



**Conjurations in the Early  
Modern Magic Manuscript  
Pre-1650 MS 0102**



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Signed

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Anke', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the left.

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I would also like to thank my parents, who have supported me throughout the process of writing this paper. My mother was pleasantly surprised when I told her that she shares her name with one of God's.

## **Abstract**

Magic as a cultural concept is well developed in western popular culture, while there is still extraordinarily little academic research about the historical texts that these conceptions are based on. This paper consists of an edition of selected parts of Pre-1650 MS 0102, which outlines the elements of spirit conjuring in pre-modern western magic tradition. In addition to this, it will explore and analyse conjurations, focusing on explaining the distinct types of conjurations and identifying a compelling form.

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## Part I. Introduction

### The Relevancy of Academic Study of Magic Manuscripts

Magic is something that not only speaks to the imagination of every child, but also a great deal of adults. Knowledge about magical practices is transmitted to the public mind by popular culture through fantasy and horror themed entertainment, the likes of the *Harry Potter* franchise, tabletop games like *Dungeons and Dragons* and various horror films. Even in much earlier literature, the use of magic as a plot device is not rare, which can be seen in works like Shakespeare's *MacBeth* and Chaucer's "The Wife of Bath's Tale". It can even be argued that, through popular culture, people have a much broader understanding of different magical practices than they may initially realise. In *Harry Potter*, for example, 'to conjure' means to make something appear, like making a rabbit appear from thin air. In works like *The Exorcist*, however, they make use of a different kind of conjuration: an exorcism, which is generally understood as compelling an entity to go away. If someone is familiar with these two examples, they might subconsciously already understand that there are different types of conjurations, that they may vary in structure – a single-word spell in *Harry Potter* versus the well-known line "May the power of Christ compel you" in *The Exorcist* – and that they have different intentions. With this level of relevance still present in modern western popular culture, it is remarkable how little academic research there is on the source materials that inspired these works.

Magic manuscripts are bodies of written work that give instructions on how to practise magic and they often also explain the powers and qualities each ritual has. Later in the middle ages, some forms of magic got written down more as opposed to existing solely in the oral tradition, which can largely be attributed to the clergymen who practiced magic.<sup>1</sup> They are not

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998: 4.

literary texts in the modern sense of the word, which could be why they are often disregarded and forgotten, even though there are contemporary sources that would suggest that some scholars at the time would have considered spirit conjuring a liberal art.<sup>2</sup> Owning and using a magic manuscript has frequently been documented in records of prosecution since the early fourteenth century, when owning such a text could sentence you to do prison time.<sup>3</sup> It could be argued that the lack of studies on these works is due to this disapproval of witchcraft, which peaked during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century but lasted all the way to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> Studying these texts, however, brings to light the culture that these magical books were surrounded by and the role that books in general could take on in society. The reactions from adversaries at the time might tell us more about how people back then generally perceived and reacted to magic. In order to base those reactions on something, it is important to study the materials in question as well. The materials also show the relation between magic and liturgy, and how a dominant culture that gives power to ritual – the church – gives room for a counterculture to come into existence in which unofficial ‘heretical’ rituals are created.<sup>5</sup>

This paper will bring to light one of the taboo magic manuscripts that detail the practices and ideas that influenced the modern understanding of the topic of spirit conjuring, and – more specifically – the differences between certain conjurations and their stronger, compelling counterparts. The manuscript is identified with shelf mark Pre-1650 MS 0102 and it is titled “Crafte of conjureynge and howe to rule the ffierye spiritts of ye planetts & make the devyle appeare”.<sup>6</sup> It is stored at the University of Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript

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<sup>2</sup> Charles Burnett, ed. “Talismans: Magic as Science? Necromancy among the Seven Liberal Arts.” *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*, 1996, 1-5: 1.

<sup>3</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in early Modern Europe: Culture, cognition, and Everyday Life*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008: 378.

<sup>5</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> “[Crafte of conjureynge and howe to rule the ffierye spiritts of ye planetts & make the devyle appeare]., [ca. 1590]”. Pre-1650 MS 0102. Pre-1650 Manuscript Collection, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 1590.

Library at Urbana-Champaign. This manuscript was selected because of how little research there is surrounding it, which exemplifies the lack of research on magic manuscripts. In addition to this, it is quite lengthy and has a substantial number of contrasting rituals. There are only three academic sources and one non-academic site that mention this manuscript, but even then, they merely describe it after its library entry or mention it in a catalogue style; none of them analyse it.<sup>7</sup>

To combat this research gap, and to make part of this manuscript readily available for further research, this paper will consist of an edition of specific parts of the manuscript – including an introduction to the art of spirit conjuring in pre-modernity – and an analysis of conjurations. The edition is based on pictures of the primary source material, which have been transcribed and made legible. The procedures by which this has been done are stated in part IV. Furthermore, the edition includes the necessary annotations that provide context or explanations for some parts of the text. Throughout the remainder of this paper, the manuscript will be referred to as MS 0102, after its shelf number at the library where it is stored. The sections selected from the manuscript are pages 11-26 and 47-55. These include virtually all elements of spirit conjuring, and they display instances in which a conjuration is supplemented by an additional compelling form when it fails to convince spirits.

An analysis of the conjurations on pages 11-26 and 47-55 of MS 0102 suggests that there are three main conjuration types – summoning, executing and licential – and that there is a distinguishable compelling form that these types can take on.

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<sup>7</sup> (described in) Valerie R Hotchkiss, and Fred C. Robinson. *English in Print: From Caxton to Shakespeare to Milton*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008: 57. – (catalogued in) C. U. Faye, W. H. Bond, and Seymour de Ricci. *Supplement to the census of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1962: 173. – (used as handwriting comparison in) Gretchin Anika Kepplinger, “Rational Magic: Hypothesizing the Occult in Early Modern England with Newberry MS 5017, The Book of Magical Charms.” (*MA Thesis*) *The University of Chicago*, 2022: 10. – (described on) “Rare Book and Manuscript Library, U of I - Double, Double Toil and Trouble.” Tumblr, 2018. <https://illinoisrbml.tumblr.com/post/166783205175/double-double-toil-and-trouble-in-honor-of>.

## Part II. Spirit conjuring in MS 0102

### The Elements of Spirit Conjuring

Before examining the manuscript's conjurations, it is useful to take a closer look at spirit conjuring and its historical context in general to get a good understanding of the subject. Spirit conjuring – which was called necromancy at the time<sup>8</sup> – is a form of ritual magic in which magicians will usually 'conjure' demons, though it does not exclude conjuring other entities like angels or the spirits of the deceased, for a certain personal advantage they can gain from the interaction. Its practitioners were usually members of the 'clerical underground', which could range – in involvement with the church – from being a monk to just having attended university.<sup>9</sup> Frank Klaassen – a historian with many titles about medieval magic practices under his name – writes that “medieval necromancy is fundamentally Christian in conception, and the operators positioned themselves as virtuous Christians.”<sup>10</sup> In MS 0102, this is often represented by the magician describing themselves as an obedient servant when addressing God directly and the fact that they trust upon the power of God to protect them during experiments. Take for example this excerpt from MS 0102 titled “A prayer o lorde Iesu”:

O, lord Iesu Christ, the sonne of the lyvinge God, I moste humblie beseche the to save and defende me, thy servante and worke of thine handes, this [24] daie and all other daies, my workes and business. And I beseech the moste holye father, redemer of the worlde, by all the wonderfull names of God, by all holye virgins *which* be in heaven and earth, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to save and defende me – N. R.<sup>11</sup>, thy servante – from all evill and incomberance this daie and ever, and in this *present* worke guide me and sende thy holye angell to *preserve* me from all evill spirites, that they have no power over me, but that I maye have power strength and authoritie from the – and in

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<sup>8</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Frank Klaassen, “Necromancy” Essay. In *Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, 201-11. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019: 201.

<sup>10</sup> Klaassen, “Necromancy”, 202.

<sup>11</sup> N.R.] this is a space for the person intending to read this prayer aloud to insert their own name. Whether this was done for the anonymity of the scribe or because the document was written on commission is up for debate.

thy name – to vanquishe, overcome and binde all evill spirites and divelles, by thy sufferance who livest and raignest, God, worlde *with* out end. Amen.<sup>12</sup>

It can be read that the magician requests God to protect them, reasoning that they work in the name of the lord, demonstrating the Christian background of the magician that copied this manuscript.

The reason it is referred to as a ritual magic practise is because spirit conjuring often consists of a lengthy ‘experiment’ in which certain preparations need to be done. The instructions that make up experiments usually include preparing a purified space where the ritual is to be performed, marking it with various inscriptions in a circle, and preparing the medium through which the spirit is to be conjured, be that with a physical form like a crystal or a glass, or an abstract form like dreams. Both of these examples occur in MS 0102. Next to the physical preparations, there are certain circumstantial things that need to be considered before starting the experiment. The instructions will often give you specific weather requirements, stages of the moon and astrological circumstances that one will have to work by for the experiment to be successful. The medieval thought – from necromancers as well as philosophers and theologians – was that the planets and the stars exuded powers that affected life on earth, which the magicians could use to their benefit.<sup>13</sup> There are even lunar charts which detail which days of the cycle of the moon are best to practice a certain type of magic on.<sup>14</sup> An example of this presents itself in MS 0102, where it says to go somewhere “In the nexte nighte after the moon changeth”.<sup>15</sup> After preparations have been done, the experiment can begin. Take this section of an experiment from MS 0102:

Take a christall stone as big as you can get it so that it be cleare *without* filthe cracke or hole. Then take a thonge of a hartes scinne<sup>16</sup> and binde about the christall sayinge ‘In nomine sancti dietatis et trinitatis die’, and so continewe in sayinge untill you

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<sup>12</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 23-24.

<sup>13</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 176.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 1990: 86.

<sup>15</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 13.

