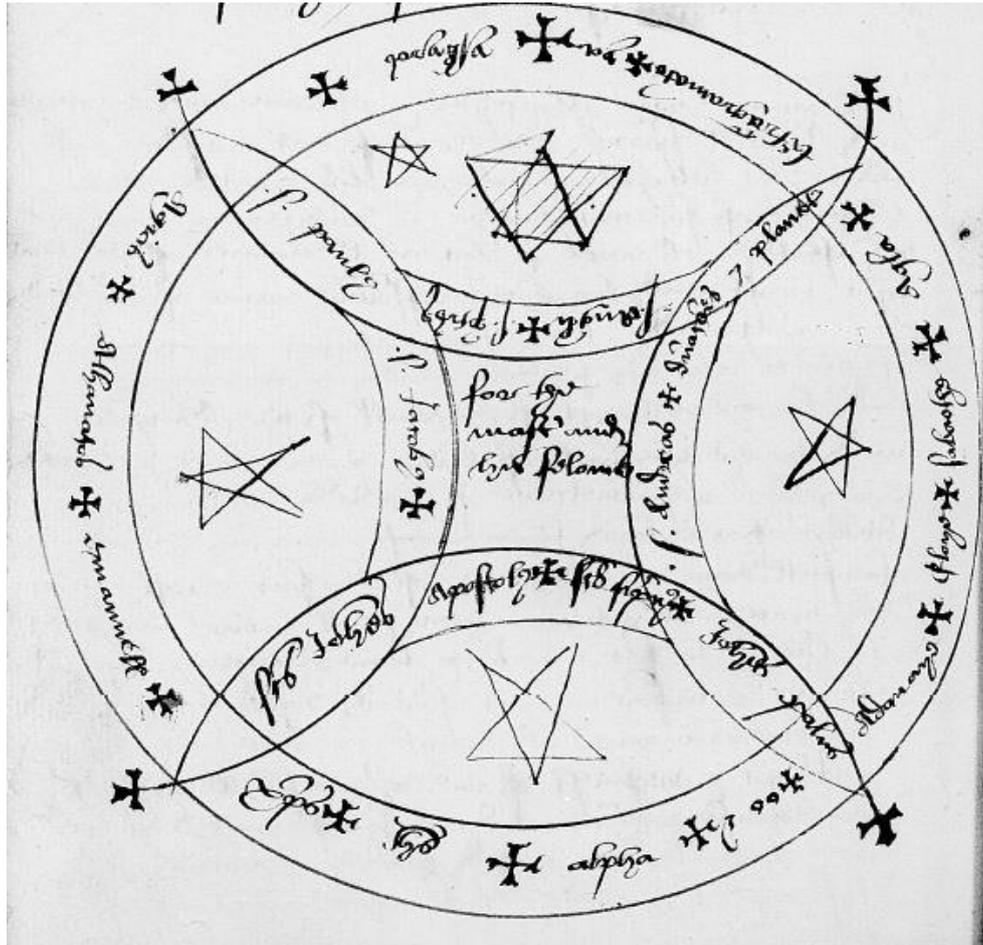


A Book Called the Dannel:
An Edition and Study of Sixteenth century Necromancy

MA Thesis Engelstalige Letterkunde

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Abstract

English follows Dutch

De bedoeling van dit MA scriptieproject was om een consequente en duidelijke editie te maken van een aantal geselecteerde magische teksten uit het tweede deel van het manuscript Sloane 3853, van de British Library, dat ookwel *The Book of the Dannel* wordt genoemd. Bij deze edities horen een aantal begrijpelijke en goed door bronnen onderbouwde introducties, om de lezer te voorzien van kennis over de culturele, historische, en mythologische context, en van een analyse van sommige van deze magische rituelen. Het doel van deze scriptie was het onderzoeken van een manuscript dat nog niet eerder is onderzocht, omdat het een zestiende eeuwse magische tekst in de Engelse volkstaal is, een tak van de wetenschap waar relatief weinig onderzoek naar is gedaan, als men het vergelijkt met de Latijnse soortgelijke teksten.

This MA thesis project is meant to provide a consistent and clear edition of a selected number of conjurations from the second part of manuscript Sloane 3853 from the British Library, known as *The Book of the Dannel*. Accompanying these editions are several comprehensive and well researched introductions to provide cultural, historical, and mythological context, as well as an analysis of some of the conjurations. The purpose of this thesis was to research a manuscript that has not been researched much before, it being a sixteenth century magical text in the English vernacular, a branch that has seen relatively little research when compared to the research on its Latin-based counterpart.

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Complete Transcription Credit

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1. General Introduction

The Book of the Dannel is the unofficial title given to the second half of the manuscript Sloane 3853 located in the London British Library. The manuscript, most likely written in the late sixteenth century, is said to be “*terra incognita*” (Chardonens 178), because of the relatively low interest in researching early modern English sources of magic among scholars. This edition is a study of some of the necromantic texts from *The Book of the Dannel*.

Precisely when and by whom the manuscript was written is unknown. What is certain about the manuscript is that it moved from the ownership of Sir Joseph Jekyll to that of Sir Hans Sloane in the 18th century (“Detailed Record for Sloane 3853”), and from his collection the manuscript derives its official title Sloane 3853. Jekyll had acquired the manuscript from his father-in-law Lord Somers. However, since all this happened more than a century after the manuscript’s estimated manufacturing, and during a time in which the attitudes towards magic had already started to change significantly due to the Enlightenment, it will not be the focus of this thesis. Instead it will focus on the cultural and historical environment that was key in creating the second part of the manuscript, whose scribe shall hereafter be referred to as the Dannel Scribe.

The title *The Book of the Dannel* is rather misleading for a number of reasons. Firstly, the title is based on an incipit sentence that reads, “here begynneth a boke *which* is callyd the Dannel” (fol 176r). It is unknown what the word “Dannel” might refer to, but the sentence mirrors a different one with a similar construction, on folio 219v which reads: “here begynneth the boke of the Sience of Nygromansie,”. Both these parts of the manuscript are written in the same hand, indicating that they are written by the same scribe. This is one of the things that indicate that the manuscript known as *The Book of the Dannel*, or *The Dannel* for short, is in actuality “an assembly of a series of booklets containing a great number of magical treatises” (Chardonens 178). The second reason the title is misleading is because *The Dannel* is not one contained manuscript, but as noted above, the second part of two manuscripts written by different scribes, that have been bound together as one manuscript. As will be elaborated upon later in this edition, there are striking resemblances between the two parts of the manuscript. However, the sufficient differences and lack of formal evidence show that it is more likely that the similarities were the reason the two manuscripts were brought together, rather than that the Dannel Scribe based any of his writing on the first part.

The first part is written mostly in Latin by two scribes, using a combination of the Secretary and Anglicana style from the fourteenth and fifteenth century. This first part of the manuscript can be dated to no earlier than 1550. The second part of the manuscript is written in a largely consistent

Elizabethan secretary, which is one of the indications that the second part was most likely written in the late 16th century. The website of the British Library also mentions that the manuscript's binding has been given a *terminus post quem* of 1600 ("Detailed Record for Sloane 3853"). Sándor Chardonnens points out that the two parts of Sloane 3853 "were produced wholly independently" (174), to be bound together at a later point, due to their similarities in content. Indeed, the forms of the texts in both parts of the manuscript are quite similar, since both are a collection of magical texts from several sources. Some of the texts, as we shall see later on, share similarities to such an extent that on the surface, one may assume that the scribe of the second part was translating or adapting from the first part of the manuscript. However, drawing from Chardonnens' point that there was no interaction between the scribes of the first and second part, it is more likely that the scribes merely used similar sources for the collection of the magical texts, and that the two manuscripts were bound into one because of their similarities. This is supported by the fact that most well-known medieval written sources of magic became more widespread as they were copied by scholars or practising magicians. Consequently, the scribes of both parts of Sloan 3853 probably copied from copies of the same sources, without ever interacting with each other. As such, the dating of the first manuscript can say little about the dating of *The Book of the Dannel*.

This paper will consider the cultural and historical environment in which *The Book of the Dannel* was written, before exploring the techniques used in ritualistic necromancy to introduce an edition of a selected number of conjurations written by the Dannel Scribe. The edition has been created to provide a comprehensive selection of texts representing necromancy of the sixteenth century as written in the English vernacular.

Renaissance Men and Magic

The Book of the Dannel being written in the sixteenth century invokes the idea that the magical texts it contains are more an example of early modern magic, than medieval magic. However, many magical texts from what has been dubbed the Renaissance, starting roughly around 1500, were still a clear continuation of magical traditions established in the centuries before. As Klaassen mentions: "Although we may detect new influences and perhaps broader intellectual horizons in sixteenth-century ritual magic collections, neither the texts nor the way they were regarded and transmitted changed a great deal." (Klaassen 161) Furthermore, what is called magic today was still firmly seen as a legitimate science in both periods. Therefore, there was not much need for drastic change. Despite the content of *The Dannel* being mostly medieval, the form has features that mark it as Renaissance text.

Firstly there are the sources from which the Dannel Scribe collected his texts. He does not explicitly cite his contemporaries. His most recent explicitly named source is Roger Bacon. He seems to prefer more ancient sources like Saint Cyprian, whose quotations will be discussed in chapter five

of this edition. According to Frank Borchardt citing such sources from antiquity was a typical feature of Renaissance magicians as well as humanists, and that these professions tended to overlap:

“What makes Renaissance magic a Renaissance phenomenon is, at least in part, its share in the humanists' compulsion to return to the sources, the claim to have rediscovered, restored, and drunk at the lost and forgotten spring of ancient wisdom.” (62)

“They all employed their energies in more than one worthy enterprise, activist reform, diplomacy, and statecraft, or contemplative theology, philology, and historiography. In each case, one of the many areas studied by these Renaissance men for a longer or shorter term was the occult, the esoteric, a kind of knowledge they believed to be truly new.” (60)

However, citing ancient sources is not something entirely new. Medieval writers also greatly valued the knowledge of ancient scholars and based most of their writing on it as well. Although one could say that the difference lies in the fact that these Renaissance magicians were trying to present their writings as an ancient source of knowledge they rediscovered, the fact remains that the actual act of citing ancient sources was not something new or unique for sixteenth century scribes of magical texts.

What was quite different was the way in which these sources were collected. *The Dannel* and its manuscript companion are both collections of various different magical texts from various different sources. The British Library calls them “miscallany of tracts on magic” (“Detailed Record for Sloane 3853”). As the edition will show, the magical texts provide rituals for a variety of purposes. For things like finding treasure or gaining a woman’s love there are actually more than one conjuration. The specific sources for these ritual texts are not always cited, and when they are, as is the case with Saint Cyprian, they are not always accurate. However, it is quite easy to see that these texts come from several different sources that the scribe could have copied from. The reoccurrence of the incipit “here begynⁿethe a boke”, as stated before, also identifies the manuscript as a collection of several different texts whose only connection is their subject matter. Handwritten manuscripts that employed the form of a collection of short texts and fragments from different sources were written mostly in the sixteenth century. These manuscripts were most likely for personal use or for sharing with a small group of confidants, as the writing and sharing of such texts was still illegal in many parts of Europe, due to papal bans on books of necromancy.

For the second feature that marks the form of *The Book of the Dannel* as an early modern rather than medieval magical text, one needs to look at these magical texts as a form of religious texts. This is not too difficult because, despite the fact that magic was seen as a science, the circulation of magical texts and instructions for rituals and conjurations depended very much on the fact that people had faith in their effectiveness. The frequent invocation of the power of biblical figures such as Jesus, events from scripture such as Genesis, and names of God support the idea that medieval magic, and demonic magic in particular, was derived from religion in a number of ways. As Kieckhefer explains, “demonic magic was not distinct from religion, but rather a perversion of religion” (*Magic in the*

Middle Ages 9). According to Kieckhefer, the disapproval of institutions like the inquisition for the practise of necromancy did come from the disdain of “amoral or straightforwardly destructive purposes” (164), but also from the belief that these rituals were as powerful as regular religious practises like the transubstantiation in the Catholic church. “Necromancy thus parodied the basic late medieval understanding of ritual” (165). If these early modern magical texts are looked at as a variation of religious texts, one can easily draw a parallel between the early modern development where religious texts, the Bible in particular, were being translated from Latin into the vernacular. This development also affected a number of magical texts in the sixteenth and 17th century. Klaassen discusses this development of magical texts in *Transformations of Magic*. He notes that magical texts were more often written in the vernacular in the sixteenth century, rather than Latin which had been the norm before that (Klaassen 174–175). As Latin went through the development of being a less authoritative language, and the vernacular became more widely used as the language of religion due to the Reformation, so too did magical texts get translated and written in the vernacular more frequently.

The Book of the Dannel is an example of this development. Most of the texts found in the second part of Sloane 3853 are written in reasonably understandable English, once they are transcribed. Unlike the scribes of the first part, the Dannel Scribe makes little use of code, and the few conjurations that are written in Latin, are generally quite short, and have their meaning made clear by the surrounding context, or are common phrases and prayers most people knew. The longest part of a conjuration from *The Dannel* in Latin on folios 233r-v has its purpose explicitly explained in the surrounding English text. And since this part is the incantation addressing the spirit that is being summoned, anyone practising this conjuration could, in theory, simply read the incantation out loud after having performed the preceding instructions, without knowing its actual meaning. This undisguised use of the vernacular by the Dannel Scribe could imply that he was attempting to write a magical manuscript which, like the translated Bibles of the Reformation, was more accessible to the wide, common public. However, the unstructured way the texts are organised shows that it is more likely that these texts were meant for personal use only. This is also indicated by the fact that it was handwritten, when printing was already becoming a much more prominent industry in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the spread of texts like this was still frowned upon by various religious authorities, which is another discouragement for any magician with a sense of self-preservation, despite the enticing nature of the forbidden, to make magical texts like these available for the public. A more likely reason for the Dannel Scribe’s use of the vernacular is Klaassen’s explanation that sixteenth century writers of magical texts decided that “English was sufficient” (175). After all, if “I conjure thee, spirit” meant the same as “Coniuro vos demones” (233r), surely the effect would be the same.

The Book of the Dannel seems to stand on the edge between medieval and early modern magic. Its content consists of ritualistic texts based in the medieval tradition of necromancy and is derived from medieval sources like Roger Bacon, *The Greater Key of Solomon*, and the 15th century

manuscript *Livre des Esperitz*. However, the fact that fragments from all these sources have been brought together in one collection written mostly in the vernacular English marks *The Dannel's* form as an early modern creation.

Power of Words and Performance

The consideration of the change in attitude towards which languages were effective when used in the art of necromancy is important because it denotes a change in attitude towards the idea of the power of words, and the magical power of words in particular. This power that people believed words held is something discussed by many scholars in the field of medieval magic. Clare Fanger explains that the middle ages, and the thirteenth century in particular, saw a debate between theologians on whether or not “significant magic” - as she terms it, magic based on signs and words - had a basis in natural magic, meaning it was part of the divine magic present in nature, or was a masked way for demons to influence people, or that signs should only be used as “the vehicle of understanding by which human beings come to know God's truth, which is the truth of Charity” (98–99). Fanger’s text focuses on the beliefs around this debate of the magical power of words as they were in the thirteenth century. It mostly centres around the sensitivity of the subject, since some religious authorities defined the magic of words as demonic. She then goes on to explain how scholars like Roger Bacon tried to subvert claims like these, by either subverting the idea that words had any power, or by subverting the notion that the magic behind words was demonic. Bacon in particular, argued that the good or evil of magic was in the intent rather than the type of magic, and that the power of words was “an aspect of the divine in nature” (122), partly because verbal magic was “behind the miracles of the saints”.

Klaniczay also discusses the power of words in saintly miracle stories, as well as in other religious rituals and magical practises. He explains how, according to Thomas Aquinas, the verbal sacramental formula performed in church brings about the transubstantiation, but not without the help of some divine grace (284). This combined power is also what the efficacy of necromantic rituals are based on, verbal, performative declarations combined with invocations of divine power. Except in necromancy, the rituals are no longer for the religious prayer and absolving the soul of sin, but rather for more selfish purposes, like finding treasure or obtaining love, and sometimes destructive purposes, like killing people or gaining prowess in battle. Following this, it seems logical that inquisitors and other religious authorities would disapprove of the use of necromancy, yet their disdain seems to have come more from the possibility that the necromancy was based on the perversion of religious ritual, and the heretical worship of demons, than on the moral implications of for example, forcing women to love specific men, or causing people to fight each other.

What is important to note, is that these papers by Fanger and Klaniczay are mostly focused on the how people thought about these things in the late middle ages. Andrew Sofer however, adds another layer that is more relevant to the historical background of the *Dannel Scribe*, because he discusses the attitude towards necromancy in the Elizabethan age, and how the performance of plays

like *Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe influenced these attitudes in the general public. The problematic element in the audience's belief lies in the distinction between "hollow performance and efficacious performativity" (Sofer 10). Does the actor playing Faustus damn himself by speaking the words that damn his character? Theories like these might seem odd in a country that supposedly did away with old religion superstitions. In Elizabethan England, the belief in this power of words, as based on Catholic religious customs and superstitions, becomes problematic. Sofer says that because of this, some scholars seem to think that this meant that playwrights depicting necromancers like Doctor Faustus were sceptical Protestants, ridiculing people that would attempt to conjure demons for their own selfish purposes (12). These ideas were not without grounds. The second half of the sixteenth century did see its fair share of writers critical of necromantic practises. Johann Weyer for example, who was a student of Agrippa, expressed his disapproval of conjuring demons in his notes to the *Praestigiis Daemonum*. However, Sofer argues against this idea of the sceptical playwright, and argues instead that the depiction of necromancers in Elizabethan theatre was a choice based more on commercial and sensationalist motivations. As Sofer mentions "Necromancy held an ambiguous space in the Elizabethan imagination." (3). Scholars like John Dee were still studying the confusing moral implications of magic, and for more common folk, necromancy had an intrigue to it caused partly by these same moral implications. As such, plays involving demons were something that could draw in a crowd and sell tickets.

Where does this leave the Dannel Scribe? With the evidence that is there about the manuscript, it is quite possible that he was a contemporary of the Shakespearian theatre. However, his knowledge of Latin, and apparent access to other manuscripts and printed works on necromancy of the time suggest that his writing of *The Dannel* came more from scholarly interest, than sensationalist obsession brought about by exhilarating performances of plays like *Doctor Faustus*. Then again, the lack of consideration of the moral implications of the use of these conjurations also sets him apart from prominent scholars like Dee and Weyer. Assuming his intentions for these texts were to use them for his own purposes, it might place him closer to someone like the character Doctor Faustus, someone with an education and access to written sources who wants to use necromantic rituals to obtain what he desires.

2. The Conjurations

To put together the following edition of conjurations, a conjuration has been defined as follows: a ritualistic text used to summon a named or unnamed spirit for a specific or general purpose. These texts usually begin with instructions for what to do to prepare for the conjuration, which usually take the form of a number ways the necromancer needs to cleanse his body in the literal sense by bathing, and his soul in the spiritual sense, generally by abstaining from sin. Also for preparation, but more relevant to the conjuration itself, are preparations like finding the right room or space to practise in, and drawing the proper circle for the conjuration. Then there are the instructions of what to do during

the conjuration, like which direction to face, and what to do with the objects vital to the conjuration. Finally there is the incantation, that is to say the text that the conjuror must speak out loud, addressing the spirit in question. While there are some conjurations in this edition that do not include some or even any surrounding instructions or context, the incantation is always there, since that is the verbal and performative part of the conjuration. It is the part that is supposed to make the magician's will reality, with the help of the divine power that is invoked. The incantation can be called the conjuration proper, since it is the vital part of the conjuration even if no other aspects are present. However, the ritualistic acts, like preparation of body and soul, and the proper use of certain items, seem to have their importance as well. Their main purpose seem to be to prepare the necromancer, his fellows, and the appointed place and items for the reception of what Klaniczay calls the "divine grace" which, triggered by the verbal performance of the incantation, brings about the change or event that the necromancer desires. As argued by Klaniczay, power of words is not something that can work on its own. Saying to a spirit, "I coniuir the and charge the ... *that thu aperest ther to that caterakt*" (fol 253r) is no use if there is no cataract prepared for the spirit to appear in. As such, the key to a successful conjuration is dependent on three general things, the preparation, spiritual or physical, the ritualistic action, and the performance of the verbal incantation.

