INVOKING ANGELS

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THEURGIC IDEAS *and* PRACTICES, THIRTEENTH *to* SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

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I dedicate this book to my father, with love.

INTRODUCTION:
THEURGY, MAGIC, AND MYSTICISM

Claire Fanger

This is the book by which God can be seen face to face in this life. This is the book by which anyone at all can be saved and unhesitatingly be led forth into eternal life. . . . This is the book which was the most precious thing given by the Lord—more precious than anything else except the sacraments. This is the book by which corporeal and visible nature can speak, converse, and be instructed by that which is incorporeal and invisible.

—from the final paragraph of the *Liber iuratus Honorii*

Naked as they may be, abstracted from context and presented in the evident innocence of their wish fulfillment, these claims, which conclude the fourteenth-century *Sworn Book of Honorius*,[1] testify to the persistence of two fundamental questions central to this volume:

1. How may the divine be manifest in this world and in things that human beings can know?
2. How may human beings, unfit for direct knowledge of the divine, nevertheless engage with divine things in order to be saved?

There are other, more conventional responses to these questions in the later Middle Ages, but this volume is about some of the less conventional ones. The essays collected here look at a variety of alternative views of the relationship of human beings with the divine, as recorded in texts that engage traditional theologies and liturgies in unusual ways, sometimes weaving together sources from more than one religion and sometimes from sources commonly regarded as magical. Some of these texts were condemned by medieval and early modern theologians as being in the same class as demonic magic. Despite their status, then and now, outside the canon of medieval religious and devotional writings, these texts offer important perspectives on the study of religion in the Middle Ages. In general, they attest to the plurality of visions of religious practice, not only in the later Middle Ages but into the sixteenth century. They also demonstrate that this plurality included fertile cross-cultural exchange. Their abundance in manuscript attests to an increasing interest in alternative forms of access to the divine, and perhaps also to a parallel anxiety that ordinary liturgies and sacraments might not be sufficient to procure salvation. Finally, these various approaches to the divine also bear upon natural philosophy, science, and rationality, demanding more nuanced approaches to the relationships between scientific practices and devotional ones.

Until fairly recently, these works had remained almost untouched by historians. Starting in the late 1980s, there began to be a marked increase in scholarship on medieval ritual magic texts and, relatedly, on the broader problem of magic. Over the past ten years, the trickle of new articles, books, and editions of these texts has increased to something that might almost be called a spate. In my 1998 collection *Conjuring Spirits,* I complained that the area of texts and manuscripts of medieval intellectual magic still had too little coverage beyond what was available in Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science,* completed in 1958.[2] Now the area looks completely different. In fact, important new discoveries are coming so thick and fast that it is often difficult for publication to keep up—getting a new discovery into print before it is outdated is a challenge that can be both exhilarating and frustrating for those involved.[3]

For this book, I have solicited contributions from scholars whose work has made significant inroads into this former wilderness territory. Taken together, the essays collected here shed light on connections between the domains of religion and science as continuous aspects of habitus for writers and operators of these texts; they show how necessary it is to consider medieval and early modern epistemology *as a whole,* within the context of all the kinds of texts that concern it.

In the history of ideas, the "magical" has often emerged as a label for an idea or approach that apparently should have been broken away from earlier—a problem of fossilized thinking.[4] Yet if modern science has tended to define itself by opposition to a magic that was in principle older, less knowing, and less progressive, at the same time the process of "normal science" has always pragmatically adapted itself to the modes of thought, explanation, and experimental practice of the time. So also has normal magic, of course. In different ways the cosmic infusion of knowledge sought by the liturgy of the *Ars notoria* (discussed by Véronèse), the spiritual cosmology detailed in Antonio da Montolmo's *De occultis et manifestis* (discussed by Weill-Parot), and the spirit-conjuring diaries of Humphrey Gilbert (discussed by Klaassen) all show how medieval and early modern intellectual writers might associate the angelic worlds and the worlds of human knowledge at once experimentally, scientifically, and spiritually.

Another aspect of the premodern epistemology illuminated by these essays is the purposeful bricolage of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic ritual elements that appear in these texts. While the mutual influences of medieval Jewish, Christian, and Islamic writers on philosophy and science have long been a subject of examination for intellectual historians, the interaction between these groups on typological, angelological, and liturgical levels has been much harder to study, in part because of restrictions imposed by disciplinary boundaries, but more significantly because the data for such interactions depend so strongly on texts that are examined here in depth, in some cases for the first time. Many essays in this volume are concerned with key points of this intercultural and interreligious conversation. Topics range from the Latin *Liber Razielis* and *Liber de essentia spirituum,* discussed by Sophie Page, to new findings on the probable relationship between Christian, Jewish, and Muslim influences on the *Liber iuratus Honorii,* by Jan Veenstra and Katelyn Mesler, to analyses of the way Jewish and Christian identities are formed through and against ideas about each other's liturgical practices, as shown in essays by myself, Harvey Hames, and Elliot Wolfson. It is only by opening up the history of ideas, as well as the various histories of science and spirituality, to contemplation of texts of this kind that we can begin to form a truly historical picture of medieval and early modern life.

I. Texts and Contexts

One goal of this book is to bring forward new research data for scholars who specialize in medieval manuscripts of magic; but it is also hoped that the book may provide some useful information to a broader audience of readers interested in contiguous areas of medieval social, cultural, and religious history. Because not all potential readers will be familiar with the texts under discussion in this volume, what follows is a brief conspectus, partly to give novice readers a thumbnail sketch of these relatively obscure texts, partly to indicate something of the way the historical narrative around them will be further changed by the essays in this book.

The Ars notoria *or Notory Art*

The *Ars notoria* was a text ascribed to Solomon containing a lengthy set of prayers and rituals practiced for the purpose of gaining knowledge from angels. It was one of the most common and popular works of medieval angel magic, yet until recently it had not been deemed worthy of a critical edition. According to Julien Véronèse, who has produced the first critical edition of the text and is the scholar most intimate with its history, it probably emerged in the late twelfth century in northern Italy, probably in the region of Bologna.[5] Given that the period of emergence of the *Ars notoria* corresponds with the rise of the universities, it is perhaps unsurprising that the sought-for knowledge here is *curricular* knowledge: the work petitions angels to transmit knowledge of the seven liberal arts, philosophy, and theology in the order in which they were supposed to have been learned by the student. The operator of the ritual is aided in this quest by an elaborate set of meditative figures, the *notae* (or notes), whence, according to the text's own etymology, is derived the word *notoria*.[6] The word appears to be related to "notary," and scribes do sometimes interchange the two spellings.[7]

The enormous appeal of the text may be judged not only by the number of manuscripts in circulation (there is also more than one early printed edition),[8] but also by the number of theological warnings issued about it. Perhaps the most frequently repeated caveat had to do with the likelihood that the prayers using words in unknown languages might summon demons, despite all assertions to the contrary. Yet even though condemnations of the text were frequent, it is also clear (as will be seen below in the case of John of Morigny) that at least some people encountering it for the first time had no sense of it as a condemned or dangerous work but rather apprehended it, at least at first, as a viable set of prayers that sought reasonable benefits by legitimate means. The prayers themselves (at least those that do not use unknown names—there are many lengthy prayers in a medley of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic) use standard liturgical formulae and are indistinguishable from other Catholic prayers by style or content. Depictions of angels often decorate the pages.

Some part of the popularity of the *Ars notoria* was thus probably due to its self-representation as sacred; no doubt its proliferation was helped along, too, by the pragmatic nature of its advertised goals (which might potentially ease the expense of university study, reducing time spent on education and the overall cost of books and exemplars). By the late fourteenth century the text existed in several versions, and copies from this period can be found deriving from many European locations. The earliest, or "A," version (as Véronèse labels it in his edition), is an unglossed ritual containing prayers, *notae,* and some mythohistorical context, but almost no ritual instruction; a slightly later version (the "B" version)[9] includes the original prayers and *notae* and adds an extensive gloss containing ritual instructions and further mythohistorical context. The gloss offers clues to the use and reception of the basic liturgy, answering some important questions about how the ritual was supposed to be performed and how it was understood and thought about. Prior to the work of Véronèse, the relation between the various versions of the notory art was unknown, and the glossed version was essentially unread. In his chapter in this volume, Véronèse gives a descriptive and interpretive account of the glossed version, describing the operating instructions as represented in the glosses in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9336, then zooming out to treat more broadly some of the operative resemblances between the *Ars notoria*, Neoplatonic theurgy, and Christian sacraments.

As was the common fate of many medieval liturgies, the notory art was frequently taken apart and its components repurposed; its prayers, verbal formulae, and structuring ideas were reused in other works, some more nearly and some more distantly related to it. The work that is most explicitly connected to it is the *Book of the Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* by John of Morigny.

John of Morigny

John was a monk of the Benedictine order at Morigny, educated at Chartres and Orleans and active in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. What is known about him comes almost entirely from his own *Liber florum celestis doctrine* (*Book of the Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*), which, in addition to containing a lengthy prayer text (modeled on the *Ars notoria*, and similarly designed to petition angels for the transmission of curricular knowledge), includes many autobiographical passages.[10] John's writings are a key source of information about the *Ars notoria*, since he describes his own and others' experience of its operation before learning (via a vision induced by the *Ars notoria* itself) that the prayers in outlandish tongues had in fact been corrupted by subtle insertion of demonic invocations.[11]

By his own account, John discovered the *Ars notoria* when he was a student too poor to afford books. He had acquired a work of necromancy from a colleague and copied as much of it as he could, but he was beset by doubts about pursuing its rituals. After consulting a Lombard doctor named Jacob, he was directed to the *Ars notoria*, from which, according to the doctor, he might obtain all the knowledge he sought without danger to his soul.[12] Guided by the doctor, John first approached the *Ars notoria* as a sacred text and a wholesome alternative to the demonic conjurations he had been contemplating.

As he used the art, he learned better. The *Ars notoria* opened vistas on a dark visionary landscape filled with nightmarish forms and demons masquerading as monks or persons of the Trinity. John was eventually helped to free himself by Christ, John the Evangelist, and especially the Virgin Mary. When he finally laid aside the *Ars notoria,* still wishing to obtain what he calls "the good part of his purpose," he sought from the Virgin permission to compose his own art, similarly intended to infuse the operator with knowledge of the liberal arts, philosophy, and theology with only thirty simple prayers. The Virgin agreed, and the *Book of Thirty Prayers* (the primary liturgy of the *Liber florum*) was delivered, its express purpose to supplant and destroy the corrupt *Ars notoria.* It offered worthy seekers an alternative mode of obtaining knowledge through instruction from the Virgin.[13]

This text is a recent discovery. Unlike the *Ars notoria* (which, though chronically understudied in the past, has always been known to exist in printed books as well as manuscripts), the text of the *Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* was not actually known to survive at all much before the 1990s. In the *Grandes Chroniques de France* there is recorded for the year 1323 a somewhat sensational account of the burning of a work by a monk who attempted, claiming instruction from the Virgin Mary, to bring back the condemned *Ars notoria* in another guise;[14] but it is not until 1987 that the first notice of a connection between the monk described here and an actual text in a manuscript in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is suggested in a footnote to an article on the *Ars notoria* by Jean Dupèbe.[15] In the 1990s, independent discoveries of several more manuscripts (by Sylvie Barnay in France, and myself and Nicholas Watson in Ontario)[16] show that the *Liber florum* did not in fact come to the abrupt end that one might have been tempted to assume from the *Chroniques* account. Indeed, the work continued to be copied and used through the fifteenth century, largely in a monastic context, the latest known manuscript dating from the early sixteenth century.[17]

We are now aware that there are two surviving authorial versions of this text.[18] The earlier version (or "Old Compilation"), which John completed between 1310 and 1313, culminates in a *Book of Figures* that may have incorporated as many as ninety-two figures to go with the prayers, probably intended to be used in similar fashion to the *notae* of the *Ars notoria.* Unfortunately, most of these are not included in the only known Old Compilation manuscript.[19] In the later version (or "New Compilation"), dated 1315, John completely rewrote the text of the *Book of Figures* and cut the number down to eight: seven iconic images of the Virgin and one image of an apocalyptic Christ.

In my own contribution to this volume, I look at the way John casts the relation between the Old and New Compilation texts as parallel to the relation between the Old and New Testaments; his own Old Compilation is, like the Old Testament, superseded by the new work, which is its fulfillment; but the Old Compilation nevertheless remains sacred in its own right. I go on to compare the *Liber florum* with another work that, in one version at least, makes similar claims related to the idea of sacramental supersession: the *Liber iuratus Honorii.*

The *Liber iuratus Honorii* or *Sworn Book of Honorius*

As it turns out, the *Sworn Book of Honorius*, previously known only through the version found in a handful of manuscripts in the British Library, is extant in another version as well, as reported by Jan Veenstra in chapter 4 of this volume. This newly discovered version is witnessed in a manuscript of the *Summa sacre magice*, a massive compilation of magic texts circulating in Spain that was compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century by a redactor named Berengario Ganell. Like most of the works in this volume, the *Summa sacre magice* has only recently been found worthy of examination.[20] Veenstra's analysis of the Ganell version demonstrates conclusively that it belongs to a different tradition of redaction—a tradition clearly prior to that in the English manuscripts that were, until now, the only known witnesses of the text. The date of origin of the *Sworn Book* has not been pinpointed with certainty (in fact, Veenstra's discoveries have overturned some of what was thought to be known about it), but circumstantial evidence still points to the early fourteenth century, certainly for the London version and perhaps for the earlier one as well.[21]

Like the *Ars notoria*, the *Sworn Book* is fundamentally concerned with seeking heavenly knowledge from angels, though what is sought in this case is not knowledge couched in the hierarchical structure of the seven liberal arts but rather a transformative vision: it claims that its ritual will induce a vision of God, face to face, as Adam and the Prophets saw him. It opens with a reference to the "greate name of God which the Hebrues call sememphoras which dothe consyst of 72 . . . letters."[22] John of Morigny, too, refers to the "Semhemphoras," glossing it as a Hebrew word meaning "most elect name of God" and noting it as another term for the tetragrammaton.[23] This much was common currency for educated Christians from the works of Jerome and Isidore. The reference to the name of seventy-two letters, however, was not a patristic commonplace, and it seems to derive from some more direct contact with Jewish tradition.[24] The seventy-two-letter name referred to here, together with a number of other aspects of the text, show that the master of the *Sworn Book* was drawing consciously, though not always in a fully informed way, on ritual information from non-Christian Abrahamic traditions.

Katelyn Mesler develops the relations between Jewish, Christian, and Islamic elements more fully in chapter 3, which maps out the interreligious aspects of the text by identifying specific aspects of Jewish and Islamic angelology that are discretely traceable in separate sections of the book. I will note here only that all of these angel magic texts (the *Ars notoria*, the *Liber iuratus*, and the *Liber florum*) seem to show certain generic family resemblances to a group of texts marking an early phase of Jewish mysticism known as the Hekhalot (from the

Hebrew for "palace" or "temple") literature. Emerging between the third and eighth centuries, the Hekhalot texts deal with the ascent through the heavens of postbiblical figures to visit the heavenly temples, to "behold the King in his beauty,"[25] to obtain revelatory knowledge (often of the Torah), or to gain special magical powers (deriving from or connected to a new mystical knowledge of the Torah).[26]

While it is increasingly clear that the *Ars notoria* and its avatars are not derived from Hebrew texts and show no direct influence of the Hekhalot literature,[27] they nevertheless clearly have essentially similar mystical goals. Within the Hekhalot traditions, as in the *Ars notoria,* a strengthening of memory, wit, and other intellectual faculties may be sought to arrive at the vision of God; similarly, too, all knowledge is understood to be of a piece with knowledge of God and, as such, as deliverable by God, as seen in biblical precedents (Adam, Moses, Solomon, etc.). For example, it is suggested near the beginning of the Hekhalot Zuhṭarti: "When Moses ascended to God, he taught him as follows: If anyone finds that his mind is becoming confused . . . recite over it the following names: In the name of . . . let my mind grasp everything that I hear and learn, be it Bible, Mishnah, learning, *halakhot,* or *haggadot.* Let me never forget anything in this world or the next."[28] With the *Ars notoria,* the aim is similarly to strengthen the faculties to climb the ladder of the liberal arts to theology—that is, the four senses of scripture. The form of the work posits, at least implicitly, a transit through the angelic realms (an association clarified further in John of Morigny's revision), where knowledge of theology is the culminating phase of a journey in which all knowledge is ultimately seen as of a piece with theology, the beginning and ending place of intellectual activity.[29] While all of the medieval Christian angel magic texts share a collection of essentially similar attitudes and mythohistorical elements, it is in the *Liber iuratus,* in the London version, at least, that we have the clearest indications of a conscious attempt to draw upon Jewish precedents in its construction of the ritual.

Liber Razielis *(*Book of Raziel*) and* Liber de essentia spirituum *(*Book of the Essence of Spirits*)*

But if the *Sworn Book of Honorius* shows evidence of Jewish and Islamic influence, the question remains: where might this influence have come from? One source is probably commerce with living adherents of the Jewish and Islamic faiths; but this would not necessarily get the master of the *Sworn Book* any closer to records of their textual traditions. Few medieval Christian writers probably had much working knowledge of languages outside Latin or their own vernaculars (it seems doubtful, at least, that the master of the *Sworn Book* was a skilled reader of Arabic or Hebrew).[30] Those few who did command several languages, however, were encouraged to spread knowledge through translation. Spain was a particularly rich area of linguistic interconnection and therefore a rich source of translations from Arabic and Hebrew into Latin. Thus it is of interest that Veenstra seems to suggest Spain as a potential place of origin for the *Sworn Book.*

As to textual sources of these traditions available in Latin, Sophie Page's chapter in this volume offers a comparative descriptive study of two texts of spirit invocation, the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum,* which derived, respectively, from Jewish and Islamic milieux and circulated in Latin in the later Middle Ages. Both of these texts are understudied. There is so far no edition of the Latin *Liber Razielis,* and no study comparing the Latin text with the Hebrew edition of this work. Page herself discovered and edited the only known copy of the *Liber de essentia spirituum.*[31] Both texts are important, however, in recasting elements of Jewish and Islamic traditions for Christian consumption.

We know that the Latin *Liber Razielis* originated as a translation of an older Hebrew magic compilation that was commissioned in Spain in the court of Alfonse the Wise. The mythohistorical premise of the text is that the angel Raziel (Hebrew for "Secret of God") appeared to Adam soon after the expulsion from paradise and delivered to him a book of magic revealing the mysteries of creation. The Alfonsine version consists of seven books, putatively brought together by Solomon, and a number of appended magic works as well.[32] Sometimes individual books from this compilation were circulated separately, and some were separately known, like the *Liber Semhemforas,* which is among the texts that seem have to been known to John of Morigny[33] and is discussed by Veenstra in this volume in the context of the *Sworn Book.* The availability of the individual books and annexations to the *Liber Razielis* makes this compilation a likely conduit for some of the evident Jewish influence noted on the theurgic texts dealt with in this volume.

The *Liber de essentia spirituum* is a text preserved only in one known, and seemingly incomplete, copy. Its date of origin remains uncertain, though it must have been circulating by the early thirteenth century as there is a suspicious and derogatory account of it in the writings of William of Auvergne, as Sophie Page notes in chapter 2. William's complaints notwithstanding, the topos that guides the prologue is a familiar one from Christian hagiography: the retreat to solitude in the desert. The author, about whom nothing is known except that he claims to come from Seville, castigates those who remain ignorant of the perfection from which their souls are descended. During his time in the desert he received an image of "true light" from his communion with spirits, and it is this divinely received knowledge that he passes on in the book. The problem addressed by the revelation is also familiar, as the author seeks to explain why the incorruptible first essence is also the creator of (and contained within) diverse, imperfect, and corruptible things. The work goes on to discuss the levels of intermediary spirits between God and man, and the spirits' degree of passibility, hence potential to be influenced by man. The text breaks off before getting very far into practical instructions in the use of spirits; it is nevertheless interesting inasmuch as it adumbrates a philosophical underpinning for magic that is very friendly to theurgic principles. It may have contributed to some of the ideas received by Cecco d'Ascoli and Antonio da Montolmo in the fourteenth century.

Antonio da Montolmo

Antonio da Montolmo was a doctor and astrologer writing in the second half of the fourteenth century; his *Book of Occult and Manifest Things* is extant in a single known manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Prior to the edition in this volume done by Nicolas Weill-Parot (in collaboration with Julien Véronèse), the work was little studied and had never been edited.[34] Beyond the fact that Antonio's work constitutes an interesting synthesis of principles extracted from a range of available magic texts, Weill-Parot notes that Antonio is one of the earliest *authors* of a magic book—that is, one of the first to write a book under his own name that openly professes to be about magic. As we have seen, medieval texts concerned with invocations of spirits tend either to be pseudonymously ascribed to biblical or legendary authors (as with the *Ars notoria, Liber iuratus, Liber Razielis*) or else carefully to eschew magical terminology for their own operations (as with John of Morigny). Antonio is one of the first writers (after the important precedent of Berengario Ganell) to lay claim to the production of a work of magic. Further, and perhaps more startling, by the word "magic" Antonio intends no safe or licit sense of "natural magic"; in fact, within the *De occultis et manifestis,* his use of the term "magic" exclusively designates actions with spirits. For those types of operation that might normally be thought of under the heading "natural magic" Antonio reserves the term "astronomical" or "astrological."

The book opens on a philosophical note, with Antonio remarking the transitory and disappointing nature of earthly life and describing the kind of knowledge that is desirable and necessary for eternal life. He cites Aristotle to the effect that the person loves God who devotes himself to speculation, and adds that it is better to engage in contemplation of noble things than base ones. Intelligences, Antonio suggests, are created with knowledge and nobility; therefore, as noble things, they are appropriate objects of contemplation in accordance with the harmony and course of nature. Keeping an eye always on the natural aspect of his subject matter, Antonio shies away from mysticism; unlike the author of the

Liber de essentia spirituum, he vaunts no divine revelations but merely indicates that he is going to describe what is known of the theory or "universal rules" of operations with spirits.

To do this, Antonio folds together in his synthesis two types of sources: on the one hand, the astrologically oriented kinds of works that were often ascribed to Hermes (and that modern scholars therefore often refer to broadly as Hermetic texts), whose primary conduit was translation from Arabic sources; and on the other, the works deriving from the Judeo-Christian tradition, constructed from endogenous Latin liturgies and often ascribed to Solomon (and therefore broadly referred to as Solomonic texts). Antonio gives a rough guide to spirit summoning that references both types of operation, noting that the most powerful actions implement both magical and astrological principles. Antonio's work is interesting in its justification of magic through philosophical means; he brings together a spirit cosmology derived from a broad array of contemporary magic texts and does his best to pin the often confusing and contradictory aspects of his sources to an idea of universal natural laws. In his adoption of the word "magic" for something he would do himself, as well as in his theoretical and philosophical approach to the information he gleans from the magic texts he knows, he marks a step toward the author-magicians of the early modern period.

Ramon Llull

Many better-known writers were also engaged in projects that aimed to reduce diverse cultural phenomena to universally applicable laws. Both Ramon Llull, the Catalan philosopher and mystic (1232–1316), and Johann Reuchlin, the German philologist and Christian kabbalist (1455–1522), distinguished themselves in different ways by seeking universal shared principles by which those of other faiths could be united under a Christian banner. Both of them also have been associated with kabbalistic ideas.

In Llull's case, the association is post facto, as Llull never claimed any association with Kabbalah; however, the term is associated with his work as early as Pico della Mirandola, who, in discussing a certain type of Kabbalah, said, "that which is called *hohmat ha-zeruf* [revolution or combination of letters] is a combinatory art and it is a method for gaining knowledge, and it is similar to that which we refer to as the *ars Raymundi,* although it proceeds in a very different manner."[35] Llull's combinatory art, which he reworked over time, comes in both long and short versions and involves circular figures that reveal different possible combinations of principles represented by letters of the alphabet; the *Ars brevis,* or brief form of the art, has an "A" figure, a "T" figure, and two additional figures, one using a revolving wheel to allow different combinations to be made among the base principles.[36] On the basis of the alphabetical meditations involved in these figures, as well as other suggestive similarities to practices of ecstatic Kabbalah, scholars have been arguing for decades about whether Llull's apparent kabbalistic affinities were the conscious result of real exposure to Jewish mystical sources or a more or less accidental result of his endogenously received Neoplatonic tendencies. The most recent extended argument for the possibility of a real kabbalistic influence on Llull is made by Harvey J. Hames in his book *The Art of Conversion*, which examines Llull's work against the multicultural conversations taking place in late medieval Barcelona, where Christians and Jews frequently came into contact.

Whether or not Llull consciously employed kabbalistic methods, it is of interest that both Christians and Jews associated his work with Kabbalah. Hames has uncovered a fifteenth-century translation of Llull's *Ars brevis* into Hebrew, and he discusses this translation in chapter 7 of this volume. The translation, which apparently circulated among Jewish scholars in Pico's circle, attests to considerable Jewish interest in this Christian text, which surely derives at least in part from the fact that Llull's own concerns were already intercultural and universalizing. Llull intended first and foremost to facilitate conversion to Christianity by showing that the inherent nature of the supreme being was demonstrable through general principles acceptable to all three monotheistic faiths; these universalizing principles, however, seem to have made the *Ars brevis* palatable to its Jewish audience, who felt from it no clear pressure to convert. Hames reads the colophon of this translation to show how the work's translator associates it with the *mors osculi* ("death of the kiss" or "death by kiss," a term current in kabbalistic literature deriving from a Hebrew commentary on the Song of Songs), and explores the implications of this translation in the works of the Jewish writer Yohanan Alemanno.

Johann Reuchlin

The sixteenth-century German philologist Johann Reuchlin had an explicit interest in Kabbalah and the linguistic abilities necessary to make a genuine study of it. He had taught himself both Greek and Hebrew and was an admirer of the Florentine Neoplatonists with whom the Medici family surrounded themselves; the resuscitation of ancient learning appealed to him, and he was a follower of Pico della Mirandola. Reuchlin is responsible for two works that incorporate or depend on ideas found in the kabbalistic literature at his disposal, *De verbo mirifico* (1494) and *De arte cabalistica* (1517). The latter work was addressed to Pope Leo X, son of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was famous for (among other things) his love of learning and had been schooled in the Florentine academy. In the decade between 1510 and 1520, Reuchlin became embroiled in difficulties in Cologne, where he ran into conflict with the Dominican inquisitors for failing to side with them in propounding the need to burn Jewish books. Reuchlin's address to Pope Leo of this work on Kabbalah was evidently in part a bid to win his favor in the case by showing the applicability of kabbalistic literature to Christian concerns.[37]

Clearly Reuchlin's use of Jewish ideas had strategic elements, and it is not to be expected that his readings of Hebrew texts would line up precisely with those of Jewish interpreters. But what was the real depth of his understanding of the kabbalistic works he had encountered? Was he pushing their sense out of shape or out of context, whether deliberately or inadvertently, to uphold a Christian message? In chapter 8 of this volume, Elliot Wolfson argues that Reuchlin understood the kabbalistic texts more deeply than is sometimes supposed. In a delicate reading of Reuchlin's two kabbalistic works, Wolfson examines Reuchlin's use of his Hebrew sources. He notes that Reuchlin does not escape the anti-Semitic presuppositions of his time—like all Christians, he tended to read Jewish texts in terms of supersession theology—but also that Reuchlin sees and deploys strong messianic threads that run through the kabbalistic writings, and that he does so in sensitive ways. In Wolfson's words, he "astutely understood the intricate weave of prophetic visualization and eschatological salvation that had long characterized the mystical ideal proffered by kabbalists. . . . Reuchlin's messianic interpretation of kabbalistic symbolism is not contrived or imposed from without."

As was the case with both Ramon Llull and his Hebrew translator, a universalizing view of alternate esotericisms seems to be in play in Reuchlin's work—a desire to take learning into the realm of a deeper truth that may be manifest in the religious practices of one's neighbors. But Reuchlin pursues this desire through a genuine and learned engagement with Hebrew texts. Whatever eschatological presuppositions Reuchlin may have had about the role of the Jews or the superseded nature of their ceremonies, he took their learning very seriously indeed.

Humphrey Gilbert

The sixteenth century witnessed an interest in the augmentation of knowledge of many kinds: the pursuit of linguistic, philosophical, and mystical studies into uncharted territories was contemporaneous with explorations of the geographical world beyond its familiar perimeters. Humphrey Gilbert, colorful half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, is a figure well known to historians for his military service to Queen Elizabeth, his *Discourse on the Northwest Passage,* and his adventurous explorations of the New World. He is fodder for the popular imagination as well, and his adventures at sea have inspired a number of fictional or semifictional works, including a poem by Longfellow, a nineteenth-century children's story, and two novels of speculative fiction.[38] For all his adventurous appeal, however, Gilbert's spirit-summoning diaries have had much less coverage. They occasionally garner brief footnotes in works on the more famous occult writings and practices of Dr. John Dee, and often go unmentioned in the popular and scholarly histories of his explorations.[39] Unlike Gilbert's *Discourse on the Northwest Passage,* which seems to have been almost continuously in print since the sixteenth century, the diaries have never been published.

In chapter 9 of this volume, Frank Klaassen offers the first real analysis of this British Library manuscript in which the crystal-skrying and spirit-conjuring operations are recorded. Gilbert performed these experiments along with several other figures in his household—a group that included not only Gilbert's brother Adrian but also a young John Davis, later to become the prominent Elizabethan navigator and arctic explorer. Their story, as Klaassen gleans it from the pages of their diary, opens an interesting and informative window into the lives, thoughts, and fantasies of these Elizabethan gentlemen.

Their crystal-skrying operations are contemporary with the better-known angel conversations of John Dee, which serve as a useful comparison. Both Dee and Gilbert had scientific interests that they pursued with the same zeal they brought to their conjuring experiments, but Dee seldom admitted to resorting to medieval tracts of magic of either demonic or angelic kinds (despite having many such books in his library). The Gilberts, however, recorded a systematic pursuit of practices found in medieval grimoires for speaking with demons and angels. The records made of their operations show both the free-form use of these materials and the extreme care with which they documented their visionary results. Klaassen positions the skrying operations of the Gilbert household in the context of their more widely known activities in the service of science and education, examining their anti-Scholastic attitudes and experientially focused methods against the background of the social and intellectual history of ritual magic and early modern science.

The very difficulty of trying to categorize the Gilberts' experiments—as theurgy, science, mysticism, or magic—shows how futile it may be to begin with a framework set up by such categories. Yet it is crucial for historians to be aware of the kinds of polemics that have been engaged in the vicinity of terms like "mysticism" and "theurgy" (and probably the term "science," too), especially as these may have operated around texts of Christian angel magic. In what follows, I take some time to tease out the implications of one particularly important term for this book: *theurgy.*

II. Theurgy: Orientations and Definitions

I note that not all of the authors contributing to this volume use the word "theurgy" to refer to the mode of religious activity in their sources, but many do. I note, too, that usages may differ from one essay to the next. I have not imposed any single standard of definition or usage, although I have tried to ensure that all terminology is made clear in the specific context where it appears. However, I want to devote some space to an unfolding of this term here in my introduction, because it seems crucial that readers be able to position themselves quickly in relation to these different usages—whether pro-theurgic, anti-theurgic, modern, or late antique. The intellectual history of discussions of theurgy, within and outside Christianity, is long and complicated. The history of applications of the word "theurgy" to the kinds of texts under discussion here is relatively short term; but it is all the more important to lay the groundwork for a set of relations between these ancient and current understandings of the term, because the questions that arise around them are crucial to the narrative arc that, in one way or another, informs all the essays in the book.

Definitions of Theurgy

A Greek compound that translates literally as "god work," the term is used in late antique philosophical writings in apposition with "theology" ("god speech"). As Georg Luck puts it, theurgy was "an activity, an operation, a technique, dealing with the gods, not just a theory, a discussion, an action of contemplation."[40] Even in its original late antique context, the term "theurgy" suffered from much the same kind of problematic construction as the word "magic," and the two words have always had somewhat overlapping semantic fields.[41] In turn, theurgic practices, sometimes condemned and sometimes defended, became a topic of philosophical conversation and argument among the Neoplatonic philosophers.[42]

In addition to the historical/ethnographic sense of the word "theurgy" in use by scholars attempting to reconstruct its original late antique contexts,[43] the word has other senses in common use. Some further senses of the word in modern (mostly scholarly) contexts include its use (1) very loosely as a rough and ready synonym for "magic";[44] (2) in a slightly stricter theoretical sense as a term for a "special branch of magic" that is "applied to a religious purpose" (the definition perhaps too influentially formulated by E. R. Dodds);[45] and (3) in a looser etic sense to refer to practices analogous (but not necessarily related) to the late antique Neoplatonic contexts in which theurgy originally comes up; in this sense, it has been adopted by some scholars of medieval Kabbalah, and more lately by some scholars of medieval Christian ritual magic.[46]

I note here three elementary structural traits of the types of rituals that seem to be recognized in most contexts of the term's usage, whether positive or negative. At a basic level, theurgic operations (1) tend to involve rituals to effect the soul's purification; (2) tend to involve fellowship with intermediary beings (gods, angels, *daemones*); and (3) tend to be oriented toward revelation, or experiences in which something is transmitted by the divine powers. In practice this means that they may induce visions.[47] I mark these traits only as broad generic aspects of rituals that get called "theurgic." They are not part of any definitive or essential early definition of theurgy (there is none); they are merely my own abstractions from a broad variety of contexts in which I have seen the word used. In the past, I have used the term "angel magic" to refer to medieval Christian texts, such as the *Ars notoria*, that have these generic traits, and I will continue my occasional use of the term "angel magic" as well.

It should be noted that these traits are functional, not theological; when theurgy is defended or justified in theological terms, different ideas come into play—for example, the idea that theurgy is necessitated by the weakness of the soul, or by the flawed perception of the soul in an embodied state, or by the idea that specific ritual practices are part of God's plan, instituted by God to effect the human soul's return. The concept that theurgy names certain ritual practices justified by divine institution is key in the Iamblichean defense of theurgy, just as it is for ideas of sacramental action in the Christian tradition as informed by the pseudo-Dionysius. These theological associations are, in turn, a primary reason for Julien Véronèse's adoption of this term to label the form of religious activity in the *Ars notoria*.

Christian Theurgy and the Ars notoria *According to Julien Véronèse*

Véronèse has a carefully explicated rationale for his use of this ancient term to refer to a medieval Christian practice, and it is worthwhile to reiterate some of his main points.[48] He writes:

> Recourse to the notion of "theurgy" to grasp the mode of functioning and the nature of the *Ars notoria* is thus only a convenient means of extracting this addressative practice from the demonological complex put in place by medieval theologians, following Augustine, at the point where there is a question of signs addressed to superior intelligences outside a framework defined by the Church. As a methodological tool, it permits the creation, at the heart of the ensemble of ritual magic texts, of an objective distinction which, without being inoperative in the Middle Ages, was not thought of or formulated in these terms during this period.[49]

In other words, the advantage of the term for Véronèse is that it is *not emic*—the semantic field he uses the term "theurgy" to cover is not, in fact, produced by the culture that he is addressing, though it has certain analogues that would have been recognizable to that culture.

Véronèse is well aware that there may be pitfalls in attempting to map a set of high medieval practices onto a set of late antique ideas only notionally related to them, and he emphasizes that the analogy should not be pushed too far.[50] He notes as well that the masters of the *Ars notoria* themselves attempted to frame their work with the term "sacrament."[51] Véronèse continues, "On the conceptual level, and whatever the bishop of Hippo might say, the affiliation in nature between theurgy and sacrament is incontestable. Jean Trouillard emphasized, for example, . . . that if it is abstracted from all context, the notion of theurgy . . . is closely akin to sacrament in its functioning, and prefigures, by instituting 'an operative symbolism destined to rouse the divine presence and power,' the efficacy of Christian sacraments and particularly that of the Eucharist."[52]

I would note, however, that while the idea of divinely instituted operative symbolism is important in Iamblichus's treatment of theurgy, this treatment surrounds the idea with a worked-out theology intended to argue for its necessity—a theology by no means universally accepted by Neoplatonic philosophers or by those who interpreted Iamblichus later. Thus the notion of "theurgy" cannot really be "abstracted from all context" without losing the very thing that makes it useful as a positive term. The affiliation between theurgy and sacrament lies not so much in any base abstract or essential idea of theurgy, as Trouillard suggests, but rather in the habitual means of theological justification of efficacious salvific rituals within theologies having a monotheistic framework.

Véronèse concludes this section by suggesting that the analogy with "sacraments" should not be pushed too far, either; in fact, he believes that the masters of the *Ars notoria* were careful not to be too precise in their use of the term to describe the mystery of this ritual divinely received by Solomon. For one thing, as Véronèse notes, Solomon, the pre-Christian receptor of the text, does not offer a point of origin that can be expected to map cleanly onto the notion of sacraments instituted during the lifetime of Christ (even though the names of Christ and the Trinity do occur in the prayers).[53]

Whatever may be the case with the *Ars notoria* itself, however, the idea of sacrament does get linked with medieval texts of this genre in the medieval period in ways that are sometimes more explicit and distinctive. For example, Peter of Abano brings forward the notion of sacrament explicitly in his early justification of the *Ars notoria*,[54] while in roughly the same time period Thomas Aquinas explicitly declares that the *Ars notoria* is *not* divinely instituted and does not work like the sacraments of the church.[55] And, as I note in my own essay in this volume, analogies with Christian sacramental theology are brought forward through the idea of covenant in two texts emerging somewhat later than the *Ars notoria*, but in same tradition: the *Liber iuratus Honorii* (which is coupled with the sacraments in my epigraph) and John of Morigny's *Liber florum celestis doctrine*. For good or ill, this is a thread that may often find itself woven into the tapestry of receptions and explanations of theurgy in the Middle Ages as well as other periods.

Like Véronèse, I see the utility of the term "theurgy" as a label for the practices discussed in this book, in part because of the way the term both connects to, and remains distinct from, ideas of sacrament. Unlike Véronèse, however, I find it of interest not because it *escapes* the demonological problems associated with the term "magic" but rather because, on the levels of historical analogy, theological justification, and scholarly reception, it *engages them in a certain way*. That is, the theological problems relevant to these texts are analogous to those that tend to surface around theurgy in both patristic and pagan writings, and they usefully illuminate the tensions that come into play around the texts and practices under discussion here.

Christian Theurgy and the Problem of Magic: Augustine and Dionysius

As noted, the term "theurgy" has a long history of difficulty in Christian contexts—a difficulty that finds articulate expression in the works of Saint Augustine, who gave the anti-theurgic stance one of its most influential early formulations. While Augustine's general equation of *theurgy* and *goetia* (demonic magic) is often quoted—indeed, is a familiar topos of scholarship on the Christian antimagical polemic—like many frequently iterated Augustinian ideas, it is not always well understood. It is worth looking at the context of these statements in a bit more detail.

In Augustine's writings, theurgy is discussed extensively in *The City of God*, taking up much of books IX and X, in the context of a discussion of the pagan Neoplatonist philosophers, who were, in general, very important to Augustine, who had apparently been instrumental in his conversion from Manichaeism,[56] and whom he clearly continued to admire despite the critique he proposes here. Much of this section of the book in fact amounts to a close mapping of Neoplatonic thought onto Christian thought, at the same time showing up points of deviation where they occur. He notes that the need for mediators between the human and divine is acknowledged by both pagan Neoplatonists and Christian thinkers, and Augustine's arguments point in the direction that God intended us to have one mediator, Jesus of Nazareth—who was simultaneously human and divine—and the real and historical existence of this ideal mediator effectively rules out any possibility that the angels would be intended to perform a mediation leading to salvation.[57] The tenor of his argument thus suggests that he sees theurgy as a pagan attempt to achieve through angels an equivalent to the mediation that Christians achieve through Christ.

The primary claim about pagan theurgy that Augustine was refuting (or revealing as different from Christian lines of thought in the same area) was the idea that theurgy could access any effective kind of divine mediation. The spirits invoked and addressed could not be efficacious either for the process of the soul's cleansing or for its eventual salvation, both because they are not God and because they are not human. It should be noted that Augustine equates the "gods" of the Platonists with Christian angels and says that it makes no difference whether you call them "gods" or "angels" because the concept is the same relative to the supreme God. His eventual equation of *theurgy* and demonic magic or *goetia* is thus really not a simple equation of pagan gods and Christian demons but a more complex argument about the philosophical assumptions underlying the theurgic spiritual cosmology. For Augustine, theurgy seems to imply a worship of creatures, which at best amounts to angel worship, which misunderstands the true worship of God and of which the angels themselves could not approve. Moreover Augustine is unable to countenance the idea that angels might be subject to conjuration or passible, "perturbed and agitated by the emotions which Apuleius attributed to demons and men."[58]

If angels in their divinity must be seen as sharing the impassibility of the Godhead, the corollary is that any passible angels actually encountered by practitioners of theurgy must be demons; because of this, and making the most of unresolved queries about the nature of the beings described as accessible to theurgic techniques in Porphyry's "Letter to Anebo," Augustine maintains that theurgy in practice is not really distinguishable from *goetia* or (demonic) magic. Even though Porphyry agrees that theurgy might work some kind of purgation of the soul, according to Augustine, "he does so with some hesitation and shame, and denies that this art can secure to anyone a return to God."[59] In deference to the coherence of these objections, the Latin Christian tradition after Augustine eschews the Greek word "theurgy" except as the name of a demonic practice.

A more positive idea of *theurgia* (if not the word itself) enters the Christian tradition by another route, however. The word *theurgia* and its compounds occur between forty and fifty times in the Greek corpus of the pseudo-Dionysius, roughly half of these in his liturgical commentary *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.[60] Like Augustine, Dionysius clearly views God's incarnation as the most important act of mediation between humankind and God—the act by which human salvation was intended to be effected. Unlike Augustine's, however, Dionysius's terminology for this divine mediation is the terminology of theurgy. God's incarnation, his entry into the world, is his original theurgy on our behalf[61]—a theurgy that is forecast in the Old Testament, consummated in the New, and represented and celebrated by the sacraments, which enable the imitation of God.[62] We are initiated into these "theurgic lights," grasping them "in the best way we can, as they come to us, wrapped in the sacred veils of that love toward humanity with which scripture and hierarchical traditions [i.e., liturgies] cover the truths of the mind with things derived from the realm of the senses."[63] In other words, instead of thinking of theurgy as a religious practice involving *angels as divine mediators* (as Augustine did), Dionysius thinks of theurgy simply as a practice involving *divine mediation* and adapts its application to Christ and the Christian liturgies.

The difference between Augustine and Dionysius in regard to their terminology for Christ's mediation is perhaps most simply understood as a product of the fact that Augustine had a strong philosophical affiliation with Plotinus and does not reference Iamblichus at all, whereas the pseudo-Dionysius was apparently familiar with the works of Iamblichus (the deft philosophical apologist for theurgy) and seems to have been influenced by him in his view of anagogical uplift, which he adapts for Christian use.[64] Thus Dionysius was intimate with, and thought in terms of, an already fully theologized concept of theurgy as divine action, whereas Augustine did not. What is important, at least for the subsequent destiny of the term "theurgy" in medieval Christian culture, is that in the Latin translations of the pseudo-Dionysian corpus the word *theurgia* never appears: it is always rendered as some version of "divina operatio" or "operatio Dei,"[65] which medieval readers would not have recognized in the Latin translations of this corpus as the same term equated with demonic magic, *goetia*, by Augustine.

Iamblichean and Dionysian Theurgy According to Gregory Shaw

While this is a straightforward explanation of the absence of any positivized version of the word "theurgy" in medieval sources, it may do less to explain the continuing resistance to the word in scholarship throughout the modern period. This resistance is probably due not only to the power of Augustine's voice but also to the continuation of the problematics of theurgic rituals as at least potentially implying a passible Godhead—issues that Augustine was neither the first nor the last to finger. Scholars have shown a special discomfort in dealing with use of the term "theurgy" in the corpus of the pseudo-Dionysius because of the difficulty in divorcing this term, on the one hand, from its Augustinian association with *goetia*, and, on the other, from E. R. Dodds's similar but differently motivated association of Iamblichean theurgy with irrationality, superstition, and spiritualism. Successive generations of historians and classicists have attempted to shore up a set of essential theological distinctions between the theurgy described by Iamblichus and that espoused by Dionysius.

Over the past two decades, however, these apparent differences between Dionysius and Iamblichus have gradually broken down, as scholars have gained an increasingly solid grasp, first, on the full extent of Dionysius's debt to Iamblichus, and second, on the fact that Iamblichus himself never espoused a theurgy of human action upon God. Two landmark articles by Gregory Shaw have been useful in clarifying the way the problem of theurgy has emerged both historically, in the late antique context, and historiographically, in the scholarly contexts that have been built around it. In a 1985 article, "Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus," Shaw casts the first line through his argument about the nature of Iamblichean theurgy, not as a human action upon the gods but as a divine action divinely instituted by God to enable the human soul's return to him. He also offers a historiographic overview of the gradual emergence of more positive and accurate ideas of Iamblichean theurgy from the more negative but still influential views propounded by E. R. Dodds in *The Greeks and the Irrational* in 1951. Shaw notes that Dodds was "a lifelong member of Britain's Psychical Research Society and attended many spiritualist séances. . . . [Dodds] explains the sacred rites of Iamblichus' school by comparing them to modern spiritualist phenomena. For Dodds . . . theurgy was the 'spiritualism' of Late Antiquity, and represented the corruption of Platonic rationalism with oriental superstitions."[66] This may overread Dodds's lack of sympathy for the irrational motivations both of spiritualism and of theurgy as he understood it; nevertheless it remains true that Dodds's ideas about Iamblichus as purveyor of "magic applied to a religious purpose" seem to have remained influential somewhat past the point of their greatest utility.

In another important article, published in 1999, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius the Areopagite," Shaw continues to refine his arguments about late antique theurgy, pulling together the issues already shown to be at stake in treatments of Iamblichean theurgy and showing how they have colored the reading of pseudo-Dionysius.[67] Summing up all the difficulties that have emerged around the Dionysian vocabulary choice, Shaw writes, "If Dionysius practiced theurgy, it would present a serious challenge to his 'orthodoxy,' for to have been a theurgist in the Neoplatonic sense would condemn the Areopagite in the eyes of all scholar-apologists. It is not surprising, therefore, that his theurgy has been described by two leading Dionysian scholars, Andrew Louth and Paul Rorem, as fundamentally different from Neoplatonic, i.e. 'pagan,' theurgy."[68]

While Shaw makes a complex argument in this article, one of its central nodes is the overturning of Paul Rorem's distinction between subjective and objective genitives. Rorem suggested that Dionysius "used the term 'theurgy' to mean 'work of God,' not as an objective genitive indicating a work addressed to God (as in Iamblichus, e.g. *de Mysteriis* I 2, 7:2–6) but as a subjective genitive meaning God's own work . . . especially in the incarnation."[69] According to Shaw, this is a misreading, for even in Iamblichus, theurgy is not a work addressed to the gods, either in the place cited or elsewhere; for Iamblichus, too, the subject of the *ergon theou* must always be God.[70] In fact, "Iamblichus clearly states throughout the *De mysteriis* that theurgy was not an attempt to influence the gods, not only because it would have been impious but impossible. Iamblichus is unambiguous on this issue precisely because the *De mysteriis* was written to address it."[71]

If there is no cogent reason for treating Iamblichean and Dionysian theurgies as being based on opposing theological principles, then the primary difference between them boils down, as I have noted earlier, to an understanding of what divine mediation must entail and the corollary location of symbolic liturgies in an arena suitable for commemorating the entry of the divine into the world. Following James Miller, Shaw points out that liturgical/theurgical symbols for Dionysius are no longer found in the natural world but in the ecclesiastical world: "while Dionysius preserved the Neoplatonic dynamics of *prohodos* and *epistrophe* that are ritually enacted in Iamblichean theurgy, in its Dionysian form the natural cosmos is replaced by ecclesiastic and angelic orders. This means that Dionysian theurgy is no longer an extension of the act of creation (in *analogia* with divine creation) but becomes something beyond or beside nature, in what the Church calls the 'new creation': the *super*natural orders of the Church and its angels."[72]

If Shaw is correct in his assessment of Iamblichean theurgy, his work would seem to lay to rest any idea that theurgy in the work of either of these important late antique thinkers involved a human attempt to manipulate or influence the gods. Yet it is pertinent to remember that the arguments laid out in Porphyry's "Letter to Anebo," against which Iamblichus and Augustine both so crucially reacted in their different ways, did embody a discomfort around the issue of the possibility that humankind could influence the divine. This problem is perennial and may not be subject to a final resolution. At the very least, the recurrent pitching of this accusation against those who defend a positive notion of theurgy suggests that we may not have seen the last of it.

It is of interest to note, however, that in the current usage of some scholars of Jewish mysticism, theurgy is still taken to mean "an operation intended to influence the divinity"—a usage conspicuously defined and adopted by Moshe Idel. Shaw sees this as a simple capitulation to Dodds's definition, but it is demonstrable that while it may begin in the same place, the definition goes beyond Dodds's in several ways.

The Jewishness of Theurgy According to Moshe Idel

In the scholarly discourse surrounding Jewish mysticism, the term "theurgy" is used in ways that are not always consistent, but they do all have one thing in common: the idea that theurgy is a component of a specifically Jewish religiosity, alien to Christianity. Moshe Idel's understanding of the word is elaborated at some length in chapter 7 of his *Kabbalah: New Perspectives.* Idel argues against Scholem's assumption that "'the ritual of rabbinical Judaism' was free of myth and mysticism, which were infused into it by the kabbalists."[73] Rather, he argues, "theurgic" tendencies have always been present in a certain stream of rabbinic Judaism.

> Crucial for my point is the emphasis upon the theurgical nature of the commandments, as against other significant ancient rabbinic tendencies that were indifferent to, or even opposed, this evaluation of the performance of the commandments. The term *theurgy,* or *theurgical,* will be used below to refer to *operations intended to influence the Divinity, mostly in its own inner state or dynamics, but sometimes also in its relationship to man.* In contrast to the magician, the ancient and medieval Jewish theurgian focused his activity on accepted religious values. My definition accordingly distinguishes between theurgy and magic far more than do the usual definitions.[74]

In the footnote attached to "usual definitions," Idel cites only Dodds.[75] But Idel's definition is idiosyncratic not so much because, as he states, it "distinguishes between theurgy and magic far more than do the usual definitions,"[76] but more because by "theurgy" Idel does not primarily mean to indicate a set of ritual practices analogous to late antique theurgy. Rather, the word "theurgy" points, in Idel's usage, first and foremost to an idea or proposition about God: the proposition that the divine is a dynamic entity in need of human action in order fully to inhabit its correct relation to itself. In the section of chapter 7 titled "Augmentation Theurgy," Idel discusses the interrelation between human acts and the augmentation of the divine *Dynamis* (*Gevurah*) as a key concept of rabbinic literature. Idel focuses on the assumption present in certain classical Jewish sources that the power of God is weakened or diminished by human transgression and augmented by the proper performance of the commandments; as an illustrative locus, he quotes the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana:* "Azariah [said] in the name of R. Yehudah bar Simon, so long as the righteous act according to the will of heaven, they add power to the *Dynamis.* . . . And if they do not act [accordingly], it is as if: 'you have weakened the Rock that formed thee.'"[77]

The notion that the quantity of power or glory of divinity has a dependence upon human action, Idel argues, is not a kabbalistic novelty but had always been present and integral to a certain stream of Jewish thought. For the kabbalists, however, the notion that humans could and indeed *needed* to influence intradivine processes was "the Archimedal point for the articulation of a full-fledged theurgical theory that interpreted the performance of the commandments as necessary for the divine welfare."[78] More than once, Idel refers to this theurgic concept as "mythic" (a term that is necessary to his argument against Scholem).[79] In fact, however, in being a proposition about God, it is more essentially a theological than a mythic point. This definition of theurgy is shared with some scholars in the area of medieval Jewish Kabbalah, though others dealing with similar materials do not use the term at all, or seem to use it in more conventional or simply less well defined senses.[80]

As already noted, Shaw cites Idel as one of an array of scholars who have "adopted Dodds' characterization of theurgy as an attempt to manipulate, influence, or coerce the gods."[81] However, though Idel does characterize theurgy as an operation "intended to influence the divinity," his idea is actually distinct from Dodds's inasmuch as his definition of "theurgy" is not a capitulation to a stream of practice that happens to exist despite rationalist proscriptions, but is rather a theological representation of the role of human religious action in relation to God's *Dynamis.* In fact, "theurgy" is not quite fully read as "coercing" or "constraining" the divine, because Idel quickly moves to the idea that this "human influence" on the divine is actually part of what he calls an "intra-divine process"—the implication being not that God is influenced by a humankind whose will and action are held to be external to him, but rather that God and humankind are both involved a single system. As Idel uses the term, "theurgy" labels a conception of the human relation to God, which has always existed and which needs accounting for. He states that this "theurgy" is not a kabbalistic novelty but rather "a continuation of authentic Rabbinic traditions" that are "organic to Jewish thought."[82] Thus it cannot really be said that his notion of theurgy is nothing more than a reproduction of Dodds's. In one sense, it may be said that Idel positivizes the radical aspect of the theurgic idea from which others try to escape when they seek to justify it.

In another way, however, Idel's definition of theurgy addresses, if idiosyncratically, a difficulty that everyone else sees, too: the difficulty of conceptualizing the human relation to God that is implied by religious action when that action is conceived as necessary to *anyone.* For even if religious action is only necessary because human souls are weak, how could God be *conceived as not wanting the return of every created soul?* But also, how could God be *conceived as wanting anything at which we ourselves could fail?* If theurgy is defended as a divinely instituted action put in place on account of human necessity, acting upon the soul alone, the problem appears susceptible to resolution. But it is not a perfect resolution, inasmuch as, from either a Jewish or a Christian perspective, it is evident that any human being can choose not to be saved—can break the commandments, live an impure life, and ignore all God's work on his behalf. There is bound to be occasional anxiety about the effect of these failures on a system in which God and humankind appear to be so closely linked.

Idel's source texts may suggest an anxiety about this that runs through Judaism. It must be recognized, however, that, save for putting his finger on this theological anxiety, what he calls "theurgy" here remains distinct from what others have used the term to mean. A primary difference is that he does not, at least in this key locus, appear to refer to any of the structural indices I noted at the outset that trigger use of the term "theurgy" in other contexts: purification, fellowship of angels, revelation. His understanding of what constitutes the "organic" *Jewishness* of the theurgic concept, then, also differs from what others have understood by it. In order to understand the initial championing of theurgy as a quintessentially Jewish religious form, we need to revisit its beginnings in the work of Gershom Scholem.

The Jewishness of Theurgy According to Gershom Scholem

Gershom Scholem's circumscription of the term "mysticism" in the first chapter of his landmark work, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* has in fact been a major influence on the way theurgy has been adopted as a defining character of Jewish mysticism—a character that has not changed despite the way this concept has been in many ways crucially reconfigured by Idel. Scholem's enterprise explicitly involves recuperating the domain of Kabbalah, on the one hand, from unsympathetic earlier historians who dismissed this "magical" literature with too little examination,[83] and, on the other, from occultists like Eliphas Lévi and Aleister Crowley, "charlatans and dreamers" whose magical sympathies did little to recuperate its reputation as "serious" religion.[84]

Setting his own work as a scholar firmly apart from that of both antimagical and magical students of Kabbalah, Scholem begins by elaborating a concept of "mysticism" that he adapts to cover the Hebrew texts in which he is interested. Following Evelyn Underhill and Rufus Jones, Scholem begins by defining "mystical religion" as a "type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God."[85] Scholem goes on to distinguish Jewish mysticism from the Christian variety (as propounded by Jones and Underhill), first and foremost on the grounds that Jewish mysticism is not primarily interested in "unio mystica"; Jewish mystics are more apt to speak in terms of "ascent of the soul to the Celestial Throne" than of "divine union." If there are also Jewish apophatic mystics who do seem to be more interested in mystical union, according to Scholem this is "the same experience which both are trying to express in different ways."[86] Thus anagogical processes are elided with mystical union, which is a concept Scholem then allows to drop. As far as Scholem is concerned, in regard to Jewish mysticism, all paths were equally "mystical" insofar as their objective was some sort of "immediate awareness of relation with God"; but his immediate interest is in the stream that pertains to theurgy (understood within the boundaries of the functional sense outlined above).[87]

Of course, Christian angel magic may also be accused of lack of interest in "unio mystica" (or, alternatively, of a positive interest in visionary knowledge), and there are a number of other features Scholem indicates as distinctively characteristic of Jewish mysticism that are shared by Christian angel magic too, including its trope of Adamic knowledge;[88] its positive view of the power of language;[89] the fact that it is typically written and practiced by men rather than women, and (connectedly, according to Scholem) the lack of any trace of affective piety in it.[90] Throughout Scholem's discussion, however, he also insists on the importance of configuring all mysticisms in their historical context. Because of this, the centrality of all these strands of Jewish mysticism is established—and has largely been construed since—as if it were part of a *historical* distinction between Christian and Jewish *religion*, rather than a difference between the way in which scholars of Christianity and scholars of Hebrew and Judaic studies have constructed the term "mysticism"—in the former case as excluding, and in the latter as including, theurgic practices. As the present volume shows, there is really no dearth of this sort of thing in medieval Christianity, but it has never been conceived or studied as part of the domain of "mystical religion." It was excluded from this category before Scholem ever adapted the term to cover Jewish theurgy. It is only beginning to be taken seriously enough to be studied at all. In fact, the situation from which Scholem endeavored to rescue the kabbalistic texts for serious study sixty years ago is very much parallel to that of medieval Christian theurgic texts until recently.

At this point, as many scholars are recognizing the need for more serious account to be taken of neglected or marginalized strands in religion, we may wish to think about broadening the study of Christian mysticism to include texts like the *Ars notoria*, the *Sworn Book*, and the *Liber florum* of John of Morigny. If we do so, we are likely to find that some of the base criteria for what makes a mystical text look Christian or Jewish will require further refinement. It may be added as well that there is surely room for this expansion in a field that has, since the time of Underhill, developed an increasingly nuanced understanding of what constitutes religious experience, and a more solid grasp on the role played by devotional practices in focusing and interpreting such experiences.[91] Since some of the theurgic apologetics already explored can be seen to have other or broader applications to the study of religion,[92] it is to be hoped that by drawing attention to these aspects of a largely ignored medieval theurgy, this book will begin to open out new connections between these texts and the study of other forms of religious practice.

NOTES

1. Dating still involves guesswork; for summary of evidence, see the chapters by Mesler and Veenstra in this volume. The *terminus ante quem* is known to be prior to the mid-fourteenth century, as witnessed by both the earliest manuscript and definite external notices of the text. It is the *terminus post quem* that remains uncertain. The epigraph to this Introduction, in the Latin, reads: "Hic est liber, quo Deus in hac vita facialiter quit videri. Hic est liber, quo quilibet potest salvari et in vitam eternam procul dubio deduci. . . . Hic est liber, qui est maius iocale a Domino datum omni alio iocali exclusis sacramentis. Hic est liber quo natura corporalis et visibilis cum incorporali et invisibili alloqui, racionar et instrui potest." From *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius,* ed. Gösta Hedegård (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002), §CXLI, p. 150. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2. Claire Fanger, "Medieval Ritual Magic: What It Is and Why We Need to Know More About It," in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic,* ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), ix.

3. Recent books that advance the study of medieval magic through detailed attention to materials in manuscript include Hedegård's edition of the *Liber iuratus;* Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiévale (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006); Don Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); Julien Véronèse, ed., *L'*Ars notoria *au Moyen Âge: Introduction et édition critique* (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL, 2007); Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, forthcoming). A number of other important books and editions are in the works.

4. A classic exposition of the view of magic as "fossilized thinking" is found in Brian Vickers's essay "On the Function of Analogy in the Occult," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 265–92; a classic deconstruction of this article is performed by Christopher Lehrich in *The Occult Mind* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 103–15.

5. For the likely northern Italian origin of the *Ars notoria,* see Julien Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne: Étude d'une tradition de magie théurgique (XIIe–XVIIe siècle)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université Paris X–Nanterre, 2004), vol. 1, esp. 351ff. The critical edition in volume 2 of the dissertation has been published as *L'*Ars notoria *au Moyen Âge: Introduction et édition critique* (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL, 2007). We are still awaiting publication of the historical treatment contained in volume 1 (forthcoming from Honoré Champion); for the moment it remains necessary to refer to the dissertation for most major historical issues.

6. An art historian's treatment of the *notae,* reproducing some images, may be found in Michael Camille, "Visual Art in Two Manuscripts of the *Ars notoria,*" in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits,* 110–39.

7. For an interesting discussion of the relation between, and co-development of, the terms "notory" and "notary," see Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:143ff.

8. For discussion of the early printed editions, see ibid., 1:326ff.

9. The B text is clearly in circulation by the very early fourteenth century. John of Morigny, writing between 1301 and 1308, seems to have known that the work existed in more than one version, and

he quotes extensively from *Ars notoria* B, as documented in the commentary of the forthcoming edition of the *Liber florum* by myself and Nicholas Watson.

10. For an edition of the visionary autobiography preceding the *Liber florum* (the *Liber visionum* proper), based on the version in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 680, see "The Prologue to John of Morigny's *Liber visionum*: Text and Translation," trans. and ed. Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3 (2001): 108–217, also available online at http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeIII/Morigny.html (hereafter "Prologue"). We are close to completing a full edition of the Latin text of John's *Liber florum celestis doctrine* based on London, British Library, Additional 18027; a translation, under the title *The Book of the Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*, will follow. For a list of manuscripts found to date, see Appendix 2 to chapter 5 in this volume.

11. "Prologue," I.i.8.

12. Ibid., I.i.2.

13. Ibid., I.ii.5.

14. See the translation of the chronicle account on p. 164 of Nicholas Watson, "John the Monk's *Book of Visions*," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*.

15. Identification of the text in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 276 with the chronicle account of the condemnation was first made by Jean Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique sur la divination et la magie," in *Divination et controverse religieuse en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: L'É.N.S. de Jeunes Filles, 1987), 128n22.

16. Barnay was the first to publish on the text and its Mariology; her articles, based on Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, G.II.25, include "La mariophanie au regard de Jean de Morigny: Magie ou miracle de la vision mariale?" in Societé des Historiens Mediévistes de l'Enseignement Superieur Public, *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995), 173–90, and "Désir de voir et interdits visionnares ou la 'mariophanie' selon Jean de Morigny (XIV siècle)," in *Homo Religiosus: Autour de Jean de Lumeau*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 519–26. We were not aware of Barnay's work when we produced our analyses of John's ritual system, based on the manuscripts in Hamilton, Ontario, McMaster University Library, 107; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 276; and Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 680; for these, see the essays by Watson, Fanger, and Kieckhefer in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*, 163–265. For further information about John's text in the context of apparitions of the Virgin, see Barnay's *Le ciel sur la terre: Les apparitions de la Vierge au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999). See also the introduction to our edition of the "Prologue," cited above.

17. This is the text in Manchester, Chetham's Library, A.4.108, dated 1522.

18. For further description of the features of the two versions, see chapter 5 in this volume. We have also found several variants of a late, nonauthorial redaction, and a few manuscripts in which a few of John's prayers have been extracted and repurposed. For an account of one of these, see Claire Fanger and B. Láng, "John of Morigny's *Liber Visionum* and a Royal Prayer Book from Poland," *Societas Magica Newsletter* 9 (2002): 1–4, also available online at http://www.societasmagica.org/.

19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Liturg. 160.

20. The text was first noticed by Carlos Gilly, who reports on it in a 2002 article; see Veenstra's chapter in this volume for a bibliography and a summary of the little that is known of Ganell himself.

21. Katelyn Mesler summarizes the evidence for dating the text in chapter 3 of this volume.

22. Quoted from the online text *Liber Juratus, or The Sworne Booke of Honorius*, ed. Joseph H. Peterson, at http://www.esotericarchives.com/juratus/juratus.htm, transcribed from London, British Library, Royal Axlii, fol. 3v. The Hebrew word *shem ha-meforash* is variously transliterated into the Latin alphabet from one manuscript to the next, and its letters may appear in a large number of permutations, as *semhemphoras, semamforas, semiphoras, semiforas*, etc.

23. John of Morigny, Prayer II.i.*1.3, London, Additional 18027, fol. 20r2.

24. Boudet notes that Gervase of Tilbury refers to the seventy-two-letter name in the early thirteenth century and speculates that Gervase perhaps encountered it during his time in Arles. See Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 134–35.

25. For a useful analysis of the problems and ambiguities of seeing God in the Hekhalot corpus, see Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), chapter 2, esp. 82–124. Wolfson (85n50) notes that the phrase used here, "the King in his beauty," derives from Isaiah 33:17; at the same time, he observes

that "one finds in these very same literary sources statements to the effect that no mortal, including the celestial journeyer, can see God" (87).

26. They overlap with the apocryphal books concerning Enoch, particularly 3 Enoch, where the human Enoch's ascent, reception of heavenly knowledge, and angelization as Metatron are recounted.

27. See Jean-Patrice Boudet, "L'*ars notoria* au Moyen Âge: Une résurgence de la théurgie antique?" in *La magie: Actes du colloque international de Montpellier (25–27 mars 1999)*, vol. 3, *Du monde latin au monde contemporain*, ed. Alain Moreau and Jean-Claude Turpin (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche Université Paul-Valéry, 2000), 173–91. Véronèse's research generally supports Boudet's conclusion that the *Ars notoria* is an endogenous product of Christian Latin culture, despite its functional similarities to theurgic practices in other cultures.

28. This translation is from David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 428. I have not found any complete English translation of the Hekhalot materials, though Halperin's work is a useful orientation and includes quite a bit of translated text. Also helpful in bringing together contexts for these early Jewish practices, which seem to echo the *Ars notoria*, is Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

29. For more on the transcendence of theological knowledge, see Claire Fanger, "Complications of Eros: The Song of Songs in John of Morigny's *Liber florum celestis doctrine*," in *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 153–74; and Fanger, "Sacred and Secular Knowledge Systems in the *Ars notoria* and the *Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* of John of Morigny," in *Die Enzyklopädik der Esoterik: Allwissenheitsmythen und universalissenschaftliche Modelle in der Esoterik der Neuzeit*, ed. A. Kilcher and P. Theisohn (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2010), 157–76.

30. See chapter 3 in this volume.

31. An edition is included in Sophie Page, "Image-Magic Texts and a Platonic Cosmology at St Augustine's, Canterbury in the Late Middle Ages," in *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London: Warburg Institute, 2006), 69–98.

32. Page documents the contents in summary form in chapter 2 of this volume and in more detail in her breakdown of the individual chapters of the Alfonsine text in Appendix 3 to that chapter.

33. He mentions it, along with several other magic texts, in a prayer for one of the exceptive arts, geonegia, in the Old Compilation *Liber figurarum*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Liturg. 160, fol. 63r.

34. Lynn Thorndike represents the work essentially as a necromantic hodgepodge in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), 3:602–10.

35. "Unam quae dicitur *hohmat ha-zeruf* id est ars combinandi et est modus quidam procedendi in scientiis et est simile quid sicut apud nostros dicitur, ars Raymundi, licet forte diuerso modo procedant." Pico della Mirandola, *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1572), 180, quoted in Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1.

36. A gallery with these famous figures is available at the website of the University of Barcelona's Centre de Documentatió Ramon Llull, curated by Lola Badia, Anthony Bonner, and Albert Soler, with English translation by Robert Hughes; see http://quisestlullus.narpan.net/eng/81_brev_eng.html (accessed August 10, 2010).

37. Reuchlin makes this explicit in the postscript to *De arte cabalistica;* see *On the Art of the Kabbalah: De arte cabalistica*, trans. Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 357–59. For a recent digest and analysis of the materials for the case, see Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

38. See "Humphrey Gilbert," in *Complete Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), 105. A story about Gilbert is included in the children's book *Fifty Famous Stories Retold*, by James Baldwin (New York: American Book Co., 1896). Two works of speculative fiction based on Gilbert are cited in the Wikipedia article devoted to him: *The Gate of Time*, by Philip José Farmer (1966), and *Fire in the Abyss*, by Stuart Gordon (1983).

39. An exception is David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625* (London: Hambledon, 1990), 205–6, but Quinn's remarks remain brief and general. Klaassen is the first specialist in manuscripts of magic to make a detailed study of this manuscript.

40. Georg Luck, "Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 185.

41. The second component (*-urgy*) is the same as that which occurs in the word "metallurgy." *The Random House College Dictionary* (1975) etymologizes "metallurgy" as deriving from Greek *metallourgós* (*metallourgeía*), which it glosses as "working in metals," while the word "theurgy," which has the same second component, is said to go back to Greek *theourgeía*, which it glosses simply as "magic." This simple equation happens in scholarly situations, too, most often where the writer is in a hurry to get on to some other topic. For example, in his *Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 162ff., Andrew Louth briefly equates "theurgy" with "magic" even while backhandedly recognizing this as problematic: "Denys thinks of the sacraments as Christian theurgy—Christian magic, if you like—or, using less loaded words, a Christian use of material things to effect man's relationship with the divine" (163).

42. Naomi Janowitz offers a lucid overview of the types of practices referred to as theurgic in late antiquity, noting the overlap with magic and touching as well on the problematic nature of the term as it was brought into scholarly use by E. R. Dodds. See Janowitz, *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 5–18.

43. In addition to works already mentioned, some recent interpreters of late antique theurgy include Sarah Iles Johnston, "Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in Its Cultural Milieu," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and H. G. Kippenberg (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 165–94; for Iamblichean theories, see Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

44. This is common, though not especially scholarly; see, e.g., *Random House College Dictionary*, s.v. "theurgy."

45. E. R. Dodds, "Theurgy and Its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 55–69; Dodds uses the same definition again in *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959). While scholarly work on late antique theurgy has now advanced beyond Dodds's formulation of theurgy as magic applied to a religious purpose, his work on the topic remains foundational and is still cited.

46. The term is used in variable ways by many authors of the chapters in this book. Uses of the term in both Christian and kabbalistic contexts are discussed in more detail below.

47. A function marked in late antique as well as medieval Christian and Jewish versions of these practices. Augustine refers to those who perform theurgic rituals seeing in their initiated state "certain wonderfully lovely appearances of angels or gods" (*City of God* X.x, quoted from the translation by Marcus Dods [New York: Random House, 1950], 314; all citations are to this edition). Augustine suggests that these apparitions must actually result from "Satan transforming himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14)—a familiar cautionary topos for visionaries in the Middle Ages, frequently iterated by John of Morigny.

48. While Véronèse uses the term "theurgy" in chapter 1 of this book, he gives a more methodically elaborate explanation of his use of the term in his dissertation, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," from which I draw here, esp. 1:464ff.

49. Ibid., 1:467–68.

50. Ibid., 1:466–67.

51. Used in its older sense to mean "mystery," following Isidore and the Vulgate—a sense probably meant to evoke rather than imitate the more precisely defined "sacraments of the church" under development by late medieval theologians.

52. Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:469, citing Jean Trouillard, "Sacrements: La théurgie païenne," *Encyclopaedia Universalis* (1995), 20:463–64.

53. Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:472.

54. An instance cited by Véronèse (ibid., 1:248–51), who also notes that Abano presently changed his mind. It would seem that his initial perception of the *Ars notoria*, like John of Morigny's, was unconditioned by the recurrent condemnation of medieval theologians.

55. *Summa theologiae* 2a–2ae, q. 96, art. 1.

56. *Confessions* VII.9.13.

57. Augustine brings up Christ as mediator several times in books IX and X, but see especially IX.xv.

58. *City of God* IX.xxiii, X.iii, X.vii, X.ix.

59. *City of God* X.9

60. It appears forty-four times, according to Andrew Louth, "Pagan Theurgy and Christian Sacramentalism," *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser., 37 (1986): 432–38, and forty-seven times according

to Janowitz, *Icons of Power,* 13, and Gregory Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius the Areopagite," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999): 574.

61. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3 436C, 440 B, 440 C; I am here tracing the uses of the term "theurgy" using Rorem's footnotes to the translation by Colm Luibheid and Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987). A string of references to the use of *theurgia* in the Greek is given primarily on 52n11, which is prompted by the first use of "theurgy" in the *Divine Names.*

62. *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3 432B, 441D.

63. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names* 1 592A, p. 52, and Rorem's footnotes 11 and 12.

64. Paul Rorem traces the similarities and gives grounds for a probable influence in the chapter "Anagogical Movement," in *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols Within the Pseudo-Dionysian Synthesis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1984), 99–117, esp. 106ff.

65. Helpful in tracing terminology through various translations is *Dionysiaca: Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de 'Aréopage,* ed. Philippe Chevallier, 2 vols. (Paris: Descleé, de Brower et Cie, 1937–49).

66. Gregory Shaw, "Theurgy: Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus," *Traditio* 41 (1985): 4.

67. Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius," 573–74.

68. Ibid., 576–77. In his footnote to this passage, Shaw cites Louth, "Pagan Theurgy and Christian Sacramentalism," and Rorem, *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols,* 104–11.

69. Luibheid and Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius,* 52n11, quoted in Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius," 587.

70. Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius," 587ff.

71. Ibid., 578.

72. Ibid., 597. See also James Miller, *Measures of Wisdom* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 461ff.

73. Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 156.

74. Ibid., 157 (emphasis added).

75. That is, he takes "magic applied to a religious purpose" as being a "usual" definition of theurgy. I have noted, however, the general paucity of "definitions" of theurgy; so far as I have been able to determine, Dodds and Idel are virtually the only scholars actually to offer "definitions" of theurgy (that is, thumbnail accounts of what they mean when they use the word). Thus it is probably less that Dodds's definition is "usual" than that it was all Idel could find.

76. In fact, it continues to assume that magic is, by definition, "not religious"; if there can be shown to be a theurgy that is consistent with religion, it must, by definition, be nonmagical. In the assumptions surrounding the normal antagonism between magic and religion, his definition is little different from Dodds's.

77. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives,* 158.

78. Ibid., 161.

79. E.g., "to summarize the myth that underlies the augmentation theurgy." Ibid., 166.

80. For a scholar who shares this usage, see Elliot R. Wolfson in much of his writing, from the early article "Circumcision and the Divine Name," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 78 (1987): 77–112, to his chapter in this volume. As noted below, however, Wolfson has taken Idel's idea in a direction that involves some alterations of perspective (including the possibility that Christianity may also admit to some understanding of theurgy, a point for which his chapter in this volume is key). For a vaguer use of "theurgy" that does not explicitly align itself with either Scholem or Idel/Wolfson, see Pinchas Giller, *The Enlightened Will Shine: Symbolization and Theurgy in the Later Strata of the Zohar* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993); for an example of scholarship that never uses the term "theurgy" (despite being a study of Jewish ritual materials involving divine contact through purgation, intermediary beings, and revelation), see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic.*

81. Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius," 578n20.

82. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives,* 161.

83. "The great Jewish scholars of the past century . . . had little sympathy—to put it mildly—for the Kabbalah. At once strange and repellent, it epitomized everything that was opposed to their own ideas and to the outlook which they hoped to make predominant in modern Judaism. Darkly it stood in their path, the ally of forces and tendencies in whose rejection pride was taken by a Jewry which . . .

regarded it as its chief task to make a decent exit from the world." Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 3d ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1954), 1–2.

84. "The natural and obvious result of the antagonism of the great Jewish scholars was that . . . all manner of charlatans and dreamers came and treated it as their own property. From the brilliant misunderstandings and misrepresentations of Alphonse Louis Constant, who has won fame under the pseudonym of Eliphas Lévi, to the highly coloured humbug of Aleister Crowley and his followers, the most eccentric and fantastic statements have been produced purporting to be legitimate interpretations of Kabbalism." Ibid., 2. Janowitz notes that "as the category 'magic' shrinks, the category 'theurgy' blossoms." *Icons of Power,* 4n10.

85. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 4, quoting Jones's introduction to *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1909), xv.

86. For this discussion, see ibid., 5ff.

87. In regard to the scholarly perception of theurgy and *unio mystica* within Judaism, of course, much has been reconfigured since Scholem. Against a prevailing tendency to accept Scholem's strategic diagnosis of mystical union as *absent* from Jewish mysticism, Moshe Idel has defended the idea that concepts of *unio mystica* are important to Judaism, too, often expressed in metaphors similar to those of Christian mysticism. (See chapter 4 of *Kabbalah: New Perspectives,* 59–73.) However, Idel continues to follow Scholem in seeing theurgy as fundamentally absent from Christianity, and indeed the discussion of theurgy begins as an explicit contrast with the words of a Christian mystic, Angelus Silesius; Idel remarks that "Jewish theurgical anthropology strikes utterly different chords" (ibid., 179).

88. "The Kabbalah advanced what was at once a claim and an hypothesis, namely, that its function was to hand down to its own disciples the secret of God's revelation to Adam. . . . The fact that such a claim was made appears to me highly characteristic of Jewish mysticism." Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 21. The trope of the recovery of Adamic knowledge recurs in Christian angel magic texts, too; for this as the founding myth of the *Ars notoria,* see Véronèse's chapter in this volume.

89. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 17; for language in the *Ars notoria,* see Véronèse's chapter in this volume.

90. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 37–38. For masculinity in Christian ritual magic, see Frank Klaassen, "Learning and Masculinity in Manuscripts of Ritual Magic of the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, no. 1 (2007): 49–76. Of course, it is possible that these Christian texts directly or indirectly took some influence from Jewish ideas; however, the presence of these general characteristics (the preference of vision over divine union, the myth of Adamic knowledge, the valorization of language) need not necessarily have been a result of Jewish influence. Even where this influence is to some extent demonstrable (as in the case of the *Sworn Book*), the texts seem not to have originated as translations or adaptations of Hebrew works but, as Jean-Patrice Boudet puts it, as *endogenous* productions of Christian Latin culture. See Boudet, "L'*Ars Notoria* au Moyen Âge."

91. The period that witnessed the proliferation of ritual magic texts also witnessed a rise in other private liturgies and devotional practices, as Richard Kieckhefer comments in *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997), 17, and has also addressed in Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation,* ed. Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 75–108. For a useful overview that construes the "experience" of mysticism broadly as including experiences of exegesis, reading, writing, and listening to liturgical performances, see Benedicta Ward, "Mysticism and Devotion in the Middle Ages," in *Companion Encyclopedia of Theology,* 2d ed., ed. Peter Byrne and James Leslie Houlden (London: Routledge, 1995), 558–75. For a broad overview of approaches to the topic of Christian mysticism, see Bernard McGinn, "Theoretical Foundations: The Modern Study of Mysticism," appendix to his *Foundations of Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 265–343.

92. For example, prayer encounters some of the same issues as theurgy: where its intent seems instrumental, it is subject to justification or prohibition in similar terms. Don Skemer's survey of prayers used as amuletic text provides insight into the array of practices that accreted around written prayers in this time period, as well as some of the theological problems people encountered in using them. See his *Binding Words,* esp. chapter 2, "The Magical Efficacy of Words." For a discussion of prayers and devotional practices in England in the context of a study of pardons and indulgences, see Robert N.

Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. chapter 6, "Devotion and Veneration"; and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. chapter 8, "Charms, Pardons, and Promises: Lay Piety and 'Superstition' in the Primers." Of course, the most complete, as well as crustily judgmental, survey of instrumental prayers in early modern England is in Reginald Scot—one of three persons named "Scott" addressed by Jonathan Z. Smith in his article "Great Scott! Thought and Action One More Time," in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 73–91. This piece revisits in broad theoretical terms the problem of the positive valuation of religious thought in contrast to negative or problematically positive valuations of religious action.

PART I

TEXTS OF THE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

1

MAGIC, THEURGY, AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE MEDIEVAL RITUAL OF THE *Ars notoria*

Julien Véronèse

Even though Lynn Thorndike laid the groundwork for a possible study of the *Ars notoria* long ago, it was not until quite recently that this practice (probably too quickly labeled "magical") began to be of significant interest to historians.[1] Jean Dupèbe deserves credit for the groundbreaking article in 1987 in which he first suggested a possible filiation between the notory art and the Neoplatonic theurgy of the first centuries of the Christian era, though it was still too early for him to go into much detail.[2] More recently, a number of publications have begun to shed light on the manuscript tradition, the possible origin, and the content of manuscripts of the *Ars notoria.*[3] However, no study specifically of the ritual aspects of this art has emerged to date. In a recent contribution to scholarship, Jean-Patrice Boudet laid the foundations for such a study, but his purpose was more to synthesize some basic questions and to put together the initial elements of an answer than to propose a thorough overview of what is still an almost virgin territory for research.[4] The theme of his article is the sticky question of the real nature of the *Ars notoria:* should it be thought of simply as a "magical" art? Or might it still be possible to relate it (as in the preliminary hypothesis suggested by Jean Dupèbe) to late antique Hellenistic theurgic practices, which were reintroduced to the West in the twelfth century via the Byzantine, Hebrew, or Arab worlds? Or again, might it be related to the devotional practices more consistent with Christian orthodoxy evident among mystics? Just how far can we travel down each of these paths?

I am most grateful to Claire Fanger, who undertook the job of translating the French version of this chapter, which I wrote based on research done for my master's thesis. A more detailed picture is available in my doctoral dissertation, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne: Étude d'une tradition de magie théurgique, XIIe–XVIIe siècle," 2 vols. (Université Paris X–Nanterre, 2004). Vol. 2, containing the editions, has been published as *L'*Ars notoria *au Moyen Âge: Introduction et édition critique* (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL, 2007). Vol. 1, containing commentary on the *Ars notoria* traditions in medieval life and thought, is forthcoming.

We raise these questions again with the primary concern of defining the *Ars notoria* better and more precisely within the context of the actual state of historical research, while granting its ambiguous and fluid nature. In order to do this, a thorough consultation with the notory art's texts and variants is necessary at the outset. A more detailed treatment is available in my critical edition already cited; for the purposes of this essay I will refer to the most representative manuscripts and outline the means and ends at work in the notory art, starting with a description of the ritual and sketching out an analysis of the various elements structuring it (following the approach used by Richard Kieckhefer in developing his exposition of "nigromancy").[5]

To this end, an adequate text must be chosen. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to go into a detailed consideration of the avatars that have governed the manuscript transmission of the *Ars notoria*, it is nevertheless appropriate to give a short preliminary account of the situation. First of all, the *Ars notoria* has a solid manuscript base. At this point, more than fifty manuscripts have been discovered scattered through different libraries in western Europe and North America (not counting some modern editions), which is remarkable in more ways than one. It reinforces Claire Fanger's assertion that ritual magic, in its diverse forms, was not a marginal element in the cultural world of the literate elite.[6] Above all, it forces us to ask about the reasons for the persistence of this text despite the fact that the *Ars notoria* was duly condemned by Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and numerous other doctors of the church after them.[7] Do we have to see this simply as the ineffective repression of a phenomenon that had become too solidly embedded in the literate milieux (the milieux of clerics)? Or was there not, in fact, a certain offhandedness on the part of the institutions, confronted with a practice that was ambiguous by nature, which left the issue prey to doubt? The question has not been decided, although a comparison with other known types of ritual magic (notably the "nigromancy" of which a few late manuscripts still remain) weighs in on the side of the second hypothesis. In effect, if the demonic nature of "nigromancy" was evident (and so its eradication desired and largely put into action), the nature of the *Ars notoria*, objectively speaking, created more of a problem, as the Angelic Doctor had suggested. The reasons for the widespread diffusion of this practice are probably to be found, on the one hand, in this continual hesitation over the status of the *Ars notoria*, and, on the other, in its enticing goal (the acquisition of total knowledge).

Some of the extant manuscripts have lacunae; others are complete. A critical study, although summary, permits two stages to be distinguished in the evolution of the corpus of the *Ars notoria*. The first stage groups the texts based on an older model (from the thirteenth century or perhaps the second half of the twelfth century) of the kind that is found, for example, in the manuscripts Sloane 1712 (British Library), Yale 1 (Yale University Library), or Amplon. 4° 380 (Erfurt, Stadt-und-Regionalbibliothek). This version contains the two elements present in every complete text of the notory art: the *Flores aurei* followed by the *Ars nova.* It provides the operator with the large structure of the ritual and the principal elements that constitute it, but without really putting it into working order. (In other words, for the postulant who had no master to oversee his initiation, this original, rather dry version gave insufficient directions to enable the easy or felicitous carrying out of the ceremony.) This is most probably why, at the end of the thirteenth century, a second version saw the light of day, very much fleshed out and glossed. Three magnificent fourteenth-century manuscripts provide examples: CC 322 in Kremsmünster; Cues 216 in the Hospitalsbibliothek in Bernkastel-Kues; and lat. 9336 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. If this version gives the operator a more clearly defined program, it also offers the historian a unique perspective, since it is not far from the original version and thus remains representative, but is also more rich in information. I base this chapter on this version (particularly as mediated by BnF, lat. 9336, on which my research has been focused, and which serves as a reference point throughout these pages) to give a full representation of the ritual of the notory art.

The main contribution of this late version is its glossed part, superimposed on a base text that is still essentially faithful to the original stage of its elaboration. Quantitatively, the gloss represents a substantial piece of work. Two ways of looking at the situation are possible here: if the principal text is understood to be the text itself (*Flores aurei* and *Ars nova*) plus everything of a textual nature (the prayers and the lists of angelic names) included in the figures or *notae,* then the gloss counts for 43 percent of the whole contents of the manuscript, which is already considerable. But if we postulate that the texts inserted into the *notae* constitute a distinct piece of work (which is preferable, since they sometimes overlap with the principal text),[8] then the principal text does not count for more than 30 percent of the treatise, as against 57 percent in the preceding example (the text of the *notae* counting for about 27 percent). The gloss appears suddenly as the largest subset of the treatise, which is explained in part by its repetitive structure (the recapitulations are numerous) but above all by its qualitative contribution. Indeed, it is occupied in a true exegesis of the text, bringing to it a density that it lacked at first. Let us consider some examples.

Take the prologue.[9] The base text delivers a succinct history of the revelation of the *Ars notoria* to Solomon and affirms its principal benefit: the acquisition of all forms of knowledge. For supplementary development of this revelatory episode, the reader must draw on the abundant commentary in the margin. The commentary begins by calling on Genesis to affirm the privileged place of humankind in the creation—a process that serves to justify at the outset a practice in which the explicit objective is to reinforce the natural human aptitude for knowing. The notory art would not be able to work against the original divine plan since it does nothing but improve on a faculty that God gave to all human beings at the beginning of the world. The *Ars notoria* had thus been delivered to Adam, and then to others, in particular Solomon, who received from the hands of the angel Pamphilius, the principal minister of God, the *Tabulae aureae,* on which were inscribed the angelic names and prayers constituting the notory art. In this way the foundational myth is established, and the author returns to this myth repeatedly, occasionally with variations, throughout the treatise. After describing the scene of its revelation, the author leaps forward in time and comes at length to the great disseminator of the art among men, Apollonius, *dictus phylosophus,* the text's second great authority. At this point, after a brief presentation of the work of Apollonius, and before the author even arrives at the first prayer with the incipit *Alpha et omega,* the last part of the commentary establishes a few large principles that an operator who wishes to practice the *Ars notoria* successfully must follow and that will be reaffirmed again and again throughout the treatise (such as respect for the exigencies of timing and the need to lead a rigorous Christian life). This is a good measure of the extent of the discrepancy that can exist between text and gloss.

The prayer *Alpha et omega*[10] provides us with a second illuminating example, since it describes a prototypical relationship between a prayer and its commentary. No specifications are given about *Alpha et omega* in the body of the text; to know its place in the ritual economy, the operator must refer to the gloss. The contribution of the commentary is very clear: it defines the method (*doctrina*) to be followed, establishing what must be done for the operation to proceed smoothly. Thus it specifies that *Alpha et omega* is to be recited twice, before and after the entire operation; that together with the prayers to come, it is part of a ritual intended to obtain a preparatory vision prior to which the general ritual does not truly begin—a vision that tells the beneficiary whether or not he is worthy to follow the operation through. Finally, the gloss describes exactly how the operator must prepare to obtain first the vision, then the divine "open sesame" necessary to go further in the ritual, the virtues of this prayer, etc.—elements that the text alone leaves to the free interpretation of each operator.

For the sake of clarity, some preliminary details of the internal structure of the *Ars notoria* treatises need to be noted. Claire Fanger has already suggested the basis of such a study in an article in which she compares the structure of the *Liber visionum* (a revised version of the art composed by the Benedictine John of Morigny at the beginning of the fourteenth century) to that of a type of *Ars* *notoria* treatise;[11] however, we will set forth some further specifics, relying only on Latin manuscript 9336 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Even though it dates to the fourteenth century, this magnificent manuscript is a good "conductive wire" inasmuch as its text follows the text's original structure reasonably faithfully, although there are some modifications of detail from one manuscript to the next.[12] These distinctions are necessary because the order in which the text is composed only apparently takes account of the order in which the ritual is performed. To reconstruct the order of ritual performance, we must reestablish the internal play of textual correspondences when the time comes. As well, we must specify here and now—by a simple linear reading of the text—this first structure, which we will use later as a reference point.

As we have seen, the prologue (fol. 1ra) establishes the mythic history of the art and contains the first prayer, *Alpha et omega.* Then the real body of the treatise, the *Flores aurei,* begins: "Here begins the first treatise of this most holy notory art and its expositions and restrictions of times, which Solomon and Appolonius called the *Golden Flowers,* and this work is proved and confirmed by the authority of Solomon, Manicheus, and Euducheus."[13] The *Golden Flowers* ends on fol. 13v and constitutes about three-quarters of the text (excluding the text of the *notae*). It is subdivided into multiple prayers, which all have one or more virtues. After a brief presentation of the *Flores aurei,* and especially Apollonius's work of translation (fol. 1vb), and after some warnings in the direct style on the part of Apollonius, a rubric announces our entry into the subject proper: "The following division concerns the notory art. The art is divided in two parts. In the first part he puts the general prayers and *notae;* in the second, the specials."[14] This division corresponds, in effect, to the two successive stages of the *Flores aurei:* first, the operator is delivered the prayers that permit the development and reinforcement of the intellectual faculties[15] so that he may then be prepared to receive the sciences he desires to obtain, one after the other.[16]

The first or general part is subdivided into many sequences of prayers. One initial series, made up of *tria prima capitula,*[17] has the virtue of attracting the grace of God to the operator: "These prayers have in them so great a mystery and virtue that in their pronunciation there is administered to the operator the grace of our lord Jesus Christ in each branch of knowledge."[18] A second sequence of prayers, the *triumphales orationes,* serves to fortify memory and to develop eloquence and intelligence.[19] A third,[20] a fourth,[21] and a fifth[22] sequence have the same goal. All must be recited at precise times laid out by the gloss. This relatively simple stratification occasionally becomes more complicated. As will be seen below, certain prayers, taken separately, actually have a specific virtue—used in this way, they do not develop the intellectual faculties but rather satisfy more circumstantial and prosaic desires. To put it as simply as possible, they have a "general" utility, which is to ameliorate the faculties of the operator, and a "special" utility, which is to respond to this or that circumstance of daily life (foresee the outcome of an illness, settle an urgent affair, etc.).

The second part, which contains the *orationes speciales,* is subdivided like the first. It lays out all there is to know for the acquisition of total knowledge. The transition from the first part occurs on fol. 8va.[23] After presenting the different arts of which the *Ars notoria* allows mastery, following a logical order, the treatise turns its attention to the arts making up the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic/dialectic). It tells the number of figures attributed to each of the arts,[24] then specifies the manner in which the ritual of inspection of the figures must take place in each case.[25] The treatise gives information on the months favorable to such operations[26] and finally sets out a certain number of prayers that must be pronounced before the contemplation of the figures.[27] The same operation is repeated for the disciplines of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, medicine, astronomy),[28] the figures called "generals,"[29] and philosophy and theology,[30] and then a whole new sequence of prayers is laid out.[31] For each art, the text, and especially the gloss, provides lengthy details about the conditions under which the figures should be examined. Thus concludes the *Golden Flowers.*

The *Ars nova* (fols. 13va–15rb) represents a break in the progress of the treatise. This treatise within a treatise was not delivered to Solomon at the same time as the *Flores aurei;* it was received after his disgrace as a sign of the restoration of the privileged link between himself and God in the best time of his reign.[32] Thus the *Ars nova* marks a second phase in the mythic history of the *Ars notoria,* and on this account plays a slightly peculiar role. In fact, it is not indispensable to someone who already possesses the *Flores aurei* and the figures accompanying it; its absence would in no way hinder the appropriate progress of the operation. Nevertheless, this short treatise (the evolution of which is mythically as well as historically ulterior to the notory art)[33] has considerable importance. In fact, by itself it can suffice to see the operation through to its effect: thanks to its multiple benefits, it permits the short-circuiting of the interminable operation that precedes it: "Even if you wish to work without the other chapters of the aforesaid art, you will be able to achieve great efficacy in any art whatsoever with these prayers said in a timely and orderly manner."[34] It is composed of only ten prayers[35] and, above all, it fixes no temporal obligations: "But in these prayers that must be said, neither times nor days nor moons need be observed."[36] Even if it lays claim to its own autonomy, however, it is not less well integrated into the treatise as a whole for that reason. In a long extract from the gloss at the end of the treatise, a recapitulation of the whole ritual treats it as one step among others.[37] The *Ars nova* undeniably has an ambiguous position.

To conclude the text, there follow nine prayers called "terminals" (*novem orationes que dicuntur termini*).[38] If it is certain that they do not make up part of the *Ars nova,* it is possible that they might have been separated by it from the remainder of the *Flores aurei.*[39] As with the *Golden Flowers,* Solomon received them from the hands of an angel when he was at the foot of the altar in the temple.[40] These nine prayers consist of interminable lists of angel names, to which it is necessary to add two Latin prayers that do the duty of a prologue.[41] The text closes with a long fragment of gloss that delivers some fundamental information about the ritual of the *Ars notoria* in general.[42] It ends with the words "Explicit doctrina operationum omnium figurarum totius summe istius artis memorative, Deo gratias, amen" (Here ends the instruction for the working of all the figures for the entire *summa* of this art of memory, thanks be to God, amen).

After the text come the *notae,* which conclude the whole treatise. The gloss defines the *notae* as follows: "A note is the cognition of a certain thing through a prayer and a figure placed on top of it."[43] The note is the adjunct that permits the transmission of knowledge into the spirit of the operator at the final moment of the operation, and is composed of text (*oratio*) and signs (*figura*). God gave to each art a well-defined number of *notae.* These are itemized from fol. 18r to fol. 28v. (It should be noted in passing that the order of folios in lat. 9336 is somewhat out of order in this location, most probably from the restoration of the binding.) Thus there are the three notes of grammar,[44] the two notes of dialectic,[45] the four notes of rhetoric,[46] the single note of medicine and of music,[47] the two and a half notes of arithmetic,[48] the six notes of astronomy/astrology,[49] the four "general" notes,[50] the seven notes of philosophy,[51] the two notes of geometry,[52] the five notes of theology,[53] the note of chastity,[54] the note of justice, peace, and fear of God,[55] and finally the note of self mastery and silence.[56]

This stratigraphic outline, necessary to establish a general framework, is nevertheless insufficient for a full grasp of the contents of an *Ars notoria* treatise. A reconstruction of the ritual is required at the outset, and then an analysis of its principal elements, which will allow us to respond in part to our general problematic.

1. *Preparation*

Before the ritual begins the course of its first month, the operator must actively prepare himself over a period of fifteen days.[57] First he should confess and do penance, and then set about an *operatio* that will confirm whether he is worthy to pursue the procedure or not. Although the art is, in principle, open to all, this testing, which takes the form of a magical manipulation, functions as a barrier: only the most zealous will be able to continue. At the beginning of the crucial fifteen-day period, the practitioner must find four olive, bay, or vine leaves and deposit them in a new glass cup in a clean place. The operation that concerns them can take place only during the last three days of this fifteen-day preparatory period, and these last three days must fall at all costs on a Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. On the first of the three days, namely, the Friday that precedes the new month (which will be the first month of the ritual), the operator must take the leaves out of the cup, put them in another container, and mix them with some saffron dissolved in rosewater. Then the operator should take out the first leaf, write the name Hagnadam on the bottom with a new pen, and set it on a clean table. This procedure is repeated with the three remaining leaves: on one, Merabor is to be written, on the next, Hamiladei, and on the last, Pesiguaguol. They must be placed, following the first leaf, on the table in this order. At this point the first glass cup must be filled with pure, clear water. The first of the four leaves must be dipped into it, rubbed until the name written on the bottom disappears, and then withdrawn. The same operation is performed with the other three leaves. When the mixture is ready, the operator devoutly drinks a little and recites these words for the first time: "Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me" (Ps. 118:66). Then he drinks again and pronounces the same request, repeating the procedure four times to imbibe the virtue of the four angelic names that were dissolved in the water in the previous sequence.[58] When this step is completed, he immediately begins to read the first prayers of the art, *Alpha et omega*, the *tria prima capitula*, and then, after a short interval, the ten prayers of the *Ars nova* and the nine "terminals." This reading must be done in the prescribed order three times during the Friday: early in the morning, at terce, and at noon; but the water must not be drunk again at the time of the second and third reading sessions. During the course of the day, it is important to fast on bread and water, and nothing should be eaten until after the third reading.

Early in the morning on the following day, Saturday, the operator must finish drinking the water, following the same procedure as before, then recite the same prayers at terce and noon. The fast must be observed and the operator cannot eat until the task is finished. However, he is no longer restricted to bread and water; he is allowed to eat Lenten food and he may drink wine in moderation (*absque superfluitate et crapula*).

On the third day, Sunday, the same prayers should be read at the same times as on the preceding days, but this time the operator may eat meat and anything he likes once he has finished with the operation. The fast is no longer required, but it is replaced by other good works, notably the giving of alms to the poor for the purpose of doing penance. Thus the first preparatory operation is completed.

The procedure is described similarly, but in a more elliptical manner, with several variants, at the beginning of the treatise, when the gloss comments on the prayer *Alpha et omega.*[59] There also it is a matter of reciting the same prayers for three days in order to induce a preparatory vision during sleep (*in visione dormiendo*). But the details are lacking, and several divergences are particularly to be noted. On the first day, the bread-and-water fast must be observed; on the second day, the operator is allowed to eat Lenten food. So far everything corresponds to the preceding description. But on the third day, although the fast is no longer necessary in the long version, it is continued in the shorter one. Moreover, the short version makes no mention of the fifteen preparatory days or the preparation of the decoction and specifies only that the "three days" should correspond to the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday that precede the first month of the operation—one of the numerous internal incoherencies in the treatise that make its reconstruction more difficult.

The *operatio* ends on the Sunday, but, depending on the calendar, some days may remain before the beginning of the month and can be put to profitable use. This is an opportunity to reread the preceding prayers, this time with no temporal obligation. The operator should read them as often as he can, both during the day and at night. Although it is not necessary to prepare another decoction, anyone who aspires to a vision should keep absolutely clean from all mortal sin. If he is a student, he should go to school during this transition period and attend (*audire*) the course dealing with the material he desires to master by using the *Ars notoria.* The goal of this entire preparatory operation is that the operator should have an angelic vision telling him whether he is worthy to carry on and, if so, what results he can expect. If the vision reveals that the candidate is not apt, he should in no case persevere. Moreover, he should ask what sin he has failed to confess and do penance for it, after which he may perhaps undertake the entire operation again from the start. There is a final directive to which obedience is necessary in order for the procedure effectively to be carried out: the elect should not under any circumstances reveal the content of his vision. This secret is one of the guarantees of the operation's success: to break this rule greatly hinders the aspirant's chances.

2. *The First Month*

The ritual as such begins on the first day of the new month. First, in the early morning of the first day a new decoction must be made, following the instructions previously set forth, with four leaves freshly picked on which are inscribed the same angelic names. The operator should drink from it four times, interspersing the reading of the psalm *Bonitatem et disciplinam,* etc., and then repeat the preceding prayers as often as he can, both during the day and at night, all day long. It is unnecessary to drink the water, and fasting is not vital. The treatise notes again that if the operator is a student, he should continue to attend the course that puts him in contact with the sciences he hopes to acquire. The operation of this first month is really no more than a prolonged repetition of the preceding phase.

3. *The Second Month*

The beginning of the operation is identical: prepare the decoction, drink it four times, and recite the prayers in the prescribed order from beginning to end as often as possible day and night. But this process lasts only three days—the first three days of the second month, during which the operator is allowed to live normally. On the fourth day, in the morning, he must drink the decoction again, then recite *cum humili pronuntiatione* the following prayers: *Alpha et omega,* the *tria prima capitula,* and the six prayers that go from *Assaylemaht* to *Te queso Domine.* With this accomplished, the operator may go to study, but he must be back in the place where he performs the ritual (a house) to recite the prayers again before terce. He should recommence around noon and in the evening. The prayers should be repeated in the same way—that is, four times a day, the eighth day of the month (and not before), the twelfth, the sixteenth, the twentieth, the twenty-fourth, the twenty-eighth, and the thirtieth. These temporal prescriptions are in agreement with those given in the treatise for the six prayers (*Assaylemaht,* etc.).[60] So there is no contradiction between the gloss and the text: the gloss simply puts the text's prescriptions in a more coherent order. Moreover, on these eight favorable days, the prayers should be pronounced freely, without constraint, "since the more times all the Latin prayers are pronounced, the more profit they bring."[61]

4. *The Third Month*

On the first day the operator must drink the decoction again, then in the early morning recite the prayers *Alpha et omega,* the *tria capitula, Te queso Domine,* and its prologue, *Lamehc, Ragna,* etc., *Hazatam,* etc. On the same day he must recite them at terce, noon, and nones, but with three repetitions each time. The operation is repeated in this way (without drinking the decoction first) on the third day of the month, the sixth, the ninth, the twelfth, the fifteenth, the eighteenth, the twenty-first, the twenty-fourth, the twenty-sixth, the twenty-ninth, and the thirtieth—that is, twelve days in all. For more details, the gloss refers to the text. For the duration of these twelve days, the frequency of the readings increases exponentially: "Moreover, the prayer ought to be uttered once on the first moon, thrice on the third, six times on the sixth, nine times on the ninth, twelve times on the twelfth, fifteen times on the fifteenth, and ought to be uttered the same number of times on the eighteenth, twenty-third, twenty-sixth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth moon—that is, fifteen times."[62] Thus the prayers should be read as often as fifteen times in a single day. During the twelve days, the operator should follow a Lenten regime and indefatigably skim works dealing with the sciences he is trying to acquire.

On the other days he does not cease to be active: until the fifteenth day, in the morning, at terce, and at noon, he should recite some other prayers[63] without being obliged to fast the whole time; from the fifteenth day to the end of the month he recites a new sequence in the early morning.[64]

5. *The Fourth and Final Month*

During the fourth and final month, the operator must proceed to the most important operation of the *Ars notoria:* inspecting (*inspicere*) or contemplating the figures. For this, the most complete solitude is required (*in domum secretam*). The operator has the right to retain only one servant or, if he not a confirmed practitioner, his teacher. On the first day he repeats, as at the beginning of every month, the operation with the four leaves and then he recites a group of prayers.[65] Only then does he recite the prayers pertaining to each figure (remember that a *nota* is the association of prayers and one or more figures) and examine the figures, for each of them attending to the prescriptions laid out throughout the treatise.[66]

This very demanding ritual requires the operator's full availability. The procedure to be followed for the other sciences differs little: in each case the operator must read certain invocations a certain number of times before contemplating this or that figure or figures. The differences are in the details and concern the invocations to be recited, the auspicious times for the performance, and so on. If, on the whole, the *Ars notoria* ritual is very strict, certain prayers extracted from the context of the whole do not always exact rigorous conformity with all the prescriptions listed above. For the practitioner, it is a question of obtaining benefits answering to this or that circumstance of daily life while distancing himself from the primary objective of the notory art. So, with a particular usage of the prayers *Lamehc, Deus summe Deus,* and *Te queso Domine,* he can obtain a gift of clairvoyance[67] that permits him to know what dangers lie in wait and to have news of someone dear to him. Of course, it is not a question here of resorting to those traditional means of divination that the *Ars notoria* permits one to acquire elsewhere (geomancy, chiromancy, etc.) but of obtaining a prophetic vision delivered with the consent of God. For this, the operator should first cleanse himself of sins by confession and fasting. The operation takes place in the evening: it consists of reading the *tria prima capitula* once and then immediately reading the three prayers mentioned above twice. Then the vision follows, after a set of gestures whose extreme simplicity contrasts with everything that has previously been described.

From a theological point of view, the *Ars notoria* is clearly on shaky ground at this point. From an orthodox perspective, a prophetic vision is a rare and precious gift that is granted only to the best Christians and, above all, cannot be mechanically induced. Our treatise certainly means to show itself aware of this opinion. Doesn't the operator have to prove his holiness by confessing, fasting, and reciting prayers with great piety on the day he decides to obtain the vision? And how could he constrain God to respond to him unless he used a liturgy that God himself revealed and that aroused his sympathy? But despite this sort of legitimizing discourse, the break with orthodoxy could hardly fail to be serious. From the perspective of the operator, the art establishes a theurgic rapport with divinity—God is not constrained to satisfy the will of the operator, since the means used by the practitioner originate with God himself, and all he has to do is to reactivate them to excite the divine sympathy—something that has an equivalent, if imperfect, in sacramental theology[68] and that allows the art to slip by under a veil of respectability. But from an orthodox perspective, such a rapport can only be magical, since nothing can absolutely guarantee the presence of God but the sacraments themselves. If the art succeeds in satisfying adepts, this can only be through the intervention of demons.

Another prayer, another practice. Like the preceding prayers, *Iesu Dei Filius* grants knowledge of the future, but this time for "medical" ends.[69] The goal once again is to induce an angelic vision that delivers a reliable response to a question. Will the patient be cured or die? Is your wife pregnant and, if so, what will the child's sex be? Or will there be twins? Is the young girl about to be married a virgin? These are the questions to which the art guarantees answers without recourse to the traditional methods of divination or the sorcerer's oracles. It turns an extraordinary prophetic gift to ordinary ends. In this regard, Jean Dupèbe emphasizes that "contrary to 'orthodox' prophecy, which does not pretend to announce anything but great and lofty truths, theurgic vision does not disdain small daily curiosities."[70] As in the preceding case, the procedure is extremely simplified: all you have to do is put yourself in conformity with God, stand near to the sick person, the pregnant woman, or the young girl, and recite the invocation thrice in a low voice without regard to day or time. An angelic vision declares to the one praying what is going to happen or what truth should be trusted. It must be noted, on the one hand, that the operator performs this short ritual in the presence of strangers, which is counter to the customary injunctions of the treatise, and, on the other, that this prayer does not deliver the whole of medical knowledge—for more knowledge in this area one must follow the general ritual.

A last case concerns the prayer *Gemoht, Gehel.*[71] Used in the framework of the general ritual, it has the power of reinforcing eloquence. But a more restricted use permits it to resolve all sorts of business (*negotium*), notably when one has to face a judge in a court case, or a king, or any other personage. For responding to these risky situations necessitating quick reactions, the operator must know the prayer by heart or have it within reach on a small bit of parchment. He should recite it secretly with great devotion just before he goes to attend to his business. Then, by the power of the holy names of angels contained in it, the prayer resolves, as if miraculously, all difficulty. In order for the prayer to have any effect, however, the operator must be clean from all sin at the time he pronounces it, and he must have fasted on bread and water the previous day. This last constraint limits its use somewhat, as only situations known about in advance can be resolved.

Coming to the end of this summary of the *Ars notoria* ritual, one can hardly fail to be struck by its extreme strictness. Its spirituality has an essentially monastic quality involving ascesis (detachment from the world), on which we will touch briefly before taking a more in-depth look at the ritual. As necessary as the preceding summary may be, a more particularized study of the different constituents of the art (Latin prayers, divine and angelic names, *notae*) is required in order to respond to our initial problematic.

A Christian Art

1. *Having Faith*

The practice of the *Ars notoria* requires a true profession of faith. Success can be achieved only by one who shows an indestructible faith in God, one who lives in love of God at every moment.[72] By corollary, if the art turns out to be ineffective after all, this is most probably occasioned by doubt on the part of the practitioner.[73] Faith, to which charity and hope are equally attached, is the cardinal virtue that permits the sacramental power of the *Ars notoria* to be reactivated whenever necessary (that is, each time the ritual is begun). It assures the presence of

God at the moment of ritual engagement. Indeed, the notory art defines itself as a divine sacrament that effectively functions *ex opere operato* (by its own power); the practitioner only has to believe in it and in its creator to accomplish the work. This requirement makes it a Christian practice reserved for the extremely zealous, a liturgy marked out for those people who are close to God.

2. *Ascesis*

Although faith is indispensible, it still does not absolve the operator of every fault. Faith is necessary but insufficient; it must be enhanced and confirmed by an ascesis that renders it indisputable and actual, which is the tangible proof of the operator's goodwill.[74] By ascesis, the operator in effect cuts himself off from the temptations here below and realizes the conditions necessary for his soul to enter into contact with the superior world. To paraphrase Cornelius Agrippa's formula, the man who possesses purity becomes heavenly and entirely spiritual.[75] According to a schema found in Neoplatonic theurgy, this catharsis has the effect of "disengaging the *mens* from all its bodily ties" and of "preparing it for the reception of divine *pneuma*."[76] Jeanne Carlier notes that the idea that contact with the divine requires the separation of soul and body was, to a large extent, developed by Plato in the *Phaedo* (65c and passim) and was subsequently taken up by the Neoplatonists, particularly by Porphyry in his *De abstinentia* (II 52) and in his *Letter to Marcella* (§10).[77] The *Ars notoria* is plausibly in keeping with this tradition, which has equivalents in Christian mysticism. But more than realizing a true union with God by way of an anagogical movement of the soul, the practitioner of the art seeks to prepare himself for the descent of the divine through the mediation of an angelic vision. Like the Neoplatonic theurgist, he hopes to fulfill his soul with illuminations, gifts, and revelations of the divinity.[78]

This ascesis, the first condition of the *bona vita*—that is, the active Christian life—consists of a set of monastically inspired recommendations.[79] The first is to guard oneself from the pleasures of the flesh. Chastity is a state necessary for the optimal functioning of the ritual of the *Ars notoria*, and the operator often finds himself repeating proscriptions of all sexual relations before or during the operation. He ought not to operate, it is said, *post accessum mulieris*. Further evidence that good conduct in this domain is one of the fundamentals of the art is the existence of a figure of chastity (*figura castitatis*),[80] which probably has the function of preserving this state in the operator. In the general way, ascesis permits a more effective battle against all the capital sins, such as lust, theft, perjury, murder, loss of hope (more than despair), gluttony, and drunkenness.[81] The treatise particularly insists on the necessity of not taking immoderate pleasure in food and drink.[82] In order to satisfy the need for purity imposed by the *Ars notoria,* the operator must undertake fasts of differing lengths and of greater or lesser severity. In fact, for each prayer and each art, a different combination of bread-and-water fast, Lenten regime, and possibility of eating meat and drinking wine is proposed. Finally, to eradicate all sins that soil the body and soul, confession and penance must be performed before every invocation.[83] The practitioner of the *Ars notoria* prepares himself like a faithful Christian before communion, because, like the communicant, he prepares himself for the reception of a divine sacrament. Note that certain methods of purification used in other magical rituals do not have a place in the notory art, such as the ablutions and other suffumigations used, for example, in nigromantic rituals.[84] Nor is it specified whether the practitioner should garb himself in clean ceremonial vestments.

This exigency of purity is abundantly illustrated by the exempla. The first exemplum is found in the gloss commenting on the group of prayers with the incipit *Hazatam* and the explicit *Hanuyrlyhahel.*[85] The story goes as follows: one day, when Solomon went away to attend to some business, he forgot, in his haste, to put the book of the *Ars notoria* away out of the sight of indiscreet glances. It fell into the hands of one of his friends, who, taking advantage of the occasion, began to read the aforesaid prayers. But he had a soul burdened with sin. Hardly were the first words out of his mouth when the work fell from his hands. The punishment was as instant as it was inevitable: becoming mute, deaf, and blind, he found himself deprived of the use of the senses, memory, and intelligence. He was condemned, furthermore, to remain in this state until the hour of his death. It was only at the moment of reckoning that God permitted the blasphemer to enlighten the king. On point of death, he recounted to Solomon that four angels scourged him from the moment of his trespass and that each of the angels performed a well-defined task: the first set about rendering him mute, the second, blind, and the third, deaf, while the fourth deprived him of memory and intelligence. The person who does not respect the prescriptions of the treatise, Solomon concluded, must expect to undergo the wrath of the avenging angels.

The second exemplum, developed in two places, concerns Solomon personally and reinterprets a passage from the book of Kings (Vulg. III Rg).[86] The king, contemplating the figures of the *Ars notoria* in a state of drunkenness (in the Bible he is reproved for loving outlandish women who turn him away from God), brings divine wrath down upon himself. While he is weeping after realizing the enormity of his fault, an angel appears to him and, in the name of God, forbids him access to the temple for eighty days. The messenger teaches him further that evil will fall on his descendants after his death. The interest of this exemplum lies not only in the moral it illustrates; it shows, above all, that if someone who has been judged worthy of the revelation can be punished, then so can the ordinary person in his turn, and with more justice. The *Ars notoria* acknowledges no exceptions. But on account of the inexhaustible mercy of God, the fault of Solomon is not damning. In order to confirm the reconciliation, God delivers to him the *Ars nova*.[87] The officiating angel then reminds the king that he must not test the prescribed rules with his infidelity again. Solomon, still under the sentence of his previous trespass, did not dare to utter the new prayers right away. Only after a fast of three days did he pronounce them devoutly. The *Ars nova* thus makes official the new alliance between God and Solomon, but for all that, the malediction pertaining to his sons does not appear to lapse.

3. A Necessary Discretion

The *Ars notoria* is not shared, and its mode of practice is individual.[88] The treatise often mentions that one must proceed alone (*solitario*) in a secret place (*in loco secreto*) far from the vanity of the world.[89] There are several reasons for this. First, as shown by the exemplum mentioned above, if the book falls into the hands of an individual ignorant of its rules of procedure, it can put his life in danger. The informed operator, then, has a duty to prevent this sort of situation from occurring. Second, solitude is the indispensable complement to ascesis, since it prohibits any untimely temptation. The *Ars notoria* is a demanding ritual requiring withdrawal into oneself, concentration, and constant receptiveness; it is long enough that the operator tries to avoid making errors in case he should be obliged to start the whole procedure over again (though there exist, it is true, recuperative maneuvers).[90] Third, every mystic proclaims the intimately personal character of such experiences and their primary incommunicability.[91] The treatise notably prohibits the operator from recounting the visions with which he is gratified.[92] The experience of the divine cannot be transferred with words and must therefore be kept to oneself. Above all, in being divulged to just anyone, the art could lose its efficacy and its power—a classic allegation concerning all magical or theurgic practices since antiquity.[93] Jean Dupèbe notes that this rule of secrecy has "a philosophical justification inherited from Plotinus and his disciple Porphyry" that has to do with "the loathing of exteriority and otherness symbolized by the crowd, the enemy of the sage."[94] There is no wisdom possible but in contemplation. On this point, again, the *Ars notoria* is faithful to a very old tradition. Finally, the secret must be maintained for obvious reasons of security.

If the practitioner is normally supposed to be alone, certain arrangements contravene this law in spite of everything. An illiterate operator can resort to the help of a master who teaches him the principles of the art.[95] But note that the transmission from master to disciple has nothing obligatory about it, and there is no rite of initiation. Contrary, for example, to prescriptions of a theurge like the hermit Pelagius,[96] a master in the case of the notory art does not have to assure himself that the operator is apt for the discipline. That selection is made in another way, through the preparatory vision. The mission of the master of the *Ars notoria* is much more modest. He transmits his knowledge of the ritual to one who cannot read the treatise correctly and teaches the neophyte to utter the prayers in a suitable manner.[97] He may be present at the ceremony undertaken by the neophyte in order to prevent any error of procedure in the operation, but he does not participate in the ritual, properly speaking. Only the one who wants the benefit of the vision (the person who is designated by the term *operatus,* operator) should recite the prayers. There is only one exception to this rule: if the practitioner is illiterate, the master can read the prayers once and the operator may repeat the words after him.[98] But it is the responsibility of the neophyte to assure himself of the moral rectitude of his mentor.[99] His attitude toward his master should not be anything like blind submission: to the extent that he risks serious danger on account of poor preparation, he has the duty and the right to control every exterior aspect of the operation.

