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Necromancing Theurgic Magic

A Reappraisal of the *Liber iuratus* Extracts and the Consecration Ritual for the *Sigillum Dei* in an Early Modern English Grimoire

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The composite miscellany London, British Library, Sloane 3853 is an important witness to the transmission and reception of late medieval magical practices in early modern England. Bringing together a considerable variety of necromantic sources, the manuscript has been put forward by Frank Klaassen as a prime example of a Renaissance collection of medieval necromancy.¹ Despite the manuscript's reputation among scholars of magic as a treasure trove of occult learning in Latin and English, the contents of Sloane 3853 are still largely inaccessible to modern readerships. The manuscript's biggest claim to fame are its extracts from the North European version of the *Liber iuratus Honorii*, a manual of ritual magic that features a set of theurgic operations centering on a beatific vision and other “opera Dei,” and additional operations for conjuring planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits. These extracts were never published or studied in their own right, as there are more comprehensive versions of the *Liber iuratus* in London, British Library, Sloane

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1. Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013), 161–65.

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313, 3854, and 3885. When Gösta Hedegård published his edition of the *Liber iuratus* in 2002, only one small set of extracts had been identified in Sloane 3853, on fols. 127v–137v. These extracts caught my attention because they include an image of the *Sigillum Dei*, a stock ingredient of all operations in the *Liber iuratus* but rarely depicted in *Liber iuratus* manuscripts, accompanied by an English translation of the directions for the sigil's consecration. These are the only such vernacular directions in existence, and to leave them unpublished would do nothing toward remedying the deplorable paucity of modern editions of medieval magical practices in the European vernaculars. During my investigation of Sloane 3853, I discovered two further sets of extracts from the *Liber iuratus*, on fols. 120v–123v and 149r–174v. The first of these identifies the planetary and aerial spirits from the second and third *opera* of the *Liber iuratus*, and has gone unnoticed altogether. Linked to this set are portraits of the seven leaders of the planetary spirits on fols. 124r–127r, probably inspired by the preceding *Liber iuratus* extracts. The other, more substantial set of extracts gives directions for conjuring aerial spirits, and includes a large part of the prayers to be used for the theurgic operations from the first opus of the *Liber iuratus*. This last set of extracts has previously been assigned to the *Ars notoria*, a manual of ritual magic of a related type, but different in its specific goals, which include acquiring knowledge of the liberal arts. The attribution is not entirely incorrect because the North European version of the *Liber iuratus* incorporated a large number of prayers from the *Ars notoria*, in contrast to the South European version of the *Liber iuratus*. Even so, analysis of these extracts demonstrates unambiguously that they are excerpted from the *Liber iuratus*.

Covering well over a third of the entire *Liber iuratus* (more than half of its chapters!), the three sets of extracts in Sloane 3853 may not change our views of the *Liber iuratus* itself, but they may shed light on how a treatise of essentially theurgic magic was adapted to spirit conjuring in the wider context of necromancy in Sloane 3853. These extracts, then, offer important insights into how magical practices were adapted and recontextualized to suit the needs of individual operators. Driven by the urge to understand what a substantial part of a work of theurgic magic is doing in a necromantic context, the aims of this article are fourfold. First, this article introduces and analyzes the composite manuscript Sloane 3853. The manuscript has been studied before, but some ideas about its composition and contents benefit from a new analysis. Second, the proximate source of the three sets of extracts is identified as the *Liber iuratus*, countering the claims that there is only one set of extracts, and that the final set of extracts hails directly from the *Ars notoria*. Third, the contribution of Sloane 3853 to our understanding of the use of

the *Liber iuratus* by early modern magical operators is reappraised by comparing the use of petitions in the extracts to their counterparts in the *Liber iuratus*. Fourth, the article publishes the vernacular directions for consecrating the *Sigillum Dei* against the Latin instructions in the *Liber iuratus*. The English directions introduce elements not present in the Latin that are probably unique to this adaptation.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF SLOANE 3853

London, British Library, Sloane 3853 is a composite manuscript miscellany of substantial codicological and textual complexity. Existing manuscript descriptions treat the manuscript as one codicological unit or as two closely connected parts. The website of the British Library, for instance, simply calls Sloane 3853 a “miscellany of tracts on magic,” while Frank Klaassen sees the manuscript as a close collaboration between two scribes.² Though it is true that Sloane 3853 consists of two parts, internal evidence suggests that these parts were produced wholly independently. That said, the contents seem to demonstrate that the scribes of both parts had similar interests mainly in necromantic magic, which may be why both parts were joined into one composite manuscript by a subsequent owner. For the purposes of this article it would go too far to give an exhaustive codicological analysis, but some indication of the composition of Sloane 3853 is necessary to facilitate a discussion of its contents.

Consisting of fols. 2–175, the first unit was produced by two scribes who copied magical texts in Latin and English. Using an Italic script, the second scribe played a minor role and contributed some notes on fols. 8v, 109v, and 117r, and one quire containing the *Speculum quatuor regum* (fols. 138r–141r), for which the main scribe supplied a magical circle on fol. 141v. The main scribe wrote fols. 3r–8r, 9r–137v, and 141v–174v in a mixed script (Secretary with an admixture of Anglicana letter forms), and provided folio numbers, quire and leaf signatures, catchwords, and a table of contents on fols. 3r–4v. The main scribe’s folio numbering, which is the oldest of several layers of numbering, suggests that this part of Sloane 3853 was once considerably longer. Between fols. 53 and 54, for instance, thirty-two leaves are now missing, equaling the loss of fourteen items in the table of contents. Compiled by the main scribe, the detailed table of contents covers all texts in the first part of Sloane 3853, including an entry for the *Speculum quatuor regum* by the

2. The website of the British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminated/manuscripts/record.asp?MSID=763> (accessed July 3, 2015); Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic*, 161–62.

second scribe, which indicates that the main scribe was the one who assembled the first part of the manuscript (this, and the fact that the main scribe foliated the quire written by the second scribe). The variable use of quire and leaf signatures and catchwords makes clear that the first part consisted of a series of booklets assembled over time. The compilation originally ended with the operation for invisibility at fols. 119v–120r, after which the main scribe wrote “ffinis liber” in the table of contents (fol. 4v). He then resumed copying on fol. 120v, starting with the extracts from the *Liber iuratus*, upon which he expanded the table of contents. Subsequent users wrote notes and scribbles in margins and on empty spaces in this part of Sloane 3853.

The first part of Sloane 3853 can be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century on the basis of textual references by its two scribes. The minor scribe attributed the medico-magical laminae on fol. 8v to Paracelsus (1493–1541), and an astrological-magical note to “Paracelsus de occulta philosophia cap. 7” (fol. 117r). Paracelsus’ pseudonymous *De occulta philosophia* was first printed in German in 1570, but it must have circulated in Latin in manuscript form before that time.³ Attributions by the main scribe permit a more definite *terminus post quem*. A necromantic compilation here attributed to Roger Bacon and Robert Turco, the *Thesaurus spirituum* (fols. 9r–45v) has the following incipit: “Incipit practica occxltf philothie, siue artes mbgkf, conxpcbckpnks et astrkcckpnks spiritxxm [i.e., Incipit practica occulte philothie (*sic*), siue artes magie, conuocacionis et astriccionis spirituum]” (“Here begins the practice of occult philosophy, or the magical arts of the invocation and binding of spirits,” fol. 9r). Leaving aside the vowel substitution cipher for now (more on which below), the incipit most likely commemorates the *De occulta philosophia* by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), completed in 1510 and first published in 1533.⁴ Elsewhere the same scribe provided a list of alphabetical *caracteres* (fol. 49v), culled from Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia* III.xxix, and a table of the *caracteres* of the planets (fol. 53v). Comparison of the latter table to Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia* I.xxiii in the 1533 and 1550 editions bears out that our scribe relied on the 1550 edition, which printed the *caracteres* for Jupiter upside down and from back to front, just as in Sloane 3853.⁵ These attributions provide a *terminus post quem* of 1550 for the first part of Sloane 3853.

