# Sources on Late Neoplatonic Theurgy

(in English, with a few exceptions)

(including Hekate & the Chaldean Oracles, Hermes & the Hermetica, the Emperor Julian, Harran, the "end" of classical Paganism, and other related subjects)

(ver. 6.0)

Here are over 250 texts that I have found both accessible and informative. The list is by no means comprehensive, but offers introductory material on a wide-range of related subjects. The best introductions, IMHO – those that are *also* available at good book stores – are marked in **red**. Contact me if you have any questions or would like to examine copies, as all of the texts are in my library. I have much more available on each subject for those interested in deeper study. – DHF3@aol.com

Enjoy! ... Don Frew (02/21/10) (510) 524-2078 or DHF3@aol.com

# EGYPTIAN MAGIC RELATING TO LATER CLASSICAL THEURGY

- Boylan, Patrick, <u>Thoth: The Hermes of Egypt</u>, Oxford University Press, Oxford UK, 1922 (Lays the groundwork for the later "thrice-great" Thoth who becomes Hermes Trismegistus.
- Dieleman, Jacco, <u>Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translations in Egyptian Ritual</u>, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 2005
- Ritner, Robert Kriech, <u>The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice</u>, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago IL, 1993 (Too early for our period, but the definitive work on the subject and useful for comparison with later systems.)

### **EMPEDOCLES & THE ROOTS OF CLASSICAL MAGIC**

XXII No. 2, Mathesis Publications, Inc., Pittsburgh PA, 2002

Kingsley, Peter, "Empedocles and his Interpreters: The Four-Element Doxography", in

<u>Phronesis</u>, Vol. XXXIX No. 3, 1994
------, <u>Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and the Pythagorean</u>

<u>Tradition</u>, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995 (Revolutionary re-evaluation of the work of Empedocles, the role of magic in the birth of philosophy, and its influence down into the Arab world. Highly recommended.)
------, "Empedocles for the New Millennium", in <u>Ancient Philosophy</u>, Fall 2002, Vol.

# **LATE CLASSICAL MAGIC & RELIGION**

- Ankarloo, Bengt, and Clark, Stuart, eds., <u>Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome</u>, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999 (Part of a series. Good source book.)
- Armstrong, A.H., ed., <u>Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian/Greek/Roman</u>, Crossroad Publishing Company, New York NY, 1986 (Excellent collection of essays covering Classical spirituality, including Neoplatonism.)
- Brown, Peter, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", in <u>The Journal of Roman Studies</u>, Vol. LXI, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London, 1971
- Dickie, Matthew W., Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World, Routledge, Londo, 2001
- Faraone, Christopher, ed., <u>Magika Hiera</u>, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 1991 (Excellent anthology on ancient Greek magic & religion.)
- Fowden, Garth, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society", in <u>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>, Vol. CII, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London, 1982
- Godwin, David, <u>Light in Extension: Greek Magic from Homer to Modern Times</u>, Llewellyn Publications, St. Paul MN, 1992 (An attempt to update classical magical systems for modern practice.)
- Graf, Fritz, "The Magician's Initiation", in <u>Helios</u>, Vol. 21 No. 2, Texas Tech University Press, 1994
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J., "Sympathy or the Devil: Renaissance Magic and the Ambivalence of Idols", in <u>Esoterica</u>, Vol. II, online at <u>www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeII/Sympdevil.html</u>
- Janowitz, Naomi, <u>Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity</u>, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park PA, 2002
- **Johnston, Sarah Iles, ed., <u>Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide</u>, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 2004 (Excellent anthology!)**
- -----, and Struck, Peter T., eds., <u>Manikê: Studies in Ancient Divination</u>, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 2005 (Excellent anthology covering the lesser known systems of divination commonly used in the ancient world.)
- Jordan, David R., et al., eds., <u>The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997</u>, The

- Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999 (Huge collection of fascinating papers by Johnston, Versnel, Faraone, Graf, and others.)
- Luck, Georg, <u>Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds</u>, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, Baltimore MD, 1985 (Good anthology on Classical magic, including theurgy, as presented in original texts.)
- Martin, Luther, <u>Hellenistic Religions: An Introduction</u>, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 1987 (Good intro to the background and context.)
- Meyer, Marvin, ed., <u>Ancient Magic & Ritual Power</u> (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Volume 129), E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1995 (Very good anthology!)
- Noegel, Scott, et al. eds., <u>Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World</u>, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park PA, 2003 (Another excellent anthology of essays relating to "astral" magic and religion.)
- Oden, R.A., Studies in Lucian's *De Syria Dea*, Scholars Press, Missoula MT, 1977
- Reale, Giovanni, <u>The Schools of the Imperial Age</u> (A History of Ancient Philosophy, vol. IV), SUNY, Albany NY, 1990 (Good systematic survey of Hermetic, Chaldean, and Neoplatonic authors, philosophy, and theurgy.)
- Relihan, Joel C., tr. <u>Apuleius: The Golden Ass</u>, Hackett Publishing Co., Indianapolis MO, 2007 (Modern translation of this classic work by a Middle Platonist.)
- Rollins, Alden, Rome in the Fourth Century A.D.: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Overview, McFarland & Co. Inc. Publishers, Jefferson NC, 1991 (Where to go next.)
- **Turcan, Robert, The Cults of the Roman Empire**, Basil Blackwell, Ltd., Oxford, 1996 (Excellent overview of mystery cults in the late Empire.)