The operator can also have a servant (*famulus*), who has the function of satisfying his need for nourishment at prearranged times but who should not be present when he is actively engaged in the ritual operation.[100] It is the servant who establishes the link between the operator and the outer world; he can, for example, undertake the duty of distributing alms. Obviously, he should be a trustworthy man in every way, like his master, since he knows where the ritual is taking place.[101] The operator should not run the risk of a denunciation.

It may be added, while we are on the topic of the people who surround the practitioner, that the *Ars notoria* does not require (unlike antique theurgy,[102] Christian theurgy of the sort practiced by the hermit Pelagius,[103] nigromancy,[104] or even Jewish magic)[105] the use of child mediums, who are judged more apt to establish contact with celestial powers and obtain their favors on account of their virginal purity. The most famous case is probably that of John of Salisbury, who recounts in the *Policraticus* the misadventure by which he was victimized in childhood.[106] If the manuscript BnF, lat. 9336 in fact mentions *pueri,* it is because children, like adults, can practice the *Ars notoria,* and special instructions are provided for them, especially as far as fasting is concerned. Those of fragile constitution cannot be subjected to the rigorous regime of the ritual.[107] The term *puer* can equally designate those who are beginners and who have no experience yet with the notory art.[108]

A Verbal Ritual: Prayers with Angel Names

1. *Verbal Magic and the Power of Language*

Every ritual is a complex mix of gestures (or actions) and words.[109] A visual art when it comes to contemplating the *notae* or consulting books (see below), the *Ars notoria* is also a verbal art that recognizes an occult power in words and language.

Language, our treatise tells us, draws its creative power from Genesis. God created the world by means of the Word,[110] and its power remains unchallenged, even though the world has known a multiplicity of languages since the episode of the Tower of Babel. Words have different powers according to whether they belong to one language or another. The languages in use in the notory art—Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldean—are traditionally endowed with a great power in magical or theurgic operations, since they are connatural with divinity or the celestial powers.[111] Above all, these three languages are those of Solomon's revelation. Solomon, according to our text, wrote a book under a separate cover explaining their powers.[112] Afterward, Apollonius undertook to translate into Latin the words in these languages, since with the passing of generations and *translatio studii* they fell into desuetude.[113] But though he rendered a large part of the text accessible in Latin, there are certain ancient words that he could not or was unwilling to translate. Thus there still remain words in Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldean (at least supposedly), endowed with their original *virtus*. Obviously, some corruption is inevitable with the passing of time. This may be noted whenever two manuscripts are compared sharing the same base text as the Latin manuscripts BnF, lat. 9336 (fourteenth century) and BnF, lat. 7153 (sixteenth century), but it is equally true if you compare two manuscripts of the thirteenth century, or two manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, respectively.

The *virtus* of these ancient words, from now on incomprehensible in the Latin world, goes together with a formidable power of compression. The treatise insists that just one of them is often the equivalent of many Latin words.[114] All translation is thus accompanied by a loss of substance.[115] A biblical exemplum from the book of Daniel (Dan. 5) is used to illustrate this belief.[116] When he was giving a party for his lords, King Balthazar used some gold and silver vessels from the temple of Jerusalem in an impious manner (he used them to drink wine). Suddenly, a hand appeared and wrote on the wall the words *Mane, Techel, Phares*. The king declared that anyone who figured out how to decipher these words would be the beneficiary of his largesse. The wise men and diviners of the realm hastened to satisfy the king, but all in vain. Daniel then came to the exercise in his turn and translated the three words into Latin without difficulty.[117]

The author of the treatise set to a rapid reckoning and concluded that these three Hebrew words were the equivalent of twenty-three Latin words. The words of the original languages have a much more extensive signifying power than the later Latin words; at the same time, they establish a superior mode of communication that binds the operator to the celestial powers, even as they remain hidden from the common run of mortals.[118] This recourse to an occult language is common to all theurgy and is notably well established in the *Chaldean Oracles* and Neoplatonic theurgy.[119] In this conception, the *virtus verborum* is of divine origin and consubstantial with the words themselves. But even if this is the dominant theoretical frame, the influence discernible in the *Ars notoria* of a more naturalistic conception of this power, such as one can find in the tradition of the Arab philosopher al-Kindi, must not be ruled out.[120] In fact, our treatise—in particular the glossed version—insists heavily on the conditions necessary for a good utterance of the invocations, from which their greatest efficacy derives. The need for the operator to have a strong desire, to display goodwill, and to respect a *tempus idoneus* to reinforce the *virtus* of the pronounced utterances are the elements with an indubitably al-Kindian flavor.[121] But if an indirect influence is very probable, it is nevertheless unobtrusive, in the sense that the whole emanationist theoretical frame elaborated by al-Kindi in the *De radiis* is never taken into account in the notory art. This is probably because, for the author of the *Ars notoria*, a divine cause for the *virtus verborum* was a largely sufficient and less contestable gauge of efficacy.[122]

Finally, Latin is the fourth language used in the notory art. Since it is the language in use in the liturgy of the Christian West, it was privileged for communication with God.[123] All the prayers addressed to God are composed in Latin. As we shall see, they make manifest a great deal about the relationship that the operator of the notory art intended to establish with the divinity.

2. *The Prayers of the* Ars notoria

If the use of untranslatable words shows that the *Ars notoria* has filiations with an antique tradition, the recourse to prayers in Latin makes it into a theurgy of the Christian West. The treatise employs the term *oratio* to designate interchangeably the lists of Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldean words and the Latin prayers. It gives the following definition: "A prayer [*oratio*] is a sacramental mystery through words in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Latin made manifest and pronounced."[124] It is significant that we do not find, for example, the term *conjuratio,* which often occurs in the "nigromantic" manual edited by Richard Kieckhefer.[125] The practitioner of the notory art seeks, in effect, less to constrain the celestial powers (that is, God and the angels) than to attract their attention. Put another way, he adjures more than he conjures. As with antique theurgy,[126] the operator of the art seeks a reaction from the powers above by using certain signs, a language—in this case, the prayers that these powers delivered in the beginning and that are apt for them to understand and appreciate. If, in fact, the effect produced by these prayers is quasi-automatic,[127] this is less because of the power of the operator than because of the sympathy binding the celestial powers to the language used. This last idea, to which Iamblichus dedicates an entire chapter of his *De mysteriis*,[128] is one of the pillars of theurgy. The prayers, like all that is sacred, were sent by the divinity to humankind; "they form codes that God alone can understand."[129] The *Ars notoria*, in conformity with its antique "model," is "an operative symbolism designed to rouse the divine presence and power,"[130] and on this account it is not surprising, considering the Christian universe it inhabits, that it defines itself as a sacrament whose mysterious efficacy comes from God. The angel speaks thus to Solomon about the prayer *Lemah, Sebauthe:* "See that you do not presume to expound or translate anything concerning this prayer, nor anyone through you, nor after you. The mystery of it is indeed sacramental."[131] As a liturgical ritual that assures the divine presence, as it were, *ex opere operato,* the art is little different from the sacraments of the church, in particular the mystery of the Eucharist.[132] Such a rapprochement is elsewhere made by Peter of Abano in his *Liber conciliator.*[133] The prayers are considered sacramental elements that do not in any way constrain God and the angels.[134]

The difficulty of knowing for certain whether the relationship with God is established through the mode of conjuration or adjuration is evoked again as an undercurrent to the question of the true nature of the *Ars notoria*. Ritual magic is often defined as an ensemble of complex ceremonies that aim to give the practitioner an absolute power over superior entities, whether good, neutral, or evil. If the prayers do nothing but arouse the sympathy of God and the angels, and on this account elevate the art to the level of a sacrament, can we still speak of a "magical" practice? This evidently depends on one's point of view. For its own part, the art develops a discourse that aims to render it unopposable. Even as Iamblichus defended the highly religious character of his theurgy while denying that it exercised any constraint on heavenly spirits,[135] the *Ars notoria* affirms its own definitively orthodox character and carefully rejects anything that might bring it closer to magic. By contrast, theologians, denying the sacramental analogy, point out the demonic character of the art. Between the two, historians have a problem situating themselves objectively. The art probably counts as a magical practice from the perspective of the objectives it advertises for itself; it certainly involves a violation of nature, even though it affirms that the acquisition of wisdom is, to the contrary, natural and desired by God. On the other hand, its mode of operation cannot be categorized as magical; the operator begs for divine contact in all humility. He guards himself against becoming a superman dominating the spirit world. He wants to arouse sympathy. This difficulty of categorizing the *Ars notoria* is probably exacerbated by the fact that medievalists have mostly taken "nigromancy"—a much less ambiguous category—as the basis for their analyses of medieval magic. This vision of things actually involves an error of perspective owed largely to medieval theologians, who relegated everything even the least bit suspect to the field of the "demonic." As a result, today, as in the Middle Ages, the "nigromancer" who has power over demons remains the archetype of the magician.[136] The Christian theurgist has no identifiable way to position himself, inasmuch as the good basis of his activity is continually denied.

The numerous Latin prayers by themselves embody the relationship established by the *Ars notoria* between God and the operator, and on this account ought to be considered a source separate from the treatise. Even a brief study of the lexical fields in use in these prayers reveals the importance of a vocabulary that marks the extreme humility and reverence evident when the operator addresses God.[137] The gloss outmatches them in this domain.[138] The speaker deprecates himself continuously, making a constant issue of his weak and fragile nature. Without ambiguity, God remains the great dispenser who acts according to his goodwill, as the first prayer, among others, emphasizes:

> Alpha and omega, omnipotent God, beginning without beginning of all things, end without end, today hear my prayers, most merciful, and pass retribution not according to my iniquities and not according to my sins, my Lord God, but pity me according to your mercy, which is greater than all visible and invisible things. Wisdom of the Father, Christ, light of the angels, glory of the saints, hope and harbor and refuge of sinners, Creator of all things, and redeemer of human frailty who encompass with a hand heaven and earth and all the sea and the weight of mountains, you, most merciful, I beseech and pray that together with the Father, you illuminate my soul with a ray of your most Holy Spirit, until in this sacrosanct art I advance so much that I may be able to attain knowledge of this science and of any art whatsoever, and wisdom, memory, eloquence, intelligence, and understanding by the power of your most Holy Spirit and your name. And you who are my God, you, who in the beginning created heaven and earth and everything out of nothing, who, in your Spirit, reform all things, complete, restore, keep my intellect, that I may glorify you through all works of my thought and my words. God, Father, confirm my prayer and increase my intellect and my memory for the undertaking, understanding,

> and retaining of all writings, knowledge, memory, eloquence, and perseverance, you who live and reign through endless ages of ages, amen.[139]

These prayers respect strict Christian orthodoxy: belief in one creator God of all things, in the Trinity, in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, and so on.[140] As Frank Klaassen has justifiably emphasized, these prayers could be extracted from their context without fear of appearing less orthodox.[141] They are very close to prayers found, for example, in the literature of devotion for the use of laity at the end of the Middle Ages.[142] Both types of prayers beseech God to satisfy a precise desire according to the merits of each. The structure of these Latin prayers is simple and repetitive: an address evokes the different divine attributes; then comes the body of the prayer, which states the desires of the suppliant. In any case, the prayers do not have the complex structure of "nigromantic" conjurations, and they take a different tone.[143] The prayers give the *Ars notoria* its mystical coloring. The suppliant beseeches, in effect, for a personal divine intervention intended to improve his character. But a mystical ascent of the soul is not clearly mentioned in the desire for union with God. Rather, the movement is in the other direction: it is God, in the person of the Holy Spirit, who turns toward the person performing the invocation.[144] The suppliant prays for God to free his spirit (*mens*) from material cares and to make it fit to receive illumination. The suppliant also solicits a purification of the heart, the organ that is the seat of the soul. Finally, he implores for divine intervention with his body, since the flesh, like the spirit, must be pure and released from the weight of vice in order for the infusion to occur.

In respect to these ideas, I would like to broach one last question: does the *Ars notoria* have an eschatological dimension? It must be remembered that ancient theurgy, especially that defined by Iamblichus, was a religious operation ordained for the suppliant's salvation.[145] The father of theurgy treats the question thus in his *Mysteries:* "It is evident, from the effects themselves, that what we now say is the salvation of the soul. For the soul, in contemplating blessed spectacles, acquires another life, energizes according to another energy, and is then rightly considered as no longer ranking in the order of man. Frequently, likewise, abandoning her own life, she exchanges it for the most blessed energy of the gods."[146] The theurgic ritual, in favoring the contact of the believer with the supreme being here below, has the virtue of favoring the lot of the soul in the other world and leading it into the bosom of God.[147] Can the theurgic activity of the *Ars notoria* pretend to have this virtue, even though it does not define itself in anagogical terms, but rather according to a mode of descent? The salvation of the soul, it must be said, is not the principal objective of the art, but it is one of its essential corollaries; the art enters into the economy of salvation in that it has the value of a sacrament. It was issued from a divine revelation and is destined to better the nature of humans; it cannot but favor the postmortem destiny of those who resort to it. This also holds from the fact that it requires very Christian conduct, tending toward sanctity. The assiduous practitioner, then, has all the odds on his side come Judgment Day.[148] Another element with similar implications, the prayer *Lemahc, Sebauthe,* which comes decked with different names that make evident its great virtue ("Happiness of Spirit," "Light of the Soul," and "Mirror of Wisdom"), bears also the name "Image of Eternal Life"—proof that it may be seen, with all the other prayers, as a means of progress on the difficult road to salvation.[149]

3. *Angelology and Names of God*

Most of the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldean names that, beside the Latin prayers, create the power of the notory art are, as the treatise affirms, angel names. A brief comparison shows that BnF, lat. 9336 possesses a particularly developed angelology by comparison to older manuscripts like Sloane 1712.[150] How do we explain this proliferation?

One simple factor motivates such a development. To know the name of an individual is, in fact, to hold some power over that individual.[151] This aphorism is more meaningful in the framework of a theurgic operation that consists of invoking spirits that exist only through their names. The suppliant who wishes to obtain heavenly gifts has, then, a great interest in knowing a large number of names in order to assemble under his banner the greatest possible majority of celestial creatures. As he increases his suffrage in the world above, he multiplies tenfold his chances of being heard.[152] If, theoretically, the knowledge of angel names issues from the original revelation and is thus immutable, the "author" of the glossed version has not resisted the temptation to multiply his chances of success by creating a considerable number of names. He has modified for the exigencies of this case a text that proclaims itself "very sacred" (*sacratissimus*) and "very holy" (*sanctissimus*). But according to what mechanisms?

It is undeniable that the angelology of the *Ars notoria* has in some manner fallen under the influence of Jewish angelology.[153] Judaism, in fact, quite early on developed numerous techniques permitting the multiplication of angel names, although these were very few at their point of origin in the Old Testament. S. M. Olyan delivers very pertinent analyses of this phenomenon in ancient Judaism, showing how the creation of names derives from exegesis of the Old Testament; for example, a number of divine attributes have served as a base for the elaboration of angelic names, notably the terms that express divine wrath in the Bible.[154] This method, which authorizes endless variations, was used abundantly at the same time that the rabbis commenting on the Old Testament elaborated the doctrine of angels in Judaism.[155] The *Sepher ha-Razim,* a magic text of the Talmudic period,[156] uses hundreds of angel names constructed from Hebrew roots with the suffix *-el.*[157] The Christian West thus inherited a tradition that was reactivated from the end of the twelfth century, and particularly during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by the proliferation of kabbalistic texts.[158] Kabbalah, in multiplying the combinatory methods of letters of the Hebrew alphabet, permitted an exponential increase in the number of angel names. The *Ars notoria* may have drawn upon this source in angelological matters, but with all the problems potentially created by the transliteration from Hebrew to Latin. Thus in the glossed version we count around 350 names terminating in the suffix *-el,* or its derivatives *-hel* or *-iel,* of which some (in fact very few) are found in similar forms in lists established by Moïse Schwab and Gustav Davidson.[159] This penetration and possible transposition from Jewish angelology into a practice of the Latin Christian world revives questions of intellectual contacts between Jews and Christians. Did the authors of the *Ars notoria* resort to Latin-conversant Jews to work the transliteration, or did they themselves have sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to undertake this task? According to Benoît Grévin, the possibility cannot be excluded that, at certain times, some fraction of the Jewish population furnished a Christian clientele with materials, adapting it to the Christian cultural profile.[160] If the angelic onomastics of the *Ars notoria* preserves clear Semitic contours in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century version of the text, a process of alteration is, however, already at work, of which one can see the conclusion in the Turner edition put together in the seventeenth century.[161] For the rest, from the thirteenth century on, the reaction of Hebrew-conversant Christians in the face of the degradation of Hebrew names in magic treatises is illuminating. An extract from an anonymous correspondence, which henceforth can be attributed to Roger Bacon,[162] reflects this exactly, and directly concerns the notory art. The *doctor mirabilis* complains of the Latin corruption of divine names issuing from Hebraic speculations on the tetragrammaton:

> Moreover, in the explanation of the aforesaid name which is contained in the first three chapters of the aforesaid book (i.e., *Liber semamphoras*), a certain name is posited of seventy-two letters which is called *sem amphoras* (i.e., "the explained name"), and from the seventy-two letters of the name, following on the diverse combination of them, diverse divine names are composed, which all lie hid in the aforesaid name of God *tetragrammaton;* and I think that the book of Solomon, which is called *Ars notoria* and is to be had in Latin (where many divine names are set which are so much corrupted by the fault of Latin scribes that now they are neither

> Hebrew nor any other tongue), may contain the aforesaid names, and from these comes power, maybe even the power which is promised. But I cannot judge with certainty about this, because, as I said, I could not see the three first parts of the aforesaid book, and I do not think that in these regions there is a Jew who has them.[163]

This corruption of the angelic onomastics is particularly flagrant from one version of the *Ars notoria* to the other. It is clear that a play on syllables, stripped of logic, must have presided in many cases over the confection of an important number of names present in our manuscript, which explains why the angel names are much more numerous here than in the thirteenth-century manuscripts.[164] Moreover, this phenomenon does not exclusively concern names of Hebrew origin, and for a good reason: the names derived from Greek are at least as numerous. The angelic onomastics of the *Ars notoria* is the fruit of a syncretism of which the ins and outs are not always easy to disentangle—a syncretism that may be very old, since, as Joshua Trachtenberg emphasizes, the names coming out of Hebrew are not all themselves conscious creations.[165] The use of *onomata barbara,* very widespread in Egyptian magic, spread broadly into ancient Judaism as well as the ancient Greek world—notably into Neoplatonic theurgy—before penetrating the Christian West.

We may add that our lists of angel names do not add up to a well-established celestial hierarchy. The text never specifies, before entering into any of its gradual harvests of angelic names, whether this or that list is composed of names of archangels or of angels. Distinctions are made without rigor, and in this inexhaustible stream it is only possible to recognize some traditional names of archangels, like Michael (4 occurrences); Guabrihel (2), Guabriel (1), or Gabriel (1); Urihel (2), Uryel (1), or Hurihel (1); Raphahel (2) or Raphael (1). The treatise repeatedly affirms the existence of a celestial hierarchy of Dionysian inspiration,[166] but these affirmations are purely formal and have no real effect on how the operation unfolds.

Names of God, by comparison, are far less numerous. There, too, a carryover from Judaism must be remarked, notably on account of speculation about the "Ineffable Name" of God.[167] Old Testament exegesis presided from a very early point over the creation of numerous names formed from divine attributes, of which some were taken over by Christians. Of all names in use, those that are associated directly with the divinity have the most power; this explains their everyday use in simple prayers throughout the Middle Ages.[168]

To designate God, our text, for the most part, uses the classical term Deus and its inflected forms (285 occurrences), Dominus (193), Spiritus Sanctus (88), Ihesus Christus (12), or Filius (14). Then come, in decreasing order of occurrence, more specific names (mostly derived from Hebrew, with some exceptions): Theos ("God" in Greek, 28); Usyon or Usion (22); Theon (16); Heloy (15); Adonay or Ydonay ("Lord" in Hebrew, 14); Ioht or Iotha (deformation of Iod or Ya, one of the ten holy names of God, 14); Iechor or Iecor (12); Hel (11); Halla (10); Hon or On (10); Otheos (10); Hathanatos or Hatanathos (9);[169] Alpha et Omega (biblical name of God, 7);[170] Patyr (7); Saday ("Almighty," 5); Seguoht (5); Emanuhel or Emanuel (5); Hay (4); Hely ("God," 4); Messyas or Messias (4); Sother (4); Sabahot or Sabaoth (4); Agla (acronym for four Hebrew words, *aieth gadol leolam Adonai,* forming the phrase "You reign for eternity, O Lord," 1); and Thetragramathon (1).[171] The surprise comes with Usyon, which is a name not in everyday use, at least so far as we know, and above all with the ten occurrences of Halla ("God" in Arabic), which shows how deep the syncretism goes from which the *Ars notoria* is born. As far as the rest are concerned, the names are fairly common.

A Visual Art

Although the *Ars notoria* ritual gives a large place to speech, the *virtus verborum* is not always sufficient. The operator must also use other signs, of a visual nature, which are meant to favor divine intervention. These signs are made up of figures that offer their particular power to the gaze.

1. *The Figures of the* Ars notoria

Essential components of the famous *notae,* the figures remain, in all essential ways, an enigma. What is their purpose? To what pictorial tradition do they belong?[172] Without pretending to answer these questions definitively at this point, we can still make a number of observations.

Each discipline for which the *Ars notoria* permits acquisition is given a certain number of figures. The treatise justifies these attributions (which might appear arbitrary) by setting the scene with a long dialogue between the angel Pamphilus, the agent of the original revelation, and King Solomon.[173] A bit dumbfounded at seeing himself entrusted with so valuable an art, the king scarcely understands the logic governing the distribution of the figures. The angel takes it upon himself to set him straight by showing him that divine providence makes no mistakes. He first considers the case of grammar. This *Ars* is given three figures, "neither more nor less." This is because grammar is divided into three parts, the *ordinatio litterarum,* the *distinctio dictionum,* and the *constructio casuum,* and therefore needs one figure for each part: "Thus it pleased divine foresight that three *notae* should be appropriate here."[174] He goes on with dialectic (or logic). This science having two parts, fluency of argument (*facundia argumentandi*) and diligence of response (*industria respondendi*), God provides two figures. Rhetoric, being divided into four parts, has, on that account, four figures.[175]

What function do these figures have? The text is not very explicit on this point. As with the prayers, it insists on the mystery surrounding their revelation and explains their great value. For the rest, we are reduced to making hypotheses. In the first place, it is possible to relate the *figurae* of the *Ars notoria* and the *sunthemata* (or symbols) used in Neoplatonic theurgy. These symbols ("characters," for Saint Augustine)[176] serve to obtain the sympathy of the gods in a manner from which the notory art is not very far removed. *Sunthemata* and *figurae* are in both cases the issue of divine revelation, the effect of which is that "the divine power itself recognizes its own images in these symbols and is drawn by affinity and sympathy."[177]

Second, from a practical point of view, the examination of these figures, along with the incessant repetition of prayers and rigorous ascesis, probably had, over a more or less long term, a psychological impact on the operator that was likely to favor a visionary experience.[178] This is what David Freedberg calls the "the practice of image-assisted meditation," which is found in Christian mysticism as well.[179] A similar function of images, in an absolute sense, was far from being rejected by theologians. Saint Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, for example, admitted completely that more emotions could be produced by things seen than by things heard.[180] But in the case of the notory art, the figures are too much akin to the theurgic "characters" that Augustine stigmatized, according to him destined to attract demons.

Third, if it appears out of the question that the figures have some sort of figurative function, it is conceivable that they might be symbolic representations of different disciplines.[181] Of course, the text does not elaborate any theory on this question at any point, but the clearly Neoplatonic inspiration of the *Ars notoria* forbids the exclusion of some such possibility.[182] The figures might be ideal representations (which lie outside the capacities of language and traditional representations) of symbols that deliver the essence of different *artes* to the person who looks at them.[183] Each one contains, in its ineffable mystery, the whole depth of the science of which it is the symbol, and each is gifted with a power of restitution, a virtue uniquely transmissible through the gaze.[184]

Finally, might it be possible that the figures of the notory art are memory figures? The principal objective of the art is, in effect, to develop the memory of the operator and thus permit him to retain the content of the angelic vision without difficulty. Might the figures, then, have the function of reminding him of the different parts of the *artes* that he wants to acquire? The mnemonic techniques used by medieval clerics have been well described by Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers.[185] The art of memory consists in creating mental images in which each detail represents a part of the discourse to be delivered. Most of the time, each art is represented by a woman who has an easily recognizable attitude or who carries different attributes; however, the *aide-mémoire* can also take the form of more abstract schemas. For example, a tree permits infinite hierarchization and division. Another commonly used schema was the "mnemonic wheel," of which one of the best-known forms is the planetary diagram, used to remember the diverse parts of astronomy.[186] Several figures of astronomy in BnF, lat. 9336 reproduce this schema (fol. 22r): constituted of concentric circles, they list the signs of the zodiac, the elements, and diverse qualities (hot, cold, etc.). The case of astronomy is not unique. Some other disciplines are symbolized by schemas that list the different parts of their associated art. The first figure of geometry (fol. 26r) is thus constituted of small circles that contain the principal notions of the discipline: *linea, superficia, punctum, profunditas, altitudo;* and underneath we can also read *triangulum, quadrangulum, pentagulum, exaggonos, rotundum,* etc. The first figure of rhetoric (fol. 19v) is another illustrative case. But if these examples can assert themselves as probative, it must be admitted that not every figure details every part of the science symbolized—far from it. And yet, if the figures are not memory images in the classic sense, they are so in the framework of the "magical" operation that is the notory art.

2. *"Inspecting the Books of the Other Arts"*

If the operator "inspects" the figures at length, he should also leaf through (*revolvere*) books containing each of the subjects he wants to acquire at the same time. The knowledge must actually be incarnate in the neighborhood of the practitioner for the illumination to take place.[187] An *experimentum* imparted by a late English edition illustrates perfectly this focusing of desire on the book. It is a question of acquiring in one night, thanks to a simplified procedure, the entire contents of a book—a very practical review process on the eve of university examinations or a doctrinal debate. This is what to do: "If thou desirest to understand any book, ask of some that hath knowledge therein, what that book treateth of. This being done, open the book, and read it, and operate as at first three times, and always when thou goest to sleep, write Alpha and Omega, and afterwards sleep on the right side, putting the palm of the hand under thy ear, and thou shalt see in a dream all things thou desirest."[188]

The book is the incarnation of perfect knowledge on a human scale. With divine assistance, the practitioner intends to *transplant* the book's contents into his mind. The recourse to books that he must (as with the figures) place before his eyes highlights the role of the gaze in the *Ars notoria.* This is a visual art, above all, that expects to transmit its virtue through the gaze—the invisible and occult link between the mind of the operator and what is outside it.

An Objective: "To Acquire Total Knowledge"

The supreme goal of the *Ars* is the acquisition of all knowledge. Richard Kieckhefer hypothesized that a similar goal, common to diverse types of Christian magic (the *Ars notoria* and necromancy), drew its source from Jewish magic. In fact, early kabbalistic texts suggest that the angels at first tried to hinder the transmission of the Torah to men, at the same time, and as a consequence, making it difficult for individuals to memorize it. The adjuration of spirits, in particular of the "Prince of the Torah," was then a means to which the student of theology had recourse in order to master the sacred text.[189] Such a filiation is not to be excluded, but at the same time caution is necessary for the time being. In the notory art, the infusion is effected by the intermediary of a vision, generally while the operator is asleep. This in turn effects contact with a knowledge that is superior to sensory or rational knowledge. Jean Dupèbe saw in this result an intended claim, intrinsic to all forms of gnosis, to discredit the discursive character of knowing by the instantaneousness of visionary revelation.[190] Nevertheless, in its desire to encompass all forms of knowledge, it seems that the art refuses to theorize this antagonism and even means to leave it unstated. It would like to be an art founded as much on reason as on perpetual miracle: "For it is to be understood that the notory art contains in itself all arts and the knowing of all letters marvelously and indubitably and indeed rationally."[191] Thus the treatise tries to counter the objection of contemporary theologians who strictly opposed rational knowledge to the knowledge originating with celestial powers.[192] This claim to recover the totality of knowledge is also found in the name the *Ars* gives itself: "the art of arts" or "science of sciences."[193] If it rejects this systematic opposition, it still remains true that the art permits learning by other than natural means and at the same time avoids long and tedious study. For the rest, nothing illegitimate is found in it, since all progress along the road to knowledge enters into the divine plan. For this, humanity has two methods at its disposal: reason and the *Ars notoria,* fruit of a revelation.[194]

Before the acquisition of the *artes,* the art reinforces the principal faculties necessary for all medieval study: eloquence (necessary for *disputatio*), intelligence, and above all memory, the alpha and omega of all medieval teaching. As a result, the bestowed knowledge never leaves the Scholastic framework. It is constituted of the *artes liberales,* philosophy, and theology. The classification of the sciences used is not without difficulties, however. First of all, if the *trivium* corresponds to the traditional classification (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic),[195] then the *quadrivium* is a bit topsy-turvy, since it includes medicine in place of geometry.[196] This intrusion of medicine in the *quadrivium* can be explained by the fact that the original version of the *Flores aurei* was most probably redacted in the second half of the twelfth century, if not at the beginning of the thirteenth, in a period when *sciencia physica* had not yet found its place in the curriculum and when it was often considered an "eighth liberal art."[197] Another difficulty, *astronomia* (a term designating both astronomy and astrology) contained the "mechanical" arts, that is, many of the divinatory or magical arts condemned by the church: *ydromantia, pyromantia, nygromantia, cyromantia, geomantia, geonogya, neonogya.*[198] It is not known what the last two *artes* refer to, but it appears necessary in the first place for the treatise to put the seven liberal arts in parallel with the seven *artes mechanice, adulterine,* or *exceptive.*[199] While the text places all these illicit arts under the heading of *astronomia,* the gloss actually puts them under philosophy—a notable inconsistency between the treatise and the commentary.[200] We may add that the "mechanical" arts do not have their own figures: to acquire them, the operator must examine the figures called "generals."[201]

Among the seven "mechanical" arts, the treatise particularly insists on the least innocuous among them, namely, *nygromantia,* which here means necromancy—that is, divination by the spirits of the dead, in fact quite rare in the Middle Ages: "Nygromantia dicitur a nygros [actually *necros*] quod est mortuum."[202] It is specified that this mode of divination necessitates animal sacrifice: "Nygromantia vero est quoddam sacrificium animalium mortuorum et de sanguine eorum." More uncommon is the gloss's division of this material into seven parts. Two of them are judged entirely illicit, as they suppose that the operator sacrifices to malign spirits, which is a mortal sin and something presupposed to be in every way contrary to the principles of the *Ars notoria.*[203] It is not really possible to tell what supports this seven-way division of *nygromantia,* but we can still see in it the desire to elaborate a numerological correspondence with the seven "mechanical" arts, on the one hand, and the seven liberal arts, on the other.

In authorizing the learning of the "mechanical" arts, the *Ars notoria* cannot but attract the hostile attention of the authorities. It certainly puts the operator on guard against the clearly infernal arts and seems to keep its distance from these.[204] But in fact it does nothing to forbid deviance in this regard. Defending its claim to hegemony at all costs, it prefers to open a breach into which its detractors can sink, rather than sacrifice, the least scrap of knowledge.

What to conclude at the provisional end of this investigation? On the one hand, ascesis, the use of verbal or figured symbols that arouse divine sympathy, and absence of constraint imposed on heavenly powers or on the divinity, are elements that situate the *Ars notoria* in the line of Neoplatonic theurgy, or at least undeniably indicate their common nature. If it is appropriate to retain a certain caution in this matter—as I have said repeatedly—it does not remain less true that diffuse elements emanating from the Greek world have rubbed off on this art.[205] At this point, it is a question of knowing how it happened. On the other hand, if the notory art has a modus operandi that can be qualified as theurgic, its final objective is more practical: it authorizes the practitioner to bypass his true nature by bestowing on him the totality of knowledge. If magic is defined as an operation that modifies the natural equilibrium in a rapid and violent way, then the notory art must be considered a magical practice as far as its goal is concerned (though the Christian theurgy of Pelagius, for example, does not exclude certain material gains).[206] This is nothing but a mental discipline. From the contacts it makes with the superior world, benefits less spiritual can also be derived. In the end, the distinction between theurgy and magic is a question more of method than of result. When the theurgist obtains an earthly gain through its ties to the celestial powers, he does so without binding them to his will. He does nothing but receive a gift to recompense his great devotion. By contrast, the magician establishes a true relation of domination. The benefit he draws from the celestial powers should not be considered a gift but a brutal extortion. To acquire knowledge, nothing hinders the claimant from resorting to "nigromancy," but those who prefer to follow the method of the notory art probably chose to avoid sacrificing the means to the end.[207]

NOTES

1. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), 2:279–83. Jean-Patrice Boudet proposed a definition of the notory art in *Lexique de la langue scientifique (astrologie, mathématiques, médecine . . .): Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire du moyen français*, vol. 4, ed. Danielle Jacquart and C. Thomasset (Paris: Institut National de la Langue Française, 1997), s.v. "notory art" ("theurgic and divinatory form of ceremonial magic, founded on severe ascesis and promising the adept total knowledge"). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

2. Jean Dupèbe, "L'*ars notoria* et la polémique sur la divination et la magie," in *Divination et controverse religieuse en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: L' É.N.S. de Jeunes Filles, 1987), 123–34.

3. See especially Frank Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300–1500: A Preliminary Survey," esp. 14–19, which concern the notory art; Michael Camille, "Visual Art in Two Manuscripts of the *Ars notoria*," 110–39; and Claire Fanger, "Plundering the Egyptian Treasure: John the Monk's *Book of Visions* and Its Relation to the Ars Notoria of Solomon," 216–49, all in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998).

4. Jean-Patrice Boudet, "L'*ars notoria* au Moyen Âge: Une résurgence de la théurgie antique?" in *La magie: Actes du colloque international de Montpellier (25–27 mars 1999)*, vol. 3, *Du monde latin au monde contemporain*, ed. Alain Moreau and Jean-Claude Turpin (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche Université Paul-Valéry, 2000), 173–91.

5. Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites. A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997). As noted above, my edition of the different versions of the *Ars notoria*

has been published as *L'Ars* notoria *au Moyen Âge: Introduction et édition critique* (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL, 2007).

6. Claire Fanger, "Medieval Ritual Magic: What It Is and Why We Need to Know More About It," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*, xi.

7. On this point we refer for now to Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique."

8. Certain Latin prayers are in fact inscribed both in the text and in the figures, but they are supposed to be uttered only once in the ritual. Much depends on the *mise en page*, which varies from one manuscript to another: the prayers may be in the text and not repeated in the figures, or they may be in both text and figures, or they may appear only in the figures.

9. "In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Incipit sacratissima *Ars notoria* quam Creator Altissimus per angelum suum super altare templi quadam nocte Salomoni dum oraret ministravit, ut per eas omnes scientias liberales, mecanicas, exceptivas et earum facultates per breve spatium temporis posset acquirere et habere, et in proferendo mistica verba sanctarum orationum et invocando nomina sanctorum angelorum qui in ea continetur. In omni scientia ac sapientia penitus fundaret." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 1r.

10. "Alpha et omega, Deus omnipotens, principium omnium rerum sine principio, finis sine fine, exaudi hodie preces meas, piissime, et neque secundum iniquitates meas neque secundum peccata mea retribuas mihi, Domine Deus meus, sed secundum tuam misericordiam . . . , et intellectum meum auge et memoriam meam ad suscipiendum, ad cognoscendum, ad retinendum omnium scripturarum scientiam, memoriam, eloquentiam et perverentiam, qui vivis et regnas per infinita seculorum secula, amen." Ibid., fol. 1ra–b.

11. Claire Fanger, "Plundering the Egyptian Treasure," 219–20.

12. In fact, a critical study of thirteenth-century manuscripts shows that they are never identical. In broad outline, however, they witness a single textual tradition that is essentially that found in the fourteenth-century glossed version.

13. "Incipit primus tractatus istius sacratissime artis notorie et expositiones ejus et temporum exceptiones quas Salomon et Apolonius Flores aureos appellaverunt, et hoc opus probatum et confirmatum est auctoritate Salomonis, Manichei et Euduchei." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 1rb. The oldest version of the *Flores aurei* gives "Euclidis" rather than "Euduchei."

14. "Ista divisio subsequens est de ista arte notoria. Ars vero ista dividitur in duas partes. In prima parte ponit orationes et notas generales, in secunda vero speciales." Ibid., fol. 1vb.

15. "Iste enim est finis generalium preceptorum que data sunt ad memoriam, facundiam et intelligentiam adipiscendam." Fols. 2ra–8va.

16. Fols. 8va–13rb.

17. Three prayers: *Helyscemath* (fol. 2ra), *Theos, Megale* (fol. 2va), and *Lux mundi* (fol. 2va–b).

18. "Iste orationes tantum misterium habent in se et virtutem quod in pronuntiatione earum administratur operanti in aliqua scientia gratia<m> Domini nostri Yhesu Christi." Fol. 2ra, gloss.

19. Six prayers: *Assaylemaht* (fol. 3ra–b), *Hazaylemaht* (fol. 3va), *Lemahc* (fol. 3va), *Lamehc* (fol. 4rb), *Deus summe Deus* (fol. 4va), and *Te queso Domine* (fol. 4va–b).

20. Two prayers: *Iesu Dei Filius* (fol. 5ra) and *Eleminator, Caudones* (fol. 5ra).

21. Three prayers: *Lamehc, Ragna* (fol. 5vb), *Semeht* (fols. 5vb–6ra), and *Memoria irreprehensibilis* (fol. 6ra).

22. Twelve prayers: *Hazatam* (fol. 6va), *Hyhelma* (fol. 6va), *Confirma* (fol. 6va), *Agloros* (fol. 6vb), *Deus omnium* (fol. 6vb), *Megal* (fol. 7ra), *Veritas, lux* (fol. 7ra), *Hanuyrlyhahel* (fol. 7ra), *Ego in conspectu* (fol. 7ra), *Gemoht, Gehel* (fol. 8ra), *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus* (fol. 8rb), and *Semoht, Lamen* (fol. 8va).

23. "Postquam vero de generalibus preceptis data est sufficiens diffinitio, [. . .] sed quia de singulis artibus tractaturi sumus sigillatim necessarium est."

24. Fol. 9r, gloss.

25. Fol. 9v.

26. Fol. 10ra.

27. Eighteen prayers: *Lux, veritas* (fol. 10va), *Domine sancte Pater* (fol. 10va), *Respice Domine Deus* (fol. 10va), *Creator Adonay* (fol. 10va–b), *Sancte Deus Pater* (fol. 10vb), *Heloy clementissime* (fol. 10vb), *Omnipotens misericors Pater* (fol. 10vb), *Hanazay* (fol. 10vb), *Unus magnus* (fols. 10vb–11ra), *Usyon* (fol. 11ra), *Azelechias* (fol. 11ra), *Scio enim* (fol. 11ra–b), *Reverende potens* (fol. 11rb), *Deus qui omnia*

numero (fol. 11rb), *Mediator omnium* (fol. 11rb), *Deus justus judex* (fol. 11rb), *Omnis sapientie* (fol. 11rb–va), and *Adoro te, rex regum* (fol. 11va). All of these prayers are written a second time in their respective figures at the end of the treatise.

28. Fol. 11v. On this incorporation of medicine in the *quadrivium*, see the final section of this chapter.

29. Fol. 11v.

30. Fol. 11v.

31. Fourteen prayers: *Ezethomos* (fol. 11vb), *Domine Deus incomprehensibilis* (fols. 11vb–12ra), *Domine sancte Pater* (fol. 12ra), *Deus semper* (fol. 12ra), *Lemogethon* (fol. 12ra), *Vita hominum* (fol. 12ra), *Omaza* (fol. 12rb), *Rex regum* (fol. 12rb), *Deus Pater immense* (fol. 12va), *Gezomothon* (fol. 12va), *Rex eterne Deus* (fol. 12va), *Deus totius pietatis* (fol. 12va–b), *Deus Pater immense* (fol. 12vb), and *Hosel* (fol. 13ra). Like the eighteen preceding prayers, they are written a second time in their respective figures.

32. Fol. 13v, gloss. This second redemptive revelation in other respects distances the myth of the revelation of the *Ars notoria* from biblical history.

33. It is possible that it was composed at a later time than the *Flores aurei*, as this would make it possible to assume that its purpose was to alleviate the original ritual; but it is always attached to the *Flores aurei* in all the manuscripts that have come down to us, even the oldest. Its particular status could be an argument against the thesis that the *Ars notoria* appeared in the second half of the twelfth century in the primitive form of the *Flores aurei*. On the question of the origin of the *Ars notoria*, cf. Boudet, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge."

34. "Etiam si absque aliis capitulis de ipsa arte prefata operari volueris, ipsis orationibus dictis tempore et ordine poteris in qualibet artium magnam habere efficaciam" (fol. 13va); see also fol. 13v, gloss: "Et etiam si non haberes aliquas orationes istius sacratissime artis, nisi tantummodo istas decem orationes et proferres eas de die et de nocte qualibet hora dum tibi liceret devote et caste, administraretur tibi memoria et intellectus ad retinendam scientiam illius artis pro qua tu studes et laboras."

35. *Omnipotens, incomprehensibilis* (fols. 13vb–14ra), *Adoro te, rex regum* (fol. 14rb), *Confiteor tibi* (fol. 14rb–va), *Otheos* (fol. 14va), *Pie Deus* (fol. 14va–b), *Pie Pater* (fol. 14vb), *Extollo sensus* (fols. 14vb–15ra), *Omnium regnorum* (fol. 15ra), *Deus, vivorum dominator* (fol. 15ra–b), *Profiteor hodie* (fol. 15rb), and *Domine, quia ego* (fol. 15rb).

36. "In ipsis vero orationibus dicendis neque tempora neque dies neque Luna observande sunt." Fol. 13va.

37. "Secuntur siquidem quedam alie orationes que sunt undecim numero, quarum prima incipit *Omnipotens, incomprehensibilis*, etc." Fol. 16v, gloss.

38. Fol. 15rb.

39. The nine prayers are the *Genealogon* (fol. 15va), *Geolym* (fol. 15va–b), *Agenos* (fols. 15vb–16ra), *Genathores* (fol. 16ra–b), *Semathymoteham* (fol. 16rb), *Gerogueguos* (fol. 16rb–va), *Magnus* (fol. 16va–b), *Remolithos* (fol. 16vb), and *Hamolehon* (fol. 16vb).

40. "Istas novem orationes percepit ultimo Salomon per manum angelicam super altare." Fol. 15va.

41. The two prologues—*Conditor omnium, Deus, rerum*, and *O sapientia Dei*—are on fol. 17ra.

42. Fols. 16v–17v. See below.

43. "Nota est cognitio quedam per orationem et figuram superpositam." Fol. 4r.

44. Fols. 18r–19r.

45. Fols. 19v–20r.

46. Fols. 20v, 23r, 23v, 21r.

47. Fol. 21v.

48. Fol. 24r.

49. Fol. 24v for the first two, fol. 22r for the last four.

50. Fol. 22v for the first three, fol. 27r for the fourth.

51. Fol. 27r for the first, fol. 27v for the second and third, fol. 25r for the fourth, fifth, and sixth, and fol. 25v for the seventh.

52. Fols. 25v–26r. In the treatise, geometry is not counted in *quadrivium* (it is replaced by medicine); it appears only in the *notae* separated from arithmetic.

53. Fol. 26r for the first, fol. 26v for the second, third, and fourth, and fol. 28r for the fifth.

54. Fol. 28r: "figura castitatis."

55. Fol. 28v: "figura justitie et pacis et timoris."

56. Fol. 28v: "figura reprehensionis et taciturnitatis."

57. Fol. 16v. The ritual takes four months. We shall see in what follows that this means lunar months.

58. This type of *operatio* is found in similar forms in the Hermetic tradition, just as in the Greek magical papyri. The use of laurel leaves is notably commonplace. Cf. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 59–60; Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 9, 14–15, etc. On the role of the laurel in magic, cf. Ludwig Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982), 401–3.

59. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 1r: "Alpha et omega, Deus omnipotens, etc. Ista oratio est prima oratio istius sacratissime artis." See also fol. 2r, gloss: "Helyscemath, etc. Hic facit mentionem Apolonius."

60. "Et dicit quod previdenda est Luna quarta in qua primo proferantur, secundo in octava, tertio in duodecima, quarto in sextadecima, quinto in vicessima, sexto in vicessima quarta, septimo in vicessima octava, octavo in tricesima, et sic apparet quod iste orationes non habent proferri qualibet die mensis, sed per octo dies tantummodo in mense." Fol. 3ra, gloss.

61. "Quia quanto plus proferantur tanto plus proficiunt omnes orationes latines." Fol. 17v.

62. "Oratio autem in prima Luna debet proferri semel et in tertia ter et in sexta sexties et in nona novies, in duodecima duodecies, in quintadecima quindecies, in decima octava totidem, in vicessima tertia totidem, in vicessima sexta totidem, in vicessima nona totidem, in tricessima Luna totidem debet proferri, scilicet quindecies." Fol. 6rb.

63. Fol. 17v: *Alpha et omega; Helyscemaht; Theos, Megale; Lux mundi,* just like the twelve prayers that go from *Ezethomos* to *Deus Pater immense.*

64. Fol. 17v.

65. Fol. 17v.

66. For the *trivium,* fol. 9v; for the *quadrivium,* fol. 11v; for the "general" figures, fols. 11v–12r; for philosophy, the mechanical or adulterine arts, and theology, fol. 12r.

67. "Item ista oratio cum duabus sequentibus aliam habet efficaciam nobilissimam. Si vero de aliqua magna visione dubitaveris quid pretendat, vel de aliquo periculo instanti sive de futuro, vel si certitudinem de aliquo absente scire volueris qualiter stet, ita faciendum est." Fol. 4r, gloss.

68. On this point, cf. Jean Trouillard, "Sacrements: La théurgie païenne," *Encyclopaedia Universalis* (1995), 20:463–64.

69. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 5r, gloss.

70. Jean Dupèbe, "L'écriture chez l'ermite Pelagius: Un cas de théurgie chrétienne au XVe siècle," in *Le texte et son inscription,* ed. R. Laufer (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989), 115–16.

71. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 8r, gloss.

72. Fol. 1r, gloss: "Est enim primum et speciale mandatum in hac arte firmiter credere, quia in omnibus mandatis Dei preest fides in orando Deum"; fol. 1v, gloss: "Et sic non minorem fidem habeas sed majorem in proferendo nomina greca, caldea et hebrea"; fol. 1v, gloss: "Et hoc repetit Apolonius in textu, ut operarius sit bene firmus et magis credens et firmiorem fidem habeat dum operatur in ista sanctissima arte"; fol. 5r, gloss: "non solum ipse Deus voluit Salomoni ipsas virtutes administrare, sed cuilibet <alteri> bono fideli qui in hoc sancto opere laboraret, quia apud Deum nulla est acceptum personarum, sed illum quem dignum et fidelem reperit in ipsum suam gratiam infundit."

73. Fol. 1v, gloss: "illud quod concessum a Deo et datum ab omnibus est credendum et timendum et non dubitandum."

74. "Et in opere incepto bona voluntate proferantur pro sua efficacia habenda." Fol. 3v, gloss.

75. "Munditia enim comparata homo coelestis atque spiritualis evadit." Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri tres,* ed. Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Leiden: Brill, 1992), III.54, p. 566.

76. Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique," 131.

77. Jeanne Carlier, "Science divine et raison humaine: Grèce," in *Divination et rationalité,* ed. Jean-Pierre Vernant (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1974), 249–63. The relation between soul and body in theurgy has been the object of a bitter debate between the Neoplatonic thinkers and, later, between historians of Neoplatonism, summarized in Gregory Shaw, "Theurgy: Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus," *Traditio* 41 (1985): 1–28.

78. Carine van Liefferinge, *La théurgie: Des oracles chaldaïques à Proclus* (Liège: Centre international d'étude de la religion grecque antique, 1999), 37–38.

79. "Item quod bonam vitam ducat in actione operis cum confessione preambula et penitentiam agendo." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 2v, gloss.

80. Fol. 28r.

81. Fol. 1r, gloss: "aut qui turpi non tractaverit sive furto vel perjurio vel rapina vel aliqua alia malitia habuerit, sciat se ipsum in arte predicta nullum effectum assequi, sed etiam se non tantum corporale sed etiam spirituale detrimentum proculdubio incursurum"; fol. 17r, gloss: "sed cavendum est a peccatis mortalibus, sicut a luxuria, crapula, perjurio, furto, homicidio et similibus."

82. Fol. 2r, gloss: "Et in super omnia peccata caveas a luxuria et ebrietate ad minus ab inceptione operis usque quo penitus compleatur"; fol. 7r: "hoc libro quidem a casu invento nimium crapulatus vino et post accessum mulieris presumptuose legeret"; fol. 8r, gloss: "et caveat a peccatis mortalibus et criminalibus et specialiter a crapula et luxuria"; fol. 13v: "a peccatis observandum est criminalibus et mortalibus, id est gule, luxurie et crapule."

83. Fol. 2r, gloss: "Item confessione recepta a principio, sicut dictum est, prout melius cavere poteris"; fol. 2v, gloss: "Item quod bonum vitam ducat in actione operis cum confessione preambula et penitentiam agendo"; fol. 8r, gloss: "Legantur ergo cum magne venerationis obsequio et cum devotione, spe et fide et confessione preambula et penitentia humiliter recepta de omnibus peccatis suis."

84. See, for example, M. Préaud, ed., *Confession de maître Jean de Bar*, articles 1 and 7, in Préaud, *Les astrologues à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: J.-C. Lattès, 1984), 192–96; and Jan R. Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France: Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's Contre les devineurs (1411)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 343–55; see also Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Les condamnations de la magie à Paris en 1398," *Revue Mabillon*, new ser., 12 (2001): 121–57.

85. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 7r.

86. Fol. 10r–v, gloss, and fol. 13r, gloss.

87. Fol. 13v, gloss.

88. This requirement for solitude is common to many magical traditions, but it is not universal: "nigromancy" in some cases necessitates a collaboration between a *magister* and disciples. See Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, "Le secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," *Micrologus* 14 (2006): 101–50.

89. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 2r, gloss: "Scire quoque debes hoc opus esse agendum in loco secreto et solitario et mundo et remoto a strepitu gentium, nec propter voces aliquas ad te supervenientes opus tuum inceptum dimittas imperfectum"; fol. 9v, gloss: "et solus cum aliquo sermente suo stet operarius in aliquo loco secreto et remoto a strepitu gentium"; fol. 17v, gloss: "habeas domum secretam et longe a strepitu gentium."

90. Fol. 4r (gloss), for example.

91. E. S. Ames, "Mystic Knowledge," *American Journal of Theology* 19 (1915): 250–67.

92. "Et nolit alicui visionem illam revellare." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 17r, gloss. The case of the Benedictine monk John of Morigny is revealing in this regard: in his *Liber visionum* he describes numerous visions he experienced from his adolescence through the time that he practiced the *Ars notoria*, but he did not decide to record his experience until the Virgin Mary gave him formal authorization, at the end of a long process of repentance. See the edition of the *Liber visionum* prologue, with English translation by Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, in *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3 (2001): 108–217, esp. §§8, 9, and 31.

93. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 293; Fritz Graf, *La magie dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine: Idéologie et pratique* (Paris: Pluriel, 1997), 117–18; Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 163.

94. Dupèbe, "L'écriture chez l'ermite Pelagius," 117.

95. "Item si minus sciens fueris quod non intelligas formam istius artis, potes habere magistrum qui tradat tibi istam doctrinam vel alium scientie formam libri melius quam tu, sed alium socium tecum in pronuntiatione orationum habere non debes." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 2r, gloss.

96. Dupèbe, "L'écriture chez l'ermite Pelagius," 119–20. Similarly, in Neoplatonic theurgy the correct pronunciation of the *onomata barbara* was a "professional secret orally transmitted." Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 292.

97. "Magister tamen esse potest tecum qui te instruat et doceat legere orationes in opere competenter." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 2r, gloss.

98. "Item si tu nescis legere orationes sive grecas sive latinas, magister potest legere et tu post eum." Fol. 2r, gloss.

99. "Sed necessarium est quod magister sit bone fidei erga te, quod non faciat causa derisionis. Acquiratur ergo ante inceptionem operis magister bone conscientie et fidelis." Fol. 2r, gloss.

100. "Item licet tibi habere famulum qui tibi propinet necessaria victualium in horis assignatis quibus debes prandere, tamen nunquam sit presens tecum dum procedes in opere legendo orationes." Fol. 2r, gloss.

101. "Nullus sciat locum in quo tu operaris ad figuras, nisi tu et famulus tuus et magister siquem habere potes." Fol. 17v, gloss.

102. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 295–99.

103. Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique," note 23.

104. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 151; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, esp. 112–13, 140–42; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Récréations monastiques: Les couteaux à manche d'ivoire," in *Recueil des travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, vol. 1 (Paris: Société de l'école de Chartres, 1955), 17ff.

105. Peter Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41 (1990): 75–91; Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1939; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1984), 219ff.; Joseph Dan, "The Princes of Thumb and Cup," *Tarbiz* 32 (1962): 359–69.

106. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. Charles Brucker (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 201; see also Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 101–2.

107. "Et si puer fuerit observet etiam usque ad vesperum si potest, et si ex impotentia sua non potest jejunare assumat sibi aliam horam." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 9v.

108. "Et subjunxit explanando michi sicut puero per elementa quedam litterarum." Fol. 9r. This term was similarly employed in the universities to designate students, especially the youngest ones. Cf. Jacques Verger, "*Nova et vetera* dans le vocabulaire des premiers statuts et privilèges universitaires français," in *Vocabulaire des écoles et des méthodes d'enseignement au Moyen Âge*, ed. Olga Weijers (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 191–205, esp. 196.

109. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man (The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute)*, new ser., 3 (1968): 175–208; Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 17–59; Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert, "Esquisse d'un théorie générale de la magie," *Année Sociologique* 7 (1904): 1–146, reprinted in Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 1950).

110. "Quia solo verbo omnia creavit Deus et Deus est ipsum verbum et in principio erat verbum, et in verbo et fide stat omne sacramentum." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 1v, gloss.

111. Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians*, ed. Stephen Ronan, trans. Thomas Taylor and A. Wilder (Hastings, UK: Chthonios Books, 1989), VII.4, 133–34.

112. "Compilavit ex ea unum librum magnum exponendo de ipsa primo virtutem et efficaciam quam in se continet, et in ipso eodem volumine voluit declarare et ostendere et narrare virtutes verborum grecorum, hebreorum et caldeorum que continentur in ista sanctissima arte secundum quod in orationibus conscribuntur. Librum siquidem illum appellavit Salomon volumen *De magnitudine qualitatis*, eo quod in illo volumine declaratur qualis et quanta sit quantitas et qualitas sanctissimorum verborum grecorum, hebreorum et orationum istius libri." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 5v, gloss.

113. "Similiter Apollonius veniens post Salomon operando in eadem arte quantum melius et brevius potuit explanavit, ut nos et alii post eos venientes tam sanctissimum et sacratissimum misterium propter ignorantiam verborum grecorum, hebreorum et caldeorum dimitteremus inconcussum. Et sic placuit Deo et illis, ut nobis per linguam latinam tantum misterium esset revelatum." Fol. 2v, gloss.

114. "Unum solum vocabulum hebreum sive grecum comprehendit in se exponendo in latinum quinque vel sex vocabula littere latine." Fol. 2v, gloss.

115. This belief is an inheritance from antiquity, especially the Chaldean oracles; cf. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 292–93, who emphasizes that the use of *onomata barbara* (corresponding to our *mystica verba*) is a habitual element of Greco-Egyptian magic, and that the theory of their untranslatable efficacy was energetically sustained by Origen in his *Contra Celsum* (1.24 sq). Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 87, equally insists on the primordial role played by Neoplatonic theurgists

in the propagation of this theory, which is thence diffused into Jewish magic and thence into the Christian world.

116. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 2v, gloss.

117. "*Mane, Techel, Phares*, quod interpretatur in latino: Numeravit Dominus regnum tuum appensum est in statera et inventum est minus habens, divissum est regnum tuum et datum est Medis et Persis." Fol. 2v, gloss. Here is the same passage (Dan. 5:25–28) in the Jerusalem Bible: "The writing reads: *mene, mene, teqel* and *parsin*. The meaning of the words is this: *mene*: God has measured your sovereignty and put an end to it; *teqel*: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting; *parsin*: your kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and the Persians." A note specifies that the Aramaic text (unlike the Vulgate) repeats *mene* twice and gives *parsin* in place of *pharès* (i.e., "breach").

118. The treatise speaks similarly of the prayer *Lemahc, Sebauthe*, on fol. 3v: "Humanis sensibus esse ipsam inexplicabilem."

119. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 292–93; Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians*, VII.4, 133–34.

120. On all of these questions, over which we pass rapidly here, see Irène Rosier, *La parole comme acte: Sur la grammaire et la sémantique au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1994), chapter 6, "Le pouvoir des mots: Roger Bacon, Avicenne et al-Kindi," 207–31; on the opposition between al-Kindi's theory and the Augustinian conception of language, see Claire Fanger, "Things Done Wisely by a Wise Enchanter: Negotiating the Power of Words in the Thirteenth Century," *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 1 (1999): 97–132.

121. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 1r, gloss: "Est enim primum et speciale mandatum in hac arte firmiter credere [. . .]. Secundum est habere desiderium magnum et voluntatem incipiendi opus et proficiendi"; fol. 1v, gloss: "Credat igitur operarius in proferendo istas sanctissimas orationes [. . .], procedendo in opere secundum precepta data in arte ista, id est spe, fide et cum magno desiderio"; fol. 2v, gloss: "Ponuntur quedam precepta que multum sunt necessaria cuilibet volenti operari in ista sancta arte, videlicet quod habet magnum desiderium incipiendi opus," etc.

122. "In isto capitulo ostenditur quantam gratiam, quantam virtutem placuit Altissimo in tam brevibus orationibus procreari in proferendo eas." Fol. 1v, gloss.

123. Fol. 4v, gloss: "Item sciendum est quod orationes latine sunt proprie orationes et humiles deprecationes apud Deum verum. Alie vero grece, ebree et caldee sunt deprecationes apud sanctos angelos qui permissione divina habent in isto sancto opere omnes efficacias et virtutes ministrare"; fol. 6v, gloss: "quod latinum est quedam oratio sive deprecatio apud solum Deum"; fol. 7r, gloss: "est quedam oratio latina pertinens solummodo ad Altissimum Deum"; fol. 11r, gloss: "oratio latina quedam que est impetratio et deprecatio erga Deum omnipotentem," etc.

124. "Oratio autem est sacramentale misterium per verba greca, hebrea, caldea et latina ostensum et pronuntiatum." Fol. 4r, gloss.

125. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 190ff.

126. Pierre Hadot, "Bilan et perspective," published as an appendix to Hans Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic, and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978). "À la différence de la magie, la théurgie n'exerce pas de contrainte sur les dieux, pour les forcer à apparaître, mais au contraire, elle se soumet à leur volonté en accomplissant les actes qu'ils veulent" (717); "Or ce qui distingue précisément la théurgie de la magie, c'est l'absence de véhémence, de contrainte, de menace, la docilité et la soumission à la volonté des dieux" (719); and "la théurgie est une opération dans laquelle ce sont les dieux qui donnent une efficacité divine à l'action humaine, en sorte que l'action humaine reçoit son sens en raison d'une action et d'une initiative divine" (719).

127. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 3v, gloss: "quia finitis istis orationibus modo debito exaudivit Deus vocem et orationem deprecantis"; fol. 6v, gloss: "Unde ait Salomon quod ipsa oratio habet partem consecratam in celis, quasi dicat oratione finita exaudit Deus orationem incontinenti eam proferentis."

128. Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians*, VII.4, 133–34; also I.12, 38; cf. also David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 88; Carlier, "Science divine et raison humaine," 259.

129. Dupèbe, "L'écriture chez l'ermite Pelagius," 122n1.

130. Trouillard, "Sacrements: La théurgie païenne," 464. We shall see that the figures are equally signs to which the heavenly powers are incited to respond. Cf. Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of the*

Egyptians, I.15, 41: "If, indeed, it is considered that sacred prayers are sent to men from the gods themselves, that they are certain symbols of the divinities, and that they are only known to the gods, [. . .] how can it any longer be justly apprehended, that a supplication of this kind is sensible, and not divine and intellectual?"

131. "Vide ne de hac oratione aliquid exponere vel transferre presumas, nec aliquis per te, nec post te. Sacramentale siquidem ejus misterium est." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 3vb. See also fol. 6vb: "Sequitur alia pars et subtilis et sancta oratio in qua continetur tam sacramentale misterium verborum," etc.

132. On this point, see my study "Les anges dans l'*ars notoria:* Révélation, processus visionnaire et angélologie," in "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Henri Bresc, and Benoît Grévin, special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114, no. 2 (2002): 813–49.

133. Petrus Aponensis, *Liber conciliator* (Venice, 1521), fol. 201v, differentia 156.

134. Birger A. Pearson, "Theurgic Tendencies in Gnosticism and Iamblichus' Conception of Theurgy," in *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, ed. R. T. Wallis (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 253–75, esp. 255, shows that the prayers of antique theurgy and the *nomina barbara* were both considered sacramental elements. It is therefore easier to Christianize the process.

135. Notably against the objections of Porphyry, which were in large part taken up later by Christian theologians, especially Thomas Aquinas.

136. Kieckhefer argues against this simplistic idea in his article "The Holy and the Unholy: Sainthood, Witchcraft, and Magic in Late Medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994): 355–85.

137. A few expressions among many that might be cited: fol. 13vb: "ego indignus et miserimus peccator [. . .] et ego creatura rationalis invoco hodie gloriosam clementiam tuam, ut visitet hodie Spiritus Sanctus infirmitatem meam"; fol. 14vb: "humilia hodie, Domine, cor meum."

138. For example, fol. 3v: "Ipsa enim debet pronuntiari [. . .] cum magno affectu et maximo venerationis obsequio et solempnitate."

139. "Alpha et omega, Deus omnipotens, principium omnium rerum sine principio, finis sine fine, exaudi hodie preces meas, piissime, et neque secundum iniquitates meas neque secundum peccata mea retribuas mihi, Domine Deus meus, sed secundum tuam misericordiam que est major rebus omnibus visibilibus et invisibilibus miserere mei, sapientia Patris Christe, lux angelorum, gloria sanctorum, spes et portus et refugium peccatorum, cunctarum rerum conditor et humane fragilitatis redemptor, qui celum et terram mareque totum ac montium pondera palmo concludis, te, piissime, deprecor et exoro, ut una cum Patre illustres animam meam radio Sanctissimi Spiritus tui, quatenus in hac sacrosancta arte taliter possim proficere, ut valeam ad notitiam talis scientie et omnis cujuslibet artis et sapientie, memorie, facundie, intelligentie, et intellectus virtute tui Sanctissimi Spiritus et tui nominis pervenire, et tu qui es Deus meus, qui in principio creasti celum et terram et omnia ex nichilo, qui in Spiritu tuo omnia reformas, comple, instaura, saua intellectum meum, ut glorificem te per omnia opera cogitationum mearum et verborum meorum, Deus Pater, orationem meam confirma, et intellectum meum auge et memoriam meam ad suscipiendum, ad cognoscendum, ad retinendum omnium scripturarum scientiam, memoriam, eloquentiam et perseverentiam, qui vivis et regnas per infinita seculorum secula, amen." Fol. 1ra–b.

140. The term *Deus* is the most frequent, but many of the prayers address the Father, often in company with the Holy Spirit, which is responsible for the infusion of grace into the operator. Christ, cited a dozen or so times, is the redeemer from whom the operator asks pardon for his faults.

141. Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic," 18.

142. Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 75–108; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), chapter 8, "Charms, Pardons, and Promises: Lay Piety and 'Superstition' in the Primers," 266–98.

143. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 126–53.

144. This order is in conformity with the operation recalled, for example, by Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians*, V.23, 123. Cf. Van Liefferinge, *Théurgie*, 38.

145. Joseph Bidez, "Le philosophe Jamblique et son école," *Revue des Études Grecques* 32 (1919): 29–40, esp. 38; Joseph Bidez, "La liturgie des mystères chez les Néoplatoniciens," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique (Lettres)* 5 (1919): 423, 425; Van Liefferinge, *Théurgie*, 32–33.

146. Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians,* I.12, 38.

147. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational,* 287: "The *De Mysteriis* is . . . an assertion that the road to salvation is found not in reason but in ritual."

148. "Iste enim orationes sunt in quibus magnam potest nostra salus habere efficaciam." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 6rb.

149. Fol. 3vb.

150. For example, the first list of names, with the incipit *Helyscemath,* contains only five names in Sloane 1712 (fol. 1rb: *[H]ely, Semat, Azatan, Hemel, Sanuc, Theon*), as against sixty-six in BnF, lat. 9336. A comparable disproportion exists in the case of *Theos, Megale,* although the difference between the two manuscripts is, in most cases, not more than a word or two.

151. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition,* 78 ff.; *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des Palais,* trans. Charles Mopsik (Paris: Verdier, 1989), 80: "Connaître le nom des anges, c'est avoir le pouvoir de les invoquer et de les adjurer dans un but théurgique."

152. Benno Jacob, *In Namen Gottes: Eine sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903), 72, 75ff.

153. Note that the cult of angels was originally shared exclusively between Judaism and Semitic paganism. Cf. Franz Cumont, "Les anges du paganisme," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 71 (1915): 59–82, esp. 163.

154. Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1993), 104.

155. G. Kittel, "The Doctrine of Angels in Judaïsm," *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* sec. C, "Of Angels," 1:80–82.

156. See Sophie Page's chapter in this volume.

157. Haïm Zafrani, *Kabbale, vie mystique et magie: Judaïsme d'Occident musulman* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1996), 367–68; C. Merchavya, "Sefer ha-Razim," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 13 (1971): 594–95. For a translation of this famous text, see *Sepher-ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries,* trans. Michael A. Morgan (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

158. Gershom Scholem, *La Kabbale et sa symbolique* (Paris: Payot, 1966), 107ff.

159. Moïse M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1897); and Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967).

160. I am most grateful to Grévin for sharing the preliminary results of his research on this matter.

161. *Ars Notoria: The Notory Art of Solomon, Shewing the Cabalistical Key of Magical Operations, The Liberal Sciences, Divine Revelation, and The Art of Memory. . . . written originally in Latine and now Englished by Robert Turner* (London: J. Cottrel, 1657; reprint, Seattle: Trident, 1987).

162. See the recent work of E. Anheim, Benoît Grévin, and M. Morard, "Exégèse judéo-chrétienne, magie et linguistique: Un recueil de notes inédites attribuées à Roger Bacon," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 68 (2001): 95–154.

163. "In explanatione autem predicti nominis que continetur in tribus primis capitulis libri predicti [i.e., *Liber Semamphoras*] ponitur nomen quoddam 72 literarum quod appellatur *sem amphoras,* id est nomen explanatum, et ex 72 literis illius nominis secundum diversam eorum combinationem componuntur diversa nomina divina, que omnia latent in predicto nomine Domini *tetragrammaton,* et puto quod liber Salomonis qui dicitur *Ars notoria* et habetur in latino, ubi ponuntur multa nomina divina que in tantum corrupta sunt vicio scriptorum latinorum quod jam non sunt hebrea nec alicujus lingue, contineat predicta nomina et ex eis virtutem sorciatur, si forte virtutem quam promittit. Sed de hoc certitudinaliter juducare non possum, quia, ut predixi, tres primas particulas libri predicti videre non potui, nec puto quod sit in regionibus istis judeus qui eas habeat." From Samuel Berger, *Quam notitiam linguae hebraicae habuerint christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia* (Paris: Hachette, 1893), 41–42.

164. One example among others: in Sloane 1712 (thirteenth century), fol. 13rb, the first "terminal" prayer begins with the name *Genealogon.* Our manuscript BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 15va, adds two derivatives: *Renealogon, Benealogon.*

165. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition,* 86–89.

166. But this is never clearly established. Fol. 18v: "Dominationes, Cherubyn, Tronorum, Dominationes, Angelorum sanctorum et Archangelorum"; fol. 20v: "ac communis causa celestis militie

status excellens Angelorum, sedes gloriosa Archangelorum, ordo benignissimus Principatuum, gloriosa deitas Dominationum intelligens efficacia indeficiensque memoria, intellectus virtutum requies summa et eterna Thronorum, Cherubyn, assistensia sine labe"; see also fols. 21r, 22v. On this question, cf. René Roques, *L'univers dionysien: Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983), 135–45.

167. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 90–97 and Appendix I, "The Formation of Magical Names," 260–64. The kabbalists also have speculations surrounding the ten *sefiroth*, ten names conceived as creative principles. Cf. Gershom Scholem, *Le nom et les symboles de Dieu dans la mystique juive* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983), 58–65; K. Kohler, "The Tetragrammaton (Shem ham-M'forash) and Its Uses," *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy* 1 (1919): 19–32.

168. See, for example, a prayer to distance a storm in Nicole Bériou, Jacques Berlioz, and Jean Longère, *Prier au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et expériences (Ve–XVe siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 74–76; see also R. Nelli, "La prière aux soixante-douze noms de Dieu," *Folklore* 8 (1950): 70–74.

169. Name of God in use in the *trisagion* of Greek liturgy: "Dieu saint, saint et fort, saint et immortel, aie pitié de nous." Cf. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 139.

170. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Christianisme ancien* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), s.v. "Alpha et Oméga."

171. For diverse mentions of these names, see Claude Lecouteux, *Charmes, conjurations et bénédictions: Lexiques et formules* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996); in the context of "Solomonic" ritual magic, see Julien Véronèse, "God's Names and Their Uses in the Books of Magic Attributed to King Solomon," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 5, no. 1 (2010): 30–50.

172. The pictures are in fact very different from other signs used in other traditions of astral and ritual magic. See Benoît Grévin and Julien Véronèse, "Les caractères magiques au Moyen Âge (XIIe–XIVe siècle)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 162 (2004): 407–81.

173. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 9r, gloss.

174. "Sic placuit divine prudentie quod tres note ibi essent aposite." Fol. 9r, gloss.

175. Fol. 9r, gloss.

176. Augustine *De doctrina christiana* XX.20.

177. Carlier, "Science divine et raison humaine," 259. See also Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 292ff.

178. To use Plato's terms, as Carlier does ("Science divine et raison humaine," 250–51), "le sage réussit par un mode de vie et des exercices spirituels appropriés à endormir l'âme 'irascible' et l'âme 'appétive' pour éveiller la partie la plus noble de l'âme, siège de la révélation." Cf. Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique," 131; E. H. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948): 163–92, esp. 167.

179. Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 161.

180. Bonaventure, *Expositio in quatuor libros sententiarum*, lib. 3, dist. 9, q. 2; Thomas Aquinas, *Commentarium super libros sententiarum: Commentum in librum III*, dist. 9, art. 2, q. 2.

181. Camille, "Visual Art in Two Manuscripts of the *Ars notoria*," insists that the figures of the *Ars notoria* have no equivalent in the traditional modes of representation of the liberal arts in the Middle Ages.

182. E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaedon, 1972), 158, shows Neoplatonists' fascination with Egyptian hieroglyphs, which, they believed, functioned as visual symbols and were a mode of representation superior to all other language.

183. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae," 170: "visual symbolism as a key to the essential nature of the entities symbolized"; Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique," 130–31.

184. Joaquin Yars Luaces, "*Fascinum*: Reflets de la croyance au mauvais œil dans l'art médiéval hispanique," *Razo* 8 (1988): 113–27, gives other examples of belief in the influence of images on those who look at them.

185. Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

186. John B. Friedman, "Les images mnémotechniques dans les manuscrits de l'époque gothique," in *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnique médiévale*, ed. Bruno Roy and Paul Zumthor (Montréal: Vrin, 1985) 169–84; see also K.-A. Wirth, "Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren

im Dienste der Schule und des Unterrichts," in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernd Moeller, Hans Patze, and Karl Stackmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 371–97.

187. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 5r, gloss: "Et completis orationibus istis inspiciatur figura phisice oculo intento, et accipiantur libri et volumina artis phisice ante occulos aperta, voluendo cartas huc et illuc, inspiciendo intus et legendo aliqua capitula"; fol. 10r, gloss: "Tunc previdenda est prima dies lunationis et in ipsa die summo mane ponende figure rectorice aperte ante oculos, et libri et volumina legum sive decretalium et decretorum aperta ex alia parte."

188. *Ars notoria: The Notory Art of Solomon,* 67–68.

189. Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus,* the *Liber visionum,* and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits,* 250–65; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites,* 120, where he cites important bibliographical sources, including Peter Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism,* trans. Aubrey Pomerance (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 49–53, 73–75, 89–95, 109–17, 150–57; Michael D. Swartz, "Patterns of Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism," in *Society and Literature in Analysis: New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism,* ed. Paul V. M. Flesher (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989), 173–86; and Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

190. Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique," 132, cites *Ennéades,* V.8.6 (ed. Bréhier), in which Plotinus opposes "la science sacrée des Egyptiens, fondée sur des images donnant un savoir global et parfait, à la science grecque, conceptuelle et analytique, donc partielle et laborieuse." Cf. also Gombrich, *Symbolic Images,* 157ff.

191. "Sciendum est etenim artem notoriam omnes artes et omnem litteraturam scientiam mirabiliter et indubitanter et etiam rationabiliter in se continere." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 4ra.

192. See, for example, Jean Gerson's *De erroribus circa artem magicam,*which is addressed to licenciates in the Faculty of Medicine at Paris. Cf. *Œuvres complètes,* ed. P. Glorieux, vol. 10, *L'œuvre polémique* (Paris: Desclée, 1973), 81: "Tertia consideratio.—Philosophica aut medicinalis consideratio nullatenus admiterre debet traditiones illas superstitiosas quae dicuntur methodica vel empirica, quarum scilicet nulla potest ratio naturalis assignari. Itaque scribentes ea, magi secuti sunt errorem vulgi aut magorum ritus impios quam medicinae rationem."

193. BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 5r, gloss: "Et sic a Salomone istud opus ars artium et scientia scientiarum appellatur"; fol. 5rb: "et in ipsius aliquatenus participantium artem istam idcirco notoriam appellavit, eo quod esset ars artium et scientia scientiarum."

194. "Per eorumdem verborum sacramenta possunt acquiri et haberi et supradicte efficacie scientiarum per breve tempus, que alie studendo et addiscendo necnon minima scientiarum per vitam hominis minime posset apprehendi, et sic placuit Altissimo Creatori qui cuncta creavit et creatis omnibus providere voluit, et specialiter hominem quem ad suam similitudinem plasmaverat virtutibus." Fol. 5r, gloss.

195. Rhetoric also contained civil and canon law; cf. fol. 21r: "ad habendam scientiam rectorice [...] que continet sub se scientiam juris canonici et civilis"; and fols. 9v–10r.

196. In fact, geometry is given two figures just the same; but it is not mentioned in the text at the point where the classification scheme is outlined.

197. Jacques Verger, *Les gens de savoir en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: PUF, 1997), 32.

198. "Que sub astronomia continentur." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 8v. The text following gives etymologies inspired by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum, PL* 82, book 8, chapter 9, §13, col. 312.

199. On this little used term, cf. Fanger, "Plundering the Egyptian Treasure," 238–39n22.

200. "Alie vero artes sunt hec nygromantia, geomantia et alie que sub majori philosophia continentur." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 9r.

201. "Quod quotienscumque de exceptivis vel adulterinis scire volueris ipsas notas generales diebus singulis inspicies." Fol. 11v.

202. Fol. 8v. Cf. Isidore de Séville, *Etymologiarum,* VIII, 9, §11, col. 312: "*Necromantii* sunt, quorum praecantationibus videntur resuscitati mortui divinare, et ad interrogata respondere."

203. "Sed tamen dicit Salomon quod in nygromantia sunt septem libri, quorum quinque cum minori peccato possunt legi et per eos in scientia nygromantie operari, duo vero illorum penitus prohibentur operari, de quibus siquis operatus fuerit sacrilegium facit offerendo sacrificium spiritibus

malignis, [. . .] et quicumque offert sacrificium demonibus de sanguine humano vel aliis rebus corporalibus offendit Deum et negat eum." BnF, lat. 9336, fol. 8v.

204. "Alie vero artes que sunt hec nygromantia, geomantia et alie [. . .] per istam eandem artem certissime possunt haberi, acquiri et doceri, sed non sine peccato." Fol. 9r.

205. The preparation of the decoction at the beginning of the ritual, as much as the strong presence of angelic names with Greek affinity, is an equally important argument in this direction.

206. Dupèbe, "L'écriture chez l'ermite Pelagius," 115–16.

207. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 193–96, analyzes an *experimentum* permitting the mastery of the liberal arts in thirty days. For another version of this *experimentum*, see J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897), 231–34; it is preserved in Firenze, Laurent., Plut. 89, sup. 38, fols. 294v–298r. See also Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, "*Si volueris per demones habere scientiam: L'experimentum nigromantie attribué à Michel Scot*," in *Mélanges Michel Sot*, ed. S. Shimahara, M. Coumert, M.-C. Isaïa, and K. Krönert (Paris, Les Presses universitaires Paris Sorbonne, 2011).

2

UPLIFTING SOULS: THE *Liber de essentia spirituum* AND THE *Liber Razielis*

Sophie Page

Several late medieval magic texts claimed to offer the practitioner knowledge and experience of the celestial realm, including an understanding of the network of forces linking heaven and earth, details of the orders of angels and methods of communicating with them, and even the reception of a vision of God and the promise of salvation. This chapter focuses on two magic texts circulating in the late Middle Ages, the *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis,* which originated in Arabic and Jewish contexts, respectively, and explores the extent to which these fit a model of theurgic practice as compared both to late antique precedents and to the texts of Christian theurgy discussed elsewhere in this book.

The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis* are magic texts in which spiritual advancement is sought and undertaken by the practitioner. The descent of spirits to teach the practitioner or grant him celestial knowledge is linked in both texts with a corresponding ascent of the practitioner's soul while his body remains living. In addition, the personal interaction between spirit and man is set against a broader cosmology focusing on the wretchedness of mortal life and the return of the soul to God. While the rituals in these texts do not guarantee the soul's salvation, they do imply that those worthy to undertake the art will achieve it, and the texts give examples of those who have done so. Another significant feature of these texts is that the reception of a celestial revelation and the elevated status of the practitioner are linked to the formation of communities of the elect with whom this knowledge is shared. In the *Liber Razielis,* the revelation is also placed in the context of a magical chain of tradition, in which a celestial book is said to have been transmitted from Adam through a line of sages and prophets.[1]

Owing to their different origins, the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum* diverge on various points of cosmology and ritual.[2] Nevertheless, it is useful to compare them with works of magic written by Christians. Those works most frequently associated with angel magic or theurgy, the *Ars notoria*, the *Liber iuratus Honorii*, and the *Liber visionum*, were clearly formulated under the influence of Jewish and Arabic magic, but they also place emphasis on specifically Christian mediators, namely, Christ and the Virgin Mary. In the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum*, man is an active seeker of celestial revelation and redemptive ascent without recourse to the mediation of Christ.[3]

Angels or spirits play a dominant part in the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum*, but to a large extent these beings are not mediators with the divine addressed with supplication, as in Christian theurgy. Rather, they are powers whose attributes should be learned and manipulated by the practitioner for his own ends. In both texts the cosmological context of each group of spirits is described in some detail, as this provides the means for the practitioner to invoke them at the correct time and for the right purpose. The *Liber Razielis* advocates requesting divine favor and assistance through prayer, but it usually emphasizes the recitation and inscription of names rather than the supplication of the practitioner before God.[4] In both texts, terms such as "entice," "compel," and "imprison" appear alongside terms suggestive of invocation and conjuration. The practitioner acquires knowledge of the cosmos, including astrology, angelology, and terrestrial and celestial correspondences. This knowledge, however, is already recorded in the texts, rather than being received in the process of a dialogue and continuous supplication before the divine, a pattern typical of Christian ritual magic.[5]

1. Origins and Contexts

The *Liber de essentia spirituum* is an anonymous Latin text written in an obscure, hieratic style, which survives in a single, incomplete copy in a fourteenth-century manuscript of St. Augustine's, Canterbury provenance, Oxford, Corpus Christi 125.[6] It is set in the context of an angelic vision that its author claims to have received while he was living in Seville, a city inhabited by Arabs, Christians, and Jews in the late Middle Ages, although this work does not adhere closely to any of these religious traditions. The cosmology conveyed in the text can rather be viewed in the context of late classical, largely non-Christian and Neoplatonic philosophical and literary texts. These works, including the *Timaeus*, Apuleius's *De deo Socratis*, Macrobius's and Calcidius's *Commentaries*, and the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella, were the main sources of cosmological ideas in the Latin West until the introduction of Aristotelian natural philosophy and Arabic commentaries and works of philosophy, astrology, and science from the twelfth century. It is in this context of intellectual transition that the *Liber de essentia spirituum* is best placed.

The inclusion of astrological concepts and terminology and of techniques relating to image magic indicate that the author had access to Arabic occult works translated into Latin in twelfth-century Spain. This merging of Arabic magic with Platonic cosmology by a Christian author may be explained by the fact that many of the early translations from Arabic into Latin originated in Platonic circles and were received by people favorable to Platonic philosophy.[7] The visionary framework and image-magic techniques of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* suggest the influence of a fluid corpus of Arabic Hermetic magic, entitled variously the *Kitāb al-Istamātis, Kitāb al-Istamākhis, Kitāb al-Maditis,* and so on. Parts of this corpus were known to Latin scholars by the second quarter of the twelfth century, and it is referred to in the *Picatrix.*[8] Like the *Liber de essentia spirituum,* these Arabic texts situated their magic techniques within a cosmic chronology and mythology that included stories of the descent of the spirits of the planets into each region to reveal magical knowledge.

The impact of Jewish texts on the magical traditions of the medieval Latin West has been much less studied than the transmission and assimilation of works of Arabic magic, although the former certainly influenced works of magic like the *Ars notoria,* the *Liber visionum,* and the *Liber iuratus Honorii.*[9] These texts offer evidence that the mixture of mystical, cosmological, and magical material found in Jewish sources and practice was selectively assimilated by the Latin West. As was the case with many works of Hermetic magic translated from Arabic into Latin, cosmological structures were pared down in favor of practical elements, such as the names and attributes of angels. Magic texts were adapted to a Christian readership by placing emphasis on the more licit art of astrology, on angelology, or on the Christian mystical currents present in the ritual magic texts cited above.

The most explicit transmission of Jewish magical material into Latin was the translation of works associated with the name Raziel, an angel present in Jewish angelology and Arabic astrological texts who was said to have revealed a book of secrets to Adam.[10] Various esoteric and magical treatises attributed to Raziel and based on the practical use of divine and angelic names circulated among Jews in the late Middle Ages.[11] The earliest known reference in Latin is a citation by the Christian convert Petrus Alfonsus (1062–1110) of a certain *Secretum secretorum,* which claimed to have been revealed to Seth, the son of Adam, by the angel Raziel.[12] By the mid-thirteenth century these magic texts were circulating more widely in Latin and provoking mixed responses.

Alfonso X "El Sabio" of Castile (r. 1252–1284) pursued his interests in the complementary fields of Arabic image magic and Jewish angelology by collecting texts of both genres and producing compilations and translations of them.[13] In 1259 Alfonso directed the translation of a work titled *Liber Razielis* from Latin into Castilian by the cleric Juan d'Aspa.[14] The Castilian version does not survive, but the Latin original put together by Alfonso survives in two complete and several partial copies, as well as in various early modern abridged vernacular versions.[15] This Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* is structured in the form of seven books said to have been brought together by Solomon,[16] to which a number of related texts from the Solomonic and Hermetic magical traditions were added as appendices.[17] Each book focuses on a different element of magical practice: the *Liber clavis* on astrology, the *Liber Ale* on natural magic, the *Liber thymiama* on suffumigations, the *Liber temporum* on angels associated with divisions of time, the *Liber mundicie et abstinentie* on ritual cleanliness and abstinence, and the *Liber Sameyn* on the angels of the heavens. Two different versions of the seventh book circulated: the *Liber magice,*[18] which focused on image magic, and the *Liber virtutis,*[19] an abridged version of the first appended work, the *Liber Semaforas* (Semhemaforas, Semiphoras, Seminafora, Semforas), which was concerned with names of power. The preface to the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* cites a Hebrew original for the compilation, the "Çeffer Raziel, quod vult dicere in ebrayco *Volumen secretorum Dei,*"[20] although it is likely that the structure is partly, if not entirely, a creation of Alfonso himself and his translators.[21]

Contemporaneously with the construction of Alfonso's volume, a *Liber institutionis Razielis,* with the incipit "In prima huius proemii parte de angulis tractemus," was condemned in the influential *Speculum astronomiae.*[22] On the basis of the *Speculum astronomiae*'s focus on image magic, this work has been identified with the *Liber magice.*[23] It therefore seems likely that the *Liber magice* was replaced at some point with the *Liber Semaforas* by an influential copyist in order to avert criticism, and the names of the books themselves can be viewed as expressive of this aim. However, the critique of names in this text by the author of the *Speculum astronomiae* could be applied to other books in the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis,* and on these grounds the text was unlikely to escape censure.[24]

The Alfonsine work gives prominence to Solomon, placing emphasis on the wise biblical ruler in order to make the text more fitting to its royal patron.[25] This appears to be an innovation of Alfonso's scribe, since Solomon is not mentioned in the prologue of another surviving Latin version of the *Liber Razielis,* which is more closely related to the composite Hebrew *Sefer Raziel ha-Mal'akh* (ed. Isaac ben Abraham, Amsterdam, 1701).[26] In the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis,* Adam's reception of the book from the angel Raziel, which emphasizes man's suffering and wretchedness, is not fully described until the sixth book of the compilation, the *Liber Sameyn.*[27] The *Liber Sameyn* circulated separately with other parts of the Alfonsine compilation. In München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51 it is copied with the *Liber virtutis,* and this copy has an incipit similar to that which Trithemius cites for an independent work with the title *Puritatem Dei.*[28] In Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3666 (s.xiv ex–s.xv in) and Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 33 (1550), the *Liber Sameyn* is compiled with the *Liber temporum.*[29] Both of these manuscripts refer to the *Liber Sameyn* and the *Liber temporum* as the first and second (rather than the sixth and third) books of the *Liber Razielis,* which may indicate their original position in the Hebrew source used by Alfonso's compiler.[30] This chapter focuses particularly on the long version of the prologue in BnF, lat. 3666 and on the *Liber Sameyn,* since these parts of the *Liber Razielis* highlight its theurgic elements most explicitly.[31]

2. Cosmology and Revelation in the *Liber de essentia spirituum*

The *Liber de essentia spirituum* opens with an image revealed to its author of the illusory nature of the corruptible world and the contrasting incorruptible essence of the soul.[32] Subsequent passages, heavy with scorn and admonition, describe the corrupt and suffering state of mankind in the sublunar world and mankind's distance from the perfection of the first essence.[33] In this early section, the central revelatory aim of the work is outlined: to disclose the true nature of the cosmos and God to worthy souls seeking to escape from the prison of the flesh and ascend to blessedness. Moreover, it appears that this blessed state can, to some extent, be achieved on earth, for the author writes that in order to "be assimilated into True Being as much as possible," he has "left worldly things to worldly matters, fallen things to fallen, transitory to transitory things."[34] He presents himself as a man "sleeping in blessedness, waiting for the numbers of the resolution to be completed so that I should return as quickly as possible to that from which I fell."[35] Despite this apparently somnambulant state, he assumes a prophetic role, declaring, "I was made a shoot profiting others."[36] In the final passage in this section, he describes his reception of an "image of true light" and his decision to transmit, in writing to the worthy, the knowledge he has received:

> I therefore conceived of places deserted of every inhabitant in which, for thirty years, I had an image of true light with these, who, having now become companions of my blessedness, invited me to my empty seat. So that in the shadow of darkness a small light may shine, whatever I have learned in their sweet companionship about the essence and classification of the spirits and their double embodying, from those who do not deviate from

> the precaution of truth unless either from scorn of inferior obedience or from voluptuousness, the helper of the stupid man, I have written down in detail to be transmitted for their common survival, bearing witness to everyone by the living God that no one should be allowed <to know these secrets> except the one who alone will be found worthy of the dual regime of the spirit; otherwise he will be struck by a punishment for such a great crime from the wrathful, more powerful <beings>.[37]

This rather opaque passage provides a number of interesting indications of the context in which the author situates his revelation. Over a period of thirty years he claims to have communed with spirits in a deserted region. It is not clear whether his soul has ascended to the celestial level of these spirits or whether they have descended to share his desert habitation. Although it is unlikely that a twelfth-century author would have had direct knowledge of Iamblichus, the invitation to an empty seat recalls a description in the reply to the "Letter of Porphyry to Anebo" of theurgists' souls, "seated in the orders of angels," purified from matter and providing corporeal souls with hope (83, 4–5).[38] Iamblichus believed that the perfection of the individual soul could be achieved only by its ascent to the divine being, and that the communion with spirits represented a preparation for the individual's final ascent.

In Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, it was commonplace for the visionary to achieve angelic status.[39] According to Sarah Iles Johnston's analysis of late antique theurgic ascent, the theurgist underwent an experience that changed his status and relationship with his human peers, his divine superiors, or both. She distinguishes between the theurgist, whose ascent is for personal spiritual benefit, and the enraptured individual, who returns from his celestial journey with knowledge of significance for his society, which he undertakes to disseminate. While the author of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* derives personal spiritual benefits from his "image of true light," he also returns with a message of revelation and hope for a small group of the chosen, which appears to be an indication that, like many theurgists of late antiquity, he sought to build a small community of the blessed who had access to true knowledge of the cosmos.[40]

To some extent, narrative prologues to magic texts were intended to legitimize the techniques they described and impress upon the reader the book's powerful and sacred qualities.[41] Nevertheless, contemporary readers took them seriously. William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris (1228–49), focused on the teaching and assembling of followers in his critique of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* in several chapters of his *De universo* (1231–36).[42] He accuses its author of setting up schools of necromancy ("scholas necromanticae") and teaching the revelations of demons so that they could be encouraged by nefarious cults ("nefariis cultibus"). His attack on this text identifies the spirits with whom the author cohabits as demons, not only because of the content of what they teach—an art execrable and hateful to God—but also because of their descent into the desert, a vile habitation.[43] Whereas the author of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* associates living in deserted places with the rejection of worldly concerns, William provides the contrary perspective that it is madness to prefer the company of beasts, serpents, and dragons to that of men. He finds the prophetic tone of this author threatening, as if his proclaimed piety were likely to attract followers or had already done so. The asceticism of this man in the desert is not to be trusted, since "what goodness or piety is to be believed of them, who cannot be ignorant of such great needs of men, such great other miseries and ignorances of them and <nevertheless> have betaken themselves so far away from them?"[44]

The revelation conveyed by the author of the *Book of the Spirits* in Corpus Christi 125 is not a visual rendering of an ascent but rather knowledge of the workings of the cosmos he has acquired from his celestial companions. This revelation of heavenly secrets to an enraptured visionary is in the tradition of wisdom and apocalyptic literatures, which often included summaries of information on creation, cosmology, angelology, and knowledge of the orbits of the stars and of their angelic guides.[45] The main elements of the received knowledge in the *Liber de essentia spirituum* concern the nature of God and the intermediary spirits between God and man, the descent to earth of some of these spirits, and their incorporation into material objects or bodies.[46] To those deemed worthy, the author offers a description not only of the true state of the cosmos—that is, of the hierarchy of spirits descending from the One—but also of how this information can be used for the purpose of magical practice.

This juxtaposition of cosmology and magic offers a theological insight into the operator's perspective that magic texts of a more purely pragmatic orientation do not. First, the cosmology provides a justificatory framework for magical practice, describing a detailed spiritual hierarchy and arguing that the spirits descend according to God's will and that their assistance in magical actions follows the law of creation. Second, although it is not explicitly stated, the magical techniques may be intended for use in theurgic rituals to achieve the soul's temporary ascent. Finally, those who are among the elect may be deemed worthy to receive not only knowledge of the true nature of God and his spirits but also techniques for gaining access to spiritual assistance and terrestrial power. The spirits are compelled to obey a practitioner who can demonstrate his knowledge of the secrets of the universe; thus the cosmology enables, explains, and justifies the practice of magic.

The mutual exchanges involved in the divine revelation of magical techniques, including methods of drawing down spirits to reveal further secrets, are also found in certain Jewish texts, such as those dealing with the Sar ha-Torah, studied by Michael Swartz, in which the secrets of heaven acquired through ascent visions were intended to provide the knowledge necessary to bring down an angel of the Torah. This angel, in turn, endowed the practitioner with the ability to understand cosmic secrets embedded in the Torah.[47] Like the narrator of the *Liber de essentia spirituum*, the scholar who received this revelation became a powerful holy man, even a wonder worker. As will be seen, analogues for other aspects of the magical cosmology of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* are evident in the *Liber Razielis*.

3. Adam and the Recovery of Prelapsarian Knowledge in the *Liber Razielis*

The narrative framework of the *Liber Razielis* involves the transmission of a celestial book rather than a cohabitation of spirits and man, but there are interesting parallels with the *Liber de essentia spirituum*.[48] The celestial book is given to Adam by the angel Raziel shortly after his expulsion from paradise; that is, in a newly wretched state of corporality and suffering that stands in harsh contrast to his previous existence.[49] On the banks of the river Paraig, outside Eden, Adam prays to God, and, in his mercy for his creation's pitiful postlapsarian state, God sends the angel Raziel with a book that gives him knowledge of the workings of the heavens and earth and great powers.[50]

> And on the third day of his praying, a good angel named Raziel (and the explanation of it [the name] is: "angel" and "the head" of all secrets and knowledge) came to Adam and he had come to him by command of the Creator. And Adam was then standing on the banks of the river which flowed from Paradise, which is called Perat,[51] and he was troubled and pitiful, sad and weeping aloud, and the angel appeared to him in the hour in which the sun begins to heat up the earth. And in the hand of the angel was the likeness of a book of white fire, written in red, blue, and black fire and unlike any other colors.[52] And the angel said to Adam: "Why are you sad and suffering, and why do you think over the future in your heart? Because in the hour in which you had risen onto your feet to make a prayer to the Creator, and had petitioned and invoked him and humbled yourself and thrown yourself onto the ground to pour out prayers and tormented your heart, then were your words received. And your prayer was received and completed. And the Creator immediately ordered me to descend and go to you with this book in order to teach you to understand

> the pure words and knowledge which are in it, and the many sciences and secrets which are in it, and the profound and precious writing which is in it. And you should know that all the beings which God created hold this book in the highest value and hold it to be evident and holy."[53]

The gift of the book occurs at the time when man has just lost his closest and purest terrestrial contact with the divine. Many late medieval ritual magic texts sought to recover this contact, sometimes combining this goal with an expression of yearning for the prelapsarian state of purity, knowledge, and experience of the presence of God. A prayer in the *Ars notoria,* for example, requests "love, whereby you drew fallen mankind to heaven; learning, whereby you thought it worthy to teach Adam all of the sciences . . . that I may be made new . . . in receiving the science which is beneficial for my soul and body."[54] The *Liber iuratus* claims that through it the operator will know God in his majesty in the same way that Adam and the prophets did.[55]

According to the prologue to the *Liber Sameyn,* after the Fall, Adam lost all the goodness and wisdom he had possessed and fell from knowledge into ignorance.[56] The *Liber Razielis* is a revelation of the lost prelapsarian wisdom, which enables man to acquire knowledge of all corporeal and spiritual causes.[57] When Adam fell into mortality, his imprisonment within time resulted in a new ignorance of the future. In his prayer to God outside paradise, before the book is given back to him, he begs: "Let me understand and know once again what will become of my children and future generations and what will become of me in all the days and months of the world."[58] Although Adam had fallen, as an exemplar for the magical practitioner he remained physically and emotionally close to paradise, and the *Liber virtutis* included the *Semyforas* that Adam used to speak with God in Eden.[59]

The angel Raziel promises Adam, and by extension the operator of the magic text, spiritual advancement in the celestial hierarchy, just as the author of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* claimed to have spiritual companions and to include himself among the blessed. Different versions of the text explore this in different ways. In the BnF, lat. 3666 prologue, whoever finds the book will be blessed ("beatus homo qui invenit librum istum"), for "he will be restored to life so that he sits in the presence of the angel, since the Holy Spirit rests on him."[60] The operator of the book will increase his ability to understand the true God and the separation of the rational soul,[61] and, like the author of the *Liber de essentia spirituum,* whoever has power through knowing this book can reveal it to others and thus raise up and bring down many men.[62] In the Halle and Vatican manuscripts, Adam is endowed with visionary powers on earth, acquires the grace and love of angels, and will ultimately be transformed as if he were one of the celestial beings.[63] A sixteenth-century copy of the text (Firenze, Plut. 44, Cod. 33) emphasizes a more sacred visionary power, and the angels are treated as servants rather than as friends.[64]

As the book passes down through the generations from Seth to Enoch, to his son Lemach, and then to Noah in the narrative prologue of BnF, lat. 3666, the angelic contact continues to be renewed. Enoch, who had "intromisit se in intellectu Domini nostri," underwent a ritual of cleansing prayer and afterward an angel appeared to him while he was sleeping and revealed the secret location of the book. As Enoch read and understood the *Liber Razielis,* he began to resemble the saints and angels and was thought to have ascended to heaven. He was even thought to have entered paradise, although he remained on the celestial plane teaching and using the book:

> And from the hour in which he had understood its words, he was clothed in a great splendor, and the vision of his eyes doubled, and he focused and absorbed himself so much in all the ways of this book that finally he resembled the saints in heaven and had separated himself from earthly habitation. And he could not be found, for he had been transported and elevated to heaven with the power of an angel. And there are such people who said that his sense or understanding was valued by and assimilated to the angels of heaven and he was led into Paradise with his mortal body.[65]

How far could the late medieval operators of the *Liber Razielis* hope to imitate the example of Enoch and ascend to heaven in their purified mortal bodies? The last chapter of the *Liber Sameyn* claims that this book teaches, among other things, how anyone should operate in order to be like one of the prophets of the earth or one of the angels of heaven and to be led away from damnation and toward salvation.[66] The *Liber iuratus* is equally explicit as to its goals: "This is the book by which God can be seen in this life. This is the book by which anyone can be saved and led, beyond a doubt, into eternal life. This is the book in which hell and purgatory can be seen without death."[67] These goals are usually implicit rather than attached to particular operations, and to some extent they are part of the rhetoric by which the operator is said to be spiritually transformed by his knowledge and manipulation of the medieval universe. Although the *Liber iuratus* and the *Liber visionum* offer specific instructions for achieving the vision of God, this still depends on the operator's faith, and he may be repulsed.[68] Salvation itself—a sensitive topic, as Porphyry admits in *The City of God*—is not usually attached to a particular ritual. An interesting exception is found in the magic text titled *Almandal,* however. Here the operator is blessed with grace and saved from damnation after speaking to an angel of the first altitude he has conjured to appear by means of the *almandal* (a wax tablet, table, or altar).[69] As the *Liber de essentia spirituum* and *Liber Razielis* also proposed, speaking to angels leads to the perfection of the human being and is a sign that he has achieved the necessary purification to ascend.

The *Liber Razielis* has built-in textual safeguards, however, to ensure that the "perfecting" of the human being it describes does not imply a "deification" of human nature. This point is discussed in an important article by Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse that compares the prologues and narrative schemes of the *Clavicula Salomonis,* the *Liber Razielis,* the *Ars notoria,* and the *Liber Almandal,* all of which can be categorized within the genre of Solomonic magic. Boudet and Véronèse argue that by postulating a divine origin for their revelations, Solomonic magic texts express how much is hidden from man and how great the gulf is between God and his most perfect creatures. The fruits of revelation are fragile and can be taken away: Solomon and, to some extent, Adam are archetypal tragic examples of how knowledge can be merited and lost. When revelation does not ensure a transformation in human nature as well as human knowledge, it is, as Boudet and Véronèse put it, "comme un don qui tient du mirage."[70] In the two texts under consideration here, however, salvation, rather than deification, is intended to provide a permanent state of wisdom and human perfection. Moreover, the ephemeral nature of revelation is to some extent sidestepped in the *Liber Razielis* by the provision of a ritual (discussed below) to invoke angelic teachers who will provide a revelation for each new operator.[71]

4. Spirits and Man: The Elevation of the Practitioner

When the purified theurgist's soul "welcomes spirits and angels and sees gods," as Augustine puts it in *The City of God,* this could be interpreted as either the ascent of the practitioner to the celestial realm or the descent of spirits or the divine to the practitioner—even into the practitioner's soul. This interaction created an elevated status and transformed the physical state of the practitioner. The precedent of Adam's celestial contact, in which the angel Raziel taught him the power of the book, is meant to be repeated by every practitioner who "rediscovers" the lost book. After the description of the angel Raziel ascending to heaven in celestial flames in BnF, lat. 3666, an experiment is recorded that each operator (here called the "artifex") of the book must undertake.[72] This experiment involves seven days of ritual cleansing, the sacrifice of two white doves, and the naming of angels assigned to the appropriate month. After three days the operator is instructed to sleep in the ashes of the burned intestines of the doves in a house that has burning candles in its four parts. One part of the angels will then visit the operator in the night and teach him how to perform the magical operations.[73] This personal contact of each new user of the book with an angel is mirrored by a prayer later in the text in which the new operator establishes his relationship with God.[74]

The two magic texts under consideration here offer different, but parallel, kinds of interactions with angels or spirits; both offer a relationship of instruction by celestial mentors and both offer the ability to command spirits, either by means of their names and qualities or by appeal to their superiors.[75] The *Liber de essentia spirituum* mentions a third type of interaction that occurs when spirits who had been conjured could not be incorporated into the object prepared by the magician: "Moreover, in certain [spirits] who, according to the yoke of nature are unable to be enclosed, having finished their course, it is discovered in this that the willing spirits either appear as visions or are enveloped in the bodies allotted to the guidance of others."[76] This suggests that teachers among the elect were thought to experience spiritual possession—that is, a version of theurgy in which the divine descends into man.[77] An orthodox analogue to the spiritual possession of the theurgist was the claim of divine possession, a new conceptual category in the late twelfth century.[78] In the *Liber de essentia spirituum* there is also an element of spontaneity in the spiritual possession of the elect that evokes the tales of folk demons or "nature elementals" possessing men and women who have unwittingly wandered into their wild terrains.[79]

The term "theurgy" has sometimes been used by modern scholars interchangeably with "angel magic," meaning interaction with nondemonic forces to achieve pious goals such as the acquisition of knowledge and a vision of God. This positive gloss is not entirely consistent with the goals of the *Liber de essentia spirituum,* the *Liber Razielis,* and to some extent also the *Liber iuratus,* because they also contain descriptions of malefic spirits, rituals involving sacrifice, and the subjugation and imprisonment of spirits, and have harmful and materialistic goals (although arguably these could be intended to punish the enemies of the elect). The sinister or amoral spirits manipulated by practitioners in these texts include the malicious spirits of Mars and the licentious spirits of Venus in the *Liber de essentia spirituum,* the pitiless angels of the second army of the first heaven in the *Liber Sameyn,*[80] and the spirits of the earth "qui sunt turpissimi et omni pravitate pleni" in the *Liber iuratus.*[81] Here the practitioner engages with the full cosmological range of spirits, not just those that can act as mediators to the divine. Interestingly, the *Liber de essentia spirituum* explains this interaction with a level of amoral spirits by stressing their comparability to (and consequent sympathy for) man. These spirits also suffer from *passibilitas,* sharing the passions that infect man, and imprisoning them in objects is said to place them in a position comparable to the human soul suffering the prison of the body.

The *Liber Razielis* includes a range of magical techniques, from the invocation and inscription of angelic names on a folio, image, or ring, to the use of animal parts (such as the head of a black cat that has never seen the light) and prayers that emphasize the humility and piety of the operator. There are numerous rituals of ablution and abstinence and places in the text where the operator is required to be pure, God-fearing, and clean; but he is also able to do experiments for good or evil ends. The emphasis on ritual purity expresses the instrumental power of ablution and abstinence and provides a link to the ideal figures of the prologues, whose repentance, purity, or wisdom the operator is expected to emulate. Purification is also necessary before any contact with the divine. In the *Liber mundicie ets abstinentie,* the fifth book of the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis,* the fellowship of angels and spiritual ascent are explicitly linked to instructions for purification. If the operator fulfils the requirements for internal and external purity described in this book, he will ascend to a spiritual level separated from earthly things and be loved by angels.[82] Cleanliness makes a man holy and draws the spirits to him as companions who will tell him secrets.[83]

In both the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum,* spirits are categorized and invoked more in terms of their position in a celestial structure and their relationship to terrestrial objects, people, emotions, actions, creatures, time, and space than in terms of their relationship with the divine. Chapter 37 of the *Liber temporum* lists different ways of binding parts of the natural order, from fire, rain, ice, and hail, to seeds, trees, birds, beasts, and reptiles, which all have angels ruling over them. The *Liber de essentia spirituum* evokes a world in which "everything that moves has spirits assigned to it that perpetually traverse the paths from the summit of the creator."[84] In its cosmology, spirits are perpetually falling into creation. According to William of Auvergne's critique of this text, each part of the sea or earth where a spirit falls was said to be imbued with its power: deserts, woods, fountains, rivers, herbs, trees, orchards, and even gems and precious stones.[85] Texts like the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum* combined a late antique spiritual cosmology of a type especially prevalent in Jewish angelology, in which spiritual beings are represented as ruling over all the parts of the terrestrial world, with an astrological scheme in which celestial bodies are represented as ruling over man and the physical world. It is difficult to categorize either text exclusively as "angelic magic" (the purest exemplars of which are works of Christian authorship or works that adhere to Christian sensibilities about angels and supplication to the divine) or as "astral magic" (texts in which the spirits of celestial bodies are invoked, usually pertaining to the Hermetic tradition).[86] As in Antonio da Montolmo's *De occultis et manifestis* (the subject of Nicolas Weill-Parot's chapter in this volume), both types of cosmology are evident in combination.

In their conjunction of spiritual advancement and magic techniques, these texts address an underlying problem: how to enjoy earthly pleasures without being corrupted by them, and how to free the soul to ascend to heaven and acquire salvation. Rather than excising or diminishing aggressive or material goals and subjugating techniques, the texts endow the practitioner with the elect's right to power over spirits, although traces of anxiety still emerge: in one prayer the practitioner asks the angels not to record anything negative about him.[87]

Conclusion

Given its length and advertised status as a sacred book of celestial origin, it is not surprising that the *Liber Razielis* traveled alone.[88] However, the seven-volume format of the Alfonsine version and the probably separate origins of individual texts resulted in the independent circulation of several parts of the compilation. In München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51, only the sixth and seventh books of the *Liber Razielis* were copied, a choice probably dictated by the cosmological elements in these texts and the desire to omit the comparatively unsophisticated astrological material of parts of the first five books. The last two *Liber Razielis* books are the only magic texts in Clm 51, and a later hand added the disapproving annotation "superstisiosus est" above the title of the *Liber Sameyn.*[89] Two copies of a work entitled *Liber Razielis quem misit dominus ad Adam* were held at St. Augustine's Abbey, the first in a volume of astrological and astronomical texts (no. 1151) and the other in a more miscellaneous volume (no. 1137) that included astrological and astronomical items, the *De ornatu mulierum,* and two popular literary works, the *Narratio de Appollonio* and the *Pictaleon.* The last volume provides a rare example of a ritual magic text compiled with literary texts, which suggests that the reader could have viewed the detailed and unorthodox angelic hierarchy it contains as a work of fantasy. On the other hand, this mingling of practical, esoteric, and popular literary items was typical of the kinds of interests revealed in the late medieval personal compilations known as commonplace books.

The Jewish origin and the compilatory nature of the copies of the *Liber Razielis* in circulation make it something of a hybrid, incorporating elements of natural magic, astral magic (predominantly Arabic in origin), and ritual magic (written by a Christian or adhering to Christian sensibilities). Elements of all these magical genres appear in the corpus of surviving texts. Even the second book of the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis,* which focuses on the natural powers of stars, stones, herbs, animal parts, and words, also discusses four groups of spirits, under the category "animabilis igne." This conjunction of interests makes the

Alfonsine *Liber Razielis,* in the forms discussed here, an early precursor of (as well as frequent possible source for) not only the early magical synthesis by Antonio da Montolmo, discussed elsewhere in this volume, but also the sixteenth-century collections in which image magic and ritual magic texts were compiled together.[90] The replacement of a text focusing on image magic with a text on the power of names in the most popular version in circulation is itself indicative of the growing popularity of ritual magic. Early modern manuscripts containing the *Liber Razielis* are usually compiled in manuscripts with a predominance of ritual magic, and even start to take on the characteristic instability of ritual magic texts. As Firenze, Plut. 44, Cod. 33 notes on fol. 66v: "Iste liber est conmixtus cum libro psalmorum Rasielis et cum sancto Semaforas omnes in unum conmixti."

This chapter has considered the *Liber Razielis* and the *Liber de essentia spirituum* in relative isolation from other works of learned magic, with the aim of increasing awareness of these two lesser-known texts and diverse approaches to magic in the late Middle Ages. The *Liber Razielis* in particular is a significant magical compilation; given the influence of Jewish texts on Christian ritual magic, it has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. In this chapter I have explored themes suggested by the prologues in several *Liber Razielis* manuscripts, but more work needs to be done on how the Arabic, Jewish, and Christian traditions related to and influenced each other.

Appendix 1: Summary of the *Liber de essentia spirituum*

The numerical divisions refer to my transcription of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* in *Magic and the Classical Tradition,* ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London: Warburg Institute, 2006), 89–98. The original text has no chapter divisions, so for ease of reference I have divided the text into short artificial passages.

Prologue

1–6 The author castigates wretched men who are blind to their earthly imprisonment and ignorant of the perfection from which their souls descended. He claims to have received an image of "true light" from his communion with spirits in the desert, and he records the divine knowledge he has acquired for the benefit of those worthy to receive it.

The Revelation

7–16 The nature of God (variously called the One, the first purity, the first essence, the incomprehensible cause of beings, and the Creator) and his relationship to the created world is discussed. The author seeks to explain and justify why a perfect and incorruptible first essence is also the creator of (and contained within) diverse, imperfect, and corruptible things.

17–23 The three levels of intermediary spirits between God and man. The highest group of spirits are said to be incorruptible divine beings, like lights. A second level consists of the spirits ruling over the spheres of the seven planets and the ruler of Urania, the outermost sphere of the universe. The third and most significant group of spirits, for the purposes of magical practice, are those inhabiting and ruled over by each of the planetary spheres. A close relationship is construed between the spirits' degree of *passibilitas* (their susceptibility to passions and suffering) and their influence upon and potential to be influenced by man, particularly in the sense of astrological influence and magical persuasion and compulsion.

24–33 The descent to earth of the lowest level of spirits under the rule of each of the planets. This is primarily discussed in terms of the spirits' influence on man in particular ages ruled over by the spirits' planet, and the magical practices appropriate to each group.

34–42 The incorporation of fallen or invoked spirits into matter. Spirits imprisoned in matter (general instructions for which are given in the text) are compared to human souls trapped in the prison of the body. The discussion of the pitiful state of the soul here seems to relate to the author's bleak vision of the condition of mankind on earth at the beginning of the text.

43–45 The variety of the descent of spirits. The beginning of a section on the variety of the "sending in" (*immissionis*) of spirits. Only the descent and nature of the spirits of Saturn and Jupiter are described before the text breaks off abruptly.

Appendix 2: Manuscripts Containing the *Liber Razielis*

The following list itemizes all extant manuscripts known to date; there are almost certainly more. I have not examined all post-1500 copies of the *Liber Razielis*, but it is generally the case that later copies are heavily abridged versions of the Alfonsine text and that the seventh book of the original compilation—the *Liber magice*—has been replaced by a different text, the *Liber virtutis* or *Semaforas*.

Where no folio numbers are given, the *Liber Razielis* is the sole text in the manuscript.

1. **Complete *Liber Razielis* in Latin (the Alfonsine version):**
   (i) Vat. Reg. lat. 1300 (s.xiv), inc.: "Prout dicit Saloman in libro sapienti omnis sapiencia et omnis pietas et omne donum perfectum et bonum descendit."
   (ii) Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 14. B. 36 (s.xiv), fols. 5r–130v, inc.: "Dixit Salomon gracia et laus cum maximo honore. Sit domino omnium creaturarum." This copy is a slightly more summarized version than the Vatican manuscript, but the manuscript contains all nine magic texts that were said to have been appended to the *Liber Razielis* by Alfonso X of Castile.