3. Paracelsus, *Etliche Tractetlein zur Archidoxa gehörig* [. . .] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1570).

4. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri tres* ([Cologne], 1533).

5. Compare Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia* (1533), 39–40, to *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Lyon: Godefroy and Marcellin Beringer, 1550), 69–70.

The second part of Sloane 3853 (fols. 176–268) is the work of a single scribe, who brought together a number of magical texts in English and Latin. Frequent changes in the aspect of the hand of the scribe, particularly at quire boundaries, suggest that he compiled his collection over a longer period of time in separate booklets that he later assembled into one book. An Elizabethan Secretary, the script places the second part of Sloane 3853 in the late sixteenth century. The scribe foliated this part himself, starting with fol. 1 (now fol. 176), which is a strong indication that he worked completely independently of the two scribes of the first part of Sloane 3853.⁶ The scribe of the second part included (translations of) a number of texts also present in the first part, but it is a moot point whether this means that he owned both parts or joined them into one composite manuscript, since the texts he included were widely transmitted. In any case, after the two parts were joined, a new folio numbering was applied to the second part that continued where the first part left off, a summary table of contents for the entire volume was provided on fol. 1r, and the resulting composite manuscript was cropped to one size.⁷ Before being taken up in the collections of the British Museum and now the British Library, the manuscript entered the library of the collector physician Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) by way of the English judge Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663–1738), together with several other magical manuscripts.

The contents of Sloane 3853 are impossible to sum up comprehensively. The summary table of contents, which dates to the eighteenth century, lists fifteen items for the entire manuscript and remarks that “divers other treatises of conjuration, spells and experiments are contained in this book” (fol. 1r).⁸ Compiled by the main scribe of the first part of Sloane 3853, the detailed table of contents (fols. 3r–4v), on the other hand, lists seventy-five items for this part of the manuscript alone. It might seem that the modern cataloger distinguished too little, whereas the early modern scribe distinguished too much, but their approaches differed: the modern cataloger identified texts,

6. There are many other indications that two parts were produced independently, for instance, the significant wear of the final folio of the first part and the first folio of the second part of Sloane 3853, and the use of completely different paper, and systems of folio and quire signatures and catchwords in the two parts.

7. Sloane 3853 is now of one size (ca. 210 × 145 mm), but the second part will have been somewhat larger than the first on the basis of the larger dimensions of its text space.

8. The person who made the summary table of contents also did so for other magical manuscripts in the Sloane collection that were included in the Jekyll purchase.

whereas the original scribe identified magical procedures, such as consecration rituals and operations. This is why the *Thesaurus spirituum* is one item in the summary list of contents and sixteen items in the detailed list of contents. Like the producers of other magical manuscripts and many other types of writings, such as medical recipe collections, the scribes of Sloane 3853 saw little need to identify texts unambiguously, or to signal textual boundaries consistently and in the same way that we would mark them. Their compilations were driven by a desire to store useful magical information, irrespective of its textual origins. That said, it is important for scholarly purposes to have an idea of the kinds of texts contained in Sloane 3853.

Both parts of the manuscript are composed of series of booklets that host an assortment of mostly necromantic texts of varying lengths. The shorter texts outline procedures for conjurations, consecrations, experiments, maledictions, and exorcisms. Other brief texts present directions for a range of magical operations, for instance, to find treasure, to recapture stolen goods, to apprehend thieves, to become invisible, and to obtain someone's love, or they instruct the operator to prepare magical objects for spirit conjuring, such as swords, rings, laminae, scepters, ointments, metals, books, holy water, light sabers, and hazel wands. Still other short items offer prayers, designs for magical circles, and lists of *caracteres*, *notae*, *voces magicae*, and spirit names. Sloane 3853 also contains three different versions of the Schemhamphoras (fols. 137r–v, 204r–v, and 223r–224r). Among what can be identified as longer items in the first part of the manuscript are the *Doctrina omnium experimentorum generale* (fols. 5r–7r),⁹ the *Thesaurus spirituum* (fols. 9r–45v),¹⁰ a text associated with the *Liber Razielis* (fols. 46r–49v),¹¹ the *Coniuracio spirituum adiuuante puero* (fols. 54r–62v), the *Liber consecrationum* (fols. 64r–69r), the *Vinculum spirituum* (fols. 105r–109v), and extracts from the *Liber iuratus* (fols. 120v–123v, 127v–137v, and 149r–174v), interspersed with portraits of the seven leaders of the planetary spirits (fols. 124r–127r), and the *Speculum quatuor regum* (fols. 138r–141v).

9. On the basis of Sloane 3853, the *Doctrina* is now commonly regarded as the start of the *Thesaurus spirituum*; see, for instance, Palémon Glorieux, *La faculté des arts et ses maîtres au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1971), 344. The incipit of the *Thesaurus spirituum* on fol. 9r indicates, however, that the *Doctrina* starting on fol. 5r is probably a separate text.

10. There is an explicit of the *Thesaurus spirituum* on fol. 45v, but there is another one, presumably spurious, on fol. 116r.

11. See Sophie Page, “Uplifting Souls: The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*,” in *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2012), 96.

The second part of Sloane 3853 is a *terra incognita*, not least because many of its texts are in English rather than Latin. In his study of religion and magical practices in Tudor England, Alec Ryrie regarded the entire second part of Sloane 3853 as one long treatise of Solomonic magic, known as the *Dannel* on account of the first incipit in this part: “Here begynneth a boke which is callyd the Dannel” (fol. 176r).¹² Even if the word *boke* is taken at face value, however, it is to be questioned whether the *Dannel* covers fols. 176–268 in their entirety. There are many indications that the second part of Sloane 3853 is in fact an assembly of a series of booklets containing a great number of magical treatises, such as the variable treatment of quire and leaf signatures and catchwords, the frequent blank spaces and empty pages at quire boundaries, the even more frequent changes in the aspect of the hand of the scribe, and the many rubrics, incipits, and explicits. Concerned with identifying and conjuring different classes of spirits, the *Dannel* probably only covers fols. 176r–179r, and possibly also fols. 212r–213v.¹³ The strongest piece of evidence that the *Dannel* is indeed a short text instead of a 90-folio treatise is that it is a translation of the *Doctrina omnium experimentorum generale*, which is also the first text in the first part of Sloane 3853.¹⁴ Designed to conjure spirits, the *Dannel* could of course be complemented with other texts on spirit magic, such as a vernacular version of the *Thesaurus spirituum* (fols. 185v–203r), the “boke of the sience of nygromansie” (fols. 219v–225r), a series of necromantic operations (fols. 234v–241v), a series of conjurations (fols. 245v–250v), and vernacular excerpts from the *Liber officiorum spirituum* (fols. 257r–259r). In between these longer texts are shorter items, for instance, on locating treasure, on the use of magical circles, and on drawing “a spryt in a glasse whych shall tell you the trewth of stollen good” (fol. 232v).

