

Humanities & Social Science Faculty  
University of Newcastle

Magical Techniques and Implements present in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri,  
Byzantine Greek Solomonic Manuscripts and European Grimoires:  
Transmission, Continuity and Commonality

(The Technology of Solomonic Magic)

Stephen Skinner

2013

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy (Classics)

### Statement of Originality

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

.....  
Stephen Skinner

## Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge a debt to my supervisors Dr Marguerite Johnson and Terry Ryan, who between them guided me through the process of writing this thesis, a process I discovered is somewhat different from writing a book. I also owe a considerable debt of gratitude to my very erudite Greek teacher Tai Yu Hsiang. My thanks to the librarians (especially those responsible for the manuscript collections) of the British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Bodleian Library, Warburg Institute, Wellcome Library, Canterbury Cathedral library and various university libraries including London, Bologna, Kassel and Newcastle for their help in locating some of the more obscure manuscripts.

"Magic is not, as the followers of Epicurus and Aristotle think, utterly incoherent, but, as the experts in these things prove, is a consistent system, which has principles known to very few."

- Origen, *Contra Celsus* 1.24. (transl. Henry Chadwick, 1953)

*"Magica est scientia arctandi spiritus malignos et benignos per nomen dei et per nomina sua."*

- Berengarii Ganelli, *Summa Sacre Magice*.  
Kassel MS 4º Astron. 3, f. 2.

## Contents

Acknowledgements .....	3
Contents.....	5
Abstract.....	8
List of Figures .....	9
List of Tables .....	11
Abbreviations.....	12
1. Introduction .....	14
1.1 Summary of Objectives.....	14
1.2 Review of the Scholarly Literature and Source Texts.....	18
1.3 Methodology .....	25
1.4 Scope of the Study and Definitions of Terminology .....	30
1.5 The Relationship between Magic, the Mysteries and Religion.....	30
2. Theatre of Operation: the Historical Background .....	53
3. Analysis of the Sources.....	57
3.1 The Ancient Egyptian Demotic Magical Papyri .....	57
3.2 The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri .....	61
Analysis of the PGM by Sources.....	62
Analysis of the PGM by Objective and Rite Types .....	66
3.3 The Input of Jewish Magic to Graeco-Egyptian Magic and the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	81
The Case against the Hebrew Roots of the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	89
The Case for the Hebrew Roots of the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	93
3.4 Byzantine Solomonic Magical Texts.....	96
Analysis of the Contents of the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .....	114
3.5 The <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	122
4. Transmission of Specific Magical Techniques and Instruments from the <i>Hygromanteia</i> to the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	136
5. The Commonality and Transmission of Method between the PGM, the <i>Hygromanteia</i> and the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	144
5.1 The Hierarchy of Spiritual Creatures .....	149
5.1.1 The Hierarchies of Spirits, Angels and Daimones .....	149
5.1.2 The Gods .....	154
5.1.3 The Hierarchy of Angels .....	157
5.1.4 The Hierarchy of Demons .....	159
5.2 Preliminary Procedures and Preparation .....	164
5.2.1 Location for Operation.....	164
5.2.2 Space – Orientation and the Four Demon Kings.....	166
5.2.3 Timing (C).....	178
5.2.4 Purity and Sexual Abstinence.....	196
5.2.5 Fasting and Food Prohibitions.....	199
5.3 Protection for the Magician.....	202
5.3.1 Circle of Protection.....	202
5.3.2 Triangle of Art and Brass Vessel .....	230
5.3.3 Phylactery, Lamen or Breastplate (U).....	237

5.4 Written Words .....	247
5.4.1 Amulets (A & R) .....	247
5.4.2 Talismans and Pentacles (T).....	251
5.4.3 Defixiones (W) .....	266
5.5 Spoken Words.....	268
5.5.1 Conjunction of Angels.....	268
5.5.2 Evocation of Daimones and Spirits.....	270
5.5.3 <i>Nomina magica</i> .....	272
5.5.4 Historiola and Commemoration .....	284
5.5.5 License to Depart .....	285
6. The Commonality and Transmission of Equipment between the <i>PGM</i> , the <i>Hygromanteia</i> and the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	290
6.1 Table of Evocation .....	292
6.2 Wand .....	297
6.3 Sword .....	300
6.4 Dagger or Black-handled Knife.....	302
6.5 Virgin Papyrus or Parchment .....	306
6.6 Pen, Quill, or Reed.....	307
6.7 Ink .....	309
6.8 Garments.....	313
6.9 The <i>Symbolas</i> of the Gods.....	315
6.10 Magical Statues or <i>Stoicheia</i> (J).....	317
6.11 Magical Rings and Gemstones (K).....	320
6.12 Wax and Clay Images .....	324
6.13 Incenses .....	328
6.14 Herbs (Y) .....	335
7. Specific Magical Techniques and Objectives in all three sources.....	341
7.1 Obtaining a <i>Paredros</i> (F) .....	341
7.2 Sending Visions and Dreams (V) .....	342
7.3 Love Spells (L).....	344
7.4 Invisibility (I).....	345
7.5 Sacrifice .....	347
7.6 Necromancy (N) .....	349
7.7 Treasure Finding.....	353
7.8 Imprisonment of Spirits in a Bottle .....	357
8. The 'manteiai' or Evocatory Skrying Methods.....	359
8.1 <i>Lychnomanteia</i> - Evocatory Lamp Skrying (D).....	362
8.2 <i>Lekanomanteia</i> – Bottle and Bowl Skrying (B).....	364
8.3 <i>Hygromanteia</i> – Water Skrying .....	369
9. Conclusions .....	374
Glossary .....	381

APPENDICES .....	386
Appendix 1 – Analysis and Statistics for Graeco-Egyptian Magic.....	387
Appendix 2 - Analysis of the Taxonomy of Graeco-Egyptian Magic in the <i>PGM</i> .....	389
Appendix 3 – The Manuscripts of the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .....	411
Appendix 4 – The Manuscripts of the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	412
Appendix 5 - Transmission of the Names of Gods, Daimones, Angels and Spirits.....	415
 Bibliography.....	420

## Abstract

This thesis sets out to research and identify the transmission, continuity and common elements of magical techniques and implements present in magicians' handbooks, from the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (2nd century BCE – 5th century CE) via the Byzantine Greek Solomonic manuscripts (6th century – 16th century), to European Latin and English Solomonic grimoires (13th century – 19th century).

The evolution of magical techniques is traced from one period to another, using the papyri, manuscripts and printed editions of handbooks actually written, used or owned by magicians, rather than the literature about them. In this way magic is treated like any evolving technology, where a surprising degree of continuity and commonality has been found, stretching over periods up to two thousand years.

There is no intention to examine social, political, economic or religious issues, or the reaction to magicians of their surrounding lay community, or to assess the effectiveness of these techniques, purely an intention to identify the commonality, continuity and transmission of their techniques and equipment.

The nature of the blending of Egyptian, Greek and Jewish magical techniques, equipment and *nomina magica* in Alexandria in the first five centuries of the Common Era is discussed, and the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are analysed from the point of view of methods, *materia* and intended outcome, with a detailed breakdown of sources and rite types.

The commonality between these methods and ingredients so established, and their reappearance in the Byzantine Greek *Hygromanteia* and related texts is demonstrated, with an analysis of why some methods persisted and others faded away.

The migration of these methods and *nomina magica* from the Greek *Solomōnikē* to the Latin grimoires, particularly the *Clavicula Salomonis*, is analysed on a technique by technique basis, with illustrative passages drawn from vernacular Solomonic manuscripts like the *Lemegeton*. Areas of discontinuity are evaluated, and the sources of material from other sources, such as the pentacles of the *Key of Solomon*, ascertained and identified.

## List of Figures

Figure 01: Bird-footed demon or <i>yazata</i> portrayed on a 579 CE Zoroastrian sarcophagus. ....	145
Figure 02: Bird-footed demons with tails, wings and upturning beards from 1425.....	146
Figure 03: Schematic illustration of an invocation to the four Cardinal directions. ....	167
Figure 04: The Demon Kings Maymon Rex and Vercan Rex. ....	171
Figure 05: The Demon Kings from the <i>Clavis Inferni</i> : Urius and Paymon.....	172
Figure 06: The Demon Kings from the <i>Clavis Inferni</i> : Maymon and Egyn. ....	173
Figure 07: <i>Theurgia</i> , a 1583 manuscript showing the Martial spirits for each direction .....	176
Figure 08: Two 'spirit compass roses' in the <i>Theurgia-Goetia</i> , dated 1687 and 1713 .....	175-178
Figure 09: The angels and demons of each hour of the week in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .....	186
Figure 10: The planets ruling the 24 hours of Sunday from a 1796 <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	187
Figure 11: Ouroboros circle in a grimoire the <i>Treasure of the Old Man of the Pyramids</i> . ....	206
Figure 12: The frontispiece of the 1757 grimoire <i>Clavis Inferni</i> showing the ouroboros .....	207
Figure 13: The magician Apollōnios and virgin boy skryer.....	211
Figure 14: Magical circle of protection used in an experiment of evocatory water skrying..	212
Figure 15: The second type of Byzantine Circle.....	214
Figure 16: The third type of Byzantine Circle .....	215
Figure 17: A full Solomonic protective circle from a French <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> of 1795. ....	216
Figure 18: A 14th century magician within a turf cut circle receives a treasure-bearing spirit. ....	217
Figure 19: A protective circle from the <i>Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh</i> . ....	218
Figure 20: A simple circle of protection from <i>The Worke of Salomon the Wise</i> .....	220
Figure 21: A more complex circle of protection from <i>The Worke of Salomon the Wise</i> .....	221
Figure 22: Circle for Sunday in the <i>Heptameron</i> . ....	223
Figure 23: Circle for Wednesday in a <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> derived from the <i>Heptameron</i> .....	224
Figure 24: Circle for Sunday from a manuscript of the <i>Herpenthilis</i> .....	225
Figure 25: Crowned ouroboros used in a circle design in a Faustian grimoire.....	226
Figure 26: Circle from the <i>Goetia</i> manuscript dated 1687. ....	227
Figure 27: Circle in a 20th century edition of the <i>Goetia</i> .....	228
Figure 28: Circle as it appears in the Mathers' edition of the <i>Key of Solomon</i> .....	229
Figure 29: Triangle of Art in an English manuscript (1572) showing corrupt Greek .....	231
Figure 29a: A triangle within a circle containing the magician's equipment.....	232
Figure 30: The protective Circle and Triangle of Art from the <i>Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh</i> ....	233
Figure 30a: The magician Virgil releasing spirits from a bottle.....	234
Figure 31: Form of the Brass Vessel in which Solomon reputedly shut up the Spirits. ....	235
Figure 32: The Brass Vessel designed by Dr Rudd as an alternative to the Triangle of Art..	236
Figure 33: A Graeco-Egyptian phylactery designed to protect the magician.....	239

Figure 34: A wing formation amulet from the <i>PGM</i> .....	249
Figure 35: Bronze amulet showing Solomon with Hermes wand, lance and cauldron.....	250
Figure 36: Byzantine Amulet showing the rider St. Sisinnios identified with Solomon.....	250
Figure 37: Solomonic pentacles in a mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century Latin manuscript, verso.....	255
Figure 37a: Solomonic pentacles in a mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century Latin manuscript, recto.....	255
Figure 38: 'Seals' or proto-pentacles found in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> as used in the <i>ourania</i> .....	257
Figure 39: The much simpler apprentice's or skryer's phylactery.....	257
Figure 40: Free-standing 'seals' or proto-pentacles from the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .....	258
Figure 41: Pentacles from Mathers' <i>Key of Solomon</i> .....	260
Figure 41a: Some of the pentacles from the <i>Sepher ha-Otot</i> .....	262
Figure 42: The Secret Seal of Solomon in the <i>Goetia</i> . .....	264
Figure 43: The Secret Seal of Solomon in Mathers' <i>Key of Solomon</i> .....	264
Figure 44: A typical late grimoire composite planetary talisman of Jupiter.....	265
Figure 45: The Table of Evocation (1440) used to summon the black demon Mortzē.....	293
Figure 46: Table of Evocation (1346) in the <i>Summa Sacre Magice</i> .....	294
Figure 47: Dr John Dee's Table of Evocation or Table of Practice (1583).....	295
Figure 48: A 20th century Table of Evocation carved in marble .....	296
Figure 49: Graeco-Egyptian magician wearing a crown and holding a sword and wand....	299
Figure 50: 20th century Golden Dawn wands showing Egyptian motifs.....	299
Figure 51: The magician's Magical Sword of Art in the <i>Key of Solomon</i> .....	301
Figure 52: An evocatory circle showing five swords and five Infernall Kings.....	302
Figure 53: The extended Instruments of Art in a French <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> .....	305
Figure 54: The other iron Instruments of Art by Mathers with their inscriptions .....	306
Figure 55: Solomon's ring from the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .....	323
Figure 56: Solomon's ring from the <i>Goetia</i> made of silver or gold. .....	323
Figure 57: Bes-Pantheos. Note the wands and the ouroboros circle .....	327
Figure 58: A page from the Italian <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> used in the trial of Laura Malipiero..	349
Figure 59: Magicians attempting to take possession of a treasure possessed by spirits .....	355
Figure 60: The 'Route du Tresor' from the <i>Grand Grimoire</i> .....	356
Figure 61: Schematic of the lines of transmission of Solomonic magical texts.....	373
Figure 62: An extended Venn diagram schematically showing the basic commonalities.....	380

## List of Tables

Table 01: Summary of the chapters of the <i>Hygromanteia</i> in 17 manuscripts.	118-120
Table 02: Comparison of the contents of the <i>Hygromanteia</i> and the <i>Key of Solomon</i> .	138-141
Table 03: God names derived from various cultures in the <i>PGM</i> .	156
Table 04: The Correlation of the Angels with the seven Heavens.	158
Table 05: The Seasonal Angels of the <i>Heptameron</i> .	159
Table 06: Correspondences between <i>Testament of Solomon</i> and <i>Hygromanteia</i> Demons.	163
Table 07: Animal, tree, stone and bird Correspondences of each hour in the <i>PGM</i> .	182
Table 08: The names of the gods of the hours of the day, and the form they take.	183
Table 09: The functions, animals, names and gods of the hours.	184
Table 10: The <i>PGM</i> table of angels of each hour of the day.	184
Table 11: Egyptian year, with names of months and bad days for magical operations.	190
Table 12: The month with corresponding Egyptian god/name.	192
Table 13: The suitability of specific Egyptian months for particular magical objectives.	192
Table 14: Correspondence between the Sun Station and the day of the Lunar cycle.	195
Table 15: Planetary inks in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .	312
Table 16: Planetary Incenses spanning 1800 years.	333-334
Table 17: Egyptian code names for common ingredients used in magic in the <i>PGM</i> .	338
Table 18: The Zodiacal herbs according to the <i>Hygromanteia</i> and Harpocratio.	339
Table 19: Commonality between the <i>PGM</i> and the Skrying chapters in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .	361
Table 20: The objective-based and rite type based categories used to analyse the <i>PGM</i> .	387
Table 21: Objectives and Rite Types ranked by Percentage with Keywords.	388
Table 22: Every passage in the <i>PGM</i> corpus analysed by Objective and Rite Type.	389-410
Table 23: Comparison of the Manuscripts of the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .	411
Table 24: Manuscripts of the <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> listed by Text-Family and Date.	412-414
Table 25: The migration of god, angel, daimon, spirit names and <i>nomina magica</i> .	415-419

## Abbreviations

### Printed Sources

ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CCAG	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Goetia	<i>Goetia</i> (volume 1 of the <i>Lemegeton</i> )
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Juratus	<i>Liber Iuratus Honorii</i> (ed. Gösta Hedegård)
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
PDM	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> (ed. Betz)
Raziel	<i>Sepher Raziel</i> [the Latin text]
SWCM	<i>Source Works of Ceremonial Magic</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
ZFPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

### Manuscripts:

GV	<i>Grimorium Verum</i>
Hygromanteia	<i>The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia</i>
KoS	<i>Key of Solomon</i>
Otot	<i>Sepher ha-Otot</i>
SMS	<i>Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh</i>
SSM	<i>Summa Sacre Magice – Berengarii Ganelli</i>

### Manuscripts of the Hygromanteia:

A	Atheniensis 1265, National Library of Greece.
A2	Atheniensis 167, Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens.
B	Atheniensis 115, Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.
B2	Bononiensis 3632, University Library of Bologna.
B3	Bernardaceus, private library of the Bernardakēdes.
D	Athonicus Dion. 282, Dionysius Monastery of Mount Athos.
G	Gennadianus 45, Gennadius Library of Athens.
H	Harleianus 5596, British Library.
M	Monacensis Gr. 70, Bavarian Regional Library of Munich.
M2	Mediolanensis H 2 infer., Ambrosian Library of Milan.
M3	Mediolanensis E 37 sup., Ambrosian Library of Milan.
M4	Metamorphōseōs 67, Metamorphōseōs Monastery of Meteōra.
N	Neapolitanus II C 33, National Library of Naples.
P	Parisinus Gr. 2419, National Library of France.
P2	Petropolitanus Academicus, Paleographic Museum of the Science Academy of Saint Petersburg.
P3	Petropolitanus 575, National Library of Saint Petersburg.
P4	Petropolitanus 646, National Library of Saint Petersburg.
T	Taurinensis C VII, National University Library of Turin.
V	Vindobonensis Ph. Gr. 108, Austrian National Library of Vienna.

*Manuscripts of the Clavicula Salomonis: Text-Groups<sup>1</sup>*

Ab	Rabbi Abognazar Group
AC	Abraham Colorno Group
Arm	Armadel Group
CMC	Clavicule Magique et Cabalistique Group
Exp	Expurgated Group
GN	Gregorius Niger Group
GO	Greek Originals Group (i.e. <i>Hygromanteia</i> )
GP	Geo. Peccatrix Group
KK	Key of Knowledge Group
RS	Rabbi Solomon Group
SM	Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh Group
SS	Secret of Secrets Group
TG	Toz Graecus Group
UT	Universal Treatise Group
Zk	Zekorbeni Group

---

<sup>1</sup> These are not specific manuscripts but groups of manuscripts as per Mathiesen (2007), pp. 3-9, amended in Skinner and Rankine (2008), pp. 28-31, 412-414. Each group represents between one and 15 manuscripts, a total of 146 manuscripts in all. References made to these groups are valid for every manuscript in the group.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Summary of Objectives

This study is primarily a study of learned Solomonic ritual magic, geographically restricted to Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt.

The objective is to research and identify the transmission, continuity and common elements of magical techniques and implements present in Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (2nd century BCE – 5th century CE), Byzantine Greek Solomonic manuscripts (6th century – 16th century) such as the *Hygromanteia*, through to European Latin and English Solomonic grimoires<sup>2</sup> (13th century - 19th century) from both manuscript and printed sources.<sup>3</sup>

### *Research Question being Addressed*

The research is designed to answer the question: “What are the sources of the material in European grimoires (or handbooks of magic), specifically the manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*?“ The research will look at specific identifiable techniques, diagrams, consumables, *nomina magica* and implements, and not just generalized themes.

Grimoires such as the *Juratus* or the *Ars Notoria* circulated in manuscript in Western Europe as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The most popular grimoire, the *Clavicula Salomonis* appeared in Europe apparently fully fledged in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, rather than evolving from simpler works. The usual assumption, voiced by a number of scholars is that it must derive from Jewish originals. The assumption of a Hebrew origin is based on their typical attribution to Solomon the Hebrew king, a typical target for pseudepigraphic authorship. This assumption was given further credence by the discovery of the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*, or the *Book of the Key of Solomon*, a grimoire written in cursive Hebrew dating from 1700.<sup>4</sup> The present thesis intends to disprove that assumption, and discredit this support by demonstrating that this specific Hebrew manuscript cannot be the source of the Latin *Clavicula Salomonis*, as it was itself translated from a Latin and Italian original.<sup>5</sup>

The thesis will then break new ground by establishing a lineage for the Latin *Clavicula Salomonis* back to the Byzantine Greek *Solomōnikē*, specifically the *Hygromanteia*. This transmission will be based on a detailed analysis of the specific techniques, equipment, *nomina magica* and chapter contents in relevant source texts, not merely on their thematic

---

<sup>2</sup> Grimoires are handbooks of ritual invocation and evocation. The word is usually derived from the French *grammaire* meaning ‘grammar,’ as in a grammar or primer of magic.

<sup>3</sup> Obviously the Byzantine Empire straddled part of Asia Minor and Europe, and so in that sense is also European. The distinction is more of a linguistic one (Greek versus Latin) than a geographic one.

<sup>4</sup> Gollancz and Skinner (2008).

<sup>5</sup> See also Rohrbacher-Sticker (1993/94), pp. 263-270.

content. No researcher has, as yet, shown in detail the transmission of specific sections and procedures from the Greek manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* to the Latin *Clavicula Salomonis*, although Richard Greenfield has indicated its possibility.<sup>6</sup> At the same time the origin of one part of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the pentacles, appearing in a few Text-Groups of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, has been traced to a previously unnoticed Hebrew manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, it is planned to explore commonality and a possible line of transmission between the Greek *Hygromanteia* and the *PGM* of Egypt, a connection that has not been investigated in any detail before.

In summary, the theory to be tested is that mediaeval Solomonic grimoires, and indeed most of the Solomonic magical tradition in both the Latin and Greek worlds, owe their earliest origins to the Graeco-Egyptian papyri, not to some unknown Hebrew antecedents, not just in a general or thematic sense, but in the transmission of specific techniques, words and implements from one culture to another. I intend to prove that the use of Hebrew god names is simply a by-product of their having filtered into Graeco-Egyptian magic practice from Jews living in Alexandria rather than an indication of the origin of these techniques.

There is no intention to look at social, political or religious issues, their reception by the surrounding community, or to assess the effectiveness of these techniques. The intention is purely one of identifying their commonality, continuity and transmission using handbooks written by or used practically by the magicians themselves. I therefore propose to approach magic as another form of technology, establish how its techniques evolved, and chart their development and evolution.<sup>8</sup>

The original idea for the thesis came from two passages in Richard Greenfield's *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* in which he sets out his work on Byzantine demonology. His book takes two distinct approaches to defining the place of demonological belief in Byzantium. The first is made within the context of the Orthodox Church and establishment view, which is then contrasted with the view of magicians and the less orthodox monks of the period who had access to, or owned, magical handbooks. It is this second approach, in which he examines texts like the *Hygromanteia*, *Testament of Solomon* and the *Book of Wisdom of Apollonius of Tyana* or the *Biblos*, which I wish to use as my point of contact with Byzantine

---

<sup>6</sup> Greenfield (1995), p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Sepher ha-Otot*.

<sup>8</sup> The exclusion of social, political, economic and religious issues has been made in an effort to narrow the focus of the thesis, but also because to a large extent, the transmission of magical knowledge was achieved by a closed master-pupil apprenticeship system, or the rediscovery of techniques in books and manuscripts by each new generation of students, rather than the teaching of the subject in open schools regulated by either civil or religious authorities.

magicians' methods:

It is clear from even a brief reading of the *Treatise* [the *Hygromanteia*]<sup>9</sup> and material related to it that it has close connections with texts and practices of ritual magic which were current in the West in many languages and in many countries from the 13th century onwards, although again the best and most elaborate of these texts only survive in manuscripts of the 16th or 17th centuries. Very little comparative work has been done on the literature of this ritual magic, the magic of the notorious *Claviculae* and *Grimoires* of the later Middle Ages, and not much is known of its precise development and origin. Although any attempt to answer such questions...must be the subject of a great deal of further research, it is nevertheless clear from the Greek *Treatise* [the *Hygromanteia*] and related material, which is what is of concern here, that traces, and in some cases quite large portions, of much older traditions are preserved in these now rather muddled and confused texts.<sup>10</sup> Some of the material here is thus very similar to techniques and rituals preserved in the very much older Greek magical papyri...<sup>11</sup>

As part of his literature review Greenfield remarks that there is also a need for a study that relates his work back to Hellenistic, Classical and other branches of eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern magic:

What has been, and still is needed is a systematic and comprehensive study of the history and content of Byzantine beliefs about demons and other supernatural evil beings... Ideally such a study would also enable these beliefs to be placed in relation to their antecedents in early Christianity and in Classical, Hellenistic, Jewish and other branches of Near Eastern thought, as well as to contemporary and parallel beliefs in Western Europe...<sup>12</sup>

Obviously much more detailed work has yet to be done in the same arena, but identification of parallels between these different traditions in terms of practice and equipment is a beginning. The specific questions that arise from this passage are:

- a. How do the techniques and practices recorded in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri relate to the Byzantine Greek Solomonic manuscripts, specifically the *Hygromanteia*?
- b. To what extent have the techniques and practices found in the Byzantine Greek Solomonic manuscripts been transmitted to the Western European grimoires, specifically the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and how were they transmitted to the Latin West?
- c. To what extent is there a commonality of techniques, texts, *nomina magica* and ritual practices between the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri of Late Antiquity, the Byzantine *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*?

There are obviously dangers implicit in examining such a wide geographical and literary range, and perhaps a detailed study of just one of the periods or cultures, or just one item of practice, would have been more prudent. But it is sometimes necessary to draw the wider outlines of a subject, in order for the specialists working on just one facet to be able to

---

<sup>9</sup> Correctly referred to by Greenfield as the *Magical Treatise* or just the *Treatise*.

<sup>10</sup> The present thesis will also show that, once the specific strands making up the magical techniques are clearly identified, the degree of confusion and muddling is much less than has commonly been supposed.

<sup>11</sup> Greenfield (1995), p. 161.

<sup>12</sup> Greenfield (1995), p. xi.

appreciate its origins and later development. I am emboldened by Mastrocinque's observation:

Let us then, just for once, leave aside the endless and often fruitless arguments about method and abstract philosophical concepts, and concentrate on ancient texts and monuments. This procedure carries with it a risk of error, of course. Personally I admire the errors made by great scholars such as K. Reitzenstein, W. Bousset or A. Dieterich, who have taken risks in order to open up new fields of inquiry and to advance research, far more than the sensible and impartial critiques and discussions on method of so many others.<sup>13</sup>

Research will therefore be primarily from ancient texts, many still in manuscript, especially those written by the practitioners of magic themselves rather than those written by their (predominantly Christian) adversaries. My approach to magic and current research position is very similar to Ritner when he wrote of Egyptian magic:

To date, no treatment of Egyptian magic has concentrated upon the actual practice of the magician. Both general studies and textual publications have emphasized instead the religious elements in the contents of recited spell, while the accompanying instructions with their vignettes and lists of materials, instruments, and ritual actions remained uninvestigated. This study represents the first critical examination of such "magical techniques," revealing their widespread appearance and pivotal significance for all Egyptian "religious" practices from the earliest periods through the Coptic era, influencing as well the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri.<sup>14</sup>

My objective is to take this enquiry forward from the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri to the grimoires of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. In the course of researching the main questions, a number of subsidiary questions arose, some of which needed to be answered before further progress could be made with addressing the main question:

- a. What are the defining qualities of Solomonic magic?
- b. What is the relationship between ritual magic and astral magic?
- c. What is the relationship between Greek and Hebrew Solomonic magical texts?
- d. What were the inputs from Jewish magic into the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*?
- e. What is the date/place of first assembly or composition of the *Hygromanteia*?
- f. What was the original or correct title of the *Hygromanteia*?
- g. What is the origin of the pentacles section of the *Clavicula Salomonis*?
- h. What is meant by 'manteia' in the context of the *Hygromanteia*, and how does it relate to skrying?

---

<sup>13</sup> Mastrocinque (2005), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ritner (2008), p.2.

## 1.2. Review of the Scholarly Literature and Source Texts

The core of the thesis is to examine source texts, in the first instance to identify and define specific techniques, after which these techniques will be pursued across the boundaries between cultures with the aid of secondary sources. The main texts in each category are therefore:

*Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian Sources.* These are in the broadest sense the Pyramid and Coffin texts, as have been edited by R. O. Faulkner (1973-78), followed by some chapters in the *Book of the Dead*.<sup>15</sup> These texts by definition focus on post-mortem magic, and are not for the most part for the use of the living. Specific magical handbooks from the Dynastic period are therefore few. The most significant Demotic texts are from *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*, which was originally edited and translated by F. L. Griffith and Herbert Thompson (1904). Their translation has however been improved upon and incorporated in Hans Dieter Betz's *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells* (1996).

Robert Ritner's *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (2 Vols., 2008) is undoubtedly the best secondary text (for the purposes of this thesis) as it concentrates on the mechanics of specific magical techniques. The ten essays in Panagiotis Kousoulis's *Ancient Egyptian Demonology: Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic* (2011) expand Ritner's work, and underline the point that demons/daemons in the Egyptian world do not have the negative connotations that later accreted to them, but act as intermediaries between the gods and man in a ritual context. Otto Neugebauer's *Egyptian Astronomical Texts III* (1969) gives useful background to the selection of auspicious times by Egyptian magicians. Wallis Budge's *Amulets and Talismans* (1970) shows the mass produced nature of many Egyptian amulets as opposed to the 'made for one purpose' talismans. Despite no longer being held in such high scholarly regard, the breadth of Budge's research (across a wide range of cultures) and linguistic reach has seldom been matched by subsequent researchers.

Erica Reiner's *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (1995) is one of the best organised summaries of Mesopotamian magic, a source of some of the techniques examined in this thesis.

*The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri.* *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* edited by Betz (1996) is the key text for the Graeco-Egyptian magic in the Ptolemaic period and the first five centuries of the Christian era. To Betz must also be added Robert Daniel and Franco Maltomini's *Supplementum Magicum* (1990/1992). Jacco Dieleman's *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*

---

<sup>15</sup> Budge (1967).

(2005) supplements this with very useful background material.<sup>16</sup> The original Greek texts, which are very useful for checking the exact meanings of key technical words, are to be found in Karl Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae, Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri* (1928/1931, revised and reprinted in 1973-74).

William Brashear's *The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey* (1994), is still the most systematic and well organised summary of the PGM. Other important secondary sources include Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (1995), and Christopher Faraone and Dirk Obbink, *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (1991) both of which contain key essays on the topic. John Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992), is a very thorough study of one specific method (the *defixiones*) but also contains useful material on other forms of Graeco-Egyptian magic. Naomi Janowitz's *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews and Christians* (2001), although a relatively slim volume, makes a number of very useful observations on the intersection of these three cultures, and draws a clear line between learned magic and witchcraft.<sup>17</sup> Matthew Dickie in *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (2001) provides cogent background on the various shades of meaning of Latin and Greek terms for the different varieties of magic and divination.<sup>18</sup>

*Greek and Roman Necromancy* by Daniel Ogden (2001) ventures into the mechanics of necromancy and evocation from a classical Greek perspective, with excellent chapters on lecanomancy (bowl skrying) and the technology of necromancy and magic. Ogden takes a linguistic approach carefully distinguishing the different shades of meaning of the original Greek and Latin technical terms of magic, a very necessary approach. His *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (2002) provides an excellent selection of classical sources, with incisive comments.

Ioannis Petropoulos' *Greek Magic* (2008), on the other hand, is a slim and disappointing collection of very short (some only two pages long) essays which treat their topics at a superficial level. A notable exception in this collection is the essay by Sarah Iles Johnston on 'Magic and the Dead in Classical Greece.'

*Theurgy*. Undoubtedly the most important source for theurgy is Iamblichus. The most usable editions of the Greek text of *De Mysteriis* are those of Gustav Parthey (1857) and Des Places

<sup>16</sup> Especially chapters on the various scripts (chapter 3); ingredients (chapters 4.3.1 and 6.2) and specific rituals (chapter 5). Dieleman (2005), pp. 64-80 also spells out the methods by which the scribes indicated the correct pronunciation of the *nomina magica*.

<sup>17</sup> "The ancient practitioners [of magic] would have been horrified to be lumped together with "witches" and "warlocks" " – Janowicz (2001), p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Interestingly his cover illustration is taken from the 1440 B2 manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*, rather than from a Late Antiquity source as one might have expected.

(1996). The English translations of *De Mysteriis* include the charming but wordy translation by Thomas Taylor (1821), and that of Alexander Wilder (1911), but these have been surpassed by the 2003 translation by Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell. Emma Clarke's *Iamblichus De Mysteriis: a Manifesto of the Miraculous* (2001) and Finamore and Dillon's *Iamblichus, De Anima* (2002) provide useful background material. More recently, work by Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler in *Theurgy in Late Antiquity* has provided a window on the development of theurgy after Iamblichus. Although not directly involved with theurgy, Hans Lewy's classic *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (1978) is necessary reading. Algis Uždavinyas in *Philosophy & Theurgy in Late Antiquity* (2010) provides useful, if somewhat controversial, links between magic, theurgy and Neoplatonic philosophy in Late Antiquity.

*Byzantine Sources.* In the early 20th century, most of the scholarly work on the Byzantine Greek texts was confined to the astrological rather than the magical aspects.<sup>19</sup> The *Testament of Solomon*, published by Chester McCown in 1922, helped establish the existence of three important early (1st/2nd century CE) magical techniques: the procedure of binding spirits; the procedure of listing them in the form of a register, along with their powers, a procedure which became a hallmark of later Solomonic grimoires like the *Lemegeton*; and the mechanics of linking each daimon/demon<sup>20</sup> with a corresponding thwarting angel.<sup>21</sup> The *Testament of Solomon* provides a useful list of these demons and thwarting angels which partially maps on to the demon lists of the *Hygromanteia* (see Table 06).

The most significant increase in the availability of texts of Byzantine manuals of magic occurred with the publication of a wide range of key Solomonic texts by Armand Delatte in his *Anecdota Atheniensia* in 1927. Delatte brought the magic of the *Hygromanteia* to public notice, as he also did for the Greek versions of geomancy.<sup>22</sup> Of the Byzantine Greek Solomonic magical texts the *Hygromanteia* is the most numerous, relevant and detailed. For the most part it is still in manuscript, but some sections appear in transcript, translation and chapter summary in the secondary literature, as listed in Appendix 3. The most complete manuscript source is British Library Harley MS 5596. The publication in 2011, some time after the commencement of this thesis, by Ioannis Marathakis of partial translations of 12 manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, and his attendant commentary, is a welcome step forward in the study of this key text.

---

<sup>19</sup> For example Heeg (1911) in CCAG, Vol. viii, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Both spellings will be used in this thesis, with 'daimon' indicating a Greek source, and 'demon' a Latin or Christian source.

<sup>21</sup> Each of these techniques will be enlarged upon later in this thesis.

<sup>22</sup> Skinner, *Geomancy* (2011), pp. 42-44.

The main secondary source is Richard Greenfield's excellent *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (1988) which traces the antecedents of the *Hygromanteia* and where it fits into the continuum of belief in demons, both orthodox and popular. Pablo Torijano's *Solomon the Esoteric King: from King to Magus, Development of a Tradition* (2002) is more focussed on Solomon in various contexts, as king, magician, etc. It also helpfully provides partial Greek transcripts of some of the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, specifically manuscript M, but fails to give a coherent sense of the overall content, which appears only in a very sketchy form in several widely separated pages. Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi provide necessary background material in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (2006), together with useful insights into the career of Stephanos of Alexandria, a potential candidate for authorship. Henry Maguire's *Byzantine Magic* (1995) gives much useful further analysis.

*Jewish Sources.* The input of magical methods from these sources is not as great as is commonly thought. Bohak's article 'Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere?'<sup>23</sup> was a useful corrective to this common conception. It therefore became necessary to consider this input in order to correctly position the transmission of some magical techniques. The provenance and chronological relevance of the *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* are considered in chapter 3.3. Amongst early texts, the *Testament of Solomon* is the most useful, as it enunciates features of the Solomonic method such as the use of rings and thwarting angels.<sup>24</sup> A later source of Solomonic style magic is the *Sepher Raziel*, particularly in its 16th century Latin and English manuscript incarnations.<sup>25</sup> Other Jewish works on magic are more concerned with the use and manipulation of the Hebrew *nomina magica*, and do not utilise the Solomonic method as such. Relevant texts which demonstrate the nature of Jewish magic include: *Sepher ha-Levanah*, translated by Kalnit Nachshon in Karr and Nachshon, *Liber Lunae, the Book of the Moon & Sepher ha-Levanah* (2011); *Sepher ha-Razim* edited by Mordecai Margalioth<sup>26</sup> and the *Harba de Moshe* (*Sword of Moses*) translated by Moses Gaster, *The Sword of Moses, an Ancient Book of Magic* (1973). Regrettably, Gaster chose to replace many *nomina magica* with an 'X,' a procedure that has sadly not been rectified in more recent editions.<sup>27</sup>

Gideon Bohak in *Ancient Jewish Magic* (2008) and Joshua Trachtenberg in *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (2004), provide solid background material on Jewish magic, but much updating

---

<sup>23</sup> Bohak (2003).

<sup>24</sup> Translations by Duling (1983) and McCown (1922).

<sup>25</sup> Karr and Skinner (2010).

<sup>26</sup> Translated in Michael Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim, the Book of the Mysteries* (1983).

<sup>27</sup> This omission has been partly rectified by Joseph Peterson on his website [www.esotericarchives.com](http://www.esotericarchives.com).

needs to be done in the light of magical texts now emerging from the Cairo Genizah.<sup>28</sup> Mastrocinque, in *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* (2005), provides an excellent and very useful bridge between Gnosticism and the progress of Jewish magic in the first few centuries CE. Surprisingly, the Kabbalah does not become relevant to the Solomonic method till the Renaissance, and then only through the medium of the Christianised Kabbalah. Much useful material on the use of amulets for the purposes of health or general protection can be found in Don Skemer's *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (2006). At least one of the manuscripts he examines has an importance for the history of the lamen, although simple amulets do not intersect with Solomonic magic at many points.

*Latin and Vernacular Grimoires.* Of the Latin, Italian, French and English grimoires of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, the most widely disseminated of all magical manuscripts is the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The 19th century translation by MacGregor Mathers (1909, 2000) is still a useful reference, and has been edited from a handful of manuscript sources, mainly of the Abraham Colorno Text-Group. Robert Mathiesen recently identified and began to categorise over 100 manuscripts of this text.<sup>29</sup> *The Veritable Key of Solomon* edited by Skinner and Rankine (2008) has updated this classification, taking into account 125 manuscripts, and providing a more extensive analysis, as well as including a full translation of three more of the French manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

Skinner and Rankine also produced an edition of the *Lemegeton*, under the title of *The Goetia of Dr Rudd* (2007),<sup>30</sup> which looks at the techniques of the Solomonic method as it developed in the 17th century in England.<sup>31</sup> An increasing number of vernacular grimoires has been edited and published over the last ten years, particularly by Joseph Peterson, providing much material for analysis: *Lesser Key of Solomon* (2001); *Grimorium Verum* (2007); *Clavis or Key to the Magic of Solomon* (2009); and *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (2008).

Commentaries based on these and other grimoires include Claire Fanger's *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (1998), as well as her excellent *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (2012). John of Morigny, the *Juratus* and the *Ars Notoria* are central to her interests. Although the latter ascribes its authority to Solomon, it does not contain Solomonic ritual magic. Richard Kieckhefer's *Forbidden Rites: a Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (1995) is a major contribution

---

<sup>28</sup> Although found over a century ago, the magical fragments have been ignored by scholars until the last couple of decades. See Schiffman (1992).

<sup>29</sup> Mathiesen (2007), pp. 3-9.

<sup>30</sup> Based on Sloane MS 6483.

<sup>31</sup> The earliest as yet unpublished manuscript of the *Goetia* that I have discovered dates from 4th January 1494, 150 years prior to the earliest manuscript documented by Joseph Peterson.

to the fund of published Solomonic grimoires, and Benedek Láng's *Unlocked Books* (2008), provides an excellent survey of grimoires in lesser explored central European libraries.

Frank Klaassen's *The Transformations of Magic* (2013) is, like Claire Fanger's books, mostly focussed on the *Juratus* and *Ars Notoria*, but does tend to blur the boundary between ritual magic and astral magic. Where he notices interesting texts such as the *Vinculum Salomonis* or *Liber Consecrationum*, he fails to explore their contents in any detail or to set them within the continuum of the development of the grimoire.

Several significant journal articles have been published recently which have stressed the evolution of god and angel names across the whole geographical and chronological spectrum from the Graeco-Egyptian papyri through to European grimoires, although omitting the intermediate steps passing through the Byzantine texts. These are Julien Véronèse's 'God's Names and their Uses in the Books of Magic attributed to King Solomon' (2010) and especially David Porreca's 'Divine Names' (2010).

An as yet unpublished Ph.D thesis kindly lent to me by Liana Saif on *The Arabic Theory of Astral Influences in Early Modern Occult Philosophy* (2011) provides information on the roots of astral magic and its relationship to the ongoing development of magic in Europe. Although it does not specifically touch upon Solomonic magic, it covers the parallel line of transmission of astral magical knowledge via Harran and Toledo in such texts as the *Picatrix*, making clear the distinctions between ritual and astral magic. Boudet, Caiozzo and Weill-Parot in *Images et Magie: Picatrix entre Orient et Occident* provide an even clearer line of demarcation.

Among the more recent and wide ranging products of modern scholarship, mention should be made of Wouter Hanegraaff's *Esotericism and the Academy* (2012) and Bernd-Christian Otto and Michael Stausberg's *Defining Magic: a Reader* (2013).

## *The Corpus to be Analysed*

The primary texts in each cultural area are:

- a) The Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, as edited by Betz in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*.<sup>32</sup> All translations from Greek are from Betz (1996) and his contributors, with some marked amendments derived directly from the Greek in Preisendanz (1928, 1931) by the present author.
- b) The manuscripts of Byzantine Greek Solomonic magical texts of the *Hygromanteia* as they appear in 17 manuscripts scattered in various European libraries.<sup>33</sup> All translations are from Marathakis (2011), unless otherwise stated.
- c) The Latin, Italian, English, French and Hebrew *Clavicula Salomonis* and grimoires of the Middle Ages and later, specifically the *Key of Solomon*, found in over more than 125 manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> All translations from French are from Skinner and Rankine (2008), supplemented by Mathers (1909). All translations from Latin and Hebrew are by the present author unless otherwise noted.

Chapter 2 presents a very short summary time line purely as background material. Chapter 3 analyses these source texts, and examines their contents. This is followed by an examination of the transmission of individual techniques and equipment from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis* in chapter 4. Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the commonality of method and equipment, respectively, over all three sources. Chapters 7 and 8 deal with specific magical operations.

---

<sup>32</sup> Betz (1992). The Greek texts are preserved in Preisendanz (1973), and a number of other more recent scholarly publications. See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 for analysis.

<sup>33</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>34</sup> See the present Appendix 4 and Skinner and Rankine (2008), Appendix A, pp. 408-424.

### 1.3. Methodology

John Walton contended that a comparative study of religion and magic in a Near Eastern context should have just four methods and goals: historical, archaeological, literary and linguistic.<sup>35</sup> The present thesis touches upon the history in chapter 2; examines the literature in chapter 3, but only of one specific genre (magicians' handbooks); utilises linguistics to trace the transition of god, angel, daimon and spirit names across cultures in chapters 4, 5 and Appendix 5; and touches upon archaeology only where necessary for the identification of magical implements in chapter 6.

The history of magic, and related subjects, can be tackled in a number of ways:

1. as a history of the main figures involved in the subject. Typically a history of literature might take this approach, outlining the lives of each of the great authors.
2. related to this is the setting of a subject in its social milieu. Norman Cohen's *Europe's Inner Demons* (1977) is a persuasive example of this, in relation to witchcraft history.
3. as a history of documents, manuscripts and books, an approach exemplified by Lynn Thorndike's *A History of Magic and Experimental Sciences* (1925-1958).
4. as a history of the development of the main theories or ideas, their adoption, mutation, and abandonment.
5. as a history of the development of practical techniques.

Obviously some histories employ the whole range of modes. In the case of magic, popular histories most often take the first approach of outlining the lives of famous, or infamous, practitioners. More scholarly texts, before 1990, take the second approach and try to show the development of attitudes to magic and witchcraft in terms of the social or legal setting, particularly in the case of witchcraft trials, or where magic has clashed with Christianity. Thorndike and Henry Lea's *Materials Towards a History of Witchcraft* are examples par excellence of the third approach. The recent history of theoretical physics is a good example of the fourth approach, where successive theories have been discovered, discarded, or radically modified, over time.<sup>36</sup> A history of engineering or chemistry might very well be written in the fifth manner.

---

<sup>35</sup> Walton (2006), p. 28.

<sup>36</sup> Only one subject, geometry, does not show this progressive overthrow of one set of theories by another over time. Theorems set out by Euclid 2500 years ago remain unchallenged today.

In terms of magic, the fourth and fifth approaches have seldom been attempted. Modern researchers, trained in scientific method, and conditioned to assume that there is nothing methodical about magic, may have difficulty accepting that a discipline such as magic may have well defined techniques which have been employed and improved upon by a succession of intelligent and experimentally orientated practitioners over time.

This is precisely what I intend to do in this thesis, to examine the development of a selection of key techniques used and recorded by magicians<sup>37</sup> themselves over the period 200 BCE to 1900 CE ranging from the Graeco-Egyptian magic of Alexandria, via Byzantine Solomonic magic to the Solomonic grimoires of Western Europe. Although there is an historical and geographical backdrop to the subject of this thesis, the methodology is primarily internal textual analysis, rather than an examination of the historical or social context, which would necessitate a much longer thesis. A pertinent passage sums up the methodological approach to magic in this thesis:

The question of how to approach the subject of magic is belaboured unnecessarily. There now exists consensus that, functioning within an appropriate causal framework, magic is just another form of technology or applied science. This should be the simple and acceptable starting point for an investigation...<sup>38</sup>

The research methodology is therefore qualitative historical research based on archival manuscript sources and published editions of primary texts, designed to identify specific concrete techniques, formulations, *nomina magica*, and implements used by practitioners of magic across this period. This is an intercultural study documenting the development and transmission of examples of magical practice, rather than of magical beliefs, ideas or theories.

The first step in the analysis of the contents of the *PGM* was to analyse the various sections and sub-sections of every single passage in every papyrus included therein, grouping them by desired outcome and rite type. Clearly the invocation of a god is quite different from the construction of an amulet to reduce fever, even if the same god's name is used in both procedures. A basic taxonomy of the rite-types of magical procedure was thus established, and every section and subsection of the Graeco-Egyptian papyri allocated to one or other of these categories, so that similar material could be analysed together despite a wide separation by pagination, period, provenance or papyrus. This was then tabulated to bring similar operations together for comparison, and to assist in the identification of patterns.<sup>39</sup>

The same approach was taken with the *Hygromanteia*, in which 59 sections or 'chapters' were

---

<sup>37</sup> Used in the sense of 'practitioners of magical techniques' without any attribution of special powers to them.

<sup>38</sup> From a review by T. Langermann of P. Travaglia, *Magic, Causality and Intentionality: The Doctrine of Rays in al-Kindi*, Florence, 1999, as quoted in Magdalino and Mavroudi (2006), p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 2 for the full tabulation.

identified.<sup>40</sup> This clarified the structure of the text, so that it became apparent that chapters on, for example, skrying were all grouped together at the end of the text. It also pointed up the presence of two different methods of evocation, and the segregation of a separate group of chapters concerned with the equipment.

Much of the work of identifying the content of chapters in the *Clavicula Salomonis* has already been done,<sup>41</sup> and this previous work was built upon. From these listings a clear indication of which sections, or procedures have been transmitted, and which have not, has been derived. The connections between the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis* were then tabulated to precisely identify the overlap or missing sections (such as the chapter on pentacles).

The research has been evidence-based. Having established a set list of discrete techniques, formulations, *nomina magica* and implements; instances of their occurrence in each of the sources were then identified. Any commonalities (or discontinuities) were then evaluated, indicating how much of a particular technique/item is common, and possible reasons why it has either evolved, transmitted but remained the same, or ceased to be part of the magician's repertoire. These commonalities were finally mapped on to an extended Venn diagram to visually convey the results of this research in a more simplified form (see Figure 62).

The discovery of discontinuities has been one of the more fertile areas of research. For example, the sudden appearance of pentacles in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, while only rudimentary seals appeared in the *Hygromanteia*, resulted in research which uncovered their previously unnoticed (Jewish) source.

It is not the purpose of this study to determine if the techniques were effective. It is sufficient to note that the magicians using them thought them to be so. Nor is it the purpose of this study to examine the reaction of non-magicians, or of society at large, to the use of these techniques.

### *The Background of the Research*

Because the subject is magic, many researchers in the past have approached the material as if its procedures were inherently unworthy of close study and devoid of historical development, content, consistency or interest. I propose to show that individual magical practices and techniques are not arbitrary, nor simply invented, nor dreamed up by practitioners in isolation. Further, that these practices are almost invariably based on earlier practices in the same or a different culture, with a gradual modification of technique over time, depending partly on the changing cultural and religious milieu, but more noticeably

---

<sup>40</sup> The chapter numbering follows Marathakis (2011), pp. 362-365, with a few minor rearrangements.

<sup>41</sup> Skinner & Rankine (2008), pp. 425-28.

changing because of refinements, improvements, or simplification of techniques. In other words, these are the types of changes that occur within the development of any technology.

*Nomina magica* and *nomina barbara* are, I believe, simply words whose original roots, free of corruption, have not yet been established, rather than being deliberately created nonsense words. The exception to this is Greek vowel strings, which anyway indicate the seven planets, and have no other meaning as such.

In the course of examining these magical techniques, a surprising degree of consistency is apparent over a long period, and in various cultural contexts, from Alexandrian Egypt, through Byzantine Greece and mediaeval Europe, to 17th century England.

Seldom has an analytical approach to the mechanics of the subject of magic been taken. This is precisely what I intend to do in this thesis, to examine the development of these key techniques used and recorded by magicians themselves over the time periods and in the cultures defined above.

Almost all previous work in this field has concentrated on one or other of these groups of documents, or just one of the periods mentioned above, in isolation. That approach means that to a large extent the analysis of individual ritual practices tends to be difficult and speculative, for without knowledge of their roots and evolution over time, it is difficult to see their original rationale or even their current meaning. This is particularly true of magic, where the sources can be sparse, and the understanding of their rationale limited. Once the line of historical development of individual techniques is known, and the original *modus operandi* behind each technique or practice understood, then the rationale for each practice, its method, and its place in the history of magic, becomes a lot clearer.

By tracking the development of specific magical techniques through time, the ability to see the development of the whole tradition is expanded, and the nature of what exactly magic was, to those who practised it, will hopefully be clarified. Therefore the definition of 'magic' used here, must be one that its practitioners would have recognized and been comfortable with, rather than one that fits the worldview of the modern historian, theologian, anthropologist or sociologist.

The hoped for outcome of this study is that the actual methods of magic, and the chronological relationships between the development of these techniques in each of these geographical and cultural areas examined will be made much clearer, enabling future researchers to more accurately understand the thinking behind the use of each of these techniques, and so interpret them correctly in terms of their own area of specialisation, rather than having to sometimes guess at their meaning. Hopefully this thesis will also aid in the

dating and tracing of the primary texts, the handbooks used by the magicians themselves.

The significance of this research is that by showing the historic development of these practices over an extended time period, their roots can be ascertained and verified, and the reasons behind apparently arbitrary ritual behaviour explored and explained. At the same time some of the original words of invocation (*nomina magica*) can be restored, and the nature of equipment, ingredients and otherwise previously inexplicable ritual actions will in many cases become apparent, giving the whole field of research into Solomonic magical ritual behaviour and method a more concrete basis and cogent framework of reference.

No comprehensive treatment of magic, as far as I know, has focused on the actual practices of the magician in both a European and eastern Mediterranean context. General studies have instead investigated the historical background, religious elements, or social and legal conditions which perpetuated, or persecuted, or surrounded it (for example European witchcraft histories). The actual magical procedures, the materials, instruments, sequences of ritual actions, and the origins of many *nomina magica*, have to date remained uninvestigated.

## 1.4. Scope of the Study and Definitions of Terminology

By using the term 'magician' there is no implied or overt claim for special powers on the part of the practitioners, simply an assertion that the people so designated were practitioners of magical techniques.<sup>42</sup> The term 'spell' will seldom be used, but where it is used it simply refers to any technique practised by a magician involving verbal invocation. The term 'rite' covers any magical or religious ritual procedure.

The fact that such techniques have been utilized consistently over long periods of time often by learned people suggests that some apparent consistency of results was obtained. Otherwise if no such consistency of results had been obtained, then one might expect to find a wide and random diversity of fantasy techniques being independently invented and speculatively tried out at different times and in different cultures: but this is not the case. Of course the great conservativeness of magicians might be invoked to explain this consistency. As William Brasher once remarked:

These two papyri, the Philinna papyrus and the Oxyrhynchus parallel, written as they were five to six centuries apart from each other, provide remarkable testimony to the conservatism of magic and magicians in antiquity.<sup>43</sup>

Although mankind has a long history of discarding methods that do not work, yet many detailed magical techniques survived literally for thousands of years. As Betz puts it:

It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they?<sup>44</sup>

However it is not the intention of this thesis to correlate these methods with their effectiveness, but rather to chart the evolution of the methods themselves. Just as it is not necessary to believe in Darwinism to be involved in the taxonomy of plant and animal classification, so it is not necessary to believe in the efficaciousness of magic in order to chart the different varieties and the evolution of its techniques.

Before proceeding I would like to clarify the scope of this thesis by eliminating from this discussion a number of subjects and techniques often associated with magic, in popular literature, but which are not a part of learned Solomonic ritual magic.

---

<sup>42</sup> Just as the terms 'carpenter' or 'priest' define a trade or a profession, rather than a claim to special skill or special sanctity.

<sup>43</sup> Brashear (1998), p. 374.

<sup>44</sup> Betz (1996), p. xlvii-xlviii.

### *Magic versus Divination*

Although divination is often seen as part of magic, divination is essentially a passive method, whereas magic is nothing if not proactive. Divination seeks to foretell the future, while magic seeks to change the future. Therefore those techniques relating to prediction like astrology, geomancy, or tarot will not be part of this study. An exception will be made in the case of electoral astrology. Electoral and katarchic astrology have been used from time immemorial by magicians to determine the best time to conduct a rite. A second exception will be made in the case of techniques like *lychnomanteia*, *lekanomanteia* and *hygromanteia*, which were included in the *PGM* and practised throughout the Byzantine period, where skrying is supplemented by active ritual evocation of spirits.

Oracles, although a few are present in the *PGM*, are not part of magic.<sup>45</sup> Emilie Savage-Smith makes that distinction:

That magic seeks to alter the course of events, usually by calling upon a superhuman force...while divination attempts to predict future events (or gain information about things unseen) but not necessarily to alter them.<sup>46</sup>

As Fritz Graf concludes, the confusion between magic and divination dates from the Christian era:

Only when divination is read in terms of demonology, as in mainstream Christian discourse, do divination and magic converge.<sup>47</sup>

Otherwise these two fields of endeavour are not really connected.

### *Learned Magic versus Folk Magic*

Secondarily, I would like to eliminate 'village magic', 'low magic' or 'folk magic' from this study. The present study will concentrate upon 'learned magic' rather than folk or village magic.<sup>48</sup> The former is much better documented, as it was usually practised by literate members of the ruling establishment or priestly class in every culture being analysed. The latter is by its very nature passed on verbally, often by illiterate practitioners, and therefore has left very little trace in terms of cogent written remains. If required, it can also be easily demonstrated that the style of magic used by these two classes is also very different.

In the ancient world magic was considered to be very real, and not a random assemblage of nonsense actions and words, and the insiders who practised it:

...were far from illiterate, and some of these magical texts even display the scribal hands,

---

<sup>45</sup> In most cases these 'oracles' are in fact invocations of a god in order to receive answers or advice.

<sup>46</sup> Savage-Smith (2004), p. xiii.

<sup>47</sup> Graf (2011), p. 133.

<sup>48</sup> See Benedek Lang (2008), chapter 1 for definitions.

writing styles, and modes of textual production which come only with many years of scribal learning and practice. Moreover, when we do find evidence outside the actual magical texts as to who practiced such magical rituals, that evidence repeatedly demonstrates the acceptance, and even practice, of magic by members of the Jewish elite, including the religious establishment itself... Most of these sources were not the product of Jewish "folk magic," but of "intellectual magic," produced by learned experts who mastered a specialized body of knowledge and consulted many different sources, sometimes in more than one language.<sup>49</sup>

Although these comments were applied to Jewish magic, they are equally applicable to other forms of European or Mediterranean littoral learned magic. Likewise, Egyptian magicians were mostly of the priestly class, and later in the Europe of the Middle Ages, grimoires beautifully written in Ecclesiastical Latin were found often in the possession of aristocrats or highly educated clerics. It is this "specialised body of knowledge" in all of these cultures which is the object of this study.

### *Learned Magic versus Witchcraft*

Thirdly, I would also like to eliminate at this stage, the terms 'witch' and 'witchcraft' from this discussion of ritual magic. 'Witch' is a much abused term. It reputedly comes from the Anglo-Saxon word *wicca* which means 'wise woman' and implies village cunning woman, who traditionally used techniques quite different from the practitioner of learned magic, as outlined above.

There is in fact no word for 'witch' in Latin, because the concept in its current form was absent from the ancient world, no matter how often commentators have attempted to impose it retrospectively. When Heinrich Kramer decided to write his infamous *Malleus Maleficarum*, he used the word '*maleficarum*' as the best substitute. Despite this title often being translated as 'The Hammer of the Witches', the word *maleficus* simply meant 'wicked or criminal,' and initially had no specific tinge of 'magic' about it. Despite *maleficarum* being feminine, the term still does not directly equate with witch.

As 'witch' is a word that was not used in antiquity, being of Anglo-Saxon derivation, it is not relevant to the present study which is of techniques firmly rooted in antiquity. 'Wicca' (or Wica) is a term which is not attested until 1086,<sup>50</sup> and certainly not at any time in Middle Eastern, Graeco-Egyptian or Roman practice.<sup>51</sup> Witchcraft is therefore primarily concerned with European village or folk magic from the 11th century to the late 17th century. Any subsequent use of the term is a dilution or perversion of its original meaning, which helps to obscure its original meaning. Modern neo-witchcraft reconstructed in the 1950s and 1960s by Gerald Gardner, Alex Sanders, etc., has no part of this study, nor has the application of this

---

<sup>49</sup> Bohak (2008), p. 36.

<sup>50</sup> Latham (1965), p. 522.

<sup>51</sup> Except where scholars have retroactively applied the term to ancient practices.

word to non-European, Asian or African cultures.

Researchers such as Keith Thomas have made a clear distinction between the witchcraft practised at the village level and the learned magic of more literate practitioners, often priests or lawyers:

By this period popular magic and intellectual magic were essentially two different activities, overlapping at certain points, but to a large extent carried on in virtual independence of each other. Most of the magical techniques of the village wizard [or witch] had been inherited from the Middle Ages, and had direct links with Anglo-Saxon [magical practice]... they were only slightly affected by the Renaissance revival of magical inquiry or by the learned volumes which were its most characteristic product.<sup>52</sup>

There is a clear distinction between the simple spells or *cantrips* of witches or village cunning folk, and the traditions of learned magic. Simple rhymed spells offered by local witches are quite distinct from the full ceremonial of learned magic, which is primarily confined to the class that could both read Latin and had the leisure and space to perform such rituals.<sup>53</sup>

Witchcraft was handed down from one practitioner to another, often within the same family, was seldom written up in books of practice, and relied upon herbs, dolls, images and adapted household goods and simple *materia magica*. Learned magic is that form of magic practised from complex handbooks (grimoires) requiring inscribed circles, much preparation, robes, and pre-consecrated equipment such as pentacles and lamens.

Greenfield also makes the point quite emphatically that Byzantine Solomonic magic has no connection whatsoever with witchcraft:

The first point to be made here is that evidence of late Byzantine belief concerning the use of demons by men falls almost entirely into the realm of sorcery as opposed to witchcraft. The idea of the inherently evil, inherently demonic man or woman, the classic figure of witchcraft, is absent, and it is apparent that the Byzantines thought of magic as being almost exclusively performed by sorcerers and magicians who learnt their techniques from teachers or books, who practiced and perfected their...craft.<sup>54</sup>

The term witch, not being a Greek word, also does not appear in any of the Byzantine magical handbooks.<sup>55</sup> Under the same heading, I would like to eliminate the study of ancient Greek folk magic, especially as found in Thessaly, to which the label 'witchcraft' has been

---

<sup>52</sup> Thomas (1978), p. 271. Strangely senior lawyers and politicians make up a high proportion of the recorded angel magicians of the 17th century. See Skinner and Rankine (2010), pp. 43-47.

<sup>53</sup> In the 20th century, with almost universal literacy, you might have expected such a division to have broken down. This has occurred, but only in the last half of the 20th century where practitioners like Gerald Gardner were aware of, and attempted to mix, both styles of magic to forge *Wicca* or modern 'witchcraft.'

<sup>54</sup> Greenfield (1988), pp. 249-50.

<sup>55</sup> Only one figure that might be interpreted as a witch appears in the story of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, a well known Greek romance from 1310-1340, in the fairy tale genre. She is described as demonic, and associates closely with demons, and at the end of the poem she is condemned to be burned "like a witch." But none of her actions in the poem relate to the magical texts we are considering here.

retroactively applied by some scholars.<sup>56</sup>

### *Ritual Magic versus Astral Magic*

Having now indicated the historic, geographic and taxonomical limits of this study, it is necessary now to sub-divide learned magic. Magic first divides into 'astral magic' and 'ritual magic.' It is useful to observe how the definitions of these two species of magic evolved historically.

In the context of Islam, Ibn Nadim (c. 930-995/998 CE) in the encyclopaedic *Kitāb al-Fihrist* distinguished four different types of magic (*sihr*):<sup>57</sup>

1. *Mu'azzimun*, which is closest to Solomonic ritual magic, seeks to subjugate devils, jinn, and spirits via the licit method of invocations reinforced by purity, devotion, prayer, and fasting. This is effectively the Solomonic ritual magic method.
2. Deals with demons, jinn, and spirits, but involves instead offering them illicit sacrifices, and probably concurrently leading a dissolute life;<sup>58</sup>
3. Astral magic concerned with the passive charging of talismans and the associated astrological calculations;<sup>59</sup>
4. Tricks and sleight of hand.

Four centuries later Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406), who drew some of his ideas from the *Picatrix*, distinguished only two types of magic (amalgamating the first two types of Ibn Nadim, and ignoring the fourth):

1. Illicit demonic magic, identified as sorcery (which includes Solomonic magic);
2. Talismanic magic, acting upon the world of the elements using the 'spiritualities of the stars,' numbers, the corresponding qualities of physical things, and the position of the stars in the firmament.<sup>60</sup>

Perhaps the longest 16<sup>th</sup> century list of books on magic is to be found in the *Antipalus Maleficiorum* of Trithemius, which contains in excess of 77 titles. It dates from 1508, but was not published till 1605. This list clearly makes the distinction between books of ritual

---

<sup>56</sup> The much quoted passage in the Greek text of Lucian (Vol. VII, 281) *Dialogues of the Courtesans* is translated by Macleod as: "Don't you know that her mother, Chrysarium, is a witch who knows Thessalian spells, and can bring the moon down?" The word translated as 'witch' is φαρμακίς. It is now recognized that *pharmakis* is much more closely allied to root-cutting, the compounding of herbal potions and poisoning than to magic, although it is recognized that such women may, like courtesans, also deal in magic.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Nadim (1964). For English translation see Dodge (1970).

<sup>58</sup> This is somewhat closer to the Faustian view of magic, where the pact is important.

<sup>59</sup> See Saif (2011).

<sup>60</sup> See Ibn Khaldoun (1967), 18, p. 372-3. He attributes the science of talisman to the Greeks and Persians, who (he says) received it from the Chaldaeans and Syrians.

Solomonic magic and those of astral magic.<sup>61</sup> Trithemius characterises the first 40 of these books as necromancy (by which he meant nigromancy, or the black art, rather than the conjuration of the dead), and most of these first 40 titles are Solomonic in nature. The following 37 books in this catalogue, are separated by Trithemius who makes a clear distinction between the foregoing books of necromancy (dealing with the evocation of spirits and demons) and the following 37 books on astral magic that deal with planetary images, figures, rings, seals often attributed to Hermes or Kyranides,<sup>62</sup> the sympathetic connections between stars, plants, stones and animals, and their use in talismanic magic.

In 1486 Ficino and Pico explored the possibility of the existence of another category, Natural Magic, operated without the intervention of spirits or demons, and with only minor input from the stars.<sup>63</sup> Trithemius' pupil, Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535), divided magic into three types, following the same split of ritual magic and astral magic, but with the additional (and theologically necessary) category of Natural Magic:<sup>64</sup>

1. Ceremonial Magic. Theological Magic, which is effectively Ritual Magic dealing with invocation/evocation of angels and demons;
2. Mathematical Magic (which Saif equates with talismanic astral magic, but which also includes astrology);<sup>65</sup>
3. Natural Magic, such as is to be found in various 'Books of Secrets.'<sup>66</sup> Natural magic might reasonably be seen as dealing directly with nature, utilising herbs, animals and minerals to bring about surprising effects. Natural magic was considered licit because it did not claim to involve the intervention of spirits. In a sense this was the prelude to the scientific study of nature.

Amongst modern scholars, Ronald Hutton has divided the progress of magic in Western Europe into three periods,<sup>67</sup> and makes a distinction between:

1. Astral magic coming via Arabic texts translated into Latin (from Harran, via Spain and Byzantium) in the 12th-13th centuries; and
2. Grimoire magic derived from the *Hygromanteia* in the late 15th – 16th centuries.

Maybe he should have presented these as separate streams, rather than separate periods, as

---

<sup>61</sup> These are listed in full in Latin in Zambelli (2007), pp. 102-112. An abbreviated list in English can be found in Couliano (1987), p. 167.

<sup>62</sup> See Kaimikis (1976) for Greek text, Warnock (2006) for English text.

<sup>63</sup> Zambelli (2007), p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Agrippa (1993), pp. 5, 689-699.

<sup>65</sup> Saif (2011). The word *mathematici* was sometimes also equated with 'magician.'

<sup>66</sup> See Eamon (1994) for a survey of the Books of Secrets.

<sup>67</sup> Hutton (2003), p. 191.

they continued to co-exist through to the 17th century.<sup>68</sup>

Frank Klaassen suggests that there were two streams of magic prior to 1500.<sup>69</sup> This statement is an over-simplification, but his geographic analysis is useful as it separates out the strand of astral magic that derives from Persia via Arabia and Mesopotamia and contrasts it with ritual magic which arrived via the Graeco-Egyptian texts, the route that is discussed here.

He categorises his first stream as “scholastic image magic...epitomized by certain texts of Arabic image magic,” which is usually referred to as ‘astral magic.’ Works of this type include the books of Thābit ibn Qurra’s *De imaginibus* (10th century), the *De imaginibus* of Belenus,<sup>70</sup> *Liber Lunae*,<sup>71</sup> the work of the Brethren of Purity, the *Ikwan al Safa* and significant portions of the *Picatrix* (11th century).<sup>72</sup>

The second stream he categorises as comprising “ritual magic texts, such as the notary art or necromancy” which:

...employ complex Christian ritual and are, very much, the progeny of the liturgy and Christian religious sensibilities.<sup>73</sup>

This is a far too limited a definition. He might be correct if he were only referring to a few of the very Christianised grimoires (such as that of John of Morigny), but not if he is referring to the whole corpus of ritual magic ('necromancy') prior to 1500, because it involved procedures and elements of many cultures other than Christian. Additionally the *Ars Notoria* is a pietistic and prayerful procedure rather than a clear-cut example of ritual magic. The *Ars Notoria* relies upon a succession of prayers added to the contemplation of *notae* which provided for rapid assimilation of a range of subjects. There is reliance upon angels, but no evocation of spirits.

Michael Greer and Christopher Warnock also make the distinction:

Unlike the later [ritual] magic of the grimoires, these workings [of astral magic] required little ceremony and made only limited use of divine names and words of power; their effectiveness came from the heavens [i.e. astrology].<sup>74</sup>

To summarise the first stream, ‘image’ magic or astral magic, which came from the Hermetic and Muslim world especially Harran in Mesopotamia, arrived in Europe via the translators working in Spain from the 11th century onwards, but fell out of favour in Europe in the 17th century. It relied upon the engraving or drawing of images at an appropriate moment of

---

<sup>68</sup> He has a third category/stream which he defines as ‘archaeology influencing magic,’ but this does not seem to be part of the same conceptual set, and is therefore omitted.

<sup>69</sup> Klaassen (1999), pp. 2-3.

<sup>70</sup> Belenus or Bālīnūs is the Arabic form of Apollonius of Tyana, formed by dropping the initial ‘A’ (as if it were the definite article) and swapping ‘p’ and ‘b’ which sound very alike to an Arabic speaker.

<sup>71</sup> Karr & Skinner (2011).

<sup>72</sup> Boudet (2011).

<sup>73</sup> Klaassen (1999), p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> Greer and Warnock, (2010-11), p 13.

time, often in relationship to the 28 Mansions of the Moon. Astral magic is excluded from this study.

### *Distinctions within Learned Ritual Magic*

We are therefore left with learned ritual magic. This may in turn be subdivided. The Greeks made a clear distinction between *goetia* (γοητεία) the magic of the *goes* (γόης),<sup>75</sup> and that of *theurgia* (θεουργία). *Theurgia* is a descendant via Porphyry and Iamblichus of the ancient Mysteries. This usage has persisted through to 13<sup>th</sup> century (and later) grimoires.<sup>76</sup>

It has been suggested that *theurgia*, meaning “divine work,” was a term probably invented by a group of Neoplatonically inclined magicians, including luminaries like Iamblichus of Chalcis,<sup>77</sup> probably based in Alexandria around the 2nd century CE.<sup>78</sup> The theurgists were concerned with purifying and raising the consciousness of individual practitioners to the point where they could have direct communion with the gods. The theurgists were in a sense the inheritors of the ancient Greek Mysteries which aimed to introduce the candidate to the gods. There are three sections in the *PGM* which give instructions in these procedures, and these are categorised as type ‘M’ in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

The *goes*, the practitioner of *goetia* (γοητεία), on the other hand, attempts to bring daimones/demons onto the physical plane and to manifest them, or their effects.<sup>79</sup> The relationship of the practitioners of *theurgia* to practitioners of the *goetia* is that both attempt to invoke/evoke a spiritual creature (god, angel, daimon, demon). The *teletai* (τελεταί) priest does it for the benefit of the client’s soul while the *goes* does it to benefit the client’s material desires. Dickie is of the opinion that:

...although there are indications that *goetes*, *epodoi*, *magoi* and *pharmakeis* originally pursued quite different callings, there is no indication when the terms are first encountered in the fifth century that they refer to specialised forms of magic.<sup>80</sup>

Although it may well be true that there is too little evidence available from their earliest mentions to separate their specialised forms of magic, this is not true of later usage of the terms, where *goetes* and *magoi* are quite distinct. Amongst the later European grimoires, titles like the *Goetia* for example, use this term to specifically describe a particular style of magic which involves the evocation of spirits or demons: this is the meaning that will be observed in

<sup>75</sup> *Goetia* (γοητεία) and *goes* (γόης) are here used in the sense they acquired later in the Latin grimoires of ‘dealing with spirits,’ rather than in the sense outlined in Johnston (1999), pp. 102-103 of ‘dealing with the dead.’

<sup>76</sup> *Juratus* defines ‘theurgy’ as a “sacramental rite, [or] ‘mystery.’”

<sup>77</sup> Apart from Iamblichus, the other main source for theurgy is Proclus, a 5th century Neoplatonist. See also Johnston (2008) and Struck (2004), chapters 6-7 on Proclus.

<sup>78</sup> Johnston (2008), p. 150.

<sup>79</sup> ‘*Goetia*’ is used in this thesis in the sense used by Cornelius Agrippa rather than the ancient Greeks.

<sup>80</sup> Dickie (2001), pp. 14-15.

this thesis. I will henceforth be using the word *goetia* in that sense only, rather than trying to pin down its elusive meaning prior to the Christian era.

It is not surprising to find specific formulae or words migrating from one category to another, or religion to magic, given that the priests, *teletai*-priests and magicians might often be the same men (as they certainly were in ancient Egypt). As Betz states:

According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood... The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomena of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and Hellenistic setting.<sup>81</sup>

This overlap should not cause confusion, as (in the absence of a Victorian viewpoint like that of Frazer) it is no longer necessary to see religion as higher and magic as lower. In fact the reverse might be held to be true, if one conceives of the procedures of religion simply as the exoteric and public forms of the Mysteries, which in turn might have been the doorway to training in magic.

### *Solomonic Magic*

Solomonic magic is a form of magic which concerns itself with invoking/evoking a wide range of 'spiritual creatures,'<sup>82</sup> including the gods, daimones, angels, demons, spirits and sometimes the dead. The hallmarks of Solomonic magic are:

1. Solomonic magic is learned magic, relying primarily upon written material for its transmission.
2. The magician will always be enclosed in a magical circle when evoking/invoking.
3. Procedures will involve a number of magical implements which will have been consecrated prior to the main operation.
4. The *nomina magica* used to compel the spirits will often be of Jewish origin, but not exclusively so.
5. The format of the invocations has a structure and specific sequential method: *consecratio dei; invocatio; evocatio; ligatio; licentia*.<sup>83</sup>
6. Manuscripts of Solomonic magic are systematic treatises and not just a collection of unconnected magical recipes.

---

<sup>81</sup> Betz (1996), p. xlvi.

<sup>82</sup> See discussion of this term later in this chapter.

<sup>83</sup> See Agrippa (2005), pp. 39-55 and Skinner and Rankine (2007), pp. 91-94 for an explanation of this typically Solomonic sequence of operations.

7. The putative author is often (but not always) listed as King Solomon,<sup>84</sup> and mention may be made of his son Rehoboam, although these techniques were almost certainly not invented by the historical King Solomon. They may not even necessarily be of Jewish origin.<sup>85</sup>
8. Some Solomonic manuscripts include a second 'book' with a range of up to 49 planetary pentacles, whose origin will be considered in chapter 5.4.2.

The use of a protective circle, the prior consecration of implements, the *nomina magica* and the five sequential steps will be in this thesis referred to as the 'Solomonic method.' Thus some grimoires, like the *Ars Notoria*, do not use the Solomonic method as defined above, but rather rely upon prayers and *notae*.<sup>86</sup>

### *Working Definition of Magic*

Before proceeding, it is necessary to define the term 'magic' as it is the subject of this thesis. The most fundamental problem for modern academics in defining 'magic' is that *any* accurate definition of magic *must* involve the concepts of another world of spirits, demons and gods. For an atheist, for whom these entities simply do not exist, the problem of defining the art or science that deals with them is insoluble. This is not meant as a condescending statement, just one which suggests that analysis of any subject cannot be satisfactorily begun if the basic premises of that subject (be they true or false) are overlooked or completely omitted. This situation is what lies at the root of modern difficulties with the definition of magic. Such attempts at defining magic are on a par with a scientist who does not believe in the existence of radio waves, yet tries to explain the functioning of a radio: it cannot be done without making a nonsense of the definition.

Maybe the procedure of physicists, who define a theoretical particle, and then proceed to see if its behaviour fits their mathematical models, is an appropriate way of proceeding. The equivalent of this is to accept the theoretical existence of gods, demons and spirits, and then to move on from there to define magic in terms of their manipulation. In the ancient world the existence of daemons, spirits and gods was a given. Any definition recognizable to, and welcomed by, its ancient practitioners would have to include mention of daemons, gods, spirits, etc. And, more importantly, it would then be a definition which allows for reasonable discourse about the subject.

---

<sup>84</sup> Other 'Solomonic' authors or pseudo-authors/editors include Rabbi Solomon, Toz Graec, Rabbi Abognazer, Armadel, Geo Peccatrix, etc. Discussion of the real identity of these authors is only incidental to the objectives of this thesis. The term 'Solomonic' will therefore be used as an identifier of typical content rather than author.

<sup>85</sup> Despite many of the god and angel names being of Jewish origin, the *method* appears not to be.

<sup>86</sup> Elaborate drawings relating to specific subjects of the Trivium or Quadrivium.

As so many scholars have laboured unsuccessfully to create a modern definition of the term magic, I intend to cut the Gordian knot by utilising a definition which is much closer to the sense the ancients gave it, by returning to the original meaning of *magia*, with a meaning that would have been understood by its practitioners in Late Antiquity.

If this involves a nod in the direction of the existence of gods, daimones and spirits, then so be it. Without such a nod, the effort resembles that of the man who would describe chess without acknowledging the existence of the invisible rules which govern the movement of the individual pieces. Such rules have no real existence, but without them the game of chess is impossible to play, or to write sensible commentary upon. Likewise it is very difficult to examine or comment upon magic without acknowledging the 'spiritual creatures' which are part of its basic premises as understood by its practitioners.

For the purpose of this thesis I would therefore like to propose a working definition of magic that is based on how it was practised in the Greek speaking Mediterranean, and which avoids modernization, social theory, or the moral challenges of theological definition:

Magic is the art of causing change through the agency of spiritual creatures rather than via directly observable physical means: such spiritual creatures being compelled, or persuaded to assist, by the use of sacred words or names, talismans, symbols, incense, sacrifices and *materia magica*.

Here 'spiritual' is defined to mean non-physical, with no ethical connotation, and 'spiritual creature' to mean a non-physical entity, ranging in definition or substance from elementals, spirits, demons, daimones, angels, archangels, even gods, to discarnate humans (both saintly and prematurely dead).<sup>87</sup> The use of this terminology which was in widespread use in Europe up to the 16th century,<sup>88</sup> might be hard for modern readers to digest, particularly those who come from a Judaeo-Christian background where the notion of 'spirituality' is totally opposed to the very existence of spirits. In modern times the word 'spiritual' surfaces in the practices of 'spiritualism' or 'spiritism' where the medium deals with discarnate entities and the dead alike, but the term is still not understood in its wider meaning.

So for the purposes of this thesis 'spiritual creature'<sup>89</sup> will be understood in exactly the way Dr John Dee<sup>90</sup> (1527-1608) understood it in the late 16th century when he wrote:

---

<sup>87</sup> The term 'spiritual creature' also saves the tiresome need to write out "gods, goddesses, spirits, demons, daimones, angels, archangels and elementals" every time they all need to be mentioned.

<sup>88</sup> This definition obviously does not cover 'natural magic' which was a category mentioned by Agrippa, and in current use by the Renaissance, probably devised specifically to avoid opposition from the Church, by eliminating spirits and demons from its definition.

<sup>89</sup> A better term might have been *creatulum incorporalis*.

<sup>90</sup> An Elizabethan polymath who wrote books on geometry, navigation, alchemy, rectification of the calendar, and promoted the idea of the British Empire. His interest in angelic invocation lead him to employ a succession of skryers, such as Edward Kelley, who provided Dee with a large amount of

Suddenly, there seemed to come out of my Oratory a Spirituall creature, like a pretty girle of 7 or 9 yeares of age...<sup>91</sup>

According to Zambelli, "Ficino and his followers admitted the existence of spiritual beings (demons, angels and devils, anthropomorphic movers of astral bodies etc.) to whom it was possible to address prayers, hymns or innocent spells."<sup>92</sup> Other precedents for this usage exist, and at least one manuscript of the *Key of Solomon* refers in a similar fashion to angels as 'Créatures célestes.'<sup>93</sup>

There was no doubt in the minds of magicians of the period under consideration, that the effects of magic were attributable to external 'spiritual creatures' be they gods, angels, daimones, or spirits, rather than to either the innate powers of the magician himself, or to some nebulous undefined pseudo-scientific 'force' or 'vibration.' It was considered, in the ancient world, that the main skill of a magician was to constrain these entities using the spoken and written word, sigils, talismans, suffumigations and sacrifices. This definition therefore, leads naturally to the subject of this thesis: the examination of the evolution and technology of these words, sigils, talismans, suffumigations and sacrifices that he used. Indeed more recent scholarly definitions of magic have come much closer to defining magic as a technology:

[Magic] is a reasoned system of techniques for influencing the gods and other supernatural powers that can be taught and learned... Magic is a praxis, indeed a science, that through established and for the most part empirical means seeks to alter or maintain earthly circumstances, or even call them forth anew.<sup>94</sup>

The centrality of spiritual creatures to the operation of any magic is confirmed by Johnston:

In short, it seems that many Mediterranean magicians considered the control of ghostly or demonic entities to be *essential* to the completion of their work: the better one was at controlling demons, the greater a magician one was.<sup>95</sup>

Magic divides the spiritual universe into a specific hierarchy of spiritual creatures in order to deal with it more effectively. Like any science, one of the first steps is analysis, where the constituent parts need to be identified and labelled.<sup>96</sup>

If magic is looked at in historical terms, as a practice, something people actually did, then magic can be examined and documented in the same way that one could research and document the production of parchment for writing, without condemning the process as

---

dictated messages and instruction from entities claiming to be angels or spirits. Dee's records of these 'spiritual actions' ran to many hundreds of manuscript pages.

<sup>91</sup> This description refers to the angel Madimi as described in BL Cotton Appendix MS XLVI, f. 1. See also BL Sloane MS 3188, fol. 8. Clulee (1988), p. 179.

<sup>92</sup> Zambelli (2007), p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> BL Lansdowne MS 1203, ff. 7-8.

<sup>94</sup> Frantz-Szabó (2007) as quoted in Walton (2006), p. 264.

<sup>95</sup> Johnston (2002), pp. 42-43, my italics.

<sup>96</sup> These labels are particularly important in magic, because of one of the primary axioms of magic is that all spiritual creatures can only be addressed and controlled when their true name is known.

primitive, or judging the morals or efficacy of the method. Nobody who owns a computer would now ever go to the trouble of pulling the skin off a sheep, soaking, stretching, scraping, liming and processing it for several weeks, before writing on it with ink made of soot and oak galls, but nobody can deny that this procedure produced a very durable writing surface that can last more than a thousand years.<sup>97</sup>

My point is that it is not necessary to take a psychological or even a social anthropological approach to magic. It is sufficient to examine what was done by magicians, and their reasons for those actions, as documented by its practitioners, in their own handbooks. Utilising the practitioners own world view, and their own records, could be construed as taking an entirely emic point of view, but as the subject is treated from the point of view of a technology, with an objective examination of the materials and methods of the practitioners, the vantage point from which these are viewed is an etic one.

#### *Definitions of Charm, Amulet, Phylactery, Tefillin, Lamen, Talisman and Pentacle*

A number of words related to magic have changed meaning over the centuries, and so it is useful to revisit these definitions so that the discussion of category divisions in chapter 3.2 makes internally consistent sense. It is therefore necessary to define more closely the terms Charm, Amulet, Phylactery, Tefillin, Lamen, Talisman and Pentacle, as the popular perception (and even sometimes the academic one),<sup>98</sup> is that the above terms are roughly equivalent. These words are often used interchangeably, even by professionals.<sup>99</sup> These distinctions are further blurred by some translators who translate, for example, φυλακτήριον by “charm” or “amulet.” Preisendanz sometimes translates the term “Amulet des Zaubers”<sup>100</sup> which at least indicates its use by magicians, rather than just as an everyday charm for a client.

Skemer, in his note on terminology, makes some very useful and necessary distinctions:<sup>101</sup>

Imprecise terminology has been an impediment to the serious study of textual amulets...

Modern scholarship has used different terms to signify textual amulets and has applied them inconsistently.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> I am still surprised that I can easily read the contents of a manuscript from the Middle Ages, but can no longer access digital work written by myself on an obsolete computer just thirty years ago. Parchment may well prove more durable in the long run than easily deleted digital documents.

<sup>98</sup> Betz (1996), p. 281, for example, categorises PGM XLIV. 1-18 (in the Table of Spells) as a “phylactery for earache.” The fact that it is designed to cure earache, for a specific patient, definitely marks it out as an amulet, not a phylactery. Furthermore the word φυλακτήριον ‘phylactery’ does not appear anywhere in the Greek text of this passage.

<sup>99</sup> A recent exhibit in the newly refurbished Ashmolean Museum in Oxford showed a photograph of a Rabbi who clearly had a tefillin bound to his forehead, captioned by professional museum staff as a “Rabbi with an amulet.”

<sup>100</sup> ‘Magician’s amulet.’ Preisendanz (1928), p. 17.

<sup>101</sup> Skemer (2006), pp. 6-19.

<sup>102</sup> Skemer (2006), pp. 6, 10.

It is important to make these distinctions before proceeding with the analysis of the different rite types present in the *PGM*. The definitions used in this thesis are listed below in order of specificity, ranging from the very general and all-embracing word 'charm' to the very specific and technical term 'lamen.' The purpose of this detailed definition is to be able to pinpoint the function of each in the context of the *PGM* papyri under consideration, regardless of the sometimes too generalised translation of their descriptors.<sup>103</sup>

The definitions set out below are formulated on the basis of their use in actual rubrics, and will therefore often expand, or sometimes even contradict, the definition to be found in a typical non-specialist English dictionary.<sup>104</sup> The *OED* is fairly vague about these distinctions, often simply defining one term in terms of another, which is not very helpful.

### *Charm*

The word 'charm' is the most general, and non-specific term, and therefore not a very useful term when considering detailed magical techniques. 'Charm' may be used as a verb. As it is derived from the Latin *carmen*, meaning 'song' or 'invocation' it can also have a vocal dimension as well as indicating the written form of such a song. It can also be applied to a small item designed to be worn and bring good luck, where 'amulet' might be more appropriate. Charm is therefore too general and imprecise a word for the present purposes. Unfortunately some *PGM* translators have often used this blanket term where a much more specific or technical term, like φυλακτήριον 'phylactery,' or κατακλητικόν 'summoning statue,' occurs in the Greek. This term will therefore be used as little as possible in the present thesis.

### *Amulet*

This is also a fairly general term, and simply means a thing worn on the person to attract luck or protect the wearer generally from evil influences, danger or illness.<sup>105</sup> Seligman,<sup>106</sup> quoted by Budge, was of the opinion that 'amulet' was derived from the Old Latin *amoletum*, meaning "a means of defence."<sup>107</sup> Skemer may be closer to the truth when he states that *amulet* is derived from the Latin *amuletum* which he traces back to the Arabic *hamalet*,

---

<sup>103</sup> As the translations of these papyri have been undertaken by a range of scholars, it is sometimes the case that a specific Greek word will be translated into a number of quite different English words. Categorisation in Appendix 2 has therefore been done on the basis of either the original Greek headword, or the function as embodied in the rubric, rather than the English translation or suggested title. Table 20 lists the Greek rubricated headwords that were utilised for that categorization.

<sup>104</sup> For example, *phylactery*, although a Greek term, is often incorrectly defined narrowly in English dictionaries as a solely Jewish religious item (really a *tefillin*), whereas in the papyri it is only used to describe an Egyptian magicians' *lamen*.

<sup>105</sup> A common mediaeval synonym for amulet was ligature, meaning something bound to the body.

<sup>106</sup> *Heil und Schutzmittel*, Stuttgart, 1920, p. 26.

<sup>107</sup> Budge (1961), p. 13.

meaning an object “worn on the body, especially around the neck, as a “preservative” against a host of afflictions.<sup>108</sup>

An amulet may be made in the form of a gem (especially an engraved gem), a coin, pendant, ring, or plant or animal part (like a rabbit’s foot), or it may be a textual amulet. A typical Mediterranean example, which is still current, is the blue circular eye-shaped amulet designed to protect the wearer from the evil eye. Ancient Egyptian amulets were mass-produced using certain standard formats such as the scarab (perhaps the most popular form), *ankh*, *tet* column, *djed* pillar or the *wedjat* Eye of Horus.<sup>109</sup>

The key distinguishing feature of an amulet is that it will either be mass-produced (for later insertion of the client’s name), or made for a very specific client. In the context of the *PGM*, textual amulets will be made for a specific reason (often the cure of an illness) for a specific person, and will therefore often incorporate the name of the specific person for whom it has been made, and to whom it is to be attached. It will not be used by the magician in a rite.

One example of an amulet which has been labelled as a phylactery occurs in an article by Jordan. In his translation the repeated order to protect a specific woman from sundry possible ills confirms, without doubt, that this particular lamella is an amulet for general protection, not a phylactery for use during a magical rite:

Protect Alexandra, whom Zoë bore, from every demon and every compulsion of demons and from demonic (forces?) and magical drugs and binding-spells...free Alexandra, whom Zoë bore – quickly, quickly, at once, at once!<sup>110</sup>

The difference between an amulet and a phylactery thus is highlighted by both its usage and user. The amulet is made for a client, often mass-produced with the client’s name inscribed later, often in a different hand, but the phylactery is made by the magician for the magician. Skemer usefully further narrows the definition of amulet by referring to ‘textual amulets.’ In doing so he defines these as:

Textual amulets, as the term is employed in this book, were generally brief apotropaic texts, handwritten or mechanically printed on separate sheets, rolls, and scraps of parchment, paper, or other flexible writing supports of varying dimensions. When worn around the neck or placed elsewhere on the body, they were thought to protect the bearer against known and unknown enemies...<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Skemer (2006), p. 6. In this sense an amulet may be referred to in Latin as an *alligatura*.

<sup>109</sup> Examples of Egyptian amulets can be seen in Budge (1970), Andrews (1994), p. 6 and Pinch (2006), pp. 104-119. Examples of Palestinian and Syrian amulets can be found in Naveh and Shaked (1985), pp. 40-122. In each of these 15 examples (except number 6 which is missing at least four lines), the name of the specific person for whom it was made is inscribed on it, thus guaranteeing that it is an amulet. Mediaeval amulets are well covered in Skemer (2006).

<sup>110</sup> Jordan (1991), pp. 66-67.

<sup>111</sup> Skemer (2006), p. ix.

### *Phylactery*

The phylactery (as the term is used in the PGM) is always for the use of the magician, and only then during a rite, not worn on a day-to-day basis. It will also definitely *not* incorporate his name.<sup>112</sup> A phylactery is also worn, but it *must* include a written magical or religious text, and be only used by him during a rite.<sup>113</sup> This term will only be used in this thesis in the meaning used in the *PGM*.

### *Taweez*

In modern India and the Middle East the wearing of a small metal (often gold) cylinder with an enclosed religious text for protection is quite widespread. These also occurred in ancient Egypt.<sup>114</sup> Although these items are sometimes referred to as phylacteries, the usual word for these in Urdu and Arabic is *taweez* or *tabeez*. The *taweez* will be worn every day, and it must contain a religious text. It functions like an amulet.

### *Tefillin*

Phylacteries are defined in most modern dictionaries as mostly associated with Jewish religious practice. Phylactery is however a Greek word. More correctly, the Hebrew word for this very specific item is *tefillin* (תְּפִלִּין). A *tefillin* is structurally quite different from any other magico-religious pendant, and consists of a small leather case containing slips of parchment or vellum on which are written very *specific* Hebrew scriptural passages and bound tightly on the forehead and the left arm by orthodox Jewish men during their morning prayer. *Tefillin* as such do not occur in the *PGM*, nor in any of the later magical texts, as their use is and was solely for Jewish religious purposes.

### *Lamen or Magician's Phylactery*

In the *PGM* the phylactery is worn solely for protection during a magical rite. The purpose of the magician's phylactery is to personally protect the magician from the spirit, demon, or (even) the god during the rite. 'Lamen' is an even more specific term, and one used exclusively by magicians and never by laymen. In mediaeval and later magical texts, *phylacterium* was often rendered as *lamen*. The lamen of the mediaeval magician is a direct descendant of the *PGM* phylactery.

---

<sup>112</sup> Heintz (1996), pp. 295-300, analyses a mass-produced amulet, which interestingly uses just lines 6-9 cut from a much longer inscription recorded in *PGM XIXa*. 1-54. Heintz correctly identifies it as a mass-produced amulet (p. 296) but nevertheless still entitles her article "A Greek Silver Phylactery..."

<sup>113</sup> Phylactery (φυλακτήριον) is a Greek word and *may* have been derived from the Greek *phylaktikos*, which means 'fit for preserving, or a preservative.'

<sup>114</sup> Illustrated in Pinch (2006), p. 115.

### *Talisman*

Although this word is commonly used interchangeably with 'amulet' it will here be used in its more restricted (grimoire) sense, which implies something used in a magical rite for a specific end. For its precise derivation see chapter 3.2. A talisman is not personalised. A talisman is something written or drawn on parchment, papyrus or metal, with a specific magical objective in mind, often planetary. Unlike an amulet or a phylactery it is not designed for personal or general protection, and it is usually not worn.

### *Pentacle*

This term is almost synonymous with talisman, but carries the additional suggestion that the figure inscribed may be a pentagram, and will relate to a specific planet.<sup>115</sup>

To summarise the above:

A talisman or pentacle is not worn, but is a passive store of a specific magical force, all the others are worn.

An amulet may be worn by a client, often for health or general luck, and usually does not have detailed inscriptions.

A phylactery, taweez, tefillin and lamen are worn, but must contain written magical or religious inscriptions.

A phylactery must have written magical inscription on or included within it, but the text can be pagan, Jewish, Muslim, etc.<sup>116</sup>

A tefillin must contain a copy of very specific Hebrew religious texts, written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and is worn specifically during morning prayer and only by a Jewish male.<sup>117</sup>

A lamen or 'magician's phylactery' has inscriptions but is only worn by a magician, during a magical ritual, and at no other time, for protection against the specific spiritual creatures invoked/evoked at that time.

These defining characteristics, which are based on their actual usage and on the Greek text of the *PGM*, rather than just on the limited dictionary definition of the English words, will be used in this thesis to distinguish between the different items of equipment.

---

<sup>115</sup> Pentacle is also the Earth suit in the Tarot pack, and is sometimes used to describe the figure drawn on the ground to enclose a spirit.

<sup>116</sup> OED phylactery = "a small leather box containing Hebrew texts on vellum, worn by Jewish men at morning prayer as a reminder to keep the law. Origin: late Middle English: via late Latin from Greek *phulaktērion* 'amulet,' from *phulassein* 'to guard.'" It is a Greek word, not a Hebrew word.

<sup>117</sup> Possible origin: from Aramaic *tepillin*, 'prayers.'

## 1.5 The Relationship between Magic, the Mysteries and Religion

It is useful to enter into a brief discussion of the relationships between magic, the Mysteries and religion for three very specific reasons:

- i) to further refine the definition of magic, in order to successfully avoid any confusion with religion;
- ii) to eliminate three large passages in one of the source texts, the *PGM*, which are in fact Mystery and initiation rites, and not either magic or religion; and
- iii) to appreciate the distinction between two types of magic: *theurgia* and *goetia*.

The dichotomy between magic and religion has caused so much scholarly controversy over the last century or so, that it has even been categorized as an unsolvable dilemma by some scholars.<sup>118</sup> I propose to make some observations which might lead eventually to such a solution, or at least a very different viewpoint from which to perceive such a solution. This is done in an effort to simplify the present discussion of historical magical transmission, and to avoid it becoming trapped in, or tripped up by, considerations of religion.

It is still often argued that religion deals with God or the gods, angels and saints, but only to implore their help, not to constrain it. This view, which is now somewhat superseded, dates back to the work of James Frazer in 1890.<sup>119</sup> There is some truth in this contention, but some techniques of magic overlap with the techniques of religion. Techniques such as prayer or consecration span both practices, as shown in grimoires like the *Juratus*, *Liber Sacer*, the 'Holy Book.'<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, religion also sometimes uses compulsion, when, for example, it indulges in exorcism. Even techniques such as animal sacrifice, as distasteful to the modern reader as it may be, were originally used by both magicians and priests in the service of their art or religion. One only has to look at the stupendous quantities of animals sacrificed by King Solomon at the inauguration of his temple in Jerusalem in order to appease Yahweh/El, to see that sacrifice is not the exclusive province of the magician or polytheist.

Although it was in the interest of the early Christian church to draw deep divides between magic and religion, an objective analysis of the two shows much identity. As Betz neatly puts it when talking about the pre-Christian world:

The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion – calling the former “religion” and “church” and the latter “magic” and “cult” – did not exist in antiquity...<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> Betz (1991), pp. 244-247.

<sup>119</sup> For Frazer, and many other scholars since, religion was equated with Christianity.

<sup>120</sup> See Hedegård (2002), pp. 60-211 for the critical edition of the text.

<sup>121</sup> Betz (1996), p. xli.

My primary observation is that the question of the relationship between magic and religion, has been inappropriately phrased, and that the discussion should not centre around *two* opposing terms, but around the consideration of *three* terms.

I would like to propose that the reason why this dilemma has remained unsolvable is that in fact the argument should have included three terms and not just two. To solve this one needs to look at the whole spectrum of how man has attempted to relate to the unseen, to the gods and to other spiritual creatures. It is not simply a matter of the differences and similarities between religion and magic. For example Christ's New Testament miracles have much more in common with magic than they do with religion as currently conceived of by any mainstream Christian church.<sup>122</sup>

Brashear,<sup>123</sup> commenting on Kazhdan,<sup>124</sup> writes:

The difference between holy and unholy miracles, he suggests, is in the miracle's aim and result: the saint rescues, feeds and comforts, creating good and exemplifying the Christian ideal. Unholy magic causes death, confusion, sexual misbehaviour and the like. Yet, in the final analysis, ambivalence is the order of the day, and the Byzantines seem to have had no real criterion for distinguishing between a holy and an unholy miracle.

To a large extent, the problem has been created by the Christian doctrinal view of magic. The early Church Fathers were in no doubt that magic was a real and internally consistent body of knowledge. For example, Origen wrote:

...magic is not, as the followers of Epicurus and Aristotle think, utterly incoherent, but, as the experts in these things prove, is a consistent system, which has principles known to very few.<sup>125</sup> But more than that, the basic problem is that the question has been treated as a simple dichotomy of magic versus religion, whereas there is a middle term missing from this equation. The missing 'middle term' is the Mystery religions, which are part of a *continuum* of: religion – the Mysteries – magic. However, the problem is still a difficult one because the Mystery religions are missing from our 21st century experience, and do not exist any more in any form in any Western culture.

The nature of these three practices can be summed up briefly:

- a) Religion is practised in public in temples in front of all adherents by priests.
- b) The Mysteries (or holy *teletai*),<sup>126</sup> were celebrated in private by the *teletai-*

---

<sup>122</sup> See Conner (2006) and Conner (2010).

<sup>123</sup> Brashear (1998), p. 253.

<sup>124</sup> Kazhdan (1995), pp. 73-82.

<sup>125</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsus* in Chadwick (1965), pp. 23-24.

<sup>126</sup> *Teletai*, which is often translated as 'initiation,' derives from the Greek root *tele-* which means 'completion' or 'perfection.' 'Initiation' is a word which has been somewhat devalued in the last century. To the ancient Greeks it meant approaching the perfection of a god, or at the very least a purification which enabled a mortal to meet with and converse with a god, in some form of

priests only for the benefit of one or a very small number of initiates. It is very clearly different from religion which was practised openly in temples.<sup>127</sup>

- c) Magic is celebrated in private and/or secretly.<sup>128</sup> It was often practised by the priests of a religion, but also by lay persons with the right training.

In the ancient world these were the three main ways that man sought to approach the unseen. The differences between these three can be defined by a number of criteria:

1. *Audience.* The first category, religion, deals with the gods on behalf of the congregation. The second, the Mysteries, takes a select few of the congregation and exposes them to experiences which (by all accounts) change their view of the world and their life for ever after. The significance of this change can be measured by the very small number of initiates who have ever broken their vows and written down an account of their experiences. The third category will often be performed for just one client, or just for the benefit of the magician himself.
2. *Degree of Secrecy.* Religion embraces all-comers and in many cases seeks to convert the non-believer or adherent of a rival religion. The Mysteries selected or accepted only a few individuals from the congregation who looked for (or paid for) a deeper spiritual experience. Magic was even more secretive, and in most cases, actively discouraged new postulants or practitioners.<sup>129</sup> Clients were only included in the practice on a need-to-know or disciple basis.
3. *Degree of Specificity in Objectives.* Religion dealt with the general good, and assisted in various rites of passage such as birth, death and marriage, but the objectives will be general in nature such as blessing (baptism for birth, blessing for marriage, last rites for death). The Mysteries focused on the initiation or introduction to the gods to a few candidates, at a personal experiential level, and usually dealt just with one god, such as Dionysus or Demeter, with the single objective of initiation or immortalisation. The prime objective of the Immortality offered by the Mysteries should not be confused with "a place in heaven" offered by religion. Magic operates with a very specific end or single objective, but drawn from a very wide field of concrete possibilities: love, lust, money, power, etc.

---

fellowship, which was indeed the objective of the Mysteries. PGM IV contains several such Mystery rituals, for example lines 26-51 or 475-820.

<sup>127</sup> In the Dervani papyrus the practitioners were referred to as *mystai*.

<sup>128</sup> In the Dervani papyrus these practitioners were referred to as *magoi*. See Edmonds (2008), p.17.

<sup>129</sup> The degree of privacy was also used as a distinguishing factor between magic and religion by Emile Durkheim. Michael Bailey (2006), p. 3, pointed out that Marcel Mauss (Durkheim's nephew and pupil) defined magic as "private, secret, mysterious, and above all prohibited, while religion consisted of rites publicly acknowledged and approved."

4. *Range of Entities.* Religion deals with the gods and the angels. The Mysteries dealt with one specific god or goddess. Magic deals with the whole range of spiritual creatures: gods, angels, demons, elementals, spirits and even the dead.

Yet a third possible way of looking at these three categories is in terms of subject and object.

- i) Religion: the Priest presents the god(s) to the people.
- ii) Mysteries: the *teletai* priest presents a specific candidate to a specific god.
- iii) Magic: the magician presents himself to, and adjures, the god or other spiritual creature.

To understand the soil from which European magic sprung, we have to look back to the ancient world, within the same region, for a time when all three modes of communication with the spiritual existed side by side, and at a time when magic was considered a worthy and workable method.

It is my belief that it is precisely because of the Judeo-Christian bias, and because of the missing experience of the Mystery religions, that the discussion of the relationship between magic and religion has not, in modern times, ever reached a satisfactory conclusion. By cutting out the middle term, the Mysteries, Christianity forever polarised magic and religion, instead of seeing it as part of a natural continuum in man's efforts to relate to the gods, the angels and other spiritual creatures.

It is now popular to embrace the idea that religion and magic cannot be separated, as MacMullen puts it:

Now, the lessons of anthropology grown familiar, it is common to accept the impossibility of separating magic from religion and move on to more interesting subjects.<sup>130</sup>

Reliance upon the conclusions of anthropologists draws the argument back into the anthropological analysis of primitive peoples, which is a world away from the discourse and understanding of pagan and Christian intellectuals living under the Roman or Byzantine Empires. Much of the main thrust of MacMullen's book is concerned with the identity or similarity of pagan religious and Christian religious practices, which may well be true, but has little direct relation to magic.<sup>131</sup> The fact that religion sometimes used magic, or that priests were often magicians, does not invalidate the basic distinctions in practice.

---

<sup>130</sup> MacMullen (1997), pp. 143-144.

<sup>131</sup> MacMullen (1997), p. 143.

### *The Application of the Categorisation of Magic, Mysteries and Religion*

One simple example, taken from the *Papyri Graeco Magicae*,<sup>132</sup> which is a key part of the present study, helps to illustrate the usefulness of this three-fold categorization. One section of the papyrus was designated by its early German translator, Albrecht Dieterich, as *Eine Mithrasliturgie*.<sup>133</sup> Dieterich, working in the Frazerian atmosphere of 1903, wanted to see this ritual as a part of religion, allowing him to characterise it as worthy, so seizing upon one of the few god names present, he called it the *Mithras Liturgy*.<sup>134</sup> Despite Dieterich's undoubted fame as a scholar, the text was neither Mithraic nor was it a liturgy.<sup>135</sup> Cumont was quick to point this out,<sup>136</sup> but Dieterich was not to be moved, and the argument went on for the next quarter century. An appreciation that the text could have been either religion, magic or a Mystery rite, might have reduced this confrontation.

Even a cursory reading will confirm that 'Mithra' appears once, but only as part of a clear reference to a previous event, rather than as the addressee of the current rite.<sup>137</sup> In addition, none of the known theological or symbolic themes of Mithraic 'ascent of the soul via the seven planetary spheres' appear. Therefore, it is clearly not a Mithraic religious text. But Dieterich refused to be convinced, thinking that its complex and elegant structure must be part of some formal religion, not a piece of *Volkskunde*. German scholars of that period, like Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, felt that classical scholars should only translate poetry, literature and religious rites, and not sully their hands with what he called *botokudenphilologie*. Hence Dieterich's desire to see this text as a mainstream religious text.

In fact this particular passage, despite appearing in the *PGM* collection, is not in the strict sense magic either.

Applying the definition of the three parts of the continuum proposed above in terms of audience, degree of secrecy, specificity of objectives, and range of entities address, we can clearly see:

1. *Audience.* The 'Mithras Liturgy' is not a religious rite as it is not one designed to be performed in public.
2. *Secrecy.* The degree of secrecy is clear. The ritual is either a solitary one, or one "for an only child," and therefore it is not a religious ritual.

---

<sup>132</sup> *PGM* IV, 475-829.

<sup>133</sup> Dieterich (1966).

<sup>134</sup> A title which does not appear in the text itself.

<sup>135</sup> Liturgy refers to religious services, where the worshippers' responses are complementary to the priest's work.

<sup>136</sup> Cumont (1904), pp. 1-10.

<sup>137</sup> *PGM* VI, 482.

3. *Objectives.* The objective specified in the first line clearly marks it out as a Mystery rite, it being for the benefit of the writer's daughter, that she may become immortal (the most common objective of the Mysteries) and/or for the benefit of the writer.

I write these mysteries handed down... for an only child I request immortality, O initiates of this our power... so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an enquirer and behold the universe.<sup>138</sup>

As Betz writes, "immortality is of course the primary benefit derived from the Mysteries (μυστήρια)." <sup>139</sup> The objectives are not love, wealth, power, sex, and so it is not a magic ritual, even though it is embedded amongst other magic rituals in the same papyrus. The objective is the immortalization of the initiate rather than the worship of a divinity (religion) or the constraining of other spiritual creatures (magic).

4. *Range of Entities.* The number of spiritual entities invoked is very limited, but it mentions Helios, Aiōn and Mithras (as a backward looking reference) and some other lesser daimones, but does not constrain them or threaten them, as would be typical of a magical text.

The conclusion is that it is a Mystery ritual imbedded in a magical papyrus, but not itself either magic, or religion. The point of this excursus is simply to show an example usage of the criterion set out above to practically distinguish between religion, the Mysteries and magic, in one of the three main source texts utilised by this thesis. This illustrates the need for such a definition in analysing these texts.

---

<sup>138</sup> PGM IV, 475-485.

<sup>139</sup> Betz (2005), p. 94.

## 2. Theatre of Operation: the Historical Background

Transmission of ideas and texts follows the broad outlines of cultural diffusion, but this only happens gradually over time.<sup>140</sup> However the beginnings of such diffusion, or their termination, often follow sudden political changes like the conquest of armies, which might cause a mass migration, or the censoring of one way of thinking. Magic was particularly susceptible to changes in the dominant religion, which in Egypt for example, changed from a tolerant polytheistic pagan environment to a far more restrictive Christian monotheistic environment, followed much later by an even more monotheistic Islamic environment. Therefore it is worthwhile flagging some of the major political changes in the eastern Mediterranean over the course of the period being analysed, as they throw some light on the patterns of the diffusion of magic.

I am aware of the risks of examining history as discreet chunks of internally homogenous culture defined by specific dates. The scope of this thesis does not allow me to examine the difficulties of too rigid a periodisation, but certain historical markers need to be laid down to enable the transmission to be outlined. In the case of the Eastern Mediterranean, turning points such as the sack of Constantinople in 1453, and rapid and radical changes in the religious backdrop from pagan to Christian to Muslim are key events with far reaching effects, and so need to be noted. Such changes in religion are much more likely to have affected the practice of magic than, for example, the practice of agriculture. Key to these cultural transitions has been the activity of translators, whose access to manuscripts has also been radically affected by these cultural shifts.

### *Ancient Egypt*

Ancient Egyptian magic had existed over several millennia prior to the Christian era. Greek colonists and settlers moved to Egypt in search of work or a better place to live from the 7th century BCE onwards. From the time of Pythagoras and Herodotus, Egypt was seen as a land of mystery, and of commercial opportunity. The melting pot where ancient Egyptian and Greek magic blended was the city of Alexandria, in Egypt, and it is the history of that city which is central to the history of Graeco-Egyptian magic. The main subsequent changes in the political, cultural and religious environment are mapped out below. The dates are merely a guideline, as the process of cultural transmission is of course more gradual. Where appropriate there will be a backward glance at the magical practices of ancient Egypt, but these connections are not central to the main thrust of this thesis.

---

<sup>140</sup> See Pingree (1987).

### *Alexandria under the Greeks 332 - 30 BCE*

Graeco-Egyptian magic was a direct result of the mixing of Egyptian and Greek cultures. This began in earnest with the invasion of Egypt by Alexander in 332 BCE, although it was practised before this in Egypt, particularly in the Hellenic city of Alexandria, and in the eastern Mediterranean. Betz defines the date range of the relevant extant papyri as from 2nd century BCE to 5th century CE.<sup>141</sup> It is probable that the materials incorporated in these papyri date back a further century to 332 BCE (the point where Greek and Egyptian magic may first have begun to interact seriously).

### *Alexandria under the Romans 30 BCE – 395 CE*

Although the Romans conquered Egypt in 30 BCE, they seemed content not to interfere with local religious and magical customs, hence their culture added very little to the prevailing system of magic. Although Alexandria had a Jewish community from early times,<sup>142</sup> the Romans' crushing of the Jewish revolt in Jerusalem in 70 CE, and the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, created a surge in the migration of many Palestinian Jews to Alexandria, which for a while became a world centre for Jewry. In fact the Jews in Alexandria in the 1st century CE are said to have made up 40% of the total population.<sup>143</sup> Around this time Jewish magical formulae, holy names, and figures like Solomon and Moses most strongly entered the practice of Graeco-Egyptian magic.<sup>144</sup> The few papyri that can be definitely dated as prior to that date (70 CE) have very few occurrences of demonstrably Jewish formulae.<sup>145</sup>

The next most significant change in the region was the replacement of paganism with Christianity. The main events which saw the overthrow of paganism happened in just the space of 30 years. These events included the death of the Roman Emperor Julian, called the Apostate in 363 CE, an event which effectively finally withdrew official backing for the pagan world in the Roman Empire. In Egypt it was also the decrees of the Coptic patriarch Theophilus which resulted in the looting and burning of the Alexandrian Serapeum in 391 CE (which contained the last remaining scrolls and papyri saved from the great Library of Alexandria). This saw Christianity rise to become the dominant religion in the region.

---

<sup>141</sup> Betz (1996), p. xli.

<sup>142</sup> When Alexander founded the city he looked favourably on Jewish colonists: "Having found among them brave and loyal allies he granted that they might settle in a quarter of the new city with legal rights equal to those of the Greeks." - Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, II, 18, 7.

<sup>143</sup> Philo Judaeus in *Flaccum*, 6, 8. Even allowing for exaggeration, it was probably only rigid Jewish monotheism that prevented them contributing more to the development of Solomonic magic.

<sup>144</sup> Moses and Solomon are simply used here as the names of famous magicians, whose names can be called upon in any adjuration, and do not specifically indicate a Jewish provenance for the invocation.

<sup>145</sup> On dating see Brashear (1995), pp. 3491-3493.

Christianity then began a steady persecution of pagans and magicians (often one and the same) resulting in the destruction of a vast corpus of magical manuscripts.<sup>146</sup> On 8 November 392 CE, the ancient gods were reclassified as “evil spirits.”<sup>147</sup>

#### *Alexandria under the Byzantines 395-636*

Rome lost Egypt back to the Greeks four years after the destruction of the Serapeum, but this time to Christian Greeks, not pagan ones. The grisly murder of Hypatia, the last head of the Platonic Academy in Alexandria, at the hands of the Christians in 415 CE, sealed the fate of paganism in Alexandria. Finally, the loss of Egypt to Islam in 636 CE resulted in the migration (which had begun some years earlier) of Greeks (with their culture, magical practices and manuscripts) northwards to Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire which had been designated as the capital three centuries before.

#### *The Byzantine Empire 324-1453*

The Byzantine Empire spans over a millennium from the declaration of Constantinople as the ‘New Rome’ in 324 CE, through the loss of Egypt in 636 CE to the sack of Constantinople in 1453. The cultural focus is however still Greek, but now it has moved from pagan Greek to Christian Greek, in line with its geographical move northwards from Alexandria to Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Orthodox empire. Finally in 636 CE the Orthodox empire lost control of Egypt to the Muslim invaders, cutting off this magical tradition from its roots. Magical practices, which by now had a small Jewish, and a much smaller Christian admixture, began to be referred to as Solomonic magic, or in Greek the *Solomōnikē*. The final loss of Constantinople (and the rest of the Byzantine Empire) to Islam in 1453 CE,<sup>148</sup> resulted in a transfer of much Greek culture and magic to its closest Christian neighbour, Italy, where the Byzantine Greeks already had a territorial presence.

#### *The Latin World from 1453 – 1641*

In Italy the *Solomōnikē* were soon translated into Latin to become the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and Latin Solomonic grimoires. Once having become available in the Latin world these grimoires rapidly migrated from Italy to France and thence to England. Although 1641 is an arbitrary date, because Latin continued to be used, in England anti-Popish sentiment around this time contributed to the more frequent use of English and the beginning of the long decline of Latin.

---

<sup>146</sup> The bulk of the surviving Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are reputed to have come from just one tomb in Thebes. These were bought by Giovanni Anastasi who subsequently sold them to European museums and libraries. See Dieleman (2005), pp. 12-16.

<sup>147</sup> *Codex Theodosii*, 16.10.12. Godefroy et al (2012).

<sup>148</sup> The Fall of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, occurred as a result of a siege laid by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II. The fall marked the end of the independence of the Byzantine Empire, which was until then the centre of Greek learning and Orthodox Christianity.

### *English and Vernacular grimoires (1641 – present)*

The translation of the *Clavicula Salomonis* into the *Key of Solomon*,<sup>149</sup> opened up the whole world of grimoire magic in England and later the US. Other grimoires, like the *Lemegeton*, were translated into English in 1641 and subsequently. Between 1641 and 1663 a significant number of magical texts were printed in English rather than Latin. Part of the reason for this might have been the abolition of the Star Chamber in July 1641, which amounted to an almost *de facto* abolition of censorship, replacing it by a system of registration of publications. Books on magic published in this time frame included the English editions of highly influential magical works such as Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, Weir's *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, de Abano's *Heptameron*, and *Ars Notoria* just to name of few. Puritanism and an interest in practical magic would, on the face of it, seem like strange bedfellows, but perhaps the freedom to seek direct communication with god (without the intervention of priests) also meant an increased interest in communicating directly with other spiritual creatures.

Although the time frame and the geographic scope (Egypt through the Levant, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and then to the rest of Western Europe and to England) are both very wide, the specific techniques examined here are clearly definable and traceable. One might instinctively assume that if magic were a 'made up' subject, then each successive generation would invent something completely new, fanciful and different, whereas the reverse is actually true. Betz concludes that "no magician who is worth his reputation would ever claim to have invented or made up his own spells."<sup>150</sup> Although the techniques were polished and adapted by each successive culture that they passed through, it is extraordinary to note that these procedures changed very little in essence or even in detail. The *nomina magica* gathered Christian additions as they moved out of the purely pagan milieu of Egypt into the Christian world of Byzantine Greece, and then the Latin world of Western Europe, but the method of invocation, and the form of the circles, incenses and equipment changed very little, apart from the obvious effects of scribal deterioration. Even the subjects covered by typical chapter headings included in magicians' handbooks remained the same over many centuries of transmission, despite changes in language and culture.

---

<sup>149</sup> For the first time in 1572. See Sloane MS 3847 #1, dated 1572.

<sup>150</sup> Betz (1982), p. 162.

### 3. Analysis of the Sources

#### 3.1. The Ancient Egyptian Demotic Magical Papyri

##### *Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts*

Although discussion of purely Egyptian texts is not part of this thesis, it is necessary to consider them briefly to ‘set the scene,’ in order to see what Egyptian influences passed into the Graeco-Egyptian papyri.

The oldest hieroglyphic Egyptian texts are the so-called ‘Pyramid Texts’ (2500-2200 BCE), which are found on the walls of pyramids such as those of the Pharaohs Pepi and Unas. These are almost solely concerned with the happiness and safety of the dead in the next world, and not at all with the usual magical objectives of this world. So although they are ‘magical,’ the limitation of their aims to the resurrection and the reunification of the dead with their *ba* makes them less relevant for this study. These are primarily for the use of the dead rather than for any living person or magician.

The ‘Coffin Texts’ (2250-1784 BCE) are the lineal successor to the Pyramid Texts, being inscribed on the inside of the coffin rather than the wall of the sarcophagus chamber.<sup>151</sup> These are found in the coffins of less exalted but still powerful members of Egyptian society, and perform the same tasks, but more economically.

The lineal successor to both of these groups of texts is the many copies of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.<sup>152</sup> This book contains about 200 passages, sixty percent of which are drawn from the above two classes of text. As such these rites still have the limited objectives of releasing the dead, guiding him through the Judgement Hall of Double Order, and reuniting him with his *ba* so that he can take his place amongst the gods.

Amongst the additional rites in the *Book of the Dead* however are procedures for animating the *shabti*, the small statuettes of servants found in many tombs and designed to serve their masters (or mistresses) in the afterlife. These are of relevance to the present study, as they bear upon later magical practices of statue ensoulment, and *stoicheia* (στοιχεῖα).

Although the majority of purely Egyptian texts that have come down to us from the above collections are designed to help the dead, there are *formats* that would also have been used in magicians’ rites designed to assist the living. One example of these techniques is the identification of the priest or magician with a specific god, for example, the repeated

---

<sup>151</sup> Faulkner (1973-1978).

<sup>152</sup> Budge (1967).

identification of the magician with Osiris. In a Babylonian context, the identification was usually either with Eridu or with his son:

I am the magician born of Eridu, begotten in Eridu and Šubari.<sup>153</sup>

One of the few exceptions to the preoccupation with the needs of the dead is exemplified by the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus<sup>154</sup> which was found, not surprisingly, in the tomb of a magician and which includes rites relevant to all the usual magical objectives. It is this sole text plus a handful of passages in the *Book of the Dead* which concern us.<sup>155</sup> Presumably many other magicians' books either perished with their owners or may have been blended into the Graeco-Egyptian texts.

That part of the *PGM* magic which is undoubtedly Egyptian in origin is the part concerned with threats made to the gods. The Egyptians, in common with the Jews, also used and valued the knowledge of the 'true name of the god' or spirit:

...threats to the gods and knowledge of the true name are commonly agreed to be original Egyptian contributions to magic.<sup>156</sup>

Both these techniques, threats to the gods/spirits and the utilisation of the knowledge of their true name, lasted from dynastic Egypt right through Byzantine Solomonic texts to 20th century Latin and English grimoires.

A third technique, which had its roots in early Egyptian magic, was the threat made by the magician to interrupt natural processes such as the rising of the sun each day, or other cosmological processes such as the ceremonies which supposedly revivified the Egyptian gods each day. Other Egyptian magical techniques included:

Excrations, whose goal was total destruction of the enemy, identified by name, whether alive or dead, human or divine, as well as *damnationes memoriae* conducted on inscriptions, individual hieroglyphs and statues deposited in cemeteries are all commonly attested.<sup>157</sup>

### *Heka*

In strictly Egyptian texts, magic is often personified as the god Heka, whose image is two extended forearms pointing skywards.<sup>158</sup> This god does not appear at all in the Graeco-Egyptian papyri, but the Greek goddess Hekate frequently does.<sup>159</sup> It is strange that the most

---

<sup>153</sup> Thompson (1908), p. xxiii.

<sup>154</sup> British Museum papyrus 10057.

<sup>155</sup> Relevant chapters in the *Book of the Dead* include 17, 20, 122, 77, 119, 167 and Supp. 99.

<sup>156</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3391.

<sup>157</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3392.

<sup>158</sup> Ritner (2008), pp. 14-28.

<sup>159</sup> It is conceivable that there is some link between Hekate and Heka, but to date one has not been found, apart from a superficial lexical similarity.

prominent Egyptian god of magic is not found in the *PGM* whilst lesser gods are.<sup>160</sup>

Most spells of the pharaonic period were apotropaic, that is designed to ward off evil influences. The uniquely Greek contribution to magic was the generation of spells designed to achieve more personal ends, such as the acquisition of a lover, or the binding of an enemy, rather than the warding-off of snakes or ensuring that the bark of Ra passes safely through the Duat or Underworld.

### *Demotic Texts*

Demotic is a form of script Egyptians adapted for writing on papyrus with a cut reed pen, rather than chiselling onto the walls of a tomb. Demotic texts concentrate upon the pantheon of ancient Egypt, especially the myths surrounding Osiris. It is interesting that even though quills would have become the norm in Byzantium after the 7th century, five exemplars of chapter 20 of the *Hygromanteia* still preserve the techniques for cutting and consecrating a reed pen, showing the antiquity of this line of transmission of that formula.<sup>161</sup> However, the reed pen did not survive the next cultural transmission from Byzantium to the Latin grimoires of Western Europe.<sup>162</sup>

The time span of Demotic texts has been calculated to be about 1100 years (from 643 BCE to 452 CE).<sup>163</sup> The magic that is found in these texts is more adapted to everyday needs and desires (love spells, money, destruction of scorpions, etc) rather than the more cosmic objectives such as ensuring the rising of the sun. As such they form a bridge between the hieroglyphic/hieratic texts and the Graeco-Egyptian papyri, and they are written on the same medium as the latter.<sup>164</sup> In fact the Demotic papyri are much closer in content to the *PGM* than to their ancestor texts from dynastic Egypt.

The best known of the *PDM* (Demotic Papyrus) is the London-Leyden papyrus.<sup>165</sup> To quote just one example of continuity from ancient Egypt to the *PDM* papyri, the *Ouphōr* invocation,<sup>166</sup> designed to make carved statues come alive, is clearly an adapted version of the ancient 'Opening of the Mouth' procedure which was an essential part of any burial.<sup>167</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> One possibility that I have not checked is the possibility that many occurrences of this god's name have simply been translated by the common noun 'magic.'

<sup>161</sup> e.g. H, f. 25; A, f. 14v; P, f. 218v, etc.

<sup>162</sup> As the use of the reed pen petered out in Byzantium around the 7th century, this is circumstantial evidence for a date of composition of the *Hygromanteia* around, or before, that time. It is also an example of the very conservative nature of magical handbooks.

<sup>163</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3396.

<sup>164</sup> Translations of the extant *PDM* are included with the *PGM* in Betz (1996).

<sup>165</sup> *PDM* xii and *PDM* xiv.

<sup>166</sup> *PGM* XII. 270-350, especially 316-350.

<sup>167</sup> Dieleman (2005), p.290. The procedure of 'washing the mouth' of the god to vivify it also occurs in other oriental religions.

Here it is adapted to a more personal magical objective:

...that you may give divine and supreme strength to this image and may make it effective and powerful against all [opponents] and to be able to call back souls, move spirits, subject legal opponents [to your will], strengthen friendships, produce all [sorts of] profits, bring dreams, give prophecies, cause psychological passions and bodily sufferings and incapacitating illness, and perfect erotic philtres.<sup>168</sup>

This is truly a wide ranging list of magical effectiveness. The crux is the phrase:

Here is truly written out, with all brevity, [the rite] by which all modelled images and engravings and carved stones are made alive.

The Mesopotamian origins of this practice are confirmed by Reiner:

The most elaborate ritual performed at night with appeal to the stars is the "washing of the mouth" (*mīs pī*). It deals with the all-important ceremony of breathing life into the statues of the gods, a process called empsychosis<sup>169</sup> in Greek. In Babylonia, the ceremony is called the "opening of the mouth" (*pīt pī*), which is preceded by the "washing of the mouth" (*mīs pī*) of the divine statue. Divine statues, we know, were made of wood, and overlaid with precious materials, usually gold; incrustations of precious stones adorned them.<sup>170</sup> Their fabrication was, therefore, placed under the tutelage of the patron gods of carpenters, goldsmiths, and jewellers. Only after the inert materials were infused with breath through the mouth-opening ceremony could the statue eat and drink the offerings, and smell the incense.<sup>171</sup>

The typical Demotic rites are much longer and more detailed than the earlier hieroglyphic/hieratic rites, and resemble in structure, objectives, and method the *PGM* rites. They are therefore likely to have been written by magicians who were more comfortable in the Egyptian language rather than Greek, but who were working with the same materials, methods and assumptions as their fellow Greek magicians. Rites were preserved in Demotic rather than Greek to specifically preserve the correct pronunciations of the invocations. Another feature of the *PDM* is that they have a preponderance of Egyptian deities, whilst the *PGM* have fewer Egyptian deities but many more Greek and sundry lesser known entities. While this seems perfectly logical, it shows that as magical techniques passed from one culture to the next, practitioners added new names of gods and new *nomina magica*.

Most of the extant *PDM* rites date from the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt, especially the early 3rd century CE. Hieratic appears occasionally in these Demotic texts, but never hieroglyphic, which was not adapted to writing on papyrus.

Harpocrates, Bes and Khnum are the minor but important Egyptian gods of magic who will later be found in the *PGM*, alongside the major Egyptian gods which were limited to: Anubis, Isis, Osiris, Thoth, Horus, Hathor, Apophis, Ra, Phre, Ptah, Amoun, Khepera, Nephthys, Set, Sekhmet, Apis and Geb.

---

<sup>168</sup> *PGM XII*. 301-306.

<sup>169</sup> This word is not italicised in the original text, which is why it is not italicised here.

<sup>170</sup> Oppenheim (1949), pp. 172-93.

<sup>171</sup> Reiner (1995), pp. 139-140.

### 3.2. The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri

Translations of these papyri were first made available in German by Preisendanz in 1928/1931. His work on the Greek texts has been supplemented by Betz, who collected and edited English translations, adding in more recently translated Graeco-Egyptian papyri, increasing their number from 80 to 120 papyri. Betz also included translations for the Demotic and Coptic contents of these papyri, which were originally completely ignored by Preisendanz. Betz followed and expanded Preisendanz's numbering system beyond *PGM LXXXI*, which was the last numbered papyrus in Preisendanz's collection.

The oldest Graeco-Egyptian text (*PGM XL*, the "curse of Artemisia") dates from shortly after Alexander the Great's death,<sup>172</sup> and the most recent from the 5th century CE. The second oldest papyrus (*PGM XX*) was written by, or was in the collection of, two magicians Philinna of Thessaly,<sup>173</sup> and an unnamed magician from Syria, despite the fact that it was found in Egypt. This suggests that this style of magic was already well spread over an area which included at the least Thessaly, Syria, Palestine and Egypt.<sup>174</sup> It is therefore probably representative of magic in the eastern Mediterranean and near Middle East in that period.

There are just four Demotic papyri included in the collection (the *PDM*), all found by Anastasi<sup>175</sup> around Thebes, all dating from the early 3rd century CE, and all written by the same scribe, so they form a consistent whole. This shows that the methods outlined were used by Egyptian and Greek speakers alike. As well as Demotic (and some hieratic) Egyptian, there are passages in Greek and, fortunately, glosses in Coptic which clearly indicate the correct pronunciation for the words so glossed. Although Egyptian hieroglyphs had some phonetic indications, it was not an alphabetic language, so most indications of pronunciation would have been lost without the Coptic glosses, especially of *nomina magica* and the names of gods, where correct pronunciation was crucial for the magician. These ancient Coptic glosses show the importance placed upon the correct pronunciation of the Egyptian words of power, *nomina magica*, and god names. We will see later that pronunciation, rather than exact palaeographic form, is the best tool for tracking the migration of these names over a range of successor cultures.

---

<sup>172</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3413.

<sup>173</sup> Thessaly has always traditionally been the home of 'witches' as far as the Greeks were concerned. See Luck (1987), p. 31.

<sup>174</sup> Of course this is only an indication of the origins of the practitioners, rather than a certain mapping of the actual areas of practice. This is suggestive nonetheless.

<sup>175</sup> Jean d'Anastasi (1780 - 1857) purportedly obtained it from a tomb in Luxor in 1827. Anastasi was an Armenian who worked as a Swedish/Norwegian diplomat at the court of the Khedive of Egypt, based in Alexandria.

The first of the Demotic papyri to be translated into English was published as the *Demotic Papyrus of London and Leiden*.<sup>176</sup> The magical methods outlined in the four Demotic papyri were overwhelmingly Egyptian, suggesting that they had survived in this form for at least seven centuries without significant Hellenic reworking. Methods included the typically Egyptian compulsive formulae, where the magician threatens the god that he will disrupt the smooth working of the universe if the god does not carry out his commands, formulae that are also found in the earliest Egyptian Pyramid Texts. The threat to disturb the smooth workings of the universe is not typical of Greek magic, just as formulae to ensure the smooth working of the universe are not characteristic of Greek religion.

The gods were usually Egyptian, or Egyptian disguised under the name of their Greek counterparts. Often, as in the case of *PGM XII*, both Greek and Demotic rites would occupy the same papyrus, written in the same hand.

Finally the publication of the *Supplementum Magicum* and a number of small recently discovered papyri make up the entire available corpus of Graeco-Egyptian papyri. There are very few discovered papyri that remain outside of this corpus, untranslated in any European language. Therefore a textual analysis of the above resources on a line-by-line basis (see Appendix 2) adequately covers the whole scope of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri.

### *Analysis of the PGM by Sources*

The material in the *PGM* comes from a range of sources and languages.<sup>177</sup> The contents are a mixture of Egyptian, Greek, Coptic, Gnostic, Jewish, and Christian magic.<sup>178</sup> It is important to establish the range of contributing strands, so that onwards transmission can be attributed to the correct source. These strands can be most easily recognized by the type of spiritual creatures or gods called upon by each:

- a. Egyptian magic, which calls upon traditional indigenous Egyptian gods such as Harpocrates, Horus, Anubis, Thoth, Isis, Osiris, Set and Bes, preserves elements of

---

<sup>176</sup> The title refers to the present geographical location of its two halves. See Griffith and Thompson (1904). Betz's numbering is *PDM* xii (and *PGM XII*). The same scribe also wrote *PDM* xiv, lxi, and *PDM Supp*. An exorcism drawn from the original publication of this papyrus, variously entitled 'The Bornless One' or the 'Headless One' was adapted in the late 19th century for use in the ritual of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

<sup>177</sup> Some Babylonian input may have come via Jewish practices adopted in Babylon during the captivity (597-538 BCE). Brashear (1995), p. 3429 also tentatively suggests the possibility of some Buddhist influence, but this seems very unlikely, and is not supported by examples of imported practices.

<sup>178</sup> Christian magic is very much in the minority. Interestingly, there are no obvious traces of Roman magic, despite the fact that Egypt was under Roman domination from 30 BCE – 395 CE, during which time most of the papyri were written.

Egyptian magic. Magical names like Bainchōōōch are also of Egyptian derivation.<sup>179</sup>

b. Greek classical magic which calls upon a very specific subset of the Classical Greek gods including Selene, Cybele, Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Helios, Artemis, and specially Aphrodite (for love rites), and then upon the gods of the Underworld, like chthonic Hermes, Hekate, and Persephone. Thirdly, the gods which personify abstract qualities, such as Aiōn (the All), the Moirai (Fate), Kronos (Time), Physis (Nature) and Tyche (Providence/Chance). None of these gods are portrayed or used in the Classical manner, but rather delegated to the same level of functionality as their daimones.<sup>180</sup> For some reason Dionysos, Hephaistos, Hera and other prominent occupants of Olympus never appear, presumably because they were not as intimately connected with magic. The gods in the papyri were treated in much the same was as they were in later Greek folk religion, as useful, but almost daimonic, tricksy and dangerous. As Betz puts it:

In the older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous.<sup>181</sup>

Egyptian religion in turn influenced the imported Greek religion, so that the importance of the Egyptian Underworld (the Duat), helped to emphasise the Greek divinities of the underworld like Hekate,<sup>182</sup> Persephone and Kore,<sup>183</sup> and otherwise gods like Hermes and Aphrodite became associated with the Underworld in their magical and chthonic forms.

c. Jewish magic, which calls upon the archangels: Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel/Ouriel plus recognizable Hebrew god names like אֱלֹהִים Adonai (and its Greek variants like Adonias),<sup>184</sup> יְהֹוָה IHVH or Yahweh (frequently appearing in the guise of יה Yah or the

---

<sup>179</sup> Possibly derived from the Egyptian *ba* = one of the parts of the soul; and *cho(oo)ch* = darkness, or 'soul of darkness.' See *Pistis Sophia*, IV, 137.

<sup>180</sup> Betz (1996), p. xlvi, quotes Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's well known disparaging comment: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that [it was unfortunate that] these papyri were found, because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism." Splendour or not, this is how the Greek and Egyptian gods were treated by magicians in the first three or four centuries of the Christian era. Occasionally the gods were asked to send their daimones to perform a specific task, but more often they were commanded to do it themselves. The gods were effectively treated as daimones, and feared, as the magicians wore phylacteries for the express purpose of protecting themselves from the malice of these same gods.

<sup>181</sup> Betz (1996), p. xlvi.

<sup>182</sup> Hekate becomes important and is associated with one of the few Babylonian goddesses in the PGM, Ereshkigal.

<sup>183</sup> Kore later becomes a demon in the works of the German Jewish grimoire, *The Sacred Book of Abramelin, the Mage*. See Mathers (1900), Book II, pp. 81, 83.

<sup>184</sup> In fact the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים simply means 'Lord' and is often used in Hebrew texts to replace the actual names of god. Despite Judaism being nominally a monotheistic religion, a number of names of god appear in Jewish scripture, which may be traces of separate gods that were later merged. The two classical Hebrew groups of god names were the Elohistic (אֱלֹהִים El, Elohim) and the Yahwistic (יְהֹוָה Yah, Yahweh).

Greek version ιαω/ΙΑΩ, or the Samaritan version Ipos/Ibas),<sup>185</sup> Elohim (often misspelled), and Sabaoth.<sup>186</sup> Of course, since the translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek in the form of the *Septuagint*, in Alexandria, dating from the 3rd century BCE, some Jewish material, including magic, entered directly and more easily into the predominantly Greek culture of the eastern Mediterranean, but the main period of importation was immediately after 70 CE. Jewish magic brought with it some Babylonian elements (such as the angels), and an elaborately stratified cosmology of the heavens.

d. Gnostic elements, and other words derived from creative combinations (or scribal degeneration) of the other traditions listed above.<sup>187</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, Gnostic material will be treated as a phenomenon separate from Christianity, as even those Gnostic movements which may have started out as an offshoot of Christianity, were later rejected and discarded by the religion which is now accepted as Christianity.

Although scholars have argued over the origins of Gnosticism, it seems clear from the work of Quispel, Stroumsa, Segal and Fossum that the main elements of Gnosticism were derived from Jewish heresies rather than Christian heresies.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, the Jewish heresies identified by the above scholars sprang up immediately after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, with the tide of dispirited Jewish immigrants who arrived in Egypt (and to a lesser extent Asia Minor) just after 70 CE.<sup>189</sup>

This disillusioned Jewish Diaspora were the seedbed of Gnosticism therefore giving us an approximate *terminus a quo* of 70 CE for the introduction of Gnostic names and gods into Egypt, and then into the PGM. It was probably this major Jewish Diaspora that cross-fertilised Egyptian and Jewish magic. Very soon after, in 74 CE, the Romans destroyed the second most important Jewish temple which was Onias' temple located in Leontopolis near Heliopolis, Egypt which must have completed the Jews' sense of total abandonment by their god.<sup>190</sup> Finally after bar-Khokba's revolt failed in 135 CE, Jews were totally banned from Jerusalem by the Romans. This must have stimulated a second wave of Jewish migration to

---

<sup>185</sup> The transformation from יהוה or IHVH to IAO is easier to understand if you take into account that יה can be transliterated as V or O, depending on its use as a consonant or a vowel, just as יה can equally be transliterated as I or Y. IHVH then becomes YHOH, which might then be speculatively pronounced as YaH-OH or ιαω.

<sup>186</sup> Sabaoth retained its use to constrain spirits right up to the later European grimoires.

<sup>187</sup> Of course it could well be that these names, instead of being later corruptions, are in fact earlier strata of genuine Egyptian magical practice. As Barb (1964, p. 4, note 16) suggested: "much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off..."

<sup>188</sup> Mastrocinque (2005), p. 82.

<sup>189</sup> The idea of an evil creator god obviously found fertile ground in the disillusioned post-exilic Jewish community in Alexandria.

<sup>190</sup> Ornias' temple was said to have stood for 243 (or 343 years according to source) before its final destruction by the Romans.

Alexandria (as well as to other destinations). It also helped to launch a number of Jewish heresies. If this date is accepted as the *terminus a quo* for the generation of Gnosticism, we can fairly safely assume that any interaction between Gnosticism and Graeco-Egyptian magic only began in the early 2nd century CE.

e. Christianity was, in reality, just another Jewish heresy, that managed to survive rather better than its competitors. The fact that the Christian church attacked these other heresies so vigorously was a function of the competitive fear felt by the early Church Fathers, who were concerned to preserve the purity of their nascent religion against the other Jewish heresies springing up around them.<sup>191</sup> Christianity, in the sense of that religion preserved under that name today, added very little of significance to these magic texts, except the occasional insertion of the name Jesus.<sup>192</sup> Besides, Christianity did not reach its status as a state religion till 391 CE, and during most of its subsequent existence, disapproved of and sought to vigorously destroy magic.<sup>193</sup>

f. Strangely, although Rome conquered Egypt in 30 BCE, Roman religion and magic added very little to Graeco-Egyptian magical texts.<sup>194</sup> Romans still revered Greek culture, and well-educated Romans spoke Greek. Presumably the same attitude prevailed with regard to their attitude to magic.

g. Mithras appears once in one of the longest complete sections of the *PGM*, but only as one amongst several gods and goddesses in the so-called 'Mithras Liturgy'.<sup>195</sup> I do not believe that this was a Mithraic rite, as it has none of the usual Mithraic initiatory steps or iconography, but a Mystery rite that happened to mention the god Mithra in a passing reference to a previous event.

Although this list of sources sounds complex, and many of the papyri have two or more ingredients, it is usually fairly easy to identify the *main* root of any particular rite. For example, rites that make reference to all four archangels may be of Jewish origin, although

---

<sup>191</sup> Marcion and Valentinus and others came from 'Christian' Gnosticism, which was formulated on the basis of the Jewish heretical vision of an evil creator god.

<sup>192</sup> Where Jesus was used his name was used in the same sense as Solomon, or Eleazar, as a great magician of the recent past, who might strike fear into the hearts of the spirits conjured. Such commemoration of the names of powerful magicians of the past remained a feature of magic right up to modern times.

<sup>193</sup> Volumes on early Christian magic, such as Meyer and Smith (1999) predominantly contain material with the marginal addition of 'Jesus' as a word of power, plus spells generated in Egypt in a Coptic environment.

<sup>194</sup> To quote Tavenner (1966), p. 19: "The only two works in extant Latin literature which at all resemble a treatise on magic are the *Apologia* of Apuleius of Madaura, his defence against the charge of being a magician; and parts of Pliny's *Natural History*, especially the first thirteen paragraphs of book thirty."

<sup>195</sup> PGM IV 475-820.

the universal use of Jewish god names makes this less than certain. Likewise, a rite that primarily calls on Anubis or Osiris, or is written in Demotic, will almost certainly have Egyptian roots. Rites referencing Selene or chthonic Hermes will seldom mention an Egyptian god, and will fairly obviously have sprung from Greek roots.

However it is not the purpose of this thesis to identify the roots of each Graeco-Egyptian papyrus, but rather to show the onwards transmission of their elements. It is sufficient to observe that as the Greeks traditionally deferred to the Egyptians in matters of magic (as did the Jews), and that the rites with the predominantly Egyptian elements are likely, but not always, to be the oldest.

Papyri owing the *bulk* of their content to Jewish elements are very few, but the god names IAO and Sabaoth are to be found regularly distributed across many rites. The upshot of this is (as a number of scholars have remarked) that the presence of these god names is not an indication of the origin of the rite, but rather a symptom of the widespread use of such words of power that were considered universally effective, regardless of their origin. With regard to the provenance of the papyri, there is little to go on apart from the fact that Thebes was the reputed source of the Anastasi papyri, which make up the bulk of the *PGM* papyri.<sup>196</sup>

One of the few clear statements of provenance of one papyrus occurs at the beginning of *PGM* CXXII. 1-55 where it says:

[This is] an excerpt of enchantments from the holy book called *Hermes*, found in Heliopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple, written in Egyptian [Demotic] letters and translated into Greek.

One can deduce that if the book was casually ‘found’ in the library of an Egyptian temple, it is likely to have been removed at a rather late date, probably after 400 CE when the temple had fallen into ruin. Alternatively ‘found’ might really mean stolen, which still argues for a late date. The naming of the book *Hermes* is intriguing, but does not automatically assert that this book was part of the Hermetic literature, merely that the god was an important part of its contents, as he was in a number of magical papyri. For the theology and philosophy behind Graeco-Egyptian magic, there is no better source for both Neoplatonic Greek and Egyptian elements than Iamblichus’ *De Mysteriis*.<sup>197</sup>

---

<sup>196</sup> Interestingly there is a Thebes in Greece as well, probably named after the Egyptian city, and with a similar later reputation for magic. *Juratus*, a much later Latin grimoire (*circa* 1225 CE) was reputedly written by Euclid of (the Greek) Thebes.

<sup>197</sup> Iamblichus lived contemporaneously with the bulk of the writing of the *PGM*, and referred to many of the same gods, people, etc. *De Mysteriis* was written between 280 and 305 CE. A new edition (2003) of *De Mysteriis*, edited by Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell rectifies many of the problems of the older editions, of which the previous edition closest in thought to Iamblichus, but wearisome in expression, was that translated by Thomas Taylor (1821). See Venice Codex Gr. Z. 244. See also Gersh (1978) and Tanaseanu-Döbler (2013) for the development of theurgy after Iamblichus.

## *Analysis of the PGM by Objective and Rite Types*

In order to relate the methods and implements used in *PGM* to the later Solomonic grimoires, it is necessary to categorise the rites. What initially looks like a confusing mass of heterogeneous material in the English translation is considerably clearer in the original Greek, where specific headwords are often used in the first line of each rite to identify its type. For example Bowl Skrying or Vessel Enquiry operations will almost always be identified as λεκανομαντεία, whilst operations designed to cause love or lust will almost always be identified as ἀγωγή, *agōgē* or φίλτρον, *philtron*. Following this categorisation to its logical conclusion reveals that the original scribe has been quite systematic in his categorisation using either the method or the objective as his criterion.<sup>198</sup> Although upon first sight the following may appear to be an overly ridged division of the rites, an examination of the original Greek text justifies this approach, as it was the habit of the original scribes to clearly designate the type of magical operation at the beginning of each rite.

Each of these categories has then been assigned an arbitrary alphabetic code for convenience of analysis. A full list of the codes together with a count of the number of instances (and that expressed as a percentage of the whole of the *PGM*) will be found in Appendix 1.

### *Categories by Rite Type*

A	Amulets: manufacture and consecration <sup>199</sup>
B	Bowl Skrying/Vessel Enquiry
C	Calendrical considerations (katarchic astrological timing)
D	Evocationary Lamp Skrying
E	Encounters with the Gods Face-to-Face
F	Familiar Spirit or Assistant Daimon acquisition
G	Gods: their invocation and association with
H	Health spells
I	Invisibility methods
J	Magic Statues: manufacture and consecration
K	Magic Rings and Gemstones: manufacture and consecration
L	Love spells
M	Mystery and Initiation rites <sup>200</sup>
N	Necromancy
O	Oracles <sup>201</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Where a particular rite has both an identifiable method and a categorised objective, then it is classified under that method. This means that the bulk of objective-based rites will have little in the way of defined method.

<sup>199</sup> See also categories R and T.

<sup>200</sup> Not magic *per se*.

<sup>201</sup> Divination, so not technically magic *per se*.

P	Prayers or Hymns <sup>202</sup>
Q	Possession (daimonic) and exorcism
R	Restraining or binding formulae for anger <sup>203</sup>
S	Memory and foreknowledge
T	Talismans: manufacture and consecration <sup>204</sup>
U	Phylacteries, Tefillin, Lamen: manufacture and consecration
V	Visions and Dreams, sending of
W	<i>Defixiones</i> <sup>205</sup>
X	Excluded fragments <sup>206</sup>
Y	Use of Herbs and Plants in Magic
Z	‘Evil sleep’ and Death <sup>207</sup>
α	Minor magical procedures
β	Victory Spell

*Greek Headwords of rites in the PGM*

Appendix 2 lists out in full every single passage in the *PGM* allocated to one or other of the above categories. This taxonomy relies upon the original scribe’s Greek categorisation. Where this is missing the precise content of each rite is used to ascertain the category. The specific Greek headword which exactly identifies the type of rite is given below in the description of each category. This headword is often obscured by the English translation, which will commonly use an imprecise equivalent like ‘charm’ rather than attempting an exact translation of the Greek name for the technique in each case.

These Greek headwords are often found at or near the beginning of each rite, and will in some cases be rubricated. These key words are also listed in summary in Table 21.

In the course of this analysis, three large sections of the papyri were seen to be complete books within themselves, as indeed has been identified by other scholars.<sup>208</sup> These relate to the Mysteries and initiation rather than magic and have been categorised as ‘M.’

Some rites are listed by objective rather than rite type. Where one of these operations utilises a specific technique (e.g. amulets or *defixiones*) this rite has instead been allocated to the technique category rather than the objective (e.g. A – Amulets; W – Defixiones), as the concern of this thesis is with method rather than outcome. For example if a rite uses an

---

<sup>202</sup> As distinct from invocations.

<sup>203</sup> These are often a form of amulet, but have been separated out from category A because of their very specific objective. See also categories A and T.

<sup>204</sup> See also categories R and A.

<sup>205</sup> Magic via the offices of the dead.

<sup>206</sup> Too fragmentary to have data significant enough for analysis in the context of the present thesis.

<sup>207</sup> Technically φαρμακεῖα, *pharmakeia* which is concerned with drugs and poisoning, not magic *per se*.

<sup>208</sup> For example the “Monas” *PGM* XIII, lines 1-733, the “Tenth Book of Moses” *PGM* XXX, 734-1077, the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” *PGM* IV lines 475-829. The latter has been examined in Betz (2003).

amulet but has health as its objective, it will be categorised as Amulet (A) rather than Health (H). In the case of health related formulae the Greek title will often contain πρὸς- followed by the name of the disease.<sup>209</sup> Therefore few conflicts of identification arise.

Very fragmentary or very short formulae with no identifiable method, have been categorised as 'X' and passed over without comment, as the amount of material available for analysis of objective, method or implement is minimal or non-existent. Other techniques which are universal (like the ritual use of incense) will not be used as a category identifying criteria, but will be later considered in some detail.

### *Rite types*

A                    *Amulets*<sup>210</sup>

PGM VII. 218-221 is a classic case of the translational confusion of amulets with phylacteries. The English translation of the title is "phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits" which continues with the translated phrase "wear as an amulet." As it is clearly to be worn by a specific person to cure a specific disease, it is therefore an amulet.<sup>211</sup>

The title of PGM VII. 215-18 is translated as a "Stele of Aphrodite," but its true nature is revealed in the next line, which confirms that it is to be engraved on "a strip of tin...with a bronze stylus" and carried by the client. Therefore it is an amulet, designed "to gain friendship, favour, success, and friends" for that client.

This passage also throws an interesting light on the Egyptian understanding of 'stele.' Stele in Egyptological literature is usually understood to mean "an upright stone slab or column typically bearing a commemorative inscription or relief design."<sup>212</sup> In other procedures in the PGM, 'stele' can equally refer to a simple square of natron to be written on (see PGM VII. 215-218). Here it refers to a strip of tin to be engraved. The actual text or formula of the inscription can also be referred to as a 'stele.'<sup>213</sup> The meaning of stele is therefore much wider than that usually used by archaeologists, to refer to any rectangular surface engraved or written on with a (magical or religious) text. As demonstrated by the above examples, the literal translation of the title does not always truly indicate the rite type, which may have to be sought in a detailed reading of the whole text.

---

<sup>209</sup> See Kotansky (1988), p.65.

<sup>210</sup> Amulets do not often have a clear headword (like περιάμματά, *periammata*), but are identifiable from their context and the presence of personal names identifying the client(s).

<sup>211</sup> If it were worn by a magician during an invocation, rather than by a patient for health reasons, then 'phylactery' would have been the correct term.

<sup>212</sup> *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1999.

<sup>213</sup> See also Ritner (2009), p. 68ff on magical healing stele.

One of the clear indications that a lamella is a mass produced amulet is where the name of the person appears to have been added afterwards, sometimes by a different scribe, in a different hand, or squeezed in to a previously blank space.<sup>214</sup> A clear example of this is the lamella now preserved by the Xerox Corporation in Connecticut, where the phrase “cure and preserve Eugenia whom Galenia bore” is squeezed into lines 14-16. The mass-produced nature of this amulet is confirmed by Faraone and Kotansky, yet the article’s title is ‘An Inscribed Gold Phylactery...’ a phrase which is then contradicted in the first sentence which correctly states that it is “an excellent example of a common type of amulet.”<sup>215</sup>

It is not my intention to be unnecessarily pedantic, but to clear the way to effectively separating those items made for clients for everyday wear (amulets) from those items specifically used by the magician in a ritual context (phylacteries). Amulets, which were the day-to-day ‘bread and butter’ client sales of professional magicians, make up 10.5% of all the PGM rites.<sup>216</sup>

B                    *Bowl Skrying/Vessel Enquiry - λεκανομαντεία (lekanomanteia)*

Bowl skrying has a long history which clearly extends from the PGM period through the Byzantine Greek *Hygromanteia*, and beyond. In fact *lekanomanteia*<sup>217</sup> is still practised in many Muslim areas today. The demotic word for this practice is *shen ben* or ‘vessel enquiry.’