2. **Alternative combinations of individual books in Latin to 1550:**
   (i) BnF, lat. 3666 (s.xiv ex–s.xv in): Prologue (fols. 1r–14v), *Liber Sameyn* (fols. 14v–44v), *Liber Temporum* (fols. 45–63). Inc. "Iste Liber qui vocatur *Cyfiri Raziel* qui datus Ade ex parte Domini Dei." The prologue is a loose translation of book 1, parts i and ii, of the Hebrew *Sefer Raziel ha-Mal'akh.* This manuscript offers slightly different versions of the seventh and fourth books (presented here as books 1 and 2) of the Alfonsine seven-volume *Liber Razielis.*
   (ii) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 33 (humanist book hand 1550): *Liber Sameyn* (incomplete, fols. 1r–33v), *Liber temporum* (fols. 34–57). This selection from the *Liber Razielis* is closer to BnF, lat. 3666 than the Alfonsine version.
   (iii) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51 (1487), *Liber Sameyn* (fols. 111–120), *Liber virtutis* (fols. 120v–123v). The *Liber virtutis* or *Semaforas* is presented here as the seventh book of the *Liber Razielis.*

3. **Abridged *Liber Razielis* in Latin post-1500:**
   (i) Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Math. 4° 9 (xvi), fols. 63r–170v
   (ii) London, British Library, Sloane 3847 (s.xvii), fols. 161–188
   (iii) Leipzig, Stadtsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 745 (s.xviii)

4. **Abridged vernacular copies of the *Liber Razielis* or the *Liber Sameyn* post-1500:**
   (i) Yale, Beinecke Rare Books Library, Osborn fa. 7 (late s.xvi, English)
   (ii) London, British Library, Sloane 3826 (s.xvii, English), fols. 1–57

- (iii) London, British Library, Sloane 3846 (s.xvi, English), fols. 127–55
- (iv) Lyon, Bibliotheque municipale, 970 (s.xvii, xviii, French)
- (v) Alnwick Castle 595 (s.xviii, Italian, *Liber Sameyn*), pp. 1–43
- (vi) Alnwick Castle 596 (Italian, Latin, English, *Liber Sameyn*)
- (vii) Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Math. 4° 10 (s.xvi/xvii, German)
- (viii) Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, N. 36 (s.xviii, German)
- (ix) Prague, National Museum Library, XVIIF25 (1595, Czech, trans. Ioannes Polenarius)
- (x) London, British Library, Add. 16, 390 (s.xvii): at the end is a Hebrew extract with a title in Italian

5. **Short items associated with Raziel:**
    - (i) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 89, sup. 38 (s. xv ex.): "Tabula Razielis"
    - (ii) Milan, Ambrosiana, R 105 sup., fol. 306r–v (s.xvi), inc.: "Liber Salomonis qui ascribitur Rozieli summo artificio confectus est."
    - (iii) London, British Library, Sloane 3853 (s.xvii): "Liber qui vocatur Sephar Rasiel," fols. 46–53

Appendix 3: Contents List of the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis*, Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fols. 3–10

1. ***Liber clavis***

Prologus

- (i) De novem castigationibus seu consiliis Salomonis
- (ii) Per quem modum obtinuit Salomon istum librum
- (iii) De divisione libri et de nominibus suorum tractatum
- (iv) De illis que dixit Clarifaton[91]
- (v) De quinque doctrinis Salomonis
- (vi) De verbis que dixit angelus Salomoni per quem modum debet operari iste liber et in quo p<e>rgameno et cum quo incausto. Et istud debet intellegi de verbis Semeforas quando homo operatur per ea

1. Capitulum primum de prologo istius primi libri qui dicitur clavis
2. Capitulum secundum de verbis Razielis super clavem et quare sit dicitur
    - (i) De septem planetis et de suis domibus et divisione signorum per suas formas et omnibus planetis
    - (ii) De naturis complexionum signorum et de suis potestatibus in omnibus partibus
    - (iii) De naturis 7 planetarum et de suis significationibus

- (iv) De septem planetis quare dicuntur claves mundi
- (v) De diversitate gentium nominando 7 planetas per diversa nomina

3. Capitulum tertium de planetis in sua perseveratione et que gubernant inferius
   - (i) De planetis: quales planetes habent inforaminibus que sunt in capite hominis
4. Capitulum quartum de aspectibus planetarum que sunt boni et que sunt mali
   - (i) De exaltationibus planetarum
   - (ii) De gaudiis planetarum
   - (iii) Ad sciendum quante sunt dignitates et virtutes ascendentis et cuiuslibet de ceteris domibus
   - (iv) De dictis Salomonis in fine istius libri qui dicitur clavis

2. *Liber Ala*

1. Capitulum primum de libro Ale et quare sic nuncupatur
2. Capitulum secundum de lapidibus preciosis que sunt in prima ala et de suis virtutibus
   - (i) De 24 lapidibus preciosis prime ale et de suis nominibus et de suis virtutibus
3. Capitulum tertium de secunda ala et de sua virtute
   - (i) De 24 herbis que sunt in secunda ala et de suis nominibus et de suis virtutibus
4. Capitulum quartum de tertia ala ubi tractatur de virtutibus animalium que sunt de quatuor naturis
5. Capitulum quintum de spiritibus animalium primi elementi quod est ignis
   - (i) Et primo de angelo
   - (ii) Secundi animabilis ignis quod vocatur spiritus
   - (iii) De tertio animabili ignis quod nominatur anima
   - (iv) De quarto animabili ignis quod nominatur ventus
   - (v) De quinto animabili ignis quod nominatur phantasma
   - (vi) De sexto animabili ignis quod nominatur demonum
6. Capitulum 6[92] de spiritibus alium secundum elementi quod est aer. Tertie ale
   - (i) De primo animali aeris quod dicitur aquila
   - (ii) De secundo animali aeris quod dicitur vultur
   - (iii) De tertio animali aeris quod est falco
   - (iv) De quarto animali aeris quod est turtur
   - (v) De quinto animali aeris quod est hupupa
   - (vi) De sexto animali aeris quod est ibis
7. Capitulum 7 de sex animalibus tertium elementi quod est aqua. Tertie ale
   - (i) De primo animali aque quod est cete
   - (ii) De secundo animali aque quod est delfin

  - (iii) De tertio animali aque quod est cangreio
  - (iv) De quarto animali aque quod dicitur s<e>pia
  - (v) De quinto animali aque quod dicitur morena
  - (vi) De sexto animali aque quod est rana

8. Capitulum 8 de sex animalibus quarti elementi quod est terra. Tertie ale
    - (i) De primo animali terre quod dicitur leo
    - (ii) De secundo animali terre quod dicitur elephans
    - (iii) De tertio animali terre quod dicitur cervus
    - (iv) De quarto animali terre quod est catus
    - (v) De quinto animali terre quod est moscoliella?
    - (vi) De sexto animali terre quod dicitur talpa
9. Capitulum 9 de quarta ala que est de 22 litteris semiforis. Et quid significat quelibet ipsarum

3. *Thymiama*

1. Capitulum primum in prologo libri et in causa suffumigiorum
2. Capitulum secundum de suffumigiis 7 dierum septimane et primo de die Sabbati
3. Capitulum tertium de suffumigiis secundum Hermes et de natura et virtute ipsorum
    - (i) In quantis modis et in quantis partibus debet fieri suffumigium
    - (ii) De uno modo congregandi spiritus secundum Salomonem
    - (iii) Quales et de quantis materiis sunt spiritus qui apparent hominibus et que sunt nomina sua
4. Capitulum quartum de suffumigiis et potestate et virtute eorum secundum Razielem
    - (i) De quantis modis fiunt suffumigia
    - (ii) De coloribus rerum que apparent illis qui faciunt suffumigia
5. Capitulum quintum de suffumigiis duodecim signorum
    - (i) Capitulum aliud de suffumigiis 36 facierum signorum
    - (ii) De triplicitatibus signorum et cuius nate et saporis species eis pertinent
6. Capitulum sextum de suffumigiis quatuor temporum anni
7. Capitulum de suffumigiis quatuor partium mundi et quatuor elementorum

4. *Liber temporum*

1. Capitulum primum in expositione nominis libri et in aliis causis que ei pertinent
    - (i) De nominibus septem stellarum
    - (ii) De nominibus septem celorum

   - (iii) De nominibus septem angelorum qui habent potestem super septem stellas et super septem celos
   - (iv) De nominibus 12 mensium anni

2. Capitulum secundum de divisione quat<t>uor temporum anni
   - (i) De divisione mensis diei et hore in quatuor partes secundum annum
3. Capitulum tertium de doctrina operationis et qualiter se debet regere ille qui voluerit operari per istum librum
   - (i) De primo opere istius libri quod est ad sciendum causam quam volueris facere et si est bonum facere eam vel non vel quando est bonum facere eam
   - (ii) De oratione et coniuratione que debent dici post sacrificium in isto opere
4. Capitulum quartum de potestatibus mensium et de sua potencia et de suis nominibus
5. Capitulum quintum de nominibus angelorum qui obtinent potestatem in quolibet septimane. Et primo de die dominica et de suis angelis
6. Capitulum sextum de virtute et potestate istius libri secundum Razielem angelum
7. Capitulum septimum de operatione istius libri et nominibus temporum
   - (i) De nominibus angelorum primi temporis
   - (ii) De nominibus angelorum secundi temporis
   - (iii) De nominibus angelorum tertii temporis
   - (iv) De nominibus angelorum quarti temporis
   - (v) De divisione temporum diversorum
   - (vi) De nominibus angelorum noctis in primo tempore
   - (vii) De nominibus angelorum noctis in secundo tempore
   - (viii) De nominibus angelorum noctis in tertio tempore
   - (ix) De nominibus angelorum noctis in quarto tempore
8. Capitulum octavum de 4 temporibus anni et suis complexionibus et quas causas debes querere et respicere in suis operibus
9. Capitulum nonum de nominibus Solis in 4 temporibus anni. Et per que signa ambulat Sol in quolibet tempore
10. Capitulum decimum de nominibus angelorum 12 horarum diei. Et primo de angelis prime hore et sic per ordinem
11. Capitulum undecim de nominibus angelorum 12 horarum noctis. Et primo de angelis prime hore et sic per ordinem
12. Capitulum 12 de nominibus propriis horarum diei incipiendo a prima et sic per ordinem
13. Capitulum 13 de nominibus propriis horarum noctis incipiendo a prima et sic per ordinem

14. Capitulum 14 de nominibus septem planetarum et suorum angelorum in quatuor elementis
    - (i) De quatuor nominibus celorum ad quatuor partes in quatuor temporibus
15. Capitulum 15 de nominibus elementorum et abissi in quatuor temporibus et de nominibus suorum angelorum. Et primo de igne et sic per ordinem
16. Capitulum 16 de nominibus quatuor partium mundi in quatuor temporibus anni et de suis angelis
17. Capitulum 17 de nominibus septem planetarum et de nominibus suorum angelorum maiorum in quatuor temporibus anni
18. Capitulum 18 de corporibus superioribus. Et de motu et potestate, et virtute et officia ipsorum
19. Capitulum 19 de nominibus 12 signorum in quo tempore servit quodlibet signum et de suis nominibus diversis in quolibet tempore et de 12 mensibus lunaribus
    - (i) De nominibus 12 mensium lunarium super quatuor tempora et primo de tribus primis in quatuor temporibus et de suis nominibus diversis in ipsis et sic per ordinem
20. Capitulum 20 de nominibus signorum separatim in quolibet tempore
    - (i) De temporibus noctium
    - (ii) De nominibus signorum in quolibet tempore anni in noctibus
21. Capitulum 21 de motu lune in signis. Et in 28 mansionibus
22. Capitulum 22 de verbis et invocatione quam debes dicere in omni opere quod feceris
23. Capitulum 23 de nominibus septem dierum septimane in quatuor temporibus anni
    - (i) De nominibus quatuor partium diei et noctis in quatuor temporibus anni. Et de suis angelis. Et de suis suffumigiis
24. Capitulum 24 de nominibus quatuor partium terre in quatuor temporibus anni. Et de suis angelis. Et primo de parte septentrionali et de suis angelis
25. Capitulum 25 de nominibus capitis cuiuslibet animalis in quatuor temporibus anni et de suis foraminibus
    - (i) De nominibus angelorum que habent potestate super caput cuiuslibet animalis
26. Capitulum 26 de nominibus angelorum qui habent potestatem intus in capite animalis
27. Capitulum 27 de nominibus 7em planetarum in quolibet signo et primo de Saturno
28. Capitulum 28 de nominibus planetarum in quolibet celo et in quolibet cli<y>mate et primo de Saturno

29. Capitulum 29 de partibus planetarum et de suis angelis cuiuslibet novem partium qui habent potestatem in planeta. Et primo de Saturno
30. Capitulum 30 de nominibus septem planetarum et de suis diebus secundum septem linguas. Et primo de lingua caldea
31. Capitulum 31 de nominibus metallorum et de suis angelis in quatuor temporibus anni
32. Capitulum 32 de nominibus septem animalium superiorum in quatuor temporibus anni
33. Capitulum 33 de nominibus septem hereditatum in quatuor temporibus anni
34. Capitulum 34 de nominibus quatuor animalium aerum, aque et terre in quatuor temporibus anni
35. Capitulum 35 ubi dicitur quod omnis causa habet sua nomina seperata in quatuor temporibus anni et debet nominari secundum tempus in quo existit
    (i) De oratione que debet dici in principio cuiuslibet operis istius libri
36. Capitulum 36 de figura et exemplo divisionum temporum ubi sunt quatuor divisiones
37. Capitulum 37 de operibus istius libri secundum quod debemus operari in quacumque causa quam debeamus facere
    (i) Ad faciendum fugere vel elongari quemcumque hominem de aliquo loco vel facere ipsum venire et accedere ad te
    (ii) De doctrina operationis in omni opere
    (iii) De nominibus abissi et de suis angelis in quatuor temporibus anni
    (iv) De operibus que fiunt in mari et in aliis aquis
    (v) De nominibus marum in quatuor temporibus anni
    (vi) Ad faciendum perire navem vel faciendum aliud quodcumque opus marum
    (vii) De nominibus angelorum habentium potestatem super ignem et flameam
    (viii) De doctrinis operum que fiunt in igne
    (ix) De nominibus angelorum habentium potestatem super reptilia et super omnes res exeuntes in mari
    (x) De doctrina operis in seminibus terre
    (xi) De doctrina operis in arboribus terre
    (xii) De doctrina operis ad ligandum quecumque reptilia terre
    (xiii) De doctrina operis ad ligandum quecumque animalia
    (xiv) De doctrina ad ligandum bestias mundas
    (xv) De doctrina ad ligandum alias bestias
    (xvi) De doctrina ad ligandum camelos et elefantes et alia animalia que assimulantur istis

- (xvii) De doctrina ad ligandum volucres vel ad faciendum ipsas venire
- (xviii) De doctrina ad ligandum maximas volucres
- (xix) De doctrina ad operandum in igne vel in furno vel ad lingandum ista
- (xx) De doctrina ad operandum in mari aut in aliis aquis quecumque volueris
- (xxi) De doctrina ad operandum in coruscationibus aut in tonitruis
- (xxii) De doctrina ad operandum in pluvia vel in roribus
- (xxiii) De doctrina ad operandum in grandine aut in rore
- (xxiv) De doctrina ad operandum in fluminibus vel in fontibus aut in puteis sive in aliis locis de quibus emanant aque
- (xxv) De doctrina ad operandum in mari et in omnibus creaturis ibi existentibus
- (xxvi) De doctrina operum diei et noctis

38. Capitulum 38 de fine libri et de regulis abreviatis et de suis operibus
    - (i) De magno nomine cum sua oratione que debet dici in omnibus operibus istius libri

5. *Liber mundicie et abstinentie*

1. Capitulum primum in expositione istius libri
2. Capitulum secundum de munditia et de aliis abstinentiis et ablutionibus que debent fieri et per quem modum
3. Capitulum tertium de munditia coporus interius
4. Capitulum 4 de munditia spiritus et anime et quam orationem debes facere
5. Capitulum 5 de munditia loci vel domus in quibus operatus fueris. Et qualiter debes in eis operari
6. Capitulum sextum de munditia istius libri et secundum Salomonem. Et que debet homo facere et tenere secum antequam aliquid operetur, in isto capitulo est cordula et magnum nomen Creatoris et planetarum
7. Capitulum 7 de munditia et suffumigiis que debes facere. Et qualiter debes ea facere antequam operis
8. Capitulum 8 de oratione quam debes dicere quando habueris lucernam in manu
9. Capitulum 9 de causis quas debes custodire in isto libro

6. *Liber Sameyn*

1. Capitulum primum de nominibus septem celorum et qualiter habuit Adam istum librum et alii post ipsum et de oratione quam fecit Adam
2. Capitulum secundum de primo celo et de angelis exeuntibus in eo et de potestatibus et officiis eorum

3. Capitulum tertium de nominibus septem potentium habentium potestatem in septem celis
4. Capitulum quartum de nominibus angelorum primi exercitus qui serviunt Orpeniel
5. Capitulum quintum ad curandum de quacumque infirmitate quod est opus proprium Orpeniel et sui exercitus
6. Capitulum sextum de nominibus angelorum habentium potestatem in secundo exercitu qui serviunt Thigara secunde potestati
7. Capitulum septem ad obtinendum vindictam de inimicus in corporibus vel in divitiis in terra vel in mari vel in alio loco aut in quacumque causa volueris
8. Capitulum octavum de nominibus angelorum habentium potestatem in tertio exercitu qui serviunt potenti Denael et de officiis eorum
9. Capitulum 9 qualiter debes operari ad sciendum causas quem dicuntur in alio capitulo per istos angelos tertii exercitus
10. Capitulum 10 de nominibus angelorum quarti exercitus qui serviunt potenti Kalamia et de officiis eorum
11. Capitulum 11 de opere ad o<b>tinentum gratiam et amorem regum vel principium vel quoruncumque homini vel mulierum volueris
12. Capitulum 12 de nominibus angelorum quinti exercitus qui serviunt potenti Ascymor et de officiis eorum
13. Capitulum 13 de operibus angelorum predicti Ascymor que sunt ad imponendum amorem et dilectionem inter duos vel ad obtinendum gratiam et amorem onmi homini vel ad loquendum cum mortuis aut cum demonis
14. Capitulum 14 de nominibus angelorum sexti exercitus qui serviunt potenti Pascar et de officiis eorum
15. Capitulum 15 ad faciendum opus angelorum sexti exercitus et ad faciendum venire ad te de elongatus partibus homines vel mulieres aut spiritos vel ventos aut demonia vel alia quecumque volueris
16. Capitulum 16 de nominibus angelorum septimi exercitus qui serviunt Boel angelo potenti et de officiis ipsorum
17. Capitulum 17 de operibus angelorum istius septimi exercitus qui sunt ad sciendum voluntatem omnem hominum et suas premeditationes et sompnia que fecerunt
18. Capitulum 18 de secundo celo quod dicitur Naquia et de sua potestate et virtute et de 12 sublimitatibus que sunt in eo et de angelis que sunt in ipsis et de suis operibus et primo de angelis prime sublimitatis et deinde per ordinem quousque perficiantur omnis xii sublimitates
19. Capitulum xix de tertio celo quod dicitur Sciaquyn et de angelis existentibus in eo et de suis operibus et de suis potestatibus et sunt tres angeli maiores

20. Capitulum xx de quarto celo quod dicitur Mathon et de suis potestatibus et suis angelis et suis operibus
21. Capitulum xxi de quinto celo quod dicitur Mahym et de suis angelis et de suis potestatibus et de suis operibus et sunt hic xii angeli maiores qui habent potestatem super xii menses
22. Capitulum xxii de sexto celo quod dicitur Zebul et de suis angelis et de suis potestatibus et de suis operibus et sunt in isto celo duo angeli maiores
23. Capitulum xxiii de septimo celo quod dicitur Iccoboch et de suis angelis et potestatibus et operibus suis
24. Capitulum xxiiii de fine istius sexti libri et de potestatibus et virtutibus et preceptis et regulis suis
25. Capitulum xxv de sancto nomine semaforas explanato et qualiter debet dici et nominari

7. *Liber magice*

1. Capitulum primum de causa nominis istius libri et de declaratione quid significat magica et de causis que sunt necessarie homini in operibus magice
2. Capitulum ii de septem planetis et de suis potestatibus quas obtinent in domibus inferioribus
3. Capitulum tertium de quolibet vii planetarum super que opera obtinent suam potestatem et proprietatem
4. Capitulum iiii de septem corporibus superioribus que corpora habent inferius et qualia corpora superiora hunc dominium super que corpora inferiora et super quas ymagines et opera et qualiter debes operari per ea
5. Capitulum v de divisione ymaginis et quantas potestates habet in se secundum sapientes
6. Capitulum vi de causis quas debemus respicere in opere magice
7. Capitulum vii de partibus planetarum per qua debemus scribere ymaginem et quis planeta habet potestatem in ymagine
8. Capitulum viii quales homines sunt proprii ad faciendum opus magice et que sunt necessaria in opere magice
9. Capitulum ix de divisione metallorum et per quem modum operari de ipsis imagines
10. Capitulum x de secunda divisione super xii divisiones et qualiter debemus operari de quolibet metallo super ymagines
11. Capitulum xi de corporibus superioribus in quibus operibus habent potestatem inferius secundum quod luna et alii planete fuerint in signis et in domibus
12. Capitulum xii de stellis fixis quam potestatem habent in ymaginibus et in nativitatibus et in aliis causis

13. Capitulum xiii de stellis fixis et de suis complexionibus et de suis operibus
14. Capitulum xiiii de xxviii mansionibus lune et de suis operibus et potestatibus
15. Capitulum xv de xxxvi faciebus signorum et de suis operibus in quibus habent potestatem
16. Capitulum xvi de operibus horarum diei et noctis
17. Capitulum xvii de declaratione illorum que debes respicere in quolibet opere cuiuslibet planete
18. Capitulum xviii super ymagines cuiuslibet planete quando est cum luna vel de luna per se in quolibet signo et etiam de quolibet aliorum planetarum per se in quolibet signo
19. Capitulum xix de operibus magice septem planetarum et de suis metallis
20. Capitulum xx de potestate et virtute corporum superiorum et de gradibus signorum in operibus magice
21. Capitulum xxi de arbore super ymagines et stellas fixas et planetas et super suas significationes et sua opera
22. Capitulum xxii de significationibus corporum superiorum et de suis operibus ymaginum
23. Capitulum xxiii de ymaginibus per quantos modos operari possunt et de causa ad obtinendum responsum a spiritibus
24. Capitulum xxiiii de vii ymaginibus vii potestatum et de suis potentiis et qualiter debet operari
25. Capitulum xxv de omnibus causis quas homo potest operari per istum librum et qualiter debemus operari per eum
26. Capitulum xxvi de consecratione et confirmatione istius libri, quando fuit factus et perfectus et qualiter debet homo operari per eum et hic finuit capitula septem libri Razielis

NOTES

1. On the magical chain of tradition in Jewish magical books, see Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 191–205. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

2. The style of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* suggests that it is an original composition in Latin rather than a translation, and it is therefore probably of Christian authorship. As discussed below, however, it does not present any specifically Christian features.

3. A significant text that also falls into this category, the *Picatrix*, has been discussed elsewhere. See Vittoria Perrone Compagni, "Picatrix latinus: Concezioni filosofico-religiose e prassi magica," *Medioevo* 1 (1975): 237–70; and David Pingree, "Some of the Sources of the Ghâyat al-Hakim," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 1–15.

4. There are some similarities in the descriptions of the cosmological context, appearance, and nature of spirits between the *Liber Razielis* and the second and third tracts of the *Liber iuratus*, which was derived from Jewish sources, as Mesler notes. The names recited and recorded inside the *notae* in the *Ars notoria* function similarly as tools of power, but the other types of prayer and the figurative angels pointing at the *notae* in many manuscript copies signify the mediating role of these beings.

5. For example, the prayer cycles recited over months in the ritual program of the *Ars notoria*. The *Ars notoria* is primarily a revelation of the techniques necessary to attain knowledge, but the *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis* present themselves as the celestial or prelapsarian knowledge itself.

6. The title given to this work in Coxe's catalogue (and, for convenience, adopted here) derives from a marginal note in a later hand, that of John Dee, the English Renaissance magician. On the magic texts at St. Augustine's more generally, see David Pingree, "The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe," in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medio Evo europeo*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 1987), 94–98; and Sophie Page, "Magic at St Augustine's, Canterbury in the Late Middle Ages" (PhD diss., Warburg Institute, 2000). An edition of the *Liber de essentia spirituum* accompanies my article "Image-Magic Texts and a Platonic Cosmology at St Augustine's, Canterbury in the Late Middle Ages," in *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London: Warburg Institute, 2006), 69–98.

7. On the reception of early translations, see Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, ed. Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 21.

8. See Charles Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia and the *kitâb al-Isṭamâṭîs:* Further Evidence for the Transmission of Hermetic Magic," and "The *kitâb al-Isṭamâṭîs* and a Manuscript of Astrological and Astronomical Works from Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya, 634)," articles 6 and 7, respectively, in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*, ed. Charles Burnett (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996). The only surviving Latin text compiled of material directly translated from the Arabic corpus, the *Liber antimaquis* is almost entirely practical, omitting the cosmic chronology and mythical contents. See the edition and discussion of this text by Charles Burnett in *Hermes latinus: Hermetis Trismegisti, astrologica et divinatoria* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), vol. 4, part 4, 177–221.

9. See the chapters by Fanger and Mesler in this volume. Noteworthy precedents include Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus*, the *Liber visionum*, and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 250–65; and Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Magie théurgique, angélologie et vision béatifique dans le *Liber sacratus sive juratus* attribué à Honorius de Thèbes," in "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Henri Bresc, and Benoît Grévin, special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge*, 114, no. 2 (2002): 851–900. As Boudet points out, there are various parallels with the *Liber Razielis* but no direct borrowings from it.

10. E. Weinfeld, ed., *Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana* (Mexico City: Editorial Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana, 1951), 9:65. For a still useful overview of Jewish angelology and the role of angels in magic, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1939; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), chapter 6. The presence of material linked to Raziel in the Arabic occult tradition means that it should not be discounted as a route by which some of this material may have passed into Latin.

11. See Joseph Dan, "Raziel, Book of," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 13:1592–93; and Alejandro García Avilés, "Los judíos y la ciencia de las estrellas," in *Memoria de Sefarad*, ed. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2002), 335–43.

12. This *Secretum secretorum* may have been a work of alchemy, as Petrus Alfonsus says that it explains how the names of the angels and God could be used to change things made of elements and metals into other things. Alfred Büchler, "A Twelfth-Century Physician's Desk Book: The *Secreta secretorum* of Petrus Alfonsi, quondam Moses Sephardi," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 37 (1986): 206. "Raz" means "secret" in Hebrew, and a variation of this title was retained in several Latin versions, including the *Liber Sameyn*, which calls istelf the "*Liber secretorum* que fuit revelatus ab ore angeli Raziel Ade primo homini." Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 14. B. 26, fol. 66.

13. See especially Alejandro García Avilés, "Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis:* Imágenes de la magia astral judía en el scriptorium alfonsí," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 74 (1997): 26–39; and A. d'Agostino, *Astromagia* (Naples: Liguori, 1992). On the later *fortuna* of the *Liber Razielis* in Spain and elsewhere, see García Avilés, "Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis*," 38–39; and François Secret, "Sur quelques traductions du Sefer Razi'el," *Revue des Études Juives* 128 (1969): 223–45. On magic at the Alfonsine court, see also Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 123–38.

14. D'Agostino, *Astromagia*, 44. Fragments of the Castilian version—the *Libro de astromagia* (218–25) and the *Libro de las formas et de las ymágines* (254–65)—were preserved in compendia on talismanic magic produced under Alfonso's patronage. See García Avilés, "Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis*," 31–35.

15. See Appendix 2 for a list of known manuscripts containing the *Liber Razielis.*

16. (1) *Liber clavis*, (2) *Liber Ale*, (3) *Liber thymiama*, (4) *Liber temporum*, (5) *Liber mundicie et abstinentie*, (6) *Liber Sameyn (quod vult dicere Liber celorum)*, and (7) *Liber magice*. In later manuscript copies, especially the vernacular versions, the final book is replaced by the first appended work (the *Liber Semaforas*), possibly because of the condemnation of the *Liber Razielis* under the rubric of illicit image magic in the *Speculum astronomiae.*

17. (1) *Liber semaforas*, (2) *Glosae semaforas* of the Jew Zadok of Fez, (3) *Verba in operibus Razielis* of Abraham of Alexandria, (4) *Flores* of Mercurius of Babilonia, (5) *Capitulum generale sapientium Aegypti pro operibus magicae*, (6) *Tabulae et karacteres et nomina angelorum gradium*, (7) *Liber super perfectione operis Razielis* of the Greek philosopher Theyzolius, and (8) *Liber ymaginum sapientium antiquorum.* See Sebastiano Gentile and Carlos Gilly, *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Ermete Trismegisto/ Marsilio Ficino and the Return of Hermes Trismegistus* (Florence: Centro Di, 1999), entries 30, 39, and 40, which concern the manuscripts Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44., Cod. 33 and Plut. 89, sup. 38, and identify the supplementary parts to the *Sefer Raziel* in these volumes and in Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36.

18. Incipit: "Hic incipit septimus liber Razielis. Capitulum primum: De ratione nominis istius liber et de explanatione quid vult dicere magica." Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 139v.

19. Incipit: "Nunc incipiamus angeli Dei adiutorio dicere de 7 et ultimo tractatu istius libri qui nominatur liber virtutum. Dixit Salomon revelatum fuit mihi de libro isto Razyelis." München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51 (1487), fol. 120v.

20. Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 2v.

21. García Avilés identifies the *Liber Ale* with a *Lapidarium Solomonis*, which he suggests is a reelaboration of a Hellenistic work Alfonso X had translated from Greek into Latin ("Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis*," 35; and see the discussion of the *Liber Sameyn* below). An argument for the original integrity of the seven volumes, however, is suggested by some internal consistencies and cross-references. For example, the categorization of the animals of fire ("angeli, spiritus, anime, venti, demones fantasmata et demones sompnorum") in the *Liber temporum*, chapter 32, is the same as that of the *Liber Ale*, chapter 5. The *Liber Sameyn* refers to "lapidibus preciosis quos diximus in libro de sciencia lapidum" (Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 98), and the *Liber magice* to the "libri temporum et celorum" (fol. 200v).

22. Paola Zambelli et al., eds., *The Speculum astronomiae and Its Enigma: Astrology, Theology, and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries* (Dordrecht: Kluwer 1992), chapter 11, 246–47. The same title and incipit are classified by Thaddeus of Parma as "mathematica prohibita" in his *Expositio super Theorica planetarum*, ed. G. Federici Vescovini, in "La classification des mathématiques d'après le prologue de l'*Expositio super Theorica planetarum* de l'averroïste Thaddée de Parme (Bologne, 1318)," in *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Louvain, 1994), 178–79.

23. See Lynn Thorndike, "Traditional Medieval Tracts Concerning Engraved Astrological Images," in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947), 253–55; and Weill-Parot, "*Images astrologiques*," 57–58.

24. "Et rursum nomina ex *Libro Institutionis*, qui dicitur Razielis, videlicet terrae, maris, aeris atque ignis, ventorum, et mundi cardinum, signorum quoque et planetarum et angelorum eorum, secundum quod singula in diei et noctis triplicitatibus diversa nomina sortiuntur. Hic modus etiam a nobis longe sit; suspectus enim est, ne saltem sub ignotae linguae nominibus aliquod lateat, quod sit contra fidei catholicae honestatem." Zambelli et al., *Speculum astronomiae*, chapter 11, 240.

25. For a discussion of how the *Liber Razielis* presents Alfonso as a patron of occult knowledge, see Sophie Page, "Magic and the Pursuit of Wisdom: The Familiar Spirit in the *Liber Theysolius*," *La Corónica* 36, no. 1 (2007): 41–70.

26. BnF, lat. 3666 (s.xiv ex–s.xv in), inc. "Iste Liber qui vocatur *Cyfiri Raziel* qui datus Ade ex parte Domini Dei." The prologue, fols. 1r–14v, is a loose translation of book 1, parts i and ii of the Hebrew *Sefer Raziel ha-Mal'akh.*

27. The first chapter of the *Liber Sameyn* in the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* shares the basic structure of the Hebrew and Paris prologue, with some significant ommissions. The rest of the *Liber Sameyn* follows book 6 of the Hebrew compilation (entitled the *Sefer ha-Razim*) fairly closely.

28. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51 (1487), inc.: "Adam exulatus expulsus de Paradiso propter commissum quod commisit gustando lignum"; *Puritatem Dei,* inc.: "Adam exulavit a Parydiso"; Secret, "Sur quelques traductions du Sefer Razi'el," 243. Here the books are titled the sixth and seventh tracts.

29. BnF, lat. 3666, inc.: "Iste Liber qui vocatur *Cyfiri Raziel* qui fuit datus Ade ex parte Domini Dei." The Florence manuscript is incomplete, missing most of the text preceding the angel Raziel's appearance to Adam (equivalent to the first 5 folios of BnF, 3666). Apart from being more abbreviated (especially in terms of the remainder of the prologue), it follows the Paris version fairly closely and has further material linked to Raziel—a treatise entitled "De virtutibus sanctissimi et magni nominis et de virtutibus eius" on fols. 57v–62v, and extracts from the *Liber sancti Semmaforas* (the ninth appended work in the Alfonsine compilation) on fols. 62v–66v and in the *Liber psalmorum <Rasielis>,* fols. 67–79v.

30. The titles of the two books here are "Liber primus angeli Razielis <de septem celorum>" and "Secundus liber angeli Razielis de angelis duodecim mensium anni." An abbreviated version of the *Liber Sameyn* is also the first book of the *Liber Razielis angeli* in Leipzig, Biblioteca del Senado, Cod. lat. 745 (s.xviii), inc: "Adam e Paradiso propter comissum peccatum propulsus." The second and third books of the *Liber Razielis* in this manuscript are adapted versions of the *Liber temporum* and the *Liber sancti Semmaforas.*

31. For a more general overview of the contents of the *Liber Razielis,* see Appendix 3, a transcription of the chapter titles and subheadings of the seven books of the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* recorded at the end of the prologue in Vat. Reg. lat. 1300 (fols. 3–10). The list of chapter headings for the *Liber Sameyn* and the *Liber temporum* are also fairly accurate guides to the contents of these books in BnF, 3666, and Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 33.

32. "Cum regnarem regno carnis Sibilie, visa est mihi species regni, ymago significantis fuisse et non esse quod videbatur, namque ex umbre preminentis occasione aliquid incorruptibilis essencie presensi contingeret." *Liber de essentia spirituum,* Oxford, Corpus Christi 125, fol. 169.

33. For instance, at CC 125, fol. 169: "Porro, dum iugo servitutis commixte oppressi libertate nature subducuntur, in secunde consuetudinis stadio lascivientes, in deliciis transitoriis morem secularem expendentes, adeo a vere beatitudinis forma subtrahuntur ut, quamvis quantumlibet impassibilium falso libramine redundens, tum miserabilius in corporibus a se culpa exemptis sed in nobis noxiis remoremur."

34. "Sed ne umbra beatitudinis penitus abduceret<ur>, per reliquias donorum cercioratus collum ab apparentibus sic subducere volui ut vero esse pro posse assimilarer. Ommisi igitur mundialia mundialibus, caduca caducis, transitoria transeuntibus." CC 125, fol. 169r.

35. "Et factus sum sicut homo in beatudine dormiens exspectans numeros resolutionis perfici ut ad id a quo decidi quam cito redirem." CC 125, fol. 169r.

36. "Factus sum aliis planta." CC 125, fol. 169r. The metaphor of the shoot appears several times in this text as a positive image.

37. "Concepi igitur loca omni distituta habitatore, in quibus sexies quinque lustris cum hiis ymaginem vere lucis habui qui iam beatitudinis accoli facti me ad sedem meam vacantem invitabant. Et, ut in umbra tenebrarum lux modica fulgescat, de essencia spirituum et divisione eorumque duplici incorporacione que ab hiis qui a veritatis cautulo non deviant nisi aut minoris obediencie contemptu aut stulti coaptatore lascivia, dulci eorum cohabitacione didici, in communem eorum supersistenciam transmutenda perscripsi, attestans quemlibet per deum vivum ut nulli concedat, nisi ei qui solus spiritus gemino regimine dignus reperietur; alioquin tanti criminis piaculo a potencioribus iratis ferietur." CC 125, fol. 169r–v.

38. Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 67–68; Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians,* ed. Stephen Ronan, trans. Thomas Taylor and A. Wilder (Hastings, UK: Chthonios Books, 1989).

39. Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 76.

40. Sarah Iles Johnston, "Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in Its Cultural Milieu," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium,* ed. Peter Schäfer and H. G. Kippenberg (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 173–77. Himmelfarb distinguishes rapture from theurgy on the grounds that rapture does not require ritual preparation because it occurs at God's initiative, not the visionary's (*Ascent to*

Heaven, 109). On culturally diverse appearances of the theme of the heavenly book given to a hero who descends with it and uses it for his community's benefit, see Geo Wildengren, *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book* (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1950).

41. Swartz comments on the "chain of tradition" motif in the Hekhalot literature, "this literature is not the product of the inner life of a rabbinic elite, trained at once in halakhah and the mysteries of vision and theurgy. But its authors still look to that elite for inspiration. They adapt midrashim and legends found in rabbinic literature for the purposes of advertising these techniques. Ideal figures are thus used unexpectedly. They not only serve as role models for a mystical or intellectual discipline, but are put to practical use by their identification with the magic of a text." *Scholastic Magic,* 205.

42. William of Auvergne, *De universo,* in *Opera omnia,* ed. Franciscus Hotot, 2 vols. (Paris: Andreas Pralard, 1674), II.2.29, 1:870a; II.3.6–8, 1:1026a. Although William does not mention an author, date, or title for this work, it is clearly recognizable from his descriptions of its contents. It seems that William had access to a complete copy of the text, which discussed twelve orders of spiritual substances (the CC 125 copy breaks off after only eight have been mentioned), and he also refers to other books on this topic by the same author (II.3.6).

43. "Ex hoc autem manifestum est eos fuisse spiritos malignos vel malos Angelos, quia in deserto habitabant, sicut ipse dicit quomodo enim sponte in loco horrido, et vilissimo habitabant, si locus habitationis erat eis sublimior, atque nobilior in caelo ultimo, ubi inhabitabat Rex, et dominus saeculorum cum innumeris excercitibus sanctorum spirituum, et beatorum? Planum est igitur, eos cecidisse de loco praeclaro illius habitationis, nisi quis deliret eos in desertum illud descendisse ad docendum istum erroneum hominem, atque nefarium, et ad erigendas ibi scholas necromanticae, et execrabilis artis, atque Deo odibilis." Ibid., II.3.8, 1:1034a.

44. "Quae igitur bonitas, vel pietas de ipsis credenda est, qui tantas indigentias hominum, tantas miserias alias, tantasque ignorantias ipsorum ignorare non possunt, et ab eis tam longe se fecerunt." Ibid., II.3.6, 1:1026a.

45. See Michael E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God,* ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller Jr. (New York: Doubleday, 1967), 414–52, especially the discussion of 2 Enoch 23:1, where the seer, elevated to heaven and in the form of an angelic scribe, records what is revealed to him by an angel at the divine command. On the equation of wisdom with knowledge of cosmology and angelology in the Jewish tradition, see also Swartz, *Scholastic Magic,* 228.

46. See Appendix 1.

47. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic,* 228–29. See also 191–205, on Jewish magical literature.

48. The prologue of BnF, lat. 3666 and the *Liber Sameyn* in the Alfonsine compilation are my primary sources in the following discussion. These deal most fully with the revelation of the book to Adam in versions that are very close to one another in all of the manuscripts.

49. See, e.g., Halle, ULB, 14. B. 26, fol. 66.

50. Other traditions of God sending angels to teach men include Jewish sources representing Noah as a recipient of angelic healing traditions (see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic,* 192–93), Christian apocryphal writings concerning the archangel Michael showing Adam how to till the soil, and Seth being guided by an angel as he records a history of his parents. For examples, see Brian Murdoch, *Adam's Grace: Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 24; and *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 68.

51. The Hebrew name for the Euphrates.

52. The main topos for a book written in different colored fires is the Torah, which was said in an early midrash to have been delivered to Moses "written in black fire on white fire" before the creation of the world. See Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism,* trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), 49. The book of Raziel is therefore established by simile as a redemptive sacrament parallel to the Torah and delivered in the same manner. Some thirteenth-century interpretations suggested that the hidden text of the white fire (on which the black fire was merely a commentary) would be revealed in messianic times. In the context of the *Liber Razielis,* this distinction may refer to the text acquired from human transmission of knowledge and the true understanding of it gained through spiritual experience.

53. "Et in tertia die sue orationis venit ad Adam angelus benignus qui nominatur Raziel et explanatio eius est <est> angelus et caput tocius secrete et sciencie, et venit ad ipsum per mandatum Creatoris. Et tunc existebat Adam super ripam fluvie qui fluit de paradiso, quod flumen dicitur Peratem.

Et erat ibi anxietus et miserabilis, tristis et plorans et manifestavit se ei angelus in hora in qua calebat sol. Et erat in manu angeli quasi similitudo libri ignis albi. Et erat scriptus de igne rubeo, azureo et nigro et disimili de diversis coloribus. Et dixit angelus ei Adam: 'Quare es tristis et dolens et cur ponis premeditationem in corde tua? Quia in hora in qua surrexisti in pedibus ad faciendum orationem Creatori, et rogasti et invocasti eum et humiliasti te et proiecisti te in terram ad fundendum preces et aflixisti cor tuum, tunc fueri recepta verba tua. Et fuit recepta et completa oratio tua. Et statim mandavit michi Creator quod descenderem et venirem ad te cum isto libro ad faciendum te intelligere verba munda et scientiam que sunt in eo et scientias multus et secretas que in eo sunt et scripturam profundam et pretiosam que est in eo. Et scias quod universe creature quas Deus creavit tenent istum librum in maximo pretio et tenent eum pro patenti et sancto.'" Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 96r–v.

54. "Dilectione, qua homines post lapsum ad coelestia traxisti; doctrina, qua Adam omnes scientiarum docere dignatus es . . . ut fiam novus . . . in suscipienda scientia in salutem corporis et anime mee." Oxford, Bodleian Library, 951, fols. 7r–v. Cf. version A, 36, in Julien Véronèse, ed., *L'Ars notoria au Moyen Âge: Introduction et édition critique* (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL, 2007), 47.

55. "Et ista cognicio non est cognoscere Deum in maiestate et potencia nisi illo modo, quo Adam et prophete cognoverunt." *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, ed. Gösta Hedegård (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002), §III.15, p. 66.

56. "Sed quia propter instigationem diaboli, qui semper fuit inimicus invidus et contrarius humano generi, transgressus fuit preceptum Dei qui est potens et dominatur omnibus que fuerunt, sunt et erunt. Et propterea incidit in errorem ingratitudinem et insipienciam et amisit omne bonum et omnem sapienciam quam prius habuerat. Et de sapiente factus fuit insipiens." Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 1r–v.

57. "Ille verus Deus pater, in quo consistit omnis sapiencia et omnis suavitas et pietas, propter suas maximas miserationes habuit pietatem generi humano. Et placuit ei quod recuperaret illud quod amiserat propter inobedienciam quod est sapiencia, propter quam potest homo acquirere omnes causas corporales et spirituales. Et hoc fecit per os angeli Razielis, qui Raziel portavit Ceffer et hoc significat quod portavit *Librum secretorum*." Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 1v.

58. "Facias me intelligere et agnoscere quid erit de meis filiis et de aliis meis generationibus et quid veniet super me omnibus diebus mundi et in omnibus mensibus." BnF, 3666, fol. 4v.

59. "Primum <Semyforam> est quando locutus est Adam cum Creatore in Paradyso." München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51, fol. 122.

60. "Revi<v>escetur ut sedeat coram angelis quoniam spiritus sanctus requiescet super eum." BnF, 3666, fol. 1v.

61. "Augmentatur eius vis ad cognoscendum dominum veritatis. . . . Et cognoscit separamentum anime rationalis." BnF, 3666, fol. 1v.

62. "Qui habet potenciam sciendi istum librum, habet potenciam revelandi aliis, relevandi et emergendi multos homines." BnF, 3666, fol. 2.

63. "Scies exponere et ostendere et explanare secreta somporum et visionum. . . . Et obinebis gratiam et amorem et potestatem amicie in angelis celorum ad precipiendum eis et mittendum eos quasi amicos et socios perfectos ad omnia que volueris. . . . Et converteris quasi unus de potentibus et terribilibus angelis maioribus celorum." Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fol. 97.

64. "Scies discooperire puritatem, atque visiones sanctorum . . . et potestatem habebis super angelos celorum et precipies eisdem, et mittes ut servitores . . . et eris sicut unus de maioribus qui potestantur in celis." Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 33, fol. 1v.

65. "Et ab hora qua intellexit sua verba fuit vestitus uno magno splendore et duplicatus est visus oculorum suorum et in tantum intendit et intromisit se in omnibus viis istius libri donec fuit similis sanctis celi et separavit se ab habitacionibus terre. Et non fuit inventus quia fuit raptus et elevatus ad celum cum potencia angeli. Et tales sunt qui dixerunt quod suus sensus vel intelligentia fuit appreciatus et assimilatus angelis celi et fuit introductus cum suo corpore intus Paradisum." BnF, 3666, fol. 7v.

66. "In quibus homo operatur pro bono vel meliori . . . ut homo quilibet possit esse sicut unus prophetarum in terra vel de Angelis celorum aut ad demonstrandum et faciendum scire omnibus creaturis et ad ducendum salvationes damnorum ut sit custoditus a malis factis et scire et intelligere in omnibus." BnF, 3666, fol. 44v. See also Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 33, fol. 33v, and Halle, ULB, fol. 22, where a similar comment occurs in the *Liber Ale*.

67. "Hic est liber, quo Deus in hac vita facialiter qui videri . . . quilibet potest salvari et in vitam eternam procul dubio deduci. Hic est liber, quo infernet et purgatorium queunt sine morte videri."

Liber iuratus, §CXLI.2–3 (Hedegård, 150). See also §CXXXVI.3 (Hedegård, 144), which lists various goals of the fifth tract: "De visione divina; De cognicione potestatis divine; De absolucione peccatorum; Ne homo incidat in peccatum mortale; De redempcione trium animarum a purgatorio." The influence of Jewish magic, and perhaps specifically of the *Liber Razielis*, is evident in this section, which emphasizes "tui sacri et preciosi et nominis tui 'Semenphoras'" (§CXXXVI.5; see also 10). On attempts by the London redactor of the *Liber iuratus* to dissociate the work from Jewish influence, see Fanger's chapter in this volume.

68. "Quicumque vult salvus esse et visionum Dei habere, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem," *Liber iuratus*, §XIII.1 (Hedegård, 74); "Tunc in nocte sequenti in sompnis revelabitur tibi per angelum concessus vel repulsus," §XLIX.10 (Hedegård, 89).

69. "Et est notandum quod ista altitudo ita reddit hominem perfectum quod postquam una vice aliquis eorum homini locutus fuerit, numquam de damnatione eterna timere poterit nec quod moriatur sine gracia salvatoris. Ita quod admirabiles habet vias ad reducendum hominem de peccato ad gratiam salvatoris." Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36, fol. 239v. The Halle manuscript containing the *Liber Razielis* has two items with the heading "Almadel" [*sic*], although only one (fols. 239–43) appears to be the better-known text quoted here. On the *Almandal*, see Jan R. Veenstra, "The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 189–229.

70. Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, "Le secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," *Micrologus* 14 (2006): 120.

71. The desire for permanent access to revelation also accounts for the popularity of experiments that sought to acquire a familiar spirit. The *Liber Razielis* has a number of these, and they are the primary concern of one of its adjunct books, the *Liber Theysolius*. See Sophie Page, "Speaking with Spirits in Medieval Magic Texts," in *Conversations with Angels: Essays Towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100–1700*, ed. Joad Raymond (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011).

72. BnF, 3666, fols. 6v–7r. A close variation of this experiment is also found in the *Liber de temporibus*, Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, fols. 47v–48v, under the title *Ad sciendum causam quam volueris facere et si est bonum facere eam vel non vel quando est bonum facere* (inc.: "Et scias quod istud est primum opus istius libri Razielis et est necessarium in omnibus rebus quos volueris facere"), and in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 33, fol. 39r–v, under the title *De dubitatione alicuius super aliquo negotio, qualiter scietur veritas*, and again in BnF, 3666, fol. 55r–v. The ritual of sleeping on ashes in order to receive a vision is also a feature of the *Liber iuratus* (§CI).

73. "Veniet in illa nocte una pars angelorum in aspectu visibili et non fantastico et ostendent ei quomodo faciet illud quod facere vult et discooperient ei totum secretum sine aliquo pavore." BnF, 3666, fol. 7.

74. "Oratio dicenda antequam aliquid facias de his que in isto libro sunt vel dicuntur." BnF, 3666, fol. 56v.

75. The angelic instructors are sometimes named. Just as Adam had Raziel, Solomon was taught by a benign angel called Natael, "qui habet potentiam in aere et associabat semper Salomonem." *Liber temporum*, chapter 18, Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36, fol. 41v.

76. "Porro in quibusdam, qui cursu suo expleto secundum iugum nature includi nequeunt, in hoc deprehenditur quod voluntarii aut fantasticantur aut in corporibus aliorum regimini deputatis involvuntur." CC 125, fol. 172r.

77. See E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 295–99; R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London: Duckworth, 1972), 107. On the binding of spirits to souls, see also the *Liber antimaquis*, in Burnett, *Hermes latinus*, 205: "Et isti spiritus sunt incorporati in animas in quibus ligantur."

78. Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 54–78. Divine possession by the Holy Spirit shared many of the same features as the more ancient category of demonic possession, including the bestowal of knowledge of hidden things. The divinely possessed, like the demonically possessed, were most likely to be women, unlike the practitioner of learned magic, usually assumed by both texts and critics to be male.

79. Ibid., 50–51.

80. "Isti sunt angeli qui sunt pleni de ira et de sanguine . . . et non est in eis pietas." BnF, 3666, fol. 15v.

81. *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXV.2 (Hedegård, 142).

82. "Et diligent eos angeli celorum. Et spiritu boni associabunt ipsos. Et habebunt gratiam creatoris . . . et qui istas virtutes supradictas in se habuerit scias quod erit spiritualis et non terrestris. . . . Et dicatur iste liber, *Liber mundicie* quia res munde ascendent superius. Et res ponderose et immunde descendunt inferius, unde dicitur quod per istum librum qui de eo operatur sit spiritualis et recedit et separatur a terrestribus et dicitur ab aliquibus spiritualis." *Liber mundicie*, chapter 1, Vat. Reg. lat 1300, fol. 87v.

83. "Et dixit Salomon mundicia est res que facit hominem sanctum et congregat spiritus et facit eos socios hominis et facit scire secreta angelorum et iste tractatus est liber que multum frequentabant prophete et alii antiqui cum ipsos et si ista feceris que continetur in isto libro de mundicia proficies semper cum adiutorio Domini que est proprius Dominus." *Liber mundicie,* chapter 9, Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36, fol. 65v.

84. "Sunt igitur omni quod movetur spiritus addicti, qui semitas ex creatoris iugo perniter percur<r>unt." CC 125, fol. 170.

85. "Hic igitur, et nonnulli postmodum, posuit quosdam de spiritibus huiusmodi cecidisse, vel cadere in diversas partes terrarum, et marium, et in illis partibus potestatem unumquemque habere, in quas cecidisse, vel cadere in diversas partes terrarum, et marium, et in illis partibus potestatem unumquemque habere, in quas ceciderit. Unde alios in desertis, alios in silvis, alios in fontibus, alios in fluminibus potestatem habere posuit, et in herbis, et arboribus, et arbustis, necnon in gemmis et lapidibus preciosis eos dixit virtutes vareas exercere, et in ipsis etiam habitare." William of Auvergne, *De universo* II.3.6, p. 1025a. This passage probably refers to the section on the spirits of the four elements, which is missing in the incomplete copy of the text in CC 125.

86. On the former genre, see, for example, Claire Fanger's introduction to *Conjuring Spirits*; on the latter, Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel? Les anges dans la magie astrale, XIIe–XIVe siècle," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 757–71.

87. "Et si viderit me non recordetur de me aliquod contrarium nec aliquam vindictam et inveniam gratiam in suis oculis." BnF, 3666, fol. 26, addressing the angels of the third degree of the second sphere.

88. BnF, 3666, Vat. Reg. lat. 1300, and Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36. Two volumes recorded in the library of Charles V and Charles VI of France are also likely candidates. A "Liber pluritatis Razielis" was recorded in a 1373 inventory of the library and a "Liber sapientum super arte magica, autrement di Raziel" in a 1411 inventory. See Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, vol. 2 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907), 155, nos. 699 and 700. Other occult items were present in the library, including a "Liber seminafora" (no. 715).

89. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51, fol. 111.

90. See Frank Klaassen, "Medieval Ritual Magic in the Renaissance," *Aries* 3, no. 2 (2003): 166–99, especially the comments on manuscripts Sloane 3846 (p. 187) and Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Math. 4° 9 (184n46), sixteenth-century ritual magic collections that include the *Liber Razielis* as well as standard image magic texts.

91. In superscript above this name: "id est scriptor salomonis."

92. Inconsistent numeral styles in the manuscript are retained here and below.

3

THE *Liber iuratus Honorii* AND THE CHRISTIAN RECEPTION OF ANGEL MAGIC

Katelyn Mesler

Few Christians in the Middle Ages would have denied that sorcerers were capable of summoning demons. It was a generally accepted aspect of Christian cosmology and a practice long considered forbidden.[1] But what about angels? While they could be the objects of prayers and were occasionally accorded an intercessory role similar to that of the saints, the notion of magically summoning an angel and constraining it to obedience was rather unorthodox and, for most Christians, quite unthinkable. Yet a work of learned magic known as the *Sworn Book of Honorius,* which circulated in two versions from at least the fourteenth century, teaches techniques not only for invoking angels but also for conjuring and commanding them.[2] One of the prescribed rituals begins with weeks of fasting and abstinence, careful preservation of moral and ritual purity, steadfast attendance at masses, and nearly incessant prayer. A set of ritual objects, including a piece of parchment bearing the name of God, is then taken to a secluded circle of stones. After the proper prayers, suffumigations, and genuflections, the angels are addressed:

> I thus invoke you, powerful angels, and by invoking, I conjure you. I mightily command the ruling powers of the heavenly majesty, by him . . . and by his ineffable name . . . at the sound of which all the celestial, terrestrial, and infernal hosts tremble and worship [cf. Philem. 2:10], and by these names, which are Rethala, Rabam, Cauthalee, Durhulo, Archyma,

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> Rabur, that by the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, at every occasion, without malice, in a benevolent form, and placated by my small gift, you shall deign to descend . . . within the circles inscribed here, ready to obey me in all lawful and worthy requests.[3]

As suggested by the invocation, the ritual is supposed to end with the appearance of an angel, who will obediently carry out the wishes of the conjurer.

One can only speculate about whether anyone in the Middle Ages actually attempted to follow this complicated and laborious procedure through to its end, for most of the few existing accounts of this text were written by detractors who condemned the work as demonic. Nor do we know anything about the undoubtedly pseudonymous author "Honorius"[4] other than a few general details discernible from internal textual evidence. Emerging research, however, suggests that this text and its author were more popular (or notorious) than the scanty references would lead us to believe. And even had it not been so well known, the text would remain significant on account of the remarkable evidence it provides for two notable developments in the cultural history of late medieval European Christendom.

First, the text represents an important stage in the history of medieval magic. If the rituals described are not entirely original or unique to the *Sworn Book*, the text nonetheless exemplifies certain practices and ideas that were developing within the Christian magical tradition. Indeed, Honorius's treatise challenges contemporary assumptions about magic and thus plays a significant role in the larger context of legal and theological debates over the status of magical practices. Second, the *Sworn Book* provides a striking example of a type of cultural transmission and adaptation that was becoming more common in the period. The reception and influence of Islamic ideas in the Latin West has long occupied historians such as Lynn Thorndike, Charles Homer Haskins, David Pingree, and Charles Burnett.[5] Magical texts such as the *Sworn Book*, however, pose particular problems for evaluating the reception of ideas from Arabic and Hebrew sources, for we know very little about the author, the context of composition, or any direct textual sources. But I would like to propose that at least one element of this text—the role and representation of angels—can offer us insight into the author's appropriation of Jewish and Islamic magical practices for a purportedly Christian purpose. This approach offers suggestive perspectives on the ways in which the *Sworn Book* attests to an awareness of cultural transmission, demonstrates both direct and indirect influences from these external sources, and provides unique evidence for understanding attitudes toward such borrowing.

1. The *Sworn Book:* Textual Traditions and Dating

The most important advance in research on the *Sworn Book* is Jan Veenstra's identification (in chapter 4 of this volume) of two separate textual traditions. The first, hitherto unknown to scholars, was transmitted in Spain by Berengario Ganell in his magical compendium the *Summa sacre magice.* Although this version was certainly affected by the personality of the redactor, it nevertheless appears to preserve certain features of Honorius's original text.[6] The second and later textual tradition of the *Sworn Book,* which has been the basis for all previous work on the text, is known from a few manuscripts compiled in England and now preserved in the British Library in London.[7] Since this version is available in Gösta Hedegård's Latin edition, it is this latter tradition that has been the basis of my treatment here, although much of my analysis may apply equally to both versions.

The London redaction of the *Sworn Book* is divided into a prologue and five sections. The prologue recounts a dramatic narrative concerning the work's composition. As the story goes, the pope and other high-ranking church officials have been manipulated by demons into believing that the magical arts are evil. In the face of impending persecution, and out of fear that their art would be lost, a council of magicians gathered to preserve the secrets of magic. They chose Honorius to commit this magical knowledge to writing, and he did so with the help of an angel named Hocrohel. The magicians then swore an oath to protect the secrets contained in the book, and therefore it is known as the "sworn" book.[8] This prologue evokes the historiolae common in pseudepigraphal and magical texts, in which the account of the text's origin, often describing how it was handed down from biblical figures, attests to its authenticity and authority. But however historically implausible this account may be, it provides invaluable evidence for determining the date of composition and offers explicit commentary on contemporary attitudes toward magic.

Historians have contested the dating of the *Sworn Book.* Jan Veenstra suggests that a date in the early fourteenth century remains plausible, but he cautions that there is nothing to rule out a point of origin in the thirteenth century. Evidence that depends on textual details particular to the London version suggests a date for the redaction of that version most probably during the pontificates of John XXII (1316–34) or his successor, Benedict XII (1334–42). These textual details include an emphasis on attaining the beatific vision, incorporation of material from the *Ars notoria,* polemics directed against Jews rather than Muslims, and a prologue reframing the myth of the text's origin in a time period when magic was under a newly heightened attack from the church.[9] Since all of these elements play a role in my analysis, it is worth reassessing the evidence for dating, both to establish the likely parameters for the text's composition and to confirm the dating of the London tradition with greater certainty.

Initial arguments for an early thirteenth-century date were based largely on a *Liber sacratus* mentioned by William of Auvergne, who was bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249.[10] There is, however, no clear indication that he was referring to any version of the *Sworn Book* under discussion in this volume; as Richard Kieckhefer has already noted, there are many books that might have been characterized as "consecrated" or "sworn."[11] Concerning the London tradition, new evidence from the doctoral dissertation of Julien Véronèse on the *Ars notoria* conclusively rules out such an early date, for he has shown that the prayers in the London *Sworn Book* depend on the later glossed version of the *Ars notoria*—a third recension of this text, which postdates both an earlier glossed version and the original unglossed version.[12] While this evidence is absent from the tradition represented in Ganell, so that there is nothing conclusively to rule out a thirteenth-century date of origin, it remains questionable whether a work originating in Spain even in the early part of thirteenth century could have been in circulation in northern France as early as the 1240s.

The writings of John of Morigny provide further evidence that the *Sworn Book* tradition probably does not date much earlier than 1300.[13] In particular, there is no indication that John, who wrote between 1301 and 1315, knew the *Sworn Book,* even though he knew the *Ars notoria* in the glossed version (and probably in the unglossed version as well), and he mentions several other magic texts.[14] Thus the circumstantial evidence from the *Liber florum* generally supports the possibility that the *Sworn Book* was not in wide circulation in northern France before 1316. The earliest known manuscript of this version dates to the first half of the fourteenth century.[15]

Nevertheless, a later date for the London version seems unlikely, for there is good reason to trace the redaction of the *Sworn Book* to the papal reign of John XXII or Benedict XII. Either one could have been envisaged as the target of the prologue's polemics, as both men devoted considerable energy to arraigning suspected sorcerers.[16] But the fact that only one pope is mentioned in the story may indicate that it was in fact during John's pontificate that the *Sworn Book* was redacted. This assumption is supported by an additional piece of circumstantial evidence related to the text's emphasis on the beatific vision.[17] John XXII caused an uproar during the last few years of his pontificate (1331–34) when he began preaching that the vision of God could not be obtained until after the Final Judgment. He recanted on his deathbed and the matter was officially settled two years later in Benedict's encyclical *Benedictus Deus* (1336), which supported the common opinion that the elect would experience the vision immediately after death.[18] The issue was, perhaps, never so high-profile, and thus the centrality of the beatific vision in the London version of the *Sworn Book* may reflect the redactor's awareness of the controversy.

But while John and his opponents differed on how soon after death the vision would be seen,[19] the first section of the *Sworn Book*, which constitutes more than half of the complete text, is specifically devoted to a position that is more reminiscent of the one condemned at the Council of Vienne (1311–12): attainment of the vision during life, by one's own efforts—in this case, by means of a magical ritual.[20] This portion of the text consists of several parts: instructions for creating the "sigil of God," which is a magical seal used in the rituals;[21] a listing of several prayers, which are recited in various sequences throughout the remainder of the text; a ritual for obtaining a dream vision to learn if one has God's permission to proceed with the operation; and the performance of the ritual, lasting an extra seventy-two days, that leads to the beatific vision.[22]

2. "Honorius": Background and Influences

Even if John XXII or the Council of Vienne provided some inspiration for the emphasis on the beatific vision, it was another source that shaped the content. It is this first section of the text, dealing with the beatific vision, in which Kieckhefer recognized strong traces of Jewish thought.[23] Lacking evidence for any direct textual source, he nonetheless identified several elements in the treatise that, whether directly or indirectly, ultimately attest to the influence of Jewish mysticism and magic—in particular, similarities with the Hekhalot literature of Merkavah mysticism and the mystical techniques of Abraham Abulafia. These include the work's goal of viewing God during life, the emphasis on moral and ritual purity as a prerequisite for magical practices, the magical use of a seal on which the name of God is written, the ritual attainment of dream visions, and a suggestion in the prologue that the book should be buried rather than destroyed.[24] To the evidence noted by Kieckhefer we might add Honorius's explanation of Exodus 33:20, which is reminiscent of a kabbalistic interpretation mentioned by Nachmanides,[25] as well as the repeated assertion of seeing the "celestial palace," which, although certainly not unknown in Christian thought, is a central motif of Hekhalot literature.[26] In addition, Jean-Patrice Boudet has emphasized the potential of Jewish influence in the use of the seventy-two-letter name of God, as found in magical texts of Jewish influence such as the *Liber Razielis*,[27] and in the linguistic features of certain angelic names.[28]

The second, third, and fourth sections of the *Sworn Book* take on a very different tone from the first part of the work. These three sections focus on the conjuring of planetary angels, aery angels, and terrestrial angels, respectively. Sections two and three are parallel in structure, providing information about the spirits and then describing the ritual used to summon them, which is based in part on the ritual for the beatific vision. The fourth section, though following the same general structure, is radically abridged and lacks the detail of the second and third parts. There is also a fifth section, which is somewhat conspicuous in both content and prose style. It repeats earlier details, providing clarification on a few points of ritual from the first and third sections, and then offers a brief conclusion to the work. The evidence suggests that this section was not part of the original version of the *Sworn Book.*[29] In comparison to the ritual for the beatific vision, these final portions of the *Sworn Book* have received little scholarly attention. I will demonstrate, however, that these sections are not only innovative in their appropriation of Jewish and Islamic elements but also have wide implications with respect to the historical context of the fourteenth century.

Much less is known about the original author, and even the little that can be discerned is complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing him from later redactors. Only further textual analysis may resolve this difficulty. At present, I will continue to speak generally of Honorius, with the understanding that his "personality," as preserved in the London tradition, is a combination of the original author and an unknown number of redactors. The question of Honorius's language skills is of particular interest when considering the influence of works in languages other than Latin. On the one hand, he discusses etymologies from Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek, which may derive from some personal acquaintance with these languages.[30] On the other hand, a misspelling of the tetragrammaton as "ioth, he, vau, deleth" appears to confirm that he is no skilled Hebraist.[31] Veenstra has shown that this particular error can probably be imputed to a redactor and thus may not be characteristic of all stages in the production of the *Sworn Book,* but scrutiny of the text ultimately reveals no conclusive evidence for knowledge of these languages.

Additional evidence from the text sheds light on Honorius's level of education. Throughout the text, he incorporates—and occasionally alters (whether intentionally or inadvertently)—passages from scripture,[32] the baptismal rite,[33] the preface for Easter,[34] the *Ave Maria,*[35] the *Salve Regina,*[36] the Apostle's Creed,[37] the *Pater Noster,*[38] the *Sanctus,*[39] and the Creed of Athanasius.[40] He also paraphrases quotations from one of Jerome's letters[41] and from Pseudo-Augustine's *Sermon Against Jews, Pagans, and Arians.*[42] The latter passage may have been taken from other sources that quote it, such as Gregory the Great,[43] Peter Damian,[44] Peter Lombard,[45] or Richard of St. Victor,[46] but it attests all the same to Honorius's familiarity with church writings. Other references are specifically attributed to Solomon, among them a distorted version of Sirach ("It is better to remain in caves with a bear and a lion than with a wicked woman")[47] and another quotation that is not as readily identifiable ("There is only one God, the only power, the only faith").[48] In addition, the angel Samael is said to have told Solomon, "I shall give this to your people Israel, and they shall similarly grant it to others."[49] These phrases may simply be Honorius's own innovations or remnants of other magical texts he had read. That they all appear in close proximity to one another suggests the possibility that this part of the text may represent an adaptation from another source. In any case, it is clear that Honorius had a solid knowledge of magical texts. This is certainly true of the redactor, who had access to a glossed version of the *Ars notoria* at the time he copied the *Sworn Book*.

From this internal evidence, it is safe to assume that the original author and the redactors were members of the learned clergy and thus belonged to the "clerical underworld" identified by Kieckhefer.[50] While increasing evidence suggests that such magicians need not be imagined as solitary figures whose magical pursuits were unknown to others,[51] it is nonetheless difficult to say much more about Honorius, except perhaps in terms of geography. Veenstra's essay establishes Spain as the most likely place of original composition, and this theory appears to be supported by the known movement of the text. In a trial from 1347, we learn that Berengario Ganell, who was from Spain, personally sold Étienne Pépin a copy of the book near Perpignan sometime between 1324 and 1344.[52] Pépin responded in the trial that he had recently sent the book to Guarino de Castronovo in Vabres (Haute-Loire).[53] Although this is our clearest indication of the movement of the text from Spain to France, we cannot rule out the likelihood that other copies were already in circulation (indeed, we can imagine that this was not the only copy Ganell sold). In fact, Pépin claimed to have heard of the book before acquiring his own copy. Next, there is an indication in the writings of the inquisitor Nicholas Eymeric that a copy was found in Aragon at some point between 1357 and 1375. It was not until 1389, and again in 1398, that the *Sworn Book* was finally mentioned in Paris.[54] There is not enough evidence to conclude with certainty which version was present in the former case, but the 1398 account refers to the prologue and other contents of the London version.

We may never know the identity of Honorius or the exact circumstances of the *Sworn Book*'s composition, but much can still be gained from a textual study. The history of medieval Christian magic has been a growing field over the past few decades, but angel magic has until recently remained a largely overlooked aspect of the tradition.[55] The reigning narrative in the historiography of angelic invocations in late antiquity is that early Christians condemned invocations to angels in order to avoid idolatry and to distance themselves from the practices of so-called Gnostic groups.[56] This particular concern is addressed by the fourth-century Council of Laodicea.[57] As the story goes, this mentality changed in the fourth to sixth centuries, owing mostly to Augustine and Gregory the Great; as one historian asserts, "the invocation of angels has been a legitimate Christian practice ever since."[58] None of these studies accounts for the consistently non-Christian character of the angels invoked in magical contexts, or for the repeated condemnations of such angelic invocations that recur throughout the Middle Ages.

In the most systematic treatment of early medieval angelic invocations to date, Valerie Flint provides numerous examples to argue that the practice was intentionally—almost officially—adapted in the early Middle Ages in order to preserve pagan spirit magic in a Christian form.[59] Her examples tend to focus on prayers, pilgrimages, sacramental practices, and the cult of Saint Michael, the archangel. Contemporaries, however, would have characterized the healings and other effects resulting from these practices as "miracles."[60] Thus, while Flint is helpful in illuminating the early medieval Christian contexts in which angels were invoked, her work does not cast a direct light on the angelic texts of ritual magic that began to flourish in the thirteenth century. I argue that late medieval angel magic did not grow solely out of Christian practice, for aspects of it inherently contradicted Christian understandings of both angels and magic. Rather, it was the result of Jewish and, later, Islamic influence. Initially, this influence can be seen in rather isolated cases, which did not result in a continuing textual tradition of learned angel magic within Christianity. But once Hebrew and Arabic magical texts became available in the Latin West, largely through Spain and Sicily, Christian magicians such as Honorius began to adapt the use of different kinds of angels into their own treatises of practical magic.

3. Conjuring Spirits

The notion of commanding spirits had original grounding in the synoptic Gospels' accounts of exorcisms, which continued to be sanctioned for expelling demons from those thought to be possessed. It is little wonder, then, that medieval clerical necromancers adapted the same beliefs and rituals in hopes of compelling demons to grant other kinds of requests.[61] In this respect the *Sworn Book* is no exception, for Honorius repeatedly asserts the same general assumptions about God's willingness to constrain spirits on behalf of humans. What makes the text so remarkable, however, is the appropriation of these same formulas with regard to spirits that he specifically identifies as angels. In addition, the unusual length, complexity, and details of the operations reveal certain elements influenced by the Jewish and Islamic magical traditions.

Perhaps the most important text of Christian angel magic to emerge in Europe in the period preceding the *Sworn Book* was the *Ars notoria.* As mentioned earlier, the first section of the London version of the *Sworn Book* relies on many prayers copied verbatim from the later glossed version of the *Ars notoria.*[62] Thus, before undertaking a detailed analysis of the conjurations in the *Sworn Book,* it is important to establish the extent to which the types of angelic invocations used in the *Sworn Book* are intrinsically similar to that of the *Ars notoria.*[63] In the London version of the *Sworn Book,* the majority of angelic invocations drawn from the *Ars notoria* are addressed to God but call indirectly upon the power of the angels. Only rarely are the angels addressed more directly, as when the text reads, "Be present, holy angels, pay heed, and inform me whether such person shall recover or die of this illness."[64] But even this statement could easily be understood as beseeching, rather than commanding, the angels.

Julien Véronèse is correct, then, in asserting that the *Ars notoria* lacks an overt notion of constraint.[65] In the first section of the *Sworn Book,* most directly dependent on the *Ars notoria,* God is entreated "by your most holy angels," "by all your holy and glorious archangels," "by the virtue of your holy angels and archangels," "by the sight of your angels," "by the power . . . of your holy angels," "by these precious sacraments of your angels," and "by your angels and archangels, by the thrones and dominations, powers, principalities and virtues, by the cherubim and seraphim."[66] Only one invocation in this section of the *Sworn Book* lacks direct precedent in the *Ars notoria:* "by the intercessions . . . of your angels and archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, and all other celestial angels."[67] It is worth noting that in all of these instances the text is referring to the "celestial" angels—that is, those of the nine orders, who, Honorius insists, "serve only God" and thus cannot be invoked or compelled.

There are, however, three other types of angels: a lower group of celestial (or "planetary") angels, "aery" angels, and "terrestrial" angels.[68] The following sections of the *Sworn Book* provide detailed instructions for conjuring and subjugating each of these types of angels, thus presenting a radical departure in premise from the prayers of the *Ars notoria* preserved in the first section. As will be seen, the mode of address to these types of spirits differs clearly from the address to the higher celestial spirits and from the *Ars notoria.*

A common form of necromantic conjuration, as Richard Kieckhefer has demonstrated, consists of four main parts: an assertion of the conjuration ("I conjure you"), a reference to the identity of the spirits who are being addressed, a listing of the various powers invoked to constrain the spirits, and specific instructions for the spirits to carry out.[69] The conjurations in the *Sworn Book* certainly follow this general pattern. As is typical, they are also accompanied by the performance of a prescribed ritual procedure. The simplest version of this operation is found in the second section, which describes the procedure for conjuring those celestial angels who are associated with the planets, the sun, and the moon. The practitioner must first learn about the angels he wishes to conjure, prepare a magic circle,[70] conduct the ritual to determine whether he has God's permission to continue, and then spend several weeks attending masses and performing purification rites. During this time he persuades a priest to say prayers on his behalf beseeching Christ to constrain the angels.[71] After the purification is complete, the three-day conjuration process begins. On the first day he should attend Mass, say certain prayers, and perform a benediction at the circle. On the second day he attends Mass again and performs certain benedictions and suffumigations at the circle. Then he addresses the angels by name, seeking to pacify them: "In doing this [i.e., suffumigating], I offer you a small gift, so that you will be peaceful, patient, and calm, and will, by the intercession of God, kindly grant that which I seek."[72] Next, he draws two circles on the ground, inscribes the names of the angels around them, and then addresses the angels again: "Come, all you, N. . . . I invoke you, N., as Zebedee ordered his sons to obey, [so too] may you come."[73] On the third day he must wash and return to the circle with the seal of God. There he recites prayers and performs suffumigations and genuflections. Addressing God, he adds, "May I be worthy to join in a friendly manner with your holy angels, who may, with your kind permission, be willing to thoroughly fulfill my just desires."[74] He is now ready to begin the conjuration proper.

The text separates the ritual into four parts: the "invocation," the "seal and binding," the "conjuration," and the "placation." Each consists of instructions, such as holding up the seal or drawing a cross on the ground, as well as numerous permutations of verbal formulas that follow Kieckhefer's framework. The angels are addressed by long lists of names, various powers—often God's name—are called upon to constrain them,[75] and they are instructed to be peaceful, honest, and obedient. There is an implicit danger in the operation, and the angels are enjoined to descend into the circle without malevolence, taking on a beneficent appearance and a pleasing demeanor.[76] Further, the sigil of God is said to help "render them harmless."[77] When they arrive, the practitioner is cautioned, the angels are not to be seen or addressed until after they have first spoken.[78] No explanation of this practice is given. These angels are then constrained to obey the conjurer's wishes: "Ask what you want, and you shall have it."[79] In theory, these angels will obey only "lawful and upright" requests.[80] Honorius offers such suggestions as seeking knowledge of heaven, changing day into night or night into day, or consecrating a book.[81] However, previous descriptions of the angels indicate that some of them, in fact, specialize in harmful or questionable activities.[82]

The conjuration of the aery angels in the third section of the *Sworn Book* follows the same pattern, although it is longer and more complicated. There are, for example, spirits of the winds and a set of demons that must be invoked as part of the operation, and they too are constrained by various powers.[83] This may be one reason why the text expresses a heightened sense of fear and danger. For example, the priest's prayer on the practitioner's behalf enjoins Christ to constrain these angels to appear "without harm to body or spirit."[84] The preparation for the conjuration also reveals this sense of danger, as extra rituals for protection are required.[85] As for the angels, they are asked to take not just a pleasing form but one that is not offensive, dangerous, or frightening.[86] And while correct performance of the ritual means that they will ultimately come and grant requests, they will first try to frighten the conjurer with various visions.[87] The conjuration for the fourth group, the terrestrial angels, further reinforces this element of danger.[88] Although Honorius never explicitly states the reason for this danger, the apparent implication is that the spirits themselves (angels and demons alike) are the source of the danger. And, more explicitly than in the case of the planetary angels, both the aery and the terrestrial angels can be summoned for overtly harmful purposes.[89]

At one point, however, there is a rather distinctive change in the form of the conjuration. In the ritual for summoning the aery angels, an additional step requires that the practitioner rouse certain demons who are associated with the seven planets and directions. This conjuration begins by calling out cycles of questions to them: "Where is King Harthan and where are his attendants Bileth, Mylalu, and Abucaba? Where is King Abaa and where are his attendants Hyici, Quyron, Zach, and Eladeb? Where is King Maymon and where are his attendants Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, and Yasfla?"[90] As Gershom Scholem has noted, this form of indirect invocation may be found with some frequency in Islamic magical texts, but it is quite rare in Jewish sources.[91] Nor is this formula common in Christian texts, where the wording of invocations closely resembles that of Jewish magic.[92] The inclusion of this form, then, indicates a nearly certain case of borrowing from an Islamic source. In addition, the demon kings mentioned bear a striking resemblance to the Islamic tradition of the seven demon kings, who are also associated with the planets and directions. Some onomastic similarities further support this particular influence.[93]

Another element reminiscent of Islamic tradition is the requirement to learn the angels' particular characteristics as a prerequisite to performing the ritual.[94] In general, the Islamic magical tradition is often highly theoretical in focus. Treatises of magic tend to explain how and why magic functions, and it is through this knowledge that one is able to operate the magical arts.[95] Thus the knowledge of a spirit's properties is a crucial prerequisite for any invocation.[96] In Jewish tradition, however, magic is primarily performative, accomplished through the power of words and actions.[97] But while such a distinction is provocative, it is certainly insufficient to draw stable conclusions about the specific influences on the rituals of the *Sworn Book*. After all, a learned magician, familiar with both church liturgy and Scholastic theology, could certainly incorporate elements of theory and ritual into a magical text. What is more conclusive, however, is the conception of the angels themselves.

4. Envisioning Spirits

Christians in the later Middle Ages still understood angels mainly according to the sixth-century conceptions of Pseudo-Dionysius and Gregory the Great, in which angels remained abstract, uncountable, and largely anonymous.[98] With the exception of the archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, the angels of the celestial hierarchy were perhaps too abstract to rival the saints as personal intercessors. In addition, the veneration of angels could easily arouse suspicions of *latria*.[99] This is not to suggest that medieval Christianity lacked a rich tradition of angelology—far from it, as David Keck has shown.[100] Nevertheless, there is little precedent for the *Sworn Book*'s ideas amid the various depictions of angels that flourished in monastic writings, Scholastic theology, biblical commentaries, sermons and exempla, eschatological writings, vernacular literature, and even visionary accounts, all of which tend to situate even the most exotic ideas about angels within accepted frameworks.[101] The angels portrayed by Honorius, however, not only differ strikingly from these traditional Christian conceptions but actually exemplify distinctive characteristics of Jewish and Islamic angelologies.

As we have already seen, angels in the *Sworn Book* are separated into four different groups. The first consists of the celestial spirits that are associated with the traditional celestial hierarchy, albeit presented in an unusual order. The author explains, "Certain of them serve God alone, and these are the nine orders of angels: cherubim, seraphim, thrones, dominations, virtues, principalities, powers, archangels, and angels."[102] As presented, these angels correspond somewhat to orthodox notions of angels. Although they exist in a constant state of praise for God and cannot be conjured or compelled in any way, their power can still be invoked in supplication to God or even when conjuring other types of angels.[103] Since the portrayal of these angels in the London version of the *Sworn Book* is copied largely verbatim from the *Ars notoria*, it cannot provide much evidence for Honorius's adaptation of Jewish and Islamic sources. More revealing, however, are the angels described in the other sections of the work.

The second group of angels in the *Sworn Book* is composed of the celestial spirits of the planets. Each planet has a corresponding group of named angels, whose various character traits are specified. These include the angels' function, region, body, color, and shape.[104] The functions indicate, for example, that the spirits of the moon change desires and thoughts, speed up journeys, and cause rain, while the regional attribute associates them with one of seven geographical divisions.[105] The other characteristics all relate to physical appearance, as when the spirits of Jupiter are described as being "of medium height,"[106] and those of Mars are colored "red, like burning coal."[107] Each group of angels has three to five demons beneath it. Of these demons, one is the king and the rest are attendants.[108] These demons rule over the rest of the planets' demons.[109] In general, the planetary angels "esteem men" and should be considered good.[110] However, their descriptions call these assertions into question. The angels of Mars, it is said, "provoke wars, killing, destruction, and the death of men and animals,"[111] while those of Saturn are even said to cause sadness, anger, and hatred.[112]

The angels in the third group are known as aery spirits. This is a dangerous assertion, as the Christian tradition had long considered spirits of the air demons.[113] The author explains, "There are spirits in the air whom the holy mother Church calls damned, but these spirits claim that the opposite is true; thus we prefer to call them neither good nor evil."[114] That said, he proceeds to explain that there are actually several types of aery spirits. Those associated with the east and west are benevolent, for "their activities aid in good, and scarcely harm anyone."[115] The spirits of the north and south, however, are evil, and their works are harmful.[116] Finally, there is a third group, corresponding to three of the ordinal directions, which truly are "neither good nor evil," since these spirits simply obey whatever invocations are addressed to them. Like the planetary angels, these angels of the seven directions[117] preside over demonic hierarchies, but they differ in that they also rule over spirits of the winds. They are likewise described in terms of function, region, body, color, and shape. In this case, however, new characteristics are included, such as their faces, manner of movement, and signs. The signs are indications that the angel is present, as when the conjurer sees men being eaten by lions in order to signify the presence of a southeastern spirit.[118]

Only a few details are provided about the last group, the terrestrial angels. The author explains that they are "filthy and full of all depravity."[119] Their functions include such activities as killing trees and crops, causing earthquakes, destroying the foundation of cities, and ruining men.[120] These angels are large and frightening, with claws, five faces, and diverse animal body parts.[121] They too are arranged in a hierarchy, with one king and four attendants, each of whom commands legions that in turn rule over groups of more than four thousand demons.[122] The particular sign indicating their arrival is that "the entire world appears destroyed."[123] In fact, these creatures are said to be so frightening that Honorius recommends leaving a written request in order to avoid seeing or hearing them![124]

Such conceptions of angels are not the product of Honorius's imagination, nor can they all be attributed to the influence of other Christian texts of angel magic, such as the *Ars notoria* or the *Holy Almandal*.[125] Rather, they have strong roots in Jewish tradition. During the intertestamental period, Judaism began to develop a highly personalized conception of angels that differed significantly from the Hebrew Bible's portrayal of nondescript emissaries.[126] This new conception grants individual angels a unique and powerful name, a personality, a detailed physical appearance, and specific functions in the world. These angels tend to be arranged in numbered groups and placed within complex hierarchical systems. Although they are hierarchically superior to men, angels are thought to have significant contact with the human world, sometimes in the role of teachers. They also display an affinity with humanity in their ability to perform both good and evil works. While this new notion of angels was by no means universally accepted,[127] it is the dominant conception of angels in those texts of Jewish magic and mysticism that influenced Christian angel magic.

One of the earliest and most influential examples of this angelology is 1 Enoch, composed sometime between the second century BCE and the first century CE.[128] This pseudepigraphal apocalypse includes the account of a group of angels who decide to take human wives. They teach men the secrets of transmutation, incantations, astrology, and various other illicit practices, and the children born to their human wives become demons (1 En. 6–8, 15). The leaders of these fallen angels are listed by name, as are the archangels and various others that appear throughout the story.[129] Knowledge of these names can in some cases give someone power over these angels (69:14).[130] Each angel also has its place in a complex hierarchy of leaders and subordinates. Though a full description of this hierarchy is absent from the text, the number of angels that compose various groups is often specified. For example, the fallen angels number two hundred, twenty-one of whom are leaders (6:6, 69:2). Elsewhere, hierarchies are arranged in groups of three, four, twelve, 360, and one thousand (82:11–20). Even when a multitude of angels is considered infinite, numerical language is used, as when the text speaks of "a hundred thousand and ten million times a hundred thousand angels" (71:13).[131]

The individualized nature of the angels in Judaism meant that there was often a fine line between angel and man: the Essenes at Qumran viewed their community as a direct parallel to their idea of angelic priesthood;[132] several texts of antiquity and late antiquity attest to righteous humans as having initially been, or having become, angels;[133] and themes of affinity and rivalry between humans and angels are common throughout rabbinic literature.[134] There is even some evidence that Jewish "cults of the angels" may have existed.[135] It was during these early centuries of the common era that a loosely related corpus of Jewish writings began to focus on Ezekiel's vision of the flying chariot.[136] A major theme of this literature is the human's journey through the celestial palaces, ultimately arriving at the throne of God. Writings connected to this tradition are commonly known as Hekhalot ("palaces") literature.[137] These texts represent centuries of composition, redaction, and fluctuation[138] and are far from uniform in their content.[139] But if the diverse characterizations of angels cannot present a unified angelology, the literature is all the more relevant for the broad range of conceptions it provides.

The depiction of angels in terms of names, numbers, ranks, hierarchies, and functions is well represented in Hekhalot literature.[140] There are, however, additional parallels to the angelology of the *Sworn Book* that are remarkable for their similarity in detail. To compare just one set of passages, known collectively as *Hekhalot Rabbati,* there are examples similar to the use of a seal containing God's name,[141] to the description of specific signs that indicate the presence of an angel,[142] and to the portrayal of angels as frightening, angry, or even violent.[143] There is also a strong emphasis throughout the literature on invocations and rituals for conjuring angels, in which these spirits are expected to reveal secrets, teach Torah, answer questions, provide revelations in dreams, and initiate mystical experiences.[144] It is notable that one of the predominant elements of these conjurations is a strong emphasis on the need to perform them in a state of ritual and ascetic purity.[145]

The emphasis on invoking angels is also elaborated in a series of textual fragments that have become known as the *Sepher ha-Razim,* or *Book of the Mysteries.*[146] This work, which shares some themes with mystical Hekhalot literature, tells of the hierarchies of named angels that fill the seven firmaments of heaven. The reader is instructed in the appropriate way to conjure these angels, compelling them to carry out a range of activities, including healing the sick, predicting the future, causing humans to fall in love, and helping people win at horse racing. Some of them are even "prepared to torment and torture a man to death."[147] The moral ambiguity—or perhaps neutrality—of these angels is further indicated in that some are, by their very nature, angels of anger, wrath, fury, or destruction.[148] One group is said to "stand in terror, cloaked in wrath, girded with dread, surrounded by trembling."[149] And in some cases the text indicates that the same angels can be summoned for either good or evil.[150] The rituals for conjuration often must be performed with respect to specific times, days, months, years, and astrological bodies.[151] Certain rituals in the text are even aimed at conversing with the sun, the moon, and the stars, and there are indications that the various months, as well as the sun, are each ruled over by angels.[152] Again, the theme of ritual and ascetic purity is central.[153]

The work of tracing the spread of magical manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages is a monumental task, owing to the anonymous or pseudepigraphal nature of most of the works, as well as to their particularly low survival rate.[154] Without more studies on magical codices and catalogues, such as those recently carried out by Frank Klaassen and Sophie Page, it remains nearly impossible to identify who was reading what particular text, in what place, and at what point in time. But if we cannot yet identity the exact points at which Christians may have come in contact with these ideas, it is nonetheless clear that such texts were in circulation during the Middle Ages. For example, much of the extant Hekhalot literature was preserved through the writings of the Haside Ashkenaz, an influential circle of Rhineland mystics who flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[155] Given the growth of Kabbalah in the same period, it is clear that a diverse array of Jewish magical and esoteric sources had spread throughout most of western Europe by the time of the *Sworn Book*'s composition.[156] The clear presence of these themes in works such as the *Sworn Book* indicates that Christians had a certain degree of access to such ideas. Further, the *Liber Razielis,* produced from Jewish sources at the court of Alfonso X around the third quarter of the thirteenth century, presents angels in ways consistent with the earlier Jewish magical texts discussed here. In fact, it even includes the *Sepher ha-Razim.*[157] Perhaps more than any other points of contact, the *Liber Razielis* surely played a large role in the Latin dissemination of Jewish angel magic.

There is more knowledge of the particular Arabic magical texts that were translated and circulated in the late medieval Latin West.[158] These types of texts, often with Neoplatonic and astrological influences, were also important for the angelology of the *Sworn Book.*[159] Indeed, they were fundamental in shaping the practice of astral magic and in defining the influential category of "natural magic."[160] The most well known of such treatises is the *Picatrix,* which was translated from Arabic into Spanish and then into Latin in the mid-thirteenth century.[161] This book, intended as a thorough instruction manual in the magical arts, is largely representative of the genre, treating such topics as the houses of the zodiac, the construction of talismans, correspondences in nature, love spells, poisons, and the magical properties of herbs and gems.[162] Of particular interest is the focus on planetary spirits.[163] Each planet has several spirits, each with its own name, to which certain prayers are addressed.[164] The knowledge of these spirits, their properties, and their relations is crucial, as science and philosophy are seen as fundamental to carrying out magical practices.[165]

Another text that circulated widely is the *De radiis,* attributed to al-Kindi.[166] Like many of the works of magic that originated in Islamic environments, this text is focused largely on the philosophical underpinnings of the magical arts rather than on strictly practical instructions, in this case on the workings of magic through planetary influence and "stellar rays." The sixth chapter of this treatise is specifically devoted to prayers and invocations, many of which are directed to spirits and the planets. The spirits, though incorporeal, are able to affect the world through cosmic harmonies and sympathies, which presupposes a network of correspondences throughout the cosmos. The text also emphasizes the power of invoking the names of God. Unlike the *Picatrix,* however, the *De radiis* leaves all spirits and angels anonymous.[167]

A final representative example from the Islamic tradition is the *Liber antimaquis,* a text that also shows Hermetic influence and that is cited twice in the *Picatrix.*[168] This text specifically assigns a name to the spirit of each planet. Each one is described in terms of its related animals, colors, minerals, or herbs, and according to factors such as appearance, temperature, and odor.[169] The reader is instructed to recite lists of names, when the astrological conditions are appropriate, in order to conjure these spirits. One such list contains seventy-two names, which were given to men so that "whenever they wanted to do good or evil, a spirit would appear to them and carry out their wishes."[170] A focus on names is found elsewhere in Islamic magic, as in the writings of al-Buni, where divine names are particularly prominent in magical operations.[171]

As in the works of Avicenna, angels in Islamic magic were reimagined as planetary spirits.[172] A sort of intellectual rigor and purity is necessary to communicate with them, somewhat parallel to the requirement for ritual purity in Jewish texts. Through sympathies, correspondences, or harmonies, these incorporeal beings can affect the world when invoked. While the power of names is not as prevalent as in Jewish tradition—indeed, many Islamic texts leave the spirits anonymous—it is not entirely absent.[173] Its presence in some cases may in fact be a result of Jewish origin, as these two traditions undoubtedly influenced or, in Steven M. Wasserstrom's terminology, "cross-fertilized" each other.[174] Nevertheless, this is the form in which the ideas circulated among the learned magicians of late medieval Latin Christendom, such as Honorius.

The chart below is intended as a general comparison of widespread Christian conceptions about angels with those found in Jewish and Islamic magical literature. It does not, of course, represent every variation to be found within these traditions.

5. Discerning Spirits

In 744, Saint Boniface convened a synod at Soissons to investigate a man named Aldebert, who was accused of spreading heresy throughout the region.[175] Among the charges against him, this self-styled prophet claimed to have received special grace and powerful relics from angels.[176] In addition, he was said to have composed a prayer depicting an unusual image of "the seventh throne above the

Overview of Comparative Angelologies

	Latin Christianity	**Jewish Magical Tradition**	**Islamic Magical Tradition**
Number of angels	Infinite or unknowable.	Often countable. Numbered even when the intent is infinite (e.g., "thousand thousands").	Infinite, countless.
Names of angels	Only Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael are known by name.	Every angel has a unique name. Knowledge of an angel's name gives one power over the angel.	Often, though not always anonymous.
Groups of angels	Nine-tiered hierarchies of Pseudo-Dionysius or Gregory the Great.	Angels arranged in various groups and hierarchies. Groups have individual angels as leaders.	Groups are based around planets, directions, regions, etc.
Traits	Impersonal, light, intellect, models of piety, symbolic, liturgical.	Individualized, anthropomorphic, liturgical, associations with days, months, planets, and the zodiac, material associations.	Planetary spirits, light, intellect, material associations, microcosm macrocosm.
Distinctive functions or roles	Based on position in hierarchy.	Based on groups and particular roles within the groups. Individual angels are more specialized.	Based on particular corresponding associations.
Cults of the angels	Yes	Yes	No
Can humans become angels?	While the elect may come to occupy the same elevated status, most agree that their nature remains distinct.	Yes	No
Moral status of angels	Good	Ambiguous (an angel may be good or bad).	Neutral (angels act based on prevailing correspondences).
Angels as a source of knowledge?	Yes, but generally limited to their capacity as messengers of divine revelations.	Yes, particularly in Hekhalot literature.	No. Knowledge is first necessary in order to access angels (except for the story of Harut and Marut in the Koran II:102).

	Latin Christianity	Jewish Magical Tradition	Islamic Magical Tradition
Addressing angels	Prayer, generally directed to God.	Direct adjuration, often invoked by the power or name of God.	Direct adjuration, often invoked by the power or name of God.
Addressing demons	Direct adjuration, often invoked by the power of God.	Direct adjuration, often invoked by the power of God.	Direct or indirect adjuration. Indirect: "Where is the demon N?"

cherubim and seraphim" that conjured an unorthodox series of angels by name.[177] We may never know the precise source of Aldebert's cosmology, but there are clear affinities with Jewish tradition. Of the angels mentioned, he refers to Uriel and Raguel, both of whom figure in 1 Enoch.[178] This text, it is known, had reached Ireland by this time.[179] While no direct evidence is available, Aldebert may have—even if indirectly—come into contact with ideas from this or similar texts.[180] Whatever the origin of these ideas, they caused great concern, for authorities suspected that Aldebert was actually summoning demons. In a response to Boniface, Pope Zacharias wrote: "[he] declared that he knew the names of the angels, as you described in your letter; but we declare that they are names, not of angels but rather of demons."[181] Aldebert was officially condemned as a heretic and taken into custody.

The following year, a Roman synod followed up on the matter. According to the acts of the synod, the bishops declared, "The eight names of angels which Aldebert calls upon in his prayer are not names of angels, except Michael, but rather of demons whom he has summoned to his aid. We, instructed by Your Apostolic Holiness and by divine authority, know the names of but three angels: Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, whereas he brought in the names of demons under the guise of angels."[182] In the final decrees of the synod, Aldebert was convicted of "summoning demons to his aid under the guise of angels."[183] Aldebert's sentencing seems to have had little lasting effect, for his activities again drew attention two years later.[184] But the synod's affirmation that Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael were the only angels known by name persisted much longer. It was soon codified in Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* of 789[185] and again in a capitulary of Ansegisus in 827.[186] The sentiment carried on in the later Middle Ages, as did the accompanying suspicion of demons being summoned in the guise of angels.

If the practice of necromantic magic is essentially identical to exorcism, as Kieckhefer has argued, then it is hardly surprising that a parallel version of spiritual discernment came to play a role in regard to magic as well. In general, "discerning spirits" referred to the process of determining whether someone was divinely or demonically possessed.[187] With respect to medieval magic, the analogous question was whether the spirits invoked were angels or demons. Although the spirits conjured were usually designated angelic, demonic, or neutral within the medieval magical tradition, Christian theologians looking at such texts generally presumed invocations of any sort to be demonic, even if the spirits were called angelic and even if the outcomes were beneficent.[188] As in Aldebert's case, anything ostensibly angelic was simply suspected of deceit. When a text such as the *Sworn Book* proposed angel magic as a legitimate practice, distinct from demonic necromancy, it challenged the deep-seated assumptions that underlay medieval conceptions of magic.

Ultimately, both forms of spiritual discernment raised questions of authority. This connection is perhaps nowhere clearer than in the works of the theologian John Gerson, who served as chancellor of the University of Paris at the turn of the fifteenth century. By actively appropriating the authority to discern spirits in cases of revelatory possession, he effectively discredited female mystics who claimed that their experiences were divinely inspired.[189] In similar fashion, he also attempted to consolidate his authority of discernment regarding magical conjurations. But in this he was not alone, for much like Aldebert and Boniface, magicians and church authorities had long clashed over the discernment of spirits.

The *Ars notoria,* as noted above, was one of the earliest Christian texts of learned magic that made significant use of angels. This well-known treatise probably began to circulate in the twelfth century,[190] at just the time when Hebrew and Arabic translations were becoming available in Latin.[191] While it lacks the overt conjurations of the later *Sworn Book,* it is hard to deny that an implicit element of constraint underlies the assertions of guaranteed ritual efficacy in the text. Julien Véronèse suggests that this particular problem may be the reason why the text explicitly presents the work as sacramental rather than magical.[192] However, the "syncretic" nature of the angels, as well as their uncharacteristic prominence, kept the text firmly outside the realm of orthodoxy.[193] The authorities agreed, and the *Ars notoria* was repeatedly condemned throughout the following centuries.[194] Thomas Aquinas, who demonstrated familiarity with the text, condemned it for, among other things, suspicion of demonic conjurations.[195] Even John of Morigny, who had long experimented with the *Ars notoria,* eventually decried it: "It was twice revealed to me by all the angelic spirits that in this book's prayers in outlandish tongues there was an invocation of malign spirits hidden so subtly and ingeniously that nobody in the world, however subtle he be, would be able to perceive it."[196] John's *Liber florum,* a text that claimed delivery at the hands of the Virgin Mary, freshly systematized the basic principles of the *Ars notoria.*[197] He was sensitive to the problem of discerning spirits,[198] but it was not enough to remove the lists of *nomina ignota* and assert that his text was divine in both origin and effect; it too was determined to be heretical and sorcerous, and it was condemned at Paris in 1323.[199]

Being very familiar with the *Ars notoria,* the redactor of the London *Sworn Book* could scarcely have been ignorant of the grounds on which it had been condemned. His own text was at particular risk, given its dependence on the *Ars notoria* and its rather explicit instructions for conjuring spirits, but he continued to insist boldly on the legitimacy of such magic. In the prologue to the *Sworn Book,* he declares that the devil has manipulated church authorities into condemning magical conjurations. Honorius defends the practice "because it is not possible for a wicked and unclean man to work truly through this art, nor is man subjugated to any spirits; rather, these spirits are unwillingly compelled to answer to pure men and to carry out their wishes."[200] Insisting on complete control over the spirits—just as in exorcism—was a standard way to defend necromantic practice. This may, however, be the first time this argument had been used to justify the subjugation of angels.

From the beginning, Honorius asserts that pagans and Jews can receive no benefit from the magical practices described in the text. When pagans try to perform such magic, he claims, they are deceived by the very spirits they attempt to conjure, who merely perpetuate the pagans' bad faith in idolatry.[201] As for the Jews, their refusal to accept baptism has deprived them of the ability to conjure angels effectively.[202] Only Christians can successfully invoke angels or obtain a vision of God. With respect to the latter, the author explicitly states that firm adherence to the doctrines of the Catholic faith is a requirement for attaining the vision.[203] At the end of the work, he again explains that this book can be of no use to non-Christians.[204] Throughout it all, he implicitly defends the orthodoxy of this practice, incorporating masses and other aspects of traditional liturgy into the rituals, emphasizing moral and ritual purity, and even suggesting that the reader seek the assistance of a priest in carrying out certain parts of the rituals.[205]

Given the extent of Jewish influence on the *Sworn Book,* some of which may have been directly borrowed, it is difficult to imagine that even the original author was completely unaware of his Jewish sources. Kieckhefer has argued that the London version's repudiation of the Jews serves to distance Honorius's practices from Jewish ones, which he was more or less consciously adopting. In doing so, he obviates any charges of Judaizing and thereby retains part of his claim to the orthodoxy of this magic.[206] This thesis is supported all the more by the work of Veenstra, who has now shown that the redactor, responsible for adding or emphasizing many of the Jewish elements in the text, actually replaced the original anti-Muslim polemics with anti-Jewish ones.[207] If Veenstra is correct in pointing to geography as a crucial determinant of emphasis, then this shift would further support the argument that the redaction took place outside Spain.

One of the most crucial aspects of the *Sworn Book*'s angel magic lies in the sharp distinctions that Honorius draws. First, he argues that the celestial angels of the nine orders cannot be conjured or commanded.[208] In short, the prayers that invoke them, derived from the *Ars notoria,* do not constitute any form of constraint. This key element is what separates the first part of the ritual—and, by implication, the entire *Ars notoria*—from the explicit conjurations that follow. Second, within these conjurations, he distinguishes and describes the various types of spirits involved: celestial planetary angels, aery angels, neutral aery spirits, demonic aery spirits, spirits of the winds, terrestrial angels, and demons. Having differentiated all the spirits, he can more clearly assert that the instructions in the text refer to the conjuring of angels. Thus, even in his discussion of the frightful and dangerous terrestrial angels, whose adjuration is strongly discouraged, Honorius still claims that these are angels, and he is careful to distinguish them from demons.[209] It is noteworthy, however, that in spite of the particular emphasis on angels, the *Sworn Book* is also a work of explicit demonic magic.[210] The belief that angels can be subjected and controlled clearly applies as well to demons, the conjuring of which is mentioned in the prologue[211] and as part of the conjuration for the aery angels.[212] Although the ritual detail in the *Sworn Book* suggests that it was a manual for practical use, these necromantic elements also underscore Honorius's claims for the legitimacy of invocative magic, whether angelic or demonic. But while he insists that most types of spirits can be subjugated by the pious magician, he nevertheless maintains the underlying assumption throughout the work that there is a rather clear difference between the conjuration of angels and demons.

It would appear that Honorius's proposed discernment was lost on zealous inquisitors and theologians. As early as 1347 the text was mentioned in a sorcery trial against the monk Étienne Pépin (also called Oliver Aquitard). Accused, among other things, of conjuring demons, Pépin affirmed that his magical practices involved the use of angel names. When asked specifically about a spirit mentioned in the *Sworn Book,* he also responded that it was an angel, not a demon.[213] The book also figures among the works of necromancy that Nicholas Eymeric condemns in his *Directorium inquisitorum* of 1376.[214] But the most explicit condemnation came at the end of the century. In 1398 the theological faculty of Paris, led by John Gerson, issued a condemnation of twenty-eight propositions related to magic, some of them clearly directed at practices found in the *Sworn Book.*[215] Among the errors listed are the beliefs that a vision of God can be obtained through magic,[216] that neutral spirits exist,[217] that demon kings are associated with the directions,[218] and that the church's condemnations of magic are irrational.[219] In addition, the articles condemn the beliefs that ritual purity justifies sorcery[220] and that items such as hoopoe blood and virgin parchment have efficacy over demons.[221] With the exception of the specific references to hoopoe blood and to the church's condemnation of magic, all of these "errors" are probably the result of Jewish and Islamic practices that had been appropriated into Christian magic. Further, these condemnations reinforce the orthodox position against necromancy, asserting that God does not force demons to obey their conjurers,[222] that demons are not otherwise compelled to obey,[223] that summoning demons is inherently idolatrous,[224] and that it is the source—not the effect—that determines whether certain practices are licit.[225]

Finally, the condemnations answer the challenge posed by angel magic. They insist that acts of sorcery are not revealed to men by good angels,[226] nor do good angels perform activities related to magic,[227] and, most significantly, that the only sources of such power are God, nature, or demons.[228] Thus Honorius's claims are false: he may call the spirits angels but they are actually demons in disguise. While this position is certainly not new to this particular condemnation, the faculty's need to reiterate it reflects the increasing challenge that angel magic represented in this period. Just as Gerson worked to appropriate the authority of spiritual discernment in regard to female mystics—his first treatise on the subject, *De distinctione verarum visionum a falsis*, was written only three years after the Paris condemnation—so too did he strengthen his authority to declare all invocative magic demonic.

Epilogue: The "Christianization" of Angel Magic

And yet, the redefinition of magic proposed by the *Sworn Book* and other such treatises was not utterly futile. As works of angel magic continued to pass through the hands of theologians and inquisitors, it became more difficult to maintain a firm stance against all forms of conjuration. One need only mention such figures as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), and John Dee (1527–1608),[229] whose diverse forms of spirit magic—however much (or little) altered by Neoplatonism and Hermeticism—would flourish throughout the following centuries.[230] But before these figures, we find Antonio da Montolmo, who was a doctor and astrologer in Italy at the end of the fourteenth century. The importance of Montolmo and his writings has been emphasized by Nicolas Weill-Parot in several studies, which now include the edition of *De occultis et manifestis* that appears in this volume.[231]

In this work, Montolmo discusses the influences and magical operations relating to the hierarchy of angelic "Intelligences," which consist of both good and evil spirits. Throughout, as Weill-Parot notes, Montolmo attempts to maintain an acceptable theological position by avoiding explicit conjurations of the highest Intelligences (tantamount to theurgy in Augustine's sense), while remaining ambiguous as to the status of the lower "Altitudes."[232]

By this point, however, the tradition of magic had begun to change. Montolmo's portrayal of the Intelligences may have complicated received notions of magic by blurring the line between the role of impersonal astrological virtues and his ambiguously defined spirits, but the element of invocation is nonetheless present. That Montolmo openly acknowledged authorship of his works without suffering condemnation suggests that, at least in some learned circles, the invocation of good (or neutral) spirits was no longer met with instant skepticism that the spirits were really demons.[233] This is all the more surprising given the ambivalence of Montolmo's position, which is perhaps best highlighted by a version of the same text that speaks explicitly of demons rather than Intelligences.[234] But the magicians, we might say, had won a partial victory. As traditions of Jewish and Islamic angel magic became entrenched in an ever growing body of Latin treatises, the idea of angel magic seems to have become distinct from demonic necromancy, no matter how thin the line between the two might have been.

As the narrative goes, I suggest, Christians of the early Middle Ages adopted the practice of angel magic through contact with Jewish and Islamic ideas. The lack of a textual tradition, however, kept the practice from developing within Christianity. But the increased accessibility of Jewish and Islamic texts after the twelfth century brought Christians into contact with new conceptions of angels. While such ideas may not have been so easily incorporated into orthodox theology, Christian magicians were willing to adopt the new practices. Whatever they may have thought of Jewish and Islamic doctrine, they nevertheless believed that Jews and Muslims possessed efficacious occult knowledge. And it was certainly easier to attempt to defend a work of angel magic, even by assimilation to natural magic, than one of overt demonic necromancy. The role of angel magic in the later Middle Ages is thus central to the trend that Claire Fanger has termed the "radical positivization of magic."[235] As the growing popularity of these texts created a native tradition of angel magic within Christianity, both in Latin and in the vernacular, so too did it eventually change wider perceptions of the practice. By the fifteenth century angel magic was in many respects tolerated. Only the explicitly demonic forms of magic were still actively condemned.[236] Thus Jewish and Islamic angelologies, having entered Christianity through magical texts—a path of less resistance—had begun to change wider Christian conceptions of both angels and magic.

NOTES

1. See, e.g., Peter Brown, "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations,* ed. Mary Douglas (London: Tavistock, 1970), 17–45. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

2. Available English editions are *The Sworn Book of Honourius the Magician: As Composed by Honourius Through Counsel with the Angel Hocroell,* ed. Daniel J. Driscoll (Gillette, N.J.: Heptangle Books, 1977); and *Liber Juratus, or The Sworne Booke of Honorius,* ed. Joseph H. Peterson, online at http://www.esotericarchives.com/juratus/juratus.htm. A critical edition is now available in *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius,* ed. Gösta Hedegård (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 2002); references are to this edition.

3. "Vos igitur, potentes angeli, invoco et invocando coniuro. Superne maiestatis imperii potentes potenter imparo [*sic;* meaning impero] per eum . . . et per nomen eius ineffabile . . . quo audito omnes exercitus celestes, terrestres et infernales tremunt et colunt, et per ista, que sunt Rethala, Rabam, Cauthalee, Durhulo, Archyma, Rabur, quatinus a Saturninis, Iovinis, Marcialibus, Solaribus, Venereis, Mercurialibus, Lunaribus speris omni occasione et malivolencia cessante in forma benivola atque meo placati munusculo michi in omnibus licitis et honestis obedire parati . . . infra circulos hic circumscriptos descendere dignemini." *Liber iuratus,* §LXV (Hedegård, 123).

4. As I discuss below, it remains difficult to draw a clear distinction between the original author and later redactors. As it is not my intention in this chapter to distinguish original text from redacted text, I avoid cumbersome caveats by using "Honorius" as a general designation. In those instances where I wish to treat the original author or a redactor more specifically, I will so indicate.

5. See, e.g., Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58); Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science,* 2d ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927); Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London: British Library, 1997); and David Pingree, "The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe," in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medio Evo europeo,* ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1987), 57–102.

6. For an account of the known manuscripts of Ganell's text and the features that distinguish his *Sworn Book* from the London version, see Jan Veenstra's chapter in this volume. An edition of Ganell's *Summa sacre magice* is in preparation by Damaris Gehr.

7. For an account of the manuscript tradition, see the edition cited above, note 2.

8. *Liber iuratus,* §I (Hedegård, 60–61).

9. For more details on the differences between the traditions, see Jan Veenstra's chapter in this volume.

10. For this position, see Thorndike, *History of Magic,* 2:281; Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 110–11; and Robert Mathiesen, "A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes," in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic,* ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 146–47. For arguments supporting a fourteenth-century date, see Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom,* rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 116; Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus,* the *Liber visionum,* and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits,* 253–54; Hedegård, *Liber iuratus,* 12–13; and Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Magie théurgique, angélologie et vision béatifique dans le *Liber sacratus sive juratus* attribué à Honorius de Thèbes," in "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Henri Bresc, and Benoît Grévin, special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114, no. 2 (2002): 853, 858–61. However, all of the evidence remains speculative.

11. Kieckhefer, "Devil's Contemplatives," 254.

12. Julien Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne: Étude d'une tradition de magie théurgique (XIIe–XVIIe siècle)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université Paris X–Nanterre, 2004), 1:243–44. See also Véronèse's chapter in this volume. On the two glossed versions, see esp. 1:205–47. On the circulation of the unglossed version, see esp. 1:32–34, 36–43, and 107–15.

13. See Claire Fanger's chapter in this volume.

14. Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson have traced numerous quotations from the glossed version of the *Ars notoria* in John's *Liber florum celestis doctrine.* While the *Liber florum* and the *Sworn*

Book share a common liturgical base and work with some of the same magical texts, including the *Ars notoria*, there seems to be no part of the *Liber florum* that can definitively be traced to the *Sworn Book* itself. Other magic texts cited include *De quattuor annulis Solomonis, Librum prestigiorum Abel, Librum de septem senatoribus, Librum de duodecim firmamentis*, and *Librum Semhemforas*. The *Sworn Book* is not mentioned. Claire Fanger, personal communication.

15. For manuscript dates, see Hedegård, *Liber iuratus*, 12–14. The *terminus ante quem* supplied by the earliest known manuscript of the London version is roughly coincident with that supplied for Ganell's version by the Pépin trial (1346). Boudet, "Magie théurgique," 853; Jan Bulman, "Notice of the *Liber juratus* in Early Fourteenth-Century France," *Societas Magica Newsletter* 14 (Fall 2005): 4, 6, online at http://www.societasmagica.org/. Thus both versions must have been in circulation at the same time, though presumably in different areas of Europe.

16. See especially *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*, ed. Joseph Hansen (1901; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), 2–15; Thorndike, *History of Magic*, 3:18–38; Alain Boureau, *Satan hérétique: Histoire de la démonologie (1280–1330)* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004), 17–60; Alain Boureau, *Le pape et les sorciers: Une consultation de Jean XXII sur la magie en 1320* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

17. Boudet suggests this connection in "Magie théurgique."

18. G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 21–22, 28.

19. Although the accepted position was that the blessed received the vision immediately after death, there is precedent for such an idea in mystical thought even as far back as Gregory the Great. See Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism: The Teaching of Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life*, 3d ed. (London: Constable, 1967), 87–92. Bernard of Clairvaux expressed a similar opinion in *De diligendo Deo*, chapter 11, in *PL* 182:993–95. For the most complete analysis of mystical ideas about the vision of God, see Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, 4 vols. to date (New York: Crossroad, 1991–2005).

20. The idea that the vision of God could be attained during life by one's own merits was particularly dangerous, as the Council of Vienne had condemned it among the errors of the Beghards and Beguins. "Quinto, quod quelibet intellectualis natura in se ipsa naturaliter est beata quodque anima non indiget lumine glorie ipsam elevante ad Deum videndum et eo beate fruendum." *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis neerlandicae*, ed. Paul Fredericq (Ghent: J. Vuylsteke, 1889), no. 172, 169. This condemnation followed on the heels of the burning, in 1310, of Marguerite Porete, who had expressed a similar sentiment in *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, esp. chapters 33 and 97.

21. On which, see Jan Veenstra's chapter in this volume.

22. The procedure is summarized in Hedegård, *Liber iuratus*, 30–36.

23. As Veenstra notes in chapter 4 of this volume, the earlier redaction also shows many of these signs of Jewish influence, though they are evident in different ways.

24. Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 170; Kieckhefer, "Devil's Contemplatives," 253–57; Kieckhefer, "Did Magic Have a Renaissance? An Historiographic Question Revisited," in *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London: Warburg Institute, 2006), 210.

25. "Set dicet aliquis: 'Cum Dominus dicat: *Non videbit me homo et vivet* [Ex 33:20], sequitur ergo, quod si quis Deum videat, oportet, quod in corpore moriatur. Ergo de cetero usque ad diem iudicii non resurget, quia nemo bis corpore moritur.' Set falsum est, quod quis in corpore in visione divina moriatur, set spiritus in celo rapitur, et corpus in terra cibo angelico reficitur." *Liber iuratus*, §CI (Hedegård, 114–15). The passage from Nachmanides is treated, albeit in a different context, in Elliot Wolfson's chapter in this volume.

26. There are references to the "celeste palacium" in *Liber iuratus*, §§XCVIII, CI (Hedegård, 108, 114). On the theme of the celestial palaces in Hekhalot literature, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1946), 49–54.

27. See Sophie Page's chapter in this volume.

28. Boudet, "Magic théurgique," 863–67. For further analysis, see Jan Veenstra's chapter in this volume.

29. Some of this evidence is discussed in Jan Bulman, "Contests for Power: Black Magic in Fourteenth-Century Gévaudan," paper presented at the Fortieth International Congress on Medieval

Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 7, 2005. I am grateful to Dr. Bulman for providing me with a copy of this paper. See also Bulman, "Notice of the *Liber juratus*." Ganell's version of the *Sworn Book* provides further corroboration. See Jan Veenstra's chapter in this volume.

30. *Liber iuratus*, §§III, CXV (Hedegård, 66, 123).

31. *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXVII (Hedegård, 145). The letter "he" with a missing or poorly visible downstroke could be mistaken for a dalet. If a Jewish scribe was involved at some point in the text's history, the omission may have been intentional in order to avoid writing the tetragrammaton. In any case, it seems that only a Christian who knew no Hebrew beyond the alphabet could have transmitted such a mistake.

32. *Liber iuratus*, §§I, III, V, LII, C–CI, CXIV (Hedegård, 60, 66, 71, 92, 110, 112–15, 120, 123). Passages include Exod. 33:20; Deut. 6:16 (or Matt. 4:7); Pss. (Vulg.) 17:26, 50:9, 50:19, 77:1, 113:24, 115:10, 118:1, 144:18, 146:9; Matt. 4:21–22, 7:7, 18:19, 18:20; Mark 16:16; Luke 2:29–32, 12:37, 17:19; John 19:30; Acts 7:55; and Phil. 2:8, 2:10.

33. "Abrenuncio Sathane et omnibus pompis eius." *Liber iuratus*, §I (Hedegård, 60).

34. "Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit." *Liber iuratus*, §III (Hedegård, 65).

35. *Liber iuratus*, §VII (Hedegård, 72).

36. *Liber iuratus*, §VIII (Hedegård, 72).

37. *Liber iuratus*, §XII (Hedegård, 74).

38. *Liber iuratus*, §XIV (Hedegård, 76).

39. *Liber iuratus*, §CI (Hedegård, 113).

40. *Liber iuratus*, §XIII (Hedegård, 74–75).

41. "Facito aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum." Jerome, *Epistolae*, letter 125, *PL* 22:1078. Honorius's version reads, "Dicitur: 'Semper aliquid agite, ne ociosi inveniamini.'" *Liber iuratus*, §V (Hedegård, 71). It is not clear whether Jerome is the direct source of Honorius's altered quotation.

42. "Dic, sancte Daniel, dic de Christo quod nosti. Cum venerit, inquit, Sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio [cf. Dan. 9:24]." Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermo contra Iudaeos, paganos et Arianos*, chapter 12, *PL* 42:1124. Honorius's version reads, "Quando venit rex regum et dominus dominancium, cessabit unccio vestra." *Liber iuratus*, §III (Hedegård, 66).

43. Gregory I, *Commentarii in librum I Regum*, chapter 3, *PL* 79:461C.

44. Peter Damian, *Antilogus contra Judaeos, ad Honestum*, chapter 1, *PL* 145:46A; Damian, *Collectanea in Vetus Testamentum*, chapter 30, *PL* 145:1008A; Damian, *Expositio mystica historiarum libri Geneseos*, chapter 30, *PL* 145:856D; Damian, *Sermones*, sermons 1 and 25, *PL* 144:513C and 144:641D.

45. Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, on Ps. 4:6 and Ps. 73:10, *PL* 191:86B and 191:687B.

46. Richard of St. Victor, *De Emmanuele*, chapter 14, *PL* 196:648D.

47. "Nam ut Salomon ait: 'Tucius est cum ursa et leone in cavernis morari quam cum muliere nequam.'" *Liber iuratus*, §V (Hedegård, 71). Cf. Sir 25:23: "commorari leoni et draconi placebit quam habitare cum muliere nequa."

48. "Dixit Salomon: 'Unus est et solus Deus, sola virtus, sola fides.'" *Liber iuratus*, §III (Hedegård, 65). The phrase is repeated later, with slight variation: "Inspirante Domino dixit Salomon: 'Unus est <et> solus Deus, sola fides, sola virtus'" (§IV, Hedegård, 70). Cf. Deut. 6:4 and Eph. 4:4–6.

49. "Dixit angelus Samael Salomoni: 'Hoc dabis populo Israel, qui et aliis similiter tribuent.'" *Liber iuratus*, §IV (Hedegård, 70). Note a similar notion in Hekhalot literature of passing esoteric knowledge to Israel as well as the gentiles, discussed in Peter Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism*, trans. Aubrey Pomerance (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 118–21.

50. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 153–56.

51. John of Morigny, "The Prologue to John of Morigny's *Liber visionum*: Text and Translation," trans. and ed. Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3 (2001): 113–15, online at http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeIII/Morigny.html.

52. "Quo audito, ipse loquens yvit per diversas regiones, dictum librum perquirendo, et tandem invenit ipsum in quodam castro vocato Trassore, propre Pirpinhanum, cum quodam magistro in artibus vocato Berenguario Guanelli." Edmond Falgairolle, *Un envoûtement en Gévaudan en l'année 1347* (Nîmes: Catélan, 1892), 68. This identification was first made by Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien

Véronèse, "Le secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," *Micrologus* 14 (2006): 141. The chronology of the transaction was clarified in Bulman, "Contests for Power."

