprengel, the same name as the supposed Secret Chief that had given Westcott permission to found the first temple of the Golden Dawn.⁷⁹ On this matter, Howe personally admitted:

⁷³ Stoddart, p. 90.

⁷⁴ Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, p. 264.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 265.

⁷⁸ Stoddart, p. 91.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 264-8.

None of my German friends who are interested in these matters has been able to identify a contemporary Rosicrucian Society in Germany. And once again I believe that Felkin simply let his imagination run away with him.⁸⁰

Eventually, Felkin succeeded in untangling himself from the politics of Waite and Brodie-Innes to more closely embrace his imaginary world of Sun Masters and mighty Rosicrucian orders. In 1916, he moved with his family to New Zealand to the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple he had previously founded in 1912.⁸¹ Apparently, Felkin was not the only one wishing to live in a fantastic astral world; Smaragdum Thalasses served as the center of the Stella Matutina for the next fifty years, maintaining its presence in England through the Amoun Temple in London and the Hermes Temple in Bristol.⁸²

Israel Regardie (1907-1985) joined the Hermes Temple of the Stella Matutina in 1934, where he took it upon himself to break the secrecy of the Golden Dawn and make its materials available publicly from 1936-1940, thus assuring the Golden Dawn and the legacy of Enochian angel magic to the New Age would be made possible.⁸³

_____After Regardie published Golden Dawn materials, former Golden Dawn member, Aleister Crowley (1875-1947), released his own expanded usage of Dee's angel magic in *The Vision and the Voice*, which included the Enochian Keys that he called the 'Cries of the Thirty Aethyrs'.⁸⁴ Crowley had entered the Golden Dawn in 1898 and advanced quickly through the ranks, but was halted from ascending to the

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Gilbert, 'Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn', in *DGWE*, p. 550.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Gilbert, 'Stella Matutina', in *DGWE*, p. 1093.

⁸⁴ Aleister Crowley, *LIBER XXX AERUM: Vel Saecvli Svb Figvra CCCCXVIII - Being of the Angels of the 30 Aethyrs - The Vision and the Voice*, ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], [n.d.]), <<http://hermetic.com/crowley/the-vision-and-the-voice/>> [accessed 30 August 2011].

Second Order due to his deviant proclivities.⁸⁵ He left the Golden Dawn in 1900 and went on to create his own Order of the Silver Star,⁸⁶ based on the philosophy he called 'Thelema' which he received from a daemon he called 'Aiwass'.⁸⁷

Dee's 'Key of the Thirty Ayres' was an oration of comparable length to each of the eighteen Enochian Keys that had preceded it.⁸⁸ To say that Crowley expanded the Key of the Thirty Ayres is an understatement. Dee's Key merely consisted of an oration wherein the name of the Ayre invoked was inserted into one static oration.⁸⁹ Each of the Thirty Ayres was given dominion over three parts of the geography of the earth, ninety-one parts in total (the Ayre TEX has dominion over four parts), as given in the *Liber Scientiae Auxilii*.⁹⁰

Crowley's *Vision and the Voice* mirrors Dee's format of a personal journal. According to Crowley's account, his astral journey through each of the Ayres (or 'Aethyr', as Crowley refers to them) took place on December 19, 1909 from 1:30 - 3:30 p.m. Crowley's ascent of the Aethyrs bears a thematic resemblance to the ascent through the spheres presented in the *Corpus Hermeticum*⁹¹, the opening of the Forty-Nine Gates of Understanding, and the ability of man to ascend the Great Chain of Being (the latter two discussed in Chapter 1).

⁸⁵ Owen, 'The Sorcerer and His Apprentice: Aleister Crowley and the Magical Exploration of Edwardian Subjectivity', in *The Journal of British Studies* (1997), 36: 1, 99-133 (p. 103), <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/175904>> [accessed 25 August 2010].

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Marco Pasi, 'Aleister Crowley', in *DGWE*, pp. 281-7 (p. 282).

⁸⁸ *The Enochian Evocation of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 65-102.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 96-102.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 103-15.

⁹¹ *The Way of Hermes*, pp. 22-3.

While Dee's Key of the Thirty Ayres was a contiguous part of his vast angelic cosmos with the ultimate goal of imparting the Book of Nature to him, Crowley neatly cut away the tethers of Dee's goals and replaced them with his own intents for Thelema.

In his Cry of the Thirtieth Aethyr, Crowley clearly drew on his Golden Dawn knowledge in his clear reference to the four cardinal directions and the angels that rule them.⁹² The Cry of the First and final Aethyr, LIL, contains powerful imagery that conjures the Tarot, chessmen, the signs of the zodiac, Egyptian ideas, and directly references the 'Rose and Cross':

