FORBIDDEN RITES
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A NECROMANCER’S MANUAL OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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Cave! terrentina hac in scientia latent, si cupis scire occulta, pericula multa pro te et upupis!
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INTRODUCTION: MAGICAL BOOKS AND MAGICAL RITES

We are what we read - and the power of books to transform the minds and personalities of their readers can give cause for anxiety as well as for celebration. A cluster of related developments in late medieval Europe brought heightened concern about what people were reading. The spread of literacy and the rise of a far wider reading public, lay as well as clerical, brought greater demand for written material. The availability of paper, a medium far less costly than parchment, made books more readily accessible than they had previously been, and allowed for more abundant supply of reading matter to feed this demand, even before the invention of printing with movable type. And the emergence of silent reading habits made reading a more private activity. Historians have attended to the impact of these developments on medieval heresy, on churchmen's fear that literacy contributed to the diffusion of heretical views, and on the efforts at censorship that ensued. But less work has been done on the dissemination of magical texts, which in some ways represented an even more sinister threat to orthodox culture, and on attempts to control these texts. A book of magic which deliberately and expressly invited contact with demons presented all the hazards of reading in their deepest and most pressing form.

Beginning around the early fourteenth century, possession and use of magical writings becomes a recurrent theme in the records of prosecution. When Bernard Delicieux was accused in 1319 of having used necromancy against the pope, he was cleared of that charge but nevertheless condemned to prison for merely possessing a book of necromancy. Fear of necromancy and of necromantic writings was becoming an obsession at the time, especially at the court of Pope John XXII, who in the previous year had commissioned the bishop of Fréjus and others to investigate a group of clerics and laymen charged with using books of necromancy, geomancy and other magical arts. In 1320 Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti were tried for using necromancy against Pope John: the offence here was actual use of the art, yet when one witness said he had been shown a book filled with experiments for love, hatred, finding of stolen objects and so forth, the very sight of such a book was evidently cause for horror. In 1406-7, informants claimed that a group of clerics had used formulas from magical books against Benedict XIII and the king of France, and the ensuing inquiry uncovered a box filled with booklets containing prayers, hymns and conjurations. But in 1409, at the Council of Pisa, Benedict in turn was charged with using necromancy and hiring necromancers. The pope, it was said, had sought out a book of necromancy...
available only from the Saracens and had purchased it for some 1,000 francs. A book of necromancy was allegedly found under the pontiff’s bed.\textsuperscript{7} In such cases the uncovering of necromantic writings made more plausible the charge that necromancy had actually been used, but more fundamentally the books themselves would have impressed contemporaries as unsavoury and incriminating, somewhat as the discovery of Satanic paraphernalia might seem incriminating today. Not surprisingly, inquisitors and other judges used such discoveries as propaganda in their zealous campaigns against magic. In 1382 an inquisitor wrote to the government of Siena about a band of magicians at Rugomagno: one Agnolo di Corso had been found in possession of a book of seventy chapters, which others had copied, and which spoke of invoking evil spirits to murder people or constrain their affections.\textsuperscript{8} Two years later Niccolò Consigli was executed at Florence for practicing necromancy and unlicensed exorcisms; his judges confiscated and burned the books of necromancy from which he had taken conjurations.\textsuperscript{9} One might even say it was common for books of magic to be set forth as codefendants alongside their owners and users — and indeed, as we shall see, those who condemned books of magic in some ways ascribed to them a kind of personality.\textsuperscript{10} When the books were burned, there were those (as we shall see) who heard the voices of demons in the crackling of the flames.

The book-burning might at times be voluntary: according to a fifteenth-century biographer, Gerard Groot studied magic in his youth, and was accused of practising it as well, but when he converted to a life of piety and foresaw the art of necromancy, he consigned his books of magic to the flames.\textsuperscript{11} The movement he went on to found, the Devotio Moderna, was one of the most influential forces in the devotional culture of pre-Reformation Europe, a movement of inner piety nurtured by devout reading, manifested in the copying out of pious phrases in personal florilegia, and financially supported by the copying of manuscripts — a movement, in short, firmly grounded in the book-culture of late medieval Europe, and initiated with an act of penitential book-burning.

From the early years of Christianity, conversion to Christ had meant, among other things, doing away with books of magic. The scene at Ephesus, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (18:19 19:20), perhaps epitomized what happened on a smaller scale elsewhere. When Paul arrived in the town and made converts to the new faith, ‘a number of those who practised magic arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all, and they counted the value of them and found it came to fifty thousand pieces of silver’.\textsuperscript{12} (This comes to roughly 1,666 times as many silver pieces as Judas received for betraying Christ.) By the later Middle Ages, treatment of those found with offending literature was often more judicial than pastoral. To be sure, a monk of Sulby monastery was treated leniently when he was found possessing books of magic in 1500. A superior in the Premonstratensian order had heard of a brother named Thomas Wryght who had been using books of experiments and gone about paying people generously to teach him the occult arts.
Faced with the evidence -- one of his books of experiments -- he insisted that he owned such books only out of curiosity, not for actual use. The matter was treated as a disciplinary one within the monastic setting, and the brother received a light penance. But in an age when books of this sort were held in deep suspicion one could never count on such clemency, as Bernard Deliciex well knew.

Anything that arouses such deep anxiety is a subject of historical interest, and books of magic hold considerable fascination indeed. To know why books of magic aroused fear we must gain a fuller understanding of what the books themselves were likely to contain. Most of them no doubt have perished in the inquisitors' flames, but some eluded detection and have survived. The focus of following chapters in this study is arguably among the most interesting sources we have for the study of medieval magic: a fifteenth-century handbook of explicitly demonic magic, or what contemporaries called 'necromancy'. This compilation is contained in a manuscript in the Bavarian State Library in Munich. To be sure, the text is neither edifying nor profound, nor is it particularly original; in late medieval Europe there were no doubt many compilations equally illustrative of common magical practice, most of them now lost. But among the manuscripts that survive, few are quite as diverse in content, or as full, explicit and candid in their instructions as this work.

Detailed examination of such a compilation may most obviously help us understand the mentality of the necromancers themselves who copied such books, whether for curiosity or for use. But study of this handbook may clarify several other factors in the history of magic, and three in particular. First, examination of a necromancer's manual sheds light on the function and cultural significance of a magical book itself. We will know more about the cultural significance of books generally -- and we will know more fully the range of meanings a book could have -- when we have grasped the role of this exceptional category of books. Second, the mentality of the necromancers' opponents becomes clearer from examination of such a compilation: the views of the Renaissance mages (such as Marsilio Ficino and Johannes Reuchlin) who insisted that they practised a higher and purer form of magic than did these base necromancers, and those of the demonologists (Heinrich Kramer and his successors) for whom necromancy was a dark filter shading their perception of witchcraft. The reactions of the opponents may be historically more important than the attitudes of the necromancers themselves, because they tell us more about the culture as a whole, but we cannot begin to comprehend these reactions without knowing the realities on which they were based. Third, the rites contained in this compendium illustrate strikingly the links between magical practice and orthodox liturgy. The analogy I will use is that of a tapestry, whose display side implies a reverse side: so too, a society that ascribes a high degree of power to ritual and its users will invite the development of unofficial and transgressive ritual, related in form to its official counterpart, however sharply it may differ in its uses.
A book of magic is also a magical book. It not only tells how to perform magical works, but shares in the numinous qualities and powers of the rites it contains. To be sure, not all magic is book magic: much magical practice arises from oral culture, is transmitted orally, and is used without needing inscription on paper or parchment, even if it is the largely accidental circumstance of its having been transcribed at some point that accounts for its survival and its accessibility to us. But in the later Middle Ages certain forms of magic were increasingly assimilated to liturgy and increasingly written, so that a magical act was the performance from a script, or the observance of a rite whose details were enshrined in a text. This development surely owed much to the spread of literacy among the laity, but even more to the practice of magic among the clergy, particularly those on the fringes of the clerical elite. Judicial and anecdotal evidence suggests that explicitly demonic magic, called ‘nigromancy’ or ‘necromancy’, was largely the domain of priests, perhaps especially those without full-time parish employment, as well as ordained monks with some education and esoteric interests, university students and others who had been received into minor orders. It was within this context that a book of magic would most naturally be perceived as a magical book, sharing in the numinous quality of the rites it prescribes.

Christian ritual had from early centuries been the enactment not of oral tradition but of texts embodied in books. With the unprecedented late medieval diffusion of literacy, availability of reading matter and expansion of the clergy, books might still be accessible only to an elite, but it was a much expanded elite, and the numbers and varieties of books available were far greater than in previous centuries, so that maintaining control over this diffusion and this variety was scarcely possible, however much hierarchs may have attempted to censor the available reading matter. Little surprise, then, if books of magic found their way onto some readers’ shelves, whether for use or for mere curiosity.

Apart from its function as a repository of information and insight, a book can be of interest as a physical object, as a mirror of its writer’s life and mind, and as a mirror of the society and culture from which it emanates and to which it returns. The surviving books of medieval demonic magic repay study from each of these perspectives, although their claims to significance differ from those of ordinary texts: a book of magic is a physical object like any other book, but even as object it is perceived as having sinister power, as a kind of negative relic; it reveals something of the writer’s life and mind, but more often than in most other cases, and for more obviously compelling reasons, the authorship remains anonymous or pseudonymous; and it serves as a mirror of the surrounding culture, but often the mirror is a distorting one, a deliberately transgressive adaptation of what the society takes to be holy.

Any book of rituals serves as point of contact between sacred texts (permanent, authoritative repositories of power) and their performance (which utilizes this
power for specific occasions). The book itself, like a liturgical vessel or a sacred building, is consecrated; when a formula is read from it, the power of the text is enhanced by the sacrality of the book from which it is read. A book of magic may also be consecrated to confirm the numinous power resident in the physical object. A book of magic is thus significant not only as a source for information about magical practice — generally more reliable than court records, denunciatory treatises and literary accounts — but also as itself a magical object, treasured and closely guarded by its possessors, and condemned to burning by judges in mimicry of the punishment that might await the magicians themselves.

This perception of a book of magic as itself a magical object, and therefore as suspect, is seldom so dramatically manifested as in the canonization proceedings for Archbishop Antoninus of Florence (the man from whom, incidentally, the *Malleus maleficarum* derived most of its misogynist tropes). One witness to the sanctity of the archbishop told how the saint had gone one day to a barber-surgeon of Florence named Master Peter to have his hair cut. During the process the prelate began to wonder how a man who read no Latin was able not only to cut hair but also to cure the sick people who came to him. He learned that the barber had obtained a ‘book of surgery’ from a Cistercian and had learned from it the art of healing. Antoninus asked Peter to bring forth this book and show it to him; the man readily complied.

The archbishop recognized that the book was full of incantations, and formulas and signs belonging to the wicked magical arts. So one day he went to San Marco for lunch, and when certain members of the city’s nobility were with him in the cloister after the meal, he had fire brought in an earthen vessel, and he set fire to the book. Immediately the air was so darkened that the citizens were afraid, and clung to the archbishop. He comforted them, saying that when the book was fully burned this darkening and clouding of the air would cease, as indeed happened. Then, calling these citizens and Master Peter about him, he explained that the book contained incantations, and that at some point a mass had been celebrated over it for conjuring and summoning demons, so that wherever the book was, a multitude of demons resided there.

The burning thus served as an exorcism; the very pages seemed quite literally infected by demons, who needed to be banished. Once this was accomplished, Antoninus admonished Peter to find some other means for healing the sick; the man obeyed this admonition, and the canonization proceedings assure us that God did not allow his family to go lacking.

and it shall be done forthwith.17 The theme admits at least two interpretations. One might see it as a way of symbolizing the ubiquity of malign spirits, their eagerness to seize any opportunity for mischief, and their dense concentration in those places and objects seen as special ‘occasions of sin’. Beyond this, it can express obsessive anxiety about the book itself as an object invested with a kind of negative sacredness, something taboo, a source of spiritual and psychological contagion. The difference is not that the first interpretation is cultural and the second psychological; both interpretations function on both levels, relating the concerns of individual observers to the shared perceptions of the society. But the first interpretation places greater weight on the theological assumption that malevolent forces are secretly present in the world, an ‘objective’ assumption in the sense that it is widely diffused within the culture, eliciting and appealing to a diversity of personal concerns and anxieties, while the second stresses the aversion of the individual observer, a reaction inevitably both experienced and expressed in culturally conditioned terms.

Archbishop Antoninus’s authority was perhaps too great for a mere barber-surgeon to challenge his interpretation of the book he had been using, but not all practitioners were so amenable to instruction. In the 1340s, the inquisitor Pietro da l’Aquila charged the Florentine physician Francesco di Simone with having purchased a book on the virtues of herbs, in which (according to the inquisitor) there was necromantic content. The physician testified that he had indeed bought such a book, but that there was no taint of necromancy in it, and if he had known that the volume contained anything prohibited he would never have bought it.18 It makes little difference for our present purposes whether the inquisitor’s or the archbishop’s reading of a particular book was correct, or grounded in a careful reading of the volume’s contents. Either of them might have been scandalized by simple charms of a sort that a theologian would in principle have deemed innocent but a careless or overly zealous critic might perceive as tainted and implicitly demonic.19 In other cases it seems more likely that magical books condemned as demonic were in fact collections of expressly demonic magic: Piero di ser Lippo claimed that the book he confiscated from Agnolo di Corso contained formulas for adoration and invocation of spirits such as Satan and Beelzebub, and there is no reason to doubt that the inquisitor encountered a work of genuine demonic magic of the sort that have on occasion survived.

Less dramatic than the action of Archbishop Antoninus, but similar to it in certain respects, was the judicial treatment of a magical book by the secular authorities at Dijon:

Concerning the execution [exécution] of a book of devilry [devalbum]. On the sixth day of August, in the year 1463, at the command of my lords of the Chambre des comptes at Dijon, after consultation in this Chambre, a book
made of paper and covered with leather that was colored green was brought 
from the house and residence of the widow and heirs of Thomas of 
Dampmartin, during his life resident of Dijon. In this book were written many 
evil and false invocations of devils [deables], divinations, charms [charmes], and 
other things of the magical art, which give very bad example and are against 
God and the holy Christian faith. In it were contained many depictions of 
devils and other detestable figures and characters. At the end of this book were 
several chapters and articles on necromancy [nigromance] and chiromancy. This 
book had been seen by my lords of the Council and the Chambres des 
comptes. And after they inspected it with great and serious deliberation in 
the presence of lord Jehan Bon Varlet, priest of the chapel of my lord the duke 
of Dijon, dean of Saint-Seigne, vicar and scelleur of the reverend father in 
God my lord the bishop of Lengres in Dijon; master Jehan de Molesmes, 
secretary of my lord the duke; Ayme d’Eschenon, mayor of the town and 
commune of Dijon; Jehan Rabustel, procurator of that town; Aimé Barjod, 
procurator of my lord in the district of Dijon; and many others - this book was 
cast into the fire and totally burned to cinders, to the despite and confusion of 
the evil enemies [of the faith], and so that it could never again be used in any 
manner.21

Here there is no allegation of supernatural phenomena, and the book is not seen 
as infected or possessed by demons needing to be exorcized. None the less, the 
book itself is treated as if it were a human subject, to be examined and, once 
found guilty, executed by burning. Nothing in the account need be taken as 
implying that the book itself possesses numinous powers, yet the book elicits the 
loathing and the judicial reaction normally reserved for a personal agent and 
embodiment of evil. From one perspective there is nothing unusual about 
investing a book with personality: the reading of any book can be perceived as a 
kind of dialogue between the reader and the text. Rarely, however, is the 
perception carried to this extreme.

The numinous quality of a book of magic could resemble that of a liturgical or 
devotional book, and in some cases the distinction between a devotional and a 
magical work could be obscure. The chronicle of Saint Denis tells how in 1323 a 
monk of Morigny was found to possess a book of devotions inspired by curiosity 
and pride, although he claimed to have been inspired rather by visions of the 
Virgin Mary. In her honour, he had had many images of the Virgin painted on 
his pages. He thus sought to renew the ‘heresy and sorcery’ known as the ars 
naturia, which involves the use of special figures, contemplation of these figures 
amicid prayer and fasting, and invocation of mysterious and presumably demonic 
names, all for the sake of knowledge, wealth, honour or pleasure. His own book 
promised such rewards, but required invocations, the special copying of the book 
(at great expense), and the inscription of one’s name in the book itself two times:
the physical object, in other words, needed to be customized for its user. This book was so evil, the chronicle declares, that judges at Paris consigned it to the flames.\textsuperscript{21} In other cases the boundary between devotion and magic was complicated by various factors: the combination of devotional and liturgical material with natural magic;\textsuperscript{22} the tendency in books of conjuration to juxtapose formulas for invoking angels, demons and spirits of neutral or indeterminate standing, and the use of prayers to God for power over demonic and other spirits. Thus, when the necromantic plot against Benedict XIII was divulged in 1406, and investigation produced a coffin filled with books of prayers as well as conjurations, it is impossible to know whether even the 'prayers' were orthodox or deviant.

 Tales of sorcerers' apprentices emphasize that the wondrous powers of a magical book are not easily controlled: one exemplum tells of a pupil who reads a chapter from his master's magical tome and thereby arouses a tempest which can be quelled only when the master comes back and reads a chapter equal in length.\textsuperscript{23} One might say that in such a tale it is not the book itself but the magic it contains that is powerful and uncontrollable, but the emphasis on use of a chapter of equal length suggests that the process of reading may have magical, quantifiable efficacy distinguishable from that of the specific contents.

**THE BOOK OF CONSECRATIONS**

The perception of a book of magic as possessing numinous power is not merely an obsession of the inquisitors; it is grounded in the writings of the magicians as well, who guarded the secrecy of their writings perhaps mainly for fear of detection, but also out of a sense that the books themselves were sacred objects.

A late medieval book of demonic magic is in at least one respect decidedly not like a cookbook. If one discovers that the recipes in a cookbook tend to come out badly, one may reasonably wonder whether there are errors in detail - whether, for example, the author meant a teaspoon rather than a tablespoon of salt, or a pinch and not a pound of nutmeg - but to take the faulty book to a priest and have it blessed would normally be thought eccentric at best. Yet that, or the rough equivalent, is indeed what a late medieval necromancer might have done with a defective book of magic. He might suppose that verbal flaws in the conjurations were partly to blame,\textsuperscript{24} but, as we will see, the variants in late medieval necromantic texts seem to have been so common that a practitioner might have despaired of ever finding a flawless text to recite. In any case, the problem of verbal flaws was perhaps not the necromancer's greatest concern. A short, anonymous work called the *Liber consecrationum* (*Book of Consecrations*), which circulated in late medieval manuscripts in varying forms, makes clear that the book itself was a sacred object requiring elaborate consecration, and that its contents might lose their magical efficacy.\textsuperscript{25} According to this *Book of Consecrations*,
the magician must seek to recover the lost efficacy of his formulas by subjecting
the book itself to an elaborate process of recharging, or reconsecration.

The prologue to this work insists that its proceedings are especially valuable,
being dedicated to the names of God, and should not be used in vain. By invoking
God's names, the 'exorcist or operator' can renew the power of a magical
experiment which has lost its efficacy. Many people seek to achieve great works,
and possess writings by which they will attain their desire, but they accomplish
nothing, because their experiments are corrupt. The operator must refrain from
every pollution of mind and body; and for nine days must be abstinent in food and
drink, must keep from idle or immoderate words, and must be clothed in clean
garments. On each of these days he must hear mass, carrying this book with him
and placing it on the altar during the mass, which seems to assume the celebrant's
complicity, if the owner of the book is not in fact himself a cleric. He must execute
this procedure devoutly, with prayer and fasting, so as to attain knowledge of
sacred mysteries, and then he must carry the book back home. He should have a
secret place, sprinkled with holy water, in which he can place the book, after
binding it with a priestly cincture and a stole placed in the form of a cross.
Kneeling toward the east he must say seven psalms (presumably the seven
penitential psalms), 'the litany' (meaning the litany of the saints), and a further
prayer before opening the book. Then he may open the book with humble
devoion and with heartfelt desire 'that God may sanctify and bless and consecrate
this book, devoted to his most sacred names, so that it may fully obtain the power
it should have, that it may have power for consecrating the bond of spirits and for
all invocations and conjurations of [spirits], and likewise all other experiments'.

These instructions are followed by a prayer, to be said after the litany of the
saints – actually three prayers of varying length. The first is a plea that God may
hear the operator's prayers despite his unworthiness. The second, addressed to
Christ, repeats this central entreaty, and asks that he may consecrate this book:

by the power of these your most sacred names, On, Jesus Christ, Alpha and O,
El, Eloy, Eloyye, Sithothith, Eon, Sepmelamaton, Ezelphates, Tetragramaton,
Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Eryston, Ysornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messias,
Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, and by all your secret names which are
contained in this book. so that by the virtue, sanctity, and power of these
names this book may be consecrated ★ and blessed ★ and confirmed ★ by the
virtue of the sacrament of your body and blood, so that it may effectively,
without any deception, [and] truly obtain the power that this book should
obtain, for consecrating the bond of spirits, and for consecrating all corrupt
experiments, and that they may have the fulness of virtue and power for which
they are ordained, through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is seated on
high, to whom be honour and glory throughout unending ages. Amen, amen,
amen, amen, amen.
This second prayer then invokes all the heavenly powers to bless the book. The third and briefest simply calls upon Christ to bless the book. The procedure is then complete. If the operator later wishes to consecrate a particular experiment, or add a new one, he should use a series of further prayers, along with which he must say the Confiteor, take holy water, and make the sign of the cross on his forehead. At all times he must take care that this book, which the wise adepts (sapientissimi phisichi) dedicated to God's holy names, not fall into the hands of the foolish. Why this caution might be necessary becomes especially clear toward the end of the supplementary prayers, in which the 'exorcist or operator' specifically requests power to summon 'malign spirits' from wherever they may happen to be lurking.

THE MENTALITY OF THE NECROMANCERS AND THEIR OPPONENTS

It would be a mistake to think of necromancy as a peripheral phenomenon in late medieval society and culture. Secular as well as ecclesiastical courts took it seriously and at times executed those charged with its practice; monarchs and popes as well as commoners lived in fear of becoming its victims. This fear may have been in some cases or to some degree feigned or pathological, but it was also grounded in realistic awareness that necromancy was in fact being practised, and in an almost universally shared conviction that it could work.

The history of magic sometimes claims a place in academic study as a field within intellectual history. This claim is plausible when the subject is a writer such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, deeply concerned with the practical operation of magic but also with the philosophical principles by which magic worked. This is not the type of material I will chiefly be examining in this study. The focus here will be formulas of frankly demonic magic, with only the most meagre of intellectual pretensions; I wish to suggest, perhaps perversely, that such a text none the less repays close examination. The rites contained in a manual of necromancy are flamboyantly transgressive, even carrying transgression toward its furthest imaginable limits, and in today's academic environment one might justify studying them on these grounds. I am impelled more by a simple urge to grapple with late medieval culture in its entirety, including its most problematic and conflicted manifestations - warts and all, to use a fitting cliché - and to explore how the underside of the culture related to the side more often displayed. This too is part of the historian's challenge of discerning how things made sense in an alien culture.

First, then, the surviving necromantic texts provide a useful starting point for the sources of late medieval magic. Certain aspects of the necromancy laid out in these writings are clearly derived from the Arabic tradition of astral magic that became widely diffused in Europe from at least the thirteenth century onward. At times, as we shall see, the experiments are indebted to Jewish magical traditions,
whether explicitly or implicitly, although the impact of Jewish magic on the
forbidden rites of Christendom has been less studied and is harder to trace in
detail than the influence of Arabic tradition. There are even materials in late
medieval necromantic manuscripts closely resembling the magic of antiquity. It is
often tempting to suppose that the forms of magical practice are essentially
similar across cultures and throughout time, or at least over a very extended
*langue durée*. Indeed, one might easily be persuaded that there is a history of the
uses of magic and reactions to magic, but not a history of magic itself: virtually
every magical technique one encounters appears so deeply rooted in tradition
that magical practice seems essentially timeless and perennial. Indeed, it is
possible to cite analogues and possible sources for late medieval magic from
widely diverse cultures: in search of such parallels one could wander endlessly
through thickets of the history of magic, from the Greek magical papyri of
antiquity, through Arabic and Byzantine sources, and on to the grimoires of the
early modern era. Yet when certain more or less well defined classes of
practitioner take an interest in magic, they will adapt to their own use forms of
magic taken from various sources. If the history of magic is to be anything other
than a night in which all cats are black, it must attend to the characteristics of
specific mélanges of magical tradition. The chief purpose of this study is
therefore not to trace the history of individual elements but to reconstruct the
configurations into which these elements enter: the patterns of magical practice
worked in a particular historical setting, the relationship between these forms of
magic and other aspects of the culture, and the perceptions of magic within that
culture.

Furthermore, we cannot understand the *opposition* to magic in late medieval
Europe without knowing fully what sorts of magic were being practised in that
culture. Apart from the exempla by Caesarius of Heisterbach and others telling
of the dangers of necromancy, there is considerable literature by late medieval
theologians directed against these practices. For instance, the Paris theologians
who in 1398 issued a general prohibition of magic were clearly aware of
necromantic practices and concerned to eradicate them.26 The theological
literature against necromancy is incomprehensible without knowledge of the
necromancers’ formulas, and has at times been seriously misunderstood.27 Nor
can we understand the virulence of the critics’ assault on magic without knowing
the purposes magic was believed to serve. The glorification of the transgressive
and the vilification of persecutors has perhaps too often blinded us to the
recognition that much magic was intended for sexual coercion and exploitation,
or for unscrupulous careerism, or for vigilante action against thieves that could
easily lead to false accusations. I do not propose to moralize about these
activities, but as a corrective to naive romanticizing I do want to make clear the
kinds of magic one can expect to find in a late medieval source. It would be too
much to claim that fear of clerical necromancy was a major source of pre-
Reformation anti-clericalism - in Boccaccio, for example, when clerics make pretence of magical power this is exercised in the service of their lechery, and lust rather than magic is the focus of the satire - but the realization that certain clerics were dabbling in conjuration could hardly have made a positive contribution to the image of the clergy at a time when for other reasons there was increasing distrust of priests and priestcraft.  

If we neglect the literature of necromancy we cannot grasp what it is that the Humanist mages (Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico, Johannes Reuchlin, Johannes Trithemius and others) so vigorously claimed not to be doing, or what they were often suspected of doing despite their protestations. Even the rise of the witch trials in the fifteenth century is related to increasing consciousness of this explicitly demonic magic. It was surely in large part because they were aware of the demonic magic described in these manuals and evidently practised in their midst that orthodox authorities often became sceptical about the notion of non-demonic, natural magic. They seem to have misconstrued ordinary magical procedures, interpreting them as working, like necromancy, through demonic agency. Cesare Lanza hinted at the connection when he remarked in 1579, ‘Today a lowly woman does more than all the necromancers accomplished in the ancient world.’ In so far as necromancers contributed to the plausibility of claims about witches, they bear indirect responsibility for the rise of the European witch trials in the fifteenth and following centuries. To the extent that these early witch trials focused on female victims, they thus provide a particularly tragic case of women being blamed and punished for the misconduct of men: women who were not invoking demons could more easily be thought to do so at a time when certain men were in fact so doing.

Natural magic was always, in some quarters, a suspect category, and understandably so: its mechanisms remained unclear, and its claims to empirical confirmation were perhaps even by medieval standards not impressive. Demonic magic, in contrast, was a straightforward notion, and its efficacy was easy for virtually all medieval people to believe. Small wonder if for some authorities in late medieval Europe this became the paradigmatic form of magic, and if other forms came to be interpreted as implicitly grounded in demonic aid, so that a theologian, an inquisitor, or an educated lay judge might be sceptical about claims that some magic was natural rather than demonic.

More generally, knowledge of this material adds significantly to our understanding of later medieval clerical culture. A society that had a surplus of clergy inevitably spawned an underemployed and largely unsupervised ‘clerical underworld’ capable of various forms of mischief, including necromancy, and indeed this underworld seems to have been the primary locus for this explicitly demonic magic. Not all those accused of conjuring demons were clerics; the charge was attached at times to laymen and occasionally women. But the examples cited already suggest that clerics were disproportionately represented,
and when we examine the Munich handbook of necromancy in following chapters what we will find there is a characteristically clerical form of magic, using Latin texts and presupposing knowledge of mainstream ritual. The beliefs and ritual operations found in necromancy mimic those of established rites, somewhat as the threads are the same on both sides of a tapestry, and the patterns they form on the underside are recognizably related to those on the front. One might even suggest that a culture in which ritual occupies so central a place will naturally if not inevitably engender forbidden rituals, somewhat as the production of a tapestry necessarily produces on the underside a distorted version of the intended image. The study of late medieval necromancy gives an exceptionally clear and forceful picture of the abuses likely to arise in a culture so keenly attentive to ritual display of sacerdotal power. Our own society, more fascinated with sexuality and its abuse, has its own concerns about miscreant priests and their abuse of young boys; the clerical misconduct most feared in the late Middle Ages was of a different order.

DEMONIC MAGIC AND THE THEORY OF RITUAL

I have spoken of demonic magic as the underside of the tapestry of late medieval ritual culture; more must be said about the character of magic as ritual. If the book of magic is on the one hand a magical book, an object possessing preternatural power, a habitation in which demons may even be supposed to reside, it is on the other hand a script whose formulas are meant for enactment, a guide for ritual action. The book of magic thus functions both as a repository of magical power and as a guide to magical process, a liturgical compendium with rites to be observed, scripts to be enacted. The rites of magic suggest questions analogous to those raised by any rites, even if they differ in the sources of power they mean to exploit. Three issues in the study of ritual are of particular relevance to our understanding of a necromantic text: the relationship between official (or public) and unofficial (or private) ritual; the efficacy ascribed to ritual, and the role of language in ritual.

Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss took the chief difference between religion and magic to lie in their social context. To paraphrase their perception, religion is the official observance of a collectivity (such as a Church), while magic is the unofficial practice of an individual (often on behalf of a client). But if one takes religion to be the spiritual practice of a community specifically acting as a community, one excludes private prayer – while if one takes it to be the spiritual practice sanctioned by a community, even when carried out individually, one relegates any and all disapproved practice, regardless of the grounds for disapproval, to the category of magic. Eamon Duffy has emphasized that magical or superstitious formulas in charms share a common vocabulary with liturgical prayers, which already suggests the need for a nuanced sense of the
relationship between religion and magic. The complexity of this relationship may
be seen with particular clarity in the comparison of exorcism and conjuration. As
we shall see in a later chapter, in medieval parlance these terms were used
interchangeably, and the practices are in fact in all ways but one identical. What
we now call exorcism was practised by an individual, usually a cleric (although
some laypeople claimed the role), who addressed demons with formal commands,
whose power was derived chiefly from the sacred realities invoked in the formulas
of command. What we now call conjuring was also practised by an individual,
usually a cleric, who addressed demons with formal commands essentially
identical to those of the exorcists, again powerful by virtue of appeal to sacred
realities. In neither case was the command automatically efficacious: both
exorcists and conjurers reckoned on the possibility that the demons might resist
their invocations and refuse compliance, in which case the rituals of command
would be redoubled. Both the exorcist and the conjurer were engaged in spiritual
wrestling matches with the demons, and in both cases they were keenly aware of
the dangers. Exorcism was in principle carried out on behalf of a demoniac;
conjurations could be done as ways of afflicting enemies, and could be carried
out on behalf of clients. In both cases, then, the ritual performer was acting as an
individual but within a social context. If exorcisms were allowed, at least to
authorized clergy, while conjuring was prohibited to all, it was because of the one
key difference: the exorcist’s intent was to dispel the demons, while the conjurer’s
was to summon them, and mainstream opinion held that it was better to be rid of
malign spirits than to invite them into one’s life. Study of conjurations in
subsequent chapters will suggest that there is no other essential difference
between this form of magic and religious practices, and that it is better to
perceive demonic magic as an illicit form of religion than as a cultural
phenomenon distinct from religion.

The efficacy of magical rites, like that of any rituals, can be seen as real,
objective, and (within the historical culture) rational, or as emotional, subjective,
and symbolic: the magicians’ operations may be viewed as actually
accomplishing certain ends, or as symbolic expressions of their emotions and
their desires. In Ludwig Wittgenstein’s classic formulation, ‘Magic . . . gives
manifestation to a wish; it expresses a wish.”56 Echoing such earlier formulations,
Joseph Gusfield suggests that ‘in symbolic behavior the action is ritualistic and
ceremonial in that the goal is reached in the behaviour itself rather than in any
state it brings about’.57 This pragmatist perception of ritual may be useful as a
way for an observer to excuse someone else’s otherwise irrational practice, but
there is little evidence that most practitioners themselves view the effect of their
rites as merely expressive and not objectively effective.58 Magic rituals in
medieval Europe were clearly intended to produce results: to arouse passion, to
drive people mad, to find stolen goods, and so forth. Judicial evidence makes it
clear that the practitioners, the clients and the victims all expected magic to have
objective effect, and when it did not this was because the specific practitioners were inept or did not perform rituals with sufficient strength to command the demons they summoned.

In one sense, however, Gusfield’s formulation does apply to magic. Magical rites, like prayers of petition, may be used for practical ends, but any goals extrinsic to the ritual presuppose an effect intrinsic to it. The prayers and actions that constitute orthodox ritual first of all transform the relationship between the praying person and God, as also the relationship with the persons prayed for, with others in whose company one is praying, and with others throughout history who have said the prayer in question. If such ritual is transformative, the transformation is in the first instance one that occurs within the ritual itself. The participants in the ritual become different, and the network of relations in which they stand is reconfigured. Even if no further results ensue, for the duration of the ritual the world of the participant is transformed. Normally one undertakes a ritual with the expectation of further, extrinsic changes, moral or physical, but these are secondary, at least in a logical sense, however important they are to the participant: they are secondary because they presuppose a prior change within the ritual itself, an empowerment of the participant that then makes extrinsic change possible. Ritual can be effective for other purposes only if it first is effective as ritual. It can have secondary efficacy only by virtue of its primary efficacy. The principle holds in the case of magical rites, and perhaps most especially those involving demonic magic: even if they are undertaken for the sake of some practical end, that purpose can be accomplished only because within the ritual there is a transformed relationship between the magician and God, between the magician and the demons, and perhaps also between the magician and other humans. Calling upon the aid of God, the magician seeks power over the demons; the primary purpose of the ritual is to build sufficient power that the magician may compel the spirits to do his will. Only if within the ritual itself this transformation of power is attained can the magician accomplish any other goal.

The efficacy of ritual ex opere operato must be perceived in this light. Thomas Aquinas was stating the common perception of theologians in the later Middle Ages when he recognized the mass and sacraments as having objective effect independent of the disposition and moral status of the celebrant and minister. That ritual was inherently efficacious (ex opere operato), apart from any further effect to be gained by virtue of the minister’s or participants’ disposition (ex opere operantis), by no means meant that the rite was magical. Whether an operation qualified as magic or not depended chiefly on which powers it invoked: if it called upon celestial or manifest natural powers it was not magic, but if it appealed to demonic or occult natural powers it was magic. Rituals that called upon angelic aid formed an ambiguous category, possibly but not necessarily magical, but mainly because the identity of the angel summoned might be in doubt.
A ritual, magical or otherwise, could have efficacy *ex opere operato* precisely because it transformed the status of the performer and his or her relationship with God, with other spirits, and with humans. It was clearly this fear of the efficacy of magic *ex opere operato* that led an actor playing in the *Jeu de Sainte Barbe* in 1470 to make a notarized counterpact declaring that 'by the invocations and anathemas of the demons which he makes in the play... he does not intend to speak from the heart but only in the manner of the play, and that on that account the enemy of human kind, the devil, should not have any claim on his soul'. But the force of magical ritual was not in all respects analogous to that of other rites. Ordinary prayer and official ritual assume that the spirits invoked are in general well disposed toward humankind, and enter readily into a helping relationship. The praying person's invocation of God or a saint is an appeal to a benevolent being. In this respect the rituals of demonic magic differ from other rites: they invoke fallen spirits taken (by the necromancers as well as by their critics) to be unwilling, uncooperative, inimical and treacherous. The operations of demonic magic, more than other rituals, are thus explicit contests of wills. The necromancer recognizes a need to heap conjuration upon conjuration, and to buttress these formulas with supporting means of power, precisely because the demons are reluctant to come, and if they come will do everything in their power to escape the magician's control, threaten him, and deceive him. To gain the upper hand in the contest, the magician must hold the strongest possible means for power over the demons, and must adjure them in the name of all that is holy to come in non-threatening form, to cause no harm, and to tell only the truth. Yet all of these factors, far from undercutting Gusfield's analysis, actually strengthen it: they show how vitally important it was for the magician to focus his attention and his energies on the immediate consequences of his ritual action. His rites could be efficacious for extrinsic purposes only if they were first effective as rites, as ritual contests with cunning and powerful spiritual adversaries who could nevertheless be induced to fulfill his command.

The function of language within magical ritual is a subject to be explored in detail when we examine formulas of conjuration in a later chapter. The general topic is one S.J. Tambiah has discussed, with focus on the use of special languages, or the use of elements from various languages, in magical practice. Necromantic conjurations of the late Middle Ages are almost entirely in Latin, which marks them not as specifically magical but as similar to ordinary liturgical formulas. Some experiments give formulas in what is said to be Chaldean, thus making an appeal to the authority of ancient Jewish magic analogous to that of later Christian Kabbalists. But when a child medium is used, he is sometimes licensed to conjure the spirits in the vernacular. On one level one might say that the choice of language is a matter of indifference: the demons or other spirits being conjured know all human tongues and can be addressed effectively in any of them. Yet in a different way the selection of language was important, because
it was only formulas in Latin that were clearly related to the prayers of mainstream liturgy. Necromancers who had command of Latin and could use it to demonstrate the groundedness of their rites in the liturgical tradition of the Church could no doubt gain readier acceptance as authentic masters of their art. And even if demons could understand other languages, they seemed (like God) to pay special attention when addressed in Latin.

In any case, within medieval culture, magical words were seen as effective not per se but rather as means for evoking the effective presence of the archetypal powers to which they refer. Magical language is thus not in a simple sense the cause of efficacy but rather its occasion; the cause is a network of forces released and coordinated by the magician’s verbal cue. The situation is analogous to that of the eucharist: the priest’s utterance of the words of consecration is not the cause of transubstantiation but rather the divinely ordained occasion for divine intervention. One might suppose that this distinction is too subtle to have been clear to the common necromancer, but in fact the point is clearly articulated in the conjurations themselves, which not only acknowledge but insist that the sources of their own power are the archetypal forces they bring to bear upon the situation at hand.

The magic we are dealing with, then, borrows the conventions of liturgical prayer and has efficacy resembling that of the sacraments. In other respects, however, the fitting comparison is not so much with liturgy and sacraments as with the private devotions that were proliferating in the late Middle Ages, and the analogue to the book of magic is less the missal than the private prayer book. Ritual magic and devotions alike showed how liturgical formulas could be adapted for private and domestic use; indeed, one central point of devotionalism was to provide a network of connections between church and home, bonding them in an increasingly complex relationship, and imparting to the home some of the fervour and sacrality of the church. Magic resembles the devotionalism of the books of hours and other prayerbooks in its translation of official rites into an unofficial and largely private setting. Books of magic, like books of devotion, proliferated in the expanding marketplace of privately owned and privately read texts.

**PLAN OF THIS BOOK**

The following chapter will introduce the manuscript to which this study is chiefly devoted. Subsequent chapters fall into two blocks. Chapters 3-5 examine the experiments according to the chief purposes for which they are performed: entertainment (illusionist experiments), power over other individuals (psychological ones), and knowledge (divinatory ones). The chief point of these chapters is to show that within this body of material there are in fact fairly clearly distinguishable subtraditions, and to sketch the common characteristics of each. Chapters 6–8, then, analyse the sources and techniques used to gain magical power, in particular the conjurations (and the demonology assumed by these
conjunctions), the magic circles, and the formulas of astral magic techniques that cut across the categories discussed in the earlier chapters, and thus represent elements of continuity within the diversity of necromantic practice.

Throughout the book I will give translations (my own, unless otherwise noted) of source material for the study of late medieval necromancy. Most of these passages are from the Munich handbook; to give a sense of the cultural context, I have included some material from other writings of the magicians and from writings about and against demonic magic. I have opted not to give a complete translation of the Munich handbook; both specialists and general readers, I assume, will be better served by selective translation of representative and particularly interesting passages (selected perhaps disproportionately but not exclusively from the earlier sections of the handbook), integrated into my analysis. This option seems especially appropriate given the largely repetitive nature of the material, and the need to situate it in its cultural context. The Latin text is, in any case, available at the end of the volume for those who wish to probe more deeply.

Notes


9 Brucker, 'Sorcery', 13 16, 22f.

10 Nicolaus Eymericus: *Directorium inquisitorum*, ii.43.1, (Rome: Georgius Ferrarius, 1587), also tells of having captured necromancers' books and had them burned in public.


13 Francis A. Gasquet, ed., *Collectanea Anglo-Premontanensia*, 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1906), 117f. The text appears corrupt in more than one place, but the sense is sufficiently clear.

14 One might suggest that the term *nigromantia* not be re-Graecized as 'necromancy' but left as 'nigromancy'. While in some respects preferable, this usage would mistakenly suggest that medieval usage distinguished between two terms. Both DuCange's *Glossarium* (s.v. *nigromantia*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. 'necromancy') make it clear that *nigromantia* was not a term distinct from *necromantia*, but an alternative version of the same word, influenced by the Latin *niger*. *Divus et Piauer*, for example, is quoted as reading (in the 1496 printing), 'nygromancy, that is wytchecrafte done by deed bodyes'. The equivalence thus conflated 'black divination' (construed broadly with reference to the magical arts in general, but at least by implication these arts conceived as demonic) with 'divination by consulting the dead'. The first part of the word was also at times spelled *nygro-, neger-, egn*., etc.


19 On the relationship between licit and illicit charms, see, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, II/II, q. 96, a. 4, and the comments of Heinrich Kramer (traditionally ascribed to him and


25 There are two copies in Clm 849, on 52r–59v and 135r–139v, and both are edited below. In addition, there is a fragmentary version in Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D252, 85r–87v, and a French *Libre de conservation* in Trinity College Cambridge MS O.8.29, fols 183r–186v.


27 For example, Paul Diepen, in 'Arnaldus de Villanova De improbatione maleficiorum', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 9 (1912), 385–403, clearly had no notion what necromancy entailed and was thus seriously mistaken regarding the intent of Arnald's work.

28 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York: Mentor, 1982), 7.3, 7.5 (involving an alleged priest), 8.7 (involving a scholar) and 9.10.

29 See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, ch. 7.


32 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Ch. 6, is surely correct in arguing that knowledge of Latin was shared in varying degree by diverse sections of the population, and was not exclusive to the clergy. It is not the language of necromancy alone, but the command of ritual vocabulary and the assumption of entitlement to use that vocabulary that suggests the necromancers were primarily clerical, and this assumption is confirmed by images of the clerical necromancer found in literature as well as in the judicial records.


41 Invoking an angel established as unfallen, such as the archangels Michael or Gabriel, could be superstitions if the means of invocation were inappropriate (e.g., if one used circles and conjurations in calling upon them) but would not thereby have qualified as magical by medieval definitions.


The Munich Handbook of Necromancy: Clm 849

In other areas of medieval studies, the ‘new philology’ is urging renewed attention to particular manuscripts, with respect for their variant readings of texts as well as attention to their physical make-up, evidence of the ways they were used, the disposition of text on the page, and the relationship between text and images. The individual manuscript actually put together by medieval hands and used by medieval readers, rather than the artificial standardized edition, is increasingly seen as a means for understanding how texts functioned within their historical culture. In the same vein, I wish to propose that for the history of magic — especially in the late Middle Ages — what we need most is a series of detailed studies of particular representative manuscripts. This more than any other type of study will contribute toward a concrete and realistic sense of how magicians conceived and represented their art, especially if it is possible to divine the process by which a manuscript was compiled, and to say something about the mentality of the compiler as it changed through different stages of compilation.

Clearly there were those in late medieval Europe whose interest in magic was more theoretical than practical. The monk of Sulby mentioned in Chapter 1 claimed that his fascination with the occult was purely theoretical or speculative. We know that William of Auvergne and Nicholas Eymericus studied works of magic in the interest of analysing them, refuting their assumptions, and condemning them more effectively; while Albert the Great and Roger Bacon had theoretical interests in the occult that grew in large part out of their scientific research. There may well have been many less known figures who took a keen interest in knowing about magic through widely disseminated books such as Picatrix, even if they did not intend to practise this learning.

The magical texts probably of greatest interest from a theoretical or scientific viewpoint were integrally conceived and titled works, even if these were pseudonymous or anonymous, as opposed to miscellanies. Works integrally composed by single authors, such as al-Kindi or Marsilio Ficino, or pseudonymous works ascribed to Aristotle, were likely not only to prescribe recipes for specific purposes but to develop more or less explicit theories of occult process. Miscellanies might contain material that implies an understanding of how magic worked, but they were less likely to develop a theoretical viewpoint explicitly or coherently. To be sure, this distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is by no means rigid. While Picatrix is one of the great works of Arabic astral magic, infused with a more or less coherent theory of how magic
operates, it is also in large measure a compilation. The Pseudo-Albertan Book of Secrets is systematic in its organizing principles — it surveys the magical properties first of herbs (nettle, wild teasel, periwinkle, and so forth, one by one), then of stones, then of beasts, and finally of the planets — but the contents gathered under these headings might be found in a miscellany as well, without benefit of organizing structure. Yet while the distinction between an integrally conceived work and a miscellany is thus not absolute, it is none the less real.

It is a distinction worth noting, because the works of magic that survive from medieval Europe include large numbers of miscellanies, and in light of their importance they have been too little studied. When we read in a judicial record or a literary work of a magician who owned and used a book of magic, this is at least as likely to have been a miscellany as an integrally composed treatise. For while miscellanies may be of less interest from a theoretical viewpoint, they had compensating features that may often have made them more useful to the practising magician. The materials assembled in them were selected not to round off some theoretical notion of magic and its component parts, but because individually they were taken to be effective. They are documents of use, analogous to the Greek magical papyri. A treatise on conjuration, such as the Thesaurus necromantiae ascribed to Roger Bacon, may explain systematically how conjuring spirits works, and how different spirits are related to different astronomical bodies; a necromantic miscellany is more likely to lay out a single ‘experiment’ (experimentum, or, less often, experientia, a concrete and experienced application of ritual for magical effect), with all of the required preparations and conjurations, step by step. Historians of magic who are mainly interested in the field from the perspective of intellectual history or the history of science are likely to be drawn mostly to single-author treatises, but those interested in the actual practice of magic and its relevance to cultural, social, judicial, religious and political history must take a keen interest in miscellanies as well. Furthermore, whereas an integrated treatise claims to represent a point of view distilled and isolated from the course of its own development, a miscellany can more fully serve as a biographical document illustrating moments in the life of its compiler, presenting its reader with the challenge of discerning the trajectory of its compiler’s shifting interests.

Willy Braekman has edited the magical portions of a Middle Dutch miscellany of the fifteenth century, now at the Wellcome Historical Medical Library in London. This manuscript illustrates the variety of magical materials we might expect to find in a miscellany. Included along with non-magical material are experiments to identify the thief who has stolen milk, beer or wax; to become invisible; to see ‘extraordinary things’; to learn about past or future events; to ease childbirth; to transport oneself rapidly by use of an ointment (made of seven herbs, goat’s fat and bat’s blood). Various love charms or summoning experiments are given, as well as a procedure for preventing a wife from having intercourse with another man by tracing a circle around her genitals with the tail of a lizard.
In the category of magical trickery or parlour games are experiments to cause people to grow dirty while bathing; to cause white birds to hatch from the eggs of black birds; to make a newly hatched peacock white; to cause a woman to leap naked from her bath; to cause a dog to dance; to compel a horse to stand still; to hold a serpent in one's hand without harm, and to cause a horse to collapse as if dead. More useful are procedures to expel mice and flies by use of magical images. The manuscript gives the first half of a moon book, explaining the moon's influence under each zodiacal sign. And it includes a set of experiments ascribed to Solomon, and twelve experiments involving snake-skin, widely attributed to Johannes Paulinus but in fact translated from the Arabic. Most of the experiments in this manuscript are of natural magic, but not all: Braeckman's no. 20, especially, calls upon 'the power and might of these spirits, Beheydraz, Anleyuz, [and] Manitaynus', to aid in the magical seduction of a woman.

Bodleian MS Rawlinson D 252, a fifteenth-century English manuscript, contains formulas for explicitly demonic magic, to which Frank Klaassen has called my attention, and which he will describe in his own research now in progress. It is devoted chiefly to lengthy conjurations intended for divination, most often to detect thieves, although there are multi-purpose experiments as well. The bulk of the material is in Latin, but the manuscript also gives lengthy passages in Middle English. The manuscript differs from Braeckman's Middle Dutch text in various ways, of which three are immediately apparent: it is more consistently devoted to magical experiments, most of its operations are for a particular kind of magic, and it more regularly calls upon the aid of demons. I will refer to this miscellany on occasion in following chapters.

**CODEx LATINUS MONACENSIS 849**

We turn now to the specific focus of this study, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bavarian State Library, Clm 849, and in particular the texts on folios 3 through 108 of this manuscript. (The material on the following folios is related in kind and approximately contemporary but in different hands and different languages, and evidently not intended as part of the same compilation.) The compiler of this main block of material was evidently German; the appended materials seem to have come from various sources, and one passage contains a formula in Italian. The manuscript is a small one, approximately 8½ inches high and 5½ inches wide. The description of this manuscript in the published catalogue is nondescript: it appears there as a book of incantations, exorcisms and sundry bewitchments. Lynn Thorndike made no reference to it in his monumental History of Magic, and while he did cite it briefly in a later article published in a festschrift, it has generally been neglected in the literature on witchcraft and magic. In my survey of Magic in the Middle Ages I highlighted this text, but without examining it fully and systematically. Yet it deserves careful attention, not because it was influential but because of what it
represents. It is a rare example, essentially intact, of what must once have been a flourishing genre: the manual of explicitly demonic magic, or necromancy. It is clearly a miscellany, with little linkage, clustering or other organization of its materials, and no effort to develop a coherent theory to support or explain the 'experiments' it contains. Yet its limitations are also its strengths: the lack of a systematic framework means that each section, essentially self-contained, has a coherence and clarity often lacking in more fully developed writings.

The first two folios of the manuscript are missing, a circumstance which may help to explain how the manuscript evaded detection and thus survived. (Indeed, it is not uncommon for the first folio of a magical manuscript to be missing.) The 107 folios that remain in the main block (rectifying an error in foliation gives us one extra folio) are devoted primarily to a series of forty-two magic experiments. Interspersed with these are a version of the Liber consecratio (no. 31); a list of spirits, with descriptions of the forms in which they appear and the functions they perform (no. 34); a manual of astral magic (no. 37); a list of favourable and unfavourable days for writing magical inscriptions (no. 46); and a fragment of a chemical prescription, with a gloss in the German language (no. 47).

All but a few of the experiments fall into the three main categories. There are twelve illusionist experiments, designed to make things appear other than as they are — to conjure forth an illusory banquet or castle, to obtain a wondrous means of transportation (usually a demon in the form of a horse) that will carry the magician across land or water, or to make a dead person seem alive or vice versa. Seven psychological experiments are intended to have influence on people's intellects or wills — to arouse love or hatred, to gain favour at court, to constrain the will of others, or to drive a person mad. Fully seventeen experiments are divinatory techniques for gaining knowledge of future, past, distant or hidden things. Most of these experiments entail catopromancy, or scrying: the magician's assistant, usually a young boy, stares at a reflecting surface until he sees figures, taken here to be apparitions of spirits, who can reveal the desired information. As should become clear in following chapters, these three types of experiment are significantly different from one another: we find an element of playful fantasy in the illusionist experiments, an often violent effort at coercion in the psychological ones, and an insistence on detecting truth and righting wrongs in most of the divinatory ones. Differences in tone and in purpose are accompanied by variations in technique: conjuring spirits is of central importance in most of the experiments, but the magic circle plays its most prominent role in the illusionist rituals, sympathetic magic is more prevalent in the psychological experiments, and scrying is itself the key to most of the divination. Rather than a single technique, the necromancy of this handbook represents a congeries of distinct procedures, most of which can be sorted fairly neatly into these three categories.

Roughly speaking, we can say that the moving forces behind the magic of the handbook are the exercise of imagination, the hunger for power and the thirst for
knowledge. To be sure, all three elements are at work in all the necromantic experiments. One might say that the main issues raised by the practice of necromancy are those of the relationship between sacrality and power: the necromancers perceived their art and office as sacred and saw themselves as invoking the sacred powers of heaven by which they could constrain the equally numinous but malign and treacherous powers of hell. At the same time, one must recognize that all these experiments required exercise of imagination and were inspired in large part by curiosity. Yet the characteristic emphases differ, and we may safely generalize that it is the imaginative element which dominates in the illusionist experiments, the quest for power in psychological experiments, and the yearning for knowledge in the divinatory ones.

All forms of necromancy presupposed and played upon tensions. Basic to illusionist experiments was the tension between fantasy and reality: all within the border realm in which readers and practitioners were asked to suspend their disbelief, or perhaps rather to entertain possibilities that would normally defy belief but within this ritual context might gain credibility. In psychological experiments the tension was chiefly between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim over whom the master sought to exercise his power. In divinatory experiments it was perhaps most importantly a tension between truth and deception; these rituals were intended to ascertain truth but left themselves open to the constant hazard of error.

The materials in the manuscript that do not fit into these three categories are a procedure for gaining knowledge with the aid of a demon tutor (no. 1), a brief experiment called the 'Key of Pluto' for opening all locks (no. 26), a fragmentary operation for averting harm (no. 44), a chemical recipe (no. 47), and generic materials that can serve diverse ends (nos 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 42 and 46).

Strikingly absent from this compilation are magical rituals for healing and protection and necromantic procedures for inflicting bodily harm or death. The judicial records provide ample evidence of necromancers charged with undermining the health of their victims, and other necromantic literature evidently provided guidelines for such magic. The compiler of this manuscript seems not to have been a man of conventional morality or scrupulous disposition, yet he seems also not to have taken an interest in these kinds of magic. Not all necromantic manuals were squeamish in this regard. The Key of Solomon insists that magic must be used only to glorify God and extend kindness to neighbours, but in fact the work prescribes methods for causing enmity, war, death, destruction, and so forth: as E.M. Butler says, the intentions 'seem to have been of the best; but they were literally of the kind which pave the way to hell'.¹³

The following table shows the order of the forty-two experiments and other materials, most of which are assigned to three broad categories: psychological ('Psych.'), illusionist ('Illus.'), and divinatory ('Divin.'). The numbers for each item are editorial additions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Fols</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>For gaining knowledge of the liberal arts</td>
<td>3r–5v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>For causing a person to lose his senses</td>
<td>6r–7v</td>
<td>Psych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>For arousing a woman’s love</td>
<td>8r–11v</td>
<td>Psych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>For gaining dignity and honour</td>
<td>11v–13v</td>
<td>Psych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>For arousing hatred between friends</td>
<td>13v–15r</td>
<td>Psych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>For obtaining a banquet</td>
<td>15r–18v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>For obtaining a castle</td>
<td>18v–21r</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>For obtaining a boat</td>
<td>21r–23r</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>For resuscitating a dead person</td>
<td>25v–28r</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>For invisibility</td>
<td>28r–29v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>For obtaining a woman’s love</td>
<td>29v–31v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>For constraining a man, woman, spirit or beast</td>
<td>32r–33r</td>
<td>Psych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>For obtaining a horse</td>
<td>33v–34v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>For obtaining a flying throne</td>
<td>34r–35v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>For finding something in sleep</td>
<td>35v–36v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>For obtaining a horse</td>
<td>36r–36v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>The mirror of Floron, for revelation of past, present and future</td>
<td>37r–38r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Another way of using a mirror</td>
<td>39v–40v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>For invisibility</td>
<td>40v</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>For discovering a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel</td>
<td>41r–42r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>First mirror of Lilith</td>
<td>42r–43r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>For learning about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal</td>
<td>43r–43v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>For information about a theft by gazing into a crystal</td>
<td>43v–44v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Key of Pluto, for opening all locks</td>
<td>44v</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail</td>
<td>44v–45v;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51r,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46v–47v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>For obtaining information by gazing at a bone</td>
<td>47v–49r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>The true art of the basin</td>
<td>49v–49v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>The Book of Consecrations</td>
<td>52r–59v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Conjuration of Satan/Mirage</td>
<td>59v–62v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Fols</td>
<td>Type</td>
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<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>For obtaining information from a mirror</td>
<td>62v–65r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>List of spirits</td>
<td>65v–65r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>For obtaining a woman's love</td>
<td>65r bis–67v</td>
<td>Psych.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Manual of astral magic</td>
<td>68v–96v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail</td>
<td>96v–99v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>For obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail</td>
<td>99v–103r</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>For obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail</td>
<td>103r–105v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>For discovering hidden treasure in sleep</td>
<td>106v–106v</td>
<td>Divin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>The name Semiforas</td>
<td>106v–107r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>For obtaining a horse</td>
<td>107r–107v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Fragment of an experiment for averting harm</td>
<td>107v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>For invisibility</td>
<td>107v–108v</td>
<td>Illus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Favourable and unfavourable days of the month for inscriptions</td>
<td>108r–108v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Fragment of a chemical prescription (with a note in German)</td>
<td>108v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the first (truncated) experiment in the manual, an entire series of fourteen experiments can be gathered into four clusters, two psychological and two illusionist:

Cluster I: Nos 2–5 (for inflicting dementia, gaining the love of any woman, obtaining dignity and honour, arousing hatred between friends)

Cluster II: Nos 6–11 (for obtaining a banquet, obtaining a castle, obtaining a boat, obtaining a horse, resuscitating a dead person, obtaining invisibility)

Cluster III: Nos 12–13 (for obtaining a woman's love, constraining a man or woman or spirit or beast)

Cluster IV: Nos 14–15 (for obtaining a horse, obtaining a flying throne)

Much less of the subsequent material falls into clusters, and the groupings that do occur are devoted exclusively to divination (unless we count the astral magic of no. 37 as itself constituting a cluster):

Cluster V: Nos 18–20 (the mirror of Floron, alternative version of same, another way of using a mirror)

Cluster VI: Nos 22–25 (for discover a thief or murderer by gazing into a vessel,
first mirror of Lilith, for knowing about any uncertain thing by gazing into a crystal, for information about a theft by gazing into a crystal)

Cluster VII: Nos 27–30 (for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing at a bone, the true art of the basin, twelve names to make spirits appear in boy’s hand)

Cluster VIII: Nos 38–41 (for obtaining information about a theft by gazing into a fingernail, for obtaining information by gazing into a fingernail, for discovering hidden treasure in sleep)

Before no. 35 the manuscript gives the heading, ‘Here begin good and tried experiments’, which suggests that the compiler either reordered materials he was taking from elsewhere or copied this particular experiment from the beginning of some other compilation. The arrangement of folios within the gatherings is highly erratic (with many folios excised, and others elsewhere inserted), but apart from the two folios missing from the front of the manuscript, there is in general a high degree of continuity both within and between the gatherings, the main exception being in the apparently careless fragmentation of experiment no. 27.14 This discontinuity existed already, and the folios in question had already been excised, at the time of the original (fifteenth-century) foliation. In other words, it is likely that we have the necromancer’s manual nearly intact, and possible that, despite the codicological complexity, the discontinuities that exist are the result of the compiler’s carelessness rather than later loss of text or errors in binding.

Following all this material from fols 3 through 108 are 48 originally separate folios, 109–156, which again contain miscellaneous material: a conjuration of a demon named Mirage (given fols 109r–118r and again fols 139r–146r); German magico-medical prescriptions (fols 119r–132v); a series of divinatory experiments (fols 133r–134v), with a short ‘prayer’ in Italian (asking God to ensure the truth of the ensuing revelation) to be recited into the ear of a child who serves as medium;15 the Liber consecracionum (fols 135r–139r); a lunar calendar (fol. 146r); instructions for magical circles (fol. 146v); a treatise on astral magic, the Opus Zoaal et angelorum et spirituum eius (fols 147r–154v), and a German book of lunar astrology (fols 155r–156v). This material will be discussed here mainly in so far as it resembles or otherwise relates to the main block of material. The only materials from folios 109–156 that are edited here are the second version of the Liber consecracionum (given along with no. 31, in parallel columns) and the conjuration of Mirage (given alongside no. 32, in parallel columns).

It may seem – and may indeed be – hazardous to devote such attention to a manuscript that survives in this condition. It is possible that the missing first folio contained a title, named an author, or gave other information that would be important for locating this text within its historical context. If we had such
information we might be able to tell more confidently whether this compilation is in fact unique or whether there are other copies.\textsuperscript{16} While recognizing the hazards of proceeding with this project, I am moved to do so chiefly by the conviction that this is an exceptionally rich and interesting compilation, that one of the most urgent needs in the history of magic is detailed analysis of specific manuscripts representative of the materials magicians are likely to have used, and that such texts thus hold significance going well beyond their meagre intellectual pretensions. I will make some effort to situate the component parts of the text within their literary context – to cite sources and parallels. For the most part, however, I will focus on the contents of this specific compilation, this microcosm of clerical magic as it was known in the late Middle Ages.

**Necromancy and Necromancers in Fifteenth-Century Munich**

The fact that our necromantic manuscript is now in the Bavarian State Library is not, of course, any indication that it came originally from Munich or even from Bavaria, but its inclusion among the earlier codices of the collection suggests that, wherever its materials were first assembled, they may have been brought to Munich and acquired by the ducal library at an early date. Even if this connection is conjectural, it may thus be interesting to inquire what we know of the practice and perception of necromancy in late medieval Munich. The short answer to this question is that not a great deal is known about necromancers and necromancy specifically in and around Munich in the fifteenth century, yet there are some clues that may help place Clm 849 within a general historical context.

The witch trials conducted in the Dauphiné during the years 1428–47 provide an interesting side light of possible relevance. One of the many subjects brought before the judges in this campaign was a sixty-year-old man, Jubertus of Bavaria, from Regensburg, tried in 1437 at Briançon.\textsuperscript{17} Apart from accusations more or less typical of the incipient prosecution for conspiratorial witchcraft (flight to nocturnal assemblies, killing of infants, etc.), Jubertus was charged with activities more often found in connection with clerical necromancy:

First, the aforesaid Jubertus said and confessed, under freely taken oath . . . that he is sixty years of age, and that for ten years and more he served a certain powerful man in Bavaria who was called Johannes Cunalis, who is a priest and plebanus, in a city called Munich in Bavaria, near Bohemia.

Likewise, he said and confessed that this Johannes Cunalis had a book of necromancy [librum de nigromancia], and that when he who spoke opened this book at once there appeared to him three demons, one named Luxurious, another Superbus, and the third Avarus, [all of them] devils. And the first appeared to him in the form of a charming maiden of twelve years, and she slept with him at night and took their pleasure together.
Likewise, during the night he adored that devil as a god, on bended knee, then turned his posterior toward the east and made a cross on the ground, and spat on it three times, and trampled on it three times with his left foot, and urinated and defecated on it, and wherever he saw a cross he spat upon it and thrice denied God.

Likewise, at dawn he adored Superbus in the same way . . .

Likewise, he gave Superbus what was left over when he ate and drank, and to Luxurious he gave three or five pence on Holy Friday before Easter, and he committed both his bodily members and his soul after death. And these devils wanted him to deny that God whom they called an accursed prophet [maledictum prophetam], and when he adored those three demons as gods he turned his face toward the west and his posterior toward the east, saying what he said, and when he had his dealings with Luxurious the others laughed. . . .

Likewise, he said that when he passed along the roads and was with the demons and found a cross, the devils fled from it and made a great detour around it, and they forbade him to do good deeds and to adore the sacred host, and when it was elevated he was to close his eyes, and they forbade him to take holy water and to kiss the cross or the pax [=osculatory], asserting that they alone were almighty gods.

Likewise, he said and confessed that on Sunday, the seventeenth of this month, all three demons were standing with him in prison, and their eyes glowed like sulphurous fire, and they said to the prisoner that they would guard him well if he did not reveal these things. Then he had dealings and mingled carnally with Luxurious, and he said furthermore that these demons would have freed him from prison if he had not revealed these things.

Likewise, he said and confessed that these devils then told him that he would be examined more subtly the next day, and that he would have to tell the full truth, and that he would thus be given over to death . . .

Likewise, he said and confessed that once he was passing with his master through a forest in which there were thieves, but they put them to flight with a multitude of devils who appeared in the form of soldiers. He said further that the world is filled with invoking demons, and that these devils profit greatly from these things, especially because the world is full of sins, wars and dissensions.

Likewise, he said and confessed that one night with the aid of demons his master had a bridge constructed over a river in Bavaria at a place called Sancta Maria Heremitta.18

Likewise, he said and confessed that he had proposed to blind Johanneta, the widow of Johannes Paganus of the present place, because she displeased him. With two keys he had traced her image, in a manner and form which he explained in the examination; he did this on a Sunday, depicting her image beneath the name[s] of devils, using implements, materials and techniques
described in the examination, just as he had done in the duchy of Austria in
the case of a man called Johannes Fabri of Vienna. And he had disclosed this
deed and boasted of it before his capture. . . .

Likewise, he said and confessed that about two years ago he was in the city
of Vienna in Austria. and one Thursday there were three drunken cooks in a
tavern who refused to let him drink, and when they withdrew at a late hour
one of them said to the other two, 'Get up, in the devil's name, and let me pass
by!' And at once, at the behest of the accused, all three demons of his master
seized those three, snatched them out the door, and cast one of them into a
well, another into the sewer or privy of the Dominicans, and the third into the
privy of the Franciscans, and none of them but the one cast into a well was
killed, the others being freed by the friars at the time of matins.

Likewise, he said and confessed that poisons were made by the aid of devils,
by which men could be killed, through their working or by the aid of demons,
either at once or in a lingering death, according to the will of the one
administering, and according as more or less of the poison is administered, in
the name of the devil, in a manner and form contained in the examination,
and taken from a basilisk, toad, serpent, spider or scorpion. . . .

Likewise, he said and confessed that when he was passing through the roads
and saw images of the Virgin Mary or a cross, he spat at them three times in
despite of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that on the feast of
Saint John the Baptist he gathered certain herbs for medicine, as specified in
the proceedings, and on bended knees he first adored them, then extracting
them in the name of his devils, and in despite of almighty God, the creator of
all. . . .

The link between necromancy and witchcraft emerges also from the work of
Johannes Hartlieb (c. 1400–68). Hartlieb served the duke of Bavaria in Munich
during the last three decades of his life, and between 1456 and 1464 he wrote Das
püch aller verpoten kunst (The Book of All Forbidden Arts) at the behest of Margrave
Johann (‘the Alchemist’) of Brandenburg-Kulmbach.19 Some have seen the work
as marking a departure from earlier work of Hartlieb’s that dealt with the occult
arts in a more sympathetic manner, but the attribution of most of these works is
at best doubtful: writings that he had in his library and consulted to inform
himself about the occult arts were in some instances falsely ascribed to him.
Some have read Das püch aller verpoten kunst as a clever excuse for relating
otherwise forbidden information to a curious reader, but Hartlieb does not give
enough particulars for his work to be of much use in magical practice. Frank
Fürbeth is surely correct in placing the work in a tradition of catechetical writings
for lay instruction, influenced in particular by Nicholas Magni of Jawor and by
the work of certain contemporary Viennese writers.20 Hartlieb lists necromancy
(nigramancia) as the first of the seven forbidden arts, along with geomancy,
hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, chiromancy and spatulamancy. His chapter 22 defines the term:

*Nygramancia* is the first forbidden art, and is called the black art. This art is the worst of all, because it proceeds with sacrifices and services that must be rendered to the devils. One who wishes to exercise this art must give all sorts of sacrifices to the devils, and must make an oath and pact [*verpintnuß*] with the devils. Then the devils are obedient to him and carry out the will of the master, as far as God permits them. Take note of two great evils in this art. The first is that the master must make sacrifice and tribute to the devils, by which he denies God and renders divine honors to the devils, for we should make sacrifices only to God, who created us and redeemed us by his passion. The other is that he binds [*verpint*] himself with the devil, who is the greatest enemy of all humankind.21

Hartlieb's categorization adapts that of Nicholas Magni and harks to much earlier discussions of the branches of the magic arts. Isidore of Seville, who deals with magic and especially magical divination in his *Etymologies,*22 speaks of four species of divination which employ the four elements (geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy and pyromancy), but among other forms of divination mentions the *necromantici* who resuscitate and interrogate the dead. Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon* borrows from Isidore, but organizes the divisions of magic into five categories, of which the first, *mantes*, includes divination by necromancy and by the four elements.23 Hartlieb cites Isidore of Seville's more restricted use of the term 'necromancy', for conjuring the shades of the dead, but he himself uses it in the broader sense, essentially interchangeable with 'demonic magic'.24

As indicated, Hartlieb's portrayal of necromancy displays close links between this art and the conspiratorial witchcraft that was emerging in both trials and treatises at the time he wrote. The necromancer conjures the Devil with characters and secret words, with fumigations and sacrifices, in addition to making a pact with the Devil.25 The Devil acts as if the conjurer caused him pain by his exorcizing and conjuring (*besuern und pannen*), although they actually give him great satisfaction. In all these respects he might be taken as describing the conspiratorial witch, although his explicit subject is the necromancer. Hartlieb even discusses early witch trials at Rome and at Heidelberg within the context of necromancy.26 Hartlieb's reading and experience were wide: he claims to have consulted with Greeks, Tartars, Turks and Jewish women about the practice of these forbidden arts.27 His book is thus by no means specifically about the magic practised in and around Munich. But it was while serving as counsellor to the Duke of Bavaria that he gathered information from diverse sources, making his study at Munich in effect a clearing house for knowledge about magical activities.

The early history of C1m 849 is not established,28 and its ownership obviously
cannot be demonstrated. It is tempting to speculate that Hartlieb had it at his
disposal, along with numerous other books of necromancy and the allied arts.
Many of the practices Hartlieb describes are laid out in Clm 849 (e.g., the
anointing of a boy's fingernail for scrying, or the conjuring of a demon in the
form of a horse for magical transportation), although, to be sure, there is little if
anything in his work that he could not have derived from other sources. Those
eager to fill in all the blanks might suggest that Jubertus actually consorted with
Johannes Cunalis, the priest of Munich, and that the Munich handbook of
necromancy was in fact the *liber de nigromancia* owned and used by this cleric. The
spontaneous appearance of Luxuriousus, Superbus and Avarus would on this
interpretation would have to be a way of talking about the spirits which inform
such a book — and it is perhaps no distortion to suggest that the spirit of lust
(*luxuria*) is one main incentive for the psychological experiments, the spirit of
pride (*superbia*) is a prime factor in the illusionist ones, and the spirit of avarice
(*avaritia*) is a key motive of the necromancer, and sometimes of his client, for
staging the divinatory ones.

Even if it were possible to establish a clear connection between Clm 849,
Jubertus and Hartlieb, one would hesitate to speak of Munich as in any special
way a centre for the practice of necromancy, or to postulate a distinctive
character to the magic used there. In all likelihood necromancy was studied and
practised within a kind of clerical underworld through much if not most of
Western Europe in the later Middle Ages. We have no reason to suppose that
Munich was in this respect different from any other city.

**THE COMPOSITION OF THE MUNICH HANDBOOK**

For reasons I have already touched upon, any discussion of how Clm 849 came to
be compiled must remain conjectural: the first two folios are missing, the
provenance of the manuscript remains obscure, there are no indications of either
authorship or ownership, and the disposition of the manuscript is complex.
Nonetheless, we can make some reasonable assumptions about the process by
which this handbook came into existence, and thus about the workings of the
'clerical necromancy' that would have produced and employed such a book.

We cannot speak of the writer of this manual as its 'author', because we do not
know to what extent he devised the formulations that he gives, or how far he
merely reproduced other people's work. In some cases he deliberately gave
alternative forms of demons' names, which suggests that he was working from a
previous manuscript and was unsure of the reading. The writer's own
orthography was highly erratic: within the same experiment he sometimes
slipped from one version to another in his names for demons, and while the
variations were sometimes slight they were not always so. (At the end of the
fifteenth century, Humanist mages such as Johannes Reuchlin protested that the
debased magic of contemporary necromancers could have no effect because the very names they used for the spirits were corrupt: the present manuscript might have served as a case in point.31 Whether the writer composed badly or copied badly, one constant factor in the manuscript is that its Latin usage is unconventional by medieval (let alone classical or Humanist) standards. In one experiment the writer speaks of a 'whole white dove' (columbam totam albam) when he means a 'totally white dove' (columbam totaliter albam); he writes that a woman 'will love all things above you' (super te omnia diliget) when he clearly means the reverse; he confuses 'without' (sine) with 'or' (siue), and he evidently substitutes 'prepare' (parare) for 'obey' (parere).32 More often than one would expect, he leaves other words out altogether. At times his sentences give way to grammatical nonsense. The formula 'May your arts fail . . . as Jamnes and Mambres failed' (Deficient ergo artes tuae . . . sicut defecerunt Iannes et Mambres), referring to the names of Pharaoh's magicians according to a tradition reflected in II Timothy 3:8, is given once in the main block of Clm 849, and twice in later sections of the manuscript, by two different hands (no. 32). But in the main block the point of the allusion is lost and the comparison comes out in utterly garbled form as 'May your arts fail . . . so you and members have now ceased' (sic cessaverunt jam vos et membros), while in the other versions the passage begins 'Your ears will fail' (Deficient ergo aures tuae . . . ).

What seems quite clear is that the writer was a cleric — probably a priest, and at least a person in minor orders. His use of Latin makes this a prima facie likelihood, even if his Latin is bad. The more compelling evidence is his assumption that the user of the manual will, like him, be acquainted with ritual forms used in the Church's services: he gives the opening line of Psalm 50 (from the Vulgate) and assumes the user will know the text (no. 33); he prescribes the seven (penitential) psalms and the litany (of the saints) and presumes that these too will be familiar and accessible (no. 36). In short, the work appears clearly a product of that clerical underworld in which late medieval necromancy seems to have found something of a natural home. It may have been exercised and feared as a means for gaining otherwise elusive power within a competitive clerical establishment. It may have been a pastime for underemployed clerics with time on their hands and a fondness for this quintessentially clerical form of dark and daring entertainment. It may have been a service rendered to credulous clients by unscrupulous providers of ritual. Like the Ouija board in latter day culture, it may well have been all of the above, an amusement constantly in danger of becoming serious, dark and threatening.

In certain important respects there are shifts in the content and tone of the manuscript, suggesting changes in the compiler's interests and his attitudes toward the material. Along with a shift from illusionist and psychological experiments to rites of divination comes a general flattening of the prose. It is in the front of the manual that the writer is inclined to tell entertaining anecdotes
and to provide testimonials to the authenticity and efficacy of the rituals. The earlier materials suggest more authorial self-consciousness, a clearer sense of authorial voice. Later sections are less developed with narrative and other embellishments. Even the magic circles required for the experiments and illustrated in the manuscript tend to become less complex and less interesting in the later sections of the compilation. The manual shifts also in its engagement of the reader. In the earlier experiments the writer regularly addresses the reader in a direct and personal manner, urging him to 'attend carefully' (no. 2), taking him into his confidence by entrusting him with secret information (nos 4 and 9), reminding him of a situation in which he has seen the master perform an experiment (no. 6), and referring to his own needs and desires - 'If you want to have the love of any woman . . .' (no. 3), 'If you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person so that he appears alive . . .' (no. 10), 'If you wish to be taken for invisible and imperceptible . . .' (no. 11), 'If you wish to know about any matter on which you are doubtful . . .' (no. 24). Subsequent experiments are couched in far more impersonal rhetoric; the reader is instructed with blunt imperatives and subjunctives, with no expression of interest in entertaining him or engaging his interest. The later materials are less ambitious in their imaginative depth, but more ambitious in laying out procedures likely to be put to actual use.

The most basic question about the actual composition of the book is whether it is taken from a single source (as a set of excerpts from a cohesive treatise or as a copy of some previous miscellany) or from multiple sources. The latter scenario seems far more plausible, largely because there are occasional discontinuities that suggest the compiler was working with a collection of unbound materials that were not in perfect order, and he was perhaps not certain about where to fit them into his series of experiments. The effect was similar to that of assembling diverse materials in a scrapbook and finding that some of the odds and ends assembled are not complete or entirely coherent. This type of discontinuity would have been possible if the writer had been drawing excerpts from a cohesive work or copying an earlier miscellany, but in the former case one might have expected the individual units to remain cohesive, and in the latter one might have thought the copyist would have rationalized or deleted the incoherent fragments. At any rate, it appears not at all unlikely that the materials bound together with the main handbook are examples of the sort of material from which the compiler worked. My hypothesis is that the compiler and scribe took a lively interest in various kinds of magical materials, put together a personal collection of them from various sources, and had readily at hand perhaps both bound and unbound writings of diverse character and provenance (at least one bit of appended material contains a fragment of Italian); that the materials that he copied into his own anthology represent his own selection (and perhaps, as in the abridgement and reformulation of the conjuration of Mirage, his own adaptation) from this body of material, and that when his own compilation was originally bound, or
perhaps when at some later date it was rebound, some of his sources may have been appended to it, perhaps simply those of compatible format, forming fols. 109–56. This hypothesis rests solely on the partial overlapping of contents between the main block and the appended material, not on paleographic or codicological evidence; indeed, it could be argued that at least some of the appended material seems to be by later hands, although the chronological ordering would be difficult to establish with confidence.

Alternative hypotheses cannot be altogether dismissed. It is possible, for example, that the compiler worked simultaneously on two distinct collections of material, perhaps fols 1–51 and fols 52–108, and that what appears to be a shift from one mode of presentation to another results simply from the binding together of what were intended as separate compilations. Had this been the intent, however, one would have expected a clearer and more decisive shift than in fact occurs: it is not the case that all the divinatory experiments, or all the materials of any sort, are grouped together.

We can only speculate about the identity of the compiler. In two passages he represents himself as connected with a court. He could have been a learned courtier with an interest in the occult arts, such as Johannes Hartlieb, although Hartlieb is more likely to have owned and consulted such a manuscript than to have assembled it or used it. A closer model might be Michael Scot, who served at the court of Frederick II and had an interest in astrology, as apparently did the counsellors of several other German emperors, but there is no real evidence that these astrologers dabbled in necromancy. The compiler might have been a cleric, perhaps a member of the lower clergy, possibly a figure such as the priest-necromancer who befriended Jubertus of Bavaria; or, to compromise between these possibilities, he could have been a cleric of higher or middling status who aspired to some position at court. If we could take seriously the unlikely notion that Hartlieb began by taking an active interest in magic and later became its critic and opponent, we might guess that this collection is his and represents an early phase in his own development. To judge by the book’s Latinity, I incline toward the hypothesis that what we have here is the work of a man with some but not a great deal of learning, who would have tended more toward the fringes of society than toward court, even if he had aspirations for higher status that found expression in the early sections of his book but waned over the time he worked on it.

While recognizing that this reconstruction is and must be conjectural, I suggest, then, that the compiler of this miscellany was a moderately educated member of the lower or middling clergy who began by writing colourful and imaginative experiments in hopes of establishing a reputation for expertise in the occult, and perhaps a foothold at some court, possibly that of the Duke of Bavaria in Munich, but whose aspirations were thwarted, and who eventually turned his attention to forms of magic that were less fanciful, playful and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purposes</th>
<th>Illusionalist</th>
<th>Psychological</th>
<th>Divinatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causing things to appear other than as they are: illusory banquet, castle, horse or other means of transportation; make a dead person seem alive or vice versa</td>
<td>influence on people's intellects or wills: love or hatred, favour at court, constraint of others' wills, madness</td>
<td>knowledge of future, past, distant, or hidden things: detection if a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer), recovery of stolen goods, discovery of hidden treasure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivating impulses</td>
<td>imagination</td>
<td>power</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tensions</td>
<td>between fantasy and reality</td>
<td>between the will of the necromancer and that of the victim</td>
<td>between the demand for truth and the fear of deception</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Affinities* | • with literary fantasies • with the mythology of witchcraft
| • either highly complex (with complicated magic circles, rituals, and repeated conjurations; or very simple (with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations) • emphasis on secrecy, although purpose is display • often accompanied by stories or testimonials • themes central to conception of witchcraft | • with works of astral magic (in translations from Arabic) • elaborate preparation and ceremonies (often over more than one day) • purposes and forms resembling those of astral magic • techniques of 'sympathetic' or 'imitative' magic, with meaning explicated by incantations (and less emphasis on circles and conjurations) • violent procedures and results • secrecy, to evade detection and punishment | • with divinatory practices developed esp. in Judaism • scrying (sometimes psychologically interpreted) combined with conjurations emphasized (but with little emphasis on circles) • participation of a medium, usually a young boy, who alone sees the spirits |
| Central features* | Superbus - grandeur of display being a matter of primary concern | Luxuriousus - seduction or rape being one of the most common purposes | Avarus - recovery or discovery of goods being a main purpose, and this being a potentially lucrative form of divination |

* See Chapters 3-5 for elaboration of these points
fantastic, but more in demand for practical application and thus more lucrative, and in any case still revealing of the diversities of magic in late medieval culture.

Table B summarizes the characterization already given of the three types of necromantic experiment found in Clm 849 and anticipates further discussion (in the next three chapters) of these categories. As should be obvious, it consists of broad generalizations, which require some qualification and nuance when applied to particular concrete experiments. While I have decided to use this chart in the interest of clarifying the patterns, the distinctions, and the correlations I mean to emphasize, I am aware of the hazards of fixing these categories too sharply and making them rigid when they should remain fluid. In highlighting the affinity of the psychological experiments with those of Arabic astral magic, for example, and the divinatory ones with practices well known in Judaism, I by no means wish to suggest that the techniques in question were exclusively or even specifically Arabic on the one hand, Jewish or the other. The world of magic is clearly more complex than that, and the boundaries between Jewish and Muslim magic too difficult to define. Still, in some ways the heart of this study - at least its attempt to distinguish different elements in the necromancers' own perception of their art - is sketched on this chart in schematic form. I do not adhere strictly in subsequent discussion to the organizing principles that might be suggested by the table, but everything laid out here is covered at some point either above or in following chapters.

Notes

1 Bernard Cerquiglini, Étage de la variant: histoire critique de la philologie (Paris: Seuil, 1989). See also Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture', Speculum, 65, no. 1 (Jan. 1990), 1-10; Siegfried Wenzel, 'Reflections on (new) philology', ibid., 11-18; and the other articles in that issue of the journal.


6 W. Braekman, 'Magische experimenten en toevertrouwden uit een middelnederlands

7 Fol. 13tr: "et postea duceat in auriole pauci ista oratio: "O dio fare disperiti spiritali cum lumen bocca tu voo pre [deleted?] pregare che spiriti a questa posto vergone in questa angustia debi mandare che diga enonstre laurita de quelo che voo domandare"."


11 Kieckhefer, Magic in the Middle Ages, esp. 6-8.

12 I have this information from Frank Klaassen, who is studying manuscripts of ritual magic in English collections.


14 See the codicological analysis of the manuscript given in the final chapter.

15 See n. 7 above.

16 It is worth noting that Thorndike, 'Imagination and magic', evidently did not recognize the handbook as an example of anything else he had seen.

17 Hansen, Quellen, 539-44. On the witch trials in this region and their context see now Pierrette Paravy, De la chrétienté romaine à la Réforme en Dauphiné: exodes, fidèles et déportés (vers 1340-vers 1530) (Rome: École française de Rome, 1993), and for this case in particular pp. 814-16.

18 Paravy, p. 815 n. 4, suggests that this is a reference to the pilgrimage shrine at Einsiedeln. She also cites literature on the theme of the diabolical bridge, in particular B.M. Galanti, 'Le leggenda del “Ponte del Diavolo” in Italia', Lores, 18 (1952), 61-73.


21 Hartlieb, ch. 22, pp. 34f.

22 Epistolae, viii.9, in the Patrologia latina, 82:310-14.


24 Cha 22, 28.


26 Cha 33-34.

27 E.g., ch. 85.

28 Otto Harting, Die Gründung der Münchner Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914), gives the history of the library that provided the earliest foundation for the Bavarian State Library, but does not give the provenance of this manuscript.
29 There are two instances in experiment no. 7, and one in no. 27.

30 See the variation in names in nos 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11.


32 Fols 8r–11v.

33 See no. 32 in the edition, where a conjuration edited from two versions in the later folios is addressed to a spirit named Mirage, while an alternative form in the main block addresses Satan.

34 The *Schriften* in Fürbeth, *Johannes Hartlieb*, p. 280, show that Hartlieb’s handwriting is not at all like that in fols 3–108 of Clm 849; it more closely resembles that of some later folios, but not enough that any of this material could be assigned to him.

3

BANQUETS, HORSES AND CASTLES: ILLUSIONIST EXPERIMENTS

The fifteenth-century writer of the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript tells how to summon a demon in the form of a horse by using conjurations, a ring with the Tetragrammaton inscribed on it, and a diagram made with the blood of a hoopoe or a bat. The magician must stand in a circle that extends to the east window of his chamber. When the conjuration is complete, a multitude of spirits will appear in the sky, with many horses: the magician must choose the horse with the red bridle, which will descend outside his chamber. He may then ride off, with sceptre and sword in hand. But he must beware of committing any sins while engaged in this experiment, because if he is unclean he can no longer command the demon. The writer then tells a cautionary tale – from his own experience, he says – to impress upon the reader the importance of not sinning in the course of this adventure:

For I myself once travelled from Alexandria to India in the space of an hour, and there I saw women whom I found very pleasing indeed, and at once I had my will with one of them. But there was no chance of finding a confessor unless I waited quite some time. I returned to my horse, which was standing where it had been conjured [to stand], but when I seized the end of the bridle the horse began to bolt, not allowing me to put my foot in the stirrup because of my uncleanness. I held on to the bridle firmly, and the horse hurled me forty feet into the air. Finally, seeing that I was going to perish miserably, I let go and fell, breaking my leg quite badly. So I lay there in India for four months, and until I had recuperated I could not go and see my horse.