It does *not* however relate to the Aramaic, Hebrew and Babylonian bowls which were found buried (usually inverted) in Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, which appear to occur only in the 5th and 6th centuries, and which serve a totally different purpose as ‘demon traps.’<sup>218</sup> The Mesopotamian bowls have been found buried under houses or near graves. They do not have a corresponding textual record, but are fairly obviously apotropaic, specifically for the binding of demons, a totally different objective to the bowls considered here. Furthermore they bear no trace of ever having contained liquids, an essential part of *lekanomanteia*. However they do attest many god and angel names in common with other PGM texts (but not specifically those of bowl skrying/vessel enquiry):<sup>219</sup> however this simply demonstrates

---

<sup>214</sup> In Jewish amulets the give-away phrase is *Peloni bar Peloni*. This is not a *nomina magica*, but an indication that this is the point where the client’s name should be inserted, when the amulet is sold.

<sup>215</sup> Faraone and Kotansky (1988), p. 257.

<sup>216</sup> See Appendix 1 for a full percentage breakdown of the contents of the PGM.

<sup>217</sup> λεκάνη simply means ‘pot or pan,’ referring to the vessel that holds the liquid (water or oil).

<sup>218</sup> For which see Montgomery (1913) and Naveh and Shaked (1985).

<sup>219</sup> Including *Gnostic*: Ablanathanalba, Abrasax, Ialdabaoth, Iao Zouka; *Hebrew*: Akatriel, Anqatam, Azriel, Barqiel, Dalqiel, Dfuniel, El, Gabriel, Hadriel, Hafqiel, Halusiel, Haniel, I-am-who-I-am, Kadutiel, Kariel, Kouriel, Lilith, Masagiel, Metatron, Michael, Moriath, Nuriel, Paspasim, Pastam, Payumiel, Puriel, Qoriel, Raphael, Sabaot, Samael, Samarel, Sandalphon, Sarafiel, Selah, Shakniel, Shamish, Shamriel, Shamshiel, Soutiel, Suriahel, Suriel, Tetragrammaton, ‘Uziel, Yah, Yahu, Yehoel, Yequtiel, Zebuth, Zotiel; *Greek*: Ares, Bar-Theon, Diyonisim, Eros, Gyllou, Helios, Hermes, Morphous,

that they are part of shared Middle Eastern magical conventions.

The bowls used in *lekanomanteia* were used for evocatory skrying, specifically by a virgin skryer gazing into a bowl (λεκάνη) of liquid, accompanied by the magician's invocations of the god or spirit involved.<sup>220</sup> The practice is therefore one of active invocation rather than passive divination. The vessel is also referred to as an ἄγγος. On the whole the god most often called upon in the *PGM* for bowl or vessel divination was Anubis, lord of the Underworld, also very suggestive of the rite's Egyptian origin. These operations are found mainly in the Demotic papyri, specifically *PDM* xiv. Therefore *lekanomanteia* or bowl skrying/vessel enquiry is almost certainly of Egyptian origin.<sup>221</sup> Vessel enquiry makes up 3.0% of the *PGM* rites.

#### C                    *Calendrical Considerations (Katarchic Astrological Timing)*

Timing was considered very important for magical operations, and each hour of every day of the week had an angel (and later a demon) assigned to it. These attributions occur in fragmentary form in the *PGM*, but again in much greater detail in Byzantine Solomonic texts, and in the European grimoires, right through to modern times. However it is only in the *PGM* and the *Hygromanteia* that it is stressed that it is technically *essential* for the magician to call upon the angel of the hour before launching his ritual in that hour in order to gain credibility and help from those spiritual creatures he is attempting to command. By the time the material reached Latin Europe these angel names had been reduced to a look up table without any indication as to how they should be used. This is therefore one of many examples where the techniques outlined in the *PGM* or the *Hygromanteia* can throw considerable light on the exact function of often unexplained data in the European grimoires. Calendrical calculations make up 1.7% of the *PGM* rites.

#### D                    *Evocationary Lamp Skrying - λυχνομαντεία (lychnomanteia)*

Just as *lekanomanteia* involves a skryer looking into the water or oil in a bowl, so *lychnomanteia* or invocationary lamp skrying begins with the skryer concentrating on the flame of a lamp (λύχνος) whilst listening to the invocations of the magician. These rites occur predominantly in *PGM* VII and *PDM* xiv, and are confined to the *PGM/PDM*, not being transmitted to either the *Hygromanteia* or the *Clavicula Salomonis*. Lamp skrying makes up

---

Pelagia, Sideros; *Egyptian*: Horus, *ntrws syh*, Ptah, *tinyt*, *twinyt*; *Mesopotamian and sundry*: Labartu, Bagdana, Danahish, Dlibat, Iabezebut, Iurba, Musagaoth, Sanoy, Sansanoy, Samangalaf, Sesegen bar Pherenges (*sic*), Snamit, Thraphiari. These are predominantly a mixture of Greek and Hebrew names, which you would expect by the 5th and 6th centuries.

<sup>220</sup> See Ogden (2002), pp. 205-206 for his comment on *PGM* IV. 222-260.

<sup>221</sup> There are only three *PGM* examples in Greek as opposed to more than eight Demotic *PDM* examples of *lekanomanteia*.

3.0% of the PGM rites.

*E*                    *Encounters with the Gods Face-to-Face – αὐτοψία, αὐτοπτος (autopsia, autoptos)*

The direct vision of a god is *αὐτοψία* (*autopsia*), a rite designed to enable the magician to see the gods face-to-face with his own eyes. See also rite type 'G,' which involves interaction with the god as well as vision. These make up 0.8% of all the PGM rites.

*F*                    *Familiar Spirit or Assistant Daimon – πάρεδρος (paredros)*

The acquisition of a *paredros*, 'familiar' or 'assistant daimon' is a procedure which has always been part of magic, and continues to be so. The rationale was that in dealing with spirits it was always helpful to have one who is 'tame' and can act as a guide or intermediary with the denizens of the other world. This theme appears first in the Graeco-Egyptian texts, then in the *Hygromanteia* (and other Byzantine Solomonic texts), and later in the Latin and vernacular Solomonic grimoires. In the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century *Testament of Solomon*, Solomon has first to tame Ornias (which he does with the help of God, a ring and the archangel Michael), after which Ornias acts as a magical assistant and introduces him to, and helps him bind, the other 59 spirits listed in that text. In many later European grimoires, specific demons (such as Paimon in the *Goetia*) are said to "grant good familiars."

The concept of a spirit familiar is a long enduring idea. Although witchcraft is excluded from this thesis it is worth noting that many 16th and 17th century witchcraft confessions involved the admission that the witch had a familiar spirit in the form of a cat, toad or similar, and searching for the 'witch's mark' became a standard procedure for witch-finders like Matthew Hopkins.<sup>222</sup> This mark was reputedly the bodily point where the witch suckled her familiars or imps.<sup>223</sup> In the late 19th century, the Golden Dawn and some of its offshoots taught methods of creating an artificial Elemental, which was effectively a 'designer' familiar.

Hence this technique is one of enduring importance, and a technique used by magicians in almost every culture, over the whole time frame examined in this thesis. In fact this procedure is not coincidentally the subject of the very first two sections in *PGM I. 1-195*, and was often considered an indispensable first step to magical practice. The opening line of the first procedure explains that "A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat and sleep with you." This description seems to be of a very concrete entity. The theme of eating and drinking with spirits is

---

<sup>222</sup> He was a self-appointed 'Witchfinder General' born in 1620, and active 1645-1647.

<sup>223</sup> Whether true or not, this re-confirms the common perception of the very physical nature of such familiars.

repeated in the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>224</sup> and again in later European grimoires, such as the *Grimorium Verum*, where the magician is enjoined to lay out a physical table with choice foods in preparation for the arrival of the spirits:

After supper, go secretly to the prepared room, light a good fire, and put a clean white tablecloth on your table. Place three chairs around the table, and in front of the chairs place three wheat rolls and three glasses of clear fresh water. ...The three people [spirits], having arrived, will sit by the fire, eating and drinking... The three persons will then draw lots to determine which one will remain with you... You will be able to question him or her about any art, science, or anything you wish.<sup>225</sup>

It is thus an excellent example of transmission and continuity of a technique. Rites for the acquisition of a magical assistant make up 1.1% of the *PGM* rites.

G                    *Gods: their invocation and association - συστάσεις (sustaseis)*

The invocation of the gods and goddesses has formed an integral part of magic from ancient times right up to the late 19th century revival of magic by the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. The face-to-face encounters of the magician with a god were referred to in the *PGM* as συστάσεις (*sustaseis*). For direct vision of the god without interaction or specific form (αὐτοψία, *autopsia*)<sup>226</sup> see rite type 'E.' The 'god's arrival' is called *peh-netjer* in Egyptian.<sup>227</sup> This sometimes includes the god answering questions. These rites make up 6.5% of the *PGM* rites.

H                    *Health spells (προς- followed by disease name)*

There are a plethora of health spells in the *PGM*, most of them too short to establish much in the way of detailed methods, some extending for no more than a few lines. These and love spells are two of the rite types defined primarily by their objective rather than their method. Health spells are one of the most popular categories, making up 11.2% of the *PGM* rites.

I                    *Invisibility - ἀμαύρωσις (amayrōsis)*

The Greek word ἀμαύρωσις literally means 'darkening.' Although there are only three rites for invisibility, being 0.6% of the rites in the *PGM*, this objective occurs in almost all later grimoires, both Byzantine and Latin, and so is an important link between the magic of Egypt and the later grimoires.

---

<sup>224</sup> In B2, f. 346-7, the oldest extant manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>225</sup> Peterson (2007), pp. 44-45.

<sup>226</sup> Luck (1987), p. 23.

<sup>227</sup> Ritner (2008), p. 214-220.

J

*Magical Statues - στοιχεῖα (stoicheia)*

Magical statues have been known in many cultures, from the giant statues of ancient Egypt, to the *στοιχεῖα* of Greek magic. One of the standard magical procedures related to magical statues was the opening of their mouth, or the introduction of breath, to enliven them, a procedure derived from the ancient Egyptian practice of ensouling statues, which later became the last step in the embalming process, opening the mouth of the deceased so he could 'breathe.' The manufacture of magical statues constitutes 1.1% of the *PGM* rites.

K

*Magic Rings and Gemstones – δακτύλιον (daktylion)*

Magical rings are most commonly associated with Gnosticism, especially those including carved gemstones, but they have been used for much longer periods and in many cultures. Solomon's ring is a very specific magical ring, reference to which occurs in the *PGM*, the *Testament of Solomon*, the Bible, *The Arabian Nights*, the *Hygromanteia*, the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the *Goetia* and in many other derived Latin and vernacular grimoires. The manufacture of magical rings and the use of gemstones in magic constitutes 1.5% of the *PGM* rites.

L

*Love spells - ἀγωγῆ (agōgē) φιλτρον (philtro)*

Love spells are a common objective of magic in every culture, but in Graeco-Egyptian magic specifically, there is a twist. The unique feature of Graeco-Egyptian love spells (not replicated in any other culture) is that instead of merely attempting to make the object of the spell fall in love with the magician or his client, the god/goddess called is ordered to torment the object of the spell neither allowing him/her to eat or sleep till he/she comes and declare his/her love to the magician or his client.

An even more extreme version of this is the addition of a 'slander spell,' in which the magician accuses the object of his love/lust of some form of sacrilegious behaviour, and enjoins the god/goddess to take revenge on the object of the spell, until they relent. Spells for separating lovers or friends are the reverse of this category but are also included here. Love spells are the most popular category, making up 16.9% of all the *PGM* rites.

M

*Mysteries and Initiation Rites<sup>228</sup> - μυστήρια / τελεταί (mystēria / teletai)*

These form three important sections in the *PGM*, as they include the three largest self-contained books in the *PGM* collection of papyri. However these are initiation rituals,

---

<sup>228</sup> Not magic *per se*.

Mystery rituals, designed to invoke one of the gods/goddesses,<sup>229</sup> for the benefit of the soul of the candidate, and are therefore not strictly magic. The essential quality offered by the Mysteries is spiritual immortality, through an intimate association with one god/goddess, rather than immediate gratification of more worldly objectives (as in magic). The fact of their inclusion in the *PGM* simply points up the fact that pre-5th century CE magicians were often also initiates of the Mysteries. One objective was to make the initiate conscious after death, rather than leaving him as just a wandering shade with no memory of his previous life.<sup>230</sup>

The Mystery rituals are the missing link which has always been left out of the arguments concerning the relationship between religion and magic. The Mysteries, and specifically these passages in the *PGM*, were *not* transferred to Byzantium or the Latin West, and form no part of later magical practice, as indeed they were not magic in the first place.

The three Mystery rites found in three completely separate books within the *PGM* are:<sup>231</sup>

1. The so-called “*Mithras Liturgy*”<sup>232</sup>
2. The *Monas*<sup>233</sup> or *Eighth Hidden Book of Moses*<sup>234</sup>
3. The *Tenth Hidden Book of Moses*<sup>235</sup>

These rites are not designed to achieve the many and varied personal objectives of magic (health, love, lust, health, power, victory, injury, etc) but solely to provide immortality and the companionship of the gods to the candidate, the main function of all Mystery rituals.<sup>236</sup>

These rituals make up just 1.1% of all the *PGM* rites, but take up 11.5% of the lines. The fact

---

<sup>229</sup> Although several gods are mentioned in the “*Mithras Liturgy*” they are essentially part of the ladder to the supreme, unnamed, god. Mithras is *not* part of the process, merely named as part of a backward looking reference to a previous experience had by the initiator.

<sup>230</sup> Part of the Mystery process may have included a descent into Hades/Amentet with a god/goddess such as Hermes as psychopomp. The fact that descent into Hades was one of the secrets of the initiation, is partly confirmed by Nero’s sudden refusal to be initiated at Eleusis, after he was told this was what to expect. When told, he may have thought that he may meet the shade of his mother, whom he had just recently murdered, and so immediately declined the ordeal.

<sup>231</sup> It should be remembered that the whole corpus of the *PGM* is a collection of many different papyri, of which the longest is *PGM IV*. Even within each papyrus are a number of other texts brought together by the magician who owned them. These three ‘books’ are not an arbitrary excision, but were certainly separate books, with a separate existence, before being copied into these papyri.

<sup>232</sup> *PGM IV* 475-820.

<sup>233</sup> *PGM XIII. 1-734*.

<sup>234</sup> There is no *Ninth Hidden Book of Moses* in this papyrus. However in a number of places, there are references to the Κλειδί or *Key of Moses*. Possibly this missing *Key* constituted the *Ninth Hidden Book of Moses*. There are no less than six forward references to it in *PGM XIII. 21-22, 30-31, 35-36, 59-60, 228-229, 382-383* [erroneously referred to by Betz as 282-83], 431-432 and one backwards looking reference to it in the *Tenth Hidden Book of Moses XIII. 735-743*. In each case the reference is to just two things: the names of the Lords of the hours and days and the preparation of the incense referred to as the Egyptian ‘bean.’ Speculatively, this Κλειδί τῇ Μοῦσεως (*sic*) might later have given its title (and maybe its contents) to the *Key* (a name used in some manuscripts for the *Hygromanteia*), and later to the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>235</sup> *PGM XXX, 734-1077*.

<sup>236</sup> They are not even meant to provide ‘enlightenment’ in the way that quality is thought of by current New Age movements.

that they are (as Mysteries) quite different from the other rites is further confirmed by the fact that they average 242 lines per rite. Every other rite in the *PGM* only averages 6 to 64 lines per rite.<sup>237</sup>

*N Necromancy – νεκρομαντεία (nekromanteia)*

Necromancy is divination by the dead, or the temporary raising of the dead in order for them to answer questions put by the magician.<sup>238</sup> Quite often this operation will be associated with bodies and/or grave goods. Such practices were very popular in classical Greek times, and have endured also from dynastic Egyptian times, through Hellenic culture and European grimoires right up to the modern practice of spiritualism. Necromancy makes up 1.3% of all the *PGM* rites.<sup>239</sup>

*O Oracles – μαντεῖον (manteion) / ὁμηρομαντεῖον (homēromanteion), etc.*

The four examples of divination using oracles drawn from Homer (ὁμηρομαντεῖον), dice, lots or isopsephy, are not technically magic. They make up only 0.8% of the *PGM*.

*P Prayers or Hymns - εὐχῆ (euchē)*

There is a considerable difference between an invocation, a prayer and a hymn. The simplistic explanation (which harks back to one of the popular distinctions between religion and magic) is that prayers are supplications whilst invocations are expressed as commands. Hymns can be added to either prayers or invocations, as they are designed to praise or flatter the god/goddess concerned. Prayers or hymns make up 1.7% of all the *PGM* rites.

*Q Daimonic Possession and its Exorcism*

Exorcistic formulae are not common in the *PGM*, but they do occur. One at least has been heavily Christianised.<sup>240</sup> These make up only 0.8% of all the *PGM* rites.

*R Restraining or Binding Anger – κάτοχος (katochos)*

---

<sup>237</sup> See Table 20.

<sup>238</sup> Despite the obvious Greek derivation, in Mediaeval Europe, this term became identified with 'nigromancy,' and hence with evocation of demons. As noted by Benedek Lang (2008), p. 41, Jean-Patrice Boudet suggested that 'necromancy' should be used in its original meaning of evocatory divination by the dead, whilst 'nigromancy' should refer just to evocation of demons. Kieckhefer (1997), p. 19 does not accept this logical division but sees 'nigromancy' as a relatively modern term. See also Kieckhefer (2003), pp. 152-153.

<sup>239</sup> Johnston (2008), pp. 171-175 identifies eight *PGM* necromantic rites, but these do not exactly map onto this list of 'N' rites (see Appendix 2), as for example, *PGM* I. 262-347 is placed under lamp skrying in category 'D,' as lamp skrying is more prominent than any mentions of the dead. Johnston herself concedes that *PGM* IV. 154-285 is "actually part of an elaborate type of lecanomancy," and it has therefore been so categorized here. In addition two 'drowned animal' rites have been included.

<sup>240</sup> *PGM* IV. 1227-64.

Rites for restraining anger are quite common in the *PGM*. They are usually in the form of an amulet. However they are here listed separately from amulets, as they form a distinct group. Restraining formulae make up 2.3% of all the *PGM* rites.

S                    *Memory and Foreknowledge* – μνημονική (*mnēmonikē*) and πρόγνωσις (*prognōsis*)

There are only a few operations for memory and foreknowledge. One highly significant operation gives detailed instruction for the construction of a laurel wood Table of Evocation, a protective floor circle as well as the names for each of the hours. All of this equipment is transmitted to, and becomes part of the development of magic, in both the *Hygromanteia* and in later Latin grimoires.<sup>241</sup> Memory and foreknowledge formulae make up 1.7% of all the *PGM* rites.

T                    *Talismans* - τέλεσμα (*telesma*)

The word talisman is derived from the Byzantine Greek τέλεσμα *telesma* ("religious rite or consecration ceremony") and not from either τελειόω *teleoō* ("to bring to perfection or completion")<sup>242</sup> or from the Classical Greek τέλεσμα *telesma* ("money paid").<sup>243</sup> This word also appears as an Arabic loan word, *tilsām*. Talismans are designed to embody specific magical objectives, and are not designed for generalised protection or health like an amulet. Talismans are drawn, painted, engraved or carved designs made on paper, parchment, metal or occasionally stone. Their objectives are proactive and very specific, such as winning the love of a specific woman, winning a specific chariot race, etc, and not for general protection.

For example a Venus talisman might be designed to accumulate the qualities of that planet/goddess to act for the magician in a specific operation of love for a specific woman. Talismans are not usually worn (as are amulets), but can be simply created, charged, and then left to do their work. A pentacle is a specific type of talisman, which perhaps originally incorporated the figure of a pentagram inscribed within a circle. Now the term is often used interchangeably with 'talisman.' The manufacture of talismans for specific magical purposes makes up 2.1% of all the *PGM* rites.

---

<sup>241</sup> *PGM* III. 282-409.

<sup>242</sup> Johnston (2008), p. 155 associates τελειόω, in the sense of 'perfection,' with the Greek words for initiate and initiation. See *PGM* IV. 26-51 for this usage.

<sup>243</sup> This shows that the word came into use via Byzantine Greek magical texts, rather than necessarily being part of Classical Greek religion. The term is likely to have been a transliteration from Arabic, and therefore possibly originally derived from the astral magic tradition.

Phylactery - φυλακτήριον (*phylakterion*)

A phylactery is worn and must include a written magical or religious text.<sup>244</sup> Phylactery is a Greek word which may be derived from the Greek *phylaktikos*, which means 'a safeguard or preservative'.<sup>245</sup> In Latin texts the word is usually rendered as *phylacterium*.<sup>246</sup> Despite common perception, 'phylactery' is not specifically a Jewish religious observance.

Phylactery strips of parchment bound around the arms appear in a number of places in the *PGM*,<sup>247</sup> usually specified at the end of the rite where the ritual equipment is listed separately. In the *PGM*, phylacteries are written on papyrus or parchment (black and white sheepskin)<sup>248</sup> and designed to be worn by the magician during a rite to protect himself from the spiritual creatures, even including the gods, which he was invoking, not on a day-to-day basis (as are amulets).<sup>249</sup> The manufacture of phylacteries for the protection of the magician makes up 1.3% of all *PGM* rites. This figure is however low, as there are at least 16 other magician's phylacteries imbedded at the end of other rites (as part of the equipment section of those rites). These have been listed separately as U2 in Appendix 2, and are not consolidated into the statistics, as they are parts of already counted rites. If they had been added into the count of phylacteries in Appendix 1, the total would have been 5.3% of the rites.

## Tefillin ('Jewish Phylacteries')

Phylacteries are in modern times mostly associated with Jewish practice. Although they were called by Hellenised Jews *phylaktēria*, the more correct equivalent of 'phylactery' in Hebrew is the word *tefillin* (תְּפִלִּין). A Jewish phylactery or *tefillin* consists of a small leather case (originally cylindrical but now usually cubical) made either of parchment or of black calfskin, containing slips of parchment or vellum on which are written the specific scriptural passages Exodus 13: 1-10 and 11-16, Deuteronomy 6: 4-9, 11: 13-21.<sup>250</sup> They are traditionally bound tightly on the forehead and the left arm by orthodox Jewish men during morning prayer, and rarely in times of potential danger, like a plane flight, but not used under any other conditions. A *tefillin* is not used on a day-to-day basis (like an amulet), nor in magical

<sup>244</sup> Hence many of the so-called amulets listed in the *PGM* are in fact phylacteries or talismans.

<sup>245</sup> The word 'phylactery' only appears once in the New Testament (Matthew 23:5) where it is just a slighting reference to the *tefillin* of the rabbis.

<sup>246</sup> See Betz (1996), pp. 51, 54, 68.

<sup>247</sup> For example in *PGM* IV. 813.

<sup>248</sup> In "Mithras Liturgy" in *PGM* IV. 814-820.

<sup>249</sup> The Christian habit of keeping the bodily remains of saints as relics also meant that the meaning of 'phylactery' was sometimes extended to include cases for such relics.

<sup>250</sup> The *tefillin* found at Qumran also had extracts from *Deuteronomy* 10:12 – 11:12 and 32:1-33.

practice, nor does it appear in the *PGM*, and so it will not be further considered here.

#### *Lamen ('Magician's Phylacteries')*

'Lamen' is the most specific term. The *lamen* of the mediaeval magician is a direct descendant of the phylactery of the Graeco-Egyptian magician. In mediaeval and later magical texts, *phylacterium* was often rendered as *lamen*. *Lamen* always has the technical sense of something worn solely by a magician for protection from the entities he invoked, specifically at the time of the ritual. At no point was the word 'lamen' used in the sense of a general amulet, or used in a context outside of ritual magic. Interestingly the *lamen* often became a double (or double-sided) piece of parchment bearing both the sigil of the spirit being invoked and that of the angel understood to control that spirit.<sup>251</sup>

V

#### *Visions and Dreams Evoked by Magic - ὄνειραιτητόν (oneiraitēton)*

Invocations to secure relevant dreams from a god, or even the visible appearance of a god, are a common practice in the *PGM*. These techniques were also used to send dreams to a third party (*oneiropompeia*). These procedures sometimes involve other subsidiary techniques, like invocation or use of the evocatory skrying lamp. The invocation of a god in a dream and the sending of dreams to third parties makes up 8.2% of all the *PGM* rites.

W

#### *Defixiones - κατάδεσμοι (katadesmoi)*

*Defixiones* are an appeal, or order, to the dead to affect a particular desired magical result. The theory behind them is that the spirits of the dead buried can be constrained by the words on the *defixio* to carry out the specific orders of the magician who created the *defixio*, or to communicate with daimones or gods who can do so. The restless dead (especially the victims of murder or premature death) are thought to be constrained by the *defixio*, to carry out the wishes of the magician.<sup>252</sup> The manufacture of *defixiones* for specific magical purposes makes up 2.3% of all the *PGM* rites.

X

#### *Excluded Fragments*

These passages provide too little material to properly identify either their purpose or method. They are listed in full in Appendix 2 in order that the corpus of Graeco-Egyptian magical material analysed there is complete. Although these fragments make up 8.7% of all the *PGM* rites numerically, their actual extent in terms of number of lines is very small.

---

<sup>251</sup> See Skinner & Rankine (2010), p. 103.

<sup>252</sup> This practice resurfaces again in Europe where beans are buried in churchyards and subsequently dug up to help confer invisibility. Food and drink offerings to the dead are a part of many cultures, but the binding of specifically restless spirits to carry out magical acts appears to be unique to Egypt.

Y

*Use of Herbs and Plants in Magic - βοτάνη (botanē)*

Lists of the magical properties of herbs are an important section in the *PGM*, as they provide concrete items whose use in magic can be tracked across various cultures. This practice is slightly more complicated in the *PGM* by the habit of priests and magicians of listing quite common ingredients such as herbs and other items with flowery and alarming names. The magical use of herbs and plants makes up 1.1% of all the *PGM* rites.

Z

*'Evil Sleep' and Death - nktk bin (Demotic)*

These formulae are the province of the φάρμακος (*pharmakos*) rather than the magician as these are concerned with the use of drugs, herbs and poisons. These formulae are solely demotic and only make up 2.7% of all the *PGM* rites in number, but a very small proportion in terms of the number of lines of text allocated to them.

α

*Minor Magical Procedures*

There are usually only one or two examples of each of these procedures, which are therefore of less use for comparative examination of specific techniques. These procedures include winning at dice, catching a thief, etc. Procedure for catching a thief do however re-appear in later Latin grimoires. They do not form a large corpus like, for example, love spells or the arrival of a god. All of these are small, being between one and 25 lines long. These single operations and minor magical procedures make up 4.6% of the *PGM* rites.

β

*Victory Spell - νικητικόν (nikētikon)*

Victory spells, particularly in the context of chariot races. These make up 1.3% of all the *PGM* rites.

Aside from the rite specific headwords several Greek words in the *PGM* have a more general meaning. Λαβών which means to take hold of or bind is often weakly translated as spell or charm, but the general Greek terms for a magical operation were πρᾶξις, πραγματεία,<sup>253</sup> or οἰκονομία.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>253</sup> Πραγματεία is a term later used in the original title of the *Hygromanteia: Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia*.

<sup>254</sup> See Pachoumi (2007), pp. 15-16. Pachoumi adds μυστήριον, but that term relates to the Mysteries rather than to magic.

### 3.3. The Input of Jewish Magic to Graeco-Egyptian Magic and the *Clavicula Salomonis*

"Ten measures of magic came into the world. Egypt received nine of these, the rest of the world one measure."

- *Talmud, b. Qid. 49b.*

As confirmed by the above quotation, even the *Talmud* acknowledged that magic came primarily from Egypt, rather than from Jewish sources. There are no clear traces of the *methods* of Solomonic magic in pre-Christian Jewish sources. Bohak is of the opinion that there was no tradition at all (and therefore no surviving documents) of Jewish scribal magic, apart from general exorcistic hymns, before the 3rd century CE:

In the Second Temple period, we already have much evidence for the writing down of exorcistic hymns (Nitzan 1994: 227-72; Eshel 2003), but no real evidence for the use of magical recipe books or even of written amulets (cf. Swartz 2001, Bohak 2008: 70-142, and Cohn 2008). But from the 3rd or 4th century CE, and *probably under the influence of Graeco-Egyptian magic*, of the kind reflected in the Greek magical papyri, we witness the rise of a fully scribal Jewish magical tradition, in which writing is used both in the transmission of magical knowhow and in the magical praxis itself (Bohak 2008: 281-85).<sup>255</sup>

The corollary of this statement is that as it appeared first, Graeco-Egyptian magic contributed to the establishment of a Jewish magical tradition, rather than the other way around. Although god and angel names were liberally borrowed from the Jewish tradition, it appears that method was not. Although magical practice may have been frowned upon by the Jewish community, it is however certain that many of the senior Rabbis were well acquainted with its principles by the time of the *Talmud* (after 200 CE):

Rabbi Yohanan<sup>256</sup> said (b. *Sanhedrin* 17a and b. *Menahot* 65a) that knowledge of magic was one of the prerequisites for sitting in the *Sanhedrin*, the supreme Jewish court of law – not only in order to detect and deter magicians, but also in order to beat them at their own game, and to gain the upper hand against other offenders as well.<sup>257</sup>

There are a number of very specific and well-documented contributions made from Jewish magic to the *PGM*, and also to later Byzantine and Latin Solomonic grimoire magic. These contributions apparently did not include the Solomonic *method*. The main elements that were passed on from Jewish magic are clearly defined as follows:<sup>258</sup>

- a) The god names in the *PGM* derive from a number of sources, including Egyptian and Greek, but characteristic god names like Iao, IHVH, Yah or Sabaoth without doubt come from

---

<sup>255</sup> Bohak (1999), p. 125. My italics.

<sup>256</sup> Probably Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakai (30-90 CE).

<sup>257</sup> Bohak (1999), p. 120.

<sup>258</sup> I will deal with the case of the *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* below. See Gollancz (1903, 1914, 2008).

the Jewish tradition. In the context of the *PGM* they are just other *nomina magica*, and carry no specific hint of monotheistic Jewish religion with them. These names were later passed on to the *Hygromanteia*, and later still the *Clavicula Salomonis* and vernacular grimoires.

b) The vast bulk of angel (and some demon) names are derived from Jewish sources. The biblical archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel are well documented. They in turn probably derive from Babylonia.<sup>259</sup> In the first centuries of the Christian era, books like the three *Books of Enoch* generated a range of angel names, especially those of the angels of the seven Heavens, and of the 12 zodiacal signs. Although the *hekhalot* literature is primarily mystical rather than magical, it too added to the repertoire of angelic names. Later, particularly in the Geonic period (650-1250 CE) a plethora of angels, like the 168 angels of the hours of the days of the week (24 x 7), were generated,<sup>260</sup> and these have passed directly into the *Hygromanteia*, without going via the *PGM*. No trace of these 168 names is to be found in the *PGM*. Some demon names passed from the *Testament of Solomon* to the *Hygromanteia*.

c) Just as the concept of angels was probably derived from Babylon, so the practice of oil magic probably entered Jewish practice from the same source. The practices of oil, water and lamp flame skrying accompanied by evocation are commonly attested in the *PGM*.

Bohak is certainly of the opinion that it was the Graeco-Egyptian technology of magic that informed the Jewish magical tradition. His example focuses on the *charactères*, but his contention applies to the whole 'massive' entry of the technology of magic into Jewish magic:

For the time being, let us return to late antiquity, and note how the *charactères* exemplify the massive entry of technological innovations from the Greco-Egyptian magic of late antiquity into the Jewish magical tradition, and their absorption there... we see a set of foreign elements which was so fully naturalized in the Jewish magical tradition – and in some medieval cases also fully Judaized – as to assure its survival within that tradition to our very days.<sup>261</sup>

It is probable that both the Jewish and the Egyptian practices came separately from Babylon. Daiches supports the view that Babylon was the source of both Jewish and Egyptian practices on the grounds of "striking parallels to Babylonian magical texts as well as to the Jewish."<sup>262</sup> Their origins can be seen in both the *PGM* (lamp skrying) and the Jewish tradition ("princes of the thumb"), which are attested in Jewish records in the 11th century

---

<sup>259</sup> The concept of an angelic hierarchy came to the fore during the time of the Babylonian captivity from 597-538 BCE.

<sup>260</sup> Pingree (1980), p. 10.

<sup>261</sup> Bohak (2008), p. 274.

<sup>262</sup> Published in Daiches (1913), pp. 5-6. The Babylonian *Maklū* text published by Tallqvist which he refers to, is also quoted in Daiches (1913), p. 4.

commentaries of Rashi.<sup>263</sup> Either way these skrying practices also influenced the *Hygromanteia*. Because of the many references in Jewish sources, I suspect the direction of transmission was from Jewish sources to the *Hygromanteia*. But these skrying practices did not then make their way into the Latin or vernacular Solomonic grimoires.<sup>264</sup>

It is clear that these practices formed the basis for the evocatory skrying practices delineated in the last section of the *Hygromanteia* (chapters 47-57), and in a fragmentary fashion into later European skrying up to the present century. In chapter 8.2, below, I will demonstrate very specific parallels between these chapters of the *Hygromanteia* and a number of 16th/17th century Jewish manuscripts from the library of Moses Gaster.<sup>265</sup> The parallels even extend to the wording of both procedures. Because of this, despite their late date, I think it is probable that these Jewish oil and water skrying procedures were copied into the *Hygromanteia*.

d) The pentacles which appear in some of the Text-Groups of the *Key of Solomon* are not derived from the *Hygromanteia* but come directly from an original Hebrew source. Although readers who only examined Mathers' version of the *Key* might reasonably assume that the pentacles were always part and parcel of the *Key of Solomon*, in fact they are missing from most of the unpublished manuscripts of that text, and missing completely from *all* the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*.

However the pentacles are present, in a more complete form in a Hebrew manuscript entitled **ספר האותות** *Sepher ha-Otot*,<sup>266</sup> or 'The Book of the Signs'.<sup>267</sup> This strongly suggests that the pentacles originally come from a Hebrew, not a Greek source. Despite Mathers' diligence in attempting to reconstruct the Hebrew from the French and English manuscripts of the *Key*, his work is nowhere as correct or complete as that found in this Hebrew manuscript. Therefore we can say with some confidence that there was definitely a Hebrew original, at least of the pentacles, the proof of which lies in the existence of the very detailed pentacles in the *Sepher ha-Otot*, and their much less detailed form in the Latin Solomonic manuscripts. The Greek manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* are even less detailed being virtual 'thumbnails' by comparison.

There is, however, no evidence earlier than 1700 CE that the Solomonic *method* of evocation,

---

<sup>263</sup> *Sanhedrin* 67b. Other references to this procedure occur in *Chochmat ha-Nefesh*, 16d, 18a, 20c, 28d, 29a; *Ziyuni*, 10c; *Redak* on *Ezekiel*, 21:26; *Nishmat Chayim*, III, 19.

<sup>264</sup> Simple crystal skrying without the full evocatory apparatus appears in texts by Trithemius and later magicians, but not in the *Clavicula Salomonis*. See Barrett (1801), Book II, pp. 135 ff. for Trithemius' *Art of Drawing Spirits into Crystals*.

<sup>265</sup> Daiches (1913), pp. 12-27.

<sup>266</sup> A letter by letter transliteration yields 'Sepher ha-Avtot' but as the *vav* should be treated as a *mater lectionis*, so the transliteration becomes *Sepher ha-Otot*. Rosenthaliana MS 12, third unfoliated item.

<sup>267</sup> Perhaps more aptly translated as 'The Book of the Seals,' as these pentacles are seals rather than signs.

with a circle of protection and specific pre-consecrated ritual equipment appears in any Hebrew sources.

### *Genizah Fragments*

The largest collection of Hebrew magical documents so far found was retrieved from the *genizah* of the Fustat synagogue in old Cairo. The bulk of this documentation of Jewish magic in Alexandria is still kept in Cambridge and several other repositories. Unfortunately Schechter, who was responsible for retrieving much of it, and his successors, were much more interested in the religious content of the Genizah, and so it is only in the last 25 years that the magical content has begun to receive significant attention.

In 2010 Gideon Bohak concluded that 1690 of the 140,000 Genizah fragments stored in Cambridge<sup>268</sup> fall into the 'MADA' category. MADA is his charming characterisation of fragments which pertain to any of the following categories: magic, astrology, divination or alchemy.<sup>269</sup> His breakdown of the MADA fragments by broad category is:

Magic <sup>270</sup>	1026
Astrology	349
Divination <sup>271</sup>	247
Alchemy	68
-----	
Total	1690 fragments

Addressing the 1026 magical fragments, it is noticeable that many relate to just nine already known Jewish magical texts.<sup>272</sup> The most frequently occurring identifiable texts (with their number of fragments) are:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Fragments</u>	<u>Author</u>
<i>Sepher Šimmuš Tehillim</i> <sup>273</sup>	51	
<i>Sepher ha-Razim</i> <sup>274</sup>	38	

<sup>268</sup> Note that Cambridge holds only approximately 73% of the 190,000 fragments from the Cairo Fustat synagogue, the rest having made their way to Oxford and several American locations, so these figures, and any percentages derived from them must be treated with caution. Nevertheless, I believe that Bohak has identified almost all MADA fragments at Cambridge.

<sup>269</sup> Bohak (2010), pp. 53-80.

<sup>270</sup> Bohak classifies *hemerologia* (24 fragments) and *horologia* (12) under divination, but as they deal with demons and magical qualities of specific hours, they may more correctly be listed under magic. Such a re-allocation would have resulted in 1062 (rather than 1026) fragments relating to magic.

<sup>271</sup> Of which *goralot* (divination by lots) = 128; oneiromancy = 62; geomancy = 22. Geomancy was of Islamic origin, whilst oneiromancy was only of passing concern to the magicians of the PGM.

<sup>272</sup> It is possible that Bohak may not have identified the provenance of all the fragments, so the number of identified titles may increase as the corpus continues to be studied.

<sup>273</sup> *The Book of Practical Psalms*. **בְּסִפְרַ שְׁמוֹשׁ תְּהִלִּים**. On the Magical use of Psalms. An English translation of the (*Sepher Šimmuš Tehillim* [*Shimmush Tehillim*]) by Godfrey Selig (1788) is to be found in Appendix 4 of Peterson (2008). See also Rankine and Barron (2010) for an analysis of the magical use of Psalms in the *Šimmuš Tehillim*. This text concentrates on the magical use of the Psalms rather than Solomonic magic. See Anon (1972) for a German edition.

<i>Sepher ha-Yašar</i> <sup>275</sup>	27	Rabbi Akiva <sup>276</sup>
<i>Sepher ha-Malbuš</i> , <sup>277</sup>		
<i>Sifr Ādām</i> , <sup>278</sup> or <i>Sepher ha-Qeviṣa</i> <sup>279</sup>	7	
<i>Harba de-Moše</i> <sup>280</sup>	5	
<i>Pišra de-Rabbi</i> <sup>281</sup>	5	Hanina ben Dosa <sup>282</sup>
<i>Ševa' Ma'ilot</i>	2	Hanina ben Dosa
<i>Sepher Berit Menuha</i> <sup>283</sup>	2	Abraham ben Isaac of Granada
<i>Havdalah de-Rabbi Akiva</i> <sup>284</sup>	1	Rabbi Akiva
<i>Sepher Raziel</i>	0 <sup>285</sup>	

-----

138

In addition, many magic fragments which cannot be attributed to a specific Hebrew magical title have been found, but most of these are either amulets (specifically made for clients) or collections of short spells, not forming part of a structured ritual using the Solomonic method:

Magical spell/recipe books	592
Amulets <sup>286</sup>	145
Demonic/angel adjurations <sup>287</sup>	29
Magical Prayers	25
Curses/excommunications	23
Medico-magical recipes	21
Kabbalistic magic	16
Sundry	16
Compulsive/erotic spells	14
Talismanic	7

----- 888

-----

Total magic fragments as above	1026
--------------------------------	------

Amongst those which have been published, I have not been able to detect any passages which relate directly to the Solomonic *method*. Therefore, at the current state of analysis of the

<sup>274</sup> *Book of the Mysteries*. See Margalioth (1966) for a reconstruction of the Hebrew, and Morgan (1983) for an English edition. See Schäfer (1990), pp. 81-82 for a list of its various magical objectives.

<sup>275</sup> *The Book of Righteousness*.

<sup>276</sup> Rabbi Akiva ben Joseph was perhaps the most famous of the 1st/2nd century CE Talmudic sages, as he was one of the few reputed to have visited Paradise, and returned safely.

<sup>277</sup> *The Book of the Vestment*. See Scholem (1955), p. 77; Karr and Skinner (2010), p. 14.

<sup>278</sup> *The Book of Adam*.

<sup>279</sup> A translation from Arabic of a book on demon adjuration.

<sup>280</sup> *The Sword of Moses*. See Harari (1997) for a Hebrew edition, and Harari (2012), pp. 71-98 for an English translation.

<sup>281</sup> *The Spell Loosener*.

<sup>282</sup> Hanina ben Dosa was a 1<sup>st</sup> century CE Talmudic magician. See Bohak (2008), pp. 96, 340, 401.

<sup>283</sup> *The Book of the Covenant of Rest*. בִּרְית מִנּוֹתָה. A Kabbalistic book of angel and god names.

<sup>284</sup> Theurgic ritual for use during the Havdalah ceremony. The best manuscript is Vatican MS 228, f. 93-103. Also Oxford MS 1531, f. 137-145. See Scholem (2004), pp. 145-182 for an analysis.

<sup>285</sup> Not tallied by Bohak.

<sup>286</sup> Several Genizah amulets made for specific clients are translated in Schäfer (1990), pp. 83-85.

<sup>287</sup> Some of these may possibly be of a Solomonic nature.

Genizah fragments (which cover roughly the 10th - 15th centuries, but which must also imply pre-10th century texts), there appears to be no direct Jewish input into the *method* of the *Hygromanteia* or *Clavicula Salomonis* from Jewish magic in Alexandria/Cairo, except for the specific categories of influence noted above (i.e. angel names, oil and water skrying and pentacles).<sup>288</sup>

As far as northern Europe is concerned, Trachtenberg opined that:

There is hardly any Jewish literature in the north of Europe devoted specifically to magic. *Sefer Raziel*, probably compiled in the thirteenth century and containing much Geonic mystical material (so potent were its contents considered that mere possession of the book was believed to prevent fires), and the anonymous *Shimmush Tehillim*, "The (Magical) Use of the Psalms," were all, besides some of the works of Eleazar of Worms and his school, such as *Hochmat HaNefesh*, which contains more or less pertinent material.<sup>289</sup>

He goes on to add that he believes there must be more material on magic "hidden away in European libraries,"<sup>290</sup> which is certainly true. For example Worms circa 1700 was the probable origin of the *Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*,<sup>291</sup> a text unknown to Trachtenberg. The method embodied in Abramelin is one of 6-18 months of prayer and piety followed by the use of pentacles in the form of numeric and alpha-squares,<sup>292</sup> and not one of directly evocatory magic. Although Trachtenberg's conclusions might be a little out of date, clear evidence of evocation and the Solomonic method have yet to be identified by academics in Hebrew collections in Europe.

The other magical classics listed above in Bohak's MADA survey of Genizah fragments, such as *Sepher ha-Razim* and the *Harba de Moshe* (*Sword of Moses*), contain many angelic names but no description of Solomonic method. In fact Gaster compared the range of *nomina magica* in the *Sword* with those in the *PGM* and concluded that:

...these [PGM] Papyri mark as it were the first stages of this process of growth by the assimilation of various elements [of the *nomina magica*] and combinations into one complete *vade-mecum* for the magician or conjurer. In the "Sword" we have the full development of that process, which must have run its course at a very early period.<sup>293</sup>

Despite Gaster seeing the *Sword of Moses* as the *summa* of the *PGM* in the matter of *nomina magica*, it (disappointingly) does not have the same relevance for method. Part III contains the method, but without any hint of the Solomonic method of evocation of spiritual

---

<sup>288</sup> Swartz (2006), pp. 305-318 for details of magical procedures in the Genizah texts.

<sup>289</sup> Trachtenberg (2004), pp. 315-316.

<sup>290</sup> Trachtenberg (2004), p. 316.

<sup>291</sup> Mathers (1900) and Dehn (2006).

<sup>292</sup> This is further support for the origin of the pentacles in the *Clavicula Salomonis* coming from Jewish sources.

<sup>293</sup> Gaster (1970), p. 19. However the 'full development' that Gaster mentions is not nearly as fully developed as the Greek and Latin Solomonic methods. The *Sword* follows the Jewish tradition of using powerful names of god and the angels, but with no elaboration of method or equipment.

creatures.<sup>294</sup> In fact the *Sword* follows the pattern of other texts of Jewish magic, relying to a large extent on the recitation of holy names and the writing of a few talismans, rather than formalised Solomonic ritual evocation.

The Hebrew *Sepher Raziel* (strangely missing from the above Genizah list) is more useful, but still not forthcoming about Solomonic method. The completely unrelated (except in title) Latin and English *Sepher Raziel* as dealt with elsewhere in this thesis, does however use the Solomonic method.<sup>295</sup>

#### *The Hekhalot literature*

It is relevant to briefly examine the Hekhalot literature, as Morton Smith claimed a great deal of identity between it and the *PGM*.<sup>296</sup>

The gods of Greece such as Helios and Aphrodite may be glimpsed in *Sepher ha-Razim*, but are definitely not to be found in the *hekhalot*.<sup>297</sup> This literature, extant from the 3rd to the 8th centuries CE, is concerned with “rising on the planes” (to use modern terminology) or journeying from one of the seven heavens to another (to use a more traditional image), with the eventual hope of meeting god face-to-face. This literature is also referred to as *merkavah/merkabah* literature because the journey was often visualized as travelling ‘downwards’ in an astral chariot (the literal meaning of the word).<sup>298</sup> This material is to a large extent a mystical and rabbinic practice, but the use of secret passwords at the various doorways or portals to the Halls or *hekhalot*, to get past their angelic guardians, give it a superficial magical colouring.

Morton Smith wrote that:

Much of the celestial personnel of the *hekhalot* is found also in the magical papyri and in Gnosticism. Not only have the papyri and the Gnostics taken over Hebrew names, but the *hekhalot* have taken over Greek names and sometimes have even taken back Greek corruptions of names which were originally Hebrew.<sup>299</sup>

This appears to be a rather sweeping and not altogether accurate statement. The traffic in names was not nearly as reciprocal as Morton Smith implies. The vast majority of the angelic

---

<sup>294</sup> Gaster worked from just one manuscript of the *Sword* (Codex Hebrew Gaster 178), so it is possible that the five Genizah fragments might add something to section III. Unfortunately Gaster replaces the *nomina magica* with an ‘X’ rather than simply transliterating them.

<sup>295</sup> This implies that this *Raziel* is either much later than the Genizah period, or was solely a northern European production despite its Hebraic title. In some manuscripts the title is deformed to *Cephar Raziel* and the few bits of Hebrew are almost completely unrecognizable, confirming that these particular manuscripts were written by non-Jewish scribes.

<sup>296</sup> Smith (1963), p. 150.

<sup>297</sup> Lesses (1996), p.46.

<sup>298</sup> Strangely this is often described as descending. See Davila (2001), *Descenders to the Chariot: the People behind the Hekhalot Literature*.

<sup>299</sup> Smith (1963), p. 150.

and god names used in the *hekhalot* literature are obviously of Jewish extraction. Some of these god and angelic names have been taken over into the *PGM*,<sup>300</sup> rather than the other way around. But these names in the *PGM* could easily have come from Jewish sources other than the *hekhalot*. These names could for example have been derived from the *Septuagint* which had been available in Alexandria from the late 3rd century BCE.<sup>301</sup>

The concept of the chariot very clearly comes from Jewish sources, specifically *Ezekiel*, whose vision was of a very detailed and many wheeled and winged chariot.<sup>302</sup> The concept of doorways guarded by angels who required very specific passwords may have passed in the opposite direction, from Egyptian conceptions of the Duat, with its many guarded portals, to the *hekhalot*.

The predominant direction of traffic is from the Hebrew sources into the Gnostic texts (which were in the early years Hebrew heresies anyway) and the *PGM* where they enjoyed the reputation of being powerful words of coercion, especially *Sabaoth* and *IAO* (derived from the Hebrew יהוה and צבאות respectively). Strangely, very few, if any Solomonic magical techniques appear to have come from these Jewish sources. Lesses puts it succinctly:

The Graeco-Egyptian ritual texts draw names of divinities from Jewish, Greek, Egyptian, Roman, or Mesopotamian traditions, while the *hekhalot* adjurations [only] use Hebrew names of God and the angels. They do not incorporate the names of the Greek, Egyptian, or Roman deities.<sup>303</sup>

This is a much more accurate statement of the situation than Morton Smith's wide ranging remarks.<sup>304</sup> From the point of view of tracing the evolution of magical methods, it can be seen that although the *hekhalot* literature may have passed some god and angel names to the *PGM*, it did not pass any actual magical techniques. Furthermore the procedure used by the *hekhalot* devotees (and still in use today) was one of piety, intense prayer and meditation, with the minimal use of invocation, and absolutely no use of evocation.

On the whole Rabbinical Judaism warned against the studying of such *hekhalot* material, and so it became a separate channel closer to Kabbalistic speculations than traditional Judaism. The *hekhalot* literature is basically mysticism, albeit very vivid mysticism, and not part of the magical tradition.<sup>305</sup> Scholem characterises the *hekhalot* material as 'ecstaticism' as opposed to magic.<sup>306</sup>

---

<sup>300</sup> Such as *IAΩ*, *Elohim*, *Sabaoth*/*Tzabaoth*, etc.

<sup>301</sup> Its translation was not fully completed till 132 BCE.

<sup>302</sup> *Ezekiel* 1: 15-21; 10: 9-17.

<sup>303</sup> Lesses (1996), p. 52-53.

<sup>304</sup> See Lewy (1969) for a discussion of the Greek phrases and nouns to be found in *Hekhalot Rabbati*.

<sup>305</sup> Interestingly the angel referred to as the 'Lord God of Israel' is *Zohar Ariel*, which might better be read as 'Zohar Ariel,' an angel name following the name of that great classic of the Kabbalah.

<sup>306</sup> Scholem (1955), pp. 50-60, 78.

It is clear that in the context of magic there is always a hierarchy of spiritual creatures,<sup>307</sup> in which any sense of a strictly monotheistic system is lost. For if there is only a meditative appeal to the one god, as in Judaism, then this is meditation/prayer rather than magic.

### *The Case against the Hebrew Roots of the Clavicula Salomonis*

One text that is often held up as a proof of the Hebrew roots of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, is the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*, **ספר מפתח שלמה** ('The Book of the Key of Solomon') which is found in three Hebrew manuscripts dating from 1700-1729. These manuscripts have been suggested as the source of the many Western manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon* by Hermann Gollancz who discovered one version in his father's library and first published it in 1903 and 1914.<sup>308</sup>

There are three manuscript sources of the text:<sup>309</sup>

- a) The Gollancz manuscript, written in cursive Hebrew in Amsterdam, dated 1700 (with 79 folios).<sup>310</sup>
- b) Rosenthaliana MS 12, f. 1-74 at the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam. It consists of 74 folios bound with two further but separate texts of 16 and 30 folios each. This is a manuscript written by Isaac Zekel ben Yidel Kohen of Worms in Amsterdam from a copy by Judah Perez (London, 1729). It is the most complete manuscript.
- c) The two manuscripts in the British Library: Oriental MS 6360 (15 folios)<sup>311</sup> and Oriental MS 14759 (53 folios).<sup>312</sup> Rohrbacher-Sticker has ascertained that one is a continuation of the other, so they effectively form one manuscript of 68 folios.

Despite Gollancz wishing to believe that he had found the Hebrew original of the *Key*, he concedes that:

A hurried survey of these very MSS [of the *Clavicula Salomonis*] might easily convince one that they are anything but Jewish in character, several of them containing illustrations which, in the eye of the Jewish Law, would be regarded as blasphemous; the human face or more extended

---

<sup>307</sup> See chapter 5.1.

<sup>308</sup> Gollancz (1852-1930), was a British Rabbi and well respected Hebrew scholar who was the Goldsmith Professor of Hebrew at University College, London from 1902 to 1924.

<sup>309</sup> A facsimile of the Gollancz manuscript including Gollancz's commentary and an introduction by Skinner, has recently been published as Gollancz (2008).

<sup>310</sup> Gollancz found the manuscript in his father's library at the beginning of the 20th century, and he published a commentary on it under the name of *Clavicula Salomonis* in 1903, and then a full facsimile of it in 1914 as *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh* (its correct Hebrew title).

<sup>311</sup> This manuscript is called **ספר הלבנה** *Sepher ha-Levanah*, and six folios were published in Hebrew in Greenup (1912). He suggests the manuscript dates back to the 16th century, but 17th century seems much more likely. The Hebrew was reprinted, with a translation by Calanit Nachshon, in Karr & Skinner (2011), pp. 68-98 (Hebrew), 102-123 (English).

<sup>312</sup> The connection between these two halves of one manuscript which had become separated was established by Rohrbacher-Sticker (1993/4) and (1995). They are respectively of ff. 15 and ff. 53 in length.

form appears in a [talismanic] circle with the words **שְׁלֹמֹךְ אֵל**<sup>313</sup> added, the face itself in several instances being even supplied with horns and the forms with wings.<sup>314</sup>

Mathiesen states that all the Hebrew manuscripts of *Mapteah Shelomoh* were:

...written in the very late 17th or the 18th century.<sup>315</sup> They all contain recent Hebrew translations from Italian or Latin magical texts, including passages from the [Latin or Italian] *Key of Solomon*. They have no bearing on the problem of a possible Hebrew original for that work.<sup>316</sup>

I concur with his view. Scholem also assumed that the *Mapteah Shelomoh* was a late Jewish adaptation of a “Latin (or rather Italian) *Clavicula [Salomonis]* text of the Renaissance period” which “contains Christian, Jewish, and Arabic elements which either lie unmixed side by side or show in parts a mutual permeation.”<sup>317</sup> His conclusion stems from the frequency of Latin and Italian words, whose presence only makes sense if it were a Hebrew copy of a Latin or Italian *Clavicula Salomonis* text.<sup>318</sup> Research by Rohrbacher-Sticker, Schiffman and Swartz, also supports Scholem’s conclusions.<sup>319</sup>

Further proofs of the derivation of *Mapteah Shelomoh* from a Latin/Italian original can be found in the second manuscript of *Mapteah Shelomoh* listed above.<sup>320</sup> In the last (10th) chapter,<sup>321</sup> there is a roughly drawn table of the correspondences between the planets/zodiac signs and various plants. The Latin names for the stones, plants and animals were apparently too difficult to translate, so the scribe has simply left them all in Latin:

[Jupiter] berilus; [Mars] onix; [Sun] crisolitus; [Venus] chaspis [jaspis=jasper?]; [Mercury] topasius [topaz]; [Moon] Sardius; [Saturn] Carbunculus [Carbuncle].

Likewise with zodiacal animals:

[Jupiter] aquila [eagle]; [Mars] equus [horse]; [Sun] leo [lion]; [Venus] omomo [woman?]; [Mercury] serpens [snake]; [Moon] bos [cow]; [Saturn] drago [dragon].<sup>322</sup>

Other evidence of the Latin sources of the *Mapteah Shelomoh* text is to be found on f. 9 of the second manuscript, where the Latin names of the 12 zodiacal signs (Aries, Taurus, etc) are simply transliterated into Hebrew rather than using the Hebrew names of the months (Nissan, Iyyar, Sivan, etc) that one would expect to find if the text were truly Hebrew in origin.

Furthermore the Gollancz *Mapteah Shelomoh* manuscript, which dates from 1700, is

<sup>313</sup> El Shaddai.

<sup>314</sup> Gollancz (1903, 2008), p. xix. However blasphemous the face and figure that he mentions, they do not occur in the Gollancz MS as he claims, but in Mathers (1909), Figure 32, facing p. 73.

<sup>315</sup> In fact all the currently found manuscripts date from 1700-1729 and appear to have been written in Amsterdam.

<sup>316</sup> Mathiesen (2007), pp. 3-9.

<sup>317</sup> Scholem (1965). p. 6.

<sup>318</sup> Scholem (1965), pp 1-35.

<sup>319</sup> Schiffman & Swartz (1992), p. 20 and Rohrbacher-Sticker (1993 and 1995).

<sup>320</sup> Rosenthaliana MS 12, Amsterdam

<sup>321</sup> Folio numbers are absent.

<sup>322</sup> Rosenthaliana MS 12, third item, unfoliated but f. 9-10.

obviously much more recent than many of the Latin manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon*. From remarks made by the copyist, it is clear that it was copied from an earlier manuscript. This earlier manuscript might well be the one mentioned by the Italian Kabbalist Gedaliah ibn Yahya (1515-1587) in his book *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* first published in Venice in 1587.<sup>323</sup> Even if this were the source, this date is still considerably later than the extant manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* which date from 1440.

The cursive Hebrew script of the *Maphteah Shelomoh* is typically an Italian hand. Many Italian words appear in a transliterated form, rather than in translation, further confirming that the source text was in Italian (and Latin), rather than in Hebrew. Possible cities of origin include Naples and Venice.<sup>324</sup> Naples is expressly mentioned in the manuscript in the transliterated form of 'Napoli' (נָפֹלִי).<sup>325</sup>

Most tellingly, the scribe even failed to recognise many of the Jewish elements present in their Latinised form, transliterating such words rather than translating them. Words in Greek and Arabic were similarly treated, and in a number of places (such as folios 36a and 39b) the scribe freely admits he did not understand what he was copying. If he had been copying Hebrew from a Hebrew original these problems would of course not have arisen, and then certainly not for the Hebrew words.

Rohrbacher-Sticker has also identified a number of Christian procedural elements, such as the dipping of a cross in holy water, which would certainly not have been part of any Hebrew magical text.<sup>326</sup>

Rohrbacher-Sticker was also able to identify 19 transliterated Greek words. Some of the most interesting are χαρακτήρας, magical *charakteres* (transliterated as קְרַקְטִירִי)<sup>327</sup> rather than using the perfectly good Hebrew alternative. Other very specifically Christian words include ἅγιος, *hagios* (or *agios* as read by the scribe), holy (transliterated as אֲגִיאֹשׁ);<sup>328</sup> and παράκλητος, the Holy Spirit (transliterated as פָּרָאַקְלִיטִישׁ).<sup>329</sup> But the most astonishing name of all is that of ερβῆθ, Erbēth (transliterated as אַוְרְבּוֹת),<sup>330</sup> which derives directly from the *PGM*, where it is frequently found amongst the *nomina magica* of Egyptian derivation relating to Typhon/Seth.

<sup>323</sup> *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* has been frequently published: in Venice in 1587; Cracow, 1596; Amsterdam, 1697; Zolkiev, 1802 and 1804; Polonnoye, 1814; Lemberg, 1862; and Jerusalem 1962. See p. 231 in the Jerusalem edition, and p. 80a in the Amsterdam edition.

<sup>324</sup> Venice is where the *Shalshelet ha-Qabbalah* was first published, and a city through which many Greek Hermetic and Hebrew Kabbalistic texts were first introduced to Western Europe.

<sup>325</sup> f. 37a.

<sup>326</sup> See folio 37a, cited by Rohrbacher-Sticker (1995), p. 132.

<sup>327</sup> F. 8b.

<sup>328</sup> F. 36a.

<sup>329</sup> F. 34b.

<sup>330</sup> F. 42a.

Of the more than 40 examples of direct transliteration from Latin or Italian, **וַיַּאֲ יַטְמֹן Via Itmon** (the Path of Metatron)<sup>331</sup> is one of the most interesting examples, although not mentioned by Rohrbacher-Sticker.<sup>332</sup> This phrase marks out the exit route from the Solomonic circle of protection, used by the magician to enter and exit the circle.<sup>333</sup>

Tetragrammaton is a descriptive Greek word meaning the four ('tetra') letter ('gramma') name of god. It was used by Greek writers to refer to the Hebrew **יְהֹוָה** IHVH.<sup>334</sup> If a Hebrew translator wished to translate a Greek or Latin text containing IHVH back into Hebrew they would automatically translate it as **יְהֹוָה** (or maybe even gloss it as **אֲדֹנָי** Adonai, out of respect). But this scribe assumed it was some foreign *nomen magicum* and simply transliterated the word into Hebrew as **תְּהִרְגְּמָתָעַן** TTRGRMTON, omitting some of the vowels as one would expect. The scribe was therefore completely unaware of the meaning of Tetragrammaton. This word alone is clear proof that the text is a translation from a Latin/Italian original not from a Hebrew original.

Finally, the part of the text which Gollancz appeared to think is most Jewish, the 26 prayers in the first book of the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*, have been confirmed as translations of prayers found in the Latin grimoire *Juratus*:

From this introduction [by Gollancz] it becomes pretty clear that one of the sources for this *melange* of magic must, indeed, have been the LIH [*Juratus*]. For instance, we are told that the text [of the first section] contains twenty-six prayers, of which some are in Hebrew, while others consist of 'Cabbalistic names,'<sup>335</sup> and when the editor goes on to quote and translate the first seven,<sup>336</sup> they turn out to be slightly adapted versions of the prayers in chapters LIII – LIX of the LIH [*Juratus*], thus leading us to surmise that the remaining nineteen are also borrowed from the LIH [*Juratus*], presumably [being] the nineteen prayers in chapters LX – LXXVIII.<sup>337</sup>

Each of the first prayers are prefaced with a name of god. Several of these, like Agla, El, and Elohim are standard Hebrew names of god used throughout the grimoire tradition, but others, like Heklaistai and Amphimaikon are obviously of Greek origin. Hedegård goes on to point out that some of the illustrations to be found in *Juratus* also occur in the *Sepher*

<sup>331</sup> See Schäfer (1981), pp. 395, 732 for a list of the 72 names of Metatron, including 'Itmon.' This name is usually listed as the 13<sup>th</sup>, but in *Sepher Ha-Heshek* it is number 35. This particular form of Metatron is credited with skill in helping with journeys to 'other places' by which is meant hidden dimensions.

<sup>332</sup> F. 66a.

<sup>333</sup> See Figure 19. 3 *Enoch* lists Itmon as one of the names of Metatron.

<sup>334</sup> In order to maintain the fiction that this manuscript was of solely Jewish origin, Gollancz resorts to an extraordinarily contorted and unbelievable explanation of the presence of the word 'Tetragrammaton' in transliteration. He suggests that the scribe must have been influenced by the Jewish pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi (1626-1676), to use the Greek version of **יְהֹוָה**. See Gollancz (1914), p. xxi. Zevi was a Rabbi who claimed to be the Jewish Messiah, but in the end converted to Islam, after leading his Jewish followers into the Ottoman Empire, where many also converted to Islam, and whose descendants still remain there.

<sup>335</sup> Gollancz (1914), p. v.

<sup>336</sup> Gollancz (1914), p. v – viii.

<sup>337</sup> Hedegård (2002), p. 20.

One is forced to conclude that, rather than being the source of the Latin and Italian versions of the *Key of Solomon*, the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh* is in fact derived from them, which is quite the reverse of the usual assumption. The claim of a Hebrew origin seems to be simply a part of the pseudepigraphical attribution to Solomon, designed by the scribe to impress the reader with its authenticity.

Although there is always a possibility that a Hebrew original of the *Key* might be found, this hope is not substantiated by the manuscripts of the *Mapteah Shelomoh*, despite Gollancz's belief to the contrary. If there ever was a Hebrew original, then it is still lost.

### *The Case for the Hebrew Roots of the Clavicula Salomonis*

It is common for Latin, French and English manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon* to claim Hebrew origins. Mathers' introduction to his edition of the *Key of Solomon* notes that manuscripts of the AC Text-Group are in French and entitled:

'The Key of Solomon King of the Hebrews, translated from the Hebrew language into Italian by Abraham Colorno, by the order of his most Serene Highness of Mantua; and recently put into French.'<sup>339</sup>

Even the *Lemegeton* ('Little Key of Solomon'), which is a completely different Solomonic grimoire, claims the same Jewish origin:

These Bookes were first found in the Chaldean & hebrew (sic) tongues at Hierusalem [Jerusalem], by a Jewish Rabbi, & by him put into the greeke (sic) Language, & from thence into y<sup>e</sup> Latine, as it is said &c.<sup>340</sup>

The mention of a Greek intermediary copy is very interesting, as it suggests that the text was transmitted via Greek. It is an easy presumption that anything written by Solomon must originally have been written in Hebrew. It is tempting to take this statement at face value and give the *Hygromanteia* a Jewish origin. Indeed it may turn out that the Greek *Hygromanteia* had such a Hebrew ancestor, but at this point that is far from certain.

Therefore let us now consider the case for the existence of one or more unknown Hebrew sources of the *Key of Solomon*. There are a number of manuscripts claiming to be translations of the *Clavicula Salomonis* from a Hebrew text apart from the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*. These range in date from 1580 to 1796:

- i) The translation by Abraham Colorno (circa 1580) into Italian for Vincenzo Gonzaga,

<sup>338</sup> Of course a case could be made for a common ancestor for both *Liber Juratus* and the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*, but that seems unnecessary as *Liber Juratus* (c. 1225) is so much older than the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh* (c. 1700).

<sup>339</sup> Mathers (1909), p. vii.

<sup>340</sup> Peterson (2001), p. 6.

Duke of Mantua, (1562-1612).<sup>341</sup> Colorno was a contemporary of Dee, who he might even have met at the court of Rudolph II.<sup>342</sup>

- ii) Colorno's translation of the Hebrew names in the *Key of Solomon* was criticised in a contemporary but undated letter written by "G. G. I. E. of Antwerp, Philosopher and Professor of Astrology." This presupposes that this professor also had access to a Hebrew original in Antwerp.
- iii) A second translation into Latin was produced soon after also for Gonzaga, by someone whose initials were 'F. L. C.' (maybe another Colorno?).<sup>343</sup> Gonzaga may have been unhappy with the first translation.
- iv) The translation into Latin by Rabbi Abognazar.<sup>344</sup> The subsequent translation of this manuscript from Latin into French was executed by M. Barault, Archevêque d'Arles. There are records of a Jaubert de Barrault,<sup>345</sup> Archbishop of Arles (from July 1630 - July 1643), suggesting a translation date of c.1640. At least one manuscript of this Text-Group is dated 1779.<sup>346</sup>
- v) The translation into French by Pierre Morissonneau, which dates from 1796 or before.<sup>347</sup> Two French manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon* dated 1796 purport on their title page to have been translated from Hebrew by Morissonneau 'Professeur des Langues Orientales, et Sectateur de Sages Cabalistes.'<sup>348</sup> Unfortunately no trace of either Professor Morissonneau or his Hebrew original has been found.

In every case it has not been possible to identify the Hebrew originals, and so their existence remains unproven, but the repeated and detailed attributions in these vernacular manuscripts make it very likely that a Hebrew original did indeed exist. It is not clear where any such Hebrew original might fit into the line of transmission. There are three possibilities, in descending order of probability, none of which can be verified until such a Hebrew text is found:

- i) It could still have been derived from Latin grimoires (as in the case of the *Maphteah Shelomoh*), or

---

<sup>341</sup> See Wellcome MS 4655, dated 1639 but claiming to be this original translation.

<sup>342</sup> All of the large AC Text-Group *Key of Solomon* stem from this.

<sup>343</sup> See Chatsworth MS 73D (16th century). Kirchenbibliotek Codex 31 is a later 18th century copy.

<sup>344</sup> Lansdowne MS 1203 is the best example. The identity of this Rabbi has raised some speculation. Mathers suggested that it might be a corruption of Rabbi 'Aben Ezra,' but this does not seem likely.

<sup>345</sup> *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, Vol. 4, pp. 92, 359; *Sacres Episcopaux a Rome de 1565 a 1662*, No. 280, p. 51.

<sup>346</sup> Harvard Houghton Typ MS 833.

<sup>347</sup> See Wellcome MS 4670, f. 1.

<sup>348</sup> Both translations published in Skinner & Rankine (2008).

- ii) It may have been derived direct from the *Hygromanteia*, or
- iii) It may predate both, and be the source of the *Hygromanteia*.

*The Black-handled Knife*

One interesting implement in the *Key of Solomon* which has claims of origin from both Greek and Jewish sides, is the ritual knife, specifically the black-handled knife. Such a knife, with its handle made of a goat's horn, has deep roots in Greek folk magic, but there is also an early usage of the black-handled knife in the sacrificial practices of Jewish religion.

The most interesting similarity however is the use of the black-handled knife in the *Hygromanteia* to draw a circle around a skryer who anoints his thumb with oil in which to see the vision being conjured by the magician:

Take a virgin boy [the skryer] and let it sit on a three legged stool. Tidy up your house, and let it be ready and clean. Trace the circle under [?around] the stool. Take a knife with a black handle, attached by three rivets, and thrust it into the circle. Scratch the boy's right fingernail and anoint it with fine oil... Then recite the following words near the boy's ear... Then ask the boy, and he will tell you what he sees.<sup>349</sup>

This unique combination of fingernail, oil and black-handled knife also features in Jewish evocatory skrying ritual, where the spirits thought to aid the process are referred to as the 'princes of the thumb.' This procedure is also described in an 11th century text by Rashi:<sup>350</sup>

He who is particular about the vessel (by means of which he divines), that he cannot do anything without the vessel that is required for that thing, as, for instance, the 'princes of the thumb', for which they require a knife, the handle of which is black.<sup>351</sup>

This technique of using a virgin boy to skry surrounded by a magic circle inscribed with a black-handled knife, whilst the magician evokes the spirits he wishes to communicate with, harks back to both Jewish practice and the practices of the *PGM*. However these evocatory skrying practices are the very ones which are not found in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, so this does not move forward the case for a Hebrew original of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

This leaves the god names, the 168 angel names, and the pentacles as the primary contribution of Jewish magic to the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but with the bulk of its content filtered through Greek intermediary sources. Skrying may have also been contributed to the *Hygromanteia* from Jewish sources, but this material did not pass onwards to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. With these many contributions of specific magical methods and equipment from Jewish sources, the balance of probabilities is that there was an as yet unknown Hebrew source which contributed some other material to both the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

---

<sup>349</sup> B2, f. 346.

<sup>350</sup> Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki (1040-1105), author of a well-known commentary on the *Talmud*.

<sup>351</sup> His commentary on *Sanhedrin* 67b.

### 3.4. Byzantine Solomonic Magical Texts

"This man is a magician because by means of his magic he set demons before us."

- *Martyrdom of Georgios*.<sup>352</sup>

The *Hygromanteia* is perhaps the most complete Byzantine Solomonic text. Extant manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* only date from 1440. Undoubtedly older manuscripts exist, and will hopefully turn up in libraries, possibly in Istanbul, Greece, Egypt, in due course.

There have been a number of scholarly opinions concerning the dating of this text, some dating it to as early as the 1st/2nd century CE. Scott Carroll, predominantly using just manuscript M, concluded that the author was probably a late 2nd century CE Jew from Alexandria.<sup>353</sup> Carroll's reasoning supporting this date is that "the pseudepigraphical style of the epistle was popular among the Jews from circa 200 BCE to 200 CE."<sup>354</sup> Given that so many magic texts from a wide range of dates right up to the 19th century were pseudepigraphical, this is hardly surprising, and so does not provide any particular support for either the period, or the religion, of the author.

I do however think it likely that the author was in fact from Alexandria, as demons such as Typhonbon,<sup>355</sup> Sarapide,<sup>356</sup> Apios,<sup>357</sup> Osthridie<sup>358</sup> (which derive from the Graeco-Egyptian gods Typhon, Sarapis, Apis and Osiris), appear amongst the list of demons, but apparently no demons derived from the deities of other regions or countries. Sarapis is very specifically an Alexandrian god. Pharos,<sup>359</sup> Agathoel<sup>360</sup> and Orphor<sup>361</sup> also appear, again confirming a very Alexandrian origin, demonstrating a possible connection back to the *PGM*.

Sadly another suggestion by Carroll that the Solomonic text referred to in the Gnostic text *On the Origin of the World* was the *Hygromanteia* is also not viable,<sup>362</sup> as that text instances 49 demons, whereas the *Hygromanteia* demonic hierarchy is resolutely a function of 168 (seven days x 24 hours) demons and angels, which leaves that line of reasoning also unavailable for date deduction.

---

<sup>352</sup> As quoted by Ritner (2008), p. 14.

<sup>353</sup> Carroll (1989), p. 95.

<sup>354</sup> Carroll (1989), p. 93.

<sup>355</sup> Attributed to Thursday the 1<sup>st</sup> hour, in manuscript A.

<sup>356</sup> Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> hour in B3.

<sup>357</sup> Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> hour in four MSS.

<sup>358</sup> Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> hour in M.

<sup>359</sup> Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> hour. The Pharos was the lighthouse at Alexandria.

<sup>360</sup> Friday 1<sup>st</sup> hour. Reminiscent of Agatha Daimon.

<sup>361</sup> Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> hour. The Rite of Ouphor is celebrated in *PGM XII*. 270-350.

<sup>362</sup> Carroll (1989), p. 96.

Carroll's other method of dating was to define the "trajectory of beliefs" about Solomon's reputed magical abilities, and then to slot in the present text according to the nature of this text's version of Solomon's abilities. There is however no certainty that his 'trajectory' accurately traces the evolution of either the text, or of Solomon's expanding reputation.

His dating has also been made on the basis of the passage *Solomon's Epistle* to his second son Rehoboam. That passage by itself might justifiably be dated to the same era as the *Testament of Solomon*, i.e. the 1st/2nd century CE. However mention of Solomon and the text of the *Epistle* is repeated at a number of junctures in the text, and it soon becomes clear that this passage is used as a sort of section divider rather than as an integral and useful part of his instruction in magic. It is therefore more likely to have been inserted at a much later date, by an editor attempting to firmly foist a famous name, in this case Solomon, onto his text. Carroll nevertheless concludes from this rather flimsy premise, that the latest probable date of composition was the end of the 2nd century CE.<sup>363</sup>

Far too much has been made of this repeated passage, to the point where some scholars have even attempted to use *Epistle to Rehoboam* as the title of the whole work.<sup>364</sup> Torijano makes this point rather too strenuously in his analysis of the contents of M.<sup>365</sup> He refers to the *Epistle* segment as "the pseudepigraphical unit: instructions of Solomon to his son Rehoboam."<sup>366</sup> In the course of his one-page contents analysis he lists this passage as a chapter head no less than eight times, while the actual chapter heads and content (angels, demons, perfumes, times, etc) take a back seat, or are relegated by him to subsection status below that of the recurrent "pseudepigraphical unit" chapter head.

It is, however, very clear that the "pseudepigraphical unit" is merely a section header and an attention-getter, and not the main thrust of the text. The 'separateness' of the "pseudepigraphical unit" is also reinforced by the inappropriate stress laid by it on the virtues "in herbs, in words and in stones..."<sup>367</sup> Sections on herbs and stones, if they were present, have now been largely lost to the text. The section on herbs (chapters 17 and 18) has become peripheral at best,<sup>368</sup> and no section on stones or beasts exists at all in any of the extant manuscripts. It is very clear therefore that "virtues in herbs, in words and in stones" does not adequately describe the current contents of any chapter of the *Hygromanteia*, and that therefore the "pseudepigraphical unit" is almost certainly grafted on by a later redactor,

---

<sup>363</sup> Carroll (1989), p. 96.

<sup>364</sup> I will address this issue at greater length later when considering the actual title of this work.

<sup>365</sup> Torijano (2002), p. 164.

<sup>366</sup> M, f. 240 as captioned on Torijano (2002), p. 164.

<sup>367</sup> M, f. 240.

<sup>368</sup> Chapter 17 only exists in one manuscript (M), and might therefore have been a later introduction.

from some other source. As Swartz has remarked, such passages often do not accurately reflect the contents of the text in question, but act as an all-purpose flourish to be grafted on to a text as a formulaic introduction:

A remarkable thing about these passages is how little they correspond to the contents of the books they introduce. Introductions and testimonies such as these are highly conventional and can serve any such text... Indeed, the introduction of *Sifer ha-Razim*, while clearly letting you know that you are getting a magical book, is not an accurate portrayal of its contents: [for example] No known recension of *Sefer ha-Razim* contains instructions for making an ark out of gopher-wood.<sup>369</sup>

Even if the “pseudepigraphical unit” dates from the 2nd century CE, its nature is one of an editor-introduced adornment and section header, rather than integral to the text, and so it is not at all a reliable guide to the dating of the whole work.

Mastrocinque dates the *Hygromanteia* as early as the 1st/2nd century CE, and so contemporaneous with the earliest Gnostic movements and many of the *PGM*:

A very rich stream, especially as regards the demonic and natural magic based on the properties of substances and living beings, is found in the many apocryphal works of Solomon, particularly...in the *Hygromanteia Salomonis* or *Letter from Solomon to [his son] Roboam [sic]*, a treatise on magic and astrology probably written between the first and early second centuries AD.<sup>370</sup>

I believe that Mastrocinque is following Carroll and makes the mistake of thinking of the *Hygromanteia Salomonis* as a text of Jewish extraction, simply because of the pseudoepigraphical ascription to Solomon,<sup>371</sup> when in fact the text and techniques are, as I shall demonstrate, firmly rooted in the Greek and Graeco-Egyptian tradition. The inclusion of ‘IAO Sabaoth’ and similar formula points merely to the early assimilation of these god names into the existing Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition (they occur frequently in the *PGM*), rather than indicating a direct lineage back to Jewish sources. To rephrase that, the occasional Hebraic god names are, I believe, an incidental inclusion rather than an indication of the rootstock of these magical practices.

The magical techniques found in the *Hygromanteia* are more refined, integrated and detailed than those found in the *PGM*, and have lost much of their Egyptian character, suggesting a longer period of gestation. Mastrocinque’s dating therefore seems far too early.

#### *The Case for a 7th century Dating of the Hygromanteia*

There are however specific clues in the text itself. The numbering of the days of the week

---

<sup>369</sup> Swartz (1994), p. 225.

<sup>370</sup> Mastrocinque (2005), p. 57.

<sup>371</sup> Solomon occurs as a synonym for magical proficiency throughout the eastern Mediterranean being part of Arabic, Jewish, Christian and other literatures. The tradition of Solomon being a magician is if anything stronger in the Arabic tradition than the Judaic tradition. His inclusion as the supposed author of the *Hygromanteia*, means no more than, for example, the 19th century attribution of a handbook on geomancy to the Emperor Napoleon.

(*Deutera*, *Tritē*, *Tetartē*, etc.) indicates a post-Constantine date (after 337 CE).<sup>372</sup> If one accepts that the text is a Greek text probably generated in Alexandria, then a dating after 337 CE and no later than 642 CE (the capture of Alexandria by the Muslims) would seem to be likely.<sup>373</sup>

Chapters 7 and 30 of the *Hygromanteia* incorporate (in both long and short versions)<sup>374</sup> material on electoral astrology which appears to be derived directly from a treatise on electoral astrology written by Hēliodōros,<sup>375</sup> a 4th century astrologer to the Emperor Valens.<sup>376</sup> This refines the dating to a post 5th century date, and so provides us with a useful starting point.

Marathakis points out that the chief demon of Wednesday is listed in a number of manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* as *Loutzipher* or *Loutzēpher*.<sup>377</sup> This is clearly a transliteration of the Latin Lucifer. It seems very out of place for a Greek to use 'Lucifer' rather than *Eōsphoros*, which is how that name appears in the *Septuagint*. That suggests that this word was incorporated after the 405 CE completion of the *Vulgate* by St Jerome, who spent considerable time in Byzantine cities, including Constantinople, and who claimed to have superseded the *Septuagint* by returning to Hebrew sources. Such a claim may, for a short period in the 5th-6th centuries, have given *Loutzipher* a greater appeal and credibility amongst Greek readers than *Eōsphoros*.<sup>378</sup>

Although David Pingree characterises the text as a Jewish Kabbalistic text, he usefully suggests that the angels of the hours in the *Hygromanteia* may date from the Geonic period (589-1038 CE):

The Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία [the *Hygromanteia*] rather seems to represent a relatively late stage in the development of Jewish Kabbalistic angelology and demonology... One would guess that such elaborate lists of angels and demons belong to the so-called geonic period (seventh to eleventh centuries) rather than to any earlier time, so that the original version of the Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία would have been contemporary with the majority of the pseudepigraphical magical texts written in Arabic in the Near East.<sup>379</sup>

I believe that Kabbalistic speculation had little to do with the *Hygromanteia*, or with the direct transmission of the techniques of Solomonic magic, as the *Hygromanteia* does not utilise any of the standard Kabbalistic cosmology (such as the Tree of Life), but from the time of the PGM, Jewish sources have provided many of the angel names, particularly those with the

---

<sup>372</sup> Of course it is possible this numbering might have been introduced by a later redactor.

<sup>373</sup> On this dating also see Ness (1999), p. 146.

<sup>374</sup> Chapter 7: manuscripts H, A, P3, B; chapter 30: manuscripts H and P. Also see chapter 2 in N.

<sup>375</sup> As proof of this, some of that text is incorporated directly into manuscript N.

<sup>376</sup> Barton (2006), p. 66. Hēliodōros revealed a plot against the emperor Valens in 371 CE.

<sup>377</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 75. Several centuries later SMS uses the same spelling but transliterated into Hebrew: Litzipher, לִצְפֵּר (f. 37b).

<sup>378</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 75.

<sup>379</sup> Pingree (1980), p. 10.

characteristic Hebrew suffix **‐יָאֵל** -iel. Although Pingree's remark was only tentative, it helps to move the focus of attention forward to the 7th century.

Even more significant than the dating, is Pingree's reference to the *Hygromanteia* by its earlier name Αποτελεσματικὴ πρᾶγματεία. As a result of following up this clue, I would like to tentatively suggest a specific 7th century candidate for authorship of the *Hygromanteia*, Stephanos of Alexandria, whose claim will be considered in detail later in this chapter.

Between 644 and 1172, I can find no trace of the *Hygromanteia*. Although the 12th century Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates<sup>380</sup> mentions a *Solomōnikē* in the possession of the magician Isaac Aaron in Constantinople in 1172, there is no guarantee that it was *this* *Solomōnikē*.<sup>381</sup>

#### *The Case for a 13th century Redaction of the Hygromanteia*

A number of clues point to the 13th century as a time of a major redaction of the *Hygromanteia*. One clue is that manuscripts M, N, B2 and V contain astrological material drawn from the works of Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Zanātī, a North African author of geomancy texts who lived in the late 12th or early 13th century.<sup>382</sup> As his works were only translated into Greek by the monk Arsenios in 1266 in Constantinople, this suggests a significant redaction of the *Hygromanteia* may have occurred in that city in the late 13th century. This does not yield us a totally reliable dating as the general astrological section (chapter 7) in which it occurs is not central to the method of the *Hygromanteia*, but may still be a good indication of a period of editorial activity.

A further clue is to be found in the text. The method for determining the best times for betting on chariot races is mentioned in only one version of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>383</sup> As these races were discontinued in Constantinople in 1204, we might conjecture that this version of the *Hygromanteia* was assembled before that date, or maybe soon after.<sup>384</sup>

I surmise therefore that the text of the *Hygromanteia* dates from the late 6th/early 7th century and that it was substantially redacted in the late 13th century.

#### *Title*

Scholars have felt free to put forward a number of possible titles for this work, as there is no consistency of titling from one manuscript to another. The identification of the title is

---

<sup>380</sup> Niketas Choniates (1155-1216) was the author of a Byzantine history, *Historia Nicetae Choniatae*.

<sup>381</sup> Greenfield (1995), p. 130.

<sup>382</sup> See Skinner, *Geomancy*, 2011, pp. 56-7, 63.

<sup>383</sup> B, f. 2.

<sup>384</sup> Rites for affecting the outcome of chariot races are however recorded in the PGM. See PGM III. 1-97 which also includes drawings of charioteers.

important because it has a considerable bearing upon how we look at the text and its history. Possible titles which are found in one or other of the extant manuscripts (or in an academic comment thereon) include:

*Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia,*  
*Astrological Treatise,*  
*Clavicula Salomonis,*  
*Epistle of Solomon to his Son Rehoboam,*  
*Hygromanteia,*  
*Instruction of Solomon,*  
*Little Key of the Entire Art of Hygromanteia,*  
*Magic Treatise,*  
*Magical Treatise,*  
*Magical Treatise of Solomon,*  
*Magical Treatise of Gathering and Directing the Spirits,*  
*Pragmatic Treatise,*  
*Prayer and Conjurations of the Prophet Solomon against Demons,*  
*Solomōnikē,*  
*Traité de Magie,*  
*Treatise on Celestial Influences.*

Probably the earliest title used for this work was *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia*,<sup>385</sup> a title referred to by Pingree, which is also the title of a work credited to Stephanos of Alexandria. In fact, *Apotelesmatikē* can be simply translated as '[astrological] results'.<sup>386</sup> So *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* most simply means the 'practical results of astrology.' Indeed in one sense, magic is the practical application of astrology. However this title has a confusing history, having been applied to several different texts over the last 2000 years, and *Apotelesmatikē* was a word which was sometimes just loosely applied to a book on astrology.

Claudius Ptolemy, the Greek astrologer (c.90-168 CE), wrote a very popular astrological treatise called the *Tetrabiblos* (Τετράβιβλος, literally 'The Four Books') which was also sometimes referred to as the *Apotelesmatika*, a title that was well known in the Middle Ages. It is therefore easy to see that any early reader coming across a manuscript entitled *Apotelesmatika* might automatically assume it was by 'Ptolemy the Greek'.<sup>387</sup> That false

<sup>385</sup> Marathakis suggests several translations of this phrase, including *Pragmatic Treatise*, *Treatise on Celestial Influences*, or the *Astrological Treatise*.

<sup>386</sup> Liddell and Scott translate τὰ ποτὲ ἀποτελεσμάτων προρρηθέντα in an astrological context as the 'result of certain positions of the stars on human destiny.'

<sup>387</sup> This knowledge is useful in another way, because it actually helps to solve a small mystery that has surrounded one of the often quoted authors of the *Key of Solomon*. That author is 'Ioh Grecis' or 'Toz

scription arose because both the *Tetrabiblos* and the *Hygromanteia* were referred to at one time or another as the *Apotelesmatika*.

I have shown that the “pseudepigraphical unit” is a grafted-on introduction with little relevance to the main text, so *The Epistle of Solomon to his Son Rehoboam* cannot ever have been the title of the whole work.

Strangely, Torijano proposes that the *Magical Treatise* formed a sub-section of the *Hygromanteia*, whereas in fact the *Hygromanteia* section follows the *Magical Treatise* section.<sup>388</sup> Torijano’s contention is not supported by the text which is very obviously a magical treatise, and not a work of water divination. From an analysis of the chapter contents it becomes apparent that it is only four chapters of the last section (chapters 49-52)<sup>389</sup> which could reasonably be called a *Hygromanteia*, as it deals with four different methods of water skrying. In fact *Hygromanteia* is simply the last subsection of the whole work, and therefore cannot be the main title.

It seems to me possible that at some point the manuscript had a list of contents at the beginning which might well have taken a form which reflects the current contents division, somewhat like this:

Astrological considerations	(chapters 2-10 and 30)
Conjurations	(chapters 11-13)
Equipment	(chapters 14-29)
Evocation procedure – first method	(chapters 31-39)
Evocation procedure – second method	(chapters 40-46)
<i>Hygromanteia</i>	(chapters 47-59)

The loss of most of the first page (a common fate among unbound manuscripts) might serve to have destroyed most of the contents page leaving just ‘*Hygromanteia*’ as a residual entry. If this were so, then it might explain why the title of only the last section has been mistakenly applied to the beginning of the whole manuscript. Even translating ‘*hygromanteia*’ as ‘water divination’ is an oversimplification, for the practices referred to are clearly those of evocatory

---

Graecus.’ This name is currently incorrectly interpreted as the Greek Thoth. The fact that he is also sometimes referred to as ‘Ptolomaeus Graecus’ or ‘Ptolomeus y<sup>e</sup> Greacian’ (in Sloane MS 3847) gives us the clue. In due course Ptolemy Graecus degenerated to ‘Toz Grec,’ the ‘z’ replacing a Latin contraction mark for the last part of ‘Ptolemaeus.’ Then ‘Toz’ rendered back into Greek as τοζ might easily give rise to a misreading of ‘Ioh’ if the reader thought it was Latin. This is probably the source of ‘Ioh Grecis’ which often appears as an author in *Key of Solomon* manuscripts. Additional MS 10862 has ‘Ioe Grecis’ and Mathers mistakenly suggests ‘Iohé Grecis.’ Even more deformed are ‘Iroe Grecis’ and ‘Iroë Grego.’ Trithemius is also very uncertain of the name and variously transcribes it: Torzigeus, Totz Graecus, Tozigeus and even Thoczgraecus. It is pretty clear that the author so referred to was Greek, which incidentally strengthens the case for the Greek roots of the *Key of Solomon*. I suggest that the identity of ‘Toz Grec’ or ‘Ioh Grecis,’ one of the supposed authors of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, was in fact Ptolemy the Greek astronomer. That false ascription arose because both the *Tetrabiblos* and the *Hygromanteia* were referred to in mediaeval times as the *Apotelesmatika*.

<sup>388</sup> See Torijano (2002), p. 211. Compare this with his contents list on p. 164, from which it has been strangely extracted from item 7.

<sup>389</sup> Utilising Marathakis’ chapter division proposed in Marathakis (2011), pp. 33-113.

skrying utilising water and a virgin boy as a medium, rather than simple divination.

Marathakis proved grammatically that *The Little Key*<sup>390</sup> of the entire *Art of Hygromanteia* is a later redaction.<sup>391</sup> He suggests instead *The Instruction of Solomon*, but this phrase depends upon the Rehoboam passage, and does not occur in any position where it could be construed as a title.

Delatte refers to the text in general terms as a *Traité de Magie*,<sup>392</sup> and Greenfield and Torijano follow his lead with an English equivalent, the *Magic Treatise* and *The Magical Treatise* respectively. These *generic* titles are appropriate, but are still not the precise title by which the text would have been known by its author, owners or redactors.

McCown astutely asserted that the *Hygromanteia* was a Greek form of the *Clavicula Salomonis* and therefore he refers to the Greek text by that same Latin title.<sup>393</sup> This is confirmed in manuscripts D and M which give the title as the *Little Key* (or *Clavicula* in Latin) to the text, probably in the sense of an epitome or summary of maybe a larger work. Manuscripts D and M are amongst the least complete of all the manuscripts we have, but it is clear that the Latin translations subsequently made must have come from a manuscript bearing the same or similar title, as D and M. This further helps support the direct line of transmission of material from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>394</sup> But, having said that, the later Latin title (*Clavicula*) is not a correct or suitable title for the original Greek text.

The title *Solomōnikē* has also been applied to this text, but this word is a generic description of Greek texts generally attributed to Solomon, rather than a discrete title in its own right.

Only one manuscript, A2, has the title *Prayer and Conjurations of the prophet Solomon against Demons*. The fact that Solomon is characterised as a prophet rather than a king, and the conjurations are described as 'prayers' directed 'against' demons, strongly suggests a later Christian interpolation. Added to that, manuscript A2 is of relatively recent date (1833), very corrupt, and very short (only 11 folios), and therefore not a very reliable witness. All of which suggests that this title is not the original one.

Finally, the most appropriate and the correct title for the whole text in its present form is imbedded, logically enough, in the *incipit* of the longest manuscript H,<sup>395</sup> which reads 'here begins *The Magical Treatise of Gathering and Directing the Spirits*.' Indeed, the getting and

---

<sup>390</sup> Or 'kleidon.'

<sup>391</sup> This is a tempting title as it looks forward to the English *Key of Solomon*.

<sup>392</sup> Delatte (1927-39), p. 397.

<sup>393</sup> McCown (1922), p. 14.

<sup>394</sup> Mastrocicque refers to it using a Greek-Latin combination, *Hygromanteia Salomonis*.

<sup>395</sup> As the *incipit* does not appear till the first line of folio 18v, just before the *Epistle of Solomon to Rehoboam*, it is understandable that scholars have overlooked it.

directing of spirits is the main purpose of this and all subsequent grimoires.<sup>396</sup>

Despite the fact that the original title of the text was probably the *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia*, the text in its present form should most properly be called *The Magical Treatise of Gathering and Directing the Spirits*, or *Magical Treatise* for short. I will however continue to refer to it as the *Hygromanteia* for reasons of historical consistency. As we have seen, this book contains a sub-section whose title, *Hygromanteia*, has mistakenly become the title for the whole work.

### *Manuscripts*

There are 20 extant manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, of these H is the most complete. They are listed in full in the Bibliography, and in Appendix 3<sup>397</sup> which tabulates the 12 manuscripts most frequently utilised in the present thesis, with the whereabouts of their printed Greek transcriptions and partial English translations.<sup>398</sup>

The most complete manuscript with regard to the magical sections, and one of the oldest, is manuscript H in the British Library.<sup>399</sup> This shows a quite detailed structure as laid out in Table 01. The view that the *Hygromanteia* is simply a floating compendium of techniques is only valid if there were no visible overall consistent sequential technique: in other words, if the text were simply a collection of separate recipes, as are many magic manuscripts. However this text is not a collection of variegated recipes. It has a very definite structure, divided into timing and astrological considerations; preparation of participants; consecration of equipment; two chronologically sequenced set of invocations and evocations; and finally a section on ritual skrying. The different versions of the manuscript have come about as the result of the loss/accretion of some of these parts around a core structure, due to scribal selection over time.

The oldest manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* (B2: Bononiensis MS 3632 in the University Library of Bologna) dates from 1440. This manuscript is particularly beautiful, clear and perfectly preserved as part of a much larger collection deceptively bound up with the spine label of just one of its component texts, *Dioscorides*. Apart from making its location difficult, this is an example of how a collection of manuscripts, particularly a large one, can so easily end up with a title which only applies to part of the manuscripts bound together, giving rise

---

<sup>396</sup> It is significant that H is the most complete manuscript as it contains more of the 59 chapters than any other manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*. At one point this manuscript must have ended after chapter 43, as the last line of this chapter (f. 37) is “The end of the Art of Directing the Demons,” confirming again the correct title.

<sup>397</sup> Full bibliographic details of these manuscripts will be found in Marathakis (2011), pp. 18-32.

<sup>398</sup> The remaining eight manuscripts have been omitted due to: their destruction by fire (T); inaccessibility (M4, P3, P4); irrelevance (M3, V2 and possibly A2); confused state and late 19th century date (B3).

<sup>399</sup> Harley MS 5596. See Appendix 3 for detailed chapter counts.

to the possibly of mis-cataloguing.

Of the 20 extant manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, it is possible to identify the author or copyist in five cases, and locate the place of composition also in five cases (not always the same texts). Of the texts found bound with each manuscript, apart from general astrological texts, the most popular 'ride along' texts were the *Testament of Solomon* and the *Book of Wisdom of Apollonius* or βίβλος Σοφίας, *Biblos Sophias*. The connection with the *Testament of Solomon* is significant because the *Testament* stresses Solomon's role in evoking and binding demons, which is clearly what the *Hygromanteia* is primarily concerned with rather than water divination. There are also similarities in method between these two texts (for example the use of the thwarting angels method<sup>400</sup>) and they share a number of similar demon names (see Table 06).<sup>401</sup>

The other 'ride along' text, the *Book of Wisdom of Apollonius*, has been dated by Dzielska to no earlier than the late 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>402</sup> It is therefore contemporaneous with the *Hygromanteia*, if my estimated composition of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century turns out to be correct.<sup>403</sup>

#### *The Term 'Hygromanteia'*

In this context, it is wrong to only translate '*hygromanteia*' as 'water divining' despite the literal interpretation of its constituent syllables, as found in Liddell and Scott and other Greek dictionaries. In the mediaeval Greek context *hygromanteia* was always understood as a type of evocation or nigromancy. Later when 'necromancy' became confused with nigromancy, necromancy was also confused with hygromancy.<sup>404</sup>

When hygromantic texts first passed into Latin, the term was still understood correctly. Even considerably later in 1559, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*<sup>405</sup> banned "Hydromán[tiæ] vel Necromá[n]tiæ" demonstrating that even at that point the Inquisition thought that the two terms were more or less interchangeable. It was only scholars who, copying Isidore of Seville, in his quest for a neat fourfold symmetrical classification, decided that hydromancy must have formed one of the 'four elemental forms of divination.'

---

<sup>400</sup> See chapter 5.1.1.

<sup>401</sup> The *Book of Wisdom of Apollonius* is related to the work on talismans by Belinus (the Arabic form of Apollonius' name).

<sup>402</sup> Dzielska (1986), pp. 32-38, 185.

<sup>403</sup> I have not been able to check it, but this book may also be even more significant if its talismans are in some way connected with the later pentacles of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>404</sup> It is a great pity that *nigromancy* and *necromancy* became confused, as the latter might, with some benefit to clarity, have retained its restricted definition of evocation of the dead rather than evocation of spirits, as the prefix 'necro-' clearly indicates.

<sup>405</sup> *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, Rome, 1559, issued by Pope Pius IV. A later issue in 1564 was published in Colona under Pope Alexander VII.

In fact it was only geomancy (earth divination) that fitted that bill,<sup>406</sup> as aeromancy and pyromancy were the products of the same scholars' imagination, rather than *real* techniques with a methodology and ongoing history of actual practical use.<sup>407</sup> As Johnston observes:

Isidore of Seville's neat, encyclopedic distinctions among types of divination probably never held true in the real world of Greece and Rome [or mediaeval Europe].<sup>408</sup>

'Hygromancy' as used in the *Hygromanteia* would have been understood by its readers in the same sense as the Inquisition understood it, that is, as equivalent to *Necromantiae*, and hence equivalent to nigromancy, and not simply one of the 'four elemental divinations' (of which at least two were fictional artificial constructs). Greenfield, with whom I am otherwise in agreement over most things, suggests as a way of getting around this impasse, that originally the demon may have been evoked into a basin of water, and that this (central) instrument has then been dropped from the ritual.<sup>409</sup> I find that a contrived and highly unlikely explanation.

An alternative derivation of hygromancy proposed in my edition of the *Key of Solomon*<sup>410</sup> is more all-embracing. The background is succinctly summarised by Marathakis:

A third theory has been proposed by Skinner and Rankine. According to them, the word *Hygromanteia* does not mean water divination in this context, but applies to the ancient practice of constraining demons in *hydriai*, that is to say urns, water jars or metallic water vessels. This practice was frequently linked with Solomon, not only in the *Testament*, but also in the writings of the 4th century Byzantine historian Zosimus and in a 6th century account of Jerusalem recorded in the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*. This is another plausible theory, since in some manuscripts an occult technique is cited with the aim of imprisoning spirits in bottles, and this technique is named *Gasteromanteia*, that is to say "bottle divination."<sup>411</sup>

The use of the word *Gasteromanteia* to indicate the active imprisonment of spirits (with no hint of divination) in chapter 44 of the *Hygromanteia*, adds further weight to the widening of the range of meaning for *-manteia* beyond that of simple divination.

The word '*hydria*' in both Greek and Latin means an 'urn' or 'water jar.' The passage from the 6th century *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*<sup>412</sup> mentioned above describes the instruments of spirit imprisonment which still existed at that time in the apse of the Martyrium of Constantine in Jerusalem:

*In circuitu duodecim columnae marmoreae (omnino incredibile), super ipsas columnas hydriae argenteae*

---

<sup>406</sup> See Skinner, *Geomancy* (2011).

<sup>407</sup> This excludes New Age interpretations of pyromancy, which simply involve staring into a flame.

<sup>408</sup> Johnston (2008), p. 148.

<sup>409</sup> Greenfield (1988), p. 160.

<sup>410</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008).

<sup>411</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 35.

<sup>412</sup> A traveller's account of Jerusalem recorded in 530 CE in the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* in Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Vienna, 1893.

*duodecim, ubi sigillavit Salomon daemones.*<sup>413</sup>

The Latin text specifically refers to '*hydriae argenteae*' or 'silver water vessels' not just 'urns.' Silver, like brass and electrum was credited with the property of being able to restrain spirits.

The 4th century Byzantine historian, Zosimus, who lived in Constantinople, mentioned the tradition that urns containing demons were secreted below the platform of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. He states that the technique of imprisoning demons in *hydriai* used by Solomon was also known in Egypt:

Among the Egyptians, there is a book called *The Seven Heavens*, attributed to Solomon, [and used] against the demons; but it is not correct (to say) that it is by Solomon, since these bottles had been brought at another time to our [Egyptian] priests; [as] that is what the language employed to denote them makes one suppose, because the expression 'bottle of Solomon' is a Hebrew expression. At any moment, the great [High] priest of Jerusalem gets them, according to the plain sense, from the lower abyss [below the Temple] of Jerusalem ...All or almost all agree concerning the function of the bottles [was] directed against the demons. The bottles acted [against demons] like the prayer and the nine letters [talismans] written by Solomon: the demons cannot withstand them.<sup>414</sup>

Zosimus<sup>415</sup> goes on to explain the exact material used to make these urns or bottles:

The seven bottles in which Solomon shut up the demons were made of electrum. It is necessary to believe, in this respect, the Jewish writings about the demons. The altered book that we possess and that is entitled *The Seven Heavens* contains the following... The angel ordered Solomon to make these bottles.... The wise Solomon knows how to summon the demons; he gives a formula of conjuration and mentions the electrum, that is, the bottles of electrum, on the surface of which he wrote this formula...<sup>416</sup>

The *hydriai* were also mentioned in a letter dated August 1507 from the Abbot Trithemius of Würzburg to his colleague Johann Virdung,<sup>417</sup> a professor at the university of Heidelberg, and mathematician and court astrologer to the Elector Palatine.<sup>418</sup> In it he comments on the various magical abilities of Georg Sabellicus, a magician who claimed to be the 'second Faustus':<sup>419</sup>

Magister Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus iunior, fons necromanticorum, astrologus, magus secundus, chiromanticus, agromanticus, pyromanticus, in hydr[i]a arte secundus.<sup>420</sup>

Although Trithemius was not at all supportive of Sabellicus, and thought him a rogue, he was happy to record Sabellicus' claim that he was the fountainhead of knowledge about

<sup>413</sup> "In a circle there are twelve columns made of marble (absolutely incredible), on top of the same columns there are twelve water vessels made of silver, where Solomon sealed the demons..."

<sup>414</sup> Syriac Zosimus Book XII, quoted by Berthelot, in *La Chimie*, 2:264-265, quoted by Torijano (2002), p. 180.

<sup>415</sup> Zosimus was a pagan Byzantine historian living in Constantinople (fl. 491-518).

<sup>416</sup> Berthelot, *La Chimie* quoted by Torijano (2002), p. 183.

<sup>417</sup> Virdung was a successful astrologer (1463-1538). He was educated in Krakow and Leipzig

<sup>418</sup> Dated 20 August 1507.

<sup>419</sup> The first Faustus was of course Simon Magus, who sometimes used the name Faustus.

<sup>420</sup> "Master George Sabellicus, Faustus junior, fountain [of the knowledge] of necromancers, astrologer, magician second [grade], [practitioner of] chiromancy, agromancy, pyromancy, and second [in reputation] in the art of [using] the *hydria*." Trithemius' letter to Virdung, Würzburg, 20 August 1507, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex Pal. Lat. 730, ff. 174-175.

necromancy (for which read 'nigromancy') and astrology, but also that he was second (in reputation) in the art of the *hydria*.

I propose, despite the modern literal dictionary meaning of *-manteia*, that *hygromanteia* (and *hydromanteia*)<sup>421</sup> can also refer to an evocatory process, which at one point used *hydriai*, or silver/electrum water vases, as a spirit restraining mechanism.

A confirmation that not only were the spirits restrained by *ὑδρία*, *hydria*, but could also be released when the *hydria* were disturbed, is to be found in the Valentinian Gnostic *Testimony of Truth*:<sup>422</sup>

[Others] have [demons] dwelling with them [as did] David the king. He is the one who laid the foundation of Jerusalem; and his son Solomon, whom he begat in [adultery], is the one who built Jerusalem by means of the demons, because he received [power]. When he [had finished building, he imprisoned] the demons [in the temple]. He [placed them] into seven [waterpots]. They remained] a long [time in] the [waterpots], abandoned [there]. When the Romans [went] up to [Jerusalem] they discovered [the] waterpots, [and immediately] the [demons] ran out of the waterpots as those who escape from prison. And the waterpots [remained] pure (thereafter). [And] since those days, [they<sup>423</sup> dwell] with men who are [in] ignorance, and [they have remained upon] the earth.<sup>424</sup>

Admittedly some of Robinson's bracketed reconstructions are debatable, but this is just one of several re-tellings of that particular incident. Another possibly 4<sup>th</sup> century source suggests that Solomon's method of spirit entrapment involved the use of bronze jars, rather than silver/electrum:

I adjure you, the 960 spirits of the evil one's congregation, who swore to King Solomon, when he shut you up in the bronze jars by the archangel Gabriel, who has power over the evil...

I adjure you by the 1999 names who swore to King Solomon; when we hear the name of the Lord Sabaoth, we will flee from those. Solomon, who received wisdom from God, shut them up in bronze jars and sealed them with the name of God.<sup>425</sup>

It is therefore not a big leap to associate the imprisoning of spirits using urns or bottles with the procedures outlined in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>426</sup> See chapter 5.3.2, Figure 31 and Figure 32 for details of how this practice evolved in the later Latin Solomonic grimoires.

<sup>421</sup> Carroll's suggestion that the difference between *hydromancy* and *hygromancy* may have been related to the amount of water used is quite extraordinary to say the least, as is his imaginative but quite unlikely description of the method of evocation using hygromancy: "The magician stirred water until a demon appeared on the water's surface. The demon was then forced to work for the magician." In the same passage, he also rather carelessly refers to Harleianus MS 5596 as 'Codex Harleianus 556.' See Carroll (1989), pp. 91-92, 100.

<sup>422</sup> Dating from 140-180 CE.

<sup>423</sup> The demons.

<sup>424</sup> *Testimony of Truth*, 70 in Robinson (1990), p. 458. This is also quoted in Torijano (2002), p.181 but with Robinson's reconstructions taken into the text.

<sup>425</sup> MS Parisinus Graecus 2316 as translated in Torijano (2002), p. 182.

<sup>426</sup> H, f. 37; A, f. 26

### *Owners of Manuscripts of the Hygromanteia*

As Greenfield has pointed out,<sup>427</sup> the Byzantine view of magic generally held by the populace differed considerably from the view of the Church. It was amongst the well educated that the handbooks of magic were to be found. A small window on the owners of such manuscripts may be opened on the 14th century in Constantinople, which demonstrates not only the prevalence of handbooks on magic, but also that they were owned by pious monks, physicians and members of the higher echelons of society and the ruling classes.

In 1370 a trial began in Sancta Sophia, before the Synod of Constantinople, of Theodosius Phoudoulis who was accused of practising magic, and of possessing 'infamous books.' The trial soon enveloped a large group of people, as the origin of these books unfolded. Phoudoulis confessed that he had received the books from Syropoulos who in turn had received them from one Gabrielopoulos, described later as "a pious monk" and in all probability also a doctor. It was in the home of the latter that a book by Kyranides,<sup>428</sup> and "a booklet full of demonic invocations, spells and [demon] names" by Demetrios Chloros, a priest, physician and magician, was also found.<sup>429</sup> Chloros was also a secretary to the Patriarch, and a person of no mean standing in the community, in fact all three seem to be typical practitioners of learned magic. Chloros initially tried to hide the magic behind legitimate medicine, but when the court read the texts concerned, they had no hesitation in convicting all three. A later hearing said of Chloros that he "did not profess the Christian faith, but the doctrines of the Hellenes [i.e. ancient pagan Greeks] and worshipped demons." However the very mild punishment for Chloros was simply banishment to a monastery, which was not really a great hardship for an ex-priest. So it could be said that the attitude of the Church to learned ritual magic was not very stern in that period. It is likely that the popular view was even more relaxed.<sup>430</sup>

The stress in many of these trials was upon books, confirming that as practitioners of learned magic, the books of procedures and invocations, the grimoires, were most important. Any of the above named magicians might well have had their own copy of the *Hygromanteia*. Gabrielopoulos, for example:

...is said to have kept his books "like pearls" in safe-boxes (σενδουκίοις). At an earlier date a book of magic found in the possession of an individual of the influential, and apparently corrupt, court interpreter Isaac Aaron was hidden in an imitation tortoise shell.<sup>431</sup>

---

<sup>427</sup> Greenfield (1988), pp. 1-6.

<sup>428</sup> *Kyranides*, a book on astral magic, which involved the creation of talismans at very specific astrologically determined times.

<sup>429</sup> See Gilly and van Heertum (eds.) (2002), pp. 77-78.

<sup>430</sup> Rigo (2002), pp. 77-79.

<sup>431</sup> Choniates Χρονικὴ Διήγησις, p. 146; II, pp. 45-46, quoted by Greenfield (1988), p. 155.

Yet another notable practitioner of magic from this decade was John Abramios, an astronomer, astrologer, defrocked priest, and possibly also a doctor. Pingree refers to the 'Astrological School of John Abramios' in one of his essays, thus pointing up Abramios' importance to that discipline, and several of his manuscripts survive to the present day.<sup>432</sup>

Another later but important figure is Giorgios Midiates (fl. 1462) who copied a collection of magical material, including the important *Testament of Solomon*. He also actually wrote one of the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, and so is very well qualified to comment on it.<sup>433</sup>

Choniates told the story of the magician Isaac Aaron in his history of the time of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1118-1180).<sup>434</sup> Aaron used a book allegedly by Solomon which had invocations which if read aloud "could cause legions of demons to appear," in one case to drive out the occupants of a bath-house with whom he had a violent disagreement.<sup>435</sup>

Another story is told by Choniates about the magician Michael Sikidites<sup>436</sup> who cast an enchantment over a boatman to the great amusement of his colleagues:

Sikidites was an imperial secretary, and was standing with a group of people on a terrace of the Great [Topkapi] Palace overlooking the Sea of Marmara. He bet them that he could make the boatman stand up and smash all the tiles in his cargo; after they agreed, the boatman stood up and reduced the tiles to fragments with his oar, while the onlookers were helpless with laughter. He later said that he had seen a huge snake on the tiles, staring at him and menacing him with open jaws.<sup>437</sup>

It is tempting to suggest that this event may have happened on a Saturday morning in the third hour of Mars<sup>438</sup> which is characterised by the *Hygromanteia* as an hour "for setting up a [Martial] enchantment."<sup>439</sup> Exact timing was one of the hallmarks of the *Hygromanteia* and indeed of all Solomonic ritual magic.

Punishment for causing damage by magic was sometimes blinding, and that punishment apparently eventually overtook Sikidites, but for a different offence.<sup>440</sup> So it would seem (from the instances on the previous page) that the civil authorities in this period treated magic much more harshly than the religious authorities, although maybe that latitude was only extended to priests and monks.

---

<sup>432</sup> Examples of Abramios' manuscripts survive as MS Marc. Gr. Cl. V. 13 (1221), dating from 1376, contains medical material, part of the *Kyranides*, and some Hermetic tracts (*Ad Asclepium*). MS Laurentian XXVIII, 16, compiled by him in 1381-2 contains mainly astrological texts.

<sup>433</sup> MS Parisinus Gr. 2419 in 1462.

<sup>434</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, pp. 220-221. In 1617 Michael Maier further confirmed that Aaron Isaac has used the *Clavicula Salomonis*, referring to the *Hygromanteia* by its later Latin name.

<sup>435</sup> Magdalino and Mavroudi (2006), pp. 148-149.

<sup>436</sup> Said by some scholars to be, in fact, Michael Glykas.

<sup>437</sup> Choniates, *Panoplia Dogmatike*, as quoted by Magdalino and Mavroudi (2006), p. 149.

<sup>438</sup> A planet associated with violent destruction.

<sup>439</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 48.

<sup>440</sup> Another case of punishment by blinding was that of Skleros Seth who used magic to seduce an unmarried girl, a far more serious crime then than now.

### *The Author of the Hygromanteia*

Given that Solomon was universally accounted a magician in the eastern Mediterranean, the author could have *in theory* been a Jew, Muslim, Christian or a Neoplatonic/pagan Greek. The presence of “Sabbath” instead of Saturday, and “preparation” for Friday, does suggest a Jewish scribe, as does the typical angel and demon names ending in -iel. The absence of ‘Jesus’ or any other clearly Christian references from the New Testament probably rules out a Christian author, despite Sunday being described as “the Lord’s Day,” as that label might have arisen from the work of a later Byzantine copyist. Any other Christian influences have only been added in much later, and in a rather awkward manner,<sup>441</sup> making it certain that the author was not a Christian.

From the naming of the weekdays, where Sunday is named *Kyriakē* (= the Lord’s day)<sup>442</sup> but Saturday is called *Sabbaton* (= the Sabbath), and Friday is *Paraskeuē* (= the ‘Preparation’ for the Sabbath),<sup>443</sup> it is not unreasonable to suggest that at least one owner was a Greek-speaking Jew, but this does not necessarily indicate a Jewish origin for the whole *Hygromanteia*, as these weekday names are still used by modern (Christian) Greeks today.<sup>444</sup>

Items such as the formula “the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob” suggest a Jewish source, but seem to distance the speaker from that tradition. A Jew invoking his own god in this fashion seems like a Christian invoking Jesus as “the God of St Peter.” Although the author was not necessarily Jewish, he almost certainly lived in a Greek environment influenced by Judaism, such as Alexandria or Constantinople, and was Greek educated.

I have no quarrel with the place of origin being Alexandria. Goodenough is of the opinion<sup>445</sup> that the *Hygromanteia* is a Jewish adaptation of pagan material. This is certainly a possibility, and fits with my suggestion of a possible author.<sup>446</sup>

I would like to suggest a specific candidate for authorship: Stephanos of Alexandria (c. 581 – c. 641 CE), a Neoplatonist philosopher and scientist, probably born in Athens, but residing in Alexandria before migrating to Constantinople on the express invitation of the Emperor Heraclius. I realise this will be contentious, but my reasons are as follows:

---

<sup>441</sup> See chapter 55 of the *Hygromanteia*: “Christ Nazareth, the King of the Jews.”

<sup>442</sup> Suggesting a Christian scribe.

<sup>443</sup> Suggesting a Jewish scribe.

<sup>444</sup> As posited in Torijano (2002), p.166.

<sup>445</sup> On the basis of the very limited manuscript M.

<sup>446</sup> There were also Jewish magicians at the Byzantine court such as Isaac Aaron, and the *Hygromanteia* could well have been the work of one of them.

1. Stephanos was an acknowledged expert in alchemy,<sup>447</sup> astrology and 'mathematics.' The latter term was often a polite synonym for magic.
2. Stephanos moved from Alexandria to Constantinople in 617 CE, following precisely the path of the transmission of magical techniques which are here being established.<sup>448</sup>
3. The 11th/12th century Byzantine historian Georgios Kedrenos reported that Stephanos wrote an *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia*.<sup>449</sup> The *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* that he wrote has usually been identified by modern scholars as an astrological text with the same name as the text here under discussion, but relating to the horoscope of Islam.<sup>450</sup> However, this modern identification is only tentative, and that specific *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* authored by Stephanos, might instead have been the present text under its original title.

Several scholars have agreed that the Usener text<sup>451</sup> referred to could not have been by Stephanos, as it shows a detailed knowledge of the course of Islam up until the end of the 8th century,<sup>452</sup> and therefore must have been by a later author.

3. Abu Ma'shar listed in his 9th century catalogue of astrological books by Greek writers, an *Apotelesmatikē* by Stephanos of Alexandria, which might have been simply a book on astrology, or may have been the present text under discussion.

Therefore there is no compelling reason why the particular *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* mentioned by either Abu Ma'shar or Kedrenos as authored by Stephanos could not in fact have been the *Hygromanteia* under its earlier name.

5. The electoral astrology chapters (7 and 30) in the *Hygromanteia* clearly derive from Hēliodōros. Olympiodorus is recorded as having specifically lectured on Hēliodōros, and Olympiodorus was known to have been Stephanos' teacher. Therefore the inclusion of Hēliodōros' material in the *Hygromanteia* is very suggestive.<sup>453</sup>

---

<sup>447</sup> He was the author of *On the Great and Sacred Art of Making Gold*. See Papathanassiou (2006).

<sup>448</sup> An interesting sidelight is that there was a proliferation of a large number of high quality magical amulets (in the form of bronze pendants and rings) mass produced in Constantinople in that century. After which, with the exception of womb amulets, there was never again such an upsurge in magical amulet production in the middle and late Byzantine periods. See Spier (2006), p. 31.

<sup>449</sup> See Usener (1914), pp. 266–289.

<sup>450</sup> The interrogation concerning Muhammad and the subsequent career of Islam mentioned in Vaticanus Gr. 1056 is falsely attributed to Stephanos, and therefore the dating derived from this incident is also incorrect. See Pingree (1989), p. 236.

<sup>451</sup> Usener (1914), pp. 247–322.

<sup>452</sup> A counter argument to that suggests that the later 8th century events were interpolated by an editor living a century after Stephanos, but that is unlikely.

<sup>453</sup> See chapters 7, 30 and 58.

6. Stephanos' imperial patron and friend, the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641), was well known to be intensely interested in alchemy, astrology and magic.<sup>454</sup> Stephanos relocated from Alexandria to Constantinople at the bidding of this Emperor, and would have been expected to bring such texts with him.

Heraclius was eager to promote classical Greek learning, and rather like Rudolph II of Bohemia, acted as a patron for magicians, astrologers and alchemists:

From the seventh century onwards, alchemy seems to have been perfectly well integrated into the official learning, judging by the vogue it apparently enjoyed under Heraclius.<sup>455</sup>

Stephanos is known to have written an alchemical work.<sup>456</sup>

7. Stephanos was a Neoplatonic Greek, which fits well with the absence of explicit Christian references, and his usage of the Greek gods to designate the days of the week in the *Hygromanteia*.
8. Stephanos was very familiar with katarchic astrology, and lectured on Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*. This agrees with the great stress laid upon the importance of selecting the correct hour and day for specific magical operations in the *Hygromanteia* (also in the *PGM*).
9. In Constantinople, Stephanos is reported to have taught the *quadrivium*, as well as giving astrological advice to the Emperor.<sup>457</sup> Westerink<sup>458</sup> maintains that in the 6th century astrology was still an important part of the *quadrivium*, and Alexandria was still seen as the fountainhead of all astrological and magical knowledge.

There has been some reluctance to accept that Stephanos was the author of even an alchemic treatise, and therefore there will undoubtedly be even more reluctance to accept his possible authorship of the *Hygromanteia*. Papathanassiou sums up the reluctance of scholars to accept that well known philosophers of the ancient world could ever have been interested in subjects like magic, alchemy or astrology:

The hesitation of modern scholars to accept Stephanos' alchemical and astrological activities as an integral part of his scholarly profile is not rooted in a proper grasp of seventh-century reality; rather, it is the result of anachronistically applying modern criteria in order to understand the organisation and transmission of knowledge during a much earlier and very

---

<sup>454</sup> He took astrology very seriously, as he even filled in a very large water cistern near his palace to circumvent Stephanos' prediction that he would die from drowning. He introduced Greek as the official language of the Eastern Empire, a language most of its citizens already spoke, replacing Latin as the Imperial language in 619/620 CE.

<sup>455</sup> Mertens (2006), p. 228.

<sup>456</sup> *On the Great and Sacred Art of Making Gold*. See Papathanassiou (2006), p. 170.

<sup>457</sup> Details of his interest in alchemy, plus an examination of an alternative *Apotelesmatike Pragmateia* will be found in Papathanassiou (2006), pp. 163-203.

<sup>458</sup> Westerink, (1971), pp. 18-21.

different historical period than our own.<sup>459</sup>

It seems possible that at least one of the above books under the title *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* by Stephanos of Alexandria may indeed have been an early version of the *Hygromanteia*, which is why that earlier title is still preserved in H, the most complete version of the *Hygromanteia*.

Pingree argued that the author of the *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* (if it was not Stephanos) was at least very well informed about Stephanos' work on Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, while Papathanassiou argues that at least the introduction of one *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* goes back to a genuine work by Stephanos.

I therefore suggest that the *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* by Stephanos might have been either an early version or a forerunner of the *Hygromanteia*, and that this particular *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* was not the one with the Islamic horoscope translated by Usener.<sup>460</sup>

I would be happy to have this attribution refuted, but only if a better candidate for the authorship of the *Hygromanteia* can be discovered.

#### *Analysis of the Contents of the Hygromanteia*

Just as the *PGM* has been analysed in terms of its contents, so it is necessary to analyse the exact magical techniques that make up the *Hygromanteia*, before looking at its place in the transmission of learned Solomonic magic. Torijano provides a detailed breakdown of the constituent parts of just one manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>461</sup> In doing so he emphasises what he calls "the pseudepigraphical unit" which recounts the alleged conversation between Solomon and his son Rehoboam. This passage recurs no less than eight times, like a refrain, and is used like a chorus or section divider. As already suggested, this repeated emphasis looks very like a later introduction, added to justify the antiquity and its putative Jewish Solomonic roots.<sup>462</sup> It has also acted as justification for some scholars attempting the unlikely task of including this magical text amongst collections of *Old Testament* pseudepigraphical scriptures, by using the title *Epistle to Rehoboam*.<sup>463</sup>

#### *Early Structure of the Hygromanteia*

Although it would seem more logical to associate the chapters (17 and 18) on planetary and

---

<sup>459</sup> Papathanassiou (2006), p. 202.

<sup>460</sup> Usener (1914), pp. 247-322.

<sup>461</sup> Torijano (2002), pp. 164, 210-211. The manuscript he uses to derive this division is M. His description of the divisions is strangely set out on two widely separated pages, using two different numbering schemes. Compare p. 164 with p. 210-211. These two partial lists intersect in a very unsatisfactory manner.

<sup>462</sup> In fact if this is removed there is little of a Jewish nature in the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>463</sup> For example see Carroll (1989).

zodiacal herbs with works on astral magic or herbalism, I believe that these sections had and still have a place in the *Hygromanteia*.

In the introductory passages, Solomon exhorts his son Rehoboam to pay attention to the details of the art. Solomon adds that the virtue of things resides “in herbs, in words and in stones.”<sup>464</sup> Apart from words (invocations) and two small chapters on the plants of the planets and of the zodiac, there is no material in the *Hygromanteia* on stones. I hypothesise that the earlier texts of the *Hygromanteia* would have had a chapter on stones, which has subsequently been extracted and recycled as a separate lapidary.<sup>465</sup>

The reference to virtues to be found “in herbs, in words and in stones” occurs however in a number of other later works on magic such as the Latin *Sepher Raziel*.<sup>466</sup> In *Raziel* these are catered for in some detail in the seven separate treatises that make up that grimoire. Correspondences have always been an important part of magic. I think it is possible that the *Hygromanteia* may have had extensive sections on the planetary and zodiacal correspondences of plants, animals and stones, most of which have been split off over time from the text of the grimoire into separate herbals, bestiaries and *lapidaria*. This is a natural occurrence, given that the evocatory content is likely to have been at some stage separated from the apparently more acceptable ‘natural magic’ of the herbals, bestiaries and *lapidaria*.<sup>467</sup> Much of the latter material is likely to have finished up in the books of pseudo-Albertus Magnus,<sup>468</sup> or similar authors, which still retain some magical content, but at the recipe level of a ‘Book of Secrets.’

The Latin *Sepher Raziel*<sup>469</sup> is one of the few grimoires to keep all seven divisions of magic, natural and ritual, under one head. In the opening chapter of the *Raziel* there are repeated warnings against splitting up the book, a process which may well have happened to the *Hygromanteia*, and perhaps many other grimoires. The fact that this warning is repeatedly given suggests that the editor might have been aware of such splitting up of other grimoires by his editorial contemporaries:

And then I begun to write all these Treatises in a new volume, for [just] one Treatise without

---

<sup>464</sup> M, f. 240.

<sup>465</sup> Marathakis (2011) approaches this dilemma from a different perspective and suggests (p. 34) that “this part of the introduction initially belonged to an unknown *herbarium* and *lapidarium*.” In an oblique way, we are both saying the same thing: either the *herbarium* and *lapidarium* got detached, or the introduction got detached.

<sup>466</sup> See Karr and Skinner (2010), p. 146, where the sections on herbs, stones, and animals are repeatedly stressed as being integral to the magical method laid out there. Obviously the third category, ‘words,’ has always formed part of the magical method.

<sup>467</sup> In fact the concept of ‘natural magic’ may simply have been a reaction to the church’s blanket condemnation of magic, in an effort to separate out the acceptable parts of the subject.

<sup>468</sup> See Best (1973).

<sup>469</sup> Sloane MS 3846; Sloane MS 3826, both dated 1564. The contents of these manuscripts is quite different from *Sepher Rezial Hemelach* edited by Savedow (2000).

another serves not to [explain] the wholeness of the work... Clarifaton<sup>470</sup> said that it ought to be but one book alone by itself, for none of these [Treatises], said he, would suffice without the others, therefore he said it is necessary that they are all [kept] together. Whereupon Solomon ordained that all the said 7 Treatises were but one book, as they ought to be, and so they ought to be read and wrought.<sup>471</sup>

This suggests that maybe other early grimoires had separate sections on herbs, stones and beasts, as well as the more usual sections on ritual times, incenses, circle designs and angel and spirit names.

It is useful to examine how the *Raziel* is divided, as a clue as to how the *Hygromanteia* may have originally been structured. Its Seven Treatises are:

1. *Liber Clavis*, the Book of the Key of Astronomy
2. *Liber Ala*, the Virtues of some Stones, Herbs, Beasts and Words
3. *Tractatus Thymiamatus*, of suffumigations or incense
4. *Treatise of Times* of the day and night
5. *Treatise of Purity and Abstinence*
6. *Samaim*, the Names of the heavens and their angels
7. *Book of Virtues and Miracles* for specific magical operations.

The *Hygromanteia* is divided into nine sections: "Instructions of the nine books of Solomon, concerning the gathering of the aerial spirits face to face..."<sup>472</sup> If its sections are rearranged slightly it divides into nine similarly structured parts which conveniently parallel the *Raziel*:<sup>473</sup>

1. Key Astrological background to the magic (chapters 2, 4-10, 30)<sup>474</sup>
2. Virtues and correspondences of plants, characters (chapters 15-18)
3. Planetary incenses, characters and seals (chapter 14)
4. Times - angels/demons of the hours and days (chapters 11, 13)
5. Ritual procedure, purity and abstinence (chapters 31, 40)
6. Conjurations & prayers to planets, angels, spirits (chapters 3, 37, 42, 43)
7. Specific objective evocation methods (chapters 38-9, 44-46, 58-9)
8. The equipment and *materia* of Solomonic magic (chapters 19-29, 32-36, 41).<sup>475</sup>
9. Skrying methods (*lekanomanteia*, *hygromanteia*, etc.) (chapters 47-57)

The last two sections are given in much greater detail in the *Hygromanteia* than the *Raziel*.

It is not my intention to propose a connection between these two grimoires, but merely to

<sup>470</sup> Reputedly Solomon's scribe.

<sup>471</sup> Karr and Skinner (2010), p. 146.

<sup>472</sup> G, f. 24v.

<sup>473</sup> In B, f. 24v the author of the *Hygromanteia* mentions that there are "nine books of Solomon, concerning the gathering of the aerial spirits face to face."

<sup>474</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 33 entitles this "A Method for Talisman Construction" although there is scant attention paid to talismans in the *Hygromanteia*. I believe this is a mistaken titling.

<sup>475</sup> Part 8 and 9 are missing from *Sepher Raziel*.

demonstrate a similar format, which may be detected in a number of other grimoires, and which therefore may indicate an earlier state of the *Hygromanteia*. Every grimoire will, however, usually have one or more of these sections missing. In the case of the *Hygromanteia* it is the stones, herbs (partially) and beasts that may be missing.

Another reason for suspecting the early presence of sections like this is the fact that the earliest manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* (B2) dated 1440 was very firmly bound up with several such lapidaries written in the same hand. In fact, the binding of this particular manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* bears a single word on its spine label 'Damigeron,' who was the author of a famous lapidary *de Virtutibus Lapidum*. The presence of lapidaries and herbals bound up in the same volume might have simply been an accident of scriptorium choice, or binder convenience, and so is not of course conclusive, but goes some way to supporting the conjecture that the *Hygromanteia* may originally have had a more extensive herbal section, plus its own chapter on stones, and maybe one on beasts. The presence of full-blown *herbaria* and *lapidaria* bound in the same manuscript volume as the earliest known *Hygromanteia*, and their continuing presence in the *Raziel*, suggests that it was the *herbaria*, bestiaries and *lapidaria* that got detached.

#### *Analysis of the Structure of the Hygromanteia*

The breakdown of the *Hygromanteia* into 59 chapters naturally follows the subheadings already extant in the various manuscripts, plus a few very obvious breaks at change of topic. By comparison, Torijano's chapter breakdown is very forced,<sup>476</sup> which aims to make a major feature out of the recurrence of that one small Rehoboam passage, which he portrays as the main chapter heading for each and every one of his sections 1-7.<sup>477</sup> The following table shows the structure of the contents of the *Hygromanteia*, and the disposition of each chapter in the various manuscripts.<sup>478</sup> The chapter numbers do not occur in the manuscripts but are imposed in order to correlate the 17 manuscripts examined. As can be seen from this table, no single manuscript has a complete set of all chapters. The tally of chapters (in the second line of the table) is useful as an indication of the relative completeness of each manuscript. It can be seen that H is the most complete manuscript, and D and T the least.

---

<sup>476</sup> Torijano (2002), pp. 164, 211. Although separated by 47 pages, these two lists should have been merged by Torijano to give a full list of sections.

<sup>477</sup> Torijano's sections 1-8A listed on his page 164 correspond to the small subset of chapters 1-18 which occur in M, which omits a number of chapters (4-10, 12, 14, and 15). Quite separately Torijano lists a separate run of sections from (1) to (13) C and 7A-C listed on his page 211, without clarifying that these sections are in fact an expansion of section 6A in his first series, but this time taken from a different manuscript H. It is for this reason that I will not be following his very confused numbering system, which only covers part of the *Hygromanteia* anyway.

<sup>478</sup> Based on Marathakis (2011), pp. 362-365.

Manuscript →	H	B	A	P	B3	G	P4	B2	P2	P3	M	V	M2	N	A2	D	T
<b>Tally of Chapters found in each MS →</b>	41	34	30	28	22	17	13	12	8	8	8	6	5	5	3	2	2
<b>Date of MS (c=century)</b>	15c	early 18c	16c-19c	1462	end 19c	16c-18c	18c	1440	1684	17c	16c	15c/16c	16c	1495	1833	16c	15c-16c
1. <b>Introduction</b> featuring Solomon and Rehoboam	H			P					P2	P3	M					D	T
<b>PART I: Astrological:</b> 2. Rulership of the planetary hours of the seven days of the week. <sup>479</sup>	H		A	P		G				P3	M			N		D	
4 & 5. Rulership and talismans attributed to the twelve signs of the zodiac	H		A	P	B3	G				P3				N			
6. Rulership attributed to the 28 days of the Moon		B	A							P3				N			
7 & 30. <sup>481</sup> Electoral astrology concerning the position of the Moon in the zodiac	H	B	A	P						P3				N			
8 & 9. Predictions related to the head and tail of the dragon which is in the 9th heaven		B	A			G											
10. The seven planetary images		B	A							P3							
<b>PART II: Conjurations:</b> 3. The prayers of the seven planets, and their angels and demons	H	B	A	P	B3	G	P4		P2		M				A2		T
11. Conjurational of the angels of each hour	H	B	A		B3	G	P4		P2		M				A2		
12. Prayer to God						G	P4		P2								
13. Angels and demons of the 24 hours of the seven days of the week	H	B	A	P	B3	G	P4		P2	P3	M		M2		A2		
<b>PART III: Equipment:</b> 14. Planetary incenses, characters and seals	H	B	A		B3		P4		P2								
16. Planetary inks, parchments, characters and parchment incenses	H	B	A		B3	G				P3	M						
15. Planetary alphabets		B	A		B3		P4										
17. Zodiacal herbs											M						
18. Planetary herbs	H				B3	G			P2		M			N <sup>483</sup>			

<sup>479</sup> For chapter 3 see below in the Conjurations section.

<sup>480</sup> This *lunarium* might not be part of the *Hygromanteia* proper, but riding along with it bound in the same manuscript.

<sup>481</sup> I have amalgamated these two chapters, as they contain very similar material, and they should both be adjacent to the other Moon rulership material.

<sup>482</sup> This electoral astrology passage is not part of the *Hygromanteia* proper, as it was by az-Zanātī.

<sup>483</sup> There is some controversy as to whether this *herbarium* was or was not part of the *Hygromanteia*.

Manuscript →	H	B	A	P	B3	G	P4	B2	P2	P3	M	V	M2	N	A2	D	T
19. The knife of the art	H	B	A	P	B3	G											
20. The reed pen of the art	H	B	A	P	B3												
21. The quill of the art	H			P	B3	G											
22. The virgin parchment	H	B	A	P	B3	G	P4										
23. The unborn parchment	H	B	A	P	B3		P4										
24. The blood of a bat	H			P													
25. The blood of a swallow	H			P													
26. The blood of a dove	H			P													
27. The blood of an ox or sheep	H	B	A	P	B3												
28. The images made of virgin wax	H	B	A	P													
29. The images made of virgin clay	H	B	A	P	B3												
<b>PART IV: Evocation - First Method:</b> 31. Observations, purity, bath, confession, fast, location. (see also 40)	H	B		P													
32. The crown	H			P													
33. The lamen or Heavenly Seal (see also 40a)	H	B		P													
34. The ring & bell	H	B	A	P	B3	G											
35. Garments: gloves, cloak, shoes, collar, lamen cover, handkerchief	H	B		P													
36. The Circle - first method (see also 41)	H	B	A														
37. The prayer and the three conjurations for demons and spirits	H	B			B3												
38. Conjunction for love	H	B															
39. Conjunction for finding a treasure	H	B			B3												
<b>PART V: Evocation - Second Method:</b> 40. Observations, fast, garments (see also 31)	H	B				G											
40a. Lamen (see also 33)	H	B				G											
41. The Circle – second method (see also 36)	H	B	A			G											

Manuscript →	H	B	A	P	B3	G	P4	B2	P2	P3	M	V	M2	N	A2	D	T
42. Conjurations of demons of the four quarters	H	B	A		B3	G	P4										
43. General conjuration	H	B	A			G	P4										
44. <i>Gasteromanteia</i> : Evoking & imprisoning a spirit in a bottle, and exorcism	H		A							P2							
45. Evocation of Kalē, the Lady of the Mountains								B2				V					
46. Evocation of the black demon Mortzi		B	A		B3			B2									
<b>PART VI: Evocatory skrying:</b>	H	B	A		B3		P4										
47. <i>Epibaktromanteia</i> : Water pot skrying <sup>484</sup>																	
48. <i>Lekanomanteia</i> : Bottle skrying using greasy soot from a pan	H	B	A					B2									
49. <i>Hygromanteia</i> I: Water skrying with a protective circle				P				B2				V	M2				
50. <i>Hygromanteia</i> II: Water skrying				P									M2				
51. <i>Hygromanteia</i> III: Water skrying		B	A				P4										
52. <i>Hygromanteia</i> IV: Skrying by means of basin, kettle and glass								B2				V					
53. <i>Chalkomanteia</i> : Copper bowl skrying								B2				V					
54. <i>Katoptromanteia</i> : Mirror skrying	H							B2									
55. <i>Krystallomanteia</i> : Crystal skrying				P				B2				V	M2				
56. <i>Ōomanteia</i> : Skrying using an egg								B2				V					
57. <i>Onykhomanteia</i> : Fingernail skrying		B						B2									
58. <i>Nekromanteia</i> : Interrogation of a spirit of the dead		B		P		G		B2					M2				
59. Invisibility using a skull	H		A		B3		P4										

Table 01: Summary of the chapters of the *Hygromanteia* as they occur in 17 manuscripts.<sup>485</sup>

<sup>484</sup> Marathakis (2011) pp. 108-113 translates all of these *manteiai* as 'divination.' I have replaced this with the more precise and technical term of 'evocatory skrying' because all involve a virginal boy medium describing his vision to the magician who, standing nearby, performs the evocation. Translating *manteia* as 'divination,' a term which encompasses tarot, runes, geomancy, lots, astrology, etc., is misleading for this very specific procedure, even if it is superficially a literal translation.

<sup>485</sup> The 'chapter' numbers in the first column follow the divisions used by Marathakis (2011), pp. 362-365. These numbers do not occur in the manuscript, but are useful content identifiers, to enable comparisons to be made between manuscripts. The tally of chapters extant in each manuscript is shown on the second line of the table.

Analysing the above table it would seem that taken together, manuscripts H, B and A cover almost all of the ritual magic chapters, with B2 providing almost all of the skrying section.<sup>486</sup> B however is relatively recent, dating from 1833. Hence a composite of H, A and B2 would probably provide the best reconstruction of the full text of the *Hygromanteia*, for comparative purposes, based on currently identified manuscripts. These three manuscripts are respectively the oldest extant, B2 (1440); the one which includes the most extensive range of chapters, H (15th century); and the one with the longest continuous history of use and annotation, A (16th-18th century). Out of the 59 possible chapters, only three chapters would have been omitted from such a three manuscript composite reconstruction. These are relatively minor:

*Chapter 12: 'Prayer to Almighty God'* which is almost certainly a later Christian addition.

*Chapter 17: 'Zodiacal Herbs.'* Although I believe this was integral, Marathakis suggests that both this and 'Planetary Herbs' are not a main part of the *Hygromanteia*. Certainly these chapters did not travel with the rest of the *Key of Solomon* when it arrived in Latin Europe.

*Chapter 50:* This chapter is an alternative version of chapter 49, and is therefore not essential.

The distribution of these chapters amongst the 17 manuscripts is shown in Table 01.

---

<sup>486</sup> There are 20 known manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, but only 17 are shown: P4 and M4 are not tabulated as they were not available for examination. M3 cited by Delatte (1949) and Greenfield (1988), p. 159, is *not* in fact a *Hygromanteia*, so it is omitted from the table, leaving 17 manuscripts. The order of the chapters has been slightly re-grouped, but the chapter numbers are unchanged.

### 3.5. The *Clavicula Salomonis*

#### *The Transmission of Byzantine Greek texts to the Latin West*

As has been very succinctly pointed out by Charles Burnett, there were two routes by which the classics of the ancient world reached the Latin West during the 10th and later centuries. The most commonly accepted route is the translation of Arabic texts of Greek classics, by translators working in:

Catalonia in the late tenth century, through Northeast Spain and Southern France in the early twelfth century, to Toledo from the mid twelfth to the early thirteenth century.<sup>487</sup>

It is via this route that texts such as the *Picatrix*<sup>488</sup> and associated magic and astrological texts reached Western Europe. In fact Toledo and Salamanca universities were famous for their teaching of astrology and (in the case of Toledo) magic. Pingree has documented the transmission of many of these texts.<sup>489</sup>

However it is not that route, which was the line of transmission for a large amount of the astrology, geomancy and astral magic, which concerns us here. We are more properly concerned with the rather neglected direct transmission of Greek texts to Latin via traffic between Byzantine Constantinople and Venice, as well as those parts of southern Italy which from time to time came directly under the rule of Byzantium.<sup>490</sup>

#### *Early transmissions*

Although an extra impetus was added to this transmission by the attack on Constantinople in 1422,<sup>491</sup> and the final sacking of Constantinople in 1453, a cultural transmission of magical and astrological knowledge had been ongoing for some time before then. It is worth rapidly summarising the most important magical and astrological texts that were transmitted via this route from Greek to Latin from Antiquity to the late Middle Ages.<sup>492</sup> The earliest translations included:<sup>493</sup>

The Hermetic *Asclepius* and *Liber de Physiognomia* (late 4th century);  
Damigeron/Evax's *De Lapidibus et eorum virtutibus* concerning the magical correspondences of precious and semi-precious stones (5th century);  
*De Plantis duodecim signis et septem planetis subiectis* on the correspondences of plants to the 12 signs of the zodiac and seven planets (late 5th/early 6th century);  
Ptolemy's *Preceptum Canonis Ptolomei*, an early ephemeris;  
Aratus's *Phaenomena* on the constellations (early 8th century);

---

<sup>487</sup> Burnett (2006), p. 325.

<sup>488</sup> First translated into Latin in 1256, from a Spanish translation of an Arabic original.

<sup>489</sup> Pingree (1987).

<sup>490</sup> This route also encompassed Arabic texts that had been translated into Greek.

<sup>491</sup> By Mehmet II.

<sup>492</sup> I am indebted to Burnett (2006), pp. 327-331 for much of the following list.

<sup>493</sup> Conjectural and approximate dates only in brackets.

Pascalis's *Liber Thesauri Occulti* on dreams (1165);  
*Kyranides*, a classic of the correspondences of astral magic (1169);  
*Oneirocriticon* on dreams (1176);  
Aristotle's *Works* (mid/late 13th century);  
Abū Ma'shar's astrological works (c. 1260);  
Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, a classic of astrology (before 1281);  
*Liber de triginta sex decanis*, on the 36 Decans, attributed to 'Hermes' (before 1430);

It can be seen that the first strand of magic to reach the Latin West was astral magic, which relied upon the astrological correspondences of stones, plants and beasts, rather than ritual magic. Many of these texts were concerned with the creation of talismans according to the position of the Moon in its 28 Mansions, material that forms a much more important part of astral magic than it does of ritual magic.<sup>494</sup> Some of this material does occur in the *Hygromanteia* (chapters 30 and 6-7) but it does not form the core of that text.

#### *Lapidaria, Herbaria and Bestiaries*

Although stones, plants and beasts are predominately of interest to texts of astral magic, there is some slight overlap with ritual magic. Predating the extant manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, and the Latin texts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* is the *Salomonis Libri de Gemmis et Daemonibus* ('Books of Solomon of Gems and Demons') which was referred to by the 12th century Greek historian Michael Glycas. Michael Psellus (1018-1081) also spoke in the 11th century of what was probably the same treatise, said to be composed by Solomon, "on stones and demons." It is conceivable that this book may have at one point formed an integral part of the *Hygromanteia*, for the reasons outlined below.

The question arises as to how material from *lapidaria, herbaria* and bestiaries might be of use to ritual magic. Iamblichus explains:

...in accordance with the properties of each of the gods, [and] the receptacles adapted to them, the theurgic art in many cases links together stones, plants, animals, aromatic substances, and other such things that are sacred, perfect and godlike, and then from all these composes an integrated and pure receptacle [for the gods].<sup>495</sup>

A more detailed answer may be found in a passage from Synesius (c.373-c.414 CE), a disciple of Hypatia and an enthusiastic Neoplatonist living in Alexandria:<sup>496</sup>

Even to some god, of those who dwell within the universe, a stone from hence and a [corresponding] herb is a befitting offering, for in sympathising<sup>497</sup> with these he is yielding to [their] nature and is bewitched.<sup>498</sup>

Or to rephrase it, stones and herbs can be used as offerings to gods in order to ensnare them

---

<sup>494</sup> The Moon is obviously of concern to many forms of magic, and the inclusion of a few *lunarium* tables in the *Hygromanteia* does not constitute a blurring of the line between astral magic and ritual magic.

<sup>495</sup> Iamblichus (2003), V. 23, p. 269.

<sup>496</sup> He finished up becoming a bishop, but retained sympathy for the Neoplatonic outlook.

<sup>497</sup> Being in sympathetic connection.

<sup>498</sup> Fitzgerald (1930), pp. 328-329.

with magic. An even more revealing commentary on this by Nikephoros Gregoras (c. 538 CE) gives the Byzantine view of the functions of “stones, plants, beasts and words:”

...what is even more amazing is that demons from the air and from the land are charmed by certain stones, certain plants, certain speech, or certain designs which are called *charakteres* (χαρακτῆρας), and which, I think, were first discovered by the Chaldeans and Egyptians, each sign capable of making each demon known.<sup>499</sup>

Here, in a few words, is precisely the reason why the grimoires had supplementary chapters or even full treatises on “stones, plants, beasts, and words.” According to this view, the demons are ‘charmed’ or constrained by certain stones, plants, animals, words and written characters. The appropriate set of stones, plants and animals (corresponding to the nature of the demon) would have been offered to him, in order to ‘charm’ him, or make him amenable to the magician. This adequately explains why such material is still part of some grimoires (for example the Latin *Raziel*), and confirms that the planetary and zodiacal plant attributions *do* have a rightful place in the grimoires, and in the *Hygromanteia*. A number of commentators, like Torijano and Marathakis, consider the sections on plants to be extraneous, when in fact they were probably an integral part in earlier times. In all likelihood, details of stones, plants and maybe beasts have been separated out from many grimoires, and partly from the *Hygromanteia*, at an early stage. The Rehoboam pseudepigraphical section of the text refers to the importance laid by Solomon on the virtues “in herbs, in words and in stones,”<sup>500</sup> supporting the idea that these sections might at one time have been an integral part.

Most importantly it shows clearly that these natural correspondences were adjuncts to ritual procedures which came from Egypt contemporaneously with the texts of the *PGM*. The transmission of these “stones, plants, beasts, and words” from Egypt to Byzantium, would in due course have fallen under the intellectual dominance of Aristotle’s works, which would have encouraged the separation of the *lapidaria*, *herbaria* and bestiaries rather than their continued integration in the *Hygromanteia*.

Although the use of stones and plants has some affinity with astral magic,<sup>501</sup> the procedures are completely different, one the drawing and exposure of a talisman, the other the calling of a demon, but the principle of sympathetic bonds occurs in both disciplines.

#### *The Link from Greek Byzantine Magic to the Latin World*

The sack of Constantinople in 1453 (and the earlier attack by Mehmet II in 1422) proved to be the catalysts which accelerated the migration of the culture of the Hellenic world to the Latin

<sup>499</sup> Gregoras’ commentary on Synesios of Cyrene’s *De Insomniis*, in Migne (1857-66), c. 538.

<sup>500</sup> M, f. 240.

<sup>501</sup> Vide the *Kyranides*.

West. Ever since the Roman Empire had been voluntarily split into East and West in 286 CE, the two halves had drifted apart, a movement which was accentuated by the language split of Greek in the East (the Levant, Palestine, Asia Minor, Syria, Greece itself and Egypt) and Latin in the West (Italy<sup>502</sup> and the rest of Europe). There were also doctrinal differences which helped to accentuate this split, mainly centring on the doctrines of the Trinity and the true nature of Christ's divinity. Greek remained the dominant language in the Byzantine Empire for almost 1000 years from the dissolution of the Roman Empire in 476 till the sack of Constantinople in 1453, but in the Western Empire the knowledge of Greek had somewhat diminished. Although there was transmission of texts such as the *Hygromanteia* before this date, the sheer quantity of manuscripts and scholars that moved westwards in the months immediately after 1453 was what gave Western Europe fresh impetus to read Greek, and probably also Hebrew, skills that had been in short supply before then. Of course both languages were fundamental to any serious understanding of Christianity, Hebrew (and Aramaic) for the *Old Testament*, and Koine Greek for the *New Testament*.

Scholars fleeing from the Ottoman Turks took with them whatever bits of Hellenic culture they could take. These included a lot of Classical Greek writers, early Christian material and translations of scientific and philosophical Arabic texts into Greek. The subsequent translation of Classical texts into Latin by such luminaries as Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) helped fire the intellectual explosion of the Renaissance and the culture of Humanism.

Cardinal Bessarion summed up the feelings of the time during which many scholars, particularly those who had to flee so peremptorily from Constantinople, strove to preserve Greek learning:

Although I was devoted to this cause [the preservation of ancient books] with all my soul, yet after the destruction of Greece and the lamentable captivity of Byzantium I used with even more zeal all my powers, all my care and effort, capital and industry, to search for Greek books. For I was fearful and very anxious of the thought that along with the rest of the things, many excellent books, being the sweat and wakeful hours of so many eminent men, would vanish and perish like so many sources of light, and be lost to the world within the shortest of times.<sup>503</sup>

Bessarion's library, which survives as the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (the National Library of St Mark) in Venice preserves, as a result of the efforts of the good Cardinal, a number of Greek manuscripts relating to magic.<sup>504</sup>

At the same time the appearance of the Greek *Corpus Hermeticum* in the West opened up a

---

<sup>502</sup> Parts of southern Italy were at various times under the Byzantine Empire, and therefore Greek speaking. A number of Greek Orthodox monasteries were established and some remain active till today.

<sup>503</sup> Letter from Cardinal Bessarion to the Doge of Venice, Christoforo Moro, dated 31 May 1468 as quoted by Gilly and van Heertum (eds.) (2002), p. 19.

<sup>504</sup> According to the catalogue of 1474, Bessarion left 1024 manuscripts to the Republic of Venice.

repository of religious material which initially (until Isaac Casaubon proved otherwise) was taken to be of almost equal validity and age as the Old Testament.

The impact on magic was no less great, as Greek Solomonic texts were rapidly translated into Latin, forming the basis of later Solomonic grimoires. Although it has been fashionable to decry the attribution of ancient names like Moses and Solomon to magical texts, in fact these texts had often carried the names of these same ancient authors for a long time, and kept these attributions as they crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries.

In 1240 William of Auvergne,<sup>505</sup> in *De Legibus*, listed a number of Solomonic grimoires, which were extant in his time, but none of these included more than a small part of the Solomonic method. For example *Quatuor Annulis Salomonis* included four rings, or *Liber Salomonis de Novem Candariis*,<sup>506</sup> included just nine talismans. William also twice mentioned "that book which is called *Liber Sacratus*,"<sup>507</sup> which is composed largely of prayers and only contains part of the Solomonic dynamic of demon/spirit binding from within a protective circle. He also mentions the *Amandal (sic)*,<sup>508</sup> which is a book of four angelic invocations performed on an elevated wax altar, which is quite different from the Solomonic method of magic. Although these grimoires (and others which were extant in the period before 1453) do have mentions of Solomon, they do not contain the full evocatory Solomonic method. Of the extant manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the oldest dates from 1446,<sup>509</sup> so it seems likely that the *Hygromanteia* reached the Latin world after 1422 and before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The first port of call of these fleeing scholars was often Venice, which not only had good sea connections with Constantinople, but was also famed for its independence and consequent

---

<sup>505</sup> The Bishop of Paris (1190-1249).