<sup>16</sup> thonge of hartes scinne] a strip of deer skin.

have wrapped up the thonge – when it is moste cleare and hott in the middest of the daye – and thou shalt se what thou wilt.<sup>17</sup>

The instructions here tell the magician that they have to wrap a glass in a strip of deer skin while chanting prayers or psalms for protection and to ask for the power of God to support them, which is just one example of the kind of instructions that can be given in experiments. There are also weather requirements written down. It also goes on to say that you have to recite the conjuration written down in the next section to trap a spirit in the glass, after which you can ask him all questions about the secrets that the spirit would have knowledge of. The instructions might also tell you to recite the conjuration while standing among or walking between certain things that you have written in the circle on the ground in your preparations, as can be read in this line, situated between parts that are meant to be read aloud: “Then the coniation *which* is before at this signe,<sup>18</sup> untill you come to these markes.<sup>19,20</sup> These circles constructed for experiments are known as magic circles.

Magic circles are drawn on or carved into the ground where an experiment takes place, but they can also be drawn on small tablets to carry around to gain power over spirits.<sup>21</sup> They accompany experiments and are often visually representative of the conjurations and instructions of said experiment. There are, however, also other kinds of engravings that are noteworthy in the manuscript. They look like magic circles, but are different in origin and function:

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<sup>17</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 47.

<sup>18</sup> The MS shows a cross-like symbol.

<sup>19</sup> The MS shows another cross-like symbol.

<sup>20</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 20.

<sup>21</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 171.

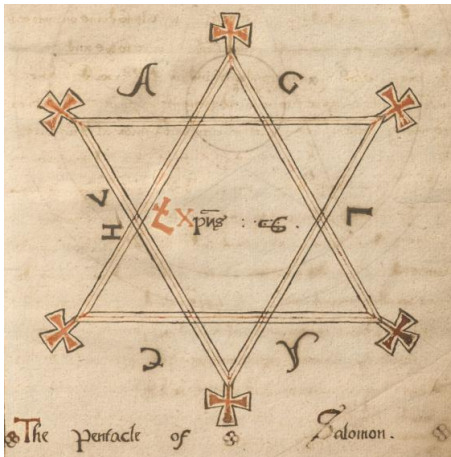


Figure 1. Pentacle of Solomon on MS p. 11



Figure 2. Pentacle of Solomon on MS p. 54

In the manuscript, this is known as the ‘Pentacle of Solomon’. The biblical king Solomon was said to possess a seal ring with which he could control demons. Later, Arabic writers assigned the term ‘seal of Solomon’ or ‘Solomon’s seal’ to hexagrams.<sup>22</sup> The sign from figure 2 is instructed to be drawn onto the magicians head or chest when working with any spirit, because “otherwise he will not heare the”.<sup>23</sup> It seems to have the same purpose as a talisman, which is an item with inscribed text or letters used in pre-modern magic: benefitting the

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Jacobs and Max Seligson, “Solomon, Seal Of.” *JewishEncyclopedia.com*, 2002. <https://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13843-solomon-seal-of>. For more on Solomon and Solomonic magic, see Julien Véronèse, “Solomonic Magic.” Essay. In *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, 187-200. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 54.



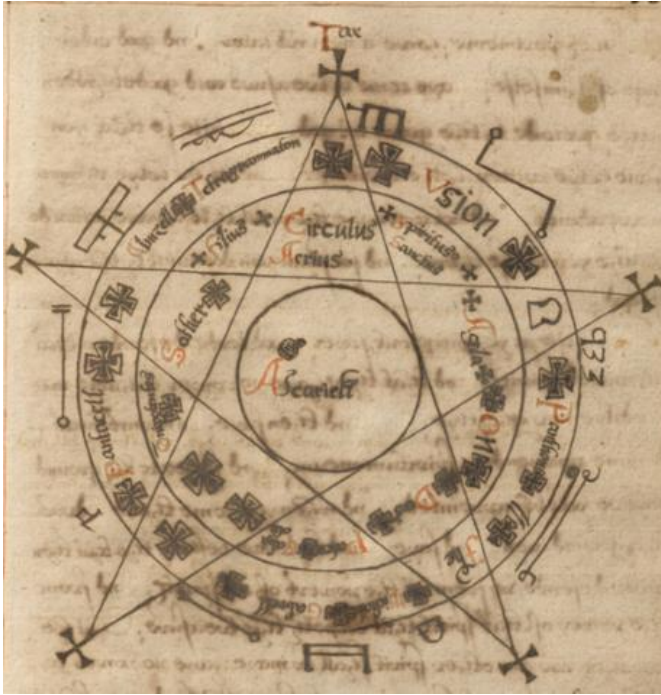


Figure 4. Magic circle for experiment for recovering stolen goods on MS p. 55

As you can see from these two examples – although similar – they can vary in form. These two make use of the same exact shapes but compose them slightly differently. All magic circles make use of geometric shapes like circles and different kinds of polygons, like squares, pentagrams and hexagrams.<sup>25</sup> Oftentimes, they are decorated with various things, like holy names, names of spirits, other possible instructions or objects that can be used like incense or candles, the positions of people involved within the experiment, and the four cardinal directions: north, east, south and west.<sup>26</sup> In figure 3, as an example of a holy name, the term ‘Tetragrammaton’ is fragmentally written in the extremities of the five pointed star, and it is also written in the outermost band of the magic circle from figure 4. Tetragrammaton is one of the names for God, meaning ‘consisting of four letters’. This is derived from the name of God in the Hebrew bible: YHWH, usually vocalised as Yahweh.<sup>27</sup> A magic circle is believed to function as a protective space, one where the magician will be safe from any harm that the

<sup>25</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 170-172.

<sup>26</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 173.

<sup>27</sup> “Online Etymology Dictionary.” Etymonline. Accessed June 14, 2024. <https://www.etymonline.com/>.

spirits conjured might have intended.<sup>28</sup> The magician would have to remain inside the bounds of the circle, while the spirits are told to appear next to it or in a separate circle. In addition to this, they might function as a focal point for holy power to be directed to, which is an older belief, and probably the original purpose of magic circles.<sup>29</sup> Later in the experiment that the circle from figure 3 is from, it can be read that the magician should make two of these circles, one for themselves and one for the spirit to appear in, and that they should be far from each other in distance, which also points to the purpose of the circle being protection. It could function like some sort of shield for the magician, and like a restraint for the spirit. One way in which the magic circle in figure 4 differs from the one in figure 3, however, is that there the circle is adorned in significantly more writing. There are 19 holy names and titles written in the bands of the circle and there are *characteres* along the outside of the outermost band. *Characteres* are cryptic, non-alphabetical symbols that can be recognised by the little ringlets at the end of the lines some of them have in the circle from figure 4.<sup>30</sup> They entered Jewish magical tradition in late antiquity, remaining relevant to this day, and they could have different purposes. Here, they most likely function as substitutes for the names of demons or angels. In this experiment – unlike the one from figure 3 – the specific spirit that the magician wants to work with is mentioned by name, which is why its name is also written in the centre of the circle.

On this magic circle, it reads “*circulus aerius*”, which translates to *circle of the air*, from which it can be concluded that this experiment works best under the influence of anything that is aligned with the element ‘air’, including the spirit that is conjured: Askariell. The notion that spirits rule the elements – fire, water, earth and air – stems from the ideas

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<sup>28</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 175-176.

<sup>29</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 175.

<sup>30</sup> Gideon Bohak, “The Charaktères in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic”. *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 47 (August), 2020, 25-44. <https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/classica/article/view/8015>.

from Neoplatonists. Another one of their beliefs was that spirits – or *daimones* – were naturally part of some kind of hierarchy, one that mirrored God’s heavenly court,<sup>31</sup> while the standard orthodox tradition viewed all demons as ranked equally under one leader: the devil. This idea of an infernal hierarchy became the standard theological tradition in the late medieval west.<sup>32</sup> Roles in this hierarchy can be exemplified by titles that spirits are sometimes called by in conjurations. There are – among other titles – kings, princes, counts and dukes, and some spirits can reign over others that fall under their power.<sup>33</sup> In MS 0102, there is a clear example of this hierarchy. In the experiment, spirits that have knowledge of hidden treasure are summoned – spirits can have certain specialisations that you can summon them by<sup>34</sup> – after which other spirits are charged by name and asked to “*without deleye, do binde and constraine these spirites which do keepe or have power over the treasure hidd in the grounde [23] or above the grounde, or any other goodes within this plott of grounde where on we nowe stande*”.<sup>35</sup> This shows that next to the devil himself, there are spirits that have a position of authority over other, lesser spirits. Various traditions also differ when it comes to beliefs about a demon’s autonomy, manifestation and alignment. The orthodox tradition presumed spirits could only act under God’s permission, while others viewed them as autonomous beings who could decide for themselves whether they would work with a magician or not.<sup>36</sup> The former also believed that spirits were immaterial, while others believed that they could be – for example – beaten with a stick when they appeared to the magician.<sup>37</sup> Opinions about the alignment of spirits vary from presuming anything that is not in scripture is evil to acknowledging that spirits are rational beings that can be good, evil or something in

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<sup>31</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 155.

<sup>32</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 155.

<sup>33</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 160.

<sup>34</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 161.

<sup>35</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 22.

<sup>36</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 154.

<sup>37</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 159.

between.<sup>38</sup> Likewise, the spirits that are conjured are not always necessarily seen as an evil or ‘fallen’ being, like how Lucifer fell from heaven. Richard Kieckhefer – another historian who works with medieval magic manuscripts – argues that certain threats made towards spirits imply that they are not completely damned or fallen yet.<sup>39</sup> These sorts of threats occur in MS 0102, for example where it says that the magician will “excommunicate you and curse you and binde you in fierye chaines, dome and dease in the moste stronge paine of hell, [...] unless you come forth *with* and fulfill my requeste”.<sup>40</sup> The threat of excommunication would only be effective for spirits that are not fallen, or spirits that are but are still somewhat redeemable.

Spirits are spoken to in the experiments, and these spoken messages are known as conjurations. They serve as the line of clear communication between magician and spirit. One could argue that conjurations are probably the most imperative element of all, as they make up a substantial portion of the overall amount of text in the experiments in MS 0102. Without them, there would be no clear message, less power to the experiment and no real way to guarantee that the right spirits are being addressed.

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<sup>38</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 154, 158.

<sup>39</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 157-158.

<sup>40</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 20.