With the many instruction for many, complex, and sometimes time-consuming actions necessary for the conjuration to work properly, any failing of the necromancer's objective might be blamed on missed, or wrongly executed ones, or wrong conditions to work in. Of course it is difficult to prove how the necromancers perceived the success or failure of their rituals. Like Kieckhefer mentions, "most of the goals sought by this particular form of magic were in some way psychological or intangible" (*Magic in the Middle Ages* 164), and any slight indication in the real world that the conjuration was successful might affirm the necromancer's belief in his art.

In the conjurations selected for this edition, all basic components of the conjurations, which are declaration, address, invocation, and instruction, named by Kieckhefer can be found in one way or another (*Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 128–129). Some of these components shall be analysed further in the introductions to specific conjurations. Most of the conjurations also fit in one of the three categories of main purposes of necromancy named by Kieckhefer in *Magic in the Middle Ages*, which are affecting other people's minds and wills, creating illusions, and discerning hidden things (*Magic in the Middle Ages* 158). Conjurations that do not adhere to these categories are mostly the conjurations with general purposes. However, since commanding a spirit to fulfil one's requests, can refer to any goal that the necromancer might want to achieve, whether mind-affecting, illusionary, or uncovering, one could say that these general conjurations embody all three of these categories. There are also a few conjurations and other parts of the manuscript that seem to be connected. These connections are mostly based on indications of a continuation of an earlier text that was broken off, or on the repetition of certain symbols and names. Finally, in the introduction to these conjurations an attempt was made to find the sources of the names

of either the spirits, or the entire incantation. Some of the sources have been found through the index of names in the *Esoteric Archives*, or by other means of research. However, due to the spelling of these names being rather inconsistent, there is also a large number of names of which the source could not be found.

The Spirits

The term spirit refers generally to angels, both normal and fallen, the latter more commonly being known as demons or devils. There are a few exceptions, for example when the spirit of a dead human being is summoned in *The Dannel*, but the word spirit is most often used to address an angel or demon that is being summoned. Spirits were a basic part of the sixteenth century worldview. There was a general anxiety present that wicked spirits especially roamed every part of the earth and sky. As Thomas Nashe explained in his tractate on dreams from 1594:

“There is not a room in any man’s house but is pestered and close-packed with a camp-royal of devils. Chrisostom saith the air and earth are three parts inhabited with spirits. Hereunto the philosopher alluded when he said nature made no voidness in the whole universal; for no place (be it no bigger than a pockhole in a man’s face) but is close thronged with them. Infinite millions of them hang swarming about a worm-eaten nose.” (6)

Necromancers sought out spirits like these to get them to obey their commands. One of these necromancers might have been the Dannel Scribe, whose writing includes many conjurations of several different spirits. The context of the conjuration surrounding the term or address can usually indicate what type of spirit is being summoned when the name fails to do so or when the spirit is unnamed. This is done in a variation of ways, for example by referring to spirits with a higher place in the hierarchy as ‘their’ prince or master. For example on folio 256r where the scribe invokes the power of “the Devell thy *prince*”. Another way is by referring to them with descriptive adjectives like “wyked and onclene” (fol 229r), or by addressing them with phrases like “*thou delves*” meaning “you devils”, again on fol 256r, and saying that God has “by his ryghttuusnes damned the” (fol 180r). A few times the context is not entirely clear, and seems more neutral on the nature of the spirit, like the spirit on fol 214r, that is only said to be a courier. However, the frequency with which the contextual phrases point toward the fallen nature of the spirit shows that the majority of the conjurations in *The Book of the Dannel* are for summoning demonic spirits. As such, *The Dannel* can be classified as explicitly demonic magic and necromancy.

Sometimes the spirits are explicitly named in either in the conjuration proper or in the surrounding instructions, but other times the place of the spirit’s name is marked by a capital letter N, an abbreviation of the Latin word *nomen*, which denotes that the name of a spirit of the conjuror’s choice can be inserted, for example, from one of the lists of spirits also present in the manuscript. This feature where the spirit’s name is unspecified usually shows up in conjurations where the purpose is also rather general. Examples are the conjuration of “all *maner* of *spyrites* of the erthe” (fol 179v), the

“Generalis astrucciones” on fols 245v-250v, and the long incantation on fols 253r-256r. These are conjurations to have a spirit do rather general things, like answer questions or fulfil requests, or they simply bind the spirit to the necromancer’s will. It is for specific requests that explicitly named spirits are conjured, like the spirits from the conjuration “to obtayne speciall favor or love” on fols 184r-v. This shows that if the name and function of a spirit is known, that spirit can be summoned in a conjuration whose purpose is relevant to that function.

Despite the majority of the conjured spirits being fallen angels, the Dannel Scribe does not want to present himself as a worshipper of demons. Invocations of God and names of God are very prominent in most conjurations, as well as invocations of Jesus Christ, the trinity, saints, scripture etc. Some conjurations also include passages like “*thou knowest Lord that this art and expediment ys not to prove thy pore nor to attempt thi godly name*” (fol 226r), that seem to have the purpose of absolving the necromancer of any religious guilt that might be tied to what he is attempting, like a disclaimer that what he is doing is no sign of hubris or blasphemy. Some scholars and religious authorities, might not agree with these passages, since in their eyes the invocations of the power of things like names of God and passages from scripture were abuse of religious practises. The fact that the necromancer was conjuring demons to have his will be done, was for some a good enough indication that he no longer worshipped the Catholic God properly.

3. Note on the Edition

The following edition consists of a select number of conjurations, as defined earlier, from *The Book of the Dannel*. No other magical texts from *The Dannel*, like texts on astronomy, are part of this edition to keep the focus on necromancy and the conjuration of spirits, and some conjurations like the one on fols 199r-203v have been omitted to prevent the edition from becoming too large a project.

The following editorial choices have been made for this edition: Abbreviations in the manuscript have been written out in *italics*. Short parts in Latin are also in italics, the one longer Latin passage on fols 233r-v being the exception, because it also includes many abbreviations that have been written out. Words whose meaning were uncertain, often due to their bad visibility in the near the edge of the folios, are underlined. On the rare occasion that anything had to be added to clarify meanings or context, the added parts are marked with [square brackets]. The spelling of the words has been kept mostly intact. Since U and V are used interchangeably with W, words that use one when the other would improve the understanding of the words have been changed. Unabbreviated words that use a Y as a thorn instead of a th-construction have been kept intact. Abbreviated words that do so have been written out in *italics*, with a th-construction instead of the thorn. These choices in the edition process serve to illustrate how erratic and inconsistent English spelling was at the time it was written. Capitalisation has been modernized to the point where all names of both God and the conjured spirits have been capitalised, and all out of place capitalisation has been removed. Punctuation has been somewhat modernised, dashes in lists of names having been changed to commas, colons having been

inserted to indicate the start of incantations, and using full stops to indicate the end of sentences. This being rather based on interpretation since the invocation parts of the incantation can go on for a long time without any structure indicating the end or beginning of a sentence. Cross symbols have been indicated with a plus sign, because they might indicate a moment in the conjuration in which the necromancer is meant to make the sign of the cross. Roman numerals and Arabic numbers are kept as they are written in the manuscript, since both are used interchangeably and seemingly equally as often. Finally, any words whose meaning might not be clear, due to the inconsistent spelling, are clarified in the notes.

4. Four General Conjurations

These following conjurations from *The Dannel* are without a specific purpose beyond the general instruction the incantation provides. They mostly serve to bind any spirit to the necromancer's will, or simply make the spirit appear, or answer questions. As mentioned earlier, these spirits are not named either. The place of the address of the spirit's name is marked with an "N" signifying the Latin "nomen". The exception to this is the second conjuration which addresses four spirits of the cardinal direction to bring an unnamed spirit marked with 'N' to the necromancer. These conjurations vary from standard length to the longest incantation in *The Dannel*. This is mostly dependent on the invocation. Almost all types of invocations named by Kieckhefer are included in these four conjurations (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 134–138). The second aspect that affects the length of these conjurations is repetition. In the third and fourth conjuration especially, the declaration, address and instruction are repeated for every new version of the invocation. The formulation of these three parts might vary, but the essence of the instruction mostly remains the same.

The first conjuration is said to work "for all maner of spyrites of the erthe" (179v). It is the first page no longer corresponding to the *Doctrina omnium experimentorum generale* from the first part of the manuscript and therefor no longer part of the actual book that is called *The Dannel* (Chardonens 178). As such, the actual source of this conjuration is difficult to uncover. The instruction part of this conjurations does not go much further than telling the spirit it must "apere *there* in *that* place appoynted for the *with out* hurtyng or noynge of me or any other creature of God" (181r), which despite the unspecific wording of the necromancer's wishes, denotes an important feature, which also appears in other conjurations of the manuscript, which is the careful formulation of the instruction. This refers to any additions to the main instructions that refer to the way in which the necromancer wants the spirit to appear. Common among such additions are requests for the appearance in which the spirit should appear, which is often "the forme of a man" (254r) or "fayer man" (254v). Another often used addition is the instruction that the spirit should not be deceitful in the fulfilling of the necromancer's will, or that it should be quick in carrying it out. These instructions

show up more often in conjurations with more specific purposes. The last commonly used addition to the instruction part of the conjuration is commanding the spirit to hurt nobody or nothing when it appears, which is the case first conjuration for spirit of the earth.

In the second conjuration, the spirits of the cardinal directions are called upon to send a yet unnamed spirit to the necromancer to do fulfill all his requests. Of these spirits three are named: Rommbalans, O cerbidatonn, Lambracun, of the west, south, and north respectively. The king of the east is not named in this conjuration. Those that are named are also not the more commonly called kings of the cardinal directions Orience, Paymon, Amaymon and Egyn. However, these names are not without their source. Differently spelled versions of them can be found in the manuscript named Folger V.b. 26, which was published in 2015 by Joseph Peterson as *The Book of Oberon*. Also seen in both *The Dannel* and *The Book of Oberon*, are similar versions of the names of god “Layagalam, Layagium, Ubba, Ganarituum, Layagarum” (227r). Peterson and Harm’s transcription of this manuscript mentions that it is dated between 1577 and 1583 for publication (1). Like *De Occulta Philosophia* by Paracelsus as mentioned by Chardonens (175), there might have been earlier versions of this manuscript circulating before it was published which could have influenced the Dannel Scribe. Despite this, the similarities between the spirits’ names as well as the names of God the Dannel Scribe can serve as evidence that 1577 is another *terminus post quem* for the manuscript.

The third and fourth conjurations in this section are rather similar. They are the longest incantations in the manuscript. The first one can also be defined as a conjuration to uncover secret things, since the instruction for the spirit is to “make me a redy *and* a trew answeere of all thynges that I shall aske the” (246r), but unlike other conjurations to find out secret things, this incantation includes no specific question for the necromancer to ask. Furthermore, like the other conjurations in this chapter, the spirit remains unnamed. This and the similarities to the fourth conjurations motivated the choice to place this conjuration that can be dubbed “Generalis Astrucciones”, or general bindings, in this part of the edition dedicated to general conjurations. The Generalis Astrucciones conjuration includes a long invocation of several continuous verses from the book of Genesis, in which the creation of the world is described. This follows another lengthy invocation of the events around the crucifixion of Jesus, in which the book of Matthew is referenced. These together with the many other invocations, of names of god, words spoken to moyses, the four elements, and the virgin Mary make this conjuration the longest of the *Dannel* part of the manuscript, spanning 11 folios. This conjuration is followed by “Generalis sententia” on 251r. This text serves not so much as a conjuration, but more as a punishment if the spirit fails to appear as instructed. Rather than telling the reader to try again under better weather circumstances, the Dannel Scribe here provides them with a way to excommunicate the spirit. As is shown in other parts of this edition, there are a few other conjurations that include such an ending to their main incantation. Such incantations are not really conjurations, but they are not really exorcisms either. They tend to use the term excommunicate for what they are attempting to do, promising torments and other punishments on the

reluctant spirit for failing to appear. Sometimes these excommunications suggest that the spirit might be spared these punishments if it appears after all.

The last conjuration of this section is quite a bit shorter than the *Generalis Astrucciones*. It is another conjuration that commands the conjured spirit to fulfil the necromancer's requests. It consists of seven distinguishable parts, the first one serving as a type of introduction. The other six parts seem to mirror each other in their invocations. The first three invoke the trinity of the father, the son, and the holy ghost respectively, and the last three invoke a demonic trinity of the red dragon, the beast, and the lamb from the book of Revelations. What is also striking about this conjuration is that it has no instructions or circles surrounding it. It is only an incantation. This is because the instructions belonging to this conjuration are on folio 203v of the manuscript. The instructions on that page are as follows:

“And vp on the fort daye yow shall make yowre
cateracke as here after shall apere. And then
begyn yowre *coniuracon* after this maner in the
hower of Soll, or else in Luna. *And* fyrst saye
yowr prayer and then this Invocation, *which*
is wryttyn in the thre skor and xix leffe
followyng, begynnynge thus: O thov Spryt, *N, I*
coniuvre the, and charge the *et cetera.*”

“Three score and nineteen” means 79 which is the original page number given to folio 253r before it was changed. And just as can be seen on folio 253, the beginning of the incantation on 203v is written in a slightly different style than the rest of the Dannel writing. The cataract is also something mentioned a number of times in the full conjuration. The necromancer instructs the spirit to appear into it. However it is not certain what it is exactly. The instructions on folio 203v mention that the cataract “here after shall apere”, but there is no image or other text in the manuscript itself which clarifies it. It is unlikely that the traditional meaning of cataract, which is waterfall, is meant here since the instructions tell the reader to “make” it. As the use of things like mirrors, crystals, and fingernails is quite common in other sources of conjuration, it is quite likely that cataract refers to some form of reflective surface like a surface of water.

Apart from the absence of a specific request or question as well as a proper name for the spirit, these conjurations have a few other similarities. The invocation of passages from the bible is one of them. These references to scripture are in some cases very close quotes, using wording very similar to the King James Bible. This however, does not mean that it was this English bible that was used for these citations, since there were other English translations of the Bible circulating before that version was written. The same problem as with Folger V.b. 26 appears here. That being the uncertainty of whether or not the similarities mean that the Dannel Scribe used these texts as sources, which would

establish new *termini post quem*, or if he used earlier versions of these texts, which would keep the precise latest possible date of *The Dannel* being written uncertain.

An Experiment Serving for Spirits of the Earth: 179v-181v

179v Mercury¹
 This expedument² followynge must be done
 in the newe of the mone, be stronget³ *the* .2 .
 and XIV daye, *and seruethe* the for all *maner* of
 spyrites of the erthe, and first *you* must
 abstayne from bodily lustes *and* fast 3 dayes
 before *you* wylt worke, *you* must be also wasshed
and clene bathed and shaue *the* *and* pare thi nayls
 then make the *sercle* as here after shall apere
 in the same howre, *that you* wylt cal for and
 se *that* thi *sercle* be made vpon afayre chambre
 of fayer bord *with* afayer wyndowue too the sovthe
 ward, or if *you* haue non syche chambre then
 work it in a fayer swet gardyn where as *you*
 mayst haue at the lest .8. fate of clere ground
 be northe *the* vtter⁴ *perte* of thi *sercle*, and make thi
sercle *with* a spruse staf or of sum swete wode
with these namys of God on the on syd⁵, creator *and*
 Saluator + Emanuell and these namys on *the*
 other syd of the staff, Tetragramation + *Jhesu*
Christ +and vpon the other ij sides Salamons
 pentacles, for *the* staff must be .4. square *and* a
 pretye pyke of stele, in the nether ende of
 whiche pyke must be made vpon the fyrst *sercle*

180r after the newe mone in the ovre of venus
 then entrynge thi *sercle* *and* knele downe on thi
 knes and saye toward the est: O holye father

¹ Mercury] possible reference to the hour in which to perform this conjuration, or to one of the pentacles of Mercury as written in the *Key of Solomon* (Liddell MacGregor Mathers)

² expedument] experiment

³ stronget] strongest

⁴ vtter] outer

⁵ on syd] one side

and lord almyghtye God whiche hast creatid all thinges of nothinge *you* knowest althynges and onto the ther is nothinge hyd nor onpossible, *you* knowest lord that this art and expedument ys not to aprove thi power nor to attempt the holye name, but onely for to adiure *and* call this spyrit N. bi thi sufferance to helpe me in all syche thinges as shal be nedfull for to get ther *with* my bred and nessessaries, grant this: O holye and most holye of all whiche raynest God world *with* out ende amen

And then stand vp *and* lokyng toward the southe and saye this, I coniure the *you* sprytt N by the levyng God, by the trewe God, and by the holye God + and by that God whiche hathe creatid the, and for thi ~~crossed-out~~ pryde and persamsion hathe justlye by his ryghttusnes damned the *with* all the fellowes, *that you* dost apere there by that rod appoyntid, for the, I conniure the by that heye name of God Tetragrammaton, *and* by that must excelentyst name of God + Ihesus + the whiche name is aboue all names, for in that name all knes dothe bowe

180v And obeye bothe in heuen *and* in earthe *and* also in hell, nor *there* is non other name geuen onto man where by he hathe any saluation but only *that* nor *there* is non name so terrible nor soo ferfull, onto youu, as the excelent and reuerent name *Jhesu* I coniure the *and* adiure the *and* chare *the you* spirit .N. that *you* dost apere for I sertifeye the *that* I am suerlye assuered in my consience *that you* art not able to resist, but *you* must apere, I commre the by all the names of God, and speciallye by these, Ag Yskyros +Alpha *and* oo + the fyrst and the last, I coniure the N by the golden girdle⁶, that John saw,

⁶ the golden girdle] (*The Bible: Authorized King James Version* Rev. 1.13)

gyrt abowt the loynes of the lord, soo be *you sawn*
with a gyrdle for a *perpetuall* payne for euer more, *and*
 that *you* com not by and bye, I coniure the ~~also~~
 also by *that* .2. edged sword whiche went
 out of his mouthe⁷, so be *you* clene *and* cut for
 euer more, *with* that if *you* do not apere, and *the blood*
 of *that* innocent lambe whiche was shed for so manye
 as dyd beleue in it be onto the a *perpetuall* cond
 emnacion, so *that* *you* shalt neuer haue hope of relese or
 esement of thi payne, but for to be increased from
 yere to yere, from daye to daye, from moment to
 moment *and* to be incresid vpon the and multiplied
 vp on the as *the* sterris in the fyrmanent *and the* sand
 curneles in the see, and all the merites of Crystis
 passion, dethe, burial, *and* resurrection, be onto the a wyttnes, *and* a condemnation for thi
 disobedienc[ce].

181r I coniure the by these names of God
 Deus, Homo, Omnipotens + Sempitus + Ihesus + Terramm
 Tetragramaton + Unigenitus + Saluator + Vita + Via +
 Manus + Fons + Origo + Agnus + Filius + Dilectus +
 and by all other names *that* euer wer able of man to
 be spokyn or thowght, that *thou* dost apere *there* in *that*
 place appoynted for the *with out* hurtynge or noynge
 of me or any other creature of God, or *with out* anye
 blusterynge or blowynge, but temperatlye *and* quietlye
 to apere and to geue me trewe answeres, of all suche
 thynges as I shall demand of the, for I beleue
 suerlye, that throwge my faythe *you* must com *and* art
 not able to resist but must apere, I coniure the
 by the terryble *and* ferfull daye of iudgment
 in the whiche daye *the* Lord shall come *with* all his
 angeles *and* sayntes with him, and thaye *that* hathe faythe
 fully lyved here in athe world shall stand vp
 on his ryght hand, the remembrance *there* of ys

⁷ That 2 edged sword which went out of his mouthe] (Rev. 1.16)

onto vs *that* be faythefull a *perpetuall* consolation
and comfort, *and* onto you wicked *and* damnable
 sprites, a continuall *and* euerlastynge fere of *perpetual*
 damnation, for yowr incrudelyte of beleff, for
 you maye be well assured that you ar no *pertakeres*
 of his saluation, but the angeles of his euerlastynge
 wrathe and condemnation I coniure *N* the by the obedience
 that you owest onto thi ruler *and* prynce, *and* if *you* com not

181v bye and bye his wrathe, curse, *and* malediction
 liten vpon the *with* all the tormentes *and* paynes of
 all those prynses of darknes *and* to conclude I
 coniure the [N] by all the mytght and
 power of God, father, son, and holye gost, iij
 persones in trinite and on God in deite whiche
 leuethe and rayne the God worthy all honer
 and prayse world *without* ende amen, fiat.

