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

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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” (Chardonnens 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 begynnethe 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” (Chardonnens 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 where 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 Klaasssen 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.” (Klaasssen 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
begynrete 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 practices. Johann Weyer for example, who was a student of Agrippa, expressed his disapproval of conjuring demons in his notes to the Praestigii 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 conjur 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 pochhole 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, an 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 astractiones” 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 obtaine 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 general from the first part of the manuscript and therefor no longer part of the actual book that is called The Dannel (Chardonnens 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 hurtynge 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 cerbidatonu, 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 Chardonnens (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 answere 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
Astructorones”, or general bindings, in this part of the edition dedicated to general conjurations. The
Generalis Astructorones 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 moses, 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 Astructiones. 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 catteracke 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, begynynge 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  
Mercury

This expedement followynge must be done  
in the newe of the mone, be stronget the .2.  
and XIV daye, and servethe 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 shauue 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 vter 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 syd, 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 expedement | experiment
3 strongest | strongest
4 vter | outer
5 on syd | one side
and lord almyghtye God whiche hast creatid all
things 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 nessesaries, grant this: O holye and most
holye of all whiche raynest God world with out
ende amen
And then stand vp and lokynge toward the southe
and saye this, I coniure the you sprytt N
by the leyynge God, by the trewe God, and
by the holye God + and by that God whiche hathe
creatid the, and for thi pryd and persamion
hathe justlye by his ryghttuusnes dammed 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)
gyrte about the loynes of the lord, soo be you sawn

with a gyrdle for a perpetuall payne for euermore, and

that you com not by and bye, I coniure the also by that .2. edged sword which went

out of his mouthe7, so be you clen and cut for

euermore, with that if you do not apere, and the blood

of that innocent lambe which was shed for so manye

as dyd beleue in it be onto the a perpetuall cond

emnacion, so that you shall neuer have 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 uppon the and multiplied

vp on the as the sterris in the fyrmament and the sand

curneles in the see, and all the merites of Crystis

passion, dethe, burial, and resurrection, be onto the a wyttynes, and a condemnation for thi

disobedien[ce].

181r I coniure the by these names of God

Deus, Homo, Omnipotens + Semptius + Ihesus + Terramn

Tetragramatton + Unigenitus + Salvator + Vita + Via +

Manus + Fons + Origo + Agnus + Filius + Dilectus +

and by all other names that euuer wer able of man to

be spokyn or thought, 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 iudment

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 rememberance 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 your incruedlyte of beleff, for
you maye be well assured that you ar no pertakenes
of his salvation, 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

bye and bye his wraeth, 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 myght and
power of God, father, son, and holye gost, iij
persones in trinite and on God in deite whiche
kueth the and rayne the God worthye 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 warrantyshe he shall aper, but in any wy
8 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 spyrtyt, that the
sonne maye rebound, from the wall onto
spyrtyt, for the influence of the sonne ys
the the gretest helpe that you canst possyble haue, and
also thaye wyll gladlye aper 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 porpuse.

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

When the master ys allredi to goo to

8 wy ] way
9 bemys ] beams
his worke let hym enter his sercle and devoutlye
knelyng toward the est saye this prayer
following: O holy lord almyghti father and most
mercifull God which hast creatyd al thynge of
nothing. Thou knowest all thynge, and on to the there
ys nothyng hyd nor onpossible. Thou knowest
Lord that this art and expediment ys not to prove thy
pore\(^{10}\) not to attempt thi godly name, but to
knowe the secretes of sprytes and the treuthe
of thynge not known. Wherfor o holy God we
here thy servantes do dessyer the that thou woldest
wytsaff\(^{11}\) to grant onto us thy most mercifull helpe.
To brynge to pass this ower purpose and intent, which reygnist
Adonaye whole kingdom and pore hathe no end but
doeth continue in to the world of worlds.

Then saye this prayer:
O lord my God be onto me a tower of stenkthe before the fate of
thy enemys these malyngnat sprytes. And then toward the
southe saye lykyse, and so unto all .4. quarteres. With
these wordes behold the synge \(^{12}\) and the names off the
Creator, Salvator, Emanuell, by the which sygne and names
we wer creatyd etc. Ouer 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 conjure 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 tranys\(^{13}\) of the angeles, and by the appostyles
marteres, confessors, and vergynes, with all the companye
of heven beholdyng the syght of the Godhed,
that thou shalt cause this spryght whose name is .N.
to come and aper here onto me with out any taryng
And to fulfyll all my request.