To sum up, Sloane 3853 is a composite manuscript consisting of two independently produced grimoires, mainly concerned with necromancy. Both

12. Alec Ryrie, *The Sorcerer's Tale: Faith and Fraud in Tudor England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 133–38. A misreading of the otiose stroke through the ascender of the final letter causes the *Dannel* to sometimes be erroneously identified as the *Dannet*.

13. A cross-reference on fol. 179r refers the reader to fol. 212r; a new text begins on fol. 214r.

14. Compare the opening lines of the *Dannel*: “This is the doctryne of al experimentys in generall by the whiche you shall more easlye [*sic*] goo to all workys, and that in to the name of spiritys, or love, or hates, or dyscordys” (fol. 176r) to those of the *Doctrina*: “Hec est doctrina omnium experimentorum generale per quam lenius in omne operatione tua accedas, et hoc in omnibus spirituum, vel amoris, vel odij, vel discordij” (fol. 5r).

parts were compiled by English scribes in the early modern period from a variety of late medieval sources, including some well-known and at times widely distributed magical works, such as the *Thesaurus spirituum*, the *Liber consecrationum*, the *Vinculum spirituum*, the *Liber iuratus*, and the *Liber officiorum spirituum*. The first part seems to be slightly more covert about its necromantic aims than the second. The scribe of the second part, for instance, included directions to constrain powerful malevolent spirits, such as Asmoday (fol. 227v), Beelzebub, Satan, and Lucifer (fol. 267r). The main scribe of the first part did so too, but he combined necromantic texts with directions for exorcisms, and included large parts of the theurgic *Liber iuratus*. This same scribe, moreover, encoded magical key words through a vowel substitution cipher. He did so mostly in rubrics, which are easily read at a glance by unwanted eyes. These key words cover actions, operations, and spirit names, for instance, *adkxrp* (*adiuro*), *astrkcckpnks* (*astriccionis*), *cpnkxrackp* (*coniuracio*), *dfmpnfs* (*demonēs*), *dkabplf* (*diabole*), *exprskzp* (*exorsizo*), *mbgkf* (*magie*), *spkrktxs* (*spiritus*), and the thinly disguised *Beelzfbub*. The main scribe of the first part, in other words, seems to have been more apprehensive of what he was copying than the scribe of the second part of Sloane 3853. What they have in common with many other compilers of magical miscellanies is a dedicated interest in spirit conjuring and the practice of magic. Most, if not all, of the texts in both parts of the manuscript are directions for the construction of magical objects, and for ceremonies and operations involving spirits, with little attention to the theory of magic. In this pragmatic context of spirit conjuring, the *Liber iuratus* extracts found a ready home.

IDENTIFYING THE *LIBER IURATUS* EXTRACTS IN SLOANE 3853

The *Liber iuratus Honorii* is a manual of ritual magic to perform a number of theurgic operations and spirit conjurations. The historiola prefacing the North European version of the *Liber iuratus* relates that the work was composed by the magician Honorius of Thebes, son of Euclid, who is said to have been chosen from among 89 (or 811) masters to preserve the true magical knowledge. Assisted by the angel Hocrohel, Honorius composed seven volumes of magic, discarding the larger, useless part to placate the pope and the cardinals, who, incited to envy by demons, wanted to have all magic destroyed. Honorius retained those chapters dealing with true magic, which came to be known as the *Liber iuratus*. After the historiola, the *Liber iuratus* proceeds with five *opera*. The first *opus* centers on a number of “opera Dei” (primarily to attain a beatific vision); the second, third, and fourth *opera* pertain to conjurations of the planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits for a variety

of mostly mundane purposes; and the fifth *opus* is a rejoinder to the first and third *opera*.

Even though all operations in the *Liber iuratus* rely on a stock of common elements introduced in the first *opus*, such as the *Sigillum Dei* and several prayer cycles, the composite nature of the *Liber iuratus* would make it relatively easy to excerpt and recontextualize individual operations. Yet, in contrast to that other well-known manual of ritual magic, the *Ars notoria*, the *Liber iuratus* was infrequently transmitted, and even more rarely excerpted. The only two exceptions identified so far are the *Liber iuratus* extracts that the fourteenth-century magician Berengario Ganell included in his *Summa sacre magice*, and those in Sloane 3853. What distinguishes the South European version of the *Liber iuratus*, solely attested in the *Summa sacre magice*, from the North European version is that the former incorporated prayers from the *Liber trium animalium*, whereas the latter replaced these with prayers from the fourteenth-century glossed version of the *Ars notoria*.¹⁵ These borrowings from the *Ars notoria* in the North European *Liber iuratus* have a bearing on the identification of the extracts in Sloane 3853, as I will now show.

The extracts in Sloane 3853 can be divided into three sets: fols. 120v–123v, 127v–137v, and 149r–174v.¹⁶ Hitherto unidentified, the first set contains eleven chapters, divided into two parts (fols. 120v–121v and 122r–123v). The first seven chapters identify the seven groups of planetary spirits from the second *opus* of the *Liber iuratus*. All other chapters from the second *opus* are omitted, that is, the opening chapters introducing the operations of the second *opus* and the nature of the planetary spirits, and the later chapters on the construction of a magical circle, the three-day ritual, and the spirit conjuration. Instead, fols. 122r–123v continue with four chapters identifying the final four out of seven groups of aerial spirits from the third *opus*, with the missing leaf between fols. 121 and 122 presumably containing the chapters for the first three groups of aerial spirits. Directly following this set of extracts, Sloane 3853 includes seven full-page portraits of the leaders of the planetary spirits on fols. 124r–127r (fig. 1), whose names and planetary ruler-

15. See Jan R. Veenstra, “Honorius and the Sigil of God: The *Liber iuratus* in Berengario Ganell’s *Summa sacre magice*,” in *Invoking Angels*, ed. Fanger, 177–78. The correspondences between the *Liber iuratus* and the *Ars notoria* were first identified by Hedegård, ed., *Liber iuratus*, 45–48, based on the older version (version A) of the *Ars notoria*. A more apt comparison between the *Liber iuratus* and the newer, glossed B version of the *Ars notoria* is provided by Julien Véronèse, “L’*Ars notoria* au Moyen Âge et à l’époque moderne: Étude d’une tradition de magie théurgique (XIIe–XVIIe siècle),” 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université Paris X—Nanterre, 2004), 1:243–44.

16. The contents of the *Liber iuratus* extracts in Sloane 3853 are identified in the appendix.



Figure 1. Portrait of Gabriel, leader of the planetary spirits of the Moon, in London, British Library, Sloane 3853, fol. 124r. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library. © British Library Board.

ships also return in the *Sigillum Dei*. These depictions are not part of the *Liber iuratus*, but they are probably directly inspired by the chapters on the planetary spirits.