Thou shalt laugh at the folly of the fool. Thou shalt learn the wisdom of the Wise. And thou shalt be initiate in holy things. And thou shalt be learned in the things of love. And thou shalt be mighty in the things of war. And thou shalt be adept in things occult. And thou shalt interpret the oracles. And thou shalt drive all these before thee in thy car, and though by none of these canst thou reach up to me, yet by each of these must thou attain to me. And thou must have the strength of the lion, and the secrecy of the hermit. And thou must turn the wheel of life. And thou must hold the balances of Truth. Thou must pass through the great Waters, a Redeemer. Thou must have the tail of the scorpion, and the poisoned arrows of the Archer, and the dreadful horns of the Goat. And so shalt thou break down the fortress that guardeth the Palace of the King my son. And thou must work by the light of the Star and of the Moon and of the Sun, and by the dreadful light of judgment that is the birth of the Holy Spirit within thee. When these shall have destroyed the universe, then mayest thou enter the palace of the Queen my daughter. [...] And upon their breasts shall be the Rose and Cross of light and life, and in their hands the hermit's staff and lamp. Thus shall they set out upon the never-ending journey, each step of which is an unutterable reward. [...] FOR I AM HORUS, THE CROWNED AND CONQUERING CHILD, WHOM THOU KNEWEST NOT!⁹³

⁹² Crowley 'The Cry of the 30th Aethyr, Which is Called TEX', in *The Vision and the Voice*, <<http://hermetic.com/crowley/the-vision-and-the-voice/aetyr30.html>> [accessed 3 September 2011].

⁹³ Crowley, 'The Cry of the 1st Aethyr, Which is Called LIL', in *he Vision and the Voice*, <<http://hermetic.com/crowley/the-vision-and-the-voice/aetyr1.html>> [accessed 3 September 2011].

Crowley's use of the Keys of the Thirty Ayres is arguably the final contribution of the modern era illustrating the usage of Enochian angel magic from a Rosicrucian, Golden Dawn source.

Conclusion

John Dee's practices with Edward Kelly were carried out in the hopes of creating a faith that would unite all of man, a *prisca theologia*. He integrated Greek wisdom, the finest science his age had to offer, and the learned esoteric insights of Marsilio Ficino, Johannes Reuchlin, and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

It is likely Dee never dreamed that a movement concerned with creating a utopia for man would adopt his *Monas Hieroglyphica* for its banner. The learned, Christian scholars of the seventeenth century such as Heinrich Khunrath, Adam Haslmayr, Johann Valentin Andreae, Samuel Hartlieb, and Amos Comenius who sought reform seemed to understand the sacred unity of Man and Nature that Dee's *Hieroglyphic Monad* represented. Those ideas were communicated to Elias Ashmole, who collected and maintained Dee's works for future scholars and esotericists to pore through.

The eighteenth century saw Rosicrucianism in Masonry serving as the torch that carried the flame of Dee's angel magic and philosophy, though with some assistance from the interest in crystal-gazing created by the Spiritualist movement. It was eventually delivered through Ebenezer Sibly and Francis Barrett to Frederick Hockley. Hockley and his friend Kenneth MacKenzie inspired the minds of William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers to create a movement that used John Dee's angel magic in documented practice again for the first time since Dee himself practiced it.

Revised and expanded, the Enochian system of the Golden Dawn flourished, guttered, and then died in 1972 when the Hermes Temple of the Order of the Stella Matutina—from whence the only known recordings of the Golden Dawn's rituals were first disseminated—was closed.¹ It seemed as though the Golden Dawn's ambition to

¹ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: Twilight of the Magicians*, p. 79.

create a *prisca theologia* had gotten lost somewhere between Secret Chiefs and internal politics.

And what of Dee's hopes for a faith to unite mankind? Thanks to Regardie's efforts in making the Golden Dawn's rituals available to the public, the interest in Enochian angel magic has been maintained. The popular movement known as Wicca also contains what it refers to as 'Watchtower' magic; a system that includes Golden Dawn practice as introduced by Gerald Gardner (1884-1964).² This 'Watchtower' magic uses the reference from the Book of Enoch³ and also notes the four angels of the presence.⁴ Wicca was brought to the United States by Raymond Buckland (1934-)⁵ who also incorporated the Watchtowers into his magic.⁶

While Watchtower magic is a mere iota of Dee's material that has survived into modern popular practice, it is a mystery perhaps guarded by the angels themselves as to what is to ultimately come of Dee's angel magic. When Dee was poor in both wealth and good spirits, the angel Raphael comforted him saying:

This God of his mercy hath sent me to deliver this short message, because of thy weakness, *Thou art not strong enough to indure them*, therefore such is God's goodness to let you understand that after the tenth day of April, I will then appear again, and thou shalt understand much more what God's will and his pleasure is to be done in God's services, and for your good, and so for this little short message I have declared unto you the will of Jesus Christ [...].⁷

² Gerald Gardner, 'The Initiation: First Degree', in *The Gardnerian Book of Shadows* (1949), <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/pag/gbos/gbos03.htm>> [accessed 30 August 2011].

³ 'Section 1 (Chapters I-XXXVI)', in *Book of Enoch*, pp. 57-105.