But when I had recovered I went to confession and did penance. Then I prepared a chamber for myself, and had a sceptre, sword and ring newly made, since the ring which I had defiled had lost its power. When these instruments had been fashioned and newly consecrated, I summoned those same spirits as before, and had them bring the same spirit or horse. With conjurations I commanded that horse and mounted him peacefully, and I kept on riding him continually for an entire month, except when I dismounted to sleep and eat or drink, and thus I circled the globe eight times. And I had him carry me through the sky until I was practically suffocated because of the pressure of the air. In circling the globe I discovered many and wondrous treasures, whose virtues I learned later on under the instruction of one of the spirits, whom I then locked up. And thus [by this long riding] I caused my horse much grief.
When I finally dismounted from him and asked him why he had harmed me, he replied that from that point on he was unable to do so, but he said he would rather have been in hell than keep riding for so long a time. So he asked me not to cause him such grief any more, and he would minister to me faithfully when I summoned him, so long as I was clean. And thus I repaid him evil for evil.¹

The ceremony given here for conjuring the horse is borrowed, perhaps directly, from the De nigromancia or Thesaurus spirituum ascribed to Roger Bacon.² In the cautionary tale the reader will recognize a variation on a story known from The Thousand and One Nights, from the French romances (especially Li Roumans de Cléomadès of Adenès li Rois), and from Chaucer's abbreviated and mock-naturalistic retelling in The Squire's Tale.³ In the Arabic and French versions, a magical flying horse cannot be made to descend where the rider wishes to land, and the change of plan that results becomes a factor in development of the plot. In the Rawlinson manuscript as in the literary versions of the tale, the Orient is portrayed as exotic and romantically alluring, although the seduction scene has become a peremptory telling of a male fantasy, with little trace of the écriture féminine that has been seen in the literary narratives.⁴ What concerns the narrator here is less the seduction than its consequences. Very much like Lancelot in the Quest of the Holy Grail, the magician is unable to continue his mission until repentance and confession wipe away his disability.⁵

The moral implications of this story need not detain us now, although the moral ambiguity recurs in this manuscript, in a lengthy Confiteor which admits to every manner of sin but terminates in a prayer for power over certain spirits.⁶ As for the world of flying horses, it seems not unlike that of Jubertus of Regensburg, who flew to diabolical assemblies with wondrous speed not on the back of a horse but on the excrement of a mule or horse, ministerio dyabolorum.⁷ For present purposes what is most relevant is that the form of magic related in this story is intended chiefly for the sake of the magician's own entertainment, and the story about its use is, despite the tone of moral seriousness, a means of entertainment presumably both for writer and reader. The compiler of the Munich handbook, too, is most inclined toward the anecdotal when he is telling his reader how to conjure illusions in which demons appear as horses, castles appear out of nowhere, banquets are brought forth with many apparent but illusory courses, and the magician dons a cloak of invisibility so as no longer to appear at all.

Depictions of magic in medieval literature often tease the reader with uncertainties about the boundary between illusion and reality.⁸ When the water level off the coast of Brittany is raised so as to cover the rocks, in Chaucer's Franklin's Tale, is the transformation real or merely an illusion?⁹ When wondrous pageants and spectacles are brought forth by inexplicable means at court, are
they genuine or delusory, and are they worked 'by craft or necromancy'? The literature of magic is replete with stories of magicians who produce magical banquets, horses or boats that can transport people over land and sea, castles with armed warriors, all of which have a tendency to vanish abruptly, suggesting that they rest on dubious ontological foundations. From antiquity and through the Middle Ages, critics of magic insisted it was all illusion, by which they could mean many things: that it was a means by which demons deluded and ensnared the gullible, that its accomplishments were unreal and not lasting, that healings as well as spectacles worked by magic were unreliable.10 The pagan Celsus, taunting his Christian contemporaries in late antiquity, compared the miracles of Jesus with 'the works of sorcerers who profess to do wonderful miracles, and the accomplishments of those who are taught by the Egyptians, who for a few obols make known their sacred lore in the middle of the market-place and drive daemons out of men and blow away diseases and invoke the souls of heroes, displaying expensive banquets and dining-tables and cakes and dishes which are non-existent, and who make things move as though they were alive although they are not really so, but only appear as such in the imagination'.11 But it was not only the critics who saw at least some types of magic as entailing illusion: the magicians themselves seemed to revel in their role as illusionists. Not surprisingly, then, many of the formulas in our necromantic handbook — and several of the most interesting — involve some form of illusion.

ILLUSIONIST EXPERIMENTS IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

Twelve of the experiments in Clm 849 are 'illusionist' ones, intended to make things appear other than as they are: to make people perceive some object or scene that is not in fact present, to obtain a means of transport such as a horse or a boat, to make the dead seem alive or vice versa, or to become invisible. This category might be seen as a subset of the 'psychological' experiments, but the emphasis here is less on deception of the senses than on production of an objective display that seems different from what it is.

The distinguishing features of these experiments are chiefly four. First, either they are highly complex, with complicated magic circles, intricately worked-out rituals, and at least two conjurations, or else (less often) they are very simple, with no circles, relatively simple rituals, and single conjurations. Second, they often emphasize the need for secrecy, yet the basic point of the experiment is the fascinating and awe-inspiring display of magical powers. Third, these experiments are often accompanied by stories (such as the one from the Rawlinson manuscript) or by testimonials assuring the reader of their efficacy. Fourth, these illusionist experiments, for all their exuberant fantasy, come closer than any others in the handbook to touching on themes that would become central to the late medieval and early modern conception of witchcraft.
Seven complex experiments (nos 6–11 and 15) involve relatively elaborate magic circles and intricate rituals, with two distinct conjurations (first the master summons the spirits, who appear to him, then he commands them to execute some illusion, and they do so). Among further complications are offerings made to induce the spirits to carry out the commands, oaths required of the spirits, and provisions for repeating on some future occasion, with less effort, an experiment already produced once. The simpler experiments (nos 14, 17, 21, 43 and 45), by way of contrast, require no magic circles at all, and have illusionist effect following directly from a single conjuration, without an intervening apparition of spirits. The difference may be the result of nothing more than the handbook’s general tendency toward simpler, less colourful and imaginative formulations in its later sections, a tendency seen even in this most fanciful category of magic.

At certain points in the illusionist experiments of the Munich handbook the writer comments explicitly on the need for secrecy. At the end of one experiment (no. 8) the writer comments that this book, containing generally unknown names and figures of spirits ‘according to their characteristics’ (proprietates), should be kept in a hidden place because its contents have ineffable efficacy. Experiment no. 10, which can make the living appear dead and the dead alive, must be kept secret because of its great power. In this and in no. 11 the master goes to a remote and secret place outside town to carry out his experiment. Experiment no. 15 must be carried out in a high and secret place. This concern with the esoteric nature of necromancy is not exclusively found in the illusionist experiments – no. 5 also emphasizes the importance of performing the ritual in a secret place, and the text insists that this experiment must be kept secret because it has ‘ineffable virtue’ – but it is a theme found perhaps most often in this category, and the breathless tone thus imparted adds to the entertainment value of these illusionist experiments. Elsewhere, rather than emphasizing the need for secrecy, the writer comments on the rarity of knowledge about certain formulas. He declares that the art of conjuring an illusory banquet in no. 6 is practically unknown in his day, and that ‘Matthew the Spaniard’ was utterly ignorant of this magic; he notes that the art of obtaining a cloak of invisibility, in no. 11, is also virtually unknown in his day. But the themes of secrecy and obscurity are not unrelated: they are both ways of emphasizing the esoteric nature of these experiments, and stressing that the reader is being initiated into arcane lore that should arouse not only curiosity but also excitement and a sense of privilege. Yet it is in the nature of these experiments that in one way or other most of them are shared: in some cases the result of the magical is a spectacle that may be put on for the wonderment of others, and even when the point is for the magician to become invisible, his very state of non-visibility is a way of relating to others.

The testimonials asserting the efficacy of the experiments take various forms. The writer declares that he has seen one experiment (no. 8) worked in various
ways, but the way he gives is the best, entailing least effort and no danger. In recounting the effects of another experiment (no. 10) he claims that he has personally experienced them all, and that he leaves unmentioned those effects he has not experienced. Nor is he shy about claiming the testimony of authorities: Socrates himself, he claims, speaks of the power of one circle (no. 9) in his book of magic. More simply, he asserts that experiment (experiencia) no. 10 is ‘most worthy’. At one point (no. 6) the writer addresses a courtly reader, whether real or imagined, claiming to remind him of occasions when the magic has worked: ‘You have often seen me exercise this art in your court, namely that of bringing forth stewards’. In a similar vein he tells how he once carried out experiment no. 7 while the emperor and his nobles were out hunting in a dark wood, causing an illusionary castle to appear, with demons in the form of knights who attacked the emperor and his men.

What are we to make of all this? Are we to assume that the illusionist experiments in this manuscript - and the tales that the writer spins, testifying to the efficacy of his own illusions - were intended merely as entertainment? Is it unthinkable that the clerical necromancers actually hoped to visit exotic lands on flying horses, to explore phantom castles, to feast at magical banquets? The question is difficult to answer in any simple way, because what one writer will write tongue in cheek another may intend as fact, and because in many ways the border between imaginative fantasy and perceived fact is readily permeable: fantasies about harm that other people might inflict shade into paranoid fears of harm that they are inflicting; erotic fantasies, encouraged by techniques of erotic magic, can serve as prelude to actual seduction; purely recreational play with a Ouija board or tarot deck gives occasion for traumatic expression of deep-seated fantasies and anxieties; words spoken as playful boasts may be heard as confirmation of sinister powers.

The tales told in this necromantic manuscript are perhaps best described as literary boasts, analogous to those in medieval literature. And yet they are no less fantastic than those recorded in the witch trials of the later fifteenth and following centuries, and in some ways these tales are not unrelated to aspects of witchcraft. Indeed, this category of experiments more than others has points of contact with the ‘cumulative concept’ of witchcraft that became established in the fifteenth century, even if the parallels are not exact. When the master has the demons take an oath (no. 6), this is conceived as unilateral; it is therefore not a pact. The spirits swear on an unspecified but consecrated book, and they bind themselves first by the God who created them and all things, second by the (presumably demonic) lords whom they fear and adore, and third by ‘the law that we observe’. The second and third elements in this oath presuppose what scholastic demonology did in fact generally assume, that demons are bound by a perverse hierarchy of their own - an inversion of the angelic hierarchy - and that there are infernal laws by which the demons are bound. The banquet that
demons bring forth is in one particular like the feasts ascribed in later years to witches at their sabbaths: the food does not really exist, so that the more one eats the hungrier one becomes, and a starving man who eats such fare will die just as if he ate nothing at all.\textsuperscript{16} And in both no. 17 and no. 43, the magician is told that when he is flying on an illusory horse he must not make the sign of the cross, or the horse (in fact a spirit in the form of a beast) will flee from him, just as the witches were said to be warned.\textsuperscript{17} (By way of contrast, the instructions for no. 8 specify that while riding in a magically produced ship the master may invoke holy things, as in true Christian religion, because the spirits involved are between good and evil, neither in hell nor in paradise.) The parallel with notions from the witch trials is extended by a passage from the manuscript edited by Willy Braekman, which suggests that to travel quickly wherever one wishes, one should make an ointment from seven herbs, the fat of a goat and the blood of a bat, and smear it on one's face, hands and chest, while reciting a short formula.\textsuperscript{18} While this specific recipe may not be explicitly necromantic, it appears alongside instructions for demonic magic, and is strikingly parallel to the means witches were thought to use for their flight.\textsuperscript{19}

**AN ILLUSORY BANQUET**

The first two illusionist experiments in the Munich handbook have in mind a courtly setting: one is a procedure to conjure forth a lavish banquet, with entertainment of various kinds; the other creates the illusion of a castle in which an unnamed emperor may hold out against demonic troops. While the first illusion is simply for entertainment, the second is an elaborate trick on unwitting victims, though they may be supposed to have taken the hoax in good spirits.

The experiment for obtaining an illusory banquet, with service and entertainment (no. 6), is one of the longest in the manuscript, and illustrates well the complexity so often found in these experiments:

You have often seen me exercise at your court the art of summoning banquet-bearers.\textsuperscript{20} First one must invoke fifteen spirits, in this manner: At the outset one must go outside town, under a waxing moon, on a Thursday or Sunday, at noon, carrying a shining sword and a hoopoe, and with the sword one must trace circles in a remote place. When this is done, inscribe sixteen names with the point of the sword, as will appear below in the figure.

When you have done this, you should draw the sword toward the east within the inner circle, as the diagram shows. When this is done, you should bind the hoopoe to yourself in such a way that it cannot escape from the inner circle, in which you should stand.

Then you should kneel, turn to the east, take the sword in both hands, and say, 'Oymelor, Demefin. Lamair, Masair, Symofor. Rodobayl, Tentetos,
Lotobor, Memoyr, Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatomofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rimasor, Syrama. most cheerful, glad and joyous spirits, I. so-and-so, adjure you . . . to come to me here in a gentle, pleasing, and cheerful form and make manifest whatever I say.'

When you have said this twelve [sic] times - four times facing east, then four times facing south, then four times facing east, then four times facing north - holding the sword in your hand the whole time, and while you are saying the conjuration constantly drawing it in each location, finally position it where it was at first, when the conjuration was first spoken, as has been said. 21

When you have said this, constantly kneeling, again turn to the east, holding the sword in your right hand, and the hoopoe in your left hand, and say, 'Come. O aforesaid spirits, come to me, come, for I command you by the eternal glory of God. Amen.'

When you have said this once, turn with the sword and the hoopoe toward the west, and you will see sixteen splendid and stalwart knights. They will say to you, 'You summoned us and we have come, obedient to your will. Ask what you will, confident that we are ready to obey.' Say in reply, 'Make me see your power, that I may behold tables with many people reclining at them, with an infinite array of dishes.' They will tell you that they are pleased to do so.

At once many pages [domicelli] will come, carrying three-legged tables, towels and other necessary equipment. Then the most noble of folk will come and recline, and butlers to serve, carrying an infinite array of dishes. And you will hear singing and music-making, and you will see dancing and innumerable games. And you may be sure that these twelve [sic] will not withdraw from you, but will stand just outside the circle, speaking with you and watching. You should also know that three kings will come to you beside the circle from among those who are reclining, and will ask you to come and eat with them. You should reply that you are quite unable to leave. When you have said this, they will return at once to those who are reclining, and you will hear them telling the others that they were unable to persuade you to move out of the circle. Then they will send a butler with some food or other, which you may safely eat, and you should offer some of it to the sixteen standing beside the circle, and they too will eat of it. Then you will see everyone rise from the tables and mount their horses in order.

At last, all will vanish from your eyes except those twelve, who, standing by you, will say, 'Our spectacle [ludus] has pleased you, has it not?' You will reply cheerfully that it has. When you have responded, they will ask you for the hoopoe, which, strange to say, will at once become alarmed. 22 You will say to them, 'I am willing to give you the hoopoe if you swear to come to me and enact this spectacle whenever I please.' They will say that they are ready to swear. You should have some book brought to them at once, and on it you should have them swear in this manner: 'All twelve of us swear on this sacred
book . . . to come to you without delay whenever you invoke us, and to have tables laid, such as you have seen and even better.' And they will swear at once.

And when they have sworn, you will give them the hoopoe, and when they have it they will ask your leave to withdraw. You will give it to them, saying, 'Go forth wherever you wish to go, and be attentive to me.' They will say that they remain obliged to you from then on. Having said this, they will go. You too may leave the circles and erase them so that nothing remains, and, taking your sword, you may withdraw.

You should note that the hoopoe is possessed of great virtue for necromancers and invokers of demons [nigromanticiis et demones invocantibus], on which account we use it much for our safekeeping.

When you want them [the spirits] to come to you, in secret or openly, or in whatever place, gaze at the above-written circles and figures in the book, and in a quiet voice read the names found in them. When you have read them once while thus gazing, read this conjuration once: 'Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Simofof, Rodobail, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoir, Tamasin, Zeugaber, Tatomofof, Faubair, Belutabel, Rimasor and Sirama, I ask, conjure and adjure you by the true majesty of God to make your subordinates come here and bring dishes, first of all so-and-so and so-and-so, and make a grand banquet, with games, singing, music-making and dancing, and in general all those things that can gladden the hearts of those standing about [cf. Ps. 103:15 Vulg.].' When you have read this [conjuration] once, splendid pages will come and prepare beautiful tables. When these are set up, you will hear trumpets, harps and an untold multitude of songs. When you call out loudly, 'Bring water', it will be brought forth at once. Likewise, 'Bring forth the meal', and at once it will be brought. And there will be butlers and stewards serving excellently, and handsome pages, and players providing countless entertainments. And you can have a thousand types of dish brought, if it pleases you, and those who eat them will find them uncommonly delicious.

You must know that no matter how much they eat, they will be all the more hungry, because they will seem like dishes but they will not exist, so that if a famished person were to gorge himself, believing them to be real, he would no doubt die just as if he ate nothing.

And when you wish to do away with the spectacle, say that they should take away the tables. At once the tables will be removed, but all those standing around will remain. If you wish for them to sing or play or make the entire spectacle, say, 'Do thus and such', and you will see what you wish, for these are spirits of spectacle and all entertainment, and they will do all that they are told. And when you want them to depart, say, 'Withdraw, all of you, and whenever I call you to me, come forth without any excuse.' They will reply, 'We will do so most gladly!' And when they have withdrawn, all will depart, wondering at this art.
And here this art is concluded, which is virtually unknown among people today, and of which Matthew the Spaniard was utterly ignorant, etc.

The circle to be used for this experiment is depicted: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top (extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures (likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions are given outside the outermost band, with east on top. Within the bands the names of sixteen spirits are inscribed.²³

Two points may suffice here by way of commentary. First, the idea of conjuring an illusory banquet is widespread. Celsus compared Christ with a magician who conjures forth an illusory banquet, and the same trick is found in an adjuration in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining a daimon as one's assistant. Among the spirit's myriad functions is that of procuring every manner of food except fish or pork. The magician need only imagine a banqueting hall and order the daimon to prepare a banquet. and immediately he will create a hall with marble walls and golden ceiling, all of which will seem partly real, partly illusion. He will bring fine wine, and further daimones made out as suitably attired servants.²⁴ Second, this experiment is exceptional for the Munich handbook in the degree of emphasis on the sacrifice of a hoopoe to the demons. This bird is famous for its magical virtues.²⁵ The present experiment notes explicitly that the hoopoe has great power for necromancers and invokers of demons, and for that reason is much used by such practitioners. Oddly, the text says that necromancers use the hoopoe a great deal for their safekeeping or protection (ad nostri tutelam), which perhaps means that they are safer in the company of demons if they have an offering to make them. The safety of the hoopoes seems not to be an issue.

The fading of this insubstantial pageant might well recall that of a more famous illusion:

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,  
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and  
Are melted into air, into thin air . . .²⁶

But of course the books from which that experiment derived have not survived for comparison with the Munich handbook.

AN ILLUSORY CASTLE

The following experiment (no. 7) is designed to obtain an illusory castle, with defenders. It is introduced in grandiose manner, as a 'splendid experiment' by which the magician can convoke spirits to produce an elegant castle with armed
men. As in the preceding case, there are two phases, first the summoning of spirits and then having them work the illusion, although for reasons that we will see shortly, the second phase does not precisely involve a conjuration.

Here follows another experiment for invoking spirits so that a man can make a fine and well fortified castle appear, or for summoning countless legions of armed men, which can easily be done, and among other things is deemed most beautiful.

First, go out on the tenth [day of] the moon, under a clear sky, outside of town to some remote and secret place, taking milk and honey with you, some of which you must sprinkle in the air. And with bare feet and head, kneeling, read this while facing west: 'O Usyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syttroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, squire spirits, whose function it is to bear arms and deceive human senses wherever you wish, I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you . . . that, indissolubly bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, in a form that will not frighten me, subject and prepared to do and reveal for me all that I wish, and to do this willingly, by all things that are in heaven and on earth.' Having read this once facing west, do so again facing south, east, and north.

And from far off you will see a band of armed men coming toward you, who will send ahead a squire to say that those you summoned are coming to you. You should tell him, 'Go to them and tell them to come to me in such a state that they frighten no one, but I may abide safely with them.' When you have said this, he will return at once to them.

After a short interval they will come to you. When you see them, show them at once this circle, which has great power to terrify those fifteen demons; they will see it and say, 'Ask whatever you wish in safety, and it will all come to pass for you through us.' You should then tell them to consecrate their circle so that whenever you gaze on it and invoke them they must come to you quickly and do that which is natural to them, namely make fortifications and castles and moats and a multitude of armed men appear. They will say they are willing to do so. You should extend a book to them, and you will see one of them place his hand on the book and speak certain words, which you will not understand. When this is done, they will restore it to you.

Then they will ask you to permit them to leave, because they cannot depart from you except with permission. You should say to them, 'Make a castle here, so that I may see your power.' Immediately they will make a castle around you, with many other things, and you will see yourself in the middle of the castle, and a great multitude of knights will be present. But these fifteen will not be able to depart from you. After the space of an hour they will ask you that they may depart, and you should say, 'Be ready whenever I gaze on this
circle and invoke you to return at once. They will swear to come immediately. Then tell them to depart wherever they wish. And the entire spectacle [ludus] will be destroyed, and no one will remain there.

When all this is done, return home, guarding well the book in which all power is found. And when you wish to work this fine art, gaze at the circle, reading the names, beginning from the east, saying, 'O Usyr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtoy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotor, Tamy, Dor, [and] Ym, I summon you to come here, by the consecration of this circle, in which your signs are inscribed, and to make a well fortified castle appear for me, with a deep moat, and a plenteous company of knights and footsoldiers.' And suddenly a splendid castle, with all that is necessary, will appear there. If you wish to enter it, you can, for a knight will at once stand by you, to whom you may command that all you wish should appear, and he will have it done.

Once when I [wished to test] this art I exercised it with the emperor, when many nobles were accompanying him on a hunting expedition through some dark forest. This is how I proceeded. First I gazed at the circle, calling the aforesaid demons with a clear voice. And at once a handsome knight came to me, whom no one but I could see, and who said to me, 'I am one of the spirits you have invoked; I am named Salaul, and the others have sent me. Command what you will, and it will be done.' I said to him, 'I want you to have a legion of armed men appear, whom the emperor and his companions will take to be rebels.' He said, 'It is done.' And then all the counts and the emperor himself turned and looked to the north, and from far off they saw coming to them an innumerable multitude of knights and soldiers. One of them disembarked, and before an hour's time [ante magne hora spaciun] came to the emperor and said, trembling, 'Lord emperor, behold, an innumerable horde is coming toward us, swearing to put us and all your counts to death and to kill you pitilessly.' On hearing this, the emperor and the counts did not know what to do. Meanwhile, the spirits approached. Seeing and hearing them, and their terrifying weapons, they began to flee, but the others followed them, shooting arrows, and cried with one voice, 'You cannot escape your death today!' Then I said, 'O Salaul, make a wondrous castle before the emperor and his men, so that the emperor and the others can enter it.' And it was done. A perfectly safe castle was made for the counts, with towers and moat, and the drawbridge down. It seemed excellently constructed and filled with mercenaries, who were crying out, 'O lord emperor, enter quickly with your companions!' They entered, and it seemed that servants and many friends of the emperor were in it; he supposed he had come upon people who would defend him manfully. When they had entered, they raised the drawbridge and began to defend themselves. Then the spirits with their war machines attacked the castle with wondrous power, so that the emperor and the others feared all the more. Then Salaul said to me, 'We do not have the power to remain here longer than a quarter of the day, so we must
now withdraw.' Then the castle disappeared, and the attackers, and everything else. The emperor and the others then looked around and found themselves in some marsh, which left them greatly astonished. I said to them, 'This episode has been quite an adventure!' And after this experiment I made a dinner for them.

Remember that this art cannot last longer than a quarter of a day, unless it lasts one quarter one time [and is then renewed for another quarter day], etc.

One might have supposed that the trick played on the emperor constituted an act of rebellion deserving of execution; the tale, which must be read as such, asks us to suspend our disbelief and assume the emperor had unlimited capacity for being amused. The milk and honey that the magician sprinkles evidently serve as a kind of offering, which comes this time at the beginning rather than at the end of the ritual, as in no. 6; it is perhaps worthy of note that this theme of sacrifice occurs specifically in illusionist experiments set at court, and one might perhaps speculate that the offering is somehow analogous here to a courtly gift, but two examples provide too little evidence for such generalization. A further aspect of this experiment that calls for attention is the formula for recalling the spirits. Having summoned them, the master proceeds at once to an arrangement which will ensure multiple recurrence of the desired illusion. The formula to be used on further occasions is simple, and does not use the language of conjuration; presumably the demons are already bound by their own consecration of the circle, and need not be bound by the force of a formal conjuration.

While extensive pursuit of parallels would lead to endless digression, two especially interesting ones deserve comment. The first is from The Quest of the Holy Grail, in which a lady who seeks in vain the love of Sir Bors threatens that she and her maidens will kill themselves by leaping from a tower unless he satisfies her. As they plunge from the battlements, Sir Bors crosses himself, and immediately is 'enveloped in such a tumult and shrieking that it seemed to him that all the fiends of hell were round about him: and no doubt there were a number present. He looked round, but saw neither the tower nor the lady who had been soliciting his love...'. Thus he knew 'it was the enemy who had laid this ambush for him'. In this case the phantom tower is a demonic snare, but not a work of magic created by demons at the behest of a magician. The second parallel, from much further afield, from the eleventh-century life of the Tibetan Buddhist saint Milarepa, is in this way more closely analogous to the tale in our necromantic handbook. When the lama Marpa had Milarepa construct a tall tower, the lama's enemies attacked it, but 'the lama conjured up some phantom soldiers, clad in armor, and put them everywhere, inside and outside the tower. His enemies said, "Where did Marpa get all these soldiers?"' Terror-struck, they prostrated themselves and became disciples of the lama. In this context sainthood and magic may be more closely related than in medieval Christianity; indeed, even in modern Tibet lamas are
said to have risked moral defilement by using magical weapons against Chinese invaders. Yet even within Tibet, not all magic is judged morally equivalent: Marpa may work a harmless trick of magical illusion without jeopardizing his standing, but the tower Milarepa is constructing is part of his arduous penance required for works of destructive magic in his life before attaining sainthood.

EXPERIMENTS TO OBTAIN A HORSE

As we have already seen, magical flying horses are part of the stock in trade of magic lore; they migrate not only across the face of the earth but also between the magicians’ own writings and courtly literature. Johannes Hartlieb speaks of horses that come into an old house and transport a rider over many miles, and he hints rather vaguely at how it is done: one takes bat’s blood and binds oneself to the Devil with secret words such as ‘Debra ebra’; after riding one dismounts and takes the bridle; to return to one’s place of origin one need only shake the bridle and the horse will appear – but the horse is, of course, only a devil. Magic of this sort, he says, is widely known among princes. He also tells how unhuldun and others use a salve called the ungumentum pharelis, made of seven herbs mixed with the blood of a bird and the fat of an animal, smeared on benches, chairs or other objects, on which they then ride; this too counts for him as necromancy.

One might challenge the inclusion of these experiments in the category of magical illusion, since the journeys undertaken are at least represented as real. In one key sense, however, even from the magicians’ perspective there is an element of illusion: the creature that appears is not in reality a horse but a demon in the form of a horse. The illusion is perhaps not so complete as in the case of a banquet with food that does not nourish or satisfy hunger, but this is only to say that from a perspective shared by magicians and theologians alike the demons had real but limited power over the natural order, and while they could effect genuine locomotion through assumed bodies they could not confect food with the substantiality of real food. One might ask further why they could not transport real food, perhaps even bringing grapes from distant lands in midwinter, and the answer to that would presumably be that they could do so but were content in all these cases to create just enough of an illusion to last through the duration of the experiment, and once they began troubling to transport food from abroad they would be extending themselves beyond the contracted arrangement.

However one wishes to resolve these subtleties, the Munich handbook in any event gives four experiments for obtaining a spirit in the form of a horse on which to ride. Let us begin with the most extended of these (no. 9):

I also wish to explain to you how to obtain a horse – that is, a spirit in the form of a horse – who can bear you across water and land, through hills and across plains, wherever you wish.
First, on the sixth [day] of the moon, a Tuesday; having fasted, you should go out with a bridle that has never been used, and in a secret place, and make a circle with a nail or an iron stylus, as appears here. inscription in it the names and figures that appear. When this is done, remain in the middle and kneel on the bridle facing east, and in a somewhat loud voice say, 'O Lautrayth, Fermin, [and] Oliroomim, spirits who attend upon sinners. I. so-and-so, trusting in your power, conjure you by Him who spoke and [all things] were made, and who knows all things even before they come to pass, and by heaven and earth, fire and air and water, Sun and Moon and stars . . . to send me three [spirits] who should come to me gently, without causing me fear, but in such a way that I may remain safe, and you should fulfill entirely whatever I command you, and bring it effectively to pass. Likewise, I conjure you aforesaid spirits by Him who is to come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire, and by the fearful Day of Judgement, and by the sentence that you must hear on that day, and [by] this circle with which you are effectively invoked, that you should be compelled to come here without delay and humbly fulfill my commands.'

When you have said this three times, you will see three knights come from afar. On seeing them, before they arrive in your presence, say, 'I have lifted to you my eyes unto the mountains, from which my help shall come. My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth' [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps. 122:1]. And when they come to the circle they will at once dismount from their horses and greet you cheerfully. You will say to them, 'May the Lord in his mercy bring you back to your pristine status.' Then the spirits will say, 'O master, we have come to you, all of us prepared to obey your commands. So command us to do that for which you have made us come here, and it will be fully brought about.' You should reply, 'I wish for you to consecrate this bridle' - which you should hold with both hands - 'so that whenever I shake it a horse will come before me, in whose mouth I may place it, and I may be able to mount it and ride safely on it, and proceed wherever I desire.' Then they will say they wish to take the bridle with them and return it on the third day. You will give it to them. And when you have done so, they will mount their horses and withdraw without delay. When they have gone, leave the circle, without erasing it, and withdraw from that place.

Return there on the evening of the third day and you will find the same spirits offering the bridle to you, assuring you that your request has been carried out. When you have taken the bridle, say, 'I conjure you by the God of gods that you will be unable to depart from here without my leave.' Then they will reply that they will remain there as long as you wish. Then shake the bridle, and at once a black horse will come. Place the bridle on him, and ride. Then dismount and remove the bridle, and at once the horse will depart.

When the horse has left, say, 'I conjure you [spirits] by all the aforesaid
things, and by all those things that have power against you, that you should swear always to compel that horse to come to me.' They will swear and promise to do so at once. When they have sworn, tell them to withdraw in safety.\textsuperscript{36} When they have gone, leave the circle and erase it totally, and take the bridle with you.

And when you wish the horse to come, say, shaking the bridle, 'Lutrayth, Feremim, Oliroomim', and the horse will come at once. Then place the bridle in its mouth and ride. You should ride a bit back toward its haunches,\textsuperscript{37} which will be gentler, and you should do this each time. And when you want it to gallop, spur it on or lash it, and it will fly like an arrow, but you will not be able to fall off, so do not fear. And when you wish to dismount, it will never depart until you have removed the bridle from its mouth, whereupon it will disappear at once.

We have made such bridles very thin, so we can carry them in a small place, and they can never break or wear out because of the consecration.

One should note that if the circle given above is inscribed on horsehide with the blood of a horse and with the tooth of a white horse, and then is shown to horses, they will die at once. And if you carry it with you, written in this manner, no horse can come near you. And Socrates speaks of the power of this circle in his book of magic.

The figure shown is a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars. 'The place of the master' is marked in the center of the circle. The band contains the names Lantrayth, Feremni and Oliroomim,\textsuperscript{38} plus astronomical and other signs.

Four points about this experiment call especially for comment. First, as in other illusionist experiments, but not typically in other ones, the spirits conjured come in the form of courtly figures, in this case knights, which reinforces the aura of courtly romance intended to characterize these texts. Second, the means for control over the horse is a bridle, which should not be surprising, since that is the usual purpose of a bridle, except that in this case the instrument of control is used in unconventional ways and becomes more an effective symbol of the magician's power than a practical implement. Third, the circle which serves to gain control over a demon in the form of a horse can also, differently employed, be used to threaten an actual horse; while these illusionist experiments may not be overtly concerned with establishment of power relations (as are the psychological experiments to be examined in the next chapter), they do entail the exercise of power, sometimes over a human agent such as the emperor, and in this case (as in the tale from the Rawlinson manuscript) over an animal. Fourth, the term used for 'shake' or 'shake violently', squassare, may possibly suggest that this material
derives from an Italian source. That verb passed over into modern Italian, and may be more expected in Latin texts from Italy than in those from elsewhere.

The three other experiments for obtaining a horse are much simpler. In one (no. 14) the master looks toward the eastern sky, kneeling and with folded hands as if he were in prison, and with firm hope of obtaining his will he says a 'prayer' seven times to the 'most high and benign king of the east', adjuring him to send an 'airy spirit' on which he can ride to a specified place. A horse comes, and the master conjures it to carry him to that place without danger or disturbance. When he arrives at his destination he thanks the king of the east for bestowing this favour, and offers to serve him forever and obey his commands, 'and may his name be praised forever'. Another experiment (no. 17) is exceptional in that it does not begin with a conjuration, but with merely the inscription of magic names. The master writes six of these on the door of a vacant house, at twilight, 'in the Hebrew manner', then he withdraws for a while. When he returns he finds a horse ready. He conjures it to carry him without harm or trouble to a specified place. He may then mount it confidently, for it cannot harm him. When he arrives at his destination he dismounts and takes the horse's bridle. Having finished his business, he shakes the bridle vigorously and repeats the conjuration to summon the horse. In the third of these simple experiments (no. 43) the master again writes a series of names on the door of a vacant house, at dusk, with bat's blood, then withdraws for a brief time. When he returns he finds a horse awaiting him. After he has ridden the animal, he dismounts, removes the bridle, and hides it underground. When he wishes to return, he retrieves the bridle and shakes it, whereupon the horse returns at once. He then repeats the conjuration, plus the words 'kostolya, elogo, yetas', and off he rides.

OTHER EXPERIMENTS FOR ILLUSORY MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

In addition to these four experiments, the handbook provides two similar ones, both complex, for conjuring a magical ship (no. 8) and a flying throne (no. 15). The ship will sail quickly over the seas, wherever one wants, with whomever one wishes. The master first fasts on a Monday, then goes out under a waxing moon to a remote place with the rib of a dead man or woman. Having sharpened a point on the rib, he uses it to trace a circle with a horizontal band across the centre and a vertical band across the top semicircle (forming an inverted version of the T-O pattern commonly found in medieval world maps). Superimposed on this design is a crescent shape, possibly representing a ship, with two small circles below it. The place of the master and his companions is marked at the bottom of the crescent, and 'East' is marked toward the bottom. This circle is the 'insignia' of the spirits to be invoked. The master enters the circle at the designated spot and fumigates it with the marrow of a dead man. He will hear voices in the air. Holding the rib in his right hand, he conjures eight spirits to come without delay.
He then sees eight sailors, who will announce in reverential tone that they have been sent to fulfil his command. Before the ship may be employed, the spirits must take an oath to fulfil the master's wishes. Then he commands them to transport the circle and those within it to a specified place. They do so, and it will seem as if the company is sailing on the high seas. In a brief time, they arrive at their destination. When he has arrived at his destination he can command the spirits to return him quickly to the point of departure, and they will do so. Then he gives them permission to leave. When they have done so, he destroys the circle and buries the rib. He can make the spirits swear that they will repeat their service upon demand: whenever he wishes to sail again, the master makes a circle with iron, wood, his finger, or anything else, and tells his companions to enter at the specified place without fear, then he invokes the eight spirits by virtue of the oath they have already taken, ordering them once again to transport him where he wishes to go, and eight sailors will appear and transport him, within an hour, in a ship; when he wants to return, they will take him back. In one key respect this experiment differs from others for means of transportation: the transport comes with the spirits' appearance, not at a later stage after they have sent a spirit specifically delegated for the purpose. But as in other experiments involving transportation, the third stage is a return to the master's original location, and then there are measures for repeating the experiment.

The greater part of the elaborate and fanciful experiment to obtain a flying throne (no. 15) is a ritual for summoning the throne itself; spirits themselves do not appear overtly. The text plunges directly into the instructions, with no introduction. The master must go to a high and secret place when the weather is serene, with no wind. He says various prayers (the Ave Maria, part of Psalm 50, the Lesser Doxology, etc.), then makes a circle, into which he places three jars with him, and he casts into one jar ashes and flour, into another fire and salt, into the third water and chalk. He sits in the middle of the circle and calls the king of the clouds to send three guides (or spirits with the rank of duke, ducis) to carry him without harm or danger to the place he wants to go. A small cloud appears, and from the three jars he hears voices calling, 'Rise up! Rise up! Rise up!' After thrice saying a conjuration, the master sees a throne in the midst of the cloud. He ascends it and conjures the three guides to carry him without delay, without harm or danger to body or soul. The later part of the text is much concerned with defence against adversaries during the flight. If the rider perceives in flight that someone is trying to harm him by causing the throne to descend toward the south, he conjures the spirit Balgrim, who comes and brings a storm upon the adversary. If the harm comes from other directions, other spirits are conjured in defence. If storms, serpents, birds or other terrifying things appear above the master on his way, he conjures a certain king to remove these terrors. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this experiment is the sense of peril, which comes not from the potential treachery of the spirits conjured, nor from the danger of
breaking the charm (perhaps by making the sign of the cross) and plunging from a
great height, but rather from unspecified adversaries. Presumably spirits
inimical to those invoked. Whether the aiding or the opposing spirits qualify as
'spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph. 6:12) remains unclear;
the writer might claim that the spirits on both sides are neutral, or capable of
both good and evil, help and harm.

EXPERIMENTS FOR INVISIBILITY

The theme of magical invisibility by means of a ring, a cape or some other object
is, of course, ancient. The ring of Gyges is one of the best known manifestations
because it provides the basis for a classic thought experiment regarding the virtue
of a person whose invisibility allows him to act with impunity.97 Probably the
most commonly recommended means for becoming invisible in medieval works
on magic was to carry an opal on oneself, so that its brilliance would blind all
potential viewers - a method that is supposed to have worked for Constantius
Africanus.10

The Munich handbook contains one complex experiment and two simple ones
to make the magician invisible. The complex one (no. 11) provides a cloak of
invisibility:

I shall treat also of the art of invisibility, unknown in these days to nearly all.

When you wish to become invisible and insensible to all beings, both
rational and otherwise, first, under a waxing moon on a Wednesday, in the
first hour of the day, having remained chaste for three days beforehand, and
with cut hair and beard, and dressed in white, in a secret place outside of
town, under a clear sky, on level ground, trace a circle such as appears here,
with a magnificent sword, writing these names and everything shown along
with them.

When this is done, place the sword toward the west, on [the name] Firiel.
And while you have it placed there, have a vessel in which there is fire with
frankincense (thun), myrrh and other incense (oolbano), and with the smoke from
these go about the circle, suffumigating it. begining and ending with [the
name] Firiel. When you have done this, take blessed water and sprinkle
yourself and the circle, saying. Asperges me, Domine, ysopo . . . [Ps. 50:9 Vulg].
When you have done this, kneel facing the east, and in a strong voice say, 'I,
so-and-so, conjure you. O Firiel, Mememil, Berith, [and] Taraor, powerful,
magnificent, illustrious spirits, in whom I place all my trust, by the one,
 inseparable and undivided Trinity . . . that all four of you should come here
with utmost humility, bound, constrained, and sworn to carry out my
command, whatever I ask of you. Come without delay . . .'

When you have said this invocation four times - once toward Firiel, once
toward Melemil and toward Berith and Tarator - four spirits will at once be present in the circle, saying to you, 'Tell us what you wish, and we will obey you completely.' You will say to them, 'I wish a cloak of invisibility, which should be thin and incorruptible, so that when I wear it no one can see me or sense my presence.' When you have said this, one will withdraw, and within an hour will bring forth a cloak, which you asked them to bring you. They will reply that they cannot give it to you until you first give them your white garment; you will give it to them, and when you have do so they will give you the cloak. One of them will at once put on the garment given to them; you likewise should at once put on the cloak. When you put it on, you will say to the spirits. 'Go in peace', and at once they will withdraw. And when they depart, you should leave the circle, carrying the sword.

On the third day, return there with the cloak, and you will find your garment, which you will take. Be sure to remember; if on the third day you do not return, or you do not take the garment left there, on the fourth day you will find nothing, but in seven days you will die. Having taken it on the third day, you will burn it in the same place. And know that when you burn it you will hear great lamenting and complaining. And when you burn it, sprinkle the ashes in the air, saying, 'I conjure you, Firiël, Melemil, Berith, [and] Taraor, by your virtue and power, and by all things having power against you, to have no virtue or power to harm me by this cloak, but may Jesus Christ protect and defend me...'' When you have said this, take blessed water and sprinkle the cloak, saying, 'I conjure you, cloak, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by this water: that whenever I put you on, no one may sense my presence or see me...'.

The figure required here is a plain circle, with the positions east, south, and west labelled, a sword lying toward the east (with its point near the centre), the position of the master inscribed near the center, and the names Firiël toward the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Taraor to the north, along with two characters. One of the most striking features of the experiment is the suggestion that when the master burns the returned garment he will hear lamentation and complaint, as if the garment, like the book Antoninus of Florence is said to have burned, was infested with malign spirits, contained within it in such a way that they were subject to the will of the person who disposed of the physical object.

The two simple experiments in this category are in different ways exceptional: the first (no. 21) because the techniques are without parallel in this manual, and the second (no. 45) because it not only entails a sacrificial offering to the demons but explicitly states that these spirits are worthy of sacrifice. The first of these experiments (which again has no introduction) requires the practitioner to eviscerate a black cat born in March, cut out its heart and eyes, and insert a
heliotrope seed in place of each eye and two such seeds in the mouth, while saying a conjuration for invisibility. Then he buries the body in a closed garden, and waters it for fifteen days with human blood mixed with water, whereupon a plant will grow. He determines which of the plant's seeds bears the power to make him invisible by testing each seed: repeating a series of names, he takes a mirror and puts the newly grown seeds into his mouth, one by one, beneath his tongue, and when he finds the seed that causes invisibility he vanishes from the mirror.\footnote{In the second experiment (no. 45) the master takes a white dove and a sheet of virgin parchment and on a Saturday night goes to a stream by a crossroads. He sacrifices the dove and says, 'O you to whom sacrifice is due, aid in fulfilling my will'; he repeats this formula while facing in each of the cardinal directions. Then he inscribes a figure (a complex sign, with mainly horizontal elements and elaborations) with the dove's blood. Before sunrise he returns, and he finds another sheet with a coin enclosed; when he binds this to his hair he becomes invisible. He must be sure to leave the dove and the parchment behind, presumably as sacrifices to the spirit. The text does not say how to undo the invisibility, but presumably it suffices to remove the seed from one's mouth (taking care meanwhile not to swallow) or the sheet from one's hair.}

\section*{Power over Life and Death}

As we have seen, the term 'necromancy' was used interchangeably in medieval parlance with various forms of 'nigromancy', which could be taken to mean 'black magic', or more literally 'black divination'. One possible reason for the conflation of these terms and concepts was the widespread assumption that when one engaged in necromancy in the original sense, conjuring the spirits of the deceased, the spirits which in fact appeared were demons in the forms of the dead. Most famously, the shade of Samuel conjured by the witch of Endor (I Samuel 28) was taken to have been a demon in the guise of Samuel.\footnote{While 'necromancy' was most often used in later medieval parlance for the conjuring of demons, necromancy in its original sense was not unknown in the magic of the era. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, gives procedures for raising the shades of the dead.\footnote{The Munich handbook comes closest in an experiment (no. 10) by which the necromancer can make a living person appear dead or a dead person appear alive:}}

When you wish to infuse a spirit into a dead person, so that he appears alive as he was previously, this is the procedure to follow. First have a ring made of gold. Around the outside these names should be carved: Brimer, Suburith, Tranauiti; on the inside, these names: Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn. When the names have been carved, on a Sunday before sunrise, go to running water and place the ring in it, and let it remain there for five days.
On the sixth day, take it out and take it to a tomb, and place it inside, so that it remains there on Friday and Saturday. On Sunday, before sunrise, go outside of town under a clear sky, in a remote and secret place, and make a circle with a sword, and on it write with the sword the names and figures that appear here.

When this has been inscribed, enter into it [the circle] as is designated, and place the sword beneath your knees, and, facing south, recite this conjuration: 'I conjure you, all the demons inscribed on this ring' - which you should have in your hand - 'by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by almighty God, maker of heaven and earth . . . that all of you, constrained and bound to my will and my power, should proceed hither in benign form, so that I will not fear, and should consecrate this ring in such a way that it may possess this power, namely that whenever I place it on the finger of a dead person, one of you will enter him, and he will appear alive as before, in the same likeness and form . . .'

When you have said this once, six spirits will at once appear at the circle, requesting the ring, which you will give them. When you have given it, they will depart, and you likewise should leave the circle, taking the sword with you, and not destroying the circle.

On the sixth day, return with the sword, and say, facing south, 'I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, [etc.] . . . that you should come to me now without delay, bearing the consecrated ring, so that when I place it on the finger or in the hand of a living person he will fall to the ground as if dead, and when I take it away he will return to his former state. and when I place it on a dead person, as aforesaid, a spirit will enter him and he will appear alive as before . . .'

When you have said all this four times, first toward the south, and likewise toward the west, then toward the north and toward the east, you will see toward the east someone coming on horseback, who, when he arrives at the circle, will say, 'So-and-so' - naming the names written above - 'send you this consecrated ring, but they say they cannot come to you because it is not fitting; you will experience [or test] the power of the ring, and if it does not have the power that you requested, they say they are prepared to come to you whenever you wish.' You will take the ring, saying to him, 'Thanks to you and to them.' When you have said this, he will at once withdraw, and you too shall depart from the circle, destroying it completely.

Keep this ring with you, wrapped in a sheet of white cloth. When you wish to cause someone to appear dead, so that he will seem to everyone devoid of life, place this ring on his finger, and he will appear to be a corpse; and when you remove it, he will return to his former state. And when you wish a corpse to appear animated, place the ring as aforesaid, or bind it to a hand or foot, and within an hour it will arise in the form to which it is previously accustomed, and will speak before all with a living voice, and will be able to
display this quality for six days, for each of these [spirits] will remain in it for a
day. And if you wish it to be as previously before the assigned terminus, 
remove the ring. And in this manner you can revive a dead person.

This most worthy experiment is to be kept hidden, because it holds great
power.

The circle given above has many powers, of which I shall mention three
known to me. If you draw it on a Friday with the feather of a hoopoe and with
its blood on a freshly prepared sheet of parchment, and touch a person with it,
you will be loved by that person above all others forever. And if you place that
circle, written as aforesaid, on the head of a sick person without his knowledge,
if he is to die he will say that he can by no means recover, and if he is to
recover he will see that he is altogether freed. And if you carry this circle,
written in like manner, on your person, no dog will be able to bark at you. And
I have experienced these effects: I do not mention those I have not
experienced.

The figure shown for this experiment is a double circular band with a
pentagram inscribed. The names carved on the ring are repeated, along with
astrological signs, within the two bands. The position of the master is indicated
in the centre of the pentagram, and the cardinal directions are marked outside
the bands.

The reference to the monumentum, the white shroud, and Sunday morning
before dawn all make it clear that this resuscitation is intended as a replication
or perhaps a parody of Christ’s Resurrection. Yet pretending to resurrect the
dead was one specialty associated traditionally with Antichrist. Indeed, the
question whether Antichrist could genuinely revive the dead was much
discussed in medieval theology. Honorius of Regensburg in his Elucidarium had
his disciple ask whether Antichrist will truly raise the dead, to which the master
replies:

By no means; rather, the Devil by his bewitchments [maleficis] will enter
someone’s body and carry it about and speak in it, so that it will appear as if
living, as it is said, ‘In all signs and lying wonders’ [II Thess. 2:9].45

Hildegard of Bingen agreed that Antichrist’s miracle is an illusion, and insisted
that ‘he is allowed to do this only occasionally, for a very short time and no
longer, lest his presumption bring God’s glory into scorn’.46 The directions in The
Play of Antichrist say that the person resuscitated is to be a man lying in a coffin
and feigning death in battle;47 here we have pretence of death rather than of
resurrection, but the miracle remains an illusion, just as Christian theology from
Patristic sources onward saw magic as inherently a delusion.

These experiments in the Munich handbook make no effort at all to dispel or
counteract this viewpoint, but rather presuppose it, and indeed revel in it. But there is no sense here that the magician is trying to use his deception to seduce followers. His tricks are meant fundamentally as entertainment, chiefly for himself, perhaps, but potentially for others as well—and certainly for the reader who, in the privacy of his chamber, fantasizes about these wonders much as one might share in the fantasies of romance and related literature.

In commenting on the allegations pressed at the Council of Pisa against Benedict XIII, Margaret Harvey remarks: 'The charges . . . were almost certainly a tissue of nonsense. . . . The folklore [in them] is itself interesting however, and so are the circumstances in which it could be delivered solemnly as fact to auditors at a general council by a powerful group including doctors of law and even a cardinal.' One might add to this that it is not altogether anachronistic to see the notion of necromancy as nonsense. At its most playful, it was a deliberate violation of sense, a fantasy of illusion, perhaps intended more for imaginative entertainment than for actual use. Yet the boundaries between sense and nonsense are rarely quite stable, and themes that seem to an outsider absolutely nonsensical could be taken in deadly earnest by some observers within the culture. What is perhaps most fascinating about these illusionist experiments is precisely their teasing ambiguity, which perhaps made it possible for writers on witchcraft to believe about witches what they had been conditioned to believe just might be true of the necromancers before them. The playful fantasies of the necromancers, then, became sources for the Boschian nightmares of the witch trials.

Notes
1 Rawlinson MS D 252, fols 75v–76v: Quia semel[.] eram egomet in India ab Alexandria usque horum et ibi mulieres ridebam michi placenterissimas, et statum complevi cum raris desideriorum meum, nec ibi erat oportunitas confessorum pro tunc nisi duxis expectassem, et cum ad ejus munere renescisse sitit ibi consuetudinis est, et cum appetitione [76] exerem ferum equum se moneo non permisso me posse posse pedem in se exorat, salsone me immundifici, et ego tenes forte ferrum et equus laeatim me in aerem per 40 pedes in altum ac tandem videm me mense perturans remissi munere et ocultis et fugi ceras meum mirabiliter, et in India incixi per 4 months, nec amplius esse fueram semel equum ridebam. Cum autem semel fueram, confessor erat et ego penitenciam, et parando multis cuernum, ferrum moniter fieri spectetum et gladium et analum, quia annulus quem poluerem virtutem persidisset. Et factus istis instrumentis, et monster conservatis, tueasti istos eodem spirtus, et remans spiritum 1r[.] equum michi feci appetari [MS appetariz]. Et factus contrariorumbus raudam contristavi et ascendebam persifici, et per cernem meum continebam nisi quando descenderbam ad dormirem et comederem vel bibem. [76v] dem semper equitati 8eres subsidendo totum urbem. Et in aerem ferrum rem me duosbere quonosque ego fere proprius impressiones aerei fueram suffocatus. Sed in circulando urbem plus [MS plus] repperi theocras et mirificos, quos posui moi in custvla docemte me uno spiritum, quenan posito inclabem. Et sic vexabam equum meum, qui cum conata ab eo descenderbam et potente me quare me lest, respondid quod inde [sic] facere non poterei, dixit tamen se tam diu cessus in inferno sano quam per tantum tempus amplius equisere. Et isto modo me rogavi et amplius cern tam diu non vexaram et ipsa mecum cum suo munere fideliter cern vocauero ministret. Et sic male pro malo retrahrebam ei.


4 Kathryn L. Lynch, ‘East meets West in Chaucer’s Squire’s and Franklin’s Tales’, Speculum, 70 (1995), 530-51, esp. 539f.


6 Fols 49r-50r.

7 Hansen, Quellen, 539-44.


10 Several early Christian writers spoke of magic as deception (fraud), delusion (elusio) or phantasm - which could mean purely natural sleight of hand within the capacity of any skilled human, but it could also apply to tricks only demons could perform, which would still be illusory in the sense that what appeared to be present would not in fact be. On this theme see Francis C.R. Thee, Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), esp. 349-52 (Irenaeus), 374-6 (Origen) and 394f. (Hippolytus). For a particularly well done fictional exploration of the motif see Anita Mason, The Illusionist (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984).


12 It would be pointless to attempt a survey of the theme in other writings, but to take merely one example, see Piacitra: The Latin Version of the Ghayat Al-Hakim, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), 17-18.

13 On this wide-ranging subject see, e.g., Lorne Dwight Conquergood, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Boast: Structure and Function’ (Northwestern University dissertation, 1977), and Daniel Cliness Boughner,
The Braggart in Renaissance Literature: A Study in Comparative Drama from Aristophanes to Shakespeare (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

14 See Joseph Hansen, Zauberkonf, Inquisition und Hexenprozeß im Mittelalter, und die Entstehung der großen Hexenverfolgung (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 1-36, on the formation of a "Sammlungbegriff or Kollektivbegriff of witchcraft.


17 Malus maleficarum, ii.1.3, p. 105; cf. ii.1.1 and ii.1.4, pp. 97 and 113, in which the sign of the cross is said to have similar effect but outside the context of flight. A warning against the sign of the cross outside the context of flight occurs also in Clm 849, no. 1.


20 I translate daphneus thus, rather than as 'stewards', to convey somewhat more clearly that these figures actually produce the illusory banquet rather than serving at a conventional feast.

21 This passage seems to mean that one is to draw the sword itself not only to the east but to the other directions while reciting the conjuration, and then again hold the sword toward the east.

22 As I can attest from personal experience, even in the absence of demons and magicians an excited or agitated hoopoe flutters its crest, which otherwise lies back on its head.

23 Oymelor, Symofo, Manoir and Faubair in the outermost band; Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin and Abetabael in the next; Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber and Rimanor in the next; and Massair, Lotobor, Tatomofon and Sirama in the innermost. (The forms of the names are exceptionally variable: Symofos appears elsewhere in the experiment as Symofo or Sinomo, Manoir as Memnort or Memoir, Rodobayl as Rodobaill, Abetabel as Selutabel or Belutabel, Leutaber as Zeugaber, Sirama as Syram.)


reports that smearing boopoe blood on the temples before sleeping causes nightmares, and that enchanters seek the bird’s organs (especially its brain, tongue and heart) for ‘their own purposes’. See also Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, pp. 13 (PGM II.1–64); 29 (III.424–66), 129 (VII.411–16), and 210 (PDM xiv.116).

26 Prospero, in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, IV.i.

27 For experiences, although the heading gives experimenta.

28 A largely conjectural reading of *qui habet mulsum ipso* 15 *demus paenitentur et spem patam*, the writer seems to have been copying from a source and unable to determine what the verb should be.

29 The MS reads *modestis*, but the context calls for *redactis* or the equivalent.

30 This translation simplifies and clarifies a somewhat confused passage.


35 Chs 31–2.

36 Or perhaps ‘with a farewell’ (*cum salute*).

37 For *de ruiss chm[i]ab* alaquasum incidere debes.

38 The nomenclature is again variable: Lantrayth appears also as Lautrayth and Lutrayth, Feremni as Feremin and Feremim, Oliromm as Oliroomim.


41 Perhaps the closest classical analogue to this procedure is from the Greek magical papyri, which recommend holding a snapdragon under the tongue while sleeping, and reciting specified names on rising early, to become invisible; see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 1, p. 135 (PGM VII.619–27, from a collection called the *Donum of Moses*). See also an Italian experiment for invisibility mentioned by Charles Burnett in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, pp. 6–7, where five beans are placed in a woman’s skull and buried.

42 For a survey of relevant sources see Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 159–60.

43 Fola 66v–67v.
44 The MS uses the second person, but the reference is clearly to the horseman.
46 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, xi.27, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist, 1990), 503.
LOVE, FAVOUR AND MADNESS: 
PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTS

When we speak of one individual as 'charming' or 'fascinating' another, we still use the traditional language of magic to suggest the power that personalities can exert over each other. We know that the human mind is subject to subtle and often threatening or frightening influence; it comes as no surprise that practitioners of magic have claimed to make such influence into a kind of science available for their employment. Nor is it surprising if at times magic intended to bend the minds and wills of other persons has its desired effect, since this form of magic more than any other lends itself to the power of suggestion. Outside the context of clerical necromancy, magic of this sort occurs in trials such as that of Matteuccia di Francesco at Todi in 1428. Among the many charges against Matteuccia was this:

... in the month of December of 1427 a certain woman of that territory went to Matteuccia and, after confessing that she loved a certain man, said that she would like to spread her hatred so that her man would abandon his wife and, loving only herself, do everything she wanted. Matteuccia told the woman to wash her hands and feet facing backwards and with her knees bent and when she had done so to take the water and throw it where the man and woman were going to pass, with the spirit, intent and belief that this would generate hatred between them. The woman did this and reported to Matteuccia that the water had generated hatred between the man and the woman as she had intended, so that they could not meet, but instead hated each other.  

The alienation of affection in this case is more than usually complicated: the same ritual simultaneously disrupted the married couple's relationship and bound the husband's affections, causing him to love the client so intensely that he complied with her every wish. In other cases Matteuccia prescribed such water rituals as a means for regaining affection and for transferring disease, presumably on the assumption that the fluidity of water made it a fitting symbol and medium for emotional instability, but also perhaps implying that the sort of water one might expect to find in a medieval city could plausibly be viewed as a means for contamination and contagion.
PSYCHOLOGICAL MAGIC IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

The Munich manuscript contains seven experiments that might be termed psychological, because they are intended to influence people’s minds or wills: to cause madness or hatred, to gain favour with a potentate, to constrain the will of others, or to arouse the love of a woman. Five general features characterize these experiments. First, they typically involve elaborate preparation and ceremonies which may require more than one day. Second, the purposes and forms (other than the conjurations) have much in common with those of astral magic. Third, the basic techniques are those of ‘sympathetic’ or ‘imitative’ magic, whose meaning is explicated by accompanying incantations; magic circles either are not used or are simple and relatively unimportant, and conjurations are less significant and elaborate here than in other forms of necromancy. Fourth, the procedures and the expected results are typically more violent than in other experiments, amounting in the erotic experiments to a kind of rape. Fifth, with rare exceptions, the magician works strictly by himself, in secret, without companions (unless one includes the women he sets out to seduce, in erotic forms of this magic); whereas the secrecy in illusionist experiments adds to the sense of excitement and adventure, the point here is more simply to evade detection in circumstances that would be extremely damaging.

The preparation and ritual is sometimes protracted over several days (nos 2, 4, 5), or at least involves multiple operations performed on a single occasion (nos 3, 12, 13, 35). One is tempted to speculate that such magic can best take effect if its victims are aware that it is being used and if they are liable to the power of suggestion, and that the more elaborate the procedures, the greater the chance that the intended victims will learn the fate that is to befall them. Indeed, in one of these experiments (no. 2) the master is instructed to go to the victim and warn him in advance of his fate. John Gager suggests in a similar context that magicians may have been ‘less than totally discreet about their business, perhaps intentionally so, and let it be known that a “fix” had been put on so-and-so’. Such deliberate indiscretion would be especially appropriate for magic that depended entirely on psychological effect.

The purposes served by these psychological experiments are among the most common purposes found in the astral magic translated into Latin from Arabic sources such as Picatrix and Thabit ibn Qurra’s De imaginibus. Thabit’s treatise is devoted to experiments for such goals as destroying a city or region, becoming ruler of a place, securing the favour of a king, and arousing friendship or enmity between two persons. The magician is in every case expected to use images, not so much as aids to sympathetic magic, but as channels of astrological power; the astrological conditions for use of these images are thus of paramount importance. The psychological experiments in the Munich handbook are generally much longer and more fully developed than the materials in these Arabic sources. What they add are chiefly conjurations and operations of sympathetic magic.
These rituals consistently entail sympathetic procedures: they rely on the basic principle of sympathetic magic, *sic ut hic, ita illic*. More often than not the master is supposed to inflict some kind of violence upon the victim’s image, so that a corresponding violence will occur to the actual victim. In other words, ritual rape is a means for accomplishing physical rape. A representative object may be consumed or destroyed: a candle melted (no. 2); stones beaten together, buried, heated and crushed (no. 5); an image pierced with needles (no. 12); a bone placed in fire (nos 13 and 35). Elsewhere the representative object is used for an imitative operation symbolizing submission: one metal image is placed in a position of subordination to another (no. 4). The specifically demonic or necromantic element in these experiments is typically an appendage to this sympathetic magic, and the demons generally play a less prominent role than in illusionist or divinatory experiments. Other features of necromancy, while present, are also relegated to a position of secondary significance. The conjurations used in these experiments tend to be relatively simple. Instead of conjurations, incantations explicating the significance of the sympathetic ritual (‘Just as . . . so too . . . ’) occupy a central position. Even the magic circles called for in these experiments are comparatively simple: indeed, in three cases there are no circles at all (nos 4, 5, 35), and in four others there is either a simple circle (nos 2, 3, 12) or a simple shield-figure substituting for a circle (no. 13).

**EXPERIMENTS TO INFlict HARM**

Later medieval books of magic are seldom shy about giving straightforwardly harmful formulas. A fifteenth-century *Liber de angelis, annulis, caracteribus et imaginibus planetarum* (Book of angels, rings, characters, and images of the planets) in the Cambridge University Library contains an experiment called the *Vindicta Troie* (*Vengeance of Troy*), which can be used to arouse hatred or to cause bodily harm or even death. The procedure calls for making an image on the day and in the hour of Saturn, in the name of the person to be harmed. The image must be made of wax, preferably from candles used at a funeral. It should be made as ugly as possible; the face should be contorted, and there should be hands in place of feet and vice versa. The victim’s name should be inscribed on the forehead of the image, the name of the planet Saturn on its breast, and the seals or characters of Saturn between its shoulders. The operator should call upon the spirits of Saturn to descend from on high and afflict the named victim. The image should be fumigated with various substances, including human bones and hair, then wrapped in a funeral cloth and buried in some unclean place, face downward. If the magician wishes to harm any particular member of the victim’s body, there are instructions for binding the corresponding member on the image with a funeral cloth and piercing the image with a needle; to kill the victim, the magician should insert the needle into the spine, from the head down to the
heart. To cure the victim afterward (unless, presumably, the experiment has succeeded in killing him), one must unbury the image, remove the needle and anoint the wounds that are left, rub out the inscriptions, and wash the image in a fountain. The Liber de angelis also prescribes a technique for arousing discord: the operator makes one image of Saturn and another of Mars (which counted as 'unfortunate' planets), one holding a lance and the other a sword, and buries them positioned over against each other.5

If one were to judge from the trial records, one might suppose that necromancy was used chiefly to bring personal harm and death to enemies. Thus, Guichard of Troyes was charged in the early fourteenth century with hiring a witch and a friar to kill the queen of France by image magic and invocation of demons.6 and in 1441 Eleanor Cobham was accused of employing a witch and two scholars learned in astrology and necromancy, in part to kill the king of England,7 to cite only two examples. Yet of all the experiments in the Munich manual, only two (nos 2 and 5), are designed specifically and exclusively to cause harm, and the damage is specifically psychological; the manuscript contains no experiments for killing enemies or inflicting physical harm on them. Even these two experiments designed to bring harm provide countermagic for the master to use if he wishes to undo his own mischief (as does the Liber de angelis).

Let us look first at an experiment designed to bring enmity between two friends (no. 5):

When you wish to sow hatred and mortal enmity between two men or women, or a man and a woman, you must take two shiny round rocks from a river.8 On one you must carve the name of one person, with the names Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil and Geteritacon. On the other [you must carve] the name of the other person and the names Puzanil, Pimaton, Folfitoy, and Mansator. These names are highly antipathetic to each other. When they are carved, you must bury one under the threshold of the one in whose name it was made, if you can, and if you cannot, bury them beneath the threshold of any inhabited house, and the other likewise under the threshold of the other, as has been said, or under some house, as is written above.9 And let them remain there seven days and seven nights.

Then remove them before sunrise, take them to a secret place, and cast them into a fire, saying, ‘I conjure you most inimical spirits, by the glory of the everlasting God, to sow and arouse as much hatred between so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are carved here on these stones, as there is between you.’ When you have said this three times, take the stones from the fire, saying, ‘When their fury is enkindled against us, perhaps the waters had swallowed them up’ [Ps. 123:3f. Vulg.]. Then cast [procuriamus] them into very cold water and let them stay there under a clear sky for three days and nights. On the fourth day take them and fumigate them with sulphur, saying, ‘I conjure all
you hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons... to arouse at once between so-and-so and so-and-so as much hatred as there was between Cain and Abel. Arouse them and inflame them so much that one cannot stand to see the other, and one will afflict the other with immeasurable hatred, as a rebel.10 May all love, affection, fraternity and concord be removed from them; let them be turned to enmity and utter hatred.' When you have said this three times, with constant fumigation, store them [the stones] away.

The next night, beat the rocks together and strike one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these stones, rather I smash so-and-so and so-and-so, whose names are written here, so that one will at once afflict the other and they will torment each other from now on with unconditional hatred.' And do this three times, each night and day, for several days. And immediately you will see or hear that they have become enemies and hate each other bitterly, so that neither can abide to see the other.

If you wish to separate them altogether, causing one to flee the other, proceed as follows. Arise before sunrise on a Sunday, under a waning moon, especially when it is in combustion, and proceed in the direction of the sunrise.11 When you have done this, take two stones that you have brought with you there, and rub them together vigorously, pounding one against the other, saying, 'I do not smash these rocks, etc.' When you have said this three times, bury whichever of them you wish. Then withdraw and go toward the west, and make a ditch there and bury the other in that place, saying, 'As I have separated these stones, thus may so-and-so separate himself from so-and-so, and may they be as distant as these stones.' When it has been buried, withdraw. And you will see them estranged, each separated from the other.

This experiment must be kept secret, for it possesses ineffable power, and no remedy is to be found before they have been estranged and hate each other bitterly.

But if you wish to restore them to their initial friendship, unbury the stones and place them in a furnace, and when they are well cooked smash them to little bits, and paste them together with water, and let [the newly formed mass] dry. When it is dried, cast it into the water of a river, saying, 'Let all enmity be taken away that was between so-and-so and so-and-so, and let them return to their former affection, by the mercy of the gracious God, who does not regard the misdeeds of sinners. Amen.' And you may be sure that on account of this they will be joined together at once, and all anger will be taken away, and they will enjoy their initial concord.

Not only is the imitative action with stones at the heart of this experiment, even the conjuration involves an extension of the principle of imitative magic: the enmity produced by the magic is already manifested in the 'hateful and malignant, invidious and discordant demons' whose services are invoked, and the
archetypal enmity between Cain and Abel serves as a paradigm for that intended by the magician. Apart from the verbal formulas, the magic is simple to the point of seeming primitive: the symbolic objects are not carved in the forms of the individuals represented, but are mere rocks, and the abuse to which they are subject is fairly simple exposure to the inimical elements of earth, fire and water. One might wonder why the sympathetic reversal provided in this experiment does not have the effect of utterly destroying the victims. The stones have all along symbolized the victims, and the crushing should have dire effects on them if the logic of sympathetic magic is consistently maintained. Obviously, however, this is not how the writer of the manual viewed matters. From his perspective the operations evidently took effect not simply ex opere operato but in accordance with the intentions of the operator as expressed in the accompanying words.

Elsewhere the procedures for separation magic were more imaginative but still essentially imitative. Riccola di Puccio of Pisa was executed at Perugia in 1347, in part for using magic to bring disaffection between a husband and wife; she recited charms and conjurations over an egg from a black hen, calling upon ‘Mosectus, Barbecuect and Belsabect, the prince of demons’, as well as other demons of various ranks, then he cut the egg in half and gave one part to a female cat and the other to a male dog, saying, ‘In the name of the aforesaid demons may the love between [the two] be sundered as this egg is divided between the dog and the cat, and let there be such affection between them as between this dog and this cat.’

The other experiment in this category in the Munich handbook (no. 2) is intended to inflict dementia. The practitioner goes to his victim and openly recites a conjuration commanding the malign spirit Mirel to enter and afflict his brain. Then he makes a pen with wood from the victim’s door, and he inscribes a brief conjuration and a magic circle - a single band with the names of Mirel and the victim in the centre, and the names of ten demons within the band - on a piece of linen, and conjures the demons thrice. A set of sympathetic operations follows. The master goes to the victim’s house. urinates ‘in the manner of a camel’, and buries the cloth; while doing so he says, ‘I bury you, so-and-so, in the name of the demons written round about you, so that these demons may always be around him, and all your power may be buried.’ He goes home and makes a candle, inscribed as was the circle. He lights the candle, saying, ‘Just as this candle, made for the destruction of N., burns and is consumed, so may all the power and knowledge he possesses be turned to madness . . .’ He then extinguishes the candle, saying, ‘Just as this candle is extinguished, so may all the power in N. be utterly consumed.’ When he has repeated the procedure over seven days, the victim will become demented, and all who see him will marvel, though he himself will not recognize his condition and will assume that others are mad. If he wishes to restore the victim’s sanity, the master goes to his house and enjoins the demons to depart, thus counteracting the effects of his triple
conjuration. Then he further nullifies the magic by removing the inscribed cloth and casts it into a fire, saying, 'Just as this fire consumes this cloth, so may all this craft (ars) done by me against N. be wholly undone,' then he casts the ashes into a flowing stream. While the countermagic is itself sympathetic, it is not (in the same way as with no. 5) strictly a reversal of the original sympathetic magic involving the burning and extinguishing of a candle.

There are recipes for madness in *Picatrix*, which involve not imitative magic but potions (made from the body parts of a cat, a hoopoe, a bat, a toad and other creatures) to be taken in food or drink, or a fume to be inhaled, whereupon the victim will be bedevilled (*demoniabantur*), losing his senses and memory, and not even knowing where he is. The Munich handbook is perhaps remarkable for its thoroughgoing avoidance of such potions. It rarely combines the techniques of demonic with those of natural magic, and avoids giving recipes for potions whose magical virtue would normally be seen as inherent and natural, but does use imitative rituals, more readily seen as signs and signals to demons.

The burial of some symbolic object is a recurrent theme in these psychological experiments, far more than in other types. Parallels can easily be cited in astral magic, for example in one section of *Picatrix*, which prescribes burying astrological images to attain friendship or love, to secure the fondness and obedience of a ruler’s subjects or a lord’s servant, to separate two friends, to cause a person to fall under the wrath of a king, to bring love between men and women— but also to destroy an enemy or a city or house, to prevent the construction of a building, to release a captive, to put a person to flight, to get rid of scorpions, to increase the fertility of the fields. The psychological experiments of the Munich handbook which prescribe burial of some object may perhaps be borrowed from astral magic and elaborated with conjurations and other embellishments. Burial ensures secrecy, fixes the object’s location, and perhaps implies an appeal to demons or other chthonic powers. It makes the most obvious sense when a particular location is to be affected: like dragons hidden beneath the foundations of a building and causing its disruption, a buried image can work insidiously on the place where it lies. When the magic is psychological, the point is presumably to affect the victim’s mind by establishing a kind of magical force field within his or her environment. One might even speak of this as environmental magic, designed to afflict individuals indirectly by planting sinister forces in or near the places they frequent.

**AN EXPERIMENT FOR GAINING FAVOUR**

Magical techniques for ensuring favour in the eyes of a dignitary, or for prevailing over one's adversaries in a court of law, are common in the literature of medieval magic, although they rarely if ever become subject matter for prosecution. They presuppose a magician connected to court circles or perhaps to the ecclesiastical
hierarchy, or else a magician serving a client with political ambitions. In short, the context for use of such magic is precisely the sort that Edward Peters envisages: a courtly world rife with ambitions and ensuing tensions because of the possibilities for upward mobility and the threat of precipitous downward mobility.17 The magic recommended for such purposes is often fairly simple. One fifteenth-century compilation prescribes writing out the SATOR-AREPO square on virgin parchment with the blood of a white dove, then carrying it on one’s person or in one’s hand, to ensure favour in the sight of all. The same collection says that various herbs, collected before sunrise in the sign of Virgo, will prevent people from speaking evil against the bearer.18 Another compilation recommends writing out certain characters and carrying them in one’s left hand as a way of obtaining favours from any person.19

From one point of view any attempt to manipulate another person’s mind or will is a hostile act. There are none the less significant differences from one experiment to another in the apparent attitude of the master and in the expected attitude of the victim: in the experiments we have examined above, the master is overtly hostile to the victims and expects them to undergo experiences that will be unpleasant for them; in the next experiments the master displays no overt hostility and anticipates that the people affected will become favourably disposed toward him, without feeling harmed or afflicted, and if anyone feels aggrieved it will presumably be either a rival claimant to favour or the victim at a later stage, when he realizes his will has been manipulated.

The Munich handbook provides one rather elaborate experiment designed to gain favour with any manner of dignitary (no. 4):

. . . I wish for you to read a well tested art for obtaining dignity and honour, status, and the supreme and undying love of a king, prelate, lord or, in general, any man you wish.

First, you should have two soft rocks, which you should rub together so that their surfaces are entirely flush. When you have done this, you should carve in one the image of him [whose favour] you wish, beginning from the head and proceeding to the feet, making first the front and then the back side, and carving a crown on the head if it is a king, and so forth according to his dignity. When this is carved, you will carve on the [other] stone your own form, as best you can, beginning with the head, as before, first the front and then the back. When you have done this, inscribe his name on the forehead of the first [image], in the manner of a seal, and your name on yours. When you have done this, in the first hour of Sunday under a waxing moon take silver or tin and melt it over a fire. When it is melted, cast it in his form, saying, ‘I, so-and-so, wishing to obtain favour and be revered by him, and honoured and feared forever, form [this] image, made and carved in his name, by virtue of which he should love me without measure forever.’
When you have done this, you should have an iron stylus, and on his forehead carve the name 'Dyacom'; on his chest, the three names 'Pumeon', 'Terinas', and 'Peripaoe'; and on [his] shoulders the six names 'Midam', 'Fabui', 'Gebel', 'Darail', 'Vmeloath' and 'Thereoth'; and on his stomach the name 'Byreoth'. When you have inscribed these things, you should have a clean linen cloth, and wrap the image in it, then store it away carefully.

On Thursday, at the first hour of the day, kindle a fire and similarly melt the tin and cast it in your form, saying, 'I, so-and-so, form my own image according to my likeness, by which I may rule forever over so-and-so and be loved and feared by him for all eternity.' When you have made this, wrap it likewise in another linen cloth.

Note that the image of him whose grace you wish to obtain should be the length of one semis when it is carved in the stone, and the proportions of the stone should be such that your image may be larger than his by a third. And you should place a sceptre on your image as well.

When you have done these things carefully, as instructed, on the following Friday at the first hour you should fumigate his image with these aromatics—cinnamon, long pepper and the herb agrimony—saying, 'I, so-and-so, exorcize you, image formed in the name of so-and-so, by the inseparable, unique, and undivided Trinity, and by all the thrones, dominations, and powers, and principalities, and [by the virtue] of all creatures, that by your power I may obtain the favour and love of so-and-so, in whose name it is made.'

Having said this three times, continue as follows: 'O Dyacon, Pumeon, Termes, Peripaos, Midain, Fabin, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmeloath, Tereoth and Bireoth, most benevolent spirits who sow concord, with the greatest vehemence I, so-and-so, pray you. I supplicate you, [and] I beg you, by the only Son of God, who by the shedding of his blood raised the dead human race, that by this image made in the name of so-and-so you may bind him to me in such a manner that he will revere me above all mortals, never waverling from agreement with me, but always obeying my commands. May he take pains to please me, by our same Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns unto ages of ages. Amen.'

When you have said this prayer, take your hold your image in your right hand, and the other in your left, and join his image to yours, saying three times, 'He has subjected the nations to us, and the peoples under our feet' [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Then take a small iron chain and bind it to the neck of his image, placing the other end in the right hand of your image. Then, when it is firmly bound, say, 'Just as you, O image formed in the name of so-and-so, are subjected and bound to my image, thus may so-and-so be bound to me utterly for all eternity.' Then take both hands of his image in your hands and bend them behind his back, saying, 'By this image I bind the
hands of so-and-so, that his hands may never have any power against me.'
Bend the head of his image to the ground, saying, 'As this image, made in
the name of so-and-so, stands before me with bended neck, thus may so-
and-so never waver from my will, but follow me at all times and always
serve me and love me and revere me for ever above all others, and strive to
praise me.'

When you have done this, with constant fumigation, take your image and
place the other at its back, so that its face touches the shoulders of your image,
and while holding them thus, say, 'As this image, made and fashioned in the
name of so-and-so, stands in the greatest subjection to this image made in my
name, thus may so-and-so be subjected to me, as long as these images are
preserved.' Then wrap them up, as has been said, in a clean linen cloth. When
they have been wrapped, place them in some kind of vessel and carry them
secretly through the city and before his presence in his dwelling, if you can.
And you should do this for an entire day. In the evening you should bury the
images in such a place and far enough down that they will [not] be discovered,
and you will see wonders. But if you cannot go before him or into his dwelling,
bury [them], as has been said, wherever you will, and you will be loved by him
above all things.

For Parmenides used this experiment to obtain favour from the king of the
Persians.

This experiment requires two conjurations: one addressed to the image of
the dignitary in question, which is thrice 'exorcized' that it may secure honour
from the person represented; the other a 'prayer' addressed to eleven spirits
distinguished for their benevolence and their skill at inspiring concord. But the
heart of the experiment is a series of five imitative rituals involving both
images: first binding the two figures together, second binding the dignitary's
image to the magician's own with a small iron chain, third binding the hands
of the dignitary's image behind its back, fourth bowing the head of the
dignitary's image to the ground, and fifth placing the two figures together,
with the dignitary's face touching the shoulders of his own image as a sign of
subjection.

The sympathetic operations here are complex but suggest a sort of play,
almost like a child's playful use of a toy. Like many experiments in the
manual, this one comes with a historical testimonial: 'Parmenides', we are
told, used this procedure to gain favour with the king of the Persians.
Testimonials of this kind are of course window-dressing, comparable to a
herbal master's fanciful claim that one remedy was used by Plato himself.21
The concluding promise that the magician 'will see wonders' is again a
common formula,22 which blurs any distinction between the magical and the
wondrous or marvellous.
EROTIC MAGIC: BACKGROUND

If certain of these experiments can be seen as 'friendly' and others as hostile, the experiments for love represent a curious mixture. The imitative procedures involve violence: the image or other object that magically represents the desired woman is burned or pierced. The immediate effect on the victim is likewise violent: she is afflicted with obsessive passion, and has no rest until she yields to the master's desires. Ultimately, however, the woman does submit and is made to feel more than mere friendship. The conception of love that is here assumed may owe something at least indirectly to the tradition of courtly literature, and in particular to its Ovidian sense that love is a disease or an affliction. One Netherlandish compilation gives detailed instructions for 'the best and surest experiment in the world to secure friendship or love between a man and a woman', and says that in Latin such love is called 'amor hercios', and is burning and indissoluble.  

The subject of erotic magic is too extensive to cover fully here, but at least eight key points should be made by way of overview. First, magic may be used to persuade or coerce another person to consent to sex (sex-inducing magic), to intensify the sexual experience of already willing partners (sex-enhancing magic), or to induce a lasting amorous relationship (love-magic). Second, the most common technique for love-magic was administration of potions, as can be seen from penitential prohibitions and secular legislation as well as literary sources. Certain objects or substances borne on one's person were also thought to have aphrodisiac qualities, such as the stone allectory and the herb henbane. Third, while various herbs were used as aphrodisiacs (St John's wort, valerian, vervain), there seems to have been a preference for animal parts or human substances (such as semen) either literally or symbolically associated with sex and procreation. Fourth, in trials for erotic magic it was usually women who were charged with alienating men's affections through magical means, but the surviving formulas for sex-inducing magic typically envisage the use of this magic by men to entice unwilling women. Fifth, in both the trials and the manuscript prescriptions, love-magic is most commonly intended to restore the lost affections of a partner. Indeed, certain women accused of witchcraft seem to have been specialists in such restoration of affection. Sixth, in astral magic with erotic intent, the magical virtues whose potency seemed most relevant were, obviously enough, those of Venus. Thus, a stone, metal plate or image might be made on the day of Venus (Friday), at the hour of Venus, and bearing the sign of Venus for use in such magic: one might even be advised to say a 'prayer' to the spirit associated with that planet. Seventh, the power of the sacred might be employed in erotic magic, in ways that would presumably seem blasphemous to authorities: a slip of parchment with a psalm on it might be left where a prospective lover would walk, or a woman who kissed her husband while holding
a consecrated host in her mouth might gain his affection. A prayer addressed to God might lead into a conjuration to compel a husband, or a litany adapted to form a coercive spell. Eighth, erotic magic figures prominently in medieval literature – in the romances especially, herbal love potions frequently play a prominent role – but the significance of this magic is often ambiguous. For example, in Thomas of Britain’s version of Tristan the love potion seems to function as a symbol of the love that Tristan and Isolde have already begun to feel, rather than as in any simple sense the cause of that love.

The techniques for erotic magic mentioned so far were natural rather than demonic, but sexual submission could also be won by necromancy. Oldradus da Ponte explained in the early fourteenth century that invoking demons to tempt women is mortally sinful but is not heresy, because temptation is proper to the nature of demons and their use for this service thus implies no false belief. Formulas for such magic do survive. An experiment for love in the Liber de angelis requires going to a crossroads or a gallows, entering a circle traced on the ground, sacrificing a dove, tearing its flesh apart, dispersing the remains in the air, and invoking a spirit of dubious character named Zagam (‘O Zagam, accept this dove which I sacrifice to you!’). One must repeat this operation a second and a third time; after the last of these sacrifices one adds, ‘I ask you, O Zagam, and all your companions, to bring forth [the desired woman]’, who should be burning with love for the magician and should comply with his will. The next morning he must return to the circle and pick up whatever ‘figure’ he finds there; he need only show this to the desired woman and she will love him without bounds – as has been proven, the text adds. In a trial from the later fifteenth century at Tournai, where a priest was charged with attempting to seduce a girl by drawing her image in charcoal on a tile, baptizing the figure, sprinkling it with holy water, making a second figure out of wax and baptizing it as well, then conjuring demons according to a book of magic.

The case from Tournai is highly reminiscent of the Netherlandish experiment mentioned earlier as a technique for effecting amor hereros. Combining prayer and conjuration with image magic:

You must do it on a Friday in the first hour after midnight, under a waxing moon. Take a tile fresh out of the oven and draw a picture, while saying, ‘I, N., draw this picture in the form and likeness of the person N., daughter or son of so-and-so.’ Make the picture with a steel pin [puncte]. Begin with the head and proceed downward, saying, ‘May Venus help. . . . When [the image] is done, make fire with any wood you will. Stand up, take the image in your hand, turn south, and read this [Latin] prayer: Almighty, eternal God, who in the beginning created heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them; who created Adam and Eve according to your likeness and placed them in the earthly paradise . . . I invoke you in supplication, most gracious Father; in your
great power hear me as I ask and knock [cf. Mt 7:7], that I may be able to constrain those malign spirits, the angels who have power to bind a man to a woman, and vice versa, a woman to a man, and especially those four spirits who hold dominion and power over those spirits in the four parts of the globe, to wit, Astaroth, Aroch, Godras, [and] Vynicon. Say this prayer three [more] times [to north, east, and west]. Then say the following [Latin] conjuration, turning first to the south: "O Astaroth, prince of the south, I conjure you with all the [spirits] under your command, who have power to compel the love of a woman or a man, by Alpha and Omega, the first and last. Abios, Abics, Rubeus, Rubet, Caste, Hely, Messias. Sabaoth, Adonay, Sother, Emanuel; I conjure you, N.; by the Annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ; by his Passion; by his Resurrection . . . by the head of your prince and King Lucifer . . . and by all the infernal powers by whom you can be conjured and entreated, that you should withdraw from your proper place in the south and [carry out my command]."40

The case at Tournai is in at least one respect typical necromantic practice: the alleged perpetrator was a cleric. Similarly, the use of Latin formulas in the Dutch experiment suggests that the intended user was clerical, even if he was not in major orders. Analogous cases are easily adduced. When the Carmelite friar Peter Recordi was tried by an inquisitorial tribunal at Carcassonne in 1329, he confessed that over five years he had performed terrible conjurations over wax images, smeared and sprinkled with blood from a toad and from his own nostrils, all as sacrifice to the Devil. He then placed the images beneath thresholds of women he wanted to seduce, and thus he had his way with three women and had been on the verge of success with others. He had believed that these images held power to coerce women, or, if the victims were refractory, to bring down upon them affliction at the hands of demons. On one occasion he pierced one of the images in its stomach, and blood oozed out.41 Again, an English chaplain named William Netherstreet was charged in 1377 with using ‘conjurations and incantations’ to bring a married woman to his chamber at night so he could ‘take her violently in adultery’. He protested his own innocence.42 In other cases it was non-clerical males who were charged with using specifically demonic magic for love. At Carcassonne in 1410, Gerard Cassendi, a notary, was tried by an inquisitor for invoking demons as a means for debauching women and girls. He was said to have placed on his shirt gold scrapings from an image of the Virgin. Then he invoked demons with conjurations read from a book, but when a swarm of evil spirits actually appeared, a witness to the rite was so terror-struck that he hurled a shoe at them and bade them withdraw, which they did. On another occasion as well Cassendi is supposed to have gone into the woods and invoked demons.43 And when the inquisitor Piero di ser Lippo wrote to the government of Siena in 1382 about magicians in the village of
Rugomagno, he reported that one Agnolo di Corso had worshipped and invoked Satan and Beelzebub, and had invoked demons to kill people and to compel men to go to women.\(^44\)

To be sure, there are cases in which women, too, were said to use specifically demonic magic for erotic effect. In 1324 Alice Kyteler was charged with using 'the intestines and innards of cocks sacrificed . . . to demons', with other materials, partly for erotic magic,\(^45\) and a woman tried by Heinrich Kramer at Innsbruck in 1485 was said to have instructed others in the art of invoking the devil to arouse love or illness.\(^46\) In these cases it seems less clear that the demonic element was explicit, that the women were in fact making use of necromantic techniques, and that their magic was marked with the same degree of ritual complexity as can be seen in the clerical practice of erotic necromancy. What is perhaps more likely is that women's natural magic was being interpreted as if it were similar to the demonic magic more often practiced by clerics and at times by other men.

**AN EROTIC EXPERIMENT IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK**

Our necromantic manual in Clm 849 includes four experiments said to induce love—one may assume sexual compliance is the main intent—and at least three of them are complex rituals analogous to the erotic necromancy seen in the judicial records. The first of these experiments (no. 3) is in one sense the least violent: rather than inflicting physical harm on the woman's image, the master afflicts it with a kind of spiritual harm by inscribing on it the names of demons which are to afflict her. In any case, the writer has no scruples at all about bringing severe psychological pressure to bear in his magical seduction:

When you wish to have the love of whatever woman you wish, whether she is near or far, whether noble or common, on whatever day or night you wish, whether for the furtherance of friendship or to its hindrance, first you must have a totally white dove and a parchment made from a female dog that is in heat, from whom it is most easily to be had [de qua est habere leuissimum]. And you should know that this kind of parchment is most powerful for gaining the love of a woman. You should also have a quill from an eagle. In a secret place, take the dove and with your teeth bite it near the heart,\(^47\) so that the heart comes out, and with the eagle’s quill write on the parchment with the [dove’s] blood the name of her whom you wish, and draw the image of a naked woman as best you can, saying, ‘I draw so-and-so. N., daughter of so-and-so, whom I wish to have, in the name of these six hot spirits, namely Tubal, Satan, Reuces, Cupido, Afalion, Duliatas, that she may love me above all others living in this world.’