\(^{10}\) pore | power
\(^{11}\) wytsaff | vouchsafe
\(^{12}\) sygne + | the sign of the cross
\(^{13}\) tranys | trains
Then torne the toward the west saynge: O Rommbalans\(^\text{14}\) 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 sypytcs callyd . N. that he shall fulfylly all my request with ouut any craft, falsed or gyle.

Then torne the toward the Southe sayng:
O cerbidaton\(^\text{15}\) kynge of the southe I coniure the and charge the by all the tranes and choris\(^\text{16}\) of God, and by the dethe and passion of ower lord Jhesu Cryst, and by Habrahm, Isaac and Jacob.

by Moyses, and Davyd, and by Enoc, and Ely by Elisen, and Abacuc by Zacharius, and Malachian, that thou shalt send Onto me this sypyt .N. to fulfylly all my request.

Then torne the toward the northe saynge thus:
O Lambracun\(^\text{17}\) kynge of the northe I coniure the and charge the by that God the which hathe creatyd all thynges of nothynge, and by the savior of the world Jhesu Cryst and by the crowne of thorne that he was crownyd with all, and by other instrumentes with holy names, Layagalam, Layagium, Ubba, Ganarituum Layagarum\(^\text{18}\), that thou shalt send this sypyt 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 coniuraco for Yower sypyt that you wyll call

\(^{14}\) Rommbalans] Variation on “Romblance or Ramblane” as mentioned in the Officiu m de Spirittibus from The Book of Oberon (Peterson and Harms 80).

\(^{15}\) O cerbidatono] Variation on “Ocarbydatonn” also from the Officiu m de Spirittibus.

\(^{16}\) choris] choirs

\(^{17}\) O Lambracun] Also from the Officiu m de Spirittibus: “Othou Lambricon, vel Lambracron, kings of the North” (Peterson and Harms 81)

\(^{18}\) Holy names] from the Officiu m de Spirittibus “Layagom + Vlba + Garanitom”. The original list of names being more extensive and having lesser variations on the name “Layagom”
General Binding: 245v-252r

245v Generalis astringiones

O thou spryte or sprytes. N. I conjure the or yov by the power of God the father and by his onely Sonne ower lord and also by the holy gost.

I conjure 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 rehersid to the worthyes 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 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 profettes, 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 precios 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

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19 Astringiones | 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 owtt hurtynge or harmynge of me or any other thynge that God hathe creatyd and made. 

And that thou dost quycklye make me a redy and a trew answere of all thynges that I shall aske the, by all the holy wordes that I haue before rehersyd.

O thow spryt .N. where so euery that thou beest I coniure the and adiure the by the grett strenketh the 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 hyest father in heuen, and by the power of the grett verite and trevthe and divinite of the most hyest 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

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 faworable gentynes of Ihesu Cryst byinge of all grace, and by the power of the love and swetnes of Ihesu Cryst the Sonne of the leuynge 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 raynitye 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
Iudgment, when that he shall Iudge almankynd
bothe leuyng ded, and all devylles and yvell
sprytes and all kynes and ruleres as well them that
bee

247r be alyve as them that be ded. I coniure 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 Israel, 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,
gevyng me trev answeres 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 cownsell, 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 forttyude of the holy gost wich is with the
father and the Sonne 3. persones in trinite and
one God omnipotent in the eternall glorye.
I coniure the you spryght .N. by the gret
fortytude of the omnypotent 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 celestial 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 spattyll\textsuperscript{20} defyled, and so be thou spryt
smytten with fyer and paynes of hell with stronge
tormentores of 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
hyest of the Crosse, and soo was his left
hand nayled onto the Crosse and even 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

\textsuperscript{20} spattyll ] spittle
hathe fullyld 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 harrt. 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 innumerabe 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 passyson for to be shed for man  
kyndes sake, and to the destruction of the and all  
thi fellowes, and by the most bytter wepyenge  
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 passyson 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  

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 thirst that is to saye the helthe of man  
kynde, and also by those holye wordes Ely Eloy  
lamazabathani21 that is to saye my God my God  
why hast you forsaken me. And by those holye  

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 conjure the thou s pryght .N. that thou aperest ther in that place appoyntyd for the in the forme and lyknes aforesayd. 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 conjure the and charge the you s pryght .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. 22He sayd let the lyght be made