<sup>506</sup> *Candariis* definitely means 'talismans' not 'candles' as some authors have mistakenly translated it. See the *Catholicon*, a dictionary compiled by Johannes Balbus (1460). *Candela* is 'candle.' Nor is *candariis* another form of *cantharias*, a precious stone, as speculatively suggested by Veenstra in *The Metamorphosis of Magic*, p. 206 n. 36.

<sup>507</sup> *Liber Sacer*, or *Liber Juratus*, the *Sworn Book of Honorius*. On the basis of that mention by William, I believe, with Mathiesen, that this grimoire pre-dates 1240. The name of the author 'Honorius of Thebes' even appears to be a deliberate contrapositional pun on the name of the then ruling Pope Honorius III (r. 1216-1227). It is not relevant that a completely different grimoire was much later falsely attributed to Pope Honorius III, but it highlights the motivation of grimoire authors (for whatever reason) to mock that particular Pope.

<sup>508</sup> *Almadel*. This title, which is variously spelled, probably derives from the Arabic for a circle, *al-Madel*. The best known version of this grimoire forms the fourth (and shortest) treatise in the *Lemegeton*. See Skinner & Rankine (2007), pp. 59-60, 342-347. The *Almadel* dates back at least to the late 15th century. See Florence MS II-iii-24 for one such 15th century manuscript.

<sup>509</sup> MS Bibliothèque Nationale Ital. 1542.

open-mindedness.<sup>510</sup> There had been an earlier flight to Venice in 1422 when Mehmet II had attacked Constantinople, and at that time some of the earliest Greek manuscripts arrived.<sup>511</sup> From Venice the Greek scholars, monks and their manuscripts spread through Italy (parts of which had belonged to the Byzantine Empire at various times), possibly seeking out courts that had a reputation for culture and learning, particularly Florence and Mantua. As already noted (in chapter 3.3), Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, (1562-1612) was known to have possessed copies of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and twice commissioned translations into Italian.<sup>512</sup>

It is of course quite possible that the earliest manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* reached Italy via other routes, such as the more southerly ports of Langobardia (the southern tip of Italy), Bari, Brindisi or Tarentum, which were earlier under Byzantine control.

The names of five authors or scribes of the extant manuscripts are known to us. Of these the names of the authors of the three earliest authors are extant. These names together with date and geographical location where the manuscript was written might provide some clues.

MS	Date	Author/scribe	Location
B2	1440	Iōannēs Aron	Grottaferrata monastery, near Frascati, Italy
P	1462	Geōrgios Meidiatēs	Trescore Balneario, Bergamo, Lombardy, Italy
N	1495	Iōannēs Xērokaltos	-
P2	1684/85	Kyrillos Korydalleus	Moscow, later Kazan
A2	1833	Iōannēs Papatheodōridēs	Mauratzaioi on Samos, Greece

Clearly all the names are Greek with the possible exception of the first who might have had Jewish roots.<sup>513</sup> The third manuscript (N) has no indication of location, and the last two are too late to be relevant. That leaves the first two manuscripts which are similar in the sequence of their contents and were both copied at northern Italian locations.

There is at present no conclusive evidence which would enable one to settle upon any one particular route with certainty, but there is one small hint in the oldest manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* (B2) written by Iōannēs Aron which might indicate a possible route of transmission to Italy through southern Greece. This suggestive but inconclusive reference is the mention of the city of Lakedaimon, the ancient capital of Sparta in this manuscript:<sup>514</sup>

O Lady, queen Sympilia, my magister commands you to send your servant to Solomon the king at Lakedaimonia, in order to give him the talisman that is nailed by steel and sealed with the

<sup>510</sup> Venice was a city state ruled by a Doge who did not see himself beholden to any other ruler. Venice also had a considerable and effective navy. In fact the military docks in Venice devised an amazing production line system which enabled them, in times of war, to complete one war galley every day.

<sup>511</sup> To quote Cardinal Bessarion: "Venice was thus becoming more and more like 'a second Byzantium.'" Zorzi (2002), p. 130.

<sup>512</sup> These were translations from Hebrew, which suggests either a Hebrew intermediary, or a whole different line of transmission which was examined in chapter 3.3.

<sup>513</sup> There is a possibility that Iōannēs Aron may have been Iōannēs from Aron, near Venice.

<sup>514</sup> Lakedaimona is another name for the city-state of Sparta.

trigram. Let him bring it here, in order for our lords to take an oath faithfully and truly, that they will tell me [the magician] the truth in whatever I may ask them.<sup>515</sup>

Solomon was obviously not the king of Lakedaimon or Sparta,<sup>516</sup> but if the ancient Jewish king had been ‘transplanted’ to a more convenient location than Jerusalem by a scribe who might have been uncertain of the exact location of Jerusalem, that might indicate that this particular manuscript, written in 1440, had a line of transmission which passed to Italy via Lakedaimonia/Sparta, rather than directly by ship to Venice. It is known that the author of the manuscript Iōannēs of Aron lived in Italy, probably in the still existing Byzantine monastery of Grottaferrata.<sup>517</sup>

If one pursues this reasoning, then one possible conjectural line of transmission might be:

- 1422 – Mehmet II attacks Constantinople causing a number of monks to flee.
  - one monk settles in Sparta, sees the ruins of Lakedaimon, and grafts it into his copy of the *Hygromanteia* as the ‘city of Solomon.’
- 1440 – Iōannēs of Aron transcribes this copy of the *Hygromanteia* at the monastery of Grottaferrata, perpetuating the reference to Lakedaimon.<sup>518</sup>
- 1466 – The earliest known manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis* translated into Italian.<sup>519</sup>

Obviously this argument is still very speculative, but the proximity of the dates and geography is suggestive. Pingree states that the *Hygromanteia* was “rewritten in South Italy.”<sup>520</sup> Whichever route was used, the process of translating the *Hygromanteia* into what was to become the *Clavicula Salomonis* was begun in Italy. This earliest manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis* in Italian (1466) probably pre-dates the earliest known Latin manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis*,<sup>521</sup> which is dated towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Elsewhere in Italy the process of translating Greek texts into Latin was going on at the same time. In Florence, Ficino (1433-1499) was the scholar who translated much of Plato and the *Corpus Hermeticum* from Greek into Latin, as soon as the Greek manuscripts became available. Magic manuscripts began to be translated in parallel at the same time. Another important figure who expedited the flow of Greek Hermetic ideas into Latin was Francesco Giorgi (or Zorzi 1466-1540), author of *De Harmonium Mundi*,<sup>522</sup> who later had considerable influence on the writings of Agrippa and Dee. Giorgi also helped introduce the idea of sacred geometry into the construction of buildings like churches.<sup>523</sup>

---

<sup>515</sup> MS Bononiensis Univers. 3632, f. 350.

<sup>516</sup> If the reference is not to the biblical Solomon, but to a local ruler, the following conclusions still hold good.

<sup>517</sup> McCowan (1922), p. 25.

<sup>518</sup> MS Bononiensis Univers. 3632 which is the earliest known manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>519</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale Ital. 1524. See Fanger (2012), p. 223.

<sup>520</sup> Pingree (1980), p.9, fn. 67.

<sup>521</sup> Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 114 (now possibly sold).

<sup>522</sup> Published 1525.

<sup>523</sup> Skinner, *Sacred Geometry* (2006), p. 19.

Giorgi also frequented Jewish circles in Venice, supporting the introduction of the Kabbalah into the mainstream of religious discourse, as initially the Kabbalah was seen as an interpretive tool for the Old Testament.<sup>524</sup> In time it became the ‘Christian Kabbalah’ and influenced both Rosicrucian and Hermetic thought. Even later the doctrines of the Kabbalah provided a conceptual skeleton for magical theory.<sup>525</sup>

### *The Spread of Magical Texts*

The Catholic *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of banned books which was first issued in Venice in 1543, and formally commissioned by Pope Paul IV in 1559 acts as a helpful summary list of the more widely disseminated magical texts.<sup>526</sup> Some of these books are fairly easy to recognize, others are less easy to find, as the standard of ecclesiastical bibliographic scholarship and printing was less than perfect, and many conventions of Latin contraction were carried over from manuscripts into print. As can be seen, the *Clavicula Salomonis* is mentioned twice, in close proximity to the *Ars Hydromanteia*:

‘Lib[er] Hermetis Magi ad Aristot[li]e. Lib[er] Decem Annulorum, Quattuor speculorū[m], Imaginū[m] Thobiæ, Imaginum Ptolomæi, Virginalis, Clavicula Salomonis, Libri Salomonis Magicis superstitionibus refertus’; ‘Clavicula S[ol]omonis’; ‘Hē[n]ricus Cornelius Agrippa’; ‘Hydromantiæ ars, & scripta o[mn]ia’; ‘Ioannis Reuclini [Johannes Reuchlin] Speculum Oculare, De Verbo Mirifico, Ars Cabalistica’; ‘Petri de Abano opera Geomantiaæ. Item liber de imaginib[us] Astrolog[ia] & de o[mn]i genere diu[i]nat[ione].’<sup>527</sup>

Some types of books were covered by blanket bans, like that on all books on geomancy which were specifically and originally banned in 1555, and so only appear in the *Index* by implication. An example of such a blanket ban is:

Libri omnes, & scripta Chyromantiæ, Physionomiæ, Aeromá[n]tiæ, Geomá[n]tiæ, Hydromá[ntiae] vel Necromá[n]tiæ, siue in quib[us] Sortilegia, Veneficia, Auguria, Arusp[i]cia, Incá[n]tatiō[n]es, Magicæ artis vel Astrologiæ indicariæ [sic] Diuinationes circa...’; ‘Magicæ artis libri, & scripta ora’ [omnia]; ‘Necromatiæ opera, & scripta omnia. Notoriæ artis opera.

In this list *hydromanteia* was seen as equivalent to *necromantiae*, as indicated by the use of *vel..*

The amount of magical and heterodox material being translated from Greek into Latin in Venice prompted the Church to set up a special branch of the Holy Office Tribunal (*aka* the Inquisition) in Venice in April 1547, in an effort to ‘weed out’ what they considered to be the most dangerous examples of heterodox (i.e. Protestant, Lutheran, Orthodox and Anabaptist) texts and their owners.

<sup>524</sup> Ironically it was later seen by a number of churchmen as an aid to converting the Jews to Christianity, by deductions that sought to prove that Jesus was the Messiah which the Jews had long expected, since the time of Isaiah.

<sup>525</sup> Specifically as used by Mathers at the end of the 19th century, working from the Latin translations of Knorr von Rosenroth.

<sup>526</sup> These books were not removed from the *Index* till 1966.

<sup>527</sup> *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, 1559.

Less frequently, the Venetian Holy Office also acted against owners of magical texts translated from Greek, but this did not gather much momentum till the 1580s. Nevertheless, the number of books confiscated had reached such proportions that by even 1573 the Holy Office ordered that all such books should henceforth be burnt, not so much to suppress their contents but to conserve storage space. Representative samples were, of course, sent to the Vatican, where most survive to this day in the Vatican Library. As Venice valued its independence, magical books, such as *De Occulta Philosophia* of Agrippa, continued to be sold under the counter, and the clergy were amongst the most active importers of such material. Apart from such well known texts, the bulk of magical material continued to circulate in manuscript form, even as late as the 19th century. Typical texts were the *Clavicula Salomonis* in its various forms (like *Zecorbeni*), the *Heptameron*, various books relating to the Kabbalah, and the classic of astral magic, the *Picatrix*.

In 1586, Pope Sixtus V redirected the efforts of the Holy Office from control of heresy to the suppression of magic and magicians with the Bull *Coeli et Terrae*.<sup>528</sup> This coincided with the publication of Bodin's witch-hunting text, *Demonomania degli Stregoni*, in Venice, and with the Pope's 'invitation' to Dee to come to Rome for discussions about his angelic 'Actions.' Prudently Dee did not go, as he did not wish to be subsequently locked up in the dungeons of the Inquisition in Rome.<sup>529</sup> Besides, Dee was a Protestant, and going to Rome would have been like putting his head in the lion's mouth, because of the then current enmity between Catholics and Protestants. The records of the Inquisition, and minutes of subsequent trials, help us to trace the movement of specific magical texts across Europe. Some of these copies are of a much rougher nature, and not always of high scribal quality.

However learned magic had always been the province of the scriptorium and its monks who also did much of the freelance copying. In the 1630s and 1640s the novitiate of the monastery of the Minims of San Francesco of Paola became a hotbed of magical manuscript transcription and distribution. Other monasteries such as San Francesco della Vigna ('St. Francis of the Vineyard') also helped the transmission of magical texts. This was particularly appropriate in a monastery whose architecture was designed in part by Francesco Giorgi the author of *De Harmonium Mundi* who numbered magic, the Kabbalah, alchemy, astrology and

---

<sup>528</sup> Barbierato (2002), pp. 159-160.

<sup>529</sup> There is an extra dimension to the Pope's invitation that is often overlooked by scholars. That is that the Pope, who was rumoured to have been very interested in magical experiments himself, might have genuinely wanted to question Dee about his techniques, and maybe even watch an Action in which Kelly would convey the words of the angels.

the Hermetic texts amongst his interests.<sup>530</sup>

This wholesale copying meant that many variant readings were introduced into the texts, a process that would not have happened so rapidly if they had been printed. The addition of a well known pseudepigraphical name to a copy, such as Moses or Raziel, immediately gave a book more credibility, so that from original texts associated with the name Solomon, a whole slew of copies of the original text with additions or deletions, under various authorial names, fanned out through Europe, giving the false impression that they were different texts.

#### *The Manuscripts of the Clavicula Salomonis*

Of course there were other distinct and separate magical books, but at least 125 extant manuscripts under various names and written in various languages, owe their origin to the original *Solomōnikē* that arrived in Venice (or southern Italy) at or before 1453.<sup>531</sup> In Venice alone copies were circulating in Latin, Italian, French, German, and probably English. No doubt there are many more of these to be discovered in the great libraries and private collections of Europe,<sup>532</sup> as these scribes often deliberately left off the manuscript titles to hamper rapid identification by the authorities, and many have therefore been catalogued either under their *incipit* or some other generic name such as *Ars Magica* by harried librarians across Europe. Conversely a number of unrelated manuscripts have been catalogued as *Clavicula Salomonis* by librarians who came to think of this title as a generic term for magic.<sup>533</sup>

As there are so many extant manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*,<sup>534</sup> it is necessary to outline the range of texts and the reasons for selecting the manuscripts used here for comparison.<sup>535</sup> The language breakdown of the known manuscripts is:

French	51
Latin <sup>536</sup>	31
Italian	19
English	9
German	9
Hebrew	4

<sup>530</sup> Accordingly, the della Vigna became a point of intersection between sacred geometry and magic, and was built using 'sacred' proportions, echoing the measurements of the Temple of Solomon and the Jewish Kabbalah. Interestingly the main measurements are simply multiples of the number three.

<sup>531</sup> See Skinner and Rankine (2008), Appendix A, pp. 408-414 for a full list. The manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* are also listed by Text-Groups on pp. 412-414, with a listing of their dates and languages of composition.

<sup>532</sup> For example, I recently discovered a 1494 copy of the *Goetia*, miscataloged in a central European collection.

<sup>533</sup> For a list of some of these cataloguing errors see Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 415. Of course, just like any specialist subject, it is often difficult for a generalist to choose, or even decipher, the correct title.

<sup>534</sup> Not including manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>535</sup> This number and the following statistics are taken from Skinner & Rankine (2008), pp. 408-411.

<sup>536</sup> Including mixed Dutch, German and Latin.

Czech	1
Arabic <sup>537</sup>	1
Total	125

The predominant languages are therefore French, Latin and Italian. The manuscripts can also be divided into a number of Text-Groups, according to their chapter structure, content and claimed author:<sup>538</sup>

Abraham Colono (translator)	AC	14
Rabbi Solomon <sup>539</sup>	RS	14
<i>Clavicule Magique et Cabalistique</i>	CMC	7
<i>Secret of Secrets</i>	SS	5
Toz Graecus <sup>540</sup>	TG	5
Zekorbeni <sup>541</sup>	Zk	5
Rabbi Abognazar	Ab	4
<i>Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh</i> <sup>542</sup>	SM	4
Expurgated German texts	Exp	4
<i>Universal Treatise</i>	UT	3
Armadel <sup>543</sup>	Arm	3
<i>Key of Knowledge</i> <sup>544</sup>	KK	2
Gregorius Niger	GN	1
Geo Peccatrix	GP	1
	----	
	72	
Unexamined/unclassified		53
	----	
Total <sup>545</sup>		125

Of the 72 manuscripts examined and categorised above, the predominant Text-Groups are AC and RS, and so these two Text-Groups will be used when identifying commonalities and transmission from the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>546</sup> The manuscripts specifically addressed will be Wellcome 4670 (RS) and Wellcome 4669 (AC). In addition Mathers' familiar English edition of the *Key of Solomon*, which is almost entirely dependant on French Abraham Colorno manuscripts (AC) from the 18th century effectively includes Kings MS 288, Harley MS 3981, Sloane MS 3091, and so will also be used as a source.<sup>547</sup> Manuscripts Alnwick MS 584 (AC)

<sup>537</sup> This is not a certain identification.

<sup>538</sup> This division was first proposed in Mathiesen (2007), pp. 3-9, and then expanded in Skinner & Rankine (2008), pp. 28-32, 412-414.

<sup>539</sup> Purported author, suggestive of a Hebrew origin.

<sup>540</sup> An interesting indication of Greek origin.

<sup>541</sup> This title derives from the accidental misreading of one Hebrew word and one Latin word which when fused equates to 'nota bene.' This marginal annotation was then incorrectly assumed by the editor to be the title of the manuscript,

<sup>542</sup> Two of these were later found to be part of the same manuscript, reducing the count to three.

<sup>543</sup> Although this is the name of another grimoire, these instances are of the *Clavicula Salomonis* wrongly catalogued as the Armadel.

<sup>544</sup> A subset of AC.

<sup>545</sup> There are undoubtedly many other manuscripts as yet not discovered.

<sup>546</sup> Examination of the variations over the whole range of Text-Groups does not add significantly to the picture.

<sup>547</sup> Mathers also used Lansdowne MS 1202 (Arm) and MS Lansdowne 1203 (Ab).

and Additional 36674 (KK) have also been used in this analysis.

Although sometimes derided by scholars for producing a composite text, Mathers nevertheless conscientiously edited the manuscripts listed above, whilst adding chapters from other AC manuscripts which were missing from his main source, and in doing so these additions were clearly footnoted. It is well known that he omitted three chapters on operations of love and one chapter on operations of hate, which he claimed were derived from the *Grimorium Verum* and the *Clavicola di Salmone Ridolta*, but he admitted as much in his introduction.<sup>548</sup> He also rather naively credited Solomon the king of Israel as the author. His work in English on the AC Text-Group has however not been superseded by any scholar since, although there have been editions in French<sup>549</sup> and Italian.<sup>550</sup> Joseph Peterson remarked about Mathers' work:

Mr. Waite's harsh criticism [of Mathers] is hardly justified. In fact, Mathers excised very little. Actually, three of the four significant excisions are operations dealing with love magic (Colorno, chapters 11-13: The experiment of Love, and how it should be performed; The experiment or operation of the fruit; Of the operation of love by her dreams, and how one must practice it. The fourth excision is chapter 14: Operations and experiments regarding hate and destruction of enemies.)<sup>551</sup>

I have edited examples of three further Text-Groups (AC, RS and UT) from the French manuscripts Wellcome MS 4669 and Wellcome MS 4670,<sup>552</sup> and edited and introduced one manuscript from the SM Text-Group.<sup>553</sup>

There are at least 20 manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* in Italian (see Appendix 4), but of these only two are definitely from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>554</sup> I have not been able to examine Brescia Civica Queriniana E VI 23, and BL Additional 10862 #2 is disappointingly short, covering just five short chapters in 12 folios. It would therefore seem that there is no currently identifiable early Italian manuscript with which to compare the *Hygromanteia*. The rest of the Italian manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* are 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>555</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>556</sup>

---

<sup>548</sup> Mathers (1909), p. vi.

<sup>549</sup> Ribadeau (1980).

<sup>550</sup> The result of this attitude is that whilst a number of scholars are happy to quote from the works of both Ribadeau and Mathers, they fail to list them in their bibliographies or in their indexes. Examples of this practice can be seen in Skemer (2006), pp. 119, 131, 210, 211.

<sup>551</sup> Joseph Peterson, <http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon/ksol.htm>. Viewed November 2013.

<sup>552</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008).

<sup>553</sup> Gollancz (2008). In the course of preparing this thesis I have also consulted, summarised and indexed several manuscripts from the Text-Groups CMC and TG, and one each from Text-Groups Arm, KK, GP and Zk. The conclusion arising from this survey is that the manuscripts utilised in the comparison Table 02 are adequately representative of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>554</sup> Brescia Civica Queriniana E VI 23, BL Additional 10862 #2.

<sup>555</sup> Berlin Hamilton 589, Sloane 1309, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale III.1152, Sloane 1307, Wien 11262.

<sup>556</sup> Ettington 59, Wellcome 4668 #2, Karlsruhe 302, Leipzig 709, Leipzig 776, Ambrosiana 164 sup., Münster Nordkirchen 169, Seville Zayas C.XIV.1, Van Pelt Codex 515, Jerusalem Varia 223.

one 19<sup>th</sup> century manuscript,<sup>557</sup> and two are undated.<sup>558</sup>

The *Clavicula Salomonis*, after arriving in Italy in the 15th century soon migrated to other parts of Europe, and in doing so acquired different vernacular titles and varied contents which in broad outline correspond to the different Text-Groups. It is not possible, within the confines of this thesis, to trace this dissemination in detail, but in outline it is as follows.

In Italian the *Clavicula Salomonis* became known as *La Clavicola di Salomone redotta et epilogata* of Geo[vanni] Peccatrix<sup>559</sup> (GP) or *Zekorbeni, sive Clavicula Salomonis* (Zk).

The *Clavicula Salomonis* circulated in Latin, and was sometimes re-titled as *Secreta Secretorum* by 'Toz Graecus' (TG).

In France the *Clavicula Salomonis* became *Les Véritables Clavicules de Salomon* (Text-Group Ab), *La Clavicule de Salomon Roy des Hebreux* (AC), *Les Vrais Clavicules du Roi Solomon* (Arm), *La Clavicule Magique et Cabalistique du Sage Roy Salomon* (CMC), *Les Clavicules de Rabbi Salomon* (RS), *Le Secret des Secrets, autrement la Clavicule de Salomon* (SS) and the very reduced in content *Traité Universel des Clavicules de Salomen* (UT).

In England it became the familiar *Key of Solomon* (AC), as edited by Mathers, and the *Key of Knowledge* (KK is a subset of AC). In Germany it was severely edited to become the *Clavicula Salomonis Expurgata, oder Schlüssel des Königs Salomons* (Exp). However the *Clavicula Salomonis* does not seem to have had much influence in Germany in the face of the home-grown Faust tradition.

The Hebrew version which appeared in Amsterdam around 1700, the *Mapteah Shelomoh* (SM) has already been dealt with in chapter 3.3. There is also a Czech version, and possibly other European versions not yet identified. However Spain, Portugal,<sup>560</sup> Switzerland, Austria, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe seem to have avoided significant penetration by the *Clavicula Salomonis*. These migrations of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, in broad outline, are shown in Figure 61.

A summary of these manuscripts will be found in Appendix 3. There are only two printed editions of the *Key of Solomon* in English,<sup>561</sup> but selected passages have been published in English in volumes dealing with grimoires generally.<sup>562</sup> There are many more printed editions in French and Italian, demonstrating the popularity of this grimoire in those

---

<sup>557</sup> Seville Zayas C.V.1.

<sup>558</sup> Stadbibliotek Zittau B107 #2, Bodleian Michael 276.

<sup>559</sup> No relation to the *Picatrix*.

<sup>560</sup> Spain and Portugal favoured the grimoire of St. Cyprian in its various forms instead. With the re-discovery of the Solomonic SSM, versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis* may in due course be found in Spain.

<sup>561</sup> Mathers (1909) and Skinner & Rankine (2008).

<sup>562</sup> For example Waite (1972), Waite (1961) and Shah (1957), pp. 9-60.

languages.<sup>563</sup>

In 1737 the German bookseller Gaspar Fritsch remarked in a letter: “the *Clavicules de Salomon*, of which I have seen many manuscripts... are all different from one another.”<sup>564</sup> Faithful copies continued to circulate, but a plethora of variations and redacted copies also spread across northern Europe.

Beyond the *Clavicula Salomonis*, there were a number of grimoires circulating in Europe (predominantly Italy, France, Spain, Germany and England) which owed some of their content, and much of their method to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The main titles of this genre were *The Grimoire of Pope Honoriūs III*,<sup>565</sup> *The Grimoirium Verum*,<sup>566</sup> *The Grand Grimoire*,<sup>567</sup> *Grand Albert*, *Lesser Albert*<sup>568</sup> and *The Black Dragon*.<sup>569</sup> As well as surveying the main grimoires, Owen Davies surveys the later incarnations of many of these texts, as they descend into popular ‘pulp’ editions.<sup>570</sup> Other traditions such as the Black Books of Scandinavia,<sup>571</sup> or the many variants on the grimoires of St. Cyprian,<sup>572</sup> and the Faustbooks of Germany,<sup>573</sup> form different lineages, not directly related to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The history of these other grimoire lineages is quite complex, and beyond the scope of this thesis.

---

<sup>563</sup> For example Dumas (1980) Lecouteux (2008) and MacPathy (2013), plus a large number of anonymous publications in French, mostly with spurious dates and places of publication. In Italian see Pierini (2005).

<sup>564</sup> Barbierato (2002), p. 165.

<sup>565</sup> The most complete edition in English is Rankine & Barron (2013), pages 233-235 has a useful comparative chart of contents compared to other associated derivative grimoires. Also see Ch'ien (1998).

<sup>566</sup> Peterson (2007).

<sup>567</sup> Rudy (1996).

<sup>568</sup> Anon (1629 [but really 19<sup>th</sup> century]), Anon (1668 [but really 1765]), Ribadeau (1978).

<sup>569</sup> Cecchetelli (2011).

<sup>570</sup> Davies (2009).

<sup>571</sup> Rustad (2006).

<sup>572</sup> Davies (2009), pp. 32-3, 114-117, 125-132, 243-246.

<sup>573</sup> Benesch (1984) for texts, and Butler (1949), pp. 154-234 for commentary.

#### 4. Transmission of Specific Magical Techniques and Instruments from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis*

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the wholesale transmission of material from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis* (*Key of Solomon*), by identifying their common chapter contents, and confirming this by examining specific parallel texts.

A number of instances could be cited demonstrating the passage of material from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. For example, the Introduction of the Abraham Colorno Text-Group (AC) of the *Clavicula Salomonis*<sup>574</sup> begins with a very similar passage to that found in the opening chapter of *Hygromanteia* including the opening conversation between Solomon and his son Rehoboam:

Treasure up, O my son Roboam (*sic*)! the wisdom of my words, seeing that I, Solomon, have received it from the Lord.<sup>575</sup>

...O my Son Roboam! seeing that of all Sciences there is none more useful than the knowledge of Celestial Movements, I have thought it my duty, being at the point of death, to leave thee an inheritance more precious than all the riches which I have enjoyed.<sup>576</sup>

The *Hygromanteia* likewise uses the literary device of a conversation between Solomon and Rehoboam to point out the necessity of astronomy and timing:

Pay attention, my dearest son Rehoboam, to what I, your father Solomon, have said about the details of this art, which contain the entire method of the Magical Treatise. By means of this treatise, you will learn everything that is possible for a prudent, wise and zealous [man] concerning divine things man to know.<sup>577</sup>

The long chapter on the attributions of angels and demons to every hour of every day of the week found in the *Hygromanteia* has been passed on to the *Clavicula Salomonis*, however only the attribution of angels to the hours of the days of the week has survived. The Hebrew names of the hours have also been preserved in some *Clavicula Salomonis* manuscripts (see Figure 10).<sup>578</sup>

Citation of examples is useful, but a full comparison of the contents of every chapter in both texts is a more thorough and precise proof of this transmission. The proof that the *Hygromanteia* is the direct ancestor of the *Key of Solomon* can be demonstrated by analysing the chapters of the composite *Hygromanteia* (comprised of versions H, B, A and B2) with a chapter analysis of representative manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon*, as follows: Mathers'

---

<sup>574</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008), pp. 75-272.

<sup>575</sup> Additional MS 10862.

<sup>576</sup> Lansdowne MS 1203 as translated in Mathers (1909), p. 2.

<sup>577</sup> H. f. 18v.

<sup>578</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008), pp. 107, 108, 126, 141, 156, 172, 188, and 202.

edition (1909) which drew mostly from French AC<sup>579</sup> manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon*; Alnwick MS 584 an AC Latin manuscript probably from the early 16th century; and Additional MS 36674 a 16th century English manuscript of the KK Text-Family of the *Key of Solomon*.

---

<sup>579</sup> The Abraham Colorno Text-Group of manuscripts. See Mathiesen (2007), pp. 3-9 and Skinner and Rankine (2008), Appendix G, pp. 426-427, for full details.

Manuscript → <i>Hygromanteia</i> Chapter:	H Harley 5596	B Athen- iensis 115	A Athen- iensis 1265	B2 Bonon- iensis 3632	<i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> Chapter:	Mathers' edition	Alnwick MS 584	Add MS 36674
1. Introduction featuring Solomon and Rehoboam	H				Solomon explains the Art to his son Rehoboam <sup>580</sup>	Introduction <sup>581</sup>		
<b>PART I: Astrological</b> 2. Rulership of the planetary hours of the seven days of the week (see below for chapter 3)	H		A		1. At what hour should we give perfection to the Working	1-2 <sup>582</sup>	1-2	2-1
					2. Days, hours and planetary virtues	2-1	2-1	2-21
4 & 5. Rulership and talismans attributed to the twelve signs of the zodiac	H		A			1-2		
6. Rulership attributed to the 28 days of the Moon		B	A					
7. Electoral astrology concerning the position of the Moon	H	B	A					
8 & 9. Predictions related to the head and tail of the dragon which is in the 9th heaven		B	A					
10. The seven planetary images		B	A		23. Of the Work of Images and Astronomy	-	-	2-20
<b>PART II: Conjurations</b> 3. The prayers of the seven planets, and their angels and demons	H	B	A					
11. Conjurational of the angels	H	B	A					
12. Prayer to God					4. Confession which the Exorcist must do and recite	1-1 1-4	1-4	-
13. Angels and demons of the 24 hours of the seven days	H	B	A					
<b>PART III: Equipment:</b> 14. Planetary incenses, characters and seals	H	B	A		8. Of Burning Incense and of Perfumes	2-10 <sup>585</sup>	2-9	2-18
16. Planetary inks, parchments, characters and parchment incenses	H	B	A		12. Of the Pen, Ink and Colours. Concerning characters	2-14 2-21	2-12	2-13
15. Planetary alphabets		B	A					
17. Zodiacal herbs								
18. Planetary herbs	H							

<sup>580</sup> The first paragraph appears in Add MS 10862, a 17th century Latin manuscript, whilst the second paragraph appears in Lansdowne MS 1203 a 17th century French manuscript of the *Key of Solomon*.

<sup>581</sup> Preliminary Discourse and Introduction.

<sup>582</sup> Plus part of the Introduction. Each reference consists of Book number followed by chapter number.

<sup>583</sup> Chapters 4-9 of the *Hygromanteia* are general astrology, and do not specifically appear in the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>584</sup> These key chapters are missing from all versions of the *Key of Solomon*.

<sup>585</sup> Chapters 2-11 (of the water and hyssop) and 2-12 (of the light and of the fire) belong to this section without having specific corresponding *Hygromanteia* chapters.

<sup>586</sup> Probably separated from the Greek text of the *Hygromanteia* before translation into Latin.

Manuscript → <i>Hygromanteia</i> Chapter:	H 5596	B Athen-iensis 115	A Athen-iensis 1265	B2 Bonon-iensis 3632	<i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> Chapter:	Mathers' edition	Alnwick MS 584	Add MS 36674
19. The knife of the art	H	B	A		7. Of the Knife, Sword and Sickle of the Art	2-8 <sup>587</sup>	2-8	2-8
20. The reed pen of the art	H	B	A		588			
21. The quill of the art	H				13. Of Pens from the Quills of Swallows and Crows	2-15	2-13	2-13
22. The virgin parchment	H	B	A		15. Of the Paper and Virgin Parchment	2-17	2-15	2-15
23. The unborn parchment	H	B	A					
24. The blood of a bat	H				14. Of the Blood of Bats, Pigeons and other Animals	2-16	2-14	2-14
25. The blood of a swallow	H							
26. The blood of a dove	H							
27. The blood of an ox or sheep	H	B	A		16. Of the Virgin Wax and the Virgin Earth	2-18	2-16	2-16
28. The virgin wax	H	B	A					
29. The virgin clay (see below for 30)	H	B	A		4. Of the Fast, Care and Observations	2-4	2-4	2-4
<b>PART IV: Evocation</b> <b>First Method</b> 31. Observations, purity, bath, confession, fast, location (see also 40)	H	B						
32. The crown	H							
33. The lamen or Heavenly Seal (see also 40a)	H	B			589			
34. The ring & bell	H	B	A		590			
35. Garments: gloves, cloak, shoes, collar, lamen cover, handkerchief	H				11. Of Clothes, Boots and Shoes [and the silken cloth lamen cover]	2-6 2-20	2-6	2-7
36. The Circle - first method (see also 41)	H	B	A		3. Magical Arts (including Construction of the Circle)	1-3	1-3	-
37. The prayer and the three conjurations for the spirits	H	B			6. Stronger and more Powerful Conjurations 7. Extremely Powerful Conjuration	1-6 1-7	1-6 1-7	-
38. Conjunction for love	H	B			11. Operation of Favour and Love <sup>591</sup>	1-15	1-11 1-13	1-8

<sup>587</sup> Also Mathers (1909), Plates XIII and XIV, and chapter 2-19, 'Concerning other iron instruments.'

<sup>588</sup> Not present in the *Clavicula Salomonis* as writing technology had moved on to quill and parchment.

<sup>589</sup> The lamen is mentioned in passing.

<sup>590</sup> The ring is only mentioned in passing in the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>591</sup> Chapter 1-15 is taken by Mathers from Additional MS 10862.

Manuscript → <i>Hygromanteia</i> Chapter:	H 5596	B Athen-iensis 115	A Athen-iensis 1265	B2 Bonon-iensis 3632	<i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> Chapter:	Mathers' edition	Alnwick MS 584	Add MS 36674
39. Conjunction for a treasure	H	B			21. To render thyself Master of a Treasure possessed by Spirits	1-14	-	-
<b>PART V: Evocation Second Method</b> 40. Observations, fast, garments ( <i>see also</i> 31, 35)	H	B			2. In what Manner the Master of the Art should Govern himself	2-2	2-2	2-2
					3. How the Companions should Govern themselves	2-3 2-13	2-3	2-3
40a. Lamen. ( <i>see also</i> 33)	H				<sup>592</sup>			
41. The Circle – second method ( <i>see also</i> 36)	H	B	A		21. Formation of the Circle, and how to enter it <sup>593</sup>	2-9	-	2-9 <sup>594</sup>
42. Conjunctions of demons of the four quarters	H	B	A		<sup>595</sup>			
43. General conjunction	H	B	A		5. Prayers and Conjunctions	1-5	1-5	-
44. <i>Gasteromanteia</i> : Imprisoning a spirit in a bottle, and exorcism	H		A		<sup>596</sup>			
45. Evocation of Kalē, the Lady of the Mountains <sup>597</sup>				B2	<sup>598</sup>			
46. Evocation of the black demon Mourtzi <sup>599</sup>		B	A	B2	<sup>600</sup>			
<b>PART VI: Evocatory skrying</b> 47. <i>Epibaktromanteia</i> : Water pot skrying <sup>601</sup>	H	B	A		602			
49. <i>Hygromanteia</i> I: Water skrying with protective circle				B2				
48. <i>Lekanomanteia</i> : Bottle skrying using greasy soot	H	B	A	B2				
50. <i>Hygromanteia</i> II: Water skrying								
51. <i>Hygromanteia</i> III: Water skrying		B	A					

<sup>592</sup> The importance of the lamen has diminished in the Latin grimoires. It is mentioned in the *Key of Solomon* in passing, amongst the pentacles, where it is specified as stitched to the robe.

<sup>593</sup> Chapter 2-9 is taken by Mathers from Additional MS 10862.

<sup>594</sup> See also Mathers (1909) Plate XIV, p. 97, for the illustration.

<sup>595</sup> These appear in other Latin Solomonic grimoires such as the *Clavis Inferni*, but have been eliminated from mainstream *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>596</sup> This echoes traditional stories about Solomon imprisoning spirits in a bottle, so it is strange that it does not appear in the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>597</sup> Chapters 45 and 46 are obviously the evocation of local spirits, and were therefore not passed on to the *Key of Solomon*.

<sup>598</sup> Probably a localised Greek procedure which did not 'travel.'

<sup>599</sup> This is spelled inconsistently in the manuscripts as Mortzi, Mountzē, Mourtzi and Mourtzai.

<sup>600</sup> This evocation may relate to necromancy, as Mortzi might be a code word for a dead person.

<sup>601</sup>

<sup>602</sup> The evocatory skrying chapters did not get translated into Latin. The absence of skrying chapters in the *Clavicula Salomonis* indicates that B2 or cognate manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, were not the manuscripts used by the translators.

Manuscript → <i>Hygromanteia</i> Chapter:	H Harley 5596	B Athen- iensis 115	A Athen- iensis 1265	B2 Bonon- iensis 3632	<i>Clavicula Salomonis</i> Chapter:	Mathers' edition	Alnwick MS 584	Add MS 36674	
52. <i>Hygromanteia</i> IV: Skrying by means of basin, kettle and glass				B2	604				
53. <i>Chalkomanteia</i> : Copper bowl skrying				B2					
54. <i>Katoptromanteia</i> : Mirror skrying	H			B2					
55. <i>Krystallomanteia</i> : Crystal skrying				B2					
56. <i>Ōomanteia</i> : Skrying using an egg				B2					
57. <i>Onykhomanteia</i> : Fingernail skrying		B		B2					
58. <i>Nekromanteia</i> : Interrogation of a spirit of the dead		B		B2					
59. Invisibility using a skull. <sup>603</sup>	H		A			10. Of the Experiment of Invisibility	1-10	1-10	1-7
						9. Experiment concerning things stolen	1-9	1-9	1-6
						11. Experiment to hinder a sportsman from killing any game <sup>605</sup>	1-11	-	-
						12. [Experiment] how to make magic garters	1-12	-	-
						13. How to make the Magic carpet for interrogating the Intelligences	1-13	-	-
						16. [Experiments of the] Operations of Mockery, Invisibility and Deceit	1-16	1-15	1-12
						17. Extraordinary Experiments and Operations	1-17	1-16	1-13
						Experiments of hatred	-	1-14	1-11
						18. Concerning the Holy Pentacles <sup>606</sup>	1-8 1-18 <sup>607</sup>	1-17	2-23
						Concerning sacrifices to the Spirits <sup>608</sup>	2-22	2-20	-

Table 02: Comparison of the contents of representative manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis* demonstrating the great commonality of content.<sup>609</sup>

<sup>603</sup> There is a possibility that the manuscripts we currently have of the *Hygromanteia* were truncated at this point, as there is an “end” notice at this point in the manuscript.

<sup>604</sup> These ‘Experiments’ are almost certainly later accretions, which often accumulate at the end of manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and other grimoires.

<sup>605</sup> Chapters 11-14 are taken by Mathers from Lansdowne MS 1203.

<sup>606</sup> Derived from Jewish sources, not the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>607</sup> Also Mathers (1909), pp. 66-78, for illustrations and commentary on the pentacles.

<sup>608</sup> Not specifically covered in the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>609</sup> Even the wording of individual chapters shows close parallels.

It is clear from the foregoing Table that the chapters of the *Key of Solomon* clearly map onto the chapters of the *Hygromanteia*, but in a different order.<sup>610</sup> In most cases the topics represented by these chapter headings are dealt with in more detail in the *Hygromanteia*, proving that it was the source for the *Clavicula Salomonis/Key of Solomon*, rather than the reverse. There are four clear exceptions to this:

- i) The Pentacles. These do not occur in the *Hygromanteia*, but they do occur in many Text-Groups of the *Clavicula Salomonis*. A few very sketchy diagrams of “the 24 seals that must be drawn on the lamen” occur in some manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>611</sup> These contain very simple pentagrams, box grids and 8-spoke wheel drawings which faintly resemble ‘thumbnails’ of the much more complex pentacles of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>612</sup> These are obviously degenerate versions of the pentacles, lacking any detail, any wording or any explanation. Identifying discontinuities is as important as identifying continuities, as it sometimes leads to the discovery of new sources, as it has in the case of the pentacles. The exact details of the transmission of the pentacles will be looked at in more detail in chapter 5.4.2.
- ii) Some of the ‘Experiments’ which are clearly add-ons in many *Clavicula Salomonis* manuscripts are missing from the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>613</sup> Such experiments are often to be found at the end of European grimoires, often written in a different hand, and have obviously been added in by owners or editors of the manuscripts from other sources.<sup>614</sup>
- iii) The astrology chapters of the *Hygromanteia* (chapters 4-8) were not passed on to the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but were probably separated out into separate Latin astrology texts.
- iv) The most immediately noticeable loss is the methods of evocatory skrying (chapters 47-57), the section ironically entitled *Hygromanteia*.<sup>615</sup> These methods were not transmitted.<sup>616</sup> However, these evocatory skrying methods are found almost word-for-word in 11th century Jewish sources. Accordingly, either Jewish sources supplied

---

<sup>610</sup> The contents of these chapters (in both texts) are clearly reflected in these chapter headings.

<sup>611</sup> H, f.33.

<sup>612</sup> G, f. 25v; H, f. 31; B2, f. 360.

<sup>613</sup> Chapters 1-9, 1-11, 1-12, 1-13, 1-16 and 1-17 of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>614</sup> See Skinner and Rankine (2009) for typical examples.

<sup>615</sup> Although both Trithemius and Dee continued the skrying tradition (see Barrett (1801), Book II, pp. 135 ff), the techniques they used are watered down, and all manuscript Text-Groups of the *Key of Solomon* omit it.

<sup>616</sup> A probable explanation of this is that the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* used by the Latin translators did not contain these chapters, and/or were not part of the part of the *stemma* occupied by B2.

these chapters to the *Hygromanteia*, or were derived from this text. At the present time there is no way of determining the direction of this transmission.

It has therefore been demonstrated that there is a clear line of transmission from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Key of Solomon*. Further parallels will be outlined in chapter 5, which also takes into account procedures and equipment originating in the *PGM*, and commonalities across all three sources.

Although the skrying chapters have been omitted from the *Clavicula Salomonis*, a correlation can still be shown between them and the skrying methods represented in the *PGM*. See chapters 5.9 and 9.3.

## 5. The Commonality and Continuity of Method between the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*

This section tests the hypothesis that there is a commonality between the magicians' handbooks, techniques and tools in the three different periods and cultures being examined: Graeco-Egyptian, Byzantine and European Solomonic grimoires. The purpose of this chapter is to examine commonality of method and equipment, and not specifically their direct transmission, although that is implied. Minimal material on Mesopotamian, dynastic Egyptian magic or Jewish magic has been added where it clarifies, illuminates or contributes to the understanding, or history, of a particular practice.

In each section, the purpose is not simply to document the manifestation of the technique in each culture or era, but to use the demonstrated similarities of materials or techniques to support the thesis that many of these techniques or ingredients were common, and survived changes of geography, culture and language (albeit with some scribal mangling) over upwards of 2000 years.

Continuity is defined as "the unbroken and consistent existence or operation of something; a connection or line of development with no sharp breaks; the maintenance of continuous action..."<sup>617</sup> In Europe, continuity in magica is much more a matter of tracing the persistence of documents and their contents, rather than being able to demonstrate "continuous action," or oral passage from one practitioner to the next. This is especially true in Western Europe, where unrelenting Christian persecution of magic has been in force for at least 1700 years, and before that, selective persecution. As a result of this, although it is sometimes possible to identify some of the magicians who owned the magicians' handbooks, it is not often possible to identify the passage of techniques and training from one magician to another. The history of magic in Europe therefore has more often been one of rediscovery, each magician reassembling techniques from the books and manuscripts of previous practitioners. Under these circumstances it is remarkable that there is such a degree of commonality given the fragmentation of the transmission.

The first example of transmission, spanning the period from 579 to 1425, from the end of the period covered by the *PGM* to within a few years of the earliest recorded manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*, is concerned with the iconography of the spiritual creatures who were the target of evocations rather than the evocations *per se*.

A sarcophagus dated 579 CE was discovered in Xian (Chang An) in 2003. It shows a very

---

<sup>617</sup> *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1999).

clearly delineated god or demon/daimon carved in deep relief. The image shows a figure with a pronounced upward curving beard, wings and very pronounced four-claw bird feet, a lunar crescent circlet on its head, and tail feathers, holding a pair of sticks each thought to be a wand or *barsom*,<sup>618</sup> and standing in front of a fire altar, with its loin cloth tied with an 'Isis knot.' The current scholarly assessment is that the figure is a 'bird-priest,' but the very distinct and narrow bird legs in no way look like a priest wearing 'birdy leggings' and indicate that the creature is clearly not human.<sup>619</sup>



Figure 01: Bird-footed demon or *yazata* portrayed on a 579 CE Zoroastrian sarcophagus.<sup>620</sup>

<sup>618</sup> This word is remarkably close to *besom*, the broomstick of later European witches, although any such connection must for the moment remain speculative.

<sup>619</sup> The cock-like figure may be Sraosha, who was the *yazata* who first tied the *barsom*, to make an offering to Ahura Mazda (*Videvdad* 18.14-15.). He looks after the soul of the deceased for the first three days after death, and as a psychopomp, sees him across the bridge to the underworld, and so is a most appropriate motif on a sarcophagus. The figure is therefore not a priest. See Rose (2011), pp. 153-156.

<sup>620</sup> Rose (2011), p. 155.

This sarcophagus has been identified as the last resting place of a Zoroastrian, Wirkak, who lived 495-579 CE.<sup>621</sup> An intriguing thought is that the *magi* who undoubtedly performed the funeral rites for this deceased Sogdian Zoroastrian living in Xinjiang, might well have depicted on the sarcophagus the type of daimon they were used to dealing with.



Figure 02: Bird- and goat-footed demons with tails, wings and upturning beards, from a 1425 manuscript.<sup>622</sup> The upturned moon in Figure 01 may have here turned into horns. Note that the magician is standing inside a protective circle, is very obviously negotiating with the demons and giving them orders. He holds a book which is very likely to be a grimoire.<sup>623</sup>

What immediately strikes one is the close anatomical resemblance to the bird-legged and winged demons shown in a number of mediaeval manuscripts (see Figure 02). Note the

<sup>621</sup> Sogdian Zoroastrianism survived till at least the 13th century on the borders of China, whilst Islam may have all but purged it from its Iranian homeland.

<sup>622</sup> Additional MS 39844, f. 51 reproduced in Page (2004), p. 7.

<sup>623</sup> The dark anchor shape in the bottom right of the picture is not part of the image, but a show-through from f. 51v.

almost identical and unusual upturned pointed beard, the feathery tails, the bird legs and the wings on both creatures. By way of confirmatory identification of these two images, the magician in Figure 02 is described as Canoaster (i.e. Zoroaster). It is surely more than a coincidence that Zoroaster is the common denominator of these two strikingly similar images.<sup>624</sup> It is certainly not a coincidence that Zoroaster, and his *magi* priests, were seen by the Greeks as the original source of their magic.

It is just speculation, but if Zoroastrian priests, who were called *magi*, brought the magic of Zoroaster to the Greek world, might they not also have brought their iconography, or their knowledge of daimons/demons with them as well? The image of these daimons/demons might well have passed from the *magi* to Greek books of magical ritual, and later to the Latin West, especially as it was the Sogdians who were amongst the most active traders along the silk route.<sup>625</sup>

There are no illustrations of demons in the *Clavicula Salomonis* or the *Hygromanteia*, but bird-footed demons occur in contemporary magical and theological texts, alongside of goat-footed demons. The goat feet might be easily identified with Pan, but the bird-feet were not so obvious, prior to this identification. The illustration in Figure 02 dates from 1425, just 15 years before the oldest extant manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>626</sup>

It would therefore seem that the iconography of this particular spiritual creature has hardly changed in appearance over a period of 850 years. Many other examples of commonality over similarly long periods of time will be examined in this chapter, not of images of spiritual creatures, but of the methods and materials used to evoke them.

#### *Methods and Materials of Magic*

The following exploration of these methods and materials of magic has been divided up into the following broad classifications:

1. *Hierarchy of spiritual creatures*: the magician's approach to the classification of the hierarchy of spiritual creatures: gods, daimones, angels, spirits, demons, etc.
2. *Preliminary Procedures and Preparation*: timing, location, baths, purity, abstinence, etc.
3. *Protection*: the Solomonic circle, triangle, brass vessel, phylacteries and lamens.

---

<sup>624</sup> The only other explanation is that the iconography of demons remained the same, regardless of when they were sculptured or painted.

<sup>625</sup> It is worth pointing out that Sogdian Zoroastrian manuscripts pre-date *any* surviving Avestan manuscripts from either Iran or India by more than 300 years. Zoroastrian fire temples were found near Dunhuang, a major trade 'gateway' to China. The Sogdian word for demon was *shimnu*.

<sup>626</sup> MS Bononiensis Univers. 3632.

4. *Written Words*: amulets, talismans, *charakteres*, seals, *defixiones*, etc
5. *Spoken Words*: the *nomina magica*, invocations, prayers, conjurations, licences to depart, commemorations, etc.
6. *Magical Equipment*: wands, swords, knives, rings, censers, pens, inks, statues, tables, wax images, etc.
7. *Consumables*: *materia magica*, incense, ointment, blood, oil, etc.
8. *Specific Magical Techniques*: Obtaining a *paredros*, sending visions, love spells, invisibility, sacrifice, necromancy, treasure finding, spirit imprisonment, etc.
9. *The Manteiai* or evocatory skrying methods, specifically the ones common to both the *Hygromanteia* and the *PGM*: *lychnomanteia*, *lekanomanteia* and *hygromanteia*.<sup>627</sup>

---

<sup>627</sup> Only those that were actually common to the *PGM* and the *Hygromanteia* have been examined. Those 'manteia' that just flourished in the Byzantine period, but do not appear to have migrated to the Latin grimoires, such as *onkhomanteia*, *ōomanteia*, *katoptromanteia* or *chalkomanteia*, are not examined.

## 5.1 The Hierarchy of Spiritual Creatures

The importance of hierarchy in magic cannot be overstressed. It is one of the basic principles acknowledged and utilised by magicians in all periods. It is well known that knowing the name of a spirit is reputed to give the magician control over that spirit. In order to coerce that spirit into carrying out the wishes of the magician, there are a number of threats that the magician typically uses.

### 5.1.1 The Hierarchies of Spirits, Angels and Daimones

The first of these techniques is to order that spirit in the name of one of its superiors. This technique is found in ancient Egyptian magic, the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The theory of 'hierarchical threatening' is that the spirit is not in a position to check if the magician has the authority to make such an order, it simply reacts to the threat. It works on the same principle as a teacher threatening a student that he will be sent to the headmaster, an outcome that no student relishes. At the point the threat is issued, neither the headmaster, nor the superior spirit, has been consulted.

Therefore, clearly knowing the names of the spirit's superiors, at all the levels of the hierarchy, gives the magician the power he needs. This technique of utilising the power of the name, not necessarily of the supreme being, but of one further up the 'food chain' appears in each of the sources we are examining here, and so is a clear example of the transmission of a magical technique. Specific illustrative examples are detailed below.

#### *Jewish Sources*

In Jewish magic, it is clearly acknowledged that the magic is performed by angels or demons, constrained by the magician who uses the names of god or his archangels as his credentials for ordering around the lesser angels or spirits:

God is usually not compelled directly in these incantations. Rather it is his authority that is brought to bear on his subordinates, the angels or demons. In fact, the angels can be seen as heavenly bureaucrats, loyal to their superiors and suspicious of mere mortals. The magician holds a script - the amulet (or more accurately, the spoken incantation), bearing the seal of the [spirit] King - the magical name. Thus it is this authority, and not any inherent power of the individual, that enables the magicians to command angels and demons and help the client. This function may also explain the affinities between magical and legal formulae. According to this structure by which the magician is the authorized agent of God on behalf of the client, the incantation is a document, binding on the angels [or demons], that accomplishes its function upon writing or recitation.<sup>628</sup>

This passage succinctly sums up this dynamic common to all three periods.

This approach is also very clear in the *PGM*, where the supreme gods like Phre/Ra or Osiris

---

<sup>628</sup> Swartz (1990), p. 179.

are often invoked as a coercive threat. Hierarchical threats are quite common in the *PGM*, even to using a name with which to threaten the gods themselves:

Hear me, because I am going to say the great name, ΑΩΘ,<sup>629</sup> before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel completes those things which are assigned. Your divine name according to the seven [vowels] is ΑΕΙΟΥΟΙΑΙΑΟΕΙΑΟΥΟΥΟΥΟΙΑ. I have spoken the glorious name, the name for all needs.<sup>630</sup>

This purports to be an excellent all-purpose name, as it applies to the whole range of spiritual creatures: gods, angels and daimones. The threat is also closely tied in to the magician's order to complete the task in hand and/or reveal certain information.

The obverse of this threat is to promise the spiritual creature that the magician will praise it to its superiors. One such Demotic inducement to assist in a lamp skrying, promises that the daimon will be praised to Ra, the sun god and also to the moon god:

I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne...<sup>631</sup>

Daimones are below the gods in the hierarchy. Daimones are defined in some detail by Socrates who quotes Diotima as saying that daimones are:

Interpreters and ferrymen, carrying divine things to mortals and mortal things to gods; requests and sacrifices from below and commandments and answers from above. Being midway between, [daimones] make each half supplement the other, so that the whole becomes unified. Through them are conveyed all divination (*mantike*) and all priestly crafts concerning sacrifices, initiations, incantations, all prophetic power (*manteia*) and magic. For the divine does not mix with the mortal, and it is only through the mediation of [the daimones] that mortals can have any interaction with the gods, either while awake or while asleep.<sup>632</sup>

In the sense of messengers of the gods, daimones seem very close in nature to angels, except that they deliver messages in both directions, not just *from* god. The fact that they are also seen as the conduit for magic and divination reinforces the relationship between the magician and the daimones in their later Mediaeval 'incarnation' as demons.

The works of Classical Greek writers and Neoplatonists like Iamblichus and Synesius were of course available to the Byzantines, unlike the Latin West, which did not have such easy access to Greek materials, till Ficino's translations. Byzantines were for the most part Orthodox Christians, but despite their Christian affiliations, their views on daimones/demons were partly shaped by the Neoplatonic sources that were also available to them in Greek.

Michael Psellus (1018-1096) sums up the 11th century Orthodox view of daimones coloured by his familiarity with Neoplatonic texts, and laced with some rather forced but politically correct raillery against some of the schismatic sects, while still taking an active interest in,

---

<sup>629</sup> ΑΩΘ.

<sup>630</sup> *PGM XII. 117.*

<sup>631</sup> *PDM* xiv. 493.

<sup>632</sup> Plato, *Symposium*, 202e-203a as quoted in Johnston (2008), p.10.

and an opportunity to discuss, their heretical theology. Psellus in his Περὶ Δαιμόνων, *On Daimones* divides daimones into six classes:<sup>633</sup>

1. Igneous (fiery)<sup>634</sup>
2. Aerial (airy)<sup>635</sup>
3. Terrestrial (earthy)
4. Aqueous (water)
5. Subterranean (underneath the earth, in caves)
6. Heliophobic (adverse to sunlight).

This division is often found in later grimoires, especially those of the German Faustian tradition, where 'heliophobic' is more often expressed as 'lucifugous'.<sup>636</sup> Obviously the first four varieties owe a lot to the elemental divisions of the encyclopaedist Isidore of Seville. In his *De Omnifaria Doctrina*, Psellus stated that although Christians were obliged to view all demons as bad, the non-Christian Greeks and 'Chaldaeans' believed that at least the ethereal and aerial demons were good. This view was echoed by magicians then and subsequently.

By the time that Solomonic magic had reached Byzantium, it had developed a detailed hierarchy of angels and demons, as is exemplified in the long tables of their names.<sup>637</sup> The purpose of this categorisation was to ensure that the correct angel/demon pair was conjured on the correct day, and at the correct hour. The importance of timing as well as the association of named demons/angels with each hour of each day is a definite importation from the *PGM*, which will be examined in chapter 5.2.3.

Greenfield explains the practical use of the hierarchy in the Byzantine context:

Indeed, it was in such theories [of hierarchy] that much of the role ascribed to the demons in divination and sorcery was grounded since their position as the controllers, administrators or servants of such powers and influences made it vital for the practitioner of these arts to secure their favour in some way, to find the moment when they were most favourable or most easily led, or else to force them to use their power in the desired fashion. In the last case this might usually be accomplished by [threatening them with] the authorities who were believed to be positioned above them in their particular astrological hierarchy.<sup>638</sup>

A second technique that occurs in the *Hygromanteia* and in subsequent Latin grimoires is the procedure of invoking the spiritual creatures in a fixed sequence. The *Hygromanteia* has its hierarchy formally embedded in the scheme of invocation, so that there are specific instructions that the planet and the relevant angel must be invoked first, followed by the daimon, and then the spirit who is actually to be entrusted with the task. This is a significant

---

<sup>633</sup> Collison (2010), p.18.

<sup>634</sup> Or ethereal.

<sup>635</sup> By some commentators referred to as 'sub-lunar' daimones, inhabiting the air space between the Moon and the Earth.

<sup>636</sup> Butler (1949), pp. 35, 164.

<sup>637</sup> For example Marathakis (2011), pp. 55-68 where  $7 \times 24 \times 2 = 336$  demons and angels occur just in one such table.

<sup>638</sup> Greenfield (1988), p. 176.

development from the ‘free-range’ threatening of the *PGM*. The other advance is that the hierarchy is invoked in descending order, rather than just listed at random, as is often the case in the *PGM*.

A third technique is the use of “thwarting angels,” the matching of the demon of each hour with its angelic opposite number, who controls it. One of the earliest examples of this is to be found in the 1st/2nd century *Testament of Solomon*, and it is also present in the *Hygromanteia*. The *Hygromanteia* has a large number of listed demons, each with their matching number of angels. Amongst the angels regular -ael or -iel endings predominate, betraying a distinctly Hebraic origin for many of their names.<sup>639</sup>

The technique of threatening a spiritual creature with one further up the hierarchy is also utilised in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, where god’s name is also often invoked. The *Clavicula Salomonis* has a detailed hierarchy of archangels, angels and spirits, and a similar mechanism for threatening recalcitrant spirits. Another recalcitrant spirit technique that comes to full fruition later, in the *Goetia*, is the practice of heating the spirit’s sigil over a fire in order to cause the spirit pain.<sup>640</sup>

The names of the spirits in the Latin and vernacular grimoires give clues as to the origin of these texts, as well as confirming the continuity of their hierarchical structure. *Juratus*, one of the earliest grimoires to appear in Latin Europe (circa 1225 CE)<sup>641</sup> has an interesting selection of 100 “Holy Names of God.” One analysis made of these 100 names estimates 49 names are of Greek origin and 17 names of Hebrew origin, with the balance being of indeterminate origin.<sup>642</sup> It therefore seems very likely that the origin of this grimoire (like the origin of the *Clavicula Salomonis*) will eventually be discovered in the Greek speaking eastern Mediterranean.

In later Latin and English grimoires there is an elaborate structure which copies European civil administration. The *Goetia* (1641,<sup>643</sup> but with precursor texts dating back to the 15th century) for example, has a whole range of aristocratic spirits including Kings, Dukes, Earls, Marquises, Presidents, Princes and Prelates, down to lowly Knights.<sup>644</sup> These aristocratic spirits are also matched with the planets, where logically the 12 Kings are attributed to the

---

<sup>639</sup> These were probably added to the *Hygromanteia* in the early Geonic period, according to Pingree (1980), p. 10.

<sup>640</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2007), p. 182.

<sup>641</sup> On the basis of the mention of this book by William of Auvergne (c.1180-1249). Some scholars repudiate this mention on the grounds that *Liber Sacratus* is not necessarily to be identified as *Liber Sacer/Juratus*. On the other hand there is no certainty that the books are *not* the same.

<sup>642</sup> Skinner (2006), Table M7.

<sup>643</sup> Sloane MS 3825.

<sup>644</sup> See Table M17 and M18 in Skinner (2006).

Sun in each of the 12 zodiacal signs.<sup>645</sup> In 1563 Weyer<sup>646</sup> even entitled his grimoire, listing the very same spirits, as the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, or 'False Monarchy of the Demons.'<sup>647</sup>

The 72 demons of the *Goetia* are divided up by both the 12 zodiacal Signs and the seven Planets.<sup>648</sup> However these lists have obviously been edited a number of times, so that the number of demons occupying the sphere of Saturn has been reduced to just one (Furcas);<sup>649</sup> while Venus has 22 demons allocated to it. Mercury, Moon and Sun each have 12 demons. This uneven distribution is a sure sign that the lists have been redacted a number of times, with the less helpful Saturnian spirits gradually being omitted from the listing, and Venusian spirits (for the popular operations of love) increased. These changes appear therefore to have come about as a result of usage and experimentation, rather than just at the arbitrary whim of a redactor. The zodiacal distribution is more even-handed than the planetary division, with an average of six demons per sign.

The *Art Almadel* divides its angelic hosts into four *chorae*.<sup>650</sup> *Chora* is usually translated from the Latin *altitudine* as "altitude" which only makes sense, in the context, if one assumes that the choirs of angels are drawn from different (planetary) spheres which are located at varying altitudes above the Earth.<sup>651</sup> The original Greek meaning of *chora*, in use in Egypt in the 1st century BCE, refers to the suburban areas immediately outside of the cities of Naukratis, Ptolemais and Alexandria.<sup>652</sup> It is then not too much of an imaginative stretch to see that as the *chorae* were districts, the angels might have been attributed to these districts or simply to the four cardinal directions of these districts:

...for you must observe there are four Altitudes [*chorae*] which represent the four Corners of the world East, West, North and South... and the Angels of every [one] of these Altitudes have their particular Virtues and powers as shall be showed hereafter.<sup>653</sup>

A time, as well as space, dimension is added by attributing the four *chorae* to the 12 zodiacal signs. For example, the first *chora* is attributed to the East, and the first three Signs of the zodiac. Following this logic, the invocant should face East and invoke the first two angels of that *chora* in the day of the Sun, and the Sign of Aries:

As for Example, Suppose I would call the two first of the five [angels] that belongs to the first Chora, then choose the first Sunday in March after the Sun hath entered Aries, and then I make

---

<sup>645</sup> There has been some redactional loss of consistency in Leo, Libra, and Capricorn.

<sup>646</sup> Johann Weyer (1515-1588) was a Dutch physician and a pupil of Cornelius Agrippa.

<sup>647</sup> See Weyer (1660) and Weyer (1998).

<sup>648</sup> The full matrix of these demons is laid out in Table M18 of Skinner (2006).

<sup>649</sup> There is a good argument for seeing even that attribution as a mistake.

<sup>650</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2007), pp. 344-346.

<sup>651</sup> Antonio da Montolmo in his *De Occultis et Manifestis* equates the Altitudes with the angels of the 12 zodiacal Signs. See Weill-Parot (2012), p. 277.

<sup>652</sup> Bagnall (2004), p.294.

<sup>653</sup> *Goetia* in Skinner and Rankine (2007), p. 342.

my [magical] Experiment. And so do the like [the same] if you will the next Sunday after again.<sup>654</sup>

The theme of the directional attributions of spiritual creatures will be taken up again in chapter 5.2.2.

### 5.1.2 The Gods (G)<sup>655</sup>

The gods of ancient Egypt, especially Anubis, Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates and Thoth frequently feature in the rites of both *PDM* and the *PGM*, but few if any, make their way though to the *Hygromanteia* or to the Latin grimoires.<sup>656</sup>

Interaction with the god or goddess was considered by the magician as one of the most valuable outcomes of his craft. The god may simply answer some pressing questions, or it may remain a permanent helpmate or sponsor.<sup>657</sup> The arrival of the god or goddess may be obtained in several different manners. These experiments are categorised as: dreams and Visions ('V'); direct vision of the god ('E'); association with the god ('G') in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. The most common occurrence was the god's intervention in the practitioner's dreams. Such dreams were reputedly very lucid and not at all like ordinary dreams (which was the touchstone of their nature). Secondarily the divinity might appear in the context of a skrying operation and be seen in a bowl of water or oil, a crystal (more relevant in Europe after the Middle Ages) or in the reflected flame of a lamp. These techniques are categorised as 'B' or 'D' in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

However, the most impressive epiphany of the god or goddess was their physical appearance in front of the magician, during which the magician may be able to ask questions and receive answers. Under these circumstances the usual injunction (just as in Biblical accounts of Yahweh appearing to Moses, or to the other Hebrew prophets) was not to look directly at the face of the divinity, but to "look at their feet."<sup>658</sup> In later European grimoires, the manifesting spirit is commanded to appear in a human-like and non-frightening form, without arousing fear in the viewers. Likewise, both gods and spirits were constrained to tell the plain truth and not lie in many of the conjurations:

I, N, son of N, present my supplication before you, that you appear to me [without] causing

---

<sup>654</sup> The *Goetia* in Skinner and Rankine (2007), p. 346.

<sup>655</sup> The bracketed letters appearing after many of the chapters in chapter 5 correspond to the rite types used to categorise the *PGM* rites in Appendix 2. All of these rite types have their own chapters, except for the Sundry rites (O, E, X), the Mystery rites (M), Prayers (P) and operations which are categorized just on the basis of their objectives, rather than on the basis of the techniques involved.

<sup>656</sup> A few exceptions of corrupted god names appearing as demons will be noted later.

<sup>657</sup> Rather like the classical Greek gods or goddesses who often assisted a chosen mortal.

<sup>658</sup> Yahweh reputedly showed Moses his hind-quarters, to protect that worthy from the probably fatal outcome of a direct glance. Medusa also provided similarly disastrous outcomes for those that looked her straight in the face.

fear, and you be revealed to me without causing terror, and you conceal nothing from me and tell me truthfully all that I desire.<sup>659</sup>

Apparently even the gods could be tricky and not always reliable. A typical Apollonian invocation from the *PGM* also makes a similar request.

I adjure these holy and divine names that  
They send me the divine spirit and that it  
Fulfil what I have in my heart and soul...  
Send me this daimon at my sacred chants...  
And send him gentle, gracious, pondering  
No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not  
Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard  
That my whole body come to [the] light intact.<sup>660</sup>

One divine encounter, recounted in the form of a letter from Νεφώτης Nephōtēs (Nepher hotep) to Psammetichos, King of Egypt, is designed to question Helios.<sup>661</sup> As both the actors in this are Egyptian, it is a fairly safe assumption that the original Sun god so conjured would have been Phre/Ra, or possibly Horus. This rite explains that, although the god may not be visible, there will be a sign of his presence:

After you have said this three times, there will be this sign of divine encounter, but you, armed by having this magical soul,<sup>662</sup> be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that [the god has come, and so] you should arise.<sup>663</sup>

One of the most detailed accounts of a god's arrival is recounted by Thessalos of Tralles, a doctor (in a letter to the Emperor Claudius):

Now, he [the priest] had prepared a pure room (*oikos*) and the other things that were necessary for the visitation (*episkepsis*)... (22) The high-priest asked me whether I would want to converse with the soul of some dead person or with a god. I said, 'Asklepios.'

...Now when he had shut me in the room and commanded me to sit opposite the throne upon which the god was about to sit, he led me through the [pronunciation of the] god's secret names and he shut the door as he left. (24) Once I sat down, I was being released from body and soul by the incredible nature of the spectacle. For neither the facial features of Asklepios nor the beauty of the surrounding decoration can be expressed clearly in human speech. Then, reaching out his right hand, Asklepios began to say: (25)

"Oh blessed Thessalos, attaining honour in the presence of the god. As time passes, when your successes become known, men will worship you as a god. Ask freely, then, about what you want and I will readily grant you everything." (26)

I scarcely heard anything, for I had been struck with amazement and overwhelmed by seeing the form of the god. Nevertheless, I was inquiring why I had failed when trying the prescriptions of Nechepso. To this the god said: (27)

"King Nechepso, a man of most sound mind and all honourable forms of excellence, did not obtain from an utterance of the gods what you are seeking to learn. Since he had a good natural ability, he [just] observed the sympathy of stones and plants with the stars, but he did not know

<sup>659</sup> *Sepher ha-Razim*, 4: 63-65.

<sup>660</sup> *PGM* I. 312-323.

<sup>661</sup> *PGM* IV. 154-220.

<sup>662</sup> I believe this is a mis-translation, and ψυχὴ should be translated as 'spirit,' in the sense of an assistant spirit. It makes more sense to be armed by having an external assistant spirit rather than by your own soul.

<sup>663</sup> *PGM* IV. 207-212.

the correct times and places one must pick the plants. (28) For the produce of every season grows and withers under the influence of the stars. That divine spirit, which is most refined, pervades throughout all substance and most of all throughout those places where the influences of the stars are produced upon the cosmic foundation.”<sup>664</sup>

Thessalos was neither a priest nor a magician, but due to persistence he had the privilege of meeting the god Asklepios face to face, courtesy of a priest who gave him the correct *nomina magica*. One of the prime requirements of ritual magic, in all periods, is to know the correct names, not only of the god being invoked, but also of his secret names. This passage also affords us confirmation of the importance of right times, especially in the picking of herbs used in magic. The conditions for herb harvesting will be further pursued in chapter 6.14.

One of the rites in the *PGM* affords us a contemporary view of what were considered the key god names across various cultures in Egypt in the first few centuries CE. These are listed in Table 03.

According to the...	God name – original Greek	Betz’s translation/transliteration
Egyptians	Φνω εαι Ἰαβωκ	PHNŌ EAI IABŌK
Jews	Ἄδωναίε Σαβαωθ	ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH
Greeks	ὁ πάντων μόναρχος βασιλεύς	“the king of all, ruling alone”
[Egyptian] High priests	κρυπτέ, ὀρύτε, πάντας ἐφορων	“hidden, invisible, overseer of all” <sup>665</sup>
Parthians	Οὐερτω παντοδυνάστα	OUERTŌ master of all
[Gnostics] <sup>666</sup>	Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀβρασάξ	IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX <sup>667</sup>

Table 03: God names derived from various cultures used in the same *PGM* rite.<sup>668</sup>

Of these names, Iaō, Sabaōth, Adōnaie and to a lesser extent Abrasax, have endured through to the later European grimoires. These were not necessarily the gods of religion but the god names the magician used to enforce his control over lesser spirits. The same passage concludes:

Yea, lord, for to you, the god in heaven, all things are subject, and none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me because I have called on your great name for the consecration.<sup>669</sup>

Another passage which neatly sums up the gods important to the magician comes from Homer but is embedded in the Graeco-Egyptian texts, as if it were a valued reference for the

<sup>664</sup> Codex Matritensis Bibliothèque Nationale MS 4631, published by Graux in 1878. English translation courtesy of Philip Harland.

<sup>665</sup> Ogdoas. See the *PGM* XIII. 741-747 for a justification of this suggestion.

<sup>666</sup> The names inscribed on the back side of the stone.

<sup>667</sup> This is followed by an illustration which appears in Preisendanz Vol. 2, p. 76, but not in the corresponding translation in Betz (1996), p. 163. The illustration is of poorly represented hieroglyphics, of which only ‘ankh’ and ‘neter’ are easily recognizable.

<sup>668</sup> *PGM* XII. 264-269.

<sup>669</sup> *PGM* XII. 261-263.

magician.<sup>670</sup> The list of gods in this passage is very much a mixture of each of the cultures that have contributed to the *PGM*. It opens with Anubis (Egyptian), and lists Gnostic gods (Abraxas, Ablantho), Greek gods (Circe, infernal Zeus, Hermes, Hades, Titan), gods of the firmament (the Bear asterism<sup>671</sup> and Sirius) and even the Jewish god (Iaweh or Yahweh).

In another passage,<sup>672</sup> apart from the usual gods/goddesses there are the Greek gods of personified qualities, like Famine, Jealousy, the Destinies, the Malignities and the Punishments. This spell has the longest roll-call of Greek mythology of any *PGM* rite: the Erinys Orgogorgoniotrian; many chthonic forms of Persephone (Persephassa), Hermes, Hekate, Acheron, Amphiros, Ariste, Tartaros, Charon, Chaos, Erebos, Styx, Lethe, Hades, Pluto, Aiakos and Zeus. There is also a long string of unusual *nomina magica*.

Kore is one of the few classical Greek goddesses that has persisted through to the European grimoires, usually appearing as a demon, right up to her appearance in the 15th century *Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*.<sup>673</sup>

As a general rule, the invocation of gods or goddesses has been deleted from texts like the *Hygromanteia*, after filtering through many centuries of Christian control, but their names are still used to designate the days of the week, and may occasionally appear in mangled form in invocations.

The Christianisation of the grimoires leaves little room for the pagan gods in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but the various Hebrew names for god like Jehovah and Sabaoth are still maintained as an ultimate threat to spirits.

### 5.1.3 The Hierarchy of Angels

In what is a Jewish influenced rite,<sup>674</sup> for consecrating a lamella for favour, victory and power, the angels of the heavens are enumerated as listed in Table 04.<sup>675</sup> The concept of stratified heavens and their association with rain and snow is definitely derived from Jewish sources, along with at least three of the angel names. The seven heavens with their associated angels appear in a more consistent form in the late 15th century *Heptameron* of Peter de

---

<sup>670</sup> *PGM* XXIII. 26-50.

<sup>671</sup> This is the constellation of Ursa Minor or the Plough. The Egyptians considered this asterism to be female (*PGM* LXXII. 36).

<sup>672</sup> *PGM* IV. 1390-1595.

<sup>673</sup> Translated in Mathers (1900).

<sup>674</sup> As witnessed by the use of the phrase “the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,” and by the list of angels.

<sup>675</sup> For a correlation of the seven Heavens with natural phenomena see Skinner (2006), Tables K69-K73.

Abano (1250-1316).<sup>676</sup>

Heaven	Angel	Natural phenomena	Angel
Abyss	Bythath	Snow	Telzē
1st	Marmar	Sea	Edanōth
2nd	Raphaēl	Serpents	Saesechel
3rd	Souriēl	Rivers	Tabiym
4th	Iphiaph		Bimadam
5th	Pitiēl		Chadraoun
6th	Mouriatha		Chadrallou
7th			

Table 04: The correlation of the angels with the seven Heavens and various natural phenomena.<sup>677</sup>

The angels of the planets vary from manuscript to manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>678</sup> but the most common angels in manuscript P are:<sup>679</sup>

Sun	Mikhaēl
Moon	Gabriēl
Mars	Ourouēl
Mercury	Apodokiēl
Jupiter	Raphael <sup>680</sup>
Venus	Anaēl
Saturn	Ktinotothen

Standard angels, like Mikhaēl, Ouriel (Ariēl), Raphael, Gabriēl, Anaēl are also to be found scattered through the lists of planetary angels in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>681</sup>

The *Hygromanteia* places great emphasis on controlling the planets, planetary angels and demons, and the careful observance of planetary hours. These also form an important part of the *Clavicula Salomonis* manuscripts. See chapter 5.2.3.

At least five of these angels map on to the angels of the hours in the *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>682</sup> Given that these angels probably originated in Babylon, and occasionally appear in the PGM, these names are probably one of the longest established commonalities amongst all the magical texts under consideration.

<sup>676</sup> The seven Heavens are listed with their corresponding spirits as outlined in (Abano) in Skinner (2006), Table M10.

<sup>677</sup> PGM XXXV. 1-14.

<sup>678</sup> For a full list see Marathakis (2011), pp. 71-74.

<sup>679</sup> Even within this manuscript there are a number of variant forms, but the ones chosen are the most common.

<sup>680</sup> The attribution of Raphael to Jupiter instead of Mercury is uncommon, occurring otherwise in the *Picatrix*.

<sup>681</sup> Chapters 3 and 13.

<sup>682</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 8.

De Abano's *Heptameron* has an even more complex list of angels, which also appears in the RS Text-family of the *Clavicula Salomonis*,<sup>683</sup> which is divided up by Season:<sup>684</sup>

Angels of the Seasons from de Abano's <i>Heptameron</i>				
	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Name of Season	Talvi	Casmaran	Ardarael	Farlas
Angels of Season	Caratasa, Core, Amatiel, Commissoros	Gargatel, Tariel, Gaviel	Tarquam, Guabarel	Amabael, Ctarari
Head of Sign	Spugliguel	Tubiel	Torquaret	Altarib
Earth in Season	Amadai	Festativi	Rabianara	Geremiah
Sun in Season	Abraym	Athemay	Abragini	Commutaff
Moon in Season	Agusita	Armatus	Matasignais	Affaterim

Table 05: The Seasonal angels of the *Heptameron*.<sup>685</sup>

### 5.1.4 The Hierarchy of Demons

As *daimon* was a Greek concept, and *demon* a Christian adaptation of that concept, it is reasonable to maintain that there are no daimones or demons in dynastic Egyptian magic. Of course there are many Egyptian gods, like Apep or Seth to which demonic behaviour has been attributed.

In order to understand the nature of daemons we can look back at a text which is normally characterised as purely about theurgy and Neo-Platonic theology, but which in fact makes some very shrewd observations about other spiritual creatures, and which continue to be relevant long past the period in which they were written.

Iamblichus (c. 250-325 CE) is one of the most important sources of the philosophy and theology behind magic, and he is contemporary with the bulk of the material in the *PGM*. Scholars, however, usually characterise him among the Neoplatonic philosophers, and do not look to him for elucidation on matters of magic. However he provides some useful contemporary theological and philosophical background to the *PGM*.

Iamblichus was a disciple of Porphyry, who was in turn a student of perhaps the most important Neoplatonist, Plotinus. Iamblichus' influential treatise *De Mysteriis*, or *Theurgia*, or *On the Mysteries of Egypt* is in the form of a reply to a letter from Porphyry to Anebo, an Egyptian priest, clearly linking the text with the Graeco-Egyptian world, and hence the Graeco-Egyptian magic of the *PGM*. Although it is usually said that this text deals only with theurgy, which operates predominantly through the agency of the gods, it contains material

<sup>683</sup> Chapter XII of Wellcome MS 4670 (dated 1796) as translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 103.

<sup>684</sup> It is not clear where these angel names come from.

<sup>685</sup> Abano (2005), pp. 76-96; Skinner (2006), Table M10a.

on other forms of magic. Iamblichus' influence on magic was further propagated by Agrippa who referred frequently to him in his *De Occulta Philosophia*. Renaissance Neoplatonists, like Ficino, and Kabbalists like Pico della Mirandola, Giordano Bruno and even Nostradamus (see chapter 8.3), were also influenced by Iamblichus.

In *De Mysteriis*, apart from the gods, archons, angels, daimones, heroes and 'pure souls' there is also described a class of un-named spiritual creatures who are said to be irrational and almost robotic.<sup>686</sup> They are initially described as:

...another class of being from among those which surround us, devoid of reason and judgement, which has been allotted just one power, in the apportionment of tasks which has been prescribed for each entity in each of the parts [of the universe]...<sup>687</sup>

Then as:

...there exists a certain class of powers (δυνάμεων) in the cosmos - limited, devoid of judgement and highly irrational, which are capable of receiving and obeying rational instruction from another, but neither has any understanding of its own nor distinguishes what is true or false or what is possible or impossible. It is such a class that is at once stirred up and startled when threats are brandished at them, since, it seems to me, it is in their own nature to be led by appearances and to be influenced by other things through a foolish and unstable imagination.<sup>688</sup>

This description seems to closely fit the demons of the later grimoires especially, because:

- i) They are allocated one function. Typically, in the grimoires, demons have one or two specialised functions, so that one who satisfies lust cannot be constrained to help a huntsman, or find gold, for example.
- ii) They are capable of receiving and obeying rational instruction. Unlike gods or angels, demons are typically ordered around by the magician.
- iii) They have no understanding of truth or falsity. Demons are often accused in the grimoires of lying to the magician, but maybe Iamblichus had a better understanding of the situation when he said they cannot distinguish truth from falsehood.
- iv) Most telling, he says that these spiritual creatures may be "stirred up and startled when threats are brandished at them." This encapsulates the method used in the grimoires, which recommend threatening spirits with punishment in the deepest hell, an action that the magician certainly is not in a position to enforce. Such bogus threats are also to be found in the *PGM* where the magician threatens to stop the sun in its course, or report the spirit to some supreme god.
- v) Iamblichus' conclusion that such entities can "be led by appearances" also gives justification for the magician wearing regalia like a (paper) crown, or other

---

<sup>686</sup> My thanks to Christopher Plaisance for drawing my attention to these passages.

<sup>687</sup> *De Mysteriis* IV.1.182.

<sup>688</sup> *De Mysteriis* VI. 5.246.

accoutrements with divine names hastily inked on them, a make-believe that would not for an instant fool another human, even a child, and presumably not an angel or a god.

- vi) The standard technique of claiming to be a god, or of acting in the name of a senior demon, would likewise not be credited by anyone except an entity who cannot “distinguish what is true or false or what is possible or impossible.”

Iamblichus concludes that the demons (for that is what he is certainly speaking of here) have a “foolish and unstable imagination.” Therefore, Iamblichus appears to have understood demons and their manner of interacting with the magician, and has clearly made the distinction between them and the other entities which are dealt with under the heading of theurgy. His clear statements are probably one of the best analyses of the nature of such demons that we have, and they go a long way towards explaining the theory behind the actual methods of evocation.

Although not actually labelling them as demons, the description of their nature is completely consistent with the *modus operandi* of the magicians of the PGM, the *Hygromanteia*, the *Clavicula Salomonis* and of the later European grimoires. Most interestingly, the picture he paints is many miles from the Church’s portrayal of demons as dangerous, cunning, and intent upon securing the magician’s soul. This now makes more sense of typical grimoire instructions to threaten the demons with hell, or consignment to a bottle, bogus threats which are designed to play on their “unstable imaginations.”

Greenfield effectively summarises the Byzantine approach to demons:

The whole rationale of demonic magic, for instance, required that the demons possessed powers of their own which were seen as being experienced by men, whether they welcomed or feared them, employed or countered them. These were *not* seen as delusions, nor were they generally thought to be allowed [to act] only by God’s permission; spirits were not conjured to perform something if it was believed that they could only work illusion, demons were not commanded in the names of God and his angels if it was believed that God himself was allowing them to do what was being commanded for some ulterior and entirely different purpose.<sup>689</sup>

In fact one variety of Euchitae belief viewed Satanael as the first son of God, and Jesus the second.<sup>690</sup> Satanael also features as a demon in the *Hygromanteia*. The Bogomils attributed the miracles of the saints to the same kind of magic apparent in the *Hygromanteia*, and therefore levelled the playing field.<sup>691</sup> One of the more serious theological problems of early Christianity was to distinguish miracles (done by saints) from magic (performed by magicians). The Bogomils accepted that the same demons, and the same magical techniques,

---

<sup>689</sup> Greenfield (1988), p.166.

<sup>690</sup> According to Psellus. See Collisson and Skinner (2010), pp. 53-54 and Greenfield (1988), pp. 171-172.

<sup>691</sup> Greenfield (1988), p. 174. Also Kazhdan (1995), pp. 73-82.

were used by both saints and magicians. This is a long-standing idea, exemplified in Simon Magus's failed attempts to buy some of the relevant magical techniques from the Apostles.<sup>692</sup>

In a few versions of the prayers to the planets (in chapter 3 of the *Hygromanteia*), the angels and demons of each planet are included.<sup>693</sup> However, in the vast majority of cases these demons cannot be traced back to the *PGM*. But very interestingly, as Greenfield notices, some of the demons appear in the 1st/2nd century *Testament of Solomon*.<sup>694</sup> Most of these angel and demon names are not to be found elsewhere, so the *Testament of Solomon* is clearly one of the tributary sources of the *Hygromanteia*, or they both have a common ancestor.

Standard Judeo/Christian angels, like Mikhaēl, Ouriēl (Ariēl), Rhaphael, Gabriēl and Anaēl are also to be found in the lists of planetary angels (*Hygromanteia* chapters 3 & 13). The demons of the *Hygromanteia* have much more in common with the demons of the *Testament of Solomon* than with the entities of the *PGM*.

In the vernacular grimoires, demons are often organised into 'registers.' The two classic examples of these structures are the *Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*<sup>695</sup> and the four books of the *Lemegeton*.<sup>696</sup> The *Abramelin* hierarchy is governed by four Princes (Lucifer, Satan, Leviathan and Belial) and nine sub-Princes whose number include one Greek chthonic goddess (Kore), and four Demon Kings (Paymon, Oriens, Ariton and Amaymon), ruling 416 servient spirits. The *Lemegeton* contains four books, each of which arranges their register of spirits in a different manner. This detailed hierarchy gives ample scope for the use of the technique of threatening spirits with the names of their superiors in the hierarchy.

---

<sup>692</sup> Acts 8:9:24.

<sup>693</sup> Specifically P, f. 277-277v, where they are interleaved with the Prayers of the Planets. A full analytic table of these angels and demons of the planets is to be found in Marathakis (2011), pp. 71-74.

<sup>694</sup> Greenfield (1988), pp. 224-5.

<sup>695</sup> Mathers (1909) and Abraham of Worms (2006).

<sup>696</sup> Peterson (2001) and Skinner and Rankine (2007). The *Ars Notoria* was always an separate grimoire. All four books of the *Lemegeton* use the Solomonic *method* of evocation, the *Ars Notoria* does not.

<i>Testament of Solomon</i>	<i>Hygromanteia</i>	Demon of day	Hour	<i>Hygromanteia Manuscript</i>
Ornias	Ornai	Sunday	2nd demon	H, M, G
	Orneas	part of a basin divination <sup>697</sup>	-	N
Asmodaeus	‘Asmodai	Sunday	1st demon	M
	‘Asmōdas	Thursday	13th demon	M
	‘Asmōdri	Thursday	13th demon	G
Tephra (Tetraix)	Tephrael	Tuesday	20th demon	H
	Tephra	Tuesday	20th demon	M, G
Sphandōr (demon 7th Decan)	Spondōr	Saturday	3rd demon	H
	Spindōr	Saturday	3rd demon	M
Ephippas	‘Ephipas	Wednesday	19th demon	H, G
	‘Ephippas	Wednesday	19th demon	M
Kynopēgos	Sinopigos	Sunday	19th demon	H
	Kinopigos	Sunday	19th demon	M
	Pinopygos	Sunday	19th demon	A
‘Atrax (demon 16th Decan)	‘Arax	Sunday	16th demon	M, A, G
‘Apax/‘Arpax <sup>698</sup>	‘Aprōx	Tuesday	13th demon	M
	‘Aprōx	Tuesday	13th demon	M
	‘Aprōs	Tuesday	13th demon	G
	‘Aprixon	Tuesday	13th demon	A
Onoskelis (3rd demon)	Onoskelis	demon cured by a daffodil <sup>699</sup>	-	P2, H
	The offspring of Onoskelis	part of a basin divination <sup>700</sup>	-	N

Table 06: Correspondences between *Testament of Solomon* and *Hygromanteia* demons.

<sup>697</sup> N, f. 233v.

<sup>698</sup> 28th Decan.

<sup>699</sup> P2, f. 99; H, f. 50v.

<sup>700</sup> N, f. 233v.

## 5.2 Preliminary Procedures and Preparation

Although in village magic little or no preparation was required beyond the gathering of herbs and a few kitchen instruments, learned Solomonic ritual magic required a lot of preparation. The preliminary preparation and consecration of a number of different instruments is one of the hallmarks of the Solomonic method. These preparations are common to both the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*. Less detailed but similar rules occur in the *PGM*, but only in some rites. Typically for the *PGM*, if the rite is performed indoors then the whole room must be thoroughly cleaned. A strict limitation of diet and social intercourse, together with a tough regime of prayer was enjoined upon the magician. Rising before dawn, ablutions and the wearing of clean linen was also obligatory. The rationale of these preparations was to ensure the necessary purity for the magician to be able to deal with spiritual creatures. All of these preliminary preparations occur later in the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

### 5.2.1 Location for Operation

The most basic injunction was that the location should be pure, and preferably away from the haunts of man. The practical reasons are obvious, especially in the Latin West when magic was more vigorously prosecuted, but the spiritual reasons related to purity. It was thought that spirits, and indeed the gods, would not happily enter an impure environment. From a practical point of view having a location where there would be no interruptions from passing strangers was important, although the monk shown looking on in Figure 18 does not seem to have unduly perturbed the magician. Of course the risk of prosecution would also have enforced the finding of a secluded spot.

These concerns would not have been so pressing in ancient Egypt where magic would often have been done within the temple precincts where privacy and purity were presumably assured. Its translation to the more prosaic environment of the magician's home or workshop meant there would be an increased need for purification, but no fear of prosecution.

Egyptian priests would often freelance as magicians during the time they were not on temple duty:

The “private” magician is revealed to be none other than the cultic priest, in “private practice” during interims in temple service.<sup>701</sup>

By the time the main Egyptian temples were closed down (the last one in 550 CE), the priests had left their accustomed quarters and probably operated from their homes. A number of

---

<sup>701</sup> Ritner (2008), p. 2.

formulae suggest that the rites take place in sunlight, facing the sun, often at dawn or sunset. In many cases the operation could take place in the enclosed courtyard of the home, or upon its flat roof (both architectural features still to be found extensively in Egypt and the Middle East, where issues of rainwater runoff are not important).

Some modern 21st century magicians<sup>702</sup> counsel that evocations should be done as close to the earth as possible, preferably in a cellar, with no intervening floors between the operation and the earth. A reflection of this view can also be found in some Graeco-Egyptian Demotic invocations, where it is suggested that:

You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south, and under which there is no cellar.<sup>703</sup>

One rite confirms that the ground floor of a house is the best place from which to conjure, even for the god of the sun, Helios.<sup>704</sup> Conversely, it is recommended that rites which involve the heavens, or the Moon, or the Bear asterism be conducted “after going up to a roof top.”<sup>705</sup>

The *Hygromanteia* agrees that an isolated venue is best, but does not specify the ground floor or a cellar.

The same specification occurs in many of the *Clavicula Salomonis* manuscripts. Chapter II of the *Key of Solomon* clearly specifies the qualities required in the place of working:

You need to have procured a small chamber or a secret room... It is important that the place, which you have chosen is also clean, because you will not be able to use any decoration or unnecessary ornament in the place, as it might distract you and lead your spirit and imagination astray. A table with a few chairs and a chest, which should be kept under lock and key, is sufficient... every item of furniture, which is minimal should be new, or at least very clean and purified by the scent of the incenses...<sup>706</sup>

The second part of the Lemegeton, entitled ‘The Art Theurgia Goetia of Kinge Salomon’ has a description of the ideal place of evocation. Strangely this does not occur at the beginning of the grimoire, but part way through, incorporated into a description of the Duke Pamersiel:

To call Forth Pamersiel, or any of his servants, chuse the uppermost [uttermost] private or secret and most picitt<sup>707</sup> Rome [picked room] in the house, or in some Certaine Island wood or Grove or the most occult and hidden place [removed] from all comers and goers, that one chanc[e] by, may (if possible) happen that way ([into your] Chamber of whatsoever place else, you Act y[ou]r Concerns in) observe that it be very Ayery [airy] because these spirits that is in this part are all of the Ayer [air]...<sup>708</sup>

---

<sup>702</sup> For example Dr Joseph Lisiewski.

<sup>703</sup> PDM xiv. 766.

<sup>704</sup> PGM VI. 4.

<sup>705</sup> PGM LXXII. 1. Of course that is really only practicable in Middle Eastern locations where most houses have flat roofs.

<sup>706</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, pp. 7-8 as translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 79.

<sup>707</sup> Incorrectly changed to ‘tacit’ by the editor.

<sup>708</sup> Peterson (2008), p. 65.

The location in this case matches the nature of the aerial spirits being invoked. Most grimoires stress a secret or a secluded location.

### 5.2.2 Space – Orientation and the Four Demon Kings

Many religions orientate their temples to face East, the rising sun, but the orientation of magical operations is more complex. The time and direction faced are of prime importance in magical operations, and this has been the case since antiquity. The following passage from 460 BCE, demonstrates that it was a real concern. Even if the passage appears to give the practitioner free rein in these matters, the point is that they were acknowledged as an important consideration.

If a person wants to purify himself from attacking ghosts [*elasteroi*], he is to call on the ghost wherever he wants and at whatever point in the year he wants and in whatever month he wants and on whatever day he wants and facing in whatever direction he wants.<sup>709</sup>

For other spiritual creatures, especially spirits and demons, time of the year, day, and direction of evocation were more important issues than they apparently were for ghosts, presumably because ghosts were not bound to a specific direction or time.

In Egyptian magic (and religion) facing the rising or setting sun is a very common prerequisite of a rite. At night the ancient Egyptians had other cosmological points of reference, such as the direction of Sirius (Sothis), Orion or of the Pole Star with its attendant circling Bear asterism (Ursa Major).

Conjuration made to the four quarters (where direction is critical) is a method utilised in the PGM and the later grimoires. In one PGM rite, the description of conjuration to the four quarters utilises the vocalisation of the seven sacred Greek vowels:

*The instruction:* Speaking to the rising sun [east], stretching out your right hand to the left and your left hand likewise to the left, say “A [a once].”<sup>710</sup> To the north, putting forward only your right fist, say “E [e twice].” Then to the west, extending both hands in front [of you], say “E [h three times].” To the south, [holding] both [hands] on your stomach, say, “I [i four times].” To the earth, bending over, touching the ends of your toes, say “O [o five times].” Looking into the air, having your hand on your heart, say “Y [u six times].” Looking into the sky, having both hands on your head, say “O [w seven times]:”.<sup>711</sup>

Because of its obvious importance as a ritual action instruction, this description is followed in the papyrus by a diagram relating the vowels to the directions, which makes it clear that the letters were repeated a specific sequentially increasing number of times (see Figure 03).<sup>712</sup>

---

<sup>709</sup> Selinus, *Lex sacra* (eds. Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, 1993, col. B) as quoted in Ogden (2002), p. 162. See also Clinton (1996), pp. 159-179.

<sup>710</sup> The first of the seven Greek vowels.

<sup>711</sup> PGM XIII. 821-870 gives the full procedure.

<sup>712</sup> Betz's illustration (PGM XIII. 835-841) has been corrected in Figure 03, in line with the text of the original Greek illustration, and the logic of the associated Greek descriptive text.

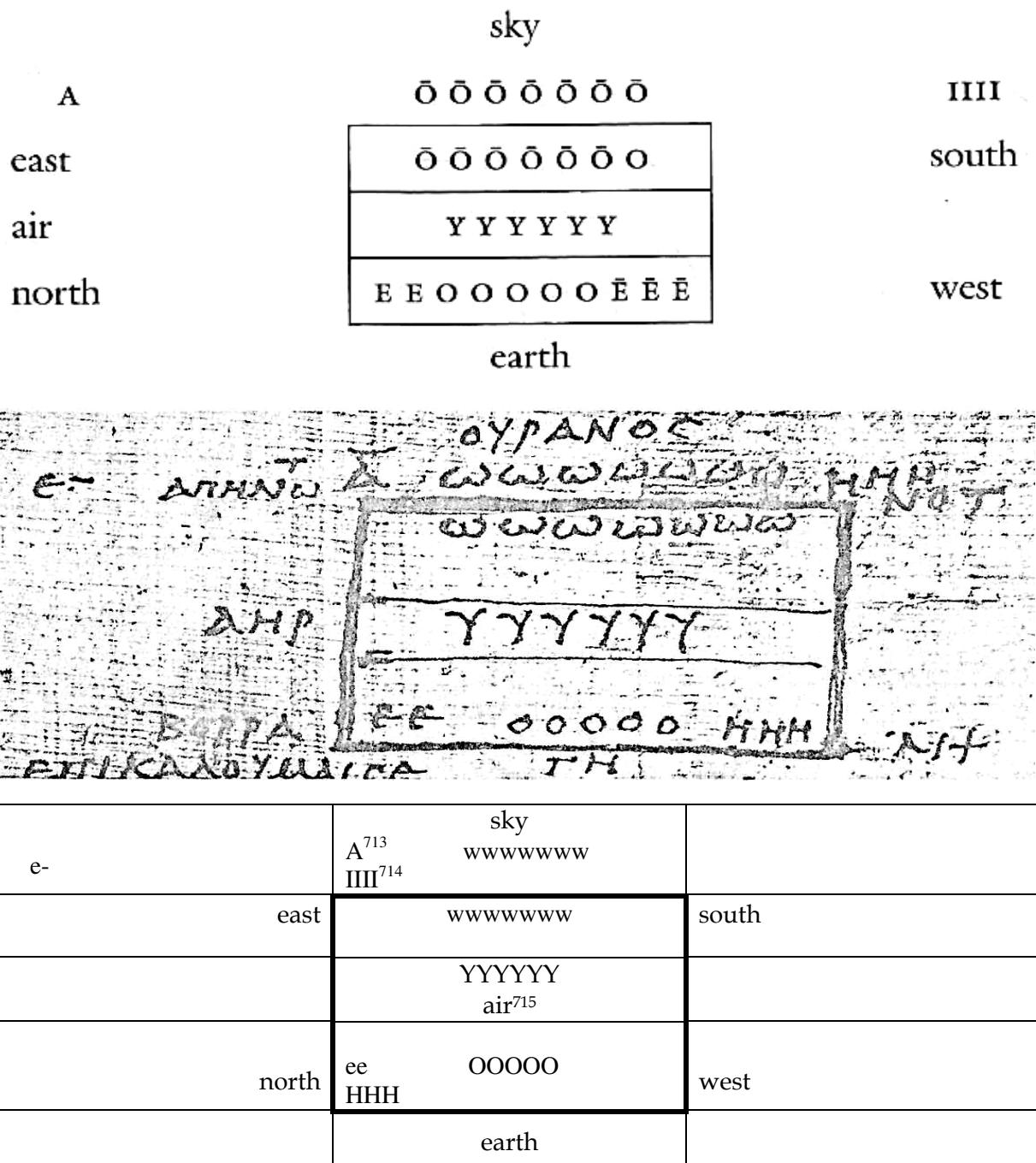


Figure 03: Schematic illustrations of an invocation to the four Cardinal directions:

Top: after the text of Betz/Smith.<sup>716</sup> Centre: the original Greek diagram.<sup>717</sup>

Bottom: a reconstruction made in the light of the original Greek and the vowel sequencing of the rite, which features the association of the seven Greek vowels with the four compass points plus the three levels of earth, air and sky. To fully correct this diagram, the 'A' and 'III' should be brought down inside the box, and the excess seven 'ω' above the box removed. This has not been done in order to keep the reconstruction similar to the layout of the original papyrus illustration.

<sup>713</sup> The 'A' and the 'III' should be inside the square, but have been left in the same position as in the Greek original, for purposes of comparison.

<sup>714</sup> The Greek text has HHH, which is obviously an error. It should be IIII, repeated four times not three.

<sup>715</sup> Applies to the centre of the diagram despite the fact that it is written on the left in the Greek original.

<sup>716</sup> Betz (1996), p. 191.

<sup>717</sup> PGM XIII. 835-841.

The procedure, as shown in Figure 6 (*bottom*) is to invoke in a circle moving east, north, west then south. Using the seven vowels the invocation begins with α, then εε, ηηη and υυ, increasing the number of repetitions each time, after which an invocation to the earth with οοοοο, then air with υυυυυυ followed by ωωωωωω to heaven. It can be seen that the scribe accidentally wrote HHH twice instead of HHH and III.

After a short diversion, which looks like an interpolation, the text resumes with the cardinal directions invocation:

"I call on you as the south." (Looking to the south say, "i oo uuu www www www aaaaaa eeeeeee  
hhhhhhh.")<sup>718</sup>

"I call on you as the west." (Stand [facing] the west, say, "e ii ooo uuuu www www www aaaaaa  
eeeeeee.")

"I call on you as the north." (Standing looking towards the north say, "w aa eee hhhh iiiii oooooo  
uuuuuuu.")

"I call on you as the earth." (Looking towards the earth say, "e hh iii oooo uuuuu www www www  
aaaaaaa.")

"I call on you as the sky." (Looking into the sky say, "u ww aaa eeee hhhh iiiii oooooo.")

"I call on you as the cosmos," "o uu www aaaa eeeee hhhh iiiiiii."

Accomplish for me [the] NN thing quickly.

I call on your name, the greatest among gods."<sup>719</sup>

Notice that although the vowels are used in different sequences, according to the direction, the pattern of saying each vowel first once, then twice, then thrice, etc., persists.

The four directions of the universe and the location of the four angels (or later the four Demon Kings),<sup>720</sup> play an important part in magic, both from the point of view of marking out the boundary of a protective circle, and establishing directions for the magician to face for evocation. The equivalent Egyptian 'angels' of the four directions are mentioned in one 3rd century papyrus:<sup>721</sup>

For I do this on order from PANCHOUCHI THASSOU at whose order you are to act, because I conjure you by the four regions of the universe, APSAGAËL CHACHOU MERIOUT MERMERIOUT and by the one who is above the four regions of the universe, KICH MERMERIOUTH.<sup>722</sup>

A few lines below this, the names of three of the four angels of the directions are spelled slightly differently:

ACHACHAËL CHACHOU ... MARMARIOUTI.

This rite involves the Bear asterism, which relates to the turning of the Earth on its axis, and therefore also relates to the four cardinal directions.<sup>723</sup>

<sup>718</sup> The vowel strings are here rendered back into Greek.

<sup>719</sup> PGM XIII. 856-871. Line breaks have been inserted to clarify the structure of the invocation.

<sup>720</sup> See chapter 5.2.2.

<sup>721</sup> Dating from Brashears (1995), p. 3492.

722 PGM VII. 478-490.

<sup>723</sup> It is not entirely clear if these four names are of the directions or of the angels ruling them.

On the other hand for invocations of the Bear asterism,<sup>724</sup> it was customary to turn to the North, which is its position in the sky near the North Pole.<sup>725</sup>

One dream-producing rite specifies specific cardinal directions to face during the course of the ritual:

After sunset raise the first [reed], look to the east and say three times: "MASKELLI  
MASKELLŌ..."  
Raise the second [reed] to the south and say again the "MASKELLI" formula...; hold the reed  
and spin around;  
look towards the north and [then] the west and say three times the same names, [as] those of the  
second reed.  
Raise the third [reed] and say the same names and these things: "IĒ IĒ,<sup>726</sup> I am picking you for  
such-and-such a rite."<sup>727</sup>

Although the procedure of calling to the quarters is repeated in later grimoires, the specific names used in the *PGM* are not.

The procedure of evoking specific spiritual creatures from each of the four quarters is present in chapter 42 of the *Hygromanteia*, 'Conjurations of the demons of the four quarters.' Each cardinal direction probably originally had 30 demons attributed to it, but over the course of time the names of some have been lost. Conjurations directed to the four quarters of the world in the *Hygromanteia*<sup>728</sup> are a very distinct part of the conjuration process which relies upon the rulership of the four Demon Kings. Their names are derived from Jewish rather than Egyptian sources (with the exception of the first one): Loutzipher (East), Asmodai (North), Astarōth (West) and Berzeboul (South).<sup>729</sup> The first name in each of the full lists of demons was the Demon King. Originally these may have been demons of the four winds, but later they became associated with the direction rather than the wind.<sup>730</sup> The theory is that if these Kings are successfully conjured then their name can be used to motivate or threaten any of the lesser spirits in their retinue from that quarter.

Many of the names of the demons of the four quarters derive from the *Testament of Solomon*. As documented by Greenfield, the list of the 36 decan demons in the *Testament* includes five demons of the west, six of the north and one of the south who appear in the *Hygromanteia*. Of

---

<sup>724</sup> Ursa Minor.

<sup>725</sup> See *PDM* xiv. 117. Strangely, in the same passage, it is recommended that the magician should retire to a dark room that opens to the south.

<sup>726</sup> The name of the magician is to be inserted here.

<sup>727</sup> *PGM* IV. 3172-3208.

<sup>728</sup> Chapter 42.

<sup>729</sup> These four occur repeatedly in later grimoires, but often with their directions interchanged. Grimoires like the *Grimorium Verum* even allocate whole continents to these four: Europe (Lucifer), America (Astaroth), Africa (Beelzebuth) and Asia (Asmodai?).

<sup>730</sup> The octagonal Tower of the Winds or Horologion, which still stands in Athens, bears witness to the ancient preoccupation with specific winds and their directions. 'Wind' is also related to 'spirit' in both Greek (*pneuma*) and Hebrew (*ruach*).

the seven female demons of the Pleiades to be found in the *Testament*, three also appear as demons of the east in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>731</sup> The presence of demons from that 1st/2nd century text argues for the persistence of such names and the historically early roots of the *Hygromanteia*.

The conjuration to the four directions in the *Hygromanteia* invites *all* of the named spirits to come, although it is not made clear if only the conjuration to one direction is to be performed, or if the entire 120 spirits are being conjured. It is therefore not surprising that the text then states that:

After this conjuration you will see them coming like a regiment. Do not loose courage, but tell them to stand outside the circle...<sup>732</sup>

The approach is quite different from either the *PGM* or the later Latin grimoires, where only one or a few spirits are called at a time.

The four *Hygromanteia* Demon Kings are Loutzipher,<sup>733</sup> Asmedai, Astarōth and Beelzeboul.<sup>734</sup> Asmodeus has always been a demon, but Ashtaroth and Beelzebub were ancient Semitic gods.

These Demon Kings continue to appear in the Latin grimoires plus a number of later vernacular grimoires.<sup>735</sup> The Demon Kings also feature in the grimoire of St Cyprian, the *Clavis Inferni*,<sup>736</sup> where they are the subject of very unusual illustrations, showing them in animal form. These animal images (such as the bear) were later used in some German Faustian grimoires,<sup>737</sup> but otherwise had little currency in European grimoires.

One Demon King, Vercan (or Varcan), in the 16th century grimoire shown in Figure 04 stands confidently in a circle surrounded by five archers aiming at him, and a number of snakes and other creatures looking at him menacingly. In addition, he has two incense burners producing much incense smoke. He holds in his hand either a torch or a wand, and is crowned and clad in heavy armour. How are we to interpret this?

He is not perturbed by the threats surrounding him. The only other figure that comes to mind as holding snakes and other venomous creatures without any apparent care is Harpocrates.

---

<sup>731</sup> Greenfield (1988), pp. 220-230.

<sup>732</sup> H, f. 37.

<sup>733</sup> Sometimes corrupted to Lotropheres, Asmadegi, Astathor, Berzeboeul (in B, f. 24v).

<sup>734</sup> And their later replacements Paimon, Maymon, Oriens and Egyn.

<sup>735</sup> Barachiel who is cited as the commander of their troops, often accompanies them. His name appears with various spellings, such as Barakhēel (B, f. 23). The name looks as if it may have once been an angelic name formed from Hebrew/Arabic 'baraka' (blessing) and the deific suffix '-iel.'

<sup>736</sup> Translated in Skinner and Rankine (2009).

<sup>737</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2009), p. 24, illustration from Faust (1848).



Figure 04: The Demon Kings Maymon Rex (*top*) and Vercan Rex (*bottom*). Note that Maymon has two beaks and bird claws: he is also accompanied by a bird. Vercan also has bird claws.<sup>738</sup>

<sup>738</sup> From an unidentified 16th century Latin manuscript grimoire, reputedly owned by Dee, last offered for sale in the Maggs Brothers catalogue of 1932, Plate XXII. It is not known in which collection this manuscript currently resides.



Figure 05: The Demon Kings from the *Clavis Inferni*: Urieus and Paymon.<sup>739</sup> Note that the beast of Urieus is portrayed as a winged ouroboros, and Paymon's bestial form has horns and bird claws.<sup>740</sup>

<sup>739</sup> *Clavis Inferni* in Skinner and Rankine (2009), pp. 44-45.

<sup>740</sup> See also Figure 11.



Figure 06: The Demon Kings from the *Clavis Inferni*: Maymon and Egyn.<sup>741</sup> As in Figure 04, Maymon is symbolised by a bird, and Egyn by a bear. Their names are confirmed by the *characteres* at the top of both illustrations of the Demon Kings.

<sup>741</sup> *Clavis Inferni* in Skinner and Rankine (2009), pp. 44-45.

It seems possible that the four Demon Kings may be the corrupt remains of four gods standing guard at the quarters of the circle. Urius as portrayed in the *Clavis Inferni* (see Figure 05) suggestively connects with the ouroboros, which was the form of the Egyptian protective circle. Vercan (in Figure 04) has some similarity to the serpent holding Egyptian images of Harpocrates.

Directional conjuration also occurs in the *Clavicula Salomonis* and other Latin Grimoires. See especially *Clavis Inferni*, which despite its title is a Solomonic grimoire.<sup>742</sup>

One possible interpretation of that often repeated grimoire specification that a particular ritual must be performed at a “crossroads,” is not that it should take place at a point of maximum vehicular traffic, which could be very disturbing to say the least. What it really means is that the circle should be orientated so there are clear lines of access to each of the four cardinal points, so that invocations can be performed towards those directions. The “roads” referred to are the spirit roads by which the Demon Kings, and their retinue, should arrive at the circle when called.<sup>743</sup>

The four Demon Kings feature in many versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis* and some of the German grimoires. If we rely upon the *Hygromanteia* to give the correct cardinal direction attributions of the Demon Kings, then the pattern is:

Lucifer (East), Asmodai (North), Astaroth (West) and Beelzebub (South).

However, many of these names and directions get mixed up in later grimoires, for no apparent reason, with almost no two Latin or vernacular grimoires agreeing upon what these directions should be.<sup>744</sup> A representative sample of alternate names would include:

*Oriens*. Obviously *Oriens* would have been located in the East (as the name is derived from the Latin *oriens* = East). However, the spelling of this Demon King ‘Urius’/ ‘Oraeus’ in the *Clavis Inferni* suggests that ‘*Oriens*’ may have been a scribal confusion with the Latin direction for east, and this King should instead be called Urius, with a possible derivation from the Egyptian Uraeus serpent. As if to confirm this, he is also portrayed in the *Clavis Inferni* as a crowned Ouroboros serpent, giving a clear indication of his possible Egyptian provenance (see Figure 05).

---

<sup>742</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2009), pp. 44-45, where the four Demon Kings of the directions include Urius. The latter is a name probably derived from the Egyptian serpent.

<sup>743</sup> Antonio da Montolmo (f. 1390), in his *De Occultis et Manifestis* confirms that “From this I deduce as a consequence the reason for the performance of conjurations in places where...four roads come together: because of the concordance...with the places [directions] of the Intelligences under the heavens; they are constituted in the manner of a crossroad of four roads, as it appears in the *Principles of Astrology*.” See Weill-Parot (2012), p. 241.

<sup>744</sup> See Skinner (2006) Tables M62 and M63.

*Maymon*. In an illustration of Maymon from about 1600 CE,<sup>745</sup> he is portrayed as a double-headed bird, standing in front of a four-legged bird-like creature with a long curly tail.<sup>746</sup> Maymon may be a form of the Arabic Maymon, the jinn king of Saturn. *Amaymon* is likely to be simply a corruption of Maymon. It is possible that the other Demon Kings also came from Egyptian or Arabic sources.

There are other sets of Demon King names. In the *Goetia*, *Ziminiar/Zimimay* rules the North; *Corson/Gorson* rules the West; *Goap/Gaap* rules the South.

*Paymon* is attributed in most other texts to the West, or the South, whilst *Egyn/Egin/Aegyn/Egym* also rules the South or the West. There has obviously been a lot of confusion in the transmission of these directional rulerships. A table of these conflicting attributions which also shows their relationship to the Hebrew demon princes (Samael [S], Azazel [E], Azael [W] and Mahazael [N]) can be found in *The Complete Magician's Tables*.<sup>747</sup>

In *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*,<sup>748</sup> there are also four Demon Kings, but here only Lucifer is recognizable from the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>749</sup> In the *Grimorium Verum*, which is a derivative of the UT Text-Group of the *Key of Solomon*, three Kings are present but not Asmodai. It is therefore clear that the idea of the four Demon Kings is a long running part of magic, but with considerable name corruption and orientational confusion over time. Their continued presence in the later grimoires also underlines the importance of the four quarters, as a part of the magician's cosmological structure.

In the Latin West in the late 16th century the system became more complicated, and with a general rise in interest in the compass, the directions attributable to individual spirits reached new heights of precision. Several 'spirit compass roses' were divided into as many as 32 different directions. Facing the direction from which the spirit was supposed to arrive was an important condition of a successful invocation. In several European grimoires, this resulted in a floor circle design with a separate spirit triangle which could be moved and placed at the correct direction, which would then vary from spirit to spirit.

---

<sup>745</sup> See Figure 04.

<sup>746</sup> See Figure 02.

<sup>747</sup> Skinner (2006), Tables M62-M65.

<sup>748</sup> Mathers (1900) and Dehn (2006).

<sup>749</sup> Abraham von Worms, (1900), p. 119.

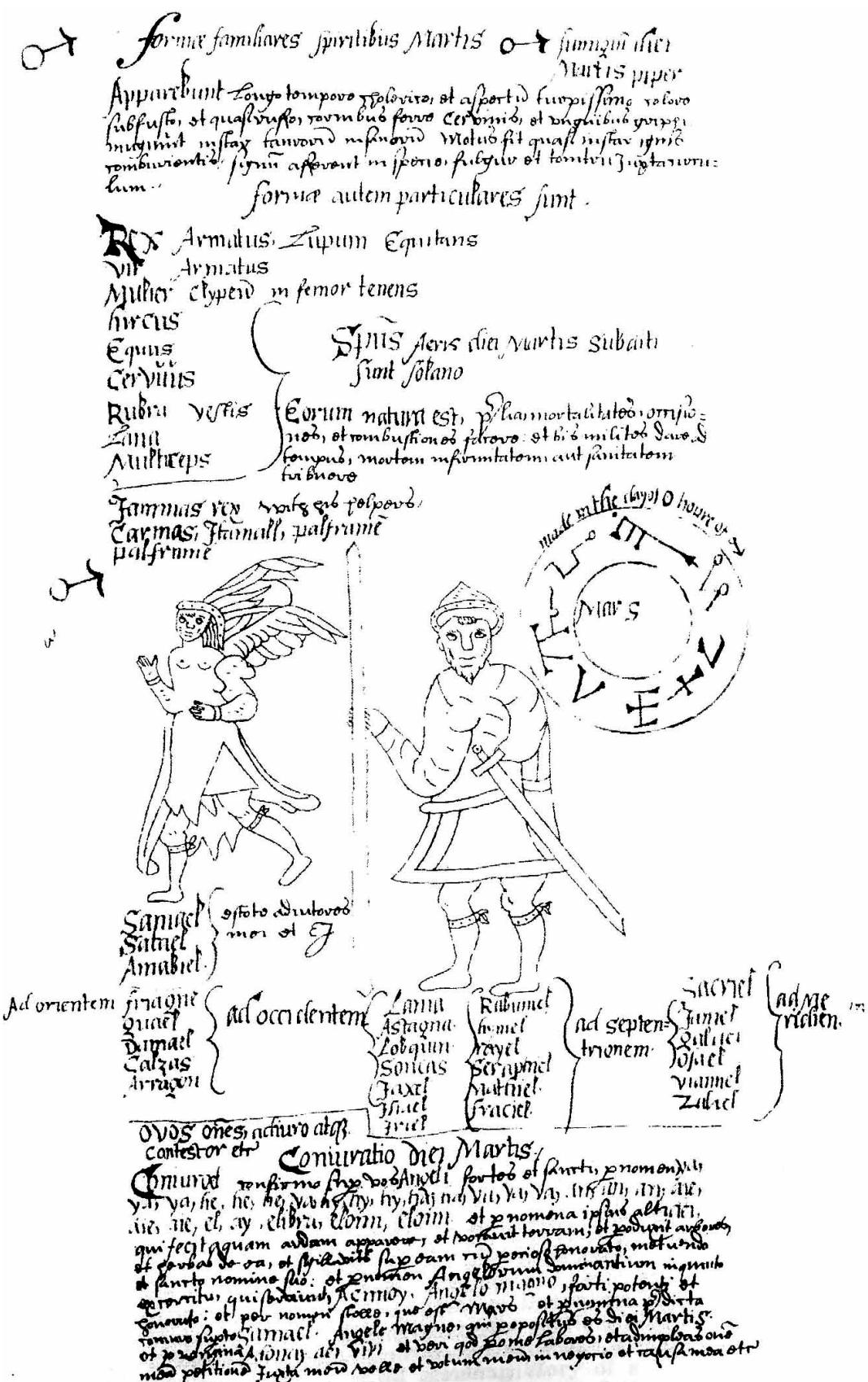
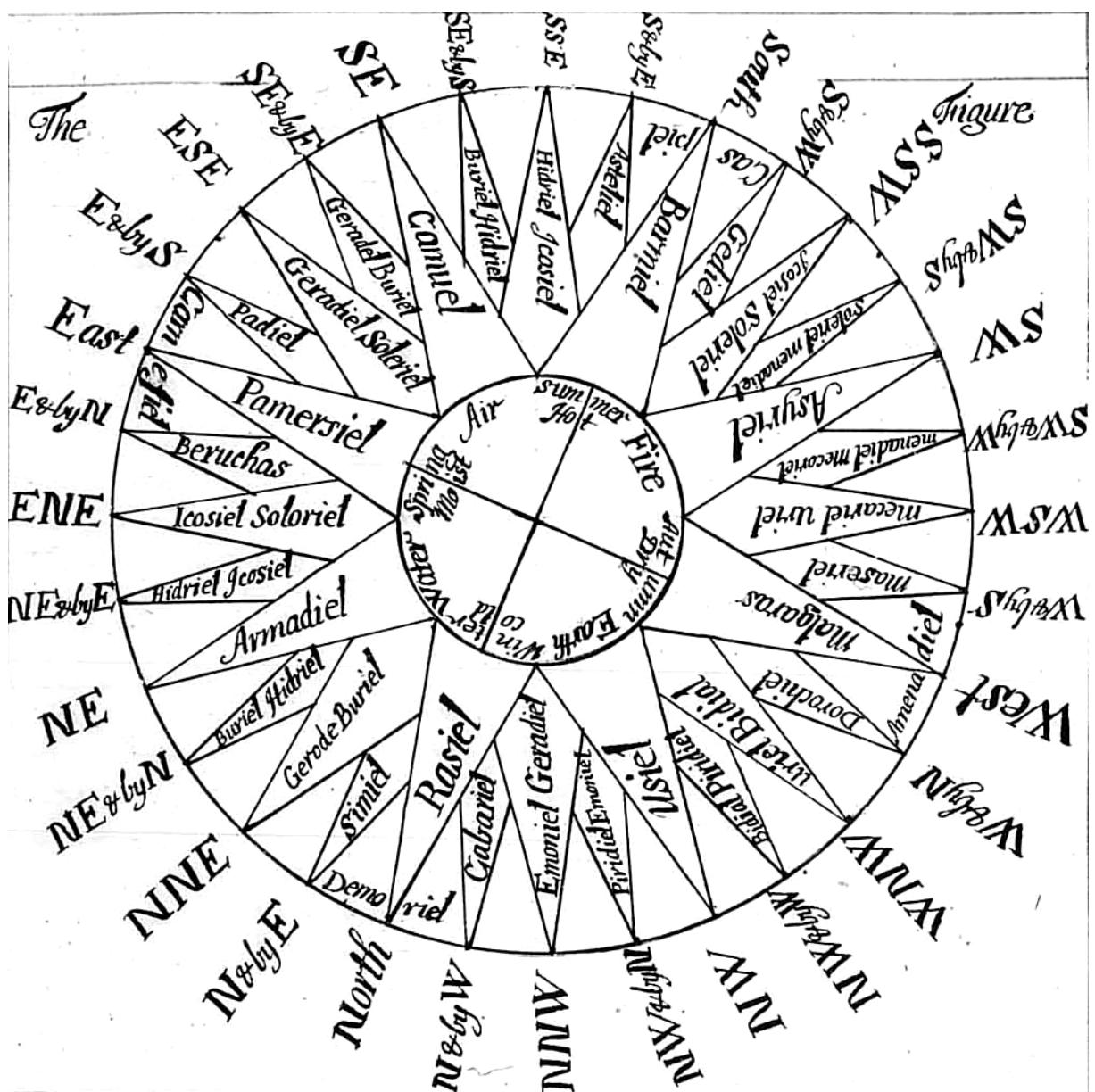


Figure 07: *Theurgia*, a 1583 manuscript showing the Martial spirits for each of the cardinal directions.<sup>750</sup> Note the bracketed text in the lower register listing spirits by the four directions: *ad orientem*, *ad occidentem*, *ad septentrionem* and *ad meridian* (sic).<sup>751</sup>

<sup>750</sup> *Theurgia*. Folger Library MS V.b.26 (1), 1583.

<sup>751</sup> This grimoire is currently being edited for publication by Joseph Peterson and Dan Harms.

In the 16th century a number of grimoires had detailed lists of spirits divided according to their direction. The list of the spirits of Mars in the *Theurgia* is one such example (see Figure 07). Finally some later grimoires sub-divided the directions, like a nautical compass. The clearest example of such a 'spirit compass' is to be found in the first few pages of the Solomonic grimoire *Theurgia-Goetia*.<sup>752</sup> The name of this grimoire clearly suggests a Greek origin, although many of the spirits listed obviously have a Hebrew origin, because of the many spirit names with an '-iel' suffix. It is unusual that the compass below is orientated with SSE at the top of the page, rather than North, suggesting that this may have reflected the orientation of the room actually used by that scribe for evocation.



<sup>752</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2007), p. 212.

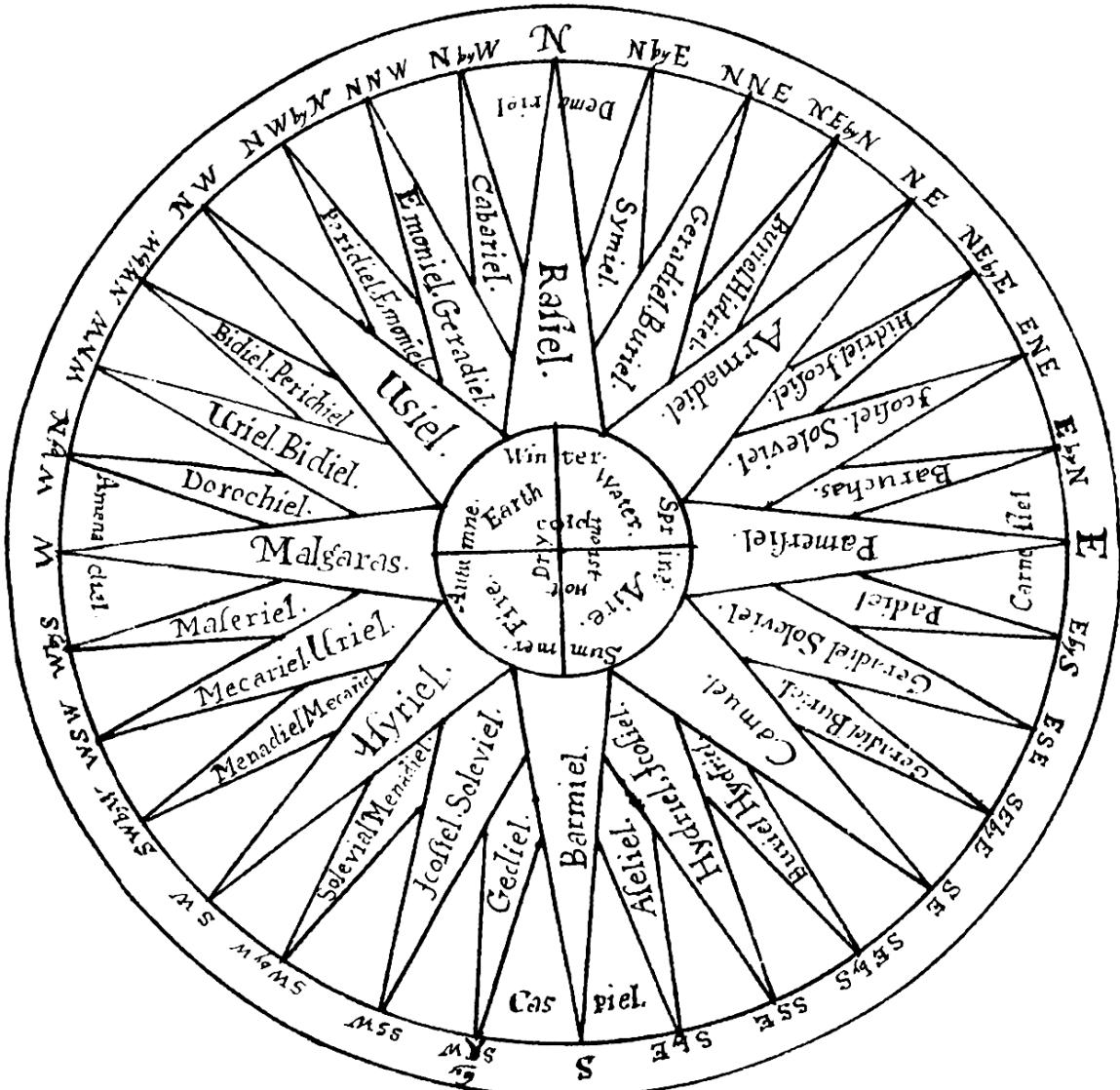


Figure 08: Two 'spirit compass roses' in the *Theurgia-Goetia*, dated 1687 (previous page) and 1713.<sup>753</sup>

Both the 'spirit compass roses' show the four seasons (and Elements) in their central circle. This effectively identifies each of the 32 spirits in terms of both direction and season, giving not only directions of evocation, but also times of evocation.<sup>754</sup> This leads directly into the next chapter on timing.

### 5.2.3 Timing (C)

Timing was so very important to the rites of the *PGM* that not only was the timing of many of the rites carefully calculated, but the names of the gods of the hours, days, and months were listed out in considerable detail. The *Hygromanteia* also follows very closely the

<sup>753</sup> The previous page diagram is from Sloane MS 2731, f. 29. This diagram is from Harley MS 6483, f. 117v.

<sup>754</sup> See Figure 22 to Figure 24 for details of how these times are applied in the Solomonic grimoires to the construction of the magician's protective circle.

attributions of planets to the hours of the days of the week, with the gods of these time units being replaced by demons who were said to rule them. This pattern also appears later in the Latin grimoires, where planetary hours are still specified, but often the details of the demons of each hour have been lost. The use of time intervals, and specific entities, qualities and objectives associated with each hour, is therefore one of the clearest commonalities and traceable transmissions between these three sets of magical handbooks.

Timing has always been a very important element of magical preparation, and a mistake in timing has often been given as the reason for the failure of a magical operation. A passage in the letter of Thessalos of Tralles (1st century CE) written to the Emperor (Caesar Augustus or Claudius) explains the essential nature of good timing in a magical operation, or even in the collecting of herbs for magico-medicinal purposes:

Soon the god appeared in a spectacular vision and spoke to Thessalos, telling him that the book of king Nechepso was of limited use, because it required supplementary knowledge of the correct times at which to harvest the herbs – knowledge that could only be acquired directly from Asclepios himself.<sup>755</sup>

One of the three completely self-contained books in the *PGM* which relates more closely to the Mysteries than to magic, is the pseudepigraphical *Tenth Hidden Book of Moses*.<sup>756</sup> Even in the context of an initiatory rite, it was also considered important for the initiate to be equipped with the names of the rulers of the time when the rite was being performed, the ruler of the hour, day and month, before beginning the rite:

You should also take, child, for this personal vision, [a list of] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months...<sup>757</sup>

### *Planetary Days*

The idea that each of the seven Classical planets has a day dedicated to it, goes back a long way. The Indian tradition of attributing seven gods to the seven days of the week probably dates back to Vedic times. Babylonian practices also enshrine exactly the same days for the same corresponding planets. This system is also found in Jewish sources, and the Greek gods of the planets are used instead of the day names in the *Hygromanteia*. It is not possible to establish the origin of this practice, but it is extraordinary that the attributions are consistent across a number of cultures, and even more extraordinary, that each planet falls on exactly the same calendar day, in all cultures. The day of the Moon, for example, falls on Monday in all cultures, so that the day sacred to Mars (Roman) or Aries (Greek) is the same days as that attributed to Madim (Hebrew) or Mangal (Hindu).

---

<sup>755</sup> See Codex Matritensis Bibl. Nat. 4631. Summarised in Dodd and Faraone (2003), p. 226.

<sup>756</sup> *PGM XIII.* 734-1077.

<sup>757</sup> *PGM XIII.* 734-741.

### *Planetary Hours*

In addition to their attribution to the days, the planets are also attributed to the 24 hours of the day. Proclus, for example, affirmed that “general opinion makes the Hours goddesses and the Month a god, and their worship has been handed on to us.”<sup>758</sup>

These attributions as well as having calendrical significance also have great importance for the practice of magic, especially Solomonic magic. Precise timing of magical rites was always considered a crucial ingredient of Solomonic magic. Not only must the right day be chosen, according to its planetary attribution (for example rites of the Moon on Monday, or of Venus on Friday), but also the hour must be chosen with care. As the first hour of every day (that is the hour immediately after sunrise) is attributed to the same planet as the whole day, so sunrise is always a potent time, it being doubly attributed to the planet/god of the day. In many examples in the *PGM*, the sunrise hour was recommended for specific rites.

### *Unequal Hours*

The technique was refined even further so that each day was divided into 24 hours, not equal clock hours as we understand them, but unequal ‘planetary hours.’ No matter where you are in the world, the timing of dawn and dusk change from day-to-day (extremely at the poles and very little at the Equator). The basic principle was that the 24 hours of the day were divided into 12 daylight hours and 12 night hours. The starting point is respectively sunrise and sunset. After the first hour of every day which is attributed to the same planet that rules the day, the following hours rotate in sequence. For example, on Sunday (after the first hour attributed to the Sun) come the hours of Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and starting the cycle again with the Sun (in the 8th hour of the day). So the timing of the evocation of the spirit of Mars would be preferably performed on a day of Mars in an hour of Mars (for example Tuesday on the 1st, 8th, 15th or 22nd hour, counting from dawn).

The number of minutes from sunrise to sunset is divided by 12, giving the number of minutes in each ‘planetary hour.’ This will be longer than 60 minutes in summer, but shorter in winter. This number of minutes is then used to count off the hours. These unequal ‘hours’ came to be known, in later grimoires, as ‘planetary hours.’

The planetary hours were also used for civil purposes in Europe until cheap clocks were generally available, but retained in Europe for magic long after the common usage reverted to clock time with an exact 60 minutes.<sup>759</sup>

---

<sup>758</sup> Proclus, *In Timaeum*, 248 D.

<sup>759</sup> The logic of using unequal hours is that without mechanical clocks, the hour can only be estimated by looking at the angle of elevation of the sun above the horizon. Regardless of the length of the day, the angle of the sun for a specific hour will always be the same. On short days the sun will appear to

### *The Moon's Effect*

In addition to the selection of hour and day, it was considered necessary to choose the right Moon phase. For works of construction, the Moon should be waxing (that is increasing in size from New to Full) rather than waning or shrinking (suitable for works of destruction). It is also suggested in some grimoires that the Moon should not be located too close to the Sun, where astrologically it will be rendered 'combust,' which is said to diminish its powers considerably. These rules relate to the belief that the spirits and demons belonged to the 'sublunar regions,' and were therefore affected by the Moon in the same ways that tides are governed by that satellite. These considerations of time are common to the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*, with the names of the respective gods/planets remaining unchanged. Only the angels and demon names changed.

Because of the many close parallels and commonalities between the treatment of timing in these three texts, the rest of this chapter will not be ordered by period or source (as is the case in the rest of chapter 5) but will be ordered in the following sequence: hours, days, months and Moon phases.

The gods of the day and its hour are very important in Graeco-Egyptian magic, for it was said that any magician who does not first call these gods and propitiate them will have no luck in his operation, because he will be considered by any god to be "uninitiated."

### *The 168 Hours of the Week*

Although the cycle of planetary days probably dates back to the Babylonians, the attribution of specific qualities to each of the  $(7 \times 24)$  168 hours<sup>760</sup> is first seen, as far as I know, in the works of the astrologer Hēliodōros (fl. 415 CE).<sup>761</sup> As if to drive home this association, this text is actually included in part in manuscript N of the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>762</sup> which dates from 1495.

As these particular timing tables are integral to the method of the *Hygromanteia*, it is a strong indication, as has already been mentioned, that the *Hygromanteia* post-dates the 4th century CE.<sup>763</sup>

---

travel faster but, for example, it will always be  $30^\circ$  above the eastern horizon at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> planetary hour, or  $30^\circ$  above the western horizon at the end of the 10th planetary hour, whatever the season or latitude.

<sup>760</sup> M, f. 240-243. It also appears in at least seven other manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>761</sup> Another procedure in the *Hygromanteia* comes from Hēliodōrus, the procedure for consecrating a skull (M2, f. 225).

<sup>762</sup> N, ff. 389-391v.

<sup>763</sup> There is a second possibility that the tables of planetary days and hours in the *Hygromanteia* might have come from pseudo-Apollonius of Tyana's *Apotelesmata*. Manuscript sources of that work are often found in close association, or even bound with, manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, and therefore

Hour	Animal	Tree	Stone	Bird	Alternate animal	Ruler
1st	Young monkey	Silver fir	<i>Aphanos</i> <sup>764</sup>			PHROUER
2nd	Unicorn	Persea	Pottery stone	<i>Halouchakon</i>	Ichneumon <sup>765</sup>	BAZĒTŌPHŌTH
3rd	Cat	Fig	<i>Samouchos</i>	Parrot	Frog	AKRAMMACHAMAREI
4th	Bull		Amethyst	Turtledove	Bull	DAMNAMENEUS <sup>766</sup>
5th	Lion	Prickly shrub	Magnet [lodestone]		Crocodile	PHŌKENGEPUARET-ATHOUMISONKTAIKT
6th	Donkey	Thorn tree	Lapis lazuli		[White-faced cow]	EIAU AKRI LYX...® <sup>767</sup>
7th	Crayfish		Sun opal [sunstone?]		Cat	
8th					Hippopotamus	
9th	Ibis			[Ibis]	Chameleon	
10th			<sup>768</sup>			
11th						
12th						ADŌNAI <sup>769</sup>

Table 07: Animal, tree, stone and bird correspondences of each hour in the *PGM*.<sup>770</sup>

In the *PGM* various natural qualities and rulers were associated with each hour. One papyrus gives a table of the hours with their natural animal, tree, stone and bird correspondences (see Table 07). Some of these natural history correspondences appear again later in European grimoires, and in Agrippa's early 16<sup>th</sup> century *De Occulta Philosophia*.<sup>771</sup>

#### *The God of the Hour*

Even the gods have their hourly schedule. It was suggested, for example, that the magician invoke Apollo in the third hour of the day.<sup>772</sup> Several passages in the *PGM* list the all important names of the gods of the hours (see Table 08), although the names differ according to the magician or text.<sup>773</sup>

---

they may have been the contributing source. That text is sometimes dated from the 1st century and was edited by Nau (1907) and Boll (1907). 15th century manuscripts of it include: Parisinus Gr. 2419; Parisinus Gr. 2316; Bononiensis 3632; and Berolinensis 173.

<sup>764</sup> Maybe clear quartz.

<sup>765</sup> Egyptian mongoose.

<sup>766</sup> One of the constituents of the *Ephesia grammata*. See chapter 5.5.3 for an explanation of her nature, and a new translation of the *Ephesia grammata*.

<sup>767</sup> And in the sea, the jellyfish [glass fish].

<sup>768</sup> A stone the colour of a falcon's neck.

<sup>769</sup> Notably the only Hebraic godname in this list.

<sup>770</sup> PGM III. 494-611.

<sup>771</sup> 1530-1533. Agrippa (1993), pp. 288-289, 294-297.

<sup>772</sup> PGM III. 335. It later mentions the 10th hour, but the papyrus is much damaged.

<sup>773</sup> PGM VII. 862-918.

Hour of the day	God of that Hour <sup>774</sup>	God of that Hour <sup>775</sup>	Form <sup>776</sup>
1st	Menebain	Pharakounēth	Cat
2nd	Neboun	Souphi	Dog
3rd	Lēmnei	Aberan Nemane Thōuth	Snake
4th	Mormoth	Sesenips	Scarab
5th	Nouphiēr	Enphanchoup	Ass
6th	Chorborbath	Baisolbai	Lion
7th	Orbeēth	Oumesthōth	Goat
8th	Panmōth	Diati-Phē	Bull <sup>777</sup>
9th	Thymenphri		
10th	Sarnochoibal		
11th	Bathiabēl		
12th	Arbrathiabri		

Table 08: The names of the gods of the hours of the day, and the animal form they take.

The appropriate god of the hour which needed to be called before any important rite in any well timed invocation is the god:

...in whose hand is the moment, the one who belongs to these hours.<sup>778</sup>

During a rite to compel the Bear asterism, the time is specified as the 6th hour of the night, i.e. the hour before midnight, thereby culminating the operation at midnight, when the direction pointed by the Bear asterism will accurately indicate the season.<sup>779</sup>

For the ancient Egyptians the most appropriate time, in general terms, was at dawn when the Bark of Ra rises over the horizon, and light conquers darkness.<sup>780</sup> There were also limitations on which days magic could be performed. One passage suggests that the correct hour is sunrise, but only on the third day of the (lunar) month.<sup>781</sup> Another instructs that bowl skrying be done at the seventh hour of the day, which begins seven hours after sunrise.<sup>782</sup> Yet another passage lists out the gods of each hour measuring from sunrise to sunset:

<sup>774</sup> PGM VII. 900-907.

<sup>775</sup> PGM XXXIX. 1-21.

<sup>776</sup> *Ibid.* 1-21.

<sup>777</sup> 9th-12th hours missing from this papyrus.

<sup>778</sup> PDM xiv. 34. Also Griffith and Thompson (1974) p. 53, n. to 1.

<sup>779</sup> PGM LXXI. 1. The direction in which Ursa Major points at midnight accurately indicates the season in the Northern Hemisphere.

<sup>780</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3393.

<sup>781</sup> PGM IV. 169-171.

<sup>782</sup> PDM xiv. 73.

Hour	Form assigned	Name given in the PGM	Function given	God <sup>783</sup>
1st	Cat	PHARAKOUNĒTH	Glory and favour	Bast
2nd	Dog	SOUPHI	Strength and honour	Anubis
3rd	Serpent	AMEKRANEBECHEO THŌYTH	Honour	Apophis?
4th	Scarab	SENTHENIPS	Mightily strengthens	Khepera
5th	Donkey	ENPHANCHOUPH	Strength, courage and power	Typhon
6th	Lion	BAI SOLBAI (ruler of time)	Success and glorious victory	Sekhmet
7th	Goat	OUMESTHŌTH	Sexual charm	Khnum
8th	Bull	DIATIPHĒ (Visible everywhere)	All things to be accomplished	Apis
9th	Falcon	PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH	Success and good luck	Horus
10th	Baboon	BESBYKI		Thoth?
11th	Ibis	MOU RŌPH		Thoth
12th	Crocodile	AERTHOĒ		Sobek

Table 09: The functions, animals, names and the gods of the hours.<sup>784</sup>

Specific times of the day or week were more appropriate for one kind of magic or another. These allocations of appropriate hours occur later in the *Hygromanteia* and in a number of European grimoires. A different papyrus enumerates the 'angels' of the hours, a system that reappears in the *Hygromanteia*, but with completely different angel names (see Table 10).

Hour	Angel given in the PGM
1st	MENEBAIN
2nd	NEBOUN
3rd	LĒMNEI
4th	MORMOTH
5th	NOUPHIĒR
6th	CHORBORBATH
7th	ORBEĒTH
8th	PANMŌTH
9th	THYMENTHRI
10th	SARNOCHOIBAL
11th	BATHIABĒL
12th	ARBRATHIABRI

Table 10: The PGM table of angels of each hour of the day.<sup>785</sup>

<sup>783</sup> Inferred from the animal.

<sup>784</sup> PGM IV. 1596-1715.

<sup>785</sup> PGM VII. 900-908.

### *Angels and Demons of the Hours of Each Day*

There are two different kinds of list in chapter 13 of the *Hygromanteia*: a short version and a long one. The first kind lists between one and seven angels, and between one and three demons per planet. The second kind lists an angel and a demon for each and every hour of every day of the week.<sup>786</sup> Strangely there does not seem to be much in the way of common names between the two lists, so presumably they come from different sources, rather than one being an abbreviation of the other.<sup>787</sup> The long list exists in most manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, as it is central to the method of invocation.<sup>788</sup>

The folio reproduced in Figure 09 shows the angels (in the left column) and the demons (right column) of Sunday, at the top of the list. The table for Monday continues below the line. The Greek alphabet is used to number the hours. For example, the angel of the 1st Hour (α) on Monday is Gabriēl (γαβριήλ).<sup>789</sup>

The short version of the table of planetary hours (i.e. that omitting the exact function of each hour) found in the *Hygromanteia* (Figure 09) comprises a vital part of later Latin *Clavicula Salomonis*, especially the Abraham Colorno Text-Group (AC) of manuscripts (see Figure 10 for an example). Marathakis concludes “that this section in the *Magical Treatise* [the *Hygromanteia*] is the source for every [later Solomonic] grimoire that uses the planetary hours.”<sup>790</sup>

Various qualities were attached to these hours, of which one of the most important was the specification of what sort of magic would be most successful in a particular hour. For example in the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>791</sup> the 3rd hour [Jupiter] of Monday [Moon] is good “for opening a workshop, but the 1st hour [Mars] of Tuesday [Mars] is good for “war and victory.”<sup>792</sup>

---

<sup>786</sup> H has both kinds, the short list (at f. 23v), and the long list beginning on f. 41v.

<sup>787</sup> Comparative tables of angels and demons for every one of the 168 hours of the week are listed in Marathakis (2011), pp. 55-68. Tables of just the demons, with the names of the demons in Greek, are listed in Greenfield (1988), pp. 340-346.

<sup>788</sup> It is present in H (long and short list), M (long list), M2 (short list), A (long list), G (long list), P (two short lists which don't correspond, one interleaved), P2 (short), P3, P4, A2 and B3.

<sup>789</sup> A, f. 29.

<sup>790</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 40.

<sup>791</sup> Manuscript H, chapter 2.

<sup>792</sup> It might be interesting to determine how many ancient battle campaigns were launched in such a double-Mars hour.

	27	29	1006
9.	ευστολης.	θ.	πνυζ.
" 6.	θαδης.	"	λεγωσι.
10.	βιζη.	1α.	ρεγιθε.
11.	σαλαχ.	1β.	πελως.
12.	οφελη.	1γ.	οιγος.
13.	τερεζ.	1δ.	αυτιος.
14.	λυσιλ.	1ε.	ουγκε.
15.	χαλωζ.	15.	αρτ.
16.	ορκιο.	1ζ.	νιτριασ.
17.	πελιο.	1η.	ανκυρος.
18.	αριζ.	1η.	πιγοπυρο.
19.	αριζ.	κ.	αρι.
"	αριζ.	2α.	τεριτα.
2α.	θαυματη.	"	καχκιδ.
2β.	θεριδω.	"	καχκιδε.
2γ.	θεριδω.	"	θοδερο.
2δ.	ιωρη.		
μελιτερας θεος, β. ②.			
α.	γαρων.	α.	γαρων.
β.	παρολο.	β.	παρολο.
γ.	αγατη.	γ.	αγατη.
δ.	αρβα.	δ.	αρβα.
ε.	αγαρ.	ε.	αγαρ.
ζ.	δεκαχ.	ζ.	δεκαχ.
η.	γερα.	η.	γερα.
η.	γερα.	η.	γερα.
θ.	τεμαχ.	θ.	τεμαχ.

Figure 09: The angels and demons of each hour of the week in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>793</sup> The left hand column lists angels, the right hand column lists demons. Sunday is above the line, and Monday below it.

<sup>793</sup> A, f. 29. Although this manuscript is 16th century, earlier manuscripts carry the same kind of table.

Heures	Planetes	Anges.	Heures	Planetes	Anges.
1	☀	Michael	1.	☽	Sachiel
2	♀	Anael	2	♂	Samael
3	☿	Raphael	3	☀	Michael
4	☽	Gabriel	4.	♀	Anael
5	☿	Cassiel	5	♀	Raphael
6	☽	Sachiel	6	☽	Gabriel
7	♂	Samael	7	☿	Cassiel
8	☀	Michael	8	☽	Sachiel
9	♀	Anael	9	♂	Samael
10	☿	Raphael	10	☀	Michael
11	☽	Gabriel	11	♀	Anael
12.	☿	Cassiel	12	♀	Raphael

Figure 10: The planets ruling the 24 hours of Sunday from a 1796 *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>794</sup>  
Note that columns 4-6 are the 12 night time hours.

<sup>794</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 53. 1796.

In the later European grimoires the specification of planetary hours became more closely associated with Jewish hours. Where planetary hours are listed in European grimoires, the names of the hours (Beron, Yavn, etc.) are usually derived from Hebrew rather than Greek.

The tables in the *Hygromanteia* are considerably more detailed than those in the Latin grimoires, as they also list the demons as well as the angels of each hour. The planetary sequence of each hour is however identical, e.g. Sunday: 1st hour - Sun; 2nd - Venus; 3rd - Mercury, and so on, for the rest of the 168 hours of the full week. Where the tables do diverge is in the names of the angels, which are the familiar Michael, Anael, Raphael, Gabriel, Cassiel, Sachiel and Samael in the *Key of Solomon*. However in the *Hygromanteia*, the sequence is Mikhaēl, Arphanaēl, Pelouēl, Iōraēl, Piel, Kokhth and Pal. Only the first (Mikhaēl) and part of the second (Arph-anaēl) angel are identical. The insistence on using the correct planetary hour and day is however the same in both texts.

Manuscript A is more specific about the use of these hours for the performance of specific magical operations.<sup>795</sup> Manuscript G and M give much more detail in a tabular form extending over eight folios.<sup>796</sup> The precise description of what type of operation should be done in each hour has not survived in many later Latin grimoires. A random selection of such detailed data from the *Hygromanteia* is listed below:

Day of the Sun	15th Hour of the Sun	For sending dreams to a king
Day of the Moon	11th Hour of Mars	For preventing luck
Day of Mars	12th Hour of the Moon	For despoiling slain enemies
Day of Mercury	4th Hour of Jupiter	For practising alchemy
Day of Jupiter	12th Hour of Mercury	For emigrating far away
Day of Venus	2nd Hour of Mercury	For messages of matchmaking
Day of Venus	4th Hour of Saturn	For causing obstacles of love

Here there is a slight cross-over with astral magic, where the practice of making *eikones* is introduced. The *eikones* or images of the planets specified in chapter 10 of the *Hygromanteia* were to be created on the correct day and at the correct hour. This is the day and hour when the appropriate planet rules, while the Sun and the Moon must also be located in a zodiacal sign ruled by the same planet.<sup>797</sup>

The English *Key of Solomon* preserves the regard for precise timing, and gives a table of each of the hours for each day of the week,<sup>798</sup> with the names of angels attributed to each of those

<sup>795</sup> A, f. 3-4v.

<sup>796</sup> G, f. 13v-21; M, f. 240-243.

<sup>797</sup> This however only occurs in three manuscripts: B, A and P3. A, f. 6-7 has some rather strange looking figures with very large heads and eyes representing the *eikones* or images of the planets.

<sup>798</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 7.

hours, but is silent about the corresponding demon names. The attributions of these hours were sometimes considered a secret, as they were thought to be one of the keys to successful invocation.<sup>799</sup>

### *Days*

One very specific day is mentioned in the *PDM* which is used as a threat by the magician to prevent the return of a spirit to its heaven. This is just one illustration of the importance of specific days to the Graeco-Egyptian magician. The words are addressed by the magician to the spirit, to ensure its obedience:

“Do the every command which NN [the magician] will desire! Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit?<sup>800</sup> [If so] your soul will not be allowed to rise up to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation to dawn of day 26, while the excellent spirits are awake.”<sup>801</sup>

Anubis is requested to send the spirit, and the spirit is commanded to go to the target of the rite and tell him, whilst sleeping, that he is to “Do the every command which NN [the magician] will desire!” The punishment for the spirit failing to do this is that the spirit will be prevented from returning to heaven “on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation [through] to dawn of day 26.”<sup>802</sup>

From this passage we may deduce that there was a specific day that was considered to be the time when spirits were allowed (temporarily) to return to their heaven, and that to prevent them from doing so was a form of punishment inflicted (or threatened) by the magician.

Even in a simple Graeco-Egyptian lamp skrying, the request is to “bring me the god in whose hand the command<sup>803</sup> is today.”<sup>804</sup> This is the ‘duty’ god, of which there are 365 in the course of the year, the names of which were a closely guarded secret.

This restriction is particularly prevalent in the Demotic *PDM*. For example, one invocation refers specifically to the god of the day or the hour:

Send to me the god in whose hand the command is [today] so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.<sup>805</sup>

Another passage mentions “the god who gives answer today” confirming that there is also a daily rota of gods, and it befits the magician to know which one is in charge of the day on

---

<sup>799</sup> Antonio da Montolmo (f. 1390), in his *De Occultis et Manifestis* warns “I keep silent about the hours, so that unworthy people may not put their souls in danger” by succeeding in magical operations. See Weill-Parot (2012), p. 245.

<sup>800</sup> In other words “do you intend to disobey me?”

<sup>801</sup> *PDM* Supplement 117-130.

<sup>802</sup> Approximately 13th November. Allowing for the Precession of the Equinoxes this day may have corresponded with the Winter Solstice.

<sup>803</sup> Or more correctly, the rulership.

<sup>804</sup> *PDM* xiv. 163.