And if he be not come redet *over* agayne *and*
 at the most by that *you* hast red it .3. tymes
 of warrantyse he shall apere, but in any wy⁸
 take hede of the ayre *that* it be maruelus
 clere *with* out cloudes and also comme *with*
 out wynd *and* as nere as *you* canst haue a
 wall of the northe syd of the spyryt, *that the*
sonne maye rebound, from the wall onto
 spyryt, for the influence of the sonne ys
the the gretest helpe *that you* canst possyble haue, *and*
 also thaye wyll gladlye apere in *the* bemys⁹ of
 of the sonne, or else *you* must haue *the* mone
 lyght, or at *the* lest a very clene sterre lyght
 or else *you* shallt never obtayne thi porpose.

A Coniuration for Asking Kings of the Cardinal Directions to Send a Spirit: 226r - 229r

226r When the *master* ys allredi to goo to

⁸ wy] way

⁹ bemys] beams

his worke let hym enter his *sercle and* devouthlye
 knelyng toward the est saye this prayer
 following: O holy lord a myghti father *and* most
 mercifull God *which* hast creatyd al thynges of
 nothing. *Thou* knowest all thynges, and on to the *there*
 ys nothyng hyd nor onpossible. *Thou* knowest
 Lord *that* this art *and* expediment ys not to prove thy
 pore¹⁰ not to attempt thi godly name, but to
 knowe the secretes of sprytes *and* the treuthe
 of thynges not knowen. Wherfor o holy God we
 here thy *servantes* do dessyer the *that thou* woldest
 wytsaff¹¹ to grant onto us thy most mercifull helpe.
 To brynge to pass this ower purpose *and* intent, *which* reynist
 Adonaye whole kingdom *and* pore hathe no end but
 doth continue in to the world of worlds.

Then saye this prayer:

O lord my God be onto me a tower of strenkthe before *the* fate of
thy enemyes these malyngnat sprytes. And then toward *the*
 southe saye lykwyse, and so unto all .4. quarteres. *With*
 these wordes behold *the* syngne +¹² *and* the names off *the*
 Creator, Salvator, Emanuell, by *the which* sygne *and* names
 we wer creatyd *etc.* Ouuer salvacon be onto me a
 helper. And then tornynge toward the est agayne

226v saye this invocacion *with* a myghtye voyse: O *thou*
 kynge of the est I coniure *the* and charge the by
 the levynge God, by the trewe God, and by the
 holye God, and by the mother of *Jhesu and* by all
 the tranys¹³ of the angeles, and by the appostyles
 marteres, confessors, and *vergynges*, *with* all the *companye*
 of heven beholdynge the syght of the Godhed,
that thou shalt cause this spryght whose name is .N.
 to come and apere here onto me *with* out any taryng
 And to fulfill all my request.

¹⁰ pore] power

¹¹ wytsaff] vouchsafe

¹² syngne +] the sign of the cross

¹³ tranys] trains

Then torne *the* toward the west saynge: O
 Rommbalans¹⁴ *which* art kynge of the west I coniure
 the and charge the by the gret pytte of *ower* lord
Jhesu Cryst, and by the grace of the holye gost *and*
 By the crowne of thorne, by the spere, *and* by *the*
 .3. nayles and by all the paynes of *Jhesu* Cryst
 And by his holye names, Agios, Yskiros, Alpha
and oo, *that thou* shalt send onto me this sprytes
 callyd . N. *that* he shall fulfyll all my request
with out any craft, falsed or gyle.

Then torne the toward *the* Southe sayng:
 O cerbidatonn¹⁵ kynge of the southe I coniure
the *and* charge the by all the tranes *and* choris¹⁶ of God,
and by the dethe *and* passion of *ower* lord *Jhesu* Cryst,
 and by Habrahm, Isaac *and* Jacob,

227r by Moyses, *and* Davyd, *and* by Enoc, and Ely by Elisen,
and Abacuc by Zacharius, *and* Malachian, *that thou* shalt send
 Onto me this spryght .N. to fulfyll all my request.

Then torne the toward the northe saynge thus:
 O Lambracun¹⁷ kynge of the northe I coniure the and
 charge the by that God *the* *which* hathe creatyd
 all thynges of nothyng, *and* by *the* savior of the world
Jhesu Cryst and by the crowne of thorne that he was
 crounyd *with* all, and by other instrumentes *with*
 holy names, Layagalam, Layagium, Ubba, Ganarituum
 Layagarum¹⁸, *that thou* shalt send this spryght onto me
 whose name is .N. And that he shall fulfyll
 all my request *with* out craft falsshed or gyle. And
 then sit down and begyn *yower* coniueracon for
Yower spryght *that* you wyll call

¹⁴ Rommbalans] Variation on “Rombalance or Ramblane” as mentioned in the Officium de Spiritibus from *The Book of Oberon* (Peterson and Harms 80).

¹⁵ O cerbidatonn] Variation on “Ocarbydatonn” also from the Officium de Spiritibus.

¹⁶ choris] choirs

¹⁷ O Lambracun] Also from the Officium de Spiritibus: “Othou Lambricon, vel Lambracaron, kings of the North” (Peterson and Harms 81)

¹⁸ Holy names] from the Officium de Spiritibus “Layagom + Vlba + Garanitom”. The original list of names being more extensive and having lesser variations on the name “Layagom”

General Binding: 245v-252r245v Generalis astrincciones¹⁹

O thou spryt or sprytes .N. I coniure the or
yov by the power of God *the* father *and* by his
onely Sonne *ower* lord *and* also by the holy gost.
I coniure the N. or yov sprytes by all ther
mighty power *and* strenkthe *that thou* aryse ther in
that place apoyntyd for the, by the power *and*
vertu of Crystis precius passion and by all
that here after shalle rehersed to the worthy^s
of God, *and* for to brynge the in to obediens.
I Coniure *the thou* spryght .N. by heuen *and* erthe *and*
by the see *and* hell, *and* by all the wordes *that* God
hathe spaken in the Creation of the world *and* by
these wordes *that* he spake when he made all thynges
bothe visible *and* invisible, *and* by all these wordes
wich he spake onto Moyses, *and* anto all other
holy proffetes, *and* by the .4. Elamentes, *and* by ye
power of heavens. And I coniure *the* also by all
the holy names of God, bothe effable *and* ineffable
and by the Incarnation of *ower* lord Ihesu cryst
and by his nativite *and* by his passion, *and* by his
most precius blood *wich* he suffered for to be
shed for mankyndes sake and by his burynge
and

246r and his myghtye assencion. And also I adiure *the* or
yov by the dredfull daye of Iudment, when that
he shall Iudge *the* and all thynges. [c--246]
I Coniure the *you* spryght .N. by the power of thy
prynce, *and* I adiure *the thou* spryt vnder ye paynes
of the grete malediction.
And I Coniure the vnder the paynes of eternall
conclusion + vnto *the* daye of Iudment, *that thou* dost
apere by and by in a fayer lyknes or forme

¹⁹ Astrincciones] restrictions, binding. Refers to the binding of a spirit.

of a man in that place appoyntyd for the, *with*
 owtt any craft or desayt *and with* owt hurtynge
 or harmynge of me or any other thyng *that*
 God hath creatyd *and* made. *And that thou* dost quycklye
 make me a redy *and* a trew answe of all
 thynges that I shall aske the, by all *the* holy
 wordes *that* I haue before rehersyd.

O thou spryt .N. where so euer *that thou* beest I coniure
the and adiure *the* by the grett strenkthe *and* power
 of God and by all the holye workynge of ~~all~~
 the blyssed trynyte. I coniure the by the mytye
 power *and* strenkthe of the most hiest father
 in heuen, *and* by the power of the grett verite
and trevthe *and* divinite of the most hiest God in
 heven ower lord Ihesu Cryst by the ~~power~~ vertue of all his miracles
 and by all his holy names *that* is able to be spoken

246v or thought *and* by all the holy wordes of the holye
 goost in heauen *and* in the eternall glorye.

I coniure *the thou* spryght .N. wherso euer *thou* beest
that thou dost here apere in that place appoyntyd for the
 by thy heye strenkthe *and* power of the eternall
 glorye, *and by the* vertu *and* strenkthe of the glory of heuen
and by the power of the peace *and* charite of the holye
 gost, *and* by all the myght *and* strenkthe of ower
 Lord Iesu Cryst kyng of all goodnes, *and by the*
 power of the meknes *and* puernes of Ihesu cryst
 and by the grete unitye *and* fauorable gentylnes of
 Ihesu Cryst byinge of all grace, and by *the*
 power of the love *and* swetnes of Ihesu Cryst
 the Sonne of the leuyng God, and by the power
 of the bryghtnes of Ihesu Cryst. By all the
 myght *and* power of Ihesu Cryst, very God *and* man
 the *wich* dothe raynite in the eternall glorye *with*
 his father *and* the holye gost in ye mayeste of
 strenkthe. I coniure *the* you spryght N. or sprytes
 by the dredfull power *and* strenkthe of the gret

Iudment, when *that* he shall Iudge alman kynd
 bothe leuyng ded, *and* all devylles *and* yvell
 sprytes *and* all kynges *and* ruleres as well them *that*
 bee

247r be alyve as them *that* be ded. I conniure *thee* .N. by
 his power vnto whom all knes dothe bowe, bothe
 in heuen *and* in Erthe *and* also in hell, *and* by
 Ihesu *the* Sonne of the treu vyrgyn Marye
 and by Ihesu cryst the lord of Israell, *and* by
 Ihesu Cryst *the* Sonne of Salvation –

I Coniure *the* *thou* spryt or sprytes .N. wherso euer
that *thou* beest apere ther in that place appoyntyd
 for the. In the symilitude of a fayer man,
 gevynge me trev ansueres of all thynges *that* I
 shall demand of the. I adiure the *thou* spryt
 .N. *and* also coniure *the* by the power of the holye gost
and by the power *and* dyvinite, *and* foreknowlage, *and*
 intellection of the holye gost. *and* by the vertue of
 all the counsell, *and* meknes of the holye gost,
and by the vertu *and* syens *and* fere *and* puernes of *the*
 holy goost, *and* by all the power of God, *and* by *the* grace
and fortytude of the holy goost *wich* is *with* *the*
 father *and* the Sonne 3. persones in trinite *and*
 one God omnipotent in the eternall glorie.
 I eoniure the *you* spryght .N. by the gret
 fortytude of the omnyotent God. I adiure

247v the *thou* spryt .N. by the grace of God. I adiure *the*
 .N. by the handes of God. I adiure the by *the* mercye
 of God. I adiure the by the gret victorye of God.
 I adiure *the* *thou* spryt .N. by the power of the heauenes
and by the power of all the celestiall heauens *and* all
the celestiall Creatures worchypynge *the* omni
 potent God. I adiure the O *thou* wykked spirite
and rebellynge spryte. I coniure *the* by the heye
and myghtye devyne *and* holy passyon of ower

lord Ihesus Cryst, *and* by the power of the
 swete fasce of Ihesus cryst *wich was* buffetyd
and with spattyll²⁰ defyled, *and* so be *thou* spryt
 smytten *with* fyer *and* paynes of hell *with* stronge
 tormentores yf *that thou* aperest not by *and* bye.
 I adiure *the* *and* by the power of hym *wich was*
 bonden *with* a rope upon the left hand, *and*
 soo was drawen and stretched vpon the
 hiest of the Crosse, *and* soo was his left
 hand nayled onto the Crosse and euen soo be
you spryt .N. nayled *and* drawen *with* the most
 strongest paynes *that* be in hell *with* fyerye
 chenys stretched *and* paynyd *and* strayned.
 Except *that you* commest here before me in
 the

248r the forme aforesayd, obedientlye *and* mekelye
 geuyngre trew answeris of thynges *that* I
 shall requere of the. I adiure the by *the*
 power of the grete payne *that wich* ower lord
 sufferyd in his ryght foote when *that* it was
 nayled vnto the Crosse. Even soo be *thou*
 spryt .N. nayled pessayd the *with* the paynes
 of hell except *that thou* dost apere here before
 me openly *and* visiblye vnto my syght. I
 adiure *the*, O *thou* spryte .N. by the power of
 the grete payne *wich* cryst suffered in
 his left foote vpon the crosse, *and* except *that*
you coniuere by *and* bye *the* same payne lyten
 and rest *and* remayne vp on *the* *and* cleve *the* to
 thy utter destruction, *with the* most bytter and
 stronger violence of the ferce fyer of
 hell *the wich* dothe alwayes burne. *And* I
 dessyer *the* o lord this grant, as *thou* art
 very trev God *and* man, *that* those sprytes neuer
 rest nor sease vntyll *the* tyme *that* he

²⁰ spattyll] spittle

hathe fullyllyd my request *and* dessyer.

I adiure *the* also .N. by *the* power of the same
speare

248v speare ye *wich* percid ye syd of Ihesu cryst *and* ded
cleue his hartt. Even the same spere smyte
the *and* cleave the *and* dystroye *the* foreuer more
except *that thou* doest cum *and* apere by and bye.

I adiure *the*, o *thou* rebellynge spryt .N. by the
power of the sword of dethe *and* if *thou* commest not
by and bye *the* same sword of dethe fall down
vp on the *with* suche innumerable paynes *that*
thou art not able for to abyd it.

I also adiure *the and* Coniure *the thou* .N. by the power
of the precius passion of ower lord Iesu Cryst,
and by his precius blood *wich* he sufferid in his
most bytter passyon for to be shed for man
kyndes sake, *and* to the destruction of *the and* all
thi fellowes, *and* by *the* most bytter wepynge
and sorrow of ower blyssed ladye for the dethe
of her Sonne. I adiure *the thou* spryt .N. h
by *the* vertu of all the holye wordes *wich* Cryst
spake in the tyme of his passyon whan
that he sayd saynge father repute not this
my dethe vnto them for thay knowe not
what thaye doo. *And* by those wordes when

whan

249r whan he sayd vnto his mother whoman behold
thy Soonne. *And* vnto his dyssiple behold thye
mother, and by that holye wordes *that* he sayd
saynge I thurst *that* is to saye *the* helthe of man
kynde, *and* also by those holy wordes Ely Eloy
lamazabathani²¹ *that* is to saye my God my God
why hast *you* forsaken me. *And* by those holye

²¹ Ely Eloylamazabathani] “Eli Eli Lama Sabachthani”, Matthew 27:45 – 46 (*The Bible: Authorized King James Version*)

wordes all thynges ar ended. *And* also by those holye wordes father in to thi handes. I commend my spiryt, *and* by *that* wertu of the holye crosse *the wich* Cryst bare vnto his passion. I coniure *the thou* spryght .N. *that thou* aperest *ther* in that place appoyntyd for the in the forme *and* lyknes aforsayd. I adiure *the* by *the* father of Ihesu Cryst, *and* by the power of all his holy blood *wich* cam ovt of his wovndes.

I coniure *the and* charge *the you* spryght .N. by *the* power of all the holy wordes *that wich* God spake in *the* creation of the world whan he creatyd all thynges. I adiure *the* by *the* power of the fyrst word *that* God sayd.²² He sayd let *the* lyght be
made

249v made *and* it was made. The second word was whan God made *the* fymament he sayd let the fymament be made in the mydest of the wateres *and* let it devyde one water from another. The thyrd word was when God sayd *the water that wich* be vnder heauen shall gather to gether in one place *and* aperethe dry. The forthe word was whan God commanded *the tres and* erbys²³ to sprynge. He sayd let *the* erthe brynge forthe grene erbis beryng frute *and* all frute tres let them brynge forthe frute euery one in his kynde *that* all frutes *and* seedes maye haue his owne kynd vp on the Erthe. The fyft word was whan he made the Soone *and* the mone *and the* sterres, he sayd let ther be lyghtes in the fymament of heauen and let them devyd *the* daye

²² He sayd...the erthe amen(250v.)] Invocation of scripture taken from Genesis (*The Bible: Authorized King James Version* 1.3-1.28)

²³ erbys] herbs

from *the* nyght, *and* let them be in *the* syngnes
and tymes *and* in dayes *and* yeres *and* let thyme
 in *the* fyrmament of heauen *and* lyght *the*
 erthe. The syxt word *yat* God sayd
 sayd

250r Sayd when he made *the* fysshes *and* *the* byrdes, he sayd
the manynge wateres let them brynge forthe
 leuyng creatures *and* flyeyng byrdes vp on
 the erthe vnder *the* fyrmament of heauen.
 The seuenthe word was when God
 blyssed them *and* sayd increse *the* *and* mvltipley
the *and* replette *the* wateres of the See, *and* lett *the*
 byrdes mvltipleye vpon the Earthe.
 The eyght word was whan God sayd let
 the erthe brynge forthe leuynges creatures,
 euery one in his kynd gret bestes *and* fower
 fotyd²⁴ [~~foules~~] bestis *with* all other after *ther* kyndes.
 The nynght word was when ower lord God
 made man, he sayd let vs make man
 vnto ower owne symylytude *and* image, *and* let
 them rvl euer the fysshes of the see, *and* *the*
 byrdes of the skye *and* all bestes of the erthe *and*
 all leuyng creatures *the* wich haue *there*
 many uges vp on the erthe. The tenthe
 word was whan God sayd encresse *the* *and*
 mvltipleye *the* *and* replenyshe *the* the erthe
 erthe

250v erthe *and* make obedyent all thynges *and* rule
 you ouer all *the* fysshes of the see, *and* the byrdes of
 the ayer, *and* all leuyng thynges *the* wich haue
 ther movynge vpon the erthe amen.
 I coniure *the* *and* also I bynd the throghe ye
 power *and* vertu of all these wordes aforsayd

²⁴ fower fotyd] four footed

and by the power of all these holy names
of God + Omnipotens + Sempiternus + Deus +
Agla + Mane + Creaton + Ysus + Eleyson +
Ya + Tetragrammaton + Messias + Father +
Emanuell + Sabaothe + Adonay + Arphaxat
+ Sinu + Unigenitus + Via + Vita + and by
all other names bothe effable *and* ineffable.
I charge *the you* spryght *and* bynd the .N. in
the payne of endles dampnaton *that you*
dost full fyll all my hole request,
and if he be not *cum* by ones callynge,
call hym tylhe be *cum and* vp on warantyse
he shall *cum* by the power of this constryncyon.