53. Falgairolle, *Envoûtement en Gévaudan*, 94.

54. The preceding instances are all examined in Boudet, "Magie théurgique," 853–55.

55. Notable studies include Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*; Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge"; Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au moyen âge et à la renaissance: Spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge."

56. This view dates back at least to an article by Joseph Turmel, "Histoire de l'angélologie des temps apostoliques à la fin du Ve siècle," *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* 3, nos. 4–6 (1898): 289–308, 407–34, 533–52. Some of the premises of Turmel's account were challenged a few years later by G. Bareille, "Le culte des anges à l'époque des pères de l'église," *Revue Thomiste* 8, no. 4 (1900): 41–49, though the narrative was not significantly altered. The basic premise is still widely accepted. See, e.g., Philippe Faure, "L'ange du haut Moyen Âge occidental (IVe–IXe siècles): Création ou tradition?" *Médiévales* 15 (1988): 31–32.

57. "Quod non oportet christianos, derelicta ecclesia Dei, abire, et angelos nominare, et congregationes facere: quae omnia interdicta sunt. Quicunque autem inventus fuerit occulte huic idololatriae vacans, anathema sit, quoniam derelinquens dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium Dei, accesit ad idola." *Monumenta germaniae historica: Legum*, vol. 1, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1835), 57n3 (canon 35).

58. "L'invocation des anges est désormais une pratique chrétienne légitime." Michel-Yves Perrin, "'Rendre un culte aux anges à la manière des juifs': Quelques observations nouvelles d'ordre historiographique et historique," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 699.

59. Flint, *Rise of Magic*, 157–72. Flint summarizes, "Firstly, the old daemones are brought through, though in disguise, in angels as well as in demons. Secondly, angels in their new guises are used extremely forcefully as agents in the process of selecting that in the old magic which is to be welcomed in its Christian form, and in overcoming previous rejections" (160).

60. See Kieckhefer's critique of Flint's ambiguous use of the term "magic," in "The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 3 (1994): 828–32.

61. Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997), 144–49.

62. Hedegård's edition attempts to note all of the borrowings, but Véronèse has shown that Hedegård did not base the comparisons on the glossed version of the *Ars notoria*, thus missing several passages. Véronèse has identified all of the passages in "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:243n71. With this information, it is possible to see that of Hedegård's ninety-nine divisions, which compose the first section of the *Sworn Book*, seventy-six of them are from the *Ars notoria* (§§XV–XVIII, XX–XLIX, LIX–XCIV).

63. Latin critical edition in Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge." All translations from the *Ars notoria* text are my own, based on this edition. For description and analysis of the *Ars notoria*, see also Véronèse's chapter in this volume. An inadequate early modern translation (without figures or glosses, thus not reflecting the most commonly circulated medieval version of the text) may be found in *Ars notoria: The Notory Art of Solomon, Shewing the Cabalistical Key of Magical Operations, The Liberal Sciences, Divine Revelation, and The Art of Memory. Whereunto is added An Astrological Catechism, fully demonstrating the Art of Judicial Astrology. Together with a rare Natural secret, necessary to be learn'd by all persons; especially Sea-men, Merchants, and Travellers. . . . Englished by Robert Turner* (London: J. Cottrel, 1657).

64. "Angeli sancti adestote, aduertite et docete me utrum talis conualescat an moriatur de ista infirmitate." Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 2:815, §29b. This passage is adapted in *Liber iuratus*, §XXVII (Hedegård, 81): "angeli sancti, adestote, advertite et docete me et regite me ad visionem Dei sanctam perveniendam."

65. Julien Véronèse, "Les anges dans l'*Ars notoria*: Révélation, processus visionnaire et angélologie," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 813, 815; Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," esp. 1:569–70.

66. *Liber iuratus*, §§XXIV–XXV, XL, LVI–LVII, LXIX: "per sanctissimos angelos tuos" (Hedegård, 80/Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 2:808, §XXIV); "per omnes sanctos <arch>angelos tuos

gloriosos" (80/808, §XXIV); "per sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum tuorum virtutem" (80/811, §XXV); "per conspectum angelorum tuorum" (84/844, §LXIV); "per... sanctorum angelorum potenciam" (93/868, §CXXX); "per hec preciosa sacramento angelorum tuorum" (93/869, §CXXXIV); "per angelos et archangelos tuos, per tronos et <dominaciones>, potestates, principatus et virtutes, per cherubin et seraphin" (97/875, §CXLVI).

67. "Per intercessiones... angelorum tuorum Michaelis, Gabrielis, Urielis et Raphaelis et omnium aliorum celestium angelorum." *Liber iuratus,* §C (Hedegård, 109).

68. "Angelorum tres sunt modi, celestes, aerei, terrestres. Celestium duo sunt modi, quorum quidam derviunt Deo soli, et isti sunt 9 ordines angelorum, videlicet cherubyn, seraphin, troni, dominaciones, virtutes, principatus, archangeli et angeli, de quibus nec ex coacta virtute nec ex artificiali potencia inter mortales est loquendum, et isti nullatenus invocantur, quia magestati divine continue laudantes assistunt et nuncquam ab eius presencia separantur." *Liber iuratus,* §III (Hedegård, 65–66).

69. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites,* 127–42.

70. On magic circles, see ibid., 170–76.

71. "Tu, domine Ihesu Christe... te suppliciter exoro, precor et postulo temet ipsum, quem nunc hic in manibus meis teneo pro famulo tuo N, ut ex dono ac permissione gracie tue omnes illos angelos, quos invocaverit, ut per eos benigniter consulatur, sibi mittere ac constringere digneris, ut te mediante possit cum ipsis misericorditer consociari." *Liber iuratus,* §CXII (Hedegård, 119).

72. "Ego igitur N, filius N et N, vobiscum humilis pacem meam do vobis. Faciens istud meum munusculum confero vobis, ut vos pacificati, pacientes et placati questiones, quas a vobis petiero, michi benigniter intercedente Domino faciatis." *Liber iuratus,* §CXIV (Hedegård, 120).

73. Cf. Matt. 4:21–22. "Venite, vos omnes, N, ad pacem super sedem Samaym [Heb. "shamayim" (?)] quam precepit Dominus tribubus Israel ad exaltacionem laudis sue. Unde invoco vos, ut precepit Zebedeie suis subditis obedire, veniatis." *Liber iuratus,* §CXIV (Hedegård, 120). Conjuration by analogy to biblical stories is common in both Christian and Jewish magic. See Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites,* 140; Michael D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *Harvard Theological Review* 83, no. 2 (1990): 178.

74. "Ut tuis sanctissimis angelis valeam amicabiliter sociari, qui ex permissione tue dulcissime voluntatis mea velint iusta desideria penitus adimplere." *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 121).

75. For example, "nomine illius Dei vivi et veri," "sigillo sactorum nominum Dei," "per ista sacratissima nomina," "nomine illius summi creatoris," "per alia Dei nomina pura," "per eius sacra nomina," "nomine vivi et veri Dei," "nomine ipsius," "per nomen eius ineffabile Tetragramaton," and "per nomen suum." *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 121–24).

76. *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 123).

77. "Hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris, ut per ipsum te mediante possim vel possit talis N celestes convincere potestates, aereas et terreas cum infernalibus subiugare, invocare, transmutare, coniurare, constringere, excitare, congregare, dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere." *Liber iuratus,* §IV (Hedegård, 71).

78. "Set non debent alloqui nec aspici, donec ipsi primo loquantur." *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 124).

79. "Tunc pete quod volueris, et habebis." *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 124).

80. The text specifies "in omnibus licitis et honestis" on three different occasions. *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 122–23).

81. "Cognicionem celorum, si hanc quesivisti, vel mutacionem diei in noctem et e contrario, si hoc petisti, vel consecracionem libri, si hanc voluisti, vel utramque simul." *Liber iuratus,* §CXV (Hedegård, 123).

82. *Liber iuratus,* §§CV–CXI (Hedegård, 117–19).

83. For example, "summa Dei potencia," "angeli Domini," "sciencia Dei et sapiencia Salomonis," "sancta nomina Dei," "capud et corona principis vestri Belzebut," and "iudicium summi Dei tremendum." *Liber iuratus,* §CXXVIII (Hedegård, 132–33).

84. "Domine Ihesu Christe... peto te in hoc articulo... ut talis N ex dono ac tua voluntate sine dampnacione corporis et anime sibi spiritus N in omnibus subiciat, ut apparere, perficere, custodire, respondere eos ad omnia precepta constringat, ut sperat et desiderat. Amen." *Liber iuratus,* §CXXVII (Hedegård, 130).

85. "Nota, quod operans debet esse diligens, ut addat ista nomina aliis nominibus, quia durum est homini ignoranti virtutes spirituum et eorum malicias cum eis sine municione maxima aliqualiter habitare, et assimilatur illi, qui vult debellare militem sagacem et ignorat arma eius et quis miles et que virtus militis, quem debellat." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXVII (Hedegård, 130).

86. "In forma N non nocentes alicui creature, non ledentes, non frementes, non furientes nec me sociosque meos vel aliquam creaturam terrentes, neminem offendentes." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXIII (Hedegård, 138–40).

87. "Et statim videbit eos in forma pulcherrima et pacifica dicentes: 'Pete quod vis. Nunc parati sumus quicquid preceperis adimplere, quia nos Dominus subiugavit.' Tunc pete quod vis, et tibi fiet vel aliis, pro quibus volueris operari." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXIII (Hedegård, 142).

88. *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXV (Hedegård, 142–44).

89. *Liber iuratus*, §§CXVIII–CXXVI, CXXXV (Hedegård, 126–29, 142–44).

90. "Ubi est Harthan rex, ubi sunt Bileth, Mylalu, Abucaba eius ministri? Ubi est Abaa rex, ubi sunt Hyici, Quyron, Zach, Eladeb eius ministri? Ubi est Maymon rex, ubi sunt Assaibi, Albunalich, Haibalidech, Yasfla eius ministri?" *Liber iuratus*, §CXXIX (Hedegård, 135).

91. Gershom Scholem, "Some Sources of Jewish-Arabic Demonology," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 15 (1965): 1–13. In regard to a specific medieval Jewish magical text, he notes, "The Arabic character of the invocation retains its particular feature in that the typical exordial phrase of the actual call 'Where is the Demon *N*?' has here been retained, instead of the direct appellation customary in the Jewish formulas. This manner of addressing the demon, when found in Hebrew manuscripts, can always be taken as an indication of an original Arabic provenance" (6). In this article, Scholem is specifically referring to Islamic texts, not to Jewish texts written in Arabic.

92. Compare the forms given in Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 131–32, with Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric," 173–47. On adjurations in Hekhalot literature, see Schäfer, *Hidden and Manifest God*, 144–45.

93. Hans Alexander Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1930), 96–109. Of the seven, two sets of names appear directly related: Maymon/Maimun and Barthan/Barkan. The four demon kings were known in Latin at least as far back as the 1230s, when they were mentioned by William of Auvergne, *De universo* II.3.7 and II.3.12.

94. "Habita igitur eorum secundum naturam, dominium, regionem et formam cognicione debita dum eos invocare volueris, sic facies." *Liber iuratus*, §CXII (Hedegård, 119).

95. See Toufic Fahd, "Sciences naturelles et magie dans 'Gayat al-hakim' du Pseudo-Mayriti," in *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus: Textos y estudios*, vol. 1, ed. E. García Sánchez (Granada: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 11–21. For notable exceptions, see the valuable studies of Pierre Lory, "La magie des lettres dans le *Sams al-ma'arif* d'al-Buni," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 39–40 (1989): 97–111, and "Anges, djinns et démons dans les pratiques magiques musulmanes," in *Religion et pratiques de puissance*, ed. Albert de Surgy (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 81–94.

96. See, e.g., Toufic Fahd, "Le monde du sorcier en Islam," in *Le monde du sorcier: Égypte, Babylone, Hittites, Israël, Islam, Asie centrale, Inde, Nepal, Cambodge, Viet-nam, Japon*, ed. Georges Condominas (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), 155–204.

97. See, e.g., Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1939), 114–31.

98. See, e.g., Barbara Faes de Mottoni and Tiziana Suarez-Nani, "Hiérarchies, miracles et fonction cosmologique des anges au XIIIe siècle," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 717–51. This is not to say, however, that angels were infinite; they were just not counted or numbered. See, for example, Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus homo*, book 1, §§16–18. Also, note Dante's remark that "the theologian for his part does not know how many angels there are, yet he does not engage in dispute about the matter." *Monarchia* 3.3, translation from *Monarchy*, trans. Prue Shaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 66.

99. Cf. Col. 2:18. Concern over the veneration of angels is treated throughout Bareille, "Culte des anges" and, more recently, Perrin, "Rendre un culte aux anges."

100. David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

101. For some of these views, see the essays collected in Isabel Iribarren and Martin Lenz, eds., *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry: Their Function and Significance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

102. Cf. *Liber iuratus,* §III (Hedegård, 65–66): "Celestium duo sunt modi, quorum quidam serviunt Deo soli, et isti sunt 9 ordines angelorum, videlicet cherubyn, seraphin, troni, dominaciones, virtutes, principatus, potestates, archangeli et angeli, de quibus nec ex coacta virtute nec ex artificiali potencia inter mortales est loquendum, et isti nullatenus invocantur, quia magestati divine continue laudantes assistunt et nuncquam ab eius presencia separantur." Of the other references to the hierarchy throughout the *Sworn Book,* some do not list the full hierarchy (§§IV, CI, CXXXVIII [Hedegård, 67, 114, 147]); others are based on an inconclusive arrangement from the *Ars notoria* (§§LXIX, CXXXIII [Hedegård, 97, 140]), and one places them in an even more unusual order (§CXXXVII [Hedegård, 146]). Honorius thus does not clearly follow the hierarchies of Gregory the Great or Pseudo-Dionysius.

103. *Liber iuratus,* §CXXXIII (Hedegård, 140).

104. Cf. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites,* 160–61.

105. *Liber iuratus,* §CXI (Hedegård, 119).

106. "Sua corpora sunt medie stature." *Liber iuratus,* §CVI (Hedegård, 117).

107. "Color eorum materialis est rubeus sicut carbones accensi bene rubei." *Liber iuratus,* §CVII (Hedegård, 117–18).

108. On the prevalence of demonic hierarchies, see Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites,* 155.

109. Boudet sees Byzantine influence in this hierarchy. See "Magie théurgique," 867.

110. "Homines et eorum naturam diligunt." *Liber iuratus,* §CIV (Hedegård, 117).

111. "Natura eorum est guerras, occisiones, destrucciones et mortalitates gencium et omnium terrenorum provocare." *Liber iuratus,* §CVII (Hedegård, 117).

112. "Eorum natura est tristicias et iras et odia promovere, nives et glacies concreare, et sua corpora sunt longa et gracilia, pallida vel flava." *Liber iuratus,* §CV (Hedegård, 117).

113. See Eph. 2:2. For the early history of this idea, see Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988), 15–18. More important for the Latin West, however, this idea is developed throughout the works of Augustine. See, for example, *Confessions* 10.42; *City of God* 8.14–15, 8.22, 9.18, 10.21, 21.10; *De divinatione daemonum,* esp. chapter 3.

114. "In quo [aere] sunt spiritus, quos sancta mater ecclesia dampnatos appellat, set ipsi oppositum asserunt esse verum,et ideo eos neque bonos neque malos volumus appellare." *Liber iuratus,* §CXVII (Hedegård, 125). The idea of neutral spirits was not common, though it existed in the Latin West. Marcel Dando has convincingly traced literary instances directly back to the *Navigatio Brendani,* in "Les anges neutres," *Cahiers d'Études Cathares,* 2d ser., 69 (Spring 1976): 3–28. Although Dando notes some possible precedents in the church fathers, it seems equally plausible that the ideas in the *Navigatio* are associated with the apocryphal Jewish texts that were available in Ireland at the time of its composition. See D. N. Dumville, "Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73, sec. C, no. 8 (1973): 299–338.

115. "Boni, mites et fideles sunt illi orientales et occidentales et dicuntur boni, quia operaciones eorum iuvant in bono, et vix nocent alicui, nisi ad hoc cogantur divina virtute." *Liber iuratus,* §CXVIII (Hedegård, 126).

116. "Mali sunt et cum superbia feroces australes et septemtrionales et dicuntur mali, quia opera eorum sunt mala in omnibus, et nocent libenter omnibus et vix aliquid, quod sequatur, ad bonum faciunt, nisi ad hoc superiori virtute cogantur." *Liber iuratus,* §CXVIII (Hedegård, 126).

117. Northeast is absent from the text.

118. "Signum eorum est, quod invocans, ut sibi videbitur, <videbis> iuxta circulum homines a leonibus devorari." *Liber iuratus,* §CXXIV (Hedegård, 128).

119. "De quibus spiritus breviter hic dicamus, qui sunt turpissimi et omni pravitate pleni." *Liber iuratus,* §CXXXV (Hedegård, 142).

120. "Eorum natura est radices arborum et segetum exstirpare, thesauros occultos in terra custodire et conservare, terremotus facere, fundamenta civitatum vel castrorum destruere, homines in cisternis deprimere et cavernis, incarceratos temptare, homines destruere, lapides preciosos in terra occultos adlibitum dare et nocere cuicumque." *Liber iuratus,* §CXXXV (Hedegård, 142).

121. "Corpora eorum sunt ita gross sicut et alta, magna et terribilia, quorum pedes sunt quilibet 10 digitorum, in quibus sunt ungues ad modum serprendum, et habent 5 vultus in capite; unus est bufonis, alter leonis, tercius serpentis, quartus hominis mortui lugentis et plangentis, quintus hominis incomprehensibilis. Duos tigrides gerunt in cauda. Tenent in manibus duos dracones. Color eorum nigerrimus omni nigredine inestimabili." *Liber iuratus,* §CXXXV (Hedegård, 142–43).

122. "Corniger rex meridionalis, et habet 4 ministros in 4 mundi partibus . . . et quilibet habet legiones centum, et in qualibet sunt demones 4500." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXV (Hedegård, 143).

123. "Signum est, quod totus mundus videbitur destrui invocanti." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXV (Hedegård, 143).

124. "Set melius est scribere peticionem in tegula nova cum carbonibus et in eorum ponere circulo, et sic eos non audies nec videbis, et tum quicquid petitum fuerit facient in instanti." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXXV (Hedegård, 143).

125. On the latter text, see the articles by Jan R. Veenstra, "La communication avec les anges: Les hiérarchies angéliques, la *lingua angelorum* et l'élévation de l'homme dans la théologie et la magie (Bonaventure, Thomas d'Aquin, Eiximenis et l'*Almandal*)," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 773–812; "The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 189–229; "Venerating and Conjuring Angels: Eiximenis's *Book of the Holy Angels* and the *Holy Almandal;* Two Case Studies," in Burnett and Ryan, *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, 119–34.

126. It has been suggested that the personalization of Jewish angels dates from the second century BCE. See George A. Barton, "The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 31, no. 4 (1912): 156. In the Hebrew Bible, the only named angels, Gabriel and Michael, are found only in Daniel (8:16, 9:21, 10:13, 10:21, 12:1).

127. Note the contrast, for example, of the philosophical hierarchy of angelic Intelligences in Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*, Yesodei ha-Torah 2:7.

128. [Enoch], "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction," trans. Ephraim Isaac, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:5–89. See, most recently, Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

129. See, e.g., 1 En. 6:7–8, 19:1, 20, 32:3, 40:9, 69:1–14, 78:1–2, 82:13–20. The naming of angels in Judaism has been the object of much research. Classic studies include Moïse M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1897); and Barton, "Origin of the Names of Angels." More recently, see Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (Tübungen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1993), esp. 70–115; Henri Bresc and Benoît Grévin, "Introduction," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 589–615; Benoît Grévin, "L'ange en décomposition(s): Formation et évolution de l'onomastique angélique des origines au Moyen Âge," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 617–56.

130. The power of angelic names is emphasized in several late antique magical texts. See, e.g., *The Testament of Solomon: Edited from Manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris, and Vienna*, ed. Chester Charlton McCown (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922). The best English translation is Dennis C. Duling's "Testament of Solomon: A New Translation and Introduction," in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:935–87. While the existing manuscripts have been viewed as recensions of a rather unified treatise, recent scholarship has emphasized the underlying variety of textual traditions. See Sarah L. Schwarz, "Building a Book of Spells: The So-Called Testament of Solomon Reconsidered" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005).

131. Cf. Dan. 7:10. Arnold Angenendt et al., "Counting Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages," in *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, trans. Pamela Selwyn, ed. Bernhard Jussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 15–54, have argued that, in relation to the New Testament, numbers were meant to emphasize the inappropriateness of counting (16–17). I do not find this interpretation compelling in relation to magical texts, where numbers are often quite significant.

132. Devorah Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Adele Berlin (College Park: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 93–103.

133. James H. Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–51.

134. See, e.g., Jonah Chanan Steinberg, "Angelic Israel: Self-Identification with Angels in Rabbinic Agadah and Its Jewish Antecedents" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2003); Peter Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975).

135. Morton Smith, "A Note on Some Jewish Assimilationists: The Angels," in *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh II: New Testament, Early Christianity, and Magic*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 235–41, esp. 240–41. For a thorough account of accusations of angel veneration, see Perrin, "Rendre un culte aux anges."

136. Ezek., chapters 1 and 10. Ezekiel does not describe the spectacle as a "chariot," but the appellation was widely assumed in this literature. Cf. Sir 49:8. On the range of interpretations of Ezekiel's vision, see esp. David J. Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988).

137. The field of study was founded on Gershom Scholem's revolutionary analysis in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 40–79, and his further work in *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 2d ed. (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965). There is, however, little scholarly consensus about the extent to which this literature represents an actual mystical practice.

138. Peter Schäfer, "Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature," in Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 8–16.

139. The Hebrew editions of the main European Hekhalot manuscripts are edited in Peter Schäfer, with Margarete Schlüter and Hans Georg von Mutius, eds., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981). It is customary to cite all passages according to the section numbers in this edition.

140. The most comprehensive study of angels in Hekhalot literature is Schäfer, *Hidden and Manifest God*, which includes extensive examples of the portrayal of angels throughout the literature. See also Rachel Elior, "Mysticism, Magic, and Angelology: The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 1 (1993): 3–53.

141. David R. Blumenthal, *The Merkabah Tradition and the Zoharic Tradition*, vol. 1 of *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader* (New York: Ktav, 1978), 66–67, 71–72, 75. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, §§219–23, 229, 231, 240.

142. Blumenthal, *Merkabah Tradition*, 64; Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, §215.

143. Blumenthal, *Merkabah Tradition*, 63, 67, 70–71, 83; Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, §§213, 224, 228–29, 259.

144. For a summary of themes, see Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 85–101. On the tradition of summoning an angel to gain knowledge and memory, see Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

145. Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power*, 117–60; Michael D. Swartz, "'Like the Ministering Angels': Ritual and Purity in Early Jewish Mysticism and Magic," *Association of Jewish Studies Review* 19, no. 2 (1994): 135–67; Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 153–72.

146. *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*, trans. Michael A. Morgan (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983). The Hebrew edition was *Sepher ha-Razim: A Newly Discovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period*, ed. Mordecai Margalioth (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966). It is now widely recognized, however, that these modern editions represent an artificial construction. Note that a new edition has been published by Bill Rebiger and Peter Schäfer, which takes into account the difficult textual history. See their *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). I was not able to make use of this edition in writing this chapter.

147. Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 24–25, 29–31, 45–46, 64 (quotation on 25).

148. Ibid., 24–28. See Philip S. Alexander, "*Sefer ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon*, ed. Todd E. Klutz (London: T&T Clark International, 2003), 170–90. Alexander refers to this element as "moral and theological confusion" (179), and finds it "rare" because, he asserts, "The vast majority of early Jewish magic is apotropaic" (190). However, he notes, "It would certainly have been conceivable in the worldview of our author for angels to cause harm to humans, but they normally served in this capacity as agents of *God*, to punish men for some violation of the divine law. Here they are forced by a *human* to do harm, and there is no moral dimension to the ill that they are required to inflict" (179).

149. Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 44.

150. Ibid., 18, 22, 49, 70.

151. Ibid., 17, 23–24, 26, 30, 35–38, 41, 45–47, 51–52, 56–58, 62, 69–70, 74–75, 80.

152. Ibid., 36, 69–73.

153. Ibid., 18, 24, 28, 31, 41, 43–44, 46, 56–57, 59, 69–70, 75, 79.

154. Mathiesen, "Thirteenth-Century Ritual," 143–44; Claire Fanger and Frank Klaassen, "Magic III: Middle Ages," in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*, vol. 2, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 729.

155. The classic study is Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 80–118, but see also Ivan G. Marcus, *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 1981).

156. See, e.g., the work of Ephraim Kanarfogel, especially "Traces of Esoteric Studies in the Tosafist Period," in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division C, vol. 2, *Jewish Thought, Kabbalah, and Hasidism* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994), 1–8, and *"Peering Through the Lattices": Mystical, Magical, and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000). Also useful is Klaus Herrmann, "Re-written Mystical Texts: The Transmission of the Heikhalot Literature in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75, no. 3 (1993): 97–116; and Daniel Abrams, "*Ma'aseh Merkabah* as a Literary Work: The Reception of Hekhalot Traditions by the German Pietists and Kabbalistic Reinterpretation," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1998): 329–45.

157. In addition to Sophie Page's chapter in this volume, see the important textual work on the Latin and Hebrew versions of the *Liber Razielis* in Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 187–294, 331–41. Note that the *Liber Samayn*, the sixth book of the *Liber Razielis* (and the most important chapter for angel magic), has now been edited from the Vatican and Halle manuscripts in Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*, 1:31–52, though, as noted above, I was not able to make use of this edition.

158. Some important primary sources on Arabic magic have been translated into French by Sylvain Matton, *La magie arabe traditionnelle* (Paris: Retz, 1976).

159. See the discussion of one such text, the *Liber de essentia spirituum*, in Sophie Page's chapter in this volume.

160. Fanger and Klaassen, "Magic III: Middle Ages," 726, 730. Arabic astrology also influenced wider Scholastic discussions of angels as "Intelligences." See Keck, *Angels and Angelology*, 73, 85–86.

161. The Latin critical edition is *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghayat al-Hakim*, ed. David Pingree (London: Warburg Institute, 1986). The best modern edition is *Picatrix: Un traité de magie médiéval*, trans. Béatrice Bakhouche et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), although a partial English translation can be found in William Kiesel, *Picatrix: The Goal of the Wise* (Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2002). Introductory material from the German edition is still useful; see *Picatrix: Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magriti*, trans. Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner (London: Warburg Institute, 1962). For information on the Spanish translation, see David Pingree, "Between the *Ghaya* and *Picatrix* I: The Spanish Version," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 27–56. On the influences of the Picatrix, see Hellmut Ritter, "Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1 (1921–22): 94–124; and David Pingree, "Some of the Sources of the Ghâyat al-Ḥakîm," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 1–15. Also noteworthy is Jean Clam, "Philosophisches zu 'Picatrix': Gelehrte Magie une Anthropologie bei einem arabischen Hermetiker des Mittelalters," in *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, Miscellanea Medievalia, vol. 21.1, ed. Albert Zimmermann and Andreas Speer (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 481–509.

162. See Fahd, "Sciences naturelles et magie."

163. But see Pingree, "Some of the Sources," which privileges Jewish influence for planetary spirits.

164. Pingree, *Picatrix*, esp. 140–45. See also David Pingree, "Al-Tabari on the Prayers to the Planets," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 44 (1992): 105–17.

165. See, e.g., Pingree, *Picatrix*, 3–7, 170–72; see also Fahd, "Le monde du sorcier en Islam," 173–74; Fahd, "Sciences naturelles et magie," 14–16.

166. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny and F. Hudry, "Al-Kindi: De radiis," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 41 (1974): 139–260. See esp. Pinella Travaglia, *Magic, Causality, and Intentionality: The Doctrine of Rays in al-Kindi* (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL, 1999).

167. D'Alverny and Hudry, "Al-Kindi: De radiis," 233–50, esp. 237, 245, 249–50.

168. Latin edition in Charles Burnett, "Aristoteles/Hermes: Liber antimaquis," in *Hermes latinus: Hermetis Trismegisti, astrologica et divinatoria,* vol. 4, ed. Gerritt Bos et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), part 4, 177–221. Cited as "Estemequis" in Pingree, *Picatrix,* 140, 146. See also the articles by Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia and the *kitâb al-Isṭamâṭîs:* Further Evidence for the Transmission of Hermetic Magic"; "The *kitâb al-Isṭamâṭîs* and a Manuscript of Astrological and Astronomical Works from Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya, 634)"; and "Scandinavian Runes in a Latin Magical Treatise," all in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds,* ed. Charles Burnett (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996).

169. Burnett, "Aristoteles/Hermes," 202–3, 205–6.

170. "Et quandocumque uolebant facere bonum aut malum, apparebat eis spiritus et faciebat quicquid uolebant." Ibid., 210–11.

171. Lory, "Magie des lettres," 101.

172. Louis Gardet, "Les anges en Islam," *Studia Missionalia* 21 (1972): 219–21.

173. Charles Burnett, "Remarques paléographiques et philologiques sur les noms d'anges et d'esprits dans les traités de magie traduits de l'arabe en latin," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 657–68. On the use of divine names in Islamic magic, see Lory, "Magie des lettres."

174. See, e.g., Shaul Shaked, "Medieval Jewish Magic in Relation to Islam: Theoretical Attitudes and Genres," in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication, and Interaction; Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner,* ed. Benjamin H. Hary, John Lewis Hayes, and Fred Astren (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 97–109; Ignaz Goldziher, "Hebräische Elemente in muhammedanischen Zaubersprüchen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 48 (1894): 358–60; Steven M. Wasserstrom, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha,* ed. John C. Reeves (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), esp. 101–3; and Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis Under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Wasserstrom discusses angels and magic in chapter 5 of this work.

175. On this case, see, notably, John Laux, "Two Early Medieval Heretics: An Episode in the Life of St. Boniface" *Catholic Historical Review* 21, no. 2 (1935): 190–95; Jeffrey B. Russell, "Saint Boniface and the Eccentrics," *Church History* 33, no. 3 (1964): 235–47; Jeffrey B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 102–7; Flint, *Rise of Magic,* 168–69; and Faure, "L'ange du haut Moyen Âge occidental," 37. The main primary sources are available in *Monumenta germaniae historica: Epistolae selectae,* vol. 1, ed. Michael Tangl (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916) (hereafter Tangl, MGH). An English translation is available in Ephraim Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

176. Letter 59, in Tangl, *MGH,* 111, 114.

177. "Domine Deus omnipotens, Christi filii Dei pater, domini nostri Iesu Christi, et A et ω, qui sedis super septimo throno et super Cherubin et Seraphin. . . . Prȩcor vos et coniuro vos, et supplico me ad vos, angelus Uriel, angelus Raguel, angelus Tubuel, angelus Michael, angelus Adinus, angelus Tubuas, angelus Sabaoc, angelus Simiel." Ibid., 117; translation in Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface,* 105.

178. Russell has pointed this out in "Saint Boniface and the Eccentrics," 237.

179. See Dumville, "Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish."

180. Cf. Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 173–85. Little discusses the influx of Irish monastic culture into Francia, particularly in the sixth and seventh centuries. It is possible that the direct or indirect influences on Aldebert entered the region as part of this same movement. Little even mentions Soissons among the sites of Irish influence (175, 183).

181. "Adfirmans se etiam angelorum nomina scire, quorum in tuis sillabis nobis conscripta direxisti; quae nomina nos non angelorum, sed magis demoniorum adfirmamus." Letter 57, in Tangl, *MGH,* 104; translation in Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface,* 96.

182. "Quia octo nomina angelorum, quȩ in sua oratione Aldebertus invocavit, non angelorum praeterquam Michaelis, sed magis demones in sua oratione sibi ad prestandum auxilium invocavit. Nos autem, ut a vestro sancto apostolatu edocemur et divina tradit auctoritas, non plus quam trium angelorum nomina cognoscimus, id est Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. Vel siquidem iste sub obtentu

angelorum, demonum nomina introduxit." Letter 59, in Tangl, *MGH*, 117; translation in Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 105.

183. "Qui etiam sub obtentu angelorum in suo auxilio demones invocat." Letter 59, in Tangl, *MGH*, 118; translation in Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 106.

184. Letter 77, in Tangl, *MGH*, 160–61; translation in Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 135.

185. "Omnibus. 16. Item in eodem concilio, ut ignota angelorum nomina nec fingantur, nec nominentur, nisi illos quos habemus in auctoritate: id sunt Michahel, Gabrihel, Raphahel." Pertz, *Monumenta germaniae historica*, 57.

186. "16. De ignotis angelorum nominibus. Item in eodem concilio praecipitur, ut ignota angelorum nomina nec fingantur nec nominentur, nisi illorum quos habemus in auctoritate. Hi sunt Michael, Gabriel, Raphael." Ibid., 276.

187. See esp. Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

188. See Kieckhefer, "Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic."

189. Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 264–84; see also Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 291–312.

190. The most likely dating places the composition in the last decades of the twelfth century. Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:116–58.

191. Jean Dupèbe, "L'*Ars notoria* et la polémique sur la divination et la magie," in *Divination et controverse religieuse en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: L' É.N.S. de Jeunes Filles, 1987), 125.

192. Véronèse, " Les anges dans l'*Ars notoria*," 816–22, 825.

193. Ibid., 814–15, 821–22, 824–25; Jean-Patrice Boudet, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge: Une résurgence de la théurgie antique?" In *La magie: Actes du colloque international de Montpellier (25–27 mars 1999)*, vol. 3, *Du monde latin au monde contemporain*, ed. Alain Moreau and Jean-Claude Turpin (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche Université Paul-Valéry, 2000), 187.

194. For a partial list of condemnations, see Frank Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300–1500: A Preliminary Survey," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*, 30n44. For the most thorough treatment, see Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:637–63.

195. "Ideo videtur esse inordinatum a daemonibus inquirere de futuris quia ea non cognoscunt, sed hoc est proprium Dei, ut dictum est. Sed veritates scientiarum daemones sciunt; quia scientiae sunt de his quae sunt ex necessitate et semper, quae subiacent humanae cognitioni, et multo magis daemonum, qui sunt perspicaciores, ut Augustinus dicit. Ergo non videtur esse peccatum uti arte notoria, *etiam si* per daemones sortiatur effectum." Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2-2, q. 96, art. 1. See also Claire Fanger, "Plundering the Egyptian Treasure: John the Monk's *Book of Visions* and Its Relation to the Ars Notoria of Solomon," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*, 222–24; Véronèse, "Les anges dans l'*Ars notoria*," 826; Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge," 1:644–47.

196. John of Morigny, "Prologue," trans. and ed. Fanger and Watson, 181.

197. See Claire Fanger's chapter in this volume.

198. See, e.g., John's statements in John of Morigny, "Prologue," trans. and ed. Fanger and Watson, 204–5.

199. "And in this same year [1323], there was a monk of Morigny, an abbey near Etampes, who through his curiosity and pride wanted to inspire and renew a condemned heresy and sorcery called in Latin Ars Notoria, although he hoped to give it another name and title.... The said book was justly condemned in Paris as false and evil, against the Christian faith, and condemned to be burned and put in the fire." *Grandes chroniques de France*, quoted in Nicholas Watson, "John the Monk's *Book of Visions of the Blessed and Undefiled Virgin Mary*," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits*, 224.

200. "Ipsi vero Diabolo inspirante moti invidia et cupiditate sub similitudine veritatis falsitatem publicantes, quod falsum est dicere et absurdum, quia virum iniqum [*sic*] et immundum impossibile est per artem veraciter operari, nec spiritibus aliquibus homo obligatur, set ipsi inviti coguntur mundatis hominibus respondere et sua beneplacita penitus adimplere." *Liber iuratus*, §I (Hedegård, 60).

201. "Pagani sacrificant spiritibus aereis et terreis et eos non constringunt, set fingunt spiritus se constringi per verba legis eorum, ut ydolis fidem adhibeant et ad veram fidem nullatenus convertantur. Et quia fidem malam habent, opera eorum nulla." *Liber iuratus*, §III (Hedegård, 66):

202. Ibid. See Claire Fanger's chapter in this volume.

203. Honorius actually alters the Athanasian Creed to this effect: "Quicumque vult salvus esse *et visionem Dei habere*, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram

inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio *visionem divinam non habebit*. . . . Qui vult ergo salvus esse *et visionem divinam habere*, ita de trinitate senciat. . . . Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam *et visionem divinam, quam nunc petimus*, qui vero mala, in ignem eternum, cui nunc abrenunciare postulamus. Hec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit *nec hanc divinam visionem optinere quibit*." *Liber iuratus*, §XIII (Hedegård, 74–76).

204. "Hic est liber, quem nulla lex habet nisi Christiana, et si habet, nil sibi prodest." *Liber iuratus*, §CXLI (Hedegård, 150).

205. *Liber iuratus*, §LII (Hedegård, 92).

206. Kieckhefer, "Devil's Contemplatives," 255–57.

207. See Veenstra's chapter in this volume.

208. *Liber iuratus*, §III (Hedegård, 65–66).

209. *Liber iuratus*, §III (Hedegård, 44–45). In the fourth section alone they are twice described as "terreis angelis" (§CXXXV [Hedegård, 142, 144]). Demons ("demones") are mentioned, though they are hierarchically subordinate to these angels (§CXXXV [Hedegård, 143]).

210. Klaassen, "English Manuscripts of Magic," 12, 19.

211. "Hostilis demonum potencia per precepta nostra." *Liber iuratus*, §I (Hedegård, 60).

212. "Te suppliciter exoro et invoco, ut ex dono gracie tue et virtute sanctorum tuorum nominum, ut isti prenominati venti hos demones, quos invocavero, congregent, constringant et ligent eos meis peticionibus penitus obedire." *Liber iuratus*, §CXXVIII (Hedegård, 133).

213. "Interrogatus si dictus angelus Acrahel est bonus angelus vel malus, dixit quod bonus, ut sunt alii angeli sperales motores septem orbium planetarum, prout filosophi refferunt." Falgairolle, *Envoûtement en Gévaudan*, 71. I am grateful to Jan Bulman for pointing out this reference.

214. Boudet, "Magie théurgique," 853–54. The reference in Eymeric's work gives a different title, though the name Honorius is mentioned.

215. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 170–71; Boudet, "Magie théurgique," 869–70. The Latin critical edition is available in Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Les condamnations de la magie à Paris en 1398," *Revue Mabillon*, new ser., 12 (2001): 121–57. There is a partial English translation in Lynn Thorndike, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 264–66, reprinted in Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 131–32. The following quotations are from this source.

216. "Twenty-eighth article, that by certain magic arts we can reach the vision of the divine essence or of the holy spirits. An error."

217. "Twenty-third article, that some demons are good, some benign, some omniscient, some neither saved nor damned. An error."

218. "Twenty-fifth article, that one demon is king of the east and by his especial merit, another of the west, another of the north, another of the south. An error."

219. "Eighth article, that magic arts and like superstitions and their observance are prohibited by the church irrationally. Error."

220. "Twelfth article, that holy words and certain devout prayers and fasts and ablutions and bodily continence in boys and others, and the celebrating mass and other works of a good sort, which are performed in carrying on such arts, excuse these from evil and do not rather accuse them. An error." Boudet's edition continues: "nam per talia sacre res, immo ipse Deus in eucharistia demonibus temptatur immolari; et hoc procurat demon, vel qui vult in hoc honorari similiter Altissimo, vel ad fraudes suas occultandas, vel ut simplices illaque et facilius et damnabilius perdat."

221. "Twentieth article, that the blood of a hoopoe or kid or other animal, or virgin parchment or lionskin and the like have efficacy to compel and repel demons by the aid of arts of this sort. An error." Cf. *Liber iuratus*, §IV (Hedegård, 69).

222. "Ninth article, that God is induced by magic arts and sorcery to compel demons to obey invocations. An error."

223. "Seventeenth article, that demons are really forced and coerced by such arts and do not pretend to be compelled in order to seduce men. An error."

224. "Eleventh article, that to use such things in such wise is not to sacrifice or immolate to demons and consequently not damnable idolatry. An error."

225. "Fifth article, that it is licit to use for a good end magic arts or other superstitions forbidden by God and the church. Error." Boudet's edition continues: "quia, secundum Apostolum, non sunt

facienda mala ut bona eveniant." Also: "Sixteenth article, that on this account the said arts are good and from God and that it is licit to observe them, because sometimes or often it happens through them, as those employing them seek or predict, or because good sometimes comes from them. An error."

226. "Fourteenth article, that God himself directly or through good angels revealed such sorceries to holy men. An error and blasphemy."

227. "Nineteenth article, that good angels are shut up in stones, and that they consecrate images or vestments, or do other things which are comprised in those arts. An error and blasphemy."

228. "Third article, that to enter on a pact with demons, tacit or express, is not idolatry or a species of idolatry and apostasy. Error." Boudet's edition continues: "et intendimus esse pactum implicitum in omni observatione superstitiosa cujus effectus non debet a Deo vel natura rationabiliter expectari."

229. Dee owned the copy of the *Sworn Book* that is preserved as London, British Library, Sloane 313. See *John Dee's Library Catalog*, ed. Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), 57, 168. He also possessed a copy of Ganell's text, on which see Veenstra's chapter in this volume.

230. For some new perspectives on an old debate, see Kieckhefer, "Did Magic Have a Renaissance?"

231. In addition to chapter 6 in this volume, see, all by Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiqes,"* 611–22; "Antonio da Montolmo et la magie hermétique," in *Hermetism from Late Antiquity to Humanism*, ed. Paolo Lucentini, Ilaria Parri, and Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 545–68; "Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes (Twelfth–Fifteenth Centuries): 'Astrological Images' and the Concept of 'Addressative' Magic," in Bremmer and Veenstra, *Metamorphosis of Magic*, 167–87; "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel? Les anges dans la magie astrale, XIIe–XIVe siècle," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 761–71.

232. Note especially *De occultis et manifestis*, 5.2–3.

233. See Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 605, 621–38, and "Astral Magic," 178–84.

234. BnF, lat. 7273, fols. 137va–140ra.

235. Fanger and Klaassen, "Magic III: Middle Ages," 724–28.

236. See Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), esp. 130–38; see also Michael D. Bailey, "From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum* 76, no. 4 (2001): 960–90. Also of particular relevance to this change is Weill-Parot's chapter "Les signes d'un nouveau climat intellectuel: Polémiques, procès et émergence des nouveaux magiciens (fin du XIVe siècle–première moitié du XVe siècle)," in *"Images astrologiques,"* 591–638.

4

HONORIUS AND THE SIGIL OF GOD: THE *Liber iuratus* IN BERENGARIO GANELL'S *Summa sacre magice*

Jan R. Veenstra

The origins of the *Sworn Book of Honorius,* until now known only through a small group of British Library manuscripts, are hidden behind the veils of history. The material evidence hitherto available seems to limit its medieval reception to the London area; internal evidence might suggest that part of the material contained in the book originated in southern France. Its unbalanced composition has led scholars to believe that it is a compilation of two texts, the one a thirteenth-century manual of demonic magic, the other a fourteenth-century theurgical treatise inspired by Jewish mysticism. Reliable references to the work date from the mid-fourteenth century and later, with the exception of William of Auvergne's reference to a *Liber sacratus* from around 1240, which is currently generally believed to apply to a "consecrated" text other than the one by Honorius.[1]

A mystifying text of uncertain pedigree is a strong incentive for scholarly speculation (and given the secondary literature so far, well-founded speculation), but to put the existing hypotheses to the test, further source evidence is required. In the case of Honorius, Carlos Gilly's discovery of the *Summa sacre magice,* a colossal fourteenth-century compendium of magic written by the Catalan or Valencian scholar Berengario Ganell, brings to light hitherto unnoticed materials that shed new light on (and further complicate) the tradition of the Honorius ritual.[2] In his *Summa,* Ganell incorporated substantial parts of the *Liber iuratus* as it is known from the London manuscripts. The references to his source, however, are not always explicit, and even when Ganell literally copies several pages, the origin of the material can only be gleaned through a simple

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This essay was researched and written during my stay as a fellow at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. I wish to thank Katelyn Mesler and Claire Fanger for reading and commenting on the text, and Claire for her valuable suggestions in structuring the argument and for adding explanatory translations for some of the Latin lines.

dicit Honorius. This briefest of references, however, also surfaces in sections that cannot be found in the London Honorius, suggesting that what Ganell copied from the version of the *Liber iuratus* at his disposal may have exceeded what is preserved in the Sloane copies at present.

In this essay, I demonstrate that the copy of the *Sworn Book* from which Ganell copied substantial parts is older than the London manuscripts, and that Ganell's Honorius sections and the London Honorius have a common ancestor. This makes Ganell an important source in the composition and transmission history of the *Sworn Book*, since he provides copies of the texts that eventually went to make up what I would like to call the London version, as well as other materials that have been omitted from it.

This essay also significantly reconfigures evidence for the text's dating. While it is still not possible to establish a precise date of composition for the *Sworn Book*, the passages from the *Ars notoria* B text in the London Honorius that conclusively rule out an early thirteenth-century date for the London version do not appear in Ganell's text. Thus, while a date of origin in the late-thirteenth or early fourteenth century seems plausible for other reasons, there is no longer anything conclusively to rule out the possible existence of the *Sworn Book* as early as the time of William of Auvergne.

Ganell's *Summa* is extant in two manuscripts.[3] One is a unique Latin codex that was owned by John Dee, who added marginal notes and book and chapter divisions and even a date of composition: 1346.[4] Gilly suggests that Dee may have sold or presented the manuscript to Landgrave Wilhelm or to the learned Moritz of Hessen during a visit to Kassel in 1586 or 1589.[5] The second copy of the text is a complete translation of the book in German, a codex of more than eight hundred folios, composed probably not long after the book arrived in Germany. The work contains five books, each book comprising two or three tracts, and each tract containing a number of chapters ranging from three to thirteen (making a total of eighty-five). The contents of these chapters constitute a comprehensive encyclopaedia of magical materials that were circulating in Spain and, possibly, southern France in the thirteenth century. There are chapters on the rings of Solomon (II.1.1, II.2.10), on the Schemhamphoras (I.1.10, II.2.5, II.2.7, II.3.3, IV.2.1, IV.2.2), on the Almandal (III.2.1), on Thos Grecus (V.1.5) and Rasiel (V.2.13); there is a chapter *De candariis Salomonis* (II.2.12) and a *Liber trium animarum* (IV.2.3); and, of great importance for the subject at hand, a *Capitulum de sacratione Honorii* (IV.1.5) and a *Capitulum de sigillo Dei* (IV.1.6), both of which contain the core (and, in part, the verbatim) text of the first part of the London Honorius.[6] Other Honorius sections can be found in the *Capitulum de vocatione sanctorum angelorum in circulo* (III.1.2) and in the *Capitulum de novem modis* *invocationis spirituum* (III.1.3), which contains sections on the planetary and aerial spirits.[7]

Analyzing the *Summa*, however, one should bear in mind that even though he may have copied or quoted substantial parts from the books he consulted, Ganell clearly strove to compile a unitary volume, writing connecting sentences and paragraphs and adding internal references to create greater cohesion. Compilation, synthesis, and occasional paraphrase characterize his method, though only careful analysis of those chapters of which the materials have a demonstrable tradition can bring to light the exact nature of his modus operandi.[8] Such an analysis of the *Summa*, however, would be a considerable task and far beyond the scope of this contribution. In what follows, I focus on Ganell's presentation of the Honorius material and especially on the *sigillum Dei* (*SSM* IV.1.5 and IV.1.6), taking for granted that his presentation offers plausible, though not always decisive, evidence regarding his source.

The Consecration Ritual According to Ganell

Ganell makes occasional reference to the *Sworn Book* outside the chapters that he dedicates to the Honorius ritual. From these references it is evident that he had a copy of the *Liber iuratus* at his disposal,[9] though it remains difficult to determine exactly what the contents of that book were. In his chapters he provides substantial quotations, and certainly the text of the second and third part of the Sloane books can be found almost verbatim in the *Summa*, but it is possible that he left out segments that were irrelevant to him. The chapters have another remarkable feature: the execution of the rituals relies on other magical source texts that Ganell mentions by name. One is the Schemhamphoras (about which I will have more to say later on), and another is the *Liber trium animarum*, which is a magical prayer book that constitutes one of the chapters in the *Summa*.[10] The book presents fifty-one prayers that—so it claims—constitute the foundation of the art of magic, since without these prayers no magical operation can be successful.

A general comparison of the *Summa* chapters and the London *Liber iuratus* yields the following results. The London Honorius presents an unbalanced five-part composition of which the first is by far the largest, containing prescriptions for making the *sigillum Dei*, guidelines for the ritual, and the prayers that accompany it. Two Honorius chapters in the fourth book of Ganell's *Summa* deal with this first part of the London version. The prescriptions for producing the *sigillum* constitute a separate chapter, and there is a verbatim correspondence several pages long, but the prayers that the Honorius in Ganell refers to are not the ones in the London version. The second, third, and fourth parts of the London Honorius deal with elaborate interdependent rituals for the conjuration of planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits. These three parts have in common the construction of a magical circle, a shared set of magical prescriptions, and sets of *voces magicae* and ritual formulas that tie the sections conveniently together. Parts two and three can be found (almost) verbatim in the *Summa*, and, like the sections in the Sloane books, these texts also display the same degree of interdependence.[11]

However, in copying the Honorius material of parts two and three, Ganell does not explicitly state his source. Unlike the two chapters in book four of the *Summa* (where the chapter title is a reliable indicator), the Honorius sections in book three can only be identified by means of a brief reference (*dicit Honorius*), and this reference is not confined to the two parts that can be clearly identified as parts of the London text. Chapter III.1.3 is a vast text of more than sixty densely written pages (of which the concluding section is lost because one of the quires went missing) detailing no fewer than nine operations for invoking angels and spirits. These operations show a similar interdependence as regards the use of specific ritual formulas, prayers, *voces magicae*, and magic circles, and the name Honorius surfaces once in a while as well.[12] The fifth of these operations can be identified with certainty as the third part of the London Honorius, but it is by no means certain that this is the only part that Ganell copied from the Honorius book that he was using. The rather abstruse claim of the London Honorius that he intended to compile a large comprehensive volume may in fact contain a grain of truth.[13] Parts four and five of the Sloane manuscripts show clear signs of a lack of editorial acumen and perseverance, and the "original" Honorius from which he was working and which was also used by Ganell may have been bigger.

The Honorius material in Ganell's *Summa* provides several new insights and solutions to problems posed by the Sloane texts. Since the two chapters in book four dealing with the *sigillum Dei* are the most interesting as well as the most rewarding, I take these as my point of departure and main focus, returning to the sections on planetary and aerial spirits at the end of this chapter. Ganell, in a way, disrupted the order of the *Liber iuratus* by incorporating these later parts on the planetary and aerial spirits (which make clear reference to the *sigillum Dei* and the function of a helpful priest in executing the rituals) in an earlier part of his *Summa*.

The aim of the Honorius ritual in the two *Summa* chapters of book four is the consecration of the *sigillum Dei*, which allows the operator to conjure angels and demons for various ends and purposes. One of the aims is clearly to see God while the operator is still in the flesh, as is made explicit in one of the prayers, but the *visio Dei* is not exclusively in the foreground, as the ritual is essentially geared to ritual purification. At the end of the *sigillum Dei* chapter there is a list of six "works of God" that can be performed after the consecration; the first of these is the *opus visionis divine*. The *visio Dei* is an important topic in thirteenth-century Scholastic philosophy (as the ultimate end of life) but gains a this-worldly nuance in Lullian mysticism or in Dante's *Paradiso*, when the suggestion is raised that God may be seen in this life. Honorius clearly shares in the mystical turn, but the text as presented in the *Summa* in no way counters the outrage of Pope John XXII. The origin myth of the council of magicians is absent, and this seems to warrant the conclusion that Ganell's Honorius material predates not only the London Honorius but also the pontificate of John XXII.

There is another notable characteristic of the two Honorius chapters: there seems to be no specific emphasis on the inefficacy of the ritual as performed by Jewish magicians, and also the references to the heavenly palaces (clear evidence of the influence of the Enoch literature) are curiously absent—curiously, because the paragraphs in which they occur have verbatim parallels in the *SSM*. This means that they were omitted (why?) by Ganell's Honorius, or added later (as is testified by the London sources). It is not likely they were left out by Ganell, since he knew his Jewish sources (as well as Hebrew) and makes references to Metatron elsewhere in his book. It may be that the older Honorius, who does seem to be influenced by Jewish mysticism, simply confined himself to Christian visionary perceptions and did not feel compelled to integrate elements from the Hekhalot tradition.[14]

An explicit reference to Islam compensates for the absence of opposition to the use of the ritual by Jews. One of the functions of the consecrated *sigillum* is to counter and destroy the *secta* or *fides Machometi*.[15] This suggests that the Honorius material incorporated in Ganell's book may have originated in a *reconquista* context where enemy perceptions were very much determined by Muslim threats and not blurred by Lullian idealism and broad-mindedness. Lacking such an enemy perception, the London-centered northern European Honorius redactor omitted the reference to Islam and made a point of Jewish magic.

The ritual, which takes up forty days, is as follows. For the consecration of the sigil of God, one should take the blood of a mole, a dove, a bat, or a hoopoe[16] and consecrate it with the fifteenth prayer from the *Liber trium animarum* (*LTA*) and some names from the Schemhamphoras. The sigil is then drawn with the blood on parchment and fumigated[17] while three other prayers (6, 12, and 10) from the *LTA* are recited. For a period of twenty days the operator should attend Mass, reciting prayer 16 on his way to church and prayers 22, 14, 23, 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, and 30 when he is inside. This procedure can also be found in the text of the London Honorius, with almost exactly the same prayer numbers.[18] The only difference is that the prayers in the *Liber trium animarum,* which John Dee numbered carefully as he went through the ritual, in no way correspond to the rather desultory prayer book section that constitutes the greater part of the first tractate of the *Liber iuratus.* Apparently the prayers were dispensable, even though the prayer numbers were not. Did Ganell dispense with the prayers that we still have in the London Honorius text, or was the London Honorius unfamiliar with the prayers of the *LTA*?

The next step is to find a pious and reliable priest who will sing matins and celebrate Mass together with the operator. All through the communion service, prayers 13, 9, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 should be recited, and afterward prayers 26 (by the priest), 19, and 20 (by the operator). Again, the numbers in both Honorius texts, but not the texts of the prayers, are the same. It may be worthwhile briefly to compare this passage in both texts, given the almost verbatim correspondence. I add the German translation because it offers a general impression of the quality of that text.

***SSM*, Kassel, L.4.f.15, line 44—L.4.f.16, line 5**	***SSMG*, Berlin, fol. 471v, lines 5–15**	***Liber iuratius*, ed. Hedegård, p. 92**
Tunc habete sacerdotem cautum et fidelem qui tibi illa 20 die cantet matutinas et primam et terciam et missam de sancto Spiritu, dicens in introitu 13. orationem, et post offertorium nonam oractionem. Tunc accipiat ipse thus et suffumiget ut pertinet ad altare, dicens primam et immediate 2. orationem. Post "Te igitur" misse, quod est in canone misse, dicat sacerdos idem 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. oracionem.	Weiter soltw einen frommen und trewen Priester haben der dir ahm Morgen die Metten singet, unnd die Miß vom heiligen Geist. Wandw eingehest, sprich das 13. Gebet, Darnach das 9. wandw geopffert hast. Er reuchert mit weirauch nach erfurderung des Altars unnd spricht das erst gebet, darnach das 2. Dar umb bitte ich dich: Was ist die miß nach dem gesetz der miß. Der Priester spricht das selbe auch das 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. [*sic*] Gebet.	Tunc habeat sacerdotem cautum et fidelem, qui sibi matutinam, primam et terciam et missam de Spiritu sancto cantet dicens in introitu 13, post offertorium 9. Tunc accipiat thus et suffumiget, ut pertinet ad altare, dicens primam. Et quia beati patres in illis gloriosis sanctis ibidem nominatis sperabant, ideo sic fecerunt. Operans autem, si in aliquibus aliis sanctis maiorem devocionem habeat, mutet nomen pro nomine, quia fides operatur ut predixi. 2ª oracio immediate dicatur et post "Te igitur . . . " 3, 4, 5, 7, 8.

The German translator struggled with the "Te igitur" formula, which, Ganell explains, is a phrase from the text of the Mass. He creatively, though mistakenly, turned the sentence into a question. On the whole (meaning in the overall text), the translator seems to be fairly accurate, and even his mistakes testify to his intention to stay close to the original text. The thing to note in this comparison, however, concerns the underlined sentence in the text of the London Honorius, since it raises important questions regarding the relation between the two Honorius texts: did Ganell's Honorius omit or did the London Honorius add? A full comparison of both texts yields several of these discrepancies, which, in the instance just quoted, seems to be an interpolation on the part of the London Honorius. The additions, on the whole, seem to be asides, interjections, explanations, or elaborations that distract the reader's attention for a moment from the actual procedure of the ritual.

The text continues with an injunction that the operator remain pure, both in body and in soul, and urges him to observe a twelve-day fast. The thirteenth day should be a Thursday, and on receiving the body of Christ the operator should recite the prayer *Tu, Domine Ihesu Christe.* The prayer is significant because of the reference to "Dominum meum et creatorem meum, quem in carne mea visurus sum ego ipse et non alius" (my Lord and my Creator whom I myself, none other, am about to see in my flesh)—the first unambiguous reference in the Honorius text in the *Summa* to the exclusive privilege of seeing God in this life. In the London texts, this vision is connected with *videre celeste palacium,* but this short though telling phrase is absent from the text in the *Summa.*[19]

After receiving the body of Christ, the operator should go home and on that same Thursday recite prayers 25, 28, and 31 together with the prayer *Et tu, Domine, per annunciacionem.* (In this prayer there is a reference to the *sigillum* that is not in the London Honorius: I discuss the text below.) He should then withdraw into seclusion and recite the remaining prayers in the *LTA* and a whole list of divine names. These names are from the list of the "100 Dei vivi nomina," which can be found in the London Honorius, neatly listed in a separate paragraph, but not in the *Summa.* Names and prayers alternate: enumeration of the first twenty-seven names (the names are in both Honorius versions, though with a few graphic variants) is followed by the prayer *Deus meus, Pater omnipotens,* which again is followed by names 28–48 (in both texts) and the prayer *Respice humiliter preces humilis servi.*[20]

Honorius resumes the list with Pheton and Lethellere (nos. 49 and 50 in the *LIH:* Photon and Lethellete) in a prayer that begins *Pheton celi et terre conditor*—a prayer that is repeated in *LIH,* part 2. Yet where the London text of this prayer lists the names of Ysmas (no. 51) up to and including Pantheon (no. 73), the Honorius in the *Summa* breaks off (thereby "leaving out" twenty-three names) and replaces the bulk of the prayer by the words *et cetera,* followed by the explicit of the prayer *mei corpusculi macule deleantur* (let the stains of my body be removed). The phrase *et cetera*, of course, suggests that the careful reader will have encountered the full text of the prayer in an earlier section of the *Summa* (which is correct: the prayer, which is called the *Oratio Salomonis*, can be found some seventy pages earlier, at the end of chapter III.1.2).[21] Both texts are more or less on the same track again when they detail what should be done on the following six days (Friday–Wednesday).[22] The operator should make a bed of straw on a field of ashes with the names of God written around it. According to the London Honorius, that should be a list of one hundred names (which he then enumerates), but for Ganell's Honorius it should be the seventy-two letters of the ineffable name, the same sequence that surrounds the *sigillum Dei*.

At this point, Ganell's Honorius does a little arithmetic. The thirteenth day (a Thursday) is preceded by a twelve-day fast, which in turn is preceded by a period of twenty days of ritual purification (also including a thirteen-day fast). On that Thursday, the ritual will have taken thirty-three days, to which are added the prescriptions for the following six days and the completion of the consecration on the following Thursday, which is then day 40. The number forty has several scriptural parallels to emphasize its significance, but in the present context the forty-day period between Christ's resurrection and ascension seems the most appropriate. The complete Honorius ritual as detailed in the London manuscripts is more laborious and takes seventy-two days.[23] It is difficult to make a comparable sum for the other Honorius sections in Ganell since it is not clear how many he incorporated.

After the fast, the operator is instructed to eat and to wash himself with clear, cold water. After the prayer *Domine, sancte Pater*, he should dress in a hair shirt and black garment and recite the Psalter and the Litany in the church choir. Again follows a prayer (*Deus rex fortis et potens*) and a list of divine names beginning with Zabuather (no. 74 from the list in the London Honorius) and ending with Rabur (no. 100). There are two points of difference between the Honorius texts of this final lengthy prayer. Twice Ganell's Honorius gives the line "hoc sacratissimum nomen et sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris,"[24] which is absent from the London text, and when the prayer ends with the seventy-two-letter name, Ganell's Honorius refers to it as *semenphoras*, whereas the London Honorius does not. Leaving aside for a moment the section on the construction of the *sigillum* (which in Ganell is a separate chapter and which in the edition of the *LIH* has been labeled §IV), we can conclude that the core of this consecration ritual is established by what in the printed edition is labeled §§LII, XCVIII, XCIX, C, and CI. Read consecutively in the *LIH*, these paragraphs present a ritual of purification aimed at the *visio Dei* and revolving around a set of one hundred divine names. By comparison, the text in the *Summa* deliberately links the ritual to the *sigillum* and the Schemhamphoras (both references are absent from the *LIH* paragraphs) and seems to be very careless in copying the set of one hundred names; the list itself is not present.

When Ganell copies the prescription for the seventy-two-letter name that has to be written around the bed of straw, he adds a line that looks like a personal addition: "quod dicetur in proposito centesimum N., cum sit centesimum de illis quibus in hoc capitulo utimur, vel Honorius in sua arte nova" (which will be called the hundredth Name in the scheme, since it is the hundredth of those that we use in this chapter, or Honorius in his "new art").[25] One gets the impression that Ganell is working from a *Liber iuratus* that he labels *ars nova* and in which there is, in fact, a list of one hundred names. Was he looking at a text identical to the Sloane manuscripts? And if so, why did he not copy the list of one hundred names?

While the absence of the hundred names may be an oversight, the fact that Ganell refers to Honorius's book as an *ars nova* has to do with its close relation to the prayers in the *Liber trium animarum,* a liturgy not found in the Sloane books. The (hypothetical) Honorius text that Ganell uses presents a purification ritual that liturgically relies on a book called the *Liber trium animarum* and that incorporates a set of one hundred divine names. (To the compiler of the London Honorius, the *Liber trium animarum* was unknown, so he copied the prayer numbers but was compelled to come up with a new liturgy that he derived mainly from the *Ars notoria.*)[26] Part of Ganell's hypothetical source is a description of the *sigillum Dei,* which mainly relies on a Schemhamphoras of seventy-two letters. This seventy-two-letter name is present in the prayers of the ritual, and several references to the *sigillum* make this hypothetical source more a ritual of consecration of the sigil than a ritual for obtaining the divine vision.

The final sections of the two Honorius texts are fundamentally different and have only one feature in common, namely, that the operator must go to sleep in order for the consecration to have its effect.[27] To the operator in the London Honorius, the divine vision is imparted and he beholds the *celeste palacium.* The author strongly contradicts the claim that mortal man, while still in the flesh, cannot behold God, arguing that many have been in spiritual rapture and have had heavenly secrets revealed to them, rapt in spirit and dying a quasi-death of the body, which remains in a suspended state, "refreshed by angelic food."[28] This polemical reaction to the idea that a divine vision was not to be had during mortal life (which is absent from Ganell's Honorius) was no doubt triggered by John XXII's skepticism. The author continues to stress the need for purity on the part of the operator.[29]

Ganell's Honorius explains how during sleep the power of God (*virtus Dei*) descends on the operator and the *sigillum,* completing the process of consecration

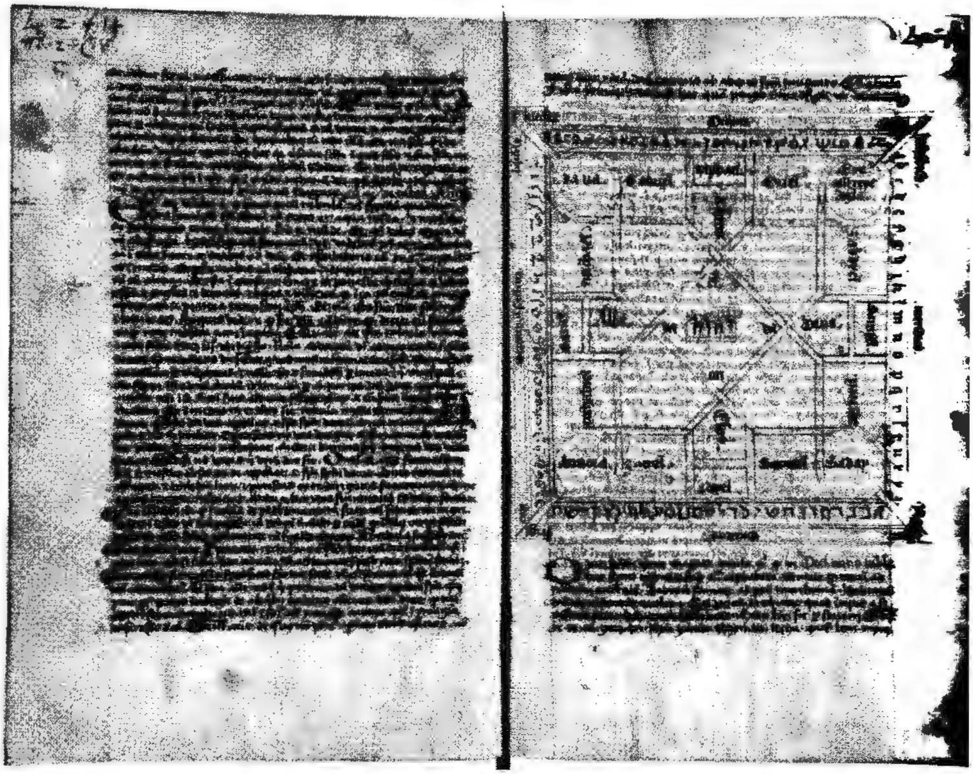

Fig. 1 Tabula Semamphoras from Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel / Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 4° astron. 3, L.2.f.15

and enabling both to be efficacious in the invocations that follow. On day 41, the magus is ordered to return to the circle (which may be in a wood or on a tower—there were many such consecrated circles in the time of Honorius, Ganell adds), where he may invoke angels who descend within the circumference and even dwell there for a while. A similar procedure may be executed in a room in the house. (These are references to rituals described in book three of the *Summa*.) The operator is instructed to place the *sigillum* on a heptagonal table covered with a cloth of pure linen. Earlier prayers from the consecration may be used again, albeit with slight alterations, and at one point the operator is instructed to lie prostrate on the floor with the *sigillum* placed on his forehead. The angels, who are thus invited to appear, are there as proof and testimony of the sanctity of the sigil. Likewise, other magical tables or *sigilla* may be consecrated, such as the *Tabula Semamphoras* (see fig. 1).[30]

It is likely, though by no means certain, that this final passage was present in Ganell's copy of the *Liber iuratus*. Whether or not it is interpolated, it does create a direct and convenient link between the consecration chapter and the chapter on the construction of the *sigillum Dei* in the *Summa*.

Constructing the Sigil

Casting a superficial glance at the *sigillum Dei*, one cannot help but notice a similarity with the famous T-figure of Ramon Llull's *Ars brevis* from 1308. In the chapter dedicated to that figure, Llull gives an extensive description of the figure, its angles, and their meanings.[31] Of course, the polygon in the T-figure is constructed from three triangles pointing at nine sets of principles, which is a completely different figure from the intertwined heptagons in the *sigillum*. One may be tempted to speculate on whether Llull took his inspiration from the chapter on the *sigillum Dei* when he constructed his own theosophical system, exchanging a system of innate powers of sacred letters and words for a system of meaning and philosophical concepts, but this is impossible to prove. One should bear in mind, however, that the sigil was known independently as an amulet in Spain.[32]

The chapter on the sigil in Ganell's *Summa* is fairly brief, certainly when compared to the section on the same topic in the London Honorius. It consists of two parts, the first detailing the construction of the sigil, the second summarizing the ends and purposes of its consecration. While the London Honorius gives extensive and detailed prescriptions, the author in the *Summa* does little else but list the letters and names that must be written in the figure; he does not need to do more since he conveniently provides a complete image (see fig. 2).[33] One of the London books, Sloane 313 (fol. 4r), also has an image, but it is incomplete (see fig. 3). The reader may compare the two images to verify the differences. An interesting difference is that the heptagon surrounding Solomon's pentacle does not lock into the second, more intricate heptagon and thus creates what looks like a new heptagon not vouched for by either Honorius text but gratefully seized upon by John Dee when he constructed his own *sigillum Dei*. Also, the second and third heptagons in the Sloane figure are not intertwined as in the figure in Ganell, and Dee likewise places the third heptagon around the second. This proves that the Sloane figure, not the figure in the *Summa*, was Dee's source of inspiration.

But it also proves something else. Regarding the third heptagon, the text of the London Honorius explicitly states, "Hic tamen eptagonus infra predictum secundum concludetur" (But this heptagon is enclosed beneath the aforementioned second one).[34] This description matches the image in the *Summa* and not the image in Sloane 313. It can therefore be deduced that the Sloane text must rely on earlier material very similar to the material in the *Summa*.

The differences between the images and the texts of both Honorius sections on the *sigillum* are revealing and merit closer scrutiny, especially since they provide evidence that the Honorius material in the *Summa* predates the Sloane manuscripts. Let me begin with a comparison of the seventy-two-letter name.

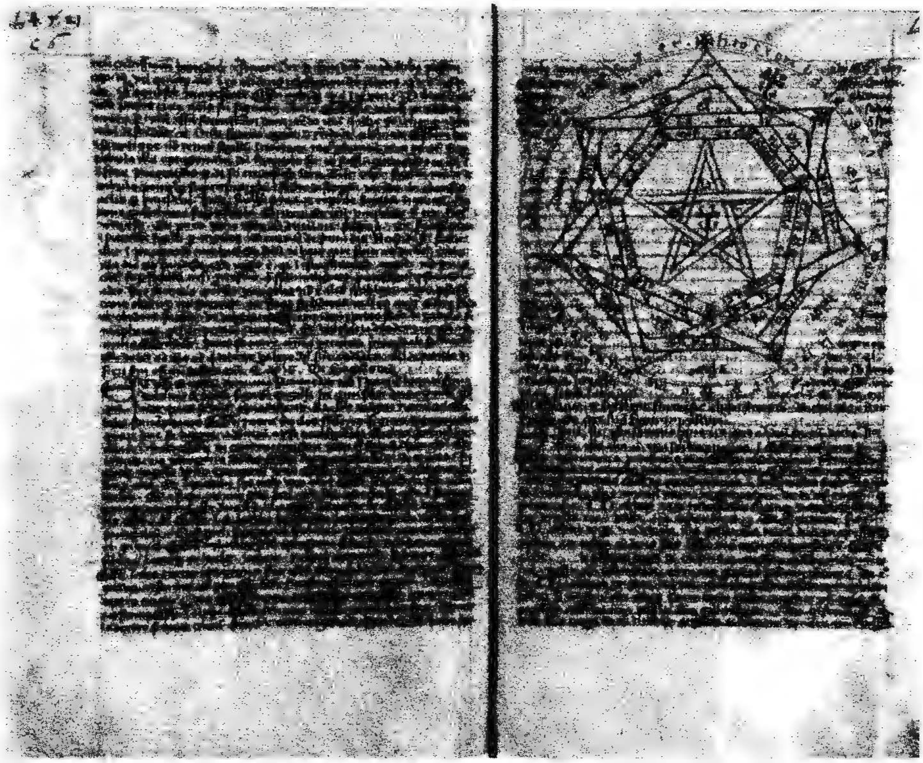

Fig. 2 Sigillum Dei from the Kassel manuscript, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel / Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 4° astron. 3, L.4.f.22

***SSM* (Kassel)**	***LIH* (ed. Hedegård)**
. . . Deus meus semenphoras 72 litterarum: T.o.e.x.o.r.a.b.a. ¶L.a.y.q.t.i.y.s.t. ¶A.l.g.a.o.n.o.s.u. ¶L.a.r.y.c.e.k.s.p. ¶F.y.o.m.e.m.a.n.a. ¶R.e.n.u.g.a.r.e.l. ¶A.t.e.d.a.t.o.n.o. ¶N.a.o.y.l.e.y.o.t. Qui dixisti in cruce 'Consummatum est.' (*SSM*, IV.5: *De sacratione honorica*, L.4.f.20, lines 11–13)	Quia in te facio consummacionem vite mee, Deus meus, Hto exor abalay. qci. ystalgaouofularite kspfyomomanaremiarelatedacononaoyleyot, qui dixisti in cruce: "Consummatum est." (*LIH*, §CI.44, p. 114)
. . . figuram Sigilli in qua sunt duo circuli propinqui, inter quos scribuntur equedistanter 72 littere magni nominis ineffabilis semanphoras. (*SSM*, IV.6: *De sigillo Dei*, L.4.f.21, lines 26–28)	Deinde a parte dextra crucis scribe h—aspirationem—deinde t, deinde o, deinde e. x. o. r. a. b. a. l. a. y. q. c. i. y. s. t. a. l. g. a. [a]. o. n. o. s. u. l. a. r. i. t. e. k. s. p. f. y. o. m. o. m. a. n. a. r. e. m. i. a. r. e. l. a. t. e. d. a. c. o. n. o. n. a. o. y: l. e. y. o. t. Et iste litere sint eque distantes et circumdent circulum eo ordine, quo sunt prenominate, et sic magnum nomen Domini "Semenphoras" 72 literarum erit completum. (*LIH*, §IV.4–5, p. 67)

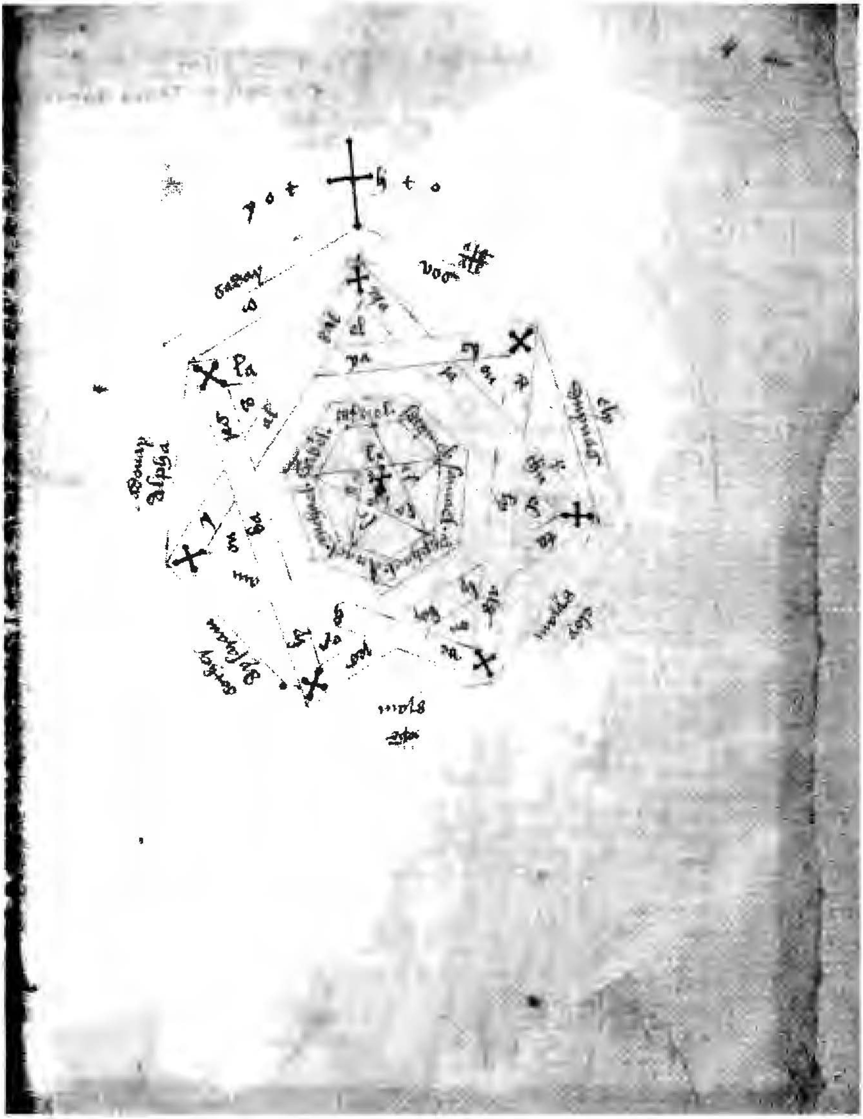

Fig. 3 Sigillum Dei from London, British Library, Sloane 313, fol. 4r, © The British Library Board

The *figura sigilli* in Sloane 313 does not contain the seventy-two letters; it only shows the first and the last three (h. t. o. . . . y. o. t.), which suggests that the figure was intended as a sketchy illustration of the text that was (originally?) drawn without a figure. The list in the London Honorius contains seventy-three letters, but leaving out the "[a]" from §IV, which is evidently an erroneous doublet, the number is a neat seventy-two. The number of letters in the Kassel figure is seventy-three, but Ganell's text carefully arranges the letters in eight groups of nine each. From this it shows that the initial "H" is not counted as a letter: it is a

Spiritus asper (the *ruach* or breath of God that precedes the divine act of speech and creation), which the London Honorius knows but which reduces the number of his letters to seventy-one.[35] Leaving aside the common c/t mix-up and the occasional e/o misreading, the reader can easily find the discrepancy. In Ganell's "R. e. n. u. g. a. r. e. l." sequence, "n u" was read as "m " and "g" was overlooked. Hence the London Honorius gives "r. e. m. i. a. r. e. l." In the Kassel figure, the "g" is a difficult letter to miss since it is rather prominently there, so the London Honorius author was not looking at the Kassel figure but certainly at a figure very much like it. Even the Kassel figure may be a copy of a more precise image, for the reader will have seen that the figure in the Kassel manuscript does not live up to the prescription of keeping the letters "equidistant."[36]

The description in the London Honorius of the placement of the angel names and divine names is fairly long (certainly compared to the four lines in the *Summa*) and takes up one and a half pages in the printed edition. I will quote three passages relevant for my argument.

***SSM* (Kassel)**	***LIH* (ed. Hedegård)**
Et in 7 lateribus interioris eptagoni 7 nomina autem principalium: Cafzyel, Satquyel, Samael, Raphael, Anael, Mychael, Gabriel. Et in lateribus secundi eptagoni sunt 7 nomina creatoris, silicet: Layaly, et Lyalg, Vehem, Yalgal, Narach, Libarre, Lybares. (*SSM*, IV.6: *De sigillo Dei*, L.4.f.21, lines 36–39)	Deinde in latere illo, quod tendit ab angulo primo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad tercium angulum eiusdem, scribatur hoc nomen sanctum Dei: "Narath," ita quod hec sillaba: "na" scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Satquiel," et hec sillaba: "ra" in illo loco, qui est supra ultimam eiusdem, et hee due litere: "t," "h" in illo loco, qui est in eodem latere inter latus intersecans ipsum et crucem terciam. (*LIH*, §IV.19–21, p. 68)
	Deinde in illo latere eiusdem eptagoni tendente a quarta cruce ad sextam scribatur hoc aliud sacrum Dei nomen: "Ueham," ita quod hec sillaba: "ue" scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris qui est supra primam sillabam de "Anael" et hec litera: "h" supra ultimam sillabam et hec sillaba: "am" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus <inter>secans ipsum et sextam crucem. (*LIH*, §IV.34–36, pp. 68–69)
	Deinde in illo latere, quod tendit a sexto angulo eiusdem secundi eptagoni ad primum angulum, scribatur hoc aliud sacrum Dei nomen: "Yalgal," ita quod hec litera: "y" scribatur in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est supra primam sillabam de "Gabriel," et hec sillaba: "al" supra ultimam et hec sillaba: "gal" in illo loco eiusdem lateris, qui est inter latus intersecans ipsum et primam crucem. (*LIH*, §IV.37–39, p. 69)

When we look at the first syllable of Narath in the *figura sigilli* of Sloane 313, we discover that "Na" is not positioned directly above the first syllable of Satquiel, nor is "ra" right above "el" (in fact, the name we read in the *sigillum* is "Na ra thu"). Close inspection of Ganell's *sigillum* shows that the elaborate description is quite precise. Also, "th" can be found on an intersection of the heptagon, which is not the case in the Sloane figure. In the *sigillum* of Sloane 313, the syllable "Ue" of "Ueham" is not above the "An" of "Anael," nor is "am" on an intersection. The "Y" of "Yalgal" is not above the "Ga" of "Gabriel," nor is "gal" on an intersection. Inspection of the other four divine names produces the same result. The inevitable conclusion is that the detailed and somewhat burdensome description of the *sigillum* in the Sloane manuscripts is intended to specify in words what was seen and carefully studied in the *sigillum* as portrayed in the Kassel manuscript. The *sigillum* of Sloane 313 seems to be an attempt to revisualize the long-winded Honorius text.

In conclusion, I would like to draw the reader's attention to a third sample text concerning a prayer that is used in the consecration of the sigil.

***SSM* (Kassel)**	***LIH* (ed. Hedegård)**
. . . ut abluto corpore tu visibiliter cum tuis 9 angelorum ordinibus me vivente hoc sacratissimum tuum Nomen ac sigillum benedicere et consecrare digneris, ut per ipsum te mediante possim ego N vel quicumque alter in te confidens celestes convincere potestates aereas et terreas cum infernalibus subiugare, invocare, transmutare, coniurare, constringere, exitare, congregare, ligare, dispergere, ac ipsos innocuos reddere homines placcare et ab eis suas petitiones gratas habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disiungere, sanos in sanitate custodire vel infirmare, infirmos curare. Homines bonos a malis cognoscere. Omne corporale periculum evadere iudices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus optinere. Peccata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare, vincere et evitare. Divicias in bonis augere. Et dum in die judicii comparebimus a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis, tuam possim agnoscere [*sic*] magestatem. (*SSM,* IV.5, L.4.f.16, lines 27–39)	Post in vocando angelos, sicut infra eciam dicetur, mutabitur tamen peticio tali modo. "Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem" et cetera "hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris, ut per ipsum te mediante possim vel possit talis N celestes convincere potestates, aereas et terreas cum infernalibus subiugare, invocare, transmutare, coniurare, constringere, excitare, congregare, dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere, homines placare et ab eis suas peticiones graciosius habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disiungere, sanos in sanitate custodire vel infirmare, infirmos curare, homines bonos a malis custodire et distinguere et cognoscere, omne corporale periculum evadere, iudices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus optinere, peccata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare, vincere et evitare, divicias in bonis augmentare, et dum in die iudicii apparebit a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis, tuam possit cognoscere maiestatem." (*LIH,* §IV.58–63, pp. 70–71)

SSM (Kassel)	*LIH* (ed. Hedegård)
"Et tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem, natiuitatem et aparitionem, circumcisionem, predicationem, babtismum, jeiunium, cenam, passionem, resurrectionem, | ascentionem gloriosi filii tui domini nostri Ihesu Christi corpus meum fic mundare et clarificare digneris ut abluto corpore tu visibili cum tuis 9 angelorum ordinibus in vivente hoc nomen sacratissimum tuum ac sigillum benedicere et consecrare digneris. Ut per ipsum te mediante possim ego N vel quicumque alter in te confidens celestes convincere potestates aereas et terreas" et cetera usque ibi "agnoscere magestatem." (*SSM*, IV.5, L.4.f.16, line 44–L.4.f.17, line 6)	"Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem, nativitatem, circumcisionem, predicacionem, baptismum, resurreccionem, ascensionem beatissimi filii tui, Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, corpus meum clarificare et mundare digneris, ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis novem dictis angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare,"—conclusio:—"quoniam tu es Deus potens et super omnia misericors, qui vivis et regnas Deus in unitate et trinitate, Pater et Filius et Spirtitus sanctus, et regnaturus es per infinita secula seculorum. Amen." (*LIH*, §XCIX.2–4, pp. 108–9)

After the detailed description of the sigil, the London Honorius continues (in §IV) by explaining that, following the invocation of the angels by means of the sigil, there should be an alteration in the wording of the prayer *Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem*. This is an obvious change, as the prayer is now no longer a prayer of consecration but of invocation or conjuration. Further adaptations for several additional purposes are suggested in §CII.

Ganell's Honorius, in the second part of the chapter on the *sigillum*, proposes similar changes but on a more organized scale. He lists six works of God (*opera Dei*, a Latin phrase for theurgy) that can be effected through the sigil: (1) the divine vision; (2) knowledge of God's power; (3) the absolution of sins; (4) the sanctification that precludes all relapse into mortal sin; (5) the redemption of the three souls[37] from Purgatory; and (6) the power or dignification over all spirits.[38]

Related to each of these six works, the author lists a set of six alternative formulations of the sentence beginning with *Ut abluto corpore* (a phrase that appears six times in prayers in the *LIH* and five times in those of the *SSM*). It will take the interested reader some effort to reconstruct the complete text of the *Et tu, Domine, per annunciacionem* prayer, for in Ganell's Honorius chapter the prayer (which is on L.4.f.16, line 44–L.4.f.17, line 6, as noted above) is not written out in full. At one point, the author simply writes *et cetera usque ibi* (underlined in the passage quoted above), thereby referring to an earlier mentioned passage that he does not now wish to repeat. The passage is, in fact, in the prayer preceding the *Et tu, Domine*. The ritual of the consecration, it will be remembered, prescribes that on the thirteenth day (which is a Thursday, the *dies jovi*) after the twelve-day fast, and on receiving the body of Christ, the operator should recite *Tu, Domine Ihesu Christe* (of which only the relevant final section was quoted above: L.4.f.16, lines 27–39). Several lines from this prayer (from *terreas* to *agnoscere*) are to be repeated in the prayer that is recited shortly afterward. From this prayer it is the line "ut abluto corpore tu visibiliter cum tuis 9 angelorum ordinibus me vivente hoc nomen sacratissimum tuum ac sigillum benedicere et consecrare digneris" (that when my body has been washed clean, you, visibly with your nine orders of angels, while I am alive, may deign to bless and consecrate this, your most sacred name and seal—a line that occurs five times in the Honorius prayers in the *SSM*) that is adapted and made to accord with each of the six works listed above. In the case of the first work, the *visio Dei*, the sentence reads, "Ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis 9 angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare" (That when my body has been washed clean, while I am alive, my soul may be able to praise you visibly, with your nine orders of angels). In the case of the sixth and final work, the power over all spirits, the line runs, "Ut abluto corpore me vivente per te et per tuos 9 angelorum ordines celestes igneas, aereas, aquaticas et terreas eficaciter possim astringere potestates" (That when my body has been washed clean, while I am alive, through you and through your nine orders of angels I may be able efficaciously to constrain the heavenly, fiery, airy, watery, and earthly powers).[39] Similar adaptations are proposed for the other works.[40] When the consecration is completed, the phrase "nomen sacratissimum tuum ac sigillum benedicere et consecrare" is made redundant and replaced by fitting phrases to accompany the works that one wishes to perform with the sigil.

When we now compare the two Honorius texts, it will become clear what the London Honorius has done. The only time that he uses the phrase "nomen sacratissimum tuum ac sigillum benedicere et consecrare" is at the very beginning of his book, when he consecrates the sigil. After that, the phrase is no longer of use to him, so that he wittingly replaces it with the phrase that, according to Ganell's text, is specifically geared to the beatific vision: "Ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis 9 angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare." Twice he writes this phrase in full, later referring to it four times by means of *et cetera.*[41]

There is something peculiar about this procedure. After invoking the angels, the London Honorius says, one has to make a little adjustment in the petition: "Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, concepcionem" et cetera "hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris, ut per ipsum." What text exactly is he referring to? Since this is the first time he mentions the prayer, the phrase *et cetera* cannot refer to an already mentioned passage. In fact, it refers to a text that appears twenty-eight pages *later* (in §XCIX). On top of that, this later segment contains no clue whatsoever that the two segments, namely, the incipit *Ut tu, Domine* and the bulk of the text from *hoc sacratissimum nomen* to *cognoscere maiestatem*, are in fact the beginning and end of one single prayer.

That this is so can only be deduced from the reconstruction we have just made on the basis of the *Summa.*

In other words, the London Honorius has been working from a text very similar to the Honorius chapters in Ganell. By adjusting the ritual exclusively to the *visio Dei* (which disrupts the logic of Ganell's text) and by placing the chapter on the *sigillum* at the beginning, the London author made a mistake that has left an indelible trace of his modus operandi. This, together with the points made above, is clear evidence that the materials in Ganell's Honorius chapters antedate the fourteenth-century Sloane texts and constitute an Honorius tradition outside Britain.

There is one final issue in the consecration chapters that I would like to address, namely, the enigma of the Great Schemhamphoras, or the name of seventy-two letters that encompasses the *sigillum.*

Honorius and the Schemhamphoras

The Schemhamphoras was clearly important to Honorius, for the term appears several times in the text of the *Liber iuratus.* The references, however, are puzzling and have caused the author to be imputed with ignorance of Hebrew and of the proper method of the Schemhamphoras. Honorius describes the *Semenphoras* as the "nomen Dei sacer et pretiosum 'quod 4 literis scribitur, ioht, he, vau, deleth'" and as the "nomen 'Semenphoras' 72 literarum."[42] In particular, the list of seventy-two letters that encompasses the *sigillum Dei* is a conundrum in the absence of any explanation as to how it was constructed. This mystery is resolved in Ganell's *Summa;* but before going into the particulars of Ganell's text regarding the "Great Schemhamphoras," I want to dwell for a moment on some of the forms of the Schemhamphoras, especially since the term is commonly and almost exclusively associated with the derivation of seventy-two trisyllabic names from three verses in Exodus.

Both in the London Honorius and in the Honorius chapters in the *Summa,* the author is clearly concerned with a different type of Schemhamphoras. In the two Honorius chapters in the *Summa,* the author refers to the "seventy-two littere magni nominis ineffabilis semanphoras," whereby he clearly means one name of seventy-two letters. The word *Semamphoras* also appears in another context, namely, with the prayers pronounced at the consecration of the sigil. There we read: "nomina ter quot vis de nominibus suprascriptis semamphoras" (from the earlier mentioned names of the semamphoras, name three times as many as you like).[43] The reference is to a group or groups of names mentioned in previous sections of the *Summa.* Ergo, there is more than one type of Schemhamphoras.

Since the Schemhamphoras nowadays is mainly associated with Jewish and Christian Kabbalah from the early modern period, I will begin my discussion of Honorius's use of the "ineffable name" with the earliest printed compendium of the Schemhamphoras, which shows strong awareness of both Kabbalah and the earlier traditions.

In the *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis regis*, printed by Andreas Luppius in Wesel in 1686, one finds a fairly comprehensive overview of several Schemhamphoras forms.[44] The author or compiler (possibly Luppius himself) explains that the name of God itself is a mystery and can only be gleaned through his works or derived from Holy Writ, "durch die kunst Cabalisticam, Calculatoriam, Notariacam und Geometriam."[45] The primary revelation of the divine name is the tetragrammaton, which is related to four angelic and spiritual hierarchies (presented in pairs: *Cherubin* and *Seraphin; Potestates* and *Virtutes; Archangelos* and *Angelos; spiritus* and *animas hominum*), to the four angels ruling the four corners of heaven, to the four triplicities of the zodiac, to the four elements, to the four parts of man (*anima, spiritus, corpus, genius*), and so on. Luppius goes on to distinguish between several Schemhamphoras/Semiphoras groups. The first is the Schemhamphoras of Adam and comprises a set of seven "Semiphoras" deriving from Adam's speaking (1) with God; (2) with angels and spirits; (3) with devils and with the dead; (4) with animals; (5) with plants; (6) with the winds; and (7) with the sun, the moon, and the stars. Of these, the fifth is especially interesting: "Das fünffte Semiphoras, Lyacham, Lyalgena, Lyafaran, Lyalfarab, Lebara, Lebarosin, Layaralus, so du Gewachsene als Bäume und Saamen wilt binden, so nenne diese Worte." The names correspond fairly well to the divine names in the *sigillum*, and are more or less identical to a similar list in one of Ganell's Schemhamphoras chapters (which also ascribes the same function to the names: "cuius oficium est ligare sementes, herbas et arbores").[46] The application of these names in the sigil shows that the use of the Schemhamphoras material is not restricted to the cryptic seventy-two-letter name in the outer circumference of the *sigillum*. (Below is a comparative table listing the seven names.)

The divine names in the *sigillum* according to Ganell's *SSM*	**The divine names in the *sigillum* according to the London Honorius**	**The fifth "semiphoras" in Luppius**	**The fifth "semamphoras" in Ganell's *SSM*, L.2.f.23, lines 42–43.**
Layaly	Lyaly	Lyacham	Lyaham
et Lyalg	Et Lialg	Lyalgena	Lialgana
Vehem	Ueham	Lyafaran	Leafar
Yalgal	Yalgal	Lyalfarab	Vialnarap
Narach	Narath	Lebara	Lebara
Libarre	Libarre	Lebarosin	Lebaroin
Lybares	Libares	Layaralus	Layassalis

Luppius mentions a second set of seven "Semiphoras" with divine names that Moses spoke on various occasions: (1) at the burning bush; (2) when Moses spoke to God on the mountain; (3) when Moses split the Red Sea; (4) when Moses' staff was changed into a serpent; (5) the names written on the brow of Aaron; (6) the names on the staff of Moses when he erected the serpent and destroyed the golden calf; and (7) the words of Moses when he brought manna from heaven and drew water from the rock. As with the Schemhamphoras of Adam, the Schemhamphoras of Moses can also be found in Ganell's *Summa.*[47]

Luppius adds yet another set of "Schemhamphoras," which revolve around the three seventy-two-letter verses of Exodus 14:19–21. When verses 19 and 21 are written from left to right and the middle verse (in Hebrew fashion) from right to left, the three lines yield (when read from top to bottom, beginning at the left) seventy-two names of God, each comprising three letters. When the divine epithets El or Jah are added, one gets a list of seventy-two three-syllable divine names. (There are clear traces of this list without the epithets in Ganell's *Summa.*)[48] This is the method of Schemhamphoras known to Martin Luther in his anti-Semitic treatise *Vom Schem Hamphoras* (1543), which he attributed to the rabbis' examination of the behind of a sow.[49] It is also the method carefully expounded in an anti-Lutheran treatise in the form of a catechism on the Schem Hammaphoras in a Wolfenbüttel manuscript.[50] A later redactor of the *Sworn Book* realized the omission in the Honorius ritual and simply copied a chapter from Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia,*[51] where the system is expounded complete with tables and lists of names that can now also be found on fols. 77 and 78 of the British Library, Royal 17 A XLII. Luppius knew the method from Agrippa, whom he quotes, but he is unfortunately imprecise in his description of the method. He distinguishes between a unidirectional organization of the lines of the three verses (from right to left), which should yield names such as Vehuiah, Jeliel, Sitael, and so on, and an alternating direction of the lines of the three verses (left-right/right-left/left-right), which should yield a divine name of seventy-two letters. In this he is mistaken, for it is the second method that produces the Vehuiah list (and that he found in Agrippa). How the other method can produce a name consisting of a sequence of seventy-two letters remains unclear.

There is a passage in the *De occulta philosophia*[52] where Agrippa speaks of the group of seventy-two names derived from the Exodus verses, which is called "the name of seventy-two letters and schemhamphoras" (which would suggest that the phrase "the name of 72 letters" is actually a label for a list of seventy-two trisyllabic names), to which he adds that many names have been derived from other scriptural passages as well, though he claims no knowledge of these. In a later passage, he is more explicit about the different ways in which Schemhamphoras can be constructed, also mentioning that the three Exodus verses can be written in order consecutively from right to left (Agrippa does not mention the seventy-two-letter name here).[53] This is clearly Luppius's source, and, given his mix-up, one might believe that he was simply mistaken regarding the seventy-two-letter name. Unlike Agrippa, however, he sees the seventy-two names and the seventy-two-letter name as two distinct results of different Schemhamphoras methods. Since Agrippa is not his only source of information, and since there are clear parallels with the Schemhamphoras chapters in Ganell, we may safely conclude that the notion of the seventy-two-letter name goes back to material predating late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century interest in Kabbalah.[54]

Ganell offers a solution relevant to the seventy-two-letter name in the *sigillum Dei.* There are two crucial chapters in the *Summa* where Ganell deals with the Schemhamphoras. The first, II.2.5,[55] deals with the construction and consecration of the *Tabula Semamphoras* that Ganell derives from the magical writings of Solomon, more particularly from the tenth chapter on the Schemhamphoras in the *Liber vite.* The table is a square figure with geometrical patterns (reminiscent of patterned designs in Andalusian Muslim art), with the tetragrammaton in the center and the names of governing angels in the corners. In the outer borders—geared to the cardinal directions—are the alphabets of four languages of which Ganell sums up the separate letters, adding the Latin equivalents in case of the non-Latin languages. In the north there is Chaldean (*Caldaycus Arabicorum*): *alif stat pro a Latina; be pro b; te pro t; ce pro c; gim pro g; ha pro h,* etc. In the west there is Hebrew: *aleph pro a; beth pro b; gimel pro g; daled pro d; he pro e,* etc. In the east one finds Greek: *alpha pro a; betha pro b; gamma pro g; delta pro d,* etc., and in the south there is Latin.[56] These are probably languages known to Ganell, and the *tabula* is designed to show that power emanates from the divine tetragrammaton into the building blocks of language. Words are empowered by the name YHVH.

The second chapter on the Schemhamphoras, II.2.7,[57] deals with different kinds of Schemhamphoras, all designed to rule angels, demons, and nature. Ganell explains the powers, virtues, and meanings of the four letters of the tetragrammaton and assigns to the divine name two distinct offices: a special one, which is to save people from peril, and a universal one, which is to encapsulate the virtues of all other words in the world (*habere omnes virtutes quas omnia alia nomina mundi habent*). The Great Schemhamphoras (the *semamphoras Danielis*), which comprehends all the other Schemhamphoras (*et est ille qui est 72 litterarum ineffabile*), has a similar function.[58] This name is an acrostic constructed from a list of divine names that Ganell attributes to Tot Grecus. The list opens with the word Ha (not a name) followed by seventy-two names. Making allowances for a few minor graphical variants (y/i and u/v), one will find that the list of initial letters neatly corresponds to the list in the Honorius chapters.

In the edition of the London Honorius it is very hard to find parallels, except for a set of approximately twenty-three names that can be found in the "100 Dei vivi nomina."[59]

> Ha; 1. Theos; 2. Onay; 3. El; 4. Xps (= Christus); 5. On; 6. Raby; 7. Alpha ω; 8. Baruch; 9. Agla; 10. Letamynyn; 11. Adon; 12. Joth; 13. Quiesteron; 14. Tunayon; 15. Yalgal; 16. Ysiston; 17. Sampsoyny; 18. Thetebar; 19. Achyonodazar; 20. Laia?quiryn; 21. Geuer; 22. Attedron; 23. Onoytheon; 24. Nomyx; 25. Oristyon; 26. Sanathiel; 27. Vabalganarytyn; 28. Lauagelaguyn; 29. Araton; 30. Radix; 31. Yaua; 32. Capkyb; 33. Ely; 34. Kyryos; 35. Suparyas; 36. Pantheon; 37. Flemoyn; 38. Ynestre; 39. Onella; 40. Mamyas; 41. Elyobor; 42. Maney; 43. Asmamyas; 44. Nathanathoy; 45. Abracalabrah; 46. Romolyon; 47. Epafgr(ion?); 48. Narach; 49. Vagalnarytyn; 50. Gofgamel; 51. Alla; 52. Rabur; 53. Eleon; 54. Lauazyryn; 55. Abracaleus; 56. Tantalatysten; 57. Eye; 58. Delectycon; 59. Ay; 60. Tunayon; 61. Occynomeryon; 62. Nomygon; 63. Oryona; 64. Nosulaseps; 65. Abryon; 66. Oelon; 67. Ye; 68. Layafalasyn; 69. Eye assereye; 70. Ydardycon; 71. Ocleyste; 72. Tutheon.

This list is an obvious Christian mishmash of mainly Greek and Hebrew names and words. Yet Ganell also incorporates strictly Jewish materials in one of his Schemhamphoras chapters, notably the one on the permutations of the divine name. These permutations are brought about by writing the *names* of the letters in full. In the figures that accompany this chapter, one can see the first letter of the tetragrammaton, the *yod*, surrounded by the three letters that constitute the word *yod*, which again is encompassed by the names of each of these three letters, and so on [י→יוד→יודואודלת]. This method, however, does not seem to be relevant for the Honorius chapter on the *sigillum Dei*, so I will refrain from a more detailed discussion.[60]

The great importance of the tetragrammaton (the *Nomen coronatum*, as Ganell calls it) has not prevented the divine name from falling victim to unintentional permutations at the hands of the compiler of the London Honorius. A careful comparison of the *LIH* with the *Summa* brings to light two revealing instances. In a conjuration in the second part of the *Liber iuratus*, there is a line that in the version of the *Summa* reads: *in nomine illius qui joth. he. vau. he. se Moysi nominavit.* In the printed edition of the *LIH* we read: *in nomine illius, qui Loke HenafHese Moysi nominavit.* One can see immediately how a lack of knowledge led to a most unfortunate misreading. The second instance is less clumsy: where the *LIH* reads *per hoc nomen Tetragrammaton ioht, he uau, deleth,* the text in the *Summa* has the correct *per hoc nomen ineffabile tetragramaton quid est* *joth. he. vau. he.*[61] From this we learn that the compiler of the *LIH*, and not the older Honorius, can be imputed with a lack of knowledge of Hebrew.

Building the Heavenly Throne: Part Two of the *Liber iuratus*

The consecration ritual and the *sigillum* are not the first sections that Ganell copied from the *Liber iuratus*. Even though the consecration ritual is a prerequisite for the *opera Dei* that follow and also for the conjuration of the planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits as described in the second, third, and fourth parts of the London Honorius, Ganell decided to incorporate later sections from the *Liber iuratus* in an earlier part of his *Summa*. They can be found in the third book, which deals specifically with angel and spirit invocations. In his introductory chapter, Ganell does his best to distinguish these rituals from those of the nigromancers who, *in caverna yspanie,* have established their own rite and persuaded Christians to abjure their own faith (*lex*) and ignore the pre-Easter fasts. This nigromantic rite is not the true magic of Virgil and Solomon but sheer folly—the invention of the disciples of Mohammed and of idolatrous Jews, sons of Belial from the tribe of Dan, who made the golden calf and who crucified Christ. Jews and Mohammedans, he adds, will never successfully invoke a good angel, for this is the prerogative of orthodox Christians alone.[62]

The first ritual with a clear parallel in the *LIH* that Ganell presents to his orthodox magicians can be found in chapter III.1.2. It is the ritual for the invocation of planetary angels (part two of the *LIH*). Though the text copied by Ganell clearly relates these angels to the seven planets, Ganell did not copy the division into planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits as a structuring device (in the way the London Honorius did), but rather presents the angels of the planets as *spiriti boni* and the spirits of the air (later on in III.1.3, *operatio* 5) as *spiriti maligni.* For invoking the planetary angels, one should make a ten-foot circle on a clearing in a wood, or on a high tower, without being seen by other people. Within this circle, one should construct another circle (seven feet across) of stones, three feet high. In the center, one should write (following the fifth book of Solomon): "Hoc est sedile contemplacio et visio angelica." On the periphery, one should write the names of the angels of hours, days, and months (following the prescription by Honorius). This more or less corresponds to what one can read in the second part of the *LIH,* though the additional reference to the fifth book of Solomon may suggest that Ganell introduced some alterations.[63]

The actual operation (which takes three days) begins by attending Mass and finding a trustworthy priest. Also, the usual prayers from the *Liber trium animarum* should be recited: nos. 13 (*in introitu*), 9 (*post offertorium*), 1 and 2 (at the altar), 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 (after the *Te igitur*), 26 (after communion, by the priest), 19 and 20 (by the *operans*). On his way to church, the operator should recite no. 16, and in church the nos. 22, 14, 23, 21, 32, 33, 34, 29, and 30.[64] After the consecration of the host, the priest should recite the prayer *Tu, Domine Ihesu Christe,*[65] and the operator nos. 17 (on leaving the church) and 15 (on arrival at the circle). This concludes the opus for day one. On the second day, the operator should return after compline and fumigate the circle, reciting prayer 17 and invoking Michael, Myel, Sarypyel, etc. He must then draw two new (concentric) circles one foot apart, with the names of the angels of hours, days, and months in between, and pronounce a brief prayer in which the angels on the command of their governor Zebedeye are invoked to descend on the *sedes Samaym.* A brief description (lacking in the *LIH*) details that this new two-line circle is nine feet across and should be placed next (*iuxta*) to the other circle with the seven-foot stone ring. This larger circle is called the *sedes Samaym* or *tronus celestis* because there the planetary angels descend on the stones. The other nine-foot circle, in which the *invocans* stands, is called the *tronus vel tribunal Salomonis.*[66]

The apex of the ritual comes on the third day, when the operator, having bathed, shaved, and dressed himself in white clothes, should stand either inside or outside the circle of the operator (*circulus artisti*) and recite prayer 31 (from the *LTA*) and the *Oratio Salomonis* (*Pheton celi et terre conditor*) while holding the consecrated *sigillum Dei* or the *Tabula Semamphoras* in his right hand. The *LIH* gives virtually the same prescriptions, with the difference that the operator does not have an option and is positioned outside the circle with the *Signum Domini* in his right hand. Then follow extensive ritual invocations, indicated by brief titles in the text, comprising an *invocatio angelorum*, a *sigillum et ligatio*, a *coniuratio*, and a *placacio.*[67] After performing these invocations three times, thunder will sound from heaven, angels will descend on the heavenly throne, and the operator can then reveal his wishes and question the angels on a multitude of subjects.

The *Summa* makes a fair number of suggestions and lists a whole range of topics, with specifications at the end for the different groups of planetary angels, since their distinct influence on nature gives them specific expertise. For some reason, the compiler of the *LIH* interprets this grocery list as a table of contents with a list of chapter titles that he positioned at the very beginning of the text, much to the despair of the serious reader and the editor of his book.[68] Why he made this mistake remains a mystery, though it seems probable that the list was on a separate, perhaps loose, sheet of the document that he used. A conspicuous difference between the text of the *SSM* and the *LIH* is the absence of the seven paragraphs with detailed descriptions of the names, appearances, and regions of the planetary angels. Only very brief lines with remarks about their influence on both human and nonhuman nature remain. Since these paragraphs seem to be such a cogent and sensible part of the text, one is inclined to believe that Ganell left them out because he did not require them as a structuring device for his presentation of the text. But this is by no means certain, and it is possible that a later editor added the information.

Ganell rounds off his chapter by providing the complete text of the prayer *Pheton celi et terre conditor.* His source text obviously presented the full text in part one of the *Liber,* but since Ganell began by copying part two, he inadvertently copied the incipit and the tag *et cetera;* realizing his oversight too late, he added the text at the end. Copying out part one in book IV, he remembered that he had already provided the full text, so now he simply settled for the incipit. The explicit of the prayer in chapter III.1.2 has the line adapted to the "visio Dei: ut abluto corpore te visibiliter cum tuis 9 angelorum ordinibus me vivente mea possit anima collaudare."[69]

Thunder and Lightning: Part Three of the *Liber iuratus*

Chapter III.1.3 of the *Summa, De invocacione spirituum,* is more than sixty pages long and deals with the invocation and conjuration of demons in nine detailed operations.[70] This is no business for the faint of heart, and the text contains a number of warnings for the operator to be very careful and not lose courage.[71] The fifth operation deals with the seven kings (*quos sanctus Honorius sic apellabit*) and occurs in the third part of the *LIH.* The seven kings are Barchan, Formyone, Yammax, Sarabotres, Harthau, Abaha, and Maymon.[72] This operation (which also takes three days) begins on day 14 (following a thirteen-day ritual, as outlined—we may surmise—in *LIH,* part one) when the operator, attending Mass, should recite prayers 19 and 10 (19 and 20 according to the *LIH*) from the *LTA* and the priest should recite the prayer *Domine Ihesu Christe, fili Dei vivi.* Leaving church, the operator should recite no. 17; then, reaching an appropriate spot where he can draw a circle, he should recite no. 15, and, drawing a nine-foot circle (within which are to be drawn two other circles, one foot apart, with angel names in between), he should recite no. 18. Outside this circle (divided into seven segments pointing in seven directions), seven names of the creator should be written either on the ground or on a sheet: Lyaly, Lyalg, Vehem, Yalgal, Narach, Lybarre, and Lybares. This concludes the ritual for the first day.[73]

On the second day, after the services from matins to compline, the operator must return to the circle, recite prayer 17, fumigate the circle, recite prayers 1 and 2, and delete the seven names. After a renewed fumigation, he should invoke the spirits of the air from the seven directions of the circle. Then he should kneel facing east, recite the *Pheton celi et terre conditor* prayer, and ask God to grant him power over the demons. Of the *Pheton* prayer, only the incipit is given (followed by "et cetera"), so that it is impossible to make out whether there should be an adaptation of the *ut abluto corpore* line. The London Honorius adds that tranquillity and clouds will surround the place of the operation. This concludes the second day.[74]

As in the previous chapter, the climax of the ritual occurs on the third day. The operator should bring a whole set of props, including a wax candle, a censer, wine, a wand, and seven swords, and a company of up to seven associates to the circle. With the sigil in his right hand, he should then pronounce seven *excitationes* (the *Ubi est* sequences) from the seven directions of the circle (though standing outside the circle) to constrain the demons and force them to obey. To produce the desired effects, the procedure may be repeated up to nine times. These effects are sevenfold and are made fairly explicit: they include thunder, lightning, great winds, silver clouds, and earthquakes. The compiler of the London Honorius deemed it wise to leave them out, probably for want of a Mediterranean imagination or the presence of a volcano. He contents himself with a vague *eorum motus insurgere,* for which a stiff drink might be sufficient, so that the progress of the ritual need not be compromised. Ganell's Honorius is stricter: if the effects do not show after nine trials, one should cancel the show for the day and try again on the next.[75] Should the Mediterranean climate (or the local drinking habits) comply, the operator must enter the circle and commence a new sequence of prayers (18, 1 and 2, 25, 27, 28, 31 from the *LTA*), fumigations, and invocations comprising an *applicatio, excitatio spirituum, oratio, invocatio, adiuratio, ligacio,* and *placacio.* The texts of this sequence are virtually the same in the *Summa* and the *LIH.*[76]

As with the previous sequence, this new set of prayers and invocations should also have mind-staggering effects. Fearful apparitions and enticing visions will try to chase or lure the associates from the circle, but the operator should not lose heart and should calm his companions, point at the sigil of God, and chase the bad visions away. The London Honorius contents himself with a terse *signa propria,* but the *Summa* elaborates and mentions thunder and lightning, heavy rainfall, sudden snow, devouring lions, and beautiful girls. I gather lions and pretty girls were too rare and bad weather too common in late medieval Britain to make this passage agreeable to adepts of the occult.[77] Once the spirits of the air have been constrained by the conjurations, they can be petitioned. The end of chapter III.1.3 contains a lengthy list of topics and brief notices on the aerial spirits, which the London compiler placed at the beginning of the third part,[78] thereby, once again, creating the wrong impression that it is a table of contents. As in the case of the sections on the planetary angels, the absence of the paragraphs with detailed descriptions of the aerial spirits also seems to suggest that Ganell, though quoting from them piecemeal, decided to leave them out of his presentation.

Let me conclude my description of these two operations for the invocation of planetary and aerial spirits by commenting briefly on Honorius's references to sigils. Hedegård, in the introduction to his edition of the *LIH,* wondered whether the original *Liber* had not contained images of the supplementary sigils that the text refers to, namely, the *sigillum angelorum,* the *sigillum aereorum,* and the *sigillum terreorum.* From the Honorius sections of the *Summa* we learn that the *sigillum Dei* and the *Tabula Semamphoras* (of which there are images in the *Summa*) are important, if not indispensable, props for the operations. Additionally, there are several references to sigils of the angels and of the aerial and the terrestrial spirits, not only in the Honorius sections but also elsewhere in the *Summa,* without—it should be added—images of these sigils. This is not surprising, as these sigils are presented as texts and not as figures.[79] Chapter III.1.3 does contain images of sigils (such as the *figura Amaym*) that look like shields, but these are not related to the Honorius rituals.[80]

A Summary of the Evidence

A careful comparison of the Honorius sections in the *Summa sacre magice* and the text of the Sloane manuscripts brings to light a number of new insights regarding the *Liber iuratus.* For the benefit of the reader, I would like to summarize my most important findings and conclusions in five points.

1. The *Liber iuratus* used by Ganell predates the text as contained in the Sloane manuscripts. The London Honorius is an unbalanced and disorganized composition. This is certainly due to a lack of skill or knowledge on the part of one or more of the editors (which can be shown from the errors in the tetragrammaton), but part of the disorder may also be attributed to the poor condition of one of the source manuscripts (whereby a list of petitions was mistaken for a table of contents). The inconsistencies and flaws that I noted in some of the prayers and in the presentation of the *sigillum Dei* prove that Ganell's copy of the *Liber* is an older and more reliable source. At the same time, there is a fair chance that Ganell's presentation of the material bears the imprint of his own editorial decisions and prejudices. Ganell's personal input may explain the absence of the well-ordered and detailed descriptions of the planetary and aerial spirits, but it does not explain the reliance of the Honorius sections on the *Liber trium animarum* and the *Schemhamphoras,* which are an authentic part of the Honorius text (to which Ganell himself testifies by calling the Honorius ritual an *ars nova*

and which can also be proved from the sequence of seventy-two letters in the London versions). One of the compilers (in the transmission history) of the *LIH* did not have a *Liber trium animarum* at his disposal, so that, while copying the prayer numbers, he came up with a new liturgy that he derived from the glossed redaction of the *Ars notoria* (possibly because a portion of that text was also labeled an *ars nova*). If this is true, it is further proof of the poor condition of the source manuscript.

2. Ganell's copy of the *Liber iuratus* appears to be a cogent and well-structured collection of ritual operations. It begins with a consecration ritual for the operator and the *sigillum Dei.* Once the sigil and the operator have been ritually purified and prepared, a number of theurgical operations (six in all) can be performed using the prayers and the assistant priest from the consecration rite. One particular line in the prayers, however, needs to be adjusted to the new situation, namely, the *ut abluto corpore* line (which in the consecration rite is geared to the *sigillum* and the *Schemhamphoras*), for which the text provides six alternative formulations. The *Liber iuratus* of the Sloane manuscripts disrupts this order by opening the text with a description and a brief consecration of the *sigillum* and then using the consecration rite as a ritual for obtaining the *visio Dei* (the first of the theurgical operations). This is evident from the use of the adapted *ut abluto corpore* line and the insertion of the references to the heavenly palace in the London version. It is not clear when this disruption was introduced, but it is possible that it occurred as a reaction to papal condemnations that may, in the London redaction, also have inspired the added origin myth of the council of magicians.

3. Following the organization of the *Liber* as presented by Ganell in chapters IV.1.5 and IV.1.6, one can imagine a hypothetical *Urfassung* comprising seven parts: a consecration ritual followed by six theurgical operations (a magical parallel to the six days of creation). These six theurgical operations are not represented in Ganell, unless the invocations of the planetary and aerial spirits constitute two of these. In the chapter on the planetary spirits, there is an adaptation of the *ut abluto corpore* line that adapts one of the prayers to the *visio Dei,* but the purpose of the ritual is not specifically the *visio Dei* but the *visio angelica.* On the whole, it seems more likely that the six theurgical operations are not written out in Ganell's *Summa* because they are intended to be modeled on the consecration ritual (which would explain the "disruption" in part one of the *LIH*). The spirit invocation rituals are then separate and additional operations.