Identified by Hedegård, the second set of extracts on fols. 127v–137v comprises twenty-three chapters from the *Liber iuratus*. The first item in this set is the *Sigillum Dei* with its vernacularized consecration ritual (fols. 127v–128v), described in the first *opus* of the *Liber iuratus*. The *Sigillum Dei* plays a key role in all operations of the *Liber iuratus*, but the consecration ritual has dropped the directions for a theurgic application. The English is followed by twenty-two Latin chapters that seem to have been selected fairly randomly from pretty much across the whole of the *Liber iuratus*. There are eight chapters of prayers from a larger group of prayers from the first *opus*, followed by three chapters from another group of thirty-four prayers also from the first *opus*, and another chapter from earlier in this same group. Taken from the second *opus*, four chapters follow that were omitted from the first set of extracts in Sloane 3853 but that are practical to have at hand if one wants to conjure the planetary spirits from the first set. These chapters outline the construction of a magical circle, the three-day ritual, and the actual spirit conjuration. Returning to the first *opus*, another two chapters are included from the group of thirty-four prayers, and yet another one from later on in this same group. The extracts then switch to the fourth *opus* with excerpts from a chapter on the nature and conjuration of terrestrial spirits, only to proceed with a large part of a chapter on the consecration of the ink for the *Sigillum Dei*, from the fifth *opus*. The extracts continue with some directions for operational purity not present in the *Liber iuratus*. The final item is the 100-name Schemhamphoras, from near the end of the first *opus*.

The existence of the third set of extracts on fols. 149r–174v has been known for some time, but it has so far not been connected with the *Liber iuratus*. Frank Klaassen reported the existence of an unknown *Ars notoria* version in Sloane 3853, fols. 149r–174v, an observation that goes back to his Ph.D. dissertation.¹⁷ Taking his cue from Klaassen's dissertation, *Ars notoria* expert Julien Véronèse subsequently confirmed the identification in his own Ph.D. dissertation.¹⁸ It can be shown, however, that the proximate source of this entire set of extracts is actually the *Liber iuratus*. The misidentification was an easy one to make, because the North European version of the *Liber*

17. See Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic*, 100–101; Frank Klaassen, "Religion, Science, and the Transformations of Magic: Manuscripts of Magic 1300–1600" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1999), 112, n. 29.

18. See Véronèse, "L'*Ars notoria*," 1:323.

iuratus incorporates a considerable number of prayers lifted directly from the *Ars notoria*. At first glance, then, what is a chapter from the *Liber iuratus* may equally well be a section of the *Ars notoria*.

That said, there are solid indications that the fifty-two chapters on fols. 149r–174v of Sloane 3853 were extracted from the *Liber iuratus*, even if some of them are common to the *Ars notoria* as well. A comment at the end of the first set of extracts in Sloane 3853 directs the reader to the third set of extracts, for instance: “Incipit modus operandi. This worke folowyt in the lefe of 185 [fol. 149r], doth ther playnly apere and schowe yt fourth truly” (fol. 123v). The first set terminates after introducing the aerial spirits from the third *opus* of the *Liber iuratus*, and the third set continues with the remaining chapters from the third *opus*, on the construction of a magical circle, the three-day ritual, and the spirit conjuration. Importantly, the operation involving aerial spirits is found only in the *Liber iuratus*, not in the *Ars notoria*. Sloane 3853, fol. 150v even depicts the circle of the seven kinds of aerial spirits sometimes found in complete versions of the *Liber iuratus*, such as Sloane 313, fol. 26r, and Sloane 3854, fol. 133v. The chapters on the aerial spirits are followed by a single chapter from the fifth *opus*, with directions for celebrating masses during the magical operations. Again, this text is found exclusively in the *Liber iuratus*. The remainder of the third set of extracts consists of a consecutive series of forty-four chapters from the first *opus* of the *Liber iuratus*, mostly containing prayer cycles for various stages of the operations. Continuing to halfway through fol. 162r of Sloane 3853, the first nine of these chapters are not found in the *Ars notoria*.

Fols. 149r–162r of the third set of extracts in Sloane 3853, then, could only have been excerpted from the *Liber iuratus*, whereas fols. 162r–174v might have been drawn from either the *Ars notoria* or the North European *Liber iuratus*. Evidence suggests, however, that the composer continued to copy the text from the *Liber iuratus*. The sequence of items on fols. 162r–174v, for instance, covers chapters XV–XLIX of the *Liber iuratus* consecutively, whereas the corresponding sections of the *Ars notoria* are not consecutive. Another indication of the identity of the source is the wording of the prayers in Sloane 3853. The first text that could hail from either the *Ars notoria* or the *Liber iuratus* is the prayer *Alpha et Omega* (XV), in which the operator of the *Ars notoria* asks God to heal his intellect (“sana intellectum meum”), whereas the operators of the *Liber iuratus* and Sloane 3853 ask God to heal their souls (“sana animam meam”). The same prayer in Sloane 3853, moreover, has the rubric “Oracio 9” (fol. 162r), which corresponds to the rubric in the *Liber iuratus*, where it is the ninth prayer, while it is the first

prayer in the *Ars notoria*. The prayer *Alpha et Omega* in Sloane 3853 is, therefore, clearly lifted from the *Liber iuratus*. Close inspection of the other prayers, including the long lists of *vores magicae*, bears out that the extracts in Sloane 3853 share numerous readings at the level of words and phrases with the *Liber iuratus* that distinguish them from the same prayers in the glossed version of the *Ars notoria*. In short, even though the glossed version of the *Ars notoria* was used as a source to replace the missing prayers from the *Liber trium animarum* in the North European version of the *Liber iuratus*, the *Liber iuratus* was the proximate source of the third set of extracts from Sloane 3853. The *Ars notoria*, then, is at best a remote source. Having identified the origin of the three sets of extracts, their contents can now be analyzed.

REAPPRAISING THE *LIBER IURATUS* EXTRACTS IN SLOANE 3853

The extracts show that the scribe not only excerpted and recontextualized selected batches of chapters from the *Liber iuratus*, but that he also altered the theurgic petitions in the prayers, adapting it to the wider manuscript context of spirit conjuring. The spirit conjuring orientation of the operations involving planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits in these extracts is self-evident, but what about those parts of the extracts that derive from the first *opus* of the *Liber iuratus*? This part is devoted to a theurgic operation for the purpose of attaining, while living, a vision of the face of God, as Adam and the prophets saw him, and contains four additional “opera Dei”: to obtain knowledge of God’s power, absolution of sins, confirmation that prevents relapse into sin, and redemption of three souls from Purgatory (CII).¹⁹ The prayers in the first *opus* of the *Liber iuratus* reinforce these theurgic aims verbally by including standardized petitions for the beatific vision, which can be modified to suit the other works of God.

The scribe of Sloane 3853, however, seems to have been less theurgically minded, because he systematically omitted these petitions for a beatific vision. In the prayer *Alpha et Omega*, for instance, he substituted the generic word “peticio” (fol. 162v) for a longer, theurgic petition in the *Liber iuratus*: “that I may be able to progress in this most sacred art, so that I might be worthy to attain the vision of your face, eternal God, through the power of your most Holy Spirit and of your name.”²⁰ If the scribe had done this only once,

19. Ganell’s *Summa sacre magice* adds a sixth option: to obtain power over all spirits (“opus potestacionis vel dignificationis super omnes spiritus,” Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek–Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, Ms. 4° astron. 3, fol. 104r).

20. “Quatinus in hac sacrosancta arte taliter possim proficere, ut valeam ad facia-

it might be ascribed to coincidence, but he does exactly the same in his version of chapters XXV, XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXVI, XXXVIII, and XL.