251r Generalis sententia

O Thow wykked *and* rebellus sprytt .N. thov *that*
dysobeyest *the* heye deuyne mageste of God the
father *and* God the Soone *and* God the holye gost, thre
persones in trinite *and* one God omnyotent. Therefore
here I shall vnder the sufferansce of thes thre
persones *and* one God, accurse the *and* excommunicate *the*
thou spryght .N. by the power of all these holye
wordes aforesayd. The malediction *and* gret
curse of God *the* father almyghti *and* of the holye
gost, iii persones in trinite, *and* all the poweres
that be contaynyd in heuen *and* erthe *and* also in
hell. Accurse *the* .N. *and* excommunicate *the* in *the*
eternall payne of alpaynes where is tribulation
and horror. Curse the all angeles *and* arcangeles
martiris, confessores, *and* vergynes with all other
creatures bothe movable *and* immouable. Curse
the *and* anathemate *the*. Curse the *the* omnpotent
father by the power of the gloriuis passion of
his onely Soone. Excommunicate the Ihesus
cryst ye Soone of the levyng God with all his
power. Curse *the* also *that* eneffable man Ihesus
Cryst bothe God *and* man *and* Soone of ye most heye

and lyynghe God. Excommunicat *the, the* vertu of the
the

251v most hey name of God Tetragramaton + excommunicat
the, the vnivursall passion of Ihesu Cryst ower lord *the*
hey xii *and* excelent names of God *the wich* you
sprytes know well. Excommunicate *the and* codemne
the now from all thy *companye* in to the
depest pytt of hell wher is all *the* strongest
paynes of hell. Excommunicate *the that* excelent
and reuerent name of God Ihesus + vnto *the*
wich name all knes bowe bothe in heuen
and in erthe *and* in hell, and except *that thou* comnest
by and by. I my selfe by the power and vertu
of all the holye wordes aforesayd do cast *the*
in to *the* payne of all paynes *and* into the sorrov
of all sorrowes wher is tribulacion and
anguyshes, *and* all the wrathe *and* hatred of God, *and*
also I cast the in to the furnysche of fyer
where is the hatred of God *and* into *the* cursed
pryson of eternall dampnaton where nou
order is but euerlastynghe, discord there
abydynghe. Let it [~~be~~]be, *and* by *the* power *and*
vertu of God *the* omnyotent father *and* by all
the fore sayd maladiction *and* cursment
that all these fornamyd paynes maye be
be

252r mvlitplid vp on *the* so plentifully as *that*
be Sand carneles in the See, and euen
as *the* sterris be mvlplyed in the fymament.
This stande the in full power *and* strenkthe by
the power of the father *and* by the power of the
Soone *and* by the power of the holy gost.
Amen amen sobeit.
Thus endethe *the* sentence generall.

A Conjunction to make a Spirit Appear in a Cataract: 253r-256r

253r O thou spryt .N. I coniur the and charge the in the pore²⁵ and by the power of father, sonne, and holly gost *that thou* aperest ther to that caterakt visibly onto me and onto all men, and fulfyll all my request. By the vertu of that gret word *which* God spake onto Adam, I well *gou* subdue *thou* and make *thou* obeyent all thynges *which* I have in the V dayes before thy creacion made. And by the pore of that gret word I have subdued and made obeyent onto thy soto all thynges bothe levynge and ded so that all thynges shall *serve* for thy welthe and proffet by those holy wordes and by all other whyche I shall here after reherese. I charge the *thou* spryt .N. *that thou* aperest vysibly onto me and all men by and by.

O thou Sprytt .N. Where so ever *that thou* be I coiure the and charge the by *the* omnypotent God. God *the* father of Ihesu Cryst and by all the pore of hym. *That* so suerly as he is *the* God of all godes and ruler over all ruleres, *that thou* by hys power and by hys obeydiance dost by and by apere vysyibly on to me, and onto all men whom that I wyll. *That thou* shall apere and fulfyll all syche²⁶ thynges as I shall command *the*. I coniure the .N. and charge the *thou* spryght *that thou* aperest by the vertu of Ihesu Cryst *the* Son of the foresayd father. And by all hys power and myght *which* is the Savyor of all mankynd

253v that belevethe In hym. And by that grete power of hys word by the *which* he vanquysched and subdued thy prynce Satanas whom that he temtyd hym in wyldernes saynge a worde Satanas. For it is wryttyn *that thou* shat²⁷ honer *the* lord thy God and hym alonly syve²⁸. And by that word *which* he spake on to the *domine deperte* and by and bye the *domine* spake. By those holy wordes and by all other whyche Cryst spake beyng here in erthe I charge the *thou* spryght .N. *that thou* dost

²⁵ pore] power

²⁶ syche] such

²⁷ shat] shalt, shall

²⁸ syve] serve

apere here onto me vusyibly and speke onto me and fulfyll my request. I coniure the by all the merytes²⁹ of Chryst Iesu *that ever* he merytyd here for us, *that* is to saye by hys fastyng, and temtacion, by hys agony, and bluddy swethe, by hys passyon, dethe, and buryall, by hys resurreccyon, and assention, wythe all other that hys holy scryptures makethe mention of. I coniure the .N. and charge the *that thou* aperest by all hys holy names geven and attrybutyd onto hym in the scryptur, *that* is to saye Emanuell + Unigentus + Rabby + Magister + *ego sum qi sum*, and by that most holy and sycelent name *Ihesus*. By the *which* all faythefull besaved and onto that name all knees dothe bowe bothe in heven, erthe, and also in hell. By all these powers meryts and holy names of the onely sonne off the father, I charge the *thou* spryght .N. *that thou* aperest by and bye onto me vusyibly and onto all men onto whom I wyll. *Thou* shalt apere and fulfyll my request.

254r I coniure the *thou* spryt .N. by all the *vertu* and pore of God the holy Gost prosedyng from the father and the sonne equall *with* them in deite³⁰. And by that gret power when that he cam downe up on Ihesus in the lyknes of a dowe³¹ when that he was transfigured upon the mountayne before hys dyssyple. And by that gret power when he apered on to the apostoles in the lyknes of fyery tonnges the tent daye after the assention of Ihesu Cryst, and gave them sych a sprytte *that* neyther devine dethe nor non onclene sprytt possesyd was able to resyst ther invocatyon of the hey³² name of God, but *that* thaye avoydyd and fled by that same pore. And by all ther power of the holy gost, I charge the *that thou* aperest here by and bye in the forme of a man vysibly onto me and onto all men onto whom I wyll *thou* shalt apere. And that *thou* shalt fullfyll my request *withowt* any desayte³³, craft or falsehod so suerly as these thre plans be one God to whom be prayse for ever and ever amen.

²⁹ merytes] merits

³⁰ deite] deity

³¹ dowe] dove

³² hey] high

³³ desayte] deceit

O thou spryt .N. where so ever *that thou* be I coiure and charge the by the heye obedyence and pryvate faythe *which* thou owest onto thy prynce. And if it be trew *that thou* art not able to resyst ther pore then charge I the *that with* all spede *thou* shalt apere vysyble by the pore of the grete Redd Dragon *which* hat vii heddes .10. hornes and .10. crownes upon hys hed. Whose tayle drew the thred³⁴ part of the starres after hym and cast them to the erthe. Whych also stode before the woman *which* was redye to be delyvered of chyld and for to dewoureyt.³⁵

254v The which Redd Dragon *with* hys angelles made a gret battayle In heven agaynst Mihaell and hys angels. But Mychael and hys angelles preveled agaynst them. So that ther was no more place fownde of the Dragon nor of hys angeles in heven, but in the erthe hys habyticion to be ever more.³⁶ *Which* is the gret kyng Lusyfer by whose power and rewle I adiure the .N. and constrayne the to com and apere visibly onto me and to fulfyll all my request. In the payne of hys heye dysplesur I coniure the by all the nomer of hys angeles and by all ye pores. I coniure the .N. *that thou* shalt have no power to resyst me by all the paynes and tormentes of them, but that *thou* shalt by and by apere vysyibly in the forme of a fayer man and speke onto me and fulfyll all my request. And If *thou* resyst then I adiure *the* gret kyng *with* all hys angeles, by the pore of hym whose pore ys above all powers, *that* thaye be able to mynyster onto the tyll the last days of the gret judgment³⁷. And that and that gret kyng to cast upon the *that* gret ryver of water *which* he cast after the woman *that* was delyvered of chylde to have devowred her³⁸.

I coniur the also by that best that cam owt of the see beyng lyke a cat of mounttayne havynge vii heds .10. hornes and .10. crownes, havynge wryttyn upon hys forhed the name of blasphemy.

³⁴ thred] third

³⁵ The grete Redd Dragon...for to dewoureyt] invocation of the Red Dragon taken from Revelations (*The Bible: Authorized King James Version* Rev. 12.3)

³⁶ Revelations, 12.7-12.9 (*The Bible: Authorized King James Version* Rev. 12.3-12.4)

³⁷ judgment] judgement

³⁸ Revelations 12.15

Onto whom Lusyfer the Red Dragon gave hys hole power
 hys seate and hys autoryte to mynyster plages and paynes

255r on to all them *that* resyst hys name.³⁹ And he gave hym a name, to
 be Called *prince* and to revell and correct in hys stead, *which*
 was Belsabub. And by hys hole power and correctyons I chare⁴⁰
 the and command the *that thou* shalt have no power to resyst my
 invocatyon, but that *thou* shalt by and bye apere vysyblye onto
 me and on to all men onto whom I wyll. *Thou* shalt apere
 and If *thou* dost dysobeye me and wyll not come, the I
 charge and adiure *that prince* Belsabub, by whose pore I have
 also called *the*, *that* he by the obedyence of hys creature and
 by the obedyence *which* he oweth onto the Red Dragon, *which* gave
 hym hys name and hys autoryte and pore, *that* he schall mynyster
 onto *the* all hys plages and hys correctyons appoynted hym of
 Lucyfer *the* Red Dragon, beyng hys kyng.

I coniure the by all hys pore and in voydyng hys heye
 dysplesur that *thou* shalt com and apere visiblye onto me
 in the forme of a man and speke onto me and fulfyll
 all my request. I coniure the by all *the* nomer of hys
 angeles and by all the tormentes and paynes of them,
 so that if *thou* dost resyst me thay to mynyster every one off them
 hys offyce onto the tyll the gret daye off the commynge of that
 lord who shall judge both the kyng thy *prince* and the
 also to that fyer and payne whyche schall *never* have ende.
 I coniure the *thou* spryght .N. by the pore off that best *which*
 had ii hornes lyke a lambe, and had pore geven hym
 bothe off Lucyfer *the* Red Dragon and of Belsabub the

255v Best to alluer and to provoke men here in erthe to worchyp
 and to geve honer both to the Dragon Lucyfer and onto the
 best Bessabub. So that hys pore was so grete *that* he caused
 fyer to com downe from heven *with* many other tokyns and
 syngnes. So that he browght the hertes off men from God to

³⁹ Revelations 13.1-13.2

⁴⁰ chare] charge

serve the gret Devyll and caysyd the peple to set up images onto the gret Devyll. And he had also power to geve these images a spryte to speke *with* all and all to deseayve men.⁴¹ By all hys pore and by all the obedyence *that thou* owest unto hym I adiure the *that thou* shalt come by and bye and apere vusybyly unto my syght in forme of a man, and speke onto me and fulfyll all my request. And yf *that* thou dost dysobeye thys my invocacyon, then I charge *the* lord Sathanas by the obedyence *that* he owest unto God hys creature, and unto Lusyfer hys kyng, and Belsabub beyng hys prince. He schall bynde the *with* all hys angeles and pores, and payne the ontyll the last daye. I coniure the also by all the *number* of hys angeles and by all the plages and tormentes of them. Also that they shall so payne the and so constrayne *the* *that thou* schalt have no pore to resyst me, but schalt come by and bye and apere ther onto that caterackt vusybylye on to me and onto all men, onto whom I wyll *thou* schalt apere.

256r I coniure the by all the heye names off these princes that ys to saye Lucyfer Abadon + Apollyon + Belsabub + Sathanas + and by all other *which* ys not off men knowen but amonge *thou* delves and spryghtes. I coniure the .N. also by the iiii angeles *which* laye bownd in the ryver Euphrates. I coniure the also by all the pore off the grete best *which* was losoned owt off the botomles pytt and schall dystroye the spyrytuall Zodam and Egypt. And by all other angeles off the Devell thy prince. I adiure the and charge the in the advoydyng off all *the* dysplesures, paynes, and tormentes for ever more *that thou* shalt *there* to that katheracte apere vusybyly onto me, and onto all men onto who I wyll. Thou schalt apere and to fulfyll all my hole intente wyth out craft, gyle, or falsehed, in payne off ther rudles paynes and tormentes. amen amen so be yt amen finis.

⁴¹ Revelations 13.11-13.15

5. The Conjunction of Asmoday and Other Spirits

In the passage on fols. 227v-229r The Dannel Scribe describes the spirit Asmodaye and the ritual used to conjure and command him. The elaborate description of the spirit being summoned before the incantation itself is remarkable because no other conjunction in *The Book of the Dannel* has such a description preceding it. Asmodaye is a name that appears a few other times in the manuscript, twice in the the conjunction on fols. 219v-221v as part of the list of demons being summoned, and once on folio 234r in a list of spirits of the south as “expulsor or keper of treasure”. The conjunction on fols 227v-229r goes more in depth about his knowledge and abilities, which are quite a few more than mentioned shortly on 234r His appearance is also described, as well as how to make him “offer himself gentlye” (fol 227v). The Dannel Scribe attributes the description of Asmodaye to Saint Cyprian, writing for example, that the spirit made counsel to him: “hys owen consellis made to Cipriane when *that* he callyd hym and he aperythe” (fol 227v). This saint from the third century A.D. is described by Davies as a figure which “came to have an enduring reputation as a magician and grimoire author” (32). Davies describes how the legend of Saint Cyprian became highly fictionalised in the middle ages and subsequently “reinforced in the early modern period by its allegoric use by poets and dramatists.” This however did not stop renaissance writers of magic manuscripts referring to him as a source and authority. As Borchartd explains, there was a compulsion among Renaissance magicians to claim to have rediscovered ancient texts and wisdom (62). Cyprian, being a saint from the third century, was a figure used for this purpose. His name became among those that had a lot of authority in the field of magic and conjunction of demons in particular. According to Davies, prayers to the saint were often used in love magic, especially in the west of Europe, but in this case the Dannel Scribe uses the authority associated with the saint to reinforce the legitimacy of his description of Asmodaye. The connection might lie in the original name of the spirit, which is Asmodeus. As described in the Apocryphal Book of Tobit, he was a demon that tried to seduce a woman by killing every man she married on their wedding night (*The Bible: Authorized King James Version* Tobit. 3.8.). This attempt to seduce a woman away from one man to another is also a primary part of Cyprian’s legend (Davies 33).

The use of famous name to lend authority to one’s work is not an uncommon practise in the world of medieval and early modern magic. Davies recounts that names of authority in the field of magic were often used this way, to give the writing an air of legitimacy rather than originality which held no value at the time. However, the Dannel Scribe’s description of Asmodaye is a very similar to the description of Sidonaye/Asmodaye in the *Praestigiis Daemonum* (1563) By Johann Weyer.

“he is seene with three heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a man, the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of his mouth, he hath feete like a goose, he sitteth on an infernall dragon, he carrieth a lance and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, which are under the power of *Amaymon*.” (Weyer)

“he aperythe aperythe *with* iij hedys *the* first lyke a bull, *the* second lyke to a man, the thred lyke a ramme havynge a taylor lyke a *serpent* and a gret fyer flamynge out at hys mouthe hys fette lyke an asse and he rydethe upon an Infernall Dragon beryng a spere in his hand” (Sl. 3853 fols. 227v.)

“he absolute lie teacheth geometrie, arythmetike, astronomie, and handicrafts [mechanics]. To all demands he answereth fullie and trulie, he maketh a man invisible, he sheweth the places where treasure lieth, and gardeth it” (Weyer)

“he techethe *perfet* Astronomie, nygromancye, geometrye, musycke and he geveth a trew answeere of all thynges That he is demandyd of, he causythe a man too goo in visible and he schewethe all placis treuu where any t[r]aesur ys” (Sl. 3853 227v.)

It is by no means a perfect translation. For example, where Weyer tells the conjuror to face Asmodaye “standing on his feete” and “call him by his name” the Dannel scribe says that the spirit can be made obedient by having “the master behold his fette, and see whether he dothe them cover or noo, and yf thaye be coveryd, command hym to oncover them” (227v.). The references to feet indicate that The Dannel Scribe’s version might be a mistranslation rather than a creative change of the source material like the reference to Saint Cyprian. However, it is possible that the Dannel Scribe did not use Weyer’s text as his source, but the *Livre des Esperitz*, a 15th century French manuscript which Weyer used as his source, according to Peterson’s introduction to his work, and which also inspired the *Ars Goetia*, from the *Lesser Key of Solomon*. Assuming that the Dannel Scribe had a lesser understanding of the French than he did the Latin, which is the language Weyer originally used for his work, could account for the peculiar translation choices.

The *Livre des Esperitz* does not include any incantations to summon the demons. It is just a list of the hierarchy of demons (Boudet). Neither does the incantation to summon Asmodaye resemble the one from the *Praestigiis Daemonum*. As such, it is probable that this conjuration was written by the Dannel Scribe himself, using the standard tools of incantation (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 129), or that he translated a conjuration from a different source. Also important to note is that Asmoday is never actually named in the incantation, which could also indicate the Dannel Scribe took a general conjuration where the spirit’s name needs to be inserted. However, instead of the more common N majuscule normally used by the Dannel Scribe, the part where the spirit’s name is meant to be inserted is simply left blank. Like a few other conjurations in *The Book of the Dannel* this conjuration is followed by a punishing incantation, meant for scolding and “excommunicating” the spirit if he does not appear.

Aside from the new way in which Asmoday is made obedient, the description that begins on fol. 227v also has a few other differences from those in the *Praestigiis Daemonum* and the *Ars Goetia*,

in which the spirit is also described. They are certain that Asmoday is subject to the king of the south called Amaymon, as said in the following:

“he goeth before others, which are under the power of *Amaymon*.” (Weyer)

“he is y^c first & chifiest under y^c power of Amaymon” (Peterson, *THE LESSER KEY OF SOLOMON*)

The Dannel Scribe on the other hand says that his alleged source Saint Cyprian “doutethe whether he be under Maymon” (fol. 227v). Asmoday shows up in a few other sources that list demons, often as a spirit serving under or associated with Amaymon, but not all sources agree on which cardinal direction he is associated with. The *Hygromanteia*, for example, lists him as a king of the north (“The Four Kings in the Grimoires Tradition”). This lack of agreement between sources might be the reason behind the Dannel Scribe’s claim that Cyprian doubts Asmoday’s allegiance to Amaymon as king of the south. The Dannel Scribe has also not added the sigil of Asmoday as seen in the edition of *Lesser Key of Solomon* from 1657 (Peterson, *Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis*). This is important to note, because as shall be shown later on, other spirits in *The Dannel* do have sigils associated with them.

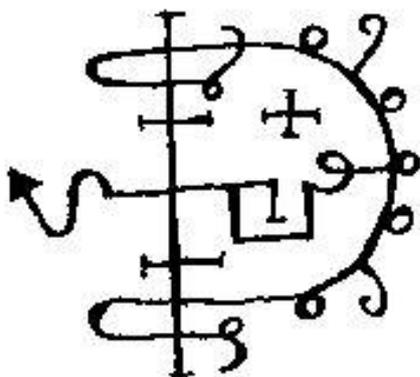


Fig1. Sigil of Asmoday, From the *Ars Goetia*, (Peterson, “OfThe Arte Goetia”)

Furthermore, the Dannel Scribe fails to mention the “seventie two legions” (Weyer) Asmoday has under his power. However, the conjuration on fols 219v-221 v, invokes, among others, the power of Asmoday, who “Enc lusi d [them]”, to conjure a large number of spirits. Asmoday is among the spirits when they are first listed, but no other spirit’s name is implied to be their superior in the hierarchy. This does suggest that the Dannel Scribe counted these spirits among those that serve under Asmoday. The invocation of “your lord Asmodie” on 235v lends further evidence to this. The conjuration which ends on fol 221v is meant as a preparation ritual of sorts, in which all the spirits mentioned are bound and can be called with the more specific conjurations, which follow later on in the manuscript. After the invocation is finished, the spirits mentioned are listed again, this time with their function mentioned, and specific symbols, or characters, attributed to them depicted, so they can be used in specific conjurations. These specific conjurations appear further on in the manuscript on fols 235v-239v. Most of the spirits in these conjurations are also on folios 221r-223r, and their characters are also repeated. Though not all the symbols are the same, the likenesses between both them, the names

of the spirits, and their functions, are close enough to suggest that these conjurations are a continuation of the earlier list.