# **LATE CLASSICAL MAGIC & RELIGION** → **Papyri Graecae Magicae**

- Betz, Hans Dieter, ed., <u>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation (including the Demotic Spells)</u>, 2nd (revised) edition, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992
- Faraone, Christopher, "The Collapse of Celestial and Chthonic Realms in a Late Antique 'Apollonian Invocation' (PGM I 262-347)", in Boustan & Reed, eds., <u>Heavenly Realms</u>

- and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2004
- Flowers, Stephen Edred, Hermetic Magic: The Postmodern Magical Papyrus of Abaris, Samuel Weiser, Inc., York Beach ME, 1995 (Dicey history, but good portrayal of the mindset of a late antique magician. The "Papyrus of Abaris" is a creation of Flowers'.)
- Frankfurter, David, "The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic: The Power of the Word in Egyptian and Greek Tradition", in <u>Helios</u>, Vol. 21 No. 2, Texas Tech University Press, 1994
- Johnston, Sarah Iles, "*Fiat Lux, Fiat Ritus*: Divine Light and the Late Antique Defense of Ritual, in Kapstein, Matthew T., ed., <u>The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience</u>, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL, 2004
- Stewart, Randall, and Morell, Kenneth, trans., "The Oracles of Astrampsychus", in Hansen, William, ed., <u>Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature</u>, Indiana University Press, Bloomington IL, 1998 (A 2nd Cent. CE fortune-telling text.)
- Meyer, Marvin, W., and Smith, Richard, <u>Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power</u>, (with new Afterward), Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1999 (Includes a lot of non-Christian material.)
- Webb, Don, <u>The Seven Faces of Darkness: Practical Typhonian Magic</u>, Rûna-Raven Press, Smithville TX, 1996 (The author is the current head of the Temple of Set. As a result, this book has considerable Setian bias, but is probably a good portrayal of the mindset of a magician using the PGM. A sequel to Hermetic Magic.)

# **ORPHISM & ORPHIC HYMNS**

- Athanassakis, Apostolos N., <u>The Orphic Hymns: Text, Translation and Notes</u>, Scholars Press, Atlanta GA, 1977
- Faraone, Christopher A., "Orpheus' Final Appearance: Necromancy and a Singing Head on Lesbos", in <u>Studi Italiani Di Filologia Classica</u>, Vol. XCVII No. 1, Felice Le Monnier, Florence, 2004
- Guthrie, W.K.C., <u>Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement</u>, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1993
- Johnston, Sarah Iles, and McNiven, Timothy J., "Dionysos and the Underworld in Toledo", in Museum Helveticum, Vol. 53 No.1, Scwabe & Co. Verlag, Basel, 1996
- West, M.L., The Orphic Poems, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983

### PYTHAGOREANISM, NEO-PYTHAGOREANISM, & NUMBER MAGIC

- Barry, Kieron, <u>The Greek Qabalah: Alphabetic Mysticism and Numerology in the Ancient World</u>, Samuel Weiser, Inc., York Beach ME, 1999
- Burkert, Walter, <u>Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism</u>, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1972
- Godwin, Joscelyn, The Mystery of the Seven Vowels: in Theory and Practice, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1991 (Good discussion of the basic element of late antique magic and theurgy.)
- Guthrie, Kenneth Sylvan, ed., <u>The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library</u>, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1988 (Excellent collection of source texts!)
- Johnston, Sarah Iles, "Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in its Cultural Milieu", in Scafer, Peter, and Kippenberg, Hans G., eds., Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1997
- Joost-Gaugier, Christiane L., <u>Measuring Heaven: Pythagoras and His Influence on Thought and Art in Antiquity and the Middle Ages</u>, Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY, 2006
- Lawlor, R. & D., trans., <u>Theon of Smyrna: Mathematics Useful for Understanding Plato</u>, Wizard's Bookshelf, San Diego CA, 1978
- Levin, Flora R, tr., <u>The Manual of Harmonics</u> (of Nicomachus the Pythagorean), Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1994
- O'Meara, Dominic J., <u>Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity</u>, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989
- Morgan, Morris Hicky, trans., <u>Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture</u>, Dover Publications, Inc., New York NY, 1960 (Probably more Dionysian than Pythagorean, it still contains much useful information on classical conceptions of number and proportion.)
- Shaw, Gregory, "Eros and Arithmos: Pythagorean Theurgy in Iamblichus and Plotinus", in Ancient Philosophy, Spring 1999, Vol. XIX No. 1, Mathesis Publications, Inc., Pittsburgh PA, 1999 (Excellent article using Pythagorean concepts to reconcile Iamblichus and Plotinus.)
- Waterfield, Robin, tr., <u>The Theology of Arithmetic</u> (attrib. to Iamblichus), Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1988

### **CHALDEAN ORACLES**

- Lewy, Hans, <u>Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic, and Platonism in the later</u>
  <u>Roman Empire</u>, Etudes Augustiniennes, Paris, 1978
- Majercik, R.T., <u>The Chaldean Oracles</u> (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Volume 5), E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1989 (The only edition of these texts in print in English.) -----, "Chaldean Triads in Neoplatonic Exegesis: Some Reconsiderations", in <u>Classical Quaterly</u> 51.1 265-296 (2001), printed in Great Britain

# <u>CHALDEAN ORACLES</u> → Hekate (incl. non-Chaldaean contexts)

- Berchman, Robert M., "Arcana Mundi between Ballam and Hecate: Prophecy, Divination, and Magic in Later Neoplatonism", in Lull, David J., ed., <u>Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers</u>, Scolars Press, Atlanta GA, 1989
- Berg, William, "Hecate: Greek or 'Anatolian'", in <u>Numen: International Review for the History</u> of Religions, Volume XX, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1974
- Boedeker, Deborah, "Hecate: A Transfunctional Goddess in the Theogony?", in <u>Transactions of the American Philological Association</u>, 113 (1983) 79-93
- Clay, Jenny Strauss, "The Hekate of the Theogony", in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies, Volume 25, Number 1, Duke University Press, Durham NC, 1984
- D'Este, Sorita, <u>Hekate: Keys to the Crossroads</u>, Avalonia, London UK, 2006 (Collection of essays by current devotees of Hekate. Vey interesting!)
- -----, and Rankin, David, <u>Hekate: Liminal Rites</u>, Avalonia, London UK, 2009 (Comprehensive guide to this goddess geared for a modern practitioner and devotee.)
- Edwards, Charles M., "The Running Maiden from Eleusis and the Early Classical Image of Hekate", in <u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>, Volume 90, No. 3, July 1986, The Archaeological Institute of America, 1986
- Faraone, Christopher A., "The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar's Pythian 4.213-19", in <u>The Classical Journal</u>, Volume 89, No. 1, October-November 1993, Classical Association of the Midwest and South, 1993
- Fullerton, Mark D., "The Location and Archaism of the Hekate Epipyrgidia", in <u>Archaologischer Anzeiger</u>, Heft 4, Deutsches Archaologishes Institut, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1986