At other times, the scribe worked around the theurgic petitions differently. Chapters XII and XIII of the *Liber iuratus*, for instance, are the Nicene Creed and a customized version of the Athanasian Creed. The latter features six references to the beatific vision, which are, of course, not included in the canonical version of the Athanasian Creed; compare the opening lines of the customized version: “Whoever wishes to be saved and have a beatific vision must, above all, keep the Catholic faith, for unless he keeps this faith whole and undefiled, he will undoubtedly not attain the beatific vision,” to the canonical version: “Whoever wishes to be saved must, above all, keep the Catholic faith, for unless he keeps this faith whole and undefiled, he will undoubtedly be lost forever.”²¹ In Sloane 3853, however, the text of chapters XII and XIII is simply abbreviated to: “Here must be said ‘Credo in Deum,’ etcetera, until the end, and also the Psalm [*sic*] ‘Quicumque vult’ until the end,”²² with a marginal comment: “as þe boke said” (fol. 162r). If the scribe of Sloane 3853 had been eager to ensure that the operator knew that he would have to use the customized Athanasian Creed from the *Liber iuratus*, then the scribe should probably have provided the text in full, instead of presuming that the operator would know what “þe boke said.”

If these examples are not sufficient evidence of the scribe’s intentions to downplay the specifically theurgic petitions and operations, then another type of alteration might be even more telling. The *Liber iuratus* offers the possibility of changing the wording of the prayers in the first *opus* to perform operations other than the beatific vision. Some of these aims belong to the official list of “opera Dei” in chapter CII, but there are other options that are not necessarily theurgic. Chapter XIX of the *Liber iuratus*, for instance, instructs the operator to modify the petition for a beatific vision in the preceding prayer (XVIII) by providing alternative petitions for obtaining knowledge, consecrating a book, conjuring spirits, or performing a wholly different

lem tui, Deus eterne, visionem virtute tui sanctissimi Spiritus et tui nominis pervenire” (XV).

21. “Quicumque vult salvus esse et visionem Dei habere, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio visionem divinam non habebit” (XIII): “Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit” (Athanasian Creed).

22. “Hic dicatur ‘Credo in Deum’ et cetera vsque ad finem et eciam psalmus ‘Quicumque vult’ ad finem vsque” (fol. 162r).

operation. Not interested in copying the entire prayer for the beatific vision and the chapter of alternative petitions, which would have taken up about one and a half pages, the scribe of Sloane 3853 comes straight to the point by simply applying the alternative petition for spirit conjuring to the prayer in chapter XVIII. Any subsequent use of this prayer in Sloane 3853 could, therefore, only be for purposes of spirit conjuring.

The examples advanced so far come from the third set of extracts. That the scribe did not decide on dropping the petitions for the beatific vision this late into the copying process of the *Liber iuratus* becomes clear upon inspecting the earlier sets of extracts. Consider the prayer *Rex regum* from the second set of extracts, for instance. Borrowed from the *Ars notoria*, where it did not have a petition at all, this prayer was expanded in the *Liber iuratus* by a petition “in order to have a vision of your face” (“ut habeam efficaciter tuam facialem visionem,” LXXVIII). The scribe of Sloane 3853, in turn, lifted the prayer from the *Liber iuratus*, but modified the petition to a generic “recite your petition” (“recita petitionem,” fol. 130r). Similarly, the prayer *Profiteor tibi* (XCIII) petitions God for a beatific vision, which in Sloane 3853 becomes a generic “operation” (“operacionis,” fol. 135v). The scribe of Sloane 3853, in other words, systematically altered those prayers and instructions in the *Liber iuratus* concerned with the salvific work of obtaining the vision of God’s face into more general petitions or ones for spirit conjuring. One final example of this practice can be found in the English adaptation of the consecration ritual for the *Sigillum Dei*.

THE ENGLISH CONSECRATION RITUAL FOR THE *SIGILLUM DEI* IN SLOANE 3853

Late medieval and early modern English versions of magical texts survive in large numbers, but there is no good overview of the corpus.²³ Even a glimpse at manuscripts from the British Library’s Sloane collection and the Bodleian Library’s Ashmole collection, however, reveals that there was considerable interest in vernacular magic in late medieval and early modern England. Probably the best known vernacularized magical treatise is the *Sworne Booke*

23. The studies of magic in late medieval and early modern England by Frank Klaassen and Sophie Page are helpful, but they focus on manuscripts of British provenance, not on texts in English; see Klaassen “English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300–1500: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1998), 3–31; Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic*; Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013).

of *Honorius*, an early modern translation of the *Liber iuratus*, in London, British Library, Royal 17. A. xlii. The *Sworne Booke* provides most of the *Liber iuratus* in English, but the directions for constructing and consecrating the *Sigillum Dei* are in Latin, which may have been a precautionary measure on the part of the translator. This situation is reversed in Sloane 3853. The *Liber iuratus* extracts in this manuscript is in Latin, but the consecration ritual for the *Sigillum Dei* on fols. 127v–128v is in English. I provide the English directions side by side with the Latin from chapter IV of the *Liber iuratus*:

Her after ffoloweth the devin sell of God broght from heven be an angell to Kyng Salomon, the hy and gracijs defensative be the holy names of God callid “Chemhamphoras,” be the letters in the rounde serkyll that foloweth; euery letter ys a name and stonde for a nam of Ihesu Christe for the defence of man, woman, and childe.²⁴

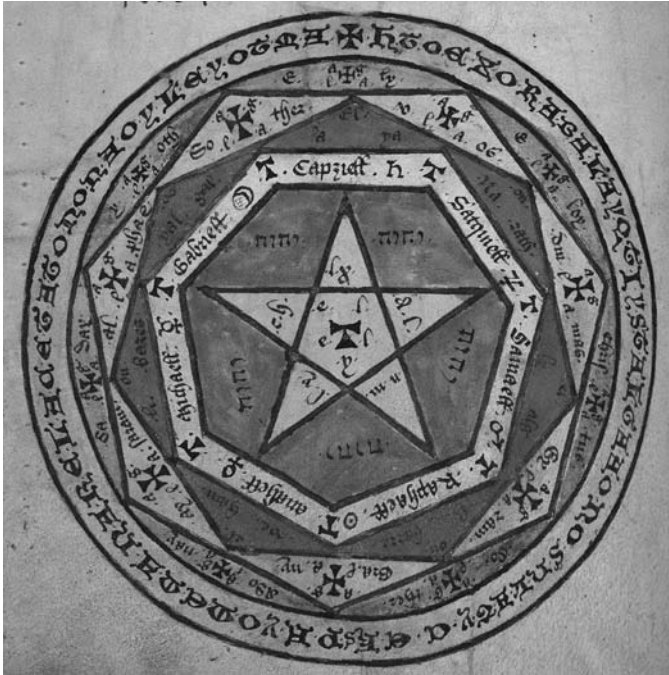


Figure 2. The *Sigillum Dei* in London, British Library, Sloane 3853, fol. 127v (detail). Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

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24. Kyng] interlinear addition by the same scribe. Salomon] MS -o₁- < a. euery letter] MS euery stondyth letter.