The source of some of these spirits' names are difficult to discern, for example "Silquam or Sillam, Mettrans, and Ratinet" (221v) have no mention, nor differently spelled equivalent in Peterson's index of names. Other names are mentioned in the index, like Mingot or Myngat, which, according to Peterson, is mentioned in the Greek manuscript Plut. 89. sup. 79. Some other spirit names in the extensive lists of this chapter also have their origin in Greek mythology, like "Argus" (221r), and possibly "Carbus" (222v), which might be derived from Cerberos. There are also names that are derived from Latin words, like "Nocte", and others that seem Hebrew or Arabic like "Sorobayhym" (222r). As such, these names probably come from a variety of sources, and pinpointing all of them would require significantly more extensive research.

The characters do not have a clear specific source either. While the first part of the manuscript does have a few symbols that resemble those in *The Book of the Dannel*, they are not the same symbols nor are they associated with the spirits listed in this edition. The symbols also bear some resemblance to characters from a number of other magical manuscript sources, like the characters depicted in chapter xxix and xxx of the third book of *de occulta philosophia* (Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy, Book III*). As Agrippa explains it, these seals

"are nothing else then certain unknowable letters and writings, preserving the secrets of the Gods, and names of spirits from the use and reading of prophane [profane] men, which the Ancients called Hyeroglyphicall [hieroglyphical], or sacred letters, because devoted to the secrets of the Gods only." (*Of Occult Philosophy, Book III* xxix)

As Agrippa's books of occult philosophy were wide-spread in the sixteenth century and copied by hand as well as in printed form, it is possible that the Dannel Scribe was influenced by some version of Agrippa's writing. That said, characters like these were quite common in sixteenth century manuscripts of magical texts. They appear in many other manuscripts from the Sloane collection and tend to resemble each other. The closing word "neon" in particular is one that almost always appears at the end of a line of characters, although its purpose is unclear.

The overarching theme in this edition chapter is the connection between the texts based on the repetition of spirit names and characters, and the problematic declaration of sources or lack thereof. The analysis of the possible sources of these texts shows that the Dannel Scribe followed the custom of his contemporaries in trying to present his sources as coming from antiquity. Where the texts differ is in the purpose of the conjurations. The first one is a binding experiment, meant to bind all spirits listed to the necromancer's will, the second one is a seemingly general conjuration whose proximity to the description of Asmoday implies that it is meant to summon that spirit specifically. Finally, the third text is a continuation of the list of spirits that followed the first one, and provides applied conjurations for most of the spirits listed on folios 221v-223r.

Binding the Spirits Enclosed by Asmoday 219v-222v

219v. Here begynne the boke of the Sience of
 nygromansie⁴² by the *which* sience thou mayst
 worke yf *you* wylt as well by daye as by
 nyght or in what moment or place *you* wylt.
 It is suerlye of all kyndes of workynge *the*
 most excellentyst and best. Fyrst off all yf *you*
 wylt worke any thyng *with* thys boke, fyrst let thy
 self blood a letyll, and after bathe the *and* washe the
 clene in som vessell off water *that* *you* mayst be off
 all pertyes clene. *You* must also shave the *and* pare
 thy nayles bothe off thy handes *and* of thy fett. *You* must
 also abstynye thy selff from carnall affections *and* from
 pollucyon bothe off bodye and off soll. Thou must also
 have on a fayer whyt vesture clene and swete smelyng.
 And must also abstynye thy selfe .3. dayes before
you shalt worke, from excesse of etynge *and* drynkyng *and*
 ete but one ~~nyl~~ meale a daye. *And* no daye except
 but .3. Dayes before *you* shalt worke make thys in
 vocation twyse a daye, *that* ys to saye after the Sonne
 ys upe, and also when the sonne ys downe agayn.
 At everye vocacyon, saye .4. tymes towards
 the northe in a secret place in a fyld, saynge:
 O you sprys Sillamm or Silquam, Meltrantus
 Hatinet, Ieformosis, Seformosis, Lusifer, Barachi
 Vriell, Katon, Barisphus, Nery, Aberno, Satapas

220 r Vagemas, Varamtas, Zelus, Ieus. All yov herynge and
 knowynge this invocacion *veluet beluge yaconus*⁴³.
 Sicorus, Ascheden, Eugen, Sabom, Asmodaye,
 Ascowght, Colubur, Innigat, or Benegar, Helly, Corahon,
 Actores, Castuer, Pur, Soroboye, Dutor, Inducte, Inductor,
 Durarum, Argus, Bleos, Murus or Soyrio, Varus, Calmus,
 Custripor, Scorpus, Stigot, Corinus, Leymer, Amei, Iastes,

⁴² Here begynne the boke of the Sience of nygromansie] This sentence is a variant of an incipit in the *Tractatus de Nigromancia*, which is attributed to Roger Bacon (3).

⁴³ *veluet beluge yaconus*] Possible bastardisations of Latin “velut, bellua, iacentes” which can mean “like a monster fallen”, referring to the spirits as fallen angels.

Algator, Blamus, Borgonde, Baron, Ste lpha, Baram. I .N.
 the sonne of .N. charge you by the *virtues and poweres*
 that you have or possyble can have *that* you come soo
 quyke lye as you maye, or cane and obeye vnto me
 so ofty n tymes, as I .N. *the* Sune of .N. or anye
 other in my name, or *with* my license, or *with* this boke
 shall call you. *That* you do apere in what place or in
 what howre so *euer* ye be callyed in, whether it be
 in the daye or in the nyght. *That* you by yor name
 and by your *coniuracyon* whan so *euer* ye shall be callyd
 by me or by anye other in my name, *that* incontyneuti
with out any taryeynge you shall apere in what seryall
 daye so *euer* ye shall be callyd. Fiat, fiat, fiat, amen.

And then vpon the forthe daye after *you* shalt cause all
 the delves and sprytes of all the chapitores to obeye
 on to the, make a *serkyll* upon the earthe in a Desertt
 or a solytarye place, then *write* all the carectares
 of all the chapitores about *the serkyll*, in *paper*. And
 220 v then smother *the serkyll* *with* puer and clene frankynsens
 Saynge: O all yov sprits for home we do this
 sacrefice come hether and apere. And then standyng
with out *the serkyll* *you* shalt saye these *ver ses* folloynge
 in to the .4. quarteres of the world:
 O all you Sprytes Silammu or Silquam *etc.* as
 is rehersed before. And then *enter* in to your *serkyll*
 and begyne yowr *coniuracon* as here after follow:
 I coniure ~~you~~ and charge you sprytes by *that* conseter *the*
 holy gost, and by all these holye names of God,
 Cilior, Erbor, Ethar or Ethoor, Himor, Ebos lodos, Coles
 Retar Tripus Eliras, Lilior, *that* you sprytes apere by
 the levynge God, by the trewe God, by *the* holy
 God, and by all these namys of God, Roruir
 Honor, Fortis, Sababernis, Salvator, Unigenitus,
 Luminis, Habundancius, *Virtus*, Saltermier. Also I
 coniure you sprytes by *the* omnipotent father and
 by Iheusus Cryst our lord *which* was conceyuyd by

the holye gost and borne of the *virgyn* Mary,
 and by all other names of God. And by *Asmoday*
the which encluid yov and made you obedyent onto the
 experiment. And by all these holye angeles, *Santies*
Genitus, *Consorts*, *Pastor*, *Osanna*, *Ynodemus*, *Pius*,
Amator, *Clamdor*, *Zeo*, *Iustus*, *Confores*, *Beniguus*.

221 r Also I *conuire* you by that God on to whom all
 angles and arcangeles do tryble *and* obeye *and*
 by these holye names of God, *Caros*, *Custos*,
Salutos, *Glioresus*, *Gremeon*, *Kirion*, *Meneon*, *Ihesus*
 Also I *conuire* you sprytes by these names of God
Alpha, *oo*, *Virentes*, *Micheteon*, *Pitin*, *Eremeon*,
Rainom, *Iercluta*, *Kancyon*, *per Ihesu Christum*, *Theomeon*.
 Also I *coniure* you sprytes by the same God *the*
which creatyd heven *and* earthe and all thynges
 contanyd *there* in *and etc.* as it standithe in the other
coniuracion *which* is for all Sprytes.

Here followethe *the* chaptores of all offices of sprytes.
The which offyces when that ye have made them
 obedyent on to you by *the* artt *and* experimete
 here before writyn. Yf you bynd them well
 you shall Euer after ~~after~~ have euerye
 office by the *coniuracion* *and* by the carectaractes
 that longethe to them, as here after
 Dothe apere.

These be thaye *the which* goethe with *the*
 bothe by daye *and* nyght as famylieres
 where so euer *thou* wylt and shall
 shewe the all thynges *that thou*
 wylt command them to do.

221 v Ope thy boke *and* command them to shewe the
 what *thou* wylt *and* it shall be donne. And yf
thou wylt see *the* *mervelus* thynges of the world
 or ~~any~~ any other thynges saye these wordes

ffollowynge in this maner and forme: O all
 ye sprytes of this office wether ye be callyd
 of me or of anye other, by my commandement come
 ye and fulfyll my commandment quiclye *with*
 all effect whan So euer or where soo
 euer it shall please me to command you eyther
 for my selffe or for any other that you
 com quiclye and merelye *and* fufyll my pley
 by the virtu of these ~~Caret~~ Cateractes:

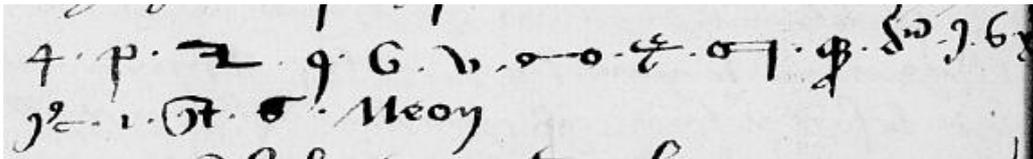
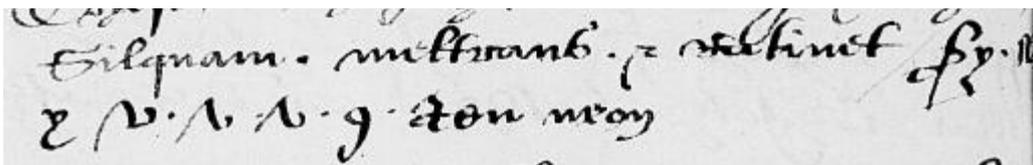
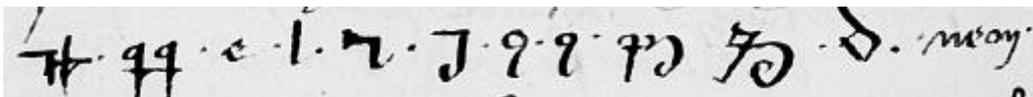


Fig 2. These symbols are the first in a number of symbols associated with the spirits named in the conjuration above.

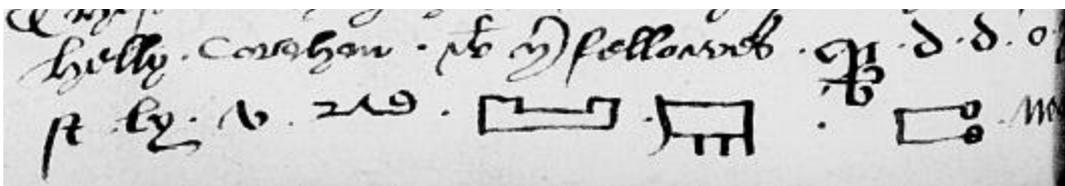
These be thaye *that* make monye *and* coynes:
 Silquam, Meltrans, *and* Ratinet.



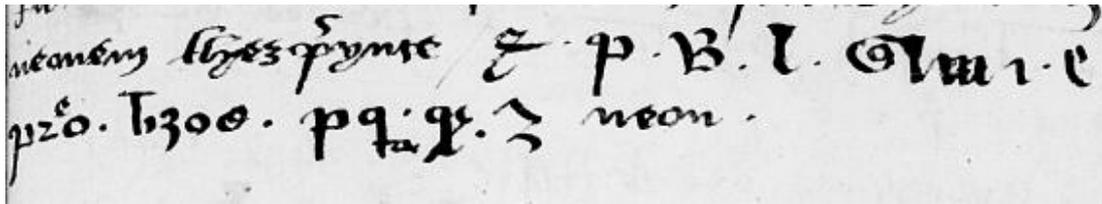
These be thaye *that* lede men in to any secret
 place or anywhere else: Myngat or Benius



These be thaye *that* knowe ally practyne of p[...]
 Helly, Corohon, *with ther* followes

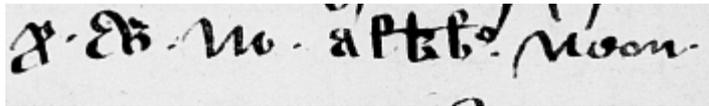


222r. These be thaye *that* make women *and* men to borne
 In love: Inrinut *with* his .30. fellowys *and*
 Neonem ther prynce



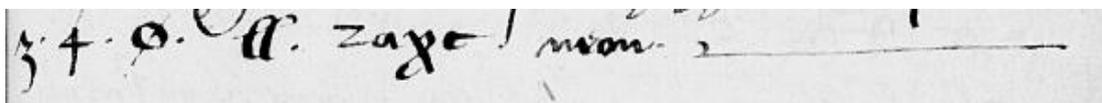
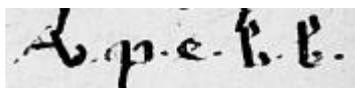
These be thaye *that* make a man lyfe chast *and* puer:

Castum *and* Purum



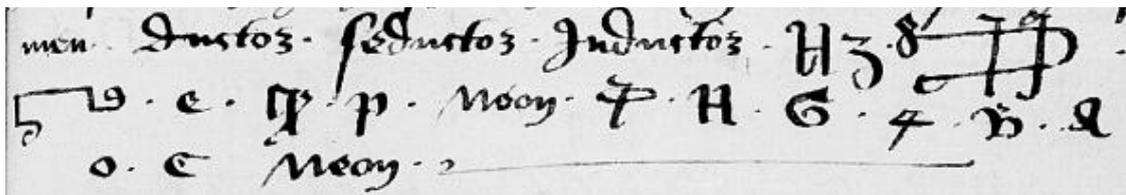
These be thaye *that* brynge a man in to fauor of

lordes *and* grete man: Sorobayhym



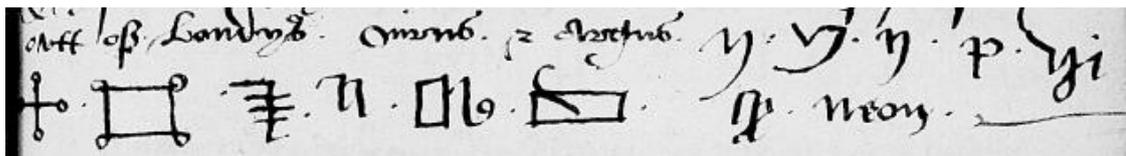
Thes be thaye *that* fytethe *witha* grete companye of

men: Ductor, Seductor., Inductor



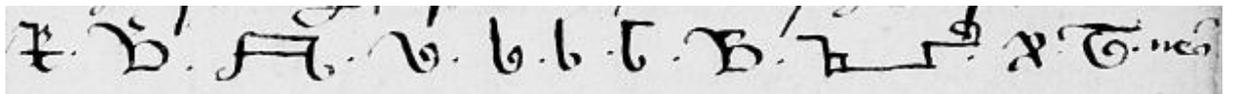
These be thaye *that* deliver men owte of prison *and*

outt of landys: Oirus *and* Argus



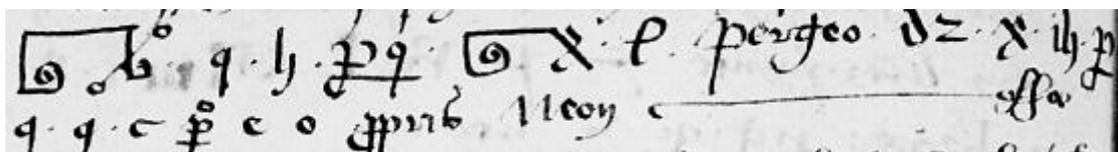
These be thaye *that* have *the* pratyve of makyng

clothe strange vesturis: Ulios prynce of delves



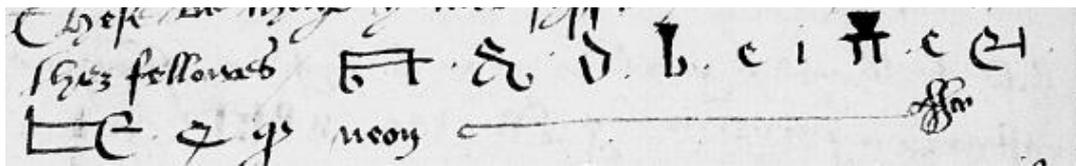
222v. These be thaye *that* make curyus workes of carpentorye:

Nurus, or mirus, Soyrio, Kaius *with ther* fellowys



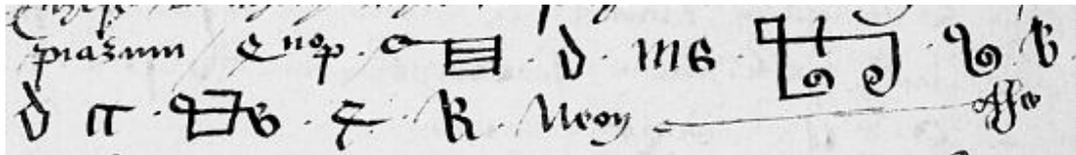
These be thaye *that* take fysshes: Calmus, Carbus, *with*

ther fellowes



These be thaye that consethe a man to goo invisible:

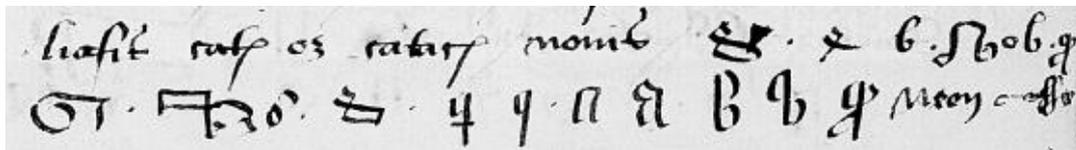
Piarum



These be thaye that makythe waytes and mesurys:

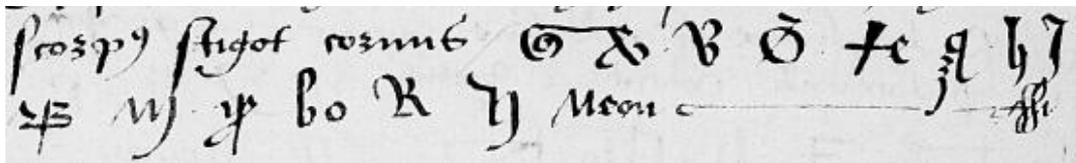
Aberino, Nocte, Nonis, Drepis, Simeon, Membris,

Hafit, Cates or Cataces, Nonis



These be thaye that takythe fovles and byrdes:

