

HEINRICH CORNELIUS
AGRIPPA



Three Books of Occult Philosophy



The Natural World



The Celestial World



The Divine World

Translated from the Original Latin Edition of 1533

BY ERIC PURDUE

Three Books of Occult Philosophy

HEINRICH CORNELIUS AGRIPPA



Translated from the original Latin

with commentary

by Eric Purdue



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ERIC PURDUE

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Publisher' s Preface

All philosophy has been revealed. It is a construction of the mind. Ideas that are made up of words are deconstructed in an effort to divine meaning. Science has subsumed philosophy as the virtuous pursuit of knowledge. Modern science needs empirical evidence, a quantity to be measured, and a conviction that those measurements will yield the true nature of reality. These are the beliefs of those who worship in the church of progress. They cannot conceive of an occult philosophy. Yet, after nearly four hundred years, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* have been newly translated into English for the first time. Why?

Today, as in the past, the magician requires access to the three worlds in order to collect their virtues. Professor Agrippa asks in his opening note to the reader:

If they avert evil events, destroy black magic, cure disease, banish spirits, preserve life, and give honor and fortune without offense to God or injury to religion, are not these things useful and necessary to men?

We, the descendants of Agrippa, answer through the centuries with a resounding “Yes!” This wise and learned savant knew that we would be enriched by the ideas contained in his *Three Books*.

Agrippa's library contained the texts that offered the accumulated wisdom of the ancients. Along with books from the Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance periods, Agrippa drew upon the traditions of the ancient Hebrews, Persians, and Indians to synthesize and present his occult philosophy. These three books have sustained the occult tradition for centuries and are responsible for its revival in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. No other work in the Western tradition has had a greater influence on our understanding of the occult mysteries.

In his letter to Trithemius upon the presentation of his 1510 manuscript of *The Occult Philosophy*, Agrippa stated his purpose:

I would restore the reason that adorns magic itself, the ancient disciplines of all wise men, purge from it impious errors, and vindicate it from injury and misrepresentation.

I leave it to you, gentle reader, to discern whether he has succeeded.

Occult philosophy is the antidote to what a contemporary poet called “The War on the Imagination.” It is in our ability to enter the imaginal realm that the secrets of the ancients may be discovered. One strand of our DNA contains more information and computing power than the entire World Wide Web. At the end of every telescope, no matter how powerful, is an eye looking out trying to discern meaning.

It is the relationship between the intelligence that creates this strand of genetic material and a

knowledge and understanding of how, in an embodied state, this intelligence interacts with the natural world, the celestial world, and the angelic world that is the subject these pages.

Agrippa's is an experimental and experiential philosophy:

Hence from the virtues of the elemental world, magicians search through mixtures of various natural things through medicine and natural philosophy. Then, with influences from the rays of the celestial world, according to the rules of astronomers and mathematic disciplines, they connect with the virtues of the heavens. Next, they strengthen and confirm all manner of powerful intelligences through sacred religious ceremonies.

That Agrippa's seminal work, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, has survived the cultural wars, land wars, and wars on the imaginative process for so many centuries is a tribute to its great worth. For Agrippa:

This is the most perfect and highest science, the highest and most sacred philosophy. Finally, it is the absolute consummation of the noblest philosophy.

It is this higher purpose that has given Agrippa's voice longevity. It is our privilege to help restore this voice to its original clarity with this new translation—a voice that provides knowledge necessary to the magician's craft and its operation in our world today.

EHUD C. SPERLING

Foreword

Christopher Warnock

You hold in your hands the summit of the Western esoteric tradition: Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's famed *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. Seemingly dashed off in relative youth, this monumental work is a virtual one-stop shop of traditional Western esotericism; from the time of its writing in the high Renaissance to this day, it is unsurpassed in its breadth, depth, and encyclopedic treatment of the philosophy and practice of the hidden magical and astrological arts.

Famous and often notorious in the Renaissance, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*¹ was never out of influence. The seventeenth-century J.F. English translation kept it at the forefront of what limited esoteric tradition continued in English after the onslaught of modern atheistic materialism. In the eighteenth century, Francis Barrett's occult encyclopedia, *The Magus*, quoted extensively from *Three Books* without attribution. In the nineteenth century, *Three Books* was a sourcebook for groups like the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Modernly, there is considerable controversy over whether Mormon founder Joseph Smith possessed a Jupiter talisman—the design of which is right out of *Three Books*. In its J.F. 1651 English translation, *Three Books* was a bright spot of esoteric light in the darkness of a society that had largely turned away from esoteric knowledge and its own traditions.

But as useful as *Three Books* has been, its easy availability and wide circulation ironically prejudiced many modern students of esoterism against it, following the assumption that esoteric knowledge must be hidden to be useful. But *Three Books* is an arcanum, hidden in plain sight, obscured by its very accessibility and by the myriad problems with J.F.'s translation. Cloaked by the loss of traditional magical and astrological technique—as well as an unconscious modern worldview that rejects magic, spiritual beings, or spiritual causality—Agrippa's text languished for centuries. Yet, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* contains the concentrated essence of the wisdom of myriad esoteric traditions. As Agrippa says in his letter of dedication to Book Three:

I am also indebted to the divine and ceremonial mysteries of magic . . . of those ancient Isiac priests of the Egyptians, the ancient Chaldean prophets of the Babylonians, and divine wise Hebrew kabbalists. I am also [indebted to] the Orphics, Pythagoreans, and Platonists, profound Greek philosophers, Indian Brahmins, Ethiopian Gymnosophists, and our undefiled religious theologians.²

The esoteric tradition represented by *Three Books* went into an abrupt decline with the advent of the Enlightenment as Western society plunged into the depths of atheistic materialism. After a 370-year journey, we are finally approaching the heights scaled by our illustrious predecessors, finally ready to learn again what Agrippa has to teach. But we must take Agrippa on his own terms and do the work

necessary for mastery. As Agrippa says in the final chapter of Book Three, the knowledge and wisdom contained here is

written in order, some out of order, some delivered in fragments, some hidden and must be left for the intelligent to investigate, who can more acutely examine what is written and can likewise search for the complete documents of magical arts and can consequently infallibly experiment with them. Indeed, we have delivered these arts in such a way that they cannot happen to be hidden from the prudent and intelligent.³

Thus, skimming once through *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* at 100 mph will prove ineffectual for the reader, but repeated reading and deep contemplation will bear innumerable fruits. Even after twenty years of exposure to *Three Books*, I find something useful, something amazing, and something profound every time I dip in to the text. Indeed, we must be in awe of the treasure that *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* is; the title itself and organization into three books reveals Agrippa's vision of the threefold manifestation of reality.

There is a threefold world—that is, the elemental, celestial, and intellectual. Each inferior is ruled by its superior, accepting virtues flowing from the Archetype and highest Maker through angels, the heavens, stars, elements, animals, plants, metals, and stones.⁴

Yet we must not be misled into thinking that these three worlds are some other physical location; in fact, they intermingle and interpenetrate, and all three worlds appear before us if we have the spiritual insight, offered by Agrippa, to see them.

Agrippa constantly balances seemingly wide and disparate topics with a focus on the unity of the three worlds. For example, the elements of earth, water, air, and fire are not simply material dirt or water, and so on. Rather, the four elements are states of matter corresponding to solid, liquid, vapor, and plasma or energized states, existing in varying levels in all material things. Agrippa shows the difference and unity of reality through the interpenetration of the three worlds, the elements making an excellent exemplar.

Therefore, the elements are found everywhere and in everything, and no man can deny their manner. First, in the inferiors, they are feculent and dense, and in the heavens, they are pure and clear, and in the super-celestials, they are truly living and in all parts blessed.⁵

But along with incredible philosophical insight, Agrippa presents an amazing amount of practical information, in particular, specific instructions for the creation of astrological talismans. He explains, for example, how to make multiple examples of the talismans of all seven planets.

For the operations of Jupiter, they made images in the hour of Jupiter, with him happily rising in his exaltation, in a clear and white stone—these being for long life. The figure [of those images] is a crowned man, dressed in yellow garments, riding on an eagle or dragon and

holding in his right hand an arrow, as if he were throwing it into the head of the same eagle or dragon.⁶

But there is much more here than planetary talismans. *Three Books* gives recipes for talismans of the 28 Mansions of the Moon, for the 15 key fixed stars, and the 36 decans, or faces, of the zodiac. He even delves into the most difficult and arcane type of astrological talisman, the house-based talisman, providing recipes for house-based talismans for such disparate purposes as love, wealth, and bringing good fortune to an entire city. Some of the most intriguing talismans are for prophetic and oracular dreams.

There are also images made for dreams that are placed under the head of a sleeper who excels in causing dreams of truth for whatever thing the mind [of the sleeper] previously pondered: and the figure of it is the figure of a sleeping man in the bosom of an angel, which is made with Leo rising, the Sun in Aries posited in the ninth house. Then on the breast of the man, inscribe the name of the desired effect, but in the head of angel the name of the intelligence of the Sun.⁷

Along with talisman recipes, Agrippa also includes (in Book Two, ch. 50) instructions for planetary tables, magic squares whose numbers added horizontally, vertically, and diagonally all equal the same sum. These tables can then be used to generate the sigils and symbols of planetary angels, spirits, and intelligences by inputting their names, making this one of the most useful and popular chapters in *Three Books*. All in all, Book Two is a self-contained seminar in astrological magic, containing specific instructions for hundreds of astrological talismans.

Given the riches that it contains, I was very pleased when Eric Purdue asked me to write the foreword to this new translation, the first new translation in more than three hundred years. Very importantly, this translation utilized the 1992 Latin critical edition of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* by V. Perrone Compagni. That edition compared every extant manuscript and printed edition of *Three Books*, explained variants, and was extensively footnoted and carefully researched.

While the J.F. 1651 translation is serviceable, there are multiple problems. First, seventeenth-century English is increasingly obscure and difficult for contemporary readers, particularly if they are not native English speakers. Next, there are problematic translated passages that pose obstacles to a clear understanding of the text at a number of points. By using modern English and utilizing the Latin critical edition, Eric Purdue has produced a superlative translation. Not only are previously obscure passages now intelligible, but Eric has also included hundreds of footnotes citing the specific sources quoted by Agrippa. Eric also has been careful with the technical details of traditional astrological technique, making his translation an excellent resource for both the scholarly researcher and the practicing astrological magician.

It is useful to point out a few specific instances that make it clear how much improved Eric's translation is over the J.F. translation and its commentators, though we should point out that Donald Tyson's 1993 commentary on the J.F. translation is yeoman's work. The problems that arise are simply due to Tyson lacking the mastery of traditional astrology possessed by Eric Purdue. If we look at Book Two, ch. 30, Agrippa discusses when planets are powerful or, in traditional astrological terminology, when they are dignified. The Latin original speaks of planets being *succedentibus* and *suis gaudiis*, which J.F. translated as "presently succeeding" and "delights," respectively. Tyson, in footnotes 8 and 9,

explains “presently succeeding” using a quote from Ptolemy about planets approaching the Midheaven, saying, “[t]he succedent is in this case the house immediately following—the one on the left of the house in question.” “Delights” is explained, by again citing Ptolemy, as having to do with sect, a totally separate astrological term, and that “Venus would be said to rejoice in Aries, because Aries is ruled by Mars and Mars is in the sect of the Moon.”⁸ Unfortunately, the J.F. translation is incorrect, and Tyson’s explanations move further from Agrippa’s intention. Eric correctly translates *succedentibus* as “succedent,” which is a very standard traditional classification of houses (the 2nd, 5th, 8th, and 11th houses) that are of middling strength. Similarly, Eric translates *suis gaudiis* as “its joy,” another very straightforward traditional dignity. And this is just one chapter out of 199!

It is this meticulous attention to detail, knowledge of traditional astrological technique, and careful use of the earliest complete Latin manuscript in conjunction with Compagni’s critical edition that distinguishes Eric’s translation of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. As useful as the 1651 J.F. translation has been, it has now been surpassed by this new, definitive, modern translation. Any serious student of Western esotericism, whether of a scholarly bent or set on actually putting Agrippa’s strictures into practice, is well served by this translation. Years in the making, eagerly awaited, we now can enjoy the fruits of Eric’s long labors and delve deep into this key source of Western traditional, natural, astrological, and divine philosophy and magic.

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Translator's Introduction

Eric Purdue

THE PRESENT TRANSLATION of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (hereafter called *Three Books*) marks the first translation from Latin to English since the J.F. translation in 1651. *Three Books's* influence in the metaphysical textual tradition is incalculable. Its influence is especially found in modern books on herbalism, stones, incense, and in nineteenth-century British lodge magical systems. While all the information contained in *Three Books* can be found in other books, Agrippa's text is unique in its scope and organization. While some individual texts that Agrippa quoted may contain more detailed information, *Three Books* systematically organizes the vast array into a cohesive whole. This introduction will summarize *Three Books*, explain its textual history, and discuss why a new translation is necessary. Notes on the new translation detail some important considerations that distinguish the present edition from the epochal 1651 version of J.F.

THE NECESSITY OF A NEW TRANSLATION

All prior English editions of *Three Books* are based on the 1651 J.F. translation. This translation has served as a basis, as mentioned above, for many sources and spiritual practices—particularly over the past two centuries. After beginning a fresh translation from the original Latin, some interesting highlights began to appear.

1. **Mistranslations.** While all translations contain errors, many fundamental errors or unusual translation choices in the J.F. version have resulted in a sometimes confusing text. For example, the Latin *daemon*, literally “demon” in English but with a historically and theologically more complex meaning, is often translated as “spirit” by J.F. This creates a misunderstanding in Agrippa's chapter on planetary seals in Book Two, ch. 22, where spirit is defined as evil. Another example is Book Three, ch. 43, in which J.F. translated the term *idolum* as “sense” or “sensitive.” *Idolum* is a technical term referring to the lowest level of the soul. Translating it as “sense” is misleading.
2. **Lack of technical knowledge.** Several examples of mistranslations of basic astrological terms and techniques suggest that J.F.'s astrological knowledge was lacking. In Book 1, ch. 59, J.F. translated the Latin *profectionis* as “perfection.” The correct translation should be “profection.” Profections are a well-known premodern astrological predictive technique. At the time of J.F.'s translation, profections were still widely used, so it is surprising he translated it incorrectly. Another example is in Book Two, ch. 22, where J.F. translated *termini* as “marks.” This is known in premodern astrology as “terms” or “bounds,” a five-fold division of each of the zodiacal signs. In the same chapter, he confused a section on planetary rulerships, giving the wrong planets to the wrong set of rulerships. This was likely due to the way the Latin sentence was constructed, but

had he some basic astrological knowledge this would have been clear. Our translation is the first one written by a practitioner of premodern astrology.

3. **Animal and botanical names.** Just as today, local names for animals, plants, and stones can be unique to regions or countries even if they speak the same language. As such, translations from older texts can be problematic. Modern Latin dictionaries are sometimes more helpful today than in J.F.'s seventeenth century, but they are not foolproof. However, J.F. made several questionable translation choices. All of these discrepancies are noted. In some cases, Agrippa most likely did not know a few of the herbs and stones about which he was writing as many were sourced from Pliny. Even today, some of Pliny's references remain mysterious. Every effort was made to show the original Latin, probable English translation, and incorrect translations.
4. **The archaic English is sometimes distracting or misleading.** J.F.'s English is more than 350 years old. While his English is quite readable, some styles and terminology can be distracting to modern eyes. In some cases, the meanings have changed or words have fallen out of common use. In this translation, we refer to the original Latin directly rather than modernizing an earlier translation.
5. **Some graphics are incorrect.** Agrippa's works were published in many editions, and some graphical differences appeared in various printings. J.F. reproduces some incorrect graphics or introduces new ones. For example, some of the planetary seals in J. F.'s Book Two, ch. 22, differ from the Latin original in that they are oriented incorrectly. All of these errors have been corrected and noted.
6. **All of these have compounded errors in later editions.** All post- 1651 English editions up to this point are based on the J.F. translation. We will discuss the textual history later in this introduction. However, it should be noted here that the various editors worked with the flaws in J.F.'s translation. Sometimes these flaws were noticed but were attributed to Agrippa. Other times the flaws were not noticed and were expounded upon. This is most notably apparent in Donald Tyson's 1993 edition. In his version, Tyson attempts to explain all of Agrippa's sources and concepts in as much detail as possible. Because he is using J.F.'s translation, these explanations often make these errors worse. That they have been expounded upon by an expert also has the effect of making them seem more authoritative. For example, Tyson incorrectly explains J.F.'s mistranslation of *profecion* as referring to a new or full Moon. Actually, the term refers to a practice of counting the houses around the chart in which each is understood to represent a year. Tyson also accuses Agrippa of "not reading his Plato correctly," when in fact it is J.F. who mistranslates the element of Earth as changeable instead of unchangeable in Book One, ch. 3. Some of these discrepancies in Tyson are noted in our own translation, but the present text aims to emphasize the core English translations rather than later editions.

Most importantly, the primary purpose of creating a new, authoritative edition of Agrippa's *Three Books* is to take a fresh look at the original Latin. The secondary purpose was to obtain and cross-reference as many of Agrippa's sources as possible. Tyson attempted this in his 1993 edition, but he often favored sources that Agrippa either could not have read because they were not available in his time, sources that Agrippa simply would not have used, or sources that did not exist during Agrippa's lifetime. Our translation attempts as much as possible to cite sources that were available to Agrippa. This has allowed us to largely reconstruct Agrippa's library and has demystified his method of obtaining it. This shows that Agrippa, rather than the writing from texts now missing or obtaining books from secret

sources, instead was a mainstream scholar of his day, using texts widely available. These are noted in our translation. In a few cases, identification of Agrippa's sources has shown some transcription errors on his part. These are noted as well.

A SUMMARY OF THREE BOOKS OF OCCULT PHILOSOPHY

Three Books, while seemingly a reference text with standalone chapters upon discrete subjects, is actually intended to be read from beginning to end. It is structured to build upon itself brick by brick as a unified program of study.

The text is divided into three large sections, these being the titular *Three Books*. Book One is about the natural world. Book Two is on the celestial world, and Book Three addresses the divine world. These are the three primary parts of magic in Agrippa's conception of the subject, corresponding to the three parts of man and universe.

It is best to view *Three Books* as a single work divided into sections.

BOOK ONE – THE NATURAL WORLD

- Ch. 1 – An introduction to the book summarizing its contents.
- Ch. 2 – A definition of magic.
- Chs. 3 to 8 – A definition of the elements and their qualities on earth and heaven.
- Chs. 9 to 13 – The natural and occult virtues of things and how they proceed from the elements.
- Chs. 14 to 22 – How to understand and find the virtues of things and assign them to elements and celestial bodies.
- Chs. 23 to 34 – Details about what things are ruled by the planets, stars, and signs and how celestial bodies impress themselves onto earthly things.
- Chs. 35 to 39 – How the mixtures of the elements create certain effects and how they receive special gifts from the heavens, which we can use for our own benefit.
- Chs. 40 to 51 – A list of particular techniques foundational to magic and how and why they work. This concludes with a general chapter on other miraculous effects mostly borrowed from Pliny.
- Chs. 52 to 60 – A series of chapters about forms of divination.
- Chs. 61 to 66 – Begins with an introduction to the components of the mind and then moves on to the different passions of the mind.
- Chs. 67 to 68 – How the mind can connect with the heavens and cause changes in the world.
- Chs. 69 to 72 – The power and virtue of speech, words, names, and incantations.
- Chs. 73 to 74 – The power of writing and letters.

BOOK TWO – THE CELESTIAL WORLD

- Chs. 1 to 3 – On the importance and power of numbers and mathematics.
- Chs. 4 to 15 – The importance and power of individual numbers, with tables illustrating their correspondences.
- Chs. 16 to 21 – On the notation of numbers from various cultures and which numbers are appointed to particular gods and elements.
- Ch. 22 – The tables of the planets and the names and seals of their intelligences and daemons.
- Ch. 23 – The geometrical properties of natural matter and their magical powers.
- Chs. 24 to 28 – The proportion and harmony of music, the celestials, the human body, and the soul.
- Chs. 29 to 34 – How the celestials are important to magic, with detailed discussions on magical elections and Lunar mansions.
- Chs. 35 to 47 – The images and sigils of the planets, signs, faces, Lunar mansions, and fixed stars.
- Chs. 48 to 49 – Images of geomancy and things that come from the mind of the practitioner.
- Ch. 50 – Some magical astrological elections for particular effects.
- Chs. 51 to 52 – Characters derived from the imitation of the celestials.
- Chs. 53 to 54 – How astrology is essential for divination, and divination by lots.
- Chs. 55 to 57 – On the nature of the World Soul and its relationship with the celestials.
- Chs. 58 to 59 – On the souls of the celestial world, their names, and how they govern the world.
- Ch. 60 – How humans can connect to the higher spirits.

BOOK THREE – THE INTELLECTUAL WORLD, THE HEAVENS, AND CEREMONIES

- Chs. 1 to 6 – The importance of religion, its parts, and the necessity of purity and secrecy, as well as the definitions of religion, superstition, and theology.
- Chs. 7 to 9 – A discussion on the nature of God and the Holy Trinity.
- Chs. 10 to 14 – The names of God and the names and sacred places of pagan gods.
- Chs. 15 to 22 – A discussion of the hierarchy and nature of celestial spirits, intelligences, daemons, and personal geniuses.
- Ch. 23 – The language of angels and how they communicate with us.
- Chs. 24 to 28 – On the names of spirits and various ways of discovering them.
- Chs. 29 to 31 – Of the characters and seals of spirits.
- Chs. 32 to 33 – How to attract good daemons and expel evil daemons.
- Chs. 34 to 35 – On the various orders of lower spirits and gods.
- Chs. 36 to 40 – A discussion about humans, the human soul, and the influences of divine and superior forces on humans.

- Chs. 41 to 42 – Death and a discussion on necromancy.
- Chs. 43 to 44 – The power and parts of the human soul.
- Chs. 45 to 52 – Various kinds of prophecies, ecstasies, and frenzies.
- Chs. 53 to 64 – The importance of purity and the different ways of purifying oneself. The last chapters move on to consecrations.
- Ch. 65 – Conclusion.

Despite the clear structure of *Three Books*, Agrippa does not completely isolate the individual subjects within their respective chapters. He builds upon his earlier comments and revisits previous points of discussion throughout the text. Because of this, approaching *Three Books* as a reference only without reading it through will leave the reader with an incomplete understanding. Agrippa states this in his conclusion, explaining that he has “scattered” the material. This is not entirely correct as the book still follows its structure. He does, however, define or introduce items in one section of the book and then reintroduce them later as part of a related or larger subject, assuming the reader has read the entire book and understands the subject matter. Picking and choosing individual chapters based on their titles can result in an incomplete picture of Agrippa’s ideas.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THREE BOOKS OF OCCULT PHILOSOPHY

In 1510, when Agrippa was twenty-four years old, he presented the first draft of *Three Books* to a friend, the Abbot Johannes Trithemius. Agrippa spent a short time the previous year with Trithemius, who encouraged him with his studies and approved of his work in progress. After Agrippa sent his draft to Trithemius, the abbot sent a reply further encouraging Agrippa and cautioned him to be circumspect with the material he divulges.

It is one of the surprising accidents of history that this juvenile draft of *Three Books* survives today, as this appears to be the presentation copy given by Agrippa to Trithemius.¹ The first draft of *Three Books* remained as a manuscript and was never published, but it somewhat resembles the final edition published twenty-three years later. However, it is much smaller, about a third of the size of the final version, but there is little material that does not appear in the final version. This first draft draws on texts well known to most Renaissance scholars: the complete works of Ficino, Pliny the Elder, Pico Della Mirandola, and many others. It also makes use of works by authors contemporary to Agrippa, such as Johann Reuchlin, of whom Agrippa was an avid student. Reuchlin’s *De Verbo Mirifico* factors heavily in this earliest version, and his *De Arte Cabbalistica*—which would not be published for another seven years—would be important for the final draft. The seeds that were planted with this draft informed Agrippa’s writing in his later years.

In the years that followed his first draft of *Three Books*, Agrippa continued to write other works and letters. Some remained unpublished until years later. One of his notable works was *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum atque artium, atque excellentia verbi Dei declamatio* (A Declamation of the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Sciences and Arts, and the Most Excellent Word of God) in 1526–1527. *De incertitudine* was a satirical criticism on all areas of human knowledge. This work is the cause of a great deal of debate about whether Agrippa retracted this most famous work.

In chapter 48 of *De incertitudine*, Agrippa appears to admit that his studies of the occult in his youth were a mistake and discourage others from pursuing such matters. He refers to this in his “To the Reader” in *Three Books*, saying that “when I was a child, I had the understanding of a child; but now that I’m a man I purged the things I did as a child, and in our book *The Vanity and Uncertainty of the Sciences*, I retracted part of this great book.” The question to many is whether Agrippa was sincere in his retraction. This question may never be answered, but one thing is clear: while Agrippa was writing this retraction, he was expanding and editing *Three Books*, which would be published six years later. Agrippa admitted in the same section that unapproved and flawed editions of *Three Books* had leaked out, and he felt that if he was going to be criticized, then it would be better if at least it was by his own hand.

In 1531, the first book of *Three Books* was published, and finally, in 1533, the final and complete edition was printed in Cologne. This expanded edition reflected several new sources that became available to Agrippa after 1510. The two most notable are Reuchlin’s *De Arte Cabbalistica* (1517) and Francesco Giorgio’s *De harmonia mundi totius* (1525), both influencing Agrippa’s kabbalistic material. Giorgio is especially represented in *Three Books*. In some cases, full chapters of *Three Books* are composed of material from *De harmonia mundi*.

The 1533 edition follows the same structure as the 1510 manuscript, but Agrippa’s increased knowledge and life experience, plus his more mature literary hand, makes this version smoother to read and is a worthy version to act as a cap on his literary career. It is the last book he published, as Agrippa passed away two years later.

After Agrippa’s death, his *Opera Omnia* was published in two volumes, which included his spuriously attributed book, *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*. These volumes introduced errors, particularly in the illustrations, which have been copied many times, including into English versions.

In 1651, an English translation appeared by the mysterious J.F. These initials are often identified as James Freake, but Donald Tyson, in his edition, questions whether the identity of this translator was a little-known alchemist named James French. Regardless, as mentioned above, the depth of J.F.’s knowledge of some important concepts is questionable. This English translation, for all of its flaws and idiosyncrasies, became a core source for nineteenth- and twentieth-century metaphysics.

In 1897, Willis Whitehead published Book One of *Three Books*. This edition is the first attempt to edit the J.F. translation for modern audiences, modernizing the spelling and adding footnotes and appendices. While easier to read, that edition incorporates in his commentaries Theosophical and metaphysical ideas popular with nineteenth-century practitioners. Whitehead never published the final two books. This version of Agrippa is still published by various small publishers.

In 1993, Donald Tyson published his ambitious edition and commentary of the J.F. translation. Tyson meticulously annotated every chapter of *Three Books*, as well as attempted to locate as many of Agrippa’s sources as possible and make corrections as Tyson saw them. As mentioned above, flaws in the J.F. translation made future annotations and corrections potentially problematic.

We spoke above about some of the problems with the J.F. translation. Tyson seemed to be unaware of which errors were from J.F. and which were from Agrippa. Agrippa bore the brunt of the blame. Some of the corrections Tyson made were warranted and some were unneeded, thus compounding the problems. However, more issues arose with Tyson’s attempts at locating sources.

Agrippa’s sources can seem mysterious to modern audiences. There are two reasons: Agrippa rarely cited his sources, and modern audiences are not as familiar with the texts available to the Renaissance scholar. This has led to the belief, echoed by Tyson in his introduction, that Agrippa had access to texts

that are now lost. Agrippa instead used sources that were common to scholars of his time, and nearly all of these are found easily today.

Tyson's attempt at noting Agrippa's sources, while useful for background information, is generally not correct. For example, when *Three Books* mentions a reference to Plato, Agrippa is more likely quoting from a passage from Ficino or Giorgio that refers to Plato. Agrippa rarely quoted directly from Plato because he would have had access to Plato only through translations by Ficino, his commentaries, or others influenced by him. This is surprisingly also true of many of his quotes from the Bible. Although Agrippa, of course, would have had access to or owned a Bible, his pattern of quotes clearly follows citations from other sources.

Agrippa uses about two hundred sources to write *Three Books*, but the bulk of the book is made of a smaller fraction of that total. Tyson notes as many primary sources as he can find, but in 1993 a number of academic studies that might have assisted him in this task had yet to be published. He also adds references to secondary or more modern sources with the aim of shedding additional light on Agrippa's ideas. Though these are sometimes useful, they do not help the reader understand Agrippa's methodology.

NOTES ON THIS TRANSLATION

The present volume is a new translation of Agrippa's original Latin text. The primary source is V. Perrone Compagni's 1992 critical edition of *Three Books*, published by Brill. Compagni gathers every extant edition of the text and notes their variations so as to create a "perfect" version. Since *Three Books* has always existed in printed form, it might seem surprising that there would be variations. However, in the sixteenth century, printed books were typeset by hand, and thus the different editions contained slight variations. These are noted. Compagni also had access to the first manuscript of *Three Books*, which Agrippa gave to Trithemius, and notes variations from this manuscript. Finally, in perhaps her most valuable contribution, she adds notation regarding most of Agrippa's sources and, in some cases, secondary sources.

In our translation, we began with consulting the Latin edition(s) first. While Compagni was the primary source, we also consulted other editions of *Three Books* when necessary. These were the Cologne 1533, Lyon 1551, and two more with unidentified printers. As many as possible of Compagni's noted sources were consulted and verified. We were unable to locate a few of these sources. These unlocated sources were noted as "Compagni cited . . ." We were able to find some sources Compagni did not identify. Every source is noted within the text, and full citations are in the bibliography.

While verifying sources, another surprise was that Agrippa made few errors. Some errors were found, however, typically due to typographical errors. We translated every word of *Three Books* according to Agrippa's words. If we discovered an error by Agrippa, the main text keeps the error unless that error is obviously meant to be something else, and we noted the correction in a footnote, and in most cases, the original Latin word or passage is noted.

It was surprising to us that the majority of *Three Books* is compiled by direct quotations from Agrippa's sources. We discovered that few sections are in his own words. His citations are so diverse and dense that some sentences are compiled from more than one source. To show this, sources are noted with the first few words and last few of the quoted passage with a footnote.

Because the J.F. translation is an important source for Western metaphysics, we felt that it was important to note important errors or differences found in their translation. These are noted in footnotes

with the original Latin for transparency's sake. The same was done with references for the Tyson edition, as we felt that it was important to understand what changes were made by J.F. and which by Tyson.

Animal and botanical names were sometimes problematic. J.F. was frequently incorrect, and in some cases bafflingly so. Tyson was sometimes helpful, but not always. The most difficult sections were often sourced from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. Today, even academic Latinists are unable to identify some of Pliny's plant names. It is doubtful that Agrippa knew what some of these were. We have identified as many of these plants and animals as possible, but some, regrettably, must remain untranslated. When there is a discrepancy from J.F. or Tyson, these are noted with the original Latin.

Agrippa used verse to strengthen his arguments or to illustrate them. J.F.'s translations of these poems are often troublesome—partially because of the seventeenth-century English and partially because the translations are sometimes incorrect. We have made no attempt to maintain the meter or rhyme in our translation. Instead, we opted to simply translate the passages to be as clear as possible.

Words with square brackets represent words added to the text to make the translation easier to read. Additionally, we adapted the Latin sentence structure in some cases and added paragraph breaks for easier reading.

All of the illustrations in this volume are from the original Latin. Most are from the 1533 Cologne edition and have been retouched. Nothing else has been altered or added. Tables are re-created as they are in the original.

Our goal is that this translation will stand as an accurate baseline for further study. To understand *Three Books*, we must read it on its own terms. We must not modernize it or simplify it for modern audiences, but this does not mean that the text should be difficult to read. We hope that we have achieved our goal, and we can hear Agrippa speak again.

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Three Books of Occult Philosophy
HEINRICH CORNELIUS AGRIPPA



For nothing is covered that shall not be revealed, nor hidden that shall not be known.

— MATTHEW 10

With the grace and privilege of the King and Majesty for three years.

Cologne. 1533

To the Reader

I do not doubt that the title of our book, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic*, will attract many readers because of its uniqueness. Among those attracted [to this book], some have the twisted beliefs of a weak mind, and others will come to us with a spiteful and ungrateful nature. With their reckless ignorance, they believe that magic is of the lowest order, and though hardly noticing the title, will claim that I teach forbidden arts, that I scatter the seeds of heresy, offend pious ears, tempt noble characters, that I am wicked, superstitious, demonic, and a magician.

To these people I respond that to a learned man, a magician is not wicked or superstitious and should not be called demonic but instead wise, a priest, and a prophet. The Sibyls were Magi who openly prophesied about Christ, and indeed from the secret wonders of the world, the Magi recognized Christ, who was about to be born, as the authority of all and were the first to arrive and honor Him. Additionally, the name “magic” was accepted by philosophers and lauded by theologians, and the Gospels did not disapprove of it.¹ I believe these same persistently arrogant censors would rather condemn the Sibyls, the sacred Magi, and even the Gospels themselves, rather than to gracefully accept the name “magic.” Such is their conscience, that I could not be vindicated from their curses if I consulted Apollo, the Muses, or all the angels of Heaven. To these [ignorant] people, I advise that they do not read our writings, that they do not understand them, or remember them because they are poisonous.² The Gate of Acheron³ is in this book: it speaks stones. Be careful or your brains will be smashed out.⁴

However, those of you who come to read [our book] with a level mind, and with great prudence and discretion like bees gathering honey, come and read safely. I believe that you will receive a great amount of use and pleasure. But if you find things that displease you, ignore and do not use them, for I also disapprove, but nonetheless, I recorded it. Do not reject the rest.⁵ for if one examines the books of physicians, they will read about antidotes and drugs, as well as poisons. I admit that magic contains many superfluities and teaches curiously ostentatious prodigies. Likewise, leave these as empty, but do not ignore their causes. If they avert evil events, destroy black magic, cure disease, banish spirits, preserve life, and give honor and fortune without offense to God or injury to religion, are not these things useful and necessary to men?

I have been heavily admonishing you with my narration rather than affirming what is written. Indeed, this would seem to be thus so that we would discard few things—following many of the principles stated above of Platonists and other pagan philosophers, where their writings suggested proof of our traditions. Therefore, if there is an error somewhere or something spoken too freely, pardon our youth. Indeed I was younger when I composed this work, and I would excuse myself by saying: “That when I was a child, I had the understanding of a child; but now that I am a man I purged the things I did as a child, and in our book *The Vanity and Uncertainty of the Sciences*, I retracted part of this great book.” But here again, you might refute me by saying: “Look at what you’ve written as a young man and retracted as an old man. What then have you produced?”⁶

I admit that as a young man I eagerly wrote these books, yet I hoped that some day I might be able

to make corrections and additions. For this reason, I sent them to Johannes Trithemius, the Neapolitan abbot formerly of Sponheim,⁷ a man who is very studious for secret things, and the first to whom I sent corrections. It just so happened that the work was intercepted before he was able to impose his great hand, and the corrupted [version] of the work was carried to Italy, France, and Germany and flew through many hands. Now some of those people (I do not know if they were impatient or imprudent) wished to send this deformed work to press. With this single overpowering evil placed before me, I thought that the door to danger would be less if books were produced from my somewhat restrained hand rather than they be made known in mangled and rough fragments through other hands. In any case, I felt it was not a sin if I did not allow my youthful ideas to die.

However, we added several small chapters, which would have been seen as careless if we omitted them, but a careful reader will easily be able to see them because of their inconsistent phrasing. Indeed, we have been unwilling to alter the work itself, and as they say, we've uncovered the entire web,⁸ but there is little here worth scolding for, and to some degree actually holds some brilliance. Therefore, again I beg you, kind reader, that you balance this present edition and indulge the curiosities of my youth, and if it offends you, that you might understand.

HEINRICH CORNELIUS AGRIPPA



Letter from Agrippa to Trithemius

Upon Presentation of His 1510 Manuscript of *The Occult Philosophy*

R. P. D. ¹ Johannes Trithemius, abbot of Saint James in
the suburbs of Wurzburg, ² Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa
of Nettesheim sends greetings.

Recently, venerable father, we spoke for some time at your monastery in Wurzburg about chemistry, magic, kabbalah, and other things that thus far are hidden in secrecy, and about hidden sciences and arts, but all are united together. The greatest of these questions was why the sacred Fathers from the very beginning of the Catholic Church, became offended and suspicious of magic itself, since it was once the primary summit and held by all the ancient philosophers, wise men, and priests in veneration. In the end, theologians rejected it, the sacred canons condemned it, and it was forbidden in all existing laws and principles.

The reason for this, I judged, was nothing else than a certain fated abnormality of the time, and men adopted many pseudo-philosophies through various erroneous sects and false religious factions, many of which were wholly cursed superstitions and wild rites. Also, there were many wicked sacrileges through orthodox religion that persecuted nature, ruined men, and injured God. Finally, many, as we see today, produce forbidden books, onto which the name “magic” is prominently placed by theft and robbery.

Therefore they, with their accursed frivolities, hope to be labeled with the sacred name of magic. They have driven that which was called magic, which was formerly praised, to what is today seen as odious to all that is good and honest. Also those who call themselves magicians in doctrines and works are indicted with capital crimes,³ unless perhaps one wishes to believe that a demented elderly country dweller is highly skilled and has a “divine power.” As Apuleius said, they can “let the sky fall, suspend the earth, harden the springs, wash away the mountains, raise the dead, weaken the gods, extinguish the stars, and illuminate Tartarus,”⁴ or as Virgil sang:

*She promises to loosen minds with her charms
To whom she wishes, she sends harsh tasks,
To stop the rivers running and turn the stars backward
To provoke the dead at night, and you will see the rumbling
Of the earth under her feet and trees fall from the mountains . . .*⁵

Moreover, Lucan referred to the magic of Thessala⁶ and Homer to the omnipotence of Circe,⁷ many of which, I confess, are nevertheless false opinions and prove to be persistent superstitions and destructive works, since as they don't fall under impious arts, they presume to clothe themselves under the venerable title of magic.

Therefore, with things as they are, I was amazed—and no less scornful—that so far no one has stepped forward to vindicate this sublime and sacred discipline from impious crimes or deliver it purely and honestly. Some writers that I have recently seen promise to speak about magic: Roger Bacon, Robertus Anglicus, Pietro d' Abano, Albertus Magnus,⁸ Arnaldus de Villa Nova, Giorgio Anselmi,⁹ Picatrix the Spaniard,¹⁰ Cecco d' Ascoli,¹¹ and many other writers¹² with obscure names. However, when they do so it is not without certain delusions, unreliable reasoning, or superstitions that are unworthy of anyone who is honest.

Hence, my spirit was moved. I wished with combined admiration and indignation, and I desired and philosophized, that I would create a worthy work, since from the beginning of my life, I have always been a curious and undaunted explorer for wonderful effects and works full of mysteries. I would restore the reason that adorns magic itself, the ancient disciplines of all wise men, purge from it impious errors, and vindicate it from injury and misrepresentation.

I had thought about this for a long time but had not yet dared to penetrate this challenge. However, after our meeting in Wurzburg where we talked about these things, your preeminent skills and ardent learning persuaded and encouraged me. So, by selecting the opinions of philosophers with a confirmed faith and purging the introduction of the malignant (who repeat the false knowledge that magical traditions must be learned from forbidden books and from sanctuaries with wonderful works), I shattered the darkness.

In these short recent days, I composed these three compendious books called Three Books of Occult Philosophy, which is a less offensive title, that you now examine. These things of which you hold a complete skill, I submit to you to correct and assess. If I have written something that offends nature or the heavens, or injures religion, condemn the error. However, if you dissolve and purge the scandal of impiety, you might protect the true tradition. Thus, one might conduct magic with these books, so that whatever is useful is not hidden, and disapprove that which does harm.

With these books approved with your examination, may they finally be in happy auspices and go forth publicly with no fear and be judged by posterity. Farewell, and pardon my audacious undertaking.



Letter of Response from Trithemius to Agrippa

Johannes Trithemius abbot of Saint James Wurzburg
formerly of Sponheim to Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of
Nettesheim, greetings and charity.

We examined your work, distinguished Agrippa, titled The Occult Philosophy, which you delivered by this messenger. We have accepted it with greater pleasure than any mortal tongue can pronounce, or any pen can reveal. With great wonder we thought of your above common education, which you as a young man penetrated such secrets and mysteries, many of which were hidden from learned men, you brought them to light not only beautifully and truthfully but also properly and richly. For this, I am especially grateful to your benevolence, and if I am able at some time, I will repay that gratitude. I approve your work, which no learned man can praise enough.

Then, so that you will go on even higher than where you began, and so that you will not allow your excellent talents to grow tepid from leisure, we earnestly advise, beg, and ask you that you always work toward improvement and the true light of wisdom, so that you are illuminated powerfully and divinely, and that you will demonstrate this to the ignorant. Nor shall you withdraw your intentions from the gaze of worthless people, of whom the true saying is "The tired ox stamps his foot strongly"¹ since no wise man can truly be judged as learned who is sworn only to the rudiments of one skill.

God has given you a great and sublime talent. Therefore, you should not imitate oxen but the birds, nor shall you decide to dwell on particulars, but stretch your soul boldly out to the universals. Indeed, it is thought that the more learned one is, they are ignorant of that much less. However, your talents are entirely appropriate for everything—not the few or the bottom—but for rationally grasping the many and the sublime. Yet allow me to remind you to take heed of one teaching: share the vulgar with the vulgar, and the higher and more secret to higher and more secret friends only: give hay to oxen and sugar to parrots. Understand my reasoning, lest you (as it happens to most) be thrown under the hooves of the oxen.

Farewell, my happy friend, and if it is in my power to be able to join you, command me and your wishes will be made without delay, and our friendship will strengthen daily. I beg that you will write to me more often and that you will send me your nocturnal studies. Again farewell. From our monastery in Wurzburg,² 8th of April 1510.



Dedicatory Letter to Count Hermann of Weid

Venerable father in Christ, and illustrious Count Hermann¹ of Weid,² by the grace of God archbishop of the holy Church of Cologne, prince elector of the Holy Roman Empire and chief chancellor of Italy, and servant of the Duke of Westphalia,³ etc., born legate of the Holy Roman Church and pontiff of the vicar general, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa sends greetings.

Such is the illustrious reputation of your fame—venerable and illustrious prince—that your great virtue, splendid learning, frequent exercise of good letters, unbroken prudence of your important orations, eagerness of eloquent speech, knowledge of many things, steadfast religion, and laudable morals have endowed you above the common customs of others. I have not mentioned the ancient images of your eminent nobility, wealth, treasures old and new, the greatness of your dominion, and the sacred dignity of your miter. In these you surpass the strength and form of your body with excellence.

Though all of these are great, I value you far more than all of these heroic and illustrious virtues, which certainly you caused, by which each man who has great learning and loves virtue will desire to be introduced into your benevolence that much more. I also desire to be placed in your glory, but in the customs of the Parthians—as they say, not without tribute—which indeed is the custom for saluting princes from the ancient world all the way to our time. Here we see it fully observed. I often see other distinguished, learned men furnishing you with beautiful and great gifts. So that I am not the only deserter of your cultivation and veneration daring to apply myself to you with empty hands, I thought and looked around the books in my room for what gift I can give to a famous prince as yourself. I suddenly saw hidden between the offerings the book *The Occult Philosophy or Magic*, which I undertook at a very young age and now after many years had forgotten. I hurried as if it were a vow to finish the book and deliver it soon to your venerable Greatness. Certainly, I persuaded myself that I could give to you nothing more pleasing than a new work of ancient and hidden learning—a work, I say, of our curious youth, but ancient learning, I dare say, that no one thus far has restored. But we did not write these books to you because they are worthy of you, but instead so that I might reveal myself to your

benevolence. Therefore I beseech you, if it is not improper, that you may excuse certain things, with all your preceding vows, that the studies of my youth come to the greatness of your auspicious notice, chasing away envy, and those that preserve the truth shall remain with us for the fruit of good conscience, since I have seen many of these, even as I am older, and many are useful, and moreover necessary to understand.

Therefore, you have the work not only of our youth but also of our present age. Accordingly, I have corrected many of the errors of my youthful work. In many places, I inserted and added many chapters that can easily be grasped by the inequality of the speech. Thus, you will recognize that in all my life I have been devoted to your service. Farewell, most fortunate prince of happy Cologne.

Mechlin⁴ 1531,
January.

Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic

From the noble Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, gilded knight and doctor of law, councilor, and archivist from the court of Caesar' s holy majesty.



Book One

The Natural World

Chapter 1

How magicians collect virtues of the threefold world will
be shown in these three books.

There is a threefold world—that is, the elemental, celestial, and intellectual. Each inferior is ruled by its superior,¹ accepting virtues flowing from the Archetype and highest Maker through angels, the heavens, stars, elements, animals, plants, metals, and stones. The Maker transfers His omnipotent virtue into us, for whose service He placed and created all of these. Wise men do not find it irrational that we can rise by these same degrees, through each world, toward the same archetypal world, the Maker of all and the First Cause, from which everything exists and all proceeds. Not only can more noble things profit from these virtues, but they can also attract new virtues from above.²

Hence from the virtues of the elemental world, magicians search through mixtures of various natural things through medicine and natural philosophy. Then, with influences from the rays of the celestial world according to the rules of astronomers and mathematic disciplines, they connect with the virtues of the heavens. Next, they strengthen and confirm all manner of powerful intelligences through sacred religious ceremonies. I will now attempt to relate the order and processes of these things in the present three books: the first of which contains natural magic, the second of the heavens, and the third of ceremonies.

I do not know whether it was presumptuous that I—a man of small talent and letters—should have thought myself worthy to freely approach such a difficult, arduous, and intricate work in my youth. Whatever is said by me here and below, no one should assent to any of it (nor will I) except for those things that the Catholic Church and assembly of the faithful have not condemned.

Chapter 2

What magic is, what are its parts, and what is required of a professor of magic.

Magical ability possesses great power,¹ full of the highest mysteries, contemplating profound secret things, natures, powers, qualities, substances, and virtues, combined with the understanding of all of nature. It instructs us on how things are different from each other and how they agree. Wonderful effects are produced from magic, uniting virtues by applying things with each other and by accepting their congruity,² and everywhere binds and marries inferior and superior gifts and virtues. This is the most perfect and highest science, the highest and most sacred philosophy. Finally, it is the absolute consummation of the noblest philosophy, for all regulative philosophy is divided into natural science, mathematics, and theology.

Natural science teaches about the nature of the world³ and its causes, investigating and probing its effects, times, places, manner, events, its whole, and its parts.⁴

*How many of those kinds of things called elements,
What are the effects of heat, earth, of humid air;
From where are the great primordial skies born,
From where do the seas flow or the various colors of the rainbow,
What makes the clamorous thunder come from the clouds,
Or from what ethereal halls are lightening hurled,
What are the secrets of the flames at night, what causes comets
To come, and what blind force causes the earth to swell
And violently shake, and what is the seed of gold and iron,
All of nature's virtues are cleverly hidden.*

Natural science, the watcher of nature, embraces all of these.⁵ Virgil sings:

*From where do the kinds of men and animals, and rain and fire come,⁶
From where does the earth tremble, why the strong sea swells high
Breaking its barriers and subsiding again.⁷*

*The power of herbs, the angry soul of beasts,
All kinds of fruit, stones, and reptiles.*⁸

Mathematics teaches us of planes and the understanding of nature's movements—projecting it in three dimensions—and also the admiration of celestial progressions.⁹

*Why do the golden stars rush to move so swiftly;
Why does the Moon become blinded and grow feeble
And suffer eclipses, blocking the light of the Sun . . .*¹⁰

And Virgil sings:

*So that the parts of the circle can be reliably measured
Through the twelve, the golden Sun rules the stars*¹¹
*It shows the heavenly road and the stars
The Solar eclipses and various labors of the Moon,*¹²
*Arcturus and Pleiades, the Hyades and twin bears;*¹³
*Why the winter Sun hurries to sink into the great sea
Or what makes the nights long*¹⁴

All of which can be discerned by mathematics.

*Hence by the seasons, we can foretell the uncertain sky
From these the harvest day and sowing season;
And when it is time to push the oars against the treacherous sea
When to send out an armed fleet
Or the time to overturn the pines in the woods.*¹⁵

But theology teaches about God Himself, what is Mind, what are the intelligences, what are angels, what are daemons,¹⁶ what is the soul, what is religion, what are sacred institutions, rites, sanctuaries, observations, and sacred mysteries. In addition, it instructs us about faith, miracles, the virtues of words and figures, about secret operations and mysteries of seals, and as Apuleius said, teaches us to “duly know and understand ceremonial law, sacred divine will, and even binding religious law.”¹⁷

But now I have to collect myself. These three powerful faculties of magic embrace, unite, and actuate.¹⁸ Therefore, the ancients valued magic as the highest and most sacred science.¹⁹ It is found illuminated clearly in the writings of these important writers, especially Zalmoxis and Zoroaster, who shined forth to such an extent that many believed that they were the inventors of this science.

These writers followed in their footsteps: Abaris the Hyperborean, Charmondas, Damigeron, Eudoxus, Hermippus. Other authors clearly stand out, such as Hermes Trismegistus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Plotinus, Proclus, Dardanus, Orpheus the Thracian, Gog the Greek, Germa the Babylonian, and Apollonius of Tyana.²⁰ Osthane, whose books Democritus of Abdera plucked out of the grave and embellished with commentaries, is also an exceptional writer in this art.²¹

In addition, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato traveled to learn this noble philosophy, and they returned proclaiming that its teachings held the highest sanctity and secrets.²² In fact, Pythagoras and Plato approached Memphite prophets to acquire knowledge and traveled through almost all of Syria, Egypt, Judea, and the Chaldean schools so that they would be instructed in the sacred magical records and divine things.²³

Therefore, whoever means to study these faculties, if they are not educated in natural philosophy—in which the qualities of things are declared and in which one can reveal hidden qualities of anything that exists—and if they are not a worker in mathematics and in the aspects and figures of the stars, from which anything with a sublime virtue and quality depends, and if they are not skilled in theology, where immaterial substances are shown, which all are dispensed and administered, they cannot understand the rationale of magic.²⁴ Indeed, there is no perfect work in magic or any work that is truly magical that does not embrace these three faculties.

Chapter 3

Of the four elements, their qualities, and their mixtures with each other.

There are four elements, and they are the primary foundation of all corporeal things: fire, earth, water, and air. All inferior bodies are composed from these elements, not by heaping them together, but by transmutation and union. Then, when corrupted, they are dissolved into elements.

However, none of the sensible elements are pure, but are more or less mixed, and are transmuted into each other, just as earth is dissolved into mud in water and then hardens and thickens with earth. But with heat, it evaporates and crosses over into air, then when inflamed into fire, and when extinguished reverts back into air. When cooled from burning it becomes earth, stone, or sulfur, which is manifested from lightning.¹

Plato thought that earth is entirely unchangeable,² but the other elements changed both into themselves and into each other. Therefore, earth is divided from the more subtle and not changed but is loosened or mixed with the others where it does not [entirely] dissolve, and then returns back into itself again.³

Each of the elements has two specific qualities. The first quality is held as its own, and the other is, as it were, a middle in common with the next: indeed fire is hot and dry, earth is dry and cold, water is cold and moist, air is moist and hot.⁴ According to this manner, two elements of opposite qualities are opposite to each other, as fire is to water and earth to air. Thus, in this way, the elements have their opposites.

For instance, there are the heavy, as with earth and water, and the light, as with air and fire. Of which the heavy are passive, and the light are active, as said by the Stoics. Yet according to Plato, he distinguishes these in another way, where he assigns these three qualities: fire is sharpness, thinness, and movement, but earth is dullness, thickness, and rest. According to these qualities, the elements of fire and earth are opposite. But the remaining elements borrow from those qualities. Thus [for air] two qualities are taken from fire (thinness and movement) and one from earth (dullness), and then to the opposite, water takes two from earth (dullness and thickness), and one from fire (movement).⁵

But fire is twice as thin as air, three times as moveable, and four times as sharp. Air is twice as sharp as water, three times as thin, and four times as moveable. Water is twice as sharp as earth, three times as thin, and four times as moveable. Therefore, as fire is to air, thus air is to water and water to earth and then as earth is to water, and thus air is to fire.⁶

This is the root and foundation of all bodies, natures, virtues, and wonderful operations. One who has a complete and ready understanding of the qualities of these elements and mixtures will bring about astounding miraculous operations and will be perfect in natural magic.⁷

Chapter 4

Of the rationale of the threefold consideration of the elements.

There are four elements as we have said, without perfect notice of which we can effectively produce nothing perfect in magic. Each of the elements is threefold. As such, four of each becomes twelve, through seven into the number ten, and they proceed to supreme unity.¹ All virtues and wonderful operations depend on the elements, and progressions happen from them.

Therefore, the first order of elements are pure and are not compounded, not modified, and not allowed to mix, yet they are incorruptible and the virtues of all natural things produce effects not by them but through them. No one can explain their virtues, because through them all is possible in all things. Indeed, one who ignores them cannot complete any wonderful operations.

The second order of elements is compounded, many-layered, varied, and impure yet reducible by art to a pure simplicity. When they are returned to their simplicity, their virtue above all completes all occult and natural operations: and this is the whole foundation of natural magic.

The third order of elements is foremost and by themselves not elements but rather compounded from each other, varied, and multilayered and changing between themselves. They are the infallible middle, and therefore they are called the middle nature, or the soul of the middle nature. Indeed, there are few who understand this profound mystery.

In these, by certain numbers, degrees, and orders, is the consummation of all effects in whatever things are natural, celestial, or supercelestial. They are full of wonders and mysteries and can operate in magic as well as with the natural and the divine. Indeed, through the [threefold nature], all things are bound, dissolved, and changed; there is knowledge and prediction of the future, the destruction of evil daemons, and the connection with good spirits after their descent.

Therefore, without the triplicities of the elements and the understanding of them, no one can confidently work in the occult sciences of magic and nature. But whoever can learn to reduce impurity into purity, multiplicity into simplicity, and also discernibly know nature, virtue, strength in number, and degree and order without dividing substance, will easily possess the knowledge of all natural things and perfect operation of celestial secrets.²

Chapter 5

Of the wonderful natures of fire and earth.

For all wonderful operations, said Hermes, two are sufficient: fire and earth. Earth is passive, and fire is active.¹ Fire, as Dionysius said, is in everything, and through everything it comes and goes brightly. It is in anything that is bright and is likewise secret and unknown when it is alone with no other matter approaching it in which it may be known by its own action. It is immense and invisible, and its own action is by its own power. Fire is moveable, handing itself over in a certain manner to all that approaches it; renewing, protecting nature; enveloping with brilliant light, incomprehensible, clear; discrete, recoiling; bringing up, moving sharply, elevated, not accepting servile indignities, always moving and moving others; comprehending the incomprehensible, not needing another, secretly rising from itself; accepts materials, revealing themselves to its magnitude, active, powerful, and also invisibly present in all things.

Fire does not allow neglect, but is resolved, as if with a vengeance, it suddenly reduces in reasoning generally and individually, impalpable, not lessening, taking all riches into itself.² Fire is the immense and shameless portion of things, as Pliny said, and there is some doubt whether it is greater in destroying or producing.³ Fire is singular in itself, and it penetrates through all things, as the Pythagoreans said. It widens in the sky, illuminating, but in the underworld, it narrows, dark and tormenting. In the middle shares from each; therefore, fire is singular in itself.

It is received in many ways and in different things; it is distributed differently, as Cleanthes testified to Cicero. Therefore, the fire we use comes from other things.

It is in stones, in which it is shaken out by a blow from iron. It is in earth, which smokes from digging. It is in water, which heats springs and wells. It is in the deep sea, which grows warm from being tossed by the winds. It is in air, which we often see growing hot. Each animal and all living [things] and vegetables are nourished by heat, and everything that lives survives because of enclosed heat.

The properties of heavenly fire are heat, which makes all things fertile, and light, which gives life to everything. The properties of infernal fire are a flame consuming all and darkness, which fills everything with barrenness. Therefore, the celestial and bright fire chases away daemons of darkness, and our [ignited] wood chases them away as well because there is a similarity, and this ignited wood is a vehicle of the more superior light.

About this, Jesus said: "I am the light of the world," which is the true fire, Father of Lights, from whom all good gifts come. He sends out a brilliant fire, sharing it first with the Sun and the remaining heavenly bodies; through them, as if they were middle instruments, the fire flows unto us. Therefore, as the daemons of darkness are stronger in the dark, it follows that good daemons, who are the angels of light, grow in light—not only from the divine, the Solar, and the celestial but also from our [common] fire.

Hence, it was decided by the first wise founders of religion and ceremonies that prayers, sacred

singing, and consecrations shall not happen without kindled lights. For this reason, the Pythagorean Symbols said: "Do not speak to God without a light." They ordered that lights be kindled to drive away evil daemons from the corpses of the dead and that the fires not be removed until sacred rites of atonement were completed and the corpses put away in the earth. The Almighty Himself required that all sacrifices be offered with fire and that the fire always be burning on the altar.⁴ Also at one time the Roman Vestal priestesses continuously watched over and guarded their fire.⁵

Of all the elements, the base and foundation is earth. Indeed, it is the object, subject, and receptacle of the influences of all celestial rays. It holds seeds in itself and the seminal virtues of all things. Therefore, it is said to be animal, vegetable, and mineral. It is made fruitful from all the remaining elements and celestials, and everything is generated from it.⁶ It receives all fertility and is like the first parent and spring of everything.⁷ Earth is the center, foundation, and mother of all.⁸

Take something from [earth], washed, purified, and subtle: if left for some time under the sky, soon the celestial virtues make it fertile and pregnant. From this, plants are produced, then worms, animals, small stones, and bright sparkling metal. There are great secrets in earth. If it is ever purified through the method of fire, it is reduced to its simplicity through a harmonious washing;⁹ it is the first material of our creation and the truest medicine that restores and preserves us.¹⁰

Chapter 6

The wonderful natures of water, air, and wind.

The remaining two elements are no less powerful—these being water and air—nor do their natures cease working wonders. Indeed, water is so necessary that without it no animal can live and no herbs or plants can sprout forth without first being moistened with water.¹ It is the seminal virtue of all things: first in animals, whose seed is distinctly watery, and also the seeds of fruit and herbs, although they are [more] earthy. Yet it is necessary to dissolve in the water, if they should be fruitful—or if they absorb the moisture in the earth, or dew, or rain, or water added on purpose.

Accordingly, Moses said that only water and earth produce a living soul; but water has a twofold production—that is, things swimming in water and flying in air over the earth. Also, the same scripture testifies that earthy production is partially indebted to water, saying that after creation the brush and plants did not grow because “God did not cause it to rain over the earth.”

This element is of such great power that spiritual regeneration cannot happen without water, as Christ himself testified to Nicodemus.² It likewise has great power in religion, expiations, and purifications and is no less necessary than fire. Its usefulness is infinite and many, and all things stand from its power, as well as generate, feed, and increase in strength. Thus, Thales of Miletus and Hesiod decided that water was the first of all things, older than all the other elements, and even more powerful,³ because it commands all the others. Indeed, as Pliny said, water devours earth, quenches flame, climbs high, is held in the clouds claiming the heavens as its own, and then falls to earth causing all things to grow.⁴ There are innumerable wonders of water written by Pliny, Solinus⁵ and many other historical descriptions. Of these miraculous virtues, Ovid also recalled in his verse:

*. . . at midday, horned Ammon,
Your water is cold and warm at sunrise and sunset.
The Athamanians apply water to kindle wood
It is said when the Moon recedes into its smallest orb.
The Cicones have a river, that when drunk turns entrails
To stone, and when things touch it, marbleize.
The Crathis and Sybaris, neighboring your borders,
Make hair like amber and gold.
What is more wonderful, is that there are waters that have
The power to change not only the body, but also the soul.
Who has not heard of the foul waves of Salmacis*

*The Ethiopian lake which, if one quenches their throat,
Suffers madness or wonderful heavy sleep?
Whoever quenches their thirst from Clitor's fountain
Avoids wine and soberly enjoys pure water:
Hence the flow of the river Lyncestius has an unequal effect,
Which whoever draws a small amount down the throat,
Will stagger; as if they had drunk unmixed wine.
There is the lake of Arcadia (that the ancients called Pheneus)
Who avoided its treacherous waters, which were feared at night:
They are harmed when drunk at night, but without harm when drunk at light.⁶*

Additionally, Josephus referred to a certain river between Arcea and Raphanea, cities in Syria, that has a strange nature. It flows with a full riverbed through the entire Sabbath, and soon the fountain ceases as if it were stopped up for six full days, and you can pass over the dry riverbed, and again on the seventh day, an unknown nature causes the previous water to return its abundance. For this reason, the inhabitants called it the *Sabbathaeum* because of the sacred Jewish seventh day.⁷

We read in the Gospel of a proven pool, in which after an angel agitated the water, the first person that descended into it was freed from their illness.⁸ We read of the same strength and power in the spring of the Ionian Nymphs, which was in Elis in the village Heracleia near the district of the river Cytheron. When a sick body is lowered [into the pool], all defects are expelled from the body and thus arises sound and whole.⁹

Pausanias says that in Lyceus, the mountain of Arcadia, there was a spring called Agria, which, whenever a dryness of the region threatened to ruin the crops, the priest of Lycaean Zeus came after a victim was sacrificed and adored the spring with sacred prayers. He held an oak branch in his hand and lowered it into the bottom of the sacred spring. Then, with the water excited, vapor arose into the air and aroused the clouds. The assembling clouds spread over the entire sky, and somewhat later relaxed into rain, and the entire region was well irrigated.¹⁰ However, the physician Rufus of Ephesus,¹¹ more than any other authority, wrote of the miraculous wonders of water, which, as far as I know, are found in no other authority.

It remains that I speak about air. This is a vital spirit. It passes through everything that exists, providing all life and substance. It binds, moves, and fills all. Hence, Hebrew teachers did not consider it among the elements, but as the middle and adhesive connecting different things together and, as it were, the resounding spirit of the world's instrument.¹² Indeed, it is nearest to all celestial influences and accordingly contains and shares them with the other elements and then mixes with each one.

Air is also no less important to all things that are natural, as well as to artificial things and speeches of whatever kind. As if it were a divine mirror, it accepts and restrains them and carries them off with itself. In human and animal bodies it enters their pores, nevertheless impressing [its qualities on them] while asleep or awake. It provides the matter for miraculous foreboding and divinatory dreams.¹³

They also say that when someone happens to walk by a place where a man was killed or even a

recently hidden corpse, he is quickly moved with dread and fear. This is because the air in that place is full of a horrible type of homicide. The spirit of a man then breathes it in and is affected by disturbances of a similar type, from which fear takes hold: for anything that makes a sudden impression confounds nature.

Many philosophers believe that air is the cause of dreams and many other impressions of the soul by applying images, likenesses, or appearances¹⁴ that are detached from things and speeches that multiply in the air, until they come to the senses, and then to the imagination where the soul receives them—that is, it is freed of cares and is unimpeded. Appearances of this kind will not wait, and they shape the soul. Indeed, the appearances of things, although they are carried toward the senses of men and animals according to their own nature, are yet from the heavens. While they are in the air, they acquire some impression, and according to aptitude and disposition, they can be brought more to the senses of one, rather than to another.¹⁵

Hence, it is possibly natural and far from all superstition—with no other spirit intervening—for one man to be able to announce their mind to another man living in another place, regardless of whether the length or distance from him is known. This is possible to do in a short time, even if that time cannot be precisely measured, although it is necessary to be within twenty-four hours. I have learned how to do this and have often done it, as has the Abbot Trithemius.¹⁶

There are also some images not only spiritual but also natural that influence things by a certain influence through bodies from bodies. [Those images] grow strong in air, then through light, then through motion, then to vision, then to the other senses. They can offer and show and reveal miracles to us, as Plotinus proved and taught.¹⁷

We see how, in the south wind, air thickens into thin clouds in which images of distant fortresses, mountains, horses, men, and other things are reflected, as if in a mirror, then vanish when the clouds depart.¹⁸ Aristotle showed in *Meteorology* that some rainbows are conceived in a cloud of air as if it were a mirror. Albertus said: “The effigies of bodies from the natural power of humid air are easily fashioned in the same way, so that the images of things are in [other] things.” Aristotle said that a man had a certain debility of vision where the air around him became like a mirror and the optical rays reflected toward him could not penetrate. From whichever direction he went, his image was opposite, and he saw his own face in front of him.¹⁹

Similarly, in the art of some mirrors, any image you wish can be produced in the air far away from the mirror. An ignorant man will think he sees daemons or shadowy souls, yet they are nothing but a certain likeness related to them and without any life. It is well known that if a ray of sunlight enters a dark place free of all light through a small hole with a piece of white paper or a plain mirror placed under it, one can see whatever is illuminated by the Sun.

There is another astonishing illusion, where if certain artificial images are painted or letters written and placed opposite the rays of the full Moon on a clear night, their likeness is snatched up and multiplied in the air and reflected back with the Lunar rays. If some other person sees this from a long distance, they can read and recognize them in the disk or circle of the Moon. Indeed, this art of reporting secrets is very useful for besieged villages and cities, a practice Pythagoras frequently²⁰ engaged in, known today by some and also to me.

Yet all of these and many more are in the foundation of the nature of air and their reason is in mathematics and optics. Just as these likenesses are reflected back toward sight, there are also some for

hearing, detected as an echo. But there are more hidden arts, such as the ability to hear from remote distances and the ability to understand what another whispers even in secrecy.

Also from the element of air are winds: indeed, they are nothing more than rapidly moving air. Of these there are four principles, blowing from the four directions of the sky. These [four] are Notus from the south, Boreas from the north, Zephyrus from the west, and Apeliotes²¹ or Eurus from the east, which Pontanus included in these two verses:

*From the north is Boreas, indeed Notus blows Olympus,
Zephyrus has the west, from the east comes Eurus.*

Notus is the southern wind, cloudy and moist, warm and sickly. Jerome called it the cupbearer of rain. Ovid thus described:

*. . . the south wind flies with dripping wings,
His terrible face hidden by black darkness;
His beard is heavy with rain, his gray hair flowing waves,
Mists settle on his brow, his bosom feathered with dew.*

But Boreas the north wind is opposite to Notus, violent and noisy, who shatters the clouds, then becomes serene air, and binds water with frost.²² Ovid introduced him thus:

*With ready strength, I drive away the gloomy clouds,
I violently toss the seas and overturn knotted oaks,
I harden the snow and beat the earth with hail;
Also, when I gather my brothers under the open sky
(For that is my battlefield), I fight with such effort,
That our mutual strikes resound in the heavens
And fires burst forth from the hollow clouds.
And when I enter the arching holes in the earth
And place my back against the deep caverns,
I disturb the underworld and with tremblings that shake the entire
Globe . . .*²³

However, Zephyrus, who is also called Favonius, is the lightest wind blowing from the west; blowing gently, it is cold and damp, resolves winter, and brings out sprouting flowers.

To the opposite is Eurus, who is also Subsolanus and Apeliotes, from the east, a humid wind, cloudy and rapidly voracious;^{[24](#)} of this Ovid sang:

At dawn, Eurus recedes from the kingdoms of Nabatea

And Persia under the yoke of morning rays.

Evening whose shores grow warm in the setting Sun

Are closest to Zephyrus; Scythia and the seven plow oxen^{[25](#)}

The frightful Boreas invades, against the earth

With constant clouds becoming wet with rain from the south.^{[26](#)}

Chapter 7

Of the types of compounds, how they are according to the elements, and how the elements agree with each other, with the soul, the senses, and behavior.

After the four simple elements follow the four kinds of perfect compounds, which are stones, metals, plants, and animals. Although each is generated from all of the elements compounded together, they follow and imitate a particular single element. All stones are earthy, since their nature is heavy and falling, and thus solid with dryness,¹ and are unable to melt. Metal is from water and dissolvable (which natural philosophers confess, and alchemists prove) because they are a viscous water, or because they are generated from watery quicksilver. Plants agree with air, since unless they are under the sky, they will not sprout or coalesce. Thus, also in all animals,

Fire is their power and their heavenly source,²

and fire has such an affinity to them that if it is extinguished life will entirely fail.

Again, each of these types of things is distinguished by the degrees of the elements. For instance, among stones, which are called earthy and especially dark and heavy, there are some that are watery because they are transparent and thickened because of water, such as crystal, beryl, and pearls in conches. Some are airy because they float on the top of the water and are spongy, such as the sponge stone³ and pumice and tophus.⁴ There are some that are fiery, because they are extracted from fire or are resolved or generated from it, such as lightning stones, pyrites, and asbestos.

Similarly, among metals, lead and silver are earthy, quicksilver is watery, copper and tin are airy, and certainly gold and iron are fiery.

Likewise, in plants, roots imitate earth because of their density, but leaves imitate water because of their juice, flowers after air because of their fineness, and seeds after fire because of their generative spirit. Additionally, some are called hot, some cold, some moist, and others dry, and they borrow their names from the qualities of the elements.

Among animals, there are some earthly ones that stand out from the others, because they live in the heart of the earth, such as vermin, worms, moles, and many reptiles. Others are watery, such as fish. Others are airy and are unable to live outside of the air. Some are fiery, inhabiting fire, such as the salamander and some cicadas (which are called *pyraustae*),⁵ and others who boil with a certain heat, such as pigeons, ostriches, and lions,⁶ which the *Book of Wisdom* calls “beasts that breathe with a fiery vapor.”⁷ Additionally, in animals, bones refer to earth, flesh to air, the vital spirit to fire, and the humors to

water. These also share from the elements: for red⁸ cholera belongs to fire, blood is air, phlegm is water, and black bile is earth. Finally, in the soul itself, as Augustine testified, the intellect refers to fire, reason to air, imagination to water, and indeed the senses to earth. Also [the senses] are distributed together among the elements: for vision is fiery, for it cannot perceive without fire and light. Hearing is airy, for sound is made from striking the air. Smell and taste refer to water, for without moisture neither smell nor taste happens. Finally, touch is entirely earthy, as it receives dense bodies for itself.² Likewise, the elements guide the actions and operations of man. Indeed, slow and dense motion is signified by earth; fear, ignorance, and relaxed operations by water; a cheerful and friendly character by air; sharp impetuosity and anger by fire.¹⁰

Therefore, the elements are the first, everything exists because of them, everything follows them, and they diffuse their strengths to everything.

Chapter 8

How the elements are in the heavens, the stars, in daemons, in angels, and finally in God Himself.

It is the unanimous opinion of all Platonists that, as in the archetype of the world all things are in all,¹ so also all things in the corporeal world are in all. Yet it is thus in different ways—that is, by according to the natures of these things.² Thus, the elements are not only in these inferior [bodies] but also in the heavens, in the stars, in daemons, in angels, and finally in the Maker and Originator of all.

In these inferior [bodies], the elements are of certain dense forms: heavy matter and the material elements.

In the heavens, the elements have their [own] natures and virtues—that is, with a heavenly and more excellent manner than the sublunary. Heavenly earth has solidity without density; water and air have agility and flow from a distance; fire has heat without burning, but it illuminates everything, and its heat gives life.³

Of the stars, Mars and the Sun are fiery, Jupiter and Venus are airy, and Saturn and Mercury are watery. The Earth inhabits the eighth sphere with the Moon, which is thought of by most as watery. Clearly, the earthly image is attracted to the celestial waters. [The Moon] drinks from [these waters] and by its close proximity [they] flow onto us and are shared with us.⁴

Among the signs, some are fiery, some are earthy, some are airy, some are watery. The four elements rule the triplicities of the heavens, distributing each element to the first, the middle, and end. Thus, the first for the fiery [triplicity] is Aries, progressing and increasing to Leo, and finally to Sagittarius. The first earthy [triplicity] is Taurus, progressing to Virgo, and last to Capricorn. The first airy [triplicity] is Gemini, progressing to Libra, and ending in Aquarius. The first watery [triplicity] is Cancer, the middle is Scorpio, and Pisces has the end.⁵

Therefore, all bodies are made from the mixtures of the planets and signs together with the elements.

According to this reasoning, daemons are distinguished from each other. As such, some are called fiery, others earthy, others airy, and others watery.⁶ Hence there are the four infernal rivers: fiery Phlegethon, airy Cocytus, watery Styx, and earthy Acheron.⁷

We read in the Gospels of the “fire of hell”⁸ and “the eternal fire where the cursed are ordered to go.”⁹ We also read in Revelation about the “lake of fire,”¹⁰ and Isaiah spoke of the damned, saying that: “The Lord will strike you with corrupt air.”¹¹ In Job [we read]: “They will jump from extreme heat to snowy waters.”¹² We also read [in Job] “the land of darkness and covered with the mist of death, the land of misery and darkness.”¹³

Also, the elements are placed over the angels of the universe and the blessed intelligences. Indeed, the essence of stability is in them—an earthy virtue, in which is the firm seat of God; also their pious mercy, a [kind of] watery cleansing virtue.¹⁴ Hence the Psalms spoke of water, where it says of the heavens: “you cover its heights with water.”¹⁵ Also in them is air, the subtle spirit, love, and a shining fire.