49 After this thou shalt knowe that commonly in the examplars the fyve cornarde cyrkyl or mullet is made of redd, died with saffron within the spaces, and the ffirst cerkell with 7 corners of azvre, the seconde of saffron, the thirde of purple, and the rounde serkelis of blacke. **50** And the space betwene the circules wher the name “Shemhamphoras” is, is dyed with saffron. All other spaces are to be coloured with grene wher “Tetragrammaton” ys, and the serkyl abowght that wyght with the angelles names and planettes. **51** But in operacyons it must other wyse be done, for it is made with the blode either of a mowlle, or of a turtyll doue, or a lapwyng, or of backe, or of them all; and in virgyn parchement of a calfe, or a foole, or a hynde calfe, and so is the seale of God perfecte. **52** And by this holy and consecrated seale, after it be consecrated, thou mayest worke operacions wich shalbe declared afterwarde in this booke. **53** The maner of consecratyng of this holy seale ought thus to be as folowethe. **54** By the inspiracion of God, Salomon said: “þer is only one God, only faith, only vertue,” which the Lord wolde to be reueled to men and distributed of this wyse. **55** The angell said to Salomon: “this shalt thou geve to the people off Israell, whiche also shall likewise geve to others.” So it hath pleased the creatour, and the Lorde commaundeth it thus to be consecrated. **56** First let the worker be cleane, not polluted, and let hym do it with deuocion, not deceyftully. Let

49 Deinde scias, quod in exemplaribus communiter pentagonus fit de rubeo cum croceo in spaciis tincto, et primus eptagonus de azurio, secundus de croceo, tertius de purpureo, et circuli de nigro. **50** Et spacium inter circulos, ubi est nomen “Semenphoras,” tingitur croceo. Omnia alia spacia viridi habent tingi. **51** Set in operacionibus aliter fieri debet, quia de sanguine aut talpe aut turturis aut upupe aut vesperilionis aut omnium horum figuratur et in pergamento virgineo vitulino vel equino vel cervino, et sic completur Dei sigillum.

52 Et per hoc sanctum et sacrum sigillum, quando erit sacratum, poteris facere operaciones, que postea dicentur in hoc libro sacro. **53** Modus autem sacrandi hoc sacrum sigillum talis, sicut sequitur, debet esse. **54** Inspirante Domino dixit Salomon: “Unus est solus Deus, sola fides, sola virtus,” quam Dominus hominibus voluit revelari et distribui tali modo. **55** Dixit angelus Samael Salomoni: “Hoc dabis populo Israel, qui et aliis similiter tribuent.” Sic placuit creatori, et iubet ipsum Dominus taliter consecrari.

56 Primo sit mundus operans, non pollutus, et cum devocione faciat, non astute. Non comedat neque bibat, donec perfecerit opus, et sanguis, quo scriptum fuerit, primo sit benedictus, sicut postea dicitur.

hym not eate nor drynke tyll he haue done his worke, and the blode, wherwith it shalbe written, first must be blessed as shalbe said afterward. **57** Than the seale must be fumed with amber, muske, aloes, lapdanum the white and redd, mastyke, olibanum, margarites, and encense; callyng vppon and prayng to the Lorde **58** and all holy angels by sayng as foloweth. **59** “That Thow, Lorde, by the annunciacion, concepcion,” et cetera, “wilde vouchesafe to blesse and consecrate this Thy most holy name and seale, **60** that by it through Thy mediacion I may—or suche one N maye—convicce heuenly powers, ayrely, earthy and infernall to subdue, invoke, to alter, coniure, constryne, reyse vp, congregare, dryve away, to bynde, and to make them not able to hurte or harme; **61** to pacifie men, and of them to haue graciouslye myne or his petitions, to quyet enemyes, them þat be at peace to disseuer, and to kepe whole men in helth or to make them seeke, to make seke men whole, **62** to kepe evyll men from good, and to dyvide and to knowe them, to skape all bodely daunger, to make judges pacified at pleasure, to obteyne victory in all thynges, **63** to mortifie carnall synnes, and to dryve away, ouercome and avoyde the spirituall, to encrease riches in good thynges, and whan in the daye of iudgement I—or he—shall appere of Thy ryght hande with Thy sayntes and electe, I—or he—maye knowe Thy maiestie.” **64** Than that nyght let hym ley it without the house

57 Deinde suffumigetur hoc sigillum ambra, musco, aloë, lapdano albo et rubeo, mastice, olibano, margaritis et thure invocando et orando Dominum, sicut postea de visione divina erudietur. **58** Post invocando angelos, sicut infra etiam dicitur, mutabitur tamen peticio tali modo. **59** “Ut tu, Domine, per annunciacionem, conceptionem” et cetera “hoc sacratissimum nomen ac sigillum tuum benedicere et consecrare digneris, **60** ut per ipsum te mediante possim vel possit talis N celestes convincere potestates, aereas et terreas cum infernalibus subiugare, invocare, transmutare, coniurare, constringere, excitare, congregare, dispergere, ligare ac ipsos innocuos reddere, **61** homines placare et ab eis suas petitiones graciosius habere, inimicos pacificare, pacificatos disiungere, sanos in sanitate custodire vel infirmare, infirmos curare, **62** homines bonos a malis custodire et distinguere et cognoscere, omne corporale periculum evadere, iudices in placito placatos reddere, victoriam in omnibus optinere, **63** peccata carnalia mortificare et spiritualia fugare, vincere et evitare, divicias in bonis augmentare, et dum in die iudicii apparebit a dextris tuis cum sanctis et electis tuis, tuam possit cognoscere maiestatem.” **64** Et tunc illa nocte sub aere sereno extra domum dimittat. Tunc habeas cirothecas novas sine creta factas, in quas quis nuncquam manum posuerit, in quibus signum glutetur.

in the cleare ayre. Then thow shalt
haue new gloves made without fyngers
theron, in to the which no man euer
put his hande, in the whiche the seale
shall be fast put. **65** And thus is
complished this holy seale.²⁵

65 Et sic complebitur hoc sacro-
sanctum sigillum, cuius primus
eptagonus 7 ordines, secundus 7 arti-
culos duplos, tercius 7 sacramenta
designat.

Comparison of the two versions demonstrates that the adaptor mostly followed the Latin quite closely, but it is instructive to study how he treated his source. The paragraph preceding the *Sigillum Dei*, for instance, is unique to Sloane 3853. There is no other *Liber iuratus* manuscript that introduces the sigil as “the devin sell of God broght from heven be an angell to Kyng Salomon, the hy and gracios defensative be the holy names of God callid ‘Chemhamphoras,’ . . . for the defence of man, woman, and childe.” Removed from the larger context of the *Liber iuratus*, however, the *Sigillum Dei* and its consecration ritual might have seemed to require an introduction of some sort. The adaptor may have turned to the *Liber iuratus* itself, in which the *Sigillum Dei* is described as a protective, Solomonic sign (CXXVII and CXXXIII). Alternatively, the idea that the *Sigillum Dei* is a protective device could also have come from elsewhere in Sloane 3853. A magical circle on fol. 62v is described “a defensatyue for spkrkts [spiritis],” for instance, and two Solomonic circles on fol. 94r are described as “a defensatiue for spirytis” and “defensatiuus,” respectively. An analogue to the reference to the Schemhamphoras (which is written in the outer ring of the *Sigillum Dei*) is found in the seventeenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Aubrey 24, fol. 60r, where a *Sigillum Dei* is described as follows: “this is the pentacle in which the most holy seventy-two names of God are written, and of his holy angels, and those things that were written in the tables delivered by God to Moses.”²⁶ Here, as in Sloane 3853, a link is made between Solomonic magic (in the form of the term *pentaculum* for the sigil), and special attention is given to the Schemhamphoras.

Another feature not present in all manuscript copies of the *Liber iuratus* is the actual drawing of a *Sigillum Dei*. All operations in the *Liber iuratus* require

25. **49** mullet] i.e., amulet (cf. accomplished for accomplished in **65**). **51** backe] i.e., bat. **57** margarites] i.e., pearls. **60** suche one N maye] MS suche one maye N. convicce] i.e., convince; MS -c₃ < *. **61** whole men] MS seke men. **62** to kepe evyll men from good] i.e., to keep evil men away from good men. **63** the spirituall] i.e., the spiritual sins. **65** The English does not include the final Latin clause.