When you have done this, write on the forehead her name and the name
'Tubal', saying, 'You are so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, from now on disposed to my will, and you are Tubal [inscribed] on her forehead. I command you to remain, binding the senses of her head and causing her to love me alone.'

Then write on her right arm 'Satan', and on her left arm 'Reuces'. When these [names] have been written, say, 'As you, Satan, and you, Reuces, are inscribed on this image made in the name of so-and-so, may you so afflict her arms without delay, so that she can do nothing but desire to embrace me.'

When you have this, write your own name near the heart of the image, saying, 'As I am on the heart of this image, may so-and-so, N., thus have me in her heart day and night.'

When you have done this, write on the genitals of the image the name 'Cupid', saying, 'As you, Cupid, are on the genitals of this image, may you thus remain always on the genitals of so-and-so, arousing her so that she despises all men of this world and desires me alone, and may the fire of love for me torment and inflame her.'

When you have done this, write on the right leg 'Afalion', and on the left leg 'Dulius'. When these have been written, say, 'As you Afalion, and you Dulius, are inscribed on this image, may you sit on the legs of so-and-so, afflicting her legs with such vehement love for me that she has no wish or desire to go anywhere but here.'

When you have said this, take the image with both hands, kneel, and say, 'I have drawn the heart and mind of so-and-so with this image, and with powerful invocation I arouse her to love, desire, and yearn for me, and to have me in mind all night in her sleep, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns and commands forever.'

When you have said this, take myrrh and saffron, kindle a fire, and fumigate the image, saying this conjuration: 'I conjure all you demons inscribed on this image, by your lords to whom you are bound in obedience - Sobedon, Badalam and Berith - that you should inflame so-and-so, whose image is designed in this name, to love of me, so that day and night she may think of me, [and] may hope for me, until she fulfils my will with ardor [cum affectu]. And as you are inscribed and fixed on this image, may you thus dwell in her until I do with her whatever I wish.'

When you have said this conjuration three times, and made the fumigation, take a hair from the tail of a horse and suspend the parchment with this hair, so that it moves in the air, and let it hang. On that day, or the next, or some other, or whenever you can, go to that woman, and without doubt she will be very glad to see you, and will say she cannot live without you. And this will occur immediately, and she will do your heart's desire, and will love you above all things for all eternity.

If you keep this image formed in her name, in which there is such power, you
will obtain from it, more wondrous yet, this sign: before you have seen her, as soon as this image is made, when you proceed toward her she will be so enamoured [filocapta] of you that when she sees you, you will not withdraw from her company deprived, but rather you will attain satisfaction in whatever you desire. If you cannot approach her, whether from fear or because of distance or any other obstacle, you can still have her brought by the aforesaid demons, who are so effective that if you were in the east, within an hour they could carry her without danger from the west, and likewise they could return her, without exposure.

The image having been made as has been said, and suspended on a particular day, at any hour of the day, you may blow on it so that it moves with your breath, and likewise on the second and third day. On the night of the third day, or on the day itself, either alone or with three faithful companions, take the image and hang it around your neck with the [horse's] hair, and have it lie on your chest. And take a sword and make with it a circle on the ground. When you have made the circle, stand inside it and summon your companions (if you have any), who should do nothing but stand in the circle and watch the spectacle [ludum] – but it is better if you do not have them. Take an iron stylus and trace [a band with names in it] round the circle, as is shown here, preserving constant silence.

The circle is shown as a single band containing the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni. The centre of the circle is labelled 'Place of the Master'.

When you have done so, say this conjuration: 'I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty; and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made; and by those who ceaselessly cry with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy . . ."; and by these names which cause you terror, namely Rator, Lampoy, [etc.]; and by this ring that is here; and by the innumerable powers belonging to you and your superiors, that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately, without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.'

When you have said this three times, gazing at a ring, you will hear a voice, saying, 'Behold, we are here!' Immediately you will see six handsome and gentle young men, saying to you with one voice, 'We are here, ready and willing to obey your command. Tell us what you wish, and at once we will do it.' You should say, 'Go to so-and-so and bring her to me without delay.' When you have said this, they will at once depart, and within an hour they will bring her without harm.
You should know that none of these [six] can enter the circle, but they will bring her to it and she will stretch out her hand to you, and you will draw her in. She will be a bit astonished, but quite willing to remain with you. I should inform you that it is better to make the circle as large as possible, because in it you can make a circle [sic], and in it you can stretch out more effectively. For if anything of yours [any part of your body?] should go outside the circle, it would be bad for you. When the woman has come, all the spirits will vanish.

You can keep the woman in the circle as long as you please. For when the woman has entered the circle, you should say to the spirits, 'Let one of you go to the place from which you brought so-and-so and remain there in [her] form while I have her here.' When you have said this, they will all depart in silence. On the day or night and month and year when it pleases you to have her return home, say, 'O you spirits, who brought so-and-so here, take her and carry her to her home. And whenever I wish her back, be compliant in carrying her here. Go, therefore, by the wondrous powers which you ineffably exercise.' When you have said this three times, five spirits will come and carry her off in your sight.

When she enters the circle and you greet her, remember to touch her with the image that you have around your neck, and on this account she will love you for all eternity and will not care to see anyone but you. While you are with the woman, the image which you should keep around your neck will always be invisible to the woman herself, and when she leaves you should take it from your neck and lay it aside carefully in some sort of vessel. When it is thus laid aside, erase the entire circle, and you may depart safely. And when you wish to have [her] again come to you, do as is said above.

And note that this experiment is most effective and is not at all dangerous. By this experiment alone, Solomon had whatever women he wished. And let this suffice on the subject of obtaining women. And it should be carried out with the greatest solemnity.

This experiment contains conjurations, but they play a less prominent role than the auxiliary magical techniques, especially the use of an image for sympathetic magic. The sympathetic identification of the image with the woman portrayed is accomplished solely through assignation of her name: the writer does not emphasize that the image should be in any way realistic (e.g., that it should have some specific feature in common with the prototype), nor does he advise that the image be baptized in the woman's name. The suspension of the image to be blown about freely in the air is reminiscent of a type of aeromancy catalogued by Johannes Hartlieb, involving the suspension of a wax image or atzman, left to blow in the wind so that the person in whose name it is prepared will thereby be afflicted.48 The blood of a dove must be used here—and a dove must be offered as sacrifice in the amatory experiment from the Liber de angelis
given above—presumably because the dove is traditionally associated with Venus.19

The experiment contains an elaborate contingency procedure, used to fetch the woman, which differs markedly from the original sympathetic magic. The woman’s image is still used: the experimenter wears it around his neck, although it is invisible to her; as she leaves the circle he touches her with it, and from then on she will love only him; when she departs, he should take it off and keep it safe in a vessel. For immediate purposes at hand, however, the image becomes less significant and the role of the demons becomes proportionally greater. It is the demons who fetch the woman in response to a conjuration, and it is a demon who takes the woman’s place and prevents others from noting her absence. When the magician orders one of the spirits to go and take the woman’s place and assume her form while she is absent, we have an element of illusionist magic embedded in an experiment designed mainly for psychological effect. Both the problem and the solution are obvious enough that it is not surprising to find parallels in other cultures. Thus, Krishna is said to have used his powers of illusion (māyā) to fashion replicas of his female devotees (the gopis), so that when they went for trysts with him their doubles could lie beside their husbands.20 The contingency procedure in the Munich experiment differs from the original formula also in its use of a circle, which is simple in form but important in its effects, serving both as a location for the conjuration and as a place for rendezvous with the woman.

The experiment is referred to as a kind of game or spectacle, a ludus, and any companions present are to serve merely as spectators, suggesting that the necromancer’s initial ritual may have the character of a performance, contrasting sharply with the privacy of the tryst itself, the sexual games that follow, which not even the spirits may witness. That something more serious than a game is involved is suggested by the reference to the woman as filocapta, bound by love, a condition which the Malleus maleficarum speaks of as ‘the best known and most general form of witchcraft’.21

AN EROTIC EXPERIMENT INVOLVING IMAGE MAGIC

For the next experiment in this category (no. 12) the manuscript once again proceeds directly to the instructions, without any introductory heading. The master must first obtain hairs from the woman he wishes to seduce,22 plus other objects. Again he goes out with companions in the initial stage of the ritual itself. In contrast to the elaborate preparations, the heart of the ceremony is relatively simple, involving two sympathetic stages and a single conjuration.
Take virgin wax, rendered virginal by art \([\text{ceram virgineam, arte virginizatalam}]\), and do this on a Thursday or Sunday, at the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove; and from this wax make an image over burning coals placed in a pot, without smoke. And the master should have some of the hairs of the woman for whom he wishes to act, and three bristles of red hair, and you should have with you a knife with a white handle made for this purpose.\(^{35}\) And go to the place where a craftsman makes needles, and have the same craftsman make them, from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should take two faithful companions and go to a fruit-bearing tree, and the master should make a circle. And the master should begin this operation, making an image of the woman for whom you perform it, murmuring constantly in your heart, ‘Thou, Belial, and thou Astaroth, and thou, Paymon, be my helpers in this undertaking.’ Likewise, you should murmur the words, ‘I, N., form this image for the love of so-and-so, that it may accomplish that for which it is made. And may thou, Belial, principal prince, be my helper in this undertaking.’ Then the master should make the image of this wax, beginning at the hour of Jove, and proceeding until the hour of Saturn. And when the image has thus been made, the master should have nine needles made by an experienced craftsman, who should be bathed and dressed in sparkling clean \([\text{nitidis}]\) garments when he makes them; he should make the needles from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Saturn. Then the master should fix the needles in the image, placing one in the head, another in the right shoulder, the third in the left, the fourth where people are accustomed to locate the heart, saying, ‘Just as this needle is fixed in the heart of this image, so may the love of N. be fixed to the love of N., so that she cannot sleep, wake, lie down, sleep, [or] walk until she burns with love of me.’ He should fix the fifth in the navel, the sixth in the thigh, the seventh in the right side, the eighth in the left, the ninth in the anus. When the image has thus been made, you should baptize \([\text{christianizes}]\) it, giving it the name \([\text{of the woman}]\) for whom you perform the operation, immersing it three times and saying, ‘How shall it be called?’, with the response, ‘N.’ And you should say, ‘I baptize thee, N., in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.’ And then place the image in a new and clean cloth, leaving it aside from the hour of the Sun until the hour of Mars. Then make this conjuration under the fruit-bearing tree, with the burning coals; turning toward the east, say, ‘O so-and-so, N., I conjure your head, your hair, your eyes, your ears [etc.]. O N., I conjure your entire substance, that you may not sleep or sit or lie down or perform any work of craft until you have satisfied my libidinous desire. I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit . . . I conjure you and exorcize you and command you, that as the deer yearns for a fountain of water \([\text{Ps. 41:2 Vulg.}]\), so you, N., should desire my love. And as the raven desires the cadavers of dead men, so should you desire me. And as this wax melts before the face of the fire, so should N. [melt
in] desire for my love, so that she cannot, etc.'

The signs [to be sought in] the woman are these: solitude, dizziness [involucro] of the head, lamenting, sighing, beating [of the breast], wakefulness, [and] wailing. Then the master or the one who is taking action [viz., for whom it is performed?] should go to her, and if he sees her standing or sitting alone, then the master should continue the conjuration unto the fifth day. And if she is anywhere in the countryside, she will be consumed: but if she is in a town or passing through another city, the master should perform the conjuration until she can come.

And in this all the Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldaean, Greek and Latin astrological necromancers [nigromantici omnes astrologi] are in accord. And this experiment was taken [from the book] On the Secret Arts of the Imaginary Art, [from the book] On the Flowers of All Experiments, etc.

In its general form this experiment bears a resemblance to a procedure well known in antiquity and described in a Greek magical papyrus: to obtain a woman, one makes wax or clay figures, one an armed and threatening man with sword in hand, the other a kneeling woman with hands behind her back. One then writes inscriptions on each member of her body, then pierces each with copper needles, thirteen in all, while saying, 'I am piercing your brain, N.', and so forth. Then one inscribes a lead sheet, affixes it with thread knotted 365 times, and places the ensemble beside the tomb of a person who has died a violent or untimely death. One version adds a further spell, which reads in part, 'Let her be in love with me, N. . . . Let her not . . . do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, N., so that she, N., be unable to drink or eat, that she not be contented, not be strong, not have pleace of mind, that she, N., not find sleep without me . . . and do not allow her, N., to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, N. Instead, drag her, N., by the hair, by the heart, by her soul, to me, N., at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, N., and may she, N., remain inseparable from me.' There is also archæological evidence for such procedures; for example, one Egyptian statue of a naked woman, pierced with thirteen needles, was discovered in a clay pot and is now in the Musée du Louvre. This does not mean there are specific connections between texts of late antiquity and the prescriptions of the Munich handbook; rather the Munich compilation supports its conjurations with a variety of techniques, some of which are widely diffused and of considerable antiquity.

Among the many further parallels to this experiment is a fifteenth-century version given in a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish. The magician is told to make a female image of virgin wax, showing the sexual organs clearly delineated, and resembling the woman to be enchanted. On both the breast and the back he
should write ‘N., daughter of N. [father] and N., daughter of N. [mother].’ He must recite the words, ‘May it be Thy will, O Lord, that N. daughter of N. burn with a mighty passion for me.’ Then buries the figure for a time, then washes it in the name of Michael, in that of Gabriel, and in that of Raphael, places it in urine, then dries it off. The image being thus prepared, the magician may use it when he wishes to cause the woman pain, by piercing a needle into whatever part of her body he wishes to afflict, presumably as a way of bending her to his will, very much in keeping with the violent and coercive tendencies generally found in such magic.\textsuperscript{56}

It is entirely possible that the piercing with needles was itself meant or taken to have direct sexual significance,\textsuperscript{57} but more fundamentally it was a kind of magical acupuncture intended to cause suffering that could only be alleviated through sexual compliance. The piercing with needles is thus no different in principle from that in image magic intended to work bodily harm or death, although here the affliction could be relieved through submission. It is not that the magician brings about bodily pain that is extrinsically related to the erotic goal and can be cured by compliance, nor is it the case that the magic arouses pleasurable feelings of passion. Rather, the sexual passion aroused by the ritual is itself a kind of suffering for which the woman must obtain relief. The victim of magic cannot sleep, sit down, lie down, or pursue any activity until she relents, because she is compelled to share in the obsessive passion of her pursuer.\textsuperscript{58} Her state is almost a parody of the mystic’s absorption in the Beloved, of Mechthild of Magdeburg’s mystical love-sickness: ‘I cannot rest, I burn without respite in Thy flaming love.’\textsuperscript{59} But, as Richard of Saint-Victor insisted, such obsession was as debasing in human relations as it was elevating in relations with God; that it should be magically induced by experiments such as those in the Munich handbook is a possibility Richard may never have entertained.\textsuperscript{60}

EROTIC EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING RITUALS WITH BONES

Two experiments (nos 13 and 35) involve inscribing letters and names on bones and then subjecting the bones to fire. The first is designed primarily to constrain a woman’s or man’s will, presumably again with erotic intent (the relevant sections are indicated below with [A]), although the experiment may be adapted for constraining a beast [B] or a spirit [C] as well.

By this experiment a person, woman, man, spirit, [or] beast of any condition is constrained.

These names must be written in this manner on a shoulderblade.

When all this is finished, choose which [variant] you want. If you wish to constrain any spirit, write his name on the shoulderblade between B and E, and in the name which is Bel. If you wish to constrain any man, write his
name between L and A. And if you wish to constrain any beast, write its name between A and N, and its colour. For spirits and for men and for women, this is to be done at the same hour in which the shoulderblade has been prepared, and it is necessary at the outset to seek out wood from a white thorn or wood floating on water, and make fire with it, and collect coals and place them in a new pot, and gradually place the shoulderblade on them, and gradually increase the fire, until the shoulderblade becomes hot.

And then invoke the aforesaid spirits, and say this conjuration: ‘Asyl, Castiel, Lamsiuel, Rabam, Erlain, [and] Belam, I command you’ — [A1] If [the operation is] for a man or a woman whom you wish to arouse to love for you, say, ‘that you should at once, etc.’, as given below. [B] If [it is] for a spirit, name that spirit whom you wish, that he may come to you openly, humbly, with comely visage, and gentle speech, saying, ‘I conjure you, Asyl, etc., that you should make spirit N., who has power over all that I wish to ask of him, come to me openly, humbly, with gentle speech, in the form that I have specified — that is, of a comely soldier — to carry out all that I wish to command him.’ [A2] And if you wish to do this for a man or a woman, first make known to him where you can be found, for he [or she] will go mad with fury on not being able to find you. [C] If [it is] for a beast, [say], ‘I conjure the aforesaid spirits that they should constrain this beast’ which you wish, that it may be unable to depart from the place in which it is until you wish.

The experiment concludes with the conjuration used to constrain a man or woman:

‘Asyl, Castiel, Lamsiuel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, I conjure you by the true God . . . ; likewise, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit . . . , and by this conjuration I command you to seduce the heart and mind of N. to love me, immediately and swiftly and at once and without delay. And just as this shoulderblade grows hot and burns, so may you cause him or her, N., to burn and grow hot with the fire of love for me, and in such a way that he [or she] may not be able to rest until completing my will. In the name which is Bel, etc.’

The figure depicted is in the shape of a shield, representing the shoulderblade, divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. Horizontal bands bear the names Asyl, Castyel, Lamsiuel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam. In the vertical band are the letters A-B-E-L-A-N. Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band Lo is written. To the side is a note: ‘Likewise note that this shoulderblade should be from an ass, a hare, a goose or a capon, according to its diverse [uses].’
The second of these experiments is somewhat simpler, and more unambiguously erotic. The magician compels a woman to passionate love by writing the names of the ‘infernal spirits’ Bel and Ebal on a rib, and in between his own name and that of the woman he wishes to seduce. Then he burns the rib, and when it is hot he should conjure Bel and Ebal not to rest until they cause the woman’s heart to burn, so that she cannot sleep, wake or do anything else until she fulfils his desire. Again, therefore, we find the emphasis on compelling the woman’s compliance through erotic affliction, aroused through means that are straightforwardly violent both on the symbolic plane and in their bodily and psychic effect.

In general, then, these psychological experiments are the most manipulative and abusive materials in the necromancer’s handbook, and they are quite unabashedly so. The formulas give no hint of a guilty conscience, and they show no awareness of the incongruity involved in appealing to the power of the sacred for the ends here sought. With no evident sense of irony, the writer can recommend formulas such as, ‘I conjure you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power and capacity to seduce and bind in the love of men, by the virtue and power of the divine majesty...’ Even merely to read the illusionist experiments might be entertaining, and the divinatory ones might be perceived as useful means for gaining true knowledge, but the rituals for psychological magic could claim little by way of redeeming social importance, and thus they help to clarify the aversion to magic found in most of late medieval society. Yet these rites are interesting, in large part because of the way they fuse relatively simple and largely perennial conceptions of image magic with the formulas of Latin conjuration or exorcism derived more specifically from clerical culture. Guichard of Troyes and Eleanor Cobham were accused of employing both learned male magicians and popular female ones, but the psychological rites of the Munich handbook represent with particular clarity the mingling of magical traditions and ritual forms.

Notes

5 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xii.45, fols 134v–139; Juris G. Lidaka spoke about this manuscript and gave a transcription of the text at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at
Kalamazoo, Michigan, 4 May 1995. The manuscript is associated with ‘Bokenham’, but its connection with Osbern Bokenham or any other individual is unclear.


8 A partly conjectural reading of *duos lapides vivos et rorundes [rotundos?] minus ponderis, qui debent esse fuminei.*

9 I am reading *spermen* for *times* throughout.

10 For *me no reliquum in immiserabiliti odor rebellis affigit.*

11 For *et maxime quando est in combustiones, et ire versus solis ortum facias.*


15 *Piastrix*, 161.

16 *Piastrix*, pp. 16 (friendship, love), 17 (obedience), 18 (destruction), 18–19 (construction), 19 (separation, wrath of king, release, flight), 20 (scorpions), 21 (love, destruction), 22 (fertility).


19 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v.

20 *Taking semissi for semissi, genitive of semi, a coin.*


29 See, for example, John M. Riddle, *Marbode of Rennes* (1035–1125) De lapidibus, Considered as a Medical Treatise, with C.W. King's translation (Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Beil. 20) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 69, lines 445–46. Regarding verainem, see Henry Ellis, 'Extracts in prose and verse from and old English medical manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), 395f.; W.L. Wardale, 'A Low German-Latin miscellany of the

30 *Book of Secrets*, ed. Best and Brightman, 8, 45, 91: Evans, *Magical Jewels*, 226; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS e Mus. 219, fol. 186v (a series of characters to be placed beneath the threshold of a couple who have quarrelled).


37 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.xi.45, fol. 137v–138.


40 The conjuration breaks off at this point.


47 See the experiment with a hoopoe heart mentioned in Kiekhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 142, from British Library, Sloane MS 3.132, fol. 56v.


49 For this suggestion I am indebted to John Leland.


52 The manuscript does not say whether the hair is to be from the woman’s head or from her pudenda. A famous instance of the magic requiring a woman’s pubic hair occurred in the late sixteenth-century Scottish trial of Doctor Fan, who thought he had the hair of a young woman but in fact worked his magic over the hair from a cow, which became passionately attached to him: see James VI/I, * Daemonologie*, 1597 [and] *Nevers from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fan* (Bodley Head Quartos, 9) (London: John Lane; New York: Dutton, 1924).


54 Or perhaps, rather, ‘if she is anywhere on Earth [in terra mensae]’; in either case, I am reading consuetus for consumatur.
fifteenth-century manuscript from Yorkshire tells of a lord from whom food had been stolen. As it happened, a labourer employed in digging, referred to as 'a great worker and eater', was staying in a room in the lord's house, and when he was hungry he would slip downstairs to where meat was hanging, and would cook and eat it, even during Lent.

The lord of the house, seeing that his meat was thus cut into, asked his servants about the matter. They all denied guilt and purged themselves with oaths, so he threatened to go to a certain necromantic wizard [maleficum quendam nigromaticum] and find out through him about this strange affair. On hearing this, the digger was terribly afraid, and went to the friars and confessed his offence in secret and received sacramental absolution. The lord of the house went as threatened to the necromancer, who anointed the fingernail of a young boy, then with his incantations inquired of him what he saw. [The boy] replied, 'I see a menial worker with clipped hair.' [The necromancer] told him, 'Conjure him, then, to appear to you in the most comely form that he can assume.' And the boy did so, and then declared, 'Look at that! I see a really beautiful horse!' And then he saw a man with the appearance of the aforesaid digger going down stairs and cutting off pieces of meat, with the horse following him. And the cleric [i.e., the necromancer] inquired, 'What are the man and the horse doing now?' And the boy replied, 'Look at that! He is cooking and eating those pieces of meat!' [The necromancer] asked further, 'And what is he doing now?' And the boy said, 'They are going to the church of the friars, and the horse is waiting outside, and the man is going in and kneeling and speaking with one of the friars, who is putting his hand on his head.' Again the cleric asked the little boy, 'What are they doing now?' [The boy] answered, 'Both of them have just vanished from my eyes. I cannot see them any more, and I have no idea where they have gone.'

The manuscript clearly suggests not only that such divination can in principle work, but that it works through the cooperation of demons: it gives the tale the caption, 'How a penitent thief after confession vanished from the eyes of a demon', which is to say that the demon who was providing information through the boy could no longer do so once the thief had been absolved. As in other tales
of the later Middle Ages, it is assumed that the demon has a certain power over a soul in a state of sin, and the capacity to know the sins in some detail, but the wiping away of sins through sacramental confession removes them from the sphere of demons' knowledge. The narrator also assumes the reader will expect a necromantic wizard to be a cleric: the fact is mentioned quite incidentally, after the story is well under way, as a fact the reader might be trusted already to have known.

The form of magic here related figures prominently in John of Salisbury's catalogue of divinatory techniques in his *Policraticus*. When John himself was studying Latin grammar as a boy, the priest who taught him made John and a fellow pupil participate in such activities. The priest anointed the boys' fingernails, or used a polished basin, to provide a reflecting surface in which figures might be seen. He then recited incantations, which led the fellow pupil to see 'mystic figures', although John himself saw nothing. One entry in Robert Reynys's commonplace book reveals that unfallen angels as well as demons could be invoked by such means. In Reynys's version of the ceremony, the conjurer takes a child between seven and thirteen years of age, places the lad between his legs, winds a red silk thread around his thumb, scrapes his thumbnail clean, and writes on it the letters 'AGLA'. He then says devoutly, 'Lord Jesus Christ, king of glory, send us three angels to tell us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.' Three angels will appear in the boy's nail. The boy then repeats a formula addressed to these angels: 'Angels of the Lord, I command you by God the Father almighty, who created you and us out of nothing, and by the virginity of Blessed Mary and Blessed John the Evangelist and of all virgins, and by the virtues of all the holy names of God, to show us the truth and not falsehood in all matters about which we shall inquire.'

The general term for such divination is 'scrying', which is sometimes subdivided into specific forms such as catoptromancy (divination by means of a mirror), crystallogmancy (by a crystal), cyclicmancy or lecanomancy (by a cup or basin filled with liquid), hydromancy (by water in a natural body), onychomancy (by an anointed nail); 'catoptromancy' is sometimes also used as the generic term. Synodal legislation as early as the fifth century condemned *specularii* who engaged in these practices, and the condemnation was often repeated. The *Fasciculus morum* condemns those *phitones* and *specularii* who gaze into mirrors, bowls, polished fingernails, and so forth, and claim that marvellous things are thus revealed to them. In 1311 the bishop of Lincoln instructed one of his officials to investigate people who were practising divination by conjuring spirits in their fingernails and in mirrors, as well as in stones and rings. Surely the most famous of these reflecting surfaces is John Dee's 'show-stone', through which Edward Kelly and other mediums communicated with angels. One particularly dramatic notion about the magical properties of mirrors is the legend, most famously associated with Virgil, of a far-seeing mirror by which a ruler could
guard his realm. But the notion of perceiving hidden and future realities in a mirror receives its ultimate extension in the Neoplatonic notion of the divine mind itself as a mirror in which particularities can be foreseen, so that it can be said of a saint with the gift of prophecy that 'in the mirror of divinity everything to be was present to him'.

Johannes Hartlieb tells how a zaubermaister stands behind a child and recites secret words into his ear in the practice of hydromancy. In pyromancy as well, he says, the master may set an innocent child in his lap and lift his hand so he can see the fingernails; then he conjures the child and his nail with a long conjuration and recites three secret words into his ear. The master may take oil and soot from a pan and anoint the hand of an innocent girl or boy so that it shines brightly, then he speaks secret words into the child's ear, thus making a vow and forming a pact. Another form of pyromancy involves engraving many characters and figures around a steel mirror, then whispering secret words into the ear of boy as a prelude to interrogation. Alternatively, the child may be made to gaze at a polished sword – Hartlieb knew one great prince who used an old executioner's sword for this purpose – or a crystal. When the master is interrogating the boy, he asks if he sees an angel; if so, he asks what colour. If the angel is red that means he is angry, or if black he is very angry, and they must pray more, light more candles, and offer more incense and other gifts to assuage his anger, until the angel who appears is white. Hartlieb, echoing the much earlier judgement of John of Salisbury, confirms the conventional wisdom when he speaks of such dealings with young children as a form of abuse: 'I was often witness to such proceedings and established that the children by exposure to such words suffered not insignificant harm'.

Writers might differ in their interpretation of these phenomena. Ibn Khaldûn explained the scryers' visions as products of their imaginations: the scryer does not actually see a vision on the reflecting surface, but rather imaginative phantoms are projected outward from the eyes onto a sort of misty veil that forms between the eyes and the object. The related interpretation summarized by Pedro Garcia in the late fifteenth century was perhaps more influential and deserves to be quoted at some length:

From what has been said and from the conclusions reached [in the preceding discussion] it is clear that divination of occult things and the wonders of magical art are brought about by the aid of demons. But because the proponents of natural magic attempt to reduce [the works of magic] to purely natural causes, we must inquire whether the divination of hidden affairs and the accomplishment of wondrous works can be done thru the power of nature. Let us first ask about the divination of hidden matters, concerning which some people say and write that a person can know and divine hidden things naturally, through the power of the soul. The first manner [of doing so] is by
gazing at luminous bodies and instruments. The principle here is that the acies of the human mind in one who gazes on such instruments reflects back upon itself, for the luminosity of the instrument prevents direction or concentration of the mind on exterior things, and repels it, and turns it back upon itself, so that it is forced to gaze upon itself. Thus, according to the philosophy of Plato, if it is purged and cleansed of defilements, which come from the body and cling to the soul, they see as in a clear and clean mirror, and when they inquire about all hidden things, or some portion of them, or some particular hidden thing, it is no surprise that the soul, turned back into itself, should see such hidden things, for according to Plato the human soul is created fully inscribed with the forms of all knowable things, in respect of its intellectual power . . .

Thus it is, according to the opinion of these magicians, that these luminous bodies function, and particularly mirrors. When the soul of the gazer is turned back on itself, it absorbs the attention and fixes the acies of the intellect in its inward turning, and the more inwardly it is fixed, the more fully and clearly it turns upon itself and knows and divines hidden things - and the more it is filled within by God, so that the beholding is turned into the soul, which can be so turned in to itself and as it were recollected within itself,14 that the recollection becomes rapture or a state near to rapture, or ecstasy or a condition near to ecstasy. Thus, those who operate in works of this kind close the eyes of children, and hold their eyes tightly closed after they have seen such revelations, until the soul has returned from this recollection to its original state and is extended in the usual manner throughout the body and its organs - which is to say, until it recovers its powers and the organs from which it appears to have withdrawn, at least somewhat. Otherwise, it is said, there is threat of danger to the body of the child, or perhaps madness. According to the philosophy of the Platonists, this is one manner of saving the divinations of hidden matters through [demonstration] of purely natural causes without any aid of demons, explicit or secret.15

García goes on to refute these claims, chiefly by mounting an explicitly Aristotelian refutation of what he takes as standard Platonist psychology; most fundamentally, he denies that the mind is capable of grasping truth by being directed to innate knowledge found within itself. Both Ibn Khaldūn and García's opponents believe divination can be explained in natural terms, but the mechanisms they posit are different. For Ibn Khaldūn (a rationalist intending to deflate the claims of magicians to preternatural knowledge) attention is focused on an outward substance that reflects projections of the mind, while for the adversaries of García (Platonist mages intending to defend their practice against the charge of demonic inspiration) it is directed instead within the mind itself. Neither view sufficed to convince most contemporaries that the mind could so readily be converted into an instrument of divination without demonic aid - but
the very attempt to formulate an explanation in natural terms is historically interesting, whether the point is to debunk the supernatural pretensions of the diviners or to defend the validity of the art.

Perhaps most often, those who wrote about these matters did so to condemn them and warn of their danger. This was the point of John of Salisbury's tale of his own early experience. Nicolas Oresme, too, warned that if young boys stared for long intervals into polished surfaces they might become blind; worse, they might suffer disfigurement of their faces and disturbing changes in their personalities.16

Judging from the cases reported in the judicial records and chronicles—and judging also from the experiments contained in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript—divination of this sort seems to have been used mostly to recover lost or stolen goods. At London in 1311, unspecified offenders were investigated for invoking spirits to appear in fingernails, mirrors, stones, rings, and so forth, to reveal the future or the location of lost objects.17 When a band of monks and canons wished to recover stolen money near Paris in 1323, their plans involved standing in a circle made from the skin of a cat: within that circle they were to invoke the demon Berith, who would answer their inquiries.18 In 1419 a chaplain named Richard Walker was arrested by the prior of Winchester and tried for using magical arts, the evidence against him included two books containing conjurations and figures, and he acknowledged that he had attempted to use the experiments in one of his books, but to no avail, so he did not believe in their power.19 In 1440 the Augustinian canons at Leicester accused their own abbot, William Sadyngstone, of using such arts: when no one confessed to stealing certain funds, he had allegedly recited incantations, applied ointment to the thumbnail of a boy called Maurice, asked this medium what he saw there revealed, and learned that the culprit was one of the canons, Brother Thomas Asty. The other monks reported the incident to the bishop, who condemned the abbot for sorcery.20 Again at Westminster during the 1450s, and at London repeatedly in the later fifteenth century, victims of theft were said to have solicited the services of alleged necromancers ('negremaunser' or 'nigromansiers').21

The Devil being notoriously a liar and the father of lies, it is hardly surprising to find much concern with the question whether he could be constrained to tell the truth, even if their keen and subtle minds and long experience gave them command of exceptionally wide knowledge.22 Peter Brown has spoken of exorcisms as forms of judicial torture, in which the demons, like criminals, were compelled even against their will to confess what they knew.23 When the divination was intended to identify a thief, the obvious danger—and probably the chief reason for judicial action against the diviners—was that of false accusation. One is not surprised to read in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, which is devoted mainly to this kind of magic, that the spirits must
be strictly enjoined not to defame any innocent parties. The point is made forcefully in a story from Stephen of Bourbon, who does not hesitate to ascribe a diviner’s revelation to demons, but argues how little the spirits can be trusted:

While I was a student at Paris, one Christmas Eve when our companions were at Vespers, a certain most noted thief entered our hostel, and, opening the chamber of one of our fellows, carried off many volumes of law-books. The scholar would have studied in his books after the feast; and, finding them not, he hastened to the wizards, of whom many failed him, but one wrought as follows. Adjourning his demons and holding a sword, he made the boy gaze upon the blade; and he, after many things there seen, beheld at last by a succession of many visions how his books were stolen by one of our fellows, his own cousin, whom he thought the most upright of our fellowship; whom the possessor of the books slandered not only among the scholars but also among his friends, accusing him that he had stolen them. Meanwhile the aforesaid thief stole other things and was detected, whereupon he fled to a certain church where he lay in the belfry, and, having been duly examined, confessed all that he had stolen, and where, and what he had done with his thefts. When therefore certain scholars who lodged hard by our hostel had found by his means a mantle which they had lost and he had stolen, then he who had lost his books could scarce rest until he had gone to enquire of this thief; who answered and told him when and where he had taken his books, and the Jew’s house where he had pledged them, where also my friend found them. This I have told that ye may clearly mark the falsehood of those demons who showed the vision in the sword-blade in order that they might slander that good man and break the bonds of charity between those kinsfolk, and bring the man who believed in them to eternal perdition, both him and his.

Not surprisingly, the diviners themselves could be subject to prosecution on the ground of false accusation, as when the sum of £40 was stolen from John Haddon of Coventry in the mid-1480s, and he consulted necromancers to find the thieves; they charged one William Lee, a poor man, who had been seen wearing the same garments that the necromancers had determined were worn by the guilty parties. Lee petitioned on his own behalf, pleading that the accusation rested on false and illicit proceedings:

Humbly showeth and pitiously complaineth unto your good lordship your daily orator William Lee of the city of Coventry, that where forty pounds of money was taken and withdrawn from one John Haddon of the said city, draper, as the said John hath reported and said, whereupon the said John, to get knowledge of the takers of the said money, caused certain persons using the crafts of sorcery, witchcrafts and necromancy [Nygrmancy] to inquire by their
crafts of the takers of the said money, and thereupon the said persons using the said unlawful crafts advised and counseled the said John Haddon to take and examine your said orator for withdrawing of the said money, for as much as they perceived that your said orator used and wore such garments and clothing as they determined by their unlawful witchcrafts that the takers of the said money had and used at the time of the taking of the said money. And thereupon the said John Haddon, having no other cause against your said orator nor matter of suspicion, arrested and put in prison your said orator and kept him there by the space of a mouth and more. And after this the said John, having no other cause nor nothing of untruth could prove against your said orator, suffered him to depart and go at his large. And after this the said John Haddon, intending the further vexation and trouble of your said orator, made a plaint of trespass before the mayor and sheriffs of the said city against your said orator concerning the taking of the said money, supposing that your said orator the Wednesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady last past took and bore away the said money. In the which plaint of trespass your said orator is like to be condemned, for as much as your said orator is in poverty and the said John Haddon is of great might and power and great alliance in the said city. Wherefore and for as much as the said cause of trespass and the said wrongful arresting and keeping of your said orator in prison was by means and judgment of the said persons using the said unlawful crafts of necromancy and witchcraft, to whom credence ought not to be given, for that is contrary to the faith of Holy Church. In consideration whereof that it would please your good lordship to grant a certiorare to be directed to the said mayor and sheriffs, etc.26

Divinatory conjuration could, of course, be used for other purposes as well, such as finding buried treasure. A group of men were tried in Norfolk in 1465 for using necromancy to discover such a trove. Allegedly they invoked and made sacrifice to accursed spirits. When a spiritus atrialis appeared, at Bunwell, they promised it the body of a Christian man in exchange for its leading them to treasure; the spirit revealed in a crystal the location of a hill filled with treasure, whereupon the adventurers baptized a rooster with a Christian name and sacrificed it to the spirit.27 Thomas Forde was sentenced to the pillory at London in 1418 for having defrauded women by claims of magical power: he had extorted money from one woman, and attempted to gain her hand in marriage, by suggesting he could determine where her late husband had buried a chest containing over £200; he had told another of his victims that he could recover for her the gold cloth that had been stolen from her.28 Other cases too may have involved a substantial measure of straightforwardly cynical charlatanry, but in these instances it seems all the more apparent. It is magic of this sort that gives rise to jest in the tale of Mary of Nijmegen, where the Devil boasts:
I am beginning to teach people how to find hidden treasure; and only yesterday it cost one of them his life. I told him where there was a treasure hidden and growing mouldy, in a stable. underneath a beam on which the whole weight of the stable was resting. I told him that he would have to dig deep into the ground, and he would find pound upon pound of the hidden treasure. At once he started to dig there, but as soon as he had dug so far that he undermined the beam and the posts supporting it, the beam fell to the ground and crushed this poor idiot under it.29

At least in cases for detection of thieves, however, otherwise responsible individuals seem rather often to have placed credence in the claims of the diviners, perhaps because they were desperate, and perhaps because what they really sought was a way of persuading others to support a suspicion they themselves already harboured.

DIVINATORY EXPERIMENTS IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

The largest number of experiments in Clm 849, nineteen in all, is divinatory. While it is sometimes said that these experiments may be used for any of various purposes, the usual end is detection of a crime or criminal (usually a thief, less often a murderer) and recovery of stolen goods, more rarely to determine the location of hidden treasure. The text of one experiment (no. 25) insists that the procedure must not be used for any base or frivolous purpose, but only for a serious one, because one must not take the name of God in vain.

As for the techniques used in these experiments, the characteristic features in most of them are two. First, the primary magical technique is scrying, combined with conjurations; magic circles either are not used or have little significance.30 Second, cooperation of a medium, usually a young boy, is vital; it is he alone who actually sees the spirits that are conjured.

Approximately half of these experiments entail the use of a circle or some other figure among the means for conjuring the spirits. The medium typically sees the spirits in a mirror, crystal, vessel, bone, polished thumbnail or fingernail. In most cases the medium must be a virginal boy, who actually sees and communicates with the spirits.31 Sometimes we are told that he must be younger than twelve, and born of legitimate marriage.32 Occasionally a girl may be used as well as a boy;33 but this provision is relatively rare. The use of young and putatively innocent boys in divination must be seen as part of a broader clerical fascination with the ideal of innocent boyhood. In liturgical drama young boys dressed and acted ‘in the manner of virgin women’, at least in part ‘to project the theme of virginity’, as Nicholas Orme has phrased it.34

The use of a medium could well be a means for expression of socially shared convictions about the likeliest suspects, but it is not entirely obvious that this
mechanism came importantly into play. Because the ritual was private, it could more easily become a tool for the expression of individual prejudice and animosity. Yet the one who saw the visions was neither the client nor the master but instead a young boy, in all likelihood not one with a personal interest in the outcome of the experiment. Apart from the obvious matter of the youth’s sacred non-sexuality, his youth may have been important mainly because it put him at some remove from the preformed judgements of the adult principals and made possible a relatively neutral accusation. It is, of course, also possible that the mere pretence of childlike innocence, neutrality and distance from adult biases was more important than any real immunity of this sort.

**EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING MIRRORS**

In his account of scrying with a steel mirror, Johannes Hartlieb says, ‘I have seen masters who maintain they can prepare mirrors such that any man or woman can see in them what they will.’ He also says that other reflecting surfaces can be used; there are even priests who will use the very paten that serves at mass to hold the host: they believe (falsely, adds Hartlieb) that only angels and not demons can appear on such a consecrated object. One might suppose that a mirror would make an ideal tool for divination that requires concentration on a reflective surface, because mirrors are designed specifically for reflection. A *modern* mirror, however, might be distinctly inappropriate for this purpose precisely because it reflects too well and too realistically, giving too little scope to imaginative play and the power of suggestion. Perhaps the mirrors used in divinatory experiments were less polished, but at least in some cases the magician is instructed to use a polished mirror. We must assume that the point was not for the child medium who gazed into the mirror to focus closely on his own face but to use the mirror as a means for perceiving more numinous revelations. To be sure, there are cultures in which the spectator’s own face reflected in a mirror becomes a point of reference for visionary encounter; after staring for hours at one’s own reflection one may identify one’s face with that of an ancestor, or one may perceive it as a manifestation of one’s own true, inner or archetypal self. In the Munich manuscript, however, there is no suggestion that the medium’s own realistic image plays any role whatever.

The handbook contains five such experiments: two versions of the Mirror of Floron (nos 18 and 19), the First Mirror of Lilith (no. 23), and two others (nos 20 and 33). The Mirror of Floron in its first version may serve as a useful introduction to these experiments:

Have a mirror made of pure steel, measuring one palm around, with a handle for holding it, and have it bright and shiny like a sword. And have it made in the name of Floron, and around the rim of the mirror, on the part that is not
polished, have these ten names [Latranoy, Iszarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar] inscribed with ten characters, with the name of the aforesaid spirit [Floron] written in the middle. After it has been made, it should be anointed with pure and bright balsam, and fumigated with aloes, ambergris, myrrh and white frankincense.

When this has been done, the master of this work should sit and have this mirror held with both hands by a virgin boy before his chest. The master himself should be bathed and dressed in clean garments. Before he begins to exercise this work he should sprinkle in the air honey, milk and wine, mixed together in equal proportions, while saying, 'O Floron, respond quickly in the mirror, as you are accustomed to appear.'

When he has said this, he should read this conjuration before the mirror:
'Bismille araathie mem lissmissa gassim gisim galissim samajaoisim ralim ausinsi taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illette laytami hehelmini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathitat hinanodon illemay sard lucacef illemegiptimi sitigatinim viaice hamtamice tatiaat taltarini alaoth haleytenuntij morto orfaial geibel huabaton albital hualepin halmagrilie hualeon huastanie hualtamemeth huatorzor illenie giptimi tagtanie gathecine lesuma lesamim aptasale albweroahit vleath alfarld vsemeth aptisile ablauwarth vleolah ant clualamorlie habysitimi wallees lithimi caegine catlieginoleu mirabolamini abtasile albiwhahith alleath halamaton vnitia gaytatalon huaia gay soze cemelis phalfrom ahethure huaba lagis illemeammitimi geligne gathecine lesmirapatalibe albiwath vleuth.'

When he has recited this conjuration, the master should look in the mirror, and he will see an armed knight seated on a horse, and his squire accompanying him. The knight will dismount from the horse and his squire will hold the horse. He will greet the knight [with the words], se desperata. decentissime visibiliter grectiom. And then the master may ask him about past, present and future things, and he will at once give full response in writing.

This should not seem unbelievable to you, whoever may execute this work, for when you have carried out these things nine times this same spirit will clearly reveal face to face, orally, all things which previously he has indicated in writing.

And so, when you have completed everything according to your will, command this spirit to withdraw in peace, and to return according to the command of his master when he is summoned.

The second version of this Mirror of Floron adds certain details: the mirror should be made on the first hour on Friday, under a waxing moon; the sculptor or workman must be chaste for nine days beforehand, must be bathed, and must
wear clean clothes; the words in which the master conjures the spirit are identified, implausibly, as 'Chaldean'; the master's greeting to the knight is *Parate insilito gytrmon*, which approximates an obviously meaningful statement even less than the greeting in the first version; and the knight who has at first answered questions in writing will answer *per exercitum* at night and orally throughout the day, revealing all things beneath the moon.

The First Mirror of Lilith (spelled *Lilit* or *Lylet*) is dedicated to this ancient Hebrew demon and to her followers and her 'knights' - although the text seems to slip into calling the spirit Bylet before the experiment is over.37 The master commands these 'demons' to appear in non-threatening form and answer questions. The mirror itself can be made in the form of a shield, but need not be. The master prays to Lilith to come in her own appearance, not in that of ravens, conjuring her to sit with him whenever the master wants. She will appear in a mirror with two or more servants, and will tell the truth or give appropriate signs regarding a theft, murder, or other circumstance.

In one of the remaining experiments (no. 20) the master goes to a secret place at a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, with burning candles and a polished steel mirror, made under a particular phase of the moon. He makes a circle, and puts the mirror on a piece of wood in the form of a knife. He implores God to make the mirror grow and become bright. Then he recites a brief conjuration three times, and the mirror will seem to grow and become bright. Many people will appear, as in a field. The master may ask them anything he wants, and will obtain an answer. After the first time, he may work this procedure whenever and wherever he wishes, though he must always do so in a secret place; once consecrated for that purpose, the mirror can be used repeatedly. In the other experiment (no. 33), the master smears olive oil on a mirror, says a doxology, enters a magic circle that is sprinkled with verbena, turns to the east, and conjures a spirit. When it comes, he conjures it to tell him the truth, without causing any harm. If the spirit refuses, the master reads the unbreakable 'bond of Solomon', an extended conjuration.

As in some of the illusionist experiments, spirits who appear to divulge information are here designated as knights. But three of these experiments are more distinctive in being given titles, taken from the chief spirits to whom they appeal. Lilith and Floron. The former is familiar from Hebrew tradition, while the latter is known from the writings of Cecco d'Ascoli.38 The conjuration (and presumably also the greeting) in 'Chaldean' (actually garbled Arabic, as we shall see in Chapter 6) adds a touch of exoticism to some of these experiments. But perhaps the most curious feature, found in the Mirror of Floron, is the reference to the spirit's giving written responses, through a mechanism that is not clearly specified; perhaps the master is to see the spirit holding a written message for his inspection, or possibly patterns discerned on the surface of the mirror are to be interpreted as some form of writing.
EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING CRYSTALS

For the use of crystals and related objects in scrying, Johannes Hartlieb is again a helpful source of information:

Some take a clear, fine, polished crystal or beryl and have it consecrated, then keep it clean, and lay incense, myrrh, and so forth on it. Then when they wish to exercise their art they wait for a clear day, or use a clean room with many consecrated candles. The masters go to a bathing room, taking an innocent child, and dressing themselves in pure white clothes. They sit down and speak magic prayers (\textit{zauber bätt}), and burn magic offerings (\textit{zauber opffer}), then order the boy to look into the stone and whisper secret words into his ear, which are allegedly most holy – but are indeed devilish words.\textsuperscript{39}

The Munich handbook gives two divinatory experiments entailing the use of crystals, both of them extremely brief and simple. The implement used may be something like the legendary crystal ball; when the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript refers to crystals it speaks of them as ‘stones’, which surely were polished, whatever their shape. In one experiment (no. 24) the master first takes a crystal and washes it with wine, then he writes certain names of Christ on it with olive oil, and asks for two or three angels to appear in that crystal and reveal the truth to a virgin boy. The boy conjures these angels to come in the crystal so he may see them. When they come, the boy conjures them thrice to sit on golden seats and not withdraw from the crystal without the master’s permission. For the other experiment (no. 25) the master takes a crystal in the form of a seal or mirror and places it in wax. Then he writes the name ‘Honely’ on it with oil. He prays Christ to bestow wondrous and useful powers upon this stone, as he has done to other stones, to herbs, and to certain words; the text refers to this prayer as a conjuration, but the writer does not have quite the temerity to conjure Christ himself. He does then conjure certain angels to come at once and appear in the crystal, and not withdraw from it until they have answered the questions he has to ask.

It is probably not an accident that in both of these experiments, unlike most, the spirits conjured are expressly referred to as angels, and in one of them names of Christ are invoked (which is not uncommon in these experiments), while in the other the conjuration is preceded by a prayer to Christ (which is altogether uncommon). The other reflecting surfaces have a kind of artificial reflectivity: some of them need to have oil applied to them, and a mirror is a manufactured object. The crystal, however, was thought to have natural luminosity as one of the properties bestowed on it in its creation. Perhaps for this reason it seemed more natural for a crystal to serve as a medium for the conjuring of unfallen spirits, although this explanation would have greater force if it were supported by substantial evidence from other sources.
A COMPLEX EXPERIMENT INVOLVING APPARITIONS IN A THUMBNAIL.

Five divinatory experiments in the Munich handbook - as many as those using mirrors - require the medium to gaze into his own polished fingernail or thumbnail. These tend to be elaborate rituals, with preliminary measures followed by multiple conjurations, then interrogation of the spirits who appear, and in some cases procedures for terminating the experiment. Most of these rituals are intended specifically to learn about the circumstances of a theft, although the text indicates that no. 27 and presumably others as well can serve to provide information about whether a friend is well or sick, whether someone is on the road, or other matters. A fingernail may seem an odd instrument for divination, and the image of a boy carrying on a conversation with an elaborately described demon moving about on such a small screen may seem somewhat comic, but fixing the boy's attention on so narrow a space may in fact have been an aid to concentration: the smaller the surface, and the closer it is held to the eye, the more it will be in focus and potential distractions will be out of focus.

No. 27 is broken into two 'chapters', the first of which reads as follows:

To find out about a theft, take a virgin boy of legitimate birth, at whatever hour you wish before noon, and scrape well the thumb nail of his left hand with a knife. Then bind to the same thumb, beneath the nail, a slip with the following names written on it. And these are the names: Egippia, Benoham, Beanke vel Beane, Reranressym, Alredessym, Ebemidyrr, Fetolnie (?). Dysi, Medirini, Alhea, Heresim, Egippia, Benoham [repeated]. Haham, Ezirohias, Bohodi, Hohada, Anna, Hohanna, Ohereo, Metalliteps, Aregeereo, Agerto. Aliberr, [and] Halba.

When this is done, if the boy does not see something, etc. [sic!]. But if he does see something, bind a strap of sheepskin, which you have had with you while hearing three complete masses, on the slip, around the thumb, while saying this conjuration: 'O you demons, who have appeared before me in the nail of this boy, by Him who is Alpha and Omega, I order and command and conjure you, by the most sacred names Ely, Eloy, Messias, Sother, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, and by On, which is the first name of the Lord, Pantoncraton [sic], Anetheten, and by the other names known and unknown to me, that you should have no power to withdraw with your companions until you have fulfilled my will completely, without any falsehood or harm to anyone. And if you disdain to do this, I command you to be bound beneath the deep waters of the sea, by these two names, Joth [and] Nabnoth, by which Solomon bound demons in a glass vessel. I conjure you by the seven signs of Solomon, and by his seal and wisdom, that you should have no licence to withdraw from here until you have told and shown me the truth about all that I ask.'
When you have said this, if the boy does not speak straightaway, recite this conjuration in his ear: 'I conjure you, virginal youth, by the true God Basyon, and by the name[s] On, Berion, Sabaoth, [and] Adonay, [etc.], to have no power of concealing from me, but to manifest all that you see.'

When you have recited these conjurations three times, if the spirits do not hasten to your service, add this conjuration: 'You demons from the east, you demons from the west, you demons from the south, you demons from the north, open up to us, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Altramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hegergibet, Sathan.'

When you have spoken or repeated this conjuration three times, the boy will see all things clearly.

This experiment is good also if someone wishes to know the condition of his friends, whether they are well or ill, and it will determine whether or not they are under way.

The conjuration over the strap is as follows. When mass has been finished on any particular day, say this conjuration over the strap: 'I conjure you, Sona, by the name of the Lord Tetragrammaton, and by the name of God Joth, and by the name of God Nabnoth, [etc.], to receive such power that wherever you are bound, these spirits will have no power to withdraw until they fulfil the will of the one who binds.'

The second chapter begins with a lengthy conjuration summoning the spirits to appear in the boy's nail, and is followed by another conjuration commanding the boy to gaze into his nail and tell the truth about what is there revealed. The text continues:

Then ask the boy if the nail is brighter than before. If he says not, read the conjuration again from the beginning, and a third time if necessary. If he says it has become brighter, ask if he sees anything. If he says he sees a man, the master should have the boy conjure the one he sees, in the mother tongue, as follows: 'You who are before me, I conjure you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by Saint Mary and her virginity, and by Saint John and his virginity, [etc.], to go quickly for your king and have him come before me, so that I may see and understand him clearly.'

Then ask the boy if the king has come. If not, have the boy conjure again, as before. If he has come, have the boy tell the king to dismount from his horse and have a throne brought forth on which he can sit. Then have the boy ask the king if he wishes to eat. If he says no, then ask about whatever you will. If he says yes, have the boy tell the king to send wherever he will for a ram to be skinned and cooked, and then he should have a table set, and should rise and wash his hands, and sit at the table and have the ram set before him, and he should go ahead and eat it. After he has eaten, he should get up, take water, and wash his hands.
Then have the boy tell the king to remove the crown from his head and place his right hand on top of his head and swear by his crown and by his sceptre and by that which he holds beneath his right hand, to respond truly to all the master's questions. Then the master should ask whatever he wishes, through the boy. After the master's questions have been answered properly, the spirits may be given licence to leave, and the boy should say, 'Go. Peace be between us and you. And when the master calls you, be prepared to obey him in all things and by all things.'

The conception of a demon as a king or prince is not uncommon (see Chapter 7), and it is in keeping with the dignity of the spirit that he is allowed the privilege of a throne and a meal, although he supplies them himself, within the scene played out on the fingernail of the medium. Elsewhere as well the spirits may be instructed or invited to seat themselves on thrones; in the Rawlinson manuscript the medium is told to have three white-robed spirits fetch three gold thrones for themselves. It is perhaps not surprising that apparitions as elaborate as these might require repeated conjuration. No doubt they also assumed child mediums of exceptional virtuosity, and a master who had found such a child must have been proud indeed to have discovered such a resource.

SIMPLER EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING FINGERNAILS OR THUMB NAILS

While the preceding experiment is more complex than most, others resemble it in their essentials. In experiment no. 30, the master obtains a powder by burning resin and collecting the ash from the bottom of a basin that is inscribed with certain characters. He anoints four joints of the boy's left hand with olive oil and with this powder, in alternation, until the boy's fingers shine like a mirror. (Johannes Hartlieb gives a similar account of how child mediums are instructed to gaze not only into their fingernails but into their hands anointed with oil and soot from a pan.) Then he summons twelve spirits. Three times the master makes the sign of the cross with his right thumb on the boy's forehead, each time praying that Christ himself may sign the boy, as he gave his blessing at Cana. Then he repeats the twelve names, and may make the sign of the cross on his own forehead as well as the boy's. The names are recited until six spirits appear on the boy's hand. Then the boy commands them to sit, except for one, who is to rise and answer the master's questions. When the spirits have answered the master's questions, the boy commands them to depart, in the name of the Trinity; if he wishes, the master may at this point sign the boy's forehead again.

The next three experiments all take place within a simple circle, consisting of three concentric bands, within which the boy sits on a three-legged stool, around which are inscriptions (the boy's name, other names, the Tetragrammaton). In no. 38 the master blesses the boy while waving a sword around his head. He gives
the sword to the boy; then signs him with the sign of the cross (saying, 'May the cross sanctify you, and may the prayers of all priests bless you'), scrapes his nails with a knife, anoints them with olive oil, then blesses himself and his companions, who sit silently by the circle, with swords in hand. The boy shuts his eyes; the master blesses all those present by reading the opening verses of John's gospel. The boy looks at his anointed nail and conjures specified demons to make the nail grow large and bright so that various information can appear in it: the thief, the circumstances of the theft, and the place where the stolen object is concealed. The master conjures certain demon princes to come in the form of black men and appear in the boy's nail. If the boy cannot yet see any figures in his nail, the master repeats the conjuration. He asks the boy if he sees a demon leaping and rejoicing. The master and his companions speak to the boy to keep him from fear. Again the master conjures the demons to divulge the desired information. At the end of the experiment, the master rubs his fingernail clean with his tunic, and makes the sign of the cross over four parts of his body with the sword. Then the boy takes the sword and holds it before himself while leaving the circle. The companions and the master himself exit in the same manner.

In no. 39 the master scrapes the boy's right thumbnail, using a knife with a handle of black or white horn, and recites psalm verses. He then signs the boy's forehead with the sign of the cross, says a prayer asking God to have the boy tell the truth, and whispers the names of demons three times into the boy's right ear. Then he enters the circle and stands in front of the boy, anoints his nail with olive oil, gives him the knife, and recites a longer series of demons' names. He conjures the demons (repeatedly, if necessary) to make the boy's nail grow large and bright, so that the details of the theft will appear in it. When this happens, the master conjures the demons (again as often as needed) to come and appear to the boy in the forms of the thieves. When the demons appear, the master conjures them to give the boy power, so that he can make the necessary inquiry and behold the desired information. Afterward the master has the boy close his eyes, then he cleans his nail, signs him with the sign of the cross (super eum, ante eum, and retro eum), takes the knife from his hand, blesses both himself and the boy, erases the circle, and departs along with the boy. The 'kings' will return to their own kingdoms, but the master conjures them to return whenever he wishes.

In no. 40, the master turns to the east, scrapes both of the boy's thumbnails, places one of the boy's thumbs over the other, writes the name of the boy and the name Astaroth on the knife handle, gives the knife to the boy and has him hold it beneath his thumbs, anoints with olive oil the uppermost of the boy's thumbnails, making the form of a cross on it with all devotion, then himself takes a seat, holding the boy between his knees, and instructing him to look carefully at his thumbnail. (The position of the boy suggests an intimacy that is surely erotic, even if subtly so.) The master conjures the demons to appear in the thumbnail in the form of the thief or thieves, 'as they have promised'. He also prays to Christ,
to manifest the truth make the boy report it. Again he conjures the demons to appear, and to make the boy's nail grow large and bright. At the end of the experiment, the master says the prayer, 'Protect, save, bless. [and] sanctify all the people by the sign of the Lord's cross. Fend off afflictions of body and soul. Let no peril prevail against this sign. Amen. May Jesus Christ defend us by this sign of the cross. Amen.'

EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING VESSELS

Perhaps among the most ancient and widespread means for divination is gazing at the surface of a fluid in a bowl or other vessel. The materials for such operations would have been available virtually anywhere, even if suitable mirrors were not on hand. A letter to King Psammetichos, included in the Greek magical papyri, gives instructions for bowl divination: one should take a bronze bowl or saucer and fill it with water, then add green olive oil, recite an incantation over it, and ask questions of whatever god one wishes; the deity will reply, after which he can be dismissed with a powerful name of a hundred letters, a name which commands gods and daimones, causing the universe to tremble. Elsewhere there are bowls or other vessels on which magical formulas have been inscribed, but these are usually intended for types of magic other than divination.

In two brief experiments from the Munich handbook, the reflecting surfaces that furnish information are vessels or basins. No. 22 involves tracing a circle on the ground with the point of a special knife, entering the circle with a virgin boy or girl, carving various sacred names on a vessel, well cleaned inside and out, and writing on the vessel with a feather from the left wing of a black hen, with accompanying prayers. The master conjures the child to divulge the information revealed regarding a thief or murderer, then he invokes God to grant this knowledge to the child. The child gazes intently into the vessel, and continues doing so until figures appear. In 'The True Art of the Basin' (no. 29), the master recites ten names into a boy's ear, conjures spirits to appear in a basin and divulge information, writes three names on a slip of parchment or paper, and places it in the basin. Then he asks God with humble devotion to give the boy knowledge so that he can respond truly, and he asks Christ to illumine the boy's mind. He conjures the demons to appear to the boy in a mirror or on the blade of a sword. When the demons appear, the boy tells their king to sit down, and has him send for a ram, a feature reminiscent of no. 27. Then follow various conjurations. The experiment terminates with an exchange between the young boy and the demon king, again in the manner of no. 27.

These divinatory experiments are unusual in their emphasis on sitting: the master, the medium, any companions, and the spirits themselves are instructed or invited repeatedly to sit, whether on thrones, at table, on stools, or simply on the ground. It would perhaps be misleading to seek a single meaning in this posture;
the spirits' being enthroned in their capacity as kings can hardly have the same significance as the medium's being seated on a stool. Yet this feature of the experiments is consonant with another peculiarity of this category which distinguishes it from the psychological and illusionist rituals: in these experiments the conjurations are intended specifically to bring about consultation between the magicians and the spirits, rather than their dialogue being a prelude to some further result, and thus the parties on both sides are in effect sitting down to do business. This is not to say that their being seated is necessary, but that it makes a kind of sense here that it would not make elsewhere.

AN EXPERIMENT INVOLVING A BONE

For no. 28 the master anoints the right shoulder blade of a ram with olive oil and puts it beneath the handle of a knife. He holds a lighted candle and conjures six demons to appear in the reflective surface before a virginal boy (under twelve years of age) and answer questions. If the boy sees the shoulder blade grow larger and brighter, the master conjures the demons again to appear. When a spirit appears in the form of a black man, the master asks him questions through the mediation of the boy. The master can conjure the boy so that he has the power to see a spirit, but not the power to lie. The experiment closes with miscellaneous instructions: While making a circle, the master should say 'Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas', then two prayers, one for aid in undertakings, the other for sending the Holy Spirit upon the boy to illumine his mind so that he can see and reveal truths. Names of God are given, to be inscribed on the shoulder blade. And to send the demons away, the master makes the sign of the cross over the shoulder blade and says, 'Behold the cross of the Lord. Take flight, O hostile powers (Fugite partes aduerse). The lion of the tribe of Juda, the stem of David, has conquered. Go in peace to the places from which you came.'

Johannes Hartlieb tells how the shoulder blades of various large animals are examined in the form of divination known as spatulamancy, but does not speak of operations performed over these bones in the manner prescribed by the Munich handbook.

EXPERIMENTS INVOLVING VISIONS IN SLEEP

The last two divinatory experiments in the handbook, both short and simple in form, differ from the preceding divinatory rites because they do not involve gazing into reflective surfaces, but rather the inducement of revelatory dream visions. The Egyptians had been famous for their dream interpretation, whether the dreams were induced or spontaneous, and the Greek magical papyri from Egypt contain instructions for obtaining a revelation in sleep:
according to one passage, the person seeking the vision goes to bed in the presence of a lamp fuelled with sesame oil mixed with cinnabar, and recites a prescribed formula: to ensure that the revelation is not lost to oblivion, he must have a small tablet nearby to write it down. No. 16 has the master write a series of sacred names within a double band on virgin parchment, plus specified names. Three times he conjures the names themselves, that they may send the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael to reveal whatever information he is seeking. The master then places this parchment beneath his right ear when he goes to sleep.

No. 41, designed to discover hidden treasure, is exceptional for the extent to which it blends magic with pious devotion:

To know where a treasure is hidden, first a person must make a general confession of all his sins, under a waxing moon, on a Sunday, when the Sun is in Leo, early in the morning. And when you first arise, sprinkle yourself with holy water, saying the antiphon, Asperges me, domine, sopae, etc., in its entirety. Then go to a crucifix and say before it, Misericordia mei, Deus [Ps. 50 Vulg.], in its entirety, gazing constantly at the crucifix, with utter devotion. And when you say these things, then say most devoutly and with contrite heart. 'O rabbi, rabbi, my king and my God, and Lord of lords, you who are creator of all things, hear the prayer which I, a wretched and unworthy creature, make, and [be mindful?] of your redemption in this hour and always, and may my unworthy cry come unto Thee.'

When you have said this, go to your house and into your chamber, which should be thoroughly cleaned, and, facing east, say this prayer as devoutly as you can: 'O gracious Orient . . . strengthen my understanding in this work by the dominion of your kingdom, which is never lost. Guide and fear [?] me in this my supplication. And I pray you by your kings . . . that on the following night Haram, a benign spirit, may come to me in my sleep and enkindle my heart and my mind, that I may know how to find a treasure, if there is any in these parts or elsewhere, and may he lead me and make a sign there, so that I may know it as true, and [I may know] the truth itself. . . . I call out and implore that you may deign to send me a spirit of truth this night in my sleep, that he may reveal to me a hidden treasure.' Say this facing east, and on bended knees. Say this prayer three times.

When you go to bed, say nine times, 'Orient, Orient, Orient. I pray, beg, and ask. O most benign Orient, that you may fulfil my petition and desire to respect my entreaties.' Then a spirit will come to you, who will not displease you, but will make you dream of a treasure, and will lead you directly to the place.

The next morning, when you arise, give three portions of alms in honour of the great knowing King, and go out, accompanied or alone, to the place where
there is treasure in your home [?], and take it. When you have the treasure, have three masses sung: the first in honour of the Holy Trinity, the second for the sins of the deceased, the third for the safeguarding of your life, etc.

It is by no means surprising to find orthodox, traditional prayers used in the practice of magic, or for non-standard petitions to be referred to as prayers, or even for the magician to prepare himself by a regimen of confession and purification. The offering of alms and the subsequent celebration of three masses is perhaps less expected; in any case, what we have here is a mixture of magic and devotion that assumes no incompatibility between the two, and in the mind of the practitioner there presumably was no incongruity.47

POSSIBLE JEWISH SOURCES

Magical practices are often so widespread that it is impossible to trace specific patterns of transmission, and the divinatory rituals found in the Munich handbook are at least as widely diffused as any other magical techniques. Nevertheless, there is some reason to suppose that these divinatory practices show the influence of Jewish divination in particular. This should not be surprising, in the light of frequent suggestions that Christians learned or obtained their magic from Jews.48 One might suspect that this theme merely reflects stereotypes of the reprobate Jew,49 but there is nothing implausible about Christians seeking to amplify their own repertoire of magical practices by borrowing from those of a people antecedently categorized as having a reprobate subculture. The formulas of the Munich handbook, like those of the Greek magical papyri from antiquity, often imitate those of Judaism, as if in homage to a culture perceived as having superior magic. The centrality of the Tetragrammaton,50 the occasional use of Hebrew letters, and the use of the pentacle of Solomon in Clm 849 and other necromantic texts are evident signs of Jewish influence, however indirect and distorted the transmission may have been. No. 42 gives 'the great name Semiforas' (meaning the Shem ham-M'forash) as a series of Hebrew and pseudo-Hebrew words beginning 'Saday, Hay, Resel'; the scribe seems uncomfortable with the material, and at one point leaves a blank space in his transcription of the name, but does recognize it as a Hebrew name for God, which he says was written on the forehead of Aaron the priest.51

Samuel Daiches has edited and analysed a series of Jewish magical texts that resemble the divinatory practices of the Munich manuscript closely.52 Of special interest are the procedures in three manuscripts from the collection of Theodore Gaster. Codex Gaster 315 tells how to conjure the 'princes of the thumb' by tracing a circle in the earth with a black-handled knife and then placing a young boy in the circle, anointing the boy's thumbnail and forehead with pure olive oil, and whispering a conjuration into his ear while he gazes at his nail. The
conjuration reads, in part, ‘I adjure you, princes of the nail . . . that you should bring the king Minon in this nail, and the queen shall also come with him, and that his two servants shall come and that they shall bring there two lambs, one black and one white, and they shall slaughter them . . . and that they shall bring there three glass cups . . . ’ When the king and queen appear in the boy’s nail, they should be invited to eat and drink, after which they will give all the information the operator desires.\textsuperscript{53} Another ritual from the same manuscript, for conjuring ‘the princes of the hand’, requires invoking a series of names; if the boy sees nothing in his hand the master must repeat the invocation, then if necessary say, ‘I adjure you, Ator, Sator, Somani, Ator’ (a garbled version of the SATOR-AREPO formula). If the boy sees a man dressed in black he must have him don white garments, and then he invites him to eat and drink.\textsuperscript{54} Similar rituals are prescribed in Codices Gaster 443 and 1,000. They all require as a medium a young boy (seven years old in one ritual) or girl, or in some cases a pregnant woman, in which case Daiches assumes it is the innocence of the unborn child that facilitates the divination.

The manuscripts Daiches uses are all late – from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, or, in the case of Codex Gaster 443, as late as 1775 – but Daiches argues for close parallels with much earlier Jewish and even Babylonian practice. One Babylonian ritual tablet of around 2000 BCE speaks of ‘the master of the nail of this finger’; the slaughter of the lambs, the use of three cups, the invitation of the spirits to eat and drink, and the assurance that they will answer questions truly all find parallels in Babylonian divinatory texts. Rashi in the eleventh century referred to ‘work of the demons’ called ‘princes of the thumb’ that involved use of a black-handled knife, a glass cup, and so forth. Further evidence for the continuity of such practices in medieval Judaism comes from the \textit{Sefer Hasidim} and related texts, which report visions in which demons or the spirits of the dead were summoned to appear in dreams or on reflecting surfaces, often to identify thieves or to locate lost objects. Around the turn of the thirteenth century, Jacob of Marvège recorded a series of dreams in which he received answers to questions he had posed (\textit{she’elat halom}).\textsuperscript{55} None of this evidence proves that the rituals found in the modern manuscripts preserve in detail the formulas used in medieval magic. Yet it seems likely that the divinatory rituals of the Munich handbook can be traced to medieval Jewish precedent, and thus indirectly to Babylonian prototypes; this is in any event more likely than the reverse, that the Gaster manuscripts contain Jewish borrowing from Christian sources.

AN EXPERIMENT FOR INSTRUCTION

The very first experiment in the Munich manuscript fits only loosely into the category of divination: it is intended for acquiring knowledge of all the liberal arts through the instruction of a demon. Because the first two folios of Clm 849
are missing, this experiment begins in medias res, yet even in truncated form the experiment is reasonably intelligible; in all likelihood there was either prefatory material or another experiment on folios 1 and 2, and only a small part of the present experiment has been lost. In the missing lines the magician is evidently instructed to take a piece of cloth and draw on it a ‘circle’, meaning a simple band made of two concentric circles, within which the names of various demons are to be inscribed. The markings on this cloth are to be made with the blood of a bird, perhaps a hoopoe, and evidently the magician is to use the heart of this bird as a writing instrument: at later points in the experiment reference is made to writing with ‘the aforementioned blood’ by means of a heart.

This experiment is built around four conjurations: the first, addressed to three “kings” among the demons, results in the initial presentation of a teacher to the magician; the second, again addressed to these kings, is for the return of the teacher and inception of lessons; the third, addressed to the same demons plus four others, is for the same effect; the fourth, addressed to the teacher himself, leads directly to his return and to the instruction. The magician commands the demons Apolin, Maraloth and Berith to send yet another demon as a teacher, or magister, a term used elsewhere in the manual for the magician himself.

. . . toward the east. Then you must say: ‘Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, I, so-and-so, exorcise and conjure you . . . to send me a certain spirit who is expert in teaching of all the sciences, and may he be kindly, faithful, and pleasing to me, and teach every knowledge that I desire, coming in the form of a master, so that I may feel no sense of fear. . . . Likewise, I conjure you . . . that you three great kings and companions of mine may endeavour to send to me, your petitioner, one of your subordinates, to serve as master of all the sciences and arts, coming to me in a pleasant and splendid human form, and instruct me lovingly, so that within thirty days I may acquire this knowledge, and after I have received this knowledge I may give them licence to withdraw.’ And this must be said so many [=three?] times.

When you have said this, put down the sword and wrap it in the aforesaid cloth, and, having made a bundle, lie down on it and sleep for a little while. After sleeping, rise and clothe yourself (for when the bundle has been made a man must undress and enter a chamber, placing this bundle beneath his head). You must know that when these conjurations have been said, sleep comes by divine power. In the sleep, three great kings [will] appear to you with countless servants, knights, and footsoldiers, among whom there will appear a certain master, whom the three kings will command. [You will see] him ready to come to you. For you will see the three kings, shining with wondrous beauty, who will speak to you in this sleep with one voice, saying, ‘Behold, we give you what you have many times requested.’ And they will say to the master, ‘Let him be your student, and we command you to teach him every science or art
that he wishes to hear. Instruct and educate him so that within thirty days he will be regarded among others as supreme in whatever science he wishes.' And you will see him reply, 'My lords, I shall most gladly do whatever you wish.' When this has been said, the kings will depart and the master alone will remain, and will say to you, 'Arise, behold your master.' When this has been said, you will be aroused; at once you will open your eyes, and you will see a master, excellently attired, who will say to you, 'Give me the sword which you have beneath your head.' You will say, 'Behold your student, ready to do whatever you wish.' But you must have a tablet, and must write down all that he tells you.

First you must ask, 'O master, what is your name?' He [will] tell, and you must write it down. Second, from what order, and likewise write it down. When this has all been said, you must ask for the sword, and when you have it he will withdraw, saying, 'Wait until I return.' You will say nothing, but the master will leave and take the sword. After his withdrawal, you must unwrap the cloth, as appears below. And you should write in this circle his name, as you have written it down, and you must write it with the aforementioned blood. When it is written, wrap up the cloth and hide it well.

When all this has been done, you must dine on bread and pure water alone, and that day you must not exit your chamber. And when you have eaten, take the cloth and enter the circle facing Apolin. Say: 'O King Apolin, great, powerful, and venerable, I, your servant, believing and wholly trusting that you are strong and mighty, ask by your incomprehensible majesty that your servant and subject, so-and-so, my master, should come to me as quickly as he can, by your virtue and power, which is great and supremely great unto ages of ages. Amen.' And you must speak likewise facing Maraloth, changing the name. And likewise facing Berich. When all this has been said, take some of the aforesaid blood and write your name in the middle of the circle with the aforesaid heart, as is shown below. Then write these names, as shown here, with this heart on the corners of the cloth. But if the blood of one bird is not enough, you may kill as many as you wish.

When all this has been done, sit in the circle for the entire day, gazing at it, and saying nothing. When evening comes, wrap up the cloth, undress, and enter the chamber, placing it beneath your head. And as you lie down, say in a clear voice, 'O Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, Satan, Beliath, Belzebuc, [and] Lucifer, I implore you to command the master - here naming his name - to come to me tomorrow before sunrise and teach me thus-and-such science, without any error . . .'

Beware and take caution not to make the sign Θ of the cross, on account of the great danger in sleeping. You should know that you will see the master speak with you throughout the night, asking you which science you wish to learn. You should reply, 'Thus-and-such', so that, as said, you may speak with
him throughout the night. If you awake during that night, rise and light a candle, and take the cloth and unwrap it, and sit on it— that is to say; in the circle, where your name is written on the spot ordained for you— and call on the name of your master, saying, 'O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order, given to me by your greater kings as a master, I beseech you to come in a kindly form and teach me thus-and-such a science, in which I may become more expert than all mortals, learning it with great joy, without any effort, and with no tedium....'

When you have said this, looking toward the east you will see the master come with many students, and you will ask him to command that they all depart, and at once they will withdraw. Then the master will say, 'Which science do you wish to hear?' You will say, 'This-and-such', and then you will begin.

Bear in mind that you will learn all that he tells you and commit it to memory; and within thirty days you will acquire every science that you wish to have.

And when you wish him to leave the chamber, fold and hide the cloth, and at once he will withdraw. And when you wish him to come, open the cloth, and at once he will appear there, continuing the lessons. After thirty days, having become well learned in science, have him give your sword to you, and then tell him to go, and he will withdraw in peace. You must repeat what you have said when you invoke him to gain knowledge of another science, and he will proclaim himself ready to oblige your will.

This is the end of the chapter on [gaining] knowledge.

The circle required for this first experiment is a single band inscribed within a square. Inscribed in and around the band are the names of seven spirits and the four cardinal directions. 'The name of the master, of such-and-such an order' and 'The name of the student' are marked in the centre.

This experiment contains one incidental feature of some interest: the sword, which the demonic teacher claims at the beginning of the lessons but relinquishes to the magician at the end of the month when instruction is over, may be intended as a kind of sacrifice, albeit a temporary one. It serves, at any rate, to symbolize the relationship between the magician and the demon that exists throughout the thirty days of instruction: although the magician (as the source and ultimate owner of the sword) has conjured the demon and has authority to command his presence, the demon (as temporary keeper of the sword) exercises the authority over his pupil that comes from his possession of superior knowledge. It is only when the demon has imparted knowledge of all the liberal arts that the magician has become, to that extent, his equal and thus regains the sword.

One might suppose that the magician conceives the sword further as a symbol
for the power brought by his newly gained knowledge, but the manuscript gives little indication of a coherent and consistent quest for power, least of all in the political sphere. It is true that the writer claims to have connections at court: in one experiment he reminds the reader, 'You have often seen me carry out this work at your court.' Elsewhere he tells of a trick that he played on an emperor and his courtiers. Even if we assume that this is not all pretense, however, the manual gives only meagre hints of specifically courtly interests. Only one experiment is designed to gain the favour of a potentate. Experiments to cause madness or to turn friends into enemies could be used at court, but could just as well be employed elsewhere. On the whole the manual is remarkably devoid of specifically political concern: there is little sense that the writer is intent on building or destroying kingdoms, nor does he display the combination of magical lore and practical engineering found in the real-life courtier Conrad Kyeser.57 His procedures for divination seem to focus on personal rather than political matters. Some of the illusionist experiments bespeak the fanciful attitude toward magic often found in courtly romance: an illusory banquet is intended as an entertaining spectacle. The writer is perhaps here manifesting a distant fascination with courtly culture rather than a direct involvement in the life of any court. Any common necromancer, after all, might well fantasize about being called into the emperor's service and serving as Michael Scot was supposed to have served Frederick II.58

One might seek precedent here too in Jewish magic designed to foster learning. Formulas occur in various early Jewish mystical texts for mastery of the Torah. The assumption is that angels have opposed God's bestowal of the Torah upon humankind, and that this opposition accounts for students' failure to memorize the sacred text. The solution is to adjure the appropriate spirits, particularly the 'Prince of the Torah' (sar ha-torah), by the power of the sacred names; the specific purpose of such adjuration is to master and memorize the Torah.59 More immediate precedent, however, may be found in the later medieval magic of the so-called ars notoria, which uses prayers and invocation of angels to gain mastery of the liberal and mechanical arts.60 Although the ars notoria did not call upon demonic aid, and ostensibly revolved around the recitation of devotions to the Virgin and to unfallen angels, its techniques were untraditional and superstitious, and an unsympathetic observer might pardonoably have categorized it with this first experiment in the Munich handbook.

It may also be instructive to compare the magic of this experiment with that narrated in a story told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, in the early thirteenth century, 'concerning a schoolboy who made homage to the devil to have verses composed':

In the church of Saint Simeon in the diocese of Trier there was a little schoolboy. One day his master gave him a subject on which he was to compose
verses, but he was unable to do so, and sat about disconsolate. The Devil appeared to him in human form as he sat by himself, and said to him, 'Why are you so unhappy, little boy, and why are you sitting there looking so sad?'. The boy replied, 'I'm afraid of my master, because I cannot compose any verses on the subject he has given me.' The Devil said, 'If you pay homage to me, I will compose the verses for you.' The boy was unaware that he was dealing with the Devil, the enemy of all, who was bent on mischief, so he replied, 'O yes, sir! I am ready to do anything you command, as long as I can have the verses and not get beaten!' For he did not know who it was. He stretched out his hand to the Devil, paying homage to him. At once he received the verses, written on tablets, and then he no longer beheld their writer. When he gave them to his master at the appropriate time, the latter was amazed at the excellence of the verses, and feared that the knowledge he found in them was supernatural [divinam] and not that of a human. He said, 'Tell me, who wrote these verses for you?' The boy said, 'I did, master.' But the master, not believing, repeated his interrogation of the lad many times over, until the boy confessed everything he had done, from beginning to end. Then the master said, 'My boy, that versifier was an evil one, the Devil himself.' Then he added, 'My dear child, are you sorry that you paid homage to that seducer?’ The boy replied, 'O yes, master.' The master said, 'Now renounce the Devil and his homage, and all his pomps and all his works.' And he did so. Then the master cut off the sleeves of his surplice and offered them to the Devil, saying, 'These sleeves are yours, O seducer of men, but you will possess nothing more of this creature of God!' At once the sleeves were snatched away with a thunderbolt in the sight of all, while the boy's body remained unharmed. All this was told me by a prior from the church of Trier.61

The schoolboy's deed is both more innocent and more guilty than the necromancer of the Munich handbook: it is more innocent because he is unaware that the source of his verses is an evil spirit, and also because he does not conjure the spirit but merely accepts his offer, yet in itself his action is more profoundly guilty because he makes homage to the demon. Joseph Hansen sees the concept of homage to a demon as a high medieval innovation inspired by the obvious feudal analogue, the vassal's homage to his lord.62 It seems to be only in orthodox literature condemning magic, however, that those who profit from the demons are seen as making such homage, or that sacrifices to the spirits are perceived as involving the same worship that would be implied by sacrifice offered to God. The magicians themselves, as in the Munich handbook, typically perceive any sacrifice as merely a quid pro quo. Oddly, the lad's schoolmaster recognizes that the demon has some legitimate claim on the boy as a result of the transaction, and offers the spirit the sleeves of the pupil's surplice (superpellicii) as
his due, even after the boy repeats his baptismal renunciation of Satan’s works and poms. The most basic difference between the two cases, in any event, is that Caesarius’s schoolboy, unlike the Munich magician, receives no new knowledge: he has polished verses handed to him but does not himself become an accomplished versifier. The quest of knowledge through magical means seems to be a theme more deeply embedded in Jewish sources, and in the Solomonic literature related to those sources.

Notes

1 M.R. James, ‘Twelve medieval ghost-stories’, English Historical Review, 37 (1922), 420f.
2 Ambo simul mannerant ab orali verùs et amplius non video eas, et nescio sine dubio sibi sunt.
10 Domenico Comparetti, Virgil in the Middle Ages, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), 303-5, citing the Romans des Sept Sages, Clesmandé, and the Renart contrefait. For parallels, see ibid., p. 304. n. 9.
14 Reading intra for infra.
15 Petrus Garsia, In determinationes magistralis contra conclusiones apologetas Ioannis Pici Mirandulani
Concordis Comitis prœmium (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1489), sig. k iv verso through k v recto (the discussion continues through l i recto); see Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science, 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 497–507.


17 Registrum Radulphi Baldock, ed. Fowler (Canterbury and York Series, 7), vol. 1, 144f.; Kittredge, Witchcraft, 187.


19 Kittredge, Witchcraft, 80, 187, from David Wilkins, ed., Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, 3 (London, 1737), 393f.


23 Peter Brown, The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 106–13, esp. 109. Brown quotes Victoricus of Rouen on the effects of exorcism: ‘A torturer bends over the unclean spirit, but is not seen. There are no chains here now, yet the being who suffers is bound. God’s anger has other books to tear the flesh and other racks to stretch invisible limbs.’ The theme is one which Barbara Newman will address in forthcoming research on thirteenth-century accounts of exorcism.

24 Fol. 156e.


26 Translation from C. Trice Martin, ‘Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the Court of Chancery’, Archaeologia, 60 (=ser. 2, vol. 10) (1907), 377f.; see Kittredge, Witchcraft, 188.


28 Kittredge, Witchcraft, 195.

30 Nos 19, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 41 (not used); nos 18, 20, 23, 33, 38, 39, 40, 22, 28, 16 (not highly significant).


32 No. 28 specifies that the boy should be under twelve. See also Rawlinson MS D 252, fol 109r–109v.

33 No. 22 in the Munich handbook; Rawlinson MS D 252, fol. 114v; Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, ch. 84.


35 Cha 86, 88, 94.


37 The writer's B and L might readily be confused, especially in the lower case; see, for example, the references to Belial in no. 12. One might suppose that Bylet is simply an alternative spelling for Lilith, but there is in fact a spirit known as Beleth, Bileth, Bilet or Byleth, on whom see Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), 73.


39 Ch. 89.

40 Rawl. 8v; 151v.

41 Cha 83–84.

42 In no. 41 he writes 'Tetragrammaton' (probably that word, though possibly the four letters for which it stands) beneath the boy's feet, then he puts two stones on top of this inscribed word. lest the boy touch the sacred name with his feet.


47 Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 219, contains a miscellany of magical experiments, among which are similarly pious recommendations on fol. 187v: to recover a lost object, recall the cross of Christ (which was found) and give bread to four paupers; to avert affliction, recall the blows of Christ; for release from captivity, recall that of Christ; to survive a duel, fast, give as much as possible in alms, have three masses sung (those for the finding of the Holy Cross, the exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the Ascension), and wash the hands and feet of three paupers (or five, seven or thirteen).


53 No. B1, text 1, pp. 14–16, with notes on pp. 28–38.

54 No. B1 text 2, p. 16, with notes on p. 38.

55 Ibid., pp. 28–38; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter; New York: Macmillan, 1971–2), articles on *Husius* and *Jacob of Marburg*.

56 If one reads *presentare* for *postulare*, the context becomes clearer: rather than asking for the sword, the magician must give it to the spirit; *quo habito* then becomes ‘when he has it’ rather than ‘when you have it’.


FORMULAS FOR COMMANDING SPIRITS: CONJURATIONS AND EXORCISMS

A collection of sermon exempla from the 1270s relates a story of considerable interest for later medieval notions of what it meant to conjure demons. The compiler has been discussing the feast of the Assumption, the primary Marian feast of the era, and adds this sidelight for its unexpected relevance to that occasion:

Something further concerning the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, which was once told to me and to Brother Roger called Bacon at Paris, must not be passed over in silence. A certain surgeon from my home country, and in fact even a native of my very parish, named Master Peter of Ardene, well known to all clerics from Ireland at that time, had taken a wife at Paris and in my day was a Parisian citizen. He told me and Brother Roger Bacon that a certain Spanish magician [magus] was on close terms with him. Every now and then he would summon the man, and they would come to his home for company and amusement. So this magician, wishing to return the favour for Master Peter, took him outside the city one night, with companions whom he wished to take with himself, and made a circle according to his art, and called upon his demon [vocavit demonem suum], who, on coming, responded to all the questions they asked. The man took them there for five nights, and each night dealt similarly with the demon he summoned. But the fifth night was the vigil of the Blessed Virgin’s Assumption, so when the demon was called by the rite of the art as it was passed down he delayed his coming. And so he was summoned repeatedly, to the point that the devilish master became much agitated in regard to the devil. Finally the devil arrived, mourning and sighing, and with deep and plaintive sighs like a boy that has been beaten he said to them, ‘You people are really strange [Mirum est de vobis], for the angels in heaven are celebrating the feast of the Virgin Mary, and you cannot take your rest here on earth!’ Hearing this, they were astonished, and, not surprisingly, quite fearful. And Master Peter himself spoke to the demon, as he swore, taking pity on him, and said, ‘What is your problem?’ [The demon] said to him, ‘Things are very bad for me.’ Then they dismissed him and returned to their dwellings. So much for the story [Explicit exemplum].
Behold, O Christian, with what joy you should celebrate the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when even the devil, the enemy of the glorious Virgin, is compelled to preach that it should be celebrated, and when the angels celebrate it with so much festivity. When the devil said that he was very bad off amid this festive solemnity, the reason for this, as a great man whom I consulted about the matter suggested, is that on the solemnities of the Blessed Virgin and the saints their punishment is augmented. How this happens I leave to the judgement of those wiser than myself.¹

Among the interesting features of this story, three are of particular relevance here: first, the suggestion that the demon can be made to appear, but that the magician’s summons is one element among many in a cosmic network of potentially competing forces; second, the notion that the demons are subject to punishment with varying degrees of severity (so that, as we shall see, the magicians themselves can threaten to bring greater torment upon these fallen spirits); and third, the representation of the magician and his friends as adventurous inquirers daring to conjure the forces of hell to satisfy their curiosity and their quest of forbidden entertainment. The exemplum speaks of the magician as summoning the demon by a traditional rite, but, being uninterested in advertising techniques for necromancy, does not give the actual words of conjuration. From other sources, however, we know what such a rite would involve.