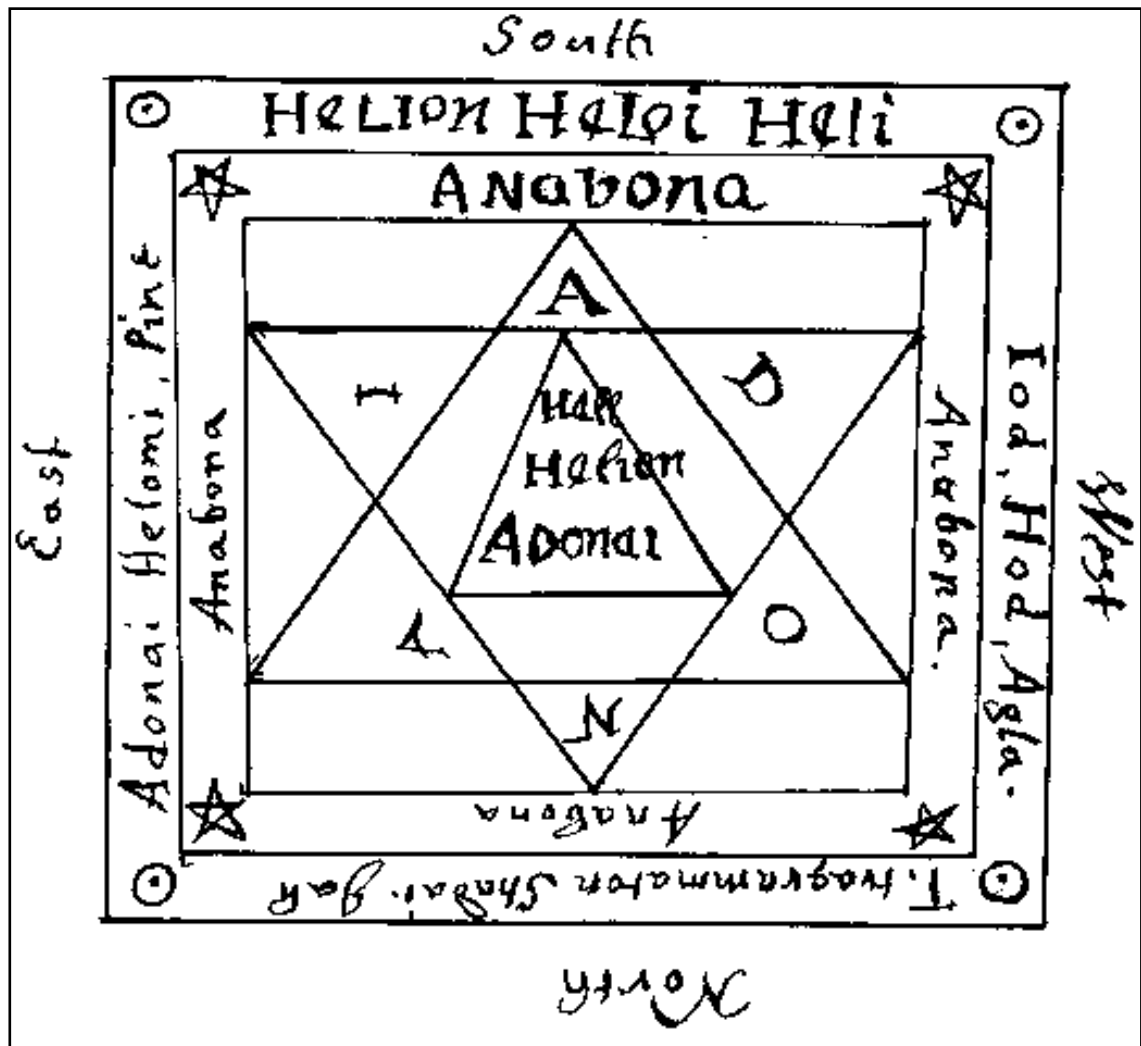
⁴ Margaret Barker, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (London: Holy Trinity Church, 1992), p. 84, <<http://books.google.com/books?id=y63GE5Tw3KMC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 30 August 2011].

⁵ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 85-6.

⁶ Raymond Buckland, 'Full Coven Initiation', in *Wicca for Life: The Way of the Craft - From Birth to Summerland* (New York: Kensington Publishing Group, 2001), pp. 285-92.