### Part III. Analysing Conjurations in MS 0102

#### Structure and Types

A conjuration is one of the elements that is needed to practice necromancy. Many people in the later medieval centuries believed that spoken words – which is what conjurations are – have the inherent ability to alter the world around them and their experience in it.<sup>41</sup> They are essentially the verbal communication that you intend to pass on to the spirit, and they virtually always consist of four ‘building blocks’: The declaration, the address, the invocations and the instructions.<sup>42</sup> The conjurations in MS 0102 also follow this format. Some are longer than others due to the number of invocations used, the specification of the instruction and the repetition of all elements. Take this beginning part of a conjuration from MS 0102:

I coniure the or you spirites, and all evill spirites subiecte in what place of the earth ye do abide – *which* do keepe this treasure, and have anye power over it, or anye other good in the earth, by the space of one hundred elles rounde aboute in breadth height and deepnes, from whence this peece of earth was taken, *which* lieth in that circle appointed for you to appeare to me – that you quicklie come and appeare to me *without* deleye or noise or hurting of me or any other creatures.<sup>43</sup>

Please note that this is not a complete conjuration and that building blocks can repeat themselves throughout one to further specify certain instructions and invocations. The phrase “I coniure” is the declaration and the opening of the conjuration. This sets the tone when it comes to understanding between both parties. It expresses commandment and it makes clear what the magician’s intention is.<sup>44</sup> In MS 0102, the declaration predominantly takes on the ‘I coniure’ form, but verbs like ‘command’, ‘charge’, ‘compel’ and ‘exorcize’ are also common

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<sup>41</sup> Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 75.

<sup>42</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 127.

<sup>43</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 13.

<sup>44</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 131.

and mean the same thing.<sup>45</sup> The addressee here is “...the or you spirites, and all evill spirites ... for you to appeare to me...”. There is no specific name mentioned in this conjuration and it is not even made clear whether it is one singular or multiple spirits that are being conjured. The magician, however, describes the situation in great detail so that the spirits who fit this description will know that they are being spoken to. The invocations function as sources of holiness from which the magician draws their authority and power, and they usually take on the format of ‘by [the power of]...’. Including them should enhance the power and effect of a conjuration.<sup>46</sup> Invocations can be holy persons or events within Christian history, whether they are mentioned in the bible or not, but also things from the material world, like the four elements. Kieckhefer proposes nine categories of things that can be invoked: 1, God. 2, Sacred names for God or Christ. 3, Events from the life of Christ (usually emphasizing the Passion). 4, The saints. 5, The Virgin Mary. 6, The angels. 7, Material things. 8, The Last Judgement. 9, The rulers of the demons.<sup>47</sup> A significant amount of these categories are present in MS 0102, which you can see in this later section from the same conjuration as the one mentioned before:

O, you spirites, *with* all your companye, I coniure you by the fier and the water, by the earth and ayre, and by the heade of *Saint* Iohn Baptist, and by all the patriarkes, prophetes, appostles, marters, confessores and virgines, and under the paine of everlastinge damnation, that you appeare visiblie before me or us – in the circle *which* is made for you – in the faire forme of a man. I coniure you *with* all your fellowes under the paines of everlastinge damnation, and malidiction of the holie church, and by your continuall remayninge in hell untill the daye of iudgmente, that you arise and appeare quicklye in the likenes of a man and fulfill all my desire. By the vertue and power of him *which* shall come [17] to iudge the quicke and the dead<sup>48</sup> and the worlde by fier, I charge and commande you spirites by the strength and power of the holye and inseparable trenetie, the father, sonne and holye ghost.

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<sup>45</sup> Kieckhefer writes that the word ‘exorcism’ is commonly used for casting out demons specifically, but that its meaning is fluid and can also mean something similar to the word ‘adjure’, which simply means to urge or command (Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 70.)

<sup>46</sup> Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 71.

<sup>47</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 137-138.

<sup>48</sup> the quicke and the dead] the living and the dead.

However, there is another category of invocations in MS 0102 that is not mentioned by Kieckhefer: infamous magicians. The two magicians that are named in the manuscript – Cyprian and Solomon – have legendary status due to their alleged ability to rule over demons,<sup>49</sup> which is why it could be argued that they have their own category within invocations. Even though Cyprian and Solomon – though Solomon only in the Orthodox church – are both saints, they are not grouped with the other saints that are mentioned in MS 0102, neither addressed as such. The emphasis seems to lie on their ability to conjure spirits rather than their holy status. Then, in the previously exemplified section, there is the instruction: “that you quicklie come and appeare to me *without* deleye or noise or hurting of me or any other creatures”. This part is the purpose of the conjuration; it describes what the magician wants the spirit or spirits to do. These elements are repeated, with the instructions elaborating on what the magician exactly wants from the spirits.

Kieckhefer – with regards to the *Munich Manual of Demonic Magic* – also suggests that conjurations are most usefully divided into two categories, summoning and executing conjurations, and he mentions that other necromantic texts speak of obediencial conjurations, where a spirit is made to obey, and binding conjurations, through which a spirit is not allowed to leave until a task has been completed.<sup>50</sup> MS 0102 is best served when combining these observations, and categorising the conjurations in three separate types: summoning conjurations, executing conjurations and licential conjurations. The main way to identify each conjuration type is by looking at their instructions.

Summoning conjurations are for asking or commanding spirits to appear to the magician. This can be quite concise, like “...that you arise and appeare quicklye in the likenes of a man...”<sup>51</sup> or slightly more elaborate, like “...that thou wilte come into this christall stone

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<sup>49</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 171.

<sup>50</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 141.

<sup>51</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 16.

certainlye *without* deleye in thy *proper personage* and the signe of the crosse uppon thy heade...”.<sup>52</sup> Sometimes the instructions build up throughout the conjuration to give more detailed commandments. This is what a summoning conjuration may look like with all building blocks included:

I coniure the, Askariell or Abibon, Beab, Centone, Messitone, Loothon, Missecon, Miseron, *which* dwelleth in bosto, I coniure the by the father, the sonne and the holye ghost – *which* is Alpha and Omega – and our God of life, and the strength of God, and by all his ineffable names, that thou in this christall stone, in this hower and *without* tarienge, come in thy *proper personne*, trulye and in faire forme and manner, and that *with* a signe of the crosse on thy head visiblie, and shewe unto me and all that stande *with* me, and soone appeare thou and thy fellowes *with* the bringe, and that I maye openlye the see by my *precepte* and coniurations...<sup>53</sup>

In this manuscript, it is often required that they show themselves in a proper way, one that does not incite fear in the magician, or anyone involved.

Executing conjurations make clear what is expected of the spirits. In these, the magician will tell the spirits what tasks they need to do, be that bringing something or answering questions. “...that you appeare and make me a true answere and a derecte answere to my requeste, and that you fulfill – *with* all diligence and speed – my demandes and requestes”.<sup>54</sup> “...that you nothinge hidd nor keepe from me nor anye thinge *withhoulde* from me, but trulye answer to all thinges that I shall require or aske of the”.<sup>55</sup> They offer insight into why the magician decided to summon a certain spirit, as spirits can have their own specialisations. If you want a spirit to make a woman fall in love with you, you should conjure up a spirit that is known to be able to do that.

I charge and commande you to arise and appeare vissible unto me in the circle *which* is made for you before my or our cercle and face, in faire forme and likenes of a man bringinge *with* you – manifestlie to our sighte – the treasure or any other good hidd theare in the plot of grounde from whence I tooke that peece of earth, or *within* an hundred elles of it rounde aboute it – both in deepnes, breadth, and height, and lengthe

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<sup>52</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 48.

<sup>53</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 50.

<sup>54</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 19.

<sup>55</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 51.

– *without deceite or crafte, without deminishinge of it. And that ye laye it uppon the grounde which is between your circle mine or ours to my or our use.*<sup>56</sup>

Here you can see that the instructions can get extremely specific, which may prevent the spirit from doing something that is very similar to what you asked it to do, but doing something different. This would completely change the outcome of the experiment. It could, for example, look for treasure in the wrong place, or find the treasure for you but not actually hand it over.

Licential conjurations intend to ‘release’ the spirits, usually back to where they came from. This could be done to prevent the spirit from sticking around unwantedly. MS 0102 at one point gives you directions to a conjuration like this after finishing up an experiment: “And if thou wilte have him goe oute of the stone, in the end is the lycence”.<sup>57</sup> The ‘lycence’ goes as follows: “Ye maye departe unto the place wheare our lorde Iesus Christ hath appointed you, and be ye redie to come againe to fulfill my *precepte*, the curse of God the father almightie, the sonne and the holye ghost maye raigne over the...”.<sup>58</sup>

The reason this categorisation works so well for MS 0102 is that every conjuration has at least one of these types as their main purpose, if not more than that, as the first two categories – summoning and executing – are often combined within a singular conjuration.<sup>59</sup> A very simplified example would look like this: “I conjure you spirits to appear to me and answer my questions”. This, along with the repetition of the building blocks, can cause a conjuration to be particularly long. There is one ‘type’ of conjuration that is left out by combining the categorisations previously mentioned by Kieckhefer: binding conjurations. I propose, however, that binding conjurations are compelling executing conjurations. The suggestion is that when a conjuration is compelling, it is a regular conjuration that takes on a

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<sup>56</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 14.

<sup>57</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 49.

<sup>58</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 54.

<sup>59</sup> Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 142.

compelling form. This way, all conjuration types can take on a coercive form without it having to become a separate category of conjurations on its own.

### The Compelling Form

The compelling form, like mentioned before, is used to make unruly spirits obey the magician's commands. Conjurations can either be completely compelling or partially, where there are only certain areas – usually the end – that have compelling elements. In MS 0102, conjurations that are wholly compelling often follow a phrase like “Yf he or they appeare not saye this coniuration following”,<sup>60</sup> “Yf he do not appeare saye...”<sup>61</sup> and “Yf he do not appeare call...”.<sup>62</sup> There are several ways in which the scribe expresses a sense of urgency, authority and intimidation towards the spirit that are not always present in the main types, which indicates that the compelling form is present. Analysing the conjurations in which the compelling form is present broadens our understanding of the way that magicians would communicate with the spirits they intended to summon.