<sup>805</sup> *PDM* xiv. 227.

which he attempts the operation, otherwise the god will not answer him.

*'Egyptian Days'*

Approx Zodiacal Sign	Months of the Egyptian Calendar <sup>806</sup> .	Days unsuitable for Magical Operations. <sup>807</sup>	Egyptian Mystery Celebrations.	Approximate Commencement Dates.
♈	9. Pachōn	3, 4, 12, 13, 21, 26, 28.	Spring Equinox - Isis	March 17
♉	10. Payni	1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 20.		April 16
♊	11. Epeiph	7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 22.		May 16
♋	12. Mesore	[10, 14,] 20, 23, 24, 25.	Summer Solstice - Seraphis	June 15
	<i>The 5 epagomenal days</i>		Osiris, Horus, Set, Isis, Nephthys	July 15-19
♌	1. Thōth	1, 4, 12, 13, 22.		July 20
♍	2. Phaōphi	2, 4, 10, 19, 20.		August 19
♎	3. Athyr	7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23, 27.	Autumn Equinox - Osiris	September 18
♏	4. Choiak	5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 24, 25.		October 18
♐	5. Tybi	3, 4, 12, 24, 26.		November 17
♑	6. Mecheir	1, 2, 10, 14, 19.	Winter Solstice <sup>808</sup>	December 17
♒	7. Phamenōth	7, 8, 9.		January 16
♓	8. Pharmouthi	5, 6, 14, 15, 20.		February 15

Table 11: The Egyptian year, with names of months and bad days for magical operations marked.

Egyptians also set great store on good and bad days for doing various mundane things like starting a business or getting married but especially for the performance of magic. These days were set out in detailed tables of good and bad days.<sup>809</sup> These remained part of magical practice in Europe through to at least the 17th century, when they were still actually referred to as "Egyptian days." The *Grand Grimoire* for example has tables of lucky and unlucky days, but these days do not correspond with those in the *PGM*.<sup>810</sup>

The most complete manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* begins its second chapter on the planetary days and hours with:

The days are seven. They form the months, which, in their turn, form the entire year. This is the reason why seven planets and seven spheres are created among the stars. Each day is ruled by a

<sup>806</sup> All months were exactly 30 days long. The month of Thoth was considered the first month. For more detail, see Skinner (2006), Tables W9-W11.

<sup>807</sup> PGM VII. 272-83.

<sup>808</sup> The date of the Solstice moves over long periods of time, due to the precession of the Equinoxes, and is closer to 22 December at present.

<sup>809</sup> PGM VII. 272-83.

<sup>810</sup> Rudy (1996), pp. 13, 105.

planet. The days are seven, so the seven stars [planets] rule them.<sup>811</sup>

This chapter describes the virtues of the first hour of each day, the hour corresponding to the day:

Thursday is attributed to Jupiter...And Jupiter rules the first hour of the day, which is [f. 19] useful for actions related to bravery, for being glorified by people, for the destruction of sorceries, for success in hunting and for healing people; it almost gives success to everything.<sup>812</sup>

The days are listed with the odd numbers in descending order followed by the even number days in ascending order, which follows the order of the planetary spheres (and of the Tree of Life): Seventh day [Saturn], Fifth day [Jupiter], Third day [Mars], First day [Sun], Second day [Moon], Fourth day [Mercury], Sixth day [Venus].<sup>813</sup>

The day and hour of Mercury is specially marked out for “subjugating the spirits and for gathering them at the circle,” one of the prime aims of any grimoire. Specific times are also mentioned for lamp skrying such as the suggestion that “you do it at the time of the third hour of night.”<sup>814</sup>

### Months

A table of the Egyptian months, expressed by the translator as zodiac signs, occurs as part of “Pythagoras’ request for a dream oracle and Demokritos’ dream divination.”<sup>815</sup>

Zodiacal Sign	Moon in Egyptian Month <sup>816</sup>	Egyptian name/god
Aries	9. Pachōn	HAR-MONTH <sup>817</sup> HAR-THŌCHE
Taurus	10. Payni	NEOPHOBŌTHA THOPS
Gemini	11. Epeiph	ARISTANABA ZAŌ
Cancer	12. Mesore	PCHORBAZANACHAU
Leo	1. Thōth	ZALAMOIR LALITH
Virgo	2. Phaōphi	EILESILARMOU PHAI
Libra	3. Athyr	TANTIN OURACHTH
Scorpio	4. Choiak	CHORCHOR NATHI

<sup>811</sup> H, f. 18v. The actual list of the uses of individual hours is more complete in M, f. 240.

<sup>812</sup> H, f. 18v-19.

<sup>813</sup> Manuscript D also uses this unusual order. See Beck (1988) for a detailed discussion of the two most common orders of the planets: ‘Chaldaean’ and weekly.

<sup>814</sup> PDM xiv. 1149. Note that the line numbers marked in the margin here in Betz (1996), p. 248, have typographical errors. Line 1045 should be 1145, and 1050 should be 1150.

<sup>815</sup> PGM VII. 795-845. Demokritos (c. 460-c. 370 BCE) was a mathematician who was also considered to be a magician, as the Persian *magi* are said to have taught him magic at the specific request of Xerxes. See Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives* 9.34.

<sup>816</sup> Not in translation, but inserted for reference.

<sup>817</sup> Horus-Montu, the Egyptian god of war, and therefore ruler of Aries.

Sagittarius	5. Tybi	PHANTHENPHYPHLIA
Capricorn	6. Mecheir	AZAZA EISTHAILICH
Aquarius	7. Phamenōth	MENNY THYTH IAŌ
Pisces	8. Pharmouthi	SERYCHARRALMIŌ

Table 12: The month with its corresponding Egyptian god/name.<sup>818</sup>

#### *Moon Phases/Lunarium*

The phases of the Moon and the action of the Moon in each Egyptian month were also key to the proper practice of magic, and these are set out in detail in several papyri. This table is also effectively a list of some Egyptian magical objectives.<sup>819</sup>

Approx Zodiacal Sign	Egyptian month	Magic suitable for Moon in specific month <sup>820</sup>	Best for which objective <sup>821</sup>
♈	9. Pachōn		Fire divination or love charm
♉	10. Payni		Incantation to a lamp [for lamp skrying]
♊	11. Epeiph	Perform spells of binding	Spell for winning favour
♋	12. Mesore	Perform the spell of reconciliation, air [?] divination	Making Phylacteries
♌	1. Thōth	Recommended for making an amulet against gout. <sup>822</sup>	Rings or binding spells
♍	2. Phaōphi	Anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination [skrying], as you wish	Everything is rendered obtainable
♎	3. Athyr	Perform invocation... spell of release...necromancy	Necromancy
♏	4. Choiak		Anything inflicting evil
♐	5. Tybi	Conduct business	Invocation and incantations to the Sun and Moon
♑	6. Mecheir	Do what is appropriate	Say whatever you wish for best results
♒	7. Phamenōth		For a love charm
♓	8. Pharmouthi	...OIŌ [rite] or love charm	For foreknowledge

Table 13: The suitability of specific Egyptian months for particular magical objectives.

One invocation prescribes “the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day.”<sup>823</sup> The 7th hour of the moon is mentioned in another passage:

<sup>818</sup> These would of course have been Egyptian months, rather than zodiac signs. The two are not exactly equal, but it was rendered so by the translator.

<sup>819</sup> Astral magic also considers the Moon in the 28 Lunar Mansions, and even the action of each of the 360 degrees of the heavens.

<sup>820</sup> PGM III. 275-81.

<sup>821</sup> PGM VII. 284-99.

<sup>822</sup> PGM xiv. 1003-14.

<sup>823</sup> PGM III. 335.

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.<sup>824</sup>

The implication is that persistence in the correct hour will bring success.

One Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry states that it should be performed “from the fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the sound-eye.”<sup>825</sup> The full moon is the ‘sound eye’ of Horus. In other words it should be performed during a waxing moon, a specification which is repeated in the *Hygromanteia* and again in almost all European grimoires.

Another invocation of Helios suggests the best lunar days to encounter the god:

...His encounter with Helios [takes place] on the 2nd [lunar day], but the invocation itself is spoken when [the previous moon] is full. But you will accomplish a better encounter at [sun]rise on the 4th [lunar day], when the god is on the [increase]...<sup>826</sup>

Specific months are also beneficial for specific rites. For example, in one invocation of Imhotep (the deified Pharaoh) it is said that “you will do the ‘god’s arrival’<sup>827</sup> [best] while the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, or Virgo.”<sup>828</sup> Necromancy and Libra are connected in PGM III. 278, as they are also connected in the *Goetia*.

The Moon and its passage through the zodiac have always been important for judging the correct time for a magical operation. It also yields an excellent example of continuity across all three periods under consideration. A *lunarium* or electional astrology passage is to be found in all three texts: the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, where it provides details of what is obtainable by the magician dependant on the zodiacal sign currently occupied by the Moon.<sup>829</sup> In the *PGM* the rules are:

#### Orbit of the moon:<sup>830</sup>

Moon in Virgo:	anything is rendered obtainable.
In Libra:	necromancy.
In Scorpio:	anything inflicting evil.
In Sagittarius:	an invocation or incantations to the sun and moon.
In Capricorn:	say whatever you wish for best results.
In Aquarius:	for a love charm.
[In] Pisces:	for foreknowledge.
In Aries:	fire divination [lamp skrying] or love charm.

<sup>824</sup> PGM II. 42-43.

<sup>825</sup> PDM xiv. 295.

<sup>826</sup> PGM VI. 1-47.

<sup>827</sup> In Egyptian *peh-netjer*. Operations of the rite type ‘G.’

<sup>828</sup> PDM Supp. 184. Again, the original text quotes the Egyptian months, which the translator has seen fit to convert into zodiacal signs.

<sup>829</sup> PGM VII. 284-99; *Hygromanteia* chapters 7 and 30; Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 282.

<sup>830</sup> Line breaks have been introduced to help show the structure.

In Taurus:	incantation to a lamp [lamp skrying].
[In] Gemini:	spell for winning favour.
In Cancer:	[for making] phylacteries.
[In] Leo:	[for making] rings or binding spells. <sup>831</sup>

Electoral astrology also forms an important part of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>832</sup> In the *Hygromanteia* the *lunarium* is expressed similarly, but with specifications which vary widely from manuscript to manuscript:

- When the Moon is in Virgo, it is good for hunting boars.<sup>833</sup> It is also good for anything else you want, but only by land.
- When the Moon is in Libra, it is good for making love and for taking <a girl's> virginity, that is to say, to harvest the blood.<sup>834</sup>
- When the Moon is in Scorpio, at the first day, do not go out and do not walk on a street, because it is dangerous. <If you go out> at the second day, you will not return.
- When the Moon is in Sagittarius, it is good for watching chariot races.<sup>835</sup> It is also good for appearing before lords [to request favours]...<sup>836</sup>

The same *lunarium* material also occurs in the *Clavicula Salomonis*:

- For those matters then which appertain unto the Moon, such as the Invocation of Spirits, the Works of Necromancy, and the recovery of stolen property, it is necessary that the Moon should be in a Terrestrial Sign, viz.: Taurus, Virgo, or Capricorn.
- For love, grace, and invisibility, the Moon should be in a Fiery Sign, viz.: Aries, Leo, or Sagittarius.
- For hatred, discord, and destruction, the Moon should be in a Watery Sign, viz.: Cancer, Scorpio, or Pisces.
- For experiments of a peculiar nature, which cannot be classed under any certain head, the Moon should be in an Airy Sign, viz.: Gemini, Libra, or Aquarius.<sup>837</sup>

This is an excellent example of commonality between all three texts.

The zodiacal sign in which the Moon currently resides was also thought to be of more importance than the presence of the Sun in a particular sign. The latter remains there for a month rather than the two-and-a-half days of the Moon's transit through a sign. Such electoral astrology, dependant on the Moon's position in a particular zodiacal sign, can be directly paralleled with the *PGM* papyrus quoted above. Specific restrictions, such as Virgo being held by both sources to be good to "do anything you want," and Scorpio is held to be uniformly bad, appear in all three texts.

Another more general specification for skrying by means of a lamp is:

---

<sup>831</sup> PGM VII. 284-99. See also PGM III. 275-81 which is contradictory, less detailed and fragmentary.

<sup>832</sup> Chapters 7 and 30.

<sup>833</sup> Line breaks have been introduced for clarity.

<sup>834</sup> This is an interesting sidelight on why a magician might wish to seduce many virgins.

<sup>835</sup> This is a confirmation that this manuscript probably predates 1204, when the last chariot race was held in Constantinople. The races were interrupted by the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in that year.

<sup>836</sup> B, f. 2. See also H, f. 49v. The *Hygromanteia* commences with Aries rather than Virgo, but I have begun the quote at Virgo to facilitate comparison.

<sup>837</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 13; Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 282.

Do this when the Moon is in a settled sign, in conjunction with beneficial planets [i.e. Jupiter, Venus] or is in good houses, not when it is full;<sup>838</sup> for it is better, and in this way the well ordered oracle is completed.<sup>839</sup>

The timing is less restrictive for the making of magical statues such as:

...a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or Virgo or Sagittarius.<sup>840</sup>

The nature of the gods utilised in a particular piece of magic was also matched with the zodiacal sign. The Moon waxing in Aries or Taurus<sup>841</sup> was the condition required for making a love charm which utilised an appeal to Typhon.<sup>842</sup>

The specification of the four key points of the day (relative to the sun) of sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight was a specifically Egyptian phenomenon, and related to the passage of Ra over the heavens and under the Earth. These are sometimes referred to as 'Sun Stations.' For the practice of divination, for example, auspicious times of the day were listed for every day of the lunar month.

Sun station	Day of the Lunar cycle
The whole day	8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 27, 28, 29
At dawn	1, 4, 5, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24
At noon	2, 7
Afternoon	11, 18, 21, 22, 26, 30
Do not use	3, 6, 9, 16, 17, 25

Table 14: Correspondence between the Sun Station and the day of the Lunar cycle.

For example, an invocation of the Bear asterism (Ursa Minor) should be done facing north, but specifically on the third day of the lunar month. Whereas the 14th day of the lunar month is recommended for the performance of a love spell.<sup>843</sup>

These sections on astrological timing are sometimes taken from other works on astrology. For example chapter 7 in manuscript N is said to be from "a Persian philosopher called Zanatēs," or more correctly from the geomancy expert Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad az-Zanāti, a North African from the late 12th or early 13th century.<sup>844</sup> On the whole N has the most detailed astrological sections. This is not surprising, as the objective of the *Hygromanteia* is instruction in magic, for which astrological knowledge is essential, rather than astrology

<sup>838</sup> Or "when it is full" in another text.

<sup>839</sup> PGM V. 49-53.

<sup>840</sup> PGM V. 379-380.

<sup>841</sup> The Moon is exalted in Taurus, but the rationale for Aries is not so obvious.

<sup>842</sup> It uses the blood of a black ass, sacred to Typhon. See PGM VII. 300a-310.

<sup>843</sup> PDM xiv. 772-804.

<sup>844</sup> Skinner (2011), pp. 56-57, 63-64 and Pingree (1997), p. 77.

itself. This borrowing from astrological texts (as in the case of az-Zanāti) also helps in the dating of redactional activity.

Other conditions relating to the Moon also need to be fulfilled. For the main evocation rite, the *Hygromanteia* recommends a time “when the Sun is in opposition to the Moon,” and on “the fourteenth day of the Moon,” in other words at the Full Moon.<sup>845</sup>

Planets are more important, for zodiac signs are simply seen as the setting against which the planets move, and they receive whatever qualities they have mainly from their ruling planets.<sup>846</sup> Therefore, the zodiac signs themselves have no particular magical application. It was not till Campanella (1568-1639) that any magician attempted to invoke or pray to a zodiacal sign,<sup>847</sup> as opposed to prayers to the planets which are well attested from the earliest times. Nevertheless the *Hygromanteia* gives details of the manufacture of talismans under the influence of each zodiacal sign (chapters 4 and 5), in a method similar to astral magic, but with the addition of an invocation in each case.

#### *The 28 Mansions of the Moon*

Chapter 6 of the *Hygromanteia* covers the types of magical operations that should be carried out on each of the Moon’s 28/29 day cycle. One might expect special attention to be paid to the 1st (New Moon), 14th (Full Moon) and last day (Dark Moon), but it is not markedly so in the *Hygromanteia*. Even the general rule (prominent in the Latin grimoires) of waxing Moon for constructive aims, but waning Moon for destructive aims is not consistently observed in the *Hygromanteia*, as it is later in the *Clavicula Salomonis*. For example:

The first day of the Moon	For winning in gambling, in chess and in other games...
Fifteenth day	For speaking with demons.
Twenty third day	For fishing.
Twenty seventh day	For love and for bindings of love.
Twenty ninth day	For destruction. <sup>848</sup>

#### **5.2.4 Purity and Sexual Abstinence**

The specification of ritual purity via chastity was almost universal in ancient magic. The modern Western use of sex in magic (following supposed Tantric practice) is an exception that does not appear in the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* or *Clavicula Salomonis*.

As Samson Eitrem wrote:

Ritual “cleanliness” or “purity” is everywhere [in magic] the overall important prerequisite...<sup>849</sup>

---

<sup>845</sup> Chapter 36.

<sup>846</sup> H, f. 22v-23.

<sup>847</sup> See Walker (1958) for a description of Campanella’s 1628 invocation of Jupiter, Venus and zodiacal signs with and for the benefit of Pope Urban VIII.

<sup>848</sup> A, f. 5v.

For Solomonic ritual magic purity was an essential ingredient. This is not some latterly introduced Calvinist “cleanliness is next to godliness” imposition, but is a condition that goes all the way back to Graeco-Egyptian magic, and before in dynastic Egypt. It was well established in the *PGM* that the magician needs to have high standards of personal cleanliness, wear clean cotton clothes, preferably new and use only instruments that have been either made new, or bought new.<sup>850</sup>

What was the point of all this purity? It was to give the magician the purity and holiness to approach the gods and other spiritual creatures. The theory offered in the *PGM* was that the gods would reject an impure man, and not hear his request. In later Christianised grimoires it gave the magician extra protection against demons, on the basis that if he were not ‘corrupted’ then they could not easily overcome him. This translates into a number of techniques which were passed from one culture to another.

Sexual abstinence was not only enjoined on the magician, but virginity was imposed upon his skryer. Chastity is of course imposed upon the priests of many religions. For the magician a period of three, seven or nine days before was advised as a period of sexual abstinence. This abstinence is to a large part tied to the idea of purity, and to lie with a woman who was having her period was thus completely forbidden.

Sexual abstinence was specified for Egyptian priests, but only for the relatively short time they were actually serving in the temple. There was a system of rotation of priests, which entailed service for three separate months in every year, and they were not obliged to observe sexual abstinence when living with their families outside the confines of the temple in between these periods. In addition women who are menstruating are forbidden to enter the temple. Similar thinking also goes into current Hindu practice. In this case, menstruation is seen as the other end of the continuum of sexual purity/impurity. As often Egyptian priests were also magicians, the rules applied to the magician as well.

Other forms of bodily purity were enforced. One practice which has not carried through into later magic is the practice of shaving off all the bodily hair.

Purity was also specified for operations of lamp skrying where the magician should be:

---

<sup>849</sup> Faraone and Obbink (1991), p. 177.

<sup>850</sup> Later grimoires would also insist that such tools that were bought, must be bought without haggling. The later is an instruction from a number of Latin grimoires, but it shows the extreme length to which magicians would go, so as to not even slightly besmirch the purity of the instrument they were buying, by arguing over it.

Robed and refraining from all unclean things and from all eating of fish<sup>851</sup> and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may bring the god into the greatest desire toward you.<sup>852</sup>

This is a very telling passage as it shows that the original objective of purification before a magical ritual was not just to make the human acceptable to the infinitely more refined god, but actually to make the operator desirable to the god.

One bowl skrying/vessel enquiry utilises a virgin boy as a skryer, describing him as “a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman.”<sup>853</sup> This is not only the concern of Jewish or Christian magicians, but dates right back to the Demotic papyri of Egyptian magicians. As one Egyptian magician wrote:

If you do not purify it, it does not come about. Purity is its chief factor.<sup>854</sup>

In fact, this is one of the invariable constants within the magical tradition.

Just one example amongst many, taken at random, illustrates this rule as it was applied by Graeco-Egyptian magicians:

For direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood... Cover the tripod with clean linen, and place a censer on the tripod...

It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance... [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel...<sup>855</sup>

Repeatedly ‘clean’, ‘white’ and ‘pure’ are specified. The use of a tripod by skryers and prophets is also a long running feature of magic: from the *PGM* magicians, via the pythoness at Eleusis to the French seer Nostradamus.<sup>856</sup>

Purity and preparation are even more explicit in the *Hygromanteia*. Chapters 31 and 40 cover the preparatory moral conduct of the magician, which includes purificatory baths, prayer, sexual abstinence and fasting. These procedures may seem strange to those who subscribe to the popular view of magic, which associates it with the opposite of all those qualities, with hellish doings and with morally degrading trappings. However, Solomonic ritual magic invariably stipulates purity of lifestyle immediately prior to the rite.

In a Christian environment, spiritual purity also implies confession of any sins, which also became part of the grimoire procedure in the Christian era. A full confession of sins real and imaginary is recommended before commencing.<sup>857</sup>

---

<sup>851</sup> There is an element here of the belief that drowning in the Nile immortalises the creature so drowned. The taboo on eating fish in ancient Egypt is also covered by Darby, *Food: the Gift of Osiris*, I, pp. 380-404.

<sup>852</sup> *PGM* I. 290-292.

<sup>853</sup> *PDM* xiv. 67-68.

<sup>854</sup> *PDM* xiv. 515.

<sup>855</sup> *PGM* III. 291-306.

<sup>856</sup> Nostradamus mentions his use of the tripod in the first verses of his first *Century* of predictions.

<sup>857</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, chapter 1.

The *Clavicula Salomonis* echoes the same provision laid down in the *Hygromanteia*. In the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the magician was often advised to abstain from all sexual activity for a week to nine days before ritual. Abstinence for 40 days is not uncommon in much less complex procedures. Even accidental sexual emission is warned against. Graeco-Egyptian rites on the other hand only proscribed sexual activity for between three and seven days before.

The main theoretical reasons why the magician prepares himself in this manner:

- i) To be in a state of ritual purity so that the spirits could approach the circle without difficulty or pain.
- ii) Ritual purity is important as a protection against the demons he may evoke, a certain degree of apparent spiritual superiority is necessary to enable him to command them.
- iii) The psychological rationale might be that the unburdening of the magician's conscience would have removed distracting worries, leaving him free to concentrate upon the ritual.

Physical purity is also enjoined, with prohibitions against the presence of urine, a menstruating woman or any other impurities:

...a secret room, into which no one else is able to enter, in particular girls and women, who can defile its cleanliness through their menses, which is a natural weakness... You should give your utmost attention not to allow any unclean chamber-pot to enter into the room, for this place should be immaculately clean in every way and should not be influenced by any unsanitary thing.<sup>858</sup>

Ritual purity, although important in the *PGM*, was not carried to such lengths, or given such importance as it was in Jewish practice. The fasting, abstinence, and so on, in the *Clavicula Salomonis* therefore probably also had some input from Jewish magical practice. The classical Jewish grimoire, *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*,<sup>859</sup> carries these preparations to much greater lengths, in one case six months.<sup>860</sup> *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*, enjoined preparation periods of prayer with strict observance of taboos and limiting of diet, social intercourse, etc.

### 5.2.5 Fasting and Food Prohibitions

Fasting is a very important ingredient in magic in all periods. Typically a three or nine day fast, or bread and water diet,<sup>861</sup> is recommended. This practice has a number of dimensions:

- i) Fasting purifies the body by allowing the gross matter to pass leaving the intestine

---

<sup>858</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, pp. 7-8.

<sup>859</sup> Mathers (1990).

<sup>860</sup> Or 18 months in the case of the German manuscript, edited by Dehn (2006).

<sup>861</sup> Four ounces of bread a day is recommended.

empty.

- ii) Fasting promotes a sense of purpose and acts as a reminder of the intention of the operation over the days leading up to it.
- iii) Fasting is thought to purify spiritually, so that the magician is in a superior spiritual state.
- iv) It has sometimes been remarked that the spirits fear the spittle of a fasting man.<sup>862</sup> Trachtenberg mentions that:

Maimonides wrote, in his capacity of physician, that the spittle of a fasting person is hostile to poisons. In consequence of this belief charms to heal an ailment or to *drive off demons* or to counteract magic were usually prefaced by a threefold expectoration.<sup>863</sup>

- v) A fasting man's perceptions may be more refined, and hence more able to see the spirit presences.<sup>864</sup> His ability to see and converse with them may be heightened by the fasting.

This practice has deep roots in ancient Egyptian magic.<sup>865</sup> Spittle is consistently used in such magic for creation in much the same way as semen. Spittle is also used in Egyptian magic to cure snake bites and scorpion stings.

Food prohibitions for priests (which would have also mapped onto their magical practice) were complicated by the rules of the *nome* in which they lived.<sup>866</sup> Thus in the nome of Oxyrhynchus they would be prohibited from eating the long-nosed fish of the same name. In Cynopolis they would be forbidden dog as food. Fish however seems to have been one of the most consistently forbidden foods, and this may relate to the Egyptian idea of the holiness of the Nile.<sup>867</sup> Despite the fact that fish were normally part of the staple Egyptian diet, there are numerous references to the ritual uncleanliness of fish, and upon entering the temple, a devotee would often announce: "I am clean. I have not eaten fish..."

The prohibition against eating fish however is also found in Babylonian texts:

One of the more common proscriptions, that of eating fish and leeks, is on day 7 of month VII said to be prohibited by "Šulpaē, lord of the date grove" ...that is, Jupiter...<sup>868</sup>

Garlic was another common banned food.

One method suggests the fast should run from the 11th day of the Moon, in order to finish on

---

<sup>862</sup> Anyone who has lived in a Muslim country during Ramadan will understand what is meant here.

<sup>863</sup> Trachtenberg (1939, 2004), p. 121. My italics. See also Thorndike Vol. I, p. 93.

<sup>864</sup> Or maybe as the psychologists would have it, he is more likely to hallucinate.

<sup>865</sup> Ritner (2008), chapter 3 "Spitting, Licking, and Swallowing," pp. 74-91.

<sup>866</sup> Ancient Egypt was divided into 42 *nomes*, or administrative areas.

<sup>867</sup> Creatures or humans who drowned in the Nile were often accorded divine status.

<sup>868</sup> Reiner (1995), p. 114.

the “14th and a half “day in time for the Full Moon.<sup>869</sup> Interestingly the fasting is often only specified as daylight fasting, like a Muslim fast, rather than a full three day fast. The emphasis on regular bathing sounds more like something inherited from the ancient world rather than something typical of mediaeval Europe.

Fasting was also very much a part of Egyptian spiritual practice so that Lucius Apuleius fasted for ten days before being initiated into the Mysteries of Isis.<sup>870</sup> This event was undoubtedly part of the Mysteries rather than just an ordinary religious ceremony in the temple of Isis. As was the function of the Mysteries, he was introduced to the goddess at first hand:

I approached the gods from below and from on high, I saw them face to face and I worshipped them near at hand.<sup>871</sup>

---

<sup>869</sup> The fullest instructions are to be found in manuscript H.

<sup>870</sup> Lucius Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, Book XI: 23. Griffiths (1975), p. 99.

<sup>871</sup> Quoted in Sauneron (1960), p. 50.

## 5.3 Protection for the Magician

After the magician has selected the right date and time for the operation, and kept himself pure, his next concern is to protect himself during the course of the operation. This was done in two main ways in the Solomonic method: by inscribing a floor circle around his area of working to protect him and his assistants, and by wearing a protective phylactery or lamen.

### 5.3.1 Circle of Protection

The use of a protective magical circle is one of the defining elements of Solomonic magic. As such its presence is one of the main pieces of evidence of the transmission of Solomonic magical techniques over the temporal and geographic boundaries under discussion in this thesis. It is a particularly promising evidence of this transmission, because clear illustrations can be found in a succession of manuscripts, indicating its evolution over many centuries. Its analysis will therefore be accorded a disproportionate amount of space.

Kieckhefer illustrates why the magician considered the protective circle so important:

First, the circle is clearly seen as a protective enclosure. Caesarius<sup>872</sup> elsewhere tells of a priest who steps outside the circle and is attacked to viciously by the Devil that he soon dies, and in yet another *exemplum* a necromancer's client rushes from the circle in pursuit of a beautiful woman, only to have his neck wrung like that of a hen being slaughtered.<sup>873</sup>

The protective circle is a recurrent theme in magic, where the magician is attempting to evoke a spirit or daimon who might threaten his well-being, from Mesopotamian times to the present day, but only Solomonic magic prescribed the detailed inscription of god and angel names within that circle. It is certainly an essential part of Byzantine and Western European grimoires. Determining the ultimate origin of this protective circle has, however, been difficult.

Other forms of magic like astral magic, village magic, or magic found in modern day primitive societies do not use a detailed drawn circle for the protection of the magician.<sup>874</sup> Solomonic magic considered a circle essential to protect the magician and his assistants. Daimones, demons, spirits and even gods, needed to be kept at arms length, and this was achieved by drawing such a consecrated circle upon the ground, and keeping within it for the duration of the rite.

---

<sup>872</sup> Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180-1240).

<sup>873</sup> Kieckhefer (2003), p. 174. He references D'Avray (1985), pp. 198-202 as the source of the second anecdote.

<sup>874</sup> Modern Wicca utilises a circle only because its creator, Gerald Gardner took it from the *Key of Solomon*. It is not to be found in pre-20th century witchcraft.

Classical Indian magic in the *Ramayana* (dating from 4th to 5th century BCE) records an example of Lakshman drawing a circle on the ground to protect Sita from a demon, showing that this practice has very deep roots. In the event Sita was persuaded to cross the circle and so was taken by the demon Ravana.

### *Early Mesopotamian Evidence*

The circle drawn upon the ground is probably the most ancient form of protection for the magician, and Ronald Hutton mentions an early form of the circle:

An Assyrian rite has the magician make an *usurtu*, usually translated as a ring, of sprinkled lime around the images of deities on whom he is going to call.<sup>875</sup>

In the Assyrian texts, protective circles were drawn on the ground with a mixture of water and flour.<sup>876</sup> These two substances were, respectively, sacred to Ea and Nisaba, water being the “shining waters of Ea” and the flour forming circle being the “net of Nisaba, the corn-god.” Campbell Thompson remarks that:

It seems to have been the custom to fence about the patient (or perhaps [more likely] the magician) with a ring of flour or meal as a magic circle, just in the same way that the mediaeval sorcerers stood within a similar charmed ring when invoking spirits.<sup>877</sup>

The circle was then consecrated with the following lines:

Ban! Ban! [O] Barrier that none can pass,  
Barrier<sup>878</sup> of the gods, that none may break,  
Barrier of heaven and earth that none can change,  
Which no god may annul,  
Nor god nor man can loose,  
A snare without escape, set for evil,  
A net whence none can issue forth, spread for [against] evil.  
Whether it be evil Spirit, or evil Demon, or evil Ghost,  
Or Evil Devil, or evil God, or evil Fiend,  
Or Hag-demon,<sup>879</sup> or Ghoul, or Robber-sprite,  
Or phantom, or Night-wraith, or Handmaid of the Phantom,  
Or evil Plague, or Fever sickness, or unclean Disease,  
Which hath attacked the shining waters of Ea,  
May the snare of Ea catch it;  
Or which hath assailed the meal<sup>880</sup> of Nisaba,  
May the net of Nisaba entrap it...<sup>881</sup>

For any piece of magical equipment, including the circle, to be effective it must be consecrated. A typical (Mesopotamian) blessing of the circle to be said before an evocation:

---

<sup>875</sup> Hutton (2003), p. 164.

<sup>876</sup> Modern voodoo *vevas* are also constructed by tracing out lines on the floor with flour.

<sup>877</sup> Thompson (1908), p. 123.

<sup>878</sup> Barrier = *Ušurtu*. Elsewhere Thompson concedes that *Ušurtu* might also be translated as ‘the magic circle, or perhaps ban’ or barrier (cf. Thompson (1908), p. xxiii). This word is translated as *zauberkreis* (or ‘magician’s circle’) by Zimmern.

<sup>879</sup> Labartu, a female demon who attacks children.

<sup>880</sup> Bran.

<sup>881</sup> Thompson (1908), pp.123-124. The introduction of ‘snare’ seems like the introduction of a Christian idea of setting a snare for the devil, rather than a faithful translation, although I cannot be sure of this.

We, therefore, in the names aforesaid, consecrate this piece of ground for our defence, so that no spirit whatsoever shall be able to break the boundaries, neither be able to cause injury nor detriment to any of us here assembled, but that they may be compelled to stand before this circle and answer truly our demands.<sup>882</sup>

According to Thompson, the use of the protective magical circle in Jewish magic dates back to Babylonian practice.<sup>883</sup>

There are also explicit references to drawing a protective circle during a 3rd century BCE evocation in Mesopotamia reported by Menippus, an author who lived in Gadara,<sup>884</sup> and later in Thebes.

[6] I resolved to go to Babylon and ask help from one of the Magi, Zoroaster's disciples and successors; I had been told that by incantations and other rites they could open the gates of Hades, take down any one they chose in safety, and bring him up again. I thought the best thing would be to secure the services of one of these, visit Tiresias the Boeotian, and learn from that wise seer what is the best life and the right choice for a man of sense. I got up with all speed and started straight for Babylon. When I arrived, I found a wise and wonderful Chaldean; he was white-haired, with a long imposing beard, and called Mithrobarzanes. My prayers and supplications at last induced him to name a price for conducting me down [to Hades].

[7] Taking me under his charge, he commenced with a new moon, and brought me down for twenty-nine successive mornings to the Euphrates, where he bathed me, apostrophizing the rising sun in a long formula, of which I never caught much; he gabbled indistinctly, like bad heralds at the Games; but he appeared to be invoking spirits. This charm completed, he spat thrice upon my face, and I went home, not letting my eyes meet those of any one we passed.<sup>885</sup> Our food was nuts and acorns, our drink milk and hydromel<sup>886</sup> and water from the Choaspes, and we slept out of doors on the grass. When he thought me sufficiently prepared, he took me at midnight to the Tigris, purified and rubbed me over, sanctified me with torches and squills and other things, muttering the charm aforesaid, then made a magic circle round me to protect me from ghosts, and finally led me home backwards just as I was; it was now time to arrange our voyage.

[8] He himself put on a magic robe, Median in character, and fetched and gave me the cap, lion's skin, and lyre which you see, telling me if I were asked my name not to say Menippus, but Heracles, Odysseus, or Orpheus.<sup>887</sup>

Although Menippus was a Cynic and satirist, he wrote about serious subjects, in this case apparently at first hand. Although he learned the technique of making a magic circle "to protect from ghosts [spirits]" from Mithrobarzanes by the Tigris in Mesopotamia, he lived in both Coele-Syria and Egypt. Therefore the technique, if not already known in these regions, would have there been made known by Menippus through his widely distributed writings.

There is linguistic support for the use of protective circles in Egyptian magic. For the ancient Egyptians, magic could only take place in an appropriately protected place, and in an area

---

<sup>882</sup> Thompson (1908). p. lx.

<sup>883</sup> Thompson (1908), p. lviii.

<sup>884</sup> The site of Jesus' exorcism of the demonic that lived in tombs, on the shore of Galilee, and whose demons Jesus ordered to possess a herd of swine, which promptly killed themselves by drowning.

<sup>885</sup> A common specification found in many European grimoires. See Mark 5:2-13.

<sup>886</sup> A kind of mead or fermented honey.

<sup>887</sup> Menippus (3rd century BCE), *A Necromantic Experiment* as quoted by Lucian of Samosata (c.120-c.180 CE), pp. 159-160.

delineated by the magician. Daemons were seen as dangerous, but not evil in the sense later ascribed to demons.<sup>888</sup> In fact the Egyptian word for conjuring *šnjt* means 'encircling.'<sup>889</sup>

The Egyptian verb *phr* means "to go around or encircle." The concept that enchanting derives from encircling is also common in Egyptian thought.<sup>890</sup> Ritner sees "that which encircles/contains/controls" as a possible root of, or at least intimately connected with, "that which enchant[s]/protects." As Ritner explains:

The magical ritual of "encircling" (*dbn, phr*) for purification is almost coeval with Egyptian civilization itself, being attested from the earliest archaic funerary rituals to the temple ceremonies of the Graeco-Roman periods... Comparable rituals of circumambulation comprise both public, cultic ceremonies and private, 'magical' ones.<sup>891</sup>

The hieroglyphic determinative for "to go around" (the walking legs) is sometimes replaced by scribes with the determinative "to enchant" (man-with-hand-to-mouth).<sup>892</sup> It is dangerous to extrapolate that this use of encircling by the Egyptians, or its connection with enchantment, implies that the circle was used in Graeco-Egyptian magic, but it is most likely. If not, then it was certainly a parallel concept.<sup>893</sup>

One of the most relevant Egyptian magical images is the ouroboros, the snake devouring its tail, forming a natural circle. Although this image has mostly been examined in terms of early Greek alchemy, or Gnosticism, it is in fact of ancient Egyptian origin, where it is alluded to as an "encirclement as protection."<sup>894</sup>

Ritner sums up the centrality of the circle to Egyptian magic:

Thus, although ritual encirclement is well documented in many cultures, the centrality of the rite in Egyptian magic is striking, and its uses and terminology uniquely Egyptian... That the rite was of fundamental significance to the success of Egyptian magic is evident not merely by the presence of specified directions in rubrics and depictions in literary, religious, medical, and even historical texts, but also by the very turns of phrase which the Egyptian employed to describe magic.<sup>895</sup>

I hypothesise that the earliest form of the circle in ancient Egypt may have been inscribed upon the ground in the form of the ouroboros, the snake biting its own tail. This is an image which has endured, both in Gnostic gems, and as late as the 18th century grimoire, *Treasure*

---

<sup>888</sup> For more about the nature of daemons see several of the essays in Kousoulis (2011).

<sup>889</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3393.

<sup>890</sup> Ritner (2008), p. 57.

<sup>891</sup> Ritner (2008), pp. 57-58.

<sup>892</sup> Ostracon Naville 11 in Smith (1977), p. 124.

<sup>893</sup> It is a well known feature of magic that the knowledge of someone's true name gives the magician power over that person. A similar concept of protection from adverse magic may possibly lie behind the Egyptian procedure of encircling the written names of rulers or important people in an oval cartouche.

<sup>894</sup> Ritner discusses it more fully in Ritner (1984b), pp. 219-220.

<sup>895</sup> Ritner (2008), p. 68.

of the *Old Man of the Pyramids*,<sup>896</sup> which is notionally set in Egypt.<sup>897</sup> The structuring of the circle as a snake also occurs in later grimoires such as the *Goetia*, although that particular version might simply be attributable to fortuitous artistic licence (see Figure 27).

In Figure 11 the snake circle also has a second snake stretched out in an unnaturally straight and rigid pose. This may have been a representation of the snake wands used by both Moses and the Egyptian magicians in their confrontation in front of Pharaoh. A more detailed ouroboros appears in the 18th century grimoire *Clavis Inferni* (see Figure 12).

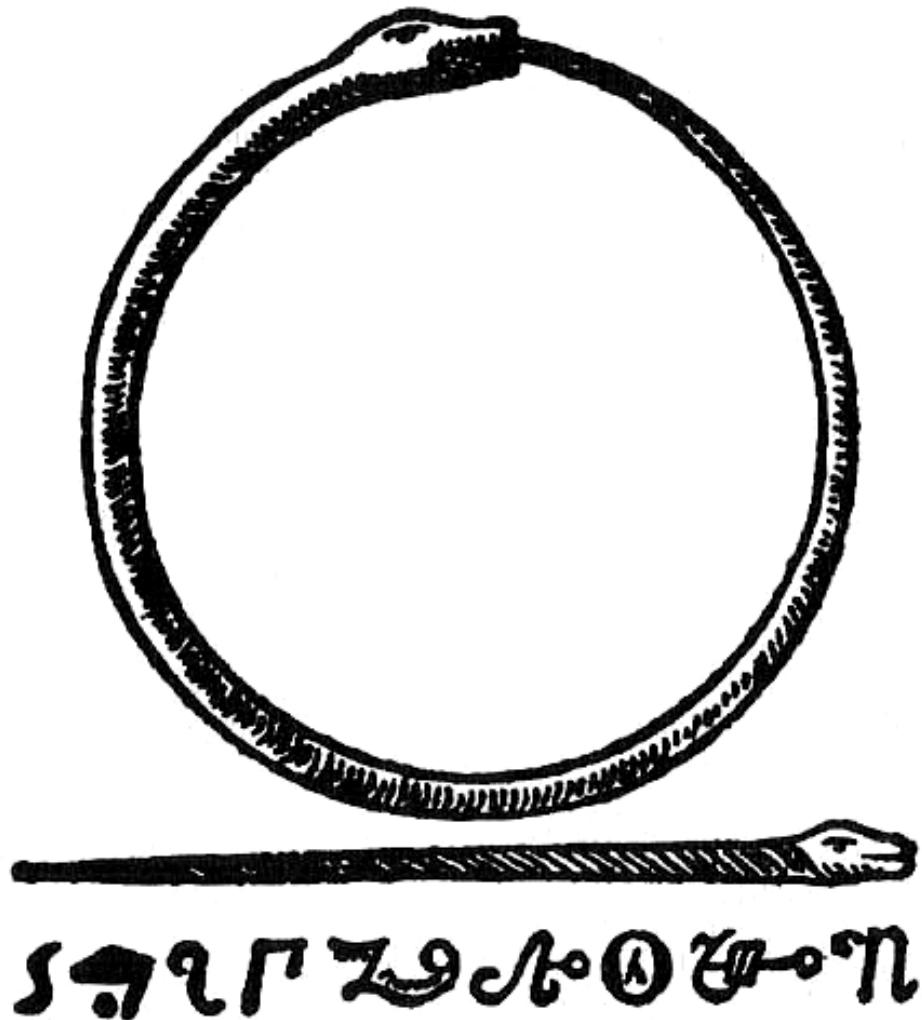


Figure 11: Ouroboros circle in a late 18th century grimoire, the *Treasure of the Old Man of the Pyramids*. See also Figure 05.

<sup>896</sup> Also often called the *Black Pullet*.

<sup>897</sup> This grimoire is undoubtedly corrupt, but the image might preserve some distant memory of the practice. See Figure 11.



Figure 12: The frontispiece of the 1757 grimoire *Clavis Inferni*, showing the ouroboros as the main motif of this grimoire.<sup>898</sup> The four sigils at the corners are sigils of the four Demon Kings positioned outside the circle in the Cardinal directions (see chapter 5.2.2).

<sup>898</sup> See discussion of the date in Skinner and Rankine (2009), p. 25.

There appears to be little trace of the protective circle in early Jewish magical texts. However in the fertile ground of the 1st century BC, there lived an interesting magician called Honi ha-Ma'agel (חוני המגל), who was famous for his ability to successfully pray for rain. His name was literally 'Honi the Circle-Drawer.' His historical existence is testified by the presence of his well-kept tomb at Hatzor ha-Gelitit, by the roadside in a town near the well known Kabbalistic centre of Safed.<sup>899</sup> According to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*:

Once when a drought had lasted almost throughout the month of Adar and the people had supplicated in vain for rain, they came to Onias [Honi] to ask him to bring rain by his prayers. Onias thereupon drew a circle (hence probably his name, "the circle-drawer"), and, placing himself in the center of it, prayed for rain; and his prayer was immediately answered. When the rain had continued to fall for some time in torrents, and there was danger that it might prove harmful instead of a blessing, he prayed that it might cease; and this prayer also received an immediate answer.<sup>900</sup>

If Honi were in fact calling up spirits using God's name in order to cause a storm, which seems more likely than directly berating God, then Honi's use of the circle can be equated with Solomonic practice, but otherwise it appears to be an isolated incident.

Schäfer also mentions Honi and quotes a Genizah fragment which he claims "testifies to exactly the opposite function of the circle, namely to capture demons [rather than to keep them at bay], thereby recalling the function of the magic bowls...<sup>901</sup> The Genizah fragment Schäfer quotes in fact breaks off before the actual function of the circle is reached, leaving his contention totally unsupported:

...go to a place where no people live - to a mountain, to a field or to a house standing alone in which no women live - , sweep the house clean and make a circle (עיגן) in front of the entrance (of the house). Supply the circle with four openings for the four directions of the heavens and lay upon each one...<sup>902</sup>

In fact it was always (three-dimensional) vases or bottles that were used to trap spirits, not two-dimensional circles. Also a spirit trap would not have been supplied with four openings. There are no other early references in Jewish magical works to a circle, as far as I know.<sup>903</sup>

In the 15th century, by way of explaining the function of the circle, Menahem Ziyuni stated

---

<sup>899</sup> Very recently Honi the Circle-Drawer has inspired a new prayer movement which uses chalk circles drawn on the ground, and has generated a New York best seller book called *The Circle Maker*, a DVD and a neo-Christian practice combining circles and prayer.

<sup>900</sup> 'Onias (Honi) ha-Me'aggel' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1906.

<sup>901</sup> Schäfer (1990), p.87. He quotes Trachtenberg (1939, 2004), p. 121 as if that supports his argument, but in fact Trachtenberg stresses the "protective virtues of this device [the circle]" rather than its use as a spirit capture device. Leaving four gaps in the circle render it useless for either of these functions.

<sup>902</sup> The text breaks off at this point. Taylor-Schechter box K. 1. 1 as translated in Schäfer (1990), pp. 87-88.

<sup>903</sup> Vases or bottles designed to trap or hold spirits have a completely different function from crystals' in which skryers saw or spoke with spirits. Examples of the latter practice can be found in Trithemius' *Art of Drawing Spirits into Crystals* in Barrett (1801), Book II, pp. 135 ff.

that “those who invoke demons draw circles around themselves because the spirits have not the power to trespass from the public to a private area [so marked out].”

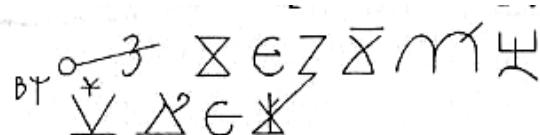
In commenting on the *SMS*, Rohrbacher-Sticker suggests that some of the *agullot* (plural of *agul*) in the text could be ‘magical circles,’<sup>904</sup> but as we have seen this text is simply a late copy of an Italian/Latin *Clavicula Salomonis*.

In the *PGM*, the magician needs protection from the gods as well as daimones and spirits.<sup>905</sup> This was usually achieved by the wearing of a phylactery (see chapter 5.3.3). Given that the magical rites in the *PGM* tend to treat the gods like inferior daimones, rather than worshipping them, this need for protection is not surprising. In the *PGM* many of the rites involve a circular motion, as the magician turns to face first East then North, West, South during the course of the rite (see Figure 03). From this the presence of a protective circle may be inferred. It is highly likely that the Graeco-Egyptian magicians inherited the Mesopotamian and ancient Egyptian practice of encirclement, which was so commonplace that maybe it was not considered worthy of specific mention in the *PGM*.

In a number of passages the phrases “do the usual” or “add the usual,” occur, indicating that well-known background procedures were not usually specified in the *PGM*. This may also have applied to prefatory procedures such as drawing the protective circle which may have been taken for granted. The fact that a circle appears to be only mentioned several times in the whole corpus of the *PGM* suggests that the circle was taken for granted. This phenomenon of unwritten instructions was common in the *PGM*, as these papyri were meant to be used as an experienced magician’s reference book, not a primer in magic.

There is however one clear mention of the drawing of a protective circle with chalk on the ground in the *PGM* in a rite which is an invocation of a daimon referred to as a “shadow on the sun,” probably a solar daimon. The rubric concerning the protection of the magician mentions both a circle and a phylactery:

**Phylactery:** The tail [of the cat]<sup>906</sup> and the characters with the circle [on which] you will stand after you have drawn it with chalk.<sup>907</sup>



<sup>904</sup> Rohrbacher-Sticker (1993/4), p. 265.

<sup>905</sup> The gods were not seen as universally beneficent, but as dangerous as spirits and daimones, and so the magician needed to be protected from them.

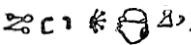
<sup>906</sup> The opening line of the rite instructs the magician to be “crowned with a tail of a cat.”

<sup>907</sup> *PGM VII. 846-861.* A crossed out by has been omitted, as these two letters appear again without crossing in the illustration above.

The text concludes with the seven characters shown above, the first of which is definitely Mars, so these are possibly symbols of the seven planets. One of the characters echoes a form which occurs later in the 15th century angel seals of de Abano's *Heptameron*. Below them is another sequence of four *charakteres*, preceded by, at least two of which look astrological in nature. These are likely to be the forerunners of the names and symbols later inscribed in more detail in the protective circle.

The point is that the passage clearly gives instruction to stand within a chalk-drawn circle with inscribed astrological figures. This circle is mentioned in the same section as the phylactery and so it must also be meant for protection. It is also instructive that this particular invocation has a strong Egyptian flavour with no admixture of Greek words or gods, suggesting a very early usage.

In the setup instructions for one experiment of direct vision, a Table of Practice,<sup>908</sup> and floor markings are prescribed:

For direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters...  Cover the tripod with clean linen, and place a censer on the tripod... In the centre of the shrine, surrounding the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character... it is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance... [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel...<sup>909</sup>

The floor inscription, inscribed with a white stylus, is probably a chalk circle as the instruction locates it "surrounding the tripod." This passage is highly significant as it also shows that a circle should be cut in the surface of the table, which is echoed in the 16th-19th century practice of inscribing characters on the Table of Practice.

Although references to a protective chalk circle are not very detailed in the *PGM*, detailed diagrams of the protective circle begin to appear in the *Hygromanteia*. This circle is also closely tied to the four cardinal points, and with ritual actions performed at each of the cardinal points. Early Byzantine texts show the circle drawn in conjunction with a square or diamond shape indicating these directions, but some later Latin grimoires sometimes omit that feature. The floor-inscribed magical circle is found in its most fully developed form in the *Hygromanteia*. There are in this text three different types of circle, often all found in the same manuscript, but in different chapters, probably indicating slightly differing uses rather than a chronological development.

These sources have very specific diagrams of protective circles, often set within a square or diamond, which are designed to be drawn on the ground. H shows several examples of these

<sup>908</sup> To be described later in 6.1.

<sup>909</sup> PGM III. 291-306.

quite elaborate circles. The procedure of drawing a double circle inside two contraposed squares was well established and obviously long used to protect the magician from spirits.

#### *First Byzantine Circle Type*

The most specialised of these circles is found in chapter 49 of the *Hygromanteia*, which is concerned with evocatory skrying using a young boy. It contains one of the most detailed special purpose magical circles to be found in any manuscript of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>910</sup> The purpose of this circle is to protect the virgin boy being used as a skryer as well as the magician. The magician or *magister*, who is here identified as a Persian 'lecanomancer' called Apolonios [sic],<sup>911</sup> reads the invocation whilst the boy stares at a water pot balanced on a stone, from the centre of a protective circle (see Figure 13 and Figure 14).



Figure 13: The magician *απολόνιος* Apolonios (sic) and virgin boy skryer who is skrying in the water pot. Both are surrounded by an elaborate circle (see Figure 14) traced with a black-handled knife. The magician holds the text of his invocation, and a comet is seen in the distance. Marathakis identifies this procedure as *hygromanteia* type I, despite the textual identification of the main figure as a lecanomancer. This underlines the essential identity of all the water/oil skrying methods which evolved from *PGM* bowl skrying.

<sup>910</sup> B2, f. 344.

<sup>911</sup> It is tempting to see this as Apollonius of Tyana, but the appellation 'Persian,' and the green turban shown in the illustration, make this a problematic identification.

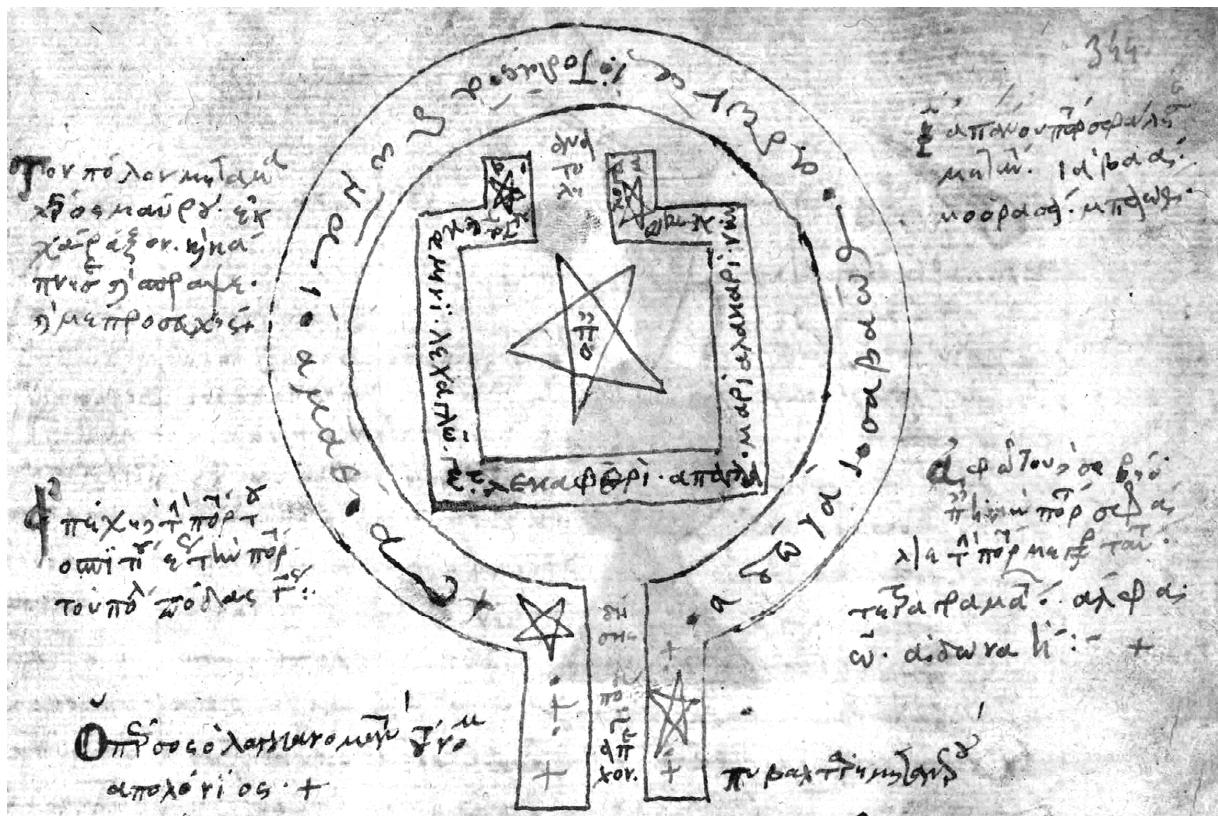


Figure 14: Magical circle of protection used in an experiment of evocatory water skrying, from the *Hygromanteia* 1440.<sup>912</sup> Note this is the actual protective circle used in the operation shown more graphically in Figure 13. The outer entrance way is to the West (at bottom of illustration).

This scenario of a boy skryer inside a circle has a lot in common with a 16th/17th century Hebrew manuscript concerned with fingernail skrying,<sup>913</sup> in which a circle is made around the skryer also with a black-handled knife:

Take a young lad and make a circle in the earth with a knife, the handle of which is black, and prepare the nail of the right thumb until it becomes thin, and take four smooth stones and put (them) in the four rows of the circle, and put the mentioned knife in the middle of the circle...<sup>914</sup>

The “four smooth stones” are also mentioned in Babylonian texts, were used in various ceremonies,<sup>915</sup> suggesting again a possible ultimate Mesopotamian origin for the practice.

Returning to chapter 49 of the *Hygromanteia*, the geometry of the protective design in this chapter is quite complex, and possibly unique. It consists of a pentagram (in which the skryer stands, surrounded by a double square with an opening to the East protected by the words “Iabaa, Morasa, Mpaōth.” The boundary of the square is protected by “Letaia, Lekamini, Lekhaglō, Gōn, Lekaphthri, Apagla,<sup>916</sup> Maria, Lakaninau, Latago, Logam.”

The square is then surrounded by a double circle with an opening to the West. This circle

912 Chapter 49 in manuscript B2, f. 344.

<sup>913</sup> The spirits involved in that operation are called deferentially "the princes of the thumb."

<sup>914</sup> Codex Gaster 315, translated in Daiches (1913), p. 15.

<sup>915</sup> King (1896), No. 12, ll. 11-13; ll. 2-15.

<sup>916</sup> Probably derived from the Hebrew **אנל**.

contains the names “Adōnai, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Todas, Adōnai, Amath,<sup>917</sup> A.” The gate of this circle is protected (sealed) by the words “Tetragrammatōn, Ō[mega], Adōnai.”

The instructions for creating this circle are to “trace the circle with a black-handled knife, cense it, clean it and pray.” It is clear that the skryer is thereby protected from the invoked spirit. It is not clear where the magician stands during this operation, but in likelihood also within the outer protective circle.

There are two other distinct methods of forming the circle outlined in the *Hygromanteia* from the same period.

#### *Second Byzantine Circle Type*

This appears in chapter 36 of the *Hygromanteia* (see Figure 15),<sup>918</sup> which describes an evocation which is to be performed when the Sun is in exact opposition to the Moon, in other words at Full Moon. This circle has two earthenware braziers, full of lit charcoals on the borders of the circle, used to burn the incense. This feature is illustrated in this and subsequent diagrams with plumes of smoke arising from the braziers situated at the corners.

The circle is set within two squares, with the corners of the inner one touching the mid-points of the sides of the outer one. After entering the circle from the South and placing incense on the charcoals, the magician is required to trace one or two concentric circles,<sup>919</sup> with embedded *nomina magica*, again using the black-handled knife of the art. When the magician and his apprentice have entered the circle, the entrance is sealed with this knife of the art.

This circle consists of a double circle with an entrance pathway facing the South, set within a square, set within a larger square touched at the midpoints of its sides by the vertices of the smaller square. The vertices of the larger square determine the position for the earthenware braziers. The east and west sides of the inner square have triple lock marks near the corners, and all four corners have triple angle lock marks. This feature is meant to prevent the ingress of the spirit at any point where the lines may have been imperfectly joined. The black-handled knife is shown baring the exit, with its point outwards. It is possible that the knife is stabbed into the floor/earth at this point, as in the conjuration of Mortzē.<sup>920</sup>

---

<sup>917</sup> Possibly from the Hebrew *Aemeth*, meaning ‘truth.’ This word was later used by Dee to describe his main circular sigil, *Sigillum Dei Aemeth*.

<sup>918</sup> Chapter 36 in manuscript H, f. 34v, A, f. 17v and B, f. 21v.

<sup>919</sup> Manuscripts B and H respectively.

<sup>920</sup> B2, f. 346. Also spelled Mourtzi.

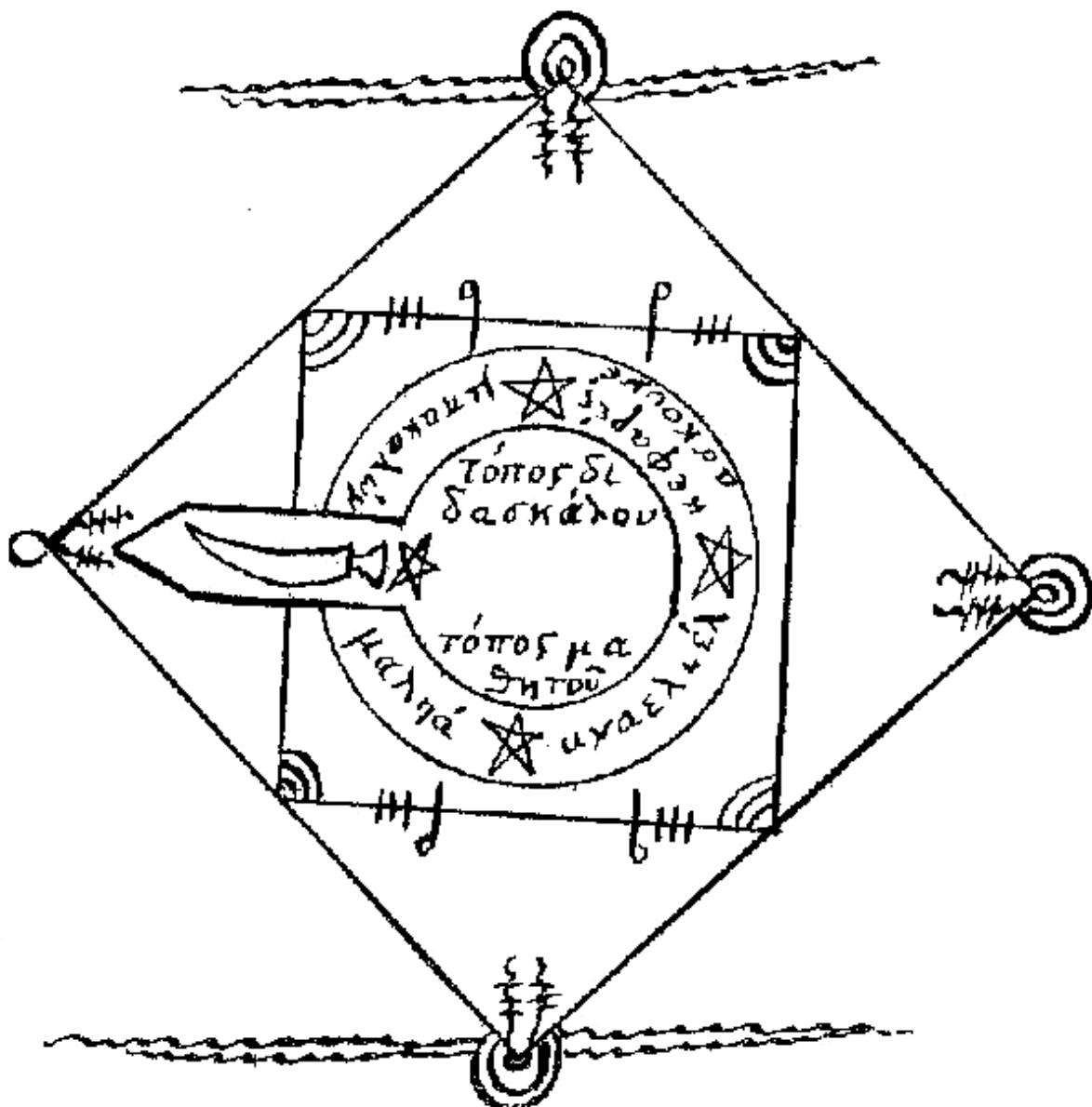


Figure 15: The second type of Byzantine Circle. The wavy lines indicate incense smoke arising from burners placed at the corners. Note the “lock marks” at the corners, which are typical of circles drawn in manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>921</sup> The Greek in the centre just indicates the positioning of the magician and his assistant (τόπος διδασκάλου, *topos didaskalou* and τόπος μαθητοῦ, *topos mathetou*, respectively). The *nomina magica* between the two circles is Malēa - Anaeliel - Kephares Askoune - Mpakalōn.

#### *Third Byzantine Circle Type*

This method is to be found in chapter 41 of the *Hygromanteia* (see Figure 16).<sup>922</sup> In this method four braziers or censers are used. This third method of drawing the circle is simpler as the circle is only enclosed in one square and the *nomina magica* are different. In this method, there are no lock marks and the exit path is simply sealed with a pentagram, and not with the black-handled knife. A more critical difference is that the exit path in the third

<sup>921</sup> Chapter 36 in manuscript A, f. 17v.

<sup>922</sup> Chapter 41 in manuscripts A, f. 18v and G, f. 26v. The description also appears briefly in manuscripts B and H.

method is orientated to the north, rather than to the south, as in the second method. This is likely to be just a simplification of the second method, or a circle used for relatively minor operations, such as the consecration of talismans.

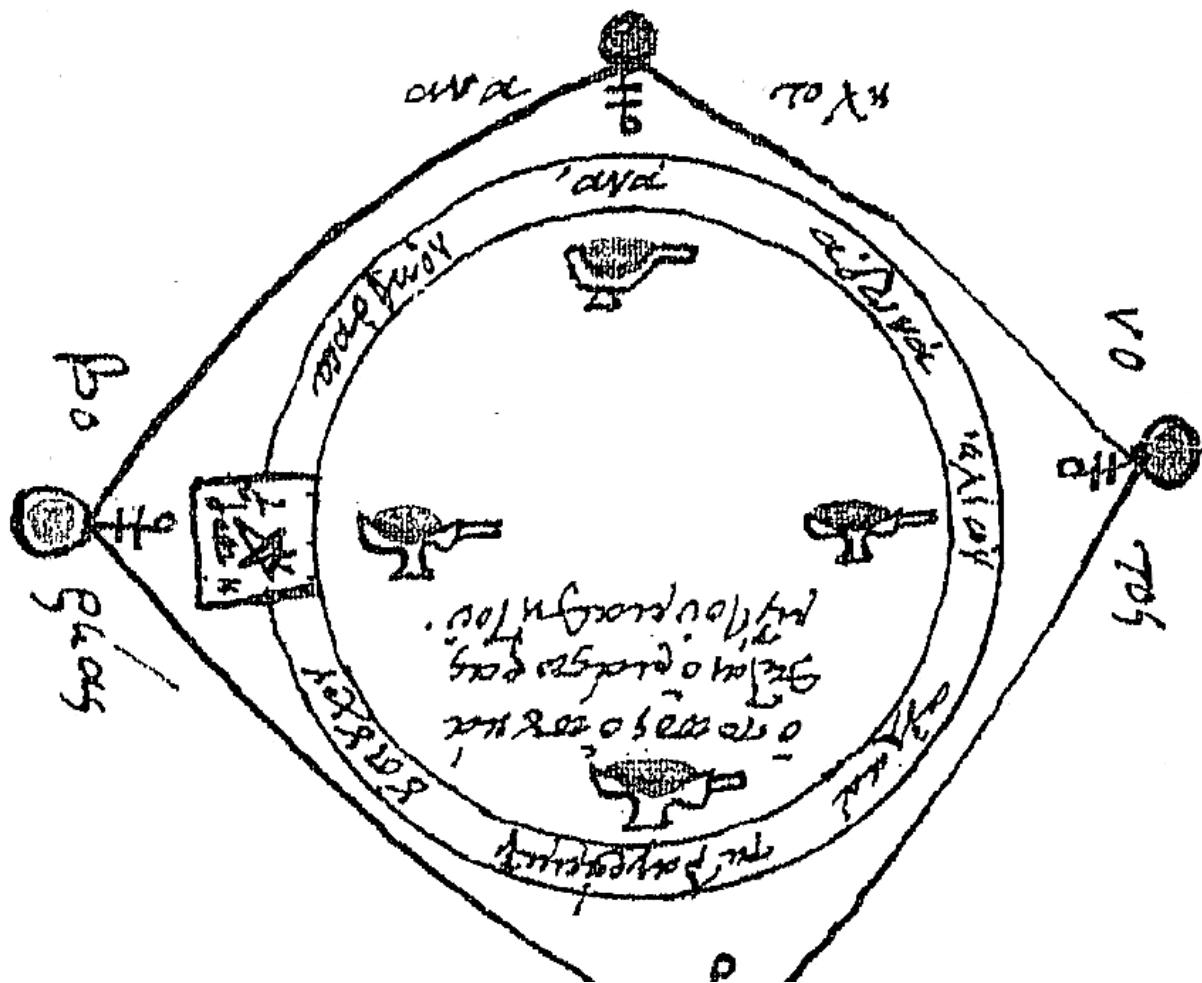


Figure 16: The third type of Byzantine Circle. Note the lack of lock marks, the four braziers (with handles) *within* the circle and the orientation of the entrance to the North (on the left). The Magister and assistants are to stand to the West (at the bottom of the drawing).<sup>923</sup> The *nomina magica* surrounding the circle are “Partheon, Ana, Adōna, Eliōn, Aglaa, Tetragrammaton, Ousioukhon.”

Parallels to these Greek *Hygromanteia* circles appear in AC Text-Group manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon* as shown below in Figure 17.

Traditionally the consecrated circle in the *Clavicula Salomonis* was drawn with flour<sup>924</sup> or chalk upon the floor or cut into the turf with a ritual dagger (if the magical operation were performed outdoors). Although the circle was usually drawn in chalk or painted on the floor, a number of authorities state that its retracing by the consecrated (black-handled) knife, or consecrated iron sword, was what was most effective in keeping the spirits out of the circle.

<sup>923</sup> Chapter 41 manuscript G, f. 26v. Note that the bottom of the diagram is physically missing from the actual manuscript, having been at one point in time actually cut off by the binder.

<sup>924</sup> Drawing magical figures with flour is still practised with the drawing of modern day Voodoo *vevas*, which some authorities suggest may have been derived from Solomonic spirit seals.

Bird blood (specifically doves) was also sometimes used to draw the circle.<sup>925</sup> Pointing up the importance of the protective circle, the title of one of the early Latin grimoires, the *Almadel*, even means 'the circle' in Arabic.

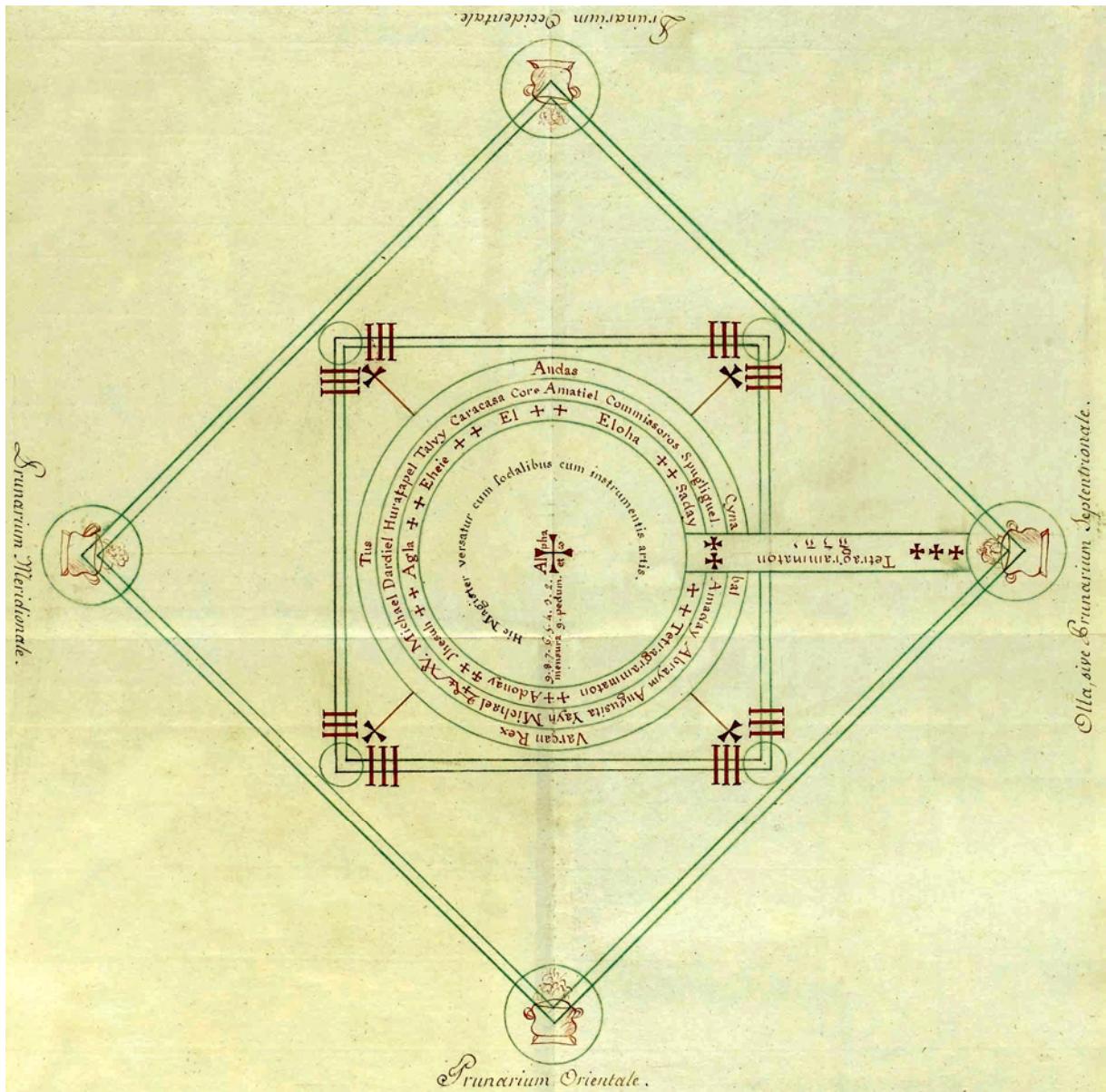


Figure 17: A full Solomonic protective circle from a French *Clavicula Salomonis* of 1795.<sup>926</sup>

As early as 1425 one manuscript shows a magician commanding two full sized demons from within the safety of a single circle drawn upon the ground (see Figure 02).<sup>927</sup> An even more explicit manuscript from the 14th century shows the magician armed with a sword, wearing a Crusader style breastplate (or lamen?), standing within a double protective circle cut in the turf of a hillock, up which labours a treasure-bearing spirit (Figure 18).<sup>928</sup>

<sup>925</sup> Kieckhefer (1998), p. 116.

<sup>926</sup> Wellcome MS 4670 (1796) reproduced in Skinner & Rankine (2008), p. 70.

<sup>927</sup> British Library Additional MS 39844, f. 51.

<sup>928</sup> British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A VII, f. 44.

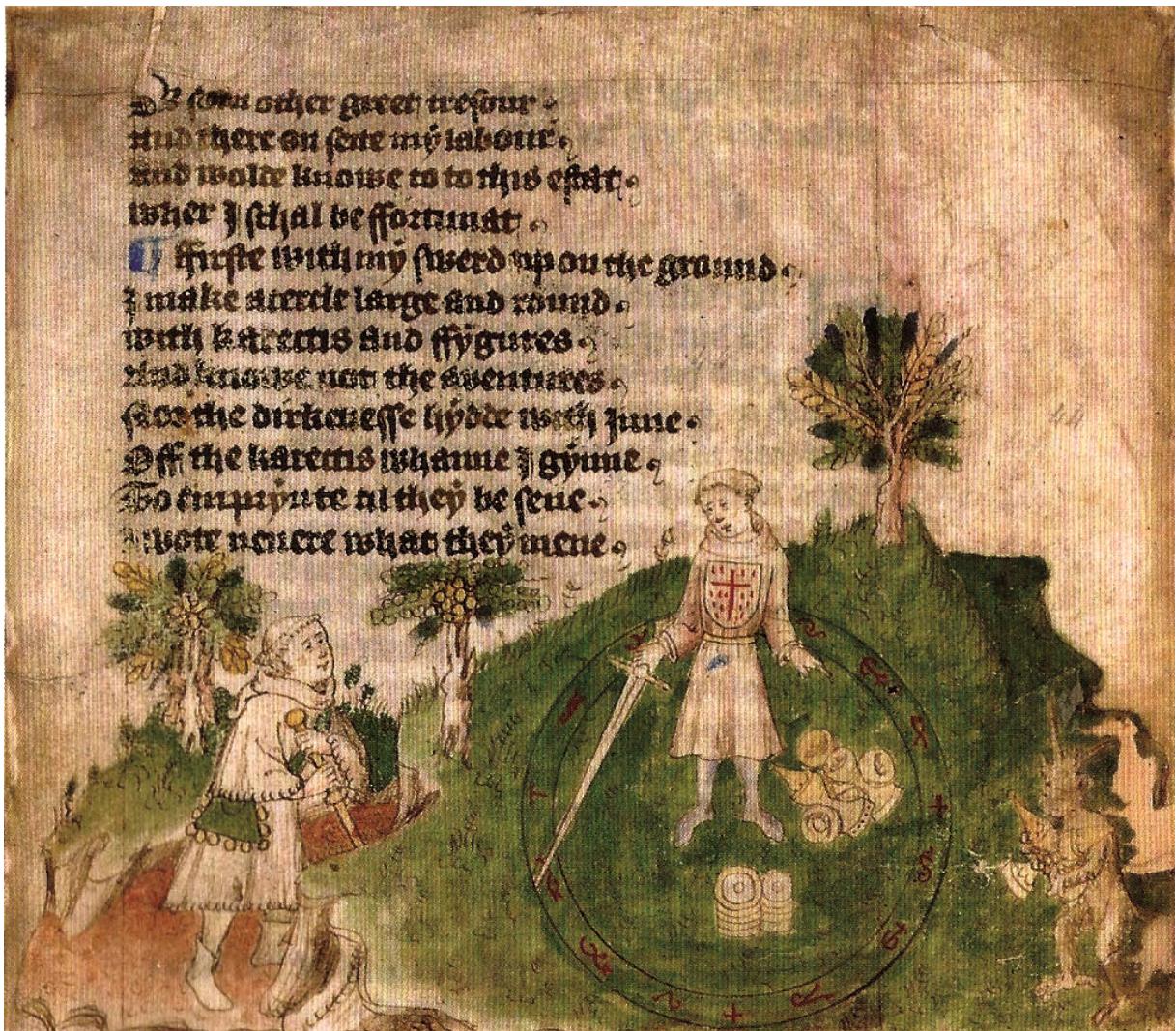


Figure 18: A 14th century magician within a turf-cut circle receives a treasure-bearing spirit, whilst a monk looks on.<sup>929</sup> Note the magician's sword and breastplate (lamen). The marks on the breastplate may have been a number of small seals, as they appeared on the *ourania* in the *Hygromanteia*.

In the French manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis* reproduced in Figure 17, we see a large number of parallels with the second type of circle in the *Hygromanteia* (Figure 15) drawn approximately 250 years later. These similarities are proof of the transmission of not only the method of working (in a protective circle) but also the exact same method of construction. Other commonalities include:

- a) a square within a square (with apexes touching the mid-points of the sides) within a circumscribing circle.
- b) the provision of an entrance way.<sup>930</sup>
- c) incense burners located at the four outer corners (captioned as *Olla sive Prunarium*<sup>931</sup> in the *Clavicula Salomonis*).
- d) sets of triple 'lock-lines' on the square's sides.

<sup>929</sup> Cotton MS Tiberius A VII, f. 44. 14th century.

<sup>930</sup> Located to the south in the *Hygromanteia*, but to the north in the *Key of Solomon*.

<sup>931</sup> A pot with burning coals, for the incense.

The minor differences include the replacement of pentagrams with equal armed crosses; a translation of the text from Greek to Latin; an increase in the number of circles from two to three; and the entrance blocked by crosses and the Tetragrammaton rather than the knife.<sup>932</sup> The protective names in the *Key of Solomon* are recognisable from the *Heptameron*, but do not relate directly to those in the *Hygromanteia*.

#### *Hebrew Copy of the Clavicula Salomonis*

In another section of this thesis (chapter 3.3) it has been demonstrated that the only extant Solomonic text in Hebrew, the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*, is ultimately derived from an unidentified Latin/Italian *Clavicula Salomonis*. As illustrations of the circles in that manuscript are drawn from a pre-1700 Latin/Italian *Clavicula Salomonis*, it is therefore appropriate that they be considered here alongside contemporary Latin and vernacular European grimoires, rather than with Jewish magic.

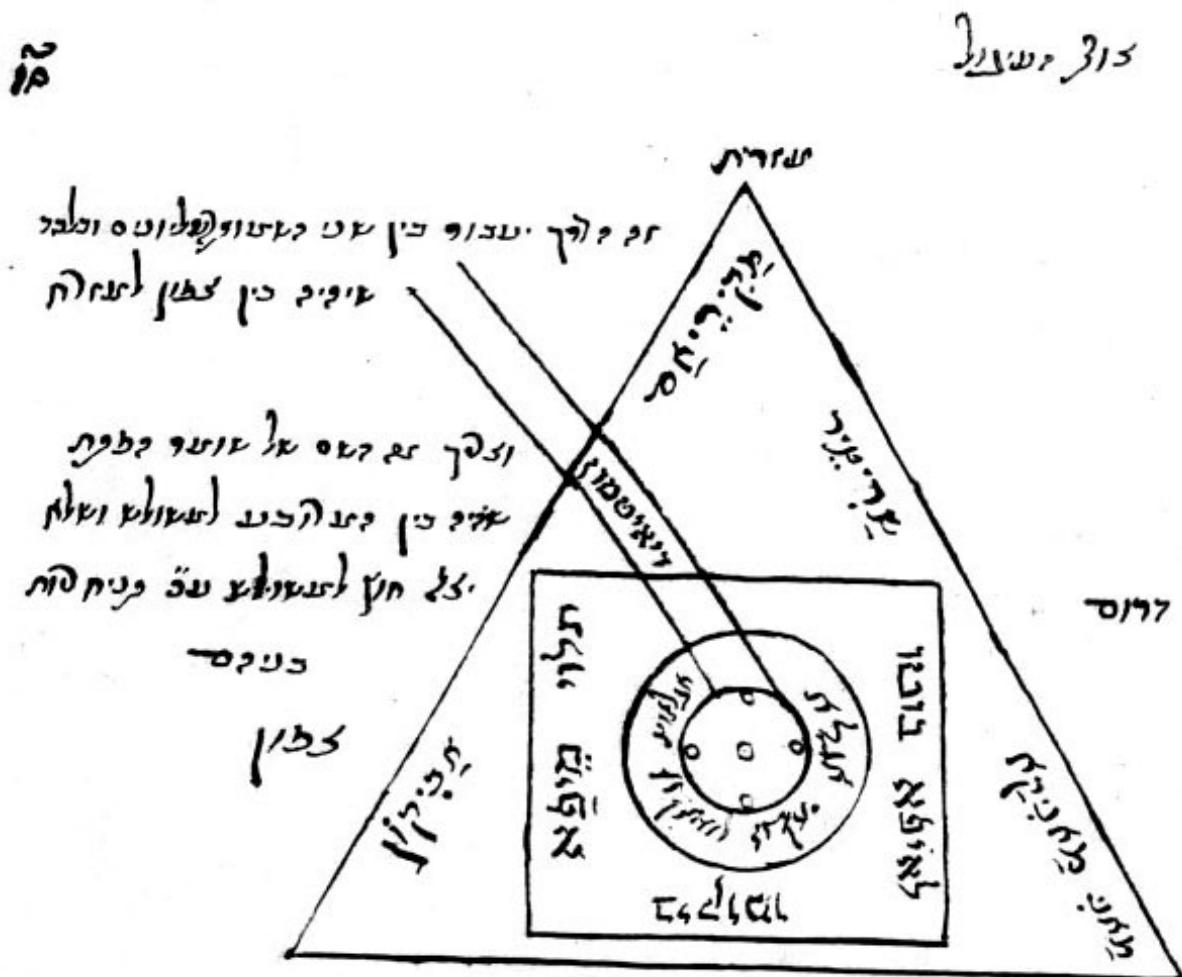


Figure 19: A protective circle from the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*.<sup>933</sup> This also uses a combination of circle, square and triangle. Note the important entrance/exit path pointing to the top left.

<sup>932</sup> The omission of the knife is probably due to the scribe not realising what was depicted in the drawing. In practice the consecrated knife may still have been placed, point outwards, at the entrance.

<sup>933</sup> Gollancz (2008), folio ס' 66a. This operation was intended to be performed in Spring, as the magical name of that season, *תַּלְיִי* *Talvi* (drawn from the *Heptameron*), is written on the left side of the square.

In some grimoires, notably in the *Hygromanteia*, *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* and the *Grimorium Verum* clear channels were provided for the arrival of the magician and his assistants, after which this pathway would be sealed with appropriate divine names. In the Greek grimoires, the passage was often sealed by stabbing the floor/earth at that point with the black-handled knife. This again reflects the long standing tradition that spirits fear sharp iron blades.<sup>934</sup>

The magician's efforts were concentrated on the drawing and closing of the Circle to prevent demonic ingress. This Hebrew copy of an Italian/Latin *Clavicula Salomonis* circle diagram clearly shows an access path designed to allow the magician and his disciple to enter the circle before the rite (see Figure 19). The Hebrew inscribed on the path אֶת־יְהָמָן transliterates as the phrase 'Via Itmon,' an interesting mix of Latin and Hebrew which means 'the path of Metatron.'<sup>935</sup> The magician intended to invoke that angel to protect the vulnerable entry path to his circle.

The practice of placing braziers with charcoal on which to burn the incense, at the corners of the circumscribed square, occurs again in some manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon*,<sup>936</sup> but the outer squares begin to disappear from the 19th century onwards.

One English manuscript, Sloane MS 3847, dated April 1572, has two full page illustrations of protective circles (see Figure 20 and Figure 21), which are extremely revealing. Of these circles Figure 21 is very similar to one of the *Hygromanteia* circles (Figure 15).

---

<sup>934</sup> MS Harleianus 5596, f. 34v and MS Atheniensis 115, f. 21v show such a knife lying at the entrance of the circle.

<sup>935</sup> See Schäfer (1981), pp. 395, 732 for a list of the 72 names of Metatron, including 'Itmon.'

<sup>936</sup> In French *Key of Solomon* MS Wellcome 4670, see Skinner & Rankine (2008), pp. 70-71.

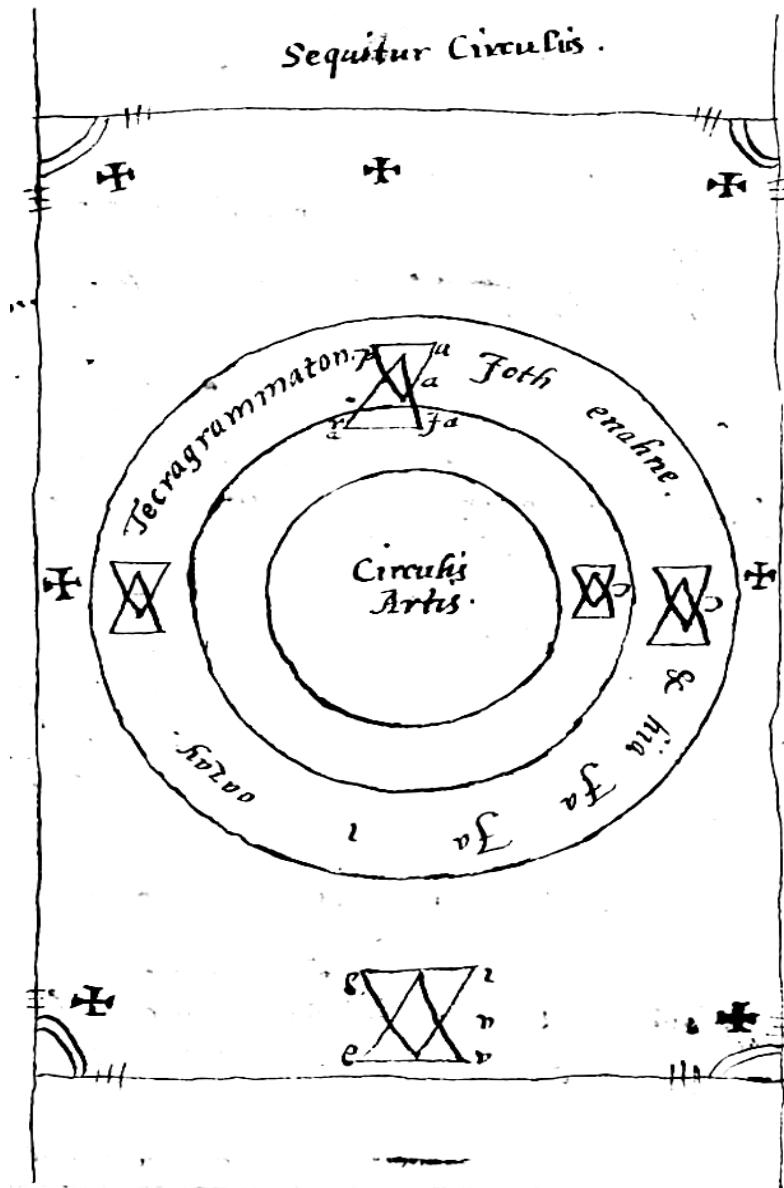


Figure 20: A simple circle of protection from *The Worke of Salomon the Wise, Called his Clavicle Revealed*.<sup>937</sup> The triangles making up the hexagrams in this circle have been partly disengaged; however the rectangle with its lock marks is still fully in evidence. The outer circle contains corrupt Hebrew god names. The small numbers indicate the order in which the parts of the circle should be drawn.

<sup>937</sup> Sloane MS 3847, f. 8. 1572.

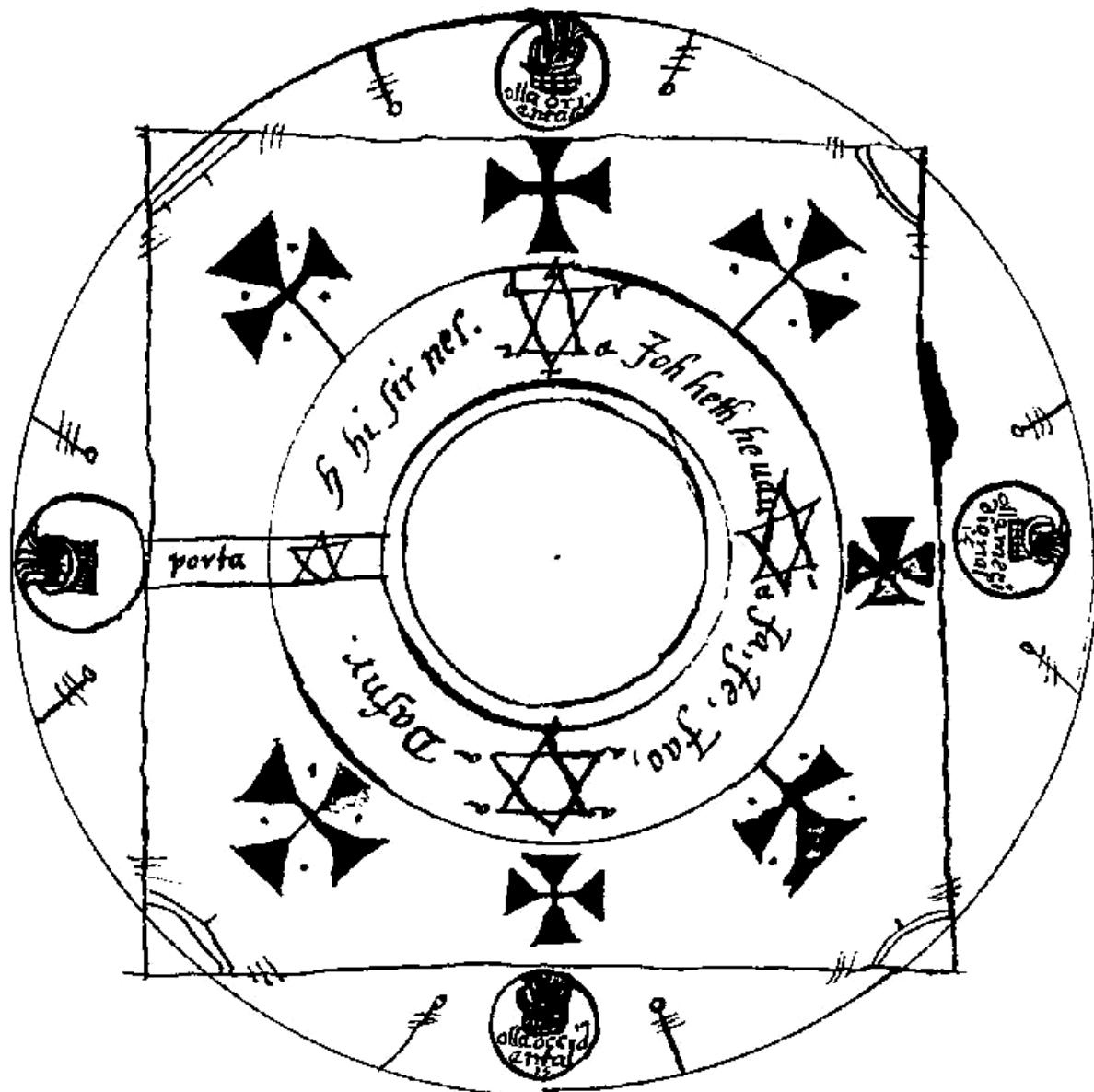


Figure 21: A more complex circle of protection from *The Worke of Salomon the Wise, Called his Clavicle Revealed* dated 1572. It shows a *porta* or 'gate' for entry (at left), corner 'lock marks,' and four braziers at the cardinal points. Note this is almost identical to circles found in the *Hygromanteia*, showing a very clear line of transmission.<sup>938</sup>

Heptameron

The title of this grimoire definitely suggests Greek roots. The *Heptameron*, meaning literally 'the seven days,' deals with invocations of the angels and spirits of the seven days of the week. The *Heptameron* was first published in Venice in 1496, and was reputedly written by de Abano, although that is disputed by some scholars on the now familiar grounds that someone who was a doctor and scholar could not possibly have penned a work on magic. However, as nobody has suggested a viable alternative author, I will continue to refer to it as de Abano's *Heptameron*.

938 Sloane MS 3847, f. 52.

The circles used in the *Heptameron* are much simpler than those in some other grimoires, except for one startling difference, that is that the names inscribed within them are not fixed, but vary according to the time and date of the operation. This ties in with the importance of the hours and days of the operation, which has been a feature of Solomonic magic since the time of the Graeco-Egyptian magicians:

...the form of the Circles is not always one and the same; but useth to be changed, according to the order of the Spirits that are to be called, their places [direction of calling], times, daies and hours [of the operation]. For in making a Circle, it ought to be considered in what time of the year, what day, and what hour, [and what season] that you make the Circle; what Spirits you would call, to what Star [planet] and region they do belong, and what functions they have.<sup>939</sup>

The *Heptameron*<sup>940</sup> carries on the *PGM* and *Hygromanteia* practice of recommending the careful selection of the correct day of the week and hour. These temporal concerns include identifying angels appropriate to the month and even the season. These are then not just invoked, but their names are written between the rings of the magician's protective circle.<sup>941</sup> This circle is also divided by a cross (indicating the cardinal directions). The interesting transmission from the *PGM* and the Byzantine *Hygromanteia* texts is that the angels and rulers of the hour, day and season are now inscribed within the circle itself. Perhaps this was initially an aide-memoire for the magician conjuring these temporal rulers, but it soon became a written fixture. This results in the form of the circle varying from one time (day, month, or season) to the next. It would seem likely therefore (as these circles harked back to the Byzantine Solomonic tradition) that the *Heptameron* is likely to have been amongst the grimoires imported from Byzantium. Interestingly, a complete copy of the *Heptameron* is contained within the text of one of the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, making it even more likely that it too was originally a Greek text.<sup>942</sup>

In the 1796 *Clavicula Salomonis* these circles appear again, but are (incorrectly) labelled as pentacles rather than being recognised by the scribe (F. Fyot) as protective circles.<sup>943</sup>

---

<sup>939</sup> Abano (2005), p. 60.

<sup>940</sup> See Skinner (2005), pp. 93-96.

<sup>941</sup> The requirement to call them, rather than just document them within the circle, is not mentioned.

<sup>942</sup> B3, ff. 87-135 published as *Bernardakeios Magikos Kōdikas*. This manuscript belongs to the end of the 19th century.

<sup>943</sup> For example, Wellcome MS 4670, p. 48 the scribe labels the circle for Sunday as the 'Pentacle for Sunday.'

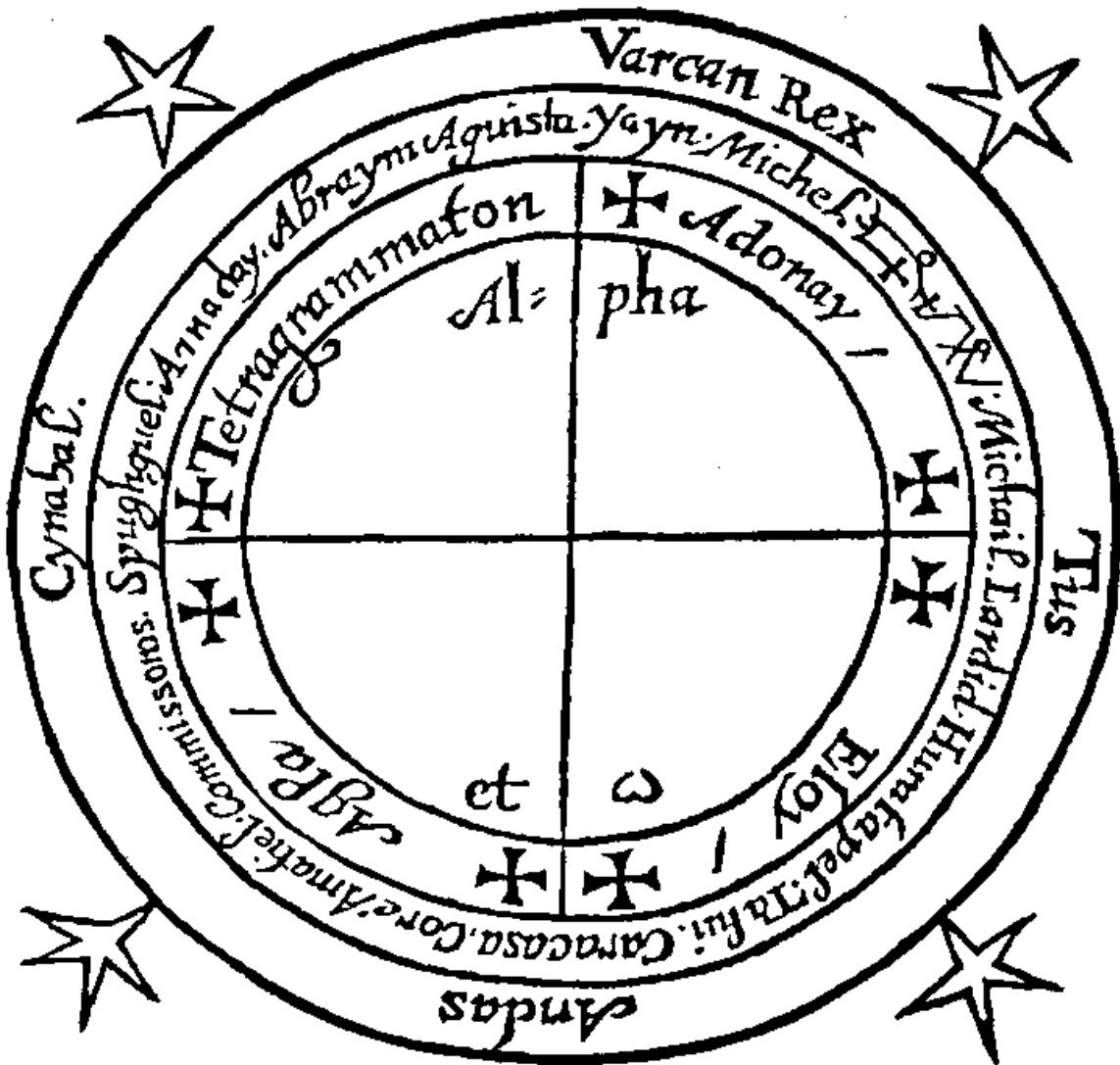


Figure 22: Circle for Sunday in the *Heptameron*. Note that there is a different configuration for the circle depending upon the day of the week, and even the season. Note that east is at the top of the illustration, where the name of the Demon King Varcan Rex is inscribed.<sup>944</sup>

<sup>944</sup> Probably 15th century.

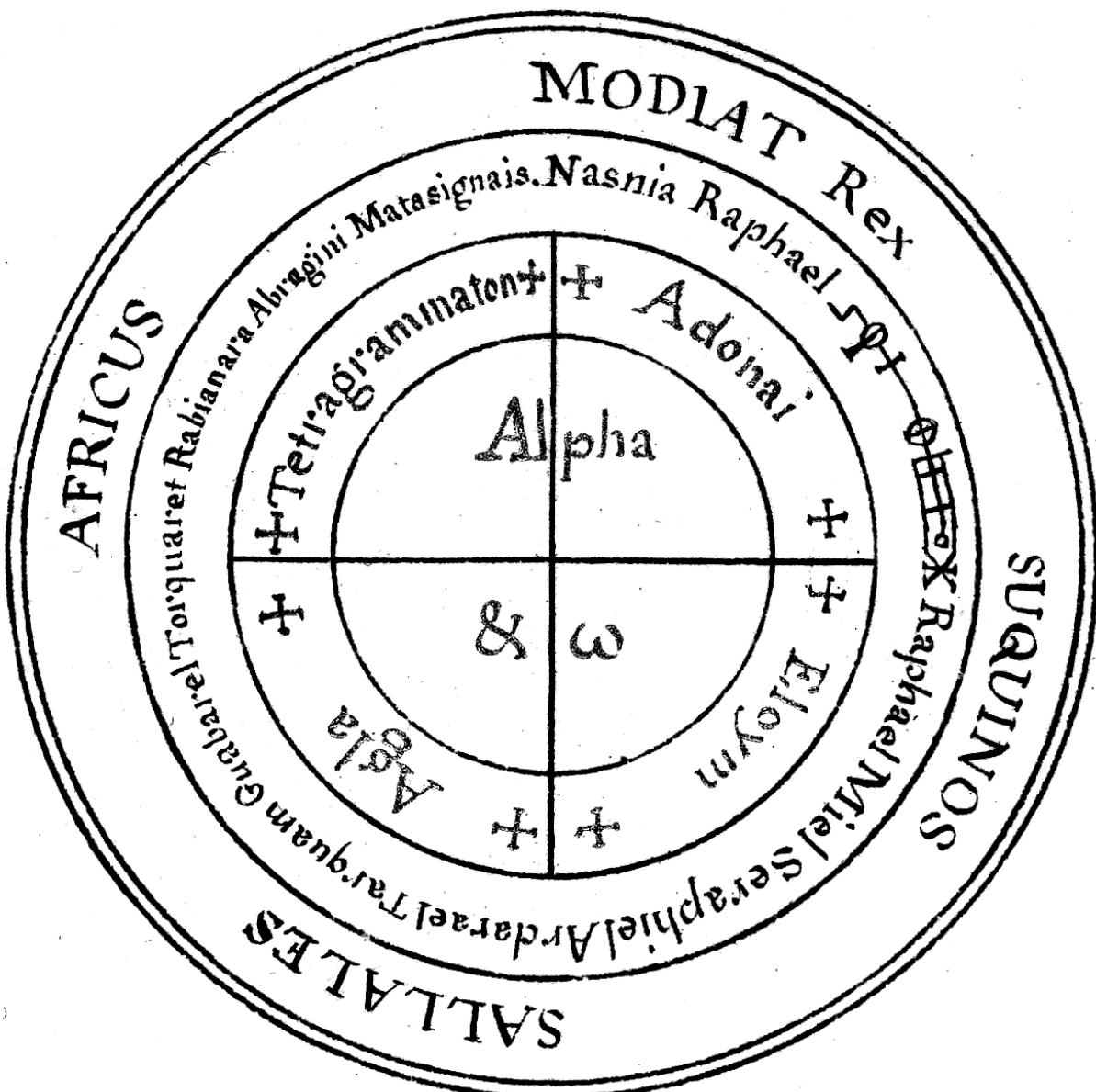


Figure 23: Circle for Wednesday in a *Clavicula Salomonis* derived from the *Heptameron*. Note that this circle is actually taken from a French *Key of Solomon*,<sup>945</sup> which copied the method from the *Heptameron*.<sup>946</sup> In this circle the Demon King is Modiat Rex.

#### *Herpentilis*

A number of other grimoires, even some versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, copied the *Heptameron* style circles. The *Herpentilis* (first printed edition 1505), for example, replicates the same type of circle found in the *Heptameron*, which is a circle which also incorporates changes according to the current day, month and season in its design (see Figure 24). The all-important Demon King, Varcan Rex, is shown in the outer circle. This demon is no doubt the same as the Vercan Rex, whose figure is shown in Figure 04, as one of the four Demon kings of the Cardinal directions.

<sup>945</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 125

<sup>946</sup> Note the different configuration for the circle depending upon the day of the week, and even the season.



Figure 24: Circle for Sunday from a 16th century manuscript of the *Herpentilis*, which replicates the type of circle found in the *Heptameron*, incorporating the secret names for the current day, month and season in its design.<sup>947</sup> Note the lamen and glove designs.

<sup>947</sup> Joseph Anton Herpental, *Die Schwarze Magie des Herpental*. Published in Salzburg, 1505, reprinted 1846.

Germanic Faustian grimoires resurrected the idea of the Egyptian ouroboros, using it in their seals designed to force compliance from the spirit.

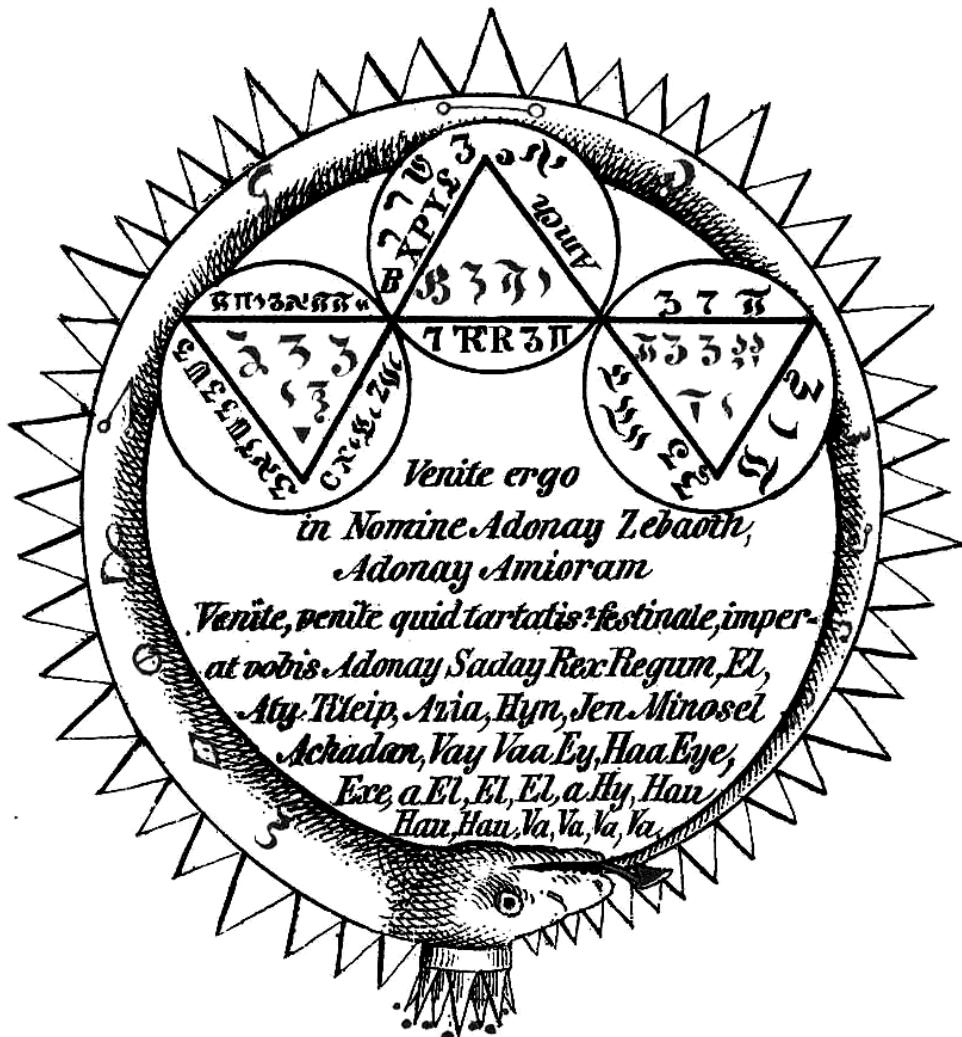


Figure 25: Crowned ouroboros used in a circle design in a Faustian grimoire.<sup>948</sup> The invocation within the ouroboros is derived directly from the *Heptameron*. The caption is “Allerhöchster Zwang, Citation und Siegel,” or “strongest constraint, invocation and seal.”

#### Goetia

The *Goetia* (Book I of the *Lemegeton*) manuscripts which date from the mid-17th century<sup>949</sup> have a more complex circle. The circle of the *Goetia* contains multiple rings with god names, archangels and the angels of the ten Sephiroth inscribed within it. While there has been the loss of the temporal names which featured in the *Hygromanteia* and the *PGM*, there has been the addition of the influence of the Tree of Life סְדָה שְׁמָה from Christianised Kabbalah made popular by Reuchlin. Manuscripts of the *Goetia* had circles of the format shown in Figure 26.

<sup>948</sup> Faust (1848). See Skinner and Rankine (2009), p. 24, illustration from Faust (1848).

<sup>949</sup> I have located manuscripts of this text from the late 14th century, but have not yet been able to examine them.

An interesting byway in the development of the Solomonic circle is the manuscript of the *Goetia* (Part 1 of the *Lemegeton*) which was written by the 17th century magician Dr Thomas Rudd (and later copied by Peter Smart).<sup>950</sup> This manuscript was obviously written by a working magician who carefully considered what he was doing. He reintroduced the circles format of the *Heptameron*, which had been out of fashion, reincorporating the idea of listing the names of the temporal rulers that were appropriate to the date and time of the ritual, in the Circle itself. Other changes made by him, suggest a wider knowledge of the procedures of Solomonic magic than many of his 17th century contemporaries. For example, instead of using a triangle to confine the spirit, he manufactured a Brass Vessel, modelled on Solomon's spirit bottle, and closed it with the Seal of Solomon and inscribed it with the names of all 72 angels who are supposed to control their opposite 72 demons. See Figure 32.

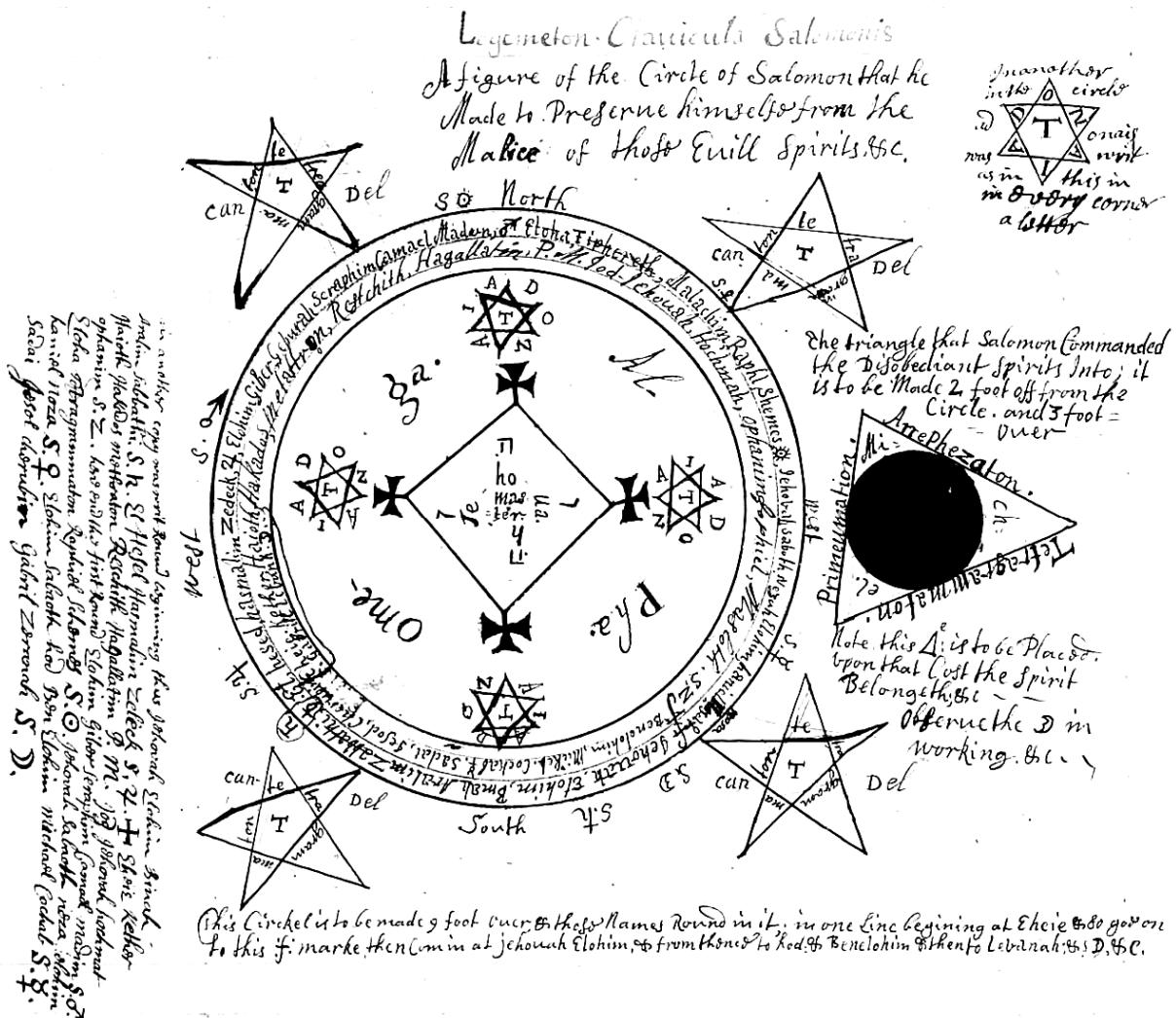


Figure 26: Circle from the *Goetia* manuscript dated 1687.<sup>951</sup> The incense pots have gone, as have the exterior squares, but the double circle filled with god and angel names is still there. A Triangle that has now become the *spiritus loci* has been added. This will be dealt with in the next chapter 5.3.2.

<sup>950</sup> Harley MS 6483. Rudd was a mathematician and magician who knew Dr. John Dee and flourished in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Skinner and Rankine (2007) for details of his version of the *Goetia*.

951 Sloane MS 2731, f. 16.

Finally the simple circle of the early *Goetia* reached its apogee in the edition of the *Goetia* transcribed by Mathers, and later published by Aleister Crowley. This 20th century version of the *Goetia* included an illustration of the circle which incorporated all the angel, archangel and god names of the ten Sephiroth of the Kabbalah in Hebrew inside a snake shaped spiral rather than in concentric circles.

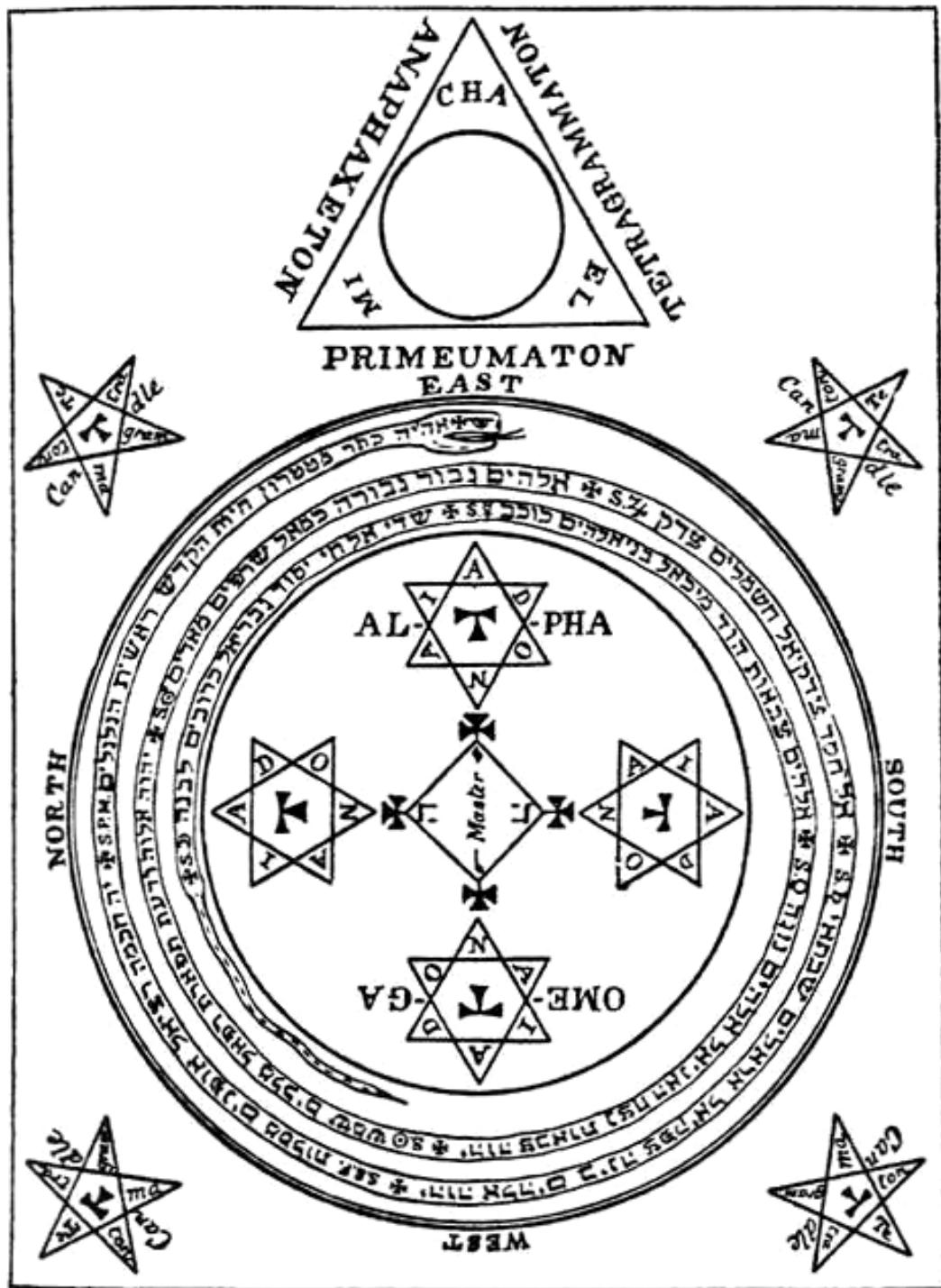


Figure 27: Circle in a 20th century edition of the *Goetia*.<sup>952</sup> Interestingly, in this version of the circle the draftsman has reintroduced the serpent motif, although not in this case biting its own tail.

<sup>952</sup> Mathers (1904), p. ii.

After the *Heptameron*, the form of the circle was simplified and the temporal ruler names were dropped. Also, in some grimoires the quartering disappeared, although the circle was still very clearly aligned with the cardinal points. There is a hint in Mathers' edition of the *Key of Solomon* of the existence of time-dependent circles, but it is not spelled out in detail:

Now the Master of the Art, every time that he shall have occasion for some particular purpose to speak with the Spirits, must endeavour to form certain Circles which shall differ somewhat, and shall have some particular reference to the particular experiment under consideration.<sup>953</sup>

Nevertheless, the protective circle can be seen to be a very long-running feature of Solomonic magic.

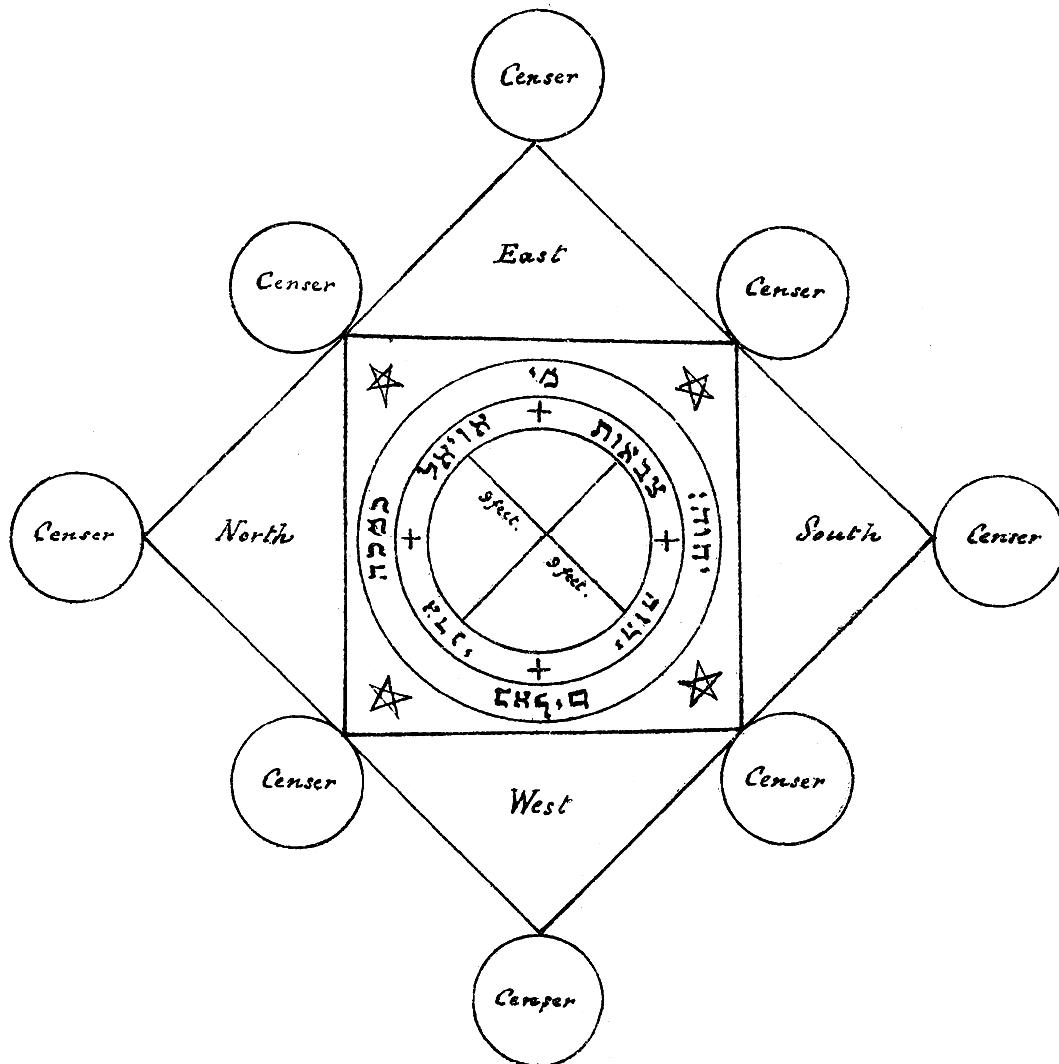


Figure 28: The circle as it appears in the Mathers' edition of the *Key of Solomon*.<sup>954</sup> There is no hint of time-dependent or even operation-dependent words in the circle. However the double square configuration is back. The large number of censers reflects Mathers' conviction that a large quantity of incense smoke was necessary for the visible manifestation of the spirits.<sup>955</sup>

<sup>953</sup> Mathers (1909), p.16.

<sup>954</sup> Mathers (1909), Fig. 81.

<sup>955</sup> Where such a circle has been introduced into modern Wicca it can be conclusively proven that Gerald Gardner borrowed the circle in the second half of the 20th century from Mathers' edition of the *Key of Solomon*.

### 5.3.2 Triangle of Art and Brass Vessel

The Triangle of Art is a floor triangle designed as a *spiritus loci*, an area into which the magician plans to constrain the spirit. This device is never used in the context of the invocation of gods or angels, only spirits or demons. Its secondary purpose was supposedly to force the spirit to tell the truth.

I cannot discover any use of a confining Triangle of Art in the *PGM*. Protection seems to have been derived from phylacteries plus a simple circle, and other constraints appear to have been verbal, written and material (i.e. stones and herbs).

The Triangle of Art that is first found in Latin and English grimoires has the words Anaphaxeton, Primeumaton and Tetragrammaton inscribed in it. The first two of these words are undoubtedly of Greek origin,<sup>956</sup> so one might expect this device to date from the Byzantine period, but I have as yet found no trace of it there.

An early version of the Triangle appeared in a manuscript dated 1572 (see Figure 29). The Triangle is surrounded by a circle which contains three phrases with Greek, Jewish and Christian words designed to restrain the spirit:

- i) Emanuel Sab[a]oth Adonay (Jewish)
- ii) Panthon Vsyon (Greek)
- iii) Messias + Sother (Christian)

The Triangle itself contains “Dat tha gen + lap Tenop + Rynthaoth.”

The figure to the right seems to be a much abbreviated circle as it contains the protective inscription “Alpha & ω.” The figure below is a sigil or corrupt pentacle, probably of the spirit being invoked.

The Triangle is designed to constrict the manifestation of the spirit. The triangle does not have a fixed position in relation to the Circle, but is supposed to be placed on the side of the circle from which the spirit was thought to arrive, thus:

Note this Δ<sup>e</sup> [triangle] is to be Placed upon that Co[a]st [side or edge] the Spirit belongeth, &c.<sup>957</sup>

---

<sup>956</sup> Tetragrammaton of course indicated the Hebrew יהוה IHVH, but the form ‘Tetragrammaton’ is Greek.

<sup>957</sup> Sloane MS 2731, f. 16. The implication of ‘coast’ is that this is the direction from which the spirit will arrive.

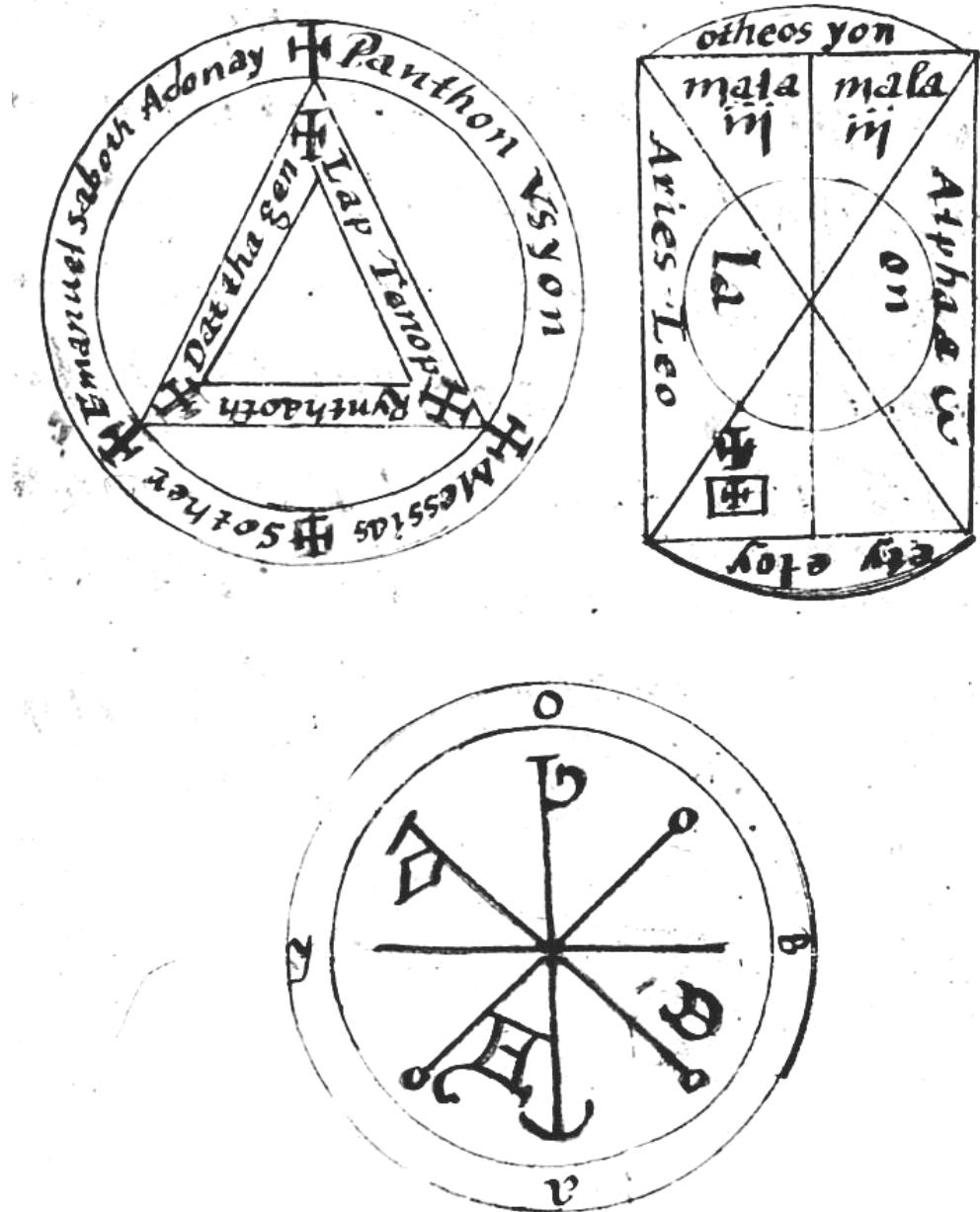


Figure 29: Triangle of Art in an English manuscript (1572) showing corrupt Greek wording betraying its possible Byzantine origins.<sup>958</sup> With it is a possible floor design or phylactery (top right) and a spirit seal or pentacle (bottom).

The construction instructions of a more sophisticated Triangle of Art written almost 70 years later was as follows:

The name 'Michael' is usually inscribed around the triangle, in remembrance of that angel's part in helping King Solomon constrain the spirits; and Primeumaton, Anaphaxeton and Tetragrammaton also appear on the three sides.<sup>959</sup>

Michael is an appropriate angel name for controlling spirits, as the archangel Michael was reputed to be the archangel who vanquished Satan, or perhaps, more importantly, was the angel that assisted Solomon to constrain his first demon, Ornias.

<sup>958</sup> Sloane MS 3847, f. 125v.

<sup>959</sup> See Skinner and Rankine (2007), p.79.

An interesting illustration of a triangle within a circle occurs in a 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript (Figure 29a). Here it is probably meant as a refuge for the magician rather than a locus for the spirit, because it contains the implements that would have been needed by the magician.



Figure 29a: A triangle within a circle containing the magician's equipment: the sword to command the spirits (*gladius*), the ring (*sigilla annula*), the oil for consecration (*oleum*), the sceptre or tau-wand, and probably the lamen inscribed with two crosses, the sun and the Tetragrammaton יהוה. Around the triangle are the usual Christianised *nomina magica* for protection: Sabaoth, Adonay, Messias, deus filium, Sother, Emanuel, deus spiritus sanctus, etc.

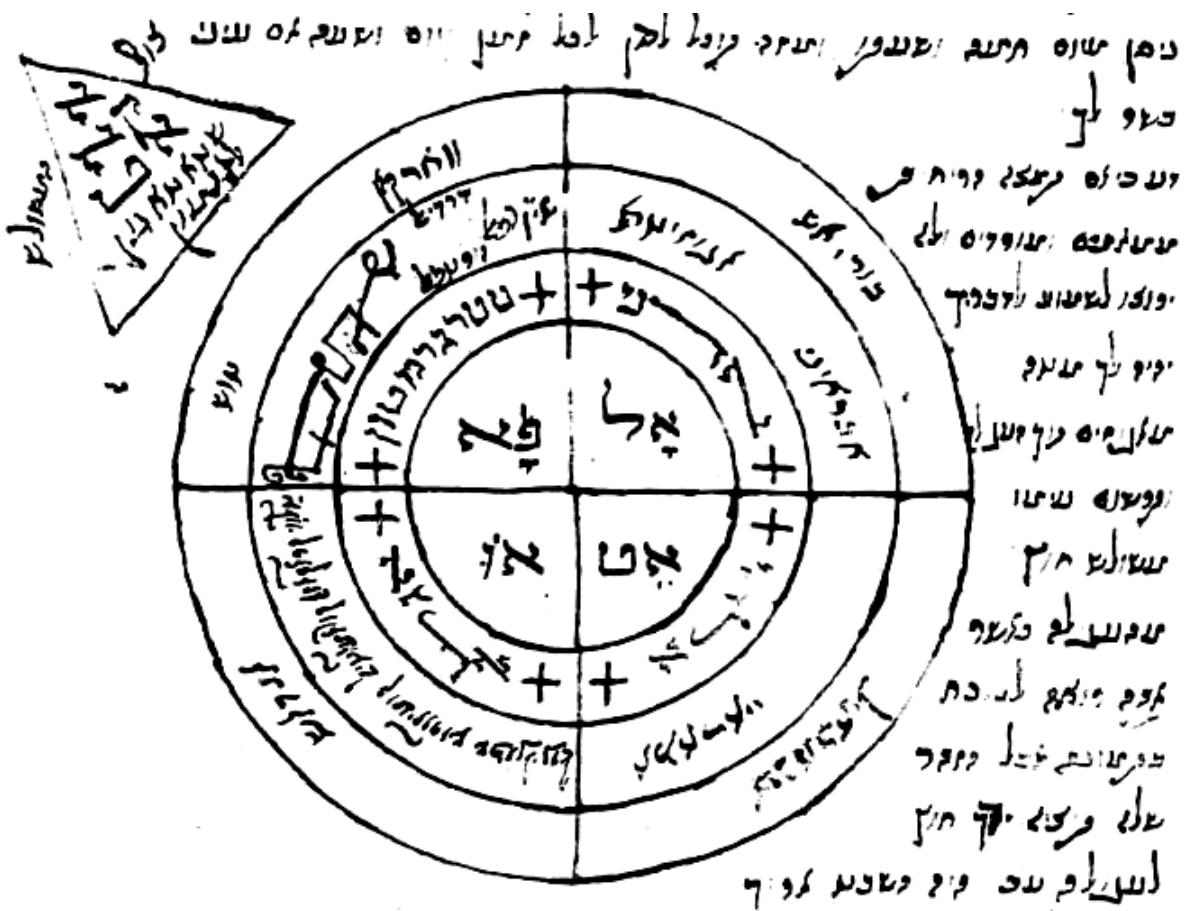


Figure 30: The protective Circle and Triangle of Art from the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*.<sup>960</sup> In the inner circle, the Hebrew is: top left is the transliterated Tetragrammaton; top right is Adonai; bottom left is Agla; bottom right is Elhi[m]. The centre four quarters read Al pa et Ao, i.e. Alpha et Aω.

The Triangle of Art is to be found in the *Lemegeton*, but is not usually thought to be associated with the *Clavicula Salomonis*. However, this is a mistaken view as there is a Triangle of Art clearly visible in the 1700 *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*, which as we have already seen, was translated from a now lost Italian/Latin *Clavicula Salomonis* original. The Triangle shown has a wing-shaped Hebrew inscription: **אַלְפָא אַתְּ אָוֹ אַלְפָא** or A-LA-AT.<sup>961</sup>

#### *The Brass Vessel*

An alternative to the Triangle of Art is the Brass Vessel, a supposed replica of the brass bottle used by King Solomon to seal up the spirits before casting them into the sea or lake (a tale which has echoes in the *Arabian Nights*). This is also located outside the circle where the Triangle would normally be, and effectively performs the same function.

Sometimes the Vessel was made of lead, as in the story of Rabbi Shephatiah ben Amitai who imprisoned a spirit in such a container. The Rabbi had exorcised the possessed daughter of the Byzantine emperor Basil I (876-886), and as a result won some leniency for his fellow Jews in

<sup>960</sup> Gollancz (2008), folio 24 (40a).

<sup>961</sup> Reminiscent of the wing-shaped daemon names in the PGM.

Constantinople.<sup>962</sup> A technique for doing this appears in the *Hygromanteia*, which suggests a commonality of practice, with Jewish magicians either contributing practices to, or utilising practices in the *Hygromanteia* in 9th century Constantinople.<sup>963</sup>

The use of a bottle to confine spirits also occurs in the Mediaeval stories of Virgil the magician. During the 12th to 14th century the first century BC Roman poet acquired a reputation as a consummate magician.<sup>964</sup> Virgil was reputed to have dug up a bottle containing 72 spirits. After breaking it open and releasing them, he insisted they teach him magic (see Figure 30a). When they became recalcitrant he was said to have tricked the spirits into re-entering the bottle, whereupon he successfully made them swear to teach him magic.<sup>965</sup> Virgil's name is even used by magicians to threaten spirits, just like Solomon's name.<sup>966</sup>



Figure 30a: The magician Virgil releasing spirits from a bottle in which they had been imprisoned.<sup>967</sup>

<sup>962</sup> Stow (1994), pp. 84-89.

<sup>963</sup> H. f. 37; A. f. 26.

<sup>964</sup> This reputation probably stemmed from his 8<sup>th</sup> *Eclogue* where he describes the methods of Alexandrian love magic.

<sup>965</sup> Ziolkowski & Putnam (2008), pp. 927-928.

<sup>966</sup> Kieckhefer (2003), p. 167.

<sup>967</sup> Fürstliches Zentralarchiv, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Schlossmuseum, Regensburg, codex perm. III, f. 135. 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The technique of using a bottle to threaten or confine spirits passed to the *Clavicula Salomonis*, where the threat to use it also became a device to frighten spirits into obedience. Several manuscripts of the *Goetia* had elaborate drawings of this device (see Figure 31).



Figure 31: Form of the Brass Vessel in which Solomon reputedly shut up the Spirits. From the *Goetia*, part I of the *Lemegeton* (1687).<sup>968</sup> The Hebrew is taken from Table VII of Agrippa.<sup>969</sup> Like Figure 32 it is three-dimensional and has three legs. The god and angelic names of this table are written around the vessel.

Top Row: ARARITA RPAL KMAL TzDQIAL TzPQIAL (Ararita Raphael Kamael Tzadkiel Tzaphkiel)  
Bottom Row: AŠAR YH GBRIAL MIKAL HAKIEL<sup>970</sup> (Asher Yah Gabriel Mikael Haniel)

968 Sloane MS 2731, f. 23.

<sup>969</sup> Agrippa (1993), p. 274, Table VII.

<sup>970</sup> Scribal error: should be HANIEL. If following Agrippa then YH should be AHIH, Eheieh.

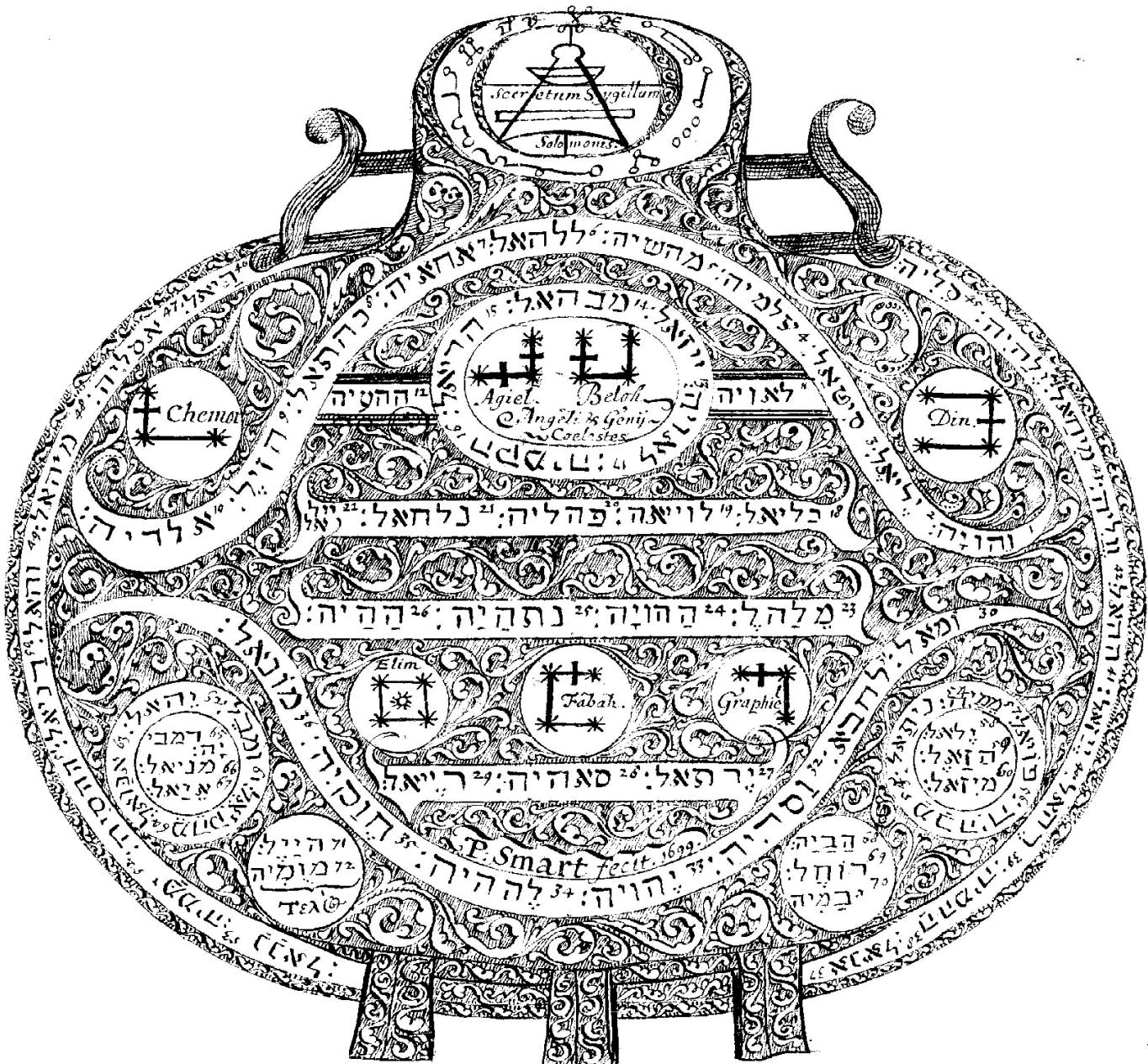


Figure 32: The Brass Vessel designed by Dr Rudd as an alternative to the Triangle of Art. Note that the Hebrew names of all the 72 thwarting angels are numbered and engraved on its metal surface.<sup>971</sup> The artist meant the figure to be a three-dimensional metal bottle supported by three legs. The oval shape at the top is the Seal of Solomon placed over the mouth of the bottle and used to seal in the spirits (See Figure 42), which is labelled as such: *Secretum Sygillum Solomonis*. The artist signs himself as P[eter] Smart 1699, and the engraving looks as if it has been done from a metal original. Smart copied Harley MS 6482 from a manuscript said to be by Dr Thomas Rudd.<sup>972</sup>

<sup>971</sup> Harley MS 6482 frontispiece.

<sup>972</sup> Rudd was a mathematician and magician who knew Dr. John Dee and flourished in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Skinner and Rankine (2007), pp. 14, 39, 101 for details of his version of the *Goetia*.

### 5.3.3 Phylactery, Lamen or Breastplate (U)

A phylactery is a term used in the *PGM* to denote a personal protection used by the magician in the course of a rite, which was to be positioned over his heart, or bound to his forearms, but taken off after the conclusion of the rite. In Latin grimoires this same device is described as either a *phylacterium* or lamen. Amulets which were simply worn daily as a general protection against disease or bad luck on an “in case of a threat” basis are not part of the equipment of ritual magic, and considered separately in chapter 5.4.1.

The separation of these two things is not artificial but crucial in terms of usage. Phylacteries, almost without exception form part of a larger rite, and are always detailed in a sub-section at the end of the rite. Amulets usually occur in short free-standing passages with no elaborate ritual. In the Greek text amulets are headed with *περιάμματά* (*periammata*), or more often with *πρὸς-* (*pros-*) prefixed to the objective they have been made for, for example an amulet against hardening of the breasts is entitled: *πρὸς μασθῶν σκληρία*.<sup>973</sup> Phylacteries on the other hand are always described as *φυλακτήριον* (*phylakterion*). The reason why the distinctions need to be made is that amulets are made for a client and later merge with folk magic, whilst phylacteries, talismans and lamens remain part of learned magic, for use by the magician himself, and are later transmitted to the *Hygromanteia* and then the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

#### *Jewish*

Virtually the only religion to preserve the consistent use of the phylactery through to modern times is Judaism (the *tefillin*), and maybe to a lesser extent Islam. The modern Jewish practice is to tie one small leather box containing specific Biblical verses onto the forehead, and another on to the upper arm, or sometimes the left hand, bound tightly using leather thongs.

A more massive version of the phylactery was used by the high priests in the Temple of Jerusalem, before its destruction in 70 CE. This is documented in the Bible.<sup>974</sup> In the light of the later use of the phylactery, it seems that the High Priest wore the breastplate primarily for protection when he entered the ‘holy of holies’, given the fearsome reputation that the Ark of the Covenant contained there had for killing large numbers of people.<sup>975</sup> Protection is the basic function of any breastplate. Be that as it may, the idea of a breastplate worn on the High Priest’s chest is clearly similar in function to the magician’s phylactery.

The consecration of such a lamen was of considerable importance for both priest and

---

<sup>973</sup> *PGM VII.* 208-209.

<sup>974</sup> *Exodus 28:17-20.*

<sup>975</sup> *1 Samuel 6: 1; 2 Samuel 6: 2-7.*

magician. One such Jewish rite of consecration of a golden plate (which was obviously a phylactery/lamen) is documented in a Genizah fragment:

You shall perform all of these (procedures) in the fear of God. Protect yourself well from any bad thing. And when you perform all of these (procedures) you should go out to the [water] trough,<sup>976</sup> and say many prayers and supplications, and ask that you not fail again. Then speak this glorious name in fear and trembling. If you see the image of a lion of fire in the trough, know that you have succeeded in wearing this holy name. Then you shall take the golden plate (*sis*) on which this holy name is engraved and tie it around your neck and on your heart. Take care not to become impure again when it is on you, lest you be punished. Then you may do any [magical]<sup>977</sup> thing and you will succeed.<sup>978</sup>

There is no doubt that a golden plate engraved with a holy name worn over the heart was a magician's phylactery or lamen. It would seem in this context that its function was more than protective, in as much as it granted success in all (magical) operations as well. This secondary function also appears to have carried over into later grimoires.

The phylactery was usually worn over the heart or on the forearms of the Graeco-Egyptian magician, as a protection, to save the magician being overpowered by the spiritual creatures he invoked:

...for I have your name as a unique phylactery in my heart, and no flesh, although moved, will overpower me; no spirit will stand against me – neither daimon nor visitation nor any other of the evil beings of Hades, because of your name, which I have in my soul and invoke. Also [be] with me always for good, a good [god dwelling] in a good [man], yourself immune to magic, giving me health no magic can harm, well-being, prosperity, glory, victory, power, sex appeal.<sup>979</sup>

Phylacteries were very common and an important item of protection for the magician during the Graeco-Egyptian period. It is remarkable how many scholars simply treat the details of phylactery manufacture as if they were almost accidental jottings or even a separate passage at the end of the text of the rite. By convention in the *PGM*, the preparations such as the incense, ink, or manufacture and consecration of the phylactery, were written at the end after the description of the rite itself and the text of the invocation(s).

One rite which has the clearest drawing of a phylactery also describes its purpose in detail:

**A phylactery**, a bodyguard against daimones, against phantasms, against every sickness and suffering,<sup>980</sup> [is] to be written on a leaf of gold or silver or tin or on hieratic papyrus. When worn it works mightily for it is the name of power of the great god and [his] seal, and it is as follows: "KMĒPHIS CHPHYRIS..."<sup>981</sup> These are the names; the figure is like this: let the Snake be biting its tail,<sup>982</sup> the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and the characters

<sup>976</sup> Instead of a river which would be more usual.

<sup>977</sup> The insertion of 'magical' into this text at this point is justified as no ordinary tasks (except religious or magical) were envisaged whilst wearing the phylactery, in case such actions caused the impurity warned against.

<sup>978</sup> Genizah fragment MS JTSA ENA 6643.4, lines 4–13. See Swartz (2000), pp. 67–69.

<sup>979</sup> *PGM XIII.* 795–805.

<sup>980</sup> Sickness or suffering caused by the invoked entity.

<sup>981</sup> Κμῆφις χφυρις. Kheperi.

<sup>982</sup> Ouroboros.

thus...<sup>983</sup>

The whole figure is [drawn] thus, as given below, [and put on] with [the spell], "Protect my body, [and] the entire soul of me, NN."<sup>984</sup> And when you have consecrated [it], wear [it].<sup>985</sup>

Note that significantly this phylactery also features the protective ouroboros in its design (see Figure 33).

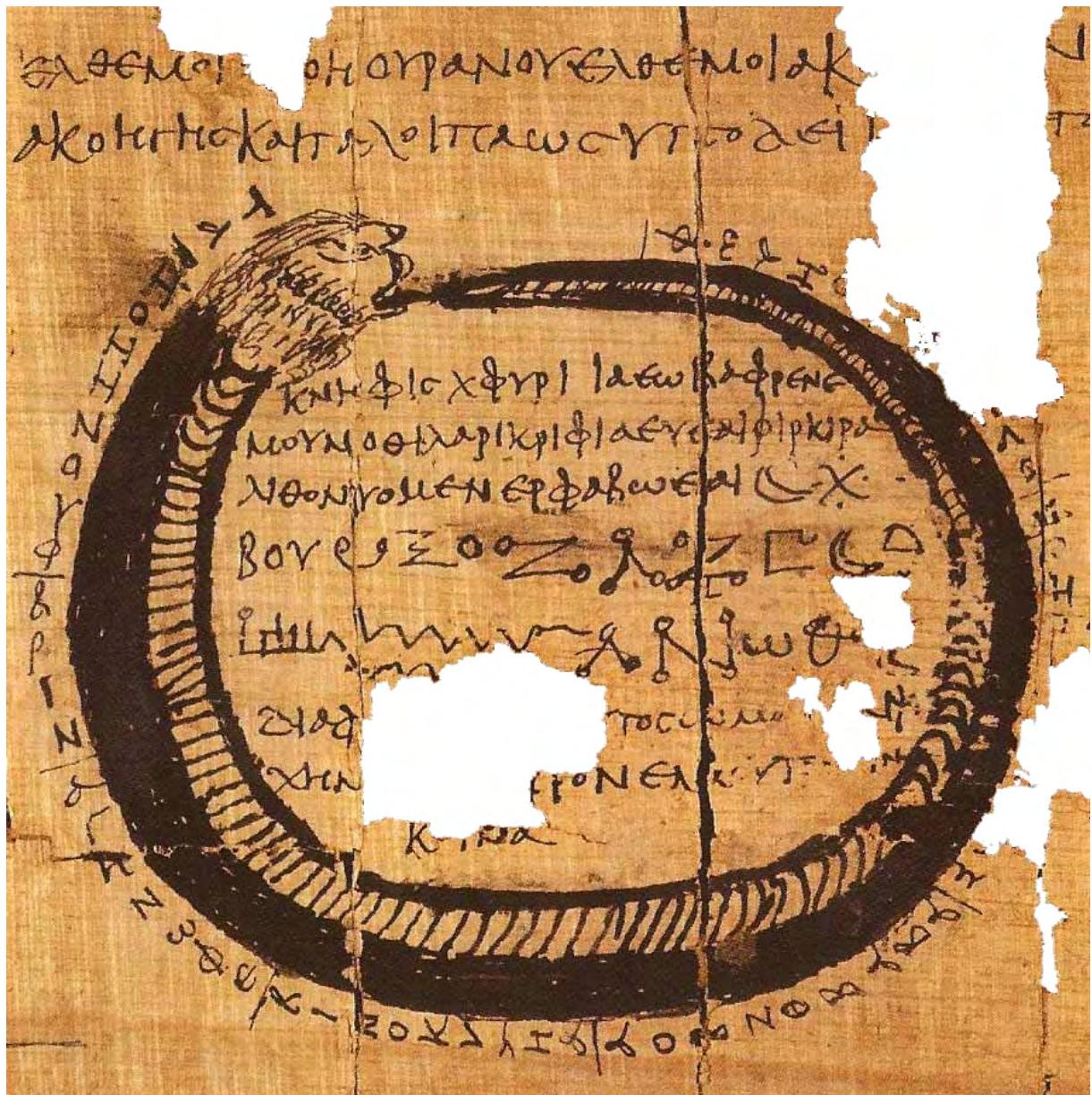


Figure 33: A Graeco-Egyptian phylactery, designed to protect the magician.<sup>986</sup>

This example of a phylactery is significant for a number of reasons:

- i) It confirms that the phylactery was used to protect the magician, body and soul against daimones and phantasms (rather than against physical world injury).