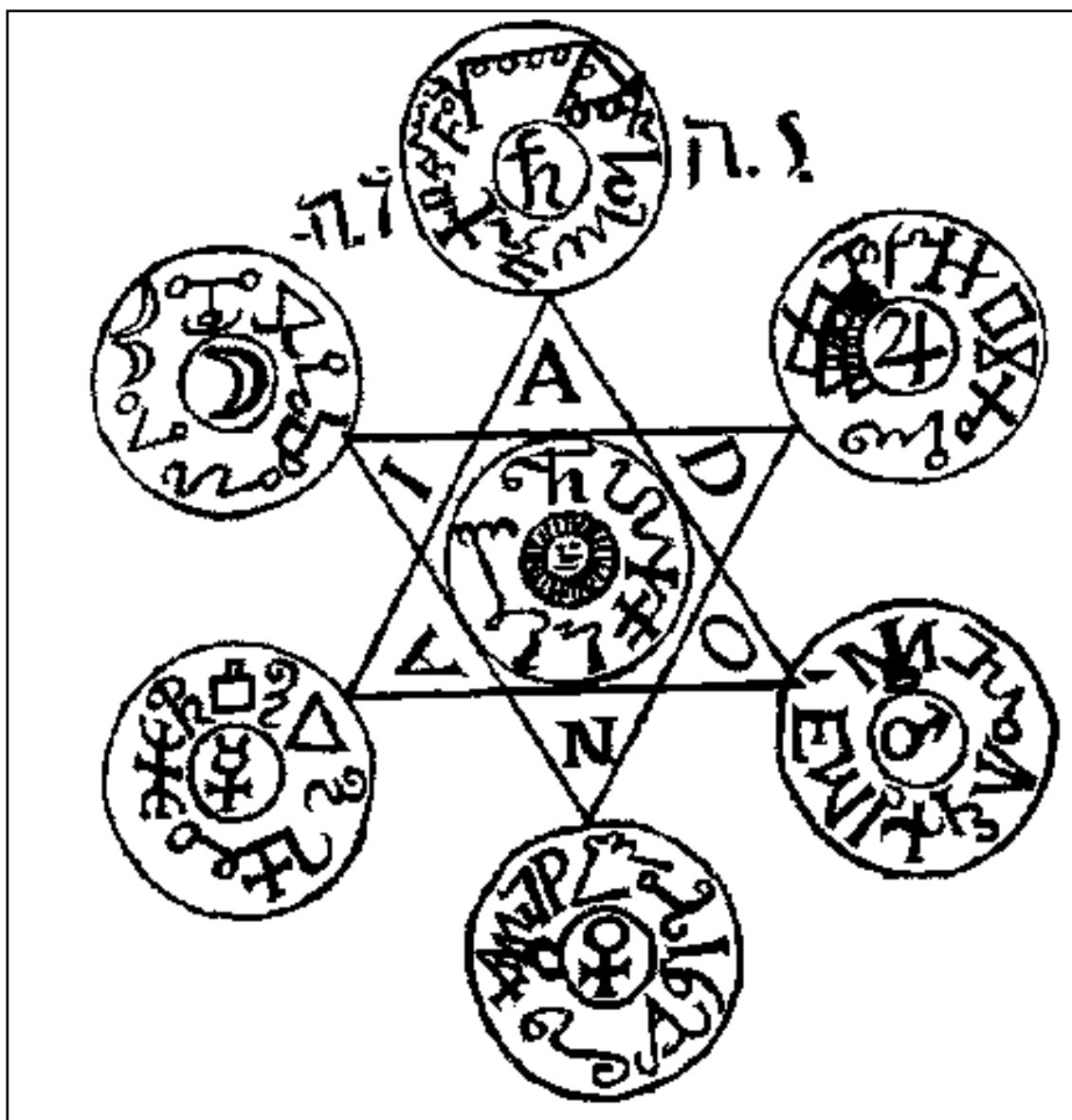
⁷ *TFR*, p. 480.

Even when things seemed low, the angels vowed in the name of Dee's savior that he would be made high again in God's services. Perhaps Dee's work is still not yet done. Recently, a great deal of research and writing has been done in the scholarly field that has made this dissertation possible. Perhaps it is the privilege of scholars to lift Dee's works and historical importance in Western civilization to a role of honor that he richly deserves.

Appendix

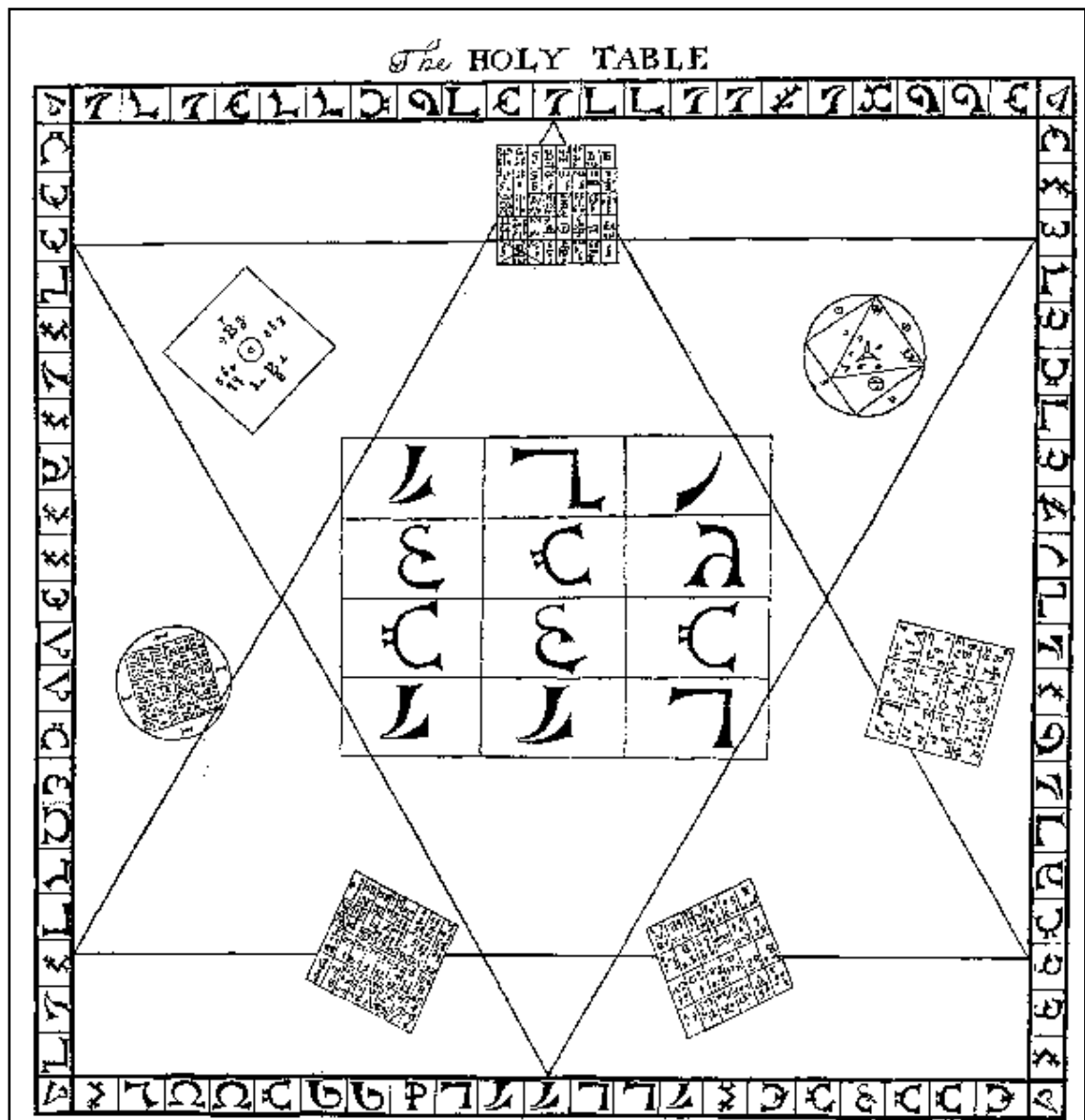
[Figure 1 - The Almadel, taken from *Ars Almadel*. Note the hexagram can be conceived of as six triangles with yet another triangle in the center.]¹