One way the compelling form is identified is by the manner in which the conjuration is performed by the magician. The manuscript, in a few instances, tells the magician to condemn the spirit if it refuses to listen: “If they come not condemne him thus”.<sup>63</sup> With the term ‘condemn’ comes a sense of anger and intimidation. This would translate into the part of the experiment that requires the magician to read the conjuration aloud, because an angry, booming voice uttering threats would be more likely to intimidate a demon than one that is mildly tempered. This is an intimidation tactic that has clearly influenced modern works of fiction about demonic possessions, where the priests performing an exorcism will raise their voice at the spirit in a very imposing manner.

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<sup>60</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 20.

<sup>61</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 51.

<sup>62</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 51.

<sup>63</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 48.

Sometimes the compelling form includes binding a spirit to an object or location. The spirit will be instructed to re-appear in the number of days specified by the magician, which basically gives the spirit a second chance to oblige: ... “and to departe and avoide this grounde for 2 daies space and not to retorne before the same time be expired, as you and they will answeere to the contrarie before our lorde and saviour Iesus Christ at the daie of iudgmente”.<sup>64</sup> Here, they are given two days to leave and think about whether they want to find out if those threats given by the magician would actually become a reality for them if they still do not oblige after the given time. It could also be argued that spirits might be more inclined to accept orders when the verb ‘to bind’ is used because the words that the magician utters become tangible to them, physically binding them to an item or place by the power of the invocations that are used: “...excommunicate you and curse you and binde you in fierye chaines”.<sup>65</sup>

Occasionally, the magician makes sure that the spirit knows it is a lesser being than them so that it will obey their commands. This would be done by confidently reminding the spirit of its obedience to the lord, and thus, to the magicians who derive their authority from God. There is no doubt in the magician’s words that the spirits would always be subject to the power of magicians. These are examples of some instances from MS 0102: “...by the wisdome of kinge Salomon by *which* he broughte you under his power...”,<sup>66</sup> “I charge uppon your obedience to our lorde Iesus Christ that ye come and appeare...”,<sup>67</sup> “...by the power *which* he hath over the...”.<sup>68</sup>

Another way to enhance a conjuration is by putting a heavier focus on invocations. There seems to be more emphasis on chains of invocations that are unbroken by declarations

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<sup>64</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 23.

<sup>65</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 20.

<sup>66</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 26.

<sup>67</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 26.

<sup>68</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 49.

or addresses. This is especially obvious in conjurations that follow the scribe's advice on what to do if the previous conjuration does not work. For example, after a certain conjuration, it reads "Yf he or they appeare not saye this coniuuration following",<sup>69</sup> followed by a conjuration with a lengthy list of invocations:

...by Iesu Christ, the spoyler of hell, by the power invincible of the father, the sonne and the holye ghost, by the glorious virgin Marye, mother of our lorde Iesu Christ, by the holye *Prophetes*, by *Saint* Iohn Baptist, by the 2 tables of Moses<sup>70</sup>, by the vertue of *Saint* Michael the archangell, *which* did drive you out and all other evill spirites out of heaven, by the vertue *which* God gave to glorious Siprian – marter<sup>71</sup> – *which* did binde you and all evill spirites at his pleasure, by the most wise and conning kinge [21] Salomon, *which* made you to obeye his commandementes, by the fearfull daye of iudgmente, in the *which* mankind shall appeare, by the 5 woundes of our lorde Iesu Christ, by the anuntiation, preachinge and death of Christ, by his glorious resurrection and assention and by the sendinge of the holye ghost amonge his disciples. By all holye angelles, archangelles, Thrones, Dominations, Principates, Potestates, Virtutes, Cherubin, and Seraphin, and by all his holye appostles, evangelistes, marters, confessorres, virgines, and by all the holye electe of God, by all the vertues of heaven and by all the dolors and grefes of our blessed ladie, by the assumption of our ladie and the glorious coronation...

In addition to this, there is a sum of names of God following "Yf he do not appeare saye...":<sup>72</sup>

...by these holye names of the omnipotente God: Christi, Veriall, Acu, Leta, Apres, Heloy, Vesea, Virmis, Bonus, On, Princeps, Primogenits, Sapientia, Virtus, Alpha, Omega, Caput, Fons, Origo, Paraclitus, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Emanuell, Spes, Os, Verbum, Lux, Imago, Sol, Panis, Flos, Vitis, Mons, Ianua, Petra, Lapis, Pastor, *Propheta*, *Sacerdos*, Athanatos, Kyros, Theon, Panton, Craton, Messias, Sother, Sabaoth, Adonay, Anepheneton, Ysus, Egidion, Ulla, Abniago, Hereth, Obrein, Cerothon, Conechalsea, Semath.

And then again following "Yf he do not appeare call...":<sup>73</sup>

...by the father almightie and by Iesus Christ his owne sonne, and by the holye ghost precedinge of them both and by the vertue of all the holye sacramentes of the church and by the vertue of the sacramente of Christes owne bodie, and by the vertues of his owne substance, and by the prudence that God had in minde of the world when it was made, and by the beatitude he had after the worlde was created, [52] and by the vertue of the earth and all that is therin, and by the vertue of the sea and all that is therein, and by the vertue of the *quator*<sup>74</sup> elimentes afore named and all that *pertaine* to them, and

<sup>69</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 20.

<sup>70</sup> 2 tables of Moses] exodus 31:18 (Michael Coogan, *New Oxford Annotated Bible with apocrypha: New revised standard version*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018: 128.).

<sup>71</sup> Siprian] Cyprian is a saint who was also a magician (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 171.).

<sup>72</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 51.

<sup>73</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 51.

<sup>74</sup> quator] Latin: 'four'.

by the wisdom that God ordered both daye and nighte, and by the vertue of the holye and blessed virgin *Saint Marye*, Christes owne mother, and by the vertue of all the holye appostles, evangelistes and the disciples of Christ, and by all the holye marters and confessores, and by all virgines and *saintes* in heaven, and by the vertue of all angelles and archangelles, Thrones, Dominations, Principates, Potestates, Virtututes, Cherubin and Seraphin, and by the vertue of all the holie *saintes*, and by the vertue of all holye men lyvinge in the worlde, and by the vertue of all *precious stones*, fruites and hearbes that ever God made, and by the firmamente of heaven and earth...

Conjurations in the compelling form seem to be more concerned with drawing the most power from the invocations as possible than regular ones. Kieckhefer writes that the magician relies on ‘sacred power’ to help him in his feud with a spirit that is disobedient,<sup>75</sup> so a higher number of invocations would probably lead to a larger amount of this sacred power that would be provided through them.

The main purpose of this form is to let the spirit know that they will be in trouble if it is disobedient. The spirit is threatened with the greatest pains of hell, excommunication and is cursed by the magician.

By the virtue of his paines, and as he was handled *with* cordes upon the crosse, and his lefte hande nayled upon the crosse, so be ye, spiritus, nayled and handled *with* the most stronge paines of hell, and fierye roopes bounde till ye do come and appeare visiblie unto me. By the vertue of the paines *which* Christ did suffer upon the crosse, so be ye, spiritus, nayled and thrust thorowe *with* the paines of everlastinge damnation in hell. By the vertue of the paines that Christ did sustaine in his lefte foote upon the crosse, so be ye, spiritus, punished *with* paines of fier *which* shall continuallye burne. Excepte ye appeare quicklye and bringe the treasure to me, and laye it on the grounde betwene my circle and yours to my use.<sup>76</sup>

The spirit will most definitely be suffering and punished, perhaps even eternally according to this excerpt, with fiery pains; unless it does what it is told. It is often only after mentioning these harrowing foresights that the magician lets the spirit know that it can escape this future by obeying their commands. This may be done this way to make the threat the strongest point of the conjuration, which then has a larger chance of persuading or intimidating the spirit. One

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<sup>75</sup> Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Pre-1650 MS 0102, 18.

can imagine that carrying out a task for some magician is much lesser of a nuisance than a future that consists of eternal damnation.

### Conclusion

The conjurations within MS 0102 can be categorised into three conjuration types, based on the sort of things they are used for: summoning a spirit, making a spirit perform tasks and allowing the spirit to depart. In addition to this, there is a compelling form that the conjuration types can take on, which can be identified through multiple factors.

These conjuration types can be distinguished from one another by looking at their ‘instruction’ building block. If the instruction tells a spirit to come and show itself to the magician, it is a summoning conjuration; if the instruction tells a spirit to do something for the magician to benefit them in some way, it is an executing conjuration; and if the instruction tells a spirit to go back to where they came from, it is a licential conjuration. This categorisation serves MS 0102 best because its conjurations always have at least one of these as their main purpose, if not more. The conjuration types can merge and form one large, combined conjuration, but will remain in the order of summoning > executing > licential. The compelling form is a way to add to a conjuration so that it holds more power and is more coercive than the regular version. A conjuration can be compelling from start to finish, but it can also only have compelling elements in specific parts or at the very end. It can be identified through the discourse analysis of various semantic and contextual elements, such as making the spirit feel like a lesser being, spewing threatening messages towards the spirit and laying a heavier emphasis on drawing power from invocations.

With these findings, a greater understanding of the source material for modern popular culture references to conjurations can be achieved. To illustrate, the utterances used in *The Exorcist* and *Harry Potter* mentioned in the introduction to this paper can be identified as

compelling licential conjurations and summoning conjurations respectively. The categorisation that is proposed here is a new suggestion in the scarcely explored field of the study on medieval and early modern magic, which might add to our appreciation of how and for what purposes conjurations were used. The identified factors of the compelling form give insight into what communication strategies magicians at the time would use to coerce a spirit to comply.

With all previously mentioned, this paper aims to reduce the size of the research gap on the subject of spirit conjuring – which is unfortunately still very under-researched – as well as provide more legible source material that others may use to study the position of magic manuscripts in society with regard to the religious consensus and their perception of magic at the time. I would suggest that further research is needed to increase our understanding of both sides of this religious spectrum: those that practice demonic magic and those that condemn it.

And lastly, to sign this paper off in theme:

*And if thou wilt have me goe oute of this document, in the end is the lycence.*

## Part IV. MS 0102

### Description of MS 0102

General information: MS 0102, a manuscript on early modern magic practices, is currently stored in the University of Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Urbana-Champaign with shelf mark Pre-1650 MS 0102. It is titled ‘*Crafte of conjureynge and howe to rule the ffierye spiritts of ye planetts & make the devyle appeare*’, after the first full sentence in the document at the bottom of page 1. It consists of 54 pages of paper with dimensions of 190 x 150 mm, and it was bound in limp vellum in 2007. The text was presumably copied from other works around 1590 in England, but the earliest point it has been definitively traced back to is when it was purchased from Raphael King in 1955.<sup>77</sup>

Language: It is written primarily in English, with parts in Latin. These parts, however, are often translated to English in the next line or section.