- Gow, A.S.F., "Iynx (Gk.), Rhombos (gk.), Rhombus, Turbo", in <u>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>, Volume LIV, Part 1, The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London, 1934
- Johnston, Sarah Iles, <u>Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature</u>, Scholars Press, Atlanta GA, 1990 (Hekate's role in theurgy.)
- -----, "Crossroads", in <u>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</u>, Vol. 88, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, Bonn, 1991 (Discusses the "Hekate's Supper" rite.)
- -----, "The Song of the Iynx: Magic and Rhetoric in Pythian 4", in Transactions of the American Philological Association, 125 (1995) 177-206
- -----, <u>Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 1999 (Chapter 6 is "Hecate and the Dying Maiden: How the Mistress of Ghosts Earned Her Title".)
- Marquardt, Patricia, "A Portrait of Hecate", in <u>American Journal of Philology</u>, Volume 102, No. 3, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981
- Nelson, Grace W., "A Greek Votive Iynx-Wheel in Britain", in American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XLIV, Number 4, Oct Dec 1940
- Rabinowitz, Jazob, <u>The Rotting Goddess: The Origin of the Witch in Classical Antiquity</u>, Autonomedia, Brooklyn NY, 1998 (Mostly hogwash, but a great collection of appearances of Hekate in classical literature.)
- Ronan, Stephen, ed., "Hekate's Iynx: An Ancient Theurgical Tool", in Fideler, David, ed., Alexandria 1, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1991
- -----, <u>The Goddess Hekate</u>, Chthonios Books, Hastings UK, 1992 (Good collection of previously published material plus Ronan's essay of Hekate in the Chaldean Oracles.)
- Segal, Charles, "Simaetha and the Iynx (Theocritus, Idyll II)", in <u>Quaderna Urbinati in Cultura Classica</u>, N. 15, Universita de Urbino, 1973
- Tavener, Eugene, "Iynx and Rhombus", in <u>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</u>, Volume LXIV, Middletown CT, 1933
- Turner, John D., "The Figure of Hecate and Dynamic Emanationism in *The Chaldean Oracles*, Sethian Gnosticism, and Neoplatonism", in <u>The Second Century: A Journal of Early Christian Studies</u>, Winter 1989-90, Vol. 7 No. 4
- Von Rudolf, Robert, <u>Hekate in Ancient Greek Religion</u>, horned owl publishing, Victoria BC, 1999 (Mostly too early for our period, it includes some late antique material as well.)

# **HERMETICA & HERMES TRISMEGISTOS**

- Cicero, Chic & Tabitha, eds., <u>The Golden Dawn Journal, Book III: The Art of Hermes</u>, Llewellyn Publications, St. Paul MI, 1995 (There are several very good essays in this collection, including those by Stoltz, Forrest, Tyson, Oz, and Webster.)
- Copenhaver, Brian P., trans. and ed., <u>Hermetica</u>, Cambridge University Press, 1992 (The single best edition of the Hermetica in English.)
- Ebeling, Florian, <u>The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times</u>, Cornell University Press, Ithca NY, 2007 (Interesting study of the often neglected current of Hermetic thought that passed through the Germanic schools.)
- Faivre, Antoine, <u>The Eternal Hermes</u>, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1995 (Survey of Hermes Trismegistos from antiquity to the Renaissance.)
- Fowden, Garth, The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1986 (Hermes Trismegistos in the theurgy of the Hermetica and of Neoplatonism.)
- Hauck, Dennis William, <u>The Emerald Tablet: Alchemy for Personal Transformation</u>, Arkana / Penguin, New York NY, 1999 (Quirky, but basically good overview of Hermeticism for the casual reader.)
- Kingsley, Peter, "Poimandres: The Etmology of the Name and the Origins of the Hermetica", in <u>Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>, Vol. 56, The Warburg Institute, London, 1993 (Proves an Egyptian origin for the Hermetica.)
- Mahé, Jean-Pierre, "Preliminary Remarks on the Demotic *Book of Thoth* and the Greek *Hermetica*", in <u>Vigiliae Christianae: A Review of Christian Life and Language</u>, Vol. L, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1996 (The only comments available in English on this newly discovered Hermetic text.)
- Marinatos, Nanno, "Striding Across Boundaries: Hermes and Aphrodite as gods of initiation", in Dodd, David B., and Faraone, Christopher A., eds., <u>Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives</u>, Routledge, London, 2003
- Mead, G.R.S., <u>Thrice Greatest Hermes</u>, Samuel Weiser Inc., York Beach ME, 1992 (Dated and more than a bit slanted towards Theosophy, but an unparalleled collection of lore.)
- Salaman, Clement; van Oyen, Dorine; Wharton, William D.; and Mahé, Jean-Pierre, <u>The Way of Hermes: New Translations of *The Corpus Hermeticum* and *The Definitions of Hermes* <u>Trismegistus to Asclepius</u>, Inner Traditions, Rochester VT, 2000 (The only English translation of the latter text, recently discovered in Armenian manuscript.)</u>
- \*\*Co. Ltd., London, 2007 (Companion to the previous volume, containing a new translation with commentary of this important Hermetic text.)