¹ 'Ars Almadel Salomonis', in *Lesser Key of Solomon*, ed. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p]:[n.pub.], 1999) <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/gifs/almadel.gif>> [accessed 12 July 2011].



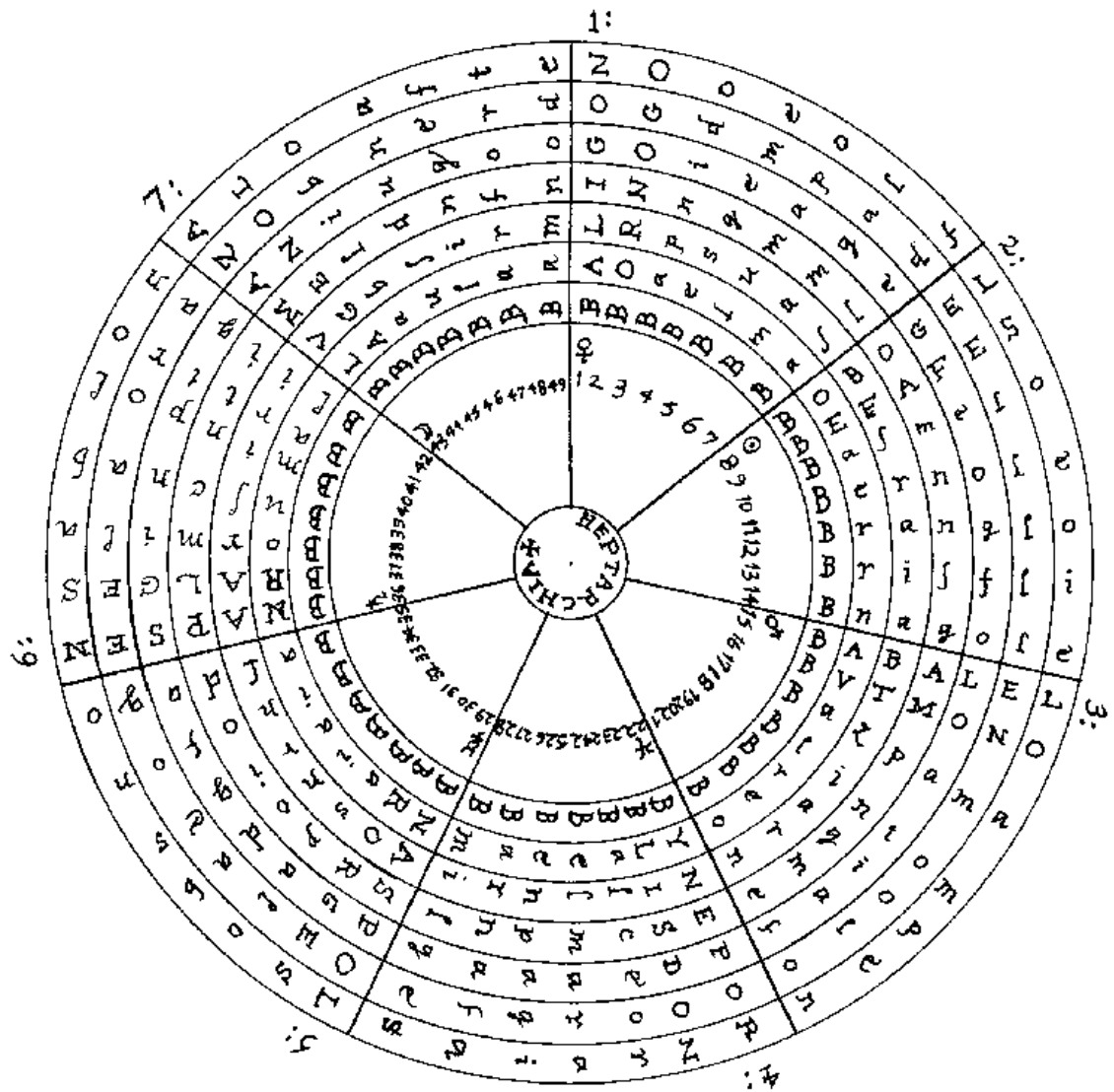
[Figure 2 - 'Table of Practice' from *Ars Paulina*.² Note the Hebrew name of God, 'Adonai', also in the triangles of the hexagram as in the *Ars Almadel*. The significance of the seven triangles in the *Almadel* is expanded to represent the seven classical planets, each represented with their classic signs and characters drawn from the *Magical Calendar* (see fig. 5; note the missing symbol the Sun in fig. 6).]