Script: According to its library entry, the text is written in the Elizabethan Secretary Hand, and there are glosses added by later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century hands. The document has no original page numbering, but there are page numbers added at the top of each page by one of the later hands.

Contents: Page 1 through 5 functions as some sort of preface to the rest of the MS, as it explains the qualities and functions of the astrological signs. It details what cardinal directions the signs lie in, to what house they belong and what kind of magic they work best for. From then on – so until page 107 – there are experiments, conjurations, prayers and magic circles and symbols. Some of the sections are connected to one another, like an experiment that is prefaced by a prayer, followed by a conjuration, and closed off by an illustration of a

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<sup>77</sup> “Crafte of Conjureynge and Howe to Rule the Ffierye Spiritts of Ye Planetts & Make the Devyle Appeare.” WorldCat.org. Accessed July 5, 2024. <https://search.worldcat.org/nl/title/70560589>.

magic circle. For this paper, two sections that each contain all of these elements have been selected: pages 11-26 and 47-55.

Discussion: The fact that there are few swooping ascenders and descenders – a major characteristic of the Elizabethan Secretary Hand – in the script in MS 0102 might indicate that the script is more of a transitional one between Secretary and Italic. Comparing it to typical Secretary hands shows that the hand in MS 0102 is way more controlled and compressed. This would suggest that the text was written sometime after 1600 and not late 16<sup>th</sup> century, since that would be very early for such a transitional script.<sup>78</sup> There are no visible watermarks in the pages of the manuscript, so it was not possible to deduce when exactly the paper was produced, which would have given more insight into the origins of the text.

### Editorial Principles

U and V distinctions have been modernised. Later glosses are ignored. Things added by original scribe are in bold. Abbreviations are in italics. Symbols have been spelled out and annotated. Spelling errors have been corrected. The words that are repeated in the margins at the bottom of the previous page are left out. Punctuation and use of capital letters has been modernised, so capital letters are implemented for the start of a sentence, names, and titles. Scribbles that function as line fillers or points of focus have been ignored. Besides these, the text will follow its original form. Please note that the second person singular pronoun ‘thee’ is often used but spelled like *the*. Explanations for words in annotations have been sourced from the Middle English Dictionary.<sup>79</sup>

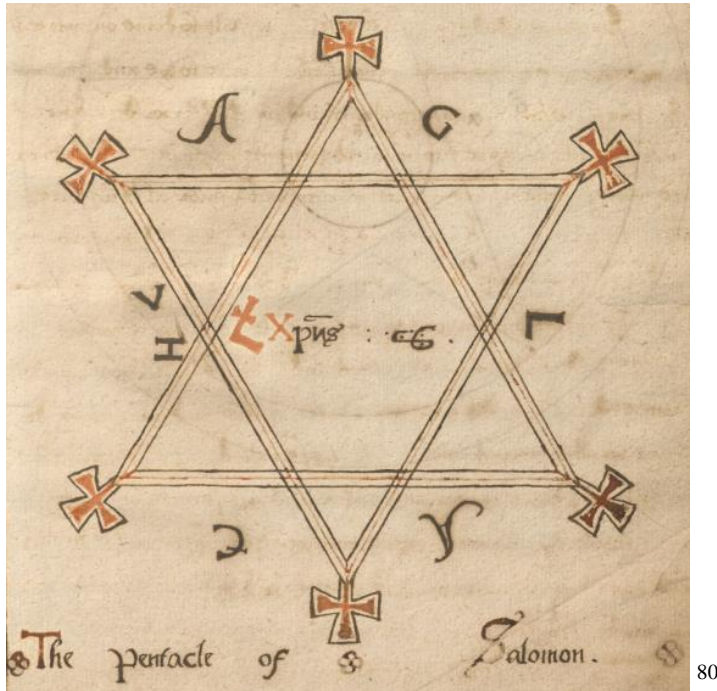
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<sup>78</sup> Giles E. Dawson, and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton. *Elizabethan Handwriting, 1500-1650: A Manual*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1966; Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977.

<sup>79</sup> “Middle English Dictionary.” Middle English Compendium. Accessed June 14, 2024. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>.

Edition

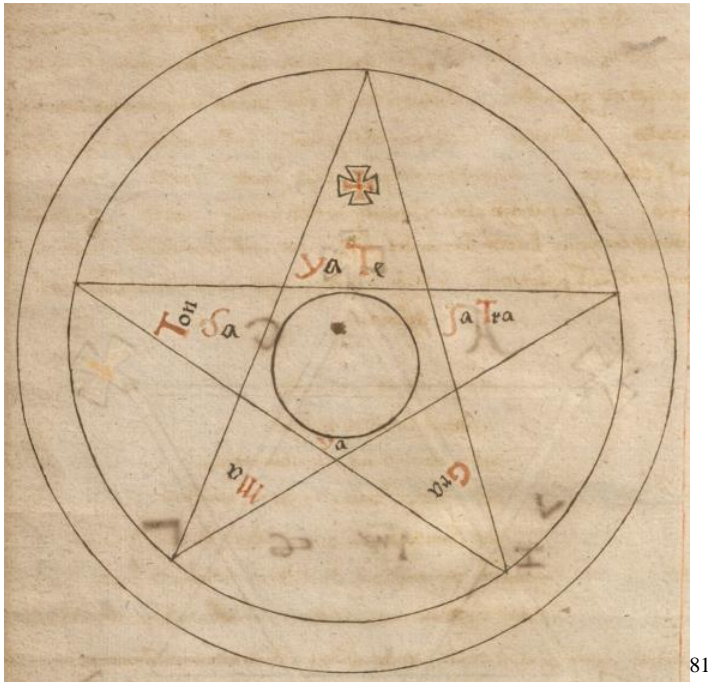
[11] [Pentacle of Solomon]



<sup>80</sup> [Ignoring *caracteres*, around:] A G L A | [centre:] *Christus* | The Pentacle of Solomon

\* Agla is an abbreviation of the Hebrew phrase *Ata gibor leolam Adonai* 'Thou art mighty for ever, o lord', and is used as one of the names for God (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 139).

[12] [Magic circle]



[13] [Experiment, conjurations and prayers for finding hidden treasure] Pro thesaurus abscondit.<sup>82</sup> Hidd treasure.

In the nexte nighte after the moon<sup>83</sup> changeth, go to the place where anye treasure is hidd, and take from thence a clott or peece of that earthe or grounde, and carrie it to the place wheare you meane to woorke. Make your circle for the spirit, and another for thy selfe and fellowes, beinge distante from the spirites circle, 3, 5 or 9 foote. Then put the clott of earth in the spirites circle, then knele downe on your knees towards the east and saye this oration and prayers *which* followeth, in the name of the moste mercifull God, as followeth:

<sup>81</sup> [Around:] Ya Sa Ya Sa | [Around:] Te Tra Gra Ma Ton

\*Tetragrammaton is one of the names for God, meaning 'consisting of four letters'. This is derived from the name of God in the Hebrew bible: YHWH, usually vocalised as Yahweh (Online Etymology Dictionary) | Ya Sa Ya Sa is probably also used as a name for God.

<sup>82</sup> Pro thesaurus abscondit] Latin: 'For hidden treasure'.

<sup>83</sup> moon] in MS crescent moon symbol.

“Deus fortis et patiente. <sup>84</sup>

Oro deus sanctiet patiens. <sup>85</sup>

Deus in nomine tuo, salu um me fac. <sup>86</sup>

Deus miseriatur nostri. <sup>87</sup>

Miserere mei deus. <sup>88</sup>

Nunc demittis *seruum tuum*. <sup>89</sup>

Laudate domine omnes gentes. <sup>90</sup>

Magnificat. <sup>91</sup>

Deus deus meus respice. <sup>92</sup>

“I coniure the or you spirites, and all evill spirites subiecte in what place of the earth ye do abide – *which* do keepe this treasure, and have anye power over it, or anye other good in the earth, by the space of one hundred elles rounde aboute in breadth height and deepnes, from whence this peece of earth was taken, *which* lieth in that circle appointed for you to appeare to me – that you quicklie come and appeare to me *without* deleye or noise or hurting of me or any other creatures. [14] I charge and commande you to arise and appeare vissible unto me in the circle *which* is made for you before my or our cercle and face, in faire forme and likenes of a man bringinge *with* you – manifestlie to our sighte – the treasure or any other good hidd theare in the plot of grounde from whence I tooke that peece of earth, or *within* an hundred elles of it rounde aboute it – both in deepnes, breadth, and height, and lengthe – *without* deceite or crafte, *without* deminishinge of it. And that ye laye it uppon the grounde *which* is

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<sup>84</sup> Latin: ‘God is strong and patient’. Could be referring to Psalm 7:11 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 779).

<sup>85</sup> Latin: ‘I pray that God will sanctify the patient’. Could be referring to 1 Thessalonians 5:23 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 2079).

<sup>86</sup> Psalm 54 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 817).

<sup>87</sup> Psalm 67 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 826).

<sup>88</sup> Psalm 51 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 815).

<sup>89</sup> Song of Simeon, Luke 2:29-32 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 1833).

<sup>90</sup> Psalm 117 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 870).

<sup>91</sup> Luke 1:46-55 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 1831).