- Scott, Walter, ed. & trans., <u>Hermetica: Introduction, Texts and Translation</u>, Hermes House, Boulder CO, 1982 (The English translation is no longer considered reliable, but Scott's notes and comments are considered invaluable.)
- van Bladel, Kevin, <u>The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science</u>, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009 (Excellent first-ever study of Hermes Trismegistus in Arabic magical and philosophical literature!)
- van den Broek, Roelof, "Gnosticism and Hermeticism in Antiquity: Two Roads to Salvation", in van den Broek, Roelof, and Hanegraaff, Wouter J., eds., <u>Gnosis and Hermeticism: From Antiquity to Modern Times</u>, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1998 (Very good for understanding the differences and similarities.)
- Waegeman, Maryse, <u>Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides</u>, J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 1987 (The *Cyranides* was one of the so-called "technical", i.e. magical, Hermetica. This is the only English translation of which I am aware. It includes magical correspondences between plants, birds, fish, and stones.)
- Warnock, Christopher, ed., <u>Kyranides: On the Occult Virtues of Plants, Animals, & Stones</u>, Renaissance Astrology Facsimile Editions, <u>www.renaissanceastrology.com</u>, 2007 (This website is a fantastic resource for late antique astrology and related magical practices. This text, one of the few "technical Hermetica" to survive, is the root text of all subsequent "tables of correspondence" in the European magical tradition. This facsimile is of a 1685 English translation.)

# **MITHRAISM**

- Betz, Hans Dieter, <u>The "Mithras Liturgy"</u>, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2003 (The best edition in English of the only Mithraic ritual text surviving more or less.)
- Clauss, Manfred, <u>The Roman Cult of Mithras: The God and His Mysteries</u>, tr. by Richard Gordon, Routledge, New York, 2001 (Good summary of current scholarship on this subject.)
- Cooper, D. Jason, <u>Mithras: Mysteries and Initiation Rediscovered</u>, Weiser Books, York Beach ME, 1996 (Not the best scholarship, but Cooper brings the experience of a practicing magician too his interpretation of how Mithraic ritual spaces might have been used in ritual.)
- Edmonds, Radcliffe, "Did the Mithraists Inhale?", in <u>The Ancient World</u>, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Golden CO, 2001 (Connects Mithraism with the Chaldean Oracles with the Mithras Liturgy in the PGM.)

- Jackson, Howard M., <u>The Lion Becomes Man: The Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition</u>, Scholars Press, Atlanta GA, 1985 (On the origins of the lion-headed god.)
- Ulansey, David, <u>The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology & Salvation in the Ancient World</u>, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 1989 (Revolutionary work on the subject.)
- -----, *The Eighth Gate: The Mithraic Lion-Headed Figure and the Platonic World-Soul*, http://www.well.com/user/davidu/ eighthgate.html

# **NEOPLATONISM**

- Athanassiadi, Polymnia, "The Creation of Orthodoxy in Neoplatonism", in Clark, Gillian, and Rajak, Tessa, eds., <u>Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honor of Miriam Griffin</u>, Oxford University Press, 2002
- Frew, Donald H., ed., "Sallustius' On the Gods and the World: A Primer of Wican Theology?", privately printed and circulated, 2003 (A new English version making the text more accessible to a modern reader and relating it to the theology of Gardner's early witch group.)
- Hornum, Michael, "On the Availability of the One", in Fideler, David, ed., <u>Alexandria 2</u>, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1993
- Luck, Georg, "Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism", in Neusner, Jacob, et al., ed., Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and Conflict, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 1989 (Switch the names and terms from Roman to Celtic and these folks sound Gardnerian!)
- Dillon, John, <u>The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220</u>, Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY, 1996 (The precursors to the Neoplatonists. This book has useful sections on Neopythagoreanism, the Chaldean Oracles, the Hermetica, and more.)
- Nock, Arthur Darby, ed. and trans., <u>Sallustius: Concerning the Gods and the Universe</u>, Ares Publishers, Inc., Chicago IL, 1996 (Most recent English translation of this work, commissioned by Julian to be a popular catechism of Neoplatonism.)
- Peters, F.E., <u>Greek Philosophical Terms: A Historical Lexicon</u>, New York University Press, New York NY, 1967 (Useful reference, with English Greek dictionary.)
- Remes, Pauliina, Neoplatonism, Ancient Philosophies #4, University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 2008 (A superior overview of Neoplatonism as a whole, without the usual bias in favor of Plotinus. Dense at times, but the best book yet on the subject!)

- Shaw, Gregory, "The Talisman: Magic and True Philosophers", paper given at Stonehill College
- Uždavinys, Algis, <u>Philosophy as a Rite of Rebirth: From Ancient Egypt to Neoplatonism</u>, The Prometheus Trust, Dilton Marsh UK, 2008
- Wallis, R.T., <u>Neoplatonism</u>, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York NY, 1972 (Absolutely the best single work on Neoplatonism. Heavy going at times, but well worth the study.)
- -----, ed., Neoplatonism and Gnosticism, SUNY, Albany NY, 1992 (Good collection of relevant essays.)
- Wright, Wilmer C., trans. Philostratus and Eunapius: Lives of the Sophists (Loeb Classical Library 134), Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1989 (Two books in one; the Eunapius has biographies of many Neoplatonists.)