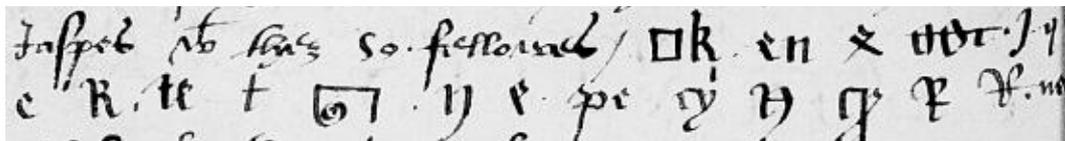
Scorpus Stigot, Corvus



These be thaye that make all maner of gret workes of

Iron or of any other metall: Leymer or Limer, Aner,

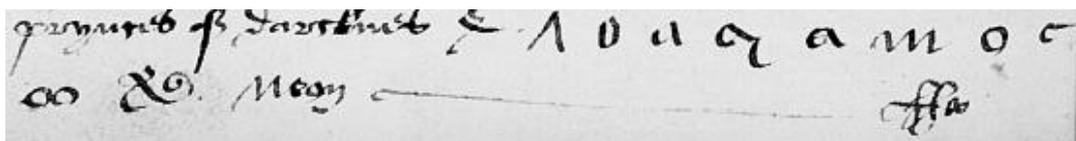
Iaspes with ther so fellowes



These be thaye that provoke men to anger and to fyght one

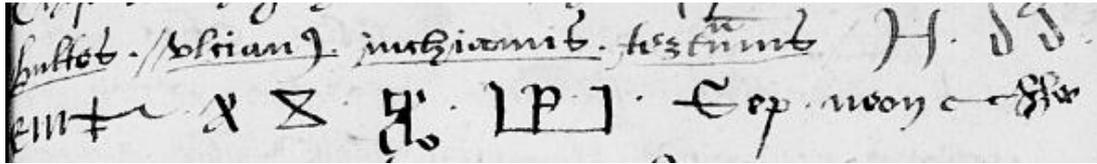
with a nother: Zebuleme, Zon, mulas, Mures,

prynces of darcknes

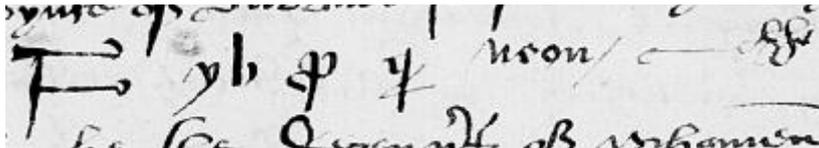


223r. These be thaye that make hayles and stormes alwayes:

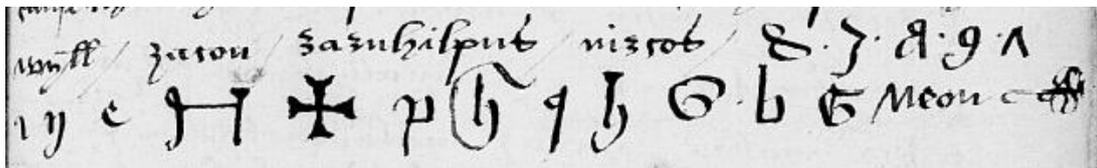
Bultes, vlcianus, Inchiamis, Tertramis



These be thaye *that* consethe serpents to come *and*
 tell any thyng *that* a man wyll aske of them:
 Neon prynce of Darknes *and* Famadaye kyng of
 them



These be the Deceyvers of whomen and
 consethe them to follow a man wher so euer he
 wyll: Zacon, Raruhilpus, Nircos



The Conjunction of Asmodaye: 227v-229r

227 v Asmodaye ys a gret kyng and ruler in the
 Meridiane or southe *part* of the world, and Cipriann
 doutethe whether he be under Maymon kyng
 of the southe or no, but upon hys owen consellis
 made to Cipriane when *that* he callyd hym.
 And he aperythe *with* iij hedys *the* first lyke
 a bull, *the* second lyke to a man, the thred
 lyke a ramme, havynge a tayle lyke a *serpent*
 and a gret fyer flamynge out at hys mouthe.
 Hys fette lyke an asse, and he rydethe upon
 an infernall dragon, beryng a spere in his
 hand. And in workynge he excellythe all other
 spryttes *that* be in the southe and dothe all his
 office gladlye. His cheff office is he techethe *perfet*
 astronomye, nygromancye, geometrye, musycke,
 and he geveth a trew answeere of all thynges
 that he is demandyd of. He causythe a man too

goo in visible, and he schewethe all placis treuu
 where any t[r]aesur ys, and when he dothe apere
 let the master behold his fette, and see whether
 he dothe them cover or noo. And yf thaye be
 coveryd, *command* hym to oncover them, and
 then for very shame he wyll knele downe *and*
 offer hymselff gentlye because he *perceyvethe*
 you see his *secretes which* ar in his fett.

228r But when he dothe first apere demaund of hym
 Whether he be clene and manlye or noo, and then
 Wyll he cast from hym all maner of
lurions and worke very jentlye⁴⁴, as saythe Cipriane.
 But In no wayse call hym but in a clere ayre.
 First yf thou wylt call hym Asmodaye thou must
 be clene in all thynges. And iij days before *thou* shalt
 call hym mak this invocation *that* followethe, ij tymes
 in the daye iij days before *that thou* shalt or wylt call
 hym, *that* ys in the morning and in the evenynge,
 begynnyng first at the Southe and then to te west
 and soo to all .4. quarteres of the world, *with* a myghtye
 voyse:
 O thou Spryght I adiure the and charge the by
 hym that ys Alpha *and* oo, the fyrst and the last,
 the father and the sonne and the holye gost. And
 by hym onto whom, all creatures doth obeye,
 and by hym onto who all the companye of *angeles*
 dothe tremble both in heven in Erthe and
 also in hell. And by the most ferfull daye of
 judgment when *thou* shalt apere before *the* judgment
 seate of the lord and ther be judgged. And by
 that God *the* whyche is the well and sprynge of all
 thynges, and the God of all *godes* the whyche
 only for the helthe of allmankynd cam downe
 from heven and was here in carnatte and

228v conteyned by the holye gost and borne for us of the

⁴⁴ jentlye] gently

vergyn Marye, *that thou* heryge and knowynge thys
 my invocacyon shalt [~~apere~~] prepare and make
 thy selfe redye to apere at my callynge, through
 the *vertu* of hym *that* hathe creatyd *the sonne and*
the mone and also by the stares and .7. plannetes
 with all *ther* pores. And by all thynges having
 in them there beynges and *ther* movynges and
 by all the cherubim *and* seraphim *the which* doth
 never cesse cryeynge before the trone of God.
 Sayynge holye, holye, holye, *that thou* [N] shall
 have no pore to resist, but shalt be in redynes
 at what tyme I .N. *the sonne* of .N. by *the*
vertues pores and names of the most hiest
 God. Thy creatore and myne shall adiure *the*
 and call the in the payne of eternall inclusion
 and *perpetually* damnacon. So be it.

229r O thou wyked and onclene spryght .N. for so
 much as *thou* wylt not obeye my commandement,
 but dost dysobeye *the vertu* of those hey names
 off God *the which* I have here rehersyd onto the onto hys
 glory and to thys constrayntt. and where as I
 have not bene hastye upon the but have
 premonysid *the* thys .3. or .4. tymes. And yet hast
 disobeyed yt therfor thy dysobedyence all
 the hatred of God cause the *and* anatemat *the so that*
thou never rest tyll *thou* hast performed yt. And yf *thou*
 wylt not, all the curses of the gret maledicyon
 of God *with* all the paynes and tormentes of all *the*
 delves of hell be multiplyed upon the, so plenty
 fullye as the sterres be multiplyed in the
 fyrmament, of sand curneles in the see. And
 then rede the gret sentence.

Applied Conjuracions of Spirits said to be Enclosed by Asmoday: 234r - 239v

234v In what daye ye intend to *practise* this experimenes
 followynge wherin be contanyd the cheff poyntes

of all thys scyence, you must resyte all the names of all the experymentes. Followynge ye must wasche your handes and sette before *the syght of the carecteres* and Sealis of Salomon. And ye must shaffe your berd, and pare the nayles, and be bathed in a bathe, and appareled in clene clothes, and abstayne in penance 3 dayes before you begyn. And everye daye ye must name *the spryghtes* of every karecteres, saynge when the sonne ys up in the mornynge and before it goethe down at nyght: *Rogo vos per ututem Dei omnipotent veniatis mihi*⁴⁵. But ye must begyne on the mondaye in the mornynge as the sonne rysynge or a none after in the newe of the mone. And soo doo tuesdaye and wedynsdaye. And on the 3⁴⁶ daye in the mornynge ye shall make all the speryghtes of every chapter to com to gether. Then chose what chapter you wyl worke in, and licence all the rest to depart,

235r and make you a *serkyll with* a spere whose staff ys wyllow. And about the *serkyll* make the karecteres of the same chapyter *which* ye wyl worke in, and sence the *serkyll with* frankynsence. Then call them, *and thaye* wyl apere in contynentlye. And saye what you wyl command them. And then thaye wyl demand a sacrafyse and *peradventure* thaye wyl saye: Forsake thy lord thy god and worchyp us. Then answere them thus: I wyl not forsake my god, nor by my good wyl doo any thyng *that* shall dysplese hym, but wyl *serve* hym as longe as I lyffe. And I wyl doo you none harme, but strayghthe command you by the *virtue* off my god and faythe *that* ye in contynentlye fulfyll my commandementes. And in case thaye go *their* waye and wylnot accomplyshe thy wyl, iterat *the* coniuration of the same chapteres agayne tyll thaye

⁴⁵ *Rogo vos per ututem Dei omnipotent veniatis mihi*] I ask you [spirits] by the omnipotent god, come to me

⁴⁶ 3] third

com, and have don thy *commandementes*. This is the most shortest arte and cheff of all *artes*. And maye be done by daye and nyght or in what houre ye lyff and in what place. And if you wyllnot make a *serkyll*, leve the *karecteres* of the same *chapteres* *with* you and and ye shall obtayne all your porpose in lyke maner as yf ye had a *serkyll* by the grase of god.

235v And when you wyll worke, take your boke and thynke what you wyll have. As yf you wyll have so manye pecys of leynen clothe and soo manye of wollen. Or soo myche bred, wyne, plate, cuppes of sylver, or of any kynd of fysche or flesche. Or so myche gold or sylver or precyus stones. Or soo many knyghtes armed. Or so many good horse. Or to take foules, wyld bestes *with* hys hand. Or too goo swyftlye from place to place. Or to make grett tempest. Or knowe of scyence. Or to abtayne love and favor of whom ye lyff. Or to knowe of thynges that be stollen. Ye shall take *the* *chapteres* for your porpose as follow:

And when you wyll take or have any kynd of foule or byrdes or fysche, take a vessell of glass and goo to a wood and open thy boke and saye: “I Coniure you Scorpis, Stigoth, Covenne by your lord Asmodie *which* dyd bynd you in this carect⁴⁷. And by the names Angelus, Salutiserus, Genitus Constores, Pastor, Osanna, Kimodie ius, Pius, Amator, Clanudo, Rex, Iustum, Confert, Benynguus.” And then saye all the *Coniuracion* afore sayd tyll thaye com to it. Then saye that you brynge to me syche byrdes, suche fysche, in suche an houre of syche a daye or of suche a nyght, *with* out taryinge , fraude, desayt, tymore, tempast, simulation or nivins to me or to any creature of god. And that he com *and*

⁴⁷ Carect] character

by *the* virtue of my coniuracion *and* under *the* payne of everlastynge damnation. Informa of iij fayer whomen *and* so lycense her.

236r

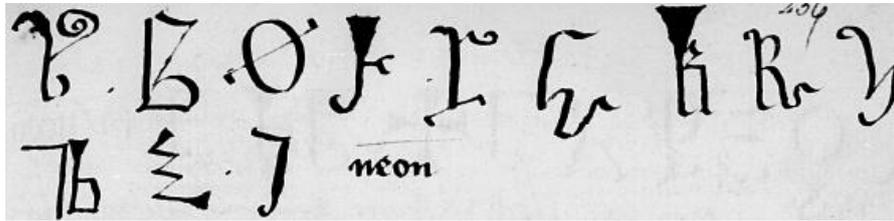


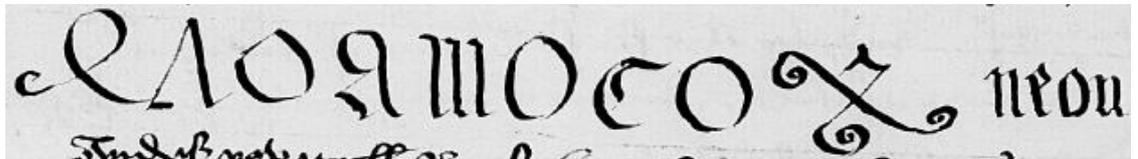
Fig 3: These are the first of a number of sigils associated with the spirit summoned in the conjurations that precede them. Some of these are identical to those from the list of spirits starting on fol 221r. The characters follow the conjuration they belong to, that is to say, the characters above belong to the conjuration on 235v.

And when you lacke monye. Beynge clene *and* in a secret chambare saye: I Coniure you Sylquam, Mettrans, *and* Ratinet, by all the virtues of All Angeles *and* Arcangeles patriarkes, prophetes, *and* apposteles, and martyres, *and* confessores, *and* virgynes, and of all Crysten faythefull men, and by all the names of God, and namely by that Infincible name of God + . Tetragramaton + . And by the most holye wordes of God by the whyche all thynges wer made, heuently thynges, erthelye thynges, *and* infernall thynges, and by the incarnacion, cyrcumcition, baptyme, fastynge, prechyng, passion, resurrection, *and* assencion of ower lord and yowr Ihesu Cryst. And by the virtue of *the* holye gost, and by the fearfull daye of judgment, *and* by the faythefulnes *and* meknes and virgynite of owr blyssed Ladye, mother of owr lord Ihesu Cryst, and by these names of develys, Heior, or Horhor, Ethor, or Exor, or Athor, Hienos, Oleclodes, Colpus, Iraq, Tripuus, Eliras, Sisor, *that with* owt tarryeinge you com *with* owt tempest, or any other wether, and that ye com in fere, tremlynge, *with* owt dessymulacion yov come to me in fayer mannes shape *and* that you tel me quyclye where *and* in what place *the* tresor is. *And that* you brynge it me *with* owt any tarryeinge 10 . 20 . or . 100 povndes of starlynge gold or syluer of Inglishe monye and it shalbe done.

236v

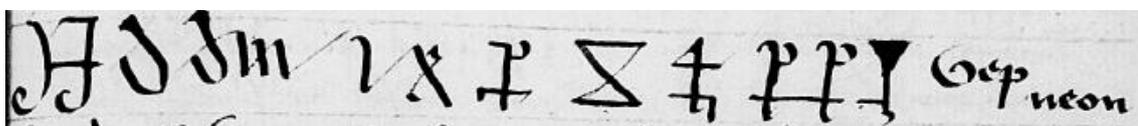


And when you wyll dystroye a man or a whoman
 ryse in the mornynge early and goo forthe *with* sylence
 and open yowr boke *and* saye: I Coniure you *princes* of
 darknes, Zabule, Meron, Musus, *and* Mures, by the
 levyng God *and* by the trve God, and by the hollye
 God, and by these names, Rornur, Honor, Fortis,
 Salubris, Salvator, Unigenitus, Lumiunus, Habundatius,
 Vertutibr, Faltunias, *that* you com hether *with* this coniuicion
 in to this serrkyll *with* your . 30 . ffellowes. And yov
 shall make feble, suche a man / N / namynge hym.
 And this my wyll shortlye and *with* owt any taryng
 where so euer *and* when so euer I wyll quyclye, *and* *with* effect
 these preceptes you shall fulfyll In that person . N .

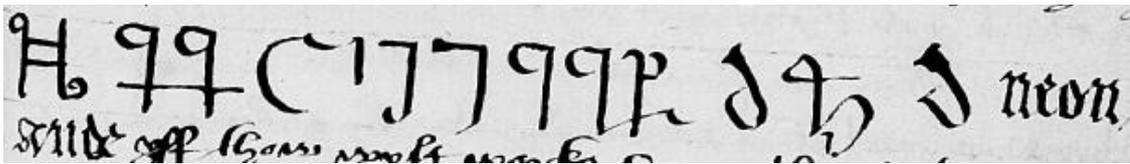


And if you wyll Rayse tempest *and* grett stormes or hayle
 or any other wether, go where ye ar dysposyd to do it
and take a bucket of fayer water. *And* set it downe on *the*
 erthe. And opyn thy boke and saye I Coniure you
 knyghtes, Ulcianus, Rachayan, Tartranous, Laus,
 Walagus, Dubtor, Seductor, that you do send tempestes
 hayle or rayne in syche s place where I doo

237r command you, or when I do comm and yov so that yov
 hurt no man etc. And in what so euer howre of the
 daye or of the nyght ye shalbe called, cum euery
 one of yove in a fayer mannes shape.

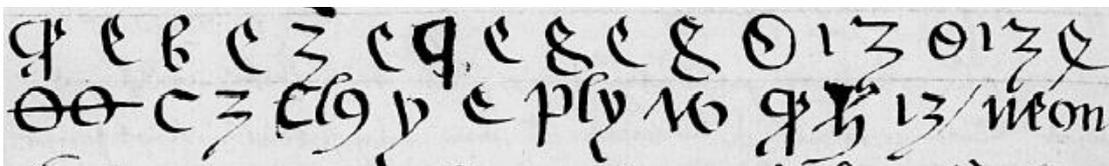


And yf thou wyll haue an horse *which* shall bere *the* whether so euer thou wylt *with* in an howre or . 2 . And *with* owt any hurt you must fast . 3 . dayes, and abstayne from pollucyon *and* the company of women, *and* change they selfe in to clene garmentes, *and* goo in to a clene place *which* is not pollutyd, *and* opyn thy boke and saye this coniuration: I coniure *thou* mingot by that same daye *that which* God mad heuen and earthe *and* by these names, Salubris, Metuis, Nam, Quium, Minafariucke, Magister, that yov now com hether to me *with* owt taryeynge or or any craft or desseyte or tempest. And by and bye *you* shalt se an horse redye the whyche shall lede the in to hell, or whether so euer *thou* wylt. And as *thou* shalt gyve hym leave to go whether *thou* wylt.

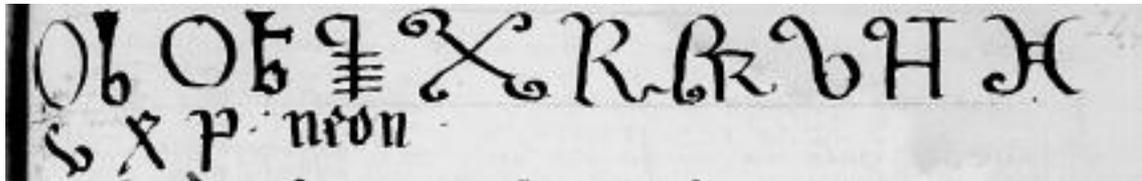


And yff thou wylt worke conynglye in iron or haue Any thyng well wrowght in yron, ~~or have any thyng well wrought~~ go in to a place where no man shall se the *and* opyn thy boke *and* saye:

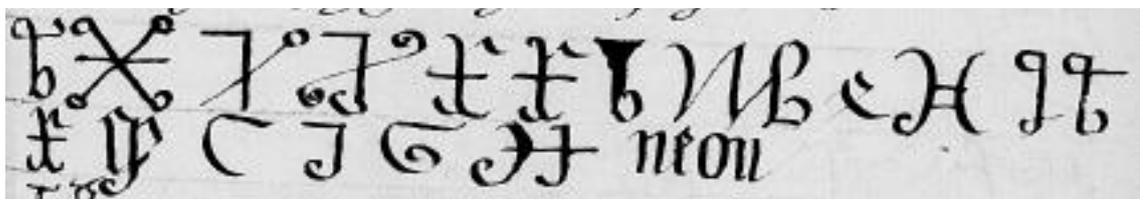
- 237v I coniure you sprytes *thou* whiche be craftes men of Iron worke Lunez, Avez, Iaspes, *with* all yowr fellowes. I charge you by that same Cryst ovr lord vnto whom the angeles and *the* arcangellys do tremble, *and* by these names, Charos, Custos, Salutis, Gliosus, Eremeon, Kirion, Meneon, that yov come to me in that same forme and fauor in *which* it shal be commandyd yov, *with* owt complaynt, *that* I wyll yov make me suche iron worke or syche workes, *perfy*t *and* trewe , *and* *with* owtt any taryeynge quyclye *and* incontinentye *that* yov Doo ffullfyll all my wyll.



And yf yov wyll knowe *the lawes and Decrees with the*
judmentes and bodye of reson, go in to a place nere
 to a ryver syd, and cast of a cloke *and syt* downe
 vp on the erthe and opyn thy boke *and saye*: I
 coniure yov Nimium *and* Giugulis by the power
 of the father *and* the Sonne *and* the holye gost *and*
 by these names of God, Ayos, Themonos, Omnipotens
etcetera, that yov shew me ryght judgment *and* teche
 me to knowe lawes *and* degrees in what so euer
 daye or nyght I command you. By *and* by *and* inconty
 nentye in fayer manes shape *that* yov come to me
 and accordynge to my wyll, *and* for my wyll
with all dyligenis yov do fulfyll it.