Central to most of the experiments in the Munich manual are formulas of varying length that hinge on the terms coniuro, adiuro and exorcizo, which are essentially interchangeable with each other and with other words meaning ‘I command’. Indeed, the conjurations are so centrally important to necromantic experiments that the art of necromancy (as that term is commonly used in later medieval parlance) can even be referred to simply as the conjuring of spirits. Reduced to its generic essentials, the typical conjuration is in the form, ‘I conjure you, thus-and-such spirits, by the holy names, by all the saints of God, etc., to carry out my will.’ We may speak of the declaration ('I conjure you'), the address ('thus-and-such spirits'), the series of invocations ('by the holy names, etc.'), and the instruction ('to carry out my will') as the four primary elements virtually always found in conjurations. While each is of fundamental significance, they are important in different ways: the instruction indicates the nature of the command, the address makes it clear whom or what the necromancer is commanding, the declaration is the expression of intent to command, and the invocations are the sources of power by virtue of which he is able to command. In all these essential elements conjurations are analogous to exorcisms: indeed, the terms ‘conjunction’ and ‘exorcism’ are essentially interchangeable in medieval usage, regardless of whether the intent is to summon or to dispel the evil spirits.
Not all the verbal formulas used in the handbook are conjurations: there are also incantations that serve as glosses interpreting sympathetic magic (especially in the psychological experiments), and at times prayers addressed to God (especially in the Book of Consecrations, but note also that no. 22 speaks of a conjuracio with reference to the prayer Deus, creator omnium rerum, while no. 36 uses the term oraciones for a series of verses beginning 'I adjure you, King of kings and Lord of lords ...'). But because the most common formulas are conjurations, it is entirely appropriate for necromancy to be known also as the art of conjuring demons.

The conjurations of the necromancer are in certain respects perhaps similar to the liturgical curses that Lester Little has analysed: they adapt ritual language to purposes that seem morally doubtful, although cursing a violator of monastic property rights might have appeared less problematic to a medieval monk than it does to a modern reader. But while the necromancer's formulas do at times curse the spirits and threaten prospective victims, in formal and structural terms the language of the conjurations does not closely resemble that of the curses Little discusses. Further, liturgical curses are inherently the communal acts of a community such as a religious house or cathedral chapter, whereas the conjurations express the will of a single necromancer. The curses assume direct divine agency, while the conjurations presuppose the compliance of created spirits.

The following (from no. 3) may be taken as a representative conjuration:

**[Declaration:]** I conjure **[Address:]** you demons inscribed in this circle, to whom is given the power of seducing and binding women in the love of men,

**[Invocation:]**

- by the virtue and power of the divine majesty,
- and by the thrones and dominations and powers and principalities of Him who spoke and they were made,
- and by those [angels] who do not cease to cry out with one voice, saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest,'
- and by these names, which cause you fear and terror: Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni,
- and by this ring which is here,
- and by the innumerable powers that you and your superiors possess,

**[Instruction:]** that wherever you are, you should rise up from your places without delay and go to so-and-so, and immediately without deception lead her here, and take her back when I wish. And let no one be aware of this or take account of it.
More complex in its structure is this conjuration (from no. 7):

[Address:] O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Sytroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, arms-bearing spirits, whose role it is to bear arms and to deceive human senses wherever you wish,

[Declaration:] I, so-and-so, conjure and exorcize and invoke you,

[Invocations:]
- by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are called the holy Trinity,
- and by the creator of heaven and earth and of all things, visible and invisible,
- and by him who formed man from the mud of the earth,
- and by the annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ,
- and by his nativity,
- and by his death and passion.
- and by his resurrection
- and by his ascension.

Likewise, [Declaration:] I conjure [Address:] all you aforesaid demons

[Invocations:]
- by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and incorrupt virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, who underwent death for us miserable sinners and recalled us to the heavenly fatherland.

Likewise, [Declaration:] I conjure [Address:] you aforesaid spirits

[Invocations:]
- by all the holy men and holy women of God,
- and by all the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and widows,
- and by these most precious and ineffable names of the Creator of all, by which you all are bound, and which arouse fear in all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell, to wit Aa, Ely, Sother, Adonay, Cel, Sabaoth, Messyas, Alazabra and Osian.

Likewise, [Declaration:] I conjure and exorcize you [Invocations:]
- by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords, and superiors,
- and by your virtue and capacity and power,
- and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is the form,
- and by all the figures present within it,

[Instruction] that, inseparably bound to my power, you should come to me without delay, appearing in such a form that you will in no way frighten me, submissive and prepared to do and manifest to me all that I wish, and that you should do this by [the power of] all things on heaven and on earth.

To 'conjure' or 'adjure' someone meant basically to command him or her, and the terms had broad application. At one point in the Song of Songs the
Bridegroom says, 'I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and the hinds of the fields, not to arouse or awake the beloved.' In the Merovingian era, a Bishop Nicetius wrote in a letter to one Clotsinda, 'I conjure you, Lady Clotsinda, by the tremendous Day of Judgement, that you both read this letter carefully and often try to expound it to your husband.' Even in this context, where the message is clearly political and has nothing to do directly with incorporeal spirits, the command is supported by appeal to an eschatological event. In the vita of Saint Brendan, one sea monster says to another, 'I adjure you in the name of Saint Bridget . . . to leave me alone,' and the efficacy of the adjuration becomes a sore point in Bridget's holy rivalry with Brendan, whose power the monster does not bother to invoke even though he, unlike Bridget, is physically present. In a context closer to that of demonic magic, ghosts too might be conjured, as becomes manifest from a series of fifteenth-century ghost stories emanating from a Cistercian house in Yorkshire. The ghosts typically cause disruption to arouse the attention of the living, but it is only when they have been conjured or commanded by someone with spiritual power, and in the name of that which is holy, that they can speak and accomplish the business for which they have come back to earth. In one case, for example, a spirit who wished posthumously to confess his sins (allegedly including murder) had to be conjured by a parish priest 'in the name of the Holy Trinity and by the power of Jesus Christ' to answer all the priest's questions, whereupon he 'spoke from his inmost bowels, not with his tongue, but as if inside an empty barrel', and received absolution.

The conjurations used in late medieval Europe are no different in principle from those used in other cultures, but the precise forms are in part culturally specific. In medieval Jewish conjurations, many of which survive from the Cairo Geniza, God's authority may be brought to bear on angels or demons to induce them to do the magician's bidding. These formulas are similar in their overall force but different in structure from the conjurations used within Christendom. Typically they are marked by six elements: first, the spirits are invoked in the name of God; second, they are adjured to perform specific tasks; third, the client is identified; fourth, the expected favours are listed; fifth, the requests are repeated and reinforced with quotations from the Bible and elsewhere, and sixth, the formulas conclude with a solemn liturgical 'Amen' or 'Selah'. The resemblance to the conjurations of the Christian world is close enough that one might posit influence of Jewish magic on its Christian equivalent, but not so close as to prove simple and straightforward borrowing from one tradition to the other.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook are not always in the same form. One notable exception is a conjuration given in pseudo-Chaldean (no. 18): Bismîlle āraathē. . . . This formula actually derives from an Arabic prototype: Bismillahi ar-Rahmân ar-Rahîm, the opening line of the Quran ('in the name of God, the merciful, the beneficent'), is a standard beginning to a Muslim
invocation, and other words in the formula appear also to be garbled versions of Arabic. Shorter or longer texts of such pseudo-Chaldean appear elsewhere as well (nos 19, 20 and 21), but in these cases the very esotericism is more important than any vestigial structure.

Normally the language for conjurations in late medieval Western sources was Latin, but at times — perhaps most often when a young child was being used as a medium — the conjuration is translated into the vernacular. The Munich handbook instructs the master at one point to have the child conjure the spirit in the mother tongue (no. 27). In the Rawlinson manuscript, the text shifts to the vernacular particularly for formulas addressed to the spirits when they have come, in one case for a threat addressed to them if they do not come, and once for a ‘binding’ conjuration (coniurationes ligacionis); the intent in at least some of these cases may be that the master’s young companion, who might be a mere beginner in Latin, should use the vernacular.

THE DECLARATION

One of the most widespread ways of distinguishing between magic and religion is the notion that magic is coercive whereas religion is petitionary. Martin Buber seems to assume such a contrast when he says that ‘Magic desires to obtain its effects without entering into relation.’ Yet this distinction is questionable, partly because it is not a mode of distinction that would have been familiar to medieval Europeans, also because it provides little aid in disentangling magical and religious elements that tend to be inextricably intertwined or even fused. It seems more useful to view demonic magic as inherently a kind of religious activity, and natural magic as lending itself readily to the intermingling of devotional elements. It is the case, however, that the necromancers typically saw themselves as commanding, constraining and binding the spirits they invoked, and one of the arguments most insistently made in the theological condemnations of magic in the late Middle Ages is that such constraint is in fact not possible. The magicians’ conception of what they were doing is signalled already in the very opening of a formula of conjuration: the declaration is a statement of intent, indicating how the conjurer perceived his relationship with the spirits. They saw themselves as having a power analogous to that by which Christ astonished those about him (Mk 1:27. Lk 4:36), that of commanding unclean spirits and compelling their obedience.

At times the declaration is simple and unpeated: ‘I conjure you’ (coniuro te) is by far the most common declaration, occurring fully 147 times in the Munich handbook: equivalent formulas, such as ‘I order you’, ‘I adjure you’, ‘I exorcize you’ and ‘I invoke you’, are also common. Elsewhere the declaration is compound: ‘I invoke and adjure you’ or ‘I conjure you and command you’. In
longer conjurations, the declaration may be repeated intermittently as a way of breaking the litany of invocations: 'I conjure you' is in six conjurations repeated once or twice, but may occur as often as five or even eleven times. Elsewhere the recurring declarations vary in their form:

I conjure . . . I conjure you . . . I conjure you and exorcize you [and] command you . . .

I conjure you . . . I conjure you and call you to witness . . . I adjure you [followed by eight more occurrences of 'I conjure you'].

At times the recurrence and compounding of declarations becomes forceful and dramatic:

I conjure you and exorcize you and call you forth . . . I conjure you . . . I conjure you and order and command you . . . I call you forth . . .

I invoke you powerfully . . . I invoke and conjure you powerfully and exorcise you . . . I invoke and conjure and exorcize and constrain you . . .

we exorcize and command you . . . we exorcize and manfully command you.

I invoke you on behalf of [ex parte] the Father, I provoke you on behalf of the Son, I invoke you on behalf of the Holy Spirit.

Approximately 43 per cent of the time the second and following declarations are preceded by 'likewise' (item), which reinforces the sense and the force of the serial construction.

But while the declarations are most often statements of command, not infrequently they express supplication: 'I supplicate you'; 'I beseech you'; 'I beseech you, I supplicate you, I request of you'; 'I pray you'; 'I pray, ask, and entreat'. Alternatively, the declaration may be one not of command alone but also of constraint ('I invoke, conjure, and constrain you'), a claim to yet higher power over the spirits. A command may in principle be refused; coercion may not. As with humans, however, so too with demons, the distinction becomes blurred: a command supported by sufficient authority, or coupled with compelling threats, may be as compelling psychologically as brute force is physically.

THE ADDRESS

If the declaration is the conjurer's statement of intent, indicating how he perceives his action vis-à-vis the spirits, the address is the element in the conjuration that shows which spirits were being called upon - not an insignificant
matter, either from the magicians' perspective or from the viewpoint of authorities investigating the practice of magic. The address is our chief source of information for the demonology and angelology of the magicians. This topic will be explored more fully in the next chapter, but may be touched upon here. The address is sometimes an apostrophe, in the vocative case ('I conjure you, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay'), and sometimes an appositive phrase, in the accusative case ('I conjure all you demons inscribed on this ring').\footnote{While the spirits are commonly both named and characterized, the name and the description do not always occur in the same part of the conjuration. And the conjuration mentioned above refers first to 'all you demons inscribed on this ring' and then addresses them twice by name. When the declaration is repeated, the address is sometimes replicated exactly as it was first given, but frequently the later declarations addresses merely the 'aforesaid demons' (prenominatos demones), as often as ten or eleven times in a single conjuration.\footnote{When multiple demons are being conjured they are usually all named, but one conjuration addresses the demon Lylet along with her companions (socii), who remain unnamed.}} In divinatory experiments, not only the informing spirits but also the boy serving as the necromancer's medium are often conjured to tell the truth. In such cases the conjuration is addressed to the boy simply as peci (no. 22) or, more often, as 'young virgin' or 'virginal youth' (virgo iuuenis).\footnote{Less often, objects used in the experiments are at times conjured and thus addressed: an image or a cloak. Power-bearing names are also addressed ('Ye ye most holy names').\footnote{Two experiments have conjurations addressed to the spirit who has taken the form of a horse.\footnote{In most contexts, the beings whose support is most needed and whose resistance is most feared are the spirits, and they are thus the ones chiefly subject to the magician's conjuration.}}} In such cases the conjuration is addressed to the boy simply as peci (no. 22) or, more often, as 'young virgin' or 'virginal youth' (virgo iuuenis).\footnote{Less often, objects used in the experiments are at times conjured and thus addressed: an image or a cloak. Power-bearing names are also addressed ('Ye ye most holy names').\footnote{Two experiments have conjurations addressed to the spirit who has taken the form of a horse.\footnote{In most contexts, the beings whose support is most needed and whose resistance is most feared are the spirits, and they are thus the ones chiefly subject to the magician's conjuration.}}}

THE INVOCATIONS

As the fundamental source of efficacy by which a conjuration works, the invocations call upon the sacred power of numinous beings, names and events, power that can be wielded against the addressees and can make them to carry out the master's will. For example, a conjuration in one experiment (no. 7) invokes the power of God; events in the life of Christ; various sacred personages (Mary, the saints, then specifically the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and widows); the sacred names of God (which bring great fear to 'all things in heaven, on earth, and in hell'); the power of the demons' own princes, kings, lords, and superiors; the spirits' own powers; their habitation, of which the circle is a representation, and 'all the figures present within it', although in fact there are no figures thus depicted. The invocations are strung together in a manner reminiscent of a litany, in most cases between two and eight in a single
conjunction, but not uncommonly as many as twenty-four. Only four experiments, all divinatory and involving the cooperation of a child medium, have conjunctions with more than twenty-four invocations, and one of these runs to fully fifty-eight.\textsuperscript{26}

Invocations can be found in mainstream Christian prayers from the late Middle Ages as well as in conjunctions. The \textit{Observe te} found in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, invoked Mary by the joy she experienced at the Annunciation, by the tender care with which the Son of God entered her womb, by the joys she had in her Son, by the compassion she felt before the cross, and so forth.\textsuperscript{27} The difference is that here the events are conceived as having psychological force: they are persuasive because they are remembered, and the point of the prayer is to call them to the Virgin’s mind so that, moved by the recollection of what she herself experienced, she will have compassion on those for whom the events of Christ’s life were performed – just as Christ himself is reminded of his Passion in the \textit{Dies irae} and urged to mercy so that his suffering may not be in vain. In magical conjunctions, the sacred persons, events, and objects cited serve more as powerful but impersonal weapons in a contest of wills, by which the magician may gain the upper hand over an unwilling spirit – as \textit{arma nigromantica}, so to speak. A closer orthodox equivalent would be the petitions in the Litany of the Saints in which Christ is asked to ‘free’ humanity (\textit{libera nos, domine}) by the successive acts of his life and death (\textit{per natiuitatem tuam, et sic}), but here the wording posits a natural and objective relationship between the sacred events and the desired effect: the normally expected effect of Christ’s passion and death is to redeem humankind, not to give necromancers power over demons. Although the invocations are often by far the lengthiest in the elements of a conjunction, their meaning thus depends on the far shorter wording of the declaration and the instruction. If the purpose of the invocations is to call upon the sacred power of persons, objects and events, this power is like electricity, capable of running the most various machines and working diverse effects, both beneficent and brutally maleficent.

The subjects whose power is invoked fall into nine general categories. The examples given here are more than merely illustrative – they include the most common and significant cases within each category – but not exhaustive:

\textbf{1. God:}

‘by God’ (no. 20)

‘by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’ (no. 11)

‘by the undivided and inseparable Trinity in which are three persons, namely the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both’ (no. 8)

‘by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to which every name is bowed [\textit{sic} – cf. Phil. 2:10] and every tongue proclaims Hosanna’ (no. 11)
by the living and true God' (no. 25)
by Him who is everlasting and eternal, and by Him who gave us the grace not to stand in Hell' (no. 8)
by God almighty, by Jesus Christ his Son, and by his Trinity, and by that providence which God had in [His] mind before the world was made, by the wisdom of God's eternity by which he made heaven stand above and established and perfected the world below . . . and by the prudence by which God separated light from darkness and created both, by the Word of God by which he made heaven and earth . . .' (no. 39)
by the creator of heaven and earth, and by Him who created all things for the praise and glory of his name, and by the living God, and by the holy God, and by the true God' (no. 43)
by the virtue and power of the divine majesty' (no. 3)
by the ineffable virtue and omnipotence of the creator' (no. 33)

2. Sacred names for God or Christ:
by the names which strike fear and terror in you’ (no. 3)
by the holy names by whose power you are bound’ (no. 1)
Tetragrammaton (passim)
Adonay (nos 1, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
El (nos 14, 28, 33, 39)
Ely (nos 7, 14, 23, 25, 27, 28, 35)
Eloy (nos 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39)
Alpha et O (nos 10, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Emanuel (nos 20, 23, 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 39)
Messyas (nos 7, 10, 23, 27, 28, 39)
Soter (nos 7, 10, 25, 27, 28, 39)
Sabaoth (nos 1, 5, 7, 10, 13, 23, 25, 27, 33, 35, 39)
62 unspecified names of Christ (no. 39)
99 names spoken by the daughters of Israel (no. 33)

3. Events from the life of Christ (usually emphasizing the Passion):
by the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Christ; by the fast of Christ; by the death of Christ; by the Passion of Christ; by the resurrection of Christ; by the ascension; by the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete’ (no. 40)
by the annunciation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the sacred fast of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the baptism of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the temptation of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 1,006 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 106 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; by the 56 wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, not including the others from his head to his feet; by the crown of thorns
which they placed on the head of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and they knelt
down [and] mocked him, saying “Hail, king of the Jews”; by the reed and
the blows with which they struck Christ; and by the three nails; by the
lance with which the sacred body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced,
and at once blood and water flowed out; by the outburst of the holiness of
Our Lord Jesus Christ, “Into thy hands I commend my spirit”’ (no. 38; cf.
no. 39)

4. The saints:
‘by all the holy men and holy women [sanctos et sanctas] of God’
‘by the four evangelists, Luke, Mark, Matthew, [and] John; by the four
sermons; by the twelve apostles; by the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar,
[and] Melchior; by the patriarchs [and] prophets; by the martyrs and
confessors; and by all the popes of Rome, and all the virgins and widows;
and by all the bishops; and by all the abbots; by all the priors; by all the
provosts; by all the archdeacons; and by all deacons; by all monks; by all
nuns; by all priests; by all deacons and subdeacons; by all the saints of
God; by the merits of all the saints; by all the Christian people; and by all
the saints who are in heaven and on earth; and by the 144 thousand
innocents . . .’ (no. 38)
‘by the faith of the prophets, by the proclamations of the patriarchs, by the
dignity of the twenty-four elders, by the creed of the apostles, by the passion
of the martyrs, by the confessing of the confessors, by the chastity of the
virgins, by the gospels of the evangelists . . .’ (no. 39)
by the virginity of Mary, John the Evangelist, Catherine, Agatha, Cecilia,
and Barbara (nos 27, 28). 28
‘by all the bodies of the saints that lie in Rome’ (no. 12)

5. The Virgin Mary:
‘by Saint Mary the virgin’ (no. 29)
‘by the gracious and most merciful and undefiled and uncorrupt virgin
Mary, the mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, dying for us wretched
sinners, called us to the heavenly fatherland’ (no. 7)
by her virginity (no. 28)
by her tears (no. 40)
by her milk (no. 12)
by her names – Queen, Flower, Rose, Lily, Ladder, Wisdom, Life,
Sweetness, Mercy, and Hope (no. 10)

6. The angels:
‘by the angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities,
powers, virtues of the heavens, cherubim and seraphim’ (no. 40)
by the thrones, dominations, powers, and principalities of Our Lord Jesus Christ; and by all the angels and archangels who dwell before the throne of God, crying out with one voice, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." (no. 9)
by the nine orders of angels' (no. 29)
by the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael (no. 38)

7. Material creatures:
by all things that were and are and will be' (no. 2)
by all things that exist beneath the heavens' (no. 35)
by all the powers of heaven and earth' (no. 35)
by heaven and earth, by the sea, by all things that are in them, by all emperors, by all kings, by all princes, by all counts, by all knights, by all citizens' (no. 38)
by all things that the four parts of the world contain, and by the ages of the world, and by all animals that exist beneath the heavens, and by serpents and flying things, bipeds, tripeds, quadrupeds' (no. 40)
by heaven and earth, the sea and hell, and all things existing in them' (no. 11)
by the heavenly and earthly Paradise (no. 10)
by the eternity of all creatures’ (no. 5)
by the five secula and seven states of the world (no. 39)
by the Sun and Moon and all the heavenly stars, and by all those things which have [power] to frighten and constrain you, and by the power of which it behoves you to come to us who summon you' (no. 6)
by all things which have [power] to terrify, constrain, and bind you, and whose command it behoves you to fulfill completely' (no. 11)
by your virtue and power, and by all things that have power against you’ (no. 11)
by the sacraments of baptism (no. 33)
by the eucharist (nos 12, 38, 39)
by the four rivers of Paradise (no. 8)

8. The Last Judgement:
by the fearful day of judgement’ (no. 35)
by the fearful day of judgement of God most high, and by the fiery consumption, and by the glassy sea which is before the gaze of the divine majesty, and by the four animals . . . before the throne of the divine majesty, with eyes before and behind’ (no. 33)
by the fearful day of judgement, on which you are all to be damned’ (no. 40)
9. The rulers of the demons:

'by Toth, your prince; by Zambrim et Mambrim; by Vsuel [and] by Saduel, to whom you are held to obey and tell the truth' (no. 33)

'by the power and dignity of Lucifer, Aphaleon and Neprion' (no. 8)

'by your master Astaroth' (no. 40)

'by all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your hell, and by all those things that exist in it'. (no. 10)

'by the virtue and power of all your princes, kings, lords and superiors, and by your [own] virtue and potentiality and potency [possibilitatem ac potentiam], and by your dwelling place, of which this [circle] is a form, and by all the figures abiding in it' (no. 7)

The invocations used by far most often and consistently are those in the first two categories - those appealing to the power of the divine persons, powers and names. Of these, the most common is the Tetragrammaton, the nomen altissimum in no. 14, spelled Tetragrammaton [nos 1, 10, 13, 14, 25, 27, 28, 33], and also produced as Y-V-E and HX-V-V-HV, while Y-V-E-X is given as a name used by Abraham (no. 33). The most extended and perhaps the most interesting series of invocations referring to the divine names is one (no. 33) with thirty-one specific names associated with events from salvation history, particularly the Exodus:

We exorcise and command you by the most mighty and potent name of God, El, strong and wondrous; by Him who spoke and it was made; by all his names; and by the Name YVE, which Moses heard and spoke . . . and by the name YVEX, and with the name [Y]V[E]X, which Abraham heard, and he knew the almighty God; and by the name Joth, and with the name Joth, which Jacob heard from the angel accompanying him, and he was freed from the hand of his brother Esau; and by the name Eyzaserie, and with the name Eyzaserie, which Moses heard on the mountain, and he merited to be now with God, and to hear him speaking in the flame; and by the name Anathematon, and with the name Anathematon, which Aaron heard, and he became eloquent and wise . . .

This conjuration proceeds to invoke the names the names Sabaoth, Oristion, Eloy, Yephaton, Arbitrios, Elyon, Adonay, Pantheon and Arimon, by which Moses caused the plagues in Egypt; Geremon, by which he freed the Israelites; Yegeeron, by which he divided the Red Sea; Ana bona, by which he merited to receive the tablets of the law; Egryvon, by which Joshua overcame his foes; Patheon, by which David was saved from Goliath, and so on.

Names for Christ are sometimes derived from biblical images, especially in one extended series (no. 39):
Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Saboath, Adonay, Panthon, Panthocrathon. Eloy, Theos, Hon, Vision, Saviour, Alpha and Omega. First and Last, First Born, Beginning and End, way, truth, and wisdom, virtue, Paraclete. I am who am, who are, mediator, lamb, sheep, ram, calf, serpent, kid, Word, image, glory, grace, salvation, light, salt, peace, splendour, bread, font, vine, shepherd, prophet, undying hope, king, father, almighty, merciful, eternal, highest good, Trinity, unity, Father, El, Eloy, Eloel, Eleon, Saday, Synamor, Tu, Ye, Ye, Prince of Peace, Enstriel, spirit, fear, goodness, thou, unity of unities, threefold godhead.

Occasionally names for God are derived from Hebrew or Greek liturgical formulas: AGLA (no. 33), the common magical abbreviation for the Hebrew Ata gibor leolam Adonai (‘Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord’); Theos (no. 39), Y'schiros (no. 28), and Athanatos (nos 28, 33), names derived from the liturgical trisagion, taken over into the Latin liturgy of Good Friday in the original Greek); Elyson (no. 28), from the Kyrie eleison. Other names derived from Greek titles are ho in (nos 14, 23, 27, 28, 33) or simply Hon (no. 25) (‘The Existing One’), and Pancraton (nos 28, 33) or Panthocrathon (no. 39), presumably variants on Pantocrator, ‘the Almighty’ or ‘Ruler of All’.\(^{11}\)

In short, what Joseph Kaster says about mastery of the divine names in ancient Egyptian ritual applies in Jewish and Christian contexts as well: ‘whoever knows the god’s real name, secret and ineffable and taboo, has control over him in the sense that he can evoke his power. In all ceremonial magic, the essential portion of the spell is the calling forth of the spirit or deity by name: when he is evoked by his real name, he must work the desire of the magician who “controls” him. This is “a name to conjure with”.’\(^{12}\)

On occasion the names of the demons, like those of God and Christ, are represented as possessing power: one invokes the demonic names Apolyyn, Gebel, Astaroth, Tereol, Falmar and Tyroces (no. 5); another has an invocation ‘by the name of your highest prince’ (no. 27).

Certain conjurations invoking events from the life of Christ make explicit what is presumably implied elsewhere, that they are calling not so much upon the events themselves as upon the power manifested in the events: ‘by the power by which Our Lord Jesus Christ entered in to his disciples when the doors were closed’ (no. 35); ‘by the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to wit that for us humans he descended from heaven and was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate . . . ’ (no. 38).

On rare occasions the invocations appeal to the very practice of magic, whether historical or present: spirits are conjured by ‘all the experiments of Virgil [the necromancer]’ (no. 38),\(^{32}\) by the ring brought for the experiment (no. 9), or by the magical circle used for the experiment, ‘by which you are effectively called forth’ (no. 9). In view of the magical powers often ascribed to Solomon, it is not surprising to find his rings invoked, along with the signs and names inscribed on
them (nos 28, 33); his seven signs, his seal, and his characters (nos 27, 38); or his wisdom (nos 12, 30, 38). Often the invocations show a preference for saints grouped in threes: most especially the three magi, Caspar, Balthasar and Melchior; also the three young men Sydrac, Mysaach and Abdenago and the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The virgin child medium conjures spirits by his own virginity, and the master conjures him by the virginity he has maintained and the baptism he has received (nos 27, 28).

When Oriens is conjured, the invocations refer to his own dignities and subordinate spirits: ‘by your kings, and by all your royal powers; by Sotuem [and] Sortfen; by your Sun, a most holy and sacred radiant treasure, bright and shining, which your excellence sends forth and which your manifest and benign power sends back; and by all your dignities and commands’ (no. 41).

A conjuration from the supplementary material in Clm 849 commands the demons by virtue of two biblical analogies:

O you demons, and all princes and every kind of demons, whom your guilt cast out from heaven on high, I adjure you and order you to obey my command and my precepts. Just as God commanded the Jordan and it stood still that the children of Israel might walk across without hindrance, so to I command you to obey my precepts day and night, at all hours and moments, [and be subject] to my precepts. Just as the Red Sea obeyed Moses and Aaron when it divided and presented a dry path for the children of Israel, so by invocation of Our Lord Jesus Christ I command you to obey me without delay, without harm or deception to me or any living thing . . .

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, too, uses analogies in some of its conjurations: as Christ was ‘fixed’ to the cross by the Jews, so may the aerial spirits be ‘fixed’ by the power of the holy names; as the almighty Father (sic!) lay in the tomb for two days and arose on the third day, so may the aerial spirits rise up and come forth; may the master proceed securely along his way, as Jesus proceeded through the midst of his enemies and none of them laid a hand on him because his hour had not come. These formulas are similar in form to invocations, and presumably the intended force is the same: the purpose of the analogy is presumably not only to clarify what the conjurer intends (in which case it would be ancillary to the instruction) but to call upon the power of the sacred event that is recalled.

THE INSTRUCTION

The part of the conjuration directing the addressee what to do is typically introduced with the conjunction meaning ‘that’ (ut, or sometimes quatemus, more rarely quad). The formula of instruction may be repeated once, twice, or more
often (in one conjuration for experiment no. 39 as many as ten times), in which case the manuscript may give the full version only the first time and only the incipit for subsequent occurrences.\textsuperscript{38} Necromantic texts sometimes speak of ‘obediencial conjurations’, intended to compel the spirits’ submission; ‘bonds’ or binding conjurations such as the ‘bond of Solomon’ (\textit{vinculum Solomonis}), used in the Munich handbook’s divinatory experiments to keep the spirits from departing until they have answered all questions;\textsuperscript{39} and ‘licencial conjurations’, dismissing the spirits and requiring them to return at the magician’s will.\textsuperscript{40} The conjurations found in the Munich handbook, however, can most usefully be divided into ‘summoning conjurations’ and ‘executing conjurations’.

Summoning conjurations are used to instruct a spirit or spirits to come before the necromancer (‘that you come in a benign form’, ‘that you should come to me’, ‘that you should have no rest until you come to me’, ‘that you should at once proceed here’, or ‘that you should be compelled to come here’).\textsuperscript{41} They may be commanded to appear in a reflecting surface as part of a divinatory experiment (‘that you should all appear’) or to send another spirit or spirits for that purpose (‘that you should command your master that he himself should come’, ‘that you should take pains to send one of your subordinates’, ‘that you should send me a certain spirit’, ‘that you should have your subordinates come here’, ‘that you, N., should make spirit N. come to me’).\textsuperscript{42}

Executing conjurations, which require the spirit or spirits to carry out the will of the master, are more varied in proportion to the various purposes of the experiments. In psychological experiments the spirits are enjoined to affect the minds and hearts of the individuals singled out as victims (‘that you should sow and stir up hatred between them’, ‘that you should seduce the heart and mind of N. to my love’, ‘that you should never have rest until you make her heart burn with my love’).\textsuperscript{43} In divinatory experiments involving a young boy as medium, either the master or the boy may conjure the father of lies or his minions to tell the truth, or the master may conjure the boy himself to do so (‘that you should relate to us whatever you see’, ‘that you should tell me the truth’, ‘that you should show me the truth’, ‘that you should have no rest unless you reveal to this boy the theft’).\textsuperscript{44} The spirits may be instructed to make possible the conditions for the bestowal of information – to enlighten the boy’s mind, or to cause his fingernail to grow bright and appear large.\textsuperscript{45} These conjurations may even involve the explicit insistence that the spirit or the child not lie, nor even have the power to conceal or deceive (‘that you should have no power of concealing, but should manifest all that you see’).\textsuperscript{46} The spirits may be conjured to entrust a treasure to the master (‘that you should leave me a treasure’), to fetch and replace a woman (‘that you should go to so-and-so and immediately fetch her here, and return her when I wish’), to guard some object, not to harm the master in the course of the experiment (‘that you should have no power to harm me’), to protect the master (‘that you should forthwith have these terrors
removed', 'that you should avenge me against him who is trying to harm me'), or to obey the master's command generally ('that you should obey my command').47 The child medium may be conjured not only to tell the truth but, at an earlier stage, to gaze into his fingernail ('that you should gaze into [your] nail and see whether it becomes bright or not').48

In some conjurations, to be sure, the distinction between summons and execution breaks down. In divinatory experiments the spirits may be simultaneously commanded to come, to make themselves seen, and to provide information ('that you should appear to me and give true responses', 'that you should come and appear and tell me the truth', 'that you should come and appear and reveal this to us', 'that you should appear and respond and reveal all the truth', 'that you should appear and reveal to us the truth', 'that you should come and answer me and tell the truth').49 Elsewhere they may told to come and bring an object ('that you should come to me, bringing a consecrated ring'), to come and transport the necromancer ('that you should come to me without delay, and carry me to such-and-such a place'), to come and consecrate an object ('that you should come here and consecrate this ring'), or simply to come and fulfill the master's will ('that you should come to me and carry out my entire will').50

Executing conjurations need not be addressed to the spirits by whose power the operation is done. Experiment no. 12 contains two instructions to the woman whose passionate love is required, although the second of these vacillates between the second and the third person: 'that you should be unable to sleep until you complete my libidinous desire' and 'that, as the hart longs for the fountain of water [Ps. 42:2 Vult.], so you, N., should long for my love; and as the raven longs for the carcasses of dead people, so you should long for me [sic!]; and as this wax melts before the fire, so you, N., should long for my love, so that you are unable . . . ' In experiment no. 11, for a cloak of invisibility, the master conjures the cloak itself 'that no one may be able to see me'. In the simple experiments to obtain a horse, as in the complex experiment to procure a flying throne, the master conjures the horse or the throne to transport him, usually to a specified location ('that you should carry me', 'that you should lead me to such-and-such a place').51

A BOND OF SATAN OR MIRAGE

One lengthy conjuration appears both in the Munich necromancer's handbook (no. 32) and again twice in the appended material; versions of it by three different hands are thus included in Clm 849.52 The two isolated versions, which agree quite closely in their wording, are addressed to the demon (or 'ancient serpent') named Mirage; the version incorporated into the manual, which differs markedly from these at many points, addresses the Devil, or Satan, 'most wicked enemy of the faith, death of the human race, tempter of righteousness, lover of evils, root
and kindling of vices, seducer of humans, and master', 'most wicked dragon', 'accursed and most mendacious spirit' and 'author of diabolical power, inventor of evils'. The conjuration begins anomalously with a statement regarding the powers being brought to bear against the Devil ('may the angels and archangels accuse you... may the elect of God accuse you'), followed by a prayer for divine aid ('God... I invoke your holy name... I humbly implore that you may deign to give me aid against this spirit Satan'). These elements are followed by simply commands addressed to the spirit himself ('Hear, therefore, Devil... come forth... I adjure you... to be subject to my commands and carry them out'). The instructions are for the most part purely generic: 'I adjure you... to do quickly whatever I command you', or 'to do quickly whatever I order and command of you', or 'I adjure and constrain and command you... to obey me without any impediment or harm or wound or affliction to my body or soul'. At the end, however, the instruction is specific but allows for such variation that the effect is still to make this a generic conjuration, for virtually any purpose:

[Come] to me in this hour, without any harm or injury or affliction to my soul or my body, or send another [spirit] or have him come, who will know perfectly how to fulfill my every desire, and will not withdraw from me until I have given him leave and he has fully satisfied my will. I conjure you by all that is written above to make a spirit come to me carrying gold and silver [coins] and [hidden] treasures, before I withdraw from this place. And as often as I invoke him, let him appear at once, benign and humble, harming no one, and ministering to me in all things, and fulfilling my will. So be it, so be it, amen. And bring or send me a spirit willing and competent in all knowledge. May he have the power to make me invisible whenever I wish. And let him please me, and be always under my power. And provide him also with the power to consecrate books and experiments, and everything that I wish. Amen, amen, amen.

Repeatedly the will of the conjuror is identified with that of God: the spirit is told that God himself commands him, or that the conjuror does so not by his own power but by that of God, or 'by the power which I have over you, Mirage, given me by God almighty in baptism and the other sacraments'. At one point the conjuration reads, 'The Word made flesh commands you. He who was born of the virgin commands you, Jesus of Nazareth commands you, He who created you commands you to carry out quickly what I ask or wish to have from you or desire to know; the more you delay in doing what I command you, the greater will be your punishment from day to day.' The reminder of the punishment awaiting the spirit on the Day of Judgement, and the threat of heightened torment as a penalty for disobedience, is also repeated - somewhat as elsewhere (no. 2) a spirit is threatened with being cast forever into the depths of the sea.53
The conjuration of Mirage, from the supplementary material in the codex, is followed by material that the main block does not take over: a set of instructions for constructing a circle in a secret location, with various prayers, and supplementary conjurations in which Mirage is threatened with intensified pains if he does not present himself: 'If not, I exorcize you that the chains of your punishment may be rife with sulphur and pitch.' The spirit is to be conjured a second and third time, if necessary, but no more.

EXORCISMS AND CONJURATIONS

Adolf Franz published a lengthy formula of exorcism taken from a West Frankish manuscript of the ninth century, which reads in part:

... I conjure you, Devil, Satan, Enemy;
  • by God the Father almighty;
  • and by those virtues which the Lord himself made and makes;
  • by those angels he has before himself in [his] mind; ... 
  • by those four animals which uphold the world itself;
  • by every good creation that God has made in heaven and on earth;
  • and by the light and the earth and all its creeping things;

by all these things I conjure you that you should not have power to remain, for he commands you who ordered you to be cast down from the kingdom of heaven on high. Hear, therefore, and be afraid [Audi ergo et time ergo], Devil, Satan, Enemy; you are banned, and again I speak to you and conjure you
  • by that king who rules and commands all things...

Again I have said to you, O infernal enemies, by all things that I have had in mind for you [in] so great a conjuration as this, that you should not have power to remain or to do harm or to rebel. ... I exorcize you, O accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent ... that you should go out from this temple of God ... I exorcize you, O unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power. ... In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ I adjure you, O enemy ... I conjure you and entreat [obtestor] you, O enemy, [that] you should not have power to remain here in this person's soul or body ... I adjure you
  • by the gates of Paradise;
  • by the six golden candlesticks [Apoc 1:12] ...

I speak to you in truth, O unclean spirit, dragon, I adjure you,
  • by the Holy Spirit;
  • I adjure you by the six fiery furnaces;
  • I adjure you by the cherubim and seraphim;
  • I adjure you by the wings of the winds;
• I adjure you by the mystery of Christ’s [passion];
• I adjure you by the resurrection of Christ the Lord;
• I adjure you by the precious pearls:
• I adjure you by the years [and] by the days;
• I adjure you by the passion of the saints;
• I adjure you by him who who freed the people Israel from the Red Sea, who freed Daniel from the lion’s den, who illumined the blind, healed the paralytics, [and] cleansed the lepers.

I adjure you now by him, O enemy, unclean one, inveterate dragon, [that] you should depart from the soul and withdraw from the body or from all the inward parts of [this] servant of God . . .

It is not I who command you, nor my sins, O most unclean spirit, but the immaculate lamb, Jesus Christ Our Lord, the Son of God, commands you.

The angels press upon [urgent] you, the archangels press upon you, the prophets press upon you, the apostles press upon you, the martyrs press upon you, the confessors press upon you. Therefore may the arts of the Devil fail [deficiant ergo artes diabol.] by day [and] by night . . .

I exorcize you, O author of diabolical power, inventor of malice . . .56

The essential elements of this formula are exactly those seen in necromantic conjurations of a much later era. There are, to be sure, distinctive embellishments. First, the devil being expelled is not only named (Devil, Satan, Enemy) but characterized: he is the ‘accursed one, most unclean spirit, basilisk dragon, noxious serpent’, or the ‘unclean spirit, author of sins, deceiver of souls, envious one, insatiable homicide who endeavoured to kill the immortal man whom God created by his power’, and as the ‘author of diabolical power, the inventor of malice’. and so forth. Second, he is expelled from the energumen’s body as well as his soul. Third, it is expressly said not merely that the exorcist commands in the name of Christ (as in Acts 16:18) but that Christ himself is the one who commands, even if through the exorcist. Fourth, various sacred figures are represented as participating in the exorcist’s struggle with the malign spirit: the angels, archangels, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors all place pressure upon the possessing devil (urgent, for urgent), or denote him (reading urgent). And fifth, the second-person address is interrupted with a third-person subjunctive urging that the Devil’s arts or snares may come to naught. The essential structure of the formula remains unaffected by these elements, but the network of relations is rendered more complex. The exorcist insults the spirit with whom he is engaged in struggle, identifies his own action as that of Christ, and calls upon the angels and saints not simply as possessors of power that can be tapped through invocation but as active participants in the contest. The representation of the exorcism as a cosmic combat, perhaps a local instance of that apocalyptic conflict that Christ initiated in his own exorcisms and carried
forward in his passion and resurrection, here becomes exceptionally dramatic and explicit.

As already indicated, the conjurations of the necromancer are identical in form to the exorcisms designed to dispel demons. The resemblance may be seen in a manual for exorcizing the possessed that was printed several times in the late fifteenth century went by the title The Conjunction of Malign Spirits Dwelling in the Bodies of People, as it is Done in Saint Peter.52 The simplest form of exorcism used here is simply, 'I exorcize you, unclean spirit, in the name of God the Father almighty * and in the name of Jesus Christ his Son * and by the power of the Holy Spirit * that you should recede from this servant of God, N.' Like the conjurations of exorcists, however, the formulas used here become extended through repetition of the instruction and through numerous invocations:

I conjure you, O Devil, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the patriarchs and prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the holy men and holy women of God . . . and by our Lord Jesus Christ I conjure you, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he endured for the human race, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the holy cross on which our Lord [died for] the servant of God, N., that you should not be able to conceal yourself in his body, nor in his members, nor in his head. I conjure you, Devil, by the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which his hands and feet were affixed to the cross, that you should withdraw from this servant of God, N., that you not be able to conceal yourself in his mouth or head. I conjure you, Devil, by the lance that Longinus held, by which he pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, and blood and water flowed out, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his throat or on his tongue or under his tongue, or in his other members. I conjure you, Devil, by the death and burial of Christ, from which he rose from the dead on the third day, that you not be able to conceal yourself in his bowels or inward parts. I conjure you, Devil, by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he appeared to his disciples, saying, 'It is I, do not be afraid,' and he commanded them, saying, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; he who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who does not believe will be condemned'; by the aforesaid words I conjure and admonish you that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, O Devil, by the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you should recede from this servant of God, N. I conjure you, Devil, by the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete most high, whom our Lord Jesus entrusted to his disciples in fiery tongues, that you should recede from this servant of God, N., and not return any more, nor make any [spirit] return to him, and as God separated
heaven from earth, truth from falsehood, good from evil, sweet from bitter, so may you be separated from this servant of God and not be able to approach him any more . . .

The exorcist claims directly the authority of Christ, proclaiming that Christ himself commands the spirit to withdraw:

He commands you, accursed devil, who walked on the sea with dry feet. . . .
He commands you, accursed devil, who commanded the winds and the sea and the storms. He commands you, accursed devil, who ordered that you be cast from the heights of heaven to the depths of Earth. . . .

He further threatens the spirit by reminding him of the punishments prepared for him: 'Nor should you be unaware. Satan and Belzebuth, that pains and torments will come upon you in the day of judgement and in that eternal day when God will come like a fiery furnace to judge the living and the dead. . . .' Not only the general structure of the formulas but even the precise wording echoes the conjurations of the Munich handbook and other necromantic texts. At one point, for example, the manual for dispelling a demon parallels the conjuration of Mirage:

You, therefore, most evil spirit, enemy of humankind, death's plunderer [raptor], evader of justice [justitie declinator], root of evils, font of vices, seducer of humans [deductor hominum] . . . master of demons . . .

You, therefore, most evil Mirage, enemy of the faith of humankind, inventor [reptor] of death, herald of injustice [iniusticie declarator], root of evils, inciter of vices, seducer of humans [seductor hominis], master of demons . . .

Unlike the rite in this oft-published work, the exorcism of elves and other 'demons' from a fifteenth-century medico-magical manuscript makes no pretence of official status, yet it is identical in its basic form to other exorcisms and conjurations:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I conjure you, elves and all kinds of demons, of the night or of the day, by the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the undivided Trinity, and by the intercessions of the most blessed and glorious ever virgin Mary, by the prayers of the prophets, by the merits of the patriarchs, by the intercessions [suffragia] of the angels and archangels, by the intervention of the apostles, by the passion of the martyrs, by the faith of the confessors, by the chastity of the virgins, and by the intercession of all the saints, and by the Seven Sleepers, whose names are Malchus, Maximian, Dionysius, John, Constantine,
Serapion, [and] Mortian [MS Martimanus], and by the name of the Lord God which is blessed forever *A*G*L*A*, that you should cause or inflict no harm or any evil on this servant of God, N., whether in sleep or while awake. *Christ has conquered [sic] *Christ reigns *Christ rules *may Christ bless us *[and] defend us from every evil. *Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. * In my name they will cast out demons, they will speak with new tongues, they will take up serpents, and if they drink any poison it will not harm them, [and] they will put their hands on the sick and will cure them. * Wondrous cross, dispeller of sorrow, recovery of health. * Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, adverse ones [*partes adverse*]. * The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered, the root of David has sprouted [*allam?*]. * Christ conquers * Christ reigns * Christ rules * may Christ defend this servant of God from every fantasy and every vexation of the Devil, and from every evil, at every hour and everywhere, by the power of the holy cross * Amen * agios * hyskyros * athanathos * eleyson *.

The same may be said of an exorcism of 'malignant spirits' found in the same manuscript:

Hear, O accursed Satan, I adjure you by the name of the eternal God and of Our saviour, His Son Jesus Christ. Depart, trembling and sighing, overcome with your envy. Let there be nothing in common between you and your angels and the servant of God, N. Do not harm him or appear visibly before him, in his sleep or while he is awake. Again I conjure you demons or malignant spirits, whoever you are, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ on the cross, and by his bloody wounds. Again I conjure you by the death of Jesus Christ on the cross and the giving up of his spirit, which descended into hell and despoiled it, that now and henceforth you should always flee from this servant of God, N., and never enter into him, but go out and withdraw from him. Again I conjure you by the power of the words written here, if thou are or ye are within him, that thou shouldst or ye should (if you are many) go out from him, so that he may have no terror or disturbance from henceforth. This compels you: may the Word made flesh * the holy cross of Christ, the nails, [and] the crown of thorns drenched in the blood of the Lamb of God on the cross save him, defend the bearer here and everywhere from every adversity and perversity of the Devil. In the name of the Father, etc.

In exorcisms the boundary between mainstream tradition and deviant usage is difficult to define with precision, but the extreme cases are easy enough to determine. One late medieval manuscript requires that the energumen be laid before an altar after mass, inside a chalk diagram, with three stoles binding his
body; another requires that the possessed person be dressed in a chasuble and
stole and made to lie on his back, with feet turned toward the altar, while the
exorcist recites a ritual bond (vinculum) to control the evil spirits by the power of
various divine names. When Niccolò Consigli was tried at Florence in 1384,
for example, he was accused not only of summoning demons to work harm but
also of exorcizing the possessed and thus usurping clerical prerogatives. When a
ten-year-old girl was brought to him he cured her of possession by laying her
on a rug, and intoning a diabolical incantation that began ‘Tant muructa?
tiri?’\footnote{In comparison, the exorcisms cited above share their basic form (from
declaration through instruction) with the necromantic conjurations we have
examined, and they all rest on the mainstream theological assumption that the
will of the demons can be constrained, with God’s permission and aid, and
through the power of the sacred. The necromancers shared with fully official
exorcists a belief in the power of the holy to command and ultimately constrain
the unclean spirits. Following a suggestion of Lynn White, André Goddu has sought to explain what
he sees as the ‘failure of exorcism’ in the fifteenth century largely in terms of a
heightened consciousness of the possibility that exorcism may be ineffective. Faced
with these diminished expectations, theologians began to argue that exorcism was
indeed effective on the spiritual plane even if residual bodily effects remained.
Alternatively, one could fall back on the time-honoured notion that if exorcism did
not succeed then \textit{prima facie} the condition was not truly one of demonic
possession.\footnote{Interesting as his argument is, it rests upon the questionable
assumption that the use of exorcism in fact declined. What Goddu shows is that in
the October volumes of the \textit{Acta sanctorum} there is diminished occurrence of
exorcism in materials from the fifteenth century. But he seems to be referring
mainly not to actual exorcisms performed by saints while they were alive, but
rather expulsion of demons worked at the tombs of deceased saints, which have
indirect relevance at most to the study of exorcism. More compelling is the
suggestion of Nancy Caciola, that precisely in the fifteenth century there was
\textit{increasing} interest in exorcism as a quasi-liturgical ritual, and that extensive manuals
on exorcism, with formulas and instructions for its use, are chiefly the produce of
this century. To be sure, there were lengthy formulas in earlier eras, mainly derived
from baptismal exorcisms, but before the fifteenth century exorcisms tended to be
more concise, and the techniques in large measure improvised. The Munich
handbook was thus riding on the crest of a new development: what it represents is a
particular version (or, from an orthodox perspective, perversion) of a more general
interest in the elaboration and assembly of materials for the commanding of malign
spirits. Once again we can see conjuration as the reverse side of a tapestry whose
obverse consists of orthodox exorcism – both taking on new significance, as it
happens, at the same time that literal tapestries were becoming more significant
and more elaborate in European artistic practice.}
Notes

1 A.G. Little, ed., Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicatorum, saeculo XIII compositus a quodam Fratre Minor Anglici de provinicia Hiberniae, secundum codicem Dunelmensem editus (Aberdeen: Typis Academica, 1908), 22. Barbara Newman, who is working on the theme of demon-preachers in and around the thirteenth century, called this text to my attention.

2 See Richard P.H. Greenfield, Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988): 277, on texts in which it appears that God is being commanded or conjured.


4 See the curse directed against thieves in the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, folis 121r–121v: Obscurantur omni errore et errante et domum errando semper incursum. Irrumpet super eos formulito et panem in magnum dominum becajij tam. Dant immobiles quasi lapsos, damnum perpetuum populos tuos, domine, damnum perpetuum [sic] populos tuos [sic] e se quum possedisti, etc. . . . (Cf. 124r–124v.)

5 In the Vulgate, Song of Songs 2:7, Adiuvum vos, fili mei Hierosolymam, per caperes corrovae comorum, ne suscitetis neque irigilias faciantis dilectam.


7 Charles Plummer, ed., Vitae sanctorum Hiberniarum, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 143: illa bestia fugata ad persequantur s se vocis humanae dixit: 'Adiuvus te in nomine Brigidis, virginis Hibernensis, ut me demittat.'

8 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', English Historical Review, 37 (1922), 413–22 (no. 3). On these cases see Jean-Claude Schmitt, Les revenants: les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 168–73.


10 Rawl. 19r–20r, 124v; 139r–142r, 151v; 155r–156r; 148r–149r; 153r.


13 See Iohannes de Francosforid, Questast, utram postestas coherendis demonis fieri possit per carceres, figuras etque horrendas prolationes (1412), in Joseph Hansu, ed., Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter (Bonn: Georgy, 1908; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82. See also the conclusions of the Paris theologians, from 1398, in Jean Gerson, Œuvres complètes, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: Descle, 1961–73), vol. 10, p. 89: article 17 condemns the belief 'That by such arts demons are truly coerced and compelled and do not feign such compulsion to seduce people'.

14 Pecipio robi occurs six times (e.g., no. 38 and no. 39); adiuvo vos/tu twice; exercite te, roco vos, invoco vos, and absolvos vos also occur.

15 Te invoco et adiuvo (no. 14); coniuro vos et pecipio robi (no. 39).

16 No. 27 (five times in a single conjuration), no. 39 (eleven times).

17 No. 12 (coniuro... coniuro te... coniuro vos et exercite vos [et] impereo robi); no. 39 (coniuro vos...
coniero et contestor vos . . . adiiso vos followed by eight more occurrences of coniero vos); no. 8 (vos coniero et exercito, et pruncio vos . . . coniero vos . . . coniero vos et impreso atque precipe nobis . . . vos adiiso); no. 15 (vos potenter invoco . . . vos invoco et coniero potenter et exercito . . . vos invoco et coniero et exercito et constringo); no. 33 (vos exercito amate impetumus . . . exercizio amate veritatem impetumus); no. 11 (invoco vos ex parte Postis, pruncio vos ex parte Fatu, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti). Further examples: coniero vos et adiiso, followed by coniero vos twice; coniero vos six times, followed by precipe nobis; vos exercito et coniero . . . coniero vos; vos coniero et exercito et invoco . . . coniero vos . . . coniero vos et exercito, vos coniero . . . coniero vos . . . precipe nobis; nobis precipe . . . precipe nobis; coniero vos . . . precipe nobis; nobis impereo et precipe et coniero . . . coniero vos.

18 No. 1 (supplico nobis and te depricor); no. 4 (re depricero, nobis suppleleo, nos requiro); no. 22 (te depricor); no. 23 (te exprimunt); no. 24 (rego . . . rego vos); no. 29 (te depricor); no. 41 (preco te . . . racoe et contestor and preces, rego, et peto).

19 E.g., no. 6 (rego vos, coniero et adiiso). no. 15 uses the forms coniero et constriego te; te invoco, coniero, et constriego, and te invoco et coniero et constriego.

20 Both from no. 10; the latter reads Cumiero vos, omnes demones scriptores in hoc eamula.

21 No. 39 and no. 40.

22 No. 23.

23 In no. 27 he is addressed several times by that designation and also as simply rego or infimus.

24 Nos 4 (ignea), 11 (cappe), 24 (O vos sanctissima nomina). no. 40 addresses Jasper, Baldisseri, Melchior, Simeon, Emmanuel, et deus fortis, but this appears to be a mistake; these names should appear in invocations rather than in an address.

25 Addressed as aquae bone in nos 17 and 43.

26 A conjuration in experiment no. 38 has thirty-four, one in no. 40 has forty-six, one in no. 33 has forty-nine, and one in no. 39 has fifty-eight.


29 Nos 1, 10, 13, 14 (where it is called the nomen altissimum), 25, 27, 28, 33 (where it is said to have been used by Abraham) and 35. On the Jewish background for magical use of the divine name see K. Kohler. 'The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'Yorash) and its uses', Journal of Jewish Law and Philosophy, l (1919), 19-32.

30 Compare the wording of the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fol 87v-89v.

31 Nos 33 (AGLA); 39 (Theos); 28 (Yschiro); 28 and 33 (Athanatos); 28 (Eleyson); 14, 23, 27, 28, 33 (On); 25 (Hon); 28, 55 (Pancraton); 39 (Panthocrathor). One of the more extraordinary invocations is per legem legem et per spon sopranum et per kuriatem kuriatim in (no. 14), presumably an adaptation or garbling of the three theological virtues.


33 On the lore of Virgil see Domenico Comparretti, Virgil in the Middle Ages, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), and J.W. Sparrow, Virgil the Necromancer (Cambridge, MA, 1934).

35  E.g., no. 20.
36  Fols 141r–141v.
37  Rawl. MS D 252, fols 16v–17v, 72r–72v.
38  E.g., nos 27, 35, 40.
39  No. 25, et non recedatis . . . quomque certificatis fuerimus de omni re dubitabili; no. 27, et non habebitis licenciam recedendi . . . donor . . . michi dicatis . . . veritatem, et ut non habebitis potestatem recedendi . . . donor . . . mense voluntatem adimpleneritis, et ut virtute talum recipias quod quomque fueris ligata, ipsi spiritus non habebitis potestatem recedendi quomque velle ligatoris perficiant. They may also be used to ensure that the spirits will repeat the desired effect on later occasions, as the master’s will (no. 9, ut tumere nos debantis et predictum eumquam semper ad me venire cogetis). The term ‘bond’ (hoc vinculum est legendum) occurs in no. 33.
40  E.g., Rawlinson D 252, 4v–43v (confessio obedientiae) and 12r, 14v, and 36v (confessio licenciae).
41  Nos 1, 6, 8, and 9. Also nos 7 and 9, quatemus . . . ad me venire debantis, and ut hic venire debant; and no. 11, quatemus . . . hac omni debant.
42  Nos 1, 6, and 13. Also no. 24, et mittatis . . . angulos . . . qui dicant michi veritatem; no. 27, et . . . vadas pro regis tuo et facias exim censere, no. 38, et restrum vinas . . . censit et iste tuum passit eum . . . videre; no. 41, ut michi spiritum veritatis . . . mettere digneris.
43  Nos 5, 13, and 35. Also no. 2, et uatis . . . et relinquatur talum in statu priori, and ut . . . [salem] personam . . . circuitus, et sensus eius . . . affligatis; no. 4, ut . . . ipsum [?] sustinat me taliter algertis, et me . . . reverber; and no. 5, quatemus . . . odiam . . . invenias.
44  Nos 22, 24, 27, and 38. Also no. 38, ut michi sitis obedientes et isto puero . . . quondam est . . . dicatis, and no. 39, quond . . . aestimandas et dicatis hacis puero . . . obi acceptum nel reconditum sit hoc fortunum.
45  No. 22, quatemus isti puero tribuas scientiam et intellectum, et michi veritatem auctioritatem, no. 29, illuminam istius puerti cor [et] mentem, et fac ut michi veritatem . . . dicat . . . et [?] indicet omnia, and ut isti puero tribuas scientiam et intellectum, et michi veritatem . . . dicat; no. 38, et . . . iste puero . . . passit videre fuero eum fortum; no. 39, quond ubiis detis auctoritatem hacis puero . . . audiendi, interrogandi, et reduci, et ut . . . anguem huinas puerti . . . crescer et clarerescere faciatis . . . ut appareas passit . . . et videre in eo fuero et fortuna; no. 40, ut . . . faciatis anguem istius puerti . . . crescer et clarerescere . . . quond iste puero . . . in eo videre passit fuero ut fuere et fortuna.
46  No. 27.
47  Nos 33, 3, 43, 15, 39, 40.
48  No. 27; cf. no. 22.
49  Nos 23, 27, 28, 29, 33.
50  Nos 10, 15, 10, 39.
51  Nos 14, 13, 17, and 43.
52  The conjuration on fols 59v–69v is abbreviated; the full text is given on fols 109r–118r and 139r–146r. Compare the conjuration in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 252, fols 24r–29r.
54  Fols 115v and 144r, Aliquando exercicie ut tu cathena penales tuæ secundantur [or, on 144r, perhaps secundantur] sulphure et poce.
55  Fols 111v–118r and 141r–146r.
56  Adolf Franz, Der kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter. 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 587–96.
57 Coniuratio malignorum spirituum in corporibus hominum existentiam proui in Sancto Petro (Rome: Stephan Plannck, ca. 1492; also Rome: Eucharius Silber, ca. 1495, and other editions).

58 Clm 849, fola 109r–109v: 139v.

59 British Library, MS Sloane 962, fola 9v–10r: In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. Coniuro vos elua sen omnia generis demonum nocturna sine diurna per patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum, atque individuum trinitatem, et per intercessionem benedictissimae et gloriosse sempiternae virginis Marie, per omnes sanctas martyres, et per intercessionem apostolorum, et per passionem martyrum, per fidem confessorum, per castitatem virginis, et per intercessionem omnium sanctorum, et per septem dormientes, hos quorum nomina sunt hic: Malchus, Maximianus, Dionissius, Iohannes, Constantinus,Scrophian, Martimannus, et per nomen domini dei quod est benedictum in secula A G L A et non noceras neque aliquali mali faciatis vel infernis huius saeculi dei N. neque dormiendo neque vigilando. *Christus nescit* [sic] *Christus regnat* *Christi imperat* *Christus nos benedicit* [et] *et ab omni malo defendant* *Amen. In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, amen. In nomine meo demoni sicis, linguis loquentes nolitis, serpentes tollentes, et si mortiferum quid hiberint non eis nocet, super egress manos imponentes et bene habebant. *Crux admirabilis, exsuscito doloris, restitutio sanitatis. Ecce crucem domini, fugaque partes [sic?] adversis. Visi in lev de tribu judae, radix David [Apoc 5:5] alam [sic?]. *Christus elicit* *Christus regnat* *Christus imperat* *Christus hunc sanctum dei N. ab omni fantasia et ab omni vexatione diaboli et ab omni malo omni hora et obique per virtutem sancte crucis defendant* *Amen* *agias* *helysyrus* *athanathas* *eleison* [sic].

60 Fol. 10r: Centra malignos spiritus. Anthi maleficae Sathanus, adiuro te per nomen eterni dei et saluatoris nostri filii eius Iesu Christi, cum tua eictus indigia, tremens et genetique, discede. Nichiili ibi neque angelus tuis sit commune cum famulo dei N., neque noceras ei, neque apparas coram illa visibilitat, compremode neque vigilando, et iterum coniuro vos demones sine spiritus malignos, quicquaque sitis, per aspersionem sanctissimae Iesu Christi in cruce, et eius umbra cruentata. Et iterum coniuro vos per mortem Iesu Christi in cruce et spiritum emissionem, qui ad inferum descendit et ibam spoliavit, ut menas et a modo semper fugiatis ab hoc famulo dei N. et nonquam in eum introitus sed exaltatis et redeatis ab eo. Et iterum coniuro vos per virtutem verborum istarum infrascriptorum hic [MS hie?], si infra eum sis vel sitis, et exas sol exaltatis, si places sitis, ab illo et nullum a modo habet terrorem nec vexationem. Hoc vos rogat, verbum caro factum *crux Christi sancta* [MS sancta or sancte], clausa, corona spinae in sanguine agni dei in cruce perfusa, salutem et, defendance hic et obique ferentem [sic] iata ab omni adversitate diaboli et perversa. In nomine patris, etc.

61 Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, 2, p. 573.


64 Nancy Caciola, 'Discerning Spirits: Sanctity and Possession in the Later Middle Ages' (University of Michigan dissertation, 1994), Ch. V: 'Exorcism from spectacle to ritual'.
DEMONS AND DAIMONS:
THE SPIRITS CONJURED

In his recent study of late Byzantine demonology, Richard Greenfield distinguishes between a 'standard orthodox' tradition of demonology and 'alternative' traditions. The former sees demons as immaterial, as ranked under a single chief (Satan, the Devil), and as acting only with God's permission or through illusion (which they use because, weakened by Christ, they must dupe humans into believing they still wield power). The latter ascribe some degree of materiality to them, classify them in various hierarchies with multiple leaders, and ascribe some power to the demons themselves. Greenfield says that in the alternative traditions, 'it is always assumed that the demons are free to obey the practitioner or are capable of doing what he wants as long as sufficient or coercion is provided. There is no suggestion that they can only do so if allowed to by God for the ends of divine providence or economy; the state of affairs required by standard belief – indeed, many of the purposes for which they are employed would seem to be most inappropriate, if not actually contradictory to normal Christian concepts of God's purposes.' Greenfield does not mean to suggest a clear or sharp dichotomy, but rather a strong difference in tendency between the theological purists and those with alternative and at least implicitly non-orthodox views.

With perhaps some differences in nuance, one can make the same rough distinction for the later medieval West as well, and some if not all of the specific contrasts that Greenfield isolates would apply in the West. Most fundamentally, one can discern – in the Munich manuscript, as in Western magic generally – a tension between the early Christian notion of demons as fallen angels, whose status is determined by their free moral act of rebellion against God, and the Graeco-Roman conception of daimones (or daemones in Latin) as spirits linked with the world of nature, whose status is fixed by their natural position within the hierarchy of beings. Apuleius's De deo Socratis remained long influential in Christian tradition, despite its incongruence with the notion of demons as fallen angels; for Apuleius, daemones were rational beings whose natural sphere was the sublunary air, just as gods and humans are rational beings residing in the ether and on earth respectively. They are not naturally evil, but may be either good or evil. The conjurations of late medieval necromancers, resembling as they do the exorcisms intended for the possessed, presuppose that the spirits in question are the same sort of fallen ones that Christ expelled from the enigmens of first-century Palestine. But intermingled with references to such manifestly maleficent
beings are notions of benign or neutral spirits, neither angels nor demons in
classical Christian terms, a category not recognized in the orthodox theology of
the late Middle Ages. One might thus say that the conjurations betray a tension
between ‘demonology’ and what we might call ‘daemonology’.

Theologians as well as necromancers believed that the demons held various
ranks, in a kind of hierarchy that parodied that of God’s heavenly court, or rather
a ‘Lowerarchy’, as C.S. Lewis called it. The notion of a demonic hierarchy, with
a multiplicity of named and ranked spirits, stems chiefly from the Neoplatonists,
and above all Iamblichus, Proclus, drawing on Iamblichus’s elaborate
categorization, spoke of daimones as ruling the fire, the air, the water, the earth
and the underground region; to this system Psellus added lucifugues (or light-
 fleeing) demons, and Johannes Trithemius lent the weight of his authority to this
system. The basic notion became part of mainstream theological tradition: that
demons are organized into an infernal parody of the celestial hierarchy is an
assumption that the Malleus maleficarum shared with Thomas Aquinas. For the
later medieval West, at least, one thus cannot speak of such conceptions as part of
an alternative tradition, although it is true that a fascination with the details of
the infernal hierarchy was left to the fringes of the theological community.

Altogether 189 spirits are addressed by name in the Munich handbook’s
conjurations, of whom 88 are referred to expressly as demons. Further
specification is common: ‘malign demons’; ‘most inimical spirits’; ‘all hateful and
malign, invidious and discordant demons’; ‘arms-bearing [or squire] spirits,
whose role it is to bear arms and . . . deceive human senses’; ‘spirits who dwell in
the water [and] endanger ships’; ‘spirits who attend to sinners’; ‘infernal spirits’;
‘fornicator, tempter, seducer, possessor of humans’. In short, the compiler of this
manual was far from squeamish about invoking clearly and explicitly fallen
angels.

The conjurations of the Munich handbook sometimes refer to demons by their
rank in the infernal hierarchy: five are ‘princes of the demons’; three are
powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits; Bartha is a king; Baltim, Galtim,
and Saltim are dukes; Belial is ‘foremost prince’; seven demons are ‘subjects’ of
Lytim. On rare occasion the spirits referred to in the Munich handbook are
clearly conceived as unfallen—a claim that would elicit skepticism from orthodox
authorities. Experiments no. 24 and no. 25 both refer to ‘angels’, and in other
cases as well the characterizations could be taken as implying unfallen angels:
‘most benign spirits, who sow concord’; ‘most pleasant, happy, joyful spirits’;
‘powerful, magnificent, and illustrious spirits, in whom I place full trust’. In two
experiments the spirit addressed is named Orient, and in both cases he is
explicitly conceived as a benevolent figure: he is addressed, ‘O most high and
benign king Orient’, ‘O benign Orient, maker of the greater part of the world,
heaven, and earth, at whose command all things on heaven and on earth were
wisely made’. It would be hazardous to posit a direct connection here with the
goddess-figure Oriente said to have been venerated in the territory of Milan in the late fourteenth century, but in both cases the traditional medieval primacy of the direction east obviously lies behind the construction of a chief deity. In several experiments God himself is addressed: 'God, creator of all things'; 'Almighty, everlasting God, Lord Jesus Christ'; 'God of heaven, God of earth, God of the angels, God of the archangels, you who are king of all the saints, the patriarchs, and the prophets'; 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, by your death gave life to the world'; and 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords, eternal and unchanging Lord God'.

Sometimes the nature of the spirit addressed cannot be determined. In one case the subject of the address is the indeterminate 'N.' (no. 12), and elsewhere the spirit who appears to a boy is addressed simply as 'you who are before me' (no. 27). Another experiment provides a conjuration with the indeterminate address, 'O so-and-so, of thus-and-such an order' (no. 1).

A few of the experiments list demons whose names are familiar from other sources: Astaroth, Baruch, Belial, Belzebub, Berith, Castiel, Lucifer, Miracl, Paymon and Satan or Sathan. The experiments that list such familiar spirits do not restrict themselves to these, however, but also address less familiar or entirely unfamiliar names: one conjures not only Belzebub, Berith, Lucifer and Satan, but also Apolin, Biliath and Maraloh; another addresses not only Miracl and Astaroth but also Belferith, Camoy, Noryoth, Ocel, Oreoeth, Pinen, Sismael, Sobronoy and Tryboy; a third gives the altogether well established name Satan (spelled 'Sathan') but also the exceptional ones Altramat, Archidemath, Discobermath, Fritath, Hegergibet, Helyberp, Pestiferat and Sona; a fourth lists not only Berith, Belzebub and Astaroth, but also Althes, Cormes, Dies, Diles, Dilia, Fabar, Felsmes, Mithiomo, Molbet, Natheus, Onaris, Pist, Progemon, Thobar, Vmon and Vralchim. In some cases the names listed could be corrupt or variant forms of more familiar ones: Apolin could be Apollion, Arath could be Arathiel, Astra could be Astrael, Damay could be Dahmay, Erlain could be Erel[el]im, Gana could be Ganael, Gebel could be Gebiel, Lamair could be Lama, Oor could be Or, Safrit could be Saffiel, Tami could be Tamiel, Taraor could be Tara, Tatomofon could be Tatonon, Thomo could be Thomax, Ym could be Im, and Zanno or Zaimo could be Zaino. Even so, of the 189 names addressed in the conjurations, only 17 per cent at most seem to be well established ones. Of the eleven spirits named in experiment no. 34, only Curson has broad currency (unless Hanni is equated with Haniel). When the list of spirits in this manual is compared with that in Picatrix, what is striking is the singular lack of correspondence.

The crucial question for the necromancers of Western Europe is whether the demons can be compelled to appear, and their own assumption - that the demons can be so compelled, but only with God's permission and aid - is not
fundamentally different from the assumption that underlies orthodox exorcism and mainstream theology. John of Frankfurt devoted a treatise in 1412 to the question, 'whether it is possible to have the power of coercing a demon through characters, figures, and recitation of words' (utrum potestas cohercendi demonis fieri possit per caracteres, figuras atque verborum prolationes), and he insisted that it was not – that the demons may pretend to be compelled only to lure the conjurers deeper into their own perfidy, but that they come, if at all, of their own free will. He seems not to have taken fully into account that the necromancers, exactly like orthodox exorcists, claimed the power of coercing demons specifically with divine aid. To be sure, their goals were at variance with orthodox morality, yet they saw their appeal to sacred powers as itself a sacred activity, and if it led to the killing and coercion of other individuals, that did not sway them from this conviction.

In any event, while their critics and judges saw the necromancers as in league with the demons, they perceived themselves as calling upon God to help them control and exploit the spirits.

One reason it appeared to critics that the necromancers were bound to the spirits they conjured, rather than vice versa, is that they seemed to make sacrifice to these spirits: fumigations and other acts could readily be seen as sacrifices. Nicholas Eymericus explains that some conjurers exhibit the honour of latria to the demons they invoke by sacrificing to them, adoring them, reciting execrable prayers to them, dedicating themselves and promising obedience to the demons, swearing by them and adjuring one demon by the name of a higher one, singing songs in their honour, genuflecting and making prostrations, observing chastity out of respect for them, fasting and otherwise macerating the flesh in their honour, wearing black or white out of reverence to them, using characters and unknown names, lighting lamps and offering fumigations, sacrificing birds and beasts and even their own blood, and so forth.

Some of the experiments in the Munich handbook and elsewhere do indeed involve offering something, such as a hoopoe, to the demons. Whether such offerings count as sacrificial depends on one's definition of sacrifice. If any exchange with spirits implying do ut des is a sacrifice, then the term applies. From the necromancers' perspective, however, a fumigation would surely be more a means for alluring and gaining power over the spirits, and the offering of a hoopoe would be payment for services rendered. There is no explicit acknowledgement in the handbook that the magician is serving the spirits; to the contrary, he sees himself as commanding and exploiting them.

The spirits invoked may on occasion be represented as unfallen ones. Some are referred to as 'most benign', which could suggest but does not prove that they are unfallen; even an evil spirit may relate in a kindly manner toward his own. In one experiment (no. 9) the master greets the spirits when they appear with a wish that God may restore them to their original status, which makes it clear that they are fallen yet suggests that they are none the less redeemable. Most interesting is
the suggestion that the spirits who provide a magic ship (no. 8) are of intermediate status: And you should note carefully that in this ship you are able to mention holy things, as in true Christianity, because these spirits are between good and evil, dwelling neither in Hell nor in Paradise.’ The Paris theologians in 1398 condemned the belief that there are good and benign demons, omniscient demons, and demons who are neither saved nor damned but somewhere in between.21 At times the spirits summoned are threatened with damnation if they refuse to obey the master, which assumes either that they are unfallen spirits or that they occupy some middle ground, perhaps being fallen but capable of redemption.22

The problem of distinguishing between fallen and unfallen spirits had long been a vexed one, and it was not made easier by the necromancers’ habit of calling more or less indiscriminately on spirits of both kinds, as well as allegedly neutral spirits. The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript, for example, sometimes prays for power over all malign spirits, or for power over Satan, or for protection from malign spirits. It explicitly invokes Satan and other ‘infernal demons’.23 At other times it implicitly identifies the invoked spirits as demons, conjuring them ‘by the power by which [Christ] destroyed hell and despoiled and tormented your companions [socios]’ or ‘by him who cast you from heaven’. While magicians were not at all shy about conjuring angels directly, the tendency in the Rawlinson manuscript perhaps more often than in other manuscripts is to pray that good angels be sent. It even includes a lengthy prayer to the master’s guardian angel for protection. At one juncture it conjures ‘benevolent spirits and demons’, without making altogether clear whether these are distinct categories.24

One rule of thumb was that spirits explicitly known from traditional sources as unfallen angels could be prayed to, but others were at best suspect. The archangels mentioned in the Bible and the Old Testament apocrypha (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael) were mentioned from the seventh century onward in the Litany of the Saints, although it was not until the twentieth century that Benedict XV made the feast of the last two obligatory. The names of other angels were deemed apocryphal: the Book of Enoch adds Uriel, Raguel, Seraphael and Haniel to the list of archangels. In the mid-eighth century a Frankish priest named Adalbert was condemned. inter alia, for praying to Uriel, Raguel, Tubuel, Adin, Tubuas, Sabaok and Samiel, all of whom a Roman synod declared to be in fact demons. In 789, Charlemagne’s Admonitio generalis condemned the invocation of ‘unknown angels’, presumably for the same reason.25 Even if a petitioner intended to call upon unfallen angels, the spirits he summoned might not be the spirits he got.

Johann von Frankfurt noted in the early fifteenth century that Plato distinguished between good daimons (calodemoses) and evil (cacademoses), but for scriptural and dogmatic reasons he rejects this distinction and insists on a rigid dichotomy between unfallen angels and demons, the latter being always evil.26 Invoking demons, he says, is prohibited both by scripture (Deut 2:18, also IV
Kgs 1 and I Kgs 28) and by canon law (the canon Episcopi). He insists that demons cannot be coerced: they are free agents, with intellect and will, and cannot be bound by human actions; Job attests that no power on earth is comparable to the Devil; and many later medieval authorities are cited to confirm this stance. He argues that "although demons often do come when they are summoned by invocations, they do so not coerced, but fraudulently, so as to deceive them [the conjurers] and others" (p. 78). (Not long before Johann wrote, the theologians at the University of Paris had in 1398 condemned the belief that God is induced to compel demons to obey invocations, and that by magical arts the demons are compelled to speak truthfully.) To be sure, Solomon is said to have exorcized or commanded demons, but if he did so at the time that he himself had the spirit of God, then he expelled the demons by divine power and with the cooperation of God, whereas if he do so after he had fallen into idolatry (III Kgs 11 Vulg.), then fuit factum arte magica, and the demons pretended to be expelled so as to lead people into error. When Tobias placed a fish’s liver on coals, demons were expelled (Tob 6) – but the book of Tobias is not canonical, so it may have edifying value but no probative force. Experience itself may suggest that demons come or depart when certain words are uttered, but it is prayer and not fumigation that has the effect of expelling demons.

Notions of demonic corporeality are more rarely expressed but not unknown. The Rawlinson manuscript says at one juncture that if the spirit refuses to withdraw, the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword and then ‘strike’ the spirit who is left standing outside the circle. The text goes on to explain that the reader should not be astonished at this reference to striking, because the spirits can indeed be struck when they assume bodies for the sake of apparition. More extraordinary is the tale – involving a ghost rather than a demon, to be sure – of a woman who captured a spirit, carried it into a house on her back in the presence of certain men, one of whom later told that he saw the hands of the woman sunk deep into the spirit’s flesh, as if its flesh were putrid and not solid, but fantastic. More often the spirits’ corporeality is presupposed but not the subject of comment: they presumably cannot carry the magicians about in the form of horses or usher forth elaborate banquets without some sort of bodies, but the precise nature of their flesh seems not to have concerned the writer of the Munich handbook.

When the demons appear they presumably do so either through phantasms impressed directly on the viewers’ senses or in assumed bodies. They may be able to take on any appearance they wish, conceivably even that of a famed beauty such as Helen of Troy, since their bodies are in any event assumed, but it seems to have been agreed that their most natural shape is terrifying. The Munich handbook thus routinely conjures the spirits to appear in pleasing and non-threatening form, the implication being that it is natural for them to
appear otherwise. Indeed, the treatise on necromancy ascribed to Roger Bacon warns that demons will try to frighten the magician with illusions, with hissing like that of a serpent, and with terrifying shapes, but bold use of the Tetragrammaton and the sign of the cross will compel them to adopt pleasing forms.\textsuperscript{32} The spirits are conjured to appear in human form, because they are assumed closer to beasts, and thus it is more natural for them to assume grotesque versions of bestial appearance,\textsuperscript{33} as they did in hagiography since the life of Saint Anthony.\textsuperscript{34} In one case they are told to take on the pleasing form of a ten-year-old boy, evidently by cross-fertilization of the instruction with the requirements for a medium.\textsuperscript{35}

The most sustained discussion of demons in the Munich manual is an extended list which names and describes eleven spirits (no. 34). Each has a rank: marquis, 'president' (\textit{preses}), count, duke, prince or king. They appear in diverse forms: as a seneschal; as a man with large teeth and three horns, carrying a sharp sword in his hand; as a crowned man with leonine face, bearing a viper in hand, riding horseback, and preceded by trumpets; as a splendid knight, with lance, banner and sceptre; as a boy with the wings of an angel, riding on a dragon with two heads;\textsuperscript{36} as a beautiful and crowned woman, riding on a camel; as a knight, riding on a black horse; as a benevolent man with a woman's face. Hanni comes in a fiery flame, but also takes human form. Curson is said readily to assume a human and aerial body; presumably the others as well take on aerial bodies when they come visibly.\textsuperscript{37} Their functions are likewise diverse. Six of the spirits are said to disclose the location of hidden treasure, or to reveal and open treasures, and although in one case it is specified that the treasure must not be protected by magic or charms, in another case the spirit in question can reveal treasures guarded by other spirits. Four of them respond to questions about present, past, future, and hidden matters; Curson can reveal divine and hidden matters, even regarding divinity and the creation of the world. Another gives knowledge about occult matters and duels. Three specialize in imparting particular knowledge: the trivium, astronomy and other liberal arts, and languages. Two can procure the love of women, especially beautiful women in one case, widows in the other; a third makes women burn with love for men, on demand will transform them into another form until they come to their beloved, and makes them sterile. Others can enable a person to cross seas and rivers quickly, or to pass quickly from one region to another. Four can secure the favour of all, enemies as well as friends, or that of magnates and princes, or of all kings, marquises and knights. One gives dignities; another gives an exorcist power over serpents; yet others provide excellent familiars or knights. Each has command of legions of subordinate spirits (perhaps an allusion to Mark 5:9), as few as twenty-two, and as many as fifty.

Identical in form but independent in content is the list contained in \textit{Le livre des
esperitz found in a fifteenth-century French manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.8.29). This compilation lists forty-seven spirits: the triad Lucifer, Bezelbuth and Satan; four associated with the cardinal directions; then others for whom title, appearance, function, and number of subordinate legions are given, as in the Munich handbook. Most commonly the spirits here listed are said to give accurate response to the master’s questions (Vaal, Bucal, Oze, Bulfas, Artis, Gazon, Diusion, Orient, Poymom, Am[m]oymon, Barthas, Samson, Vipos, Berteth, Distolas, Asmoday, Flauos, Carmola, Abugor, Caap, Bune, Amon). They also furnish instruction (Bezelbuth, Barthas, Artis), sometimes in all sciences (Cerbere, Parcas, Tudiras ho ho, Am[m]oymon), often regarding more specific matters: the virtues of herbs and precious stones (Machin, Parcas, Forcas, Gemer); transformation of metals into gold or silver (Berteth); all language (Ducay, Agarat); astronomy and other sciences (Barthas, Furfur); the sounds of birds and dogs (Barbas). They disclose or provide buried treasure (Diusion, Parcas, Abugor, Bezelbuth, Barbas, Samson, Forcas). They make a person invisible (Parcas, Beal, Forcas). They obtain the love of women (Ducay, Furfur [?], Bitur), or of queens and women generally, whether maidens or not (Samson). They secure provision of dignities, seigneuries and favour (Agarat, Bitur, Vaal, Am[m]oymon. Poymom, Berteth. Gazon, Artis, Beal), as well as wealth (Bune, Cerbere, Distolas), or specifically of gold and silver (Caap, Dam, Bezelbuth). They can furnish means by which the ‘master’ or someone else at the master’s will may be transported from place to place (Ducay, Machin, Malpharas, Bune, Parcas), and the spirit Distolas can provide a horse to transport the master in an hour 100, 200 or 300 leagues but no further. Unlike the list of spirits in the Munich handbook, however, the Livre des esperitz also indicates that certain spirits specialize in maleficent magic: they can bring death or illness, deformity, destruction of adversaries, discord and battles. The service Bezelbuth performs, which would have endeared him to Faustus, is to reveal all the secrets of hell.

Such lists of demons derived their basic conception from early Jewish sources such as the Testament of Solomon, which listed various demons and told how Solomon employed them.38 These catalogues were especially common in the treatises and grimoires of the early modern era (Johannes Weyer’s Pseudomonarchia daemonum lists sixty-nine demons with their offices and functions), but the basic idea can be traced to medieval sources. Trithemius speaks of a Liber officiorum that catalogues four emperors and various kings, dukes, marquises, and counts. The Lemegeton lists seventy-two demons with their functions, including Asmoday (a great king with three heads, who furnishes a ring of virtues, teaches mathematics, answers questions truly, makes a person invisible, reveals hidden treasure, and so forth), Berith, and others.39

Among other specializations, there were demons who ruled over one or another of the cardinal directions. Thus, the Paris theologians repudiated the
notion that one demon is king of the east and holds special prominence, known in the Munich handbook and elsewhere simply as Orients, while others ruled the west, the north and the south.40 No doubt the identification of these demons with special competence had much practical value for those wishing to make use of their services, but the formation of the lists was in itself a display of theoretical knowledge that might appeal greatly to those curious about the secrets of hell. One can perhaps understand why stern medieval moralists, never favourable to curiositas in the first place, would condemn this particular sort of curiosity in particular as vain and perilous.

Presupposed throughout the Munich handbook is that the experiments described are worked through the power of spirits, often overtly referred to as demons. The writer makes no pretence that his magic is in any way 'natural', as opposed to demonic. Classical notions of magic as either implicitly or explicitly grounded in the instruction and aid of demons come here to their fullest development: far from shrinking from this suggestion or defending himself against it, the writer candidly acknowledges and perhaps even boasts, no doubt like other necromancers of the era, that the commanding of malign spirits is the essence of his art.