Hence, they are called in the sacred scriptures “the wings of the wind,”¹⁶ and elsewhere in the Psalms it says: “Makes your angels spirits, and your ministers a burning fire.”¹⁷

Likewise, of the angelic orders, fire is the Seraphim, Virtues, and Powers; earth the Cherubim; water the Thrones and Archangels; air the Dominations and Principalities.¹⁸

Do we not also read about the Archetype, the Maker of all things: “Let the earth open and bring forth a savior”?¹⁹ Surely [the Scriptures speak of a]: “fountain of living water, cleansing and regenerating.”²⁰ And is not the spirit breathing the same breath of life²¹ and which also, as Moses and Paul testify, is a “consuming fire”?²²

Therefore, the elements are found everywhere and in everything, and no man can deny their manner. First, in the inferiors, they are feculent and dense, and in the heavens, they are pure and clear, and in the super-celestials, they are truly living and in all parts blessed.²³ Therefore, the elements are produced in the Archetypal Idea, are distributed powers in the intelligences, are virtues in the heavens, and are dense forms in the inferiors.

Elements are in all things.

Chapter 9

Of the virtues of natural things most closely depending upon the elements.

The virtues of some natural things are elemental—such as to heat, to cool, to moisten, and to dry—and these operations are called primary and secondary actions. Indeed, these are the only qualities that entirely change the whole substance, because none of the other qualities can do this. However, some [qualities] belong to things compounded from elements. These are greater than the primary qualities, as they are of ripening, digesting, loosening, softening, hardening, constricting, purging, corroding, combusting, opening, evaporating, strengthening, soothing, binding, blocking, expelling, retaining, attracting, reflecting, stupefying, bestowing, lubricating, and many others.

The various virtues of natural things.

Indeed, elemental qualities do many things when mixed that they cannot do by themselves. These operations are called secondary qualities, because they follow the nature and measure of the mixtures of the first virtues, as is eloquently discussed in medical books. [For example,] ripening is an operation of natural heat according to a certain measure in the substance of matter, and hardening is an operation of cold, such as freezing and the like.

These operations sometimes act upon a determined member, such as provoking urine, milk, or menstruation. These are called the third qualities, which follow the second as the second follows the first. Therefore, according to these first, second, and third qualities, many illnesses are cured and caused.¹

Many wonderful artificial things.

Men greatly admire many things that are artificially made—such as fire that burns in waters, which they call Greek Fire—the many compositions of which Aristotle taught in his treatise on that [subject] alone. In a similar way, it often happens that fire is extinguished by oil and is kindled when cold water is sprinkled on it, and fire that is kindled by rain, wind, or the Sun. There is made a fire called burning water, the composition of which is well known, that will consume nothing except itself. Also, there are made inextinguishable fires, incombustible oils, and everlasting lamps that may not be extinguished by wind, water, or any other method. These would be thought of as completely incredible, except there was a famous lamp that once shone in the temple of Venus, in which the stone asbestos burned. When [the lamp] was kindled, it could never be extinguished.²

On the other hand, wood or some other combustibles can be prepared so that fire cannot harm

them. There are preparations made, in which anointed hands can carry red-hot iron or be dipped into molten metal, or the entire body can go into fire without any harm,³ and [many other] things similar to these.

There is a kind of flax that Pliny called asbestos, and in Greek called ἄσβεστον, which is not consumed by fire. Anaxilaus said that trees surrounded by [asbestos] muffle [sound] so that chopping blows cannot be clearly heard.⁴

Chapter 10

Of the occult virtues of things.

There are also other virtues in things that are not from any element, such as driving away poison, driving away open sores,¹ attracting iron, or other things. These virtues are the result of the appearance and form of this or that thing,² and though being small in quantity, they are not small in conducting their effects, which are not given to any elemental quality. These virtues, because they have many forms, can therefore do much with little matter. But an elemental virtue, because it is material, uses more to act, and also needs more matter.³

They are called occult qualities, because their causes are hidden, and because human intellect cannot entirely investigate them—whereby the greater number of philosophers attained this from very long experience rather than from searching by reason.⁴

We recognize that food is distributed to the stomach through heat. However, it is changed through a certain occult virtue of which we are ignorant. Indeed, it is not by heat, since it would [otherwise] appear to be changed by fire in a hearth, [rather] than in the stomach.

There are, in things we recognize, certain other innate virtues beyond the elemental qualities created by nature, which we admire and often amaze us, though we may not know or rarely see [such things], such as the phoenix,⁵ the only bird that renews itself, of which we read in Ovid:

*There is one bird that renews and reproduces itself
Which the Assyrians call the phoenix . . .*⁶

And elsewhere:

*Egypt came together to see this great miracle
And the crowd rejoiced to greet this rare bird.*⁷

Matreas once brought a great wonder to the Greeks and the Romans. He said he nourished the beast before him, who swallowed itself, and to this day many [people] anxiously search for the beast of Matreas.⁸ Who would not marvel at the fishes dug from the earth, which Aristotle,⁹ Theophrastus,¹⁰ and Polybius¹¹ the historian mention? Also [wonderful are] the singing stones about which Pausanias¹² wrote. All of these works are occult virtues. The ostrich digests and distributes cold and hard iron into

nourishment for its body, whose stomach it is said is not hurt by red-hot iron.¹³ The small fish known as the echeneis stops the impetuous wind and subdues the rage of the sea. However great, commanding, raging, and boundless these storms may be, stretching the sails of ships from the wind, the touch of that fish restrains and forces ships to stand, so that they are unable to move in any way.¹⁴

Thus, of small creatures, salamanders and pyraustae live in fire, and though they seem to burn, they are not harmed. Similarly, there is a certain bitumen, which is said to have been smeared all over the armor of the Amazons, that neither iron nor fire would loosen. [This bitumen] was also said to have been smeared over the bronze gates of Caspia by Alexander the Great.¹⁵ It is also said that Noah sealed the Ark with bitumen and that it endured more than a thousand years on the mountains of Armenia.¹⁶

There are many others of these [sorts of things] that are scarcely credible, yet from experience are recognized. [For example] the ancients mention satyrs, which are animals with a figure half human and half brute yet are capable of speech and reasoning. One of these spoke to Saint Anthony the hermit and condemned the error of the gentiles for worshipping common animals as he begged him to pray to God on his behalf. Saint Jerome recorded this, and he affirms that one was once seen alive in public and was chosen to be sent to the emperor Constantine.¹⁷

Chapter 11

How occult virtues are infused into kinds of things by ideas through the World Soul, the stellar rays, and which things are most abundant with this virtue.

According to Platonists, all inferior ideas come from superior Ideas.¹ They define an Idea as a form above bodies, souls, minds; singular, simple, pure; unchangeable, indivisible, incorporeal, and eternal. The nature of all Ideas is the same.

But they placed ideas in the Good itself—that is, with God—through the manner of cause. They are only distinguished from each other by certain relative reasons, or else whatever is in the world shall be one thing without variety, yet they agree with each other in essence, or else God would be a multiple substance. In the second place, is the intelligible—that is, the World Soul—through their own forms and absolute superior forms; they are different from each other.

Thus, all Ideas in God are indeed one form, but in the World Soul, they are many. They are then placed in minds (or connected with bodies, or separate from bodies) with a certain participation, and by degrees, they are distinguished more and more. They are placed in nature as a certain inferior seed of forms infused by Ideas, and they are finally placed in matter as shadows.² In addition to this, there are as many seminal reasons of things in the World Soul as there are ideas in the Divine Mind. For this reason, it built figures in the heavens above the stars and impressed into them all of its qualities.³ Therefore these figures, qualities, and all inferior kinds of virtues depend upon these stars. Thus, as every species has a celestial figure appropriate to it, from which comes a wonderful power of operation,⁴ and through the seminal method of the World Soul, it receives a gift from its own Idea.⁵

Indeed, Ideas are not only the essential causes of any species but are also the causes of every virtue belonging to such species. This is what many philosophers say because of a certain virtue—that is, having a certain and stable reason not accidental or casual, but effective, powerful and unailing, nothing frustrated, doing nothing in vain, and moving virtues that exist in natural things.

Indeed, these virtues, which are the operations of Ideas, do not err unless by accident—that is, from impurities and the inequality of matter. In this way, things are found more or less powerful in the same species according to the purity or confusion of matter. Indeed, all celestial influences can hinder through the confusion and unfitness of matter.⁶ About this, there is a Platonic proverb [that says]: the merits of matter are infused by the celestial virtues, and which Virgil remembered in his poem:

Fire is their power and their heavenly source

*As great harmful bodies do not hinder them.*⁷

Whereby those things that are less immersed in the material Idea—that is, taking a greater similarity with [things] that are separate—have powerful virtues in operating, like an operation of a separated Idea. Therefore, we know that the placement and figure of the celestials are the cause of all noble virtues that are in more inferior species. [8](#)

Chapter 12

How different virtues are infused into different individuals and species.

There are singular individuals and many gifts that are as remarkable as in the [entire] species, which are also from the figures of the heavens and stars.¹ Indeed all individuals, when they start [life] under a determined horoscope² and celestial constellation,³ assemble with certain extraordinary virtues of labor and suffering, a wondrous thing. And they also receive [virtues] from their species, through celestial influences,⁴ and then through the obedience of generated matter and from the World Soul. Such is the quality of the obedience of our bodies and souls. Indeed, we see this in ourselves, because to whatever form we conceive, we move our body with delight, horror, or fear; then frequently heavenly souls, when diversely conceived, matter obediently moves toward them.

Also, many prodigies appear in nature from the imagination of superior motions; and likewise, different virtues that are in no way natural things, but are conceived artificial things, especially if the soul of the operator strives to the same. About this, Avicenna said: “Whatever is made must preexist before the motion and conception of the stars and orbs.”⁵

Thus, the various effects of things, inclinations, and customs are not only disposed from various materials, as most suppose, but also from the influence of various and diverse forms—indeed not specific differences, but particular and individual. And these degrees are variously distributed by God the First Cause, “who distributes the rest to each as He wishes.” Yet He cooperates with the second causes, the angelic, and celestial, disposing corporeal matter and connecting all other things.⁶ Therefore, God infuses all virtues through the World Soul, yet by a particular virtue of images and presiding intelligences, the coursing rays and the aspects of the stars, and a certain agreeing harmony.⁷

Chapter 13

From where occult virtues of things proceed.

It is well known to all that there is a certain virtue in lodestones¹ that attracts iron and that the presence of a diamond destroys that virtue.² Additionally, amber and the balas ruby³ draw chaff when rubbed. The stone asbestos once kindled cannot be or can hardly be extinguished. The carbuncle⁴ shines in darkness. The stone aetite⁵ placed above a pregnant woman or [fruit from a] plant strengthens them; if under [the woman or fruit], destroys⁶ them. Jasper⁷ stops bleeding. The echeneis⁸ stops ships. Rhubarb expels choler.⁹ A chameleon's liver burned on the top of a roof raises rain and thunder.¹⁰ The stone heliotrope blinds¹¹ the eyes and makes the wearer invisible. The stone *lyncurius* removes deceptions from the eye.¹² A fumigation of liparis summons all beasts.¹³ *Synochitides* summon infernal shades, but *anachitides* makes the images of gods appear.¹⁴ The *ennectis*¹⁵ placed under someone causes oracular dreams.¹⁶

There is an Ethiopian herb that dries pools and causes everything to be uncovered; and there is an herb called *latacem*¹⁷ that Persian kings gave to their legates so that wherever they go they will have an abundance of things.¹⁸ There is a Spartan¹⁹ or Scythian herb, that when tasted or even held to the mouth, will allow the Scythians to endure twelve days of hunger and thirst.²⁰ Apuleius said that he was taught well by God²¹ that there were many kinds of herbs and stones, which can give perpetual life to men: but could not speak of this knowledge for men to understand it, since men have a short time to live, eagerly desire evil, and do nothing that is not wicked. If their time is extended, the gods themselves would not be spared.²²

However, from where these virtues come, no one has explained, but many remarkable volumes have been produced about the qualities of these things—not even Hermes, Bacchus, Aaron, Orpheus, Theophrastus, Thabit, Zenothemas, Zoroaster, Evax, Dioscorides, Isaac the Jew, Zacharias the Babylonian, Albertus, or Arnaldus. Yet all of them admit, which Zacharias and Mithridates wrote, that great power and human fate are in the virtues of stones and herbs.

Therefore, [to know] from where these come requires a higher speculation. Alexander the Peripatetic supposed, not departing from his senses and qualities, that they came from the elements and their qualities: which is perhaps true if the qualities are of the same type, but there are many operations of stones, and not of the same type or kind.

Consequently, the Academy together with Plato attributed these virtues to Ideas, the fashioner²³ of things. But Avicenna reduced these operations to intelligences, Hermes to the stars, and Albertus to the specific forms of things. Although these authorities saw each other as adversaries, none of them—if correctly understood—departed from the truth, since all spoke to the same effect in most respects.

Indeed, God is the primary beginning and end of all virtues. His attendants, the intelligences, administer the seal of the Ideas—who, as faithful executors, seal each thing they believe to be an ideal virtue. Meanwhile, the heavens and stars as instruments dispose the matter for receiving those forms that reside in the Divine Majesty (as Plato said in the *Timaeus*) and are carried by the stars. Then the Giver of Forms distributes them through the ministry of his intelligences, which He placed as rulers and guardians over his works to whom he entrusted the faculty in things, such as the virtue of all stones, herbs, metals and all other things that are from the presiding intelligences.

Therefore, form and virtue emerge first from the Ideas, then from the presiding and ruling intelligences, then from the aspects set in the heavens, and finally from the elements disposing the complexion of the corresponding celestial influences, from which the elements themselves are disposed. Therefore, these sorts of operations are managed in more inferior things through distinct forms, but in the heavens by disposing virtues; in the intelligences through mediating reason; in the Archetype through Ideas and exemplary forms. All of these must agree to bring about the effect and virtue of each thing.²⁴

There is a virtue and wonderful operation in each herb and stone, but more so in the stars, which are beyond even the presiding intelligences that provide many things. [Such things come] especially from the Supreme Cause, to whom everything mutually, perfectly, and concordantly corresponds with a harmonious song, as if it were a certain hymn always praising the highest Maker. [It is] just as [in scripture, when] the holy children in the Chaldean furnace were encouraged to sing: “Praise the Lord of all things that grow in the Earth and all that moves in the water, and all the birds in the sky, beasts and cattle and the sons of men.”²⁵

Therefore there is no cause for necessary effects other than all things connected with the First Cause corresponding to the divine model and eternal ideas, from where each thing has its limit in their particular archetypal place and from where it lives and draws its origin: and every virtue of herbs, stones, metals, animals, words, prayers and all that exists are implanted by God. Although operated by the intelligences in these inferiors, sometimes God omits these intermediaries (or suspends their duties) and immediately accomplishes this Himself. [Such acts of God] are called miracles. The authority of the First Cause and the rank of the Second Cause (which Plato and others call handmaids) necessarily drive and produce their effects. Yet, sometimes God by His pleasure frees or suspends them, that they shall thoroughly stop their necessary command and rank: and these are the greatest miracles of God.

Thus, the fire in the Chaldean’s furnace did not consume the children; thus, by Joshua’s command the Sun receded from its course for the space of one day; thus, from the petition of Hezekiah it receded for ten degrees, or ten hours; and thus from the suffering of Christ the full Moon darkened the Sun.²⁶ In the accounts of these operations, no rational discourse, no magic, no great occult or profound science can investigate or attain. They are only learned about and inquired into by divine oracles.

Chapter 14

Of what the World Spirit is and how it binds occult virtues.

Democritus, Orpheus, and many Pythagoreans carefully studied the celestial virtues and inferior natures, saying that all things are full of gods,¹ not without cause, since there is nothing that is of such excellent virtue and devoid of divine assistance that it is content with its own nature.² But they called divine virtues in a variety of things “gods,” which Zoroaster called “false gods” and Synesius called “symbolic allurements.”³ Others called them “living,” and still others called them “souls.” The qualities of things were said to depend on these virtues, because it is only the soul that operates by extending from one matter out to many things around it, as in man who extends his intellect to the intelligible, and his imagination to the imaginable.

This is what they understood: that the soul of one being moves and advances to the other and bewitches it so that its operations are impeded, like a diamond impedes a lodestone so that it cannot attract iron.

It is true that the soul is the *Primum Mobile*,⁴ moving by its own will.⁵ However, the body or matter is unable to move by itself, and if separated from the soul will degenerate. Therefore, they consider the operation more excellent with a medium (such as something that was almost not a body but now almost a soul, or something that is almost not a soul but now almost a body) so that clearly the soul is connected to the body.⁶

They imagine that such a medium is the World Spirit, which is what we call the quintessence,⁷ because it is not from the four elements but is a certain fifth, subsisting above and beyond them. Therefore, in such a spirit, it is necessary to require a medium for celestial souls to belong to dense bodies and grant wonderful gifts.

Indeed, this spirit is close to what is in the body of the world, as is what is in our human bodies. In the same way as the virtues of our souls are applied to the members [of our bodies], the virtues of the World Soul are extended to everything by the quintessence. Nothing is found in the entire universe that is without a spark of its virtue. It is greatly, and indeed most greatly, infused into those things that have drawn the most from the spirit;⁸ drawing from the stellar rays, inasmuch as things make themselves conform to them.

Therefore, this spirit propagates all occult qualities in herbs, stones, metals, and animals through the Sun, the Moon, the planets, and the stars above the planets. However, this spirit can be more useful to us if one understands how to remove it from the other elements, or at least use those things that are most abundant with this spirit. Accordingly, these things, where the spirit is less immersed into the body and less confined to matter, act more powerfully and perfectly, and also more readily generate their like: for in them are all generative and seminal virtues.

For this reason, alchemists try to separate spirit from gold and silver. When they are duly removed and extracted, if afterward there was any matter of the same kind, this was added to any metal. [By doing this,] gold and silver were immediately made.⁹ We have learned how to make this and have sometimes seen it but were not able to make more gold, unless it was the same weight as that from which the spirit was extracted. Since spirit is an extending form and not contracting,¹⁰ it cannot change an imperfect body into a perfect one beyond its measure. I will not deny this, yet it might be possible by a different art.

Chapter 15

How we must investigate and test the virtues of things by way of acceptance and similarity.

It is well known that the qualities of occult things are not from elemental natures but are engrafted by the heavens, hidden from our senses, and in fact, scarcely understood by our reason.¹ Indeed, these [qualities] are from the World Spirit through the stellar rays, which we cannot investigate except by experience and conjecture. From where, you who are anxious to feign effort into this study must consider this because each thing moves and turns to its like and inclines according to all of its abilities and qualities; that is, in occult virtue, as well as in quality, and of course, elemental virtue. It is also always in the substance itself, as we see in salt: for whatever stands for long in salt, becomes salt.²

Indeed, every agent when it begins to act does not move towards an inferior of itself, but as long as it can, [the inferior] will be made equal and agreeable to it. We also clearly see this in sensible animals, in which the nutritive virtue of food does not change into herbs or plants but into sensible flesh.³

Therefore, in those things where there is an excess of any qualities or properties, such as heat, cold, boldness, fear, sadness, anger, love, hatred, or any other passion or virtue (whether if it belongs to itself by nature, or sometimes by skill or chance, such as the boldness of a prostitute), these things move and provoke such a great quality, passion, and virtue. Thus, fire moves to fire and water moves to water and boldness moves to boldness.

It is well known by physicians that the brain helps the brain and the lungs help the lungs.⁴ They say that if the eye of a frog is suspended from around the neck in a cloth in the original color it will cure eye inflammations: the right eye for the right, and the left for the left.⁵ The same is said about crabs for the eyes. Likewise, the feet of a tortoise were collected for gout and bound suspended [upon the body of the afflicted individual] feet to feet, hand to hand, right to right, left to left. They said in the same way that all barren animals⁶ provoke sterility, and to especially use their testicles and womb or urine. If [these are] given to a woman and she takes it or if something is infused with it, she will not conceive for an entire month.

Therefore, if we wish to work with some quality or virtue, we must search for an animal or other thing that belongs to such an excellent quality and from this take the part in which such a quality or virtue especially thrives. For instance, if we wish to promote love, we search for some animal that especially loves, which are pigeons, turtledoves,⁷ sparrows, swallows, and wagtails. From these, we take the members or parts whose strength has the greatest venereal appetite, which are the heart, testicles, womb, penis, sperm, and menses. This must happen at a time when that animal is most affected by captivation and intensity;⁸ indeed, then they greatly provoke and draw love. Likewise, for increasing boldness, we must search for a lion or rooster from whom we take the heart, eyes, or forehead.⁹

Thus, we must understand what Psellus the Platonist said, that dogs, ravens,¹⁰ and roosters are good for watching. Also, nightingales, bats, and owls have the best heads, hearts, and eyes.¹¹

Therefore, they said, “If you carry the heart of a raven or a bat about you, you will not feel sleepy until it is discarded.” The same is true of the head of a bat that is dried and bound to the right arm of someone who is awake: for if it was placed while sleeping, they will not wake until it is discarded.¹²

In the same way, frogs and horned owls make one talkative, and of these especially is the tongue and the heart. Thus, the tongue of a water frog placed under the head makes one talk in their sleep.¹³ The heart of a horned owl placed under the left breast of a sleeping woman will cause the effect of pronouncing all secrets. Also, the same effect happens when the heart of a small owl and the fat of a hare are placed over the breast of someone sleeping.¹⁴

In the same way, all animals who are long-lived confer long life, and whatever can renew their life grants renewal of life to our bodies and restores youth, which physicians have shown to accept many times, and is shown in vipers and serpents. It is well known that stags renew their old age by consuming serpents.¹⁵ In the same way, the phoenix renews by a fire that it makes for itself.¹⁶ And a similar virtue is in the pelican, whose right foot if placed under warm dung, a pelican will be born from it after three months.¹⁷

Therefore, some physicians made confections out of vipers and hellebore and certain animals’ flesh, which promise to renew youth. Sometimes they do restore,¹⁸ just as Medea promised to restore the aged Peliae.¹⁹ It is likewise believed that the blood of a bear, if drawn by the mouth from a fresh wound, is a potion that will increase strength in the body. [This is] because that animal is the strongest.²⁰

Chapter 16

How the operations of different virtues are transferred from one thing to another, and how they are shared with each other.

You must know about the great power of natural things that not only affect things brought near to them but also infuse into them a like power, [causing them to] affect other things through the same virtue, such as we see in lodestones. Indeed, this stone not only draws iron rings but also infuses a power into the ring where the same effect becomes possible,¹ which Augustine² and Albertus³ report they saw themselves.

According to this, it is said that a public prostitute, who exudes boldness and shamelessness, affects everything near her with these qualities, which are then transferred to others. Therefore, they say, that if one dresses in the garments or shirt of a prostitute, or if one has a mirror into which a prostitute gazes daily, they will become bold, intimidating, shameless, and extravagant.⁴

They say in a similar manner that cloth [that was used] in a burial will contain some quality of sadness and Saturn. Likewise, a hanging noose has some wondrous qualities.⁵

The same is written by Pliny: that if you place earth under a blinded green lizard in a glass vase, [you should] include rings of solid iron or gold. When, looking through the glass, the vision of the lizard appears to have returned, take out the rings. They will relieve inflammation from the eyes. The same is also said with weasels and rings, [because] it is agreed that if weasels' eyes are plucked out with a point their vision will be restored again.⁶ In the same manner, rings are placed at certain times in the nests of sparrows or swallows, which afterward are used for love or favor.

Chapter 17

How the virtues of things are investigated and tested by hatred and friendship.

It is now time to consider that everything has friendliness and unfriendliness among themselves and that everything has something that is fearful, horrible, unfriendly, and destructive to it. Conversely, [everything has] something that exalts, delights, and comforts it.

Thus, in the elements, fire is against water and air is against earth. But [fire and air, and water and earth] agree with each other. Again, in the heavens, Saturn is friendly to Mercury, Jupiter, the Sun, and Moon but unfriendly to Mars and Venus. Jupiter is friendly with all the planets except Mars. Thus, all the planets except Venus are enemies with Mars. The Sun loves Jupiter and Venus, and is an enemy to Mars, Mercury, and the Moon. All [of the planets] except Saturn love Venus. Mercury is friendly with Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, and is an enemy with the Sun, Moon, and Mars. However, the Moon is friendly with Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, and enemies with Mars and Mercury.

There is another enmity among the stars—that is, when they have opposite houses, such as Saturn toward the luminaries, Jupiter toward Mercury, and Mars toward Venus. That enmity is stronger in [those planets] whose exaltations are opposite to theirs, such as Saturn with the Sun, Jupiter with Mars, and Venus with Mercury. However, the strongest friendships are those of a harmonious nature, quality, substance, and power, such as Mars with the Sun and Venus with the Moon, likewise Jupiter with Venus. It is also friendly when one's exaltation is in the house of another, such as Saturn with Venus, Jupiter with the Moon, Mars with Saturn, the Sun with Mars, Venus with Jupiter, and the Moon with Venus.¹

Whatever has friendly or unfriendly inclinations in the superior realm [will exhibit] these same tendencies [among] subordinate things in the inferior. Therefore, the conditions in friendliness or unfriendliness are nothing else than certain inclinations of things toward each other—desiring various things if absent; moving toward them unless impeded; resting when acquired; fleeing [what] opposes them, dreading their approach, and not resting.² Therefore, Heraclitus professed his opinion that everything happens through hatred and friendship.³

However, inclinations of friendship in vegetables and minerals are such that magnets attract iron, emeralds attract wealth and favor,⁴ jasper in childbirth,⁵ and agate in eloquence.⁶ In a similar manner naphtha draws fire and leaps into whatever direction it sees;⁷ similarly, the herb *aproxis* draws fire from afar like naphtha.⁸

There is the same inclination in the masculine and feminine palm tree, that when one branch touches the branch of the other, they embrace each other in mutual affection,⁹ and the female will not bring fruit without the male. The solitary almond tree is less fertile. Vines love elm trees, and opium, olives, and myrtles love each other. Olive and fig trees are similar.

In animals, there is true friendship between blackbirds and thrushes, crows and herons, between peacocks and pigeons, and turtledoves and parrots.¹⁰ About this, Sappho wrote to Phaon:

Often white pigeons are joined with [birds of] different colors

*And black turtledoves are loved by green birds.*¹¹

Again, small fish and whales are friends.¹² Friendship is not only among animals but also with other things such as with metals and stones and with vegetables. Thus, felines and cats delight in the herb catnip, which they rub, surrendering themselves to conception, and with the lack of a male.¹³ Mares in Cappadocia expose themselves to the blowing wind, and from that force conceive.¹⁴ Thus, frogs, toads, serpents, and other poisonous reptiles delight in the plant that is called “laughing parsley,”¹⁵ which physicians say if one consumes it, they will die laughing.

Friendships of animals with other things.

Again tortoises, when poisoned by a serpent, eat wild marjoram¹⁶ and they are cured. A stork when it has eaten a serpent seeks to heal itself from wild marjoram.¹⁷ A weasel when fighting a basilisk¹⁸ eats the herb rue: from which we recognize that wild marjoram and rue possess a virtue against poisons.¹⁹ Thus, in some animals, there are natural skills and innate medicinal arts. For toads, when bitten by another animal and wounded by poison, customarily search for rue or sage. They rub the place of the wound with this and cure themselves of the danger of the poison.²⁰

What men have learned from beasts.

Thus, beasts have taught men very well about many remedies from sickness and the virtues of things. For instance, swallows have shown us that celandine²¹ is helpful for sight, with which they heal the eyes of their chicks.²² Magpies when sick bring a laurel leaf into their nest and then grow stronger. Likewise [with laurel], wood pigeons,²³ jackdaws, partridges, and blackbirds purge their nauseous stomachs. Similarly, ravens²⁴ and chameleons also extinguish poison [with that plant].²⁵ Lions, if feverish, will grow stronger if they eat an ape.²⁶ Hoopoes,²⁷ if injured by eating a grape, are healed by maidenhair.²⁸

Thus, stags have taught us that dittany is a useful herb for extracting arrows since they eject the piercing dart by eating that herb.²⁹ It is the same for Cretan goats.³⁰ Deer, somewhat before they give birth, purge themselves with a certain herb that is called hartwort.³¹ Likewise, when venomous spiders wound deer they [the deer] eat crabs to restore their health.³² Also, pigs, when serpents bite them, cure themselves by eating [crabs].³³ Ravens, when they feel that they are poisoned by a *toxico gallico*,³⁴ use

an oak, or others say the *corvativam*,³⁵ to seek a cure.³⁶ Elephants, when they devour a chameleon, help themselves with the wild olive. Bears, when hurt by the mandrake, escape [danger] by eating ants. Geese, ducks and other aquatic birds heal themselves with the herb ironwort.³⁷ Pigeons, turtledoves, and hens [heal themselves] with the herb *helxine*,³⁸ and cranes [heal themselves] with rushes. Leopards heal themselves against wolfsbane with human feces, boars with ivy, and deer with the herb artichoke.³⁹

Chapter 18

Of the inclinations of enmities.

On the other hand, there are unfriendly inclinations. These are inclinations of an odious nature like an anger, an indignation, or a certain powerful opposition. Things thus affected flee their opposite, or are propelled as if fleeing the shape of it.

Examples of these kinds of inclinations are: rhubarb against cholera;¹ theriacs² against poison; sapphires against anthrax, fiery fevers, and afflictions of the eyes; amethyst against drunkenness; jasper against flowing blood³ and harmful phantoms; emerald and chaste tree against lust;⁴ agate against poisons; peony against falling sickness;⁵ coral against the delusions of black bile⁶ and stomach pain;⁷ topaz against spiritual fires such as greed, extravagance, and all excessive love.⁸

Likewise, is the inclination of ants against wild marjoram⁹ and a bat's wing¹⁰ against the heart of a hoopoe, which if present, will flee. There is a poisonous ant¹¹ that is opposed to wild marjoram¹² and resists salamanders, and the ants have such an enduring hatred of cabbage that they destroy each other in turn. Thus, cucumbers hate oil to such an extent that they will bend themselves into a hook so that they do not touch it.

It is said that a raven's gall, with certain other things, chases away and frightens men from the place where it is hidden. Likewise, a diamond disagrees with the lodestone to such an extent that if [a diamond] is placed near [the stone], iron will not be attracted to that lodestone. Sheep flee frog-parsley¹³ as if it were deadly. What is more wondrous, nature has painted this sign of death on the livers of sheep, where the figure of the frog-parsley we described naturally appears.¹⁴ Goats also hate basil¹⁵ as if nothing was more destructive.¹⁶

Antipathy and disagreement of animals.

Again, among animals, mice and weasels disagree: so that with cheese, if the brains of a weasel are added to the rennet, mice will not touch it, and [the cheese] will not spoil with age.¹⁷ Scorpions so oppose lizards that even the sight of them causes fear and freezes them in a cold sweat. Therefore, they putrefy [the lizard] in oil, and with it, kill them and also anoint scorpion stings.¹⁸ There is also an enmity between scorpions and mice. We read that if a mouse is placed under a scorpion sting it will be cured.¹⁹ There is an enmity between scorpions and *stalabores*,²⁰ asps, and ichneumons.²¹ It is also said that there are no such adversaries as serpents against crabs, and if a pig is stung they will eat [a crab] and be healed; also, when the Sun is in Cancer, serpents are tormented.²² Scorpions and crocodiles destroy each

other.²³ If the feather of an ibis touches a crocodile, he will be immobilized.²⁴ The bird [called a] bustard flies away when it sees a horse.²⁵ A stag will flee when it sees a ram²⁶ and also flee when it sees a viper.²⁷ Elephants react with fear at sound of a grunting pig,²⁸ just as lions do when they see a rooster.²⁹ Leopards will not touch something that is anointed with the broth of a hen, especially if garlic is boiled in it.³⁰ There is also an enmity between foxes, swans, bulls, and crows.³¹

Likewise, among birds, there is a perpetual battle between crows and owls, kites and ravens, *pitallies*³² and turtledoves, *bicuthus* and *pagrus*,³³ yellow thrush and turtledoves,³⁴ *Aegepii*³⁵ and eagles, stags and dragons.³⁶

Among the aquatics, there are also enmities such as between dolphins and whales, *cestris* and the wolf-fish,³⁷ and eels and congers. Likewise, crustaceans frighten polyps to such an extent that when they see one nearby, they suddenly die. Crustaceans [are against] congers, and again the congers destroy polyps.³⁸

Likewise, leopards are said to be in fear of hyenas to such an extent that they cannot withstand it, and in any way touch [the hyena's] skin. If the skins of each are hanged one against the other, the hairs of the leopard skin will drop off;³⁹ as Horapollo⁴⁰ said in the *Hieroglyphics*: "If one is girded with the pelt of a hyena and walks in the midst of his enemies, he will not be hurt and will calmly pass."⁴¹ Likewise, lambs have an enmity with wolves (which offend them) and flee from them in dread.⁴² They say that if a wolf's tail, skin, or head is hung over a sheep pen, the sheep are sad, will not eat, and are fearful before it. Pliny reported that the small bird *esalon*⁴³ breaks the eggs of ravens whose chicks are antagonized by the fox and that she will, in turn, pluck the fox's young. If a raven sees [an *esalon*] it will help [the fox] as they are facing a common enemy. The *acanthus*,⁴⁴ a small bird living among thorn bushes, hates asses because they eat the flowers of its thorn bushes. However, the small bird *egithus*⁴⁵ has such a great dissent with asses that their blood cannot be mixed together, and the bellowing [of an ass] will kill the eggs and young of an *egithus*.⁴⁶

Likewise, there is such a great dissent between olives and prostitutes that, if she plants it, [the olive] will either perpetually be unfruitful or it will wither up entirely.⁴⁷ Lions fear nothing more than burning torches nor is anything believed to subdue them more than this.⁴⁸ A wolf fears neither iron nor spear, yet when stones are thrown, [they] cause wounds that beget worms.⁴⁹ Horses fear camels⁵⁰ to such an extent that they cannot endure to see a camel's appearance or perceive it. A raging elephant, when seeing a ram,⁵¹ is subdued. A snake fears a nude man, but when a man is clothed the snake attacks. A raging bull, if bound to a fig tree, weakens its attack. Amber draws everything to it except basil and that which is smeared with oil,⁵² with which it naturally disagrees.

Chapter 19

How the virtues of things are investigated and tested,
which things belong to the entire species, or what things
are developed by being granted to particular individuals.

You must also consider the virtues belonging to things according to certain species, such as boldness and courage in lions and roosters, timidity in hares and lambs, greed or voracity in wolves, craftiness and fraud in foxes, flattery in dogs, greed in ravens and crows, arrogance in horses, anger in tigers and boars, sadness and melancholy in cats, desire in sparrows,¹ and the like. Indeed, the greatest part of natural virtues accompanies the species.

There are dual virtues in things.

However, some things belong according to the individual, such as some men vehemently abhor the sight of a cat and are therefore unable to see them without heavy shivering;² for indeed the shivering does not belong to them according to the human species, because that is obvious. Avicenna wrote of a man who lived in his time whom all poisonous things avoided, killing anything that by chance seized and bit him, but he was entirely uninjured.³ Albertus referred to a girl he saw in Cologne,⁴ who hunted spiders for food, which she delightedly ate.⁵

Likewise is the boldness of a prostitute, and the timidity of a thief. About this, philosophers said that some individuals, who never suffered sickness, oppose all sicknesses. Therefore, they say that suspending the bone of a dead man who never had a fever over a patient cures quartan.⁶ There are also many virtues belonging to singular individuals infused by the celestial bodies, as we have shown above.

Chapter 20

How natural virtues in some [things] are throughout their entire substance, but in other [things] in certain parts or members.

Again, you must consider that the virtues of some things belong to the whole—that is, according to their entire substance even all of its parts.¹ for example, the small fish echeneis, by only its touch, brings a ship to a stop.² This happens not because of any particular part but because of its entire substance. Also, the hyena,³ because of its entire substance, its shadow touching dogs will cause them to lose their speech.⁴ Likewise, the celandine⁵ restores sight,⁶ not according to any [particular part] but according to all of its parts—no less in the root than the leaves and seeds, and so on.

However, some virtues belong to things according to some of its parts; for example, only the tongue, eyes, or other members or parts. Thus, the eyes of a basilisk⁷ and *catoblepas*⁸ have the most violent virtue to kill men when they see them.⁹ Likewise, the virtue of the eyes of a hyena is that whenever an animal hesitates its step and investigates it, [the animal] will be stupefied and will not be able to move.¹⁰ A similar virtue is in the eyes of some wolves, that if they first see [a man], they become stupefied and hoarse as if trying to shout without having a voice.¹¹ Of this Virgil recalled in his song:

. . . likewise the voice of Moeris

*The wolves now flee, seeing Moeris first.*¹²

Why enchanters chiefly use the eyes and not other parts.

Also, some women in Scythia, Illyria, and Triballia,¹³ often killed people by angrily looking at them.¹⁴ Likewise, the Telchian people of Rhodes extremely corrupted all who saw them. For this reason, Jupiter drowned them.¹⁵ Therefore, enchanters, for this reason, use the eyes of animals for eye-salves and for similar sufferings operating through enchantments.

In a similar manner, ants flee from the heart of a hoopoe,¹⁶ and not from the head, feet, or eyes. Thus, a lizard's gall rubbed in water is used to gather weasels,¹⁷ and not the tail or the head. Also, a goat's gall enclosed in a bronze vessel buried under the earth gathers frogs. A goat's liver repels butterflies and all moths.¹⁸ A dog's heart makes [other] dogs flee.¹⁹ Likewise, foxes will not touch chickens that

have eaten the liver of a fox.²⁰

Thus, many things have different virtues dispersed throughout their various parts, as they receive according to different celestial influences: just as in the human body, bones receive nothing but life, the eyes sight, and the ears hearing.²¹ In the human body, there is a certain small bone, which the Hebrews call LVZ,²² that is the size of a cleaned chickpea and cannot be corrupted or be conquered by fire but is always preserved uninjured. From [this bone], it is said, just as plants resurrect from seeds, our animal bodies sprout from the dead.²³ These virtues are not declared by reason but by experience.

Chapter 21

Of the virtues of things that belong to themselves only in their lifetime, and those [virtues] that remain in them even after death.

In addition, you must know that certain qualities belong to things only in life and also that certain [qualities] endure after death: for example, the [fish] echeneis stops ships, and the basilisk and *catoblepas* kill with their sight while living. However, after death, nothing happens.

Thus, they say that with colic if a live duck is placed near the stomach, it repels the illness and the duck will die.¹ Similarly, Archytas said: “If you take a heart, freshly extracted from an animal still warm and living, and suspend it over a patient with quartan fever, [the fever] will lift.”² Also, if you swallow the heart of a hoopoe, swallow, weasel, or a mole that is living and beating, it helps with memory, recollection, understanding, and divination.³

[Parts] must be taken from animals while still living.

Hence, from this, there is a general precept, that whatever is collected from animals (or stones, members, or waste such as hair, dung, or hooves), that these should be taken from animals that are still living and, if possible, remain alive afterward.⁴ From this, it is taught: “If you collect the tongue of a frog, then throw the frog alive back into the water; if you collect the tooth or eye⁵ of a wolf, do not kill the wolf,” and so on.

Thus, Democritus wrote that if the tongue of a living sea-frog is removed with no other part of the body attached to it, [and the frog] dropped into the sea, and [the tongue] then placed over the beating heart of a sleeping woman, she will respond truthfully to whatever is asked.⁶ In a similar way, if a frog’s eyes are bound to a sick person before the Sun rises, and [the frog] thus blinded be released in the water, it promises to cure tertian⁷ fever. Also, a nightingale’s flesh bound in the skin of a deer is excellent for staying awake and keeping sleep away.⁸ Similarly, the ray of a stingray⁹ bound to the navel makes easier childbirths. If [the ray is] taken while living, [the stingray] must be thrown in the sea again.¹⁰ It is said that the right eye of a serpent bound [to a patient] is useful against watering [of the eyes]. If the serpent lives, then release it.¹¹ There is a certain fish or great serpent called *myrus*,¹² whose eye, if it is plucked out and bound to the forehead of the patient, is said to cure inflammation of the eyes. However, the fish’s eye will be born again, but the other eye should be taken if it cannot be released alive.¹³ Likewise, the teeth of all serpents, when removed while they are living and suspended above the patient, are said to cure quartan fever.¹⁴ Also, the teeth removed from a live mole, which is then released, cure toothaches.¹⁵

Dogs will not bark at those having a tail of a weasel that was released.¹⁶ Democritus said that a chameleon's tail, if taken while living, is good for exerting influence on the outcome of judgments and also for healthy childbirth near the home. However, beware that it not be brought inside the home, because it might be destructive.¹⁷

Things after death may retain their powers.

There are also qualities that remain after death. Platonists say that in things that are less immersed in material Ideas, [those qualities] that are still immortal after they are dead and finished do not cease to operate wonders.¹⁸

Thus, in herbs and plants when torn and dried, thrive and operate their virtues previously infused by Ideas. Because of this, an eagle in life surpasses and conquers all other birds, and also when dead, its feathers destroy and corrode all other feathers and plumes.¹⁹ For the same reason, the pelt of a lion consumes all other pelts, and the pelt of a hyena destroys the pelt of a leopard, and the pelt of a wolf corrodes the pelt of a lamb.²⁰

Drums made from different skins have different effects.

Some of these act not only by corporeal contact but also by vocal harmony. For instance, a drum made from the skin of an *adib*—that is, a wolf—will silence a drum made from the skin of a lamb.²¹ Likewise, a drum made from the skin of *ericii marini*²² chases away all reptiles, from whatever distance a sound of this sort is heard. Also, nothing will be heard in harmony from a lyre or cithara made with strings tensed from the intestines of a wolf, if also tensed with [strings] made from a sheep.²³

Chapter 22

How inferior things are under celestial bodies, and how the human body, activities, and customs of man are assigned to the stars and signs.

It is undoubted that all of the inferior are beneath the superior. In a certain way (as Proclus said) they belong to each other—that is, the lowest supreme and the highest inferior.¹ Thus, in the heavens there are earthly [things] that have their causes as if in a celestial manner; likewise on earth there are celestial [things] existing in a terrestrial manner—that is, by effect.

Therefore, we say that some things are Solar, some things are Lunar, in which the Sun or the Moon cause some of their virtues, from where things of this kind receive many operations and qualities similar to the qualities and operations under that star and figure. For this reason, we recognize that Solar things regard the heart and the head—because Leo is the house of the Sun and Aries exalts the Sun. Again, Mars directs the head and testicles because of Aries and Scorpio. Hence, if wine intoxicates by staggering the senses and hurting the head, a quick remedy is to place the testicles in cold water or diluted vinegar. Indeed, concerning this, it is necessary to know how the human body is distributed among the planets and signs.

Therefore, know that according to Arab tradition, the Sun rules the head, heart, thigh, marrow, right eye, and vital spirit.

Mercury, however, rules² the tongue, and other sensory instruments or organs interior or exterior, and also the hands, feet, legs, nerves, and imaginative virtues.

Why there was an effigy of a navel in the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

Saturn rules the spleen, stomach, bladder, womb, right ear, and receptive virtues.

Jupiter rules the liver and fleshy parts of the stomach, and likewise the belly and navel. The ancients wrote that in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, there was an effigy of a navel. Additionally, some assign the ribs, breasts, intestines, blood, arm, right hand, left ear, and natural virtues.

Moreover, Mars rules the blood, veins, kidneys, gallbladder, nostrils,³ back, the descent of sperm, and irascible strength.

Venus rules the kidneys, vulva, womb, genitals, and the virtue of desire. [Venus] additionally rules the flesh and fat, stomach, breasts, navel, that which services Venustian operations, as the sacrum bone,⁴ backbone, and loins, and also, she is accurately said [to rule] the head and lips where one kisses as a symbol of love.

The Moon, however, although claiming the entire body and individual members through the different signs, is yet personally appointed the brain, lungs, marrow of the backbone, stomach, menstrua, all excrements, the left eye, and the power of increase.⁵

Indeed, Hermes said that there are seven holes in the head of an animal distributed to the seven planets. These are, the right ear to Saturn, the left to Jupiter, the right nostril to Mars, Venus the left, the right eye to the Sun, the left to the Moon, and the mouth to Mercury.⁶

Which parts of the human body are under the planets and signs of the zodiac.

Likewise, the individual signs of the zodiac attend to the members. Thus, Aries rules the head and face; Taurus the neck; Gemini the forearms and shoulders; Cancer the breasts, lungs, stomach and upper arms; Leo governs the heart, stomach, liver, and back; Virgo cares for the intestines and the bottom of the stomach; Libra governs the kidneys, thighs, and buttocks; Scorpio the genitals and vulva and womb; Sagittarius rules the thighs and groin; Capricorn rules the knees; Aquarius the legs and shins; and Pisces rules the feet.⁷

Also, as the triplicities⁸ of the signs correspond and agree in the celestials, thus they also agree in the members—which is agreed enough by experience, because if cold inflicts the feet, stomach, and breasts, these members respond to the same triplicity. Accordingly, if a medicine is appointed to one, it is useful to the others, such as if heat is added to the feet, pain in the stomach ceases.⁹

Remember and know this succession, because things that are under any of the planets have a certain singular appearance or inclination attributed to that same planet, and especially its domicile or exaltation. The remaining dignities are less than these—that is, the triplicities, terms,¹⁰ and decans.¹¹

Therefore, according to this rationale, peony, citron, clove,¹² citrus peel, marjoram, *doronicum*,¹³ cinnamon, saffron, lignum aloe, frankincense, amber, musk, and partially myrrh cure the head and heart¹⁴ because of the Sun, Aries, and Leo. Thus, the greater plantago,¹⁵ a Martial herb, heals the head and testicles¹⁶ according to Aries and Scorpio and so on.

Additionally, Saturn brings sadness and melancholy, Jupiter joy and authority, and Mars audacity, violence, and anger. The Sun brings glory, victory, and boldness. Venus brings love, desire, and longing. Mercury brings eloquence. The Moon is for common life.

Human customs and activities are under the planets.

Men's activities and customs are also assigned to the planets thus: Saturn rules the aged, monks, melancholy, hidden treasure, and that which is acquired with difficulty through long journeys. Jupiter, however, has the religious, prelates, kings and leaders, and gains lawfully acquired. Mars has barbers, surgeons, physicians, officers, executioners, butchers, keepers of furnaces, bakers, and soldiers that everywhere are called "martial."¹⁷ Similarly, the remaining stars signify men's activities, which are

described in astrological books.

Chapter 23

How we shall know under which star natural things are and which things are Solar.

It is truly very difficult to understand which star or sign a thing is under. Yet they are understood through the imitation of their rays, movement, or figure of the superiors. Some are also [understood] by colors and scents, some also through the effects of their operations agreeing with certain stars.¹

Thus, among Solar [things] are elemental fire and bright flame; in humors, pure blood and vital spirit; among tastes, mixed sharp and sweet.²

Among metals, [the Sun has] gold because of its splendor and because [gold] has its strengthening heart from the Sun.³

Among stones, however, are those with golden drops that imitate the Sun's rays, such as the stone aetite, which has a virtue against falling sickness and poison. Also, the stone that is called the "eye of the Sun"⁴ has a figure similar to the pupil of an eye, and from its center, it emits a ray⁵ that strengthens the brain and sharpens⁶ the eye. The carbuncle shines at night and has a virtue against all airy and vaporous poisons. The stone chrysolite is weak in color and a clear green. When placed opposite the Sun, it emits a golden star. It strengthens the spirit and helps asthma; when [chrysolite is] pierced, the hole being filled with the hairs of an ass and bound to the left arm, it chases away phantasms and melancholy terrors as well as repels follies.⁷ The stone iris, similar in color to the crystal, is frequently found as a hexagon. When under a roof, and part of it placed opposite the rays of the Sun, and the other part held in the shadow, it collects the Sun's rays into itself. It then projects the reflection, making a rainbow appear on the opposite wall.⁸ Likewise, the stone heliotrope, green in the manner of a jasper or emerald with starry red drops, makes one constant, glorious, and famous and brings long life. It also has a wondrous virtue that if it is in the Sun's rays, it is said to change into blood—that is, it appears to be like blood as if the Sun suffered an eclipse; evidently when it is anointed with the juice of the herb of the same name and placed in a vessel filled with water. There is another more wondrous virtue in the eyes of men, which offends the sight and blinds the vision so that it will not permit men to see those who bear it;⁹ yet it does not happen without the help of the herb of the same name, which is also called heliotrope—that is, following the Sun. These virtues were confirmed in the writings of Albertus Magnus and William of Auvergne.¹⁰

The stone chrysolite.

The stone iris.

The virtues of sapphire.

Pyrophilos.

Hyacinth¹¹ also has a Solar virtue against poisons and pestilential vapors. When carried, [the person carrying it] is rendered safe and acceptable. It brings wealth and talent, as well as strengthening the heart. When held in the mouth, [hyacinths] exceedingly cheer the mind.¹² There is also the *pyrophilos*,¹³ a stone of mixed red. Albertus testified that Asclepius wrote this in one of his letters about Octavian Augustus: that this poison was so cold that the heart of a man is preserved from death by burning. Thus, if it is placed in fire for some time it is changed to stone. [For this reason], it is called *pyrophilos*: “from fire.” It has a wonderful virtue against poison, and it renders the bearer ambitious and formidable against adversaries.¹⁴ But above everything that is Solar is the stone called the *pantaura*, which is said to have been found by Apollonius.¹⁵ It draws other stones to itself, like lodestones with iron, and is effective against all poisons.¹⁶ Others call it *pantherus* because it has spots like the leopard.¹⁷ Likewise is the [stone] called *panthocras*,¹⁸ which contains all colors. Aaron called this *evanthum*.¹⁹ Other Solar [stones] are the topaz, chrysoprase, ruby, and balas ruby.²⁰ Likewise solar are the orpiment and things goldencolored and very bright.²¹

Among Solar trees and plants there are those that turn to the Sun, such as the heliotrope.²² There are others that interweave their leaves at the setting Sun and when it rises again unfold their leaves gradually: the lotus,²³ which is a small Solar tree as testified by its fruit and leaves, is one such plant. Also, the peony, swallow-wort, citrus, ginger, gentian, dittany, and verbenas are likewise excellent for prophecy, atonement, and chasing away evil daemons.²⁴ The laurel is sacred to Phoebus,²⁵ as are the cedar, palm, ash tree, ivy, and vine—and this goes for any plant that repels poison and lightning, is evergreen, and does not fear the cold of winter. Also Solar are mint, mastic, zedoary,²⁶ saffron, balsam, amber, musk, yellow honey, lignum aloe, clove, cinnamon, aromatic calamus, pepper, frankincense, marjoram, and rosemary,²⁷ which Orpheus calls the incense of the Sun.²⁸

Why the Egyptians painted baboons on their fountains.

Among animals are those that are noble, courageous, eager for victory, and ambitious, such as the lion (king of beasts), crocodile, lynx, ram, male goat, and bull²⁹ (king of herds, which to the Egyptians at Heliopolis was sacred to the Sun). They called [the bull] *Veritem*, in Memphis the Apis bull, and in Hermonthis a bull was called *Pathim*.³⁰ Wolves are sacred to Apollo and Latona.³¹ Also Solar are baboons, which through each of the twelve hours of the day bark and during the equinox urinate at each of the twelve hours, even at night, which is why the Egyptians sculpted them on their fountains.

Likewise, Solar among birds are the phoenix—a one of a kind bird³²—and the eagle, queen of birds. Also [Solar] are vultures; *alar*,³³ or swan; and those that applaud or call a hymn at the rising of the Sun, such as roosters and ravens.³⁴ Also [Solar] are hawks, which in Egyptian theology are the symbol of

spirit and light and counted by Porphyry as among the Solar.³⁵

Moreover, whatever is collected as Solar, has a likeness to an operation of the Sun, such as worms shining at night. For instance, there is the scarab, which is called a cat.³⁶ It has a bright form that is also said to be a vessel, and it rolls little balls. It incubates and generates others from above.³⁷ According to Apion's interpretation, these [qualities] are similar to the operations of the Sun, and come from it; [animals] whose eyes vary according to the course of the Sun are judged Solar.³⁸

Fish that are especially Solar are sea-calves. These resist lightning.³⁹ Likewise [Solar] are mollusks and jellyfish, which shine at night; starfish, because of their scorching heat;⁴⁰ *strombi*,⁴¹ who follow their king; and *margari*,⁴² who also have a king, are dried and hardened into stone and have a golden color.

Chapter 24

Of things that are under the Moon.

The Lunar among elements is earth,¹ also water such as the sea and rivers, all humid [things], moist trees and animals, and especially white [things] such as egg whites, fat, sweat, phlegm, and excess flesh. For tastes, [the Moon has] the salty and tasteless.²

Among the metals, silver is Lunar. Among stones are the crystal, silver marcasite, and all that is white and green.³ Other stones are selenites, which are Lunar because they are translucent and bright with a honey brightness. They imitate the changing phases of the Moon: having the figure of the Moon in themselves, they reflect that [figure] by waxing and waning each day.⁴ Likewise are pearls, which are generated from mollusks from drops of water, and similarly with crystal and beryl.⁵

Lunar plants and trees.

Among Lunar plants and trees are the *selenotropion*,⁶ which turns toward the Moon just as heliotropes turn toward the Sun.⁷ Also palm trees, which send out a single branch with each moonrise,⁸ as well as the hyssop, rosemary, small trees, and large plants, sharing from each.⁹ Also Lunar is the chaste lamb, or chaste tree, and olive. Similarly the herb *chinosates*,¹⁰ which increases and decreases with the Moon¹¹—that is, in substance and number of leaves, not only in moisture and virtue, which is in a certain way common to each planet except the Martial¹² onion, which is uniquely contrary to the Moon, increasing when the Moon is decreasing and decreasing when the Moon increases,¹³ just as among flying things is the quail, a Saturnine bird, which is unfriendly to the Moon and Sun.¹⁴

Lunar animals.

Among Lunar animals are those that rejoice in human company and those that naturally excel equally varying in love and hatred, such as all kinds of dogs. Also Lunar are chameleons, who always dress in colors in front of the various colors of objects, just as the Moon shows its various natures on behalf of the various signs.¹⁵ Also Lunar are pigs, deer, female goats, and any animal that observes and imitates the motion of the Moon, such as baboons¹⁶ and leopards. Indeed, there is a spot on [a leopard's] shoulder similar to the Moon, visible as a circle bearing horns but curved. Cats, whose eyes become larger or smaller with the Moon, are Lunar.¹⁷ Of this kind are the many wondrous and strange things that are made

with menstrual blood by magicians. Also, hyenas, who change gender,¹⁸ and are guilty of various enchantments, and all animals that are called amphibious who live on land as well as water, such as beavers, otters,¹⁹ and those that hunt fish. Additionally, are all strange animals, and those without obvious seed or ambiguous generation, such as mice, who [generate] from coition and from the decaying earth.²⁰

Lunar birds.

Among Lunar birds are geese, ducks, grebes,²¹ and all aquatics and hunters of fish, and those that equivocally produce, such as wasps from out of the cadavers of horses, bees from a rotting cow, small flies from corrupted wine,²² and scarabs from an ass's flesh.

However, especially Lunar is the two-horned beetle, which is called bull-like, who buries the little balls and leaves them there for twenty-eight days, which is the total measure of the Lunar zodiac. But on the twenty-ninth day, which it thinks will be a conjunction of the luminaries,²³ it uncovers [the balls] and throws them in the water, from which then scarabs emerge.²⁴

Lunar fish.

Among Lunar fish are the *aelurus*,²⁵ whose eyes turn according to the Moon's changes, and whatever [aquatic animal that] watches the movement of the Moon, including electric rays,²⁶ echeneis, crabs, oysters,²⁷ shellfish, and frogs.

Chapter 25

What is under Saturn.

Saturnine things among elements are earth and water; among humors are black bile, which is moist, and of tastes the acidic, sharp, and heavy.¹

Among metals is lead (because of its weight), and among stones are gold marcasite, onyx, *ziataa*,² *camoinus*,³ sapphire, smoky jasper, chalcedony, lodestone, and all [stones] earthy, dark, and heavy.⁴

Among plants and trees are the asphodel,⁵ *serpentaria*,⁶ rue, cumin, hellebore, *silphium*,⁷ mandrake, and opium. [Any botanical] that stupefies,⁸ does not sow, does not bring fruit, has black berries, or produces black fruit (such as the black fig⁹ or pine) is under Saturn. Cypress, a funerary tree¹⁰ that does not grow berries, is also of this kind. Again, anything that is grim, bitter tasting, has a violent odor, is colored an unpleasant shade with a bitter resin, bears unnecessary fruit, and/or is incorruptibly hard is similarly presided over by that planet. Also [plants that are associated with] death and sacred to Dis,¹¹ such as parsley¹² with which the ancients covered tombs before corpses were placed into them. This is why, in festivals, it was lawful to tie all herbs and flowers to garlands except parsley, because parsley was mournful and did not bring cheer.

The funerary cypress tree.

Parsley was once forbidden in garlands.

Of animals, creeping things that are removed, solitary, nocturnal, sad, contemplative, or thoroughly dull, avaricious, timid, melancholy, very laborious, slow-moving, eating filth, and devouring their young [belong to Saturn]. Therefore, of these are moles, asses, wolves, hares, mules, cats, camels, bears, pigs, apes, dragons, basilisks, toads, all serpents and crawling things, scorpions, ants, and those creatures born from decaying earth, in water, or in ruined buildings, such as mice and many worms.

Among Saturnine birds are those that have long necks and coarse voices, such as cranes and ostriches. Peacocks¹³ are sacred to both Saturn and Juno. Also [Saturnine] are screech owls, small owls, bats, hoopoes, ravens, and quails—the most envious of birds.¹⁴

Among fish are eels, which live separately from other fish,¹⁵ *musipulas*,¹⁶ and dogfish, who devour their young. Also [Saturnine] are tortoises, oysters, conchs, sea sponges, and those that are from them.¹⁷

Chapter 26

That which is of Jupiter.

Jupiter has among the elements air. Among the humors [Jupiter has] blood and vital spirit, and also that which augments and nourishes life and vegetation. Of tastes, [he has] the sweet and agreeable.¹

[The metals under Jupiter are] tin, silver, and gold, because of its temperament.² Among stones the hyacinth, beryl, sapphire, *tuthia*,³ emerald, green jasper, and perpetually green and airy colors.⁴

Among plants and trees are Jove's beard,⁵ basil, prickly ox tongue,⁶ mace, spikenard,⁷ mint, mastic, elecampane, violet, lily,⁸ and henbane.⁹ Also poplar and those trees that are happy,¹⁰ such as the aesculus,¹¹ oak, holm-oak,¹² beech tree, hazel tree, poplar,¹³ service tree, white fig, pear tree, apple tree, vine, plum tree, dogwood,¹⁴ and also olives and their oil. [He] also [has] grain, barley, wheat, raisin, licorice, sugar, and all that is sweet, clear, and subtle. Jupiter shares anything that tastes astringent and sharp, such as nuts, almond, pine, filbert, pistachio, peony root, myrobalan, rhubarb, and manna. Orpheus likewise assigns the styrax.¹⁵

Among animals are those that carry such a dignity and prudence, and those of mild and good discipline and good customs, such as stags, bulls, elephants, and those animals that are tame, such as sheep and lambs.

Among birds are those with temperate complexions, such as hens and their egg yolks. Likewise [are] partridges, pheasants,¹⁶ swallows, and pelicans. Also [are] the *cucupha*¹⁷ and stork, which signify affection and gratitude. The eagle is sacred to [Jupiter]. It is the insignia of emperors and a symbol of justice and mercy.¹⁸

The eagle was the insignia of emperors and symbol of justice.

Among fish are the dolphin, *anchia*,¹⁹ and sheatfish because of their loyalty.

Chapter 27

That which refers to Mars.

The Martial element is fire, and in an equal manner all scorching and sharp [things]. Among humors [he has] choler. Among tastes, [he has] bitter, sharp and burning the tongue, and that which is said to cause tears.¹

Among metals, iron, red brass, and all things fiery, red, and sulfurous [are Martial]; for stones [Mars has] the diamond, lodestone, bloodstone,² many kinds of jasper, and amethyst.

The plants and trees [are] the hellebore, garlic, euphorbium, *cartabana*,³ ammoniac, radish, laurel, wolfsbane, scammony, and all that are poisonous and abundantly hot.⁴ Those plants protected by pointed spines, or which burn, prick, or cause swelling when touching the skin [are Martial], such as the thistle and stinging nettle. [Mars also rules] that which, when eaten, causes tears. This includes onion, shallot,⁵ leek, mustard, and castor. [It presides over] all trees that are thorny and horned.⁶

Of animals, [Mars has] those that are warlike, grabbing, bold, and of a transparent imagination—such as horses, mules, male goats, kids, wolves, panthers,⁷ wild asses, and likewise serpents and dragons, which are poisonous and hostile. In addition, whatever disturbs men, such as fleas, and gadflies,⁸ and baboons because of their anger.⁹

[Mars has] all grasping birds, carnivorous, and breakers of bones. These include eagles, falcons, and those birds that are said to be dreadful and deadly, small owls, tawny owls, kestrels,¹⁰ kites, and those that are always hungry, grasping, and emit a strangling voice when swallowing, such as ravens and crows.¹¹ Magpies among the others are most sacred to Mars.

Of fish [are] pikes, red mullets, stingrays, *aries*,¹² *hircum*,¹³ *lupum*,¹⁴ *glaucum*,¹⁵ and those that are likewise voracious and grasping.

Chapter 28

That which is of Venus.

Venus has among the elements air and water.¹ Among humors, [she has] phlegm with blood, spirit, and seed. Among tastes, she has the sweet, oily, and delectable.

Among metals are silver and both the yellow and red types of brass;² for the stones are those that are agreeable such as beryl, chrysolite, emerald, sapphire, green jasper, cornelian, aetite, lapis lazuli, coral, and all [minerals that are] beautiful, multicolored, and colored white or green.³

For plants and trees there are verbena,⁴ violet, maidenhair, and the herb *lucia*, or valerian, which the Arabs call *phu*, and thyme, labdanum, amber, musk, sandalwood, coriander, all incenses, and delectable and agreeable fruit, such as the sweet pear, fig, and pomegranate, which poets say was first sown by Venus in Cyprus. Also dedicated to her are the rose of Lucifer⁵ and myrtle of Hesperus.⁶

Among animals [Venus] has the luxurious, delicate, and strongly amorous, such as dogs, rabbits, young sheep, the female and male goats, and other animals who breed quickly, who it is said, couple again seven days after begetting.⁷ Also Venusian are bulls because of their contempt and calves because of their playfulness.

Male goats are lustful.

Among birds are swans, wagtails, swallows,⁸ pelicans, and Egyptian geese,⁹ who especially love their chicks.¹⁰ Ravens and pigeons are sacred to Venus, as are turtledoves. These birds were used in offerings for purifications for birth. Sparrows are also sacred to Venus and were appointed by law to be used in purifications for leprosy, a Martial disease, which resists nothing else beneficial.¹¹ Also, the Egyptians called eagles Venereal because they are prone to be Venusian: for if the female is conquered thirty¹² times a day, and if a male calls, she charges again.¹³

The Venusian fish are the libidinous *grues*;¹⁴ the salacious *scari*;¹⁵ the *merulae*;¹⁶ because they love their young; the crab because it fights for its mate; and the spurge because of its fragrant and sweet scent.

Chapter 29

Of what follows Mercury.

Of elements Mercury has water, although it surreptitiously moves among all [elements].¹ Among humors, it is especially mixed. [Mercury] also regulates the animal spirit, and among tastes, the various, exotic, and mixed.²

Of metals, he has quicksilver, tin, and silver marcasite; for stones [Mercury has] emerald, agate, porphyrite, topaz, and all with many colors and many shapes engrafted by nature, or an artificial art, such as glass, and those that are a mixed yellow and green.³

Among plants and trees [that belong to Mercury, are] hazel, cinquefoil, dog's mercury,⁴ fumitory, burnet saxifrage,⁵ marjoram, parsley, and those that have shorter and smaller leaves, mixed natures, and are composed of varying colors.⁶

Of animals, [Mercury has] the sagacious, clever, active, and those of a versatile nature, running swiftly, and having an easy manner with men. These are dogs, apes, foxes, weasels, stags,⁷ mules, hermaphroditic animals, and those who change sex in turn, such as hares, hyenas,⁸ and the like.

Among birds are those who are naturally clever, melodious, musical, and versatile, such as the goldfinch, *ficedulae*,⁹ blackbird, thrush, lark, nightingale, *calandris*,¹⁰ parrot, magpie, ibis,¹¹ porphyrio,¹² and onehorned scarab.¹³

[The Mercurial] fish are the trochus, which enters into himself and who is said to be male and female,¹⁴ the octopus because he is deceitful and changes colors,¹⁵ and the stingray because of its skill.¹⁶ The gray mullet, who discards bait off the hook with its tail,¹⁷ [is likewise Mercurial in nature].

Chapter 30

How the entire sublunary world, and that which is in it, is distributed among the planets.

Whatever is found in the entire world is caused according to the lordship of the planets and obtains their virtues. Thus, with fire, the life-giving light is with the Sun, and heat Mars. In earth, the various surfaces are the Moon, Mercury, and the starry heaven, but the entire mass is with Saturn. In the middle elements, which rule moisture, air is under Jupiter and water with the Moon, but [both] are mixed under Mercury and Venus.

In a similar way, natural active causes follow the Sun; however, matter is with the Moon, fertile active causes [follow] Jupiter, material fertility is Venus, sudden expeditious effects are with Mars and Mercury—[Mars] for his vehemence, and [Mercury] for his dexterity and his many-faceted virtues—but Saturn is dedicated to the permanent continuation of all.¹

In vegetation, we consider all fruit as belonging to Jupiter, all flowers as belonging to Venus, all seeds and bark to Mercury, all roots with Saturn, all wood with Mars, and leaves with the Moon.²

Everything that brings fruit but does not flower is with Saturn and Jupiter. Those that blossom and seed but do not produce fruit belong to Venus and Mercury. Those that produce voluntarily with no seed are with the Moon and Saturn. All that is beautiful is from Venus, and all that is strong is from Mars. Each planet rules and disposes to those to which it is like.

Similarly, in stones, their heaviness, adhesiveness, and constrictiveness are with Saturn; kindness and temperateness with Jupiter; hardness with Mars; life with the Sun; grace and beauty with Venus; occult virtue with Mercury; and common kindness with the Moon.³

Chapter 31

How the planets are distributed among the provinces and kingdoms.

The kingdoms and provinces of the orb of the world are distributed among the planets and signs. For instance, Saturn with Capricorn is over Macedonia, Thrace, Illyria, India, Arriana,¹ Gordiana,² and much of the area of Asia Minor. [Saturn] with Aquarius rules over the kingdom of Sauromatia,³ Oxiana,⁴ Sogdiana,⁵ Arabia, Azania,⁶ Media,⁷ Ethiopia, and the regions concerning the greater part of inland Asia.

Jupiter with Sagittarius has Tuscia,⁸ Celtica,⁹ Spain, and Arabia Felix.¹⁰ [Jupiter] with Pisces [has] Lycia,¹¹ Lydia,¹² Cilicia,¹³ Pamphylia,¹⁴ Nasamonia,¹⁵ and Garamantica.¹⁶

Mars with Aries rules Britain, Gaul, Germany, Barstania,¹⁷ the round part of Syria, Idumaeam,¹⁸ and Judea. However [Mars] with Scorpio [has] Syria, Comagenem,¹⁹ Cappadocia, Metagonitidem,²⁰ Mauritania, and Getuliam.²¹

The Sun with Leo has Italy, Apulia,²² Sicily, Phoenicia, Chaldea, Orsenii, or Orchenii.²³

Venus with Taurus has the Cyclades, the sea of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Parthia, Media, and Persia. With Libra, she rules Bactria, Caspia, Sericae,²⁴ Thebais, Oasis,²⁵ and Troglodytis.²⁶

Mercury with Gemini has Hyrcania,²⁷ Armenia, Matianam,²⁸ Cyrenaicam,²⁹ Marmaricam,³⁰ and lower Egypt. However, with Virgo, [Mercury has] Greece, Achaea, Crete, Babylon, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Elam,³¹ which is what is called Elamites in the Scriptures.

The Moon with Cancer follows Bithynia,³² Phrygia, Cholchis,³³ Numidia, Africa, Carthage and the entire [region] of Carthage.

We collected these from the opinion of Ptolemy, which, according to the writings of other astrologers, many others can be added.³⁴

However, those who have the divisions of the provinces according to the distributions of the stars, with the ministry of the ruling intelligences, and the blessings of the tribes of Israel and the lots of the apostles,³⁵ and accept the typical seals of sacred scripture, obtain great and prophetic oracles over each region and are able to foretell the future.

Chapter 32

Of what is under the signs, the fixed stars, and their images.

In a similar manner, everything belongs to the figures of the fixed stars. Thus, celestial Aries is over terrestrial rams, celestial Taurus is over terrestrial bulls, Cancer with crabs, Leo with lions, Virgo with virgins, Scorpio over scorpions, Capricorn with goats, Sagittarius over horses, and the sign Pisces over fish. Similarly, the celestial Ursa presides over bears, Hydra over serpents, and Canis [Major] over dogs, and thus for each [constellation].

Apuleius distributed particular signs and planets among certain herbs, such as Aries with sage,¹ Taurus with straight vervain,² Gemini with bent vervain,³ Cancer with comfrey, Leo with cyclamen, Virgo with calamint, Libra with scorpionweed,⁴ Scorpio with mugwort,⁵ Sagittarius with pimpernel, Capricorn with sorrel,⁶ Aquarius with dragonwort, and Pisces with aristolochia. Of planets, Saturn the houseleek, Jupiter agrimony, Mars hogsfennel, the Sun heliotrope, Venus *callitrichum*,⁷ Mercury *phlommum*,⁸ the Moon peony.⁹

However, Hermes [Trismegistus], whom Albertus followed, said the plant of Saturn is asphodel, Jupiter henbane, Mars greater plantain, the Sun knotgrass, Venus verbena, Mercury cinquefoil, and the Moon *chenostacen*.¹⁰ I also know by experience that asparagus is under Aries and basil under Scorpio: for, where the shavings of a ram's horn are planted, asparagus and basil grow, and when bruised between two stones, scorpions are born.

Of the wonderful sowing of asparagus.

The production of scorpions.

In addition, I will point out some of the insignias of the stars according to the writings of Hermes and Thabit. The first [star] is called Caput Algol. Among stones it presides over diamonds, and among plants black hellebore and mugwort. Second are the Pleiades. Among stones they preside over crystals and *diodoeo*;¹¹ among plants *diacedon*,¹² frankincense, and fennel; and over metals quicksilver. Third, Aldebaran has among stones carbuncles and rubies, and among planets spurge and woodruff.¹³ Fourth is called the Goat.¹⁴ It has among stones sapphire; among plants horehound—[also called] *prasium*—mint, mugwort, and mandrake. Fifth is Canis Major. It has among stones beryl, [among plants] savin juniper, mugwort, and dragonwort and among animals the serpent's tongue. Sixth, Canis Minor, has among

stones agates, and among plants is heliotrope flowers and pennyroyal. Seventh, the Heart of the Lion,¹⁵ has among stones garnet¹⁶ and among plants swallow-wort with mugwort and mastic. Eighth is the tail of Ursa Minor, and it has among stones the magnetic lodestone; among plants chicory, the leaves and flowers of which turn toward the north, mugwort, and periwinkle flower; and among animals the tooth of a wolf. The ninth is called Raven's Wing,¹⁷ who has among stones onyx (black); among plants the greater burdock (the four-cornered kind),¹⁸ henbane, and comfrey; and among animals the tongue of a frog. The tenth, Spica, has among stones emeralds; among plants sage, trefoil, periwinkle or *promarullam*,¹⁹ mugwort, and mandrake. The eleventh is called Alchameth,²⁰ who has among stones the jasper and among plants the greater plantain. The twelfth is Elpheia.²¹ It has among stones the topaz, and among plants it presides over rosemary, trefoil, and ivy. The thirteenth is called the Heart of the Scorpion.²² Among stones, it is over the sardonyx and amethyst, among plants the long aristolochia and saffron. The fourteenth is called the Falling Vulture,²³ and it has among stones the chrysolite and among plants savory and fumitory. The fifteenth is called the Tail of Capricorn.²⁴ It has among stones chalcedony, among plants marjoram, mugwort, catnip, and that which is called calamint (similar to fleabane), as well as mandrake root.²⁵

However, besides these, we must know that no stone, plant, animal, or other thing is ruled by only one star, but many. They also receive many influences, not separate, but together. For example, among stones, chalcedony is under Saturn and Mercury with the Tail of the Scorpion²⁶ and Capricorn; however, sapphire is with Jupiter and Saturn and the star Alhayoth,²⁷ and tuthia²⁸ with Jupiter and the luminaries. Emeralds are with Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and Spica. Amethyst, according to Hermes, is under Mars with Jupiter and the Heart of the Scorpion. The many kinds of Jasper are under Mars, Jupiter, and the star Alchameth. Chrysolite is with the Sun, Venus, and Mercury, and the star that is called the Falling Vulture. Topaz is with the Sun and Elpheia. Diamond is with Mars and Caput Algol.