# NEOPLATONISM → Plotinus

- Armstrong, A.H., trans., <u>Plotinus</u>, (7 vols.), (Loeb Classical Library #440-445 & 468), Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1989 (Best translation of the Enneads available in English.)
- Dillon, John, "Plotinus and the Chaldaean Oracles", in Gersh & Kannengiesser, eds., <u>Platonism in Late Antiquity</u>, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame IN, 1992
- Gerson, Lloyd P., ed., <u>The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996
- Hadot, Pierre, <u>Plotinus or The Simplicity of Vision</u>, University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL, 1993 (Very good introduction to Plotinus from the perspective of a personal spiritual path.)
- Mazur, Zeke, "*Unio Magica*: Part I: On the Magical Origins of Plotinus' Mysticism", in <u>Dionysius</u>, Vol. XXI, December 2003 (Discusses the idea of "union with the divine", first expressed in Plotinus, but derived from the PGM.)
- MacKenna, Stephen, trans, <u>Plotinus: the Enneads</u>, Larson Publications, Burdett NY, 1992 (The most readily available edition of the Enneads.)
- **O'Meara, Dominic J., <u>Plotinus: An Introduction to the Enneads</u>**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993 (Very good introduction to Plotinus from a theoretical perspective.)

# **NEOPLATONISM** → **Porphyry**

- Berchman, Robert M., <u>Porphyry Against the Christians</u>, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 2005 (Porphyry's original work was in 14 volumes and was considered by Christians to be the most dangerous book on Earth. All copies were collected and destroyed. This book is a collection of quotations and citations from Christian authors.)
- Edwards, M.J., "Birth, Death, and Divinity in Porphyry's Life of Plotinus", in Hägg and Rousseau, eds., <u>Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 2000
- Smith, Andrew, <u>Porphyry's Place in the Neoplatonic Tradition: A Study in Post-Plotinian</u>
  <u>Neoplatonism</u>, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1974 (The second half of the book is on theurgy and Iamblichus.)
- Zimmern, Alice, trans., <u>Porphyry's Letter to His Wife Marcella</u>, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1986 (The Introduction by David Fideler is a great, concise, intro to Neoplatonism.)

# NEOPLATONISM → Iamblichus

- Armstrong, A.H., "Iamblichus and Egypt", reprinted in Armstrong, A.H., <u>Hellenic and Christian Studies</u>, Variorum / Gower Publishing Group, Hampshire, 1990
- Athanassiadi, Polymnia, "The Oecumenism of Iamblichus: Latent Knowledge and Its Awakening", in <u>The Journal of Roman Studies</u>, Vol. LXXXV, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London, 1995
- Blumenthal, H.J., and Clark, E.G., eds. <u>The Divine Iamblichus: Philosopher and Man of the Gods</u>, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993 (Papers collected from a conference in 1990.)
- Bussanich, John, "Philosophy, Theology, and Magic: Gods and Forms in Iamblichus", in Kobusch & Erler, Metaphysik und Religion, K.G. Saur München, Leipzig, 2002
- Clark, Gillian, "Philosophic Lives and the Philosophic Life: Porphyry and Iamblichus", in Hägg and Rousseau, eds., <u>Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 2000
- Clarke, Emma, <u>Iamblichus' De Mysterris</u>: A manifesto of the miraculous, Ashgate Publishing Company, Aldershot, England, 2001
- -----, <u>Iamblichus: On the Mysteries</u>, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta GA, 2003 (Modern English translation with the original Greek.)



- Smith, Andrew, "Further Thoughts on Iamblichus as the First Philosopher of Religion", in Kobusch & Erler, Metaphysik und Religion, K.G. Saur München, Leipzig, 2002
- Taylor, Thomas, trans., <u>Iamblichus' On the Mysteries</u>, Wizard's Bookshelf, San Diego CA, 1984 (Dated language, but one of the few English translations in print.)
- Vanderspoel, John, "Themistios and the Origin of Iamblichus", Hermes: Zeitschrift fur Klassiche Philologie, Vol. 116 #1, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart, 1988

### **NEOPLATONISM** → **Proclus**

- (Note: Quite a bit of Proclus' philosophical and scientific writings survive, but I have only included items with a direct bearing on theurgy and related subjects.)
- Guthrie, Kenneth S., trans., <u>The Life of Proclus</u>, Phanes Press, Grand Rapids MI, 1986 (Biography.)
- Siorvanes, Lucas, <u>Proclus: Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Science</u>, Yale University Press, New Haven CT, 1996
- Van Den Berg, Robbert M., "Towards the Paternal Harbour: Proclean Theurgy and the Contemplation of the Forms", paper read at the International Colloquium Theologia Platonica May 13-7 1998, Leuven (Belgium)
- -----, <u>Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 2001</u>
- -----, "'Becoming Like God' according to Proclus' interpretations of the *Timaeus*, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the *Chaldaean Oracles*", in Sharples & Sheppard, eds., <u>Ancient Approaches to Plato's *Timaeus*</u>, Institute of Classical Studies, London, 2003

# NEOPLATONISM → Damascius & Simplicius

- Athanassiadi, Polymnia, "Persecution and Response in Late Paganism: The Evidence of Damascius", in <u>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>, Volume CXIII, The Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1993
- -----, trans., <u>Damascius: The Philosophical History</u>, Apamea Cultural Association, Athens, 1999 (The only English translation of this work by the last head of the Academy, who went to Harran.)
- Hadot, Ilsetraut, "The Life and Work of Simplicius in Greek and Arabic Sources", in Sorabji, Richard, ed., <u>Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence</u>, Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., London, 1990 (Another Neoplatonist who went to Harran.)

### <u>JULIAN</u>

- Athanassiadi, Polymnia, <u>Julian: An Intellectual Biography</u>, Routledge, New York NY, 1992 (Biography.)
- Bonner, Campbell, "Witchcraft in the Lecture Room of Libanius", in Hewitt, Joseph William, ed., <u>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</u>, Vol. LXIII, APA, Middletown CT, 1932
- Browning, Robert, <u>The Emperor Julian</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 1976 (Biography.)
- Murdoch, Adrian, Julian the Apostate and the Death of the Ancient World, Sutton Publishing Ltd., UK, 2003 (Very readable history of Julian and his influence.)
- Smith, Rowland, <u>Julian's Gods: Religion and philosophy in the thought and action of Julian the Apostate</u>, Routledge, New York NY, 1995
- Taylor, Thomas, trans., <u>The Arguments of the Emperor Julian Against the Christians</u>, Hermetic Publishing Company, Chicago IL, 1932 (Hilarious rhetoric by the well-educated, thoroughly Pagan, Emperor of the known world against those upstart, country-bumpkin Christians!)
- Vidal, Gore, <u>Julian</u>, Ballantine Books, New York NY, 1964 (Biographical novel and a good read!)