249v made and it was made. The second word was whan God made the fyrmament he sayd let the fyrmament 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 erbys 23 to srynge. He sayd let the erthe brynge forthe grene erbis beryng frute and all frute tres let them brynge forthe frute euer 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 fyrmament 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 synynges
and tymes and in dayes and yeres and let thyme
in the fyrmaiment of heauen and lyght the
erthe. The syxte word yat God sayd
sayd

Sayd when he made the fysshes and the byrdes, he sayd
the manyng wateres let them brynge forthe
levynge creatures and flyeyng byrdes vp on
the erthe vnnder the fyrmaiment of heauen.
The seuenthe word was when God
blyssed them and sayd incresse the and mvltyple
the and replette the wateres of the See, and lett the
byrdes mvltypleye vp on 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 ouer 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
mvltypleye the and replenyshe the the erthe

erthe and make obedynent 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 throvgle 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 + Sempitinius + Deus +
Agla + Mane + Creaton + Ysus + Eleyson +
Ya + Tetragrammaton + Messias + Father +
Emanuell + Sabaote + 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 dampronat 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 constrynyon.

251r Generalis sententia
O Thow wykked and rebellus sprytt .N. thow 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 omnypotent. Thefore
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 omnipotent
father by the power of the glorius passion of
his onelye 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 lyvynge God. Excommunicat the, the vertu of the

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 reverent name of God Ihesus + vnto the
wich name all knes bowe bothe in heuen
and in erthe and in hell, and except that thou commest
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 sorrow
of all sorrowes wher is tribulacion and
anguyyshe, and all the wrathe and hatred of God, and
also I cast the in to the furnysche of fyre
where is the hatred of God and into the cursed
pryson of eternall dampnaton where nou
order is but euerlastynge, discord there
abydynge. Let it [be]be, and by the power and
vertu of God the omnipotent father and by all
the fore sayd maladiction and cursment
that all these fornamyd paynes maye be
be

mvliplid vp on the so plentifully as that
be Sand carneves in the See, and euen
as the sterris be mvliplyed in the fyrmament.
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 Conjuration to make a Spirit Appear in a Cataract: 253r-256r

253r  O thou spryt .N. I coniur the and charge the in the
to rest ther to that catarakt visibly onto me
and onto all men, and fullyll all my request. By the vertu of
that gret word which God spake onto Adam, I well 'gou subdue
thou and make thou obedient 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 obedient onto thy
soto all thynges bothe levynge and ded so that all thynges
shall serve for thy welthe and profet by those holy wordes
and by all other whyche I shall here after reherese.
I charge the thou spryt .N. that thou aperest vsibly 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 omnipotent 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 obediance dost by and by apere vsybly 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 beleve the In hym. And by that grete power of hys word
by the which he vanquysched and subdued thy prynce Satanas
whom he temtyd hym in wyklernes 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 vysybly and speke onto me and fullfyll my request. I coniure the by all the merytes\textsuperscript{29} of Chryst Iesu that ever he merytyd here for us, that is to saye by hys fastynge, and temptacion, by hys agony, and bluddy swethe, by hys passyon, dethe, and buryall, by hys resurrec cyan, 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 attrbyutyd 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 vysybly and onto all men onto whom I wyll. Thou shalt aperest and fullfyll my request.

\textsuperscript{29} merytes \textsuperscript{30} deity

\textsuperscript{31} dowe

\textsuperscript{32} hey

\textsuperscript{33} desayte
O thou spryt .N. where so ever that thou be I coiure and charge the by the heye obedience 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 sped that thou shalt aper vysyble by the pore of the grete Redd Dragon which had vii heddes .10. hornes and .10. crowynes upon hys hed. Whose tayle drew the thred third 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.\textsuperscript{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 prevelde agaynst them. So that ther was no more place founde of the Dragon nor of hys angeles in heven, but in the erthe hys habyticion to be ever more.\textsuperscript{36} Which is the gret kynge Lusyfer by whose power and rewle I adiure the .N. and constrayne the to com and aper vysyably onto me and to fullfyll all my request. In the payne of hys heye dysplesur I coiure the by all the nomer of hys angeles and by all ye pores. I coiure 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 aper vysyably in the forme of a fayer man and speke onto me and fullfyll all my request. And If thou resyst then I adiure the gret kynge 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 judment.\textsuperscript{37}

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 chyld to have devowred her.\textsuperscript{38}

I coiur the also by that best that cam owt of the see beyng lyke a cat of mounttayne havyng vii heds .10. hornes and .10. crowynes, havyng wryttyyn upon hys forhed the name of blasphemy.