Similarly, among vegetation, the herb *serpentaria* is under Saturn and the celestial Serpent.²⁹ Mastic and mint are under Jupiter and the Sun, but mastic is also under the Heart of the Lion, and mint under the Goat. Also, the hellebore is with Mars and Caput Algol, musk and sandalwood under the Sun and Venus, and coriander under Venus and Saturn.

Among animals, the sea-calf is under the Sun and Jupiter. Foxes and apes are under Saturn and Mercury, and domestic dogs are under Mercury and the Moon³⁰ as we have taught above.

Chapter 33

Of the seals and characters of natural things.

All of the stars have their own natures, qualities, and conditions, whose rays produce seals and characters, even in inferior things—in elements, stones, plants, animals, and in members. From these, each thing obtains a harmonious disposition, and from its star shining upon it, some special seal or character is impressed upon it. Those stars or harmonies are significant and special, containing a virtue different from any other matter, type, species, or number.

Each thing has its own character.

Therefore, everything has its character impressed upon it by its star for some singular effect—especially those stars that hold rulership above all others. These characters contain and retain their stars' individual natures, virtues, roots, and similar operations in other things, upon which they reflect, provoke, and help the influence of their stars, planets or fixed stars, images, and celestial signs—that is, often in their appropriate material and time and made with appropriate ceremonies.¹ Ancient wise men considered this, working hard to investigate the occult agreements in things: stellar images, figures, seals, sigils, and marked characters, which nature itself through the stellar rays painted onto more inferior things—some in stones, some in plants, the joints and knots of twigs, and some in different members of animals.

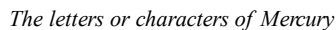
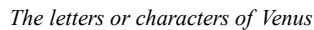
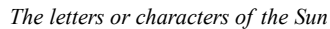
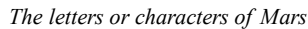
From where shoulder blade [divination] came.

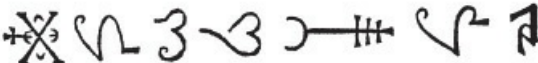
For instance, laurel, lotus, and heliotrope are Solar plants. In their clipped roots and knots, they show their Solar characters. Thus, in animals, a kind of divination was created from their bones, shoulders, and shoulder blades. In stones and stone quarries, characters and celestial images are often there.

Since such great many things are not found in traditional knowledge, a few prudent people can perceive them. Therefore, leaving these investigations now in plants, stones, and other things, and the many animal members, we limit ourselves only to human nature. [Man] is the most complete image of the entire universe, containing in him all celestial harmony, and without a doubt abundantly discovers all of the seals and characters of the stars and celestial influences²—which indeed is more effective, since he is less removed from celestial nature. However, as only God alone knows the number of stars, no human intellect can [completely] grasp their effects and seals upon more inferior things. Of these, very few have become known: those the ancient philosophers and chiromancers understood partially by reason and partially by experience. Thus, many natural treasures are closed and hidden.

Therefore, we will note only a few certain planetary seals or characters, which the ancient chiromancers recognized in the hands of men. Julian called these letters sacred and divine,³ since according to the holy scriptures the lives of men are written in their hands.⁴ [The letters of] any nation and language are always similar to these and permanent, which later more recent chiromancers added [additional letters] to the older ones. If anyone wishes to learn this, it requires a book; it is enough to show from where these natural characters originate and for which things one is required to search.

The letters or characters of Saturn





*The letters or characters of the Moon*⁵



Chapter 34

How through natural things and their virtues, we can draw and attract influences and virtues of celestial bodies.

Now if you wish to accept a virtue from any part of the world or star, use that which the star holds under its particular influence, just as wood prepared with sulfur, pitch, and oil accepts flame. Nevertheless, when certain species or individual things (many of which are scattered) that conform to the same Idea and star are used correctly, suddenly through this appropriately prepared matter a singular gift is infused by reason of the World Soul. Now, when I say, “appropriately prepared,” [I mean] under a harmony similar to the harmony of the former virtue that was infused into the matter. Although we spoke about things having some virtues, those virtues are hidden because seldom do works from such virtues become visibly perfected.

As a grain of mustard is bruised, its hidden sharpness is awakened, as the heat of a fire makes visible letters written in the juice of an onion or milk that were hidden earlier, as letters written on stone with the fat of a goat are absolutely hidden, when the stone is submerged in vinegar, they appear standing out as if they were prominently sculpted, as the touch of a broom or stick awakens a sleeper to madness.¹ Thus, heavenly harmony is hidden and its material virtues are produced, awakened, strengthened, and its effects are manifest. Its power, as I say, is led into action when those things are duly exposed at the appropriate celestial time.

Likewise.

For example, if you wish to attract a virtue from the Sun and search for Solar things among vegetables, plants, metal, stones, and animals, those things with the most power are higher in the Solar order. Indeed, collect more of these. Thus, you will draw a singular gift from the Sun’s rays and the World Spirit and will likewise be appropriately received.²

Chapter 35

Of the mixtures of natural things with each other and their usefulness.

We have learned that in inferior nature, all gifts of superior bodies cannot be found enclosed in one certain thing but are dispersed among many kinds. For example, there are many Solar things, yet each one does not contain all of the Solar virtues. Different things have different Solar properties.

Because of this, it is sometimes necessary in operations to make mixtures, as if one hundred or one thousand Solar virtues were scattered among as many plants, animals, and the like. We can gather these similarities and reduce them into one form, where we will see these virtues contained into one whole.

Twofold virtue in mixtures.

However there is a twofold virtue in mixtures: one in which its parts were previously engrafted and is celestial, and the other is through specific and artificial combinations of many things mixed together according to certain proportions, such as with heavenly agreement, acquired under certain constellations.¹ These virtues descend through the similarities and conditions of certain things toward each other with their superiors, inasmuch as following the preceding corresponding virtues by degree, where the receiver especially accommodates its giver above him.²

Thus, from certain compositions of herbs, vapors, and the like, made with natural philosophy and then astronomy, results a common form endowed with the many gifts of the stars.³ This is similar to the honey of bees who remove the juice from innumerable flowers and reduce them into one form containing all of their virtues by a divine and admirable art. What is no less wonderful is the artificial honey reported by Eudoxus Gnidius, in which a certain tribe of giants in Libya learned how to make honey from flowers, which was very good and was seen as not very different from the honey from bees.⁴

But all mixtures, which consist of many things, are most perfect when all of its parts are cemented together as one, every side being of itself and not easily scattered. We sometimes see this in stones and diverse bodies with a certain natural power that are thus cemented and united, and inside they are seen as one, such as with two trees that are grafted, and oysters with the strength of stones by a certain occult nature. We have seen animals turned into stones, and thus they are united with the substance of stones, now as one body, and can be seen as effectively homogenous; thus, ebony is in a manner a kind of wood and a kind of stone.

Therefore, when any mixture is made from many materials under celestial influences, then indeed there is a variety of celestial actions. Hence the true natural power is gathered and causes certain miracles through unguents, collyries, fumigations, and the like, and such kinds were clearly gathered in the book

Kyranides,⁵ Archytas, Democritus, and Hermes, who wrote the [the book of] *Alchorath*, and many others.

Chapter 36

Of the union of mixed things and the introduction of more noble forms and the senses of life.

Know that the nobler a form something is, that thing is more prepared and more ready for receiving [influences] and also more power for acting.¹ Therefore, incomprehensible things become wonderful²—that is, when materials are mixed and prepared at appropriate times, to make them alive, acquiring life from the stars, a sensible soul, and a nobler form.³

Such is the great power of prepared matter, which we then see gain life when a perfect mixture of qualities seems to break the previous contrariety. However, the more perfect takes life, but by as much as their complexion is removed from contrariety. Indeed, the heavens are a very powerful cause from which each thing is initiated into generation, by the concoction and perfect coming together of matter.⁴ It grants celestial influences and wonderful gifts with life,⁵ as much as is contained in life itself and in the sensible soul, [these qualities being present] according to more noble virtues and sublime conceptions.

Additionally, celestial virtue often lies asleep elsewhere. For example, sulfur is far from flame, but in living bodies it is often inflamed as kindled sulfur. Then its vapor fills all that is near it.⁶ Thus, certain wonderful works are produced, as is compiled in the book *Nemith* and written in the book *The Laws of Plato*. Generations of this sort are monstrous, unless they are produced according to the laws of nature.⁷

The procreation of various animals.

Indeed, we know that gnats are generated from worms.⁸ Wasps [are generated] from horses,⁹ and from calves and cows [come] bees. Scorpions [are generated] from a crab, if its feet are removed and buried. Frogs are generated from a dried duck when ground into powder and thrown into water, but if baked into a cake, cut into pieces, and left in a damp and underground place, it will generate toads. Scorpions are generated from the herb basil if rubbed between two stones. If the hair of a menstruating woman is placed under dung, it will produce serpents. If the hair from the tail of a horse is thrown into water, it will conceive life and will turn into dangerous worms. There is an art in which an egg generates a form similar to a man, of which I have seen and learned to compose, and magicians say holds wonderful virtues,¹⁰ and they also say this is true of the mandrake.

Therefore, you must recognize which and what kinds of materials, either by nature or art, begun or completed, or collected from many [things], which celestial influences they are able to receive.¹¹ Indeed, the agreement of natural things is sufficient for drawing from celestial influences: because nothing hinders the celestials from pouring down their light toward the inferiors, and they permit no matter from being

void of their virtues.^{[12](#)}

Wherever as much matter is perfect and pure, it is not unfit for receiving celestial influences.^{[13](#)} Indeed, there are connections and continuities between matter and the World Soul, which flow daily over natural things, and all things prepared by nature, as it is impossible for a prepared material to not influence life or a certain nobler form.

Connections of matter to the World Soul.

Chapter 37

How with certain reliable natural and artificial preparations we may attract certain celestial and vital gifts from above.

As the Platonists say, and Hermes Trismegistus, Iarchus Brachmanus, and all the Hebrew mekubalim¹ agree, what is under the orb of the Moon in the inferior world is subject to generation and corruption. This is also the same in the celestial world, but in a certain celestial way, and also in the intellectual world, but in a much more perfect and good way, and finally the most perfect in the archetypal world. And with this sequence, each inferior has its superior and responds to the most superior of its kind and receives from it. Indeed, the heavens receive those virtues from the divine, which is called the quintessence, or the World Soul, or the middle nature. However, from the intellectual world [it receives] a spiritual and living vigor, transcending all qualitative virtues. Finally, from the archetypal world through these intermediaries, [it receives] of the whole perfection according to the degree of their original power.

Hence, each thing can be appropriately reduced from these lowest inferiors to the stars, from the stars to the intelligences, and then from the archetypal world to each one. From this sequence arises all magic and occult philosophy.² Indeed, something natural is drawn daily by skill, and daily something divine is drawn by nature. The Egyptians saw this and called nature magic—that is, the power of magic is an attraction of like with like and agreement with agreement.³ But the Greeks called this kind of attraction through the mutual agreement of things with each other of superiors with inferiors συμπάθειαν.⁴ Thus, earth agrees with cold water, water with moist air, air with hot fire, and fire agrees with matter⁵ in heaven.⁶ Fire cannot be mixed with water unless through air, nor can air be mixed with earth unless through water. Thus, the soul cannot be mixed with the body unless through spirit, and the intellect cannot be mixed with spirit unless through soul.

From where magic emanates.

Thus, we see nature producing the form of the human body. With this preparation, it immediately entices the spirit from the universe, as dried wood is prepared to receive oil; this oil is the food for fire, and fire itself is the vehicle for light. Thus, spirit is the kindling wood for connecting the soul with the body, and subsequently, the soul is the kindling wood in the spirit and body for the intelligence and mind of God.

From these examples, we see how certain reliable natural and artificial preparations can accept certain celestial gifts from above.⁷ Indeed, stones and metals agree with herbs, herbs with animals, and

truly [animals] with the heavens, [the heavens] with the intelligences, and [the intelligences] with divine qualities and attributes together with God, to whom all likenesses and images are created. But the first likeness of God is the universe, man of the universe, animal of man, zoophytum of animals, [zoophytum] with plants, but plants of metals, and of [metals] stones represent similar images.⁸ Again in spirituality, plants agree with beasts in vegetation, beasts with man in senses, man with daemons in intellect, and [daemons] with God in immortality.⁹ Divinity is connected with mind, mind with intellect, intellect with intention, intention with imagination, imagination with senses, and finally the senses with things.¹⁰

The wonderful connection of nature.

Indeed, this is the connection and continuity of nature, as all superior virtues flow through each inferior in a long and continuous sequence dispersing their rays to the furthest, and the inferiors through each of their superiors reach the highest.

Thus, inferior and superior are connected with each other, as the influence from their head the First Cause, as it were with a certain tensed string, stretched as far as the lowest. If one end is touched, suddenly the entirety will tremble to the extent that each end will resound¹¹ and move. The inferior and superior move as one, which corresponds, as it were, like a well-tuned string in a cithara.

Chapter 38

How gifts are not only celestial and vital but are also received from certain intellectual and divine gifts from above.

Magicians teach that by inferiors conforming to superiors, [inferiors] can draw appropriate celestial influences from the heavens. Thus, likewise through these, celestials and celestial daemons, as they are the attendants of the stars, can be acquired and insinuate [themselves into] us. Whereby certain reliable materials have a natural power of divinity and a natural harmony with the superiors, rightly collected, partially with natural science, partially with astronomy, are suitably aroused on all sides. The gifts are not only celestial or vital but certain intellectual, daemonic, and divine gifts are received from above as well. This is confirmed by Iamblichus, Proclus, Synesius, and the whole Platonic school.¹ Hermes Trismegistus wrote of certain special things about a particular appropriate daemon—that is, where an appropriate image is composed and animated by the appropriate daemon.² Augustine also remembers this in the eighth book of *City of God*.³

Indeed, this is the harmony of the universe: as the super-celestial can be drawn down by the celestial, so the supernatural can be drawn down by the natural. This is because one operative virtue is diffused through all kinds of participating things.⁴ Indeed, this virtue is produced by occult reasons. Thus, the magician takes these manifestations so that he attracts occult things; for example, [one may attract] the rays of the stars through fumigations, lights, sounds, and natural things that agree with the celestials. Besides their corporeal qualities, [these things] also belong to incorporeal and divine reason: senses, number, and measurements.

Magicians attract occult things from manifestations.

Thus, we read that the ancients often accepted something divine and wonderful through certain natural things.⁵ For example, a stone that is produced in the pupil of a hyena's eye, if held under the tongue, excels in allowing one to speak predictions.⁶ The same effect is said of selenites, a Lunar stone.⁷ Also, the stone *anchitide*⁸ is said to summon images of the gods, and the *synochitide* when held summons inferior shades.⁹ Similarly, the herb *aglaopotis*, which is also called *marmoritides* and grows on the side of marble in Arabia and Persia, is also effective, as Pliny said, and "magicians use this when they wish to summon the gods."¹⁰ As well, magicians can prophesy with the herb called *theangelidam* when it is drunk.¹¹ Besides these, there are also herbs with which the dead can come back to life. The historian Xanthus wrote that with a certain herb called *bali* a young dragon that was killed was brought back to

life, and a certain man [named] Tillon who was killed by a dragon was brought back to life.¹² Juba reported that in Arabia a man was brought back to life with a certain herb.

Tillon restored to life by an herb.

However, whether such things are possible to men from the power of herbs or any other natural thing will be discussed later, but if they are possible in other animals, it is certain and known. Thus, if a drowned fly is placed in warm ash, it will come back to life,¹³ and drowned bees will likewise revive in the juice of catnip.¹⁴ Eels that are dead from not enough water, if their entire bodies are placed under dung, and vinegar and the blood of a vulture is added, will revive after a few days.¹⁵ It is said that if an echeneis is cut into small pieces and thrown into the sea, after a while the parts will come together and come to life again. Likewise, we know that a pelican, when killed, can restore its chicks to life with its own blood.¹⁶

Animals can be restored to life, but not man.

Chapter 39

That with certain reliable materials of the world we can
draw the divine world and their divine ministering
daemons.

No one ignores that evil daemons can be drawn with evil and profane arts, as Psellus said. Gnostic magicians customarily performed powerful curses and abominable disgraces¹ in the past, such as sacrifices to Priapus, and served idols named Panor, to whom they sacrificed with their genitals uncovered. This is not unlike (if this is true and not a fable) what we read about the Templars' detestable heresy,² and there are similar heresies of female witches, where indeed demented old women are often shamefully apprehended in error.

Evil daemons are easily drawn by evil arts.

Therefore from these and the like, evil daemons are drawn and conspire, just as the malignant daemon said to John about the magician Cynops: "All the power of Satan inhabits that place, and he enters into a conspiracy with all principalities and we with him; Cynops obeys us and we obey him."³ Again, no one ignores the opposite that super-celestial angels can be received by us through good operations with a pure mind, mysterious orations, devoted supplications, and the like.

Good angels are received by good operations.

Therefore, no one can doubt that in a similar way and with certain reliable materials of the world, we can likewise draw gods of the world, or as many daemons, the ministers or footmen of these gods—as Hermes [Trismegistus] said, daemons of the air, not super-celestial and less high.⁴

Thus we read that ancient priests made statues and images that predicted the future and infused them with the spirits of the stars. These spirits were not confined in such material but were happy there; they found that material agreeable to them, always and willingly inhabiting there. While there, they spoke and brought about miracles. Nothing other than daemons⁵ can inhabit human bodies.

Chapter 40

Of what bindings are and how they are made.

We have spoken about the virtues and wonderful effects of natural things. It now remains to speak of a thing of great wonder, and that is the binding of men in love or hatred, in sickness and health, and so on.¹ Likewise, there are bindings for thieves and robbers so that they cannot steal from a place. There are bindings for merchants so that they cannot buy or sell from a place. There are bindings for armies so that they cannot cross a border. There are bindings for ships, so there is no strong wind and that endless wishes will not allow a wind to send them to port. Likewise, there are bindings for mills so that nothing will allow it to turn. There are bindings for cisterns or fountains so that no one can drink their water. There are bindings for places so that nothing can be built there. There are bindings for fire so that it cannot be kindled in some place and nothing strongly combustible placed there will burn. Likewise, there are bindings for lightning and storms so that they cannot harm. There are bindings for dogs so that they cannot bark. There are also bindings for birds and beasts so that they cannot fly or flee,² and the like—though scarcely credible—are yet often known by experience.

Many kinds of bindings.

Ways bindings are made.

But there are bindings of this kind through sorceries, collyries, unguents, potions or philters, bands and suspensions, through rings, bewitching, strong imaginations and excessive feelings, through images and characters, incantations and curses, through light, sound, numbers, through words and names, invocations, sacrifices, adjurations, exorcisms, consecrations, devotions, and through superstitions and observations, and the like.³

Chapter 41

Of sorceries and their power.

The power of sorceries is said to be so great that they are believed to subvert, dry, and change all inferiors,¹ as Virgil sang:

*These herbs and poisons gathered in Pontus
(Which abound there) were given to me by Moeris;
I have often seen Moeris change into a wolf and hide in the woods
Often raising souls from the grave
And seen him sow crops in other's fields.*²

Likewise elsewhere, from the companions of Ulysses:

*Of men whom, with powerful herbs, the fierce goddess
Circe changed into shapes and forms of wild beasts.*³

And later:

*Picus, tamer of horses, who was captivated by desire for his bride
Was pierced with her golden wand, and with her poisons changed him
Into a bird, and Circe sprinkled his wings with colors.*⁴

But of these kinds of sorceries, Lucan wrote of the sorceries of Thessaly who summoned the dead, saying:

*Mixed from whatever sinister things produced by nature
The froth from mad dogs, which fear waters,
The entrails of a lynx, nor the hard knot⁵ of the hyena*

*Nor the marrow of a stag on which serpents feed is wanting,
The echeneis which stops ships against the bellowing east wind
And the eye of a dragon.*⁶

Apuleius wrote about Pamphile, who worked sorcery for love, for which the slave girl Fotis brought hairs of a goat that were shaved from an inflated bag, instead of bringing the hair of the young Boeotian:

Pamphile, she said, her mind being made, climbed to the top of the tiled roof, that was open on the other side of the house to the east and the other directions, where she stayed in secret especially for these arts. In advance, she prepared the customary instruments for her deadly workshop: all kinds of spices, plates with unknown letters engraved on them, and the petrified remains of unfortunate birds on nails, the various lamented and buried members of corpses scattered: noses and fingers, nails with flesh hanging on them, elsewhere a store of blood from slaughtered men and skulls mutilated by the teeth of wild beasts. Then she chanted over the quivering entrails making offerings of various liquids, now spring water, now cow's milk, now with mountain honey and honey-wine. Then she took the borrowed hairs and tied them together and then into knots and threw it onto burning charcoals with many scents. Then with the invincible power of her magic and the blind force of her gods, the hairs violently crackled and smoked, and changed into the spirit of a man that sensed, heard, and walked, led by the odor of the hair, coming on behalf of the young Boeotian eagerly bounding to the door.⁷

Men suddenly turned into cattle.

Likewise, Augustine wrote that he heard of a certain female sorceress who was learned in the arts, such as when men were given cheese, they were immediately changed into beasts of burden, and then, when the work was finished, restored them back to men.⁸

Chapter 42

Of the wonderful virtues of certain sorceries.

I will now tell you about certain sorceries, as these examples will prepare a way for you to consider the entire subject.

The power of menstrual blood.

For example, menstrual blood has a great power in sorceries. For, as they say, if the blood is added to fresh new wine, [the wine] will turn sour; if [the blood] touches the vine, [the vine] will be damaged forever; if it touches crops, [the crops] will become barren, killing them. It also destroys plants in the garden and causes fruit on trees to fall. [It causes the] reflections in a mirror to darken. It blunts the sharpness of iron barber's knives, dulls the beauty of ivory, and causes iron to immediately rust. Also, when it touches copper, it causes a terrible odor and makes it rust. Dogs are driven into madness when tasting it, and if one is bitten by such a dog, the wound is incurable. If it touches beehives, it will kill the bees and will make them flee.¹ If boiled with linen, [the linen] will turn black. Mares will miscarry if they touch it while pregnant. It will also cause a miscarriage in pregnant women if they are smeared with it. Asses will not conceive for many years as long as they eat grain contaminated with the blood. Ashes of menstrual cloths, if sprinkled over clothes being washed, will change their purple color, and it will remove the color from flowers.

Tertian and quartan fevers are driven away if menstrual blood is enclosed in a silver bracelet with black ram's wool. It is also said to be effective against tertian and quartan fevers if placed under the feet of the sick person, and it is more effective if done by the woman [herself] and the [patient] is ignorant of it. It also cures attacks of epilepsy. But all agree that if one is bitten by a dog and dreads water or drinking,² if a cloth dripped in menstrual blood is placed under their cup, the fear immediately disappears. It is also said that if a menstruating woman walks nude through a field, grubs, worms, beetles, blister-beetles, and all harmful things fall; but beware that this does not happen with the rising Sun, or the crops will wither. Similarly, it expels hail and whirlwinds and is against lightning. Pliny himself wrote about many of these.

Remedy for hydrophobia.

You must know that the poison is greater if the Moon is waning, and even stronger when the Moon is silent;³ but if it happens while in an eclipse of the Moon or Sun, [the poison] is beyond cure. It is truly the most powerful and vigorous during the purity of the first years and during virginity, for if it touches

all the posts of the house, all maleficence will be ineffective therein.

It is also said that the threads of garments that have touched [menstrual blood] will not be burned by fire, and if thrown into a fire, [the fire] will not increase.⁴ It is likewise said that if peony root with castor is smeared on a menstruous cloth and given to a patient, epilepsy will be cured. If the stomach of a stag is burned or roasted and fumigated with a menstruous cloth, crossbows will be useless for hunting. The hair of a menstruating woman placed under dung will beget serpents,⁵ and if the hair is burned, serpents will flee from the scent;⁶ for this poison is so powerful that it is poisonous to venomous creatures.

Hippomanes.

There is the piece of tissue called hippomanes,⁷ which among sorceries is no less famous [than menstrual blood]. It is the size of a fig, black in color, and appears on the forehead of a newborn foal. Unless the mare immediately swallows [the hippomanes], her soul will turn away from her child and she will never feed it.⁸ Because of this, it is said it has a great power for stirring up love when it is pulverized, mixed with the blood of the lover, and drunk [by the beloved].

There is another sorcery called by the same name of hippomanes, which is a venom flowing from the groin of mares when she is in passionate love;⁹ as remembered by Virgil:

*Hence, at last, that which shepherds call hippomanes,
The venom slowly dripping from the groins,
Hippomanes, which evil stepmothers often gather
And mix with herbs and harmful words.*¹⁰

And from the satirist Juvenal:

*I will sing of hippomanes and speak of cooking poisons
Given to stepsons . . .*¹¹

Apollonius wrote in his *Argonautica* about the herb Prometheus, which he said grows from the gore and blood dripping onto the earth from Prometheus's liver when the vulture lacerated and devoured it in the Caucasus mountains: "which flower, it is said, is similar to saffron, colored yellow, double-stemmed, and measuring a cubit high. The roots are underground and its freshly cut flesh and juice coming from it is black as if it were beech."¹² [This herb], if they were able, before completing their devotions to Proserpina, should be smeared on the body, so that they will not be harmed by either weapon or fire. Saxo Grammaticus wrote of the garment of a certain man named Frode,¹³ which while on, could not be pierced by any spear or anything sharp.¹⁴

Sorcery of hyenas.

Hyenas also inflict many sorceries: for instance, as referred by Pliny, its blood applied to doorposts, damages the skills of magic, so that one will neither be able to elicit or talk to the gods, in any way.¹⁵ Likewise, the ashes of [a hyena's] left ankle boiled with the blood of a weasel and smeared all over causes hatred. This also happens with a boiled eye. Additionally, the tube of the outer intestine counteracts powerful iniquities from leaders and administrators, for successful petitions, and for influencing the judgments of lawsuits, if anyone has a small amount [of the intestines] with them. Likewise, if [the intestine] is bound to the left arm, it will prompt love when they see a woman, and she will follow him.¹⁶ The skin of the forehead resists bewitchings.¹⁷

Sorcery of basilisks and their blood.

Likewise, the blood of a basilisk, which they call the blood of Saturn, is said to be such a powerful sorcery that bearing it is powerful for granting success in petitions, praying to gods, curing sickness, and favor in appointments.¹⁸

Likewise, they say that if a tick is pulled from a dog's left ear, and that tick only be the color black, it augurs great strength in life. For instance, if a person brings such a tick to a sick person, stands at their feet, asks about his illness, and the sick person responds, it is a certain hope for life.¹⁹

It is likewise said that a stone bitten by a rabid dog has the power of discord if it is placed in a drink.²⁰ One will not be barked at by dogs if a dog's tongue is placed in the shoe or under the big toe,²¹ especially if joined with the herb of the same name—that is, hound's tongue.²² The same happens with the membrane of a dog's afterbirth,²³ but dogs flee from those carrying a dog's heart.²⁴

Pliny wrote about frogs called *rubetorum*,²⁵ which are only found in thorn bushes, are full of sorceries, and make wonderful things happen. For instance, the small bone that is on its left side will immediately boil cold water if thrown into it. It will restrain attacking dogs and stir up love and quarrels if added to potions. If bound to someone, it will incite lust. The opposite bone, because it is on the right side, will cool boiling water, and [the water] will not boil afterward unless removed. It will cure quartan fevers if bound in fresh lamb's²⁶ skin, and it inhibits other fevers, love, and lust. However, the spleen and heart from this frog helps against sorceries which come from it.²⁷ Pliny wrote this.

It is said that [a piece of] iron that has killed a man has wonderful powers among sorceries. For instance, if a horse's bridle or spurs are made from it, they say that all horses—even the wildest—may be easily ruled and tamed. If added to the horse's feet, it will make them very swift and [the horse] will not tire easily from the effort [of running]. Additionally, certain characters and names can be inscribed.

It is also said that “if one dips a sword that beheaded a man into wine, any sick person who drinks this will be cured of quartan fever.” It is also said that a drink made from a bear's brain and drunk from its skull will cause the madness of a bear.²⁸ Thus, a man drinking this will believe himself transformed into a bear and think that all things he sees to be a bear; thus, the madness will continue until which time the power of the drink relaxes and no other evil is perceived in their complexion.

Chapter 43

Of fumigations, their reasoning, and power.

Certain fumigations are also suitable for many of the stars, inasmuch as air and spirit¹ can exceedingly affect [things] by grasping appropriate celestial gifts under the rays of the stars. Indeed, our spirits are very much changed by these vapors because each is a vapor similar to the other. Also, air through these vapors is easily affected by inferior and celestial qualities, continuously and suddenly entering our breasts, bringing us wonderful qualities.² This is why fumigations are used to summon mental images for prophecies, which are suitable for certain divinities for conforming us to accept divine inspiration.³ Thus it is said that fumigations made from flax and psyllium⁴ seeds, violet roots, and parsley cause visions of future things and bring prophecy.⁵

Fumigations conducive for prophecy.

No one can truly wonder how great fumigations are in air. Porphyry believed that certain reliable vapors exhaling from special fumigations immediately draw and introduce airy daemons,⁶ inducing thunder and lightning, and the like. For example, burning a chameleon's liver on the top of a roof arouses rain and thunder; similarly, [a chameleon's] head and throat, if burned with oak wood, also makes violent rain and thunder.⁷

Also, fumigations under appropriate stellar influences make the images of daemons immediately appear in the air or elsewhere. They say that if a fumigation is made with coriander and parsley, or henbane with hemlock juice, daemons immediately gather—hence those herbs are called spiritual. It is likewise said that a fumigation mixture made from the root of *ferulae*⁸ with hemlock juice, henbane, *tassi barbassi*,⁹ red sandalwood, and black poppyseed causes daemons and unusual figures to appear. If parsley¹⁰ is added to this, daemons will flee from all places and destroy the images. In a similar way a fumigation made from calamint, peony, mint, and the castor oil plant¹¹ drives away all evil spirits and harmful phantoms.¹²

Spiritual herbs.

Additionally, it is said that certain fumigations cause some animals to gather near or to chase [the animals] away, such as the fumigation of *liparis*¹³ mentioned by Pliny summons all beasts.¹⁴ Thus, the bones at the top of the throat of a stag gather serpents, but a fumigation of a deer's antler chases them

away.¹⁵ The same [effect] happens [with serpents] with a fumigation of peacock feathers.¹⁶ Similarly, burning an ass's lung chases away all venomous things. A fumigation of a horse's hoof chases away mice from the house. The same happens with the hooves of a she-mule, and flies are likewise chased away if the left hoof is [burned].¹⁷ It is said that if a house is fumigated from any place with the gall of a cuttlefish mixed with *thymiamate*,¹⁸ roses, and lignum aloe, and then if seawater or blood is left in that place, the entire house will be seen as full of [water] or blood. If [the fumigation mixture] is left there with plowed earth, the earth will be seen as quaking.¹⁹

But vapors of this kind will affect any body (although these virtues influence and persist daily) as can be observed, [in the same way as] any contagion or poisonous pestilent vapor. If they are kept in the walls of a house beyond two years, [the vapors] inflict the inhabitants, and with epidemics or leprosy hidden in clothes when worn daily, will infect the wearer.²⁰

Images and rings and the like are magical instruments, and certain fumigations summon hidden treasures, of which no less than Porphyry testified.²¹ Thus it is said: "If one can bury gold, silver, or any other valuable with the Sun and Moon conjunct the *Imum coeli*,²² then fumigate that place with coriander, saffron, henbane, parsley, and black poppyseed in equal weights, bruised and steeped in hemlock juice. At no time will this be discovered or stolen, because thus hidden, it is always guarded by daemons. If anyone attempts to steal from there, they will be vexed and fall into madness."²³

Hermes said that there is nothing equal to a fumigation of spermaceti²⁴ for drawing daemons: if [it is] steeped with lignum aloe, costus, musk, saffron, and *thymiamate*, with the blood of a hoopoe, and made into a fumigation, it gathers airy spirits very quickly. If it is fumigated around the graves of the dead, it gathers shades of the underworld and shades of the dead.²⁵

Thus, often when we direct operations for the Sun, we use Solar fumigations; for the Moon, Lunar fumigations, and similarly for the rest. And you must know that, as there are oppositions and enmity in the stars and spirits, it is also the case in the fumigations for them. For example, lignum aloe and sulfur are contrary to each other, as are frankincense and quicksilver; and spirits induced by burning lignum aloe and sulfur will flee.²⁶ Proclus gives an example of a spirit who usually appeared in the form of a lion, but by throwing a rooster before it, it soon disappeared, because roosters are contrary to lions.²⁷ Thus, consider and practice this in a like fashion.

Chapter 44

The composition of certain fumigations appropriate to the planets.

We make a fumigation for the Sun from saffron, amber, musk, lignum aloe, balsam wood, and laurel berries, with cloves, myrrh, and frankincense. These are all bruised and mixed in certain portions (that is, when it makes an agreeable scent) and incorporated with the brain of an eagle or the blood of a white rooster. The substance is then rolled into pills or small balls.

For a fumigation for the Moon, we compile the dried head of a frog, the eye of a bull, white poppyseed, frankincense, and camphor. This mixture is incorporated with menstrual blood or the blood of a goose.

For Saturn, we combine black poppyseed, henbane seed, mandrake root, lodestone, and myrrh. This is mixed with the brain of a cat or the blood of a bat.

For Jupiter, take ash seed, lignum aloe, storax, benzoin gum, lapis lazuli, and the top of a peacock's feather. Incorporate these with the blood of a stork or swallow, or brain of a deer.

For Mars, we take euphorbium, bdellium, ammoniac,¹ the roots of each [black and white] hellebore, lodestone, and a little sulfur. Incorporate everything with the blood of a raven,² blood of a human, and blood of a black cat.

For Venus, make a fumigation from musk, lignum aloe, red roses, and red coral, and compile with the brain of a sparrow and blood of a pigeon.

For Mercury, make a fumigation of mastic, frankincense, cloves, the herb cinquefoil, and the stone agate. Incorporate everything with the brain of a fox or weasel and with the blood of a magpie.

In addition to these fumigations, of Saturn are all fragrant roots, costus, and the herb frankincense.³ Fumigations of Jupiter are fragrant fruits, such as nutmeg and cloves. Of Mars are all fragrant woods such as sandalwood, cypress, balsam, and lignum aloe. For the Sun are all gums, frankincense, mastic, benzoin, storax, labdanum, amber, and musk. Of Venus are flowers, rose, violet, saffron, and the like. Mercury has all bark from wood and fruit, such as cinnamon, cassia wood, mace, citrus peel, laurel grain,⁴ and all fragrant seeds. The Moon has for fumigations vegetation and all leaves, such as malabar⁵ leaves, myrtle and laurel leaves.⁶

You must also know that (according to the opinions of magicians) you must use fumigations that are good, fragrant and costly in all good operations—such as for love, favor, and the like. But in malefic operations, such as for hatred, anger, disaster, and the like, you must use fumigations that are foul smelling and cheap.

Additionally, there are fumigations for the twelve signs of the zodiac, such as myrrh for Aries, costus for Taurus, mastic for Gemini, camphor for Cancer, frankincense for Leo, sandalwood for Virgo,

galbanum for Libra, opopanax for Scorpio, lignum aloe for Sagittarius, *asam*⁷ for Capricorn, euphorbium for Aquarius, and *thymiama*⁸ for Pisces.⁹

But the most powerful fumigation as described by Hermes [Trismegistus] is compounded by seven spices from the power of the seven planets. The recipe is for Saturn costus, Jupiter nutmeg, Mars lignum aloe, the Sun mastic, Venus saffron, Mercury cinnamon, and the Moon myrtle.

Chapter 45

Of the virtues of collyries, ointments, and love potions.

Collyries¹ and ointments harmonize natural and celestial powers around our spirits. They multiply, change, transform, and change in shape. They also transpose those forces that belong to themselves: not only can they act in their own body but also near them² and by visible rays, through bewitchings, and touch by a certain similar quality.

But our spirits are a vapor of blood: subtle, pure, lucid, airy, and unctuous.³ We, therefore, make collyries uniting similar vapors, which are more agreeable to our spirits in substance. Then, because of their great similarity, [these collyries] draw, attract, and change the spirit.

Some ointments and other confections hold similar virtues. Such substances work through contact. Whether anointed by the hands or garments, these may induce sickness, poison, or love. Similarly, through kisses, certain things held in the mouth induce love, as we read in Virgil of Venus's entreat to Cupid:

*As your lap accepts happy Dido
Among royal tables and Bacchian drink,
She will embrace you and plant sweet kisses,
You will arouse with a hidden fire and deceive with poison.*⁴

Seeing is purer than hearing.

But sight, because it is the purest of the senses, perceives the clearest and sharpest, and fastens us to the highest things, is greater and more appropriate than the other senses for spiritual imagination. This is because [spiritual insights] appear in dreams, which we see offered more often than by sound, or the other senses.⁵

Therefore, when collyries transform visual spirits, those spirits easily affect the imagination. These indeed affect different appearances and forms, transmitting these by the same spirit to the external sense of sight, which in that way cause by chance the sensation of appearances and forms, as if moved by exterior objects. One sees terrible images in this way, daemons and the like.

Therefore, collyries are made so that we can immediately see shadowy daemons of the air or elsewhere, of which I have learned to make from a preparation of the gall of a man, the eyes of a black cat, and certain other things.⁶ Also like this, is a preparation from the blood of a hoopoe, bat, and a male

goat. As it is said: “If you take a steel mirror with the juice of mugwort⁷ and fumigate, it makes it possible to see hidden spirits.”

Thus, certain fumigations or ointments are made to make one speak in their sleep, walk and perform the work of those who are awake, or some [works] that [waking people] will scarcely dare to do. Some make us hear horrible or pleasing sounds, the sources of which are not present.

It is because of this that some deranged and melancholic [people] believe themselves to see or hear other things that are nowhere else than inside the fantasy of their imagination. Hence, they fear things that should not be feared, fall into strange and false suspicions, flee attackers that are not there, get angry and fight people who are not there, and fear where there is nothing to fear.

From where the affections of the deranged and melancholic come.

Of these kinds of passions, there are also magical confections induced that happen through fumigations, collyries, ointments, potions, poisons, lamps and lights, mirrors, images, incantations and songs, sounds and harmonies made from certain animal sinews, and also through various rites, observations, ceremonies, religions and superstitions, which will be discussed in their places.

Not only by these arts are these kinds of passions, apparitions, and imaginations induced, but, in fact, also things and men can be exchanged and transformed into various forms, such as the poet wrote about Proteus, Pericleminus, Achelous, and Metra the daughter of Erisichthon.⁸ “Circe changed the companions of Ulysses,”⁹ and as once [happened] with the sacred Lycaean Jupiter, who ate the entrails of a sacrifice, changed a man to a wolf. Pliny said this happened to a certain Demarchus.¹⁰

Augustine thought the same. He said that while in Italy, certain women gave travelers sorceries in cheese that changed them into mules and then back again. When the load [the women] wished to be carried was finished, [the mules] were restored to men. The father of a certain Praestantius also befell this accident.¹¹ The sacred scriptures themselves testify that Pharaoh’s magicians changed their wands into serpents and water into blood, among other things.¹²

Chapter 46

Of natural alligations and suspensions.

The World Soul, since by its virtues all things naturally generated or artificial are made fertile, infuses its celestial qualities for operating wonderful effects. [It affects] things not only through fumigations, collyries, ointments, potions, or anything else in this manner, but also when appropriately wrapped by alligations, suspended by the neck, or placed anywhere else or by the lightest contact. By such methods, it imprints its virtues onto us.

Therefore, through these alligations, suspensions,¹ wrappings, substitutions, and contact with the body, the soul is accidentally² changed through illness, health, boldness, fear, sadness, gladness, and the like.³ [The World Soul] returns to the wearer kindness or fright, acceptance or rejection, honor and esteem, or distaste and abomination.⁴

But these kinds of passions are said to be infused by no other [reason] than as is shown in the grafting of trees,⁵ where the vital virtues are transferred from the trunk to the branch grafted onto it, bound to the other, as if by contact but not touching each other.⁶ For example, when a female palm tree approaches the male, her branches bend toward him and curve. When gardeners see this, they bind the branches from male to female, then return to their straight positions, as she has now inherited the male's virtues through the continuity of the rope.⁷

Female palm [trees] incline to the male.

Torpedo fish induce shock.

In a similar way, we see that the torpedo fish strikes the hand of those who touch it, even from a distance with a long rod.⁸ Also, if one touches a sea hare⁹ with a hand or stick while ill, their mind will become defective. It is also said that if a starfish with the blood of a fox is fastened to a door with a copper nail, one will not be able to be harmed by evil medicines.¹⁰ It is also said that if a woman takes a needle and stains it with dung, then wraps it in dirt where a human corpse is buried and carries it with her in a cloth that was used in the funeral, no man will have intercourse with her while she has it with her.¹¹

Now, from these examples we see how some virtues can be received by certain things, alligations, suspensions, simple contacts, or by some continuation of a thread.

Alligations and wrappings and how they should be made.

We should learn the laws of these alligations and suspensions, and the suitable manner of their art, such as being made under a certain constellation. It is said that alligations and suspensions can be harmoniously made with metallic thread, silk, hair, sinew, fur, or bristles from certain animals. However, wrappings can be made from the leaves of herbs, animal skin, or certain cloths, and the like, as long as they are things that agree with each other—such as if you wish to acquire the virtue of some Solar thing, wrap these in laurel leaves or lion skin, and you can suspend this from the neck by a golden or a yellow silk thread while the Sun is in its ruling sign in the sky.¹² Thus, you will indeed share the Solar virtues of that thing. If you wish the virtue of some Saturnian thing (especially if it is devoted to sadness), then in a similar way wrap the alligation in an ass's pelt or funerary garment and hang it by a black thread while Saturn is dominating. In a similar way consider the rest.

Chapter 47

Of rings and their composition.

Additionally, rings, which the ancients always esteemed, send out their virtues to us when appropriately made. They do this in a way similar to alligations and suspensions. By wearing them, they affect the spirit of the [wearer] with happiness or sadness, mildness or frightfulness, boldness or timidity, friendliness or hate. As such, they also fortify us against illnesses, poisons, enemies, cacodaemons,¹ and against any other evil, or can bind us to the evils.

Moreover, the manner of constructing these kinds of rings is this: clearly, when some fortunate star is rising and the Moon is in a good aspect or conjunct it, we must take a stone or herb subordinate to the star and the ring made from a metal similar to the star. Fasten the stone in the ring, placing the herb or root under it.² Finally, do not forget to inscribe the images, name, characters under that star and [the star's] fumigations (we will discuss this elsewhere, in the treatises on images and characters).

The composition of rings.

Thus, we read in Philostratus that Iarchus, the wise Indian prince, commissioned seven rings to be made with the virtues of the seven planets and their names marked on them. These he handed over to Apollonius, who wore each of them for each of the days named for each [planet]. By this favor, [Apollonius] lived for more than 130 years and always retained the brightness of youth.³

In a similar way Moses, Hebrew lawgiver and prince, instructed in the magic of Egypt, prepared rings for love and oblivion, according to Josephus.⁴ It was also said by Aristotle, that among the Cyrenes⁵ there was a ring of Battus that was for gratitude and honor. We additionally read in Eudamus, a certain philosopher, of a ring that was prepared against serpent bites, bewitchings, and daemons.⁶ Josephus said the same about Solomon.⁷ We also read in Plato about Gyges, the Lydian king who had a ring with wondrous and unusual virtues. When Gyges held that ring's sigil in his palm, [he] would change so that no one could see him, but he could see everything. By relying on the opportunity of that ring, Gyges killed the [man who was then] king, shamed the queen, and killed whoever opposed him. No one was able to see him while he did these deeds. From the benefit of this ring, he became king of Lydia.⁸

Chapter 48

Of the virtues of places, and the places corresponding to each of the stars.

There are wondrous virtues for places, whether from things in those places, from stellar influences accompanying them, or from any distant method. For instance, Pliny refers to the cuckoo, saying that in the place where one first hears [this bird], if one traces around one's right foot and then digs that spot up, fleas will not breed in that spot.¹

Thus, it is said that if bees are sprinkled with the dust collected from the track of a serpent, they will return to their beehive. Likewise, the dust in the place where a she-mule has rolled, if sprinkled on the body, will soften the fires of love.² Moreover, if the dust in which a hawk has rolled itself is bound with red linen, it cures quartan fever.³ Also, a small stone collected from a swallow's nest is said to immediately cure epilepsy, and if bound will perpetually protect from it, especially if a swallow's blood or heart is wrapped with it.⁴ It is said that if one has a cut vein, and while they are fasting, walks over to a place where someone recently fell into an epileptic state, they will catch that sickness. Pliny wrote that an iron nail fastened in the place where the head first fell into an epileptic state will cure him of that evil.⁵ Also if the herbs growing in the head of a statue are collected and bound in any garments with a red thread, pain in the head will immediately weaken. Furthermore, whatever herbs are collected from streams or fountains before sunrise and bound to the left arm will cure tertian fever—that is, if no one sees them collecting the herbs and if the sick person is unaware of it.⁶

Places responding to the planets.

Among places that are appropriate to the stars, Saturn corresponds to places that are stinking, dark, subterranean, religious, and sad—such as graveyards, tombs, homes deserted by men and old and ready to fall down, places that are obscure and horrible, solitary caves, hollows, wells, and also ponds, pools, swamps, and the like.

To Jupiter is appointed any places of privilege, royal assembly places, tribunals, chairs, gymnasias, schools, and all shining places that are refined with various agreeable scents scattered about.

Mars holds all places that are fiery and bloody, furnaces, bakeries, provision markets, crosses, gibbets, and places where wars, massacres, and surrenders have been made, or where torture and the like have taken place.

The Sun has bright places, serene air, kings' palaces, and princes' courts, pulpits, theaters, thrones, and all royal and magnificent places.

But Venus inhabits beautiful fountains, green meadows, flowery gardens, ornate beds, and brothels. As Orpheus believes, [Venus has] the sea⁷ and seashore, as well as baths, dancing places, and all things feminine.

Mercury holds offices, schools, shops, trading places, and the like.

The Moon inhabits deserted places, forests, cliffs, and immense rocks, mountains, woods, springs, waters, rivers, the sea, the shore, and ships. It is likewise said to have various established groves, public roads, repositories for crops, and the like.⁸

With this reasoning, for operations for love one customarily takes the instruments of their art—rings, images, mirrors, or other things—and buries or hides them in a brothel⁹ during some specific time, as that place will cause in them certain Venusian abilities. It is not thought otherwise: things standing in foul-smelling places bring about foul smells, and things in aromatic places make aromatic and pleasing scents.

This also concerns the positions of the world itself. Hence, if collecting Saturnian, Martial, or Jupiterian herbs, look to the east or the south—the first because they are happy when oriental from the Sun,¹⁰ the other because it is their chief domicile—that is, Aquarius, Scorpio, and Sagittarius are signs that are southern. It is the same with Capricorn and Pisces. However, collecting things that are Venereal, Mercurial, or Lunar look toward the west, because they are happy in the west, or to the north, because their chief domiciles are Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, and Virgo, signs that are northern. Thus, in Solar operations, you must look against the east or south, but rather always toward the body of the Sun itself and the light.

Quarters of the world subject to the planets.

Chapter 49

Of lights and colors, lanterns, and lamps, and the colors distributed among the stars, houses, and elements.

Light is also a quality that has many forms and has simple actions on the intelligences and images.¹ It is first diffused by the Divine Mind to everything—but in God the Father, who is the father of lights, is [found] the true first light. Then [it diffuses] into the Son, a glorious magnificence and exuberance; in the Holy Spirit, a burning brightness surpassing all of the intelligences; and then, as Dionysius said, the Seraphim.² In angels are diffused a shining intelligence and lavish joy to all bounds of reason, yet received in separate degrees, according to the nature of the intelligence accepting it. [Light] successively descends through the celestials, where it makes an abundance of life and the capability of propagation, and also a visible splendor. In fire is a certain natural vigor engrafted from the celestials. Finally, in men is the clear course of reason, understanding of divine things, and all reason: but this has many layers, either from the disposition of the body, as believed by the Peripatetics, or more truly, on behalf of the pleasure of a bountiful cause, “who divides each according to its wishes.”³ It passes then to the imagination, yet above the senses, but only the imaginable, and then finally to the senses, especially to the eyes.

In [the eyes] happens a visible clarity, extending out to evident bodies in which color and beauty happen—but in the dark, certain benefic and generative virtues penetrate as far as the center, where color is fogged, tormented, and boiled up. There, those rays are collected narrowly. All things are invigorated by light as much as they can be.⁴ They altogether connect themselves with an enlivening heat. It passes through them, uniting those qualities and virtues to all.⁵

Therefore, magicians forbid sprinkling the shadow of a sick person with urine, and also prohibit a sick person to be naked against the Sun or Moon,⁶ because the rays of light suddenly penetrate the diseased body. Harmful qualities are transferred to the sick person in this way, and those qualities negatively affect them. This is why bewitchings are observed in shadow: because this protects the bewitcher. Thus, touching the shadow of a hyena silences dogs.⁷

There are also artificial lights from certain lamps, lanterns, candles, and the like. [These are generated] from choosing certain reliable things and fluids, and from the stars’ patterns, and a harmonious composition of them. When they are kindled and shine alone, they often produce wonderful and celestial effects which men admire. Pliny wrote of this from Anaxilaus: that the poison of mares after copulation kindled in lamps shows monstrous visions of the heads of horses. It is similar with asses.⁸ Furthermore, flies roughly mixed with wax and lit causes visions of flies. Similarly, the skin of serpents kindled in a lamp causes visions of serpents to appear.⁹

It is said: “When grapes are in flower, if you encircle a vial filled with oil with them and leave them while they mature, then afterward light a lamp [with that oil], it causes visions of grapes.” This is also true with other fruits. If one mixes together centaury with honey and the blood of a hoopoe and places

that mixture in a lamp, things standing around it will appear larger.¹⁰ If illuminated in this way on a clear night, the stars will seem to wander among each other.¹¹ The ink of a cuttlefish also has power; for instance, if added to a lamp, Ethiopians will be seen.¹² It is also said that a candle made from certain Saturnine things, if lit then extinguished in the mouth of a man who recently died, afterward will cause great sadness and fear to anyone standing around it any time it shines alone. Many similar lanterns and lights of this kind are reported by Hermes, Plato, Kyranides, and later Albertus,¹³ who devoted a certain treatise to these.

The colors of the planets.

Colors are also certain lights,¹⁴ whereby they expose those things that are customarily mixed to the stars and celestial bodies that agree with them. We will speak later about which colors are in the lights of the planets, and afterward, we will speak of the nature of the fixed stars, which one can also summon with the flames of lanterns and lamps. But here we will speak of how the colors of inferior mixed things are assigned to the various planets.

Of all the colors black, clear, earthy, leaden, and dark refer to Saturn. The colors sapphire, airy, ever-green, clear, purple, dark, and gold and silver mixed refer to Jupiter. The colors red, glowing, fiery, flaming, violet, purple, sanguine, and iron refer to Mars. The colors gold, yellow, purple, and bright refer to the Sun. All colors that are white, beautiful, various, ruddy, slightly yellow or purple refer to Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.¹⁵

Of the houses of the sky, the first and seventh have the color white, the second and the twelfth have green, the third and eleventh yellow, the fourth and tenth red, the fifth and ninth honey, and the sixth and eighth black.¹⁶

The colors of the houses.

The elements also have their colors, by which natural philosophers judge the complexion and qualities of nature. Indeed, earthy colors, caused by coldness and dryness, dark and black, and black bile, promise a Saturnine nature. Blue toward whiteness shows phlegm, for cold whitens, and moisture and dryness darkens. Reddish color shows blood, but fire or flaming shows choler, which because of its subtlety, easily mixes with everything and causes various colors: for if it is mixed with blood, it will dominate and be strongly red. If choler dominates, it will become somewhat red. If equally mixed, it will make a weak red. But if blood is mixed with choler, it makes a scorched hemp color, or red with blood dominating, or somewhat red with choler dominating. But if mixed with a melancholic humor, it makes black. But if melancholy and phlegm are equally mixed, it makes a hemp color. If phlegm is very abundant, [it makes] a muddy color. If melancholy dominates, [it makes] blue-gray, but if only phlegm is mixed in equal portions, it makes citron. If one more than the other [it makes] a pale or pale-like color.¹⁷

The colors of the humors.

But all colors are more powerful when they are in silk, metals, evident substances, or precious stones, and in those things that closely resemble the celestials, but especially in living things.^{[18](#)}

Chapter 50

Of bewitchings and their art.

What bewitchings are.

Bewitchings are a binding, in which the spirit of the enchanter enters the eyes of the bewitched until it reaches the heart. However, the instrument of bewitchings is spirit—that is, a certain pure vapor, which is clear, subtle, and generated from the pure blood and heat of the heart. Enchanters always emit sympathetic rays through the eyes. These rays send out a spiritual vapor with them. That vapor is a blood, as is evident by the inflamed and red eyes of such people. These rays emit a vapor of corrupt blood when they are exposed to the eyes observing them, and, this infects the observing eyes with sickness and similar afflictions.

The instrument of bewitchings is spirit.

Rays are the vehicles of spirit.

Thus, [with the bewitcher's eyes] opened and fixed on [the subject's], with a strong imagination and with stinging rays—which are the vehicle of spirit—[the spirit] is shot to the other's eye. Indeed, that supple spirit strikes the bewitched eyes, then pierces the aroused breast to the region assigned to it. The heart is wounded and the spirit is corrupted by that foreign spirit.¹ From Apuleius: “Your eyes through my eyes fall upon my secret breast, my very marrow is sharply aroused with fire.”²

How bewitchings are made.

Therefore, you must know that men are most bewitched when a repeated sharp stare from an eye meets a direct sharp gaze from the other eye.³ When this happens, rays are joined with rays, and lights are joined with lights.⁴ Then spirit is joined with spirit and fixed by sparks. Thus, strongly bound, the sharp rays of the eyes or a certain sudden gaze⁵ kindle strong loves, as if penetrating the entire body by spear or a blow. Then, with the spirit and amorous blood injured, [the passions aroused by this gaze] are carried by the lover and bewitcher and no other. The blood and spirit of vengeance of the slaughtered fall upon the slaughterer. About this Lucretius sang about amorous bewitchings:

The desires of the body from whose mind is wounded by love

*As all often fall wounded by it
Blood leaps from the parts of each blow
The enemy seizes the flowing red fluid.*⁶

So great is the power of bewitchings, especially when the vapors of the eyes are subject to affection.⁷ Therefore, bewitchers use collyries, ointments, alligations, and the like. [They do this to obtain the assistance of] spirits or to otherwise affect and strengthen their enchantment. For instance, they induce love by using Venusian collyries from hippomanes, pigeon, or sparrow blood, and the like; for inducing fear, they make use of Martial collyries from the eyes of a wolf, hyena, and the like; for disaster or sickness they use Saturnine [collyries]. [They] similarly make these [collyries] for each method.

Chapter 51

Of certain observations producing wonderful virtues.

Likewise, it is said that certain acts and observations possess the power of certain natural things. For instance, it is believed that certain illnesses can be removed by introducing some of these: quartan fever is said to be alleviated if the clipped nails of a sick person are bound around the neck with a living eel in a bandage, after doing which the eel is to be released in the water. Pliny said that if the clipped nails from feet and hands of a sick person are mixed with wax, this is supposed to cure quartan, tertian, or ordinary fever. If fastened to another person's door before the rising Sun, [this mixture of nails and wax] will cure [that person's] illness. In a similar way, when nail clippings are left near ant holes, take the first ant that begins to draw one and bind it to the neck [of the sick person]. This will cure illnesses.¹ When wood that was struck by lightning is thrown behind the back by hand, any disease will be cured. [Taking] a fragment of a nail from a cross wrapped in a bandage and bound to the neck will [cure] quartan, as will a rope taken from a cross and placed in a cave that the Sun cannot touch. It is confirmed that if the hand of a person who had an untimely death touches the throat, it will cure tumors of the throat and ear.²

The effects of clipped nails.

It is likewise said that difficult births can be eased immediately by passing over the bed on which the birth is happening a stone or missile that killed any of these three animals with a single blow: a man, a boar, or a bear. The same effect happens with a spear pulled from the body of a man, if it does not touch the earth once it has been pulled. Also, arrows drawn from a body will bring love if they are placed under someone lying down, as long as they do not touch the earth after removal.

It is said that epilepsy can be cured with meat from the flesh of a wild beast, if it is killed from the same iron that killed a man.³ One will never have faulty and sore eyes if they touch their eyes three times with the same water in which they washed their feet.⁴ Sexual organs are healed by taking a thread from a loom and tying it into nine or seven knots, and with each knot naming a widow.⁵ Likewise, a sheep's spleen stretched over a painful spleen is said to be a medicine to heal spleens: after which [the sheep's spleen] is to be enclosed in the wall or roof of a sleeping room and sealed with a ring and a prayer spoken twenty-seven times.⁶ The same disorder is cured if the urine of a green lizard is placed in a pot and suspended in front of the sleeping room, with the sick person touching it with their hand when leaving and entering.⁷

Likewise, it is said that a lizard killed in the urine of a man⁸ will restrain that man's lust;⁹ however, it is said that if a dog's urine is mixed with a man's own [urine], it will relax lust and his loins will feel numb.¹⁰ It is said that if one's own urine is dropped on the feet early in the morning it will be contrary to

all evil medicines.¹¹ The small frog that climbs in trees, if spat from one's mouth and let go, is said to cure coughs.¹²

The effects of spittle or saliva.

Likewise, wonderful but easily experienced is what was mentioned by Pliny, that if one regrets a blow inflicted from afar or near and immediately spits into the middle of their hand that hit, immediately the hurt of the blow is lightened. This is approved for injured four-footed animals who are immediately cured by such remedies. Also, certain blows before they happen are made heavier when carrying spittle in the hand.¹³ Similarly, spitting in the right shoe before getting dressed is beneficial when about to cross into a place that is dangerous.¹⁴ Likewise, we spit to repel the contagion of epilepsy. We also spit in our laps hoping for a pardon from the gods for having too much boldness.¹⁵ In a similar manner, it is customary to spit three times in prayer for all medicines and for helping their effects.

How to prevent wolves from the borders.

It is said that wolves will not approach fields if one is captured, its feet broken,¹⁶ and a knife driven into it, with its blood gradually scattered around the boundary and then buried in that place where it first set foot.¹⁷

The Methanian people of Troezenia¹⁸ had a certain quick acting remedy that was always verified by experience against injury to vines from the south wind. If that wind blows, a white rooster is pulled into two pieces down its the middle by two men. Having done this, each holds onto their part and walks into the vineyard, moving around the border until they reach the original place. There, they bury the rooster's pieces.¹⁹

It is also said, that if one holds a viper over a vapor with a staff, they will predict the future.²⁰ Likewise, a staff that has shaken out a frog²¹ from a snake will aid birth.²² Pliny himself wrote these.

It is also commanded that when collecting roots and herbs, we must first draw three circles around them with a sword, then dig them up, but additionally be wary of an opposing wind. It is likewise said that if one measures a dead man with a rope, first from the elbow to the largest finger, then from the shoulder to the same digit, afterward from the head to the feet (making all measurements three times),²³ anyone afterward who is measured with the same rope in the same manner will have a lack of prosperity and misfortune and fall into disaster and sadness.

And Albertus writes from *Kyranides*, if a woman has maliciously bound one with love, take her shirt and urinate through her hood and right sleeve outdoors. Then the maleficence will dissolve.²⁴ And Pliny said that if sitting with someone who is pregnant, or when medicine is given to anyone, one should hold their fingers together like the teeth in a comb. This is a spell verified when Alcmene bore Hercules. It unlukier if they are around one or both knees. Similarly, sitting with legs crossed is a spell and is therefore forbidden in councils with leaders and powerful men, as it hinders all actions.²⁵

It is said that if one stands in front of a door, calls the name of a man who is lying with a woman, he responds, and then a knife or needle is fastened to the door, broken, and then the point discarded, he will not be able to lie in intercourse as long as it is there.

Chapter 52

Of the face, gestures, habits, and figure of the body, to which stars these respond, and from where the arts of physiognomy, metoposcopy, and chiromancy have their foundations.

Faces and gestures, motions, positions, and shapes of the body are conducive for obtaining celestial gifts from above and expose us to the superiors and produce certain effects in us. For instance, with hellebore, when collecting that herb or leaf, pull up or down, for this causes those humors to be drawn up or down.¹

Faces and gestures greatly affect the imagination.

No one can ignore how much the face and gestures affect sight, imagination, and animal spirit. Thus, through intercourse for procreation, often the [parents'] faces, whose actions or imaginations [affect their appearance], are often imprinted on their children when born. Thus, mercy and joy in the faces of city princes delights people, and ferocity or sudden sadness frightens them. Thus, gestures and the figure easily move [others] to pity, to mourning, and thus the figure easily excites people to love.²

But you must know that gestures and figures of this kind are, as it were, a harmony of the body that is exposed in no other way to the celestials than by odors, spiritual medicines, and passions of the inner soul. For just as in medicines and passions of the soul, certain celestial dispositions coalesce, thus also certain celestial influences produce effects in gestures and movements of the body.³

Which gestures refer to which planets.

Moreover, there are gestures that refer to Saturn that are gloomy and sad, that are for mourning and for striking the head. Likewise, religious [gestures] of genuflecting with fixing one's gaze downward in prayer or striking the breast or face alike. These gestures of austerity are displayed by Saturnine men, as described by the satirist:

With head lowered and eyes fixed to the ground

Murmuring to themselves and rabidly gnawing in silence

And words weighed with stretched out lips.⁴

Jupiter refers to faces that are cheerful and honest, honorable gestures, joining hands with applause or praise, and also genuflecting with the head elevated as if in adoration.

Mars refers to gestures that are sharp, warlike, cruel, angry, wild, and likewise in faces.

The Sun has the courageous, honorable, and the same in faces; likewise, walking and bowing on one knee as if honoring a king.

Venus has dancing, laughing,⁵ friendly and happy faces.

Mercury has gestures that are inconstant, active, deceitful, and the like, and the same with faces.

The Moon has gestures that are movable, sorcerous,⁶ youthful, and the like.

Just as we spoke about gestures, there are also specific figures of men. Indeed, Saturn indicates in men among colors black and yellow, thin, bent, rough skin, prominent veins, a hairy body, small eyes, joined eyebrows,⁷ a thin beard, large lips, gazing at the ground, heavy steps, shuffling the feet as he walks; crafty, clever, a seducer, and a killer.

The figures to which the planets respond.

However, Jupiter signifies the colors white suffused with red, a beautiful body, good stature, bald,⁸ having somewhat large eyes, not absolutely black, wide pupils, a short unequal nose, teeth somewhat forward, a curly beard, a good soul, and good morals.

Mars makes a man red, with red hair, round face, yellow eyes, a horrible and sharp appearance; bold, festive, arrogant, and crafty.

The Sun signifies a man of a brown color between yellow and black suffused with red, a short stature, yet with a beautiful body, bald and uneven hair on the body, yellow eyes; wise, faithful, and eager for praise.

Venus signifies a man who is white, tending toward blackness, yet more white and adorned with red, a beautiful body, a beautiful and round face, beautiful hair, beautiful eyes—which are black and intense—good morals, benevolent, patient, and pleasant.

Mercury signifies among figures a man not very white nor black, an oblong face, high forehead, beautiful eyes not entirely black, a straight and rather long nose, thin hair and having long fingers, clever, a subtle investigator, and subject to changing and various fortunes.

However, the Moon signifies a man colored white mixed with red, a beautiful stature, a round face and often marked, eyes not entirely black, and joined eyebrows; benevolent, easy, and sociable.⁹

The signs and the decans of the signs have their figures, which if one wishes to know, one may search in astrological books. Finally there are arts that derive information from the body, such as physiognomy, metoposcopy, chiromancy, and other divinatory arts that depend upon figures and gestures. [These figures] do not predict future events as causes but as signs—similar effects produced by similar causes.¹⁰ And although these kinds of divination may be considered to prophesy by inferior and weak

signs, yet do not judge them harshly nor condemn them when such prognostication is made not from superstition but from a harmonious correspondence of all parts of the body.^{[11](#)} Whoever best imitates the celestials in nature, study, action, motion, gesture, face, disposition of the soul, and opportune time is more likely to receive the gifts from the superiors.^{[12](#)}

Chapter 53

Of divination, auspices, and auguries.

There are certain other kinds of divinations that depend on natural causes that are evident from skill and experience in different things, which physicians, farmers, shepherds, and sailors each prognosticate from probable signs. Much of this was handled in Aristotle's book *On Times*.¹ Among the kinds of divinations, the chief are auspices and auguries. The Romans once held these in such great value, that no public or private business would be completed without auspices being performed. However, the Etruscan² people especially excelled in the art, which Cicero eloquently declared in his book *On Divination*.

The Romans did nothing inauspicious.

Kinds of auspices.

There are many kinds of auspices: for some are called walking, which are taken from four-footed animals. Some are auguries, which are from birds. Some are heavenly, which are from thunder and lightning. Some are falling, such as falling from temples or elsewhere. Some are sacred, which are taken from sacrifices. Of these, some were called criminal or sad auspices, as when the sacrificial victim ran away from the altar, or made a loud noise when pierced, or fell on the wrong part of their body than they should have. To these is added desecration,³ as when the staff fell from the hand of the augur, from which observations and auspices were customarily taken.⁴

Twelve kinds of auguries.

Michael Scot recited twelve kinds of auguries—that is, six from the right hand, which are said to be called *fernova*, *fervetus*, *confert*,⁵ *semponenthem*, *sonnasarnova*, *sonnasarvetus*, and another six on the left hand, which are called *confernova*, *confervetus*, *viaram*, *herrenam*, *scassarnova*, *scassarvetus*. He then explains the names:

Fernova is an augury when you leave your house for some reason and you see a man or a bird passing or flying, and they are placed in front of you on the left. This is a good sign over your work.

Fervetus is an augury when you leave the house for some reason, and in front, you discover or see a bird or man resting on your left side. This is a bad sign over your work.

Viaram is an augury when a man or bird is passing or flying before you, passes you on the right side, and bends to the left and vanishes. This is a good sign over your work.

Confernova is an augury when you first see a man or bird passing or flying, and you discover them pausing before you on the right. This is a good sign over your work.

Confervetus is an augury when you first discover or see a man or bird, and you see them bending toward the right side. This is a bad sign over your work.

Scimasarnova is an augury when a man or a bird follows behind you and passes you, but before he reaches you or pauses somewhere, you see them on your right side. This is a good sign for you.

Scimasarvetus is an augury when you see behind you a man or a bird pausing on the right side. This is a bad sign for you.

*Scassarnova*⁶ is if you see behind you a man or a bird, but before they reach you or come toward you, you see them pause on the right side. This is a good sign for you.

Scassarvetus is if you see a man or a bird passing and then it pauses on the left. This is a bad sign for you.

Emponenthem is when a man or a bird comes from the left and passes to the right, vanishing from your sight but without resting. This is a good sign for you.

Hartenam is an augury if a man or a bird comes from behind on the right side passing to the left and then you see them pausing somewhere. This is a bad sign.⁷ This is from Scot.

The ancients also had auguries from sneezes, which Homer remembers in the seventeenth book of the *Odyssey*, because they were thought to have proceeded from a sacred place—that is, the head from where the intellect thrives and operates;⁸ and from whichever unexpected speech that comes from the mouth or mind early in the morning, is said to be some prognostication or augury.

Chapter 54

Of some different animals and other things that have significations in auguries.

Auspices must first be taken at the beginning of each operation. For example, if at the beginning of a labor you see that a mouse has chewed your garment, abandon the work. If going out you stumble on the threshold, or on the way strike your foot, hold your journey. If you run into any bad omens at the beginning of your work, delay that beginning lest the entire purpose be frustrated, or your accomplishments will be useless. Wait for a fortunate hour to take action with a better omen.

We see that many animals by certain powers engrafted by nature are prestigious and prophetic. Surely, does not the rooster cleverly sing to indicate the hours, and his wings open to chase lions away? Many birds sing and chatter, the fly's sharp stings foretell rain, and dolphins frequently leap above the water to foretell storms.

It would take too long to unravel all of the prognostications from birds and animals known by the Phrygians, Cilicians, Arabians, Umbrians, Etruscans and other people who followed those auguries,¹ which were proved through many experiments and examples. In all things, the oracles of the future are as much as hidden. But the greatest of these are birds that announce omens: these are those that poets say were men turned into birds. Therefore, a crow will speak, carefully overhearing and stationed in their setting or flying from the right or left, speaking or chattering or silent, preceding and following, or passing waiting for arrival, or fleeing or departing. All must be carefully observed.

Birds that announce omens.

As Horapollon said in *Hieroglyphics*: "Twin crows signify marriages, because this animal bears two eggs from which a male and female must be born. However, if (and this is rare) two males or two females are born, the males will not couple with females or mix with other crows. Likewise, females with other males, but will only continue estranged. Therefore, if meeting a single crow, this augurs for the future that one will live their life as a widow."² There is the same prediction with black female doves, who after the death of the male, will always remain alone."³

But ravens must be watched no less diligently: they are preferred in greater things and are said to foretell the future [like] crows. Epictetus the stoic philosopher and important author thought that if a raven croaks opposite someone, it will portend adversity to the body, fortune, honor, wife, or children.⁴

Swans, who foretell secrets of the waters, are considered because of their cheerfulness to not only foretell happy outcomes for sailors but also for other travelers. [This is true] unless the swans are overcome by a stronger attack—such as from eagles, whose powerful authority rules over all other birds.

If the eagle speaks against them, he weakens them, since he flies higher and can see farther than other birds and is never excluded from the secrets of Jupiter. Eagles portend height and victory, but through blood, because they drink not water, but blood.⁵

When the Locrians faced the Crotonians in battle, an eagle flying overhead gave [the Locrians] victory.⁶ Hiero, when first leaving for war, an eagle unexpectedly settled on his shield which foretold his future as king.⁷ When Alexander of Macedonia was born, two eagles settled for the entire day in his house, which was a twofold omen foretelling his command of Asia and Europe.⁸ Likewise, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, son of the Corinthian Demaratus, who was fleeing his house because of sedition, departed Etruria for Rome. [An eagle] then stole his cap and flew away, and then put it back onto his head, portending his rule of Rome.⁹

However, vultures signify difficulties, hardship, and rapacity, which at the beginning of the founding of Rome¹⁰ was verified by experience.¹¹ Likewise, they show the future places of massacres seven days before. This is because they covet a great number of deaths and gaze in that place where such things will occur, as if other parts around it were inferior. Therefore, it was the custom of ancient kings to send out a spy, who reported where the vultures turned their gaze.¹²

Auguries taken from large birds.

However, the phoenix promises singular happy success, which being seen renewed, was a good auspice for [Rome's] building. The pelican, who risks itself for its children, signifies a friendly man by whose piety undergoes a crisis.¹³ The painted bird gave its name to the city Pictavia and foretold the gentleness of the people with its color and voice. Herons are auspicious for arduous things. Storks, which are friendly birds, cause friendship. Cranes, about which the ancients agreed, are always ready and were cautious of enemies that lie in ambush.¹⁴ The *cucupha*¹⁵ indicates gratitude because it is the only animal that repays its parents with gratitude when they are old.¹⁶ On the contrary, the hippopotamus kills its parents, demonstrating ingratitude and injustice.¹⁷ Quails,¹⁸ odious birds, indicate hatred.¹⁹

Auguries taken from small birds.

And now, also among smaller birds, the talkative magpie foretells guests. If an *albanellus*²⁰ flies past from the left to the right, it is hospitable to cheerfulness, if from the opposite indicates the opposite. Owls are always unlucky as is the little owl, which, because they approach chickens unforeseen at night, just as death approaches unforeseen, it is therefore said that they foretell death.²¹ Yet sometimes, because they are not blind in the darkness of night, owls are said to signify diligence and vigilance in men—because [an owl] was approved when it settled on the spear of Hiero.²² However, Dido saw unluckiness in owls when stirring up Aeneas; of which the poet sang:

From its height, the lonely owl cries

*Often pleading and sending out its long weeping call;*²³

and elsewhere:

*The ignoble owl is a dire omen to mortals.*²⁴

Likewise, [an owl] sang in the Capitol when Roman things were inferior at Numantia, and also Fragellae was destroyed because of a conspiracy in Rome against them.²⁵ And Almadel says that horned owls and night ravens, when they divert to unusual regions and houses, indicate the death of men in that same region or house because those birds delight in corpses and sense them beforehand; moreover, dying men have an association²⁶ with corpses.²⁷ However, the hawk foretells conflict, as sung by Naso.²⁸

*We hate the hawk because it always lives in arms.*²⁹

Laelius, the envoy of Pompey, was killed in Spain among purveyors; it was said that a hawk flew over his head and foretold his doom.³⁰ And Almadel said that if members of the same species of bird are seen fighting among themselves, it signifies a change of kings. If, however, different kinds [of birds] are fighting with them and are never seen to come together, it predicts new fortunes for that region.³¹

Also, small birds arriving or departing portends the increase or decrease of one's family. The manner of their flight is taken into account in such augury: if it is serene, the sign is taken to be that much more praiseworthy. Melampus augured the massacre of Greeks from the flight of small birds, which he said: "You see that no bird flies though [the weather is] clear."