<sup>983</sup> See Figure 33 for these Celestial *charakteres*.

<sup>984</sup> The protection for the *entire* soul is mentioned because the Egyptians visualized the soul as constituted of a number of parts, like the *ba*, *ka*, etc., some immortal parts, some semi-immortal.

<sup>985</sup> PGM VII. 579-590.

<sup>986</sup> PGM VII. 579-590. Reproduced in Parsons (2007), plate 35.

- ii) It is referred to as the great god's seal, which is echoed by the Byzantine description of such a phylactery as a 'heavenly seal,' which is called an οὐρανία σφραγίς (*ourania sphragis*) or an οὐρανία αλωαφς Σολομόντος (*ourania alōaphs Solomōntos*) in the *Hygromanteia*.
- iii) It is made in the shape of an ouroboros, a shape which echoes the protective circle which was also inscribed on the ground in the same form in the *PGM*.
- iv) It is one of the few extant illustrations of an actual Graeco-Egyptian phylactery.

The great god referred to is Khepera. The connection between phylacteries and Khepera is later to surface in Latin grimoires in the word '*candariis*' the obscure Latin word for talisman.<sup>987</sup> The origin of this word comes from the Khepera scarab-shaped carvings made by the thousands and brought from Egypt to Europe where they were identified as talismans.<sup>988</sup>

Some phylacteries also have images incorporated in their design. One such example is a phylactery<sup>989</sup> that is to be used during the invocation of Selene:

Take a lodestone and on it have carved a three-faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is done, clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a violent death. Then make a food offering to it, and say the same spell at the time of the ritual.<sup>990</sup>

A phylactery used in another rite to Selene also uses a 'breathing' lodestone, which relies upon the magical powers of that stone. The lodestone remained in use as a stone of attraction by magicians through to the 18th century:

*Preparation of the procedure's protective charm [phylactery]:*<sup>991</sup> Take a magnet that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty-lettered spell that is all vowels, and wear it around [on] your body.

The following name is what is written: "AEYŌ ĒIE ŌA EŌĒ EŌA ŌI EŌI." For this spell is completely capable of everything. But perform this ritual in a holy manner, not frequently or lightly, especially to [invoke] Selene.<sup>992</sup>

Another example made of wood is simplistically translated as a 'charm' but which is called a φυλακτήριον in the original text. As it is used for the magician's protection during a rite it is obviously a phylactery:

*The protective charm [phylactery] which you must wear:* Onto lime wood write with vermillion

---

<sup>987</sup> See the *Catholicon*, a 13th century dictionary compiled by Johannes Balbus (in the edition dated 1460).

<sup>988</sup> The likely derivation of *candariis* is: Khepera = κάνθαρος = *Kanthalos* = *Cantharos* = *Candariis*. Κάνθαρος is the *Scarabaeus pilularius*, or dung beetle.

<sup>989</sup> This is rather weakly translated as 'charm.'

<sup>990</sup> *PGM* IV. 2880-2890.

<sup>991</sup> The original Greek is φυλακτήριον, 'phylactery' not 'charm' as in the English translation.

<sup>992</sup> *PGM* IV. 2630-2640. This helps to underline that the phylactery was only worn when invoking.

this name: EPO-KŌPT KŌPTO BAI BAITO-KARA-KŌPTO KARA-KŌPTO CHILO-KŌPTO<sup>993</sup> (50 letters). [Over it say] “Guard me from every daimon of the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and from every angel and phantom and ghostly visitation and enchantment,<sup>994</sup> me NN.” Enclose it in a purple skin, hang it around your neck and wear it.<sup>995</sup>

To confirm how important an item the phylactery was as a protection for the magician, one of the all-purpose ‘slander spells,’<sup>996</sup> explains that the *unprotected* magician may expect dire retaliation from the goddess, who will presumably be in an evil mood, after having been slandered:

Do not therefore perform the rite rashly. And do not perform it unless some dire necessity arises for you. It [the rite] also possesses a protective charm [phylactery]<sup>997</sup> against your falling, for the goddess is accustomed to make airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm [phylactery] and to hurl them from aloft down to the ground. So consequently I have also thought it necessary to take the precaution of [providing] a protective charm [phylactery] so that you may perform the rite with[out] hesitation [or fear]. Keep it secret.<sup>998</sup>

The construction of the phylactery is as follows:

Take a hieratic papyrus roll and wear it around your right arm with which you make the offering. And these are the things written on it: “MOULATHI CHERNOUTH AMARŌ MOULIANDRON, guard me from every evil daimon, whether an evil male or female.”<sup>999</sup>

It is interesting that the goddess is treated in exactly the same way as an evil daimon. It does not seem as if it was necessary to wait for Christianity to demote the ancient gods and goddesses to the level of daimones, for it seems the Graeco-Egyptian magicians had already done so.<sup>1000</sup>

In the same spell, Hecate/Aktiōphis is described as “bull-shaped, horse-faced goddess, who howl[s] doglike,” and various sacrilegious acts are heaped upon her, to annoy her, and make her act. This confrontational style of magic did not translate into the later Greek or Latin grimoires.

One of the best known phylactery descriptions occurs in the so-called “Mithras Liturgy:”

Then the phylacteries are of this kind. Copy the [text of the phylactery]<sup>1001</sup> for the right [arm] onto the skin of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with the sinews of the same animal, put it on; and [copy] that for the left [arm] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same method. The [magical word] for the left [arm] is: “PROSTHYMĒRI,” and has this

---

<sup>993</sup> Hyphens introduced to clarify the structure.

<sup>994</sup> This form of words, via the Griffith and Thompson (1974) translation, appears again in late 19th century Golden Dawn practice.

<sup>995</sup> PGM IV. 2695-2705.

<sup>996</sup> A slander spell deliberately sets out to annoy the goddess, in order that she may do what is asked of her to the victim of the spell.

<sup>997</sup> The original Greek is φυλακτήριον, ‘phylactery,’ not ‘charm.’

<sup>998</sup> PGM IV. 2505-2511.

<sup>999</sup> PGM IV. 2512-2519.

<sup>1000</sup> This is further reason for using the term ‘spiritual creature’ when referring to these gods, daimones, demons, or spirits, as to a large extent they were all treated in the same way by the magician.

<sup>1001</sup> Betz mistakenly uses the word ‘amulet’ here.

memorandum:...<sup>1002</sup>

"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, [from] PSINÓTHER NÓPSITHER THERNÓPSI" (add the usual).<sup>1003</sup>

The craft of phylactery making is not above using one god to neutralize another. A love spell which invokes Aphrodite uses a Typhonian phylactery to keep the magician safe:

And also have as a protective charm [phylactery]<sup>1004</sup> a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer, tied to your left arm with Anubian thread.<sup>1005</sup>

A phylactery to protect against the anger of Kronos, father of the gods, uses the myth that Zeus castrated Kronos with a sickle in order to create a protective phylactery:

On the rib of a young pig carve Zeus holding fast a sickle and this name: "CHTHOUMILON." Or let it be the rib of a black, scaly, castrated boar.<sup>1006</sup>

Phibechis, a legendary Egyptian magician, whose name in Egyptian literally means 'falcon,' is supposedly responsible for a spell which exorcises daimones. The most interesting part of his rite is the phylactery that would have been hung on the possessed patient to protect him from the daimon:

*The phylactery:* On a tin lamella write "IAĒO ABRAŌTH IŌCH PHTHA MESENPSIN IAŌ PHEŌCH IAĒŌ CHARSOK," and hang it on the patient [the possessed].<sup>1007</sup>

The phylactery is described as "terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears." The conjuration, "by the seal which Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah" to determine the truth, is applied to force the spirit to:

Also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or Ebousaeus or Chersus or Pharisaeus, tell whatever sort you may be..."<sup>1008</sup>

It was of course considered necessary that the magician should know the name and station of the spirit, in order to be able to control it. In another rite which utilises the threat of harm to a beetle,<sup>1009</sup> a phylactery is used by the magician to protect himself from the daimon being invoked:

*The phylactery for the foregoing:* With the blood from the hand or foot of a pregnant woman, write the name given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. *Here is what is to be written:* "SHTĒIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose [you]."

---

<sup>1002</sup> The six line quote from Homer which occurs at this point, and which both Meyer and Betz see as part of this rite, is a totally unrelated interpolation. This interpolation is in fact an interrupted passage, which carries on from PGM IV. 467-474 and continues again on lines 830-834.

<sup>1003</sup> PGM IV. 813-820, 828-829. Note the text is taken from Betz (2003) rather than Betz (1996).

<sup>1004</sup> The original Greek is φυλακτήριον, 'phylactery' not 'charm' as the English translation.

<sup>1005</sup> PGM IV. 2896-2900.

<sup>1006</sup> PGM IV. 3115-3124.

<sup>1007</sup> PGM IV. 3014-3017.

<sup>1008</sup> Types of daimon, or maybe an identification of the sort of magician responsible for the daimon. It has always been an objective during exorcism to determine the spirit's name, and its type, so the appropriate words can be used to eject it.

<sup>1009</sup> Thereby compromising the god Kheperi.

A more informal phylactery is made from a strip of tin and uses the names of the Egyptian directional angels to protect the magician from his own conjured personal angel:

*The phylactery for this:* Write these names on a strip of tin: "ACHACHAĒL CHACHOU [MERIOUT] MARMARIOUTI." Then wear it around your neck.<sup>1010</sup>

A phylactery designed to protect the magician against Bainchōōch (the spirit of darkness) is designed as follows:

*Phylactery for the rite*, which you must wear wrapped around you for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip] from linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] write with myrrh these things:

"I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMŌSIS IAŌ AI DAGRNNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌTH, son of ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NŌPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my lifetime."

Place inside the strip of cloth an ever living plant; roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis. Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite.<sup>1011</sup>

Some phylacteries just rely upon a string of *nomina magica*:

There is also the charm [phylactery]<sup>1012</sup> itself which you wear while performing, even while standing: onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze stylus, and wear it strung on a thong [made] from the hide of an ass.<sup>1013</sup>

The prescribed name is:<sup>1014</sup>

ANCHCHŌR ACHCHŌR ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU (a hundred letters).<sup>1015</sup>

A more elaborate and probably earlier Egyptian version of a phylactery to be used by the skryer rather than the magician is described in Demotic:

A amulet [phylactery]<sup>1016</sup> to be bound to the body of the one [skryer] who is carrying the vessel [to] enchant quickly: You should bring a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of the hoopoe.<sup>1017</sup> You should bind it to a scarab in its attitude of the sun god,<sup>1018</sup> drowned,<sup>1019</sup>

---

<sup>1010</sup> PGM VII. 478-490.

<sup>1011</sup> PGM IV. 1071-1084. Note the confirmation that it should only be worn "whenever you perform the rite."

<sup>1012</sup> Translated by E. N. O'Neil as "protective charm."

<sup>1013</sup> PGM IV. 256-260. The ass is associated with Typhon/Set.

<sup>1014</sup> PGM IV. 239-241.

<sup>1015</sup> Of course as the original is in Greek, such combinations as 'CH' count as only one Greek letter. The count of how many letters is meant as a scribal check to make sure these names have been copied correctly by the practitioner.

<sup>1016</sup> Translated as "amulet" by Griffith and Thompson, as reproduced in Betz (1996), p. 200, but actually a phylactery.

<sup>1017</sup> The hoopoe bird was sacred in ancient Egypt. In Leviticus 11:13-19, hoopoes were categorised as detestable and were banned from being eaten, perhaps because of their status in Egypt. In Deuteronomy 14:18 they were listed as not kosher. This bird has a long history of appearing in books of Arabic magic, the PGM and later European grimoires, where it is primarily valued for its blood. It is *epops* in Greek. Strangely it has been Israel's national bird since 2008. In Estonia they are connected with death and the Underworld, but are symbols of virtue in traditional Persia. The hoopoe is the king of the birds in Aristophanes' play *The Birds*. The bird also has a reputation as a messenger in the Middle East, and was legendarily used that way by King Solomon, and it may be that reputation as Solomon's messenger more than any other which contributed to its use in magic.

being wrapped in byssus.<sup>1020</sup> You should bind it to the body of the youth who is carrying the vessel [for skrying]. It enchant[s] quickly...<sup>1021</sup>

Here we have an example of a phylactery that not only protects the skryer but also enchant[s] the skryer, or enhances their readiness to skry.

Apollonius of Tyana is credited in the *PGM* with securing a spirit servant from the goddess Nephthys in the form of an old woman. This rite requires that the magician wears a protective phylactery during the course of the invocation which deals with both the goddess Nephthys and the spirit familiar granted to the magician by that goddess. The phylactery is made from the skull of an ass because that is the animal sacred to Seth who was Nephthys' husband. Two teeth from the skull have been given to the magician by the goddess as a pledge of the servitude of the spirit servant.

*The phylactery to be used throughout the rite:* The skull of the ass. Fasten the ass's tooth with silver and the old lady's tooth with gold, and wear them always; for if you do this, it will be impossible for the old woman [spirit servant] to leave you. The rite has been tested.<sup>1022</sup>

This particular phylactery is different from the usual run of phylacteries inasmuch as it is to be worn all the time, afterwards, rather than just during the rite because its functions are those of binding as well as protection and the magic is ongoing.

The phylactery or lamen is described in chapter 33 and 40 of the *Hygromanteia*, being the chapters respectively of the first and second methods of evocation. Here it is referred to as an *ourania*, a word that is not translated in Delatte, Greenfield or Torijano, perhaps because they were not sure of its equivalence. Marathakis suggests that it is an abbreviation of *ourania sphragis* or 'heavenly seal,' which seems very likely in the context.<sup>1023</sup> Delatte suggests οὐρανία αλωαφς Σολομώντος.<sup>1024</sup> The *ourania* is definitely the successor of the Graeco-Egyptian phylactery. For the purposes of comparison with later Latin grimoires, I will continue to refer to this as a phylactery or lamen, rather than using the Greek term οὐρανία. The making of the lamen is outlined under two different methods in the *Hygromanteia*, yielding two different descriptions.<sup>1025</sup>

The lamen of the first method of evocation is to be made of unborn calf skin with ten seals

---

<sup>1018</sup> The scarab beetle is the animal of Kheperi, a version of the sun god Phre/Ra. The deification of a scarab by drowning is central to many of the Demotic spells of Egyptian origin.

<sup>1019</sup> To consecrate it.

<sup>1020</sup> Flax or linen.

<sup>1021</sup> *PDM* xiv. 90-92.

<sup>1022</sup> *PGM* XI.a. 1-40.

<sup>1023</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 91. Another possible reason for this name for the lamen is that Ourania was the muse of astronomy, and much magic in the *Hygromanteia* relies upon astronomical calculations, hence wearing Ourania's seal was very appropriate. That explanation is however much less likely.

<sup>1024</sup> Delatte (1927-38), p. 8.

<sup>1025</sup> The first method is described in H, f. 28-28v; B, ff. 17-20; P, f. 219. The second method is described in H, f. 31 and G, f. 25. Only H outlines both methods.

drawn (five down either side) in a box shape enclosing five pentagrams and various other sigils (see Figure 38 right hand illustration).<sup>1026</sup> These seals are like very crude representations of the figures which later appear as much more sophisticated pentacles in the *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>1027</sup> This lamen is to be coloured red and black, and perfumed, with 22 lacings,<sup>1028</sup> and tied to the chest.

Manuscript B gives a sketch of the lamen which contains ten unevenly spaced talismans surrounding a lozenge shape containing ten characters, and a squiggly line that seems to serve no particular purpose.<sup>1029</sup> This is supposed to be drawn on unborn parchment with considerably more accuracy than the sketch, as “your deliverance lies [depends] upon it.” The text stresses this a number of times, and suggests that the magician should use a compass, and great care, unlike the scribe of this roughly drawn manuscript.<sup>1030</sup> The ink to be used is very like the perfumed inks found in the *PGM*:

The inner parts must be drawn carefully, with musk, saffron, rose water and cinnabar, [red ink] but the outer parts must be drawn with black ink...However, all letters and signs must be red, as instructed.<sup>1031</sup>

The lamen described in the second method of evocation in the *Hygromanteia* is also made of unborn calf parchment, but has a completely different design, with a total of 24 circular ‘seals’ and a number of names to be written on it (see Figure 38 left side). Maybe this roughly drawn lamen has one seal for every hour of the day.<sup>1032</sup>

The transmission of the ‘seals’ used on the lamen will be examined in the next chapter 5.4.2 on Talismans and Pentacles.

In the *Clavicula Salomonis*, just one pentacle design becomes the lamen, rather than a group of seals, as in the *Hygromanteia*. This lamen is, however, referred to by a variety of different names in different Latin grimoires:

In the UT Text-Group of the *Clavicula Salomonis* the lamen is described simply as a pentacle.<sup>1033</sup>

In the *Heptameron* the lamen is also simply referred to as a Pentacle.<sup>1034</sup>

In the RS Text-Group of the *Clavicula Salomonis* it is referred to as the “La Grande Pentacle de Salomon,” to distinguish it from the other planetary pentacles.<sup>1035</sup>

---

<sup>1026</sup> See Figure 38; H, f. 33 for an illustration of the first method lamen.

<sup>1027</sup> The relationship between these crude seals and the pentagrams of the *Clavicula Salomonis* will be examined in chapter 5.4.2.

<sup>1028</sup> Maybe one lacing for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which suggests a possible Hebrew derivation.

<sup>1029</sup> B, f. 19v.

<sup>1030</sup> How the magician was expected to produce a careful drawing from such a very rough sketch is not explained.

<sup>1031</sup> B, f. 19.

<sup>1032</sup> H, f. 31; B, f. 16v-18; G, f. 26, for illustrations of the second method lamen, the 24 talisman lamen.

<sup>1033</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008), pp. 387-388.

<sup>1034</sup> Skinner (2005), p.65.

<sup>1035</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 92.

In *Juratus*, the lamen takes on a more elevated name, "the Seal of the true and living God."<sup>1036</sup> In the *Goetia* it becomes "the pentagonal figure of Solomon,"<sup>1037</sup> which is worn over the breast for protection, not "Solomon's sexangled figure,"<sup>1038</sup> as suggested by several writers.<sup>1039</sup>

In each case the lamen takes on either a hexagram or pentagram shaped design. There is some confusion over the shape, as both shapes have been referred to as the Seal of Solomon. In terms of Jewish practice the hexagram is a much more common choice.

This pentagram (according to the *Goetia*) is a figure with five vertices, which should be made of gold or silver, and be engraved with 'Tetragrammaton' inscribed in between its vertices, whilst various *nomina magica* are inscribed at its points, such as Abdia, Ballaton, and Halliza.

The Hexagram of Solomon is a Star of David or figure with six vertices, also inscribed with Tetragrammaton, but with both AGLA and Alpha-Omega written between the points. In the middle is a 'T' or Tau cross. This is to be worn at the edge of the magician's vestment, but covered with a cloth until the spirit appears, at which point it will be revealed to compel the spirit to take human shape and be obedient.

---

<sup>1036</sup> Peterson, *Liber Juratus* (forthcoming); Driscoll (1977), p. 11; Hedegård (2002), p. 70.

<sup>1037</sup> Peterson (2001), Figure 4, p. 44.

<sup>1038</sup> Peterson (2001), Figure 3, p. 43.

<sup>1039</sup> In the case of the *Goetia*, the hexagram figure is not the lamen but a figure designed to compel the spirits to assume human form when they appear.

## 5.4 Written Words

Ritner demonstrates the close connection between written magical items (such as amulets, phylacteries and talismans) and the magician himself in ancient Egypt:

In literature from the Old Kingdom through Greco-Roman periods, the priestly qualifications of the magician protagonist are almost invariably specified, being indicated as either “chief lector priest” [*hry-tp*] or “scribe of the House of Life.” ... From the later designation derive also the simple references to magicians as “good scribes” (*sh nfr*) and magical acts as “deeds of a (good) scribe” (*wp.t n sh nfr, sp n sh*).<sup>1040</sup>

### 5.4.1 Amulets (A & R)

The term amulet has come to be used rather loosely in modern literature, both scholarly and lay. Amulets were not designed to be used in the context of a magical rite, but to be worn day-to-day. They will often have been made by the magician for a client who just wanted to be luckier in love or gambling, or protected from disease in a general way. Such amulets made for clients are common to all the cultures under consideration, and have survived thousands of years, from the faience scarabs of dynastic Egyptian times to the “lucky rabbit’s foot” of the 21st century. Amongst Jewish amulets manufactured for use by an individual, formulae from ancient Palestinian and Babylonian sources can be found on amulets from the Cairo Genizah and on amulets currently for sale to the Jewish community in New York and London, attesting a long history of transmission.<sup>1041</sup>

The ancient Egyptians made a clear distinction between magic (*hekau*) and amulet making (*sau*),<sup>1042</sup> as distinction that was carried over into Graeco-Egyptian magic. The Egyptians wore many amulets, of which the most common was probably the pottery, stone or wood scarab which was set into rings, used as pendants or buried with a mummy. A number of standard designs prevailed such as the *tet* column or the Eye of Horus.<sup>1043</sup> The fact that *wdʒw*, the general term for an amulet also means “health” suggests that the bulk of such amulets were meant as general protection especially against disease, but also against snakes, crocodiles, and other unseen menaces that lurked in river junctions, canals, pools and wells.

There are in excess of 45 separate rites for creating such popular amulets in the PGM, many of them for reasons of health or love. These are very simple formulae, with an average length of less than ten lines.<sup>1044</sup> These are obviously meant to be manufactured for clients, and so thousands of them have also survived as artefacts as well as the details of their preparation in the papyri texts.

<sup>1040</sup> Ritner (2008), pp. 221-222.

<sup>1041</sup> Swartz (1990), p. 166.

<sup>1042</sup> *Sau* applies to both the practice and the practitioner. Pinch (2010), p. 56; Rankine (2006), p. 16.

<sup>1043</sup> See Budge (1970). Budge’s book on amulets is a useful source of examples.

<sup>1044</sup> The longest measures 30 lines only because it includes a drawing.

Many *PGM* amulets have wing-shaped text with a name being repeated a number of times, each time with the number of letters decremented by one. One such amulet (see Figure 34 *top*) was designed to attract Herakles (the small gladiatorial figure at the back) to Allous (daughter of Alexandria) using the god Bes (in the foreground).<sup>1045</sup> Note the *nomina magica* written down each side of the amulet, decremented by one letter on each line. Such wing formations survived into the vernacular grimoires of the 19th century, such as the wing formation (see Figure 34 *bottom*) copied by the cunning-man Anders Ulfkjaer from a grimoire by pseudo-Cyprian in 1858.

Although the amulets recorded in the *PGM* are very crude in design, there was a parallel Greek and Roman culture of amulets made to a much higher artistic standard, and these were inherited by Byzantium. The manufacture of amulets in Byzantium was very sophisticated, with designs engraved upon gems, cameos, enamel pendants, bronze tokens, or disks of gold, silver, bronze and lead, or fashioned in the form of rings. These complex designs nevertheless followed standard patterns, each for a specific purpose. Typically one of the most common amulets was designed to protect the newborn child from the demoness Gyllou (although the name 'Gyllou' does not actually occur on any of them), or counter the imaginary medical phenomena of the so-called 'wandering womb.'<sup>1046</sup>

Early amulets, sometimes dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century portrayed St. Sisinnios of Antioch mounted on a horse and aiming a lance a dragon (or demon). This rider saint was sometimes conflated with Solomon, and some of these amulets have Solomon's name inscribed upon them (see Figure 35). These amulets also had celestial *charakteres* inscribed upon them like Graeco-Egyptian amulets.<sup>1047</sup> The earliest iconography comes from 5<sup>th</sup> century monastery of St. Apollo at Bawit in Egypt. St. Sisinnios (c. 708) hailed from Antioch where the use of the rider saint on Syrian amulets was very common.<sup>1048</sup> His conflation with Solomon may have occurred at a later date.

Later designs, circa 10th-12th century tended to additionally feature a Medusa-like head with seven radiating serpents. Such designs were common on shields in the ancient Greek world, and therefore it was not a large jump to extrapolate this to protection in general, and specifically amuletic projection. Other saints and angels were often part of the design.<sup>1049</sup>

---

<sup>1045</sup> *PGM* XXXIX. 1-21.

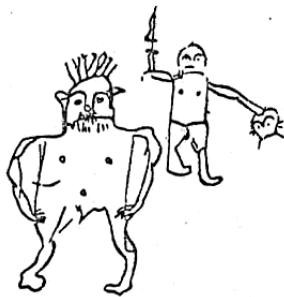
<sup>1046</sup> The so-called *hysteria* formula,

<sup>1047</sup> See Spier (1993), pp. 25-62 for more extensive discussion.

<sup>1048</sup> See British Library Or. MS 6673 for examples. Also Budge (1961), pp. 274-281.

<sup>1049</sup> See Skemer (2006) for the textual amulet in the Middle Ages.

θατθαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 ατθαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 τθαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 θαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 αραθαυθωλθαρα  
 ραθαυθωλθαρα  
 αθαυθωλθαρα  
 θαυθωλθαρα  
 αυθωλθαρα  
 υθωλθαρα  
 θωλθαρα  
 ωλθαρα  
 λθαρα  
 θαρα  
 αρα  
 ρα  
 α



θατθαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 ατθαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 τθαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 θαραθαυθωλθαρα  
 α[ρ]αθαυθωλθαρα  
 ραθαυθωλθαρα  
 αθαυθωλθαρα  
 θαυθωλθαρα  
 αυθωλθαρα  
 υθωλθαρα  
 θωλθαρα  
 ωλθαρα  
 λθαρα  
 θαρα  
 αρα  
 ρα  
 α

Ἐξορκίζω σε τῷ<ν> δώδεκα στοιχείων | τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἰκοσιτέσσερα στοιχεῖων τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα ἀγης μοι Ἡρακλῆν, δὸν ἔτεκεν [Τα]στίπις, πρὸς Ἀλλοῦν, ἷς ἔτεκεν Ἀλεξανδρία, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχὺ ταχύ.

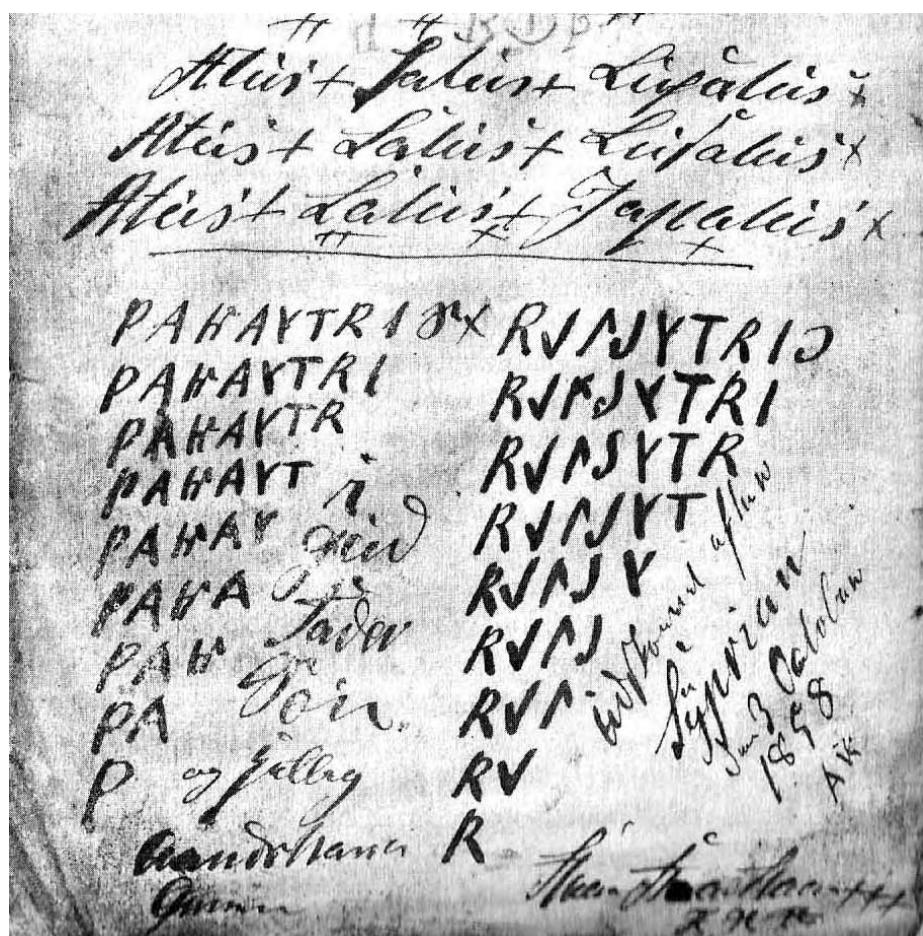


Figure 34: A wing formation amulet from the *PGM* (top)<sup>1050</sup> and a wing formation in a 19th century cunning-man's grimoire (bottom).<sup>1051</sup>

<sup>1050</sup> PGM XXXIX. 1-21 in Preisendanz Vol. 2 (1931), p. 177.

<sup>1051</sup> A grimoire written by Anders Ulfkjaer in or before October 1858, copied from 'Sýpran' i.e. the *Grimoire of St. Cyprian*, reproduced in Davies (2009), p. 130.

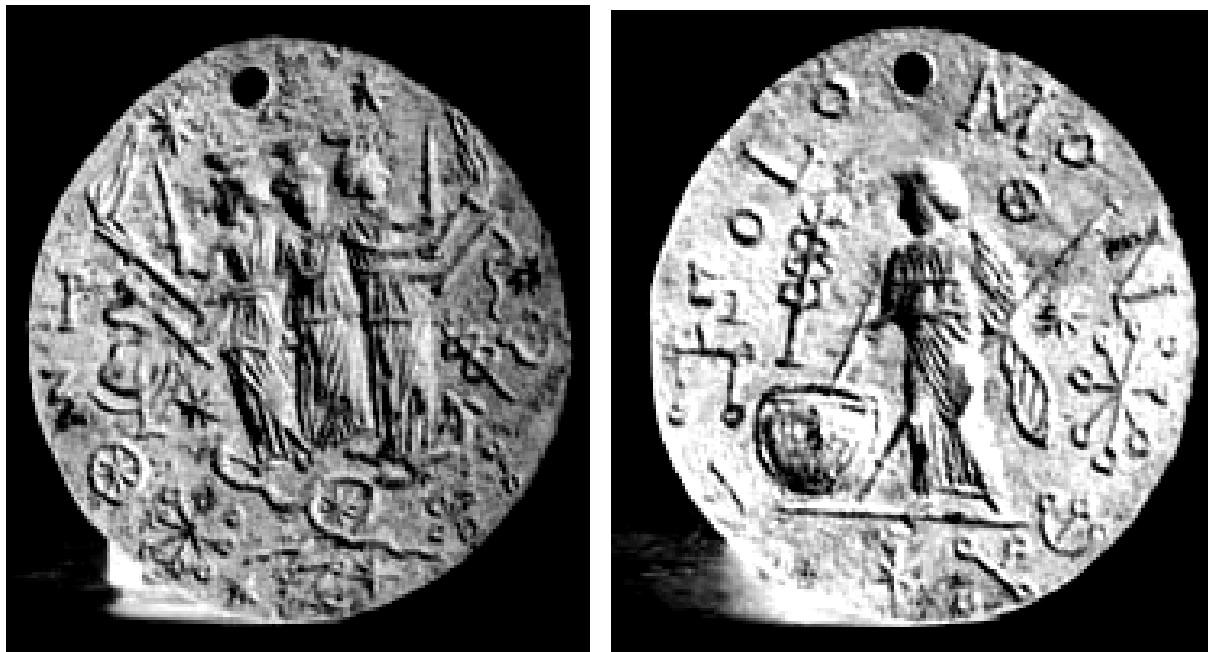


Figure 35: Bronze amulet showing Solomon with Hermes' wand, lance and cauldron.<sup>1052</sup> His name is clearly spelled out as 'SoLoMoN.' The reverse shows Hecate, the triple goddess of magic with torches, swords and wands and a number of celestial *characteres*.<sup>1053</sup>



Figure 36: Byzantine amulet showing the rider St. Sisinnios (sometimes identified with Solomon) with a lance, the angel Arlaph or Araph [Raphael] and a recumbent demon. On the verso a head with seven serpents,<sup>1054</sup> several saints, palm branches, a pentagram and the inscription 'Seal of Solomon.'<sup>1055</sup>

<sup>1052</sup> Speculatively, it is possible that the 'cauldron' is in fact a representation of the *hydria* used by Solomon to imprison spirits.

<sup>1053</sup> Museo Ostiense. Item E27278A.

<sup>1054</sup> St. Sisinnios and the head with seven serpents radiating from it are the two main motifs occurring on Byzantine amulets.

<sup>1055</sup> Silver amulet (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) illustrated in Spier (1993), Plate 3a.

The significance of the amulets shown in Figure 35 and Figure 36 is that, although they do not show the transmission of amulet designs from the *PGM* like the Eye of Horus or the scarab, they show the perpetuation of the name of Solomon in connection with Greek magic as exemplified in the figures of Hecate and Medusa. Although Solomon's seal (which features in many later Latin grimoires) is not shown graphically, it is mentioned textually on the amulet. The angel Araph or Arlaph, an old spelling for Raphael, here functions as a thwarting angel, for the demon Gylou.<sup>1056</sup> These amulets are also found in Russia (no doubt exported from Byzantium) and Eastern Europe, but did not enter the Latin grimoires of Western Europe.

Solomonic magicians undoubtedly made amulets as a day-to-day service for clients, but this process did not become part of the procedures of formal evocation or invocation according to the Solomonic method. Therefore amulets are an example of a discontinuity in practice, for although they continued to be made, they were not part of the Solomonic method of evocation. In due course amulets became more of the stock in trade of the village or folk magic than learned ritual magic. In the Middle Ages, some of the *nomina magica* of learned ritual magic were to be found on amulets. In fact as Skemer reports, "after the twelfth century, the vocabulary of textual amulets in the West came to be enlivened and energized by the spread of pseudo-Solomonic grimoires," not the other way around.<sup>1057</sup>

#### 5.4.2 Talismans and Pentacles (T)

Talismans and pentacles must be distinguished from amulets. Amulets were just a passive form of protection against a more generalized threat, whereas talismans and pentacles were designed to *cause* a specific change. See category 'T' in the table in Appendix 2 for a listing of *PGM* talismans.

A talisman is designed to achieve one particular magical objective. As one 17th century writer succinctly put it:

A talisman is nothing else than the seal, figure, character, or image of a celestial omen, planet, or constellation; impressed, engraved, or sculptured upon a sympathetic stone or upon a metal corresponding to the planet; by a workman whose mind is settled and fixed upon his work and the end of his work without being distracted or dissipated in other unrelated thoughts; on the day and at the hour of the planet; in a fortunate place; during fair, calm weather, and when the planet is in the best aspect that may be in the heavens, the more strongly to attract the influences proper to an effect depending upon the power of the same and on the virtues of its influences.<sup>1058</sup>

The process of making such a talisman consists of invoking a particular power or specific

---

<sup>1056</sup> Or Abyzou, a female demon, like Lilith, who kills newborn children.

<sup>1057</sup> Skemer (2006), p. 205.

<sup>1058</sup> de Bresche (1671).

spiritual creature into an inscribed parchment or metal disk at the correct time. The *PGM* recommends both metal and parchment phylacteries, the *Clavicula Salomonis* recommends both parchment and metal pentacles, favouring the latter, whilst the *Hygromanteia* universally refers only to parchment 'seals.'

Talismans, in the form examined below, only occur in the *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*, and not in the *PGM*.

In contrast, phylacteries are a distinctive feature of the magic of the *PGM*, and have a clear line of transmission to the *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*, with one surprising exception which will be outlined below.

By the 16th century, 'pentacle' and 'talisman' had become almost interchangeable terms, and were almost universally inscribed in a double circle or annulus figure. Chapter III of the *Clavicula Salomonis* explains the typical materials and conditions required for making such pentacles:

The Talismans, Pentacles, Mystical Images, Sigils, Characters and other suchlike Talismans, which are the main tools for working with Occult Science, can be created with different materials. You can make them on virgin parchment, on metal plates, on magnetic stones, on jasper, agate and on other precious stones.<sup>1059</sup>

The text goes on to qualify that the parchment must be made in the time-honoured fashion, but made by yourself rather than bought. Metal talismans are said to be preferred having a closer affinity with their respective planets than parchment, which "can get dirty easily and any amount of dirt, no matter how small is capable of lessening the effect of the Talisman." The usual list of planetary metals follows in this manuscript, with the exception that Venus is attributed to bronze rather than to pure copper.

If the talismans are to be made of paper or parchment, then the colours recommended in the same text are:

...thou shalt chiefly use these colours: Gold, Cinnabar or Vermilion Red, and celestial or brilliant Azure Blue.<sup>1060</sup> Furthermore, thou shalt make these Medals or Pentacles with exorcised pen and colours...<sup>1061</sup>

### *The Pentacle*

The pentacle is a specific type of talisman, usually associated with specific magical operation, specific spirit or specific planet, for use by the magician, not a general protection for the magician's client. The most common structure of the pentacle is a double circle or annulus within which is an inscription (usually in Hebrew or Latin). This annulus contains either a

---

<sup>1059</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 10.

<sup>1060</sup> The description appears to have omitted green for Venusian and silver for Lunar talismans.

<sup>1061</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 44.

sigil, a letter/number filled square, or an eight-spoked wheel with letters/sigils at the end of each spoke. There are a number of variants on these basic structures. Pentacles are used individually for specific magical operations, or written or engraved together in a group to form a lamen. It is this later use which helps to confirm that they are part of the Solomonic method, rather than free-standing talismans. The *Clavicula Salomonis* falls into 14 Text-Groups. Each Text-Group is divided into a consistent number of chapters or Books. For example, the Geo Peccatrix Text-Group occurs typically with 48 chapters; the Clavicule Magique Text-group with 16 or 17 chapters; the Abraham Colorno Text-Group is divided into 2 Books of 20-22 chapters, and so on.<sup>1062</sup> Pentacles appear in the second book of some Text-Groups of the *Clavicula Salomonis* which are divided into two Books.<sup>1063</sup> The question arises as to from where are these derived. In an effort to determine the direction of transmission, I have identified four potential sources for the pentacles.

These are initially simply arranged in chronological order by earliest manuscript date. Of course this does not mean that the sources are in chronological order, as there could be earlier exemplars of each. As will be seen later, the quality of the pentacles, in terms of wording and draughtsmanship, might be a better indication of the direction of transmission.

1. The earliest manuscript containing a set of pentacles (as distinct from a single example) that I have been able to discover is a mid-13<sup>th</sup> century Latin manuscript mentioned by Skemer, held in the Canterbury Cathedral Library (see Figure 37).<sup>1064</sup> The existence of this manuscript, with drawings of 35 typically Solomonic pentacles, proves that the pentacles had arrived in the Latin world by the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, and were not conveyed in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century along with the text of the *Hygromanteia*. This whole parchment is categorised as an amulet by Skemer.<sup>1065</sup> In a later passage Skemer admits that this manuscript "could have been used both as a multipurpose textual amulet and as an exemplar for the preparation of amulets and seals, like the Canterbury amulet."<sup>1066</sup>

A number of factors militate against the Canterbury manuscript being itself an amulet. The most obvious is its size (51.2 x 42.7 cm) when Skemer indicates that despite variations in size, amulets which were "small rectangles no larger than 10.0 x 15.0 were quite common."<sup>1067</sup> Even folded it would have presented a chunky 32-layer bundle 12.8 cm long. More convincing is that it contains text instructing the owner to *copy* certain sections on to a pectoral amulet:

---

<sup>1062</sup> A full listing of these structures can be found in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 32.

<sup>1063</sup> The AC Text-Group for example.

<sup>1064</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Additional MS 23. See Skemer (2006), pp. 200-201.

<sup>1065</sup> Skemer (2006), p. 199.

<sup>1066</sup> Skemer (2006), p. 214 is referring here to both BL Additional MS 25311, as well as Canterbury Cathedral Additional MS 23.

<sup>1067</sup> Skemer (2006), p. 28.

Scribe hos characters in uno breui et super pectus liga et statim restringet, et si his litteris non credis.<sup>1068</sup>

It is thus very clearly an instruction for preparing amulets rather than an amulet itself. The manuscript is however much more than this as it also contains orisons and magical procedures. This confirms that the manuscript is not a passive amulet, but instructions for preparing one. By way of confirmation of its Solomonic nature, its collection of 35 pentacles, grouped into two sets of 15 and 20, is referred to as the “sigils of King Solomon” (below). Furthermore the text contains instructions for conjuring and binding spirits, in a Solomonic mode:

Hoc est signum regis salomonis quo demones in puto signalauit. qui super se portauerit a nocentibus saluus erit. et si demon ei appararuerit iubeat ei quicumque uoluerit et obediet ei dominus enim ad hoc opus dedit salomoni: ut demones compelleret.<sup>1069</sup>

Effectively this passage confirms that the manuscript is an early Solomonic evocation as it says that this is the seal (*signum*) of King Solomon, and that the demons will obey he who wears it, “for the Lord gave this seal to King Solomon, so that he might be able to compel the demons.” Despite the pentacle similarity, it is not textually the same as the later *Clavicula Salomonis*.

This manuscript includes not only instructions for control of the spirits, but also supplies the group of 20 pentacles that the magician should wear on his chest during the evocation. The pentacles are meant to be copied as a set on to a lamen, in the same way as the 10 or 24 pentacles are prescribed by the *Hygromanteia*, for the manufacture of the lamen/*ourania* (see Figure 38, right hand side) which is then worn on the magician’s chest during the evocation.

Further confirmation that the Canterbury Cathedral manuscript is a text of learned magic comes from the quality of its “well-formed Gothic *textualis* book hand,”<sup>1070</sup> and its almost perfect layout. It is therefore most certainly not a simple amulet, nor is it something designed to be gazed at by the owner as suggested by Skemer,<sup>1071</sup> after the fashion of a religious icon, or the contemplative and meditative *notae*<sup>1072</sup> of the *Ars Notoria*.

---

<sup>1068</sup> “And if you do not believe this text, write these characters on an amulet, and immediately tie/bind it upon the breast.” Canterbury Cathedral MS 23, col. 6, lines 19-22.

<sup>1069</sup> Canterbury Additional MS 23, col. 6 as transcribed by Skemer (2006), p. 302.

<sup>1070</sup> Skemer (2006), p. 199.

<sup>1071</sup> As suggested by Skemer (2006), p. 200.

<sup>1072</sup> Complex diagrams with geometric shapes and many words related to the subject they purport to rapidly teach. The *notae* are missing from many of the manuscripts of the *Ars Notoria*.



Figure 37: Solomonic pentacles in a mid-13<sup>th</sup> century Latin manuscript, verso (detail).<sup>1073</sup>

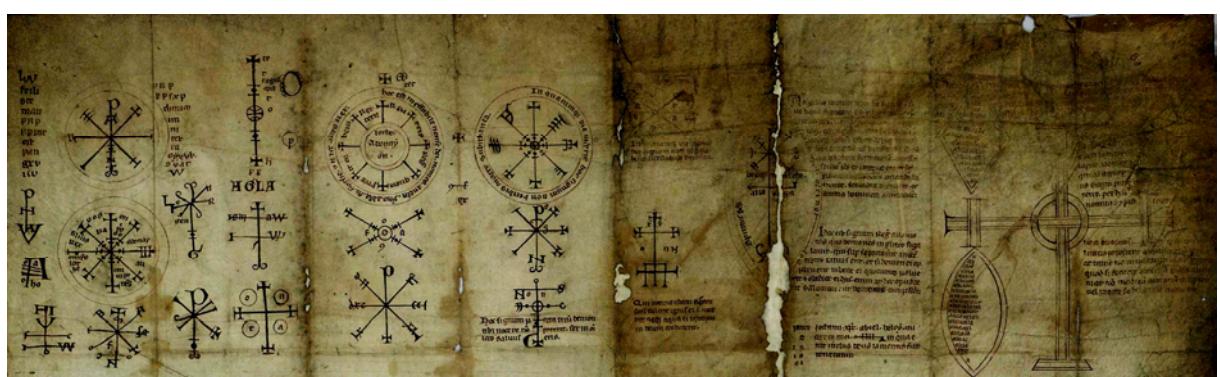


Figure 37a: Solomonic pentacles in a mid-13<sup>th</sup> century Latin manuscript, recto. <sup>1074</sup>

<sup>1073</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Additional MS 23, f. 1v.

<sup>1074</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Additional MS 23, f. 1r. Note the relationship of the eight spoke pentacle form to the *chi rho* monogram.

2. In the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century, the earliest manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* (1440) shows much less detailed, and more vestigial examples of the pentacles, grouped together on a lamen (Figure 38 right hand side). The structure of the lamen or *ourania* in the *Hygromanteia* is a key piece of evidence in determining the transmission route of pentacles from the Greek and Jewish worlds to the Latin grimoires. The Byzantine lamen is made up of 10 or 24 'seals' (depending on which manuscript source is consulted). These 'seals' are actually very crudely drawn 'thumbnails' of the pentacles: circles just containing a single pentagram or an 8-spoked wheel with no text, or any further detail (see Figure 38 right hand side).

In the case of the seals in the *Hygromanteia*, the scribe was obviously less able, or more careless, and simply took a selection of 10 or 24 thumbnail seals to add into the *Hygromanteia* lamen, rather than using the pentacles individually for specific planets, as is found in the two following sources.

It is possible to partly identify some of the seals used in the Byzantine *ourania* in another manuscript (see Figure 40).<sup>1075</sup> It can clearly be seen that many of these are less fully formed versions of pentacles found in the either of the sources listed below. This does not, by the way, argue for the *Clavicula* being a source for the *Hygromanteia*, because (as already proven in chapter 4), the transmission of the text is in the opposite direction.

There are several pages containing 'thumbnail seals' in manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>1076</sup> where they are drawn separately from the lamen, but they are still drawn with very little attention to detail. Because the seals shown in Figure 40 are to be found right at the end of the skrying chapters, and therefore at the end of the manuscript,<sup>1077</sup> Marathakis suggests that they are "otherwise irrelevant" to the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1078</sup> Although they have little or no text describing their use, except for rough captioning, I contend that as these are positioned in the same relative position as the pentacles in respect of the Second Book of the later *Clavicula Salomonis*. They represent an effort by the scribe trying to, but failing, to add a pentacles section. In terms of manuscript transmission, illustrations (such as the pentacles) seldom go from the crude to the exquisitely detailed, and more often go from the detailed to the rougher copy.

---

<sup>1075</sup> B2, ff. 360.

<sup>1076</sup> H, f. 31; B, ff. 17v-18; B2, ff. 360-361v.

<sup>1077</sup> B2, ff. 360-1, which fall after the main text on ff. 344-357.

<sup>1078</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 93.

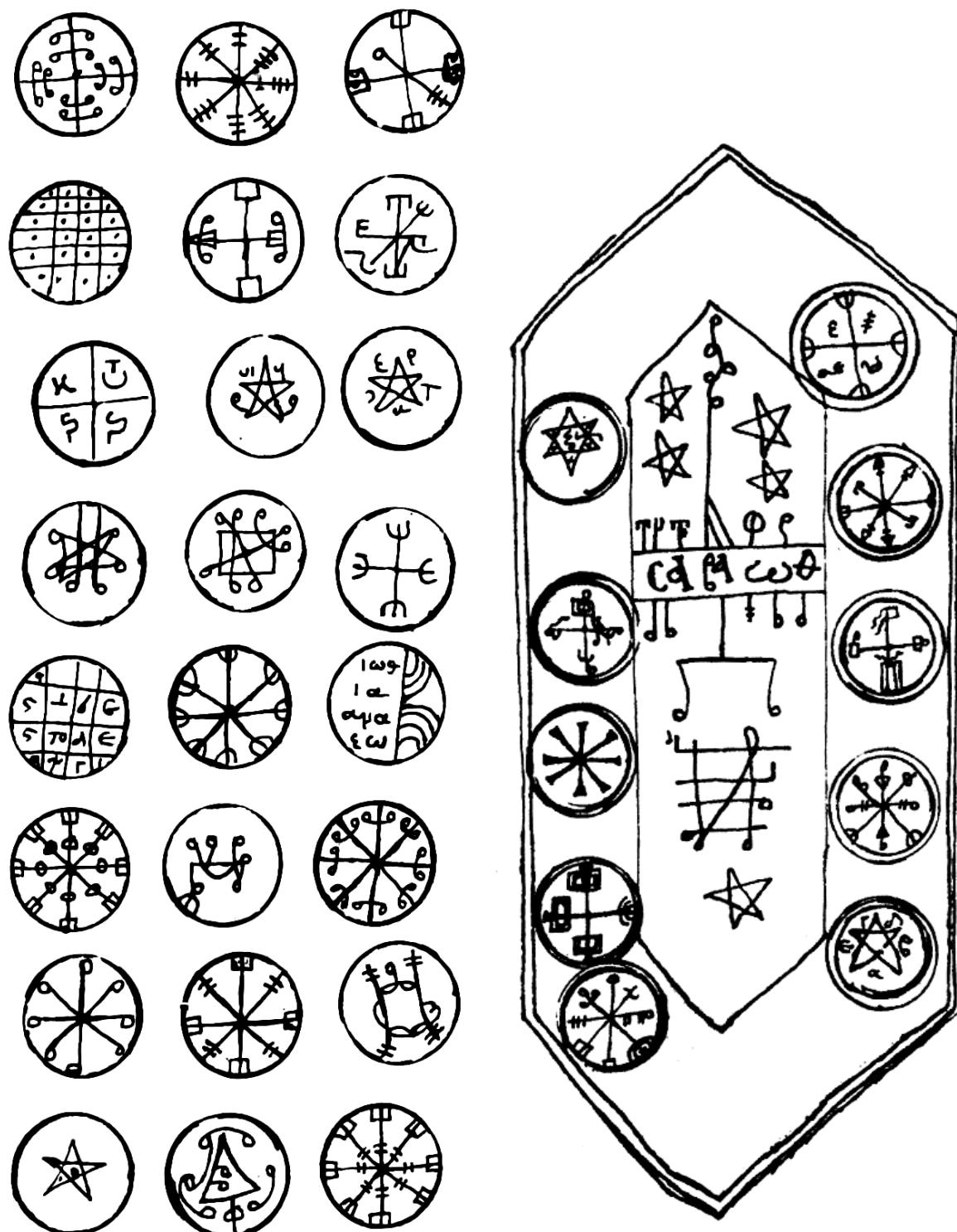


Figure 38: 'Seals' or proto-pentacles found in the *Hygromanteia* (left) as used in the *ourania* (right).<sup>1079</sup>



Figure 39: The much simpler apprentice's or skryer's phylactery.<sup>1080</sup>

<sup>1079</sup> H, f. 31, 33.

<sup>1080</sup> H, f. 33.

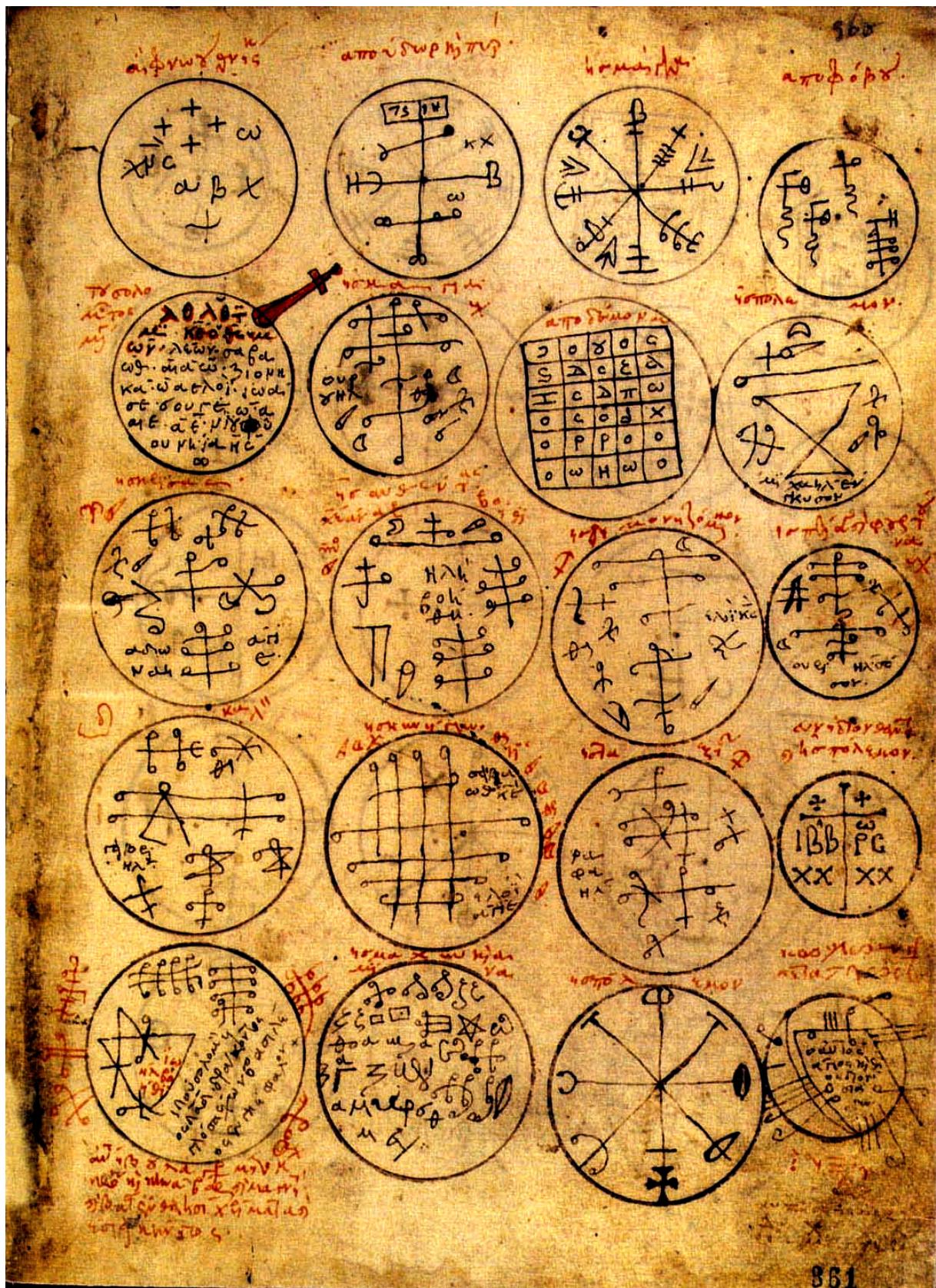


Figure 40: Free-standing 'seals' or proto-pentacles from the *Hygromanteia*. Although these are drawn with more attention to detail than Figure 38, when examined closely they can be seen to be still very corrupt.<sup>1081</sup>

<sup>1081</sup> B2, ff. 360.

3. The earliest *Clavicula Salomonis* manuscript dates from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Examples of pentacles taken from two 17<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts are shown in a Figure 40a.

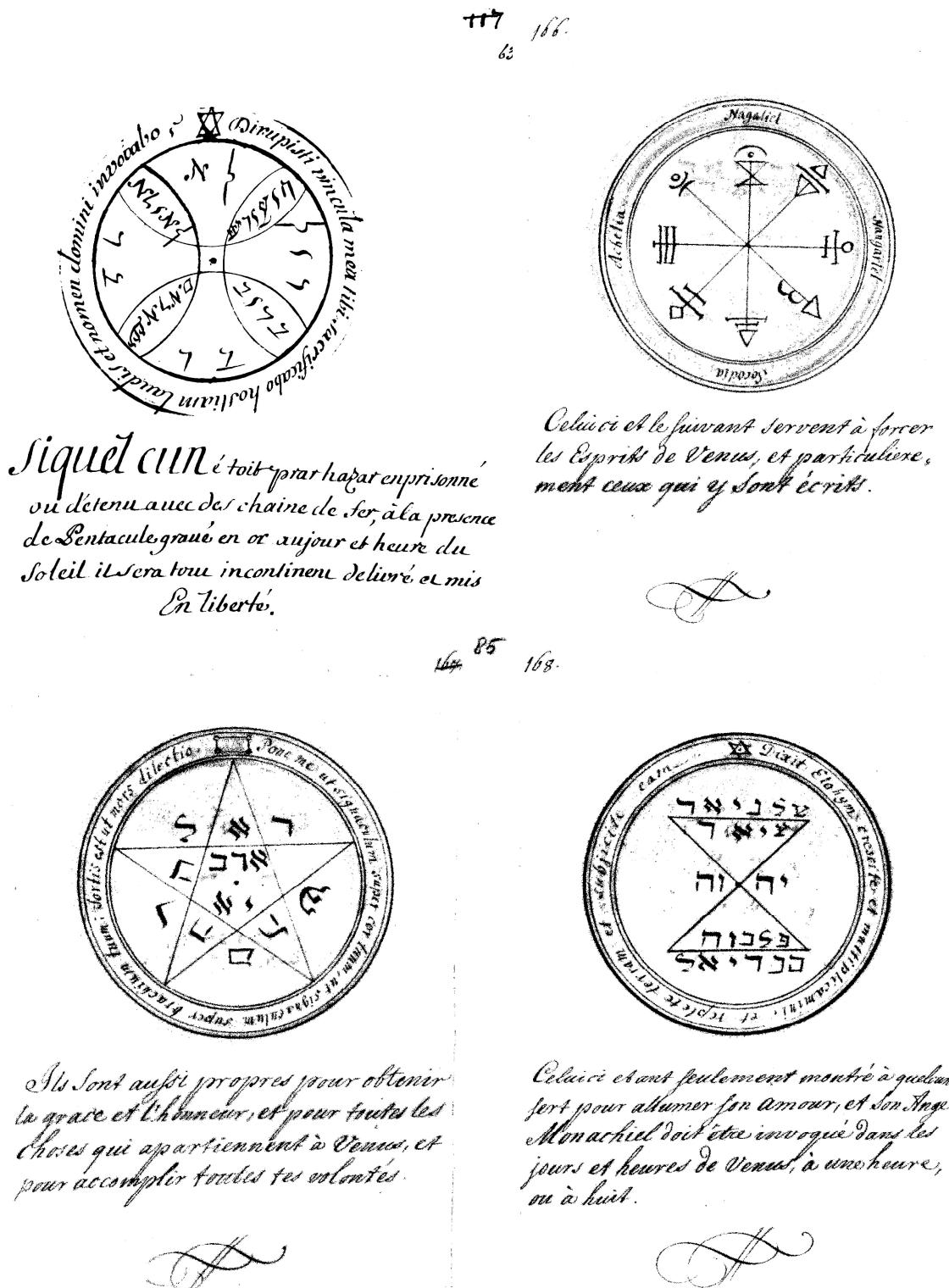


Figure 40a: Pentacles from the *Clavicula Salomonis* which correspond in outline to several of the pentacles in the previous illustration from the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1082</sup>

<sup>1082</sup> Clockwise from top right: Sloane MS 3091, f. 63; Kings MS 288, ff. 84v-85v. Both MSS are 18<sup>th</sup> century, from Text-Group Abraham Colorno.

In the printed edition of the *Key of Solomon* Mathers attempted to restore the Hebrew (Figure 41). He appears to have been less than successful, as he based his work on the flawed assumption that the Hebrew words must follow Kabbalistic lines. His work would not have been necessary if he had had access to the pentacles found in the fourth source.

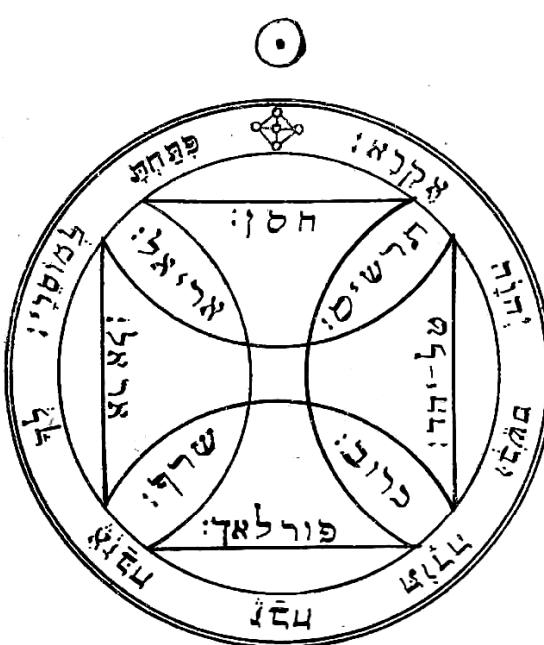


Fig. 38.

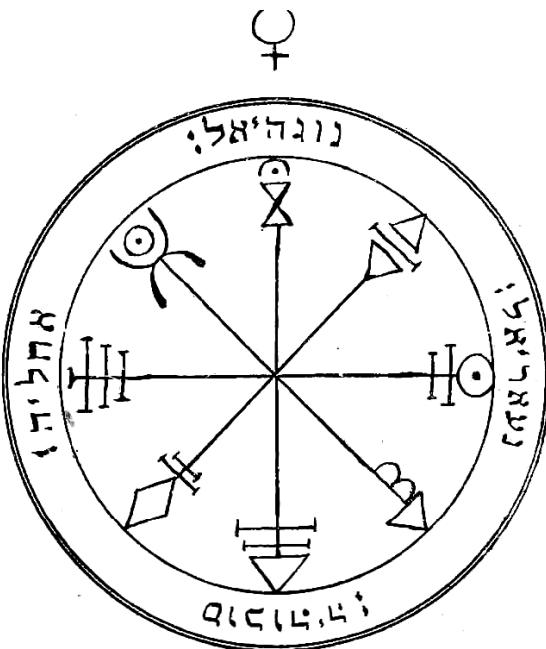


Fig. 39.

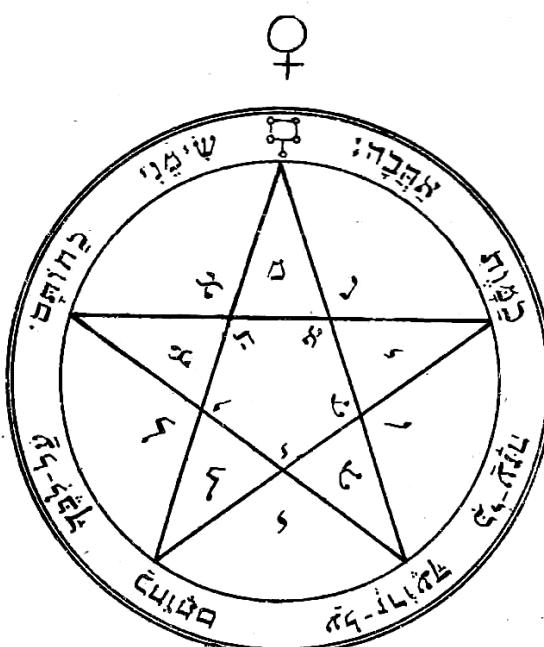


Fig. 40

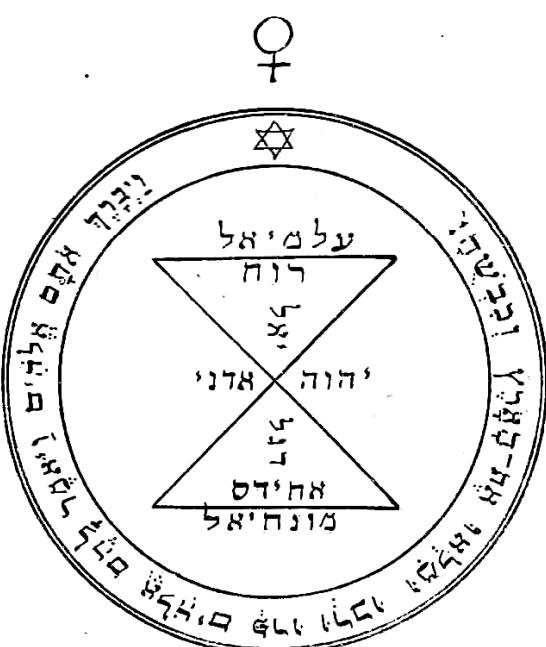


Fig. 41.

Figure 41: Pentacles from Mathers' *Key of Solomon*,<sup>1083</sup> which correspond to pentacles in the previous illustration from the *Hygromanteia*, showing the differences in the Hebrew.

<sup>1083</sup> Mathers (1909), Plate IX.

4. A much more detailed version of the pentacles (with more correct Hebrew) occurs in the Hebrew manuscript entitled **ספר האותות** *Sepher ha-Otot*, 'The Book of the Signs/Sigils' (see Figure 41a).<sup>1084</sup>

Whilst there are 58 pentacles (including 14 Hebrew and numerical *kamea* pentacles) in the *Sepher ha-Otot*, and 44 pentacles in the Mathers' edition of the *Key of Solomon*, there are only 10 or 24 crudely drawn 'seals' in the *Hygromanteia*. Although there are 44 'pure' pentacles in both the *Clavicula* and the *Sepher ha-Otot*, there are considerable differences in some pentacle designs (four being completely different, two missing, several turned upside down and one being a partial duplicate in Mathers).

On the whole however, the *Sepher ha-Otot* is by far the most reliable source. The natural assumption would be that the initially detailed pentacles (of the *Sepher ha-Otot*) have been somewhat degraded to give the less accurate pentacles of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and then completely degraded and bunched together in groups of 10 or 24 to give the set of lamen seals in the *Hygromanteia*. It makes sense to conclude that the set of seals in *Sepher ha-Otot* has been degraded over time by less and less able scribes, till they finally became mere thumbnails (as in the *Hygromanteia*). It goes against common sense to assume that these seals began life as mere thumbnails and then become progressively more elaborate over time, despite the fact that the chronology of the manuscripts might indicate that.<sup>1085</sup> On this basis the Hebrew source supplied the pentacles to both the Greek *Hygromanteia* and the Latin *Clavicula Salomonis*.

Based on this trajectory of degradation, it is clear that, in the matter of the pentacles, the *Sepher ha-Otot*, rather than the *Hygromanteia*, is the ancestor of the second part of the *Clavicula Salomonis*. This therefore identifies a second major (Jewish) source for the *Clavicula Salomonis*, a discovery which was not envisaged at the beginning of this thesis. As the pentacles occur only in the 'Second Book' of some Text-Groups of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, it seems clear that these have been appended at a later date.

The mid-13<sup>th</sup> century Canterbury Cathedral manuscript confirms that the pentacles were present in the Latin world long before the *Hygromanteia* was translated into that language.

---

<sup>1084</sup> This is in the same binding, but not part of, the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh* in Rosenthal MS 12, falling after its first 74 folios. These two texts were not related (as there are no pentacles in *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh*), but must have travelled together.

<sup>1085</sup> The manuscripts chosen to demonstrate this evolution are merely the oldest available, rather than the oldest example exemplar of each tradition.

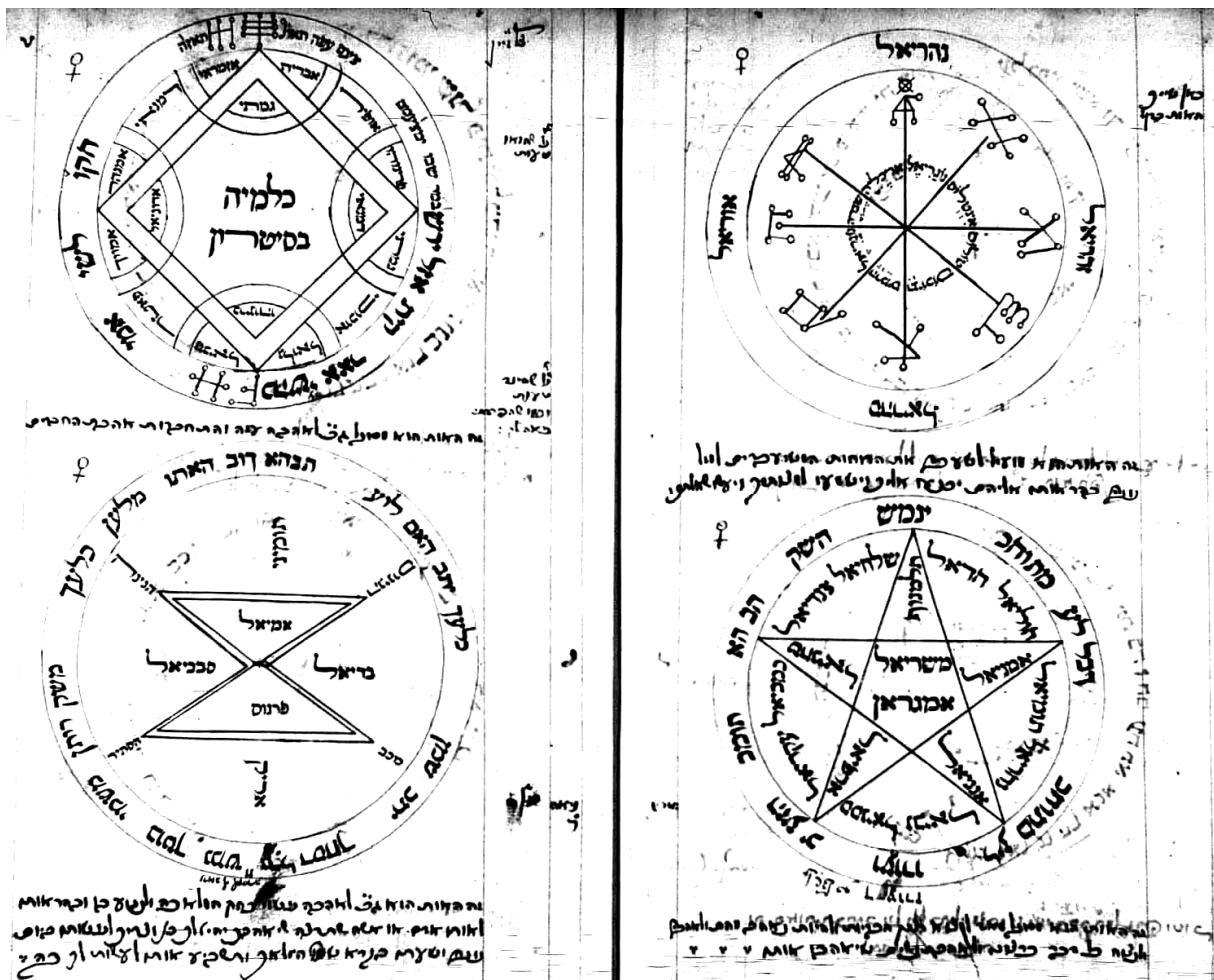


Figure 41a: Some of the pentacles from the *Sepher ha-Otot*, showing a lot more detail, and probably their original form.<sup>1086</sup> The pentacles can be seen to match up in terms of outline design, but not textually.

<sup>1086</sup> Rosenthaliana MS 12, f. 5.

### *The Secret Seal of Solomon*

Another design needs to be identified as it is often confused with the pentacles and talismans. This is the Secret Seal of Solomon, which has a totally different function, that of stoppering the bottle into which a spirit has been imprisoned. The simplest form of this seal is that shown in the *Hygromanteia*, which is simply a pentagram. The drawings of the Secret Seal of Solomon became more sophisticated in the *Goetia* (Figure 42) and the *Key of Solomon* (Figure 43) but the function was the same.

With this figure, it became obvious that although the text of the *Hygromanteia* is much more detailed and complete than the text of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the comparative state of the diagrams and figures in these two sources, is quite the reverse. The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that although the text was preserved by successive generations of scribes, the graphical abilities of the Greek scribes were very poor.

Mathers refers to the Secret Seal of Solomon rather misleadingly as “the Mystical Figure of Solomon” and whilst acknowledging its function as a spirit bottle seal, gives no details about the bottle itself, which appear to have been lost from the AC manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon*, from which Mathers worked.

Mathers could not resist ‘restoring’ this figure by adding in Kabbalistic words corresponding to the ten Sephiroth, which were never part of the design in the first place. Even less correct, and rather unimaginative, is the string of Hebrew letters running anti-clockwise round the figure from the top. They are not some elaborate *nomina magica* as one might have expected, but simply the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, in anticlockwise alphabetic order.

### *Complex Planetary Talismans*

Finally, complex planetary talismans were often generated by magicians for particular tasks made by combining a number of attributes of, for example, a single planet. These may have existed in Byzantium, but their full flowering did not happen till the advent of the Latin grimoires. They are however part of a continuum of development, sometimes incorporating Celestial *characteres* and *nomina magica* which date back to the PGM.<sup>1087</sup> A typical planetary talisman will often incorporate a planetary square, celestial characters, Hebrew god names and angel names, the seal of the planetary spirit, and so on. See Figure 44 for a typical example.

---

<sup>1087</sup> Some of these *characteres* represent Hebrew letters. These equivalences are tabulated in Skinner (2006), Tables L47-L50.

The Secret Seal of Salomon by the which he  
bound & sealed up the foresaid spirits with  
their Legions in the brazen vessel, &c.

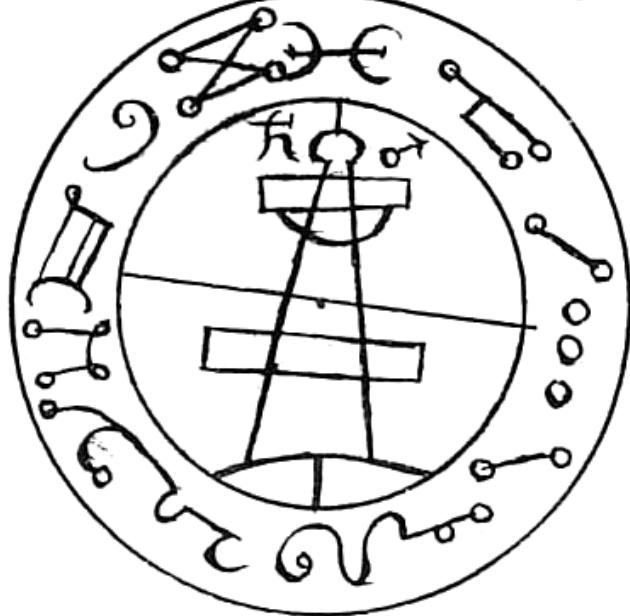


Figure 42: The Secret Seal of Solomon in the *Goetia*.<sup>1088</sup> The Secret Seal of Solomon has the special function of stoppering the bottle into which a spirit has been trapped. This design is much more traditional than that shown in Figure 43.

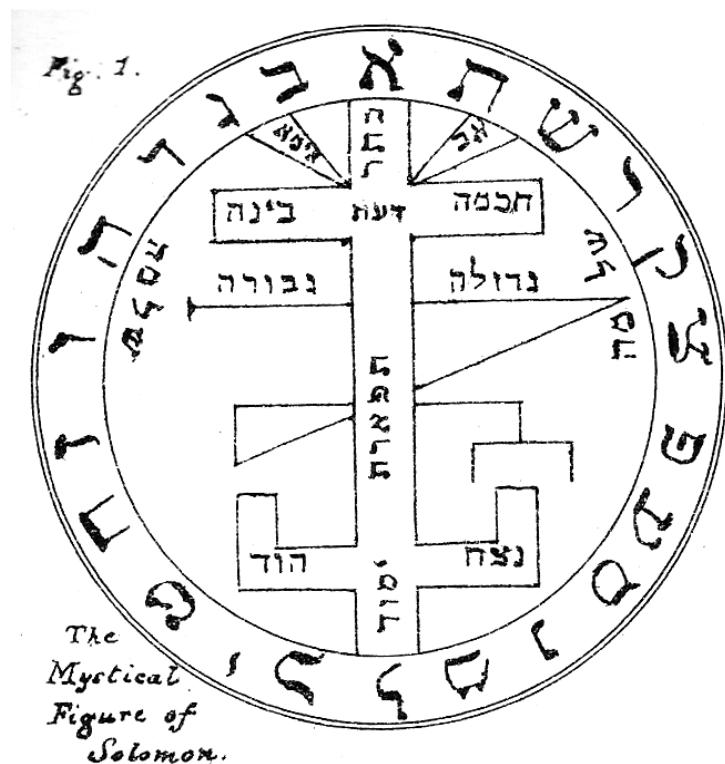


Figure 43: The Secret Seal of Solomon in Mathers' *Key of Solomon*.<sup>1089</sup> Redrawn and elaborated rather too imaginatively by Mathers, it incorporates Kabbalistic words which were never part of the original design, such as the Hebrew names of the ten Sephiroth.

<sup>1088</sup> Sloane MS 2731, f. 22.

<sup>1089</sup> Mathers (1909), Fig. 1.

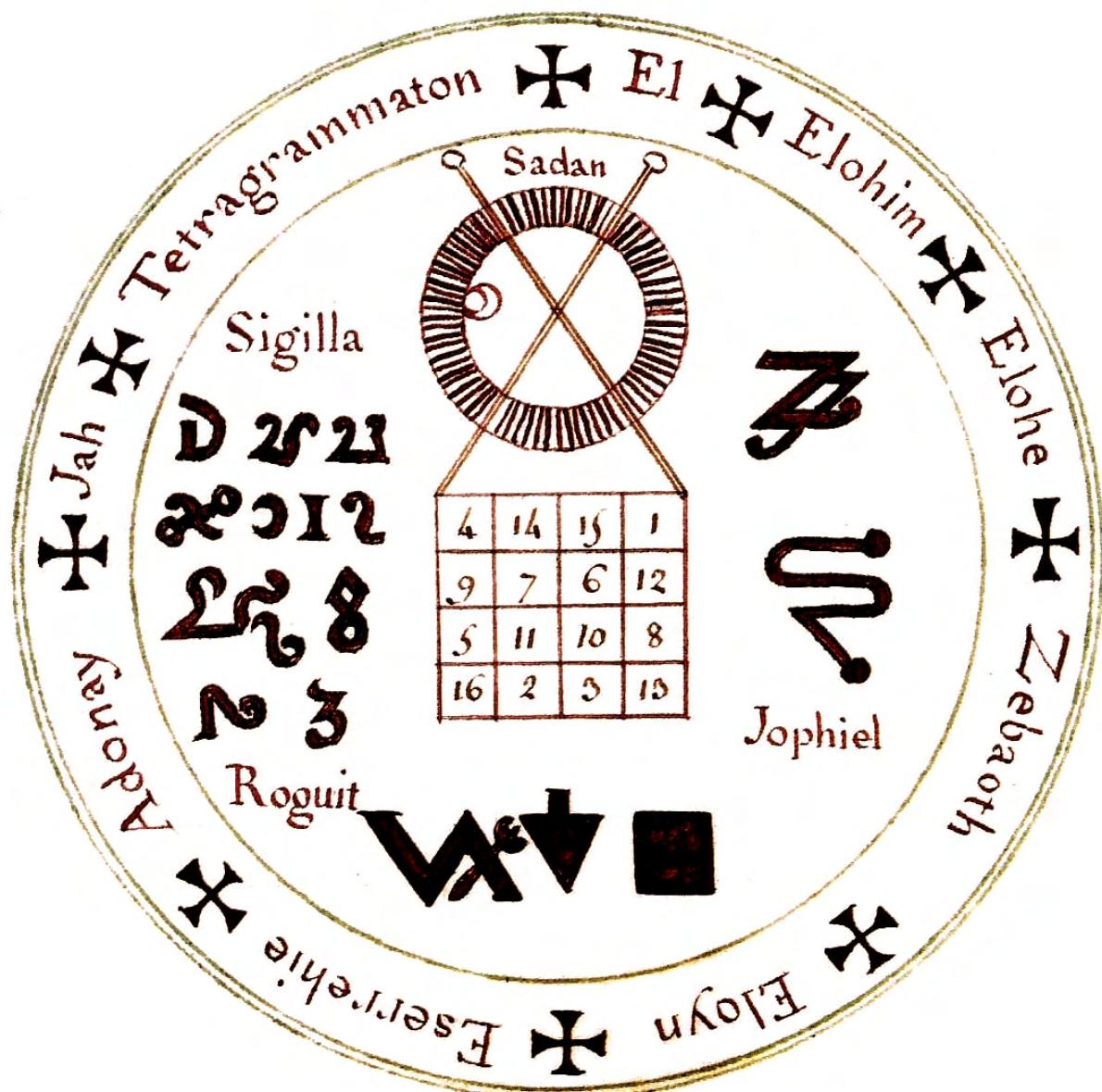


Figure 44: A typical late grimoire composite planetary talisman of Jupiter.<sup>1090</sup> Note that the names in the outer circle include Hebrew god names that can be found in the PGM.

<sup>1090</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 260 (1796).

### 5.4.3 Defixiones (W)

Given the importance of ‘tomb culture’ in ancient Egypt, *defixiones* have a long history of use. Examples of *defixiones* have been found in Greece and its colonies as far back as the late 6th century BCE.<sup>1091</sup> This practice was designed to utilise the dead (especially those who had died a violent death, or died prematurely) to carry the instructions of the magician to the appropriate Underworld god (typically Hermes, Ge, Hekate and Persephone) or daimon to carry out. As such *defixiones* were often inserted into the mouth of the cadaver, or at the very least buried alongside the coffin. *Defixiones* were not meant to benefit the occupant of the tomb, but the magician (or his client) who placed them there. The hieratic phrase for a tomb used in this way is “the noble (mail)-box of Osiris,” or πυξίς in Greek. Such practices were exported to other parts of the Graeco-Roman world with examples being found in Rome, Athens and even Autun in Burgundy, as well as being popular amongst local magicians.<sup>1092</sup>

The oldest *defixio* in the *PGM* is *PGM XL* which dates from soon after Alexander the Great’s death in 323 BCE. Despite the fact that Betz, in his Table of Spells, labels it as a ‘curse,’ it is more than that, and is in fact a *defixio*, designed to act against someone who robbed a tomb of its funeral gifts. This is confirmed by the phrase “my cry for help is deposited here [in the tomb].”

Another *defixio* is meant to compel the love of a specific woman, with the aim of binding “her brain and her hands and her intestines and her genitals, and her heart to love me.” To this end it conjures “boys here who have died prematurely,” as they are presumably still free to roam the Earth till their appointed time. As might be expected, the papyrus was found folded up in a clay vessel and deposited in a cemetery. As if to further charge the magic, the vessel also contained two clay figures having intercourse.<sup>1093</sup>

The material usually used to make *defixiones* was lead. A typical *defixio* text can be recognised by the form of its words, even if the material written on is not lead. The giveaway line is “I adjure you, daimon of the dead...” which in one instance is repeated no less than eight times.<sup>1094</sup>

One very clear example of instructions to make a *defixio* has the full procedure of using a *defixio* to secure the love/lust of a specific woman. This sequence of procedures is: making clay images of both the magician and the woman of his desire; binding to them a lead plate; burying it near/in a grave; constraining the untimely dead occupants of the grave to carry out the magic; invoking the chthonic gods/goddesses; taking back a remnant from the grave

---

<sup>1091</sup> Johnston (2002), p. 42, but Faraone and Obbink (1991), p. 3 suggest 5th century BC.

<sup>1092</sup> Marcillet-Jaubert (1979).

<sup>1093</sup> *PGM CI. 1-53.*

<sup>1094</sup> *PGM XVI. 1-75.*

to establish a magical link back to the magician; and finally saying over this link another invocation. The magician has thoughtfully added two other versions of the *nomina magica*.<sup>1095</sup>

In the invocation, the magician equates Horus with the Moirai ( $\muο̄ιραι$ ) using isopsephy.<sup>1096</sup> The Moirai are often translated as the Fates, but the meaning is closer to “they who apportion your just desserts,” rather than just arbitrary fates. The Moirai are especially relevant as, according to Caius Julius Hyginus, they invented the seven Greek vowels. These vowels appear in long strings in many of the invocations in the *PGM*, each vowel representing a planet. The addition of vowels is what distinguished Greek from its predecessor (primarily consonantal) languages like Phoenician or Hebrew. To take the line of thought a bit further, it is the disposition of these planets (in astrology) which determines the fate (Moirai) of every individual.

An ancient figure, which had been treated exactly in this way as described in the rite, was found near Antinoopolis<sup>1097</sup> in a clay vase, together with a lead *defixio*.<sup>1098</sup> Both the treatment of the figure, (which has her arms bound, with her knees drawn up, and pierced by 13 copper needles) and the Greek inscription, correspond almost exactly to the instructions in *PGM* IV, 296-466. Strange as it may seem, the needles are not meant to harm the ‘victim’ like a voodoo doll, but simply to obsess her with love for the client for whom the magic was done. The description of these dolls by some scholars as “voodoo dolls” is both anachronistic and misleading in terms of function.<sup>1099</sup> The text and figure date to the 3rd or 4th centuries CE. Ritner confirms that the procedure with the copper needles is of ancient Egyptian origin.<sup>1100</sup>

At the level of popular practice, *defixiones* spread from Egypt across the Roman Empire, but *defixiones* do not appear as a method in either the *Hygromanteia* or later Latin grimoires, and did not become part of the Solomonic method, as such they are a clear example of a discontinuity.

---

<sup>1095</sup> *PGM* IV. 296-466.

<sup>1096</sup> Lines 455-456. Calculated from the numerical equivalents of the letters making up each name. Using the Greek spelling  $\muο̄ιρων$  = 1170 and  $\Omegaρος$  = 1170 (not  $\Omegaρ$  as it appears abbreviated in the papyri).

<sup>1097</sup> Antinoopolis is a Roman city founded on the Nile by Hadrian in 130 CE. This city commemorates Hadrian’s companion Antinoüs who had earlier drowned in the Nile nearby after a journey to Hermopolis. The Egyptians explained to Hadrian that the mysterious drowning effectively deified Antinoüs, who had, by this, been taken to the bosom of Osiris. This reasoning is also behind the use of actively drowned animals in many Egyptian and *PGM* magical rites, and their later mummification (see chapter 7.6). Antinoopolis was a resolutely pagan city during its heyday, and actively welcomed magicians as residents. I would not be surprised if the tombs amongst its ruins were at some future time found to contain many magical papyri.

<sup>1098</sup> Louvre inventory E. 27145.

<sup>1099</sup> Faraone in *Classical Antiquity* (1991), pp. 165-220. Faraone later qualifies this, in Faraone & Obbink (1991), p. 25, as “without implying any connection whatsoever to the Afro-Caribbean religious practices of the island of Haiti,” thereby admitting the complete inappropriateness of his term.

<sup>1100</sup> Ritner (2008), p. 113.

## 5.5 Spoken Words

### 5.5.1 Conjunction of Angels

The original meaning of ἄγγελος or ἄνγελος (angel) was simply ‘messenger’ or ‘envoy,’ with no special religious connotation. Liddell and Scott note that it is an imported Persian word meaning “a mounted courier, such as were kept ready at regular stages throughout Persia for carrying royal despatches.” This word could be as easily applied to the messengers of a king as to the messengers of a god. Angels have been an important object of invocation from the *PGM* through the *Hygromanteia* and the European grimoires to the present day, when their popularity with New Age enthusiasts appears to be undiminished.

The Graeco-Egyptian papyri usually only mention the four well-known Biblical angels, Raphael, Michael, Gabriel and Uriel.<sup>1101</sup> These have obviously been derived from Jewish sources, and they usually only appear in a line-up of god and angel names, rather than being individually conjured.

In the Christian era in Byzantium, the invocation of angels became a major part of magical ritual. The Christian cult of the angels is likely to have sprung from heretical Jewish beliefs about angels.<sup>1102</sup> This belief was then stoked by works such as the *Celestial Hierarchy* by pseudo-Dionysius. By making the angels part of a detailed hierarchy of spiritual creatures, it was only a small step to placing them in control of an equivalent descending hierarchy of demons. This extension of their responsibilities and powers saw them being inserted into the sequence of Solomonic magic, and being invoked to help control the daimones/demons that were subsequently evoked. In the *PGM* the names of angels were just part of the list used to threaten lesser spiritual creatures. In the *Hygromanteia*, they are part of the second procedure in the classic Solomonic sequence of *consecratio, invocatio, evocatio, ligatio, licentia*.

In some parts of the Byzantine Empire, angels, particularly Michael, even became objects of their own religious cults focussing on the angel rather than any god. Michael became the centre-piece of his own cult which flourished at Chonae (Colossae) East of Ephesus in Phrygia (Asia Minor). In Egypt, religious veneration even extended to Michael assuming the role of the Nile God and being held responsible for the rain and the dew.<sup>1103</sup>

Chapter 11 of the *Hygromanteia*, which deals with the invocation of angels, is definitely a core part of the ritual, especially as the magician relies upon the angels to control the corresponding demon. In recent literature these angels, in the context of this responsibility,

---

<sup>1101</sup> The first three angels are mentioned in the Bible, the fourth in the *Book of Tobit*.

<sup>1102</sup> Peers (2001), p. 8.

<sup>1103</sup> Peers (2001), p. 7.

are referred to as “thwarting angels.” The preliminary conjuration of angels, for this specific purpose, has long been a traditional magical method and appears in most of the extant manuscripts.<sup>1104</sup>

The concept of thwarting angels dates back at least to the *Book of Tobit*, in which the angel Raphael advises Tobias how to repel the demon Asmodeus by burning the liver and heart of a certain fish. This is followed by the angel binding the demon, demonstrating that certain angels have control over specific demons.<sup>1105</sup> The story is set in the 8th century BCE, although most scholars date the appearance of the book to the 2nd century BCE. A number of thwarting angels are also very clearly listed and identified as such in the 1st/2nd century CE text the *Testament of Solomon*.<sup>1106</sup> Of the 60 demons listed in that text, at least half are listed with the name of the specific angel that binds or constrains them.<sup>1107</sup>

The procedure of using the thwarting angel is a major magical procedure. The prescribed *modus operandi* is that the magician conjures the angels, by the power of God’s name, who in their turn subdues the demon to the magician’s will, which will then carry out the actual operation. At no point is the magician thought to have miraculous powers of his own by which he could do these things unaided. The text of the conjuration of the angels in the *Hygromanteia* is one standard format, into which the magician must supply the correct angelic names, drawn from the tables to be found in chapter 13 of the *Hygromanteia*.

The use of an angel controlling the demon is a key part of procedure in the *Hygromanteia*, but has almost disappeared (or become a verbal instruction) in the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The only exception to this is Thomas Rudd’s version of the *Lemegeton*, where the thwarting angel is so much a key part of the procedure that its sigil and name are added to the reverse side of the demon’s sigil.<sup>1108</sup> This grimoire also recommends that a brass or iron container be made within which the 72 spirits of the *Goetia* can be imprisoned (or at least threatened with imprisonment). An engraving of this device (see Figure 32) shows the Seal of Solomon placed over its mouth (see Figure 42), and the names (in Hebrew) of the 72 thwarting angels which correspond to each of those 72 demons.

This resurrection of ancient Solomonic techniques by Thomas Rudd in the mid 17th century shows a depth of knowledge about magic unequalled by the authors of other grimoire manuscripts circulating in the same century.

---

<sup>1104</sup> It appears in A, A2, B, B3, G, H M, P, P2 and P4. B3 even repeats the conjuration three times.

<sup>1105</sup> *Tobit* 8:1-3.

<sup>1106</sup> McCown (1922); Duling (1983).

<sup>1107</sup> The rest are controlled by specific words written on papyrus, herbs or pious expletives.

<sup>1108</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2007), pp. 71-72.

Angels form a considerable part of the corpus of Latin grimoires particularly in grimoires like *Juratus*. Much of this material has been extensively examined by scholars such as Claire Fanger, Richard Kieckhefer, Frank Klaassen and Benedek Láng in the recent past, and so does not need any more reiteration here.<sup>1109</sup> It is worthy noting however that grimoires such as the *Ars Notoria*, despite being pseudepigraphically attributed to Solomon, do *not* use the Solomonic method, but instead rely on prayer and *notae*.<sup>1110</sup>

### 5.5.2 Evocation of Daimones and Spirits

One surprising example of a straightforward invocation of an infernal demon occurs as part of an invisibility rite in the *PGM*. One might assume that such a rite would not normally need this procedure. The magician initially identifies himself with Osiris as part of his magical ‘credentials.’ Its form is very like the form of later grimoire evocations:

I am Anubis, I am Osir-Phre,<sup>1111</sup> I am Osot Soronouier, I am Osiris whom Seth destroyed. Rise up, infernal daimon, Iō Erbēth Iō Phobēth Iō Pakerbēth Iō Apomps; whatever I, NN, order you to do, be obedient to me.<sup>1112</sup>

Its uniqueness is in the identification of the subject of the invocation (Erbēth Phobēth Pakerbēth) specifically as an infernal daimon(s), rather than to the nebulous category of *nomina magica*, to which these words have previously been assigned. It is therefore likely that the words used in the last two lines of this rite, MARMARIAŌTH MARMARIPHEGGĒ to reverse the spell are also daimon names.

The *Hygromanteia*, in the form that has reached us in extant manuscripts, has two methods of conjuration. The first method is to be found in chapters 31-39, whilst the second method is to be found in chapters 40-43.<sup>1113</sup> It is obvious that at some time in the past these two methods came from different sources. However the general procedure is the same, with just the *nomina magica* and sequencing changing.

Chapter 37 of the *Hygromanteia* contains a preliminary prayer followed by three evocations of demons. One version prefaces the prayer with three *Psalms* (23, 102 and 121).<sup>1114</sup> The *nomina magica* are a mixture of corrupt Greek, Hebrew and Gnostic names such as: Adonagē Melekh, Tetragrammaton, A and W, Phanē[s], Abrasas, Amoun-ameth and Adonel.

---

<sup>1109</sup> Fanger (1998 and 2012), Kieckhefer (1998 and 2003), Klaassen (1998), Láng (2008).

<sup>1110</sup> *Notae* are elaborate diagrams which summarise a particular subject in such a way, that in conjunction with specific prayers, greatly facilitates the learning of that subject.

<sup>1111</sup> Osiris-Ra conjoined.

<sup>1112</sup> *PGM* I. 247-262.

<sup>1113</sup> With three additional specialised rites in chapters 44-46, which are separated from the main conjuration by the words “The end of the art...” indicating that these three chapters were added at a later date.

<sup>1114</sup> KJV numbering, identified by their opening lines in B, f. 22.

The conjuration of 13 demons<sup>1115</sup> that follows this prayer is made using the names of God, the angels, Principalities, Thrones, Dominions,<sup>1116</sup> the Cherubim, the Seraphim, the seven planets, seven metals, by heaven, by earth and even by the rivers. The conjuration by the seven planets relates to the passage earlier in the same rite where the magician has already said a prayer to the planet which governs the day of his operation.

Finally the angels Mikhaël, Barakhēl, Phamothēl, Ourouël, Gabriël and Rhaphaël are used to force the appearance of these 13 demons. Later in the evocation the power of “the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob and the God of Israel” is used to compel the spirits’ appearance. This particular formula also appears in the *PGM*, but does not directly indicate Jewish origins.

Chapter 37 offers a further important indication of the sequence of transmission. The presence of senior demons like Loutzipher (Lucifer), Beelzeboul, Asmedai and Mastraōth (i.e. Astarōth), names which were usually omitted from the later Latin grimoires, shows that in the *Hygromanteia* the hierarchy of hell is more intact, and therefore (as we have already established) it comes chronologically before the *Clavicula Salomonis*. These four are said to rule the four directions, or four continents. Below them, and in later texts replacing them, are the four Demon Kings Paimon, Ariton, Egyn, Maymon or variants on those names (see chapter 5.2.2).<sup>1117</sup> Other names appeared for the “Infernall kings” in 17th century grimoires, like Sitrael, Melanta, Thamaor, Ssalour and Sitraml.<sup>1118</sup>

Chapter 43 contains the General Conjunction, as used in the second method of conjunction.<sup>1119</sup> These conjunctions use the names of the four Demon Kings previously conjured and the names of God, to force the spirits to appear in a pleasant and human form.

The usual god names appear, like Alpha and Omega, Sabaoth, Elion, Tetragrammaton, and the four standard archangels (Mikhaël, Gabriël, Ourouël, Rhaphaël)<sup>1120</sup> but these are interlaced with a number of god names and angel names which do not seem to be attested in any other grimoire. Many of them have however been formed by the Jewish practice of simply adding ‘-iel’ to the end of a common Hebrew noun,<sup>1121</sup> but there are also a lot of distinctly Greek angel names.

---

<sup>1115</sup> Only 12 in H.

<sup>1116</sup> The last three categories being a very Christian addition.

<sup>1117</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 312; Skinner and Rankine (2009), pp. 22, 44-45.

<sup>1118</sup> Scot (1584), p. 414. See thesis Figure 52.

<sup>1119</sup> This chapter is found in manuscripts A, B, G, H and P4.

<sup>1120</sup> A, f. 20.

<sup>1121</sup> I.e. דג = dag = fish. From this the angel *Dagiel* is formed.

The wording of the second method of conjuration can be seen reflected in the 'Third Conjunction' in the AC Text-Group of the *Key of Solomon*, which is meant only to be used if the spirits are recalcitrant, or when the spirits are being tardy in coming to the circle.

At this point in the rite the lamen (phylactery) is touched by the right hand of the magician to ensure his safety. With his left hand, he is supposed to point towards the earth in the direction the spirits are expected to appear from, as if to point to the place where they should materialise. When they do, the names of the four Demon Kings are used to subjugate the demons, which also have to swear obedience in the name of their king. Finally, the king himself is also sworn. This is obviously meant to be a one-time procedure for the first time the magician conducts this evocation, after which the magician will simply rely upon the oath of a particular spirit, without necessarily repeating the full conjunction sequence, to order that spirit to do a specific task.

In the vernacular grimoires like the *Goetia*, the structure of the evocation is even more formalised. The sequence of conjurations, getting stronger each time is repeated in the pattern of conjurations in the *Goetia*:

The First Conjunction for to call forth any of the aforesaid spirits.  
The Second Conjunction  
The Constraint  
The Conjunction for to Invoke the Kinge  
The Generall Curse, called the spirits Chaine against all spirits that Rebell. [Lesser Curse]  
The Conjunction of the fire  
The Greater Curse.<sup>1122</sup>

Each step is designed to be stronger than the last. The evocation of demons remained, and remains, a central staple of magical practice, across all periods.

### 5.5.3 *Nomina magica*

The most important of all spoken words used in magic are the names of the spiritual creatures being evoked or invoked. Next in importance are the *nomina magica* that are used to constrain these creatures. The pseudepigraphical *Tenth Hidden Book of Moses* begins by addressing this need:

You should also take, child, for this personal vision, [a list] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months, and the seven-letter name which is in the first book,<sup>1123</sup> and which you also have written in the *Key*,<sup>1124</sup> which [name] is great and marvellous, as it is what brings alive all your books.<sup>1125</sup>

---

<sup>1122</sup> Peterson (2001), pp. 48-55; Skinner and Rankine (2007), pp. 176-185. The text has been regularised to include the glosses.

<sup>1123</sup> Not identified.

<sup>1124</sup> The text of this Egyptian *Key* has not been identified. It is an interesting thought that this *Key* might in some way be connected with the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

<sup>1125</sup> PGM XIII. 734-741.

The idea of a supreme name which gives life to all the other words, or books of magic, is intriguing indeed. Great secrecy is enjoined:

...you are to keep it secret, child, for in it there is the name of the lord, which is Ogdoas,<sup>1126</sup> the god who commands and directs all things, since to him angels, archangels, he-daimones, she-daimons, and all things under the creation have been subjected.<sup>1127</sup>

This name is being put forward by the scribe as the name that commands all the other spiritual creatures. It is possible that 'Ogdoas'<sup>1128</sup> is just a title for the set of the eight primal Egyptian gods, and the name it represents is actually still hidden from the reader.

The same passage continues to enumerate the other names which are needed by the magician to enforce his will, in some cases to be used through the boy medium necessary in evocatory skrying operations:

There are also prefaced [to that book] four other names, that of nine letters [AEĒ EĒI OYŌ] and that of fourteen letters [YSAU SIAUE IAŌUS] and that of twenty-six letters [ARABBAOUARABA] and that of Zeus [CHONAI IEMOI CHO ENI KA ABIA SKIBA PHOROUOM EPIERTHAT]. You may use these [names] on boy-mediums who do not see the gods, so that one [medium] will see unavoidably, and [also use them] for all spells and needs [such as]: inquiries, prophesies by Helios, prophecies by visions in mirrors. And for the compulsive spell [to call tardy spirits] you should use the great name which is Ogdoas, the god who directs all things throughout the creation. [For] without him simply nothing will be accomplished.<sup>1129</sup>

Such names play an important part in the magic of the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The name of nine letters (AEĒ EĒI OYŌ) is obviously a version of the Greek seven vowel invocatory combinations. ARABBA\_OUARABA may have later morphed into ABRACADABRA,<sup>1130</sup> and IAŌUS is obviously closely related to IAŌ. Although some of the words changed over time, words such as IAŌ and SABAŌTH remained constant across all periods from the *PGM* onwards for the following two millennia.

The *nomina magica* are a particularly important part of magic. The inherent conservatism of ancient magicians about these words comes from the desire to retain the original pronunciation, rather than the original spelling, which anyway is often from a different and imperfectly understood language. As Johnston concludes:

They were never supposed to be translated into more familiar languages, lest they lose their particular power to please and attract the god to whom they belong.<sup>1131</sup>

A classic case is the well-known translation of יהוה to IAW. Transliterated into the Roman alphabet the words IHVH and IAO don't appear to have very much in common. However if

<sup>1126</sup> This name, being just a Neoplatonic term, is rather a disappointment.

<sup>1127</sup> PGM XIII. 734-747.

<sup>1128</sup> Similar to 'Ennead.'

<sup>1129</sup> PGM XIII. 747-755.

<sup>1130</sup> An alternative derivation from the Hebrew *Ha-Brachah-dabar* ([in the] Name of the Blessed) is suggested by Skemer (2006), p. 25.

<sup>1131</sup> Johnston (2008), p. 154.

you know that ' or 'V' can be used as a vowel 'O' and that ' or 'I' can equally be pronounced 'Y' then you are half way to seeing how this transliteration occurred, as the two can both be pronounced something like 'Yah-ooh.'<sup>1132</sup> The point is that determination of the original words of the *nomina magica* relies much more on sound-alike considerations than the checking of exactly the same spelling in dictionaries of culturally adjacent foreign languages.

As there are very few gaps and almost no punctuation in many of the *PGM* names, it is assumed that the original reader would have known where the word breaks occurred. Not so easy however for the modern reader without the same cultural background. Some of the word breaks in the *nomina magica* proposed by Betz and his fellow editors do violence to the original *nomina*. Using techniques like isopsephy/gematria it is sometimes possible to break up these words, or at least separate out specific words from the mass of letters. Others can be separated out by comparison with their occurrence elsewhere. A good example of this is SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS which is also found divided up as SESENGEN bar PHARANGĒS, a word which now takes on the structure of a Semitic name, 'Sesengen son of Pharanges.'<sup>1133</sup> Despite considerable controversy about the meaning of this name it is possibly a Semitic rendering of the god Harpocrates, as supported by this passage:

...the figure of an infant child seated upon a lotus,<sup>1134</sup> O rising one, O you of many names, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS.<sup>1135</sup>

Harpocrates is the "child seated upon a lotus." 'Sesengen bar Pharanges' also appears in Gnostic texts in the *Nag Hammadi*,<sup>1136</sup> which is no surprise because of the close connection between Harpocrates and some Gnostic doctrines.<sup>1137</sup>

According to Brashear, the *nomina magica* were absent from the earlier Greek papyri in the centuries BCE, and first started to appear only in the 1st century of the Christian era.<sup>1138</sup>

The *nomina magica* resolve into several types:

- a. Names of spirits, demons, angels or gods that may be either Egyptian or Greek in

---

<sup>1132</sup> The correct pronunciation of the Hebrew word יְהוָה was allegedly lost by the Jewish community shortly before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE, but the Greek IAW might in fact offer some help in reconstructing its pronunciation.

<sup>1133</sup> 'Bar' is Aramaic for 'son of' as 'ben' is Hebrew for the same designation.

<sup>1134</sup> Harpocrates is the rising sun, and the child seated upon the lotus with his finger to his mouth in a gesture of silence.

<sup>1135</sup> *PGM* II. 107-108.

<sup>1136</sup> *Nag Hammadi*, III, 2 and IV, 2.

<sup>1137</sup> Schwartz (1996), p. 254 suggests that this name relates to *ssn mgw*, 'Sesen the Mage,' on a Sassanian seal-amulet who was associated with date palm fronds, but this seems a little distant from the name under consideration.

<sup>1138</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3430.

origin like 'Erbeth Pakerbeth.'<sup>1139</sup> As Porreca states:

...the celestial and infernal hierarchies have been part of the traditional sources of potency for ritual practitioners from the very beginning of the Western magical tradition...the names of angels and/or demons were seen as inherently powerful in themselves.<sup>1140</sup>

Hence the names were not to be changed or translated. This results in a lot of transliteration, which often obscures their original source whilst retaining their sound.

- b. Words ending in *-el*, *-iel*, *-im* or *-oth*, implying a definite Hebrew origin.<sup>1141</sup> These are then often transliterated. For example Sabaoth is the Greek form of the Hebrew god name **שָׁבָאֹת**.
- c. Strings of Greek vowels which rely upon the associations built up between each vowel, its angel, musical note, planet, god/goddess, etc. *PGM* V. 24-30 and VII 766-779 tell exactly how these vowels should be pronounced or sung. The doctrine of the Greek vowels which relies on musical harmonics and other measures familiar to ancient Greek philosophers proves that these particular *nomina magica* are of Greek origin.<sup>1142</sup>
- d. The instruction to hiss or make popping or barking sounds. These relate to the traditional animal associations of specific gods, such as the snake (hiss) and crocodile (pop) of Harpocrates, or the dog (bark) of Hekate. These are exactly the sounds the magician was to make, which called to mind, and helped invoke, a specific god.
- e. Palindromes such as Ablanathanalba.<sup>1143</sup> These words really only have a visual effect. When they are pronounced they are not obviously palindromic. Their ingredients are however often extensions of real Greek or Hebrew words.
- f. Letters arranged in geometric shapes like triangles or 'wings.' These are often a single word, repeated on each line, with one letter successively chopped off it, till only one letter remains at the final point. See Figure 34.

---

<sup>1139</sup> These two words definitely relate to demons (see *PGM* I. 252-3). If they are of Hebrew origin then a possible derivation may relate to **פָּנָה** 'to flow out,' in its masculine form of **נָפָה** meaning a 'flask.' **בָּעֵת** is 'to be terrified.' The most intriguing possible translation is 'the terrifying flask,' which might relate to Solomon's traditional threat to imprison the spirits in a metal flask which is then thrown into a lake or the sea.

<sup>1140</sup> Porreca (2010), p.17.

<sup>1141</sup> The *-el* ending is the name of god El added to a stem to form an angelic name. The endings *-im* and *-oth* are respectively the male and female plural endings in Hebrew.

<sup>1142</sup> The singing of the seven vowels was an important invocatory skill and very pleasant to listen to, according to Pseudo-Demetrius in *On Style*, 71: "In Egypt the priests, when singing hymns in praise of the gods, employ the seven vowels, which they utter in due succession; and the sound of these letters is so euphonious that men listen to it in preference to flute and lyre."

<sup>1143</sup> This is claimed in the text of *PGM* V. 475 to be Hebrew.

- g. Words from other languages as yet unrecognisable or unrecognised, sometimes referred to as *voices mysticae* for that reason. I believe that very few of these words are arbitrary inventions, but simply have as yet unrecognisable roots. A fertile source might have been the copying of Demotic words into Greek.

One classic case of three apparently unrecognisable and unattested ‘nonsensical’ words is “Thoulal, Moulal and Boulal.” They were found in a Yale papyrus containing some Coptic Psalms which was published in 1974. The editor assumed they were *nomina magica* and probably the names of spirits. Only later, when correctly transliterated were they recognised as the Coptic version of the names of the three magi (or magicians) who visited Jesus, soon after his birth. As magi/magicians they were very legitimate additions to an invocation by the Coptic magician who wrote the papyrus.<sup>1144</sup> Their names anyway derive from a Greek manuscript written in Alexandria circa 500 CE, at the end of the *PGM* period.<sup>1145</sup> I believe there are many more cases like this, where apparent *nomina magica* have real meaning, especially where transliteration from one language to another has been at play.

On the whole Greek, Hebrew and Egyptian words provide the bulk of the derivations of the *nomina magica*. Babylonia appears to only lend a few god/goddess names like Erishkigal, and none of the *nomina magica* except *eulamo* ('eternal') to the *PGM*. It is tempting to ascribe a Gnostic origin to some of the words, but when they are analysed these words are simply either Hebrew, Greek, or a Greek rendering of Hebrew or Demotic. It is most likely that the Gnostics borrowed from the magicians, rather than the reverse, as magicians were often the founders of Gnostic groups. Jackson is quite certain that the direction of borrowing was from the magical texts to Gnosticism, not the other way round:

I think that we can indeed be quite sure that the direction of the borrowing runs, as in the Sethian texts...from the magicians to the author of the *Pistis Sophia* and not the reverse, for, as in the three cases above, where any meaning at all has been wrung from them, the words [aberamenthō, agrammachamarei and bainchōōoch] are quite peculiar and appropriate to a magical context but not to a Gnostic one.

...one or all of the forms attested in the magic papyri are the original(s), of which those that occur in Gnostic literature are derivatives.

...The case for derivation of the Sethian Gnostic names Ialdabaoth and Barbelo from the magic tradition is strengthened by the sheer number of other cases in which names in the Sethian Gnostic system either undeniably or at least quite possibly [are] derived from the incantatory *voices magicae* and *nomina barbara* of the magicians.<sup>1146</sup>

As an example of how apparently meaningless *nomina magica* may actually have a concrete meaning, and how a knowledge of magical methods may help in such an analysis, I would like to address a line that has caused considerable controversy. Perhaps the oldest Greek

<sup>1144</sup> Brashears (1995), p. 3438.

<sup>1145</sup> Translated into Latin as *Excerpta Latina Barbari*.

<sup>1146</sup> Jackson (1989), pp. 70-72, 75.

*nomina magica* are the Ephesian Letters which also appear in two *PGM* passages:<sup>1147</sup>

ἀσκίον κατάσκιον Λιξ τέτραξ Δαμναμενευς ασιον

Many interpretations have been proposed for this sentence. My interpretation is that it is actually a spirit binding (which probably related to the statue upon whose pediment the inscription was first seen in Ephesus).<sup>1148</sup> It is made up of the following ingredients:

*Askios* means ‘unshaded,’ and *Kataskios* means ‘in shadow.’ These first two words form an attractive contrast of opposites, and this meaning has therefore attracted most scholarly approbation.

But I think that the *exact* spelling produces a more cogent result: *Askion* means ‘empty threats,’ such as you might use to bind a spirit.

*Kata* means (amongst other possibilities) ‘down’ so *kataskion* then might mean ‘threats expressed downwards,’ to the occupants of the Underworld.<sup>1149</sup>

*Lix Tetrax* is the name of the fourth demon catalogued in the *Testament of Solomon*.<sup>1150</sup>

*Damnameneus* is clearly identified as a goddess in the *PGM*, specifically the goddess of the fourth hour.<sup>1151</sup>

*Aisios* means auspicious or opportune.<sup>1152</sup>

Put this together, and the *Ephesia Grammata* might be translated as:

“I threaten and [bind] down *Lix Tetrax* [by] the auspicious goddess *Damnameneus*.”

Assuming, for the moment, that the *Testament of Solomon* demons (after *Ornias*) are attributed sequentially to the hours,<sup>1153</sup> then the goddess and the demon both relate to the fourth hour. One well known magical formula is the use of the angel who thwarts the corresponding demon. This is highly significant as it means that this goddess may have been the thwarting

---

<sup>1147</sup> *PGM* VII. 215-18; LXX. 4-25.

<sup>1148</sup> If this interpretation is correct then archaeologists might well find something rather interesting under the pediment on which the *Ephesia grammata* were inscribed, if such a pediment can be found.

<sup>1149</sup> If “shadowy” is taken as the meaning of *kataskion* then the first two words may read “dark threats.”

<sup>1150</sup> *Ornias* is not part of the series as he was the assistant demon who introduced Solomon to each of the other demons in turn. *Lix Tetrax* is described in the *Testament of Solomon* as a dust-devil, said to be the “offspring of the Great One,” and to reside in the “horn of the Moon in the South.” He “makes whirlwinds; brings darkness to men; sets fields on fire; destroys homesteads and heals Hemitertian fever.”

<sup>1151</sup> *Damnameneus* is referred to as an “avenging goddess, strong goddess [in the] rite of ghosts...” (*PGM* IV. 2780). *Damnameneus* is also the Egyptian ruler of the 4th hour of the day in a *Helios* invocation (*PGM* III. 510-511). She is also featured amongst the *nomina magica* on the underside of a throne (*PGM* II. 164) and on a Stele of *Aphrodite* (*PGM* VII. 215-18) which confirms her goddess nature.

<sup>1152</sup> The spelling is uncertain, being either *asion* or *asia*. But related words produce similar meanings such as happiness, luck, good omen, or destined. Therefore, the interpretation of “auspicious or opportune” seems to be correct. If however the correct spelling is ἄσιος, then ‘Asian’ in the sense that it was in ancient times applied to Lydia would be correct. In which case “auspicious *Damnameneus*” should read “*Lydian Damnameneus*,” which is also quite appropriate, as Lydia is just a short distance inland from Ephesus, which is where Pausanias claims these words were first found.

<sup>1153</sup> Discussion of the evidence for that attribution would take the discussion too far away from the main points being made.

angel/goddess corresponding to Lix Tetrax, whose job it was to bind him. Faraone and Kotansky add support for this role for the goddess by suggesting that Δαμναμενευς “seems to derive from δαμνάω/-άζω (“Tamer”).”<sup>1154</sup>

If this interpretation proves to be correct, then this most mysterious of magical sentences is finally seen as a cogent binding formula, rather than merely a string of meaningless *nomina magica*. This is just one demonstration of how a knowledge of magical techniques (in this case binding and the use of a thwarting angel/goddess of the same hour) may help in the decipherment of *nomina magica*. A number of other examples could easily have been instanced.

The attempt to preserve the original language of the *nomina magica* is rooted in the concept that the gods and other spiritual creatures best understand their original language. Any changes to this may render the invocation unintelligible to the god or spiritual creature concerned, and therefore be ineffective. This is reinforced by Iamblichus’ 3rd century CE comments on the use of such *nomina magica* in Egyptian magic and Mystery Religions:

But “why, of meaningful names, do we prefer the barbarian [foreign names] to our own?” For this, again, there is a mystical reason. For, since the gods have shown that the entire dialect of the sacred peoples such as the Assyrians and the Egyptians is appropriate for religious ceremonies, for this reason we must understand that our communication with the gods should be in an appropriate tongue. Also, such a mode of speech is the first and the most ancient. But most importantly, since those who learned the very first names of the gods merged them with their own familiar tongue and delivered them to us, as being proper and adapted to these [religious] things, forever we [must] preserve here the unshakeable law of tradition...

It is therefore evident from this that the language of sacred peoples is preferred to that of other men, and with good reason. For the names do not exactly preserve the same meaning when they are translated; rather, there are certain idioms in every nation that are impossible to express in the language of another. Moreover, even if one were to translate them, this would not preserve their same power... For all these reasons, then, they [the barbarian names] are adapted to [communicate with] the superior beings.<sup>1155</sup>

Of course the result of conserving the ancient pronunciation is that the spelling gets more and more corrupted as the words are passed from one culture to another and from one alphabet to another, especially in the case of Egyptian to Greek, via the medium of Coptic. Coptic is effectively Egyptian words spelled in Greek, with the addition of at least seven further letters designed to convey sounds that don’t exist in Greek. It is for that reason that many of the passages in the *PGM* have their *nomina magica* glossed in ‘Old Coptic’ by the scribe or the original owner of the papyrus, so that Greek readers will know how to pronounce words that were originally Egyptian. The upside of this is that the presence of a Coptic gloss almost guarantees that the original words were Egyptian. Secondly, it leaves the reader with a reasonable chance of getting the pronunciation right. The downside is that the hieratic spelling (and therefore the meaning) of the word may well be lost.

<sup>1154</sup> Faraone and Kotansky (1988), p. 264.

<sup>1155</sup> Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* VII. 4-5 in Clarke *et al.* (2003), pp. 296-299.

Although *nomina magica* are names whose uncorrupted derivation is in many cases unknown, I believe they are not deliberately fabricated nonsense syllables, as their function was to coerce spirits, gods or angels. To be an effective form of coercion they must have originally had a meaning, rather than just being nonsense.<sup>1156</sup> These words will, in many cases, be names, as the theory behind such coercion falls into three name-related methods:

- i) The named entity can be used to coerce the lesser entity, as it is of a higher rank, (i.e. the name of an arch-demon may be used to coerce a lesser demon, or the name of a god used to coerce a daimon) or the name of a thwarting angel.
- ii) The name of a famous magician or exorcist who in the past has effectively commanded the spirits is used, such as Solomon, or even Jesus. In this context the operation is not necessarily of Jewish or Christian derivation, but simply utilising the name of a famous magician to terrify the spirit.
- iii) A more Egyptian approach to this appears with the identification of the magician with such an ancient worthy or god, like the claim "I am Paphro Onosophris..."

All these procedures are later found passed on in both the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*. If we suspend disbelief temporarily, it might seem strange that spirits would fall for such false claims made by a magician acting in the name of a dead magician, who the current performer has never met. The explanation for this is threefold: that the spirit is unwilling to risk it; that the spirit cannot read the magician's mind or that the power of words is real in these realms. All three explanations have been given at various points in the history of magic. The conclusion is that coercion can only be effective if the names named are correctly pronounced, have some basis in real words, and represent beings of a superior rank to the entity being evoked. It is therefore certain that, with this in mind, no competent magician would consciously generate nonsense syllables for the purpose of coercion, as that would be self-defeating.

Therefore, in many cases, the *nomina magica* are proper nouns like Solomon or 'Sesengen bar Pharanges.' The latter is obviously a proper noun, as it has the structure of 'Sesengen son of Pharanges.' Pharanges may be related to Phre, and Harpocrates was the son of the sun (Horus or Phre).<sup>1157</sup>

---

<sup>1156</sup> No ancient magician would have thought that some random nursery nonsense syllables would have been effective in ordering around a recalcitrant, and possibly dangerous, spirit or demon.

<sup>1157</sup> Sesengen bar Pharanges also occurs in *Nag Hammadi III*, 2 and IV, 2 as well as *PGM IV*, 964-67. This name is sometimes taken into Greek as Seseggen bar Pharagges, where 'vγ' is written 'γγ.' Scholem suggested that it was an angel's name, implying 'the purifier,' which seems inherently unlikely. Mastrocinque (2005), p. 120 suggests 'Sesengen son of Tartarus' (assuming *Pharanges* = *pharangos* = Tartarus), but that also seems unlikely.

Rebecca Lesses summarises the possible derivations of these *nomina magica* as:

The names consist of proper names of particular deities and angels, name-formulas (*logia*) such as “Sesengen bar Pharanges,” strings of letters of the Hebrew or Greek alphabet (especially vowels), permutations of the Tetragrammaton, and combinations of the names [or titles] of God with other letters.<sup>1158</sup>

Daniel and Maltomini admit that:

It is a well-known fact that editorial division and analysis of magical words is often nothing other than guess work, among other reasons because so many are unparalleled, because the ancient texts for the most part lack word division, and because much is meaningless gibberish that cannot be explained by Egyptian, Hebrew and other languages. A number of the shorter “words” listed below will of necessity be wrong divisions. Also a number of the longer “words” must occasionally contain shorter, meaningful elements that have not been correctly isolated.<sup>1159</sup>

As such there is much scope for hunting down precursors and incorrupt forms of such names, a process that has been begun by Porreca.<sup>1160</sup>

The correct pronunciation of the *nomina magica* is not often specified, but just one passage in the *PGM* actually gives what that scribe considered to be the ‘correct’ pronunciation:

the “A” with an open mouth, undulating like a wave;  
the “O” succinctly, as a breathed threat,  
the “IAŌ” [directed] to earth, to air, and to heaven;  
the “Ē” like a baboon [screech?];  
the “O” in the same way as above;<sup>1161</sup>  
the “E” with enjoyment, aspirating it,  
the “Y” like a shepherd, drawing out the pronunciation.<sup>1162</sup>

When Mesopotamian, Greek and Semitic magic were added to the mix, so the range of words of power increased from just Egyptian ones by the addition of such names as Hekate, Ereshkigal, Nebutosualeth, Abraham, Adonai, Solomon, Moses, Sabaoth, Anael or Boel.<sup>1163</sup> These names, with a few exceptions (for example Nebutosualeth), remain part of the Solomonic magical literature up to the present day.

The *Eighth Book of Moses* is very conscious that it draws its *nomina magica* from different linguistic sources and makes a determined effort to identify them. This is not so obvious in Betz’s continuous text translation, but comes to life when the lines are separated out:

---

<sup>1158</sup> Lesses (1996), p. 52.

<sup>1159</sup> Daniel and Maltomini (1991), p. 325.

<sup>1160</sup> Porreca (2010), pp. 23-25.

<sup>1161</sup> This suggests that O and W should be pronounced in the same way.

<sup>1162</sup> *PGM* V. 24-30.

<sup>1163</sup> See Brashear (1995), p. 3396. Bo’el is mentioned in the mediaeval parts of the *Sefer ha-Razim*, and occurs later in several European grimoires.

[written] in 'birdglyphic': <sup>1164</sup>	ARAI;
[written] in hieroglyphic:	LAILAM;
[written] in Hebraic:	ANOCH <sup>1165</sup> BIATHI ARBATH <sup>1166</sup>
[written in] BERBIR: <sup>1167</sup>	ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTROM;
[written] in Egyptian:	ALDABAEIM;
[written] in Baboonic:	ABRASAX; [85]
[written] in Falconic:	CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TIPH TIPH TIPH CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA, <sup>1168</sup>
[written] in Hieratic:	MENE PHŌIPHŌTH. <sup>1169</sup>

Even though the language labels might seem a little strange, like 'Baboonic' for Gnostic Coptic, there is no doubting a scholarly striving by the original scribe to correctly define the *nomina magica*, their pronunciation, and their origins. There were often warnings in Hermetic and Neoplatonic texts (such as Iamblichus' well-known warning) not to translate or change the spelling of such words of power.<sup>1170</sup>

Some gods have their own specific formula, which can then be used to identify the god being invoked, such as the invocation to Typhon/Set which uses "Iō Erbēth Iō Pakerbēth Iō Bolchosēth."<sup>1171</sup>

Some words are derived from a *description* of the original word, such as Αρβαθιω, Arbathiaō. This is derived from the Hebrew **אַרְבָּעָה** *arboth*, meaning 'four' and Iω derived from the Hebrew IHVH or יְהֹוָה: in other words this is yet another Greek form of the four-lettered name of God, IAO or יְהֹוָה, IHVH.

### *Transmission of the Names of Gods and Spirits Trans-culturally*

<sup>1164</sup> The following seven languages may in fact be seven different scripts, but obviously it is not just a case of straight transliteration. They have here been split into separate lines for ease of comparison. The inclusion of all these forms is an attempt to preserve all the clues necessary to the correct pronunciation of these *nomina magica* by the scribe. Hieroglyphic and Hebrew are subject to ordinary linguistic analysis. Egyptian is likely to be a phonetic rendering of the commonly spoken Egyptian of the time (maybe Coptic?). Baboonic is a code word for Gnostic or hermetic literature, as the baboon = Thoth = Hermes = Hermetic or Gnostic. Hieratic is simply the script form of ancient Egyptian. Falconic seems like an onomatopoeic rendering of a bird's cry. The positioning of 'Birdglyphic' at the beginning suggests that it performed a specific function in relation to the other languages rather than being a language on its own. It seems possible that it was prefaced by the glyph of a bird designed to indicate a special function, possibly a method of pronunciation for all the following languages.

<sup>1165</sup> Should be 'anoki' according to Betz (1996), p. 174.

<sup>1166</sup> The last word has been divided, as ARBATH clearly means 'four' in Hebrew. It relates to the Greek Αρβαθιω, meaning the fourfold god Iω.

<sup>1167</sup> I suggest that this is yet another linguistic category (Berber) that has been mistakenly worked into the text as if it were part of a long *nomina magica*.

<sup>1168</sup> The "CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA" was originally placed after the hieratic by the editor, but is clearly an overflow from the Falconic line, and so has been moved up one line, where it now forms a symmetrical *nomina magica*. This name now repeats its elements in the familiar 7-3-7 format.

<sup>1169</sup> The last word has been split. PGM XIII, 81-89.

<sup>1170</sup> Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* VII. 4-5.

<sup>1171</sup> See PGM IV. 3267.

One of the first things that need to be done in order to map this transmission of *nomina magica* fully is the production of lists or tables of these names, drawn from all available texts and grimoires. One of the first attempts to do this was Crowley's 777 followed more recently by my *Complete Magician's Tables*.<sup>1172</sup> The second necessary step is the matching of these names, including their variants, across different sources. This has been begun with Porreca's excellent study of just three sources.<sup>1173</sup> However his study only listed obviously matching names, rather than exhaustively listing all possible gods, angels, daimones, demons or spirits. Obviously this table could be widened much further. Such a tabulation of the names of spiritual creatures is key for showing the dependency and transmission of texts, as these words are (in theory) the most jealously guarded/preserved parts of any invocation.

In Porreca's study, exactly half of the names identified were of Hebraic origin.<sup>1174</sup> Greek was the next most common language,<sup>1175</sup> then Egyptian, as might have been expected. Only about three names may have been Persian/Babylonian, and one name of possibly Muslim origin, the latter confirming the very minor *direct* influence that the relatively late-occurring Islam had on European grimoires.<sup>1176</sup> Full extraction of the names in the *PGM* would have boosted the Greek numbers.<sup>1177</sup> This table has been extended to include names found in the *Goetia*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*. A subset of this table has been included in Appendix 5 as confirmation of the extensive commonality of these *nomina magica*.

The outcome is that the *PGM* borrowed as much as half of its god and angel names from Hebraic sources, with less coming from the Greek tradition. From Egypt came some less easily identified Demotic words plus a few of the major gods of Egypt. These proportions varied over time. In the 13th century grimoire *Juratus*,<sup>1178</sup> of the 100 god names analysed, only 17 were of definite Hebraic provenance, and 49 were of definite Greek origin,<sup>1179</sup> thus neatly reversing the percentages achieved by Porreca.

In the *Hygromanteia*, and later grimoires, the mix of Hebraic and Greek languages between them constitutes most of the *nomina magica*. The sheer persistence of these names adds considerable weight to the continuous transmission of magic across a number of cultures

---

<sup>1172</sup> Skinner (2006), Table M.

<sup>1173</sup> Porreca (2010), pp. 23–25.

<sup>1174</sup> 21–22 out of 43 names. Porreca (2010), p. 25.

<sup>1175</sup> With seven to nine names identified by Porreca as Greco-Roman, which are in all likelihood just Greek.

<sup>1176</sup> Some later names such as Maymon may have Arabic roots.

<sup>1177</sup> A full index to the names in *PGM* is still a major *desideratum*. I have however, in Appendix 2, listed most of the main god, angel and daimon names to be found in each *PGM* rite, with a selection of the most frequently occurring *nomina magica*.

<sup>1178</sup> Skinner (2006), Table M7.

<sup>1179</sup> The remaining 34 names were of doubtful origin, but most likely either Greek or Hebrew.

with very little change beyond scribal and transliteration errors.

The seven angels corresponding to the seven planets and Jewish god names, like IHVH Sabaoth of Hebraic origin, are perhaps the most widespread names, supplemented by Greek words like Primeumaton which easily survive into 17th century and later grimoires. Knowledge of both these languages became much more widespread after the Renaissance, and this would have meant that the origins of many of these names would still have been understood.

By Porreca's count there are 28 names which appear both in the Munich Handbook,<sup>1180</sup> and in the *PGM*, but only 15 names that are shared between the *Picatrix* and the *PGM*. In fact only five names are shared exclusively by the *Picatrix* and the *PGM*. This confirms the fact that the names of the *PGM* feed into the Solomonic ritual stream much more strongly than into the astral magic of the *Picatrix*.

As Porreca opines:<sup>1181</sup>

...with the study of a broader range of magical collections, a clearer picture will emerge of the threads of cultural continuity that link the magical practice of three cultures<sup>1182</sup> that were otherwise so different in terms of their public religious affiliations.

This highlights the fact that, to a large extent, transmission of the *nomina magica* was independent of the religious milieu in which the magician found himself.

Greek and Hebraic names (which would have been basically still understood by most educated Christians from the Renaissance to about the mid-20th century) survive, whilst Egyptian names, for the most part did not. It is extraordinary that very common Egyptian *nomina* (like Pakerbeth) were lost from the corpus at an early stage, despite Egypt's popular image as the fount of all magic.

The establishment of such lines of transmission militates against the popular conception that such names as are used in magic were on the whole gibberish or simply made up.

Another study which analyses the frequency of divine names across nine different European Solomonic grimoires was undertaken by Julien Véronèse.<sup>1183</sup> In this all sources are European, and all confined to the 13th-14th centuries, so we do not learn much about the transmission of names from culture to culture, but we do get a very clear picture that of all the Solomonic

---

<sup>1180</sup> Kieckhefer (1997). This manuscript should be more correctly referred to by its incipit: *Liber Incantationum, exorcismorum et fascinatorium variorum...*

<sup>1181</sup> Porreca (2010), p. 29.

<sup>1182</sup> Egyptian, Hebraic and Greek.

<sup>1183</sup> Véronèse (2010), pp. 30-50.

texts analysed, the *Clavicula Salomonis* itself has the widest range of divine names,<sup>1184</sup> confirming that it is the most representative grimoire of the Solomonic tradition.

#### 5.5.4 Historiola and Commemoration

The procedure of reciting an abridged version of the myths associated with the god being invoked or commemorating their deeds is a well-established practice in both religion and magic. But claiming to be that god is only an often repeated technique of the latter. In the same vein, claiming to be a famous magician, like Nectanebus, Solomon or Jesus, was designed to impress the spiritual creature that was being invoked, so repeating historiola associated with either the god or the famous magician whose name was being invoked was a perennial technique. This was particularly true of Solomon's name.

The procedure of reciting an abridged version of the myths associated with the god being invoked dates from ancient Egypt and is also an enduring tradition. The thinking behind it is either to remind the magician of the story or demonstrate to the god knowledge of its background, thereby making it more compliant to the commands of the magician. Just as the god had triumphed in some previous contest, so now he was expected to aid the magician and triumph again.<sup>1185</sup> Mentioning the names of previous famous magicians is designed to encourage the god/spirit to assume that the present magician has inherited their abilities, and therefore ought to be obeyed.<sup>1186</sup>

In this context, it is worth mentioning that in a number of spells the name of 'Jesus' is recalled (as he had a considerable reputation as an exorcist and commander of demons). In one episode a magician uses his name as a spirit-cowering credential as well as that of Paul, one of his disciples, who had also developed magical abilities. The spirit states categorically that it recognised the power of the name 'Jesus' and comprehended that of 'Paul,' but refused to cooperate with the exorcist, as it did not recognise his power:

God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were brought to the sick, their diseases left them, and the evil spirits came out of them. Then some itinerant Jewish exorcists tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had [been possessed by] evil spirits, saying, 'I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul proclaims.' Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this. But the evil spirit said to them in reply, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you? Then the man with the evil spirit leapt on them, mastered them all, and so overpowered them that they fled out of the house naked and wounded.<sup>1187</sup>

---

<sup>1184</sup> The only names missing from the specific copy of the *Key* analysed by Véronèse are Abba, Alla, Semiforas, and Usyon out of 39 possible divine names.

<sup>1185</sup> Brashear (1995), p. 3395.

<sup>1186</sup> Preisendanz in his *Überlieferungsgeschichte* 230.29, lists 30 such names of magicians including Pitys (or Bitys), Astrampsychos, Ostanes, and Zoroaster, all of which are found fulfilling this function in PGM.

<sup>1187</sup> Acts 19: 11-16. *New Revised Standard Version*.

At this point it appears that even the spirit, as well as the sons of the Jewish high priest, acknowledged Jesus' reputation and abilities as a magician, despite being less than competent themselves.

Justin Martyr makes it clear that some names work, and some names (predominantly human names such as St. Paul) do not:

But though you exorcise any demon in the name of any of those who were amongst you -- either kings, or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs -- it will not be subject to you. But if any of you exorcise it in [the name of] the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, it will perhaps be subject to you. Now assuredly your exorcists, I have said, make use of craft when they exorcise, even as the Gentiles do, and employ fumigations and incantations.<sup>1188</sup>

This method also occurs in the *Hygromanteia* where the magician, usually citing Biblical figures, adjures the spirit:

By commandment of the living God, by the purity of John the Baptist...<sup>1189</sup>

I conjure you by the faith of Abraham the Patriarch, by the service of Melchizedek the Just and by the order of Aaron.<sup>1190</sup>

Typical passages where the magician commemorates the actions of previous magicians in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and embeds them in a historiola, include references to the skills of Joseph and Moses:

I conjure ye by the most potent Name of EL ADONAI TZABAOTH, which is the God of Armies, ruling in the Heavens, which Joseph invoked, and was found worthy to escape from the hands of his Brethren. ...which Moses invoked, and he was found worthy to deliver the People [of] Israel from Egypt, and from the servitude of Pharaoh. ...which Moses invoked, and having struck the Sea, it divided into two parts in the midst, on the right hand and on the left. ...which Moses invoked and all the waters returned to their prior state and enveloped the Egyptians, so that not one of them escaped to carry the news into the Land of Mizraim.<sup>1191</sup>

Such commemoration of the actions of great magicians of the past continues to be part of grimoire magic to the present day.

### 5.5.5 License to Depart

The licence to depart is a key part of any magical rite, and one of the five stages of any Solomonic rite.<sup>1192</sup> The point of it is to dismiss the spirits that have been evoked, and to ensure that they do not harm the magician and his disciples when they leave the circle. There are many tales of what happens if the magician (or his disciples) steps over the boundary of the circle or leave before the spirits have retired to their own abode. A classical example of this is related in the *Autobiography* of Benvenuto Cellini in which he participates in a

---

<sup>1188</sup> Justin Martyr 85.3.

<sup>1189</sup> B2, f. 344v.

<sup>1190</sup> H, f. 29.

<sup>1191</sup> Mathers (1909), pp. 26-27. Book I, Chapter V.

<sup>1192</sup> *Consecratio, invocatio, evocatio, ligatio, licentia*.

Solomonic evocation in the Colosseum in Rome.<sup>1193</sup> The priest responsible for the ceremony only orders the burning of asafoetida at the end (to drive away the spirits) rather than properly licensing their dismissal. The result is that a number of the spirits accompany Cellini and his terrified skryer on their way home.<sup>1194</sup>

There are other techniques for banishing demons, some of them more concrete, for example those mentioned in the *Testament of Solomon* and *The Book of Tobit*, but procedures like the burning of catfish entrails are presumably used only in dire emergencies.<sup>1195</sup> One common denominator in all the dismissals is a bad smell, be it asafoetida, ape's dung or the burning fish entrails,<sup>1196</sup> accompanied with appropriate words. It makes a sort of sense that the gods and spirits rejoice in the burning of sweet smelling incense, and are by these encouraged to come, but cannot abide a bad stench.<sup>1197</sup>

Such dismissals are present from dynastic Egyptian, through the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis* to the later European grimoires.

Appearing amongst the *PDM*, the following method is obviously of ancient Egyptian provenance:

If you wish to send them all away:<sup>1198</sup> You should put ape's dung on the brazier. They all [will] go away to their place. And you should recite the spell for dismissing them also..."Go well, go in joy!"<sup>1199</sup>

Another Egyptian dismissal is expressed simply as a farewell:

*His dismissal: Formula:* "Farewell, farewell, the good oxherd, Anubis, Anubis, the son of a wolf and a dog, ..." Say [it] **seven** times.<sup>1200</sup>

The provision to say it seven times indicates the importance attached by the Egyptians to the dismissal.

The word commonly used in these texts for a dismissal of a god or a spirit when its services are no longer required was ἀπολύω. Bell, Nock and Thompson suggest that:

Possibly ἀπολύω here implies that the power addressed is fettered by the magician and released for a particular task as it were on ticket of leave...<sup>1201</sup>

---

<sup>1193</sup> It is possible that the Colosseum was chosen as a site to evoke spirits because of the large amount of blood known to have been spilled there. See also Kieckhefer (1997), pp. 186-189 for a more psychological viewpoint.

<sup>1194</sup> Symonds (1946), chapter LXIV.

<sup>1195</sup> *Tobit* 8: 2-3.

<sup>1196</sup> Fish were also thought to be impure in Egypt.

<sup>1197</sup> For this reason it seems likely that the prescription of sulphur as an invocatory incense for Saturday in the *Heptameron* is likely to be an error.

<sup>1198</sup> This applies to invoked gods, living men, spirits, drowned men, and dead men, as listed in the previous lines of the procedure.

<sup>1199</sup> *PDM* xiv. 85-86.

<sup>1200</sup> *PDM* xiv. 422-424.

<sup>1201</sup> Bell, Nock and Thompson (1931), pp. 261.

However the word ἀπολύω is used here in a very specific technical sense. It means “to set free or release from the bonds” that were imposed on the spirit by the previous part of the ceremony (the *ligatio*). The *Licentia* follows on immediately after the *Ligatio*.

Dismissing a god is more complex, and in the case of Kronos, the following formula is to be recited:

ANAE OCHETA THALAMNIA KĒRIDU KOIRAPSIA GENECHRONA SANĒLON STGARDĒS CHLEIDŌ PHRAINOLE PAIDOLIS IAEI, go away, master of the world, forefather [of the gods]; go to your own places in order that the universe be maintained. Be gracious to us, lord.”<sup>1202</sup>

A more polite form is:

*Dismissal:* “I give thanks to you because you came in accordance with the command of god. I request that you keep me healthy, free from terror and free from demonic attacks, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHE ADONAI. Return to your holy places.”<sup>1203</sup>

This is almost exactly the wording of one 17th century European grimoire dismissal (see below).

Another dismissal at the end of a lamp skrying ceremony, begins by changing the hand in which the wand is held by the magician, and concludes with the usual request not to harm the magician or his assistant(s):

And after the enquiry, if you wish to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff [wand], which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel, which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:

Be gracious unto me, O primal god,  
O elder-born, self-generating god.  
I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;  
I adjure your power which is greatest over all;  
I adjure him who destroys even in Hades,  
That you depart, returning to your ship,<sup>1204</sup>  
And harm me not, but be forever kind.<sup>1205</sup>

A dismissal of Sarapis at the end of one skrying operation also includes the boy skryer:

Go, lord, to your own world and to your own thrones, to your own vaults, and keep me and this boy from harm, in the name of the highest god, SAMAS PHRĒTH.<sup>1206</sup>

After the successful invocation of the daimon the Headless One, the magician is instructed to release this daimon and dismiss him in an honourable fashion:

After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove’s blood round about, make a burnt offering of myrrh, and say, “Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIRŌCH KIMNOIE EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU SARBOENDOBAIACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off, lord, to your seats, to your place, leaving me strength and the right of audience with you.”

---

<sup>1202</sup> PGM IV. 3120-3124.

<sup>1203</sup> PGM LXII. 36-41.

<sup>1204</sup> The ship that ferries Ra (Phre) across the sky and through the Underworld.

<sup>1205</sup> PGM I. 334-347. Poetic contractions in the translation text, like ‘e'en’ for ‘even,’ have been expanded.

<sup>1206</sup> Shamash Ra, the sun god. PGM V. 41-49.

The burning of myrrh at the dismissal seems contrary to the instructions of later grimoires who advise dismissing the demons with a bad smell like asafoetida, but the request for continued “right of audience” is certainly consistent with such texts.

One rite which was erroneously described as a “charm,”<sup>1207</sup> is in fact Solomon’s invocation to be said into a skryer’s ear in order to put him into a trance. It ends with a classic dismissal:

*Dismissal of the lord:* into the ear of NN [the skryer]: “ANANAK ARBEOUĒRI AEĒIOYŌ.” If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin while saying: “ANANAK ŌRBEOUSIRI AEĒIOYŌ, go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN [the skryer], from all evil.”<sup>1208</sup>

A simpler dismissal simply orders:

*Dismissal.* Say: “Go away, Anubis, to your own thrones, for my health and well-being.”<sup>1209</sup>

The Graeco-Egyptian magicians saw their gods as very palpable,<sup>1210</sup> and so the Licence to Depart is also done in a very physical manner:

*Dismissal:* close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding,<sup>1211</sup> lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his [the god’s] toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: “I give thanks to you lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my lifetime.”<sup>1212</sup>

*Dismissal of the brightness:*<sup>1213</sup> “CHŌŌ CHŌŌ ŌCHŌŌCH,<sup>1214</sup> holy brightness.” In order that the brightness [of the god’s appearance] also go away: “Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAŌNA.” Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself with Coptic kohl;<sup>1215</sup> smear yourself by means of a golden probe.<sup>1216</sup>

In this instance, the magician is instructed very specifically to restrain the god by standing on his foot, only releasing him by raising his own foot:

*Charm to retain the god [Holding fast to the god]:*<sup>1217</sup> when he [the god]<sup>1218</sup> comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not go away unless you raise your heel from his toe and at the same time say the dismissal.<sup>1219</sup>

---

<sup>1207</sup> The Greek Σολομώντος κατάπτωσις, and the German *Salomon's Niederfallen* both indicate “Solomon’s fall” rather than “charm.” The precise meaning is “Solomon’s [invocation] that [induces the skryer] to fall.” This interpretation is confirmed by lines 910-911. Suddenly falling into trance literally floors the skryer.

<sup>1208</sup> PGM IV. 917-921.

<sup>1209</sup> PGM VII. 319-334.

<sup>1210</sup> Although I have already instanced this passage as an example of the palpability of Egyptian gods, it is here used also as an example of the Licence to Depart.

<sup>1211</sup> Inscribed with ‘3663,’ Bainchōōch’s isopsephic number, derived by adding together the numeric equivalents of the letters in his name.

<sup>1212</sup> And by implication, to come when I call.

<sup>1213</sup> ‘Brightness’ should be understood as the ray of light from the sun god, rather than just light.

<sup>1214</sup> Corresponds to “depart, depart, O darkness,” in other words ‘Bainchōōch depart.’

<sup>1215</sup> Powdered antimony or stibnite.

<sup>1216</sup> PGM IV. 1057-1070.

<sup>1217</sup> This is not a (physical) charm. Κάτοχος τοῦ θεοῦ simply means holding fast to the god, in a very literal sense.

<sup>1218</sup> Probably Bainchōōch.

<sup>1219</sup> PGM IV. 1052-1057.

The licence to depart is present in the *Hygromanteia*, but not in all versions. For example H just concludes the operation without any mention of it. B however gives a detailed 'reverse evocation.' A secondary benefit of the Licence to Depart, apart from the safety of the magician and his disciples, is to impress upon the spirits their obligation to come again when called. A number of conjurations in the *Hygromanteia* finish with a long or short 'Licence to Depart,' which is sometimes added to the giving of thanks to the spirits, the idea being not just to maintain cordial relations, but to make it easier to call them again next time. Version B ends its evocatory section with:

And after they will do what you want, give thanks to them, and say: "In the names you heard, do not harm me or my apprentice, but go in peace." And recite this conjuration or dismissal "I order you and I conjure you by the Cherubim, by the Seraphim and by the nine orders of the holy angels; by Barakhiēl, Pimēlaēl, Iekaēl, Iastaēl, Ourieil; by the Archangels, Angels, Powers, Principalities, full of eyes, and Dominions; the archangel Lakhhibiēl, by the archangel Azakiēl and in the terrible names you have heard, do not cause me any harm when I am either asleep or awake, do not cause any harm to my apprentice, but go in peace. And when I need you again, come eagerly and quickly."<sup>1220</sup>

The dismissal of the spirits in both the *Hygromanteia* and the later grimoires is usually expressed as a 'licence,' that is permission, rather than a banishing. Having conjured, threatened, and bound the spirit successfully; it would have seemed rather rude for the magician to summarily banish it. At the end of the proceedings the Licence to Depart is formally read, and, if the previous stages have been successfully completed without error, the spirit(s) should depart swiftly without any difficulty.

The License to Depart in the *Key of Solomon* is traditionally very short and relies upon the assumed eagerness of the spirits to return to their abode:

In the Name of ADONAI, the Eternal and Everlasting One, let each of you return unto his place; be there peace between us and you, and be ye ready to come when ye are called...

By virtue of these Pentacles, and because ye have been obedient, and have obeyed the commandments of the Creator, feel and inhale this grateful odour, and afterwards depart ye unto your abodes and retreats; be there peace between us and you; be ye every ready to come when ye shall be cited and called; and may the blessing of God, as far as ye are capable of receiving it, be upon you, provided ye be obedient and prompt to come unto us without solemn rites and observances on our part.<sup>1221</sup>

---

<sup>1220</sup> B, f. 30.

<sup>1221</sup> Mathers (1909), pp. 41, 43. The Licence to Depart is more traditional than the more laboured Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram which has only become popular since the late 19th century Golden Dawn.

## 6. The Commonality and Transmission of Equipment between the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*

Mention of specific items of magical equipment is dispersed throughout the *PGM*, mostly at the end of each rite amongst the instructions for making phylacteries, inks, and incenses applicable to the particular operation. However, in the *Hygromanteia*, the details of manufacturing the necessary equipment are grouped together contiguously in Part III (chapters 14-29). This tradition is also followed in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and later grimoires where the manufacture and consecration of garments, wands, daggers, swords and skrying stones is laid out in some considerable detail in the same section.

In 1896 a Twelfth Dynasty<sup>1222</sup> tomb near the Ramesseum at Thebes, excavated by Quibell, was identified as the tomb of a magician-priest by the nature of the papyri found therein,<sup>1223</sup> all of which related to magic or magico-medicine.<sup>1224</sup> Buried in the tomb were the usual types of tomb furnishings including two sorts of *ushabtis*, the magical servants often buried with the dead in Egypt. One sort was made of green faience and the other of unbaked clay painted yellow. There were also figures of the four sons of Horus, Mesti, Duamutef, Hapi and Qebesenef, who usually stood guard over the internal organs of the deceased. However, in this tomb, these were different inasmuch as they were made of wax, not stone or pottery. Wax figures feature in magic from ancient through to modern times, but are unusual in the context of tomb organ guardians.

Inside the tomb was a wooden box measuring about 18" x 12" x 12" covered with white plaster slip upon which was painted a black ink image of Anubis (who features in many spells in the *PGM*, and who might be considered one of the magician's special gods). The contents of the magician's box were as follows:

1. Fragments of 23 papyri which included magical spells, magico-medical treatises, and the *Discourses of Sisobek*.
2. Four broken boomerang-shaped ivory wands on which were carved a series of real and mythical animals. Wands have always been associated with magic, but only Egyptian wands were of this shape.
3. Four deformed female dolls, two made from wood, and one from limestone, two missing their lower legs.<sup>1225</sup> These would have been used in the same way that wax or clay dolls have been used by magicians ever since (see chapter 6.12).

---

<sup>1222</sup> Roughly 2000-1800 BCE.

<sup>1223</sup> Most of the magical papyri of the *PGM* also came from tombs in the Thebes area.

<sup>1224</sup> Quibell (1898).

<sup>1225</sup> All probably used as fith-faths, or magical dolls.

4. A bronze uraeus crown tangled with a ball of hair (probably belonging to the magician). This crown was worn by the magician when identifying himself with one of the gods, or a famous magician or king of the past, in order to impress the daimones, in the same way that later European grimoire magicians wore parchment crowns for the same purpose.
5. Seeds from the *dom* or *doum* palm.<sup>1226</sup> These seeds may have been used for divination, just as they are in Ifa divination in sub-Saharan Africa, and in North African geomancy.<sup>1227</sup>
6. A statue of Bestet, a goddess of magicians, holding a snake in each hand.
7. An ivory herdsman carrying a calf, an Hermaic image.
8. A bundle of reed pens, for writing amulets.
9. Sundry amulets, beads and other minor utensils.<sup>1228</sup>

Graeco-Egyptian practitioners and later magicians who owned and used the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis* have all had need of a collection of equipment which is often stored in a chest or locked box. One version of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, dating from 1796, makes the following provision for such a box, with almost exactly the same dimensions, as if nothing had changed in almost four thousand years:

It is very important to have a small casket of olive or hazel wood, a foot and a half<sup>1229</sup> in length and the height and width proportional to the length. You can use another wood, if you like, with no reservations, provided that it is new, lined with a piece of new white cloth and fitted with a little lock. You should fill it with the following items in the sequence given.