<sup>92</sup> Psalm 22 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 790).

between your circle mine or ours to my or our use. I coniure the or you spirites – by what names so ever you be called – that you come and bringe the same treasure hidd in the grounde, frome whence that peece of earth was brought, and I charge and commande you in the name of Iesus Christ, that you fulfil my will and request, and that you laye the treasure what so ever it be on the grounde between your circle and mine. That I maye **have** it in my guidinge and governance *without* hurte or harme, and that you departe frome me so soone as I shall commande you to the place appointed for you of<sup>93</sup> God frome the beginninge. In the name of the father et *cetera*<sup>94</sup>. By the vertue of the passion of our lorde Iesus Christ, *which* shalbe heare saide to his praise and to binde you. I coniure you spirites where soever you be *with* all your power. By heaven, by earth, by the sea, and by hell, and by all things contained in them, and by all the words that God spake in the creation of the worlde and of all creatures. By the first worde *which* God spake when he made lighte sayinge: ‘Let there be [15] lighte made’ and it was made. The seconde worde when he created the firmamente in the midst of the waters. That it might separte one water frome another. The thirde worde in gatheringe the waters together, *which* weare under heaven, sayinge: ‘Let the waters be gathered together, *which* are under heaven, and let the earth be drie’. The fourth worde when he made trees and hearbes to growe sayinge: ‘Let the earth bringe forthe greene grasse and fruite, and let the trees in their kinde bringe forthe the fruite *which* is *within* them selves uppon the earth.’ The fifte worde when he made the sun<sup>95</sup> the moon<sup>96</sup> and the starres, sayinge: ‘Let lighte be made in the firmamente of heaven. That they maye devide the daie from the nighte, and let the daies and years be tokens that they maie shine in the firmamente and lighten the earth.’ The sixte worde was when he made fishes and foules, sayinge: ‘Let the waters bringe forth all manner

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<sup>93</sup> appointed ... of] to put in charge.

<sup>94</sup> et cetera] this implies that this part of the text has appeared before, and that the scribe did not find it necessary to write it out.

<sup>95</sup> sun] in MS sun symbol.

<sup>96</sup> moon] in MS crescent moon symbol.

of creeping things that have life and that can flie upon the earthe under the firmamente of heaven'. The seventh worde when he saide – blessing them: 'Increase and multiplie and fill the earth, the waters and the sea'. The eighte worde when he made beastes, wormes and serpentes, sayinge: 'Let the earth bringe forthe all livinge thinges and beastes in their kinde'. The ninthe worde when he made man unto our owne likenes and let him be heade over the fishes in the sea, birdes of the aire and beastes of the earth, and all creatures that moove in the earth. [16] The tenth worde when he created man and woman and blessed them, sayinge: 'Increase and multiplie, and fill all the earth, and lett all livinge things be under and in subiexion to them'. And by all the words *which* God spake unto Moses, and to all other prophetes – and by the 4 elimentes – and by all the vertues of heaven – and by all the holye names of God – by the incarnation of Iesus Christ – by his nativitie and passion – by the shedding of his moste *precious* bloude – by his sepulchre – by his glorious resurrection and ascention – and by the comminge of the holye ghoste – by the fearefull daye of iudgmente, when Iesus Christ shall come to iudge you and all mankind. O, you spirites, *with* all your companie, I coniure you by the fier and the water, by the earth and ayre, and by the heade of *Saint* Iohn Baptist, and by all the patriarkes, prophetes, appostles, marters, confessores and virgines, and under the paine of everlastinge damnation, that you appeare visiblie before me or us – in the circle *which* is made for you – in the faire forme of a man. I coniure you *with* all your fellowes under the paines of everlastinge damnation, and malidiction of the holie church, and by your continuall remayninge in hell untill the daye of iudgmente, that you arise and appeare quicklye in the likenes of a man and fulfill all my desire. By the vertue and power of him *which* shall come [17] to iudge the quicke and the dead<sup>97</sup> and the worlde by fier, I charge and commande you spirites by the strength and power of the holye and inseparable trenetie, the father, sonne and holye ghost. I commande you spirites *with* all your companie in the

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<sup>97</sup> the quicke and the dead] the living and the dead.

great power, strength and feare of almightie God, most holye father in heaven and in earthe. By the vertue of all his miracles, and by all the holye words of God – unto whome glorye is given both in heaven and in earth – arise you, o you spirites. I charge you in Gods holye name. I coniure you by the greate power and strengthe of Iesus Christ, the sonne of God and holye kinge of glorye – and by the vertue of his moste glorious wisdome – and by the vertue of all his godlines and purenes – by the vertue of all his mercie – and by his love and sweetnes – by his cleannes *which* do raigne in eternall glorye *with* his father in maiestie – and by the fearefull daye of iudgmente, in *which* he shall iudge all mankind both lyvinge and deade, divelles, elves, and all wicked spirites. By Iesus Christ the sonne of the virgin Marye, arise – o, you spirites – uppon the earth, visiblie to my sighte in the likenes of a man, and speake – ye spirites – to me and give me a true answer of all suche thinges I shall aske or demande of you. Arise, o ye spirites. I coniure and warne you in the vertue of the holye ghost, and by the vertue of all his mercies, by the power and strength of the holye ghost, *which* he hath raigne *with* the father and [18] the sonne in trinitie, 3 personnes and one God almightie in eternall glorie. Arise, o ye spirites, by the vertuous glorie of God, and by the vertuous vertue of all creatures praisinge the lorde God, by the vertue of God and of all things that God made – beinge alive or deade, moveable or immoveable – praisinge the almightie God. Arise, o ye spirites. I charge and compell you in the strength and by the strength of the passion of Iesus Christ, and by his sweete face *which* was covered *with* bloode in his holye passion. Arise, ye spirites, by the vertue and strength of the mightie righte hande of Iesus Christ, *which* was nayled on the crosse and pearsed throughe. So be ye, ye spirites, striken *with* the paines of hell. By the virtue of his paines, and as he was handled *with* cordes uppon the crosse, and his lefte hande nayled uppon the crosse, so be ye, spirites, nayled and handled *with* the most stronge paines of hell, and fierye roopes bounde till ye do come and appeare visiblie unto me. By the vertue of the paines *which* Christ did suffer uppon the crosse, so be ye, spirites, nayled

and thrust thorowe *with* the paines of everlastinge damnation in hell. By the vertue of the paines that Christ did sustaine in his lefte foote upon the crosse, so be ye, spirites, punished *with* paines of fier *which* shall continuallye burne. Excepte ye appeare quicklye and bringe the treasure to me, and laye it on the grounde betwene my circle and yours to my use. That speare [19] *which* did open the side of our saviour Iesus Christ maye pearce you spirites also *with* moste stronge strokes of flames of fier and thunder, and of all the tormente of divelles in hell. The paines of hell lyghte upon you, o ye spirites, excepte you come quicklye and appeare visiblie to my sighte. Arise, o ye spirites. I coniure you by the stronge passion of our lorde Iesu Christ and by the vertue of his moste *precious* blood and water *which* Christ did shedd in his bitter passion, And by the words that he saide to his mother ‘Woman, beholde thy sonne’ and to his disciple ‘Beholde thy mother’, and by the vertue of his patience *which* did praye for when saying ‘Father, forgive them. They knowe not what they doo’,<sup>98</sup> and by the worde he said in his tormentes: ‘Hely, Hely, lamazabathany ’, *which* is ‘My God, any God, why haste thou forsaken me?’,<sup>99</sup> and by the worde it is finished. Father, into thy handes I commit my spirit, and by the vertue of the holye crosse *which* Christ did carrye, and by our blessed virgin Marye – mother of Christ, and by the blood and vertue of all the woundes *which* Christ had in sufferinge his holye passion, and by the vertue of his resurrection and ascension, arise you spirites and appeare to my sight. I charge and commande you – in the name of the great God Iehova – that you appeare and make me a true answeere and a derecte answeere to my requeste, and that you fulfill – *with* all diligence and speed – my demandes and requestes. By him and in his name that shall come to iudge the worlde by fier, *which* thinge if you not incon- [20] - tenentlye, the almightie God father of our lorde Iesus Christ, maker of heaven and earth and of all things contained therein, excommunicate you spirites and caste you into everlastinge fier.

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<sup>98</sup> Luke 23:34 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 1874).

<sup>99</sup> Hely, Hely, lamazabathany] different spelling of Eli, Eli lema sabachtani, which is from Matthew 27:46 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 1789).

The onelye sonne of God – Iesus Christ – and all holye saintes of the church excommunicate you and curse you and binde you in fierye chaines, dome and dease<sup>100</sup> in the moste stronge paine of hell, and the holye ghoste *with* all the holye church of God, and the holye trenetie, and all the holye woorkes curse you from this daye to the daye of doome, unless you come forth *with* and fulfill my requeste. Come in the name of the father. Come in the name of the sonne. Come in the name of the holye ghost. Amen.”

Then the coniuration *which* is before at this signe,<sup>101</sup> untill you come to these markes.<sup>102</sup> Yf he or they appeare not saye this coniuration following:

“I coniure and commande and exorcise you spirites – *with* all that be under your power – by Iesu Christ, the spoyler of hell, by the power invincible of the father, the sonne and the holye ghost, by the glorious virgin Marye, mother of our lorde Iesu Christ, by the holye *Prophetes*, by *Saint* Iohn Baptist, by the 2 tables of Moses,<sup>103</sup> by the vertue of *Saint* Michaelle the archangell, *which* did drive you out and all other evill spirites out of heaven, by the vertue *which* God gave to glorious Siprian – marter<sup>104</sup> – *which* did binde you and all evill spirites at his pleasure, by the most wise and conning kinge [21] Salomon, *which* made you to obeye his commandementes, by the fearfull daye of iudgmente, in the *which* mankind shall appeare, by the 5 woundes of our lorde Iesu Christ, by the anuntiation, preachinge and death of Christ, by his glorious resurrection and assention and by the sendinge of the holye ghost amonge his disciples. By all holye angelles, archangelles, Thrones, Dominations, Principates, Potestates, Virtutes, Cherubin, and Seraphin, and by all his holye appostles, evangelistes, marters, confessores, virgines, and by all the holye electe of God, by all the vertues of heaven and by all the dolors and grefes of our blessed ladie, by the assumption of our ladie and the glorious

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<sup>100</sup> dease] different form of deis, which means ‘in judgement’ in this context.

<sup>101</sup> The MS shows a cross-like symbol.

<sup>102</sup> The MS shows another cross-like symbol.

<sup>103</sup> 2 tables of Moses] exodus 31:18 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 128).