Swallows, because when they are dying they prepare a safe place for their young, predict a great inheritance or a bequest from a death.³² A bat meeting a fleeing swallow signifies escape, because a bat (even though they have no feathers) is able to fly.³³ However, a sparrow is a bad omen for one fleeing. This is because they flee from hawks and run toward the owl, but both are equally predators.³⁴ Still, seeing sparrows is taken as a good auspice in love, since when these birds are roused in desire they have intercourse seven times in an hour.³⁵ Bees are a good omen for kings, for they show a compliant people.³⁶ However, flies signify inconsideration and shamelessness, because often when they are driven away, they nevertheless return.³⁷

Domestic auguries.

Domestic birds are not without auguries. For instance, crowing roosters promote hope and the beginnings of journeys. For example, when Tiberius was about to be born, his pregnant mother, Livia, took a hen's egg and kept it warm in her bosom until a rooster with a great comb emerged. Augurs

interpreted this that the boy about to be born would be a king.³⁸ And Cicero wrote that the Theban roosters crowing the entire night portended victory of the Boeotians against the Lacedaemonians. That augury was explained thus, because the bird is silent when conquered, and crows when victorious.³⁹

Auguries taken from animals.

Likewise, omens of events are taken from animals and beasts with a similar rationale. For instance, meeting a weasel is ominous.⁴⁰ Meeting a hare is fearful for the traveler unless it is captured.⁴¹ Likewise, a mule is hostile because it is barren.⁴² However, pigs are destructive; indeed, such is their nature, and therefore they signify destructive men.⁴³ Horses show quarrels and battles; from Virgil, when seeing white horses, Anchises exclaimed:

*. . . War, you carry O hospitable land:
War arms horses, this herd threatens war.*

Yet, when horses meet while connected to a chariot because they are drawn united together with a yoke, this signifies expected peace.⁴⁴ Asses are useless, yet one was useful to Marius, who, when he was proclaimed an enemy in his country, saw an ass scorning the food offered to him while running toward water, which he reasoned was an augury that showed him a way to safety. He asked for the help of his friends and asked for them to gather at the sea, where they obtained a small boat and thus escaped the triumphant Sulla's threat.⁴⁵ Whenever someone meets a female ass, it is an augury always signifying labor, endurance, and impediments.

However, wolves are known as good messengers. Their effectiveness was seen by Hiero of Sicily, who had a wolf snatch away his writing tablet in school, thus declaring the success of his kingdom. Yet, if a wolf sees [the person] first, it will mute his voice.⁴⁶ The watchman of consuls P. Africanus and C. Fulvius was torn apart by a wolf when the Roman army was overcome by the slaves in Sicily.⁴⁷ [The wolf] also signifies faithless men and bad faith. This was known to the descendants of Romulus, who [with Remus] had formerly sucked faith from the she-wolf and kept it to themselves from the beginning, and it flowed as if by natural law to their descendants.⁴⁸

If a lion is met, it is good, since among other animals it is the strongest and strikes fear in all.⁴⁹ However, a woman meeting a lioness is bad because it impedes conception: this is because a lioness does not give birth a second time.⁵⁰ Meeting sheep and goats is good: as was gathered in the *Prodigies of the Etruscans*,⁵¹ if this animal has any unusual color, it portends to the emperor the abundance of all things with happiness. As Virgil sings about Pollio:

*But in the meadows rams will be agreeably red
Their changing fleece now purple now yellow.*⁵²

It is also good to meet an ox threshing, but it is better if it is plowing. Even if the way is broken on a journey and hindered by such an encounter, this delay is compensated by the grace of this augury. Meeting a dog is favorable in a journey: when Cyrus was abandoned in the forest, he was nurtured by a dog until he came to his kingdom.⁵³ Likewise, the angel, an associate of Tobias, did not despise the dog as a companion.⁵⁴ A beaver, because it bites off its own testicles and leaves them for the hunters, is a bad omen: it predicts that a man will inflict ruin on himself.⁵⁵

Omens with small animals.

Among small animals, mice also signify ruin. When they chewed the gold in Rome, that same day both consuls were ambushed near Tarentum by Hannibal.⁵⁶ Locusts, if making a stand or destroying a place, hinder prayers and are a bad omen. On the other hand, cicadas promote journeys and announce the good outcomes of things. Spiders, weaving their thread from above, are said to announce the coming of expected money. Similarly, ants, because they learned to provide for themselves and prepare a safe hiding place, portend security and wealth and signify a great army.⁵⁷ Hence, when Tiberius Caesar saw that ants devoured a tame serpent,⁵⁸ this sign told him to beware the tumult of the multitude.⁵⁹

If you meet a snake, beware of a slanderous enemy: for this animal is powerful from its mouth and no other member.⁶⁰ A snake creeping into Tarquinius's palace augured his fall. Two snakes, male and female, were found in the bed of [Tiberius] Sempronius Gracchus. He was told by a soothsayer that, depending upon if the male or female was released, either he or his wife would shortly die. Gracchus, preferring the life of his wife, killed the male and released the female. He died a little while later.⁶¹ A viper signifies crooked women⁶² and wicked children,⁶³ and an eel signifies a man hostile to everything: indeed, they live separately from other fish. They are not found together with any other.⁶⁴

Among all auspices and omens, nothing is more effective than men, and nothing is more powerful, because truly nothing can be explained clearer. Therefore, diligently observe and seek his condition: life, sex, profession, structure, gestures, movements, exercise, complexion, habits, name, words, and speech. For, among other animals, in which so many presages are revealed, no doubt the most efficacious and clearest omens are those infused in the human soul: [Marcus] Tullius [Cicero] himself testified to this, saying that there is a certain divination naturally in the human soul that belongs to mankind eternally and allows us to recognize the sequence of all things and their causes.⁶⁵ In the foundation of the city of Rome, the head of a man was found with his entire face: this portended the greatness of the empire and gave the name of the Capitoline hill. The soldiers of Brutus battling against Octavian and Marc Antony offended an Ethiopian in the entrance of their camp, whom they slaughtered. This [was seen] as an unfavorable augury, and thus their battle was unfavorable, and both Brutus and Cassius perished. Also, meeting monks is generally ominous, but more so if it happens early in the morning. This is because these kinds of men live much for the dead, just as vultures do for the slaughtered.⁶⁶

Auspices from men are the most effective.

Chapter 55

How auspices are verified through the light of the natural senses, and some rules for proving them.

Auspices and auguries, which foretell the future from animals and birds, we read were first demonstrated by the theologian Orpheus.¹ Afterward, all great nations made use of them. But they are verified by the light of the natural senses. Certain lights of divination descending from above to quadrupeds, winged animals, and other beasts through which [creatures] they may portend to us human events.² Virgil also seemed to perceive this, as he sang:

Nor do I believe that they have divine

*Knowledge, or a greater foresight of the fates of things.*³

But these sorts of natural senses, as William of Auvergne said, are more sublime than all human understanding. Prophecy is the closest and most like it. From these senses there is a certain wonderful light of divination, which is naturally infused into certain animals: just as certain dogs can clearly sense and recognize thieves, hidden men, and men thoroughly unknown to them—thus, they discover, find, seize, and rush upon such people with their jaws and teeth.

Sublime senses of nature.

Similarly, vultures, with their senses, foresee future massacres from battles. They congregate in places where such events will happen, as they foresee future food for themselves from corpses. With the same senses, partridges recognize their [real] mother, who they have never seen, and abandon the [partridge] who stole their mother's eggs and kept them warm.⁴

These same senses (the soul of man being entirely ignorant of them) perceive certain harmful and terrifying things, from where terror and horror possess many men, perceiving or considering none of these things. Thus, a robber hidden somewhere in a house, with no one knowing or thinking about it, strikes horror and terror and disturbs the heart of those dwelling in the house—perhaps not everyone, because that brilliance does not belong to all men but only a few. Thus, some are able to sense a prostitute hidden in a large house, while others are ignorant⁵ [of the prostitute's presence].

In histories, a certain Heraiscus from Egypt is named: a man with a divine nature, who could recognize an unclean woman not only with his eyes but also from hearing her voice from afar. Immediately, his head would hurt because that kind of thing did not affect him moderately.⁶ Likewise,

William of Auvergne refers to a certain woman of his time who loved a man. When approaching a place where she stayed, with her senses, she could perceive him coming from two miles away.⁷

[William of Auvergne] also refers to a certain [female] stork, also in his time, who was convicted of adultery by a male who could smell it. The male gathered a multitude of storks and uncovered the crime of the female. That entire multitude judged the culprit guilty, then defeathered and mangled her.⁸ He also wrote of a certain horse, who was ignorant of his mother and had intercourse with her. Afterward, he understood this, and with his own teeth, tore off his genitals, as if he were punishing himself for incest.⁹ Similar horses were written about by Aristotle,¹⁰ Varro,¹¹ and Pliny.¹² Pliny himself wrote of a certain asp who acted in a similar way, who, after coming daily to a certain table in Egypt to feed, gave birth to some young, who killed one son of the host. The asp returned and recognized the crime, killed the young, and afterward never returned to the house.¹³

From these examples, we see how the lights of presages can descend over certain animals, such as signs of things in their movement, voice, flight, approach, food, color, and other agreements of this sort.¹⁴ For, according to the doctrine of the Platonists, there is a certain power engrafted into inferior things, which for the most part agree with their superiors. From these, the tacit consensus of animals seems to agree with the divine bodies, and these bodies and effects cause their strengths, whose names are ascribed by the divine.¹⁵

Therefore, we must consider which animals are Saturnine, which refer to Jupiter, which to Mars, and thus for all the rest, and according to their qualities elicit their prognostications. Thus, if referring to Saturn and Mars, it is said [to respond to] all dreadful and deadly birds, like the little owl, tawny owl, and others that are written about above. Similarly, the horned owl—because it is a solitary, nocturnal, and Saturnine bird—is considered an inauspicious omen, about which the poet said:

The filthy bird thus comes announcing grief,

*The ignoble owl, a dreadful mortal omen.*¹⁶

Indeed, the swan is a delightful bird, Venusian, and also sacred to Phoebus. It is said to presage happiness, especially in auspices for sailors, because swans do not drown in water; as Aemilius¹⁷ sang:

Swans.

*In auspices, the swan is always the happiest bird.*¹⁸

There are also omenal songbirds,¹⁹ who make auspices through their mouth and sing, as with the raven, woodpecker, and crow;²⁰ from Virgil:

*Often the crow inauspiciously predicts from the hollow oak.*²¹

However, there are birds that predict by flight such as buzzards, ospreys, eagles, vultures,²² cranes, swans, and the like. Their flight is to be considered, whether flying slowly or quickly, whether flying from the left or right, and likewise how many of them are flying over. In this manner, cranes—when flying quickly—signify storms. When silent, [they signify] good weather. Likewise, two birds²³ flocking together is deadly and is said to predict evil, because that is the number of confusion. Investigate the others in a similar way, transferring the rationale of the numbers here.

Examining birds in flight.

Likewise, also observe the teaching of these interpretations, just as from Virgil when Venus disguised herself, she taught her son Aeneas and sang:

*Unless my parents taught me empty auguries in vain,
Observe that happy procession of twelve swans,
That Jupiter's bird [eagle] gliding through the sky
Disturbs the open air; now in long ranks, they seem to settle
Captivating or enticing you then overlooking:
They return to play with gnashing wings
And giving a cry they surround the heavens,
That your ships and people are within sight of the harbor
Or holding at port or approaching with full sails.*²⁴

But the most wonderful auguries are the kind that hear and understand the conversation of animals, as we read from the ancients Melampus, Tiresias, Thales,²⁵ and Apollonius of Tyana, who excelled in understanding the conversations of birds. Philostratus and Porphyry wrote that once when Apollonius sat in the company of friends, he observed some sparrows sitting in a tree. Then, coming from elsewhere, a single sparrow chattered and made loud noises and flew away with the others following him. Then Apollonius said to his friends: "That sparrow reported to the others that near Rome an ass laden with wheat fell in a narrow street, and the wheat was spilled everywhere on the ground." These words very much excited everyone, and they went to test this and thus found Apollonius's words were fact.²⁶ But the Platonist Porphyry in the third book of *The Sacrifices* said that it was a swallow.

Indeed this is certain, because every voice of each animal signifies some of the passions, dispositions, happiness, sadness, or anger of its soul. That their voices can be understood among trained men is no wonder.²⁷ However, Pliny tells us that Democritus named certain birds that, when their blood was mixed by an art he handed down, this would beget serpents. Whoever ate of these understood the

speech of birds.²⁸ Hermes said that if on a certain day on the calends²⁹ of November, one goes out to hunt birds, and then cooks the first bird captured with the heart of a fox, everyone who eats this bird will understand the voices of birds and other animals.³⁰ Also, the Arabs wrote that they could understand the thoughts of beasts if the heart or liver of a serpent³¹ was consumed. Proclus the Platonist believed and wrote that the heart of a mole was good for predictions.³²

The voices of animals signify the passions of its soul.

Also, there were divinations and auspices from the bowels and entrails taken from sacrifices, the inventor of which was Tages, of whom Lucan sang:

*Let the entrails have no credit, yet the founder of this art
Was Tages . . .*³³

Roman religion believed that the liver was the head of the bowels. Hence, soothsayers, searching for the future in bowels, first examined the liver, which was made up of two heads: one of which was for the city, the other for enemies. These heads were collected together, and one or the other part proclaimed victory, just as from Lucan we read in his verses of the slaughter of Pompey's men, and the victory of Caesar signified by entrails:

The liver is the head of the bowels.

*In the entrails were every sin, nothing was safe,
Behold the head of the entrails' swollen mass
On one head; part is corrupted and hanging withered,
The other part trembles and the veins prominently pulse.*³⁴

Then, the entrails completed, the heart was searched for; because, if the victim was found without one, or a head was missing in the liver, that was a disastrous auspice and were called expiatory.³⁵ It was the same if the victim escaped from the altar, or made a loud cry when pierced, or fell on a different part of his body than he should.³⁶

We read about Julius Caesar, that he appeared on a day in his purple robe and sat in his golden chair, but the sacrifices twice lacked a heart. C. Marius sacrificed at Utica, and it was found lacking a liver.³⁷ It was the same with the prince Caius³⁸ and M. Marcellus. C. Claudius and L. Petellius consulted with sacrificial victims, where the liver suddenly melted away: not much later one became sick, the other died in battle in Liguria.³⁹ The entrails predicted this, because it was thought to proceed from a virtue of the

gods or the work of daemons.

Hence, according to the ancients, it was always of greatest importance if something unusual appeared in entrails: as when Sulla sacrificed at Laurentum, the likeness of a crown appeared in the head of the liver, which the soothsayer Posthumius interpreted as victory for the kingdom and therefore suggested that only Sulla should eat the entrails.⁴⁰ Also, the color of the entrails must be considered; as recalled by Lucan:

*The color frightened the prophets: disgraced with pale
Entrails marked with spots and infected with cold blood
Sprinkled much with bluish blood.*⁴¹

So venerated were these arts in the past, that powerful and wise men pursued these. Indeed, senators and kings did not act without auspices. But all of these are neglected by the men of today. Regardless, the authority of the Fathers abolished them.

Chapter 56

Of soothsaying of lightning and flashes, and how to interpret portents and prodigies.

Moreover, of the other auguries, the revealing of lightning and flashes and the knowledge of how to interpret their portents¹ and prodigies, were handed down by Etruscan prophets and priests. Indeed, they set up sixteen regions of the sky, and divinities were appointed for each. In addition, there are eleven kinds of lightning and nine gods who throw them, and they created the reasoning for the significations of each part.²

One must be an interpreter of prodigies.

However, revealing portents and prodigies, however often they happen, a great prediction is always certain. But their interpreter must be a good diviner of similarities, and also a careful investigator, and [know] of those who do business with princes and provinces of that time. Accordingly, the heavens only attend to princes, people, and provinces, as they prefigure and warn before the other stars, constellations, portents, and prodigies. Because, if the same thing or a similar [omen] has been seen in past generations, we must consider that, follow it, and according to this, predict the same or a similar thing, because the same signs are for the same things, and like for like.

Thus, prodigies came before the birth or death of many eminent men and kings. Cicero recounts how when Midas was a young boy an ant threw grains of wheat in his mouth while he was sleeping, which was an omen of great wealth. While Plato was sleeping in the cradle, a bee landed on his mouth, foretelling the sweetness of his speech. When Hecuba was giving birth to Paris, she saw a burning torch, which would burn all of Troy and Asia. The mother of Phalarus saw an image of Mercury pouring blood on the ground, which flooded the entire house. The mother of Dionysus saw herself giving birth to a satyr,³ which was a prodigious dream that was proved by the event that followed. The wife of Tarquinius Priscus saw flames licking the head of Servius Tullius, predicting his kingdom.⁴ In a similar manner, as Aeneas disputed with his father, Anchises, about fleeing after the capture of Troy, there appeared a flame licking the top of Ascanius's head, but not harming him. This portended the reign of Ascanius, so Anchises was persuaded to leave.⁵

All preceded and portended notable disasters and prodigies.⁶ Thus, we read in Pliny that while M. Attilius and C. Portius were consuls, it rained milk and blood, which foretold a strong pestilence that would fall upon Rome the following year. Likewise, in Lucania, it rained iron that was almost like sponges in the year before M. Crassus was killed in Parthia, and then all of the Lucanian army, which was a very numerous army, were killed. Likewise, while L. Paulus and C. Marcellus were consuls, it rained wool

around the castle of Corisanus, where T. Annius would be killed by Milo the following year. Likewise, during the Cimbrian war, the rattle of armor and sound of trumpets were heard from the sky.⁷

And Livy [wrote] of the Macedonian war: “In the year that Hannibal died, it rained blood for two days.”⁸ Likewise, in the second Punic war, it was said that water mixed with blood fell from the sky like rain at the time Hannibal destroyed Italy.⁹ The Lacedaemonians shortly before the defeat of Leuctra heard the sound of arms in the shrine of Hercules, and at the same time in Thebes in the temple of Hercules, the double doors that were closed with bars opened themselves, and arms that were fixed to the wall were found on the ground.¹⁰

Similar events agree with similar prognostications, as in different times past something was foretold of them. Yet one must not neglect judgments around celestial influences, which shall be widely discussed later.

Chapter 57

Of geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy; divinations of the four elements.

Moreover, the elements also teach us about fated events, of which there are four well-known divinations that are called geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy. Lucan [wrote of] the sorceress who seems to boast of these herself, saying:

*Truly the earth, air, the heavens, chaos
Seas, plains, and rocks of Rhodope speak.*¹

Therefore, the first is geomancy, the moving, rattling, swelling, trembling, tearing, making deep holes, exhaling vapors, and other impressions of the earth, indicate the future. The Arab Almadel handed down these arts to us.² But there is another kind of geomancy, which is divined by inscribing certain forceful or chance pricks in the earth, of which we will not speculate here, but we will speak of this later among the lots.³

Geomancy.

But hydromancy excels in prophecy through impressions of water, such as ebbing and flowing, raising and lowering, storms, colors, and the like. To these are also added visions that happen in water. The Persians discovered a kind of divination that was referred by Varro, where a boy saw an effigy of Mercury in water that predicted in 150 verses all of the events of Mithridates' war.⁴

The kind of hydromancy called lecanomancy.

We also read that Numa Pompilius practiced hydromancy. Indeed, he elicited the images of gods in water and learned the future from them—and Pythagoras also practiced this art a long time after Numa.⁵ There was also a kind of hydromancy called lecanomancy that the Assyrians once held in great esteem. In that art, plates of gold, silver, and precious stones inscribed with certain images, names, and characters were placed into a basin full of water.⁶ It is said about this art that melted lead or wax was also cast into the water, and things that one desired to know were shown as notable images.

There were also once prophetic springs, such as the Patraean fountain at Achaea,⁷ and, it was said, the water of Juno at Epidaurus,⁸ and many more of which we will speak later in the section on oracles. However, here we refer to the divination of fish, once captured by the Lycians in a place called Dina, near the sea in the sacred grove of Apollo in a hollowed-out place in the sand. When consulting about the future, one lowered roasted meat into the [hollow]. Suddenly, that place was filled with water and a great multitude of fish and strange figures unknown to men appeared. From these forms, prophets predicted the future. This was widely referred to by Polycharmus in the *Lycian History* by Athenaeus.⁹

In a similar manner, aeromancy provides predictions through the impressions of air, through blowing of wind, through rainbows, halos, through mist and clouds, imaginations in clouds, and visions in the air.

Divination of fire is through impressions of fire, through comets, colors of fire, and through visions and imagination in fire. Thus, the wife of Cicero predicted the future, that the following year he would be consul. After certain sacrifices, as she wished in the ashes, she saw that flames suddenly burst forth.¹⁰ In this manner, Pliny said that [if fires kindled on the] earth are pale and hum, this will report storms. Also, rain is predicted if in a lamp, the flame twists and flies about. It portends wind if the flames go out in lamps or can scarcely be kindled. It is the same when sparks fly out in a mass, or when the coals stick to the pot when lifted, or when the fire has subsided and the embers shatter or send out sparks, or when the ash in the hearth solidifies, and when it glows excessively from the coals.¹¹

To this is added capnomancy, which is said to be from smoke. One considers the colors of the flame and smoke, its sound and movement, when it rises straight or slanting or rolling in a circle, just as we read in Statius in his verses:

May piety be overcome; O maiden come set the altar;

Let us ask the gods above. She gazes keenly

And points to the bloody flame growing from wind

And the middle flame peaks clear yet rises bright

Then she teaches him that like a serpent

*Two-headed and red [the flame] gyrates and rolls.*¹²

From the craters of Aetna and the fields of the nymphs in Apollonia, auguries were taken from fire and flames. It was thought happy if the flames took what was cast into them and sad if it was rejected.¹³

Chapter 58

Of reviving the dead, sleeping, and fasting for a long time.

Arab philosophers agree that some men can rise above the powers of their bodies and over their sensitive strengths, and surpass the perfection of the heavens, and receive the power of the divine intelligences.¹

Therefore, since the souls of all men are perpetual and likewise spirits obey all perfect souls, magicians think that perfect men, through the power of their souls, can restore their dying bodies in a certain way with other inferior souls and inspire them again: just as when the breath of a weasel is extinguished, the voice of their parent restores them to life, and a lion's lifeless offspring is revived by the lion breathing on them.

As they say, all similar things are connected to their like. They are brought about by similar natures and capable of bearing all. Every act receives its agent. It is also clothed in the nature of that agent and shares its nature.² Hence it is thought that this vivification is no less directed than with certain herbs and magical confections, such as we read are made with the ashes of the phoenix and shed skin of a serpent. Though many seem fabulous and impossible, they have been proved to be historically true.

For instance, many have been drowned in water, others thrown into fire and placed on pyres, and others are killed in war. We also read of others who were killed, and many days later live again, just as we read from Pliny of a man who was a consul from Aviola, of L. Lamia, C. Aelius Tubero, Corfidius, Gabienus, and many others.³ Similarly, Aesop the storymaker, Tindoreus, Hercules, and the Palici (the sons of Jupiter and Thalia) died and were revived again. Also, history shows that there were many who were brought to life again by magicians and physicians, such as Asclepius. We mentioned above⁴ of what Juba, Xanthus, and Philostratus [said] about Tillon, a certain Arab,⁵ and Apollonius of Tyana.⁶

We also read that a certain Glaucus was dead beyond all expectations, but a physician hastened to him with an herb called *dragon*,⁷ which is said by some to have restored him to life. Others say the physician revived him with a medicine that tasted like honey, from which arose the proverb: "Glaucus was revived from drinking honey."⁸

Also, Apuleius referred to these kinds of rites of revivification, of which Zachlas the Egyptian prophet said: "The prophet thus propitiated with some small herb on the mouth of the corpse and placed another on the breast. Then turned toward the east or the rising of the majestic Sun, praying silently and making a venerable scene for prompting earnest excitement for such a miracle. Now the breast rose, now the healthy veins pulsed, now filled with the spirit of the body, and the corpse arose and the young man spoke."⁹ If this is true, it follows that dying souls are sometimes hidden in the body, where they are oppressed by a vehement ecstasy and freed from all corporeal actions as life, senses, and all movement desert the body. However, a person in that state is not truly dead but rather lying lifeless and seemingly dead for a long time.

Often in times of pestilence we see, when bringing the dead to be buried, they come back to life in the grave. This also happens frequently to women who suffocate from problems with the womb.

The rabbi Moses [Maimonides] said from the book of Galen, which the patriarch translated, that this happened to a man who had suffocated for six days, neither eating nor drinking, and his arteries were hard. He said in the same book that a man who was filled¹⁰ and lost the pulse in his entire body; his heart did not move and he lay down as if dead. He said that [a man who suffers] an accidental fall from a high place, hears a great noise, or is submerged in water for a long time may fall into a faint for forty-eight hours and lay down as if dead, his face growing dusty and green. He wrote in the same book of a man who was buried seventy-two hours after death and thus killed, because he was buried alive. There are signs where one can recognize if someone is alive, although they lay down as if dead and surely [seem to be] dead, unless assisted or through blood-letting or other cures,¹¹ though these seldom happen. It is in this manner that the understandings of the magicians and physicians have revived the dead, as once when one was bitten and killed by a serpent, the tribes of the Marsorus and Psillorus restored them to life.¹²

Examples of wonderful suffocations and ecstasies.

Examples of lasting sleep.

These kinds of ecstasies can last a long time, though a man can be observed as nothing else than dead, such as in dormice, crocodiles, and many serpents. These are asleep all winter, and while in a deep sleep they can scarcely be awakened by fire. I have seen a dormouse dissected and remain immobile as if dead. Then, when the members were placed in boiling water, the members showed life. Similarly—although this is difficult to believe—we read in proven histories of certain men who sleep for a long time, continuing to sleep for many years. However, when awakened, they show no effects of old age. Pliny testified of a certain boy, who when weary of heat from his journey, was said to have slept in a cave for fifty-seven years. We also read of Epimenides of Crete, who slept in a cave for fifty-seven years—hence the adage: “Sleeping more than Epimenides.”¹³ M. Damascenus wrote that in his time in Germany, a weakened peasant slept under a mound of hay through the entire autumn, and then winter, and continued to sleep. Then in the summer when the hay was gradually eaten, he was discovered awake as if half dead and out of his wits. It is the confirmed opinion of the ecclesiastical histories of the seven sleepers, who slept for 196 years. In Norway,¹⁴ there is a cave in a lofty seashore, as Paul the Deacon and Methodius the martyr write, seven sleeping men lay sleeping for a long time without any corruption, and often people assembled to strike them. Finally, neighbors set a penalty so that they would stop hurting them.¹⁵

Moreover, Xenocrates, who among philosophers is of no small reputation—thought that this long sleep was a certain natural penalty, to which that certain souls were obliged by eternity to be appointed. M. Damascenus himself proved that there are many possible reasons why that is entirely natural and should not be thought absurd, because with some there are certain agreements, such as many being without food and drink, do not make excrement, are without decay and corruption, and are able to sleep for many months. Whether this may happen from a person accidentally drinking some poison, contracting a sleep-inducing sickness, experiencing a certain deep fear, or similar causes, men sometimes sleep many days, years, or months according to the intention or remission of the power of their soul.

Physicians say that with antidotes taken in small portions one can bear a long fasting as, for example, Elias, who was given a certain food from an angel and could walk and fast “from the power of that food for forty days.”¹⁶

Ioannes Bocatius¹⁷ said that in his time there was a man in Venice who each year fasted without food for forty days.¹⁸ What is more wonderful, at the same time in lower Germany, was a woman who did not accept food for thirty years. This may indeed seem incredible to us, but it is confirmed by recent things, a miracle in our age: brother Nicolaus the Saxon from the Helvetii nation lived without any food in the wilderness for twenty-two years before he died.

Wondrous examples of hunger.

Also wonderful is a certain man named Philinus mentioned by Theophrastus, who had nothing to drink or eat except milk.¹⁹ There are serious authorities, as we read, who describe certain herbs of Sparta, with which the Scythians could endure for twelve days without food or drink if they only but taste it or hold it in their mouth.²⁰

Chapter 59

Of divination through dreams.

There is a kind of divination that happens in sleep—that is, in dreams—and this is proved by the traditions of philosophers, the authority of theologians, the examples of history, and daily experience. I say dreams here, but these are not phantasms or sleepless visions.¹ Indeed, [phantasms and sleepless visions] are empty and are not divinations but instead arise from the remnants of wakefulness or disturbances of the body. Often, the body is oppressed, or has fortune (whether favorable or unfavorable) that forces the weary mind to remain awake, so that even though one sleeps one is cheated of proper rest by contrary circumstances.²

Dreams.

Therefore, what I call dreams here are spiritual imaginations caused by celestial influences, which are beneficial to the soul and body. Indeed, the rules for interpreting these were discovered by astrologers who wrote about questions.³ Yet these are insufficient, because these kinds of dreams come to be used by many men with many qualities of spiritual imagination and disposition.

Wherefore one cannot use the same common rule for each interpretation, but, according to the opinion of Synesius, when there are the same accidents, and similar things are similar to their like, then the same or similar visions often happen and are appointed the same or similar opinion, passion, fortune, action, and events. Finally, as Aristotle said, the senses confirm memory.⁴ However, from memory the same thing often produces experience, and more experience gradually accumulates as skill and science. One must approach dreams with a similar reasoning.

Synesius said that everyone must observe their dreams and then the events of their live, committing these to memory and paying attention to certain observations, noting what is seen to happen in such events when asleep and awake and accumulating many kinds of rules to oneself regarding these things. When these are gathered, a certain divinatory skill and the interpretation of dreams gradually grows, provided one's memory does not fade.⁵

But the most effective dreams are when the Moon runs through the ninth sign of the nativity, or during the [Solar] revolution of that year, or alternatively in the ninth sign from the sign of profection.⁶ But the truest and most certain divination is not a natural or human skill but instead a purified mind being divinely inspired; however, we will consider and discuss prophecies and oracles elsewhere.

Chapter 60

Of frenzy and divinations that happen when awake, of the power of the melancholy humor, which sometimes also allures daemons in the human body.

Moreover, [divinations] not only happen when sleeping but sometimes while awake. A relaxed mind is stimulated by divinatory impulses. Aristotle spoke of frenzy, which comes from melancholic humors as related to this kind of divination, as he teaches in the treatise *On Divination*, saying: “Ones who have melancholy, because of their vehemence, are far better at conjecture, quick in their imaginings, and most easily receive impressions from the celestials.” And in *Problems*, he said that the Sibyls, the Bacchides, Niceratus¹ from Syracuse, and Amon were natural diviners and poets because of their melancholic complexion.²

Kinds of divinatory frenzy.

Therefore, the cause of frenzy, if it is from within the human body, is a melancholic humor. Indeed, this is not what they call black bile, which, according to natural philosophers and physicians, is an impetus for perverse and horrible things, inducing more than madness, but also enticing evil daemons to possess human bodies. Therefore, it should be understood that here we are using the term *melancholic humor* to refer to a natural substance called “white bile” [rather than black bile].

Indeed, this [white bile], when kindled and burning, stirs up frenzy and brings to us knowledge and divination.³ This process is especially helped by the influence of some celestial—especially Saturn,⁴ who is cold and dry just like a melancholic humor and has a daily influence on the melancholic person, increasing and preserving [those tendencies]. Additionally, since Saturn is the author of secret contemplations and separation from all public business and the highest planet, his soul revokes outward offices and is always secret. He rises from below, pulls himself higher, and grants knowledge and predictions of the future.⁵ This is what Aristotle intended in his book *Problems*, saying: “Of melancholy, some are made as if divine, predicting the future, and some are made poets.”⁶

Melancholics possess a genius.

He also said that all men in any excellent science, very much stand out as melancholic. Also, Democritus and Plato confirmed, saying that there are some melancholics who have such an excellent genius that they were seen as divine rather than men.⁷ Thus, many melancholics at first stand out as

undeveloped, inept, and insane. As they say, Hesiod, Ion, Tynnichus of Calcys, Homer, and Lucretius were often suddenly seized by a frenzy and, as poets, retreated and sang certain wonderful and divine things, which they themselves scarcely understood.⁸ Of this, the divine Plato said in Ion: “Many prophets, after their attack of frenzy has relaxed, do not fully understand what they write. Yet each art is treated correctly in frenzy, because each artist by reading them decides this.”⁹

The command of the melancholic humor

Additionally, we read that the command of the melancholic humor is so great that the force of celestial daemons is also sometimes seized into the human body. These daemons prompt and inspire men to rave and to declare many wonderful things, as mentioned by the ancients. It is thought that this happens under a threefold difference according to a threefold apprehension of the soul—that is, imaginative, rational, and mental.

Therefore, they say: when the soul is impelled by a melancholic humor, with nothing crossing the bounds of the body and chains of the members is entirely transferred to the imagination. It suddenly becomes a home for inferior daemons, from whom often wonderful manual skills are received. Thus, we see the most undeveloped of any man suddenly become an exceptional painter, an architect, or otherwise the possessor of some skill without training.

When daemons of this kind portend the future to us, then they show disturbances of the elements and changes of times, such as rain, storms, floods, deaths, famine, and massacres [occurring] in the future, and the like, just as we read from Aulus Gellius about the priest Cornelius, who in the time of the conflict in Thessaly of Caesar and Pompey, was seized by a frenzy in Padua and foretold the time, order, and outcome of the battle.

However, when the soul is entirely turned to reason, it becomes a home for middle daemons. Hence, natural and human things obtain knowledge and prudence; thus, we see some secluded men suddenly become exceptional philosophers, physicians, or orators, moreover, predicting the changes in kingdoms and rebuilding the world, as with the Roman Sibyl.

However, when the soul entirely rises into the mind, then it becomes a receptacle of sublime daemons. From them, one learns divine secrets: for example, Divine law, angelic orders, and information for better understanding eternal things and the salvation of souls.¹⁰ However, one predicts future prodigies or miracles, future prophets or changes of law according to God’s providence: thus the Sibyl predicted the arrival of Christ a long time before [his birth]. Thus, Virgil, understanding that Christ was about to be born, remembered the Sibyl of Cumae, and had Pollio sing:

*Now the last age of the Cumaean oracle has come,
The great new order of the ages is born again,
Now the maiden returns, Saturn’s reign returns,
Now new races descend from the heavens above.*¹¹

And somewhat later, suggesting that original sin would be void, said:

*You lead, if any traces of our crime are void,
The earth freed of perpetual fear.*¹²

And next:

*He will take the life of a god and see the divine
And they will see him mixed with heroes
He will rule a peaceful world with his father's virtues.*¹³

And he adds that the fall of the serpent and the poison of the tree of death, or the tree of the knowledge of good and evil will be gone, saying:

*The serpents and the deceitful poisonous herbs will die.*¹⁴

Yet he implies that some small remnants of original sin will remain, as he said:

*Yet some relics of ancient crimes are near.*¹⁵

Finally, with great excitement the offspring shouts, he honors the race of God with these words:

*Dear race of gods, great son of Jupiter!
See the world's weighty dome wavering,
Earth, the wide sea, and deep sky;
Look, rejoice in the coming age!
O let the last parts of life remaining to me
The spirit to proclaim how great your accomplishments will be!*¹⁶

Also, there are certain predictions, which are divinations, confined between the middle of the natural and beyond the natural,¹⁷ as in those who are near death and debilitated by old age. People in such states sometimes foresee the future because, as Plato says in the *Republic*, when they are less shackled to their senses, their understanding is more acute. Because they are closer to the place where they must go, the

chains are, as it were, a little more relaxed and not entirely liable to the body. Thus, such people are easily illuminated by divine revelations.[18](#)

Chapter 61

Of the forming of man, of the outer and inner senses, of the mind, of the threefold appetite of the soul, and the passion of will.

It is the opinion of certain theologians that God did not immediately create the body of primeval man but was assisted by the celestials, who composed and formed them from the elements. This was supported by Alcinoüs from the doctrine of Plato, thinking that God is the highest creator of the world, and that because of this all the gods and daemons he created were immortal; the other kinds of mortal animals were created by younger divinities by the mandate of the highest God, because if He created these, they would also be born immortal.

Therefore, the gods lent and bound earth, fire, air, and water to each other in certain portions, making one body from all, subjecting souls to their ministry, assigning each of their powers to each province. They assigned them to certain lowly and humble places, such as passion in the breast and desire in the womb; the more noble senses [they placed] in the head, as it is the summit of the entire body;¹ then [they created] the many organs of speech.

Which outer senses respond to the elements.

But the senses are divided into the outer and inner. The outer then, are divided into five notable parts, which equally have five organs or subjects, as if they were certain foundations. They are assigned and disposed thus, that they are to be collected in the most eminent parts of the body and likewise the purest.² Indeed, the eyes are arranged in the order of the highest place and are the purest. They are related to the natures of fire and light. Then the ears hold the second place and purity and are compared to air. The third position belongs to the nostrils, which hold the middle between air and water. However, the next is taste, which is denser and as a nature, similar to water. The last position is touch, diffused throughout the entire body. It has a density like earth.³

But the purest senses are those that are not close to the senses, but can perceive from a distance, such as seeing and hearing. Smell, through the medium of air, is perceived when not near. However, taste is not perceived unless close, but touch is according to both methods: for it is perceived when near the body, and just as sight distinguishes through the medium of air, thus also touch can perceive through the medium of a stick or rod, sensing hardness and dampness. However, touch is the only sense common to all animals. But certainly, man possesses this sense: inasmuch as in touch and taste [man] excels over the other animals. But in the other three senses, some other animals prevail, such as dogs who can see, hear, and smell more acutely than man. Likewise, lynxes and eagles can see more acutely than many other animals and man.

Man excels over other animals with taste and touch.

However, the interior senses, as Averroes said, are in four parts. The first is called common, because it first collects and perfects all that is drawn through the external senses by images. The second is imaginative power, whose duty is, as it perceives nothing, to retain images accepted from the previous senses and pass them to the third nature of senses. [The third] is fantasy and the power of thought. Its work is to accept images, to perceive and judge the [reason and nature] of those images, and thus distinguish, connect, perceive, and judge by the fourth power—called memory—which is entrusted to protect⁴ [those images]. The kinds of [fantasy] are wandering, arranging, pursuits, flights, and passions to action, but in type, [thoughts] are intellectual understanding, virtues, discipline, reasoning, deliberation, and choice.

But this is what shows us the future in dreams: imaginations that are sometimes called intellectual imaginations. Indeed, as Iamblicus said, these are the last traces of intelligence that belong to all powers of the intellect and which can fashion all forms, likeness of species, and operations and visions, or transmit the impressions of other strengths into others. These indeed vibrate the senses, and arouse them into belief (which is from the true intellect) and in the second place it offers to belief. But from itself, [the intellect] receives images from all, and through their quality, it appoints them according to their particular likeness. It forms all actions of the soul, and adapts the external to the internal, and also imprints impressions on the body.⁵

Sense organs in the head.

These senses have their organs in the head. Common sense with imagination has the front portions in the brain, although Aristotle placed the organ of common sense in the heart. The power of thought has the top and middle parts of the head and then memory has the back.⁶

Again, the organs of voice and conversation are many—accordingly, inside the breast between the ribs, muscles, breasts, lungs, throat, arteries, jaws, and especially those that are the gristle for vibrating strings,⁷ the plectrum of the tongue, and all those small parts and muscles that are the organs for blowing.

However, the special organ for conversation is the mouth, in which conversation, words, and speech are formed and shaped. The tongue and windpipe together are the plectrum, and the palate makes the sound. The teeth and mouth open, like the vibrating strings on a lyre, and the nose is above for good melodiousness or uniting the cheeks.

The mind has a double nature.

Over the sensible soul, which exhibits its powers through the organs of the body, the incorporeal mind occupies the highest place. It has a double nature. One side of that nature presides over inquiry into the order of nature, causes, qualities, and progressions. It is satisfied in the contemplation of truth, and is therefore called the “contemplative intellect.” The other side is the nature or power of mind, which

distinguishes by consulting those things that must be done, and those that should be avoided. The entirety of this consultation and action is maneuvered and is therefore called the active intellect.⁸ Therefore, nature set up this order of powers in men, so that through the exterior senses we might recognize corporeal things and by the interior senses the likeness of bodies, as well as those [things] abstracted by the mind or intellect, which are not bodies and not like them.

Like the threefold order of the powers of the soul, there are three appetites found in the soul. The first is natural, which is a certain inclination of nature toward its limit, such as stone [has a] downwards [nature] that belongs to all stones. The other is animal, which follows the senses, and is divided into the irascible and concupiscible.⁹ The third is the intellectual, which is called the will. This is different from the sensitive, which is through those things that can be offered to the senses, desiring nothing unless comprehended in some way. However, the will—although by it all things are possible—because it is free in essence, it can also attempt the impossible, such as a daemon striving to be equal with God.¹⁰ It is therefore altered and depraved with continuous pleasure and pain while it assents to the inferior powers.

The threefold appetites in the soul.

From its depraved appetites come four passions, which similarly sometimes affect the body. The first of which is called delight, which is a certain softness and compliance of mind or will, where just as the senses extend sweetness, it most willingly consents, obeys, and yields. Therefore, this is defined as an inclination of the mind to achieve pleasure.

The second is called effusion, which is the remission or disintegration of virtue—that is, when beyond delight, the entire power of the mind and intention of the present, sweet goodness dissipates, descends, and diffuses itself and brings about its enjoyment.

The third is called pride—that is, the eagerness of recognition, greatly valuing the attainment of a certain good for oneself, possessing oneself haughtily, exalting in this, and craving idle glory.

The fourth and last is called spite, which is a certain pleasure of evil to another without any benefit to oneself. It is said to be without any benefit to oneself, because if one is happy at some evil suffered by another because it proves useful to one's own self, this is better, [as it is] out of love for oneself rather than malice toward another.¹¹

For these four passions, born from a depraved appetite of pleasure, are found as many pains opposite to the passions, such as horror, sadness, fear, and resentment of another's good without detriment of himself, which is called envy. This is sorrow at another's good, just as pity is a certain sadness of another's misfortune.

Chapter 62

Of the passions of the mind, their origin, difference, and kinds.

The passions of the mind are nothing else than certain movements or inclinations coming from the apprehension of some thing, as it were, good or evil, or agreeing or not agreeing. Apprehensions of this kind are threefold—that is, sensual, rational, and mental. After these are three passions of the soul. Whenever [these passions] follow the sensitive apprehension, they then consider the good or temporal evil under an agreeable or disagreeable, delectable or offensive rationale. Such passions are called natural or animal. On the other hand, when passions instead follow a rational apprehension and thus consider good or evil under a reason of virtue and sin, praise and reproach, usefulness and uselessness, or honor and disgrace, they are called rational or voluntary passions. Whenever they follow a mental apprehension and consider good and evil under a rationale of justice and injustice, or truth and falsehood, they are called intellectual passions or conscience.¹

But the subject of the passions of the soul is the concupiscent² power of the soul and is divided into the concupiscent and the irascible. Each considers good and evil, but differently. Indeed the concupiscent power, whenever considering good and evil absolutely, causes love, or desire, and to the contrary hatred; or they consider good as absent, and thus causes lust, or a feeling of loss, and evil as absent, but as threatening, and thus causes horror, flight, and aversion; or they consider good and evil as present and advancing, and thus with good rising as delight, joy, pleasure, then with evil sadness, difficulty, and pain. But the irascible power considers good and evil under the rationale of difficulty for gaining or obtaining, fleeing or expelling. This sometimes [rises] with confidence, and thus indeed causes hope, then boldness; whenever with mistrust, thus arises desperation and dread or fear. And whenever that irascible power rises in vengeance, this only happens around past evil, such as with inflicted injuries or attacks, and causes anger.

And thus, we find eleven passions in the mind, which are love, hate, loss, horror, joy, pain, hope, desperation, boldness, fear, and anger.³

Chapter 63

How passions of the mind change one's own body by exchanging accidents and moving the spirit.

Fantasy or imaginative power has a ruling power over passions of the soul when they follow sensual apprehension. Indeed, they have their power according to different passions, first altering and changing the individual body in different ways with perceptible changes, modifying accidental qualities in the body, and moving the spirit up or down, to the outside or inside, and producing different qualities in the limbs.

Thus, spirits are expelled in joy, retracted in fear, and moved to the brain in modesty. Thus, in joy, the heart gradually grows outward, and in sadness, it gradually constricts inward. [This] likewise [happens] with anger or fear, but in a sudden way.

Anger or lust for vengeance produces heat, redness, a bitter taste, and a flux in the belly. Fear induces cold, trepidation in the heart, a failing voice, and pallor. Sadness induces sweat and a bluish white. Pity, which is a certain sadness, often induces an evil effect in the body, as it affects other bodies seeing it.¹ It is likewise widely known that, among some lovers, there is such a strong bond of love that when one suffers the other suffers.² Likewise, anxiety induces dryness and blackness.³

Also, physicians recognize that such great heat of amorous lust stirs up in the liver and the pulse. From that opinion, the name of one's beloved [causes the lover to be] seized in a heroic passion: thus, Nausistratus recognized that Antiochus was captivated in love for Stratonice.⁴

The passions of the mind sometimes bring death.

Additionally, it is undoubted that passions of this kind, when violent, can cause death. This is plain to all people. Excessive joy, sadness, love, and hatred sometimes kill men,⁵ and also often lift sickness. Thus, we read that Sophocles and Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, each received the announcement of a tragic victory and suddenly died. Thus, also a mother, when seeing a son returning from the battle of Cannae, suddenly died.

Everyone knows what sadness can do. We also know that dogs often die from excessive sadness from the death of its owner. Sometimes from these kinds of passions, lasting diseases follow. In other cases, ailments are sometimes cured. Some people, when looking down from heights, shake from excessive fear, become dizzy, weaken, and lose their senses. Sobbing and fever sometimes follow epilepsy. However, when they recede, sometimes certain wonderful effects emerge. Such was the case with the son of Croesus, who was born from his mother mute: violent fear and desire shook out his voice, which nature denied long ago.⁶ Thus, it often happens that due to a certain sudden accident, life,

senses, and sudden movement of members leave and then suddenly return.

Also, what such noble spirit connected with violent anger can accomplish is shown in Alexander the Great. When he was surrounded in a battle in India, he was seen to have light and fire pouring from him. We read that the father of Theodoric sent out sparks of fire from his entire body so that sparks of flames jumped out with a noise. Things like these sometimes also appear in beasts, such as the horse of Tiberius, who projected flames from his mouth.⁷

Chapter 64

How the passions of the mind change the body by the imitation of a likeness; also, of the transformation and transference of man, and the strength of imaginative power held not only in the body but also in the soul.

The passions mentioned above sometimes alter the body through imitation according to the virtue that has a similarity to the thing changing it, which vehemently moves the imagination. For example, numbing and freezing the teeth from some sight or sound, or because we see or imagine another eating sharp things. As seeing another yawn also makes one yawn, and upon hearing the name of something sour, the tongue becomes sour; also troubling, when seeing something foul corrupts the stomach and causes nausea; and some will faint when seeing human blood. Some, when seeing bitter food presented, will perceive a bitter taste.¹ William of Auvergne wrote that he saw a man who, by only seeing medicine, was moved to purge as often as he needed to. Yet this was not with the substance of medicine, not tasting it, and not by its scent coming to him, but only by seizing its likeness through imagination.²

Of the wonderful power of imagination.

Sometimes human bodies are transformed, transfigured, and transported—indeed, often in dreams and also sometimes while awake. Thus, Cippus,³ after he was chosen as king of Italy, with exceeding admiration considered the fighting and victory of bulls. With that on his mind, he fell asleep at night, and in the morning, he found that he bore horns, and they were from nowhere other than from the invigorating virtue, stimulated by vehement imagination, elevating horned humors in his head to produce horns.

The stigmata of Francis.

Indeed, vehement thought, while violently changes the appearance, paints a representation of the thing thought about in blood. That [blood] is nourished from itself and impresses itself on its own members,⁴ and also sometimes another's, just as the imagination of a pregnant woman imprints onto the fetus notable things she desires and the imagination of one bitten by a dog impresses onto their urine the image of a dog. Thus, many will grow old suddenly. Some, from the dreams of one night, have grown from boys to complete men. Also, according to this, are the many scars from the desires of King Dagobert and the stigmata of Saint Francis: the former while greatly fearing rebuke, the latter while

vehemently meditating on the wounds of Christ.

Thus, many are transported from place to place, crossing rivers, fire, and inaccessible places—that is, when any kind of vehement desire, fear, or boldness impresses on the spirit, mixes with vapors, and moves the organ of touch in their origin together with imagination, which is the source of local motion. From here they stir up the members and organs of movement to move and are moved without error to the imagined place—indeed, not by sight but from inner imagination.⁵ So great is the power of the soul in the body that, in whatever direction one imagines or dreams, the body likewise elevates and is led. We read many other examples, in which the power of the soul in the body is wonderfully explained, such as what Avicenna wrote of a certain man, who whenever he wished, could inflict his body with paralysis.

It is said of Gallus Vibius that he once fell into madness, not by accident but reaching it by judgment; for, while imitating madness, his thoughts were lured to the character of madness, and this simulated madness became true. And Augustine referred to certain men who could move their ears at will, and who could move the top of their head entirely downward to their forehead and back again when they wished, and others who could sweat at will. It is likewise notable that some can cry at will and shed tears abundantly. Some are found who can bring up what they have swallowed whenever they please, little by little as if from a purse. And today we see many who can imitate and portray birds, cattle, dogs, and men with their voices as if they are invisible.⁶

Pliny wrote many examples of women changing into men.⁷ Similarly, Pontanus testified that in his time certain women—Caietana and another Aemilia—changed into men after many years of marriage.⁸

But no one ignores how much imagination can do in the soul. Indeed, it is closer to the soul than the senses, and therefore imagination acts more in the soul.⁹ Thus, women, by introducing certain magical arts, strong imaginations, dreams, and suggestions, often bind in love anyone close to them. Thus, it is shown that Medea, from only dreams, was inflamed in love for Jason.¹⁰

Thus, the soul, sometimes through vehement imagination or speculation, is entirely removed from the body. This is just what Celsus wrote of a certain priest who—as often as he pleased—was able to remove his senses and lied down as if dead. When pricked and burned, he could not perceive any pain and lay immobile and without breathing. Yet he said afterward that he could hear men's voices, if they were crying out loudly, as it were from far away.¹¹ However, we will discuss these separations in more detail later.

Chapter 65

How the passions of the mind also operate outside of themselves in another's body.

Passions of the soul that follow imagination, when most vehement, not only change one's own body but can also move across to operate in another's body.¹ Therefore, certain wonderful impressions are produced in elements and external things, and also certain illnesses of the mind or body can thus be taken away or brought.² Passions of the soul are the most prominent cause of temperament in one's own body. Thus, the soul, strongly elevated and inflamed by vehement imagination, brings health or illness—not only in one's own body but also in another's body.³

Thus, Avicenna thought that a camel can be killed from the imagination of anyone.⁴ Thus, when one is bitten by a rabid dog, the figure of a dog appears in their urine. Thus, a lustful pregnant woman can act upon another's body, afflicting the fetus in the womb by marking it with the thing desired.⁵ Thus, many monstrous generations are produced from pregnancies with monstrous imaginations. Such a case was referred to by Marcus Damascenus at Petra Sancta, a town situated in the confines of Pisa [province], that King Charles, emperor of Bohemia, was offered a girl whose entire body was shaggy and covered with hair like a wild beast. Her mother had a certain religious dread of the image of John the Baptist, which was near her bed during conception. This afterward affected her [pregnancy] and produced such [a child].

The phenomena I have described does not only occur in men. We may also see it happen in brutish animals. Thus, we read that Jacob the patriarch, throwing twigs in the water, discolored the sheep of Laban.⁶ Thus, peacocks and other different birds, when lying together, imprint their color upon each other's feathers from the power of their strong imaginations, which produces white peacocks when the birds are lying together in a home with white linens hanging nearby.

How white peacocks are produced.

Now, in these examples, it is shown how the affection of imagination, where it intends most vehemently, not only affects one's own body but also another's. Thus, enchanters who desire to destructively bewitch men harm them with a fixed gaze.⁷ Avicenna, Aristotle, Algazel, and Galen assent to the same.⁸ Indeed, it is known that a body is most easily corrupted by illness from the vapors of another body, which we plainly see in plague and leprosy. Again, vapors of the eyes are of such great power that they can bewitch and corrupt those who are near. The basilisk and catoblepas⁹ kill men with their glance, and certain women from Scythia among the Illyrians and Triballi kill with their gaze when they are

angry.¹⁰

Therefore, no one should marvel that the body and soul of one can affect the mind of another, since the mind is by far more powerful, stronger, more fervent, and moves more strongly than vapors exhaling from bodies. Nor are bodies lacking through the means by which they operate, and nor is a body less subject to another's mind than to another's body.¹¹

In this way, it is said that a man, with only his disposition and character, can act upon others. Therefore, philosophers warn us to flee far away from consorting with evil and unfortunate men. Accordingly, these souls are full of noxious rays poisoning those near with ruinous influences. On the contrary, they teach that we should strive to consort with the good and happy [men], because their closeness is more useful to us. Indeed, such as scent [comes] from asafoetida or musk; thus, evil comes from something evil and from the good comes something good, jumping to the nearest, and sometimes persistently infuses things for a long time.

Reason is more excellent than imagination.

Even if the passions mentioned above have such a great power in imagination, the power of reason is in our final assessment certainly greater, inasmuch as reason is more excellent than imagination and much greater in the mind. Indeed, this, when the entire intention of the mind is fastened to the superiors for some benefit, often one's own body and another's body are affected by some divine gift. We read from Apollonius, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Philolaus, and many prophets of our sacred religion that wonders have happened in this way.¹² Of these, we will expand later, in our discussions on religion.

Chapter 66

That the passions of the mind are most helped by the proper timing of the celestials, and how the perseverance of mind is necessary in all works.

The passions of the mind are very much helped by the heavens and become helpful and very powerful inasmuch as they agree with the heavens or as a certain natural pact, voluntary election, or free will. As Ptolemy said, “one who chooses what is better seems no different than one who has that nature.”

Therefore, it is greatly conducive in any work for receiving the benefit of the heavens, if, in our thoughts, dispositions, imaginations, elections, deliberations, contemplations, and the like, we excel in being harmonious with the heavens. Indeed, passions of this sort vehemently excite our spirit toward their like and suddenly expose us to our superiors, which signify those kinds of passions. Then, because of their dignity and closeness with the superiors, our thoughts capture the power of the celestials much more, and do so to a much greater extent than any material thing can.

Indeed, our mind, through imagination or reason, can conform to some star by a certain imitation, so that it is suddenly filled with the gifts of that same star, as it were, [becoming] a receptacle of its own influence. However, the contemplating mind, inasmuch as it removes and separates itself from all senses, imagination, nature, and deliberation, recollects itself—unless it exposes itself to Saturn,¹ which is not of the present investigation. Indeed, our mind works much through faith, which is a firm link, a fixed intention, and vehement application of the operation or undertaking in whatever thing cooperating with and giving power to the work that we intend to accomplish, so that an image of the virtue being received is made in us in a certain way and creates things in us or from us.² Therefore, we must vehemently aspire, imagine, expect, and firmly believe in any operation and thing applied. Indeed, it will be the greatest help.

It is verified among physicians that a firm belief, undoubted hope, and love for healing and medicine are conducive for greater health, sometimes even more than medicine.³ Because of this, since the power of the medicine and its effective strength works, the strong intellect of the physician also works. It is powerful for changing qualities in sick bodies, especially when one has faith in that physician. [Such faith] disposes them to accept the virtue of the physician and medicine.⁴

Therefore, you must steadfastly believe in magical operations with confidence and consequently have no doubt or hesitation in your mind. For, as a firm and persevering belief makes wonderful operations (and also sometimes false operations), so disbelief with hesitation, which is a medium among two extremes, dissipates and breaks the virtue of the mind of the worker. From this, if it happens that one is frustrated and deprived of the desired influences of the superiors,⁵ whereby without our mind having a stable and solid virtue with our things and operations, little can connect and unite.

Chapter 67

How the human mind can connect with the celestial mind and intelligences, and likewise with them impress certain wonderful virtues on inferior things.

Philosophers, especially the Arabs, say that the human mind—when made attentive by its passions and dispositions toward some work—connects with the mind of the stars, and also with their intelligences. Likewise, that connection is a cause, as certain wonderful virtues are infused into our operations and into things,¹ because with them is an apprehension and power in all things. This is so because there is a natural obedience in all things to the stars and this has the natural effect [of motivating] movement toward that which the mind strongly desires when it is aligned with them.² Accordingly, it is verified that the mind is affected by the art of certain characters, images, incantations, sermons, and many other wonderful experiments.

All natural things have an obedience to the human mind.

In this way, whatever is dictated by the mind to be vehemently loved has an efficacy for love; whatever is dictated by the mind to be strongly hated has an efficacy of harm and destruction. It is similar in other things that affect the mind with strong desire.

Indeed, anything which then acts and dictates from characters, figures, words, sermons, gestures, and the like, helps the appetite of the soul and acquires certain wonderful virtues. In such a manner, the mind is moved by the soul of the worker, which is overtaken in that hour when the right celestial influences [are in operation] and the appetite of the soul is greatest. Indeed, our mind, when carried in any great excess of some passion or virtue, often seizes for itself a stronger, better, and more appropriate hour or opportunity. Thomas Aquinas acknowledged this in the third book of *Against the Gentiles*.³

Thus, many wonderful virtues cause and follow certain wonderful virtues through great affections in those things, which the soul then dictates to them in that hour. However, know that these kinds of things confer nothing, or at least little, except to their originator. Indeed, they pass to those inclined toward them and to those who originated them. This is the way through which their effectiveness is discovered.

General rule.

And it is a general rule that all minds, which are more excellent in their desire and disposition, bring

about things more suitable to them, striving for things more effective and powerful.⁴ Therefore, whoever wishes to work in magic must know and recognize in their own soul its quality, virtue, measure, arrangement, and degree of power in the universe.

Chapter 68

How our mind can change and bind inferior things to that which is desired.

Also, in the minds of men, there is a certain virtue for changing, attracting, impeding, and binding things and men toward that which it desires. All things obey them when they are carried in great excess by some passion or virtue in such an amount that it overcomes that which it binds.¹ Indeed, the superior binds the inferior and changes it to itself, and the inferior by the same reason changes toward the superior or is otherwise affected or stirred.

For this reason, things whose superiors hold the qualities of some star by a degree, bind, attract, or impede things, which have an inferior, according to how they agree or disagree with each other.² Hence, lions fear roosters because the inherent Solar virtue agrees more in roosters than lions.³ Thus, magnets draw iron because, in their order, they have a greater degree of the Celestial Bear. Thus, diamonds impede magnets because, in their order, they have a greater degree of Mars.

In a similar way, when suitable, celestial gifts are exposed to any man by the affections of his mind as well as through due application of natural things. If he becomes stronger in a Solar virtue, he binds and draws inferiors in admiration and obedience; in the order of the Moon for servitude or illness; in Saturn for silence or sadness; in Jupiter for exhibiting veneration; in Mars for fear or discord; in Venus for love or joy; in Mercury for persuasion and compliance and the like.⁴

The root of bindings.

However, the root of bindings of this sort is a vehement and boundless affection of the soul with the concourse of the celestial order. But dissolutions or impediments of these sorts of bindings are made through opposite effects, and those more excellent and stronger; for, as the greater excesses of the mind binds, it also loosens and hinders.⁵

Finally, where you fear Venus, place Saturn opposite; where you fear Saturn or Mars, place Venus or Jupiter opposite.⁶ Indeed, astrologers say that these are unfriendly and greatly oppose each other—understand this—by causing different and contrary effects in inferiors.⁷ For indeed in the heavens, where nothing fails, where love rules all, hatred or enmity can do little.

Chapter 69

Of speech and the virtues of words.

It should now be plain that there is a great virtue residing in the dispositions of the mind. Additionally, you must understand that there is no less virtue in words and the names of things, and there is a great virtue included in speech and orations.¹ It is in this that we chiefly differ from beasts. We are called rational not from [mere] reasoning, which obeys according to the soul, and which they say contains affections, and which Galen also said we have in common with bestial animals (although one greater, the other less). But we are said to be rational for the reason that the voice is understood in words and speech, which is called “enunciative reason.” This is the part that far surpasses the other animals;² for, λόγος³ is pronounced in Greek for reason, speech, and words.⁴

But [logos] is a twofold word—that is, internal and spoken. The internal word is a conception of the mind and moved by the soul, in which the power of thought is made without a voice. For instance, in dreams we seem to speak and discuss, and while awake we often run through an entire speech silently. But the spoken word has a certain quality of action. Speaking, the breath of man and the opening of his mouth produce vocalizations coming forth from his tongue. By obedience to natural laws, the corporeal voice connects to the speech of the mind and intellect, making it an enunciator and interpreter of the conceptions of our intellect to the listeners, which is what we speak of here.

Which words have the greatest effectiveness.

Therefore, words are the most suitable medium between the speaker and listener. They convey with them not only a concept but also the virtue of the speaker, which is transferred and accepted by the listener with a certain efficacy. This often occurs with such great power that it not only changes the listeners but also certain other bodies and inanimate things. But those words which express greater things (for example, intellectual, celestial, and supernatural) have a greater effectiveness than the rest and also the more mysterious, when represented by a worthy tongue and established by a more sacred authority. Indeed, these are signs, representations, or sacraments of heavenly things. Such words hold a supernatural power. Explaining the virtues of things causes the power of those virtues to be engrafted to the words spoken, and thus they act as a vehicle by which those virtues are prepared and set forth.⁵

Chapter 70

Of the virtue of particular names.

Nearly everyone testifies that the names of particular things are greatly necessary for magical operations. For the natural power of things proceeds first from objects to the senses, then from [the senses] to the imagination, and finally from [the imagination] to the mind, where indeed it is first conceived, then pronounced through the voice and words. Therefore, the Platonists said that the voice itself, or words, or names, are formed with its parts from the power of the thing under the form of the signification. Some ancillary life, first conceived in the mind as if from a seed of things [created] again through voices or words (as if producing a birth), and finally kept in writings.¹

The particular names of things are certain rays.

Hence, magicians say that the names of particular things are certain rays, always present everywhere, keeping the strength of things, inasmuch as they are the essence ruling the thing signified. This essence discerns and recognizes things through names, as it were, through particular and living images. Indeed, as influences from the heavens and elements, with the virtues of the planets, the Highest Maker produced different species and particular things. Thus, according to the same influxes and influences, the qualities of the particular names of things are reverberated and imposed, “by he who numbers the entire multitude of the stars, calling them by their names”; of which names Christ elsewhere says: “Your names are written in the heavens.” Therefore, knowing these celestial influences and qualities of singular things, the Creator first assigned the names of things according to their essence, as it is written in Genesis, because God brought all things He created into the presence of Adam so that he could name them; and as he called the thing, they were named;² which certain names surely contain wonderful powers in things signified.

Therefore, all signifying voices first signify through the influences of celestial harmony, second through the application of man, although more often otherwise by this and by that. However, when both significations coincide in some voice or name, assigned from the celestial harmony and from men alike, then it is a double virtue—that is, natural and voluntary. Those names are made most effective for acting, as often as they are mentioned in the appropriate place, time, and solemnity, with an exact intention in disposing the matter, and from the nature given by them.³

Thus, we read from Philostratus that when a certain Roman girl died on her day of marriage, she was presented to Apollonius. He touched the maiden and carefully inquired into her name; when he knew it, he pronounced something occult, so that the girl lived again.⁴ Also, there were Romans who, in observing their sacred rites when besieging some city, diligently inquired into the particular name [of the city] and the name of the god who guarded that city. When they learned it, the Romans then summoned

the god guarding the city with certain songs and cursed the inhabitants of that city. Thus, finally, with the gods absent, they conquered the city; as Virgil sang:

The gods who ruled here and stood

*Have all departed and abandoned their altars*⁵

However, song, when invoking gods and cursing enemies, and when assaulting around cities, if one wishes to know, may be found in Livy and Macrobius, as well as much from Serenus Sammonicus in the book *Hidden Things*.⁶

Chapter 71

Of complex speeches and songs, and the virtues and bindings of incantations.

Beyond the virtues of words and names, other greater virtues are found in complex orations from truth contained in them. They impress a greater power. By changing, binding, establishing, and being used, it makes them shine more. Fighting against them strengthens and solidifies them more. However, these virtues are not in simple words but rather in phrases from which something is affirmed or denied.¹ Of this kind are songs, incantations, curses, orations, invocations, entreats, appeals, exorcisms, and the like.

Therefore, in composing songs and orations for attracting the virtue of any star or god, one must diligently consider which virtues, effects, and operations each star contains and engraft them in the songs. This is accomplished by praising, extolling, amplifying, and adorning that which the star typically brings about and influences, while suppressing and rejecting that which the star typically destroys and impedes.² Pray and implore for that which one desires to gain; reprimand and detest that which one desires to destroy and impede. With that method, you must compose an ornate and elegant oration to song, with distinct resolved parts, and with agreeable numbers and proportions.

Additionally, magicians decree that one must invoke and entreat [the stars] from the names of that same star or god to which such song holds, from their wonders or miracles, by their courses and ways in their sphere, through their light, from their noble rulership, through the grace and clarity that is in them, from their power and wonderful virtues, and from similar things to these. As from Apuleius, Psyche entreated Ceres: "I ask you from your fertile right hand, I resolutely pray by joyful harvest ceremonies, by silent secret chests, by the winged chariots of your dragon servants, the furrows of the Sicilian fields, grasping chariots, clinging earth, illuminating nuptials of Proserpina's descent, your daughter's return to luminous discovery, and other things silently held in your sanctuary at Eleusis in Attica."³ Additionally, with the many names of the stars, they also order us to invoke by the names of the intelligences presiding over the stars, of which we will speak more in their place. But if one wishes more of these examples, they must search the hymns of Orpheus, of which nothing is more effective in natural magic, if due harmony is used with full attention with other circumstances, as wise men know.⁴ But we must return to our subject.

Therefore, suitable songs of this kind duly composed for the rule of the stars, full of meaning and feeling, recited with suitable vehement affection, and then according to their signification, to the number and proportion of their parts, to the form resulting from their parts, and through the impetus of the imagination, accords a strong power in incantations, and immediately transfers into the thing enchanted to bind and direct it in the direction the affection of the speech and incantation is intended.

However, the instrument of the incantation is a certain pure spirit: harmonious, warm, breathing, and living; it brings with it movement, affection, and signification. Its parts are composed and endowed with

sense, and finally conceived with reason. Therefore, from this spiritual quality, and by celestial similarity (besides what has been said) and also from the appropriate time, songs receive from the heavens excellent virtues—indeed, more sublime and efficacious than spirits and vapors evaporating from vegetable life, from herbs, roots, gums, aromatics, fumigations, and the like.⁵

Therefore, when magicians enchant things, they often blow and breathe onto them words of songs, as if breathing the virtue of the spirit, so that the entire virtue of the soul is directed into the thing enchanted, disposing it for accepting said virtues. And it must be noted that all orations, writings, and words, as by their customary numbers, proportions, and forms, induce movements. Thus, besides their usual order, they also proceed or write backward for bringing about uncustomary movements.⁶

Chapter 72

Of the wonderful power of incantations.

They say that incantations or songs have such great power that it is believed that they can overturn all nature, just as Apuleius said: “With a magical whisper I have turned back rivers, bound the lazy sea, ceased the winds, restrained the Sun, drawn the Moon’s dew,¹ plucked out the stars, destroyed the day, and extended the night.”² And of the same Lucan sang:

*The courses of things are held back and the long night delayed
The day hesitates; the heavens do not obey laws,
Numbed and heading into danger the universe hears the song.*³

And somewhat earlier:

*The Thessalian song flowed into hardened breasts
Brings a love not sown . . .*⁴

And elsewhere:

*The mind polluted by drinking no poison
Perishes by enchantment . . .*⁵

Likewise, Virgil in *Damon*:

*Songs can even bring down the Moon from the sky,
With songs, Circe changed Ulysses’ companions,
By a song, a cold snake in the meadows is destroyed;*⁶

And:

*And I have seen [Moeris] move sown corn to others' fields.*⁷

And Ovid in *Untitled* said:

*Songs strike barren wheat, vanishing into grass.
Waters cease when songs strike a fountain
Through songs an oak's acorns and grapes of vines
Fall, and fruits fall for no reason.*⁸

If these are not true, there would not be such strict penal statutes with laws sanctioning against those who enchant fruit.⁹ And Tibullus said of a certain enchantress:

*I have seen her draw the stars from the sky,
With her songs, she changes the course of rapid rivers
With her songs, she parts the earth and the dead from their graves
She elicits and summons bones from the warm pyre
As she pleases, she dispels gloomy clouds from the sky
As she pleases, she summons snow in the summer.*¹⁰

All of which the sorceress seems to boast about herself in Ovid when she said:

*At will the banks of the river marvel
Their fountains revert, I calm and stir
And shake calm seas, with songs I banish the clouds
And gather them, I raise and expel the winds with my voice
And with words and songs, I break the viper's jaw
And heave up rocks and oaks from the living earth
And move forests, and by my command shake mountains
Cause the earth to moan, and the dead to leave their sepulchers
I draw you also, Moon . . .*¹¹

Also, all poets sing, and philosophers do not deny that songs bring about many wonders, such as banishing crops, collecting or causing lightning, curing illness, and the like. Cato, in *Rustic Things*, used certain incantations against illnesses of beasts,¹² which are recorded in his writings. Likewise, Solomon was experienced in incantations of this kind, as Josephus testified. Celsus Africanus likewise wrote about Egyptian doctrine, that [the parts of] the human body (just as the number of decans of the signs of the zodiac are thirty-six) are attended by [an equivalent number of] daemons, each of which supports and protects his own part, whose names are called in the name of their homeland¹³ and are invoked in incantations to restore impaired parts of the body and restore health.¹⁴

Chapter 73

Of the virtue of writings, and of making imprecations and inscriptions.

The purpose of words and speech is to articulate the interior of the mind, to bring forth a secret inner understanding, and to spread the will of the speaker.¹ But writing is the highest expression of the mind: the cadence of style and tone, recapitulation, position, conclusion, central argument, and composed by a habitual repetition, which is not accomplished by voice alone. Whatever is in the mind, in voice, in word, in speech, in conversation—everything and all of these are also in writing. Thus, there is nothing that is conceived in the mind, pronounced in voice, and can be expressed that cannot also be written.

Therefore, magicians command that in any operation one must make imprecations and inscriptions with which they may express affection. For example, if herbs or stones are collected, he must mention what use it is for; if one makes an image, they must speak and inscribe what effect is to happen.²

Indeed, of imprecations and inscriptions, Albertus in *Speculum* likewise does not disagree.³ Without such things, our works would not be brought into completion, as an orderly arrangement does not cause an effect, but the act [causes] an orderly arrangement. We find the same teaching, which was the kind used by the ancients, in the testimony of Virgil himself, where he sang:

*First three threads in three different colors
I tie around you, and around the altar three times
I lead the image . . .*⁴

And somewhat later:

*Tie three knots in three colors Amaryllis;
Tie, Amaryllis, and in this manner; you say, “to Venus I tie these chains”;*⁵

And in the same place:

*As the clay hardens and as the wax melts
With one and the same fire, thus Daphnis our love.*⁶

Chapter 74

Of the proportion, correspondence, and reduction of letters to the celestial signs and planets according to various languages, with a table indicating this.

God has given man a mind and speech, which (as Hermes Trismegistus said) are thought to be a gift of the same virtue, power, and immortality.¹ However, the omnipotent God Himself, by His providence, divided the speech of men into different languages. Indeed, with these languages, according to their diversity, they have likewise received different and individual letters for writing, constant in their certain reliable order, number, and figures, not accidental, by chance, nor from the fragile will of man, but divinely disposed and formed, agreeing with the celestials and the divine bodies and virtues themselves.