How many of these separate and additional operations there were in our hypothetical source is not entirely clear. The *LIH* says that there are three classes of angels (celestial, aerial, and terrestrial),[81] which warrants at least three operations (for which there are matches in the *Summa* and the *LIH*). Yet the operation for the terrestrial spirits is extremely brief in the *LIH* and absent, as a separate ritual, from the *SSM* (at least I was unable to find it). The *LIH* says that there is a fifth part with expository notes, but some of these, notably on the theurgical operations, go with the description of the *sigillum* in the *SSM* and are hence an integrated part of the sections to which they apply. That the two spirit operations (planetary spirits and aerial spirits) are well integrated in the structure of book three of the *SSM* suggests that further research on Ganell's text is required to establish whether or not there are additional Honorius sections.

4. Ganell's text does not support the general hypothesis that the *LIH* is made up of (at least) two different texts (a manual of demonic magic [parts 2–4 of the *LIH*] and a theurgical treatise [part 1 of the *LIH*]). The use of the *sigillum Dei* and the *Tabula Semamphoras*, as well as the "recycling" of several prayers and *voces magicae*, not to mention the constant reference to the *Liber trium animarum*, creates a strong set of links between the consecration ritual (IV.1.5 and IV.1.6) and the spirit invocations (III.1.2 and III.1.3, op. 5). It also integrates these portions of Honorius in the overall structure of the *Summa*, so that one should keep in mind that Ganell himself may have enhanced this appearance of cohesion. No matter what Ganell has added or changed, however, it remains clear that the source texts for Ganell's redaction and the LIH strongly resembled each other.

5. References to Jewish and Islamic magic are enticing features of the *Liber iuratus*. The claim that only orthodox Christians can be successful magicians is present in both the London version and a chapter of the *Summa*. There is no reason to believe that Ganell's Honorius source did not share this bias, but there seems to be no direct quotation from this Honorius source to prove this. References to Islam are conspicuously absent from the London version, which (instead) discredits the efficacy of angel magic operations as performed by Jews. At the same time, the London version shows even stronger traces of Jewish influence than Ganell's version (in the references to the heavenly palaces, which are absent from Ganell's text). The Honorius chapters in the *Summa*, by contrast, derive material from Jewish mystical and kabbalistic sources but display no specific disrespect for Jews as magicians. A distinguishing feature of the Honorius chapters in the *SSM* is rather the anti-Islamic polemics. It is not inconceivable that Ganell's personal influence contributed to this characteristic, but if the "original" *Liber iuratus* originated in a *reconquista* context (which is more than likely), a similar attitude might be expected in Ganell's Honorius source. The absence of the references to Islam in the London version, along with the addition of the story of the council of magicians and the foregrounding of the *visio Dei* in the consecration ritual, constitutes clear evidence that the text was adapted to a new and different context.

The history of the reception and adaptation of the *Liber iuratus* did not end with the editors and copyists responsible for the Sloane manuscripts. In the sixteenth century a new chapter was added to the tradition.

Conclusion: John Dee and the Honorius Tradition

On Saturday, March 10, 1582, two days after Edward Kelley had first introduced himself to John Dee at Mortlake under the name Edward Talbot, the angel Uriel gave instructions through him regarding a foursquare table upon which should be set the *sigillum Dei,* "which is already *perfected in a boke of thyne." In a marginal note in his diary, commenting on the word "perfected," Dee added: "*Erronice, contra ignorantiam meam, vide post." Toward Kelley, who had been bent on discrediting the reputation of Barnabas Saul, Dee's previous medium in his angel communications, who had left Dee's household a few days before, John Dee pleaded unfamiliarity with the "vulgarly accounted magic." Talbot, who had been introduced as a very learned man by his friend Mr. Clerkson over dinner on Friday evening, had been all too eager to instruct Dee in the magical arts. That very evening he would have been able to take a look at the magical books in Dee's library and present himself the next day as a superior medium, not only offering more drama in the appearance of the angels but also outdoing the knowledge of magic contained in the books of John Dee.[82]

The ignorance of Dee and the learning of Kelley are both to be taken with a pinch of salt. If by March 1582 Dee had already studied the *Liber iuratus* and the chapters in Ganell, he would have noticed, as we did above, the discrepancies between them and would have been aware of the tradition and development of the ritual. While Dee would have learned about the progressive character of magic and would have accepted novel applications of older forms, Kelley, for his part, would have been less interested in studying Dee's sources than in deriving from them optically interesting features such as the *sigillum.* The "perfected" image may have been the sketchy illustration in what is now Sloane 313, or the completed image in Ganell's *Summa.* As I argued earlier, the Sloane figure is the most likely candidate for its similarities with Dee's own sigil, but for a proper understanding of its construction Dee would have been well served by Ganell's text. Yet this knowledge is annulled and brushed aside by Kelley's angels, who have their own novel and quite creative dynamics in building the *sigillum Dei.* The seventy-two-letter Schemhamphoras in the encompassing circle is made redundant and replaced by a division in forty letters that constitute seven angel names composed by going round the circle clockwise and counterclockwise. A host of angels make their appearance, each bearing a letter or sign that has its own special place in the sigil. All of this was new to Dee, and, no doubt impressed by what we now tend to recognize as Kelley's charismatic and dramatic qualities, he acknowledged his ignorance and deemed the older tradition of the sigil an error. As the later (perhaps the London) Honorius copied the vacuous prayer numbers of the ritual and filled them with a new content derived from the *Ars notoria,* so Dee and Kelley stripped the sigil of God of its older content and filled it with a new passion for the angelic world. Magic has this singular capacity to inspire its practitioners and rise like a phoenix from whatever ashes it has been cast into by historical contingency.

Dee was looking not for historical truth but for metaphysical truth. Historians of magic are usually quite content with the former. The big codex with which Dee could apparently part without regret on his long continental journey is thus of tremendous importance for the scholar. It is a book that will cause several chapters in the history of magic to be rewritten (the Honorius tradition to begin with), and that will make the historian aware of the importance of the Mediterranean coastal region (the Baleares, southern France, eastern Spain) for the development not only of Jewish Kabbalah and the Lullian art,[83] or of heresies such as Catharism, but also of Christian magic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Inquisition no doubt eradicated many of the traces of this magical tradition, and it is telling that its remnants have to be looked for in peripheral and more northern regions. Ganell's efforts in compiling a collection of all the texts known to him in the fourteenth century present us with new sources for a better assessment of the influence of Jewish and Arabic magic and also raise new questions regarding the dating of magical traditions.

I have not speculated on a date of origin for the Honorius ritual, basically because I feel quite content with making it contemporary with the later years of Llull (who died in 1316), which is not very much earlier than the period of composition scholars have suggested so far. Yet the fact that Ganell has documented an Honorius text (an *ars nova*) that stands in a longer tradition no longer automatically excludes a possible date of origin somewhere in the thirteenth century.

Appendix: An Overview of the Correspondences Between the Versions of the *Sworn Book*

For the benefit of the reader, the correspondences between the London Honorius and Ganell's text have been put into tables for easy reference. The first table lists the locations where sections from the London Honorius can approximately be found in Ganell's *Summa* (and in the Halle manuscript that used the Kassel manuscript as a source). The second table shows, in greater detail, which passages from Ganell can be correlated to the same or similar passages from the first three parts of the London Honorius.

Table 1

***LIH* (ed. Hedegård)**	**Ganell, Kassel 4° astron. 3**	**Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36**
Part 1	SSM IV.1.5–6 (L.4.f.14, line 28–L.4.f.23, line 14)	—
Part 2	SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.2, line 8–L.3.f.8, line 14)	Fols. 226r–229v
Part 3	SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.29, line 6–L.3.f.39, line 10)	—
Part 4	SSM (L.1.f.23, line 42–L.1.f.24, line 3)	—

Table 2

Ganell, Kassel 4° astron. 3	***LIH* (ed. Hedegård)**
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.2, line 32–L.3.f.3, line 6)	[Part 2] CXII.2–7 (not verbatim)
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.3, lines 6–11)	[Part 2] CXII.8–10
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.3, lines 14–33)	[Part 2] CXIV.1–9
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.3, line 44–L.3.f.4, line 2)	[Part 2] CXV.1
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.4, line 6–L.3.f.6, line 27)	[Part 2] CXV.3–48
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.6, lines 28–43)	[Part 2] CIII.2–10
SSM III.1.2 (L.3.f.7, lines 1–17)	[Part 2] CV–CXI (oblique correspondence)
SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.29, lines 6–33)	[Part 3] CXXVII.1–13
SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.30, line 8–L.3.f.31, line 26)	[Part 3] CXXVIII.1–28
SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.31, line 27–L.3.f.33, line 28)	[Part 3] CXXIX.1–37
SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.33, line 28–L.3.f.35, line 40)	[Part 3] CXXX–CXXXIII.17
SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.35, line 41–L.3.f.38, line 5)	[Part 3] CXXXIII.18–58
SSM III.1.3 (L.3.f.38, line 5–L.3.f.39, line 10)	[Part 3] CXVI.1–12
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.15, lines 30–32)	[Part 1] IV.51
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.15, lines 35–37)	[Part 1] IV.57

Ganell, Kassel 4° astron. 3	***LIH* (ed. Hedegård)**
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.15, lines 37–L.4.f.16, line 8)	[Part 1] LII.1–10
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.16, lines 9–28, 39)	[Part 1] XCVIII.1–9
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.16, lines 27–39)	[Part 1] IV.58–63
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.16, line 39–L.4.f.17, line 8)	[Part 1] XCIX.1–4
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.17, line 8–L.4.f.18, line 3)	[Part 1] C.1–14
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.18, lines 3–5)	[Part 1] C.15
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.18, lines 10–12)	[Part 1] C.31
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.18, lines 17–19)	[Part 1] CI.1
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.18, lines 22–39)	[Part 1] CI.9–15
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.18, line 40–L.4.f.20, line 14)	[Part 1] CI.20–44
SSM IV.1.5 (L.4.f.20, line 14)	[Part 1] CI.45 (first half)
SSM IV.1.6 (L.4.f.21, line 25–L.4.f.22, line 28)	[Part 1] IV.1–48 (not verbatim)
SSM IV.1.6 (L.4.f.22, lines 30–L.4.f.23, line 3)	[Part 1] CII.1 and [Part 5] CXXXVI.3–8

NOTES

1. For a recapitulation of the scholarly discussion surrounding dating and background of this text, see the introduction to Katelyn Mesler's chapter in this volume. Other discussions are Robert Mathiesen, "A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes," in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic,* ed. Claire Fanger (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998), 143–62; Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus,* the *Liber visionum,* and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," in Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits,* 250–65; Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Magie théurgique, angélologie et vision béatifique dans le *Liber sacratus sive juratus* attribué à Honorius de Thèbes," in "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Henri Bresc, and Benoît Grévin, special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114, no. 2 (2002): 851–90. Boudet was the first to point out that the *Liber iuratus* could be a compilation of two texts. See also Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (forthcoming), chapter 4.3. In chapter 3.3, Klaassen draws attention to two copies of the *Liber iuratus* belonging to the library of the Austin Friars in York (A8.362, *Liber honorii divisus in 5 tractatus,* and A8.364, *Liber sacratus Petri Abelardi*); the manuscripts, which are not extant, belonged to the library of collector John Erghome. The Sloane manuscripts were edited by Gösta Hedegård, *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002), hereafter cited as *LIH.*

2. Carlos Gilly, "Between Paracelsus, Pelagius, and Ganellus: Hermetism in John Dee," in *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal '400 al '700: L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto,* ed. Carlos Gilly and Cis van Heertum, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), 1:286–94. As far as I can determine, nothing is known about the author Berengario Ganell. Some traces remain of the reception history of the *Summa.* An anonymous fifteenth-century treatise in defense of astrology and magic includes a brief reference to a text by Ganell in a list of works on astrological images. See Paolo Lucentini and Antonella Sannino, "*Recommendatio astronomiae:* Un anonimo trattato del secolo XV in difesa dell'astrologia e della magia," in *Magic and the Classical Tradition,* ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London: Warburg Institute,

2006), who write, "Burgarii *De diffinicione virorum et mulierum*, qui sic incipit: 'Capitulum Burgarii ad diffinicionem' etc." (190). (Burgarius is a misreading of Berengarius.) Johannes Trithemius listed Ganell's *Summa* in his *Antipalus maleficiorum* (1508); see the extract in Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident medieval (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 543, esp. note 22. Boudet notes that in 1347 Ganell personally handed over a copy (probably his own) of the *Liber iuratus* to one Étienne Pépin, who was involved in a sorcery trial (Boudet refers to Edmond Falgairolle, *Un envoûtement en Gévaudan en l'année 1347* [Nîmes: Catélan, 1892], 68–70).

3. The Latin text is in Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel/Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 4° astron. 3; the German translation is in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Germ., fol. 903. In what follows, references to the Latin text of the *Summa sacre magice* (hereafter *SSM*) follow the pagination of the manuscript added by John Dee. References to the German translation (hereafter *SSMG*) follow the conventional foliation of the manuscript. An edition of the text is currently being prepared by Damaris Gehr from Basel. The codex with the Latin text consisted of seventeen quires, four of which (9, 12, 14, 16) are now missing. Since Dee's foliation shows similar lacunae, we may conclude that he was in possession of the complete copy. The German translation is based on the complete text, thus providing material otherwise lost. Yet even this German translation is defective, notably in the Honorius section, where several pages of the text were not bound into the book, so that there is now a lacuna between fol. 474v and fol. 476r, compensated for by an inserted leaf (fol. 475) in an illegible hand with a "sketchy" text intended to bridge the evident gap between the two text segments. There is another manuscript containing part of Ganell's Latin text at Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 14. B. 36 (hereafter Halle, ULB). The scribe of this manuscript copied a number of sections from Ganell's *Summa* almost verbatim, including the ritual of the second part of the London *Liber iuratus* and Ganell's Almandal chapter. *SSM*, L.3.f.2, line 32–L.3.f.8, line 14, corresponds almost verbatim to Halle, ULB, fols. 226r, line 17–229v, line 33 and contains nearly all of the text of *LIH*, §§CIII–CXV. The scribe of the Halle manuscript seems to have been primarily concerned with the *Liber Razielis*, but he incorporated in his compilation a section on the *Almandal*. The materials for this he derived directly from the *Summa* by Ganell, who, in his third book, describes several lengthy "mandal" rituals, at least two of which (and perhaps more) he copied from Honorius's *Liber iuratus*. On the Halle manuscript, see Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 262–90. With special regards to Dr. Leicht for drawing my attention to the *Almandal* texts in the Halle manuscript.

4. *SSM*, V.2.13 (L.5.f.102, line 24); Ganell mentions "12 annos proximos futuros," beginning with 1346. Dee copied that year in the margin as a reminder of when the text was written. In *SSM* III.1.3 (L.3.f.39, line 26) there is another reference to the year 1346 in a passage in which Ganell laments the decline in the knowledge of the *Ars magica*.

5. On Dee and Moritz of Hessen, see Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 92–94.

6. The German translator was evidently unfamiliar with the *Liber iuratus*. In the table of contents, he translated the title of chapter IV.1.5 as "Das funiffte von der Ehrwerdigen heiligung" (*SSMG*, fol. 5v), unaware of the fact that *honorij* is a name rather than an adjective. In the actual chapter itself (*SSMG*, fol. 470v), he corrects himself by translating "Das funffte Capittell von der heiligung Honorij," without correcting the phrase in the table of contents.

7. *SSM*, III.1.2–3 contain the text of *LIH*, parts 2 (§§CIII–CXV) and 3 (§§CXVI–CXXXIII).

8. For instance, Ganell's chapter on the *Almandal*, which survives in the German translation as well as in Halle, ULB, 14. B. 36 (fols. 230r–233v), bears great resemblance to the *Almandal* in the Florentine manuscript, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, II.III.214, fols. 74v–78v. Yet the style and wording are completely different. Ganell's use of the Honorius text, on the other hand, is very close to the "original."

9. See, e.g., *SSM*, L.2.f.20, lines 28–29: *Ita docet Honorius in sua autentica invocatione libri sacri* (the reference is to *LIH*, §CXXXIII.38, p. 141); *SSM*, L.2.f.21, line 25 (*Honorius in toto suo libro*); and L.4.f.49 (*dixit Sanctus Honorius in libro jurato*).

10. *SSM,* IV.2.3, L.4.f.38–L.4.f.50. Regarding these prayers he remarks, "sunt orationes artis nove vel moderne." John Dee numbered the prayers of the *Ars nova* in the margin of the manuscript (nos. 1–51), which testifies to his careful study (and probably also practice) of the ritual. One gets the impression that the *Ars nova* is some kind of liturgical innovation in occult circles at the time of Ganell or earlier, when traditional magical texts were revised and upgraded. There is a chapter in the *Summa* (IV.1.4) dealing with thirty prayers of the *ars vetus;* all of these prayers are to be used for consecration purposes. Compared with these, Honorius, in Ganell's eyes, offers a *sacratio moderna* (*SSM,* IV.1.4, L.4.f.15, line 27). The term *Ars nova* is also used for liturgical innovations in the second phase of the development of the *Ars notoria;* there the *Ars nova* is a collection of ten prayers contained in the *Flores aurei.* See Julien Véronèse, "Les anges dans l'*Ars notoria:* Révélation, processus visionnaire et angélologie," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," 819–22. From *SSM,* chapter IV.2.3, it is not clear what the title of this *Book of Three Souls* refers to. One is inclined to believe that these are the three souls of man. If the prayers were modeled on Jewish sources, the souls would be *nefesh, ru’ah,* and *neshamah,* of which the third is a higher power that enables man to mystically apprehend the Godhead. See Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Penguin, 1974), 155.

11. Echoes of the very terse fourth part of the *LIH* can be found in *SSM,* L.1.f.23, line 42–L.1.f.24, line 3, and L.3.f.59 (notably the text of the *sigillum terre* of *LIH,* §CXXXV.13–14, p. 143). Part five of the London text is probably an editorial addition of the compiler. It contains bits and pieces of information that should have been inserted in the preceding parts in their appropriate places. For a schematic overview of the textual parallels, see the appendix at the end of this chapter.

12. See, e.g., *SSM,* L.3.f.39, line 44; L.3.f.41, line 11; and L.3.f.47, line 3.

13. In the prologue of the *Liber iuratus* of the Sloane manuscripts, Honorius states that he consulted the angel Hocrohel and derived his material from seven volumes of magic to compose ninety-three chapters (*LIH,* §I.16, p. 61). Hedegård speculates on the meaning of this reference: the number seven might be symbolical, or the *LIH* might be a condensed version of one big book or a *florilegium* from several books. Honorius's ambition to compose a *Liber* in five parts with ninety-three chapters finds an interesting parallel in Ganell's *opus magnum,* which consists of five parts and eighty-five chapters. The ambitions of the owner or editor of the German version of the *Summa* went even further. The initial pages of the table of contents of the original translator of Ganell's book were removed and replaced by three leaves written in a different hand and containing a title page (*Arbatel De magia veterum, Von der Magia oder geistlichen Kunst*) and a leaf with a *Liber primus,* which turns out to be an introduction to magic. All five sections of the book were renumbered (book I became III, and book V became VII), and at the end (*SSMG,* fol. 806v) "finis 8 libri" was mistakenly written. A fairly extensive magical text added after the Ganell book is therefore labeled part 9: "Tomus Nonus et Ultimus / Das Neund unnd letzte buch der Magia Naturalis" (*SSMG,* fols. 807r–892r). Books 2 and 8 are not present.

14. This did not prevent the *Liber iuratus* from bearing the clear imprint of Jewish traditions; see Katelyn Mesler's chapter in this volume. A reference to Metatron can be found in *SSM,* L.2.f.22, line 18. See esp. note 62 below on Ganell's anti-Islamic polemic.

15. *SSM,* L.4.f.23, lines 8ff.

16. A similar passage appears in *LIH,* §IV.51, p. 69.

17. A similar passage appears in *LIH,* §IV.57, p. 70.

18. There is an almost verbatim correspondence with *LIH,* §LII.1–10, pp. 91–92.

19. There is an almost verbatim correspondence with *LIH,* §XCVIII.1–9, p. 108. Where the *LIH* has *volentis videre celeste palacium,* the *SSM,* L.4.f.16, line 9, reads *volentem talia facere.*

20. There is an almost verbatim correspondence with *LIH,* §XCIX.1–4 (of the prayer *Et tu, Domine, per annunciacionem;* the incipit can be found in §IV.59, p. 70) and §C.1–14, pp. 108–10. Significant differences are the absence of the reference to the *Liber trium animarum* in the London Honorius, and the absence of the list of one hundred names (*LIH,* §CI.2–8, p. 112) from Ganell's Honorius.

21. The full text of *Pheton celi et terre conditor* is in *SSM,* L.3.f.7, line 22–L.3.f.8, line 14 (= Halle, ULB, fols. 229r, line 39–229v, line 33) and in *LIH,* §C.15–27, pp. 110–11.

22. The (almost verbatim) parallels can be found on pp. 110–14 of the *LIH:* §C.15 (§C.16–30 not in the *SSM*), §C.31, §CI.1 (§CI.2–8 not in the *SSM*), §CI.9–15 (§CI.16–18 not in the *SSM*), and §CI.20–44.

23. *SSM*, L.4.f.18, lines 12–14; cf. Acts 1:3. See Hedegård's introduction to *LIH*, p. 35. Both Honorius texts, by the way, speak of "Rabur, qui 40 dierum spacio in deserto jeiunasti et a demone temptatus es," a reference to Christ's temptation in the desert. Both Honorius texts also refer to Christ's ascension in the same prayer, but whereas Ganell's Honorius sees this "post 40 dierum spacium" (*SSM*, L.4.f.19, line 44), the London Honorius has "post trium dierum spacium" (*LIH*, §CI.39, p. 114).

24. "Deign to bless and consecrate this most sacred name and your seal." See *SSM*, L.4.f.19, line 39, and L.4.f.20, lines 9–10. This is a deliberate omission on the part of the London Honorius rather than an addition by Ganell's Honorius. See below.

25. *SSM*, L.4.f.18, lines 20–21. In the *LIH*, the seventy-two-letter name is not actually the hundredth name in the list. It stands at the very end and would, then, be the hundred and first.

26. Julien Véronèse identified the prayers; see also Katelyn Mesler's chapter in this volume.

27. Induction of visions during sleep is one of the features Kieckhefer identified as linking the *Sworn Book* with Jewish cultural practices ("Devil's Contemplatives," 256). Obviously, dream incubation is not strictly a Jewish practice; sleeping visions are also a central feature of the ritual practice described in the John of Morigny's *Liber florum celestis doctrine*. The theme of revelations during sleep recurs in the *Anacrisis*, a work by the Majorcan hermit Pelagius (who died in 1480); see Gilly, "Between Paracelsus, Pelagius, and Ganellus," 288–89. There are several eighteenth-century manuscripts of his work in German libraries. Leipzig, University Library, C. M. 4. 13 (*Pelagii Eremitae II Bücher von Erkändnüss und Nahmen seines guten Engels*), C. M. 4. 25 (*Magister Pelagii Eremitae in Insula Majoricarum Circulus seu tabula veritatis*), C. M. 4. 26 (*Drey Bücher Pelagii*); Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, N93 (*Pelagij Eremitae drey Bücher; von denen Offenbahrungen, so im Schlaffe geschehen*).

28. *LIH*, §CI.45–48, pp. 114–15.

29. *LIH*, §CI.45–59, pp. 114–15.

30. *SSM*, L.4.f.21, lines 20–21; the *Tabula Semamphoras* is on L.2.f.15.

31. Ramon Llull, *Ars brevis: Lateinisch-Deutsch*, trans. and ed. Alexandra Fidora (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1999), 8–15.

32. Gilly, "Between Paracelsus, Pelagius, and Ganellus," 291, points out, "Curiously enough, it is the same sigil which was earlier known in Spain as an amulet of the four 'sects' ('Iudaicae, Christianae, Mahumetanae et Paganae'). In the fifteenth century it was to have belonged to the famous Marquis, writer and magus Don Enrique de Villena. The Duke of Alcalá, viceroy of Naples, had it printed on vellum in the seventeenth century, as appears from a letter by a Spanish Jesuit to Athanasius Kircher (cf. *Oedipus aegyptiacus*, II 2, 479–83). Naturally Kircher seized the opportunity to print an image of this sigil to illustrate his chapter on the *Magia hieroglyphica*, at the same time providing a lengthy commentary." Joseph H. Peterson incorporated Kircher's text in the second appendix of his *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook of Enochian Magic* (Boston: Weiser/Red Wheel, 2003), 433–35. The sigil as reprinted by Kircher, it will be noted, is defective. Bruno used the heptagon in a figure of the seven planets in his *De rerum principiis*. See Giordano Bruno, *Opere magiche*, ed. S. Bassi, E. Scapparone, and N. Tirinnanzi (Milan: Adelphi Edizioni, 2003), 658.

33. It is interesting to see that Ganell's *Almandal* chapter, unfortunately missing from the Kassel manuscript but extant in the Halle copy and also in the German translation, has no *Almandal* image. Instead, it provides a description of the image that seems to match very well the *Almandal* images found in Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II.III.214, fol. 74v.

34. *LIH*, §IV.12, p. 67. The phrase puzzled the editor (see pp. 155–56).

35. Several grammarians have pointed out that "h" is not a letter. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* II.3.1: "H litteram sive illam spiritum magis quam litteram dici oportet"; Sedulius Scotus, *In priscianum*, CM 40C (B. Löfstedt, 1977), p. 71: "quibus uerbis euidenter ostenditur h litteram non esse sed partem litterae cui cohaeret"; and Laurentius Corvinus, *Carminum structura* (Krakow, 1496, in the chapter *Regulae de syllabarum quantitate*): "H non est littera." With kind regards to Dr. Grantley McDonald for supplying me with these references.

36. There are other clues that the London author was actually describing a *sigillum* that he had *seen*. According to Ganell's text, the words on the third heptagon should read: "ad vos Duynas Gyram Gravy Aysaram Alpha." In the London text this is: "Vos Duynas Gyram Gram Aysaram Alpha ω" (§IV.40–41, p. 69). The four strokes of "uy" could easily be mistaken for an "m," but the point to note here is the "ad vos" sequence that the London author interprets as "ω vos." The phrase actually means "to you" (after which follow the divine names), which is clear from Ganell's text but not from the figure

if one traces the sequence clockwise, for then the line begins with "Vos" and ends with two rounded pen strokes, which (after Alpha) can easily be interpreted as ω.

37. Could this be the tripartite soul of man, comprising the *anima vegetativa*, the *anima sensitiva*, and the *anima rationalis*? Or is there a link with the three souls from the title of the *Liber trium animarum*?

38. Of these six works of God, the first five are listed at the end of the first part and in the fifth part of the *LIH*, i.e., in §CII.1 (p. 115) and §CXXXVI.3 (p. 144), respectively.

39. *SSM*, L.4.f.22, lines 35–36, and L.4.f.23, lines 3–5, respectively. The conjuration of the spirits is a work necessary for the battle against Islam.

40. The adaptations for opera 2, 3, 4, and 5 can be found in *SSM*, L.4.f.23, line 36–L.4.f.24, line 3, and in *LIH*, part 5, §CXXXVI.5–8, pp. 144–45. For some reason, the sixth opus was omitted (possibly because the battle against Islam was deemed irrelevant).

41. These are the places in the *LIH* and the *SSM* where the phrase *ut abluto corpore* occurs: *LIH*, §XCVII.9, p. 108: *ut abluto corpore—collaudere* written in full (= *SSM*, L.4.f.16, lines 27–28: *ut abluto corpore—consecrare digneris* written in full); *LIH*, §XCIX.3, p. 109: *ut abluto corpore—collaudere* written in full (= *SSM*, L.4.f.17, lines 2–4: *ut abluto corpore—consecrare digneris* written in full); possibly *LIH*, §C.8, p. 109: the reference might be concealed behind *corpus meum et cetera* (= *SSM*, L.4.f.17, line 31: *corpus meum et cetera*); *LIH*, §C.14, p. 110: *ut abluto corpore et cetera* (= *SSM*, L.4.f.18, line 3: *ut abluto corpore et cetera*); *LIH*, §C.27, p. 111: *ut abluto corpore et cetera* (= *SSM*, L.4.f.18, lines 6–8: *ut abluto corpore—consecrare* written in full); and *LIH*, §CI.15, p. 112: *ut abluto corpore et cetera* (= *SSM*, L.4.f.18, lines 38–39: *ut abluto corpore et cetera*).

42. *LIH*, §CXXXVII.4, 7, 10 (pp. 145–46).

43. *SSM*, IV.5, L.4.f.15, lines 33–34.

44. The text was integrally reprinted (with minor mistakes) by Johann Christoph Adelung in his *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1788), part 6, 405–56. On this text and relevant secondary literature, see Bernd Roling, "The Complete Nature of Christ: Sources and Structures of a Christological Theurgy in the Works of Johannes Reuchlin," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 265.

45. Andreas Luppius, *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis regis* (Wesel, 1686), 4. The author actually quotes Agrippa here: "Deus ipse, licet sit unitissimus, sortitur tamen diversa nomina, non quae diversas eius essentias aut deitates exponant, sed quasdam proprietates ab eo emanentes; [. . .] Et extrahuntur multa nomina Dei et angelorum ex Sacris Scripturis per artem cabalisticam, calculatoriam et notariacam et gimetriam." Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, ed. Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Leiden: Brill, 1992), III.11, pp. 427–28.

46. *SSM*, II.2.7, L.2.f.23, lines 42–43; also in L.1.f.6, lines 15–16. See Luppius, *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras*, 5. Luppius did not derive this information from Agrippa, and his use of the material may well testify to the reception of either Ganell's *Summa* or of one or more of his sources (possibly material as we find it in the Halle manuscript) in Germany. *SSM*, II.2.7, L.2.f.23, line 28–L.2.f.24, line 6, contains the seven segments of Adam's Schemhamphoras, albeit in slightly different form (and in the sequence 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 5, 2). An expanded version can be found in the Schemhamphoras section of the Halle manuscript. According to the incipit (fol. 244r, line 1), this *Liber Semiphoras* was translated from Hebrew into Latin, which would mean that the materials presented by the Halle manuscript and Ganell's *Summa* derive immediately from Hebrew sources. The Schemhamphoras of Adam is on fols. 246v, line 10–247r, line 12. The Halle manuscript further contains a *figura Semyphoras* very similar to the image in the *Summa* (see fol. 249r) and the *Glosae Semiphoras* by Sadoch Judaeus (inc. fol. 249v). The translation was commissioned by Alphonse X of Castile; on this manuscript, see Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 196–97.

47. *SSM*, L.2.f.24, lines 7–16. As sources of his Schemhamphoras material, Ganell mentions Solomon's *Liber vite* and Toç Grecus. In the Halle manuscript, the *Semyforas Moysi* can be found on fols. 247r, line 11–248r, line 6.

48. "Et per 72 N. 3 litterarum: Uehu. Yely. Cayatz. Ghaulam. Mahas. Lalah. Alba. Cahath. Hazay. Alahd. Laau. Haha. Yazal. Mana. Aray." *SSM*, L.2.f.23, lines 3–12. Ganell does not explain how this list is constructed. To make an adequate comparison, let me quote part of the list from a manuscript giving the Hebrew names together with a transcription, viz., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek,

Cod. Guelf. 1081 Novi, fol. 9r: "Vehu-Jah; Jeli-El; Sita-El; Salam-Jah; Mahach-Jah; Lelah-El; Acha-Jah; Cahæth-El; Hazi-El; Alad-Jah; Lau-Jah." There are differences, but on the whole Ganell seems to stay fairly close to the Hebrew.

49. Martin Luther, "Vom Schem Hamphoras," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 121 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlaus, 1883–2009), 53:573–648. "Wo hat ers gelesen? Der saw im hindern" (601). The Weimar edition has the famous picture of the Judensau as an illustration on p. 600. Luther referred to the sculpture when he wrote his treatise, and later readers of Luther added the word Schemhamphoras to the image.

50. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1081 Novi (see note 48 above). The manuscript contains "ein Büchlein genandt Schem Hammaphoras שֵׁם הַמְּפוֹרָשׁ *Nomen Dei expositum* was solches heiße, seijn nuze und würdt, wie es auch nicht allein von Uralten Zeiten here beij den Juden gebraucht, und hoch gehalten, sondern beßer, kräfftiger und löblicher, von alten frommen und andächtigen Christen"; the second half of the book is a Paracelsian treatise called "Schatz Kammer der Nathur."

51. Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, III.25, pp. 472–81. This chapter appears in the 1533 edition and may have been derived from Johannes Reuchlin's *De arte cabalistica* 3 from 1517; see Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah: De arte cabalistica*, trans. Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 261–73.

52. "Hebraeorum mecubales ex quodam textu, qui est in Exodo, septuaginta duo cum angelorum, tum Dei nomina deducunt, quod nomen septuaginta duarum literarum et schemhamphoras, hoc est 'expositorum,' vocant; alii ulterius progredientes ex singulis Scripturae locis tot innuunt divina nomina, ut eorum numerus et quae significant sint nobis penitus ignota." Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, III.11, p. 428.

53. "Sunt autem et alii plures modi ex eisdem versiculis fabricandi Schemhamphoras, ut cum omnes tres recto ordine sibi subalternatim a dextra in sinistram scribuntur, praeter illos qui per tabulas Ziruph et tabulas commutationum extrahuntur." Ibid., III.25, p. 473.

54. Joshua Trachtenberg, in his *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1939; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1984), 95–96, 289n22, speaks of a name of seventy-two letters *or elements* and treats the "72-letter name" mainly as a label (for the Vehuiah list), even though midrashic sources explicitly speak of a name of seventy-two letters. Cf. Ludwig Blau, *Das jüdische Zauberwesen* (1898; reprint, Darmstadt: Hesse & Becker, 1987), 139–45.

55. *SSM*, II.2.5, L.2.f.14– L.2.f.17.

56. See *SSM*, II.2.5, L.2.f.14– L.2.f.17. Note that from a topographical point of view, the cardinal directions have been inverted in assigning the four languages to them.

57. *SSM*, II.2.7, L.2.f.20– L.2.f.26.

58. *SSM*, II.2.7, L.2.f.24, lines 22–24. (There is also a reference to the *N ineffabile 72 literarum* in L.3.f.63, lines 42–43.)

59. The list of the Great Schemhamphoras can be found in *SSM*, II.2.7, L.2.f.25, lines 5–26; and in *SSMG*, fol. 165v. In conformity with Hedegård's edition of the "100 Dei vivi nomina" (p. 112), I have numbered the names. In addition, I have printed the initial letters in bold. Here is the list of twenty-three correspondences (with the names from the "100 nomina" in parentheses): 1. Theos (90. Theos); 4. Xps (93. Christus); 5. On (16. On); 7. Alpha ω (30. Alpha et Ω); 8. Baruch (69. Baruch); 9. Agla (1. Agla); 12. Joth (19. Ioht); 16. Ysiston (47. Ysiston); 23. Onoytheon (54. Omytheon); 25. Oristyon (32. Oristion); 33. Ely (10. Hely); 34. Kyryos (77. Kyrios); 36. Pantheon (73. Pantheon); 38. Ynestre (24. Iuestre); 44. Nathanathoy (45. Nathanathay); 50. Gofgamel (14. Gofgameli); 52. Rabur (100. Rabur); 61. Occynomeryon (61. Occynoneryon); 62. Nomygon (88. Nomygon); 63. Oryona (41. Orion); 64. Nosulaseps (57. Nosulaceps); 71. Ocleyste (5. Ocleiste); 72. Tutheon (58. Tutheon). The names in *SSMG* are more or less the same. Here are a few samples to illustrate that the German translator not only produced some orthographic variants but was also unaware of the importance of the number seventy-two for this list, since he cut some of the names in two: (15) Ÿal, Gal; (17) Sapsoÿÿ; (19) Achyonada, Bazar; (20) Lauaquijrijn; (41) Elgijbor; (47) Epafgri.

60. See *SSM*, II.3.3, *De revolutione N. semamphoras.*

61. For the first instance, see *SSM*, L.3.f.5, lines 17–18 (= Halle, ULB, fol. 228r, line 22), and *LIH*, §CXV.26, p. 122; for the second instance, see *SSM*, L.3.f.37, line 2, and *LIH*, §CXXXIII.39, p. 141.

62. *SSM*, III.1.1, L.3.f.1, line 21–L.3.f.2, line 6. The Christian prerogative is also claimed by the London Honorius (*LIH*, §III.16–29, p. 66) in a passage in which he stresses the inefficacy of Jewish and

Pagan magic. The omission of the fourth *secta* (the Mohammedans) may be explained from the northern European context of the Sloane manuscripts. In III.1.1, Ganell does not specifically mention the *pagani,* but he does include them in other references to the four *sectae* elsewhere in the *Summa.* It is unclear whether his denunciation of Jewish and Islamic magic reflects Ganell's personal beliefs or whether the passage was copied from one of his sources (whether this was a *Liber iuratus* I cannot prove). The remarks about the "sons of Belial" display an aversion that does not seem to match the tone in the preceding chapters on the Schemhamphoras. However, in the chapter on the *Liber trium animarum* (*SSM* IV.3.2), Ganell explains that the magic of a *secta* is determined by that *secta*'s creed. In all, there are four *sectae* using four distinct languages (alphabets), namely, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek. All four *sectae* believe in God and thus have (magical) names to constrain the enemies of God. "Ideo dixit sanctus Honorius in libro jurato quod fides operatur in unoquoque, sive bona fuit, sive mala. Quia fides male secte vocatur mala, et bone bona" (L.4.f.49, lines 41–43). The reference is to a line that we know from the *LIH:* "Et quia fidem mala habent, opera eorum nulla" (§III.18, p. 66), but this brief quotation does not make clear which religions precisely Ganell's Honorius source considers good or bad. Ganell's (or perhaps Honorius's?) derision is aimed mainly at Islam (L.4.f.50, lines 4–5: "nullus fuit maior cacax quam Machometus").

63. *SSM,* L.3.f.2, line 32–L.3.f.3, line 6 (= Halle, ULB, fols. 226v, line 31–227r, line 6) more or less corresponds with *LIH,* §CXII.2–7, p. 119. The *LIH* speaks of a nine-foot rather than a ten-foot circle.

64. Cf. *LIH,* §LII.1–10, pp. 91–92.

65. *SSM,* L.3.f.3, lines 6–11 (= Halle, ULB, fol. 227r, lines 6–12) corresponds verbatim with *LIH,* §CXII.8–10 (pp. 119–20). From §CXII.8 onward, there is a clear (and almost verbatim) correspondence between the *LIH* and the chapter in the *Summa.*

66. *SSM,* L.3.f.3, lines 14–44 (= Halle, ULB, fol. 227r, line 15–227v, line 1) corresponds with *LIH,* §CXIV.1–9. The passage in *SSM,* L.3.f.3, lines 26–28, 33–44 (= Halle, ULB, fol. 227r, lines 29–31, 36–47) is not in the *LIH.* Ganell abbreviates the list of twenty-five angel names (*LIH,* §CXIV.5): "Michael, Myel, Sarypyel etc." Ganell does provide a complete list on the following page (L.3.f.4) comprising not twenty-five but twenty-six names. The angel Sathquyel, who in the *LIH* belongs both to Saturn and to Jupiter, is in fact a conflation of Satriquyel (Saturn) and Satquyel (Jupiter). Of the London manuscripts, only B (Sloane 313) seems to be aware of the distinction (see Hedegård's note on p. 197).

67. The texts of these prayers in the *Summa* and the *LIH* are virtually identical. In the *invocatio* (*SSM,* L.3.f.4, lines 11–33 = Halle, ULB, fol. 227v, lines 12–38 = *LIH,* §CXV.5–13, p. 121), names 1–38 from the list of one hundred divine names are written in full in the *Summa;* the *LIH* simply gives the numbers 1–38. In the *ligatio* (*SSM,* L.3.f.4, line 35–L.3.f.5, line 15 = Halle, ULB, fols. 227v, line 39–228r, line 19 = *LIH,* §CXV.14–24, p. 122), the sequence *Febr, Octreys, Derheys, Tutheon, Agla* in the *Summa* becomes *Stobr, Otheos, Tutheon, Thereis, Chatheon, Agla* in the *LIH.* In the *coniuratio* (*SSM,* L.3.f.5, lines 16–28 = Halle, ULB, fol. 228r, lines 19–35 = *LIH,* §CXV.25–30, pp. 122–23), the *LIH* lists the numbers 45–79, whereas the *SSM* has the names in full, adding Thechel (no. 80) and Nochy (no. 81) and omitting Pantheon (no. 73, an oversight). In the *placacio* (*SSM,* L.3.f.5, line 29–L.3.f.6, line 21 = Halle, ULB, fol. 228r, line 35–228v, line 32 = *LIH,* §CXV.31–45, pp. 123–24), the *SSM* gives the remaining names (nos. 82–100) in full; the *LIH* again lists the numbers "<80>, 81–99."

68. See *SSM,* L.3.f.6, lines 28–43 (= Halle, ULB, fols. 228v, line 40–229r, line 10): "Potes enim petere de omnibus istis: de cognitione celorum," etc. The corresponding section is in *LIH,* §CIII.2–10, p. 116. Hedegård (p. 27) rightly points out that the list is a sequence of petitions rather than a table of contents. *SSM,* L.3.f.7, lines 1–17 (= Halle, ULB, fol. 229r, lines 11–38) contains a brief list of planetary angels and their influences that seems to be derived from *LIH,* §§CV–CXI, pp. 117–19.

69. A number of lines from *SSM* III.1.2 (L.3.f.7, lines 17–21) are not in the *LIH.* The *Oratio Salomonis* is on L.3.f.7, line 22–L.3.f.8, line 14 (= Halle, ULB, fol. 229r, line 39–229v, line 33); cf. *LIH,* §C.15–27, pp. 110–11. *LIH,* §CXV.49–52 (with remarks on the twenty-seven chapters, which are not in fact chapters) is not in the *SSM.*

70. The title says "9"; the text says "8" (*SSM,* L.3.f.8, lines 15 and 21). The actual number is nine, with the ninth operation beginning on L.3.f.60.

71. Interestingly, it is here, at the beginning of the chapter, that the scribe of the Halle manuscript breaks off. He was interested more in angels than in demons and had faithfully copied chapter III.1.2. He now contents himself with the opening lines of chapter III.1.3 and adds that he has no desire to copy the eight operations and will continue with Ganell's chapter on the *Almandal* instead. This is a

very fortunate remark (Halle, ULB, fol. 229v, lines 34–44), since it is unambiguous proof that he was working from a copy of Ganell's *Summa*.

72. This group of seven first appears in *SSM*, L.1.f.23, lines 15–18, where the names of the kings and their regions are listed "quos vocavit Honorius in suo libro sacrato." These seven kings, and especially the *ubi est* sequences in the *excitationes*, may well go back to Arabic sources. See Katelyn Mesler's chapter in this volume.

73. *SSM*, L.3.f.29, lines 6–33, corresponds almost verbatim to *LIH*, §CXXVII.1–13, pp. 129–30. The note of warning in §CXXVII.10–12 is not in the *SSM*. The *SSM* adds a couple of lines (L.3.f.29, line 34–L.3.f.30, line 7) that are not in the *LIH* and that comment on the circle that apparently can also be used for other operations (these additional lines are most probably a comment added by Ganell himself). Ganell draws a diagram of the circle on L.3.f.29 that greatly resembles the image on fol. 133v in British Library, Sloane 3854 (as reproduced by Hedegård, p. 131).

74. *SSM*, L.3.f.30, line 8–L.3.f.31, line 26, corresponds with *LIH*, §CXXVIII.1–28, pp. 131–33. The concluding lines from the *LIH*, §CXXVIII.29–30, p. 133, are not in the *SSM*, which is odd, since this means that the seven divine names are not reconstituted.

75. *SSM*, L.3.f.31, line 27–L.3.f.33, line 28 corresponds almost verbatim to *LIH*, §CXXIX.1–37, pp. 133–36. Where the *LIH* has "Hoc dicto videbis eorum motus insurgere et tunc dicas sociis, quod non dubitent," the chapter in the SSM adds several lines between "insurgere" and "et tunc: Hoc dicto videbis eorum motus insurgere que sunt celi coruscatio orientalium, magni maris ruina occidentalium," etc. (§CXXIX.37).

76. *SSM*, L.3.f.33, line 28–L.3.f.35, line 40, corresponds verbatim to *LIH*, §§CXXX–CXXXIII.17, pp. 136–39. The same goes for the remainder, L.3.f.35, line 41–L.3.f.38, line 5, and *LIH*, §CXXXIII.18–58, pp. 139–42, but with some exceptions. The *Bethala suspensus* section in §CXXXIII.18–21 (p. 139) Ganell abbreviates "Bethala suspensus in ethera et cetera usque ibi Lazatu Sella" (L.3.f.35, line 42). The abbreviation suggests that he used the text in previous sections (which is correct; cf. L.3.f.27, line 19 and L.3.f.23, line 31; the first occurrence of the full text in L.1.f.22, line 42–L.1.f.23, line 5—i.e., more than a hundred pages earlier!). One of the conjurations contains a list of names from the "100 Dei vivi nomina," of which Ganell enumerates only the numbers 82–90, and a few lines later, 91–96 (L.3.f.36, lines 8–9 and 21). At this point the compiler of the *LIH* seems to have lost track of his source, for he lists the names Zabuater up to and including Karex in full (which are nos. 74–83 and not 82–90) and then continues with "<Sabaoth>, Sella, 91, Ciros, 92, Ob<i>ron, 93, <Nomygon>, Oriel, 94, Theos, 95, Hespelli, 96, quatinus vos Barthan . . . et eos spiritus' et cetera." This is a curious mix-up of names and numbers (see *LIH*, §CXXXIII.26 and 31, p. 140) and may be another indication of the desultory condition of his source material. The line "quatinus vos Barthan . . . et eos spiritus' et cetera" conceals a ten-line sequence in the *SSM*, L.3.f.36, lines 21–30. Also, Ganell misses out on occasion: *LIH*, §CXXXIII.32 (p. 140) is not in the *SSM* chapter, but this is probably due to a "saute du même à même" brought about by the recurring phrase *flexis genibus* in 32 and 33.

77. Cf. *LIH*, §CXXXIII.55 (p. 142), and *SSM*, L.3.f.37, lines 35–41.

78. *SSM*, L.3.f.38, line 5–L.3.f.39, line 10. This final section corresponds roughly to *LIH*, §CXVI.1–12. From §§CXVII–CXXVI, only a few lines on the special influences of the aerial spirits were taken over.

79. See Hedegård's introduction to the *LIH*, p. 49. Sigils in the *SSM*: *sigillum angelorum* (L.3.f.4, line 34), *sigillum aereorum* (L.1.f.22, line 42; L.1.f.23, line 42; L.1.f.25, line 39; L.3.f.35, line 41; L.3.f.51, lines 15, 39, 42); *sigillum terreorum* (L.1.f.23, line 43; L.3.f.59, lines 12–13). That sigils such as these are texts to be read is shown from the line "Et ibi lege hoc sigillum: Bethala suspensus in ethera" (L.1.f.25, line 39).

80. Cf. *SSM*, L.3.f.22.

81. *LIH*, §III.9, p. 65.

82. After Carl Kiesewetter's pioneering study, *John Dee, ein Spiritist des 16. Jahrhunderts: Kulturgeschichtliche Studie, mit dem Protokoll der ältesten bekannten spiritistischen Sitzung vom 28. Mai 1583 und den noch nicht veröffentlichten Portraits von Dr. John Dee und Edward Kelley* (Leipzig: Spohr, 1893), the most important works on Dee's angel communications are Wayne Shumaker, "John Dee's Conversations with Angels," in Shumaker, *Renaissance Curiosa* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 15–52; and Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); cf.

also György E. Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004). The sigil from the *Liber iuratus* is, on the whole, systematically ignored. Dee's angel diaries were edited by Edward Fenton, *The Diaries of John Dee* (Charlbury: Day Books, 1998). Fenton, however, produced a selection of material and left out various sections. A complete and more reliable edition is presented in Peterson, *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*, which also includes a transcript of the Honorius section on the *sigillum*. The *Mysteriorum libri quinque* are also available online in an excellent diplomatic transcript (Clay Holden and the John Dee Publication Project, at http://www.john-dee.org/). For the passages quoted, see Fenton, 24–26, 30, and Peterson, 70–71.

83. See Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

5

COVENANT AND THE DIVINE NAME:
REVISITING THE *Liber iuratus* AND JOHN OF MORIGNY'S *Liber florum*

Claire Fanger

Like the *Liber iuratus*, which is treated by two other authors in this volume, the *Liber florum celestis doctrine* or *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny is a late medieval Christian work involving angelic invocations that enable operators to gain access to divine knowledge by visionary means.[1] The two works have been brought together for comparative purposes once before. In his 1998 article "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus*, the *Liber visionum*, and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," Richard Kieckhefer first proposed the thesis that there were elements in both works that appeared to attest to an influence from Jewish mysticism. Kieckhefer's central contention was that these works "draw upon Jewish precedent, not so much for particular techniques but rather for fundamental conceptions of spiritual process."[2] With respect to the *Liber iuratus*, Kieckhefer identified a number of things that seemed to indicate a more specific familiarity with and incorporation of ideas taken from Jewish mysticism.[3] Additional evidence in support of Kieckhefer's thesis has been adduced by scholars working on the text over the intervening years, most recently in the chapter by Katelyn Mesler in this volume. It is now clear that the text interweaves liturgical strands from Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.[4]

With respect to John of Morigny's *Liber florum*, Kieckhefer's thesis was more speculative; he did not attempt to claim any actual Jewish sources or background for the work, noting only that John, like the master of the *Sworn Book*, somehow

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seems to have "imbibed a mentality that would have been more readily perceived as coherent within Jewish culture."[5] Any further evidence of real Jewish influence on this text (or of John of Morigny's perception of Jewishness in the work) would have been difficult for Kieckhefer to assess, since at the time of writing he had access to only one manuscript version of the *Liber florum*, which was a copy of a late, nonauthorial redaction of the prayers from which all autobiographical materials had been excised.[6] The only other copy known to us at that time was that in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 276, which is also missing the introductory autobiographical materials and most of the third book. We had only just discovered copies of the full New Compilation text, with these autobiographical elements complete, when *Conjuring Spirits* went to press, while the discovery of John's first draft, the original Old Compilation, still waited in the wings.

I examined a copy of the Old Compilation text for the first time in the Bodleian Library in the summer of 2004. This version, unlike all others known up to that time, includes instructions for the production of a large number of figures intended as meditative focal points to go along with the prayers. According to John, these figures are supposed to include one of the four letters of the tetragrammaton, in Hebrew, in each of the four corners of the page. This directive is canceled in the rewritten version of this part of the text in the New Compilation copy because John learned in a vision that the letters of the divine name were supposed to be replaced by the four nails of the crucifixion. John himself interprets this displacement as a caution against Judaizing.

I will return to this vision and its exegesis in more detail shortly, but for now it is sufficient to note that the issues surrounding the presence and absence of the Hebrew letters in the figures can be shown to be part of a larger movement through which John both explains and justifies the relation between his own Old and New Compilation texts as parallel to that of the Old and New Testaments. Throughout John's New Compilation *Liber figurarum*, themes of divine covenant recur, deriving from an exegetical habit of thought in which the Old contains typological prefigurations of the New, and the New fulfills the Old. Leaving aside for a moment the questions surrounding John's possible Jewish sources, there is independent value in examining the ideas about Judaism that emerge here, since they may have implications that relate to Kieckhefer's thesis. At the very least, with these new materials in hand, the time is ripe for a reassessment of the questions Kieckhefer raised.

An idea of Judaism connected to the theme of Christian supersession is also evident in the London version of the *Sworn Book*, which argues that the rituals of the book may not be brought to effect by pagan or Jewish users, although for different reasons. Pagan users are identified as idolaters who have put God aside to make sacrifices to demons; hence they lack the power of faith in the true God; but Jewish users, who do worship the true God (although not in the right way), have the power to command spirits but no longer to get true answers from them.[7] As will be shown, this claim, too, is grounded in an idea of supersession of covenant. The nuances of the restrictions imposed upon Jews here are of interest to us in what they tell us about the attitude of the compiler of the London version of the *Sworn Book* toward the Jewish ideas and materials he inherited. Because of the persistence of the theme of covenant in both of these early fourteenth-century works of angel magic, it still makes sense to examine the London version of the *Sworn Book* in conjunction with John of Morigny's text.

While there is not yet enough data available to identify with certainty the range of actual Jewish sources that might have been available to either John of Morigny or the master of the *Sworn Book*,[8] or what forms these might have taken, nevertheless it is evident that both texts adopt certain positions with respect to an idea of Judaism. In both cases this idea has positive as well as negative content. In both cases, too, it is informed by ideas that are equally influenced by theological and patristic traditions about Judaism and ideas that have come through the magical literature. In order to understand the ways in which they may have used or responded to their Jewish sources (or indeed responded to their sources as Jewish, which may be a different matter), then, it makes sense to look at what their idea of Judaism seems to be—something that will necessarily be connected to how they understand themselves as Christian rather than Jewish, New Covenant rather than Old Covenant. In this essay I isolate the moments in both the *Liber florum* and the London version of the *Liber iuratus* that dwell on the text's relation to Judaism in order to explicate the different ways in which the authors of each text read the divine operations in which they were engaged as part of a larger pattern of salvation history.

1. Ideas of Judaism in John of Morigny's *Liber florum*

John's *Liber florum celestis doctrine*, or portions of it, is witnessed in nineteen known manuscripts, preserving two authorial versions as well as two later redactions, and a variety of extracts from John's prayers that have been put to other uses.[9] It is the two authorial drafts that concern me here.

John's first version, which he calls the "Old Compilation" (*Antiqua Compilatio*), was written in the first decade of the fourteenth century and completed by 1311. The second version, from which all the other known forms of the text derive and which John calls the "New Compilation" (*Nova Compilatio*), was begun and completed in 1315. Both versions have three main parts: part I, "The Book of Visions," which contains the narrative of the visions and events leading up to John's construction of the prayer text; part II, "The Book of Prayers" and "First Procedure," containing prayers and ritual instructions, respectively, that allow the purification of the soul and the reception of knowledge from the angels, and a set of separate instructions for their use; and part III, "The Book of Figures," describing a set of images or figures intended for use with the book of prayers. In the New Compilation, the first three parts of the work remain substantially the same as those of the Old (aside from minor revisions), but the New Compilation "Book of Figures" is a completely different work from the Old. The Old Compilation also includes some matter at the end of part I.iv, also pertaining to figures, that is missing from the New.[10]

By John's account, "The Book of Figures" of the New Compilation was put together in response to some criticisms of the Old Compilation text from certain unnamed "barking dogs" at Sens in 1315.[11] The "barking dogs" complained that the original figures of the Old Compilation looked too much like necromantic figures; there were some theological complaints about the prayer system as well.[12] John did not believe that the figures of the Old Compilation were in any way theologically questionable; nevertheless, in part as a response to the criticism (so it seems), John decided to revise the parts of the book in which the figures were contained, cutting down an originally much larger number of figures to seven icons of the Virgin, surrounded by symbolic birds and plants, and one image of Christ, with iconography drawn from the apocalypse.

A unique copy of the Old Compilation is now known in a Bodleian Library manuscript, Liturg. 160. This copy of the Old Compilation, in fact, contains only two actual figures: on folio 66r, a star-shaped figure that accompanies (and contains) a prayer to the Virgin (see fig. 4), and on folio 1r, a circular figure containing the four letters of the divine name in Latin transliteration (IHWH)[13] with other mnemonic letters surrounding them, which are explained by the prayer that goes with this figure (see fig. 5). However, the material at the end of part I.iv describes twenty-six images in detail sufficient for their re-creation (twelve figures of the twelve houses, seven planetary figures and seven images of the Virgin), and book III includes instructions for lettering on sixty to seventy more, from which we can extrapolate that the original book probably held in the neighborhood of ninety figures (more or less, not counting overlap or additional unlettered figures).[14] Other references to the figures suggest that most (but not all) of them contained crosses, and that geometric patterns were present in many of them.[15] We know, too, from John's instructions, that every figure was supposed to contain one Hebrew letter of the tetragrammaton placed in each corner of the page. An exemplar copy of the tetragrammaton in Hebrew is included in the

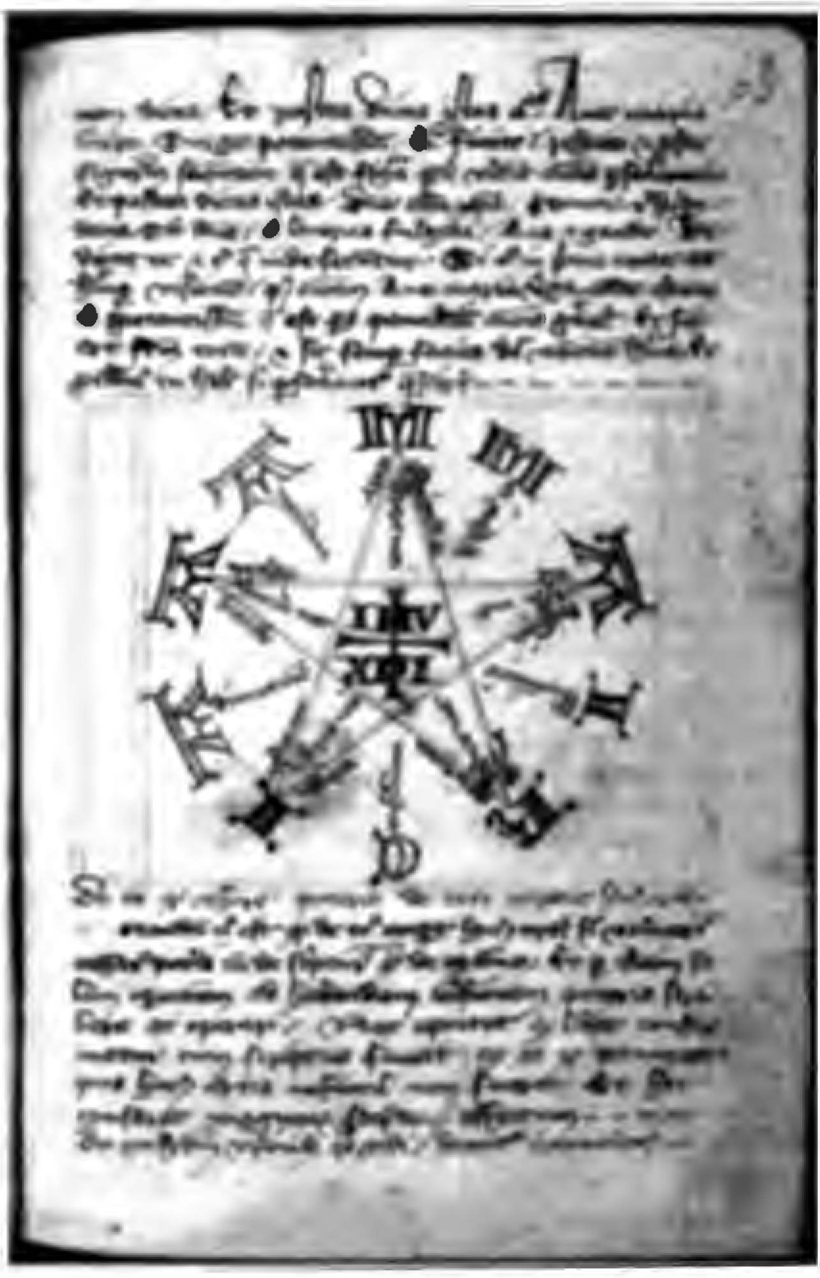

Fig. 4 Figure from John of Morigny's Old Compilation, Liturg. 160, fol. 66r, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

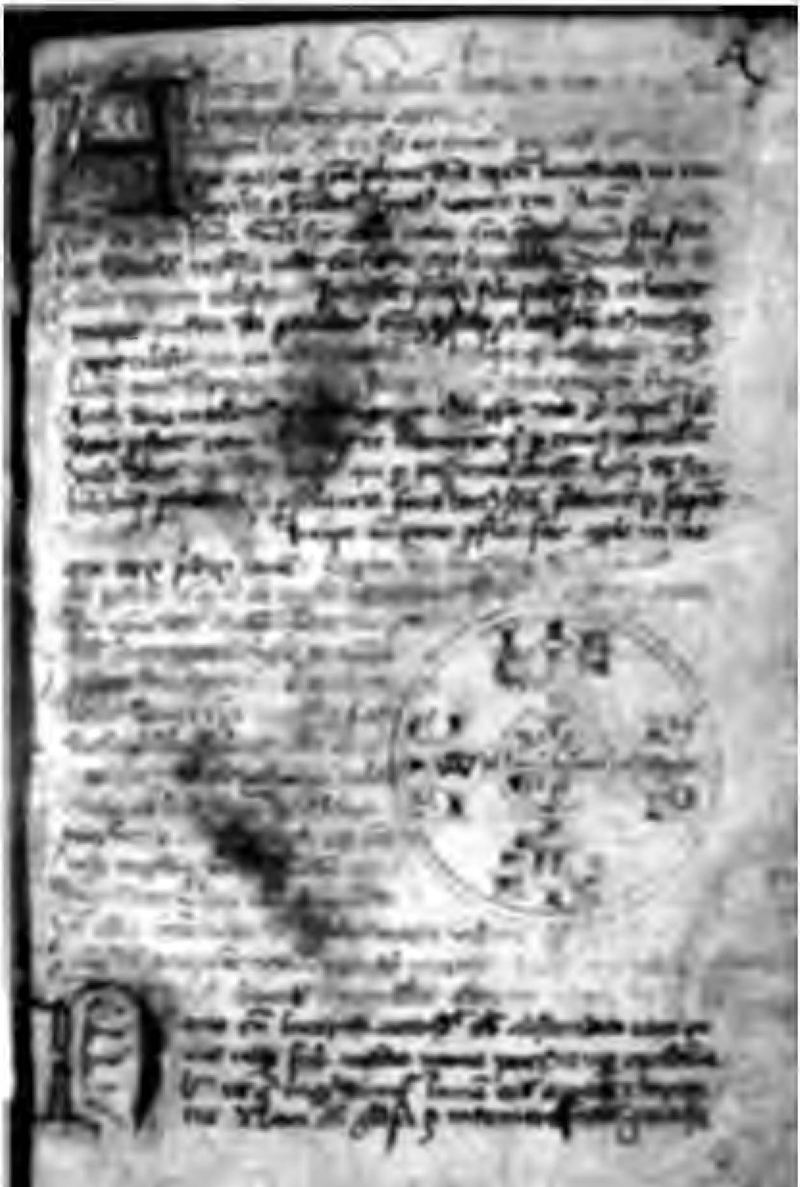

Fig. 5 Another figure from Liturg. 160, fol. 1r, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Old Compilation text as represented by the Bodleian manuscript.[16] There is also a set of complete Hebrew and Greek alphabets at the end.

Many changes were made to the entire operating procedure in the New Compilation "Book of Figures." Not only did John cut down the total number of figures radically, but a number of other rules for their operation were simplified. As well, in the New Compilation, all Hebrew is dropped from the figures—not because these were evidently a target of criticism by the "barking dogs" but rather because, as noted earlier, John was divinely instructed that the four letters of the divine name in the figures should be replaced with the nails of the crucifixion. In addition, the letters JHWH drop out of the circular figure with which the Bodleian book opens. In fact, the figure is not represented in the New Compilation as such; instead, the operator of the New Compilation is directed to imagine a simple circle in place of the complex pattern of letters (see fig. 5) that once stood there at the introit to the whole work.

The New Compilation "Book of Figures" contains a description of two visions of particular importance here. In the first of these visions, John is divinely instructed about the new figures; in the second, he receives instruction about a ring dedicated to Mary to be worn during certain operations of the work. The first, and more elaborate, vision begins with a description of John, after spiritual struggles, finding himself in an ecstatic dream flying over many valleys and towns before landing at the entrance to a church. John kneels before the closed doors; an entrance appears and he goes in:

> And behold! believing that I was, as it were, in Paradise because of the parcel gilding of the church all around, I came before an altar that had been made in honor of the crucified one. And there was an image of the crucified and of Nicodemus, and of another person who was removing the crucified one from the cross, with one nail already pulled out from the right hand. And remaining there, knees bent, I asked if I might confirm the new instructions of this book and the figures that had to be made and the ring. And inclining my left ear to his mouth so that I could hear his answer, behold! suddenly the image of the crucified one was transformed into the likeness and form of a certain elderly man whom I declared and believed to be God the Father.[17]

John requests confirmation of his work and the divine authorization to make the new figures and the ring, which is given. He then asks advice on what the figures should look like, and God says: "You will make in the same place in each of them an image of the blessed Mary in the best way you can. This does not relate to an excessive care for the pictures or the colors, but to the excessive care for the cleansing of heart and conscience from sins and vices with which you ought to paint these images of the glorious Virgin . . . on the heart of the conscience, and use for adornment the colors of the virtues and the ornaments of penances, and do it as well as you can."[18] John goes on to gloss these words in a parenthetical comment in the text, seeing the directive to do it "in the best way you can" as God's concession to human frailty, since the heart can never be clean enough to hold the Virgin's image. John adds that the same thing should be understood as true of the ring and the book; the ring "similarly should be sculpted in the metal of the heart and worn on the finger of conscience; as also this book must be written on the parchment of the heart and read in the lettering of conscience—though just the same it should be written out by hand, as is made plain in the penultimate chapter of this book."[19] This passage evokes the complex of biblical references depicting God's new law and covenant as a "writing on the heart." The new law is prophesied in Jeremiah 31:31–34 as a law that will be given to the viscera and written on the heart of God's people; the new law as a writing on the heart is evoked again in the New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews 8:10 ("dando leges meas in mentem eorum, et in corde eorum superscribam eas"), and similarly as a writing on the mind in Hebrews 10:16 ("dando leges meas in cordibus eorum, et in mentibus eorum superscribam eas"). Through this reference to the inscription on the heart, John implicitly conveys how the book, ring, and figures of the New Compilation are symbolic of God's covenant with John and John's successors, those who will use the book after him.

God gives further instructions about the images:

> "You will make in the same place in each of them one image of the blessed Mary in the best way you can. . . . And in the corners of the same figures make a figure in each corner in the form of a nail."
>
> I said to him: "Lord, you have told me that I can make in each figure one image of the blessed Mary . . . and in the corner of each figure, a figure of a nail."
>
> In answer, he said: "Yes, that's right."
>
> I said to him: "And do you thus want me to make there in the corners the name of the Lord, Tetragrammaton?"
>
> And he said to me: "Not now." [Or: "Not anymore." (*Non iam.*)][20]

Thus, in the images John is now instructed to make here, the four letters of the divine name are replaced by the four nails associated with the Passion of Christ. In the second, shorter vision of the archangel Michael, which is closely contiguous with this, John is instructed in the making of the ring, where, similarly, the important central feature of the design is an image of the Virgin. When John asks if he should write names of God around the image, he is told not to; but he may, if he wishes, put the name of the Virgin on it.[21] John explains these two cancellations of the divine name in a later passage:

> Since it was divinely said to us that the name of the Lord is not to be placed in these figures or in the ring, it must be seen why this was said and instructed. Certainly it was rightly said for this reason: so that we do not seem to be Judaizing in any respect, but that Christ may always be seen in word and deed, confessed true God and man. Because in olden times in the Old Testament, God never took on any shape, and therefore the Jews themselves applied no shape to God, and on that account it was forbidden to them to make images in the Mosaic law. But in place of images, they used the names of that same God, which are ten in the Hebrew speech.[22] But because Christ assumed human form, so it is necessary further to confess him not only as true God, by his name, but also as true man, by the image of the human form he assumed. And because in these figures [i.e., John's own figures, with Jesus in the Virgin's arms] the form of humanity that the selfsame God assumed is depicted, under which [form] lies hid the selfsame perfect divinity, as we firmly believe, it was not necessary to set thereon the name of God, because it is contained beneath the image.[23]

In John's thinking, as expressed here, the written letters of the tetragrammaton continue to be associated with the "selfsame perfect divinity" of God—it is a form of God in the world, the only form allowed prior to the incarnation. But since the new form of God in the world (the flesh and its image) subsumes the old (the written letters of the name), it is more appropriate for John now, in his "Book of Figures," to incorporate that new form that the Old Law expressly prohibited. The old form (the written name) is not revoked but is said to be contained beneath the image of the human form, the body of Jesus. Interestingly, in this vision, the person of the Trinity who explicates the suppression (or supersession) of the divine name in John's images is the Father, who steps out (as it were) of the skin of the crucified one, depicted in the very process of the removal of the nails that held him there, to authorize the displacement of those letters by these nails. So the God of the Old Testament is envisioned as tucked beneath the skin of the Son, just as the letters of the name also are contained beneath the iconic and symbolic flesh of Jesus.

In relation to the exegesis of John's work, the idea of covenant cuts in several directions at once. Most important, it works to justify the historical necessity of all portions of the earlier, now superseded, Old Compilation text. John says that his Old Compilation prefigures the New just as the Old Testament prefigures the

New.[24] Elsewhere, he comments that the Old Compilation is not revoked but must be kept and guarded:

> It must be noted that the visions of this science have one resonance in the literal sense and signify something else mysteriously according to the allegorical sense. And therefore we do not now revoke the Old Compilation, or only the figures and the forms and instructions for the petitions, but not the visions and prophecies; nay, rather we exhort everyone to keep and look after the entire Old Compilation, because in it are the principles of this knowledge, that from which it proceeded, and why and how it was revealed, and what is to come concerning the church is contained in it.[25]

In essence, John seems to want to enjoin the laying aside of the *ceremonialia* of his Old Compilation while keeping the moral principles and prophetic content, and to continue to understand the entire book, in both old and new forms, as holy. This is consistent not only with the theology of covenant, as he expresses it in his gloss on the vision, but also with John's attitude, expressed elsewhere, toward his own life and work: John reads everything that happens to him as providential and as tending toward a redemptive conclusion, even his pain and suffering, even the mockery he suffers as the Old Compilation is criticized.

To what extent does this mean that John was aware of himself as following a Jewish precedent in the Old Compilation text? On the one hand, he clearly understands the name magic by which angels are conjured as a Jewish practice, and he is certainly, at least to some extent, aware of himself as following in this tradition. This is evident from other aspects of lettering on the figures and the inclusion of actual Hebrew letters in the old book, as well as from what he says about Judaizing in connection with this vision. At this point in the text, however, John's worry over Judaizing is part of a larger set of concerns, and I would suggest that it is not solely or even mainly dictated by a perception of himself as in error.[26] It may be important to recall that there is no indication anywhere in the work that a suggestion of Judaizing formed any part of the charge against the work by the "dogs" at Sens. We can also see that John has a strong psychological motivation to adapt an old and new covenant model of his work—first, because of his sincere perception that the original "Book of Figures" was divinely approved, but also, and at the same time, because he wants to make clear that the ceremonies of the second "Book of Figures" are the ones his successors really should be using, even though both versions of the text are divinely countenanced. John sets his own work in the context of the new law in order simultaneously to instruct his followers in which "Book of Figures" to use and to identify the origins and goals of both works as holy and dependent upon each other for their meaning. He probably did understand himself as following a Jewish precedent in his operations, but probably not in a very much different or worse way than all Christians do in their common reception of the Old Testament. What is at issue for John with the Old Compilation is not the intrinsic holiness of the Hebrew inspiration behind his original document but how it should now be read.

2. Ideas of Judaism in the *Liber iuratus*

Thanks to Jan Veenstra's chapter in this volume, which describes the text contained in Berengario Ganell's *Summa sacre magice*, it is now clear that the *Sworn Book* existed in two versions, an earlier version probably originating in Spain, which is retained in the *Summa sacre magice*, and a later version probably redacted in a more northerly location and preserved in a handful of British Library manuscripts (referred to herein as the London version). Mesler has discussed the considerations pertinent to the texts' dating in her chapter in this volume; they may be summed up by noting that the current body of evidence increasingly suggests that both texts are most probably products of the first half of the fourteenth century. For reasons of cultural context, Veenstra proposes that the earlier Ganell text may be contemporary with the later life of Ramon Llull (d. 1316), though a date in the thirteenth century remains possible. The London version was put together from a sketchy and incomplete copy of the text used by Ganell, and a date in the 1320s or 1330s remains plausible for this redaction. While the provenance of this text's composition remains uncertain, it is clear that it had to pass through France on its way to becoming the version now known in the manuscripts preserved in the British Library and edited by Hedegård, and that it did not linger long in the making (since it arrives in an English manuscript quite soon after the plausible composition dates). Thus it is likely that the text was put together somewhere in France, though England cannot be ruled out.

While both versions of this Christian text draw on Islamic and Jewish sources, Veenstra notes that Ganell's version is marked more by a tendency toward anti-Islamic rhetoric, while the later London version is less so, and has to some extent displaced this with anti-Jewish rhetoric. Keeping a broad focus on all we know about both texts, there are good reasons (aside from the ready availability of Hedegård's edition) for treating the London version of the *Sworn Book* in parallel with John of Morigny's *Liber florum*. The London version was redacted most probably in France, most probably within a decade or so of the year John's book was burned in Paris. Thus, while they are not precisely contemporary compositions, their authors inhabited a broadly similar cultural context and exhibited a similar set of preoccupations, including their willingness to confess a relation to an idea of magic, their ready access to and use of the glossed *Ars notoria*, and the particular form of their self-consciousness about their Jewish precedents, which also includes an interest in models of supersession of covenant.

Richard Kieckhefer noted in "The Devil's Contemplatives" that the *Sworn Book* states explicitly that Jewish magi cannot attain true visions or true answers from angels. What is of interest is that the passage debarring Jews from attaining true visions concerns supersession:

> The Jews work with this vision not at all, because through the advent of Christ they lost their gift and cannot be stationed in heaven as the Lord witnesses who says "who is baptized will not be condemned."[27] And so they work imperfectly with all the angels. And they cannot get an effect through invocations unless they put faith in Christ, because this was said through the Prophet: "When the king of kings and lord of lords comes, your unction shall cease," which never would have ceased if they should have a true effect through this art, and thus their works are null. And although the Jews, inasmuch as they are Jews, are condemned by God, yet they do worship the most high creator, but in undue manner. Nevertheless, they can coerce spirits to come by the power of holy names of God, but because the Jews are not marked with the sign of the lord, namely, of the cross and of the faith, the spirits are not willing to answer them truly.[28]

As in John of Morigny's work, the use of God-names to command angels is understood to be an original Jewish power; but with the coming of Christ, the Jews lost their gift (*donum*). This term denotes more than one layer of things but evidently here includes both eligibility for divine election (the ability to get into heaven) and the ability perfectly to work with angels (a power contingent on election in the terms of the passage). Now, while the Jews retain the power to *command* angels, they are nevertheless denied the ability to have a *veridical vision* from the angelic operation. In essence, Jews have the power, but they lack the insight to use the ceremonies of this text.

To further unpack the connection between Judaism and the inability to get true information from angels, we need to look at the context of the second quotation, "your unction shall cease," ascribed here simply to "the Prophet." Dating from sometime in the sixth century, a prophecy in a similar form was widely attributed to the book of Daniel: "cum venerit sanctum sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra."[29] However, although the book of Daniel does contain a messianic prophecy, neither this quotation nor its underlying idea is present there.[30] The original (or at least earliest known) source of the quotation appears to have been a pseudo-Augustinian sermon, "Against the Jews, Pagans, and Arians." In that work, the pseudo-Daniel quotation is brought in as part of an extended refutation of Jewish denial from various prophetic passages in the Old Testament, including Isaiah, Baruch, (genuine) Daniel, Deuteronomy, and Psalms (and indeed introducing testimony from Virgil's fourth Eclogue, the Sibylline oracles, heaven, hell, the land, and the sea). The passage incorporating the pseudo-Daniel quotation continues: "Why with him [now] present, to whom insulting you used to say: 'you of yourself speak testimony, your testimony is not true' (John 8:13), has your unction ceased, except that he himself is the Holy of Holies who has come? . . . if, as is true, your unction has ceased, acknowledge that the Holy of Holies has come."[31] With this sermon, the pseudo-Daniel quotation becomes incorporated into the body of Old Testament topoi prophesying the coming of Christ and simultaneously becomes a topos for the passing of law and covenant and salvation-bearing sacraments into the hands of the Christians. Despite the fact that it is not really scriptural, it becomes a source for the idea that the Jews themselves are unable to read their own scriptures or indeed to understand the import of the actual evidence of prophetic fulfillment written into them and now carried out by historical events.

The master of the *Sworn Book* has adopted this idea, and indeed has taken it one step further, for according to him, the unction of the Jews never would have ceased if they were able to obtain a true effect from this art: in other words, to paraphrase what appears to be the underlying circular logic, it cannot be possible for a Jew to obtain a true vision through the angelic operations of the *Sworn Book;* if it were, this would mean that an unconverted Jew could be among the elect. In essence, this not only debars the Jew from using the book but also puts the *Sworn Book* itself on the level of a Christian sacrament (the argument for denying a Jew who hypothetically wished to participate in the Eucharist would be essentially the same: it could not have a true effect for someone who was not a Christian). By corollary, the only way for a Jew to participate in the mystery of the *Sworn Book* and obtain true answers from angels would be through baptism. When the master of the *Sworn Book* says that the angels will not answer the Jews truly because they are not "marked with the sign of the Lord" (*non signantur signo domini*), he refers to the character of baptism, the sacrament of Christian initiation that marks the Christian with the invisible and spiritual sign of faith, understood within the context of supersession to replace the visible and literal mark of circumcision. Baptism removes the disabling Jewish blindness, enabling angelic invocations through holy names of God (a practice known to be Jewish, but here, like the Old Testament itself, appropriated for Christianity) to reveal true knowledge.

The conception of Jews as unable to understand their own history or read their own scriptures is here linked to a broad stereotype of Jewish spiritual blindness. Its outlines are clearly evident already in the pseudo-Augustinian sermon that is the pseudo-Honorius's source, but many different types of texts in the later Middle Ages delineate similar sets of associations within a nonliturgical, nonmagical context. Where issues of signs and true reading or seeing emerge, there tend to be associations with Jews; conversely, where Jews and Christians come together, issues of signs, reading, and vision emerge. To offer two examples from quite different genres, Book II of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* is an extended meditation on signs. It contains, after a general discussion of omens, a treatment of the blindness of the Jews to omens and prophecies about the destruction of Jerusalem, consisting of stories (drawn from Josephus) of various omens, portents, prodigies, and visions forecasting Jews' downfall for their failure to receive Christ. This refutation of the Jews is followed closely by a discussion of dreams, auguries, astrological events, and their significance, again on a more general level.[32]

Another compelling but very different kind of instance, dwelling on issues of vision and blindness, is the twelfth-century autobiographical narrative of the Jewish apostate Hermann-Judah. Here, as in the John of Salisbury text, visions and omens are represented as forms of spiritual knowledge, parallel to scripture, whose real meaning is not expected to inhere in the literal or material level of the signifier and is unavailable to the unbaptized. However, in this story the paradigms of spiritual blindness are intimately tied to transforming incidents in the autobiography. Hermann's conversion to Christianity is framed by the two readings of a vision (the "false" Jewish reading and the "true" Christian one) that he had at age thirteen. His conversion, described from the vantage of a time much later in his life, is explained not only through the Christian topos of God's desire to call back a sinner "that he may be converted and live," but also simultaneously by the failure of his own Jewish community to grasp the correct sense of this prognostic dream, which was read by the Jewish interpreters as pertaining to material prosperity rather than (as only Christianity understood) heavenly treasure. Hermann also has a notable difficulty in gazing upon a crucifixion icon in the cathedral, where, conditioned by Jewish responses, he experiences both fascination and repulsion. The tension this icon generates in him is eased (in the story) by the theological discourse of Rupert of Deutz, which effects the beginning of his conversion by enabling him to see the spiritual meaning of the visual image of God.[33] If indeed this is the personal history of a real Jewish apostate, then it is possible, as Jeremy Cohen suggests, that Hermann-Judah appropriates a Christian identity and uses the derogatory stereotypes of Jewish blindness that go along with it to cast aspersions on his family and members of a home community with whom (as the narrative suggests on a deeper level) he had not been getting along well to start with.[34]

Whether or not Hermann's story represents genuine autobiography, it is of interest, however, that a Christian icon, used to frame an essential distinction from aniconic Judaism, comes into play as a turning point in the autobiographic narrative of John of Morigny as well, even though John was clearly not a Jewish convert. John's moment of transition between the Old and New Compilation texts is framed, in the vision where the instructions for the New Compilation "Book of Figures" are first received, as a transition from a Jewish representation of God to a Christian one. In a sense, John refashions himself at that moment as someone who had once behaved as a Jew in order to represent the transcending of his earlier self (the composer of the Old Compilation) and to redeem the entire text as a source of divine knowledge. Looked at another way, at this point in John's autobiography it is not simply a question of converting from the life of the lost sinner to the life of the saved penitent (this seems to be the conversion model for Hermann-Judah), but rather a question of conversion from one deeply experienced form of holiness to another, for which the transit between covenants is a more fitting model. John is thus able to preserve and indeed enhance an idea of the sacramental and salvific aspects of his practice while preserving a sense of himself as having undergone a profound conversion experience. So deeply is an idea of Judaism engaged with Christian identity that the paradigms of the Christian understanding of Judaism get attached to, and are used to characterize and explain, other things that may not have directly to do with real Jews at all.

Let us step back and reconsider the points of comparison and difference between both texts. Both the *Liber iuratus* and the *Liber florum* understand the use of the divine name as a specifically Jewish power that needs to be overwritten, in the case of the *Liber visionum* with the image of Christ's body and the four nails of the Passion, in the case of the *Sworn Book* with the sacrament of baptism; both authors are trying to establish their own operations firmly on a new covenant footing. At the same time, both authors are operating in certain ways quite differently around the notion of supersession: John's first desire is to retain the original sanctity of his own first "Book of Figures," despite the fact that he is no longer using (or advocating the use of) the old figures or the divine name on the new figures, whereas the master of the *Sworn Book* simply desires to establish the genuine divine status of the *Sworn Book* over and against the Jewish and Islamic operations he is conscious of plundering.

It is unsurprising that the authors of two new theurgic texts of the early fourteenth century, both preoccupied with cleansing of the soul, divine illumination, and their own sacramental status, should also be occupied with supersession. After all, issues of supersession arise in the Christian theological literature wherever the sacraments are discussed. It is true that both John of Morigny and the master of the *Sworn Book* also draw on a corpus of available medieval magic texts that, for some time, had been absorbing material from Islamic and Jewish traditions; however, it may be that this is not the only thing—or even the most important thing—that gives these Christian texts their Jewish "look."

In the opening pages of his *Jewish Magic and Superstition,* Joshua Trachtenberg mentions in passing another late medieval Christian theurgic text, the *Ars notoria* (discussed by Julien Véronèse in chapter 1 of this volume), which was an important influence on John of Morigny and whose prayers were also adopted, in part, into the London version of the *Sworn Book.* Trachtenberg argues that it was in the Geonic age, under the influence of Gnosticism, that a truly Jewish magic began to arise for the first time, evolving into a theurgy that "blossomed luxuriantly in the Germanic lands" in the later Middle Ages. Describing the basic characteristics of this quintessentially Jewish magic, Trachtenberg notes that "for all its more or less assimilated foreign elements, and its general similarity to the Gnostic-Jewish system imperfectly known to non-Jews as the *Ars notoria,* it remained distinctive in its basic emphases."[35] Here Trachtenberg seems to hold up the *Ars notoria* as a perhaps debased but still more or less accurate schematic model of the kind of thing that real Jewish magic usually looks like when it is at home (even while he confesses that the *Ars notoria* itself is non-Jewish, and also that the truly "Jewish" magic contains some assimilated foreign elements). One cannot help but wonder what it means when a Christian text looks Jewish under this particular concatenation of circumstances.

In the concluding chapter of his work on the feminine divine, *Mirror of His Beauty,* Peter Schäfer struggles to explain the parallels he discovers between the Christian veneration of Mary and the bahiric image of the Shekhinah, both developing in Provence in the twelfth century. As a possible alternative to the explanation of these parallel ideas through a search for direct religious borrowings (always frustrated by the fact that the response of both religions to each other's practices tend to be voiced in negative and derogatory terms), Schäfer suggests thinking in terms of an "anxiety of influence" model, drawn from Harold Bloom. In this model we can look for influence not just in acknowledged homage or direct textual borrowings but also in more complicated acts of response and creative interpretation, which Bloom calls "misprision." Schäfer elaborates on the relation of this model to historical circumstances: "As in the poetic theory, the recipient actively digests the transmitted tradition, transforms it, and creates something new. Similarly, the act of re-creation is tantamount to 'killing' the transmitted; thus the inevitable feeling of anxiety toward the 'source' that is transformed and recreated, the ambivalence of attraction and repulsion."[36]

I would like to suggest that a similar way of thinking may be applicable here. It is at least useful to ask whether the Jewish look, hinted at by the *Ars notoria* and still more evidently present in the cognate practices of the *Liber florum* and the *Liber iuratus*, may be the result of a tension between Jewish name magic and Christian theurgy that pulls in both directions. The sense expressed by Kieckhefer that John of Morigny's work relies on Judaism for a "fundamental conception of spiritual process" may go back to a framing of Christian identity as originally deriving from Judaism, and now, once again, needing to overwrite the claims of Judaism. In this light, it may need to be asked whether Jewish theurgy, blossoming in the same time period as the Christian texts under discussion, may not simply be an unacknowledged and repudiated source for Christian borrowing but potentially, in some instances, a response to it. It seems clear from the evidence provided by these texts, in any case, that Christians define themselves in this period by relation to an idea of Jews whose sacramental ideas and practices remain in competition with Christian ones—practices perhaps the more needing to be repudiated (or transcended, or appropriated and overwritten by Christian signatures) the more they seem likely to be effective.

Appendix 1:
Structure of Both Authorial Redactions of *The Book of the Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*

Old Compilation	**New Compilation**
Survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Liturg. 160; exemplar for this tradition dates from before 1313	Tradition in many MSS, represented in our edition by London, BL, Additional 18027; text recompiled 1315 with new "Book of Figures"
[Rit. Prol./Pagina Movenda] Ritual prologue: a set of brief prayers to open the work, including the tetragrammaton prayer and figure	In many NC manuscripts the ritual prologue is found later, preceded by a note to move the page to this position (see II Rit. Prol.)
[Prol.] General Prologue	[Prol.] General Prologue
I. Book of Visions ("Prologue")	**I. Book of Visions ("Prologue")**
[I. Prol.] vision 1 (thema vision)	*[I. Prol.]* vision 1 (*thema* vision)
[I.i] Unnumbered *exordium* vision; *Ars notoria* visions 2–9	[I.i] Unnumbered *exordium* vision; *Ars notoria* visions 2–9 as in OC, with visions 10–11
[I.ii] Post-*Ars notoria* visions 1–4, including vision licensing the 30 prayers	[I.ii] Post-*Ars notoria* visions 1–4 as in OC; final paragraph of OC I.ii omitted here
[I.iii] Visions of other witnesses	[I.iii] Visions of other witnesses as in OC

Old Compilation	New Compilation
[OC I.iv] Preparations for pursuing the ritual in the "Book of Prayers": fifteen rubricated sections, including an exhortation to the reader and a lengthy set of instructions on preparing and inscribing the book and figures	[NC I.iv] Preparations for pursuing the ritual are cut down to three rubricated sections; all OC material pertinent to figures and their inscription and operation omitted (sections on forms of profession reappear later in NC III.i)
II. Book of Prayers	**II. Book of Prayers**
	[II Rit. Prol./Pagina Movenda] Ritual prologue: prayers as in OC but the tetragrammaton figure is absent here
[II. Prol.] Prologue to "Book of Prayers"	[II. Prol.] Prologue to "Book of Prayers"
[II.i] *Seven Prayers* Prayers *1–*7 (Opus 1, Acquisitional) a set of prayers to induce visionary relationship with the Virgin	[II.i] *Seven Prayers* Prayers *1–*7 (Opus 1, Acquisitional) prayers are essentially the same as OC II.i, but with added visualizations, different rubrics, some revisions to prayers *3, *5
[II.ii] *Thirty Prayers* Prayers 1–12 (Opus 2: Auxiliative) Initial prayers addressed to God, the angelic orders, and the Virgin	[II.ii] *Thirty Prayers* Prayers 1–12 (Opus 2: Auxiliative) Essentially similar to OC
Prayers 13–16 (Opus 3: Preparative) prayers for purifying the senses	Prayers 13–16 (Opus 3: Preparative) essentially similar to OC
Prayers 17–20 (Opus 4: General Executive) For intellect, memory, eloquence, and stability; preceded by *Alpha et Omega* (corresponding to prayer 28a in NC)	Prayers 17–20 (Opus 4: General Executive) Essentially similar to OC but without *Alpha et Omega*
Prayers 21–29 (Opus 5: Special Executive for the Liberal Arts) Prayers for liberal arts, preceded by *O Consoler* (corresponding to 28b in NC)	Prayers 21–29 (Opus 5: Special Executive for the Liberal Arts) Prayers for the arts essentially similar to OC but without *O Consoler*
Prayer 28 (Opus 6: Special Executive for Philosophy) Prayer for philosophy	Prayer 28 (Opus 6: Special Executive for Philosophy) Essentially similar to OC but preceded by prayers 28a, *Alpha et Omega*, and 28b, *O Consoler*, moved and revised
Prayer 29 (Opus 7: Special Executive for Theology) Prayer for theology	Prayer 29 (Opus 7: Special Executive for Theology) Essentially similar to OC
Prayer 30 (Opera 8 and 9: Follow-up and Thanksgiving)	Prayer 30 (Opera 8 and 9: Follow-up and Thanksgiving)

Old Compilation	**New Compilation**
[II.iii] *First Procedure* Instructions for performing the prayers, Office of Angels, additions to prayer *6	[II.iii] *First Procedure* Essentially similar to OC with some deletions, passages on teaching added from OC "Book of Figures"
[II.iii.Epil.] Some additional offices	
III. Book of Figures (The Second Procedure)	**III. Book of Figures (The Second Procedure)**
[OC III] Prologue; six licensing visions; information on operating and teaching the work; celebration of angels; table of lunations; account of proferring of figures; lists of letters and syllables to be inscribed in the figures; experiment for having a vision; other visions; Greek and Hebrew letters; recapitulation and conclusion	
	[NC III.i] Revision of OC "Book of Figures"; prologue on why Old Compilation replaced; scandal of attacks on OC III; reduction of many figures to seven; forms of profession from OC I.iv; defense of work; experiment for having a vision
	[NC III.ii] *Particular Experiments* How to use visions and ring to ask specific questions of the Virgin
	[NC III.iii] Licensing of new figures and ring, interleaved with defense of the work
	[NC III.Epil.] Tetragrammaton prayer identical with earlier prayer in II Rit. Prol.

Appendix 2:

Manuscripts Known to Date Containing John of Morigny's Work

The New Compilation in the form John intended for circulation (though with some variations in ordering and some abbreviations of text in individual cases) is found in the following manuscripts:

Austria

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 680	
Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Cart. 1	
Klosterneuberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 950	
Salzburg, Studienbibliothek Salzburg, M I 24	
Seittenstetten, Seitenstetten Stiftsbibliothek, 273	(missing 2 quires)
Wien, Schottenkloster, 140 (61)	

Germany

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 276	(missing substantial matter at beginning and end)
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28864	

Italy

Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'archiginnasio, A. 165 (16. b. III. 5)	
Torino, Biblioteca nazionale, G. II. 25	

Spain

Zaragosa, Universidad de Zaragosa, B. General-Fondo Antiquo 16	

UK

London, British Library, Additional 18027	(of Austrian origin)

The Old Compilation is currently known in a single UK manuscript:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Liturg. 160	(catalogue claims French origin but gives no clear grounds for this)

Compilation 3A is a nonauthorial compilation of the prayers with all visionary autobiography excised and procedural instructions rearranged to facilitate use:

Canada

Hamilton, Ontario, McMaster University Library, 107	(possibly from Italy; missing initial 15 folios)

UK

Manchester, Chetham's Library, A.4.108	(the only MS definitely known to originate in the UK; also our most recent witness, dated 1522)

Compilation 3B contains all of Compilation 3A but has also had the autobiographical materials from the New Compilation added back in at the beginning:

Austria

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 13859

Germany

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 41 Cod. 55

Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Stolb.-Wernig. Za 74

Miscellaneous manuscripts in which some of John's prayers are found adapted to other purposes:

Germany

Mainz, Stadtbibliothek Mainz, I 138	(the *Septem dietas*, a selection of John's prayers adapted to enhancement of grammatical understanding)
München, Universitätsbibliothek, oct. Cod. 213	(preserves some of the same prayers as the *Septem dietas*, perhaps a version of the same text)

UK

Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Rawlinson liturg. d. 6	(of Polish origin; Crystallomancy of Wladislas)

Compilation 3A is a nonauthorial compilation of the prayers with all visionary autobiography excised and procedural instructions rearranged to facilitate use:

Canada

Hamilton, Ontario, McMaster University Library, 107	(possibly from Italy; missing initial 15 folios)

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UK

Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Rawlinson liturg. d. 6	(of Polish origin; Crystallomancy of Wladislas)

NOTES

1. Hereafter *Liber florum*. Previous studies of this work, including those by myself and Nicholas Watson, have referred to this text as the *Liber visionum* or *Book of Visions* based on the text's incipit, but John wanted the whole text to be known as *The Book of the Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*; hence, the forthcoming edition of the text by myself and Nicholas Watson will use the title John wished it to have. For an edition of the visionary autobiography preceding the *Liber florum* (the *Liber visionum* proper), based on the version in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 680, see "The Prologue to John of Morigny's *Liber Visionum:* Text and Translation," trans. and ed. Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3 (2001): 108–217, available online at http://www.esoteric.msu.edu/VolumeIII/Morigny.html. For the development of scholarship on John of Morigny, see the Introduction to this volume. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

2. Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus*, the *Liber visionum*, and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 250.

3. Principally including the work's goal of viewing God during life, use of a seal on which the name of God is written, and the ritual use of dream visions to answer questions.

4. Katelyn Mesler's chapter in this volume explicates the use of non-Christian angelologies and modes of petitioning angels in the text; prior to this, the most important work to seek further in regard to Jewish influence on the text had been Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Magie théurgique, angélologie et vision béatifique dans le *Liber sacratus sive juratus* attribué à Honorius de Thèbes," in "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Henri Bresc, and Benoît Grévin, special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114, no. 2 (2002): 851–90.

5. Kieckhefer, "Devil's Contemplatives," 262.

6. For an account of the text's discovery, see my introduction to *Conjuring Spirits*, xv. The manuscript Kieckhefer refers to is now catalogued as Hamilton, Ontario, McMaster University Library, 107, though at the time of his article's publication it was still unnumbered. The Hamilton manuscript is also missing the first fifteen folios. A complete version of the same text is contained in the Chetham's manuscript (see Appendix 2), which holds the missing introduction that refers to the New Compilation text as the one from which all the other versions are derived.

7. *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, ed. Gösta Hedegård (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 2002), §III, p. 66.

8. Lack of a comprehensive survey of magic in manuscript as well as lack of edited texts in both traditions remains a problem. Our knowledge of the Latin magical traditions has been greatly enhanced with the recent work by Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiévale (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), but work remains to be done, in particular in exploring the crossover between Hebrew and Latin magical traditions. We may speculate that both John and the compiler of the *Sworn Book* had access to portions of the book transmitted in Latin as the *Liber Razielis* (discussed in Page's chapter in this volume), which contained diagrams like the *tabula semamphoras*, which made use of the divine name (see the figure reproduced in Veenstra's chapter in this volume). John does mention a *Liber Semhemforas* in a list of books comprising the discipline of geonegia in the Old Compilation "Book of Figures" (Bodleian Library, fol. 63r). A *Liber Semiforas* traveled as a portion of the Latin *Liber Razielis*.

9. See appendices for a digest of version and manuscript information.

10. For a structural overview of the text showing differences between Old and New Compilation versions, see the table in Appendix 1, which also clarifies the section numbers I am using. Nicholas Watson and I collaborated on this table; the section numbers are a feature of our edition in progress. The numbering is not authorial.

11. Sens was the seat of the archbishop for the diocese then including Morigny, Chartres, and Paris.

12. The attack on the figures is described in section III.i.1 of our edition (beginning on fol. 71v2 in London, British Library, Additional 18027). John defends himself from other charges against the theology of the text in III.iii.6 (fol. 86r2ff.). These charges may or may not have been leveled by the same authorities who carped against the figures; John does not specify. They charge, in language derived from Gratian, that John's prayers involve idolatry and demonic pact. In similar language, John replies that he has made no demonic pact but rather that divine covenant operates in the work.

13. Actually spelled, in the figure, *I He W Ht.* It was a not uncommon medieval Latin practice to read the last letter of the name as *heth* rather than *he.* Throughout John's work, wherever they are written out, the letters are spelled *joth he vau heth.* A search of the *Patrologia Latina* yields many instances of similar errors.

14. From internal references, it seems probable that all of the figures were originally contained in two discrete quires, one at the end of section I.iv and one at the end of "The Book of Figures" (part III).

15. Discussion of crosses and geometric figures comes in our section III.11; in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Liturg. 160, this starts at the bottom of fol. 57v and continues on 58r.

16. The second letter of the name is missing a downstroke, making it look more like a *dalet* than a *he.* As Mesler comments (note 31 in chapter 3, concerning the *dalet* error in the London version of the *Sworn Book*), a Jewish scribe might make such an omission intentionally in order to avoid fully writing out the tetragrammaton. John dates the composition of "The Book of Figures" to 1308; where he may have found Jewish scribes in France to help him with his Hebrew so soon after the expulsion of 1306 is a puzzle. However, assuming that this transcription derives from John's exemplar, his initial experiments with the divine name may in fact date to an earlier period, when there was still a Jewish community at Chartres. At one point John mentions a quarrel with some Jews, in which the Virgin tells him that he will be victorious (Bodleian Library, Liturg. 160, fol. 66v).

17. "Et ecce! credens quasi essem in paradyso propter deauracionem ipsius ecclesie in circuitu partelum, veni ante altare quod erat constructum in honore crucifixi. Et erat ibi ymago crucifixi et Nychodemi, et cuiusdam alterius qui crucifixum de cruce ponebat, vno clauo de manu dextera iam erepto. Et stans ibi, genibus flexis, pecij quod has instituciones huius libri nouas et figuras faciendas et anullum confirmarem. Et inclinans aurem meam sinistram ad os eius ut responsum eius audirem, ecce! subito ymago illa crucifixi transformata in similitudinem et formam cuiusdam hominis antiqui, quem esse dixi et credidi Deum Patrem." Our edition, III.iii.1; London, British Library, Additional 18027, fol. 84v2. Translations from the Latin text are mine, with the collaboration of Nicholas Watson.

18. "Tu facies ibidem in singulari ipsarum vnam ymaginem de beata Maria modo quo poteris meliori. Istud non refertur ad curiositatem picturarum vel colorum sed ad curiositatem mundificationis cordis et consciencie a peccatis et vicijs, qua debes has ymagines virginis gloriose . . . in corde consciencie depingere et ornare coloribus virtutum et ornamentis penitentiarum et bene dummodo quo poteris." London, British Library, Additional 18027, fol. 84v2.

19. "Similiter in metallo cordis debet sculpti, et in digito consciencie portari, sicut et liber iste describi debet in pergameno cordis et legi littera consciencie—quamuis tamen ex manu debeat scribi, ut patet in penultime capitulo istius libri." Ibid., fol. 85r1–85r2.

20. "'Tu facies ibidem in singulari ipsarum vnam ymaginem de beata Maria modo quo poteris meliori. . . . Et in angulis ipsarum figurarum tu facies vnam figuram in singulari ipsorum ad modum vnius claui.' Cui dixi: 'Domine, vos dixistis michi quod ego faciam in singulari figura vnam ymaginem de beata Maria meliori modo quo potero, et in angulo cuiusque figure, figuram vnius claui.' Qui respondens ait: 'Verum est, sic.' Cui dixi: 'Et wltis sic quod ego faciam ibi in angulis nomen Domini, Tetragamaton?' Et dixit michi: 'Non iam.'" Ibid., fol. 85r2.

21. Ibid., fol. 85v2.

22. Most probably John identifies the number of God's names as ten because there are ten Hebrew names passed on in the patristic literature that find their way into Isidore.

23. "Quoniam nobis diuinitus dictum est quod nomen Domini nec in istis figuris nec in annulo ponendum est, videndum est quare hoc dictum fuit et institutum. Certe hoc ideo dictum est et merito: ne videamur in aliquo Judayzare, set semper Christum videamur verbo et facto, verum Deum et hominem confiteri. Quia antiquitus in veteri testamento Deus numquam aliquam formam acceperat et ideo Iudei ipsi Deo nullam formam applicabant et propter hoc inhibitum erat eis facere ymagines lege Mosayca. Set loco ymaginum, nominibus ipsius Dei vtebantur, que x sunt Hebreo sermone. Set quia Christus formam assumpsit humanam, ideo amplius non solum verum Deum, per nomina ipsius, set etiam verum hominem, per ymaginem humanam formam assumptam oportet confiteri. Et quia in istis figuris forma humanitatis quam ipse Deus assumpsit est depicta, sub qua latet ipsa perfecta diuinitas, ut firmitur credimus, non fuit necesse nomen Dei apponere, quia sub ymagine continetur." Our edition, III.iii.10; British Library, Additional 18027, fol. 91r2–91v1.

24. "Nota quod Vetus Testamentum figura fuit Noui Testamenti. Ita Compilacio Antiqua est et fuit figura istius Noue Compillacionis." Our edition, III.iii.22; British Library, Additional 18027, fol. 100v2.

25. "Notandum est quod visiones istius sciencie vnum sonant in hystoria et aliud significant in misterio secundum allegoricam. Et ideo Antiquam Compilacionem modo non revocamus, nisi tantummodo figuras et formas peticionum et instituta, non autem visiones et prophecias. Ymo hortamur omnes ut omnem Antiquam Compilacionem habeant et custodiant, quia in ipsa sunt principalia istius sciencie vnde processit, et quare et qualiter fuit reuelata et quid futurum sit super ecclesiam continetur." Our edition, III.i.14; British Library, Additional 18027, fol. 79v2.

26. While he eliminates all Hebrew in the figures, the tetragrammaton prayer retains its key position in the work. The prayer opening and closing the text in the New Compilation runs: "Ioth: Deus intellectus et intelligencie / *Ihesu Christe vita principium* / He: Deus perfecte reminiscencie et memorie / *Qui per crucis patibulum* / Vaw: Deus racionis et eloquencie; / *Qui per passionis obitum* / Heth: Deus stabilitatis perfeccionis et perseuerancie, fons tocius sapiencie sciencie et prudencie / *Vita factus es omnium:* / Incipe nunc, pone, perfice, fac, comple in me qui es et predixi, per signaculum annuli et figurarum. Amen." British Library, Additional 18027, fol. 103v1–2. The italicized words in alternate lines of this prayer are from a gloss on the Hebrew letters by Evagrius, *De decem dei nominibus* (*Patrologia Latina* 23.1279).

27. Mark 16:16.

28. "Iudei in hac visione nullatenus operantur, quia per adventum Christi donum amiserunt, nec possunt in celis collocari testante Domino, qui dicit: 'Qui baptizatus non fuerit condempnabitur,' et sic in omnibus angelis operantur imperfecte. Nec per invocaciones suas veniunt ad effectum, nisi Christo fidem adhibeant, quia dictum est eis per prophetam: 'Quando venit rex regum et dominus dominancium, cessabit unccio vestra,' que nuncquam cessaret, si per hanc artem haberet efficaciam veram, et sic opera eorum nulla. Et quamvis Iudei, in quantum Iudei, a Deo sunt condempnati, tamen summum adorant creatorem set indebito modo. Tamen virtute sanctorum Dei nominum coguntur venire spiritus, set quia Iudei non signantur signo Domini, scilicet crucis et fidei, nolunt spiritus veraciter eis respondere." *Liber iuratus* (Hedegård, 66).

29. The *Patrologia Latina* yields occurrences beginning with Gregory the Great and becoming more frequent as time goes on. For samples, see Gregory the Great's Commentary on 1 Kings (*PL* 79.461C); a commentary on the Psalms by a pseudo-Bede (*PL* 93.876A), and, perhaps following him, one by Walafrid Strabo (*PL* 113.960C). There are several occurrences in the works of Haymo of Halberstadt, including his homily on the holy innocents (*PL* 118.82D), and in Peter Damian, passim, including his sermon on the Lord's epiphany (*PL* 144.513C). Later instances become too numerous to itemize.

30. In edited texts where this quotation occurs (such as the pseudo-Augustinian sermon under discussion), the quotation is often attributed, without comment, to Daniel 9.24, where the coming of the Holy of Holies is mentioned. However, the vulgate actually reads, "deleatur iniquitas et adducatur iustitia sempiterna, et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungatur Sanctus sanctorum" (quoted from *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam Clementinam*, ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrada, 8th ed. [Madrid: Biblioteca de autores Christianos, 1985]). The cessation of unction, so important to the pseudo-Daniel passage quoted by the master of the *Sworn Book*, is not mentioned.

31. "'Cum venerit,' inquit [Daniel], 'Sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio.' Quare illo praesente, cui insultantes dicebatis: 'tu de te ipso testimonium dicis, testimonium tuum non est verum' (Ioan. 8, 13), cessavit unctio vestra, nisi quia ipse est qui venerat Sanctus sanctorum? . . . si autem, quod verum est, cessavit unctio vestra, agnoscite venisse Sanctum sanctorum." *PL* 42, 1123.

32. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. KSB Keats-Rohan, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 118 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993); material on Jewish blindness is in book 2, chapter 4.

33. Hermannus quondam Judaeus, *Opusculum de conversione sua*, ed. Gerlinde Niemeyer (Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfoger, 1963). The incident of the vision is narrated in chapter 1; the rereading after baptism is in chapter 21; for the events surrounding the image in the church, see chapters 2 and 3. On Hermann and the theme of conversion and identity, see Karl F. Morrison, *Conversion and Text: The Cases of Augustine of Hippo, Herman-Judah, and Constantine Tsatsos* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), which contains a translation of the text of the *Opusculum* on pp. 76–113.

34. Jeremy Cohen, "The Mentality of the Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Hermann of Cologne, and Pablo Christiani," in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. Todd M. Endelman (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), 20–47. Subsequent arguments for and against the genuineness of Hermann's autobiography are summarized by Jean-Claude Schmitt, in the first chapter of *The Conversion of Herman the Jew: Autobiography, History and Fiction in the Twelfth Century*, translated by Alex J. Novikoff (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). Schmitt suggests the possibility of holding an idea of the text somewhere between truth and fiction.

35. Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1939; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1984), 17.

36. Peter Schäfer, *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 232.

PART II

LATE FOURTEENTH- THROUGH SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TEXTS

6

ANTONIO DA MONTOLMO'S *De occultis et manifestis* OR *Liber intelligentiarum:* AN ANNOTATED CRITICAL EDITION WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

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Introduction

At the end of the fourteenth century, for almost the first time, as it seems, two texts openly proclaiming their subject matter as "magic" were written by a man who openly assumed the role of author. A philosopher and physician, Antonio da Montolmo wrote a gloss on a Hermetic opuscule on astrological seals and a treatise called *Occult and Manifest Things* (*De occultis et manifestis*). Antonio uses the word "magic" in a precise and specific sense; in his usage, a magical work or magic art (*opus magicum, ars magica*) refers mainly to actions with spirits, whereas actions or procedures based on occult influences or astrology are never called magic (with few exceptions, as in chapter 4, §9). In what follows, I try to respect Antonio da Montolmo's own habitual use of the term.

I wholeheartedly thank Julien Véronèse, who gave me his own transcription of the Latin text of chapters 4–6 of *De occultis et manifestis* (based on my previous incomplete draft), which was very helpful to me; and who did all the identifications of the quotations from the *Almadal* (*Almandel*) and *Clavicula Salomonis*—manuscripts about which he is very knowledgeable. I am indebted to him for the remarks, analysis, and quotations concerning these texts in the Amsterdam manuscript B.P.H. 114 and the Vatican manuscript, Vat. lat. 3180; see notes on the translation: 6, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 24, 35, 37, 55, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and 73. I am also indebted to him for the information in note 65 on the names of God and Moses. I also wish to thank Claire Fanger, who read the chapter with particular relevance and accuracy: she corrected the English translation, always with an eye to the Latin text, and gave many suggestions to improve the interpretation. I am grateful also to Azélina Jaboulet-Vercherre and Frédéric Ferro who kindly re-read my English; to Jean-Patrice Boudet and Jean-Marc Mandosio for their useful suggestions on certain obscure sections of Antonio's text, and to Irene Caiazzo for her specific advice concerning the edition.

1. Antonio da Montolmo: A Physician, Astrologer, and Magician

Few facts are known about Antonio's life. In 1360 he was a lecturer on grammar at the University of Bologna, where he taught medicine and astrology from 1387 to 1392. Then we find him teaching philosophy and medicine in Padua in 1393. A year later he was teaching in Mantua. His astrological work *De iudiciis nativitatum liber praeclarissimus*, completed in Mantua, was annotated by Regiomontanus and edited in 1540.[1]

Antonio's two short works on magic have never been published and are extant only in manuscripts. The fifteenth-century Italian manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7337, contains the *De occultis et manifestis* and the *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis* (Gloss on the images of the twelve signs of Hermes). Another manuscript, held in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4085, contains the *Glosa* but without an author's name (generally the content of this latter manuscript shares many texts with the former one).[2] Although Lynn Thorndike noted Antonio's contribution to the history of Western magic in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, little subsequent scholarship has been dedicated to this magician.[3]

Antonio alludes several times to his *De occultis et manifestis* in his *Glosa* on the images of the twelve signs of Hermes—the latter being a Hermetic text on twelve medical seals that must be made under the twelve zodiacal signs. This text, which bears several titles, such as *Liber formarum* (elsewhere I have given it the more descriptive title *De duodecim imaginibus Hermetis*),[4] appeared for the first time, as far as we know, in the Jewish milieu of Montpellier at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The first Christian to cite the text was Arnold of Villanova. Arnold also made use of a short text especially dedicated to the seal of the lion (I call it *Lion I*), which belongs to another tradition but is very often associated with the *Liber formarum* in manuscripts. Generally, the name of Arnold of Villanova is cited in manuscripts at the place where the section borrowed from *Lion I* occurs.[5] In one of these manuscripts, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4082 (Padova, 1401), Antonio da Montolmo's name also occurs: after the text of *Lion I* (which is inserted in the section dealing with the seal of Leo of the *Liber formarum*), we read, "The same is done for the diseases of the other limbs in concordance with the form of the planets and according to the process and doctrine of Arnold of Villanova. Antonio da Montolmo astrologer."[6] Antonio seems to be the author of this interpolation. The *Liber formarum* and *Lion I* are perhaps among the very few Hermetic talismanic texts deprived of rituals, characters, and other signs, whether directly or implicitly addressed to a spirit. I have called this kind of magic with such signs "addressative magic," and the *Liber formarum* is thus a nonaddressative magical text.[7] In the mid-thirteenth century, the anonymous author of the *Speculum astronomiae* coined the notion of "astrological image" in order to define a talisman (an artificial magical object) that would derive its power not from the spirits but only from the natural power of the stars. Condemning many Hermetic talismanic texts as "abominable" and Solomonic texts as "detestable," the Magister Speculi managed to save only one nonaddressative text presenting "images purely astrological," the *De imaginibus* ascribed to Thebit (i.e., Thâbit ibn Qurra). He may also include in this category (but with less certainty) the *Opus imaginum* of the pseudo-Ptolemy.[8] Obviously, the *Liber formarum* and *Lion I,* if they had been known by the author of the *Speculum astronomiae,* could have fit within the category of "astrological image." And this is an exceptional situation, since almost all image magic texts were indeed addressative; the idea of a "purely astrological image" was, like that of "natural magic," an intellectual illusion, that of a magic theologically and scientifically acceptable. Nevertheless, Antonio da Montolmo, in his gloss, introduces addressative elements in order to make the Hermetic text more efficient. In doing so, he witnesses a change in the history of Western magic: he foreshadows the mutation of the quattrocento, a century in which, in a kind of "liberation of the magical word," the "author-magician" appears.

2. The First "Author-Magician"?

I have suggested elsewhere the idea that in the Middle Ages a magical text could not have a real author.[9] The reasons for this were both logical and theological. By logical reasons I mean that since the rituals, invocations, and signs in magical texts or recipes were not supposed to be mere human inventions, they needed to be ascribed to traditions based on ancient mythical authorities (Hermes, Solomon, Apollonius, Abel) who had received these truths through divine revelation. Through this chain of knowledge, the rituals found their justification in the divine order itself. Such a situation is suggested, for instance, in the prologue of the *Liber lunae,* where Abel and other ancient sages had their knowledge engraved in the marble; after the Flood, Hermes Trismegistus found these writings in Ebron.[10] Certainly, several magical texts full of rituals were ascribed posthumously to such medieval authors as Albert the Great and Arnold of Villanova, but these apocryphal attributions were made possible precisely by the fame of their supposed authors, who had become legendary.

The theological reasons are even more obvious: no medieval author could assume authorship for a text describing magical processes or supporting "addressative" magic. The *Liber iuratus,* which advocates a positivized idea of magic against the antimagical laws of Pope John XXII, bears the name of Honorius of

Thebes.[11] That the astrologer Cecco d'Ascoli dared to write many sections dealing with astrological nigromancy in his commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco seems to be the main reason for his sentence to the stake by the Florentine Inquisition in 1327. (The *Summa sacre magice*, written by the Catalan Berengario Ganell in 1343, seems very exceptional.)[12]

But Antonio da Montolmo seems to be one of the very first to overcome this double impossibility. Concerning the logical impossibility, he manages to retain the status of author through his *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis* and through his intellectual speculation on magical sources in *De occultis et manifestis*. Later, another author, Giorgio Anselmi da Parma, assumed the status of author-magician as a compiler of magical sources in his *De magia disciplina*. By his assuming authorship of a magical text, Antonio foreshadows the great era of magician-philosophers like Marsilio Ficino and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa.

Concerning the theological impossibility, Antonio himself seems to go even further than Cecco in his description and theorization of the astrological nigromancy, but the context was no longer the same. The quattrocento was a period in which magical discourse became freer than it had been before, especially in and around Florence. Certainly, the author-magicians of the century did not forget the theological risk: thus, as can be seen in the debate on "astrological images," their alleged "natural magic" seems often to have been mere lip service paid in order to avoid problems with the church. This motivation probably also lies behind the evidently hypocritical *non tam probo quam narro* (I do not approve as much as I relate), repeated several times by Marsilio Ficino in his *De vita* when dealing with astrological magic.[13] As we will see, Antonio makes many remarks in order to protect himself from theological censure.

3. Occult and Manifest Sources for the *De occultis et manifestis*

First, Antonio da Montolmo borrows from standard sources of the arts curriculum. Aristotle's *Ethics*[14] gives him a general statement about knowledge; and Antonio makes use of the Aristotelian treatise *On the Soul* twice when discussing theories of perception.[15] He also borrows from the standard astrology handbooks, sometimes studied in the faculties, Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*[16] and Alcabitius (al-Qabisi)'s *De principiis astrologiae*.[17] Antonio quotes the eighth chapter of the *Quadripartitum*, but his quotation (or the copy made by the copyist) is corrupted.

He quotes three sources from Hermetic and Solomonic traditions. The first is the *De quindecim stellis, quindecim lapidibus, quindecim herbis et quindecim imaginibus*, ascribed to Hermes, with the commentary attributed to the astrologer Messahalla, which was broadly diffused in the Middle Ages. Antonio mentions it, or its commentary by Messahalla, four times.[18] This work (possibly deriving from a Greek source), which was known to the Latin West through Messahalla's version, explains how to make fifteen talismans using the correspondence between a star, a stone, an herb, and a figure. More audacious are the references to three works ascribed to Solomon: the *Almadel,* the *Clavicula,* and the *De angelica fictione.*

The *Almadel* or *Almandal* is a well-known Solomonic text. The *Speculum astronomiae* condemns it as a "detestable" work. As Jean-Patrice Boudet has shown, there are two different Latin versions. The first, translated from the Arabic, is found in a manuscript of Florence (Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II.iii.214). The second, which is found in the other manuscripts, is not a translation but a text written directly in Latin.[19] The "Altitudes" to which Antonio alludes are clearly borrowed from the second, Christianized version.