\textsuperscript{34} thred ] third
\textsuperscript{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)
\textsuperscript{36} Revelations, 12.7-12.9 (The Bible: Authorized King James Version Rev. 12.3–12.4)
\textsuperscript{37} judment ] judgement
\textsuperscript{38} Revelations 12.15
Onto whom Lusyfer the Red Dragon gave his whole power
his seat and his authority to mystery plagues and paynes

on to all them that resist his name. And he gave him a name, to be called prince and to revel and correct in his stead, which was Belsabub. And by his whole power and corrections I charge the and command the that thou shalt have no power to resist my invocation, but that thou shalt by and bye appear visibly unto me and on to all men unto whom I will. Thou shalt appear and if thou dost disobey me and will not come, the I charge and adjure that prince Belsabub, by whose power I have also called the, that he by the obedience of his creature and by the obedience which he owest unto the Red Dragon, which gave him his name and his authority and power, that he shall mystery unto the all his plagues and his corrections appointed him of Lucyfer the Red Dragoon, being his king.

I conjure the by all his power and in voydying his eye
dyspleasure that thou shalt come and appear visibly unto me in the form of a man and speak unto me and fulfill all my request. I conjure the by all the nomer of his angeles and by all the tormentes and paynes of them, so that if thou dost resist me they to mystery every one off them his office unto the till the great day of the coming of that lord who shall judge both the king thy prince and the also to that fyer and payne whyche shall never have ende.
I conjure the thou spryght .N. by the power off that best which had ii hornes lyke a lambe, and had pore geven hym bothe off Lucyfer the Red Dragoon and of Belsabub the

Best to allure and to provoke men here in erthe to worship
and to give honor both to the Dragon Lucyfer and unto the best Bessabub. So that his power was so great that he caused fyer to come downe from heven with many other tokens and syngnes. So that he brough 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
desayve men. By all hys pore and by all the obeydence
that thou owest onto hym I adiure the that thou shalt come by
and bye and apere vysybly unto my syght in forme of
a man, and speke onto me and fulfyll all my request.
And yt that thow dost dysobeye thys my invocacyon, then
I charge the lord Sathanas by the obeydence that he
owest onto God hys creature, and onto Lusyfer hys
kynge, and Belsabub beynge 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 nombre of
hys angeles and by all the plages and tormentes of them.
Allso that they shall so payne the and so constrayne the
that thou shalt have no pore to resyst me, but schalt come by
and bye and apere ther onto that caterackt vysiblle
on to me and onto all men, onto whom I wyll thou
schalt apere.

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 knownen but amonge thou delves and spryghtes.
I coniure the .N. also by the iii 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
spyrtuall Zodam and Egypt. And by all other angeles off the
Devell thy prince. I adiure the and charge the in the advoydnyng
off all the dyspleures, paynes, and tormentes for ever more that thou shalt
there to that katheracte apere vysibly 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.

Revelations 13.11-13.15
5. The Conjuration 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 conjuration 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 conjuration 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 conjuration 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 gentyle” (fol 227v). The Dannel Scribe attributes the description of Asmodaye to Saint Cyprian, writing for example, that the spirit made counsel to him: “hys own conseilis 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 Borchardt 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 conjuration 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 Daem onum (1563) By Johann Weyer.

“he is scene 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 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” (Sl. 3853 fols. 227v.)

“he absolutelie teacheth geometrie, arhythmekte, 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 Astronomy, nygromancye, geometrye, musycke and he gevethe a trew answere 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 whethre 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 ye first & chifiest under ye power of Amaymon” (Peterson, THE LESSER KEY OF SOLOMON)

The Dannel Scribe on the other hand says that his alleged source Saint Cyprian “doubteth the 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 Asmodaye 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.