However, among all languages Hebrew is notable as the most sacred of all writings.² In the figures of [Hebrew] characters, vowel stops, and accent points, just as consisting in matter, form, and spirit, the positions of the stars were first noted down in the seat of God, which is heaven. According to these figures, as Hebrew teachers testify, are the most fully formed letters of the celestial mysteries. [Such mysteries are shown] through their figure, form, and signification, then through the numbers signified by them, then through the various harmony bound in them.³ The more secret Hebrew mekubalim assert that everything can be explained from the figures of their letters, forms of their characters, and their signature, simplicity, composition, separation, crookedness, direction, defect, abundance, largeness, smallness, crown, opening, closing, order, changing, connecting, revolutions, points, tops of the letters, and computation of the numbers signified by the letters. This is because these characteristics proceed from the First Cause and repeatedly renew themselves thereby.

Hebrew letters are the most sacred.

Additionally, Hebrews distribute the letters of their alphabet in three ways: that is, the twelve simple, seven doubles, and three mothers, which they signify as characters of things—the twelve signs, seven planets, and three elements—that is, fire, water, and earth, for air is not an element but is like a glue and spirit for the elements.

To these, they arrange points and tops. Therefore, the names of all things are appointed from the characters and points of these letters and thus from the aspects of planets and signs, and likewise from the elements, the Maker, the spirit, and truly all that has been and will be,⁴ signifying those [things] that are produced, and just as a certain sacrament and vehicle for explaining things, they bring their essence and strength everywhere with them.⁵

These profound perceptions and sacraments are inherent in these characters and figures, and their

numbers, structure, order, and revolution.⁶ Origen, therefore, thought that names translated into other languages retain little of their own power, because they do not retain their natural signification.⁷ Indeed, only original names, which are rightly imposed because they naturally signify, have a natural function. It is not so in those [names] which signify [only] from pleasure, that do not have the function they signify, but as they are certain natural things in themselves.

But if there is a first and causal language, whose words have a natural signification, it is agreed that this is Hebrew,⁸ whose order is indeed profound. It is held as a root, and its letters are known to revolve.⁹ They are the standard and rule of any perfectly invented language.¹⁰ Therefore, there are twenty-two letters that are the foundation of the world and all creations that are named in it: all that is said and created in the world is obtained from their revolutions, names, and strengths.

But the investigator must search them for a long time by combining single letters, until which time the voice of God is revealed and opens the most sacred texts of the letters. Indeed, voices and words have efficacy in magical operations, because in them the first magic nature exercises, is the voice of God.¹¹ But these are of a higher speculation than what is handled in this book.

But now we return to the distribution of letters. Of these the Hebrew three mothers are א, ב, ג the seven doubles, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י then the remaining twelve, כ, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, ת are simple;¹² there is an equal rationale among the Chaldeans.

From these, other languages likewise imitated and distributed their letters with the signs, planets, and elements in a certain order. For instance, from the Greek, Α, Ε, Η, Ι, Ο, Υ, Ω respond to the seven planets; Β, Γ, Δ, Ζ, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ are attributed to the twelve signs of the zodiac; the other five, Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ, Ψ, represent the four elements and World Spirit.

However, Latin is similar to these, but they are signified in another order. For instance, the five vowels Α, Ε, Ι, Ο, Υ, and Ι and Υ consonants are ascribed to the seven planets; however, the consonants Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ preside over the twelve signs; the rest—that is, Κ, Q, X, Z—make the four elements. The aspirant H represents the World Spirit, and Y, which is a Greek and not a Latin character, and only serves Greek words, follows the nature of their language.

However, do not ignore Hebrew letters, which according to all wise men are the most effective. They have the greatest likeness with the celestials and the world. The letters of other languages are not so effective, because they are more distant from them: surely the following table will explain their dispositions.

Also, each letter has double numbers in their order—that is, extended—whereby how many letters according to their order are simply expressed, and then collected, which then are gathered with all the preceding letters and their numbers. Then they also have integral numbers, which result from the names of the letters according to the various ways of numbering them.¹³

Those who recognize the power of numbers can elicit wonderful
mysteries in each language by their letters and collect prophecies
from the past and future times equally. Additionally,
there are other mysterious pairings of letters
with numbers, but all of these will be
abundantly discussed in the

following book. Therefore,
we will end the first
book here.

Ⲁ	ⲁ	Ⲃ	Β	Β
Ⲅ	ⲃ	Ⲅ	Γ	ϸ
Ⲇ	ⲅ	Ⲇ	Δ	Δ
Ⲉ	Ⲇ	Ⲉ	Ζ	Ϻ
Ⲋ	ⲇ	Ⲋ	Κ	ϸ
Ⲍ	Ⲉ	Ⲍ	Λ	Λ
Ⲏ	ⲉ	Ⲏ	Μ	Μ
Ⲑ	Ⲋ	Ⲑ	Ν	Ν
Ⲓ	ⲋ	Ⲓ	Π	Π
Ⲕ	Ⲍ	Ⲕ	Ρ	Ρ
Ⲗ	ⲍ	Ⲗ	Σ	Σ
Ⲙ	Ⲏ	Ⲙ	Τ	Τ
Ⲛ	ⲏ	Ⲛ	Α	Α
Ⲝ	Ⲑ	Ⲝ	Ε	Ε
Ⲟ	ⲑ	Ⲟ	Η	Ι
Ⲡ	Ⲓ	Ⲡ	Ι	Ο
Ⲣ	ⲓ	Ⲣ	Ο	Υ
Ⲥ	Ⲕ	Ⲥ	Υ	Ι cons.
Ⲧ	ⲕ	Ⲧ	Ω	Υ cons.
Earth	Ⲍ	Ⲍ	Θ	Κ
Water	ⲍ	ⲍ	Ξ	ϸ
Air			Φ	Χ
Fire	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Χ	Ζ
Spirit			Ψ	Η



End of Book One

Three Books of Occult Philosophy



Book Two

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa on the Occult Philosophy or Magic



Book Two

The Celestial World



Dedicatory Letter to Count Hermann of Weid

To the greatest lord prince, illustrious Hermann of Weid, prince elector, duke of Westphalia and Angria, lord and archbishop of Cologne and Paderborn, his most gracious master Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa sends his greetings.

Now behold, most illustrious prince and greatest prelate, the remaining books of The Occult Philosophy or Magic, which I promised your reverence that I would soon produce when the previous book came to light, but the almost sudden and unexpected death of my princess, the divine Margaret of Austria, caused me to delay the publishing. Then I produced less because of oppositions from several idle sycophants, and some wicked scholarly sophists from my publishing Declamation of the Vanity of the Sciences and the Excellent Word of God,¹ which raged without pause, and with bitter hatred, spite, envy, and continuous false accusations vying against me. Then others with raised eyebrows, full mouths, and forthright voices in the temples of the common people, accused me of impiety. Others whispered in the corners of houses in villages, filling unfamiliar ears of my infamy. Others, through public and private meetings of pontiffs, princes, and Caesar himself, instigated [accusations] against me.

Hence, I hesitated whether I should produce the remaining books when I doubted if this would throw me into more accusations as if [I] cast myself from the smoke into the fire. A certain rustic fear invaded me, that giving these [books] to you would be seen as more annoying than dutiful, and also subject Your Highness to the slander and flames of the hatred and tongues of your detractors.

All of these disturbed me with various desperations. My hesitation, with your discerning intelligence, exact discretion, radiant judgment, religion without superstition, your other notable virtues, and your great exceptional authority and integrity, which can easily hold and restrain disparaging tongues, cast away my fear and raised and impelled me anew to boldly approach this, which I had nearly abandoned from my desperation.

Therefore, accept this, illustrious Prince, in good spirit, the second book of The Occult Philosophy, in which we speak of the mysteries

of celestial magic. All will be revealed and [we will be] shown the
things the skilled of antiquity produced and that have come
to our notice, so that the studious and curious of these
secrets, after showing the natural powers and secrets
of celestial magic that thus far has been neglected
and little understood by their descendants, now
by your auspices will be displayed by us; by
which these will be useful to a selected
few or some will profit. I give my
gratitude to you, who are the
occasion for this edition and
for opening each door by
having the ability to
remove the chains.
Farewell.

Chapter 1

Of the necessity of the discipline of mathematics and its many wonderful operations, which only the arts of mathematics can perform.

The disciplines of mathematics and the like are so necessary for magic that it is professed that without them, everyone will lose their way. Their work will be frustrated and they will achieve few desired effects.¹ Indeed, whatever exists and is possible in these more inferiors, natural virtues happen and are ruled by “number, weight, and measure.”² Harmony, motion, light, and all things that we see in these inferiors have their root and foundation in them.

Yet, even without natural virtues, operations can be produced that are similar to nature from only the discipline of mathematics—as Plato said, things not true and participating with the divine, but with a certain likeness to those things related to them. Some examples are bodies that can move or speak but exist without animal virtues:³ such things were made by the ancients—for instance, the statues and αὐτόματα⁴ of Daedalus. As Aristotle recalled, the tripods of Vulcan and Daedalus moved by themselves and entered into contest by their own volition, as narrated by Homer.⁵ We also read of the feast of Hiarba the Gymnosophist,⁶ whose golden statues moved by themselves and worked as cupbearers and carvers for the guests.⁷ We also read of the statues of Mercury that spoke⁸ and the wooden pigeon of Architas that flew.⁹ Cassiodorus wrote of the wonders of Boethius, a Diomedes in bronze that blew a trumpet, a bronze snake that hissed, and imitation birds that sang sweet songs.¹⁰

Of the wonderful arts of mirrors.

Of this kind are various wonders that are produced in images from geometry and optics, of which we made mention earlier when we spoke of the element air. Thus, mirrors are made—some concave, others cylindrical—that make the likeness of things in air, remote and outside of their space, that seem like shadows. Apollonius and Vitellius¹¹ taught of these in their books on perspective and mirrors. We read that Pompey the Great brought a certain mirror among the spoils to Rome from the east, in which armies of soldiers could be seen.

Certain transparent mirrors are made, which are dyed with the juices of certain specific herbs, that shine with an artificial light. The entire air around is filled with wonderful phantoms. I have learned how to make two reciprocal mirrors in which, with the shining Sun, everything that is illuminated by those rays can be seen clearly many miles away.

Hence, a magician who is an expert in natural philosophy and mathematics,¹² and who understands the middle sciences arising from each of these—namely, arithmetic, music, geometry, optics, astronomy and which weights, measures, and proportions are limbs and joints of science—should also recognize the mechanical arts coming from those. Why should it seem wonderful if he surpasses over other men and their talents in those arts, working many wonders that prudent and knowledgeable men greatly admire? Surely today are there not visible traces of ancient works—for example, the columns of Hercules and Alexander,¹³ the Caspian Gates melted from bronze and bolted with iron beams so that no talent or art can destroy? There is also the pyramid of Julius Caesar near the Vatican,¹⁴ mountains built in the middle of the sea, and mounds and masses of stones, of which I have seen myself in Britannia collected together by a scarcely credible art. And we read from faithful histories of similar skills, by which cliffs were once torn, valleys completed, mountains leveled, rocks pierced, promontories in the sea opened, the bowels of the earth excavated, rivers redirected. By such skills, seas were once restrained and connected with other seas, and their depths were explored. Lakes and swamps were dried, new islands made, and other islands restored to the mainland.

All of which, although they seem to be in conflict with nature, are confirmed both by what we read [in those faithful histories] and by vestiges that may still be discerned to this day. The vulgar say these are works of daemons, since the arts and skills [by which such things are accomplished] have died out from memory, nor do those who attempt to explore them understand them. Therefore, some who see a miracle being shown (being blind to understanding) dismiss all effects or wonders to daemons when such things are [actually] operations of either natural or mathematic disciplines. One can be ignorant of the virtue of magnets and see heavy iron brought up or suspended in air. We read of just such a situation: in the past, the iron idol of Mercury at Triers¹⁵ was suspended in the middle of the temple by lodestone. This verse confirms it:

The iron staff-bearer flies in the mid-air.

We also read something similar to this of the idol of the Sun in the temple of Serapis in Egypt—surely would we immediately declare that this is the work of daemons?¹⁶ However, if one understands the virtues of magnets toward iron and tests them, they will entirely cease to wonder about it and will no longer doubt that it is a work of nature.

Thus, it is appropriate that you know that as we collect natural virtues through natural things, we can thus receive celestial virtues through abstract, mathematical, and celestial things—such as motion, life, perception, speech, prophecy, and divination. Also, less disposed matter, as it is less natural, is made only by art; therefore, it is said that images are made to speak and predict the future. William of Auvergne wrote of a bronze head kindled while Saturn was rising, which spoke with a human voice.¹⁷

However, one who chooses a recognized disposed material, and allows the most prepared and strongest agent, will produce undoubted and more powerful effects. Indeed, it is a general opinion of Pythagoreans that mathematics—being more of a form¹⁸ than physical—are more active and depend less on [matter] in their operations. Numbers, among all the aspects of mathematics as they are more of a form, are thus also more active. That this has such a virtue and effectiveness to good and evil is not only granted by pagan philosophers but also by Hebrew and Christian theologians.¹⁹

Chapter 2

Of numbers, their power, and virtue.

Severinus Boethius said: “All things that are made from primeval nature seem to be formed by the method of numbers; indeed, this is the principal exemplar in the mind of the Creator. The multitude of elements, the turning of time, the movement of the stars, the rotation of the sky, and the position of all things are borrowed from and bound in numbers.”¹ Therefore, numbers are powerful and have great and sublime virtues. Indeed, we should not wonder at this: numbers are in so many natural things and have such great hidden virtues [demonstrated] through manifest works.

Indeed, numbers in and of themselves are much greater, more hidden, more wonderful, and more effective, inasmuch as they are more of a form and more perfect. They are engrafted in the heavens, mixed in separate substances, and finally have the greatest and simplest mixture of Ideas in the divine mind, from which they obtain their own and most effective strengths. Also because of this, they can attain much and many more powers from daemonic and divine gifts, because in natural things elemental qualities are stronger and more capable of changing some elemental thing.

Again, everything that exists and subsists is obtained by the virtues of certain numbers. Indeed, time depends on numbers, and all movements and action, and all that is subject to time and movement. Also, singing, voices, and their harmonious proportion have their power and proportion through numbers. They arise from numbers, and through lines and points they establish characters and figures. These are proper to magical operations, the medium being taken between each of them by declining to the limits, such as is used in letters.

Everything depends on certain numbers.

Finally, all natural species and those that are above nature are bound by certain numbers, which Pythagoras considered, saying that everything depends on numbers, distributing each virtue to each thing.² And Proclus said: “Number always exists, yet one is in voice, another is in the proportion of things, another in the soul and reason, and another in the divine.” Themistius, Boethius, and Averroes the Babylonian, together with Plato, thus extolled numbers, as no one can be a correctthinking philosopher without them.³

But they speak of rational formalized numbers, not of the material, sensible, or vocal numbers of merchants,⁴ of which the Pythagoreans, the Platonic Academy, and our Augustine make no regard. They turned their attention to the proportion resulting from them, which are called natural and formalized and rational numbers, from which great sacraments arise in such an extent in nature, as well as the divine and celestial.⁵ Through them is a way to investigate and understand all that is knowable, and through them is a close access to natural prophecies. The abbot Joachim himself proceeded in no other way in his

prophecies than though formalized numbers.⁶

Chapter 3

That numbers possess such great virtues in natural things
as well as transnatural¹ things.

In numbers therefore lie such a wonderful efficacy and virtue for good as well as for evil, which not only do the most splendid philosophers teach but Catholic teachers do as well; the chief among others, Saint Jerome, Augustine, Origen, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzus, Athanasius, Basil, Hilary, Rabanus,² Bede, and many others confirm. Hence, Hilary in *Commentaries on the Psalms* testified that the seventy elders arranged the order of the Psalms according to the efficacy of numbers;³ likewise, Rabanus, the famous teacher, composed a book on the singular virtues of numbers.⁴

The virtues of the herb pentaphyllon.

Now of other such great virtues numbers possess in nature is shown in the herb pentaphyllon, which is [also called] cinquefoil. Indeed, it is said from the virtue of five, it resists poison, drives away daemons, is conducive to atonement, and its leaf, if one is taken twice a day in wine, cures a quotidian⁵ fever, three for tertian, and four for quartan.⁶ Similarly, four grains of the heliotrope⁷ seed cures quartan; however, it is said that three is useful for tertian. In a similar way, it is said that vervain in wine cures fever, if in tertian cut from the third joint, if in quartan into the fourth joint. Serpents will die if pierced by an arrow once, but if twice they will strengthen.⁸ These and many more of the like are gathered and testified by various authorities, and wherever they occur we can be sure that the cause is in the various proportions of various numbers with each other.

Wonderful experiences with seven.

Likewise, wonderful from the well-known experience of seven, in which every seventh male, without a female being born between them, has the power to cure scrofula with only his touch or words; likewise, each seventh daughter born is wonderfully helpful in childbirth.

A consideration of these numbers.

Natural number is not considered here, but the formalized reasoning that is in number, and that what we said before should always be held in the mind, not those virtues in voice or the numbers of merchants,

but in the rational, formalized, and natural that is distinguished and held by God and the sacraments of nature. But whoever learns to join vocal and natural numbers with the divine and mix them proportionally into the same harmony will be able to work and recognize wonders through these numbers. Also, Pythagoreans profess that they can predict much through the numbers of names, in which surely if there wasn't some great mystery, John would not have said in Revelation: "He who understands, let him calculate the number of the name of the beast, which is the number of man"; and the Hebrews and kabbalists are most famous for this manner of computation,⁹ as is shown below.

The signification of numbers.

But you must know that simple numbers signify divine things, tens the heavens, hundreds the terrestrial, and thousands the future of the world.¹⁰ Additionally, the parts of the mind are according to an arithmetical moderateness by means of the identity or how they are connected with each other by an equality of excessiveness, but the body, whose parts differ in magnitude, is according to the moderateness of the geometry composing them, but animals are from both—namely, the soul and body—according to the harmony agreeing with the moderateness; hence, numbers work greatly in the soul, the figure of the body, and the harmony of the animal.

Chapter 4

Of one and its scale.

Now we will define the individual numbers themselves. However, because number is nothing other than unity repeated, we will first consider one itself. Indeed, one most simply penetrates all numbers and is the common measure of all numbers. The source and origin contains all numbers in itself, especially those that are joined, and is the fate of every multitude and is always the same and unchangeable. Also, when multiplied from itself, it produces nothing besides itself. It is indivisible and free from any parts: but if at some time it is divided, it is not cut but multiplied—namely into ones; yet none of these ones are greater or lesser than the whole one, as if the part is smaller than the whole. Thus, it is multiplied not into parts but by itself.¹

Therefore, some call it Concord, others Piety, and others Friendship because they tie, as they are not cut into parts. But Martianus [Capella], from the opinion of Aristotle, asserted that its name is Cupid because it is only one, always searches for itself, always wishes, and has nothing beyond itself, but is entirely free from exaltation or ties, turning its own ardor to itself.²

The names of one.

Therefore, one is the beginning and end of all things and has no beginning or end. Nothing is previous to one, nothing is after one. One is the beginning of all, everything is always one, nothing is beyond it, and all that exists desires one,³ because everything proceeds from one. As they are the same, everything necessarily shares from that one: and as everything proceeds from one into many, thus all attempt to return to that one from which they came, and it is necessary to lay aside the multitude.⁴

The excellence of one.

Therefore, one refers to the supreme God, since He is one and innumerable, yet He creates innumerable things from Himself and contains them within Himself;⁵ therefore, there is one God, one world of one God, one Sun of one world, and likewise one phoenix in the world. There is one king in bees, one leader in flocks, one driver of herds, cranes follow one,⁶ and many other animals venerate unity.

Things that are one.

Among members of the body, there is one principal from which the rest are ruled. Some say it is the head, or as others wish, the heart; there is one element that conquers and penetrates all—namely, fire—there is one thing⁷ created by God, the subject of all wonderfulness, that is in the earth and the heavens: it is actually animal, vegetable, and mineral, found everywhere but recognized by few, and no one expresses its individual name as it is veiled in innumerable figures and puzzles, without which, alchemy and natural magic cannot completely reach their limits.⁸ From one man, Adam, everyone is produced, from that one all are mortal; from one Jesus Christ they are regenerated again, of which Paul said, “One Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all,” “one mediator of God and man”; one most high Creator “who is over all, through all and in all of us”; “there is one Father God, from whom all are and we in Him; one God Jesus Christ, from whom all are and we through Him”; one God Holy Spirit, in whom all are and we in Him.⁹

THE SCALE OF ONE

In the Archetypal World	' Yod	One divine essence, the source of all virtue and power, whose name is expressed in one most simple letter.
In the Intellectual World	The World Soul	One supreme intelligence, the first creation, the source of lives.
In the Heavenly World	The Sun	One king of the stars, the source of light.
In the Elemental World	The Philosopher's Stone	One foundation and instrument of all natural and supernatural virtues.
In the Lesser World	The Heart	One first living and last dying.
In the Infernal World	Lucifer	One prince of the rebellion of angels and darkness.

Chapter 5

Of two and its scale.

Two is the first number because it is the first multitude. It cannot be measured by any number except by one, which is the common measure of all numbers. It is not composed of numbers but from only one unity and one coordination; nor is it said to be an uncomposed number but, more properly, “not composed”; but three is the first number that is called uncomposed.¹ Two is the first sprout and offspring of one: hence it is called birth, Juno, a conjectural embodiment, the proven first motion, the first form of parity, the first number of equality, the extreme, an interval, and therefore personal justice and those individual actions because two are gladly equally weighed.² It is called the number of science, memory, light, and the number of man, who is said to be another lesser world.

Names of two.

It is called the number of charity, mutual love, marriage, and fellowship, as it is said by the Lord: “The two is of one flesh”; and in Ecclesiastes: “Two together is better than one; indeed because they have the benefit of each other’s company. If one falls, the other supports them. Woe to the lonely, because when they fall, they will have no support. And if two sleep together, they will have mutual warmth; how then will only one become warm? And if some prevail against one, two may resist them.”³ And it is called the number of marriage and sex; indeed, because there are two sexes, masculine and feminine, and pigeons bear two eggs, from which a male is hatched from one, and the second female.⁴ And it is called the capable center, sharing in good and evil, the beginning of division, multitude, and distinction, and signifies matter.⁵

Two is evil.

And this is also sometimes called the number of discord, confusion, misfortune, and foulness; from which Saint Jerome [wrote] in *Against Jovinian* that on the second day of the creation of the world [the scriptures] did not say: “And God saw it was good” because the number two was evil. Hence this is also why God appointed all unclean animals to enter the ark in pairs⁶ because two (as I have said) is the number of foulness and unfortunate auspices, especially if those things taken from auspices are Saturnine or Martial: for these two are considered unfortunate by astrologers.

It is also said that two brings occurrence of shadows, terrifying shades, and the nuisance of evil spirits to those who travel at night.⁷ Pythagoras said, as Eusebius recorded, that one is God and the good

intellect while two is the daemon and evil, in which matter is a multitude: whereby Pythagoreans said that two is not a number but a certain mingling of unities.⁸ And Plutarch wrote that Pythagoreans called one Apollo, two is conflict and audacity, and three is justice, which is the summit of perfection and not without many mysteries.⁹

There are two tablets of law in Sinai, two Cherubs who gazed in atonement at Moses, two olives dripping oil at Zechariah, two natures in Christ—namely, divine and human—there were two apparitions of God seen by Moses, namely the face and posterior.¹⁰ Likewise there are two testaments, two precepts of charity, two first dignities, two first people,¹¹ two kinds of daemons (good and evil), two intellectual creatures (angel and soul), two great luminaries, two solstices, two equinoxes, two poles, and two elements producing a living soul—namely earth and water.

Things in which there are two.

THE SCALE OF TWO

In the Archetype	יה Iah אל El		The name of God in two letters
In the Intellectual World	Angel	Soul	Two intelligent substances
In the Celestial World	The Sun	The Moon	Two great luminaries
In the Elemental World	Earth	Water	Two elements that produce a living soul
In the Lesser World	The heart	The brain	Two principal seats of the soul
In the Infernal World	Behemoth	Leviathan	Two leaders of daemons
	Weeping	Gnashing of teeth	Two things that Christ threatens to the damned

Chapter 6

Of three and its scale.

Three is the first uncomposed number, a sacred number, the number of perfection, and the most powerful number. Indeed, there are three persons in God and three theological virtues in religion.¹ Hence this number is collected in ceremonies for the gods and many religions, whose auspices, prayers, and libations are repeated three times; of which Virgil sang:

*. . . odd numbers are the joy of God.*²

And Pythagoreans use them in sanctifications and purifications;³ of which from Virgil:

*He encircled his companions three times with pure water.*⁴

And it is also suitable for bindings; hence, from Virgil:

*First, I encircle you with three threads of three different colors
And pass you around this altar three times
Bearing the image . . .*⁵

And a little later:

*Amaryllis tie three knots of three colors,
Tie them in this way while you say, “ for Venus, I tie these chains.”*⁶

And we read of Medea:

And she said three words that caused gentle sleep,

*Calmed the churning seas and stopped rapid rivers.*⁷

And from Pliny: “In all medicines it is the custom to spit three times in prayer, and from this effect, one will be cured.”⁸

Accordingly, three is perfected with three increases, length, width, and depth, beyond which no measurement will progress: of which the first number is called cubic. Hence it is said that nothing can be added to a body with three measures and a cubic number: whereby Aristotle at the beginning of his sermon *On the Heavens* said they are as if a law, according to which everything is disposed.

Indeed, bodies have three constants, the beginning, middle, and end. Three (as Trismegistus said) is a world perfected, *heimarmene*,⁹ necessity and order—namely, the mutual agreement of causes, which many call fate, and the distribution of what must be carried out to the fruitful and their offspring.¹⁰ The entirety of time is contained in three measurements—namely the past, present, and future. All sizes are contained in three, line, surface, and body. All bodies are contained in three intervals, length, width, and thickness.¹¹ Harmony is contained in three symphonies, a whole octave, a perfect fifth, and a fourth.¹² Likewise, there are three kinds of souls, vegetative, sensitive and intellectual, and together with these three are distributed: rationality, irascibility, and desire.¹³

Things in which there are three.

And also according to the Prophet, there are three dispositions of the world from God, “number, weight, and measure”; and appointed them to the ideal forms, as two to procreating matter and one to God the Maker.¹⁴ Likewise, magicians distribute the three princes of the world, Ahura Mazda, Mithra, and Ahriman¹⁵—namely, God, Mind, and Spirit. Through three cubes or solids are distributed three things producing nine—that is, the supercelestial ordered into nine intelligences, the celestial into nine orbs, the inferiors into nine kinds of generables and corruptibles. Finally, in these three cubes—that is, the twenty-seven—includes all musical proportions, as Plato and Proclus discussed in a long series;¹⁶ and three has a harmony of fifths, the grace of five voices.

Three appointed to ideal forms.

And also, in the intelligences, there are three hierarchies of angelic spirits. There are three powers in intellectual creatures, memory, mind, and will. There are three orders of the blessed—that is, martyrs, confessors, and innocents. There are three quadruplicities in the celestial signs, the fixed, moveable and common;¹⁷ and [there are three kinds of] houses, the angular,¹⁸ succedent, and cadent.¹⁹ Likewise, there are three faces and decans in any of the signs,²⁰ and three lords of each triplicity;²¹ there are three fortunes among planets;²² there are three Graces among goddesses; there are three Fates among the infernals; there are three judges, three Furies, and the three-headed Cerberus. We also read:

And the threefold Hecate, three mouths of the chaste Diana.^{[23](#)}

There are three persons in the supersubstantial divinity. There are three times: nature, law, and grace. There are three theological virtues: hope, faith, and charity. Jonah was in the stomach of the fish for three days, and Christ was in the tomb for as many days.^{[24](#)}

THE SCALE OF THREE

In the Archetype		שדי Sadai		The name of God in three letters
	The Father	The Son	The Holy Ghost	Three persons in the divine
In the Intellectual World	Highest	Middle	Lowest	Three hierarchies of angels
	Innocents	Martyrs	Confessors	Three degrees of the blessed
In the Celestial World	Moveable	Fixed	Common	Three quadruplicities of the signs
	Angular	Succedent	Cadent	Three quadruplicities of the houses
	Diurnal	Nocturnal	Participating	Three lords of the triplicities
In the Elemental World	Simple	Composed	Decomposed	Three degrees of the elements
In the Lesser World	The head, in which the intellect thrives responding to the Intellectual World	The breast, where the heart is, the seat of life, responding to the Celestial World	The stomach, where the virtue of generation and male genitalia are, responding to the Elemental World	Three parts responding to the threefold world
In the Infernal World	Alecto	Megeia	Ctesiphone	Three infernal furies
	Minos	Aeacus	Rhadamanthus	Three infernal judges
	The wicked	Apostates	Infidels	Three degrees of the damned

Chapter 7

Of four and its scale.

Pythagoreans call the number four tetractys and prefer it to all virtues of [other] numbers¹ because it is the foundation and root of all other numbers; from which it is the foundation of everything that is squared, whether artificial, natural, or divine, as we will show below. It signifies solidity, which is demonstrated by the figure of a square.² Indeed, four is the first squared plane that depends on two proportions, of which the first is one to two, then two to four. And it is produced from a double procession and proportion, namely one to one and two to two, beginning from one, ending in four: whose proportions differ in this because according to arithmetic, they are unequal to each other, but according to geometry they are equal.

Four foundations of everything.

Therefore, four is appointed to God the Father and in fact contains the mystery of the whole Trinity: for its simple proportion—namely, first one to one—one signifying the Father’s substance, from which one equal Son proceeds. But the other procession, also simple—namely, two to two—the Holy Spirit is observed as the second procession from each, as thus the Son is equal to the Father in the first procession, the Holy Spirit is equal to both in the second procession.

The highest God and the divine Trinity is named Tetragrammaton—namely, *Yod, He, Vau, and He*—in which name the aspiration *He* denotes spirit proceeding from both. Indeed, *He* is duplicated in both syllables and terminates the entire name. It is pronounced *Ioua*, but as some wish from the gentiles, Jove, whom the ancients depicted as having four ears.

From four is the source and head of all divinity. The Pythagoreans called this the perpetual fountain of nature. Indeed, there are four degrees in the scale of nature—namely, being, life, perception, and intelligence. There are four natures in motion—namely, ascending, descending, advancing, and encircling. There are four points in the heavens—namely, rising, setting, mid-heaven, and the lower heaven.³ There are four elements under the heavens—namely, fire, air, water, and earth. According to these are the four triplicities in the heavens, and four first qualities under the heavens—namely, cold, heat, dryness, and moistness. From these are the four humors: blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy. Likewise, the year is divided into four parts, which are spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Similarly, the wind is divided into Eurus, Zephyrus, Auster, and Boreas.⁴ Likewise, there are four rivers in Paradise and as many infernal.

Things in which there are four.

Additionally, four completes all knowledge; first, it satisfies the progression of all simple numbers with four limits—namely, one, two, three and four, which constitute ten. It fills the difference in all numbers, containing the first even and the first uneven in it. In music, it has a fourth, the grace of the fourth voice. Likewise, the Pythagorean tetrachord and scale, in which is the found the first musical singing, and contains all musical harmonies: for doubles, triples, quadruples, one and a half, four thirds, octaves, double octaves, fifths, fourths, and all harmony is kept in the limits of four.

Also, the entirety of mathematics is contained in the limits of four—namely, point, line, plane, and depth. All of nature is combined in the limits of four—namely, substance, quality, quantity, and motion. It also fills natural philosophy, in which is the seminal virtue of nature, natural sprouting, maturing of form, and composing. There are also four limits contained in metaphysics—namely, being, essence, virtue, and action. Moral philosophy contains four virtues⁵—namely, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. It also has the power of justice; hence, the fourfold law, which is providence from God, fate from the World Soul, nature from the heavens, and prudence from man. There are also four judicial powers arising from things—namely, intellect, discipline, belief, and perception.⁶

Likewise, it has many powers and great mysteries; for this reason, the Pythagoreans testified to four with an oath, climbing to the summit of faith and strengthening their belief.⁷ Hence the Pythagoreans expressed this oath in the following verses:

I swear to you by the sacred four with a pure mind,

*Eternal fountain of nature and parent of mind.*⁸

Likewise, there are four rivers in Paradise and four Gospels—which were universally received by as many evangelists and all churches.⁹

The name of God is expressed in four.

The Hebrews' particular name of God was taken in writing with four letters.¹⁰ Likewise, the Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Magi, Muslims, Greeks, Etruscans, and Latins wrote the name of God in four letters: Theut, Alla, Sire, Orsi, Abgdi, θεός,¹¹ Esar, Deus.¹² Hence the Spartans¹³ customarily depicted the Supreme Jove with four ears; hence, in the theology of Orpheus, Neptune drove his chariot with four horses.

Likewise, there are four kinds of divine frenzies, each of which proceeds from a single divine presence¹⁴—namely, from the Muses, Dionysus, Apollo, and Venus. Likewise, Ezekiel the prophet saw four animals by the river Chobar and four Cherubim in four wheels. According to Daniel, four great animals ascended from the sea and fought the four winds.¹⁵ In Revelation four animals were filled with eyes in front and behind standing around the throne of God. [In that same book] four angels who have the gift of harming the earth and sea stood over the quarters of the earth and held the four winds that they would not blow over the earth and sea, nor upon any tree.¹⁶

SCALE OF FOUR¹⁷

Of the correspondence of the four elements

The name of God in four letters	יהוה				In the Archetypal World, from which is the law of providence
The four triplicities or intelligible hierarchies	Seraphim	Dominations	Principalities	Innocents	In the Intellectual World, from which is the fated law
	Cherubim	Powers	Archangels	Martyrs	
	Thrones	Virtues	Angels	Confessors	
The four angels presiding over the poles of heaven	מיכאל Michael	רפאל Raphael	גבריאל Gabriel	אוריאל Uriel	
The four rulers of the elements	שרף Seraph	כרוב Cherub	תרשיש Tharsis	אריאל Ariel	
Four sacred animals	Lion	Eagle	Man	Calf	
The four triplicities of the tribes of Israel	Dan	Judah	Manasseh	Reuben	
	Asher	Issachar	Benjamin	Simeon	
	Naphtali	Zebulon	Ephraim	Gad	
The four triplicities of the apostles	Matthias	Simon	John	Thaddeus	
	Peter	Bartholomew	Philip	Andrew	
	James the Greater	Matthew	James the Less	Thomas	
Four evangelists	Mark	John	Matthew	Luke	

SCALE OF FOUR (cont.)

Four triplicities of the signs	Aries	Gemini	Cancer	Taurus	The Celestial World, from which is the law of nature
	Leo	Libra	Scorpio	Virgo	
	Sagittarius	Aquarius	Pisces	Capricorn	
The stars and planets relating to the elements	Mars and the Sun	Jupiter and Venus	Saturn and Mercury	The fixed stars and the Moon	
Four qualities of the celestial elements	Light	Translucent	Nimbleness	Solidity	In the Elemental Universe, from which is the law of generation and corruption
The four elements	אש Fire	רוח Air	מים Water	עפר Earth	
The four qualities	Heat	Moist	Cold	Dry	
The four seasons	Summer	Spring	Winter	Autumn	
The four points in the orb	East	West	North	South	
The four perfect mixtures	Animals	Plants	Metals	Stones	
The quadruplicity of animals	Walking	Flying	Swimming	Crawling	
Which planets responding to the elements	Seeds	Flowers	Leaves	Roots	
Which in metals	Gold and iron	Copper and tin	Quicksilver	Lead and silver	
Which in stones	Bright and burning	Light and transparent	Clear and frozen	Heavy and opaque	

SCALE OF FOUR (cont.)

The four elements in man	Mind	Spirit	Soul	Body	The Lesser World, that is man, from which is the law of prudence
The four powers of the soul	Intellect	Reason	Imagination	Sense	
The four judicial powers	Faith	Knowledge	Belief	Experience	
The four moral virtues	Justice	Moderation	Prudence	Fortitude	
The sense responding to the elements	Sight	Hearing	Taste and smell	Touch	
The four elements in the human body	Spirit	Flesh	Humors	Bones	
The quadruplicity of spirits	Animal	Vital	Generative	Natural	
The four humors	Choler	Blood	Phlegm	Melancholy	
The four kinds of complexions	Violence	Courage	Inactivity	Slowness	
The four princes of harmful daemons in the elements	סמאל Samael	עזאזל Azazel	עזאל Azael	מחזאל Mahazael	In the Infernal World, from where is the law of anger and punishment
The four infernal rivers	Phlegethon	Coeytus	Styx	Acheron	
The four princes of daemons over the four angles of the globe	Oriens	Paymon	Egyn	Amaymon	

Chapter 8

Of five and its scale.

The number five is not unimportant and is powerful. Indeed, it is made up of the first even and first odd number, from the feminine and masculine. Indeed, the odd number is male, but the even is female (from which mathematicians call one the father, and other the mother). Therefore, five is of no small perfection or virtue, because it is generated from the mixture of these numbers.¹ Additionally, it is the most lawful middle of the universal number—that is, ten. [This is because] on every side around five you can divide ten: hence if you take nine, one remains; if you take eight, two remains; taking seven then three, or six then four; each one totaled consists of ten. Five is always that perfect medium² and is equidistant.

Therefore it is called the number of marriage by the Pythagoreans, and it is said to be justice because it is divided equally from ten.³ There are five senses in man, sight, sound, smell, taste, touch; five powers in the soul, vegetative, sensitive, concupiscible, irascible, rational; there are five fingers in the hand; there are five wandering planets in the heavens,⁴ according to which there are fivefold terms⁵ in each of the signs; in the elements there are five kinds of mixtures—that is, stones, metals, plants, zoophytes, and animals—there are as many kinds of animals (for example, men, quadrupeds, reptiles, swimming things,⁶ and flying things); and there are five kinds, from which God composed everything (namely, being, the same, the other, standing,⁷ and moving).⁸ Swallows do not bear unless it is with five chicks, which they feed with great equality, beginning with the eldest and then the rest according to their birth. Likewise, this number has great power in purifications: for in the sacred it drives away evil daemons, and in the natural, it drives away poisons. Likewise, it is said to be the number of happiness and gratitude, is the seal of the Holy Spirit, entwines all bindings, and is the number of the cross; likewise, it signifies Christ's principal wounds, which were also glorified in his body to protect the worthy.⁹ Gentile philosophers dedicated it as sacred to Mercury, and of a much more excellent power than four, as much as a living thing surpasses a non-living thing.¹⁰

The names of five.

Indeed, the patriarch Noah found in this number the grace of the Lord, which preserved him from the flooding waters;¹¹ in the virtue of this number the hundred-year-old Abraham from the ninety-year-old barren woman Sarah begat a son despite being at an age above which nature allows this to happen, from whom arose a great people.¹² Hence, five letters invoked the name of God Almighty in the time of grace: for in the time of nature, the name of God was invoked with the Trigrammaton שדי Sadai; in the time of law the unutterable name of God with the Tetragrammaton יהוה, which instead the Hebrews

pronounced אֲדֹנָי Adonai; in the time of grace the utterable name of God was the pentagrammaton יהֹשֻׁעַ Ihesu,¹³ which is no less mysterious than the three lettered invocation יֵשׁוּ.¹⁴

SCALE OF FIVE

The name of God in five letters	עליון Elion אלהים Elohim					In the Archetype
The name of Christ in five letters	יהושע Ihesuh					
Five intelligible substances	Spirits of the first hierarchy, called gods of the sons of God	Spirits of the second hierarchy called intelligences	Spirits of the third hierarchy called angels, which are sent	Souls of celestial bodies	Heroes or blessed souls	In the Intellectual World
Five wandering stars, lords of the terms	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Venus	Mercury	In the Celestial World
Five kinds of corruptibles	Water	Air	Fire	Earth	Mixtures	In the Elemental World
Five kinds of mixtures	Animals	Plants	Metals	Stones	Zoophytes	
Five senses	Taste	Hearing	Sight	Touch	Smell	In the Lesser World
Five corporeal torments	Deadly bitterness	Horrible wailing	Terrible darkness	Inextinguishable fire	Penetrating stink	In the Infernal World

Chapter 9

Of six and its scale.

Six is the number of perfection because it is the most perfect nature. In the continuity of all numbers from one to ten, it alone is perfect, because collecting the parts of itself results in the same, not lacking any deficiency, or abounding in surplus. For, if its parts are collected—namely, the middle, third, and sixth, which are three, two, and one—the entire body of six is perfectly filled. Indeed, that perfection is missing from other numbers.

Hence Pythagoreans asserted that it was absolutely suited for generation and marriage and called it the seal¹ of the world. Indeed, the world consists of the number six, neither with an unlimited abundant surplus and is not frustrated or needing necessities. This is because God perfected and completed the world in six days; indeed, on the sixth day “God saw what he had made, and it was very good; therefore, the heavens and earth and all adorning them were completed.”²

It is also said to be the number of man because man was created on the sixth day, and it is also called the number of redemption: for on the sixth day Christ suffered for our redemption, and from which there is also a great affinity with the cross.³ It is also said to be the number of labor and servitude; hence, in the Law, it is warned that there are six days made for work, six days for collecting manna, six years to sow the earth and that Hebrew slaves served their masters for six years. For six days the glory of the Lord inclined over Mount Sinai, covering it with a cloud.⁴ Cherubim have six wings. There are six circles in the firmament: arctic, antarctic, two tropics, equinoctial, and ecliptic. There are six wandering planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, running through beyond and below the latitude of the signs and ecliptic.⁵ There are six substantive qualities in the elements—namely, sharpness, thinness, and motion, and their opposites, dullness, thickness, and rest. There are six different positions, up, down, front, behind, right, and left. There are six natural duties, without which nothing can exist—namely, is size, color, figure, interval, standing, and motion. A solid figure of a square has six surfaces. There are six tones in all harmonies—namely, five tones and two semitones that make one tone, which is a sixth.⁶

THE SCALE OF SIX

In the Archetype	אל גבור אלוהים El Gebor Elohim						The name of God in six letters
In the Intelligible World	Seraphim	Cherubim	Thrones	Dominations	Powers	Virtues	Six orders of angels, which are not sent to the more inferiors
In the Celestial World	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Venus	Mercury	The Moon	Six planets wandering through the latitude of the zodiac and ecliptic
In the Elemental World	Rest	Thinness	Sharpness	Dullness	Thickness	Motion	Six substantive qualities of the elements
In the Lesser World	Intellect	Memory	Sense	Motion	Life	Essence	Six degrees of man
In the Infernal World	Acteus	Megalesius	Ormenus	Lycus	Nicon	Mimon	Six daemons who author all disasters

Chapter 10

Of seven and its scale.

The number seven has various and manifold powers. Indeed, it consists of one and six, or two and five, or three and four, and it has a unity as if it were tying twin threes. From which, if we consider each of its members and their joining, without a doubt we acknowledge that just as its joined parts are as complete as its separate parts, they are also as complete as its whole greatness.¹

Names of seven.

Pythagoreans call it the vehicle of human life because it does not borrow from its parts, as it perfects from the totality of its own law. Indeed, it contains the body and soul: for the body consists of the four elements and is affected by the four qualities. Three likewise considers the soul according to its threefold power—namely, rationality, irascibility, and desire.²

Therefore, seven (because it contains three and four) connects the soul and body. Likewise, the power of this number pertains to the generation of men: it conceives, forms, feeds, nourishes, enlivens, and altogether makes man exist. For instance, when the womb of a woman receives the reproductive seed, if it remains for seven hours without shedding, it will stay and life is certain. Then, after the first seven days, it coagulates and is made suitable for receiving a human figure. It then produces matured infants, which is called a *septimestres*, [which means] born in the seventh month. Then, after birth, a newly born infant is distinguished in the seventh hour; indeed, beyond this number, the child should be able to breathe air and support life. After seven days, it throws away the remains of the umbilical cord. After two times seven, it begins to see moving light. In the third seventh, it freely moves its eyes and entire face. After seven months, it begins teething. After the second seventh month, it sits without fear of falling. After the third seventh, sounds rush forth into words. After the fourth seventh, it stands firmly and walks. After the fifth seventh month, it begins to dread breastfeeding. After seven years, the first teeth fall and others more suitable for solid food emerge, and integral speaking comes. After the second seventh year, boys start puberty and a generation is born. For the third seventh year, he emerges a tall man showing his youthful prime, grows a beard, and becomes strong and is able to generate. All the way to the fourth seventh, man begins to grow wider and stops growing taller. In the fifth, all power and strength has completely increased. However, in the sixth seventh year, they keep their strength. With the seventh seventh, prudence is consummated and arrives at the perfect age of man. After reaching the tenth seventh year, where the number seven brings together completion, he then reaches the common limit for life, as the Prophet said: “The days of our years are seventy years.”³

The power of seven in the human body.

Also, the highest measure of the height of the human body is seven feet.⁴ Likewise, there are seven degrees in the body that complete the measurement of height from the bottom to the top—namely, the marrow, bones, nerves, veins, arteries, flesh, and skin. There are seven which the Greeks called “black members”—namely, the tongue, heart, lungs, liver, and two kidneys. There are seven principal parts of the body, the head, chest, hands, feet, and genitals. Likewise, breath and food depend on it because without drinking and breathing beyond seven hours, life does not endure.⁵ Furthermore, if [a living being is] placed in continued hunger, they will not live after seven days.

Likewise, as handed down by physicians, the veins and arteries are moved by the number seven. Judgments in diseases have greater visibility with the seventh days, which are called critical by physicians—that is, judicial.⁶ Likewise, God created the soul in seven portions, as testified by the divine Plato in *Timaeus*.⁷ Likewise, the soul rules the body with seven. All disagreeing voices proceed to the seventh degree, after which a revolution happens. Again, there are seven melodies of voices, a major third, minor third, perfect fourth, perfect fifth⁸ with a tone, a fifth with a semitone, and an octave.⁹

Of the celestial powers there are seven most powerful: for, with the four angles of heaven gazing diametrically upon each other, indeed this, which is a most full and powerful aspect, agrees with the number seven.¹⁰

Seven in the celestial powers.

Accordingly, [the angles of heaven] are made from the seventh sign making a cross,¹¹ the most powerful figure of all, of which we will speak in its place, but you must not ignore the great association seven has with the cross. By a similar radiation and number, the winter solstice happens. A solstice is seven [signs] from winter, in seven from equinox to equinox,¹² all of which happen with seven signs each. Additionally, there are seven circles in the heavens according to the longitudinal axis.¹³ There are seven [stars] around the arctic pole of Ursa Major and Minor, and there are seven sisters, which are called the Pleiades.¹⁴ Likewise, there are seven planets, and according to these are seven days constituting a week.

The figure of the cross is the most powerful of all.

Likewise, the Moon is the seventh of the planets and closest to us, watching this number before the rest, and moving and dispensing the light of that number: for in twenty-eight days it circuits around the entire zodiac, with which number of days seven with seven is its limit—namely, from one all the way to seven, with as many numbers added to their preceding, making, filling, and accomplishing four times seven days,¹⁵ in which the Moon circuits and wanders through the entire latitude and longitude of the zodiac by measuring and going over it again. Similarly, it dispenses its light with a perpetual varying law in seven days; indeed, the first seven to the middle are, as it were, an increasing divided orb. The second seven is a complete orb of light. The third decreases again drawing a divided orb. The last, the fourth seventh, its light is diminished to renew again. And by the same seven it disposes the increase and decrease of the sea: for the first seven from the initial increase of the Moon [the sea] decreases a little; for

the second it gradually increases; for the third seven it is similar to the first, and for the fourth it is like the second.¹⁶ It also applies to Saturn, which is the seventh planet, and arises from the lower. Seven beckons rest, to whom is assigned the seventh day, which indicates the seven thousandth (as John testified), with the dragon captured, suggesting the evil devil, mortals will rest, spending their lives in tranquillity.¹⁷

Additionally, Pythagoreans called seven the number of virgins, because it is the first number that is not generated or generates, nor is it able to be divided into two equal parts, as to be generated from any repeating number, nor doubled to produce any other number from itself that is within the limits of ten, which is the first limited number. Therefore, they made seven sacred to Pallas.¹⁸ In religion, seven has great power in indications of veneration,¹⁹ and it is called the number of oaths; hence, among Hebrews swearing is called a *septenare*—as it were, imploring by seven. Thus, when Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech, he set up seven ewe lambs in testimony.²⁰ It is likewise said to be the number of blessedness and rest, of which [it was said]:

The names of seven.

. . . O three and four times blessed;²¹

namely, in the soul and in the body. Likewise, God rested from work on the seventh day, which is why this day is called the Sabbath by Moses, which is the day of rest;²² hence, Christ rested in his tomb on the seventh day.²³ Likewise, this is the number of the cross, as is demonstrated above, and has a great association with Christ; indeed, in Christ is all of our blessedness, rest, and happiness. Additionally, it is most suitable for purifications; from Apuleius: “I immediately placed myself with eagerness in the purifying bath of the sea, submerging my head in the waves seven times.”²⁴

Lepers are likewise to be cleansed according to the Law by sprinkling seven times with the blood of a sparrow.²⁵ The prophet Elisha, as it has in the fourth²⁶ book of Kings, said to the leprous: “Hurry and wash seven times in the Jordan, and your flesh will receive cure, and you will be cleansed.” Again, as he states somewhat later: “he washed himself seven times in the Jordan according to the prophet’s sermon, and he was cleansed.”²⁷

It is the number of repentance and forgiveness, hence setting up seven years of penance for some sin according to the opinion of the Wise Man saying: “And sevenfold over the sinner.” Likewise, the seventh year is made for forgiveness and after seven squared satisfies the forgiveness, as we read in Leviticus. Christ consummated his oration of our atonement with seven petitions, and hence it is called the number of freedom because Hebrew slaves claimed liberty for themselves on the seventh year. It is most suited for divine praises; of which the Prophet said: “I say praises to you over your righteous judgments seven times a day.” It is also the number of revenge, as the scriptures say: “From Cain is given a sevenfold revenge”; and in Psalms, it says: “Return sevenfold to our neighbors into their bosoms.” Hence, we read in the Gospels that Solomon took seven abominations and seven more wicked spirits. It also signifies the time of the present circle, which completes the circle of seven days. And it is sacred to the Holy Spirit, which the prophet Isaiah described His gifts are sevenfold—that is, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of deliberation and strength, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit

of fear of the Lord, and as we read in Zachariah, the seven eyes of God.²⁸ Likewise, there are seven angels, spirits standing before the face of God, as we read in Tobias;²⁹ and in Revelation there were seven burning torches before the throne of God,³⁰ and seven golden candlesticks, and in the middle of them was one like the Son of Man, and He held the seven stars in his right hand. Likewise, there were seven spirits watching the throne of God,³¹ and seven angels standing in watch of God and were given seven trumpets.³² Likewise, he saw a lamb with seven horns and seven eyes and saw books sealed with seven seals,³³ and when the seventh seal was opened, the heavens were made silent.³⁴

From all that was said above, it is evident that seven among other numbers is deservedly said to be most full of efficacy. Seven also has a great conformity with twelve: for as three and four make up seven, thus three times four become twelve, which are the numbers of the celestial planets and signs resulting from the same root and three of divinity,³⁵ and sharing by the four of inferior nature.³⁶ This number has a very great reverence in sacred literature before all other numbers and has great and manifold mysteries, which is why we have decided that many sacred speeches must be repeated upon the subject. By the examples provided, the reader will easily agree that seven is distinguished by a certain fullness of sacred mysteries.

Indeed, we read in Genesis that on the seventh day God rested,³⁷ the seventh from Adam was Enoch, a sacred and pious man,³⁸ and there was also another seventh from Adam a wicked and twice-married man named Lamech.³⁹ Likewise, seven generations destroyed the sin of Cain, as it is written: "The sevenfold punishment of Cain" and "Whoever kills Cain will pay with seven vengeance";⁴⁰ to which that master of history reported that there were seven sins of Cain.⁴¹ Likewise, seven and seven of all clean animals and flying animals were introduced into Noah's ark;⁴² then after seven days the Lord rained over the earth, and all of the fountains of the abyss broke through on the seventh day and flooded over the earth with water.⁴³ Likewise, Abraham gave Abimelech seven ewe-lambs⁴⁴ and Jacob served seven years for Leah and another seven for Rachel,⁴⁵ and the people of Israel mourned the death of Jacob for seven days.⁴⁶ Additionally, we read in the same place of seven cattle, seven ears of grain, seven years of fertility, and seven of barrenness.⁴⁷

Seven is the most effective of all.

However, in Exodus, the seventh day is the Sabbath of Sabbaths, sanctioned by the Lord for rest because the Lord rested from work on the seventh day. Likewise, on the seventh day, Moses ceased to pray. On the seventh day there is a solemnity for the Lord,⁴⁸ on the seventh year a slave will be freed,⁴⁹ for seven days cattle and sheep stay with their mother,⁵⁰ on the seventh year land that has been sowed for six years will rest, the seventh day will be the sacred Sabbath and rest;⁵¹ the seventh day, because it is the Sabbath, is called sacred.⁵²

Also in Leviticus, the seventh day is more solemn and more holy,⁵³ and the first day of the seventh month there will be a memorial Sabbath;⁵⁴ burnt offerings for the Lord are offered for seven days,⁵⁵ for seven days celebrate festivals for the Lord, seven days in a year are a law in your generations. On the

seventh month celebrate a feast and live in the tabernacle for seven days.⁵⁶ One whose finger was dipped in blood shall sprinkle with it seven times before the Lord.⁵⁷ To be cleansed from leprosy one shall sprinkle themselves seven times with the blood of a sparrow.⁵⁸ For seven days wash in living water that has taken flowing blood;⁵⁹ one shall sprinkle with his finger seven times with the blood of a calf;⁶⁰ I will smite you seven times for your sins.⁶¹

In Deuteronomy, seven peoples had the land of promise;⁶² and we read of the seventh year of remission,⁶³ and seven lights with the candlestick placed in the south part.⁶⁴

And in Numbers, we read of seven immaculate ewe-lambs offered by the sons of Israel, and for seven days they fed on unleavened bread, and these seven lambs and goats expiated their sins, and the seventh day was solemn and sacred, and the first day of the seventh month was venerated and sacred, and the seventh month of the Feast of Tabernacles, and seven calves were offered on the seventh day,⁶⁵ and Balaam raised seven altars,⁶⁶ seven days Maria,⁶⁷ sister of Aaron, left the fortress leprous,⁶⁸ and for seven days one who touched a corpse was unclean.⁶⁹

And in Joshua, seven priests carried the Ark of the Covenant before Jericho, and for seven days encircled the city, and seven and seven trumpets were carried by seven priests, and the on seventh day the seven priests blew the trumpets.⁷⁰

Likewise, in the book of Judges, for seven years Abessa reigned in Israel,⁷¹ for seven days Samson kept his nuptials, and on the seventh day he explained the riddle to his wife,⁷² and he was bound with seven cords of sinew and the seven locks of his hair,⁷³ for seven years the children of Israel were oppressed by the king of Midian.⁷⁴

In the books of Kings, [Elias returned] seven times, and on the seventh time he said: "Behold a little cloud";⁷⁵ for seven days the sons of Israel ordered their armies, and on the seventh day joined in battle,⁷⁶ for seven years famine was threatened to David because of the sins of the murmuring people,⁷⁷ and seven times the child yawned and was roused again by Elisha,⁷⁸ and seven men were crucified at the same time in the first days of harvest,⁷⁹ Naaman was cleansed by Elisha by washing seven times,⁸⁰ and in the seventh month Goliath was slain.⁸¹

And in Paralipomenon,⁸² we read that in the seventh month all were gathered to complete the foundation.⁸³ And in Esther, we read of the seven eunuchs of the Persian king.⁸⁴ And in the book of Tobias, seven men coupled with Sara, the daughter of Raguel.⁸⁵

And in Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar's furnace was heated seven times more,⁸⁶ and seven lions were in the cave,⁸⁷ and Nebuchadnezzar came on the seventh day.

In the book of Job is mentioned his seven sons,⁸⁸ and for seven days and nights Job's friends sat with him on the earth,⁸⁹ and in the same place we read: "On the seventh, no evil will touch you."⁹⁰

In Ezra, we read of seven weeks of years,⁹¹ the seven councilors of Artaxerxes,⁹² and in that place: "in the seventh month you will sound the trumpet,"⁹³ and under Ezra in the seventh month was the Feast of the Tabernacles, while the sons of Israel were in the cities,⁹⁴ and the first day of the seventh month

Ezra read the law to the people.⁹⁵

And in Psalms, David says praises seven times a day,⁹⁶ silver is tested seven times,⁹⁷ and we return sevenfold to our neighbors into their bosoms.⁹⁸

And Solomon said that wisdom carved herself seven columns,⁹⁹ and seven men [who] speak opinions,¹⁰⁰ [there are] seven [behaviors] that the Lord hates and detests,¹⁰¹ seven evils in the heart of an enemy,¹⁰² seven watchmen,¹⁰³ and seven foolish eyes.¹⁰⁴

Isaiah counted seven gifts of the Holy Spirit,¹⁰⁵ and seven women shall apprehend one man.¹⁰⁶

And in Jeremiah, that with seven the mind of a woman longs, and with the bearing of seven sons, the mother weakens, and her soul fails.¹⁰⁷

In Ezekiel, the prophet grieved for seven days.¹⁰⁸

In Zechariah, seven lamps and seven funnels were over the tops of the candlesticks, and seven eyes running over the whole earth,¹⁰⁹ and seven eyes over one stone,¹¹⁰ and the seventh day is turned to joy.¹¹¹

And in Micah, seven shepherds are raised over the Assyrians.¹¹²

Now in the Gospels, we read of seven conditions of blessedness,¹¹³

seven virtues to which are opposed seven vices,¹¹⁴ seven petitions of the Lord's prayer,¹¹⁵ seven words of Christ on the cross,¹¹⁶ seven words of the Virgin Mary,¹¹⁷ seven breads distributed by the Lord,¹¹⁸ seven baskets of fragments,¹¹⁹ seven brothers having one wife,¹²⁰ seven disciples of the Lord who were fishers,¹²¹ seven water pots in Canaan in Galilee,¹²² seven wraths that the Lord threatens to hypocrites,¹²³ seven daemons expelled from the sinful woman,¹²⁴ and seven more wicked daemons taken in after expulsion.¹²⁵ Likewise, for seven years, Christ was in refuge in Egypt,¹²⁶ and in the seventh-hour fever left the son of the ruler.¹²⁷

Also in the canonical Epistles, James described seven degrees of the wise,¹²⁸ and Peter seven degrees of virtue.¹²⁹ And in Acts, there are counted seven deacons and seven disciples chosen by the Apostles.¹³⁰ Likewise in Revelation there are many mysteries in this number; indeed, seven candlesticks are gathered, seven stars,¹³¹ seven crowns,¹³² seven churches, seven spirits watching the throne,¹³³ seven rivers of Egypt, seven seals, seven signs, seven horns, seven eyes, seven spirits of God,¹³⁴ seven angels with seven trumpets,¹³⁵ seven horns of the dragon, and seven heads of the dragon, which had seven diadems.¹³⁶ Likewise, seven plagues and seven phials were given to one of the seven angels,¹³⁷ seven heads of the scarlet beast, seven mountains and seven kings sitting on them,¹³⁸ and seven thunders speaking their voices.¹³⁹

Additionally,¹⁴⁰ there are many powers with this number in the natural, the sacred and ceremonial, as well as in others. Therefore here they refer to seven days, seven planets, seven Pleiades, seven ages of the world, seven changes in man, seven liberal arts, and as many mechanical, and as many forbidden, seven colors, seven metals, seven holes in the heads of men, seven pairs of nerves, seven hills in the city

of Rome, seven kings of Rome, seven civil wars, seven wise men in the time of the prophet Jeremiah, and seven wise men of Greece.

Likewise, Rome burned for seven days under Nero. Seven kings slew ten thousand martyrs. There were seven sleepers. There are seven principal churches in Rome, Gregory built as many monasteries, and Saint Felicity bore as many sons. There were seven electors placed in the Empire, and seven solemn acts in crowning the emperor. Laws in the testament required seven witnesses, there are seven civil penalties, seven canons, and seven canonical hours. There are seven sacred greetings in Mass, seven sacraments, and seven orders of clerics. At seven years, a boy is able to be ordained with a lesser order and can obtain the blessing to be without care.¹⁴¹ There are seven penitential Psalms, and seven mandates on the second tablet, seven hours Adam and Eve were in paradise, and there were seven men foretold by the angel before they were born—namely, Ishmael, Isaac, Samson, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, James the brother of the Lord, and Jesus Christ.¹⁴² Finally, this number is the most powerful of all in good and evil; of this, the ancient poet Linus¹⁴³ sang:

*When the seventh light comes, the Omnipotent father
Begins to free all, and the seventh is good and in itself.
And also, the seventh is the origin of all things,
Likewise, the seventh is the first, and the seventh seven is perfect:
From the lofty heavens the wandering stars
Revolved and with as many orbs they circled around.*¹⁴⁴

THE SCALE OF SEVEN

In the Archetype	Ararita אראריתא				Asser Eheie אשר אהיה			The name of God in seven letters
In the Intelligible World	צפקיאל Zaphkiel	צדקאל Zadkiel	כמאל Camael	רפאל Raphael	האניאל Haniel	מיכאל Michael	גבריאל Gabriel	Seven angels who stand before the face of God
In the Celestial World	שבתאי Saturn	צדק Jupiter	מאדים Mars	שמש The Sun	נוגה Venus	כוכב Mercury	לבנה The Moon	Seven Planets
In the Elemental World	Hoopoe	Eagle	Vulture	Swan	Dove	Stork	Owl	Seven birds of the planets
	Cuttlefish	Dolphin	Pike	Sea calf	Thymallus	Mullet	Seacat	Seven fish of the planets
	Mole	Stag	Wolf	Lion	Goat	Ape	Cat	Seven animals of the planets
	Lead	Tin	Iron	Gold	Copper	Quicksilver	Silver	Seven metals of the planets
	Onyx	Sapphire	Diamond	Carbuncle	Emerald	Agate	Crystal	Seven stones of the planets
In the Lesser World	Right foot	Head	Right hand	Heart	Genitals	Left hand	Left foot	Seven complete members distributed to the planets
	Right ear	Left ear	Right nostril	Right eye	Left nostril	Mouth	Left eye	Seven holes in the head distributed to the planets
In the Infernal World	גיהנם Gehenna	וצל מות Gates of death	שצרי מות Shadow of death	באר שחת The pit of ruin	טיט היין The dregs of mud	אברון Perdition	שאול The pit	Seven dwellings of hell, as described by kabbalist Rabbi Joseph Castella in <i>The Garden of Nuts</i> ¹⁴⁶

Chapter 11

Of eight and its scale.

Pythagoreans called eight the number of justice and fullness. It [was called] the first (justice), because it is the first of all numbers to be divided into equal parts—that is, in four. It is likewise connected for the same reason by being divided by two twos: twice two times two, and because of this division it assumed the name justice for itself. However, the other name of “fullness” is taken because of a connection with corporeal solidity, because it is the first to make a solid body.¹

The names of eight.

Hence, in the Orphic tradition, they swore by the eight deities if one wished for divine justice, whose names were Fire, Water, Earth, Heaven, Moon, Sun, Phanes, and Night.² Likewise, there are only eight visible spheres in the heavens,³ and it signifies to us the quality of corporeal nature, as Orpheus embraced in the eight maritime hymns.⁴ And it is also said to be the number of covenant and circumcision, which according to Jewish teaching, happens on the eighth day.⁵ Also in the Old Law, there are eight ornaments of the priest—namely, breeches, a tunic, a girdle, a headdress, a cloak to the ankles, ephod, sash, and a golden plate.⁶

Orpheus swore by eight deities.

Also, this number relates to eternity and the end of the world because it follows seven, which symbolizes time. Hence it is also the number of blessedness; indeed, Christ teaches as many degrees of blessedness in Matthew.⁷ It is also said to be the number of health and preservation: there were as many souls in Noah’s ark saved from the flooding waters.⁸ Likewise, there were eight sons of Jesse, of which David was the eighth;⁹ and Zechariah, the father of John, received speech on the eighth day.¹⁰ They regard this number as sacred to Dionysus, because he was brought into the light on the eighth month, in which perpetual testimony to him the island of Naxos was dedicated to him, they held this prerogative, as only women of Naxos are able to bear and produce healthy babies in the eighth month, while in all other nations, these kinds of births thus perish and mothers may live in clear danger.¹¹

SCALE OF EIGHT

The name of God in eight letters	Eloha Vedaath אלוה ודעת Tetragrammaton Vedaath יהוה ודעת								In the Archetype
Eight blessings	Inheritance	Incorruptibility	Power	Victory	Vision of God	Grace	Kingdom	Joy	In the Intelligible World
Eight visible heavens	The starry heaven	The heaven of Saturn	The heaven of Jupiter	The heaven of Mars	The heaven of the Sun	The heaven of Venus	The heaven of Mercury	The heaven of the Moon	In the Celestial World
Eight particular qualities	The dryness of earth	The coldness of water	The moistness of air	The heat of fire	The heat of air	The moistness of air	The dryness of fire	The coldness of earth	In the Elemental World
Eight kinds of the blessed	The peacemaker	The hungry and thirsty	The meek	The persecutors for justice	The pure of heart	The merciful	The poor in spirit	The mourning	In the Lesser World
Eight rewards of the damned	Prison	Death	Judgment	The wrath of God	Darkness	Indignation	Tribulation	Constriction	In the Infernal World

Chapter 12

Of nine and its scale.

Nine is the number sacred to the muses, with the help of the order of the celestial spheres and divine spirits. Hence there are nine moveable spheres, and according to these, there are nine muses—namely, Calliope, Urania, Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Clio, Melpomene, Erato, Euterpe, and Thalia. Indeed, these muses are suited to the nine spheres; thus, the first refers to the supreme sphere, which is called the Prime Mover, and thus descends by degree according to the written order all the way to the last, which refers to the sphere of the Moon. Thus, Calliope is applied to the *Primum Mobile*, Urania to the starry heaven, Polyhymnia to Saturn, Terpsichore to Jupiter, Clio to Mars, Melpomene to the Sun, Erato to Venus, Euterpe to Mercury, and Thalia to the Moon.

Likewise, there are nine orders of blessed angels—namely, Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels¹—and which He forms Ezekiel through nine stones, which are sapphire, emerald, carbuncle, beryl, onyx, chrysolite, jasper, topaz, and carnelian.²

Also, this number has a great and occult sacrament with the cross: for in the ninth hour our Lord Jesus Christ's spirit departed.³ In nine days the ancients buried their dead, and in as many years they say Minos received the laws from Jove in a cave: from where Homer especially observed this number, such as when the laws were being built, answers given, or a raging disaster.⁴

Likewise, astrologers have enneatic years—that is, consisting of nine⁵—in the ages of men not otherwise than with seven, which are called critical, watchful, and notable of conspicuous changes. Yet sometimes it denotes imperfections and incompleteness, because it does not reach the perfection of ten, but fails before it by being less one, as interpreted by Augustine on the gospel about the ten lepers.⁶ Nor is there a lack of mystery of the length of nine cubits of Og king of Basan, who is a type of devil.⁷

SCALE OF NINE

The name of God in nine letters	Tetragrammaton Sabaoth יהוה צבאות			Tetragrammaton Zidkenu יהוה צדקנו				Elohim Gibor אלהים גיבור		In the Archetype
Nine choruses of angels	Seraphim	Cherubim	Thrones	Dominations	Powers	Virtues	Principalities	Archangels	Angels	In the Intelligible World
Nine angels presiding over the heavens	Metatron	Ophaniel	Zaphkiel	Zadkiel	Camael	Raphael	Haniel	Michael	Gabriel	
Nine moveable spheres	<i>Primum Mobile</i>	The starry sphere	The sphere of Saturn	The sphere of Jupiter	Sphere of Mars	The sphere of the Sun	The sphere of Venus	The sphere of Mercury	Sphere of the Moon	In the Celestial World
Nine stones representing the nine choruses of angels	Sapphire	Emerald	Carbuncle	Beryl	Onyx	Chrysolite	Jasper	Topaz	Carnelian	In the Elemental World
Nine senses outward and inward	Memory	Thought	Imagination	Common sense	Hearing	Sight	Smelling	Taste	Touch	In the Lesser World
Nine orders of cacodaemons	False gods	Lying spirits	Vessels of iniquity	Avengers of wickedness	Impostors	Airy powers	Furies of sowing evil	Slanderers or spies	Tempters or ambushers	In the infernal World

Chapter 13

Of ten and its scale.

Ten is called the all or universal number, and the complete number, indicating a full course of life. Indeed, no number is counted beyond it unless it is through replication,¹ and it interweaves all numbers, either within themselves, or through themselves, and brings about their multiplication; wherefore it is applied to compounding religion and a power of purging the soul.

Ceremonies once called denariae.

Hence the ancients called ceremonies *denariae*,² which when taking expiations or sacrifices, they abstained from some certain things for ten continuous days; and it was the custom of the Egyptians, when they wished to begin sacrifices to Isis,³ to appoint ten days for fasting, which Apuleius testified for himself, saying: “Then clearly, with many witnesses, he ordered that for ten continuous days that I would abstain from the pleasures of food, and that I should eat no animal or drink wine.”⁴

There are ten sanguine parts of man: menses, sperm, formative spirit, the mass,⁵ humors, organs of the body, invigorative, sensitive, reason, and mind. Likewise, there are ten simple integral parts placed in man: bone, cartilage, nerve, sinew, ligament, arteries, veins, membrane, flesh, and skin. What is more, there are ten inner parts on which men depend: spirit, brain, lungs, heart, liver, gall, spleen, kidneys, genitalia, and womb.⁶

Additionally there were ten curtains in the temple, ten strings in a psaltery,⁷ ten musical instruments with which the psalms were sung, whose names are *neza*, in which odes were sung; *nablum*, the same as organs; *mizmor*, in which are the psalms; *sir*,⁸ in which are songs; *tephila*, in which are orations; *beracha*, in which are blessings; *halel*, in which are praises; *hodaia*, in which are acts of gratitude; *asre*, in which is any happiness, and *hallelujah*, in which are only praises and contemplations of God. Likewise, there are ten singers of psalms—namely, Adam, Abraham, Melchizedek, Moses, Asaph, David, Solomon, and the three sons of Korah. Likewise, there are ten commandments of law. On the tenth day after Christ ascended, the Holy Spirit descended.⁹ Finally, this is the number in which Jacob conquered the angel fighting with them all night in contest and at the rising of the morning star¹⁰ was blessed and called by the name Israel.¹¹ In this number, Joshua conquered thirty-one kings,¹² David conquered Goliath and the Philistines,¹³ and Daniel evaded the dangers of the lions.¹⁴

This number, as with one, is also circular, because adding it together returns to one from where it has its beginning, is the limit of all numbers, and completes and begins tens. As ten flows back to one from where it comes, thus everything that is flowing returns back to the beginning of its emanation.

Thus, water runs to the sea from which it originally drew, bodies are taken from the earth and return, time returns to eternity from which it flows, and mind is made by God and returns to Him. Finally, all creatures flow into nothing, from which they are created—unless it is from the divine word, in which all is hidden. Everything with ten or through ten makes a circle, as Proclus said, beginning from God and ending with him. Likewise, God is the first unity, before he communicated himself to the inferiors, first diffusing himself into the first numbers—namely, three—afterward into ten, as it were, into ten ideas and making measures of all numbers and all things, which the Hebrews called ten attributes and count ten divine names—from which cause there is no further number. Hence all tens have a certain divinity in them and, in the Law, they are taken as God's own together with first-fruits. [They are] as primordial things, the beginning of numbers, and each ten is a limit as it were, returning to the beginning and end of everything. [15](#)



SCALE OF TEN

In the Archetype	יהוהיהוהי The name of the Tetragrammaton collected in ten letters		יוד הא ואו הא The name of the Tetragrammaton extended to ten letters					אלהים צבאות The name Elohim Sabaoth			The name of God in ten letters
	איה Eheie	י יוה Iod Tetragrammaton	יהוה אלהים Tetragrammaton Elohim	אל El	אלהים גבר Elohim Gibor	אלוה Eloha	יהוה צבאות Tetragrammaton Sabaoth	אלהים צבאות Elohim Sabaoth	שדי Sadai	אדני Adonai Melech	Ten names of God
	כתר Kether	חכמה Hochmah	בינה Binah	חסד Chesed	גבורה Geburah	תפארת Tiphereth	נצח Nezah	הוד Hod	יסוד Iesod	מלכות Malkuth	Ten Sephiroth
In the Intelligible World	Seraphim	Cherubim	Thrones	Dominations	Powers	Virtues	Principalities	Archangels	Angels	Blessed souls	Ten orders of the blessed according to Dionysius
	Haiot hakados	Ophanim	Aralim	Hasmalim	Seraphim	Malachim	Elohim	Bne Elohim	Cherubim	Izzim	Ten blessed orders according to Hebrew tradition
	Metatron	Iophiel	Zaphkiel	Zadkiel	Camael	Raphael	Haniel	Michael	Gabriel	Soul of the Messiah	Ten ruling angels

SCALE OF TEN (cont.)