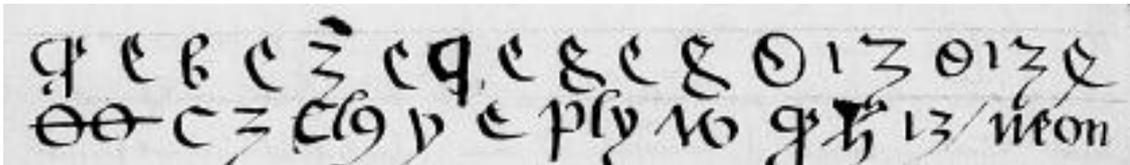


238r Ande yf ye wyll have or be physysyon *and* verye
 experte in these seyence or facultye, loke when ye
 wyll have any medesyne for the syke *and* aske *the*
 sprytes that follow saynge, but fyrst you must anoint
 youer hands *with* honye *and* then opyn youer boke, *and*
 saye: I coniure you devellys, Helly, Coroyon, *with*
 all youer fellowes, by the trew God *and* by the names
 of cryst, Primogenitus, Aguus, Vitulus, Stantus, Manus,
 Lapis, Leo, Salus, Virgo, Alpha *and* oo, Urion
 Monor. *With* the coniuracon *that* you com to me in fayer
 manes shape *and* make me fayer medecines for syche
 a lyke mannes bodye *that* he maye obtayne
and receive helthe by the power of *the* medecyne *with*
 owt any taryeynge by and bye.

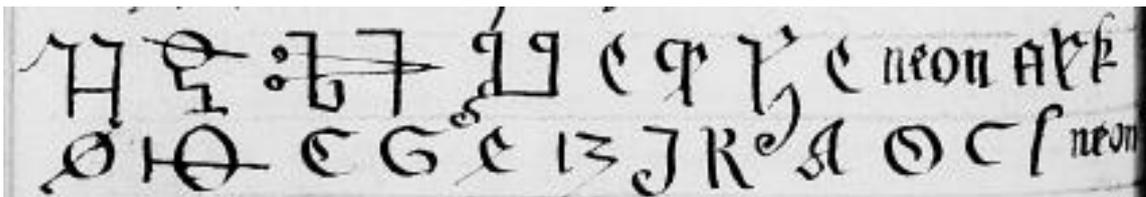


Ande yf you wyll obtayne love of any lord or master

or of any other noble man, go to his house and
 opyn thy boke *and* saye: Zorobahin, Zorobayz, I
 coniure you by hym that *wrote* you in this boke
 and by those names, Bitomon, Momon *and* Zemon,
 terimon, Amynon, Thedo, Iturios, Fereos, Imafer
 That you geve unto my lord my master .N. syche
 238v an hart an syche a mynd *that* he maye love me
 so that all thyng *that* I wyll he maye do for me. *And*
 come ye onto me in fayer mannes shape, *and* here
with out question quyclye make *perfy*t his spirite
 in love *with* me. And this shall *serve* as well for
 a ladye, jentyllwoman, or any kind of woman
 what so ever she bee



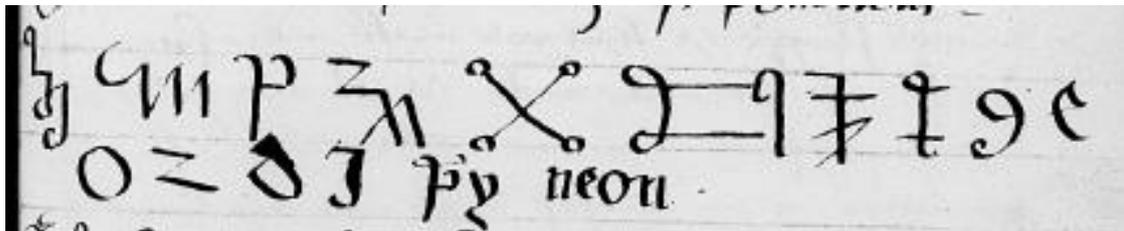
And yf thou wyll fight *with* .5000. men *and* kyll men
 at thy plesur, in what place *thou* wyll take a
 spere *and* laye it down upon the erthe and laye
 thy boke upon it and saye: I *coniure* you
 Ductor *and* Seductor *and* Inductor by these names of God
 Permus *and* Nonillimus, Putator, Putates, Manus, Bonus,
 Bibell, Mim. *And* saye the *coniuracon*: *that* you geve me
 yower strenkthes *and* men by the power of ower lord
 Jhesu Cryst. I *compell* you *that* you quyclye make
 me to have in fight so many men /N/⁴⁸ in
 what daye or nyght *with* syche a man /N/ or
 syche men *with* out fraude or any delaye, but
 that it be done quyclye.



239r Ande yf thou wyll delyver any man from *prison* take
 iij wyllow staves *and* put in iij *partes* of the *prison*, tower

⁴⁸ N] Means number inst ead of name here due to context

or casteles. *And* in thy place appoyntyd or accustomed open thy boke and saye: Duvus, Arcus I coniure you by yower lord and be these karecteres *and* by the coniuracon in the fyrst Chapitor⁴⁹ that you com to me in fayer man shape syche a daye or nyght to delyver syche a man out of pryson, accordyng to my wyll *with* ouut any hurt of bodye. And if you do despice, he shall take you *and* condemme you to *the* levyng God whose name *and* wisdom you do despise, geven by that same lord most excellent.

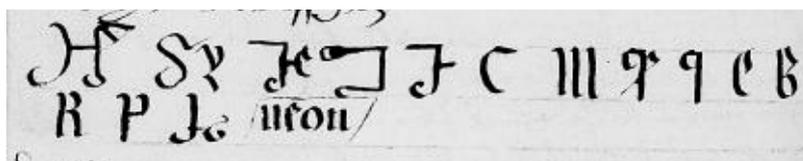


And yf you wyll make any woman to burne in love *with* you or *with* whom you wyll, loke what person you covet to have *and* goo to youer place accustomed and open youer boke *and* saye: I coniure *the* Veranicon wythe 22 of youer fellowes, *and* by the chefe of you, *and* by my lord and yower, *and* by these karecteres *that* you com to me in a fayer whoman shape by these names, Gracius, Lenges, Odor, Carus, Xipim, Luge, Negi, Nobill, *and* by all *the* holy words of *the* coniuracon in *the* fyrst chaptitor, *that* you make /N/ in love *with* me from *the* love of another.

239v Ande yf you wyll have any gret stronge *and* goodly byldynges or thynges made *with* stone worke, these be wodorfull conninge therin. But when ye wyll begyne this worke take *and* marke yower ground where it shalbe. Thou take a bucket of water *and* go in to a place where is plenty of stones *and* cast the water upon the stones *and* saye: I coniure you, Velui, Enodem, Lureto, *and* I command you by the allmyghty God *and* by these names, Amox Gimolus, Lix, Kyres, Flores, Viles, Mons, Pannis,

⁴⁹ The first chapter] possibly refers to Bible verse or the binding conjuration

Flos, Jamma, Petra, Lapis, Choreos, *with the coniuracon* of the fyrst chapitor, *that* you com to me in a fayer mannes shape, *and* that you make me a sych an house, *with* syche a worke /N/ *with* ouut taryeynge trewly *and* perfectly *and* *with* ouut all deceytte, desimulacon, temtacyon, or any tempest or *with* ouut any hurt to any creature off God.



6. Affecting the Living and the Dead

The conjurations in this chapter seem quite different from each other, but they both fall on the more morally questionable side of the spectrum when it comes to conjurations. These conjurations are both meant to alter and control the wills and actions of actual human beings, the difference being the first conjuration takes control of a living person’s mind, and the second one controls the spirit of a dead person.

The first conjuration is another common one among necromancy, and is implied by Kieckhefer to be a prominent one among psychological experiments (*Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 69–70). Its purpose is to force love between two people. There are a few other conjurations that have similar purposes, such as the conjuration on fol 238r-238v, to obtain the love and favour of any lord or master, and the conjuration on 239r, which is to make a woman “burne in love” with either the necromancer or someone of the necromancer’s choosing. None of the spirits summoned in these conjurations have the same name, which makes pinpointing a source difficult. The two main spirits name here are Almazin and Elicona. They are referred to as “most lovyng and jentill” (184r), which implies that they are meant to be normal angels rather than demonic spirits, but later on the conjuration refers to god as someone “whose name you[the spirits] dyspise and contemne and violat his wisdom” (184r-v), which implies that they are fallen angels after all. The shortness of the incantations makes for a lack of any other context that might indicate the nature of these spirits. The preparation of this conjuration is also rather short, which does not fit with the feature described by Kieckhefer that these psychological experiments tend to require long, “elaborate preparation” (*Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 70). What does coincide with the features of psychological experiments that Kieckhefer mentions is the shortness of the conjuration itself, and the fact that the necromancer must work seemingly by himself. The phrase “bordyd chamber” (184r) brings to mind a type of isolation, and that the necromancer does not wish to be disturbed while performing this conjuration. However, this is

contradicted by the circle on 184v which indicates a place “for the master and his felows”, implying that the necromancer works less “by himself” than Kieckhefer indicated, if this circle is indeed meant for this conjuration. Finally, conjurations like this are said by Kieckhefer to indicate no sign of guilt for the manipulative goals that they try to reach (*Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 91). This lack of guilt for such actions, or “redeeming social importance”, is according to Kieckhefer the motivation behind the aversion for such experiments in the middle ages.

The second conjuration, when compared to the first one, is more an illusionary experiment rather than a psychological one. Since it binds the spirit of a dying man to do the will of the magician after his death, it fits more within the modern popular definition of necromancy. It is the purpose for which this is done, that brings it back into the art of necromancy in the traditional sense, and in the realm of illusionary conjurations. The spirit of the man is meant to bring the necromancer another spirit, which is more like the other spirits conjured in this manuscript, because when the consecrated book has been brought to the necromancer by both spirits, the spirit of the dead man is given his “treuthe and Crystandome” (215r.) which makes him ready to ascend to heaven, while the courier spirit is bound to the necromancer’s will to “be redye when I wyll have the, and when I shall call the, and that thou be obedient to my commandement in everye thyng that I wyll have the to doo.” These commands are more similar to other conjurations where the necromancer commands spirits to come to him when he wants it. This implies that the courier spirit is a demonic spirit, suitable for the function of a familiar, rather than an angelic spirit which would command more respect from the necromancer, or another human spirit which would make the difference in their destinations seem rather unfair.

That said the morality of the experiment is rather questionable from the start, because it tells the reader to take the “trewthe and Crystendome” from the “syk man” while he is still living (214r). This is where the line between the psychological and the illusionary seems rather blurred. The question is whether the binding of a human soul to do one’s will after it has died is the same as forcing love upon a living human without their consent. Both conjurations seem to indicate no sign of guilt at manipulating the human spirit. The difference lies in the ultimate purpose rather than the technique. For the first conjuration the manipulation is the main purpose, but for the second one the main purpose is not the binding of the spirit, but the obtaining of the consecrated book. There is another ritual in *The Dannel* which starts on folio 188r, and explains how to consecrate a book yourself, rather than obtaining one by means of a conjuration. The need for a consecrated book is explicit in some rituals, but in others it seems no such book is needed. This conjuration is said to make a spirit appear “with owt any sacrifice” (214r). This implies that a consecrated book is also unnecessary for this conjuration. Then again, if it is performed by an experienced necromancer, it is likely that he already owns a consecrated book. As such, this conjuration is probably meant more for entertainment value, which Kieckhefer says illusionary experiments tend to have (*Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 90). It’s these experiments that have potential for showing off, which

becomes apparent in Elizabethan drama as well, as this is one of the things Marlowe's Doctor Faustus uses his magic for.

To conclude, while these two conjurations seem similar in their techniques of manipulation and the binding of wills, the difference lies in their main purpose, the first one being psychological and the second being illusionary. Even if the second conjuration seems as devoid of guilt at the manipulation of a human soul, it does set the man's spirit free at the end of the text, while the first conjuration shows no intention of doing so.

An Experiment for Special Favour or Love: 184r-v

184r An expediment to obtayne speciall favor or love
of whom thou wylt

Ffyrst you must have a fayer bordyd chamber
and to be clene from synne and *with* all your
instrumentes belongyge to this art. The take chalke
and chalke youure *sercle* in *the* howre of Venus *and*
enter thi *sercle* in the same howre. And turne ye
to the southe and saye this:

I conniure you Almazin *and* Elicona, most lovyng
and jentill sprytes, by the infenytt wysdom of
God *and* by his grett power *and* by *the* mekenes *and*
verginite of Saynt Marye *the* vyrgin *and* by hur
Chastite *and* clenness *and* by al te names of ower lord
Jeshu Cryst and by that ineffable name of ower lord
the levyng God Tetragramaton + whiche is
graven in my septer and in my ryng,
And by the ryvyng of the wall of the temple,
and by the aperyng of them *that* wer ded *and* burned,
and by *the* resurreccion of the dedd throwge⁵⁰ *the*
dethe of ower lord *Jehsu* Cryst, and by *the* most
ferfull daye of judgment of Jhesus Crist, *that* in
as myche as you can, you shall labor and cause
to labor so set amyte *and* love betwene N *and* N
with out any faynyng, fraud, dissimulacon, or
craftye colorynge of amyte or love. The whiche

⁵⁰ trowge] through

precept *and* request of me, yf you shall neglect
or dispise *and* shalnot do it for so myche as you
are able to doo, *that* God kondemme you *with* ever
lastynge toormentes, whose name you dyspise

184v and contemne and violat his wisdom. Grant
this ower Lord and yower Jhesu Cryst whiche
in the trinite dothe leve *and* raygne⁵¹ God
world *with* out ende. Amen.

This done do what you wyll for you shall
never se them but yet thaye wyll fulfyll it
surely. Finis.

⁵¹ raygne] reign

	<p>Fig 4. Circle on fol. 184v.</p>
<p>Outer circle text in counter-clockwise direction</p>	<p>+ Yskyros + Agios + Alhanatos + Emanuel + <i>Christus</i> + <i>Jhesus</i> + Alpha + and oo + Adonaye + Eloye + Sabaothe + Agla + Tetragramaton + ya</p>
<p>Inner crescent text left</p>	<p><i>Saint Paulus Saint Jacobus</i> <i>Sanctus Johannes</i></p>
<p>Inner crescent bottom</p>	<p>Apostoles + <i>Sanctus Sipernes</i> + <i>Johanes Palus</i></p>
<p>Inner crescent right</p>	<p><i>Saint Andreas</i> + <i>dunacones</i> 7 planets</p>
<p>Inner crescent top</p>	<p><i>Saint Anglin</i> + <i>Saint Pertibus</i></p>
<p>Center space</p>	<p>For the master and his felows</p>

213v

	<p>Fig 5. This circle on fol 213v takes the form of a compass, with abbreviations symbolising the cardinal directions on the end of each axis.</p>	<p>Ista sigma deserni Experimento sapien</p>
	<p>Outer circle names</p>	<p>Satahan , Lucifer, Deucalion, Faciton</p>
	<p>Circle centre text</p>	<p>Locus candela</p>

214r To Make a spryt to apere *with* owt
 Any Sacrefice and to have a consecratid
 Boke of hym
 Comme to a syk man *and* get of him his trewthe *and* his
 Crystendome *that* he wyll com a gayne to the. The
 tyrd nyght whan he comethe a gayne then ask
 of hym what question *thou* wylt *and* he wyll tell *thou*
 how he farthe, and what wyll helpe hym. And
 Then bynd hym *and* command hym by *the* vertues of
 Godes fleshe and bis blood *that thou* spryte get me an
 other spryte *which* is a corier. And *thou* bynd hym in
 syche maner *that* he be never rebel nor contrary too
 my mynd, by no maner of waye, nor in no maner
 of gyle, *and that* he fulfil all my commandementes *with*
 out any deceyt. *And that* I charge and command *thou*,
and require *the*, *and* coniure *the*, *and* compel *the*, by *the* state *and*
 suerte *that* I have of the. And yf *thou* can not do it of
 thy spryritualte com a gayne tell me
 what maye helpe the *and* I wyll geve *thou* all my
 power of my humanyte. *And* therefore go forthe *with*
 out any taryense. *And that thou* never have rest tyll *the*

tyme *that* my wyll be fulfellyd. Now goo thy waye
in the name of the father *and* the sone *and the* holye
Gost. Amen.

- 214v And *the* second nyght after he wyll com a gayne
and brynge *the* a coryer *with* hym. And geve state to
kepe hym at obedience *and* then charge them both
that thaye go bothe together *and* make *the* a boke of
all sprytes names both in the ayre *and* in *the* earth.
And that when thaye have made *the* boke cause
them for to bere it to *the* .4. kynges of the elamentes
so *that* all sprytes between heven *and* hell be obedient onto
me when I wyll call so many *and* no more. And if I
wyll yt *the* sprytes com to me at onys them to com all *and*
apere before me *with* out any hurtdoyng to my things
that God hathe made by *the* vertue of the boke consecratyd.
Tyll *the* tyme *that* I have *the* boke *thou* never hast rest never
have peace untyll all my mynd be fulfellyd. Now
goo. And *the* .3. nyght after that thaye wyll com a
gayne *et afferent librum consecraconis*⁵². And then *the*
spryght of the man wyll saye, geve me my true the
and Crystyndome *the* *which* I assueryd unto the. And
then *thou* shalt take a wande of basill *and* salt and water to
gether, *and* myngyll them to gether *and* wete⁵³ *the* basyll wandes
end *and* take *the* ende wryt⁵⁴ to *the* spryt. But beware,
say these wordes *that* followe: Here the same treuthe
215r that this spryt the same tyme *that* he was man alive
on erthe here walkynge shephely⁵⁵ *and* bodylye. Here
the same treuthe he assueryd to me by his lyff
tyme. The same treuthe *and* Crystandome I take to
this wande of basil, and geve hym *the* wet ende
and a name. As he handelythe yt let it goo for yt
wyll begyn to burne. *And* as save as he takythe hand
there of of saye to hym thes words: Go forthe in

⁵² *et afferent librum consecraconis*] and they will bring a consecrated book

⁵³ wete] with

⁵⁴ wryt] right

⁵⁵ shephely] shapely

peace, *and* cease thi crye, and thy matteres shalbe fulfellyd,
 by *the* grace of God that I dyd promise to *the*. In *the* name
 of the .F. *and the* .S. *and the* holy gost. And then saye to the other
 spryt: I coniure *the*, and command *the*, *and* compel *the* that *thou* be
 redye when I wyll have *the*, *and* when I shall call *the*,
and that thou be obedient to my commandement in *everye* thyng
that I wyll have *the* to doo. And to that I command *the* by
the vertue of Godes fleshe *and* his blood, *that* he take of *the* vergin
 Marye, and by *the* power of those heye kynges *that*
 be above *the* *and* in the payne of the perpetuall
 damnacion. And now goo thy waye In the name
 of the father *and the* sone *and the* holye gost. Amen.

7. Stolen Goods and Finding Treasure

These conjurations are for finding the truth about stolen goods and getting them back, or for finding hidden treasure. While all of them fall under Kieckhefer's category of the main purpose "to discern hidden things" (*Magic in the Middle Ages* 158), their essential goal as well as the specific form of conjuration set them clearly apart from one another.