Furthermore, the Dannel Scribe fails to mention the “seventie two legions” (Weyer) Asmoday has under his power. However, the conjuration on folios 219v-221v, invokes, among others, the power of Asmoday, who “Enclusid [them]”, to conjure a large number of spirits. Asmodaye 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 folios 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 beginnethe the boke of the Sience of nygromansie 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 this boke, fyrst let thy selff 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 abstyne thy selff from carnall affection and from pollucyon bothe off bodye and off soll. Thou must also have on a fayer whyt vesture clene and swete smelnyng. And must also abstyne thy selfe .3. dayes before you shalt worke, frome excesse of etynge and drynkynge and ete but one myle-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 again. At evereye vocacyon, saye .4. tymes towards the northe in a secret place in a fyld, saynge: O you spryts Sillam or Silquam, Meltrrantus Hatinet, Ieformosis, Seformosis, Lusifer, Barachi Vriell, Katon, Barisphus, Nery, Aberno, Satapas

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

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42 Here beginnethe 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, Stelpha, 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 quykelye as you maye, or cane and obeye vnto me so oftyn 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 euuer ye be callyd 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 shall 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 abovt the serkyll, in paper. And then smother the serkyll with puer and clene frankynsen Saynge: O all yov sprits for home we do this sacrefice come hether and apere. And then standing 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 rehersid 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, Eboslodos, 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 enclusid yov and made you obedient onto the
experiment. And by all these holye angeles, Santies
Genitus, Consors, 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 trymble 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 chaptore 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 Euuer 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 eu er 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 mervelous thynges of the world
or any any other thynges saye these wordes
ffollowynge in this maner and forme: O all ye sprytstes of this office wether ye be callyd of me or of anye other, by my commandement come ye and fullfylle my commandment quiclye with all effect whan So eu er or where soo euer it shall please me to comand you eyther for my selffe or for any other that you com quyclye and merelye and fulfyll my ple
by the virtu of these Carect 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 secre
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* paer:
Castum *and* Purum

These be thaye *that* brynge a man in to fauor of
lordes and grete man: Sorobayhym

Thes be thaye *that* fyethe witha grete companye of
men: Ductor, Seducor., Inductor

These be thaye *that* deliver men owt of prison *and*
out of landys: Oirus *and* Argus

These be thaye *that* have the pratyve of makynge
clothe strange vesturis: Ulios prynce of delves

222v. These be thaye *that* make curyus workes of carpentorye:
Nurus, or mirus, Soyrio, Kais *with* ther fellowys

These be thaye *that* take fysshes: Calmus, Carbus, *with*
These be thaye that consethe a man to goo invisible:
Piarym

These be thaye that makythe waytes and mesureys:
Aberino, Nocte, Nonis, Drepis, Simeon, Membris,
Hafit, Cates or Cataces, Nonis

These be thaye that takythe fowles and byrdes:
Scorpus Stigot, Corvus

These be thaye that make all maner of gret workes of
Iron or of any other mettall: Leymer or Limere, 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 darchnes

223r. These be thaye that make hayles and stormes alwayes:
Bultes, vclianus, Inchiamis, Tertramus
These be thaye that consethe serpents to come and
tell any thynge that a man wyll aske of them:
Neon prynce of Darknes and Famadaye kynge of
them

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

The Conjuration of Asmodaye: 227v-229r

227 v  Asmodaye ys a gret kynge and ruler in the
Meridiane or southe pert of the world, and Cipriann
douctethe whether he be under Maymon kynge
of the southe or no, but upon hys owen consellis
made to Cipriane when that he callyd hym.
And he aperythe with iiij 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 infernal 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, musycye,
and he gevethe a trew answere of all thynges
that he is demandyd of. He causythe a man too
goo in visible, and he schewethe all placis treuu where any [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 hymself gentyle 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 jentlye, 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, i j tymes in the daye iij days before that thou shalt or wylt call hym, that ys in the morning and in the evenynge, begynnynge 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 sowne 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 judment when thou shalt apere before the judment seate of the lord and ther be judgged. And by that God the whyche is the well and sypynge 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 conteyned by the holye gost and borne for us of the
vergyn Marye, that thou heryge and knowynge thys
my invocacyon shalt [apere] prepare and make
thy selfe redey 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 beyinges 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 hyest
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 onclave 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 thystr constrayntt. and where as I
have not bene hastye upon the but have
premonysid the thy .3. or .4. tymes. And yet hast
disobeyd 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 multyplyed upon the, so plenty
fullye as the sterres be multyplyed in the
fyrmament, of sand curneles in the see. And
then rede the gret sentenced.