Table C. Spirits named in the conjurations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abgo (demon, no. 39)</th>
<th>Baltim (or Balthym? or Balthim or Baltym) (dux, no. 15)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abgoth (demon, no. 40)</td>
<td>Bartha (or Bartham?) (rex, no. 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achalas (spiritus, no. 26)</td>
<td>Baruth (demon, subditus of Lytim, no. 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Althes (demon, no. 38)</td>
<td>Basal (no. 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altramat (demon [from cardinal direction], no. 27)</td>
<td>Bel (spiritus infernalis, no. 35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andyron (demon, subditus of Lytim, no. 39)</td>
<td>Belam (no. 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apolin (or Apolyn) (no. 1) (no. 5 inv.)</td>
<td>Belferith (demon malignus, no. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arath (demon. no. 40)</td>
<td>Belial (inicialis princeps, no. 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbas (or Arbes?) (no. 28)</td>
<td>Beliath (no. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archidemath (demon [from cardinal direction], no. 27)</td>
<td>Belzebub (or Belzebuc?) (no. 1; princeps demoniorum, no. 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astaroth (or Astaroth or Astaroht) (demon malignus, no. 2; no. 12; no. 33; princeps demoniorum, no. 38) (no. 5 inv.)</td>
<td>Berien (or Beryen, no. 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berith (or Berit) (no. 1; spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris, no. 11; princeps demoniorum, fornicator, temptator, et seductor, possessor hominum, no. 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astra (no. 33)</td>
<td>Bireoth (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asvel (no. 13)</td>
<td>Bos (demon, no. 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azathii (demon, no. 39)</td>
<td>Brimer (no. 10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spirits named in the conjugations

Camoy (or Canay) (demon malignus, no. 2)
Carab (or Careb?) (no. 29)
Cargie (no. 28)
Castiel (no. 13)
Cebal (no. 33)
Cormes (demon, no. 38)
Cutroy (or Cotroy?) (spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens], no. 7; spiritus habitator aquae, no. 8)
Damay (or Damayn, no. 10)
Demefin (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Demor (or Denior) (spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Dies (demon, no. 38)
Diles (demon, no. 38)
Dilia (demon, no. 38)
Discobermath (demon [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Dorayl (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Dyacon (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Dydones (demon, no. 40)
Dyrus (demon, no. 39 and no. 40)
Dyspil (or Dyspvl) (spiritus habitator aquae, no. 8)
Ebal (spiritus infernalis, no. 35)
Elam (no. 13)
Emogeni (demon, no. 40)
Ergarrandras (no. 28)
Erlain (no. 13)
Fabanin (no. 29)
Fabar (demon, no. 38)
Fabath (demon, no. 40)
Fabin (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Falmar (no. 5 inv.)
Faubair (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Febat (demon, no. 39)
Felsmes (demon, no. 38)
Feremin (spiritus pecatoribus insistens, no. 9)
Finibet (demon, no. 40)
Foliath (demon, no. 39)
Fritath (demon [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Fyriel (or Firiel) (spiritus potens, magnificus, et illustris, no. 11)
Fyrin (or Syrim) (spiritus habitator aquae, no. 8)
Fyrus (demon, no. 40)
Gallath (demon, no. 40)
Galtim (or Galtrym? or Galtyra?) (dux, no. 15)
Gana (demon, no. 39)
Gebat (or Gebath?) (demon, no. 39)
Gebel (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4) (no. 5 inv.)
Gemitius (demon, no. 39)
Geremittarum (demon, no. 40)
Gyton (demon, no. 40)
Haram (spiritus benignus, no. 39)
Hegeregibet (demon [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Helyberp (demon [from cardinal direction], no. 27)
Jubutzis (demon, no. 40)
Lamair (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Laminsiel (or Lamsiyel, no. 13)
Lautrayth (spiritus pecatoribus insistens, no. 9)
Leutaber (or Zeugaber) (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Lotobor (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Lucifer (no. 1)
Lylet (or Bylet or Bylent) (no. 24; demon, subditus of Lytim, no. 39)
Lyroth (no. 10)
Lyray (or Lyto or Litor) (spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Lytim (demon, no. 39)
Maraloche (no. 1)
Masair (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Mememil (or Melemil) (spiritus potens,
Spirits named in the conjugations

direction], no. 27)

Pharachte (demon, no. 39)
Pinen (demon malignus, no. 2)
Pist (demon, no. 38)
Progemon (demon, no. 38)
Pumeon (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Pumotor (or Pumiotor) (spiritus
armigerus, sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Rabam (no. 13)
Rayma (demon, no. 40)
Riasteli (no. 29)
Rimasor (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Rimel (spiritus habiatar aque, no. 8)
Risbel (or Ristel) (spiritus armigerus,
sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Rodobayl (or Rodobail) (spiritus
iocundissimus, no. 6)
Rofanes (demon, no. 40)
Safrit (demon, no. 39)
Salaul (spiritus armigerus, sensus
[decipiens], no. 7)
Saltim (dux, no. 15)
Sanfrielis (demon, no. 40)
Sathan (no. 1; demon [from cardinal
direction], no. 27)
Selentis (demon, no. 40)
Selutabel (or Belutabel) (spiritus
iocundissimus, no. 6)
Sertugidis (demon, no. 40)
Silitor (or Silitol) (spiritus armigerus,
sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Sismael (demon malignus, no. 2)
Sobronoy (demon malignus, no. 2)
Sona (no. 27)
Suburith (no. 10)
Symofor (or Simofor) (spiritus
iocundissimus, no. 6)
Syrama (or Sirama) (spiritus
iocundissimus, no. 6)
Syrttoy (spiritus armigerus, sensus
[decipiens], no. 7)

magnificus, et illustris, no. 11)
Memoyr (or Memoir) (spiritus
iocundissimus, no. 6)
Midain (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Mirael (no. 2)
Mistal (no. 29)
Mithiomo (demon, no. 38)
Molbet (princeps demoniorum, no. 38)
Moloy (spiritus armigerus, sensus
[decipiens], no. 7)
Motmyo (demon, no. 39)
Nathes (princeps demoniorum, no. 38)
Neyilon (spiritus, no. 26)
Non (no. 29)
Noryoth (or Moryoth) (demon malignus,
no. 2)
Nubar (demon, no. 39)
Ocel (demon malignus, no. 2)
Olroomim (spiritus pecatoribus insitens,
no. 9)
Onaris (demon, no. 38)
Onor (spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens],
no. 7)
Onoroy (spiritus habiatar aque, no. 8)
Oor (or Dor) (spiritus armigerus, sensus
[decipiens], no. 7)
Oreoth (demon malignus, no. 2)
Oriens (or rex Orientis) (altissimus et
benignissimus rex, no. 4; benignissim)e,
no. 41)
Ornis (no. 28)
Oronothel (no. 29)
Orooth (spiritus habiatar aque, no. 8)
Oymelor (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Panite (or Panyte) (demon, no. 38 and
no. 40)
Paymon (no. 12)
Peamde (demon, no. 39)
Peripaos (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Pestiferat (demon [from cardinal
Spirits named in the conjugations

[decipiens], no. 7
Sysabel (or Sisabel) (spiritus habitator
aque, no. 8)
Tamafin (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Tami (or Tamy – Tamer?) (spiritus
armigerus, sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Taraor (spiritus potens, magnificus, et
illustris, no. 11)
Tatomofon (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Tentetos (spiritus iocundissimus, no. 6)
Tereol (no. 5 inv.)
Tereth (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Termines (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Thitodens [?] (demon, no. 39)
Thobar (demon, no. 38)
Thomo (demon, no. 40)
Tranaytt (or Tramayrt, no. 10)
Tryboy (or Triay) (demon malignus, no. 2)
Tyroces (no. 5 inv.)
Tyros (demon, no. 39)
Tyroy (spiritus habitator aque, no. 8)
Va (no. 29)
Vatuel (no. 29)
Vijas (demon, no. 39)
Virus (demon, no. 39)

Viry tus (demon, no. 40)
Vme (demon, no. 39)
Vme loth (spiritus benignissimus, no. 4)
Vmon (demon, no. 38)
Vniueny (demon, no. 40)
Vnyrus (demon, no. 39)
Vom (demon, no. 39)
Vralchim (demon, no. 38)
Vresius (demon, no. 39)
Vsyrt (spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens],
no. 7)
Vtimo (demon, no. 40)
Vzmyas (demon, subditus of Lytim,
no. 39)
Ygrim (demon, subditus of Lytim,
no. 39)
Yrm (spiritus armigerus, sensus [decipiens],
no. 7)
Ytelteos (demon, subditus of Lytim, no.
39)
Zanno (or Zaimo) (spiritus armigerus,
sensus [decipiens], no. 7)
Zelentes (demon, no. 39)
Zymens (demon, subditus of Lytim,
no. 39)

Table D. Spirits listed in no. 34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Number of legions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barbarus</td>
<td>count</td>
<td></td>
<td>discloses treasures not protected by magic</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and duke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cason</td>
<td>duke</td>
<td>seneschal</td>
<td>responds about present, past, future, and hidden things; gives favour of friends and enemies; gives dignities</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otius</td>
<td>preses and</td>
<td>human, with large teeth and</td>
<td>responds about present, future, and hidden matters; gives</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>count</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Number of legions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curson</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>3 horns, sharp sword in hand</td>
<td>favour of friends and enemies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alugor</td>
<td>duke</td>
<td>splendid knight,</td>
<td>reveals present, past, future, and hidden matters; reveals and opens treasures; assumes human</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with lance, banner, and sceptre</td>
<td>and aerial body and responds about divine and hidden matters (including deity and creation of world); gives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taob</td>
<td>prince</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>excellent familiaria</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volach</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>boy, with wings of angel; rides on dragon; has two heads beautiful woman, crowned, riding on camel</td>
<td>responds about hidden treasures; serpents appear, gives over serpents into the hands of exorcist</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaeneron</td>
<td>duke</td>
<td>beautiful woman,</td>
<td>responds about present, past, and future matters, and hidden treasures; gives love of women, especially beautiful ones</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Tvueries}</td>
<td>marquis</td>
<td>knight, riding on black horse</td>
<td>teaches trivium, reveals hidden treasures and other hidden things; causes person to cross sea and rivers quickly teaches astronomy and other liberal arts; gives excellent familiaris; gives favour of magnates and princes;</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuveries?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanni</td>
<td>president</td>
<td>fiery flame, but takes human form</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Name | Rank | Appearance | Function | Number of legions
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
Sucax | marquis | man, with woman's face; appears benevolent | reveals treasures guarded by spirits gives love of women, especially widows; gives command of languages; makes person pass quickly from region to region | 23

Notes
2 Ibid., 275–6.
4 See the Paris conclusions of 1398, in Jean Gerson, Opera omnia, 10, ed. Palemon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1961–73), p. 89: the 23rd condemned article is ‘That some demons are good, some benign, some omniscient, others neither saved nor damned’.
7 Summa theologica, i.109.1; Malles maeficarum, i.4, 28–31.
8 No. 2 (ten named demones maligni); no. 5 (spiritus unimicissimae); no. 5 (omnes demones odioe et malignos, inuidios et discordes); no. 7 (fifteen named spiritus armigera, quibus proprium est arma deferre et... sensus humanos dicere); no. 8 (spiritus habitatores aquae, qui naves... perticari consamni); no. 9 (three named spiritus pecatoribus insistentes); no. 35 (spiritus infernales); no. 38 (Berith, described as fornicator, temptator, et seductor, possessor hominum). See also no. 3 (omnes demones in hac imaginis scriptus et demones in hac circulo sculptus) and no. 5 (spiritus unimicissimos et omnes demones odioe et malignos, inuidios et discordes).
9 No. 38 (principes demoniorum); no. 11 (spiritus potentes, magistri, et illustris); no. 15 (Bartha in rex, and Baltim, Galtim, and Saltim as duces); no. 12 (Beial as iniciales princeps); no. 39 (seven demons as substiti of Lytym).
10 No. 4 (eleven spiritus benigissimi et concordiam seminae); no. 6 (sixteen spiritus inciemissimi, planos, et gaudentes); no. 11 (spiritus potentes, magistri, et illustris, in quibus omnino confido).
11 No. 14 (O altissime et benigissimo rex Orientis); no. 41 (O Orientis benigne, maior pars mundi, celci, terrenque sator, cuius nata [sic] omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, promissa facta sunt; benigissime Orientis).
13 No. 22 (Deus, creator omnium rerum); no. 25 (Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, Dominus Ihesu Christe); no. 29
(Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangeleorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium, patriarcharum et prophetarum and Dominus Iesus Christus, fili dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperasse Spiritum Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum resciseras); no. 36 (rex regum et dominus dominicium, eternis et incommensurabilis deus dominus).

14 Nos 2, 5, 12, 33, and 38 (Astaroth); no. 20 (Baruch); no. 12 (Bethiel); nos 1 and 38 (Belzebub); nos 1, 3, 11, and 39 (Berith); no. 13 (Castiel); no. 1 (Lucifer); no. 2 (Mirael); no. 12 (Paymon); nos 1 and 27 (Satan). See the listings for each of these in Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), and for general information on demons see also Leander Petzoldt, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Exorzisten* (Munich: Beck, 1990). On the naming of demons see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 248-50.

15 Nos. 1, 2, 27, and 38.

16 Nos 1 and 5 (Apolin or Apolyn); no. 40 (Arath); no. 33 (Astra); no. 10 (Damay); no. 13 (Erain); no. 39 (Gana); nos 4 and 5 (Gebel); no. 6 (Lamair); no. 7 (Oov); no. 39 (Safrit); no. 7 (Tami); no. 11 (Taraor); no. 6 (Tatormon); no. 40 (Thomo); no. 7 (Ym); no. 7 (Zanno or Zaimo). For these too see Davidson’s *Dictionary*.

17 Hauzen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, 71-82.


20 The classic source of the notion that Satan and the demons are redeemable is Origen; see on this theme Joseph Wilson Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1983), 89, 106, 138f., 206, 208. Whatever indirect influence Origen may have had on the necromantic tradition, it is difficult to believe that writers such as the compiler of the Munich handbook had any direct acquaintance with his works.

21 Ch. 23.

22 Rawlinson MS, 148r-149r, 150v, 154r.

23 *Coniuros vos demons infernales* (fol. 121v).

24 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS D 252, fo 24r (prayer for power over all malign spirits); 40v (prayer for power over Satan); 37r, 50v-50v, and 72r (prayers for protection from malign spirits); 152r (invocation of Satan); 121v (*Coniuros vos demons infernales*); 4v and 5v (implied identification of spirits as demons); 78r-78v (prayer for vision of good angels); 125v (prayer that good angels be sent); 159v (prayer for three good angels to appear in a crystal); 135v-139r (prayer to guardian angel); 73r (*Coniuros vos spiritus brunnuoles et demones*).


26 Johannes de Francofurdia, Quastio, utrum potestas cohaerendi demonum fieri passit per caracteres, figurae atque verborum prolationes, in Joseph Hansen, ed., Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter (Bonn: Georgi, 1901; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 71–82.

27 Page 72, citing the depiction of Leviathan: *Et viam lob 4.* [i.e. 41:24 Vulg.] dicitur: non est potestas super terram, qui ei comparatur, et textus ibidem loquiatur de dyabolo.


29 Fols 77v–78r.

30 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', English Historical Review, 37 (1922), 418ff.

31 The *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4, pp. 109–14, discusses the nature of these assumed bodies in connection with the nature of incubi, and concludes that the demons confect ad hoc flesh from the elements in the surrounding air.


33 On demons in the form of beasts, see Russell, *Lucifer*, 209: ‘Until the eleventh century the Devil was generally portrayed either as a human or as an imp, and this tendency persisted in Byzantine art. In the West, beginning in England about 1000 and spreading to Germany about 1020 and then beyond, the Devil tends to be a monstrous composite of human and animal.’


35 Foll. 27v.

36 It is evidently the dragon that is two-headed, although the context does not make the point clear.

37 On this point see the *Malleus maleficarum*, ii.1.4 (p. 109), and Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa theologica*, I.51.2 ad 4.


40 Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, 10, p. 90, art. 25.
THE MAGIC OF CIRCLES
AND SPHERES

If necromancy was in one sense chiefly the art of conjuring, it was also widely associated in the popular mind with the drawing of magic circles. The Fasciculus morum says of necromancers (nigromantici) first of all that they 'raise devils in their circles that are expected to answer their questions', and only secondly that they also 'make figures of people in wax or some other soft material in order to kill them'.¹ In The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, the messenger of Necromancy traces a circle on the ground, with characters and figures, and informs the Pilgrim that his invocation causes the spirits to answer and obey; and they cannot withstand his prayers, characters, and conjurations because he holds a commission from 'the King', meaning God, to whom they are subject.² The Yorkshire manuscript mentioned earlier tells how one man used a magic circle in conjuring not a demon but a ghost:

... he came to the assigned place and made a large circle with a cross, and it had on it [the opening words of?] the four gospels and other sacred words, and he stood in the middle of the circle, placing four small reliquaries in the form of a cross on the rim of the circle, and saving words such as 'Jesus of Nazareth' and so forth were inscribed on the reliquaries. Then he waited for the spirit to arrive. Finally he came, in the form of a goat, and three times he went around the circle, going 'a-a-a, a-a-a, a-a-a'. But when he was conjured he fell to the ground and rose up again in the form of a man of great height, horrid and gaunt, like one of the dead kings shown in paintings.³

Like conjuration, the use of magic circles appears to have spread beyond the sphere of clerical necromancy. For example, a woman charged with witchcraft at Provins in 1452 was said to have belonged to a 'sect' of witches that conjured the Devil by tracing three evidently concentric circles on the ground.⁴ What this incident probably represents is not a popular tradition parallel to that of the necromancers, but influence from their tradition.

FORM AND PREPARATION OF THE MAGIC CIRCLE

These magic circles could at times be very simple, but sometimes they were elaborate diagrams made on specially constructed platforms.⁵ The Scorn Book

ascribed to one ‘Honourius, son of Euclid’. gives elaborate instructions for constructing a magic circle. The magician must construct a square platform fourteen feet across of good and well dressed stone, or of tile, or (if necessary because of poverty) of pure earth. On top of it he must fashion a circular platform, seven feet across and three feet high. The site must be ritually purified and consecrated, with blessings, incense, and invocation of angels. Then, presumably on top of the circular platform, he must make two concentric circles, carved with a new knife or inscribed in chalk, with the names written in the band between the circles. In a later chapter the magician is told that in an elaborate ceremony of consecration he should carve or inscribe four concentric circles, the smallest nine feet and the largest twelve feet across, with names of God and of angels in the bands and the seal of Solomon in the centre. Then there must be two concentric squares around these circles, with the corners pointing in the cardinal directions, names of God between the squares, and lighted censers placed within two smaller concentric circles at each of the four corners.6

The De nigromancia associated with Roger Bacon provides even fuller and more elaborate instructions for preparing and consecrating a magic circle. The magician must have a square ‘secret vault’ constructed in some remote place, twenty feet to each side at most, and twenty feet high at least, with windows facing the cardinal directions. Inside this building he must inscribe two concentric circles in chalk, fifteen feet at the most across, with characters and names of spirits inscribed. There are distinct kinds of circles for spirits of the air, fire, water, and earth, but the treatise is not altogether clear regarding the distinguishing features. The consecration entails, among other things, having a priest say a mass in honour of Saint Cyprian, famous for having been a magician.7 A later chapter gives further details: the pentacle of Solomon should circumscribe the circle; the Tetragrammaton must be inscribed on all circles, because without it ‘all conjurations of the spirits will fail, and no spirit will answer truth, but falsehood’; and an appropriate time must be observed for making the circle.8 Elsewhere the treatise recommends a circle for discovery of hidden treasure that is inscribed on a circular sheet of vellum eight feet in compass, which should have ten loops with which it can be pinned to the ground.9

The Rawlinson necromantic manuscript is more interested in conjurations than in circles, but does prescribe and depict circles in connection with some of its conjurations, sometimes very simple, sometimes with pentangles and words and characters inscribed, and says at one point that the master should trace a circle with the point of his sword. There as elsewhere, however, circles may be inscribed not on the ground, as a location for conjuring, but on a moveable object, as a means for gaining power over the spirits: at one point the reader is told to draw a circle on a tablet, with the name ‘Satan’ inscribed in it.10
MAGIC CIRCLES IN THE MUNICH HANDBOOK

The circles in Clm 849 consist most fundamentally of single circular bands or varying numbers of concentric bands, between two and four. Beyond this simple composition are various complicating factors: a single band inscribed within a square (no. 1); an inverted triangle inscribed within the outer boundary of a single band (no. 15); a double band divided into ten segments, and a rectangle inside the circle divided into six sections (no. 18); a double band with its interior divided into six wedges (no. 22); a triple band with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges (no. 40); a square inscribed in a single band, with a circle inside the square, and short bars extending outward from the middle of each side of the square and touching the inner side of the circular band (no. 9); a single band bisected by a horizontal band, while a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle, and a closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern (no. 8). Another experiment (no. 13) is unusual in having not a circle but a shield with a single band around its edge.

Inscriptions are of various kinds:

1. Four cardinal directions, with east on top in the fashion of traditional medieval cartography: nos 1, 6, 9, 15, 36; at times not all the directions are explicitly given (nos 8, 10, 11).

2. Positions of the master and child medium: The position of the master is often marked in the centre of the circle, with the term Locus magistri (nos 3, 7, 9, 12) or simply Magister (nos 10, 11). The circle for no. 8 marks the position with the inscription Hic magister cum suis sociis. No. 1 has Nomen magistri, de tali ordine and Nomen discipuli are marked in the center. The positions for no. 22 are in the literal sense eccentric: inscriptions indicate that the master and boy are to sit on top of pentagrams on opposite sides of the circle: Hic sedet =sedet] puer super signum (at the top), and Hic sedet magister super signum a latere sinistro (at the bottom). Toward the middle of the circle for no. 40 are word fragments and N. (presumably for Nomen puerr.)

3. Names of spirits, given most frequently within the bands: no. 1 has the names of the spirits Belial, Satan, Osendior, Matalot, Belzebub, Lucifer, Sententino and Apolin inscribed in and around its band; no. 2 has Oreoth, Pinen, Otel, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy and Sismael inscribed in its band, and the names Mirael and N. (for the name of the intended victim) inscribed in its centre; no. 3 has the names Rator, Lampoy, Despan, Brunlo, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascfin, Nartim and Lodoni; no. 6 has the names Oymelor, Symofos, Manoir, Faubair, Demefin, Rodobayl, Tamafin, Abelutabel, Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber,
Rimasar, Masair, Lotobor, Tatomoñ and Sirama; no. 7 has O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Litor Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor and Ym, *spiritus armiger*, in its bands; no. 8 has the names Fyron, Dyspil, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel and Orooth; no. 9 has the names Lantrayth. Feremni and Oliormim; no. 10 has O Brimer, Suburith, Tranauit, Lyroth, *enq* (?) Berien, Damayn; no. 11 has the names Firiel to the west, Melemil to the south, Berith to the east, and Tarao to the north; no. 18 has the names Latranoy, Iszar, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zara, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasar written in the ten segments of its outer band, corresponding figures in its inner band, and the letters F-L-O-R-O-N in the six sections of its inner rectangle; no. 12 has the invocation *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores*; no. 13 has the names Asyl, Castyle, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands; no. 23 has the name Lylet (or Bylet) inscribed in its centre.

4. Sacred names: no. 16 has *Agla* / *Michael virtus dei* / *Gabriel fortitudo* / *Emanuel Paraclitus* / *Raphael medicina dei* / *Alpha et O, Oli, Ely* / *Tetragramaton, amen* / *Agla* inscribed inside a double band, with a cross inside a square before and after each line of text; no. 36 has four divine names outside its triple band: Sabaoth at the top, Tetragramaton at the right, and Adonay at the bottom, Agla at the left.

5. Miscellaneous inscriptions: no. 15 has characters in what appears to be pseudo-Hebrew; to the right of the circle for no. 22 is a rectangular *signum* with the inscription *Esto alissimus, enus, eternus, amen*, on five horizontal bands; no. 40 shows the word *onus* (possibly for *On*) four times.

Various types of sign and other objects also appear:

1. Pentagrams (or pentangles). No. 6 has a pentagram inscribed in its centre; no. 10 has a pentagram inscribed; no. 23 contains two pentagrams with the name *On* just beyond each point inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and two more to the lower left and right of the circle.

2. Astronomical characters and miscellaneous figures: no. 6 shows radiating figures extending across its bands on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left; nos 9 and 10 show astronomical and other signs alongside the names of spirits; no. 11 has two figures.12

3. Objects to be used in the experiments: no. 6 shows a sword at the top, extending downward, with its point on the top of a pentangle; no. 11 shows a sword lying toward the east with its point near the centre; no. 15 has dots evidently denoting positions for jars. These objects are presumably not meant to be drawn, but rather positioned where they are shown. Alongside the circle
for no. 2 runs a vertical band labelled *Hoc [or hic] est candela* and inscribed with the names Oreoth, Pinen, Ocel, Triboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.

When prayers are shown inscribed on the bands, these may be meant to be inscribed, but are perhaps more often to be recited as the circles themselves are traced:

The first circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti: In nomine individuae trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo; and Ego te facio per illum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in ris sunt* in its three bands.

The second circle for no. 39 has *In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, Celi enarrant* in the middle band, and *Deus tuum [sic] regi da* in its three bands.

No. 36 has inscriptions in each of its three bands: *Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui solo verbo uniuersa creauit in the outermost; Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui qui humanum genus humano sanguine redemiti in the middle, and Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracleti, quia [sic] apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustrauit* in the innermost. In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one: *Per hoc signum sancte crucis gracia dei defendat nos ab omni malo.*

No. 40 has *Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creauit. Dextra domini fecit virtutem, dextra domini exaltavit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans castigauit dominus in (and extending beyond) its outermost band; Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sanguine redemiti. Dextra domini fecit virtutem, dextra domini exaltavit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera in its middle band; and Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracleti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissimam graciam [sic] illustrauit. Dextra domini fecit virtutem, etc.* in its outermost band.

No. 23 has *Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus inmortalis, pater futuri seculi.*

No. 12 gives a modified conjuration that is shown on the circle for no. 12: *Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis [michi deleted] opus michi adiutores.*

One of the experiments in the Munich handbook (no. 7) speaks of the circle as a representation of the spirits' habitation, perhaps implying a conception of Hell related to Dante's, but the point remains implicit and undeveloped. And in one of the handbook's experiments (no. 33) an unusual kind of magic circle is required: the master goes to a cemetery and gathers as many stones as there are verses in Psalm 50, and with them he makes a circle, then sprinkles it with verbenas.
THE FUNCTION OF THE MAGIC CIRCLE: PROTECTION OR HEIGHTENING OF POWER

Magic circles are usually represented in histories of magic as protective devices, and at least sometimes they performed that function. In one of the exempla told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, a cleric famed for his skill in necromancy agrees to conjure demons to persuade a knight who does not believe in them. The cleric inscribes a circle on the ground at a crossroads, and warns the knight that he must remain within the circle as protection from the demons, and within this protective confines the knight remains secure (albeit terrified) when demons and the Devil himself arrive. In another exemplum, individuals who dare to step outside the circle are immediately attacked by the fiends.

This notion of the magic circle as a protective device occurs at times in the magicians' own writings. In the Rawlinson necromantic manuscript the spirits are commanded to approach the master 'beside the circle here inscribed' (iuxta circulum hic circumscriptum). Elsewhere the spirits are commanded to come to the 'place and circle' (locum et circulum) ordained for their appearance. The master is to 'sign' or bless the circle with his rod, saying 'I make this circle in honour of the Holy Trinity, that [it] may be for him and his companions a place of protection and a refuge which the demons cannot violate. enter, defile, touch, or even fly over; they must appear in a place designated for them outside the circle.' The notion of the circle as a protective device is found again in an early sixteenth-century text pseudonymously ascribed to Cornelius Agrippa. But it is probably not the magicians' original understanding of how the magic circle functioned. The circle as a locus of power, enhancing the power of the operator, is ancient; it appears, for example, in the early Jewish story of Honi the Circle-Drawer and in the Greek magical papyri. The further notion that the circle protects the magician from demons may well have originated with moralists such as Caesarius, as a symbolic way of talking about how hazardous it is to conjure demons, even if it was eventually taken over by the necromancers themselves.

In the Munich handbook it is clear that the circle is a focus of power meant to gain control over spirits. The circles have power to convoke the demons (no. 9) and to terrify them (no. 7). In one case the circle is identified as the insignia of the spirits being conjured (no. 8). In another experiment the circle seems to be identified as a representation of the spirits' dwelling place (no. 7). Apart from its power over spirits, a circle may be inscribed on horsehide, and then it will exert power over any horses to whom it is displayed, or keep unwanted horses from approaching its bearer (no. 9). At one point it is said that the spirits cannot enter a circle (no. 3), but elsewhere they are said in fact to do so (no. 11). The instructions for conjuring Mirage in the supplementary sections of the codex do suggest that the circle has a protective function, more for the magician's companion than for the master himself: the master makes a circle with a knife
and has his companion sit inside it, carefully instructing him not to stretch hand, foot, clothes or hair outside it until all is done, 'lest through some error he should seem to enter into danger'. The role of the circle in one of the manual's erotic experiments (no. 3) is ambiguous: it is clearly a focus of magical power, and it may also play a protective role. The text says that the larger the circle, the better; if anything of the master's should extend beyond the circle, 'it would be bad for you'. Does this imply that the circle is a protective enclosure against the assaults of the demons? Perhaps, but this function is not clearly expressed. At no point does the author expressly state that the demons may cause harm and that the circle is necessary for protection; indeed, the experiment is explicitly said to be without danger. While the master sports with the woman inside his spacious circle the demons have in fact vanished; there is no sense that they remain as invisible yet menacing presences. The master's greatest fear may be not assault but interruption: having gone to such effort to secure the woman's presence and guard the secrecy of his magic, he does not want to be disturbed in his love-making by forces demonic or otherwise, and the circle provides an enclosure within which his privacy is secure. Exceeding the bounds of this enclosure will probably have the worst result he envisions: the spell will be broken and he will be disappointed in his love.

ASTRAL MAGIC

Magic circles are not explicitly linked with the celestial spheres, at least in the Munich handbook, yet the magic of circles and that involving heavenly bodies are perhaps related, at least indirectly. In each case the circular form – the perfect shape, according to ancient Greek thought – was conceived as a centre of power that radiated outward. The elegance of the simple form, made with a single and uniform line, seems to have been suggestive of inward-looking strength combined with maximal power to influence other beings. Even if the magic circle could also serve as a protective boundary, defining a safe space within itself, the Munich handbook makes it clear that the circle exerted force over demons, whether traced on the ground or transferred to a sheet of parchment. More clearly and perhaps more obviously, in medieval thought, the stars and planets emitted powers that affected life on earth and could be put to use by a magician for good or for ill. The possibility of such astral magic was not merely a belief of the magicians themselves; philosophers and theologians, indeed educated people generally, accepted the premise that the heavenly bodies influenced affairs here below.

In 1441 Eleanor Cobham, the Duchess of Bedford, was tried for treasonous magic along with accomplices who included Roger Bolingbroke. His part in the matter is summarized by one contemporary source in these terms:
And a certain clerk, one of the most renowned in all the world in astronomy and the magical art, master Roger Bolingbroke, was arrested, and publicly in the cemetery of St Paul's, with the vestments of his magic and with waxen images, and with many other magical instruments, he sat in a certain high throne, so that people from everywhere might see his works; afterwards he was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his head placed on London Bridge. This master Roger was one of the most notable clerks in the whole world, and he was accused on account of... Lady Elianora [Cobham], to whom he was an advisor in the magic art, and after his death many lamented exceedingly greatly.

For our purposes it is not necessary to explore all details and implications of the affair. Suffice it to point out that this Bolingbroke clearly was an ‘astronomer’ or astrologer, and surely had cast the horoscope of Henry VI, already an activity that smacked of treason, but whether he had actually compassed the monarch’s demise is another matter. In any case, we have here a classic case of the intersection between astrology, astral magic and necromancy. Whether or not this particular astrologer was also a necromancer, to lend further force to its conjurations necromancy clearly did borrow techniques, however superficially, from the traditions of astral magic derived from Arabic treatises such as Picatrix. This and similar writings had been translated from Arabic into Western European languages in and around the thirteenth century and seem to have had profound influence on necromantic practice. This influence manifests itself in the Munich manual chiefly in instructions to observe certain astrological conditions and in the use of fumigations.

In various ways the magical apparatus contained in the Munich manual draws from the tradition of astral magic. Eleven experiments specify that their operations, or certain of them, should be done under specified astrological conditions, which most often entail phases of the moon: the work should be done under a waxing or waning moon, or in a particular phase of the moon. The day of the week is sometimes specified. The time of the day may be indicated: the first hour, before sunrise, morning or noon. Thus, an erotic experiment (no. 12) must be initiated in the hour of Venus or the hour of Jove, not simply because of the obvious erotic associations of Venus, but because Venus and Jupiter were seen as ‘favourable’ planets. At times the manual says that operations should be carried out under a clear sky. Astrological specifications of slightly greater sophistication occur only rarely: an experiment is to be carried out under a conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, or when the Sun is in Leo.

Fumigations (or suffumigations) occur in eight of the manual’s experiments. In psychological experiments it is the image or the object sympathetically representing the victim that is fumigated: with myrrh and saffron (no. 3); with
cinnamon, pepper and agrimony (no. 4), or with sulphur fumes (no. 5). In illusionist experiments it is the circle that is thus treated: with the marrow of a dead person (no. 8), or with incense and myrrh (no. 11). An all-purpose experiment (no. 36) likewise instructs the master to place incense and myrrh in a thurible (presumably of gold) and walk around the outer edge of the circle, saying: 'I make this fumigation in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' Both versions of the Mirror of Floron require that the mirror itself be fumigated.

The portion of the manual most fully reflecting the influence of Arabic astral magic is the compendium devoted specifically to the subject (no. 37). This section of the manuscript, which is deeply indebted to works such as Picatrix and other manuals of astral magic,²² contains two types of material: integrated instructions for magical rites utilizing the powers of the heavenly bodies, and lists of supplementary information regarding each day of the week (the seals to be used, the names of angels and other spirits who rule and serve on each day, suffumigations to be employed) and each hour of the day and night (the name and function of each, names of angels that rule each hour, images to be used for each hour, and so forth).²³ The latter form of material can perhaps best be conveyed in tabular form (see Tables E–G), even if some nuance is lost in this presentation. Those subsections which give integrated instructions for rites are, in particular, no. 37a (conjuraciones for each day of the week), nos 37m and 37n (uses of images for each day and night hour), and no. 37q (uses of images and conjuraciones for each day of the week).

Two examples (one from no. 37m, the other from no. 37q) will illustrate how the integrated experiments draw upon the schemata found in the mere lists:

During the fifth day hour one should make an image to tame wild beasts, such as lions, bears, wolves, and any other wild and harmful beasts. At this hour cast an image of the animal of the sort you wish to control or tame, and on the head of the image carve the name of the animal, and on the chest the name of the hour and the name of the lord of the hour, and on the stomach the seven names of the first hour, and fumigate the image with Indian wood and with red sandalwood, and bury the image in a place of your choosing, and with the Lord's help aiding you, you will see that all those animals will be turned to your will.

Somewhat more elaborate is a procedure for bringing concord between humans:

The fifth image is that of Thursday, and the angels constituted over it are Satquiel, Pattar, Constiel, [and] Assassyel, and these are the winds
constituted over the image: Silite, Maraben, Halharit, and their helpers are Yse, Riron, Naasay, [and] Eladab. And when you wish to perform this work, make an image of yellow bronze or of yellow wax on a Thursday, and tint it with green, and make it for a man [or] for a woman, if you wish thereby to bring friendship between two men or women, or between a man and a woman. Make two images of green wax in the month of May, at the height of Pisces, or in the month of January in the height of Sagittarius, and write the name of the man on the heart of the woman's image, and the name of the woman on the heart of the male, and say this conjuration:

'O Lord God, almighty creator of [all] things, visible and invisible, establish gentle concord between thus-and-such woman, daughter of so-and-so, and so-and-so, son of so-and-so, such as you established between Adam and Eve, and between Jacob and Rachel, and between Michael and Gabriel (one of whom is fiery and the other watery, [yet] the one does not harm the other, but there is great concord between them), and such concord as you established between the angel whose medium is fire and the one whose medium is snow, so that the snow does not extinguish the fire, nor does the fire consume the snow, and so you likewise turn envy into concord. Thus, O Lord, by your most holy kindness and mercy, may you cause so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, to accord with, to love, and to cherish so-and-so, son of so-and-so. I conjure you angels by the name Yafaa, Safaa. Alleya, Hayala, Haya, Halix, Hayul. Ataya, Hytoia, Saffetaba, Cossosol, Remlestar, El, Lord God, you who know the secrets of [all] hearts and are the end and the beginning, [and] who never die. Hasten, Sarafem [and] Custyclei, and command Amaris and his helpers, that they may quickly carry out and accomplish my request.'

And bury the image in a place by which they pass, and you will see the marvels of almighty God.

No. 37a consists chiefly of conjurations for the days of the week; the conjurations differ in two main ways from those found in the main block of material: their purpose is left unspecified, there being no explicit instruction to the spirits conjured; and they involve word play and near repetition of a sort often associated with Kabbalah: 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Eee, Eyee, Eyee, Aloray; in the name Saday, Saday, Codos, Cados, Cados, the high one, sitting upon the cherubim . . .'; 'In the name Adonay, Adonay, Eee, Eyee, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn, Hatyn, Hatyn, Va, Va. strong one, Va, who appeared on Mount Sinai with glorification of his reign, Ya, Adonay, Saday, Saboath, Hanath, Hu, Haxi. Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita, Abym, Yea . . .'; and 'by the name Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va. Han. Han, Hon. Hy, Hyen, Haya, Haya, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael. Hon; by the names of the Lord Adonay,
Haya, Hol, creator of the ages, Cados, Cados, Cados, Ebel, El, Ya, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym...'

Elements of simple lunar astrology, too, are found toward the end of the compilation, in a listing of what were called *lunationes*, or days of the lunar cycle that are good or bad for making magical inscriptions (no. 46). In general, lunar astrology lent itself more to popular use than did the more technical science of solar astrology; while it is found in varying degrees of complexity, it could easily be reduced to a simple list of days in the lunar cycle, identified as favourable or unfavourable, whether in general or for a particular operation such as the working of magic.24

When all is said and done, however, the use of astrology and astral magic in the Munich handbook - and probably in other, similar necromantic texts - is fairly superficial. One does not find detailed or rationalized efforts to exploit the powers of celestial bodies, and even the concise treatise of astral magic is more a catalogue than a fully developed work, presumably included simply because the compiler was highly eclectic, but not genuinely integrated into the drift of the compilation as a whole.

The *Speculum astronomiae*, probably written by Albert the Great, explains the basic principles of astrology, then touches at the end on necromancy and related arts. The author says he does not mean to speak in favour of astrological images, because of their similarity to necromantic (necromanticas) ones. He then goes on to say that necromantic books should be set aside without being destroyed. 'For perhaps the time is already at hand, when, for certain reasons about which I am now silent, it will be useful on occasion to have inspected them, but, nevertheless, their inspectors should be wary of using them.'25 Coy as it is, this statement makes clear that the boundary between astral magic and necromancy was fluid in practice even if in theory it could be stated with clarity: astral magic invoked the natural powers of the stars and planets, while necromancy called upon demons; but if there were spirits associated with the heavenly bodies, these might be difficult to distinguish from the spirits of the air traditionally conceived as demonic.26 One can well understand why orthodox authorities and writers would be suspicious of that which even bordered on the forbidden. The works translated from the Arabic might include a great deal of material that was straightforwardly astrological and clearly non-demonic, but a work such as *Picatrix* appealed to both the powers of the planets and those of spirits, and identified its art as that of necromancy. The Munich handbook is important in part because it extends the spectrum to the furthest extreme, giving us nearly in its entirety a work expressly devoted to demonic magic, worked out in considerable detail and for the most part with only token borrowing from the astral magic with which necromancy was so richly intertwined.
### Table E. Specifications for each day of the week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Angels serving</th>
<th>Spirits ruling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(37a, 37b, and co-adjutors) (37e)</td>
<td>(37f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sun.</strong> Raphael</td>
<td>King Saytam ('Taatus, Candas, Vanibal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mon.</strong> Gabriel</td>
<td>King Almodab (Sylol, Millalu, Abuzaba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tues.</strong> Samael</td>
<td>'rex filius dyabuli' (Carmath, Utanual, Pascarni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wed.</strong> Michael</td>
<td>King Saba (Conas, Pactas, Sanbras)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thurs. Satquiel</strong></td>
<td>Madrath, son of Arath (Hyrti, Ignaro Quiron, Saalalebeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fri.</strong> Anael</td>
<td>King Saabotes (Nassath, Ynasa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sat. Captiel= Caffriel</strong></td>
<td>Hayton, Assayby (Abimalyb, Haybalydoth, Yfla)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table F. Specifications for day hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names (37j)</th>
<th>Functions (37j)</th>
<th>Ruling angels (37l)</th>
<th>Functions of images (37m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Yayn</td>
<td>binding tongues</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
<td>binding tongues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Yan, Or</td>
<td>friendship, favour of potentates</td>
<td>Anael</td>
<td>benevolence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Nassura</td>
<td>hunting, fishing</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>congregating birds and fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Sala</td>
<td>binding wild beasts</td>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>dispelling beasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Sadadat</td>
<td>binding beasts</td>
<td>Gaffriel</td>
<td>taming wild beasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Tamhut</td>
<td>freeing captives</td>
<td>Satquiel</td>
<td>freeing captives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Caror</td>
<td>peace between kings</td>
<td>Samael</td>
<td>hunting and fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Tariel</td>
<td>discord</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
<td>destroying houses and other places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Karon</td>
<td>travel, safe passage among robbers</td>
<td>Anael</td>
<td>travelling without harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Hyon</td>
<td>work with demons or demoniacs, foul wind, aid to ladies causing bleeding in women, binding men to women and vice versa peace (between men and women)</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>obtaining one’s will with kings and princes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Nathalon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>concord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th Abat</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cafriel</td>
<td>binding tongues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table G. Specifications for night hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names (37k)</th>
<th>Functions (37k)</th>
<th>Ruling angels (37l)</th>
<th>Images (37n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Leron</td>
<td>working with demoniacs, foul winds</td>
<td>Satquiel</td>
<td>illuminating dark places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Latol</td>
<td>working with fish</td>
<td>Samael</td>
<td>knowing fortunes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Hami</td>
<td>working with fire</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
<td>dispelling reptiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Atyn</td>
<td>destroying houses, expelling people</td>
<td>Anael</td>
<td>destroying or depopulating villages, causing enmity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Caron</td>
<td>asking questions of sleepers</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>scattering armies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names (37k)</td>
<td>Functions (37k)</td>
<td>Ruling angels (37l)</td>
<td>Images (37n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Zaia</td>
<td>working with fruit trees and other plants</td>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>putting enemies to flight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Nectius</td>
<td>expelling people, causing sickness and death</td>
<td>Cafriel</td>
<td>burning vegetation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Tafat</td>
<td>causing enmity</td>
<td>Satquiel</td>
<td>gathering bees or birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Conassuor</td>
<td>binding tongues, entering before kinds and lords</td>
<td>Samael</td>
<td>attracting and capturing birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Algo</td>
<td>destroying evil speech or thought</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
<td>scattering besieging armies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Caltrua</td>
<td>binding or catching birds</td>
<td>Anael</td>
<td>Not to be used for making images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th Salaij</td>
<td>telling fortunes, disclosing theft or other crime</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes


3 M.R. James, 'Twelve medieval ghost-stories', English Historical Review, 37 (1922), 416f.

4 Hansen, Quellen, 556–9; Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, ser. 2, vol. 3 (1846).

5 A classic Byzantine treatise on magic instructed its reader to make two concentric circles wide enough to accommodate two people; they should be drawn inside a square, with an entrance corridor to the south, and various words and signs are to be inscribed. See Richard PH. Greenfield, Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), 286–7.

6 The Saxon Book of Honourius [sic] the Magician, as Composed by Honourius through Counsel with the Angel Hecatoll, ed. and trans. Daniel J. Driscoll (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1983), chs 26 and 38.


8 De Nigromancia., iii.1, 28f.

9 Ibid., 51.

10 Rawl. 29r, 73r, 77v–78r, 79r, 103v, 104r.

11 One (nos 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 15), two (nos 7, 10, 16, 18, 22), three (nos 36, two in 39, 40), or four (no. 6).
12 For parallels and possible sources in Arabic culture see H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charakter in der muslimischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1930).

13 E.g., Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief*, 286.


20 See Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), ch. 8, from which the translation is taken.


23 Nos 37a (conjurations for days of week), 37b (signs of angels), 37c (signs of days), 37d (angels ruling days), 37e (spirits ruling days), 37f (fumigations for days), 37g (purposes served each day), 37h (angels of days), 37i (names of God), 37j (names and functions of day hours), 37k (names and functions of night hours), 37l (names and functions of hourly angels), 37m (images for day hours), 37n (images for night hours), 37o (angels of times), 37p (names of planets and parts of Earth), 37q (images and conjurations for days) and 37r (summary). The association of angels and demons with specific days and hours had been worked out in Byzantine sources; see Armand Delatte, Anecdota Atheniensia, 1 (Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1927), 403-4, 434-8. For material similar to that in no. 37j, see Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 2.


CONCLUSION

Some time around the 1530s, Benvenuto Cellini witnessed the conjuring of demons in the Colosseum at Rome— or at least so he reports in his autobiography. He had met a Sicilian priest who knew Latin and Greek, and who agreed to introduce him to the art of necromancy. Along with two companions they went to the Colosseum, traced circles on the ground, and undertook 'the finest ceremonies that can be imagined', amid various suffumigations and an hour and a half of conjurations. When legions of demons filled the Colosseum, the priest urged Cellini to make some inquiry, and he asked them to restore to him his Sicilian girlfriend, Angelica, to which they made no reply. Cellini and the priest went to the Colosseum a second time, with a twelve-year-old boy and two other companions. In Hebrew and Greek as well as Latin, the necromancer conjured multitudinous demons by name, invoking the power of God, and there appeared a hundred times as many spirits as previously. Cellini repeated his request, and the spirits promised that within a month he would be together with Angelica. But the ceremony was soon out of control: the necromancer declared that the demons were a thousand times more than he had conjured, and they were the most dangerous of spirits; the boy shrieked that a million threatening figures were swarming around them, while four 'giants' were endeavouring to break into the circle. Eventually, however, the numbers of spirits dwindled, so that by the time the conjurers left their circle the boy reported there were only two demons left, skipping along the road or on the rooftops. The necromancer insisted that he had never before encountered such a ferocious display of demons. The experience did not dissuade him, however, from urging Cellini to join him in another ritual, the consecration of a book by which they could discover buried treasure. Cellini agreed, but was soon so preoccupied with his work that he abandoned both this new project and his hopes regarding Angelica.

E.M. Butler inclined to accept Cellini's story essentially at face value, although she noted that only the boy seems actually to have seen the conjured spirits— the rest of the party relied chiefly on the lad's reports — and she ascribed the exceptional success of the necromancer's rituals to the boy's impressionable nature. No doubt it could have happened. Conjuring demons is hardly the most implausible undertaking humans have devoted themselves to, and it seems prima facie unlikely that books of necromancy would have circulated in late medieval and early modern Europe without occasional use of the experiments they contained. The results may more often have been those experienced by Gilles de Rais, who engaged more than one clerical necromancer in an effort to recoup his
finances with demonic aid, but who found the conjurations utterly without effect — except when he was not looking, at which point the necromancer would assure him that ferocious spirits had come and beaten him mercilessly. Gilles de Rais's necromancers were perhaps typical in their skilful deception of a gullible client. One is reminded of the necromancers, including a former Templar, who strung Cardinal Francesco Caetani along, begging for time to complete their experiments, and pleading that they could not do so because they were unable to locate such necessary items as a hoopoe. The necromancer appears often to have been a mountebank, and the most important factor in his success was perhaps the credulity of his client. Yet one hesitates to generalize; if clients could place faith in necromancy, this was in part because the broader culture took the matter seriously enough to prosecute people for exercising the art, and few doubted in principle that conjuring could succeed, so there must have been necromancers and would-be necromancers who copied out experiments into their books in the hope of having close encounters with malign but potentially useful spirits.

In some respects the story of Benvenuto Cellini is consonant with the picture of necromancy given in the Munich handbook, while in other ways it is not. The use of circles, conjurations and suffumigations, the recruitment of a young boy, and the presence of a few companions — all this is typical of what we have seen in the necromancer's manual. The use of a classical language is again expected, although Greek and Hebrew may have been exceptional. The experiments in the Munich handbook sometimes instruct the spirits to come in pleasant and non-threatening form, as if the conjurers were aware that the experience of Cellini and his friends — a veritable temptation of Saint Anthony — might befall them. What is most unusual about Cellini's report is precisely its drama. The demons foreseen in the Munich manuscript are made tame, domesticated, even docile in comparison. The conjurations are intended to coerce the spirits, and the expectation is that these spirits will present themselves in a mood of submission to the necromancer's constraint. Yet the writer surely knew the alternative possibility, and if he insisted on using conjurations as spiritual weapons against the spirits he did so because he knew that precautions were necessary, that docility did not come naturally to demons.

I have argued that material such as the Munich handbook is historically important because it helps us grapple with the mentality of the clerical necromancers, but that this mentality was not a simple or stable entity. Its variations depended largely on the type of ritual in question. The illusionist experiments display a playful and imaginative impulse, but one that could nurture the profoundly serious anxieties seen in the early witch trials. In the psychological rites we find a quest for power over other people's minds, wills, and bodies, often manifesting itself as an expression of violent impulse, and in any case revealing tension in the clash of wills. In the divinatory operations a desire
for knowledge often combines with pecuniary motives, and we see an almost
obsessive concern with the truth of the knowledge gained, in the face of the
danger of falsehood. In the Munich handbook we find all three types of material,
but in shifting proportions: if I am right in my hypothesis that we have the
experiments substantially in their original order, the compiler seems to have
become less interested in the glamorous forms of magic, more absorbed in
workaday divination, and more prosaic in his manner of presentation as he
pursued his task. To read the work in this way is to find in it an element of
implicit autobiography, even when the first person is not used. It is also to see the
compiler as reflecting both synchronically and diachronically the diversities of
magical tradition: not only does he bring disparate practices into fusion,
combining sympathetic magic or scrying with conjuring and other techniques,
but as he continues the process his work loses some of its earlier brio and he
settles for kinds of magic more likely to draw money-bearing clients.

Furthermore, I have suggested that books such as the Munich manual of
necromancy are significant for the light they shed on broader tendencies in late
medieval culture. First, attention to such a compilation expands our conception
of how a book could function and how it could be perceived in late medieval
culture. Cellini's story reminds us of what we have already seen, that a book was
a sacred object, particularly when consecrated, and that its sacrality was a factor
enabling the necromancer better to attain his goals. Second, awareness of what
magicians set out to do is needed for a realistic of their enemies' reactions and
refutations. Cellini knew, as everyone at the time knew, that the behaviour of his
priest friend was transgressive. One might view it as frivolous transgression; it
certainly had no obvious political significance. Be that as it may, it takes on more
sober significance in light of the virulent attacks on necromancy by people whose
opinion weighed heavily, including popes and theologians, inquisitors and secular
judges, those instrumental in forging the cumulative concept of witchcraft as a
hammer for crushing women in particular, and the Humanist mages who wished
to distance themselves as effectively as possible from common and vulgar
necromancers. Third, study of this material helps us see the essential continuity
in form between necromancy and exorcism, and the grounding of both in the
established liturgy of the medieval Church. As the reverse side of the liturgical
tapestry, the necromancer's experiments help us to see how ritual could be
perceived and perverted by those making private use of it for transgressive
purposes.

From a slightly different perspective, we might say that a text such as the
Munich handbook is historically significant because it elucidates the connection
between dreams and nightmares. The necromancers and their clients dreamed of
discovering wealth, sexual fulfilment, favour and promotion, power over
adversaries, entertainment, and knowledge of secret and future matters. In
pursuing these dreams they risked entering into nightmares that they shared with
those about them. Cellini experienced what any necromancer other than a sheer impostor must have feared, the traumatic disruption of psychic and spiritual security, the terrifying irruption of sinister forces into the private space they occupied. The thrill of flirting with such danger was surely one reason for the art’s powerful appeal. Like the Ouija board, the necromancer’s circle could begin as a game but turn unexpectedly nasty and threatening. On a purely rationalist reading, the danger of the means might be balanced against the allurement of the ends. More realistically speaking, the hazards were surely among the attractions of such activity, and as Freud would remind us, the nightmare was itself the distorted fulfillment of a wish, at least for those mysterious souls who took delight at venturing into a Boschian landscape, in the hope that when they finished they would not be trapped within its frame.

Notes


The Necromancer’s Handbook
in Clm 849: Fols 3r–108v

THE DISPOSITION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is from the first half of the fifteenth century, of unknown provenance. It is not mentioned in Otto Hartig, Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. und hist. Klasse, vol. 28, sect. 3, 1914). It is on paper, without discernible watermark. The present binding is probably from the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century; the inner side of the rear binding bears a sticker referring to Georg Winkler Buchbinderei KB, Hoflieferant, München, Kreuzstr. 9. Fol. 3 is heavily worn. In the middle of the lower margin of fol. 3r (as on fol. 156v) is a stamp with the inscription Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis. In the middle of the upper margin of fol. 3r, Clm 849 is marked in pencil. The manuscript is 14.7 cm wide and 21 cm high. The text is in a single column, with lineation still discernible on almost all pages. Initials are rubricated. Filiation runs from fol. 3 through fol. 152, and was probably executed after the earliest binding; earlier foliation occurs on individual folios, and is largely erroneous. Various hands are represented, but these do not always correspond to the gatherings of the manuscript; gatherings 12 through 14, however, are written by entirely different hands from those that precede, and the condition of the paper is also different from that in gatherings 1 through 11.

There are fifteen gatherings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Experiments</th>
<th>Codicological particularities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 3–11</td>
<td>No. 1 to beginning of no. 4</td>
<td>Sheet with fol. 10 is separately inserted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 12–23</td>
<td>End of no. 4 to beginning of no. 9</td>
<td>Sheet with fols 12–13 is separately inserted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 24–35</td>
<td>End of no. 9 to beginning of no. 16</td>
<td>Sheet with fols 24–25 is separately inserted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 36–45</td>
<td>End of no. 16 to beginning of no. 27</td>
<td>Fol. 45 is also marked as fol. 59 (in earlier hand).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folios</td>
<td>Experiments</td>
<td>Codicological particularities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 46-50</td>
<td>End of no. 27 through no. 30</td>
<td>Postponement of the middle of no. 27 results in textual discontinuity at the beginning of this gathering. After fol. 50 (on which no. 30 is completed), five uncounted folios (i.e., the second half of the gathering) are excised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 51-59</td>
<td>Middle of no. 27, then no. 31 and beginning of no. 32</td>
<td>Between fol. 51 (which is inscribed only recto) and 52 (which begins with an incipit) five uncounted folios are excised. Fol. 59r is also marked as 79 (in earlier hand).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 60-68</td>
<td>End of no. 32 to beginning of no. 37</td>
<td>Between fol. 66 and fol. 67 is fol. 65 bis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 69-82</td>
<td>Continuation of no. 37</td>
<td>Fol. 70r is also marked as fol. 89 (in earlier hand). Fol. 71r is also marked as fol. 70 (in later hand). Fol. 82 is also marked as fol. 9 (in earlier hand).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 83-95</td>
<td>Continuation of no. 37</td>
<td>Three sheets - fols 91, 92, and 94 - are separately inserted. Fol. 94 is also marked as fol. 10 (in earlier hand).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 96-103</td>
<td>End of no. 37 to beginning of no. 40</td>
<td>Fol. 96r is also marked as fol. 104 (in later hand).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 104-108</td>
<td>End of no. 40 through no. 47</td>
<td>After fol. 108, three uncounted folios are excised. Fols 106-7 are also marked as fols. 114-5 (in later hand). No. 44 is a fragment on the middle of fol. 107v. No. 47 is a fragment on the middle of fol. 108v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 109-118</td>
<td>Related materials, written by various hands</td>
<td>After fol. 118, two uncounted folios are excised. In this gathering there is no lineation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 119-32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 133-146</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fols 133-139 are also marked as fols 1-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 147-156</td>
<td></td>
<td>Six sheets - fols 147-151 and 156 - are separately inserted.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXTUAL DISCONTINUITIES**

Apart from the abrupt beginning of the text at the beginning of the main block (on fol. 3r) and the occurrence of textual fragments at the end of this block (on the middle of fol. 107v and on the middle of fol. 108v), discernible breaks in
textual continuity occur at three points within the block: (1) Between fols 45 and 46, one text ends abruptly (45v) at the end of the fourth gathering, the fifth gathering begins with a blank page (46r), and a new text begins in medias res (46v). (2) Between fols 50 and 51, one text ends with an explicit (50v), five folios are excised at the end of the fifth gathering, and the sixth gathering begins in medias res (51r). (3) Between 51 and 52, one text ends abruptly (51r) even though the verso is blank, five following folios are excised within the gathering, and the same gathering resumes with an incipit (52).

The discontinuities on fols 45–51 are related, in the sense that the central portion of an experiment (no. 28) has been postponed to fol. 51r, which evidently supplies the missing link between the beginning (fols 44v–45v) and the end (fols 46v–47v) of this experiment. Note that experiment no. 28 is divided into two 'chapters': the end of the first is marked by the words Explicit primum capitulum near the bottom of fol. 46r; the second begins with a list of names at the very bottom of that folio, which continues at the top of fol. 51r and continues with a conjuration that occupies the remainder of fol. 51r (fol. 51v is blank), only to conclude with the material on fols 46v–47v, which terminated with the notation Explicit secundum capitulum. The textual continuity produced by this rearrangement is corroborated by the identification of two chapters as part of a continuing experiment. The discontinuity is not fully explainable in terms of erroneous binding, which would not account for the scribe's not using the verso of fol. 51. Rather, the lack of continuity is more plausibly explained on the assumption that the scribe recognized belatedly that he had material at hand that belonged to an earlier experiment; he may not have taken the trouble to determine exactly where the fragment inserted on fol. 51r belonged.

It is possible that the only material actually deleted from the miscellany is that on the first two folios. Although folios are elsewhere excised (between fols 50 and 51, between fols 51 and 52, and between fols 108 and 109), the evident textual discontinuities can be emended by rearrangement, and there are no further deletions from the original foliation.

At the end of this block, three folios between 108 and 109 are excised at the end of a gathering, after which new material begins, written by different hands. Within this new material there are three further breaks in textual continuity: between 118 and 119, where two folios are excised at the end of a gathering; between 132 and 133, with the beginning of a new gathering; and between 146 and 147, again with the beginning of a new gathering.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

Punctuation and capitalization have been standardized. Non-standard but clearly intentional forms and spellings have been allowed to stand: abilem for habilem (no. 34), aparuisi for apparuisi (no. 31), beniulus for benevulus (no. 34), blica for plica
(no. 1), colido for collido (no. 5), commitantem for comitantem (no. 19), committium and committuia for committium and comituiua (no. 7), decim for decem (no. 18), dispersit for dispersit (no. 33), dissipulos for discipulos (no. 35), duodecim for duodecem (no. 27), genibus for genibus (nos 10 & 11), hillariter for hilariter (no. 6), hostio for ostio (no. 17), inungas for inungas (no. 22), karacteribus for characteribus (no. 19), karitatem karitatuam for caritatem caritatium (no. 14), kathedram for cathedram (no. 15), legittimo for legitimo (no. 27), letania for titania (no. 31), lingnum for lignum (no. 13), lascam for logism (no. 34), magestias for majestas (no. 1), magestatis for majestatis (no. 33), navim for navem (no. 8), optimere for obtinere (no. 31), pallificando for paleificando (no. 19), patiscere for patefacere (no. 6), pulcherimi for pulcherrimi (no. 13), quadruvio for quadrivio (no. 26), rhetoriam for rhetoricam (no. 34), ribelles for rebelles (no. 33), senephali for seneschali (no. 34), sepellire for sepelire (no. 4), sepellitus and desepelliendo for sepelitus and desepelendo (no. 2), Septentrione for Septentrione (fols 115r and 144r), thesaurus for thesaurus (no. 43), puppa for upupa (no. 6). The text has been corrected conservatively when it was necessary to do so for the sense of a passage, but not simply to correct errors; e.g., on fol. 56r quod vij die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam is corrected to qui vij[a] die hominem ad ymaginem plasmasti tuam but vij is not corrected to vi, and on fol. 13r discedat . . . serviat . . . diligat has been allowed to stand. Necessary additions have been made in square brackets; deletions and substitutions are indicated in the notes. Lower-case c and t are sometimes distinguished but often not; when the context allows either, c is used. In occult names and 'Chaldean' formulas especially it is often impossible to distinguish between c and t, to determine whether a superscript line over a vowel represents m or n, or to make other editorial judgements which depend on context; in these cases the transcription is perforce largely arbitrary.

Italics are used for ritual text that is to be recited, but not for dialogue. In the conjunctions, chains of invocations given in unbroken sequence in the manuscript are broken into individual units (beginning with per or et per), each marked with a bullet, to clarify the structure of each invocation.

NO. 1. FOR GAINING KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIBERAL ARTS (FOLS 3r–5v)

[. . .] versus orientem. Deinde dicere [debes]:

Apolin, Maraloth, Berith, ego, talis, vos exerciscoet coniuro ex parte dei omnipotentis, qui vos vestra eleccione russit antra subire profundis, ut debatis michi mittere quedam spiritum portium dogmate omnium scientiarum, qui michi sit beniulus, fidelis, et placidus, ad docendum omnem scientiam quam volueru4, veniens in forma magistri, ut nulam formidinem doleam percipere. Fiat. Fiat. Item coniuro vos

\[a\] Corrected from exercisor.
\[b\] MS volueris, although the final letter is uncharacteristic for this hand.
per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,

et [per] hec sancta nomina quorum virtute ligamini – scilicet Dobel, Vriel, Sabooth, Sermont, Adonay, Tetragramaton, Albumay, Siloth, Moreth, Sadabin, Rodelel, Domiel, Perarabiel; Alabael, nominem, nominem, iste Vsobel,

quattuor vos tres reges maximus et michi socii michi petenti versus de subditis vestris mittere laboretis, qui sit magister omnium scieniarum et arciun, veniens in forma humana placabilis [et] splendens michi, et erudiens me cum amore, ita et taliter quod in termino 30a[rum] dierum talem scieniam valeam adipisci, permittens post sumpccionem scienzie dare sibi [3v] licenciam recedendi.

Et hoc eciam tociens dici debet.


Primo debes querere, 'O magister, quod est nomen vestrum?' Ipse dicit, et tu


Quibus omnibus factis, sedebis per totam diem in circulo, aspiciens ipsum, nichil loquendo. Cum vero serono fuerit, blica dictum pannum, spolia te, et intra in cubicularium, ponendo ipsum sub capitie tuo. Et cum posueris,n dic sic plana voce:

O Apolin, Maraloch, Berith, Satan, Beliaith, Belzebuc, [et] Lucifer, supplico vobis vt precipiatis magistro – in eo [loro] (nominando eius nomen) – vt ipse debeat venire cras ante solis ortum ad me et docere me talem scienciam sine aliqua fallacia, per illum qui centurias est indicare viros et mortuos et seulum per ignem. Amen.

Caue igitur et precaue ne signum * crucis facias, propter magnum periculum in somnno. Scias quod video magistrum tota nocte loqui tecum. Interrogans a te quam scienciam velis addiscere. Et cum dices, 'Talem', ita quod, vt dictum est,

k Meanung presentare?
li Followed by ei (?); deleted.
m Circle at the bottom of fol. 4: a single band inscribed within a square. The names of the spirits Belial, Satan, Mendior Matalot, Belzebuh, Lucifer, Sententino and Apolin are inscribed in and around the band, as are the four cardinal directions. Nomen magistri, de tali ordine and Nomen discipuli are marked in the centre.
n The final o, written with a superscript line, has been corrected, with the correct form servos also in the margin.
o Meaning reposueris?
tota nocte cum eo hoc loqueris. Cum itaque excitatus fueris, quod e[s]t in ipsa nocte, surge et accende candelam, et accipe dictum pannum et devolve, et in eo sede, videlicet in circulo vbi nomen tuum scriptum est ad tuum commodum, et voca nomen magistri tui, sic dicens:


_Hiis itaque dictis, tunc aspiciens versus occidentem videbis magistrum venire cum multis discipulis, quem rogabis vt omnes abire iubeat, et statim recedunt._' Quo facto, ipse magister dicit, ‘Quam scientiam audire desideras?’ Tu dices, ‘Talem,’ et tunc incipies.

_Memento enim quod quantum tibi dicit, tantum addisces⁸ et memorie commendabis, et omnem scientiam quam habere volueris addiscas in termino xxx⁹[rum] dierum._

_Et quando ipsum de camera abire volueris, plica pannum et reconde,t et statim recedet. Et quando ipsum venire volueris, aperi pannum, et subito ibidem apparebit, continuando lecciones. Post vero terminum 30a[rum] dierum, doctus optime in scientia, fac tibi dare⁹ ensem tuum et dic vt vadam, et cum pace recedat. Debes iterum dicere cum pro alia ipsum invocabis habenda scientia, qui tibi dicit ad tui libitum esse paratum._

_Finis est capituli scientie, etc._

NO. 2. FOR CAUSING A PERSON TO LOSE HIS SENSES (FOLS 6r–7v)

Ad hoc igitur, vt scientia siue ars possit ab aliquo auferri, vnde diligenter attende.⁸ Debes enim primo decrescente luna die sabbati ire ad illum quem ad mentem venire volueris et coram eo sic dicere plana voce:

_p  Sic in MS._
_q  MS quam._
_r  Sic in MS._
_s  MS addiscens._
_t  MS retunde._
_u  Sic in MS._
_a  Sic in MS._
Subintret Mirael cerebrum tuum et omnem sapienciam, sensum,\* discretionem, [et] cogitationem diluat et aboleat. Coniuro te, Mirael,

* per omnes principes et maiores,
* et per omnia que facere voles,
vt in tali quem aspicio debras permanere donec michi libuerit, et ipsum obsuscar,\* et omne quod agnoscit ammittat,\* alioquin mittam te in maris profundum, quod non egredieris in secula.

Quibus dictis, recede et prestolare donec sero fuerit. Quo facto, vade ad hostium eius et incide de ligno ipsius hostij tantum quod de ipso calamum facere possis, et ad domum redeas, et fac de ipso calamum, et de sangwine murilogi in panno lini cum ipso calamo scribe:

O Mirael, ablator sapiencie, sciencie, cognitionis, et artis, adsis in sensibus talis, et spiritum facere debras animo dementer.\* 

Qua conuocacione scripta, fit in dicto panno circulus cum dicto sangwine vt hic apparet,\* vbi scribitur vt sequitur: nomen illius quem priuare volueris in medio circuli conscribitur, [cum] hoc nomine 'Mirael'. Quibus factis, debes dicere sic:

Coniuro vos decem demones [6v] malignos, videtiet Oreoth, Penen, Oecl, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy, Sismael,

* per individuam trinitatem, videtiet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab utroque procedentem,
* et per tremendam et timendum diem judiciij,\* 
* et per omnia que fuerunt et sunt et erunt,
vt\* sicut in hoc circulo figurati,\* circuitis talem,\* ita vere et efficaciter et existenter personam eius circuitis, et sensus eius taliter affligatis quod ignorans, demens, stultus, et mente captus\* 

b Followed by et.
c Corrected in margin from obsuscar.
d MS amittit.
e Sic in MS.
f Figure on fol. 6: a single circular band, with Oreoth, Penen, Ocecl, Tryboy, Noryoth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy and Sismael inscribed in it. In the centre of the circle Mirael and N. (for the name of the intended victim) are inscribed. Along the left side of 6v is a band labelled Hoc [or hic] est candela and the following names inscribed along it: Oreoth, Penen, Ocecl, Tryboy, Norioth, Belferith, Camoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy.
g The writer began to write judiciij, then corrected the second i to c.
h MS et.
i Followed by estis.
j Followed by vt.
k MS capitius.
efficiatur. Et tu, Mirea, de cerebro eius nunquam egrediaris, manens in eo die noctuque donec ab eo abire iubebo.

Quibus sic dictis ter, iterum redeas in eadem nocte ad domum ipsius cum dicto panno et cum quodam cultello, et cum ibi fueris, volue humeros versus suum hostium, et flecens te in terram, minge in parte eius more cameli. Faciendo soueam subterando dictum pannum in eius limite,\(^1\) dic sic:

**Subterro te, talem, in nomine demoniorum scriptorum circa te, quod semper ipsi demones [sint] circa te et omnis tua virtus sepulta sit.**

Et cooperto dicto circulo cum terra, redeas iterum ad domum, et fac candelam, in qua sint scripta omnia contenta in circulo. Et debes ipsam facere de cera primo empta, [in] nomine et [pro] destruczione eius, cum vna acu similiter empta. Qua facta, accende ipsam et dic sic:

**Sicut hec candela,\(^m\) facta in destruc tionem talis, comburitur et consumatur,\(^n\) ita omnis virtus et scienza existens in ipso in demenci am convertatur, per virtutem demoniorum in hac candela scriptorum. Et sicut vos demones hic scripti ardetis, ita nullam requiem habere possitis donec hoc duxeritis ad effectum.\(^o\)**

Quibus verbis semel prolatis, dictam candelam extingwe, dicendo hec verba:

**Sicut hec candela exingu itur, ita omnis virtus in tali permanens penitus consumetur.**

Mane vero ipsam accende, dicendo, *Sicut hec* [7v] *candela, etc.* Item alio mane, vque ad terminum septum dierum, computato primo die; in octavo vero die, videbis istum dementem omnino, de quo omnes mirabuntur. Mirabile est autem quod non credit se aliquem habere defectum, et omnes alios mente putat esse carentes.

Hanc igitur experienciam apud te tene, quia magne virtutis est.

Cum autem ipsum volueris in statum priorem deuenire, optime fieri potest. Die iouis, 1. hora noctis, vade ad suum hostium vbi sepelisti pannum, quod dum sepelliturus debet poni pannus in quodam vase vt non putrescat; sic factis omnino ipsum liberandi, et ipsum pannum desepelliendo, sic dicas:

\(^1\) Corrected from licane.
\(^m\) Followed by est.
\(^n\) Presumably meaning consumitur.
\(^o\) MS affectum.
O Miraet, Oreoth, Pinet, Ocel, Triay, Morooyth, Belferith, Canoy, Astaroth, Sobronoy. [et] Sismaet, ego, talis, absuluo vos ut eatis ad vestri libitum, et relinquatis talem in statu priori.

Quibus dictis, ser domip istum pannum, et accenso igne ligni olivie et prouincula et herba verbera, priocias dictum pannum sub dicto igne, dicendo,

Sicut ignis iste consumit hunc pannum, ita omnis ars facta per me contra talem penitus consumetur.

Combusto igne, proice dictum puluerem in aqua currenti, et omnis ars destructa erit. Cognoscat eciam se postea vir quod fuerit primo omni prefectura priiatus, credens se habuisse egritudinem, cuiius occasione hec accessisse putabit, etc.

NO. 3. FOR AROUSING A WOMAN’S LOVE (FOLS 8r−11v)

... maxima diligencia probaudi ipsum, et est periculosa, cum heck silicet in persona, et ...

Cum volueris habere amorem a quacumque muliere vis, siue longinqua siue propinququa, tam nobili quam prolipia, in quacumque die vel nocte vis, siue in augmento siue in amicicie detrimento, primo debes habere quandam columbam totam albam et cartam factam de cane femina dum est in amore, de qua est habere leuissimum. Et debes scire quod predicta carta potentissima est ad amorem mulieris habendum. Debes eciam habere calamam aquile. Et in loco occulto accipe dictam columbam et cum dentibus morde eam penes cor ita ut cor egrediatur, et cum calamo aquile in dicta carta cum dicto sangwine scribe nomen illius quam vis. [Debes] formare ymaginem mulieris nude quam melius scis, dicendo,

Formo talem. N., filiam talis, quam habere desidero, nomine istorum sex spirituum calidorum, videlicet Tubal, Sathan, Ruces, Cupido, Aflion, Duliatius, quod ipsa me diligat super omnes viuentes istius mundi.

p Sic, for domum?
q Meaning cum?
r MS herbam verbenam.
s Inserted above the end in margin.
a Introductory line at top of folio, partly cut off.
b Meaning plebeia?
c Sic in MS.
d Meaning in nomine?
Qua facta, scribe in fronte nomen eius et hoc numen 'Tubal', dicendo,

_Tu es talis, filia talis, de cetero ad meam voluntatem disposita, et tu es Tubal in fronte eius._
_Te iubeo permanere, ligando sensus eius capitis sui_ ad _me tantummodo cupientem._

Postea adhuc scribe in brachio suo dextrae 'Sathan', et in [8v] sinistro 'Reuces'. Quibus scriptis, sic dic:

_Sicut tu, Sathan, et tu, Reuces, estis scripti in hac ymagine facta nomine talis, ita continuo affligatis brachia ista sua ut aliquid facere nequeat sed me amplecti desideret._

Quo facto, iterum scribe penes cor ymaginis nomen tuum, dicendo,

_Sicut in corde istius ymaginis sum, ita talis, N., die noctuque me in corde suo habeat._

Quo facto, scribe supra wuluam imaginis hoc nomen 'Cupido', dicendo sic:

_Sicut tu, Cupido, es super wuluam istius ymaginis, ita semper maneas super wuluam talis, accendendo ipsam ut omnes viros istius mundi despiciat et me tantummodo cupiat, et ignis amoris mei ipsam torquet et inflammet._

Quo facto, scribe in crure dextrae 'Afalion', in sinistro 'Duliatus'. Quibus scriptis, dic:

_Sicut tu Afalion et tu Duliatus estis scripti in hac ymagine, ita sedeatis in crubibus talis, affligendo crura eius propter amorem vehementem mei, quod non velit ire nec ire desideret aliquo nisi huc._

Quibus dictis, accipe ipsam ymaginem ambabus manibus, et flexis genibus dic sic:

_Adtraxi cor et mentem talis per hanc ymaginem, et prouoco in ipsam invocatione fortissi quod ipsa me diligat, cupiat, et affectet, et eciam tota nox in somnno aspiciat, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui vivit [9r] et regnat et imperat in eternum._

Quibus dictis, habeas mirram et saffranum, et factoigne, dictam ymaginem suffumiga, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

e  _Sic in MS._

f  _MS accipit._
Coniuro vos omnes demones in hac ymagine scriptos, per dominos vestros quibus obedire tenemini: Sobedon, Badalam, et Berith; quatenus talem, curius ymago est hoc nomine figurata, in amore meo accendere debeatis, ut die noctuque in me cogitet, in me speret, donec cum affectu meam compleurerit voluntatem. Et sicut in hac ymagine scripti et fixi estis, ita in ipsa recumbaris donec de ea factam quidquid velit.

Hac igitur coniuracione ter dicta, et facta suffumigacione, habeas h caude pilum cuiusdam equi, et suspende dictam cartam cum dicto pilo, ita vt moueatur ab aere, et dimittre stare; illa i vero die, vel sequenti, vel alia, vel quando potes, ad illam mulierem accedas, et procul dubio libertissime te videbit, dicens [se] sine te stare non posse. Et hoc habeas pro constanti, et tuo animo j faciet voluntatem, et super te omnia diligit k in eternum.

Si bene seruaueris ymaginem eius nomine figuratam, in qua virtus talis existit, ymmo et de hoc magis est admirandum: hoc est signum: antequam vidisses ipsum, statim facta hac ymagine [9v] cum ad eam accesseris erit de [te] taliter filocapta quod dum te viderit, quod non recedas ab ipsius coniunctione priuatus, ymmo de omni quod volueris contentus habebis.

Si vero ad eam non possis accedere, siue m timore aut loci distancia aut aliquo interueniente, tamen potes ipsum apportari facere per supradictos demones, qui ita efficacis sunt quod si esses in Oriente in vna hora ipsum ab Occasu portaret sine aliquo periculo, et similiter reportaret sine aliqua diwlgacione. Et vt sit facta ymago vt dictum est et suspensa illa die, in aliqua hora diei, sufflas in ipsa ita quod flatu tuo moueatur. Et similiter secunda die et tercia die. In nocte vero ipsius diei terciij, vel eciam in ipsa die, solus uel cum tribus sociis fidelibus, accipe dictam ymaginem et cum illo pilo liga ipsum ad collum tuum, et pendet in pectore tibi. Et habeas quandam ensem, et in terra fac circulum cum dicto ense. Facto circulo, stans intus, voca socios si habeas, qui nichil faciant nisi quod in circulo sedeant et ludum videant; quos si non habueris, quod melius est. Habeas stilum ferreum, et circa circulum scribe vt hic appararet, cum silentio semper.

g MS Lerith.
h MS habeat or habeac.
i MS illam.
j Perhaps for tui animi.
k Sic in MS.
l Sic in MS.
m MS sine.
n Sic in MS.

o The upper portion of 10r is occupied by a single circular band containing the names Rator, Lambay, Despan, Brunio, Dronoth, Maloqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim and Lodoni. The centre is labelled Locus magistri.
Quo facto,\(^p\) [10r] dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos demones in hoc circulo sculptos, quibus data est potestas et potencia ducendi et alligandi mulieres in amore virorum,

- *per virtutem et potentiam maiestatis divinae,*
- *et per thoros et dominaciones et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt,*
- *et per illos qui non cessant clamare una voce, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis. [10v]*
  Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis,"
- *et per hoc nomina pauencia et tremencia vos,\(^q\) scilicet Rator, Lampey, Despan, Brulo, Dronoth, Malaqui, Satola, Gelbid, Mascifin, Nartim, et Lodonii,*
- *et per anulum istum qui hic est,*
- *et per innumerabiles potencias vestras et maiorum vestrorum, quod ubicunque sitis de locis vestris sine mora surgatis et ad talem pergatis, et statim sine fallacia ipsam huc ducatis, et cum volueris ipsam reportabitis. Et de hoc nemo senciat vel perpandat.*

Qua' dicta ter, versus anulum aspiciendo, audies quandam vocem dientem, 'Ecce nos sumus,' et statim eos videbis sex domicillos pulciores et mites, tibi eadem voce dicentes, 'Assumus hic, parati tibi parere' benigne. Dic igitur quid vis, et statim subito faciemus.' Tu autem dices, 'Eatis ad talem et michi ipsam sine mora ducatis.' Quibus dictis, subito recedent; ante horam ipsam sine lesione portabunt.


Potes enim retinere hanc muliorem in dicto circulo quantum tibi placet, quia cum mulier ingreditur circulum dicere debes illis spiritibus, 'Vnus vestrum vadat ad locum a quo' talem a[p]portauistis, et in forma [eius] ibidem maneat donec ipsam hic habueris.' Hiis dictis, omnes abint cum silencio. Cum autem, illa die ac nocte ac mense ac anno quando tibi placuerit quod ipsam ad domum volueris reuertere,\(^u\) dic sic:

\(^p\) Quo facto repeated at top of 10r.
\(^q\) Sic in MS.
\(^r\) Sic in coniuracione.
\(^s\) MS parare.
\(^t\) Corrected from qua.
\(^u\) Sic in MS.
O vos spiritus, qui talem hac duxistis, accipite ipsam et ad domum suam portate. Et quotiens ipsam reueluro, ipsam sitis in reportando subiecti. Venite igitur per miras valetias quas ineffabiliter exerci min.

Quibus ter dictis, venient quinque spiritus, qui eam te vidente portabunt.

Memento enim, quando ipsa egreditur circulum, in dicendo 'Vale', tangere ipsam cum yimagine quam habes ad collum, quia in eternum pro hac te diliget et neminem preter te videre curabit; yimaginem semper interim quod cum muliere [11v] moraris, ad collum retinere debes, qui semper ipsi mulieri invisibilis apparebit, et cum ipsa abierit, dissolue ipsam a collo tuo et in quoddam vasculum diligenter reconde. Et ipsa recondita, dilue totum circulum et secure egrediaris. Et quando [eam] iterum ad te veniere volueris, fac vt desuper dictum est.

Et nota quod experimentum est efficacissimum, et in eo nullum periculum est. Quo solo experimento Salomon habebat quascumque mulieres volebat. Et hec dicta suffciant pro habendis mulieribus. Et debet fieri cum sollemnitatibus maximis, etc.

NO. 4. FOR GAINING DIGNITY AND HONOUR (FOLS 11v–13v)

Dicto de habendo amore mulieris, volo tibi legare artem probatissimam ad obtinendum dignitatem et honorem, statum et maximam incorruptibilem dileccionem a rege uel a pelato siue domino, et generaliter a quocumque viro volueris.

Primo igitur habeas duos lapides molles quos ad inuicem ita fricabas vt superficies ipsor[um] plane eque concordent. Quo facto. in vno sculpes formam illius quem volueris, a incipiendo a capite, deinde vsque ad pedes, faciendo primo a parte anteriori, deinde a posteriori, sculpendo eciam coronam in capite si rex est, et sic [12r] secundum dignitatem. Qua sculpita, formabis in illo eciam lapide apud aliam formam tuam figuram, quam melius scieris, incipiendo a capite, vt dictum est, et a parte anteriori deinde a tergo. Quibus factis, scribe in fronte primo more sigilli nomen illius, et in tua nomen tuum. Quo facto, luna crescente die dominica in prima hora diei, habeas argentum siue stagnum, et ad ignem decola. Quo decolato, proicias in formam illius, dicendo sic:

Ego. talis, volens talenm gratiam obtinere et ab eo venerari, semper honorari, similiter et timeri, formam ymaginem factam et sculptam nomine eius virtute cuius ipse me perpetue diligat utra modum.

a Followed by juncip. deleted.
b Sic in MS. for sculpta.
c MS formam.
Qua4 facta, habeas stilum ferreum, et in eius fronte sculpes hoc nomen 'Dyacom'; in pectore eius hec tria nomina, scilicet 'Pumeon', 'Terminas', et 'Peripao'; et in spatulis hec sex nomina, videlicet 'Midam', 'Fabni', 'Gebel', 'Darail', 'Vmealoth', et 'Tereoth'; et in vmblico hoc nomen 'Byreoth'.e Quibus scriptis, habeas pannum lineum candidissimum, et hanc imaginem in ipsam involle. Quam involutam bene recondas.

Die vero iouis, in prima hora diei, facto igne, cola similiter stagnum et in tua forma ipsum infunde, dicendo,

Ego, talis, formo imaginem meam et ad mei similitudinem [12v] nem, qua ego semper dominar tali et ab ipso diliger et timear in eternum.

Qua formata, similiter in alio linteolo involvas.

Et est aduerterendum quod ymago illius cuius vis graciam obtinere debet esse longitudinis ipsius unius semissi, cum sculpturae in ipso lapide. Qui eciam lapis tantus debet esse quod ymago tua tercia parte ymaginis illius debet esse maior. Et eciam in ymagine tua4 debes imponere scepturn.

Quibus factis omnibus diligenter, ut dictum est, in sequenti die veneris, prima hora eius, suffumiga ymaginem illius ad fumum horum aromaticum, scilicet cinamomi, piperis longi, et herba agrimonia, dicendo sic:

Ego, talis, exorziz0 te, ymaginem, a nomine talis formatem,
- per inseparabilem unicum et individuam triinitatem,
- et per omnes thronos, dominaciones, et potestates, et principatus,
- et [per potenciam] omnium creaturarum,
- ut per tua virtutem oblioneam graciam et amorem talis cuius nomine facta es.

Quibus ter dictis, sic proferaras:

O Dyacon, Pumeon, Terminas, Peripao, Midain, Fabni, Gebel, Dorayl, Vmealoth, Tereoth, et Bireoth, spiritus benignissimi et concordiam seminantes, ego, talis, cum instantia magna vos deprecor, vobis supplico, vos rogito, per unicum dei filium, qui sui

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d  Sc. ymagine.

e  The forms of these names vary even within this experiment: Dyacom appears on fol. 12r as Dyacon; Terminas as Terminae; Midam as Midain; Fabni as Fabin; Darail as Dorayl; Tereoth as Tereoth, and Byreoth as Bireoth.

f  Corrected in MS from tuam.

g  Sic in MS, corrected from what appears to be exorziz0.

h  Sic in MS.

i  MS concordium.
sanguinis effusione humanum genus mortuum suscitavit, ut per hanc ymaginem formam
[13r] tam nomine talis ipsum iuxta me taliter aligetis, et me super omnes mortales
veneartur, nunquam a meo consentiensi discendens, sed mei semper parem preceptibus.
Michi studeat complacere, per eundem dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, qui vivit et regnas in
secula seculorum. Amen.

Qua oratione dicta, accipe tuam ymaginem et ipsam in dextra teneas, aliam
autem in sinistra, et iunge illam tue, sic dicendo ter: 'Subiecit populos nobis, et
gentes sub pedibus nostris' [Ps. 46:4 Vulg.]. Quo dicto, habeas quandam
catenulam ferream, et ad collum ipsius ymaginis liga, ponendo aliud capud in
manu dextera tue ymaginis. Quo posito, bene ligato, ita sic dices:

Sicut tu, ymago formata nomine talis, es subpedita et ligata mee ymagini, ita talis in
eternum sit michi penitus alligatus.

Quo dicto, capias cum tuis manibus ambas manus ymaginis, et retro flectens dic,

Ligo per hanc ymaginem manus talis, quod manus eius perpetuo nullam vim habeant contra
me.

Flecte eciam predicte ymaginis caput versus terram, sic dicendo:

Sicut ymago hec, facta nomine talis, manet coram me flexa servicia, ita talis nunquam a mei
voluntate discedat, sed me continue sequatur et michi semper serviet et me in eternum diligat
super omnes, me veniretur, et michi studeat applaudere.

Quo dicto, faciendo semper suffumigationem. accipe [13v] tuam ymaginem et a
tergo ipsius pone aliam, ita quod os suum tangat humeros tue ymaginis, et
ponendo sic dicas:

Sicut hec ymago, facta et condita nomine talis, stat apud istam ymaginem factam nomine mei
cum maxima subiecione; ita talis sit subtirius et subiectus michi donec iste ymagines fuerint
conservate.

Quibus dictis, involue ipsas, vt dictum est, in quodam alio linteolo mundissimo.

Quas involutas in quodam vasculo pone et clam porta per ciuitatem et coram
eius presenciam in habitaculo eius, si potes; et hoc facere debees per totam diem.

j Corrected in both text and margin from ssisus.
k MS dicendo.
l Sic in MS for serviat.
In sero, autem, debes sепellire has ymagines in tali loco et ita infra, vт [non] reperiantur, et videbis mirabilia. Si autem coram ipso aut eius habitaculum pergere non valeres, subterra, vт dictum est, et ipsam vbicumque tibi placet, et ab ipso super omnia diligeris.

Hoc enim experimentumn vsus fuit Parmen[i]des ad regis Persarum gracion obtinendum.

NO. 5. FOR AROUSING HATRED BETWEEN FRIENDS (FOLS 13v–15r)

Ad faciendum odium inter diligentes.a

Restat etiam vт de odio et inimicitia inter diligentes ponere pertractemus.

Cum igitur inter duos viros siue mulieres siue masculum et feminam seminare volueris inimiciciam etb odium capitalem, necesse est vт accipias duos lapides viuos et recondesc vnius ponderis, qui debent esse fluminei, et in vno debes sculpire nomen vnius cum hiis [14r] nominibus: Cartutay, Momabel, Sobil, et Geteritacon. Et in altero, nomen alt[er]ius et hec nomina, scilicet Puzanil, Pimatn, Fofitoy, et Mansator. Que nomina sunt valde se odencia. Quibus sculptis, vni vdelicet illum qui factus est nomine illius, debes sub ianua eius liminec subterrare si potes, si autem non, sepelias sub liminec cuiusdam domus inhabitate, et similiter alium sub liminef alterius, vт dictum est, vel sub cuiusdam domus, vт supra scriptum est, etg ibi stare permittas septem diebus et septem noctibus.

Quo facto, ante solis ortum remoueas et in locum ocultum ambas faciasb et ipsas in ignem

proicias, sic dicendo:

Coniuro vos spiritus inimicissimos, per eterni dei gloriam, quod inter talem et talem, quorum nomina hic in illis lapidibus sculpta permanent, quantum odium inter vos est, tantum inter ipsos seminete et inseratis.

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m Sic in MS; meaning not altogether clear, but perhaps et should be deleted.

n Sic in MS.
a Title repeated in margin.
b ac added between lines.
c vni deleted.
d MS limite.
e MS limite.
f MS limite.
g MS et et.
h Sic in MS.

Quarto autem die, accipias ipsos et suffumiga eum cum fumo sulphuris, dicendo sic:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Coniuro vos omnes demones odiosos et malignos, inuidios et discordes,} \\
&\text{per unitatem Sancti Spiritus Paracliti manentis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto,} \\
&\text{et per eternitatem omnium creatorum,} \\
&\text{et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,} \\
&\text{et per hec sancta nomina, virtute quorum dominator olimpi celum et terram est formare} \\
&\text{et per omnes reges et dominatores inferni,} \\
&\text{et ‘Tyrocus’,} \\
&\text{quatenus quantum odium inter vos existit et quantum inter Caym et Abel fuit, tantum inter} \\
&\text{talem et talem protinus inseratis. Accendite itaque ipsos, et taliter inflametis quod unum} \\
&\text{alterum videre non valeat, ymo uno reliquum in innumerabili odio rebellis affligat.} \\
&\text{Removeatur ab ipsis omnis amor, dilectio, fraternitas, et compago; ad inimiciciam ac omne} \\
&\text{odium maximum conuertatur.}
\end{align*}
\]

Quibus ter dictis, suffumigando ipsos semper, reconde.