In the Celestial World	Reschith hagalgalim	Masloth	Sabbathai	Zedeck	Madim	Schemes	Noga	Cochab	Levenah	Holoniesodoth	Ten spheres of the world
	Primum Mobile	Zodiacal sphere	Sphere of Saturn	Sphere of Jupiter	Sphere of Mars	Sphere of the Sun	Sphere of Venus	Sphere of Mercury	Sphere of the Moon	Sphere of the elements	
In the Elemental World	Dove	Leopard	Dragon	Eagle	Horse	Lion	Man	Serpent	Bull	Lamb	Ten animals relating to the superiors
In the Lesser World	Spirit	Brain	Spleen	Liver	Gall	Heart	Kidneys	Lungs	Genitalia	Womb	Ten inner parts of man
In the Infernal World	False gods	Lying spirits	Vessels of iniquity	Avengers of crimes	Tricksters	Airy powers	Furies of sowing evil	Slanderers or spies	Tempters or ambushers	Perverse and damned souls	Ten orders of the damned

Chapter 14

Of eleven and twelve, with a twofold scale of twelve, and the kabbalistic and Orphic.

The number eleven, since it crosses over ten, which is law and commandments, thus falls short of twelve, which is grace and perfection; therefore, it is said to be the number of sin and repentance. Hence it was ordered in the tabernacle that eleven cloaks of hair were to be made, which is the habit of repentance and mourning for sins.¹

For this reason, this number has no association with the divine or the celestials, nor attracts them, or is a scale for reaching above, nor has any merit; but it sometimes receives a free grace from God, as with those who are called in the eleventh hour in the vineyard of the Lord, receive the reward of those who carried the burden and heat of the day.²

Eleven has no association with the divine.

But the number twelve is divine and is how the celestials are measured³; indeed, it helps the celestial signs and spirits ruling over them. For there are twelve signs in the zodiac, of which there are twelve particular angels, supported by the irrigation of the great name of God. Jupiter completes its course in twelve years, and the Moon runs daily through twelve degrees. There are twelve particular joints in the human body—namely, the hands, elbows, shoulders, thighs, knees, and joints of the feet.

Additionally, there are great divine mysteries in the power of twelve: God selected twelve families of Israel, and twelve princes were placed in charge of them.⁴ Twelve stones were placed in the area of Jordan,⁵ and that number was ordered to be fastened to the breastplate of priests.⁶ There were also twelve loaves of bread made,⁷ and as many stones were constructed in the altar,⁸ and that number of brazen lions supported the sea.⁹ There were as many fountains in Elim,¹⁰ as many spies sent out to the land of promise,¹¹ and as many apostles of Christ¹² perfecting the twelve tribes. Twelve thousand people were marked and chosen,¹³ and the queen of heaven is crowned with twelve stars.¹⁴

Twelve is a divine number.

In the Gospels, twelve loaves of bread were collected from fragments,¹⁵ twelve angels preside over the twelve gates of the city,¹⁶ and twelve stones of celestial Jerusalem.¹⁷ Also, in the inferior world, many things that increase proceed from this number; thus, hares and rabbits, as most fruitful, generate

and bear twelve times a year, camels bear young in as many months,¹⁸ and peacocks¹⁹ lay twelve eggs.²⁰

SCALE OF TWELVE ²¹												
Twelve names of God			הוא His	ברוך Blessed	הקדש Holy			אב בן ורוח הקדש Father, Son, and Holy Spirit				In the Archetype
The great name resolved to twelve	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	
Twelve orders of blessed spirits	Seraphim	Cherubim	Thrones	Dominations	Powers	Virtues	Principalities	Archangels	Angels	Innocents	Martyrs	Confessors
Twelve angels presiding over the signs	Malchiel	Asmodei	Ambriel	Muriel	Verchiel	Hamaiel	Zuriel	Barbiel	Adnachiell	Haniel	Gabriel	Barchiel
Twelve tribes	Dan	Reuben	Judah	Manasseh	Asher	Simeon	Isachar	Benjamin	Nephthali	Gad	Zebulon	Ephraim
Twelve prophets	Malachi	Haggai	Zachariah	Amos	Hosea	Michah	Jonah	Obadiah	Zephaniah	Nahum	Habakkuk	Joel
Twelve apostles	Mathias	Thaddeus	Simon	John	Peter	Andrew	Bartholomew	Philip	James the Elder	Thomas	Matthew	James the Younger

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SCALE OF TWELVE (cont.)													
Twelve signs of the zodiac	Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo	Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces	In the Celestial World
Twelve months	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	In the Elemental World
Twelve plants	Sage	Straight verberna	Bent verberna	Comfrey	Daffodil	Calamint	Scorpion grass	Mugwort	Pimpernel	Sorrel	Dragonwort	Aristolochia	
Twelve stones	Sardonyx	Carnelian	Topaz	Chalcedony	Jasper	Emerald	Beryl	Amethyst	Hyacinth	Chrysoprase	Crystal	Sapphire	
Twelve principal members	Head	Neck	Arm	Breast	Heart	Stomach	Kidneys	Genitals	Buttocks	Knees	Legs	Feet	In the Lesser World
Twelve degrees of the damned and daemons	False gods	Lying spirits	Vessels of iniquity	Avengers of crimes	Tricksters	Airy powers	Furies sowing evil	Slanderers or spies	Tempters or ambushers	Enchanters	Apostates	Infidels	In the Infernal World

THE ORPHIC SCALE OF TWELVE

Twelve deities	Pallas	Venus	Phoebus	Mercury	Jupiter	Ceres	Vulcan	Mars	Diana	Vesta	Juno	Neptune	In the Intelligible World
Twelve signs of the zodiac	Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo	Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces	In the Celestial World
Twelve months	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	In the Elemental World
Twelve sacred birds	Owl	Dove	Rooster	Ibis	Eagle	Sparrow	Goose	Woodpecker	Crow	Heron	Peacock	Swan	
Twelve sacred animals	She-goat	He-goat	Bull	Dog	Stag	Pig	Ass	Wolf	Deer	Lion	Sheep	Horse	
Twelve sacred trees	Olive	Myrtle	Laurel	Hazel	Aesculus	Apple	Boxwood	Dogwood	Palm	Pine	Buckthorn	Elm	
Twelve members of man distributed to the signs	Head	Neck	Arms	Breast	Heart	Stomach	Kidneys	Genitals	Buttocks	Knees	Legs	Feet	In the Lesser World

Chapter 15

Of numbers above twelve, their powers and virtues.

Likewise, the remaining numbers above twelve are adorned with many and various effects, and you must apprehend these virtues by their origin and parts, inasmuch as they are gathered together from various simple [numbers], or established by multiplication; sometimes by lessening or overstepping others preceding it, especially the more perfect, they contain results of those signified, and also from the sacraments of certain mysteries.¹

XIII.

Thus, thirteen indicates the mystery of Christ's appearance to the gentiles: as thirteen days after his birth, a star led the Magi.²

XIV.

Fourteen bears the figure of Christ himself, because, on the fourteenth day³ on the first month, he sacrificed himself for us, on which day the children of Israel were ordered by the Lord to celebrate *Phase*⁴—that is, Passover.⁵ This number was so anxiously observed by Matthew that he omitted some generations so that he could everywhere limit the generations [before] Christ [to fourteen].⁶

XV.

Fifteen is the number that symbolizes spiritual ascension, and therefore there are songs of degrees fitted into fifteen Psalms,⁷ and there were also fifteen years added to [the life of] King Hezekiah,⁸ and the fifteenth day of the seventh month is venerable and sacred.⁹

XVI.

The number sixteen is composed of equal quadruples and is obedient to ten.¹⁰ Therefore, Pythagoreans called it the number of happiness; it includes all of the prophets of the Old Testament and

also the apostles and evangelists of the New Testament.^{[11](#)}

XVIII, XX.

The numbers eighteen and twenty are each interpreted as inauspicious by theologians: for in the former, Israel served Eglon, king of Moab^{[12](#)}; in the latter, Jacob served,^{[13](#)} and Joseph was sold.^{[14](#)} Finally, among polypods, none exceed the number of twenty feet.

XXII.

But the number twenty-two signifies a fullness of wisdom, as there are twenty-two characters of Hebrew letters, and the Old Testament contains as many books.^{[15](#)}

XXVIII.

But the number twenty-eight describes the favor of the Moon; indeed, its motion is separate from the course of the other stars, solitary as it were, completing it in twenty-eight days, and then returning to the same point in the zodiac from which it started. Hence there are twenty-eight mansions of the Moon numbered in the heavens, which are singular in virtue and have a strong influence.

XXX.

The number thirty is remarkable for many mysteries, which our Lord Jesus Christ valued, whereby in the thirtieth year of his age he was baptized, began making miracles, and taught the kingdom of God. The thirtieth year was also active for John the Baptist since he began to preach in the desert and prepared the ways of the Lord. Likewise, at the same age, Ezekiel began to prophesy, and at thirty years of age Joseph was released from prison and received command of Egypt from the pharaoh.^{[16](#)}

XXXII.

Hebrew teachers appoint the number thirty-two to wisdom; indeed, as Abraham describes as many paths to wisdom. However, Pythagoreans call this the number of justice because it is always divisible in equal parts all the way to one.^{[17](#)}

XL.

The ancients cherished the number forty with great observation, from which they celebrated the feast of *tesseracoston*. It is said to be effective for planning births: in as many days the seed is prepared and changed in the womb until the body's organs are duly perfected and united in a harmonious measurement disposed for accepting a rational soul. For as many days after birth women contend with grave illness, until which time the woman adjusts from the agitation of the birth, after which she is purified. Infants do not smile for as many days, are unhealthy, and live in great danger.¹⁸

This is the number of atonement and repentance in religion, and it signifies great mysteries. Accordingly, in the time of the deluge the Lord rained forty days and nights over the earth,¹⁹ the children of Israel lived in the desert for forty years,²⁰ and the destruction of Nineveh was delayed for forty days.²¹ The same number is also holy for the fasts of saints, accordingly Moses,²² Elias,²³ and Christ²⁴ fasted for forty days. Christ was carried in the womb of the Virgin for forty weeks, and Christ remained in Bethlehem for forty days after birth before being presented to the temple.²⁵ He publicly preached for forty months,²⁶ He rested dead in the sepulcher for forty hours,²⁷ and forty days after resurrection He ascended to heaven.²⁸ which according to theologians everything with this number did not happen without hidden and mysterious properties.²⁹

L.

Fifty is the number signifying the remission of sins, and also servitude and freedom. Indeed, according to the law on the fiftieth year debts were remitted, and everyone's own possessions were returned: hence by the jubilee year and by the psalm of repentance shows a sacrament of indulgence and repentance.³⁰ Likewise, the Law and Holy Spirit are declared the same: for on the fiftieth day after the Israelites' exit from Egypt, the Law was given to Moses on Mount Sinai.³¹ On the fiftieth day after resurrection, the Holy Spirit descended over the apostles on Mount Zion, which is why it is said to be the number of grace and is attributed to the Holy Spirit.³²

LX.

And the number sixty was sacred to the Egyptians: for it is peculiar to the crocodile because in sixty days she bears sixty eggs and for as many days keeps them warm and is also said to live for as many years and has that number of teeth. Finally, for as many days every year, it withdraws to rest without any food.

LXX.

And the number seventy has its own mysteries: for as many years the sacrificial fire was hidden underwater during the Babylonian captivity.³³ In as many years Jeremiah predicted the destruction of the temple, for as many years endured the Babylonian captivity,³⁴ and as many years completed the desolation

of Jerusalem.³⁵ Likewise there were seventy palms in the place where the children of Israel encamped,³⁶ the Fathers descended into Egypt with seventy souls,³⁷ seventy kings with amputated fingers and toes gathered up the remains of food from under the table of Adoni-Bezek,³⁸ seventy sons came from Jacob's thigh,³⁹ seventy men all sons of Jerobaal, seventy weights of silver were given to Abimelech, Abimelech killed as many men on one stone,⁴⁰ Abdon had seventy sons and grandsons, who mounted upon seventy ass colts,⁴¹ Solomon had seventy thousand men who carried burdens,⁴² seventy sons of King Ahab were decapitated in Samaria,⁴³ according to the psalmist seventy years is our age,⁴⁴ Lamech shall be judged seventy times seven,⁴⁵ and seventy times seven pardons for offenses of sins.⁴⁶

LXXII.

And the number seventy-two is as many languages of speech, as many elders in the Synagogue, as many interpreters of the Old Testament,⁴⁷ and as many disciples of Christ. It also has a great association with twelve; hence, in the heavens, each sign is divided into six parts, resulting in seventy-two fives, of which as many angels preside,⁴⁸ and as many names of God flow and each five presides over one particular property.⁴⁹ They are of such great efficacy that astrologers and physiognomists can recognize each property from where it originates. Likewise, responding to these are as many well-known joints in the human body, in which each digit of the hands and feet have three, which with the twelve principles mentioned above in the number twelve constitute seventy-two.⁵⁰

C.

A hundred is applied to the sheep that are found, and which also pass from the left hand to the right, is found as holy. Also, because it begets itself from ten, it designates complete perfection.⁵¹

M.

However, a thousand complements all numbers, which is a cube of ten, signifying complete and absolute perfection.⁵² But there are two numbers especially celebrated by Plato in *The Republic*, and not disapproved by Aristotle in *Politics*, which predict great changes in cities. These are twelve squared and the same cubed—that is, 144 and 1,728, which are fated numbers. Any city or republic will afterward decline when it has reached a complete cube. Yet, in a square it enters a change, but for the better if managed with prudent discipline. Then it will collapse not by fate, but with imprudence.⁵³ Let these sayings be sufficient for particular numbers.

Two numbers celebrated more than others.

Chapter 16

Of notable numbers placed in certain gestures.

I have often read in books on magic and its operations and experiments of certain wonderful (and such as they seemed to me ridiculous) gestures. I thought that they were certain occult pacts with daemons, and because of this I rejected and abandoned them. However, after examining these things deeply, I began to understand that these magical gestures are not daemonic pacts but instead the rationale of numbers is hidden in them. The ancients represented numbers through various bending backward and forward of the hands and fingers. With these gestures, magicians designated indescribable virtues unknown to sound. They joined various numbers and, with alternating fingers, silently proclaimed and adored the sacred gods that rule over the world.

Capella also remembers those rites, saying of Arithmetic:¹ “However the fingers of the virgin kept recoiling and quickly moved in incomprehensible, wormy, bubbling springs, who saluted Jupiter by quickly entering 717 numbers with her bent finger. Then Philosophy, as she stood near Triton, asked why Arithmetic began with such number; to which Pallas said, they greeted Jupiter with his own name.”²

So that this can be better understood, if you please, we will join with the tradition of Bede, who therefore said: “When you say ‘1’ bend the smallest finger and place it in the middle of the palm. When you say ‘2’ bend the next finger and place it next to the smallest. When you say ‘3’ bend the third finger in a similar manner. When you say ‘4’ likewise raise the smallest finger. When you say ‘5’ likewise raise the next finger from the smallest. When you say ‘6,’ the third is likewise raised, with only that which is called the ring finger being fixed in the middle of the palm. When you say ‘7,’ place only the smallest finger above the base of the palm, with the others meanwhile raised; just as when you say ‘8’ with the ring finger. When you say ‘9,’ place the middle with them. When you say ‘10,’ put the nail of the forefinger in the middle joint of the thumb. When you say ‘20,’ place the top of the middle finger between the joints of the thumb and forefinger. When saying ‘30,’ clasp the nail of the forefinger and thumb gently together. When you say ‘40,’ bring the inside of the thumb to the outside of the forefinger, with only those two raised. When you say ‘50,’ bend the thumb with the outer joint curved like the Greek letter gamma, inclined toward the palm. When you say ‘60,’ with the thumb as above, carefully curve the forefinger to encircle the thumb from the front. When you say ‘70,’ make the forefinger turned as before and make the thumb stretched long, with only the nail raised past the middle joint of the forefinger. When you say ‘80,’ with the forefinger turned as before and the thumb extended at length—that is, the nail fixed on the middle joint of the forefinger. When you say ‘90,’ place the nail of the forefinger at the base of the erect thumb. Thus far, all of these are with the left hand.

“However, 100 is made with the right hand the same way as 10 is made with the left. Two hundred in right is made just as 20 was made with the right hand. Two thousand in the right is made just as two in the left, and the rest all the way to 9,000.

“Again, when you say ‘10,000,’ place the left hand flat in the middle of the breast, with only the fingers raised toward heaven. When you say ‘20,000,’ place the same hand on the breast spread widely.

When you say ‘30,000,’ place the hand the same as before, but send the straightened thumb to the cartilage in the middle of the breast. When you say ‘40,000,’ make the same turned erect over the navel. When you say ‘50,000,’ do the same on the navel but with the thumb erect placed under. When you say ‘60,000,’ the same but placed on the left thigh holding it from above. When you say ‘70,000,’ the same, but with the palm placed on the thigh facing upwards. When saying ‘80,000,’ the same placed downward over the thigh. When you say ‘90,000,’ do the same but placed on the groin, the thumb placed inward. However, with 100,000, 200,000, and the rest all the way to 900,000 do in the same manner that we have said but make them on the right side of the body. But when saying ‘1,000,000’ join both hands together, with the fingers laced together.”³ Let these writings of Bede suffice for now; you will learn many more of these in Frater Luke of St. Sepulchers’s *Great Arithmetic*.⁴

Luke of St. Sepulchers.

Chapter 17

Of various marks of numbers observed by the Romans.

The marks of numbers are depicted in different ways by various nations; the Romans formed these by the following marks. Valerius Probus described the letters of the ancients, which are hitherto in use today, these being:¹

One	Five	Ten	Fifty	Hundred	Two Hundred	Five Hundred
I.	V.	X.	L.	C.	↯. CC.	D.
	Thousand				Five Thousand	
	M. S. I. CXD				IDD. ICC. V.	
	Ten Thousand				Fifty Thousand	
	CCIDD. CMD. CMC. IMI. X.				IDD. DDD. L.	
	One Hundred Thousand				Two Hundred Thousand	
	CCCIDD.   CM. C.				↯CC.	
	Five Hundred Thousand				One Million	
	DM. 9C. D.				CMD. CPD. MS.	

There are other marks of numbers arithmeticians and calculators commonly use today, which according to the order of numbers, the figures are depicted: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9., to which is added a circular mark signifying removal; of course, this figure is 0, which although it does not signify a number, it makes the others signify tens, hundreds, or thousands, as is well known by arithmeticians.

There are also marks that show ten by a small stick that has a line across it; but fives by placing a line touching it, but not dividing it; but ones by placing a separate [line], which you can see in this example:

† signifies ten, ‡ signifies fifteen, ¶ signifies sixteen, †r signifies seventeen.

The circle denotes a hundred—that is, 0 placed separately. However, connected to others, it indicates as many numbers as hundreds, such as 00 or II^o is two hundred, 000 or III^o is three hundred, **I**^o five hundred, ten **+**^o hundred or a thousand. [We may] observe that these marks are frequently added to magical characters.

Chapter 18

Of the marks of the Greeks.

For numerical marks, the Greeks use alphabetical letters in three [different] ways. The first is a singular element according to the alphabetic series signifying the numbers for their place; for the place of the alphabetic order obtained by each letter, it represents the same number, as you can see here:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M
13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.
N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω

This is the first order of the numbers of the Greeks.

In the second [way], the Greeks divided the entire alphabet into three classes. The first begins with alpha as one; the second, beginning with iota, is ten; and the third, beginning with rho, is hundred¹—and the Greeks followed this order from the Hebrews, whom they imitated. However, because their alphabet is crippled by that rule, it is necessary to add three more figures and letters, which of course are explained in the numbers 6, 90 and 900,² which is clear in the following:³

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
A	B	Γ	Δ	E	ς	Z	H	Θ
10.	20.	30.	40.	50.	60.	70.	80.	90.
I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	Ϛ
100.	200.	300.	400.	500.	600.	700.	800.	900.
P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω	Ϡ

If to any of these letters is under-signed a tone of a small sharp stick, it signifies as many thousands, as in this example:⁴

1000.	10,000.	100,000.
<u>A</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>P</u>

In the third way, the Greeks use only six letters to designate their numbers—namely, I for 1, Π for 5, because it is the start of the word πέντε,⁵ which is 5, Δ for 10 from δέκα,⁶ H for 100 from εκατόν,⁷ X for 1,000 from the word χίλια,⁸ and M for 10,000 from μύρια.⁹ From these six letters are joined, according to this method, to four or to other numbers, forming the rest, in addition to Π, which is not multiplied or joined but always signifies the fives of others, as is shown in the following example:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
I	II	III	IIII	Π	ΠI	ΠII	ΠIII	ΠIIII
10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	20.	21.
Δ	ΔI	ΔII	ΔIII	ΔIIII	ΔΠ	ΔΠI	ΔΔ	ΔΔI
50.	60.	100.	200.	500.	1,000.	5,000.	10,000.	50,000.
ϞI	ϞΔ	H	HH	ϞΠ	X	ϞI	M	ϞI

Chapter 19

Of the marks of the Hebrews and Chaldeans, and certain other marks of magicians.

The Hebrews also have letters marking numbers but are far more excellent than any other language, since the greatest mysteries lie hidden in Hebrew numbers, as is handled in that part of kabbalah that is called *Notaricon*. There are 22 principal Hebrew letters, of which 5 have other different figures appointed at the end of speech, which are therefore called the five finals. These are added [to the other letters] making 27. [The letters] then share in three degrees: the first refers to ones, the second to tens, and the third degree signifies hundreds. Any of these, if depicted in large characters, signifies as many thousands, as thus:

3000.

ל

2000.

ב

1000.

א

These are the classes of Hebrew numbers:¹

9.	8.	7.	6.	5.	4.	3.	2.	1.
ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
90.	80.	70.	60.	50.	40.	30.	20.	10.
צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י
900.	800.	700.	600.	500.	400.	300.	200.	100.
ץ	ף	ן	ם	ך	ת	ש	ר	ק

There were those that do not use the final letters, and for these we write thus:

1000.	900.	800.	700.	600.	500.
א	קת	תת	שת	רת	קת

And from these simple figures, by combining and composing them, describe all remaining composed numbers, such as 11, 12, 110, and 111, by adding ones to tens. [Compose] the rest in a similar way. Yet the number 15 is not written by 10 and 5, but by 9 and 6—namely, טו, out of respect of the divine name יה, which makes 15, so that the sacred name is not wasted on the profane.

And the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Chaldeans, and Arabs have their numerical marks, which most often occur among magical characters: therefore, one may wish to learn these before being skilled in these letters. The Chaldeans signify numbers with the letters of their alphabet according to the custom of the Hebrews. That alphabet is recorded at the end of the first book.² Additionally, I have found in two most ancient astrological and magical books some most elegant marks of numbers, which I have also decided to note here, and they were in both volumes as such:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
┐	┌	┐	┌	┐	┌	┐	┌	┐

But these same marks turned to the left side make tens in this manner:

10.	20.	30.	40.	50.	60.	70.	80.	90.
┐	┐	┐	┐	┐	┐	┐	┐	┐

If these notes turned upside-down, on the right they give hundreds, and on the left thousands, as one can see thus:

100. 200. 300. 400. 500. 600. 700. 800. 900.



1000. 2000. 3000. 4000. 5000. 6000. 7000. 8000. 9000.



From the arrangement and mixture of these marks, some other mixtures and compositions of numbers elegantly emerge, as can be easily seen in these few [examples].³

1510.



1511.



1471.



1486.



3421.



According to these examples, we must proceed to other compositions. This is enough about the marks of numbers.

Chapter 20

Which numbers are assigned to letters and of the divination of the same.

Pythagoreans relate—and Aristotle and Ptolemy agree—that the elements of the letters themselves possess certain reliable and divine numbers, through which we may elicit meanings of occult and future things through the names of individual things by collecting their sums. This kind of divination is called “arithmancy,”¹ which of course is because it is through numbers, just as Terentianus remembered in his verse:

Arithmancy is a kind of divination.

And they say names are completed by letters

As they who are the smaller numbers

Whenever entering the dangers of a doubtful battle

The greater number remaining has the favored hand

The highest foretells joy the smaller suffering.

Thus, Patroclus was slain by Hector's hand,

Thus, Hector was Achilles' prey.²

Also, Pliny said that Pythagoras discovered that a name assigned with an uneven number of vowels gives lameness, loss of eyesight, and similar problems on the right side, but on the left side if even.³ The philosopher Alchandrinus taught how one can find from the numbers of letters the ruling stars and natal horoscope, and if the husband or wife will die first or outlive the other, and our prosperous and unhappy events of our other works.⁴ He was pleased to join with that tradition, and the astrologer Ptolemy did not reject it.

As I have shown, the Greek and Hebrew alphabets are divided into three classes, in which numbers are assigned to single letters—the first group representing the ones, the second tens, and the third hundreds. To complete [a total of] twenty-seven characters in the Roman alphabet, they lacked four. Those places were supplied by the simple consonants “i” and “u,” as in the names Iohannes and Valentinianus. Then the aspirant consonants “hi” and “hu,” as in Hieronymus and Huilhelmus, although the Germans use “hu” for the double aspirant “w,” but the Italians and French in their vulgar [speech] put in that place “g” and “u” joined, thus is written: “Vuilhelmus” and “Guilhelmus.”

I.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.
10.	20.	30.	40.	50.	60.	70.	80.	90.
K.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.	S.
100.	200.	300.	400.	500.	600.	700.	800.	900.
T.	V.	X.	Y.	Z.	I.	V.	HI.	HU.

But now if you wish to know the ruling star of some birth, compute their name and each parent's name by single letters according to the numbers written above and collect the entire sum and divide by 9, subtracting from that as often as you can. ⁵ If 1 or 4 remain, each indicates the Sun; but if 2 or 7, each signifies the Moon; of the others 3 is Jupiter, 5 is Mercury, 6 is Venus, 8 is Saturn, and 9 denotes Mars. This account is shown elsewhere. By a similar rationale, if one wishes to know some horoscope, ⁶ compute their name and the name of the mother and father and collect the entire total and divide by 12. If the remainder is 1 it denotes Leo; if Juno 2 then Aquarius, if Vestal 3 then Capricorn, if 4 then Sagittarius, if 5 Cancer, if Venusian 6 Taurus, if Palladian 7 Aries, if Vulcan 8 Libra, if Martial 9 Scorpio, if 10 Virgo, if 11 Pisces, if Phoebean 12 it represents Gemini; and this is also accounted elsewhere.

Numbers of the planets.

Numbers of the signs of the zodiac.

But no one should wonder that numbers through names can foretell many things since Pythagorean philosophers and Hebrew kabbalists testify that in these numbers lie some occult mysteries that are understood by few. Indeed, the Most High created all "numbers, measures, and weights," ⁷ from which the truth of letters and names had its birth, whose method was not built accidentally but certainly (although unknown to us). Hence John in Revelation said: "He who has understanding, compute the number of the name of the beast, which is the number of man." ⁸ These are not of those names, which are imposed by the dissonant dissimilarity of nations and the rites of diverse people according to the causes and cultures of the places of men, but those which are inspired into each at its birth by the heavens and joining of the stars, which the Hebrew mekubalim and Egyptian wise men once taught to elicit from each birth.

Chapter 21

Which numbers are sacred to which gods and which are appointed to the elements.

Now, the Pythagoreans dedicated sacred numbers to the elements and deities of heaven: for eight is air, four is fire,¹ earth is six, and water is assigned twelve.

One.

Additionally one agrees with the Sun because there is one king of the stars, in which “God placed his tabernacle.”² This is also Jupiter, testifying to that ideal and intellectual causative power. Indeed, he is the head and father of the gods,³ as the monad is the beginning and parent of the numbers.

Two.

However, two is given to the Moon, which is the second luminary and forms the World Soul. She is called Juno because, between that and the monad, the number two is the first union, partner, and the like.⁴ This number is also given to Saturn and Mars, which to astrologers are the two infortunes.

Three.

Thus, three agrees with Jupiter, the Sun, and Venus, which are three fortunes, and it is dedicated to Vesta, Hecate, and Diana; hence they say:

*The threefold Hecate, the three mouths of the virgin Diana;*⁵

therefore, three is dedicated to this virgin, as they say, “powerful in heaven and Erebus.”⁶

Four.

Four is the Sun, which constitutes the number of directions in the heavens and distinguishes the seasons because he is the only quadruple god.

Five.

Five is from the first even and first uneven, just as it consists of both sexes, female and male, is assigned to Mercury. It is also attributed to the celestial world, which over the four elements is itself under another form, the fifth.⁷

Six.

Six, which is collected by two triads, just as a mixture of two sexes, is applied by the Pythagoreans to birth and marriage, and pertains to Venus⁸ and Juno.

Seven.

Seven is quiet and the number of Saturn.⁹ It also dispenses the motion and light of the Moon and therefore it takes the name of Tritonia the virgin because it begets nothing. It is assigned to Minerva because nothing is born from it. It is likewise assigned to the *virago* Pallas because this number contains both male and female;¹⁰ hence Plutarch also gives it to Apollo.¹¹

Eight.

Eight, because it is sacred to justice, is Jupiter. It is likewise said to be Vulcan, for the first motion and dyad (which is Juno) is drawn twice into itself. It is likewise attributed to the mother goddess Cybele, because it bestows all cubes.¹² Plutarch assigns it to Bacchus or Dionysus, who is said to have been born in the eighth month;¹³ others assign it to Saturn and the Fates, because births in the eighth month do not live.

Nine.

Nine pertains to the Moon, who is the receptacle of all influences, celestial and beyond. It is no less dedicated to the nine Muses. It is also associated with Mars, from whom is the end of all things.¹⁴

Ten.

Twelve.

Ten, the circular number, considers the Sun with the same rationale as the monad. It is also given to Janus, because the first turns toward the end and helps satisfy the second monad.^{[15](#)} It is additionally assigned to the world. Similarly, twelve is attributed to the world and heavens and the Sun because the Sun passes through the twelve signs annually in twelve months.

Eleven.

However, eleven, because it is semicircular, is attributed to the Moon and is also given to Neptune.^{[16](#)}

Chapter 22

Of the tables of the planets and their virtues and principles, and which divine names, intelligences, and daemons are placed in charge of them.

Additionally, magicians refer to certain tables of numbers assigned to the seven planets, which are called the sacred tables of the planets.¹ They signify many and very great virtues of the heavens, inasmuch as they represent the divine reasoning of the celestial numbers, impressed upon the celestials by the Divine Mind through the reason of the World Soul, and the sweetest harmony of those celestial rays according to proportion of effigies, co-signifying the super-mundane intelligences, which can be expressed in no other way than by the marks of numbers and characters.

Indeed, material numbers and figures cannot do anything in the mysteries in hidden things unless represented by formal numbers and figures, inasmuch as they are ruled and formed by the divine intelligences and enumerations, which tie the extremes of matter and spirits to the will of the elevated soul through great affection by the celestial virtue of the operation: a power received from God through the Universal Soul, and the observations of the celestial constellations applying in matter appropriate for the form, the medium being disposed by magical skill and knowledge. But now we must hasten to explain each table.

The table of Saturn.

The first of these is assigned to Saturn, because it consists of a square of 3, containing the particular numbers of 9 and in any line 3 in every way and each diameter constitutes 15, but the total sum of numbers is 45. Divine names are assigned to these, filling up [the tables with] names from the preceding numbers—an intelligence for the good and a daemon for the evil. From these same numbers are elicited a seal or character of Saturn and his spirit, such as we will write in his table below. They say that this table engraved in a lead plate with a fortunate Saturn, helps birth, men returning safely, and powerful and excellent success in petitions to princes and powerful [men]. However, if Saturn is made unfortunate, it hinders buildings, planting, and the like, overthrows men from honors and dignities, begets quarrels and discord, and disperses armies.

The table of Jupiter.

The second is called the table of Jupiter, which consists of 4 led into itself, containing 16 particular numbers and 4 in any line or diameter, constituting 34, but the entire sum is 136. Presiding over those are

divine names with an intelligence for good, and a daemon for evil and a character and spirit of Jupiter is elicited from them. They say that if Jupiter is powerful and in rulership, and [these characters] are impressed on a silver plate, it brings gain and wealth, gratitude, love, peace, and concord with men. It appeases enemies and secures honors, dignities, and councils. It dissolves sorceries if engraved in coral.

The table of Mars.

The third table is for Mars, which is a square consisting of 5, including 25 numbers, and from these are 5 in any side or diameter, which makes 65, and the entire sum is 325. Presiding over them are divine names with an intelligence for good and a daemon for evil, and a character and spirit of Mars are elicited from them. These are carved while Mars is fortunate in an iron plate or a sword making one powerful in war, judgments, and petitions. [It makes one] frightful to enemies and is excellent for victory against enemies, but if carved in the stone cornelian, it draws blood and *menstrua* [as a styptic]. However if Mars is unfortunate and carved in red copper plate, it hinders buildings and overthrows powerful men from dignities, honors, and wealth. It generates discord, quarrels, and hatred in men and beasts, chases away bees, pigeons, and fish, hinders mills, makes hunting and battles unfortunate, and generates sterility in men, women, and other animals. It strikes fear in all enemies and compels them to exhibit respect.

The table of the Sun.

The fourth table is for the Sun and consists of a square of 6 and contains 36 numbers, which has 6 in any side, and diameter producing 111, and the entire sum is 666. Presiding over them are divine names with an intelligence for good and a daemon for evil, and from them are elicited characters and spirits of the Sun. When the Sun is fortunate if carved in gold plate, it makes the wearer famous, amiable, pleasing, powerful in all works, makes men equal with kings and princes, elevates them to the highest peaks of fortune, and makes one acquire whatever they desire. But if the Sun is unfortunate, it makes one a tyrant, arrogant, ambitious, insatiable, and have an evil ending.

The table of the Venus.

The fifth table is Venus, containing 7 led into itself—that is, having 49 numbers, which are 7 on all sides and diameters containing 175, and the entire sum is 1,225. Presiding over them are divine names with an intelligence for good and a daemon for evil, and from them are elicited a character and spirits for Venus. When Venus is fortunate and carved in silver plate, it brings concord, interrupts quarrels, grants the love of women, brings conception, drives away sterility, brings power in coition, dissolves enchantments, generates peace among men and women, and makes animals and cattle fertile and bear plentifully. If placed in a pigeon house, it increases pigeons. It opposes all sickness and melancholy, generates joy, and if worn by a traveler, it [makes them] fortunate. But if Venus is unfortunate and formed in copper, it makes everything opposite to what was previously said.

The table of Mercury.

The sixth table is Mercury, which results in 8 led into itself, containing 64 numbers, of which there are 8 in any direction, and in each diameter, making 2,080. Presiding over them are divine names with an intelligence for good and a daemon for evil and elicited from them are characters for Mercury and its spirits. If Mercury is made fortunate, carve in silver, tin, or yellow brass, or inscribed on virgin parchment, it makes the wearer pleasing, and fortunate for whatever they wish to obtain. It confers gain and chases away poverty. It confers memory, intellect, divination, and noticing occult things by dreams. If Mercury is unfortunate, it makes the opposite to all of the above.

The table of the Moon.

The seventh table is the Moon. It contains 9 multiplied by itself, having 81 numbers, in which there are 9 on any side and diameter, producing 369, and the entire sum is 3,321. Presiding over them are divine names with an intelligence for good and a daemon for evil and elicited from them are characters of the Moon and its spirits. When the Moon is fortunate and carved in silver, it makes the wearer pleasing, amiable, delightful, eager, honorable, and wards away all wickedness and ill will. It excels in security in journeys, makes wealth and a healthy body, and drives away enemies and other harmful things from whatever place they wish. If the Moon is unfortunate, [carved] in lead, and buried in some place, it makes that place—as well as its inhabitants, visitors, ships, springs, rivers, and mills—unfortunate. It makes all men against whom it was duly made unfortunate, making them flee from their land and country and from the place of their home wherever [the image] is buried. It hinders physicians, orators, and men in whichever office it is made against. But the way these seals and characters is elicited from the stars and the spirits. The acute investigator will easily be able to understand this from verifying these tables.

Divine names responding to the numbers of Saturn.

3.	Ab.		אב
9.	Hod.		הה
15.	Iah.		יה
15.	Hod.		הוד
45.	Tetragrammaton extended.		יהוה ואו הא
45.	Agiel.	Intelligence of Saturn.	אגיאל
45.	Zazel.	Daemon of Saturn.	זאזל

Divine names responding to the numbers of Jupiter.

4.	Abba.		אבא
16.			הוה
16.			אהי
34.	El Ab.		אל אב
136.	Iophiel.	Intelligence of Jupiter.	יהפיאל
136.	Hismael.	Daemon of Jupiter.	הסמאל

Names responding to the numbers of Mars.

5.	He, the letter of the holy name.		ה
25.			יהי
65.	Adonai.		אדני
325.	Graphiel.	Intelligence of Mars.	גראפיאל
325.	Barzabel.	Daemon of Mars.	ברצאבאל ²

2

Names responding to the numbers of the Sun.

6.	Vau, the letter of the holy name.		ו
6.	He extended, the letter of the holy name.		הא
36.	Eloh.		אלה
III.	Nachiel.	Intelligence of the Sun.	נכיאל
666.	Sorath.	Daemon of the Sun.	סורת

Names responding to the numbers of Venus.

7.			אדא
49.	Hagiel	Intelligence of Venus.	חגיאֵל
175. ³	Kedemel	Daemon of Venus.	קדמאֵל
1252. ⁴	Bne Seraphim	Intelligences of Venus. 3 , 4	בני שרפים

Names responding to the numbers of Mercury.

8.	Asboga. ⁵ Eight extended.		אזבוגה
64.	Din.		דין
64.	Doni.		דני
260.	Tieriel.	Intelligence of Mercury.	טיריאֵל
2080.	Taphthartharath.	Daemon of Mercury. 5	תפתרתרת

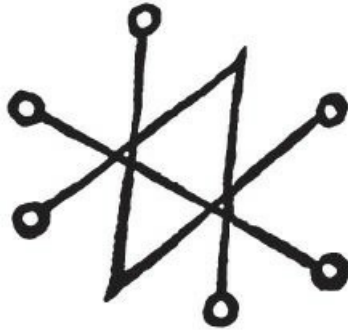
Names responding to the numbers of the Moon.

9.	Hod.		הד
81.	Elim.		אלים
369.	Hasmodi, Daemon of the Moon.		חשמודאי
3321.	Schedbarschemoth Schartathan.	Daemon of daemons of the Moon.	שדברשהמעט שרתתן
3321.	Malcha betharsisim hed beruah schehakim.	Intelligence of intelligences of the Moon.	מלכא בתרשיתים עד ברוח שחקים

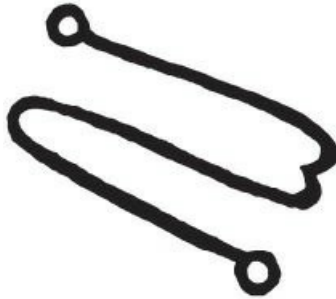
TABLE OF SATURN						
IN NUMBERS				IN HEBREW MARKS		
4	9	2		ד	ט	ב
3	5	7		ג	ה	ז
8	1	6		ח	א	ו

SEALS OR CHARACTERS

Saturn.



Intelligence of Saturn.



Daemon of Saturn.

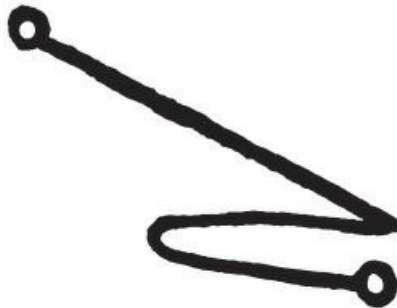
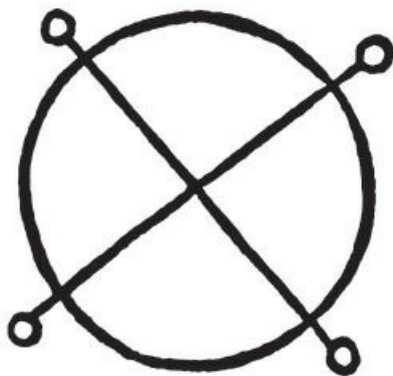
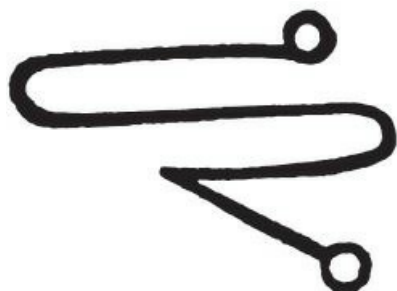


TABLE OF JUPITER								
IN NUMBERS.					IN HEBREW MARKS.			
4	14	15	1		ד	יד	טו	א
9	7	6	12		ט	ז	ו	יב
5	11	10	8		ה	יא	י	ח
16	2	3	13		ין	ב	ג	יג

Jupiter.



Intelligence of Jupiter.



Daemon of Jupiter.

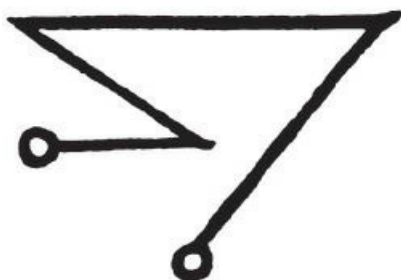
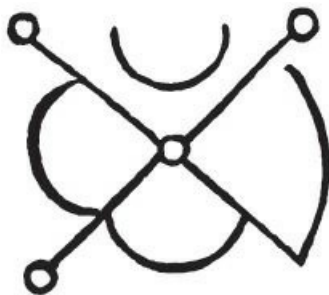


TABLE OF MARS										
IN NUMBERS.						IN HEBREW MARKS.				
11	24	7	20	3		יא	כד	ז	כ	ג
4	12	25	8	16		ד	יב	כה	ח	יו
17	5	13	21	9		יז	ה	יג	כא	ט
10	18	1	14	22		י	יח	א	יד	כב
23	6	19	2	15		כג	ו	יט	ב	יה

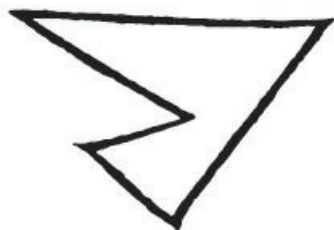
TABLE OF THE SUN											
IN NUMBERS.						IN HEBREW MARKS.					
6	32	3	34	35	1	ו	לב	ג	לד	לה	א
7	11	27	28	8	30	ז	יא	כז	כח	ח	ל
19	14	16	15	23	24	יט	יד	יו	יה	כג	כד
18	20	22	21	17	13	יח	כ	כב	כא	יז	יג
25	29	10	9	26	12	כה	כט	י	ט	כו	יב
36	5	33	4	2	31	לו	ה	לג ⁶	ד	ב	לא

6

Mars.



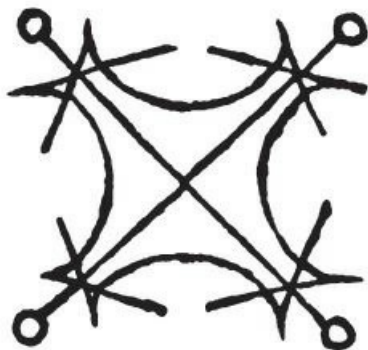
Intelligence of Mars.



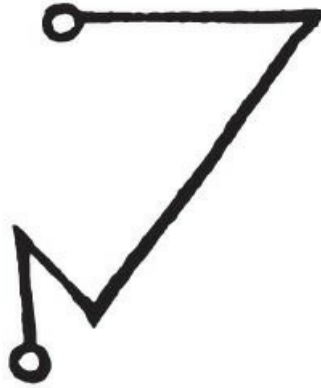
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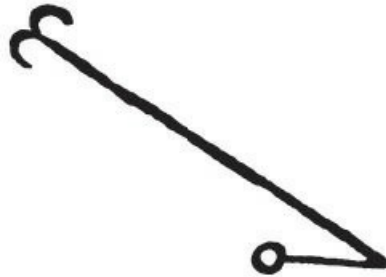
The Sun.



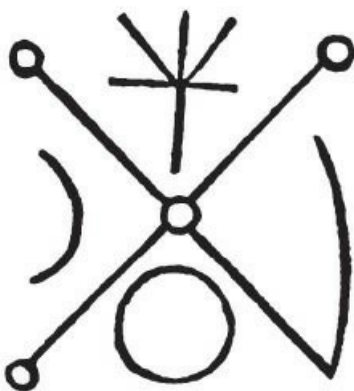
Intelligence of the Sun.



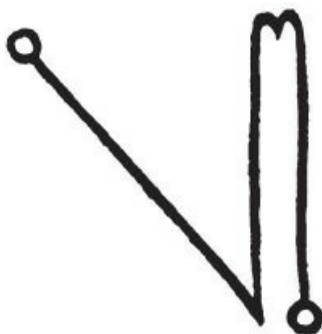
Daemon of the Sun.



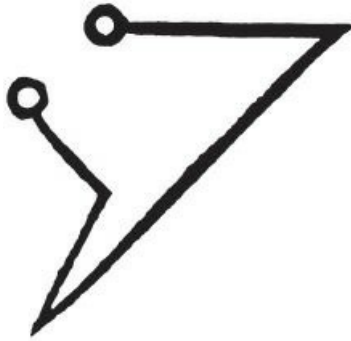
Venus.



Intelligence of Venus.



Daemon of Venus.



Intelligences of Venus.

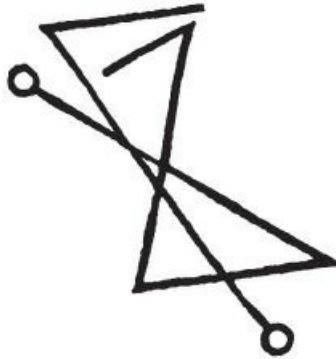


TABLE OF VENUS
IN NUMBERS.

22	47	16	41	10	35	4
5	23	48	17	42	11	29
30	6	24	49	18	36	12
13	31	7	25	43	19	37
38	14	32	1	26	44	20
21	39	8	33	2	27	45
46	15	40	9	34	3	28

TABLE OF VENUS
IN HEBREW MARKS.

כב	מז	יו	מא	י	לה	ד
ה	כג	מח	יז	מב	יא	כט
ל	ו	כד	מט	יח	לו	יב
יג	לא	ז	כה	מג	יט	לז
לח	יד	לב	א	כו	מד	כ
כא	לט	ח	לג	ב	כז	מה
מו	יה	מ	ט	לד	ג	כח

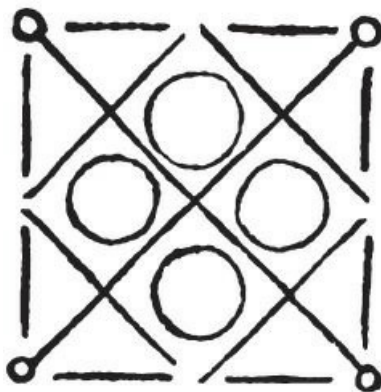
TABLE OF MERCURY IN NUMBERS.

8	58	59	5	4	62	63	1
49	15	14	52	53	11	10	56
41	23	22	44	45	19	18	48
32	34	35	29	28	38	39	25
40	26	27	37	36	30	31	33
17	47	46	20	21	43	42	24
9	55	54	12	13	51	50	16
64	2	3	61	60	6	7	57

TABLE OF MERCURY IN HEBREW MARKS.

ח	נח	נט	ה	ד	סב	סג	א
מט	יה	יד	נב	נג	יא	י	נו
מא	כג	כב	מד	מה	יט	יח	מח
לב	לד	לה	כט	כח	לח	לט	כה
מ	כו	כז	לז	לו	ל	לא	לג
יז	מז	מו	כ	כא	מג	מב	כד
ט	נה	נד	יב	יג	נא	נ	יו
סד	ב	ג	סא	ס	ו	ז	נז

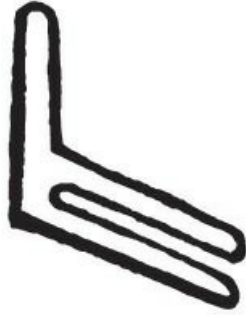
Mercury.



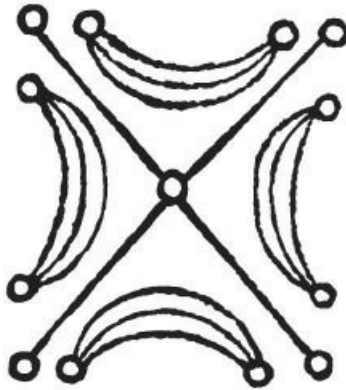
*Intelligence of Mercury.*⁷



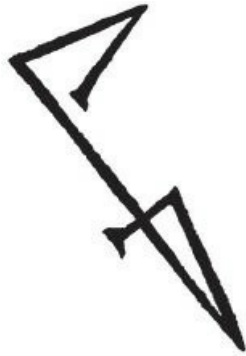
Daemon of Mercury.



The Moon.



*Daemon of the Moon.*⁹



Daemon of daemons of the Moon.



Intelligence of intelligences of the Moon.

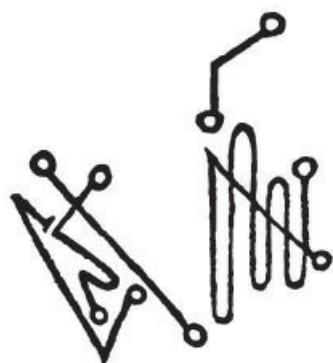


TABLE OF THE MOON
IN NUMBERS.

37	78	29	70	21	62	13	54 ⁸	5
6	38	79	30	71	22	63	14	46
47	7	39	80	31	72	23	55	15
16	48	8	40	81	32	64	24	56
57	17	49	9	41	73	33	65	25
26	58	18	50	1	42	74	34	66
67	27	59	10	51	2	43	75	35
36	68	19	60	11	52	3	44	76
77	28	69	20	61	12	53	4	45

TABLE OF THE MOON
IN HEBREW MARKS.

ה	מה	יג	סב	כא	ע	כט	עה	לז
מו	יד	סג	כב	עא	ל	עט	לח	ו
יה	נה	כג	עב	לא	פ	לט	ז	מז
נו	כד	סד	לב	פא	מ	ח	מח	יו
כה	סה	לג	עג	מא	ט	מט	יז	בז
סו	לד	עד	מב	א	נ	יח	נח	כו
לה	עה	מג	ב	נא	י	נט	כז	סז
עו	מד	ג	נב	יא	ס	יט	סח	לז
מה	ד	נג	יב	סא	כ	סט	כח	עז

Chapter 23

Of geometric figures and bodies, of what magical virtue they exert their influence, and which [figures] agree to each element and the heavens.

Geometric figures arising from numbers are thought to be no less powerful. From these, the circle especially responds to one and ten, for one is the center and circumference of all things. When [the digits of the number ten are] added, the numerical symbolism returns to one, from whence it began—the end and completion of all numbers.¹ The circle is said to be an infinite line, which has neither an end to or from it. Its beginning and end are at any point. From this, the circular motion is said to be infinite—indeed, not [infinite by] time but by place.

The circle is the most perfect figure.

Hence, the circular figure is the greatest and most powerful of all and is believed to be most suitable for bindings and exorcisms. [It is the figure] from where [magicians] often fortify themselves to adjure evil daemons. The pentagon,² with the wonderful virtue of the number five, has command over evil daemons: by its line, it has five obtuse angles within itself; outside, the five are five acute triangle hexagons.³ [These triangle hexagons] surround the interior pentagon, which holds great mysteries in itself. This must also be examined and understood from the other figures—the triangle, quadrangle, hexagon, heptagon, octagon, and the rest. They are constituted of multiple and different intersections, and they obtain different significations and virtues according to the diverse manner of drawing and proportion of lines and their number.

The figure of the cross is powerful.

But the Egyptians and the Arabs confirmed that the figure of the cross has the highest power of all celestial powers, and is the firmest receptacle of the intelligences, because it is the most right figure of all, it contains four right angles, and is the first delineation of all surfaces, having length and width. They say it unites with celestial fortitude because that fortitude results from the uprightness and rays of the angles.⁴ The stars are especially powerful when they hold the four angles in a celestial figure, and their rays extend to each other making a cross. Additionally (as we have shown above), [the cross] has a great harmony with the most powerful numbers—five, seven, and nine. The Egyptians and priests from the beginning of religion among sacred letters referred to it, allegorically signifying the life of future health. It was also

impressed on the breast of Serapis, and the Greeks had a great veneration of it⁵—however, this belongs in [the section] about religion, which we will discuss elsewhere.

One must pay attention to whatever wonderful operations are in figures. When we inscribe [figures] on paper, vellum, or on images, they do not act unless by the virtue that more sublime figures acquire by a certain love which comes from a natural aptitude or a similar agreement, inasmuch as they are precisely configured to these. It is just as when an echo is caused on the opposite wall, or when a concave mirror collects the rays of the Sun, which afterward reflect on the opposite body—which immediately burns, whether wood or other combustible. [We may compare how] a cithara causes reverberations in other citharas: [this will not happen] unless the similar figure is placed in view of its like. [It is like how when] two equally spaced strings on a lyre are plucked with the same proportionate tension one will suddenly shudder as the other vibrates.

The figures of the elements and heaven.

Likewise, the figures and characters of which we have spoken conceive whatever virtues from the celestial figure inasmuch as they are impressed on suitable things that [the celestials] rule, or inasmuch as they are made at the right time when a figure [is] conspiring and expressing toward its like figure.⁶ As these virtues are said to be from figures, thus they are also understood to be from geometrical bodies, which are the sphere, tetrahedron, hexahedron, octahedron, icosahedron, dodecahedron, and the like.

One should not disregard the figures that Pythagoras and his followers—Timaeus, Locrus, and Plato—assigned to the elements and celestials: for instance, earth is the cube, 8 solid angles, and 24 planes and 6 sides, squared in the form of a die; but fire is a pyramid with 4 triangular sides and as many solid angles and 12 planes; but to air is placed an octahedron, out of 8 triangular sides and 6 solid angles and 24 planes; finally to water is signified an icosahedron, 20 sides, and 12 solid angles; but dedicated to the heaven is the dodecahedron, having 12 pentagonal sides and 20 solid angles, but 60 planes.⁷

Earth. Fire. Air.

Water. Heaven.

But those who learn about the power of these figures and bodies, and their consideration and properties with each other, can work many wonderful things in natural and perspective⁸ magic—indeed, especially in mirrors. I have learned how to make these wonderful things and mirrors, in which one can see whatever they wish from a long distance.

Chapter 24

Of musical harmony, and its strength and power.

Musical harmony is not void of gifts from the stars. Indeed, it is the most powerful imitator¹ of everything. Since it appropriately follows celestial bodies, it wonderfully provokes celestial influences and affects all listeners, [shaping their] intentions, gestures, movements, and actions. Customs are changed, and their qualities are suddenly provoked.² [They are moved] to joy or lamentation, towards boldness or tranquillity, and the like. Beasts, serpents, birds, and dolphins are provoked when hearing melodies. Thus, pipes allure birds and capture stags; fish are restrained in a lake in Alexandria by rattling; [musical] chords persuade friendship between dolphins and men; songs from a cithara induce Hyperborean swans; Indian elephants are charmed by the voices of organs.³

The elements themselves also delight in melodies.⁴ The Halesian⁵ fountain, otherwise tranquil and quiet, jumps up and rises over its banks when a flute is sounded.⁶ In Lydia, there are what are called the isles of nymphs. From the singing of a flute, [the nymphs] immediately go to the middle of a lake and dance in a circular motion, afterward returning to the shore. M. Varro wrote that he saw this himself.

There are some things more wonderful than these. For instance, on the Attica shore, in the sea there are sounds like a cithara. There are certain stones in Megaris that make [the sound of] a lyre with each strike.⁷ Such is the great power of music. Indeed, it soothes the soul, stimulates the mind, incites warriors to battle, and soothes the labor and fatigue of every work. It calls back the lapsed and desperate and comforts travelers. Arabs say that camels carrying loads are comforted by their leader's singing. In a similar way, those carrying heavy loads sing because it enables and lightens them.

Songs of praise.

Indeed, songs enable and delight labors, soften anger, delight sadness and anxiety, pacify discord, temper raging madness, and dissipate false thinking. Hence, Democritus and Theophrastus affirmed that some sicknesses of the body and mind are thus either cured or caused; thus, we read that Terpander and Arion of Methymna cured sick people in Lesbos and Ionia, and Ismenias cured very many gravely ill Thebans by shaking them with singing. Additionally, Orpheus, Amphion, David, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Asclepiades, and Timotheus often caused certain wonders with singing and sounds. Indeed, when lethargic, familiar melodies excite the dull mind, and playful tones restrain madness and anger. Thus, David held back the fury of Saul with his cithara, Pythagoras called back the immoderate adolescent from lust, and Timotheus excited King Alexander into a frenzy and again held him back.⁸

Saxo Grammaticus wrote in *Danish History* of a certain musician who had such a power that they could drag anyone into a frenzy of madness with sounds of little melodies, as none of the listeners' minds

could agree with these. Whenever he was compelled to perform by the king's order, he attempted to change the intellects [of the listeners] by a variety of sounds. With a high singing of unusual severity, he first filled the listeners with a kind of sadness and numbness, then with more vigorous sounds. They stood with him applauding with delighted minds and bodies, wantonly moving, gesturing, and bending. Finally, in a sharper manner, he rapidly stirred a great spirit of fury, as a frenzy to madness, proceeding to rashness.⁹

We also read that in Apulia, when those who were touched by a venomous spider became stupefied and layed down as if dead, each of the listeners rose when hearing certain sounds and danced to the rhythm,, afterward growing stronger. If after a long time they heard a similar sound, they would be quickly moved to dance.¹⁰ It is believed, as Gellius wrote, that a flute melody lessens the pain for those who are ill with a great hip pain. It is also written by Theophrastus that viper bites are cured by a flute melody, and Democritus acknowledged that flute harmonies are a medicine for many illnesses of men.¹¹

Chapter 25

Of sound and harmonies, and from where their wonderfulness in operation comes.

If we agree with Pythagoras and Plato that the heavens are harmoniously composed, governed, and accomplished by harmonious tones and motions, we will not deny that sounds have a virtue for receiving celestial gifts. However, the sounds of singing are more powerful than instruments, inasmuch as harmonious singing is conceived from the mind and powerful fantasies, moved from the heart, and then scattered by air. The temperate air of the listener's spirit, which is the bond of the soul and the body, easily penetrates and transfers the affection and intellect of the singer and moves the disposition of the listener by its affection. Fantasy affects fantasy, and intellect does likewise to intellect. Likewise, [song affects] the beating of the heart, enters the inner mind, and slowly influences their character. It moves members and stops the humors of the body.¹ Hence, it confers such a great harmony by moving the affections that not only natural but also artificial and vocal harmonies bring strength to the soul and body.²

But it is necessary that all harmonies come from appropriate foundations: either from stringed instruments, pipes, or vocals, if they should come together as one. Nor indeed should one make the roaring of a lion, the lowing of an ox, the neighing of a horse, the bellowing of an ass, or the grunting of a pig, nor would a stringed instrument made from the sinews of a wolf and lamb [together] be brought into any harmony, because their foundations are dissonant.

Yet the voices of many and diverse men agree because they are of a single species and have a foundation, just as many birds agree because their species are related to each other and are tokens to their superior. Artificial instruments and natural voices agree because they are either similar, true and imitative, or have a certain analogy.³

But all harmonies are sounds or voices. Sounds are a breath, voice is a sound and animated breath,⁴ and conversation is breath with sound and voice signifying something, whose breath with sound and voice proceed from the mouth. Chalcidius said that voice is sent from the inner place of the breast and heart and sent out by the shining spirit, where sinews overgrow, separating the heart from the lungs and other vitals, where the pulsating narrow passage of the pharynx forms the tongue and other vocal organs producing distinct sounds. The elements of speech are indeed the interpreters uncovering the mind's arcane motions.⁵ However, Lactantius said that the voice has a very obscure reasoning, as it is not entirely comprehended as to how or why it happens.⁶

Where music is located.

Finally, all music is contained in voice, sound, and hearing. Sound without air cannot be heard since

while air is necessary to be able to hear, air by itself is not audible, nor can any senses touch it, unless by accident. Indeed, sight cannot see unless [things] are colored, nor things heard unless with sound, nor smell unless with scent, nor tasted unless with taste, nor touched unless hot or cold, or the like.

Therefore, although sound is impossible without air, sound is not of the nature of air, nor air of the nature of sound, but the body of life of our sensitive spirit arises from air and is not of the nature of any sensitive object, but of the more simple and other virtues. The sensitive soul should vivify the air joined to it. In vivifying and joining with spirit, air perceives the species of objects placed in action and those vivified in air: these are visible in diaphanous and subtle species, in common [they are audible], in gross species [they are with] other senses.

Chapter 26

Of the agreement of [sounds and harmonies] with the celestials, and how each harmony of sound responds to each star.

Now, you must know that of the seven planets, Saturn, Mars, and the Moon have more of a voice than the harmonies of the rest. Saturn has sad, hoarse, grave, and slow voices that sound as if he were restricted to the center. However, Mars is crude, sharp, threatening, swift, and angry. Among all of these, the Moon observes the middle. But Jupiter, the Sun, Venus, and Mercury have harmonies: yet Jupiter has grave, steady, eager, sweet, cheerful, and pleasant harmonies. The Sun has the venerable, eager, pure, and with sweet grace. Venus has the playful, luxurious, soft, delightful, publicly dissolute, and wide. However, Mercury has relaxed and changeable harmonies, happy, pleasant, and with a certain strenuousness.¹

But particular harmonies and proportional tones obey the nine Muses; Jupiter has the grace of the octave and fifth—namely, the diapason with *diapente*. The Sun has the melody of the octave voice—namely, the diapason—and likewise through fifteenth tones a *disdiapason*. Venus has the grace of the fifth voice—namely, the *diapente*. Mercury has the *diatessaron*—namely, the grace of a fourth.²

Additionally, the ancients tensed the *tetrachord*³ like the number of elements. Mercury invented the four chords, as Nicomachus wrote, with the *hypate*⁴ being earth, the *parhypate* or middle⁵ note was water, the highest or *diezeugmenon* or *hyperbolaeos* is fire, *paranete*⁶ or *synemmenon* is assigned to air. However, Terpander of Lesbos later discovered seven chords, those equaling the number of planets.⁷

Additionally, they said that four kinds of music followed the four elements and agreed with the four humors, and thought that Dorian agreed with water and phlegm, Phrygian with choler and fire, Lydian with sanguine and air, and Mixolydian with black bile and earth. Others respecting the number and virtue of the celestials assigned Dorian for the Sun, Phrygian for Mars, Lydian for Jupiter, Mixolydian for Saturn, Hypophrygian for Mercury, Hypolydian for Venus, Hypodorian for the Moon, and Hypomixolydian for the starry heaven.

These modes of harmony also refer to the Muses and strings with the heavens, but not in the order that we have written of the nine Muses among numbers and celestial souls. They say the muse Thalia has no harmony, is silent, and is appointed to earth. Clio is appointed to the Hypodorian Moon and the chord *proslambanomenos*.⁸ Calliope holds the Hypophrygian Mercury and *hypate hypaton*. Terpsichore with Hypolydian Venus and *parhypate hypaton*. Melpomene is joined with the Dorian Sun and *lichanos hypaton*. Erato observes Phrygian Mars and *hypate meson*. Euterpe agrees with Lydian Jupiter and *parhypate meson*. Polyhymnia protects Mixolydian Saturn and *lichanos meson*. Urania and the starry heaven are appointed to the Hypomixolydian mode and the chord *meses*;⁹ which we read thus in the

following verses:

*She spouts in the first nocturnal silences with a song,
Thalia who lies in the muffled womb of the earth.
Persephone and Clio breathe, therefore hypodorian
Is born, hence rising it begets prosmeledes.*¹⁰
*The next hypochord is granted Phrygian, who Calliope
produced, bringing forth the interpreter god.
The third string is revealed, introducing Hypolydian,
Which Terpsichore meets, ordaining the nourishing Paphos.
Melpomene and Titan are set up I believe in the manner, which
Is said to be the fourth-place Dorian.
Erato prescribes the fifth string Phrygian,
To Mars likewise having no peace, always loving war.
Euterpe has Jupiter and the Lydian melody,
Holding the sweetness which is the sixth chord.
In the seventh string, Saturn acts with Polyhymnia,
Ruling the Mixolydian which it captured.
Urania is the eighth while searching for her friend
Hypomixolydian turns near the Pole.*¹¹

Also, there are several who find the harmonies of the heavens from their distance from each other; for that space that lies between the Earth and Moon—namely, 126,000 Italian *stadia*¹²—makes an interval of a tone. However, from the Moon to Mercury, being half of that space makes a semitone. It is just as much from that to Venus making another semitone. But from there to the Sun is as it were a threefold and a half tone makes a *diapente*. From the Moon to the Sun is twice as much and a half making a *diatessaron*. However, from the Sun to Mars is again as much of an interval as from the Earth to the Moon, making a tone. From there to Jupiter is half that, making another semitone. It is just as much from there to Saturn, also making a semitone. From there to the starry orb again has space of a semitone lying between them. Therefore, from the Sun to the starry orb has a *diatessaron* interval of two and a half tones. However, from the Earth to the end is a *diapason* of six whole tones.

The proportion of the planets' motion about each other and the eighth heaven makes the sweetest harmony of all.¹³ The proportion of the motion of Saturn to Jupiter is twice and a half, Jupiter to Mars is one and a half times,¹⁴ that to the Sun, Venus, and Mercury, who journey equally, are proportionally doubled, those to the Moon are twelvefold, but Saturn to the starry orb is 1,200—if what Ptolemy said is true, heaven moves contrary to the *Primum Mobile* in a hundred years to one degree.¹⁵

Therefore, the particular motion of the Moon makes a swifter and sharper sound than the starry orb,

which makes slower and deeper sound; but the violent motion of the *Primum Mobile* is the swiftest and sharpest of all, and the Moon is the slowest and most grave. This proportionate motion and reciprocation gives the sweetest harmony.¹⁶ Hence, no songs, sounds, and musical instruments are more powerful in moving a man's affections and inducing magical impressions than those composed from numbers, measures, and proportions according to their celestial equals.

The elements are also elicited from their bases and angles, of which we have spoken earlier: since between fire and water there is a double proportion of their bases and one and a half in solid angles and again double in planes, then a twofold harmony *diapason* and *diapente* arise. Between air and water, there is a double and a half proportion in their bases¹⁷ (from which is *diapason* and *diapente*), but the angles are double (from which again is *diapason*). But between water and earth is a proportion of three and a third¹⁸ in bases (from which rise *diapason*, *diapente*, and *diatessaron*), however in angles, one and a half (again constituting a *diapente*). Again, between the proportions of earth and fire, is one and a half times in bases (making a *diapente*) but double angles (constituting a *diapason*). Between fire and water, and between air and earth, they fail to achieve concord since among these there is a complete contrariety in their qualities. However, they are able to agree through an intervening element.¹⁹

Chapter 27

Of the proportion, measure, and harmony of the human body.

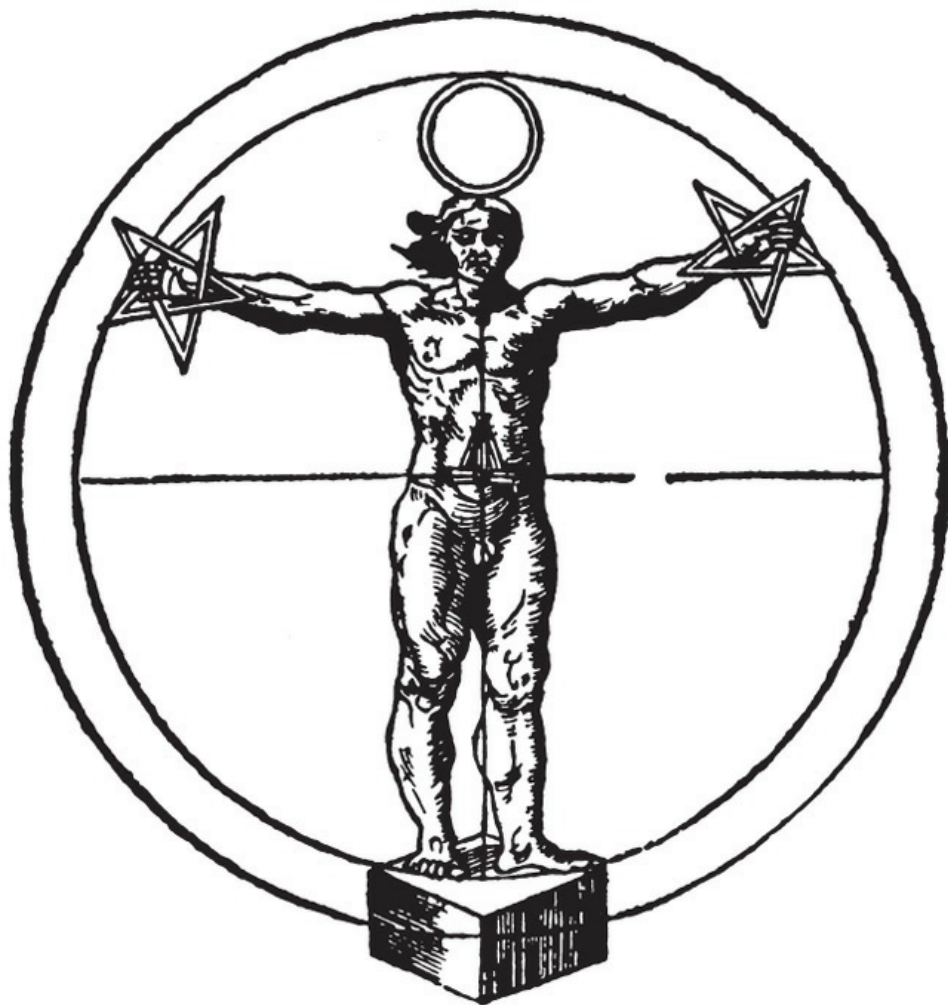
Man, because he is the most beautiful work of God, is His image. Man is the lesser world, and is, therefore, the most perfect composition and sweetest harmony. He is the most sublime dignity, containing and sustaining in himself all numbers, measures, weights, motions, and elements. Everything else is composed in him as if by a supreme art, pursuing a certain fate more supreme and beyond all common harmonies than in other compositions.

Numbers and measures are found in human joints.

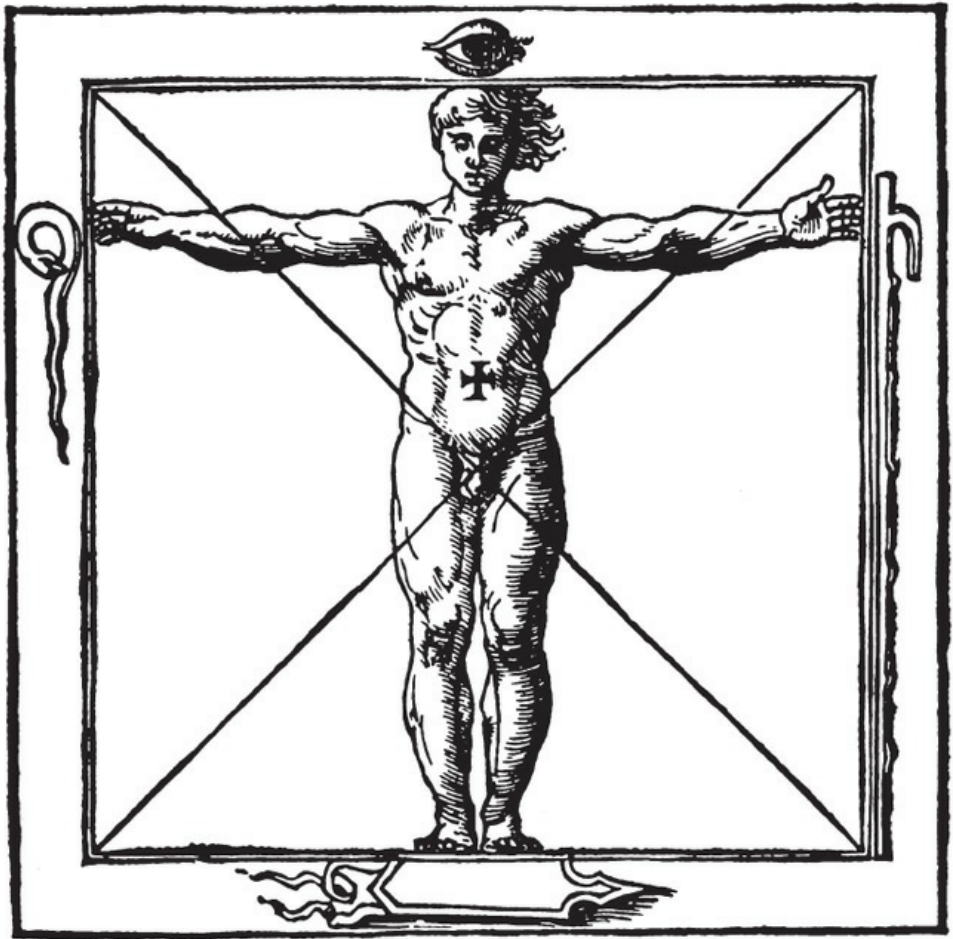
Hence, the ancients once counted and indicated numbers with their fingers, and they seem to have proved that all numbers, measures, proportions, and harmonies are found in the joints of the human body. Accordingly, temples, shrines, houses, theaters, ships, and machines, every kind of skill, artifice, and buildings, and each of their parts (for example columns, capitals, pedestals, aisles, stylobates,¹ and others of this kind), all share and are deduced from the symmetry of the human body. This is why God taught Noah how to make the ark from the measure of the human body: He made the entire scheme of the world symmetrical to the human body, and hence it is called the great world, while the human body is called the lesser.