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

234v In what daye ye intend to practise this experimentes
followynge wherin be contanyd the cheff poyntes
of all thyse 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 carecteres, saynge when the sonne ys
up in the mornynge and before it goethe down
at nyght: Rogo vos per ututem Dei omnipotent
veniatis mihi. But ye must begyne on
the mondae in the mornynge as the sonne
rasyng or a none after in the newe of the mone.
And soo doo tuesdaye and wedynsdaye. And on
the 3 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 carecteres
of the same chapyte which ye wyll worke in, and sence
the serkyll with frankynsence. Then call them, and thaye
wyll apere in contynentlye. And saye what you
wyll command them. And then thaye wyll demand
a sacrafyse and peradventure thaye wyll saye: Forsake
thy lord thy god and worchyp us. Then answere
them thus: I wyll not forsake my god, nor by my good
wyll doo any thynge that shall dysplese hym, but
wyll serve hym as longe as I lyffe. And I wyll doo
you none harne, but strayghthe commund you by
the virtue off my god and faythe that ye in contynentlye
fulfylle my commandementes. And in case thaye go their
waye and wylnot accomplyshe thy wyll, iterat the
coniuration of the same chapteres agayne tyll thaye

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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 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 shal 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 Scorpius, Stigoth, Covenne by your lord Asmodie which dyd bynd you in this carect47 And by the names Angelus, Salutiserus, Genitus Constores, Pastor, Osanna, Kimodieius, 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 conjuracion and under the payne of everlastynge damnation. Informa of iij fayer whomen and so lycense her.

And when you lacke monye. Beynge clene and in a secret chambare saye; I Coniure you Sykuam, Mettrans, and Ratinet, by all the virtues of All Angeles and Archangels patriarches, prophetes, and appostoles, 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, heuenly thynges, ethelye thynges, and infernall thynges, and by the incarnacion, cyrcumcision, baptyme, fastynge, prechynge, 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 judment, 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, Sisior, that with ovt tarryeynge 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 tarryeynge 10 . 20 . or . 100 povndes of starlynge gold or syluer of Inglyshe monye and it shalbe done.
And when you will destroy a man or a woman
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
levynge God and by the trve God, and by the hollye
God, and by these names, Rornur, Honor, Fortis,
Salubris, Salvator, Unigenitus, Luminus, Habundatius,
Vertutibr, Faltunias, that you com hether with this coniurcion
in to this serrkyll with your . 30 . ffellowes. And you
shall make feble, suche a man / N / namynge hym.
And this my wyll shortlye and with owt any taryinge
where so eu er and when so eu er I wyll quyclye, and with effect
these preceptes you shall fulfyll In that person . N .

And if you will 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, Seducor, that you do send tempestes
hayle or rayne in syche s place where I doo

command you, or when I do comm and you so that yov
hurt no man etc. And in what so eu er howre of the
daye or of the nyght ye shalbe called, cum euery
one of yove in a fayer mannes shape.
And if thou wilt have a horse which shall bear the
whether so ever thou wilt with in an hour or. 2. And
with ought any hurt you must fast. 3. days, and absteyne
from pollycyon and the company of women, and change
they selfe in to cleane garmentes, and goo in to a cleane
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 you now com hether to me with ought taryynge 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 ever thou wilt. And
as thou shalt gyve hym leave to go whether thou wilt.

And yff thou wilt worke conynglye in iron or haue
Any thynge well wrowght in yron, or have any
thynge 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 your fellowes.
I charge you by that same Cryst owr lord vnto whom
the angeles and the arcangellys do tremble, and by these
names, Charos, Custos, Salutis, Gliosus, Eremeon,
Kirion, Meneon, that you come to me in that same
forme and fauor in which it shal be commandyed you, with
owt complaynt, that I wyll you make me suche iron
worke or syche workes, perfty and trewe, and with owtt
any tarynyng quyclye and incontinentye that you Doo
ffullfyll all my wyll.
And yf yov wyll knowe the lawes and Decrees with the judgmentes and bodye of reson, go in to a place neare to a ryver syde, 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, Themones, Omnipotens etcetera, that yov shew me ryght judment and teche me to knowe lawes and degrees in what so euer daye or nyght I command you. By and by and incontyne 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 experhte in these seyence or facultye, loke when ye wyll have any medesynes for the syke and aske the sprytes that follow saynge, but fyrst you must anoint yourer hands with honye and then opyn yourer boke, and saye: I coniure you devellys, Helly, Coroyon, with all yourer fellowes, by the trew God and by the names of cryst, Primogenitus, Aquus, 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 taryynge 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
conjure 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 synde a mynd that he maye love me
so that all thynge that I wyll he maye do for me. And
come ye onto me in fayer manes shape, and here
with out question quyctlye make perft his spirite
in love with me. And this shall serve as well for
a ladye, jentryllwoman, or any kind of woman
what so ever she bee

And yf thou wylit fight with .5000. men and kyll men
at thy plesur, in what place thou wylit take a
spere and laye it down upon the erthe and laye
thy boke upon it and saye: I conjure you
Ductor and Seducor and Inductor by these names of God
Permus and Nonillus, Putator, Putates, Manus, Bonus,
Bibell, Mim. And saye the conjuracon: that you geve me
yowere strenkthes and men by the power of ower lord
Jhesu Cryst. I compell you that you quyctlye 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 quyctlye.