<sup>104</sup> Siprian] Cyprian is a saint who was also a magician (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 171).

coronation, I do most instantlye calle and exorcise and also binde you spirites, by the moste excellent name of God – Tetragrammaton – graven in my imperiall ringe and septer, that you by the aforenamed words and by these holye names of God: Iesus, Emanuell, Sother, Alpha et Omega,<sup>105</sup> primus et novissimus,<sup>106</sup> departe and avoide this gronde and treasure for 2 daies and appeare heare visiblie before me in the circle appointed for you incontinentlye, *without* deleye or tarringe and *without* anye noise or harme to me or anye other creature livinge, obeinge my commandemente effectuallye *which* is knowne in you, howe muche the more the name of God is *which* everye creature doeth worship, both celestially and terrestrially and infernally. By the vertue of God the father almightie and of Iesu Christ his sonne and of the holye ghost the [22] comforter *which* liveth and raigneth nowe and evermore, Amen. And if you be disobedient to me and to this – my commandementes – and to the holye and wonderfull names of God by whose vertue I discharge you in the name of Iesus Christ, and by the power of the holye and blessed trenitie – the father, the sonne and the holye ghost – do curse you and condemne you to the deepe pit of hell, there to remaine in moste cruell and bitter tormentes, untill the daye of doome. So be it, so be it, so be it. Amen. Unles you appeare to me.”

The malidiction.

“I coniure you divelles – Belzabub, Azasell, Enuie<sup>107</sup> and Naris – by the power of God the father, the sonne and the holye ghost, 3 personnes in trenitie, and one true and livinge God, and by him *which* made heaven and earthe, the sea and all that is therein, and by him *which* is kinge of kinges and lorde of lordes, and kinge of heaven and earth and hell, and by him *which* caste you out of heaven – and all your fellowes – *with* Lucifer, for ther great pride, and by all

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<sup>105</sup> omega] in the MS ‘Omega’ is always the Greek symbol.

<sup>106</sup> primus et novissimus] Latin: ‘the first and the last’. Appears in Revelation 22:13 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 2180).

<sup>107</sup> Enuie] there is a tittle, a little scribble that indicates an omitted nasal consonant like *m* or *n*, that I have not been able to interpret.

angelles and archangelles, and by all the blessed order of *saintes*, by all the vertue of heaven, by all the wonderfull workes of Christ, by his moste *precious* bloud *which* ran from his side, feete and handes and all other *partes* of his bodie, Iesus Christ – by his death and passion, by his glorious name Tetragrammaton, and by his glorious and excellent name Iesus – the *which* names be honorable to all men and amiable to all Christians and terrible to all spirites and divelles – that you, *without* deleye, do binde and constraine these spirites *which* do keepe or have power over the treasure hidd in the grounde [23] or above the grounde, or any other goodes *within* this plott of grounde where on we nowe stande – wheare and from whence this clott of earth was taken *which* lyeth in the circle appointed for the spirites to appeare in or aboute this place or grounde, by the space of hundred elles in breadth, lengthe, height and deepnes – and to departe and avoide this grounde for 2 daies space and not to retorne before the same time be expired, as you and they will answeere to the contrarie before our lorde and saviour Iesus Christ at the daie of iudgmente. I commande you, by the blood of Iesus Christ of Nazareth – kinge of the iewes – *which* did create you, that you fulfill my desire and do or cause my commandemente to be executed and accomplished. And how muche the moore you be flake in doinge of my will so muche the more let your punishmente increase both daye and nighte, till ye be obedient and have fullfilled my will and desire. By the name of God, Primumaton, *which* Moses did name, and Dathan, Corath and Abiram, were swallowed upp in the pitt,<sup>108</sup> otherwise by the vertue of this name, Primumaton, I curse and condemne you into the pit of hell from this daye to the daie of dome, there to be tormented *with* moste greevos paines, from daie to daie, from time to time, from hower to hower, from evill to worse, and continually in them to be tormented and to be thruste continuallye from the face of God, except you cause the spirites to fulfill my will and desire. Fiat, fiat, fiat.”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Numbers 16:23-33 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 214).

<sup>109</sup> Fiat, fiat, fiat] Latin: ‘So be it, so be it, so be it’.

A prayer o lorde Iesu.

“O, lord Iesu Christ, the sonne of the lyvinge God, I moste humblie beseche the to save and defende me, thy servante and worke of thine handes, this [24] daie and all other daies, my workes and business. And I beseech the moste holye father, redemer of the worlde, by all the wonderfull names of God, by all holye virgins *which* be in heaven and earth, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to save and defende me – N. R.<sup>110</sup>, thy servante – from all evill and incomberance this daie and ever, and in this *present* worke guide me and sende thy holye angell to *preserve* me from all evill *spirites*, that they have no power over me, but that I maye have power strength and authoritie from the – and in thy name – to vanquishe, overcome and binde all evill *spirites* and *divelles*, by thy sufferance who livest and raigest, God, worlde *with* out end. Amen.”

Coniuration.

“I coniure you Belzabub, Azasell, Enui, Naris, by all the writings of God, *with* the *which* I maie constraine *spirites* both knowne and unknowne, *which* is not lawfull for me. And by all the names of your princes and fellowes, and by all the names *which* are contained in the compass of the worlde, and by the virtue of these holy names: Adonay, Iesus, Emanuell, Christus, Tetragrammaton, Primogenits, Alpha et Omega, Rethon, Celi, Conditor, and by all other names of God – effable and ineffable – that you constraine these *spirites* that keep [25] the treasure or any other goods hidd in the grounde or above the grounde – by the space of one hundred elles in length, breadth and heighte and deepnes from whence this clott of earth was taken, *which* lyeth in the circle *prepared* for the *spirites* – that they arise and apere unto me and obeye my commandementes, and give true answeres of those thinges *which* I shall aske of them, *without* hurtinge or harmeing of me or any other livinge creature, and that they do

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<sup>110</sup> N.R.] this is a space for the person intending to read this prayer aloud to insert their own name. Whether this was done for the anonymity of the scribe or because the document was written on commission is up for debate.

not departe frome out of my sighte till I have lycenced them and you. And if you be disobedient unto the names of God, and unto my coniuration, then I – by the lycence of almightie God – excommunicate you.”

And so reade the sentences or malidiction. And if they do not appeare binde them after this sorte untill the next meetinge.

Salomons bonde.

“O, ye spirites, I coniure you and all that be under you, in what place so ever you be, that do keep or have power over the treasure or goodes hidd in this grounde or above the grounde by the space of one hundred elles rounde aboute every waye from whence this clott of earth was taken, *which* lyeth in the circle appointed for you to appeare in, that ye – *without* any deley or hurting of me or any other creature lyvinge – stande as a stone immovable. And as [26] the flood of Iordan did stand when Christ was baptised, and as the holye trinitie did appeare there in the liknes of a dove,<sup>111</sup> so stande ye spirites thorowe our lorde Iesus Christ, by whose vertue and by the wisdome of kinge Salomon by *which* he broughte you under his power. I coniure you spirites and charge and compell you by the greate name of God – Tetragrammaton – graven in my ringe and scepter, beinge both consecrated, that you and every of you goe not backe to your place from whence ye come untill you have broughte my matter to passe. I charge you againe in the name of Iesus, that you be redye to come unto me at my nexte callinge both by daye and nighte, in all houres and at all times in a momente, when I shall calle you by the vertue of our lorde Iesus Christ, *which* is not lawfull for me to name. I binde you spirites and by all that I have rehearsed to the praise of God, and to binde you spirites to come incontenentlye to me *without* deleye in what forme I will calle you and binde you come. I charge uppon your obedience to our lorde Iesus Christ that ye come and

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<sup>111</sup> Matthew 3:13-16 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 1751).

appeare in the same, and that you fulfill my will and commandementes, by our lorde and saviour Iesus Christ *which* sitteth in glorye on the righte hande of his father – unto whom be laude, dominion, honor and praise – bothe nowe and evermore. Amen. Fiat, fiat, fiat.”

[47] [Experiment, conjurations and prayers for finding stolen goods] For to knowe of goods that be stolne. Ascariell.

Take a christall stone as big as you can get it so that it be cleare *without* filthe cracke or hole. Then take a thonge of a hartes scinne<sup>112</sup> and binde about the christall sayinge ‘In nomine sancti dietatis et trinitatis die’, and so continewe in sayinge untill you have wraped up the thonge – when it is moste cleare and hott in the middest of the daye – and thou shalt se what thou wилte. By **your** commandement and *with* this charge thou shalte coniure the spirit that he come to the, and declare all that thou shalt require of him, and commande him to bringe his fellowes *with* **him** in faire forme and manner, and that he beare the signe of the crosse uppon his heade. Also thou shalt commande him that he showe himselfe in forme of the theefe, and that he come *with* the stolne goods straight *without* tarrienge, and that he shall come againe *presentlye* and bringe to the **the** theefe, and *with* his finger he shall shewe you the stolne goodes and the place he entered in, and howe and in what manner, and howe manye fellowes there were, and if you will he shall write to you their names. And also you maye aske him in the same manner of tresures that be hidden, and where they be, and howe thou mayest have them, and whose they were, and who ought to have them, and that they be shewed unto you in plaine sighte as you maye best se them, and then knowe the true valew [48] of them *without* anye let or impediment, and of the life or lives or of the death of any of thy frendes or foes and in what state they be in at that *presente* time. And they shall tell you all that you doe require of him. This hath been *proved* the truthe.

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<sup>112</sup> thonge of hartes scinne] a strip of deer skin.

Calle thus:

“Centone, Igessitone, Igissiton, Loothon, Igissicon, Miseron, *which* shall dwell in bosto,<sup>113</sup> I coniure you that you be redye unto my *precepte* in obeyinge me. I coniure the – Askariell, Abebon – by the father and the sonne and the holye ghost, by Alpha and Omega, and by the fearefull daye of iudgment, and by the vertue of the true and lyvinge God, and by all the unspeakeable names of God, that thou wilte come into this christall stone certainlye *without* deleye in thy *proper personage* and the signe of the crosse upon thy heade, and wilte shewe to me – and to all standinge *with* me – and if thou wilte not do this I will condemne the into hell by the vertue of our lorde Iesus Christ, and by the vertue of the true and lyvinge God, *which* shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead and all age throughe fier. Amen.”