Therefore, of the microcosm, some people measure the human body by six feet—that is, a foot by ten degrees and each degree by five minutes. From this is counted 60 degrees, which makes 300 minutes and is equal to an entire geometrical cube. This is described in the ark of Moses. Hence, as the human body is 300 minutes in length, 50 in width, and 30 in height, the length of the ark [of Noah] was 300 cubits, 50 wide, and 30 in height.² In both places the length and width was sixfold³ in proportion, in height tenfold, and the width and height about two thirds. In a similar way, the symmetries of all members [of the body] are proportionate, agree, and are appropriate with the members of the world and measures of the Archetype. There is no member in man that does not respond to some sign, star, intelligence, or divine name in the Archetype, which is God Himself.

The rounded measure of the entire body, coming to a circle, is able to stretch toward it.⁴



Also, the squared measure is the most proportional body—that is, if a man stands erect with his arms spread and feet together, he makes an equilateral square, whose center is in the lower pubis.

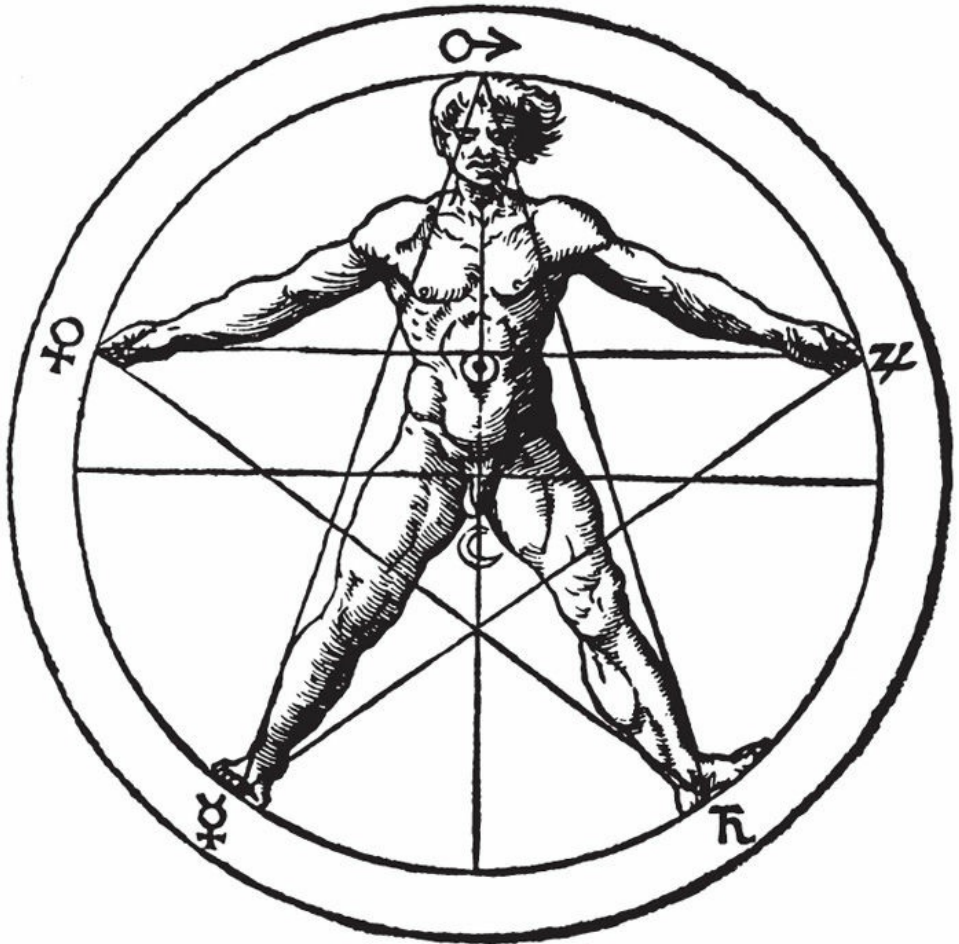


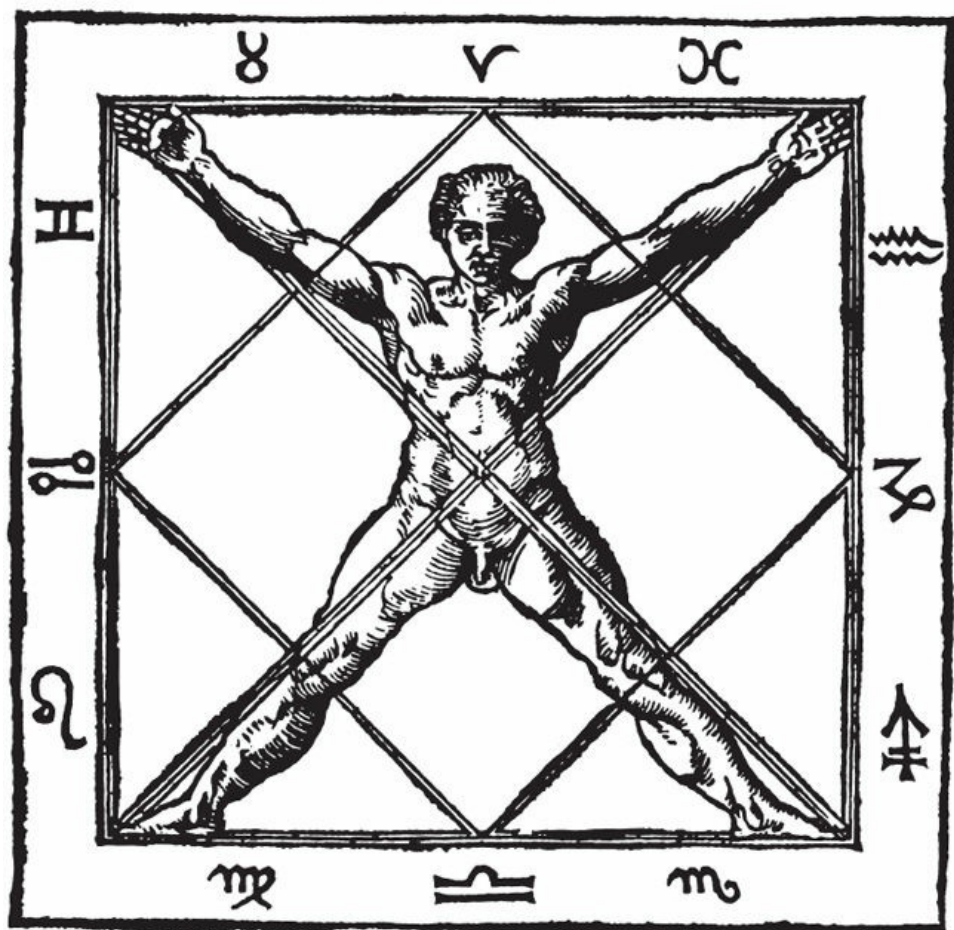
If a circle is made over the same center from the top of the head, with the arms lowered until the ends of the fingers touch the circumference of the circle, and the feet are spread in that same circumference as far as the tips of the fingers distant from the top of the head and the center of the circle placed over the lower pubis and divided into five equal parts, then that circle constitutes a perfect pentagram and the heels of the feet make a perfect equilateral triangle with the navel.

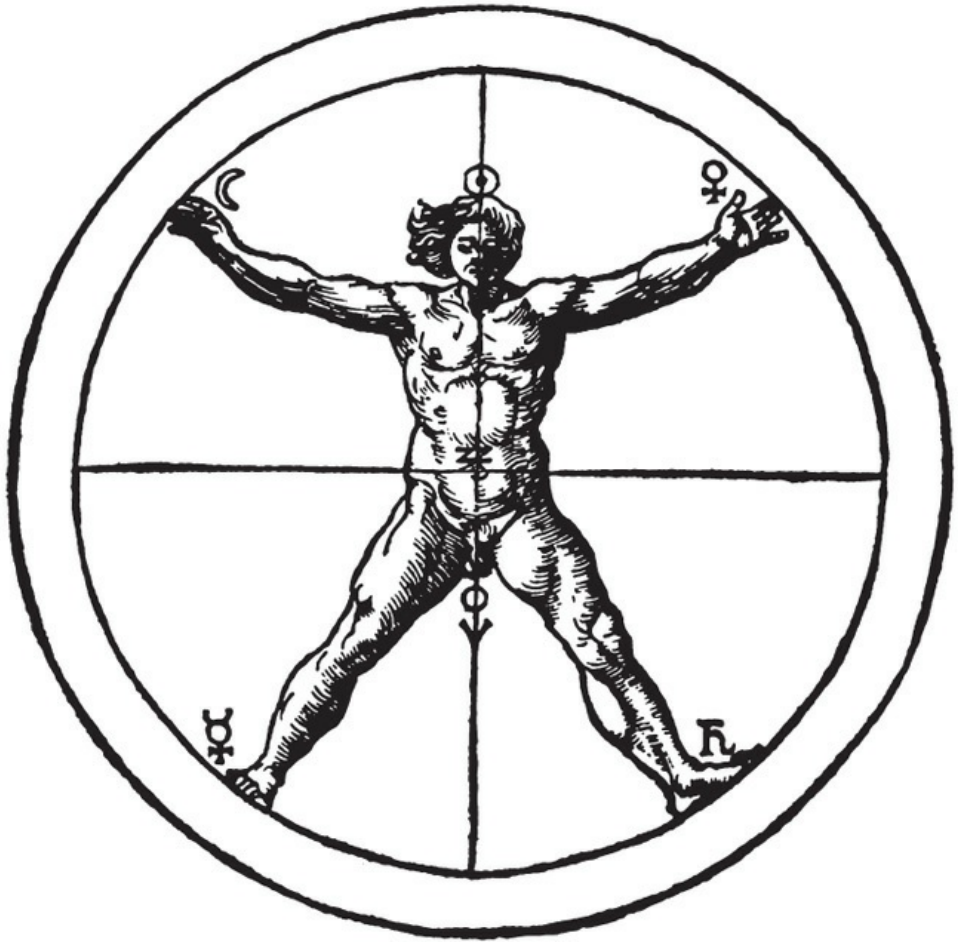
If the heels are not moved, with the left and right feet stretched on each side and the hands elevated to a line above the head, then the tips of the fingers and toes make an equilateral square, whose center is above the navel in the middle the body.

If the hands are thus elevated, and the feet and legs are spread in this manner where a man is

If the hands are extended high over the head with the elbow equal to the crown of the head and the man stands with his feet together, placed into an equilateral square by the extremes of his hands and feet, then the center of that square is in the navel, and that same center is between the top of the head and the knees.

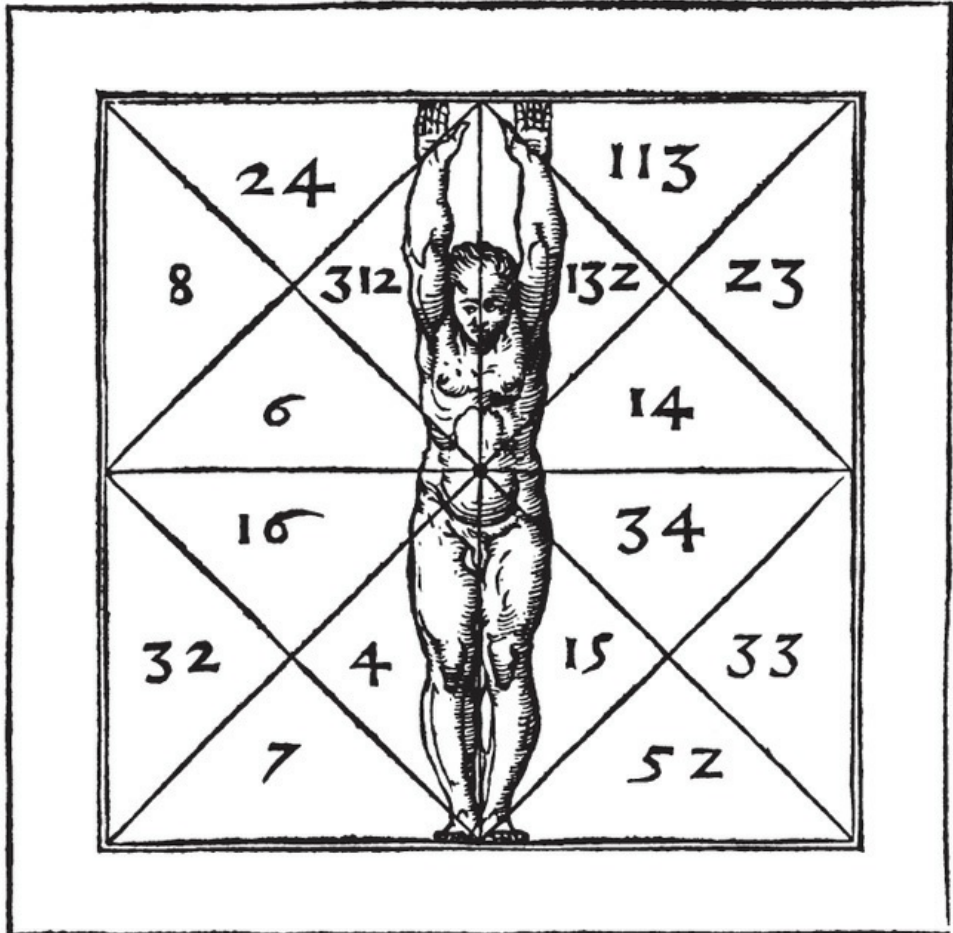






Now we come to particular measures: encircling a man under his armpits is the central point of his length, whose middle is the lower pubis. However, up to the middle of the breast between each nipple and from the middle of the breast to the top of the head in both places is a fourth part. Similarly, from the lower pubis to under the knees, to the ends of the feet in man is a fourth part. The width from the end of one shoulder to the other is [also a fourth part]. It is the same length from the elbow to the end of the long finger and is therefore called a *cubit*.⁵ Hence, four cubits constitute the length of a man; however, the width of the shoulders is one cubit, but encircling it is one foot. A cubit is made up of six palms, but a foot is four [palms], four fingers a palm, and the entire length of a man is twenty-four palms, six feet, ninety-six fingers. From the pubis to the top of the breast is six parts in length.⁶ From the top of the

breast to the top of the forehead and the roots of the hair is a seventh⁷ part in length. A strong and well-squared body is six feet long, but a taller is seven. As Varro and Gellius testify, a human body cannot exceed seven feet in height.⁸



Finally, the diameter of the waist is the [same] space as the heel of a hand to the inner folding of the elbow. From the breast to the top of the nipples to the top lip, or downward to the navel, and which between the ends of the bones at the top of the breast surrounding the throat and which from the soles of the feet to the end of the calf,⁹ and from there to the kneecap, are all coequal and constitute a seventh of the total height.

The head of a man from the bottom of the chin to the top of the head is an eighth part of his length. This is the same as the length from the elbow to the end of the shoulder. It is the same as the diameter of the waist of a tall man.

The circle of the head, from the top of the forehead to the bottom of the base of the back of the head, makes a fifth part of the total length [of the body]. This is identical with the width of his breast.

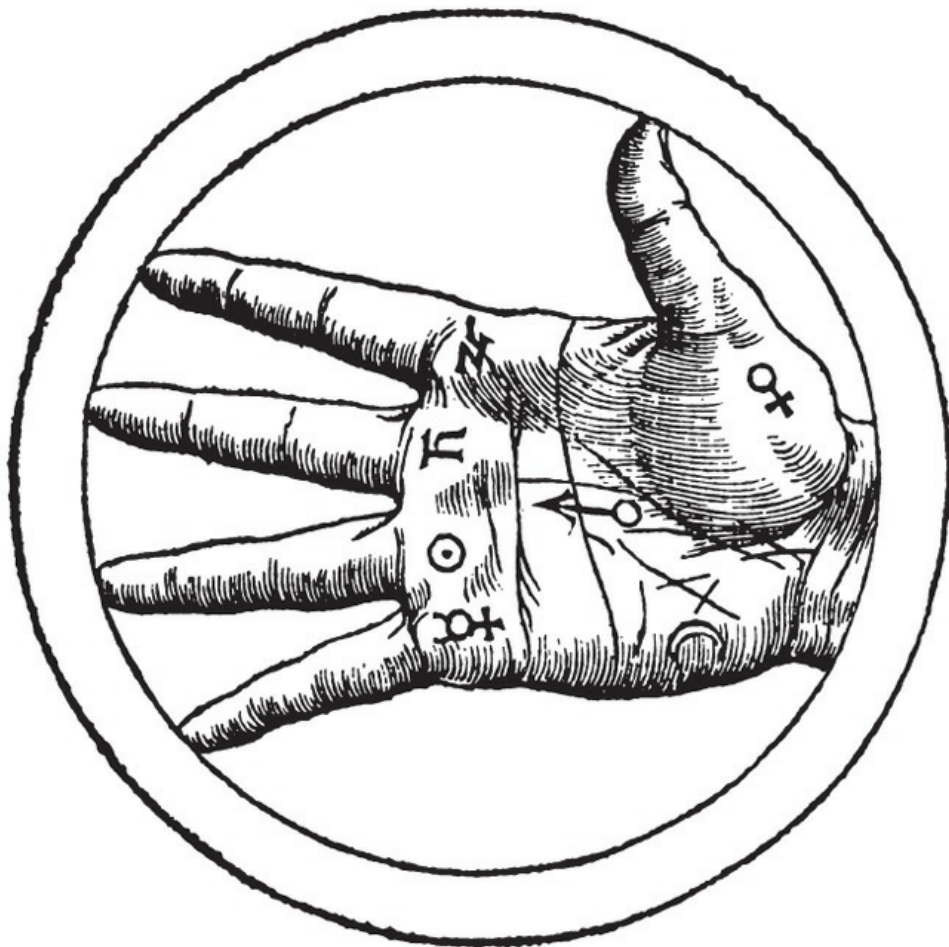
Nine faces constitute a squared and well-set man; however, a tall man is ten. Therefore, the length of a man is shared in nine portions, the face from the top of the forehead to the end of the chin is one. Then from the bottom of the throat or top of the breast to the top of the stomach is another. From there to the navel is the third; from there to the bottom of the thigh is the fourth; from the hip to the knees constitutes two; from there to the ankle of the foot and leg gives two others, [the total] of all of these parts is eight. Similarly, the curve from the top of the forehead to the top of the head, and then from the chin to the top of the breast and throat, and also from the ankle to the sole of the foot: these three spaces connected make nine. Likewise, the width of the breast has two parts and [totaling the length of] each arm [makes] seven.

However, ten faces constitute the body, these being the most proportional. Therefore, of these, the first portion is from the top of the head to the bottom of the nose. From there to the top of the breast is the second. Consequently, to the top of the stomach is the third. From there to the navel is the fourth. From there to the bottom of the pubis is the fifth, which is the middle of the length of man. From there to the ends of the soles are another five parts, which joined to the first together make ten; hence, all bodies are measured by the most proportionate equal measurement.

The face of man from the bottom of the chin to the top of the forehead and the bottom of the roots of the hair is a one-tenth part. From the heel of a man's hand to the end of his longest finger is also one part. Also, between the points of both nipples is one part. From each [of those] to the bottom of the throat makes an equilateral triangle. The width of the lower forehead, from one ear to the other, is one part. The total width of the breast—namely, from the top of the breast to where the shoulders join in both places—is one part, which makes two. The circle of the head, moving across the gap of the eyebrows from the forehead all the way to end of the back of the head where the hair ends, is also two parts. From the outside of the upper arm to the joints of the hands, and the inside from armpits to the borders of the palms and fingers is three parts. The circle of the head through the middle of the forehead has three parts. The circle of the waist has four parts in a strong man, but a delicate body has three and a half parts, or of such size as from the top of the breast to the lower pubis. The circle of the breast through the armpits to the back has five parts—that is, as much total length as the middle. From the top of the head to the Adam's apple is two-thirteenths¹⁰ of the entire height. If the arms are lifted high, the elbows are at the top of the head.

Now we will see how the rest of the symmetries are equal to each other: the distance from the chin to the top of the breast is as much as the width of the neck.¹¹ The distance from the top of the breast to the navel is as much as the circumference of the neck.¹² The distance from the chin to crown of the head is as much as the width of the waist. The distance from between the eyes to the bottom of the nose is as much as from the bottom of the throat to the chin. The distance from the top of the nose to the chin is as much as from the top throat to the bottom. From between the eyes to the inner corner of the eye socket and the top of the projection of the nose, and from the bottom of the nose to the end of the upper lip, are three equals among each other. From the top of the nail of the index finger to the bottom joint, and the place where the hand is joined to the arm on the outside, and likewise on the inside from the top of the nail of the middle finger to the bottom joint and the bottom of the hand, all are proportionally equal to each

other.



The larger joint on the index finger is equal to the height of the forehead. The remaining two to the end of the nail are equal to the nose—that is, from between the eyes at the top of the nose to the bottom, and the largest joint in the middle finger is equal to that space, which is from the bottom of the nose to the end of the chin. The second joint on the middle finger is as much as from the bottom of the chin to the top of the bottom lip. However, the third is as much as from the mouth to the end of the nose, but the entire hand is as great as the entire face.

The greater joint on the thumb is as much as the opening of the mouth and what is from the bottom

of the chin to the top of the lower lip. However, the smaller [joint] is as much as from the top of the bottom lip to the end of the nose. The ends [joints] of all the fingers, which are called *onychios*, have the nails at their center points.

From between the eyes to the outside corner of the eye is as much as from that corner to the beginning of the ears. The height of the forehead, the length of the nose, and the width of the mouth through the top lip are equal to each other. Likewise, the width of the palms and feet are equal. The height that is from the bottom of the ankle to the top of the feet is equal to the length that is from the top of the feet to the end of the nail. From the top of the forehead to the gap between the eyes, and from there to the bottom of the nose, and then to the end of the chin are equal parts. The juncture of the eyebrows is equal to the circles of the eyes, and the semicircle of the ear is equal to the opening of the mouth: thus, the circles of the eyes, ears, and opening of the mouth are equal. The width of the nose is as much as the length of the eye: hence that space which is between the ends of both eyes—the eyes having two parts, not counting the third [distance the width of an eye] which takes up the middle of the nose.¹³

From the top of the head to the knees makes the navel the center. From the top of the breast to the bottom of the nose makes the Adam's apple the center. The eyes are placed in the center from the top of the head to the bottom of the chin. The bottoms of the ears are in the center from the space between the eyes to the end of the chin. The end of the bottom lip is the center from the bottom of the nose to the bottom of the chin. The same distance is a third part from the bottom of the nose to the top lip.

All of these measures are through many proportions and well-balanced harmonies that agree with each other: for instance, the largest finger—which is the thumb—is to the end of the arm¹⁴ at the pulse and joint of the hand a two and a half proportion in a circular measure¹⁵; indeed, this is two and a half, as five is to two. However, the relation [of the wrist] to the upper arm near the shoulder is threefold. The size of the shin is to that of the arm a proportion of one and a half, as three is to two. It is a similar proportion for the neck to the shin as that to the arm. The proportion of the hip to the arm is threefold. The proportion of the entire body to the trunk is nine-eighths. From the trunk or upper body to the leg, all the way to the soles of the feet, is four thirds. The breast from the neck to the navel, to loin or womb all the way to the trunk is double. The width of that to width of the hip is one and a half. From the head to the neck is threefold. Likewise, the head to the knee is threefold, and the same to the thigh and shoulder.¹⁶ The length of the forehead between the temples is quadruple the height.

These are the measures that are found everywhere, with which the members of the human body according to the length, width, height, and circumference agree. They are in harmony with each other and with the heavens themselves. All of these numbers share many proportions, fractions, or mixtures, from which results a many-layered harmony. Indeed, a double proportion makes three *diapasons*, a quadruple twice a *diapason*, and *diapente*. In the same way, the elements, qualities, complexions, and humors are proportional: for these weights of humors and complexions are assigned to a healthy and well-composed man. They are as follows: for blood eight, phlegm four, choler two, and melancholy one. In both places are in a double proportion through the order, but the first [humor] to the third and second to the fourth are quadrupled, but the first to the last are eightfold.¹⁷

Dioscorides wrote that the heart of a man in the first year weighs two drachmas, in the second four, and from there throughout the course in the fiftieth year weighs 100 drachmas. After that, it again decreases until it counts up to an equilibrium. The circuit being completed, it returns to the first limit, not surpassing the space of life from the decay of that organ. For this reason, 100 years is the length of life limited to man.¹⁸ As Pliny writes, this also was believed by the Egyptians.¹⁹

Also, the motion of the human members correspond to the motion of the celestials, and each man has in himself the motion of the heart, which responds to the motion of the Sun, diffusing through the arteries throughout the entire human body. This indicates to us most certain years, months, days, hours, and moments. Additionally, anatomists know of a certain nerve around the *micram*,²⁰ when thus pulled makes all the members of man move, as if each moved by their own movement. Aristotle thought that God moves the members of the world [by an analogous mechanism].²¹ In the neck there are veins, which divide from the throat and enter the head. When [these are] strongly pressed, the man soon collapses and loses his senses until [the veins are] released.

The eternal Maker of the world sends out the soul into the body, just as if it were a house: first, [this house is] made worthy for lodging, and gives [the soul] the noblest intellect and most beautiful body. Then the mind itself, conscious of its own divinity, molds and adorns [this house] for its own character. Hence, the people of Ethiopia who were ruled by wise Gymnosophists (as written by Aristotle), did not create kings by their strength and wealth, but by their most beautiful and most excellent form. This was because they observed that [the kings'] magnificent minds were in turn copied to their bodies.²² Many ancient and recent philosophers have considered this, and probed into the secret causes of nature hidden in its majesty. They boldly asserted that there were no faults and disproportions in the body, which the fault and intemperance of the mind did not follow, because it is certain that they emerge and unify and operate with each other.

Chapter 28

Of the composition and harmony of the human soul.

Just as the concord of the body must agree in the measure and proportion of its members, thus the concord of the mind must agree in the temperament and proportion of their virtues and operations, which are the concupiscible, irascible, and reason. All of these are thus proportionate to each other:¹ reason to concupiscence has a proportion of *diapason*, but to anger of *diatesseron*, but anger to desire has a proportion of *diapente*.²

Therefore, when the most proportionate body is joined to the likewise most proportionate soul, the man is of such agreement, that gifts are given to him and the happiest fate is allotted to him, according to how the agreement of the soul is naturally disposed with the body. Indeed, this agreement is hidden, yet it is somewhat outlined by the wise.

But hurrying back to the harmony of the soul, we must search to those mediums that pass above us—namely, from the celestial bodies and spheres. By knowing which powers of the soul respond to which planets (a subject discussed above) we should easily recognize their agreements with each other.³ Indeed, the Moon rules the power of increase and decrease; Mercury the power of fantasy and ingenuity; Venus the concupiscible virtue; the Sun vitality; Mars impulsiveness and anger; natural [virtues] are assigned to Jupiter; from Saturn [come] all receptive [virtues].⁴ The will [belongs] to the *Primum Mobile*, leading all powers as it pleases and joining with the superior intellect, always with good intentions. Indeed, the intellect shows its way to the will as a light to the eye; yet it does not move by itself but awaits the mistress of its operations, which is why it is called free will. Although it always tends toward good as an object equal to itself, it is yet sometimes blinded by error, and is impelled to the animal powers and chooses evil believing it is good.

Free will.

Therefore, free will is defined as a faculty of the intellect and will, where good is chosen by grace and evil is deferred. Therefore, grace—which is what theologians call charity infused by love—is in will as a prime mover so that the entire harmony slips into dissonance when absent.⁵ Additionally, the soul corresponds to earth through sense, water through imagination, air through reason, the heavens through the intellect.⁶ And the soul arises from that harmony according to how these [elements] are tempered in the mortal body.

Therefore, the wise ancients recognized that the harmonious dispositions of the body and soul are diverse according to the different complexions of men. It was not in vain that they used musical sounds and songs for preserving the health of the body and restoring what was lost. They also used such things for uniting minds so that they returned to a healthy state and restored the man thus tempered to the

celestial harmony and the entire heavens. Also, there is nothing more effective for chasing away evil daemons than musical harmonies: those who fell from heaven are an enemy to true agreement and are unable to support it and flee from those harmonies. It is just as when David held back the wicked spirit from the raving Saul with his cithara. Hence, the ancient prophets and fathers, who recognized these sacred harmonies, brought in singing and musical sounds in their sacred duties.⁷

Chapter 29

That the observation of the celestials is necessary in all magical operations.

Indeed, every natural virtue acts more wonderfully when not only composed of a physical virtue but also observing a celestial suitably chosen for this¹—that is, when the power of an approved celestial is strongest for such an effect that we desire; then it is also shaped with many celestials helping and subjecting the inferior celestials, just as individual females everywhere are made fertile for their males.²

Therefore, in any operation, the place, motion, and aspect of the stars and planets in signs, degrees, and qualities are observed—all according to the longitude and latitude of the climate.³ Indeed, it is from these various qualities of the angles that the rays of the celestial bodies are described over the thing, and according to which qualities the virtues of the celestials are thereby infused.

What must be observed in any operation.

Thus, often when making an operation concerning some planet, you must place it in its fortunate and powerful dignities, in its day and hour, and dominating the figure of heaven.⁴

How a planet must be observed.

Nor should you expect only the significator of the operation to be powerful, but also observe that the Moon be suitably placed; indeed, nothing beneficial is completed without the Moon. But if you have many advocates in your operation, observe that they are all powerful and in friendly aspects with each other; but if you cannot have an aspect of this kind, you can at least make them angular. However, observe the Moon either when it considers both or is joined to one and aspects the other, or when it passes from the conjunction or aspect of one to a conjunction, or to the aspect of the other.⁵

How the Moon must be observed.

Also, I believe it must not be omitted, that one must diligently observe Mercury in all operations. Indeed, he is the messenger of each of the inferior and superior gods,⁶ when joined to a benefic he becomes benefic, and when joined to a malefic he exudes maleficence. Presently we refer here to an unfortunate sign or planet aspecting Saturn or Mars, especially by opposition or square, because these

aspects are unfortunate. However, the aspects of conjunction, trine, and sextile are friendly. Among these, the strongest is conjunction. Yet if a planet is aspecting by a trine and also received, it is valued as if it is a conjunction. However, all the planets fear a conjunction with the Sun,⁷ but they are happy with a trine or sextile.

Mercury must be diligently observed.

Chapter 30

When the planets are the most powerfully influential.

The planets are powerful when they are ruling by domicile, exaltation, triplicity, term, or decan, out of combustion,¹ direct, increasing in the figure and dominating the heavens—that is, when in the angles,² especially oriental,³ or in the tenth or succedent,⁴ or in its joy.⁵ But beware that they are not in the terms⁶ or under the lordship of Saturn or Mars, and not in dark, pitted, or empty degrees.⁷

You must also observe that the angles of the ascendant, tenth, and seventh are fortunate, and that the ruler of the ascendant, place of the Sun, place of the Moon, the place of the Part of Fortune and their rulers, and that the ruler of the preceding conjunction and prevention [of the Moon] are fortunate.⁸ But the malefic planets should fall unfortunately, unless by chance they are significators of your operation, or can be useful to you in some way, or if [a malefic] holds lordship in a revolution of your birth; indeed, then they are to be minimally suppressed.

When the Moon is powerful.

The Moon is powerful if it is in its domicile, exaltation, triplicity, or decan, or in a degree powerful in the chosen operation, or in one of the twenty-eight mansions suitable for the operation. It should not be in *via combusta*,⁹ slow in course, nor in an eclipse, or in combustion from the Sun, unless strong in a unity with the Sun. Nor should it descend in a southern latitude when it passes out of combustion, nor should it be opposed the Sun, decreasing in light, or impeded by Mars or Saturn. I am unwilling to speak on these points for too long since these and many more vital things are sufficiently handled in the volumes of astrologers.¹⁰

Chapter 31

Of the observation of the fixed stars and their natures.

You must also have a similar complete consideration of the fixed stars. Know that all of the fixed stars are of a signification and nature of the seven planets, but some are of the nature of one planet, and some of two: hence, however often some planet is joined with some fixed star of its nature, it most powerfully affects the signification of that star, and the nature of the planet is augmented. But if the star is of two natures, the nature of the one that is stronger will conquer the signification: for example, if it is of the nature of Mars and Venus and Mars is with it, Mars rules the nature. However, if [that star is] with Venus, the nature of Venus overcomes it.

The fixed stars are selected by the nature of the planets.

The natures of the fixed stars are discerned by their colors that agree with certain planets. The colors of the planets are as follows:¹ Saturn is bluish or leaden and shining in these [colors]; Jupiter is citron, almost pale, and with these is clear; Mars is red and fiery; the Sun is yellow and when rising is glowing, and afterward radiant; Venus is white, but as Lucifer shining, however as Vesperus² gleaming; Mercury is radiant; the Moon pale.³ Likewise, know the fixed stars by how much greater, brighter, and apparent they are; the greatest and strongest in their significations⁴ are those stars which astrologers call the first and second magnitude.

How the fixed stars are discerned.

The colors of the planets.

The brightest fixed stars.

I will tell you of some of the more useful in this faculty, which are:⁵ the Navel of Andromeda⁶ in the 22nd degree of Aries is of the nature of Venus and Mercury, others say Jupiter and Saturn.

Caput Algo⁷ in the 18th degree of Taurus is of the nature of Saturn and Jupiter.

The Pleiades⁸ are in the 22nd degree of the same [sign], a star of a Lunar nature and Martial complexion.

Likewise, in the 3rd degree of Gemini, Aldebaran⁹ is of the nature of Mars and complexion of Venus: but Hermes [Trismegistus] placed this in the 25th [degree] of Aries.

In the 13th degree of Gemini, Capella¹⁰ is of the nature of Jupiter and Saturn.

In the 7th degree of Cancer, Canis Major¹¹ [has the nature of] Venus.

In the 17th degree of the same [sign] is Canis Minor,¹² is Mercurial by nature and Martial by complexion.

In the 21st degree of Leo is the King's Star,¹³ which is called Cor Leonis, of the nature of Jupiter and Mars.

In the 19th degree of Virgo is the Tail of Ursa Major¹⁴ [having the nature] of Venus and the Moon.

In the 7th degree of Libra is the Right Wing of the Raven¹⁵ and in the same [sign] in the 13th degree is the Left Wing,¹⁶ each of the nature of Saturn and Mars.

In the same [sign] in the 16th degree is Spica,¹⁷ [of the nature of] Venus and Mercury; in the same [sign] in the 17th degree is Alcameth¹⁸ of the nature of Mars and Jupiter: but of [Jupiter] when in a good aspect with a luminary, of [Mars] when opposed.

In the 4th degree of Scorpio is Elepheia¹⁹ of the nature of Venus and Mars.

In the 3rd degree of Sagittarius is the Heart of the Scorpion²⁰ of the nature of Mars and Jupiter.

In the 7th degree of Capricorn is the Falling Vulture,²¹ temperate, [of the nature] of Mercury and Venus.

In the 16th degree of Aquarius is the Tail of Capricorn²² of the nature of Saturn and Mercury.

In the 3rd degree of Pisces is the Shoulder of the Horse²³ of the nature of Jupiter and Mars.²⁴

It is a general rule that you should expect each of the stars' own gifts when they dominate, but they are hindered when an unfortunate [planet] opposes them, which is shown above; indeed, the celestial bodies, as far as they are affected happily or unfortunately, happily or unfortunately affect us and our works and those things we use. And although the fixed stars produce many effects, they are yet attributed to the planets, since they are closer to us and more distinct and recognized. Moreover, [the planets] carry out each of the influences from the fixed stars.²⁵

Chapter 32

The Sun and Moon and their magical reasoning.

The Sun and Moon have obtained the administration of the heavens and all bodies that are under them.

The excellence of the Sun.

The Sun is the lord of all elementary virtues. The Moon, by the virtue of the Sun, rules generation, increase, and decrease. Hence, Albumasar¹ said that life is infused into everything by the Sun and Moon, which therefore Orpheus called the vivifying eyes of the sky. The Sun gives light from itself to all, and to all, it abundantly gives [light] not only to the sky and air but also to the earth and the deepest abyss. Whatever is good that we have, as Iamblichus said, we have from the Sun, either [directly] from it alone, or through other things. Heraclitus called the Sun the fountain of heavenly light, and many Platonists placed the World Soul principally with the Sun, because the Sun entirely fills the globe, and sends out its rays to all sides as if it were a spirit. [It passes] through all, distributing life, perception, and motion to everything. Hence, ancient natural philosophers called the Sun the heart of the heavens and the Chaldeans placed it in the center of the planets. Likewise, the Egyptians placed it in the center of the world—that is, they placed it between two worlds [consisting of groups] of five, with the Sun placed over five planets, but under the Sun are placed the Moon and four elements.²

Among the rest of the stars, [the Sun] is the image and statue of the highest prince, light of both the terrestrial and celestial worlds, and exact likeness of God, whose essence is the Father, its splendor the Son, and its heat the Holy Ghost, [a revelation] to such an extent that the academy had nothing greater to show the expression of the Divine Essence. So great is its agreement to God that Plato called it the visible Son of God,³ Iamblichus called it the image of the divine intelligence,⁴ and our Dionysius called it the evident statue of God.⁵

It sits as a king in the center of the other planets, excelling in all light, magnitude, and beauty, illuminating all, and distributing virtue to them for disposing the inferiors, regulating and disposing their movements so that their movements are called diurnal or nocturnal, southern or northern, oriental or occidental, direct or retrograde. Just as by its light it chases away the darkness of night, it thus also [chases away] the powers of darkness, of which Job⁶ said: “When the morning first appeared, they believe it is the shadow of death”; and in the Psalms,⁷ speaking about the young lions asking God for permission to devour, said: “The Sun has risen and they are gathered together lying in their lairs”; which when chased away, followed: “Man shall go forth for their work.”⁸

Therefore, since the Sun holds the middle region of the world, and as the heart is [in the middle] of the whole body in animals, thus the Sun is in charge of the sky and world, having command over the

whole world and that which is in it. It is the author of time, from whom come days and years, cold and heat, and other qualities of time. As Ptolemy said, when it reaches the location of any star, it excites the power [the star] has in air.⁹ As such, it provokes heat with Mars, cold with Saturn, and disposes the spirit and mind of man himself. Of this it is said by Homer, and approved by Aristotle, that such movements in the mind are like what the Sun as prince and governor of the planets brings to us.¹⁰

Of the Moon in more inferior powers.

The Moon is the neighbor of Earth, the receptacle of all celestial influences. The speed of its course is joined with the Sun, the other planets, and the stars in a single month. It is a wife to all of the stars, the most fertile star, receiving the rays and influences of the Sun and other planets and stars as if fertile and begetting to the neighboring inferior world as if it were pregnant. Indeed, all the stars infuse into it, receiving [even] the farthest. It then communicates the influences of all superiors to the more inferiors and pours them back to the Earth, and more clearly disposes to these inferiors than the others. Its motion is more perceptible because of its familiarity and closeness to us. It is a medium between the superiors and inferiors, communicating everything.

The motion of the Moon must be diligently observed.

Therefore, its movement must be watched before the others as if it were a parent to all conceptions. It sets forth to the inferiors according to their various complexions, motions, situations, and aspects to the planets and other diverse stars. Although it receives the virtues from all stars, [it receives] most prominently from the Sun, as they join daily. It is replenished with a vivifying virtue, and according to its aspect, changes its complexion: for in its first quarter, as the Peripatetics said, it is hot and moist, in its second hot and dry, in its third cold and dry, and in its fourth cold and moist. Although it is the lowest star, it brings forth all conceptions from the superiors.

Of Plato's golden chain.

Indeed, from it, the celestials begin their sequence of things that Plato called the golden chain, where each thing or cause is connected to the other, depending on the superior until they reach the Supreme Cause, from which everything depends. Hence, without the Moon intermediating, we cannot entirely attract the powers of the superiors; of which Thabit commanded that to entice some celestial virtue, we must take a stone or herb for that star when the Moon happily approaches that star or happily aspects it.¹¹

Chapter 33

Of the twenty-eight mansions of the Moon and their virtues.

Because the Moon traverses the entire zodiac in the space of twenty-eight days, the wise Indians and most ancient astrologers granted twenty-eight Lunar mansions. Fixed in the eighth sphere, they hold the various constellations and stars, from which, as Alphaus said, they obtained different qualities and names. While the Moon travels through these, it obtains one or another powers and virtues.¹ The mansions, according to the opinion of Abraham,² are contained in 12 degrees, 51 minutes and almost 26 seconds; the names of which [mansions] and likewise their beginnings in the zodiac within the eighth sphere are these.³

The 1st⁴ is called Alnath,⁵ which is in the Horns of Aries; it starts at the beginning of Aries in the eighth sphere; it is used for journeys and discord.

The 2nd is called Allothaim or Albochan,⁶ which is the Stomach of Aries; and the beginning of this is in 12 degrees, 51 minutes, 22 seconds of the same sign; it brings the discovery of treasure, and the restraining of captives.

The 3rd is called Achoamazone or Athoraye⁷—that is, the Raining or Pleiades—it begins at 25 degrees, 42 minutes, and 51 seconds Aries; it is used for navigation, hunters, and alchemical operations.

The 4th mansion is called Aldebaran or Aldelamen⁸—that is, the Eye or Head of Taurus—it begins at 8 degrees, 34 minutes, 17 seconds Taurus; it destroys and impedes buildings, fountains, wells, goldmines, makes reptiles flee, and generates discord.

The 5th is called Alchataya or Albachaya,⁹ its beginning is after 21 degrees, 25 minutes, 43 seconds¹⁰ Taurus; it brings the return from journeys, for the instruction of students, strengthening buildings, and granting health and favor.

The 6th is called Alhanna or Alchaya¹¹—that is, the Small Star of great light—it begins after four degrees, 17 minutes, and 9 seconds Gemini; it is used for hunting and besieging cities and vengeance of princes, destroys harvests and crops, and impedes the work of physicians.

The 7th is called Aldimiach or Alarzach¹²—that is, the Arm of Gemini—it begins from 17 degrees, 8 minutes, 34 seconds Gemini, and lasts all the way to the end of the sign; it brings gain and friendship, is useful for lovers, makes flies flee, and destroys officials.

This completes the seven mansions in the first quarter of the sky. In a similar order, degree, minute, second, and number in each quarter, seven mansions have their beginnings—that is, the first sign in that quarter has three mansions beginning it them—and the rest of the signs have two mansions each.

Therefore, the next seven mansions begin from the beginning of Cancer, the names of which are Alnaza or Anatrachya¹³—that is, the Misty or Cloudy, of course, the 8th mansion. It is used for love and friendship, alliances with travelers, drives away mice, overthrows prisoners, and strengthens prisons.

After this is the 9th is called Archaam or Alcharph¹⁴—that is, the Eye of Leo—it harms harvests and travelers, and places discord between men.

The 10th is called Algelioche or Algebh¹⁵—that is, the Neck or Forehead of Leo—it strengthens buildings, grants love, benevolence, and helps against enemies.

The 11th is called Azobra or Ardat¹⁶—that is, the Mane of Leo—it is used for travel, gain from merchandise, and rescuing prisoners.

The 12th is called Alzarpha or Azarpha¹⁷—that is, the Tail of Leo—it gives success in harvests and planting, and harms sailing; but is good for improving servants, prisoners, and associates.

The 13th is called Alhayre¹⁸—that is, the Dogs¹⁹ or Wings of Virgo—it is strong for benevolence, gain, traveling, harvests, and the liberation of captives.

The 14th is called Achureth or Arimet, and by others Azimeth or Alhumech or Alcheymech²⁰—that is, the Spike²¹ or Flying Spike—it is strong for lovers marrying, for curing illness, and is useful for sailing, but harms for traveling by land.

This completes the second quarter of heaven. The other seven follow, the first of which starts in the beginning of Libra, of course the 15th mansion, whose name is Agrapha or Algarpha²²—that is, the Covered or the Flying Covered—it is used for extracting treasure, for digging wells, is made for separation and discord, the destruction of homes and enemies, and for impeding travelers.

The 16th is called Azubene or Ahubene²³—that is, the Horns of Scorpio—it impedes traveling and marriages, harvests and merchandise, and is strong for the liberation of prisoners.

The 17th is called Alchil²⁴—that is, the Crown of Scorpio—it is used for the improvement of unjust fortune, for lasting love, for strengthening buildings, and is useful for sailing.

The 18th is called Akhas or Altob²⁵—that is, the Heart of Scorpio—it is used for discord, sedition, and conspiracy against princes and powerful men, and for vengeance from enemies, but liberates prisoners, and is useful for buildings.

The 19th is called Allatha or Akhala²⁶ but by others Hycula or Axala—that is, the Tail of Scorpio—it is strong for besieging and capturing cities, for expelling men from their place, for the destruction of sailing, and destroying prisoners.

The 20th is called Abnahaya²⁷—that is, the Beam—it is used for taming wild beasts, for strengthening prisons, destroying the wealth of associates,²⁸ and forces men to leave from some place.

The 21st is called Abeda or Albeldach²⁹—that is, the Deserted—it is used for harvests, gain, buildings and travelers, and for causing separation.

This completes the third quarter of the sky. The last remaining seven mansions, complete the last quarter of the sky, the first of which in order is the 22nd, starting at the beginning of Capricorn, and is called Sadahacha, Zodeboluch, or Zandeldena³⁰—that is, the Shepherd—it promotes the flight of servants

and prisoners so that they can escape, and for strengthening the cure of illnesses.

The 23rd is called Sabadola or Zobrach³¹—that is, the Swallowing—it is used for separation, for the liberation of prisoners, and the healing of the ill.

The 24th is called Sadabath or Chadezoad³²—that is, the Star of Fortune—it is strong for benevolent marriage, for the victory of soldiers, for harming and impeding officials so that their orders are not completed.

The 25th is called Sadalabra or Sadalachia³³—that is, the Butterfly or the Expanding—it is used for sieging and vengeance, destroying enemies, making separations, strengthening prisons and buildings, accelerating messengers, is made for spells against marriage, and for binding whichever members of man, so that it is not possible to accomplish their duties.

The 26th is called Alpharg or Phtagal Mocaden³⁴—that is, the First Drinking—it is used for the union and delight of men, for the health of prisoners, and for destroying prisons and buildings.

The 27th is called Alcharya or Alhalgalmoad³⁵—that is, the Second Drinking—it increases harvests, trade, gain, cures illnesses, but impedes buildings, prolongs prisons, makes sailing risky, and helps to bring whatever evil you wish.

The 28th and last is called Albotham or Alchalh³⁶—that is, Pisces—it increases harvests and merchandise, secures travelers through dangerous places, is used for the joy of marriage, but strengthens prisons, and causes the ruin of treasures.

In these twenty-eight mansions lie many hidden secrets of the wisdom of the ancients, through which they worked wonders in everything that is under the sphere of the Moon. They assigned to each of the mansions their likenesses, images, signs, and presiding intelligences, and they worked with their virtues in various ways.

Chapter 34

Of the true motion of the celestials to be observed in the eighth sphere and the rationale of the planetary hours.

Whoever works for a suitable celestial, must observe one or both—that is, the motions or times of the stars: I say motion when they are in their dignities or debilities,¹ either essential or accidental;² but I say time when they are distributed in the days and hours of their rulership. All of these things are taught abundantly enough in books of astrologers, but we will especially consider and observe two such considerations here. The first is that as we observe the motions of the stars, their ascensions, and angles,³ as they are in truth located in the eighth sphere. Because of the neglect of this fact, many people err in their fabrication of celestial images and are defrauded of desired effects.

The other thing we must observe concerns the times for finding planetary hours; indeed, almost all astrologers divide the time interval from the rising of the Sun to the setting into 12 equal parts and called them the 12 hours of the day. Then in a similar rationale, they shared in 12 equal portions the time following from setting to rising, and they called them the 12 hours of night. They then distributed those hours to each single planet according to their order of succession, always giving the first hour of the day to the planet ruling the day, then each in order to the end of 24 hours.⁴

Magicians assent to this distribution, but in the distribution of the hours themselves, some disagree, saying that the interval of rising and setting are not divided into equal parts. Therefore, those hours are not called unequal because diurnal and nocturnal are unequal, but because diurnal and nocturnal are unequal among each other. Therefore, there is another rationale of measurement distributing inequality or planetary hours observed by magicians, which is this: of course, being artificial hours, which are always coequal, a single artificial hour consists of the ascensions of 15 equinoctial degrees. Therefore, likewise in the planetary hours, the ascensions of 15 ecliptical degrees constitute a planetary or unequal hour, which is a measure one must examine and discover from tables of oblique ascension for each region.

Chapter 35

How artificial things, such as images, sigils, and the like, obtain some virtues from celestial bodies.

So great is the magnitude, strength, and power of the celestials that not only natural things but also artificial things, when duly exposed to the superiors, suddenly experience a most powerful agent and wonderful life from above,¹ which often gives them a wonderful celestial virtue.² The divine teacher Saint Thomas Aquinas confirmed this in his book *On Fate*, where he said that even garments and any artificial works accept certain qualities from the stars.³

Thus, magicians not only mix and apply natural things but also images, sigils, rings, mirrors, and other suitable instruments—that is, fabricated under a certain constellation. A certain celestial enlightenment is captured, and they can secure something wonderful.

Indeed, the celestial bodies are animated, alive, sensual, and grant wonderful and most vehement powers, even in a sudden moment, and suddenly touch images to imprint wonderful virtues—even in less suitable materials. Yet they grant more effective virtues in images if they are not fabricated from anything but certain materials—that is, whose natural and specific virtues likewise agree with the operation and the figure of the image is similar to the celestial figure.⁴

In fact, such an image, because of the operation of the natural material and agreement with celestial influences, and because of the similarity of the figure with the celestial figure, is most prepared for the actions and powers of the celestial bodies. Capturing the figures, it suddenly receives the celestial gifts into itself, and then continually acts on one or other things by obediently linking to it. This is why Ptolemy in *Centiloquy* said that inferior things obey the celestials—not only them but also their images:⁵ as earthly scorpions not only obey the celestial Scorpio but also the image of Scorpio, which was suitably made under that rising and dominating figure.

Chapter 36

Of the images of the zodiac that accept virtues from the stars when engraved.

Moreover, there are many celestial images in the heavens for whose likenesses these images are configured: some are visible and conspicuous, and others are observed and designated as imaginable by the Egyptians, Indians, and Chaldeans;¹ and their parts are thus so that even some of their figures are distinct from the others.² For this reason, they placed twelve universal images around the zodiac for the number of signs.

Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius constitute the fiery triplicity, are oriental, and are useful against fever, paralysis,³ dropsy, gout, and against all cold and phlegmatic illnesses. They bring the bearer [of their engraved image] grace, eloquence, cleverness, and honor, because they are the domiciles of Mars, the Sun, and Jupiter.⁴ They likewise made an image of a lion against melancholic fantasies, fevers, and for expelling illnesses in the hour of the Sun in the first degree of the second face⁵ of Leo rising,⁶ which indeed is the face and decanate of Jupiter. But against stones and illnesses of the kidney, and against injuries from beasts, they made the same [image] when the Sun is in the heart of Leo placed in the midheaven.

Now again Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius, which constitute the airy triplicity, are occidental and are the domiciles of Mercury, Venus, and Saturn. They are said to chase away melancholic diseases and are useful for friendship and harmony. They are strong against melancholy, and bring health, and Aquarius especially frees one from quartan fever.

Likewise, Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces, because they constitute the watery triplicity and are northerly, are strong against warm and dry fevers, and also against all ethical⁷ and choleric passions. However, Scorpio, because among members it watches over genitalia, provokes lust;⁸ but configured in the ascendant in the third face, which is Venus. They also made this against serpents, scorpions, poisons, and daemons, rising in the second face, which is the face of the Sun and decanate of Jupiter, and it brings the bearer the return of wisdom and a good color. The image of Cancer is most effective against serpents and poisons, when the Sun and Moon are conjunct in the ascendant in the first or third face; indeed, [the first face] is the face of Venus, and decanate of the Moon, and [the third] is the face of the Moon, decanate of Jupiter; they also say it torments serpents when the Sun is in Cancer.

Likewise, Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn, which constitute the earthy triplicity and are southern, cure warm illnesses and are strong against *synocham*.⁹ They make the bearer graceful, acceptable, eloquent, devoted, and religious, because they are the domiciles of Venus, Mercury, and Saturn.¹⁰ Also, Capricorn is said to deliver men unharmed and brings them to a safe place because it is the exaltation of Mars.

Chapter 37

Of the images of the faces and their virtues, and of those images that are outside the zodiac.

There are also thirty-six images in the zodiac that are according to the number of faces [of the zodiac], of which Porphyry said were once written by the ancient mathematician Teucer the Babylonian,¹ and later also written about by the Arabs.

Therefore, it is said² that in the first face of Aries rises the likeness of a black man, standing dressed in white and girded. [He has] a large body, red eyes, and great strength, and [appears] as if angry; this image signifies and is made for boldness, strength, loftiness, and immodesty.

In the second face of Aries rises the form of a woman, dressed in red garments on the outside and under them white. She is stretching out her foot. This image is made for nobility, loftiness of kingdom, and great dominion.

In the third face rises the figure of a white man, pale, red hair, and dressed in red, with one hand wearing a gold bracelet and holding forth a staff. His likeness is as if [he is] restless and angry, because he cannot perform the good he wishes. This image confers talent, tameness, joy, and beauty.

In the first face of Taurus rises a nude man digging or plowing; this is useful for planting, plowing, building, plundering, dividing the earth, and for geometrical arts.

In the second face of Taurus rises a nude man, holding a key in his hand; this brings power, nobility, and authority³ over people.

In the third face rises a man, in whose hand is a serpent and an arrow; this is the image of necessity, usefulness, and also misery and servitude.

In the first face of Gemini rises a man, in whose hand is a twig. [He presents himself] as if serving another. [This image] brings wisdom, the knowledge of numbers, and art in which there is no usefulness.

In the second face rises a man who holds in one hand a [shepherd's] pipe and has the other curved and digging into the earth. [This image] signifies infamous and dishonest activities, such as jesters and tricksters, and signifies labors and laborious searches.

In the third face rises a man asking for arms and [another] man [who is] foolish. In his right hand he holds a bird and in the left a flute. [This image] signifies forgetfulness, anger, boldness, joking, trifling, and useless words.

In the first face of Cancer rises the form of a virgin girl dressed in pretty clothes and wearing a crown on her head: it is excellent for sharp senses, subtlety of wit, and love of men.

In the second face rises a man dressed in beautiful clothing, or a man and woman sitting at a table playing: it brings wealth, cheerfulness, joy, and love of women.

In the third face rises a man hunting with a lance and horn, summoning dogs for the hunt: it signifies conflicts with men, pursuing those fleeing, hunting, occupying things by armies, and disputes.

In the first face of Leo rises a man riding on a lion: it signifies boldness, violence, cruelty, wickedness, desire, and sustained labor.

In the second face rises the image of a man with his hands raised, with a crown on his head. [He has] the form of an angry and threatening man. In his right hand he has a drawn sword, and in his left a round shield. [This image] has the signification over hidden quarrels, unknown victories, of vile men, and over occasions of lawsuits and battles.

In the third face rises a young man, in whose hand is a whip, and the face of the man is violent, sad, and ugly; this signifies love, fellowship, and the lowering of oneself for avoiding battle.

In the first face of Virgo arise the figures of a good maiden and a man planting seeds; and these have the signification of gathering riches, directing diet, plowing, planting, and plundering.

In the second face rises a black man, wearing skins, and the man has wool and holds a satchel; this signifies gain and accumulation of substance and greed.

In the third face arise a white woman and a dead or old man, leaning on a stick; these have the signification of weakness, illness, the loss of members, the destruction of trees, and the plundering of the earth.

In the first face of Libra rises the form of an angry man, who has in his hand shepherd's pipe, also the form of a man reading a book; and the operation of these is for the justice and help of the poor and weak against the evil and powerful.

In the second face arise two men raging and angry, and a man ornately dressed sitting in a chair; these have the signification for anger against evil, and a restful and secure life with an abundance of good.

In the third face rises a violent man holding a bow, with a nude man before him and another man with a loaf of bread in one hand and a cup of wine in the other. This [image has] the signification for impious desire, singing, joking, and gluttony.

In the first face of Scorpio rises a woman with a good face and condition, along with two men beating each other; the operation of this is for decorum and beauty, and for quarrels, ambushes, deceptions, slanders, and destruction.

In the second face rises a nude man and nude woman, and the man is sitting on the ground, and before him are two dogs biting each other; the operation of this is for shamelessness, deception, and deceit and for sending out evil and quarrels between men.

In the third face rises a man bent over his knee, and a woman beating him with a staff; this is the signification of drunkenness, fornication, passion, violence, and lawsuits.

In the first face of Sagittarius rises the form of a strong man armed with a coat of mail, holding a naked sword in his hand: the operation of this is for boldness, militancy, and freedom.

In the second face rises a lamenting woman entirely covered with clothing: the operation of this is for sadness and fear of their body.

In the third face rises a man similar to a golden color or an idle man, playing with a staff; this is the signification in following one's own will and determination, and activities for evil things, quarrels, and horrible things.

In the first face of Capricorn rises the form of a woman and black man, bearing full satchels; the

signification of this is for going out and being joyful, and for profit and loss by debilities and usefulness.

In the second face rises two women and a man gazing at a bird flying in the air; the signification of this is for demanding what cannot happen and for searching for what cannot be known.

In the third face rises a woman chaste in body and wise in her work, and a banker gathering money on a table; this [image] is the signifier for prudent government and for ambitious and greedy substances.

In the first face of Aquarius rises the form of a prudent man, and the form of a woman spinning; this is the signification for thinking and working for gain while in a state of poverty, and usefulness.

In the second face rises the form of a man with a luxurious beard; [this image] has the signification of intellect, clemency, modesty, freedom, and good morals.

In the third face rises a black man who is angry; it has the signification of disclosure, insolence, and shamelessness.

In the first face of Pisces rises a well-dressed man carrying a burden over his back; it has the signification of journeys, changing one's place, and an attentiveness for seeking substance, and nourishment.

In the second face rises an lavishly adorned woman with a good face; this has the signification of desire and allowing great and lofty things.

In the third face rises a nude or young man and near him [is] a beautiful maiden, whose head is decorated in flowers; this is the signification for rest, swiftness, delight, and for fornication and surrounding oneself with women.

And these are the images of faces: beyond which in the zodiac there are 360 images for the number of degrees, whose forms are described by Pietro de Abano.⁴ Outside the zodiac, there are also general figures, which Hyginus⁵ and Aratus⁶ described to us, and very many particular ones for the faces and number of degrees rising, of which to say them all is extremely long.

But of these, the most principal is Pegasus, which is strong against illnesses of horses and keeps horses safe in war. Then there is Andromeda, which causes love between men and women, and is also said to reconcile adulterers. Cassiopeia restores weak bodies and strengthens members. Serpens chases away poisons and cures poisonous bites. Hercules grants victory in battle. Draco with both Ursas restore astuteness, cleverness, and strength in men, and the men will be pleasing to gods and men. Hydra gives wisdom and wealth and resists poisons. The Centaur gives health and longevity to old age. Ara preserves chastity and brings the grace of the gods. Cetus brings amiability, prudence, happiness by land and sea, and makes one regain what was stolen. [Argo] Navis is excellent for safety in water. Lepus is strong against deceptions and insanity. Canis cures dropsy, resists pestilence, and keeps one safe from beasts and wild animals. Orion brings victory. Aquila grants new honors and preserves the old. Cygnus frees from paralysis and quartan fever. Perseus frees from hatred and injuries and preserves from lightning and storms. Cervus cures madness and insanity.⁷ Thus, what is said is sufficient.

Chapter 38

Of the images of Saturn.

Now there are other images that are attributed to the planets, although these were written in very large volumes by the wise ancients so that there is nothing to say in this work, yet I will name a few of these here. Indeed, for the operations of Saturn, [with Saturn] in the ascendant, in a stone called a magnet, make an image of a man with the face of a deer and the feet of a camel, sitting on a chair or dragon, his right hand holding a sickle, in his left an arrow; indeed, they expected this image to be useful for a long life. Indeed, Saturn brings long life which was approved in Albumasar's *Sadan*, where he also wrote of certain regions of India where men are subject to Saturn, and they live to a great age and do not die except from extreme old age.¹

Likewise, they made another image of Saturn in sapphire in the hour of Saturn, with him in the ascendant or happily placed—the function of this being for long life. His figure is an old man sitting on a lofty chair, with his hands raised over his head. In them, he holds a fish or a sickle, and under his feet are a bunch of grapes.² A black or dark cloth covers his head, and all of his garments are black or dark.³

They also made the same image against stones and illnesses of the kidneys—that is, in the hour of Saturn, with him rising in the third face of Aquarius.

Likewise, for the operations of Saturn, they made images while Saturn was rising in Capricorn to be used for increasing power. The form [of such images] is an old man leaning on a staff, holding in his hand a crooked sickle, dressed in black clothes.⁴

They likewise made images from melting copper, with Saturn rising in the ascendant—that is, in the first degree of Aries or, which is more correct, in the first degree of Capricorn; indeed, they confirm that this image speaks with a man's voice.

Also for the operations of Saturn and Mercury, they made an image from melted metal in the form of a beautiful man, which they promised would predict the future. They made it in the day of Mercury, in the third hour—that is, the hour of Saturn—with Gemini rising, this being the domicile of Mercury and which signifies prophets. [They made this metal image when] Saturn and Mercury were conjunct in Aquarius, in the ninth region⁵ of the sky, which is called God; additionally, [they fashioned it] with Saturn aspecting the ascendant by a trine, and likewise the Moon and the Sun aspecting the place by conjunction. [They created this image with] Venus placed in some angle—powerful and occidental—and when Mars was combust the Sun but not aspecting Saturn or Mercury. Indeed, they said that the brilliant powers of the stars are diffused over this image, and that it spoke with men and it reported what was useful to them.

Chapter 39

Of the images of Jupiter.

For the operations of Jupiter, they made images in the hour of Jupiter, with him happily rising in his exaltation, in a clear and white stone—these being for long life. The figure [of those images] is a crowned man, dressed in yellow garments, riding on an eagle or dragon and holding in his right hand an arrow, as if he were throwing it into the head of the same eagle or dragon.

They made another image of Jupiter at some opportune time in white and clear stone, especially in crystal; it was made [in the form of] a nude crowned man, his hands raised and joined as if he were begging, sitting in a four-legged chair, carried by four winged boys. Indeed, this image augurs happiness, wealth, honor and brings benevolence and prosperity, and confirms freedom from enemies.

They made another image for Jupiter for a religious and glorious life, and for dexterity of fortune, whose figure is of a man with a head of a lion or ram and feet of an eagle, dressed in yellow garments,¹ and he was called the son of Jupiter.

Chapter 40

Of the images of Mars.

For the operations of Mars they made images in a Martial stone, especially a diamond, in the hour of Mars, [with Mars] rising in the second face of Aries, whose form is of an armed man, riding on a lion, holding in his right hand a raised naked sword, and in his left the head of a man; a man carrying this kind of image becomes powerful in good and evil, thus he will be feared by all; and thereby the bearer of this has the power of enchantment, thus frightening men by his appearance when angry, and binding them in a stupor.

They also made images of Mars for bringing boldness, animosity, and fortune in war and quarrels, whose form is of an armed and crowned soldier, girded with a sword. In his right hand he holds a long lance, and [this image] is made in the hour of Mars, rising in the first face of Scorpio.^{[1](#)}

Chapter 41

Of the images of the Sun.

For operations of the Sun they made images in the hour of the Sun rising in the first face of Leo. [These images were of] the Sun (whose form is of a crowned king) sitting in a chair, holding a raven to his bosom, and under his feet a globe. He is wearing yellow garments. They carried this image to make a man invincible and honorable, to bring to an end to what has begun, and to drive away empty dreams. It is also strong against fevers and plagues. They made the same [image] in a balas ruby¹ or ruby, in the hour of the Sun, when he is happily rising in his exaltation.

They also made images of the Sun in a diamond, in the hour of the Sun, [with the Sun] rising in his exaltation, whose figure is of a crowned woman with a gesture of dancing and laughing, standing in a chariot drawn by four horses, having in her right hand a mirror or round shield, in her left a scepter leaning on her breast, and on her head she bears a flame of fire; they bore this image to bring a man fortune and wealth and esteem from all; and they made this same image in carnelian stone, in the hour of the Sun, [with the Sun] rising in the first face of Leo, against lunatic passions which come from the combustion of the Moon.²

Chapter 42

Of the images of Venus.

For the operations of Venus, they made images that convene toward grace and benevolence, in the hour of Venus, [with Venus] rising in Pisces, whose form is of the image of a woman, having the head of a bird and feet of an eagle, holding in her hand an arrow.

They made other images of Venus in lapis lazuli for the love of women, in the hour of Venus, [with Venus] rising in Taurus, whose figure is of a nude woman with her hair spread out, holding a mirror in her hand, a chain tied around her neck, and near her a beautiful young man, holding her with his left hand by the chain, but with his right hand preparing her hair, and both look at each other in a friendly manner, and around them is a small winged boy, holding a sword or an arrow.

They made other images of Venus, in the first face of Taurus, Libra, or Pisces, with Venus rising, whose figure is a girl with her hair spread out, wearing long and white garments, holding in her right hand laurel or fruit or flowers, in her left a comb: bearing this [image] makes a man gentle, pleasant, valiant, eager, and confers beauty.¹

Chapter 43

Of the images of Mercury.

For the operations of Mercury they made images in the hour of Mercury, [with Mercury] rising in Gemini, whose form is of a beautiful young man, bearded, holding in his left hand a caduceus—that is, a stick that has a serpent wrapped around it. In his right hand he bears an arrow. His feet have wings. Bearing this image brings knowledge and skills in merchandising and gain. Additionally, it brings peace and concord, as well as curing fevers.

They made other images of Mercury, [with Mercury] rising in Virgo, for benevolence, cleverness, and memory. [Their] form is of a man sitting on a chair or riding on a peacock, having the feet of an eagle. On his head he has a crest, and in his left hand he holds a rooster or fire.¹

Chapter 44

Of the images of the Moon.

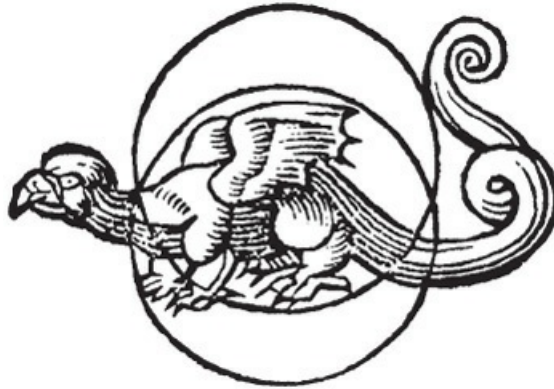
For the operations of the Moon, they made images in the hour of the Moon, [with the Moon] rising in its exaltation: [these were] for counteracting weariness in travelers. [Their] figure is a man leaning on a staff, having the head of a bird, and in front of him a flowery tree.

They made other images of the Moon in the hour of the Moon, [with the Moon] rising in the first face of Cancer. [These were] for increasing plants on the earth, and against poisons and illnesses of children. Their figure is a horned woman. [She is] riding a bull, a sevenheaded dragon, or a crab, and has an arrow in her right hand, and a mirror in her left. [She is] wearing white or green garments, having around her head a crown of two serpents. Around each arm she has a serpent, and her feet the same.¹ This is enough said of the figures of the planets.

Chapter 45

Of the images of the Head and Tail of the Dragon of the Moon.

They also made images for the Head and Tail of the Dragon of the Moon—that is, an effigy of a serpent with the head of a hawk enclosed between an airy and fiery circle after the image of the Greek letter theta.¹ They made this when Jupiter was placed in midheaven with the Head [of the Dragon]. Indeed, this image was affirmed for conferring much success in petitions. They desired by this image to observe good and lucky daemons, and they wished for these in the image of a figure of a serpent.² Indeed, to the Egyptians and Phoenicians this animal was divine, and its divine nature was celebrated above all others, because it has a more acute spirit and a greater fire than other animals. This is made clear by the fact that it moves swiftly without any feet, hands, or any other instruments, and also because it repeatedly renews its life by stripping off its skin and becoming young again.³



However, they similarly made the image of the tail when the Moon was eclipsed in the tail, or evilly affected by Saturn or Mars. They made it for inducing anxiety, sickness, and misfortune. They called it the evil genius. Indeed, a certain Hebrew included such an image in a gold and jeweled belt that Blanche—the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon—either consciously or unknowingly gave to her husband, the king of Spain, the first of that name. When surrounded [by the belt], he seemed to be girded by a serpent. Later upon learning the magical power engrafted on the belt, he rejected his wife for that cause.

Chapter 46

Of the images of the mansions of the Moon.

They also made images for each of the mansions of the Moon. In the 1st [of these mansions], they made in an iron ring the image of a black man, dressed in a garment of hair, girded, and holding a lance horizontally in his right hand. They sealed this [image] in black wax fumigated with liquid storax, and then prayed for the destruction of someone.

In the 2nd [mansion, the image they made] a seal in white wax and mastic an image of a crowned king, and they fumigated with lignum aloe. [This was] against the anger of princes and for reconciling with them.

In the 3rd [mansion], they made an image in a silver ring, whose table¹ was square and whose figure was a well-dressed woman sitting in a chair with her right hand raised over her head. They sealed and fumigated [the ring] with musk, camphor, and aromatic oils²; they asserted that this is for prosperity of fortune and bestowing all good things.

The 4th [mansion] is for vengeance, separation, enmity, and malevolence. They sealed in red wax the image of a soldier seated on a horse, holding a serpent in his right hand, and they fumigated it with red myrrh and storax.

In the 5th [mansion], for the grace from kings, officials, and a good reception [from them], they sealed in silver the head of a man and fumigated it with sandalwood.

In the 6th, for love between two [people], they placed a seal in white wax of two figures embracing each other and fumigated them with lignum aloe and amber.

In the 7th, for acquiring all good things, they sealed in silver the image of a well-dressed man, with his hands stretched to the sky as if he was begging and praying and fumigated it with good scents.

In the 8th, for victory in war, they sealed in tin an image of an eagle with the face of a man and fumigated with sulfur.

In the 9th, for bringing sickness, they sealed in lead the image of a man without a penis and testicles, his hands shutting his eyes, and fumigated with pine resin.

In the 10th, for helping birth and curing illnesses, they sealed in gold the head of a lion and fumigated with amber.

In the 11th, for fear, reverence, and veneration, they sealed in a golden plate the image of a man riding on a lion, who holds its ear in his left hand, and with in his right holds out a lance.³ They fumigated with good scents and saffron.

In the 12th, for separation of friends, they sealed in black lead the image of a dragon fighting with a man and fumigated with lion hair and asafoetida.

In the 13th, for concord of marriage, and for dissolving sorceries against intercourse, they sealed

two images—a man in red wax and a woman in white—and joined them in an embrace. They fumigated these with lignum aloe and amber.

In the 14th, for divorce and separation of a man from a woman, they sealed in red copper the image of a dog biting its tail and fumigated it with the hair of a dog and a black cat.

In the 15th, for acquiring friendship and benevolence, they sealed an image of a seated man reading letters, and they fumigated with frankincense and nutmeg.

In the 16th, for profit and merchandise, they sealed in silver an image of a man sitting on a chair holding a scale in his hand, and they fumigated with pleasantly scented spices.

In the 17th, against plundering and thieves, they made seals in iron images of an ape and fumigated with the hair of an ape.

In the 18th, against fevers and stomach pain, they sealed an image in copper of a serpent, holding its tail over its head, and fumigated with a stag horn; and the same seal chases away serpents and poisonous things from any place where it is buried.

In the 19th, for easing birth and provoking menstruation, they sealed in copper an image of a woman holding her hands over her face and fumigated it with liquid storax.

In the 20th, for hunting, they sealed an image in tin of an archer, who is half man and half horse. They fumigated it with the head of a fox.

In the 21st, for the destruction of someone, they made images of a man with two faces: one in front and one behind. They fumigated with sulfur and yellow amber⁴ and placed it in a copper box with sulfur, amber, and the hairs of the person whom they wished to harm.

In the 22nd, for the safety of fugitives, they sealed in iron an image of a man with winged feet and a helmet on his head. They fumigated with quicksilver.