The *Clavicula Salomonis* is not known to be extant in any Latin manuscripts earlier than a fifteenth-century codex now held in Amsterdam in the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (BPH 114). An Italian version dated 1446 is held in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF, Ital. 1524). The Latin version of the text was probably written in the second half of the thirteenth century. It is mentioned by Pietro d'Abano, and then, for the first time after him, it seems, by Antonio da Montolmo.[20]

The third and last text attributed to Solomon is a *De angelica fictione.*[21] A quite similar title, *De angelica factione* (or *factura*), had been ascribed to Apollonius by the astrologer Cecco d'Ascoli, as we will see. Apollonius, who is often cited by Cecco d'Ascoli, appears twice in the *De occultis et manifestis* in locations concerned with the Intelligences. There were texts attributed to the ancient authority Apollonius of Tyana or Balenuz. According to Montolmo, Apollonius explained how the Intelligences make use of natural potentialities and astral influences,[22] and that therefore magic performed by means of these Intelligences is a combination of magic and astrology.[23]

Antonio also mentions a pseudo-Aristotelian text on magic (*Magica*).[24] Many apocryphal texts were ascribed to Aristotle in the Middle Ages, the most famous being the *Secretum secretorum;* however, we have not been able securely to identify the *Magica* with a known text. Nevertheless, Antonio twice quotes this book in locations concerned with the suitable times and places to put questions to spirits and the need to keep the magical art secret. Note that Cecco d'Ascoli had attributed an *Ars magica* to Apollonius.[25] Other names belonging to the legendary magical tradition—Virgil and Moses—are mentioned as well.[26]

Antonio refers to the characters used by "King Charles" against his enemies.[27] This is probably an allusion to an *experimentum* found in the same manuscript, BnF, lat. 7337, as well as Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4085. The *experimentum* states that the astrologer Thomas de Pizan (the father of Christine) made an astrological talisman in order to repel the English from the kingdom of France at the time of King Charles V. This experiment is obviously based on the *De imaginibus* of Thebit, in particular on the section dedicated to the image for ridding a place of scorpions (the scorpions have been replaced by the English, but the experiment is otherwise similar). In fact, this tale is the first in a series of three experiments: there follows an experiment ascribed to Bartolomeo di Sangibene, a Venetian working for Duke Leopold, and then a final experiment written in the first person ("Practica mea"). I have hypothesized that the anonymous author who tells the last experiment could be Antonio da Montolmo himself, and that the whole series of experiments could thus be added to the list of his works.[28] The reference to King Charles's magical operation in the *De manifestis et occultis* shows that Antonio was aware of it. At the end of Thomas de Pizan's experiment there is a list of planetary symbols and angelic names—hence addressative signs—that are added to the rather nonaddressative process that was borrowed from Thebit's image, just as Antonio himself adds addressative processes to the *Liber formarum* of Hermes.

4. Sacrobosco and Cecco d'Ascoli

Lynn Thorndike rightly pointed out the closeness between Antonio da Montolmo and Cecco d'Ascoli; he wrote that Antonio "went even farther than Cecco in the direction of astronomical necromancy and magical invocation of spirits." But, Thorndike says, "Antonio seems not to cite Cecco in his work," even though Cecco's commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco "is found in the same manuscript" (BnF, lat. 7337) as *De occultis et manifestis.*[29]

In the second chapter, Antonio da Montolmo seems to come very close to Cecco d'Ascoli's approach to nigromantical astrology. At the end of this chapter, he mentions an "author" who wrote a chapter *de ortu et occasu cronico.* This is obviously Johannes de Sacrobosco (John of Holywood or Halifax), the famous author of the *Sphere,* the standard handbook on cosmology in the arts curriculum since the thirteenth century.[30] In the third chapter of this book, Sacrobosco gives three meanings for the word *ortus* (the rising): *cosmicus, cronicus,* and *eliacus.* The "chronic rising" is also called "temporal" (*temporalis*), and it means the rising of a zodiacal sign or a star at night. The name comes from the fact that the "time of the astrologers" (*tempus mathematicorum*) begins as the sun is setting. Antonio argues that Sacrobosco's text has been corrupted; instead of *mathematicorum* we should read *magicorum,* i.e., of the magicians, since the magicians operate at night. This passage comes just after a section in which he describes what "magicians are accustomed to say" and gives several quotations, and his reference to *magici* here may point to Cecco d'Ascoli.[31] But this possible reference to Cecco d'Ascoli is veiled and distorted (like Cecco's own references to many of his sources). Indeed, as I have tried to show elsewhere, Cecco's commentary on the *Sphere* is an intellectual palimpsest; behind the cosmological/astrological commentary there is an astro-nigromantical treatise. One of the processes Cecco uses to introduce the nigromantical sections consists of attributing several meanings to Sacrobosco's technical terms. In this way he imitates the section in which Sacrobosco himself gives three meanings for the word *ortus.* In Cecco's view, such terms as *colurus, zenith, arcus, clima,* and *oppositio* have at least two meanings: the first, cosmological, astronomical, or astrological, and the second, nigromantical.[32]

Antonio, in turn, imagines three meanings for the term "horoscope," for in astrology, "Aries is in the horoscope" obviously means "Aries is in the ascendant." But in chiromancy, the science of divination from the hands, "horoscope" means a "certain sign" in the hand. And finally, in the "magical arts" it means the "first decan of Cancer," which is called by the magicians the "heart of the North" (in their view, Cancer is one of the main zodiacal signs). This section seems to borrow heavily from Cecco's commentary.

In the section commenting on the meanings of *ortus,* Cecco describes the *ortus figurationis* as an expression he claims to have derived from an unknown *Liber de motu diurno,* ascribed to al-Kindî. This *ortus figurationis* would refer to the "science of images," the art of making talismans, and Cecco gives an example (allegedly taken from a *Liber de mineralibus constellatis*): "if someone wants to make an image in which he seeks an answer from a spirit, the heart of the North has to be ascendant, i.e., Cancer, which is the ascendant of the nigromancers." Moreover, later in his commentary, Cecco gives three meanings for the "arcs" (*arcus*), an astrological one, a nigromantical one, and a chiromantical one. The astrological meaning (allegedly taken from Al-Kindî's *De motu diurno*) makes the distinction between the northern arc (from the exaltation of the sun to its setting) and the southern arc (from its setting to the end of the sign of Pisces). The nigromantic meaning (allegedly taken from Solomon's *De umbris idearum*) tells us about northern spirits called *arcus septentrionales:* they live in the North, they are of a very noble nature, and they give answers when they are invoked. The chiromantical meaning (as understood, says Cecco, by Abliton in his *Chiromantia*) is finally given: an arc is a line in the hand that signifies future events. Thus Cecco's chiromantic interpretation of *arcus* actually seems to be the source of Antonio's chiromantical interpretation of *horoscopes.*[33]

Another clue is given in Antonio's mention of a *De angelica fictione* (On the angelic fiction) that he ascribes to Solomon. Cecco quotes a similar title, *De angelica factura* or *factione,* many times in his commentary on the *Sphere* and in his commentary on Alcabitius as well, but this was attributed to Apollonius. This work Cecco mentions belongs to the long list of unknown and mysterious works he cites, which makes Antonio's use of Cecco's work even more obvious.

Moreover, Antonio's general conception of magic seems close to Cecco's. Like Cecco, the great audacity of their magical writings notwithstanding, Antonio remains within the theologically orthodox framework that makes the distinction between the superlunar world, where the divine grace spreads with an absolute monopoly, and the sublunar world, where the demons can act. Therefore he points out that the celestial Intelligences or spirits or angels that are compelled through the divine power are not the good angels but the fallen ones. They must not be confused with the Intelligences that move the planetary spheres, as these were regarded as belonging to the order of Virtues by such an orthodox theologian as Thomas Aquinas[34] (Cecco, speaking similarly, alludes to the Powers). Cecco also emphasizes that these Intelligences are angels "expelled from the heavens," hence demoniac spirits outside "the order of grace."[35]

Antonio thus seems indebted to Cecco for the basic ideas in his astrological nigromancy, grounded in a consistent connection between the spirits and the stars (as in his explanation of the importance of the crossroads, etc.). Beyond a possible community of sources (especially Solomonic sources), it seems quite obvious that Antonio da Montolmo knew Cecco's work. Certainly the death sentence of the audacious astrologer in 1327 may have been sufficient reason for Antonio not to quote him by name.

5. Summary of the *De occultis et manifestis*

In his introduction, Antonio explains that his book will deal with the Intelligences following a four-part plan: first, a theoretical part; second, a part tackling the occult operations of the Intelligences (i.e., through talismanic images, phylacteries, etc.); third, a part dealing with the manifest operations of the Intelligences (the forms in which they appear to virgin people); and fourth, a part dealing with operations concerning people who are not virgins; and perhaps some following practical parts. But in fact Antonio does not follow this plan.

Chapter 1, the longest chapter, explains that just as there are four parts in the heavens corresponding to the cardinal signs, so there are four orders of Intelligences. This is why exorcisms must be performed at a crossroads of four roads. Then, following the Scholastic method, Antonio poses four questions.

The first question is: Why do these Intelligences remain under their own cardinal signs? The answer is that they make use of the influences of these signs. They are opposed to one another just as the stellar influences of these signs are opposed, and when these Intelligences from different quadrants are invoked together there is din and rage. Two explanations are given for this: first, they have opposite offices, so they fight each other; and second, they do not like to be compelled by humans through divine power. Then Antonio explains that the southern Intelligences, which stand under Capricorn, whose domicile is Saturn, like fetid suffumigations, whereas the other Intelligences like sweet-smelling ones. When these Intelligences are summoned to perform good operations, they require sweet-smelling suffumigations, whereas for evil actions fetid suffumigations are needed. Antonio gives several explanations, astrological and theological, for this.

The second question is: Why can some people see these spirits while others cannot? The reason is that the Intelligences know how to produce appearances that play with the rules of optics; thus different perceptions may be available to different people, according to their constitutions and abilities.

The third question is: Why do these Intelligences appear to virgins rather than to impure persons? Since these Intelligences are fallen angels, they cannot be called virgin; but since their nature is pure, their purity is consonant with the virginity of the summoner. Another reason is given: that sexual intercourse produces a generation of beings endowed with souls, and the Intelligences are jealous of these souls, which have the same dignity that they do. For these reasons, the Intelligences also do not willingly appear to bastards, for their birth results from an even more impure act.

The fourth question is: Why do they prefer to appear in materials like water, or dense, clean, transparent bodies like crystals? It is because these materials and bodies allow a more perfect reflection and the Intelligences can thus appear more easily in these media than in the air.

Chapter 2 deals with the times when the practices of invocation must be performed. The astrological figure in the heavens must be appropriate for the purpose sought. Antonio gives a few examples, and he also gives the phases of the moon appropriate for the different Intelligences. He stresses the importance of Cancer for magical operations and ends the chapter by giving theological reasons why the Intelligences prefer to appear in the first hour of the night.

Chapter 3 deals with "what does and what does not suit the Intelligences and [with] the various influxes of the four signs." Here Antonio presents the twelve Altitudes (the orders of Intelligences standing under the twelve zodiacal signs) and describes how they react to one another according to the aspects of their respective signs. The operator must also take into account the triplicities of signs and the phases of the moon. Antonio notes that for each newborn child, the prince of the Altitude of the child's ascendant sign appoints one of his subjects, whose power is proportional to the social status of this child. This, Antonio suggests, is consonant with the idea that every man has an evil opposing angel (just as he has a guardian angel).

In chapter 4, Antonio discusses the working of images (i.e., talismans) and phylacteries (*brevia*—rolls filled with magical inscriptions that are enclosed in a small portable object, like the Jewish mezuzah). The ancient sages used such images, he says, to fulfill their will, and he gives the example of a talismanic image made under the significant celestial points to overcome another person. The rule is astrological: the significant planet of the man whose aim is to overcome another must be in a dominant location over the planet significant for the man who is to be overcome. The "significant planet" here may be the planet of nativity (i.e., the horoscope of birth) or the planet of the interrogation (i.e., the horoscope of the moment when the question is asked).

Antonio proceeds to make a threefold distinction: images, rings, and phylacteries can be astrological, magical, or both astrological and magical. The first category (which is consonant with the purely "astrological image" of the Magister Speculi) is based on the correspondence between terrestrial aim and astral signification. Antonio gives details about an image made by a servant to get a better position from a prelate. He then poses three questions: first, how a heavenly quality can induce an inclination in someone to do something; second, why the wax of which the image is made must be clean and virgin; and third, why the aforesaid image would induce such an inclination in this prelate more than in another man.

Antonio answers the first question by referring to the astral virtual quality that is instilled in the limbs of any creature when it is born; he compares the action of the heavens here to that of a traveler who puts good-smelling things in a new wooden bottle in order to impregnate it with the quality of the good smell. From this he infers that the newly made image also derives such a quality from the heavens. To the second question, Antonio answers that the wax must be virgin, new, and clean in order not to be impregnated with previous and extraneous qualities. He answers the third question by explaining that the image is put near the prelate, who is therefore influenced by the nearness of the quality with which the image is endowed; moreover, the will of the operator also directs the influence to the prelate. In this way Antonio also stresses that it is better when the man making the request casts the image or ring himself, for his own confidence is important in the success of the operation, inasmuch as it is through his confidence that his complexion spreads its influence toward the matter of the image. Here Antonio combines the two existing theories of natural magic: the theory of occult properties based on astrological influence, and the theory of confidence and imagination (drawn from Galen, Avicenna, and maybe al-Kindî).[36] From these theories of imagination, Antonio affirms the common belief that it is dangerous to meet unfortunate people in the morning.

Antonio next undertakes a discussion of the second category of images, rings, and phylacteries, namely, those of a magical nature. He notes first that these magical processes seem "rather remote from sensory faculties"—a remark that apparently alludes to the "occult" side of the operations. These operations are performed through rituals like incantations, exorcisms, and suffumigations. Although this passage is not very clear, Antonio seems to describe two types of magical processes: in the first, the Intelligence is compelled by the magician (implicitly through the divine power of God, though this is not stated); in the second, the Intelligence willingly carries out the required operation because the magician honors it through these rituals (in this case, the Intelligence is explicitly *not* compelled by God). In this latter kind of operation, the old wives or sorceresses are particularly efficient because of their strength of will, which is more powerful than the mere uttering of words of the invocation. A puzzling note at the end of this passage that "only the will can damn or save" may refer (in connection with an earlier passage about the motivations of spirits, chapter 1.9) to the idea that the Intelligences are more likely to cooperate with an operator animated with a strong evil will because it is easier to lead such a soul into damnation.

Antonio goes on to describe the third way of operating, which is both magical and astrological and is regarded as the most efficient because it combines the natural power of the stellar influences and the intentional power of the Intelligences: the Intelligences make use of these astrological influences in order to carry out the operation for which they are compelled through exorcisms. Here, the natural and the spiritual cooperate.

Chapter 5 deals with the offices and locations of the Intelligences of the planets. Referring to the ancients, Antonio presents the different and distinctive offices of the Intelligences standing under their respective planets: for instance, the saturnine Intelligences have the power to cause melancholic diseases, but also treacheries, etc. He points out that these are not the same as the Intelligences that move the planetary orbs (which most theologians regarded as good angels within the divine grace) but are outside the divine grace, hence located under the lunar orb—a fundamental idea that Antonio may have borrowed from Cecco d'Ascoli.[37] Within this framework, ancient pagan religion is viewed as the cult of these Intelligences (i.e., certainly evil Intelligences) acting under each planet. What Antonio describes here is nigromancy, that is, the attempt to obtain the help of angels outside the order of grace, i.e., evil ones. But he says that "someone" maintains that, in the *Almadel* ascribed to Solomon, the angels involved in the operations are from the Dionysian order of Powers and suggests that these would be the twelve zodiacal Altitudes. This idea suggests, without elaborating, the possibility of another way of magic, i.e., theurgy—an idea that seems rather unorthodox—and moreover an astrological theurgy (since he has already explained that these Altitude-Powers are supposed to act in tandem with the appropriate astral influences).

Then Antonio treats the meteorological conditions required for such operations. The weather has to be quiet and clear so that the Intelligence, which acts through nature, can cause shapes to appear more easily. Antonio implicitly confesses to doing such experiments, or witnessing them, when he writes, "I figured out through experiment that when the weather is rainy they can also produce appearances, but not so easily." The locations for such invocations must be secret, because the Intelligences do not like to show they are compelled by the divine power, and also because our senses are more able to be moved by the operations of these Intelligences when we are in seclusion.

Chapter 6 explains the reasoning behind the acts, signs, and objects of magical operations. In this chapter we find discussion of the standard requirements for Solomonic magic. First, Antonio lists the required conditions: an efficient operator must be born under an appropriate constellation, be learned, eloquent, etc., and also must be a good Catholic, for the operator is supposed to act through the divine power. Circles are an essential element in Solomonic magic (and nigromancy): the summoner operates within a circle in order to protect himself against the spirits invoked. Antonio explains that the choice of such a geometrical figure is justified by the fact that the circle is the divine figure that embraces the whole; hence it is the most perfect figure. Moreover, it is called "the name of God" and therefore has a protective effect against the evil spirits invoked during these operations. Antonio ends his treatise by discussing such distinctive elements of Solomonic magic as the characters that are to be inscribed, the pentacles, the ritual of purification before performing the operation, and the suffumigations.

6. Some Theoretical Features of the Treatise

Antonio da Montolmo's treatise is entitled *De occultis et manifestis* or *Liber intelligentiarum* for reasons he gives in the prooemium (§3), where he makes the distinction between the "occult" and the "manifest" operations of the Intelligences.[38] In the first category he includes such operations as images, phylacteries, and so on; in the second he includes the way the Intelligences appear to virgin persons. Thus, in manifest operations, the Intelligences appear to the summoner in an explicit way, whereas in images and phylacteries their actions remain hidden from human perception. Such a distinction is reminiscent of Thomas Aquinas's concerning nigromantical and astrological images: both derive their power from demons, but the nigromantical images involve explicit and deliberate invocations (*expressae invocationes*) and hence are based on an explicit or deliberate pact (*expressa pact*) with demons, whereas the images "which they call astrological" are based on tacit or implicit pacts with demons.[39] Later (3.1), Antonio uses this distinction between occult and manifest to make the distinction between two kinds of enmity between two Altitudes whose respective signs are astrologically opposed, according to a square or an opposite aspect, respectively.

But the real purpose of the *De occultis et manifestis* is to give theoretical explanations, in particular astrological ones, for processes taken from nigromantical and Solomonic treatises. The model he builds is very complicated and very imaginative. Antonio tries to find a kind of general rationality in practical processes whose reasons are certainly not those that he suggests.

In his *Speculum astronomiae,* the anonymous author had defined three kinds of images, two nigromantical (the "abominable" or Hermetic images and the Solomonic or "detestable" images), and one the purely "astrological images." Antonio divides talismanic images, phylacteries, and so on into a more practical and logical threefold typology: first, magical (or operating through spirits); second, astrological; and third, magical and astrological at the same time. Purely magical operations, based on the invocations of demons, rely also on the intention and will of the operator, and because of the strength of their will, old wives are often particularly good at it. Astrological images are those grounded only in astrology without any invocation, just like those defined in the *Speculum astronomiae* (a work Antonio does not mention but that he obviously knows). Finally, there is the astrological-magical way to make images and other operations, which, Antonio suggests, seems the most efficient. He himself has made use of this kind of magic, he tells us.[40] And if he is the writer of the three *experimenta* mentioned above, then he is clearly advising the use of the names of Intelligences in the making of images. Note that this threefold typology was also promoted by a later magician, Giorgio Anselmi da Parma, and even later by the cautious physician Jerome Torrella, who rejected any addressative processes.[41] Thus the *De occultis et manifestis* is, above all, a theoretical treatise that aims at giving an astrological explanation for a nigromancy based on the summoning of Intelligences.

In his treatises, Antonio presents three kinds of Intelligences. First, he discusses the Intelligences that stand under the four cardinal signs, i.e., Aries (east), Libra (west), Capricorn (south), and Cancer (north). Under these four parts of the heavens there are four orders of Intelligences. Thus, under the eastern part there is Oriens, the first Intelligence of the eastern order. Antonio does not give the names of the three other first Intelligences of their respective cardinal orders, but we can learn them from the Solomonic sources: these are Amaymon, Paynon, and Egym.[42] But the eastern Intelligences are nobler than the others. Each of the cardinal signs is associated with the two other signs of its triplicity: fiery signs (Aries, Leo, Sagittarius), airy signs (Libra, Gemini, Aquarius), earthy signs (Capricorn, Virgo, Taurus), and watery signs (Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces). The Intelligences of these four orders are clearly evil, for their specific offices are sinful: lust, greed, and so on. Fornifer (a spirit mentioned in 1.5) may belong to one of these orders of Intelligences: this demon makes use of the influences of Venus in order to incline human beings toward lust.

The second kind of Intelligences are those that belong to the orders called Altitudes. These Intelligences are mentioned in the *Almadel*, which, as we have seen, Antonio cites. But with respect to them he mentions another source: the *De angelica fictione*, which Cecco d'Ascoli also quoted. These Intelligences are called "angels," but this does not necessarily signify good angels, since this term also is applied once to the evil Intelligences of the cardinal signs. There are twelve *Altitudines*, and each of them is located under one of the twelve zodiacal signs—hence, *under* the heavens, just like all the evil Intelligences; but Antonio does not say clearly whether these Intelligences are really evil. There are three eastern, three western, three southern, and three northern Altitudes. Implicitly referring to an underlying common tradition, Antonio asserts that when a child is born, just as there is a specific guardian angel present, so there is an opposing evil angel sent by the prince of the Altitude. For this reason, these Altitudes might seem to be orders of evil Intelligences; but later in his treatise (5.3), Antonio writes that "some people maintain" that the Altitudes are to be identified with the order of good angels called the order of Powers in the Dionysian hierarchy. Note that the source to which Antonio refers here is the "*Almadel* ascribed to Solomon." In his *Glosa*, he somewhat tentatively suggests that, for faithful people who might be afraid to invoke evil Intelligences, these are safe to work with, noting that the Powers have the protection of humankind from evil spirits as their particular office.[43]

To a third kind of Intelligences belong those of the planets. They perform their operations according to the different influences and nature of their respective planets. Thus, under Mars, the Martian Intelligence rules wars, fights, and enmities; and under Venus, the respective Intelligence causes love and amorous delights. But Antonio clearly emphasizes that these planetary Intelligences are not the Intelligences or angels that move the planetary orbs in the heavens; they are "deprived of the divine grace." These Intelligences were actually the pagan gods worshipped by the ancients.

Antonio also faces the problem of evil. For example, the eastern Intelligences are noble by nature, but they are also evil (in other words, demons). Cecco d'Ascoli had also stressed the noble nature of certain Intelligences—they inherited their nobility from the time when they lived beside God in the heavens, before their fall.[44] Antonio must also resolve other paradoxical situations, such as the fact that some evil Intelligences are attracted by sweet-smelling suffumigations or by virginity, which seem to belong to divine grace, hence the complicated explanations, both logical and astrological.[45]

Thus, like Cecco d'Ascoli, Antonio da Montolmo seems to respect, in theory, the division of the sphere between, on the one hand, a superlunar space, where divine grace spreads itself and where there are only good angels, such as the Powers and the angels that move the orbs, and, on the other hand, a sublunar world, where orders of demons (with a hierarchy of princes and subjects) rule the sinful operations of the magicians according to the astrological influences that they receive and of which they make use.

Like Cecco, Antonio tries to frame an *astrologica interpretatio* of nigromancy. The main problem he must solve concerns the gap between the superlunar and sublunar worlds. How can the evil Intelligences, which inhabit the sublunar world, be connected with the world of the stars? The issue, the articulation of the astrological configurations in the heavens and the actions of demons, is based on the idea that the demons dwell beneath these astrological places and act according to the influences of these planets and constellations: they use the stellar influences to perform the operations the magicians require. Perhaps the most significant section of the work is 3.1, where Antonio explains that the relations between the orders of Intelligences called Altitudes are ruled by the aspects of their respective signs. When the aspect is benevolent (trine, sextile), the corresponding *Altitudines* are friends. When there is a square aspect, the respective *Altitudines* are opposed, but in a hidden or occult way. When the aspect is opposite, the corresponding *Altitudines* are contrary in a manifest way. But the *astrologica interpretatio* goes further: thus, referring to astrology, Antonio explains why some suffumigations used in the invocations have to be sweet-smelling and other ones fetid. For example, in order to summon the Intelligences located under Capricorn, the magician has to make fetid suffumigations with sulfur and asafoetida because Capricorn is a melancholic sign, domicile of Saturn, a planet that emits fetid rays.

The hand that annotates the text[46] writes, at the beginning of chapter 3, "Whatever has been said in the introduction about the signs, you have to understand it about the Altitudes in all respects." And later in chapter 5: "Whatever has been said in the introduction, in fact you may understand the same about the corresponding Intelligences."

Although Antonio da Montolmo, like Cecco d'Ascoli, may seem audacious and unorthodox, he tries, as we have seen, to give a theoretical basis, more or less compatible with the Christian framework, for practical texts or recipes he has seen. In fact, the operative magical texts he is trying to explain are not built upon such a theoretical platform of requirements and rules as the one he synthesizes to support them. The Hermetic texts are based on invocations of astral spirits, possibly coming (at least partially) from the pagan cults of the Sabeans of Harran (as David Pingree has suggested).[47] The Solomonic texts, which belong to the Judeo-Christian tradition, are generally based on the invocations of demons that have to be compelled (although sometimes they involved a theurgy based on good angels).[48] Unlike Hermetic magic, Solomonic magic does not view astrology as an essential requirement; nevertheless, Solomonic sources are the primary material that Cecco and Antonio use in building their "astrological nigromancy." So the primary challenge of these two authors is to synthesize the astrological magic with the much less astrological Solomonic sources, which, despite their sometimes frightening and sinful content, were more in tune with the Christian demonological framework. Within these parameters, Antonio's *astrologica interpretatio,* or logical reflections on evil and good rituals, are his own, with obvious influence from Cecco.

7. The Present Edition

This edition of the *De occultis et manifestis* is based on the only known extant manuscript (BnF, lat. 7337), where it fills nine double-column pages with modern page numbering (pp. 1–9). The manuscript contains magical and astrological texts.[49] The numerous mistakes and misunderstood words clearly show that it is not an autograph. The copyist, probably a fifteenth-century Italian, was not a very clever Latinist, and he obviously misread many passages. As a result, the editor's job has been a difficult one. Some sections are unintelligible or contradictory, and sometimes I had to try to imagine what the original text might have said in order to suggest a possible meaning. Such reconstructions are sometimes highly hypothetical; but the critical footnotes may help the reader to find better solutions if he can.

I have tried to respect the orthographical peculiarities of the text, except when the forms led to misunderstanding or when the correct form appeared at least once. The medieval form *e* instead of the diphthong *ae* has been respected.

A hand (fifteenth–sixteenth-century?) wrote few notes in the margins, sometimes giving the general topics undertaken in the text—for example, p. 2a (on 1.7): *Electio horarum conformis;* p. 2b (on 1.8): *suffumigia.* On p. 4b, in the superior margin at the beginning of chapter 3, there is the remark "Quecumque in introductorio dicuntur de signis, eadem tu intelligas de altitudinibus per om<n>ia"; and in the inferior margin, "Tempus proportionale ad omnia opera et si a loco planetarum omnium et eorum qualitatibus maxime tamen sumuntur per motum et situs et qualitates Solis et Lune." On p. 5a (on 3.4), we read, "Lune qualitates in quadric"; on p. 7b, in the superior margin at the beginning of chapter 5, "Quecumque de planetis in introductorio dicuntur, eadem tamen de intelligentiis eis proportionalibus intelligas"; on p. 8a, in the superior margin (concerning 5.5), "Tempus proportionale intelligentiis planetarum et signorum clarum, quietum, serenum"; in the right margin (concerning 5.5), "Tempus quoad suas qualitates et quoad horam"; below, in the same margin (concerning 5.6), "Secreta loca tempora et persone"; in the inferior margin (concerning 5.6), "Locus proportionalis planetis et signis aut eorum intelligentiis secretus mundus quietus odoriferus si ad bonum." A few corrections are made in the Latin text, probably by the same hand.

A later, modern hand wrote the title of the work twice, first at the beginning of the codex, *Antonii de Monte Ulmi de occultis et manifestis artium;* and on p. 1a, in the superior margin, *Antonii de Monte Ulmis* [*sic!*], *De occultis et manifestis Artium.*[50] As we will see, "artium" does not pertain to the title. The word depends on the qualification of the author, who is "artium et medicine doctoris," i.e., doctor of arts and medicine.

NOTES

1. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), 3:602–10 and 4:241, 615; Vittorio De Donato, "Antonio da Montolmo," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1961), 3:559–60; Stefano Caroti, *L'astrologia in Italia* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1983), 194–98.

2. Paris, BnF, lat. 7337, *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis, secundum Antonium de Monte Ulmi,* fifteenth century, p. 26 a–b; *De occultis et manifestis,* pp. 1–9. The *Glosa* is also in Vat. lat. 4085, fol. 103r–v. The *Glosa* is edited in Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Antonio da Montolmo et la magie hermétique," in *Hermetism from Late Antiquity to Humanism,* ed. Paolo Lucentini, Ilaria Parri, and Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 545–68.

3. Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 611–22; Weill-Parot, "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel? Les anges dans la magie astrale, XIIe–XIVe siècle," in "Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge," ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Henri Bresc, and Benoît Grévin, special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114, no. 2 (2002): 753–71; Weill-Parot, "Antonio da Montolmo et la magie hermétique."

4. E.g., in Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 616ff. and passim (see note 7 below).

5. Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Astrologie, médecine et art talismanique à Montpellier: Les sceaux astrologiques pseudo-arnaldiens," in *L'Université de Médecine de Montpellier et son rayonnement (XIIIe–XVe siècles),* ed. D. Le Blévec and Th. Granier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 157–74.

6. "Idem fit in aliis membrorum passionibus appropriatis cum forma planetarum et adequatione secundum modum et doctrinam illam Arnaldi de Villanova. Anthonius de Monte Ulmi astrologus." Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4082, fols. 213r–214v. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

7. See Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes (Twelfth–Fifteenth Centuries): 'Astrological Images' and the Concept of 'Addressative' Magic," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period,* ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 167–87. In French, I call it "magie destinative." Brian P. Copenhaver uses the term "noetic," and Daniel P. Walker had previously suggested "demonic." See Copenhaver, "Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the *De vita* of Marsilio Ficino," *Renaissance Quarterly,* 37, no. 4 (1984): 523–54; and Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958).

8. On David Pingree's distinction between Solomonic and Hermetic texts, see note 42 to the translation; on "astrological images," see Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques."*

9. Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 602–38; expanding on this idea, see Julien Véronèse, "La notion d''auteur magicien' à la fin du Moyen Âge: Le cas de l'ermite Pelagius de Majorque († v.1480)," *Médiévales* 51 (2006): 119–38; and Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiévale (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 393–408.

10. Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, II.III.214, fol. 15r–v.

11. See Gösta Hedegård's recent edition, *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002).

12. Concerning Cecco d'Ascoli, see note 32 below. Concerning Ganell's *Summa sacre magice,* see Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance,* 398; and Carlos Gilly, "Tra Paracelso, Pelagio e Ganello: L'ermetismo di John Dee," in *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal' 400 al '700: L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto,* ed. Carlos Gilly and Cis van Heertum, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), 1:275–85.

13. Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Pénombre ficinienne: Le renouveau de la théorie de la magie talismanique et ses ambiguïtés," in *Marsile Ficin ou les mystères platoniciens,* ed. Stephane Toussaint (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), 71–90.

14. *De occultis et manifestis,* introduction, §1 (hereafter cited numerically as, e.g., 0.1).

15. See ibid., chapter 1, §4 (hereafter 1.4, etc.), 1.10

16. Ibid., 3.4.

17. Ibid., 1.3.

18. Ibid., 1.9, 1.12, 4.12, 5.6.

19. On the *Almadel* or *Almandal* and its manuscripts, see R. A. Pack, "'Almadel' *auctor pseudonymus: De firmitate sex scientiarum,*" *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 42 (1975): 147–81; Jan R. Veenstra, "The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic," in Bremmer and Veenstra, *Metamorphosis of Magic,* 133–66; and Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance,* 149–51.

20. Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, "Le secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," *Micrologus* 14 (2006): 105–13; Boudet, *Entre science and nigromance,* 259–63; Julien Véronèse, "La transmission groupée des textes de magie 'salomonienne' de l'antiquité au Moyen Âge: Bilan historiographique, inconnues et pistes de recherche," in *L'antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales: Textes et représentations, VIe–XIVe siècle,* ed. Stéphane Gioanni and Benoît Grévin (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2008), 193–223; and Julien Véronèse, "Pietro d'Abano, magie à la Renaissance: Le cas de l'*Elucidarium artis nigromantie,*" in *Médecine, astrologie et magie entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance: Autour de Pietro d'Abano,* ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Franck Collard, and Nicolas Weill-Parot (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL del Galluzzo, forthcoming). Concerning the Italian version of the BnF manuscript, see note 69 to the translation.

21. See note 36 to the translation.

22. *De occultis et manifestis,* 1.9.

23. Ibid., 4.12.

24. Ibid., 5.4, 5.6.

25. See note 56 to the translation.

26. Ibid., 4.9, 6.4 (see notes 49 and 66 to the translation).

27. Ibid., 6.4.

28. Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 610–11. Boudet agrees; see his *Entre science et nigromance,* 403.

29. Lynn Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 55–56.

30. See, e.g., G. Beaujouan, "Le *quadrivium* et la faculté des arts," in *L'enseignement des disciplines à la faculté des arts (Paris et Oxford, XIIIe–XVe siècles),* ed. Olga Weijers and Louis Hotz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 185–94.

31. *De occultis et manifestis,* 2.2.

32. Nicolas Weill-Parot, "I demoni della Sfera: La 'nigromanzia' cosmologico-astrologica di Cecco d'Ascoli," in *Cecco d'Ascoli: Cultura, scienza e politica nell'Italia del trecento,* ed. Antonio Rigon (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Eva, 2007), 105–28.

33. See note 31 to the translation.

34. See 5.2. On Cecco d'Ascoli and Antonio da Montolmo's views on this division between angels in the superlunar world and demons in the sublunar world, see Weill-Parot, "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel?" On Thomas Aquinas and celestial movers, see Thomas Litt, *Les corps célestes dans l'univers de saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1963); James A. Weisheipl, "The Celestial Movers in Medieval Physics, " *Thomist* 24 (1961): 286–326; Michel-Pierre Lerner, *Le monde des sphères,* vol. 1, *Genèse et triomphe d'une représentation cosmique* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1996), esp. 173–77; Tiziana Suarez Nani, *Les anges et la philosophie* (Paris: Vrin, 2002); Barbara Faes de Mottoni and Tiziana Suarez Nani, "Hiérarchies, miracles et fonction cosmologique des anges au XIIIe siècle," in Boudet, Bresc, and Grévin, eds., *Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge,* 717–51.

35. See note 52 to the translation.

36. See, e.g., Lynn Thorndike, "Imagination and Magic: The Force of Imagination on the Human Body and of Magic on the Human Mind," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), 7:353–58; Danielle Jacquart, "De la science à la magie: Le cas d'Antonio Guaineri, médecin italien du XVe siècle," *Médecines, Littératures, Sociétés* 9 (1988): 137–56; Paola Zambelli, "L'immaginazione e il suo potere: Desiderio e fantasia psicosomatica o transitiva," in her *L'ambigua natura della magia: Filosofi, streghe, riti nel Rinascimento* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1991), 53–75; Judith Wilcox and John M. Riddle, "Qustâ ibn Lûqâ's *Physical Ligatures* and the Recognition of the Placebo Effect, with an Edition and a Translation," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Cultures in Confluence and Dialogue* 1, no. 1 (1995): 1–50; and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, "*Artificiose operari:* L'immaginazione di Avicenna nel dibattito medievale sulla magia," in *Immaginario e immaginazione nel medioevo*, ed. Maria Bettetini and Francesco Paparella, with the collaboration of Roberto Furlan (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'Études médiévales, 2009), 271–96. On the two ways of natural magic, see Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Science et magie au Moyen Âge," in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales (1993–1998): Actes du IIe Congrès Européen d'Études Médiévales*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 527–59. On the evil eye, see also note on 4.8.

37. Weill-Parot, "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel?"

38. In BnF, lat. 7337, the title added at the top of the first folio ("de occultis et manifestis artium") is clearly a misreading of what is written in the incipit ("incipit de occultis et manifestis artium et medicine doctoris liber intelligentiarum antonii de monlte ulmi"): the words *artium* and *medicine* refer to *doctor.*

39. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 2a–2ae, q. 96 art. 2, ad 2.

40. See 5.5 and his *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis*, in Weill-Parot, "Antonio da Montolmo et la magie hermétique," 562.

41. See note 42 to the translation.

42. See note 6 to the translation.

43. See note 54 to the translation.

44. See text, 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 5.2, and notes 15–16 to the translation.

45. 1.9, 1.11.

46. See §7.

47. David Pingree, "Some of the Sources of the Ghayât al-Hakim," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 1–15; Pingree, "The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe," in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medioevo Evo europeo*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1987), 57–102; and Pingree, "Al-Tabari on the Prayers to the Planets," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 44 (1992): 105–17. Also see Anna Caiozzo, *Images du ciel d'Orient au Moyen Âge: Une histoire du zodiaque et de ses représentations dans les manuscrits du Proche-Orient musulman* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003). For new views on this question, see Kevin Thomas van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). On the Sabeans of Harrân, see Daniel Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (Saint Petersburg: Buchdrukerei de Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856); Jan Hjärpe, "Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabéens harraniens" (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 1972); Henri Corbin, *Temple et contemplation: Essai sur l'Islam iranien* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980); Michel Tardieu, "Sâbiens coraniques et 'Sâbiens' de Harrân," *Journal Asiatique* 274 (1986): 1–44; and Tamara M. Green, *The City of Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

48. On the Solomonic tradition, see Boudet and Véronèse, "Secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale"; Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance;* Julien Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne: Étude d'une tradition de magie théurgique (XIIe–XVIIe siècle)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université Paris X–Nanterre, 2004).

49. For a description of this manuscript, see Weill-Parot, "*Images astrologiques,*" 894–96 (with comparison with Vat. lat. 4085, which shares many texts with the former); Sebastià Giralt, ed., *Epistola de reprobacione nigromantice ficcionis (De improbatione maleficorum)* in *Arnaldi de Villanova opera medica omnia*, vol. 7.1 (Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2006), 206–8. David Juste is about to publish general catalogues of the astrological manuscripts held in European libraries, notably the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

50. See note 38.

De occultis et manifestis

Edited from Paris, BnF, lat. 7337 (s.xv), pp. 1–9

[p. 1a] **Incipit, *De occultis et manifestis* artium et medicine doctoris, *Liber Intelligentiarum* Antonii de Monte Ulmi**

[Prooemium]

[1] In scibilibus minimum est quod creature infime speculantur, quoniam eorum que ignoramus minima pars est que scimus. Quid equidem scimus? Quid nature in hoc mundo cognoscimus, quia nobis impossibilis est veritas certissima rerum? Et si quis in hoc evo plura scire videtur quasi cecus duce baculo transit, verum alios cecos ducit ad trigha. Unde receptigat[1] medicus, legista opinatur, suadet rethoricus, ceterigat[2] notarius, fideiurat mercator: unusquisque huius mundi vitam ducit, miserrimam tandem finit. Unde veniat et quis sit et qua vadat ignorat. Sed, ut quandam servitutis viam vivere videamur, motori primo conemur assimilari, ideo docet in scibilibus aliquid contemplari. Nam homo speculans Dei amantissimus esse videtur, ut a patre philosophie Aristotile patet *Ethicorum* .10. Et docet speculari in scibilibus negociorum nobilium, quoniam, ut ipse asserit, melius est scire de rebus nobilibus parum quam de vilibus multum.

[2] Ipse equidem Intelligentie substantie nobiles in scientia ac nobilitate create consistunt. Unde decet merito de eis sepissime contemplari iuxta modulum et nature discursum, quia si non tam lucide saltim confuse prout humane nature possibile est scire, contemplari debemus ut perfectiores et cum maiori scientia vitam aliam habeamus.

[3] Ideo tradere institui universales canones prout parti theorice attestatur. In secunda vero parte tractandum de operationibus occultis Intelligentiarum ut de ymaginibus, brevibus, et hiis consimilibus. In tertia vero parte tractabitur de operationibus ipsarum manifestis prout apparent virginitati etc. In quarta vero parte et ultima tractabitur de hiis que spectabunt ad illos qui extra virginitatem sunt positi. Imponam, posita parte theorica, introductorium partium sequentium. Et quia liber iste erit de occultis et manifestis, ideo hoc titulo debet appellari.

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[1] receptigat] May be an idiomatic verb deriving from "recepta," i.e., recipe.

[2] ceterigat] *lect. dub.* May be an idiomatic verb deriving from "cetera notariorum," which, according to Charles Du Fresnes Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883–87), means "nota abbreviationis qua potissimum utuntur notarii."

On Occult and Manifest Things

Here begins the book *On Occult and Manifest Things,* <or> *The Book of Intelligences,* by the doctor of arts and medicine Antonio da Montolmo

[Prologue]

[1] The least among knowable things[1] is what lowly creatures speculate upon, since <in comparison with> those things we do not know, the smallest part is that which we know. What indeed do we know? What do we know about nature in this world, since an absolutely certain truth is impossible for us? And anyone who seems to know many things in this age <is> like a blind man who walks with the assistance of a cane but guides other blind men who are harnessed with him. Hence, the physician orders medical recipes, the lawyer gives advice, the rhetorician persuades, the notary writes abbreviated notes, the merchant stands as a guarantor; everybody in this world leads his life, though ends it pretty miserably. Thus everybody ignores where he comes from and who he is and where he is going. But even if we seem to live following a kind of path of servitude, we may strive to be assimilated with the Prime Mover, which thus teaches <us> to contemplate something among the knowable things. For the person who devotes himself to speculation really seems to love God, as it appears in the father of philosophy Aristotle's tenth book of *Ethics.*[2] And he teaches <us> to speculate on knowable things among noble topics, since he asserts that it is better to know very little about noble things than a lot about base ones.[3]

[2] And indeed the Intelligences themselves are noble substances created with knowledge and nobility. Therefore, it is rightly advisable to contemplate them very often in accordance with the harmony and course of nature, because if human nature as such is not able to know so clearly, but only in a confused way, we must contemplate them, so that, becoming more perfect and endowed with greater knowledge, we may have another life.

[3] Therefore I decided to hand on the universal rules, as is shown in the theoretical part. In the second part, the occult operations of the Intelligences, such as images, phylacteries (*brevibus*),[4] and other similar things, are to be dealt with. In the third part, the manifest operations of those <Intelligences> are to be dealt with, as far as they appear to virginity [i.e., to virgin people], etc. In the fourth and last part, the operations concerning people who are outside virginity [i.e., who are not virgins] will be dealt with. Once the theoretical part is written, I shall compose an introduction to the following parts. And because this book deals with occult and manifest things, this is the title that must be given to it.

Capitulum primum: De locis <et> constellationibus sub quibus hec Intelligentie consistunt.

[1] <Q>uoniam locus natura locata est prior, merito de ipsarum locis sub celis est primo tractandum. [*p. 1b*] Et quia celum, secundum astrologos, est in partes quattuor principales divisum, ut sunt quatuor cardinalia signa: ut Aries, cum triplicitate ignea, signum equinoxiale vernale in oriente; Libra, cum duobus sociis signis nature eiusdem, in occidente; Capricornus, cum terreis signis, in meridie; Cancer, cum aqueis, in aquilone; unde hec quatuor loca celi mundi partes quatuor designant.

[2] Sub hiis quatuor partibus principalibus celi, quatuor principales Intelligentiarum ordines sunt. Et secundum quod hec signa et hec partes diversas influentias conducunt in inferioribus, ita diversas operationes hii ordines in istis inferioribus procurare conantur. Nam alia est operatio illius qui Oriens appellatur,[3] in parte orientali consistens, et cum auxilio influxuum[4] operatur quasi altius sibi oppositi. Licet indifferenter unusquisque talium ordinum Intelligentiarum creata inclinare conetur, tamen scientiasque speciales et proprias operationes habet, unde aliud est officium deputatum ipsorum ad luxuriam, aliud gule etc.

[3] Ex hoc infero correlarie[5] causam exorcismatum in quadriviis specialiter et triviis locis: quam propter convenientiam et solitudinem loci ad loca ipsarum[6] sub celis; per modum quadrivii se habent, ut patet in *Principiis astrologie* respiciendo signa predicta in zodiaco.

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3. appellatur] MS esse appellatur.
4. influxuum] MS influxum.
5. correlarie] MS corelarie.
6. ipsarum] MS ipsorum.

Chapter 1: On the Places and Constellations Beneath Which These Intelligences Stand

[1] Since place has priority within located nature, their places under the heavens must first be treated, and rightly so. And because the heavens, according to the astrologers, are divided into four main parts, so there are four cardinal signs: thus Aries, with its fiery triplicity, an equinoctial vernal sign, in the East; Libra, with its two associate signs of the same nature,[5] in the West; Capricorn, with the earthy signs, in the South; Cancer, with the watery signs, in the North. Thus these four places in the heavens define the four parts of the world.

[2] Under these four main parts of the heavens, there are four main orders of Intelligences. And according to the fact that these signs and parts produce varied influences on inferior bodies, so these orders endeavor to attend to varied operations on inferior bodies. But the operation is different of the Intelligence that is called Oriens,[6] which is located in the eastern part, and it acts making use of the <astral> influxes, as if they were opposed to it from a higher position. Although each of these orders of Intelligences endeavors indifferently to produce some inclination in created things, nevertheless each one has specific sciences and operations that are peculiar to it, and hence the office of lust is attributed to one of them, that of greed to another, etc.

[3] From this I deduce as a consequence the reason for the performance of conjurations in places where three and (especially) four roads come together: because of the concordance and the consonance of their loneliness with the places of these Intelligences under the heavens; they are constituted in the manner of a crossroad of four roads,[7] as it appears in the *Principles of astrology* concerning the aforesaid signs in the zodiac.[8]

[4] Hic posset aliquis dubitare in quatuor. Primum, quare, cum iste Intelligentie indifferenter agere possint, que sub quatuor[7] signis cardinalibus et constellationibus quis dixit, consistunt? Secundum, quomodo est nobis duobus vel tribus vel pluribus gratia exempli stantibus eque propinquiis dispositis eque bene in organis sensuum cum avertentia animarum nostrarum et cum medio ita bene disposito, unus nostrum percipiet naturas et multas evidencias videbit ipsarum alter vero nihil audiet neque videbit? Quod videtur contra Philosophum 2° *De anima* quia dispositio medii et bonitas organi in debita distantia cum advertentia anime et obiecti in debita quantitate causat[8] sensationem[9] Tertium, quare magis apparet virginibus et non pollutis de proximo quam corruptis et inmundis? Quartum quare magis in aquis et in corporibus magis densis[10] et tersis et transparentibus quam non ita densis se manifestant?

[5] Ad primum respondeo quia in operationibus talium Intelligentiarum dispositio celorum requiritur. Causa est quoniam ista scientifica et sapientissima atque principissima Intelligentia per eius scientiam et industriam sacri influxus celorum nostra corpora animata inclinat[11] aliquando [*p. 2a*] ad bonum aliquando ad malum. Ut igitur levius humanum genus decipere possit, suos certos principes ordinavit, qui proprietatem habent ad officium consimile ad proprietatem et influxum alicuius partis celestis ad hoc: deducta tali qualitate a parte celesti in creatis; que creata inclinant; et levius possunt cum sua operatione consimili creata decipere, ut Fornifer cuius luxurie est officium sub signis et stellis Veneris. Quando igitur influxus venerei recipiuntur in nobis, inclinamur ab ipsis, unde ipsi cum tali influxu levius suum effectum potuerunt operari. Et sic arbitreris de aliis influxibus dictantibus alias inclinationes sub quibus maxime suas proprietates operantur.

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[7] quatuor] MS tribus.
[8] causat] MS causatur.
[9] sensationem] MS sensatio.
[10] densis] MS denses.
[11] inclinat] MS inclinare.

[4] Here one could express four doubts. First, why, since these Intelligences can act indifferently, are they established (as someone has said) under the four cardinal signs and constellations? Second, how is it that when, for instance, two or three or several of us are standing equally near <to them>, with equally good sense organs, with the full attention of our minds and a medium so well disposed, one of us will perceive their natures and will see many forms of evidence for them, but another will neither hear nor see anything? That seems contrary to what is said by the Philosopher in his second book *On the soul,*[9] because a suitable medium and the good condition of the organs, at an appropriate distance, with the attention of the soul, and when the quantity of the object is suitable, actually causes a sensation. Third, why does this appear rather to virgins and people who have not recently been polluted than to corrupted and impure persons? Fourth, why do these <Intelligences> appear more in water and in dense, clean, and transparent bodies than in bodies not so dense?

[5] To the first question, I answer that the disposition of the heavens is required in the operations of these Intelligences. The reason for this is that the knowledgeable and very wise and very first Intelligence, thanks to its knowledge and skill at using the sacred influxes of the heavens, inclines our ensouled bodies sometimes to good and sometimes to evil. Hence, in order to deceive mankind more easily, the <very first Intelligence> set in order some of its own princes,[10] who possess for that purpose a property similar to the property and influx of some part of the heavens: <thus> after this quality has been brought down from the heavenly region into created things, they incline created beings, and are able more easily to deceive created beings with the like operation—as Fornifer,[11] whose office is lust under the signs and stars of Venus. Thus, when the influxes of Venus are received in us, we are inclined by them; and therefore these <princes> can more easily work their effect with that influx.[12] And you may think the same concerning other influxes that rule other inclinations under which they better work their own properties.

[6] Et nota quod, sicut ista puncta principalia ad invicem contrariantur et contrarios influxus in nobis ostendunt, ita sub ipsis permanent que officia habent contraria et opposita. Ex hoc infertur: cum ab aliquo exorcizatore fiet exorcisma ad aliquas partes principales quatuor mundi—ut sunt principalia quatuor signa—unde ipse Intelligentie apparebunt[12] cum tumultu et furore; et in hoc multiplex potest reddi causa. Primo quia ex quo sunt oppositorum officiorum et contrariorum operationum et diversorum influxuum, cum debeant eis esse simul, repugnant. Secunda causa fidelis est quam potissimum: credo quod displicet eis constringi[13] virtute divina et etiam a nobis, que ubi se perceperint quod fuissent divini si fuissent in gradibus divinis et nunc tamquam a servis suis videntur constringi.[14] Unde exorcizator cum vult effugere impetum et terrorem, non vocet principiores ipsorum diversorum influxuum, admittendo ipsas et aliquas ipsarum collaterales ex partibus diversis. Et quamvis unaqueque Intelligentia unius ordinis contrarietur unicuique Intelligentie ordinis oppositi, tamen non valent nec sciunt tantum impetum inducere sicut earum principiores.

[7] Nota etiam quod signa ignea que dominantur in oriente sunt nobiliora et nobilis influxus, ita Intelligentie ipsorum sunt altioris gradus quam Intelligentie aliorum signorum; et placabilius et citius apparent, nec cum tanto furore, et pulcriori forma. Et citius constringuntur ab exorcizatore in ornatu veste ignita, hoc etiam ascendente aliquo illorum signorum secundum officium quod queris, debitis[15] planetis predominantibus, ut debent hec et alia convenire. Que puncta et que hore et tempora? Horas nunc taceo [*p. 2b*], propter indignos ne cadant[16] in animarum discrimen; et hoc alibi declaravi quia non est presentis speculationis nec ut facerem magnam digressionem.

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12. apparebunt] MS appareat.
13. constringi] MS constrigni.
14. constringi] MS constrigni.
15. debitis] MS debetis.
16. ne cadant] MS necadane.

[6] And note that just as these principal <celestial> points oppose each other and manifest contrary influxes in us, so too under them stand <Intelligences> whose offices are contrary and opposite. From this it can be inferred that when exorcisms are made by an exorcist[13] toward the four principal parts of the world—just as there are four principal signs—then these Intelligences will appear with din and rage, and many causes for this can be put forward.[14] First, because they have opposite offices and contrary operations and different influxes, since they have to be together, they fight each other. The second cause is perfectly consonant with our faith: I believe that it displeases them to be constrained by divine power and, indeed, by us, for they realize that they could have been divine beings if they were living in the divine hierarchies,[15] and now they seem to act as if they were constrained by their own servants. Therefore, when the exorcist wants to avoid their assault and terror, he must not invoke the more important <Intelligences who make use of> those different influxes, letting them come with some of the <Intelligences> of the same rank from the other parts <of the world>. And although each Intelligence of a given order is contrary to another Intelligence from an opposite order, nevertheless they cannot and do not know how to produce such a great force as the leading ones do.

[7] Also note that the fiery signs that dominate in the East are nobler[16] and have a nobler influx; thus their Intelligences have a higher rank than the Intelligences of the other signs; and they appear more willingly and more swiftly, and without such great fury, and in a more beautiful shape. And they are constrained more quickly by an exorcist wearing fiery clothes, and this is also the case when one of their signs appropriate to the duty you want to perform is ascendant, with the suitable planets being dominant, so these and other things must be concordant. Which <celestial> points and which hours and which moments? I keep silent about the hours, so that unworthy people may not put their souls in danger; and I have explained this elsewhere[17] and it is not my present topic, so I will not digress at length here.

[8] Ex hoc etiam causa reddi potest quare diverse sunt suffumigationes ipsarum Intelligentiarum: alie fetide, alie odorifere. Causa est quoniam Capricornus est signum melancolicum, Saturni domus, et predominatur in parte meridiei, ut dictum est, et Saturnus cum ipso signo influit radium fetidum, unde Saturni suffumigatio est fetida; et gaudent domibus fetidis et per consequens consistunt in partibus meridiei. Tales Intelligentie requirunt suffumigationes Saturni ut sulfur et asa fetida. Hec dico ratione influxuum Capricorni sub quibus operantur principes ipsius. Et ideo, cum inmundi spiritus meridionales constringuntur in ampullis vel cristalis vel in aliis locis, debent servari in locis fetidis ut in fimo etc. Non est autem sic de aliis Intelligentiis, quoniam orientales Intelligentie, propter nobilitatem signorum, gaudent mundicia et conservari in locis nitidis et in serico rubeo etc. Ex hoc infertur[17] correlarie[18] quod, cum exorcizatores sub aliquo puncto et ascendente convenientibus illi ordini angelorum[19] <operantur>,[20] tunc aspectant ascendens aliquid et dispositionem; pleraque predominant alteri ordini et mutant se ad modum[21] prout conveniunt alteri ordini et sic de aliis. Nec simul sub eodem puncto incipiunt ab unaquaque[22] parte vocare. Qui modus taceatur[23] prout dixi superius.

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[17] infertur] MS infert.
[18] correlarie] MS corelarie.
[19] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[20] *lacuna* MS <operatur> *conieci.*
[21] *lacuna* MS.
[22] unaquaque] MS unaqueque.
[23] taceatur] MS taceat.

[8] From this we can also account for the reason why these Intelligences require different suffumigations, some fetid, others sweet-smelling. The reason for this is that Capricorn is a melancholic sign, [planetary] house of Saturn, and it dominates in the southern part, as has been said, and Saturn with this sign produces a fetid ray, and thus the suffumigation of Saturn is fetid; and these <Intelligences standing under Capricorn> take delight in fetid houses and therefore are located in the southern parts. Such Intelligences require Saturnine suffumigations like sulfur and asafoetida. I say these things by reason of the influxes of Capricorn under which the princes of this sign operate.[18] And that is why when the impure southern spirits are constrained to be enclosed into phials or crystal vessels or into other places, they have to be kept in fetid places like dung, etc. But this is not the case for other Intelligences, since the eastern Intelligences, because of the nobility of their signs, take delight in cleanliness and are kept in lustrous places and in red silk, etc. From this one can infer by corollary that when exorcists <operate> under some <celestial> point and ascendant that are appropriate to that order of angels, they observe the ascendant and the disposition <of the heavens>; <when> most things are dominant over another order, they also change themselves in a manner concordant to that other order, and so on for others. And they do not begin their invocations at the same time, under the same point, from every part <of the world>. And this method should not be revealed, as I said above.

[9] Nota etiam quod, quando tales Intelligentie impelluntur ad opus bonum, requirunt odoriferas suffumigationes; ad malum, fetidas. Hoc voluit Messallach in determinatione libri Hermetis *De quindecim stellis*. De hiis suffumigationibus dicitur ratione honoris vel vituperii. Unde queque Intelligentia ratione honoris requirit fumigationes odoriferas (secus est ratione influxus celi), et sic consimiliter dici potest de vestimentis diversis. Sed quare gaudent suffumigatione cum non habeant organa sensuum? Causa fidelis potest esse quia, cum genus humanum seducere possint[24] ut eis sacrificium faciat, ipse Intelligentie gaudent et libentius veniunt, quia hoc peccatum summe displicet Creatori. Dicitur enim: Noli adorare deum alienum nec ei sacrificare. Set causa astronomica potest esse quoniam, ut Apollonarius ille sive Apollonius dicebat, tales Intelligentias non agere nisi mediante dispositione naturali [*p. 3a*] et influxu celesti. Unde requirunt honores, loca et tempora proportionata eorum influxibus sub celis. Et suffumigationes variantur secundum diversos influxus. Set fetida suffumagatio videtur extranea, dimissa causa astronomica dicta et fideli. Respondeo quoniam displicet eis pro honore eis[25] quem cupiunt tribuatur. Unde, facta suffumigatione mala, propter displicentiam fortius commoventur ad malefaciendum et libentius, quia primo constringuntur ut postea gravior pena imponatur exorcizatori,[26] postquam displicet in malefaciendo suffumigatio, vult complacere ut strictor[27] gravius puniatur. Unde in opere malo ipso fiunt suffumigationes fetide; in bono vero, odorifere.

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[24] possint] MS possit.

[25] eis] MS *lect. dub.*

[26] exorcizatori] MS exorcizati.

[27] strictor] MS strictior.

[9] Also note that when such Intelligences are driven to a good operation, they require sweet-smelling suffumigations, and when to an evil operation, fetid ones. This was recommended by Messallach in the conclusion of the book by Hermes, *On the Fifteen Stars.*[19] The reason for these suffumigations is to be found in either honor or blame. Thus, each Intelligence by reason of honor requires sweet-smelling fumigations (but by reason of celestial influx it is something different), and the same can be said about the different clothes. But why do these Intelligences take delight in suffumigation although they do not have sense organs? A cause consonant with our faith might be that, since they can seduce mankind to perform a sacrifice for them, these Intelligences are delighted and more willingly come because this sin greatly displeases the Creator.[20] For it is said: You must not worship an alien god[21] nor sacrifice to him. But an astrological cause might be, as the great Apollonarius or Apollonius said,[22] that these Intelligences do not act except through a mediating natural disposition and celestial influx. Therefore they require honors, places, and times that are proportionate to their <celestial> influxes under the heavens. And the suffumigations are changed according to the different influxes. But the fetid suffumigation seems to be unjustified, if the so-called astrological cause and the cause consonant with our faith are dismissed. I answer that it is displeasing to them as a replacement for the honor they wish to receive; thus, when a bad suffumigation is performed, they are more powerfully and more willingly moved to evildoing by the displeasure they feel, because they are constrained at first in order that a more serious punishment may be imposed later upon the exorcist: after the suffumigation has displeased the Intelligence into evildoing, it wishes to please the man who constrained it, in order to lead him toward a more serious punishment. Therefore, in an evil operation fetid suffumigations are performed, whereas in a good operation sweet-smelling ones are.

[10] Ad secundum dubium, cum dicitur quod unus est ita eque bene dispositus per omnia sicut alter ipsorum et unus percipiet[28] apparencias et alter non, causa est quoniam, ut dicit Philosophus 2° *De anima*, sensibilia non percipiuntur nisi per similitudinem que apud eum vocatur "species" obiectorum. Et quanto res est propinquior, tanto causat angulum maiorem in sensu et similitudo obiecti representat obiectum maius. Unde, quia tales Intelligentie sunt magis scientifice, sciunt enim nos fugere species obiectorum, quia aliquando maius aliquando minus obiectum representant. Unde quantum ad obiectum visibile representabit speciem et similitudinem eius obiecti tanquam si obiectum esset sic coloratum et in tanta distantia, et ita Intelligentia figurat artificiosam[29] aciem representando similitudinem obiecti, et per ipsum ita proprie oculum socii mei, quod non proprie meum, et licet hec species non representet obiectum in tanta distantia et sub tanto colore, per similitudinem et consuetudinem sensationis aliquorum obiectorum. Et sic dices de auditu quod quandoque unus percipiet sonum, alter vero minime, quia conmovetur aer tunc cum tanto gradu naturaliter in te,[30] in me autem non, et sic taliter idem intelligitur.

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[28] percipiet] MS *post corr.* participet.

[29] artificiosam] MS artificiosa.

[30] in te] MS certe.

[10] To the second question, when it is said that one person is just as well disposed in every respect as another one, and one person will perceive <their> appearances while the other will not, the cause for that, as the Philosopher said in the second book of *On the Soul*, is that sensible things are only perceived through a similitude, which is called by him a "likeness" [*species*] of objects.[23] And inasmuch as the thing is nearer, it causes a proportionally wider angle of perception, and the similitude of the object represents the object as larger. Thus, because these Intelligences are more learned <than we are>, they know indeed how the likenesses [*species*] of objects escape us, because they represent the object now as bigger, now as smaller. And so with regard to a visible object, it will represent the likeness [*species*] and similitude of this object as if the object were colored in such and such a way and at such and such a distance, and so the Intelligence configures an artificial light simulacrum [*aciem*], representing the similitude of the object in one particular way to my companion's eyes, and not in this same particular way to mine (even though this likeness [*species*] does not represent the object at such and such a distance and under such and such a color through the similitude and usual manner of perception of such objects). And you will say the same concerning hearing, for sometimes one person perceives a sound and another hardly at all, because then the air is naturally moved a certain amount within you but not within me, and thus the same thing can be understood this way.

[11] Ad tertium dicendum est quoniam virgines similitudinem portant et convenienciam habent cum ipsis, licet virginitas eis improprie attribuatur, quia non habet respectum corruptionis. Cum virginitas sit quedam puritas, unde angeli[31] puri dici debent nec virgines; sed propter similitudinem puritatis quam habent cum ipsis, citius virginibus apparent quam aliis. Et etiam illud possunt melius pueri quam maiores. Sed quare apparent magis de proximo non pollutis quam de proximo pollutis? Causa est [*p. 3b*] quoniam non polluti <aut> de proximo polluti <sunt> causa secunda. Ipsis displicet finis consecutus ex luxuria, quoniam fiunt generationes corporum et, secundum fidem, creationes animarum, quibus, si bene fuerint, gradus dignitatis ipsorum attribuitur. Unde summa invidia nobis ab ipsis portatur.[32] Sed principale ex quo ipsi sunt puri summe displicet eis hic fetidus actus qui est contrarius virginitati et puritati, unde in magicis plurimum practicantes hunc fetidum actum refutant et precipiunt[33] non committi. Non sic est de aliis practicis, quia de eorum absentiis, non sunt sic detestande,[34] quia puritas est maxime angelorum.[35] Sed quare non ita bene spuriis apparerit sicut legitimis? Dici potest prout dicitur de orriginali[36] peccato, quia orriginaliter[37] nascuntur cum tali peccato—ita proportionabiliter dicam quoniam talis conceptus est[38] in actu luxurie vitioso—quod vitium detestatur virginitati filii et eius castitati. Unde tanquam non puro neque bene virgini, ut sic dicam, eis Intelligentie tales non apparent. Sed hoc in aliquibus experimur oppositum.

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[31] angeli] MS agneli.
[32] portatur] MS portat.
[33] precipiunt] MS precipuit.
[34] detestande] MS detestanda.
[35] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[36] orriginali] [*sic*]
[37] orriginaliter] [*sic*]
[38] est] MS etiam.

[11] To the third question, it must be answered that virgins have a likeness and concordance with <the Intelligences>, although virginity is improperly attributed to them, since this does not take into account their corruption. Because virginity is a kind of purity, the angels must be called pure and not virgin; but because of the likeness between the purity they have and virgins, they appear to them more quickly than to others. And likewise children can do that better than adults.[24] But why are such Intelligences more likely to appear to those who have not recently been polluted than to those who have recently been polluted? The reason is the secondary cause whereby people are unpolluted or not recently polluted. The end pursued through lust displeases <the Intelligences>, since thereby generations of bodies are produced, and—according to faith—generations of souls, upon whom, if they are well produced, is bestowed the rank of their own dignity. Therefore they feel very jealous of us. But since the main reason is that they are themselves pure, this dirty act that is contrary to virginity and purity absolutely displeases them, and therefore generally in magical operations the practitioners reject this dirty act and advise that it not be committed. It is not the same for other practices, because as far as the absence <of these dirty acts> goes, they are not so detestable, because purity is the main characteristic of angels. But why will <an angel> not appear to bastards as well as to legitimate children? This can be answered by referring to what is said of original sin, for originally they were born with such a great sin—I am speaking in terms of proportions, for such a child has been conceived in a vicious act of lust—that this vice counters the virginity of the son and his chastity. Therefore, as if such a person were not pure and not completely virgin (if I may express it that way), the Intelligences do not appear to him. But <sometimes> we note through experience that the opposite occurs to some people.

[12] Ad quartum de apparitione eorum in cristallis et aquis, causa est quoniam in aqua leviori modo possunt apparencias eorum facere propter[39] perfectiorem reflexionem que fit in talibus corporibus magis quam in aere; et similiter in corporibus transparentibus bene tersis ut in calibe et ense, bene terso speculo, virginibus, quia levius possunt nobis apparere colores et aliter quam in corporibus magis[40] raris; cum sic bene possint eorum apparentia facere in aere, sed levius in aquis et cum minori operatione, quia ipse in talibus apparentiis, quas naturaliter operantur, potest esse quod in cristallo libentius constringantur, quoniam, ut dicit Hermes in libello *De quindecim stellis et quindecim lapidibus,* cristallus[41] proprietatem habet ad spiritus aereos. Ut ibidem[42] patet finis istorum quesitorum, et incidenter tactum est de hiis quasi transgrediendo viam, tamen quia in hoc multi mirantur, posui per modum, unde de prolongatione in hoc capitulo debeo excusari.

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[39] propter] et tamen MS *lect. dub.*

[40] magis] MS magnis.

[41] cristallus] MS quod cristallus.

[42] ut ibidem] sicut MS *add.*

[12] To the fourth question, concerning their apparitions in crystals[25] and waters,[26] the reason is that in the water they can more easily produce appearances of themselves because in such bodies is produced a more perfect reflection than in the air; and likewise, <they appear> to virgins in well-polished transparent bodies, as in steel and a sword, i.e., a well-polished mirror,[27] because colors can appear to us more easily and differently than in bodies with lesser density. Because these Intelligences can actually produce appearances in the air, but more easily in the water, and with less effort, since in such appearances they operate according to nature, it may be that, as Hermes says in his opuscule *On Fifteen stars and fifteen stones*, crystal has a property related to the aerial spirits.[28] Since it is plain that this is the end of the questions and since these have been treated incidentally, as it were by the way, nevertheless, because many wonder about this, I have dealt with them a bit, and therefore I must apologize for having lengthened this chapter.

Capitulo <secundum>: De hiis que considerari[43] debent circa predictos ordines quatuor principales

[1] <S>ol est candela huiusmodi stellarum tanquam principalior et atribuitur sibi tempus. Ideo apud magicos maxime considerandus est sol et maxime circa Intelligentias orientis et die et [*p. 4a*] ante meridiem ascendente Ariete vel Leone. Et quando petere volueris de factis regalibus, disponunt tunc pro ascendente Leonem. Sed si pro dominis, aptant Arietem; et pro nobilibus, Sagittarium, Iove bene disposito die et hora eius, scilicet Iovis. Et si pro tirampnis, tollunt Arietem hora et die Martis, Marte bene disposito ac Sole, et reputant melius quod Sol sit in signo ignis. Hoc etiam nota quod ipsi etiam aptant Lunam tam de die quam de nocte; aptatur quidem de die pro Intelligentiis orientis et meridiei et debet esse crescens lumen et fortunata, in aliquo signorum igneorum recepta, et aplicata per aspectum benivolum ipsi Soli. Et ponunt Lunam supra terram, et in parte occidentis si querunt occidentales. Si vero volunt septentrionales, ponunt ipsam <sub terra> et inveniunt diem et horam Lune et ponunt in horoscopo. Et primam horam noctis reputant meliorem.

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[43] considerari] MS considerare.

Chapter <2>: On the Things That Have to Be Taken into Account Concerning the Four Main Aforesaid Orders

[1] The sun is the candle of these stars, as it is the more important star; and the time is attributed to it. Therefore the sun must be most carefully observed by magicians, and above all when it is near the eastern Intelligences, when it is daytime, and before midday, when Aries or Leo is in the ascendant. And when you wish to strive for something related to royal affairs, they [the practitioners] take Leo as the ascendant. But if it is for <affairs concerning> lords, they favor Aries; if for <affairs concerning> noblemen, Sagittarius, when Jupiter is in a good position at its (i.e., Jupiter's) day and hour. And if for <affairs concerning> tyrants, they take Aries as the ascendant in the day and hour of Mars, when Mars and the sun are in a good position, and they think that it is better if the sun is in a fiery sign. Note this also, that they favor the moon in both the day and night; it is favored indeed for the eastern and southern Intelligences, and it must have a waxing light and it must be fortunate, and it has to be in reception in one of the fiery signs and in application through a benevolent aspect with regard to the sun itself.[29] And they put[30] the moon above the earth's horizon and in the western part, if they look for western Intelligences. But if they seek northern Intelligences, they put it <beneath the earth's horizon> and they find the day and the hour of the moon and they put it in the horoscope. And they regard the first hour of the night as the best one.

[2] Hic etiam nota pro horoscopo quod accipitur diversis modis in diversis scientiis, quoniam in astrologia dicitur "Ariete aroscopo[44] existente," id est ascendente Ariete. Secundo accipitur in ciromantia pro quodam signo manus quod appellatur "horoscopus." Accipitur etiam in arte magica pro prima parte Cancri. Et dicunt: "Fiat hoc existente in horoscopo," id est in prima facie Cancri; Luna est domina Cancri nocturna, et Cancer est de principalibus signis celi. Hoc etiam nota quod solent magici dicere: "Luna existente in corde septentrionis"; appellant enim cor septentrionis signum Cancri, maxime in prima facie eius. Etiam quod primam horam noctis reputant meliorem conditionibus requisitis; quoniam tempus illud satis quietum est. Et de isto quidem tempore tractat auctor specialiter in capitulo de ortu et occasu cronico; dicit[45] cronicus ortus, id est temporalis, ortus dicitur temporalis quia est tempus mathematicorum. Corrupta[46] est littera illa, quoniam deberet dicere "magicorum" quia tempus illud est prima hora noctis et eodem tempore magici operantur. Et forsan posset esse causa quia non est facta debita redditio culpe nec debita ad Deum recommissio, quia citius se manifestant. Unde fideles christiani tali tempore laudes reddunt creatori et rogant ut hiis inmundis Intelligentiis Deus frenum inponat tam cito quam sol occidit et aer incipit tenebrosari. Et fidelis debet orare pro aliis ut Deus ipse[47] sua misericordia et pietate a talium insidiis Intelligentiarum etc. Est finis capituli.

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[44] aroscopo] [*sic*].

[45] dicit] MS quod *add.*

[46] corrupta] MS corupta.

[47] ipse] MS ipsum.

[2] Here also note about the horoscope that the term means different things in different sciences. For in astrology, it is said: "when Aries is in the horoscope," i.e., when Aries is ascendant. Second, in chiromancy it means a certain sign on the hand that is called "horoscope."[31] In the magical arts, it also means the first part of Cancer; and they say: "let it be made when this is in the horoscope," i.e., in the first decan of Cancer. The moon is the nocturnal lord of Cancer, and Cancer is one of the heavens. Also note that the magicians are in the habit of saying: "When the moon is in the heart of the North"; for they call "the heart of the North" the sign of Cancer, especially in its first decan.[32] They regard the first hour of the night as the best for the required conditions, since this is a sufficiently quiet time. And the author[33] treats this moment in particular in the chapter on the "chronic" rising and setting; he calls the rising "chronic," that is, "temporal": the rising is called "temporal" since it is the moment of the astrologers [*mathematicorum*].[34] The text is corrupt, since it should say "of the magicians," because this moment is the first hour of the night and that is actually the moment when the magicians operate. And the reason why <the Intelligences> manifest themselves more swiftly could be because neither due confession of sins nor due recommendation to God have been done. Therefore at this moment faithful Christians give thanks to the Creator and praise him to restrain the impure Intelligences as soon as the sun is setting and the air begins to be twilit. And the faithful Christian must pray for others so that God himself in his mercy and pity <may preserve him> from the traps of such Intelligences, etc. This is the end of the chapter.

[*p. 4b*] Capitulum tertium: De convenientia et disconvenientia Intelligentiarum et diversorum influxuum quatuor signorum

[1] <S>icut quatuor sunt aspectus celestium—consideratur trinus, sextilis, quartus et oppositus, quorum notitiam in introductorio habuisti—, ita consimiliter sub signis que sic seu taliter se aspiciunt principaliter sunt angelorum[48] ordines. Unde sub quolibet signo est unus angelorum[49] ordo qui vocatur Altitudo. Et sicut sunt duodecim signa, sic sunt duodecim Altitudines, sed illa quatuor signorum principalium sic[50] sunt altioris gradus. Et Altitudines que sunt sub signis aspicientibus se quarto aspectu contrarie sunt occulto modo. Sed ille que sunt sub signis oppositis contraria sunt manifeste. Et econtrario dicas de consistentibus sub signis aspicientibus se amicabili aspectu. De hiis Altitudinibus patet a Salomone sic vocato *De angelica*[51] *fictione.*

[2] Nota etiam quod per adventum Solis ad ipsum, ita quelibet Altitudo angelorum[52] sub illo vigoratur ad suas operationes et ad sua officia angelorum.[53] Tunc operaturus aspectat adventum Solis ad signum illius Altitudinis, si officium dicte Altitudinis voluerit impetrare; et disponat Lunam in signo aspiciente Solem, aspectu trino vel sextili, ad hoc ut Intelligentie consistentes sub signo in quo est Luna auxilium et favorem tribuant Intelligentiis ac principi Altitudinis signi in quo est.

[3] Nota quod tres sunt Altitudines Intelligentiarum que habent eundem influxum, ut sunt tres orientales, tres occidentales, tres meridionales, alie vero tres septentrionales, quemadmodum triplicitas signorum. Altitudines orientales potestatem habent cum Sol est in aliquo illorum signorum ab ortu Solis usque ad meridiem, maxime die et hora, tempora anni quod tempus est Solis, quia tempus illud orientale est proportionatum orientalibus signis. Meridionales vero et alie Altitudines potestatem habent tempore proportionato signis[54] suis.

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[48] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[49] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[50] sic] MS si.
[51] angelica] MS agnelica.
[52] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[53] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[54] signis] MS *iter.*

Chapter 3: On What Does and What Does Not Suit the Intelligences and on the Varied Influxes of the Four Signs

[1] Just as there are four aspects of the celestial bodies—we observe the trine, the sextile, the square, and the opposite, which you know from the introduction—likewise, under the signs between which there is such and such an aspect, there are orders of angels. Thus under every sign there is an order of angels called an Altitude; and just as there are twelve signs, so there are twelve Altitudes, but those of the four main signs also have a higher rank.[35] And the Altitudes which are under the signs in a square aspect are contrary in a hidden way [*occulto modo*]. But those that are under opposite signs are contrary in a manifest way. And you must say just the contrary concerning those standing under the signs between which there is a friendly aspect. Solomon explains about these Altitudes in his so-called *On angelic fiction* [*De angelica fictione*].[36]

[2] Also note that when the sun comes into a sign, any Altitude of angels that is located under it is strengthened as to its angelic operations and office of angels; and then someone who is about to operate observes the coming of the sun into the sign of this Altitude if he wishes to obtain the help of the aforesaid Altitude; and he must dispose the moon in a sign that is in a trine or sextile aspect with the sun, so that the Intelligences that are under the sign where the moon is bring help and favor to the Intelligences and to the prince of the Altitude of the sign where <the sun> is.

[3] Note that there are three Altitudes of Intelligences that have the same influx, namely, three eastern, three western, three southern, and three other northern ones,[37] just as <there is a> triplicity of signs. The eastern Altitudes are powerful when the sun is in one of the signs included between sunrise and midday, especially at the day, hour, and season of the year that is the time of the sun, because this eastern time is consonant with the eastern signs. But the southern and the other Altitudes are powerful at the time that is consonant with their own signs.

[4] Nota etiam quod hec Altitudines, scilicet occidentis et orientis, potestatem habent cum Luna crescit; quia orientales Intelligentie, ex quo placatores solum reputant Lunam crescere requiri pro sufficienti tempore, quia sufficit spiritibus bassis orientalibus, quorum aliqui sunt parvorum officiorum et quasi ignorantes quia non possunt nec sciunt nisi quasdam illusiones et res truffaticas quasdam. Ideo sufficit Lunam[55] crescere, tempus proportionatum. Causa est, ut dicit Ptolomeus [*p. 5a*] in *Quadripartito,* tractatu primo capitulo octavo: Luna enim a primo cornu usque ad plenilunium calefacit; et a primo cornu usque ad primam quadraturam humectat; a plenilunio usque ad quadraturam desiccat; et a plenilunio usque ad combustionem infrigidat. Quare cum luna sit corpus planete nobis[56] magis propinquum et operationes eius manifeste nobis; ideo dum crescit, conveniens est spiritibus orientis; dum vero descrescit, conveniens est Intelligentiis frigidis influxus.

[5] Nota etiam quod consuetum est dici quidam: "quando Luna est in pari numero cum Sole"—vocant enim Lunam esse in pari numero cum Sole quando numerus dierum a combustione est par. Set paritas et imparitas secundum[57] hunc influxum celestem non immutant vel variant. Sed voco Lunam esse in pari numero quando aspectu trino vel sextili aspicit Solem, aspectus non variando naturam.

[6] Nota etiam quod non est mirabile tales Intelligentias continue sub talibus influxibus permanere, immo influunt et refluunt ad locum infimum qui est <in> parte orientis in habitabili terra, que nomen proprium non assumpsit et qualiter hec habuit taceo. Ex hoc etiam infertur quod, postquam hii angeli[58] sub talibus influxibus operantur, tunc cum aliquis natus venit ad lucem, princeps Altitudinis talis signi ascendentis tali nato disponit unum de subditis suis, maiorem vel minorem operandi virtutem habentem prout natus est maioris vel minoris conditionis, prout etiam nostra fides retinet et dicit quod unusquisque natus suum habet angelum[59] adversantem.

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[55] lunam] MS luna.

[56] nobis] MS nobilis.

[57] secundum] MS secundum quod.

[58] angeli] MS agneli.

[59] angelum] MS agnelum.

[4] Also note that these Altitudes, namely, those of east and west, are powerful when the moon is waxing; on this account, those who want to appease the eastern Intelligences think that the waxing of the moon for a sufficient time is the only requirement for them, since it suffices for the inferior eastern spirits, some of which have very weak offices and are rather ignorant, because they cannot and do not know how to produce anything but some illusions and trifling deceptions. This is why the waxing of the moon during a suitable time is sufficient. The cause for that is, as Ptolemy says in his *Quadripartitum,* in the first treatise, in chapter 8: Indeed, the moon, from the new moon to full moon heats; and from the new moon to the first quarter it moistens; from the full moon to the <last> quarter, it dries; and from the full moon to its combustion, it cools.[38] On this account, since the moon is a planetary body nearer to us and its operations are more manifest to us, when it is waxing, it is suited to the eastern spirits; but when it is waning, its influx is suited to the cold Intelligences.

[5] Also note that it is usually said: "when the moon is in an even number with the sun"—for they say that the moon is in an even number with the sun when the number of days since its combustion is even. Evenness and oddness do not change or vary according to this celestial influx. But I say that the moon is in an even number when between it and the sun there is a trine or sextile aspect[39]—since the nature of these aspects is identical <as far as the effect is concerned>.

[6] Also note that there is nothing remarkable in such Intelligences remaining continually under such influxes, for, on the contrary, they flow out and then they retire to a lower place, which is in an eastern region in the habitable earth that has no proper name; and about how this <region> had [a name] <once>, I remain silent. And from this also it is inferred that, since the angels operate under such influxes, therefore, when somebody is born, the prince of the Altitude of the ascendant sign disposes to the newborn child one of his subjects who has greater or lesser operating power according to the greater or lesser social status of the child; this is consonant with our faith, which asserts and says that each newborn child has his own opposing angel.[40]

Capitulum quartum: De causis ymaginum ac brevium et similium

[1] <S>apientes antiqui usi sunt diversis ymaginibus, aliquibus ad superandum alios, aliquibus ad amorem, etc. Ad superandum alios faciunt ymaginem considerando quando planeta dominus nativitatis sue vel interrogationis—cum talis planeta fortunatus—elevatus fuerit super alium planetam, alteri infortunatum; tunc talis planeta elevatus influit radium suum in suo subiecto, vincente et subiiciente[60] radium alterius planete supra elevato. Et quia de isto opere istarum ymaginum et anulorum satis cadit dubium in intellectu hominum, non solum vulgarium, ymmo et scientificorum, dicunt enim [*p. 5b*] quod eis videtur absque causa procedere quoniam erit[61] anulus aliquis vel ymago aliqua inclinans dominum ad minorem vel equalem, et quod absque contactu vel visu talis dominus inclinabitur ad ipsum, aliquando per[62] ipsius ymaginis debitam adproximationem effectus consequitur. Et multa hec cadunt dubia et errores, ideo mihi parcat auditor si transgrediar aliquantulum.

[2] Notabis quod triplex est ymago sive anulus vel breve vel aliquid aliud ad hoc opus, quia quoddam est astronomicum, quoddam magicum, quoddam astronomicum et magicum simul. Astronomicum opus est id quod fit in astronomica, materia bene disposita ad effectum quem queris sub certis constellationibus. Gratia exempli: Fit ymago ad maiora[63] acquirendum ab aliquo prelato, ita quod ponitur dominus ascendentis nativitatis prelati vel significator in questione proposita coniunctus corporaliter vel ex trino aspectu vel sextili domino nativitatis servitoris vel significatori[64] complexionis ipsius, et significator prelati perfecta commissione coniuncta eis. Significationem significatoris[65] servitoris in bono loco figure et alias conditiones requisitas hic non pono, sed pono pro exemplo; est nunc: sub tali influxu, hora et tempore subiectis significatis servitoris vel saltem hora eius, remotis aliis impedimentis, fit ymago cerea munda, virginea vel argentea pura vel anulus argenteus; tunc talis influxus talium stellarum sic situatus recipiatur a tali materia liquefacta, inclinat subiecta sua ad amorem et benivolentiam.

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[60] subiiciente] MS subieciente.

[61] erit] MS *lect. dub.*

[62] per] MS pro.

[63] maiora] MS maiorem.

[64] significatori] MS significati.

[65] significatoris] MS significari.

Chapter 4: On the Causes for Images and Phylacteries and Similar Things

[1] The ancient sages used different images, some for overcoming others, some for love, etc.[41] For overcoming others, they make an image considering the moment when the planet that is lord of their nativity or interrogation—when this is fortunate—is elevated over another planet that is unfortunate for it; then this elevated planet sends out its ray onto its subject, with the planet elevated higher overcoming and subduing the ray of the second planet. And in the human intellect—not only that of common people, but also that of the learned—there is quite an important doubt about the operation of images and rings, for they say that it seems to them that there is no cause for the fact that there will be some ring or image <inclining> a master toward an inferior or an equal man, and that this master will be inclined toward this individual without physical or visual contact; sometimes the effect follows as the image is being drawn near. And there are many doubts and errors here, so may the hearer pardon me if I digress to a slight extent.

[2] You will note that there are three kinds of images, rings, phylacteries, or other things used in these operations, because there is a type that is astrological, a type that is magical, and a type that is both astrological and magical.[42] The astrological work is that which is made in astrology, when the matter is well disposed for the effect you seek to work under certain constellations. For example, an image is made for acquiring a better position from some prelate in this way: the lord of the ascendant of the prelate's nativity or the significator of the interrogation is put in a bodily conjunction[43] or in trine or sextile aspect with the lord of the servant's nativity or with the significator of his complexion, and the prelate's significator is put in a perfect conjunction with these points.[44] I shall not give here the signification of the servant's significator in a good place on his astrological chart,[45] and I shall not give the other required conditions either. But I take one case for an example: under such an influx, at such an hour or time when the things subject to the servant are signified <in the heavens> or at least at his hour, and when other impediments have been removed, an image is made of clean and virgin wax or of pure silver, or a silver ring; then the influx of such stars so located is received by such a liquefied material, and it inclines the beings that are subject to it to love or benevolence.

[3] Sed si queretur aliquis qualiter hec qualitas celorum relicta in tali materia inclinat; secundo, quare hec cera debebit esse munda et virgo; tertio, quare hec ymago inclinat magis prelatum quam alium virum. Ad primum dico quod unumquodque creatum tempore sui ortus derelictam[66] ex virtute regitiva Martis recipit in suis tenerrimis membris qualitatem virtualem celorum, maxime provenientem ex planeta predominante tunc, et inbibitur radicaliter in suis membris, et imminet sibi usque ad mortem. Influxus enim celorum multum forte est et recipitur in passo sic nove[67] denudato a natura rei recipiende. Unde si hec qualitas est proportionata et bona, inclinat ad bonum; et si[68] est mala, inclinat ad malum.

[4] Exemplum de viatore: Viator, cum ligneum flaschum novum invenerit, imponit primo res odoriferas ad hoc, ut qualitas odoralis figatur in ligno; et quia [*p. 6a*] flaschum est novum et depuratum ab alio odore forti, sic talis odor recipitur in principio flaschi fortius. Unde non est dubium philosopho quod talis celestis dispositio, que fixa est in membris nati, continue proportionaliter ipsum[69] disponit, ut agens (quod egis) ipsam maiorem subtilitatem et proportionem habet in tali passo,[70] quia dispositio passi facilitatur ad passionem.[71] Et sic cum planeta fuerit infortunatus, disproportionatum radium ponit in tali subiecto. Unde, quia in tali ymagine remansit influxus planete—quia fuit predominans in nativitate—est coniunctus amicabiliter et proportionaliter et modificatur[72] ab influxu planete predominantis in nativitate servitoris; et hoc dico in tali ymagine vel anulo. Unde si iste servitor secum portaverit talem ymaginem coram prelato et secum conversatus fuerit vel posuerit in loco prelati ipsam, maxime si tanget[73] prelatus vel videat, talis enim qualitas celestis existens in cera multiplicatur et recipitur in complexione prelati, quia complexio prelati alteratur et modificatur a tali qualitate. Unde talis prelatus inclinatur ad amorem talis, quia eius complexio, quantum ad qualitatem virtualem, permixta est et assimilata influxui celesti servitoris.

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[66] derelictam] MS derelictum.
[67] nove] MS nono.
[68] si] MS sic.
[69] ipsum] MS ipsam.
[70] passo] MS paxo.
[71] passionem] MS paxionem.
[72] modificatur] MS modificat.
[73] tanget] MS tagnet.

[3] But someone might ask how the heavenly quality left in this material induces this inclination; second, why this wax must be clean and virgin; third, why this image induces the prelate to such an inclination rather than another man. To the first question, I answer that each created being receives into its very delicate limbs, at the moment of its birth, a virtual quality of the heavens, bequeathed by the ruling Power of Mars, which proceeds especially from the planet ruling at that time, and is absorbed into these limbs at their origin and remains latent in this being until its death. For the influx of the heavens is very powerful, and it is received in the subject thus newly denuded so that it may receive the thing from nature. Therefore, if this quality is balanced and good, it induces an inclination to the good, and if it is bad, it induces an inclination to evil.

[4] An example concerning a traveler: When a traveler buys a new wooden bottle, first he puts good-smelling things in it so that the quality of smell will be fixed in the wood; and because the bottle is new and deprived of another strong smell, this smell is therefore more strongly received by this bottle when it is new. Whence there is no doubt for the philosopher that this celestial disposition, which has been fixed in the limbs of the newborn child, continuously and proportionally disposes him in such a way that the agent (which you have prompted to act) has a greater subtlety and a better balance for such a subject, because the disposition of the subject is facilitated to receptivity. And hence, when a planet is unfortunate, it sends an unbalanced ray into such a subject. Therefore, because the influx of the planet has remained in an image of this kind—because it was predominant at its nativity—it is amicably and proportionally conjoined to, and modified by, the influx of the planet predominant in the nativity of the servant; and I say this in regard to an image or ring of this kind. For which reason, if the servant carries such an image with him in the presence of the prelate and speaks with him or puts it at the place where the prelate is staying, especially if the prelate touches or sees it, this celestial quality that is in the wax is actually multiplied and received in the complexion of the prelate, because the complexion of the prelate is altered and modified by this quality. Therefore, such a prelate is inclined to love of such a man, because his complexion has been mixed and assimilated to the celestial influx of his servant as far as this virtual quality is concerned.

[5] Nota etiam quod ille qui facit ymaginem cum forti voluntate commovetur eius complexio et sanguis et spiritus eius, et multiplicatur ab extra per poros cutis et alia loca, et recipitur a tali materia sic permixta, et est plus determinata ad istum servitorem quam ad alium propter individuale medium sue complexionis, quod sic est in tali viro quod non in alio. Et sic solvitur tertium dubium.

[6] Ex hoc infero correlarie quod si astrologus ad petitionem alicuius facere voluerit anulum vel ymaginem quod melius est quod ille ad cuius petitionem[74] fit, liquefaciat anulum vel ymaginem cum forti confidentia ad hoc, ut particularis confidentia sue complexionis recipiatur in materia. Et hoc potes solvere quare dicitur supra ymaginem: "Ego talis, filius talis, facio ymaginem pro tali persona, etc.," quia propter fortem expressionem vocis homo intentius commovetur, et complexio eius fortiter alteratur, et eius qualitas fortis ad extra multiplicatur, et sic per consequens intensius recipitur talis qualitas in tali materia. Et si ita fortiter coniurari posset tacendo ille qui facit ymaginem, ita bene eveniret effectus ymaginis sicut loquendo. Secus est[75] de ymaginibus magicis. Ex predictis correlarie[76] habes quod ymagines astronomice operantur per multiplicationem qualitatis [*p. 6b*] que in ipsis est et sic per adproximationem tactuum vel visuum vel alicuius alterius sensus.

[7] Nota etiam quod isti diversi modi complexionum nominantur in creatis, et aliqui sunt satis fortes et aliqui debiles. Unde fortes modo proportionum complexionum patiuntur[77] spirituum complexionem[78] fortem in tali materia, ita quod multum apparet[79] eius virtus sicut patet per aliquos qui faciunt incantationem contra quartanam; qui quam cito curant cum quibusdam verbis, a modis vanis aliter curari poterit.

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[74] petitionem] MS petionem.

[75] est] MS et.

[76] correlarie] MS corelarie.

[77] patiuntur] MS patiunt.

[78] complexionem] MS complexionum.

[79] apparet] MS apparit *lect. dub.*

[5] Also note that in the man who makes the image with a powerful will, his complexion is moved as well as his blood and spirits, and it is multiplied outside of him through the pores of the skin and other places <on the body>, and it is received by a material of this kind [i.e., the material of the image] that has been mixed in this way, and it is directed more toward this servant than toward another because of the individual medium of his own complexion, which is like this in one individual and not in another. And so, the third doubtful case has been resolved.

[6] From this I infer by corollary that if an astrologer, at the request of someone, wants to make a ring or an image, it is better if the man at whose request it is made casts the ring or the image with a powerful confidence so that the particular confidence of his own complexion is received into the material. And you can figure out why it is said over the image: "I, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, make an image for this person, etc.": because on account of the powerful expression of his voice, the man is more intensely moved, and his complexion is powerfully altered, and his powerful quality is multiplied outside of him, and so consequently this quality is more intensely received into the material.[46] And if the man who makes the image could perform the conjuration as strongly when he was silent, the effect of the image would turn out just as well as with him speaking. It is otherwise for magical images. From what has been said you can infer by corollary that astrological images operate through the multiplication of the quality that is in them and do so through the drawing near of touch, or sight, or any other sense.

[7] Also note that these diverse types of complexions are given names among created beings, and some individuals are rather strong, and others rather weak. Thus, the individuals who are strong in terms of the balance of their complexions receive the impression of a strong complexion of spirits in a material of this kind, such that its power appears strongly, as is made plain by some individuals who make an incantation against quartan fever; they cure it very quickly with certain words, <but> it will be possible for a cure to occur otherwise by vain processes.

[8] Hoc patet experimento: Quando talis incantator propter fortem confidentiam movetur, eius complexio et spiritus et ipsius species representata in complexione infirmi representat qualitatem virtualiter contrariam ipsi melancolie talis extranee. Et sicut inveniuntur qualitates similes fortes, ita inveniuntur in aliquibus create[80] qualitates inimice[81] et contrarie modis et proportionibus alicuius complexionis hominis. Quod si unum ex talibus creatis oderit alium, et cum viderit ipsum, commovetur ad inimicitiam, solo aspectu vel cum tactu poterit inficere vel facere infirmari, quia ponet qualitatem virtualem in sua complexione, que est illi contraria, et ipsam disproportionabit. Et sic non negarem quod propter fortem inimicitiam infirmaret[82] illum.

[9] Ex quo infero quod vulgares non malo dicunt: "Quia viro infortunato vel inimico meo obviavi hoc mane, non erit mihi hodie bonum," quia illa qualitas inventa est[83] de novo[84] de mane, quia denudatus ab aliis qualitatibus hominum ut plurimum, et forsan fortunatorum et suorum amicorum, ideo bonum est obviare de mane in exitu domus fortunatis et amicis fortunatis. Et ideo non miretur aliquis si unum experimentum mittitur[85] ad effectum ab uno et non ab altro. Et ideo magicus debet esse natus sub constellatione ad hoc, ut tales modos habeat complexio sua. Et, per consequens, non debet aliquis mirari si unusquisque non poterit esse experimentator; et ideo de Virgilio non est forsan mirandum ac de eius scientia in magica arte quod[86] sine dubio aliquis inventus est magis aut citius in facultate predicta.

[10] Ad secundum dubium dicendum est quod cera debet esse virgho, nova et munda; et sic de tali materia in qua tales influxus debent recipi. Que non sit inbibita extraneis qualitatibus impedituris qualitatem celestem recipienda, et sic debet esse [*p. 7a*] cera virgha, nova et munda. Propter talem causam meliorem non est dubium.

[80] create] MS creatas.
[81] inimice] MS innimice.
[82] infirmaret] MS non infirmaret.
[83] inventa est] MS inveniens istam.
[84] de novo] MS *iter.*
[85] mittitur] MS mictitur.
[86] quod] MS quam.

[8] This is made obvious through an experiment: When such an enchanter is moved by a strong confidence, his complexion and his spirit [*spiritus*], and the likeness [*species*] of him represented in the complexion of the sick man, represent a quality virtually opposite to the excessive melancholy of this sick man. And just as similar strong qualities are found, so in some individuals can be found created qualities that are hostile and contrary to the balance and proportions of a human's individual complexion. And if one such created being hates another, and when he sees him is moved to enmity, then with only a glance or a touch he can infect the other or make him sick, because he can place a virtual quality in his complexion that is contrary to it and unbalance it. And therefore I will not deny that, because of a strong enmity, he could make him sick.[47]

[9] From this I infer that the common people rightly say: "This morning I met an unfortunate man or my enemy, so this day will not be good for me," because that quality was newly encountered in the morning, since at that time the man is, for the most part, free of other human qualities, and maybe those of fortunate men or his own friends. This is why in the morning on leaving the house it is good to meet fortunate people and fortunate friends.[48] And for this reason, no one should wonder that an experiment can be brought to its effect by one person and not by another. And this is why the magician has to be born under such a constellation that his complexion may have these dispositions. And as a consequence no one should wonder that everybody cannot be an experimenter, and this is why, concerning Virgil and his knowledge of the magical art,[49] it is perhaps not to be wondered at that a man could be found doubtless more clever and quicker in the aforesaid ability.

[10] To the second doubtful case, it must be answered that the wax should be virgin, new, and clean, and just the same as for any material in which these influxes are to be received. This must not be impregnated with extraneous qualities that would impede the reception of the celestial quality, and so the wax has to be virgin, new, and clean. And because this reason is so satisfactory, no doubt remains.

[11] Nunc declaratur de altera parte divisionis, videlicet de ymaginibus, anulis, brevibus et sic de similibus in arte magica. Et ex quo ista satis remota videntur a sensibus, quia hec fiunt per incantationes, excorcismam et Intelligentiarum talium constrictiones.[87] Aliquando autem constringitur,[88] ut faciat quod vult operator[89] pro effectu quem querit, et ymaginem constituit illius, et nomina Intelligentiarum conscribit in ea, et subfumigat, et honorem reddit, et benivole ac cordialiter invocat, nec ex virtute divina constringitur,[90] quare talis Intelligentia propter honorem et orationem[91] sibi factam ad illud movetur impetrandum. Et similiter loquor de brevi, quia cum eo karacteres alicuius spiritus conscribuntur, pro honore habent, et tunc commoventur executioni mandati.[92] In isto concurrit confidentia fortis, et ideo muliercule effectus multos consequuntur, quia propter fortem confidentiam earum vim totam imponunt—immo cum tanto appetitu quod multotiens commoventur ad planctum.[93] Quare si Intelligentia constringitur ab eis per verbum Dei, efficatius redditur illud verbum, quia voluntas et non prolatio[94] sola constringit,[95] sed voluntas principalius, et secundarium est sermonis prolatio, quia per sermonem manifestatur[96] sibi verbum tremendum et voluntas invocantis; quia Intelligentie tales nesciunt, nisi per coniecturationes et sermones, que sunt in invocantium cordibus. Et si per sacrificium et supplicationem rogatur, si cum intensa voluntate proceditur,[97] non dubium quod citius mittitur[98] ad effectum querentis intentio, quia, ut dicitur, sola voluntas dampnat et salvat, et maxime si executioni mandetur.

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[87] constrictiones] MS constrictas.

[88] constringitur] MS constrignitur.

[89] operator] MS optator.

[90] constringitur] MS constrignitur.

[91] orationem] MS rationem.

[92] mandati] MS mandare.

[93] planctum] MS plantum.

[94] prolatio] MS *post corr.* probatio.

[95] constringit] MS constrignit.

[96] manifestatur] MS manifestam.

[97] proceditur] MS procedit.

[98] mittitur] MS mictitur.

[11] Now we address another category of classification, namely, that of images, rings, phylacteries, and other similar things in the magical art. And these things seem rather remote from sensory faculties, on account of the fact that they are performed through incantations, exorcisms, and constraining of Intelligences. But sometimes the Intelligence is compelled to do what the operator wants according to the effect that he seeks, and <the operator> makes an image <that is suitable> to this <aim> and he writes the names of the Intelligences on it, and he makes suffumigations and he gives honor <to them> and he invokes <them> benevolently and kindly, and <the Intelligence> is not constrained by the divine power; thus such an Intelligence, because of the honor and prayers that are made for it, is moved to obtain the sought-for thing. And I say just the same about a phylactery, because the characters of some spirit are written within it and they [the spirits] regard this as an honor, and then are moved to the execution of what <the magician> commanded. In this action, a powerful confidence cooperates, and this is why foolish women succeed in producing many effects, for because of their strong confidence, they set all their power to work—indeed, with such a great desire that they are often moved to tears. Therefore, if an Intelligence is constrained by them through a divine word, this word is made more efficient because the will, and not the utterance alone, constrains them; but the will is the more important thing, and the utterance of words is a secondary thing, because through speech the summoner makes manifest to himself the terrible word and his own will; because these Intelligences do not know the things that are inside the heart of the summoners, except through conjectures and through these speeches. And if the request is made through a sacrifice and a supplication, and if the process is performed with intense will, the intention of the petitioner is doubtless put into effect more quickly,[50] because, as it has been said, only the will can damn or save, and especially if something is ordered to be performed.

[12] Tertium est opus compositum ex magico et astronomico, quod[99] magici maxime representant principale, quia Intelligentie tales maxime agunt, ducta dispositione in passis, ut dicebat Appollonius. Tunc si aliquid ex predictis communicatur, primo remanet qualitas celestis inclinans ad illud quod queritur, et quia Intelligentie tales citius et facilius cum hac qualitate operantur, etiam quando cum aliquo exorcismate constringuntur, quam potissimum est, ut dicebat Messallach in glosa Hermetis in opere predicto: concurrit naturale, deinde spirituale, quod est oratio et suffumigium quod totum reddit[100] et invocantis intentionem perfectam, etc.

[99] quod] MS qui.
[100] reddit] MS reddi.

[12] Third, there is the operation that combines magic and astrology, which magicians represent as the main one, inasmuch as such Intelligences act mainly thanks to the disposition introduced into the subjects, as Apollonius had it. Then if something from the aforesaid <Intelligences> is communicated, in the first place the celestial quality remains <in the subject>, inclining <him> toward the thing that is sought; and because these Intelligences operate more quickly and easily using this quality when they are also constrained by some exorcism, <this combined operation> is as powerful as possible, as Messallach said in his aforementioned gloss on Hermes:[51] the natural and then the spiritual—which is prayer and suffumigation—cooperate; and that <twofold principle> causes the work to be whole and makes perfect the intention of the summoner, etc.

[*p. 7b*] Capitulum quintum: De Intelligentiis et causis locorum

[1] <E>x oppinione antiquorum colligitur quod sub planetis sunt Intelligentie constitute et secundum diversos influxus et diversas planetarum naturas, ita sunt eorum Intelligentie diversorum officiorum et similium operationum. Unde sub planeta Saturni est Intelligentia que habet operari infirmitates melancolicas[101] in anima, consumptionem corporis, prodimenta, turpitudines et deceptiones. Sub Marte est Intelligentia que continet guerras, rixas et inimicitias.[102] Sub Iove est Intelligentia que domesticabat omne bonum antiquis. Unde antiquitus appellabatur Iuppiter pater deorum et ei pre aliis[103] sacrificabant. Et consimile dices de Intelligentia Veneris, que est causa amoris et deliciarum, et <de> Intelligentia Mercurii que est causa omnium subtilitatum industriarum et eloquentie, et sic de aliis Intelligentiis planetarum.

[2] Nec putes quod loquar de Intelligentiis appropriatis orbibus planetarum, sed loquor de Intelligentiis gratia divina privatis. Ex quo infertur quod antiqui non[104] adorabant corpora planetarum, sed adorabant Intelligentias predictas, que eis ferebant responsa, et ideo invenies in aliquibus libris magicis invocationes et orationes secundum septem planetas, id est secundum Intelligentias ipsorum.

[3] Nota etiam quod mihi incredibile est quod, sicut iste Intelligentie operantur sub celorum influxibus, ita Intelligentie ac angeli[105] constituti et in gratia ordinati, ad comprimendum et reprimendum officia et operationes angelorum[106] malorum agere possunt, et agunt sub predictis influxibus, quia levius persuadere possunt humano generi bene disposito. Et hii angeli[107] boni de ordine sunt qui vocantur Potestates, de quibus angelis[108] bonis vult aliquis dicere quod operantur in *Almadelo* qui Salomoni imponitur, et duodecim ipsorum posuit Altitudines, prout sunt duodecim signa celi. Unde operator attente inspicere debet ac specialiter operari secundum horas et experimenta adpropriata planetis.

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[101] melancolicas] MS melencolicas.
[102] inimicitias] MS innimicitias.
[103] pre aliis] MS pre alii.
[104] non] MS *add. s.l.*
[105] angeli] MS agneli.
[106] angelorum] MS agnelorum.
[107] angeli] MS agneli.
[108] angelis] MS agnelis.

Chapter 5: On the Intelligences and the Reasons for <Choosing> the Places <Where the Operation Is Performed>

[1] From the opinion of the ancients we grasp the idea that Intelligences stand beneath the planets, and, according to the different influxes and different natures of the planets, these Intelligences have different distinctive offices and other similar operations. Thus, under the planet Saturn there is the Intelligence that has the power to cause melancholic diseases in the soul, <as well as> the wasting of the body, treacheries, foul actions, and deceptions. Under Mars there is the Intelligence that contains wars, fights, and enmities. Under Jupiter there is the Intelligence that ruled every form of good for the ancients. Thus, in ancient times Jupiter was called the father of gods, and sacrifices were made to him in preference to all the other gods. And you will say the same about the Intelligence of Venus, which is the cause for love and delights, and about the Intelligence of Mercury, which is the cause of all subtleties of skill and eloquence, and so on for the other planetary Intelligences.

[2] And do not think that I am talking of the Intelligences appropriate for planetary orbs, for I am actually talking of the Intelligences deprived of the divine grace.[52] From this it is inferred that the ancients did not worship the bodies of the planets, but they actually worshipped the aforesaid Intelligences, which gave them answers, and that is why you will find invocations and prayers according to the seven planets[53] in some books of magic, i.e., according to the Intelligences of these.

[3] Also note that it seems to me hardly believable that, just as these Intelligences operate under the celestial influxes, similarly the Intelligences and angels established and ordered in grace can act to contain and repel the offices and operations of evil angels while acting under the aforesaid influxes, because they can more easily be persuasive to humankind when it is properly disposed. And these good angels belong to the order that is called Powers; and someone[54] wants to maintain that these are the good angels that operate in the *Almadel* ascribed to Solomon, and <this book> established twelve of them as Altitudes, just as there are twelve celestial signs.[55] Thus the operator must cautiously observe <astrological configurations> and operate especially according to the hours and experiments appropriate for the planets.

[4] Gratia exempli: Amor in hoc proposito potest esse duplex, scilicet amor honestus, qui est inter bonos, et amor concupiscentie. Et primus attribuitur Iovi specialiter, secundus attribuitur ipsi Veneri. Et licet uterque possit fieri in hora Solis vel Mercurii et etiam cum hora adpropriata, melius mittitur[109] executioni quando debet disponere planetam dominum hore predicte in die adpropriata sibi, cum consistentia Lune in signo dicti planete, cum coniunctione benivola. Quod autem hec tempora scita debeant considerari patet ab Aristotile in eius *Magica* [*p. 8a*] in fine capituli tertii, cum petiisset a spiritu, habuit in responso: "Cum tempus fuerit competens et locus aptus, tibi ad beneplacitum dabo responsum."

[5] Tempus requiritur adpropriatum, ut dixi supra, debet esse serenum et clarum, et sic debet intelligi in omnibus experimentis. Et causa est quia iste Intelligentie mere naturaliter operantur in ipsorum apparentiis; transmutant enim aerem cum luce et diversimoda adplicatione ipsius lucis, unde in aere faciunt nobis apparere diversos colores. Unde si aer non esset luminosus nec mundus, tunc non haberent debitam lucem nec aerem mundum, ut possint melius apparere; tamen in aere pluvioso et ventoso cum maxima difficultate faciunt, quia ventus mutat aerem et spirituum figuras acceptas variat, quare difficulter tempore pluvioso; et aer non est mundus nec conformis nec luminosus, quare non possunt debitas apparentias facere cum facilitate, licet expertus sim quod etiam tempore pluvioso apparentias faciunt, sed non cum tanta facilitate. Unde tempus debet esse appropriatum operi, clarum et serenum.

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[109] mittitur] MS mictitur.

[4] For example: Love, as it is understood here, has two meanings, namely, the honest love between two good people and the concupiscent love. And the first is especially attributed to Jupiter; the second is attributed to Venus itself. And although it is possible for both of these <kinds of love> to be produced at the hour of the sun or of Mercury, and also when the hour is appropriate, <nevertheless> they are better actualized when <the operator> puts the planet that is the lord of this hour in the day that is appropriate for it, with the location of the moon in the sign of the aforesaid planet, <and> with a benevolent conjunction. These known times have to be taken into account, as Aristotle makes it obvious in his *Magic,* at the end of chapter 3: when he asked a question of a spirit, he got this response: "When the time is suitable and the place appropriate, I will give you an answer according to your will."[56]

[5] Appropriate weather is required: as I said above, it must be quiet and clear and this must be understood with respect to all the experiments. And the reason for this is that Intelligences operate only naturally when they produce their appearances; they actually change the air with the light and with diverse applications of this light, and so they produce the different colors that appear to us in the air. Therefore if the air were neither light nor pure, then they would have neither due light nor clean air in order to be able the better to appear; but in rainy and windy air they do it with great difficulty, because the wind changes the air and alters the figures assumed by the spirits; therefore this is hardly done when the weather is rainy and the air is neither pure nor suitable nor light, which is why these Intelligences cannot easily produce due appearances, although I figured out through experiment that when the weather is rainy they can also produce appearances, but not so easily.[57] Therefore the weather must be appropriate for the operation, clear and quiet.

[6] Reperitur etiam locus in quo tempore debent convocari vel extra eorum experimenta committi.[110] Qui[111] locus debet esse secretus, quia ipsis displicet sic palam virtute divina constringi,[112] et etiam commodius possunt nostros sensus movere non impeditos a representatione multorum sensibilium. Et etiam causa est, quia invocans non cum tanta efficacia nec cum tanto intentu invocat, quia pluribus sensibus impeditur. Et ipse Intelligentie, ne ab astantibus inculpentur nec cognoscantur ab ipsis et <ut> levius decipiant, nolunt sic manifeste apparere. Unde Aristotiles loco allegato capitulo primo dicebat quod omnia que sunt in arte magica committenda[113] debent secrete teneri ante et post, quoniam minuit dignitates demonum qui eorum secreta divulgat. Et alibi dicebat: secreta divulgata minuunt suas vires. Locus enim debet esse mundus, quia ipsi spiritus sunt mundi et puri, quia angeli[114] sunt nostri creatoris gratia solum privati. Unde locus ad quem debent venire et experimenta fieri debet esse secretus, mundus, absconsus a gentibus ac quietus in nemoribus ac odoriferus, ut locus convenientiam habeat quantum potest cum puritate ipsorum; hoc maxime fieri potest si invocant ad bonum. Sed si constringuntur *[p. 8b]* ad malum et ad dedecus eorum contribuendum debet constringi[115] in loco fetido cum subfumigatione fetida, ut diximus superius auctoritate Massallach in glosa Hermetis.

[7] Nota quod in experimentis magnis et nobilibus ubi circuli fiunt, magistri harum artium preceperunt mulieres aliquas non introduci in circulo, ut maxime debeant aliquid operari, quoniam propter debilitatem nature ipsarum faciliter apparentiis credunt et propter earum immunditiam, quod totum detestatur spirituum puritati.

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110. qui] MS quoniam.
111. committi] MS commicti.
112. constringi] MS constrigni.
113. committenda] MS commictenda.
114. angeli] MS agneli.
115. constringi] MS constrigni.

[6] A place is also found where, at this time, these Intelligences must be convoked or have to come together apart from the experiments of the aforesaid <operators>. And this place has to be secret,[58] because it displeases these Intelligences to be openly constrained by divine power, and also because they can more easily move our senses when they are not hampered by representation of many sensible things. And the cause for this is also that the summoner invokes neither with such great efficiency nor with such great concentration inasmuch as he is hampered by many sensible things. And these Intelligences do not care to appear openly [*manifeste*], lest they be indicted by bystanders, or known by them, and in order to deceive them more easily. Therefore, Aristotle in the aforesaid work in the first chapter said that all the things that must be collected in the magical art must be kept secret before and after <the operation>, because the one who reveals the secrets of the demons reduces their dignity. And he said elsewhere: revealed secrets reduce their powers.[59] The place, indeed, must be clean, because these spirits themselves are clean and pure, inasmuch as they are angels, deprived only of the grace of our creator. Therefore the place to which they must come and where the experiments must be done has to be secret, clean, hidden from people, and quiet, in the forest,[60] and sweet-smelling, so that the place may be suitable as much as possible to their purity; and this can be done especially if they are invoked for a good operation. But if they are constrained to an evil and ignominious action, they must be constrained to contribute to this operation in a fetid place with a fetid suffumigation, as we said above referring to the authority of Messallach in his gloss on Hermes.[61]

[7] Also note that in great and noble experiments in which circles are made, the masters of these arts recommend that women should not be led into the circle, on the assumption that they ought to be able to work an effect strongly, since, because of their weak nature, and because of their impurity, they more easily believe in these appearances. But in fact all this is repugnant to the purity of the spirits.

Capitulum sextum: De causis exorcismorum,[116] circulorum, karacterum, pentaculorum, suffumigationum et similium

[1] <O>perator huius artis debet esse sub constellatione productus, ut proprietatem habeat cum spiritibus, ut dictum est supra, et huiusmodi causa illic assignatur. Debet esse etiam cum firma fide et perfectissima voluntate in magica arte. Debet esse sagax et sapiens, ut spirituum cognoscat illusiones et eorum secreta retineat. Debet habere perfecta astrologia et sub debitis punctis et horis, ut magicum faciat adpropriatum opus. Debet esse animosus et constans ac perfectissime eloquentie et lingue mordacis. Animosus, ut eorum terrores non timeat et animosa voluntate verbum divinum concipiat, et cum lingua mordaci et perfecta eloquentia verbum conceptum spiritibus manifestet—quȯ percepto, tremescunt spiritus sic audaci et voluntario verbo. Item sit catholicus, ut verbum reddatur efficatius, sit etiam mundus et vitio et turpiloquio privatus et castus, ut similitudinem portet cum puritate ipsorum spirituum. Sit etiam balneatus et suffumigatus, ut dictum est in *Clavicula Salomonis.*[117]

[2] Circuli quoque fiunt ad tutelam et custodiam invocantis et sociorum eius, ut spiritus non valeant eis adproximare. Sed posset aliquis dubitare quare magis fit figura circularis ad hanc tutelam quam alia figura; secundo quid hec figura circularis, que est consignatio loci contra ipsos, habeat operari.

[3] Ad primum dicendum quod figura[118] circularis in se principium ratione situs non habet, neque finem, que est proprietas primi motoris. Que principium neque finem sibi consignat; hanc enim figuram voluit habere in mundo in mente sua creator optimus. Et figura circularis est figurarum omnium capacissima, et locum minorem occupat solummodo. Exorcizanti [*p. 9a*] fuit perfecta figura ac comoda.

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[116] exorcismorum] MS exorcisgorum.

[117] salomonis] MS salamonis.

[118] figura] MS in figura.

Chapter 6: On the Reasons for Exorcisms, Circles, Characters, Pentacles, Suffumigations, and Similar Things

[1] The operator of this art must have been generated under such a constellation that he has a common property with the spirits, as was said above, and the reason for this sort of thing was given there. He must also have a firm confidence and a will really perfect in the magical art. He must be sagacious and learned in order to know the illusions of the spirits and to grasp their secrets. He must know through a perfect astrology how to operate under precise <celestial> points and hours in order to perform the suitable magical operation. He must be courageous and constant and endowed with a perfect eloquence and biting tongue. Courageous, so that he will not fear the terrors caused by the Intelligences, and so that he will bear in mind the divine word with a courageous will and so that with biting tongue and perfect eloquence he may make manifest the word that he conceived to the spirits, and the spirits tremble at the perception of this daring and voluntary word. Similarly he must be a Catholic so that the word will be made more efficacious; he must also be clean and free of any vice and of any immodest speech, and he must be chaste, in order to bear a likeness to these spirits. He must be also bathed and suffumigated, as it is said in the *Clavicula Salomonis*.[62]

[2] The circles also are drawn for the protection and preservation of the summoner and his associates, so that the spirits cannot come near to them.[63] But one might ask why a circular figure is made for this protection rather than another figure; and second, why this circular figure, which marks the <operator's> place against these spirits, should have this operative power.