### THE LAST DAYS OF CLASSICAL PAGANISM

- Athanassiadi, Polymnia, and Frede, Michael, eds., <u>Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity</u>, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1999 (Excellent and eye-opening! Must-read!)
- Bowersock, G.W., Brown, Peter and Grabar, Oleg, eds., <u>Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World</u>, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1999 (Encyclopedic and comprehensive.)
- Chuvin, Pierre, <u>A Chronicle of the Last Pagans</u>, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1990 (The last days of classical Paganism.)
- Glucker, John, "Antiochus and the Late Academy", in <u>Hypomnemata</u>, Vol 56, Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1978

- MacMullen, Ramsay, Christianity & Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries, Yale University Press, New Haven CT, 1997 (One of those "Everything you know is wrong" kind of books. A must-read!)
- Momigliano, Arnaldo, ed., <u>The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth</u> <u>Century</u>, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963
- Smith, John Holland, <u>The Death of Classical Paganism</u>, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York NY, 1976 (A history of this period by a scholar who professes to be sympathetic to the Pagans. Refreshing and eye opening!)
- Smith, Jonathan Z., <u>Drudgery Divine</u>: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the <u>Religions of Late Antiquity</u>, University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL, 1990 (Very good expose of Christian bias in the study of the religions of Late Antiquity.)
- Valantasis, Richard, ed., <u>Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice</u>, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 2000

### **CLASSICAL "SURVIVAL" IN LATER EUROPE**

- Baigent, Michael, and Leigh, Richard, The Elixir and the Stone: Unlocking the Ancient Mysteries of the Occult, Penguin Books, London, 1997 (Popular book by controversial authors of Holy Blood, Holy Grail is nevertheless a good history of the influence of Hermeticism down to the present day.)
- Hankins, James, Plato in the Italian Renaissance, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1994
- Maguire, Henry, ed., <u>Byzantine Magic</u>, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington DC, 1999 (Anthology.)
- Merkel, Ingrid, and Debus, Allen G., eds., <u>Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe</u>, Folger Books, Washington D.C., 1988

# **CLASSICAL "SURVIVAL" IN ISLAM**

- (Note: This part of the Bibliography is a bit more extensive, as it hopes to be fairly comprehensive about this little-known area.)
- Affifi, A.E., "The Influence of Hermetic Literature on Moslem Thought", in <u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u>, Vol. XIII, pp. 840 855, (no other data available), 1951
- Arberry, A.J., Revelation and Reason in Islam, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1956

- Bowersock, G.W., <u>Hellenism in Late Antiquity</u>, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor MI, 1990
- Fowden, Garth, Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of monotheism in late antiquity, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1993
- Gutas, Dimitri, <u>Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd 4th / 8th 10th centuries)</u>, Routledge, New York NY, 1998
- Hämeen-Antilla, Jaakko, "Descent and Ascent in Islamic Myth", in Whiting, R.M., ed., Melammu Symposia II, Helsinki, 2000
- Kraemer, Joel L., <u>Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age</u>, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986
- -----, Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam: Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani and His Circle, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986 (Both include many mentions of Harran and the Sabians in connection with Classical learning.)
- Morewedge, Parviz, ed., Neoplatonism and Islamic Thought, State University of New York Press, Albany NY, 1992
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, "A Panorama of Classical Islamic Intellectual Life" and "Hermes and Hermetic Writings in the Islamic World", in Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, <u>Islamic Life and Thought</u>, State University of New York Press, Albany NY, 1981
- -----, <u>Science & Civilization in Islam</u>, Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge UK, 1987
- -----, <u>The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia</u>, Curzon Press, Richmond Surrey UK, 1996 (Discusses the influence of Hermeticism and Neoplatonism.)
- Netton, Ian Richard, <u>Allah Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic</u>

  <u>Philosophy, Theology and Cosmology,</u> Curzon Press, Richmond Surrey UK, 1989 (How Hermeticism and Neoplatonism shaped the Muslim conception of the Divine.)
- -----, <u>Al-Farabi and His School</u>, Routledge, London and New York, 1992 (A Muslim philosopher influenced by Neoplatonism.)
- Nicholson, R.A., <u>Literary History of the Arabs</u>, Curzon Press, Richmond Surrey UK, 1993 (Lengthy history of intellectual thought and philosophy in Islam.)
- O'Leary, De Lacy, <u>Islamic Thought and its Place in History</u>, Goodword Books, New Delhi, 2001 (Chapter 1 is "The Syriac Version of Hellenism".)
- Qadir, C.A., <u>Philosophy and Science in the Islamic World</u>, Routledge, London and New York, 1988 (Includes Classical influence and mystical schools.)

- Rosenthal, Franz, The Classical Heritage in Islam, Routledge, New York NY, 1992
- Schacht, Joseph, ed., <u>The Legacy of Islam</u>, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974 (Discusses the role of Islam in transmitting Classical thought to the West.)
- Smith, Margaret, <u>Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East</u>, Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 1995 (Influence of Neoplatonism.)
- Walker, Paul E., <u>Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abu Ya'qub al-Sijistani</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993
- Walbridge, John, "Explaining Away the Greek Gods in Islam", in Kelley, Donald R., ed., Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume 59, Issue 3, 1998

# CLASSICAL "SURVIVAL" IN ISLAM → Harran & the Sabians

info on the Sabians, Hermeticism, Neoplatonism, etc.)