239r Ande yf thou wylit delievre any man from prison take
iiij wyllow staves and put in iiij partes of the prison, tower

48 N | Means number instead 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 Chapitor\(^9\) that you com
to me in fayer man shape syche a daye or nyght
to delyver syche a man ouut of pryson, accordynge
to my wyll with ouut any hurt of bodye. And if you
do despice, he shall take you and condemne you to
the levyng God whose name and wisdom you do despise,
geven by that same lord most excellent.

\(^9\) The first chapter ] possibly refers to Bible verse or the binding conjuration
Flos, Janma, 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 out taryeynge trewly and perfectly and with out all deceytte, desimulacon, temtacyon, or any tempest or with out 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 lovynge 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 fellows”, 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 Keickhefer 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 “trewthe and Crystandome” (215r.) which makes him ready to ascend to heaven, while the courier spirit is bound to the necromancer’s will to “be redy when I wyll have the, and when I shall call the, and that thou be obedient to my commandement in everye thynge 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 expedition 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 youer
instrumentes belongyge to this art. The take chalke
and chalke youure sercle in the howre of Venus and
tenter thi sercle in the same howre. And turne ye
to the southe and saye this:

I conniure you Almazin and Elicona, most lovynge
and jentill sprytes, by the infenyt wysdom of
God and by his grett power and by the mekenes and
verginite of Saynt Marye the vyrgin and by hur
Chastite and cleennes and by al te names of owre lord
Jeshu Cryst and by that ineffable name of owre lord
the leyynge God Tetragramaton + whiche is
graven in my septer and in my rynge,
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 throwge\textsuperscript{50} the
dethe of owre lord Jehsu Cryst, and by the most
ferfull daye of judment 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 faynynge, fraud, dissimulacon, or
craftye colorynge of amyte or love. The whiche

\textsuperscript{50} trowge ] through
precept and request of me, ye 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 raygne 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.
### Outer circle text in counter-clockwise direction

+ Yskyros + Agios + Alhanatos + Emanuel + Christus + Jhesus + Alpha + and oo + Adonaye + Eloye + Sabaothe + Agla + Tetragramaton + ya

### Inner crescent text left

Saint Paulus Saint Jacobus Sanctus Johannes

### Inner crescent bottom

Apostoles + Sanctus Sipernes + Johannes Palus

### Inner crescent right

Saint Andreas + duracones 7 planets

### Inner crescent top

Saint Anglin + Saint Pertibus

### Center space

For the master and his felows
**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outer circle names</th>
<th>Satahan, Lucifer, Deucalion, Faciton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Circle centre text</td>
<td>Locus candela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**214r**

To Make a spryte 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 cometh 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 deceit. 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 spirituallte 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 hurtdoiynge 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 fufellyd. Now goo. And the 3. nyght after that thaye wyll com a gayne et afferent librum consecraconis52. And then the spryght of the man wyll saye, give me my truethe 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 shapelye55 and bodlyye. Here the same treuthe he assueryd to me by his lyff tyme. The same treuthe and Crystyndome 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 the 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 shapely] shapely
peace, and sease 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 thynge 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, Offriel, [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.