[3] To the first question, it must be answered that a circular figure in itself has neither beginning nor end, by reason of the way it lies, which is <also> a property of the Prime Mover. And this figure defines neither a beginning nor an end for itself; for the very good Creator wanted this figure, <which was> in his mind, to be in the world. And the circular figure is the most capacious of all figures; and it occupies only a rather small space. For the exorcist this figure was perfect and suitable.

[4] Ad secundum dicendum est quod hec figura circularis dicitur et profertur verbum Dei. Ita aereas potestates et eis ponunt metam verbo divino. Postea altissimi Dei nomina conscribuntur cum devotione intensa et benedicta suffumigatione; letaniis et psalmis et orationibus perfectis circulatum spatium benedicatur, quibus omnes terrentur potestates aeree, nec videantur[119] adgredi locum predictum. Quare exorcizator cum maxima devotione et contrito animo confessione perfecta circulum designat. Karacteres sunt signa contributa creatis et aliqui reperiuntur boni et aliqui mali. Karacteres boni fuerunt dati ab ipso Deo benedicto suis servitoribus dignis, ut regi Karolo contra hostes, etiam Moysi nomina et multis aliis pluribus qui mira operabantur in mundo. Karacteres vero mali sunt inventi[120] ab ipsis spiritibus, et sunt signa ipsorum qui volunt ad eorum honorem operari a creaturis. Qui karacteres, cum suffumigantur ac cum debito incaustro et debita carta inscribuntur cum benivola oratione ad ipsos, pro honore recipiunt et exequi conantur quod breve tenet. Et econtrario si quis in mala carta, cum malo incaustro, mala suffumigatione alicuius spiritus karacteres scribit, sed cum constrictione intensa, exorcizator eis imponit stimulum ac dedecus.

[5] Nota etiam quod pentacula ad id inventa sunt ac data per virtutem divinam, in quibus conscripta sunt Dei altissima nomina et benignissima—et conscripta a catholico scriptore cum devotione intensa, debitis orationibus et solempnitatibus, ut est alibi demonstratum. Unde in perfecta devotione et perfecta tutela portatur et demonstretur spiritibus, solum memoratu divine potentie exorcizatione tresmescunt.

[6] Nota etiam quod tutela debetur esse magna ad has artes preparandas, cum suffumigationibus, balneis, cartis et invocationibus et similibus, quia suffumigationes quibus circulus debeat fumigari et cum quibus etiam suffumigatur exorcizator et socii eius, debent esse benedicte, consecrate catholico verbo cum debitis orationibus ac modis, consimiliter de balneo et carta; et hec omnia sunt ad exorcizatorum tutelam. Sed suffumigationes que fiunt pro spirituum sacrificio non debent[121] taliter excorcizari, quoniam essent[122] plus ad fugam quam ad honorem ipsorum, ex quo sunt divinitus dedicate. Sed ipsorum suffumigationes, carte et alia debent exorcizari in ipsorum nomine cum [*p. 9b*] benivolentia et oratione ad ipsos.

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[119] videantur] MS videat.

[120] inventi] MS invencti.

[121] debent] MS debet.

[122] essent] MS esset.

[4] To the second question, it must be answered that this circular figure is called and named "word of God": so also through the divine word they establish the aerial Powers and boundaries for them. Then the names of God the Most High are inscribed with an intense devotion and a blessed suffumigation; with litanies, psalms, and perfect prayers, the encircled space is blessed, and by these <rituals> all the aerial Powers are terrorized and they do not seem to approach the aforesaid place. Hence the exorcist marks the circle with very great devotion and with a contrite mind, after confession has been made.[64] Characters are signs ascribed to creatures, and some are found to be good and some evil. The good characters were given by blessed God himself to his worthy servants, as to King Charles against his enemies[65] and also the names <given> to Moses,[66] and to many others who worked wonders in the world. But the evil characters were discovered by the spirits themselves,[67] and they are the signs of those who want the creatures to operate in their honor. And when the characters are suffumigated and inscribed with a suitable ink and on a suitable paper,[68] and with a benevolent prayer addressed to them, the <spirits> take it as an honor and they try hard to carry out what is written in the phylactery. And, by contrast, if someone inscribes the characters of a spirit on an unsuitable paper, with an unsuitable ink, and with an unsuitable suffumigation, but with intense constraint, the exorcist inflicts pain and shame on the spirits.

[5] Also note that pentacles for this purpose have been discovered and were given through divine power; and on them were inscribed the most high and most benevolent names of God[69]—and inscribed by a Catholic writer with intense devotion, due prayers, and solemnities, as it has been demonstrated elsewhere. Thus the pentacle is carried in perfect devotion and perfect protection; and it may be shown to the spirits: they tremble just at the memory of the exorcism by divine power.[70]

[6] Also note that for preparing these arts the protection must be strong, with suffumigations, baths, papers [within phylacteries], invocations, and other similar things, inasmuch as the suffumigations with which the circle must be fumigated, and with which even the exorcist and his associates are suffumigated, must be blessed, consecrated by a Catholic word with due prayers and processes, and the same with the bath and the paper; and all these things are for the protection of the exorcists.[71] But the suffumigations that are performed for the sacrifice made to the spirits ought not to be exorcized in this way, since it would tend to put these spirits to flight more than to honor them, by reason that they are divinely consecrated.[72] But the suffumigations, the papers, and other things addressed to those <spirits> must be exorcized in their own names[73] with benevolence and a prayer addressed to them.

[7] Nota etiam quod in operationibus magicis que sunt per placationem et virtutem spirituum, debet fieri cum orationibus benivolis ad ipsos, nec cum constrictione virtute divina fiant, quia nullatenus exocizator consequeretur. Hoc clarum est et non dubium.

[8] Nota etiam quod, si benivole aliquid a spiritibus voluerit exorcizator impetrare, taceat orationes divinas; sed pure ac caste, balneatus[123] aque clarifontis vel fluvii non benedicte, coram ipsis curialiter debet apparare.

Et sic est finis huius tractatus.

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[123] balneatus] MS balnea.

[7] Also note that in magical operations that are performed through placation and power of the spirits, <the operation> should be made with benevolent prayers addressed to them and not under the constraint of divine power, since the exorcist would absolutely not succeed. This is clear and there is no doubt about it.

[8] Also note that if the exorcist wants to get something good from the spirits, he must not say the divine prayers, but he must present himself before the spirits, in a courtly manner, purely and chastely, having bathed in water that has not been blessed, taken from a clear spring or river.

Here ends this treatise.

NOTES

1. In this and the following two instances, the text gives *inscibilibus.* It is difficult to make a definite decision as to whether we should read *inscibilibus* or *in scibilibus.* The verb *speculor* (like *contemplari,* a few lines down) can imply seeking after a knowledge that is not direct, that is, grounded partially on hypothesis or on a very high thought (just as with the modern verb "to speculate"). If the correct reading were *inscibilibus,* Antonio would mean that among the "unknowable" things, lowly creatures cannot speculate except on a very small number of them. This reading seems more interesting in the way it alludes to one possible sense of "occult" in the title of the work, "On occult and manifest things." If we read the text this way, however, the last instance of *inscibilibus* would become grammatically problematic, since the text gives *speculari inscibilibus,* which would make necessary an emendation to *speculari <de> inscibilibus.* Avoiding this emendation is the only reason to choose *in scibilibus* instead of *inscibilibus,* but it is not a compulsory one.

2. Aristotle *Nicomachea Ethica* X.7.

3. Aristotle *Nicomachea Ethica* X.7.

4. The *breve,* often mentioned in magical writings, seem to be phylacteries (see Introduction).

5. I.e., the airy triplicity.

6. Oriens, the spirit of one of the four cardinal points, the eastern part (the other three spirits are Amaymon, Paynon, and Egym), is well known in the Solomonic sources. Such Solomonic sources known in manuscript include the *De quatuor anulis* or *Ydea Salomonis* (incipit: *De arte eutonica et ydaica*), Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II.III.214, fols. 26v–29v, fol. 28v, and the text whose title is given in the *Speculum astronomiae* as *De tribus spirituum,* and which I have found (thanks to its incipit, *De caelestibus candariis*) in a sixteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, Sloane 3850, fol. 70r. The *Clavicula Salomonis,* I.6, Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (hereafter BPH), 114, p. 104, explains that Oriens was witnessed in the byzantine tradition of the *Hygromantia Salomonis.* In the Christianized version of *Almandal* (or *Almadel*), Oriens is not mentioned among the eastern Intelligences (Thaor, Corona, and Hermon); see note 10 below. Other references are given in Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Les Who's Who démonologiques de la Renaissance et leurs ancêtres médiévaux," *Médiévales* 44 (2003): 122–23, 126n40. Also note that Cecco d'Ascoli, *In spheram mundi enarratio,* chapter 3, in Thorndike, *Sphere of Sacrobosco,* 404, makes mention of such spirits; see Weill-Parot, "I demoni della Sfera."

7. The importance of the crossroads is stressed in Solomonic magic; see the *De tribus spirituum,* mentioned above; see also *Clavicula Salomonis,* II.6, note 60 below. Note that Cecco d'Ascoli, in his commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco (346, 391), gives an explanation of the importance of crossroads that refers also to the places of the Intelligences at the intersections of the circles of the sphere (demons of the four cardinal signs), and Oriens, Amaymon, Paymon, Egim (404); see Weill-Parot, "I demoni della Sfera."

8. Alcabitius (al-Qabîsî), *Introductorius ad iudicia astrorum, differentia* 1, in Al-Qabîsî (Alcabitius), *The Introduction to Astrology,* ed. Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano (London: Warburg Institute; Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), 227–66. In this well-known handbook of astrology,

there is no allusion either to exorcisms or to crossroads; the *differentia* 1 presents the twelve zodiacal signs, their properties, and their dignities. But in his commentary on Alcabitius, concerning the moon's nodes (the Dragon's Head and Tail), Cecco gives his young students (*iuvenes*) the astrological meaning, and the older students (*maiores*) the magical one: the importance of the intersection of circles as the places under which occult operations are produced: "Vos autem maiores, debetis intelligere quod in ista intersecatione circulorum multe sunt operationes occulte que ignote sunt particulari nature, ut dicit Astafon in libro De mineralibus constellatis, ubi ad licteram sic dicit: 'O quanta est virtus quam habet intersectio circulorum, que ignota est particulari nature.'" *Scriptum super librum de principiis astrologie*, in *Il commento inedito di Cecco d'Ascoli all'Alchabizzo*, ed. Giuseppe Boffito (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1905), 16.

9. Aristotle *De anima* II.7, 419a–b, for example.

10. In the Christianized version of *Almadel* or *Almandal*, there are twelve *Altitudines* or Intelligences, distributed according to the four cardinal points, and each of them has authority over its own princes (see, for example, Vat. lat. 3180, fols. 47v–51r). On *Almadel*, see the Introduction.

11. The name Fornifer obviously derives from the word *fornicatio* (as J.-P. Boudet suggests) and the verb *fero*—hence, the demon that induces lust. This name of the fallen angel is not mentioned among the names of demons in Boudet, "Les Who's Who démonologiques."

12. Cf. Albert the Great, *Scripta super quattuor libros sententiarum*, II.vii.9, in Alberti Magni, *Opera omnia*, 21 vols. (Lyon: Petrus Jammy, 1651), 15:87.

13. The term *exorcisator* appears many times in the *Clavicula Salomonis* and *De quatuor anulis*, referring to the master who wishes to compel the demons (in *De quatuor anulis* the word *artifex* is also used). Moreover, the practice of turning toward the cardinal points while saying exorcisms and conjurations or performing other operations is an essential requirement in the *Clavicula Salomonis* and *De quatuor anulis*.

14. Cf. Cecco d'Ascoli, *In spheram mundi enarratio*, chapter 3, p. 403, BnF, lat. 7337, p. 36b. When tackling the demons of the elements, Cecco writes that the demons of the earth produce horrendous screams at night. See Weill-Parot, "I demoni della Sfera." But note that these kinds of horrendous and noisy demonic apparitions are also mentioned, for instance, in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, II.22 (BPH, 114, pp. 136–37).

15. "Unde Hipparcus dicit in libro de ordine intelligentiarum quod principes quidam demonum tenent quatuor partes sub celo. Nam expulsi de celo aerem occupant et quatuor elementa, nam equinoctia et solsititia tenent in similitudinem primi throni." Cecco, *In spheram mundi enarratio*, 391.

16. Cecco explains several times that certain Intelligences, although evil, have a noble nature; thus the Intelligences of the four cardinal signs (Oriens, Amaymon, Paymon, and Egim) have a noble nature, and this is why they like sacrifices. Ibid., 404.

17. May be an allusion to his *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis*; see note 54 below (but note that several times the *Glosa* refers to the *De occultis et manifestis*, which therefore would seem to have been written first, though there are cross-references in both treatises; see Introduction). Also see *Clavicula Salomonis*, I.1, in BPH, 114, p. 76: "Capitulum primum de horis et punctis necessariis in experimentis et artis mathematicis et magicis omnibus comprobandis."

18. In the *Clavicula Salomonis*, II.9–10, in BPH, 114, pp. 125–27, in particular chapter 10, p. 126, there is also a section concerning suffimigations with sweet-smelling or fetid plants: "Capitulum decimum de consecratione specierum et de fumigacione. Diverse fumigaciones fiunt in artibus vel experimentis, aliquando odoriffere, aliquando fetide. Si sunt odoriffere, accipe thus, lignum aloe, caffaranum, miram, muscum, castam, spiram et omnes species odorifferas, et dicas supra ipsa has orationes: 'Deus Abraham, etc.'"; p. 127: "Si operatur in aliqua arte vel experimento quod species debent esse fetide, ut sulphur et asa et alie species ad ignem dicende: 'Adonay, Lathay, etc.'"

19. "Nam omne subfumigium bonum et preciosum et bene redolens letificat voluntatem et aereos spiritus sicut bonum vinum letificat corda bibentium et omne subfumigium fetidum impedit et fugat homines et spiritus eodem modo. Et dixit Messalah: in omni opere malo fac subfumigia fetentia et plena maliciei et in bono e contrario." Messahala, *Super dictis Hermetis* (i.e., Messahala's final note on Hermes's *De quindecim stellis*), in *Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides*, ed. Louis Delatte (Liège: Droz, 1942), 275.

20. Cf. Augustine *De civitate Dei* XXI.6 (p. 499 in Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, eds., 5th ed. [Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1993]): "Inliciuntur autem daemones ad inhabitandum per creaturas,

quas non ipsi, sed Deus condidit, delectabilibus, pro sua diversitate diversis, non ut animalia cibis, sed ut spiritus signis, quae cuiusque delectationi congruunt, per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum rituum." Also cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia*, ed. P. Bazzi, M. Callaterra, T. S. Centi, E. Odetto, and P. M. Pession (Rome: Marietti, 1953), q. 6, art. 10, Resp., [B], p. 185: "Coguntur etiam quasi allecti per artes magicas, non quidem rebus corporalibus propter seipsas, sed propter aliquid aliud [. . .]; secundo, inquantum huiusmodi corporalia sunt signa aliquorum spiritualium quibus delectantur. Unde Augustinus [*De civitate Dei*, book XXI], quod alliciuntur daemones in his rebus, non tamquam animalia cibis, sed quasi spiritus signis. Quia enim homines in signum subiectionis deo sacrificium offerunt et prostrationes faciunt, gaudent huiusmodi reverentiae signa sibi exhiberi."

21. Exod. 34:14; Ps. 80:10.

22. Apollonius, i.e., originally Apollonius of Tyana, the first-century Pythagorean philosopher, had become a legendary authority for magic in the Arabic world (under the name of Balînûs) and in the Latin world (under the name Apollonius or Apollinaris, or under the Arabic name Balenus, Balinas, etc.). Thus Cecco mentions several texts ascribed to Apollonius, among them *De arte magica*, *Liber de hyle*, and *De angelica factione* (or *factura*), the last of which Antonio da Montolmo ascribed to Solomon (*De occultis et manifestis*, III.1). See also Introduction.

23. May be Aristotle *De anima* II.5–6. Roger Bacon, alluding to this section of *De anima*, writes, "quia dicit [Aristotelis] secundo *De anima* quod sensus universaliter suscipit species sensibilium." Roger Bacon, *De multiplicatione specierum*, I.1.l.44–45, in *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature: A Critical Edition with English Translation, Introduction, and Notes of "De multiplicatione specierum" and "De speculiis comburentis,"* ed. D. C. Lindberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 4, and note 12. On the issue of "species," see Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Études sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Âge* (Rome: Edizioni del Ateneo, 1970), 113–50; Katherine H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); and Leen Spruit, *Species intelligibilis*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994–95).

24. The use of young virgin boys as mediums is mentioned repeatedly in Solomonic and nigromantic sources, especially in catoptromancy (the art of divination through mirrors and other reflecting things); see Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*; cf. Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997), nos. 22, 27–29, 33, 38–40. See also *Clavicula Salomonis*, II.3 (BPH, 114, p. 116); and Claire Fanger, "Virgin Territory: Purity and Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Catoptromantic Texts," *Aries* 5, no. 2 (2005): 200–225.

25. On crystallomancy, see Benedek Láng, "Angels Around the Crystal: The Prayer Book of King Wladislas and the Treasure Hunts of Henry the Bohemian," *Aries* 5, no. 1 (2005): 1–32.

26. Divination through water was traditionally called *hydromantia*; water, as a reflecting surface, was often viewed as propitious to the apparition of spirits. See Boudet and Véronèse, "Secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," 134.

27. See note 24 above.

28. "Secundus lapis dicitur cristallus. . . . Virtus namque eius est aggregare daemones et spiritus mortuorum et vocare ventos et secreta abscondita scire." Hermes, *De quindecim stellis*, in Delatte, *Textes latins et vieux français*, 259.

29. I.e., the moon must be in conjunction or in "application" with one of the fiery signs (Aries, Leo, Sagittarius), while this fiery sign "receives" the moon in a place within the zodiac, which is "an essential dignity" of the moon (domicile, exaltation, triplicity, term, decan); for a definition of "reception," see Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Le recueil des plus célèbres astrologues de Simon de Phares*, 2 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997, 1999), 2:386.

30. The astrologers, and especially the astrologer-magicians, are accustomed to speaking in an active way: when they "put" a planet in a specific astrological place, this means that they are waiting until the moment when this planet will be in such a place. This active verb expresses the astrologer's power to modify the course of things by his own actions. Cf. Thebit, *De imaginibus*, in *The Astronomical Works of Thâbit ibn Qurra*, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), 179–97; see also Weill-Parot, "*Images astrologiques*," 63–72.

31. Cf. Cecco, *In spheram mundi enarratio*, chapter 4, 406–7: "Aliud scire debetis quod arcus sumitur tripliciter, scilicet astrologice, necromantice [*nigromantice* in BnF, lat. 7337] et chiromantice. [. . .] Tertio modo chiromantice, ut accipit Abliton in sua chiromantia, ubi dicit ad litteram: Cum arcus in chiros fuerit, hoc esse crede a natura celi. Ut intelligatis, chiromantia a 'chiros' grece quod est manus,

ut cum arcus, id est, linea erit a natura in manibus significat effectus venturos in creatura propter planetam illam lineam imprimentem in manu in principio generationis." See also Introduction.

32. Cf. ibid., chapter 3, 402: "Exempli gratia, si quis vellet facere imaginem in qua vellet responsum ab aliquo spiritu, oportet ut ascendat cor septentrionis seu Cancer quod est ascendens necromanticorum [*ascendens nigromanticorum* in BnF, lat. 7337, p. 36, cols. 1–2]." See also Introduction.

33. I.e., Iohannes de Sacrobosco; see above.

34. "Chronicus ortus sive temporalis est quando signum vel stella post solis occasum supra orizontem ex parte orientis emergit de nocte, et dicitur temporalis ortus, quia tempus mathematicorum nascitur cum solis occasu." Iohannes de Sacrobosco, *Tractatus de Spera*, chapter 3, in Thorndike, *Sphere of Sacrobosco*, 96.

35. "Notandum est autem quod nulla Altitudo debet vocari, nisi eo tempore quo habet dominium in partibus mundi et hec signum datur, quod secundum quod sunt duodecim signa celestia, ita sunt duodecim Altitudines habentes ordinationem." *Almadel*, Vat. lat. 3180, fol. 48v. See note 10 above.

36. This text itself is not known to be extant in manuscript, but Cecco mentions it under the title *De angelica factione* (or *factura*), and attributes it to Apollonius in his commentary on the *Sphere* (*In spheram mundi enarratio*, 395) and in his commentary on Alcabitius, in Boffito, *Commento inedito di Cecco*, 29, 41, and 54.

37. This distribution is found in *Almadel*, Vat. lat. 3180.

38. This section is obviously a misreading of Ptolemy's *Liber quadripartiti*, I.8 (Venice: Boneto Locatelli, 1493), fol. 14rb, which actually says, "Luna namque a sua prima corniculatione usque ad suam primam dicothomitatem humectat; et inde usque ad plenilunium calefacit; et inde usque ad dicothomitatem secundam desiccat; deinde usque quo occultetur et in directo Solis existat infrigidat."

39. The trine and the sextile are both benevolent aspects.

40. On this topic, see Jean-Patrice Boudet, Philippe Faure, and Christian Renoux, eds., *De Socrate à Tintin: Anges gardiens et démons familiers de l'antiquité à nos jours* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, forthcoming), notably the essays by Faure, Boudet, and Véronèse.

41. Cf. Pseudo-Ptolemy, *Centiloquium*, trans. Plato of Tivoli (Venice: E. Ratdolt, 1484), fol. 107v: "Vultus huius seculi sunt subiecti vultibus celestibus et ideo sapientes qui imagines faciebant stellarum introitum in celestes vultus inspiciebant et tunc operabantur quod debebant." Or cf. Albert the Great, *De mineralibus*, II.iii. 3, in *Opera omnia*, 2:240: "Nunc autem determinemus causam quare gemmae primitus a sapientibus sculpi praeceptae sunt, et quod iuvamentum in ipsis sigillis eorum."

42. This is a new formulation of the tripartite typology of images (or talismans) given in the *Speculum astronomiae*, chapter 11, ed. and trans. Paola Zambelli, Stefano Caroti, Michela Pereira, and Stefano Zamponi (Pisa: Domus Galileana, 1977), reprinted with an English translation by Charles Burnett, Kristen Lippincott, David Pingree, and Paola Zambelli, *The Speculum astronomiae and Its Enigma: Astrology, Theology, and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries*, ed. Paola Zambelli et al. (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1992), 240, which makes the distinction between the "abominable" (or Hermetic) nigromantical images, the "detestable" (or Solomonic) nigromantical images, and the purely "astrological images." See Introduction. (On the distinction between Hermetic and Solomonic images, see David Pingree, "Learned Magic in the Time of Frederick II," *Micrologus* 2 [1994]: 39–56.) In the fifteenth century, authors such as Giorgio Anselmi da Parma, in his *De magica disciplina* (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 44, Cod. 35, fols. 118v–119r), and Jerome Torrella, in his *Opus praeclarum de imaginibus astrologicis*, ed. Nicolas Weill-Parot (Florence: Edizioni SISMEL del Galluzzo, 2008), 117–18, present a typology very similar to that of Antonio da Montolmo. See Weill-Parot, "Astral Magic."

43. A bodily conjunction is an astrological conjunction between two planets of zero degrees exactly, i.e., with no additional degree.

44. Making of astrological talismans in this way is close to what Thebit describes in *De imaginibus*, §VI, 188–90: "Imago ad inclinandum regem ad aliquem virorum."

45. The Latin text of this sentence seems quite obscure; the meaning that I suggest is highly hypothetical.

46. Note that the Magister Speculi, whose conception of purely "astrological images" is based entirely on a single text—the *De imaginibus*, ascribed to Thebit—that was clearly deprived of any "addressative" elements (rituals, invocations, inscriptions of characters, and other signs), faces the problem that within this text there are words said during the casting of the image against scorpions: "haec est imago destructionis scorpionum a loco illo quamdiu fuerit in eo imago servata." *Speculum*

astronomiae, chapter 16, p. 270; cf. Thebit, *De imaginibus,* 181. But the Magister Speculi asserts that these words are neither an exorcism nor an invocation. Here Antonio gives an explanation that is close to those of al-Kindî and Roger Bacon. On these interpretations of the power of words, see Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 158–61, 331–33; Irène Rosier, *La parole comme acte: Sur la grammaire et la sémantique du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1994), 207–31; Claire Fanger, "Things Done Wisely by a Wise Enchanter: Negotiating the Power of Words in the Thirteenth Century," *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 1 (1999): 97–132; and Béatrice Delaurenti, *Virtus verborum: Débats doctrinaux sur le pouvoir des incantations aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007). Also see the Introduction.

47. See Fernando Salmón and Montserrat Cabré, "Fascinating Women: The Evil Eye in Medieval Scholasticism," in *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease,* ed. Roger French et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 237–88; Béatrice Delaurenti, "La fascination et l'action à distance: Questions médiévales (1230–1370)," *Médiévales* 50 (2006): 137–54. On the power of imagination, see also the Introduction.

48. This idea seems widespread. We find it, for instance, in Ugo Benzi, *Expositio super libros Tegni* (Venice: heredes O. Scoti, 1518), fol. 70r (Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 546–50). Jerome Torrella also compares—although cautiously—good fortune and talismanic power; see Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Causalité astrale et 'science des images' au Moyen Âge: Eléments de réflexion," *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences* 52, no. 2 (1999): 207–40.

49. The poet Virgil was a well-known legendary figure in magical tales. See Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1896; new ed. 1981); translated into English by E. F. M. Benecke as *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer: Studies in Virgilian Legends* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934); Jean Céard, "Virgile, un grand homme soupçonné de magie," in *Présence de Virgile,* ed. R. Chevallier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1978), 265–78; Francine Mora, "Virgile le magicien et l'Enéide des Chartrains," *Médiévales* 26 (1994): 39–57; Nicolas Weill-Parot, "Contriving Classical References for Talismanic Magic in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," in *Magic and the Classical Tradition,* ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London and Turin: Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore, 2006), 167–70. Note that Cecco d'Ascoli, in his commentary on Alcabitius (Boffito, *Commento inedito di Cecco,* 43), associates the image against flies in Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Opus imaginum* with the legend of Virgil concerning a talisman with a similar aim.

50. See note 47 above.

51. Messahala (see note 19 above) does not actually speak of "exorcism" but of prayer (*oratio*) and suffumigation.

52. See Cecco, *In spheram mundi enarratio,* 394–95, 397, 403–4; see also Weill-Parot, "Dans le ciel ou sous le ciel?" and "I demoni della Sfera."

53. See, e.g., the prologue of the Hermetic *Liber lunae* (incipit, *Probavi omnes libros*), Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II.III.214, fols. 9v–11r, which tells about the whole *Liber planetarum ex scientia Abel,* which consisted of seven talismanic books, i.e., of the seven planets. See also *Speculum astronomiae,* chapter 11, 242–44. See Pingree, "Learned Magic"; Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 42–44; and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, *"Studiosus incantationibus:* Adelardo di Bath, ermete e thabit," *Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana* 80, no. 1 (2001): 36–61.

54. Cf. Antonio da Montolmo, *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis,* in Weill-Parot, "Antonio da Montolmo et la magie hermétique," 563–64: "Quoniam fideles reputant opera suprascripta ne aereis spiritibus honorem referant, credo quod efficacius has duodecim signorum virtutes que humano generi sunt bone quia ad bonum et utile diriguntur, sic operari poterit operator fidelis. Hoc tamen primo mihi appeto declarare: nobiscum est hic inferius angelorum ordo unus qui Potestates vocatur. Qui ordo angelorum ad tutelam humani generis contra malignos spiritus est positus." See Introduction.

55. In the *Almandal,* the identification of the Altitudes with the Powers is not explicit. But there is this prayer in Vat. lat. 3180, fol. 48r: "Adoro secum nomen Dei, admirabile in eternum per quod vos, celestes Potestates atque angelice Virtutes, servitis et obeditis vestro creatori, adiuro vos." Note that in the Dionysian hierarchy, the Virtues and the Powers are at the fifth and sixth ranks of angels, respectively. See also Introduction.

56. Several texts on magic were attributed to Aristotle during the Middle Ages, but this one does not seem to be listed in Charles B. Schmitt and Dilwyn Knox, *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus: Guide to*

Latin Works Falsely Attributed to Aristotle Before 1500 (London: Warburg Institute, 1985). Note that this passage is not in Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secretum secretorum;* on this book, see Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). Note that Cecco mentions an *Ars magica* that he ascribes to Apollonius (*In spheram mundi enarratio,* 345): "Et Apollonius in sua arte magica inferebat, Medicus sine stellis et necromanticus sine ossibus mortuorum est quasi imago a spiritibus non vivificata"; and 393: "Similitudinarie pro hierarchiis separatorum, ut accipit Apollonius in libro suo artis magice, ubi ad litteram sic dicit: Orizon maior separatorum influit in minorem."

57. On this very interesting piece of evidence for an assumed personal practice, see also his *Glosa super ymagines duodecim signorum Hermetis,* in Weill-Parot, "Antonio da Montolmo et la magie hermétique," 562: "quoniam tam Bononie quam Padue has ymagines expertus fui que mirabiliter operabantur." It is also possible that the author of the anonymous third text of the three talismanic *experimenta* found in the same manuscript (see introduction) is Antonio da Montolmo; see the edition in Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 897–900.

58. On this injunction to keep the place a secret, see Boudet and Véronèse, "Secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale."

59. Pseudo-Aristotle, *Secret of Secrets* cannot be the source, but a section at the beginning of the book is devoted to the necessity of keeping the secret in order not to be "the transgressor of divine grace and the betrayer of the celestial secret." Roger Bacon, *Secretum secretorum cum glosis et notulis,* in *Rogeri Baconi opera hactenus inedita,* ed. Robert Steele (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 40–42; see Steven J. Williams, "Esotericism, Marvels, and the Medieval Aristotle," *Micrologus* 14 (2006): 171–91, esp. 176.

60. "Nota ubi de jure debent fieri artes vel experimenta. Debent enim esse loca secreta et absconsa aut deserta, longe ab hominibus et ab habitatione hominum, ubi nulla mulier penitus adeat locum. Fac pulchrum et spatiosum et nitidum locum illum vero absconsum, ut nemoribus et cavernis et in locis inhabitantibus tamen nitidus sit ille locus. Alioquin in altitudine domorum faciunt et in altitudine montium, et in triviis et quadriviis, et in silvis, et post glareas, et in palludibus, post nemora et flumina, et locis campestris, et in ortis et in viridariis et in plateis, et in quocumque habitabili loco fuerint, dummodo secrete fiant, quia divulgata quecumque virtuosa non pariuntur sed diminuant virtutes, quia fieri possent in die sicut in nocte, sed ut scandalum evitetur tutius de nocte faciendum, sed faciendum est de die propter sustentationem corporis, sed oportet ut locus sit solitarius et absconditus, sed si exorcizator fuerit audax, tutius erit de nocte et tutius [spiritus] veniunt et tunc poterit fieri in quocumque loco habitabili et securus erit." *Clavicula Salomonis* II.6, BPH, 114, pp. 121–22. This extract is edited in Boudet and Véronèse, "Secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," 149–50.

61. See note 19 above.

62. On ritual bathing and ablutions, cf. *Clavicula Salomonis* II.5, in BPH, 114, p. 121. On suffumigations, cf. II.9–10.

63. Protective circles are a distinctive feature of Solomonic magic and nigromancy. Cf. *Clavicula Salomonis* II.8, ibid., pp. 124–25; *De quatuor annulis,* ibid., p. 73; or see the nigromantical treatise in Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites,* 295–96n36 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 849, fols. 67v–68v). Note that in the *Almadel* there is no protective circle, since the spirits invoked are viewed as angels. On the disciples or associates, see, e.g., *Clavicula Salomonis* II.3, in BPH, 114, pp. 115–17.

64. On fasting and confession, cf. *Clavicula Salomonis* II.4, in BPH, 114, pp. 117–21.

65. As Julien Véronèse and I have assumed, this is probably an allusion to the astrological talisman that is supposed to be have been made against the English troops by Thomas de Pizan (Tommaso da Pizano), a physician and astrologer working for King Charles V of France, in an *experimentum* found in the same manuscript, BnF, lat. 7337, pp. 45a–46b (and in Vat. lat. 4085, fols. 104r–105r); see Weill-Parot, *"Images astrologiques,"* 897–900. At the end of the paragraph, there are planetary symbols and many names of angels that are to be inscribed in the talismans. I have supposed that Antonio da Montolmo was the author of this tale. See also Introduction.

66. The name of God was revealed to Moses. Cf. Flavius Josephus, *Les antiquités juives,* I.2, ed. E. Nodet (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 2:116–17; Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica,* in *PL* 198, Exodus, VI, chapter 11, col. 1148. Also note the Jewish magical tradition of *Harba de-Moshe* (i.e., *The Sword of Moses,* seventh–eighth century), whose efficacy is based on the names of God. The names of God are often used in the exorcisms and conjurations of the *Clavicula Salomonis,* with many references to Moses (e.g., I.2, in BPH, 114, pp. 84–86).

67. It may be noted that in Solomonic magic all the signs are supposed to derive from a divine revelation, and the distinction between good and bad characters thus seems groundless. Cf. Boudet and Véronèse, "Secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale."

68. Cf. *Clavicula Salomonis* II.13–16, in BPH, 114, pp. 129–33.

69. Cf. ibid., I.3, pp. 89–100. These pentacles are represented in the Italian version of the fifteenth-century manuscript, BnF, ital. 1524, fols. 184v–185r. Cf. Florence Gal, *La magie dans un manuel italien du milieu du XVe siècle* (mémoire de DEA, Université Paris X–Nanterre, 2002). The names of God are inscribed within the pentacles.

70. The spirits are subjected when the master unveils the pentacles that have previously been exorcized with divine names. Cf. *Clavicula Salomonis* I.3, in BPH, 114, p. 97: "Hoc completo videbis venire spiritus et dominos ipsorum sicut imperatores [. . .]. Cum viderit exorcisator apte ipso domino discooperiat pentacula que sunt super pectus ejus de panno serico."

71. Cf. *Clavicula Salomonis*, sections already quoted.

72. The fire required for the suffumigations and the species of wood must be exorcized and sprinkled with exorcized water; see *Clavicula Salomonis* II.10, in BPH, 114, p. 126. In II.20, pp. 135–36, on sacrifices (virgin animals, or inscriptions, or food and drink), fumigations are required, but whether these must be exorcized is not stated.

73. In the *Clavicula Salomonis*, this is required for all of the objects used in the ritual.

7

BETWEEN THE MARCH OF ANCONA AND FLORENCE: JEWISH MAGIC AND A CHRISTIAN TEXT

Harvey J. Hames

In Florence, in November 1486, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola published his nine hundred *Conclusiones cabalisticae,* which he intended to defend publicly before the pope in Rome. As is well known, these *Conclusiones* were a series of propositions gathered from eclectic sources, such as the ancient Greek philosophers and their medieval commentators, and what Pico referred to as the *prisca theologia,* in which he included the *Hermetica,* Orphic and Chaldaean teachings, and also the Kabbalah. Pico hoped to show the harmony existing between all these different sources and how they served to illuminate the Christian faith. In the section dealing with what he referred to as the ancient Kabbalah, Pico suggested that the *ars combinandi* (combinatorial art) was identical to something he referred to as the *alphabetaria revolutio* (revolution of letters), the latter being the highest level of speculative Kabbalah.

In his *Apologia,* written in 1487 as a response to the papal commission appointed to examine his *Conclusiones,* Pico explained that "that which is called *hohmat ha-zeruf* [revolution or combination of letters] is a combinatory art and it is a method for gaining knowledge, and it is similar to that which we refer to as the *ars Raymundi,* although it proceeds in a very different manner."[1] Thus, the count of Mirandola became the first figure to suggest a similarity between the Kabbalah of the messianic pretender and founder of the school of ecstatic Kabbalah, Abraham Abulafia, and the Art of the medieval Christian philosopher, mystic, and missionary Ramon Llull.

Some twelve years earlier, however, in July or August 1474 in Senigallia, a town on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, a translation into Hebrew was completed of the *Ars brevis,* a very popular work by Llull. Within a couple of years this translation had been copied a number of times, and from the colophon of one of these copies, it appears that this work was rated very highly by its Jewish readers as an aid for achieving mystical experience.[2] Any interest shown by the adherents of one faith in the texts of another is important for shedding light on common intellectual interests and contacts, and this translation is of especially great significance in that there appears to have been in Italy in the fifteenth century a circle of Jewish scholars willingly engaging with a Christian effort in order to achieve divine illumination. Of even greater significance is that one of the scholars involved in this translation, Yohanan Alemanno, would become Pico della Mirandola's teacher, and that this translation would apply Abulafian ideas to the Lullian Art, creating the very symbiosis that would fascinate Pico a dozen years later.

In a previous article, I situated this translation in the context of fifteenth-century humanism. Here, I would like to situate it in the slightly different context of the intercultural and interreligious ideas and practices revealed by other essays in this volume. A commonality may be seen on the one hand between Llull's own ideas and those of the Hebrew translator, and on the other between the interreligious view of truth characteristic of Lullism itself, and the kinds of syncretism involved in early fourteenth-century works like the *Liber visionum* of John of Morigny, and the *Liber iuratus*, as noted in chapters by Fanger, Mesler, and Veenstra in this volume.[3] However, what is fascinating about this text is how, when translated from Latin into Hebrew, when it passes from Christianity to Judaism, it takes on new meanings very different from those intended by the original author.

In the Middle Ages, the liberal arts were a means to an end for the study of philosophy, theology, law, or medicine; however, the quest for knowledge was also a goal of ritual texts, both Jewish and Christian. The search for knowledge as conveying a universal truth becomes increasingly a preoccupation of later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers. In this period there was also an increasing emphasis on natural knowledge and intercultural knowledge as pertinent to both personal salvation and the conversion of others. The intercultural interests of some thinkers provided resources whose lasting influence on Western culture is still being gauged and that became still more prominent in Renaissance writings. In 1486, for example, Pico commissioned Flavius Mithridates (a converted Jew from Sicily) to translate a large library of the Jewish mystical works then available from Hebrew into Latin. These translations were clearly important to Pico, influencing seventy-two of his nine hundred conclusions, which pertained to or were argued from kabbalistic sources.[4] Once translated into Latin, these texts were available to later Christian esoteric writers who also sought unified theories of knowledge and incorporated kabbalistic teachings into their work. It seems that it was in this context also that Jewish scholars discovered the works of Ramon Llull and undertook a Hebrew version of his *Ars brevis*.

The renewed interest in Llull and his thought, particularly in Padua from the end of the fourteenth century, was part and parcel of the renewed deployment of these universalizing tendencies. Llull's Art provided a way to redefine man's relationship to God and creation. The Art, which placed man firmly within a dynamic conception of reality, was the framework with which Llull was certain he would be able to convince unbelievers of the truth of Christianity. The Art was also the basis for excursions into almost all the medieval fields of knowledge to show how everything was reducible to the most simple and general principle—God. In other words, the Art was a language whose grammar and syntax were the dynamic structure of creation, true knowledge of which revealed the internal and eternal structure of the divine. Using general principles, conditions, and rules acceptable to all three monotheistic faiths, the artist would discover the inherent nature of the supreme being. According to Llull, the religion revealed to be truly compatible with this divinely inspired Art was Christianity. In other words, it is not that the other faiths were based on false premises but that they did not understand the language of reality totally. The disputation based on the framework of the Art would allow members of each faith to explore their own religious doctrines and those of the other faiths and, by asking the right questions, to reach the necessary conclusions.

The first exposition of the "form and method" of the Art was the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem,* or the *Brief Art of Finding Truth,* probably written in 1274. Prior to this, Llull had written the *Libre de contemplació en Deu,* a mammoth encyclopedic work in which Llull surveyed the whole of being, sensible and intelligible, human and divine, visible and invisible, and in which logical exposition was intermingled with ecstatic outcries of joy and happiness. In this work are to be found the seeds of all his later thought, but without the organization and terminology that provide the framework for disputation.[5] The divine revelation on Mount Randa provided Llull with the tools for organizing his broad-ranging ideas into a coherent structure. This structure would be continually redacted, refined, and improved upon over the next forty years, with the last redaction being the *Ars generalis ultima,* written 1305–8, along with its shorter and popular companion, the *Ars brevis,* completed in Pisa in 1308.[6]

Llull was well aware that questions regarding the nature of the divine and God's relation with creation were taxing the minds of his religious contemporaries. He felt certain that if Muslims and Jews could be convinced that the divine essence must be internally and eternally triune and that the incarnation was necessary, then they would have to admit the truth of Christianity and convert. Thus Llull based his Art on the fundamental belief of all three monotheistic faiths that there exists one God who is the cause of all things and who created the world. In the first stage, referred to as the "quaternary phase," the Art revolves around the figure A, a circle with a series of sixteen letters representing the divine attributes equally spaced around the circumference. Whether called *dignitates, sefirot,* or *hadras,* Llull proposed that all discussion start from these most general principles, believed by all to exist in God in concordance and without any contrariety. Given that the world is created in the image of God, and playing on the Neoplatonic maxim *bonum est diffusivum sui* (good is diffusive of itself), Llull suggested that creation is a likeness of these perfect divine dignities. Each of the dignities has its effect in the world in accordance with the individual creature's capacity to receive the likeness of God and the degree of the creature's concordance with the dignities.[7] Hence, all of being reflects the divine structure, and by demonstrating the structure of being, one will have knowledge of the divine.

However, in the major revision and supposed simplification of the Art that started in 1290 with the *Ars inventiva veritatis* and culminated in the *Ars brevis,* referred to as the "ternary phase" of the Art, this figure took on a new form that made it more general and applicable to all areas of knowledge. The components of the "first figure," as Llull calls it, are referred to as "principles" rather than dignities, and God is no longer the central focus of this figure but becomes one of the nine subjects of the Art, which can be examined using the principles of this figure. Thus the principles of this figure can now be used to examine everything from the most general, perfect, and sublime being, i.e., God, to the most particular aspects of the creation.[8] In this way Llull allowed the practitioner of the Art to explore the whole of creation using the combinatorial method, which, through asking questions, following the basic rules, and using the general principles, allows conclusions to be reached about the nature of God and the particulars of creation.

Using what Llull refers to as "necessary reason," which is the form of the Art, it is possible to descend from the most general principle, God, to the most particular, or to ascend from the most particular to that most general principle. Thus nature or creation becomes a *scala,* a ladder of being, by which man could ascend from sense to rational knowledge and from rational knowledge to the discovery of "the supreme being in whom all the divine names coincide or fall together."[9] Whereas in the quaternary phase of the Art the other figures of the Art, and particularly figure T, allow the intellect to examine multifarious propositions, affirming or negating them using the different elements of creation as metaphors or analogies, in the "ternary phase" the concepts of figure T are archetypal forms from which can be derived the status of the question or issue being considered in relation to other things, or within a single being as well. What emerges, however, is that the intellect realizes that the dynamic activity of the principles in creation can only be understood in a triune structure, and what is true of creation must be true of God. The mature form of this thought is referred to as the theory of the correlatives of action. Thus, even if this is not spelled out in detail in the *Ars brevis* (because Llull wanted it to be general and acceptable to members of all faiths), it is there implicitly and is the conclusion reached if one uses the Art properly.[10]

In addition, Llull's understanding of the incarnation was appealing because he viewed the incarnation as necessary, willed by God in order to achieve total concord with creation—in contrast to medieval thought, which held that the incarnation was necessary only because of man's flawed nature. Christ—in whom human and divine nature are conjoined—is, according to Llull, the bond holding creation together. By knowing his own intrinsic dynamism and by turning away from all external contingent activity, man will be able to attain the highest degree of contemplation. In other words, Llull's thought supported man's potential to ascend the ladder of being and, through Christ, to bridge the gulf between finite and infinite.[11]

This natural theology was attractive to many thinkers of the fifteenth century, especially in Padua, a university town otherwise known as a center of Scholastic Aristotelianism and Averroism. Nicholas of Cusa spent six years at Padua (1417–23) and adopted many of Llull's conceptions and ideas, incorporating them into his broader Platonic and Neoplatonic speculations.[12] During the 1450s, Lullism made great strides in the city, thanks to the support of the local bishop, Fantini Dandolo (1448–59). Dandolo gave patronage to Lullists such as Joan Bolons of Barcelona, who completed a lecture on the *Ars generalis* in his house and who was in touch with Nicholas of Cusa.[13] The library of the Venetian doctor Nicholas Pol and the work of the Franciscan Joan Ros from Valencia are indications of the considerable amount of Lullian activity in Padua.[14] In addition, there are impressive collections of Llull's works in the Marciana in Venice, and in Padua itself, dating to the fourteenth century.[15]

It was probably in Padua that the celebrated Jewish Renaissance scholar Yohanan Alemanno (1435–1503/1504) came across Llull's *Ars brevis*, though it seems that none of the extant Latin manuscripts are the source of the Hebrew translation.[16] Alemanno was a nomadic scholar of a Neoplatonic bent who is best known as one of Pico della Mirandola's teachers in Jewish matters (along with Elijah del Medigo and the convert Flavius Mithridates, mentioned above).[17] Alemanno spent a number of years during the 1460s in Padua studying medicine, among other things, and was awarded his doctoral degree there by Judah Messer Leon in 1470.[18] Alemanno, whose writings indicate his broad intellectual interests and syncretism, would have found much to interest him in Padua beyond the study of medicine. His notebook, which consists of materials he copied, translated, and commented on over a thirty-year period, deals with a variety of subjects, among them moral and political philosophy, Kabbalah, and magic.[19] It is the conception of man's potential to ascend to and descend from the divine via nature or creation that probably attracted Alemanno and other Jewish thinkers to Llull in general, and to the *Ars brevis* in particular.[20]

Let us leave Alemanno and Padua for a moment and turn to the colophon of the Hebrew translation, which is of great interest as it gives us some indication of the importance attached by this circle to Llull's *Ars brevis.*

> To thank, praise, and honor the blessed and exalted Lord who has helped me to finish this famous wisdom. Raimundus completed [*hishlim*] this book in the town of Senigallia in the month of Ab, in the year 5234 [July–August 1474].
>
> This time, as well, I will give thanks to God, who held my right hand, and who aided me with his support, and in his benevolence made me successful, and who helped me with his aid and support to ascend *Hor ha-Har* (Num. 20:23–29; Deut. 32:50), mountain upon mountain, until attaining the peak of thirteen mountains. And in them I found very sharp brambles (Prov. 24:31), thorns (Song of Sol. 2:2), and briars (Judg. 8:7, 17), and holes, pits, and caves and deep wells down to the bottomless hell (Deut. 32:22). And fortified hewn rocks going above the vault [firmament] of heaven (*rakia ha-shamayim*—Gen. 1:14, 15, 17, 20, perhaps also Ezek. 1:22, 23) and beyond to the strong tower (*migdal oz*).[21] I will thank and bow down [to him] who led me through all this and I arrived at the fruit of my labor, I took the trouble and I found [him].
>
> And I completed the copying of this work—short in quantity but great in quality—today, Friday, of the weekly portion "and behold a ladder positioned on the ground and its top reaches to the heavens" (Gen. 28:12), 8 of Kislev in the year 5235 [November 28, 1474], a full hundred years after its composition. And I was on the shores of the Adriatic Sea in the town of Senigallia, which is on the River Niola. Signed by the youngest of the disciples of the French doctors, Pinhas Tzvi, son of Nethanel from Vaison called *Abin Abat ibn Tura Hafetz Hazak.*[22]
>
> I copied this book of Raimundus at the side of my teacher, the scholar, guide for the perplexed, Maestro Pinhas the doctor, may God protect and preserve him, here in Senigallia in the month of Iyar, in the year 236 [May 7–12, 1476], the weekly portion "for it is a day of atonement" (Lev. 23:28). May the Lord, blessed be he in his mercy, give me and my seed to the end of days the merit to study it. In strength, the copyist Joseph, the son of Nehemiah Foah of blessed memory.[23]

As the colophon indicates, this manuscript is a copy made by Joseph Foah, the disciple of one Pinhas Tzvi. Tzvi himself copied this work in November 1474 from a translation made in Senigallia in the March of Ancona, in July or August of the same year. Pinhas Tzvi was probably a disciple of Alemanno, having studied with him in Mantua, and other works copied by Pinhas and his disciple Joseph, dealing with astrology, astronomy, the making of astrolabes, and logic extant in other manuscripts, attest to a close relationship.[24] In his aforementioned notebooks, Alemanno compiled a system of education based on seven-year cycles, and for each of the cycles he recommended the subjects and some of the books to be perused. In each cycle, the material to be studied goes hand in hand with the intellectual and spiritual attainment of the student, the aim being to attain divine revelation at the age of thirty-five.[25] In the second of these seven-year cycles, Alemanno recommends studying astrology and astronomy, mentioning the works copied in these manuscripts, and also recommends learning how to use an astrolabe. These, together with other things, are considered necessary preparation for the study of philosophy.

Pinhas, who copied the original translation of the *Ars brevis* within months of its being carried out, perceived the work as an important tool for ascending into the divine presence. His terminology conjures up images of mystical speculation and ecstasy using biblical motifs. The theme of ascending to the divine is reiterated a number of times: the allusion to God aiding the ascent into the divine world, the mountain imagery, and the verse from the weekly Torah portion (Gen. 28:12), which Pinhas chose, not by chance, to indicate when he completed the copying. Even Joseph, the scribe and disciple of Pinhas, indicates through his choice of a verse from the weekly portion of the law (Lev. 23:28) the mystical applications of this work. In the Jewish liturgical year, man is never as close to God as he is on the Day of Atonement, when the gates of repentance open to one and all. Joseph purposefully chose a verse from the middle of the weekly portion rather than the beginning, as was common procedure, because it complemented the possibilities inherent in the work.

Looking more closely at what Pinhas wrote, the imagery indicates a desire for spiritual death through *mors osculi*, or the divine kiss of death.[26] The ascent of *Hor ha-Har*, the mountain on whose peak, according to the Torah and as later interpreted by the rabbis, Aaron died by the kiss of God (the thirteen peaks that are ascended corresponding to the thirteen parts of the *Ars brevis*), the use of terminology from the Song of Songs, and the ladder of ascent and descent from Jacob's dream all point to the desire to achieve that divine kiss.[27] The use of sefirotic imagery to describe the ascent beyond the "vault of heaven —*rakia ha-shamayim*" (which is ascribed to the tenth *sefirah—Malchut*) to the "strong tower—*migdal oz*" (which refers to the sixth *sefirah*—*Tiferet*) also points toward that desire.

The wish to receive the divine kiss and its implication as the perfect cleaving to God, which, however, can take place only after death, is a central motif in the writings of Yohanan Alemanno. In *The Ascent of Solomon*—his introduction to the commentary on Song of Songs—Alemanno claims that the song was written by King Solomon to guide others toward the levels of perfection and felicity that he achieved. Commenting on the second verse of the song—"Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth"—Alemanno writes that this refers to "all of [Solomon's] desire to be attached [to God], and on this he built this the song in its entirety."[28] This work, which was written under the auspices of Pico della Mirandola in Florence in 1488, is important, because, Alemanno writes, "I have, for twenty years, delayed writing this book about the Song of Songs. The most important reason for this delay was that I had not satisfactorily explained how the literal sense of the biblical book conformed to its profound sense."[29] Twenty years means that Alemanno was pondering these matters while he was in Padua, at the time that he probably first came across the *Ars brevis*, and while it was being translated into Hebrew in Senigallia. There is good reason to suggest that Alemanno's understanding of Llull's view of man and his ability to comprehend Llull's Art helped him formulate his ideas as they appear in this commentary on the Song of Songs.

The whole of Alemanno's *Ascent* is aimed at showing that Solomon was wise in all aspects of human knowledge and endeavor. Solomon knew all the secrets of the Egyptians; he knew the sciences of divination, augury, alchemy, and magic as well as political theory, natural sciences, and music. He was the perfect human being, in that he achieved the ultimate attachment to God while still alive. Since Alemanno portrays Solomon as possessor of all the branches of knowledge with which his contemporaries were concerned, Solomon is clearly the Jewish answer to the claims made by Marsilio Ficino and others for Hermes, Zoroaster, Plato, and Aristotle.[30] At the same time, the fact that Solomon does not appear in these lists of canonical authors' names among the Christian philosophers may be complicated by the frequent attribution of so many known works of ritual magic to Solomon in the medieval period. Thus Alemanno may have been helpful in turn to the Christian writers who knew him by offering another mystical and kabbalistic context for Solomon's knowledge, playing to both Jewish and Christian traditions of Solomon the magician, but perhaps allowing some detachment from its less savory medieval associations.[31]

According to the *Heshek Shlomo* (The Desire of Solomon), Alemanno's commentary on the Song of Songs, there are two types of divine kiss, one of which can be achieved while body and soul are conjoined, while the second is achievable only after or at the time of physical death. The first is like death, in that the soul cleaves with passionate love and desire to the divine, but because of bodily limitations this cleaving is only temporary. The second is that which Moses, Aaron, and Miriam experienced through the act of death by divine kiss, an eternal cleaving to God.[32] There are seven levels of mystical love and three progressive stages for receiving the divine kiss, which prepare the person to move from the material world into the spiritual world. They start with the *sefirah Malchut. Malchut,* or kingship, the tenth in the hierarchy of the *sefirot*—the revealed emanations of the godhead according to kabbalistic theosophy—receives the divine influx from all the other nine *sefirot* and is linearly connected with *Keter,* the first *sefirah, Tiferet,* the sixth, and *Yesod,* the ninth *sefirah.* According to Alemanno, *Tiferet* (glory) is the most central of the *sefirot* in that it receives from both above and below, and in that, therefore, the goal of the lover is to cleave to this *sefirah.* Most true lovers of the divine, like the forefathers and the prophets, only managed, while alive, to enter the "Gate of Heaven," as Alemanno refers to it, to be attached to the last of the *sefirot, Malchut.*[33] Even though this attachment is not permanent and lasting, it allows the lover to draw down spiritual forces for the performance of astral magic, such as foretelling the future and the preparation of talismans.

According to Alemanno, however, two persons achieved the second and higher level of divine kiss while still alive, Moses and Solomon. Alemanno shows that Moses, by speaking face to face to God on Sinai, experienced and remained permanently in a state of ecstatic death, cleaving to the *sefirah* of *Tiferet* even while alive.[34] Solomon, who received his knowledge from both Enoch and Moses, was, with his great wisdom and spiritual abilities, also able to cleave to *Tiferet.* With Solomon, however, the divine kiss took place twice, and only the second occasion was permanent, continuing after death. It was on this second occasion of receiving the kiss of God that Solomon composed the Song of Songs. Solomon represents, for Alemanno, the human who received both kisses of God (one while alive and another at death), and thus he represents a man of knowledge, virtue, and dignity, a pinnacle for emulation. But Solomon is also the supreme magician, as becomes clear from his construction of the temple in Jerusalem. Solomon sought to make the temple a microcosm (*olam katan*) that imitated the macrocosm (*olam gadol*) and thereby to draw down the *shekinah,* the divine presence. As God created the macrocosm in seven days, Solomon brought forth his microcosm in seven years.[35]

This magical aspect becomes clear in Alemanno's comparison of Solomon with Moses. Moses is considered perfect, in contrast with Solomon, who sinned, for example, in seeking the impure knowledge of the alien gods of his wives.

However, Alemanno writes, "doubtless Moses knew better than anyone how the observance of the commandments in the Torah and the avoidance of the prohibitions of the Torah would benefit the Israelite people. . . . Among the nations, however, Balaam resembled him [Solomon] in the cognate knowledge of spiritual forces available to the gentiles. It was in this knowledge that Solomon surpassed Moses. . . . Solomon tried to understand the customs and cults of the nations. In contrast, Moses sought only to preserve his powers of receiving influence through *Tiferet,* the commandments of the Torah."[36]

Solomon is, therefore, the exemplum to be followed by Jews wishing to attach themselves to the divine, in the same manner that Christ is the archetype for Christians. Thus, while Llull and his quattrocento followers in Padua emphasized the place of Christ at the center of creation, expressing the union between the divine and human natures, Solomon fulfills this purpose for Alemanno and his circle.[37] Moreover, Solomon's example justifies turning to external sources in order to enhance and aid the ascent to the divine.[38] His knowledge (like Alemanno's) is interculturally derived.

To Alemanno and his circle, however, this level of achievement also implies inducing the descent of spiritual forces or the divine overflow for magical purposes.[39] For Alemanno, the highest levels of man's development are achieved through the study first of sefirotic or theosophical Kabbalah, then of ecstatic or Abulafian Kabbalah and magical works.[40] These allow the adept to cleave to God and also to perform magical feats through drawing down the divine influx. In his study curriculum, Alemanno enumerates a number of books on magic to be studied during the cycle of seven years devoted to the most advanced studies from age twenty-eight to thirty-five. During these years, writes Alemanno, "[man] should be less concerned with material matters and should weaken his external powers while strengthening his internal powers and figures, to imagine the spiritual world whose beginnings are the abstract material forms."[41] This is reminiscent of Llull's use of figures in the *Ars brevis,* whose purpose is to lead the intellect up from the particular to the general, and if Alemanno was studying Llull while in Padua, this would fit the time scale in his life for the study of works with magical potential.[42] Indeed, most of the magical works Alemanno recommends are not of Jewish origin but are of prime importance because, in his view, they have preserved, unlike most Jewish magical works, the true magic whose source is Solomon.[43]

Here we are presented with a further reason for the importance of Llull's work for Alemanno, in that the *Ars brevis* also has magical potential that allows the artist not only to ascend but also to harness and draw down the divine presence. According to the structure of the *Ars brevis,* by following "general principles and conditions," and by understanding the alphabet and the manipulation of the four figures, man's intellect has a ladder for ascent from particulars of creation and the physical world to the completely general, which is the perfection of the divine dignities in God. The manipulation of the figures through the combination of letters allows the intellect to ascend to the greatest good but also to descend to particular goods. But here we find a significant divergence from the original intention of the use of the letters in Llull's Art, and something that can be understood only when we understand that Alemanno and his circle read the *Ars brevis* through an Abulafian prism.

Abraham Abulafia, an important kabbalist and contemporary of Llull, was born in late 1239, which corresponded to the year 5000 in the Hebrew calendar, the start of the sixth millennium—a year of apocalyptic expectation in some Jewish circles—and, according to him, the year of the renewal of prophecy. Awakened by the spirit of the Lord when he was twenty years old, Abulafia set out to find the mythical Sambation River, where he presumably hoped to find the lost ten tribes. Growing up in a world worried by the onslaught of the Mongols, and possibly considering them connected to the lost tribes, this voyage to the Holy Land clearly had apocalyptic undertones. Unable to proceed beyond Acre because of the battle of En Jalut between the Mamluks and the Mongols, which effectively ended the Mongol threat to the West, anyway, Abulafia returned to Greece, southern Italy, and then Catalonia, where he studied and taught Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed* and acquired an extensive knowledge of sefirotic Kabbalah and the teachings of the Ashkenazi pietists. Following a revelation in late 1270, and on the basis of his earlier studies, Abulafia started to develop his teachings based on *Sefer Yetzirah*, a mystical understanding of the *Guide* and a particular (re)reading of the scriptures. Toward the end of 1276, Abulafia received a further vision that inspired him to believe that he was the expected messiah. This was the backdrop for his extensive messianic and apocalyptic activity and writings in the following years. Intensive preparation and further visions led to Abulafia's attempt to preach to Pope Nicholas III in 1280. Abulafia's messianic activity continued till late 1285, when another revelation caused him to see things in a different light. Although the apocalyptic elements remain in the buildup toward 1290, which he strongly believed was the year of redemption, his messianic claims, while present, are more subdued and seem to indicate a realization that his messianic potential would come to fruition only at the end of times. Abulafia faced considerable opposition to his prophetic and messianic claims from within the Jewish world, spearheaded by a campaign led by the Catalan rabbinic authority Solomon ibn Adret, and wrote a number of vituperative letters defending his claims. It is perhaps no coincidence that Abulafia bowed off the historical stage in late 1290 or early 1291, although what exactly happened to him remains a mystery.[44]

Abulafia's kabbalistic teachings, which developed out of his apocalyptic-messianic context, took on a life of their own. For Abulafia, the Torah is the names of God, and the letters themselves have mystical and magical potential. Through the combination of and meditation on the letters, one can not only attain "*devekut* (a cleaving to the divine) and the kiss" but also harness and bring down the divine influx from the sefirotic world.[45] Alemanno and his circle, and subsequently also Pico della Mirandola, read Abulafia's understanding of the power of the letters into Llulls's *ars combinatoria* as it appears in the *Ars brevis.*

In the *Ars brevis* we find the following statement about the purpose of the letter notation: "we have employed an alphabet in this Art so that it can be used to make figures, as well as to mix principles and rules for the purpose of investigating the truth. For, as a result of any one letter having many meanings, the intellect becomes more general in its reception of the things signified, as well as acquiring knowledge." The letters are signifiers and have no special inherent meaning in themselves; they are just tools to help the artist progress toward knowledge, to help the intellect become more general. And therefore, Llull continues, "this alphabet must be learned by heart, for otherwise the artist will not be able to make proper use of this Art." The Hebrew translation, however, reads as follows: "The alphabet that we have employed in this work is that with which we can make figures and know all the mixtures. And its combinations [*harkaba*—an Abulafian term], in both the principles and the rules, are to investigate the truth that is in one letter; we will receive many significations, and great understanding, to receive many and great teachings and to acquire wisdom. And one needs to know this alphabet in one's heart and in one's mind, and on the joints of one's fingers. For without this, the scholar will be unable to proceed in this work."[46] The difference is clear. For the students of the Hebrew *Ars brevis,* the knowledge of the combination of the letters of the alphabet itself is what gives wisdom; the letters are not just signifiers for other terms in the figures; they are significations themselves that allow the scholar to achieve true knowledge. The translator invokes Abulafia's method of proceeding from the actual writing of the letters, to visualizing them, and then to knowing them as divine emanations.[47]

This understanding of Llull's work places the emphasis both on man's ascent to the divine and on the drawing down of the divine influx through the powers inherent in the combinations of the letters.[48] The letters, rather than just being a short method of referring to the terms of Llull's Art, become magical in their own right. This use of the Art is reflected in Alemanno's discussion of the ultimate good at the end of his *Song of Solomon's Ascent.* Man is the center of creation, the place of meeting between the physical and the spiritual. He is a microcosm, the reason for creation, and contains within himself everything in perfection. The attainment of the ultimate good is the desire of the soul, which it can achieve by ascending the seven spiritual stages that are parallel to seven stages in the material world. Each rung, in both the physical and the spiritual realms, is subordinate to the next one on the ladder and contains a degree of goodness that exists in totality and perfection on the seventh and highest level of the spiritual realm. In other words, as in the *Ars brevis*, where perfect goodness is to be found on the highest rung of the ladder though its imprint is on every one of the rungs to a lesser degree, so too for Alemanno. The last two stages are in the sefirotic world, *Malchut* being the sixth and *Tiferet* the seventh and ultimate, which is the complete and total unity. Only Moses and Solomon were able to attain the level of *Tiferet* and, from there, to access and cleave to the divine influx. However, with the right preparation (a large part of which is the correct performance of the commandments and rituals) the soul can, writes Alemanno, "receive and cleave to the pure and spiritual powers which descend from the sefirotic world."[49]

Thus, for Alemanno and his disciples in Senigallia, Llull's work, "short in quantity but great in quality," incorporated elements of the *prisca theologia* as known to Solomon. This is probably what attracted Alemanno to Llull's works and teachings in Padua and occasioned the translation of the *Ars brevis* into Hebrew. The centrality of man in Llull's system, the emphasis on man's ability to ascend through nature to the divine world, as well as the magical potential inherent in the letter combinations of the work, are surely what rendered Llull's work so useful to this Jewish circle's syncretistic approach of seeking support for ancient Jewish wisdom in Christian sources.

Pico's division of Kabbalah into two disciplines, that of the *sefirot* and that of the *shemot* (divine names), has puzzled scholars, as Pico sees the *sefirot* as part of practical Kabbalah, whereas the knowledge of the divine names is attributed to speculative Kabbalah. The opposite would seem to make more sense and is more commensurate with Jewish divisions of Kabbalah, where knowledge of the divine names is part and parcel of ecstatic Kabbalah and sefirotic Kabbalah is more speculative. Pico also writes, "I divide the speculative part of the Cabala [the science of the names] four ways. . . . The first science is what I call the *alphabetariae revolutionis* (that of revolution of the alphabet)."[50] However, this division, along with the comment in the *Apologia* with which this chapter opened, makes perfect sense when seen in light of the Hebrew translation of the *Ars brevis* and its bringing together of the Abulafian focus on the divine names and the Lullian *Ars*. While it is probable that Pico only met Alemanno in person in 1488, it is possible that Alemanno, who was so central to Pico's knowledge of Kabbalah, and to his equation of it with magic through his circle's translation of the *Ars brevis*, was also instrumental in Pico's conjoining of Llull's *ars combinandi* with Abulafia's Kabbalah.[51]

NOTES

1. Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia*, in *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1557; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969), 1:180. "Unam quae dicitur *hohmat ha-zeruf* id est ars combinandi et est modus quidam procedendi in scientiis et est simile quid sicut apud nostros dicitur ars Raymundi, licet forte diverso modo procendant." In the first edition of the *Apologia* there is a space, followed by the abbreviation for *id est* (i.), between the words *dicitur* and *ars combinandi*. As Wirszubski and Scholem before him have demonstrated, the comparison here must be between Abraham Abulafia's letter-combinatory Kabbalah as an *Ars combinandi* and Llull's Art. See Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 258–61; and Gershom Scholem, "Considérations sur l'histoire des débuts de la kabbale chrétienne," in Scholem, *Kabbalistes chrétiens*, ed. Antoine Faivre, Pierre Deghaye, and Roland Egidhoffer (Paris: A. Michel, 1979), 22n10 (this is a revised and corrected version of his "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Christlichen Kabbala," in *Essays Presented to Leo Baeck* [London: East and West Library, 1954], 158–93). See also Pico della Mirandola, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486): The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems, with Text, Translation, and Commentary by Stephen Alan Farmer* (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 518–19. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

2. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Mic 2312, fol. 41r–v.

3. See my "Jewish Magic with a Christian Text: A Hebrew Translation of Ramon Llull's *Ars brevis*," *Traditio* 54 (1999): 283–300, from which parts of the present chapter are drawn.

4. On Pico's kabbalistic conclusions, in addition to works mentioned in note 1 above, see Brian P. Copenhaver, "Number, Shape, and Meaning in Pico's Christian Cabala: The Upright Tsade, the Closed Mem, and the Gaping Jaws of Azazel," in *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 25–76.

5. See J. E. Rubio, *Els bases del pensament de Ramon Llull: Les origens de l' art lulliana* (Valencia: Biblioteca Sanchis Guarner, 1997).

6. For a detailed exposition of the Art, see Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

7. See *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, ed. Anthony Bonner, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 1:60; and Anthony Bonner and M. I. Ripoll Perelló, *Dictionary of Lullian Definitions* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2002), 117–18.

8. See Bonner, *Art and Logic and Ramon Llull*, 121–28

9. See C. Lohr, "Metaphysics," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 541.

10. See Bonner, *Art and Logic of Ramon Llull*, 128–34. See also the quotation from Llull's *Quaestiones Attrebatenses*, cited in ibid., 101.

11. See C. Lohr, "Christianus arabicus cuius nomen Raimundus Lullus," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 31 (1984): 57–88, and his "Metaphysics," 538–45.

12. See Eusebio Colomer, *Nikolaus von Kues und Ramon Llull, aus Handschriften der Kueser Bibliothek* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961); Walter Andreas Euler, *Unitas et Pax: Religionsvergleich bei Raimundus Lullus und Nikolaus von Kues* (Würzburg: Telos Verlag, 1995), 151–246. On the university in Padua, see Charles B. Schmitt, "Aristotelianism in the Veneto and the Origins of Modern Science: Some Considerations on the Problem of Continuity," in *Atti del convegno internazionale su Aristotelismo veneto e scienza moderna*, ed. Luigi Olivieri, vol. 1 (Padua: Antenore, 1983), reprinted in Schmitt, *The Aristotelian Tradition and Renaissance Universities* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984).

13. Miguel Batllori, "El lullisme a Itàlia: Esbós de síntesi," in *Ramon Llull i el lullisme: Obra completa*, ed. Eulàlia Duran (Valencia: E. Climent, 1993), 282–83.

14. See Miguel Batllori, "Giovanni Pico e il lullismo italiano del quattrocento," in *L'opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella storia dell umanesimo*, ed. Eulàlia Duran, 2 vols. (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1965), 2:7–16; and Batllori, "Lullisme a Itàlia," 251–85, which surveys the different collections of Lullian manuscripts. Pol and his library have been studied by Max Harold Fisch, *Nicolaus Pol Doctor, 1494* (New York: Reichner, 1947).

15. See Batllori, "Lullisme a Itàlia," 256–60, 274–76.

16. In "Jewish Magic with a Christian Text," I suggested that the manuscript used by the translator was Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi A IV. 105, from the fifteenth century. This manuscript came into the hands of one Johannes de Ulma, who was at Padua and got a doctorate at the university in 1444. This supposition was supported by the fact that the Hebrew translation seemed to follow the Latin of the manuscripts in this stemma, and that this manuscript is the only one of this group that has figures (like the Hebrew manuscript) and can be placed in Padua. Further detailed study of the Hebrew manuscript, however, particularly the layout of the alphabet in the first section of the *Ars brevis*, suggests that a manuscript now in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (Cod. 4180) was a possible source. The *Ars brevis* is to be found on fols. 239r–250v. The manuscript has different scribes, but on fol. 210v, at the end of the *Taula general*, there is the following: "Scriptum est hoc opus per me Iohannem a. D. 1445 incompleto, in meridie diei s. Poli[carpi?]," and on fol. 283r, at the end of the *Disputatio quinque hominum sapientium:* "Scriptum a. D. 1442 in sabbato, scilicet in die Michaelis archangeli." It is thus possible that this is the same Johannes who purchased a manuscript containing the *Ars brevis* in Padua, and who copied the work, along with other Lullian works in this manuscript, which is clearly a compilation put together at a later date. Yet there is a further complication. Some of the readings in the Hebrew translation are closer to manuscripts such as Oxford, Corpus Christi, 247, also from the fifteenth century, e.g., in the second triangle of figure T (fol. 2r), where the Hebrew has an additional sentence—"In the first letter, there are three species which are cause, quantity and time"—found only in this and two other manuscripts. But the setting out of the alphabet in these manuscripts does not match the Hebrew text. For an analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Ars brevis*, see *Raimundi Lulli opera latina XII*, ed. Aloisius Madre, CCCM 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 176–81; for a description of the manuscripts, see x–xliii. Even if Alemanno did not see the manuscript in Padua, the colophon of the Hebrew translation demonstrates his importance for the group of scholars studying the *Ars brevis*. See also Moshe Idel, "The Study Curriculum of Johanan Alemanno" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 48 (1979): 304–12.

17. On these two scholars and their connections with Pico, see Chaim Wirszubski, *Between the Lines: Kabbalah, Christian Kabbalah, and Sabbatianism* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Y. L. Magnes, 1990), 13–48; Wirszubski, *Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism*, 69–118; and F. Lelli, "Un collaboratore ebreo di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Yohanan Alemanno," *Vivens Homo* 5 (1994): 401–30. See also David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1981); and Ruderman, "The Italian Renaissance and Jewish Thought," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. A. Rabil Jr., 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 1:385–87, 397–404. Alemanno was proud of his connections with Pico and that their names were so similar. In the introduction to his commentary on Song of Songs, Alemanno wrote, "my master Count Jhoanni della Mirandola, my name is like his, Yohanan . . . named Ashkenazi in Hebrew and Aleman in Latin." See J. Perles, "Les savants juifs a Florence a l'époque de Laurent de Médicis," *Revue des Études Juives* 12 (1886): 255–56.

18. See Daniel Carpi, "Rabbi Judah Messer Leon and His Activities as a Doctor" [in Hebrew], *Korot* 6, nos. 7–8 (1974), appendix 1, 295, for the document awarding Alemanno his doctorate in philosophy and medicine. On the Jews of Padua, see Daniel Carpi, "The Jews of Padua During the Renaissance, 1369–1509" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1967). See also P. Cesare Ioly Zorattori, "Note per la storia degli ebrei sefaraditi a Padova," *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 58, nos. 1–2 (1992): 97–110. The university in Padua attracted many foreign students, and Jews studying medicine were able to attend the university. The aforementioned Elijah del Medigo actually taught at the university. He was not a member of the faculty, but it was there that Pico first made his acquaintance. Other Jewish doctors, among them Judah Messer Leon, were also connected with the university. See Umberto Cassuto, *Gli ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1965), 282–99, esp. 284; M. David Geffen, "Insights into the Life and Thought of Elijah del Medigo Based on His Published and Unpublished Works," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 41–42 (1973–74): 69–86; Ruderman, "Italian Renaissance and Jewish Thought," 385–95; Carpi, "Rabbi Judah Messer Leon," 287–90; and Harvey J. Hames, "Elia del Medico: An Archetype of the Halachic Man?" *Traditio* 56 (2001): 213.

19. See his *Collecteanae*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2234 (Reggio 23).

20. Alemanno knew and studied the Hebrew version of Ibn al-Sid al-Batalyawsi's *Katab al-Hada'iq* (Book of the Imaginary Circles), in which the concept of a ladder (an allegory for the universal soul) for ascending from earth to the agent intellect appears. Alemanno's adaptation of this motif in his

'Einei ha-'Edah, a commentary on Genesis, influenced Pico's formulation of the ladder used for ascent and descent in his *Oratio*. See Moshe Idel, "The Ladder of Ascension: The Reverberations of a Medieval Motif in the Renaissance," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, ed. Isadore Twersky, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979, 1984), 2:83–88.

21. Based on Prov. 18:10. See also Abraham Abulafia, *Sefer Or ha-Sechel*, ed. Amnon Gross (Jerusalem, 2001), 78–80.

22. These words seem to indicate another name for Pinhas or his father, Nethanel.

23. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Mic 2312, fol. 41r–v.

24. Pinhas Tzvi copied and translated from Latin. He translated a work titled *Luah Lada'at ha-Ma'aluh ha-Smeha* [A Table for Calculating the *Pars fortuna*], as can be seen in Warsaw, Zydowski Instytut Historyczny, 253, fols. 85r–87r. Joseph also copied the thirteenth-century author Petrus Hispanus's *Summulae logicales*, translated into Hebrew by Abraham Avigdor of Montpellier (b. 1351), found in London, British Library, Add. 18227. Interestingly, the colophon reads, "In strength, the copiest who does no damage, until an ass will ascend the ladder of which our father Jacob dreamt, Joseph Foah."

25. Alemanno records such an experience at the age of thirty-five in his *Hay Olamim* [The Immortal], 57b, as Idel has discussed in "Study Curriculum," 318.

26. On the motif of the divine kiss (*mitat neshikah*) in Jewish literature, see Michael A. Fishbane, *The Kiss of God: Spiritual and Mystical Death in Judaism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 3–50.

27. In his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, in *Opera omnia*, 1:317, Pico uses the image of Jacob's ladder to describe the ascent of the pure soul to God. See Idel, "Ladder of Ascension," 83–88. In a footnote (note 31) in this article, Idel suggests that Llull's ladder is a *scala intellectus* rather than a *scala naturae*. The ladder of being, or *scala naturae*, plays an important role in many of Llull's works, including the *Ars brevis*—the ninth part of which treats the *novem subiecta*, which are the ladder of being, *Felix*, where it provides the framework of the whole book, the *Arbre de ciencia*, and the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus*.

28. See Yohanan Alemanno, *Heshek Shlomo*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Or. 832, fol. 120v. See also B. C. Novak, "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Jochanan Alemanno," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 145. See also Perles, "Savants juifs a Florence": "For the past twenty years I have considered elucidating the words of this Solomonic song" (253), and "new and old solutions are from God, and He granted me [Johanan] a little [of these solutions] for the past twenty years" (255).

29. See Alemanno, *Song of Solomon's Ascent*, in Arthur Michael Lesley, "The *Song of Solomon's Ascent* by Yohanan Alemanno: Love and Human Perfection According to a Jewish Colleague of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1976), 1:76.

30. As Moshe Idel has shown, there are grounds for understanding Jewish influence on the Hermetic corpus, and for the identification of Hermes with Enoch. See his "Hermeticism and Judaism," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 59–62.

31. For an overview of Solomon's reputation and the late antique and medieval works attributed to him, still useful is E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949; reprint, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), esp. "The Solomonic Cycle," 47–89. General information also can be found in Dennis C. Duling, "The Legend of Solomon the Magician in Antiquity: Problems and Perspectives," *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society* 4 (1984): 1–23; and Sarah Iles Johnston, "The *Testament of Solomon*, from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Louvain: Peeters, 2002). For information on medieval Solomonic works, especially those circulating in manuscript, see Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, "Le secret dans la magie rituelle médiévale," *Micrologus* 14 (2006): 101–50; and Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiévale (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), esp. 145–55.

32. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Or. 832, fol. 129r–v.

33. See Lesley, "*Song of Solomon's Ascent*," 1:175–80. See also Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Or. 832, fol. 124v: "and in the allegorical sense it indicates that the spirit will not wish to

ascend the mountain of the Lord [*har adonai*] until it has entered the courtyard of the king." The courtyard refers to the tenth *sefirah, Malchut*, and the ascent of the mountain refers to the sixth *sefirah, Tiferet*. Note the similarity between this and the imagery of the colophon quoted above. It is interesting to note that according to Llull, in the section of the *Ars brevis* dealing with definitions, "Gloria est ipsa delectatio, in qua bonitas, etc. quiescunt" (212).

34. Alemanno also considered Moses a magician who manipulated the emanations from the *sefirot* in order to perform the miracles reported in the Bible. See Moshe Idel, "The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance," in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. David B. Ruderman (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 123–24.

35. See Lesley, "*Song of Solomon's Ascent*," 1:149. On the centrality of the temple, see Haviva Pedaya, "The Divinity as Place and Time and the Holy Place in Jewish Mysticism," in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. B. Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi-Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 84–111. It is worth comparing Alemanno's ideas on the *mors osculi* with those of Pico as expressed in his "Commento sopra una canzone d' amore," in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Florence: Vallecchi, 1942), 557–58, and in his *Conclusiones cabalisticae secundum opinionem propriam*, in *Opera omnia*, 1:107 (nos. 11 and 13).

36. Lesley, "*Song of Solomon's Ascent*," 1:132.

37. This implied polemic against the Christocentric view is perhaps further emphasized by Alemanno's terminology. In the *Heshek Shlomo*, he talks about the "new spirit—*ruah hadashah*" in the man trying to cleave to the divine. This "new spirit," exemplified by Solomon, can be seen in opposition to the Christian "Holy Spirit," which helps man achieve grace through the mediation of Christ. See Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Or. 832, fols. 121r, 125r, 126v.

38. This is indeed what Alemanno does in a study curriculum that he sets out in his *Collecteanae*. The highest levels of achievement are based on the study of non-Jewish magical sources because they have recorded Solomon's ancient wisdom. See Idel, "Study Curriculum," 310–12, 321–28.

39. This is *magia naturalis*, which, while it changes the course of nature, works according to preconceived laws that are known and understood by the practitioner. There is no arbitrary change of nature. See Moshe Idel, *Hasidism: Between Ecstasy and Magic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 81; and Moshe Idel, *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), 173–75.

40. On these typologies of Kabbalah, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1946), 119–55, 205–43 and Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), xi–xx, 112–55. See also Idel, *Hasidism*, 45–102. The supposed dichotomy between these typologies has lately begun to be questioned by some scholars, for example Haviva Pedaya, "'*Ahuzim be-Dibbur*': An Investigation of the Ecstatic-Prophetic Trend Among the Early Kabbalists" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 65, no. 4 (1996): 565–636. For a discussion of Abraham Abulafia's understanding of the different types of Kabbalah, see Elliot R. Wolfson, "The Doctrine of Sefirot in the Prophetic Kabbalah of Abraham Abulafia," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 2, no. 4 (1995): 336–71; and 3, no. 1 (1996): 47–84.

41. See Idel, "Study Curriculum," 317.

42. Alemanno informs the reader in *Hay Olamim* that in 1470 he was thirty-five years old, meaning that if he followed his own study curriculum, he would have been in the last of the seven-year cycles while in Padua. See Lesley, "*Song of Solomon's Ascent*," 1:261; and Novak, "Pico della Mirandola," 126.

43. See Idel, "Study Curriculum," 313–24.

44. On Abulafia, see Harvey J. Hames, *Like Angels on Jacob's Ladder: Abraham Abulafia, the Franciscans, and Joachimism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), along with the many studies of Moshe Idel, and Elliot R. Wolfson, *Abraham Abulafia—Kabbalist and Prophet: Hermeneutics, Theosophy, and Theurgy* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2000). See also Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 119–55.

45. See Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, 148–49.

46. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Mic 2312, fol. 1r–v.

47. See, for instance, Abraham Abulafia, *Sefer Mezaref la-Kesef ve-Kur la-Zahav*, 21, printed in *Hayei ha-Nefesh*, ed. Amnon Gross (Jerusalem, 2001), and Abraham Abulafia, *Hayei ha-Olam ha-Ba*, ed. Amnon Gross (Jerusalem, 1999).

48. In his *Song of Solomon's Ascent,* Alemanno talks about the "spiritual force of the letters," in other words, the letters as talismanic objects by permutation of which the divine influx can be harnessed. See Idel, *Hasidism,* 158. See also Alemanno's *Collecteanae,* Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2234 (Reggio 23), fol. 95v, where the magical potential of drawing down the divine influx by combination of letters is further attested.

49. See Lesley, "*Song of Solomon's Ascent,*" 2:582–604, particularly 589.

50. *Pico's 900 Theses,* in *Syncretism in the West,* 518–21, 11>1, 11>2.

51. It has been suggested that Pico could have been in contact with Alemanno in 1486, and I followed this suggestion in "Jewish Magic with a Christian Text." This assumption was based on the mention of a "Johanan ebrei," commenting on the virtues of Solomon's Song of Songs in Pico's *Commento,* written that year. However, Saverio Campanini has shown very clearly that Pico's "Johanan ebrei" is based on Mithridates' translation for Pico of the *Sefer ha-Bahir,* where the saying in praise of the Song of Songs, attributed in the Talmud to Rabbi Akiba, is brought in the name of Rabbi Yohanan. See Flavius Mithridates, *The Book Bahir: Flavius Mithridates' Latin Translation, the Hebrew Text, and an English Translation,* ed. and trans. Saverio Campanini (Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2005), 95–98. For the passage, see Pico's "Commento sopra una canzone d' amore," 535. In the "Commento" printed in the Basel 1573 edition of Pico's *Opera omnia,* 1:912, the relevant passage is missing.

8

LANGUAGE, SECRECY, AND THE MYSTERIES OF LAW: THEURGY AND THE CHRISTIAN KABBALAH OF JOHANNES REUCHLIN

Elliot R. Wolfson

The Christian Kabbalah expounded by Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) has been the subject of an impressive number of scholarly studies.[1] In this chapter, I investigate an aspect of his intellectual and spiritual—one might say inspirational—project that has not, in my judgment, received adequate attention, to wit, his appropriation and reinscription of the theurgical explication of ritual, a central component of the Jewish esoteric tradition from its inception.[2] Beyond the particular case of Reuchlin, an analysis of this theme may shed light on a somewhat neglected dimension of the attraction of kabbalistic tradition for Christian thinkers, philosophers, and theologians in the Renaissance, a powerful force that continued to reverberate and inform the cultural-literary history of the West until today.[3]

To cast my argument in bold relief, let me begin by mentioning Moshe Idel's suggestion that the "basic change that the theosophical Kabbalah underwent in the Christian presentation is the obliteration of the theurgical nature of this mystical lore." Whereas the "core of the theosophical Jewish Kabbalah" is predicated on the presumed affinity between human activity—or, to be more precise, the performance of commandments on the part of the Jews—and the nature of the divine world, Christian Kabbalah "is not so much a way to experience reality and to explain the meaning of human action . . . but much more a kind of gnosis—a collection of concepts explaining the map of the divine world."[4] Given Christian antipathy to Jewish ritual through the ages, this is surely a reasonable and defensible claim, but the matter nonetheless demands careful scrutiny, if for no other reason then at least on account of the fact that theurgy was understood to be an integral part of ancient Hermeticism,[5] a teaching/practice, a path, congruent with kabbalistic lore in the syncretistic minds of Renaissance Christian kabbalists.[6]

In support of this point, it should be recalled that, according to the taxonomy of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), articulated in the first of the seventy-one *Conclusiones cabalisticae,* in great measure indebted to the distinction used by the thirteenth-century kabbalist Abraham Abulafia between *qabbalat ha-sefirot* and *qabbalat ha-shemot,*[7] Jewish esoteric wisdom—in Pico's terminology the "science of Kabbalah" (*scientiam Cabale*)—comprises two parts, speculative and practical, the doctrine of the ten luminous emanations and the art of combining letters that make up the names of God.[8] Commenting on this, Chaim Wirszubski wisely remarked that it is not surprising "that Pico related practical Kabala to metaphysics and theology: the connection between theurgy and theology is almost as old as Neoplatonism itself, not excluding Christian Neoplatonism."[9]

Pentagram and the Mystery of Incarnation

The influence of Pico's linking *magia naturalis* and Kabbalah[10] is patently discernible in Reuchlin.[11] Indeed, in Reuchlin's first philosophical work, *De verbo mirifico,* published in 1494, a trialogue between the Epicurean Sidonius, the Jew Baruchias, and the Christian Capnion, he offers a *prisca theologia* predicated on the assumption that the secrets cultivated by Jews relate to the inner power of divine names, a power that derives from the unique status of Hebrew as the origin of all languages.[12] In the opening letter of the treatise, Reuchlin declares that his task is "to elucidate the occult property of names; and so from these, and from such numerous and great names, the occasion of our finally choosing one supreme, wonder-working and blessed name may the more easily present itself."[13] The "wonder-working word" alluded to in the title is not the tetragrammaton, the *shem ha-meforash,* as Jewish kabbalists unanimously would presume, but the pentagrammaton, the four letters of the name, YHWH, with the *shin* inserted in the middle, vocalized as *Yehoshua,* the mystical name of Jesus. To be sure, Baruchias ascribes extraordinary power to the tetragrammaton, the most potent of divine names disclosed by God to Moses; this name, which Sidonius compares to the Pythagorean *tetractys,*[14] contains the vitality of all things, the divine beneficence that bestows light on the variegated life forms of our world; hence one who learns how to utter it in prayer can perform miraculous things that supersede the natural order. In effect, recitation of the name—with proper mystical intent—affords one the opportunity to emulate God, who alone was the "founder and teacher of this impossible pronunciation" ("idem quoque impossibilis pronunciationis institutor et praeceptor est"). The revelation of the name YHWH to Moses thus endowed humanity with the capacity to become divine.[15]

It is, however, the name YHSWH, discussed at length in the third book, that discloses the unique standpoint of Christian Kabbalah. Apparently inspired by Pico's reflections in the fourteenth and fifteenth theses of the *Conclusiones cabalisticae* on the name of Jesus (*nomen Iesu*) and the name of Messiah (*nomen messiae*),[16] the former described as revealed and the latter as concealed,[17] Reuchlin notes that by adding *shin* to YHWH, the ineffable is rendered audible. Inasmuch as this letter signifies the Son of God,[18] it may be further adduced that the pentagrammaton instructs one about the mystery of incarnation; the liturgical utterance of the ineffable name—a paradoxical and absurd gesture, indeed, the impossible gesture, the gesture of impossibility—points to the miracle of transubstantiation of the word made flesh, the ultimate mystery of faith, the secret of the (non)phenomenalizable phenomenon of the secret.[19] The onomastic distinction is rendered typologically, in line with a long trajectory of Christological exegesis: YHWH is linked to the covenant of Moses and YHSWH to the new covenant.[20] The critical point for the purposes of this study is to note that Reuchlin, already in his early work, closely following the approach of Pico, affirmed an intricate connection between Kabbalah and a theurgical conception of the divine name. Precisely this knowledge privileged the Jewish mystical tradition as the most sublime articulation of occult philosophy,[21] combining contemplation and magic, a synthesis that made it possible for Reuchlin (and, by implication, other Christian believers) to embrace the ritual efficacy of Kabbalah even while upholding the long-standing rejection of rabbinic law on the part of the church as an effective means for atonement and deliverance.[22]

Theurgy, Salvation, and the Art of Kabbalah

Reuchlin elaborates the theurgical aspect of Kabbalah in his more mature treatise *De arte cabalistica.* A passage in the concluding section of the first book is especially noteworthy: Reuchlin remarks that the kabbalist's "intimate friendship with the angels" affords him the opportunity to learn about the divine names in order to perform miracles. On account of these wondrous deeds, "spiteful cynics" have wrongly called kabbalists "sly magicians."[23] Reuchlin is quick to point out, however, that the "skills of Kabbalah tend to work for the good of man, while the poison of false magic leads to their downfall. The one employs the names of ghosts and evil spirits, the other uses the names of light and the blessed angels."[24] The discussion ends abruptly, as the Jewish interlocutor does not want to betray his "kabbalistic creed" by unearthing matters on Sabbath pertaining to Sabbatai, that is, Saturn, the "highest secret mystery."[25]

The reference to gnosis about Saturn imparting the "highest secret mystery," and the connection Reuchlin makes between it and Sabbath, are surely deserving of explication,[26] but what is especially important to point out for the limited scope of my analysis is the centrality of the theurgical dimension in Reuchlin's understanding of the art of Kabbalah. In spite of his unwavering rejection of the nomian approach to salvation of the soul, in the aforementioned passage Reuchlin is careful to portray the Jewish exponent of the mystical knowledge as one who would not dishonor the Sabbath by explicating occult matters. This is all the more surprising given the emphasis Reuchlin places on the theurgical efficacy of the divine names as a vital component of Kabbalah. As he puts it quite early on in the trialogue, cleverly transforming an older motif attested in Jewish mystical sources regarding the transmission of esoteric knowledge to Adam from the angel Raziel,[27] the "first Kabbalah" (*prima Cabala*), the "highest and most holy revelation" that "encapsulates all the principles of Kabbalah, all the traditions concerning the divine, knowledge of heaven, visions of the prophets, and meditations of the blessed," is contained in Raziel's "announcement of primordial salvation" (*primordialis salutis nuncia*) to notify Adam that the transgression of eating from the Tree of Knowledge would be rectified by the fruit of the Tree of Life's being bestowed upon humankind by the "man of peace," whose name contains the letters YHWH, an obvious allusion to Jesus, whose name in Hebrew can be spelled as YHSWH, a theme to which I have already referred.[28] In another passage, Reuchlin relates to this tradition more explicitly when he notes that the proper name of the Messiah consists of the "four holy letters by which, as with marks and symbols, the ineffable is represented, together with the consonant *shin*, the way the ineffable is named. (In Kabbalah it is common to explain *shin* by Notaricon as standing for *shem yhwh niqra*,[29] that is, 'The ineffable is called YHWH.')"[30]

I shall return to the Christological implications of this characterization of Kabbalah as a doctrine of salvation that reverses the import of original sin, but suffice it to say at this juncture that, in Reuchlin's mind, Kabbalah is connected essentially to gnosis of the pentagram, which has both contemplative and theurgical dimensions; that is, knowledge of the name is the means by which the soul separates from the body and becomes angelic, an angelification that in turn facilitates the performance of miracles that exceed the empirical confines of nature; the ultimate goal of Kabbalah is to provide a path that leads to liberation from the imprisonment of the soul in corporeal materiality, which thereby occasions the allegorical/spiritual realization of the mystery of incarnation. Support for this interpretation may be gleaned from the end of *De arte cabalistica*, where Reuchlin mentions the pentagram in the context of proposing a symmetrical relationship between the tetragrammaton in kabbalistic tradition and the name of Jesus in Christianity: "All that the Kabbalists can do through the ineffable Name with the signs and characters . . . can be done in a much stronger way by faithful Christians through the effable name *IESV* with the sign of the Cross that belongs to it. They believe that they have much the best pronunciation of the Name of the Tetragrammaton in the name of *YHSWH*, the true Messiah."[31] Theurgy, for Reuchlin, is expressive of an incarnational eschatology whose meaning is explicable only on the basis of knowledge of the mysteries of the law cultivated by kabbalists.[32]

In the remainder of this study, I explore the complex reinscription of the theurgical orientation, inextricably bound to the notion of the mysteries of the law (*sitrei torah*), in a system of thought that is on the face of it unambiguously hostile to the law and the ceremonial dimension of Judaism. The particular vantage point from which I examine this theme in Reuchlin's thinking is his adaptation of a fundamental tenet of kabbalists regarding the nexus between language and secrecy.

Prophetic Visualization and Contemplative Ascesis

In *De arte cabalistica*, Reuchlin presents Simon ben Eleazar (identified as a member of the family of Simeon ben Yoḥai, the master of the imaginary fraternity depicted in zoharic literature)[33] as the Jewish sage who imparts the ancient wisdom of Kabbalah to his fellow disputants, Philolaus the Pythagorean philosopher and Marranus the Muslim. In Reuchlin's view, the ultimate importance of Judaism lies in its preservation of the archaic wisdom that contains the theological truths of Christianity. In this matter Reuchlin adopts the hermeneutical axiom formulated by Pico, his mentor in matters of Jewish esotericism: the main theological tenets of Christianity are to be found in kabbalistic lore and thus, as a matter of polemical stratagem, the theological error of the Jews can be demonstrated from their own literary legacy.[34] Following Pico, moreover, as well as other late fifteenth-century Florentine Platonists, such as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), Reuchlin's reconstruction is predicated on the view that the source of the "Italian philosophy of the Christian religion" is Pythagoras, whose thought, in turn, originated in Kabbalah.[35] In *De verbo mirifico*, Reuchlin had already spoken of *Pythagoricam Cabalam*, the "Pythagorean Kabbalah."[36] Elaborating on this theme in a letter to Pope Leo X in 1517, the same year *De arte cabalistica* was published, he wrote:

> I believed that you would hardly be displeased if I should make public the doctrines which Pythagoras and the noble Pythagoreans are said to have

> held. . . . But this task could not be accomplished without the cabala of the Jews, because the philosophy of Pythagoras had its origins in the precepts of the cabala, and when in the memory of our ancestors it disappeared . . . it lived again in the volumes of the cabalists. Then all these works were almost completely destroyed. I have therefore written *On the Cabalistic Art,* which is symbolical philosophy, so that the doctrines of the Pythagoreans might be better known to scholars.[37]

In much the same language, in the dedication to Leo X at the beginning of *De arte cabalistica,* Reuchlin writes that his goal is to bring to light the philosophy of Pythagoras, but that this can only be gleaned "from the Hebrew Kabbalah, since it derives in origin from the teachers of Kabbalah, and then was lost to our ancestors, disappearing from Southern Italy into the kabbalistic writings. For this reason, it was almost all destined for destruction, and I have therefore written of the symbolic philosophy of the art of Kabbalah so as to make Pythagorean doctrine better known to scholars."[38] In the opening section of the second book of *De arte cabalistica,* Reuchlin reiterates the point in slightly different language through the persona of Philolaus: "Not even the Greeks could have risen to the heights of these mysteries, and by common consent they are the masters in most fields, with their penetrating minds and facility of expression. Perhaps I must make an exception for my mentor Pythagoras, the father of philosophy. Nevertheless his preeminence was derived not from the Greeks, but again from the Jews."[39]

At another point in the trialogue Philolaus declares, almost in a tone of disbelief, "everything that Simon showed us squares exactly with Italian philosophy, that is, Pythagoreanism. If I declare that Kabbalah and Pythagoreanism are of the same stuff, I will not be departing from the facts. Both disciplines lead to the salvation of the human race."[40] Finally, at the conclusion of the second book, Marranus declares,

> Well, I am coming to the conclusion from your chain of argument that Pythagoras drew his stream of learning from the boundless sea of the Kabbalah . . . and that Pythagoras had led his stream into Greek pastures from which we, last in the line, can irrigate our studies. What Simon says and thinks about the Kabbalists and what you say and think about the Pythagoreans seem to me to be exactly the same. What other intention has either Pythagoras or a Kabbalist, if not to bring men's minds to the gods, that is, to lead them to perfect blessedness?[41]

The last two quotations highlight the key difference between Reuchlin and his Jewish sources. Simply put, Kabbalah is reinterpreted in an essentially sote-

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> Well, I am coming to the conclusion from your chain of argument that Pythagoras drew his stream of learning from the boundless sea of the Kabbalah . . . and that Pythagoras had led his stream into Greek pastures from which we, last in the line, can irrigate our studies. What Simon says and thinks about the Kabbalists and what you say and think about the Pythagoreans seem to me to be exactly the same. What other intention has either Pythagoras or a Kabbalist, if not to bring men's minds to the gods, that is, to lead them to perfect blessedness?[41]

The last two quotations highlight the key difference between Reuchlin and his Jewish sources. Simply put, Kabbalah is reinterpreted in an essentially soteriological vein as the diffusion of a revelatory tradition that fosters contemplative envisioning of the divine, which in turn brings about release from the world of corporeal embodiment. Reuchlin's approach, which fits into the general framework of Renaissance Neoplatonism and Hermeticism, can be traced more specifically to Pico, who thus began the forty-seventh of his *Conclusiones cabalisticae,* "Just as man and the inferior priest sacrifices to God the souls of irrational animals, so Michael the superior priest sacrifices the souls of rational animals."[42] Drawing on the depiction of the archangel Michael as the celestial high priest attested in ancient Jewish mysticism, Pico contrasts the sacrifice of animals in the earthly temple to the sacrifice of human beings in the heavenly temple. Needless to say, the sacrifice of humans is not meant to be taken literally; it is rather a symbolic expression of a spiritual death occasioned by the contemplative retreat from the mundane. Explicating the matter in more detail in the eleventh of the *Conclusiones cabalisticae,* Pico writes, "The way in which the rational souls are sacrificed by the archangel to God, which is not explained by the Cabalists, only occurs through the separation of the soul from the body, not of the body from the soul except accidentally, as happens in the death of the kiss, of which it is written: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints* (Ps. 116:15)."[43] The reader is told explicitly that the sacrifice of the rational souls refers to the disconnection of the soul from the body, which is also characterized poetically as death by the kiss,[44] another theme well attested in kabbalistic literature including texts that probably influenced Pico.[45] For Reuchlin as well, Kabbalah is essentially about the detachment of the soul from the body, dying to the world through the kiss, which is eternal life.

I have already touched on Reuchlin's approach to Kabbalah as a "contemplative art," but it would be worthwhile to cite some more texts to get a better sense of the nexus between esotericism and soteriology in his thinking: "God has given to men who walk upon the earth nothing they could more desire than this contemplative art, and that kabbalists more than others possess robust intellects and fertile minds; and that nothing admits more of the search for salvation in this world, and everlasting life in the next."[46] "Kabbalah is a matter of divine revelation handed down to further the contemplation of the distinct Forms and of God, contemplation bringing salvation: Kabbalah is the receiving of this through symbols."[47] In a third passage, Kabbalah is said to be based on the notion of "human salvation" that is not susceptible to either rational investigation or verification by sense perception.[48] Significantly, in that context, Reuchlin uses (without specifying his source explicitly) the exegesis of the verse "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in settings of silver" (Prov. 25:11), found in the introduction to *The Guide of the Perplexed* by Maimonides to edify the nature of the parabolic intent of scripture: the silver relates to the outer or literal meaning and the gold to the inner or symbolic.[49] What is most noteworthy is that gold is associated in Reuchlin with Kabbalah proper (*Cabala*) and silver with "kabbalistic art" (*arte cabalistica*), which comprises the "complicated rules and human skills" in which the esoteric teaching is wrapped. This distinction is followed by Reuchlin's referring to another Maimonidean idea cited in Hebrew as a dictum of the kabbalists: "The account of creation is the natural science and the account of the chariot is divine science."[50] In Reuchlin's mind, the literal sense, the kabbalistic art, is correlated with physics since it deals with the material world, and the symbolic sense, the secrets of Kabbalah, with metaphysics or matters that pertain to the intelligible realm.[51]

In the continuation of this discussion, Reuchlin distinguishes Talmudists and kabbalists on grounds that while both acknowledge that there are two worlds, the sensible and the intelligible, Talmudists focus their attention exclusively on the former and kabbalists on the latter.[52] Rabbis, we are told, are preoccupied with "God the creator, the First Cause," and not with "God himself, immanent and absolute," the object of kabbalistic speculation. "It is a safe generalization," concludes Reuchlin, "that, as befits the contrasting lives of action and contemplation, using the same passages of Holy Scripture the Talmudists will extract the message of a slave's fear, while the Kabbalist will extract one of a son's love."[53] Reuchlin acknowledges that kabbalists "keep the Law devoutly," but he insists that they "are more inclined towards contemplation," and thus they are called *anshei ha-iyyun mi-ba'alei ha-torah,* "men of speculation from the masters of Torah." Talmudists are like slaves engaged in matters of this world, which is compared to night, and hence the pietistic quality suitable for them is fear; kabbalists, by contrast, seek to be removed from the social-political arena in order to achieve the "stillness and tranquility of spirit" appropriate to free men in the world to come, which is the true day, and thus for them the motivating factor is love.[54]

Reuchlin uses another Maimonidean notion to express this distinction, again citing a Hebrew dictum without mentioning the name of its author: *kawwanat kelal ha-torah shenei devarim we-hem tiqqun ha-nefesh we-tiqqun ha-guf,* "the intention of the entire Law aims at two perfections, the perfection of the soul and the perfection of the body."[55] The mystical significance of the first letter of Torah, *beit,* is to demarcate the two perfections, physical and psychic, that correspond to the levels of meaning in the text, exoteric and esoteric, which in turn correspond to the two realms of being in the world, sensible and intelligible.[56] Just as Ezekiel beheld the "vision of the glory" (*similitudo gloriae*) from the "wheel within the wheel" (Ezek. 1:17), the one enlightened in esoteric lore discerns the spirit through the veil of the letter. The task of the kabbalist, which confirms the Christian ideal of ascetic piety, is to focus mentally on the inner meaning of scripture so that he may attain a vision of the divine, the ultimate felicity of the soul:[57] "But the man who controls the thoughts in his heart to such an extent that he can expel affairs of the flesh and meditate on spiritual matters enshrined in the Law (*spiritualia legis meditetur*), that man, I say, is blessed, for he will see God with a pure heart."[58] By indulging in this "higher speculation," kabbalists "transcend creation and the creatures" and stand thereby "in the sole emanation of the Deity."[59]

We may conclude, therefore, that in Reuchlin's thinking, the archaic Jewish gnosis is concerned, first and foremost, with soteriology. In Reuchlin's own words, "After the prophets, this expectation of the coming of the Messiah bringing salvation, and all the practice of Kabbalah which is centered directly on the enduring deliverance of the Messiah, circles round it and leads back to it."[60] The "happy kabbalist," Reuchlin writes in another passage, "following the path of received truth that is Kabbalah, breaks out of the shadows, leaps into the circle of lamplight, from here moves on to daylight, and from the clear light of day comes understanding to illumine (within the limits of human ability) that truth of being." The mind of the kabbalist, accordingly, is often "in a state of unutterable delight, rejoicing in spirit, in the depths of inner silence, driving away from itself humdrum earthly matters . . . carried away to the heavenly and the invisible that lies beyond all human sense. Then, though yet a guest of the body, he becomes a fellow of the angels, a sojourner in the home above the heavens: his frequent intercourse may be recognized as being in heaven. When he travels to the higher regions, he does so in the company of angels, he often sees the soul of the Messiah."[61]

Reuchlin has astutely understood the intricate weave of prophetic visualization and eschatological salvation that had long characterized the mystical ideal proffered by kabbalists. Indeed, as various scholars have pointed out, in part criticizing Scholem's surmise that messianism and mysticism do not merge until the sixteenth century, when kabbalists responded to the crisis of the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian peninsula, a messianic impulse is evident from the very beginnings of Kabbalah as a historical phenomenon, as it can be traced through literary sources shaped within discernible cultural contours.[62] I concur with this view, and thus there is a solid textual basis to argue that Reuchlin's messianic interpretation of kabbalistic symbolism is not contrived or imposed from without. Moreover, the emphasis he places on Kabbalah as an ascetic discipline that leads to a vision of God is well attested in kabbalistic texts.[63] Reuchlin perceptively cites the remark of Naḥmanides, albeit generically as a statement of the kabbalists, that "prior to apprehending the vision the soul must depart from oneself" (*ki terem she-yasig li-re'iyyah tiparet nafsho me'alav*),[64] to drive home the point that envisioning God is dependent on the separation of the soul from the body, a simulation of death that is brought about through contemplative practices. As one may deduce from other comments of Naḥmanides, he believed it possible for enlightened kabbalists to undergo this experience—which he refers to in one critical passage as the vision on the part of the "pure souls" of the glory incarnate in the angelic garment that assumes the shape of an anthropos[65]—while in the body, an experience that he links to the biblical injunction to cleave to God, a spiritual conjunction that entails the transformation of the carnal flesh into an astral body, a refurbishment of the divine image with which Adam was created.[66] This would be consistent with Reuchlin's comment (spoken through Marranus) that Simon taught that Kabbalah "leads to the height of blessedness and the greatest happiness," which is identified as "salvation," the "restoration of the human race after the first fall."[67] It is not necessary to belabor the fact that this formulation is indebted to the long-standing Christological interpretation of the Genesis narrative of Adam, Eve, and the Garden of Eden. Yet if we look beyond the immediate, reflex reaction it occasions in those who wish to draw clear boundaries between the two liturgical communities, and thereby ignore the disarray of the particulars that render suspect our taxonomic classifications, then it is not incorrect to say kabbalists have affirmed a view that bears strong similarities to the portrayal of the messianic moment as a rectification and return to the primal state.

Kabbalist Critique of Rabbinic Ritualism

In spite of being well anchored in Jewish texts, the tone of Reuchlin's pronouncements at times bears a distinctively polemical tenor that represents a perspective at odds with the tradition.[68] This dimension of Reuchlin would seem to confirm the observation of Cyril O'Regan that a "Kabbalistic genealogy" sustained by the Christian appropriation of Jewish esotericism is essentially an "anti-Jewish discourse," a tendency already evident in Renaissance Christian kabbalism but exacerbated in the "post-Renaissance and post-Reformation field of narrative."[69] Nevertheless, it seems to me the matter is a bit more complex. In the first instance, Christian kabbalists do not completely reject the theurgical dimension, and thus I would have to disagree with O'Regan's assessment (based on an uncritical acceptance of Idel's interpretation) that the Christological presentation of the occult wisdom of Kabbalah divorced the theosophical and theurgical, leading supposedly to an overemphasis on the speculative over the practical, an orientation reflected in Scholem's approach to Kabbalah as a religious phenomenon.[70]

This is not the place to evaluate the accuracy of Idel's portrayal of Scholem, an undertaking that is obviously necessary before one can accept the theoretical basis for O'Regan's historiographical reconstruction. For my purposes, it is sufficient to emphasize that the matter of ritual and theurgic efficacy is not completely obliterated by Christian proponents of an esoteric Jewish gnosis. Moreover, Scholem was not wrong in intuiting that kabbalists from the thirteenth century proffered a mystical hermeneutic to interpret Torah in its narratological and ritualistic facets. As I have suggested in my own studies, this hermeneutic displays a paradox in both domains. That is, the narratological meaning is to be discerned in the hearing of the ineffable and the ritualistic in the intent to fulfill the law by its surpassing. In contrast to Scholem, I have called this decidedly Pauline understanding of kabbalism "hypernomian" rather than "antinomian."[71]

As a final piece of evidence, consider Reuchlin's distinction between Talmudists who "attempt to make the liberation of the royal Messiah relate to our physical captivity" and kabbalists who "believe that the Messiah will come to free the wretched men of the human race from the chains of the original breach of justice, to let their sins fall, to save the souls of those who loyally serve God, souls our father Adam shut out of eternal life until the Messiah makes amends . . . for he comes to wipe out the guilt of the human race, and to open up the road to virtue."[72] I would not deny, as a number of scholars have noted, that in Jewish kabbalistic texts we can find a portrait of a messianic figure whose primary role is to convert human nature, effecting the reparation (*tiqqun*) that restores the pristine condition prior to the sin of Adam and Eve.[73] I also readily admit that some kabbalists (Abulafia is perhaps the most striking example) have affirmed a more spiritualized understanding of messianic redemption, with a primary focus on attaining a mental state that is effectively a withdrawal from mundane matters rather than the establishment of a different sociopolitical order.[74] Nevertheless, what is troubling in Reuchlin's formulation is the unequivocal distinction between the two facets of the Jewish messianic ideal, spiritual and political, which are preserved in some fashion even by kabbalists inclined more to the former than to the latter.

Notwithstanding the critical marking of Kabbalah as the ground wherein the wellsprings of Christian piety and dogma are to be sought, Reuchlin expresses his enmity toward Judaism as an independent religion that has worn out its usage, persisting in its ritual tenacity even while transmitting the gnosis that leads to its own transcendence and undoing. The crucial remark—which recapitulates many of the most hideous stereotypes of the Jew advanced in medieval Christian sources, both textual and visual—is placed in the mouth of Marranus in a literary setting wherein he reflects on Simon's interrupting a particularly intense discussion on account of the arrival of the Jewish Sabbath:

> And his words have inspired me to meditate on these difficult matters, to the point where I can conceive of nothing I would rather do. Good God!

> A Jew—born, brought up, educated and put to study among Jews. And people consider Jews an uncivilized, superstitious, base, low people, unenlightened strangers to fine learning. Believe me, I wanted to hear more so much that I would have stayed up all night to watch that man's face and listen to him talking. If only this wretched Sabbath had not intervened this evening.[75]

In a second passage, Reuchlin attempts to clarify the Jewish practice of Sabbath observance in response to the comment of Philolaus that the Pythagoreans count every day a holy Sabbath, when they are able to lay aside mundane matters and engage in "joyous meditation." Reuchlin explains the halakhic ritual by referring to the kabbalistic interpretation of Sabbath (based, in part, on a passage from *Sha'arei Orah,* the treatise on the *sefirot* composed in the last decade of the thirteenth century by the Spanish kabbalist Joseph Gikatilla) as a symbolic reference to the world to come (an older idea attested in rabbinic literature that was embellished in medieval forms of religiosity),[76] which he explicates in a decidedly Christological sense:

> This then is the Sabbath of the Kabbalists, to be kept holy for all time. In it we follow the will not of the flesh but of the spirit, we contemplate the divine, giving no attention to what stands against God, for to all the nations he stands for Law, Law that springs from his very nature. As for you, the law of Moses was not brought to you, and Jewish practices do not oblige you to revere this number . . . I shall extort no number from you. I ask only calm and peace of mind, in surrender to God and the divine alone. Such a state is achieved above all in allegorical investigations of the kind we carried out in discussion between us as you so much wanted.[77]

This text demands an analysis that lies beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it to note that Reuchlin has grasped the symbolic intent of the kabbalistic understanding of ritual, and the unbridgeable chasm separating Jew and non-Jew that ensues from this orientation. In the end, however, he must make room for the Christological turn, the swerve on the path, as it were, and thus he assures Philolaus that he need not keep the Jewish Sabbath, for ultimately what really matters is the allegorical significance of the ritual that points to attaining peace of mind and surrender to God, states that are attainable without the agency of halakhic practice.

I note parenthetically that at another juncture in the discussion Reuchlin attempts to deal with the reluctance on the part of kabbalists to teach esoteric matters to non-Jews, an obvious infraction of the need to keep Jews and Gentiles separate. This characterization is not fanciful on Reuchlin's part, as it reflects an attitude well attested in compositions written by Jewish kabbalists since the emergence of Christian Kabbalah from the late fifteenth century.[78] What is striking about the passage from *De arte cabalistica* is that Simon expresses hesitation by stating that his religious obligation prevents him from "exposing hidden, sacred mysteries to outsiders with no initiation into Jewish rites."[79] Since the secretive matters are often withheld from Jews themselves, being found "only in a few scattered books, cloaked in obscurity and disguised in riddles," it is obviously necessary to conceal them from those who have no familiarity with the practical side of Judaism. The "burning desire" of Philolaus and Marranus "to examine the highest matters" offsets the rabbinic admonitions against disclosing secrets, though Simon will still be cautious and demonstrate restraint "in the most difficult of the precepts," for in exposing the mysteries the "barriers have been taken down," and the "sun's light is shed on all without distinction."[80] Here Reuchlin articulates the tension between the rabbinic propensity to conceal esoteric matters from unworthy recipients and the yearning of Christians to gain access to the inner dimension of Jewish tradition. What is especially noteworthy is Reuchlin's recognition that from the perspective of Jewish kabbalists there is no sense in severing law and spirit. In the end, he may vehemently reject law, his view based on the Pauline animosity toward Pharasaic nomianism, but, at the very least, he acknowledges that this would be antithetical to the kabbalists' own way of being.

Reuchlin is accurate in noting that the kabbalists infused traditional rituals with cosmic significance by interpreting them symbolically as referring to the pleroma of divine potencies. However, his statement that the symbolic exposition of the law in isolation from fulfilling it "lifts the mind to higher things" and "raises it toward the divine"[81] is an obvious departure from the kabbalists he cites, who have always tried to uphold the literal application together with the symbolical interpretation. The privileging of the contemplative over the corporeal in a manner that would obliterate the latter smacks of an overspiritualizing stance that accords with the Christian predilection with regard to the fleshly law of the Jews. The bias is hardly veiled in Reuchlin's observation that "speculation leads to a Kabbalistic sort of understanding of the Law that imbues our minds with spiritual meditation and shapes them as if into its own likeness. This, we reckon, is the meditation on the Law that was handed down to Moses from the mouth of God after the Law had been given to Moses in the fire and the stone tablets had been broken and repaired."[82] In this passage, Reuchlin has reinterpreted the account of the Sinaitic origin of Kabbalah given by Naḥmanides, for whom the revelation consisted of the written and oral Torah, the latter identified more specifically as the oral tradition that engenders decoding the text as composed of divine names.[83] For Reuchlin, the oral tradition given to Moses consisted of the spiritual sense that transcends the literal, a point accentuated by the fact that the oral tradition, which is apprehended by the exegete proficient in the art of Kabbalah transmitted in an unbroken chain of authority, is given to Moses only after the law has been revealed from the fire and the stone tablets broken. From a second passage it is clear that, according to Reuchlin's understanding, Naḥmanides was articulating an originary sense of formlessness of the primordial Torah, a chaotic disarray of the letters.[84] The scrambled nature of this text, coupled with the lack of vocalization, allows for multiple readings that are determined by the various forms of kabbalistic exegesis, including letter transposition and numerology.[85] Departing from his source, however, Reuchlin understands the construction of the scriptural text through the different hermeneutical modes as a response to the breaking of the original Torah, which comprised moral laws and ceremonial rites. Needless to say, this is a crucial reversal of the kabbalistic teaching proffered by Naḥmanides, for whom the oral Torah, or the Torah scripted upon the forearm of God in black fire on white fire, is the primordial text (an uninterrupted sequence of divine names) that precedes the written Torah, conventionally divided into narrative and law. One cannot imagine Naḥmanides, or for that matter any kabbalist articulating the Judaic perspective, describing the Torah in its mystical valence as reparation of the shattered tablets of the covenant.