An alb or long robe made of new white linen.

A cap, stockings and underwear made of the same material.

Light leather shoes and white gloves.

All of these minor pieces of equipment are used only in the important Operations.

You should also have a writing case in the shape of a small square box, which has been supplied with a few crow's feathers suitable for writing. You should also have a white handled knife, a bradawl of finely tempered steel, sharp and in the shape of a chisel, a pair of good bird's [feathers]; a white ceramic inkwell filled with ink and with a new collar. Another small box to hold your smaller paraphernalia; a clean flint lighter to light the fire with, along with a candle made of virgin white wax. You will also have in the same casket a phial made of strong glass, filled with purified water, that is to say, water prepared with the ceremonies used for water blessed on the eve of Easter. In addition, you should have three knives in the casket, one of which should be sharp and with a white handle, another whose point should be in the shape of ancient cutlasses, with a black handle, and one whose point should be in the shape of a sickle, also with a black handle.

---

<sup>1226</sup> A tree that grew in Nubia and Egypt in ancient times.

<sup>1227</sup> For details of seed use in Ifa divination see Skinner (1980, expanded in 2011), chapter 3. Even the Latin name of this plant is suggestive of the area around Thebes: *hyphaene thebaica*.

<sup>1228</sup> See Brier (1980), pp. 46-50 for the full description. See also Ritner (2008), p. 223.

<sup>1229</sup> In the French text a 'pied.'

Moreover, you should have a some compass dividers<sup>1230</sup> of a decent size, a staff of hazel wood an inch thick in diameter and the same length as the casket and finally a small wand made of the same wood and more or less of the same length.

In addition, a small [water] sprinkler<sup>1231</sup> made of a young white foal's hair.

You should also have some small packets of incense appropriate for each of the seven Planets in your casket, to be used at the appropriate time and place.

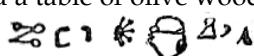
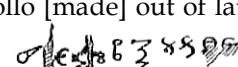
In addition, you should have a thurible made of earth or of some other material with new charcoal to make a fire with during your important Operations, to be used for censing and suffumigations. Also a small ball of new thread in order to help draw the bigger circles with accuracy, when you are required to make them on the ground or on the floor during the Great Operations. This is all that you need for working the Great Art of the Mystical Cabalah!<sup>1232</sup>

This passage sums up most of the magical equipment used in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, except for the Table of Evocation, but shows how the equipment of the magician had changed over the course of 3600 years.

## 6.1 Table of Evocation

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

The ancestor of the Table of Evocation can be seen in this passage from the PGM:

*The preparation for the operation:* For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:  Cover the tripod with clean linen, and place a censer on the tripod. It is advantageous to place on the table a [hollow figurine] of Apollo [made] out of laurel wood. Engrave [on a lamella] of gold, of silver, or of tin these characters: . Place the lamella under the censer, near the wooden image, which was set up [at the same time as the] censer, and place [next to] the tripod a beaker or a shell containing [pure] water. In the centre of the shrine, surrounding the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character...<sup>1233</sup> It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod] must be covered. [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel, which [is] on the head... [before the] invocation, sacrifice laurel to him [Apollo]...<sup>1234</sup>

Note that olive or laurel wood is used, just as it is in the French grimoire of 1796 quoted above. These tables of laurel or olive wood are often inscribed with specific characters, foreshadowing the elaborate table in SSM and Dee's 16th century 'Table of Practice.'

The small table upon which offerings were made to the gods, the *τράπεζα* or *τραπέζια*, *trapezia* is sometimes mentioned alongside the *iynx* in the context of Classical Greek magic, and it may have been one ancestor of the Table of Evocation.

<sup>1230</sup> For marking out circles when drawing talismans.

<sup>1231</sup> *Aspergillum*.

<sup>1232</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 17-18. (This manuscript is paginated rather than foliated).

<sup>1233</sup> Missing in Preisendanz (1928), p. 44.

<sup>1234</sup> PGM III. 282-409. The characters are a mixture of Celestial script and Egyptian symbols.

The invocation to “the black demon” Mortzē<sup>1235</sup> in chapter 46 of the *Hygromanteia* is interesting for it also shows such a Table.<sup>1236</sup>



Figure 45: The Table of Evocation (1440) used to summon the black demon Mortzē.<sup>1237</sup>

It uses a Table of Evocation, with a canopy like a baldachin erected over the Table,<sup>1238</sup> and a protective circle drawn around it with the black-handled knife. When the demon arrives, the magician is instructed to stab the Table of Evocation with the black-handled knife as a way of pinning it down while the magician questions it. The demon then cannot be released till the knife is removed from the Table.

The special interest of this particular piece of equipment lies in the transfer of the protective circle from the floor to the Table of Evocation. The illustration shows a typical magician’s

<sup>1235</sup> It is possible that ‘Mortzē’ is code for a human ghost, rather than a demon as the text addresses it as “Mortzē, or human ghost, or haunting of this place.” The name is spelled in various ways. See B2, f. 346.

<sup>1236</sup> B2, f. 346.

<sup>1237</sup> B2, f. 346.

<sup>1238</sup> See Figure 45.

altar top, with two candles, with the black-handled knife stabbed into a small circle inscribed in the middle. The table also contains two incense burners with handles and food offerings for the spirit, including peeled fruits placed on a new tablecloth between two lit candles. The practice of feeding the spirits is explored elsewhere (chapter 5.1).

The *Summa Sacre Magice*, a 14th century collection of Solomonic grimoires, has an even more elaborate Table of Invocation.

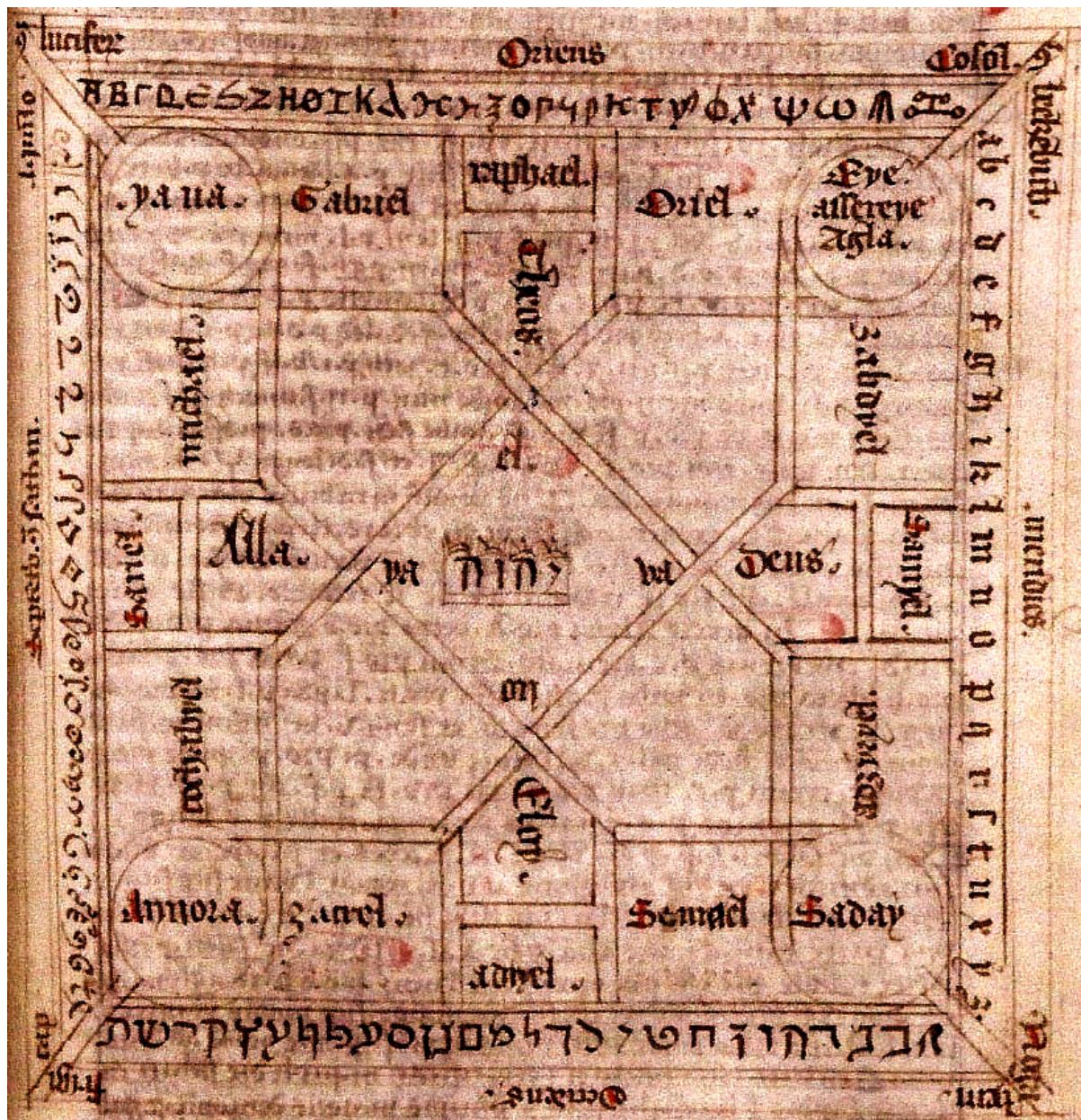


Figure 46: Table of Evocation (1346) in the *Summa Sacre Magice*.<sup>1239</sup> Note the four directions: "occidens, oriens, meridies, septent[ri]o," with west at the bottom of the page. Also note the names of major demons around the border (Lucifer, Beelzebub, Satan, etc), and four complete alphabets written slightly erratically around the second border.

The Table of Evocation in the *SSM* is dominated by יְהֹוָה at the centre, with four names of god: Alla[h], Eloy, Deus and Theos in Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and Greek, representing the

<sup>1239</sup> *Summa Sacre Magice*, f. 38.

four sources of the magic embodied in this Table. The border contains the full alphabet of each of those four languages, possibly so the Table can be used to spell out words in any of those languages. At the corners in circles are further god names (Saday, Eye, Assereye, Agla, yaua [yhvh], Annora), each flanked by two angel names.

This Table seems highly likely to have been the model for Dee's Table of Evocation, especially as it is known that he owned this manuscript before trading it in 1586 with the Landgrave of Hesse for a carriage and a set of 'fine Hungarian horses.' Dee's 'Table of Practice' or 'Holy Table' (Figure 47) was used to support the crystal used in skrying, but it is still essentially the same piece of equipment. The Table was also equipped for planetary evocation,<sup>1240</sup> and on a number of occasions spirits arrived in response to invocations rather than angels. Dee's changes to the SSM design included placing seven planetary talismans around the central square, and replacing the alphabetical border with Enochian characters, as shown in Figure 47.

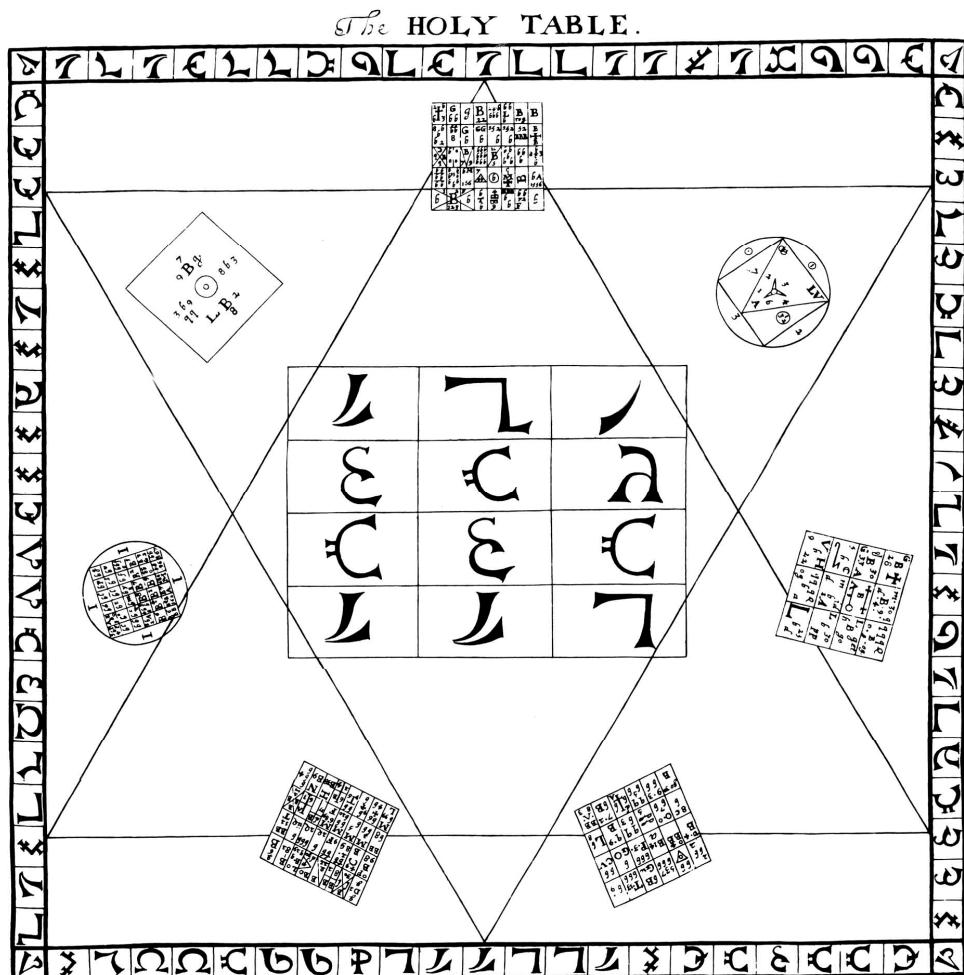


Figure 47: Dr John Dee's Table of Evocation or Table of Practice (1583) as it appears in Casaubon's *True & Faithful Relation...*<sup>1241</sup> Note that the engraving done for Casaubon inexplicably reverses the figures (as if it had been done from a reversed rubbing of the original Table).

<sup>1240</sup> Seven.

<sup>1241</sup> See Casaubon (2011), p. 90, Figure 10.

Despite the fact that this Table of Evocation is often treated as if it was exclusively Dee's invention, and part of a supposedly separate Enochian tradition, in fact it is part of the continued development of learned Solomonic ritual angel magic.

In the 19th century Frederick Hockley also used a Table of Evocation for his skrying experiments, but there does not appear to be an easily discoverable picture of his table.

A modern example of Dee's Table of Practice carved in marble is shown in Figure 48.<sup>1242</sup>

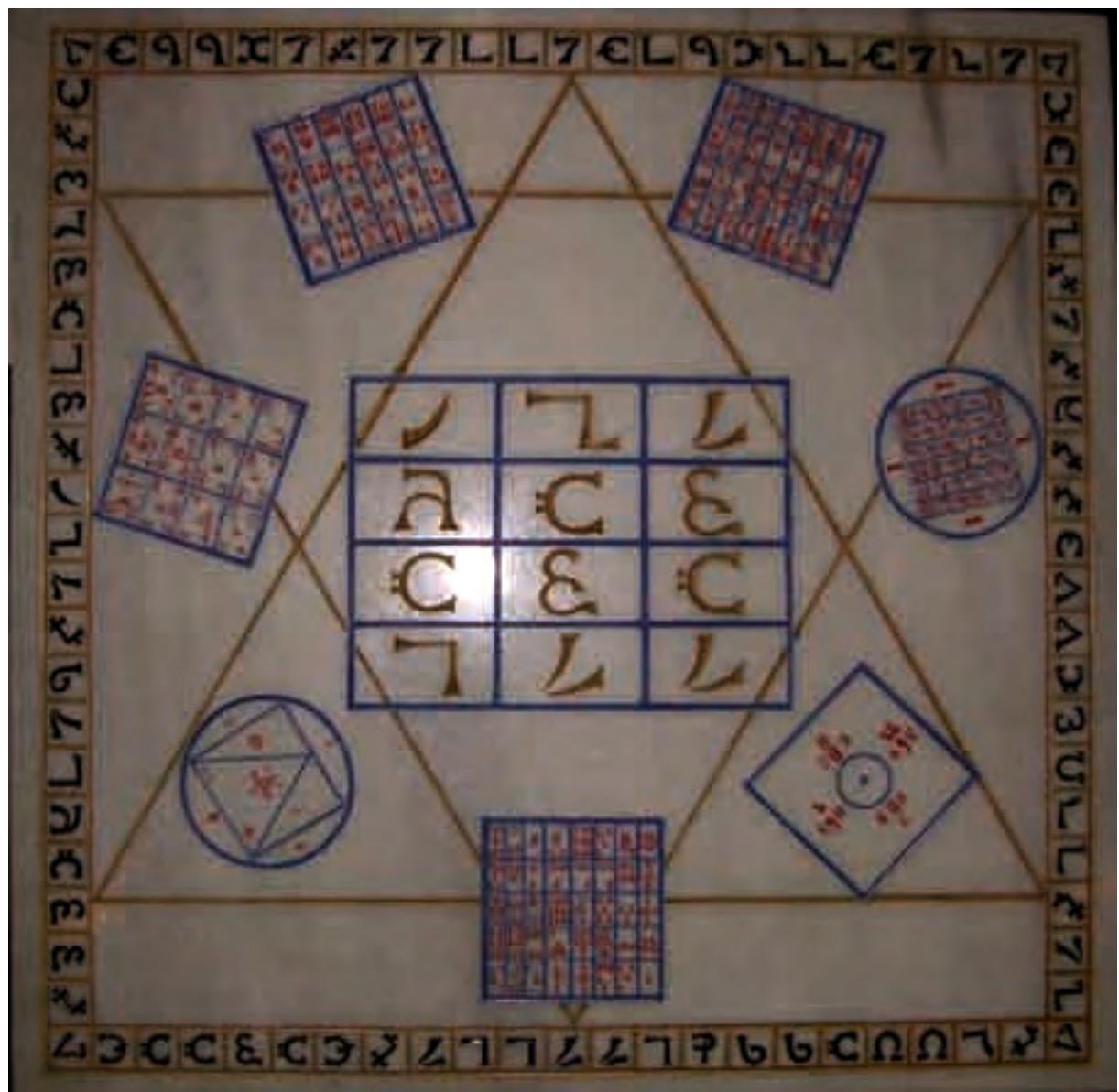


Figure 48: A 20th century Table of Practice carved in marble.<sup>1243</sup> This copy appears with the characters correctly displayed, rather than reversed as in Figure 47.

<sup>1242</sup> There used to be a similar table cut in marble or alabaster in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, but it is now many years since it was actually on display.

<sup>1243</sup> Private collection.

## 6.2 Wand

### *Ancient Egypt*

According to Geraldine Pinch:

Staffs of various kinds were standard symbols of office in Ancient Egypt, so magicians who wished to command demons and spirits naturally used them too. In the *Book of Exodus*, Pharaoh's magicians and the Hebrew leader Aaron are all able to turn their staffs into live snakes but Aaron's snake is said to have overcome and swallowed the others.<sup>1244</sup>

When exiting Egypt, Moses used a rod or wand to part the Red Sea. A magician's wand in the form of an elongated bronze cobra<sup>1245</sup> survived in a 16th century BCE tomb in Thebes. This is almost certainly the type of wand used by Aaron and Pharaoh's magicians. The use of magician's snake wands therefore has a very long history. The use of a snake as a wand correlates with the use of the snake as an ouroboros to form the protective circle.

A different variety of ancient Egyptian ivory wands was shaped like curved throwing sticks. They are often found broken and carefully mended, and may therefore have been actually thrown as part of a rite. Other rods, which may have been used as wands were made of glazed steatite, heavily decorated with attached images of crocodiles, lions, turtles, frogs, etc.

The earliest Greek references to the wand probably occur in connection with Hermes who was characterised as the "god with the golden wand."<sup>1246</sup>

There are references in the *PDM* Supplement to the use of an iron staff by Anubis, which may have also been some kind of wand. In later grimoires, iron has always been something that spirits feared, which is part of the rationale behind the magician threatening the spirit with an iron sword. An iron spear was used by Seth against the serpent Apes, and perhaps its rarity contributed to its reputed ability to defeat evil.<sup>1247</sup> The *PDM* passage instructs Anubis to "Give your iron staff which is in your hand to the spirit!"<sup>1248</sup> The passage continues with Anubis being instructed to send the spirit to the person the magician is trying to influence:

Let him go to NN, whom NN bore. Let him stand before the image of the god who is great in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he [the spirit] seeking after him [NN]. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN so that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart.<sup>1249</sup>

---

<sup>1244</sup> Pinch (2006), p. 78.

<sup>1245</sup> Probably representing Weret Hekau, literally 'Great of Magic' was a cobra goddess on whose form the wands have been modeled.

<sup>1246</sup> *Odyssey*, X. 27. Circe's wand, or *rhabdos*, is also mentioned in *Odyssey*, X. 20. The same word is applied to Hermes' wand. Rhabdos was later personified as a demon in the *Testament of Solomon*.

<sup>1247</sup> Iron was rare in ancient Egypt and until the first millennium BCE only imported or meteoric iron was available there.

<sup>1248</sup> *PDM* Supplement 105.

<sup>1249</sup> *PDM* Supplement 101-116.

This is a classic piece of magic, a theme repeated in many guises in later grimoires. Here the magician sends a “breathing spirit,” in other words a living spirit, to enter NN’s dreams and thereby influence his actions. The point of sending the spirit disguised as the god that NN most venerates (“the god who is great in his heart”), is to get NN to believe whatever it is the spirit says to him, which will have been of the magician’s devising.

The Graeco-Egyptian wand was more often made of ebony. In one lamp skrying which incorporates an invocation of Apollo, the magician is instructed to:

Hold an ebony staff in your left hand...<sup>1250</sup>

There seems to have been a considerable significance attached to the hand in which the wand was held. In another invocation designed to obtain answers and revelations either during the epiphany or afterwards in lucid dreams, the ebony wand was held in the left hand whilst the right hand held a sprig of laurel (sacred to Apollo).<sup>1251</sup>

Other things were used by the Greeks for wands, for example, in a Classical invocation of Apollo, the wand to be held in the right hand was the seven-leaved sprig of laurel.<sup>1252</sup> This was used to summon both heavenly and chthonic deities. The seven characters to be written on the wand were the “seven characters for deliverance.”

This rite highly praises the qualities of this wand which also acts as a phylactery in this case:

For this is the body’s greatest protective charm [phylactery],<sup>1253</sup> by which all [daimones] are made subject, and seas and rocks tremble, and daimons [avoid] the characters’ magical powers which you are about to have. For it is the greatest protective charm [phylactery] for the rite, so that you fear nothing.<sup>1254</sup>

A magician’s wand is seldom mentioned in the *PGM*, far less illustrated. An exception occurs in an illustration which shows a drawing of a man with a loin cloth (but described as naked in the rite) holding a knife or sword. The figure also wears a crown and in his left hand he carries a wand. The interesting thing about this wand is that it resembles a plant, possibly a laurel or bulrush stem with a single leaf.

The wand does not appear to feature in the *Hygromanteia*. The wand itself, whilst still being a strong element in popular magical culture (think Disney), became even less important in the later grimoires.

---

<sup>1250</sup> *PGM* I. 279.

<sup>1251</sup> *PGM* I. 334-341.

<sup>1252</sup> *PGM* I. 262. The laurel was used to make the crown that was placed on the head of the victor in the Apollonian/Olympic games, and so by implication, conferred high status upon the magician.

<sup>1253</sup> φυλακτήριον.

<sup>1254</sup> *PGM* I. 274-276.



Figure 49: Graeco-Egyptian magician wearing a crown and holding a sword and wand.<sup>1255</sup>

The wand, or *baton* as it is called in some French manuscripts, is illustrated and specified in a number of manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* (see Figure 53), where it is specified that:

The wand should be made of hazel wood collected when the Sun is in Gemini, during the hour and day of Saturn and during a waxing Moon. You should fast for three days before going to the place, where you will cut it and write or engrave these [corrupted] Hebrew letters on both ends...and when you are not using it you will wrap it in a cloth of silk or new black wool. The length must be two feet exactly and you should not talk to anyone at all during the day in which you will cut it.<sup>1256</sup>

Or alternatively:

The Staff [*baguette*] and the Wand [*bâton*] must be [made] from wood of the Hazelnut tree of one year's growth, and cut with one single stroke on the Day and Hour of Mercury and the following characters should be written upon it with the pen and ink of the Art.<sup>1257</sup>

Beyond the grimoire tradition, Mathers and Westcott designed a series of wands for the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn which echo Egyptian themes.



Figure 50: 20th century Golden Dawn wands showing Egyptian motifs.<sup>1258</sup> These have commonality with Egyptian motifs (winged disk with serpents and jackal head), Jewish tradition (hexagram) and lotus wand. However this commonality is 'researched' as a result of the renaissance in magic brought about by the founders of the Golden Dawn, and it is therefore not direct transmission.

<sup>1255</sup> PGM VIII. 110.

<sup>1256</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 284, translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 262.

<sup>1257</sup> Wellcome MS 4669, p. 62, translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 345.

<sup>1258</sup> Private collection.

### 6.3 Sword

The iron sword has been used from time immemorial to threaten spirits. The oldest reference to using a sword to exorcise or threaten spirits comes from a Babylonian tablet which reads:

5. When I perform [the Incantation]<sup>1259</sup> of Eridu,  
When I perform the Incantation...  
May a kindly Guardian stand at my side.
10. By Ningirsu, master of the sword, mayest thou be exorcised!  
Evil Spirit, evil Demon, evil ghost, mayest thou be exorcised.<sup>1260</sup>

Theophrastus wrote in *Enquiry into Plants*<sup>1261</sup> in the 4th century BCE that before picking a mandrake it was usual to draw three circles around it with an iron sword. It is not clear at what point the practice of using an iron sword to draw three circles round the magician before evoking was introduced. This does not necessarily seem to have been practised in Egypt, although absence of such a description does not necessarily mean absence of the practice.

The theory behind this is that spirits do not like iron, and an iron sword brandished in their direction is something to be feared, as it can reputedly damage them.<sup>1262</sup> Many more Latin grimoires mention a sword than those that mention a wand.

There are no explicit mentions of the use of a sword to constrain the spirits in the *PGM*, although one rite to secure love is entitled the 'Sword of Dardanos.' Dardanos was the founder of the Mysteries of Samothrace, and so may have been accounted a magician. The 'sword' is later revealed to be a list of angel names to invoke, rather than a physical sword:

Monas<sup>1263</sup> THOURIËL MICHAËL GABRIËL OURIËL MISAËL IRRAËL ISTRAËL.<sup>1264</sup>

The usage therefore echoes that of the Jewish grimoire, the *Sword of Moses*, where the sword is also a list of angel and god names. Speculatively, this list of names may have been those originally engraved on an actual physical sword. If so then it seems more likely that the use of a physical sword sprang from a different tradition, perhaps as old as Mesopotamia, that valued sharp iron as a direct threat to the spirits.

In several manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, it is recommended that the all important black-handled knife is to be made from an old sword, preferably one that has "brought death," but

---

<sup>1259</sup> Thompson's interpolation.

<sup>1260</sup> Thompson (1903), p. 3, Third tablet.

<sup>1261</sup> Hort (1916).

<sup>1262</sup> Early Byzantine amulets (circa 5th century) featuring Solomon as the master of demons, or the rider-saint, were often made of haematite, a form of iron oxide, and therefore inimical to spirits. One of the three 'helpers' who rout demons in an early Aramaic formula is called *sideros* (Greek for 'iron'). See Spier (1993), pp. 35-36.

<sup>1263</sup> O'Neil in Betz translates this as 'One,' when it obviously has the technical meaning of the Unity as the prime mover of creation rather than a simple ordinal number.

<sup>1264</sup> PGM IV. 1815.

apart from that requirement, a sword is not part of the equipment mentioned by the *Hygromanteia*.

In the Latin grimoires, the iron sword was considered such an important item of magical equipment that some grimoires went to the lengths of suggesting that the magician forged his own sword.<sup>1265</sup> The procedure was:

Thou shalt therefore take a new Sword which thou shalt clean and polish on the day of Mercury, and at the first or fifteenth hour [of Mercury], and after this thou shalt write on one side these Divine Names in Hebrew...sprinkle and cense it and repeat over it the following conjuration...<sup>1266</sup>

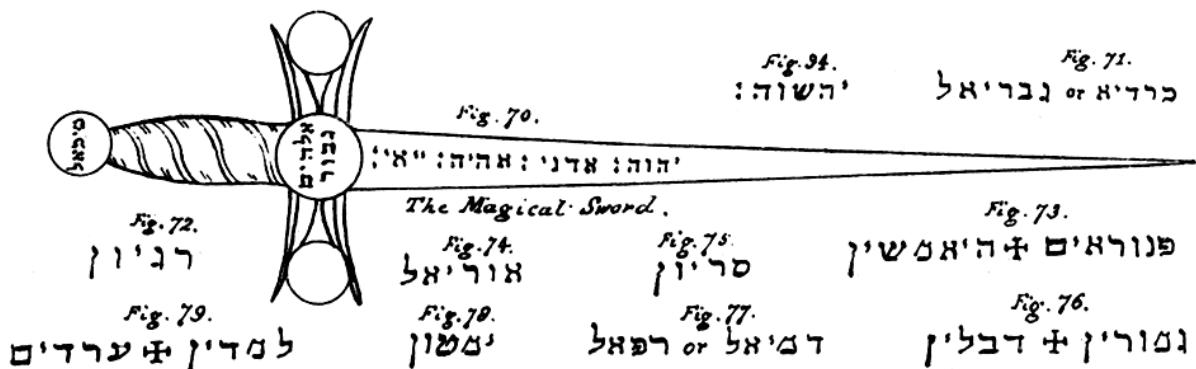


Figure 51: The magician's Magical Sword of Art in the *Key of Solomon*.<sup>1267</sup> The subsidiary Figs. shown in this illustration are the Hebrew inscriptions to be engraved on the swords of the magician's assistants.

A French manuscript gives slightly different instructions:

We also make use of Swords in the Magical Arts. It is good to have one of them, which you will polish on the Day and hour of Jupiter. Then you will engrave on the blade these Divine Names on one side: Jehoha (*sic*), Adonay, Eheye and on the other side, Elohim Gibor and then you will have attached a hilt made of ivory, which you will perfume, saying:

"I conjure you, Sword, by these Names of Imabrok, Abrac, Abracad[ab]ra, so that you will give me strength in all of my Workings, to stand firm against all my enemies, visible and invisible." This being said, you will place it in a silk cloth with the other instruments to be used when the occasion needs it.<sup>1268</sup>

See Figure 53 which shows the range of swords prescribed by this grimoire. Another version suggests that:

You should have a knife [sword] made of steel, three foot long and whose handle is made of crystal, marked with the symbols as shown below,<sup>1269</sup> written in the light of the Full Moon and with human blood. You should hold it in your left hand and when you have entered into the Circle, awaiting the arrival of the Spirits.<sup>1270</sup>

When it is desired to coerce the spirits the magician is to say:

<sup>1265</sup> For example in Lansdowne MS 1203.

<sup>1266</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 97.

<sup>1267</sup> Mathers (1909), Plates XIII & XIV.

<sup>1268</sup> Wellcome MS 4669, Art. 1, pp. 62-63, as translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 345.

<sup>1269</sup> A different set of corrupt *charakteres*.

<sup>1270</sup> Wellcome MS 4669, Art. 2, p. 97, as translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 389.

Behold your confusion, behold my Sword, be rebellious no more, but be obedient.<sup>1271</sup>

In this particular version the sword is also used to sacrifice the kid goat in order to make the virgin parchment. Several grimoires recommend that not only the magician but also his assistants carry a sword into the circle. This is illustrated by Reginald Scot in Figure 52.

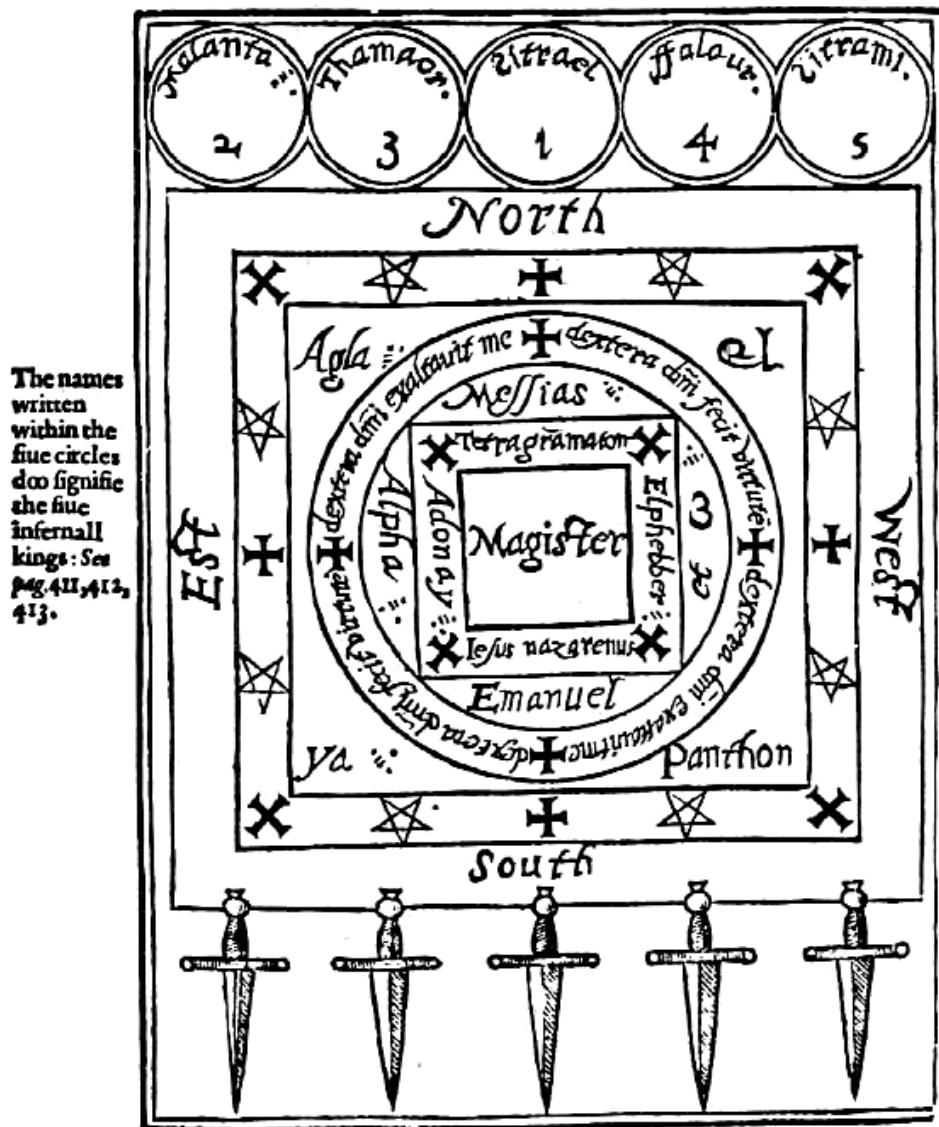


Figure 52: An evocatory circle showing five swords and (in the circles at the top) the five Infernal Kings of the North.<sup>1272</sup>

#### 6.4 Dagger or Black-handled Knife

As some of the oldest references to the use of a black-handled knife in magic or divination come from Jewish sources, and as the goat was seen by the same culture as a scapegoat used to take away sins, it is possible that the tradition of a black-handled knife comes originally from Hebraic sources but later filtered through into Greek practice.

<sup>1271</sup> *Ibid*, p. 103.

<sup>1272</sup> Scot (1584), Book 15, pp. 411-414.

Trachtenberg<sup>1273</sup> mentions that Rashi,<sup>1274</sup> in the 11th century, while describing an operation of *onykhomanteia* (thumbnail skrying), states that a black-handled knife is required for invoking the spirits called the ‘princes of the thumbnail.’<sup>1275</sup>

He who is particular about the vessel (by means of which he divines), that he cannot do anything without the vessel that is required for that thing, as, for instance, the “princes of the thumb,” for which they require a knife, the handle of which is black, or the “princes of the cup,” that they require a cup of glass.<sup>1276</sup>

Three manuscripts in Gaster’s collection,<sup>1277</sup> dating from the 16th to the 18th centuries, mention the use of the black-handled knife to control the spirit during an evocatory skrying session.<sup>1278</sup>

In the 16th/17th century Hebrew manuscript concerned with fingernail skrying, the circle around the skryer is also made with the black-handled knife:

Take a young lad and make a circle in the earth with a knife, the handle of which is black... and take four smooth stones and put (them) in the four rows of the circle, and put the mentioned knife in the middle of the circle...<sup>1279</sup>

The black-handled knife is not specifically mentioned in the *PGM*, therefore it seems likely that this instrument entered Byzantine grimoires directly from Jewish sources rather than via Egyptian sources.<sup>1280</sup>

Chapter 19 of the *Hygromanteia* is concerned with the black-handled knife.<sup>1281</sup> This tool is used by the magician in the manufacture of a number of other tools, such as cutting the wand, trimming the writing instrument (quill or reed), or cutting the throat of the animal that later provides both blood and parchment,<sup>1282</sup> but its most important function was for inscribing the protective circle. Although this was usually drawn in chalk or painted on the ground, a number of authorities state that its retracement by the consecrated knife or sword was what made it most effective in keeping the spirits out of the circle. The knife is also used in a number of the *manteia* chapters (47-58) of the *Hygromanteia* where it is used to ‘pin down’ the spirit by, for example, driving the knife into the earth or into the Table of Evocation, and only withdrawing it when it was desired to release the spirit. In this context its roots can also

---

<sup>1273</sup> Trachtenberg (2004), p. 308.

<sup>1274</sup> Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki.

<sup>1275</sup> *Sanhedrin* 67b.

<sup>1276</sup> Daiches (1913), p. 30.

<sup>1277</sup> Daiches MSS 54, f. 18, 22.

<sup>1278</sup> Trachtenberg (2004) mentions that references to this method of divination are to be found in: *Hochmat Ha-Nefesh*, 16d, 18a, 20c, 28d, 29a; *Ziyuni*, 10c; *Redak* on Ezekiel 21:26; *Nishmat Hayim*, III, 19.

<sup>1279</sup> Codex Gaster 315, translated in Daiches (1913), p. 15.

<sup>1280</sup> Of course absence of mention does not guarantee absence of this piece of equipment, which may have been present in the *PGM* tradition, but so taken for granted that it was not specifically mentioned.

<sup>1281</sup> Attested in H, A, B, P, G and no less than three times in B3.

<sup>1282</sup> The manufacture of parchment from the skin of slain animals was a regular and unremarkable occurrence, till the adoption of paper as a writing material.

be seen in traditional Greek folk magic, which can therefore be seen as a possible alternative contributory source to the *Hygromanteia*.

The blade of the knife was traditionally forged by the magician, but may instead have been made by a blacksmith, and forged from an older knife or sword that preferably had killed a man ("iron that has brought death"),<sup>1283</sup> although this latter requirement may just have been a romantic embellishment. The hilt was to be made from a black he-goat's horn.<sup>1284</sup> Most versions also specify that magical names have to be engraved (or less satisfactorily, etched) on the blade.<sup>1285</sup> Certain symbols were later introduced after the text was translated into Latin, and it is these symbols rather than the Greek *nomina magica* which have survived in the Latin manuscripts.

The black-handled magicians' knife, once consecrated can be used for drawing the protective circle, 'pining down' a spirit or its seal, as a support (stuck in the ground in the middle of the circle) for the *katoptromanteia* mirror. Its function of pinning down a ghost is well demonstrated in the *Hygromanteia* chapter on the conjuration of Mortzē as we have seen:

Do this [drawing of the circle] three times with the knife, around the table. And when you finish the three circles, thrust the knife into the table and recite the following:

"I nail you here, Mortzē, or haunting of this place."

And he will come to you at once. Then, ask whatever you want, and he will answer all your questions. And if you want to banish him, draw the knife out of the table, and he will go away from you.<sup>1286</sup>

As the knife (as well as the sword) is a weapon of iron, and therefore a correspondence of Mars, so the forging and engraving should be done on the day and the hour of Mars. Purity is enjoined upon both the operator and upon the subsequent use of the knife:

Do not cut anything with it, and let it be [kept] without a scabbard. Store it in a clean place. It is also necessary that the artisan remains pure until he finishes its construction. Use it only for its power and for nothing else.<sup>1287</sup>

The "Knife with the Black Hilt" and the "Knife with the White Hilt" are described and illustrated in Mathers' edition of the *Key of Solomon*:<sup>1288</sup>

The Knife with the white hilt...should be made in the day and hour of Mercury, when Mars is in the Sign of the Ram or of the Scorpion. It should be dipped in the blood of a gosling and in the juice of the pimpernel, the Moon being at her full or increasing in light. Dip therein also the white hilt, upon the which thou shalt have engraved the Characters shown. Afterwards perfume it with the perfumes of the Art.

<sup>1283</sup> H, f. 24v; A, f. 14v.

<sup>1284</sup> The use of an animal horn (specifically a goat's horn) to make the hilt appears to have been lost when the technique passed over into the Latin grimoires, where only the colour black was prescribed. P specifies a black she-goat's horn.

<sup>1285</sup> See A, B, G and B3. A specifies "Rhakhōr Rhadiamoēna Arōnē." G specifies "Rhakhōr Rhadia Konil Arōni Aphines," which is a banishment of impurities.

<sup>1286</sup> B2, f. 346.

<sup>1287</sup> H, ff. 24v-25.

<sup>1288</sup> Mathers (1909), Book II, Chapter VIII; Figures 61 and 62. AC Text-Family.

With this Knife thou mayest perform all the necessary Operations of the Art, except [inscribing] the Circles.<sup>1289</sup>

It is the black-handled knife that is needed for the most important task of making the protective Circle:

...it should be made in the same manner [as the white-hilted knife], except that it should be done in the day and hour of Saturn, and dipped in the blood of a black cat and in the juice of hemlock, the Characters and Names...being written thereon, from the point towards the hilt.

It is obvious that the black-handled knife in the *Clavicula Salomonis* needed to make the circle and “to strike terror and fear into the Spirits” had the same function as, and almost certainly evolved from, the black goat’s horn handled knife of the *Hygromanteia*.

#### *Other Magical Instruments*

From the basic pieces of equipment, the sword, black-handled dagger and wand, the later French texts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* generated a number of even more specialised items. The wand morphed into the Baguette and the Bâton. The black-handled knife or *couteau noir* remained an important instrument, but a *couteau blanc* was also added to the array of implements. The sickle or *faucille* was included for cutting herbs. The sword evolved into the lance, *coutelas*, *épée* and *poignard*. These can all be clearly seen in Figure 53.

In the Mathers edition of the *Clavicula Salomonis* (Figure 54) the range of magical instruments became even more systematised.<sup>1290</sup>

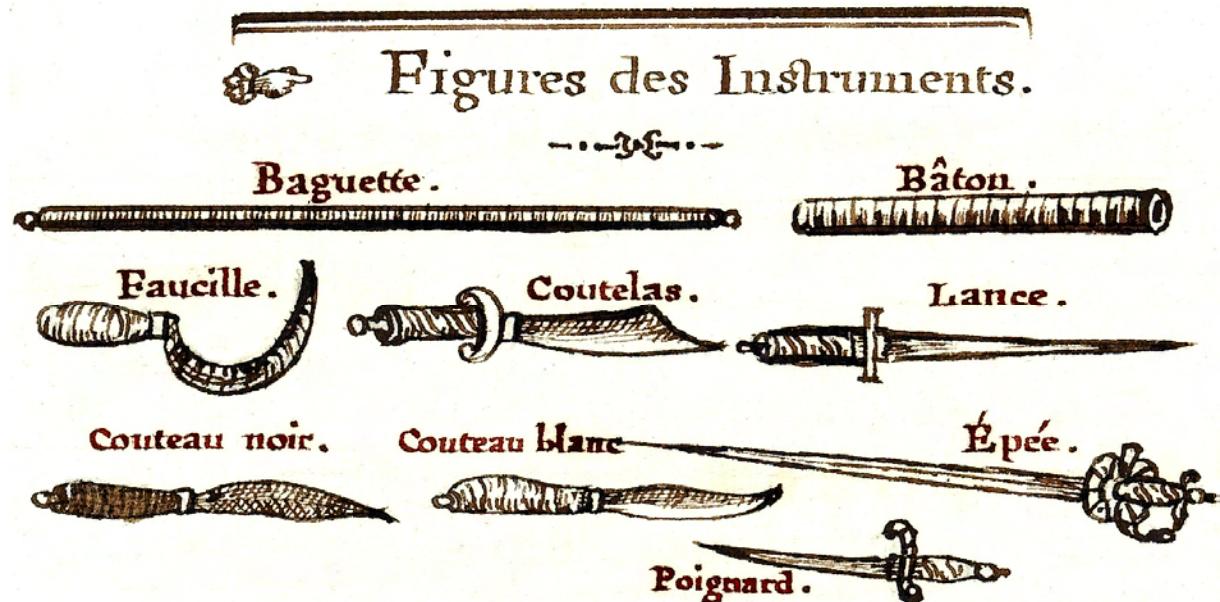


Figure 53: The extended Instruments of Art in a French *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>1291</sup>

<sup>1289</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 96.

<sup>1290</sup> The sword appears above in Figure 51.

<sup>1291</sup> Wellcome MS 4669 (dated 1796) as translated in Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 345.

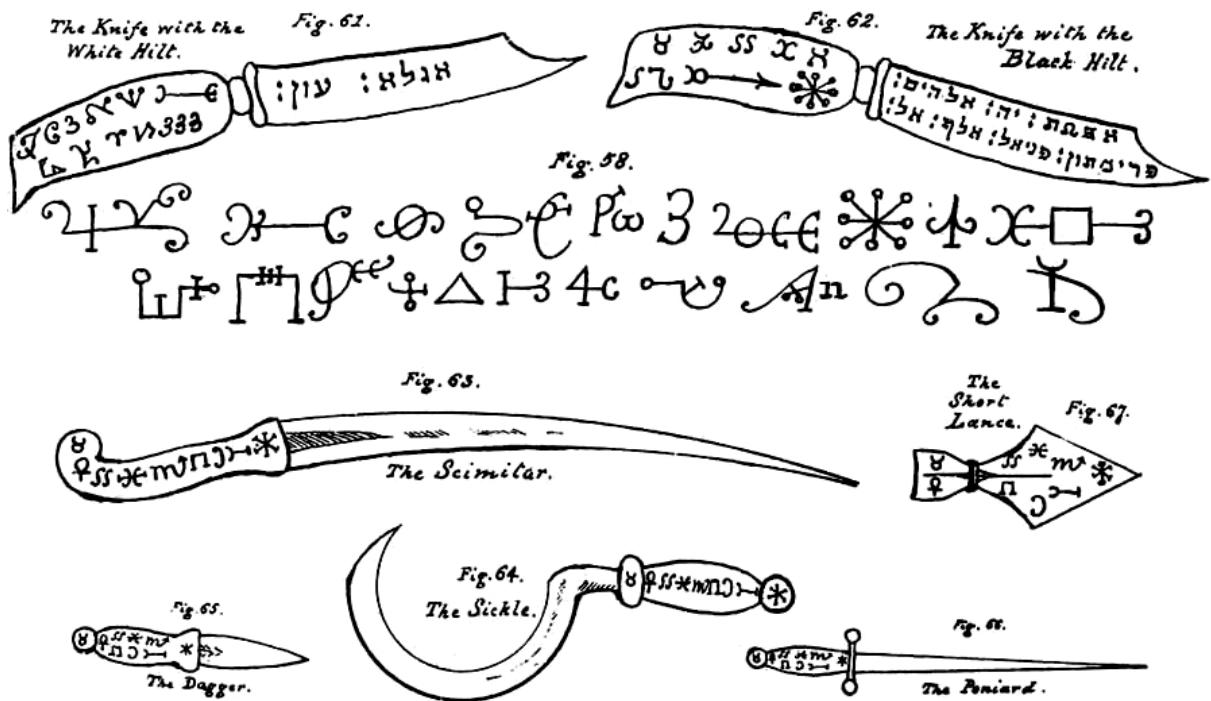


Figure 54: The other iron Instruments of Art by Mathers with their inscriptions.<sup>1292</sup>

## 6.5 Virgin Papyrus or Parchment

Because the written word is such an important part of magic, so the surface it is written on must also be pure and consecrated.

Obviously papyrus was the writing surface par excellence in dynastic Egypt. Papyrus came in different grades of quality, and hieratic papyrus,<sup>1293</sup> the best quality, was recommended in the PGM for the written works of magic.

There is a small practical difference between 'virgin parchment' and 'unborn parchment.' The first must be made from an animal that has just been born, but not yet suckled.<sup>1294</sup> The second from the foetus of an animal still in the uterus. In both cases the knife of art must be used to slaughter the animal, and remove its skin.<sup>1295</sup> The rest of the steps are standard parchment preparation processes involving running water, fat and hair removal with quicklime and a wooden blade, followed by stretching on a board and drying in the sun. The only magical addition to this standard medieval procedure is the specification of prayers to be said during the process.

The 'unborn parchment' is to be used for the lamen, which being the instrument that protects

<sup>1292</sup> Mathers (1909), Plates XIII, XIV, edited to just show the Instruments (Pentacle and Circle removed).

<sup>1293</sup> χάρτης ἱερατικόν.

<sup>1294</sup> Manuscript H and P specify 'not yet suckled,' whilst A and B specify 'sucking.'

<sup>1295</sup> In the case of the foetus, a softer knife made of reed is used for skinning.

the magician from any maliciousness of the spirits, must be of the utmost purity.<sup>1296</sup>

The preparation of the virgin parchment in the *Clavicula Salomonis* follows the same sequence of procedures as that outlined in the *Hygromanteia*. An interesting addition is the suggestion that this preparation should be done at midsummer on the eve of St John the Baptist's day.<sup>1297</sup>

The *Key of Solomon* makes the same distinction between 'virgin parchment' and 'unborn parchment,' the later being made from foetal skin, and perceived as superior. The parchment is to be prepared in the day and hour of Mercury. One interesting alternative, which does not seem to appear in any of the other literature is the possibility of making the virgin parchment from the cauls of newly-born children.<sup>1298</sup>

The suitability of the material to the specific operation is stressed by a number of texts. Antonio da Montolmo makes this point:

And when the characters are suffumigated and inscribed with a suitable ink on a suitable paper, and with a benevolent prayer addressed to them, the <spirits> take it as an honor and they try hard to carry out what is written in the phylactery.<sup>1299</sup> And, by contrast, if someone inscribes the characters of a spirit on an unsuitable paper, with an unsuitable ink, and with an unsuitable suffumigation, but with incense constraint, the exorcist inflicts pain and shame on the spirits.  
<sup>1300</sup>

## 6.6 Pen, Quill, or Reed

Reed pens were used for writing on papyrus not only in a dynastic Egypt, but also in a Graeco-Egyptian context and later in a Muslim context. For magical use the papyrus would usually be consecrated and perfumed before being used.

The use of a reed pen is useful in dating the text as it suggests that papyrus rather than parchment or paper was the writing material of choice. Chapter 20 of the *Hygromanteia* explains the manufacture of the reed pen.<sup>1301</sup> Quill pens only came into use later, with the replacement of papyrus with parchment. Hence, the chapter on the creation of a reed pen would have existed before that on quill pen production.<sup>1302</sup> The mention of reed pens in the *Hygromanteia* therefore confirms a composition date in or before the 7th century.

For magical use, just like the hazel wand, the reed pen must be cut with a single stroke. The

---

<sup>1296</sup> This chapter appears in H, P, A, P4, B and twice in B3. See also Mathers (1909), pp. 111-113.

<sup>1297</sup> The comment in Wellcome MS 4670, f. 15, is that "in the original Hebrew of the *Keys*, it is said that this should be [done] on the 23rd day of June." This is the eve of St. John the Baptist's day on 24th June.

<sup>1298</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 113.

<sup>1299</sup> Probably 'pentacle' is meant here, especially as this term is used in the next sentence.

<sup>1300</sup> In da Montolmo's *De Occultis et Manifestis*. See Weill-Parot (2012), p. 285.

<sup>1301</sup> In H, P, A, B and three times in B3.

<sup>1302</sup> Versions H and P only speak of one pen, while A, B and B3 recommend seven pens, one for each planet, presumably so that a range of seven coloured inks can be used.

consecrated knife is used for this purpose, and the operation was supposed to be accompanied by an invocation or short prayer. By the time the method had crossed over into Latin Europe and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, where parchment was the norm, reed pens were no longer mentioned.

Chapter 21 of the *Hygromanteia*, on the quill of the art, occurs in four different versions. The drafting of these sections may coincide with a period when both instruments were in use in Constantinople. The 7th century marked this period of transition from the ancient Egyptian reed pen to the quill pen, just as papyrus was giving way to parchment.<sup>1303</sup> Although this is just circumstantial evidence, it agrees with my tentative dating of the *Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia* (the ancestor of the *Hygromanteia*) being taken from Alexandria to Constantinople in the early 7th century, when both quills and reed pens would have still been in use.

Because reeds ceased to be used as writing instruments in Byzantium, this section in the *Key of Solomon* is concerned only with bird quills, especially crows or swallows, which must have been a commonly available item. During the quill's preparation and sharpening a suitable incantation and two *Psalms* were to be said.<sup>1304</sup>

Some of the older, or more conservative grimoires, such as the *Raziel*, which was known in the 16th century in both Latin and English versions,<sup>1305</sup> still retained mention of the reed pen suggesting a textual origin for the *Raziel* in or before the 7th century, or an extreme degree of conservativeness on the part of the scribes:

And the penne that thou shalt write the holy names  
be it of a greene reede gathered early ere the sunne  
arise.<sup>1306</sup> And he that shall gather it be he cleane & washen  
& in running water or in a quicke well and also let  
him be clothed with cleane clothes, and the moon<sup>e</sup> being  
waxing with Caput Draconis or with Jove, for that  
they be true and very. And when thou shalt gather it, thou  
shalt behold of looke toward the East and thou shalt say  
thus *Adonai et Saday jubate me ad complendus voluntates meas eos axundine ista*. That is to say Help  
ye me to fulfill my willes with this reede. and when this  
is said thou shalt cutt one reede or twayne or as many  
as thou wilt with one stroke... And thou take the reede with thy  
cleane hands, and make thou of it a gobbets. And when thou  
wilt cutt the penne, cutt it ere the sunne arise or when  
it ariseth. With this penne and with this ynke thou shalt  
write all the names of God holy and severall.<sup>1307</sup>

This is an exception, and most Latin grimoires moved directly to the use of the quill without

<sup>1303</sup> This dating is often derived from the observation that after Byzantium's loss of Egypt to Islam in 641, reeds were much more difficult to obtain.

<sup>1304</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 109.

<sup>1305</sup> Sloane MS 3826 (English) and Sloane MS 3846 (Latin).

<sup>1306</sup> An indistinct marginal note here concerns the effect of Caput Draconis.

<sup>1307</sup> Sloane MS 3826, f. 4v.

even considering the reed pen. The preparation of the quill was to be carried out as follows:

Thou shalt take a male gosling, from which thou shalt pluck the third feather of the right wing, and in plucking it thou shalt say:-

ADRAI, HAHLII, TAMAI, TILONAS, ATHAMAS, ZIANOR, ADONAI, banish from this pen all deceit and error, so that it may be of virtue and efficacy to write all that I desire AMEN.

After this thou shalt sharpen it with the penknife of the Art, perfume it, sprinkle it, and place it aside in a silken cloth.<sup>1308</sup>

There are further and different instructions given for making a quill from a swallow or a crow's feather. Another manuscript recommends taking the longest feather from the left wing of a swallow before trimming it, sprinkling it and perfuming it in a similar manner.

## 6.7 Ink

Smell was very important to the ancient Egyptians, so much so that they are depicted in wall paintings as wearing cones of fragrant material melting on top of their heads, to ensure they smelled attractive throughout the day.

Smell was an important issue in magic, with sweet incenses being used to attract spirits and sour ones like asafoetida used to drive them away. It is therefore not surprising that the other medium of communication with spirits, the written word, talisman, pentacle, lamen etc, had to be written with sweet smelling inks. The most common recommendation found in the papyri is to use 'myrrh ink' so that the gods or other spiritual creatures would take sufficient notice of the words so written.

The ink is sometimes made of cinnabar:<sup>1309</sup>

...write on strips of papyrus made from a priestly scroll, with ink of cinnabar, juice of wormwood, and myrrh.<sup>1310</sup>

Here the medium is confirmed as papyrus, of the highest quality. This method of using incensed ink on consecrated papyrus or parchment endured for at least another 1500 years. Myrtle leaves are also mentioned as a writing surface, and single stemmed wormwood is often specified as an additive to the myrrh ink.<sup>1311</sup>

To give the ink its necessary staining quality soot was often added. Apart from myrrh, soot and herbal matter, the other key ingredient in inks used in magic was blood. Sometimes just blood alone would be used as a writing material. In King Pitys' first necromantic spell, the writing is to be done with ink made from serpent's blood mixed with the soot from a

---

<sup>1308</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 108.

<sup>1309</sup> Mercuric sulphide. It is vermillion and used for the rubrification of text. As a compound of mercury, cinnabar is particularly appropriately as an ink, an instrument of communication. This material that was also used in China for the same purpose, the creation of very important scrolls, and for magic talismans

<sup>1310</sup> PGM IV. 2394.

<sup>1311</sup> PGM IV. 2233-9.

goldsmith's workshop.<sup>1312</sup> Soot was a standard ingredient of black inks since antiquity right up to the 19th century, for everyday as well as magical use. The soot from a goldsmith's workshop would presumably also have some traces of sublimed gold in it, and this echoes the usages of inks containing metals.

In King Pitys' second necromancy spell,<sup>1313</sup> the writing is done with black ink on a leaf of flax or on a roll of hieratic papyrus. The ink is made from the blood of an ass<sup>1314</sup> mixed with coppersmiths' soot. The leaf of flax is inscribed with a falcon's blood, mixed with goldsmiths' soot. The hieratic papyrus is to be inscribed with eel's blood mixed with acacia.<sup>1315</sup> Another rite adds blood to the usual myrrh ink, but also specifies the spell must be written on leaves of flax.<sup>1316</sup> A short necromantic spell for questioning corpses also by King Pitys requires the *nomina magica* to be written on a flax leaf,<sup>1317</sup> with a special ink made from:

...red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen...<sup>1318</sup>

One spell for business success requires the words to be written on a male egg,<sup>1319</sup> with the following ink:

*Drawing made with Typhonian ink:* A fiery red poppy, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, red Typhon's ochre,<sup>1320</sup> unslaked quicklime, wormwood with a single stem, gum, rainwater.<sup>1321</sup>

The egg is to then be buried "near the threshold where you live" or "in the house [where] I do my business."

Another use of ink consisted of writing a spell with "Hermaic myrrh ink," then washing the ink off the papyrus in order to drink it and thereby absorb the qualities of the spell. One example of this practice designed to strengthen the memory enjoins the practitioner to make the ink with spring water from seven springs, and drink the resulting ink wash on an empty stomach for seven days. The ingredients of this ink are:

Myrrh troglitis, 4 drams;<sup>1322</sup> 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,<sup>1323</sup> spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write.<sup>1324</sup>

---

<sup>1312</sup> PGM IV. 2006-2125.

<sup>1313</sup> PGM IV. 2006-2125.

<sup>1314</sup> Another indication of Seth/Typhon.

<sup>1315</sup> Presumably acacia ash.

<sup>1316</sup> PGM XIXb. 1-3.

<sup>1317</sup> Flax, which was extensively cultivated in ancient Egypt, was associated with the dead. Pictures of flowering flax have been found on the walls of tombs in Thebes.

<sup>1318</sup> PGM IV. 2140-44.

<sup>1319</sup> Presumably a fertilised egg, or maybe a code word for some other item.

<sup>1320</sup> Possibly the blood of an ass.

<sup>1321</sup> PGM XII. 96-106.

<sup>1322</sup> Possibly fossilised myrrh. See Betz (1996), p. 5.

<sup>1323</sup> The association of Hermes and Thoth (the ibis) with the art of memory is obvious.

<sup>1324</sup> PGM I. 232-247.

Another typical aromatic ink recipe:

Preparation of the ink: 3 dried figs, 3 stones of Nicolaus date,<sup>1325</sup> 3 fragments of wormwood, and 3 lumps of myrrh; [mix together, then] after pulverizing them, [write] the following formula.<sup>1326</sup>

The practice of washing the ink off the writing surface and drinking the resultant solution occurs as far afield as in Taoist magic, as well as in the Bible. In the latter case the solution is drunk as a way of determining the truth, and enforcing a curse as a penalty, if the subject has sworn falsely. Here it is referred to as the 'water of bitterness':

Then the priest shall put these curses in writing, and wash them off into the water of bitterness. He shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness that brings the curse, and the water that brings the curse shall enter her and cause bitter pain... when he has made her drink the water, then, if she has defiled herself and has been unfaithful to her husband, the water that brings the curse shall enter into her and cause bitter pain, and her womb shall discharge, her uterus drop, and the woman shall become an excretion among her people.<sup>1327</sup>

The Maskelli formula for revealing answers in a dream, uses a similar ink for writing upon both papyrus and cloth:

...single-stemmed wormwood, vetch, 3 pits of Nicholaus date palms, 3 Karian dried figs, soot from a goldsmith,<sup>1328</sup> 3 branches of a male date palm, sea foam.<sup>1329</sup>

For invocations of specific gods, specific inks were used, just as specific incenses were burned. For example, drawing an image of Anubis on a papyrus for magical purposes requires the correct ink, in this case mixed with "the blood of a black dog."<sup>1330</sup>

Another ink also using myrrh and wormwood is made as follows:

In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them [as an ink].<sup>1331</sup>

Cinquefoil has an enduring place amongst the herbs used in European grimoires.

Another ink formula, for an operation involving the god Besas:

Take red ochre [and blood] of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed wormwood,<sup>1332</sup> cinnabar, and rainwater; blend all together, put aside and write with it and with black writing ink...<sup>1333</sup>

A very similar ink formula is also associated with the god Besa,<sup>1334</sup> which suggests that the

---

<sup>1325</sup> Nicolaus/Nikolaus/Nicholas is spelled inconsistently in Betz.

<sup>1326</sup> PGM VII. 993-1009.

<sup>1327</sup> Numbers 5:23-27. New Revised Standard Version.

<sup>1328</sup> Presumably containing tiny flecks of gold.

<sup>1329</sup> PGM IV. 3172-3208.

<sup>1330</sup> PDM Supplement 113.

<sup>1331</sup> PGM II. 35-37.

<sup>1332</sup> ἀγύνθιον, ἀρτεμισία, *absinthium*.

<sup>1333</sup> PGM VII. 222-249.

<sup>1334</sup> Another spelling of the same god.

ink ingredients are conditioned by the nature of the god associated with the rite:

*This is the ink with which you draw* [the figure]: Blood of a crow, blood of a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, black writing ink, cinnabar, sap of mulberry tree, rain-water, juice of single-stemmed wormwood and vetch.<sup>1335</sup>

Chapter 16 of the *Hygromanteia* lists two separate sets of planetary inks which obviously come from two different traditions (see Table 15).

The ink manufacturing passage in another manuscript appears to be unique in its instructions, and may therefore not be part of the mainstream *Hygromanteia* ink instructions.

...make an ink with: saffron, musk, oak galls, blue vitriol or similar materials.<sup>1336</sup>

Planet	Ink Ingredients <sup>1337</sup>	Ink Ingredients <sup>1338</sup>
Saturn	Maidenhair fern seed, unburned sulphur, red squill, gum Arabic	Dross of lead with vinegar
Jupiter	Lapis lazuli, birthwort, fish gall, plum tree gum	Dross of silver with [rose] water
Mars	Cinnabar, alkanet, gum, common plantain, olive tree gum	Pure cinnabar with rose water
Sun	Gold dust (with a little mercury), knotgrass juice, little watercress, Arabic malachite	[Gold] orpiment with water
Venus	Blood of a dove, saffron, rose water, mandrake, pure musk	Blood of a bat or pure lapis lazuli with rose water
Mercury	Blood of a male turtledove, pure beeswax, radish, corrosive sublimate, a bit of peony, blood of a wild rooster, juice of buckshorn plantain	Saffron, musk, rose water, human blood
Moon	Celery juice (?), agaric, camphor, blood of a hare	Blood of an ox, ass or lamb or with rust and water

Table 15: Planetary inks in the *Hygromanteia*, according to three separate manuscripts.

Obvious derivatives of this *Hygromanteia* chapter on inks can be found in the AC Text-Group of the *Clavicula Salomonis* and also in the *Grimorium Verum*.<sup>1339</sup>

The *Key of Solomon* recommends using the blood of a bat, pigeon or other animal. In each case, the live animal is consecrated and then the blood derived from a suitable vein without killing the animal, using a needle. The blood is then censed and kept for later use.

In the late 20th century Franz Bardon (1909-1958) recommended using a “magical condenser fluid” made from a gold solution, embodying the same principles of a dissolved metal, and

<sup>1335</sup> PGM VIII. 70-72.

<sup>1336</sup> G, f. 23.

<sup>1337</sup> H.

<sup>1338</sup> A and M.

<sup>1339</sup> A grimoire derived from the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but with the addition of a register of spirit names and some rather grotesque ingredients. This dependence can be most clearly seen in the UT Text-Groups, for example Wellcome MS 4669, Art 2. See Skinner and Rankine (2008), pp. 369-406, 428; Peterson (2007), p. 32.

instead of animal blood, a drop of his own blood:<sup>1340</sup>

Take a handful of fresh or dry chamomile flowers... Let the chamomile flowers boil for about 20 minutes...mix it with the same quantity...of spirit or alcohol... To this mixture add about 10 drops of your gold tincture...you may still strengthen it, by adding a drop of your blood or sperm.

Bardon recommends this liquid for various magical uses, but its formulation is similar in intention to the magic inks already mentioned, and may be derived from them. Here you can clearly see that gold tincture is the updated version of “soot from a goldsmiths’ chimney,” and “a drop of your [own] blood” replacing blood from a shrew-mouse or bat.

## 6.8 Garments

Egyptian priests and magicians wore linen, and no clothing made of animal products such as wool. Strangely the High Priest or *sem*-priest wore a leopard skin. It is also likely that the *sem*-priest was amongst the most learned in the temple (and therefore more likely to practise magic). He inhabited the *per-ankh* or House of Life, a combined library, scriptorium and college, in which priests would perform magic, interpret dreams and make amulets, for clients who paid for them.

The skin of any big cat, especially a lion, was held in awe, as it related to the fierce goddess Sekhmet. Sekhmet also had associations with magic.<sup>1341</sup> High Priests of Sekhmet were often associated with magic, such as Heryshefnakht, who was both Chief of Magicians and High Priest of Sekhmet. On the reverse of the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (which dates from 1700 BCE) the title of one spell refers to “the demons of disease, the malignant spirits, messengers of Sekhmet,”<sup>1342</sup> which identifies this goddess also as a ruler over evil spirits. If that is so, then wearing a belt made of her animal’s skin conferred a certain authority on the magician. The leopard skin of the Egyptian priest and the lion *nemyss*<sup>1343</sup> is met with within the European grimoire tradition in the form of a belt made of lion skin. This practice lasted through to the 17th century, and a belt of lion skin is recommended in the 1641 *Goetia*. Even today such belts are sold online to aspiring magicians. I think it is quite clear that this is a continuation of the same ancient Egyptian tradition.

I suggest that this practice originally related to Sekhmet, but later it may simply have become part of the dress of the magician designed to cower the spirits. The thinking being that any man who had mastered a lion (as he was wearing its skin) must truly be powerful, and so the

---

<sup>1340</sup> Bardon (1962), pp. 190-203.

<sup>1341</sup> The House of Life at Edfu, which was occupied by priests and scribes dealing with magic, had a wall list of its papyri. One of the papyri on this list, probably dealing with magic, was entitled the *Book of Appeasing Sekhmet*.

<sup>1342</sup> Breasted (1930), p. 477.

<sup>1343</sup> A typical Egyptian cloth headdress.

belt of lion skin would be like wearing a 'badge of courage.'

This also explains why mere paper crowns, or flimsy lamens in later grimoires, were able to do the job imputed to them. An ivy wreath likewise gave the magician a semblance of status as a hero or a senator:

Crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour [after sunrise], and while looking upward, lie down naked on the linen, and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band...<sup>1344</sup>

The act of claiming to be some famous personage, god or magician (part of the standard armoury of magicians in all ages) was assisted by the wearing of appropriate garments. One description of an evocatory lamp skrying gives details of the prescribed clothing:

Whenever you seek [to do ritual] divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod with fibres of the *doum* palm<sup>1345</sup> and your head crowned with a spray from an olive tree – but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle. Clasp a pebble numbered 3663<sup>1346</sup> to your breasts,<sup>1347</sup> and in this way make your invocation.<sup>1348</sup>

It is interesting that Bainchōōch should be chosen, and that garlic should be used. Otherwise it follows the tradition, which recurs again in the *Key of Solomon*, of dressing up as someone imposing, such as a prophet, or Solomon, in order to awe the spiritual creatures invoked.

Chapter 35 of the *Hygromanteia* outlines the necessary garments, as the magician would certainly not wear his street clothes whilst engaged in a magical operation. Garments were specified in detail right down to gloves, cloak, shoes, stockings, collar, broach to fix the cloak and even underwear. The only item with a specific magical function was the linen cloth designed to cover the lamen till the appropriate point in the ceremony. Each of these items had to be new, white and made of linen or in the case of the gloves, virgin leather. If possible the garments should be woven or at least stitched by a virgin girl. Then, using the previously consecrated pen or reed and scented ink the practitioner must write protective signs and *nomina magica* on each of the garments plus specific sigils, which differed from garment to garment.

Some attempts have been made to date various manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia* by examining the clothing nomenclature used in these passages.<sup>1349</sup> H, which is one of the oldest manuscripts from the 15th century, uses very antique Greek phrases for the garments, suggesting that it was copied from an even older manuscript, probably dating from before

---

<sup>1344</sup> PGM IV. 171-174.

<sup>1345</sup> This palm was also listed as one of the items in the Egyptian magician's box mentioned in chapter 6.

<sup>1346</sup> The isopsephic numeration of the letters of Bainchōōch.

<sup>1347</sup> As a phylactery.

<sup>1348</sup> PGM IV. 930-938.

<sup>1349</sup> Marathakis (2011), p. 91.

13th century.

In the *Hygromanteia*, minor items of clothing, like the shirt, culottes, collar, shoes, headdress, gloves, broach, lamen cover and even handkerchief, all have their separate inscriptions or sigils.<sup>1350</sup> Perfuming with “musk, saffron, cinnabar and rose water” has the twofold result of consecration and to make them more acceptable to the spirit for whom smell might well be a stronger sense than sight.

Parallel instructions are to be found in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, where a great deal of attention is given to the garments, which are to be kept in “a small casket of olive or hazel wood.”<sup>1351</sup>

A belt of lion skin was recommended in several grimoires, echoing the practice of Egyptian priests. In modern times Mathers, in imitation of the Egyptian magicians, wore a leopard skin when conducting Golden Dawn ‘Rosicrucian’ rituals in Paris in the early 20th century.<sup>1352</sup>

The use of special clean linen clothing is a persistent theme from the *PGM* to the modern day, with the writing of *nomina magica* and symbols on all garments having been prevalent since the time of the *Hygromanteia*.

## 6.9 The *Symbolas* of the Gods<sup>1353</sup>

Egyptian gods are often portrayed with the symbols of their power (like the Pharaoh). Typical *symbolas* (σύμβολος) are the throne of Isis, the feather of Maat, the eye of Horus, the crook and flail of Osiris or the cow horns of Hathor. Greek gods also carry indications of their power, like the playthings of Dionysus (e.g. the *iynx* or spinning top), the caduceus wand of Hermes or the laurel of Apollo.

The use of laurel wreaths in magic as well as in religious usage occurs in the *PGM*:

While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, and lie down to sleep holding this...<sup>1354</sup>

The purpose of that rite was to secure a dream revelation from the god. The purpose of the laurel wreath was to identify the magician with the god.

In one ritual designed to invoke the ‘Egyptian Selene,’ the instruction is to “Heed your

---

<sup>1350</sup> B, f. 18-18v.

<sup>1351</sup> Hazel is traditionally used to make wands, and olive has a long history of religious and magical use.

<sup>1352</sup> A photo of him so dressed exists and has been reproduced in a number of books.

<sup>1353</sup> Laurel wreaths, crowns, *iynx*, tops, etc.

<sup>1354</sup> *PGM* II. 27-33.

sacred symbols, and give a whirring sound..."<sup>1355</sup> This is likely to refer to specific concrete tools of magic (especially in the context of the rest of the sentence) rather than to abstract symbols. As Betz writes: "the 'symbols' of the gods were thought not to be mere signs representing them but objects and formulae by which they could be controlled." Betz suggests that this is the sound of the sistrum of Hathor.<sup>1356</sup> The hiss and clatter of the sistrum does not seem to me to match the sound of whirring. The *lynx* spinning top, which reputedly made a whirring sound, is a much more likely fit.

A passage in the *PGM* lists out some of the *symbolas* of Kore's power:<sup>1357</sup>

...do this task for me,  
Mare, Kore, dragoness, lamp, lightning flash,  
Star, lion, she-wolf, AĒŌ ĒĒ.  
A sieve, an old utensil, is your<sup>1358</sup> symbol,  
And one morsel of flesh, a piece of coral,  
Blood of a turtledove,<sup>1359</sup> hoof of a camel,  
Hair of a virgin cow, the seed of Pan,  
Fire from a sunbeam, colt's foot, spindel tree,  
Boy love, bow drill, a gray-eyed woman's body  
With legs outspread, a black sphinx's pierced vagina:  
All of these are the symbol[s] of my power.<sup>1360</sup>

Many of these may also be code words for some other, often more innocuous but less poetic ingredient.

During the invocation of the Moon goddess [Nephthys/Selene] the magician is told to show:

...in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite the [specified] formulas [and ask] what you wish [for], and it will happen.<sup>1361</sup>

In the *Hygromanteia*, the laurel wreath is replaced by a crown. Only two manuscripts (H and P) record a version of chapter 32, which describes the crown. This item might have been designed to fool the spirits into believing that the magician was a king, or even king Solomon, but this faux crown is simply made of virgin parchment, like a party hat. It of course has its own allocation of names, signs and sigils.

The crown is a sort of play-acting insignia to impress the spirits, along the same lines as claiming to be Solomon or Osiris in order to compel obedience. It must be made of virgin parchment, appropriately consecrated, with *nomina magica* written thereon. The word which is to be inscribed on the crown is *παντοκράτωρ*, Pantokratōr: a title sometimes applied to

<sup>1355</sup> *PGM* VII. 884.

<sup>1356</sup> Betz (1996), p. 79.

<sup>1357</sup> This goddess morphed into a demon in mediaeval grimoires. See Mathers (1900).

<sup>1358</sup> Corrected.

<sup>1359</sup> Particularly popular with Jewish magicians, a "symbolic" ingredient that lasted well into the 17th century.

<sup>1360</sup> *PGM* IV. 2303-2310.

<sup>1361</sup> *PGM* III. 702-705.

Hermes; an ambiguous name in the *Book of Revelation*; a title once applied to Christ in the New Testament;<sup>1362</sup> and in the *Septuagint* used as a translation for both El Shaddai and IHVH Sabaoth. The latter is more likely to be the reason behind its use on the crown.

The crown also survives in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and Mathers' AC Text-Family of the *Key of Solomon* states that:

...the Master of the Art should have a Crown made of virgin paper, upon which should be written these four Names:-

Yod, He, Vau, He, in front; Adonai behind; El on the right; and Elohim on the left...

The Disciples should each have a Crown of virgin paper whereon these Divine symbols should be marked in scarlet.<sup>1363</sup>

The laurel, which earlier took the place of a crown, later retained its association with Apollo by being listed in the *Key of Solomon* as an appropriate wood to burn in rites of the Sun.<sup>1364</sup>

All the inscribed clothing of the magician (including the crown) might be construed as a form of protection, but it is more likely that these inscriptions and symbology (such as the lion skin belt) were meant to impress the spirit with the power or royalty (symbolised by the crown) of the magician, so that the spirit might more readily take orders from the magician.

## 6.10 Magical Statues or *Stoicheia* (J)

The magical statues or *stoicheia* may originally have developed from temple statues, or more specifically from the speaking statues of the Egyptian temples.

One very clear example of the creation of a magical statue in the *PGM* was designed for a very modern purpose, bringing customers into a business premise.<sup>1365</sup>

This particular Graeco-Egyptian type of statue had obviously been often produced, as it even had a pet name, "the little beggar." Its function is translated by R. F. Hock simply as a 'charm,' but the original Greek is a very specific word: κατακλητόκον. The suffix '-ίκον' would seem to indicate an image or statue, and -κλητ- probably relates to κλητήρ, "one who calls or summons."<sup>1366</sup> A more precise translation might therefore have been "a statue that summons [customers]."

This statue, made of a single block of hollowed juniper, is made in the likeness of a man:

---

<sup>1362</sup> 2 Corinthians 6:18.

<sup>1363</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 92. Another version, Wellcome MS 4669, p. 15, gives the names as Agla, Aglata, Aglou, and Aglatay, all variations on AGLA.

<sup>1364</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 119.

<sup>1365</sup> Such animated statues, particularly those of a golden cat with a mechanical paw beckoning potential customers are a common feature of business premises throughout S. E. Asia. Although there is no suggestion of cultural transmission, it is sometimes enlightening to find instructive parallel usages that have survived longer in Asia than in Europe.

<sup>1366</sup> κάτα is here used in the sense of stirring up the 'insatiable' desire of customers.

...having his right hand in the position of begging and having in his left a bag and staff. Let there be around the staff a coiled snake, and let him be dressed in a girdle and standing on a sphere that has a coiled snake, like Isis...and have an asp covering the top as a capital.<sup>1367</sup>

The snake is of course the Agathos Daimon, the good daimon, as is clearly confirmed by the inscriptions which the practitioner is enjoined to write on various parts of the statue. In relation to the Agathos Daimon, the author makes reference to Epaphroditos<sup>1368</sup> who suggests various alternative names for the inscription. However, I believe the image is "Harpon Knouphi,"<sup>1369</sup> a form of Harpocrates Chnoubis, which also explains the presence of the snakes.

The consecration of this statue is complex, and includes the sacrifice of a whole animal, which has been variously suggested to be a wild ass or a wild ram.<sup>1370</sup> But both those interpretations are based on adding modifiers to the existing text ἄγριον, which is clearly written by itself both in line 2399 and line 3148. The animals suggested are those of Typhon (ass) or Khnum (ram), neither of which gods coincide in any way with the modelled image. As ἄγριον simply means 'wild,' there is no implication of a specific animal, except that we know it should have a white forehead. I suggest that the animal may have been an oryx, which is truly a wild animal with magical connotations, or more likely a wild cow, as the invocation continues: "I receive you as the cowherd who has his camp toward the south."<sup>1371</sup> After consecration, the statue is set up in a shop or business to "bring to me silver, gold, clothing, much wealth."

Another example of the use of magical statues in the process of invocation, this time of the goddess Selene (with a nod toward Aphrodite-Urania) is made of clay:

*The preparation for Mistress Selene is made like this:* Take clay from a potter's wheel and mix a mixture with sulfur, and add blood of a dappled goat and mold an image of Mistress Selene the Egyptian,<sup>1372</sup> as shown below,<sup>1373</sup> making her in the form of the Universe. And make a shrine of olive wood and do not let it face the sun at all. And after dedicating it with the ritual that works

---

<sup>1367</sup> PGM IV. 2380-2389.

<sup>1368</sup> Despite the fact that Betz remarks that "nothing is known about him," this probably refers to Epaphroditos (20/25-95 CE), Nero's secretary. As unlikely as this may seem, Epaphroditos was the owner of a slave who was Epictetus of Hierapolis, a Stoic philosopher. He in turn had been taught by Musonius Rufus, who was reputed to have written letters to Apollonius of Tyana. Whether he did or not is not important. What is important is the reputed indirect connection between Epaphroditos and the most famous magician of the age, which considerably increases the likelihood that this Epaphroditos was the one able to comment cogently on that particular magical procedure.

<sup>1369</sup> See Harpon-Knouphi in PGM III. 435-6, 560-63; IV. 2433; VII. 1023-25; XXXVI. 219-20. Harpon-Knouphi is not derived from the Egyptian phrase "Horus the pillar of Kenmet" as suggested by several scholars.

<sup>1370</sup> Jacoby (in Preisendanz Vol. I, p. 147) suggests 'ass' whilst Eitrem (*ibid*) suggests 'ram.'

<sup>1371</sup> Line 2435.

<sup>1372</sup> This suggests that the image would actually be of the Egyptian sky goddess Nut (or Tefnut) rather than the Greek Selene. That means the image might have been that of a dark blue cow with many stars painted on her hide. Plutarch equates Nut with Rhea rather than Selene.

<sup>1373</sup> The figure is missing.

for everything, [put it away] and thus it will be dedicated in advance. And anoint it also with lunar ointment and wreath it. And late at night, at the 5th hour, put it away, facing Selene in a [pure] room. And also offer the lunar offering and repeat the following in succession and you will send dreams, and you will bind spells [with its aid], for the invocation to Selene is very effective. And after anointing yourself in advance [with] the ointment, appeal to her.<sup>1374</sup>

Another rite suggests a figure of an ape and a fish made of wax, for an invocation of Thoth,<sup>1375</sup> utilising animals sacred to that god.

Kerberos, being a guardian of the entrance to hell, is invoked so that the dead may carry out the magician's wishes (in the same way they do with a *defixio*) and bind a woman. The rite requires a statue of a dog (possibly Anubis), made of wax, pitch, virgin fruit, and manna. The dog is to be eight fingers long, and have its mouth wide open as if barking. It is activated by placing a suitably inscribed bone (from a man who died violently) in its mouth; or by sitting it on a papyrus strip inscribed with "IAŌ ASTŌ IŌPHĒ." An invocation is then to be said, and the dog will bark if it succeeds.<sup>1376</sup>

Statues of the gods, especially Anubis, were also utilised by magicians. In two consecutive rites the magician asks Anubis to send a spirit to influence someone else's dreams. In each case an image of Anubis is used. In the first example:

On a new papyrus: you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it; you should write these writings under it; you should put it [in] to the mouth of [the statue of] the black dog of the embalming house; you should make great offerings before it; you should put frankincense on the brazier before him; you should do it as a libation of milk of a black cow...and you should put its recitation [invocation] in its mouth.<sup>1377</sup>

In the second passage:

On a jackal of clean clay which is lying down,<sup>1378</sup> its body moistened with milk and fluid of a jackal of the embalming house... You should write your words on a new papyrus; you should put it in the jackal's mouth; and you should leave the jackal on a copper lamp which a brazier is heating.<sup>1379</sup>

In each case the papyrus on which the spell is written is put into the mouth of the Anubis statue, which is then heated, censed, and in one case libated. The ritual is not religious, but aimed at getting the god to enforce the spirit to influence the intended 'victim.'

In a Byzantine context, the word *telesma* was often applied to these statues as well as to metal (or parchment) talismans. According to Magdalino, the first use of *stoicheia* as a technical term to describe these statues was in the *Parastaseis*,<sup>1380</sup> in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1381</sup>

---

<sup>1374</sup> i.e. invoke her. *PGM VII*. 866-879.

<sup>1375</sup> *PDM* xiv. 330.

<sup>1376</sup> *PGM IV*. 1872-1927.

<sup>1377</sup> *PDM* Supplement 112-116.

<sup>1378</sup> The usual couchant form of Anubis.

<sup>1379</sup> *PDM* Supplement 125-130.

<sup>1380</sup> See Cameron and Herrin (1984).

<sup>1381</sup> Magdalino (2006), p. 134.

As the process of making a talisman consists of fixing a particular power or specific spiritual creature to an inscribed parchment or metal disk at the correct time, so the Byzantine *stoicheia*<sup>1382</sup> probably were originally statues which the magician wished to ensoul, by fixing to them a particular spirit. It appears that the word *stoicheion* can also apply to the spirit so fixed. As such it is sometimes defined as “an elementary spirit.” Some scholars have suggested the definition “personally active spiritual being,” which is only marginally correct, in the sense that some magician has personally fixed the spirit to a statue or talisman.<sup>1383</sup>

One Christian view of pagan idols was that they were ‘animated’ by a *stoicheion* fixed to the statue. In that light it is easy to see what St Paul means when he writes to the Galatians that the congregation should not lapse back to worshipping pagan idols, or more explicitly, being “in bondage under [the influence of] τά στοιχεῖα τόν κόσμον.”<sup>1384</sup> According to Greenfield, “by the late Byzantine period στοιχεῖον had...come to denote a much lesser elemental spirit.”<sup>1385</sup> I suspect that there was a hierarchy of στοιχεῖα, from the simplest fixed spirit right up to the τά στοιχεῖα τόν κόσμον occupying the statues of gods, rather than any change in its meaning over time.

I conjecture that στοιχειοκρατοῦσα possibly means someone who fixes the spirit or god to the material talisman or statue, by writing the proper words on the talisman or statue, whilst invoking the spiritual entity to be fixed, in other words a species of magician.<sup>1386</sup> Likewise στοιχειωματικοί, like *mathematekoi*, are simply the professionals who do this, in other words makers of talismans or ensouled statues.

Apart from oracular heads, like those attributed to the Templars or Roger Bacon, there is no trace of animated statues in the Latin grimoire tradition.

## 6.11 Magical Rings and Gemstones (K)

Solomon’s Ring appears in many texts as the source of his power over the spirits. The *Testament of Solomon* describes the Ring (δακτυλιδιον) as having been given to Solomon by God, via the hand of the archangel Michael. As a result of this story, the magician’s ring appears in the *Hygromanteia*, and has often featured in grimoires, as it was such an integral part of Solomon’s ability to command the spirits. The Ring was not usually made of the obvious choices, gold or silver, but was made of iron (for the same reason as an iron sword was used), or of brass, as brass was the metal of the confining Brass Vessel.

---

<sup>1382</sup> στοιχεῖα.

<sup>1383</sup> See Blum (1946) for various other opinions about the meaning of *stoicheia*.

<sup>1384</sup> Galatians 4:3. See also 4:8.

<sup>1385</sup> ‘Elemental spirit’ is misleading here, as that would mean a spirit of Earth, Air, Fire or Water.

<sup>1386</sup> See Greenfield (1988), pp. 192-5.

The *Jewish Encyclopaedia* explains that Solomon's Ring:

...was partly brass and partly iron. With the brass part of the ring Solomon signed his written commands to the good genii, and with the iron part he signed his commands to the evil genii, or devils. The Arabic writers declare also that Solomon received four jewels from four different angels, and that he set them in one ring, so that he could control the four elements. The legend that Asmodeus once obtained possession of the ring and threw it into the sea, and that Solomon was thus deprived of his power until he discovered the ring inside a fish, also has an Arabic source.<sup>1387</sup>

Stories about this Ring have spread throughout the Middle East, and it appears in the 1st/2nd century CE text *The Testament of Solomon*, which tells the story of Solomon's subjugation of 60 demons, which he later either imprisons or puts to work building the Temple. This text is seminal for Solomonic magic as it details some of the methods used to subdue demons, specifically the use of *nomina magica*, and the doctrine of thwarting angels. It also acts as a catalogue of demons, their abilities and how each can be defeated. Solomon's Ring features strongly in the *Testament of Solomon* where it is the Ring that enabled him to bind the first spirit Ornias, who is later compelled to act as his familiar spirit or magical assistant, introducing him to a succession of other demons. The ring reappears in many grimoires, but there does not seem to be any consistent view as to its design. This archetypal grimoire provides the basis for the register of spirits and the use of thwarting angels: classic cases of transmission of magical techniques over 15 centuries. Both of these techniques appear later in the 1641 *Goetia* of Dr. Rudd.<sup>1388</sup>

The supreme ritual for the consecration of rings and their gemstones is given in two places in the twelfth papyrus of the *PGM*, with another similar consecration in an earlier section.<sup>1389</sup> The invocation calls on a wide range of gods,<sup>1390</sup> but finishes by revealing that the god primarily called upon is OUPHŌR.<sup>1391</sup> The rubric explains that towards the end of the consecration, the ring and gemstone should be inserted into the body cavity of a live rooster and left there for a whole day.

Magical rings were also very much a part of Gnostic practice, many of which now lie in museums around the world.

The attributions of semi-precious stones are mentioned in one passage,<sup>1392</sup> in connection with the representation of the planets on an astrological board:<sup>1393</sup>

---

<sup>1387</sup> 'Solomon, Seal of' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1906.

<sup>1388</sup> Edited in Rankine & Skinner (2007), pp. 103-174.

<sup>1389</sup> *PGM XII*, 270-350, 201-269.

<sup>1390</sup> Including Helios, Ouroboros, Kheperi, Iao Sabaoth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Astaphaios, Bainchōōch, Amoun and Osiris.

<sup>1391</sup> OUPHŌR is perhaps a word of compulsion rather than the name of a god, according to Thissen (1991), pp. 299-230; Vergote (1961), pp. 213-214.

<sup>1392</sup> *PGM CX*, 1-12.

<sup>1393</sup> However the list equally well serves for the construction of magical rings.

Planet	Metal/Stone
Sun	gold
Moon	silver
Kronos (Saturn)	obsidian
Ares (Mars)	yellow-green onyx
Aphrodite (Venus)	lapis-lazuli streaked with gold
Hermes (Mercury)	turquoise
Zeus (Jupiter) <sup>1394</sup>	[dark blue] stone, but underneath of crystal

Chapter 34 of the *Hygromanteia*, concerning the making of the Ring, appears in a number of manuscripts, attesting to its importance. Very strangely the Ring in H is said to be made of virgin wax covered with parchment, and is therefore rather impermanent.<sup>1395</sup> Only G has a ring to be made by a goldsmith out of silver, and engraved with a long Greek inscription. The most interesting part of this inscription is the word 'Bisegeubarpharaggēs.' When broken down into its constituent parts it yields 'Bisegeu bar Pharaggēs' the latter part of which is a name well attested in the *PGM*, and also on some inverted Mesopotamian demon bowls.<sup>1396</sup> This is a clear link back to earlier Graeco-Egyptian magic.

In most manuscript sources the design is described as a simple pentagram, or sometimes as a hexagram, rather than the elaborate design offered by the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1397</sup> Marathakis makes an interesting point connecting the *Testament of Solomon* more closely to the *Hygromanteia*:

However, in the Private Library of the Earl of Leicester, No 99 (15th century), and in Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Grec, No 500 (16th century), there are inscriptions on the ring, very close to the inscriptions described in H, P, A, B and B3. The inscription of G seems to be derived from them, but it is quite corrupt. A somewhat different version, with the inscription abbreviated, can be found earlier in H, in the *Testament of Solomon* material (f. 8v).<sup>1398</sup>

The inscription on the ring in the Earl of Leicester's Library is:

K[yri]e ho Theos hēmōn, Leōn, Sabaōth, Bionik, A, Ō, A, Elōi, Eaō, Iōase, Sougeōa, Aia, Aeniou, Ou, Ouniou, Ēra.

Compare this with the inscription in one manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* which shows a silver ring with a big bezel and the following very similar inscription:

K[yri]e ho Th[eo]s, ho boēthos hēmōn, Iōsos, Sabaōth, Isaiō, Adōnai, Thiōaō, Aeōlōie, Aiōa, Bisegeubarpharaggēs,<sup>1399</sup> Meob, Aphone, Monou.<sup>1400</sup>

The connection with the *Testament of Solomon* is not surprising, although the *Testament*

<sup>1394</sup> Interestingly the planets are indicated by naming the corresponding Greek god, a procedure also followed in the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>1395</sup> I can only conjecture that this made it easier to destroy in times of persecution.

<sup>1396</sup> Sesengen bar Pharangēs. The double 'gg' in Pharangēs' is equivalent to the 'ng' in Greek, and 'Bisegeu' could easily have been a scribal corruption of 'Besengen.'

<sup>1397</sup> H, f. 8v. H, f. 33 is just a simple ring with a hexagram inscribed on a rectangular bezel. A, f. 16 and B, f. 21 are similar but the figure is a pentagram.

<sup>1398</sup> Marathakis (2011), pp. 92-93.

<sup>1399</sup> Derived from the *PGM* name Sesengen bar Pharanges.

<sup>1400</sup> G, f. 24v.

probably predates the *Hygromanteia* by five centuries (assuming a 2nd century date for the *Testament*, and a 7th century date for the *Hygromanteia*.)



Figure 55: Solomon's ring from the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1401</sup>

Salomons Magicall  
Ring of D or ⚡.



Figure 56: Solomon's ring from the *Goetia* made of silver or gold.<sup>1402</sup>

<sup>1401</sup> H, f. 8v.

<sup>1402</sup> Sloane MS 2731, f. 22.

The details of Solomon's ring also appear in the *Goetia*, but in a very different form.<sup>1403</sup> According to Weyer, the ring should be made of silver. Note that no longer is there a pentagram or hexagram as part of the ring design, and here the ring is sometimes described as a disk to be held up in front of the magician's face. This suggests that the scribe who wrote this particular manuscript of the *Goetia* was working from an older manuscript which showed the ring on the page as a two-dimensional figure, rather than receiving verbal instruction from another magician who would simply have shown him his (three-dimensional) ring.

## 6.12 Wax and Clay Images

Both wax and clay images were as much a part of magic in the *PGM* as they were a part of the *Hygromanteia* in the early centuries of the Orthodox Christian era, or a part of village witchcraft of the 15th-18th century.

In ancient Egypt, creator gods like Khnum were reputed to form gods and people from clay, on the potter's wheel, before breathing life into them. It is therefore logical for Egyptian magicians to use clay to make images into which life could be breathed. Dough and wax were also used for this purpose. Wax images of Apep were made before being deliberately destroyed.

Wax and clay were the ingredients most easily to hand for the creating of figurines to represent the person who was the object of a spell, or to make an (ensouled) spirit statue. Wax was also valued for its ability to absorb an impression, because of its semi-organic beehive origin.

As well as the making of images, clay is also used for making the 'brick,' an item mentioned in both Babylonian magic and the *PGM* where it acts as a seat or altar. I suspect that this item is not a house brick, which would not be appropriate in such a magical context, where purity was so important, but is in fact a clay tablet. If this were so then it makes a lot more sense, because the placing of ritual impedimenta on it would then let it act like an altar.

One spell of attraction, for binding a lover, uses two clay figures, with the male figure like Ares plunging his sword into the female.<sup>1404</sup> This aggressive pose is surprisingly designed to cause longing in the female rather than pain. The formula also mandates the use of 13 copper needles to be inserted into parts of her anatomy.<sup>1405</sup> The design is to ensure "she may remember no one but me, NN, alone." Such figures in clay and wax are fairly universal to

---

<sup>1403</sup> Peterson (2001), p. 43.

<sup>1404</sup> *PGM* IV. 296-466.

<sup>1405</sup> The image's brain (1), ears (2), eyes (2), mouth (1), midriff (2), hands (1 each), pudenda (2), soles of the feet (2).

magic, but images pierced with needles, nails or pins are intuitively usually assumed to be examples of hate magic rather than love magic.

The rite continues by tying a lead tablet to the figure with 365 knots whilst saying "Abrasax, hold her fast!" The 365 refers both to all the days of the year and to the isopsephy of the name Abraxas. The lead tablet indicates that it is to be used as a *defixio* and buried by or in the grave of someone unrelated (and probably untimely dead). Although this sounds a rather macabre place for a love image, the theory is that the soul of the newly dead person can pass the message on to one of the chthonic gods: Kore, Persephone, Erishkigal, Anubis, etc, who is then able to carry out the magician's wishes. Anubis Psirinth is specially characterised as "holding the keys to Hades."

Perhaps the most complete formula for making a magical statue, this time of Hermes, for the purpose of dream sending, uses a special clay mix:

Take 28 leaves from a pithy laurel tree<sup>1406</sup> and some virgin earth<sup>1407</sup> and seed of wormwood, wheat meal and the herb [called] calf's snout (but I have heard<sup>1408</sup> from a certain man of Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree, which is cultivated, the famous one). Those are carried by an uncorrupted boy.<sup>1409</sup> Also pounded together with the foregoing ingredients is the liquid of an ibis egg<sup>1410</sup> and made into a uniform dough and [then] into a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or Virgo or Sagittarius. Let Hermes be holding a herald's staff. And write the spell<sup>1411</sup> on hieratic papyrus or on a goose's windpipe... and insert it into the figure for the purpose of inspiration;<sup>1412</sup> and when you want to use it, take some papyrus and write the spell and the matter [being enquired about]; and shave your head<sup>1413</sup> and roll a hair into the papyrus, binding it with a piece of purple cord, and put on the outside of it an olive branch, and place it at the feet of the [clay statue of] Hermes (but others say: place it upon him). And let the figure lie in a shrine of lime wood. But when you want to use it, place the shrine beside your head along with the [image of the] god and recite [the spell] as on the altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump of rock salt. Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell<sup>1414</sup> without giving an answer to anyone... Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.<sup>1415</sup>

Another love spell utilises a wax image of Osiris embedded with the hair of the woman desired by the magician, together with the hair of "a donkey<sup>1416</sup> together with a bone of a lizard" all of which should be buried under the doorsill of her house.<sup>1417</sup> The latter procedure is a common usage in Mediaeval and later magic in Europe, where the magical image is

---

<sup>1406</sup> The laurel is sacred to Apollo.

<sup>1407</sup> Probably clay.

<sup>1408</sup> An interpolation by the scribe, or an early redactor.

<sup>1409</sup> Such as might have been used by the magician as a skryer.

<sup>1410</sup> Symbolic of Thoth.

<sup>1411</sup> PGM V. 424-435.

<sup>1412</sup> To enable the statue to breathe.

<sup>1413</sup> In the manner of a priest.

<sup>1414</sup> PGM V. 400-421.

<sup>1415</sup> PGM V. 370-446.

<sup>1416</sup> For lust, or symbolic of Typhon like the ass.

<sup>1417</sup> PDM xii. 50-61 has the same instruction, to bury it "under the doorsill of the house."

buried in a place often crossed by the intended victim of the spell.<sup>1418</sup>

The use of a lizard is a recurrent theme, possibly because it was an easily obtainable animal. In one example a spotted lizard<sup>1419</sup> is cooked in an iron vessel, to encourage hatred, as “Helios and all the gods have hated you.” This is a slander spell implicating the object of desire has been lying about the lizard.<sup>1420</sup>

A large number of figurines in beeswax and clay (but also in lead, bronze, magnetite, etc.) are listed by Versnel in the course of his commentary on one particular text.<sup>1421</sup> He highlights the deformities of these figures, such as twisted heads and broken necks. Such deformities are apparent in the ‘poppets’ used in magic later in northern European witchcraft, but not so commonly in Solomonic magic.

Sometimes, a rite in the *PGM* will specify a drawing of a figure rather than a wax or clay three-dimensional execution. One such example gives the following detailed description of Bes-Pantheos:

Take a clean linen cloth, and (according to Ostanes) with myrrh ink draw a figure on it which is humanlike in appearance but has four wings, having the left arm outstretched along with the two left wings, and having the other arm bent with the fist clenched. Then upon the head [draw] a royal headdress and a cloak over its arm, with two spirals on the cloak. Atop the head [draw] bull horns and to the buttocks a bird’s tail. Have his right hand near his stomach and clinched (*sic*), and on either ankle [thigh?] have a sword extended.<sup>1422</sup>

Bes has long been known as a helpful god assisting in both childbirth and magic, but Bes-Pantheos (literally “Bes all gods”) is more cast in the mould of a master of spirits, and has a number of similarities to the daimons/ demons that he controls.

Chapters 28 and 29 in the *Hygromanteia* deal with the preparation and use of the virgin wax and the virgin clay. The main purpose of the virgin wax seems to be in the construction of the magic ring. This seems as if it could be the result of misinterpretation of an earlier source manuscript, as wax would typically be used to seal something like a document, by impressing the ring upon the wax. A further loss of meaning is obvious from the fact that, although the wax is meant also for fashioning images, there is no mention of these images in the text. A typically Christian provision has been inserted in the text where it says that, after collection of the wax from a beehive, it should be stored in a church for a while, and prayers said over it.

It seems certain that the clay and the wax were also meant for image making of potential

---

<sup>1418</sup> *PDM* lxi. 112-27.

<sup>1419</sup> Which must be “taken from the place where bodies are mummified.”

<sup>1420</sup> *PDM* Lxi. 197-216 [*PGM* LXI. 39-71].

<sup>1421</sup> Versnel (1988), pp. 287-292.

<sup>1422</sup> *PGM* XII. 121-143.

'victims,' but this detail has been cautiously left out by the scribe. A secondary use (especially of the wax) might be in the making of pentacles, as in M3 this is suggested.

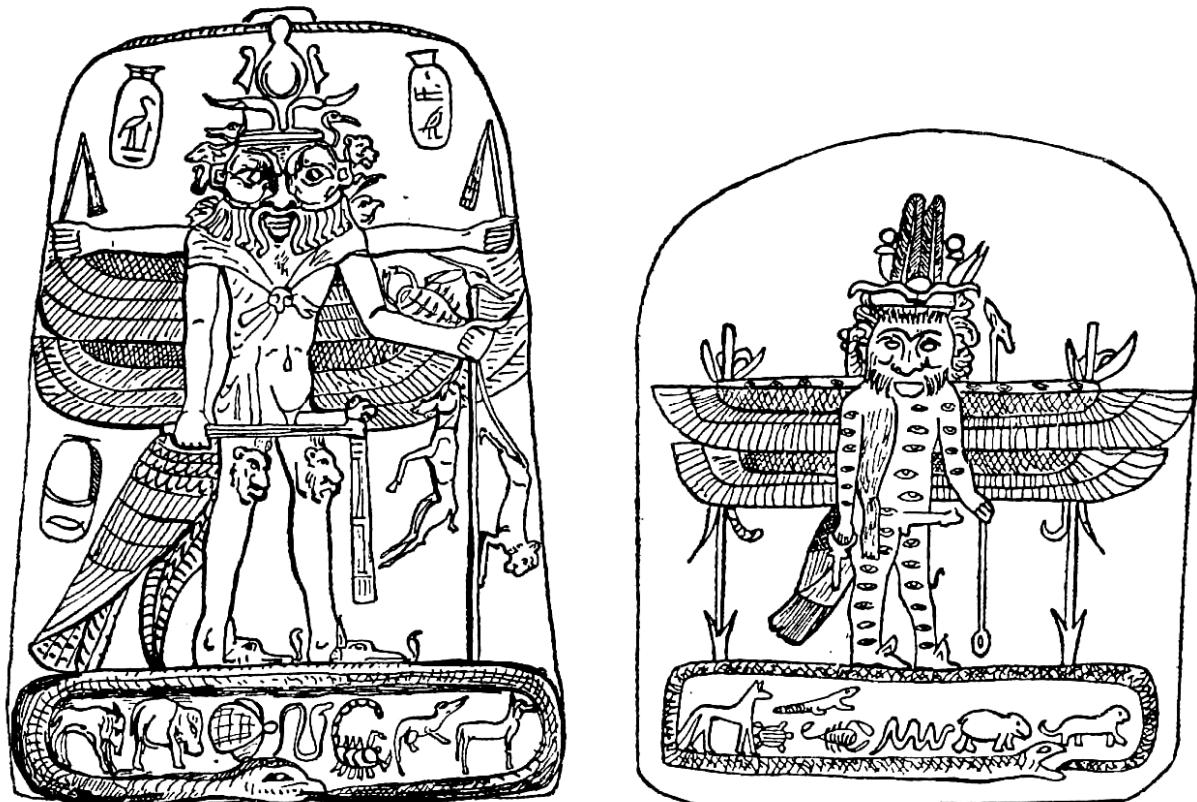


Figure 57: Bes-Pantheos. Note the wands and the ouroboros circle, holding an array of venomous animals. The faces on his knees appear again in mediaeval depictions of demons.<sup>1423</sup>

Mathers' edition of the *Key of Solomon* does mention the virgin clay together with the virgin wax, but is not very forthcoming about its actual use.<sup>1424</sup> In one AC version of the *Key of Solomon*<sup>1425</sup> the magician is instructed to:

...put it in a pot of new earthenware so that he may use it as need be. Let him cork the pot with a piece of parchment upon which he will have traced the character below with the blood of a kid goat; and let the Master of the Art make a hole in his cellar and place it there, and let it rest there for 24 hours...<sup>1426</sup>

The use of wax in the making of pentacles surfaces again in the late 16th century when Dee made both pentacles and a skrying crystal support out of wax, now in the British Museum.<sup>1427</sup> The use of wax or clay for the making of images is a universal magical technique common to all three periods. Another condition common to all three periods is that the wax should be virgin, so that it did not retain any impressions of earlier images. In the late 14th century Antonio da Montolmo specified:

<sup>1423</sup> Lindsay (1965).

<sup>1424</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 114.

<sup>1425</sup> Wellcome MS 4669 (1796), p. 72.

<sup>1426</sup> Skinner and Rankine (2008), p. 355.

<sup>1427</sup> Previously in the Horological gallery but now moved to the ground floor salon that used to hold the King's Library.

...that the wax should be virgin, new, and clean, and just the same as for any material in which these [magical] influxes are to be received. This [wax] must not be impregnated with extraneous qualities that would impede the reception of the celestial quality, and so the wax has to be virgin, new, and clean.<sup>1428</sup>

### 6.13 Incenses

One of the oldest indications of the systematic use of incense to help in the invocation of specific planetary entities is a set of seven precious oils which was found on an Egyptian calcite oil tablet, with seven oil depressions and corresponding hieroglyphic labels, dating from the Old Kingdom.<sup>1429</sup> The names of the oils inscribed on the tablet were: *seti-heb*, *heknu*, *sefeti*, *ni-chenem*, *tewat*, best *ash*, and best *tiehenu*. These oil names occur first on jar labels from the royal tombs of the first dynasty (3100-2857 BCE). Although the museum which displayed this object suggested they may have been connected with the process of embalming, the fact that they are a set of seven, with depressions holding quantities too small to be of any use in embalming a corpse, militates against this. It is most likely that they actually contained the incense oils of the seven planets.

One papyrus romanticises the generation of the key incenses associated with particular Egyptian gods:

Horus cried. The water fell from his eye to earth and it grew. That is how dry myrrh came to be. Geb was sad on account of it. Blood fell from his nose to the ground and it grew. That is how pines came to be and resins came to be from their fluid. Then Shu and Tefnut cried exceedingly. The water from their eyes fell to the ground and it grew. That is how incense came to be.<sup>1430</sup>

In the *PGM*, myrrh is particularly significant, as talismanic writing of any sort is almost always recommended to be written with perfumed myrrh ink. Apart from the Horus connection, myrrh was also intimately connected with Anubis, god of the Underworld:

Open to me, O you of the underworld, O box of myrrh that is in my hand!... O box of myrrh which has four corners. O dog who is called Anubis by name, who rests on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of myrrh...<sup>1431</sup>

Other incenses used include:

...a wolf's eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and whatever is valued among the spices...<sup>1432</sup>

The invocation of Selene mandates the burning of an offering of Cretan storax on pieces of juniper wood.<sup>1433</sup> It makes a clear distinction between the use of the rite for beneficent operations (using only incense) and for coercive operations (using the same incense on the

<sup>1428</sup> Weill-Parot (2012), p. 271.

<sup>1429</sup> Calcite oil tablet from Giza tomb item 4733 E, 19.5 cm x 9.2 cm x 2.2 cm found by the Harvard University Museum of Fine Arts expedition of 1914. See D'Auria (1992), pp. 81-82.

<sup>1430</sup> Papyrus Salt 825, translated in Derchain (1965), p. 137; Ritner (2008), p. 39.

<sup>1431</sup> *PGM* xiv. 188.

<sup>1432</sup> *PGM* I. 285-286.

<sup>1433</sup> *PGM* IV. 2622-2707.

first and second day, but with less appealing *materia magica* on the third day):

*The beneficent offering, then, is:* Uncut frankincense, bay, myrtle,<sup>1434</sup> fruit pit, stavesacre, cinnamon leaf, kostos. Pound all these together and blend with Mendesian<sup>1435</sup> wine and honey, and make pills the size of beans.

Another passage suggests the following oil for a face anointment which will win favour and respect:

...in first-quality lotus oil (or *tšps* oil) or moringa oil...;<sup>1436</sup> add styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of “great-of-love” plant in a faience vessel... anoint your face with it; place the wreath in your hand; go to any place; [and be] among any people. It creates for you very great praise among them indeed.<sup>1437</sup>

To consecrate a lead lamella, it was recommended that the magician cense the lamella with a mixture of myrrh, bdellium, styrax, aloes, thyme and river mud.<sup>1438</sup>

Roses and sumac are also mentioned as an offering.<sup>1439</sup> One passage in the *PGM* lists incenses for doing good as:

...storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, and a fruit pit.<sup>1440</sup>

Sulphur and the seed of Nile rushes were used as incense to the Moon and Isis.<sup>1441</sup> Sulphur later reoccurs as an incense of Saturn in the *Heptameron*.

The incenses to be found in the *PGM* are to a large extent the same as those found in the *Hygromanteia*, and in later Latin grimoires (see Table 16).

The habit of using scented inks persists from the *PGM*, and is present in the *Hygromanteia*. Chapter 14 of the *Hygromanteia* deals with planetary incenses, characters and seals,<sup>1442</sup> seven composite incenses are prescribed, one for each planet. Every planetary incense is followed by the planetary *characteres*, which are intended to be written on planetary talismans. This chapter overlaps with the chapter 16 on planetary incenses, because the planetary inks and parchments also need to be censed after writing.<sup>1443</sup> Two manuscripts (H and B3) also have more complex planetary incenses, whilst G gives just one perfumed ink: “saffron, musk, oak galls, blue vitriol or similar materials.”<sup>1444</sup>

---

<sup>1434</sup> *Myrtus communis*.

<sup>1435</sup> From the city of Mendes in the Nile delta.

<sup>1436</sup> βάλανος μυρεψιγη, *Moringa pterygosperma* or *Moringa aptera*. Moringa was used in cosmetics, cooking and pharaonic medicine.

<sup>1437</sup> *PDM* xiv. 330-333.

<sup>1438</sup> *PGM* VII. 429-458.

<sup>1439</sup> *PGM* IV. 2232.

<sup>1440</sup> *PGM* IV. 2870-2879.

<sup>1441</sup> *PGM* VII. 490-504.

<sup>1442</sup> This chapter not only occurs in manuscripts H, A, P2, P4, B but is repeated four times in B3.

<sup>1443</sup> Accordingly *Hygromanteia* chapter 16 has been moved up to be adjacent to *Hygromanteia* chapter 14 in the table of chapters (Table 01).

<sup>1444</sup> G, f. 23.

The *Hygromanteia* attributions of incenses are as follows:

Saturn	sulphur;
Jupiter	myrrh;
Mars	dried human blood;
Sun	nutmeg;
Venus	mastic mixed with labdanum;
Mercury	frankincense mixed with hare's skin;
Moon	styrax mixed with galbanum.

After the ritual bath and before the evocation, the magician is advised to anoint himself with musk, civet, clove, costus and water milfoil pounded with rose oil. Manuscript B gives rose oil with musk, asafoetida, clove and water milfoil.<sup>1445</sup> The thinking behind this may be to completely hide the smell of the human body, paralleling those texts which compare spirits to shy wild animals, who will not want to approach if they can smell humans.

Another procedure gives an interesting recipe:

You must also have four little braziers. Put inside them the following substances: *steratzon*,<sup>1446</sup> calamint, styrax, nigella oil – this is the oil of the black cumin - aloe wood ashes – this is powdered oud – spikenard, saffron and nutmeg. Put them into the little braziers to be censed.<sup>1447</sup>

Manuscript G gives a slightly different list:

musk, styrax, aloe wood, spikenard, saffron and nutmeg.<sup>1448</sup>

The incense for evocation according to H is:

Aloe wood, fragrant costus, frankincense, musk,<sup>1449</sup> clove, nutmeg and saffron. Moreover, add some water lily, nigella, root of daffodil and blood of a man that was killed undeservedly.<sup>1450</sup>

The Latin grimoires continued to see incense as a most important ingredient in magical operations. The *Raziel* or *Librum Razielis*,<sup>1451</sup> (also called *Cephar Raziel*,<sup>1452</sup> or more correctly *Sepher Raziel*) is a Solomonic grimoire<sup>1453</sup> appearing in a manuscript dating from November 1564.<sup>1454</sup> It is divided into seven separate treatises, of which the third, the *Tractatus Thymiamatus*, is devoted solely to incense and 'suffumigations.' As Solomon is made to say:

...suffumigations, sacrifice and unction make to open the gates of air, and of fire, and of all the other heavens.<sup>1455</sup>

---

<sup>1445</sup> G, f. 26.

<sup>1446</sup> Also spelled *styratzon*.

<sup>1447</sup> B, f. 27v.

<sup>1448</sup> G, f. 26v.

<sup>1449</sup> A and B omit the musk.

<sup>1450</sup> H, f. 34.

<sup>1451</sup> Sloane MS 3826, 3846 [both English], 3847 [Latin].

<sup>1452</sup> This mistaken orthography derives from the Latin Sloane MS 3853, f. 46 [old foliation 41], where an extended upwards flourish on the initial 'S' has caused subsequent scribes to read it as a 'C.'

<sup>1453</sup> It is also called *Liber Salomonis* in Sloane MS 3826, f. 2.

<sup>1454</sup> Transcribed in full in Karr and Skinner (2010).

<sup>1455</sup> Sloane MS 3826, f. 27v.

And later in the same manuscript the precise reason is outlined:

And all spiritual [creatures], with the right fumigation [incense], shall obey you, and shall come to you, and they shall do your commandment.<sup>1456</sup>

Finally Solomon is quoted:

And Solomon said that as the Adamant [diamond] draweth [32v] Iron to himself,<sup>1457</sup> so knowe thou that suffumacion gathereth together and draweth the spirits of the ayre, and maketh them to come to the place where thou doest it [the experiment] and will gather them together.<sup>1458</sup>

This passage underlines the great importance of incense in magical operations. The use of perfumed ink which was an important item in the magic of the *PGM*, was also continued in *Sepher Raziel*.

The listing of planetary incenses in the *PGM* is in most cases short, but highly significant, as parallel lists can be identified in a number of later magical texts. In fact, in the Latin and later English texts of *Sepher Raziel* (1564), the topic has achieved the status of a separate treatise with the title *Tractatus Thymiamatus*.<sup>1459</sup> Table 16 shows the planetary configuration of incenses in nine texts. Although the *Book of Jubilees*, and *PGM* agree in most cases, suggesting that in fact they may have been contemporary sources. However the transfer from Egypt and Palestine to Constantinople has resulted in a discontinuity with regard to incense.<sup>1460</sup>

In more modern times, Rabbi Falk (1708-1782), a Jewish magician who was called the Ba'al Shem<sup>1461</sup> of London, mixed incenses in his magical workshop which was located on London Bridge was:

...furnished with talismans, candles and plates of gold. He inscribed on the floor the Seal of Solomon (better known as the Jewish emblem, the Star of David) which he anointed with alum,<sup>1462</sup> raisins, dates, cedar and lignum aloes, and mounted on the wall a deer's head containing holy names to ward off fires.<sup>1463</sup>

The deer's skull was more likely to have been a substitute for a human skull, of the oracular variety,<sup>1464</sup> with the phrase "to ward off fires" merely being his deliberately deceptive answer

---

<sup>1456</sup> Sloane MS 3826, f. 30.

<sup>1457</sup> A common mediaeval misconception.

<sup>1458</sup> Sloane MS 3826, f. 32r-32v.

<sup>1459</sup> The word θυμίαμα means incense.

<sup>1460</sup> Probably because the traditional incenses were no longer obtainable in Byzantium after the loss of Egypt as a colony in 395.

<sup>1461</sup> Master of the holy name, in other words a practical Kabbalist with miracle/magic working abilities.

<sup>1462</sup> Probably a replacement for natron. Alum has purifying properties, in fact it is still used in Singapore for drinking water purification procedures.

<sup>1463</sup> Edward Glinert, *East End Chronicles*, London: Penguin, 2003.

<sup>1464</sup> See chapter 7.6 on necromancy.

to overly curious clients.<sup>1465</sup> Parts of the incense mixture, such as alum, raisins and dates come directly from passages in the *PGM*.

The use of incenses is a universal ingredient in magical practice in all three periods, with only some consistency of usage.

---

<sup>1465</sup> Falk was also an alchemist, a Freemason, and was working on creating a golem. His ability to make money was legendary. This is attested by annual payments still made to the poor by the United Synagogue in London, from the large legacy of gold that he left them, more than 200 years ago.

Greek/ Roman god/ Planet	Incense	Botanical Source of the Resin	Book of Jubilees 160 BCE <sup>1466</sup>	PGM c. 100 CE <sup>1467</sup>	Heptameron Pre-1316 <sup>1468</sup>	Hygromanteia 1440 <sup>1469</sup>
<b>Saturn Kronos</b>	Storax Styrax	<i>Styrax officinalis</i> (Liquid amber orientalis tree)	Stacte <sup>1470</sup>	Styrax	Sulphur <sup>1471</sup>	Nigella, pepper, aloe wood (H, A) <sup>1472</sup>
<b>Jupiter Zeus</b>	Tejpatra Tamaalpatra Indian Bay leaves	<i>Cinnamomum</i> <i>tamala</i> or <i>albiflorum</i>	Mixed spices <sup>1473</sup>	Malabathron Malabatrum <sup>1474</sup>	Saffron	Lignum balsam, <sup>1475</sup> cinnamon, opium, camphor, vervain seeds (H); aloe wood (A, P2)
<b>Mars Ares</b>	Costus Kostos	Root of <i>Costus</i> <i>Arabicus</i> , <i>Costus</i> <i>Speciosus</i> , <i>Saussurea lappa</i> , <i>Saussurea costus</i>	Costum	Kostos <sup>1476</sup>	Pepper	Blood (H)
<b>Sun Helios</b>	Frankincense Olibanum (oil of Frankincense)	<i>Boswellia</i> <i>cartieri</i> & <i>Boswellia</i> <i>thurifera</i>	Frankincense	Frankincense	Red sandalwood <sup>1477</sup>	Nutmeg, cassia, roses, styrax nubs (H); annual mercury (A)
<b>Venus Aphrodite</b>	Spikenard	<i>Nardostachys</i> <i>grandiflora</i> or <i>Nardostachys</i> <i>jatamansi</i>	Nard	Indian nard	Costus <sup>1478</sup>	Musk, aloe wood, Armenian bole (A)
<b>Mercury Hermes</b>	Cassia Kasia	<i>Cinnamomum</i> <i>Cassia</i>	Galbanum	Cassia Galbanum	Mastic	Frankincense, musk, wasp wax, labdanum, sweet flag root (A)
<b>Moon Selene</b>	Myrrh	<i>Balsamodendron</i> <i>myrrha</i> , <i>Commiphora</i> <i>myrrha</i>	Myrrh	Myrrh	Aloes	White beeswax, saffron, bay root, peony root, blackberry root (A); purple betony, root of elm, blackberry leaf (P2)

<sup>1466</sup> Some scholars have dated this to 100 CE, thereby making it contemporary with the PGM passage.

<sup>1467</sup> PGM XIII. 16-22. These are the “secret incenses” of the planets. It adds “prepare sun vetch [Egyptian bean] on every occasion.” They are listed in a different order, but without planetary correspondences in PGM XIII. 353-354.

<sup>1468</sup> The date of publication was 1496. However the identification of the author is problematic, but in the event that this book is finally attributed to Peter de Abano, then it must date from before 1316.

<sup>1469</sup> Chapter 14.

<sup>1470</sup> The exact translation of this is ambiguous, as the Hebrew word *nataph* simply means ‘to ooze or drip.’

<sup>1471</sup> Not a very practical incense. Probably a scribal misreading.

<sup>1472</sup> The specific *Hygromanteia* manuscript.

<sup>1473</sup> Probably so specified because the translator did not know how to handle Malabathron.

<sup>1474</sup> Leaves of *Cinnamomum tamala* or *C. albiflorum*. Liddell-Scott gives “the aromatic leaf of an Indian plant, the *betel* or *areca*.”; Dioscorides 1.12; Gal. 12.66; Pliny HN12.129; Horace *Odes* 2.7.8. The word is probably derived originally from the Sanskrit *tamāla-pattra*.

<sup>1475</sup> Manuscript A suggests *xylobalsamon* when it should probably be *commiphora gileadensis*.

<sup>1476</sup> *Saussurea lappa* root.

<sup>1477</sup> *Sandalum rubeum*. Not ‘red wheat’ as in Robert Turner’s translation (1655).

<sup>1478</sup> Mistranslated by Turner (1655) as ‘pepperwort.’

Agrippa <i>De Occulta Philosophia</i> 1533 <sup>1479</sup>	<i>Sepher Raziel</i> 1564 <sup>1480</sup>	<i>Goetia</i> 1641	<i>Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh</i> 1700 <sup>1481</sup>	<i>Key of Solomon</i> 1796 <sup>1482</sup>	Greek/ Roman god Planet
Odoriferous roots: pepperwort root, frankincense tree	Odoriferous roots: costus, thuris	Myrrh <sup>1483</sup>	Brimstone <sup>1484</sup>	Brimstone	Saturn Kronos
Odoriferous fruits: nutmegs, cloves	Odoriferous fruits and rinds: nutmeg, cloves, citrus, oranges (dried and ground)	Cedar	Saffron	Saffron	Jupiter Zeus
Odoriferous woods: aloes sandalwood, cypress, lignum balsam, lignum	Odoriferous woods: red, black and white sandalwood, aloes, cypress	Dragon's blood <sup>1485</sup>	Pepper	Pepper	Mars Ares
[Odiferous] gums: frankincense, mastic, benjamin, storax, laudanum, ambergris, musk	Odiferous gums: <i>Thus</i> [oil of frankincense], mastic, musk	Frankincense	Red Sandalwood	Red Sandalwood	Sun Helios
[Odiferous] flowers: roses, violets, saffron	Odiferous flowers: rose, violet, crocus	Sandalwood	Costus	Ginger (i.e. Costus)	Venus Aphrodite
Odoriferous woods fruits and seeds: cinnamon, lignum cassia, mace, citron, bayberries	Odiferous barks: cinnamon, cassia lignum, laurel, muris	Storax	Mastix ( <i>sic</i> )	Mastic resin	Mercury Hermes
Odoriferous leaves: leaf Indum, leaves of the myrtle, and bay tree	Odiferous leaves: myrtle, laurel <sup>1486</sup>	Jasmine	[Aloes]	Aloe wood	Moon Selene

Table 16: The planetary incenses according to different texts.

A few conclusions can be drawn from Table 16, some of which will help in the later establishment of a lineage for the European grimoires. There appears to be two separate traditions with regard to the planetary incenses. The oldest is undoubtedly that outlined in the *Book of Jubilees*, *PGM* and the *Orphic Hymns* which allocates a single incense to each

<sup>1479</sup> Agrippa (1993), Book I, Chapter 44.

<sup>1480</sup> Sloane MS 3826, f. 28.

<sup>1481</sup> F, 37b.

<sup>1482</sup> Wellcome MS 4670, p. 39.

<sup>1483</sup> The movement of myrrh from the bottom of a list to the top suggests a transcription error.

<sup>1484</sup> A synonym for 'brimstone,'

<sup>1485</sup> An incense and resin which can be derived from at least 15 different plant species. The Romans derived their dragon's blood from *Dracaena cinnabari*.

<sup>1486</sup> A later passage (f. 28v) states that the incenses of the Moon, according to Hermes, are cinnamon, lignum aloes, mastic, crocus, costus, mace, myrtle. This passage looks as if it was originally a seven planet list rather than just the attributions for the one planet.

planet. The second tradition as exemplified in the *Hygromanteia* gives a number of possible incenses for each planet, a practice that is also followed in the *Juratus*. A third tradition is visible in Agrippa,<sup>1487</sup> and in *Raziel*, where separate parts of the plants used as incenses, so that roots are attributed to Saturn, fruits to Jupiter, wood to Mars, gums and resins to the Sun, compounds ('pills') of plant parts to Mercury, and leaves to the Moon. The *Key of Solomon*<sup>1488</sup> includes both arrays of incenses, but the compound incenses also have added animal parts and blood. The use of cat's and human blood for Mars incense is also found in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1489</sup>

One useful conclusion, at least with regard to incenses, is that the *Heptameron*, the 1796 *Clavicula Salomonis* and the *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* were obviously derived from the same source.

## 6.14 Herbs (Y)

Solomonic method extends to meticulous attention to detail when preparing the equipment or *materia* to be used in a rite, and procuring herbs for such use is no exception.

### *Mesopotamia*

Paying careful attention to the procedure for uprooting medical or magical herbs is derived from Mesopotamian magical practice. A typical description of such precautions found in a Mesopotamian herbarium suggests the magician should:

[Look for] a gourd which grows alone in the plain;  
when the Sun has gone down,  
cover your head with a kerchief,  
cover the gourd too,  
draw a magic circle with flour around it,  
and in the morning,  
before the Sun comes out,  
pull it up from its location,  
take its root ...

These instructions specify the time for picking the plant, and the precautions to be observed in regard to both the plant and the herbalist. The scene is night (between sunset and sun-rise); the plant is isolated by a magic circle and covered; and the herbalist protects himself by covering his head. Night time may be specified in other ways: sometimes it is sufficient to say that the sun must not "see" the herb: for example, a root "which the sun did not see when you pulled the plant and surrounding it with a magic circle are necessary because the plant may not willingly give up the root, leaf, or shoot needed for preparing the medicine; one must buy it from the plant, or at least give some compensation for it."<sup>1490</sup>

Theophrastus notes:

That one should be bidden to pray while cutting is not perhaps unreasonable, but the additions

<sup>1487</sup> *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book I, chapter 44.

<sup>1488</sup> Wellcome MS 4670.

<sup>1489</sup> H, f. 24.

<sup>1490</sup> Reiner (1995), pp. 36-37.

made to this injunction are absurd: for instance, as to cutting the kind of all-heal (*panakes*) one should put in the ground in its place an offering made of all kind of fruits and a cake; and that, when one is cutting *gladwyn* [Gk., *ἰτι*;<sup>1491</sup> = iris?], one should put in its place to pay for it, cakes of meal from spring-sown wheat, and that one should cut it with a two-edged sword, first making a circle round it three times. . .<sup>1492</sup>

There is also a common injunction not to use an iron instrument in digging, even though a two-edged sword of a different metal would be acceptable. This is a very old limitation, and reoccurs in a slightly different form in many Latin grimoires where iron instruments, specifically an iron sword are used to threaten the spirits.

In the *PGM* attention was also paid to how medical and magical herbs were uprooted, and this care survived through the *PGM* formulae to Latin and English grimoires right up to the 18th century herbals. The reason for this care was so the herb's power is retained and no adverse luck would be incurred by the magician for uprooting it. The procedure is spelled out in some detail:

Among the Egyptians herbs are always obtained like this: the herbalist first purifies his own body. First he sprinkles with natron and fumigates the herb with resin from a pine tree after carrying it [the smoking resin] around the place 3 times. Then, after burning *kyphi* and pouring the libation of milk as he prays, he pulls up the plant while invoking by name the daimon to whom the herb is being dedicated and calling upon him to be more effective for the use for which it is being acquired...

After saying this [invocation], he rolls the harvested stalk in a pure linen cloth (but into the place of its roots they (*sic*) threw seven seeds of wheat and an equal number of barley, after mixing them with honey), and after pouring [this mixture] in the ground which has been dug up [to propitiate the plant so harvested], he departs.<sup>1493</sup>

This latter procedure is presumably some kind of compensation to the earth, for what has been taken, so that no resentment by the earth (or its spirits) will hinder the magical operation the herbs are destined to be used in.

Another example in the *PGM* of the special precautions taken when uprooting herbs includes a spell to be addressed to the plant to ask its forgiveness:

*Spell for picking a plant:* Use it before sunrise. The *spell to be spoken:* "I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you by the undefiled name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned - ever in life again...<sup>1494</sup>

One of the most significant sections in the *PGM* gives a key to the description of herbs and other items with flowery and alarming names. This key may be of use in interpreting some of the items that have made their way into Western European grimoires.

---

<sup>1491</sup> The *gladwyn* is a an English herb usually called "stinking iris." The Greek in this quote does not look correct, as an *ἰτι* is only listed in Liddell as "a worm that eats horn and wood."

<sup>1492</sup> Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* 9.8.7. See Hort (1916).

<sup>1493</sup> *PGM* IV. 2967-3006. See also *PGM* IV. 286.

<sup>1494</sup> *PGM* IV. 286-95.

Codename in the papyri	Actual ingredient
blood [of a Titan]	wild lettuce
blood from a head	lupine
blood from a shoulder	bear's breach [herb] <sup>1495</sup>
[blood] from the loins	camomile
blood of a goose	mulberry tree's milk [sap]
blood of a hamadryas baboon	blood of a spotted gecko
blood of a hyrax	truly [blood] of a hyrax <sup>1496</sup>
blood of a snake	hematite
blood of an eye	tamarisk gall
blood of Ares	purslane
blood of Hephaistos	wormwood <sup>1497</sup>
blood of Hestia	camomile
blood of Kronos	[sap?] of cedar
bone of an ibis	buckthorn
crocodile dung	Ethiopian soil
eagle	wild garlic <sup>1498</sup>
fat from a head	spurge
[fat] from the belly	earth-apple
[fat] from the foot	house leek
hair of a lion	'tongue' of a turnip <sup>1499</sup>
hairs of a hamadryas baboon	dill seed
heart of a hawk	heart of wormwood
Kronos' spice	piglet's milk
man's bile	turnip sap <sup>1500</sup>
physician's bone	sandstone
pig's tail	leopard's bane [a herb] <sup>1501</sup>
semen of a bull	egg of a blister beetle
semen of a lion	human semen
semen of Ammon	house leek
semen of Ares	clover
semen of Helios	white hellebore
semen of Hephaistos	fleabane
semen of Herakles	mustard-rocket <sup>1502</sup>
semen of Hermes	dill
snake's 'ball of thread'	soapstone
snake's head	leech
tears of a hamadryas baboon	dill juice

To which one might add a number of other codenames from other *PGM* sources, such as:<sup>1503</sup>

<sup>1495</sup> Scarborough suggests *Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.

<sup>1496</sup> Scarborough suggests the rock hyrax, *Procavia capensis*.

<sup>1497</sup> Supposedly attractive to the gods.

<sup>1498</sup> Scarborough tentatively suggests *Trigonella foenumgraecum* or hellebore.

<sup>1499</sup> Scarborough suggests the taproot.

<sup>1500</sup> Scarborough suggests *Brassica napus* L.

<sup>1501</sup> Scarborough suggests 'scorpion tail,' a variety of leopard's bane (genus *boronicum*), or heliotrope.

<sup>1502</sup> Scarborough suggests *Eruca sativa*.

<sup>1503</sup> *PGM* XII. 401-444.

Codename	Actual ingredient
blood of Isis = <i>asphos</i>	black horehound = <i>ballota nigra</i>
Fox testicles = <i>testiculus vulpis</i>	<i>Orchis</i>
Dog testicles = <i>testiculus canis</i>	<i>Orchis militaris. L.</i> <sup>1504</sup>
Ram's horn	herb like wild fennel
Wild onion	Asphodel or wild garlic <sup>1505</sup>

Table 17: Egyptian code names for common ingredients used in magic in the *PGM*.

After translation some of these ingredients may have still been taken literally.<sup>1506</sup> This passage from the *PGM*, which has been tabulated in Table 17, is described as “interpretations which the temple scribes employed, from the holy writings, in translation,” explaining that they have encoded the names of herbs and other materials, to protect the masses from practicing magic without a full understanding.<sup>1507</sup>

These codenames for plants appear to have come originally from a Sumerian source.<sup>1508</sup> In each case there seems to be very little intuitive connection between the code word and the actual item.

In both herbal sections of the *Hygromanteia*, considerable attention is paid to the mechanics of picking the herbs magically as in the *PGM*, so that their power is retained and no adverse events occur as a result of this action. For example:

When you want to uproot the herb that is attributed to a planet, first recite the prayer of the planet. Then recite the conjuration of the angel that rules that day and hour, on your knees, and with extreme piety... Uproot it and leave it out for seven nights, under the stars.<sup>1509</sup>

Chapter 17 of the *Hygromanteia* lists the zodiacal herbs. On the basis that this chapter only appears in one manuscript,<sup>1510</sup> Marathakis doubts that it is actually part of the *Hygromanteia*. It describes the magical and medical qualities of twelve herbs which are attributed to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The point of mentioning the *Raziel* was to demonstrate that often sections on “herbs, words, and stones” were seen as an integral part of Solomonic grimoires. The herbs of the zodiacal signs are shown in Table 18, alongside a similar, but unrelated text from B2 attributed to Harpocratio, which attributes very different plants.<sup>1511</sup>

<sup>1504</sup> Hermann Fischer, *Mittelalterliche Pflanzenkunde*, Hildesheim: Olms, 1976, p. 276.

<sup>1505</sup> *PGM* xiv. 966-69.

<sup>1506</sup> Betz and John Scarborough (1988) indicate that similar key lists can be found in *De succedaneis* which was included among the works of Galen; in C G Kuehn [ed.], *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, vol. 19, 1830, pp. 721-47; and in the adapted version of this in Paulus Aegineta, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, IX/2, I. L Heiberg, [ed.], vol. II, pp. 401-8; and also in Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*. Therefore these substitutions were more widespread in use than just in a magical context.

<sup>1507</sup> The order has been changed to facilitate comparison of similar ‘code-words.’

<sup>1508</sup> Reiner (1995), pp. 27-28.

<sup>1509</sup> P2, f. 99-99v.

<sup>1510</sup> M, f. 248v-251v.

<sup>1511</sup> With the exception of Pisces.

Similar passages appear in the 16th century *Raziel*,<sup>1512</sup> but the 24 herbs and plants in the latter do not match the 12 in the *Hygromanteia*. Similar miraculous powers are attributed in both cases, powers which appear in some pseudo-Albertus Magnus books,<sup>1513</sup> and in later centuries resurface in various herbals and ‘Books of Secrets.’

Zodiac Sign <sup>1514</sup>	<i>Hygromanteia</i> <sup>1515</sup>	Harpocratio <sup>1516</sup>
Aries	Water milfoil	Sage
Taurus	Clover	Common vervain
Gemini	Common sword-lily	Supine vervain
Cancer	Mandrake	Comfrey
Leo	Black horehound	Cyclamen
Virgo	Black nightshade	Calamint
Libra	Purple betony	Scorpiurus
Scorpio	Hound’s tongue	Wormwood
Sagittarius	Anakardios <sup>1517</sup>	Pimpernel
Capricorn	Stinking tutsan <sup>1518</sup>	Sorrel
Aquarius	Meadow buttercup	Dragonwort
Pisces	Birthwort	Birthwort

Table 18: The Zodiacial herbs according to the *Hygromanteia* and Harpocratio.

However the Planetary herbs in chapter 18 appear in many more manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>1519</sup> unlike the zodiacal herbs chapter which appears only once. This is in line with the thinking that one can invoke planetary forces but not those of the zodiac (which are merely the backdrop to the movement of the planets).

The most interesting of these herbal formulae is a method for expelling the demon Onoskelis. He is the fourth demon mentioned in the 1st/2nd century *Testament of Solomon*, and it is therefore possibly a very old formula:

If someone is tormented by the demon named Onoskelis, take some of the root and the seed [of daffodil, the herb of Saturn in this version], wrap it in donkey’s skin, and hang it on his neck. She [Onoskelis] will not harm him.<sup>1520</sup>

<sup>1512</sup> See Karr & Skinner (2011), pp. 74-80 and 168-174, being transcriptions of Sloane MS 3826, ff. 16-20.

<sup>1513</sup> See Best (1973).

<sup>1514</sup> This would of course be the Egyptian month, rather than the zodiacal sign.

<sup>1515</sup> Monacensis MS Gr. 70.

<sup>1516</sup> *Hygromanteia* B2. See Boudreaux, *Catalogus VIII* 3, pp. 134-151.

<sup>1517</sup> Unidentified. The *Kyranides* maintains that it is the end of the branch of the Mulberry tree, but in Codex M this name signifies a different plant.

<sup>1518</sup> St. John’s wort.

<sup>1519</sup> H, M, G, P2 and B3. The version in H is fragmentary, having the plants for only two planets, Sun and Saturn. Likewise G only has the plants for Sun and Moon. A completely different set of planetary herbal correspondences is to be found in N, f. 387v.

<sup>1520</sup> H, f. 50v. A sidelight on this procedure is that the demon Onoskelis is “a beautiful demon with the legs of a mule” which gives a rationale to the use of a donkey’s skin in the charm hung on the neck. In PGM the ass is symbolic of Set/Typhon, and so it might be fruitful to look for some ancient connection between these two.

The version of planetary plants found in P2 is a full set, but interleaved with the prayers of the planets (normally found in chapter 3 of the *Hygromanteia*).<sup>1521</sup> This version has much 'Book of Secrets' type material included with the planetary herbs. P2 completes what was begun in H, and lists all seven planets.

Latin grimoires had even more complicated procedures for uprooting magical herbs. This was especially true for the mandrake. Typically this would have had the earth around it loosened before attaching it to the tail of a dog, which was then encouraged with offers of food to pull up the mandrake. The theory was that any bad luck generated by this act would rebound on the dog not the magician. It was thought that such a procedure might even kill the dog.

Planetary herbal correspondences became an important part of Latin *herbaria* and tables of magical correspondences, such as those found in Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.

---

<sup>1521</sup> Plus a paragraph of general instructions and the short version of chapter 13, about the angels and demons of the planets. It is unusual for the chapters to be interwoven in this fashion, but would make sense if P2 was owned by a practitioner, presumably the second of the three scribes who wrote the MS in Moscow. It is not surprising that it ended up in Moscow as that city, as indeed much of Russia, was an Orthodox religious dependency of Byzantium for a number of centuries.

## 7. Specific Magical Techniques and Objectives

### 7.1 Obtaining a *Paredros* (F)

A *paredros* (πάρεδρος) is a magical servant.<sup>1522</sup> To acquire an assistant demon and then to use his advice to bind other demons was a well-established magical technique. It is attested in the 1st/2nd century *Testament of Solomon* and in a number of grimoires up to and including the *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* (1700) where an “Operation of Simon Magus” mentions that:

This Operation has been learnt from a certain demon who placed herself at the service of the writer (so it was written), and taught him this process, which is true.<sup>1523</sup>

Later in Europe this evolved into the idea of spirits who attached themselves to the magician as his familiars. The theory is that, in many ways, the acquisition of a familiar spirit is the most important part of a magician’s initial development, as they give him direct help from the spiritual world and advice on how to deal with other spiritual creatures.

A rite designed to provide a spirit servant is to be found in one of the most interesting sections of the *PGM* which is rather ambiguously titled in English “Apollonius of Tyana’s old serving woman.” A more descriptive translation might have been “Apollonius of Tyana’s [method for securing a spirit] servant [in the form of] an old woman.”<sup>1524</sup>

The method involves invoking the goddess Nephthys, who manifests first as a beautiful woman then as an old serving woman. When Nephthys attempts to depart, the magician must restrain her and reply “No, lady! I will use you until I get her.”<sup>1525</sup>

The goddess then binds the old woman spirit servant to the service of the magician, by giving a tooth from an ass, and one from the old woman, to the magician, who then has complete control over this spirit servant.

A more sinister magical assistant is offered by King Pitys, in two separate rites.<sup>1526</sup> In the first rite this assistant turns out to be the soul of a dead man (who has died a violent death). In the second rite the assistant is simply described as a chthonic daimon. In both cases a skull cup is used, and in the second case the skin of an ass is also used, indicating the Typhon/Seth nature of the ritual.

The second rite is the more complex and requires three writing surfaces:

- i) The hide of an ass inscribed with an ink made of the heart blood of an ass which has

<sup>1522</sup> The derivation of πάρεδρος is from *para*, ‘near,’ and *hedros*, ‘sided.’

<sup>1523</sup> SMS, f. 56a-56b.

<sup>1524</sup> PGM XI.a 1-40.

<sup>1525</sup> PGM XI. a 20.

<sup>1526</sup> PGM IV. 1928-2005 and 2006-2125.

been sacrificed, mixed with coppersmiths' soot. The figure drawn also incorporates the qualities of Chnoubis:

...a lion-faced form of man wearing a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be [drawn] a serpent. And around all his left hand let an asp be entwined, from the mouth of the lion let fire breath forth.

- ii) On a leaf of flax, using an ink made of falcon's blood mixed with goldsmiths' soot, is drawn:

Hekate with three heads and six hands, holding torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle the head of a maiden with sandals bound on her feet.

- iii) On a piece of papyrus, with ink made from eel's blood mixed with acacia [ashes] is drawn as the figure of Osiris "clothed as the Egyptians show him."

The whole rite therefore involves three gods of the Underworld: one Gnostic, one Greek and one Egyptian. As the Egyptian gods are spoken about in the third person, the rite has probably been assembled by a Greek magician.

The rite was allegedly sent from King Pitys to Ostanes. One Ostanes was mentioned by Hermodorus, a disciple of Plato. Another Ostanes accompanied Xerxes on his expedition to Greece, where he reputedly taught Demokritos magic. Pliny identified that Ostanes with the Persian magi, but also suggested that this Ostanes dealt in magic and necromancy, making him a much more likely candidate. His fame survived through the Byzantine period, mainly in connection with alchemy, and Ostanes' name was often associated with magic right up till the Middle Ages.

There appears to be no *paredros* rite in the *Hygromanteia*, but the concept of an assistant demon is unlikely to have been absent from the objectives of Byzantine magicians.

Several demons in the *Goetia* were listed as "giving good familiars," so the concept of the familiar remained alive in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and later vernacular grimoires. This concept was definitely present amongst the Jewish community of eastern Europe, where Rabbi Loew's *golem* might be considered a very concrete example. Witches were also notorious for having familiar imps.

## 7.2 Sending Visions and Dreams (V)

*Oneiropompeia* or 'dream sending' was an art practised by Graeco-Egyptian magicians to insert ideas into the minds of a target sleeper. Often the dream would be structured round the appearance to the target sleeper of an image of their favourite god/goddess giving them advice, which would in fact be derived from the instructions of the magician or his client.

Obviously dream sending remained a popular technique from Graeco-Egyptian right up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and beyond. Not only did the technique remain popular but the exact same procedure, calling upon the same Egyptian god survived over the same time period. This request for a dream oracle utilises a drawing of the Dynastic Egyptian god Bes made with a specially prepared ink:

**Request for a dream oracle from Besas:** Take red ochre [and the blood] of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed wormwood, cinnabar, and rainwater; blend all together, put aside and write with it and with black writing ink, and recite the formula to the lamp at evening.<sup>1527</sup> Take a black [cloth] of Isis and put it around your hand. When you are almost awake the god will come and speak to you, and he will not go away unless you wipe off your hand with spikenard or something of roses and smear the picture with the black [cloth] of Isis. But the strip of cloth put around your neck,<sup>1528</sup> so that he will not smite you.

"I conjure you, daimon, by your two names<sup>1529</sup> ANOUTH ANOUTH.<sup>1530</sup> You are the headless god, the one who has a head and his face on his feet, dim-sighted Besas. We are not ignorant. You are the one whose mouth [continually] burns. I conjure [you by] your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH M... ORA PHĒSARA Ē... Come, lord, reveal to me concerning the NN matter, without deceit, without treachery, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly..."<sup>1531</sup>

More than 1300 years later, almost exactly the same *PGM* spell appears in a 16th century manuscript in the British Library:

Make a drawing of Besa (Bes) on your left hand, and envelop your hand in a strip of black cloth that has been consecrated to Isis, and lie down to sleep without speaking a word, even to answer a question. Wind the remainder of the cloth round your neck.

The ink with which you write must be composed of the blood of a cow, the blood of a white dove (fresh), frankincense, myrrh, black ink, cinnabar, mulberry juice, rain water, and the juices of wormwood and vetch.<sup>1532</sup> With this write your petition before the setting sun (saying), "Send the truthful seer out of the holy shrine, I beseech thee, Lampsuer, Sumarta, Baribas, Dardalam, Iorlex. O Lord send the sacred deity Anuth Anuth, Salbana, Chambré, Breith, now, now, quickly, quickly. Come in this very night."<sup>1533</sup>

This extraordinary survival is more than just the retention of a method. It is almost a word-for-word copy, allowing for a little bit of variation between the two different translations from the Greek. In fact, the 16th century translation is, in some places, more detailed than the modern translation of the Graeco-Egyptian text.<sup>1534</sup> For example, the modern translation by Grese says "Take a black of Isis" whilst the 16th century translation supplies the missing

---

<sup>1527</sup> This procedure appears to also incorporate a lamp skrying.

<sup>1528</sup> The cloth is used as a phylactery.

<sup>1529</sup> Should read 'by your dual name.'

<sup>1530</sup> Although Anouth appears here to be a name for the Headless God, the usual scholarly interpretation equates it with Osiris.

<sup>1531</sup> *PGM* VII. 222-249.

<sup>1532</sup> The blood of a cow, and of a white dove, frankincense, myrrh, cinnabar and sun vetch all appear as incenses in *PGM*.

<sup>1533</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> century BL Sloane manuscript quoted by Thompson (1973), p. 57.

<sup>1534</sup> Hutton raises the question as to whether this was composed by a 16th century magician or if it was a survival of a specific text (Hutton (2003), p. 186. The first quotation above confirms that indeed it was a survival from a specific papyrus.

noun: “a strip of black cloth that has been consecrated to Isis.” The *PGM* versions mentions “smear the picture” but does not say what picture that is. The 16th century text supplies that deficiency with “Make a drawing of Besa on your left hand,” a crucial detail left out of the *PGM* text.

A chunk of the invocation is missing from the 16th century text, but on the other hand key *nomina magica* are missing from the *PGM*, but supplied by the 16th century text. It can only be conjectured that both versions come from an older more complete text. One wonders how many other *PGM* formulae were available in 16th century Europe, long before the present magical papyri were recovered by Anastasi in Thebes, or translated by modern scholars.

### 7.3 Love Spells (L)

Many examples of love spells use slander in order to stir up the god/goddess into action,<sup>1535</sup> the magician being all the while careful not to attract the goddesses’ wrath onto his own head:

For I come announcing the slander of NN [the love object of the spell], a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who says, ‘I have seen the greatest goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.’ It is she, NN, who said, ‘I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.’ She, NN, said it, not I...<sup>1536</sup>

The slander spell<sup>1537</sup> is unique to Graeco-Egyptian sources, and did not migrate to either the *Hygromanteia* or to later Solomonic grimoires. Perhaps as a procedure it was considered far too risky. In fact the magician is instructed specifically “Do not therefore perform the rite rashly, and do not perform it unless some dire necessity arises for you.”<sup>1538</sup>

The instructions of ‘love’ spells are often explicitly sexual rather than loving, for example:

Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way, let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone...<sup>1539</sup>

and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, not even that of her own husband, just that of mine...<sup>1540</sup>

Most of the love spells are small and fragmentary, but a few are given in much more detail. The essence of one such rite is the drowning (and therefore deification),<sup>1541</sup> of very specific type of scarab. A scarab of Mars is used in another method.<sup>1542</sup>

---

<sup>1535</sup> Slander spells are more often used with a goddess than with a god.

<sup>1536</sup> *PGM* IV. 2475-2481.

<sup>1537</sup> *Diabole*.

<sup>1538</sup> *PGM* IV. 2505.

<sup>1539</sup> *PGM* IV. 350-354.

<sup>1540</sup> *PGM* IV. 374-376.

<sup>1541</sup> A field mouse is deified by drowning it in spring water, and two ‘moon beetles’ in river water, in *PGM* IV. 2456-2457.

<sup>1542</sup> *PDM* xiv. 636-669, especially 636-637.

An interesting turn of events, at the end of one spell is the procedure for getting rid of the lover when she is no longer wanted:

If, however, you should wish her to stop [desiring you], take a sun scarab and place it in the middle of her head and say to it: "Gulp down my love charm, image of Helios; he himself orders you to do so." And pick up the scarab and release it alive. Then take the ring and give it to her to wear, and immediately she will depart.<sup>1543</sup>

Iron in later periods was considered to be anathema to spirits. So much so, that (with one dubious exception) none of the metallic sigils of the 72 spirits of the *Goetia* were made of iron.<sup>1544</sup>

Conjurations for specific purposes begin with chapter 38 of the *Hygromanteia*. The first of these is a conjuration for love. This is an example of a specific order to the spirits, in this case to bring the beloved to the magician. The approach is much gentler than procedures using one of the dead (as in the case of *PGM defixiones*) to torture the object of desire till she comes, but it is still one of command rather than seduction. The usual formula stipulates pain and denial of sleep, drink and food to the woman desired, till she submits:

Make her love me deeply, deeply, deeply, nor ever forget me, so that she will not be able to eat, drink, sleep, nor have any other comfort, until I wish it so. Let her be submitted to my appetite and desire."<sup>1545</sup>

More rarely, in another version, the target of desire is a man. The demons are ordered to:

...go quickly to such and such a person, take possession of his heart and turn his thoughts and mind to me, so and so. Let him not think of anybody else in the world, either his father, his mother, or anybody else, a woman or a man...<sup>1546</sup>

Both conjurations are replete with historiola, quoting instances of god's power from the *Old Testament*:

I conjure you by the power of God who divided the Red Sea by means of a rod when Moses ordered it so.<sup>1547</sup>

Love spells occur in almost all the later grimoires, but usually as one of the separate 'experiments.' These 'experiments' are sometimes later additions, often occurring towards the end of a manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

## 7.4 Invisibility (I)

Invisibility is one boon that has been asked of magic in every time and place by magicians from King Gyges<sup>1548</sup> to Aleister Crowley.

---

<sup>1543</sup> *PDM* lxi. 175-180 aka *PGM LXI*. 33-37.