The first conjuration is done by catoptromancy, or scrying "by means of a mirror" (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 97). The text corresponds with the text on folios 114v-115r of the first part of the manuscript. This is indicated, for example, by the similarities in the names "Malcallire, Ascariel, Baylon, Offrie[, and] Rabaeth," (114v-115r) which appear in the Dannel text as "Malcralite, Ascariell, Baylon, Offriell, Rabeth," (232v). The main spirit that is summoned here, and is meant to discern the truth about the stolen goods, is Osiminilis. A name which appears in both versions of the text. Despite this, there are some key differences that indicate that the Dannel Scribe was using a similar source rather than translating the first part of the manuscript, and adapting it for his own preferences. Firstly, the incantations, which are in Latin in both versions, are slightly different in some passages. The 233r incantation begins "Coniuro vos demones quorum nomina scripta sunt circa speculum istud", and the 115r text, while mirroring this sentence structure, uses a code in which some letters are switched with the next in the alphabet, instead of writing out the adress explicitly like the Dannel Scribe. The circles that these conjurations use are also quite different. The Dannel Scribe's circle has the name "Osiminilis" written twice in the outer circle, and has different location of each component of the conjuration inside the circle. There is no name that corresponds with Osiminilis in the index of names of the Esoteric Archives. Instead, the name might be based on the word *similis*, and refer to a simulation or likeness, an appearance for in

the mirror. There is also a difference in the Latin word used for the mirror itself. The Dannel Scribe writes that the spirit is to appear into a mirror of glass. This word is translated in the circle with “speculi” which specifically means “of the mirror”. On the circle on folio 115r however, the word used is “vitrum” which has a more general meaning of glass. The overall effect of this difference is rather small since the Dannel Scribe uses both the word glass and mirror, and often puts them together. However, the striking difference in the choice of Latin words for the object, as well as the differences in the incantation, and the images of the circles, indicate that the Dannel Scribe did not perfectly copy or translate the texts from the first half of the manuscript.

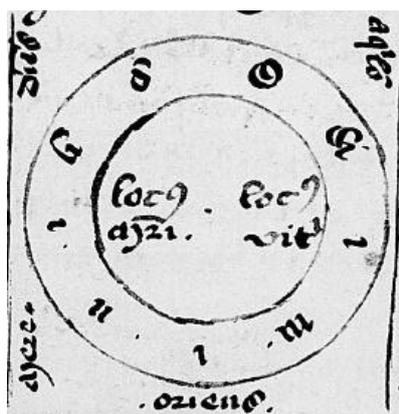


Fig 6. the Osiminilis circle on fol 115r.

The second conjuration in this chapter is meant to make stolen goods return to the one who performs it. The conjuration is rather short and standard, as far as structures go. The circle is also a simple one, the remarkable thing about it is almost the same as the circle on fol 213v, which has the same names written in the outer circle. These names start with Satan and Lucifer, whose background is well-known and often used. The third name is Deucalion, which is derived from the name of a figure from Greek mythology, who was the son of Prometheus and whose story strongly resembles that of the Biblical figure Noah (Houtzager 94). The nature of the fourth name Faciaton is difficult to find. There is no similarly spelled name in the index of names in the *Esoteric Archives*, nor do searches in other sources with lists of mythological names have anything that resembles it. Like Osiminilis, the name Faciaton might be based on the Latin words that resemble it. The word the name might be based on in this case is “facies”, meaning “appearance” or “visage”.

The last conjuration in this chapter is rather strangely structured. This conjuration is on the last couple of pages of the manuscript, and it appears to be a conjuration to bring a thief to a certain place, that is interrupted by a divination ritual “to prove a grownd whether ther be any tresur or noo” (267v) The conjuration might have the same source as a text from the first part of the manuscript, starting on folio 87v, which includes the line, “take virgin waxe that never towched fyer”, mirroring the line on 266r, “fyrst take clene waxe *that* was never occupyd.” The purpose of this conjuration in the first part of the manuscript is “to make a theef to cum ageyn his owyn persone where so ever he be” (87r), and the conjuration that follows it is said to be for the same purpose, and also uses virgin wax. This use of wax, and wax figures in particular, is something quite common in magical practises, some sources

even say that it dates back to ancient Egyptian times (Harris). It is mentioned in Book 2 of *The Key of Solomon*, where the importance of the “virginity” of the wax is emphasized: “The wax should be taken from bees which have only made it for the first time, and it should never have been employed for any other purpose” (Liddell MacGregor Mathers and Peterson). *The Key* describes the ritual preparation of the wax, but does not have any specific ritual for which it can be used, only stating that the wax, after it is prepared, can be set “aside for use”. Virgin wax is mostly used for the creation of figures for the purpose of sympathetic magic (Frazer), where the figure symbolises a living counterpart in the world, which will be affected to act a certain way when the magician goes through the proper rituals with the wax figure. This can be for different purposes, ranging from love spells, to more destructive rituals to hurt the person the figure symbolises. In the case of Sloane 3853, the purpose of wax figures is to work against thieves and have them return stolen goods. This seems to be the purpose of the Dannel Scribe’s version of this conjuration. It lacks any incipit sentence to indicate this, and instead mentions it in the instruction “to brynge hym or them man or woman. And *that* thaye brynge syche thynges vnto the plase where thaye had it, and there to leave it” (267r).

These three conjurations are all for a similar purpose having to do with stolen goods, but they are set apart mostly by the items they use for the ritual. Where the conjuration on 259v uses a fairly simple circle and incantation, the Spirit in the Mirror conjuration is based around catoptromancy, and requires a very delicate preparation of the mirror to have the spirit appear in it. The final conjuration for the return of stolen goods is even more complicated since it requires a long and elaborate preparation of the wax used to make the figures: “Once in ayere for vij yere after and worke it *with* your hand when *the* sonne is in ariete” (266r). This conjuration seems oddly interrupted by a short ritual to test the ground for the presence of treasure. The main instruments used in this conjuration are the three hazel sticks. Sticks or staves made of certain types of wood are objects described a number of other times in *The Dannel*. One other conjuration requires the necromancer to make a circle with “a spruse staf or of sum swete wode” (179v). Another requires the use of a branch of basil (214v). The types of wood used in these rituals all have a history of symbolism behind them. Hazel is a type of wood generally associated with divination. It is the standard wood “used as a wand and for water-divining.” (“Hazel (*Corylus Avellana*)”). Hazelwood is also mentioned in the second book of *De Occulta Philosophia* as one of “twelve consecrated trees” (Agrippa, *Of Occult Philosophy, Book II*). As such it is a logical type of wood to use for discerning hidden things like hidden treasure.

This intrusive divination ritual, which does not fit into the earlier established definition of a conjuration, has been added to this chapter to illustrate how it interrupts the conjuration started on the folio before it. It seems out of place, but as has been explained in the chapter on general conjurations, the sudden breaking off of texts to continue them later is not uncommon in *The Dannel*. Since the Dannel Scribe probably wrote the manuscript for personal use there was no pressing need to have any established structure to his texts. That does not negate the similarities between this divinatory experiment and the mirror conjuration. The mirror conjuration is, because of its use of catoptromancy,

also a divinatory experiment, just one that incorporates the conjuration of a spirit, rather than reading signs from objects ritually prepared and placed. This is where the line between the conjuration of spirits and other divinatory experiments blurs a bit. Kieckhefer explains that scrying techniques like catoptromancy were “used mostly to recover lost or stolen goods” (*Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* 100), and mentions finding treasure as a secondary purpose (102). As such, it is important to note that divinatory experiments for treasure without the invocation or the help of a spirit, are less common. An earlier experiment for the finding of treasure in the chapter “The Conjuration of Asmodey and Other Spirits”, on folio 236r, does involve the conjuration of demons for the finding of treasure.

While all the experiments in this chapter incorporate a different technique and different items that are central to the ritual, all of them do fit into Kieckhefer’s definition of divinatory experiments. All four have the purpose of discerning something hidden or secret, and all four have some relation to material goods.

The Spirit in the Mirror of Glass: 232v-233v

232v To haue A speryt in A glasse *which* shall
 tell thou the truthe of stollen good
 wythe manye other thynges
 Ffyrst ye mvst provyd yov A clere round And
 a fayer myrror of glasse *and* *virgyn* parchement
 otherwyse callyd vellym. And see that *the* mone
 be incresynge. Then lapp the mirror or glas
 in the vellym afore sayd. And then wryght on
 the on syd of it, Osiminilis, Oredon, Malcralite,
 Ascariell, Baylon, Offriell, Rabeth, Bonrel.
 And this Done wryght on the othersyd, of the
 glasse, Cerberus, Almiserroga, Fanissima,
 Hindell, Ginda, Fumboloi, Camini, Anigairdieth,
 Lundingumfa, Rimone loi, Beleasrandes, Rua.
 Then take the glasse in thy lefft hand and
 hold thy ryght hand *ouer the* glass thryse
 or nynges tymes after the sonne goethe down.
 Then go to sum delectable place *which* is terra
 semineta, soode grovnd, and *there* make a *serkyll*
 of . 8 . eyght or . 9 . nynges fote brod, then hyd *the*
 glasse vnder *the* erthe a fote *with* in the *serkyll*
 on the northe syd, and *wright* in the sode

grovnd abowt the *serrkyll*, *Osiminilis*. This
done entre *the serkyll* and close it vp after *thou*
and terme *the* toward *your* northe parte syng:

- 233r + Coniuro vos demones quorum nomina scripta sunt circa
Speculum istud / per patrem & filium & spiritum / sanctum & per
Altissimum nomen dei / tetragrammaton / et per omnia nomina
dei / & per signa et karecteres que in firmamento sunt
et per omnes sanctas et sanctas dei / & per incarnationem
circumscionem / baptissum / Ieiunium / predicacionem
passionem et Assencionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi et
per missionem sancti spiritus paracliti / et per tremendissimum
Diem Iudicij / & per omnia nomina dei et domini nostri Ihesu
Christi / et per omnia quem de deo dici possunt vt compereatus
in isto speculo de vitro / Ad respondendum et
Ostendendum inde quacumque re vos Interregauero
Et que apperitus mihi totam terram itaque possum videre
quecumque voluero super terram / in terram / et sub terra
Et vt ostendatus mihi thesaures / et si non poteris
poteritus / Coniuro vos per omnia verba predicta
vt vos assignatis mihi vnum spiritum humilem /
benivolam / hilarem / Iocundum / & familiarum / Ad
comperendum in speculo isto ex vobis deputatum / et
vt possimus habere responsum ab eo ad placitum
meum uel nostrum / in omnibus horis et in omnibus locis
- 233v Et cum eo habere colloquium de quacumque re
voluero / uel voluerimus / absque dolo uel fallacia
et vt mihi demonstret / omnia de quibus desidero
uel desiderimus audire / et scire quemcumque et vbicumque
voluero uel voluerimus Interrogare / And saye
this coniuiracon . 3 . or . 9 . tymes agaynst *the* northe.
And then go forthe *and* shut vp *the sercle* after
the, and leve *your* glass vnder *the* arthe a fote
depe for that nyght and go home. And *then*
in the mornynge com agayne, and *thou*
shalt fynd a speryt in the glas *which* shall answare
thee to all thynges. Finis

	<p>Fig 7. Circle on fol. 233v</p>
<p>Text outside circle</p>	<p>boreas</p>
<p>Center circle text clockwise direction</p>	<p>osiminilis oO Si mi ni lis</p>
<p>Centre text</p>	<p>Spe, locus speculi, locus magister</p>

To Have Stolen Things Come Back Again: 259v

	<p>Fig 8. Circle on 259v</p>
<p>Outer circle text</p>	<p>29. Lucifer 39 Deucalion .49. Faciaton .19. Sathan</p>
<p>Centre text</p>	<p>Locus candela</p>

Who do thynges *that* is stolen to com
a gayne *and* all other thynges
that be lyke. Make a sercle in
an hause prenclye far from
folke as is made won afore

and write *there* in *the* names. Then
 lyght the candell and set it
 in the myddest of *the serkole* and
 saye thus: I coniure you *princes*
 off hell, Sathan, Lucifer,
 Deucalion, Faciaton. Bi the father the Sonne and *the h. g. and*
 throw *the vertue* of *angelles* and *arcengelles* throw *the vertue* off
 cherubyn *and* Serapin *and* by all the *vertues* off God that
the brynge a gayme the thyng that is stollen to this
 place. And saye any thyng *that thou* wylt aske whether it
 be in the erthe or in the water or in the ayre, or this
 candell be brent ovt throwge the *vertu* off ower lord Iesu
 Cryst *that* died for mankynd *and* shall com to *and* deme you *and* vs *and*
 all the world by fyer *and* water fiat. Et appello vos: Sathan,
 Lusifer, Deucalion, Faciaton, this must be sayd
 thryse by and by, furthermore I conniure you whan
 these thynges .N. is browght a gayne to this place
 that *the* pass agayne ther *the* com from and do no
 harme to no creature, nor to no thyng *that* longe or
 partayne to Crysten creature and by the
 Sacrament of the bodye and blud of ower savior
 Iesu Cryst to whom *with* the father the Sone and
 the holye gost amen.

To Have a Thief Return Stolen Goods: 266r-268r

266r Fyrst take clene waxe *that* was never occupyd and melt it in *the*
 Sone. Once in ayere for vij yere after and worke it *with* your
 hand when *the* sonne is in ariete⁵⁶ and the name incresynge.
 And make ij pyctores or imagis, one lyke a man *and* a nother
 lyke a whoman. And wryght *the* letteres and fygurys *and*
 names as you see wryttyn in *the* symyltude and *that* you see,
 wryttyn on the fare parte, *and* *that* that ys writyn *with* owt. Wryght it
 on *the* bak syde, hed *and* other, *and* other. *That* wryght on the
 rybbes *the* name of the thyng *that* is gone, *and* on the bak wryght
 the partyes name *that* owght ys. Than make yower fyer
 in the ower of marse *with* whyght tharne or elder, in

⁵⁶ ariete] aries

a secret plase, *and* set yower images a gaynst *the* fyer, and take hede *that* ye melt not them. Than begyne to bynd the spryghtes, or prynses *with* the strongest bond that yov can *that* thaye shalnot let, but brynge them *that* caryed the thynges, forthe *with* them.

266v

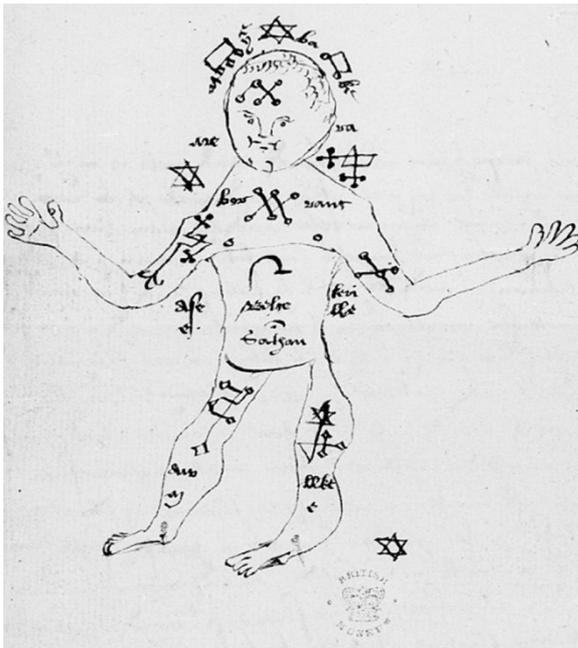


Fig 9. Example of the wax figure as described on fol 266r.

267r Thou sprite Belsabub, *thou* spyryt Sathan, *thou* spyret Alkame, *thou* spryt Askaryell, *thou* spryt Arra, I bynd you all in general, by the dredfull daye of dome *that* yow do not let but to brynge hym or them man or woman. And *that* thaye brynge syche thynges vnto the plase where thaye had it, and there to leave it, and thaye to go ther waye. *And* so I bynd you all by yower offyse: yov sprytes of hell, and yov sprytes of *the* northe and southe, west or else where *that* yov be. *That* yov do not fayle, but loke in euerye quarter of the world and brynge them where so euer thaye bee, *with* the goodes a bove namyd. And therto I bynd yov all a gayne, by the power of God the father; that he had when that he implyd *the* heven, and bete ovt Lusifer *with* all his fellowes

with the sword of venganse. *The* angell dyd bete then downes, lusifere in to the botemles pyt of hell. I bynd you and *commande* yov by the power off the father had and hathe when he emtyd *the* heven by the power that he had. When that he sayd hoo, and by that power and all poweres of the father *and* hathe when *that* he made heven and erthe.

A Divinatory Experiment to Find Buried Treasure

267v To prove a grownd whether ther be any tresur or noo

Goo ther the grownd is namyd and gather an hasell styk of onyeres growthe and cut it in iij pecys; and euery pece a fote longe. Than take parchement or paper and wryght these names in *the* byllys, eloy, eloy eloy and bynd euerye byll a bowt a styk as fast as ye maye. And late in the nyght, pryk *the* iij stykes in iij sundry placys where *the* thynke *the* gold is and soo doo iij nyghtes to gether and com a gayne early in the mornyng and lok on yowr stykes. And the tresor be ther ye shall fynd *the* bylles brent, or torne, or had a waye and it be not, soo ther ys nothynges *with* owt dowl. Amen, also.

The Wax Figure Conjunction Continued

Earthe, water and fyer, and by the power that God gave heate vnto the fyer, and by the that heat and power I heate yov sprytes that ar writyn in this images here of wax. *That* you do not rest in whos quarter *that* so euer you be in or be of, but that yov brynge or cavse to be browght syche thynges or thing as is writyn in the brest or rybbes of thys images. As this fyer burnethe I heate you all, but *that* yov brynge *that* afore sayd, and not hurt the partyes,

268r and take the images in your handes and tvrne them
 against the fyer and take hede *that* yt melt them
 not. And then saye a gayne: You sprytes *that* be writyn
 or graven in this wax or images, I bynd yov *and*
 constrayne yov by the *vertue* and strenkthe of ower
 savyor, Ihesus Cryst. As he was crownd *with* a
 crowne of thorne. And by the blyssed blood *that* ran owt of
 his hed and by that blyssed blood I bynd you all.
 And by all his passion *and* by his sufferance *that* he
 sufferyd the Jues to torment him. And by hys
 blyssed buryall, dessencion, *and* assencion; and by
 that I bynd yov all and constrayne yov all. By
 all the wordes of the father and of the Sonne *and*
 of the holy goost and by all thoo poweres and
 other poweres of God, that yov do brynge *the* partyes
 a bove namyd. *That* thay do not rest in ayre, fyer,
 water, nor earthe, tymber, nor ston, nor where
 so *ever* thaye be on named. *That* thaye do not rest
 leyeynge, slepynge, rydyng, nor goyng, but that
 you brynge them *with* in iij dayes or iij nyghtes *with*
 owt hurt of them. And therto I compell you
 and constrayne you by all that *ever* God made *and*
 shall make and *there* to I bynd yov,” and saye it
 3 tymes of the daye that yov do begyne on, saynge
 it bytterly vnto them *with* owt feare.

8. Afterword

The original purpose of this thesis was to make a complete edition of the second part on MS Sloane 3853 know as *The Book of the Dannel*. However, due to the unforeseen size of such a project the goal was sized down to an edition of selected conjurations from *The Dannel* accompanied by introductions to the material, to give some examples of the necromantic magic that the Dannel Scribe was interested in. As shown, some of the conjurations are very similar to the first part of the manuscript, but were most likely based of a similar source rather than that the Dannel Scribe based his texts of the first part. Others do not have corresponding texts in the first part, and are instead based on other sources that must have preceded the Dannel Scribe, and which the scribes of the first part did not consult. The names of spirits in the conjurations have in some cases helped to find these sources, but

in other cases, when there is no name mentioned or when the names are not recorded in sources that list names of spirits, the finding of a source is difficult. As such, there is still a lot more research that can be done on *The Book of the Dannel*, for example about other divinatory experiments, or the rituals for the consecration of items that were not selected for this edition. Hopefully however, this thesis has made *The Dannel* a little less “terra incognita” (Chardonens 178).

Complete Transcription Credit

The selected texts for this edition were originally transcribed by students from the course Sources and Practises of Medieval Magic, in the autumn semester of 2015, at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. The full credit is as follows:

179v-181v: Joy Koopman

203v: Sytse Durkstra

219v-222v: Tove Marks

232v-233v, 234v-237v: Hajo Pullens

245v-252r: Anke Slotman

259v, 266r-268r: Puk Speckens

184r-v, 213v-214v, 226r-229r, 238r-239v, 253r-256r: Janneke Stam

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