² 'Art Pauline of King Salomon', in *Lesser Key of Solomon*, ed. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p]:[n.pub.], 1999) <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/gifs/ap2.gif>> [accessed 12 July 2011].



[Figure 3 - John Dee's 'Holy Table' from the *True & Faithful Relation*.³ The seven talismans for the Ensigns of creation are arranged around the central table of enochian letters in the shape of a heptagram overlaying the hexagram.]

³ 'The Holy Table', in *TFR* ([n.p]:[n.pub.], 1999), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/dee/holytab.htm>> [accessed 12 July 2011].



[Figure 4 - *Tabula Angelorum Bonorum 49*.⁴ The first two angels listed in each septenary are the King and Prince, respectively. Note that each septenary of seven angels is ascribed to a planetary symbol.]

⁴ 'Tabula Angelorum Bonorum 49', in *De Heptarchia Mystica of Dr. John Dee*, ed. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p]:[n.pub.], 1999), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/dee/hm27b.gif>> [accessed 12 July 2011].

*Figure 5 - Sigils of the Planetary Angels from the Magical Calendar*⁵

This table has been muddled in the engraving: Raphael and Anael are reversed from the manuscript.

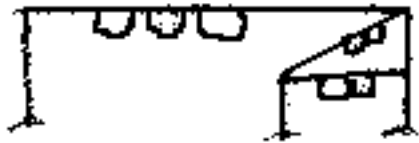

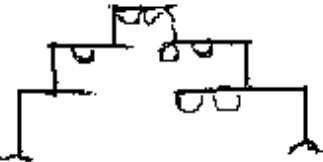











This is probably due to the fact that Sol/Raphael/Machen is split by the binding. The order shown here (Raphael/Sun and Michael/Mercury) agrees with *Liber Juratus Honorii* and *Raziel*. However, *Heptameron* and [Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*; Book 2, Chapter 10] both have Michael/Sun and Raphael/Mercury.⁶

		From Harl. 3420, [27v]	Engraving
♄	Cassiel Machator vel Araboth		
♅	Sachiel Zebul		
♆	Samael Machon		
♇	Raphael Machen		
♈	Anael Sagum		
♉	Michael Raquie		
♊	Gabriel Schamain. Cælum		

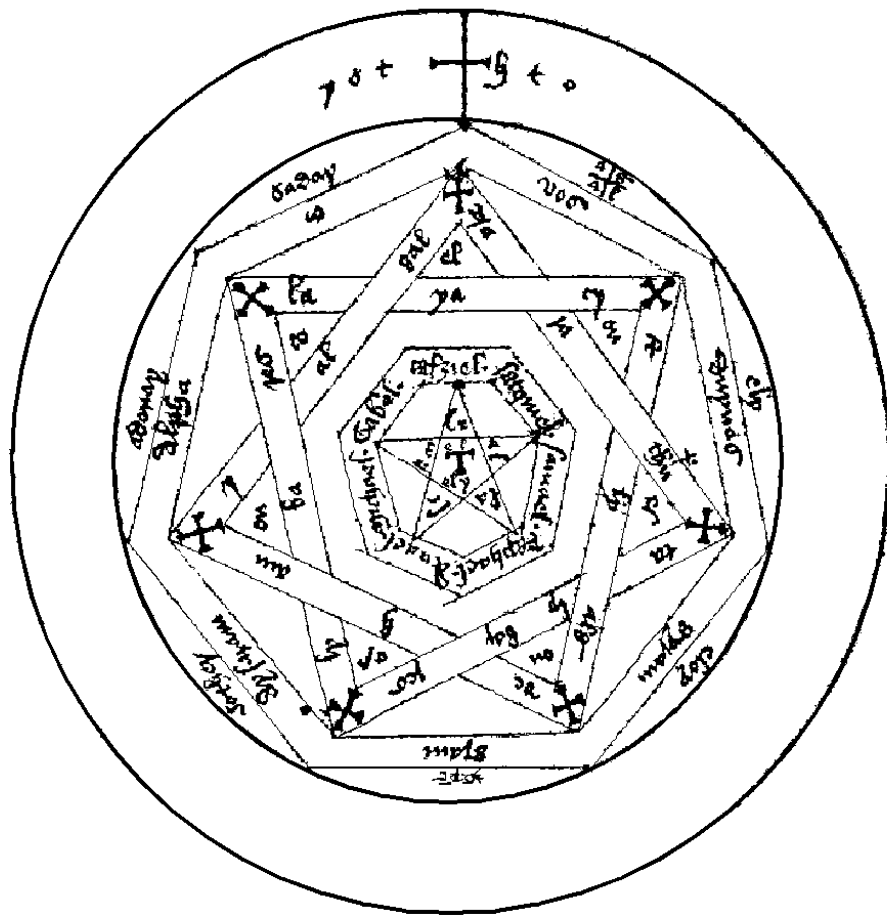
⁵ The Magical Calendar (Excerpts), ed. by Joseph Peterson ([n.p.]: [n.pub], [n.d.]), <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/mc/index.html>> [accessed 13 July 2011].