<sup>1544</sup> In another culture, Sikhs wear an iron *kura* to protect themselves from spirits (although the modern explanation has re-designated the real purpose into something more acceptable.)

<sup>1545</sup> H, f. 29v.

<sup>1546</sup> B, ff. 25-26.

<sup>1547</sup> B, f. 25.

<sup>1548</sup> See Marathakis (2007) for a detailed survey of those invisibility spells.

One rite specifies an ointment with which to smear oneself when asking Helios for invisibility. Presumably the logic of this request is that as Helios is responsible for making everything visible, so it is within his power to deny this favour, and make something invisible:

**Indispensable invisibility spell:** Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled by a beetle<sup>1549</sup> and oil of an unripe olive and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole body with it and say to Helios..."Make me invisible, lord Helios...in the presence of any man until sunset..."<sup>1550</sup>

A few lines further on, another invisibility ointment is recommended:

Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing them from the right to the left, say the spell... And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish.<sup>1551</sup>

The operation of invisibility using a skull in chapter 59 of the *Hygromanteia* is not an operation typical of the Solomonic tradition, although it also survives in the *Grimorium Verum*,<sup>1552</sup> and in a modified manner (using the skull of a manikin) in one *Clavicula Salomonis*. The operation relies on planting beans or bean seeds in the orifices of a skull. After a suitable interval, and suitable invocations, these beans grant invisibility to the person who carries them. The similar operation in the *Grimorium Verum* states that the magician has to actually put the previously buried bean in his mouth for it to confer invisibility.

It is interesting that beans are prescribed, and this may be a backwards nod to the *PGM* rites which required certain actions in a bean field, or to Pythagoras who forbade his disciples from eating beans, for reasons related to the Underworld. In manuscript H this operation of invisibility occurs before the actual incipit, and so it is highly likely to have been a later addition to an otherwise blank early folio, and therefore it has not always been a part of the *Hygromanteia*.

This operation of invisibility is listed as a separate 'experiment' in the many versions of the *Key of Solomon*. As with other *Key of Solomon* operations it is necessary to work from within a protective circle. After general conjurations, the spirit Almiras, who is styled the 'Chief of Invisibility,' is conjured. The operation<sup>1553</sup> requires a small yellow wax manikin, upon whose skull a special figure is engraved, rather like the procedure used by Rabbi Lowe of Prague to make the golem. The skin of a frog or toad is added, with further characters, and with due censing and invocation it is suspended at midnight from the vault of a cavern. The manikin

---

<sup>1549</sup> The beetle Kheperi symbolises the setting sun. The night owl confers darkness, and the eye obviously connects to visibility. So the ingredients of the ointment are not just random, but follow an internal logic, a physical paste corresponding to the nature of the request to the lord of the dark Sun.

<sup>1550</sup> *PGM* I. 222-231.

<sup>1551</sup> *PGM* I. 247-262.

<sup>1552</sup> Peterson (2007), pp. 48-49.

<sup>1553</sup> In Lansdowne MS 1203.

is then buried in the floor of the cave to be exhumed whenever the magician wishes to be invisible.<sup>1554</sup>

## 7.5 Sacrifice

Sacrifice is part of the compact made between the magician and a spiritual creature. The idea of making a pact which required the magician's soul as part of the bargain is not found in any of the texts here examined, but seems to be solely part of the fictional Faust tradition. However there is often reference made to offerings made to the spirits, usually in the form of incense, sometimes as food, and less commonly in the form of a sacrificed animal. Solomon was famous for the quantity of oxen and other animals he sacrificed for Yahweh at the inauguration of his Temple. Sacrifice was also an integral part of Second Temple Jewish religion, as well as in Graeco-Egyptian magic. Although Jewish sacrifice on a large scale ceased with the destruction of Herod's Temple in 70 CE, examples of sacrifice (especially of doves) persist in Jewish magical texts like the *Sefer Raziel ha-Malekh*.<sup>1555</sup>

In one of King Bitys' necromantic rites, a sacrifice is offered to a spiritual creature (in this case a daimon) as a 'payment' for a successful conclusion of the unnamed objective of the rite:<sup>1556</sup>

Fulfil, daimon, what is written here. And after you have performed it, I will pay you a sacrifice. But if you delay, I will inflict on you chastisements which you cannot endure.

Sacrifice is therefore distinctly a form of bribery. Sacrifice is specifically instructed in a general purpose rite, but the first application, for which sacrifice is recommended, is to attract a lover:

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and then go backwards as you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being attracted so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.<sup>1557</sup>

The Classical Greeks offered sacrifice to the chthonic gods, via a pit in the earth, usually accompanied by libations of wine and blood poured into the pit. Similar procedures are also to be found in the *PGM*, in this case to aid in the consecration of a magic ring:

Making a pit in a holy place open to the sky, [or] if [you have none] in a clean, sanctified tomb looking towards the east, and making over the pit an altar of wood from fruit trees, sacrifice an unblemished goose, and 3 roosters and 3 pigeons. Make these whole burnt offerings and burn, with the birds, all sorts of incense. Then, standing by the pit, look to the east and, pouring on a libation of wine, honey, milk, [and] saffron, and holding over the smoke, while you pray, [the ring or stone] in which are engraved the inscriptions...<sup>1558</sup>

Sacrifice also has its place in the consecration of an iron lamella:

Go, I say, into a clean room. Set up a table, on which you are to place a clean linen cloth and flowers of the season. Then sacrifice a white cock, placing beside it 7 cakes, 7 wafers, 7 lamps;

---

<sup>1554</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 52.

<sup>1555</sup> Translation in Savedow (2000).

<sup>1556</sup> King Bitys/Pitys was reputed to be a Thessalian magician, Thessaly being famous for its magic.

<sup>1557</sup> PGM IV. 2491.

<sup>1558</sup> PGM XII. 201-269.

pour a libation of milk, honey, wine, and olive oil.<sup>1559</sup>

A more detailed account of a sacrifice is to be found in an auto-initiation rite:

Keep yourself pure for seven days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded – or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. On two bricks standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood...when half the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun [fully] appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock... Throw the head into the river and drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what's left of the body on the burning altar.<sup>1560</sup>

Sacrifice also appears amongst the compulsive formulae designed to force a god or spirit to manifest if they have been dilatory:

Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it, anoint yourself and remain praying until the sacrifice is extinguished. Then rub yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and "Hermes' finger."<sup>1561</sup>

The white cock (but not the pinecones) survives as a magician's sacrifice right through to the late European grimoires.<sup>1562</sup>

Only two manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*<sup>1563</sup> contain explicit instructions for taking blood from a bat, swallow or dove, while five suggest taking it from an ox or a sheep.<sup>1564</sup> In each case the animal is sacrificed in order to drain its blood. In one case (H) the ox is cut with the knife of the art but not killed.

The manufacture of the consecrated parchment also involves slaughtering the lamb or calf, but this could also be considered a sacrifice to the spirits.

A number of manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis* mention sacrifice, and some also link it with the offering of food to the spirits (a practice that dates back to the *PGM*). Two copies of this text were confiscated and used as evidence in the Inquisitorial trial of Laura Malipiero in Venice in 1654. One of these provides us with the following details:

*About sacrifice for spirits and how to sacrifice. Last chapter.* In many [magical] arts at times one must make sacrifices to demons, and these are of different kinds. At times for good spirits white animals are sacrificed, and black ones for bad spirits. Sometimes the sacrifice is only of their blood and sometimes of parts to eat.<sup>1565</sup> Those who wish to sacrifice animals of whatever sort must take virgin animals because the spirits will accept this sacrifices [sic] willingly, and for this reason obey the sacrificers more willingly. So when you sacrifice with blood, let the beasts or birds you take the blood from be virginal since the purer the thing is the more effective they are and before purging, over the sacrifice, let the following words be said... After, scent it with sweet-smelling fumigations, and sprinkle it with exorcised [blessed] water; after, serve it, and

---

<sup>1559</sup> PGM IV. 2188-2193.

<sup>1560</sup> PGM IV. 26-51.

<sup>1561</sup> PGM II. 74-76.

<sup>1562</sup> Sacrifice of a white cock has even appeared in modern occult fiction, for example in novels by Dennis Wheatley.

<sup>1563</sup> H f. 25v-26; P f. 218v.

<sup>1564</sup> H, B, A, P and B3.

<sup>1565</sup> This is where animal sacrifice morphs into providing food as an offering to the spirits.

keep the rest for later... But when you are sacrificing food or drink, prepare it outside the circle, and let these viands and drinks be covered with some noble material and on top of this material, spread a new clean white cloth, with fresh bread and precious wine that must be of a taste in keeping with the nature of the spirit. If at times animals are offered, prepare for this those such as a gander or chickens or doves or others like them, and over everything always add an ampulla or decanter of water taken from a fresh source, and when all these things have been done, enter the circle and call the spirits by name, at least the main ones... After, spread sweet-smelling fumigations around, and sprinkle with exorcised water, and in this way you will begin to conjure them to come, and it is thus that sacrifices must be made in all the arts which require them, and thus without doubt the spirits will be ready to serve you.<sup>1566</sup>

Several later grimoires, derived from the *Clavicula*, coyly mention sacrifices to the spirits, but it is likely that the repressive ecclesiastical environment in Venice made the mention of sacrifice less and less common.



Figure 58: A page from the Italian *Clavicula Salomonis* used in the trial of Laura Malipiero.<sup>1567</sup>

## 7.6 Necromancy (N)

One procedure that has fascinated people from time immemorial is necromancy. The word 'necromancy' has had a chequered history, being confused or conflated in the later Middle Ages with 'nigromancy.' Conventionally according to modern scholars and standard Greek

<sup>1566</sup> *Incipit: Clavicula Salomonis Regis...* as quoted in Barbierato (2002), p. 168-169. As the last chapter of this manuscript is on sacrifice and there are a number of pentacles drawn separately at the end, this manuscript is likely to belong to the Armadel family.

<sup>1567</sup> Venice State Archive of the Holy Office [the Inquisition], b. 104 *Clavicula di Salmone*, reproduced in Barbierato (2002), p. 152. This folio is an earlier folio from the trial of Laura Malpiero, rather than the folio quoted above.

ictionaries '*manteia*' indicated a form of divination.<sup>1568</sup> In the case of necromancy, the literal meaning is clearly divination by questioning the dead. But nigromancy is usually glossed as 'the black art' or 'black magic.' How can this be as 'nigro-' simply means 'black' so logically 'nigromancy' should mean something like 'black divination,' but it doesn't. Elsewhere in this thesis I have made the case for broadening the definition of '*-manteia*' to mean a magical procedure, rather than just a divination. If this is not the case, then how can the conflation of nigromancy and necromancy have occurred if only one was a method of divination and the other a method of magic? Robert Ritner discusses the (mis)use of 'necromancy' to mean a magical operation rather than its original Greek meaning of divination by questioning the dead.<sup>1569</sup> According to the *OED* the use of 'necromancy' to mean any kind of magical operation only came to full fruition in about 1550,<sup>1570</sup> but I believe this occurred at least as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

A unique Jewish interpretation of the meaning of 'nigromancy' is voiced by Menahem Ziyuni:

'Nigromancia' is a combination of two words, *nigar* [Hebrew], 'gathered together, collected,' like water that has been stored up, and *mancia*, the name of the incense that magicians burn to [attract] the demons.<sup>1571</sup>

The Hebrew meaning of *nigar* is closer to "to draw in or invoke." The most interesting part of this definition is the equation of *mancia*, and hence presumably of *μαντεία*, with a specific incense used in evocation. However this seems to be an isolated usage and does not seem to advance the argument.

Dating from before the questioning of Samuel by King Saul (mediated by the witch of Endor) there has always been a Jewish tradition of necromancy. In the Talmud it says:

There are two kinds of necromancy (בָּאֵל נָבָל. Baal Aib [Aub]), the one where the dead is raised by naming him, the other where he is asked by means of a skull (הַנְּשָׁאָל בְּגַלְלָת).<sup>1572</sup>

An actual skull illustrates this practice in the Talmud, and there is no doubt that this practice was to be found described in Hebrew texts.

The first kind of necromancy has survived through to the modern era, but is not specifically part of the Solomonic tradition.<sup>1573</sup> The second type where a head, or skull, has been kept as a sort of oracle to answer questions also has a long but separate history. The most famous

<sup>1568</sup> We have cause to question this rather simplistic translation when considering the techniques found in the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>1569</sup> Ritner (2008), pp. 236-249; Ciraolo and Seidel (2002), p. 96.

<sup>1570</sup> *OED*, Vol. VII, p. 67.

<sup>1571</sup> Quoted in Trachtenberg (2004), p. 22.

<sup>1572</sup> *Sanhedrin*, 65b.

<sup>1573</sup> See the famous engraving of Edward Kelley and Paul Waring questioning the ghost of a woman besides a newly opened grave. The incident dates from the late 16th century, but the engraving comes from Sibley (1784 - 1792). More recent cases were reported in the 1980s relating to Highgate Cemetery in London.

oracular skull was that reputed to have been owned and used by Roger Bacon.<sup>1574</sup>

One such skull (which came from an archaeological dig in Nippur) was kept in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>1575</sup> The inscription across the top of the skull includes the word **לִילִת**, Lilita, a clear reference to the female Babylonian demon Lilitu. Other words on the skull make it clear that it is an address to this spirit.<sup>1576</sup> The Sabians of Harran were also reputed to use “speaking skulls” for oracular purposes<sup>1577</sup> and in Roman times Lucius Apuleius mentioned the use of skulls in magic in his *Apology*. Classical Greek references to the use of the dead in magic, such as the re-animation of corpses by Erichtho in the *Pharsalia*<sup>1578</sup> have very little in common with Graeco-Egyptian magic, and even less in common with later Solomonic magic.

The use of mortuary remains in magic also leads on to the use of *defixiones*, which attempt to compel the aid of the dead in a magical operation. *Defixiones* are a common part of Graeco-Egyptian magic, and are treated separately in chapter 5.4.3.

The shortest necromantic spell for questioning corpses in the *PGM* is credited to King Pitys the Thessalian. A flax leaf<sup>1579</sup> has AZĒL BALEMACHŌ written on it, and no invocation is mentioned, but the writing must be done with a special ink.<sup>1580</sup>

Another spell, although captioned as a “Spell of Attraction of King Pitys” is obviously an example of necromancy, for the caption continues with “over any skull cup.”<sup>1581</sup> The operation requires the skull of a dead man who died prematurely or violently. Surprisingly the invocation is not addressed to one of the chthonic gods, but to Helios himself, and his “holy angels on this day, in this very hour.”<sup>1582</sup> Here Helios is addressed as a supreme god, rather than as god of the Sun. One strange facet is the use of the word ‘tent’ to describe the dead man’s grave.<sup>1583</sup> A second version of King Pitys’ necromantic spell continues a few lines before.<sup>1584</sup>

---

<sup>1574</sup> Even in more modern times the skulls of famous men, especially magicians and mystics, have become collectors’ items. As recently as 1978 the skull of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) went on sale at Sotheby’s in London for 2,500 pounds.

<sup>1575</sup> Exhibit No. 41 (CBS 179).

<sup>1576</sup> As an aside, the Arabic word for the skull and the soul are almost identical.

<sup>1577</sup> Chwolson (1965), Vol. ii, p. 150.

<sup>1578</sup> *Pharsalia*, VI. 447-830.

<sup>1579</sup> Flax was always associated by the Greeks with the dead, as a consequence of which flax is often used as a writing material in necromantic operations.

<sup>1580</sup> *PGM* IV. 2140-2144.

<sup>1581</sup> *PGM* IV. 1928-2005.

<sup>1582</sup> The importance of choosing the correct day and hour is stressed (although the rite does not identify the specific hour to be used).

<sup>1583</sup> *PGM* IV. 2140-44.

<sup>1584</sup> *PGM* IV. 2006-2125.

A much more concrete version of necromancy occurs in a papyrus<sup>1585</sup> which Betz's Table of Spells<sup>1586</sup> credits to the *Kestoi* of Julius Africanus.<sup>1587</sup> However, the passage appears to be sourced from Homer and is therefore much older than Julius Africanus, with only a short commentary section inserted from the latter.<sup>1588</sup> The passage very clearly describes the sacrifice of sheep and the pouring of their blood into a trench:

[when with vows] and prayers [I had appealed]  
[To them], the tribes of dead, I took [the] sheep  
And slit their throats [beside the trough, and down]  
The dark blood [flowed. From out of Ere]bos  
Came gathering [the spirits] of the dead...  
[These many] thronged from ev'ry side around  
The trough [of blood] with [awful] cry. Pale fear seized me.  
[But] having drawn the sharp sword at my thigh,  
[I sat,] allowing not the flitting heads  
Of the dead to draw nearer to [the blood]<sup>1589</sup>

Here there are two magical techniques explicitly mentioned. The first is the shedding of blood to attract the spirits, a procedure that carries right on through to the later Latin European grimoires. The second is the use of a sword to control the spirits and keep them at bay. Although it is contra-intuitive that a sharp sword should strike fear into a spirit that is already dead, it is a recurrent motive in both the Byzantine sources and the later Latin grimoires that a sharp sword, specifically made of iron, is an effective threat to spirits, as if they supposedly fear being cut.

Another spell for restraining a divinatory skull that has got out of hand is to be found in the PGM. It demonstrates the continuing use of necromantic skulls that answer questions:

**A restraining seal** for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use in divination], and also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]:  
Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris and from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron<sup>1590</sup> from a leg fetter, work it cold and make a ring on which a headless lion [is] engraved. Let him [the lion] have, instead of his head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet a skeleton (the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these [images] should be an owl-eyed cat with its paw on a gorgon's head; in a circle around [all of them?], these names: IADŌR INBA NICHAIOPLĒX BRITH.<sup>1591</sup>

The visual threat of the skull being crushed by the Headless One plus the iron fetter and a mouth full of sacred dirt should presumably restrain any wayward skull. The point of quoting this is to show that Graeco-Egyptian necromantic procedures were quite detailed,

---

<sup>1585</sup> PGM XXIII. 1-70.

<sup>1586</sup> Betz (1996), pp. xi-xxii.

<sup>1587</sup> c.160-c.240 CE. The *Kestoi* (the Greek word κεστοί literally means 'embroidery') was an encyclopaedic work on various sciences: mathematics, botany, medicine, divination and magic.

<sup>1588</sup> Although Betz's Table of Spells lists this as a *Kestoi* extract, the first 54 lines of the fragment are from Homer *Od.* 11. 34-43, 48-50; *Il.* 3. 278-80; *Il.* 15. 412; *Il.* 7.741; *Od.* 10. 513-14; *Od.* 11.51.

<sup>1589</sup> PGM XXIII. 1-14.

<sup>1590</sup> Iron occurs here as it threatens the spirit operating through the skull.

<sup>1591</sup> PGM IV. 2125-39.

and had an internal logic to them.

Necromancy is not a typical Solomonic operation but appears to belong more to the tradition that includes grimoires like the *Grimorium Verum* and the hoodoo grimoires,<sup>1592</sup> with their rather grisly ingredients. However, chapter 58 of the *Hygromanteia* does deal with *nekromanteia*, and the chapter 59 dealing with invisibility also utilises a skull.<sup>1593</sup> It gives the method of making an oracular head out of a dead man's skull. The theory being that the ghost of the skull's previous owner will, because of the binding evocation, become the familiar of the magician.

The scribe of this particular manuscript, a physician called Iōannēs Aron, was cautious about who might read the manuscript, so he encoded the Greek words for "the ghost of a familiar," "dead man's skull," "on the skull's face" and other key phrases, which might have caused him trouble if the manuscript had fallen into the wrong hands.

One version of Basin skrying<sup>1594</sup> includes a mirror and a lamb bone. This rite is directed towards the spirit of a dead person and therefore partakes of necromancy, even though the manuscript cautiously labels it "concerning basin divination."

Several manuscripts<sup>1595</sup> attribute this particular operation to Hēliodōros, the 5th century astrologer to the Emperor Valens, which helps give a 5th century *terminus a quo* for the *Hygromanteia*.

## 7.7 Treasure Finding

Before there was a regular and reliable banking system, it was common for people to bury their wealth in times of unrest, hoping to come back at a later date to retrieve it.<sup>1596</sup> Consequently looking for buried treasure, often with the assistance of spirits (who were assumed to know the details of such hoards) was a viable magical objective. There appears to be, however, no trace of it in the *PGM*.

Although not specifically to be found in the *PGM*, treasure seeking by magic was practised in that period. In a mocking speech directed against a *goēs* (γόης) Libanius says:<sup>1597</sup>

---

<sup>1592</sup> Hoodoo is a set of practices that include African-American voodoo practices which utilise grave dust, skulls, etc, the iconography of Christian saints, European folk magic and also methods from a series of rather debased European grimoires (especially the Faustbooks) like the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses or Moses' Magical Spirit-Aid*. It evolved in the Mississippi delta area and after the 1930s spread throughout the States. See Peterson (2008) and Hohman (2012).

<sup>1593</sup> The version in B2 is the most explicit.

<sup>1594</sup> G, f. 28v.

<sup>1595</sup> P and M2.

<sup>1596</sup> Even in modern times, many of the pro-Tsarist population leaving Russia after 1917 buried their wealth, hoping to come back for it in more peaceful times. Most did not return.

<sup>1597</sup> Libanius (314-394) was a pagan Greek orator from Antioch.

Why has your craft [magic] not opened up for you all the treasures and why has it not joined everything which currently lies buried in the earth to your estate?<sup>1598</sup>

This confirms that during the 4th century, in Antioch, the ability to use magic to retrieve treasure buried in the earth was commonly thought to be part of the techniques used by magicians.

Treasure finding is one of the uses to which spirits were put in chapter 39 of the *Hygromanteia*. Two versions (B and H) utilise the services of the four archangels, and the Cherubim and Seraphim to encourage the demons to locate a buried hoard. Version B adds the backing of the four Demon Kings to force the spirits to bring the treasure to the magician. The magician specifies what kind of treasure he wants, being very careful not to be later tricked by the spirits with imaginary gold, or treasure that later disappears:

Then, go again for a second time <and bring> beautiful gold that is favored by people, not imaginary, not illusionary or made by any evil device, <but that is> true and most pure, without any deceit or fraud. Let you have no authority to take it back from me, but let it remain with me, firmly, strongly and securely.<sup>1599</sup>

The *Key of Solomon* has an interesting procedure for finding buried treasure. The text asserts that gnomes have extensive knowledge of the whereabouts of buried treasure. The procedure is therefore to become on good terms with such spirits so that they may reveal to the magician the location of some of the treasures which they otherwise jealously guard. Two days are singled out for this operation: 10th July and 20th August, when the Moon is in Leo. Again a Circle drawn with the magical sword is a required precaution. Rather bizarrely, the excavation is to take place *inside* the actual circle of protection, after the location has been determined by cross-examination of the spirits, as is shown in the illustration.<sup>1600</sup>

The magician and his assistants are to be fortified with a

...girdle [made] of the skin of a goat newly slain, whereon shall be written with the blood of the dead man from whom thou shalt have taken the fat these words and characters...<sup>1601</sup>

The scene is to be lit by a "lamp, whose oil should be mingled with the fat of a man who has died in the month of July, and the wick being made from the cloth wherein he has been buried."<sup>1602</sup>

---

<sup>1598</sup> Libanius (c.314-393 CE) *Declamatio* 41.

<sup>1599</sup> B, f. 26v.

<sup>1600</sup> Mathers (1909), pp. 57-58.

<sup>1601</sup> Mathers (1909), p. 58.

<sup>1602</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.



Figure 59: Magicians attempting to take possession of a treasure possessed by spirits, simultaneously dealing with excavation and evocation inside the same circle.<sup>1603</sup> Note that engraving is almost an epitome of a magical operation, conducted from within the confines of a protective circle. The senior conjuror reads aloud from a volume which is certain to be a grimoire and holds a sword with which to threaten the demon. His assistants hold the lamp and dig for the treasure. The demon has bird claws, and is attempting to break through the protective circle (his claws already overlap it).

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Dr John Dee applied to Queen Elizabeth I for a royal warrant to secure any treasure trove he might discover with the assistance of the spirits, in a time when such exploits were otherwise illegal. As buried treasure was automatically claimed by the crown, it is not surprising that she did not issue the warrant.

The use of spirits to find buried treasure was very common in later French grimoires such as the *Grand Grimoire*, which actually illustrates its protective circle with an exit route labelled as the “Route du T[resor].”

<sup>1603</sup> Caricature engraving by Hans Weiditz the Younger (1495-c.1537), circa 1520, of a magician and his assistants attempting to raise a spirit-protected treasure.

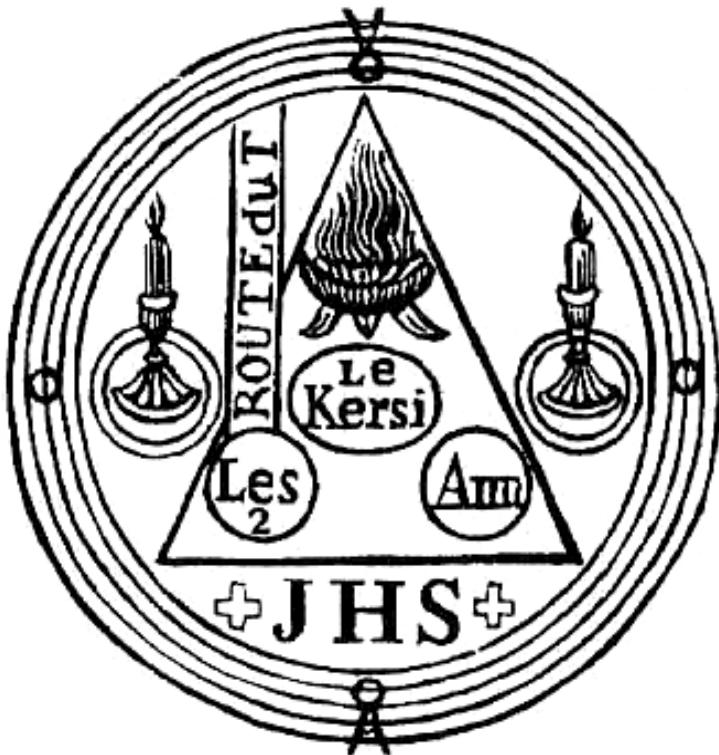


Figure 60: The 'Route du Tresor' from the *Grand Grimoire* shows the access point for the spirit to deliver the buried treasure.<sup>1604</sup> 'Le Kersi' is the master karcist (the magician), and his two friends (Les Ami[s]). The monogram of Jesus Christ, JHS is a very Christian addition. This grimoire has obviously passed through the hands of a number of redactors, and become somewhat confused, as it shows the magicians located in the triangle rather than the spirit, and the triangle drawn within the circle rather than outside.

Another 14th century grimoire shows a drawing of a magician wielding a sword whilst an overburdened spirit brings golden vessels to the edge of a circle and an idle monk looks on.<sup>1605</sup> See Figure 18.

It is not clear how spirits were expected to actually carry physical treasure, so later grimoires sometimes just settle for using the spirits to find the location of the treasure, after which the magician and his assistants dig it up themselves. Hans Weiditz the Younger (the Petrarch Master)<sup>1606</sup> engraved such a scene with a sense of humour circa 1520. His engraving portrays the arrival of a spirit outside the circle, whilst the pick and shovel wielding assistants stand inside the circle with the master reading the evocation by candle-light (see Figure 59).

A large number of grimoires gave formulae for treasure finding.<sup>1607</sup> Spirits such as Birto were often conjured for that purpose. In fact this particular spirit was even invoked at the request

<sup>1604</sup> Anon (1845).

<sup>1605</sup> British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A VII, f. 44. See also Kiesel (2012), pp. 57, 62. This painting has also been used as a cover illustration for Skinner & Rankine (2007, 2010).

<sup>1606</sup> 1495-c.1537.

<sup>1607</sup> Many of these are documented in Rankine (2009).

of, and in front of, King Edward IV of England who reigned 1461-1483.<sup>1608</sup> The same invocation is repeated in several later grimoires, including one copied by Hockley in the early 19th century.

## 7.8 Imprisonment of Spirits in a Bottle

There is a long-running story about Solomon's imprisoning of spirits in a brass bottle and throwing the bottle into the sea or a lake in both Jewish and Arabic sources. Although this story has become part of the Solomonic tradition, surprisingly there are few references to it in the Solomonic grimoires, and none at all in the *PGM*. It is possible that the idea of imprisoning a spirit in a metal bottle comes from Arabian sources, especially as the bottle occurs in Arabian folktales.

Chapter 44 of the *Hygromanteia* deals with the technique of spirit imprisonment in a bottle (*gasteromanteia*). Although it might seem obvious to translate *γαστερομαντεία*, *gasteromanteia* as "bottle divination,"<sup>1609</sup> nothing that could be construed as divination occurs during this procedure. In fact, it is the straightforward magical procedure of imprisoning a spirit in a bottle, a procedure straight out of the *Arabian Nights*. The action of imprisoning cannot be one of divination, hence *-manteia* must have, at least in Byzantium, had a wider meaning. At no time is the spirit cross-examined with divinatory intent. It is therefore obvious that in this context *-manteia* does not mean divination. How are we to explain this? It seems unlikely that the author of the *Hygromanteia* who was writing in Greek and obviously very well informed about both magic and divination, would have repeatedly made such a mistake. The unavoidable conclusion is that *-manteia* had a wider meaning which embraces 'magical procedure.'<sup>1610</sup>

The use of the bottle capture of a demon varies from one text to another but the method is roughly the same. Version H uses the bottle as a receptacle for an evicted demon after a successful exorcism, rather than for example, sending the demon(s) into a herd of pigs. Technically, the spirit dislodgement part of the procedure should be referred to as an exorcism. The exorcistic nature of this operation is reinforced by the apparent need for the boy to wear a phylactery,<sup>1611</sup> to prevent the spirit from entering him before the magician has managed to get it into the bottle. After its capture the bottle is sealed with wax and a small

---

<sup>1608</sup> Versions of this story and the details of the invocation in front of the king are to be found in: Folger MS Vb. 26; Wellcome MS 3203; and Rylands GB 0133 Eng MS 40.

<sup>1609</sup> *Γαστήρ* can mean womb or the wide part of a bottle.

<sup>1610</sup> Scott & Liddell do not offer such a meaning. However, all dictionaries, even the best, are compiled by accumulating instances of a word's usage in literature, it would appear that this particular fairly obscure instance of usage has not been taken cognisance of by the dictionary makers.

<sup>1611</sup> See H, f. 37v for a drawing of this phylactery. Version A simply says the magician must wear a pentagram.

parchment pentagram.<sup>1612</sup>

Versions A and P2 use this method to imprison spirits which have been set to guard buried treasure desired by the magician. In some cases this spirit might even be the spirit of a dead person deliberately set to haunt the treasure. Solomon reputedly used the technique to imprison 72 demons after he had completed building his Temple in Jerusalem. In Arabic texts,<sup>1613</sup> the bottle is usually made of metal, but here it seems likely the bottle in the *Hygromanteia* is made of glass, as the boy skryer is asked to say when he sees the spirit in the bottle. In manuscript A the spirit is likened to a wind, which probably comes from the dual meaning of *ruach* in Hebrew which means both wind and spirit. If the procedure partly fails and the spirit does not voluntarily go into the bottle, he is asked to mark the place of the treasure, or at least vouchsafe the location to the magician in a dream.<sup>1614</sup>

The incenses burned whilst performing this rite were clove, musk and galbanum.<sup>1615</sup> The presence of a boy as a skryer is simply there to report to the magician immediately he sees the spirit actually in the bottle, so the magician can seal it with wax, upon which he engraves a seal to prevent the spirit escaping. The seal is likely to have originally been the Secret Seal of Solomon, but this has been somewhat corrupted in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1616</sup>

Later Latin grimoires are silent when it comes to the imprisoning of spirits in bottles. In his version of the *Goetia*, Thomas Rudd in the mid-17th century reintroduces this procedure by creating a metal 'bottle' designed to imprison or threaten the spirits. The function of this has already been discussed in chapter 5.3.2. See Figure 32.

---

<sup>1612</sup> Traditionally it should be sealed with the Secret Seal of Solomon. See Figure 42.

<sup>1613</sup> Such as that of al-Buni.

<sup>1614</sup> "There is a tradition that the goddess Bhagavati, who is worshipped at Kodungallur in Malabar, was rescued by a fisherman when she was shut up in a jar, and thrown into the sea by a great magician. The Lingadars of the Kistna district are said to have made a speciality of bottling evil spirits, and casting the bottles away in some place where no one is likely to come across them, and [accidentally] liberate them." – Thurston (1912), p. 250.

<sup>1615</sup> Frankincense was added in manuscript A.

<sup>1616</sup> See Figure 42.

## 8. The 'manteiai' or Evocatory Skrying Methods

The *manteiai* are to be found in chapters 47 to 58 of the *Hygromanteia*:

i)	47	<i>Epibaktromanteia</i>	water pot skrying
	48	<i>Lekanomanteia</i>	bottle skrying
	49-51	<i>Hygromanteia I-III</i>	three different methods of skrying with water
	52	<i>Hygromanteia IV</i>	skrying with basin, copper kettle and glass
	53	<i>Chalkomanteia</i>	copper bowl skrying
ii)	54	<i>Katoptromanteia</i>	mirror skrying
	55	<i>Krystallomanteia</i>	crystal skrying
	56	<i>Ōomanteia</i>	skrying with an egg
	57	<i>Onykhomanteia</i>	fingernail skrying
iii)	58	<i>Nekromanteia</i>	interrogation of the dead
iv)	--	<i>Lychnomanteia</i>	lamp skrying (in the <i>PGM</i> but not in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .)

All of these are effectively evocatory skrying methods, using different pieces of equipment. In each case the magician evokes a spirit and a virgin child medium states what he or she hears or sees. It is this section of the *Hygromanteia* which at one stage mistakenly gave its name to the whole book. These skrying methods effectively divide into four groups.

i) The first group (covering chapters 47 – 53) are effectively all water/oil skrying methods, even though only four are specifically named as such. These all derive from the *PGM*, as confirmed by the remark made in the *PGM* at the beginning of one bowl skrying procedure:

*Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:* Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water [into it]... Holding the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil [onto the water], bend over the vessel and speak the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish...<sup>1617</sup>

In the text they are all referred to as 'vessel enquiry,' usually translated in modern texts as 'bowl divination.' However the point of quoting this here is to show that the *PGM* subsumed under one heading ('vessel enquiry') what was later split out into seven different methods in the *Hygromanteia* as listed above.

The first of these, *epibaktromanteia*, is defined as water-pot skrying. The word appears to be derived from βάκτρον, meaning a stick or maybe a wand. I speculate that originally this might have been the instrument which accompanied the evocation.<sup>1618</sup> The second is referred

<sup>1617</sup> *PGM* IV. 221-232. This passage is actually abruptly inserted into a letter supposedly written by Nephōtēs to Psammetichos, so it comes highly recommended.

<sup>1618</sup> Such a water pot and wand, significantly held by a figure identified as Solomon, occurs in Figure 35.

to as *lekanomanteia*, and has the added dimension of “greasy soot” or ink as the focus of the skryer rather than just water. This use of soot or ink in the hand has endured as a skrying method in the Middle East and North Africa till the present time.<sup>1619</sup> The four different types of *hygromanteia* follow, differing only in the degree of magical protection afforded the skryer, and in the vessel used, the fourth type having a complicated arrangement of copper basin, kettle and glass. The last, *Chalkomanteia*, simply using a copper bowl, is also seen in the *PGM*.<sup>1620</sup>

ii) The second group (chapter 54-57 in the *Hygromanteia*) consists of methods not found in the *PGM*, but which are found in 11th century Jewish sources, as already mentioned. These are not part of the transmission of methods from the *PGM*, or onwards to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. Skrying by mirror and crystal do appear in the Latin West, employed by Trithemius, Dee, Francis Barrett, Frederick Hockley, etc., but are found in other manuscripts, divorced from the purely Solomonic grimoire tradition.<sup>1621</sup> An example of *Krystallomanteia* appears in the *Lemegeton*, in the context of evocation, but without mention of the boy skryer:

...you may call these spirits into a Crystall stone or Glass Receptacle, [this] being an Ancient & usuall way of Receiving & binding of spirits, This Cristall (*sic*) stone must be four Inches Diameter sett on a Table of Art ...w[hi]ch is truly called the secret Table of Solomon...<sup>1622</sup>

The practices of oil and egg divination remained a Middle Eastern and Jewish tradition and can be found in the *Babylonian Talmud* (200 CE), indicating that their origins go back a long way in the Jewish tradition:

One is allowed to ask of the princes of oil and the princes of eggs, only...they lie. One whispers a charm [incantation] over oil in the vessel...<sup>1623</sup>

The ‘princes’ referred to in this quote are the spirits/angels which were invoked prior to performing either of these divinations. It is not clear why it is said that they lie, unless this is simply meant as a condemnation of the veracity of their answers. *Katoptromanteia* is mentioned only in passing in *PGM XIII. 752*.

iii) The third group contains only chapter 58, *Nekromanteia*. This practice is mentioned here because it falls into the evocatory skrying section of the *Hygromanteia*. In a sense it is simply another form of skrying using a skull, for example, rather than a bowl or a lamp. It has been dealt with at length in chapter 7.6.

iv) The fourth group contains only *Lychnomanteia*, lamp skrying. This practice is well attested in the *PGM*, appearing both in Greek and Demotic texts, but it does not feature at all

<sup>1619</sup> See Lane (1896), pp. 277-284 for descriptions of skrying hand-held ink pools in 19th century Egypt.

<sup>1620</sup> *PGM IV. 221-232* mentions a bronze bowl.

<sup>1621</sup> Therefore we can confidently conclude that B2 was not the version that was translated into Latin.

<sup>1622</sup> Peterson (2008), p. 65. This later form of *krystallomanteia* was probably derived from chapter 55 of the *Hygromanteia*. For the Table of Solomon, see chapter 6.1.

<sup>1623</sup> *Talmud Babli Sanhedrin 101*, as quoted by Daiches (1913), p. 7.

in the *Hygromanteia*. See Table 19 for a summary of the above.

Hygromanteia			PGM		
Chapter	Meaning	Divinatory method	Divinatory method	Meaning	Sample PGM Reference <sup>1624</sup>
47	Water pot skrying	<i>Epibaktromanteia</i> <sup>1625</sup>	<i>Vessel Enquiry</i>	Bowl skrying – rite type 'B'	III. 276; IV. 3209-3254. IV.3209-54. <sup>1626</sup>
48	Bottle skrying, with grease	<i>Lekanomanteia</i> <sup>1627</sup>			
49	Water skrying with protective circle <sup>1628</sup>	<i>Hygromanteia I</i> <sup>1629</sup>			
50	Water skrying	<i>Hygromanteia II</i>			
51	Water skrying	<i>Hygromanteia III</i> <sup>1630</sup>			
52	Skrying with copper basin, kettle and glass	<i>Hygromanteia IV</i> <sup>1631</sup>			
53	Copper bowl skrying	<i>Chalkomanteia</i> <sup>1633</sup>			
54	Mirror skrying <sup>1634</sup>	<i>Katoptromanteia</i> <sup>1635</sup>			XIII. 752. <sup>1636</sup>
55	Crystal stone skrying	<i>Krystallomanteia</i> <sup>1637</sup>			
56	Skrying using an egg	<i>Ōomanteia</i>			
57	Finger nail skrying <sup>1638</sup>	<i>Onykhomanteia</i> <sup>1639</sup>			
58	Divination by the dead	<i>Nekromanteia</i> <sup>1640</sup>	<i>Nekromanteia</i>	Divination by the dead – rite type 'N'	IV. 1928-2144; XXIII. 1-70.
1641			<i>Lychnomanteia</i>	Lamp skrying – rite type 'D'	I. 262-347; VII. 250-259; VII. 540-577.
			<i>Oneiroomanteia</i>	Dream divination – rite type 'V'	VII.664-685, 1009-16.

Table 19: The commonality between the PGM and the divinatory and evocatory skrying chapters in the *Hygromanteia*, demonstrating how vessel enquiry in the PGM became subdivided into a number of more specialised methods in the *Hygromanteia*.

<sup>1624</sup> Not an exhaustive listing, just typical examples. See Appendix 2 for more examples.

<sup>1625</sup> All of the following methods are to be found in B2. Also see B, f. 30-33.

<sup>1626</sup> Saucer divination.

<sup>1627</sup> B, f. 41-42.

<sup>1628</sup> Despite the fact that chapter 49 is about *hygromanteia*, the magician is referred to as a *lecanomancer*, which suggests some permeation between techniques and flexibility of terminology.

<sup>1629</sup> B2, ff. 344v-345.

<sup>1630</sup> B, f. 33v-34.

<sup>1631</sup> B2, ff. 350v-351.

<sup>1632</sup> "With a copper vessel."

<sup>1633</sup> Sometimes improperly called *lekanomanteia*. See B2, f. 347v.

<sup>1634</sup> A method for this is recorded in Gollancz (2008), f. 56b.

<sup>1635</sup> B2, ff. 347, 349v-350.

<sup>1636</sup> "Visions in mirrors" mentioned in passing.

<sup>1637</sup> B2, f. 347v.

<sup>1638</sup> Paralleled by similar Jewish techniques.

<sup>1639</sup> B, f. 42; B2, f. 346-346v.

<sup>1640</sup> M2, f. 225; B, f.42v; B2, ff. 348v-349.

<sup>1641</sup> Not present in the *Hygromanteia*.

## 8.1 *Lychnomanteia* - Evocationary Lamp Skrying (D)

*Lychnomanteia*, or skrying by the flame of a lamp is derived from λύχνος, meaning a lamp. The procedure usually involves the calling of a god to give verbal answers to particular questions posed by the magician. Integral to the practice is the use of the virgin boy skryer, although sometimes the magician also asks for a direct vision of the god himself. The magician is instructed to put his hand, or finger, on the head of his skryer, or alternatively whisper the invocation directly “down into his head.”

There are frequent references in the *PGM* to not using lamps coloured red, or more specifically tainted with red lead (*pr̄s*).<sup>1642</sup> Betz’s glossary suggests that this might apply to lamps coloured with red ochre (*miltos*). The reason apparently is to avoid the symbolism of Seth-Typhon.<sup>1643</sup>

Typical offerings to be made during this rite are frankincense and grape-vine wood<sup>1644</sup> or myrrh and willow leaf.<sup>1645</sup> The brazier should be placed upon a clay tablet (referred to as a ‘brick’) and the boy upon another. Interestingly, in one passage, the spirit being conjured is referred to as the “spirit that flies in the air, [and] called with secret codes.” The wick is conjured by the hand of Anubis and by the “blood of the Drowned One,” Osiris. According to the nature of the entity called, or of the question, so the wick and the oil are changed.<sup>1646</sup>

Other accoutrements occasionally used for lamp skrying include a wolf’s head on which the lamp is to be balanced.<sup>1647</sup> An altar is sometimes used to give a surface on which to sacrifice to this particular god when he arrives. In that case the offering will consist of:

...a wolf’s eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and whatever is valued among the spices, and pour a libation of wine and honey and milk and rainwater, [and make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes.<sup>1648</sup>

One of the names conjured three times in various operations of lamp skrying is BOEL, who is described as “the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame.”<sup>1649</sup> This name is repeatedly mentioned in a number of lamp skrying invocations, and seems to be integral to this method:

---

<sup>1642</sup> Such lamps are mentioned in *PGM* I. 277, 293; II. 57; IV. 2373, 3191; VII. 542, 594; VIII. 87; XII. 27, 131; and LXII. 1.

<sup>1643</sup> Red has a well known association with ‘demonic’ gods like Seth and Apophis. Red is the preferred ink colour for writing the names of demons or enemies. The avoidance of the colour in *PGM* is based on the same symbolism, especially in the case of divinatory lamps.

<sup>1644</sup> *PGM* VII. 540-544.

<sup>1645</sup> *PDM* xiv. 766.

<sup>1646</sup> For a daimonic spirit, a wick of sailcloth and butter is used; to seduce a woman burn oil of roses; in other matters a clean wick and pure genuine oil, probably olive oil. For an Apollonian invocation use either rose oil or oil of spikenard. See *PGM* I. 279.

<sup>1647</sup> *PGM* I. 282.

<sup>1648</sup> *PGM* I. 285-289.

<sup>1649</sup> *PDM* xiv. 195, 489-490.

Bring in BOEL! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! ARBETH-BAI YTSIO, O doubly great god, bring BOEL in! TAT TAT,<sup>1650</sup> bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! TAGR TAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! BEYTSI, O great god, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL IN!<sup>1651</sup>

This same spirit name appears over a thousand years later in 1623, when a magician called Jean Michel Menuisier, who had learnt magic in Toledo, claimed that:

During a visit to Vienna he had purchased a magic phial containing a spirit named Boël, which he consulted to know occult secrets and therefore help his clients.<sup>1652</sup>

One of the standard inducements offered to the daimones/spirits to perform in a lamp skrying is that the magician will praise them before the senior gods:

I shall praise you in heaven before Pre;<sup>1653</sup> I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne...<sup>1654</sup>

One example of lamp skrying assumes that the evocation will cause the boy skryer to see the king of the spirits, who can then be cross examined by the magician, via the boy. This procedure is sometimes extended to making the king of the spirits more comfortable before cross examining him, by either bringing him a throne to sit on, or laying a feast for him to eat, in both cases it is done in the spirit vision rather than physically. An example:

If he [the god] says, "I [will] prophesy," say: "Let the throne of god enter, THRONOUZATERA KYMA KYMA LYAGEU APSITADRYS GĒ MOLIANDRON BONBLILON PEUCHRĒ, let the throne be brought in." If it then is carried by 4 men, [say to the boy] as, "With what are they crowned, and what goes before the throne?" If he says, "They are crowned with olive branches, and a censer precedes," [then the] boy speaks the truth.<sup>1655</sup>

This procedure of making the spirit comfortable, especially with food, is carried through the PGM to both the *Hygromanteia* and later Latin grimoires.

One extension of the use of an olive oil lamp in skrying, is the "Maskelli" formula. After consecrating three reeds to the four quarters, a clean lamp is placed facing east, and the same invocations are both said seven times and written on a cloth strip. Frankincense is offered and the three reeds are bound together with date palm fibre into a tripod which holds the lamp. The use of a tripod in divination is typically Greek, something which is further underlined by the magician being crowned with olive branches.<sup>1656</sup> The desired outcome is that the answers are to be shown to the magician in his sleep:

I conjure you by the sleep releaser [of dreams] because I want you to enter into me and to show me concerning the NN matter...<sup>1657</sup>

---

<sup>1650</sup> Thoth.

<sup>1651</sup> PDM xiv. 470-473.

<sup>1652</sup> Davies (2009), pp. 64-65.

<sup>1653</sup> Ra, the sun god.

<sup>1654</sup> PDM xiv. 493.

<sup>1655</sup> PGM V. 31-40.

<sup>1656</sup> Rather than laurel.

<sup>1657</sup> PGM IV. 3190-3209.

Strangely, one of the experiments of lamp skrying contains a passage which was later to become a classic recipe for the production of a homunculus.

You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.<sup>1658</sup> You find them in the place of the garland seller (also called the lupine seller).<sup>1659</sup> You should bring them while they are fresh; you should put them in a glass bowl; you should seal its mouth with clay very well for twenty days in a hidden, dark place. After twenty days, if you bring it up and open it, you find some testicles in it together with a phallus. If you leave it for forty days and [then] bring it up and open it, you find that it has already become bloody. In a place which is hidden at all times, you put it in a glass object, and you put the glass object into a pottery object.<sup>1660</sup>

This form of divination does not occur in either the *Hygromanteia* or the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

## 8.2 *Lekanomanteia* – Bottle and Bowl Skrying (B)

Lecanomancy (λεκανομαντεία) is derived from the Greek word for bowl λεκάνη (*lekanē*). Usually oil would be poured on the surface of water. Or, more sophisticatedly, the flame from a lamp might be reflected in the surface of the liquid providing a suitably animated skrying surface.

### *Mesopotamia*

Lecanomancy is first recorded in the Babylonian Ritual Tablets (7th century BCE):

Cypress, fine flour he shall pour out, oil on the libation he shall put, an offering he shall pour out, oil on the water of the vessel he shall put, of Šamaš and Hadad, the great gods, he shall inquire. When the omen and the oil [divination] are faultless the great gods come near and judge a judgement of justice and righteousness...the diviner shall look upon oil in water...<sup>1661</sup>

An early *baraitha*<sup>1662</sup> on the *Babylonian Talmud* (200 CE) shows that Jews living there also adopted the same practices. In it the vessel was referred to as a *makalta/makultu*, which was used for mixed oil and water skrying. **מַכְלִי** is simply a container for oil.

In one example of this practice in the *PGM* a boy skryer looks into olive oil in a saucer.<sup>1663</sup> This rite is quite revealing as it gives the rubric, or ritual instructions, in detail. The saucer or bowl is placed on a 'brick.' The word translated as a 'brick' throughout the *PGM* is, I think, more adequately rendered as a clay tablet. In addition to the 'brick,' "carve these characters

<sup>1658</sup> Literally "eye of raven" plant. Beans have a long history of being considered magical, beginning before the Pythagorean prohibition against eating them.

<sup>1659</sup> Such 'shopping hints' confirm that these texts are written by working magicians who went to some lengths to secure their ingredients.

<sup>1660</sup> This is repeated almost word-for-word in several other papyri. This example comes from *PDM* xiv. 141-145.

<sup>1661</sup> Ritual Tablets 15-25 quoted in Daiches (1913), pp. 8-9. Daiches contends that the Babylonians practised oil divination "as long back as 2000 BCE." The Babylonians in turn ascribed these practices to the Sumerians.

<sup>1662</sup> Commentary.

<sup>1663</sup> *PGM* LXII. 24-46.

on a magnet that is 'breathing.'"<sup>1664</sup> In addition the afterbirth of a white dog should be added to the bowl, and KARBAŌTH should be written with myrrh ink on a phylactery, for protection, and hung on the skryer's chest.

A bowl skrying with a more Greek flavour is effected via Aphrodite and uses a mixture of water and oil in a bronze drinking cup. Typically the bowl is written on with myrrh ink.<sup>1665</sup> Here it is recommended that the magician waxes over the writing on the bowl, presumably to prevent this writing being washed off by the skrying medium.<sup>1666</sup>

Another bowl skrying is inserted as part of a rite of divine encounter. It utilises a bronze bowl or saucer, with water and green olive oil, but it makes a distinction between the different types of water used.<sup>1667</sup> This bowl skrying also utilises a phylactery for protection.<sup>1668</sup>

In the *London and Leiden Papyrus* a similar rite begins with an invocation of the gods of the Underworld.<sup>1669</sup> It utilises a boy ("a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman") as a skryer, a dish filled with oasis oil [presumably palm oil], and seven clay tablets<sup>1670</sup> representing the planets, and seven loaves of bread, and seven lumps of salt, as offerings. The invocation is designed to be spoken down into the head of the boy who must wear a phylactery for protection.<sup>1671</sup>

In yet another rite the god invoked is Khonsu (in Thebes Nefer-hotep) the Moon god described as "the noble child who came forth from the lotus," thereby identifying him with Harpocrates.<sup>1672</sup> The standard Egyptian gods Anubis, Isis, Horus, Nephthys and Osiris also appear. This rite calls upon the souls of the dead for answers to the divinatory questions. The vessel is either a clean copper beaker or a new pottery vessel, used with an equal measure of water and oil (or oil alone) with a stone *qs-'nh*, which is probably magnetic haematite, and a plant associated with embalming. The usual array of three clay tablets under and four around, with loaves, is prescribed. Both the magician and skryer sit on a clay tablet.

---

<sup>1664</sup> The point of breathing is that the magnet should still be able to 'inhale' or attract other metal to it.

<sup>1665</sup> It is an interesting assumption that writing that is meant to be taken notice of by spiritual creatures should always be scented in one way or another. Myrrh is the preferred incense for ink in *PGM*.

<sup>1666</sup> *PGM* IV. 3209-54.

<sup>1667</sup> Rainwater = the heavenly gods; seawater = earthly [chthonic?] gods; river water = Sarapis or Osiris; and spring water = the dead.

<sup>1668</sup> *PGM* IV. 221-260.

<sup>1669</sup> *PDM* xiv. 1-92.

<sup>1670</sup> As before, this is translated as 'bricks.'

<sup>1671</sup> Dee in 1583 arrayed seven tablets (one for each of the planets) on his 'Holy Table' which supported his skrying stone. These procedures are not far distant from each other.

<sup>1672</sup> *PDM* xiv. 239-95.

Another rite utilises a copper cup with the figure of Anubis engraved upon it,<sup>1673</sup> with an oil/water mixture, and the usual clay tablet arrangement. A lobe of an Anubis plant<sup>1674</sup> is to be put on the lamp. The incense is to be frankincense, oil, ammoniac, incense and dates pounded with wine.

There is also a method which can be used by the magician without a skryer.<sup>1675</sup> In it the magician commands Anubis to bring the god of the day and the gods of whatever town the magician is currently residing in. Anubis acts like a psychopomp, introducing the magician in turn to the gods that he needs to answer his questions.

Another passage gives the correct facing directions in cases where a skryer is used: the skryer should face east, while the magician faces west.<sup>1676</sup>

Another bowl auto-skrying in Demotic relies upon an ointment placed on his eyes to give the magician the ability to skry.<sup>1677</sup> Ingredients include the blood of a Nile goose, a hoopoe, a nightjar, myrrh, lapis-lazuli, plus several plants.

One interesting *PGM* procedure (one of the few attributed to Solomon) explains how the magician should throw the skryer into a trance before he begins skrying, a trance so deep that the skryer will actually fall down as if in a faint. This rite which is described by Betz as a “charm of Solomon that produces a trance,” is also a good example of the lax use of words like “charm.” The Greek is Σολομώντος κατάπτωσις,<sup>1678</sup> which Preisendanz translates more accurately as ‘Solomon’s fall.’<sup>1679</sup> In fact, the actual meaning is “Solomon’s [invocation which causes the skryer] to fall down [in a trance].” This interpretation is confirmed by a passage further on in the same rite:

Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear of the NN man or little boy [skryer], and right away he will fall down [in a trance].<sup>1680</sup>

The passage states, with a touch of pride, that it “works both on boys and on adults.” The magician planning to use this procedure is specifically made to swear not to disclose it to anyone else.

It is possible to re-create what was said seven times into the skryer’s ear from Jewish sources.

---

<sup>1673</sup> *PDM* xiv. 395-427. The procedure of using a copper cup for skrying appears later in chapter 53 of the *Hygromanteia* as *chalkomanteia*.

<sup>1674</sup> The text explains, “it grows in millions of places. Its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant] which grows white; its flower is like the flower of conyza.” Deines and Grapow (1959) identified this plant as *mentha aquatica*.

<sup>1675</sup> *PDM* xiv. 528-553.

<sup>1676</sup> *PDM* xiv. 627-635

<sup>1677</sup> *PDM* xiv. 295-308.

<sup>1678</sup> In both words Preisendanz uses the final form  $\varsigma$  instead of  $\sigma$  in both initial and medial positions.

<sup>1679</sup> *Salomon’s Niederfallen*. Interestingly, this is one of the few mentions of Solomon in the *PGM*.

<sup>1680</sup> *PGM* IV. 910-911.

One mediaeval German source claims the words to be said in the boy's right ear are: "Adam Chovah Abton Absalom Sarfiel Nuriel Daniel" followed nine times by "Gerte, I conjure you with these seven names which I have mentioned, to appear in the wax of this candle, carefully prepared and designated for this purpose, and to answer truthfully concerning that which I shall question you."<sup>1681</sup>

The B2 manuscript of the *Hygromanteia* is the most comprehensive when it comes to the evocatory skrying section, and it contains the most detail about the use of a boy skryer used in conjunction with a vision-medium such as a water pot, bowl, basin, glass, mirror, crystal, egg or a fingernail.<sup>1682</sup>

One experiment of skrying using a water jar and virgin boy is clearly derived from *PGM*. In it the magician reads the invocation over the boy's head. In the *Hygromanteia* there are a number of additions, the most important of which is that the boy is now protected by an elaborate Solomonic circular floor design (see Figure 14). It is not clear if the magician also stands within the circle, although it seems likely as the illustration suggests that the gate of the square is situated three feet from the gate of the circle. In both cases the 'gate' is simply an opening through which the boy may pass, but which is protected by various *nomina magica*. The circle (the first of the three types discussed in chapter 5.3.1 above) seems to have been introduced in the Byzantine environment, and it is drawn with that typically Greek magical implement, the black-handled knife.

Jewish elements such as "by the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, by the God of Moses...by the God of Elijah" are present, and there are also some Christianised elements introduced into the procedure, such as the reading of the 18th and 42nd Psalm,<sup>1683</sup> and the intriguing use of John the Baptist as a name to conjure by.

The unique part of chapter 48, evocatory skrying using a bottle, is the anointing of the child skryer's hand with the greasy soot from the bottom of a cooking pan. That, or the pouring of ink into the child's hand, as a skrying medium, is still practised even today in Morocco and Egypt,<sup>1684</sup> and also in a number of other Muslim countries like Syria. The magician burns incense containing the cooking herbs coriander and nigella. The magician summons a spirit to appear to the child, rather than encouraging passive skrying in the reflective surface of the ink. As the sigil is drawn directly on the child's hand, and not in a bowl, this procedure is in fact not literally a *lekanomanteia*.

---

<sup>1681</sup> Trachtenberg (2004), p. 220.

<sup>1682</sup> See chapters 47-57. Supplementary material can be found scattered through the other manuscripts except for P2, M, A2, D, T and N which include none of the chapters on skrying.

<sup>1683</sup> Psalms 19 and 43, according to KJV numbering.

<sup>1684</sup> See Lane (1896), pp. 277-284 for descriptions of skrying hand-held ink pools in 19th century Egypt.

The version in A is particularly interesting as it includes instructions to the spirits not to sexually molest the girl skryer, confirming a strong belief in the corporeality of spirits which are seen to be capable of partially interacting with the physical world:

Let her work for me without fear and let nobody among you dare to frighten her, nor kiss her lips, nor her nose, nor her eyebrows.<sup>1685</sup>

This manuscript also gives a detailed drawing of what is to be drawn on the skryer's palm.<sup>1686</sup>

#### *Jewish sources*

This procedure probably has its roots in Jewish practice, as the most complete description of this procedure is found in a much later (1775) Hebrew manuscript:

Take a new knife with a black handle and make with it a circle in the earth,<sup>1687</sup> so that you can sit in it with a boy or a girl [the skryer] less than nine years (old), and anoint the left hand of one of them with olive oil and the black (soot) of a pan, and warn them that they should not look outside the anointed place, and then whisper into his right ear: I adjure you (in the name of) BŠKT, K KATRIEL, MI, Maeniel that you shall appear unto this lad, and you shall give him a proper answer to all that he asks for me, and all this he shall say three times.<sup>1688</sup>

The method of Solomonic ritual magic is also found here in the form of the circle inscribed with the black-handled knife.

The spirits are commanded to bring a lamb and cook it. After they have eaten they are then required to answer the magician's questions. A number of similar operations in the same codex parallel the evocatory skrying operations in the *Hygromanteia*.

The words of some adjurations are quite different, but the concept of pleasing a king of the spirits still appears. This particular passage has more detail than the corresponding passages in the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>1689</sup> but there is nothing that could help to definitely establish precedence of composition.

The same tradition was preserved in very few manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*. One manuscript written by Lunardo Longo, a Neapolitan working in Venice, was preserved by the Inquisition in the 1630s and had the following instructions:

*To see in a jar [bottle] what you are eager to know*

You will get a virgin boy, and tell him to go and take a jar [bottle] of fresh well-water or water from a river or spring, that he should not speak to anybody either going or coming back<sup>1690</sup> and then put him with the jar in the sun, and put your right hand on the boy's head, and you will

---

<sup>1685</sup> A, f. 41.

<sup>1686</sup> A, f. 41v.

<sup>1687</sup> A protective Solomonic circle.

<sup>1688</sup> Codex Gaster 443.

<sup>1689</sup> Such as the prohibition of doing it on the New Moon, or the day before or after, or on a cloudy day.

<sup>1690</sup> The so-called 'unspoken water' of the *Hygromanteia*.

say: [“] O! you eastern princes I beg you by the truth of the 72 divine names which is me<sup>1691</sup>... that in this jar you show and come and show to this boy, who will ask you in my name, [“] then having made the boy speak, you will say in his left ear “tat, bet, tet” 3 times, and then you will say that the boy must say, “pag pag,” then you will ask the boy whether he sees anything in that jar, and if he says no repeat the above words in his ear, and he must say his words 7 times until he tells you that he sees a King, and then you will tell him to beg him [the King] to bring all his court, and once they have come to bring a lamb, and flay it, and kill it, and bring fire and cook it, and eat, and drink merrily. Then tell the King to send them all away, and beg him to keep his faithful servant with him only until he [the King] knows what he [the boy] wants, then you must beg him to send his servant to fetch a book of the holy law,<sup>1692</sup> and bring it to the King, and let the boy make the King swear [on the book] to reply truthfully to everything that you ask, and when you see that the King has sworn make him say that you beg him by God and by his sworn oath to tell the truth about what he has stolen<sup>1693</sup> or anything else [you wish to know], and if he [the King] wishes beg him send for paper, pen and inkpot and word for word, letter by letter, as the boy understands, the boy should write down the [King's] sure reply to everything.<sup>1694</sup>

The characterisation of the spirits invoked as ‘princes’ reminiscent of the Jewish ‘princes of the thumb,’ the reference to the Shemhamaphoresch and the use of Hebrew letters in the conjuration, “tat [ת?], bet [ב], tet [ת]” seems to confirm the Jewish rather than Greek origin of this procedure, as suggested in chapter 3.3 above. This interesting passage also touches upon several other magical methods which are also seen in the *Hygromanteia* and the *PGM*, such as: feeding spirits before asking them questions; the magician dealing first with the King of the spirits; the magician asking the King (αὐθέντης) to swear upon a book of holy writ.

### 8.3 *Hygromanteia* – Water Skrying

*Lecanomancy* and *hygromanteia* are distinct, but often in practise the line between them is blurred. An example of this blurring can be seen in the Greek caption applied to the magician in one procedure of *hygromanteia* of the first type.<sup>1695</sup> Above the head of the drawing of the magician is written “the Persian *lecanomancer* called Apolonios (*sic*).” Other Byzantine figures were associated with lecanomancy such as the patriarch John VII the Grammarian who was accused of lecanomancy by George the Monk writing soon after 843.<sup>1696</sup> He went on to describe him as a “new Apollonius and Balaam,” further making the connection between lecanomancy and Apollonius of Tyana.

Both lecanomancy and *hygromanteia* are forms of evocatory skrying. *Lecanomancy* refers to the container and *hygromanteia* refers to the liquid within the container. Although *lekanomanteia* appears in the *PGM*, *hygromanteia* *per se* does not.

<sup>1691</sup> Self-identification with the Shemhamaphoresch, another Jewish procedure.

<sup>1692</sup> This could as easily be the *Torah* as the *Bible*.

<sup>1693</sup> This probably refers to an enquiry about a thief rather than an accusation of theft directed to the King.

<sup>1694</sup> Notebook by Lunardo Longo, 1630. See Barbierato (2002), p. 171.

<sup>1695</sup> B2, f. 344.

<sup>1696</sup> For George's *Life of St. Theodora the Empress* see Magdalino (2006), p. 133.

The first method of *hygromanteia*<sup>1697</sup> outlined in chapter 49 is the most ‘full blown’ of all the evocatory skrying methods in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1698</sup> In this procedure there is a complete union of the techniques of evocation and skrying. Not only is there a detailed circle of protection,<sup>1699</sup> which consists of a square within a circle, but specific Psalms are read, a conjuration replete with *nomina magica* is said, candles are lit, and the black-handled knife is used to trace a circle of protection. An ‘oath book’ or *Liber Spirituum* is produced to ensure truthfulness on the part of the spirits. The bottle also contains a silver coin and a magnet, supposedly to attract the spirit, both concepts with a long history. A new bottle of water gathered from a spring is the skrying medium.<sup>1700</sup>

When the spirit arrives, not only is he cross-questioned by the skryer, at the instigation of the magician, but he is also encouraged to introduce other spirits. This is like the opening section of the *Testament of Solomon* where Solomon conjures Ornias, and then demands that he bring other spirits/demons, each of which is to swear obedience to Solomon. The operation finishes with a formal Licence to Depart. This operation is a far cry from simple water divination, or passive observance of patterns rippling on the surface of the water, and is a complete evocation and binding of spirits. As such this is an excellent example of how fully ritualised skrying works. The techniques which reached the Latin world (at least in written sources) are a pale shadow of this procedure.

The second technique, also referred to as *hygromanteia*, and outlined in chapter 50 of the *Hygromanteia*, involves both spring water (drawn silently on the night of the day of Mercury) and a partly submerged mirror as a skrying medium. Its vessels include a kettle and bowl. This procedure also includes the recitation of Psalms 57 and 77th and the specification that the operation should be done at dawn.

The third procedure (chapter 51), also called *hygromanteia*, strangely suggests the skryer should be a child with blue eyes, suggesting (in the Byzantine context) that the child was probably from northern Europe, and maybe a slave. This time the water should be blessed at Epiphany rather than drawn silently from a spring and covered with a red cloth. After the recitation of a conjuration, the child should see the spirits. The magician asks the spirits to prepare a feast for their king, who is then questioned by the magician. There are similar examples in the *PGM*, already cited, where the magician orders the spirits to prepare a feast

---

<sup>1697</sup> It is only actually called *hygromanteia* in P.

<sup>1698</sup> To be found in P, f. 271; B2, f. 344; V, f. 364; and a fragment in M2, f. 244.

<sup>1699</sup> B2, f. 344.

<sup>1700</sup> The “glass receptacle” filled with spring water was still in use 500 years later in the mid 19th century, when it was used by Hockley.

for the gods, before cross-questioning the latter.<sup>1701</sup>

The fourth type of *hygromanteia* is instanced in chapter 52, although it is not so entitled in the text.<sup>1702</sup> In this case the skryer is protected by a circle, but uses a yellow cloth rather than red. The water is topped up with oil and the equipment consists of a copper kettle placed upside down in a basin (see Figure 13). The rest of the procedure is familiar with the magician reciting a conjuration, and the skryer reporting what he sees.

There is no specific trace of *hygromanteia* in the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but there are a number of examples of it in vernacular use. This is an example of a discontinuity and helps to confirm that '*hygromanteia*' could not have been the over all title of the *Hygromanteia*. Perhaps the most famous exponent of hygromancy, divorced from the *Clavicula Salomonis* was Michael de Nostradame or Nostradamus (1503-1566) a French Jewish convert to Christianity who was famous for his prophetic quatrains. The inspiration for these he received from a combination of astrology and skrying using hygromancy. In his first quatrains Nostradamus clearly stated that he followed a technique which he attributed to the ancient oracle of the god Branchus in Didyma, an oracle only slightly less famous than the oracle at Delphi.<sup>1703</sup> His procedure involved placing a bowl of water on a brass tripod, then dipping a wand into the bowl which he would then touch to his robe, before gazing into the water. Obviously some steps of the procedure have been deliberately left out:

1. Gathered at night in study deep I sat,  
Alone, upon the tripod stool of brass,  
Exiguous flame came out of solitude, [a]  
Promise of magic that may be believed.

2. The rod in hand set in the midst of the BRANCHES,<sup>1704</sup>  
He moistens with water both the fringe and foot;  
Fear and a voice make me quake in my sleeves;  
Splendour divine, the God is seated near.<sup>1705</sup>

The significance is that, despite being a recent Jewish convert, he credits Greek Mystery sources with this procedure rather than Jewish magic. Nostradamus is known to have read Psellus' *De Demonibus*<sup>1706</sup> and Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis*,<sup>1707</sup> which describes the oracle of Branchus:

---

<sup>1701</sup> PGM V. 31-40.

<sup>1702</sup> What Marathakis refers to as 'divination by means of basin, kettle and glass,' I have re-named '*Hygromanteia* type IV.'

<sup>1703</sup> Johnston (2008), pp. 82-90.

<sup>1704</sup> The capitals are in the original French, so they were obviously meant to be noticed.

<sup>1705</sup> Nostradamus, *Centuries I*, 1-2, translation by Charles Ward 1891. The God seated near is presumably Apollo.

<sup>1706</sup> Translated by Marcus Collisson in Psellus, Collisson and Skinner (2010).

<sup>1707</sup> An edition of Iamblichus' book *De Mysteriis Egyptorum* was published at Lyons in 1547, a town which Nostradamus had visited. Nostradamus' first *Almanac* was published in 1550, just three years later, and the first *Century* closely parallels *De Mysteriis* III.11.127.

And as for the woman at Branchidai who gives oracles, it is either by holding the staff first given by a certain god [Apollo] that she is filled by the divine radiance; or else when sitting on the axle [tripod] she predicts the future; or whether dipping her feet or skirt in the water, or inhaling vapour from the water, at any rate, she receives the god: prepared and made ready by any or all of these preliminaries for his reception from without, she partakes of the god.<sup>1708</sup>

Here is the most famous of all modern prophets using a technique similar to hygromancy, whilst adapting the procedures of an ancient Greek oracle as explained by an Alexandrian theurgist. Although the line of transmission, in this instance, is not direct, this is an interesting encapsulation of the subject of this thesis, epitomising the endurance of magical (and divinatory) methods and equipment from the ancient to the modern world.

---

<sup>1708</sup> Clarke, Dillon and Hershbel (2003), p. 149.

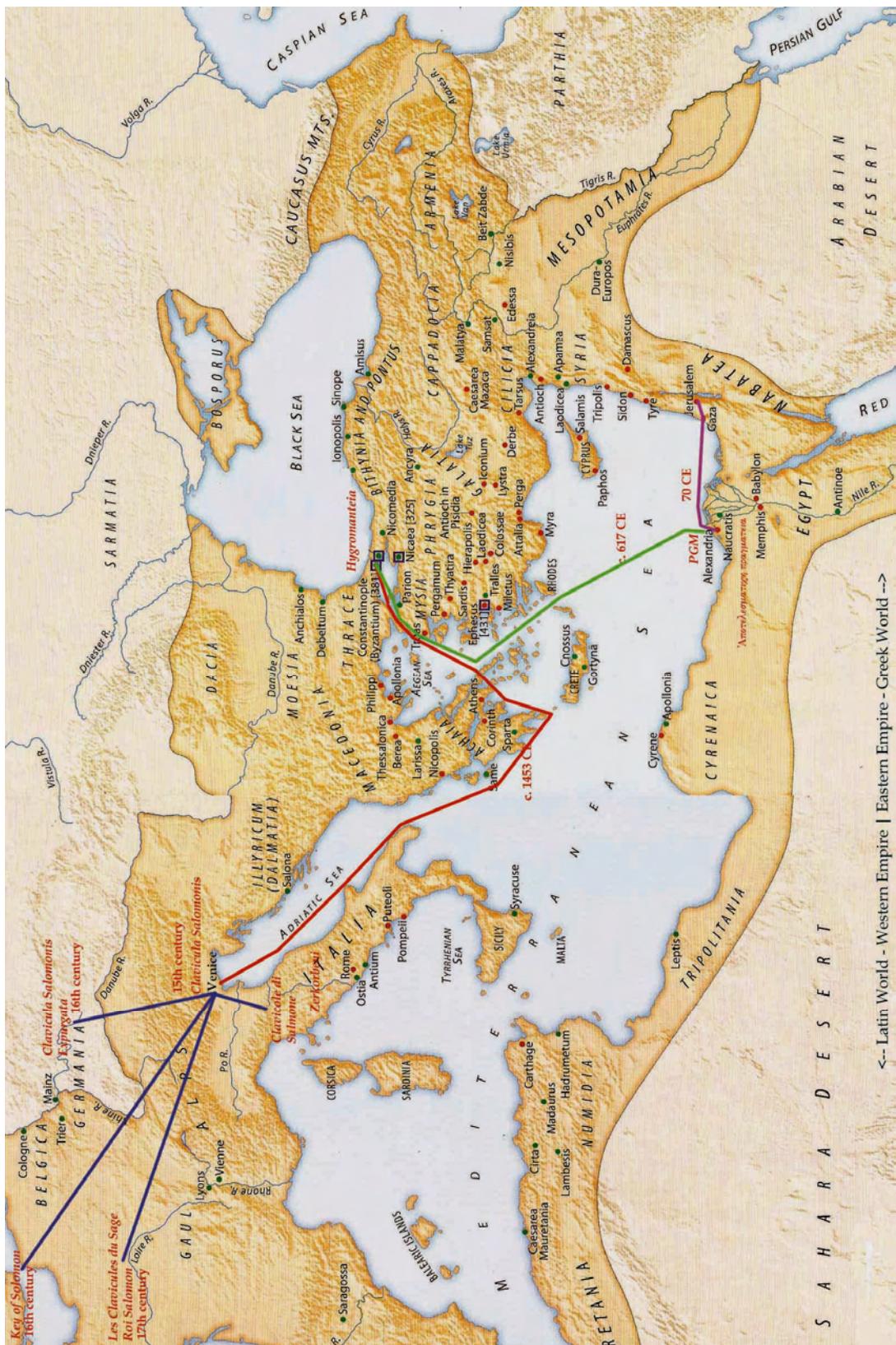


Figure 61: Schematic of the lines of transmission of Solomonic magical texts and techniques from the eastern Mediterranean to Northern Europe. There is also an unmarked land route from Alexandria through Palestine to Constantinople. The arrows indicate connections rather than the precise routes taken: for example the sea route from Alexandria to Constantinople would probably have hugged the coast of Palestine and Asia Minor. The dates are the dates of specific events which helped to trigger the migration of people and texts, but these transmissions happened over a period around these dates. The brown shaded area is the Roman Empire in the first two centuries CE.<sup>1709</sup>

<sup>1709</sup> The base map from which Figure 61 was constructed is Beitzel (2009), pp. 272-273.

## 9. Conclusions

It is clear from chapters 5-7, that there is a considerable amount of commonality in the methods and equipment of magic as identified in the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*. This detailed commonality is greatest between the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*. There is also a close chronological connection between the exit of monks from Constantinople after the attack by Mehmet II (1422), the copying of the *Hygromanteia* in the Byzantine monastery of Grottaferrata (1440) and the first extant manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis* translated into Italian (1466), possibly in Bologna.<sup>1710</sup> This train of events plus the commonality supports the existence of a line of transmission from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis* which is identifiable down to the very detailed level of Solomonic method, parallel chapter headings and their contents, invocations, specific pieces of equipment. Therefore there can be no doubt, as Greenfield suspected, that the *Hygromanteia* is the forefather of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

There are two sections in the *Hygromanteia* which are exceptions to this transmission. The first exception is the pentacles chapters which are to be found in (some versions of) the *Clavicula Salomonis*. These do not derive from the *Hygromanteia*, but probably come from the manuscript *Sepher ha-Otot*, or from its source. A crude cut-down version of these pentacles was utilised in the *Hygromanteia* as part of the construction of the *ourania/lamen*. The rough shape of these pentacles can be seen in the very sketchy seals of the *ourania*. The pentacles found in versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis* are much more detailed than those in the *Hygromanteia*, but fail to live up to the complexity of the pentacles of the *Sepher ha-Otot*, whose Hebrew is much more detailed. It is therefore very unlikely that the *Hygromanteia* supplied the pentacles for the *Clavicula Salomonis*. Therefore either the *Sepher ha-Otot* is tributary to both the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, or at the least, all three have a common ancestor whose text is best preserved in the *Sepher ha-Otot*.

The second exception to the transmission is the skrying chapters (47-59) in the *Hygromanteia*.<sup>1711</sup> These have not been passed on to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. They have been passed on, albeit in a very fragmentary way, to other Latin manuscripts unrelated to the *Clavicula Salomonis*, such as Trithemius' *Art of Drawing Spirits into Crystals*.<sup>1712</sup> These skrying methods are found almost word-for-word in an 11th century Jewish source (see chapter 3.3). Accordingly, either this Jewish source (or a cognate manuscript) supplied these chapters to the *Hygromanteia*, or they were derived from it. At the present time there is no certain way of

---

<sup>1710</sup> See chapter 3.5.

<sup>1711</sup> Chapters 47-59.

<sup>1712</sup> Barrett (1801), Book II, pp. 129-140.

determining the direction of this transmission.

With regard to the line of transmission from the *PGM* to the *Hygromanteia*, there is no clear indication, but the high degree of commonality in method and *nomina magica* makes it certain that the *PGM* was a major source of the contents of the *Hygromanteia*. A number of common magical techniques were identified, such as the precise timing of rites by hour, day and Moon phase, the emphasis on strict purification which included fasting, the use of specific incenses and techniques such as threatening spirits with the names of their superior demons, or controlling angels to ensure the spirit's compliance with the magician's orders. Another method found in both texts was the impersonation by the magician of a god in order to achieve the submission of the spirit. All these techniques, and many more, were found to be common to all three texts.

There is a definite sequence to the procedures of 'Solomonic magic', foreshadowed in the *PGM*, but precisely defined in the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and identified as the 'Solomonic method.'

An important and distinguishing feature of the Solomonic method is the provision of graphical symbols for the protection of the magician during the performance of a rite. The first such method of protection was the inscription of an elaborate circle (or set of circles) on the ground within which the magician stands. The provenance of this circle can be traced in detail (with many examples) from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. There are also passing references to it in the *PGM* and in the 1st century BC tale of the magician Honi ha-Ma'agel, confirming its long history. The second piece of graphical equipment used for the protection of the magician is the phylactery/*ourania/lamen* which is common and well documented in all three texts.

Because of common demon names (see Table 06), and the use of the thwarting angel technique to control spirits (which was examined in chapter 3.2 under the discussion of Rite type 'F') it is also true to say that the 1st/2nd century CE *Testament of Solomon* was also a substantial contributory text to the *Hygromanteia*.

Because the common translation of *-μαντεία* as used in chapters 47-58 of the *Hygromanteia* does not cover the procedures recorded in those chapters, it became necessary to expand the definition of this suffix to embrace evocation and skrying rather than just divination.

It was established (in chapter 5.5.3) that although common *nomina magica* like Adonai, Iaō and Sabaoth are frequently found in the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*, they are not associated with the *methods* of Jewish mysticism. The Solomonic method has very little in common with the *Hekhalot* and *Merkavah* techniques which partake of pious Jewish

mysticism which relies on prayer without the use of the equipment or techniques identified as being the essence of Solomonic magic.

Furthermore the source of Solomonic magic could not be found in such texts as the *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh* as it was in fact a translation of a Latin/Italian manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and therefore not its source. Having said that, there is concrete evidence embedded in some versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis*,<sup>1713</sup> that there was an historical Hebrew source, but it is not the *Sepher Mapteah*, and it has not yet been identified.

A set of correspondences which probably formed part of the *Hygromanteia*, which included stones, herbs and beasts (including birds and fishes), has most likely been split off from the *Hygromanteia*, prior to 1440, as is evidenced by the remaining traces of zodiacal and planetary herbal correspondences found in several manuscripts of that text. Sets of these correspondences (often 15 in number) reappear in other Latin grimoires, such as the *Sepher Raziel*, or in separate *lapidaria*, *herbaria* or bestiaries, but have not carried forward into the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

One of the self-contained books found in the *PGM*, the so-called *Mithrasliturgie*,<sup>1714</sup> is neither a Mithraic text nor the liturgy of any religion. In fact it is the procedure for a solitary Mystery rite, addressed directly to the greatest god, designed to confer immortality upon just one initiate. It is therefore neither religion nor magic, but a Mystery ritual. However, it does include some supportive magical techniques, such as the ritual of drowning an animal (a scarab beetle in this case) to deify that animal. The relationship of these three categories (magic, Mystery and religion) was examined in chapter 1.5, with the result that Mystery rites (Rite type 'M') were excluded from the analysis of the magic in the *PGM*. Unsurprisingly, the Mystery rites are not found in either the *Hygromanteia* or the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

As part of the consideration of these techniques, and the light they throw on the ingredients of magical texts from various periods, a new translation for the *Ephesia Grammata* has been proposed, which if accepted, acts as an example of how knowledge of the reasoning behind the techniques can sometimes help to decipher the meaning of *nomina magica*.

A number of conclusions were drawn about the origins and provenance of the *Hygromanteia* in the course of analysing it, including a suggested date of composition of the late 6th/early 7th century. A major redaction was identified as occurring in Constantinople in the early 13th century, because of the inclusion of passages traceable to Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Zanātī, which were only translated into Greek by the monk Arsenios in 1266 in

---

<sup>1713</sup> For example, the copy translated by Abraham Colorno in Vencenzo Gonzaga's library, or that translated by Professor Pierre Morisoneau.

<sup>1714</sup> PGM IV 475-820.

Constantinople.

It is very likely that the author was Greek educated and not a Christian and the place of original composition of the *Hygromanteia* was probably Alexandria. The text was then subsequently taken to Constantinople. From a number of pieces of circumstantial evidence, the hypothesis was put forward that the *Hygromanteia* may have been written or compiled by Stephanos of Alexandria (and Athens) in the late 6th century, and taken by him to Constantinople.

It is certain, in the light of the actual contents of the main text (chapters 1-46), that the *Hygromanteia* is in every sense a grimoire, a practical text of ritual magic, and not a book of divination. The last chapters (47-59), which are clearly a separate section, deal with various types of ritual skrying including *hygromanteia*, *epibaktromanteia*, *lekanomanteia*, *katoptromanteia*, *krystallomanteia*, *ōomanteia* and *onykhomanteia*.<sup>1715</sup> This section which only appears in its complete form in one of the extant manuscripts (B2), and appears to be included in a very fragmented form in all other manuscripts,<sup>1716</sup> could quite possibly have been entitled 'hygromanteia.' Therefore in all likelihood this section title has at one point been incorrectly applied inclusively to the whole text. It is therefore not the correct title of the whole text.

In Greek the *Hygromanteia* was probably originally entitled the Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία.<sup>1717</sup> The most likely title of the *Hygromanteia* in translation is *The Magical Treatise of Gathering and Directing the Spirits*, or simply the *Magical Treatise*, as this title appears as the incipit of the most complete manuscript (H).<sup>1718</sup>

In summary therefore, the main conclusions of this thesis are:

- i) There is a considerable amount of commonality between the methods and equipment of magic in the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*.
- ii) There is a clear line of transmission from the *Hygromanteia* to the *Clavicula Salomonis* which is identifiable down to the very detailed level of Solomonic method and specific pieces of equipment. Therefore there can be no doubt that the *Hygromanteia* is the forefather of the *Clavicula Salomonis*.

---

<sup>1715</sup> Manuscript H shows this break in contents very clearly, as at one point in time this manuscript must have ended after chapter 43, as the last line of this chapter (f. 37v) is "The end of the Art of Directing the Demons."

<sup>1716</sup> See Table 01.

<sup>1717</sup> Pingree (1980), p. 9.

<sup>1718</sup> See also Greenfield (1988), p. 159-160 where he identifies this text as Solomon's *Magic Treatise* and goes on to say "it has been maintained that the title *Hygromanteia*, which appears in some manuscripts, is false..." Pingree (1980), p. 9 states that it [manuscript P] is "falsely entitled *Hygromantia* (sic)." His comment obviously applies to all the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*.

- iii) There are two main exceptions to the above point:
  - a) The skrying chapters in the *Hygromanteia*,<sup>1719</sup> have not been passed on to the *Clavicula Salomonis*. These skrying methods are however found almost word-for-word in an 11th century Jewish source. Accordingly, either Jewish sources supplied these chapters to the *Hygromanteia*, or were derived from it.
  - b) The pentacles chapters in the *Clavicula Salomonis* do not derive from the *Hygromanteia*, but probably come from the manuscript *Sepher ha-Otot*, or from a related source.
- iv) There is no clear line of transmission between the *PGM* and the *Hygromanteia*, but the high degree of commonality makes it certain that the *PGM* was a major contributor to the contents of the *Hygromanteia*. The *Testament of Solomon* was also shown to be an important contributor to the *Hygromanteia*.
- v) A number of magical techniques were identified, such as precise timing of rites by day, hour and Moon phase, strict purification, fasting, use of specific incenses, use of shared *nomina magica*, and techniques such as threatening spirits with the names of their superiors, or the impersonation of a god to ensure compliance from the spirit.
- vi) Equipment used for protection of the magician including the protective floor circle and the phylactery/*ourania/lamen*, are common to all three texts.
- vii) There is a definite sequence to the procedures of 'Solomonic magic', foreshadowed in the *PGM*, but precisely defined in the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and identified as the 'Solomonic method.'
- viii) The pentacle section of the *Clavicula Salomonis* was derived from the *Sepher ha-Otot*, or a cognate Hebrew source. A crude cut-down version of these pentacles was used in the *Hygromanteia* to construct the *ourania/lamen*, and the pentacles found in versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis* are less detailed, and with less complete Hebrew. Therefore either the *Sepher ha-Otot* is contributory to both the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, or a common ancestor informed all three texts..
- ix) The meaning of -μαντεία as used in chapters 47-58 of the *Hygromanteia* embraces evocation and skrying as well as just divination.
- x) Although Hebraic god names like Adonai, Iaō and Sabaoth are frequently found in the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*, they were divorced from the methods of Jewish magic.

---

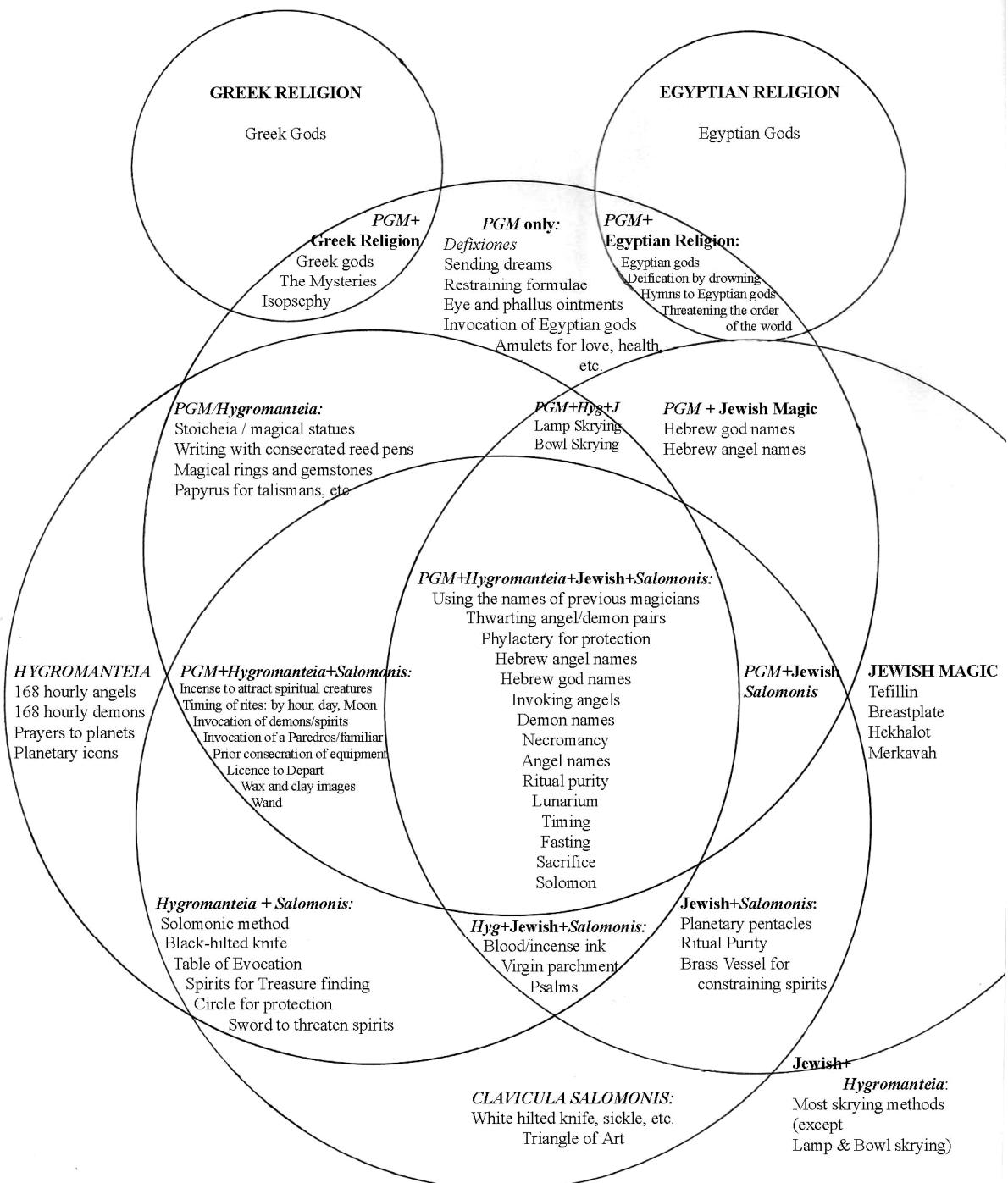
<sup>1719</sup> Chapters 47-59.

- xi) The *Sepher Mapteah Shelomoh* manuscript of 1700, instead of being evidence of the Jewish roots of Solomonic magic, was in fact a translation of a Latin/Italian manuscript of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, and therefore not its source.
- xii) A full set of correspondences of stones, herbs and beasts, has become split off from the *Hygromanteia*, prior to 1440, leaving just a few zodiacal and planetary herbal correspondences. These correspondences reappear in other grimoires, such as the *Sepher Raziel*, or in separate *lapidaria*, *herbaria* or bestiaries, but are not carried forward into the *Clavicula Salomonis*.
- xiii) The so-called *Mithrasliturgie*, is neither a Mithraic text nor the liturgy of any religion, nor is it a magical text, but a procedure for a solitary Mystery rite, designed to confer immortality upon just one initiate.
- xiv) A new translation for the *Ephesia Grammata* has been proposed, as an example of how knowledge of the techniques can sometimes help to decipher the meaning of *nomina magica*.

*Speculative Conclusions about the origins of the Hygromanteia:*

- xv) The date of composition of the *Hygromanteia* was probably late 6th/early 7th century, with a major redaction occurring in the early 13th century.
- xvi) The place of composition of the *Hygromanteia* was probably Alexandria, with the text being subsequently taken to Constantinople. The author was Greek educated and not a Christian.
- xvii) The *Hygromanteia* may have been written or compiled by Stephanos of Alexandria (and Athens) in the late 6th century, and brought by him to Constantinople.
- xviii) The title *Hygromanteia* was originally only applied to the last chapters 47-59.
- ix) The most likely title of the *Hygromanteia* is *The Magical Treatise of Gathering and Directing the Spirits*, or the *Magical Treatise*, although it was probably originally called the Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία.

Graphical Summary of the Main Commonalities



*Summary of the Distribution of the Commonalities between the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, the Hygromanteia, the Clavicula Salomonis and Jewish Magic*

Figure 62: An extended Venn diagram schematically showing the basic commonalities between the three magical traditions: the *PGM*, the *Hygromanteia* and the *Clavicula Salomonis*, with additional input from Jewish magic. This diagram is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

## Glossary

<u>Term</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
<b>Greek</b>		
ἄγιος	<i>hagios</i>	Holy
ἀγρυπνητικόν	<i>agrypnētikon</i>	Insomnia spell
ἀγωγή, ἀγώγιμον	<i>agōgē, agōgomon</i>	Love spell. Operations of type 'L'
ἀμάρωσις	<i>amayrōsis</i>	Invisibility spell. Operations of type 'I'
Ἀποτελεσματική πραγματεία	<i>Apotelesmatikē Pragmateia</i>	Earlier title for the <i>Hygromanteia</i>
ἄνγελος	<i>angelos</i>	Angel or messenger
ἀπαθανατισμός	<i>apathanatismos</i>	A ritual for immortalization
ἀπόλυσον	<i>apolyson</i>	The practice of dissolving or 'loosening' spells
αὐθέντης	<i>aythentes</i>	King (of the spirits) that has full power to swear
αὐτοψία, αὐτοπτος	<i>autopsia, autoptos</i>	A direct vision of a god (without the need for a skryer). Operation of the type 'E'
βοτάνη	<i>botanē</i>	Herbs used in magic (not 'pasture' in this context)
διαβολῆ	<i>diabolē</i>	Slander spell
δαίμονα	<i>daimona</i>	God/goddess or one's personal daimon
γαστέρα	<i>gastera</i>	A bottle designed to imprison the spirit
γαστερομαντεία	<i>gasteromanteia</i>	Procedure for capturing a spirit in a (metal) bottle
γόης	<i>goēs</i>	A magician who evokes demons/spirits as distinct from gods <sup>1720</sup>
γοητεία	<i>goēteia</i>	Evocation of demons/spirits
δαίμων	<i>daimon</i>	An entity half way between the human and the divine
δακτύλιος, δακτύλιον	<i>daktylios, daktylion</i>	Ring, magic ring. Operations of type 'K'
εἴδωλον	<i>eidōlon</i>	Image, image of a god/goddess, magical figures on a talisman
εἰκόν'	<i>eikone</i>	An image, of a saint, god, or (in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> ) a planet. <sup>1721</sup>
ἔκστασις	<i>ekstasis</i>	Ecstasy or trance
ἐξορκίζω	<i>exorkizō</i>	Conjure
ἐπαοιδός	<i>epaoidos</i>	Incantation
επιβακτορομαντεία	<i>epibaktoromanteia</i>	Water-pot evocatory skrying
ἐπικαλοῦμαι	<i>epikaloumai</i>	Summon (a god)
εὐχῆ	<i>euchē</i>	Prayer. Operations of type 'P'
θέλγητρον	<i>thelgētron</i>	Spell or charm
θεουργία	<i>theurgia</i>	Invocation of the gods
θυμίαμα	<i>thymiamā</i>	Incense
ἱερὰ μαγεία	<i>hiera magia</i>	Holy magic
κανθάρου	<i>kantharou</i>	Scarab

<sup>1720</sup> The meaning of this word, and the next, has been explored in depth in Dickie (2003), pp. 12-16, 29-33. Here the later meaning, as used in the grimoires, has been used.

<sup>1721</sup> Classical orthography = εἰκόν.'

κατάδεσμος	<i>kataDESmos</i>	Binding using a <i>defixio</i> . Operations of type 'W'
κατακλητικόν	<i>katakLETikon</i>	An image or statue that calls or summons customers (for use outside a business premises)
κάτοχος	<i>katochos</i>	Binding or holding down. Operations of type 'R'
Κλειδί τη Μουσέως	<i>Kleidi te Mouseōs</i>	[Little] Key of Moses. [Classical orthography = Κλεις]
λαβών	<i>labōn</i>	To take hold of or bind. Often translated less specifically as spell or charm
λεκανομαντεία	<i>lekanomanteia</i>	Bowl or bottle evocationary skrying. Operations of type 'B'
λυχνομαντεία	<i>lychnomanteia</i>	Evocationary lamp skrying. Operations of type 'D.'
μαγεία	<i>mageia</i>	Found in the <i>PGM</i> but not in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> .
μαγεύματα	<i>mageumata</i>	Magic
μαγικός ἐνεργείας	<i>magikēs energeias</i>	Piece of magical art
μάγος	<i>magos</i>	Magical power
-μαντεία	<i>-manteia</i>	Magician
		Usually defined as 'divination,' but in the context of words like γαστερομαντεία or νεκρομαντεία, it means 'a magical procedure'
μνημονική	<i>mnēmonikē</i>	Memory. Part of the operations of type 'S'
μύσται	<i>mystai</i>	An initiate of the Mystery
μυστήρια	<i>mysteria</i>	The Mysteries. Operations of type 'M'
νεκρομαντεία	<i>nekromanteia</i>	Necromancy, invocation and interrogation of a spirit of the dead. Operations of type 'N'
νυκτολάλημα	<i>nyktolalēma</i>	Spell for making a woman talk in her sleep
νικητικόν	<i>nikētikon</i>	Victory spells. Operations of type 'β'
όμηρομαντεῖον	<i>homēromanteion</i>	Divination by verses of Homer. Operations of type 'O'
όνειραιτητόν	<i>oneiraitēton</i>	Dream revelation. Operation of type 'V'
όνειροπομπός	<i>oneiropompos</i>	Sending dreams; a sender of dreams. Also Operation of type 'V'
όρκισμός	<i>orkismos</i>	Conjuration; administration of an oath (to the spirit)
οὐρανία ἀλωαφς	<i>ourania alōaphs</i>	Name of the Solomonic lamen in the <i>Hygromanteia</i> ,
Σολομώντος	<i>Solomōntos</i>	according to Preisendanz
οὐρανία σφραγίς	<i>ourania sphragis</i>	The lamen in the <i>Hygromanteia</i>
οὐροβόρος	<i>ouroboros</i>	The snake with its tail in its mouth
οὐσία	<i>ousia</i>	The essence of a thing or person which is used to establish a magical connection, e.g. hair or nail clippings
πάρεδρος	<i>paredros</i>	A magical assistant or familiar. Operation of type 'F'
περιάμματά	<i>periammata</i>	An amulet, i.e. a general personal protection carried around on a day-to-day basis. Operation of type 'A'
πιβακτρομαντεία	<i>pibaktromanteia</i>	Skrying using a water pot. Also <i>epibaktromanteia</i>
πνεῦμα	<i>pneuma</i>	Spirit, breath
πρᾶξις, πραγματεία	<i>praxis, pragmateia</i>	Magical operation, rite
πρόγνωσις	<i>prognōsis</i>	Foreknowledge. Part of the operations of type 'S'
Σολομωνική	<i>Solomōnikē</i>	A Greek book of magic associated with Solomon
στήλη	<i>stēlē</i>	A stone tablet carrying an inscription; a rectangle of metal, stone or natron with inscription; the inscription
στοιχεῖα	<i>stoicheia</i>	An ensouled talisman or statue

στοιχειοκρατοῦσα	<i>stoicheiokratoysa</i>	A magician who fixes the spirit or god to the material talisman or statue, to bring it 'alive'
στοιχειωματικοὶ	<i>stoicheiōmatikoi</i>	A magician who creates <i>stoicheia</i> (ensouled statues) or talismans. <sup>1722</sup> Partaking of operations of type 'J'
σύμβολα	<i>symbola</i>	An item which forms part of the same chain of correspondences, e.g. a lion is a <i>symbola</i> of Helios and laurel leaves that of Apollo
σύστασις	<i>systasis</i>	Divine encounter or association with a god. Operations of type 'G'
σφραγίς	<i>sphragis</i>	Seal
τέλεσμα	<i>telesma</i>	Talisman. Operations of type 'T'
τελεταὶ	<i>teletai</i>	The Mysteries. Operations of type 'M'
ὑγρομαντεία	<i>hygromanteia</i>	A method of evocatory skrying using a virgin boy skrying in water, basin, kettle, etc
Ὑγρομαντεία	<i>Hygromanteia</i>	The common title of the <i>Magical Treatise</i>
ὑδρία	<i>hydria</i>	Water pot, which may have been used by Solomon to imprison demons
ὑδρομαντεία	<i>hydromanteia</i>	<i>See</i> hygromanteia
φαρμακεῖα	<i>phamakeia</i>	A dealer in herbs and poisons, and only incidentally one involved in magic
φιαλομαντεία	<i>phialomanteia</i>	Saucer divination
φίλτρον	<i>philttron</i>	Love spell. Operations of type 'L'. <i>Also</i> φιλτροκατάδεσμος
φυλακτήριον	<i>phylakterion</i>	Phylactery, literally a safe-guard, to be worn by the magician during a rite. Operations of type 'U'
χαρακτήρ	<i>charakter</i>	Characters found on talismans, usually made of straight and curved lines ending with small circles, but probably a form of the Malachim alphabet

### *Latin*

<i>Almadel</i>	The name of a grimoire which means 'circle' in Arabic
<i>altitudine</i>	A zone occupied by a particular set of angels (see <i>chora</i> )
<i>candariis</i>	A talisman (not a 'candle')
<i>consecratio</i>	Consecration (of magical implements). The first part of the 'Solomonic method'
<i>evocatio</i>	Evocation. The third part of the 'Solomonic method'
<i>hydriae argenteae</i>	A silver water pot, which may have been used by Solomon to imprison demons
<i>invocatio</i>	Invocation. The second part of the 'Solomonic method'
<i>lamen</i>	A type of phylactery worn on the chest of a magician, as protection, during a magical rite
<i>licentia</i>	Licence to Depart. The fifth part of the 'Solomonic method'
<i>ligatio</i>	Binding. The fourth part of the 'Solomonic method'
<i>lunarium</i>	A Lunar ephemeris, giving the days of the Moon's cycle
<i>materia magica</i>	Material used in magical rites like blood, herbs, stones, hair or animal parts
<i>nomina magica</i>	Magical words of currently unknown meaning and derivation used in magical invocations

<sup>1722</sup> Not the "persons who cast nativities from the signs of the zodiac," as defined by Liddell and Scott.

## *Egyptian*

<i>b3.w</i>		Souls
<i>b3 n kky</i>	<i>bainchōōōch</i>	The spirit or soul of darkness
<i>dbn.phr</i>		The ritual of encircling for purification
<i>lbs</i>		Lamp
<i>hk3</i>	<i>heka</i>	Magic
<i>hk3y</i>		Magician
<i>hm ntr</i>		High priest / the god's servant
<i>hpe n sh</i>		Written spell
<i>hry-hb hry-tp</i>		Chief lector priest, the most learned priest in the temple, who wore a leopard skin as insignia
<i>mn mn mn</i>		The point where the name of the person against whom the spell is directed should be inserted. Similar to 'NN' in Latin grimoires
<i>nh.t</i>		A 'protection' or amulet
<i>nktk bin</i>		'Evil sleep' or catalepsy. Operations of type 'Z'
<i>nsb</i>		The technical term for an ink 'lick off' spell
<i>ntr</i>	<i>neter</i>	Gods
<i>ph-ntr</i>	<i>peh-netjer</i>	The god's arrival. Operations of type 'G.' Consultation with an ensouled divine statue, or in a dream
<i>phr</i>		Enchant, also "to encircle" as in the circle of protection
<i>pr- 'nh</i>	<i>per-ankh</i>	House of Life, a combined library, scriptorium and college
<i>sd m r3</i>		Snake eating its tail – the Ouroboros
<i>sh pr- 'nh</i>		Scribe of the House of Life (sometimes used to describe a magician)
<i>shen ben</i>		Bowl skrying/vessel enquiry. Operations of type 'B'
<i>shr</i>		To exorcise
<i>šm.w</i>		Oracles
<i>šnty</i>		Exorcised
<i>šnw</i>		Conjurations/conjurer
<i>w' gswr</i>		Ring [spell]
<i>wdnw</i>		Litany
<i>wdʒw</i>		'Health,' a general term for an amulet, confirming their most frequent <i>raison d'être</i> . See operations of the type 'A'
<i>wp.t-r3</i>		Ouphôr ritual

## Hebrew

אֲדֹנָי	Adonai	Literally “my Lord,” a Hebrew god name used in the vocalisation of IHVH. It is used in all three traditions of magic: <i>PGM</i> , <i>Hygromanteia</i> , and <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i>
בָּעֵל אֹוב	Baal Aub	Literally “a ghost master.” Necromancy, where the dead is raised by calling the name of the deceased
הַנִּשָּׁאֵל בְּגִלְגָּלָת	Ha-Nishal Be-Gilgaloth	Necromancy via the means of a skull
וַיָּאִיְתָּמוּן	Via Itmon	The Path of Metatron used to mark the exit from the protective circle (a transliteration from Latin)
יְהָוָה	IHVH or <i>Yahweh</i>	Hebrew god name used in all three traditions of magic: <i>PGM</i> , <i>Hygromanteia</i> , and <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i>
לִלִּיתָא	Lilita	Lilith, a female demon
מְרַכְּבָה	Merkabah	Literally a ‘chariot,’ designating a form of Jewish mysticism which involves ‘descending’ from one heaven or hall to the next
פְּגָעִים	Pegaim	Tormentors, evil spirits
סֵפֶר הַאוֹתּוֹת	Sepher ha-Otot	‘The Book of the Signs,’ a Hebrew book of pentacles
עֲגָל	Agul	A circle
סֵפֶר מִפְּהָה שְׁלֹמֹה	Sepher Maphteah Shalomoh	Hebrew copy of a Latin/Italian <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i>
צְבָאֹות	Tzabaoth or Sabaoth	Hebrew god name used in all three traditions of magic: the <i>PGM</i> , <i>Hygromanteia</i> , and <i>Clavicula Salomonis</i>
קָמִיעַ	Kamia	In general terms an amulet, but used specifically for a planetary <i>kamea</i> built from a numeric square
רוּחַ	Ruach	Spirit, breath
רוּחוֹת	Ruachoth	Spirits
שְׁאֵל אֹוב	Sheol aub	A magician who calls up ghosts
שְׁדִים	Shedim	Demons
שִׁימּוֹשׁ	Shimmush	(Magical) procedure
תְּפִלִּין	Tefillin	A type of phylactery specifically used by Jewish men at prayer time. Not used for magic

The meanings listed in this Glossary are not the complete definition of each term, for which consult a dictionary, but their meanings appearing in the context of magic and the texts examined in this thesis, specifically the *PGM*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*.

## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1 – Analysis and Statistics for Graeco-Egyptian Magic

Group percentage of rites	Rite grouping	Code	Category	Number of rites	Total Number of lines	Number of lines per rite
35.2%	Objective orientated operations	L	Love Rites and Separation of Lovers	89	1831	21
		H	Health Spells	59	478	8
		Z	Evil Sleep or Death	14	84	6
		S	Memory and Foreknowledge	9	244	27
		β	Victory spells	7	57	8
		Q	Possession (daimonic) and Exorcism	4	201	50
		I	Invisibility	3	35	12
18.4%	Manufacture of inscribed magical disks, amulets, lamens, lamellae, etc	A	Amulets for General Protection	54	544	10
		R	Restraining/Binding Anger Amulets	12	188	16
		T	Talismans for Specific Purposes	11	229	21
		U	Phylacteries, Lamen for Ritual Use <sup>1723</sup>	8	61	8
		W	<i>Defixiones</i> (Magic via the Dead)	12	755	63
20.7%	Dealing with the unseen world (invocation, evocation, prayer, initiation, visions of a god)	V	Visions and Dreams of the Gods	43	970	23
		G	Gods: Invocation and Epiphany	34	1534	45
		E	Encounters with the Gods Face-to-Face	4	243	61
		P	Prayers or Hymns of Praise (not Invocations)	9	260	29
		N	Necromancy	7	330	47
		F	Familiar Spirit or Assistant Daimon	6	386	64
		M	<b>Mystery &amp; Initiation rites</b>	6	1451	242 <sup>1724</sup>
6.1%	Skrying	D	Evocationary Lamp Skrying	16	542	34
		B	Bowl Skrying/Vessel Enquiry	16	405	25
3.8%	Relating to magical equipment	K	Magic Rings and Gemstones	8	410	51
		Y	Use of Herbs and Plants in Magic	6	119	20
		J	Manufacture of Magic Statues	6	321	54
1.7%	Timing	C	Calendrical Considerations (Katarchic Astrology)	9	115	13
14.1%	Sundry	α	Minor Magical Procedures <sup>1725</sup>	24	288	12
		O	Oracles from Homer, books, dice & lots	4	196	49 <sup>1726</sup>
		X	<i>Excluded Fragments</i>	46	283	6 <sup>1727</sup>
100%			Total	526	12,565	

Table 20: The objective-based and rite type based categories used to analyse the *PGM*. The occurrence tallies measure numbers of rites, quantity of lines, and average line length.<sup>1728</sup>

<sup>1723</sup> Excludes U2 (114 lines) which are part of already reported categories.

<sup>1724</sup> Note the totally different nature of Mystery rituals, which sets them apart from the magical rites, as indicated by their average line length of 242 as opposed to the longest magical rite average of 64 lines.

<sup>1725</sup> Usually just one example of each type of rite.

<sup>1726</sup> Long mainly due to the Homeric passages.

<sup>1727</sup> Demonstrating their fragmentary nature.

<sup>1728</sup> There are a few duplicated rites which are marked as such: these have not been counted twice.

Code	Category	Percent-age of the PGM rites	Percent-age of the PGM lines	Rubricated Greek Headwords or key word
L	Love	16.9	14.6	ἀγωγή ( <i>agōgē</i> ), φύτρον ( <i>philtron</i> ), φιλτροκατάδεσμος ( <i>philtrokataadesmos</i> )
G	Invocation of and association with the Gods	6.5	12.2	συστάσεις ( <i>sustaseis</i> )
M	Mystery & Initiation Rites	1.1	11.5	μυστήρια ( <i>mystēria</i> ), τελεταί ( <i>teletai</i> )
V	Visions and Dreams, sending	8.2	7.7	ὄνειραιτητόν ( <i>oneiraitēton</i> )
W	<i>Defixiones</i>	2.3	6.0	κατάδεσμοι ( <i>kataadesmoi</i> )
A	Amulets	10.5	4.4	περιάμματά ( <i>periammata</i> ), πρὸς ( <i>pros</i> )
D	Evocationary Lamp Skrying	3.0	4.3	λυχνομαντεία ( <i>lychnomanteia</i> )
H	Health	11.2	3.8	πρὸς (followed by disease name)
B	Bowl Skrying/Vessel Enquiry	3.0	3.3	λεκανομαντεία ( <i>lekanomanteia</i> )
K	Magical Rings & Gemstones	1.5	3.3	δακτύλιον ( <i>daktylion</i> )
F	Familiar Spirits	1.1	3.1	πάρεδρος ( <i>paredros</i> )
J	Magic Statues	1.1	2.6	στοιχεῖα ( <i>stoicheia</i> )
N	Necromancy	1.3	2.6	νεκρομαντεία ( <i>nekromanteia</i> )
α	Minor Magical Procedures	4.6	2.3	-
X	<i>Excluded Fragments</i>	8.7	2.3	-
P	Prayers and Hymns	1.7	2.1	εὐχῆ ( <i>euchē</i> )
S	Memory and Foreknowledge	1.7	1.9	μνημονική ( <i>mnēmonikē</i> ) πρόγνωσις ( <i>prognōsis</i> )
E	Encounters with the Gods Face-to-Face	0.8	1.9	αὐτοψία ( <i>autopsia</i> ), αὐτοπτος ( <i>autoptos</i> )
T	Talismans	2.1	1.8	τέλεσμα ( <i>telesma</i> )
O	Oracles	0.8	1.6	μαντεῖον ( <i>manteion</i> ) ὁμηρομαντεῖον ( <i>homēromanteion</i> )
Q	Possession/Exorcism	0.8	1.6	-
R	Restraining/Binding Amulets	2.3	1.5	θυμοκάτοχον ( <i>thymokatochon</i> ) κάτοχος ( <i>katochos</i> )
C	Calendrical and Timing	1.7	0.9	-
Y	Herbs	1.1	0.9	βοτάνη ( <i>botanē</i> )
Z	Evil Sleep and Death	2.7	0.7	<i>nktk bin</i> (Demotic only)
β	Victory spells	1.3	0.5	νικητικόν ( <i>nikētikon</i> )
U	Phylacteries (excluding U2)	1.3	0.4	φυλακτήριον ( <i>phylakterion</i> )
I	Invisibility	0.6	0.3	ἀμαύρωσις ( <i>amayrōsis</i> )
	Total	99.9	100	

Table 21: Objectives and Rite Types, ranked by rite and line percentages, with the key headwords used in their identification.

## Appendix 2 - Analysis of the Taxonomy of Graeco-Egyptian Magic in the PGM

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	7	A	4	PGM VII. 193-196	Scorpion sting amulet
	7	A	2	PGM VII. 197-198	Eye discharge amulet
Zeus	7	A	4	PGM VII. 199-202	Amulet against headache, migraine.
	7	A	3	PGM VII. 203-205	Coughs amulet
	7	A	3	PGM VII. 206-207	Health amulet on hyena parchment
	7	A	2	PGM VII. 208-209	Amulet against hardening of the breasts
	7	A	3	PGM VII. 209-210	Amulet for swollen testicles
Sabaôth	7	A	2	PGM VII. 211-212	Fever with shivering fits amulet
	7	A	2	PGM VII. 213-214	Daily and nightly fever amulet
Aphrodite, Damnameneus, Akrammachammarai	7	A	4	PGM VII. 215-218	Stele of Aphrodite (an amulet for favour and friends). Includes part of the Ephesian Grammata.
Iô-Erbêth, Iô Pakerbêth, Iô Bolchosêth, Osiris, Typhon, Isis	12	A	11	PGM XII. 365-375	Separation, amulet for causing
	12	A	4	PGM XII. 397-400	Favour, amulet of wormwood to attract
Anubis, Ablanathanalba Akrammachamari	17	A	25	PGM XVIIa. 1-25	Love spell of attraction, with diamond shaped wing layout amulet
Ablanathanalba	17	A	14	PGM XVIIc. 1-14	Probably an amulet
Sabaoth	18	A	4	PGM XVIIIa. 1-4	Headache, amulet against
Gorgôphônas [Gorgon slayer]	18	A	7	PGM XVIIIb. 1-7	Fever amulet in a wing formation
Syrian woman of Gadara	20	A	9	PGM XX. 4-12	Inflammation, amulet of the Syrian woman of Gadara against
Philimma (Thessalian)	20	A	7	PGM XX. 13-19	Headache, amulet against
Ablanathanablana Mach Aramarach, Kok, Kouk Koul	33	A	25	PGM XXXIII. 1-25	Fever amulet with huge V-shaped wing formation
	36	A	9	PGM XXXVI. 275-283	Favour, silver amulet for gaining. Also used to repel daimones
Horos, Osiris, Isis, Typhon	37	A	9	PGM XXXVI. 312-320	Open a door, amulet to
[Bes]	39	A	21	PGM XXXIX. 1-21	Love amulet. Large double wing format
Sabaoth, Ouriel	42	A	10	PGM XLII. 1-10	Amulet
Souriel, Gabriel, Raphael, Michael, Sabaoth	43	A	27	PGM XLIII. 1-27	Amulet for fever, with 12 angels
Michaël	44	A	18	PGM XLIV. 1-18	Fever and earache amulet (not a phylactery)
Abraxas, Adonaia	45	A	8	PGM XLV. 1-8	Amulet/invocation
Satoucheos, Sabaoth	47	A	17	PGM XLVII. 1-17	Fever, amulet for
Sesegges bar Pharagges, Atikhis, Cherubim, Pantokrator	48	A	21	PGM XLVIII. 1-21	Coptic. Amulet? 6th-7th century
Aiôn	49	A	1	PGM XLIX	Amulet
	60	A	5	PGM LX. 1-5	Amulet? Fragment with <i>charakteres</i>
	62	A	31	PGM LXII. 76-106	Harm to a woman's womb and genitals, against Moon/heart shaped amulet
	64	A	12	PGM LXIV. 1-12	Amulet for love
	70	A	4	PGM LXX. 1-4	Amulet for favour & victory. Or to dissolve a spell
	86	A	2	PGM LXXXVI. 1-2	Amulet

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Zagourē Pagourē	88	A	19	PGM LXXXVIII. 1-19	Fever amulet with V-shaped wing layout
Abrasax	89	A	27	PGM LXXXIX. 1-27	Amulet against fever, phantoms, daimones, etc.
Ablanathanalba	91	A	14	PGM XCI. 1-14	Fever amulet with V-shaped wing layout
Solomon, Adōnios	92	A	16	PGM XCII. 1-16	Favour, amulet for
	94	A	7	PGM XCIV. 10-16	'Phylactery' for fever (really an amulet)
	94	A	5	PGM XCIV. 22-26	Eyes, carved amulet for
	94	A	9	PGM XCIV. 27-35	Tumours, amulet
	94	A	3	PGM XCIV. 36-38	Strangury (urinary condition)
	94	A	20	PGM XCIV. 39-60	Headache, migraine
Bainchōoch	96	A	8	PGM XCVI. 1-8	Amulet
Serapis	98	A	7	PGM XCVIII. 1-7	Amulet against fever
Ablatnathamala, Christ	100	A	7	PGM C. 1-7	Amulet
	104	A	8	PGM CIV. 1-8	Amulet against fever
Adōnai Eloai Sabaōth Ablanathanalba, Adōnai Akrammachamari Sesenger bar Pharanges Iaō Phrē, Ouriēl, Michaēl, Gabrēl, Souriel, Raphaēl, Adōnias,	106	A	10	PGM CVI. 1-10	Fever, amulet with triple-bar 'Z' and the ouroboros
Sabaōn, Napsernousor	112	A	5	PGM CXII. 1-5	Scorpion sting, amulet against
	113	A	4	PGM CXIII. 1-4	Scorpion sting, amulet against
Hekate	114	A	14	PGM CXIV. 1-14	Protection from attacks by daimones and for epilepsy, amulet
Maskeli, Maskelō, Phnoukentabaōth	115	A	7	PGM CXV. 1-7	Fever, amulet against
	120	A	13	PGM CXX. 1-13	Inflammation of the uvula. An amulet in a grape-shaped wing formation
Jesus Christ, son of Iaō	128	A	11	PGM CXXVIII. 1-11	'Phylactery' against fever (really an amulet)
<b>Total A</b>			<b>544</b>		
Typhon.	4	B	0	PGM IV. 221-255	Bowl skrying/vessel enquiry. <sup>1729</sup>
Aphrodite	4	B	46	PGM IV. 3209-3254	Bowl skrying/vessel enquiry of Aphrodite
Anubis, Ram-Lion-Lotus, Ablanathanalba, Hor-Amoun, Marighari, Horus, Isis, Osiris, Sobek, Agathdaimon	14	B	92	PDM xiv. 1-92	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry via Anubis, using a virgin boy as skryer
Khonsu, Ram-Lion-Lotus	14	B	57	PDM xiv. 239-295	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Anubis, Thoth	14	B	14	PDM xiv. 295-308	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry using eye ointment
Anubis	14	B	33	PDM xiv. 395-427	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Anubis	14	B	26	PDM xiv. 528-553	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Osiris, Iaho, Sabaho, Mikhael, Anubis	14	B	9	PDM xiv. 627-635	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry through Osiris.
Moon, Amoun, Abrasaks	14	B	6	PDM xiv. 695-700	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Moon	14	B	5	PDM xiv. 701-705	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Pre, Geb, Heknet, the Rishtret, Nun, Nut, Anepo [Anubis], Maat, Iaho,	14	B	36	PDM xiv. 805-840	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry

<sup>1729</sup> Embedded inside PGM IV. 154-285, therefore not added to the line tally.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Isis, Iah, Nephär	14	B	10	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 841-850	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Hamst	14	B	5	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 851-855	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
Dioscorus, Adonai	14	B	7	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1056-62	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry to find a thief
Sabaoth, Osiris Ablanathanalba, Agathodaimon,	14	B	20	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1110-1129	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry to open the skryer's eyes
IAO, Ablanathanalba	14	B	17	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1163-1179	Demotic bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
	62	B	22	<i>PGM</i> LXII. 24-46	Greek bowl skrying/vessel enquiry
<b>Total B</b>			<b>405</b>		
	3	C	7	<i>PGM</i> III. 275-81	Types of magic relevant to each zodiacal Sign
	4	C	15	<i>PGM</i> IV. 835-49	Astrological text – the influence of each zodiac sign in each period of life. Luck cycles
Typhon, Helios, Aberamenthōu	7	C	13	<i>PGM</i> VII. 155-167	Days and hours of the Moon – times for divination
	7	C	12	<i>PGM</i> VII. 272-283	Astrological calendar - 12 Egyptian months of unsuitable days for magical operations <sup>1730</sup>
	7	C	16	<i>PGM</i> VII. 284-299	Type of magic operation relevant for the moon in each zodiacal sign
Demokritos	12	C	14	<i>PGM</i> XII. 351-364	Demokritos' "sphere" – the day of the month used to determine potential mortality
	14	C	2	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1180-1181	Moon in Scorpio
	62	C	24	<i>PGM</i> LXII. 52-75	Natal horoscopes for three people
	110	C	12	<i>PGM</i> CX. 1-12	Making a horoscope on a board using semi-precious stones
<b>Total C</b>			<b>115</b>		
Apollo, Zeus, IAŌ, Michael, Gabriel, Abrasax, Adōnai, Aiōn, Pakerbēth, Adōnaios, Thōthō, Elōaios, Moirai, Hades	1	D	86	<i>PGM</i> I. 262-347	Apollonian invocation in an evocation lamp skrying, with a touch of necromancy
Solomon, Hermes Trismegistos	4	D	80	<i>PGM</i> IV. 850-929	"Solomon's Collapse." Solomon's invocation (not 'amulet') that makes the skryer/medium fall into a trance. With spirit dismissal. <sup>1731</sup>
Zeus, Helios, Mitra [Mithras], Sarapis, Meliouchos, Bainchōōch, Iaō	5	D	53	<i>PGM</i> V. 1-53	Lamp skrying, but called a Oracle ( $\mu\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$ ) of Sarapis
Chaos, Erebus	7	D	11	<i>PGM</i> VII. 348-358	Lamp skrying by means of a boy
Anoubis, Hermes Trismegistus, Bainchōōch	7	D	39	<i>PGM</i> VII. 540-578	Lamp skrying using a boy skryer
Anubis, the Drowned One, Osiris, Re-Kepre-Atum, Amoun, Isis, Nephthys, Pre, Sakhmet, Hike [i.e. Hekal], Horus, Aniel, Sisihyt, Eregshingal, Lion-Ram	14	D	82	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 150-231	Lamp skrying, which can also be used to compel a god's arrival 'G'
Boel, Tat	14	D	17	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 459-475	Lamp skrying by Boel

<sup>1730</sup> See also Delatte (1927) I, 631-32 for the Byzantine Greek version.

<sup>1731</sup> Although this is not a lamp skrying procedure *per se*, it is related to the preparation of the skryer for this procedure, and it occurs between two other lamp skrying rites.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	14	D	14	PDM xiv. 475-488	Lamp skrying
Boel, Tat, Aniel, Zeus	14	D	27	PDM xiv. 489-515	Lamp skrying by Boel
Boel, Tat, Aniel, Sabaoth	14	D	12	PDM xiv. 516-527	Lamp skrying
Harpokrates, Isis	14	D	22	PDM xiv. 750-771	Lamp skrying
Pre, Geb, Heknet ( <i>sic</i> ), Rishtret, Nut	14	D	36	PDM xiv. 805-840	Lamp skrying using eye paint for clairvoyance and homunculus operation
	14	D	30	PDM xiv. 856-885	Sun, inquiry of via a youth (skryer)
	14	D	14	PDM xiv. 1141-1154	Lamp skrying
	14	D	7	PDM xiv. 1199-1205	Lamp skrying
Isis, Nephthys, Re, Amun, Osiris, Anubis	-	D	12	PDM Supp. 138-149	Lamp skrying using a copper vessel
<b>Total D</b>			<b>542</b>		
Lailam, Iaō, Sabaōth, Bainchōōōch, Albalal, Sesengen bar Pharaggēs, Ablanathanalba, Akrammachamari, Hōros, Harpokratēs, Abraōth, Balsamēs, Barbariēl,	4	E	185	PGM IV. 930-1114	Evocationary lamp skrying, for direct vision, with a 'god-bringing spell'
Ablamathanalba ( <i>sic</i> ), Tabaōth, Akrammachamarei	5	E	16	PGM V. 54-69	Direct vision for a god to prophesy
Osiris, Anubis, Belpheō	7	E	29	PGM VII. 319-347	Using a copper vessel to invoke Anubis to answer questions in a dream
Apollo, Helios	7	E	13	PGM VII. 727-739	Invocation for a direct vision of Apollo
<b>Total E</b>			<b>243</b>		
	1	F	42	PGM I. 1-42	Assistant daimon rite
Pnouthis, the Keryx (herald priest/magician)	1	F	154	PGM I. 42-195	Spell of Pnouthis for acquiring an assistant daimon
	4	F	31	PGM IV. 1840-1870	The translation adds this to the end of the Sword of Dardanos, but it is actually a separate procedure for acquiring an assistant daimon
Nephthys, Typhon, Apollonius (magician)	11	F	40	PGM XIa. 1-40	Apollonius of Tyana's method for a binding a spirit servant, in the form of an old woman, via an invocation of Nephthys
Eros	12	F	82	PGM XII. 14-95	Statue of Eros as assistant daimon, which gives dreams. Animal sacrifice to animate a statue
Adonai, Osiris, Typhon, Ammon, Isis, the Bear	57	F	37	PGM LVII. 1-37	Assistant daimon rite (not really). Continuation of LXXII
<b>Total F</b>			<b>386</b>		
Helios/ Meliouchos	3	G	164	PGM III. 1-164	A multi-purpose invocation that requires the deification of a cat by drowning, for: restraining charioteers; sending dreams; binding a lover; to cause separation and enmity
Helios	3	G	118	PGM III. 494-611	Spell to establish a relationship with Helios
Sabaōth, Adōnai, Lotus-Lion- Ram, Horus, Re, Helios, Harpokrates, Abrasax, Ablanathanalba	3	G	99	PGM III. 633-731	Encounter with/vision of a god

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Helios, Adōnai, Sabaōth	4	G	6	PGM IV. 88-93	To Helios. Uses a naked boy as medium
Helios, Typhon, Moirai, Pakerbeth. Nepher Hotep (priest), Psammetichos (King)	4	G	97	PGM IV. 154-221, 257-285. <sup>1732</sup>	Letter from Nephōtēs (priest Nefer Hotep) to King Psammetichos about a divine encounter, plus necromancy
Bear (Ursa Major), Helios, Phre [Ra]	4	G	145	PGM IV. 1275-1322	Bear asterism invocation <sup>1733</sup>
	4	G	8	PGM IV. 1323-1330	Bear asterism invocation
(Autochthons)	4	G	59	PGM IV. 1331-1389	Bear asterism invocation
Kore <sup>1734</sup>	4	G	118	PGM IV. 2241-2358	Invocation to the waning moon
Selene, Hecate, Pan, Aktiōphis	4	G	86	PGM IV. 2622-2707	Slander spell to Selene, "which works for everything and every rite"
Selene, Helios, Klotho, Hekate, Lachesis, Mene, Atropos, Kerberos, Artemis, Eriny, Kronos, Ra, Persephone, Megaira, Allektos	4	G	106	PGM IV. 2785-2890	Prayer to Selene with offerings. This is an invocation, not just a prayer, because of the presence of offerings and a phylactery
Kronos, Helios, Zeus	4	G	39	PGM IV. 3086-3124	Although called "Oracle of Kronos," or the "little mill," it is an invocation of the god Kronos
Hermes, Iao, Helios, Themis, Eriny, Ammon, Parammon	5	G	41	PGM V. 172-212	Invocation of Hermes, to catch a thief, using a food ordeal for the suspects
Aiōn, Zeus, Adōnai, Iaō, Sabaōth, Iaōth Ablanathanalba, Lailam	5	G	31	PGM V. 459-489	All-purpose invocation of Zeus to loosen shackles, grant invisibility, send dreams and gain favour
Helios, Apollo, Phoebus, Paian, Leto, IAŌ, Sabaoth, Nomios, Seseggen bar Pharaggēs, Arbēthō, Selene	6	G	47	PGM VI. 1-47	Invocation for an encounter with Helios
Isis, Agathos Daimon, Sothis, Boubastis, Amon (god of Pelusium), Nemesis, Adrasteia, Horus	7	G	15	PGM VII. 490-504	Invocation of Isis as goddess of the Moon. (Preisendanz (1931), p. 22 incorrectly inserts φυλακτήριον as the suggested headword)
	7	G	24	PGM VII. 505-28	Meeting with your own Daimon. A form of initiation
Brimo	7	G	17	PGM VII. 686-702	Bear asterism invocation
Hermes, Astrapsoukos (magician)	8	G	63	PGM VIII. 1-63	Invocation of Hermes. Binding spell or φιλτροκατάδεσμος of Astrampsychos
Kore	12	G	13	PGM XII. 1-13	Rite to produce an epiphany of Kore, and to kill someone
Ablanathanalba	12	G	8	PGM XII. 182-189	Invocation for favour
Agathodaimon, Moses, Peteri	14	G	33	PDM xiv. 117-149	Bear asterism invocation
Anubis, the Drowned One, Osiris, Re-Kepre-Atum, Amoun, Isis, Nephthys, Pre, Sakhmet, Hike (i.e. Hekal), Horus, Aniel, Sisihyt, Eresgshingal, Lion-Ram	14	[G]	0	PDM xiv. 150-231 [see also D]	Lamp skrying, which can also be used to compel a god's arrival. <i>Ben shen</i> leading to <i>peh-netjer</i> [Duplicated rite from D so not here tallied in G]

<sup>1732</sup> Betz lists PGM IV. 154-285 as one procedure of bowl skrying/vessel enquiry, whereas lines 154-220 and 261-285 is a rite of Divine Encounter, with what appears to be a bowl skrying/vessel enquiry (lines 221-256) inserted in the middle of it.

<sup>1733</sup> This is the constellation of Ursa Major or the Plough. This asterism was seen by the ancient Egyptians as the polar 'handle' which turns the vault of heaven, and allows the stars to move across the sky.

<sup>1734</sup> Klotho, Kerberos, Mene, Brimo, Hermes, Mare, Kore, Helios, Tethys, Aiōn, Kronos, Osiris, Michael. Also many other gods and goddesses by implication, such as Isis' father, the Nile goddess, the goddesses of Dodona and Ida, or Hekate ("O dog in maiden form").

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Paysakh priest of Cusae.	14	G	7	PDM xiv. 232-238	Bear asterism, god's arrival
Thoth, Hapy, Ra-Khepri-Atum, Sakhmet, Lotus-Lion-Ram	14	G	26	PDM xiv. 309-334	Thoth invocation. Plus an anointing oil to win favour in public places
	14	G	5	PDM xiv. 670-674	Introduction to the Great One of Five spells for a "god's arrival"
Pre, Geb, Heknet, the Rishret, Nun, Nut, Anepo [Anubis], Maat, Iaho,	14	[G]	0	PDM xiv. 805-840 [see also B]	Demotic bowl skrying/ vessel enquiry [Duplicated from B so not here tallied with G]
Muses, Amoun, Io	21	G	29	PGM XXI. 1-29	Invocation to a lord whose name is 7 letters
Hekate Ereshkigal	70	G	22	PGM LXX. 4-25	Invocation of Hekate Ereshkigal against a punishment daimon in the Underworld. Has Ephesian Grammata and gestures
	72	G	36	PGM LXXII. 1-36	Bear asterism invocation. Part of LVII <sup>1735</sup>
Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios, Isaac, Abraham, Jacōb	105	G	15	PGM CV. 1-15	Invocation of Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios
Pakerbēth, Abrasax, [Typhon-Seth]	116	G	17	PGM CXVI. 1-17	The Pakerbēth formula (Maybe an invocation of Seth-Typhon.)
Osiris, Nephthys, Horus	-	G	9	PDM Supp. 130-138	God's arrival of Osiris
Thoth	-	G	14	PDM Supp. 149-162	God's arrival of Thoth
Imhotep, Ptah, Osiris Wennefer, Thoth, Horus	-	G	17	PDM Supp. 168-184	Invocation of Imhotep, son of Ptah. A "god's arrival"
<b>Total G</b>			<b>1534</b>		
	7	H	12	PGM VII. 260-271	Uterus, preventing the ascent of (Jewish?)
Isis, Asklepios Osiris, Hebe, Sesegegen bar Pharaggēs, Sabaoth	7	H	17	PGM VII. 993-1009	Fix an injured person
Horus Imhotep <sup>1736</sup> Nephthys Osiris Shu Sokar Ptah Thoth	12	H	29	PDM xii. 21-49	Prayer for a revelation of a prescription for eye disease
Anubis	14	H	9	PDM xiv. 554-562	Dog bite spell
Osiris, Horus Agathadaimon	14	H	12	PDM xiv. 563-574	Poison, removal of
Osiris	14	H	12	PDM xiv. 574-585	Bone stuck in the throat, removal of
Anubis, Isis, Seth, Osiris, Apophis, Amoun, Triphis, Horus	14	H	9	PDM xiv. 585-593	Dog bite spell
Anubis, Sekhmet-Isis, Osiris, Atum, Agathadaimon, Geb, Horus	14	H	27	PDM xiv. 594-620	Sting, to cure a
	14	H	7	PDM xiv. 620-626	Bone stuck in the throat, removal of
	14	H	5	PDM xiv. 935-939	Prescription for a watery ear
	14	H	13	PDM xiv. 940-952	Herbs and salamander cure for a wound
	14	H	3	PDM xiv. 953-955	To stop blood
	14	H	5	PDM xiv. 956-960	Pregnancy test
	14	H	5	PDM xiv. 961-965	To stop bleeding during sex
	14	H	4	PDM xiv. 966-969	Herbal cure?
	14	H	8	PDM xiv. 970-977	Prescription to stop liquid in a woman
	14	H	3	PDM xiv. 978-980	Prescription to stop liquid in a woman
	14	H	4	PDM xiv. 981-984	Prescription to stop liquid in a woman
	14	H	8	PDM xiv. 985-992	Gout, prescription for

<sup>1735</sup> According to Brashear (1995), p. 3495.

<sup>1736</sup> Iymhotep, the Egyptian Asklepios.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	14	H	10	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 993-1002	Gout, prescription for
	14	H	12	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1003-1014	Gout, amulet for
	14	H	6	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1015-1020	Gout?
	14	H	5	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1021-1025	Prescription for a stiff foot
Amoun, Horus	14	H	7	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1097-1103	Eye disease/ophthalmia
	14	H	6	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1104-1109	Eye ointment recipe
	14	H	9	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1219-1227	Fever
	20	H	4	<i>PGM</i> XX. 1-4	Headache
Apollo, Zeus	22	H	8	<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 2-9	Magico-medical recipe against bloody flux, using a quote from Homer, <i>Il.</i> 1.96.
Zeus	22	H	3	<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 9-10	Magico-medical recipe against pain in the breast and uterus, using a quote from Homer, <i>Il.</i> 2.548; 8.486
	22	H	4	<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 11-14	Magico-medical recipe for contraception from Homer, <i>Il.</i> 3.40.
	22	H	3	<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 15-17	Magico-medical recipe against elephantiasis, using a quote from Homer, <i>Il.</i> 4.141.
Phōr, Sabaōth, Adōne, Salama, Tarchei, Abrasax	28	H	7	<i>PGM</i> XXVIIa. 1-7	Scorpion sting
Phōr, Iaō, Adōnaei, Sabaōth, Salaman [Solomon], Tarchchei, Artemisos	28	H	9	<i>PGM</i> XXVIIb. 1-9	Scorpion sting
Phōr, Iaō, Adōnai, Salama, R Thachi	28	H	11	<i>PGM</i> XXVIIc. 1-11	Scorpion sting
	36	H	13	<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 320-32	Contraceptive spell. Bitter vetch, henbane
	61	H	6	<i>PDM</i> lxi. 43-48 [ <i>PGM</i> LXI. i-v]	Ulcer (?) of the head, remedy for
	61	H	9	<i>PDM</i> lxi. 49-57	Headache, herbal remedy using palm, persea, cypress, mulberry, laurel, black poplar and pine
	61	H	5	<i>PDM</i> lxi. 58-62 [ <i>PGM</i> LXI. vi.x]	Erection, to improve
	63	H	5	<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 24-28	Contraceptive spell
Ochthia	65	H	4	<i>PGM</i> LXV. 1-4	Pregnancy prevention
	65	H	4	<i>PGM</i> LXV. 4-7	Headache, migraine cure
Sabaoth, Michael, Abraham, etc	83	H	20	<i>PGM</i> LXXXIII. 1-20	Against fever with shivering fits. Christianised Jewish formula
Samousoum Souma	87	H	11	<i>PGM</i> LXXXVII. 1-11	Fever
	90	H	5	<i>PGM</i> XC. 14-18	Fever salve
	94	H	6	<i>PGM</i> XCIV 1-6	Eyesight, drying powder made with saffron for sharp eyes
	94	H	3	<i>PGM</i> XCIV 7-9	Health, excellent
	95	H	7	<i>PGM</i> XCV. 7-13	Epilepsy, remedy
	95	H	5	<i>PGM</i> XCV. 14-18	Epilepsy, remedy
	97	H	6	<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 1-6	Against eye disease (?)
	97	H	3	<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 15-17	Against every disease
	119	H	5	<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 1-5	Fever with shivering fits, remedy for
Osiris, Ammon, Isis-Nephthys	122	H	5	<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 51-55 <sup>1737</sup>	Headache (1st century CE)

<sup>1737</sup> Part of *PGM* CXXII. 1-55, but separate spell.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Erōtylos, Brimō, Chōnoutha, Zazeas	123	H	14	PGM CXXIIIa. 24-47	Erotylos. Maybe to do with periods
Christ	123	H	3	PGM CXXIIIa. 48-50	Childbearing
Thara Tharō	123	H	2	PGM CXXIIIa. 51-52	Sleep
	123	H	3	PGM CXXIIIa. 53-55	Strangury (urinary condition), remedy for
Ablanathana pam balanathanath, Raphaēl	123	H	13	PGM CXXIIIa. 56-68	Fever with shivering fits, remedy for
	127	H	12	PGM CXXVII. 1-12	Formulary of magico-medical prescriptions. A 'Book of Secrets'
Iarbatḥ	130	H	13	PGM CXXX. 1-13	Fever with shivering fits, against
<b>Total H</b>			<b>478</b>		
Helios, Iō Lailam Zizia Ieō	1	I	10	PGM I. 222-231	Invisibility ἀμαύρωσις
Anubis Osir-Phre Osiris Iō Erbēth Phobēth Pakerbēth Marmariaōth Marmaripheggē	1	I	16	PGM I. 247-262	Invisibility ἀμαύρωσις
Moses, IAŌ Sabaōth, Adōnai	7	I	9	PGM VII. 619-627	Invisibility and love, from the <i>Diadem of Moses</i>
<b>Total I</b>			<b>35</b>		
Iaō, Kerberos	4	J	56	PGM IV. 1872-1927	Magical statue in the form of the dog Kerberos, to attract a specific woman
Hermes	4	J	69	PGM IV. 2373-2440	Business talismanic statue, for acquiring business customers
Tyche, Aiōn, Agathos Daimon	4	J	47	PGM IV. 3125-3171	A magical statue to gain favour for a shop or temple (not a phylactery as suggested in the translation)
Hermes, Selene, Helios, Ereschigal, Iaō	5	J	77	PGM V. 370-446	Making a statue of Hermes to send dreams and prophesy. It uses a goose windpipe to allow the statue to "breathe" <sup>1738</sup>
Selene, Aphrodite Urania, Ereshkigal, Klaudianos (magician),	7	J	57	PGM VII. 862-918	Lunar rite of Klaudianos invoking Selene, with a clay statue, in order to secure the love of a woman
Kneph	111	J	15	PGM CXI. 1-15	Magical figures, instruction for making. Dated exactly to 1 CE
<b>Total J</b>			<b>321</b>		
Helios, Agathos Daimon, Zeus, Serapis	4	K	120	PGM IV. 1596-1715	Consecration of a stone and ring (or phylactery), with the ring's purposes consecrated according to the god of the hour. See duplicate listing under 'U' phylactery
Hermes	5	K	91	PGM V. 213-303	Hermes' ring
Sarapis	5	K	12	PGM V. 447-458	Magical ring
Asklepios of Memphis [Imhotep] Menōphri	7	K	15	PGM VII. 628-642	Magical ring of Asklepios
Abraxam	12	K	15	PDM xii. 6-20	Iron ring to cause praise

<sup>1738</sup> See PGM VII. 664-685 for an identical invocatory poem.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Abraxas, Ouroboros, Helios, Selene, IAO Sabaōth, Chrates [Sokrates], Nemesis, Phoinix, Aphrodite, Kronos, Osiris, Isis, Suchos, Agathos Daimon, Aion, Adōnai, Sabaōth, Ouertō, Abrasax	12	K	69	PGM XII. 201-269	A ring for favour and victory, "useful for every magical operation." Engraved on a jasper. See also PGM XII. 270-350 for an older version of the same rite.
Ouphōr, Helios, Ouroboros, Khepera, Iao Sabaōth, Thoth, Maskelli, Seiseng Pharangēs, Bainchōōch, Adōnai, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Astaphaios, Bainchōōch, Amoun, Osiris	12	K	81	PGM XII. 270-350	The Rite of Ouphor to make carved stones come alive. A ring for success and favour and victory. Uses Heliotrope, herb of the Sun. See also PGM XII. 201-269. A rite for consecrating all stones
	14	K	7	PDM xiv. 1090-1096	A ring to fetch a woman
<b>Total K</b>			<b>410</b>		
Isis, Ape of Thoth, Nephthys, Osiris Onnophris, Belf, Anubis, Re, Hapi, Mnervis	4	L	60	PGM IV. 94-153	Love spell of attraction
Aphrodite	4	L	10	PGM IV. 1265-1274	Love spell using Aphrodite's name
Eros, Babylon, Abrasax, Iaō Sabaōth Adōnai, Maskelli, Maskello, Anoch	4	L	100	PGM IV. 1496-1595	Love spell over myrrh
Eros, Psyche, Aphrodite, Dardanos <sup>1739</sup>	4	L	125	PGM IV. 1716-1840	Love spell, called the Sword of Dardanos <sup>1740</sup>
Aktiōphis, Ereshkigal, Selene, Hermes, Hecate, Brimo, Zeus, Artemis, Persephone	4	L	181	PGM IV. 2441-2621	General all-purpose spell for: love; attracting the uncontrollable; inflicting illness; destruction; sending dreams; accomplishes revelations
Pachrates (prophet of Heliopolis), Hadrian					
Selene, Hekate, Dione, [Aphrodite], Kore, Artemis, Persephone, Aktiōphi[s], Ereshkigal, Maskelli Maskellō, Ōriōn, Michaēl, Adōnai, Zeus, Damnameneus, Iō	4	L	77	PGM IV. 2708-2784	Love spell of attraction
Aphrodite, Adonis, Aktiōphi[s], Ereshkigal, Kythereia	4	L	52	PGM IV. 2891-2942	Love spell of attraction
Hekate, Kore	4	L	24	PGM IV. 2943-2966	Love spell through wakefulness
	7	L	2	PGM VII. 191-192	Binding a lover based on anointing of the phallus before intercourse
[Typhon], Necessity 'Anagkh	7	L	10	PGM VII. 300a-310	Love spell
	7	L	3	PGM VII. 374-376	Love by inducing insomnia
Hestia, Hephaistos	7	L	9	PGM VII. 376-384	Love by inducing insomnia
Boubasti, Cypris	7	L	5	PGM VII. 385-389	Love, cup spell
	7	L	2	PGM VII. 405-406	Love spell
Bacchios	7	L	3	PGM VII. 459-461	Love spell
	7	L	5	PGM VII. 462-466	Love spell
Typhon Osiri Iō	7	L	11	PGM VII. 467-477	Love spell of attraction
Iao, Adonai, Sabaōth, Pagoure, Marmorouth, Iao, Michael	7	L	27	PGM VII. 593-619	A slander spell used for fetching an unmanageable woman
Athena Osiris Iaō Pakerbēth Semesilam Patachna Ablanathanalba Akrammachamarei Sabaōth Adōnai Abrasax	7	L	9	PGM VII. 643-651	Love, cup spell

<sup>1739</sup> The founder of the Mysteries of Samothrace.

<sup>1740</sup> See Gaster, *The Sword of Moses*. This rite is designed to bind a soul to the magician's purposes. It utilises the angels Thouriēl, Michaēl, Gabriēl, Ouriel, Misaēl Irraēl Istraēl (see PGM IV. 1815). An iron sword is often used to constrain spirits, especially in European grimoires. Lines 1841-1870 have been split off as a separate operation to acquire an assistant daimon.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	7	L	3	PGM VII. 661-663	Love spell
IAō	7	L	4	PGM VII. 969-972	Love spell
Michaēl Osiris Phor Phorba Abrēl Sēseggēn bar Pharaggēs Iaō Sabaōth Adōnai Lailam	7	L	8	PGM VII. 973-980	Love spell of attraction by touch
Helios Aktiōphis Ereshkigal Persephonē Helios	7	L	13	PGM VII. 981-993	Love spell of attraction
IAō Sabaōth, Sothis [Sathis]	10	L	23	PGM X. 1-23	Love spell
Ablanathanalba, Abrasax	11	L	19	PGM XIc. 1-19	Love spell
	12	L	21	PGM XII. 376-396	Love and death via insomnia using a living bat
Typhon	7	L	9	PGM VII. 652-660	Insomnia induced using a living bat as part of a love spell
Io-Erbēth Io-Sēth, Isis	12	L	12	PDM xii. 50-61 [PGM XII. 445-448]	For separating one person/lover from another
Io-Erbēth, Bolchosēth	12	L	14	PDM xii. 62-75 [PGM XII. 449-452]	For separating one person/lover from another
Iō Pakerbēth, Iaō	12	L	32	PDM xii. 76-107 [PGM XII. 453-465]	For separating one person/lover from another
IAō	12	L	11	PDM xii. 108-118 [PGM XII. 466-68]	To cause a woman to hate a man
Anubis, Abraham	12	L	12	PDM xii. 135-146 [PGM XII. 474-479]	Love spell. With drawing of Anubis dealing with a mummy on a lion couch
Balsames, Anubis	12	L	18	PDM xii. 147-164 [PGM XII. 480-495]	Love spell
Shu, Ra	14	L	21	PDM xiv. 335-355	To make a woman love a man
Ra, Pre, Sakhmet	14	L	11	PDM xiv. 355-365	To gain favour from a woman or man
Geb, Tefnut	14	L	10	PDM xiv. 366-375	For separating man and woman, and encouraging quarrelling
Isis, Osiris (as the drowned one), Horus of Edfu, Agathadaimon,	14	L	23	PDM xiv. 428-450	To seduce a woman
Pre, Shu, Osiris, Atum, Nun, Horus, Isis	14	L	34	PDM xiv. 636-669	A detailed Demotic love rite involving the deification of a scarab
	14	L	33	PDM xiv. 772-804	Elaborate love spell
	14	L	3	PDM xiv. 930-32	Love spell based on the anointing of the phallus before intercourse
Hathor, Moses, IAHO Sabaho, Abrasaks, Geb, Arbanthala, Mut	14	L	20	PDM xiv. 1026-1045	To inflame love
	14	L	10	PDM xiv. 1046-1055	Love spell based on the anointing of the phallus before intercourse
	14	L	7	PDM xiv. 1063-1069	Love spell utilising the hair of the woman in a lamp wick
	14	L	8	PDM xiv. 1070-1077	To send dreams and make a woman love you
	14	L	11	PDM xiv. 1130-1140	Love spell based on the anointing of the phallus before intercourse
	14	L	8	PDM xiv. 1155-1162	Love spell based on the anointing of the phallus before intercourse
	14	L	11	PDM xiv. 1188-1198	Love spell based on the anointing of the phallus before intercourse
	14	L	13	PDM xiv. 1206-1218	Love spell using of a shrew-mouse drowned in wine
	19	L	3	PGM XIXb. 1-3	Love spell of attraction

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Senakōtho, Anoch, etc	19	L	15	PGM XIXb. 4-18	Love spell of attraction written with blood and myrrh on flax
Helios, Iaō, Sabaōth, Lailam, Barbaras, Michaēl, Gabriēl	22	L	10	PGM XXIIa. 18-27	To be loved, beautiful, honoured and famous
	24	L	15	PGM XXIVb. 1-15	Love spell
Anubis Hermes	32	L	19	PGM XXXII. 1-19	Lesbian love spell of attraction
Typhon Helios Adōnai Abrasax Pinouti [=the god] Sabaōs	32	L	25	PGM XXXIIa. 1-25	Love spell of attraction
Typhon, [Ptah], Iō Erbēth Pakerbēth, Balchosēth,	36	L	33	PGM XXXVI. 69-101	Love
Ablanathanalba, Iaō, Salaioth, [Sabaōth], Adōnai, (Min of Koptos)	36	L	32	PGM XXXVI. 102-133	Love spell. Called "divination by fire" With illustration
Isis, Osiris, Abrasax, Maskelli Maskellō	36	L	27	PGM XXXVI. 134-160	Love
Hekate, Ablanathantha, Iaō, Sabaōth, Adōnai	36	L	24	PGM XXXVI. 187-210	Love
Isis Osiris Akarnachthas	36	L	12	PGM XXXVI. 283-294	Pudenda key spell
Aphrodite, Sabaōth, Michaēl, Gabriēl, Sesengen bar Pharangēs, Abraam	36	L	17	PGM XXXVI. 295-311	Love. Jewish (mentions Sodom and Gomorrah)
Typhon, Horos, Anubis, Isis, Maskelli Maskellō, Iaō, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Abrasax	36	L	28	PGM XXXVI. 333-360	Love, using myrrh
[Typhon]	36	L	11	PGM XXXVI. 361-371	Love
Phnouthi, Pharakounēth, Thōuth	38	L	26	PGM XXXVIII. 1-26	Love spell, with details of the rulers of the hours
Hera, Selene	52	L	9	PGM LII. 1-9	Love spell
	52	L	11	PGM LII. 9-19	Love?
Eros	52	L	7	PGM LII. 20-26	Insomnia/love
	61	L	13	PDM Lxi. 30-42	Love?
	61	L	5	PDM Lxi. 95-99	Praise and love in Nubian
Osiris, Isis	61	L	16	PDM Lxi. 112-127	Making a woman love using an image of Osiris
	61	L	20	PDM Lxi. 128-147	Love spell with phallus anointment
	61	L	11	PDM Lxi. 148-158	Love spell
Agathdaimon, Helios, Osiris, Thōth, Necessity	61	L	38	PDM Lxi. 159-196 [PGM LXI. 1-38]	Love spell with olive oil
Helios Oseronnōphrios Phaprō Ousiris Typhon Abrasax Iaō Sarxana	61	L	20	PDM Lxi. 197-216 [PGM LXI. 39-71]	Love spell using a cooked lizard
Osornōphriosor[nōphri], Helios Senephthys, Selene, Adōne	62	L	24	PGM LXII. 1-24	Love. Uses a phylactery made of three peonies
	64	L	12	PGM LXIV 1-12	To make her "writhe at my feet." Strange sigil
	66	L	11	PGM LXVI. 1-11	For separating two persons
Adonaiōs, Sabaōth, Abrasax chthonic Hermes-Thouoth, Sesengen bar Pharaggēs	67	L	24	PGM LXVII. 1-24	Love spell
Typhon, Helios, Abrasax, Adōnai	68	L	20	PGM LXVIII. 1-20	Love spell
Typhon, Osiris, Maskelli Maskellō Phnoum Kentabaōth, Hippochthōn, Iaō	78	L	14	PGM LXXVIII. 1-14	Love
	103	L	18	PGM CIII. 1-18	Love
	108	L	12	PGM CVIII. 1-12	Love

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Hermes	109	L	8	PGM CIX. 1-8	Love spell
Anoubis	117	L	1	PGM CXVII.	Love
	119	L	3	PGM CXIXa. 1-3	Love spell through touch
Bolsak	119	L	3	PGM CXIXa. 4-6	Fetching charm on an ostracon
	119	L	4	PGM CXIXa. 7-11	Aphrodisiac
Hermes, Ammon, Aphrodite, Isis, Nephthys, Osiris, Helios	122	L	55	PGM CXXII. 1-55	Enchantment using apples. From the <i>Holy Book of Hermes</i> . 1st century CE.
Iō Erbēth Pakerbēth Iō Bolchosēth, Brabo, Typhon, Seth, Apis Aberamenthō	126	L	21	PGM CXXVIa. 1-21	Separation, to cause. Invocation using mustard
Adōnai, Osiris	126	L	17	PGM CXXVIIb. 1-17	Separation, to cause
<b>Total L</b>			<b>1831</b>		
	4	M	26	PGM IV. 26-51	Initiation and a method of sacrifice
Helios, Mithras, Psyche	4	M	348	PGM IV. 475-820, 828-829 <sup>1741</sup>	<i>Mithras Liturgy</i> (a Mysteries Initiation ritual)
Zeus, Ares, Helios, Aphrodite, Hermes, Selene, Aion, Iaō, Sabaōth, Zagourē, Adōnai, Lailam, Anoch, Abrasax, Apollo, Achebykrōm, Phōs-Auge, Nous, Phrenes, Semesilam, Moira, Kairos, Psyche, Aphyphis, Christ	13	M	343	PGM XIII. 1-343	Initiation ritual: a sacred book called <i>Monad or Eighth Hidden Book of Moses</i> , version A (343 lines)
Aries, Moses, Achebykrōm, Zagourē, Iaō, Lailam, Phōs-Auge, Nous, Phrenes, Semesilamps, Moira, Hermes, Kairos, Psyche, Helios, Selene	13	M	303	PGM XIII. 343-646	Initiation ritual: a sacred book called <i>Monad or Eighth Hidden Book of Moses</i> , version B (303 lines)
Apollo, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite, Kronos	13	M	87	PGM XIII. 647-734	Initiation ritual: a sacred book called <i>Monad or Eighth Hidden Book of Moses</i> , version C (short version of 87 lines)
Agatho Daimon, Ogdoads, IAŌ, Amoun, Anoch, Ieou, Outhro, Ablanathanalba, Ereschigal, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Michael, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aion, Zeus, Aphrodite, Kronos, Ares, Selene	13	M	344	PGM XIII. 734-1077	<i>Tenth Hidden [Book of] Moses</i> <sup>1742</sup> [Magicians quoted: Orpheus; Erotylos in <i>Orphica</i> ; Hieros; Thphes scribe of King Ochos; Eunos; Zoroaster; Pyrrhus; Moses; Ptolemaeus in the 5th book of the <i>Ptolemaica</i> ]
<b>Total M</b>			<b>1451</b>		
Adōnai, Helios, IAŌ, Horus, the Moirai. Pitys, the Thessalian (King).	4	N	78	PGM IV. 1928-2005	King Pitys' spell using necromancy to use a dead man's spirit as a familiar <sup>1743</sup>
Osiris. Pitys, the Thessalian (King). Ostanes (King)	4	N	120	PGM IV. 2006-2125	King Pitys' necromancy spell (version 2) given to Ostanes
Osiris	4	N	15	PGM IV. 2125-2139	A restraining seal ring to bind a divinatory skull from speaking or doing wrong things
Pitys, the Thessalian King and magician	4	N	5	PGM IV. 2140-2144	Corpse oracle. [King] Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses. Necromancy

<sup>1741</sup> Lines 821-826 and 830-834 are misplaced fragments which are not connected to the "Mithras Liturgy," and so have been separated from it.