- Ball, Warwick, <u>Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire</u>, Routledge, New York, 2001 (Comprehensive account of Roman influence on the Middle East and vice-versa. Very good!)
- Chwolson, D., <u>Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus</u> (2 vols.), Oriental Press, Amsterdam, 1965 (The standard classic on the Sabians. While dated, it is still an amazing collection of source texts.)
- Corbin, Henry, <u>Temple and Contemplation</u>, Islamic Publications Ltd., London, 1986 (The chapter on "Sabian Temple and Ismailism" is very interesting.)
  -----, <u>History of Islamic Philosophy</u>, Islamic Publications Ltd., London, 1993 (Lots of
- Drijvers, H.J.W., "Bardaisan of Edessa and the Hermetica: The Aramaic Philosopher and the Philosophy of His Time", in <u>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch</u>, Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux 21, Leiden, 1970 (Bardaisan was a Hermeticist at nearby Edessa)
- -----, <u>Cults and Beliefs at Edessa</u>, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1980 -----, "The Persistence of Pagan Cults and Practices in Christian Syria", in Garsoïan, Nina, et al., ed., <u>East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period</u> (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980), Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1982
- Frew, Donald H., "Harran: Last Refuge of Classical Paganism", <u>The Pomegranate</u>, Issue #9, August 1999, pp. 17–29 (My own article on Harran, emphasizing its current endangered status. The article and the follow-up letters from subsequent issues are online at <a href="http://chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/natrel/pom/old/POM9a1.html">http://chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/natrel/pom/old/POM9a1.html</a>)

- Green, Tamara, The City of the Moon God: The Religious Traditions of Harran (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Volume 114), E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1992 (Excellent book on the survival of classical Paganism in Syria.)
- Gündüz, Şinasi, <u>The Knowledge of Life: The Origins and Early History of the Mandaeans and Their Relation to the Sabians of the Qur'an and to the Harranians</u>, (Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 3), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994 (Gunduz argues in favor of the "con-job" story, but his arguments are refuted by Green, op. cit.)
- Hämeen-Antilla, Jaakko, "Ibn Wahshiyya and Magic", in Anaquel de Estudios Árabes X, 1999
- Kürkcüoğlu, A. Cihat, <u>Harran: The Mysterious City of History</u>, Harran Koylere Hizmet Goturme Birligi, Anakara, 1996
- Lewy, Hildegard, "Points of Comparison between Zoroastrianism and the Moon-Cult of Harran", in <u>A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honor of S.H. Taqizadeh</u>, Percy, Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd., London, 1962
- Lloyd, Seton, and Brice, William, "Harran", in <u>Anatolian Studies</u>, Vol. I, pp. 77 111, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Ankara, 1951
- Peters, Francis, "Hermes and Harran: The Roots of Arabic-Islamic Occultism", in Mazzaoui, Michel M. and Moreen, Vera B., eds., <u>Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson</u>, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City UT, 1990
- Pingree, David, "The Sabians of Harran and the Classical Tradition", in <u>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</u>, Vol. 9 No. 1, 2002
- Prag, Kay, "The 1959 Deep Sounding at Harran in Turkey", in <u>Levant: Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem</u>, Vol. II, pp. 63 94, The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, London, 1970
- Rice, D.S., "Medieval Harran: Studies on its Topography and Monuments", in <u>Anatolian Studies</u>, Vol. II, pp. 36 84, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Ankara, 1952
- Ross, Steven, K., <u>Roman Edessa: Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114 242 CE</u>, Routledge, London and New York, 2001 (Includes important info on the inscriptions at Sumatar Harabesi.)
- Saunders, J.J., <u>A History of Medieval Islam</u>, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1965 (The place of Harran in the history of the Crusades.)
- Segal, Judah Benzion, "Pagan Syriac Monuments in the Vilayet of Urfa", in <u>Anatolian Studies</u>, Vol. III, pp. 97 119, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Ankara, 1952 (The only published study of Sumatar Harabesi.)

- -----, "The Sabian Mysteries: The Planet Cult of Ancient Harran", in Bacon, Edward, ed., Vanished Civilizations of the Ancient World Thames and Hudson, London, 1963
  -----, Edessa: "The Blessed City", Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1970
- Springett, Bernard H., <u>Secret Sects of Syria and the Lebanon: A Consideration of Their Origin, Creeds, and Religious Ceremonies, and Their Connection With and Influence Upon Modern Freemasonry</u>, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1922 (An odd book connecting Freemasonry and the Sabians.)
- Stark, Freya, Rome on the Euphrates: The Story of a Frontier, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1966 (Good, first person description of Roman remains in Mesopotamia, including Harran.)
- van Bladel, Kevin, <u>The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science</u>, Oxfprd University Press, Oxford, 2009 (Excellent first-ever study of Hermes Trismegistus in Arabic magical and philosophical literature!) [Also listed above in the Hermes Trismegistus section.]
- van der Meer, Annine, "The Harran of the Sabians in the First Millennium A.D.: Cradle of a Hermetic Tradition?", presented at the session on Western Esotericism and Jewish Mysticism at the IAHR congress in Durban S.A., 2000
- Waardenburg, Jacques, "World Religions as Seen in the Light of Islam", in Welch, Alford T. and Cachia, Pierre, eds., <u>Islam: Past Influence and Present Challenge</u>, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1979 (Discussion of the role of "Sabians" as a category in Islam.)
- Yardimci, Nurettin, "Excavations, Surveys and Restoration Works at Harran", in Frangipane, M. et al, eds., <u>Between the Rivers and Over the Mountains: Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri Dedicata</u>, Universita di Roma, Rome, 1993

# <u>CLASSICAL "SURVIVAL" IN ISLAM → Harran & the Sabians → Contemporary Sources</u>

- al-Andalusi, Sa'id, <u>Science in the Medieval World: The "Book of the Categories of Nations"</u>, trans. & ed. by Sema'an I. Salem & Alok Kumar, University of Texas Press, Austin TX, 1991 (11th cent. CE. Discusses the Sabians, and describes Roman pagans as "Sabian".)
- al-Biruni, <u>The Chronology of Ancient Nations</u>, trans. & ed. by C. Edward Sachau, Hijra International Publishers, Lahore, Pakistan, 1983 (11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE. Discusses Harranian festival dates.)