Nocte vero sequenti, colidas dictos lapides simul et vnum super reliquum proicias, sic dicendo:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Non collido hos lapides, ymo col[1]ido talem et talem, quorum nomina hic sculpta sunt,} \\
&\text{quod unum alterum continuo affligat et inmitigabili odio se ad inuicem de cetero crucient.}
\end{align*}
\]

Et sic facias singula nocte et singula die ter per aliquos dies. Et videbis statim siue audies quod inimici efficientur et se odient animo, et unum alterum videre non valent.1

Si enim omnino ipsos disiungere voles, et voles vnum ab altero disgregare et unum alterum fugiat, facias hoc modo. Surge die sabbati ante solis ortum, decrescente luna, et maxime quando est in combustione, et ire versus solis ortum

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1 Sic in MS, for proice?
2 Sic in MS.
3 Sic in MS.
4 Sic in MS.
facias. Qua facta, habeas dictos lapides illuc tecum [15r] latos, et fortiter ipsos ad inuicem frica, pulsando vnum super alterum, sic dicendo:

*Non colido has* lapides, etc.

Quo dicto ter, sepeliais quem volueris. Deinde recede et versus occidentum vade et ibi fac foueam, et aliam o ibi sepeliais, dicendo sic:

*Sicut disiunxi hos lapides, ita talis sep disiungat a tali, et oppositi sint sicut isti lapides.*

Quo sepulto, rec ede. Et videbis disiungi et vnum ab altero separari.

Hoc enim experimentum occultandum est, quia ineffabilis in eo virtus existit. Nullum enim remedium invenitur ante i ipsi disiungantur et se mordaciter odiant.

Cum vero volueris ad primam amiciciam remeare, desepeliendi sunt predicti lapides et in fornace ponendi; qui, bene cocti, minutissime terantar, et ipsos cum aqua ad inuicem inpasta et ciscare permittere. Quo siccato, in fluminis aqua proiciis, dicendo,

*Tollatur omnis inimicia et ira que fuit inter talem et talem, et in amorem pristinum revertantur, per misericordiam pti deii, qui non respicit malicias peccatorum. Amen.*

Et scias quod per hec statim coniunguntur, et omnis ira tollitur, et pristina pace fruuntur.

**NO. 6. FOR OBTAINING A BANQUET (FOLS 15r–18v)**

Artem quam in tua curia vidisti me tociens exercere, videlicet ad prouocandum dapieros. Primo debet fieri invocacio xv° spirituum hoc modo: In primo, extra villam debes accedere, luna crescente, die iouis [15v] vel die dominica, in meridie, et debes tecum ferre ensim lucidissimum et auem vppupam, et cum dicto ense in quodam remoto loco facere circulos. Quibus factis, cum acie predicet ensis scribere debes xvij nomina vt inferius apparebit in° illa figura. Quibus factis, debes

---

m Sic in MS.

n Sic in MS for hos.

o Sic in MS.

p MS talis et talis.

q Sic in MS.

a Sic in MS.

b Sic in MS.

c MS et.
figere versus orientem in interiori circulo dictumensem, vt hec rario demonstrat.d
Quo facto, debes tibi taliter alligare dictam vppupam vt discedere non valeat de
in-[16r] teriorn circulo, in quo tu stare debes.
Quo facto, genibus flexis, respiciendo versus orientem et capiendo dictum
ensem ambabus manibus, sic e proferas:

Oymelor, Demefin, Lamair, Masair, Symofor, Rodobayl, Tentetos, Lotobor, Memoyr,
Tamafin, Leutaber, Tatamofon, Faubair, Selutabel, Rmasor, Syrama, spiritus iocundissimi,
ylares, et gaudentes, ego, talis, vos adiuvo

- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- et [per] filium unici dei potentissimi, viui et veri, qui propter nos et nostram salutem
descendit de celis et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto, ex pura et intemerata ac
incorrupta virgine Maria,
- et per nativitatem et passionem ac resurrectionem domini nostri Jesu Christi, filij dei
veri,
- et per sanctum lauacrum baptismatis quo quisque salvatur,
- et per solen et lunam et omnia sidera celesta,
- et per omnia illa qu[et potenciam] habent vos terrere et constringere, et virtute quorum
ad nos vocantibus s[orport] accedere,
quentenus huc sine mora ad me venire debeatis in forma miti, placida, et iocunda, patifacere
quidquid dicam.

Qua dicta duodeciese - videlicet primo quater versus orientem, secundo quater
versus meridiem, tercio quater versus occidentem, quarto et ultimo quater versus
aquilonem - portando semper ensen in manu, et cum [16v] dices coniuracionem, figiendo
semper ipsum in quolibet loco; deinde pone vbi primo
erat dicta conjugacion, vt dictum est.

d Diagram on fol. 15: a quadruple band with a pentangle inscribed in the centre, a sword depicted at the top
(extending downward across all four bands, with its point on the top of the pentangle) and other figures
(likewise extending across all four bands) on the upper left, upper right, lower right, and lower left. The cardinal directions
are given outside the outermost band, with Oriens on top. Within the bands sixteen names are inscribed: Oymelor,
Symofos [on 16: Symofor; on 17: Simofor], Manoir [on 16: Memoyr; on 17: Memoir] and Faubair in
the outermost band; Demefin, Rodobayl [on 17: Rodobail], Tamafin and Abelutabel [on 16: Selutabel; on
17: Belutabel] in the next; Lamair, Tentetos, Leutaber [on 17: Zeugaber] and Rimasor in the next; and
Masair, Lotobor, Tatamofon and Sirama [on 16: Syrama] in the innermost.

e Corrected in MS from sicut.
f Sic in MS, for ad nos vocantes oportet vos accedere?
g Sic in MS.
h Sic in MS for figendo or, rather, figere.
Qua dicta, semper genibus flexis, iterum volue te versus orientem, tenendo nunc ensem per manum dexteram, et accipiendo vppupam per sinistram, sic dicas:

*Venite, o prenominati* spiritus, *venite ad me, venite, quoniam ego precipio vobis per eternam dei gloriam. Amen.*

Qua dicta semel, volue te cum ense et vppupa versus occidentem, et videbis xvi milites decoros et strenuos, qui tibi dicent, ‘Vocasti nos et ad te venimus, pararei subiecti. Pete secure quid vis, quoniam tibi sumus in obediendo parati.’ Tu autem dices, ‘Facite michi videre vstram potentiam, vt aspiciam mensas cum discumbentibus multis cum inpradonibus infinitis.’ Qui tibi respondebunt [se] libenter velle facere.


Et demum omnes a tuis oculis euanebunt, preter illos xij, qui, stantes coram te, dicent, ‘Nonne placuit tibi ludus noster?’ Quibus tu hillariter respondebis quod sic. Et facta responsione, ipsi petent a te vppupam, que continuo trepidabit, quod mirum est. Quibus tu sic dices: ‘Volo vobis vppupam dare si iurabitis ad me venire, faciendo hunc ludum quotiens michi plaucerit.’ Qui dicent se esse iurare paratos. [Ad] quos librum quendam facias apportare, quem subito apportabunt, et in ipso hoc modo iurare facias:

i Corrected from prenominat.
j Sic in MS for pareti et or parere?
k Sic in MS.
l MS mittentibus.
m MS comedentur.
n Sic in MS.
Iuramus omnes duodecim in hoc sacrato libro

- per illum deum viuum et verum, qui nos et omnia creavit,
- et per dominos quos timemus et adoramus,
- et per legem quam observamus,

ad te sine mora venire quocienscumque vocaueris nos, et mensas parari facere, [17v] sicut et adhuc melius vt vidisti.

Et statim iurabunt.

Et cum iurauerint, dabis eis vppupam, quam cum habuerint a te petent licenciam recedendi. Quibus dabis hoc modo, dicendo, 'Pergite quo affectatis accedere, et estote solliciti michi.' Qui dicent [se] esse tibi de cetero obligatos. Hiis dictis, abeunt, simuliter et tu egredere de circulis et ipsos aboleas vt nullus appareat, et tuum ensem ferendo recedas.

Debes igitur attendere quod vppupa magne virtutis est nigromanticis et demones invocantibus, quapropter ipsa multa vtimur ad nostri tutelam.

Cum enim clam aut palam aut vbicumque ipsos ad te venire volueris, respicias in libro suprascriptos circulos et figuras, legendo submissa voce nomina in ipsis existencia. Quibus inspectis et semel lectis, lege hanc coniuracionem semel:


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o  Sic in MS.
p  MS sollicit.
q  Followed by quem.
r  MS multa.
s  MS in ad.
t  MS qui.
u  Followed by p, deleted.
Debes itaque scire quod quanto magis comedunt, multo plus famescunt, quia apparentur sicut dapes, tamen non* existent, ita quod si famelicus in illis esset credens illis dapibus saciari, vt si non comederet procul dubio moreretur.

Et quando volueris ludum destruere, dic vt mensas accipient. Eciam acceptis statim mensis,* omnes astantes ibidem permanebunt. Quos si voles cantare aut sonare aut omnem ludum facere, dic, 'Sic fiat,' et videbis affectum,* quoniam hi sunt spiritus ludi et omnis solacij, qui facient omnia dicta sibi. Et cum volueris ipsos abire, dic sic: 'O vos omnes, recedite, et quociens vos vocabo ad me, omni causa remota pergetis.' Qui respondebunt, 'Libentissime faciemus.' Et ipsis recessis, omnes [18v] exiuerint, de hac arte stupentes.

Et hic finitur ars illa, que est quasi apud hodiernos ignota, quam Matheus Hispanus totaliter ignoravit, etc.

NO. 7. FOR OBTAINING A CASTLE (FOLS 18v–21r)

Experimenta formosissima ad conuocandum spiritus vt homo faciat* appellere castrum pulcherrimum et fulcitu, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumerab* legiones.c

Et eciamd vna* alia experiencia ad prouocandum spiritus vt homo faciat appellere castrum pulcherrimum et fulcitu, siue ad prouocandum armatorum innumerab legiones.c quod leuiter fieri potest, et intra alia pulcherrimum reputatur.

Vade primo, luna 10, sereno celo, extra villam ad aliquem locum segregatum et secretum, portans tecum lac et mel, de quo per acrement asperrgere debes. Et discalciiatus, nudo capite, genibus flexis, versus occidentem sic lege:

O Vsyx, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno, Syrtroy, Risbel, Cutroy, Lytay, Onor, Meloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor, et Ym*, spiritus armigeri, quibus proprium est arma deferre et ubicumque ultis sensus humano[s] decipere, ego, talis, vos coluero et exorcizo et invoco,

v Followed by sunt.

w MS mensas.

x Meaning effectum?

a MS faciant.

b MS innumerabsl.

c Heading underlined in text and repeated in margin.

d enim written above, invading preceding line.

e Written above alia, also invading preceding line.

f This repetition may be erroneous, or may be a reference to the repetition of the experiment (fol. 20r) or to the testimonial anecdote (fols 20v–21r).

g Silitor appears on fol. 20r as Siliot; Demor appears on fol. 20r as Denior; Zanno appears on fol. 19r as Zanno, with the note added uel Zaimo, and on fol. 20r as Zaimo; Risbel appears on fol. 20r as Ristel; Lytay appears on fol. 19r as Litor and on fol. 20r as Lytay; Pumotor appears on fol. 20r as Pumiotor; Tami appears on fol. 20r as Tamy; Oor appears on fol. 19r as Oor, with the note added uel Dor, and on fol. 20r as Dor.
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, que sancta trinitas nun[c]upatur,
• et per creatorem celi et terre et visibilium omnium et invisibilium,
• et per illum qui hominem de limo terre formavit,
• et per enunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• et per eius natiuitatem,
• et per eius mortem et passionem,
• et per eius resurrectionem,
• et per eius ascensionem.

Item [19r] ego coniuro vos omnes prenominatos* demones,
• per piam et misericordissimam et intemeratam ac incorruptam virginem Mariam,
  mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui pro miseris peccatoribus mortem sumens nos
  ad celestem patriam revocavit.

Item ego coniuro vos supractus spiritus,
• per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,
• et per omnes apostolos, martyres, confessores, virgines, et viduas,
• et per peces seissisima ac ineffabilia nomina omnium creatoris, quibus omnes
  ligamini, et quere terrent omnia celestia, terrestria, et infernalia, scilicet Aa, Ely,
  Sother, Adonay, Cel,² Sabaath, Messyas, Alazabra, et Osian.

Item ego coniuro vos et exercito
• per virtutem et potenciam omnium principum, regum, dominorum, et maiorum
  vestrorum,
• et per virtutem et possibilitatem ac potenciam vestram,
• et per habitaculum vestrum, cuius hec est forma,³
• et per omnes figuram in ipso permanentes,
quantum vos, insolubiler ad mei potenciam alligati, ad me sine prestolacione venire
debeatis, in tali habitu ut me aliquid non terreatis, [19v] subjecti et parati facere ac
demonstrate michi omnia que voluero, et hoc facere debeatis et velit[is] per omnia que in celo
et in terra morantur.

Qua lecta semel versus occidentem, similiter [lege] versus meridiem, orientem, et
aquilonem.

Et a longe videbis continuam committiam turbam armoratorum versus te
venientem, qui premitterit tibi quendam scutiferum, dicentem quod illi ad te

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h Followed by spiritus, deleted.

i MS quem.

j Meaning El?

k Figure at bottom of fol. 19*: double band, with O Vsyr, Salaul, Silitor, Demor, Zanno [outside outer
  band: uel Zaimo], Syrtry, Risbro, Cutroy, Litor in the outer band, and Onor, Moloy, Pumotor, Tami, Oor
  [inside inner band: uel Dor], et Ym, spiritus armigeri, in the inner band. Locus magistri is marked in centre.

l MS permittent.
veniunt quos vocasti. Cui dices sic: 'Vade ad eos, et dic ipsis vt in tali condicione ad me veniant vt nullum timeam,\textsuperscript{m} sed secure permaneam cum ipsis.' Quo dicto, statim ad eos redibit.

Quo post modicum interullum veniunt ad te. Quibus visis, ostende eis\textsuperscript{n} statim hunc circulum, qui habet multum ipsis 15 demones pauentare (uel spanentare),\textsuperscript{o} quem ipsis aspicient, dicentes, 'Secure quid vis pete, quoniam per nos tibi omnino siet.' Quibus tunc dices quod istum suum circulum taliter debeant consecrare vt quandocumque ipsis aspexeris, vocando ipsis, ad te debeant velociter venire,\textsuperscript{p} debentes illud facere quod est in ipsis naturale, scilicet facere\textsubscript{q} apparere fortificias et castra cum foues et cum multitudine armatorum. Qui dicent [se] hoc facere velle. Quibus porriges librum, et videbis quemlibet ipsorum super ipsum manum inponere et aliqua verba loqui, que non intelliges. Hoc facto, ipsum tibi restituent.


Hiis factis, domum remea, custodiendo librum bene in quo virtus totalis existit. Quando vero enim pulcherime artem volueris operari, aspicias circulum, legendo nomina; incipiendo ab oriente, sic dices:

\begin{quote}
O Vysr, Salaul, Silitol, Denior, Zaimo, Syrtroy, Ristel, Cutroy, Lytoy, Onor, Moloy, Pumiotol, Tamy, Dor, Ym, voco vos et hic venire debeatis per consecracionem huius circuli, in quo signa restra permanent, et michi in omnibus istis apparet faciatis castrum fortissimum, cum profundis foues, et militum et peditum cum maxima committia.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{m} First two letters corrected in MS.
\textsuperscript{n} Followed by hoc circulum, deleted.
\textsuperscript{o} Parentheses inserted on the assumption that vel spanentare is meant as an alternative reading. For qui habet ... pauentare vel spanentare read perhaps qui facit ... pavere or pavescere.
\textsuperscript{p} Followed by et proficiant, deleted.
\textsuperscript{q} MS faciendi.
\textsuperscript{r} The e is misshapen, and another e is written above it.
\textsuperscript{s} Sic in MS.
Et subito videtur ibi castrum pulcherrimum\footnote{Added in margin.} cum omnibus necessariis. Quod si vis ingredi, poteris, quia continuo miles tecum stabit.\footnote{Note added in bottom margin: uel quia continuo quidam milites tecum stabunt.} cui omne quod voles apparet precipias et fieri faciat.

Cum semel ego hanc artem [probare volebam], exercui eam cum imperatore, quem multi nobiles comitabant, qui venando per quandam obscuram siluam pergabant. Et hunc modum tenui. Primo inspexi circulum, vocando supradictos demones [20v] plana voce. Et tunc statim venit ad me quidam speciosus miles, quem nullus preter me valebat aspicere, qui ad me dixit, 'Ego sum vnus de vocatis spiritibus, ab aliis ad te missus, qui nominor Salaul, cui precipias quid tibi placet petere, et statim fiet.' Cui dixi, 'Volo vt apparette facias istis vnam legionem armatorum, quam imperator et alij secum stantes ipsos\footnote{MS} credist esse rebelles.' Qui dixit, 'Factum est.' Et tunc omnes comites et eciam imperator\footnote{MS imperator et eciam.} respererunt versus aquilonem, et a longe viderunt versus ipsos venire et equitum et militem innumerabilem multituidinem, a quibus vnus discessit, et ante magne hore spatium venit ad imperatorem, tremendo dicens, 'Domine imperator, ecce videte gentes sine numero qui contra vos veniunt, iurantes vos et omnes vestros comites mori tradere, et vestros dure\footnote{x e repeated above line.} interficer.' Quo audito, imperator et comites\footnote{MS nesciebat.} quid deberent agere nesciebant.\footnote{\footnote{MS added in margin.} Et interim ipsi spiritus apropinquabant. Quos imperator et alij videntes et audientes, ipsorum instrumenta terrenca fugere tunc ceperunt, et isti sequentes ipsos et sagiando vna voce clamabant, 'Fugere non potestis hodie mortem!' Et tunc ego dixi, 'O Salaul, fac ante imperatorem et suos unum castrum mirantissimum,\footnote{MS imperator et alij ingredientur.} quod imperator et alij ingredientur.' Et factum est. Tunc factum est tutissimum castrum comitum optime,\footnote{MS added in margin.} cum turribus et foues, depresso\footnote{c ponte, quod vide-} ponte, quod vide-\footnote{[21r] batur optime et plenum esse\footnote{MS dispendiariis, clamantibus, 'O domine imperator, ingredere cum tuis sociis festinanter!' Qui ipsum intrauerunt, in quo videbantur esse famuli et multi amici imperatoris; existimauit se ibi invenisse se viriliter defendentes. Quibus ingressis, leuauerunt pontem et se defendere}
ceperunt. Tunc illi spiritus cum machinis castrum mirifice totaliter expugnavant. Quapropter imperator et alij suï, valde territi, magis timebant.

Tunc dixit michi Salaul, 'Non habemus potenciam hic morandi nisi vno quadrante, ita quod recedere nos oportet.' Et tunc, recesso castro et expugnantex et ipsis recedentibus castrum et omnia euamerunt. Imperator et alij suï tunc viderunt et invenerunt se in quadam palude, de quo admirati sunt valde. Quibus dixi, 'Negiocium ex hoc maximum fuit festum.' Et ad ciuitatem remeatis, de sero cenainus. Quibus sequentem experienciam post cenam feci.

Memento quod ars predicta nisi vno quadrante durare non potest, nisi durabit vnum quadrantem vna vice, etc.

NO. 8. FOR OBTAINING A BOAT (FOLS 21r-23r)

Vt vbicumque sis possis habere nauem, in qua tu cum quibiscumque voles quocumque ferris vadas: ieinun die lune; ipsa die, luna crescente, ad celum serenum, id est sereno celo, solus [sis] in loco remoto, et fer tecum vnam [21v] costam hominis sive mulieris mortui, quam primo acuere debes, et facere cum ipsa in terra has figuras cum nominibus et aliis omnibus contentis in ipso circulo, vt hic apparevit. Quo facto, debes ingredi signatum locum, et voluendo te circa circulum, suffumiga ipsum cum medulla mortui, vt dictum est.

Quo facto, audies per aerem voces, facta suffumigatione; quibus auditis, hanc coniuracionem dices versus occidentem, vt scriptum est:

Fyrin (quod sic dicas: O Fyrin), Dyspir, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth, [22r]

e Followed by et.

f Followed by manenti, deleted.

g MS expungnantex.

h Perhaps for: recesso castro, et expugnantibus recedentibus, castrum et omnia euamerunt.

i Followed by plade (deleted) plaude (deleted) uel.

a Meaning volax.

b u partly covered by blot.

c Figure on fol. 21r: a single circular band in which are inscribed the names Fyrin, Dyspir, Onoroy, Sysabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Rimel and Orooth. A horizontal band bisects the circle, and a vertical band bisects the upper portion of the circle. A closed crescent shape (presumably representing a ship) appears in the upper two-thirds of the circle, with two dots beneath it at the prow and the stern. Within this crescent shape, below the horizontal band, is the inscription Hic magister cum suis sociis. The position Occidens is marked just inside the circular band, at the bottom.

d MS qui.
Rimel, spiritus habitatores aquæ, qui naues navigantium periclitare conamini, ego vos coniuor et exorcizo, et prouoco vos, ubicumque sitis, aut in oriente aut in occidente aut in meridie aut in aquilone, aut in aquis aut in terris,

- per indiuiduam ac inseparabilem trinitatem que in tribus personis existit, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ab utoque procedentem,
- et per illum qui perpetuos et eternus est,
- et per illum qui concessit nobis gratiam in inferno non stare.

Item, ego coniuor vos/ et constringo vos

- per quatuor flumina paradysi,
- et per aduentum domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui frangens vectes ferreos sanctos patres de tenebris extraxit ad lucem.

Item ego coniuor vos

- per uitum, manus et pedes, atque plagas Ihesu Christi,
- ut hic venire debeatis, vos octo spiritus præminati, ut vos videam in forma na[u]tarum, et hoc sine prestolacione aliqua faciatis. Item ego coniuor vos et impero atque precipio vos
- per potenciam et dignitatem Luciferi, Aphaleon, et Neutron,
- ut nullam requiem habeatis donec ad me veniatis; ut dixi. Venite, quia ego vos advoco ex parte domini dei Sabaoth, quo et gloría cœli et universa terra est repleta.

Qua semel dicta, tenendo costam semper in manu dextra, videbis octo nautas cum magna reuerencia et timore dicentes, [22v] 'Ecce, mittimur ad te; precipe nobis de omnibus ad nos pertinentibus, et erit sine mora fulcitum.' Quibus dicis, 'Volo vos coniurare ac promittere michi tot debeatis ad me venire teneamini cum a me fueritis coniurati.' Qui maximum facient sacramentum ad te venire et redire quandocumque libuerit, tuam parati facere voluntatem. Hoc iurato, sic dices: 'Ego precipio vos vt hunc circulum cum naui capiatis et ad talem locum sine mora me feratis.' Hiis dictis, videbis ipsos cum ramis ingredi nauim et imponere vela, et incipient naviare. Et scias quod tibi video tur esse in profundo maris, et in paruo temporis spacio voles quocumque ferris. Quibus eciam

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e Followed by habitares, deleted.
f MS te.
g Initial o corrected from v.
h MS prestolacione.
i MS venecatis.
j MS naues.
k MS has extraneous line over the x.
l MS romis.
m Sic in MS, perhaps for quocumque vis te feret or volabīs quocumque vis.
precipias ut ad locum a quo acceperunt te instantissime reportent, qui statim facient. Et cum illic fueris reportatus, dic eis eciam quod revenient, quod hec omnia sine fraude facient, eis quociescumque iubebis, qui statim iurabunt ad te venire velociter quando eis vocaueris, et te solum vel cum quibus volueris in naui portare quocumque tibi placuerit accedere.

Quibus iuratis, des licenciam recedenti. Quibus recessis, aboleas circulum, et costam subterra ibi.

Cum igitur tu solus uel cum aliis voluntatem habueris nauigandi, cum ferro uel cum ligno uel cum aliquid signante fac circulum cum aliis, vt superius demonstravi, et cum aliis ingredere supradictum locum, dicens eis ut timere non de- [23r] beant, fingens eis aliiquid. Et cum omnes ingressi fuerint, sic legas semel:

O Symr. Dyspyl, Onoroy, Sisabel, Cotroy, Tyroy, Orooth, [et] Rimel. sculpti in hoc circulo, ego invoco vos per uestram subiecitionem michi factam, ut statim sine mora subito et incontinenti hinc debeatis accedere, mites, subiecti, parati et obedienti michi et tanquam nauta te hunc circulum cum hoc nau figuram uestram debeatis assumere, et nauigando debeatis nos portare ad talem locum ad quem intendimus profiscissi. 

Et consociatione lecta, venient statim in naui octo naute placables, dicentes tibi, 'O viri, quo ire intenditis?' Quibus tu dices, omnibus audientibus, 'Ad talem locum.' Tunc nauti et omnes in aqua esse videbuntur, et istos velociter nauigare, aspiciens qui nauigant, et ad locum optatum [veniatis] vnius in infra hore spaciun. Et cum ibi fueris, si in ipso loco manere volueris, dic nautis ut abiant, parati ipsum officium reassumere et executioni mandare quando eos invocaueris. Quo subito, hoc audito, recedent. Et cum volueris remeare vel alias pergere, voca ipsos ut dictum est, et omnia facient.

n MS illis.
0 Sic in MS.
p Sic in MS, meaning hue.
q Corrected in margin from perfectisti.
r MS Aust.
s O viri added in margin.
t et omnes added in margin.
u MS videbitur, assuming nauis alone as the subject.
v Sic in MS.
w Followed by epulente, deleted.
x MS reassumere.
y MS Quo.
Et scias diligenter quod in ipsa naui similiter potest fieri nominacio sanctorum. sicut in vera christianitate, quia hic spiritus sunt inter bonum et malum, non in inferno, non in paradysio morantes, quibus hanc artem facere proprium est. Et circulus ille insignia sua est.

Hoc enim experimentum vidi multos esse peritos, tamen aliter et aliter; hic autem modus est verus, pauci laboris, et nullius periculi.

Et nota quod in isto libro sunt nominata et figure spirituum secundum suas proprietates, que ignota sunt; igitur occultandae sunt et celande, propter ipsorum ineffabilem efficaciam pro certo, etc.

**NO. 9. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOLS 23v-25v)**

Volo eciam tibi mittere quomodo equus, hoc est spiritus in equi forma, possit haberi, ferentis te tam per aquas quam per terram, tam per colles quam per planicies, quocumque volueris.

Primo enim, 6a luna, die Martis, ieiunus, forinsecus egrediarius cum quodam freno nunquam operato, et in loco secreto cum quodam claudo siue stilo ferreo fac circulum, vt hic appararet, sculpiens in eo nomina et figuras ibidem apparentes. Quibus factis, permanens in medio, genibus flexis, super freno versus orientem aliquantulum alta voce sic dicatas:

*O Lautrayth, Feremin, [et] Olirömim, spiritus peccatoribus insistentes, ego, talis, in vestra [24r] virtute confidens, vos coniuro

- per illum qui dixit et facta sunt, et omnia scit et cognoscit antequam fiat.
- et per celum et terram, ignem et aerem et aquam, solem et lunam et stellas,
- et per thronos, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus domini nostri Iesu Christi,
- ac per omnes angelos et archangeli qui morantur ante thronum dei similis voce clamantes. Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt celi et terra

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a Sic in MS.

b Figure on fol. 25: a single circular band, with a square inscribed, and a circle inside the square. Short bars extend outward from the middle of each side of the square and touch the inner side of the circular band. Names of the cardinal directions flank each of these bars. Locus magistri is marked in the centre of the circle. The band contains the names Lautrayth, Feremiui and Olirömim, plus astronomical and other signs.

Lautrayth appears as Lautrayth in the text on the same folio, and as Lautrayth on fol. 25. Feremiui is given as Feremmi in the same folio, and as Feremmi (with a misshapen final m) on fol. 25. Olirömim appears as Olirömim in both later contexts.

c MS apparencias.
gloria tua, osanna in excelsis; benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, 'osanna in excelsis';
quatenus vos tres ad me venire debeatis suaviter, vt non terr[e]ar nec timeam, sed securis
existam, et quidquid vobis imperabo debeatis totaliter adimplere et cum maxima efficacia
execucionis mandare. Item ego coniuro vos supradictos spiritus
• per illum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem,
• et per tremendam diem judicij,
• et per sentenciam quam audire debeitis in ipsa die,
• et [per] hunc circulum, quo efficaciter prouocamini,
vt sine mora huc meare cogamini, et precepta mea suppliciter obseruetis.

Quibus dictis ter, tres equites videbis a longe venire. Quos cum videris, dic
donec ad te fuerint, Leuaui ad te oculos meos in montes, in de veniet auxilium michi.
Auxilium [24v] meum a domino, qui fecit celum et terram [Ps. 120:1f. Vulg.; cf. Ps.
122:1]. Et quando apud circulum fuerint, statim descendent equos, et tunc
hilariter [te] salutabant. Quibus dices, 'Dominus per sui misericordiam in statum
pristinum vos reducat.' Hoc dicto, ipsi dicent, 'O magister, ad te venimus,
vnamimes tuis preceptis seruire parati. Precipe igitur nobis illud, propter quod
tos huc venire fecisti, et erit penitus expeditum.' Quibus respondere debes, 'Volo
vt presens frenum' – tenendo ipsum ambabus manibus – 'taliter consecreis vt
quocienscumque ipsum squassauero ante me veniat equus, oris cuius ipsum
possim imponere, et ipsum ascendere possim, ipsum equitare tute et accedere
quo michi libuerit proficisci.' Hoc dicto, ipsi assurunt dictum frenum velle secum
ferre et ibidem tercio die reportare. Quibus ipsius dabis. Et cum dederis,
ascendunt equos et sine mora recedent. Quibus recessiss, egredere circulum, non
abolendo [illum], et deinde recedas.

Tercia vero dei, in vesperis, reueritas illuc, et invenies ibidem predictos
spiritus offerentes tibi dictum frenum, asserentes tuam peticionem esse fulcitant.
Et accepto freno, sic dicis: 'Ego coniuro vos per deum deorum vt sine mei
licencia de hinc descedere non possitis.' Hoc dicto, tibi respondebunt quod
quantum voles ibidem [25r] permanebunt. Quo dicto, squassabis frenum, et
subito illuc veniet equus niger, cui inpones frenum, et equitabis. Hoc facto,
descendes et remouebis frenum, et subito equus abibit.
Quo recesso, sic dices:

Ego iterum coniuro vos,
  • per omnia antedicta,
  • et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,
  vti iurare vos debeatis vt predictum equum semper ad me venire cogetis.


Facimus enim talia frena tenuissima, ita quod in paruo loco portare possimus, que nunquam frangi possunt nec putrefieri, [25v] propter ipsum consecrationem.

Item est aduertendum quod si supradictum circulum, in corio equi cum sangwine equi scriptum, cum dente eciam equi, est ostensum equis, subito moriuntur. Et si ipsum, vt dictum est scriptum, erga te tuleris, nullus equus ad te poterit appropinquare. Et [de] virtute huius circuli eciam ait Socrates in libro magiue.

NO. 10. FOR RESUSCITATING A DEAD PERSON (FOLS 25v–28r)

Cum volueris [in] aliquem mortuum infundere spiritum, ita quod viuus, [vt] erat prius,

\[j\] MS predictum equum semper vt.

\[k\] MS has recedent and euanescent, but the line over the last e in euanescent is faint. Evidently the writer meant to correct the plural to the singular.

\[l\] MS eciam.

\[a\] MS primo; cf. fol. 27v.

\[b\] MS gives sit, with a line over the t, which elsewhere in the MS is used for sicut.

\[c\] MS ex parte.
Damayn. Quibus sculptis, die dominico ante ortum solis accedas ad aquam currentem et in ipsa pone dictum anulum, et quinque diebus ipsum in ea stare permittas.

Sexta vero die, ipsum extrahe et fer ad quoddam monumentum, et in ipso pone, ita quod moretur ipsa die Veneris et Sabbati die. Vero dominica die, ante solis ortum, accedas extra villam, sereno celo, in loco occulto et remoto, et fac circulum cum quoddam ense, et in ipso scribe cum dicto ense nomina et figura[s] vt hic appareat. Quibus scriptis, ingredere in eum vt signatum est, et pone ensem sub genubus tuus, dicendo versus meridies hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, omnes demones scriptos in hoc anulo – quem in manibus habeas,

- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- et per omnipotentem deum, factorem celi et terre,
- et per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, eius filium, qui propter humili generis salutem mortem sufferre dignatus est,
- et per gloriassam virginem Mariam, mater eius,
- et per lac [26v] eius sanctissimum Christi, per quod angeli denunciando pastoribus locuti sunt, 'Gloria in excelsis deo, etc.'

Item ego coniuro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tranayrt, Lyroth, Berien, Damay,

- per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,
- et per hac nomina sancta dei: Tetragramaton, Oel, Messyas, Soter, Adonay, Alpha et O, Sabaoth,
- et per hac sancta nomina virginis Marie, seilicet regina, flos, rosa, lilium, scala, sapientia, vita, dulcedo, misericordia, et spes,
- et per paradisum celestem et terrestrem,
- et per omnes angeli et archangelos, thrones, dominaciones, potestates, atque principatus, et maiestates et gloria regis celi et terre,
- et per omnes principes, reges, dominos, et maiores vestros,

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d The names are given on fols. 25r, 26r, 26v, and 27r. Spelling is consistent, except that Tranautit appears on 26v as Tranayrt and on and on 27r as Tranayrt. Beryen is given on 26r and 26v as Berien, and Damayn lacks the final n on 26v.

e Figure on fol. 26r: a double circular band, with a pentagram inscribed. O Brimer. Suburith, Tranautit is inscribed in the outer band, with astronomical signs; Lyroth, vnq (sic) Berien, Damayn is inscribed in the inner band, with further signs. Magister is written in the centre of the pentagram. The cardinal directions meridies, occidentes and orientes are marked outside the band. For alternative forms of the names, see above, n. e.

f Followed by ingrediat, deleted.

g Something missing – perhaps et per cantum?

h Presumably for O El.
et per infernum vestrum,
et per omnia in eodem existencia quatenus vos omnes, constricti et ligati in voluntate mea et in potestate mea, debeatis huc accedere in benigna forma, ut nullum timeam, et consecrare ita et taliter presentum anulum, ut in eo hec virtus existat, videlicet quod quandocumque imposuero ipsum in digito alcuuis mortui, vnum vestrum ipsum ingrediatur, et ut primo vhius apparat in illa similitudine et forma, per illum qui viuit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Hiis semel dictis, apparebunt subito apud circulum 6 spiritus, [27r] petentes dictum anulum; quibus dabis. Quo dato, ipsi abient, et similiter tu egredere circulos, ferens tecum ensem, non destruens circulum.
Sexta vero die, cum predicto ense, reuerteris et versus meridiem sic dices:

Ego coniuoro vos, O Brimer, Suburith, Tramayrt, Lyroth, Beryen, Damayn, per deum vnum, sivum, solum, et verum, ut nunc sine mora ad me venire debeatis, apporlando anulum consecratum, ita quod quando imposuerro ipsum in digito siue in manu alicuus personae viue cadat in terram sicut mortua, et quando abstitero ab ipsa in statum pristinum reuertatur, et eciam in quocumque mortuo imposuero, ut dictum est, ipsum spiritus ingrediatur et viues ut prius fuerat videatur, per omnia que possunt vos terrere et omnino constringere.

Hiis dictis quater, videlicet primo versus meridiem semel, et similiter versus occidentem, deinde versus aquilonem et versus orientem, videbis versus orientem venire quendam equitem, qui cum fuerit apud circulum sic dicit: 'Tales mittunt' - nominando' nomina suprascripta - 'tibi hunc anulum consecratum, dicentes [se] ad te venire non posse, quia non expediens est; experieris anuli virtutem, et si non habuerit virtutem a te postulatam, dicent quod quandocumque [vis] sunt ad te venire parati.' Quem anulum accipies, dicendo ei, [27v] 'Graciam tibi et ipsis.' Hoc dicto, statim recedet, et tu eciam exies de circulo, ipsum totaliter destruendo.
Et predictum anulum bene teneas involutum in syndone albo. Cum vero volueris ut aliquis viues mortuus videatur et ab omnibus videtur vita carere, pone in digito eius hunc anulum, et cadauer videbitur; et quando remouebis, veniet in
primum statum. Et quando volueris aliquod cadauer animatum apparere, pone
vt dictum est anulum, uel ad manum siue ad pedem liga, et ante horam surget in
forma primo habita, et viua voce coram omnibus loquetur, et hoc monstrare
poterit sex diebus, quia quilibet eorum sua die in ipso permanebit. Et si volueris
illus] ante dictum terminum vt primo erat esse, remoue anulum. Et hoc modo
resurgere poteris defunctum.

Hec enim experiencia dignissima est et occultanda, quia in ipsa magna virtus
existent.

Circulus eciam suprascriptus multas virtutes habet, cuius tres per me notas°
exponam. Si enim die Veneris ipsum cum calamo vppupe et cum eius sangwine
in carta edina nouata® scripseris,® et aliquam personam cum eo tetigeris, in
eterno super omnes ab ipsa diligeris. Et si predictum circum, scriptum vt
dictum est, posueries super caput egronti, ipso ignoranti, si mori debet dicet se
nullatenus euadere posse; et si debet euadere dicet se omnino [28r] liberatam. Et
si predictum circum, scriptum similiter, super te habueris, nullus canis tibl
latrare valebit. Et ista sunt per me experta; inexperta vero per me relinquo.

NO. 11. FOR INVISIBILITY (FOLS 28r–29v)

Tracto eciam de arte invisibilitatis, hodie quasi ab omnibus ignorata.

Cum itaque volueris apud omnia, tam racionabilia quam non, invisibiliac ac
insensibilis haberis, primo, crescente luna die Mercurij, in prima hora diei, castus
ante per triduum, et tonsus capillos et barbam, et albo indutus, extra villam in
loco occulto, sereno celo, in plano solo, cum ense splendissimo fac circum vt
hic apparer,® scribendo hec nomina [et] cum eis omnia ibidem apparec. [28v]
Hoc facto, fingas versus occidentem super Firiel dictum ense. Et cum figeris,
habeas vas in quo sit ignis cum thure, mirra, et olibano, et cum fumo ipsorum
[circum]vade circum, suffumigando ipsum, incipiendo a Fyriel et ibi finiendo.
Hoc facto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas te et circum. dicendo,

° MS notans.

p Sic in MS.

q In margin: Nota.

r MS inexperto.

a At top of page, in margin: de invisibilitate.

b Figure on fol. 28: a plain circle, with the positions orias, meridies and occasioe labelled; a sword lying
toward the east with its point near the centre. Magister inscribed near the centre (with Firiel to the west, Melemil to
the south, Berith to the east, and Tarasor to the north), and two figures.

The names occur on fol. 28, 28, 29, and 29. Spelling is consistent, except that Firiel occurs twice on 28r as
Fyriel, Melemil appears on 28r as Mememil, and Tarasor is given on 29 as Tarator.
Asperges me, domine, ysopo et mundabor; lauabis me et super niuem dealbabor [Ps. 50:9 Vulg.]. Quo facto, voluendo te genibus flexis versus occidentem, emissa voce, sic dicas:

Ego, talis, coniuro vos, O Fyriel, Mememil, Berith, [et] Tarator, spiritus potentes, magnifici, et illustres, in quibus omnino confido,

- per unicum, inseparabilem, ac individuam trinitatem, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- et per deum unicum, solum, viuum, et verum, qui omnia de nichilo formavit, et cui subdita sunt omnia, celestia, terrestria, et infernalia,
- per celum et terram, mare et infernum, et omnia in ipsis existencia,
- et per omnes principes, reges, et dominos vestros,
- et per illum deum quem timetis et adoratis,
- et per omnia que habent [potenciam] vos terrere, constringere, et alligare, et quorum preceptum vos oportet totaliter adimplere,

quatenus vos omnes 4or cum humilitate maxima huc venire debetatis, ligati, constriecti, et iurati ad executioni mandandum quidquid a ubis petierio. Venite sine mora; venite, quia invoco vos ex parte Patris, prouoco [29r] vos ex parte Filij, invoco vos ex parte Spiritus Sancti.

Hac invocacione dicta quater, scilicet semel versus Firieli, semel versus Melemil et versus Berith et Tarator, aderunt subito in circulo 4or spiritus, dicentes tibi, ‘Dic nobis quid vis, et plene tibi obediemus.’ Quibus dices, ‘Ego volo quandam cappam invisibilitatis, que sit tenuis et incorruptibilis, qua cum indutus fuero nullus videre nec me sentire valeat.’ Hoc dicto, vnus discedet, et ante horam apportabit ibi quandam cappam, quam ab ipsis petebas vt tibi dare deberent. Qui respondebunt tibi dare non posse si primo ipsis non das tuum indutum album; quibus dabis, et cum dederis eis, ipsi tibi dabunt cappam. Quorum vnus statim induit indutum eis datum; similiter tu statim induas cappam. Quam cum indueris, illis spiritibus dices, ‘Abite cum pace,’ et statim recedent. Et cum abierint, debes dimittere circulum, ferendo ense.

Tercia vero dei, cum cappa illuc reuertere, et invenies tuum indutum, quem accipies. Memento enim, si ipsa tercia die non reuerteris, siue tuum indutum ibi dimissum non accipias, quarta die nullum invenires, sed in septem diebus moreris. Accepto enim tercia die induto, ipsum in eodem loco combures. Et scias

c  MS Asperiges.
d  MS illustros.
e  The second t appears marked for deletion, erroneously.
f  MS petiebas.
quod quando ipsum combures audies maximos planctus [29v] et querelas. Et cum combureris, aspergas cinerem per aerem, sic dicendo:

*Coniuro vos, Firiel, Melemil, Berith, [et] Taraor,*
- *per virtutem et potenciam vestram,*
- *et per omnia habencia contra vos potestatem,*
* vt non habeatis virtutem nec potenciam ledendi me per hanc cappam, sed Ihesus Christus protegat et defendat me per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Quo dicto, habeas aquam benedictam et aspergas dictam cappam, sic dicendo:

*Ego coniuro te, cappa,*
- *per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,*
- *et per hanc aquam,*
* vt quandocumque te indutus fueris, nulla sentire nec videre me valeat, per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, filium dei vivum, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

**NO. 12. FOR OBTAINING A WOMAN'S LOVE (FOLS 29v–31v)**<sup>a</sup>

Recipe ceram virgineam, arte virginizatam, et hoc<sup>b</sup> in die Jouis vel in die dominico, hora Veneris vel hora Jouis; ex dicta cera facias ymaginem ad carbones accensae sine fumo in vna olla positos. Et habeat magister de capillis mulieris pro qua wult facere, et tres fillos sete rubee, et habeas tecum cultellum albi manubrij ad hoc facti. Et vade ad locum vbi artifex facit acus, et tu facias facere ab eodem arifice, hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Deinde magister [30r] habeat duos socios fideles, et vadat ad arborem fructiferam, et faciat magister circulum.<sup>c</sup> Et incipiat magister artem facere, siue ymaginem mulieris pro qua facis, semper murmurando in corde tuo,

*Tu Belial, tu Astaroth,<sup>d</sup> tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis opus michi adiutores.*

Et similiter murmuringo dices,

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<sup>a</sup> *In margin: de amore.*

<sup>b</sup> *Inserted above line.*

<sup>c</sup> *Figure on fol. 30r: a double circular band, with Tu Belial, tu Astaroth, tu Paymon, ad hoc sitis [michi deleted] opus michi adiutores inscribed in the band, and Locus magistri marked in the centre.*

*The names appear on the same folio in the text. Spelling is consistent for two of them, but Astaroth is rendered in the text as Astarotht.*

<sup>d</sup> *Sic in MS.*
Ego, N., formo istam ymaginem in amorem talis. ut valeat ad quod facta est. Et tu, Belial, inicialis princeps, ad hoc opus sis michi adiutor.

Et tunc magister faciat ymaginem de predicta cera, incipiens hora Jouis, descendendo vsque ad horam Saturni. Et sic formata ymagine, faciat fieri [30v] magister ab artifice peritou novem acus, qui eas faciat corpore balneatus et nitidis vestibus indutus; faciat dictas acus hora Solis vsque ad horam Saturni. Postea magister fingat dictas acus in ymagine, ita collocando vnam in capite, aliam in humero dextro, terciam in sinistro, iam vbi cor consueuit ab hominibus assignari, ita dicendo:

Sicut ista acus fingitur in cor istius ymaginis, ita fingatur amor N. in amorem N., quod non possit dormire, vigilare, iacere, sedere, [url] ambulare, quousque in meum exardescat amorem.


Coniuero, talis, N., caput tuum, crines tuos, oculos tuos, aures tuas, genas tuas; coniuero, talis, cerebrum tuum; coniuero, N., tunicas<sup>e</sup> cerebræ tui, scilicet duram et piam matrem; coniuero, N., oculos tuos; coniuero, N., tunicas ocularum tuorum; coniuero, N., frontem tuam; coniuero, N., dentes tuos; coniuero, N., os tuum; coniuero, N., mentum tuum; coniuero, N., nasum tuum; coniuero, N., nares tuas; coniuero, N., palatum tuum; coniuero, N., gingivas tuas; coniuero, N., guttur tuum; coniuero, N., humeros tuos; coniuero, N., spatulas tuas; coniuero, N., pectus tuum; coniuero, N., mammillas tuas; coniuero, N., corpus tuum; coniuero umbilicum tuum; coniuero, N., femur tuum; coniuero, N., renes tuos; coniuero, N., latera tua; coniuero, N., anum tuum; coniuero, N., costas tuas; coniuero, N., vuluam tuam; coniuero, N., genua tua; coniuero, N., crura tua; coniuero, N., talos<sup>f</sup> pedum tuarum; coniuero, N., brachia tua; coniuero,

<sup>e</sup> Added both between lines and in margin.

<sup>f</sup> Followed by sic.

<sup>g</sup> MS lattere or lactere.

<sup>h</sup> Followed by tuss, deleted.

<sup>i</sup> MS cerebrum.

<sup>j</sup> MS tales.
N., digitos manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., manus tuas; coniuro, N. ungues manuum tuarum; coniuro, N., cor tuum; coniuro, N., pulmonem tuum; coniuro, N., bucellas tuas; coniuro, N., stomachum tuum; coniuro, N., totam personam tuam; coniuro, N., totam substantiam tuam, vt non possis dormire nec sedere nec iacere nec aliud artificiale facere donec meam libidinosam compleueris voluntatem. Coniuro te

- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- per magistratum<sup>k</sup> artis,
- per virtutem ipsius,<sup>l</sup>
- per sapienciam Salomonis,
- per verum Sabaoth,
- per verum seraphin,
- per verum Emanuel,
- per omnia corpora sanctorum [31v] que iacent in Roma,
- per lunam et solem et dominum maiorem,
- et per lac virginis,
- per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
- per eukarisma sanctum,
- per corpus et sangwinem Ihesu Christi.

Coniuro vos ex exercizio vos [et] impero vobis, vt sicut ceruus desiderat fontem aquarum [Ps. 41:2 Vulg.], ita desideres,<sup>m</sup> N., ad meum amorem. Et sicut ceruus desiderat cadauera mortuorum, ita desideras<sup>n</sup> tu me. Et sicut cera ista liquefacit a facie ignis, ita desideret N. in meum amorem, quod non possit, etc.

Signa autem mulieris hæc sunt et sequentur: solitudo, inuolucio capitis, ploratus, gemitus, percussiones, euigilaciones, [et] eiulaciones. Tunc magister siue ille qui facit vadat ad illam, et si viderit illam solam stantem aut<sup>o</sup> sedentem, tunc corroboret magister coniuracionem vsque ad quintam diem. Et si illa in terra omnino fuerit, consumatur; si autem fuerit in villa aut aliam ciuitatem transierit, tamdui magister faciat coniuracionem quousque illa possit venire.

Et in hoc fuerunt concordes nigromantici omnes astroloyci Hispanicì, Arabici, Hebrei, Caldei, Greci, et Latini. Et extractum fuit istud experimentum [ex libro] de secretis artibus ymaginarie artis, [ex libro] de floribus omnium experimentorum, etc.

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<sup>k</sup> MS mgmr with line over last three characters.

<sup>l</sup> Presumably either incomplete or intended with reference to the previous phrase.

<sup>m</sup> MS desiderat, following the Psalm verse.

<sup>n</sup> MS desideras.

<sup>o</sup> MS et.
NO. 13. FOR CONSTRAINING A MAN, WOMAN, SPIRIT, OR BEAST
(FOLS 32r--33r)

Per hoc experimentum constringitur homo, mulier, vir, spiritus, [vel] bestia, cuiuscumque condicionis existat.

Hec nomina in hunc modum sint scripta in spatula. Postquam hoc totum adinpletum fuerit, quod vis eligere tibi. Si aliquem spiritum constringere volueris, scribere nomen eius in spatula inter b et e et in nomine quod est Bel. Si aliquem hominem constringere volueris, scribere nomen illius inter l et a. Si vero aliquam bestiam constringere volueris, scribere nomen eius inter a et n, et colem eius. Pro spiritibus vero atque hominibus et pro mulieribus, agendum est ita et in eadem hora in qua expleta spatula fuerit ab accione, ibi oportet vt in primis perquiratur lingua ex spina alba vel lingua que vagantur in aquis, et faciat inde ignem, carbonesque collige et in ollam nouam mitte, et desuper paulatim pone spatulam, et paulatim augmentando ignem donec spatula calefiet.

Et tunc invoca predictos spiritus, et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Asyl, Castiel, Lamisiel, Rabam, Erlaim, [et] Belam; vobis precipio

[A1] Si pro homine uel muliere quem uel qua[m] in tuo amore accendere volueris, sic dicas:

vt statim, etc.

secundum quod infra continentur. [B] Si vero pro spiritu, [32v] nomina illum spiritum quem vis vt veniat ad te patenter, humiliiter, pulcra facie, et blando sermone, dicendo,

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a  Figure at the bottom of fol. 33r (i.e., at the end of the experiment); a shield divided into 16 horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre. In the top band is inscribed, Hec est figura spatule. Succeeding bands bear the names Asyl, Castiel, Lamisiel, Rabam, Erlaim, Olam and Belam, each of which straddles the vertical band. In the vertical band are the letters A (at the intersection with the second horizontal band), B (fifth), E (seventh), L (ninth), A (eleventh) and N (thirteenth). Across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band Leo is written.

To the side is the note: Item nota quod spatula superducta debet esse asinina vel leporina vel anserina vel caponina, secundum diversos [susus?].
b  Sic in MS.
c  Corrected in lower margin from Bolam.
d  This phrasing occurs toward the end of the conjuration given in the next paragraph.
Coniuro vos, Asyel, etc., ut N. spiritum N.,
qui potestatem habet super omne quod ab eo querere volo, ad me venire faciatis patenter, humiliter, blando sermone, eius forma ut dixi, scilicet militis [et] pulcherimi, ad complendum omnia que ei precipere voluero.

[A2] Et cum pro viro aut muliere hoc facere volueris, fac ei prius notum vbi te invenire possit, quia nisi te inveniet pro cuius furore suo insaniet. [C] Si pro bestia, [dic:]

Coniuro predictos spiritus ut constringant illam bestiam

quam vis, ne de loco in quo est se remouere valeat donec volueris.

[A3] [Conjuration to constrain a man or woman:] Asyel, Castiel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Elam, Belam, ego vos coniuro

- per deum verum,
- per deum viuum, qui vos creauit,
- et per eum qui Adam et Ewam formauit,
- et per eum qui mare creauit aridamque fundauit, qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem vrentem [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], qui nout ea que non sunt sicut ea que sunt, qui habet claues mortis [et] inferni, ipse enim primus et nouissimus, principium et finis, Alpha et O, et qui viuit et fuit mortuus et revixit, qui vocauit deum patrem eius.
- Alphagramaton, per hoc nomen
vos coniuro,
- et per sanctum et ineffabile nomen dei Tetragramaton,
- et per id nomen quod nemo nouit nisi ipse [33r] qui est verbum dei,
- et per huc nomina dei: Hely, Heloy, Heloe, Sabaoth, Elion, Adonay, Saday,
- et per omnia nomina eius,
- et per ipsius virtutem,
- et per omnes virtutes celorum;

item coniuro vos

- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- et per sanctam trinitatem et unitatem dei,
- et per illam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in suo capite habuit,
- et per lac beate Marie virginis,
- et per huc predicta nomina et per omnes virtutes eorundem,
et per istam consiurationem precipio robis, vt statim et cito et velociter et sine mora seducatis cor et mentem N. in amorem meum. Et sicut hec spatula calefit et incenditur, ita illum vel illam, N., incendatis et calefacitis igne mei amoris, et ita vt nu[n]quam quiescere valeat donec meam adimpleuerit voluntatem. In nomine quod est Bel, etc.

NO. 14. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOLS 33v–34r)

Vt equum habeas ad eundum quo vis, [debes] respicere aerem versus orientem, flexis genibus [et] iunctis manibus et si esses* in carcere, et dic cum magna fiducia et spe firmissima obtinendi,

O altissime et benignissime rex Orientis, exaudi oracionem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat: siant aures tue intendentes in vocem deprecationis mee [Pss. 101:2, 129:2 Vulg.], per nobilissimam sedem maiestatis tue. Te invoco et adiuro

• per illum dominum quem conec* diligis, confidis, et speras,
• per legem legalem et per spem sperantem et per karitatem karitatissum,
• per On, El, Ely, [et] Tetragramaton, quod est nomen altissimum,
• et per locum vbi sedes in solio magne nobilitatis tue.

Mittte me spiritum aereum, quo* in eo vales ad plenum, quod opto, proficere. Potens es*, domine, ipsum mittere, et michi in hac hora tua magna potencia in omnibus et per omnia sit obediens et legalis./ Et ideo te, domine, invoco, adoro, et laudo nomen tuum in eternum, qui oriens omnis benedictio et gloriosissimus* per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Hoc igitur dicto septies, dic audaciter:

Volo ire ad talem partem, et statim veni.

Vt si volueris spiritus uel equus, vel dormiendo uel vigilando.b Cum equus venerit, dic,

Coniuro te per dominum, qui creavit celum et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt, tam

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a  MS est et. perhaps meaning vt si reses?
b  Or Tonis, perhaps intending toto corde?
c  Meaning fidem fiducialem, corresponding to the other theological virtues?
d  Meaning vt?
e  MS est.
f  Sic in MS.
g  Perhaps meaning qui Oriens es, benedictus et gloriosissimus.
h  Probably meaning Et si volueris spiritum uel equum, uel dormiendo uel vigilando.
visibilium quam invisibilium, vt sine strepitu et timore, damno aliquo vel periculo seu angustia mei cor- [34r] poris et animae portes me suaviter et depones me sine aliqua lesion e presenti et futuri, usque ad talem locum suaviter me deponas.

Cum enim deposuerit te vbi affectabis, dicas humiliter,

Gracias tibi ago, Oriens, qui dignum me fecisti in hac parte mea et pro tanta gracia et beneficio meo, et me tibi offero, suauire et semper tuus obedire mandatis. Benedictum [et] laudatum sit semper nomen tuum, regnaturum super omnia secula seculorum. Et tibi eciam gracias ago, qui per coniurationem nominum altissimi dei per me fatigare dignatus es, etc.

NO. 15. FOR OBTAINING A FLYING THRONE (FOLS 34r-35v)

Vade ad locum secretum et altum, tempore sereno et absque ventu, et dic: Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam [Ps. 50 Vulg.], cum Gloria Patri totum.

a In manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum et totum spiritum et corpus meum.


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i .MS et.

j Followed by et.

k Sic in MS.

l .MS mea.

m Probably meaning pro me fatigari.

a Sic in MS.

b Sic in MS; cf. Lk 24:46.

c Figures at bottom of fol. 34r: a single circular band, with an inverted triangle inscribed within its outer boundary. Characters (in pseudo-Hebrew?) are inscribed along two sides of the triangle, within the band. In the intersections of the band and the triangle, circles with dots in them (resolutely denoting positions for juss) are marked. Cardinal directions are shown.

d MS occidentali.

e Possibly meaning potenciam; followed by michi, deleted.

f Followed by redundant Baltim, deleted.

g Sic in MS.
magistro, hec dicas ter. Tunc videbis kathedram in medio nubis, et tu ascende illam, et dic,

*Rex Bartha, et duces Saltim, Baltim, [et] Galtim, portate me placabiliter, sine timore et inpedimento et periculo aliquo mei corporis*\(^h\) et anime, usque ad talem locum, et suauiter me levate et suauiter me deponite. *O tu rex Bartha, et o vos principes Saltim, Baltim, Galtym,* vos potenter invoco ut cito et velociter me ducatis usque ad talem locum sine omni timore et periculo mei corporis et anime, et ad hanc vos invoco et coniuro potenter et exorcisco per hunc angelorum nomina altissima qui in aere sunt potentes: *Mastiesel,\(^i\) Emedel, Emethel, Sangel, Eymeal, Venoel, Gerbon, Seulan, Ty-\(^{35}\) robay, Teneym, Teregy, Gerebon, Gamelorum, Tubairum, Ficary, Gysay, Austeron, Boreal, Gemeloy, Garoen, Sypro, Ebely, Aurora, Subselay, Siego, Afonei, et Zeaphirum. Boreoth, Beothoray, Afforax,\(^l\) Aquelyro, Eureal, Fauleyon. Per hunc nomina vos invoco et coniuro et exorcizo et constringo, ut sine mora veniatis ad me existentem in hunc loco, et mutum\(^m\) me suauiter et benigne deferatis et ducatis ad talem locum, sine omni timore, lesione, et periculo mei corporis et anime.* Sic fiat, fiat, amen.

Vade securus et non timeas, quia portabunt te quo volueris. Si forte socios habere volueris in via et in opere, oportet quod sitis impares, tamen plus.\(^n\) Hec nomina dices, scilicet Semegibetelye, Sabolaay,\(^o\) Saroten, Saramey, Cerbelli, Tyaurax.\(^p\) Et sic ire voteris in omnem partem et terram securus quo volueris.

Si quis tibi forte nocere voluerit vel attemptauerit: Si a parte septentrionali senseris kathedram descendere, dic,

*O Balthym, te invoco, coniuro, et constringo ut vindices me de isto qui michi nocere temptatur,\(^q\) per hunc septem nomina que in omnibus potestatem habent, scilicet Flaglely, Stygelyo, Melyon, Babaia, Regale, Setgaboy, Guiltapday.*

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\(^h\) *Corrected in MS from corporis.\(^3\)*

\(^i\) *Sic in MS.*

\(^j\) *Or hec.*

\(^k\) *Or Maciesel.*

\(^l\) *Or Afforax.*

\(^m\) *Sic in MS.*

\(^n\) *Sic in MS.*

\(^o\) *Corrected in MS from Sabalaay.*

\(^p\) *Or Tyranrax.*

\(^q\) *Meaning temptat.*

\(^r\) *Or Scygeloy.*
Et statim veniet tempestas super eum et timeas.\textsuperscript{s} Si vero a parte occidentali quis tibi nocere temptauerit, dic audacter,

\textit{O Saltem, coniuro et constringo te per ista semptem nomina, [35v] scilicet Sebegyl, Sebely, Serbaton, Tymelyy,\textsuperscript{t} Gerotal, Tyboel, Galtym. Fiat ut sit pluvia et nubes super illum, in tantum quod non possit videre nubem.}

Si vero ex parte orientali quis temptare voluerit, dic,

\textit{Veniatis, Galtym [et] Baltym, per ista nomina, scilicet Flegely, Stygeloy, Melyon, Barbaia, Regale, Segaboy, Guipabey, et cadant tonitrua super\textsuperscript{u} illum et nubes et tempestas, ita [quod] me temptare non audeat.}

Si forte in via videris super te tempestates uel serpentes aut aues aut alia terrabilia, quibus forte posses terreri, dicas,

\textit{O tu rex Bartham, ego te invoco et coniuro et constringo, rex sapiens et fortis, per hec nomina, scilicet Atrogen, Segeurathetho, Spitalote, Frigonay, Gebelsey, ut hec terrabilia\textsuperscript{v} facias protinus remoueri statim.}

Dictis hiis verbis, sine mora recedent, et vltra non habebis contrarium.

\textit{Hic circulus debet fieri ad istud opus, etc.\textsuperscript{w}}

\textbf{NO. 16. FOR FINDING SOMETHING IN SLEEP (FOLS 35v–36r)}

Ad inveniendum in somnphis que vis, scribe hec nomina in carta virginea cum nominibus illius diei in hunc modum sicut inferius patebit. Postea pone sub dextra aure quando vadis dormitum, et videbis quidquid vis de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris.

\textit{Hec est con- [36r] iuracio que debet fieri super cartam:}

\textit{O vos gloriosa nomina summi dei, cui omnia, presencia, preterita, et futura presencia sunt,}

\textsuperscript{s} Possibly meaning et timebit or quem times.

\textsuperscript{t} Sic in MS.

\textsuperscript{u} Partly covered by blot.

\textsuperscript{v} MS terrebillia.

\textsuperscript{w} That is, the circle given already on fol. 34r, but perhaps drawn at the end of the experiment in an earlier manuscript.
rogo vos ego, servus et subditus vester, quod mittatis michi angelos vestros, qui scripti sunt in circulo isto, et michi revelare debeatis

quidquid super talem rem, uel de quocumque vis negocio quod venturum est. Et hec dicas tribus vicipus, et videbis quidquid vis, per potenciam dei.

Hic est circulus qui debet scribi cum ibis dormitum.

NO. 17. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOL 36v-v)

Ad equum habendum scriba[n]tur in hostio domus vacui, in crepusculo noctis, more he- [36v] brayco, hec nomina cum sangwine vespertilionis: Tuditha, Stelpha, Alpha, Draco, Mariodo, Ypation. Quibus scriptis, recede modicum a loco.

Post horam paruam reuertaris, et inuenies equum paratum, quem cum uolueris ascendere pone sinistrum pedem ad strepam et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,
  • per creatorem celi et terrae,
  • et per illum qui creavit univera et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,
  • et per deum vivum,
  • et per deum sanctum,
  • et per deum serum,
  • et non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obsessi valueas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me N., ad locum tales deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni impedimento.

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, quia omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabis.

Cum autem perveneris ad locum prenominatum, descende de equo et accipe

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a Blot between o and s.
b MS dicat.
c Figure on fol. 30: a double circular band, with eight lines of text inscribed within it: Agla / Michael virtus dei / Gabriel fortitudo / Emanuel Paraclitus / Raphael medicina dei / Alpha et O, Oli, Ely / Tetragrammaton, amem / Agla. Each line of text has a cross inside a square at either end.
d Followed by a blot.
d Followed by a blot.
frenum, et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipias frenum et scucte firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dicit precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba: Rasteya, Elogo, Yetas, etc.

NO. 18. THE MIRROR OF FLORON, FOR REVELATION OF PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE (FOLS 37r–38r)

Hic incipit speculum Floron.


Hoc peracto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri per manubrium cum ambabus manibus pueri virginis ante pectus suum, et ipse magister sit balneatus, eciam mundis vestibus indutus, qui antequam incipiat exercere hoc opus mel, lac, et vinum equaliter insimul mixtum in acrem aspergat, dicendo,

O Floron, in speculo sicut solitus es apparer citissime respondes.

Hoc dicto, hanc coniuracionem coram speculo legat:

Bismille araathm men4 bismissa gassim gisim gaisim darrosim samaioasim talim ausini taxarim zaloimi hyacabanoy illete laytimi hehelimini betoymi thoma leminao vnuthomin zonim narabanorum azarethia thathit hinanadon illemay sard hucecf illemgiptimi silaginatim viaice hamamice tatiala taltarini alooh haleym gamnelmetuntij mortoorefall geibel huabaton albital hualepin halnagrillie hualeom huastandie huatorzor illenie giptimi taqniie thategine lesuma lesanim aptasale albeorooht vlleth alsfard vsemeth aptissile abfluwarth vllethant clulamoraitce hakysitimi waleles [38r] lithimi caegine

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e Sic in MS.
f MS acc.

a Figure on fol. 37r: a double circular band, divided into ten segments. Outer band has the names Latranoy, Izarin, Bicol, Danmals, Gromon, Zarla, Ralkal, Sigtonia, Samah and Meneglasas written in the ten segments; inner band contains corresponding figures. Inscribed within the bands is a rectangle, subdivided into six sections, which contain the letters F-L-O-R-O-N.
b Second m written with superscript line over it.
Dicta vero hac coniuracione, magister in speculo aspiciat, et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum comitantem secum, qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: 'Se desperata, decentissime visibiliter greciomo.'

Et tunc magister ipsum interrogat de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenius insinuabit.

Non ergo tibi incredibile sit, quicumque fuerit huius operis artifex, quia dum nouies ista perfeceris, idem spiritus manifeste vniuersa que prius per scripta insinuauerat ore ad os viua voce palificando denunciabit.

Dum ergo cuncta pro tuo velle perfeceris, eidem spiritui cum pace precipe vt recedat, et iuxta preceptum sui domini redeat cum fuerit vocatus.

NO. 19. THE MIRROR OF FLORON, SECOND VERSION (FOLS 38r–39v)

Hic incipit speculum Floron, et alio modo quam supra sit notaturn, quamuis cum eisdem regulis.


Hoc facto, magister huius operis sedens faciat ipsum speculum teneri ambabus manibus aluciius pueri virginis ante pectus suum. Et ipse magister sit primo balneatus et mundis vestibus indutus, et ab omnibus alii modis, vt bene nosti, ordinatus, antequam incipiat hoc opus exercere. Mel, lac, et vinum mixta aspargantur in aere, et magister predictum spiritum proprio

c Individual words in almost all cases separated by punctus.
d Sic in MS.
e Meaning fuerit?
f Sic in MS.
a Sic in MS.
b MS aluciius pueri virgini.
c Sic in MS.
nomineudo advocet vt in speculum sicut solitus est veniat et vera responsa de omnibus interrogatis per certa scripta vel verba respondeat.

Hoc dicto, magister coniuracionem sequentem C[h]aldaysis verbis scripta[m] perlegat hoc modo:

Brismassa cassini gossini gaissini gratagossini samalaosini raixini gratini caraxini maraxini sobohini herura banor allegalle alitisti alaro haetaum ha- [39r] maymon hyalermon biselimi bristledelimin hybelim bytho yhan bythoinin chosuma lonym lonynti torrimernun vitabanor atheretaat hyareth huyazalun vraref illemegyptum biragryarius hyairtie heramenc conolar ganstraximi aloryoli helytum gayta mementum montoroazyabel hubaron albnetal' hyxalepini almagarie huareon hyaltanixe hualenyefet huatosor allemegitum cagine satogyne laminy lenymaybdo abtsilthi alluhuiat valehat arfard huzeniecht aptihle abimerahit vlehat enzebul morabe balitum veralesucum teagyne lesmyro valanun aptalile asugnathecht valleath hyamatharon hyabia gaytatalon hya yagapolozol phalmolmeth bethaure huaba laygip illenietentum taygine orgine deragineles myraptalile villeythih setrataha conox.

Magister inspiciat in speculo et videbit militem armatum in equo sedentem et armigerum suum committantem secum. Qui miles de equo descendet, et armiger eius equum tenebit. Cui militi sic dicet: 'Parate insilitio gyromon.' Tunc magister interroget ipsum de preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, et ipse continuo certo scripto interrogata plenarie inti- [39v] marbit. Non sit igitur incredibile tibi, quicumque fueris huius operis artifex, quod cum con[juracionem] predicta[m] feceris, idem spiritus qui prius manifeste insinuauaret per scripta postea vna nocte per exerciciem et in die omni hora ore ad os pallificando denunciabit, et eciam omnia que sub circulo lune sunt et eciam in terra et super terram, visibilter eth aperte demonstrabit.

Cum igitur cuncta perfeceris, precipe vt in pace recedat et iuxta preceptum magistri quacumquei hora vocatus fuerit quod festinanter veniat et sine mora.

Nota quod 10 nomina cum suis caraceribus debent sculpti in speculo prima die Veneris, luna crescente, et eciam speculum eadem die debet fieri. Et si non potest ex toto perfici eodem die Veneris, compleatur [secunda] uel tercia die Veneris, et semper luna crescente. Videat bene sculptor vel faber quod non sint poluti luxuria per 9 dies antequam accedant ad opus. Sint eciam balneati et loti et mundis vestibus induti, vt scis.
NO. 20. ANOTHER WAY OF USING A MIRROR (FOLS 39v–40v)

Item, secundum alium modum.

In coniunctio Veneris et Jouis, vade ad locum secretum ac secretissimum, vt infra assignabitur. Et habeas tecum candelas accensas, et tene tecum speculum calibeum limpidum et politum, factum luna 4a uel 7a vel xiiia. Et in sequenti die ieiunabis. Et cum operare volueris, vade ad locum vt supra dictum est, et fac circulum, et singe ibi speculum supradictum supra b lignum ad modum cultelli factum, et dicas hec verba:

Siclis pictis tectis moturas baruch cortex garyn ruent hismuie haruel fuganes furtym fermal faruc cornalis bosuo zelada pasapa phirpa tirph. Tu qui es deus, Alpha et O, fac hoc speculum crescere et clarescere donec ad visum meum sufficient.

Hic non est defectus.

Sequitur [alia] coniuracio:

Coniuro te

• per deum,
• et per tres pueros Sydrac, Mysaach, et Abdenago,
• et per tres magos Caspar, Balthasar, et Melchior,
• et per tres patriarchas Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob,
• et per illum cui nomen est Throden, Lien, Elyon, Vergiton, Christus, Deus forxis, Emanuel, Caspar, Caspan, Caspar, Corpion, Asmal.

Hec dic tribus vicibus, et videbitur tibi clarescere et crescere, et apparebunt tibi multi in speculo tamquam in campo. Tunc inquire secure de quacumque re quod volueris, et sufficienter tibi respondebunt.

Post primam autem vicem, [40v] quandocunque vis, vbicumque vis, in secreto tamen loco, hoc facere poteris dicens verba supradicta. Hoc enim speculum tibi consecrabitur ad illam quam tu vnquam plus affectasti in circulo nobilissimo de tribus milibus.

Et nota quod omnis circulus et dicti circuli debent fieri quando nubes non appareant, quod si postea apparuerint non est timendum, quia spiritus sunt, etc.

a xiiia duplicat in louter margin.

b MS supera.

c MS campo.

d Sic in MS.

e MS quod.
NO. 21. FOR INVISIBILITY (FOL. 40v)

Studeas invenire vnam cattam nigrum, natam in mense Martij, et exviscera eam, corde tamen remanente; tunc abscide cor cum cultello qui sit de Venere facto, a et oculos erue dicte catte cum eodem cultello, et impleb foramina oculorum semine cuiusdam herbe que elyotropa dicitur, vnum in oculo dextro et alius in sinistro, et terciium in cor[de], semper hec verba dicendo: Sapreson lampsones sampaanay, invisibilis sit hom. Et reple eam corae, et sepeli eam in ortu tuo in quo nemo intrat, et eam rigab cum sangwine humano et aqua commitis, hoc continuando per xv dies vsque quo crescit herba alba, cuius semen suo opere semper illa verba repetendo. Scias tamen quod quelibet herba dabat semen, sed granum unum bonum, quod quidem sic eligere debes, et nomina semper repetendo. Habeas igitur speculum coram te, et respiendo vnum granum post alius in speculo, et ponas omnia grana in ore tuo sub lingwa tua, et bene semper consideras granum illud quod ponis in os tuum. Et si in quocumque grano posito in ore te videre non poteris in speculo, scias id esse bonum et vtile pro te, etc.

NO. 22. FOR DISCOVERING A THIEF OR MURDERER BY GAZING INTO A VESSEL (FOL. 41r–42r)

Ad furtum inveniendum, recipe cultellum cum manubrio nigro vel albo, et facias circulum in terrae, dicendo has oraciones: Deus, qui eordium fidelium Sancti Spiritus, etc., Concede nos famulos tuos, etc., et Hominem sancti tui. Et habeas puerum uel puellam virginem. Et magister intret cum ea vel cum eo in circulum, et accipiet magister

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a  Meaning cum cultello die Veneris facto? The e in de is blotted out, but the word is replicated in the margin.
b  Followed by Ero, deleted.
c  Sic, an alternative form of cera.
d  MS rega.
e  Sic in MS.
f  Meaning cum?

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a  Figure at the top of fol. 42r: double circular band, the interior of which is divided into six wedges. Pentagrams with On just beyond each point are inscribed in the upper and lower wedges, and to the lower left and right of the circle. Within the circle is inscribed Hic sedecat [=sedecat] puer super signum (in the inner band, at top); Hic sedecat magister super signum (in the inner band, at bottom) a laterne sinistro (in the outer band, at bottom). To the right of this figure is a column containing five horizontal bands and labelled Istud est signum; in the bands is inscribed Esto altissimus, vnum, eternus; amen, with one word per band.
b  Followed by blot.
c  Altered in MS from accipiat.
serraginem bene mundatam intus et extra, et scribat super eum predicto cultello hoc signum et hec nomina similiter:

Onel, On, Adonay, Emanuel, sanctus deus fortis, sanctus Ely, sanctus Elyon, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth, mirabilis splendor, Alpha et O. Fiat.

Quo scripto, accipias lumen et invngas desuper serraginem cum pennae galline nigre, et de sinistra ala, hoc modo dicendo Pater Noster ter, tot cum Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison tribus vicibus, Christus ab antiqua fraude, magnus, magnus et eternus; fiat, amen, Exaudi nos tribus vicibus, Pater de celis, miserere nobis; sancta Maria, ora pro nobis; sancte Michael, orate pro nobis; sancte Raphaeh, ora pro nobis; sancte Johannes Baptist, precursor domini, ora pro nobis; omnes sancti et sancte, ora pro nobis; Kyrieleison, Christeleison, Kyrieleison; Christe, audi nos.

Hoc vero supra scriptum periuatro, dicat magister in auricuulo pueri coniuracionem istam:

Coniuro te, puer,

- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, cui omne nomen flecitur et omnis lingua proclamat Osanna [cf. Phil. 2:10];

coniuro te

- per sanctam Mariam semper virginem,
- per angelos et archangelos,
- per xiiior seniores,
- et per exilium militum [41v] qui pro nomine Christi iugulati sunt,
- et per sanctum Johanne Baptistam,
- et per omnes patriarchas et prophetas,
- et per xii apostolos,
- et per four evangelistas,
- et per septuaginta discipulos domini,
- et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei,
- et per omnes virtutes omnipotentis dei, celestes, terrestres, et infernales,

vt quidquid tu viades nobis insinues, et vt tu veraciter vide posse quis vel qui eciam sit vel sint qui furtum istud uel homicidium fecerunt, virtute omnipotentis dei et gracia.

Coniuracione vero facta, dicas super caput pueri hanc coniuracionem:

d  Meaning On, El.

e  Sic in MS.

f  MS virtute dei omnipotentis dei.
Deus, creator omnium rerum, te deprecor humili deuocione, per tuam mirabilem potensionem, quatenus isti puero tribuas scientiam et intellectum, ut mischi veritatem annunciet de furtis uel homicidiis, ut cogatis, omni fallacia remota, inimici, et exaltent nomen tuum, quod est benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, qui cooperante Spiritu Sancto per mortem tuam mundum vniificasti, illumina cor et corpus istius puere, ut veritatem mischi annunciet de furtis que interrogauero, per hoc sanctissima nominia: Nazarenus, Messiah, Adonay, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum.

Precipiat magister puero ut intente inspiciat in vase illo idem chimurili, hoc vero modo ut alibi non respiciat aut aliquo modo visum suum ab eo auertat. Et si aliquo modo puer in prima vice nichil viderit, iterum coniuret illum puerum secunda vice, quousque videat puer hoc furtum vel homicidium et rem illam de qua dubitas. Etc.

NO. 23. FIRST MIRROR OF LILITH (FOL. 42r-43r)

Hoc est primum speculum Lilit et suorum virorum suorumque militum seniorum. Et hoc speculum debet fieri in magistratu sui speculi, et in memoria omnium nominum suorum seruorum, qui omnes res ante Caym faciunt in mundissimo loco.*

Coniuro vos demons vt veniatis et compareatis et dicatis mischi de quocumque interrogauero vos omnem veritatem, in nomine Patris et Fili et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Christus * vincit ipsum * Balbiesit * Zelans, * Zelles, Dimedero, Cadar, es qui coddite astra celorum ascendunt ebi sunt tres dogie cruci uel breuex actu uel ictu seculorum in quatuor partes seculi, ad faciendam totem voluntatem in eam, per deum ebi probabilitet et licencia placabiler et effabilier, sine terrore, absque tocius ineffabilii poten- [42v] cia deitiatis summii viui. in hac veri dri virtute te exoramus, Lylet, per honorem patris tui Arieth, et per illud sacramentum quod tu Noema matri tuae facistis verbo, et in similitudine tua et non in

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1) malformed, and duplicated above line.
2) Meaning et.
3) MS inimici.
4) c. blotted out, and word duplicated in margin.
5) Sic in MS.
6) Sic in MS.
7) Followed by no (?), deleted.
8) Sic in MS.
9) Sic in MS.
coruorum similitudine, ad sermocinandum et ad sedendum nobiscum in quacumque hora
requisierimus te in speculo isto, pacifice ac humiliiter ac sine vlla deformatitate, te michi
ostendas; et amplius ut duo ul plurues de seruis tuis, qui vero tam de furto quam de homicidio
aut de quacumque alia re dubitabili de qua scire voluero michi dent vera responsa vel signa,
in dei virtute et obedientia.

Istud vero spectum debet formari ad modum Clypei, vel e alio modo [si] volueris, in cuius giro hec nomina depingantur: Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus
fortis, deus immortalis, pater futuri seculi. Et circa duo lattera superiora sigilla
Salomonis depingantur majora, in fine vero clypei minus sigillum Salomonis, et
in medio speculi hoc nomen 'Lylet'\(^e\) depingatur, prout in hac patebit figura que
infra ponitur.\(^h\) Postea vero sicut alio vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circundetur.\(^h\) Quo vero facto, tacite et secrete defer ad quadriuum vel ad
sepulc[r]um alicuius hominis interfecti, in crepusculo noctis, diei Martis vel
Saturni, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

**Coniuro te, Lylet,\(^i\) ac socios tuos,

- per Alpha et O,
- per primum et nouissimum, Abiel, Rotbens, Cafre, O deus, O male Christe, inclitus,
  On, Ely, Elyon, Messyas, Saboath, Adonay, Emanuel;
  coniuro [te] eciam, Lylet,\(^i\) atque socios tuos,

  - per annunciationem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
  - et per natuatem eius,
  - et per audentum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,
  vt in quacumque hora te vocauero, in hoc speculo michi appareas cum tuis sociis atque de re
  illa de qua scire voluero michi vera dando responsa vel signa.

Oracione vero ista completa, per aliam viam reuertaris ad hospiciu tuum.
Postea vero, eadem hora ac die, ad quadriuum vade et accipe speculum, et cum
de re alia qua volueris scire dubitabili, ipsos per coniuracionem iam dictam venire

\(^e\) Largely blotted out.
\(^f\) MS Bylet.
\(^g\) Figure given at bottom right of fol. 42*: shield with a single band around its edge. In the band is inscribed,
Deus sanctus, deus omnipotens, deus fortis, deus immortalis, pater futuri seculi. *The name Bylet
[=Lylet] appears in the centre. In the upper left- and right-hand corners are pentagrams with On just beyond each
point; smaller version appears at bottom.
\(^h\) Perhaps meaning: Postea vero vitro, sicut alia specula solent, circumdetur.
\(^i\) MS Bylet.
\(^j\) MS Bylet.
NO. 24. FOR LEARNING ABOUT ANY UNCERTAIN THING 
BY GAZING INTO A CRYSTAL (FOL. 43r–v)

Si vis scire de omnire de qua dubitaueris, accipe puerrum virginem et crismam, 
quam laua cum vino. Deinde scribere in illo cum oleo oliue hec nomina: [43v] Hon, 
Hely, Sabaoth, Adonay, Hel, Hely, Heloym, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha et O, [et dic,]

O vos sanctissima nomina, rogo vt mittatis michi duos angelos vel tres in hunc cristallum, 
qui dicant michi veritatem de his que ego inquiram. Et rogo vos angelos vt dicatis michi 
veritatem quam ego inquiram a vobis.

Primo hecb dicat puer:

Coniuro vos in nomine Dedeon, et djd Egaris et Semisonay, et ex parte magistri mei, quod 
veniatis in hunc cristallum, ita quod aperte possim videre.

Et repeste nomina superius habita donec venerint.

Et cum venerint, puer dicat nomina supradicta et coniuret eos in nomine Dedeon 
et djd, etc.; quod fiat ter. Et super sedes aureas sese ant, et cum sedeant puer dicat,

Coniuro vos in nomine Bessabes, et Hint, et Serem, et Salaboni, et Lethem, vt non recedatis 
ab hoc cristallo sine licencia mei magistri, qui hic presens est.

NO. 25. FOR INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT BY GAZING INTO A CRYSTAL 
(FOLS 43v–44r)

Experimentum cristalli ad inveniendum furum.

Accipias cristallum planum et lucidum, ad modum sigilli factum vel speculi, 
quem in cera recondes ex una parte virginea. Postea scribas in ipso cum oleo 
viridi hoc nomen: Honely. Postea dicbas hanc coniuracionem:

Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei vivi, qui lapidibus, herbis, [et] 
predicacionibus virtutes michi gentissimas etque [44r] mirabiles contulisti, [et] lapidem 
istant; item,

• per nativitatem sanctam tuam,
• ac per passionem ac gloriosam resurrectionem tuam et ascensionem,

a .MS que.
b .Or hoc.
c .MS apperte.
a .MS filij.
b .Mssing gratissimea.

Postquam vero apparuerint tibi in cristallo, dicas hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos angelos,
• per deum vivum et verum,
• et per nativitatem sanctam eius,
• et per eius passionem,
• et per eius resurrectionem sanctam,
• et per eius missionem Sancti Spiriti paracliti,
• et per sanctam eius adventum,
• et per hec sancta nomina dei: Honay, Saboath, Onel, Ely. Eloyms, Sother, Emanuel, ut superius dictum est,
• et per omnia nomina sancta dei,

et non recedatis ab hoc lapide quousque certificati fuerimus de omni re dubitabili de quo scire voluerimus, virtute dei omnipotentis et obediencia. Amen.

Notandum eciam est quod non debet aliquis vti hoc experimento pro re vili vel modica, sed pro causa ardua, et ne eciam secundum quod dictum est alibi, ‘Ne sumas nomen dei tu in vanum [Ex 19:7], nec invoces invttiliter, etc.’

NO. 26. KEY OF PLUTO, TO OPEN ALL LOCKS (FOL. 44v)

Sume tibi ferrum inventum ex inprouisu, et fac tibi fieri clauem huiusmodi, factam die Veneris. Et cum facta fuerit, repone eam per noctem cum sacrificio galli albi in quadruiuo, dicens,

O spiritus Neyloun [et] Achalas, accipite sacrificium ut nihil contra me et contra clauem istam valeat sera obi ista clavis ponetur.

c Followed by te.
d MS Eroupa.
e MS nativitatem.
f Followed by tee (?) deleted words.
g MS casa.
h Ex. 20:7 1/s.: Non adrumes nomen domini dei tu in vanum.

a Figure on upper right of fol. 44v: a key, with a single tooth extending to the left and a single tooth to the right.
Et fac super istam clauem antequam posueris subtus terram hanc figuram de sangwine galli albi. Et dimitte ibi tribus diebus. Tercia autem nocte, ante gallicinium, accipe eam unde. Cum transieris vrbem, recipe clauem cum sinistra manu de occidente in orientem, omnesque seras aperiat. Et dicitur hec claus Plutonis.

NO. 27-A. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT
BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL


Hoc facto, si puer non vii det aliquid, etc. Si autem videt, liga corrigiam ouinan, quam ad tres missas quas perfecte audiuiisti tecum habuisti, supra cedulam circa digitum, dicendo hanc coniuracionem:

O vos demones, qui coram me in ungwe istius pueri apparuiistis,

- per eum qui est Alpha et O,
- vobis impero et precipio et coniuro,
- per hec sacratissima nomina: Ely, Eloy, Messvas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay,
- et per On, quod est primum nomen domini Pantocrator, Anetheten,
- et per alia nomina michi cognita et incognita,

et non habeatis potestatem recedendi cum vestris sociis donec omnino omnem meam voluntatem adimpleveritis, et sine omni mendacio et lesione alicuius. Et si hoc facere contemptureritis, tibero vos ligari sub profunditate aquarum maris, per hec duo nomina: Ioth [et] Naboth, per quern Salomon constringebat in vas vitreo demones. Coniuro vos

- per vij signa Solomonis,
- et per sigillum et sapienciam eius,

b Figur part-way down fol. 44v: a large cross, followed by XI.

c MS omnia qui.

d Deleted, but re-added in margin.

e Orc hoc.

a These two names, already given at the outset of the series, are here repeated.

b Partly blotted out.

c Sic in MS, for Pantocrator?
ut non habeatis licenciam recedendi hinc donec de quacumque re interrogauero michi dicatis et ostendatis veritatem.

Hiis dictis, si puer non dicat directe, dic in aure eis hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
  • per deum verum Basyon,
  • et per nomen On, Berion, Sabaoth, Adonay;
coniuro te
  • per baptismum [45v] et castitatem tuam sacratam, qua te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto,
  • et non habeas potestatem celandi, sed omnia que videris manifestes.

Hiis coniuracionibus ter dictis, si te expedire non expediare spiritus, adde hanc coniuracionem:

Vos demones ab oriente, vos demones ab occidente, vos demones ab meridie, vos demones a septentrione, aperiite nobis, Discobermath, Archidemath, Fritath, Alramat, Pestiferat, Helyberp, Hergibet, Sathan.

Qua coniuracione ter dicta seu repetita, clare videbit puer omnia.

Hoc eciam experimentum valet adhuc si aliquis vellet scire statum amicorum suorum, utrum essent sani vel egris, et denunciat si essent in via vel non.

Coniuracio super corrigiam, de qua iam dictum est: Finita missa qualibet die, ter dicas hanc coniuracionem super corrigiam:

Coniuro te, Sona,
  • per hoc nomen domini: Tetragramatton.
  • et per hoc nomen dei: Ioath,
  • et per hoc nomen dei: Nabnoth,
  • et per omnes virtutes et potestates herbarum et lapidum et verborum,
  • ut virtutem talem recipias quod quacumque fueris ligatis, ipsi spiritus non habeant potestatem recedendi quosque velle ligatoris perficiant.

Explicit primum capitulum.

Cenay edo cuscetas, seferaton, San./

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d Or possibly expedite.
e Followed by ab occidente, deleted.
f Fol. 40, following, si blank.
NO. 27-C. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION (FOLS 46v-47v)

[...] pueri; et
• per nomen principis vestri summi,
• per coronam capitis sui,
• per obedienciam quam sibi debetis,

ut veniatis ab omnibus partibus mundi, omni occasione postposita, et in vingue istius pueri appareatis, et nobis sine dubio et sine fallacia illud quod a vobis scire volumus veraciter manifestetis. Fiat, fiat, fiat.

Coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
• per deum On, Orion, Sabaoth, Adonay,

ut non habeas potestatem menciendi vel celandi de quocumque interrogaueris; item coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
• per deum tuum, Alpha et O, qui est primus et nouissimus,

ut michi veritatem dicas de hac re de qua te requiro; item coniuro te, virgo,
• per baptismum quem recepisti in nomine sancte et individuae trinitatis,
• per castitatem et potenciam qua te reg[e]nerauit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto,

ut non habeas potenciam neque licenciam celandi vel menciendi quocumque videris; item coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
• per sanctum nomen dei Elythie,
• per sanctum Tetragramatton,
• per sancta nomina dei On, Ely, Eloy, Eloeh,

ut non habeas licenciam seu potestatem celandri quocumque sciueris; coniuro te, virgo iuuenis,
• per baptismum quem accepisti de sancta credulitate, per castitatem et potenciam sacramentis qua te reg[e]nerauit de anima Spiritus Sancti,

ut tam cito et sine mora, aperte et breuiter, in vingue istius pueri veritatem [47r] nobis ostendas, aliter, etc. Infans, coniuro te
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
• per nomen dei? Elythie,

---
a Text continued from fol. 51r.
b per repeated.
c Followed by blot.
d MS quod.
e MS scelandi.
f This element of conjuration, addressed to the spirit, seems misplaced in the midst of a conjuration addressed to the boy.
g MS nomina.
h Followed by Elith, deleted.
• per Tetragramaton,
• per hec nomina domini nostri Ihesu Christi: Elé, Ely, Eloem,
• et per baptismum quem accepisti in nomine sancte et individue trinitatis,
• per caritatem dei, Alpha et O, quod est principium et finis,
vt aspicias in vsngue ita vt si decemiat clarus vel non.

Tunc interroga puerum si vsngwis sit clarior quam ante. Si dicat non, lege iterum coniuracionem ab inicio, et tercia vice si necesse fuerit. Si dicit quod sit clarior, quere si videat aliquid. Si dicit quod videat hominem, faciat magister coniurare puerum illum quem videt, in materna lingua, sic:

Tu qui es coram me, consiuro te
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
• et per sanctam Mariam et eius virginitatem,
• per sanctum Iohannem et eius virginitatem,
• per sanctam Katherinam et eius virginitatem,
• per omnes sanctos et sanctas virgines,
• et per virginitatem meam,

vt cito vadis pro rege tuo et facias eum venire coram me, ita vt ipsum possim expresse videre et intelligere.

Postea quere a pueri si rex venit. Si non, coniuret iterum puer vt prius. Si venit, dicat puer regi quod descendat de equo suo et faciat afferri cathedram super quam sedeat. Tunc querat puer a rege si velit comedere. Si dicit quod non, tunc de quo volueris queras. Si dicit quod sic, dicat puer regi quod mittat pro vno ariete [47v] ad quemicumque locum voluerit et faciat ipsum excorriari et decoqui, et tunc dicat quod faciat poni mensam, et surgat et lauet manus, et sedeat ad mensam et faciat ariatem poni coram se, et cito comedat. Postquam comedet, surgat et accipiat aquam et lauet manus.

Postea dicit puer regi quod remoueat coronam de capite et ponat manum dextram super caput suum et iuret per coronam suam et per ceptrum suum et per illod quod tenet sub manu sua dextra quod veraciter respondeat ad omnes questiones magistri. Deinde querat magister per puerum quidquid voluerit. Postquam satis factum questionibus magistri, detur spiritibus licencia, et puer sic dicit: ‘Ite. Pax sit inter nos et vos. Et quando magister vos vocauerit, estote parati sibi obedire in omnibus per omnia.’

Explicit secundum capitulum j

1 Followed by quod, blotted out.
2 Written twice.
NO. 28. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION
BY GAZING AT A BONE (FOLS 47v–49r)

Dea omni re dubitabili, eciam incerta, [pro] veritate habenda, accipe spatulam
arietis dextram, oleo oliae invinctam, quam ponendo super manubrium cultelli,
inspiciat puer\textsuperscript{b} virgo. Tu vero ex alia parte, tenendo candelam accensam, dicas
hoc modo:

\textit{Ergarrandras, Ornis, Arbes, Cargie, Ornis, Arbas, ego in virtute domini nostri Ihesu
Christi, qui est Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus, inicium et finis, coniuro vos demones et
advoco,

- per eum qui dixit omnia et facta sunt,
- et per [4BR] eum cui obediunt omnes creature,
- et per eum [ante] quem tremunt omnes exercitus angelorum, celestium et terrestrium et
infernorum,
- et per ipsius virtutem et omnipotenciam,
- et per tremendum diem iudicii summi dei,
- et per ipsius nomina hec sancta: On, El, Ely, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Messyas,
Soter, Emanuel, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton, Agyos, Otheos, Athanatos,
Yschiros, K\textsuperscript{r}ios, Alleluia, Eleyon, Ym\textsuperscript{r}s;\textsuperscript{a}

quatenus sine mora visibiliter in hac spatula compareatis, ante faciem istius pueri virginis, et
respondeatis et demonstretis omnem veritatem de hac re,\textsuperscript{d} N., nobis dubitabili\textsuperscript{e} et incerta.
Britonia, Bresis, Diton, Crasis, Sanete, Garbamion, libera nos famulos ab omni malo. Pater
noster, etc.

Item coniuro vos demones

- per caput et coronam principis vestri,
- et per vestram potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam,
- per anulum Salomonis, et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta,
- et per vii celos et per omnes angelos in ipsis dispositos,
- et per omnes potestates aeræs\textsuperscript{f} et infernales,

quatenus cito, etc. Gospar, Dasper, Gespar, Lapir, Sparsis, Nota, Calius,\textsuperscript{g} Asper. Item
coniuro vos demones

---

\textsuperscript{a} Repeated in margin.
\textsuperscript{b} Followed by vr, deleted.
\textsuperscript{c} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{d} Followed by nob, deleted.
\textsuperscript{e} Corrected from dubitabile.
\textsuperscript{f} r blotted out, and replaced above line.
\textsuperscript{g} Or Talius.
• per caput et coronam principis vestri,
• et per\textsuperscript{h} vestrarum potestatem, vobis a summo deo datam,
• per anulos Salomonis et per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta;
• per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, per principatus et potestates
\[48v\] [et] virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin, et per omnes virtutes celorum,
• per celum et terram et mare et omnia que in eis sunt,
• per xij apostolos,
• per martyres et confessores, virgines [et] viduas,
• per patriarchas et prophetas et evangelistas,
• per xxii seniores,
• per xci milia innocentum,
• et per omnes sanctos et electos dei qui sunt in celo et in terra,
quatenus cito et sine mora, etc.

Tunc inquiras a puero si videat spatulam crescere et claescere, quod si sic, tunc dicat postea hanc coniuracionem:

\textit{Coniuro vos spiritus}

• per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• et per virginitatem sancte Marie,
• et per virginitatem sancte Katerine et sancte Lucie et sancte Agate et sancte Cecilie et sancte Barbarie,
• et per virginitatem sancti Johannis evangeli\textsuperscript{k},
• et per caput sancti Johannis evangeli\textsuperscript{e},
• et per virginitatem meam,
vt cito in hac spatula ap\[p]\textsuperscript{aretis}, vt vos videre possim.

Quo spiritu viso in forma humana nigra, inquire ab ipso de tuo negotio, prout melius videris expedire, puero mediante\textsuperscript{l} et per virginitatem\textsuperscript{m} ipsum spiritum constringente.

Sit puer infra xij annos existens. Et post mane et in crepusculo noctis, circulum protrahendo, dicas,

\textsuperscript{h} Followed by virtutem, deleted.
\textsuperscript{i} The lines Item coniuro vos demones . . . per signa et sancta nomina in ipsis descripta are repeated verbatim.
\textsuperscript{j} Formation is irregular, as if the scribe began writing the sign for et and then changed it to that for per.
\textsuperscript{k} Sic in MS, meaning Baptiste.
\textsuperscript{l} Initial letter blotted out.
\textsuperscript{m} Changed in MS to (or from?) virginitates.

Scribantur in spatula hec sancta nomina dei: On, El, Eloy, Adonay, Alpha et O, Pancraton, Occinomos, Tetragramaton. Dum volueris cos licenciare, fac signum crucis supra spatulum, dicendo,


Poteris eciam coniurare puerum per virginitatem ut habeat potestatem videndi spiritum et non menciendi.

Explicit.

NO. 29. THE TRUE ART OF THE BASIN (FOL. 49r–v)

Incipit ars verissima de bacimine.

Hec nomina dices in aurem pueri virginis:

Carab, Riasteli, Careb, Basal, Mistal, Oronothel, Fabanin, Non, Va, Vatuel. Coniuro vos
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
• per sanctam Mariam virginem,
• per ix ordines angelorum,
• per patriarchas,
• per prophetas [et] apostolos,
• per martyres,
• per confessores,
• per virgines,

ut appareatis in bacimine isto, ut veraciter huius rei veritatem nobis ostendatis, ut non sit michi aliquod impedimentum veritatis in ista questione. Rabuel, Astena, Hylatol, cogitate facere voluntatem meam per predictas potestates.

n  MS crucem.
a  Followed by patriarchas et prophetas, deleted, and by a redundant per that is not deleted.
Hec tria nomina scribentur in cedula [49v] que ponitur in bacimine dum ars fiet. Postea dic,

Deus celi, deus terre, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, qui es rex sanctorum omnium, patriarcharum ac prophetarum, te deprecor humili deuociione vt isti pueru tribuas scienciam et intellectum, vt michi veritatem de quibus[cumque] interrogauero dicat, per hce sancta nomina tua: Ely, Elo, Sabaath, Adonay, Elyon, On, qui viuis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Domine Ihesu Christe, fili b dei viui, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum viuificasti, illumina istius pueri cor [et] mentem, et fac vt michi veritatem de hiis que interrogauero dicat, per hce sancta nomina tua: Jesus Nazarenus, Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Fortis, Fons, Leo, Petra, ut indicet omnia de quibus postulo veritatem.

Explicit.

Coniuracionem facio, tu qui es Alpha et O. Coniuro vos demones,
• per tres reges, Caspar, Balthasar, Melchior,
• et per tres pueros, Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago,
vit omnes apparates huic pueru in hoc speculo uel ense, Abiniabyndo, Abyncola, Abracalos, Pyel, Thyel, Syel.

Quibus apparentibus,c dicet puer regi vt sedeat et mittat pro ariete, sic[ut] alias dictum est ante in secundo capitulo istius tractatus.
Postea sequatur coniuracio pueri sicut eciam ibidem dictum est.
Explicit.

NO. 30. TWELVE NAMES TO MAKE SPIRITS
APPEAR IN A BOY’S HAND (FOLS 49v–50v)


In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte tuo, hoc modo

b  MS filij.
c  MS aparantibus.
a  Corrected in MS from Areth.
b  MS has sign for quod.
signet te dominus Ihesus Christus, hoc modo signet te dominus sicut signauit in Chana Galilee. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.

Hoc ter dicatur, qualibet vice signando frontem pueri cum pollice tuo dexter manus. Hec nomina predicta xij, scilicet Bethela, etc., tociens repetantur, quousque sex spiritus compareant in manu pueri. Postquam comparuerint, precipiat puer eis in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti vt sedeant, et vnus eorum surgat, qui det vera responsa ex parte magistri sui.


Post[e]a dic verba illa duodecim supra nominata: Bethala, Pamelon, etc. Deinde cum signaueris frontem pueri et frontem tuam, si vis, dicendo, In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, signum sancte crucis sit in fronte, etc., vt supra.

[50v] Cum autem predictos spiritus vis licenciare, puer dicat,

Precipio vobis quod recedatis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti.

Et iterum signare poteris frontem pueri et tuam si vis tercio, modo quo prius et verbis. Nota eciam quod in parte peluis predicte elevata interius per circuitum cum cultello inscribendi sunt sex illi caracteres, qui supra in isto capitulo sunt nominati - scilicet A, Q, etc. - antequam ipsa resina sub ipsa pelui accenditur.

Explicit. Etc.
NO. 27-B. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION (FOL. 51r)

[. . .] Cedon, Zephata, Eloym, Eloyay, venite et apparete in vngwe istius pueri sub forma humana, et ipsum\(^b\) vngweum facitis crescere et clarescere in tantum vt sufficiat ei ad videndum de quocumque ipsum interrogauero. Coniuro vos spiritus,

- per tres reges, Caspar, Baltasar, Melchior, quibus stella apparuit,
- [el] per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, vt natiuitatem suam manifestaret,\(^c\)
- vt in vngwe istius pueri appareat, et quod a vobis inquirere volumus nobis absque fallacia et sine dubio manifestetis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis,
- per tres pueros Sydrac, Misac, Abdenago,
- vt in vngwe istius pueri appareat, nec ipsi puero timorem uel terrorem aut lesionem facitis, et nos de omnibus que a ubis scire volumus certos facitis. Coniuro vos spiritus qui vocati estis,

- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- et per omnipotenciam eius et virtutem,
- per cherubin et seraphin,
- per thronos et dominaciones,
- per principatus et potestates et virtutes,
- per angelo et archangelos,
- per patriarchas,
- per prophetas,
- per apostolos,
- per confessores,
- per martyres,
- per monachos,
- per virgines et viduas,
- per omnes sanctos et electos dei,
- per ix ordines angelorum,
- per sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
- per natiuitatem istius [. . .]\(^d\)

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\(a\) Continuation of text from fol. 45v.
\(b\) MS ipsum.
\(c\) Meaning qua natiuitatem suam manifestauit?
\(d\) Fol. 51r is blank; text continues on fol. 46v.
NO. 31. THE BOOK OF CONSECRATIONS
(FOLS 52r-.59v AND FOLS 135r-139r)

Incipit prologus libri consecrationum, a
dividens b ac demonstrans ad quid
inventus fuerit, et quid sit eius effectus.
Quicumque aliquod opus inceptum
perficere voluerit ut perveniat ad
effectum, pre videat sibi prius in
omnia et cause de ne in vanum
operetur, et precipue in opere isto,
quod prc cunctis locis alios
preciosissimum et magis laudabile
atque certissimum, quod dei nominibus
est consecratum et confirmatum, ne
aliquis operator falli possit, si spem et
fidem bonam habeat et certam in
domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia
bona procedunt, ut testatur sacra
littera, qui non firmiter fideliterque
crediderit, saluari non poterit. c Sic ergo
fideliter crede[re] vnicuique operatori
est necesse, ne fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo hoc opus esse
inventum propter [errorrem]
quorundam experimentorum
remouendum, scilicet florum, ut per
virtutem et invocationem sanctorum
de nominum [et per] ineffabilem
ipsius misericordiam, virtutem et
potestatem efficaciter obtingeant

[135r] Incipit prologus libri
consecrationum dicens aut
[demonstrans] ad quod inventus sint et
quid sint eius effectus. Quicumque
enim aliquot opus inceptum et finire
voluerit ut preueniat ad effectum,
prouideat sibi primo que sibi b
necessaria sunt, ne in vanum operetur,
et precipue in opere isto c quod prc
cunctis alijs magistris d est laudabile
atque certissimum, quod sacrí
nominibus est consecratum ac
confirmatum, ne aliquis operare possit
falli, si spem et fidem firmam habeat in
domino Ihesu Christo, a quo omnia
bona procedunt, sicut sacra scriptura
dicit, qui firmiter et fideliter non
crediderit, saluus esse non poterit. Si[d]
ergo credere vnicuique operatori
necesse est, ut non fallatur.

Scias ergo pro certo quod opus est
inventum propter errorem quorundam
experimentorum remouendum, ut
per virtutem et invocationem
sanctorum nominum dei et per

a Heading duplicated in MS.
b Sic in MS.
c Cf. Is 7:9, Lk 1:20, Lk 8:12, Rom 10:9,
1 Cor 1:21.
d Sic in MS.
quem debeant obtinere, sicut inferius declarabitur. Quando aliquod experimentum virtutem et potestatem suam sana\(^d\) amisset tali modo sicut postea declarabitur potest recuperari.

Nota quod multi sunt qui multa et magna querunt et multa eciam scripta habent et credunt de die in [52v] diem ad effectum pervenire, sed nunquam pervenient. Et sic se ipsos decipiunt, et opera sua amittunt, et melius valet virtus vnius verbi istorum quam pondus auri. Vnde dicitur, 'Melius est scienza quam secularis potencia.'\(^e\) Sic ista scienza preualet omnibus alis, quia omnia alia vera experimenta sunt corrupta, quorum quedam sunt ficta et sic omnia pene falsa.

Hiis igitur diligenter prenotatis, ad nostrum propositum recurras, et videamus quando et qualiter\(^f\) exorcista siue operator habere debeat, et quid ei sit vitae ad operandum, ne fallatur.

In primis, quicumque hoc opus sit facturus ineffabilem ipsius misericordiam, veritatem\(^e\) atque potestatem efficaciter obtineant quod optinere debeant, tali modo sicut postea docebitur recuperari poterit.

Nota. Multi sunt querentes magna scripta, et credunt de die in diem peruenire ad effectum, et non perueniunt. Sed se ipsos sic decipiunt, quod tempora\(^f\) sua amittunt, et melius est scire virtutem unius verbi quam pondus\(^g\) auri, vnde dicitur, 'Melius est scienza quam secularis\(^h\) potencia.' Sic ista scienza plus valet omnibus scientiis, quie omnia experimenta sunt victa et corrupta, et sic pene omnia vniuersa.

Hiis igitur diligenter prenotatis ad imum recordamus ipso situm volentes quando operari et qualiter exorcista se habere debeat, et quid sit ei viti ne fallatur.

In primis, igitur, quicumque hoc opus sit

\(^d\) Sic in MS.
\(^e\) This quotation conveys the spirit of the Pseudo-Aristotelian tradition most fully conveyed in the Secretum secretorum; see M.A. Manzalaoui, ed., Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977–).
\(^f\) MS equaliter?
\(^e\) MS et veritatem.
\(^f\) Sic in MS.
\(^g\) Corrected in MS to pondus.
\(^h\) MS solis aris?
\(^i\) Sic in MS.
ad quod vocatur liber consecrationum, ab omni pollucione mentis et corporis se debet abstinere in cibo [et] potu, in verbis ociosis siue inmoderatis, et sit mundis indutus vestibus, nouem diebus ante opus inceptum, et debet audire in qualibet missam vnam, et librum istum secum deferre et pone super\textsuperscript{h} altari donec missa finiatur quolibet die, quoque transacti fuerint omnia,\textsuperscript{t} et hoc devotissime faciat, cum oracionibus et ieiunis, quia sicut scriptum est, per ieiunium et oraciones occulta ministeriorum celestium revelatorque divini sacramenti archana pendunt.\textsuperscript{j} Et coddie post missam librum portabis domi. Et habeas locum secretum [53r] ab omnibus absconditum, ne aliquis sit presens operi suo,\textsuperscript{k} et prieus aspargat locum aqua benedicta vbi librum istum\textsuperscript{l} ponet, et cum cingulo sacerdotali et stola dedicata liget eum in modum crucis circumquaque, et flexis genibus versus orientem, dicat vij psalmos cum le-

\textsuperscript{g} MS indutis.
\textsuperscript{h} MS indutis.
\textsuperscript{i} MS omnes.
\textsuperscript{j} Meaning, perhaps, occulta ministeriorum celestium revelantur, et divini sacramenti archana panduntur.
\textsuperscript{k} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{l} Partially blotted out.

\textsuperscript{j} MS antequem.
\textsuperscript{k} Followed by abhominibus, struck through.
\textsuperscript{l} MS ligat.
tania et oracionem sequentem
antequam liber aperiatur. Et supra librum predictum debet aperiure cum
humili deuocione et toto cordis affectu, vt omnipotens deus
misericordia et bonitate sua sanctificet ac benedicit et consecret istum librum
sanctissimis nominibus suis insignitum, vt virtutem quam obtinere debet
potenter obtineat, vt valeat ad consecrandum vinculum spiritum et
ad omnes invocaciones et coniuraciones ipsorum, et sic omnia
alia experimenta.

Similiter nota hunc librum non
valere habenti nisi ab ipso denuo
consecretur.

Letania autem finita, aperi et dic
hanc oracionem humiliter et animo
perfecto et mente sincera.

Oracio. Deus meus, miserere mei et parce
malis meis. Sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi. Non omeneges michi umquam que pluribus
aliis contulisti. Exaudi, deus, oracionem
famuli tui, N., et quacumque die [33v]
invocauro te exaudi me velociter, sicut exaudisti
sanctam Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe,
et consecraret suis sanctissimis
nominibus insignitum ut virtutem
quem obtinere debet videlicet ad
consecrandum vinculum spiritum,
valens ad omnes invocaciones et
coniuraciones ipsorum et ad omnia
alia experimenta.

Item nota. Quicumque polluit hunc
librum sciat eum ultra non valere nisi ab
ipso de nouo consecetur; tunc
oracione et letania viuificat librum.

Aperi et dicat hanc oracionem
humili corde et anima deuota, tunc
incipe sicut sequitur:

Deus meus, miserere mei et parce malis meis,
sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi. Non
abneges mi quod pluribus contulisti. Exaudi,
deus, oracionem meam, famuli tui N., et

m Followed by an extraneous stroke.

n Followed by et.

o Sic in MS.

p alii deleted.

q Followed by adips and a space.

r MS consecratur.

s MS ut.
domine, clamorem conflentis. Audite vocem precantis, per merita beatissime Marie virginis matris tuæ atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, ut oraciones et preces perueniant ad aures pietatis tuæ, quas ego pro hoc libro consecrationem effundo coram te in hac hora, ut per tua sanctissima nomina quæ in ipso continentur sit consecratus et confirmatus a quocumque volueris, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui vixit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

**Oracio.** Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi seu miserere mei et exaudi nunc per invocationem nominis tui, scilicet Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti, ut accepta habeas et tibi placeant verba et oraciones oris mei, per invocationes sanctorum tuorum nominum in hoc libro descriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter, deprecentissime, licet ego indignus, cum in te confidens ut sanctifice et benedicas librum istum sanctis nominibus tuouis insignitum et consecres istum, ut per hac nominata tua sanctissima — On, Ihesus, in quacumque die invocauero te, velociter exaudi me, sicut exaudisti Mariam matrem tuam. Suscipe, domine, clamorem conflentis anime. Exaudi, domine, vocem deprecentis, per merita et oraciones beatissime virginis Maria matris tuæ, atque omnium sanctorum, et oraciones et preces mee ad aures tuæ pietatis, quas ego pro hoc libro consecrationem effundo coram te in hac hora, per tua sanctissima nomina, quæ in hoc libro continentur, sit consecratus et confirmatus, ad quocumque volueris, prestante domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui vixit et regnat in secula seculorum.

[136r] Domine Ihesu Christe, per ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, parce michi et miserere mei. Exaudi me nunc per invocationem nominis tuæ trini, scilicet Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ut accepta habeas et plateae[n]ta tibi verba oracionis mee, per invocationem sanctorum nominum tuorum in hoc libro scriptorum. Humiliter et fideliter deprecans, licet ego indignus peccator, tamen in te confidens, ut sanctifice ac benedicas librum istum tuis sanctis nominibus insignitum, et consecres

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q Followed by confide, deleted.

r Excessive letter between el and i appears deleted out.

u MS per.

v MS benedicas.
Christus, Alpha et O, El, Eloy, Eloyse, Sithothith; Eon, Sepmelamaton. Ezephapha-
[54r] tes; Tetragramaton, Elyoram, Ryon, Deseryon, Eyssston, Yysornus, Onela, Baysyn, Moyn, Messyas, Soheth; Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay – et per omnia secreta nomina tua que in hoc libro continentur, quatenus virtute, sanctitate, ac potestate eorumdem nominum sit liber iste consecratus * et benedictus * et confirmatus * per virtutem sacramenti corporis et sanguinis tui, vi virtutem quam liber iste debet obtinere efficaciter, sine aliqua fallacia, veraciter obtineat, ad consecrandum vinculum spirituum et ad consecrandum omnia experimenta corrupta, et perfectam virtutem et potestatem habeant ad quam sunt constituta, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, qui sedet in altissimis, cuius honor et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen, amen, amen, amen.


w Sic in MS?
x Followed by ex; struck through.
y Sic in MS?
z Sic in MS?
a Sic in MS.
b MS sanctificati.
c Followed by vinculum spiritum, deleted.
d Sic in MS.

**Oracio.** Domine Ihesu Christe, bene dicas et sanctifices librum istum, et confirmes per omnipotenciam tuam, ut virtutem et potestatem obtineas ad quam institutus est et confirmatus, prestante domino Ihesu Christo, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen.


Et sic in dei virtute confisas, ac tute ad librum consecrationem accedas et inuenies quod hoc facto per ix dies, erit consecratus, et
sequentibus. et\textsuperscript{w} in vtroque tuum Confiteor debes dicere, et aqua benedicta respergi, et signum sancte crucis fronti tuo inpone, vt deus infundat graci\textsuperscript{x}am\textsuperscript{i} Spiritus Sancti ad opus tuum perficiendum.

quociescumque aliquid consecrare volueris, incipe primam oracionem legere, s\textsuperscript{h}ilicet 'Deus inuisibilis,' cum tribus reliquis subsequentibus, et inter utrumque debes dicere tuum Confiteor, et aqua benedicta te aspergere, et signum crucis in fronti tuo pone, ut deus infundat graci\textsuperscript{x}am Sancti Spiritus, ad opus tuum perficiendum.

Et sic vtere hoc exemplar et non fallaris. Et caue prudenter ne in manibus insipientium hoc magnum secretum deveniat, quod a sapientissimis phisichis est mag[n]is et sanctis dei nominibus consecratum.


\textsuperscript{w} MS\textsuperscript{et}.
\textsuperscript{x} MS\textsuperscript{qm}.
\textsuperscript{h} MS\textsuperscript{vallaris}.
\textsuperscript{i} Sic in MS?
Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras [cf. Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meas ad te veniat [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. Deus invisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus inimpressibilis, deus piissime, deus excelse, deus gloriosae, deus immense, deus toctor misericordiae, ego, licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, supplantat ad tuam veniam misericordiam, orans et deprecans ut non respicias ad omiurua et innumarabilia peccata mea, sed sicut consueristi peccatorum miserere et preces humilium exaudire, ita quod me familium tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento sanctissimus nominibus insignito ut virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, sed adreas<sup>2</sup> potestates et infernales principes, quod hanc [550] oracionem consecratam mirabiliter stringat ut cum voluerit humano voluntati obediant, et cum exorcista voluerit in usum omnes congregare, et cum voluerit disperget, et per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribatur for litteris, loth, hath, vel hec, vel A G L A g, e, he, van, quo audito<sup>1</sup> meam [Ps 87:3 Vulg.]. Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meas ad te veniat [Ps 101:2 Vulg.].

Oracio. Deus invisibilis, deus inestimabilis, deus inaffabilis, deus incommutabilis, deus incorruptibilis, deus piissime, deus dilectissime, deus potentissime, deus fortissime, deus summe, deus gloriosae, deus immense, deus totius misericordiae, ego licet indignus et plenus iniquitate, dolo, et malicia, supplex<sup>3</sup> ad tuam veniam misericordiam. [137r] orans et deprecans ne despicias ad omiurua et innumarabilia peccata mea sed sicut consueristi peccatorum misereri et preces humilium exaudire, ita me familium tuum, N., licet indignum, exaudire digneris clamantem ad te pro hoc experimento suis sanctissimis nominibus insignito, ut virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, scilicet aeras potestates et insanabile<sup>4</sup> principes, per hanc oracionem consecratam, humiliter et mirabiliter stringat, ut velint vel colint humanis voluntati obediant. Etenim exorcista voluerit, eos omnes in usum

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<sup>y</sup> Corrected in MS from misereve.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning ad aerea?

<sup>a</sup> MS auditu.

<sup>j</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>k</sup> Sic in MS.

<sup>l</sup> Sic in MS.

Si autem quodcumque experimentum consecrare volueris quod pertinet ad invocaciones spirituum, tunc dicere debes: Me exaudire digneris, clamantem ad te, quod hoc experimento ut virtutem quam obtinere debeat potenter obtineat, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur, et sic in qualibet consecracionem, ut supra dictum est. Finita oracione, procede viiterius:

congreget, et cum voluerit eos dispersit.

**Oracio.** O summe deus, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per quatuor litteras, scilicet Ioth, varo, hee, thet, quo audito mare retrogradet, aer commutetur et concitat, terra timet, ignis extinguitur, omnisce exercitus terrenus et infernalis tremet [et] turbatur, et hec sanctissima nomina tua, On, Alpha et O, Principium et Finis, El, Ely, Elyo, Elyon, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Egge, Ye, Ye, Ya, Ya, consecratur hoc experimentum, prestante illo cui est laus, honor, et gloria per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

**Rubrica.** Si autem aliquis alius experimentum consecrare voluerit, quod non pertinet ad consecracionum spirituum, tunc debes dicere quater, Me exaudire digneris clamantem ad te, ut hoc experimentum virtutem obtineat quam obtinere debet potenter, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod scribitur per iij litteras, scilicet Ioth, Varo, Hee, Teth, etc.
Deus, universi conditor orbis, qui celum super altitudinem nubum extendisti et terram in sua stabilitate super aquas fundasti, [56r] et mari terminum suam quem preterire non poterit [Ps 109:9 Vulg.] tribuisti; qui solem et lunam et stellas in summo aere collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]: qui tens sunt die hominem ad imaginem plasmasti tuam et de spiritu tuo in eum inspirasti; quem ei cum Euam propter praelia[er]acionem riecesti; qui genus humanum in aqua diluuij perdidisti; qui Noe et eos qui cum eo erant in archa salvasti; qui Abraham sub triplici persona ad radicem manibus apparuisti; qui Lot de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flammas ignis locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum de captitutate Egyptorum deduxisti et ei per medium maris viam apertusisti; qui legem Moysi in Monte Synay dedisti; qui de petra aquas exire fecisti; qui Da-

Oratio. Deus, universi orbis conditor et redemptor, qui celum super altitudinem nubum extendisti et terram in stabilitate sua super aquas fundasti, et mari terminum quem preterire non potest tribuisti [cf. Ps 103:5, 9, Vulg.], et solem et lunam ac stellas in celo collocasti; qui omnia in sapiencia fecisti [Ps 103:24 Vulg.]; qui iaja die hominem ad imaginem ac similitudinem tuam formasti et ei spiraculum vitae inspirasti, [137v] quem una cum Euam propter preuocacionem de Paradiso riecesti; qui genus humanum aquis diluuij salvasti; qui Abraham sub triplici persona ad Iheeret Mambre apparuisti; qui Loth de submersione Sodome et Gomorre liberasti; qui Moysi in medio rubi in flammas ignis apparuisti et ei locutus fuisti; qui populum tuum per manum Moysi et Aaron de captitutate Egiptiaca eduxisti et eos per medium Maris Rubri viam fecisti; qui Moysi legem in Monte Synay dedisti; qui aquas de petra Orbe exire fecisti; qui aquas amaras in Amarat per inmissionem ligni in dulcorem conveneristi; qui solem et lunam per invocacionem Issue stare fecisti; qui flamen Iordanis in ingressu filiorum Israhel diuidisti; qui Danielem de luctu leonum eripuisti; qui tres pueros, scilicet Sidrach, Misach, et Abdenago, de igne [camini] ardentis abire il-

\[g\] MS quod.
\[h\] Sic in MS.
\[i\] MS quam.
\[j\] Sic in MS.
\[k\] MS modum.
\[l\] MS apperuisti.
\[r\] Sic in MS.
niilem de lacu leonum rapiuisti; m qui tres
pueros de camino ardenti, scilicet Sydrach,
Mysaac, Abdenago, illesos abire fecisti; qui
Susannam in te confidentem de falso crimine
liberasti; et qui] Ionam de ventre ceti
saluasti, per hec et alia multa miracula que
fecisti, exaudi propicius, pie Ihesu, oracionem
famuli tui, N., et da huic experimento virtutem
et potestatem super malignos spiritus, ad
congregandum ipsos et ligandum et sol-
[56v]
undum et maledicendum et in profundum
abyssi proiciendum si non observauerunt
mandata exorcista, qui es sanctus et
beneficu, et regnas per omnia secula
seculorum. Amen.

Oratio. O glorioso Adonay, per quem
creantur omnia et hec regenerantur et
constituuntur, adeo propicius
invocationibus meis, et clementer presta ut hoc
experimentum perfecte virtutem obtineat ad
conquendam malignos spiritus, velint o humili
obediant et eius mandaturn impieant, te
iuuante et iubente, qui sedes in altissimis et
cuncta custodis, etc. Honor sit et potestas per
infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

On pie, On iuste, Adonay sanctissime, qui
lesos fecisti; qui Susannam in te confidentem
de falso crimine liberasti; qui Ionam de ventre
ceti saluasti — per hec et alia multa miracula que
fecisti, exaudi, pie Ihesu Christe,
oracionem famuli tui N., et da huic
experimento potestatem et virtutem super
malignos spiritus, ad ipsos c congregandum,
ligandum, soluendum, et maledicendum, et in
profundum abissi proiciendum si non servant
precepta et si non obediant mandatis exorciste,
prestante domino, qui est sanctus et benedictus,
regnans in secula seculorum. Amen.

Glorioso Adonay, per quem creantur et
generantur omnia, et quae subsistunt universa,
adoe propicius invocacionibus meis, et clementer
michi presta ut hoc experimentum perfectam
virtutem obtineat ad subjugandum malignos
spiritus, utrum velint vel nolint, semper exorciste
obediant humili atque mandata eius impleant,
adiuante et iubente qui sedet in altissimis et
cuncta custodit, et cui est laus et honor per
infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

[138r] On pie, on iuste, Adonay sanctissi-

m MS capuisti.

n MS abyssus.

o MS has velint (?), followed by a space, possibly
meaning vt [humiliter obediant].

s Followed by ad.

t Sic in MS.
es fons misericordie et pietatis, origo, rex regum, et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in magistate tua, intuens profundum abyssi, omnia cernens, omnia regens, omnia continens, et virtute tua moderaris, qui hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam de limo terre formasti, ut in terra sicut in celo lauderis et glorifieris, unde omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego, licet indignus, psalmum dicas nominis tuo. Vnde piiissime et misericordissime magistatem tuam implorem et cum humili devotione expostulo suppliciter ut in virtute tua et gracia dono tuo consecratur et confirmetur omnes consecrationes, consiuraciones, et invocationes que in hoc libro continentur, ut virtutem [57r] et efficaciam ad quam institutum sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem exercisse super malignos spiritus perfecte tribuant cum invocato et exercisato fuerint statim ex omni parte conveniant et responsa certa et vera reddant et mandata exercereturam perficient, illo prestante cui laus et potentas, qui per omnia regnat et imperat, per omnia secula [seculorum. Amen.

Oratio. Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Iailoth, me, qui es fons misericordie et pietatis, origo, rex regum et dominus dominancium, qui sedes in maiestate tua inuens in profundum abissi, omnia regens, omnia cernens, omnia contuens, omnia governans, omnia tua virtute moderans, qui hominem de limo terre et ab imaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti, ut in terra sicut in celo glorifieris et lauderis, quia omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi, et ego licet indignus precator psallam tibi ac psalmum dicam nominis tuo, piissime et misericordissime deus, maiestatem tuam supplicier exoro et cum humili devotione tuam immensam sanctitatem implorem et expostulo, ut in virtute tua et dona gracie tua consecratur et confirmetur oraciones et consecraciones, consiuraciones, et invocationes que in hoc libro continentur, ut virtutem et efficaciam ad quam institutum sunt potenter obtineant et potestatem exercisse super malignos spiritus exercisse perfecte tribuant, et cum exercisato et invocato fuerint, statim ex omni parte conveniant et responsa veritate reddant et mandata exercereturam perficient, praestante illo cui est laus et potentas, qui regnat [et] imperat per everta secula secularorum. Amen.

Adonay, Meloth, Adonay, Naioloth, Leo-

p Meaning moderans.
q Final e botted out.
r MS reddunt.

u MS psallmum.
v Sic in MS².

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5 Added above line; probably intended to be added after michi.

1 Pointing hand drawn in margin.

u Duplicated in margin.

v Sic in MS?

w Sic in MS.

x Sic in MS?

y Sic in MS.

z Sic in MS?

a Sic in MS?

b Sic in MS.
[57v] nominare non licet, te suppliciter expositulo ut oracionibus, consecracionibus, atque invocationibus istis, que continentur in hoc libro, virtutem et potestatem tribuas, per virtutem tuam diuinam, ad consecrandum omnia experimenta et invocationes demonii, ut ubicumque maligni spiritus in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint advocati et exorcizati, statim [ex] omni parte conveniant et exorcizatoris voluntatem adimpleant; nicipol nocentes, neque timorem inferentes, sed pocius obedientes et ministrantes ad tua districta virtute mandata perficientes. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.

Notandum: si denuo aliquod experimentum componere volueris, ad placitum inponere ei documentum et consecra ipsum sicut prius dictum est, et cum est consecratum pervenit ad effectum.

Oracio. Omnipotens, sempiterne deus, qui in principio omnia creasti ex nihilo; cui obedient omnes creaturae; cui omne genus flectitur, celestium, terrae, et infernorum; quem timent angelici et archangeli, dominaciones, potestates, adorant et tremunt; qui

c MS et.
d MS sacrandam.
e Followed by demonium, struck through.
f Followed by viciumque, struck through.
g Followed by d, struck through.
h Written above line.
manu claudis omnia; [qui] Adam et Euam ad similithudinem [tuam] formasti et angelos tuos incredules per superbiam eorum in profundum Tharctari existi, te rogo, te peto, clementissime pater omnipotens, et sic obsecro, per Ihesum Christum filium tuum, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, qui sedes ad dexteram Patris omnipotentis, indicaturus vivos et mortuos, tu qui es Alpha et O, primus [58r] et novissimus, rex regum, dominus dominancium, Joth, Agla, Nabwoth, El, Eytel, Enay, Enacuel, Anayel, Aniazyel, Sodamel, Agyten, Colymas, Elyas, Schyros,\textsuperscript{4} Athanathos,\textsuperscript{4} Ymas, Ely, Messyas.

\textbullet{} Per hæc tua sancta nomina,
\textbullet{} et per alia tua nomina
adwoc te et obsecro te,

\textbullet{} per natiustatem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
\textbullet{} per puerrum baiulamentum,\textsuperscript{f}
\textbullet{} per baptismum tuum,
\textbullet{} per passionem tuam,
\textbullet{} per resurrectionem\textsuperscript{g} tuam,
\textbullet{} per spiritum paraclitum tuum,

\textsuperscript{c} Note shift to second person, addressing Christ.
\textsuperscript{d} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{e} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{f} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{g} MS resurrexionem.
per amaritudinem anime tue quando exiuit de corpore,

et per tuis vulnera tua,

et per mortem tuam,

et per sanguinem et aquam que exiuerunt de corpore tuo,

per misericordiam et omnipotenciam et virtutem ineffabilem tuam,

per sacramentum quod discipulis tuis dedisti pridie quam passus fuisti,

per sanctam trinitatem et individuam,

per beatem Mariam, matrem tuam,

per angelos et archangelos tuos,

per omnes sanctos et sanctas tuas,

per omnia sacra mysteria et beneficia que sunt in honore tuo,

per sanctissima nomina, cognita et incognita,

adoro te et invoco, obscurio te et benedico te et rogo te, et accipia habeas omnes consuraciones et verba oris mei quibus siti. Petio, des virtutem et potestatem super angelos tuos qui de celo iicii sunt, ad decipienda genus eorum et loquelas eorum contrahendum, ad constringendum, ad solvendum, ad ligandum, ad cogendum eos eorum te, ad precipiendum, ad omnia que sunt eis [58v] possibilia, et verba mea et vocem meamillo modo acceptent et me
timeant. Per humilitatem et misericordiam et
graciam tuam deprecor et peto te, Athon, Onay,
Anay, Atho, Vegeido, Ya, Yayay, El,
Blemutum, Vyon, Vsy, Elyas,

- per omnia nomina tua,
- per sanctos et sanctas,
- per archangeli, angelos, potestates,
dominaciones, virtutes,
- et per nomen i per quod Solomon
astringlebat dyabolos et conclusit eos,
Shoeth, Hebatit, Het, Agla, Jocht,
Othot, Vanetht, Nabathi,
- et per omnia sacra nomina tua que
scripta sunt in hoc libro,
- et per virtutem eorum,
quatenus michi compareant et michi respondere
de omnibus permittas que queram, sine lesion
 corporis et anime mee, per dominum nostrum
Lhesum Khristum, filium tuum, qui tecum
vivit, etc.

Oracio. Pater de celis deus, unus in
substancia, trinus in personis, qui Adam et
Eum et plurimos peccare permisisti, et filium
tuum unigenitum pro eorum peccatis crucifi
gi et
mori voluisti, clementissime igitur pater, te rogo

Pater de celis, vnum in substancia, i trinus in
personis, qui Adam et Eum in pomum j peccare
permisisti, et tuum unigenitum filium pro eorum
peccatis cruci et morte k tradisti, clem-
mentissime pater, te igitur rogo et peto ac sup-

---

i Followed by quod, deleted.

j Sic in MS.

k MS morte.

b added in margin.

j Sic in MS?
et peto suppax metis omnibus quibus passum, per Alpha et O, Christum filium tuum, ut me congregare et me adunare quosdam angelos tuos incredulos permittas, qui michi hanc potestatem alloquendi et faciendi, quod volo et desidero, et hoc sine lesione a[i]qua vel alicuius nocumento. Et per virtutem lapidum, harbarum, et verborum, et nominum tuorum, michi des potestatem solvendi et ligandi demones, verbis meis et auxilio tuo. Quod michi concedas per innumerabilem virtutem et omnipotenciam tuam. Amen.


pliciter! per omnia nomina tua quibus passum, per Alpha et O, per Ihesum Christum filium tuum, ut me, famulum tuum, N., facias congregare, adiuvarae angelos sine spiritus qui habent potestatem michi loqui et facere quod volo ac desidero, sine lesion et nocumento corporis et anime meae et omnium vivencium, precipe quod dedisti potestatem et virtutem herbis, lapidibus, verbis, per virtutem omnium herbarum, lapidum, et verborum, et precipe sanctissima nomina tua concede potestatem ligandi [et] solvendi demones verbis meis et auxilio tuo. Hoc michi concedas per mirabilem virtutem et omnem potencion tuam. Amen.

[139r] O summa et eterna diuinitas, O virtus altissima, qui [te] dispone non viewBean hys nominaris nominibus: Oneitho, Stimula, Mathon, Ekelapho, Tetragramatou, Osorion, E, Egyrion, Vsyrion, Oristion, Oronon, Vsioriou, Ovel, Bysim, Neym, Joseph, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, etc., sicut

k Meaning mentia.
1 Sic in MS.
m Followed by fili, struck through.
a MS sanctissimus nominum tuos.
o Sic in MS?
p Sic in MS.
q Sic in MS?
adoro, tocius mentis viribus imploro, quatenus per te presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et
invocaciones in hoc libro existentes consecratur et preparatur; quemadmodum
conuenit, sitice et ubicumque maligno spiritus
in virtute tuorum nominum fuerint invocati seu
exorcizati, statim ex omni parte conveniant et
voluntatem exorcistarum adimpleant diligenter,
quad nihil nocentes nec timorem inferentes, sed
pocius obedientiae et ministrantes districta
virtute mandata exerciscet perficientes. Fiat.
Fiat. Amen.

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, tam trinitas
et insepurabilis unitas, te invoco et sis salus,
defensio, et protectio corporis et animae meae,
nunc et in perpetuum, per virtutem crucis et
passionis tuae. Te deprecor, domine Ihesu
Christe, fili dei vivi, per merita et oraciones et
intercessiones beatissimae matris tuae Maria
atque omnium sanctorum, et michi concedas
graciam tuam atque potestatem divinam super
omnes malignos spiritus, vt quemcumque in
modicum superius scribitur, te invoco, te
adoro, te totis mentibus et verbis imploro,
quatenus presentes oraciones, consecraciones, et
invocaciones in hoc libro existentes conse-
cratur et preparatur, quemadmodum
conuenit, sitice ut ubicumque maligno spiritus
per virtutem tuorum nominum fuerint aduocati et exorcisati, statim ex omni parte
conveniant et voluntatem exerciscet adimpleant
diligenter, et nihil nocentes, nec timorem eri
ci aliquem inferentes, sed pocius et obedientiae et
ministrantes, et tua virtute ac iudicio tuo
districto mandata exerciscet perficientes. Amen.
Finis.

p MS preparatur.
q MS malignus.
r Sic in MS?
s MS exorcisti.
t MS corporis.

r MS consecratur.
s MS iuret?
t Followed by et.
virtute tuorum nominum invocauero, statim ex
omni parte [59v] conueniant
et voluntatem
meam perfecte adimpleant, quod nichil
nocentes nec timorem inferentes, sed pocius
obedientes et ministrantes, et tua disticta
virtute mandata mea perficiendes.\w Amen.

NO. 32. CONJURATION OF SATAN/MIRAGE

From folios 59v–62v

Per invocationem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
imperatoris et agni inmaculati,\a quod inde\b
arguant te angeli et archangeli; argua\[n]t te
Michael et Gabriel [et] Raphael; arguant te
tres patriarche Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob, et
prophete; arguant te apostoli Christi, sancti et
electi dei. Deficient ergo artes tue de die in
hora et in mense et in momento, sic\[ut]
cessauerunt jam vos et membros;\c ut cito sine
aliaquae condicione obediatis dictis meis et

From folios 109r–111v [A] &
139r–140r [B]

Per invocationem nominis domini Ihesu Cristi,
Mirage, imperat tibi agnus immaculatus;
perinde arguant te angeli et archangeli,
Michael, Gabriel, Raphael; arguant te tres
patriarche, scilicet Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob;
arguant te prophete et omnes apostoli Christi;
arguant te omnes sancti et electi dei. Deficient
ergo auere\[s] tue in die et in nocte in hora et in
mense et in momento,\b sicut defecerunt Iamnes
et Mambres [II Tim 3:8], nisi cito sine
aliaque mora dictis meis obediass et voluntati
meae subiciaris.

---

u MS conueniunt.
v Corrected in MS, with second vowel blotted out
and e substituted.
w MS perficiem.
a MS imperatori et agnus inmaculatus.
b Sic in MS?
c Sic in MS.
a Sic in MS.
b momentu AB.
Deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus
prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus
martyrum, deus confessorum, deus virginum et
viduarum, deus pater [domini] nostri Ihesu
Christi, invoco nomen sanctum tuum preclare
majestatis tuae potencia. Supplex exposco ut
michi auxilium prestare digneris adversus istum
spiritum Sathanam, ut ubicumque lateat, audito
nomine tuo, velociter de loco suo exeat et ad me
festinantes accedat. Ipse imperat tibi, dyabo, qui
de suprema sedibus te in inferiora mire
meri iussit. Audi ergo, dyabo, et [60r] tu,
victus et prostratus, accede in nomine domini
nostri Ihesu Christi. Tu ergo, nequissime,
inimicus fidei, generis humani mortis temptator
iustice, delectator malorum, radix [et] fomes
victorium, seductor hominum, et magister, et
stas et resistis cum scis te perdere vires tuas.
Istum metue qui in Ysaac venundatus est, in
Joseph venundatus est, in agno occissus est, in
homine crucifixus est, deum surrexus triumphantor. Audi ergo, dyabo, et timeas verba
dei, et esto michi paratus in omni-

---

c vestinante B.
d demerge A.
e tune A.
f Sic AB, presumably for domini.
g Corrected from reparator in B.
h resipis A.
bus negociis meis persiciendis. Amen.

Adiuro te, non mea infirmitate sed virtute Spiritus Sancti, ut sint subjectus sis meis mandatis persiciendis. Cede mihi et ministris Christi illius, dyabolo. Arguat te potestas eius qui se cruci patibulo subiuersit, te illius brachium contremat, qui te victus gemitus inferni animas ad lucem perduxit. Sit timor tibi corpus hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam sancta morte sua redemit. Nec resistes, nec morteris apropingare michi et velle meam adimplere, et ne me in infernum putes condemnuendum, dum me peccatorum nimir esse cognoscis.


Adiuro te, serpens antiquus, per iudicem vivorum et mortuorum, per eum qui habet potestatem te mittere in Iehennam, et facias cito quidquid precipe tibi, illo iubente qui sedet in altissimis. Amen.

Adiuro te, Mirame, non mea vi set virtute Spiritus Sancti, ut sint subjectus mandatis meis, ea sine mora persiciendis. Cede ministris Ihesu Christi. Illius potestas te urget qui se pro nobis affligendo crucis patibulo subiuersit, illius enim brachium contremisce qui de victis gemitibus inferni animas ad lucem produxit. Sit tibi tremor cor patris hominis. Sit tibi formido ymago dei, quam Christus sancta morte redemit. Ne resistas, ne morteris apropingare michi, et velle meam adimplere, et ne me in infernum putes ad condemnuendum te.

Tibi imperat deus Pater. Tibi imperat deus Filius. Tibi imperat Spiritus Sanctus. Tibi

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i Followed by abs asseritnum, question mark, deleted.

j Followed by suo, deleted.

k Corrected in MS from contremiat?

l Infiniti duplicated in margin.

m MS condemnandum.
Filius. Imperat tibi Spiritus Sanctus. Imperat tibi apostolorum sedes, scilicet Petri et Pauli ceterorumque apostolorum. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum. Imperat tibi martyrum sangwis. Imperat tibi sacramentum crucis. Imperat tibi mysteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi virtus [60v] in quo nichil invenisti de corporibus tuis. [Imperat tibi Christus,] qui te spoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui te vincit ligavit et vasa tua disruptit, qui te proiectit in tenebras, ut tibi cum ministris tuis erit preparatus interitus, sed quem nunc crudelem te recogitas, quem ternerarie retractas.


[A 110r] Imperant tibi pia opera coniugatorum. Imperant tibi oraciones omnium bonorum hominum in ecclesia dei militantium. Imperat tibi sacramentum [B 140r] crucis. Imperat tibi virtus corporis et sa[n]ginis domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Imperat tibi misteriorum virtus. Imperat tibi Ihesus Christus in quo nichil irauistis de operibus tuis, qui te exspoliauit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui victum te ligavit et vasa tua disruptit, qui te proiectit in tenebras exteriores ubi tibi et ministris tuis est preparatus eternus interitus. Sed quid nunc, truculente dyabole retractas, qui temperie redaradis?

Reus es omnipotenti[s], cuius statuta transgressus es; reus filij eius Ihesu Christi, quem temptare ausus es et crucifigere presumpsisti; reus humani generis, cui mors tuis euenit. Impero tibi, nequissime, per imperium duininum. Adiuro te per aignum inma-

n Followed by minstriorum virtus, deleted.

o Sic in MS.

p Sic in MS?

q MS statera, with r inserted above line, after another interlinear letter which is blot out.

r Followed by esse (?), deleted.

s MS tibi.

m Sic AB.

n Meaning redardescis?

o Christo filio AB.

p imperat AB.
persuasionibus ecutit. Impero tibi, draco nequissime, per imperium dominicum. Adiuro te in nomine agni immaculati; qui ambulat super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculceat leonem et draconem [Ps 90:13 Vulg.], ut facias cito quidquid impero tibi et precipio. Contremisce et time. Inuoco nomen domini, illum time cui virtutes celorum, potestates, dominaciones et virtutes, [et] alie subjace sunt et timent et adorant, quem cherubim et seraphin indefessis vocibus laudant. Imperat tibi verbum qui caro factum. Imperat tibi natus ex virgine. Imperat tibi Jesus Nazarenus, qui te creavit, ut cito impelas omnia que a te petam ut habere voluero ut scire desidero. Quia quanto tardius feceris que tibi precipio vel precipiam, tibi supplicium magis crescit et crescat de die in diem.

Exorizo te, maledicte et mendacissime spiritus,

* per verba veritatis,
* per omnipotentem,


Exorizo te, maledicte et nequissime ac mendacissime spiritus,
• per Ihesum Christum Nazæ- [61r] renum, agnum immaculatum, de altissimo progressum, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel angelus nuncius venturus, quem cum vidisset centurius exclamauit, dicens, 'Verè hic est filius dei' [cf. Matt 27:54].

• per verbum veritatis,
• per deum omnipotentem,
• per Ihesum Christum Nazærenum,
• per agnum immaculatum de altissimis progressum, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Maria virgine natum, quem Gabriel nuncius, quem cum vidisset Johannes exclamauit, dicens 'Hic est filius dei.'

Exorciò te, auctor dyabolice potestatis, inventor malicie, cum omnibus subditis tuis, in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti; in nomine gloriae dei tuis, cuius in ordines angelorum, throni, dominaciones, patriarchæ et apostoli, et omnes sanctæ diebus ac noctibus proclamant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est, et qui est omnipotens' [Apoc 4:8], et non presumas transgredi precepta mea. N. Nec tibi lateat, N., inminere tibi penas, inminere tibi tormenta, diem iudicii, diem suppliciæ, sempiterni diem, qui venturus est velut clibanus ar-

\[\textit{y centurio duplicated in margin.}\]
\[\textit{x Corrected in MS from patriarchæ?}\]
\[\textit{a et omnes sancti added in margin.}\]
\[\textit{b et qui est added above line.}\]
\[\textit{c MS te.}\]
\[\textit{d lateat altered in MS to lataet.}\]
\[\textit{e est added above line.}\]

\[\textit{x Sic in MS.}\]
\[\textit{y martires et confessores B.}\]
\[\textit{z te AB.}\]
\[\textit{a clibanum AB.}\]
dens, in quo tibi atque uniuersis angelis tuis semp[iter]nus erit preparatus interius. Ei ideo pro tua nequicia dampno te atque dampnabo. Da honorem deo viuo et vero, et michi subditus esto in omnibus operibus meis preparandis ac proficiendis. Da honorem deo viuo et vero; da honorem Ihesu Christo et Spiritui Sancto Paracelto, in cujus nomine atque virtute precipio tibi ego. X., et nominis eius et verbis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deservit, quem cherubyn et seraphym laudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus' exercituum [Is 6:3], qui regnat et dominatur per infinita secula. Amen, amen, amen.'

[61v] Coniuro et constringo atque precipio tibi, ut sine aliquo nocumento michi nunc et semper obedias, sine lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee. Coniuro te, diabole,
• per omnia predicta sacramenta facta,
• et per omnia scripta, dicta, facta, creatae, viua [et] mortua,
• in quo tibi et angelis tuis preparatus est sempiternis introvers. Et ideo pro tua nequicia, damnpante atque dampnande, da honorem deo viuo et vero, et estor michi subjectus, ut omnia precepta mea adimpleas. Da honorem Ihesu Christo filio eius, da honorem Spiritui Sancto Paracelto, in cujus nomine atque virtute precipio tibi, Mirage, ut nominis eius ac preceptis meis obedias, cui omnis creatura deservit, quem cherubin et seraphin laudant, dicentes, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus exercituum [cf. Is 6:3], qui regnat et dominatur [A 111r] per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.'

Adiuero ac constringo et precipe tibi, Mirage, ut michi obedias sine aliquo impedimento vel nocumento vel lesione et grauamine corporis et anime mee, nunc et semper. Iterum coniuro te, Mirage,
• per omnia predicta sacramenta facta et facienda,
• per omnia scripta sancta, creatae, viua et mortua,
• per illam qui te de celo proiectit.

f deo viuo... Christo et added in margin.
g ego added above line.
h eius deleted and eius substituted.
i deus added above line.
j Followed by -turus, deleted.
k Followed by omnes, deleted.
l Followed by duplication of et per omnia sacramenta facta.
b dampnante A.
c est A.
d Spiritu AB.
e ac B.
et per istum qui te de paradoxy eicet.

Conuro te et precipio tibi, N.,
• per hostiam sacram,
• per hostiam inmaculatam,
• per hostiam conscriptam et benedactam atque deo placentem.

Conuro te atque precipio tibi, Diabole, m
• per omnia quibus constringi et ligari possis.

Exorciso te
• per nomen tuum et potestatem omnium spirituum,
• et per omnes caracteres,
• et per sigillum Salominis,
• et per annulos eius, ix candelarias celestes, in malediccione et confusione et augmentacione penarum tuarum duopla, de die in diem,
quod tu, Diabole, non requiescas nec cesses a labore continuo in eodem loco in quo modo es remouearis et ab officio tuo et ab omni soci-

Conuro te et precipio tibi
• per hostiam sanctam et per hostiam inmaculatam,
• per hostiam scriptam et per hostiam benedactam atque deo placentem.

Conuro te ac precipio tibi, Mirage,
• per omnia per que ligari et constringi possis.

Exorcizo te
• per nomen domini,
• per potestatem omnium spirituum,
• per omnes caracteres,
• per sigillum Salominis,
• per annulos eius,
• per septem candelabra aurea ante dominum lucencia,

ut tibi, Mirage, augmentatur penarum accerbitas de die in diem, ita ut non requiescas nec cessas a labore tuo continuo in eodem loco vbi nunc es remouere, et ut remouearis ab omni officio tuo et ab omni societate et temptatione, ut priuariis statim per verba coniuracionis tibi inflecta. Maledico [B 141r] te et nomen tuum confundó in eternum

m Followed by quibus, deleted.

n Corrected in MS from annulum.

o MS puerum.

p Followed by fide (?), deleted.

q MS duplo.

r -equi- erroneously struck through.

s Followed by abo, deleted.

f Sic AB.
et statu et temptacione et decepctione alicuius privatus statim, per verba et coniuraciones tibi predicta. Maledicto te, dyabole, et nomen tuum confundo in eternum,
- et per omnes dies vite tue,
- et per potestatem quae habeo super te hic michi ab omnipotenti deo data in baptismo et in aliis sacramentis,
- et per eucharistiam quae est corpus Christi.

Eciam te excommunico et maleficio tibi et omne illud quod ad te pertinent [62r] et confundo [te],
- per On,
- et per Alph[a] et O,
- et per Emanuel,
- et per nomen dei ineffabile,
- et per sanctum Tetragramaton,
- et per omnia verba que dicta sunt tibi.

et facias statum, sine aliqua mora, mandatum meum et petitionem quam tibi manifestabo, dum veniam comparas quod michi alloquaris.

In nomine Patris veni, et in nomine Filij
- per omnes dies vite mee,
- per potestatem quam habeo super te, Mirage, michi ab omnipotenti deo data in baptismo et aliis sacramentis,
- per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi.

Eciam te excommunico et maleficio tibi et omne id quod a[d] te pertinent, et confundo te et omnia tua,
- per On,
- per Alpha et O,
- per Emanuel,
- per nomen dei ineffabile,
- per sanctum Tetragramaton.
- per omnia nomina et verba que dicta sunt,

ut statim veniam, Mirage, sine aliqua [A 111v] mora, mandatum et potestatem meam quam tibi manifestabo, quam michi loqueris.

In nomine Patris veni. In nomine Filij veni.
In nomine Spiritus Sancti veni. In nomine sancte Trinitatis veni. Tibi dico, in nomine dei summi veni. In nomine creatoris et omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo documento, lesione, alque grauamine corporis et anime mee, uel aliium mittas.

1 Sic in MS.
2 Corrected in MS from quem.
3 exe added above line.
4 Added above line.
5 Followed by etc.?
veni, et in nomine Spiritus Sancti veni, et in nomine sancte trinitatis tibi dico veni, in nomine summi dei creatoris omnium creaturarum veni ad me in hac hora, sine aliquo nocumento, lesione, atque grauamine anime mee et corporis mei, uel alium mittas uel venire facias, qui sciat perfecte omne desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedat, nisi licenciatas fuerit a me, et voluntatem meam plenarie perfecerit. Coniuro te per hec et per hoc, et ita ut supradicta sunt, vt facias michi venire unum spiritum, qui auferat secum aurum et argentum denarios, et thesauros, antequam a loco isto recedam; et quocienscumque ipsum invocaero statim compareat, benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, et michi in omnibus ministras, et voluntatem meam perficiens, fiat, fiat, amen; vt ducas uel mittas michi unum spiritum prom[rov]um et ydoneum in omnia scienza; ut habeat poletatem facere me invisibilem quandocumque volueris; [62v] et venire facias, qui sciat perfecte desiderium meum adimplere, et nullo modo a me recedere, nisi a me fuerit licenciatas uel voluntatem meam plenarie perficiat. Item coniuro te per hec quae supradicta sunt, ut facias michi venire unum spiritum qui portet michi aurum et argentum uel thesauros absconditos, antequam de isto loco recedam; ut sit michi ministrans in omni voluntate mea, et quocienscumque ipsum invocaero statim compareat michi, benignus ac humilis, nulli nocens, sed voluntatem meam in omnibus adimplens et perficiens, fiat, fiat, fiat, amen; ut adducas michi unum spiritum promptum et ydoneum in omnia scienza, et ut habeat poletatem me faciendi invisibilem quandocumque volueris; et michi placueris, et quod semper sit sub poletate mea; et concedas ei similiter [poletatem] consercandi libros, experimenta, et omnia quescumque volueris. Amen.

y Followed by clare (?) deleted.

a Or hec.

b MS compareat.

c The clauses marked here as [B] and [C] are given at the end of 62v, after Fiat, fiat, amen, but are evidently intended as alternatives to the material here given as [A]. The lines on the top of 62v (Ex michi placuerit

... Amen. Amen.) may also be intended for reading here.

g fere AB.

h portet AB.

i ut B.
michi placurit, et eciam quod semper sit sub poestate mea; et concedas eī similiter poestatem consecrāndi libros et experimentā et omnia quaecumque voluerō. Amen, amen, amen.
NO. 33. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION FROM A MIRROR (FOLS 62v–65r)

Circue cimiterium et collige tot lapides quot sunt versus in psalmo Misereri mei deus [Ps 50 Vulg.]. Cum hiis lapidibus, pone circulum quando vis, et impone herbam que vocatur verbena. Postea accipe speculum, et line ipsum cum oleo oliee cum pollice, dicendo Gloria in excelsis deo, etc. Et intres circulum. Stes supra herbam, et verte primo ad orientem, dicens,

Coniuro te, Astra, Astaroth, Cebal,
- per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
- per xxiiijor seniores,
- et per tres pueros Sydrach, Mysaac, et Abdenago,
- per Toth; principem vestrum,
- per Zambrim et Mambrim,
- per Vuel [et] per Sadiel, quibus obedire tememini de veritate,
- et per baptismum quod recipitum in fonte a sacerdote, ut obedientis michi.¹

Cum venerit spiritus, dic si volueris, ‘Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti, et obitus [es] domini creatoris tui.’ Cui tunc dicit spiritus, ‘Verum est.’ Tunc dicit, ‘Lego et constringo vos demones, per verba que audiistis a creatore vestro pendente in cruce, vt nulli noceatis, sed veritate respondeatis michi.’ Quod si noluerint, lege vinculum Salomonis; de vinculo spirituum non est soluendum, sed ymo pocius diuidendum et ymitandum.²

[63r] Sed tamen, vt predictum est, cauendum est ne in manus quorundam insipiencium hoc secretum deueniat. Erectuamus sapientissimum filium, per quod predicti reges et principes [cum] omnibus subditis suis valeant subpeditari

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¹ MS quod.
² Added in upper margin: Nota: 47 versus sunt in isto psalmo.
³ Perhaps a reference to Thoth?
⁴ Sic in MS.
⁵ Followed in MS by et per baptismum quod recepi in fonte a sacerdote meo, ut obedientis michi, whether by way of pleonasm or as a corroboration.
⁶ Followed in MS by uel (?).
⁷ MS pendens.
⁸ Followed in MS by extraneous de (?), deleted.
⁹ Followed in MS by virtute, deleted.
¹⁰ Sic in MS.
¹¹ Sic in MS. Perhaps Erect[u]amus sapientissimum verbum (Ps. 18:3 Vulg.) is intended, which would explain the newer quod.
et cogi et ligari et in abissum proici. Si vero sunt ribelles et contradicentes et inobedientes exorciste semper, et si in omnibus non obedierint vel precepta exorciste non consuerauerint, hoc vinculum est legendum,1 quod sic incipit:

- Per corrorbomat et potentissimum nomen dei El, forte et ammirabile, vos exorcismus atque imperamus,
- per eum qui dixit et factum est,
- per omnia nomina ipsius,
- et per nomen Y et V et E, quod Moyses audiuit et locutus est,
- per nomen Genery, et in nomine Genery, quod Noe audiuit et locutus est, cum viia familia de linea sua,
- et per nomen Y et V et E et X, et in nomine V et X,2 quod Abraham audiuit et cognouit omnipotentem deum,
- et per nomen Joth, et in nomine Joth, quod audiuit Jacob ab angelo secum comitante, et liberatus est de manu fratri sui Esai,
- et per nomen Eyzaserie, et in nomine Eyzaserie, quod Moyses in monte audiuit, et meruit quod nunc est cum deo, et audire ipsum cum flamma loquentem,3
- et per nomen4 Anathematon, et in nomine Anathematon, quod Aron audiuit, et eloquens et sapiens [63v] factus est,
- et per nomen Sabaoth, et in nomine Sabaoth, quod Moyses audiuit et inde nominavit, et omnes aque egredi de terra ceperunt palidum,4 et verse sunt in sangwinem, et putrerunt,5
- et per nomen Oristion, et in nomine Oristion, quod Moyses nominavit, et fluuij omnes ebulierunt ranae,6 et absconderunt in domibus Egyptorum,
- et per nomen Eloy, et in nomine Eloy, quod Moyses audiuit, percucies puluerem terre, et factus est cinifes in hominibus et iumentis,7
- et per nomen Artifontite, et in nomine Artifontite, quod Moyses nominavit, et omne genus muscarum misit in Egyptum, et inter Egyptios,
- et per nomen Æphaton, et in nomine Æphaton, quod Moyses audiuit, et quod Moyses nominavit, percuicis terram, et grauis pestis percussit equos, asynos, et camelos, oves et boues interierunt,

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1 MS leledum.
2 Sic in MS.
3 Sic in MS.
4 MS votum.
5 Sic in MS — evidently an echo of the biblical paludes, which would fit equally little into the present context.
6 Cf. Ex. 7:17–21.
7 Cf. Ex. 8:3.
8 Cf. Ex. 8:17.
9 Followed in MS by in, deleted.
et per nomen Arbitrios, quod Moyses nominavit, et tuliit cinerem de cymiterio, et desparit in celum, et facta sunt \[\text{sic}\] visicerum urgentium in hominibus et iumentis, et in omni terra Egytiorum,

et per nomen Elyon, et in nomine Elyon, quod Moyses nominavit, et [\text{sic}] grando talis qualis non fuerat ab inicio mundi, usque ad presens tempus, ita quod homines et iumenta que erant in agris ceciderunt et interierunt,

et per nomen Adonay, et in nomine Adonay, quod Moyses voluit, et facte sunt locuste et apparuuerunt super omnem terram, et quidquid residuum grandis erat [\text{sic}] devorauerunt,

et per nomen Pantheon, et in nomine Pantheon, quod Moyses nominavit, et facte sunt umbre horribiles tribus diebus et tribus noctibus,

et per nomen Arimon, et in nomine Arimon, quod Moyses media noxte nominavit, et omnia primogenita Epycti perierunt et mortua fuerunt,

et per nomen Geremon, et in nomine Geremon, quod Moyses nominavit et totum Israehelicum populum in captivitate liberavit,

et per nomen Yegeyon, et in nomine Yegeyon, quod mare auduit, et divisum est,

et per nomen Yisiston, et in nomine Yisiston, quod mare auduit et submersit omnes currus pharaonis,

et per nomen On, et in nomine On, quod petre audiuerunt, et innumerabiles emanuerunt,

et per nomen Anabona, et in nomine Anabona, quod Moyses in monte Synay auduit, et meruit tabulas manue salvatoris scriptas aegipere,

et per nomen Egyryon, et in nomine Egyryon, cum quo Yosue pugnauit et inimicos destruxit suus et victoriam obtinuit,

et per nomen Patheon, et in nomine Patheon, \text{v} \text{e} sanctus Daudid nominavit et liberatus est de manu Golye,

et per nomen Eya, et in nomine Eya, quod Salomon auduit et Gabaon et meruit in somnis postulare et inpetrare sanctam sapienciam,

et \[\text{sic}\] per nomen Pancraton, et in nomine Pancraton, quod Elyas orauit quod non plueret, et non pluit tribus annis et mensibus sex,

et per nomen Symayon, et in nomine Symayon, quod Elyas orauit et celum dedit suum, et terra dedit fructum suum,

et per nomen Eley, et in nomine Eley, quod Elyseus nominavit et Esunamitis filiun liberavit,

et per nomen Athanatos, et in nomine Athanatos, quod Yeremias nominavit et preterer[i]t capitualatem Jerusalem civilitatis,
et per nomen Alpha et O, et in nomine Alpha et O, quod Daniel nominavit, et per illud Bel destruxit et draconem interfeci,
et per nomen Emanuel, et in nomine Emanuel, quod tres pueri in camino ignis ardentis* nominauerunt, et per hoc illesi exierunt et liberati,
et per hic nomina et omnia alia nomina omnipotentis dei vivi et veri, qui vos de excelso throno primum* de veste culpa eiecit et vsque ad abissum locum vos proiciet.

Exorcizamus: atque viriliter imperamus,
et per eam qui dixit et factum est, cui obediant omnes creature,
et per tremendum diem iudicii dei summi,
et per ignem demoracionem,
et per mare vitreum* [cf. Apoc. 4:6] quod est ante conspectum divini magistatis;*
et per four animalia contra sedem divini magistatis gaudencia (uel gradiencia), oculos ante et retro ha-[65r] benicia [cf. Apoc. 4:6–8],
et per sanctam trinitatem, quae est verus deus vms,
et per nonaginta nouem nomina que dicunt filie Israel;*
et per ineffabilem ipsius creatoris virtutem et omnipotenciam,
et per xxiiior seniores ante thronum circumstantes,
et per angelos celorum, potestates et dominaciones, que sub eo creatore nominantur,
et per summam sapienciam,
et per anulum Salomonis [et] sigillum,
et per sacratissimum nomen illius, quod omne seculum timet, quod scribitur 4or
literis,* HV, Y; et V, HV, AGLA,
et per ix celestes candarias,
et per earum virtutes,

[A] quatenus hodierno die vsque ad talem terminum rei michi integre custodiatis; [B] quatenus thersaerum istum quem huc vsque custoditis penitus michi relinquatis, sine aliqua

x .MS ardentem.
y .Sic in MS.
z .MS Exorcizamus.
a .MS viacum.
b .Followed by gaudencia uel gradiencia, deleted.
c .MS qui.
d .Added above the line.
e .MS Israeli.
f .Followed by ignem ar, deleted.
g .Added in margin.
h .Followed by a blot, or by scilicet (?) i .Sic in MS.
diminucione, ita quod faciatis quod a nullis valeat separari; [C] et iam in hac hora veniatis et debetis mihi respondere, de re et de rebus integros de quibus vobis interrogauero veritatem dicere."}

Item, si invenires spiritum vel spiritus rebelles uel contrariantes, sic dices:

_Per nomen Pneumaton, et in nomine Pneumaton, quod Moyses nominavit et absorpti fuerunt a caeurnis terre, Dath, An, et Abyron, et virtute illius sacratissimi nominis dei Pneumaton, maledictum vos in profundum abyssi; usque ad ultimum diem iudicii ponimus vos atque religamus, nisi precepto meo obedientis et desiderium meum dueritis ad effectum._

**NO. 34. LIST OF DEMONS (FOLS 65v–65r bis)**

Barbarus [est] magnus comes et dux, et apparat in signo Sagitarij siluestris cum 4or regibus ferentibus tubas. Intellectus autem cum latratus canum inimicus boum et omnium animalium. Loca thesaurorum facit aperiri que non custodian tur a magiciis et a cantacionibus. Et est de ordine virtutum, et habet sub se xxxvj legiones.


Otius magnus preses et comes [est], et apparat in signo Vipere, et habet deterrimam hominis speciem. sed cum suspicit formam humanam habet dentes magnos et tria cornua. In manu portat gladium acutum. Dat ad plenitudinem vera responsiua de presentibus et futuris et occultis rebus. Dat graciam amicorum et inimicorum. Habet sub se xxxvj legiones.

Cvrson magnus rex est et fortis, et apparat in similitudine hominis. Facies

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j _Meaning a me nunquam._

k _Sic in MS._

l _Sic in MS._

m _Alternative C. added in margin._

n _Sic in MS._

a _Sic in MS._

b _Sic in MS._

c _MS occulte, perhaps intended to modify clas, but more plausibly construed as parallel to the preceding substantives, as in the following paragraph._

d _Sic in MS._
leonina coronatus est dyademate. In manu fere[n]s viperam fortissimam, equitat super [66r] dorsum ferentissimum, et ante ipsum semper precedent tube.\textsuperscript{f} Bene scit presencia, preterita, et futura [et] occulta pandere. Loca thesaurorum ostendit et aperiri\textsuperscript{h} facit.\textsuperscript{h} Libenter suscipit corpus humanum et aereum, et dat vera responsa de diuinis et occultis rebus, de deitate et mundi creatione. Dat optimos familiares. Habet sub se xxij legiones, partim de ordine virtutum et partim de ordine thronorum.\textsuperscript{i}

Alugor magnus dux est. Apparet in similitudine militis pulcherrimi, ferens lanceam, vexillum, et sceptrum. Ad plenitudinem dat vera responsa de occultis rebus et de duellis, quarum\textsuperscript{k} fieri debeant et quarum\textsuperscript{l} aduentura sunt. Dat eciam milites in occursum, et dat graciam omnium regum, marchionum, et omnium militum. Habet sub se l\textsuperscript{m} legiones.

Taob magnus est et princeps. Apparet in signo medici cum suscipit figuram humanam; [est] doctor opti[m]us mulierum, et facit ardere in amorem virorum. Si sibi iussum fuerit, facit eas transmutari in aliam formam, quousque veneri[n]t coram dilectis; finis\textsuperscript{n} facit eas steriles. Habet sub se 25\textsuperscript{o} legiones, etc.


\textsuperscript{e} Or perhaps meaning furt.
\textsuperscript{f} Sic in MS
\textsuperscript{g} MS apperuit, but either aperiri or apparere is presumably intended.
\textsuperscript{h} MS has extraneous vertical line between c and i.
\textsuperscript{i} MS throni.
\textsuperscript{j} Followed by a blot.
\textsuperscript{k} Meaning quando or quomodo?
\textsuperscript{l} Meaning quomodo?\textsuperscript{2}
\textsuperscript{m} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{n} Meaning si vis?
\textsuperscript{o} Duplicated in margin.
\textsuperscript{p} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{q} Meaning ducale coronatur corona.
Tvueries marchio magnus et fortis [est], regnans et imperans in Afforanis partibus. Docet ad plenitudinem gramaticam, loycam, rethoricam, ac dictata,\textsuperscript{t} et facit loca thesaurorum aperiri,\textsuperscript{t} et occulta ostendi\textsuperscript{u} facit. Eciam hominem velocissimo cursu mare et flamina transire uel transmeare [facit]. In specie militis apparat. Equitat super equum nigerrimum et superbitatem.\textsuperscript{v} Habet sub se xxx legiones.

Hanni preses magnus [est], et apparat in flamma ignea, sed cum suscipit formam humanam [65r bis]\textsuperscript{w} mirabilem reddit hominem abilem in astronomia et\textsuperscript{x} in aliis artibus liberalibus. Dat optimos familiares et graciam magnatum et principum, et loca thesaurorum que a spiritibus custodiunt[ur] mirabiliter ostendit. Habet sub se xxx legiones.


\textbf{NO. 35. FOR OBTAINING A WOMAN’S LOVE (FOLS 65r bis–67v)}

Incipiunt experimenta bona\textsuperscript{a} et probata et verissima, primo de modo scribendi\textsuperscript{b} Bel et Ebal.

Nota: in feria quinta, nouis vestibus indutus et balneatus, in crepusculo, scribe in costam nomen tuum et mulieris, Bel et Ebal – Bel in principio, et in medio nomen tuum et nomen mulieris, in fine Ebal – et pone ad ignem et fac cremari costam, et quando est in maximo calore uel furore lege coniuracionem que sequitur, et consequeris desideratum:

[65v bis] Coniuro vos spiritus infernales Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in ista costa scripta sunt et in igne ardescunt.

\textsuperscript{t} Meaning Africanis.
\textsuperscript{s} MS dictate.
\textsuperscript{t} MS apperire.
\textsuperscript{u} MS ostendere, followed by a blot.
\textsuperscript{v} Meaning superbbum.
\textsuperscript{w} Fol. 65 bis occurs between fols. 66 and 67.
\textsuperscript{x} et duplicated.
\textsuperscript{a} These three words occur twice, the first time as a heading.
\textsuperscript{b} Followed by a blank space.
• per omnes virtutes celorum et terre,
• per thronos, principatus et potestates, et dominaciones,
• per cherubin et seraphin,
• et per omnia que sub celo sunt,
vt nunquam requiem habeatis, quin cor eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec ire nec stare, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficeret valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium prius adimpleat. Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,
• per dominium omnipotentem,
• et per Ihesum Christum fitium eius,
• et per Spiritum Sanctum,
• et per virtutem sancti dei,
• et per ipsum providenciam dei,
• et per terram, mare, et profundum abissi,
• et per clemenciam [dei],
• et per visionem dei,
• per noctem et tenebras,
• et per tremendum diem iudicij,
vt nunquam requiem habeatis quin cor eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis vt nunquam dormire, comedere nec bibere, ire nec stare nec iacere, nec flere nec ridere, nec aliquod opus perficeret valeat, quin cordis mei desiderium prius adimpleat. Item coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,
• per deum [67r] serum, per deum vivum, per deum sanctum, qui vos et cuncta creavit, qui Adam et Eum de limo creavit, qui fecit angelos suos spiritus [Ps. 103:4 Vulg.], qui scit presencia, preterita, et futura, qui habet clares celi, [qui] claudit et aperit, [qui] claudit et nemo aperit [Apoc. 3:7],
• per eum qui fuit mortuus et resurrexit, qui est principium et finis, Alpha et O, primus et nouissimus [cf. Apoc. 21:6, 22:13],
vt nunquam, etc. Coniuro vos, O Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,
• per het sancta nomina dei: Ely, Eloy, Eleon, Tetragramatton, Tupanoel, Fabanoel, Saboeth, Sathay, Adonay.

Coniuro vos
• per virtutem qua dominus noster Ihesus Christus ianuis clausis ad dissipulos suos intrauit.

Coniuro vos, Bel et Ebal, quorum nomina in igne ardescunt,
• per spineam coronam quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus in capite sustinuit,
• et per fixuram clavorum qui pias manus et pedes transfixerunt,
• et per sanguinem et aquam de latere fluentem,
• et per lacrimas beate virginis Marie,
• et per mortem et sepulturam Christi,
• per resurrectionem et ascensionem Christi,

ut nunquam requiem habeatis, quin cor multieris in amore ita ardere faciatis quod nunquam
dormire, comedere nec bibere, nec stare nec sedere, nec flere, nec ridere, nec aliquod opus
perficiere valeat, quin cordis mi desiderium [67v] penitus adimpleat, et quod illud
nullatenus omittas.\textsuperscript{6} Hoc\textsuperscript{b} precipio vobis, per eum qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum.

NO. 36. GENERIC PREPARATION FOR CONJURING SPIRITS (FOLS 67v–68v)

De responsione spirituum.\textsuperscript{a}

Cum magister voluerit vocare spiritus, vadat ad locum\textsuperscript{b} secretum cum duobis
sociis, et\textsuperscript{c} habeat cultellum cum manubrio albo uel nigro, in cuius lamina hec
nomina ex utraque parte sunt scripta: Agla [et] Sabaoth. Et faciat\textsuperscript{d} cum eodem
cultello exteriorum circulum,\textsuperscript{d} dicendo, Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris
omnipotentis, qui solo verbo vniuersa creavit. Et in eodem circulo scribat cum cultello
prelibato hec nomina: contra orientem, Agla; contra occidentem, Tetragramaton; contra septentrionem, Adonay; contra meridiem, Sabaoth.
Deinde faciat secundum circulum, dicendo, Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui, qui
humanum genus humano sanguine redemit. Tercium vero circulum faciat dicendo, Hunc

\textsuperscript{a} Line duplicated in margin of MS.

\textsuperscript{b} MS locum.

\textsuperscript{c} Or hec.

\textsuperscript{d} MS omittatis.

\textsuperscript{e} Figure at top of fol. 68#: a triple circular band, with Sabaoth and meridies marked just outside at the top,
occidens and Tetragramaton at the right, septentron [sic] and Adonay at the bottom, orens and Agla at the
left. The outermost circle bears the inscription, Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei Patris omnipotentis, qui
solo verbo vniuersa creavit. The middle circle has the inscription, Hunc circulum facio in nomine dei viui
qui humanum genus humano sanguine redemit. The innermost contains the inscription, Hunc circulum
facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui [MS quia] apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia
illustruit. In the upper left, a further inscription begins in the outer circle and ends in the middle one: Per hoc
signum sancte crucis gracis dei defendat nos ab omni malo. The interior is left blank.
circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, quia apostolorum et prophetarum corda sua gracia illustravit. Post hoc faciet crucem per omnes circulos, [dicens], Per hoc signum sancte crucis gratia dei defendat nos ab omni malo. Tunc accipe turribulum, inposito thures et mirra, [et] circuas\textsuperscript{h} ex- [68r] teriora circuli,\textsuperscript{i} dicens, Hanc fumigationem facio in nomine Patris et Filiij et Spiritus Sancti. Et post hoc,\textsuperscript{j} stans contra orientem extra circulum,\textsuperscript{k} dicit vij psalmos cum letania,\textsuperscript{l} deuote et humiliiter, et has oraciones:

\textit{Adiurn\textsuperscript{m} te, rex regum et dominus dominancium, eterne et incommutabilis drus,\textsuperscript{n} intellige clamorem meam nunc et spiritus mei gemitumque cordis mei,\textsuperscript{o} ut respirem\textsuperscript{p} in te salvatorum meum. Dat michi intellectum sanctum et bonum, et aufer a me quod malum est; et commutans me in omnem dilectionem tuam qua formasti me et saluasti, tribu\textsuperscript{q} incrementum michi. Exaudi, domine, precem meam qua clamavi ad te, et exaudi me. Renula et illumina oculos mentis mee et carnis, ut considerem et intelligam mirabilia tua. Viuifica me in iustificacionibus tuis, ut preuaeleam in conspectu adversariorum\textsuperscript{r} meorum et dyaboli.\textsuperscript{s}}

\textbf{NO. 37. MANUAL OF ASTRAL MAGIC (FOLS 68V–96V)}

\textbf{37a. Conjurations for each day of the week}

Incipiunt coniuraciones dierum super composicionem sacrificiorum, quod siet quando debuerit aliquid operare\textsuperscript{a} antequam illud incipiat. Coniura ergo cum alia

\textsuperscript{f} MS quia.
\textsuperscript{g} MS thus.
\textsuperscript{h} MS circuata.
\textsuperscript{i} MS circulum.
\textsuperscript{j} Or hoc.
\textsuperscript{k} Followed by in, deleted.
\textsuperscript{l} Followed by et.
\textsuperscript{m} Redundant a struck through.
\textsuperscript{n} Followed by dominus, deleted.
\textsuperscript{o} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{p} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{q} MS dat.
\textsuperscript{r} Followed by in- (?) , deleted.
\textsuperscript{s} Followed by et.
\textsuperscript{t} Followed by a blank space left for the title of the following material, and by this fragment (evidently in the same hand, but less careful than usual): Alae epacium quando im arcam (?) pliwis wirnies (?) .
\textsuperscript{a} Note that operari and operare are used interchangeably.
coniuracione sequentium dierum quibus operabis, et scribenda fuerint. Scribe ea
die suo.
Coniuracio diei dominici sequitur, etc.
[1.] [69r] Coniuracio diei solis.\b

Coniuro et confirmo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,
• * In nomine Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu, qui est ille qui fuit, est, et erit, Eye,
  Aloray,
• in nomine Sadaye, Saday, Cados, Cados, Cados, altus, super cherubin sedens,
• et per nomen ipsius magni, sancti, fortis, potentis, et exaltati, super omnes celos,
  Eye, Saray, Plasmatoris seculorum, qui creavit mundum, celum, et terram, mare, et
  omnia que in eis sunt in primo die celorum, et sigillavit super eos cum nomine
  sancto suo,\c Yhon, super terram que sigilla terra est, honorato, precioso nomine suo
  Yhaa,
• et per nomina sanctorum angelorum qui dominantur in primo exercitu et serviant
  coram potentissimo Salamia, angelo magni et honorato,
• et per nomen stelle que est Sol,
• et per signum inmensissimum dei vivi et quod omnia per predicta.\d

Coniuro
• super Raphael angelum\f qui est prepositus diei dominici,\f
• et per nomen Adonay, de Israel, qui creavit mundum et quicquid est in eo,
  quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem voluntatem meam et peticionem iuxta meum velle et
  cotum in negocio et causa mea.

Dicas autem secundum quod tibi videbitur.
[2.] Coniuracio diei lune.\g

[69v] Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti,
• in nomine Adonay, Adonay, Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eyu, Cados, Cados, Cados, Hatyn,
  Hatyn,\h Hatyn, Va, Va, fortis, Va, qui apparuit in monte Synay cum glorificacione
  regni sui, Va, Adonay, Saday, Sabaoth, Hanath, Hu, Haxi, Ya, Ya, Ya, Marmalita,
  Ahym, Ye, qui maria creavit, stagna, et omnes aquas in secunda die, quasdam in

\b Heading duplicated in margin.
\c u corrected from another letter, which is blotted out.
\d Sic in MS.
\e MS angele.
\f Meaning dominico.
\g Heading duplicated in margin, and again at top of fol. 69v.
\h Corrected both times from Hatyn.
\i MS apparuit
celis,) quosdam in terra, et sigillavit mare cum virtute sua et alto nomine suo ut terminam quem sibi posuit non preterirent [Ps. 103:9 Vulg.],
• et per nomina angelorum qui dominantur in secundo exercitu, qui servirunt Oraphaniel, angelo magno, precioso, et honorato,\(^{k}\)
• et per nomen stelle que est Luna,
• et per sigilla et per nomina predicta.\(^{l}\)
Coniuro super te Gabriel, qui est prepositus diei secundo, scilicet Lune, quod pro me labores et adimpleas omnem meam peticionem. Amen.