⁶ Ibid., (para. 7 of 9).

Figure 6 - Imagines from the Magical Calendar⁷

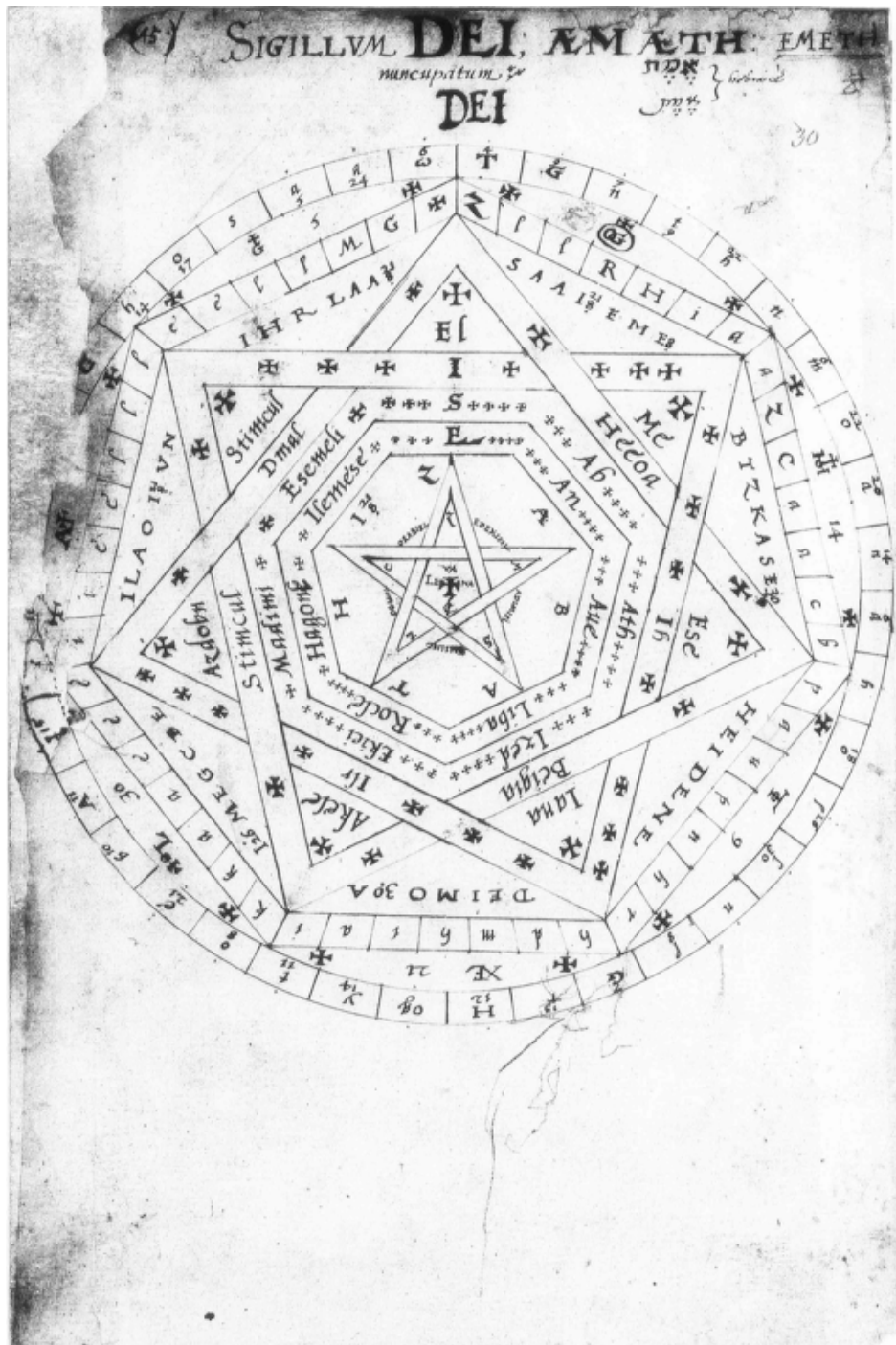
	From Harl. 3420, [27v]	Engraving
♄		
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⁷ Ibid.



[Figure 7 - The Sigillum Dei from Sloane MS 313 of *Liber Juratus*.]⁸

⁸ BL, Sloane MS 313, fol. 4., <<http://www.esotericarchives.com/juratus/aemeth2.gif>> [accessed 13 July 2011].