26. “Hoc pentaculum in quo scripta sunt sanctissima nomina Dei septuaginta duo, ejusque angelorum sanctorum, et ea que scripta erant in tabulij a Deo Moysi traditis.”

the use of a *Sigillum Dei*, so detailed directions for constructing such a sigil must be provided if the operator is to have a chance to succeed. In the *Liber iuratus* extracts in Ganell's *Summa sacre magice*, the construction of the *Sigillum Dei* is described summarily, because the sigil is depicted alongside a brief explanation of some of its pertinent features. Mostly transmitted without an actual drawing of the *Sigillum Dei*, the North European version of the *Liber iuratus*, on the other hand, relies on painstakingly detailed directions for constructing the sigil.²⁷ The *Liber iuratus* extracts in Sloane 3853, therefore, are noteworthy for the fact that they include a drawn sigil, allowing the scribe to skip the description that is greater part of chapter IV of the *Liber iuratus*. In fact, the only part of the directions for constructing the sigil retained in Sloane 3853 is the color scheme (IV.49–50) and the instruction for the kinds of blood to be used in drawing it (IV.51). The color scheme could even have been omitted, because the image in the manuscript has been colored in accordance with the instructions. In Aubrey 24, the colors of the *Sigillum Dei* are described in words within the image, but to actually depict a completely colored *Sigillum Dei* is unique to Sloane 3853. Two other unusual features of the sigil in Sloane 3853 are the astrological symbols for the planets associated with the seven angels in the heptagon, and the repeated Tetragrammaton in the field around the pentagram. That these were planned additions is evident from the directions for the color scheme in English, which were expanded as follows: “All other spaces are to be coloured with grene wher ‘Tetragrammaton’ ys, and the serkyll abowght that wyght with the angelles names and planettes” (IV.50). I know of only one other instance of a *Sigillum Dei* that displays the Tetragrammaton around the tau cross in the center, in the seventeenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Michael 276, fol. 13v. The inclusion of the astrological symbols for the planets is otherwise unattested, and is probably inspired by the symbols accompanying the names in the portraits of the seven leaders of the planetary spirits directly preceding the *Sigillum Dei*.

The consecration ritual of the *Sigillum Dei* (IV.52–65), finally, contains a change in line with the alterations in the other extracts in Sloane 5853. This change concerns the treatment of the beatific vision in IV.57–58. The Latin directions instruct the reader to fumigate the sigil while invoking and entreating God in the way suitable to petition for a beatific vision (“invocando et

27. For a study of the treatment of the *Sigillum Dei* in the two *Liber iuratus* traditions, see László Sándor Chardonnnens and Jan R. Veenstra, “Carved in Lead and Concealed in Stone: A Late Medieval *Sigillum Dei* at Doornenburg Castle,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 9 (2014): 130–56.

orando Dominum, sicut postea de visione divina erudietur”). The English translation omits the purpose of the invocation altogether by skipping from the fumigation directly to the invocation: “Than the seale must be fumed with amber, muske, aloes, lapdanum the white and redd, mastyke, olibanum, margarites, and encense; callyng vppon and prayng to the Lorde and all holy angels by sayng as foloweth.” In line with the treatment of the petitions in the other extracts from the *Liber iuratus*, the scribe left out any reference to the beatific vision. In short, the English adaptation of the Latin consecration ritual for the *Sigillum Dei* is close enough to the Latin to permit a positive identification with the *Liber iuratus*; and while the omission of the reference to the beatific vision in Sloane 3853 does not turn the *Sigillum Dei* into a spirit conjuring instrument per se, it is a step removed from the theurgic operations of the first *opus* of the *Liber iuratus*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In a personal communication on the topic of this article, Jan Veenstra remarked that it is a pity that the Sloane manuscripts are still largely neglected in magical studies, particularly since they have so much to offer. To be sure, some manuscripts have been given their share of attention, particularly those associated with John Dee’s experiments, and those parts of Sloane 313, 3854, and 3885 that concern themselves with the *Liber iuratus*. Yet the Sloane collection contains many more magical items of interest. Sloane 3853 is a case in point. This manuscript has been brought to the attention of magical studies several times, but it was only with the more detailed analysis in Frank Klaassen’s *Transformations of Magic* that the manuscript became more than a shadow of its summary table of contents. That said, some of the earlier observations and claims about the manuscript are problematic, and this article reappraises Sloane 3853 in light of its treatment of the *Liber iuratus*.

The composite miscellany Sloane 3853 hosts two independently produced grimoires that were compiled in England in the early modern period. The texts in both parts are mainly necromantic, and include some widely transmitted magical evergreens, such as the *Thesaurus spirituum*, the *Liber consecrationum*, the *Vinculum spirituum*, and the *Liber officiorum spirituum*. The presence of a set of extracts from the much rarer *Liber iuratus* in the first part of Sloane 3853 had been known for a long time, but this knowledge did not prompt an enquiry as to why extracts from a rare theurgic work were included in the context of spirit conjuring. Two more sets of extracts from the *Liber iuratus* have now been identified, however, and together the extracts have enough substance to pursue this matter. The investigation has demonstrated that the

scribe of Sloane 3853 selected those parts of the *Liber iuratus* that were concerned with spirit conjuring, involving the conjuration of planetary, aerial, and terrestrial spirits from the second, third, and fourth *opera* of the *Liber iuratus*, whose rituals take only a few days. The prayers from the first *opus*, and the consecration ritual for the *Sigillum Dei* needed for any operation from the *Liber iuratus* were also copied by the scribe, but petitions for the beatific vision in these extracts were replaced by a generic “peticio,” or by petitions for spirit conjuring. At the same time, the scribe omitted the directions for the lengthy theurgic rituals from the first *opus*, which start at chapter L (right where the third set of extracts stops), thereby downplaying the arduous and above all time-consuming nature of these operations.²⁸ The selections and adaptations of the scribe, in other words, focused on the relatively quick and straightforward spirit conjurations, erased references to theurgic petitions, and decontextualized the prayers from the first *opus* by excluding any reference to a time frame or concrete ritual setting. Finally, the extracts were recontextualized in the setting of necromancy in Sloane 3853.

In the process of the investigation, two related issues with regard to Sloane 3853 were addressed. The first issue concerns the texts in the second part of Sloane 3853. Finding out the identity of these texts, particularly of the *Daniel*, shows how much is still to be gained from studying the magical manuscripts in the Sloane collection. The second issue concerns the identity of the third set of extracts from the *Liber iuratus*, which had been identified as excerpts from the *Ars notoria*. By comparing the prayers from Sloane 3853 to their analogues in the *Liber iuratus* and the *Ars notoria*, it has been possible to identify the *Liber iuratus* as the proximate source of the extracts in Sloane 3853, and to shed some new light on the intricate relationship between the *Liber iuratus* and the *Ars notoria*.

If I had to suggest some areas of future research on the basis of this article, I would settle for these four topics. First, a thorough study of the magical manuscripts in the Sloane collection, and their contents and connections, particularly of those books that entered Sloane’s library by way of Sir Joseph Jekyll (which includes Sloane 3850, 3853, 3854, 3884, and 3885, for instance). Second, a systematic exploration of the treatment of theurgic magic in the manuscript context of spirit conjuring. Third, a more detailed investigation of the links between the glossed version of the *Ars notoria* and the *Liber iuratus*, which has not been done yet, but which is possible now that both

28. To be fair, a comment at the end of the third set of extracts indicates that the scribe may have wanted to continue his work: “That that folowyth hir after hys the ruyll and order” (fol. 174v).

texts are available in critical editions. Fourth, more editions of (vernacular) magical texts to promote further research in this field.