- Broadhurst, Roland J.C., tr., <u>The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Medieval Spanish Muslim visits</u>
  <u>Makkah, Madinah, Egypt, cities of the Middle East, and Sicily,</u> Goodword Books, New Delhi, 2001 (12<sup>th</sup> cent. CE A first-person description of Harran shortly before its fall.)
- Brock, Sebastian P., "A Syriac Collection of Prophecies of the Pagan Philosophers", in <u>Orientalia</u> <u>Lovaniensia Periodica</u>, Vol. 14, pp 203 – 246, Universitaire Stichting van Belgie, Leuven, 1983
- -----, "Some Syriac Excerpts from Greek Collections of Pagan Prophecies", in Vigiliae Christianae: A review of early christian life and language, Vol. 38, pp. 77 90, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1984 (c. 600 CE Both of these address texts attributed to Baba the Harranian.)
- al-Nadim, Abu 'l-Faraj Muhammad ibn Ishaq, <u>The Fihrist: A 10<sup>th</sup> Century AD Survey of Islamic Culture</u>, trans. and ed. by Bayard Dodge, Columbia University Press, 1970 (10<sup>th</sup> cent. CE One of the lengthiest discussions of the Harranians by a contemporary.)
- Ibn Khaldun, <u>The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History</u> (3 vols.), trans. by Franz Rosenthal, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1967 (14<sup>th</sup> cent. CE Volume 2 includes a discussion of Sabians.)
- Ibn Wahshiyya, <u>L'Agriculture Nabatéenne</u> (2 vols.), trans. and ed. by Toufic Fahd, Institut Français de Damas, Damascus, 1993 (10<sup>th</sup> cent. CE French translation of the *Nabatean Agriculture*, primary source on Harranian religion.)
- Levey, Martin, tr. and ed., <u>Medieval Arabic Toxicology: *The Book on Poisons* of Ibn Wahshiya and Its Relation to early Indian and Greek Texts, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia PA, 1966 (10<sup>th</sup> cent. CE One of the few surviving magical writings by a Harranian.)</u>
- Maimonides, Moses, <u>The Guide for the Perplexed</u>, trans. by M. Friedlander, Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1956 (12<sup>th</sup> cent. CE Lengthy discussion of the "Sabeans" and their beliefs.)
- von Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, tr., <u>Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters Explained</u> (translation of Ibn Wahshiya's "*The long desired Knowledge of occult Alphabets attained*."), W. Bulmer, London, 1806 (10<sup>th</sup> cent. CE One of the few surviving magical writings by a Harranian.)

# CLASSICAL "SURVIVAL" IN ISLAM → Harran & the Sabians → The Ihkwan al-Safa (Brethren of Purity) & the Ghayat al-Hakim (Picatrix)

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, <u>Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study</u>, World of Islam Festival Publishing Ltd., Westerham Kent UK, 1976 (Discusses the Ghayat al-Hakim.)

- -----, <u>An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines</u>, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1993 (Discusses both the Ghayat al-Hakim and the Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa.)
- Netton, Ian Richard, <u>Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity</u>, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991 (Aka the Ikhwan al-Safa.)
- Pingree, David, "Some of the Sources of the *Ghayat al-Hakim*", in <u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>, Volume 43, The Warburg Institute, London, 1980
- -----, ed., <u>Picatrix: The Latin version of the *Ghayat Al-Hakim*</u>, The Warburg Institute, London, 1986 (The Picatrix is an important source for Harranian ritual. While this edition is in Latin, the introduction is in English.)
- Ritter, Helmutt, <u>Pseudo-Magriti Das Ziel Des Weisen</u>, B.G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1933 (German translation of the Picatrix.)
- Widengren, Geo, "The Pure Brethren and the Philosophical Structure of Their System", in Welch, Alford T. and Cachia, Pierre, eds., <u>Islam: Past Influence and Present Challenge</u>, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1979

# <u>CLASSICAL "SURVIVAL" IN ISLAM → Harran & the Sabians → The Ishraqqiyah</u> ("Illuminationist" School)

- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, <u>Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna Suhrawardi Ibn Arabi</u>, Caravan Books, Delmar NY, 1964 (Discusses the influence of Harran on Avicenna and Suhrawardi.)
- Razavi, Mehdi Amin, <u>Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination</u>, Curzon Press, Richmond Surrey UK, 1997
- al-Suhrawardi, Hazrat Shabuddin Yahya, <u>The Shape of Light (Hayakal Al-Nur)</u>, Fons Vitae, Louisville KY, 1998
- -----, <u>The Philosophy of Illumination</u>, trans. and ed, by John Walbridge & Hossein Ziai, Brigham Young University Press, Provo UT, 1999 (English translations of 12<sup>th</sup> cent. CE texts.)
- Walbridge, John, <u>The Science of Mystic Lights: Qutb al-Din Shirazi and the Illuminationist</u>

  <u>Tradition in Islamic Philosophy</u>, Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge MA, 1992
- -----, The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardi and the Heritage of the Greeks, SUNY Press, Albany NY, 2000
- Press, Albany NY, 2001 (Part two of the preceding work. Excellent discussion of Hermes, Neoplatonism, and Arabic thought, focusing on continuity from antiquity.)

Ziai, Hossein, <u>Knowledge and Illumination: A Study of Suhrawardi's Hikmat al-Ishraq</u>, Scholars Press, Atlanta GA, 1990