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 ground 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 touched 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 conjurations 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 Conjunction of Asmoday 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 myror 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, Makralite,
Ascariell, Baylon, Offriell, Rabeth, Bonrel.
And this Done wryght on the othersyd, of the
glass, Cerberus, Almiserroga, Fanissima,
Hindell, Ginda, Fumbolo, Camini, Anigairdioth,
Lundingumfa, Rimoneloi, Beleasrandes, Rua.
Then take the glasse in thy lefft hand and
hold thy ryght hand ouer the glass thrythe
or nyngye tyymes after the sonne goethe down.
Then go to sum delectable place which is terra
semineta, soode grownd, and there make a serkyll
of 8. eyght or 9. nyngye fote brod, then hyd the
glasse vnder the erthe a fote with in the serkyll
on the northe syd, and wright in the sode
ground about the serkyll, Osiminilis. This
done entre the serkyll and close it vp after thou
and terne the toward your northe parte synge:

233r + Coniuro vos demones quorum nomina scripta sunt circa
Speculum stud / 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 incarnacionem
circumsicionem / baptissmum / Leium / predicacionem
passionem et Ascensionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi et
per missionem sancti spiritus pascaliti / et per tremendissimum
Diem Judicij / & 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 quacunque re vos Interregauero
Et que apperitus mihi totam terram a taeque possum videre
quacunque voluero super terram / in terram / et sub terra
Et vt ostendatus mihi thesaures / et si non poteris
poterit/ Coniuro vos per omnia verba predicta
vt vos assignatis mihi vnum spiritum humilem /
benivolum / 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 quacunque re
voluero / uel voluerimus / absque dolo uel fallacia
et vt mihi demonstrat / omnia de qubus desidero
uel desiderimus audire / et scire quacunque et vbicunque
voluero uel voluerimus Interrogare / And saye
this coniuracion . 3 . or . 9 . tymes agaynst the northe.
And then go forthe and shut vp the seircle after
the, and leve your glass vnnder 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 answere
thee to all thynges. Finis
To Have Stolen Things Come Back Again: 259v

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text outside circle</th>
<th>boreas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Center circle text clockwise direction</strong></td>
<td>oosimilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oO Si mi ni lis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Centre text</strong></td>
<td>Spe, locus speculi, locus magister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who do thynges *that is* stolen to com

a gayne *and* all other thynges

that be lyke. Make a cercle 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 Senapin and by all the vertues off God that
the bryng a gayme the thynge that is stollen to this
place. And saye any thynge 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 con
nure you whan
these thynge .N. is brought a gayne to this place
that the pass agayne ther the com from and do no
harme to no creature, nor to no thynge 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 ariete 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 fyguryes and 
names as you see wryttyn in the symylutude 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 thynge that is gone, and on the bak wryght 
the partyes name that owt ys. Than make yower fyer 
in the ower of marse with whyght tharne or elder, in

56 ariete Jaries
a secret place, and set your images against the fire, and take heed that ye melt not them. Than begyn to bynde the spryghtes, or prynses with the strongest bond that you can that thaye shal not let, but byrne 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 spyrt Sathan, thou spyret Alkame, thou spyrt Askaryell, thou spyrt Arra, I bynde you all in general, by the dredfull daye of dome that you do not let but to byrne hym or them man or woman. And that thaye byrne syche thynges vnto the place where thaye had it, and there to leave it, and thaye to go ther waye. And so I bynde you all by yower offyse: you sprytes of hell, and you sprytes of the northe and southe, west or else where that you be. That you do not fayle, but loke in euerye quarter of the world and byrne them where so euer thaye bee, with the goodes a bove namyd. And therto I bynde you all a gaynye, 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 you 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

To prove a grownd whether ther be any tresur or noo

Goo ther the grownd is namyd and gather an hasell styk of omere growthe and cut it in iiij pecys; and every pece a fote longe. Than take parchement or paper and wrght these names in the byllys, eloy, eloy eloy and bynd euere byll a bowt a styk as fast as ye maye. And late in the nyght, pryk the iiij stykes in iiij sundry placys where the thynke the gold is and soo doo iiij nyghtes to gether and com a gayne early in the mornynge 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 dowt. Amen, also.

The Wax Figure Conjuration Continued

Earthe, water and fyre, and by the power that God gave heate vnto the fyre, 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 caus to be browght syche thynges or thing as is writyn in the brest or rybbes of thys images. As this fyre burnethe I heate you all, but that yov brynge that afore sayd, and not hurt the partyes,
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 crownyd 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 tho 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
keyeynge, slepynge, rydyng, nor goynge, but that
you brynge them with in iij dayes or iij nyghtes with
owt hurt of them. And thereto 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 begynye 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 Dannal 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 Dannal 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 Dannal 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” (Chardonnens 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:

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203v: Sytse Durkstra
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245v-252r: Anke Slotman
259v, 266r-268r: Puk Speckens
184r-v, 213v-214v, 226r-229r, 238r-239v, 253r-256r: Janneke Stam

**Bibliography**


Finis.