Alphabetical Kabbalah in a Christological Key

As I have already noted, Reuchlin depicts Pythagoreanism in much the same light, as a "symbolic philosophy" that leads to the salvation of humanity, construed as escaping from the corporeal world.[86] There is, however, one issue that distinguishes Kabbalah and the ancient Italian philosophy: the theurgic efficacy accorded the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and in particular the divine names that derive from the tetragrammaton. In one passage Reuchlin speaks tellingly of the "alphabetical Kabbalah" (*alphabeticaria hec Cabala*) through which "are laid open the greatest mysteries of the divine" (*arcana diuinorum maxima*).[87] To be sure, for Reuchlin, the distinction I have made is not viable, for he earnestly believed that the "alphabetical numerical mode"[88] of Hebrew promulgated by kabbalists is affirmed as well in ancient Pythagorean thought. Thus he observes that the "higher speculation" elucidated by kabbalists, which is focused chiefly on the alphabet, occasions a return to childhood that he identifies as the "Pythagorean rebirth."[89] One should also recall that in *De verbo mirifico* Reuchlin expresses the view that the power of the names, the essence of the ancient Hebraic wisdom, was transmitted to the Greek philosophers Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, and hence we can retrieve "Mosaic vestiges" in their thought.[90]

In spite of his sincere intentions, however, from a critical standpoint we can and must distinguish the perspective that is unique to the kabbalists. Reuchlin himself, in consonance with Pico,[91] maintains that the theurgical efficacy of the divine names stems from the assumption that Hebrew is the "fount of all languages," compared to which all other languages are impoverished. Even though a comparable link between the linguistic and mathematical is found in the philosophical ruminations of the school of Pythagoras, Reuchlin extols the supremacy of Hebrew by concluding that there is "no other language in the world whose letters so perfectly show any number."[92] The dependence of kabbalistic praxis on Hebrew is so intricate that "only with great difficulty" can it "be translated into the speech of other nations."[93] The assumption regarding the unique status of Hebrew fostered by Kabbalah underlies the desire and demand on the part of Reuchlin and other Christian kabbalists to study the language of the Jews. The indelible link between linguistic mastery and esoteric knowledge is made explicit in a letter Reuchlin wrote in 1508: "I assure you that not one of the Latins can expound the Old Testament unless he first becomes proficient in the language in which it was written. For the mediator between God and man was language, as we read in the Pentateuch; but not any language, only Hebrew, through which God wished his secrets to be made known to man."[94] Reuchlin's literary *vita* illustrates the extent to which he remained true to his belief that knowledge of Hebrew is foundational for Christian faith. In 1506 he published *De rudimentis hebraica*, a Hebrew grammar; in 1512, *In septem psalmos poenitentiales*, a translation of the seven penitential psalms and a commentary; and, in 1518, *De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae*, a treatise on accents, pronunciation, and synagogue music. I concur, therefore, with the observation that Reuchlin's "study of Hebrew was almost as much a religious exercise as a scholarly preoccupation."[95]

The distinctive rank accorded Hebrew supplied Reuchlin with the ultimate argument in his 1510 legal opinion written to advocate against Christians' confiscation and destruction of Jewish books.[96] Reuchlin uses a similar line of reasoning in the dedication of *De accentibus*, addressed to Cardinal Adrian, noting that the importance of learning Hebrew was "to give youth, bent upon studying languages, a leader under whose banner they would be able to fight, if need be, with those ferocious and rabid dogs who hated all good arts; against the disease and pestilence of everything old; against the burners of books who thirsted for the destruction and extermination of the most ancient monuments. As an old man he might cease to teach elements of grammar, but his zeal for the spread of the study of Hebrew makes him forget all objections."[97] G. Lloyd Jones has articulated the widely accepted view that Reuchlin's interest in the Jewish mystical tradition "was a driving force behind his determination to master Hebrew and safeguard the existence of Hebraic literature."[98] Reuchlin's defense of safeguarding Jewish books cannot be isolated from his acceptance of the widespread kabbalistic presumption that Hebrew is the matrix through which all things are created.

The inherent theurgical potency of the letters—a cornerstone of Jewish esotericism—and the kabbalistic understanding of language as the locus of secrecy captivated Reuchlin's imagination. Particularly important is the third book of *De arte cabalistica,* which includes lengthy discussions (buttressed by translations of primary texts) of the different names of God and angels. Special significance is accorded the tetragrammaton, the name that signifies the ineffable, invisible, and unknowable essence of God, the source of all creation, the *alef* that is the beginning that emerges from the "infinite sea of Nothingness." Just as there is no end to the divine substance, there can be no terminus to the mysteries of the tetragrammaton. This, according to Reuchlin, is the true intent of the traditional idiom *shem ha-meforash,* that is, the name "that explains the essence of God."[99] Knowledge of the name empowers one with wisdom that is theosophical and theurgical.

The inability to separate these two dimensions is made especially clear in Reuchlin's comments on the seventy-two-letter name, which, according to the tradition, is derived exegetically from Exodus 14:19–21 (216 consonants divided into seventy-two triplets). In Reuchlin's presentation, the seventy-two names are "one symbolic name," which points to the "good, great God" through "many varied angelic methods." Kabbalists "greatly worship and venerate these names" because through them they "work unutterably wonderful miracles."[100] To substantiate the point textually, Reuchlin quotes from the fourteenth-century Italian kabbalist Menaḥem Recanati, who wrote in his commentary to the aforementioned biblical verses, "The letters flutter above in the essence of the chariot and they are appointed to carry out every matter, and their efficacy is known to kabbalists."[101] Recanati's words are a commentary on a passage in an earlier midrashic work, the *Letters of Rabbi Akiva,* cited by Reuchlin himself, that portrays the emergence of the seventy-two-letter name from before the throne of glory in crowns of fire. The theological danger is to believe that the angelic forces are the causal agents in the universe, a belief that would amount to superstition at best and idolatry at worst; what is acceptable, indeed the mystical truth, is that the angels are the names by which God exercises his providential care. The singular contribution of Kabbalah is to recognize the onomastic nature of the angels. In virtue of the knowledge of the angelic hosts, masters of Kabbalah access the tetragrammaton, "the name through which a man can effect miracles, by acting as a fellow-worker and as a delegate from God."[102]

Precisely on account of the potency of the names bestowed upon one who acquires knowledge of them, Reuchlin envisions the theurgical activity in contemplative terms. This is illustrated, for instance, in his comment that by means of the relevant verses in Psalms that yield the seventy-two names, the kabbalists "lift their minds as high as they can go towards God and, surrounded by such great praise, courageously ascend from angel to angel, always reaching from one to the next into the sublime. The angels help them in their task so that they leave secular care behind and are carried as far as they are able to God, like light feathers wafted up by the lightest of breaths to the sublime regions of heaven."[103] The mental ascent culminates in an apprehension of the one name, the tetragrammaton, which comprises the other names. Reuchlin affirms another standard kabbalistic principle, indebted particularly to the formulation of Gikatilla: Torah in its mystical essence relates to the *sefirot,* which correspond to the names that all emanate from the four-letter name. Insofar as the Torah equals the name, and the name comprises all the other letters of the Hebrew alphabet, it follows that each of the letters is transposed mystically into a divine name.[104] It is this theosophic assumption that underlies Reuchlin's assertion that "the holy letters . . . bring us to admiration of divine matters and then bind us fast to them in love."[105] For all the aversion Reuchlin shows in relation to Jewish ritual, his unwavering commitment to Kabbalah leads him to enunciate a quintessentially Jewish proclivity whereby Torah study becomes the preeminent means by which one is conjoined to God. Thus, as Simon reminds his partners in trialogue, indubitably reflecting the viewpoint adopted by Reuchlin, the combinations of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet delineated in *Sefer Yetsirah* "should not be understood in any boorish or uneducated way, for every one of them is the Spirit. . . . We must contemplate them spiritually with great joy for they have not been handed down to us for denigration or mockery but for us to embrace the mysteries of Scripture with pious faith. By trusting in the letters we shall find it easier to speculate on higher things."[106] Just as the word of God was disclosed to Moses through a cloud, so one can discern the secrets hidden in the letters. Indeed, the spirit cannot be seen except through the body of the text, for the mystery of the name is cloaked in the garment of the letter.

The magical impact of the science of letter permutation and the manipulation of cosmic forces based thereon are inevitable consequences of the kabbalistic assumption regarding the ontological standing of Hebrew as the "basis of the world and of the Law."[107] Reuchlin thus approvingly records accounts about creating a golem[108] and the writing of amulets by means of divine names.[109] Nevertheless, the ultimate significance of this wisdom lies in the spiritual value it has for the adept, making possible the exegetical comprehension of the secrets of the revealed word of God. "We shall proceed through the combinations of the twenty-two alphabets until with careful, prudent and unflagging diligence we reach the highest and first alphabet. We need to run through each combination carefully until the voice of God becomes clear and the text of Sacred Scripture is opened up and offered to us."[110] To the extent that the true being of reality consists of the combinations of letters, which are expressive of the one name that is the essence of God, the "highest and first alphabet," it follows that focusing on the linguistic underpinning of all that exists assists in the redemption from the physical world. "Consideration of all created things leads back, within the bounds of human capability, to understanding of the one Creator. That understanding is our salvation and eternal life. Thus we pass from God, through his Name, back to God. He himself is his own Name of the four letters, which is blessed always to eternity."[111]

Reuchlin apprehended that the Christian doctrine of incarnation finds its ideational basis in the confluence of anthropomorphic and linguistic symbolism that has informed the mythopoeic comportment of kabbalists through the generations.[112] Notably, toward the end of the trialogue, the figure of Marranus draws an analogy between the efficacy of the name of Jesus in Christian faith and the theurgical potency of the tetragrammaton in kabbalistic speculation. I have already referred to this critical passage, but let me reiterate here that for Reuchlin the main point is not only that the name of Jesus assumes a parallel function to YHWH, but also that Christians have a decided advantage over Jews inasmuch as they possess the true name of the Messiah, the pentagram, which renders the ineffable name pronounceable. In what may be called a rhetorically brilliant stroke, Reuchlin has his Jewish character, Simon, respond to Marranus, "Perhaps you are right, but why should you have to use words?" Why, the reader is impelled to ask, should there be a question about using words when the theme being discussed is the effectiveness of words? The comment, it seems, is meant to suggest that the most recondite secret, the secret of the secret, the secret that there is a secret, must remain unspoken. From the perspective of the Jew, this is the situation of the secrets cultivated by Christian kabbalists. Thus, Simon continues in his response:

> At any rate, the better Kabbalist sages tried to liken this figure of the Cross to the tree of the bronze serpent set up in the desert, though they did so silently and secretly. This they did through Gematria, that is, numerical equality, for *tselem*, meaning "Cross," and *ets*, meaning "Tree," both have letters symbolizing one-hundred-and-fifty. So passing from one to another,

> from cross to tree and tree to cross, is easy. But I put a finger to my lips, Time is brief, my good friends, and I am restricted from saying all I might wish.[113]

One cannot miss the irony here: the detailed discourse on the art of Kabbalah through the prism of the power of Hebrew, a discussion that occupies most of the third book of the trialogue, ostensibly organized around Gikatilla's threefold division of exegetical techniques—numerology (*gematria*), acrostics (*notariqon*), and transpositions (*temurah*)—terminates with an appeal to silence. This silence, however, is not related to the apophatic tendency prevalent in the history of Christian mysticism (due in great measure to the influence of Neoplatonism, transmitted especially through the works of Dionysius the Areopagite)[114] to deny the ability of language to depict ultimate reality or truth, but rather to the political need to conceal esoteric matters on account of their potentially dangerous implications. Eventually Simon provides a numerical proof for the Christological claim, a proof that is dependent on language inasmuch as the numerology is inherently linked to the letters. Perhaps even more apposite is the explication that Reuchlin cites from *Sefer Iggeret ha-Sodot*, the *Epistula secretorum* by the converted Jew, Paulus de Heredia,[115] of the twelve-letter name of God as *av ben we-ruaḥ ha-qodesh*, that is, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the forty-two-letter name as *av elohim ben elohim ruaḥ ha-qodesh elohim sheloshah be-eḥad eḥad bi-sheloshah*, that is, "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, three in one and one in three."[116] The secret names of God are thus interpreted as encoding the mystery of the Trinity.

We may conclude, therefore, that the reticence that Reuchlin attributes to Simon to speak of the affinity between Kabbalah and Christianity does not undermine the nexus between language and secrecy so central to Jewish mysticism. On the contrary, as I have intimated, the emphasis on the inherent value of language in Jewish esotericism culminates in the tradition about the pentagram in Christian Kabbalah, the name by which the nameless is called. When faced with this ultimate secret, the Jew has no choice but to remain silent. From the Christian's standpoint, the Jew's refusal to speak attests more vociferously to the secrecy of what could have been spoken in speaking the unspoken.

NOTES

1. Ludwig Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1871); Joseph Leon Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 41–64; Lewis W. Spitz, "Reuchlin's Philosophy: Pythagoras and Cabala for Christ," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 47 (1956): 1–20; Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 61–80; François Secret, *Les*

kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance (Paris: Dunod, 1964), 44–70; Francis Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 27–32; Gershom Scholem, *Die Erforschung der Kabbala, von Reuchlin bis zur Gegenwart* (Pforzheim: Selbstverlag der Stadt, 1970); Moshe Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," in Johann Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah: De arte cabalistica,* trans. Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman, introduction by G. Lloyd Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), v–xxix; Karl E. Grözinger, "Reuchlin und die Kabbala," in *Reuchlin und die Juden,* ed. Arno Herzig and Julius H. Schoeps, with Saskia Rohde (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993), 175–87; Saverio Campanini, "Introduction," in Johannes Reuchlin, *L'arte cabbalistica (De arte cabalistica),* ed. Giulio Busi and Saverio Campanini (Florence: Opus Libri, 1995), xxv–lxx; Joseph Dan, "The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and Its Historical Significance," in *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters,* ed. Joseph Dan (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1997), 55–95; Charles Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition der Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: J Thorbecke, 1998); and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Einleitung: Johannes Reuchlin und die Anfänge der christlichen Kabbala," in *Christliche Kabbala,* ed. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke, 2003), 9–48.

2. For representative studies, see Daniel C. Matt, "The Mystic and the *Miẓwot,*" in *Jewish Spirituality from the Bible Through the Middle Ages,* ed. Arthur Green (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 367–404; Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 156–99; Elliot R. Wolfson, "Mystical Rationalization of the Commandments in Sefer ha-Rimmon," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 59 (1988): 217–51; Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts,* trans. D. Goldstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1155–1213; Charles Mopsik, *Les grands textes de la Cabale: Les rites qui font Dieu* (Paris: Verdier, 1993); and Pinchas Giller, *The Enlightened Will Shine: Symbolization and Theurgy in the Later Strata of the Zohar* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 81–105.

3. An important exception is Bernd Roling, "The Complete Nature of Christ: Sources and Structures of a Christological Theurgy in the Works of Johannes Reuchlin," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period,* ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 231–66. See as well Christopher S. Celenza, "The Search for Ancient Wisdom in Early Modern Europe: Reuchlin and the Late Ancient Esoteric Paradigm," *Journal of Religious History* 25 (2001): 115–33, esp. 129–31. I thank the author for calling my attention to and providing me with a copy of his study. Celenza speaks of a "theurgical tradition" affirmed by "post-Plotinian" Platonists in late antiquity (particularly Iamblichus), medieval kabbalists, and Renaissance Florentine occult philosophers. From the kabbalistic tradition, in particular, Reuchlin appropriates the efficacious power of the Hebrew letters that constitute the divine and angelic names. Also worthy of note is Nicolas Séd, "Un usage rituel des psaumes chez les kabbalistes chrétiens au XVIe siècle d'après le manuscrit de l'Arsenal 2495," in *Ritualisme et vie intérieure—religion et culture,* ed. André Caquot and Pierre Canivet (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 95–103. See also the remark concerning the "mystery of circumcision" in Guillaume Postel, *Des admirables secrets des nombres platoniciens,* ed. and trans., with introduction and notes, by Jean-Pierre Brach (Paris: Vrin, 2001): "Tertio in loco est *Sadai ubertas* instar filii semineitas emanata ab utroque parente, unde circumcisionis mysterium pro filio dei et domino Christo institutum" (140, 142).

4. Moshe Idel, "Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb: Some Phenomenological Remarks," in *The Hebrew Renaissance,* ed. Michael Terry (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1997), 14–15, and see the revised version in Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah and Italy 1280–1510: A Survey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 233. See also Bernard McGinn, "Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought," in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment,* ed. Richard H. Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), 16. On the disentanglement of theosophy from theurgy in Christian Kabbalah, see Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives,* 262–63. See, however, Moshe Idel, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 193, where the author acknowledges that the mystical interpretation of Torah study as a means by which one is conjoined to God is affirmed by some Christian kabbalists (he mentions the specific example of the sixteenth-century figure Sixtus of Siena). In this case as well it is not the theurgical component that Christians appropriate from the Jewish esoteric lore but a more purely mystical notion extolling a unitive experience that restores one to the divine origin. But see also Idel's remark in "Man as the 'Possible' Entity in Some Jewish and Renaissance Sources," in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Allison P. Coudert

and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004): "Indeed, the Renaissance attitude toward man as expressed by Ficino and especially Pico has an interesting parallel in the emphasis on theurgy and magic characteristic of Kabbalah in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (34).

5. For representative studies, see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 283–311; Hans Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic, and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978); Ann Sheppard, "Proclus's Attitude to Theurgy," *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1982): 212–24; Georg Luck, "Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 185–225; John P. Anton, "*Theourgia—Demiourgia:* A Controversial Issue in Hellenistic Thought and Religion," in *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, ed. Richard T. Wallis and Jay Bregman (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 9–31; Gregory Shaw, "Theurgy: Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus," *Traditio* 41 (1985): 1–28; Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); Antoine Faivre, "Renaissance Hermeticism and the Concept of Western Esotericism," in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Roelof van den Broek and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), 109–23; and Christopher S. Celenza, "Late Antiquity and Florentine Platonism: The 'Post-Plotinian' Period," in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees, with Martin Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 71–97.

6. For discussion of the contours of Renaissance magic, see Daniel P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958); John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition and Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and the introductory monograph in *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486); The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems, with Text, Translation, and Commentary by Stephen Alan Farmer* (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 115–32.

7. See Elliot R. Wolfson, *Abraham Abulafia—Kabbalist and Prophet: Hermeneutics, Theosophy, and Theurgy* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2000), 99–114. Needless to say, other scholars, notably Scholem and Idel, have discussed Abulafia's taxonomy. The interested reader will find references to the relevant bibliographical citations in the notes to my own discussion.

8. *Pico's 900 Theses*, in *Syncretism in the West*, 519.

9. Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 139. For a different approach to Pico, based on the surmise that he used Kabbalah, first and foremost, to support his own philosophy and thus should not be read as a Christian kabbalist, see Alexander Thumfart, "Readings on Cabbala: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the Sixth EAJS Congress, Toledo, July 1998*, ed. Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:83–90.

10. The point is epitomized in the fifteenth of the twenty-six *Conclusiones magicae*, 9>15, in *Pico's 900 Theses*: "No magical operation can be of any efficacy unless it has annexed to it a work of Cabala, explicit or implicit" (*Syncretism in the West*, 499). For Pico, though Kabbalah and magic are linked together, the former occupies a higher grade in the spiritual hierarchy. See, for instance, *Conclusiones magicae*, 9> 18: "The nature of that which is the horizon of temporal eternity is next to the *magus*, but above him, and proper to it is the Cabala" (ibid., 501). To grasp this aphorism, we must bear in mind the two preceding conclusions: according to the former, the horizon of the "eternal time" (*temporis aeternalis*) is beneath magic, whereas, according to the latter, magic is proper to the horizon of time and eternity (*temporis et aeternitatis*). The spiritual efficacy of Kabbalah is linked to the highest rung, the horizon of "temporal eternity" (*aeternitatis temporalis*). See *Conclusiones magicae*, 9>26: "Just as through the influence of the first agent, if that influence is individual and immediate, something is achieved that is not attained through the mediation of causes, so through a work of Cabala, if it is the pure and immediate Cabala, something is achieved to which no magic attains" (503). Also significant is another aphorism from this section, 9>7: "The works of Christ could not have been performed through either the way of magic or the way of Cabala" (497). In spite of this unambiguous distinction between the deeds of Jesus, magic, and Kabbalah, Pico asserts in 9>9: "There is no science that assures us more

of the divinity of Christ than magic and Cabala." On the two forms of magic, see Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man,* trans. A. Robert Caponigri (South Bend: Gateway Editions, 1956), 53–58.

11. Charles Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 107, 125–26; Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition,* 172–76.

12. Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico,*" 112, 114, 122–25; Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language,* trans. James Fentress (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 73–143; Noel L. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 30–31; and Marie-Luce Demonet, *Les voix du signe: Nature et origine du langage à la Renaissance (1480–1580)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1992), 225–38. Spitz, *Religious Renaissance,* 68, suggests that Reuchlin's preoccupation with names as symbols of reality may have been due to the influence of Nicholas Cusanus, who wrote several dialogues concerned with speculation on the divine names. The privileged status accorded Hebrew is reiterated in Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri tres,* ed. Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Leiden: Brill, 1992), I.74, pp. 241–43. On the relationship between Reuchlin and Agrippa, see Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition,* 176–87. For further discussion on the theme of the cosmic/universal language in Christian Kabbalah, see Myriam Jacquemier, "Le mythe de Babel et la Kabbale chrétienne au XVIe siècle," *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle* 10 (1992): 51–67; Demonet, *Voix du signe,* 131–52, 170–87; Marion L. Kuntz, "The Original Language as a Paradigm for the *restitution omnium* in the Thought of Guillaume Postel," in *The Language of Adam/Die Sprache Adams,* ed. Allison Coudert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 123–49. For a somewhat different approach to this question reflected in the distinction between the "real Cabala" based on God's language embedded in the Book of Nature and the "vulgar Cabala" expressed in Hebrew and the Jewish tradition, see Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 77–90, 158–94. See also Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988), 86–96. Needless to say, the appropriation and cultivation of Hebrew as the most effective magical language is attested in much older sources. For a recent analysis of this phenomenon, see Gideon Bohak, "Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere? Notes on the Interpretation of *Voces magicae,*" in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World,* ed. Scott Noegel, Joel Walker, and Brannon Wheeler (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 69–82.

13. Quoted in Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico,*" 106.

14. Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* (1494), in *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, ed. Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers et al. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1996), 260, 264. The connection between the Pythagorean *tetractys* and the tetragrammaton is implied in the chapter on the number four in Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia,* II.7, p. 263. On the association of the tetragrammaton and the Pythagorean *tetractys,* see Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *The Ages of the World, Third Version (c. 1815),* trans. Jason W. Wirth (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), 52.

15. Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico,*" 127–30. It is of interest to note the remarks on the tetragrammaton in *Marsilio Ficino: The Philebus Commentary,* ed. and trans. Michael J. B. Allen (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), chapter 12, 144: "The Hebrews say that, if pronounced correctly, all miracles can be wrought in that name—which is the most difficult thing of all to do; it takes a miracle alone to pronounce it."

16. Wirszubski, *Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism,* 165–66; *Pico's 900 Theses,* in *Syncretism in the West,* 526–27. Wirszubski rejects the notion that Pico himself had knowledge of the pentagram (218). A close reading of the relevant texts in Pico seems to bear out this conclusion. See Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light: Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 58; G. Mallary Masters, "Renaissance Kabbalah," in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality,* ed. Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 141–42; and Schmidt-Biggemann, "Einleitung," 17–22. Wirszubski's view seems to have influenced Idel, "Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb," 12–13. See, however, Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," xix, for an alternative perspective. On the illustration of the pentagram in Jakob Böhme's *Zweiter Schutzschift wider Balthasar Tilke* (1621), see Sibylle Rusterholz, "Elemente Christlicher Kabbala bei Abraham Von Franckenberg," in Schmidt-Biggemann, *Christliche Kabbala,* 194. The pentagram occupies the center of the diagram depicting the seventy-two-letter name in Athanasius Kirchner, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), reprinted

in Jürgen Werlitz, *Das Geheimnis der Heiligen Zahlen: Ein Schlüssel zu den Rätseln der Bibel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 230.

17. In making a distinction between the hidden and the revealed name, Pico calls to mind an important theme not only in kabbalistic gnosis, especially prominent in zoharic passages (for select references, see Wolfson, *Abraham Abulafia*, 30nn66–67), but also a motif in ancient Christian gnosis, as is attested, for instance, by the hymn in Phil. 2:9–10, *Gospel of Philip* 54:5–13 and 56:3–15, critical edition and translation in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7*, ed. Bentley Layton, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 146–47, 152–53, and *Gospel of Truth* 38:7–24, critical edition and translation in *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, ed. Harold W. Attridge (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 110–11. For another possible allusion to the secret name, see Rev. 19:12–13. It is likely, as scholars have noted, that the tradition regarding the investiture of the name represents an older Jewish esoteric motif that was appropriated by early followers of Jesus and used to demarcate onomanologically his transfiguration into Christ. See Gedaliahu Guy Stroumsa, *Savoir et salut* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 77n62, 79n70, 81–82; Jarl E. Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 109–33; and Nathaniel Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate: Angelic Vice Regency in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 154–55.

18. On the symbolic identification of the letter *shin* and Jesus in older sources, see Elliot R. Wolfson, *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 74–77, and see in particular the reference to *Epistola Ludouici Carreti ad Iudaeos* cited on 213n104 in conjunction with the fourteenth of Pico's conclusions. Concerning this figure, see Robert Bonfil, "Who Was the Apostate Ludovico Carreto?" [in Hebrew], in *Exile and Diaspora: Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Aharon Mirsky, Avraham Grossman, and Yosef Kaplan (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1988), 437–42, and the brief comment in Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 118.

19. Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, 354, 362, 384; Spitz, "Reuchlin's Philosophy," 8; Ernst Benz, *Die Christliche Kabbala: Ein Stiefkind der Theologie* (Zurich: Rhein-Verlag, 1958), 13–14; Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), 198; Johann Reuchlin, *La Kabbale (De arte cabalistica)*, trans. François Secret (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1973), 8–9; Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*," 106; Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, 23, 28; and Celenza, "Search for Ancient Wisdom," 125.

20. Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*," 131. Consider the following account offered by Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, II.8, p. 269: "Hinc in tempore gratiae quinque literis invocatur nomen divinae omnipotentiae: nam in tempore naturae invocabatur nomen Dei trigrammaton שדי Sadai; in tempore legis nomen Dei tetragrammaton יהוה ineffabile, cuius loco Hebraei exprimunt אדני Adonai; in tempore gratiae nomen Dei pentagrammaton <effabile> יהשוה Ihesu, <quod non minore mysterio etiam triliterum invocatur ישו.>" The three-letter name *Shaddai* correponds to the time of nature (*tempore naturae*), the tetragrammaton to the time of law (*tempore legis*), and the pentagrammaton, which contains the mystery of Yeshu, to the time of grace (*tempore gratiae*).

21. My use of this *terminus technicus*, traceable to Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, accords with the suggestion of Charles Zika, "Reuchlin and Erasmus: Humanism and Occult Philosophy," *Journal of Religious History* 9 (1977): 226, that the expression refers to a "science concerned with the operations of wonders through the agency of non-rational powers—whether through powers operating in the elemental world as occult virtue, in the celestial world as astral forces, or in the supercelestial divine world as divine and angelic beings. Occult philosophy is not only a science of non-rational powers, therefore, but also a science of their 'operation.' In other words, it relates either explicitly or implicitly to *magia* or magic, although this magic may be elemental, astral, demonic, or angelic." See Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*," 107. For a more recent examination of Christian Kabbalah and occult philosophy, see Kocku von Stuckrad, *Was Ist Esoterik? Kleine Geschichte des geheimen Wissens* (Munich: Beck, 2004), 113–31. For a broader view of the place of secrecy and esotericism in the historical context wherein Christian Kabbalah flourished, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 143–74. On the linkage of Jews and secrets in the period when Christian Kabbalah took root, see Elisheva Carlebach, "Attribution

of Secrecy and Perceptions of Jewry," *Jewish Social Studies* 2 (1996): 115–36, and Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 13, 45, 170–99.

22. The surmise that the blending of mysticism and magic in Christian sources from the late Middle Ages and especially in the Renaissance is due to the influence of Kabbalah is proffered by Richard Kieckhefer, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus*, the *Liber visionum*, and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism," in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 250–65. See also Anthony Grafton, "Jüdische Ursprünge der Christlichen Magie? Von Reuchlin zu John Dee," in Schmidt-Biggemann, *Christliche Kabbala*, 121–32.

23. In *De verbo mirifico*, Baruchias and Sidonius both express skepticism about Capnion's ability to perform miracles by uttering divine names. Those who claim such powers are deemed charlatans motivated by avarice. Hence, there is a need to distinguish miracles performed on the basis of ancient tradition and contemporary magical practice. See Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*," 112, 119–20.

24. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 123–25. Reuchlin's opinion accords with Pico's statement in the *Conclusiones*, cited in ibid., 337: "Any sound has power for magic in so far as it is formed from the sound of God."

25. Ibid., 125. On the worship of Saturn, which entailed the sacrifice of a human, see 299. See also 323.

26. On the role of Saturn in kabbalistic lore, see Haviva Pedaya, "Sabbath, Saturn, and the Diminution of the Moon—the Holy Compound: Sign and Image," in *Myth and Judaism* [in Hebrew], ed. Haviva Pedaya (Beer Sheva: Beer Sheva University, 1996), 143–91; Moshe Idel, "Saturn and Sabbatai Tzevi: A New Approach to Sabbateanism," in *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Mark Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 173–202; Moshe Idel, *Messianic Mystics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 193–95.

27. An important expression of this idea is the chain of transmission from Raziel to Adam found in Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi's *Commentary on Sefer Yetsirah*, which was based on an earlier text from the Iyyun circle. See Elliot R. Wolfson, "Beyond the Spoken Word: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Medieval Jewish Mysticism," in *Transmitting Jewish Traditions: Orality, Textuality, and Cultural Diffusion*, ed. Yaakov Elman and Israel Gershoni (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 170–71. This passage is mentioned in Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 69; see Secret's introduction to *La Kabbale*, 9–11.

28. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 73. On the tradition of placing the *shin* between the four letters of the name, see 77 (in that context, the mystical spelling of the name, which is designated the "Kabbalah of the angel," *Cabalam angelica*, is related exegetically to the biblical figure Enosh, whose name denotes "humankind"). On the special connection of the Messiah, the tetragrammaton, and the mystery of the seventh day, see ibid., 111. See also 295 for the link between the Messiah and the tetragrammaton.

29. Deut. 28:10.

30. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 113–15 (translation slightly modified).

31. Ibid., 353.

32. Spitz, "Reuchlin's Philosophy," 12–13, notes that Reuchlin disengaged himself from magic and astrology. Yet, as the author acknowledges, the kabbalistic notion of salvation is related to the belief in miracles that are wrought by the power of God's name.

33. Reuchlin, *On the Art of Kabbalah*, 43, 263. For an interesting attempt to explain Reuchlin's choice of this fictitious character, reflecting the assumed Spanish extraction of the kabbalist who imparts the esoteric secrets of Judaism to the other disputants, see Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," viii–xi.

34. See G. Lloyd Jones, "Introduction," in Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 16–17. Pico affirms the polemical value of kabbalistic texts in *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, 64–65: "I acquired these books at considerable expense and, reading them from beginning to end with the greatest attention and with unrelenting toil, I discovered in them . . . not so much the Mosaic as the Christian religion. There was to be found the mystery of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, the divinity of the Messiah; there one might also read of original sin, of its expiation by Christ, of the heavenly Jerusalem, of

the fall of the demons, of the orders of the angels, of the pains of purgatory and of hell. . . . In a word, there is no point of controversy between the Hebrews and ourselves on which the Hebrews cannot be confuted and convinced out of the cabalistic writings, so that no corner is left for them to hide in."

35. Spitz, "Reuchlin's Philosophy," 6–9; Spitz, *Religious Renaissance*, 68, and references cited on 308–9n20; Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," xi–xvi; Jones, "Introduction," 19; Christopher S. Celenza, "Pythagoras in the Renaissance: The Case of Marsilio Ficino," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (1999): 667–711; Paul G. Kuntz, "Guillaume Postel, the Pythagorean Prophet, and the New Order of His Vision: A Meditation on the Golden Mean in an Age of Extremes," in *Guillaume Postel, 1581–1981: Actes du Collque International d'Avranches 5–9 septembre 1981* (Paris: Éditions de la Maisnie, 1985), 159–69; and Zika, *Reuchlin und die okkulte Tradition*, 144–54. On the relationship between Pythagoras, Mosaic law, and the mysteries of divine matters, see Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus, or Discourse on the Seven Days of Creation*, trans. Jessie Brewer McGaw (New York: Philosophical Library, 1977), 16. In *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, 60, Pico attributes to Pythagoras the restraint on transmitting secrets in written form, which he assumes is characteristic of Kabbalah as well. On the derivation of Pythagorean thought from Orphic theology, see p. 66. The affinity between kabbalistic teachings and Pythagorean opinions, with special emphasis on the oral nature of the transmission of both traditions, is emphasized as well by Agrippa, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*, chapter 47, translated into English in *Three Books of Occult Philosophy Written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Netteshem*, trans. James Freake, ed. Donald Tyson (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 2003), 700–704. Consider also the affirmation of the *prisca theologia* in the introduction to the collection of translated Lurianic discourses in Christian Freiherr Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, 2 vols. (Sulzbach, 1677–84; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974), I.2:73, an orientation that embraces the notion of a singular truth expressed in multiple ways, including ancient Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy. See as well the exposition of Ezekiel's chariot vision (I.2:225–73), which purports to be an exposition of the *merkavah* on the basis of the principles of Pythagorean philosophy and Jewish theosophy. On this major anthology of translated kabbalistic compositions, see Allison P. Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–1698)* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 100–136.

36. Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, 362.

37. Reuchlin to Leo X, trans. Mary Martin McLaughlin, in James B. Ross, ed., *The Portable Renaissance Reader* (New York: Viking Press, 1953), 409–14.

38. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 39.

39. Ibid., 127.

40. Ibid., 147.

41. Ibid., 233. The theme is reiterated on p. 241: "Now that we have embarked on this study, I feel that soon we shall get to the bottom of it; that is, that Kabbalah is simply (to use the Pythagorean vocabulary) symbolic theology, where words and letters are code things, and such things are themselves code for other things. This drew our attention to the fact that almost all Pythagoras' system is derived from the Kabbalists, and that similarly he brought to Greece the use of symbols as a means of communication."

42. *Pico's 900 Theses*, in *Syncretism in the West*, 347.

43. Ibid., 525.

44. On "death of the kiss" in Pico, compare "Zoroaster and His Chaldean Commentators," 8>7, ibid., 489: "What the interpreters say about the fourteenth aphorism is perfectly understood by what the Cabalists say about the death of the kiss." And see "Cabbalistic Conclusions," 11>13, ibid., 525: "Whoever operates in the Cabala without the mixture of anything extraneous, if he is long in the work, will die from *binsica* [the death of the kiss], and if he errs in the work or comes to it unpurified, he will be devoured by Azazel through the property of judgment."

45. Michael A. Fishbane, *The Kiss of God: Spiritual and Mystical Death in Judaism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

46. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 45. On Reuchlin's depiction of Kabbalah as a symbolic mode of thought and its influence on Scholem's allegedly "harmonistic" and "monolithic" understanding (which may be traced to Schelling) of Kabbalah as a "narrative philosophy," see Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," xv–xvi, xviii–xix. For an elaboration of this thesis, see Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, 263–64; and Idel, "Jewish Thinkers Versus Christian Kabbalah," in Schmidt-Biggemann,

Christliche Kabbala, 63–65. Regarding the symbolic interpretation of Jewish esotericism in Christian Kabbalah, see also Giulio Busi, "La Qabbalah come opzione simbolica," in Reuchlin, *L'arte cabbalistica*, ed. Busi and Campanini, vii–xxi, and the German translation "Die Kabbala als eine symbolische Option," in *Reuchlin und Italien*, ed. Gerald Dörner (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1999), 57–67.

47. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 63.

48. Ibid., 133. The understanding of Kabbalah as a tradition (*receptio*) that is a "non-human discipline" beyond sense, experience, and rational knowledge is attested in *De verbo mirifico* as well. See Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*," 110.

49. Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. Shlomo Pines (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 11–12. The influence of Maimonides was duly noted by Secret in *Kabbale*, 75n131. See Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 55, where a dictum attributed to the kabbalists is said to derive from Maimonides, a "celebrated astrologer." See p. 93, where *Guide of the Perplexed* is included in a delineation of books that deal with the secrets of Kabbalah. See p. 295, where the signature way of Naḥmanides to allude to esoteric matters *al derekh ha-emet*, "by way of truth," is associated, inter alia, with the name of the "Egyptian Maimonides." The use of dicta from Maimonides (sometimes attributed to the kabbalists) is attested in other passages as well; see, for example, 50–51 (*Guide of the Perplexed* I.68, noted by Secret, *Kabbale*, 36n37), 52–53 (*Guide of the Perplexed* III.33, noted by Secret, *Kabbale*, 37n41). Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," xvi, reasonably suggests that Reuchlin's presentation of Maimonides as representative of kabbalistic thought has to be understood as part of the philosophical interpretation of Kabbalah promoted by Renaissance humanists. See Reimund Leicht, "Johannes Reuchlin—Der erste christliche Leser des hebräischen *Moreh Nevukhim*," in *The Trials of Maimonides: Jewish, Arabic, and Acient Culture of Knowledge*, ed. Georges Tamer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 411–27. On the relationship of Maimonides to Kabbalah, see Gershom Scholem, "Maimonide dans l'oeuvre des Kabbalistes," *Cahiers Juifs* 3 (1935): 103–12; Wirzubski, *Pico della Mirandola*, 84–99; Moshe Idel, "Maimonides and the Kabbalah," in *Studies in Maimonides*, ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 54–76 (Idel notes these studies in "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," xxviin43); and Elliot R. Wolfson, "Beneath the Wings of the Great Eagle: Maimonides and Thirteenth-Century Kabbalah," in *Moses Maimonides (1138–1204)—Religious, Scientifical, and Philosophical Wirkungsgeschichte in Different Cultural Contexts*, ed. Görge K. Hasselhoff and Otfried Fraisse (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004), 209–37.

50. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 6.

51. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 95.

52. See ibid., 117, where Reuchlin distinguished three worlds, the material world of the senses, the formal world of the mind, and the formless world of the divine.

53. Ibid., 97. The opposition of Talmud to Kabbalah is evident in a comment in *De verbo mirifico* wherein Capnion makes it a condition that Sidonius abandon his Epicureanism and Baruchias his almudic background before they can be instructed in the archaic wisdom of the names. On Reuchlin's distinction between kabbalists and almudists and its indebtedness to a much older polemical stance expounded by Christians against Judaism, see Idel, "Introduction to the Bison Book Edition," xxi–xxiii. Bruno, who distinguishes between "Hebrew doctors," that is, kabbalists, and Talmudic scholars, adopts a similar approach to Reuchlin. See Karen Silvia de León-Jones, *Giordano Bruno and the Kabbalah: Prophets, Magicians, and Rabbis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 118–27.

54. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 239.

55. Ibid., 99 (I have modified the translation to render the Hebrew cited by Reuchlin in a more exacting fashion). In *Guide of the Perplexed*, III: 27, Maimonides asserts that Torah aims at two types of perfection.

56. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 101.

57. A still useful survey of this motif is Kenneth E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum* (London: Longmans, Green, 1931).

58. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 293.

59. Ibid., 339.

60. Ibid., 87.

61. Ibid., 123. Compare the description of Kabbalah in Pico, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, 64, as the "ineffable theology of the supersubstantial deity; the fountain of wisdom, that is, the precise

metaphysical doctrine concerning intelligible and angelic forms; and the stream of wisdom, that is, the best established philosophy concerning nature."

62. For a critique of Scholem's approach to messianism and Jewish mysticism, see Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, 265–66; Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, 35–37.

63. This has been the subject of many of my studies. See, in particular, Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

64. *Perushei ha-Torah le-Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, ed. Ḥayyim D. Chavel (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1984), 1:521 (Exod. 33:19).

65. Elliot R. Wolfson, "The Secret of the Garment in Naḥmanides," *Da'at* 24 (1990): 25–49 (English section).

66. I have explored this matter in greater detail in the chapter "The Flesh Became Word: Textual Embodiment and Incarnation of the Word," in *Language, Eros, Being: Kabbalistic Hermeneutics and Poetic Imagination* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004), 190–260. See also Bezalel Safran, "Rabbi Azriel and Naḥmanides: Two Views of the Fall of Man," in *Rabbi Moses Naḥmanides (Ramban): Explorations in His Religious and Literary Virtuosity*, ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 75–106; Yair Lorberbaum, "Imago Dei in Judaism: Early Rabbinic Literature, Philosophy, and Kabbalah; The Teaching about God, the Human Person, and the Beginning in Talmudic and Kabbalistic Judaism," in *The Concept of God, the Origin of the World, and the Image of the Human in the World Religions*, ed. Peter Koslowski (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001), 72–74.

67. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 157, 159.

68. On the polemical effort to combat Judaism implicit in Reuchlin's approach, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 111–62; Dan, "Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin," 64. For the missionizing tendencies in Reuchlin and other Christian kabbalists, see Idel, "Jewish Thinkers," 50–52.

69. Cyril O'Regan, *Gnostic Return in Modernity* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 85.

70. For reference to Idel's argument, see notes 3 and 39 above.

71. See Wolfson, *Abraham Abulafia*, 33–38, 179–86; Elliot R. Wolfson, "Beyond Good and Evil: Hypernomianism, Transmorality, and Kabbalistic Ethics," in *Crossing Boundaries: Ethics, Antinomianism and the History of Mysticism*, ed. Jeffrey J. Kripal and G. William Barnard (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2002), 103–56, and the revised version of this study in Elliot R. Wolfson, *Venturing Beyond: Law and Morality in Kabbalistic Mysticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 186–285.

72. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 107.

73. Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth and Jewish Messianism*, trans. Batya Stein (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 83–106; Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, 101–25.

74. Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, 58–100. On the ideal of personal redemption and the presumed neutralization of messianic activism, see Dov Schwartz, *Messianism in Medieval Jewish Thought* [in Hebrew] (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan Press, 1997), 91–111. For a less critical assessment of Scholem, and one that narrows the gap between his approach and the more current conclusions reached by Idel and Liebes, ostensibly presented as alternatives to Scholem, see Elliot R. Wolfson, "The Engenderment of Messianic Politics: Symbolic Significance of Sabbatai Sevi's Coronation," in Schäfer and Cohen, *Toward the Millennium*, 204–17.

75. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 127.

76. Ibid., 237.

77. Ibid., 241.

78. For a useful discussion with a good sample of source material, see Idel, *Absorbing Perfections*, 461–65.

79. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 69.

80. Ibid., 71.

81. Ibid., 99.

82. Ibid., 293. In *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, 59, Pico relates the Jewish tradition that "Moses, in addition to the law of the five books which he handed down to posterity, when on the mount, received from God a more secret and true explanation of the law."

83. The introduction to the Torah commentary of Naḥmanides is cited explicitly in *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 247–49.

84. Ibid., 311. It is of interest to note that in this context Reuchlin remarks that in spite of the seeming randomness of kabbalistic exegesis generated by the tendency "to read one thing but understand it in a different way," there is a "universally applicable limit," which he expresses in terms of the "inviolable rule that good must be understood as good and bad as bad, lest he apply black to white or day to night." For a different formulation of this idea based on the claim that Kabbalah refers to "revealed truths" that define the "right stance," see ibid., 299. One could argue that the hermeneutical limit Reuchlin suggests is in fact transgressed in kabbalistic exegesis, given the ontological identity of opposites in the infinite, but this is a matter that requires a careful analysis that lies beyond the scope of this study.

85. For discussion of this theme in Reuchlin, and the possible influence of the Abulafian technique of letter permutation, see Idel, *Absorbing Perfections*, 365–66.

86. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 229. On the "allegorical transmission" of the "divine Pythagorean teachings," see 179.

87. Ibid., 335.

88. Ibid., 319.

89. Ibid., 317.

90. Zika, "Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*," 112; Stephane Toussaint, "Ficin, Pic de Mirandole, Reuchlin et le pouvoir des noms: À propos de Néoplatonisme et de Cabale chrétienne," in Schmidt-Biggemann, *Christliche Kabbala*, 67–76.

91. Compare the twenty-second of the *Conclusiones magicae* in *Pico's 900 Theses*, in *Syncretism in the West*, 501: "No names that mean something, insofar as those names are singular and taken per se, can have power in a magical work, unless they are Hebrew names, or closely derived from Hebrew." See Spitz, *Religious Renaissance*, 68.

92. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 317.

93. Ibid., 311.

94. Quoted in Jones, "Introduction," 10. For further discussion concerning Reuchlin's fascination with the esoteric nature of Hebrew letters, see Moshe Idel, "Kabbalah, Hieroglyphicity, and Hieroglyphs," *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts* 11 (2004): 25–34.

95. Spitz, *Religious Renaissance*, 63.

96. Johannes Reuchlin, *Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy, and Burn All Jewish Books*, trans. and ed. Peter Wortsman (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), 64–66. The burning of Jewish books, including works on kabbalistic contemplation, is alluded to in *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 91.

97. Quoted in Jones, "Introduction," 11.

98. Ibid., 21–22.

99. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 251, 265–67, 301, 305, 331. On the ineffable name denoting that God is "above all being," see 339.

100. Ibid., 275.

101. Menaḥem Recanati, *Perush ha-Torah* (Jerusalem, 1961), 43b. The passage is cited in Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 272. I have opted to translate the text on my own rather than follow the translation on p. 277.

102. Ibid., 309. In that context, Reuchlin refers to *De verbo mirifico* as a work of the fictitious Capnion. On the ability of kabbalists to perform miracles through manipulation of language, see 351.

103. Ibid., 277.

104. Ibid., 287, 313. For discussion of this kabbalistic doctrine, see Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Schocken Books, 1965) 37–44; Scholem, "The Name of God and the Linguistic Theory of the Kabbala," *Diogenes* 79–80 (1972): 78–80, 178–80, 193–94; Moshe Idel, "The Concept of Torah in Hekhalot Literature and Its Metamorphosis in Kabbalah" [in Hebrew], *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 1 (1981): 23–84, especially 49–58; Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 1079–82.

105. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 297.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., 329.

108. Ibid., 333–35. For discussion of this passage, see Moshe Idel, *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), 177–79.

109. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 349–51.

110. Ibid., 337.

111. Ibid., 331.

112. Elliot R. Wolfson, "Anthropomorphic Imagery and Letter Symbolism in the Zohar" [in Hebrew], *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 8 (1989): 147–81.

113. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 353–55.

114. The scholarly literature of the apophatic tradition in Christian mysticism is substantial. For representative studies, see Deirdre Carabine, *The Unknown God, Negative Theology in the Platonic Tradition: Plato to Eriugena* (Louvain: Peeters, 1995); Denys Turner, *The Darkness of God: Negativity in Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

115. See Gershom Scholem, "The Beginnings of the Christian Kabbalah," in Dan, *Christian Kabbalah*, 30–35. See also Spitz, *Religious Renaissance*, 67.

116. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, 336.

9

RITUAL INVOCATION AND EARLY MODERN SCIENCE: THE SKRYING EXPERIMENTS OF HUMPHREY GILBERT

Frank Klaassen

Early in 1568 Humphrey Gilbert (1537–1583) returned to his family estate in Devon from military campaigns in Ireland, where he had distinguished himself with his brutality. It was probably something of a turning point in his life. In the next few years he would put before Elizabeth I his proposal for a new academy and begin in earnest his preparations for seeking the Northwest Passage. A seventeen-year-old protégé of the Gilberts, John Davis (1550–1605), joined him. Under the guidance of the Gilbert household (including Humphrey's younger stepbrother, Walter Raleigh), Davis was about to embark on a path that would lead him to become one of the great navigators of his age and namesake for the Davis Strait in the Canadian North. Probably also present was Adrian Gilbert, Humphrey's younger brother and Davis's lifelong associate. They came together one day in February and, employing a show stone and crystals, conjured demons and sought the assistance of angels and the dead. Humphrey, the "master," read the prayers requesting aid from the divine, conjured the demons, and directed the operations. A variety of visions appeared in the stones, which Davis, as skryer, reported and which they recorded in detail. Some of what the spirits told him suggest that he was seeking information about his own future, but his principal goal was to seek information about performing magic from the world's greatest magicians. To this end, he conjured and bound Azazel, the demon in charge of spirits of the dead, and forced him to bring them Adam, Job, Solomon, Roger Bacon, and Cornelius Agrippa. The great magi appeared and consented to help, their numbers supplemented by the unsolicited appearances of Saint Luke and John the Baptist.

Humphrey Gilbert and John Davis were certainly colorful characters: enterprising, audacious, single-minded, self-promoting men whose violent and

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dramatic deaths—Davis at the hands of pirates off the coast of Borneo and Gilbert off the Azores in the wreck of a ship he had been advised to leave—were apt conclusions to lives of inveterate risk taking. But one would have no reason to suspect that they had such involved interests in ritual magic were it not for a record of their activities in the British Library manuscript I discuss here, along with a few circumstantial clues, such as their association with John Dee and his skryers. If foolhardy and opportunistic, they were of sound mind and built significant careers in the complex world of Elizabethan politics and business. Naturally, such a situation needs no defense or explanation; a belief in the efficacy of ritual magic could hardly be considered unusual in the mid-sixteenth century or its practice sociopathic. On another level, however, their interest in ritual magic appears more puzzling.

If Gilbert and Davis do not deserve a place in traditional histories of science, which tend to emphasize great discoveries, they certainly merit inclusion in more recent studies of the social and intellectual context in which modern science was born.[1] They made their careers by promoting the investigation of the natural world as a useful and important element in state building. Through his abilities, technical innovations, and publication in the area of navigation, John Davis would come to be what Eric Ash has called an expert mediator, synthesizing practical and experientially derived knowledge with theoretical approaches.[2] Gilbert's proposal for a new academy in London reveals an almost Baconian approach to learning, inquiry, and experimentation. In addition to being practical, skeptical, anti-Scholastic, experimental in orientation, and hostile to esoteric language, he also advocated breaking down traditional boundaries among professions and between theory and practice, seeking a fruitful engagement between the theoretically inclined and those of a more practical bent. Following most accounts of the period, one would expect men of such "protoscientific" interests to be attracted to the sort of magical literature concerned with natural causation, the structure of the natural world, and the mathematization of reality. Yet the standard fare of natural magic, astrological image magic, "astral magic," secrets, magical recipes and experiments, and discourses on natural magic seem to have been of little personal interest to Gilbert and Davis.[3] Instead they chose medieval ritual magic, particularly necromancy, a tradition regarded by most historians as a disappearing, superstitious, and utterly unscientific remnant of the Middle Ages.[4] This leads to two possible conclusions. Either their interest in this sort of magic was unusual, atavistic, or simply discontinuous with their scientific dispositions—a perfectly reasonable possibility—or ritual magic was not as outmoded and irrelevant to the history of science as we have thought.

It will come as no surprise to readers of this volume that I wish to explore the latter possibility. Gilbert's proposal for a new academy epitomizes many of the ideas regarded as seminal to the scientific revolution. A closer comparison of his proposal with his magical operations and the traditions from which they drew reveals numerous ways in which medieval ritual magic and the intellectual culture that surrounded it conform to the intellectual predispositions and epistemological assumptions of the early scientific revolution. In fact, such strong commonalities may be found between them that this sort of magic should be regarded as a quite natural choice for the sixteenth-century man of science. In turn, this should lead us to reevaluate our assumptions not only about sixteenth-century magic and science but also about magic and science in general.

Humphrey Gilbert's Operations and Medieval Ritual Magic

The operations I have described are recorded in two related manuscripts bound together in a volume with a variety of other magical works, namely, London, British Library, Additional 36674.[5] The first contains a work of necromantic magic and the second a record of the visions attained through its operations, or operations very similar to them. The latter identifies the skryer as John Davis and the master as "H.G." Paleographic and circumstantial evidence makes clear that the text was a joint effort of Adrian and Humphrey Gilbert, that the first text was probably written by Adrian, and that the second was probably a draft prepared by a secretary based on notes taken during the operations.[6] They began recording visions on February 24 and continued into April. The magical instructions, begun on March 22, were evidently written contemporaneously with the operations. A great similarity to medieval traditions (discussed in more detail below) suggests that they probably had one or more necromantic manuscripts at their disposal, which they employed as the basis for their operations. They also incorporated prayers and techniques derived from the visions.[7] How heavily the original text or texts may have been edited is unclear, but it seems quite possible that the absence of obviously Catholic elements was due to their editorial efforts.

The sources, techniques, goals, and language of these operations are in almost every respect medieval, and most of the differences resulted from relatively superficial revisions by their Protestant and secular scribes. After carefully noting that the work was begun at 8:00 A.M., the sun in Aries, the text lists a short set of rules for operation, including wearing clean clothes, keeping promises, being good to the poor "where he seeth need," and avoidance of swearing and drunken company.[8] Such rules are commonly found in the early folios of ritual magic works. The *Practica nigromanciae* attributed to Roger Bacon specifies clean clothing among the rules, and the *Liber iuratus* gives a strong emphasis to keeping good company.[9] Almsgiving is an instruction found in the *Ars notoria*'s *Opus operum* and in John of Morigny's work. Medieval ritual texts uniformly emphasize good behavior and moral purity, something assured by seeking confession prior to operation.[10] They give greater emphasis to sexual purity as inherently powerful, something attributable to Catholic traditions in general, but particularly to the emphasis on chastity or sexual self-control in the clerical and university settings where this magic was commonly practiced.[11] It seems likely that a Protestant scribe (possibly the Gilberts themselves) removed these more stringent requirements and that the relaxed rules reflect conceptions of sexuality and marriage in Protestant thought and/or the decidedly secular milieu in which many sixteenth-century magicians (and certainly Gilbert and Davis) moved. As I discuss in detail below, the acquisition of information, learning, or wisdom was a fundamental goal of medieval ritual magic, even necromancy.[12]

The ritual procedures described in the instructions and recorded as having been performed in the vision accounts are similarly drawn directly from medieval ritual magic. As was the usual practice in necromantic works, the operators employ a combination of angelic and demonic magic, and assume that, while they can command demons, they may only request the aid of God, the angels, and the dead.[13] They work, for the most part, during the day and are attentive to the hours and the general astrological conditions.[14] They employ crystals or other reflecting surfaces for skrying and endeavor both to trap demons in crystals and to provide crystals for good spirits to enter voluntarily.[15] They require that a skryer be used to see the visions, but not that he be a virgin child, as was common in medieval texts.[16] The demon Azazel, whom they conjure, has a long history, beginning with a brief mention in Leviticus, extending through Jewish traditions, and reappearing in Christian Kabbalah in the late fifteenth century. The somewhat more surprising notion that this demon could facilitate access to spirits of the dead might conceivably be Jewish in origin but was certainly immediately derived from Latin necromantic traditions. Similar operations involving Azazel survive in several other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century British manuscripts.[17] Following the instructions for conjuring the dead, the text gives instructions for conjuring the "Four Kings," the demons governing the four climes of the world, "Oriens, Amaimon, Paymon, and Ægin." Operations for the four kings are very common in medieval necromantic works and commonly employ mirrors or crystals.[18] The instruction section of the manuscript concludes with all-purpose conjurations for any spirit. Similar open-ended operations may also be found in necromantic manuals. Aside from the lack of any obviously Catholic formulae, such as Ave Marias, and a reduced emphasis on ascetic practices and moral purity in the period leading up to the operations, the instructions are indistinguishable from those in medieval works.[19]

The extensive accounts of the visions set this text apart from most magical manuscripts. The following passage gives a good impression of them.

> Seene by H.G. and Jo.: on þe 14 daye of marche anno domini 1567 at the sonns sett, or a little after, I knowe not perfectlye, it was aboute 7 of the cloke. First I, and my skryer sawe a rownde fyer in the west, which sodaynly vanished and came agayne. There apered annother with hym which I beheld very well, and from them there went a greate blacke cloud under them, which went from the west, by the north to the east pointe. And ouer that cloud there came an extreme number of fyer, and in the place where the first fyers were there was a greate quantitye þat was marvelous red, and þe which turned into gold; and some parte of the fyer went towards the south, soe þat god of a great miracle shewed it to me and my skryer; also the fyer was marvelous greate and bright, and tourned into gold as before. And sodainly casting my eye asyde, there was a great blacke cloude, which gathered into a sharpe pointe, into the west, and spreade very brode into the top towards the East, being maruelously inclosed with fyer, hauing .6. sundry points of blacke, having under ech bundle on the south side, a longe streyke of gold, very bright, which were in closed with greate fyer. [An illustration follows.] And after the litle streike there apered aboue them 2 greate bundles of golden streiks, which stoode aboue ech of the golden strikes, but the bundle þat stoode vppermost, was not soe bright as he þat stoode below. There was a greate blacke clowd betwene these 2 bundles and about the topp of this maruelous thinge, there was a greate quantitye of greene as before apereth. And betwene of the .6. blacke clowds as before, there was a greate number of fyer betwix eche of them as before you see. Also there apered on the south syde of yt, uppon the nether most bundle of gold, a square golden hyll with .4. corners, with 4 angles standing about yt, at ech corner one, whose names were mathewe, marke, luke, John, being barefoted with bookes in there hands, ther being a greate tre of bloud in the middle of the golden hyll, also there passed by vs, 2 doggs running on the grounde, which were spirits comming from the south towards the northe; the first of them was white, red and blacke, and went lering away apace which had noe tayle. Then followed the other dog which was all blacke, with a long tayle. And when he was right against me and my skryer, he loked first on the miracle before drawen, and then on me, and then on it againe; and soe passed awaye. These dogs had little legs, and greate brode feete, like unto horses. All which things aperith to vs with in one howers space. And when I went from the place, all things vanished awaye.[20]

Although in some of the records the spirits seem to speak directly to the operators from the stone or crystals, this passage and many others give the impression

> Seene by H.G. and Jo.: on þe 14 daye of marche anno domini 1567 at the sonns sett, or a little after, I knowe not perfectlye, it was aboute 7 of the cloke. First I, and my skryer sawe a rownde fyer in the west, which sodaynly vanished and came agayne. There apered annother with hym which I beheld very well, and from them there went a greate blacke cloud under them, which went from the west, by the north to the east pointe. And ouer that cloud there came an extreme number of fyer, and in the place where the first fyers were there was a greate quantitye þat was marvelous red, and þe which turned into gold; and some parte of the fyer went towards the south, soe þat god of a great miracle shewed it to me and my skryer; also the fyer was marvelous greate and bright, and tourned into gold as before. And sodainly casting my eye asyde, there was a great blacke cloude, which gathered into a sharpe pointe, into the west, and spreade very brode into the top towards the East, being maruelously inclosed with fyer, hauing .6. sundry points of blacke, having under ech bundle on the south side, a longe streyke of gold, very bright, which were in closed with greate fyer. [An illustration follows.] And after the litle streike there apered aboue them 2 greate bundles of golden streiks, which stoode aboue ech of the golden strikes, but the bundle þat stoode vppermost, was not soe bright as he þat stoode below. There was a greate blacke clowd betwene these 2 bundles and about the topp of this maruelous thinge, there was a greate quantitye of greene as before apereth. And betwene of the .6. blacke clowds as before, there was a greate number of fyer betwix eche of them as before you see. Also there apered on the south syde of yt, uppon the nether most bundle of gold, a square golden hyll with .4. corners, with 4 angles standing about yt, at ech corner one, whose names were mathewe, marke, luke, John, being barefoted with bookes in there hands, ther being a greate tre of bloud in the middle of the golden hyll, also there passed by vs, 2 doggs running on the grounde, which were spirits comming from the south towards the northe; the first of them was white, red and blacke, and went lering away apace which had noe tayle. Then followed the other dog which was all blacke, with a long tayle. And when he was right against me and my skryer, he loked first on the miracle before drawen, and then on me, and then on it againe; and soe passed awaye. These dogs had little legs, and greate brode feete, like unto horses. All which things aperith to vs with in one howers space. And when I went from the place, all things vanished awaye.[20]

Although in some of the records the spirits seem to speak directly to the operators from the stone or crystals, this passage and many others give the impression that all of the participants were entirely immersed in the visionary experience. It seems more likely that the skryer saw and reported visions in which he and the others were participants, though it is possible that the others may occasionally have seen things too. Dee's records of his "actions" contain similar ambiguities in the visionary record, where Dee is always an active and imaginative participant in the proceedings, though his notes make it clear that he seldom saw anything.

If they are subject to occasional lapses (such as the failure to record the hour, in this instance), and if their record keeping is not as thorough as Dee's, nevertheless the Gilberts certainly make an effort to be systematic. They commonly record the time and general astrological conditions. The tremendous attention to detail makes clear that they were concerned to preserve accurate and detailed accounts of what the skryer had reported. That they returned to the text and corrected various details reinforces the impression that they wished the vision accounts to be as accurate as possible.[21] Given this concern with detail and accuracy, it may well be that the Gilberts' description of the visions as if visible to all was a literary device meant to lend the process credibility and to emphasize that at least two of the men present participated in crafting the reports.

This passage illustrates an important way in which Gilbert's operations were not typical of medieval manuals, one that cannot be attributed to changes in religious sensibilities. If medieval magical operators made extensive, detailed notes during their operations, none, to my knowledge, survives. Accounts of visions attained through magical processes may be found in literary works (usually antimagical) or in instructions for ritual magic operations that tell the operator what *should* result. More extensive accounts of visions by magical practitioners are less common. The notable exception, John of Morigny's *Liber visionum,* is a highly polished account clearly reconstructed from memories of the visions rather than detailed notes taken at the time. Unlike John's work, but more like the records of John Dee's actions, the visionary records in Additional 36674 appear to be relatively undigested. One might speculate that medieval examples have simply been destroyed or lost, but one would still have to account for why these texts did not survive. The most plausible explanation is that prior to the second half of the sixteenth century, such notes were not considered worth keeping. In either case, the extensive note taking of the Gilberts and John Dee, their desire to preserve the notes, and their efforts to assure their accuracy and sense of immediacy seem to represent a new attitude toward the raw data of the visions.

A more detailed examination of the goals and methods involved reveals a similar mix of tradition and innovation. Gilbert's principal goal of deriving knowledge manifests itself immediately at the start of the instructions, where the reader is advised to begin with a short general prayer for wisdom.

> This prayer is to be sayde when and before you deale with any spiritt; This was reuealed by kinge Solomon, Anno domini 1567, die 20 Februarij circa 9. 10.
>
> O god of Aungelles, god of Archaungells; god of Patriarches, god of Prophetts, god of vs sinners; O lord be my help, that this my worke may proceed in good tyme, to thy glorie, O god; and to learninge, and noe Art else, glorifie the in all workes. Amen. Let not euyll spyritt enter my mynde o god, nor nothinge else but all to thy glorie o god; for learning is all my desier, lord thou knowest; euen as yt was to thy seruaunt Solomon; O lord sende me somme of this good hiddenn worke, that hath not been reuealed to noe mann. Then for that cause I desier the O god to sende yt mee, that in these our laste daies yt may be knowenn. Amen. Amen, lord, Amen with your Pater noster.[22]

Such prayers are fundamental elements in ritual magic works like the *Ars notoria,* where they employ similar kinds of formulae and rhetorical strategies.[23] The injunction that this prayer should be said at the start of *all* spirit operations frames the entire set of instructions as a search for knowledge, and, at least in these pages, this appears to be sincere: the search for secrets, wisdom, or learning predominates throughout the operations.

Precisely how the Gilberts and others thought this knowledge was to be transferred, however, is less clear. The request for knowledge in this passage and the attribution of the prayer to Solomon moved Gabriel Harvey, the seventeenth-century owner and annotator of the manuscript, to note its evident likeness to the *Ars notoria.*[24] A passage in which Solomon tells Gilbert that he will be taught "all the arts" suggests this work above all others. That Solomon also advises him that he must read when told to do so may be a reference to the exercise of reading required in the performance of the *Ars notoria.*[25] The request for a "hiddenn worke" in the passage quoted above, however, seems to reflect the story of the *Liber Razielis,* in which secret knowledge is passed to Adam from the angel Raziel, either figuratively or physically in the form of a book.[26] That Gilbert is promised such a book and that Davis retrieves it from the "House of Solomon" in a vision seems to reflect this tradition.[27]

> Jo. sawe a greate woods, having a greate howse in the middle of yt: with a little house by it most strongly buylded; hauving an Iron dore, with 9 keyholes. these being written vn the dore thes caracts following [numerous sigils]. And in the house he sawe a chamber richly hanged with gold, in which chamber there was a tre of christale which was written upon very well, hauving many branches, with a dore on hym, as it were with 7. key-

> holes, which had the <. . .> written on yt; with in there with there ware many bookes, whereof one had a christall cover and another with the heary syde of a skyn outward; with divers other goodly bookes.[28]

At still other points, Solomon tells Humphrey that he will teach him how to "make" a book, which suggests the divinely aided editing and writing of John of Morigny and Honorius of Thebes.[29] The instructions for conjuring the four kings also advise the operator to demand a book of magic from the demon Oriens, so the search for knowledge of magic is by no means limited to angels and spirits of the dead, even though this appears to have been their most successful avenue.[30] One is left with the impression—not surprising given the variety of possibilities suggested by prior texts—that the operators themselves were unsure what to expect, whether a kind of infusion of knowledge, the delivery of a book, or instruction and guidance, but were content to let the spirits decide.

At the same time, certain kinds of information were actually transmitted to them, and consistent features may be discerned in both the nature of that knowledge and how they used it. The great care taken to record the visions suggests that all the small visual details, such as the sigils on the door, might potentially be important sources of information, and perhaps that many of the more incomprehensible ones, such as the activities of the strange multicolored animals, might need to be decoded or understood at a later date. More important, the spirits instructed them directly in the proper performance of magic, sometimes even when they had not been asked, and although they certainly referred to conjuring manuals and perhaps also to the works of Cornelius Agrippa for information, they appear to have regarded these sources as secondary to the visions. On March 22, between two and three in the afternoon, Humphrey (probably with great relish) was cursing and condemning Bleath, a particularly recalcitrant minor demon.

> There came of hymselfe the Euangelist Luke into a christall stone that lay on the bourd. And willed me to leaue using the names of God, to such wicked and rebellious spirits offering hymself to doe all things for me, and to teach me, howe to haue althings done by the angles, without such cursings, and coniuring by the word and names of god. . . . And I hauing the spirit of K. Solomon and the spirite of Jobe before. They both fell on their knees to Luke when they sawe him. And the wicked inferior bleath rean continually away, from one place to another rounde about the stone as fast as might be.[31]

What happens here is unusual in two ways. While John of Morigny also records instances of divine apparition in the course of his performance of demonic magic (including apparitions of the four evangelists), and while these apparitions ultimately do lead to the production of a divine text, the emphasis in John's autobiography is always at first on the strenuous and difficult conversion away from demonic practices. This intervention by Saint Luke in this passage is a more direct and effortless transition from demonic binding to something more like angelic invocation, its very fluidity suggestive, perhaps, of a dissolving conceptual boundary between angelic and demonic practices. More important, the advice Luke offers runs counter not only to the approach they had already recorded in their book of instructions but also to traditional necromancy as a whole. Rather than the standard method of conjuring, which mimicked exorcism by invoking holy names and drawing upon the power God promised to good Christians, Luke suggests a temporary but novel arrangement in which he, a spirit of the dead, an elect soul, will control demons on the operator's behalf. As in the case of John of Morigny, visionary experience supersedes traditional and textual authority. It should not be surprising that the Gilberts were willing to take the word of a saint on how to perform magic over what they found in their conjuring manuals, though other examples reveal that this was not an isolated instance but part of a purposeful, if not systematic, approach. They did not regard magic as the performance of various experiments, unrelated except for the similarity of their form, but rather as a progressive program of learning, a cumulative process in which information and experience were amassed over time. Such a progression is implicit in the demand that one begin with lower spirits and work up to more difficult ones. "Bleath, should a younge beginner first call; although to call Assasel yt is the most noble Arte; whose charact followethe."[32] But the best evidence of their approach to acquiring knowledge lies in the way they assembled the manuscripts we are considering.

The Gilberts' careful dating of their visions allows us to reconstruct the complex relationship between their operations and the magical manual they were writing, or at least some of it. We know that their operations were probably based on some late medieval conjuring manual that they, or some prior scribe, had adjusted according to Protestant and secular sensibilities. It is also possible, if not likely, that they had tried this kind of thing before. While it is true that Humphrey was blustery enough to fancy himself an expert relatively quickly, the confident tone of the text suggests he had been at it longer than a few weeks. He and Davis began their recorded operations in late February, and on February 20 Solomon dictated a new prayer for them to employ at the start of their operations. Presumably they used this prayer from that point on, since, as we have seen, they accorded it such an important place in their magical manual when they began to write it on March 22 at 8:00 A.M. How much they managed to write before that afternoon is unclear, but by 2:00 P.M. Humphrey was engaged in his operation to conjure the four kings. Shortly after this, Saint Luke appeared, offering the correction and assistance just discussed and promising to teach a new method of operation. Luke fulfilled this promise eight days later, with instructions for a show stone in which Bleath would not have been able to disobey.

> The beste and moste excellente waye and Arte is, as well for Aungells, as for Inferiours and other Spyritts, to haue these names of god wryttenn in your stone, as followethe. [A round stone is roughly sketched out but it has been left incomplete, as no characters have been inserted.]
>
> This is written without, because the circle was to lyttle, but yt muste be written wythin the circle nexte adioyninge, your stone muste be flatt of bothe sides, and cleare without crackes or staines, and as large as may be gottenn, and of a good thicknes. Nota: Noe spyritt cann disobay that is called into the stone thus graued; and the makinge therof wast discovered by Luke onn Easter time, beinge in Anno Domini 1567.[33]

This passage falls on the last folio of the manual, and operations employing the names of God to control recalcitrant demons appear on the previous folio. Precisely how the new equipment Luke provided was meant to alter the operations is unclear. He certainly did not mean that they should cease employing demons or ghosts, which would have entailed rejecting all the methods they had recorded to that point; rather, Luke "willed [them] to leaue using the *names of God,* to such wicked and rebellious spirits." So it seems likely that they assumed that this addition would make certain operations of the manual unnecessary, but that in other respects it remained appropriate.

Gilbert and his associates sought to acquire knowledge in a purposeful, even systematic manner, understanding that it would be a cumulative process. They began with ritual magic manuals in hand, and given that such texts were common, it is quite possible that they had one of the many circulating manuscripts of ritual magic attributed to Solomon or Roger Bacon, or a printed volume by Cornelius Agrippa. If they did not enter into the operations under the assumption that their books might need correction, they certainly assumed that true magical knowledge had to be derived from practice and from direct engagement with the numinous rather than from books. In part, they assumed that one had to build up experience in order to practice the art effectively; in part, the practice of the art itself made new information available. They carefully recorded their visions, noting intricate details, evidently assuming that their descriptions might ultimately yield further knowledge. The spirits also instructed them. No doubt they understood that Solomon's promise to assist Gilbert in "making" books would be fulfilled in such a fashion—and they certainly did make a new book. More crucially, the new revealed elements superseded the old and became key elements in the new manual, and at the very least their experiences facilitated a critical dialogue with whatever base text they originally employed.

So, despite being based on the texts and traditions of medieval ritual magic, this manuscript differed from them. Protestant attitudes (or the desire not to appear Catholic) probably motivated the Gilberts or some prior scribe to strip out Catholic elements and to remove the requirement of virginity for a skryer and of ascetic practices for the master. The Gilberts added new techniques, prayers, and magical characters to whatever original text or texts they had, and for all we know they may have made a wide range of other undocumented changes based on instructions from the spirits. That they made careful records of the visions seems to constitute a significant change to the medieval traditions of ritual magic, but they do not appear to have affected its processes or intellectual culture in a dramatic way. In fact, these changes themselves reflect another significant area of continuity with medieval ritual magic. This continuity can best be understood in the broader context of medieval learned magic. Let me introduce this discussion, then, with a brief description of the other major tradition of illicit learned magic prior to 1500.

Astrological image magic is represented by hundreds of manuscript witnesses prior to 1500, and the form of those manuscripts is consistent and distinctive. Magical talismans, rings, and other objects bearing some sort of engraved astrological symbol had received enough approval from Scholastic writers as a potentially nondemonic form of magic to grant this type of magic a kind of associate status within Scholastic natural philosophy. Important works of natural philosophy, such as the *Speculum astronomiae*, regarded some forms of astrological image magic as natural and nondemonic; and philosophers of the stature of Albert the Great had no quarrel with this idea. In part as a result of this, these texts demonstrate a measure of stability in transmission and interpretation. While Thomas Aquinas and others following him were more stringent in their assessment of the legitimacy of image magic, these early positive evaluations were enough to keep a debate continuously alive in Scholastic circles from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries.[34] As this debate hinged upon obscure details in the Scholastic model of physical causation, proponents of astrological image magic, eager to find ways to demonstrate its legitimacy, tended to employ Scholastic arguments. Opponents and those who had not made up their minds also depended upon the literature of natural philosophy for clarity and guidance. This situation is reflected in the manuscripts and codices and the libraries that contained them. Almost uniformly prior to 1500, scribes, collectors, and cataloguers treat astrological image magic as part of the library of natural philosophy and *naturalia*. The principles of Scholastic natural philosophy and the opinions of Scholastic authorities also played a major role in helping scribes to choose appropriate texts to copy. Texts that were conformable to Scholastic prescriptions of legitimacy were copied at a much higher rate than those deemed illegitimate, many of which do not survive at all.[35]

Works of astrological image magic, by their very nature, also demand a particular kind of treatment by their interpreters and scribes, and this makes them similar to Scholastic scientific works in another sense. According to the arguments of the Arabic commentator al-Kindi, the figure in an astrological talisman or ring (as opposed to the stuff of which it was made) had to have an ontological connection with the astrological influences upon which it drew. This assumption was implicit in many of the magical texts themselves; it also formed the core question in the Scholastic debate: does the *shape* of a physical object have or transmit occult properties? Thus, for Latin readers who believed this was possible, the image depicted or described in the text might reflect a cosmological secret: if the image was accurate, the magic would work, and the text would contain a valuable demonstration of powerful linkages between the heavens and the earth. If it was not accurate, if it did not correctly depict the ontological stellar configuration, it was useless. Truth thus potentially resided in the actual depicted figures or characters in the text itself, and their usefulness depended upon their accuracy. More significantly, if an appropriate figure was not employed, the operator ran the risk of invoking the aid of demons. Perhaps for this reason, or perhaps because they were treated like other works of natural philosophy, their transmission tended to be relatively stable and the contents did not vary a great deal. The intellectual culture surrounding this sort of magic is thus arguably similar to Scholastic culture in its emphasis on the authority of transmitted texts.

The culture surrounding ritual magic and its written traditions could not be more different. Subject to perennial rewriting, editing, and reformulation, ritual magic was perhaps the most mercurial of all medieval magical traditions. The multiplicity of its textual traditions was both the cause and also the result of the fact that in significant ways it stood outside the mainstream. Although Scholastic arguments certainly played a role in the *rejection* of ritual magic practices, no Scholastic authority ever provided a shred of hope that they might be legitimate. They fall entirely in the realm of what Weill-Parot has termed "addressative" practices—by all standard Augustinian and Thomistic definitions, they are nonnatural.[36] It is thus understandable that texts of ritual magic travel with works of *naturalia* far less often. Astrological image magic texts differ from ritual magic texts in a crucial structural way as well. The purpose of ritual magic texts is generally intermediary: they do not tend to record truths about the world but rather to represent ritual practices by which contact with spirits may be facilitated in order to attain truths about the world. Like all liturgies, ritual magic is highly subject to local need and local change. Finally, the authors of ritual magic texts were keenly aware that the magical library contained false or misleading texts.[37] If works like the *Liber Razielis* tended to represent themselves as divinely revealed, they were still less the containers of truth than the divinely sanctioned means to discover it. Truth had to be discerned in practice and in encounters with the numinous, particularly angels, and the particular knowledge that might be derived would differ from person to person.[38] A fifteenth-century necromancer's manual records necromantic processes in which emphasis is given to questions rather than answers.

> When the spiryt is apperyd: What is thy name? Under what state and what dynite [i.e., dignity] hast thow? What is thy powyr and thy offyse? Undyr what planet and sygn art thow. Of what parte arte thow of the world? Of which element art thow? Whych is thy monyth? What is thy day and thyn owyr? What is thyne howre, day or nyght? Whych is thy winde? What be they caretes that thow abyst to? Whych is thy mansion and thy day? Which is thy sterre? Which is thy stone? Which is thy erbe? What is thyne offyse to do. What is thy metale? What is thyne Aungellys name that thow moste obeyst to. And in what lykenes aperyst thow? How many commyst thow wythall?[39]

Similarly, the commonly occurring conjurations for any spirit suggest that users developed magical processes in response to whatever circumstances might arise in their operations, or using whatever new knowledge they might have gained through their practices. For example, it appears that Trithemius probably employed angel magic to fill in the gaps as he wrote his *Chronicle*.[40] Truths were thus derived directly from experience of the numinous, from instruction by it, or from interrogating it, and this process of discovery both enabled and depended on a dynamic relationship with the texts, which were continuously being adapted to suit new needs.

Even where ritual texts are handed on in recognizable forms and variants (e.g., in the case of the *Ars notoria*), practitioners appear to have understood ritual magic as a program of progressive, cumulative, and practical knowledge acquisition. It was understood that one had to *learn* how to perform ritual magic. The prologue to the *Liber sacer* requires that the understanding of the text be passed on in a kind of magical apprenticeship process, a holy brotherhood in which the master selects appropriate followers who ultimately may be given the right to take up his position and pass the knowledge on to others.[41] John of Morigny talks explicitly about how he had to learn how to make the *Ars notoria* work.[42] Part of this process may have been a kind of conditioning that made the practitioner more disposed or attentive to whatever psychological mechanisms the magic drew upon, such as dreams or trance states. But this learning process was also understood as practical and cumulative. For example, John appears to take it for granted that the natural result of having developed expertise in necromantic magic was to write a book on the subject.[43] In part, the process also involved the development of critical skills in dealing with visionary experiences. When John of Morigny began practicing magic, he was unable to tell the difference between holy and unholy presences, and he emphasized the need to request assistance through prayer.[44] Eventually, however, he was able to produce a detailed discussion of the ways in which one could do this.[45]

In summary, its practitioners did not regard ritual magic as part of the discourse of Scholastic natural philosophy. Ritual magicians understood truth to be derived not from knowledge preserved in authoritative works but from experience, practice, or interrogation of spirits. They understood this knowledge to be cumulatively amassed by the practitioner rather than to inhere in a preexisting set of authoritative pronouncements. They understood their relationship with their texts to be dynamic and susceptible to alteration or elucidation in the spiritual encounter. And finally, although their ritual processes were in part designed to overcome the deficiencies of the natural senses, nevertheless they were almost entirely dependent upon the senses for the acquisition of knowledge.

These habits of mind may be witnessed in Gilbert's operations. Aside from some imagery that suggests an interest in alchemy, these operations display no interest in astrological image magic, other kinds of natural magic, or any of the Scholastic theories and debates associated with them. Gilbert and his associates did not regard the received traditions of magic as authoritative but employed them in a dynamic and interactive manner. Their advice that "the master must also haue 1 or 2 good bookes to call by, as after you shall here fyende" makes clear that one had to be discerning about the texts one chose; but they also evidently regarded their base text as something that might need to be corrected or more substantially transformed. They did not hesitate to make modifications where they saw fit. Some of these modifications were minor and were motivated by their own religious sensibilities. Some were considerable, involving the incorporation of new operations or equipment prepared under the direction of the spirits.

Perhaps more radically than their medieval forebears, the Gilberts understood their visions not only as a proof and tangible effect of the legitimacy of their operations but as experiences that were potentially an important source of raw data. Their attention to the intimate and seemingly inconsequential details of the visions, and their efforts accurately to record them in an undigested form, attest to their focus on experientially derived knowledge. The way they edited their texts, and their advice that the operator must work progressively, starting with lower demons and working upward, demonstrate that they regarded knowledge of magic to be acquired cumulatively. In the end, they contributed to the ongoing transformations of medieval ritual magic by assembling and collecting their information in a new magical text.

Magic and Science: Humphrey Gilbert's Academy

In a 1994 book review, Brian Vickers criticized the tendency to regard Ficino and Pico as the epitome of Renaissance magic when the vast majority of contemporary learned magic did not look at all like their "intellectualist" works.[46] While there may be other problems with Vickers's theoretical frame, he was quite right to emphasize that practitioners of learned magic in the sixteenth century rarely looked like what readers of Frances Yates's works might be led to believe. The overwhelming majority of sixteenth-century manuscripts of high magic contain medieval works of ritual magic or reformulations of them. At the same time, the major medieval tradition of natural magic, often assumed to have been central to Renaissance magic (that is, astrological image magic), appears to have been in decline.[47] Humphrey Gilbert's practices exemplify this trend, and we can use his example to answer Vickers's challenge, although perhaps in a way he would not have anticipated.

As a practitioner of magic, Gilbert has no place in the traditional accounts of the relationship between magic and science in the Renaissance. Almost without exception, from the foundational work of Lynn Thorndike, through the chimerical edifice of Frances Yates, to more recent work by Charles Webster, Deborah Harkness, John Henry, Stephen McKnight, Brian Copenhaver, and others, a focus upon natural philosophy and natural magic has precluded direct consideration of ritual magic. Most scholars continue to assume that the magical traditions that Thorndike referred to as "superstitious" and that Yates derided as the "old dirty" magic of the Middle Ages declined and were superseded in the sixteenth century by a purified Renaissance magic, a form of magic emphasizing mathematics, focusing on the natural world and occult causation, or exhibiting "science-friendly" mythic structures.[48] As a result, they have tended to focus almost entirely upon natural philosophy, natural magic, so-called Hermetic traditions, astrological image magic, and kabbalism, particularly where they emphasize number or geometry. If Humphrey cared about any of these things, they do not appear in his magical practices, which are very much in the tradition of the "old dirty magic." In fact, his magical genealogy (which does not even include

Hermes) makes clear that he and his companions understood Renaissance magic, at least as represented by Cornelius Agrippa and themselves, to belong to a tradition extending back through medieval ritual magic to the Old Testament patriarchs. Like his magic, Gilbert's proposal for a new academy was by no means revolutionary, but as an expression of common attitudes and approaches crucial to the development of modern science, it suggests a number of ways in which we may reorient our approach. The striking commonalities between his scientific and magical projects suggest that he conceived of them and approached them in very similar terms.

Elizabeth's new academy was to be dedicated to the education of young noblemen under the wardship of the Crown, but it was also to be open to others. In many ways, Gilbert's proposal simply reiterates standard humanist ideas (arguably elements in the development of modern science itself); he emphasizes worldly skills, advocates training the whole person, and rejects Scholasticism and Scholastic pedagogy. In other ways, his proposed academy moves beyond them. It would fund investigation of the natural world for practical purposes by combining theoretical and practical skills. One of its "mathematicians" was to be essentially a cosmographer with a heavy emphasis on navigation, and the other a military engineer with a large gunpowder budget for monthly practical demonstrations of ballistics.[49] Similarly, the physician would be required to supplement his traditional theoretical training by acquiring and practicing the skills of the apothecary and surgeon. This destruction of the traditional boundaries of professional practice also would include experimental and collaborative work.

> This phisition shall continuall practize togeather with the naturall philosophor, by the fire and otherwise, to search and try owt the secreats of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may. And shalbe sworne once euery yeare to deliuer into the Treasorer his office, faire, and plaine written in parchment, without Equiuocations or Enigmaticall phrases, vnder their handles, all those their proofes and trialles made within the forepassed yeare, Togeather with the true event of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good, and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in Awcomistrie there be any such thinges hidden.[50]

Far from the esoteric tendencies commonly attributed to enthusiasts of the occult, Gilbert does not appear sympathetic to the so-called Renaissance episteme but rather proposes to strip natural magic and alchemy of their poetic and philosophical language and place them in the cold light of practical experiment, close observation, and disinterested description.[51] Gilbert's proposal rejects traditional Scholastic pedagogy, Scholastic method, the old division of disciplines, and esoteric language; it promotes a critical dialogue with ancient sources; it sets experientially derived knowledge over authority as the standard for judging the received traditions; it sees the search for knowledge less as an engagement with a body of knowledge than as the assembling of the collection of known truths; it seeks to attain critical distance through careful observation and description of experimental processes; and it gives primacy to practical results. In all of these respects, Gilbert belongs firmly in the tradition of British thinkers leading up to Francis Bacon and reflects the shifts in thought crucial to the scientific revolution.[52] Since he probably presented it to Elizabeth in 1570, if Gilbert was not at work on his proposal when he was engaged in his magical operations, he certainly undertook it very soon afterward.

The practices and intellectual traditions of medieval ritual magic and Gilbert's reformulations of them are very much in line with what we see in the proposal and with what makes it "scientific" in the modern sense. Peter Dear has suggested that one of the crucial differences between Scholastic natural philosophy and modern science is that the former considered itself a "body of knowledge" to be acquired, while the latter considered itself more of a "research enterprise."[53] The "research enterprise" of Gilbert's ritual magic is remarkably similar to what we find in his more "scientific" endeavors. Ritual magic was as much an experientially focused methodology as a written tradition, was suspicious of received texts, and required knowledge to be established in a critical dialogue between received knowledge and experience, a dialogue in which the element of experience was primary. If ritual magic operators' circumspect attitude toward received traditions was still accompanied by the belief that men of the past, such as Adam and Solomon, had had privileged access to knowledge of the world, this was little different from Francis Bacon, who expressed similar ideas. Beyond this, ritual magic (again, unlike many forms of natural magic) was not found in Scholastic books, understood as a part of Scholastic discourse, or promoted by writers using warmed-over Scholastic arguments, so it may well have been attractive to those with anti-Scholastic sentiments. In short, medieval ritual magic texts had much to offer to the practical, experientially oriented, anti-Scholastic, independent-minded Humphrey Gilbert.

It almost goes without saying that in many other crucial respects Gilbert's magic was not like modern science, and I don't wish to elide the differences between his demon conjuring and Boyle's air pump.[54] At the same time, the mechanistic models and systematic approaches of Bacon, Descartes, Boyle, and others had not yet been formulated, so it would be anachronistic to hold Gilbert's magical exercises to their standards. Insofar as Gilbert's proposal for a new academy may be taken as representative of important new intellectual and social currents that contributed to the rise of science, the medieval ritual magic he practiced may also be understood not only as amenable to them but even as "scientific" in its own right. At the very least, Humphrey Gilbert's story illustrates that the almost universally held assumption that the "old magic" was in decline, uniformly represented "regressive" tendencies, or was incompatible with the new trends in science cannot be sustained. In fact, in many respects the forms of magic commonly granted a kind of associate status in accounts of the scientific revolution would have been wrested from their theoretical settings and dismembered in Gilbert's academy, while ritual magic as a practice and method survived more or less intact in his hands, arguably becoming more scientific through an increased emphasis on description. In this sense, the learned magic of Gilbert, and later of Dee, need not, and in fact cannot, be squeezed into the narrow confines of natural magic or of a putatively purified "Renaissance magic," and it cannot be understood without reference to medieval traditions. In fact, in numerous ways ritual magic can be considered more "scientific" than natural magic traditions such as astrological image magic, whose associations with the increasingly antiquated approaches of Scholastic thought remained strong. When the day was over and the conjurations had drawn to a close, Gilbert may well have decided that his magical operations led down a blind alley. Had he lived to see them, he might well have preferred the approaches of Boyle and his associates. But we will know a good deal more about sixteenth-century magic and science if we can understand why Humphrey Gilbert was inclined to walk among the spirits with his crystals, conjurations, and pen.

Appendix: The Manuscript and the Question of Attribution

The manuscript falls into two parts, the first containing instructions for operations and the second, the record of visions attained (fols. 47r–57v and 58r–62v, respectively). In the second section, the master of the operation is identified as H.G. and the skryer as John Davis. Without question, Davis was not one of the scribes and, despite a cataloguer's identification, neither was Simon Forman.[55] Gabriel Harvey's suggestion that the second might be the work of Thomas Smith seems very unlikely.[56] The manuscript does, however, provide as solid a link with the Gilbert household as paleography can afford. Adrian Gilbert is a credible candidate for the scribe of the first section.[57] The hand of the second section cannot be positively identified as Humphrey Gilbert's, but the possibility cannot be rejected either. It seems more likely, however, that the manuscript was written by a secretary, something that would have been in keeping with Humphrey's habits. The vast majority of his surviving correspondence and works were not written in his own hand. Such a scenario is borne out by the corrections to the second portion, which were probably made by the scribe of the first section. In addition, many of the errors suggest that the second section was copied, perhaps from more informal notes, in preparation for a final, formal copy. Many of the errors are difficult to account for except as misreadings in copying. We find, for example, "shyll" expunged and "hill" written in (59v) and "a loud streake of golde" corrected to "a longe streake of gold" (60v). More tellingly, accidental duplication of words also recurs, such as the duplication of "apereth" (60v) and "help" (60r). In short, the paleographic evidence tends to favor attribution to the Gilbert household and certainly cannot be used to reject this thesis.

Circumstantial evidence for this attribution, however, is powerful. Humphrey Gilbert was in England at the time these operations are said to have taken place. His known brutality in arms matches the character of H.G., who takes great relish in cursing and abusing demons in the operations and whose engagements with them are presented entirely in military terms, something not typical in necromantic literature. He rides into armies of demons, cutting them down with his sword. As noted in the first paragraph, the operations took place at a time when Humphrey was undertaking important new directions in his life; the concern for the future reflected in the manuscript appears to bear this out.[58] The descriptions of the skryer also correspond well with the John Davis who would become the navigator. Davis, the son of a local family and protégé of the Gilbert household, would certainly have been familiar to the household and was of an age when he could have been expected to be living there for long periods of time. At seventeen, John Davis would have been older than the boys traditionally used in medieval skrying, but the old requirement of virginity and sexual purity appears to have become less crucial in sixteenth-century operations, perhaps under the influence of Protestantism, but also potentially due to a declericalization of ritual magic. The descriptions of the skryer in the visions suggest a youth rather than a prepubescent boy.[59] As discussed below, both Davis and Adrian Gilbert were heavily involved in magical operations, and Adrian with alchemy.[60] So each of the known figures corresponds well with what appears in the manuscript.

Perhaps most convincing of all, Humphrey, Adrian, and John were evidently part of a circle of practitioners associated with John Dee, whose magical operations and note taking greatly resemble theirs. Their interaction with Dee certainly involved questions of navigation, exploration, cartography, metallurgy, mining, and the associated business interests, and nothing in the records of Humphrey's visits suggests that the topics of discussion involved magic.[61] John and Adrian's dealings with Dee, however, had as much if not more to do with magic. In his diary Dee notes that in 1583 he reconciled some difference he had with them, occasioned by William Emery. He also notes Davis's dislike for the skryer. Adrian was also evidently familiar enough with Dee's household to have mediated a conflict between Dee's wife and his skryer, Edward Kelly, and was involved in some of Dee's early operations with Kelly.[62] Their evident familiarity with Dee's circle of magical practitioners appears to have been even more longstanding than the diary suggests. A note by John Dee dated 1568 indicates that he had determined, through magic, and with the assistance of William Emery, the date of John Davis's birth.[63] It would have been very unlikely that he came to know the Devon teenager unless through the Gilbert household, and the fact that he could not just ask for the information makes clear that Davis was not in the environs of Mortlake. That Dee inquired about Davis shortly after the operations recorded in Additional 36674 suggests that Dee was aware of them and of Davis's role. In fact, one wonders whether the conflict between Davis and Emery was a matter of professional competition between two skryers.

In summary, although no individual piece of evidence incontrovertibly connects Additional 36674 with the Gilbert household, the overwhelming weight of circumstantial evidence leads me to attribute it to John Davis, Adrian Gilbert, and Humphrey Gilbert. That Humphrey does not appear to have been involved in Dee's magical operations at the time of his first recorded visits to Mortlake may suggest that his interest in them had waned by that time. It is nonetheless interesting that Gilbert's posthumous portrait, which now hangs in his ancestral home at Compton, includes a stylized combination of the astrological sigils for Mercury and Mars (remarkably suited to the martial and mercurial Humphrey), which looks a great deal like the hieroglyphic monad of John Dee. Even to the end of his life, he was evidently fashioning himself as a man of esoteric interests.

NOTES

1. This shift in orientation is very widespread, so I can cite only a small fraction of the literature salient to the present discussion. The social organization of science has been the subject of numerous studies. See James E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); and Michael Hunter, *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1989). The social uses and construction of science or scientific truth have been examined in a variety of ways. Steven Shapin has argued that since it was rarely possible to verify experimental results, their presentation had to draw upon social constructs of honor and dependability. See Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Eric H. Ash discusses the development of the role of the "expert mediator" in the sixteenth century and how it laid the groundwork for Bacon's conception of himself and of the role of the experimental scientist. See Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). Anthony Grafton and others have discussed the context and influence of humanism. See Anthony Grafton and Nancy G. Siraisi, *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). Numerous studies have concerned themselves with the ways in which experience was valorized, understood, and warranted. See, for example, Peter Robert Dear, *Discipline and Experience: The Mathematical Way in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature,*

1150–1750 (New York: Zone Books, 1998). Brian W. Ogilvie's study of natural history emphasizes sixteenth-century concerns with "description." See Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

2. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise*, 163–65.

3. Adrian Gilbert was certainly an active alchemist, but this was arguably not magic at all, and in any event there is no evidence that Humphrey or Davis shared this interest. The interest in alchemy and ritual magic evident in a considerable number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scribes and manuscript collectors, as well as well-known figures like Adrian Gilbert, John Dee, and Simon Foreman, was not common before 1500. I plan to explore the significance of this change in a future article.

4. Charles Webster epitomizes this view, arguing that "popular operative magic," or "magic as the performance of rituals aimed at controlling forces held responsible for the succession of events," slowly fell into abeyance among the intellectual elite, but that the idea that "the magus might unlock the potential of occult qualities through exploiting natural magic" persisted through the seventeenth century. His subsequent discussion focuses almost entirely on the relationship between natural magic and medicine. He is to be commended, however, for insisting that dualities such as "hermetic" vs. "scientific" are anachronistic. Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 11–12. John Henry expresses a similar perspective: "Magic is not a monolithic subject and it is important to stress that major aspects of the history of magic seem to play no role in the rise of modern science, for example, demonic magic, chiromancy, and Kabbalah. The crucial aspects of the magical tradition for the historian of science were those encompassed by the term *Natural Magic*, which embraced all those arts which relied upon natural lore; for example, astrology and alchemy." John Henry, "Magic and Science in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," in *Companion to the History of Modern Science*, ed. Robert C. Olby (London: Routledge, 1990), 586. This perspective is reflected in most general considerations of the subject. See the general bibliographic essay of Steven Shapin in Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 195–200.

5. The two sections themselves occur at fols. 47r–57v and 58r–62v.

6. For more detail about the manuscript, see the appendix to this chapter.

7. For example, a prayer revealed by Solomon on Easter 1567 appears on fol. 47r. This is discussed in greater detail below.

8. "First it is good arte allwayes for the master that must beginn this arte, to leave swearinge, and all drounkenn company, yf he do know themm. He must allway goe very cleane appariled that must worke in this art. He must allway keepe his promyses, yf he make any, and not breake them. He must be good to the poore where he seeth neede. He must allway keepe his Skrier in cleane apparrel. This is the beginninge to bringe them to arte. The master must also haue 1 or 2 good bookes to call by, as after you shall here fyende." Fol. 47v.

9. For the *Practica nigromanciae*, see London, London Society of Antiquaries, 39, fols. 15v–17v. For the rules governing the *Liber iuratus*, see *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, ed. Gösta Hedegård (Stockholm: Almqvist &Wiksell, 2002), I.20–29, p. 61. The rules also seem to echo those listed in another work in the same codex. "Yf you be wyllynge to work, yt ys requyred that you abstayne from all thinges vnlawfull, as from swearynge, from glotonye, and all other naughty deades; which is requyred for the space of nyne daies before thy workynge." London, British Library, Additional 36674, fol. 14v.

10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D. 252, fol. 49v, for example, gives a prayer for confession.

11. Frank Klaassen, "Learning and Masculinity in Manuscripts of Ritual Magic of the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, no. 1 (2007).

12. The most common method for magically acquiring learning and wisdom was the *Ars notoria*, discussed at length elsewhere in this volume. The conjuring manual edited and analyzed by Richard Kieckhefer also contains a necromantic analogue to the *Ars notoria* in which demons rather than angels are invoked. See Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997), 193–96; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 849, fols. 3r–5v. A sixteenth-century necromantic collection also contains prayers from the Solomonic *Ars notoria*. See London, British Library, Sloane 3853, fols. 159v–174v.

13. For example, although the vast majority of the instructions are given over to conjurations, threats, and commands for demons like Azazel, the spirits of the dead *consent* to help. They also appear to consent to being "bound" in some way, although the specifics of this arrangement are not clear. London, British Library, Additional 36674, fol. 59v. For a typical combination of demonic and angelic operations, see Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252.

14. It was commonly assumed that one could not conjure under cloudy conditions, and although conjuring at night was possible, it appears that working during the day was generally considered preferable. A roughly contemporary conjuring manual puts it like this: "Habe aerem clarum et non nubilosum quia sol magna habet influentia in spiritibus et appetetunt in radiis solaribus apparere et operari." London, British Library, Sloane 3318, fol. 2v. See also London, British Library, Sloan 3853, fol. 10v. The appearance of clouds demanded that the operations be abandoned. See Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252, fols. 30v–31r. Certainly, clear atmospheric conditions were necessary for crystallomantic operations. "Tunc in loco secreto et honesto aere sereno." Rawlinson D. 252, fol. 114v.

15. The notion that one could trap or somehow contain a spirit in a crystal occurs in numerous texts. See, for example, Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252, fols. 42v–44v, and Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1375, fols. 269v–270r. The fourteenth-century catalogue of the books of John Erghome of the Austin Friars at York includes a tract on enclosing a spirit in a mirror. See K. W. Humphreys, ed., *The Friars' Libraries* (London: British Library, 1990), 87–88.

16. Medieval necromantic operations using various skrying surfaces commonly required virgin boys and sometimes girls. On virginity as a requirement in such texts, see Claire Fanger, "Virgin Territory: Purity and Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Catoptromantic Texts," *Aries* 5, no. 2 (2005): 200–225. Anecdotal evidence of this practice may be found in the writings of John of Salisbury, who recounts being employed for this purpose as a boy. John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, trans. Joseph B. Pike (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 146–47. An experiment for seeing spirits with a boy skryer appears in the fifteenth-century commonplace book of Robert Reynes. See *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle; An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, ed. Cameron Louis (London: Garland, 1980), 169, quoted in Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 97. Extensive and numerous operations using various skrying devices and young boys or girls occur in Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252; see, for example, fols. 1r–29v. The notion that certain spiritual capacities were afforded by chastity appears to have motivated this, so it is not surprising that older skryers became common after the Reformation. John Dee's skryers were uniformly adult males, with the exception of a brief period when he attempted to employ his son Arthur. See Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 16–26.

17. Although the name appears to have Babylonian roots, the story of Azazel derives from Leviticus 16:7–28. Agrippa tells us that kabbalist sources identify Azazel as king of the south, one of the four kings of the cardinal directions (Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, ed. Vittoria Perrone Compagni [Leiden: Brill, 1992], III.24). Azazel is one of the fallen angels in Jewish traditions. Although "fastened to the mountain of darkness" and willing to teach witchcraft to those who seek his help, Azazel does not appear to have any particular association with spirits of the dead. See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909), 1:126, 148–52; 5:123, 152, 171, 311, and 416. Pico, drawing on kabbalist sources, describes Azazel as one who devours those practicing bad magic, but otherwise the demon appears to have no singular connection with spirits of the dead in general. On Pico's discussion, see Brian P. Copenhaver, "Number, Shape, and Meaning in Pico's Christian Cabala: The Upright Tsade, the Closed Mem, and the Gaping Jaws of Azazel," in Grafton and Siraisi, *Natural Particulars*, 46–47, 72. Although not connected explicitly with the dead, Azazel appears in more extensive narratives in the book of Enoch, 9–11, 13, and 54–55, and 69–70. Whatever the earlier sources for this tradition may have been, the Gilberts' immediate sources for this operation were undoubtedly late medieval British necromantic manuals. Rituals for speaking with the dead occur in a variety of necromantic sources and appear as early as the fifteenth century. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ballard 66, fols. 33–39 (s.xvii); London, British Library, Sloane 3884, fols. 47–56 (s.xvi); and Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252 (s.xv.), fols. 66v–68r. Rawlinson D. 252 conjures "Asacel." Interestingly, it is followed by another operation for "Azoel," which may be the same as "Aosal," the other spirit mentioned in the Gilbert manual (fol. 50v). Ginzberg identifies Azzazel and Azzael as one and the same. *Legends of the Jews*, 5:152.

18. For the record of Humphrey Gilbert performing this operation, see fol. 62r. For the relevant instructions, see fols. 51r–53v. The names correspond to those listed by Agrippa as princes of the four

points of the compass. Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia,* II.7. The four kings are mentioned in the *Speculum astronomiae,* chapter 11, pp. 23, 79. For other medieval examples of conjurations of the four kings, see Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252, fols. 15r–24r and 103r–107r; and London, London Society of Antiquaries, 39, fol. 17v. Irenaeus mentions the idea that four Intelligences preside over the four parts of the world and gives the names Mahaziel, Azael, Saviel, and Azazel. A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 19. Agrippa also lists these four names as princes of the devils in *De occulta philosophia,* II.7 and III.24.

19. Any medieval work of necromantic magic always mentioned Mary at one point or another. Her complete absence from this manuscript is thus notable. On the other hand, the text reflects the slow and initially superficial nature of the changes in this period. The intervention of John the Baptist and Saint Luke certainly suggests continuities with Catholic invocation of the saints and belief in intercession. On the notion that Protestantism brought about a decline of magic, see Keith Vivian Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971). Eamon Duffy is largely silent about Thomas's arguments, although he explicitly criticizes Thomas for his assumption that the sacraments "were credited with an inexorable and compelling power" only at a popular level. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 277. Duffy argues instead that much of what Thomas calls superstition or magic was a legitimate form of religious devotion practiced by all levels of English society. For Duffy's discussion of these forms of devotion in Protestant England, see 379–593. Robert Scribner's recent work includes useful critiques of Thomas. See Robert W. Scribner, "The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the 'Disenchantment of the World,'" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 3 (1993): 475–94; and "Magic and the Formation of Protestant Popular Culture in Germany," in *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800),* ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 323–46. On the effects of the Reformation on magical texts, see Frank Klaassen, "The Return of Stolen Goods: Reginald Scot, Religious Controversy, and a Late Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of Magic," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 1, no. 2 (2006): 135–77.

20. Fols. 60r–61r.

21. For more details on the note-taking and correcting processes, see the appendix.

22. Fol. 47r.

23. For example, a prayer extracted from the Solomonic *Ars notoria* in British Library, Sloane 3853 adopts a similar rhetorical strategy by emphasizing that the magician understood his work to be part of God's greater purposes. "Et tu, qui es deus meus, qui in principio creasti celum et terram et omnia ex nichilo, qui in spiritu tuo omnia reformas, comple, instaura, sana animam meam, ut glorificem te per omnia opera cogitationum mearum et verborum meorum. Deus, pater, orationem meam confirma, et intellectum meum auge, et memoriam meam ad suscipiendam beatam visionem tuam meo vivente corpusculo et ad cognoscendam super excelsam et super eternam tuam essenciam, qui viuis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum." Fol. 162v.

24. "Ad artem notoriam inspiratam." British Library, Additional 36674, fol. 47r.

25. "The angles saide unto H.G. that he should feare nothing and that he had a good servante of Solomon, whose counsell he should followe; for he would advise hym for the best. And that he should rede, when Solomon appointed hym; for he would doe nothing to his hindrannce. And that they would appeare to him in the element when he would; And that they would teach him all arts, and howe to make Bookes." Fol. 61r. On reading as part of the *Ars notoria,* see Julien Véronèse's chapter in this volume.

26. "Tertio die postquam fecit istam orationem . . . venit ad eum Rachiel angelus qui stabat supra riuum in exitu paradisi et disco operint se ei ea hora qua calefaciebat se ad solem qui tenebat in manu sua librum istum quem dedit Ade." München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51, fol. 5r. "Et aperuit Rachiel librum et legit in auribus Ade. Audiuit autem adam verba libri sancte ex ore angeli et eiecit se super faciem suam ad teram cum magno timore. Cui dixit Rachiel Surge adam et confortare et non habeas timorem. . . . Recipe librum istum de manu mea et respice in eo quia per ipsum scies et intelliges." Ibid., fol. 6r.

27. The last entry, which I take to be a vision rather than a record of a real physical event, notes, "On the .6. day of Aprill, Anno domini 1567 my boy went to Solomon's house in the morning, and came home to me againe about 9. of the clock in the forenone, and Brought me from thence a book written by St Luke the Evangelist." British Library, Additional 36674, fol. 62v.

28. Ibid., fol. 59r–v.

29. On John of Morigny, see "The Prologue to John of Morigny's *Liber visionum:* Text and Translation," trans. and ed. Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3

(2001): 108–217. The prologue to the *Liber sacer* recounts that Honorius wrote the book with the assistance of an angel. *Liber iuratus*, I (Hedegård, 60–61).

30. "And when [Oriens] hath by your compulsion appeared say that you see a thinge shadowe in the stone, which is in the wall, and therefore appeare to mee annd speeke or wrighte, for I wyll not beleue, that here is any thinge to my syghte, except thou speake or wryte, and appeare to my syghte, and speakew to my hearinge. Or else I wyll accurse the and condemne the by gods power, and not by my owne power. Therefore I charge the do yt. And when he hath doon yt, thenn commaunde him to giue you the beste booke, that euer was." British Library, Additional 36674, 48r.

31. Fol. 62r.

32. Fol. 47r.

33. Fol. 56r.

34. For the standard discussion of this debate, see Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002). For a discussion of the *Speculum astronomiae*, see 27–90. For an earlier discussion focused upon how Marsilio Ficino engaged the debate, see Brian P. Copenhaver, "Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the *De vita* of Marsilio Ficino," *Renaissance Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (1984): 523–54.

35. The approval of two texts by the author of the *Speculum astronomiae* had a dramatic effect on the transmission of astrological image magic. See Frank Klaassen, "Medieval Ritual Magic in the Renaissance," *Aries* 3, no. 2 (2003): 166–99. On the association of dream divination with Scholastic thought, see Frank Klaassen, "Magical Dream Provocation in the Later Middle Ages," *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 8 (2006): 120–47.

36. So they tend to support themselves on religious and biblical authority, rather than the authority of natural philosophy; for example, the Bible recounts how Christians could cast out demons in Christ's name and non-Christians could not. Similarly, being an orthodox Christian was an essential element in performing successful ritual magic. The *Liber sacer* tells of how the Jews cannot perform magic. *Liber iuratus*, III.20 (Hedegård, 66). A late medieval necromancer's manual provides the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds to help the operator remain orthodox. Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252, fols. 81r–82v. The dependence of ritual magic on Christian rites is self-evident. This is quite different from the use of intention as an element in image magic, which is commonly divorced from the moral and religious condition of the practitioner. For the term "addressative," see notes to the opening pages of Weill-Parot's chapter in this volume.

37. That a magical figure might be secretly demonic or that a magical text presented itself as astrologically based when it was really necromantic certainly concerned Scholastic *readers* of astrological image magic but was not an explicit concern of the authors. The *Liber sacer* recounts that its author had produced it by extracting the flowers of wisdom from seven volumes of magic for the good magicians. It also recounts that "others" were given empty husks. "Qui consulente angelo Hocrohel nomine 7 volumina artis magice deffloravit nobis florem accipiens et aliis cortices dimittendo" (*Liber iuratus*, I.16). It is not clear whether this means that Honorius intentionally wrote false magical works to deceive the ignorant, that he found false and empty portions of the original volumes that he somehow left behind, or simply that by removing crucial sections he left behind works denuded of their wisdom. But there is no doubt that the author understood the magical library to be polluted by these "husks." John of Morigny, the victim of such a false text, discovered that when he used prayers in the *Ars notoria* he was unknowingly invoking demons rather than angels (*Liber visionum*, 19, "Prologue," trans. and ed. Fanger and Watson, 181). Curiously, the "false" nature of this text was not a barrier to the discovery of truth through it.

38. The *Liber Razielis* gives a long list of the Old Testament patriarchs who employed it. Each of them is said to have derived something different from the volume. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 51, fol. 111v. For an interesting parallel to this process, see the discussion of astrological prognostication in Madagascar by M. Bloch. Bloch argues that the presence of stable astrological texts did not serve to stabilize interpretive systems but actually increased their diversity. M. Bloch, "Astrology and Writing in Madagascar," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. J. R. Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 278–99.

39. Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 252, fol. 65r.

40. Anthony Grafton, "Trithemius Conjures the Past," in Grafton, *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 60–61.

41. The *Liber iuratus Honorii* describes a small group of scholars and disciples knitted together by a master. They swear mutual loyalty and protection. At the time of his death, the master must decide if one of his followers is worthy of taking up the role of master. If not, the work must be buried with him. That they live under a sort of rule, observe strictures of moral behavior, and have been tried for a year may also make the process similar to oblature. *Liber iuratus,* I.15–16.

42. "Et in predicto libro continebatur qualiter ad propositum meum attingere per doctrinam subitaneam potuissem, idcirco, omnibus alijs studijs dimissis, cepi in ipsa frequencius studere, et in tantum studui quod qualiter operari deberem sciui." John of Morigny, *Liber visionum,* "Prologue," trans. and ed. Fanger and Watson, 137.

43. "Ego, frater Johannes, postquam dimisi artem notoriam declinaui ad artes nigromancie, et in ipsa preualaui tantum quod nouam nigromanciam componerem et quod Annulos Salomonis fabricarem." Ibid., 145.

44. "Omnibus visionibus leuiter non credas uel acquiescas, set consilio saluatoris proba spiritus si ex Deo sint et discretionem ipsorum precibus impetres a Spiritu Sancto." Ibid., 162.

45. Ibid., 158–62.

46. Brian Vickers, Review of Paola Zambelli, *L'ambigua natura della magia, Isis* 85 (1994): 318–20.

47. Astrological image magic declined sharply after 1500 as an independent genre and in manuscript copies made by specialists. This cannot be attributed simply to the availability of printed texts, since the copying of ritual magic texts increased despite the presence of printed works. See Klaassen, "Medieval Ritual Magic."

48. On the "old dirty" magic, see Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 80–81. The many studies of Brian Copenhaver are exemplary. On the subject of magic and science, see his "Natural Magic, Hermeticism, and Occultism in Early Modern Science," in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution,* ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); "Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic"; and "A Tale of Two Fishes: Magical Objects in Natural History from Antiquity Through the Scientific Revolution," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52, no. 3 (1991). Harkness's first-rate study of Dee, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels,* connects Dee's angel magic with his natural philosophy but seeks to distinguish it from the ritual magic traditions in general. Surprisingly, she cites British Library, Additional 36674 but does not make any mention of the close affinities with the practices of John Dee. Stephen McKnight seeks to demonstrate the influence of mythologies of "pseudo-science" on science, but he concentrates entirely upon Hermetic and Neoplatonic mythologies and seems to regard Solomonic myths as belonging to that tradition. See his "Science, the *Prisci Theologia,* and Modern Epochal Consciousness," in *Science, Pseudo-Science, and Utopianism in Early Modern Thought,* ed. Stephen A. McKnight (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 88–117. Charles Webster argues for a decline in ritual magic and the persistence of natural magic through the seventeenth century, and John Henry discounts any possible connection between the new science and ritual magic. See note 4 above.

49. Humphrey Gilbert, "The Erection of an Achademy in London for Educacion of Her Maiestes Wardes, and Others the Youth of Nobility and Gentlemen," in *Queen Elizabethes Achademy, a book of precedence, etc., with Essays on Italian and German Books of Courtesy,* ed. F. J. Furnivall (London: Early English Text Society, 1869), 4–5.

50. Ibid., 6.

51. The term "episteme" was coined by Michel Foucault in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 25–30. Despite the usual evidentiary issues associated with his work, the term has some viability and certainly has been employed a great deal since that time. For a recent critique that discusses the history of the term, see Ian Maclean, "Foucault's Renaissance Episteme Reassessed: An Aristotelian Counterblast," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 1 (1998): 149–66.

52. For analogous movements in Italy that may have influenced Gilbert, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 168–318.

53. Peter Robert Dear, *Mersenne and the Learning of the Schools* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 1.

54. Despite the difficulties that often accompanied the construction of such devices, a properly assembled air pump would certainly return more consistent results. The vague and inconsistent nature of magical visions also probably tended to encourage the esoteric interpretive approaches of the

so-called Renaissance episteme. More crucially, practitioners do not display the preoccupations with method or "rules of engagement" characteristic of seventeenth-century scientists. Ritual magic also did not focus solely on the natural world, nor does it seem to have encouraged a mechanical view of nature. Seventeenth-century science would also ultimately reject ritual magic in the strongest terms.

55. A note of the first folio of the first section notes that in 1868 Mr. McKray of the Bodleian Library identified the hand of the first section as that of Simon Forman, the well-known late sixteenth-century doctor, astrologer, and magician. However, assuming the date is correct, he would have been only seventeen in 1576, and in any event this is certainly not Forman's distinctive hand. See fol. 47r. The manuscript is also not the work of John Caius, as Benjamin Wooley has suggested. The note identifying Caius as the owner refers only to the materials in fols. 23–46, not 47–62. These two sets of folios are also clearly distinct.

56. The hands do not match the Thomas Smith autograph, London, British Library, Sloane 325, particularly given Smith's preference for italic forms in formal writing. In addition, he was heavily involved in matters in France at the time of the conjuring. See Sloane 325, fol. 4; and Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office* (London: Athlone Press, 1964), 121–22.

57. An autograph of Adrian Gilbert from the early seventeenth century and shortly before his death is probably by the same hand as the book of instructions. National Archives, Public Record Office, SP 14/48 (143) State Papers, Domestic Series, James I. Certainly, it would not be possible to reject this possibility on palaeographic grounds.

58. On October 12, 1566, he was sent back from military service in Ireland with dispatches for Queen Elizabeth. As his biographer William Gosling notes, "no clear purpose seems to have motivated Sir Henry Sidney to order his return to England. Neither the dispatches nor the news he carried were of such paramount importance as to require a messenger of his calibre; and we are therefore obliged to conclude that he had obtained leave of absence from the army to return to England for some private purposes of his own, and that Sidney merely took advantage of his departure to send dispatches to the Queen." Gosling goes on to suggest that he took leave to petition Elizabeth for assistance in an expedition to find the Northwest Passage. This project dominated his energies over the ensuing decades. William Gilbert Gosling, *The Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert: England's First Empire Builder* (London: Constable, 1911), 39–40.

59. For example, Solomon requires that the skryer be dressed like the master, in a black coat and cloak. See fol. 60r. The visions refer to John as Gilbert's "boy." He plays an active role in the visions themselves, holding a magical book up to frighten the demons (fols. 59r–60r) and at one point going independently to retrieve an important book from the "House of Solomon" (fol. 62v).

60. Adrian's "chemical" interests were well known, and he was supported by Mary Sidney as an instructor in the art. Margaret Hannay and Mary Ellen Lamb have speculated that Adrian worked with Mary Sidney Herbert producing medicines. See Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Countess of Pembroke's Patronage" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1976), 107. See also Margaret Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 130–31.

61. Humphrey visited Mortlake in November 1577 (John Dee, *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee and the Catalog of His Library of Manuscripts*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell [London: Camden Society, 1842], 3). He corresponded with Dee through the early 1580s and visited his home again in 1581 (I. F. Calder, *John Dee Studied as an English Neoplatonist* [PhD diss., Warburg Institute, 1956], chapter 5, 3). Adrian Gilbert and John Davis visited Dee along with a larger group of gentlemen and had discussions regarding the Northwest Passage several times in 1583 (Dee, *Diary*, 18–20). On Gilbert and alchemy, etc., see Anthony Powell, ed., *Brief Lives and Other Selected Writings* (New York: Scribner, 1949), 53.

62. Benjamin Wooley, *The Queen's Conjurer: The Science and Magic of Dr. John Dee, Adviser to Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001), 200–201. In May 1583, Dee asked his spirits whether he should involve Adrian in his operations. London, British Library, Sloane 3188, fol. 103.

63. In the margin of a table of star positions, he scribbled a note, dated May 22, 1568, that he had learned the exact time and date of John Davis's birth "by magic" at Mortlake, with the help of William Emery. Although it is unclear what the form of their magic might have been, the fact that Emery later worked as Dee's skryer suggests that it was probably a crystal-gazing operation. Wooley, *Queen's Conjurer*, 166–67. Wooley cites Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 423, fol. 295.

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