APPENDIX: COMPARATIVE TABLE

The table below offers a comparison between the three sets of extracts in Sloane 3853 and their place in the *Liber iuratus* and the glossed version of the *Ars notoria*, respectively. The *Liber iuratus* being the direct source of the extracts in Sloane 3853, the corresponding prayers in the *Ars notoria* differ to varying degrees, depending on how they were adapted in the *Liber iuratus*. Close analogues are printed in roman type, while remote analogues are printed in italics. For ease of reference, I first present a concise breakdown of the *Liber iuratus*.²⁹

Historiola (I); table of contents (II); introduction of Solomonian magic, of different kinds of spirits and practitioners (III).

First *opus*: directions for constructing and consecrating the *Sigillum Dei* (IV); how to get Divine permission for a beatific vision (V); eight preparatory prayers and the customized Athanasian Creed (VI–XIV); three prayers for the beatific vision (XV–XVIII); directions for changing the wording of prayer XVIII for other purposes (XIX); nine prayers after getting Divine permission to proceed (XX–XLI); eight *termini* to get Divine permission to operate (XLII–XLIX); directions for using the preceding and following prayers and *termini* (L–LII); thirty-four prayers (LIII–XCVI); note on the preceding thirty-four prayers (XCVII); directions for concluding the operation, more prayers, and explanation of Schemhamphoras (XCVIII–C); 100-name Schemhamphoras (CI); note on alternative operations for the first *opus* (CII).

Second *opus*: table of contents (CIII); introduction of the planetary spirits (CIV–CXI); construction of a magical circle, the ritual, and the spirit conjuration (CXII–CXV).

Third *opus*: table of contents (CXVI); introduction of the aerial spirits and their features (CXVII–CXXVI); construction of a magical circle, the ritual, and the spirit conjuration (CXXVII–CXXXIII).

Fourth *opus*: table of contents (CXXXIV); introduction of the terrestrial spirits and their features, with construction of a magical circle, and the spirit conjuration (CXXXV).

29. For a more detailed overview, see Hedegård, ed., *Liber iuratus*, 29–30.

Fifth *opus*: directions for changing the wording of prayers in the first *opus* for alternative operations (CXXXVI); directions for consecrating the ink for the *Sigillum Dei* (CXXXVII); directions for celebrating masses during the magical operations of the first *opus* (CXXXVIII); directions for invoking of the aerial spirits of the third *opus* (CXXXIX); directions for operations of the third *opus* (CXL).

Epilogue (CXLI).

Sloane 3853	<i>Liber iuratus Honorii</i>	<i>Ars notoria</i>
first set of extracts (fols. 120v–123v)		
120v/1–11C	VIII	
120v/12–22	CIX	
121r/1–9	CVI	
121r/10–19	CX	
121r/		
19–121v/4	CV	
121v/5–12	CVII	
121v/13–19	CXI	
missing leaf	[CXIX–CXXI?]	
122r/1–18	CXXII	
122r/18–122v/14	CXXIV	
122v/14–123r/8	CXXV	
123r/8–123v/13	CXXVI	
second set of extracts (fols. 127v–137v)		
127v	<i>Sigillum Dei</i>	
128r/1–128v/25	IV.49–65	
129r/1–10	XXVIII	34
129r/10–14	XXIX	var. 5 (after 35)
129r/14–27	XXX	36

Sloane 3853	<i>Liber iuratus Honorii</i>	<i>Ars notoria</i>
129v/1–12	XXXI	43
129v/13–15	XXXII	46
129v/16–19	XXXIII	47
129v/20–24	XXXIV	50
129v/25–130r/8	XXXV	52
130r/8–13	LXXVII	var. 10 (after 95)
130r/13–20	LXXVIII	96
130r/20–130v/3	LXXIX	98
130v/4–15	LXX	var. 9 (after 146)
130v/16–131r/16	CXII	
131r/16–21	CXIII	
131r/21–131v/19	CXIV	
131v/19–134v/19	CXV.1–48	
134v/20–135r/1	LXXIII	92
135r/1–6	LXXIV	93
135r/7–135v/10	XCIII	124
135v/10–136r/12	CXXXV.8–17	
136r/13–137r/16	CXXXVII.1–19	
137r/17–22 ³⁰	not in the <i>Liber iuratus</i>	
137r/23–137v/20	CI.2–8	
third set of extracts (fols. 149r–174v)		
149r/1–149v/14	CXXVII	
149v/14–151v/21	CXXVIII	
151v/21–153v/19	CXXIX	

30. Directions for operational purity are common in ritual magic, but the wording of this specific instruction in Sloane 3853 does not hail from the *Liber iuratus*.

Sloane 3853	<i>Liber iuratus Honorii</i>	<i>Ars notoria</i>
153v/20–154r/11	CXXX	
154r/11–154v/9	CXXXI	
154v/10–155v/8	CXXXII	
155v/8–159r/25 ³¹	CXXXIII	
159v/1–160r/4	CXXXVIII	
160r/6–10	VI	
160r/10–13	VII	
160r/13–22	VIII	
160r/22–161r/6	IX	
161r/6–22	X.1–5	
161r/23–162r/13	XI.1–11	
162r/13–15	XII–XIII	
162r/16–19 ³²	XIV	
162r/19–162v/16	XV	var. 1 (after prologue)
162v/16–163r/11	XVI	7
163r/11–21	XVII	10
163r/21–163v/8	XVIII–XIX	11
163v/8–164v/10	XX	16
164v/10–165r/11	XXI	var. 3 (after 16)
165r/11–15	XXII	var. 4 (after var. 3)
165r/15–165v/8	XXIII	22
165v/8–166r/2	XXIV	24

31. Sloane 3853 provides the sacred names from the 100-name Schemhamphoras only referred to by numbers in chapter CXXXIII of the *Liber iuratus*.

32. Sloane 3853 abbreviates chapter XIV of the *Liber iuratus* (the opening of Communion) to: “Ego diuina institutione formatus et preceptis salutaribus imprecatus audebo dicere: ‘Pater Noster’ et cetera ad finem.”

Sloane 3853	<i>Liber iuratus Honorii</i>	<i>Ars notoria</i>
166r/3–22	XXV	25
166r/22–166v/2	XXVI	29a
166v/2–13	XXVII	29b
166v/13–24	XXVIII	34
166v/24–167r/4	XXIX	var. 5 (after 35)
167r/4–22	XXX	36
167r/22–167v/14	XXXI	43
167v/14–18	XXXII	46
167v/19–168r/3	XXXIII	47
168r/3–8	XXXIV	50
168r/8–17	XXXV	52
168r/18–22	XXXVI.1	53
168r/22–168v/9	XXVII	54
168v/9–18	XXXVIII	55
168v/18–169r/11	XXXIX	62
169r/11–169v/12	XL	64
169v/12–170r/17	XLI	69
170r/18–170v/18	XLII	127a
170v/19–172r/8	XLIII	127b
172r/8–172v/7	XLIV	127c
172v/8–173r/13	XLV	127d
173r/13–173v/8	XLVI	127e
173v/9–174r/11	XLVII	127f
174r/11–174v/12	XLVIII	127g
174v/12–21	XLIX	127h