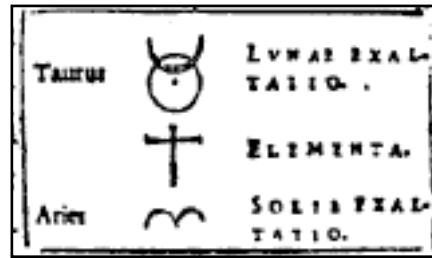
[Figure 8 - John Dee's *Sigillum Dei Aemeth*.⁹]

⁹ BL, Sloane MS 3188, fol. 30., <http://www.themagickalreview.org/enochian/mss/sloane_3188/img/29v-30r.jpg> [accessed 13 July 2011].

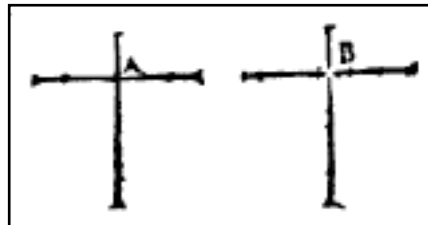
r	Z	i	l	a	f	A	y	t	l	p	a	e	T	a	O	A	d	v	p	t	D	n	i	m
a	r	d	Z	a	i	d	p	a	L	a	m		o	a	l	c	o	o	r	o	m	e	b	b
c	z	o	n	s	a	r	o	Y	a	u	b	x	T	a	g	c	o	n	z	i	n	l	G	m
T	o	i	T	t	x	o	P	a	c	o	C	a	n	h	o	d	D	i	a	l	a	a	o	c
S	i	g	a	s	o	n	r	b	z	n	h	r	f	a	t	A	x	i	v	V	s	P	s	N
f	m	o	n	d	a	T	d	i	a	r	i	p	S	a	a	i	z	a	a	r	V	r	o	i
o	r	o	i	b	A	h	a	o	s	p	i		m	p	h	a	r	s	l	g	a	i	c	h
c	N	a	b	a	V	i	x	g	a	z	d	h	M	a	m	g	l	o	i	n	L	i	r	x
O	i	i	i	t	T	p	a	l	O	a	i		o	l	a	a	D	a	g	a	T	a	p	a
A	b	a	m	o	o	a	C	u	c	a		C	p	a	L	c	o	i	d	x	P	a	c	n
N	a	o	c	O	T	t	n	p	r	a	T	o	n	d	a	z	N	z	i	V	a	a	s	a
o	c	a	n	m	a	g	o	t	r	o	i	m	i	i	d	P	o	n	s	d	A	s	p	i
S	h	i	a	l	r	a	p	m	z	o	x	a	x	r	i	n	h	t	a	r	n	d	i	L
m o t i b a T n a n												n a n T a b i t o m												
b	O	a	Z	a	R	o	p	h	a	R	a	a	d	o	n	p	a	T	d	a	n	V	a	a
u	N	n	a	x	o	P	S	o	n	d	n		o	l	o	a	G	e	o	o	b	a	v	a
a	i	g	r	a	n	o	a	m	a	g	g	m	O	P	a	m	n	o	O	G	m	d	n	m
o	r	p	m	n	i	n	g	b	e	a	l	o	a	b	l	s	T	e	d	e	c	a	o	p
r	s	O	n	i	z	i	r	l	e	m	u	C	s	c	m	i	a	o	n	A	m	l	o	x
i	z	i	n	r	C	z	i	a	M	h	l	h	V	a	r	s	G	d	L	b	r	i	a	p
M	O	r	d	i	a	l	h	C	t	G	a		o	i	P	t	e	a	a	p	D	o	c	e
R	O	c	a	m	c	h	i	a	s	o	m	p	p	s	v	a	c	n	r	Z	i	r	Z	a
A	r	b	i	z	m	i	i	l	p	i	z		S	i	o	d	a	o	i	n	r	z	f	m
O	p	a	n	a	B	a	m	S	m	a	L	r	d	a	l	t	T	d	n	a	d	i	r	e
d	O	l	o	F	i	n	i	a	n	b	a	a	d	i	x	o	m	o	n	s	i	o	s	p
r	x	p	a	o	c	s	i	z	i	x	p	x	O	o	D	p	z	i	A	p	a	n	l	i
a	x	t	i	r	V	a	s	t	r	i	m	e	r	g	o	a	n	n	P	A	C	r	a	r

[Figure 9 - The Great Table]¹⁰

¹⁰ Teresa Burns and J. Alan Moore, 'John Dee and Edward Kelley's Great Table, Part II (The Angelic Governors and Black Cross)', in *Journal of the Mystery Tradition* (2010), 19: 2, <<http://www.jwmt.org/v2n19/images/john/Lettered-and-Shaded-Great-Table.jpg>> [accessed 30 August 2010].



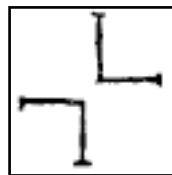
[Figure 10 - The Cross Representing the Elements]¹¹



[Figure 11 - The Ternary and Quaternary of the Cross]¹²



[Figure 12 - The Cross Divided: Perspective One]¹³



[Figure 13 - The Cross Divided: Perspective Two]¹⁴

¹¹ John Dee, '*Monas Hieroglyphica*', pp. 84-221 (p. 166).

¹² Ibid., p. 184.

¹³ Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

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[id=fGi2m7PnwkwC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=fGi2m7PnwkwC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false)> [accessed 23

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