<sup>1742</sup> There is no *Ninth Hidden Book of Moses*. But see the note on this in chapter 3.2.

<sup>1743</sup> Pitys may be related to the priest Bitys, who Iamblichus praised for having translated hieroglyphic texts into Greek, as 'p' and 'b' were often switched in Egyptian, and in Arabic.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Homer, Julius Africanus	23	N	70	PGM XXIII. 1-70	Raising the spirits of the dead by sacrificing sheep. Necromancy. Using Homer, <i>Od.</i> 11.34-43, 48-50; <i>Il.</i> 3.278-80 and other fragments. Followed by the <i>Kestoi</i> of Julius Africanus
	51	N	27	PGM LI. 1-27	Revenge for bringing court charges. Necromantic using daimon of the dead
Khu, Geb, Isis, Thoth, Shu, Buto, Horus	61	N	15	PDM Lxi. 79-94	Necromantic way of finding a thief using the head of a drowned man
<b>Total N</b>			<b>330</b>		
Homer	7	O	148	PGM VII. 1-148	Oracle drawn from 216 lines of Homer's <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>
Isis, Hermes, Osiris, Helios	24	O	25	PGM XXIVa. 1-25	Oracle, based on a Book of Hermes, using 29 leaves
Tyche	50	O	18	PGM L. 1-18	Oracle by Lots of Tyche
Zeus, Hermes	62	O	5	PGM LXII. 47-51	Oracle using dice and isopsephy to determine if a man is alive
<b>Total O</b>			<b>196</b>		
Helios	1	P	28	PGM I. 195-222	Prayer of deliverance of the first born god. (Mentions, but does not list, Decans and archangels)
Aions	4	P	52	PGM IV. 1115-1166	Secret Stele: all-embracing prayer to the four Elements and aerial spirits, etc
Helios, [Aiōn]	4	P	60	PGM IV. 1167-1226	Stele: hymn to Aion, the four Elements and the aerial spirits, etc - prayer for deliverance even from death
	7	P	2	PGM VII. 591-592	Prayer
Mene, IAŌ,	7	P	39	PGM VII. 756-794	Prayer
Hermes, Selene, Moirai	17	P	23	PGM XVIIb. 1-23	Prayer asking for mantic skill. Literary
Jacob, Abraam, Abaōth, Sabaōth, IAŌ, Adōnai, Aōth, "God of the Hebrews"	22	P	26	PGM XXIIb. 1-26	Prayer of Jacob
	29	P	10	PGM XXIX. 1-10	Prayer. Literary rather than magical
Helios, Good Daimon, Harpen, Knouphi, Ablanathanalba, Akrammachamari	36	P	20	PGM XXXVI. 211-230	Prayer to Helios: plus amulet to restrain anger, for victory and favour. (Also 'A')
<b>Total P</b>			<b>260</b>		
Jesus Christ, Satan, Abraham, etc	4	Q	38	PGM IV. 1227-1264	Driving out daimones, a rite for Judaeo-Christians
Jesus, 'the god of the Hebrews,' Ammōn, Sabaōth. Pibechis (an Egyptian magician)	4	Q	80	PGM IV. 3007-3086	Exorcism. Possession by daimones, phylactery of Pibechis for exorcism. Alleged Hebrew origin
Headless daimon, Jeu./ Moses Pharaoh Osoronnophris, Iabas, Iapos, Favour of the Aiōn, Iao, Ibaoth, Abrasax, Abraōth, Adonae	5	Q	77	PGM V. 96-172	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (Headless daimon). Exorcism of the daimon
	85	Q	6	PGM LXXXV. 1-6	Daimon, driving out
<b>Total Q</b>			<b>201</b>		

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PG/M Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	7	R	2	PGM VII. 394-395	Restraining, coercive spell.
Bainchōōch	7	R	9	PGM VII. 396-404	Restraining, silencing, and subjecting using a lead cold water pipe
Maskelli	7	R	6	PGM VII. 417-422	Restraining spell on a tin lamella
Osiris, Mnevis, Isis, Amen, Ch[n]joum, “Askei Kai Taskei”, Selene	7	R	30	PGM VII. 429-458	Restraining spell, also for chariots. Lead plate. It conjures daimones and makes them enter (objects or people)
Iō Erbēth, Pakerbēth, Seth	7	R	29	PGM VII. 940-968	Restrain anger, amulet to. Image
Ablanathanalba,	10	R	12	PGM X. 24-35	Talisman to restrain anger, against accusers, nightmares, brigands. <i>Characteres</i>
	12	R	3	PGM XII. 179-181	Restrain anger, amulet to
Typhon, Iō Erbēth, Pakerbēth, Bolchosēth, Apomps, Aberramenthō, Seth,	36	R	34	PGM XXXVI. 1-34	Restrain anger, lead lamella amulet to. With large illustration
Ablanathanalba, Akrannachamari, IAō, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Elōai, Abrasax	36	R	34	PGM XXXVI. 35-68	Restrain anger and secure favour, victory in courts using a silver lamella. With large illustration
Chphyris, Michaēl, Raphaēl, Roubēl, Souriel, Azaēl	36	R	17	PGM XXXVI. 161-177	Restrain anger and success, amulet for
Abrasax, Michaēl, Thōouth, Neouphneiōth	79	R	7	PGM LXXIX. 1-7	Restrain anger, amulet for
Abrasax, Michael, Thoouth, Neouphneiōth	80	R	5	PGM LXXX. 1-5	Restrain anger, amulet for
<b>Total R</b>			<b>188</b>		
	1	S	16	PGM I. 232-247	Memory spell
Iao Sabaoth,	3	S	13	PGM III. 263-275	Foreknowledge spell
Phoibos, Gabriel, Michael	3	S	128	PGM III. 282-409	Foreknowledge operation which uses a Magical Table of Practice for invocation, a floor circle and a tripod, with hour attributions
[Helios]	3	S	14	PGM III. 410-423	Memory spell
Moses, Helios, Mithras, Lailam, Amoun, Harpon, Chnouphi, Sesengen bar Pharaggēs, Osiris, Abrasax, Iaō Sabaō[th], Helios. Manethon [Manetho] (priest)	3	S	43	PGM III. 424-466	Invocation of the goddess of the Moon for foreknowledge and memory, using a holy book. By eating a raw heart mixed with honey.
	3	S	12	PGM III. 467-478	Memory spell
Helios	3	S	5	PGM III. 479-83	Spell to detect a thief (foreknowledge)
	3	S	6	PGM III. 483-88	Spell to detect a thief (foreknowledge)
	3	S	7	PGM III. 488-94	Spell to detect a thief (foreknowledge)
<b>Total S</b>			<b>244</b>		
Erbēth, Iō Pakerbēth, Bolchosēth, Ra, Pan, Phorba, Maskelli	4	T	96	PGM IV. 2145-2240	Multi-use iron talisman for divine assistance involving three Homeric verses ( <i>Il.</i> 10.521, 564, 572), with formulae of consecration
Hermes	4	T	14	PGM IV. 2359-2372	Talisman for business
Chōnsou	7	T	1	PGM VII. 300	Moon Ibis spell with spiral shaped talisman

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Aiōn	7	T	4	PGM VII. 370-373	Wild animals & robbers, talisman against
Bainchōōch, Sabaōth, Abrasax, Maskelli Maskellō	9	T	14	PGM IX. 1-14	Talisman and invocation of the daimon Bainchōōch to suppress anger. Maybe could be 'R.'
Apollo, Abrasax, Michaēl, Raphaēl, Gabriēl, Souriel, Zaziēl, Badakiēl, Sylēl, Iaō, Sabaōth, Adōnai	10	T	15	PGM X. 36-50	Apollo's lamella talisman to subject an enemy
Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Iaō, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Eloē, Albanathanalba, Akramachamari, Sarahael, Biliam (magician)	35	T	42	PGM XXXV. 1-42	Hebrew influenced talisman for favour and victory
	36	T	10	PGM XXXVI. 178- 187	Talisman to break spells
	36	T	9	PGM XXXVI. 256- 264	Talisman to dissolve enchantments
	84	T	21	PGM LXXXIV. 1-21	Fetching talisman
	123	T	3	PGM CXXIIIa. 69-71	Victory talisman using a hyena tooth
<b>Total T</b>			<b>229</b>		
Kouriēl, Iaphēl	4	U	2	PGM IV. 86-87 <sup>1744</sup>	A φυλακτήριον or phylactery to be worn by the magician as protection against daimones
Helios, Agathos Daimon, Zeus, Serapis	4	U	0	PGM IV. 1596-1715	Consecration of the phylacteries of the 12 hours via Helios invocation. This is a duplicate listing (see 'K') so zero line length shown
Sabaoth, Adonai, Akrammachammarei, Abraxas	7	U	4	PGM VII. 218-221	Labelled a φυλακτήριον (but it is functionally an amulet) for daily fever with shivering fits
Iao Sabaoth, Adonai, Ablanathanalba, Sesengen bar [Pharanges], Bainchōōch, Bes	7	U	6	PGM VII. 311-316	A φυλακτήριον to protect from frightful dreams and all demons of the air. (Functionally an amulet as it protects a specific person "NN, whom NN bore")
Sabaoth	7	U	2	PGM VII. 317-318	Phylactery of the Moon
Kmēphis ( <i>sic</i> ), Chphyris, Iao, Ouroboros	7	U	12	PGM VII. 579-590	Phylactery against daimones, and phantasms, with illustration. The best example of a phylactery in the PGM
Iao, Ablanathanalba	71	U	8	PGM LXXI. 1-8	A phylactery, even though it mentions a specific person
Iao, Michaēl, Gabriēl, Raphaēl, Ouriēl, Sabaōth	90	U	13	PGM XC. 1-13	Said by Betz to be a rite or phylactery
Ouroboros	121	U	14	PGM CXXI. 1-14	Categorised by Betz as a phylactery for a variety of evils, because it was enclosed in an ouroboros. Not a typical phylactery
<b>Total U</b>			<b>61</b>		
	1	U2 1745	15	PGM I. 262-276	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed) <sup>1746</sup>

<sup>1744</sup> This phylactery probably belongs as part of PGM IV. 52-85, despite the presence of another phylactery at lines 78-82.

<sup>1745</sup> The U2 are phylacteries that occur as an integral part of a rite type already identified and listed, and so their line count has not been duplicated by being added into the totals.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	3	U2	1	PGM III. 95-96, 125-129	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	7	PGM IV. 78-82	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	4	PGM IV. 257-260	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	9	PGM IV. 812-820	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	14	PGM IV. 1071-1084	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	13	PGM IV. 1252-1264	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	7	PGM IV. 1316-1322	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	7	PGM IV. 1335-1339	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	8	PGM IV. 2512-2519	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	11	PGM IV. 2630-2640	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	12	PGM IV. 2695-2707	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	11	PGM IV. 2880-2890	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	5	PGM IV. 2896-2900	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	6	PGM IV. 3014-3019	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	4	U2	5	PGM IV. 3115- 3119 <sup>1747</sup>	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	7	U2	4	PGM VII. 487-490	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	7	U2	4	PGM VII. 858-861	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	11	U2	4	PGM XI.a 37-40	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	12	U2	2	PGM XII. 13-14	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	13	U2	12	PGM XIII. 900-911	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	14	U2	4	PDM xiv. 90-92	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	21	U2	5	PGM XXI. 24-29	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	62	U2	1	PGM LXII. 24	Phylactery (part of a rite already listed)
	70	U2	5	PGM LXX. 1-4	Phylactery? (part of a rite already listed)
<b>Total U2</b>			0 <sup>1748</sup>		
Phoibos, Leto, Apollo Paian, Zeus, Erishkigal,	2	V	64	PGM II. 1-64	Dream revelation via the daimon the Headless One, using several compulsive formulae
Apollo Paian, Titan, Zeus, Muses, Phoibos, Moirai (Klotho, Atropos, Lachis), Sesengen bar Pharangēs, Io Erbēth, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Kommes, Apollo of Klaros, Abraxas, Michaēl, Dammameneus	2	V	121	PGM II. 64-184	Dream revelation and compulsive formulae, with consecration of the doorposts, and the figure of the Headless One, with Dismissal
Helios, [King] Semea, Abrasax, Scarab [Khepera], Zeus, [Raphaēl], [Michaēl], Sese[ngen b]jar Pharaggēs, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Akrammach[ari], Apollo, Phoibos,	3	V	76	PGM III. 187-262	Revelation by invocation of Helios and use of the tripod (with illustration)

<sup>1746</sup> The word φυλακτήριον is here mistranslated three times as ‘charm.’ This error occurs in most of the following phylactery passages. This device is not a general ‘charm’ or ‘amulet’ but a very specific item of the magician’s equipment.

<sup>1747</sup> Despite the gloss inserted by Betz, PGM IV. 3131-3171 is *not* a phylactery.

<sup>1748</sup> The above phylacteries (categorized as U2) are not added into the tally of phylacteries in Appendix 1, because they are part (usually at the end) of other rites that have already been listed and counted elsewhere in this Table. Nevertheless they are significant parts of the method and worth separating.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PG/M Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Zeus, Osiris, Athabot, Sabaōth, Althonai, Eou, Michael, Anubis, Thoth, Akshha Shha, Sabasha, Shlot	4	V	25	PGM IV. 1- 25	Revelation via invoked daimones
	4	V	34	PGM IV. 52-85	Revelation by threatening harm to a beetle
Maskelli, Thrōbeia	4	V	37	PGM IV. 3172-3208	Dream producing rite using three reeds and lamp. The Maskelli formula
Helios	5	V	3	PGM Va. 1-3	Direct vision
Besas, the Headless God [Akephalos], Necessity, Arbathiaō, Anouth	7	V	28	PGM VII. 222-249	Request for a dream or revelation from Besas. This also uses lamp skrying
	7	V	5	PGM VII. 250-254	Divination by a dream spoken to the lamp. Not an 'oracle.' Partly lamp skrying
Osiris, Michael, Osirchentechā,	7	V	5	PGM VII. 255-259	Dream using a lamp skrying to see if usable
	7	V	11	PGM VII. 359-69	Lamp skrying for a dream oracle
	7	V	4	PGM VII. 407-410	To appear in someone else's dream using a lamp
	7	V	6	PGM VII. 411-416	Spell for causing a woman to talk while asleep
Eros, Bear asterism	7	V	13	PGM VII. 478-490	A request for a personal angel to provide information in a dream. Uses the Egyptian version of the four angels of the four directions
Hermes, Selene, the Moirai	7	V	22	PGM VII. 664-685	Request for a dream revelation from Besas. <sup>1749</sup>
Phrē	7	V	24	PGM VII. 703-726	Request for a dream revelation (not oracle)
Iaō, Adōnai	7	V	16	PGM VII. 740-755	Request for a dream revelation (not oracle)
Pythagoras, Demokritos, Zizaubiō	7	V	51	PGM VII. 795-845	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination, using the secret names of the zodiac and the angel Zizaubiō from the Pleiades
Erbeth	7	V	16	PGM VII. 846-861	Shadow on the sun (a spell for dream revelation). Using a cat's tail, a phylactery and a protective chalk circle on the ground
Sabaōth, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Iaō	7	V	8	PGM VII. 1009-1016	Divination by dream
Besas, Isis, Helios, Anouth, Headless God, Necessity, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Osiris	8	V	46	PGM VIII. 64-110	Dream oracle from Besas, with clear drawing of a crowned man with wand and sword
Agathokles, Thōth, Iaou, Ablanathanalba, Akrammachamari, Thēouris, Amēn, Aōth, Apollobex (magician)	12	V	15	PGM XII. 107-121	Amulet of Agathokles <sup>1750</sup> for sending dreams, using a deified cat
Zminis of Tentyra, Ostanes, Sēith	12	V	23	PGM XII. 121-143	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams to other people
Hermes, [Thoth], Osiris, Isis	12	V	9	PGM XII. 144-152	Divination by a dream

<sup>1749</sup> See PGM V. 400-420 for an identical invocatory poem.

<sup>1750</sup> Agathokles' name may be derived from ἀγαθός 'good' like the Agathos Daimon.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Iaō, Ra, Ablanathanbalā	12	V	8	PGM XII. 153-160	Divine revelation from the serpent-faced god
Iēsous	12	V	3	PGM XII. 190-192	Dream oracle request spoken to the Bear asterism
Barzan, Agathos Daimon, Phōx, Inhotep	14	V	22	PDM xiv. 93-114 [PGM XIVa. 1-11]	A god's arrival to reveal answers in a dream
	14	V	12	PDM xiv. 1078-1089	Revelation in a dream. Request to the Big Dipper constellation (the Bear)
Osiris, Michael	22	V	5	PGM XXIIb. 27-31	Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp
	22	V	4	PGM XXIIb. 32-35	Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp
	46	V	4	PGM XLVI. 1-4	Revelation from a god
Anubis	61	V	30	PDM lxi. 1-30	Revelation
Har-Thoth, Re, Atum, Tatenen,	61	V	16	PDM lxi. 63-78	Lamp skrying for a dream or revelation
Iou	77	V	24	PGM LXXVII. 1-24	Dream revelation
Necessity, Besas, Headless One, Anouth, Osiris	102	V	17	PGM CII. 1-17	Dream oracle, using a lamp. Headless god
	-	V	6	PDM Supp. 1-6	Sending a dream
	-	V	12	PDM Supp. 7-18	Sending a dream
	-	V	24	PDM Supp. 19-27	Sending a dream
	-	V	13	PDM Supp. 28-40	Sending a dream, using a lamp, lizard and brick
Nun	-	V	21	PDM Supp. 40-60	Sending a dream (or astral projection), using a mummy spirit from Abydos
Osiris, Alkhah, Khephri, Amoun, Pre, Shu, Horus, Seth, Apophis	-	V	42	PDM Supp. 60-101	Sending a dream using a mummy spirit
Anubis, Osiris, Isis, Anubis	-	V	16	PDM Supp. 101-116	Sending a 'breathing spirit' disguised as a god to influence someone's dream
Osiris, Anubis	-	V	29	PDM Supp. 117-130	Sending a spirit to influence a dream
<b>Total V</b>			<b>970</b>		
Korē, Persephone, Erishkigal, Anubis, Anubis Psirinth, Adonis, Hermes, Thōoth, Abrasax, Sensengen bar Pharanggēs, Marmareōth, Adōnai, Aōth, Sabaōth, Horus, the Moirai [+ many unique <i>nomina magica</i> ]	4	W	171	PGM IV. 296-466	Love spell of attraction, for binding a lover, in the form of two clay images tied to a complex lead <i>defixio</i> , followed by a long prayer said whilst holding a grave body remnant from the tomb where the <i>defixio</i> is buried. This is a special type called a φύλτροκατάδεσμος
Moirai, Hekate, Kore, Abaōth, Arbathiaō, Morka, Ereshkigal, Neboutosoualēth, Phorba, Anubis, Iaō, Sabaōth, Adōnai, Sesengen	4	W	206	PGM IV. 1390-1595	Poetic love spells of attraction to be performed with the help of those who died a violent death. Seven bread fragments are used rather than a lead tablet, but the theory is the same as a <i>defixio</i>
IAŌ, Ereschigalch ( <i>sic</i> ), Phrē, Sabaōth, Lailam, Osornōphri, Abrasax	5	W	66	PGM V. 304-369	Defixio using a lead lamella and iron ring
IAŌ SABAŌ, Osornōphri, Agathos Daimon	15	W	21	PGM XV. 1-21	Binding a lover using a <i>defixio</i>

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Adōnaios Sabaōth, Kronos	16	W	75	PGM XVI. 1-75	Binding a lover using a <i>defixio</i>
Tenoch, Anoch, Nouthi, Phrē, Abaōth, Iaō, Osor nōphris, Amoun, Bolchosēth, Ereshkigal, Phrax, Maskelli, Maskellō, Phnoukentabaōth, Samas, Thouri, etc	19	W	54	PGM XIXa. 1-54	Love spell of attraction primarily made of a long string of <i>nomina magica</i> . These are written presumably on a lead tablet, and inserted into the mouth of a dead man as a <i>defixio</i> <sup>1751</sup>
	40	W	18	PGM XL. 1-18	<i>Defixio</i> against a tomb robber
Typhon Osiris	58	W	14	PGM LVIII. 1-14	Spell to bind a wicked man by a slander spell and <i>defixio</i>
Ablanathanalba, Abrasax, Adonai	59	W	15	PGM LIX. 1-15	Amulet to protect a grave, to be affixed to the grave as a <i>defixio</i> , not a phylactery as suggested by the Table of Spells
Fates, necessity, Osiris, Isis	101	W	53	PGM CI. 1-53	<i>Defixio</i> , as it conjures “boys who have died prematurely” which was found in a cemetery
Bainchōōch	107	W	19	PGM CVII. 1-19	<i>Defixio</i> to fetch a lover
Barouch <sup>1752</sup> Olamptēr <sup>1753</sup>	124	W	43	PGM CXXIV. 1-43	Summoning statue (not a “charm” as per the translation) to inflict illness, using a potsherd and a wax manikin as a <i>defixio</i>
<b>Total W</b>			<b>755</b>		
	3	X	22	PGM III. 165-186	Spell
Homer	4	X	8	PGM IV. 467-474	Verses from Homer ( <i>Il.</i> 8.424) which are used as spells, or maybe amulets <sup>1754</sup>
Homer	4	X	6	PGM IV. 821-826	Homeric fragment ( <i>Il.</i> 10. 521, 564, 572; 8. 424), not part of “Mithras Liturgy”
Ares	4	X	1	PGM IV. 830	Homeric fragment ( <i>Il.</i> 5. 385)
	4	X	2	PGM IV. 831-832	Homeric fragment ( <i>Il.</i> 6. 424). The spell caption “to restrain anger” is misplaced and misleading
	4	X	2	PGM IV. 833-834	Homeric fragment ( <i>Il.</i> 10. 193). The spell caption “to get friends” is misplaced and misleading
	12	X	5	PDM xii. 1-5	Fragmentary
Anubis	12	X	16	PDM xii. 119-134 [PGM XII. 469-73]	Fetching spell?
	14	X	2	PDM xiv. 933-934	Spell
	22	X	1	PGM XXIIa. 1	Extract from Homer ( <i>Il.</i> 17. 714)
Zabaot/Sabaōth	25	X	0	PGM XXVa-d	(omitted by Betz)
	26	X	0	PGM XXVI. 1- 21	<i>Sortes Astrampsychi</i> (omitted by Betz) <sup>1755</sup>
	30	X	0	PGM XXX a-f	Oracle questions (omitted by Betz)

<sup>1751</sup> Lines 6-9 were copied on a mass produced amulet produced for a specific person. See Heintz (1996).

<sup>1752</sup> The principal angel of those below the earth.

<sup>1753</sup> The angel of many forms.

<sup>1754</sup> These Homeric verses bracket the “Mithras Liturgy,” as if it were inserted in the middle of the verses, which continue after the interruption of the “Mithras Liturgy.”

<sup>1755</sup> The oracle of Astrampsychus first appeared in the 3rd century CE. It contained 91 questions and 910 answers, originally written in Greek. Versions of this oracle were later very popular in the Middle Ages.

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	31	X	0	PGM XXXI a-c	Oracle questions (omitted by Betz)
	34	X	24	PGM XXXIV. 1-24	Fantasy fragment of a Greek novel
	36	X	11	PGM XXXVI. 264-274	Unknown
	37	X	26	PGM XXXVII. 1-26	Vow concerning sexual cleanliness
Bainchōōch	41	X	9	PGM XLI. 1-9	Fragment
	43	X	12	PGM LXIII. 13-24	Unknown
Iō-Erbēth, Iō Sēth, Iō [Osiris]	46	X	5	PGM XLVI. 4-8	To subject and silence (an enemy)
	53	X	0	PGM LIII	Omitted by Betz. Forgery (according to Brashear). Arabic period
	54	X	0	PGM LIV	Omitted by Betz. Forgery (according to Brashear) Arabic period
	55	X	0	PGM LV	Omitted by Betz. Forgery (according to Brashear) Arabic period
	56	X	0	PGM LVI	Letter permutations (omitted by Betz). Forgery (according to Brashear)
Pakerbeth, Erbēth, Abrasax, etc	58	X	25	PGM LVIII. 15-39	Unknown
	63	X	7	PGM LXIII. 1-7	Unknown purpose
	63	X	6	PGM LXIII. 7-12	To make a woman confess the name of the man she loves using a bird's tongue
	73-6	X	0	PGM LXXIII - LXXVI	Oracle questions (omitted by Betz)
	82	X	12	PGM LXXXII. 1-12	Formulary including roots
Hekate	93	X	6	PGM XCIII. 1-6	Sacrificial rite
	93	X	15	PGM XCIII. 7-21	Rite
	94	X	5	PGM XCIV. 17-21	Possessed by daimones, fragmentary
	95	X	6	PGM XCV. 1-6	Unknown
	97	X	3	PGM XCVII. 7-9	Unknown
	97	X	4	PGM XCVII. 10-13	Unknown
	98	X	0	PGM CXVIII	Magical scroll (omitted by Betz)
	99	X	3	PGM XCIX. 1-3	Fragment
	119	X	3	PGM CXIXa. 1-3	Formulary, fragment
Marmarithi	123	X	23	PGM CXXIIIa. 1-23	Fragmentary
	123	X	1	PGM CXXIIIb	Fragmentary
	123	X	1	PGM CXXIIIc	Fragmentary
	123	X	1	PGM CXXIIId	Fragmentary
	123	X	1	PGM CXXIIIe	Fragmentary
Adonaei, Eloei, Menouba, Sabaōth	123	X	1	PGM CXXIIIf	Fragmentary
Sabaōth, Adonai	125	X	1	PGM CXXVa-f.	Unknown
	129	X	7	PGM CXXIX. 1-7	Lamella, fragment of
<b>Total X</b>			<b>283</b>		
	4	Y	10	PGM IV. 286-295	Procedure for picking a plant
Hekate	4	[Y]	0	PGM IV. 2679-2694	Materia, herb offerings [Part of IV. 2622-2707, and so not tallied here]
Kronos, Hera, Zeus, Helios, Hermes, Selene, Osiris, Ares Ouranos, Ammon, Mnevis, Pan, Athena, Good Daimon	4	Y	40	PGM IV. 2967-3006	Rite associated with picking a plant

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
Kronos, Hermes, Ares, Hestia, Helios, Herakles, Hephaistos, Ammon,	12	Y	44	PGM XII. 401-444	Plant's secret names, e.g. "blood of goose." Glossary of terms used by the temple scribes
	14	Y	11	PDM xiv. 886-896	Herbs, for Sun and Moon
	14	Y	14	PDM xiv. 897-910	List of herbs and minerals
<b>Total Y</b>			<b>119</b>		
Typhon, Seth, Pakerbēth, Erishkigal	14	Z	20	PDM xiv. 675-694 [PGM XIVc.16-27]	To cause "evil sleep" or death
	14	Z	5	PDM xiv. 706-710	Against "evil sleep"
	14	Z	5	PDM xiv. 711-715	To cause "evil sleep"
	14	Z	9	PDM xiv. 716-724	To cause "evil sleep" for two days
	14	Z	3	PDM xiv. 724-726	To cause "evil sleep"
	14	Z	10	PDM xiv. 727-736	To cause "evil sleep"
	14	Z	2	PDM xiv. 737-738	To cause "evil sleep"
	14	Z	2	PDM xiv. 739-740	To cause death
	14	Z	1	PDM xiv. 741	To cause blindness
	14	Z	1	PDM xiv. 742	To cause blindness
	14	Z	7	PDM xiv. 743-749	To cause "evil sleep" or death
	14	Z	6	PDM xiv. 911-916	To cause "evil sleep"
	14	Z	3	PDM xiv. 917-919	Against "evil sleep"
	14	Z	10	PDM xiv. 920-929	To protect against "evil sleep"
<b>Total Z</b>			<b>84</b>		
Iaō Iō Sabaōth Abrasax Typhon Iō Erbēth Pakerbēth Bolchosēth Apomps Iaōth Iabaōth Aberamenthōou	3	α	21	PGM III. 612-632	Shadow, gaining control of one's
	4	α	20	PGM IV. 3255-3274	Insomnia, to induce
	5	α	26	PGM V. 70-95	Thief, to catch using a hammer to strike an image of the Eye of Horus
	7	α	6	PGM VII. 149-154	Bugs, kept out of the house
Demokritos	7	α	20	PGM VII. 167-186	Natural magic. Demokritos' dinner table game. 'Book of Secrets' a type of magical text very much in vogue in the 18th century
Adriel	7	α	6	PGM VII. 423-428	Dice, to win and throw what you want
	11	α	5	PGM XIb. 1-5	Enchantment: to make men appear with donkey's snouts. "Book of Secrets" style
Typhon, Nousi Amoun, Ammon Thōth, Iaō, Good Daimon Himerios	12	α	11	PGM XII. 96-106	Himerios' recipe. A spell for business success
Aiōth, Adōnai, Thōth, Sesengen bar Pharaggēs, "daimon of the great god." Zeus, Helios, Hephaistos	12	α	19	PGM XII. 160-178	To release prisoners from bonds or danger, or "to do something spectacular"
	12	α	9	PGM XII. 193-201	Gold, chemical operation to make tincture of gold using vinegar, alum, etc
	14	α	1	PDM xiv. 115	Securing the shadow

Gods, Angels, Daimones, names of magicians, <i>nomina magica</i>	Non-Roman PGM Nos.	Category	No. of lines	Betz Papyrus PGM/PDM Reference number	Objective/Technique
	14	α	1	PDM xiv. 116	To see spirits
	14	α	18	PDM xiv. 376-394	Various recipes using a drowned shrew-mouse
	14	α	8	PDM xiv. 451-58 [PGM XIVb. 12-15]	Superior, for going to speak with a
	14	α	6	PDM xiv. 1182-1187	Madness, to cause
Sensegen bar Pharggēs Maskelli Maskellō	36	α	25	PGM XXXVI. 231-255	To inflict harm. Large drawing of a female figure cutting off a head
Nephthys Phrē	61	α	6	PDM lxi. 100-105	Nephthys, red cloth of
Horus, Geb Isis Horus	61	α	6	PDM lxi. 106-111	Remedy for a donkey not moving
Iō Abrasax	69	α	3	PGM LXIX. 1-3	Spell
	70	α	26	PGM LXX. 26-51	Against fear and to dissolve spells
Helios, Sapeiphnep, Abrasakx	81	α	10	PGM LXXXI. 1-10	Greetings to deities for protection of a house
	86	α	5	PGM LXXXVI. 3-7	Rite on 10th day of Didymon
	-	α	7	PDM Supp. 162-168	Procedure to find a house to live in
Mithra, Horus, Anubis, Isis, Osiris, Harsiese	-	α	23	PDM Supp. 185-208	Fragments of rites
<b>Total α</b>			<b>288</b>		
	7	β	5	PGM VII. 186-190	Thank-offering and victory amulet, using a gecko
	7	β	4	PGM VII. 390-393	Victory amulet for the races
Hermes, Thōouth	7	β	6	PGM VII. 919-924	Hermes' wondrous victory amulet
	7	β	15	PGM VII. 925-939	Subject a person, talisman for victory
Helios	7	β	12	PGM VII. 528-539	Victory spell for the races
Gabriel Raphael Michael Sabaōth Iaō Helios Ablanathanbalba Akrammachamarei [59-letter IAEō formula] Harpon Chnouphi	7	β	10	PGM VII. 1017-1026	For victory
	27	β	5	PGM XXVII. 1-5	Victory amulet/spell for stadium wins
<b>Total β</b>			<b>57</b>		
<b>Grand Total =</b>			<b>12,560</b>	<b>lines of text</b>	

Table 22: Every passage in the PGM corpus analysed by objective and rite type with its lineage extent.<sup>1756</sup>

<sup>1756</sup> The first column lists all gods and goddesses mentioned in each rite, plus a selection of the most common *nomina magica* used.

### Appendix 3 – The Manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*<sup>1757</sup>

Abbreviation	Manuscript (date)	Library	Published Greek text <sup>1758</sup>	Published English translation <sup>1759</sup>	Tally of chapters present in the MS <sup>1760</sup>
A	Atheniensis 1265. (16th century and later)	National Library of Greece.	G: 340-350; C X: 9-23, 66-100; A: 1-104.	M: 252-297.	30
B	Atheniensis 115, ff. 1-42v. (early 18th century)	Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.	G: 338-339; G: 347-350; C X: 40-45, 72-96, 240; A: 1-104.	M: 345-361.	27
B2	Bononiensis 3632, ff. 344v-436. (1440)	University Library, Bologna.	C IV: 39-46; A: 572-612.	M: 115-133.	12
D	Athonicus Dion. 282. (16th cent)	Dionysius Monastery, Mount Athos.	T: 254-309; A: 649-651.	M: 223-224.	3
G	Gennadianus 45, ff. 2-39v. (16th century)	Gennadius Library, Athens. <sup>1761</sup>	D; G: 338-350.	M: 298-330.	17
H	Harleianus 5596, ff. 18v-44v, 49v-58v. (15th century)	British Library.	T: 254-309; G: 338-350; C IX: 2, 14-16; A: 387-445; M2.	M: 146-199.	41
M	Monacensis Gr. 70, ff. 240-253v. (16th century)	Bavarian Regional Library of Munich. <sup>1762</sup>	T: 254-309; G: 340-346; C VIII: 2, 139-165.	T: 231-253; M: 225-251.	8
M2	Mediolanensis H 2 infer. (16th century)	Ambrosian Library, Milan.	A: 631-633; G: 338-339; C III: 14-17, 53.	M: 220-222.	5
N	Neapolitanus II C 33 (1495)	National Library of Italy, Naples.	A: 613-624; C IV: 49-63, 132-169.	M: 134-145.	4
P	Parisinus Gr. 2419, ff. 218-277. (1462, copied in 16th century)	National Library of France.	T: 254-309; G: 338-339; A: 446-556; C VIII: 1, 20-63, 160-193.	M: 204-219.	28
P2	Petropolitanus Academicus. (Moscow 1684-5)	Palaeographic Museum of the Science Academy, St. Petersburg.	G: 338-339; C XII: 9-25, 114-135; D2.	M: 331-344.	8
V	Vindobonensis Ph. Gr. 108. (15th/16th century)	Austrian National Library, Vienna.	A: 634-638; C VI: 1-16, 61-78.	M: 200-203.	6

Table 23: Comparison of the manuscripts of the *Hygromanteia*, showing their location, date, and published versions.

<sup>1757</sup> This table lists those manuscripts used in this thesis.

<sup>1758</sup> Page numbers in: T=Torijano (2002); A=Delatte, *Anecdota Athiensa* (1927); D=Delatte (1959); D2=Delatte (1949); G=Greenfield (1988); C=Catalogus; M2=Marathakis (2007).

<sup>1759</sup> Partially published in: M=Marathakis (2011); T=Torijano (2002).

<sup>1760</sup> This forms a rough indication of the completeness of each manuscript. Of these, obviously manuscript H (with 41 chapters) gives the fullest coverage of all possible chapters, as well as being one of the oldest. Manuscript A (Atheniensis 1265 in the National Library of Athens) is the next most comprehensive. Manuscript M (with only eight chapters) was relied upon by Torijano in his discussion of the *Hygromanteia* supplemented by manuscripts H, P and A. The least useful manuscripts, in terms of chapter coverage, are T, M2, D and A2.

<sup>1761</sup> Discovered by Delatte, who published it in his monograph Delatte (1959).

<sup>1762</sup> As appendices to his book, Torijano provides a partial English translation of the version contained in M, as well as the Greek text of four manuscripts: M (reproduced from Catalogus VIII 2), H, P and D (reproduced from *Anecdota Athiensa* I). A Spanish translation of M was published by the same author three years before. See Torijano (ed.), *La Hygromanteia de Salomón*, pp. 330-346.

## Appendix 4 – The Manuscripts of the *Clavicula Salomonis*

Collection and Manuscript	Language	Century/Date	Text-Family
Vatican Ar. 448	Arabic		-
Stadbibliotek Zittau B107 #2	Italian		-
Kobenhavn Thott 237	Latin		-
Polona 439 <sup>1763</sup>	Latin		-
Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica 114	Latin	15th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale Ital. 1524	Italian	15th 1446	
Bibliothèque Nationale 14783	French	15th?	-
Seville Zayas C.XIV.22	German	16th	-
Brescia Civica Queriniana E VI 23	Italian	16th	-
Chatsworth 73D	Latin	16th	-
Ghent 1021	Latin	16th	-
Harry Walton Private Collection A901	Latin	16th 1600	-
Berlin Germ. Quarto 474	Dutch/Latin	17th	-
Wien 11344	Dutch/Latin	17th	-
Harley 3536 #1	French	17th	-
Wolfenbüttel Extravagantes 39	French	17th	-
Berlin Hamilton 589	Italian	17th	-
Brussels Bibliothèque Royale III.1152	Italian	17th	-
Bergamo Lamda II 23 (MM 512)	Latin	17th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale 14075 #1	Latin	17th	-
Bologna A.646	Latin	17th	-
Leipzig 841	Latin	17th	-
Madrid 12707	Latin	17th	-
Nürnberg 34 X	Latin	17th	-
Duveen 388 <sup>1764</sup>	Dutch/Latin	17th late	-
Milano Ambrosiana Z 72 sup	French	17th late	-
Erlangen 853	Latin	17th late	-
Leipzig 790	Dutch/Latin	18th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale 24244	French	18th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale 24245	French	18th	-
Genova B VI 35	French	18th	-
Neuchâtel A18 (formerly 24079)	French	18th	-
Wien 11517	French	18th	-
Yale Mellon 85 #1	French	18th	-
Leipzig 710	German	18th	-
Leipzig 773	German	18th	-
Überlingen 164	German	18th	-
Karlsruhe 302	Italian	18th	-
Leipzig 709	Italian	18th	-

<sup>1763</sup> *Clavicula Salomonis de Secretis*. See <http://www.polona.pl/item/8078413/6/>.

<sup>1764</sup> A printed book, but as rare as a manuscript. Undated, but Peterson suggests 1700.

Collection and Manuscript	Language	Century/Date	Text-Family
Leipzig 776	Italian	18th	-
Milano Ambrosiana Z 164 sup	Italian	18th	-
Münster Nordkirchen 169	Italian	18th	-
Seville Zayas C.XIV.1	Italian	18th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale 11265	Latin	18th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale 18510	Latin	18th	-
Bibliothèque Nationale 18511 #1	Latin	18th	-
Evangelische Kirchenbibliotek Codex 31	Latin	18th	-
Hamburg Codex Alchim. 739	Latin	18th	-
München CLM 28942	Latin	18th	-
Pisa 139 (167)	Latin	18th	-
Sankt-Peterburg Q III 645	Latin	18th	-
Sankt-Peterburg Q III 647	Latin	18th	-
Seville Zayas C.V.1	Italian	19th	-
Wellcome 4663	Czech	19th 1810	-
København Thott 625	Latin	19th 1871	-
Lansdowne 1203	French	17th late	Ab
Bibliothèque Nationale 25314	French	18th	Ab
Penn University Van Pelt Codex 515	Italian	18th	Ab
Harvard Houghton Typ 833	French	18th 1779	Ab
Aldwick 584	Latin		AC
Bodleian Michael 276	Italian		AC
Additional 36674 <sup>1765</sup>	English	16th late	AC
Additional 10862 #1	Latin	17th	AC
Sloane 3645 #1 <sup>1766</sup>	English	17th	AC
Harley 3981	French	17th late	AC
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2348	French	18th	AC
Jerusalem Varia 223	Italian	18th	AC
Kings 288	French	18th	AC
Sloane 3091	French	18th	AC
Wellcome 4658	French	18th	AC
Wellcome 4659 #1	French	18th	AC
Wellcome 4666 #1	French	18th	AC
Wellcome 4668 #2	Italian	18th 1775	AC
Bibliothèque Méjanes CGM 1918	French	18th 1784	AC
Wellcome 4669 #1	French	18th 1796	AC
Harvard Houghton Fr 554	French	17th	Arm
Lansdowne 1202	French	17th	Arm
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2349	French	18th	Arm
Harvard Houghton Fr 553	French	18th	CMC
Harvard Houghton Typ 625	German	18th	CMC
Wellcome 4655	French	18th 1725	CMC
Ettington 59 (author's collection)	Italian	18th 1731	CMC
Additional 39666	French	18th 1782	CMC
Lenkiewicz Private Collection 1	French	18th 1782	CMC

<sup>1765</sup> Was previously KK Family.

<sup>1766</sup> Was previously KK Family.

Collection and Manuscript	Language	Century/Date	Text-Family
Warburg FBH 80	French	18th 1782	CMC
Ferguson 142	German	17th	Exp
Darmstadt 1671	German	18th	Exp
Leipzig 707	German	18th	Exp
Leipzig 732	German	18th	Exp
Sloane 1307	Italian	17th	GP
Sloane 1309	Italian	17th	GP
Gregorius Niger Private Collection 5	Latin	16th 1559?	RS
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2346 #2	French	18th	RS
Lenkiewicz Private Collection 2	French	18th	RS
Wellcome 4657	French	18th	RS
Wellcome 4660	French	18th	RS
Jerusalem Yahuda 18	English	18th	RS?
Wellcome 4656	French	18th 1725	RS
Crawford 158	English	18th 1789	RS
Rylands GB 0133 Eng 40 (Sibly)	English	18th 1789	RS
Wellcome 983 #1	French	18th 1789	RS
Sibley Private Collection 4	English	18th 1792	RS
Wellcome 4661	French	18th 1796	RS
Wellcome 4670	French	18th 1796	RS
John Hay BF 1611	French	18th 1798	RS
John Hay M313	French	18th 1798	RS
Edward Hunter Private Collection 3	English	19th early	RS
Oriental 14759	Hebrew	17th late	SM
Oriental 6360	Hebrew	17th late	SM
Gollancz MS	Hebrew	18th 1700	SM
Rosenthaliana 12	Hebrew	18th 1729	SM
Harvard Houghton Fr 555	French	17th	SS
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2350	French	18th	SS
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2493	French	18th	SS
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2791	French	18th	SS?
Wellcome 4664	French	19th 1825	SS
Sloane 3847 #1	English	16th 1572	TG
Bibliothèque Nationale 15127	Latin	17th	TG
Marseilles 983 (Bb 108) #1	Latin	17th	TG
Pommersfelden 357	Latin	17th	TG
Wellcome 4662	French	18th	TG
Wellcome 4659 #2	French	18th	UT
Wellcome 4667 #1	French	18th	UT
Wellcome 4669 #2	French	18th 1796	UT
Additional 10862 #2	Italian	16th	Zk
Wien 11262	Italian	17th	Zk
Bodleian Aubrey 24	English & Lat.	17th 1674	Zk
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2347	French	18th	Zk
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2790	French	18th	Zk

Table 24: *Clavicula Salomonis* Manuscripts listed by Language, Date and sorted by Text-Family.<sup>1767</sup>

<sup>1767</sup> From Skinner & Rankine (2008), pp. 408-414, with additions.

## Appendix 5 - Transmission of the Names of Gods, Daimones, Angels and Spirits and other *nomina magica*

Sample comparison of some of the *nomina magica*,<sup>1768</sup> as found in the *PGM*,<sup>1769</sup> *Picatrix*, *Liber Consecrationem*,<sup>1770</sup> *Goetia*,<sup>1771</sup> *Hygromanteia*,<sup>1772</sup> and *Key of Solomon*,<sup>1773</sup> across cultures.<sup>1774</sup> This table is not exhaustive. Note that even where the name does not have its roots in the *PGM*, it still has a great deal of commonality between the *Goetia*, *Hygromanteia* and *Clavicula Salomonis*.

Source	PGM	Picatrix	Liber Consecrationem aka the Munich Handbook	Lemegeton (Goetia)	Hygromanteia	Clavicula Salomonis Key of Solomon
G	Abraxas					Abrax <sup>1776</sup>
	Abrasax <sup>1775</sup>					
H	Adonai <sup>1777</sup>		Adonay <sup>1779</sup>	Adoniel <sup>1780</sup>	Adōnai <sup>1781</sup>	Adonai <sup>1783</sup>
	Adōnaios <sup>1778</sup>				Adouni <sup>1782</sup>	Adonay <sup>1784</sup>
E	Amon			Amon <sup>1788</sup>		
	Ammon <sup>1785</sup>			Amaymon <sup>1789</sup>		Amaymon <sup>1793</sup>
	Amoun <sup>1786</sup>			Amonzy <sup>1790</sup>	Amōn <sup>1792</sup>	Maymon <sup>1794</sup>
	Parammon <sup>1787</sup>			Maymon <sup>1791</sup>		
H	Anael <sup>1795</sup>	Anael <sup>1796</sup>		Anael <sup>1797</sup>	Anael <sup>1799</sup>	Anael <sup>1801</sup>
				Aniel <sup>1798</sup>	Anaēl <sup>1800</sup>	

<sup>1768</sup> The original list was much larger. The list in this Appendix has been considerably reduced.

<sup>1769</sup> This list is not exhaustive, but covers all the major angels, gods, goddesses and spirits that migrate into later magical texts. Likewise this is not the place to give every single reference to a particular entity, which is the function of a *PGM* index. Despite promises by various scholars this highly desirable adjunct to *PGM* does not appear to have been produced. Many of the footnote references for this Table are taken from Porreca (2010).

<sup>1770</sup> *Munich Handbook* i.e. 'Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS CLM 849. Page numbers refer to Kieckhefer (1997), otherwise folio numbers refer to CLM 849.

<sup>1771</sup> Page numbers in Skinner and Rankine (2007).

<sup>1772</sup> Manuscript and folio numbers. Representative, not exhaustive.

<sup>1773</sup> Only a few of many references have been included for each name in this column. Note than Wellcome MSS are numbered as page number by that library, rather than by folio.

<sup>1774</sup> Language of origin. Words which only appear once in one source have sometimes been omitted, as these do not aid cross-cultural analysis. Also the names of earlier magicians or other worthies invoked to lend weight to the operation, like Klaudianos or Pnouthis, have in most cases been omitted. H=Hebraic; G=Greek; L=Latin; E=Egyptian; I=Islam; P=Persian; B=Babylonian; R=Roman; ?=unknown.

<sup>1775</sup> *PGM* IV. 331-32; VIII. 49, 611; XIII. 156, 466. et al.

<sup>1776</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 51.

<sup>1777</sup> *PGM* II. 146; LVII. 1, et al. Originally Hebrew for "my Lord" but frequently used as a word of power, or deity in *PGM*.

<sup>1778</sup> *PGM* I. 310.

<sup>1779</sup> F. 3.

<sup>1780</sup> Pp. 323, 386.

<sup>1781</sup> B2, f. 344.

<sup>1782</sup> P2, f. 52v.

<sup>1783</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 50.

<sup>1784</sup> Wellcome 4669, p. 23 and many other occurrences.

<sup>1785</sup> *PGM* LVII. 7, et al.

<sup>1786</sup> *PDM* xiv. 585.

<sup>1787</sup> "Next to Ammon."

<sup>1788</sup> Pp. 107, 109, 366, 378, 379, 381.

<sup>1789</sup> Pp. 115, 134, 135, 172, 180, 181, 210, 370, 371, 376, 429, 430.

<sup>1790</sup> P. 320.

<sup>1791</sup> Pp. 210, 393.

<sup>1792</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1793</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 1, p 113.

<sup>1794</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 195.

<sup>1795</sup> *PGM* XC. 10.

<sup>1796</sup> IV, vii, 23.

<sup>1797</sup> Pp. 189, 199, 208, 209, 312, 382, 385.

<sup>1798</sup> Pp. 199, 329, 372, 382-3, 387, 406, 410.

<sup>1799</sup> H, f. 36.

<sup>1800</sup> P, f. 218v.

<sup>1801</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 180.

Source	PGM	Picatrix	Liber Consecrationem aka the Munich Handbook	Lemegeton (Goetia)	Hygromanteia	Clavicula Salomonis Key of Solomon
H				Asmodai <sup>1802</sup> Asmedaē <sup>1803</sup> Asmodeus <sup>1805</sup> Asmodai	Asmodai <sup>1804</sup> Asmedaē <sup>1805</sup> Asmedai <sup>1805</sup> Asmodai	Asmodeus <sup>1806</sup> Asmodée <sup>1807</sup>
H	Astaroth		Astaroth <sup>1808</sup> Astoroth	Astaroth <sup>1809</sup>	Astarōth <sup>1810</sup>	Ashtoroth <sup>1811</sup>
H	Aziel <sup>1812</sup>	Aziel <sup>1813</sup>	Astarotht	Asyel <sup>1814</sup>		
H	Azariel <sup>1815</sup>		Azariel <sup>1816</sup>	Azariel <sup>1817</sup>		
H			Belzebub Belzebuc <sup>1818</sup>	Beelzebub <sup>1819</sup>	Beelzeboul <sup>1820</sup> Beelzebuth	Berzebeoul Berzeboul <sup>1821</sup> Beelzebouēl <sup>1822</sup>
H	El <sup>1829</sup>			Cassiel <sup>1824</sup>	Kasaēl <sup>1825</sup>	Cassiel <sup>1826</sup>
G				Egyn <sup>1827</sup>		Egym <sup>1828</sup>
H	Eloai <sup>1833</sup>		El <sup>1830</sup>		El <sup>1831</sup>	Egyn <sup>1828</sup>
H	Elōaios		Eloe <sup>1834</sup>		Elōm <sup>1838</sup>	El <sup>1832</sup>
	Eloe		Eloy <sup>1835</sup>	Elohim <sup>1837</sup>	Elōim <sup>1839</sup>	Eloe <sup>1841</sup>
	Elouein		Eloi		Elōi <sup>1840</sup>	Eloyn <sup>1842</sup>
	Elouai		Eloym <sup>1836</sup>			Eloym <sup>1843</sup>
						Elohim <sup>1843</sup>
						Elohym <sup>1844</sup>

<sup>1802</sup> Pp. 32, 116, 134, 175, 370, 378, 379, 398.

<sup>1803</sup> Pp. 24, 65, 66, 72, 79, 85.

<sup>1804</sup> H, f. 32.

<sup>1805</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1806</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 2, p. 77.

<sup>1807</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 1, p 112.

<sup>1808</sup> F. 6v.

<sup>1809</sup> Pp. 32, 34, 51, 69, 131, 366, 368, 370, 378, 379, 381, 398.

<sup>1810</sup> H, f. 32.

<sup>1811</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 2, p. 77.

<sup>1812</sup> PGM XXXVI. 174.

<sup>1813</sup> IV, ix, 53.

<sup>1814</sup> F. 32r.

<sup>1815</sup> PGM XXXVI. 173.

<sup>1816</sup> F. 80r.

<sup>1817</sup> Pp. 24-142, 382.

<sup>1818</sup> F. 5r.

<sup>1819</sup> Pp. 15, 26-7, 32, 41, 351, 424.

<sup>1820</sup> H, f. 35v.

<sup>1821</sup> H, f. 32.

<sup>1822</sup> P, f. 218v.

<sup>1823</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 2, p. 78.

<sup>1824</sup> P. 189.

<sup>1825</sup> H, f. 42.

<sup>1826</sup> Wellcome 4670, p.53.

<sup>1827</sup> Pp. 32, 43, 90.

<sup>1828</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 1, p. 112.

<sup>1829</sup> PGM XLVII. 1.

<sup>1830</sup> F. 33v, etc.

<sup>1831</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1832</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art 1, p.23.

<sup>1833</sup> PGM I. 311; IV. 1577; VII. 564; XXXVI. 42, et al.

<sup>1834</sup> Pp. 248, 249, 261, 269, 337, et al.

<sup>1835</sup> F. 63v.

<sup>1836</sup> F. 91r.

<sup>1837</sup> Pp. 80, 81, 176, 177, 203, 303, 304, 353, 416-418, 422, 433.

<sup>1838</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1839</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1840</sup> H, f. 38v.

<sup>1841</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 49.

<sup>1842</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 42.

<sup>1843</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 1, p. 23.

<sup>1844</sup> Wellcome 4670, p.51.

Source	PGM	Picatrix	Liber Consecrationem aka the Munich Handbook	Lemegeton (Goetia)	Hygromanteia	Clavicula Salomonis Key of Solomon
H	Emanouel <sup>1845</sup>		Emanuel <sup>1846</sup>		Emanouēl <sup>1847</sup>	Emanuel <sup>1848</sup>
H	Gabriel <sup>1849</sup>	Gabriel <sup>1850</sup>	Gabriel <sup>1851</sup>	Gabriel <sup>1852</sup>	Gabriēl <sup>1853</sup>	Gabriel <sup>1854</sup>
G	Helios <sup>1855</sup>	Helyus <sup>1857</sup>	Heloe <sup>1859</sup>	Hely	Helion <sup>1862</sup>	Helyon
G	Helios-Osiris <sup>1856</sup>	Heyluz <sup>1858</sup>	Heloy <sup>1860</sup>	Heloy	Helluion <sup>1863</sup>	Heloy
G	Hermes <sup>1865</sup>				Hellison <sup>1864</sup>	
	IAŌ <sup>1868</sup>				Hermas <sup>1866</sup>	Hermes <sup>1867</sup>
	Iabas					Ja / Ya
H/G	Iapos <sup>1869</sup>		Joth <sup>1871</sup>	Jah <sup>1872</sup>	Ia <sup>1874</sup>	Jah <sup>1875</sup>
	Iabo			Ipos <sup>1873</sup>		IHVH <sup>1876</sup>
	Iabe					Jod Hé Vau Hé <sup>1877</sup>
	Iabai <sup>1870</sup>					Jehovah <sup>1878</sup>
E	Isis <sup>1879</sup>		Isiston <sup>1880</sup>	Isiael <sup>1881</sup>		
H/G	Jesus Chrēstos <sup>1882</sup>		Ihesu Christi <sup>1884</sup>	Jesus Christ <sup>1885</sup>		
H	Jesus <sup>1883</sup>					
	Kattiel <sup>1886</sup>	Captiel <sup>1887</sup>	Captiel <sup>1888</sup>	Captiel <sup>1889</sup>	Katiēl <sup>1890</sup>	
					Kataēl	
					Katriēl	

<sup>1845</sup> PGM XC. 5.

<sup>1846</sup> Pp. 244, 269, 274, 337, et al.

<sup>1847</sup> P, f. 218v.

<sup>1848</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 29.

<sup>1849</sup> PGM IV. 1815, et al.

<sup>1850</sup> IV, vii, 23.

<sup>1851</sup> Pp. 276, 318, et al.

<sup>1852</sup> Pp. 189, 198, 200, 201, 339, 344, 388, 398, 419, 433.

<sup>1853</sup> H, f. 41v.

<sup>1854</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 77.

<sup>1855</sup> Appears in many contexts. Specifically invoked in PGM III. 494-611 and IV. 482.

<sup>1856</sup> See Serapis.

<sup>1857</sup> III, ix, 15.

<sup>1858</sup> III, ix, 5.

<sup>1859</sup> P. 230. Grouped with Eloë by Porreca.

<sup>1860</sup> F. 33r.

<sup>1861</sup> Pp. 342, 388, 436.

<sup>1862</sup> Pp. 304, 342, 388.

<sup>1863</sup> P. 342.

<sup>1864</sup> P. 344.

<sup>1865</sup> PGM VIII. 1, et al.

<sup>1866</sup> P. 323.

<sup>1867</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 38.

<sup>1868</sup> The Greek transliteration of יהוה IHVH (Yahweh) with the IH being treated as IA (Yah) and the vav being treated as an ō. IAŌ was also found at Qumran and in the *Nag Hammadi* texts.

<sup>1869</sup> PGM V. 96-172.

<sup>1870</sup> The Samaritan transliteration of יהוה IHVH (Yahweh) corresponding to the Greek spelling IAŌ with the vav logically appearing as a 'b' (or 'p'). The Samaritan connection is significant because so many of the Gnostic founders were Samaritan, like Simon Magus.

<sup>1871</sup> F. 58r.

<sup>1872</sup> P. 343.

<sup>1873</sup> Pp. 124, 368, 378, 379, 381.

<sup>1874</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1875</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 260.

<sup>1876</sup> Mathers (1909), p.17.

<sup>1877</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 1, p 113.

<sup>1878</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 29.

<sup>1879</sup> Frequently invoked.

<sup>1880</sup> P. 289. Porreca also gives Esyon and Usion (both on p. 269), which I feel has a different derivation.

<sup>1881</sup> P. 202.

<sup>1882</sup> PGM IV. 1232. Chrēstos = "excellent one" rather than Christos = "anointed one."

<sup>1883</sup> PGM IV. 3020. Here entitled "god of the Hebrews" (sic).

<sup>1884</sup> F. 22r.

<sup>1885</sup> Pp. 24, 193, 356, 436.

<sup>1886</sup> PGM XXXVI. 172.

<sup>1887</sup> IV, vii, 23.

<sup>1888</sup> Pp. 300, 301, 327, 328.

<sup>1889</sup> P. 346.

<sup>1890</sup> H, f. 41v.

Source	PGM	Picatrix	Liber Consecrationem aka the Munich Handbook	Lemegeton (Goetia)	Hygromanteia	Clavicula Salomonis Key of Solomon
L <sup>1891</sup>			Lucifer <sup>1892</sup>	Lucifer <sup>1893</sup>	Loutzipher <sup>1894</sup> Loutzēpher <sup>1895</sup>	Lucifer <sup>1896</sup>
H	Michael <sup>1897</sup>	Michael <sup>1898</sup>	Michael <sup>1899</sup>	Michael <sup>1900</sup>	Michael Mikhaēl <sup>1901</sup>	Michael <sup>1902</sup>
E	Nephthys <sup>1903</sup>			Nephryas? <sup>1904</sup>		
E <sup>1905</sup>	On <sup>1906</sup>		On <sup>1907</sup>	On <sup>1908</sup>	On <sup>1909</sup>	On
G	Orion <sup>1910</sup>		Orien <sup>1911</sup>	Oriens <sup>1912</sup>		Oriens
H	Ouriel <sup>1913</sup>		Uriel <sup>1914</sup>	Uriel	Orouēl <sup>1915</sup> Ourīēl <sup>1916</sup>	Uriel <sup>1917</sup>
G				Paymon <sup>1918</sup>	Paymon <sup>1919</sup> Paimon <sup>1920</sup>	Paimon <sup>1921</sup>
H	Raphael <sup>1922</sup>	Raphael <sup>1923</sup>	Raphael <sup>1924</sup>	Raphael <sup>1925</sup>	Rhaphaēl <sup>1926</sup>	Raphiel <sup>1927</sup>
H	Roubel <sup>1928</sup>	Raubel <sup>1930</sup>		Roehel? <sup>1932</sup>		
H		Raubeyl <sup>1931</sup>				
H	Sabaoth <sup>1933</sup>		Sabaoth <sup>1934</sup>	Sabaoth <sup>1935</sup>	Sabaōth <sup>1936</sup>	Sabaoth
H			Samael <sup>1938</sup>	Samael <sup>1939</sup>		Zebaōth <sup>1937</sup> Samael <sup>1940</sup>

<sup>1891</sup> Hebrew origin.

<sup>1892</sup> F. 5r.

<sup>1893</sup> Pp. 15, 32, 41, 45, 111, 170, 351, 366, 376, 377, 427.

<sup>1894</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1895</sup> P, f. 140v.

<sup>1896</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 2, p. 78.

<sup>1897</sup> PGM IV. 1815, et al.

<sup>1898</sup> IV, vii, 23.

<sup>1899</sup> Pp. 276, 318, 332, et al.

<sup>1900</sup> Many references including 24, 60, 62, 63, 72, et al.

<sup>1901</sup> H, f. 35v.

<sup>1902</sup> Wellcome 4670, p.53.

<sup>1903</sup> PGM XIa. 10, where Nephthys is referred to as “mistress of the house” a direct translation of her Egyptian name.

<sup>1904</sup> P. 323.

<sup>1905</sup> Porreca suggests Greek, but On refers to the name of an Egyptian city.

<sup>1906</sup> PGM XIII. 171.

<sup>1907</sup> Pp. 248, 269, 274, et al.

<sup>1908</sup> P. 178.

<sup>1909</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1910</sup> PGM CI. 28, et al.

<sup>1911</sup> P. 248.

<sup>1912</sup> Pp. 32, 43, 90.

<sup>1913</sup> PGM IV. 1815.

<sup>1914</sup> P. 194.

<sup>1915</sup> H, f. 35v.

<sup>1916</sup> A, f. 30.

<sup>1917</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 202.

<sup>1918</sup> F. 30r.

<sup>1919</sup> Pp. 32, 34, 90, 11.

<sup>1920</sup> Pp. 32, 34, 111, 366, 378, 381, 398.

<sup>1921</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 1, p. 113.

<sup>1922</sup> PGM X. 43, et al.

<sup>1923</sup> IV, vii, 23.

<sup>1924</sup> P. 276, 318, et al.

<sup>1925</sup> Pp. 38, 65, 72, 81, 189, 204, 205, 208, 339, 389, 398, 417, 418.

<sup>1926</sup> Angel of the 1<sup>st</sup> hour of Thursday. H.

<sup>1927</sup> Wellcome 4670, p.53.

<sup>1928</sup> PGM XXXVI. 171.

<sup>1929</sup> III, vii, 21.

<sup>1930</sup> IV, ix, 37.

<sup>1931</sup> III, vii, 25.

<sup>1932</sup> P. 376.

<sup>1933</sup> Frequently used as a divine name.

<sup>1934</sup> F. 3.

<sup>1935</sup> Pp. 79-81, 177, 178, 417, 418, 423, 433, 436.

<sup>1936</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1937</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 260.

<sup>1938</sup> F. 74v.

<sup>1939</sup> Pp. 189, 198, 202, 203, 208, 308, 311, 324, 325, 339, 385.

<sup>1940</sup> Wellcome 4670, p.53.

Source	PGM	Picatrix	<i>Liber Consecrationem aka the Munich Handbook</i>	<i>Lemegeton (Goetia)</i>	<i>Hygromanteia</i>	<i>Clavicula Salomonis Key of Solomon</i>
H	Satan <sup>1941</sup>		Sathan <sup>1942</sup>	Satan <sup>1943</sup>		Satanachi <sup>1944</sup>
H	Shaddai		Saday	Shadai <sup>1945</sup>	Saday	Saday <sup>1946</sup>
H	Solomon <sup>1947</sup>	Solomon	Solomon <sup>1948</sup>	Solomon <sup>1949</sup>	Solomon <sup>1950</sup>	Solomon <sup>1951</sup>
H/G	Tetragrammaton <i>see also</i> IAO Thoth <sup>1955</sup>		Tetragrammaton <sup>1952</sup>	Tetragrammaton	Tetragrammaton <sup>1953</sup>	Tetragrammaton <sup>1954</sup>
E & G	Thooth Thouth Thayth Theouth Thōouth <sup>1956</sup>	Tos <sup>1957</sup> Toz <sup>1958</sup>	Toth <sup>1959</sup>			Toz <sup>1960</sup>
H	Uriel <i>see</i> Ouriel					

Table 25: The migration of god, angel, daimon, spirit names and *nomina magica*.

<sup>1941</sup> PGM IV. 1239. Here categorised as an “unclean daimon.”

<sup>1942</sup> F. 8r.

<sup>1943</sup> Pp. 15, 32, 41.

<sup>1944</sup> Wellcome 4669, Art. 2, p. 79.

<sup>1945</sup> Pp. 81, 342, 388, 423.

<sup>1946</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 51.

<sup>1947</sup> PGM IV. 850-855. Solomon has been included as relevant to the whole thesis.

<sup>1948</sup> F. 58v.

<sup>1949</sup> Pp. 20, 23, 41, 42, 63, 66, 87, 175, 357.

<sup>1950</sup> P2, f. 52v.

<sup>1951</sup> Many occurrences.

<sup>1952</sup> F. 3.

<sup>1953</sup> H, f. 35.

<sup>1954</sup> Wellcome 4670, p. 29.

<sup>1955</sup> PDM xiv. 309-334. Appears frequently, as one of the Egyptian gods of magic.

<sup>1956</sup> PGM LXXXI. 2.

<sup>1957</sup> IV, ix, 58.

<sup>1958</sup> III, ix, 1; III, ix, 11.

<sup>1959</sup> P. 287.

<sup>1960</sup> Appears as Toz Grec as the author of some of the later *Key of Solomon* manuscripts. This name is usually understood as Thoth the Greek, but I am reasonably sure that it is a corruption of Ptolemy the Greek astrologer.

## Bibliography

Because of the geographic and chronological extent of the thesis topic, the range of literature is very wide. However, there appears to be no texts which address the specific concerns of this thesis, following the development of magical techniques and equipment over the whole geographic, cultural and linguistic range.

### *Manuscripts and Papyri*

Manuscripts and papyri would normally be listed in the Bibliography, but because of their extensive nature and the need to analyse them, they have also been listed separately in the Appendices as follows:

1. *PGM Papyri* – see Appendix 2.
2. *Hygromanteia* manuscripts – see also Appendix 3.

Atheniensis 115, Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.

Atheniensis 1265, National Library of Greece.

Atheniensis 167, Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens.

Athonicus Dion. 282, Dionysius Monastery of Mount Athos.

Bernardaceus, private library of the Bernardakēdes family.

Bononiensis 3632, University Library of Bologna.

Gennadianus 45, Gennadius Library of Athens.

Harleianus 5596, British Library.

Mediolanensis E 37 sup., Ambrosian Library of Milan.

Mediolanensis H 2 infer., Ambrosian Library of Milan.

Metamorphōseōs 67, Metamorphōseōs Monastery of Meteōra.

Monacensis Gr. 70, Bavarian Regional Library of Munich.

Neapolitanus II C 33, National Library of Naples.

Parisinus Gr. 2419, National Library of France.

Petropolitanus 575, National Library of Saint Petersburg.

Petropolitanus 646, National Library of Saint Petersburg.

Petropolitanus Academicus, of Paleographic Museum of Science Academy of Saint Petersburg.

Taurinensis C VII, National University Library of Turin.

Vindobonensis Ph. Gr. 108, Austrian National Library of Vienna.

3. *Clavicula Salomonis* manuscripts – see Appendix 4.

4. *Selected European Solomonic manuscripts*:

Alnwick 584.

Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica 114.

Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana Amsterdam: Rosenthaliana 12.

Bibliothèque Nationale:

4631.

Supplément Grec. 500.

British Library:

Additional 10862.

Additional 25311.

Additional 36674.

Additional 39844.

Cotton Appendix XLVI.

Cotton Tiberius A VII

Harley 3981.

Harley 6482.

Harley 6483.  
Kings 288.  
Lansdowne 1202.  
Lansdowne 1203.  
Oriental 6360.  
Oriental 6673.  
Oriental 14759.  
Sloane 3825.  
Sloane 2731.  
Sloane 3188.  
Sloane 3847.  
Sloane 3826.  
Sloane 3846.  
Sloane 3853.  
Sloane 6483.  
Sloane 3648.  
Sloane 3847.  
Sloane 3825.  
Sloane 3091.  
Sloane 2731.  
Sloane 3847.  
Canterbury Cathedral Additional 23.  
Chatsworth 73D.  
Folger V.b.26 (1).  
Harvard Houghton Typ. 883  
Munich CLM 849.  
Kirchenbibliotek 31.  
Rylands GB 0133 Eng 40.  
Vatican 228.  
Wellcome Institute:  
3203.  
4655.  
4669.  
4670.

## Primary Sources

Abano, Peter de. *Heptameron, or the Magical Elements in Agrippa*, H. C. *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, revised edition ed. Stephen Skinner. Berwick: Ibis Press/Nicolas-Hays, 2005.

Abraham of Worms, aka Abraham of Wurzburg. *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*. (trans. and ed.) S. L. MacGregor Mathers. London: Watkins, 1898; 2nd edition 1900; rpt. New York: Causeway, 1974; rpt. New York: Dover, 1975.

Abraham of Worms, (ed.) Georg Dehn, (trans.) Steven Guth. *The Book of Abramelin*. Lake Worth: Ibis, 2006.

Agrippa, H. C. *De Occulta Philosophia libri tres*. Koln, 1533. ed. Vittoria Perrone Compagni. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Agrippa, H. C. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. (Trans.) James Freake [Dr John French]. (ed.) Donald Tyson. St Paul: Llewellyn, 1993.

Agrippa, H. C. *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, (ed.) Stephen Skinner. Berwick: Ibis Press/Nicolas-Hays, 2005. [Contains texts: *Of Magical Ceremonies*; *Heptameron*; *Of the Nature of such Spirits*; *Arbatel of Magick*; *Of the Magick of the Ancients*; *Of Geomancy*; *Of Astronomical Geomancy*.]

Anon. *Grimorium Verum*. Memphis [Paris?]: Chez Alibeck l'Egyptian, 1517 [1817?].

Anon. *Il Gran Libro Magico del Re Salomone, con I piu importanti Segreti de Alta Magia. 105 Tavole di Talismani, Pentacoli, Caratteri Cabalistici e Figure Magiche*. Viareggio: Rebis, 1985.

Anon. *Il Libro Magico della Gallina Nera. O la Gallina dalle Uova d'Oro. Con la Scienza del Talismanie Anelli Magici, l'Arte della Negromanzia e della Cabala, per scongiurare gle Spiriti Infernali...* Viareggio: Rebis, 1988.

Anon. *L'art de commander les esprits célestes, aeriens, terrestres & infernaux suivi du Grand Grimoire, de la magie noire et des forces infernales, du docteur J. Karter, la Clavicule de Salomon, &c; avec le vrai secret de faire parler les morts....* 1421 [1750?].

Anon. *La Clavicula Magica e Cabalistica del Saggio re Salomone*. Florence, 1731.

Anon. *Le Grand Grimoire, ou l'art de commander les esprits célestes*. Paris, 1845.

Anon. *Le Trésor du Vieillard des Pyramides, Véritable Science des Talismans & La Chouette Noire*. 1652 [but early 19th century].

Anon. *Le Véritable Dragon Rouge & La Poule Noire*. 1521 [but early 19th century].

Anon. *Les Admirables Secrets d'Albert le Grand*. Lyon: Beringos Fratres, 1629 [but early 19th century].

Anon. *Les Clavicules de Salomon*, Paris: Chamuel, 1892.

Anon. *Les Secrets Merveilleux de la Magie Naturelle du Petit Albert*. Lyon: Beringos Fratres, 1668 [but early 19th century], 1765.

Anon. *Les Véritables Clavicules De Salomon, Suivies du Fameux Secret du Papillon Vert*, Memphis [probably Paris]: Chez Alibeck l'Egyptien, n.d. [18th century - first edition printed in French; a later edition 19th century]

Anon. *Sefer Simmus Tehillim*. Bilfingen: Schubert, 1972. [German trans. of Hebrew]

Atallah, Hashem and Geylan Holmquest, (ed.) William Kiesel. *Picatrix or Ghayat al-Hakim* ('The Goal Of The Wise'). Two Volumes, Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2008.

Bagnall, Roger and Peter Derow. *Historical Sources in Translation: The Hellenistic Period*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

Barrett, Francis. *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*. London: 1801; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1967; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 2000.

Bassi, Dominicus, Cumont, Franciscus, Martini, Aemygdius and Olivier, Alexander (eds.). *Codices Italici praeter Florentini, Veneti, Mediolanenses, Romani*, CCAG, Tomus IV. Bruxellis, 1903.

Bell, H.I., A. D. Nock and Herbert Thompson. *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*. Oxford: OUP, 1933.

Benesch, Kurt (ed.). *Dr Johannes Faust: Magia Naturalis Sämtliche magische Werke*. Wiesbaden: Fourier, 1984.

Best, Michael and Frank H Brightman (eds.). *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus. Of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones, and Certain Beasts, Also of the Marvels of the World* (13th century). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1999.

Betz, Hans Dieter (ed). *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, Volume One Texts. 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Boeft, J. Den. *Calcidius on Demons (Commentarius Ch. 127-136)*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

Boll, F. (ed.). *Apotelesmata [of Apollonius of Tyana]* in CCAG, VII, Brussels, 1907, pp. 175-81.

Borghouts, J. F. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*. NISABA. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

Boudreaux Petrus (ed.). *Codicum Parisinorum Pars Tertia*, CCAG, Tomus VIII, Pars III. Bruxellis, 1912.

Boudreaux Petrus (ed.). *Codicum Parisinorum Pars Quarta*, CCAG, Tomus VIII, Pars IV. Bruxellis, 1921.

Brashear, William. *Apotelesmatikon*: P. Mev. Inv. 71. 58, Nilus 1, Vienna, 1998.

Breasted, James Henry. *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*. 2 Vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Book of the Dead*. New York: Dover, 1967.

Cameron, Averil and Judith Herrin (eds. and trans.). *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis syntomai chronikai*. Leiden: Brill, 1984.

Casaubon, Meric. *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed For Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee and some Spirits...*, 1659; rpt. London: Askin, 1974; Rpt. with extensive corrections from the original manuscripts as *Dr John Dee's Spiritual Diaries (1584-1608)*, (ed.) Stephen Skinner. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2011.

Cecchetelli, Michael (transl.). *Crossed Keys*. n.p.: Scarlet, MMXI. [Contains texts: *Le Dragon Noir* and *Enchiridion of Pope Leo III*].

Ch'ien, Kineta (trans.). *The Great Grimoire of Pope Honorius*. Seattle: Trident, 1998.

Clarke, Emma, John Dillon, Jackson Hershbel. *Iamblichus: On the Mysteries: A manifesto of the miraculous*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.

Collisson, Marcus, *see* Psellus.

Copenhaver, Brian P (trans. and ed.). *Hermetica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Cowley, A. (ed.) *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* London and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.

Cramer, J. A. *Anecdota Graeca e Codicibus Manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*. Oxford, 1836.

Cumont, Franciscus (ed.). *Codicum Parisinorum Pars Prima*, CCAG, Tomus VIII, Pars I. Bruxellis, 1929.

Daniel, Robert W and Franco Maltomini. *Supplementum Magicum*. 2 Vols. Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1990 and 1992.

Dee, John. *48 Claves Angelicae*. See Turner (1989); James (1984).

Dee, John. *De Heptarchia Mystica*. See Turner (1986); James (1984).

Dee, John. *Liber Scientia Auxilii & Victoriae*. See Turner (1989).

Dee, John. *Libri Mysteriorum*. See Casaubon (1659); James (1984); Whitby (1991); Peterson (2003); Dee (2011).

Dee, John, Meric Casaubon (Preface) and (ed.) Stephen Skinner. *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diaries* (1583-1608). Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2011. See also Casaubon (1659); Peterson (2003); Fenton (2000).

Dehn, Georg. See Abraham of Worms (2006).

Delatte, Armand (ed.). *Codices Athenienses*, CCAG, Tomus X. Bruxellis, 1924.

Delatte, Armand. *Anecdota Atheniensa*. 2 Vols (especially Vol. 1). Liege and Paris: Champion, 1927-39, pp. 397-445.

Des Places, E (ed. and trans.). *Jamblique: Les Mystères d'Égypte*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966.

Dilligan, Robert and Lazar. *Sefer ha-Yasar: First Ladino translation* (Haverford College, MS. Hebr. 18). Labyrinthos, 1998.

Dodge, Bayard. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: a tenth-century survey of Muslim Culture*. New York: Columbia University, 1970.

Driscoll, Daniel. *The Sworn Book of Honorius the Magician*. New Jersey: Heptangle, 1977.

Duling, D. C. (trans.). *The Testament of Solomon in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments (The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library) (ed.) James H. Charlesworth. London: Doubleday, 1983, p. 935 ff.

Dumas, François Ribadeau. *Le Grand et le Petit Albert*. Paris: Belfond, 1978.

Dumas, François Ribadeau. *Grimoires et Rituels Magiques*. Paris: Pre au Clercs, 1980; Paris: Belfond, 1998. [Contains texts: *Le Livre des Conjurations du pape Honorius*, *Enchiridion de Sa Sainteté le pape Léon III*, *Le Dragon Rouge*, *La Poule Noire*, *Le Génie et Le Trésor du Vieillard des Pyramides*, *La Chouette Noire*, *Le Rituel de Haute Magie*.]

Eitrem, Samson. *Papyri Osloensis*, I: *Magical Papyri*. Oslo: Dybwad, 1925.

Faulkner, R. O. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 3 Vols. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1973-78.

Festugière, A.-J. *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 3 Vols. Paris, 1981.

Finamore, John and John Dillon (eds. and trans.). *Iamblichus, De anima: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Fitzgerald, Augustine. *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

Gaster, Moses. *The Sword of Moses, an Ancient Book of Magic*. London, 1896, rpt. New York: Weiser, 1970, rpt. Edmonds: Holmes, 2000.

Gehr, Damaris Aschera. *Summa Sacre Magice*, forthcoming 2014.

Godefroy, Jacques & Antoine Marville. *Codex Theodosianus*. Ulan, 2012.

Gollancz, Hermann (trans.). *The Book of Protection: Syrian Magic and Charms, Being Codex A of a*

*Syrian Magical Manuscript*. Edmonds/Sequoia: Holmes, 2001.

Gollancz, Hermann. *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh (Book of the Key of Solomon) an exact facsimile of an original Book of Magic in Hebrew*. 1903 and 1914, rpt. (Intro.) Stephen Skinner. York Beach: Teitan, 2008.

Greenup, A. W., *Sefer ha-Levana: the Book of the Moon*. London, 1912. [A Hebrew edition of BL MS Or. 6360]

Greer, John Michael and Christopher Warnock. *The Picatrix: Liber Aratus Edition*. Adocentyn, 2010-11.

Griffith, F. L. and Thompson, Herbert (ed. & trans.). *The Leyden Papyrus. An Egyptian Magical Book*. (originally published London: Grevel, 1904 as *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*); rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1974.

Grippo, Giovanni. *Sepher Raziel: Das Buch des Raziel* סֵפֶר רָזִיאָל. Steinbeck: Grippo Verlag, 2010. [German and Hebrew]

Hand, Robert (ed.). *Hephaisto of Thebes: Apotelesmatics Book I*. Berkeley Springs: Golden Hind, 1994.

Harari, Y. *Harba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): a New Edition and a Study*. Jerusalem, 1997.

Hedegård, Gösta. *Liber Iuratus Honorii*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2002.

Heeg, J. 'Excerptum Ex Codice Monacensi Graeco 70: Hygromantia Salomonis,' in CCAG, C. A. Ruelle (ed.). Bruxelles, 1911, pp. 139-176.

Hephaestio of Thebes. (ed.) David Pingree. *Apotelesmaticorum libri tres*. 2 Vols., Leipzig, 1973-74.

Hockley, Frederick. (ed.) Dietrich Bergman. *A Complete Book of Magic Science...Transcribed from an Ancient Manuscript Grimoire*. York Beach: Teitan, 2008.

Hockley, Frederick. (ed.) Silens Manus. *Occult Spells: A Nineteenth Century Grimoire*. York Beach: Teitan, 2009.

Hockley, Frederick. *Clavis Arcana Magica*. York Beach: Teitan, 2012.

Hohman, John George, (ed.) Daniel Harms, (Forward) Joseph H. Peterson. *The Long Lost Friend: a 19th century American Grimoire*. Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2012.

Horst, Georg Conrad. *Zauber-Bibliothek: Oder, Von Zauberei, Theurgie und Mantik, Zauberern, Hexen, und HexenprocesSEN, Dämonen, Gespenstern, und Geistererscheinungen*. Vol. 4. Mainz: Kupferberg, 1823.

Ibn Khaldūn, (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History*. Bollingen. New Jersey: Princeton University, 1967.

Irwin, Herbert (trans.), Stephen Zeitz (ed.). *Verus Jesuitarum Libellus Magicus*. Paris, 1508 [?]; rpt. 1875.

Kaimikis, D. *Die Kyraniden*. Meisenheim am Glan, 1976.

Karr, Don and Stephen Skinner (eds.). *Sepher Raziel: Liber Salomonis*, Volume 6, SWCM. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2010.

Karr, Don (ed.) and Kalnit Nachshon (trans.). *Liber Lunae, the Book of the Moon & Sepher ha-Levanah*. Volume 7, SWCM. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2011.

Karr, Don (ed.), Morton Smith (trans. from Hebrew and Aramaic), Gershom Scholem (corrected). *Hekhalot Rabbati*. PDF from [www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/HekRab/index.php](http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/HekRab/index.php). [Accessed March 2011]

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. Stroud:

Sutton, 1997, rpt. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

King, B. J. H. (trans.). *The Grimoire of Pope Honorius III*. Kettering: Sut Anubis, 1984.

Kuntz, Darcy (ed.). *The Black Pullet: Science of Magical Talisman*, translated from the French: *La Poule Noire*. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1972; rpt. [Kabbalistic Grimoire Series II] Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1998.

Kuntz, Darcy (ed.). *Ars Notoria: the Magical Art of Solomon...Englished by Robert Turner*. London, 1656, rpt. Sequim: Holmes, 2006.

Lewy, Hans. *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*. Ed. Michel Tardieu. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978.

Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 Vols. Berkeley: University of California, 1973-80.

Luck, Georg. *Arcana Mundi. Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds, A Collection of Texts*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, rpt. London: Crucible, 1987.

Macdonald, Michael-Albion. *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon*. Gillette, New Jersey: Heptangle, 1988.

MacPathy, Fred. *Clavicula Salomonis: La Clavicule de Salomon*. Rouen: Sesheta, 2013.

Malchus, Marius. *The Secret Grimoire of Turiel, Being a System of Magic of the Sixteenth Century*. London: Aquarian Press, 1960; rpt. ed. Darcy Kuntz [Kabbalistic Grimoire Series I] Edmonds: Sure Fire Press, 1994.

Manetho. (ed.) A. Koechly. *Apotelesmatica*. Leipzig, 1858.

Marathakis, Ioannis (ed. and transl.). *The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia*. Vol. 8, SWCM. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2011.

Margaliot, Mordecai (ed.). *Sepher ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period, Collected from Genizah Fragments and Other Sources*. Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966. [Hebrew]

Martini, Aemygdius and Bassi, Domenicus (eds.). *Codices Mediolanenses*, CCAG, Tomus III. Bruxellis, 1901.

Martini, Aemygdius and Bassi, Domenicus (eds.). *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Tomus II. Mediolani: U. Hoepli, 1906.

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor (trans.). *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*. London: Redway, 1889; rpt. London: Kegan Paul, 1909; rpt. Maine: Samuel Weiser, 2000.

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor, (trans.). *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*. London: Watkins, 1900.

Mathers, S. L. MacGregor, (trans.), Francis King (ed.). *The Grimoire of Armadel*. London: Routledge, 1980.

McCown, Chester C. *The Testament of Solomon, edited from manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna, with Introduction. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, Heft 9. Leipzig, 1922.

McLean, Adam (ed.). *The Magical Calendar*. Edinburgh: Magnum Opus, 1979.

McLean, Adam (ed.). Fiona Tait, Christopher Upton & J. H. W. Walden (trans.). *The Steganographia of Johannes Trithemius*. Book I & III. Edinburgh: Magnum Opus, 1982.

McLean, Adam (ed.). *A Treatise on Angel Magic, Being a Complete Transcription of MS. Harley 6482 in the British Library*, Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Sorceworks, 1982; rpt. Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1990; rpt. York Beach: Weiser, 2006.

Meyer, Marvin. *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook of Sacred Texts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1987.

Meyer, Marvin and Smith, Richard (eds). *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. San Francisco: Harper, 1994 rpt. Princeton 1999.

Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*. Series Greco-Latina. 161 vols. Paris, 1857-1866.

Montgomery, James Alan. *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1913, rpt. Cambridge: CUP, 2010.

Morgan, Michael. *Sepher Ha-Razim, the Book of the Mysteries*. (Texts and Translations, No. 25.), Chico: Scholars Press, 1983.

Nau, F. 'Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis' in Graffin (ed.) *Patrologia Syriaca*, Part 1, Vol II. Paris, 1907, pp. 1362-1425.

Neugebauer Otto, and Parker, Richard A. *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, III. *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*. Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1969.

Olivieri, D, et al (ed.). CCAG, 11 Volumes. Brussels: Académie Royale, 1898-1953.

Oppenheim, A. Leo. *Letters from Mesopotamia; Official, Business, and Private Letters on Clay from Two Millenia*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Paracelsus, Robert Turner (trans.), Stephen Skinner (ed.). *The Archidoxes of Magic*. London, 1655; London: Askin, 1975; rpt. Berwick: Ibis, 2004.

Parthey, Gustav (ed.) *Jamblich De Mysteriis liber*. Berlin: Nicolai, 1857.

Peterson, Joseph. (ed.). *The Lesser Key of Solomon: Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis: Goetia, Theurgia Goetia, Ars Paulina, Ars Almadel, Ars Notoria*. York Beach: Weiser, 2001.

Peterson, Joseph (ed.). *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery*. York Beach: Weiser, 2003.

Peterson, Joseph (ed.). *Grimorium Verum*. California: CreateSpace, 2007.

Peterson, Joseph (ed.). *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Lake Worth: Ibis, 2008.

Peterson, Joseph. (ed.) Ebenezer Sibley and Frederick Hockley. *The Clavis or Key to the Magic of Solomon*. Florida: Ibis, 2009.

Pierini, Pier Luca (ed.). *Il Tesoro del Vecchio delle Piramidi* ['The Treasure of the Old Man of the Pyramids']. *Vera Scienza del Talismani per comandare tuttighli Spiriti e annientare ogni Malefizo*. (with *La magia della civetta nera*, 1750). Viareggio: Rebis, 1987.

Pierini, Pier Luca (ed.). *Evocazione agli spiriti Benigni ossia Tesoro de Novene...* (*Il Libro Magico di San Pantaleone* with *Il Libro delle Sette Streghe*), 1891. rpt. Viareggio: Rebis, 2005.

Pierini, Pier Luca (ed.). *Lo Scettro Magico del Re Salomone. Il Libro delle Evocazioni degli Spiriti Thesaurus Nigromante. Prima traduzione italiana di un raro manoscritto di magia medievale*. Viareggio: Rebis, 2005.

Pingree, David. (ed.). *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghayat al-Hakim*. London: Warburg, 1986.

Plaingière. *Grimorium Verum*. [Paris?], 1780.

Porta, Giambattista della. *Magia Naturalis*, 1558.

Preisendanz, Karl. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 Vols. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1928 and 1931, rpt. (revised) Albert Henrichs, 1973-74.

Psellus, Michael, Marcus Collisson (trans.), Stephen Skinner (ed.). *On the Operations of Daemons*. [Περὶ Δαιμόνων]. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2009.

Rankine, David and Paul Harry Barron. *The Book of Gold: a 17th Century Magical Grimoire... using the Biblical Psalms of King David*. London: Avalonia, 2009.

Rankine, David. *The Book of Treasure Spirits: a Grimoire of Magical Conjurations*. London: Avalonia, 2009.

Rankine, David. *The Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*. London: Avalonia, 2011.

Rankine, David and Paul Harry Barron. *The Complete Grimoire of Pope Honorius*. London: Avalonia, 2013.

Rice, David and John Stambaugh. *Sources for the Study of Greek Religion*. Corrected edition, Society of Biblical Literature, 1979.

Robinson, James (ed.). *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. San Francisco: Harper, 1990.

Ronan, Stephen (ed.). *Iamblichus of Chalcis: On the Mysteries (De mysteriis Aegyptiorum)*. Hastings: Chthonios, 1989.

Rossell, W. H. *A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts*. (Shelton Semitic Series, 2). New Jersey: Shelton, 1953.

Rudy, Gretchen. *The Grand Grimoire*. Seattle: Trident & Ars Obscura, 1996.

Sangin, M. A. *Codices Rossici*, CCAG, Tomus XII. Bruxellis, 1936.

Savedow, Steve (ed. & trans.). *Sepher Rezial Hemelach. The Book of the Angel Rezial*. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 2000.

Scheible, Johann. *Das Kloster*. 12 Vols. Stuttgart, 1845-49.

Scot, Reginald. *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. London, 1584, 1665; London: Elliot Stock, 1886. Book xv, chapter i-iv, pp. 376 et seq.

*Sepher ha-Razim*, see Margalioth (1966); Morgan (1983).

*Sepher Raziel ha-Malak*, סֵפֶר רְזִיאֵל הַמְלָאֵךְ, Amsterdam, 1701, rpt. Warsaw: Aaron Zeilingold, 1870, rpt. 1920.

Shah, Sayed Idries. *The Secret Lore of Magic: the Books of the Sorcerers*. London: Muller, 1957.

Simon. *Papal Magic: Occult Practices within the Catholic Church*. New York: Harper, 2007. [Contains text: *The Grimoire of Pope Honorius III*.]

Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine. *The Practical Angel Magic of John Dee's Enochian Tables*, Vol. 1, SWCM. London: Golden Hoard, 2004.

Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine. *The Keys to the Gateway of Magic*, Vol. 2, SWCM. London: Golden Hoard, 2005.

Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine. *The Goetia of Dr Rudd*, Vol. 3, SWCM. London: Golden Hoard, 2007.

Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine. *The Veritable Key of Solomon*, Vol. 4, SWCM. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2008.

Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine. *The Grimoire of St Cyprian: Clavis Inferni*, Vol. 5, SWCM. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2009.

Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine (eds.), Harry Barron (trans.). *A Collection of Magical Secrets*. London: Avalonia, 2009.

Taylor, Thomas (trans.). *Iamblichus on the Mysteries*. Chiswick: Whittingham, 1821.

Thompson, R. Campbell. *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*. London: Luzac, 1900.

Thompson, R. Campbell. *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia...translated from the original Cuneiform texts*. 2 Volumes. London: Luzac, 1903; rpt. New York: AMS, 1976.

Trithemius, Johannes. *Steganographia*. Frankfort, 1606, 1621. See McLean (1982).

Turner, Robert. *Ars Notoria*. London, 1657.

Turner, Robert. *The Heptarchia Mystica of John Dee*. Edinburgh: Magnum Opus, 1983, rpt. Wellingborough: Aquarian, 1986.

Turner, Robert, et al. *Elizabethan Magic: The Art and the Magus*. Longmead: Element, 1989.

Usener, Hermannus. 'Se Stephano Alexandrino' in *Index scolarum quae summis auspiciis Regis augustissimi Guilelmi imperatoris Germaniae... in Kleine Schriften*, III. Leipzig & Berlin: Typis Caroli Georgi Univ. Typogr., 1914, pp. 247-322.

Véronèse, Julien. *L'Ars Notoria au Moyen Age: Introduction et édition critique*, Micrologus' Library. Firenze: Galluzzo, 2007.

Waite, A. E. *The Book of Black Magic and of Pacts*, Privately Printed, Edinburgh, 1898; rpt. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1972.

Waite, A. E. *The Secret Tradition in Goetia*. London: Rider, 1911.

Waite, A. E. *The Book of Ceremonial Magic*. New York: University Books, 1961.

Warnock, Christopher. *Kyranides: on the Occult Virtues of Plants, Animals & Stones – Hermetic & Talismanic Magic*. Lulu, 2006.

Waterfield, Robin (trans.). *The Theology of Arithmetic* (attrib. to Iamblichus). Grand Rapids: Phanes, 1988.

Wentworth, Joshua (trans.). *The Authentic Red Dragon (Le Véritable Dragon Rouge)...The Black Hen (La Poule Noir) translated from the French Edition*, 1521; rpt. York Beach: Teitan, 2011.

Wilder, Alexander (trans.). *Theurgia, or the Egyptian Mysteries*. London: Rider, 1911.

## Secondary Literature

Abrahamse, D. de F. 'Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period,' in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7, 1982. pp. 3-17.

Åkerman, Susanna. 'Queen Christina's Latin *Sefer-ha-Raziel* Manuscript,' in *Judeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713)*, [International Archives, 163] ed. Allison P. Coudert, Sarah Hutton, Richard H. Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1999.

Alexander, P. S. 'Incantations and Books of Magic' in *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. (ed.) Emil Schurer, III/I. Edinburgh: Clark, 1986, pp. 342-79.

Amoretti, Biancamaria. *La Diffusione delle Scienze Islamiche nel Medio Evo Europeo*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1987.

Andrews, Carol. *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*. London, 1994.

Anglo, Sydney (ed.). *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*. London: RKP, 1977.

Angus, Samuel. *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity*. 1924, rpt. Kessinger, n.d.

Angusheva, Adelina. 'Divination, Demons and Magic: a Hellenistic Theme from the Byzantine and Medieval Slavic Perspective' in Burnett, Charles and W. F. Ryan (eds.). *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. London: Warburg, 2006.

Ankaloo, Bengt and Stuart Clark (eds). *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999.

Aronen, Jaakko. 'Hecate's Share in the Cosmic Order' in Gothóni, René and Julia Pentikäinen (eds.) [Studia Fennica, 32] Helsinki: Suomalaisen, 1987.

Asirvatham, Sulochana (ed.). C. O. Pache, John Watrous, et al. *Between Magic and Religion. Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and Society*. New York: Rowman, 2001.

Avilés, A. Garcia. 'Alfonso X y el Liber Razielis: imagines de la magia astral judía en el scriptorius Alfonsi,' in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Volume 74, Number 1: January 1997, Carfax Publishing/Liverpool University Press, 1997, pp. 21-39.

Bachter, Stephen. 'Grimoires and the Transmission of Magical Knowledge' in Davies, Owen and Blécourt, Willem de (eds.). *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Bailey, Michael D. *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* [Magic In History Series]. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Bamberger, B. J. *Fallen Angels*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1952 rpt. 2006.

Barb, A. A. 'The Survival of Magic Arts' in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963, pp. 100-125.

Barb, A. A. 'Three Elusive Amulets' in *JWCI*, Vol. 27, 1964.

Barbierato, Federico. 'Il testo impossibile *Clavicula Salomonis* a Venezia (secoli XVII-XVIII),' in *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, Vol 32, 1998.

Barbierato, Federico. 'Magical literature and the Venice Inquisition from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries' in Gilly, Carlos (ed.). *Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th-18th Centuries: the influence of Hermes Trismegistus*. Amsterdam and Venice: Centro Di and Bibliotheca Hermetica, 2002.

Barbierato, Federico. *Nella Stanza dei Circoli: Clavicula Salomonis e Libri di magia a Venezia nei secoli XVII e XVIII*. Milan: Bonnard, 2002.

Bardon, Franz. *The Practice of Magical Evocation: Instructions for Invoking Spirits from the Spheres Surrounding Us*. Graz: Rudolf Pravica, 1956.

Baroja, Julio Caro. *Vidas Magicas e Inquisicion*. Barcelona: Taurus, 1967.

Barry, Kieren. *The Greek Qabalah*. York Beach: Weiser, 1999.

Barton, Tamsyn. *Ancient Astrology*. London: Routledge, 1994, rpt. Ponting-Green, 2006.

Beck, Roger. *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras*. Leiden: Brill, 1988.

Beēs, Nikos (ed.). *Ta Kheirographa tōn Meteōrōn*, vol. I. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1967.

Beitzel, Barry. *The New Moody Atlas of the Bible*. Chicago: Moody, 2009.

Betz, Hans Dieter. 'Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus' in *History of Religions*, 19, 1980, pp. 287-295.

Betz, Hans Dieter. 'The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri' in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. B. F. Meyers and E P Sanders, Vol. 3. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982.

Betz, Hans Dieter. 'Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri' in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher Faraone and Dirk Obbink. New York: OUP, 1991, pp. 244-259.

Betz, Hans Dieter. 'Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri' in *Secrecy and Concealment: Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religion*, ed. Hans Kippenberg and Guy Stroumsa. (Numen Book Series 64) Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 153-75.

Betz, Hans Dieter. *The "Mithras Liturgy."* Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

Bidez, J. and Franz Cumont. *Les Mages Hellenisé: Zoroaster, Ostanes, et Hystaspe d'apres la tradition grecque*. 2 Vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938.

Blécourt, Willem de and Owen Davies (eds.). *Witchcraft Continued: Popular Magic in Modern Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Bloom, Maureen. *Jewish Mysticism and Magic*, London: Routledge, 2007.

Bloom, Miriam. 'Sacred Ceremony and Magical Praxis in Jewish texts of early and Late Antiquity.' Ph.D thesis Brunel University, 1999.

Blum, C. 'The Meaning of stoiceion [stoicheion] and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age,' in *Eranos-Jahrbuch XLIV*, 1946. pp. 315-325.

Blum, R and Blum, E. *The Dangerous Hour. The Lore of Crisis and Mystery in Rural Greece*. London, 1970.

Bogdan, Henrik. *Western Esotericism and Rituals of Initiation*. Albany: University of New York, 2007.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Greek, Coptic & Jewish Magic in the Cairo Genizah,' in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, No. 36, 1999, pp. 27-44.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere? Notes on the interpretation of *Voces Magica*' in Scott Noegel (ed.) *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2003, pp. 69-82.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Reconstructing Jewish Magical Recipe Books From the Cairo Genizah,' in *Ginzei Qedem*, No. 1, 2005, pp. 9-29.

Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic: a History*. Cambridge: CUP, 2008.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition,' in *Currents in Biblical Research*, 8, 2009, pp. 107-150.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Jewish Magical Traditions from Late Antique Palestine to the Cairo Genizah,' in H. M. Cotton, Wasserstein, *et al* (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge, 2009, pp. 321-339.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Towards a Catalogue of the Magical, Astrological, Divinatory, and Alchemical Fragments from the Cambridge Genizah Collections,' in Ben Outhwaite & Bhayro (eds.), *From a Sacred Source*. Leyden: Brill, 2010, pp. 53-80.

Bohak, Gideon. 'Magic and Divination' in Bohak, Gideon, Harari and Shaked, *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Bohak, Gideon, Yuval Harari and Shaul Shaked. *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition* (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture). Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Bokser, Ben Zion. *The Jewish Mystical Tradition*. New York: Pilgrim, 1981.

Boll, Franciscus (ed.). *Codices Germanici*, CCAG, Tomus VII. Bruxellis, 1908.

Bonner, Campbell. 'The Techniques of Exorcism' in *HTR*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Jan 1943, pp. 39-49.

Bonner, Campbell. 'The Violence of Departing Demons,' in *HTR*, Vol. 37, 1944, pp. 334-336.

Bonner, Campbell. *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1950.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice. 'Magie theurgique, angelologie et vision beatifique' in *Liber sacratus sive juratus attribue a Honorius de Thebes*, *Melanges de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome. Moyen Age*, 114:2, 2002, pp. 851-890.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice and J. Veronese. 'Le secret dans la magie rituelle medievale,' in *Il Segreto. The Secret*, Micrologus XIV, 2006, pp. 101-150.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice. *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident medieval (XIIe-XVe siecle)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice, Anna Caiozzo and Nicolas Weill-Parot (eds.). *Images et Magie: Picatrix entre Orient et Occident*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011.

Boustan, Ra'anan and Annette Reed. *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

Bowden, Hugh. *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Brashear, William. 'The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)' in *ANRWII*, 18.5, 1995, pp. 3380-3684.

Bremmer, Jan N. 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"' in *ZFPE*, Bd. 126, 1999, pp. 1-12.

Bremmer, Jan N., and Veenstra, Jan R. (eds), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*. Connecticut: David Brown, 2002.

Brown, P. 'Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages,' in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, (ed.) M. Douglas. ASA Monographs 9. London: Routledge, 2010. pp. 17-45.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Amulets and Talismans*. Originally published Oxford/Cambridge, 1930, as *Amulets and Superstitions*; rpt. New York: Collier Books, 1970.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Egyptian Magic*. 1899. rpt. New York: Dover, 1971.

Burkert, Walter. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. London: Harvard, 1987.

Burnett, Charles. 'Arabic, Greek, and Latin Works on Astrological Magic attributed to Aristotle,' in J Kraye, W F Ryan, C B Schmitt (eds.). *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages*. London, 1986.

Burnett, Charles. *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages. Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* [Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS557]. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996.

Burnett, Charles. 'Talismans: Magic as Science? Necromancy among the Seven Liberal Arts,' in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996. pp. 1-13.

Burnett, Charles. 'Late Antique and Medieval Latin Translations of Greek Texts on Astrology and Magic' in Magdalino, Paul and Maria Mavroudi, *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2006, pp. 325-360.

Burnett, Charles and W. F. Ryan (eds.). *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. London: Warburg, 2006.

Butler, E. M. *The Myth of the Magus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948.

Butler, E. M. *Ritual Magic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949; rpt. 1979.

Butler, E. M. *The Fortunes of Faust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Butler, Edward P. 'Offering to the Gods: a Neoplatonic Perspective' in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Summer 2007, pp. 1-20.

Cameron, Euan. *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750*. Oxford, 2010.

Campbell, Josie P. *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages*. Wisconsin: Popular Press, 1986.

Caquot A. and Leibovici, M. (eds.). *La Divination*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968.

Carey, Hilary M. *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992.

Carroll, Scott. 'A Preliminary Analysis of the *Epistle of Rehoboam*,' in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 4, 1989, pp. 91-103.

Cauzons, Th. de. *Magic and Sorcery in France*, I. Palm Springs: I.G.O.S., 1994.

Chambers, John (trans.). *The Divine Pymander and other Writings of Hermes Trismegistus*. New York: Weiser, 1972.

Christian, Paul, (trans.) James Kirkup and Julian Shaw (ed.) Ross Nichols. *The History and Practice of Magic*. New York: Citadel Press, 1963.

Ciraolo, L. J. and J. Seidel (eds.). *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002.

Clarke, Emma. *Iamblichus De Mysteriis: a Manifesto of the Miraculous*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.

Clarke, Stuart. *Thinking with Demons*. Oxford: OUP, 1997.

Clinton, Kevin. 'A New Lex Sacra from Selinus: Kindly Zeuses, Eumenides, Impure and Pure Tritopatores, and Elasteroi,' in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 91, No. 2, April. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996, pp. 159-179.

Conybeare, F. C. 'The Testament of Solomon,' in *Jewish Quarterly Review* XI, 1898-1899, pp. 1-45.

Conybeare, F. C. (trans.). *Philostratus: the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. London: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Copenhaver, Brian P. 'Magic' in *The Cambridge History of Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Vol. 3.

Couliano, Ioan P. 'Magia spirituale e magia demonica nel Rinascimento' in *Rivista de Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, Vol 17, Turin, 1981, pp. 360-408.

Couliano, Ioan P. *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

1987.

Cumont, Franz. *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*. London: Putnam, rpt. New York: Dover, 1960.

D'Agostino, Alfonso. *Astromagia* [MS. Lat 1283a]. Naples: Liguore, 1992.

D'Auria, Sue, Peter Lacovara and Catharine Roehrig. *Mummies & Magic: the Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992.

D'Avray, D. L. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1985.

Daiches, Samuel. *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature*. London, 1913.

Dan, J. 'Raziel, Book of,' in *Encyclopedia Judaica* 13, Jerusalem, 1971. pp. 1592-93.

Davidson, Gustav. *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels*. New York: Free Press, 1967.

Davies, Owen. *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Davies-Browne, Bankole. 'The significance of parallels between the *Testament of Solomon* and Jewish literature of Late Antiquity... and the New Testament.' Ph.D thesis University of St. Andrews, 2003.

Davila, James. *Descenders to the Chariot: the People behind the Hekhalot Literature*. Boston: Brill, 2001.

De Bresche, Pierre. *Traite des Talismans*, n.p., 1671.

De Claremont, Lewis. *The Ancient's Book of Magic*. New York: Oracle, 1936.

De Givry, Emile Grillot. *Picture Museum of Sorcery, Magic, and Alchemy*, (trans. Courtney Locke from *Le Musee Des Sorciers, Mages et Alchémistes*, Paris, 1929). New Hyde Park: University Books, 1963.

De Givry, Emile Grillot, (trans.) Courtenay Locke. *Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy*. New York: Dover, 1971.

Delatte, Armand (ed.). 'Le Traité des Plantes Planétaires d'un Manuscrit de Leningrad,' in *Annuaire de l'Institute de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* IX, 1949, pp. 145-177.

Delatte, Armand. 'Études sur la magie grecque (I) v, 'ἀκέφαλος θεός,' in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 38, 1914, pp. 189-249.

Delatte, Armand (ed.). 'Un Nouveau Témoin de la Littérature Solomonique, le Codex Gennadianus 45 d'Athènes,' in *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique*, 5ème série, XLV, 1959, pp. 280-321.

Delatte, Louis. *Un Office Byzantin d'Exorcisme*. Classe de Lettres, Mémoires 2ème série, 52.1. Brussels: Académie Royal de Belgique, 1957.

Dennis, Rabbi Geoffrey. *Encyclopedia of Jewish Myth, Magic and Mysticism*. Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2008.

Dickie, Matthew W. 'The Learned Magician and the Collection and Transmission of Magical Lore' in Jordan, David (ed.) *The World of Ancient Magic*, PNIA 4. Bergen, 1999, pp. 163-193.

Dickie, Matthew W. 'The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye,' in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Fall 1998, pp. 9-32.

Dickie, Matthew W. *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Dieleman, Jacco and Ian Moyer. 'Miniaturization and the Opening of the Mouth in a Greek

Magical Text (PGM XII. 270-350),' in *JANER* 3, 2003, pp. 47-72.

Dieleman, Jacco. *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.

Dieterich, Albrecht. *Eine Mithrasliturgie*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903, rpt. Darmstadt, 1966.

Dodd, David B. and Faraone, Christopher A. (eds.). *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, Routledge, London, 2003.

Dodds, E. R. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951.

Dukes, E. D. *Magic and Witchcraft in the Dark Ages*. Lanham, MD, 1996.

Duling, Dennis C. 'The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 8:42-49,' in *HTR*, Vol. 78. 1-2, 1985, pp. 1-25.

Duling, Dennis C. 'The Testament of Solomon: Retrospect and Prospect,' in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 2, 1988, pp. 87-112.

Dzielska, Maria. *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, trans. Piotr Pienkowski. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1986.

Eamon, William. *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Eitrem, Samson. *Les Papyrus Magiques Grecs de Paris*. Kristiania, 1923.

Eitrem, Samson. 'Dreams and Divination in Magical Ritual' in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* ed. Faraone and Oobbink. New York: OUP, 1991, pp. 175-87.

Elior, Rachel. 'Mysticism, Magic, and Angelology – the Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature, in *Jewish Studies Quarterly* I, 1993-4, pp. 3-53.

Ennemoser, Joseph, (trans.) William Howitt. *The History of Magic*, 2 Vols. 1854; rpt. New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970.

Fabricius, Johann Albert. *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*. Hamburg: Felgineri, 1713.

Faivre, Antoine. *The Eternal Hermes*. Grand Rapids: Phanes, 1995.

Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing and Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.

Fanger, Claire. 'Virgin Territory: Purity and Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Catoptromantic Texts,' in *Aries*, New Series, vol. 5, no. 2. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Fanger, Claire. 'Covenant and the Divine Name: Revisiting the *Liber iuratus* and John of Morigny's *Liber florum*' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Faraone, Christopher. 'Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of "Voodoo Dolls" in Ancient Greece,' in *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Oct. 1991, pp. 165-220.

Faraone, Christopher. *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*. New York: OUP, 1992.

Faraone, Christopher A. 'The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar's Pythian 4.213-19,' in *The Classical Journal*, Volume 89, No. 1, Oct-Nov 1993, Classical Association of the Midwest and South, 1993.

Faraone, Christopher. 'Notes on Three Greek Magical Texts' in *ZFPE* 100, 1994, pp. 81-86.

Faraone, Christopher. 'The Collapse of Celestial and Chthonic Realms in a Late Antique 'Apollonian Invocation' (PGM I 262-347)', in Boustan and Reed, eds., *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004.

Faraone, Christopher and Dirk Obbink (eds.). *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. New York: OUP, 1991.

Faraone, Christopher and Roy Kotansky. 'An inscribed Gold Phylactery in Stamford, Connecticut,' in *ZFPE*, Bd. 75, 1988, pp. 257-266.

Faulkner, R. O. 'The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus' I-IV in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 22-24.

Faust, Johannes. *Magia Naturalis et Innaturalis*. J. Scheible (ed.). Stuttgart, 1848: rpt. Berlin: Schikowski, 1995.

Flint, Valerie I. J. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Flowers, Stephen Eldred. *Hermetic Magic: the Postmodern Magical Papyrus of Abaris*. Boston: Weiser, 1995.

Fowden, Garth. *The Egyptian Hermes, an Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1986.

Frankfurter, David. 'The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic: the Power of the Word in Egyptian and Greek Traditions' in *Helios* 21, 1994, pp. 189-221.

Frankfurter, David. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1998.

Frantz-Szabó, Gabriella. 'Hittite Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,' in Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, III. New York: Scribner, 2007-2012.

Freke, Timothy and Peter Gandy. *The Hermetica*. New York: Penguin/Tarcher, 1999.

Freke, Timothy and Peter Gandy. *The Jesus Mysteries*. New York: Three Rivers, 1999.

Frieduch, Peter. *De Prodigiosis Naturæ et Artis Operibus Talisman et Amulet*. Hamburg: Christian Leibez, 1717.

Gager, John G. *Moses in Graeco-Roman Paganism*, Society of Biblical Literature 16. New York: Abingdon, 1972.

Gager, John G. (ed.) *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. New York: OUP, 1992.

Gahlin, Lucia. *Egypt: Gods, Myths and Religions*. London: Hermes, 2007.

Ganszyniec, R. 'Λεκανομαντεία' in *PRE*, 12, 1925, pp. 1879-89.

Gardiner, A. H. 'Professional Magicians in Ancient Egypt' in *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 39.

Gardner, Frederick Leigh & Hockley, Frederick & Redgrove, Stanley. *Hebrew Talismanic Magic*, ed. Darcy Kuntz [Kabbalistic Grimoire Series V]. Edmunds: Holmes, 2001.

Gauthier, J. 'Grimoire d'un sorcier du XV siècle' in *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, 7th series, VI, 1882, pp. 200-209.

Gehr, Damaris Aschera. 'Spiritus et angeli sunt a Deo submissi sapienti et puro': il frammento del *Magisterium eumantice artis sive scienciae magicalis*. Edizione e attribuzione a Berengario Ganello,' in *Aries, Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, 11.2, 2011, pp. 189-217.

Gehr, Damaris Aschera. 'Dietro le quinte della falsificazione pseudepigrafica: una nuova

determinazione delle fasi redazionali del *Liber Razielis* in sette libri, dell' identità dei compilatori suoi protagonisti, e delle coordinate per la loro datazione,' in *Viator, Multilingual Edition*, 43, 2012.

Geller, Markham. 'Jesus' Theurgic Powers: Parallels in the Talmud and Incantation Bowls,' in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 28, Oxford, 1977, pp. 141-155.

Gentile, S. and Carlos Gilly. *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Ermene Trismegisto*. Firenze: Centro Di, 1999.

Gersh, Stephen. *From Iamblichus to Eriugena*. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

Gilly, Carlos and C. van Heertum (eds.). *Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th-18th Centuries: the influence of Hermes Trismegistus*. Amsterdam and Venice: Centro Di and Bibliotheca Hermetica, 2002.

Ginzberg, L. *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 Vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38.

Godelmanni, Joannnis Georgii. *Tractatus de Magis, Veneficis et Lamiis, recte cognoscendis et Punierendis...in Tres Libros*. Noribergae, n.p., 1676.

Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Mystery of the Seven Vowels*. Grand Rapids: Phanes, 1991.

Godwin, Joscelyn. *Light in Extension: Greek Magic from Homer to Modern Times*. St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1992.

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Gordon, Richard. 'Reporting the Marvellous: Private Divination in the Greek Magical Papyri' in Peter Schäfer and Hans Kippenberg (eds.) in *Envisioning Magic, A Princeton Seminar and Symposium. Studies in the History of Religions* 75. Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 65-92.

Gordon, Richard and Francisco Marco Simón (eds.). *Magical Practice in the Latin West. Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza*, 2005. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Graf, Fritz. 'Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual' in Christopher Faraone and Dirk Obbink (eds.). *Magika Hiera, Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. New York and Oxford, 1991, pp.188-213.

Graf, Fritz. *Magic in the Ancient World*. London and Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Graf, Fritz. 'Magic and Divination: two Apolline Oracles on Magic' in Bohak, Harari and Shaked, *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture)*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 119-133.

Greene, Thomas M. 'Language, Signs and Magic,' in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar & Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg. Leiden - New York - Köln: Brill, 1997.

Greenfield, Richard. *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988.

Greenfield, Richard. 'Sorcery and Politics at the Byzantine Court in the Twelfth Century: Interpretations of History' in Beaton and Roueché (eds.) *The Making of Byzantine History*. London: Aldershot and Brookfield, 1993, pp. 73-93.

Greenfield, Richard. 'A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic' in Maguire, Henry (ed.). *Byzantine Magic*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995.

Griffiths, J. G. *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)*, EPRO, 39. Leiden:

Brill, 1975.

Gruenwald, Ithamar. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Guazzo, Francesco Maria, E. A. Ashwin (trans.), Montague Summers (ed.). *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan: 1608; rpt. London: John Rodker, 1929; rpt. New York: Dover, 1988.

Haldon, John. *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Hamill, John (ed.). *The Rosicrucian Seer: Magical Writings of Frederick Hockley*. (Note) R. A. Gilbert. Wellingborough: Aquarian, 1986; revised edition R. A. Gilbert, York Beach: Teitan, 2009.

Hanegraaff, Wouter. *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge and Western Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2012.

Hanegraaff, Wouter, Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek and Jean-Pierre Brach (eds.). *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Harms, Daniel. 'Grimoires in the Conjure Tradition,' in *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, Issue 5, ed. Susan Johnson Graf and Amy Hale. Oxford: Mandrake of Oxford, 2009.

Heintz, Florent. 'A Greek Silver Phylactery in the MacDaniel Collection,' in *ZFPE*, Bd. 112, 1996, pp. 295-300.

Henson, Mitch and Gail. 'Magical Notebooks: A Survey of the Grimoires in the Golden Dawn,' in *The Golden Dawn Journal*, Book III: *The Art Of Hermes*. St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1995.

Hirsch, Maurice E., Price I., Bacher W., Seligsohn M., Montgomery M. and Howell, Toy C. 'Solomon,' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 11, 1925, pp. 436-448.

Holmes, C. and J. Waring (eds.). *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Hort, Arthur (transl. & ed.). *Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants*. 1, Book I-V. New York: Loeb, 1916.

Hull, John. *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*. London: SCM, 1974, pp. 5-9, 15-44.

Hutton, Ronald. *Witches, Druids and King Arthur*. London and New York: Hambledon, 2003. Chapter 5.

Idel, Moshe. 'The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance,' in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Cooperman. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Idel, Moshe. 'Hermeticism and Judaism,' in *Hermeticism and Renaissance Intellectual History and the Occult in the Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus. Washington: Folger, 1988.

Ierodiakonou, K. (ed.). *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.

Izmirlieva, Valentina. *All the Names of the Lord: Lists, Mysticism, and Magic*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Jackson, Howard. 'The Origin in Ancient Incantatory *Voces Magicae* of some Names in the Sethian Gnostic System,' in *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Mar. 1989, pp. 69-79.

Jacobsen, Thorkild. *The Treasures of Darkness; a History of Mesopotamian Religion*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976.

James, Geoffrey. *Angel Magic: the Ancient Art of Summoning and Communicating with Angelic*

*Beings*. St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1997.

Janowitz, Naomi. *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews and Christians, (Religion In The First Christian Centuries)*, London/New York: Routledge, 2001.

Janowitz, Naomi. *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Jaré, Giuseppe. *Abramo Colorni, Ingegnere Mantovano ccc., Con Ducumenti Inediti*. Mantua, 1874; rpt. Ferrara, 1891.

Jeffers, Ann. *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Johnson, Janet H. 'The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384' in *OMRO* 56, 1975, pp. 29-64.

Johnson, Janet H. 'Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text' in *Enchoria* 7, 1977, pp. 55-102.

Johnson, Luke T. *Among the Gentiles: Greco-Roman Religion and Christianity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. *Hecate Soteira: a Study of Hekate's Role in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature*. Atlanta: Scholars, 1990.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. 'The Song of the Lynx: Magic and Rhetoric in Pythian 4,' in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 125, 1995, pp. 177-206.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. 'Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in its Cultural Milieu,' in Scafer, Peter, and Kippenberg, Hans G. (eds.). *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California, 1999.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. 'The Testament of Solomon from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance,' in *The Metamorphosis of Magic*, Jan Bremmer and Jan Veenstra (eds.). Leuven: Peeters, 2002.

Johnston, Sarah Iles and Struck, Peter T. (eds.). *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. *Ancient Greek Divination*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. 'Ancient Greek Divination' in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*. Vol. 5, No. 2, Winter 2010.

Jordan, D. R. 'A New Reading of a Phylactery from Beirut,' in *ZFPE*, Bd. 88, 1991, pp. 61-69.

Jordan, David, Hugo Montgomery, Einar Thomassen (eds.). *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers From the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4-8 May 1997*. (Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4-8), Bergen, 1999.

Justin Martyr. *Dialogue with Trypho*. Thomas Falls (trans.). Washington: CUAP, 2003.

Kaegi, Walter. 'The Fifth Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism,' in *Classica et Medievalia* Vol. 27, 1966, pp. 243-75.

Kahane, Henry and Renée, and Angelina Pietrangeli. 'Picatrix and the Talismans,' in *Romance Philology*, 19:4, 1966, pp. 574-593.

Kanarfogel, Ephraim. *Peering Through the Lattices: Mystical, Magical, and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period*. Wayne State University Press, 1999.

Kartsonis, Anna. 'Protection against all Evil: Function, Use and Operation of Byzantine Historiated Phylacteries,' in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 20, 1994, pp. 73-102, plates 1-9.

Kazhdan, Alexander. *Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers* in Henry Maguire (ed.) *Byzantine Magic*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995, pp. 73-82.

Kenny, John Peter (ed). *The School of Moses: Studies in Philo and Hellenistic Religion*. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.

Khanam, R. *Demonology: Socio-Religious belief of Witchcraft*. Delhi: Global, 2003.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; rpt. 1995, 2003.

Kieckhefer, Richard. 'The Devil's Contemplatives: the *Liber Iuratus*, the *Visionem* and the Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism,' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing and Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.

Kiesel, William. *Magic Circles in the Grimoire Tradition*. Richmond Vista: Three Hands, 2012.

Kilcher, Andreas. 'The Moses of Sinai and the Moses of Egypt: Moses as Magician in Jewish Literature and Western Esotericism' in *Aries*, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 150.

Kilcher, Andreas (ed.). *Constructing Tradition: Means and Myths of Transmission in Western Esotericism*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

King, Francis, and Sutherland, Isabel. *The Rebirth of Magic*. London: Corgi, 1982.

King, Leonard. *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, 1896 rpt. Kessinger 2010.

Kippenberg, Hans and Guy Stroumsa (ed.). *Secrecy and Concealment: Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religion*. (Numen Book Series 64) Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Klaassen, Frank. 'English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300-1500: a Preliminary Survey,' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing and Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.

Klaassen, Frank. *Religion, Science, and the Transformations of Magic: Manuscripts of Magic 1300-1600*. Doctoral Dissertation: University of Toronto, 1999.

Klaassen, Frank. 'Medieval Ritual Magic in the Renaissance,' in *Aries*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 2. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Klaassen, Frank. 'Ritual Invocation and Early Modern Science: the Skrying Experiments of Humphrey Gilbert' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Klaassen, Frank. *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2013.

Klutz, Todd (ed.). *Magic in the Biblical World: from the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon*. London: Clark, 2003.

Klutz, Todd (ed.). *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon: Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseudepigraphon*. Library of Second Temple Studies No. 53. London: Clarke, 2005.

Kotansky, Roy. *Texts and Studies in the Graeco-Egyptian Magic Lamellae*. Ph.D Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988.

Kotansky, Roy. *Greek Magical Amulets: the Incribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae*. Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1994.

Kousoulis, Panagiotis. *Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Kramer, Heinrich and James Sprenger. Montague Summers (trans.). *The Malleus Maleficarum*. Rome, 1484; rpt. London: John Rodker, 1928; rpt. New York: Dover, 1971.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Iter Italicum*, 7 Volumes, Leiden: Brill, 1963-97.

Kroll, Guilelmus (ed.). *Codices Vindobonenses*, CCAG, Tomus VI. Bruxellis, 1903.

Kroll, Guilelmus, and Olivieri, Alexander (eds.). *Codices Veneti*, CCAG, Tomus II. Bruxellis, 1900.

Kuntz, Darcy (ed.). *The History of Dr. John Faustus, Showing how he sold himself to the Devil, to Have Twenty-Four Years to do whatsoever he pleased*, [Kabbalistic Grimoire Series VII]. Edmonds: Holmes, 2001; Sequoia: Holmes, 2008.

Kusukawa, Sachiko and Ian Maclean (eds.). *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: OUP, 2006.

Lambros, Spyridon. *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Cambridge, 1895.

Lane, Edward. *Modern Egyptians*. London: Paisley, 1896.

Láng, Benedek. *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* [Magic in History Series]. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

Latham, R. E. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*. London: British Academy, 1965.

Lecouteux, Claude. *Le Livres des Grimoires*. Paris: Imago, 2008.

Legge, Francis. 'The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXIII, 1901, pp. 41-49.

Legge, Francis. *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity being Studies in Religious History from 330 BC to 330 AD*. 2 Vols., Cambridge: CUP, 1915.

Lehner, Mark. *The Complete Pyramids*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2008.

Leitch, Aaron. *Secrets of the Magical Grimoires*. Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2005.

Lemay, Richard. 'Books of Magic in translation from the Arabic...' in *Charmes et Sortilèges Magie et Magiciens*. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002.

Lesses, Rebecca. 'Speaking Angels: Jewish and Greco-Egyptian Revelatory Adjurations' in *HTR*, Vol. 89, No. 1, Jan, 1996, pp. 41-60.

Lesses, Rebecca. *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Adjurations in the Hekhalot Literature, Jewish Amulets, and Greek Revelatory Adjurations*. Ph.D diss., Harvard, 1995. Harrisburg: Harvard Theological Studies, 1998.

Levinson, Joshua. 'Enchanting Rabbis: Contest Narratives between Rabbis and Magicians in Late Antiquity' in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 100, No. 1, Winter 2010, pp. 54-94.

Lewis, Naphtali. *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Oakville: American Society of Papyrologists, 2001.

Lindsay, Jack. *Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt*. London: Muller, 1965.

Luck, Georg. 'Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism,' in Neusner, Jacob, et al., (eds.), *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and Conflict*. New York: OUP, 1989.

MacMullen, Ramsey. *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Magdalino, Paul and Maria Mavroudi. *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Geneva: La Pomme d'Or, 2006.

Maguire, Henry (ed.). *Byzantine Magic*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995.

Manniche, Lise. *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*. London: British Museum, 1989.

Marathakis, Ioannis. *Anazētōtas tēn Kleida tou Solomōnta*. Athens: Eidikos Typos, 2007.

Marathakis, Ioannis. *From the Ring of Gyges to the Black Cat Bone: A Historical Survey of the Invisibility Spells*, <http://www.hermes.org/invisibilitas.html>, 2007.

Marathakis, Ioannis. 'A Source of the Key of Solomon: The Magic Treatise or Hygromancy or Epistle to Rehoboam,' in *Primordial Traditions*, Issue 13, March 2009.

Marathakis, Ioannis. *The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia*. Vol. 8, SWCM. Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2011.

Margoulias, H. J. 'The Lives of the Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD; Sorcery, Relics and Icons' in *Byzantion*, No. 37, 1967, pp. 228-269.

Marquès-Rivière, Jean. *Amulettes, talismans et pentacles dans les traditions orientales et occidentales*. Paris: Payor, 1972.

Massello, Robert. *Raising Hell: A Concise History of the Black Arts – and Those Who Dared to Practise Them*. New York: Perigree, 1996.

Mastrocinque, Attilio. *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Mathiesen, Robert. 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the *Sworn Book of Honorius of Thebes*,' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing & Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.

Mathiesen, Robert. 'Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: The Written Tradition' in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 252, Fall 1998, pp. 155-178.

Mathiesen, Robert. 'The Key of Solomon: Towards a Typology of the Manuscripts,' in *Societas Magica Newsletter*, Spring 2007, 17:1, pp. 3-9.

Mavroudi, Maria. 'Occult Science and Society in Byzantium: Considerations for Future Research', in Magdalino, Paul and Maria Mavroudi. *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Geneva: La Pomme d'Or, 2006, pp. 39-96.

McIntosh, Christopher. *The Devil's Bookshelf: a History of the Written Word in Western Magic from Ancient Egypt to the Present Day*. Wellingborough: Aquarian, 1985.

Merkel, Ingrid and Allen G. Debus (eds.). *Hermeticism and the Renaissance; Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988.

Mertens, Michèle. 'Graeco-Egyptian Alchemy in Byzantium' in Magdalino, Paul and Maria Mavroudi. *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Geneva: La Pomme d'Or, 2006, pp. 205-230.

Mesler, Katelyn. 'The *Liber iuratus Honorii* and the Christian Reception of Angel Magic' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Meyer, Marvin and Mirecki, Paul (eds.). *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Volume 129]*. Leiden / New York / London: Brill, 1995.

Midelfort, H. C. Erik. *Exorcism and Enlightenment: Johann Joseph Gassner and the Demons of Eighteenth-Century Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Mierzwicki, Tony. *Graeco-Egyptian Magick*. Stafford: Immanion, 2006.

Mirecki, Paul and Marvin Meyer (eds.). *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World. (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Volume 141.)* Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Montolmo, Antonio da. *De Occultis et manifestis or Liber Intelligentiarum*. See Weill-Parot,

Nicolas.

Morenz, S. *Egyptian Religion*. London: Methuen, 1973.

Nabarz, Payam. *Mithras Reader: an Academic and Religious Journal of Greek, Roman and Persian Studies*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Twin Serpents, 2006.

Naudaeus, Gabriel. *The History of Magick: by way of Apology, for all the Wise Men who have unjustly been reputed Magicians, from the Creation, to the present Age*. London: John Streeter, 1657.

Naveh, Joseph, and Shaked, Shaul. *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Leiden: Brill, 1985.

Ness, Lester. 'Jewish Astrology,' in *Written in the Stars: Ancient Zodiac Mosaics*. Pennsylvania: Shangri-La, 1999, pp. 137-174.

Neugebauer, Otto. *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*. New York: Dover, 1969.

Neusner, Jacob and Ernest Frerichs and Paul V. Flesher (eds.). *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Niccoli, Ottavia. *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1990.

Nigal, Gedalyah. *Magic, Mysticism, and Hasidism: the Supernatural in Jewish Thought*. New Jersey: Aronson, 1994.

Niggemeyer, J. H. *Beshwörungsformeln aus dem 'Buch de Geheimnisse - Sefär ha-razim' - Zur Topologie der Magischen Rede*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975.

Nigosian, S. A. *From Ancient Writings to Sacred Texts: The Old Testament and Apocrypha*. Maryland: JHU Press, 2004.

Nilsson, Martin P. 'The Anguipede of the Magical Amulets' in *HTR* Vol. 44, No. 1, 1951, pp. 61-64.

Nilsson, Martin P. *Greek Folk Religion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Nock, A. D. 'Greek Magical Papyri' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15, 1929, pp. 219-235.

Noegel, Scott (ed.) *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2003.

Ogden, Daniel. *Greek and Roman Necromancy*. Princeton: Princeton University, 2001.

Ogden, Daniel. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: a Sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP, 2002.

Oppenheim, A. 'The Golden Garments of the Gods' in *JNES* 8, 1949, pp. 172-93.

Otto, Bernd-Christian & Michael Stausberg. *Defining Magic: a Reader*. Durham: Acumen, 2013.

Pachoumi, Eleni. 'The Greek Magical Papyri: Diversity and Unity.' Ph.D thesis Newcastle University, 2007.

Page, Sophie. 'Magic at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the Late Middle Ages.' Ph.D thesis Warburg Institute, 2000.

Page, Sophie. *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press and London: British Library, 2004.

Page, Sophie. 'Magic and the Pursuit of Wisdom: The familiar spirit in the *Liber Theysolius*,' in *la Coronica*, 36:1, 2007, pp. 41-70.

Page, Sophie. 'Uplifting Souls: The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*' in Fanger,

Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Papadogiannakis, Nikolaos (ed.). *Krētiko Iatrosophion tou 19ou aiōna*. Rethymno, 2001.

Papathanassiou, Maria. 'Stephanos of Alexandria: A Famous Byzantine Scholar, Alchemist and Astrologer,' in Magdalino, Paul and Maria Mavroudi. *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2006, pp. 163-203.

Papathomopoulos, Manolis (ed.). *Bernardakeios Magikos Kōdikas*, (commentary) Manolis Varvounis. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2006.

Parsons, Peter. *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish*. London: Phoenix, 2007.

Pax, W. 'Circumambulatio' in RAC 3, 1957, pp. 143-52.

Peers, Glenn. *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Petropoulos, Professor J. C. B. (ed.) *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*. Monographs in Classical Studies. London: Routledge, 2008.

Peuckert, Will-Erich. *Pansophie: Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weissen un schwarzen Magie*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1956.

Phillips, Richard L. *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual texts from Late Roman Egypt*. Durham: American Society of Papyrologists, 2009.

Pinch, Geraldine. *Egyptian Mythology*. Oxford: OUP, 2002.

Pinch, Geraldine. *Magic in Ancient Egypt*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006.

Pingree, David. 'Petosiris,' in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Charles Coulson Gillespie. New York: Scribners, 1970, pp. 547-49.

Pingree, David. 'Some Sources of the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm*,' in JWCI, 43, 1980, pp. 1-15.

Pingree, David. 'Mesopotamian Astronomy and Astral Omens in Other Civilizations,' in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*. (ed.) Hans-Jörd Nissen and Johannes Renger. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1982.

Pingree, David. 'The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe,' in Biancamaria Amoretti, (ed.) *La Diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo*. Rome, 1987, pp. 57-102.

Pingree, David. 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia,' DOP, Vol. 43, 1989, pp. 227-239.

Pingree, David. *From Astral Omens to Astrology from Babylon to Bikāner*. Rome: Instituto Italiano per L'Africa et L'Oriente, 1997. pp. 63-77.

Pingree, David. 'From Alexandria to Baghdad to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology' in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Volume 8, 2001, pp. 3-37.

Pingree, David. 'The Sabians of Harran and the Classical Tradition,' in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 9 No. 1, 2002.

Pingree, David. 'From Hermes to Jābir and the *Book of the Cow*' in Burnett, Charles and W. F. Ryan (eds.). *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. London: Warburg, 2006.

Politis, Nikolaos. 'Palaiographikē Stakhyologia ek tōn Magikōn Bibliōn,' in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. I, 1892, pp. 555-571.

Politis, Nikolaos. *Paradoseis: Meletai peri tou Biou kai tēs Glōssēs tou Hellēnikou Laou*, 2 Vols. Athens: Grammata, 1994.

Porreca, David. 'Divine Names: A Cross-Cultural Comparison (*Papyri Graecae Magicae, Picatrix, Munich Handbook*)' in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, Volume 5, Number 1, Summer 2010. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 17-29.

Quibell, J. E. *The Ramesseum*. London: Quaritch, 1898.

Rankine, David. *Religion and Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London: Avalonia, 2002.

Rankine, David. *Heka: Egyptian Magic*. London: Avalonia, 2006.

Reiner, Erica. *Astral Magic in Babylonia*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New series, Vol. 85, No. 4, 1995.

Reitzenstein, Richard, (trans.) John E. Steely. *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions; their Basic Ideas and Significance*. Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978.

Rigo, Antonio. 'From Constantinople to the Library of Venice: the Hermetic books of late Byzantine doctors, astrologers and magicians' in Gilly, Carlos (ed.) *Magic, Alchemy and Science 15th-18th Centuries: the influence of Hermes Trismegistus*. Amsterdam and Venice: Centro Di and Bibliotheca Hermetica, 2002.

Ritner, Robert K. 'Egyptian Magic: Questions of Legitimacy, Religious Orthodoxy, and Social Deviance' in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*. London, 1992.

Ritner, Robert K. 'Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context,' in *ANRW* II, 18.5, 1995, pp. 3333-3379.

Ritner, Robert K. *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. [Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization No. 54.] Illinois: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008.

Ritner, Robert K. *The Libyan Anarchy*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia. 'Mafteah Shelomoh: a new Acquisition of the British Library,' in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, Volume 1, 1993/94, No. 3. pp. 263-270.

Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia. 'A Hebrew Manuscript of *Clavicula Salomonis*,' Part II, in *British Library Journal*, 21, 1995, pp. 128-136.

Rollo, David. *Glamorous Sorcery. Magic and Literacy in the High Middle Ages* [Medieval Cultures, Volume 25]. Minneapolis - London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Ronan, Stephen, (ed.). 'Hekate's Iynx: An Ancient Theurgical Tool,' in Fideler, David, ed., *Alexandria* 1. Grand Rapids: Phanes, 1991.

Ronan, Steve (ed.). *The Goddess Hekate*. Hastings: Chthonios, 1992.

Rose, Jenny. *Zoroastrianism: an Introduction*. London: Tauris, 2011.

Russell, James. 'The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period,' in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 252, Fall 1998, pp. 35-50.

Ryan, W. F. *The Bathhouse at Midnight. An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Saif, Liana. 'The Arabic Theory of Astral Influences in Early Modern Occult Philosophy'. PhD thesis Birkbeck College, London, 2011.

Sanzi, Ennio. 'Mithras: a *deus invictus* among Persia, stars, Oriental cults and magical gems' in *Charmes et Sortilèges Magie et Magiciens*. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002.

Sauneron, Serge. *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Grove Press, 1960.

Savage-Smith, Emilie (ed.). *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*. (Formation of the Classical Islamic World, Vol. 42.) Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.

Scarborough, John. 'Hermetic and Related Texts in Classical Antiquity,' in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance; Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*. (ed.) Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988, pp. 151-57.

Scarre, G. *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Studies in European History. New Jersey: Atlantic Highlands, 1987.

Schäfer, Peter. *Synopse zur Hekhalot Literatur*. Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981.

Schäfer, Peter. 'Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages' in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 41, No. 1, 1990, pp. 75-91.

Schäfer, Peter and Shaked, S. *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza I & II*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1994 & 1997.

Schäfer, Peter and Hans Kippenberg (eds.). *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* [Studies In The History Of Religions (Numen Book Series), vol. LXXV]. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1997.

Schiffman, L. H., and Michael D. Swartz. *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.

Schire, Theodore. *Hebrew Amulets: their Development and Interpretation*. London: RKP, 1966.

Scholem, Gershom. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1955.

Scholem, Gershom. *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary in America, 1960.

Scholem, Gershom. 'Some Sources of Jewish-Arabic Demonology' in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, Volume xvi, 1965, pp. 1-13.

Scholem, Gershom. *Kabbalah*. New York: Meridian, 1978.

Scholem, Gershom, Esther Liebes (ed.). *Devils, Demons and Souls: Essays on Demonology*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2004.

Schrire, T. *Hebrew Amulets. Their Decipherment and Interpretation*. London: RKP, 1966.

Schwartz, Dov. *Studies on Astral Magic in Medieval Jewish Thought*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Schwartz, Martin. 'Sasm, Sesen, St. Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharangēs, and... "Semanglof",' in *Bulletin of the Asian Institute*, Vol. 10, 1996.

Scott, Sir Walter. *Demonology and Witchcraft: Letters Addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq.* 1830; rpt. New York: Publishing, 1970.

Scully, Sally. 'Marriage or a Career? Witchcraft as an Alternative in Seventeenth Century Venice,' in *Journal of Social History*, Vol 2, Summer 1995, pp. 857-876.

Secret, F. 'Sur quelques traductions du Sefer Raziel,' in *Revue des Études Juives*, 128, Paris: 1969, pp. 223-45.

Seligmann, Kurt. *The History of Magic*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1948.

Shah, Sayed Idries. *Oriental Magic*. London: Rider, 1956.

Shaked, Saul (ed.). *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Sharpe, Samuel. *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*. London: Carter, 1896.

Sheldon, Suzanne. 'Middle English and Latin Charms, Amulets and Talismans from

Vernacular Manuscripts.' Ph.D diss. Tulane University, 1978.

Shulvass, Moses Avigdor. *The Jews in the World of the Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill, 1973.

Shumaker, Wayne. *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Shumaker, Wayne. *Natural Magic and Modern Science: Four Treatises, 1590-1657* [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, volume 63]. Binghamton: State University of New York, 1989.

Shumaker, Wayne. 'John Dee's Conversations with Angels' in *Renaissance Curiosa*. Binghamton: State University of New York, 1982; rpt. Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003.

Sibley, Ebenezer. *A New and Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology*. London: Beetham, 1784 - 1792.

Sibley, Ebenezer. *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, Book 4. 1796.

Simon, Kate. *A Renaissance Tapestry: The Gonzaga of Mantua*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

Sraisai, Nancy G. *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Skemer, Don C. *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Skinner, Stephen and Francis King. *Techniques of High Magic*. Rochester: Destiny, 1991.

Skinner, Stephen. *Complete Magician's Tables*. London/Singapore: Golden Hoard, 2006; rpt. Llewellyn, Woodbury, 2007, 2011.

Smith, J. Z. 'The Temple and the Magician' in Jonathan Smith, *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Leiden: Brill, 1978, pp. 172-89.

Smith, Mark. 'A New Version of a well-known Egyptian Hymn,' in *Enchoria* 7, 1977, pp. 115-49.

Smith, Mark. *Jesus the Magician*. San Francisco: Harper, 1978.

Smith, Mark. *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the other deities in Ancient Israel*. Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002.

Smith, Morton. 'Observations on *Hekhalot Rabbati*' in Alexander Altman (ed.) *Biblical and Other Studies*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 142-160.

Smith, Morton. *Jesus the Magician*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978.

Smith, Morton. 'The History of the Term *Gnostikos*' in *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh, RGRW* 130, II, Leiden, New York, Cologne: Brill, 1996, pp. 183-193.

Sperber, Daniel. *Magic and Folklore in Rabbinic Literature*. Jerusalem: Bar-Ian, 1994.

Spier, Jeffrey. 'Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition,' in *JWCI*, Vol. 56, 1993, pp. 25-62.

Spier, Jeffrey. 'A Revival of Antique Magical Practice in Tenth-Century Constantinople' in Burnett, Charles and W. F. Ryan (eds.). *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. London: Warburg, 2006.

Stannish, Steven. 'The Topography of Magic in the Modern Western and Ancient Egyptian Minds' in *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, Issue 4, 2007, pp. 64-89.

Stewart, C. *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1991.

Stow, Kenneth. *Alienated Minority: the Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard

University, 1994.

Stuckrad, Kocku von. *Western Esotericism: a Brief History of Secret Knowledge*. London: Equinox, 2005.

Sullivan, Lawrence E. (ed.). *Hidden Truths: Magic, Alchemy, and the Occult. (Religion, History and Culture: selections from The Encyclopedia Of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade). New York: Macmillan, 1989.

Summers, Montague. *Witchcraft and Black Magic*. London: Senate, 1995.

Swartz, Michael D. 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah' in *HTR*, Vol. 83, No. 2, April 1990). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. pp. 163-180.

Swartz, Michael D. *Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism: an Analysis of Ma'aseh Merkavah*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.

Swartz, Michael D. "'Like the Ministering Angels:' Ritual and Purity in Early Jewish Mysticism and Magic' in *AJS Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1994, pp. 135-167.

Swartz, Michael D. 'Book and Tradition in Hekhalot and Magical Literatures,' in *Jewish Thought and Philosophy*. Vol. 3, 1994, pp. 189-229.

Swartz, Michael D. *Scholastic Magic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Swartz, Michael D. 'Understanding Ritual in Jewish Magic: Perspectives from the Genizah and Related Sources,' in *JSQ*, Vol. 13, No. 4. Tübingen: Mohr, 2006, pp. 305-318.

Swartz, Michael D. 'Ritual Procedures in Magical Texts from the Cairo Genizah,' in *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13:4, 2006, pp. 305-318.

Symonds, A. J. *Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*. New York: Doubleday, 1946.

Tait, W. J. 'Theban Magic' in S. P. Vleeming (ed.). *Hundred-Gated Thebes*. Leiden and New York, 1995.

Tanaseanu-Döbler, Ilinca. *Theurgy in Late Antiquity*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

Tavenner, Eugene. *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature*. New York: AMS, 1966.

Teitelbaum, Irving. 'Jewish Magic in the Sassanian Period.' Ph.D. thesis Dropsie College, Philadelphia, 1964.

Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1971; rpt. London: Penguin, 1973, 1978.

Thompson, C. J. S. *Mysteries and Secrets of Magic*. London: John Lane, 1927.

Thompson, R. Campbell. *Semitic Magic: Its Origins and Development*. London: Luzac, 1908; rpt. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1976; rpt. York Beach: Red Wheel Weiser, 2000.

Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Volumes I-VII. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923-1958.

Tomlinson, Gary. *Music in Renaissance Magic. Toward a Historiography of Others*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Torijano, Pablo A. 'La Hygromanteia de Salomón,' in *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones*, Issue 4, 1999, pp. 327-346.

Torijano, Pablo. *Solomon the Esoteric King*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Trachtenberg, Joshua. *Jewish Magic and Superstition*. New York: Behrman House, 1939, rpt.

Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 2004.

Trithemius, J. 'Antipalus Maleficiorum,' in *Paralipomena opusculorum Petri Blesensis et Joannis Trithemii*. Mainz: Busaeus, 1605, pp. 292-311.

Trombley, Richard Frank. *The Survival of Paganism in the Byzantine Empire During the Pre-Iconoclastic Period, 540-727*. Los Angeles: Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1981.

Trzcionka, Silke. *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Tyson, Donald. *Enochian Magic for Beginners. The Original System of Angel Magic*. St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1997.

Uždaviryns, Algis. *Philosophy & Theurgy in Late Antiquity*. San Rafael: Sophia Perennis, 2010.

Vakaloudi, A. D. 'Demonic-Mantic Practices – the Implication of the Theurgists and their Power of Submission in the Early Byzantine Empire,' in *Byzantinoslavica* 60, 1999, pp. 87-113.

Vakaloudi, A. D. 'Illnesses, Curative Methods and Supernatural Forces in the Early Byzantine Empire (4th-7th C. A.D.),' in *Byzantium* 73, 2003, pp. 172-200.

Valletta, F.V.A. 'Witchcraft, Magic and Superstition in England, 1640-1670.' Ph.D thesis King's College, University of London, 1998.

Van Buren, E. Douglas. *The Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1945.

Van der Toorn, Karel, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst (eds.). *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Leiden: Brill, 1995; second edition, extensively revised, 1999.

Veenstra, Jan. *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France: Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's 'Contre les Devineurs'* (1411). Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Veenstra, Jan. 'Venerating and Conjuring Angels: Eiximenis's *Book of the Holy Angels* and the *Holy Almandal*: two Case Studies' in Burnett, Charles and W. F. Ryan (eds.). *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. London: Warburg, 2006.

Veenstra, Jan. 'Honorius and the Sigil of God: The *Liber iuratus* in Berengario Ganell's *Summa sacre magice* in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Veldman, Frederick J. *Theurgy and Numbers*. Cold Spring: Waning Moon, 2010.

Véronèse, Julien. 'La transmission groupée des textes de magie 'salomonienne' de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age: Bilan historiographique, inconnues et pistes de recherche,' in *L'Antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales: Textes et représentations, Vie – XIVe siècle*, ed. S. Gioanni and B. Grévin, Collection l'Ecole Française de Rome 405. Rome: Ecole Française, 2008, pp. 193-223.

Véronèse, Julien. 'God's Names and their Uses in the Books of Magic Attributed to King Solomon' in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Summer 2010.

Véronèse, Julien. 'Magic, Theurgy, and Spirituality in the Medieval Ritual of the *Ars Notoria*' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Vesnel, H. S. 'A twisted Hermes. Another View of an Enigmatic Spell,' in *ZFPE*, Bd. 72, 1988, pp. 287-292.

Voss, Angela (ed.). *Marsilio Ficino*. Berkeley: North Atlantic, 2006.

Waite, Gary. *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in early Modern Europe*. New York: Palgrave

Macmillan, 2003.

Walker, Daniel P. *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*. London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958; rpt. 1975.

Walker, Daniel P. *Unclean Spirits: Possession and Exorcism in France and England in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*. London: Scholar and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Walton, John. *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006.

Wasserstrom, Steven. 'The Magical Texts in the Cairo Geniza,' in Joseph Blau and Stefan C. Reif (eds.), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: the Case of Judaeo-Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 160-166.

Weill-Parot, Nicolas. *Les Images Astrologiques au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*. Paris: Honor Champion, 2002.

Weill-Parot, Nicolas (with Julien Véronèse). 'Antonio da Montolmo's *De Occultis et manifestis* or *Liber intelligentiarum*: an annotated critical edition with English translation and introduction' in Fanger, Claire (ed.). *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2012.

Westerink, L. G. 'Ein astrologisches Kolleg aus dem Jahre 564,' in *BZ* 64, 1971.

Weyer, Johann. *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum in Opera Omnia*. Amsterdam, 1660.

Weyer, Johann. *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance (De Præstigiis Dæmonum, 1583)*. (Introduction) George Mora, (trans.) John Shea, (preface) John Weber [Medieval And Renaissance Texts and Studies, volume 73]. Binghamton: State University of New York, 1991; rpt. Tempe: Arizona State University, 1998.

Wilson, Stephen. *The Magical Universe: Everyday Ritual and Magic in Pre-Modern Europe*. London: Hambledon, 2001.

Winters, Dana. 'Hermetic/Cabalist Ritual in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*,' in *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, Issue 5, ed. Susan Johnson Graf and Amy Hale. Oxford: Mandrake, 2009.

Wypustek, Andrzej. 'Calumnia Magiae. Towards a New Study of the Relationship between Greek-Roman Magic and Early Christianity' in *Charmes et Sortilèges Magie et Magiciens*. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002.

Zambelli, Paola. *The Speculum Astronomiae and Its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries*. Dordrecht, Boston and London: Kluwer, 1992.

Zambelli, Paola. *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Ziolkowski, Jan & Michael C. J. Putnam (Eds.). *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.