[3.] Coniuracio diei Martis.\(^{m}\)

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortis et sancti,
• per nomen Ya, Ya, A, A, Va, Hy, Hy, Haa, Haai, Va, Va, Han, Han, Hon, Hy, Hyen, Hayo, Hayo, Hol, Hol, Hay, Hael, Hon,
• per nomina\(^{n}\) domini Adonay, Haya, Hol, Plasmatori seculorum, Cados, Cados, Cados, [70r] Ebeth, Ei, Ya, Ya, Eloy, Arar, Eloym, Eloym,
• et per nomen ipsius alii dei qui fecit aridam apparere et vocavit eam terram et produxit arbores et herbas de ea, et sigillavit super eam precioso et honorato [et] metuendo nomine suo,
• et per nomina angelorum dominancium exercitui tertio et ministrando Aeynerim, angelo magno, fortis, potentior, et honorato,
• et per nomen stelle que est\(^{o}\) Mars,
• et per nomen Adonay, dei viui et veri.
Coniuro super te, Samael, angelo qui est\(^{p}\) prepositus diei tercio, scilicet Marti, quod pro me laboretis et adimpleatis omnem meam voluntatem et totam meam peticionem, ut sicut in primo capitulo, etc., etc.

[4.] Coniuracio diei Mercuриj.\(^{q}\)

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortis et sancti et potentes,

\(^{j}\) MS celos.
\(^{k}\) MS honorata.
\(^{l}\) MS predictos.
\(^{m}\) Heading duplicated in margin.
\(^{n}\) Followed in MS by men, deleted.
\(^{o}\) MS qui.
\(^{p}\) Sic in MS.
\(^{q}\) Heading duplicated in margin.
in nomine fortis, metuendi, et benedicendi, Ya, Adonay, Eleogym, Saday, Saday, Saday, 
Eye, Eye, Eye, Asaame, Asaome, Asamy,

in nomine domini Adonay, cum quo super verba hominum sigilluit Saa, quid, 
Sarguans; Capym, Say, Saaqui,

et per nomina Cryay, Adonay, Taguasaas, Adonay, dei Israel, quia ipse est [qui 
creavit] diem et noctem,

et per nomina omnium angelorum servientium [70v] exercitui 4a, quorum 
Thytagora, angelo maioris, fortis atque potenti;

et per nomen stelle que est Mercurius,

et per nomen sigilli cum quo sigillatur Adon, fortissimo et honorato,

et per omnia predicta.

Coniuro super te, angele magne Michael, qui es praepositus diei 4a,

et per nomen sanctum quod in fronte Aaron sacerdotis altissimi creatoris erat,

et per nomen angelorum qui in gracia confirmati sunt creatoris.

et per nouem sedes animalium habencium sexas et alas, 
vt pro me laboretis in [causa] mea, ut cicius ducatur ad effectum optatum, etc.

[5.] Coniuracio diei Veneris.

Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortes et sancti atque potentes,

in nomine Hay, Hay, Hea, Ya, A, Ya, Ya, Ananey,

in nomine Saday, qui creavit quadrupedia et animalia reptilia et hominum in sexto die, 
et dedit Ade potestatem super omnia animalia – inde benedictus sit nomen creatoris in 
loco suo,

et per nomen angelorum qui serviant exercitui sexto coram Daghyel, angelo magno 
principi, forte atque potenti,

et per nomen stelle que est Venus,

et per sigillum eius, quod quoddam sigillum est sacratum,
et per omnia predicta.
Coniuro super te, angeli magne Anael, qui es prepositus diei sexto, ut pro me labores, ut supra.


Coniuro et confirmo et sigillo super vos, angeli fortis et sancti atque potentes,

• per nomen Cados, Cados, Cados, Eseraye,ē Esoraye, Eseraye, Hatym, Va, fortis formatoris seculorum, Catine, Yaeiez, Yaruc, Yaruc, Calloac, Allae, Assaf, Maatap, Barisay, Abnaym,
• et per nomen Adonay, qui creavit pisces et reptilia in aquis et aues volantes super faciem terre versus celis die quinto,
• et per nomina angelorum seruiencium exercitui quinto, pastore angelo magno sancto et potenti principi,
• et per nomen stelle queē est Jupiter,
• et per nomen sigilli sui,
• et per nomen Adonay, suprmi diei omnium creatoris,t
• et per nomina omnium stellarum, et per vim et virtutem eorum,
• et per nomina predicta.

Coniuro super te, Satquiel, angeli magne qui est prepositus diei Jouis, quod pro me labores ut mens affectus ad effectum deueniāt.

[7.] Coniuracio diei Saturni.

Coniuro et confirmo et presciendoā super vos, Capiel, Matatori, Sartaquidi, angeli fortis et potentes,

• per nomen Adonay, Adonay, EYe, EYe, Hacyn, Hacyn, Hacyn, Cados, Cados, Cados, Yma, Yma, Yma, Sady, Ya, Sar, domini formatoris seculorum, [qui] die septimo quievit, et illam in beneplacito suo filiis Israel in hereditatem [71v] et obsequium dedit, ut eum firmiter servarent et custodirent et sanctificarent ad habenda

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c Heading duplicated in margin at bottom of fol. 70v.
d Corrected in MS from Esoraye.
e Followed by pieaces, struck through.
f MS qui.
g Presumably meaning suprmi dei, omnium creatoris.
h Sic in MS.
i MS deueniāt.
j Heading duplicated in margin.
k Sic in MS.
indica bona et in alio seculo remuneraciones, et nomina angelorum sueriusco exercitum septimo coram Boel, angelo magno, potenti principi,

- et per nomen stelle que est Saturnus,
- et per sanctum sigillum eius,
- et per omnia predicta.

Coniuo Captiel, qui prepositus est diei septimo, qui est dies sabbati, ut pro me labores et non desistas donec totum affectum ad effectum perducas. Amen.

37b. Seals for seven angels

Sequitur videre et scire septem sigilla que signanda sunt in quolibet opere secundum diem septimane.

Hec sunt sigilla vii planetarum discurrere vii celos, secundum quod dixerunt vii physici sapientes, quotquod opus facies, quod si non scies non complebitur sine signis isigit sequentibus, quoniam quilibet dies suum sigillum et suam planetam et suos angelos et suum regem spiritum cum adiutoris suis et suas creaturas et suffumigium suum, secundum quod inferius tibi dictetur, et quando feceris hunc, scias quod perfectum ipsum fuisset et magnum qui hunc librum composuit. Et scias quod quid quiesis et virtute dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum per infinita secula seculum, amen.


[2.] Ecce sigillum Gabrielis, angeli cuius stella est Luna. Fac illud die Lune, hora Lune, in signo Cancri, etc.


1 MS qui.
2 Followed by g, struck through.
3 Sic in MS.
4 MS es.
5 MS laboras.
6 MS desisitac or desistat.
7 MS qui.
8 MS suum.
9 Or hoc.
10 perfeicetur dupicated in MS.
11 Followed by seal.
12 Followed by seal.
13 Followed by seal.
[4.] Ecce sigillum Michahelis, angeli cuius stella est Mercurius. Fac illa die Mercurij et hora Mercurij, in signo Capricorni vel Gemini vel Virginis.\(^h\)

[5.] Ecce sigillum Satquielis, angeli cuius stella est Jupiter. Fac illa die Jouis, et hora Jouis, signo Sagittariij et Pissis, etc.\(^i\)

[6.] [72v] Ecce sigillum Anaelis, angeli cuius stella est Venus. Fac illa die Veneris, hora Veneris, in signo Thauri et Libre, etc.\(^j\)

[7.] Ecce sigillum Caffrielis,\(^k\) angeli cuius stella est Saturnus. Fac illa die Sabbati, hora Saturni, in signo Capricorni et Aquariij.\(^l\)

### 37c. Seals for days of the week

[1.] Ecce sigillum diei dominici, quod fieri debet Sole ascendente.\(^a\)

[73r] Ecce signum Solis, quod\(^b\) est planeta die[i] dominice.\(^c\)

[2.] Ecce sigillum Lune, quod fieri debet Luna ascendente.\(^d\)

Ecce signum Lune, quod est planeta diei Lune.\(^e\)

[3.] Sigillum diei Martis, quod fieri debet fieri Marte ascendente.\(^f\)

[73v] Signum die[i] Martis, quod est planeta diei Martis.\(^g\)

[4.] Sigillum Mercurij debet fieri Mercurio ascendente.\(^h\)

Signum Mercurij, quod est planeta Mercurij diei.\(^i\)

[5.] Sigillum Jouis, quod fieri debet Jouve ascendente.\(^j\)

[74r] Signum Jouis, quod est planeta diei Jouis.\(^k\)

[6.] Sigillum Veneris, quod debet fieri Venere ascendente.\(^l\)

\(^a\) Followed by seal.
\(^b\) Followed by seal on top of 72r.
\(^c\) Followed by seal.
\(^d\) Or Caffrielis?
\(^e\) Followed by seal.
\(^f\) Followed by four lines of seals.
\(^g\) Sic in MS, here and in following cases.
\(^h\) Followed by two lines of seals.
\(^i\) Followed by five lines of seals.
\(^j\) Followed by two lines of seals, and three further lines at the top of 74r.
\(^k\) Followed by one line of seals.
\(^l\) Followed by four lines of seals.
Signum Veneris, quod est planeta diei Veneris.\textsuperscript{m}

[7.] Sigillum Saturni, quod debet fieri Saturno ascendente.\textsuperscript{n}

[74v] Note de signis vij planetarum, id est septhm dierum. Completa signa vij dierum ebdomade super planetis et signis eorum. Caue igitur in illis tibi, quia\textsuperscript{o} maxima virtus est in eis, quare quia in eis complebuntur opera tua.

### 37d. Names of the angels who rule over the days of the week

Nomina angelorum regnancium a diebus septimane sunt dicenda, et sequitur que opera habet\textsuperscript{a} nominare in operibus septimane.

[1.] Angelus diei dominici est Raphael.\textsuperscript{b}

[2.] Angelus diei Lune est Gabriel.\textsuperscript{b}

[3.] Angelus diei Martis est Samael.\textsuperscript{b}

[4.] Angelus diei Mercurij est Michael.\textsuperscript{b}

[5.] Angelus diei Jouis [75r] est Satquiel.\textsuperscript{b}

[6.] Angelus diei Veneris est Anaal.\textsuperscript{b}

[7.] Angelus diei Saturni, id est Sabbati, est Capiel.\textsuperscript{c}

In isto igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo facies opus tuum, et scribe illa, quare\textsuperscript{d} si fuerint scripta multum iuubant te cum potencia creatoris.

### 37e. Spirits who rule over the days of the week

Regum spirituum vij diebus in septimana regnancium nomina subscribentur super eos angelos dominantes diei quando facies opus et sic venient et complebunt voluntatem tuam et respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.\textsuperscript{a}

[1.] Die ergo dominico regnat et seruit rex Saytam. Coadiutores sui sunt\textsuperscript{b} Taatus, Candas, Vanibal.


[3.] Die Martis regnat et seruit rex filius dyabuli.\textsuperscript{c} Coadiutores sunt Carmath, Utanaual, Pascami.

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\textsuperscript{m} Followed by one line of signs.

\textsuperscript{n} Followed by 6 lines of signs at the top of 74v.

\textsuperscript{o} Sic in MS.

\textsuperscript{a} Sic in MS.

\textsuperscript{b} r in Gabriel partly blotted out in MS.

\textsuperscript{c} Or Capiel?

\textsuperscript{d} Sic in MS.

\textsuperscript{b} Followed in MS by Sylol, Candas, struck through.

\textsuperscript{c} Sic in MS.


Completa sunt nomina regum spirituum regnacement et seruiencium septem diebus septimane.

37f. Suffumigations for each day of the week

Quilibet enim dies septimane habet suffumigium sibi appropriatum, cum quo suffumigabis opus tuum quod facies ea, et complebitur opus tuum sine dubio.

[1.] Suffumigium dies dominice assandalum croceum vel rubeum uel simile sibi.
[2.] Die Lune est aloes, anacap, uel simile sibi.
[3.] Die Martis est piper aut abana, cyg uel sibi simile.
[4.] Die Mercurij est altast aut ei simile.
[5.] Die Josius est olibanum aut croceum uel ei simile.
[6.] Die Veneris est almastic aut lignum radim uel ei simile.
[7.] Die Saturni est assandaron et sulphur aut ei simile.
Et si in die Saturni operare volueris ad ligandas lignas, erit suffumigium thus Odee Capre. Hec sunt suffumigia dierum septimane.

37g. Purposes served in each day of the week

[1.] In die dominico operari poteris ad ligandas li[n]gwas aut ad alias ligaciones hominum.
[2.] Die Lune operandum est ad beniuolenciam et ad concordiam et amiciciam.
[3.] Die Martis [76r] operandum est ad infirmandum homines et destruendum.

\[d\] Followed in MS by Comas, deleted.
\[e\] Sic in MS?
\[a\] fumi blotted out in MS.
\[b\] Sic in MS, for cygminus?
\[c\] Meaning linguas?
\[d\] Sic in MS?
\[e\] MS Hee.
[4.] Die Mercurij operandum est ad ponendum inimiciciam siue odium inter homines.

[5.] Die Jouis operandum est ad faciendum pacem inter homines discordantes.

[6.] Die Veneris operandum est ad coniu[n]gendum homines in amicicia uel prouocandos de loco ad locum ad beniuolenciam.

[7.] Die Saturni operandi poteris ad ligandum a interiora b balnea, molendina, aut similia c.

Dictum est de operibus dierum septimane in qua operandum est.

Quacumque die septimane operandi volueris ad beniuolenciam aut quo[d]libet bonum uel malum, attende diligenter quod illa sit operi faciendo conueniens d nec dimittas opus tuum de die in diem uel differas, quare si illud opus non confirmaretur uel non duceretur ad effectum forsitan putaretur illud esse falsum.

37b. Angels serving on each day of the week

Sciendum quod qualibet e die septimane presunt tres angeli ad seruiendum homini et opera eius perficienda.

[1.] Diei dominico presunt tres angelii, scilicet Raphael, Dardiel et Vrlacael.


[5.] Diei Jouis presunt hi, scilicet Pacta, Castiel, Assassael.

[6.] Diei Veneris presunt hi, scilicet Anaël, Sarquiel, Sacquiel.

[7.] Diei Saturni presunt hi, scilicet Captiel, Matatou, Sartquiel, id est Sataquiel.

In omni opere quod facies, invocabis angelos illius die[i] quod operi volueris, et ipsi tuam complebunt voluntatem et ducent ad effectum opus tuum.

37i. Names of God

Sequentur consequenter nomina que scribere habent in principio cuiuslibet operis quod facies ei et respondebunt voluntati tue. Et sunt ex nominibus

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a um blotted out in MS.
b Initial i blotted out in MS.
c Followed by Quacumque die septimane.
d Meaning quo[d] illa sint operi faciendo conueniencia?

a MS quilibet.
b MS uel.
c MS presunt (here and in the following five cases).
creatoris. Ista ergo nomina cum nominari volueris invocanda sunt, scilicet Anguas, Yna, Dei Israel, Ybae, Subae, Guabas, Ynissamon, Haa, Dosa, Bariam. In omnia alia karta quam scribes opus vt scribat in ea vbi sit alique ex materia carte quod si fuerit de amicicia et si fuerit de inimicicia et si ad medicinam similiter sic obseruet[ur] in omnibus.b

37j. Names of the hours of the day, and their functions

Scribere nos oportet nomina horarum a die quibus horis perficientur opera que facies.

[1.] [77r] Prima ergo diei hora dicitur Yain. In hac hora facienda est carta ad destruerendas voces hominum et mala verba eorum et lingwas ligandas.

[2.] Secunda enim hora diei dicitur Yan, Or, et in ea operaberis ad amiciciam et graciem et beneficium obtinendum et ad societatem hominum adultandumb ad reges et ad potentes.

[3.] Tercia vero hora diei dicitur Nassura. In ea facias cartam uel ymagnies ad venerandumc feras vel aues, siue ad implicandum pisces, uel aliquod quodlibet nascencia perhibenda.d

[4.] Quarta hora diei dicitur Sala. In ea fac carta uel ymaginem ad ligandum omnes bestias siluestres, leones, vrsos, et similia.

[5.] Quinta hora diei dicitur Sadadat. In ea fac cartas ad ligaciones et ad applicandas quaslibet bestias, et ad quidquid vis aliud.

[6.] Sexta hora diei dicitur Tamhut. In ea operari poteris ad extrahendum captius de carcere, ad ligatos soluendos.

[7.] Septima hora diei dicitur Caror. In ea operatur ad ponendum pacem inter reges.

[8.] Octava hora diei dicitur Tariel. In ea operari poteris ad mandeolenam et discor- [77v] diamf ponendam inter homines.

[9.] Nona hora diei dicitur Karon. In ea facienda est carta ad itinerandumf uel ad eundum inter latrones sine timore.


a Corrected in MS from Ybae (?)?
b This entire paragraph seems obscurely written.
c Presumably meaning venandum.
d Sic in MS.
e c added above line in MS.
f MS itinerandum.

[12.] Duodecima hora diei dicitur Abat. In ea operari poteris inter maliuolos ad pacem ponendam inter virum et mulierem.

37k. Names of the hours of the night, and their functions

[1.] Iste sunt hore diei, et operibus sibi pertinentibus. a
Prima hora noctis dicitur Leron. In ea fac ad demoniacos opera tua, aut ad uentos malos aut ad conergadum et loquitor cum eis. b

[2.] Secunda hora noctis dicitur Latol. In ea operari poteris ad piscariam et ad omina nascencia aquæ.

[3.] Tercia hora noctis dicitur Hami. In ea operari poteris ad accendendum uel ad ext[i]nwendum ignem et ad omnia quae in eo volueris operari.


[5.] Quinta hora noctis dicitur Caron. In ea fac questiones vt in somnibus videat quod futurum est in mundo uel in diebus uel in annis et ad secreta reuelanda.

[6.] Sexta hora noctis dicitur Zaia. In ea operari poteris ad arbores et fructus earum et ad ceteras plantas terre et ad omne quod operandum est in terra.

[7.] Septima hora dicitur Nectius. In ea operari poteris ad expellendum homines de domo sua uel quod infirmetur uel quod moriatur.

[8.] Octava hora noctis dicitur Tafat. In ea poteris operari ad inimicicaam ponendam inter quos volueris.


a Presumably meaning opera eis pertinencia.
b Sic in MS.
c Corrected in margin of MS from nothia.
d First a inserted above line, substituting for a letter that is blotted out.
371. Names of angels that rule each hour of the day and of the night

Cvm aliquod opus uel cartam volueris scribere, nomen hore et nomen angeli et hore et qui ei dominatur uel ministratur oportet te nominare. Hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei noxiu\textsuperscript{a} septimane. Prime hore diei dominatur Raphael. 2e hore Anael. 3e Michael. 4e Gabriel. 5e Gaffriel. 6e Satquiel. 7e\textsuperscript{b} Samael. 8ue Raphael. 9e Anael. 10e Michael. Vndecime Gabriel. 12e Caffriel.

Nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Satquiel. 2e hore Samael. 3e Raphael. 4e Anael. 5e Michael. 6e Gabriel. 7e Caffriel. 8e Satquiel. 9e Samael. 10e Raphael. 11e\textsuperscript{c} Anael. 12e Michael. Sic autem intelligere debes de omnibus aliis noctium et dierum prenominatis quidem enim angeli dominatur et ministratur horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministrationem in eis. Omni hora Solis ministrat uel dominatur Raphael. Hora Veneris, Anael. Hora Mercurij, Michael. Hora Lune, Gabriel. Hora Saturni, Caffriel. Hora Jouis, Satquiel. Hora Martis, Samuel. Diei eciam cuiuslibet planete cum angelis suis signaque planetarum distributa horum angelorum nomina debent concordare et respondere [79r] nominibus capitolis supra proxime positus et angelo qui continetur infra in coniurationibus cuiuslibet diei et in capitolis de ymaginisibus deorum quibus ministrant adinuicem.\textsuperscript{d}


Nomina\textsuperscript{g} siue istis v nominibus opus tuum percere non poteris. Prima hora diei Lune ministrat uel dominatur Gabriel. Secunda hora Caffriel. 3a hora Satquiel. 4a hora Samael. 5a hora Raphael. 6a hora Anael. 7a hora Michael. 8a hora Gabriel. Nona hora Caffriel. Decima hora Satquiel. Vndecima hora Samael. Duodecima hora Raphael.

\textsuperscript{a} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{b} Blotted out in MS.
\textsuperscript{c} MS 12.
\textsuperscript{d} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{e} Corrected in MS from luna.
\textsuperscript{f} MS eiusque.
\textsuperscript{g} Sic in MS.
37m. Images to be used for each hour of the day

[79v] De operibus ymaginum diei.

[1.] Nota primo malas li[n]gwas. Prima hora diei facienda est ymago ad ligandas li[n]gwas, et li[n]gwa que ligata fuit illa hora nunquam erit potens loquendi malum verbum de te. Prima hora diei fac ymaginem canis ex argento uel stanno\(^a\) puro, et sculpse in capite ymaginis nomen illius super quem operar is et nomen domini hore et diei in quo hec\(^b\) facis, et in ventre ymaginis nomen potentissimi et altissimi domini, et suffumigabis ymaginem suffumigio supra dicto, et cum sangwine rubeo et involues eam in panno albo nouo, et se pelies eam ad partem illius de quo volueris, tunc non loquitur de te malum. Et sic ligabunt omnia ora et oculi hominum, et tibi nunquam nocere poterit quamdiu durabit ymago ista. In ventrem ymaginis scribe nomen Lune et nomen signi et angelorum tempore quo hoc\(^c\) facies. Hec autem nomina sunt nomina creatoris multum preciosa et benedicta, quibus creatum fuit\(^d\) celum et terra.\(^e\) Hic\(^f\) autem cum sculpes, sculpse eam totaliter vt bene appareat.\(^g\) Et hec sunt nomina: Lyara, Lyalguana, Loaffar, Vialuarab, Lebara, Lebarion, Layasales. Hec sunt vij nomina que scribes in ventre forme, et scribes ea in omnibus operibus omnium rerum pertinencium hominibus, aut auibus et bestiis et omnibus creaturis de concordia et amicicia.

[2.] [80r] Secunda hora diei facienda est ymago benivolencie, et vna ymago viri et altera mulieres de purissimo stanno fusile et [in] capite ymaginis mulieres nomen viri, et in capite viri nomen mulieres, in pectore vero et in ventre ymaginis\(^b\) sculpes vijtem subsequencia nomina simul cum vijtem nominibus supradictis, et iunges ymagines. conglutinando\(^i\) eas cum cera, ita quod inter se bene firmantur, et sepelias\(^j\) in domo illius quem volueris alium sequi, et fi et inter eos amicicia durabilis quamdiu ymagines durabunt. Et hec sunt ista vij nomina, hec scribes: Malthayl, Caramel, Azaricel, Zaraimayl,\(^k\) Parsail, Porbayl, Seralabelis. Et hec\(^l\) quodm\(^m\) legi possunt.

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\(a\) MS stangmo.
\(b\) Or hoc.
\(c\) Or hec.
\(d\) Presumably meaning quibus creauit.
\(e\) In margin of MS: Nota nomina, and pointing hand.
\(f\) Meaning hanc [ymaginem].
\(g\) MS appariat or apperiat [appiat].
\(h\) MS ymaginem.
\(i\) MS conglutinando.
\(j\) MS sepelias.
\(k\) Sic in MS?
\(l\) Or hoc.
\(m\) Meaning quoque.
[3.] Tercia hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandas oïnes auës et tota omnia piscamina\(^n\) ad locum signatum. In hac hora fac ex ere rubeo ymaginem animalis quod applicare volueris, et sculpne in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore et in pectore similiter et in ventre vij nomina prime hore, et suffumiga eam cum feniculo aut ordeo yndo, et sepeli eam in loco ad quem volueris applicare animalia sub quorum similitudine ymaginem formasti, et videbis mirabilia creatoris quando veniant ad locum istum.

[4.] [80v] Quarta hora diei facienda est ymago ad animalia prouocanda uel effuganda, vt scorpiones et omnia reptilia et bestias siluestras. In hac hora fac ymaginem ex ere croceo ad similitudinem animalis cuius genus \[^{ge9}\] in loco signato volueris applicare, sculpne nomen animalis in capite ymaginis et in pectore nomen domini hore, et vij supradicta nomina, prima hore\(^o\) sculpne in ventre ymaginis et sepeli ymaginem in loco quo vis applicari. Hec quidem ymago applicabit omnia animalia que tunc non in loco erant.


[6.] Ad liberandum uel ad incarceratos. Sexta hora diei facienda est ymago pro captuis aut incarceratis, ul dampnandis ad mortem uel saluandis. In hac [81r] hora funde ymaginem illius uel istorum quos saluari volueris ex argentu uel stanno, et sculpne in capite ymaginis nomen viri saluandi, et in pectore nomen hore, et in ventre septem nomina prime hore, et\(^q\) dona\(^s\) ymaginem alicui eorum, quod eam secum teneat carcere et ista nocte euadent a carcere cum potencia dei creatoris.

[7.] Ad uenandum uel ad piscandum. Septima hora diei facienda est ymago pro uenacione et piscacione, et est fortis et utilis multum. Funde ymaginem ex optimo argento in hac hora, et sculpne in capite ymaginis nomen domini hore, et in pectore ymaginis vij nomina 2e hore, et omni hora qua piscatum vel venatum

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\(^n\) Sic in MS.

\(^o\) MS hore.

\(^p\) MS aut.

\(^q\) MS virtute.

\(^r\) et slightly malformed, and duplicated above line in MS.

\(^s\) MS tona.

\(^t\) Heading added in margin of MS.
ieris ymaginem tecum porta et applicacionem, venacionem, uel piscacionem quam volueris.


[11.] Ad faciendum concordam discordantes. Vnde decima hora diei facienda est ymago ad prouocandum concordiam inter discordantes uel inter virum et mulierem. In hac hora funde duas ymagines, vniius ponderis et vniius quantitatis

u Meaning ad.
v Meaning depopulatum?
w Sic in MS?
x Followed in MS by p. struck through.
y Perhaps meaning sub similitudine bestie de qua quieseris?
z Sic in MS.
a Followed in MS by te, struck through.
b Followed in MS by pueri (?), struck through.


[82v] Finite sunt vij ymagines que faciende sunt in similibus horis diei cum omnibus suffumigacionibus et operibus suis. Caue igitur in illis, quia exanimate sunt et vere et ne per te mentiantur; quia per eas totam pericientes tuam voluntatem, in gracia dei, cuius nomen sit benedictum. Amen.

37n. Images to be used for each hour of the night

De operibus ymaginum noctis.

Modo dicam operationem ymaginum noctis, sicut studuerunt antiqui qui nominati sunt; invocantur qui ipsi eas composuerunt, vt omnes homines operantes eas scirent de lucerna que nunquam exti[n]gwi possit.


\c Sic in MS.
\a MS lignium.
extin[g]etur. Poteris facere ymaginem in loco quod nulla mulier poterit transire, nec ibi stare, nec ibi stetur.\(^b\)

[2.] Secunda hora noctis faciendum est ymago ad presciendum fortunium. Istim testificatus est homo Almera, qui fuit ex sapientibus antiquis, qui cum ingressus fuisset quamdam ciuitatem quam nominabant Alandar fecit in ea ymaginem istam et vltierius ingressa non fuit mulier in eam. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex ere lympide, et scribe super faciem ymaginis hec nomina: Notooa,\(^c\) Har, Beel, Ceas, Vasas, Naaya, Haat. Et hec alia sculpes in quodam folio oris\(^d\) et ponas in manu ymaginis; hec sunt nomina, scilicet, Raagor, Raaz, Branar, Cundaz,\(^e\) Natho, Jany. Et sepe ymaginem in medio ciuitatis siue ville, vt nullus te videat dum hoc\(^f\) feceris. Et cum hac ymagine poteris prescindere scorpiones aut cetera nocencia de loco.


[5.] Ad dispergendum exercitum. Quinta hora noctis facienda est ymago ad dispergendum exercitum congregatum super castrum aut quemlibet alium locum, aut malas nubes aut grandinem. In hac hora funde ymaginem ex plumbo et ere rubero equaliter mixtum sitque 4or librarm, et sculpe in ea hec nomina: Baraa, Atle, Hate, Carbara, Garglale, Ha, Conadiuro Famal,\(^j\) Alul, Beaali, Aguel,


[8.] Ad congregandum apes aut columbas uel alias quascunque aues. Octaua hora noctis facienda est ymago ad applicandas apes ad alarium suum, aut columbas ad columbarium suum, aut quascunque alias aues ad locum signatum de longinquis partibus terminis in circuitu. In hac hora funde ymaginem apis de auro ad pondus vnius aurei, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Cadota, Carosa, Astab, Yatyon, Vetartuna, Taracta. Et sepely ymaginem in altori loco illius termini et applicabunt illuc omnes apes qui erunt in circuitu loci illius aut columbe ad
columbarium suum vbi fuerit ymago columbe facta secundum quod supra dictum est. Similiter et omnes alie aues.

[9.] Hanc ymaginem facies ad omnia que volueris prouocare ad capiendum aues quas volueris. [85r] Nona hora noctis facienda est ymago ad prouocandas aues quarumlubet ad quemlibet locum volueris. In hac hora fac ymaginem illarum auium quas volueris prouocare, et sculpe in ea ista nomina: Totarati, Tuata, Berhantual, Toluhaya, Ya. Et pone eam quo volueris aues applicari, et applicabunt.


37o. **Names of angels serving specific times**

Qvando volueris operari ex libro isto adnomina nomen Terre in tempore suo quolibet eorum 4or nominum, videlicet in quolibet opere vnum. Et quia hoc a precipitur, quia si fieret aliqua transgressio per operantem, nullum b veniret ad effectum, etc.

Cvm autem aliquod opus aut ymaginem operare volueris ad precidendumc

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v MS absidentem.

w Sic in MS?

a Or hec.

b MS nullo.

c Sic in MS.
da[m]num hominibus siue seminibus aut gregibus, accipiet tempus diei quo hec facies, et si de nocte operatus fueris, accipiet tempus noctis cum nominibus angelorum mendancium tempus in quo operaberis, in nomen non prohibende ut lucuste grandis et malorum nubium aut rei que tibi videbitur, et hec sunt nomina que scribes in primo tempore.k


Nomina angelorum secundi temporis sunt hec: Bartatel, Turiel, Vlmiel, et nomen capitis signi Labael.

Nomina angelorum seruiciencium temporis 3o sunt hec: Tarquayl, Acartayl, Acayl, Gaaharayl, et nomen capitis signi Calguarath.

Nomina angelorum seruiciencium temporis 4o sunt hec: Amabel, Terayl, Atraa, Atratrayl.

Cvm autem operari volueris, accipe nomen temporis quo hoc facies, et scribe alia nomina aut signa secundum quod fuerit opus, et omnia venient ad effectum in virtute et potentia creatoris, cuius nomen est benedictum in secula [seculorum. Amen.

37p. Names of the planets and of parts of the earth

Nota de nominibus Solis.

Dicere nos oportet et docere cupiditates scire ista scienti/ae imaginum et nomina Solis et Lune et Terre, et 4or parcium mundi, in quolibet tempore.


d Sic in MS.
e Or hoc.
f Presumably meaning ministrancium.
g This entire paragraph appears to be obscurely written.
h Sic in MS?
i Or hec.
j Possibly meaning et capitis scire istam scientiam.
k Sic in MS.
De nominibus celorum. Primo tempore celorum est Asaptea, Tima. Secundo tempora Armatrassi. Tercio Mafatyn, Gnam.\textsuperscript{1} Quarto Safatem.

De nominibus Terre. Primo tempore Terre nomen Inamodon. Secundo tempore Festaan.\textsuperscript{m} Tercio Tabian vel Rathbil. Quarto Yemat uel Yaneaa.

De nominibus 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis, Occidentis, Meridiei, et Septentrioris.

Primo nomen 4or parcium mundi, scilicet Orientis in primo 4or temporum est Gnaandon. 2o Pibdaya. 3o Aldebaht. 4o Pedioth. Nomen Occidentis tempore primo Amana. 2o Tana. 3o Ytadaon. Quarto Malchaam.\textsuperscript{n} Nomen Meridiei tempore primo Mantham. 2o Yasaory. 3o Azut. Quarto Danor. Nomen Septentrioris tempore primo Manbasut. 2o Gasson. 3o Mascyl. Quarto Yamhor.

De alis 4or nominibus Terre: alia nomina Terre in 4or temporibus: In primo tempore Talyn. 2o Cosmaaram.\textsuperscript{o} Tercio Aydarael. Quarto Saybath.

Vt scias que sunt 4or tempora.


37q. Images and conjurations for days of the week

De ymaginibus vij dierum ebdomade.

Sapientes philosophi et experti qui componerunt istum librum confidentes in deo qui est super omnes deus ordinauerunt ymagines vij dierum ebdomade ad faciendum peticiones, et est sciencia altissima et honorata et multitum secreta et non conceditur omnibus hominibus nisi viris magni et profundissimi sensus et intelligencie.

Caue igitur tibi in illis, et proba, et invenies veritatem sanctissimam.

[1.] De ymagine diei dominice. Prima ymago est diei dominici. Forma eam ex

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\textsuperscript{1} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{m} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{n} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{o} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{p} MS mensis.
\textsuperscript{q} MS Octubri et Novembri.
aurum aeralcium aut cera croceus, et scribere super eam nomina sequencia, et si in altitudine dicitur ascensio Leonis in mense Augusti aut Aprilis. Hec sunt nomina angelorum man- [87v] dancium Leonem: Raphael, Dardyel, Vrathael. Nomina ventorum sunt hec uel spirituum qui semper mandant Leonem: Baythan, et eius adiutores Cahatus, Cardas, Yabal. Cum volueris ligare l[i]n[g]was, fac ymaginem istam in horis nominatis que tibi conuenit et altitudine dicta, et coniura super eam per ista coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, angeli sigillo Solis consignati: Banarga, Lyon, Cynon, Bamayon, Admyon, Assurop, Tayuf, Rem, Leata, Baupa, Yanoth, Haralyl, Quihil, Casub, Nubub, Caytuli, Catub,1 per creatorem celci et terre et for parciu mundi et ventorum qui sunt inter celum et terram, qui est super omnes deus, fortissimus et altissimus, et non est alicuius deus preter eum, et ipse est rerum et conditoris omnium naturalum: Yat, Faoli, Yalryel, Ycalatayel. Item coniuro vos per hec nomina: Vasamia,2 Licaa, Cassaa, Lamubatub, Olot, Elos, Cyymhalad, ipse est qui scit scientias secretas et apertas, Yfael, Cardiel, Telataph, Ei, laborate et complete peticionem meas et opus quod cupio compleri.


Coniuro vos angelii quibus commissum est signum Lune, Comoha, Bamoha, Zikil, Bephaha, Casal, Nata, Vada. Coniuro vos per honorem dei et compleatis hanc peticionem, nec in aliam rem laboretis donec festinetis6 compleuretis. Rogo te, G[abriel], M[ichael], et S[amuel],

r Sic in MS?
s Followed in MS by et.
t MS que.	u Sic in MS?
v MS xi.
w MS 2m horam.
x MS Cancer.
y MS que.
z Sic in MS?
a -ne- accompanied by dots normally indicating deletion. Perhaps an adverb is intended.
quod hoc quae peticione adimplere confirmare non remaneat quousque eam perfecte adimplebitis et confirmabitis, diuina nobis concessa gracia et virtute.  


Si volueris depopulare domum, ad sa[n]gwinis fluxum prouocare, aut aliquem infirmari, aut quodlibet aliiud damnum facere, forma< ymaginem ex ere rubeo et sepely ymaginem iuxta aquam currentem.

[4.] Quarta ymago est dici Mercurij, et hec sunt nomina angelorum quibus super eam constituiunt: Michael, Fanuel, Sarpee; et nomina ventorum sunt hec mandantium eam, scilicet Tobha et adiutores eius Danhas, Paclas, Sambas. Forma ymaginem mense Julij aut Octobris, et plumbo: sculpe in ea nomina ista

b Or hoc.

c Sic in MS.
d MS virtus.
e MS mensis.
f MS Decembres.
g Meaning sunt?
h Sic in MS?
i Sic in MS?
j Meaning dominum?
k Sic in MS?
l Sic in MS.
m Sic in MS?
n MS formam.
o Sic in MS?
ad seperandos beniuolentes et ponendas inimicas inter eos, p et coniura sic per ista coniuracemonem:

Coniuro vos angeli per nomen creatoris, preter quem nullus est vince[n]s, ipse enim est creator et preceptor, et omnis potestas est in manu sua, uel eius sibi eiçiam est virtus insuperabilis, quia ipse est potens et invicibilius rex, sub cuius [89r] autoritate omnia sistent et viuunt. Coniuro vos, Michael, Sarpiel, Muriel, Peruerela, Yererie, Adonay, Sabaath, Ye, Yo, domini celorum et terrae, venite per bonitatem veri fortis qui solus fuit, est, et erit. Michael, Sarpiel, 
Muriel, complete peticionem mean, t et veniat ad efectum.


Et sepeli ymaginem in loco per quem transeant, et videbis mirabilia omnipotentis dei.


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x Sic in MS²
y Sic in MS²
z Sic in MS²
a Sic in MS
b MS meam casam.
c MS tali filia.
d Perhaps, intended for ferretbat.
e The final words read like fragments of instruction that do not belong to the conjuration, but the passage is evidently confused.
f MS ad.
g Meaning corum².
tecum, necessaria cum ea, per portam ciuitatis aut ville uel domus, et sepeli eam in medio vbi volueris, et ligabunt omnes li[n]gwe hominum loci illius. Et si volueris ponere discordiam inter duos beniuolos, uel inter virum et mulierem, forma duas ymagines de pice clara, sitque facies ymaginis viri facies porci, et facies ymaginis mulieris facies canis, et pone eas tergo ad tergum, et scribe in cartha virginem ² sequencia verba, et ponis ³ eam inter costas ymaginis, et hec sunt verba que faciunt inter eos vt istos discordiam et inimicicam, maliuolencia, pec[²]torum percussio, capillorum depilacio, abhominaciones, et fuga, vt nunquam vnus ab altero possit dilig. sed ab inuicem sibi tristes obuient. Et sepeli ymaginem sub porta domus vnus illorum, et videbis mirabilia. Et coniura super eam³ cum ista coniuracione:


37r. Summary

Cvm operare volueris, accipe semper tempus, siue de die siue de nocte, cum nominibus angelorum mandancium tempus in quo operaberis, et nomen rei, et ibi sunt nomina supractorum angelorum mandancium tempus, que scribere debes in primo tempore et in 2o tempore et in 3o et 4o, et eciam nomina signorum eius, sicut ibi iacet. in quolibet tempore suo, et isti sunt angeli ceriores

² Meaning virgins.
³ Meaning pones.
⁴ MS cas.
⁵ Sic in MS
⁶ I.e., Saturn (the spirit) of Stig.
⁷ Sic in MS
⁸ Sic in MS
⁹ Sic in MS
¹° Sic in MS
¹³ Followed in MS by Osan (?), struck through.
¹⁴ MS pre.
¹⁵ MS qui.

Nota quod isti sunt principes angelorum xij [91v] mensium, qui dominantur in suis thronis in quinto celo, qui habent thronos 4or. Primus thronus est in parte orientali, in quo dominantur tres angeli qui sunt principes. Secundus thronus est in parte occidentali, et ibi dominantur alij 3es angeli et principes. Tercius thronus est in parte septentrionali, et ibi dominantur 3es alij angeli, vt infra statim melius declarabitur.


Primus tempus:
2o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Ragiel cum suis seruioribus.
3o mense regnat et dominatur princeps Dyrnaot cum suis seruioribus.
[92r] Secundum tempus:
4o mense regnat et seruit princeps Tanennon cum suis seruioribus.
Quinto mense regnat et dominatur princeps Terogat cum suis seruioribus.
Sexto mense regnat et dominatur princeps Morel cum suis seruioribus.
3m tempus:

b This passage appears confused.
c Sic in MS.
d Sic in MS?
e MS throni.
f et added above line in MS.
g MS supradictae.
h MS eius.
i MS secundo.
j Written on right side of page.
k Written on right side of page.
l Followed in MS by Terogat, struck through.
m Written on right side of page.
Septimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Patderon cum suis seruatoribus. Octauo mense regnat et dominatur princeps IIdegage cum suis seruatoribus. Nono mense regnat et dominatur princeps Andegor cum suis seruratoribus. 

4m tempus:

Decimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Macgmel cum suis seruatoribus. Vnde cimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Assandaran cum suis seruratoribus.

Duodecimo mense regnat et dominatur princeps Abarthiel cum suis seruratoribus.

Nota eciam quod sicut mensium sunt nominandi sic eciam nomina dierum sunt in quo operaberis, quorum nomina sunt: Prima enim dies dominica vocatur Metraton. Et 2a Yaspel, Tercia Geminiel. 4a Gabriel. 5a Michael. 6a Raphael. 7a Sarphiel uel Captiel, vt scribitur in sacra scriptura. Distingwe tempora et concordabis scripturis, et ideo primo distinguenda sunt tempora et cognoscenda. [92v] et 2o in quolibet opere quod operare volueris si vis opus tuum perferere et vt posses tempora distin[gregere et cognoscere, sciens quod primum tempus cum fiunt 4or tempora incipit a medio Marcij et finitur in medio Junij, et mensibus Aprilis et Maiij sunt in medio, et sunt de primo tempore, et sic continentur ad tale signum.

Et cum tempus summum continentur 3es menses supradicti. 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt eis adaptari et coniungi et cum eis nominari et invocari quo ad primum tempus, quia sunt primo tempore orientali et in primo thermo orientali.

Cvm eciam secundum tempus continet 3es menses et eorum principes presente 2o tempore adaptari, nominari, et [in]vocari, cum sunt dicitur tempore occidentali et thermo occidentali.

Cvm eciam 3m tempus continet 3es menses et eorum principes, possunt 3o tempore adaptari nominari et invocari, cum eciam sunt de 3o tempore et thermo meridionali.

Cvm 4m tempus eciam continet 3es menses et suos principes presunt [pix] 4o
tempore\textsuperscript{w} adaptari et nominari et invocari cum sunt de 4o tempore et throno septentrionali, ad tale signum invenies angelos cerciores et meliores, qui habent concordare cum 4or temporibus.

Cvm volueris coniurare seu cartham scribere vel nomina invocare, dic nomina angelorum [93r] dominancium tempore et mensi et altitudini qua facies opus. Prima enim altitudo mensis est Nysân, 2a est Yar, et sic de aliis, quod si operatus fueris ad bonas\textsuperscript{x} vel ad bonum, narrabiles angelos bonos, et si ad malum malos, et sic facies in omnibus que volueris operari, et ita complebitur opus tuum, et probatum libri doctrina est vera et cetera.\textsuperscript{y}

Cvm eciam oporteat te nominare nomina Solis et signorum et Lune et terre et parcium 4or mundi, et cum nomina Solis sunt 4or et 4or sunt\textsuperscript{z} tempora, concordabit primum cum primo, atque nominabis et invocabis, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, et 4m cum 4o. Et cum sint 3a nomina signorum eius in quolibet tempore, facies idem. Et cum sint eciam 4or nomina Lune concordabris cum predictis et nominabis primum cum primo tempore, et secundum cum 2o, et 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o. Et cum eciam sint 4or nomina terre quod eciam oportet te nominare, facies eciam quod primum nominabis cum primis et secundum cum 2is, et 3m cum 3is, et 4m cum 4is, sic[ut] habetur superius in capitulo. Dicere oportet et ita facies de 4or nominibus quod terra signabit [sigibt] aliter ibi in fine dicti capituli.\textsuperscript{a} Et eciam oportet te nominare 4or partes\textsuperscript{b} mundi, videlicet orientis, occidentis, et meridiei, et septentriones, et cum quolibet istorum habeat 4or nomina secundum tempus suum, primum nominabis et invocabis cum primis, secundum cum 2o, [93v] 3m cum 3o, 4m cum 4o, et sic de aliis.

Et auertas quod sigillum et signum diei scribatur seu depingatur dies et hora est in qua debes opus tuum facere seu incipere, quia magna virtus est in eis, quare cum eis complebunt opera tua, et nomina angelorum regnancium in diebus septimane dicenda sunt, et sequitur que nomina habet\textsuperscript{c} nominare in operibus septimane secundum diem suum.

Angelus diei dominici est Raphael, et si operatus fueris in die dominico istum nominabis et [in]vocabis, et sic de omnibus aliis, vt continetur in supradicto capitulo completa, etc. In omni igitur opere nominabis angelum diei in quo

\textsuperscript{w} MS tempori.

\textsuperscript{x} Sic in MS.

\textsuperscript{y} Meaning certa?

\textsuperscript{z} Changed in margin to sint.

\textsuperscript{a} MS capitulum.

\textsuperscript{b} MS parcium.

\textsuperscript{c} Meaning habes?
facies opus, et scribe illud, quia si fuerit inscripto, quia multum iuabitis te cum potencia creatoris.

Regum eciam spirituum vij diebus septimaneregnancionominasubscribentur, seu omnes angelos dominantes diei qui facies opus, et sic veniunt et complebunt voluntatem tuam, [et] respondebunt tibi in omnibus que quesieris.

Diei ergo dominico regnat et seruit Baytan rex, coadiutores sui sunt Caatus, Candas, Vambil, et sic de aliis, vt iibi invenies.


Nota eciam quod cum aliquod opus aut cartham scribere volueris, nomen hore et nomen domini hore, id est angeli qui ei dominatur uel ministrat, oportet te nominare. Vnde hec sunt nomina angelorum dominancium omnibus horis diei septimane. Prima enim hora diei dominatur Raphael, et sic de aliis que ibi invenies quo ad idem, et sic eciam est de nocte. Vnde nocte diei Lune prima hora dominatur Sarquiel, et sic eciam de aliis, vt iibi invenies, etc.

Nota eciam quod sic est de omnibus horis supradictis, ita eciam est et intelligere debis, quod quidam angeli dominantur uel ministrant horis secundum dominacionem planetarum uel ministrationem in eis. Omni enim hora Solis dominatur uel ministratur Raphael, et sic de aliis, vt iibi invenies, etc.


d Sic in MS.
e Meaning subseuenter?
f MS destruandas.
g Followed in MS by de, struck through.
h MS que.
Omnia predicta oportet te seruare quandocumque volueris operare secundum istum librum, et in aliquo deficere non posses, quia hec per ordinem invenies quomodo et qualiter habere te debes, et opus tuum secundum istum librum facias et nichil dimittas, si non vis errare, et primo semper respicere mensem lunarem, quia mensis lunaris dierum alii boni sunt, alii sunt mali, vt habetur supra in libro isto, et ideo regula est talis, quod quocumque die septimane operare volueris ad quo[di]libet bonum siue malum facere vis, attende diligenter, quod illa dies sit operi fiendo respiciendo mensem lunarem, vt dictum est. Et si illa dies sit bona et conveniens, non dimittas opus tuum de die in diem, uel dfferas, quare quia1 opus tuum non veniret ad effectum, et forsitan putares illud esse falsum.

[95r] Avertas eciam diligenter quod in principio vnius cuiusque tui operis debes scribere nomina quae respondebunt voluntati tue, et sunt hec nomina ex nominibus creatoris. Cum igitur illa nomina altissima nominare volueris, flexis genibus humiliiter, invocabis sic:

Invoco et humiliiter supplico vobis nomina altissima dei, vt nos adiuuetis in opere tali, ad compleendum, ad perficiendum:1 Agnas, Yana, dei Israel, Ybat, Suliat, Gnalas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Barian, Barian, etc.k

Invoco et appel[lo te, Captiel, angele qui es1 prepositus diei septimo, qui es dies sabbati, quod pro me labores et [non] desistas donec totum meum effectum et desiderium ade effectum perducas. Rex Mayron, Assayby, invoco te et appello et tuos adiuutors Abymalib et Haybaly, Dot et Yfla, quod pro me laboretis et non desistetis donec totum meum affectum et desiderium compleverit[is].

Vos angeli qui presidetis diei sabbati, Captiel, Mataton, Sarquiel, id est Satraquiel, invoco et appello vos vt pro me laboretis et non desiciatis donec totum meum affectum compleueritis. O sanctissima nomina dei, Agnas, Yana, dei Israel, Ydar, Subar, Gnasas, Yemssamon, Haa, Dosa, Ba- [95v] rian,1 invoco vos et requiro toto corde et ore vt dignemini me exaudire et adiuuare, et totum meum desiderium compere, vt valeam videre mille armatos in meo servicio.

Cayyn, prima hora diei invoco te vt adiuues me, vt facias me videre predictos spiritus

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i Sic in MS.
j Followed in MS by Agnas, Yna, Yana, dei Israel, Ybat, Subat, struck through.
k Pointing hand drawn in margin, with inscription Nota nomina.
l MS est.
m MS dei.
n MS laboras.
o Followed in MS by blot.
p MS Quos.
q Or Aginas?
r Second pointing hand shown in margin of fol. 95v.
armatos, et te eciam. Yan, oportet, que es\textsuperscript{2} 2\textsuperscript{a} hora, et te eciam, 3\textsuperscript{a} hora Dasura, et te eciam, 4\textsuperscript{a} hora, Sala.

Invoco eciam et appello angelos dominantes predictis horis, Raphael, 2\textsuperscript{o} Anael, 3\textsuperscript{o} Michael, 4\textsuperscript{o} Gabriel. Invoco eciam Saturnum et eius angelum Captilem, et eius signum Capricornum et Aquarum, et suum sigillum quod est hoc quod hic pono,\textsuperscript{1} ut me adducent et faciant michi apparet predictos spiritus armator in meo servicio.

Terra, quae in 4\textsuperscript{o} tempore vocaris\textsuperscript{i} Yemal vel Yaneaa, invoco te et appello, ut tu adiueses me et facias apparet predictos spiritus armatos in meo servicio. O nomina angelorum qui servitis 4\textsuperscript{o} tempore, Amabel, Terayl, Astrayl, invoco vos et appello, ut facatis michi [96v] venire spiritus in forma militum armatos in meo servicio. O angeli fortres, Castiel, Matatron, Fatael, invoco vos ut meum desiderium compleatis et predictos spiritus venire facatis. Et vos rex, Genam, Alibayn, Aflas,\textsuperscript{a} Analuabet,\textsuperscript{2} venite Eya, Muttatun, Sathane, vel angeli promissi, sigillo Saturni, sitisque in hac hora in adiutorium michi, et precipite spiritibus Amamim,\textsuperscript{3} et Astabam et Haclanaabit, ut veniant cito meum complet\textsuperscript{b} mandatum, per nomen benedictum Abifaeliel, Anogodym, Dymason, Ana, Ana, Coaday, Azylum, Adyr, Essanay, A, Daymior, Sabat, Adonay, Eleym, Elor, Gna, Cyther, Seredye, Assyilla, Yssessus, Agnabora. O societas\textsuperscript{c} angelorum, Cassie, Matatron, Satquael, precipite me Mira et Affla et Abrabaslit, Sayy, Aledep,\textsuperscript{4} ut iam meum completatis voluntatem, per sanctitatem consuacionis suis, et per consuacionem quam super vos feci. O Tomiat, nomen Solis in 4\textsuperscript{o} tempore, invoco te ut tu adiueses ad faciendum venire supraddictos spiritus in forma militum in servicio meo. O nomina signorum 4\textsuperscript{ti} temporis, invoco vos et adiuetis me quod supraddicti spiritus veniant in meo servicio, Capricornus, Aquarius, et Pisces. O Saarlaquia, nomen Lune in 4\textsuperscript{o} tempore, rogai te et invoco ut tu adiueses me, quod fa- [96v] cies venire supraddictos spiritus in forma militum in meo servicio. O Safaten, nomen celorum in 4\textsuperscript{o} tempore, rogi te et invoco ut tu adiueses me, quod facias venire supraddictos spiritus in forma militum in meo servicio. O nomen \textsuperscript{4} for parcius\textsuperscript{d} mundi, Orientis Prehoth, Malchaam,\textsuperscript{4} Mendis, Danor. Septentronics Yamber, vos invoco et rogai ut vos adiuetis me et faciatis venire supraddictos spiritus in forma militum in servicio meo.

\textsuperscript{s} MS est.
\textsuperscript{t} Followed in MS by three signs, given next to each other across the page.
\textsuperscript{u} MS quadr.
\textsuperscript{v} s struck through in MS?
\textsuperscript{w} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{x} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{y} Sic in MS?
\textsuperscript{z} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{a} Followed in MS by angle, struck through.
\textsuperscript{b} Sic in MS? Third letter is blotted out.
\textsuperscript{c} MS temporum.
\textsuperscript{d} Sic in MS?
NO. 38. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT
BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 96v–99v)a

Accipe puerum virgineum de legittimo thor, et socios quos tibi placuerint, et vadas ad locum secretum, et facias circulos 3es cum gladio. Ad primum dic, In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Ad secundum dic, In nomine individuae trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo. Ad 3m dic, Ego te facio per illum qui creaut illum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt.b

Hoc finito, fac quod vnusquisque habeat gladium suum, et non minus 4or gladiis extractis, et accipe sedem tripedem, et pone inferiori circulum, et scribas [97r] nomen pueri ad sedem, et benedic puerum per hanc benedicicem, circu[i]endo per caput eius cum gladio, dicens,


Et dace puer gladium tenere ad manus, et fac illi crucem ad frontem, dicendo,

Crux sancta sanctificat te et omnes oraciones sacerdotum benedicant te.

Et fac puerum sedere ad sedem, et radas sibi vngwem cum cultello, et vnge sibi vngwem cum oleo oliue, et tunc benedicas socios tuos, semper vnnum post alium, et te ipsum cum predicta benediccione, sicut tu puerum benedixisti. Et facias eos sedere, vnnum post alium, ad inferiori circulum, et da vnicuique gladium suum tenere ad manum, et facias eos habere silencium, et fac puerum cla[u]dere oculos, et benedic puerum et te ipsum et omnes socios tuos per inicium sancti ewangelij secundum Johannem: In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat aput deum, etc. [Jn 1:1].

Hoc finito, fac puerum inspicere vngwem quousque se reuertat et ipse coniurare,

Vmon, Progemon, Mithiomo, Pist, Vralchim, Althes, Panite, Fabar, Thobar, Cormes,

---

a This experiment begins a section that is labelled on fol. 96c as follows: Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata: Incipiunt experimenta verissima et probata, primum ad omnia indaganda que volueris, siue presencia, siue pretetria, siue futura, etc.

b Cf. Ph. 145:6 Vulg.

c MS dat.

d MS sanctificat.

Tune sibyla ter. Ad primum dic, O dominu Ihesu Christe. Ad secundum dic, O deus fortis. Ad 3m dic, O potestas.

Hoc finito, dic coniuracionem:


Hoc finito, queras a pueru si videt latitudinem at altitudinem in suo vngwe. Si non, dimittas formam nigram et incipe predictam coniuracionem vsque quod videbit omnia. Tunc facias venire sicut prius posui, ceciam precias ipsis per hec nomina:


r Sic in MS?
s Sic in MS?
g Sic in MS?
h Meaning pontibus?
i MS osetendas.
j MS inept.
k Followed in MS by first stroke of an x, struck through.
l Sic in MS?
m omnia, written in margin of MS, probably belongs here.
nomina Christi precipe vobis ut michi sitis obedientes et isto puero virgineo de qua re et de qua interrogacione quod factum est [nichil] retineatis, quod verum est numeretis et dicatis.

Hoc finito, queras si videt demonem saltantem et gaudentem. Tunc dic ad puerum, et facias ad socios tuos simul loqui quod puer non habeat timorem. Hoc finito, incipe coniurare et fac istum recedere et furem cum furto minare:

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,
• per istum qui creauit celum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt,
• et per istum qui nos et vos creauit et nos redemit cum suo precioso sangwine,
• et per istum qui venturus est,
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
• et per sanctam obedientiam,
• et per corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui hodie et cottidie celebratur per universum mundum,
• et per sanctam trinitatem,
• per deitatem,
• [98v] per humanitatem,
• per deum verum,
• per deum vivum,
• per deum sanctum,
• per deum omnipotentem,
• per sanctam Mariam, matrem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per eius unicum filium,
• et per tremendum diem iudicii,
• per resurrexi[ionem omnium mortuorum,
vt recedas et furem cum furto [et] loco, cui adducas, vt iste puer uidenter possit videre furem cum furto N.

Non dicas aliam coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, prenominatos demones,
• per annunciacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per sacram iesunium domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per baptismum domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per temptacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,

n Presumably for minari.

o Meaning nunc?
• per milia sex ulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per centum sex ulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
• per quinquaginta sex ulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, sine aliis de capite usque ad plantas,
• per spineam coronam quam in capite domini nostri Ihesu Christi posuerunt et genua flectebant [et] illudebant sibi, dicentes, 'Aue rex Iudeorum',
• per arundinem et alapas, quibus Christum cedebant,
• et per 3es claus,
• per lanceam qua sacratum corpus domini nostri Ihesu Christi perforatum est dum continuo exuit sa[n]gewis et aqua,
• per emissionem sue sanctitatis domini nostri Ihesu Christi, 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum';
• per anxietaem quam beata virgo Maria, mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, habuit dum vidit filium eius pendentem in cruce, dicens, 'Flecte ramos, arbor alta,' et non secundum quod compositum est ex 4or litteris, scilicet Alpha et O, deus et homo factus.'

Coniuro vos prenominatos demones:

• per omnes sanctos angelos, thrunos, et dominaciones, principatus, potestates, virtutes celorum. cherubin et seraphin. qui non cessant [99r] clamare. dicen[te]s. 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus'.
• et per virtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, scilicet propter nos homines descendit de celis et natus est ex Maria virgine, sub Poncio Pylato passus est;
• et per 3es angelos. scilicet Michael, Gabriel, [et] Raphael.
• et per dominicam oracionem. scilicet Pater noster,
• per vij candelabra que in mauibus angelorum odoriferum,
• per eorum miracula deo beneplacita, qui sunt sub christiana.'

Hoc finito, queras a puero si videt. Si non, tunc dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, prenominati demones,

• per 4or evangelistas. Lucam, Marcum, Matheum, Johannem,
• per 4or sermones,
• per 4ij apostolas,
• per patriarchas [et] prophetas,
• per martires et confessores,
• et per omnes papas Romanorum. et omnes virgines et viduas.
et per omnes episcopos,
et per omnes abbates,
et per omnes priores,
et per omnes preponitos,
et per omnes archidiaconos,
et per omnes decons,
et per omnes monachos,
et per omnes moniales,
et per omnes sacerdotes,
et per omnes dyaconos et subdyaconos,
et per omnes sanctas dei,
et per merita omnium sanctorum,
et per omnem populum Christianorum,
et per omnes sanctos qui sunt in celo et in terra,
et per centum et xliiiij milia innocentum qui non sunt loquentes loqui in puercia, passi sunt supplicia,
et per omnes cararcteres Salomonis,
et per sapienciam suam,
et per omnia experimenta Virgiltij,
et per celum et terram,
et per mare,
et per omnia quae in eis sunt,
et per omnes Cesarens,
et per omnes [99v] reges,
et per omnes principes,
et per comites,
et per omnes milites,
et per omnes cines.

Hoc finito, queras si videt furem cum furto et si venisti ad finem. Tunc terge puero vngwem tunica tua, et accipias vngula[m] pueri,\textsuperscript{1} et benedicas puerum tali modo, faciendo crucem cum gladio ad 4or partes corporis sui, dicendo, \textit{Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, sancti,\textsuperscript{2}} custodiant te. Et fac puerum gladium recipere ante se, et exire de circulo, et omnibus sociis tuis ita facies et tibi.

\textsuperscript{1} Followed in MS by l, struck through.
\textsuperscript{2} MS domini.
\textsuperscript{3} Sic in MS.
NO. 39. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION
BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 99v-103r)

Incipit secundum [experimentum] bonum et probatum.a


Deinde dic, Domine, secundum peccata, etc.1 Postea fac crucem & tali modo in fronte pueri, dicens, Tu qui es Alpha et O, fac verum dicere puerum virginem istum, N., qui est creatura tua. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti. Et dic, Domine Ihesu, fili dei riu, qui pro nobis peccatoribus de sym Patris descendisti ad terram, ostende nobis veritatem. Amen. Deinde susurra puer ad aurem dextram, Sathan, Belzebub, Astaroth, Berith, Azraro, Rotunda; hec2 dic ter.

Deinde intra circulos et pone te contra faciem pueri, et tunc lineas vngwem pueri rasum cum oleo olivae, et da pueru cultellum ad manum, et dic,

Abgo, Sefrit, Bos, Zelenus, Vim, Vom, Motmyro, Thiodems,3 Gemilias,4 Gana, Vresius, Pharachte, Foliath, Gebath, Dyrus, [100v] Virus, Vnyrus, Peamde, Febat, Gebat, Tyros, Vjjas, Nubar, Azathi, constiuro vos nominatos demones

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a This hole is given twice; between the two occurrences is the following figure: a triple curvate band, with the inscription In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti in the outermost band; In nomine indiuidue trinitatis, Alpha et O, deus et homo in the middle band, and Ego te facio per ilnum qui creauit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt in the innermost band.

b Ps. 18 Vulg.

c Cf. Ps. 71:2 Vulg. (deus, judicium tuum regi da). Figure at top of fol. 109: a triple curvate band, with In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti in the outer band, Celi enarrant in the middle band, and Deus tuum /sic/ regi da in the innermost.

d Or hoc.

e Followed in MS by eius.

f Cf. Ps. 102:10 Vulg. (non secundum peccata nostra fecit nobis) and Ps. 118:65 Vulg. (Domine, secundum verbum tuum).

g Or hoc.

h Or Chidotems.

i Sic in MS.

j Sic in MS.
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,
• per deum omnipotentem,
• per Ihesum Christum filium eius,
• et per trinitatem illius,
• et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus in mente habuit prius quam mundus fieter,
[10] obedientis imperio meo, non per virtutem meas sed per virtutem magestatis omnipotentis dei. Coniuro et contestor vos demones
• per sapientiam eternitatis dei, qua celum supra stare fecit, terram autem deorsum fundavit et perfecit, elementorum que in opus mundi connexit,
• et per prudenciam qua deus locum a tenebris separavit et clarumque creavit,
vit arte et magisterio, a magistro vestro Astaroth vobis concessa, inque huius pueri, N., oleo linitum, cresce et clarescite faciatis et procreare latitudinem, vt apparere possit evidenter et videre in eo furem et furtum nobis ablatum, et locum de quo ablatum est, et in quem locum translatum est, et ubi adhuc positum est, et quidquid ex ipso fureto actu est. Item adiuro vos prenominatos demones
• per verbum dei, qua celum et terram creavit et herbam viventem in ea genere suo, solem et lunam et stellas et signum et tempora, fulgura et tonitrua, voces,\textsuperscript{1} et omnia quercumque sint in terra, mare, et inferno,
vit arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones
• per annunciationem,
• per nativitatem,
• per circumcisionem,
• per baptismum Christi,
• et per omnium que fecit Ihesus in Chana Galilee quando conversit aquam et vinum,
[101r] ut arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones
• per ictum Christi,
• et per istum gressum quando in Monte Olivete ascendere voluerit adorandum Patrem, dicens, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste';\textsuperscript{2}
• et per sudorem sa[n]guinem Ihesu Christi, qui de suo corpore emanavit pro nobis peccatoribus,
• et per omnia archana secretorum,
• per sa[n]guineas guttas sudoris Christi,
• per solem obscuratum,
• per lunam conversam in sa[n]guinem et terribilem clamorem Christi pendentis in ligno crucis,
• per sup[β]licium mortis,
• et per emissionem sui sanctissimi spiritus,
• et per istam virtutem qua velum templi eissum est, et inquinamenta aperta sunt,
• et per misterium sacri sepulchri,
• et per virtutem dei,
• et per dispositionem divinæ ordinacionis,
• et per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, quem adoramus, crucifixum, passum, et sepultum credimus, et scimus resurrexisse et [in] celos ascendisse confitemus,

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prænominatos demones
• per celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt;
• et per omnia que conducunt 4or partes mundi,
• et per serpencia et volatilia celi, bipedia, tripedia, [et] quadrupedia,
• et per omnes aereas potestates, vt arte (vt supra).

Item coniuro vos prænominatos demones
• per angelos et archangelos, per thronos et dominaciones, principatus et potestates, per virtutes celorum, per cherubin et seraphin,
• et per diuinum officium miseracionis,
• et per eos qui prosunt,
• et per omnia [101v] que subiecta sunt omnipotenti deo,
• et per ipsum omnipotentem deum qui ex nichilo creavit cuncta [et] ad laudem et ad gloriam nominis sui fecit,

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prænominatos demones
• per v secula et vj etates mundi,
• et per tremendum diem iudicij
• et per lxij nomina Christi,
• [et per] etatem et claritatem Christi, quam habuit prius quam mundus fieret,
• et per centum et xliiiij milia innocentum ante deum astancium,
• et omnes ordines ecclesiasticos,

vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prænominatos demones
• per coeternam sapienciam dei, qua deus hominem creavit cum non esset, et Adam: ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam formavit,

vt arte, [etc.]. Coniuro vos prænominatos demones
• per sanctissima nomina Christi: Messyas, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay,
  Panthon, Panthocrathon, Eley, Theos, Hon,1 Visio, Salvator, Alpha et O, primus et

p MS dispensicionis.
q Followed in MS by Ihesum.
r MS vt.
s Sic in MS? adia – should be a form of ‘adicio’, but ‘adam’ is required.
t For Greek ho on.
nouissimus, primogenitus, principium et finis, via, veritas, et sapiencia, virtus, paracletus, ego sum qui sum, qui es, mediator, agnus, ouis, aries, vitulus, serpens, edus, verbum, ymago, gloria, gracia, salus, lux, sal, pax, splendor, panis, fons, vitae, pastor, propheta, spes immortalis, rex, pater, omnipotens, misericors, eternus," summum bonum, trinitas, unitas, pater, El, Eloy, Elo, Eleon, Sedaiy, Symator, Tu, Ye, Ye, princeps pacis, Enstriel. [102r] spiritus, timor, pietas, tu, unitas unitatis, trina deitas, et arte, etc. Coniuro vos preномinatos demones

- per fidem prophetarum,
- per precoria patriarcharum,
- per dignitatem xxiiijor seniorum,
- et per symbolum apostolorum,
- et per passionem sanctissimorum martyrum,
- per confessionem piorum confessorum,
- et per continenciam sanctorum virginum ac viduarum,
- et per omnes sanctos et electos dei,
- et per 4or evangelistas et eorum evangelia,

et arte, etc. Coniuro vos preномinatos demones

- per salutem omnium sanctorum, vivorum et mortuorum,
- et per sancta sacrificia sacerdotum,
- et per omnes divinos oraciones sanctorum,
- et per omnia corpora sanctorum dei,
- et per eorum animas in statu salutis eternae,

et arte, etc.

Si puer non videt ad tunc, dicas.

Jaspar, Balthasar, Melchior, Sloagell, Emanuel, et deus fortes, te deprecor ut unguula N. efficiatur lata et crescat et clarescat.

Ad quamlibet coniuracionem debet operans puerum interrogare si vngwis crescat. Si non, repetatur eadem coniuracio, Jaspar, etc., donec videat crescentem, latam, et magnam, quosque sufficiat. Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si* videt, dic statim sub unguve hanc coniuracionem:

Lytim, cum tuis subdis 1grim, Andryon, Vzmyas, Yelteos, Zymens, Bylent, Baruth, precipio vobis, demones.
• per omnipotentem deum, viuum et verum.
• et per tres magos Jaspem, Balhasar, [et] Melchior,
et veniatis, vicinique sitis, ad visionem istius puero, N., veris in specie humana, et in specie istorum qui hoc furtum perpetru- [102v] merunt.

Quere a puero si aliquid videat. Si non, repetatur eadem oratio, Lytmy, donec appareant.
Ipsis autem apparentibus, dic hanc coniuracionem:

Precipio vobis, demones, per trinitatem et inseparabilem unitatem quae facta fuit super ipsum in Jordanis flumine, in vel columnc specie, quod vos ostendatis et dicetis huic puero, N., ubi acceptum uel reconditum sit hoc furtum, et in quo loco adhuc restat.

Si adhuc non prodest, dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos demones et precipio vobis per nomen Naamay, Syr, qui Syrum de lepra mendaxit, et Danielem de loco leonum libenterit, et 3es pueros de camino ignis illosas abire fecit, quod vobis detis auctoritatem huic puero, N., audiendo, interrogando, et videndo.

Post coniuracionem factam, fac puerum claudere oculos, et purga sibi vngwem, et fac crudem super eum, ante eum, [et] retro eum, et accipe sibi cultellum de manu. Postea benedic te et ipsum, et dele circulum, et excas secure cum eo, scilicet puero. Cum autem vis exire circulum, dic, Pax ipsi sit nobis et vobis. Tunc reges recedunt ad propria regna, et dic,

Cum vos iterum vocaueris, sitiis parati obedire mihi. Hoc vobis precipio
• per eternam et viuum deum, qui in cruce passus est ex latere eius exiuit sa[n]xris et aqua.
Insper precipio vobis
• per hostiam sanctam, per hostiam puram, per hostiam immaculatam, qui est Ihesus Christus,

x Meaning venientes?
y MS ecciam.
z MS puero.
a Meaning Christi?
b Followed in MS by vobis, deleted.
c Or hec.
NO. 40. FOR OBTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT A THEFT
BY GAZING INTO A FINGERNAIL (FOLS 103r–105v)

Experimentum verum de furtu et probatum.


Incipe coniuracionem:

Coniuro vos, demones,

* per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctam,
* et per incarnacionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi,

a Figure at bottom of fol. 105*: a triple circular band, with a cross dividing the interior into four wedges. The outermost circle has the inscription, Hunc circulum facio in nomine Patris omnipotentis dei, qui solo verbo cuncta creavit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltavit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera domini. Castigans ca- (finished outside the circle: stigauit dominus). The middle circle bears the inscription, Hunc circulum facio in nomine filij unigeniti dei viui, qui humanum genus proprio sangwine redemit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltavit me, non moriar sed viuam et narrabo opera. The innermost band contains the inscription, Hunc circulum facio in nomine Spiritus Sancti paracliti, qui corda apostolorum et prophetarum suorum sanctissima gratia [MS sanctissimam graci am] illustruit. Dextera domini fecit virtutem, etc. The word onus appears at the edge of each wedge. Toward the middle are the fragments Fren, ---p’on (?), on and N.p (presumably for Nomen pueri.

b Followed in MS by nomina, deleted.

c m blotted out in MS.
• per baptismum Christi,
• per ieiunium Christi,
• per mortem Christi,
• per passionem Christi,
• per resurrectionem Christi,
• per ascensionem,
• per adventum Spiritus Sancti paracliti,
• per [104r] tremendum diem iudicii, in quo omnes estis damniandi,

vt appareatis in vngve istius pueri, N., in specie furis uel furum qui rem aut res istius hominis, N., accept; absque omni decepcione appareatis, sicut promissistis. Emogeni, Thomo, Gyton, Sertugidis; Jupiter.


Abgoth, Sanfriels, Selentis, Vniueny, Vtimo, Geremitarum, Dydones, Rayma, Rofanes, Panyte, Fabath, Gallath, Dyrus, Fyrus, Virytus, Finibet, Arath. Coniuro vos prenominatosdemones
• per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et deum omnipotentem, Ihesum Christum filium eius unigenitum,
• et per deitatem ipsius,
• et per ipsam prouidenciam quam deus habuit prius quam mundus fieri,

vt obedianti imperio meo. Coniuro vos prenominatosdemones
• per sapienciam dei, qua deus celum sursum stare fecit et terram deorum fundavit, et mare in termino suo collocavit,
• et per virtutem quae deus confusionem elementorum in opus mundi convertit,
• et per [104v] sapienciam dei, qua deus lucem et tenebras creavit, qui diem ac noctem adunavit,

vt arte et magisterio a magistro vestro Asef Caroth vobis concessa sicut sunt vt facialis vngvem istius pueri, N., oleo initium, crescere et clarescere et tante latitudinis comparere, quod euidenter iste puer, N., in eo videre possit furem uel fures et furtum furis nobis ablatum,

d in blotred out in MS.
e Sic in MS?
f MS est.
g Ps. 118:137 Vulg.
h Sic in MS.
et rei locut de quo ablatum est, et locum in quem deportatum est, et locum in quo adhuc latet, et quidquid cum ipso furto est, vt huic resuletis. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones
   * per magistrum vestrum Astaroth,
   * et comparatis in forma furies et furti, et quidquid cum hoc furto factum est ad nostram faciatis noticium pervenire. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones
   * per illum qui fecit celen et terram et herbam virentem in genus suo, solem et lunam et stellas celi, signa et tempora, fulgura et tenuitura, voces et omnia quoscumque in terra, in mari, [et] in inferno sunt,
vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones
   * per iesiunum domini nostri Ihesu Christi,
   * et per iter quod fecit ad montem Oliueti ad orandum Patrem, ‘Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste’.
vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones
   * per vulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et fixuras clausorum,
   * et per lanceam et clausos quibus crucifixus est dominus.
Coniuro [vos] prenominatos demones
   * per omnia que concludunt for partes mundi,
   * et per etates mundi,
   * et per omnia animalia que sub celo sunt,
   * et per serpencia et oolatilia, bipedia, tripedia, [et] quadrupedia,
   * et per omnes aereas poestates,
vt arte, etc. Coniuro vos prenominatos demones
   * per tollerancia[m] spinae coronae quam sustinuit dominus suo capite,
   * et per poculum quo potatus est in cruce felle et acetol.
Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones
   * per angelos et archangelos, thronos et dominaciones, principatus, poestates, virtutes celerum, cherubin et seraphin,
   * et per dominicum sacrificium et officium miseracionis,
   * et per eos qui presunt alis,
   * et per omnia que sunt deo subjecta,
   * et per deum omnipotentem,
   * et per drum qui ex nichilo omnia creavit ad laudem et ad gloriam sui nominis ar magesstatis,
vt arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

i Sic in MS.

j MS compararatis.

k MS corane.

l MS acceto.

m Followed in MS by fecit.
per coeternam sapienciam qua* deus hominem creavit cum non esset, condidit ad
ymaginem et similitudinem suam.

et arte, etc. Item coniuro vos prenominatos demones

* per fidem prophetarum,
* per preconia patriarcharum,
* per dignitatem xxiiij seniorum,
* per symbolum apostolorum,
* per passionem sanctissimarum martyrum,
* per confessionem piorum confessorum,
* et per continencias sanctarum virginum ac viduarum,
* et per laetissimas beate Marie virginis, quas fudit, [105v] et per planctum sancti
  Johannis evangeliste, cum viderunt Ihesum Christum in cruce expiratum,
* et per solis obscuracionem et lunam versam in sa[n]guinem in signa transacta Filiij dei,
* et per tremendum diem iudiciij in quo omnes estis damnandi,

et appareatus in angelo istius pueri, N., in specie furis vel furum qui* rem vel res istius
hominis, N., ac[e]perit ad nostram noticiam faciatis peruenire.

Finito experimento, dic hunc versam:

Protege, salua, benedic, sanctifica populum cunctum per crucis signum domini. Morbos
signum defendat nos Ihesus Christus. Amen.

NO. 41. FOR DISCOVERING HIDDEN TREASURE IN SLEEP (FOL. 106r–106v)

A[d] sciendum vbi thesaurum sit absconditum, primum est quod oportet
hominem confizeri generaliter peccata sua, luna crescente, videlicet die dominico,
sole existente in leone, de mane. Et cum a prima surrexeris, asperge te aqua
benedicta, dicens antyfonam, Asperges me, domine, yspo, etc. totam, cum Gloria Patri.
Postea vade ad crucifixum et dic coram eo Misere mei, deus totum. semper
respiciendo crucifixum, cum omni deoqvo. Et cum hec dixeris, tunc dic
deoqvo corde et contrito, O rabi, rabi, req meus et deus meus ac dominus
dominanci, qui conditor es univiersorum, exaudi oracionem mei, misere et indigae* creature, et
redemptionis tue in hac hora et semper, b et indignus clamor meus ad te perueniat.

n MS quo.
a MS uel.

p Followed in MS by vt arte, etc., extraneously added.
b MS miserere et indige.

b Sic in MN.
Hoc dicto, vade ad domum tuum et cameram tuam optime mundatam, et versus orientem dic hanc oracionem deuotissime quam potes:

O Oriens benigne, maior pars mundi, celi, terreque sator, cuius nutu omnia, tam celestia quam terrestria, prouide facta sunt, confirma intellectum meum in hoc opere per tui regni dominium, quod nunquam dimittitur. Rege et paue me in hac mea supplicatione. Et precor te

- per tuos reges quod tenet et stringit, sanat et confirmat,
- et per omnes regias tuas potestas,
- per Sotuem, Sortfen,
- vt in nocte sequenti veniat ad me in somnis Haram, spiritus benignus, et inflammet cor meum et mentem meam, vt sciam thesaurum [106v] invenire, si aliquis est in partibus istis uel in aliis, et ducat me et signum ibi faciat vt cognoscam verum et ipsam verilatem;

- per tuum solem sanctissimum et sacratissimum thesaurum nitidissimum, candidum et fulgentissimum, quod mittit tua excellencia et remittit tua manifesta et benigna potestas,
- et per omnes dignitates tuas et regimina vocor et contestor vt mich[i] spiritum veritatis in somnios mittere digneris hac nocte, vt michi reuelent thesaurum absconditum.


Q[u]ando autem intras lectum, dicas nouem vicibus,

Oriens, Oriens, Oriens, precor, rogo, et peto, benignissime Oriens, vt votum meum adimpleas, et velis respicere ad offensiones meas.

Et tunc veniet ad te spiritus qui te non offendet, sed sompniare te faciet thesaurum, et ducet te recte ad locum.

Mane autem facto, quando surrexeris, fac 3es elimosinas in honore magni regis scientis, et vade associatus uel solus ad locum vbi est thesaurus in domo tua, et recipe eam. Postquam habebis thesaurum, fac cantare 3es missas: primam ad honorem sancte trinitatis, 2am pro peccatis mortuorum, terciam pro [in]columitate vite tue, etc.

c MS nuta.
d Sic in MS.
e Sic in MS.
f Sic in MS.
g MS reuelent.
h MS pro pro.
NO. 42. THE NAME SEMIFORAS (FOLS 106v–107r)

Nota: hoc est nomen magnum Semiforas, quod erat [107r] scriptum in fronte Aaron. sacerdotis creatoris. Crescat in me virtus tua, omnipotens deus, creator celi et terre, quemadmodum locutus fuisti, dicendo,

Sadyx, Hay, Resel, a H. Q., Ayn, Yeminor, Selatos, Baruth, Huy, Adonay, Eya, Yen, Yn nel Tunsy, Vo; Da, Ex, Aha, Heye, Heye, Haya, Haya, Haya, Ex, Ex, Ex, Ya, Ya, Ya, Han, Han, Han, Ga, Ga, Ga.

Conpletum est nomen Semiforas, benedictum nomen eius cuius regni non erit finis per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

NO. 43. FOR OBTAINING A HORSE (FOL. 107r-v)


Post horam parum, reuertaris et invenies equum paratum, quem cum volueris ascenderes, pone sinistrum pedem ad screpam et dic hanc coniuracionem:

Coniuro te, eque bone,

• per creatorem celi et terre,
• et per illum qui creavit uniuersa et omnia ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis,
• et per deum vivuum
• et per deum sanctum
• et per deum verum,

et non in corpore nec in anima nec in minimo membro meo vere obesse valeas, nec in aliquo me perturbes, sed me, N., ad locum tales deferas, placide, hilariter, jocunde, et velociter, absque omni impedimento.

Deinde ascende audacter et secure, [107v] qu[i]a omnino tibi nocere non potest. Signo vere crucis non te signabis, quia ipsum a te fugabit.

Cum autem perueniris ad locum prernominatum, descende de equo et accipe frenum. et absconde sub terra. Peracto autem tuo negocio, recipies frenum et

a Followed in MS by blank space.
b Sic in MS?
c Sic in MS?
scucte firmissime, et statim veniet. Cum autem ascendere volueris, dic precedentem coniuracionem et hec tria verba: d kostolya, elogo, yetas.

NO. 44. FRAGMENT OF AN EXPERIMENT FOR AVERTING HARM (FOL. 107v)\a


NO. 45. FOR INVISIBILITY (FOLS 107v–108r)

Nunc igitur sume albam columbam, die Sabbati de loco, et cartam agni virgineam, perasque ad riumum iuxta quadruiuum et occide columbam, dicens,

O vos quibus sacrificium debetur, estote michi completium votum meum.\a

Hoc dicas contra occidentem primo, postea ad meridiem, deinde adb orientem, post[e]a ad [108r] septentrionem. Et scribe de hius c collumbe sangwine hanc figuram.d

Reuertansque de mane ante solis ortum, invenies ibi aliam literam et as quodam involutum, illudque ligabis in capillis tuis cum volueris esse invisibilis. Et precaue tamen quod ibi dimittas columbam et cartam, ne ipsam accipias modo aliquo.

\a This fragment occurs on the middle of fol. 107v, separated by double horizontal lines from the preceding and subsequent material.

\b Followed by mundum, deleted.

\c Meaning nascencis?

\a Sic in MS, for completio voti mei?

\b Inserted above line in MS.

\c MS hac.

\d Figure toward top of fol. 108: a complex horizontal design.
NO. 46. FAVOURABLE AND UNFAVOURABLE DAYS OF
THE MONTH FOR INSCRIPTIONS (FOL. 108r–v)

Mensis lunaris dierum alij sunt boni, alij mali ad scribendas\textsuperscript{a} cartas. Prima dies
mensis, sicelct lunaris, tota est bona. Secunda die manu est bona, et non plus.
Tertia nil facere dehes. Quarta dies tota bona. Quinta vsque ad horam terciam,
et ultra non. Sexta die nichil facies. Septima die, prima hora bona est, et non
plus. Octaua, mane bona. Nona nichil facies. Decima die omnino nichil facias,\textsuperscript{b}
quia mala\textsuperscript{c} est ad omnia facienda. Vndecima bona est tota. Duodecima bona est
vsque ad terciam uel quartam [horam]. 13a nichil facias. 14a tota bona est. 15a
died nichil facies. 16[a] mane tota bona est, postea nichil valet. 17a et 18a vsque
ad meridiem mala est, et postea est bona. 19a nichil in ea agas. 20a et 21a et 22a
[108v] dies, mane sunt bone, et non plus. 23a [et] 24a,\textsuperscript{e} nichil facias. 25a mala,
nec bona. 26a et 27a, nichil facias. 28a et 29a et 30a bona est toto. Etc.

NO. 47. FRAGMENT OF A CHEMICAL PRESCRIPTION
(WITH A NOTE IN GERMAN) (FOL. 108v)

Item recipe salis petri, vitrioli, roranii,\textsuperscript{a} ana tere, et fac aquam fortem ex eis, et
dissolve in ea lune limaturam quantum solvere potes,\textsuperscript{b} et quando non plus soluit
lunam, tunc recipe illam aquam in qua luna est soluta et impone mercurij crudi
quantum coagulare potest. Iustum mixtum sit coagulatum. Accipe et pone eum in
crusibulum super stratum istarum rerum. Recipe ceram nouam, thuris albi,
gummi arabicum, oxicroccum, asafetidam, serabiuum, boracem. semen orobi,
cantarides. puluis buffonum,\textsuperscript{c} cerusam, sal nitri, sal commune, vernicium,
terebentinam, euforbiium, ouum, ana partes equales, et fac similiter fluere. Etc.

\textsuperscript{a} MS scribendus.
\textsuperscript{b} Followed in MS by quare.
\textsuperscript{c} MS male.
\textsuperscript{d} MS hora.
\textsuperscript{e} Followed in MS by u, struck through (?).
\textsuperscript{a} Sic in MS.
\textsuperscript{b} Corrected in MS from postex.
\textsuperscript{c} Note added at bottom of fol. 108: Puluis /MS Poluis/ buffonum ist das kupfer daz vom hamer felt.
so mans schmihet (?).
PLATES

All the folios from 3r-108v of Clm 849 that contain magic diagrams or characters are reproduced.
Fol. 4v, no. 1: Single hand inscribed within a square: names of eight spirits inscribed in and around the hand; cardinal directions marked; Nomen magistri, de tali ordine and Nomen discipuli marked in the centre.
Fol. 10r, no. 3: Simple hand with names of eleven demons; position of the master marked in centre.
fol. 15v, no. 6: Four bands; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions marked; names of four spirits written in each band; position of sword marked to east; four other objects placed across the bands toward other directions.
Fol. 19r, no. 7: Double band; names of nine spirits in outer band, six more ('arms-bearing spirits') in inner band, position of master marked in centre.
Fol. 2lv. no. 8: Band with names of eight spirits, horizontal band across centre, vertical band across upper semicircle, all surmounted by crescent with two small circles, place of master and companions marked at bottom of crescent, east marked toward bottom.
Fol. 23v, no. 9: Band containing three names, three characters, and crosses; square inscribed within circle, and arms protruding from the square, with cardinal directions; position of the master marked in centre.
Fol. 26r, no. 10: Double band, drawn with sword; character and three names in each band; pentangle inscribed; cardinal directions indicated on sides; position of the master marked in centre.
Fol. 28r, no. 11: Plain circle, with place of master and name Firiel marked near centre, name Tarator and elaborate character to left, name Melemil and further character to upper right.
Fol. 33r, no. 13: Shield divided into sixteen horizontal bands, with one vertical band down the centre; names Assyel, Castyel, Lamsiyel, Rabam, Erlain, Olam and Belam in horizontal bands, each straddling the vertical band; A, B, E, L, A and V in the vertical band; Leo written across the intersection of the vertical band and the twelfth horizontal band.
Fol. 34r. no. 15: Band, with triangle inscribed in outer circle, cardinal directions marked on outside, occult characters on two sides of triangle, positions of jars marked in angles.
Fol. 36r, no. 16: Double band, with eight lines of text inscribed; cross inside square at either end of each line of text.
Fol. 37r, no. 18: Double band with ten segments; name of a spirit in outer part; occult character in inner part of each segment; inscribed and segmented vertical rectangle containing the letters F-I-O-R-O-N in segments.
Fol. 42r, no. 22: Double band; interior divided into six wedges; pentangles (inscribed with $\omega$); positions of master and boy marked; lined column (with inscription) to right.
Fol. 42v, no. 23: Shield; inscription addressed to God; pentangles (*sigilla Salomonis*, inscribed with *on*); name Lylet inscribed near centre.
Fol. 72r. no. 37b: Seals for angels.
Fol. 72v, nos 37b–37c: Seals for angels, seals for planets and days of the week.
Fol. 73r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.
Fol. 73v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.
Fol. 74r, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.
Fol. 74v, no. 37c: Seals for planets and days of the week.
Fol. 95v, no. 37r: Seal of Solomon (three characters).
Fol. 99v; no. 39 (first circle): Three bands containing a tripartite prayer.
Fol. 103r, no. 39 (second circle): Three hands containing a tripartite prayer.
Fol. 105v, no. 40: Three concentric bands; centre of innermost divided into inscribed quadrants; each circle dedicated to member of Trinity.
Fol. 108r, no. 45: Complex character.
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Forbidden Rites is the best book on magic in the late Middle Ages and a great introduction to the problematic relations of magic and religion in general.”

H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT, University of Virginia

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