If they come not condemne him thus:

“I condemne the, Askariell, into the eternall fier by the vertue of the true and lyvinge God, and by the vertue of Iesus Christ and [49] by the vertue of all his names, and by the power *which* he hath over the, that thou be in hell, that thou mayest sustaine the eternall punishment of fier, untill thou appeare unto me and fulfill my whole will and desire.”

And then thou shalte abide untill the 3<sup>rd</sup> daye and he shall appeare. And if thou wilte have him goe oute of the stone, in the end is the lycence.<sup>114</sup>

This is a good beginninge of everye experimete. First saye these psalmes:

“Have mercie uppon me, o God.<sup>115</sup> God is mercifull.<sup>116</sup> I confesse untill the end thereof.<sup>117</sup>”

And then this orison<sup>118</sup> followinge, that is to saye:

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<sup>113</sup> bosto] different form of boist(e), meaning ‘glass’ in this context.

<sup>114</sup> lycence] a licential conjuration is given later.

<sup>115</sup> Psalm 51 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 815).

<sup>116</sup> Psalm 103:8 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 857).

<sup>117</sup> Could be referring to 1 John 1:9 (Coogan, *Annotated Bible*, 2139).

<sup>118</sup> Orison] this is the French loan form of oration.

“My God, my God, have mercie uppon me and looke uppon me and denye not me a sinner. Whatsoever I have desired of the *which* thou haste granted unto manye, and looke not unto my faulte, althoughe I have offen ded. Yet, o lorde, I have not denied the. Furthermore heare the prayers of thy famylye. Si et presta.<sup>119</sup> As in the present experimente. By the vertue of all thy *saintes*, I shall deserve to finde the truth, *which* lyveste and raigest ever one God worlde *without* end. Amen.

“Our helpe is in the name of the lorde, which hath made heaven and earth. The name of the lorde Iesus be blessed. I beseeche the, father – Agios, the builder of the light, God of the creatures of all fleshe, thou *which* arte of an unmesurable maiestie, God [50] of gods, lorde of lordes, and *prophet* moste heigh – that thou would me, in this time of my trouble, but keepe me from all hurte of everye spirite cominge unto me, by the vertue of the holye crosse, that they maye have no power to hurte nether feare me. *Which* lyvest and raigest ever one God throughout all ages. Amen.

“I coniure the, Askariell or Abibon, Beab, Centone, Messitone, Loothon, Missecon, Miseron, *which* dwelleth in bosto, I coniure the by the father, the sonne and the holye ghost – *which* is Alpha and Omega – and our God of life, and the strength of God, and by all his ineffable names, that thou in this christall stone, in this hower and *without* tarrienge, come in thy *proper* persone, trulye and in faire forme and manner, and that *with* a signe of the crosse on thy head visiblie, and shewe unto me and all that stande *with* me, and soone appeare thou and thy fellowes *with* the bringe, and that I maye openlye the see by my *precepte* and coniurations, in the name of God, to all that I shall aske of the, and thou trulye shall answere me to all my questions and commandementes. By the power and vertue of all those charges that I have given the, or anye others dureinge my life.”

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<sup>119</sup> Si et presta] Latin: ‘As in the present’.

Yf he appeare before the, aske what thou wylte and commande him that he be readie, to all times and howers, to come to thy cal- [51] -linge and *precepte without* tarringe, let or staye, by anye waies or meanes whatsoever. Yf he do not appeare saye:

“I coniure the, Askariell, by these holye names of the omnipotente God: Christi, Veriall, Acu, Leta, Apres, Heloy, Vesea, Virmis, Bonus, On, Princeps, Primogenits, Sapientia, Virtus, Alpha, Omega, Caput, Fons, Origo, Paraclitus, Mediator, Agnus, Ouis, Vitulus, Serpens, Aries, Emanuell, Spes, Os, Verbum, Lux, Imago, Sol, Panis, Flos, Vitis, Mons, Ianua, Petra, Lapis, Pastor, *Propheta*, Sacerdos, Athanatos, Kyros, Theon, Panton, Craton, Messias, Sother, Sabaoth, Adonay, Anepheneton, Ysus, Egidion, Ulla, Abniago, Hereth, Obrein, Cerothon, Conechalsea, Semath. Nowe by the vertue of these holye names of our lorde Iesus Christ, I coniure the, Askariell, that you nothinge hidd nor keepe from me nor anye thinge *withhoulde* from me, but trulye answer to all thinges that I shall require or aske of the.”

Yf he do not appeare call:

“I coniure the, Askariell, by the father almightie and by Iesus Christ his owne sonne, and by the holye ghost *precedinge* of them both and by the vertue of all the holye sacramentes of the churche and by the vertue of the sacramente of Christes owne bodie, and by the vertues of his owne substance, and by the prudence that God had in minde of the world when it was made, and by the beatitude he had after the worlde was created, [52] and by the vertue of the earth and all that is therein, and by the vertue of the sea and all that is therein, and by the vertue of the *quator*<sup>120</sup> elimentes afore named and all that *pertaine* to them, and by the wisdome that God ordened both daye and nighte, and by the vertue of the holye and blessed virgin *Saint* Marye, Christes owne mother, and by the vertue of all the holye appostles, evangelistes and the disciples of Christ, and by all the holye marters and confessores, and by all virgines and

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<sup>120</sup> quator] Latin: ‘four’.

*saintes* in heaven, and by the vertue of all angelles and archangelles, Thrones, Dominations, Principates, Potestates, Virtututes, Cherubin and Seraphin, and by the vertue of all the holie *saintes*, and by the vertue of all holye men lyvinge in the worlde, and by the vertue of all precious stones, frutes and hearbes that ever God made, and by the firmamente of heaven and earth, that thou in this christall stone shewe your selfe nowe *presentlye* to me, and all standinge *with* me, and soone appeare and bringe thy fellowes *with* the, that I maye openlye see them accordinge to me *precepte* and commandementes *with* trulye answeringe to all thinges that I shall aske you. And if you doe not come and *presentlye* answer me as aforesaide, in the vertue and by the vertue and power of God almightie and by all the holye *saintes* names aforesaide, I do condemne the, Askariell, into everlastinge fier. Fiat, fiat, fiat.”

[53] Lycencia Ascariell.

“Transeatis ad locum vlli dominus noster Iesum Christum vos ordinavit estis prompti et ordinati ad mandatum meum reuenire in nomine patris et fillij et spiritus sancti. Maledictio dei patris omnipotentis et filij et spiritus sancti defendat *superte*. Et indignatibus tuis te deprimat in *profundam inferni*. *Vsque* ad vltimum diem iudicii te includat et nunquam ad dignitatem tuam reddas. Nisistes hic caram me vell in isto lapide aparias in pulchra forma humana visibilter et non terribilter mihi non nocendo nec alicui alij creatura dei et mei respondeas ad omnia interrogata sine fraude fallatia Vell sophisticatione aliqua scribendo demonstrando et oriados intimando quando operare voles *pro* aliquem spiritum. Vide quod habes signum tale supra caput vell pertus tuum aliter non timebit te. Pentaculum Salomonis est signum. Luna sunt bona. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14. Luna crescente.”

[54] A lycence in Inglishe for Askariell to *departe*.

“Ye maye *departe* unto the place wheare our lorde Iesus Christ hath appointed you, and be ye redie to come againe to fulfill my *precepte*, the curse of God the father almightie, the sonne

and the holye ghost maye raigne over the, and maye deprive the from thy dignites in the botomles pit, and maye shut and include the up unto the laste daye of iudgment, and that thou mayest never retorne againe to thy dignitie or office unlesse thou stande heare before me and appeare in this stone in faire humaine shape, visiblye and not terrebye, nether hurtinge nether offendinge me, nether anye person or anye creature of God almightie, and mayest answeere me unto all thinges asked *without* deceit and fraude or *without* anye sophistication in writinge or shewinge et *cetera*. In the name of the father and of the sonne and of the holy ghost. Amen.”

When thou wouldest worke by anye spirit, yf thou hast such a signe uppon thy heade or brest otherwise he will not heare the. The pentacle of Salomon is a signe. Finis.

[Pentacle of Solomon]

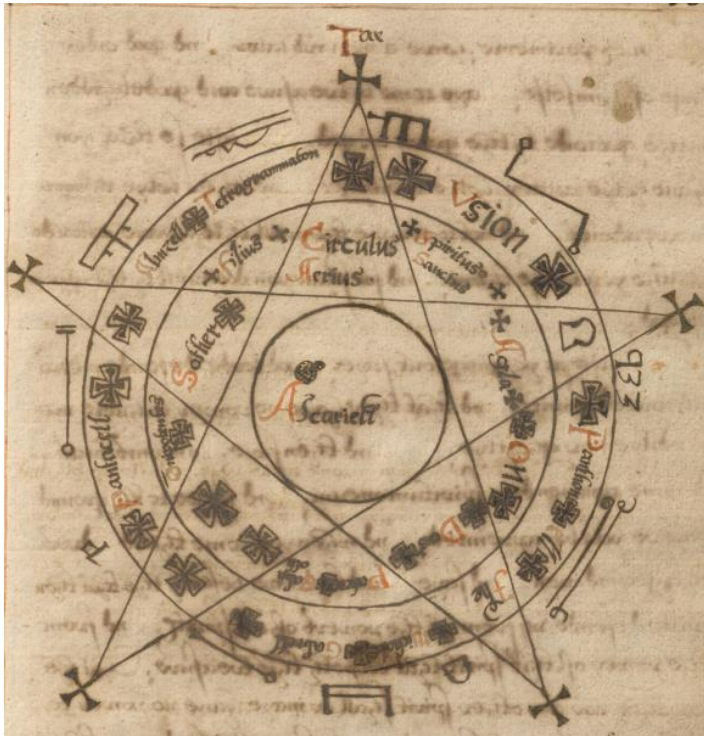


121

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<sup>121</sup> [Ignoring characteres, around:] A G L A | [centre:] *Christus*

[55] [magic circle]



122

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<sup>122</sup> [Ignoring caracteres] Tax [outer ring:] VSION + Panthon + Eill + Ihe + Michael + Gabriell + Pantacell + Alnzell + Tetragrammaton | [inner ring:] Circulus Aerijs + Spiritus Sanctus + Agla + On + Deus + Pater + Sabaoth + Onipotentes + Sothier + Filius | [centre:] Ascariell

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