In the 23rd, for destruction and devastation, they sealed in iron an image of a cat with the head of a dog, fumigated with the hair of a dog, and buried it in a place they wished to destroy.

In the 24th, for multiplying herds of cattle they took a horn from a ram, bull, goat, or from that cattle they wished to multiply. [They] made a seal in it with an iron brand, [showing] an image of a woman breastfeeding her son. [In some cases they did this] on the horn of the herd's leader; [in others] they hung [an image made on a horn] around the neck of such an animal.

In the 25th, for the health of trees and harvests, they sealed in fig wood an image of a man planting. They fumigated with fig flowers and hung it from a tree.

In the 26th, for love and grace, they sealed in white wax and mastic an image of a woman washing and combing her hair. [They] fumigated with good scents.

In the 27th, for destroying fountains, wells, hot-baths, and baths, they made an image in red earth of a winged man, holding an empty and pierced vessel in his hand. They burned this image and placed [its remains] in a vessel with asafoetida and liquid storax. Then, they submerged [that vessel] or buried it in a well or fountain that they wished to destroy.

In the 28th, for gathering fish, they sealed in copper an image of a fish and fumigated it with the skin of a fish. [Then they] threw it in the water wherever they wished fish to gather.⁵

Additionally, with the preceding images, they inscribed names and characters of spirits and invoked and prayed for what they intended to obtain.

Chapter 47

Of the images of the fixed Behenian stars.

Now [we shall discuss] the remaining operations for the fixed stars, as Hermes thought they should be. Under Caput Algol, they made an image whose figure was the head of a man with a long beard, having a bloody neck. This brought the good outcome of petitions, gave the bearer boldness and nobility, preserved members of the body from injury, helped against sorceries, and reflected evil attempts and evil incantations from enemies.

Under the constellation of the Pleiades, they made an image of a virgin girl or the figure of a torch: [this image] brings an increase of light to the eyes, collects daemons, promotes winds, and reveals secrets and hidden things.

Under Aldebaran they made images according to the likeness of God or a flying man: it gathered wealth and honor.

Under Capella, they made an image whose figure was a man as if he wished to rejoice in musical instruments: [this image] affects the bearer with grace and honor, the public exaltation of kings and princes, and helps against dental pain.

Under Canis Major¹ they made images of a dog,² hare, or virgin girl: these bring honor, benevolence, and grace from men and airy spirits, and give the power to pacify and harmonize with kings and princes and other men.

Under Canis Minor,³ they made an image of a rooster or three girls: these bring the grace of God, spirits and men, grant the ability to counter sorceries, and preserve health.

Under Cor Leonis,⁴ they made an image of a lion, cat, or the figure of a respected man sitting in a chair: these make a man temperate, keep anger away, and give grace.

Under the Tail of Ursa Major,⁵ they made an image of a man wrapped in thought or a bull or the figure of a calf: these help against incantations and makes the bearer secure in their travels.

Under the Wing of the Raven⁶ they made images of a raven, serpent, or a black man dressed in black garments: these make men angry, bold, courageous, thoughtful, a slanderer, and give evil dreams. They also give the ability to make daemons flee and gather. They are useful against wicked men, daemons, and winds.

Under Spica they made an image of a bird or a man laden with merchandise: these give wealth, make one conquer lawsuits, it take away difficulties and evil.

Under Alchameth⁷ they made an image of a horse, wolf, or the figure of a man dancing: these help against fevers. [They] also astringe and restrain blood.

Under Elpheia⁸ they made an image of a hen, or a crowned and raised man: these give benevolence,

the love of men, and chastity.

Under the Heart of Scorpio,⁹ they made an image of an armed man with a breastplate or the figure of a scorpion: these give intellect and memory, as well as causing good color. They help against evil daemons, make them flee, and confine them.

Under the Vulture¹⁰ they made an image of a vulture, hen, or traveling man: these make men magnanimous and haughty, and give power over daemons and beasts.

Under the Tail of Capricorn,¹¹ they made an image of a stag, male goat, or an angry man:¹² these give prosperity and increase wealth.

These are the images of certain fixed stars that they command to be engraved in the stones [appropriate] to [those stars].

Chapter 48

Of the figures of geomancy, which are the medium between images and characters, and its table.

Additionally, there are other figures made by numbers and position of the stars and that are appointed to elements, planets, and signs. These are called geomancy because diviners in geomancy cast lots by making pricks [in the earth] and reduce them into figures by counting these to see whether it is even or odd. When these are engraved or impressed under the lordship of the planets and stars, they conceive virtues and powerful images. These figures are, as it were, a middle between images and characters. Those who wish to know the natures of these figures, their qualities, conditions, significations, and stellar influences must carefully study books on geomancy. The number of these [figures] are no more than 16, whose names and themes are thus:¹

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Element</i>	<i>Planet</i>	<i>Sign</i>
<pre> * * * </pre>	Via Way Journey	Water	☾	♏
<pre> * * * * * * </pre>	Populus People Congregation	Water	☾	♏
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Coniunctio Joining Uniting	Air	☿	♊
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Carcer Prison Constricting	Earth	♁	♄
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Fortuna maior Greater Fortune Greater Assistance Entering Protection	Earth	♁	♄
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Fortuna minor Lesser Fortune Lesser Assistance Leaving Protection	Fire	♁	♏
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Acquisitio Gain Seizing Within	Air	♁	♊
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Amissio Loss Seizing Outside	Fire	♁	♏
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Laetitia Joy Laughter Health Bearded	Air	♁	♏

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Element</i>	<i>Planet</i>	<i>Sign</i>
<pre> * * * * * * * </pre>	Tristitia Sadness Damnation Crossing	Earth	♄	♈
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Puella Girl Pure face	Water	♀	♎
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Puer Boy Yellow Beardless	Fire	♂	♏
<pre> * * * * * * * * </pre>	Albus White Bright	Water	♊	♍
<pre> * * * * * * * </pre>	Rubeus Reddish Red	Fire	♂	♋
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Caput Head Entering the threshold The upper threshold	Earth	♁	♊
<pre> * * * * * </pre>	Cauda Tail Exiting the threshold The lower threshold	Fire	♂	♏

Chapter 49

Of images whose figure is not like some celestial figure,
but of that which the mind of the operator desires.

There are yet other kinds of images that are not according to the likeness of a celestial figure but according to the likeness of that which the operator desires, which are effigies and impressions.¹

Thus, for love, we make images embracing each other, and for discord beating each other.² For bringing disaster or destruction or hindrance either to a man, home, city, or another thing, we make distorted images, with members broken and in parts, according to the likeness and figure for that thing that we wish to destroy or hinder.

And magicians command that when casting or sculpting images, to inscribe the name of their effect: this [name] on the back when evil, such as for destruction, and on the stomach when good, such as for love³; additionally, on the forehead of the image, the name of the type or individual that the image describes, or for whom or against that for which it is made; and again [inscribe] the name of the sign or the face rising and its lord in the breast, also their characters and names of their angels. They also command that when making images, prayers for those effects for which the images are made must not be silent; indeed, Albertus Magnus affirms all of this in his book *Speculum*.⁴

However, these images are made according to the diversity of their virtues, and they are used diversely: these images are sometimes suspended or bound to the body, in a chimney over smoke or from a tree so that they move in the wind, sometimes with the head up, sometimes down. [They are also] buried under the earth or under rivers, or dropped into boiling water or in fire.

Indeed, they said that as much that the operator of the images affects the image itself, so far as the likeness of his passions are brought into that which ascribed, is exactly dictated by the mind of the operator.⁵ just as we read the magician Nectanabus made images of ships in wax according to this manner and skill, he sunk these images in water, and in a similar manner the ships of his enemies sunk into the sea and were destroyed.⁶ However, we must observe the constellations for these kinds of images and the like, as we are taught by those parts of astrology that are written about elections.

Chapter 50

Of certain celestial observations and the practice of some of their images.

I will tell you of the manner of the observation of celestial bodies that are required for the practice of some of the images of this kind.

For making something fortunate, we make the image in which these are fortunate—that is, the significator of life, the givers of life,¹ signs, and planets. We also make fortunate the ascendant, midheaven, and their lords; likewise, the place of the Sun, place of the Moon, the Part of Fortune, the lord of conjunction or prevention before their nativity,² and malevolent planets suppressed. However, if we wish to make images for destruction, we must act to the contrary to that which was fortunate, we put in an unfortunate place, rising malevolent stars. Act in a similar way for making some place, region, city, or home fortunate.

Likewise, for destroying or impeding something of what is said above, make an image under the ascendant of that thing which you wish to destroy or impede. Make unfortunate the lord of the house of his life,³ the lord of the ascendant and the Moon, the lord of the house of the Moon, the lord of the house of the lord of the ascendant, the lord of the tenth, and the lord [of the thing itself]. But for the suitability of some place, put the fortunes in the ascendant and in the first house, the tenth, second, and eighth, and make the lord of the ascendant fortunate and the lord of the house of the ruler of the ascendant, make the Moon fortunate, and the lord of the house of the Moon.⁴

To make certain animals flee from a certain place, so that they will not be able to generate, live, or persist, make an image under the ascendant of that animal that we wish to chase away and the like. For example, if we wish to chase away scorpions from some place, make an image of a scorpion, rising in the sign of Scorpio with the Moon, and make the ascendant and its lord unfortunate, as well as the lord of the house of Mars. Make the lord of the ascendant unfortunate in the eighth and join them in a malevolent aspect, opposite or square. Inscribe in the image the name of the ascendant and its lord, the name of the Moon, the name of the lord of the day, and the name of the lord of the hour. Then make a pit in the middle of the place, from where you wish to drive out [the scorpions], and bring into it earth taken from the four corners of the same place⁵ and bury the image there, head down, praying or mentioning: “This is the grave of scorpions, so that they will not enter this place,” and similar statements of this kind.⁶

For profit, make an image under the ascendant of the nativity of a man or under the ascendant of that place⁷ from where you wish to gain profit. Make fortunate the ascendant and its lord and make the lord of the second house, which is the house of substance, joined with the lord of the ascendant in a trine or sextile, with a reception between them. Make fortunate the eleventh and its lord and the eighth; and if possible, place the Part of Fortune in the ascendant or the second; and bury the image in that place or carry it from there to where you wish to gain profit.⁸

For friendship and love, make an image on the day of Jupiter, under the ascendant of the nativity of the one who you wish to love. Make the ascendant and tenth fortunate, and hide evil from the ascendant. Have the lord of the tenth and eleventh be fortunate planets, joined with the lord of the ascendant in a trine or sextile with reception. Then make the other image—that is, for the one you wish to inspire and love—consider if it is a friend or a companion you wish to love: if so, make the image under the ascendant of the eleventh house from the ascendant of the first image. However, if it is made for a wife or husband, make it under the ascendant of the seventh; if a brother or sister, make it under the ascendant of the third and thus the like. Put the significator of the ascendant of the second image joined with the significator of the ascendant of the first image. Make a reception between them and the rest fortunate, as in the first image. Then join both images together in an embrace or place the face of the second image to the back of the first image and wrap them in fine linen and carry or bury them.⁹

Likewise, for successful petitions and for gaining a thing denied, taken, or possessed by another, make an image under the ascendant of the one who desires the thing and make the lord of the second joined with the lord of the ascendant in a trine or sextile with a reception between them, and if possible have the lord of the second be in an obedient sign and the lord of the ascendant in a commanding sign. Make the ascendant fortunate and its lord, and make sure that the lord of the ascendant is not retrograde, combust, cadent, or in the opposite house—that is, in the seventh from their domicile, not impeded from malefics and fortunes in an angle. Make fortunate the ascendant, the lord of the second, and the Moon. Then make the other image for that which is petitioned and begin it under the ascendant concerning it; such as if it is a king or prince, begin under the ascendant of the tenth house from the ascendant of the first image, if a father under the fourth, if a son under the fifth, and so on. Put the significator of the second image joined with the lord of the ascendant of the first image, in a trine or sextile and in reception with each other, and place both strongly and fortunately without impediments. Make all malefics cadent from them, and if possible, make the tenth and fourth fortunate, or any of them. When the second image is complete, join it with the first, face to face, and wrap them in clean linen and bury them in the middle of house of the one who desired the thing, under a fortunate significator with the fortunes strong, and make the face of the first image face the north, or rather against the place where the thing desired is detained. If it happens that the petitioner goes to the place where the thing petitioned is [they should] carry the images with them for as far as they go.¹⁰

There are also images made for dreams that are placed under the head of a sleeper who excels in causing dreams of truth for whatever thing the mind [of the sleeper] previously pondered: and the figure of it is the figure of a sleeping man in the bosom of an angel, which is made with Leo rising, the Sun in Aries posited in the ninth house. Then on the breast of the man, inscribe the name of the desired effect, but in the head of angel the name of the intelligence of the Sun. The same image is made with Virgo rising, with Mercury in Aries made fortunate in the ninth house, or Gemini rising, Mercury made fortunate and in Aquarius in the ninth, with Saturn happily aspecting with reception, and inscribe the name of the spirit¹¹ of Mercury. The same is also made with Libra rising, Venus in Gemini in the ninth house receiving Mercury, and inscribe the name of the angel of Venus. Again, the same image is made with Aquarius rising, Saturn in its exaltation which is Libra, well-placed in the ninth, and inscribed with the angel of Saturn. There is yet another with Cancer rising, the Moon in Pisces receiving Jupiter and Venus, which are well placed in the ninth house and inscribed with the spirit of the Moon.

Image for dreams.

Additionally, rings made for dreams are wonderfully effective. There are rings of the Sun and Saturn: their constellation is when the Sun or Saturn rise in their exaltations in the ninth house, and when the Moon¹² is joined with Saturn in the ninth house, and in that sign, which is the ninth house of the nativity. Inscribe on the ring the name of the spirit of the Sun or Saturn and fasten a stone of its image carved on it and placed under it a root or plant¹³ according to the ruler as we have read elsewhere.

Rings for dreams.

This is enough said about images: now you will be able to find more about this sort of thing by yourself. But know that no operations of images of this kind [will work], unless made alive by themselves being either a natural, celestial, heroic, ensouled, daemonic, or angelic virtue instilled or attended into them. But how can a soul be given to an image and vivify a stone or metal or wood or wax and “the sons of Abraham will rise up from stones”?¹⁴ Surely these secrets cannot enter into an artist with a stiff neck,¹⁵ nor can [the secrets] give that which [the artist] does not have; no one has them unless they restrain the elements, conquer nature, overcome heaven, transcend the progress of angels all the way to the Archetype itself, can then cooperate with all, of which we will speak later

Chapter 51

Of characters that are made after the pattern and imitation
of the celestials, and how they are deduced from
geomantic figures with a table of them.

Characters also have their fellowship from the rays of the stars according to a certain number connected to each other by a certain particular quality. Indeed, these celestials, just as in one way the diverse ways of their pulsing rays among each other, and in another way combing into different virtues, thus also characters according to the diverse courses of these kinds of rays in one way, and in another way diversely elongated, suddenly obtain operations—and are often a more effective quality than physical mixtures.

But the true characters of the celestials are the writings of angels, which the Hebrews called “the writing of Malachim,” by which all are described and signified and anyone who knows can read—but more of this later.

However, they also make characters from geomantic figures, connecting single points in various ways and according to the same rationale of their forming, assigning those to planets and signs from which they were formed: and the following table will explain the art of these.

Characters of the Moon

From the Via

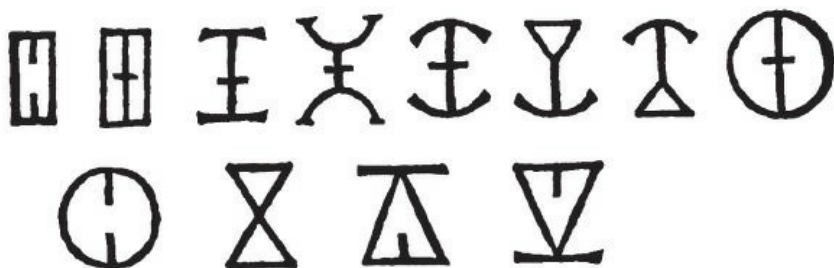


From the Populus



Characters of Mercury

From
Coniunctio

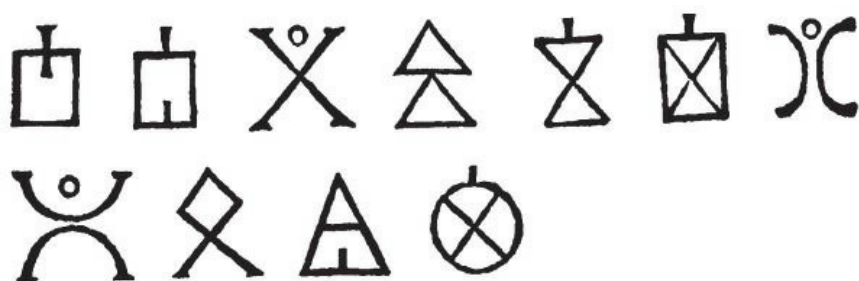


From
Albus



Characters of Venus

From
Amissio



From
Puella

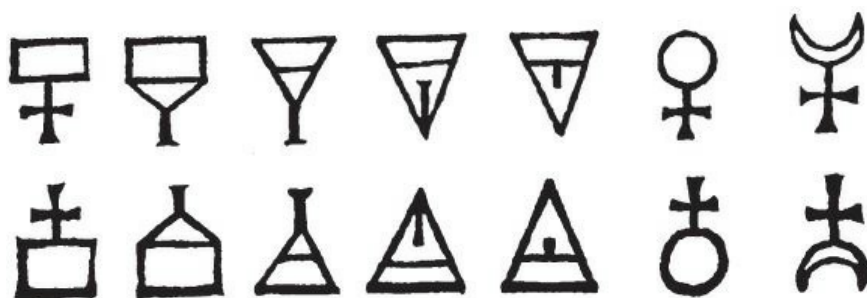


Characters of the Sun

From
Fortuna
Maior



From
Fortuna
Minor

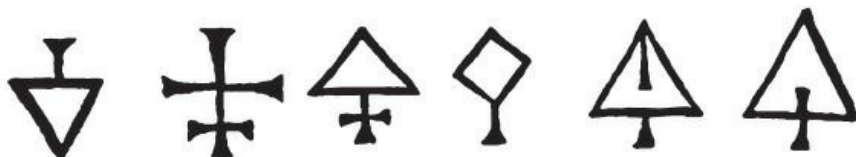


Characters of Mars

From
Rubeus



From
Puer



Characters of Jupiter

From
Aquisitio

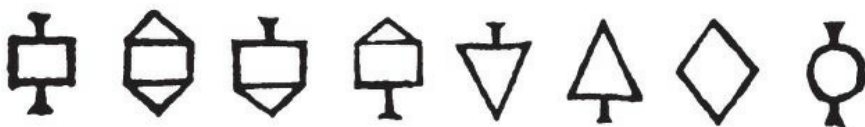


From
Laetitia



Characters of Saturn

From
Cancer



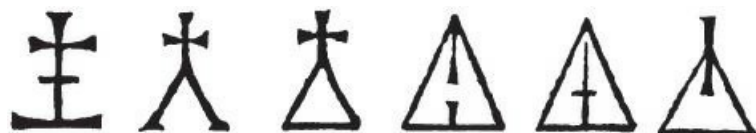
From
Tristitia



From the Caput Draconis



From the Cauda Draconis



Chapter 52

Of characters that are derived from things themselves with a certain similarity.¹

We have said above that certain images are not according to a similarity of celestial image but according to an emulation of what the mind of the operator desires; and for the same reason, certain characters are understood. Accordingly, characters of this kind are no more than badly unarticulated images, yet they have a certain plausible similarity with celestial images or the desires of the operator's mind, whether it is from the entire image, or from some certain mark portraying the entire image: just as such characters of Aries and Taurus are from the forms of horns  ,  , Gemini from embracing  , Cancer from advancing and returning  , Leo, Scorpio, and Capricorn from tails  ,  ,  , Virgo from a spike²  ,  , Libra from a balance  , Sagittarius from an arrow  , Aquarius from waves  , and Pisces from fish .

What characters are.

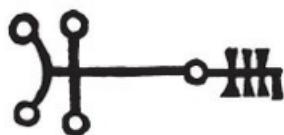
For a similar reason, the character of Saturn is drawn from a sickle  ,  , Jupiter a scepter  ,  , Mars from a lance  , the Sun from a round and golden brightness  ,  , Venus from a mirror  , Mercury from a caduceus  ,  , the Moon from the horns of increasing and decreasing .

Following these are the mixtures of the signs and stars and natures are also constituted of mixed characters, such as the triplicity of fire  , earth  , air  , and water .

Similarly, the 120 [possible] conjunctions [of the planets] result in just as many composed characters with multilayered figures—that is,  , or thus  , or thus  , Saturn and Mars  , or thus  , Jupiter and Mars  , or thus  , Saturn, Jupiter and Mars  , or thus



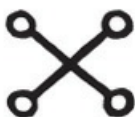
. And so these are exemplified by two and three, and also thus from the rest and more can be formed and by the same rationale. Certain celestial images in some rising face or degree in a sign the likeness of images are briefly drawn, which are made according to the way of imitation of the desires of the mind of the operator—such as for love figures are mixed to be embracing each other, obeying each other. However, for hatred they are averted opposing from each other, attaching, separate, and dissolute. There are other characters that Hermes assigned to the fixed and Behenian stars that we must not neglect to depict here. They are:³



Caput Algol



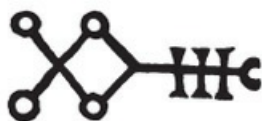
Pleiades



Aldebaran



The Goat



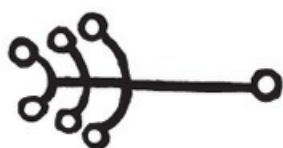
Canis Major



Canis Minor



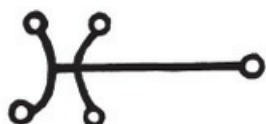
Cor Leonis



Tail of the Bear



The Wing of the Raven



Spica



Alcameth



Elpheia



Heart of the Scorpion



Falling Vulture



Tail of Capricorn

Chapter 53

How no divination without astrology is perfect.

In the preceding, we have spoken of various different kinds of divination. However, it must be noted that all of these require the use and canons of astrology as a most necessary key for noticing all secrets, and all kinds of divination have their roots and foundations in astrology since, without it, little or nothing will seem to be accomplished.

Inasmuch as the celestials are causes and signs of all that exists and is made in the inferior [world], astrological divination grants the most certain demonstrations of whichever things are hidden or future from only the situation and motion of the celestial bodies. Of this we will say no more here, since huge volumes have been written of this knowledge by the ancients and are openly available everywhere.

Therefore, if a physiognomist inspects the body, face, forehead, or hands, or if a soothsayer scrutinizes a dream or auspice, the celestial figure must equally be scrutinized if the right future is to be judged. From the indications [of the celestial figure] along with the conjectures of the similarity of the signs [taken from other arts, one can] create truthful opinions of the signifiers.

But also if some portent appears in the sky, the celestial figure must be built. Also scrutinize the preceding revolutions of the years, great conjunctions,¹ and eclipses. Consider the nativity of the prince, nation, region, and city where [the portent] appeared, beginnings, coronations,² foundations, revolutions, profections,³ directions, and that which is from them, and to which place the celestial figure falls. From all of these, we may finally find a rational and true signification of these things. With this same sequence, yet with less work, we can also explain dreams. Indeed, those who are entranced⁴ in a frenzy do not predict the future unless agitated by the stars or inferior instruments of these; from where in the end, their predictions can be adapted by the celestials, just as we read in Lucan of the Etruscan prophet:

Is well-taught in the motions of lightning and of warm pulsing

*Entrails and the wandering motions of birds in the air;*⁵

after the city was purified, the victim sacrificed, and the entrails inspected, they finally pronounced their opinions from the dispositions of the stars in the heavens.

Geomancy, the most accurate of lots, [is performed] by marking the earth or another surface, through divination by chance,⁶ or by the power from certain inscriptions. [All of these processes] are first reduced from celestial figures—that is, to those sixteen [figures] named above. A judgment is formed in an astrological manner from those qualities and methods. Hence, they observed any of the more divine natural lots, whose power can be from no [other source] but from heaven and the mind of the operator.

Accordingly, whatever is moved in these inferiors is moved, agitated and produced, by the movements of the superior influences, and necessarily imitates these. They are reduced from the roots, causes, and signs, just as [with geomancy, and thus] our opinions are likewise indicated from astrological rules.

Hence, tetrahedron, hexahedron, octahedron, dodecahedron, and icosahedron dice made and inscribed with certain numbers, signs, and stars at opportune times under the celestial influences, obtain a wonderful divining virtue and predictions from throwing them, such as the Praenestian dice, in which were read the fates of the Romans.^{[7](#)}

Chapter 54

Of lots and from when and where the virtues of their divinations are produced.

Whatever divinations and human events that are predicted by lots, besides the lot itself, there must necessarily be some certain sublime, hidden, and occult cause, which indeed are not caused by accident such as how Aristotle described fortune;¹ because in the sequence of causes, since according to Platonists a cause by accident cannot be a first and sufficient cause, we must look higher to find a cause that recognizes and intends the effect. But this is not in corporeal nature, but in immaterial and incorporeal substances. These things truly administer lots and dispense indications of truth, to arrange [according to] the necessary such as in the human mind, different spirits and daemons, in the celestial intelligences, or in God Himself.

It is well known that the human soul possesses sufficient power and virtue for directing lots of this kind, because there is a divine soul [of which our own souls are] a likeness. As we said in the first book, there is in our souls an apprehension and power of all things.² All things have a natural obedience to it, and necessarily have a motion and effectiveness to it. They desire what the soul strongly desires, and all virtues and operations of natural and artificial things obey it when brought into the great excess of its desire. All lots of any kind help the appetites of such souls and acquire for themselves wonderful virtues of prognostications—it is with these, and also from the opportune celestials in that hour, where these kinds of excessive appetites especially take hold.

This same rationale is also the foundation of all astrological questions,³ because the soul is elevated in some excessive desire and seizes for itself an hour and opportunity more appropriate and effective,⁴ over which the celestial figure is made. Then the astrologer can judge and clearly recognize what the querent wishes to know and desires.

Because the human mind certainly does not always direct lots, but (as we have said), the office of other spirits sometimes direct lots, nor is the mind of the prophet always disposed to those that we said are excessive passions. Hence the ancients customarily sent forth certain ceremonies before casting lots, to which the divine intelligences and spirits were called in and rightly directed the lots.

Therefore, whatever prognostications these kinds of lots portend, must not come from accident or fortune but from a spiritual cause, whose power moves the imagination or the hand casting or drawing the lot,⁵ whether that power comes from the soul of the operator by the great excess of his affection, from the influence and timing of the celestials, or from a certain divinity or spirit assisting and moving from the other side, whether these lots are done by casting knucklebones, set in motion by dice, or occur in verses, which were once done with the lots of Homer and Virgil. We read of these [lots] in Aelius Spartianus, that Hadrian once asked where the Emperor Trajan's mind was toward him and came up with these verses.⁶

Maro.

*But who from far away is distinguished by an olive branch
And carries the sacred vessel, I recognize his hair and chin quite gray⁷
The king of Rome, whose laws first established the city
With tiny spears and a poor land
Comes a great empire;*

With these verses, his hope of acquiring the Empire was not in vain.⁸

Likewise, among the Hebrews and us Christians, and not disapproved of by certain theologians, are lots taken from verses of Psalms. There are many more kinds of lots: there are human lots, which predict nothing, that are observed by the ancients and us and are also entrusted by laws in choosing magistrates to avoid causing envy.⁹ Cicero also makes mention in *In Verrem*,¹⁰ but this is not our intention.

However, divine and sacred lots are observed from oracles and religion, of these, we will discuss in the following book. In this way, I must admonish you that whatever presages, divinations, or predictions you learn from lots, these are not because of the lots themselves, but by virtue of some higher operation bound to them.

Chapter 55

Of the World Soul and celestials according to the traditions of poets and philosophers.

It is necessary that the sky and the celestial bodies—because they have a power, influence, and undoubted operation in these inferiors—are animated, since an operation is less able to come from a pure body. Therefore, the world and celestial bodies have a soul, and indeed an intelligence, as all noblest poets and philosophers affirm; hence, Marcus Manilius sang to Augustus in *Astronomica*:

Manilius.

*This work constructed with the immeasurable body of the world
And members of nature formed with diverse secrets
Situating air and fire, earth and sea
The strength of a divine soul rules, and God unites
Sacred movements, and steers with a silent reason.*¹

Likewise, Lucan:

Lucan.

*The void of air, that holds the entire globe
Shared by the great Jove.*²

And Boethius:

Boethius.

*You are a medium moving the whole threefold nature
Joining the soul, resolving by harmonious members*

*That, when cut in two motions, combines in globes
Returning to itself and going around the boundless mind
And changing the heavens with a like image.*³

And Virgil, the most complete of all philosophies, sang in the sixth
Aeneid:

Maro.

*First the heavens and earth and liquid plain
And shining Lunar globe and Titanian stars
The spirit feeding within and infusing the entire frame
The mind moves about the whole and mixes with the great body.
From them come the lives of all kinds of men, animals, birds
And monsters from under the marbled sea;
Fire is their power and their heavenly source
As great harmful bodies do not hinder them.*⁴

Indeed, why do these verses seem to refer to other wills, as the world not only has a spirit and soul, but also sharing the divine mind and the origin, virtue, and vigor of all inferiors, that depend on the World Soul?⁵ All Platonists, Pythagoreans, Orpheus, Trismegistus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Avicenna, Algazeles,⁶ and all Paripatetics acknowledge and confirm this.⁷

Chapter 56

The same is confirmed by reason.

The world, heavens, stars, and elements have a soul, with which a soul is caused in these inferior and mixed things. They also have a spirit, as was said in the previous book, that mediates their soul and is close to their body. The whole body of the world is a single body, whose parts are all living bodies. As much as the whole is more perfect and nobler than the parts, the world body is that much more perfect and nobler than a single living body. It would be absurd [to assert] that each small imperfect body, part of the world, and each lowly animal, such as flies and larvae are worthy, possess life, and have a soul, and the whole world itself—a more perfect, whole, and more perfect body—is not alive nor has a soul.¹ It is no less absurd that the heavens, stars, and elements, who most bountifully give a life and soul to each thing, are themselves without life and soul, and that any plants or trees would be nobler than the heavens, stars, and elements, that are naturally their cause.

Indeed, who denies that earth and water are living, from which [elements] trees, plants, and animals generate, vivify, nourish, and increase, unless life were allotted [to them]? Thus, even the most obvious [example] appears in spontaneous births which have no corporeal seed. The elements could not generate and nourish life of this kind, if they themselves are without a life and soul.

Perhaps they might say that life of this kind is not produced from the souls of earth or water, but from the influence of celestial spirits; Platonists answer to this that accident cannot generate a substance² unless by chance, such as with an instrument that is exposed near the substances—but they say “near the substances,” because an instrument apart from the artist cannot be moved according to the effect of the art.

Thus also those celestial influences, since they are certain accidents far removed from their vital substances or from life itself, they will not generate vital substances in these inferiors.³ Hermes [Trismegistus] wrote in his treatise *Of the Common*, saying: “Everything that is in the world moves by increase or decrease.” Moreover, that which moves, therefore, lives. Since everything moves, also the earth—especially through generative and alterative motion—likewise lives. If one doubts the celestials live, Theophrastus said, they should not be thought as a philosopher,⁴ and those who deny that the celestials are animated, therefore as a mover and not a form of it, destroys the foundations of all philosophy.⁵ Therefore, the world lives, has a soul, and has perception. It accordingly gives life to [those] plants which are not generated from seed, and provides soul to [those] animals which are not born from intercourse.⁶

Chapter 57

That the World Soul and celestial souls are rational and share in the Divine Mind.

That souls have reason, as we have said, is well known. The universal works of the souls, as we mentioned, conspire among themselves in a certain perpetual order. By necessity, they are not ruled by chance but by reason. According to that reason they direct and lead their operations toward certainties. Indeed, it is necessary that earth has reason of earthy things and water of watery things, and likewise in other things with each begetting in their time, place, and order, and often restoring injuries.¹

Therefore, philosophers do not think that the Earth Soul is like a soul of some mere body, but rational, intelligent, and additionally a goddess.² Besides, it is absurd if we have reasons for our operations, and celestial souls and the Universal Soul do not have reasons for theirs.³ If, as Plato said, the world is made from the Good itself, then it is made as well as it can be. It surely shares not only life, perception, and reason, but also intelligence and mind.⁴

Since the perfection of the body is the soul, and a more perfect body has a more perfect soul, it is therefore necessary that a celestial body—which is most perfect—also has the most perfect soul.⁵ Therefore, they share an intellect and mind, which Platonists also prove by the persistence of [the celestials'] order and direction, because motion by their nature is free and easily able to be crooked, and in turn wander, unless regulated by an intelligence and mind. Indeed, that [mind] being perfect, it foresees from the beginning by the most chosen path, and the best ending. That perfect mind is the most powerful [attribute] of the soul. The World Soul, and the souls of the bodies of the celestials and elements, are as such without a doubt the most ordered and perfect for governing work appointed to them, since bodies do not resist more powerful souls, and perfect minds do not vary their deliberation.⁶

Therefore, the World Soul is a certain single life filling everything, spreading over all, binding and connecting everything so that the whole world becomes one machine and as one instrument resounding from three kinds of creatures, intellectual, celestial and incorruptible,⁷ with only one breath and one life.

Chapter 58

Of the names of the celestial souls and their lordship in this inferior world—namely man.¹

There are very many and diverse names for celestial souls, according to the various powers and virtues in these inferiors, from which many various names are assigned, which the ancients used in their hymns and invocations. One must note that every soul of this kind, according to Orphic theology, is said to have a double virtue: one placed in understanding, the other in allowing the vivifying and rulership of its body. In this way, Orpheus called the first virtue in the celestial spheres Bacchus. He called the other the Muse. Hence, one is not intoxicated by some Bacchus without first being connected with their Muse.

Therefore, they describe nine Bacchi around nine Muses. In the ninth sphere, Orpheus placed Bacchus Cribonius and the Muse Calliope; in the starry heaven Picionius and Urania; in the heaven of Saturn Amphietus and Polyhymnia; in the heaven of Jupiter, Sabasius and Terpsichore; in the heaven of Mars, Bassarius and Clio; in the heaven of the Sun Trietericus and Melpomene; in the heaven of Venus, Lysius and Erato; in the heaven of Mercury, Silenus and Euterpe; in the heaven of the Moon, Bacchus Lyaeus and the Muse Thalia.

Likewise, in the elemental spheres, the souls are named in this way: in fire is placed Phanes and Aurora;² in air Jove, lord of lightning, and Juno; in water Oceanus and Thetys; in earth Pluto and Proserpina.³

However, magicians call the World Soul or entire universe Jupiter of the World, the mind of the world is called Apollo, and the nature of the world is called Minerva; also, in fire Vulcan, in water Neptune;⁴ and they named them with various names.

Likewise in each of the twelve constellations of the zodiac, Pythagoreans placed particular gods or souls in the hearts of those constellations, and thus ruled the entire constellation—that is, in the heart of Aries a particular Pallas; in the heart of Taurus a particular Venus; in Gemini a particular Phoebus; in Cancer Mercury; in Leo Jupiter; in Virgo Ceres; in Libra Vulcan; in Scorpio Mars; in Sagittarius Diana; in Capricorn Vesta; in Aquarius a particular Juno; in the heart of Pisces a particular Neptune.⁵ Thus, Manilius listed in his verses:

Manilius.

*The Ram Pallas, Taurus Cytherea protects,
Beautiful Phoebus Gemini, Cyllenius Cancer.*

*Jupiter and the Mother of God rules Leo,
 Corn-bearing Ceres [rules] Virgo and Vulcan
 Builds Libra, Mars fights the difficulties of Scorpio,
 Diana strengthens the hunt, but shares the horse
 And Vesta favors the straits of Capricorn,
 And Jupiter faces Juno in Aquarius,⁶
 And Neptune in the sea recognizes his Pisces.⁷*

The most ancient Orpheus writing to the most distinguished Musaeus enumerated these heavenly gods and their various names, considerations, and duties assigned to them and made individual appeals to them with hymns. Therefore, no one should think that these are the names of evil and deceptive daemons but rather natural and divine virtues distributed to the world by God for the ministry and usefulness of man who knows their usefulness.⁸

And the ancients themselves appointed each of these deities to each of the members of man, for example, the ear to Memoriae,⁹ and which Virgil dedicated to Phoebus saying:

*. . . My ear Cynthus,
 Pulled and warned me.*

Thus, the right hand signifies strength and makes oaths, which Numa Pompilius said (as narrated by Livy) is consecrated to Faith. The fingers are under the tutelage of Minerva and the knees are given to Misericordia.¹⁰ because those who come to pray bend them. Some dedicated the navel to Venus as the seat of luxury; others refer to it because it is the center to all the members, dedicate it to Jupiter; hence the effigy of an umbilicus is celebrated in the temple of Jupiter Ammon.¹¹ The ancients described many others, likewise their names are ascribed to each of the smallest members and joints; which if they are rightly understood and the true gods presiding over them recognized, nothing will alienate them from their loyal duty, since sacred speech testifies that all of our members are ruled by heavenly virtues,¹² of which more will be said in the following book.

Nor is this only for the members, but any of the activities of men are distributed to deities—as veneration to Diana, war to Pallas, and agriculture to Ceres. Of this the Oracle of Apollo said to Porphyry:

*The mother of the gods watches over pipes and drums
 And choirs of women, Pallas loves harsh and horrible battles
 Diana has the woods and pastures and the hunt
 Juno has the humid air
 Ceres gives wheat, searches for Osiris*

Her faithful husband in the banks of the wide Nile.[13](#)

Chapter 59

Of the seven governors of the world, the planets, and their various magical names devoted to speeches.

Additionally, there are seven governors of the world.¹ As Hermes said, they are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon—and these are called and invoked with various names and epithets.

Saturn.

Saturn is called Coelius,² the scythe-bearer, father of the gods, lord of time, the lofty lord, the great, the wise, the intelligent, the ingenious, the orbiter³ of a long space, old man of great profundity, author of secret contemplation, impressing or suppressing great thoughts in the hearts of men, destroying and preserving all, subverting and establishing strength and power, guard and revealer of the hidden, causer of loss and discovery, and author of life and death.

Jupiter.

Thus Jupiter is called, as it were, a helping father, king of heaven, magnanimous, thundering, lightning, unconquered, highest power, greatest power, good, fortunate, the sweetest, mild, good will, distinguished, the world, walking well and in honor, lord of joy and judgment, wise, truthful, revealer of the truth, judge of all, excelling in all goodness, lord of wealth and wisdom.

Mars.

Mars is called Mavors, powerful in war, gory, bloody, powerful in arms, sword-bearing, magnanimous, bold, untamed, noble, lightning, strong in power and impetuously hastening, against whom no one can defend themselves if they wish to oppose him, who destroys the strong and powerful and deposes kings from their thrones, lord of heat and power, lord of fiery heat, and the blood planet, who inflames the hearts of quarrelers and excels in and grants boldness.

The Sun.

The Sun is called Phoebus, Diespiter,⁴ Apollo, Titan, Pean, Phanes, Horus, Osiris,⁵ as in that oracle:

*The Sun and likewise Osiris, Dionysus, Horus, Apollo
King and retainer of light and holder back of night,
Whose winds move the rains, who changes seasons,
Highest king of the stars, and immortal fire.*⁶

It is also called bow-carrier,⁷ burning, fiery, golden, flame-bearing, radiant, fiery-haired, golden-haired, eye of the world, light-bringer,⁸ seeing much, holding all, creator of light, king of the stars, the great lord, good, fortunate, distinguished, the world, aware, understanding, wise, glowing over the entire world, governing and vivifying all bodies that have a soul, prince of the world, keeping all of the stars under him, lighting all of the stars and obscuring their virtues by its nearness, burning and overcoming them,⁹ yet by its light and splendor, it gives light and splendor to all.¹⁰ At night he is called Dionysus, but in the day Apollo as if driving away evil; therefore, the Athenians called it Alexicacon¹¹ and Homer called it “Ulion”—that is, expeller of evil. However, it is called Phoebus because of its splendor and brightness, and Vulcan from its violent fire, because that power depends much on fire. But it is called the Sun because it contains the light of all the stars; hence, the Assyrians call it 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Adad, which signifies “alone” and from the Hebrews שמש Schemesch, which is interpreted as “individual.”¹²

Venus.

Venus is called the lady, nourishing, beautiful, starry, glittering, pretty, gentle, very powerful, fertile lady of love and beauty, original parent of the races of the world and men, who in the first beginning of things united the two different sexes in love, and with the eternal offspring of men and species of animals propagate daily, the queen of all delights, lady of joy, lady¹³ of the friendly, female friend, merciful and receiving good, always perpetually beneficent to the mortal, mother of sweet affection, granting chance mercy, safeguarder¹⁴ of the human species, allowing no moment of time pass empty of beneficence nor idle,¹⁵ promising all of her virtues, humbling the high to the low, strengthening the weak, the noble to the mean, rectifying and equalizing all. She is also called Aphrodite because, in all sexes, she is found in every mind. She is named Lucifera, as it were, a bringer of the light of the Sun, or leading us to the light.¹⁶ She is called Hesperus when she follows the Sun, and she is called Phosphorus, by uniting everything however difficult.¹⁷

Mercury.

Mercury is called the son of Jupiter, herald of the gods, interpreter of heaven, Stilbon,¹⁸ the serpent-

bearer, the staff-bearer, the wingfooted, eloquent, bringer of wealth, wise, rational, valiant, strenuous, powerful in good and evil, notary to the Sun, messenger of Jupiter, communicator between the gods above and below, male with men, female with women, fertile with both sexes¹⁹; and Lucan called him the arbiter of the gods. He is also called Hermes—that is, the interpreter, enlightening all that is dark and uncovering all that is hidden in inner places.²⁰

The Moon.

The Moon is called Phoebe, Diana, Lucina, Proserpina, Hecate, menstrua, a semi-form, evening light,²¹ wandering, silent, two-horned, safeguarder, night-wanderer, horn-bearer, queen of heaven, the highest of gods, first of the heavenly gods and goddesses, queen of the underworld, lady of all of the elements, she whom the stars answer, returning times, serving elements, with whose nod lightnings breathe forth, sprouting seeds, growing buds, original parent of crops, sister of Phoebus, shining and brilliant, carrying light from one planet to the rest, illuminating all of the deities with her light, confining the various movements of the stars, dispensing ever-changing lights by the circuit of the Sun, lady of great beauty, lady of rain and waters, giver of wealth, nurse of men, governor of all positions, pious and merciful, protecting men at land and sea, mitigating tempests with fortune, dispensing with fate, nurturing all that is born on the earth, wandering through various sacred groves, confining attacks from larvae, holding fast the gates of the earth, the culminating brilliance of heaven, the healthful winds²² of the sea, her nod managing the deplorable silence of hell, ruling the world, treading upon Tartarus, whose majesty makes the birds flying in the sky, beasts wandering in the mountains, serpents hiding alone, and beasts swimming in the sea all shudder.²³

The rest of the names, epithets, surnames, invocations, and the like of these stars and planets more can be known if one wishes and carefully searches and may be collected from the Orphic hymns. If one understands these true things, they will attain a great understanding of natural magic.

Chapter 60

That human imprecations naturally imprint their powers
in outer things, and how the human mind through each
degree of dependencies ascends in the intelligible world
and becomes like the more sublime spirits and
intelligences.

The celestial souls flow their virtues into the celestial bodies, who then transmit them to this sensible world. Indeed, the virtues of the terrestrial orb proceed from no other cause, than from the celestials.

Hence, magicians who work through them use a clever invocation of the superiors, with mysterious words and a certain ingenious speech, drawing one to the other, yet with a natural strength by a certain mutual agreement between them. By these invocations, things voluntarily follow or are sometimes unwillingly drawn.

Thus, as it is said in Aristotle's *Of Mystical Philosophy*, book six, anyone who calls upon the Sun or the other stars with binding or bewitching, beseeching so that they cooperate with the desired operation, the Sun or stars will not hear that sermon. However, they are moved in some way by a certain natural connection and mutual sequence, where parts of the world are mutually subordinate to each other and have a mutual agreement according to their great union.

So just as in the human body, one single member moves perceiving the movement of another, and in a cithara when a single string moves the others move; thus, when anyone moves some part of the world, the others perceive that motion. Therefore, the knowledge of the dependencies of things following each other is the foundation of all wonderful operations, which is necessarily required for exercising the power of attracting more superior virtues.

But the words of men are certain natural things because the parts of the world naturally draw each other and mutually act with one another. Therefore, a magician invokes by the operation of words through the suitable powers of nature, leading some by a love of one to the other, drawing according to one thing following the other, or repelling according to the hatred of one to the other by the contrariety and difference of things and multitude of virtues. Although they are opposite or different, they yet complete one part. He also sometimes compels things by a certain lordship of the celestial virtue, because he is not a stranger to the sky.

Therefore man, if he receives the impression of some binding or bewitching, does not receive it according to the rational soul, but the sensual. If part of [a man] suffers, he suffers according to the animal and lower-world part. Indeed, they are not able to draw a knowing and intelligent [man] by reason, but by taking in that impression and attacking by sense, inasmuch as by the celestial influences and cooperation of worldly things, the animal spirit of man is affected beyond its pristine or completely natural

disposition.

This is like how the son moves the father to work: [with the father] protecting and graciously feeding the son, although wearied and even if reluctant. The appetite for domination moves one to irascibility and other labors for acquiring lordship. An indigent nature and a fear of poverty moves one to desire wealth. Ornaments and the beauty of women incite one to desire. The harmony of an experienced musician moves the hearer to various passions, of which some voluntarily follow the harmony of the art, others also conform themselves with a gesture also unwillingly, because their senses are captivated, not rationally intending to do these things.

But these kinds of bewitchings and bindings are not admired by the common people, nor [are they] detested, because [such things] are customary. However, they admire other physical things because they are ignorant and not accustomed to them; hence, they fall into errors,¹ thinking these things are above nature or against it because they are from nature and follow them.

Therefore, it must be known that each superior moves its nearest inferior in its degree and order not only in bodies but also in spirits. Thus, the universal soul moves particular souls, and the rational soul acts in the sensual, and [the sensual] in the vegetative. Any part of the world acts in others and each moves suitably according to the other: and any part of this inferior world suffers from the celestials according to its nature and aptitude, just as one part of an animal body suffers from another. The more superior intellectual world moves everything below it since it contains all that exists in the more inferior world from the first to the last.

Therefore, the celestial bodies move the elementary world (composed, generable, and sensible) from the furthest end² to the center by superior, perpetual, and spiritual essences by the primary intellect. [The primary intellect] is the acting intellect, into which God's Word inserts a virtue. The wise Chaldeans of Babylon called that Word the cause of causes, because from it "being" is produced. The acting intellect follows it, but according to the union of this Word with the First Author, from which all existence is produced.

Thus, the Word is the likeness of God, the acting intellect is the likeness of the Word, the soul is the likeness of the intellect, but our word is the likeness of the soul, by which it naturally acts on natural things because nature is the work of it. And each one of those perfects the one following it, as a father his son, and nothing after exists without its prior. Indeed, they depend on each other, depending on a certain arrangement. When [that arrangement is] later corrupted, [it] reverts to the first nearest to it, until it reaches to the heavens, then the universal soul, afterward to the acting intellect, where all other creations exist, each existing in the First Author, which is the creating Word, to whom finally everything returns.³

Therefore, our soul must, if we wish to work some wonderful operation in these inferiors, examine its beginning, so that it is strengthened, that it is illuminated and receives acting power through each degree from that First Author. Therefore, this granting is an operation, as we contemplate the souls of the stars more than their bodies. The super-celestial and intellectual world are more than the celestial bodies, because they are nobler, although they are also distinguished and illuminated. Without the medium of the [celestial bodies], the influences of the superior [supercelestial] cannot be followed.

What must be watched if the operator wishes to work wonders.

For example: the Sun, the king of the stars, most full of light, receives from the intelligible world over all other stars, because its soul is more capable of intelligible splendor; for which reason, if one wishes to attract the Sun's influences, they must contemplate the Sun not only by speculating its outer light, but also its inner light. No one can do this, unless they return themselves to the intellect of the Sun and avoid that which is not similar, seeing the intellectual, and comprehending that intelligible light, as with the corporeal eye with sensible light. In this way he will be filled with that splendor and light, which is a hypotype,⁴ impressing from the heavenly orb, receiving into itself. He is endowed with this enlightenment, truly they are equal and as if being helped by it. On behalf of the vow, his intellect will follow that supreme brightness and all forms participating with it.⁵ When he has drawn from the light of the supreme degree, then his soul approaches that perfection, and assimilates the spirits of the Sun, and reaches the virtues and enlightenments of the supernatural virtue and profits by their power, if he has obtained faith in the First Author.

Therefore, you should especially pray for the power and approval
from the First Author Himself, and not with the mouth only,
but also with religious gestures and a suppliant mind.
Pray abundantly, incessantly and honestly, as
He will enlighten the mind and remove
darkness growing over our souls
because of our bodies.⁶



End of Book Two

Three Books of Occult Philosophy



Book Three

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa on the Occult Philosophy or Magic



The Third and Last Book

The Divine World



Dedicatory Letter to Count Hermann of Weid

To the greatest lord, most illustrious Prince Hermann
of Weid, prince-elector, duke of Westphalia and
Angria, lord and archbishop of Cologne and Paderborn,
his most gracious lord, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of
Nettesheim.

It is the noblest opinion of ancient magicians, illustrious Prince, that we must work for nothing more in this life [to ensure] that our noble minds degenerate very little, because we will come close to being endued with divine nature, lest vanity and leisure numb the mind to the fragility of our earthly bodies and loosen the sins of the flesh, ruined as if we were thrown down the dark precipice of our perverse lusts. Therefore, we should prepare our minds to be suitable for the most worthy and noble memories, always thinking, doing, and working something worthy for itself.

But this only and greatly performs in our notion of divine science, when we remember its greatness while always occupied in divine studies, keenly and vigilantly inquiring and contemplating divine things at every moment, and by each degree creatures ascend all the way to the Archetype, from which all things draw from its unerring virtue. If this is neglected, trusting only in natural and mundane things, we often fall into various errors and confusions and are often deceived by evil daemons.¹

But the divine intelligence purges the mind of error and restores the divine. It grants infallible virtues to our operations and drives far away delusions and obstacles of all evil daemons, and likewise subjects them to our commands. It also collects good angels and virtues of the whole world into our ministry—that is, the virtue of our works being attracted from the Archetype itself, to whom when we ascend, all creatures necessarily obey us, and the heavenly chorus follows us. As Homer said: “None of the gods remained seated, as Jove advanced,”² and then immediately rules (as Aristophanes said)³ through any god,⁴ to whom is appointed to carry out divine law. Then, from them, their duty is to carry out our petitions according to our wishes.

Therefore, illustrious Prince, since a divine and immortal soul is given to you, which with the kindness of divine providence, an effortless fate, and

generous nature in such a way has been endowed to you, that with sharp and unimpaired senses, you are able to admire, explore, contemplate, discern, and judge the beautiful spectacle of natural things, the sublime temples of heaven, and the most difficult sanctuaries of divine things. I am bound to the obligation of your such great virtues, and I am also indebted to “learn without pretense” the mysteries of divine and ceremonial magic, communicating true definitions of opinions “without hatred nor hiding the intelligence of them” ⁵[the knowledge] of those ancient Isiac⁶ priests of the Egyptians, the ancient Chaldean prophets of the Babylonians, and the divine wise Hebrew kabbalists. I am also [indebted to] the Orphics, Pythagoreans, and Platonists, profound Greek philosophers, Indian Brahmans,⁷ Ethiopian Gymnosophists, and our undefiled religious theologians who delivered with the power of words and seals, with charms⁸ of blessings and curses, by which virtues of observations were once worked with such astonishment and admiration. These are intimated to you in this third book of Occult Philosophy, which will expose to light what ancient things have been covered with the dust and mists of oblivion, just as if they were laid down and wrapped in Cimmerian darkness.⁹

Therefore, this now finished and complete three books of Occult Philosophy or Magic is delivered to you. [This work] is complete, which we labored with vigilant care and with great effort in both mind and body. Although with rough words, these things were clearly most arduous.

However, I preface by asking one favor: that you will not require graceful orations and elegant speech in these books, which we once wrote in our youth. Besides course speeches and formless orations, we now recognize not the context of the speech but merely the series of sentences. Indeed, we less desired the elegance of the speech, following in its place the abundance of material. We believe we have satisfactorily completed this duty, in which we promised to relate the secrets of magic, and because of our maturity, we have excelled and have freed our conscience from a debt.

I do not doubt that there are many sarcastic sophists conspiring against me, especially those who boast that they are the most complete friends of God. They arrogantly judge the pages of the Sibyls, (since such lettuce disagrees with their lips, and their nostrils are unaccustomed to marjoram,¹⁰ and from some hatred once sparked against me, scarcely hidden under the ashes) will newly attack me by judging and condemning us to fire, before anything was read or entirely grasped correctly. Therefore, illustrious Prince and wisest priest, this work is appointed by the virtues of your merits, and now brought about by you, as also subjected to your censure and entrusted to your protection, that if wicked and faithless sophists, dense with envy and insanity, wish to gnaw at it with slander, that with your keen discretion and pure judgment, you will happily protect and defend us.

With great joy, Farewell.

Chapter 1

Of the necessity, virtue, and usefulness of religion.

It is now time that we turn to the highest part of magic, which teaches us how to understand and know the laws of religion,¹ how to gain truth from divine religion, and how we must duly develop our soul and mind. [It is by this] only that can we firmly comprehend the truth. Indeed, it is the common opinion of magicians that unless the mind and soul are well, the body cannot be well.² A man is truly healthy when the soul and body are thus connected and are agreeing with each other, since the firmness of mind and soul are not inferior to the strength of the body.³ But, as Hermes said, we can obtain a firm and robust mind in no other way than from a life of integrity, with piety, and finally from divine religion.⁴

Indeed, sacred religion purges the mind and restores the divine. It also helps nature and reinforces natural virtues, just as physicians help the health of the body and farmers help the virtues of the earth.⁵ Whoever lays aside religious truths and only believes in the natural is often deceived by evil daemons.⁶ However, [the practice of] scorning and curing sins, as well as the protection against evil daemons, is born from understanding religion.⁷ Finally, nothing is more pleasing and welcome to God than a man who is perfectly pious and truly religious. [One who lives this way] excels as far over other men as the immortal gods are distant above him.⁸

Therefore, we must first purge ourselves and offer and commend ourselves to divine piety and religion.⁹ Then, with our senses sleeping, [reject] that divine ambrosial nectar—nectar I say, referring to what the prophet Zechariah called the wine springing forth virgins¹⁰—a tranquil mind expecting, praising, and adoring that supercelestial Bacchus, the most supreme of gods and prelate of priests,¹¹ author of regeneration, who the ancient poets sang was twice born, from whom the most divine rivers flow into our hearts.

Chapter 2

Of silence and concealing that which is secret in religion.

Now, whatever you aspire to study of this science, you must cloak and constantly conceal with silence. Such a sacred doctrine [should be kept] within the inner sanctuary of your religious breast. Indeed, one who makes the fullest speeches of such divine majesty public to the awareness of the many, as Hermes said, has an irreligious mind.¹ The divine Plato taught that the sacred and secret in mysteries must not be divulged to the public.² Likewise, Pythagoras and Porphyry consecrated their followers with religious silence.

Also, of this, Orpheus—who initiated with sacred ceremonies—exactd oaths of silence with a certain terrible religious authority, lest religious secrets be heard by the profane.³ From such practices it is sung in *Of Sacred Words*:

Orpheus.

*You with virtue gather, only you may come to me
Use your ears and stretch out your mind to what is said.
Those who scorn the sacred laws, flee from here;
Go far away you wretched, go far distant you profane.
But you, Musaeus, who considers the divine
With a lofty mind, embrace my voice,
See with your sacred eye, hold within your breast.
And in your journey look up to the universe*

*To the remarkable Author, who alone cannot die:
Whose sermon we will presently teach.*⁴

We read from Virgil and the Sibyls:

Maro.

*“The goddess comes, away, go far away from here O profane,”
The priestess shouted, “withdraw entirely from this grove.”*

Hence, only initiates were admitted into the sacred celebrations of Eleusinian Circe, with the acting herald shouting that the common profane must keep a distance.⁵ We read of the same precept in Ezra. Hebrew kabbalistic secrets [are] referred to in the verses where he says: “Give these books to the wise of your people,”⁶ [but only to those] “whose hearts you know can grasp and protect these secrets.”⁷

Therefore, the religious books of the Egyptians and those concerning secret ceremonies were made from hieratic papyrus—that is, sacred. In these, they wrote with unknown letters, which were also called sacred. We read Macrobius, Marcellinus, and others calling them hieroglyphics, [meaning] of course that writings of this kind should not be learned by the profane.⁸ Indeed, Apuleius testified of this with these words: “With the sacrifice completed, certain books marked with unknown characters were brought from a concealed chamber. Some of these figures were animal conceptions suggesting sermons of compendious words, some were knots, and in the manner of wheels and ends like dense twisting tendrils to protect them from the curiosity of being read by the profane.”⁹ Therefore, we must be silent and hide what is secret in religion if we are to be worthy students in this science.

Indeed, the loyalty of silence, as Tertullian said, is owed to religion;¹⁰ but to act otherwise is dangerous to those near. Apuleius said about sacred secrets: “I might speak if I am permitted to speak, you might understand if you are permitted to hear, but ears and tongue equally share the crime of idle curiosity.”¹¹

Tertullian. Apuleius.

Thus, we read of Theodectes,¹² the tragic poet who was deprived of sight when, wishing to refer to a certain story, he wrote of mysteries in Jewish scripture. Likewise, Theopompus, who began to translate some divine law into the Greek tongue, was immediately struck with a certain disturbance of the mind and soul.¹³ Afterward, his great begging touched God, who responded through an answer in a dream [that this occurred] because [Theopompus] polluted divine things by flattery in publishing them publicly. Indeed, a certain Numenius, curious of hidden things, offended the divinities because he divulged the sacred interpretation of the Eleusinian goddess. Indeed, he dreamed the Eleusinian goddess wore a courtesan’s clothes and was for sale in front of a brothel; and when he was surprised, she answered angrily that her chastity was attacked, stolen violently, and prostituted everywhere: because of this admonishment the ceremonies of the gods must not be divulged at all.¹⁴

Therefore, the ancients always studied God and nature by wrapping up the sacraments and concealing them with various puzzles, which is how the Indians, Brahmans, Ethiopians, Persians, and Egyptians observed laws. Hence, Hermes [Trismegistus], Orpheus, and all ancient prophets and philosophers—Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristoxenus, and Ammonius—loyally protected them as sacrosanct. Hence, Plotinus and Origen and other students of Ammonius, as told by Porphyry in his book *Of the Education and Teaching of Plotinus*, swore to not release the doctrines of their teacher. Because Plotinus violated his oath to Ammonius by publishing the sacraments, the penalty of his transgression—as

some claim—was to be consumed as food by horrible lice. Also, Christ Himself—while He lived on the earth—spoke with that law and reasoning that only the private disciples will understand the mystery of the Word of God, while others will only perceive parables. Additionally, Christ warned to not give sacred things to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine.¹⁵ Therefore, the prophet said: “I have hidden your words in my heart so that I will not sin against you.”

Therefore, it is not fit that secrets that are communicated orally among only a few wise men be put together publicly in letters.¹⁶ which is why, please pardon me, if I pass over many and the better secret sacraments of ceremonial magic in silence. But I think it is enough if I make known and refer to what is necessary. You will not depart from this book entirely empty of these mysteries. But on that condition [of secrecy], I will share these [words] with you, with which Dionysius bound Timothy—that is, that those who perceive these secrets will not expose them, but [rather they] will be collected among wise men and guarded with due respect.¹⁷

I wish to also warn those of you beginning this [third volume of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*]: just as the gods detest public and profane things and love the secret, it follows that all magical experiments flee the public and search for the concealed. [Magical experiments are] strengthened by silence but are destroyed by the visible, [and if made visible,] the effects will not be completed later. Indeed, all of these suffer loss when they are brought about by talkative and unbelieving minds. Therefore, a magical worker must—if they wish to gather this fruit—not reveal their secrets, work, place, time, desires, or purpose, unless to either a teacher, assistant, or associate who will also be faithful. [This person must also be] a believer, silent, and dignified by nature or tradition, since even a talkative, unbelieving, and indignant companion will impede and destroy the effectiveness of all operations.¹⁸

Chapter 3

What dignification is required so that one can become a true magician and worker of wonders.

Near the beginning of the first book of this work, we spoke of what one must have to be a magician. However, we will now say a secret, necessary, and hidden thing for those who try to work in this art, which is the first, complement, and key to all magical operations: it is the dignification of men to this sublime virtue and power.

Indeed, this ability requires a wonderful dignification in men. For that intellect which is in us, the highest mind of the soul is the only operator of wonders. When it is overwhelmed by the commerce of excessive flesh and occupied by the sensible soul of the body, it does not merit the command of divine substances. Thus, many who pursue this art are frustrated.

Therefore, we who struggle to attain such great heights must consider two chief things: The first method is that we should abandon carnal dispositions, tottering senses, and material passions. The second way and method by which we may ascend is with a pure intellect and joined with the virtues of the gods¹—without which we cannot happily ascend to the inquiry of secret things and to the virtues of wonderful operations. Indeed, in these consist the entire dignification, which excels in nature, merit, and certain religious arts.

Natural dignity is the best disposition of the body and its organs, not obscuring the soul with any heaviness, nor anticipating any tumult or [imbalance in a particular] humor. This comes from the situation, motion, light, and influence of the celestial body and soul, which move about at each birth—for example, those whose ninth house is fortunate by Saturn, the Sun, and Mercury. Indeed, Mars in the ninth house also commands spirits. One can abundantly read about this in books of stars. However, for those who do not, it is necessary to compensate the defect of nature by education, optimal control, and the prosperous use of natural things, until which time one comes to complete inner and outer perfection.²

Hence, such great diligence of priests is stipulated in the Mosaic laws: [They prescribe] that he be undefiled by corpses, widows, or menstruating women. [They further stipulate] that he be free from leprosy, from flowing blood, and ruptures. [He must have] uninjured members. [He must] not [be] blind, nor lame, nor hunchbacked, and be without a deformed nose.³ Apuleius said in his *Apologia* that a boy about to be initiated for divination by magical spells must be selected healthy, unharmed, have natural abilities, beautiful, whole, a clever mind, and an eloquent mouth, so that in him is a divine power like a good temple, and the mind of the boy moves quickly, will be restored to his divinity.⁴

But two things—namely, learning and work—perfect meritorious dignity. The end of learning is to recognize the truth; therefore, one should—as was said around the beginning of the first book—be educated and expert in those three abilities. Then, with hindrances lifted, [one should] apply one's soul to inner contemplation and turn oneself inward. Indeed, in us belongs the apprehension and power of all

things, though we are hindered so that we enjoy these less because of passions⁵ from our birth, by false imaginations, and immoderate appetites. When [these are] expelled, divine understanding and power enter.⁶

Religious operations obtain no fewer efficacies, which indeed often by themselves are effective for us to acquire a deifying virtue. Indeed, so great is the virtue of duly made and presented sacred operations — although not understood, yet piously and correctly observed and believed with a steadfast faith—that they have no less efficacy in adorning us with divine power.

However, what dignity is acquired in religious art is perfected in certain religious ceremonies, expiations, consecrations, and sacred rites, whose spirit the public religion has consecrated.⁷ They who have power in the laying on of hands and initiating with sacramental virtue—by which they impress the character of divine virtue and power, called divine consent, where a man is supported by divine nature—[acts] like a partner to heavenly effects, bearing the engrafted power by the divine will. These rites are related by the ecclesiastical sacraments.

Therefore, if you will be a perfect man [you must be] with a sacred religious mind, with great and constant religious piety; believing without hesitation; to whom sacred authority and nature have given dignity before others; whom the gods have condemned little; and by praying, consecrating, sacrificing, and invoking, [you] can attract spiritual and celestial virtues and can imprint onto those things whatever [you] wish and vivify all works by magical science. But whoever is beyond the authority of his office, without holiness or merit of education, is [therefore] beyond the dignity of nature and education [of those] who presume to some magical operation and will labor without profit. [Such a person] will deceive themselves and those who believe them and incur the dangerous anger of the gods.⁸

Chapter 4

Of the two supports of ceremonial magic: religion and superstition.

There are two things that rule all operations of ceremonial magic—namely, religion and superstition. Religion is a constant contemplation of the divine, pious operations, binding [oneself] with God and divine will by reverently serving those things worthy of veneration, devoting the cultivation of holiness, and exercising ceremonies cultivating the divine. Therefore, religion is a certain discipline of external sacred things and ceremonies, through which certain signs suggest internal and spiritual things. These are inserted by nature into us, as we are more rational than other animals.¹ Therefore, whoever neglects these and only believes in natural powers, as we have said above, are most often deceived by evil daemons.²

Thus, those who are most religious and holiest educated do not plant a tree, graft a vine, or undertake some small work without invoking the divine, as the teacher of the gentiles instructed the Colossians, saying: “Whatever you do in words or works, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to Him and God the Father through him.”³

Therefore, to add religious powers on top of physical and mathematical virtues is so far from fault that to not add them is a wicked crime; hence, in the *Book of Senators*,⁴ Rabbi Henina said: “Whoever has neglected a blessing when using some creature is believed by the church to have used it as a theft and robbery from God.” Of which it was written by Solomon: “Whoever has snatched something from the father or the mother, that man is a partner of the destroyer”;⁵ but God is the father, and mother the church, as it is written: “Is it not he your father, who has possessed you?”⁶ and elsewhere: “Hear, my son, the discipline of your father, and do not dismiss the law of your mother.”⁷

Nothing displeases God more than to be neglected and scorned, but nothing pleases [God] more than veneration and adoration; hence, no creature in the world is permitted to be without religion.⁸ Everything venerates God and everything prays, as Proclus said, singing hymns according to the orders of their leaders. However, some [pray] in a natural way, others sensible, others rational, indeed others intellectual,⁹ but all bless God in their own way just as in the song of the three children.¹⁰

Lactantius.

But religious rites and ceremonies have a diverse variety according to time and place, and each religion has something good because they are directed to God the creator.¹¹ Although God approves of only the Christian religion alone, other devotions accept His grace and are not entirely condemned. Even if they are not eternal, they are not left completely unrewarded and are given a temporary gift or are at least

punished less. However, the impious and thoroughly irreligious are hated like enemies and are struck and exterminated. Indeed, impiety is greater than those who are deceived and follow erroneous religion. Indeed, no religion, as Lactantius said, is so erroneous that it does not [still] contain some wisdom and that can be pardoned if it holds [as a value] the highest service of man—if not in the things themselves, at least in intention.

Man himself is not able to reach true religion unless he is taught by God.¹² Therefore, all devotions that are alien to true religion are superstition, and all venerationes that exhibit more [than is due] in divine devotion than true religion are also superstition.¹³ Likewise, those that exhibit divine devotion either to what it must not be or in the way it must not be.¹⁴ Therefore, be especially careful that at no time some perverse devotion of the highest superstition injures the all-powerful God and sacred divine powers under Him: indeed, this is both criminal and unbecoming of philosophers.

Therefore, superstitions—although alien from true religion—are not entirely or wholly condemned. Many are even tolerated and observed by protectors of religion. But I especially call superstition that which has a certain likeness to religion, to the extent that it imitates whatever is in religion: miracles, sacraments, rites, observations, and other things that obtain no less power from these. Also, no less power is obtained from the belief of the operator. Indeed, that much is possible from steadfast belief is discussed in the first book and is well known among the common people. Therefore, belief is required in superstition just as faith [is required] in religion.

Since such great things are possible with steadfast belief, miracles can even be performed from false opinions and operations. Indeed, anyone very firmly believing in the truth of his religion—even if it is false—elevates his spirit because of that belief. [Such a believer] becomes like those spirits who are the leaders and princes of that same religion and operate that which reason and nature do not discern. However, hesitant belief and disbelief in all works is not the way of superstition. It diminishes even true religion and invalidates the desired effect, even though the experiment might be very strong. But superstition imitates religion, as shown by the example of worms and locusts being driven away by bells and images when these are baptized so that [pests] will not harm fruit. There are many more examples of this sort.

However, [concerning] ancient magicians and those who were authors of this art among the ancients—especially the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and Arabs, all of whose religions were perverse and soiled by idolatry—we must very much beware that we do not allow their errors to make war over the reason of our Catholic religion. Indeed, this is a blasphemy and subject to a curse, and therefore I would also be a blasphemer to this science if I did not admonish you.

Therefore, wherever you find things of this kind written by us, understand that foreign authors wrote them and they are not given to you by me as truth but by a conjecture that has an affinity to truth and an instruction for imitation of what is true in this. Therefore, we must collect truth from their errors, which will not work unless with profound intelligence, sound piety, hard and laborious diligence, and wisdom, by which one can know from every evil and can extract good, adapt everything twisted, and [restore] the correct use of those which it governs. Thus, of this, Augustine gave the example of carpentry, where oblique and bent instruments are no less necessary and suitable than the straight.¹⁵

Chapter 5

Of the three guides of religion, which lead us to the path of truth.

There are three guides that lead us to the path of truth and that govern all of religion, in which it entirely consists—namely, love, hope, and faith.¹ Indeed, love—the vehicle of the soul—is the most excellent of all, descending from the highest intelligences all the way to the lowest, gathering and turning our mind to divine beauty.² It likewise protects us in all of our operations and grants effects according to our wishes, supplying strength to our supplications.³ Thus, we read from Homer that Apollo clearly heard the prayers of Chryses, because he was very much a friend to him.⁴ [Similarly,] we read of Mary Magdalene in the Gospels: “Many sins were forgiven, because she loved much.”⁵

Illiad.

However, hope immovably hangs on to those things that it desires when it is certain and unperturbed. It nourishes and perfects the mind, checking all that is good one by one. However, faith is the most superior of all virtues, inasmuch as it does not entirely depend on human studies but divine revelation.⁶ It purifies everything through the whole world: for, since it descends from the highest first light and exists closest to it, it is by far nobler and more excellent than science, arts, and belief from inferior things. [Faith operates] by taking reflections from the first light and sending it to our intellect.⁷

Proclus.

Finally, by faith, man is made somewhat the same as the superiors, and [he] profits by the same power.⁸ Hence, as Proclus said: “Just as faith that is a belief is below science, so faith that is true faith is super-substantially above all sciences and intellects, immediately connecting us with God.”⁹

Indeed, faith is the root of all miracles. As the Platonists say, [it is] only by [faith that] we can approach God and gain divine protection and virtue. Thus, we read that Daniel evaded the dangers of the lions because he believed in his God.¹⁰ As Christ said to the bleeding woman: “Your faith has healed you.”¹¹ [Similarly, Christ referred to the] necessity of faith when he asked the blind man desiring sight: “Do you believe I can illuminate you?”¹² Thus, according to Homer, Pallas consoled Achilles with these words:

Illiad.

I come to pacify your anger if you believe.[¹³](#)

Thus, the poet Linus sang that everything must be believed, since everything is easy for God: nothing is impossible for God; therefore, nothing is unbelievable.[¹⁴](#)

Linus.

Therefore, in believing that which pertains to religion, we obtain those virtues. However, where our faith wanes, we will work nothing wondrous but will lose worth—just as we read in an example from Luke in these words: “Therefore, some of the Jewish exorcists came about and attempted to invoke over them who had evil spirits, saying in the name JESUS: I swear by JESUS whom Paul preached. But the wicked spirits responded saying: I recognize JESUS and I know Paul; but who are you? and the man in whom the wicked spirit was, leaped up, and dominated them, strengthened against them, and thus escaped from the house naked and vulnerable.”[¹⁵](#)

Chapter 6

How, with these guides, the human soul rises into the divine nature and is made a producer of miracles.

Therefore, our mind is pure and divine, inflamed with religious love, adorned with hope, directed by faith, and placed at the height and peak of the human soul.¹ It attracts truth and suddenly comprehends all things whether mortal or immortal, positions, reasons, causes, and knowledge in the divine truth itself, as it were, gazing into a certain mirror of eternity. Hence, it arises that because we are placed in nature, we can recognize things that are above² and below nature, understanding each—not only those things that are and exist, but also [after the manner of] oracles, [who] continually receive those things that are soon to be and that are far away in the future.

Not only in science, arts, and oracles does this kind of mind claim a divine virtue for itself but also in each thing by claiming a miraculous power of change.³ Hence, it arises that we are constituted by nature but are sometimes masters over it, doing operations so wonderful, sudden, and arduous⁴ that the dead obey us, we can disturb the stars, gather divine will, and the elements serve us.⁵ Thus, men devoted to God and theologians elevated in these virtues command the elements, drive away mists, bring wind, gather clouds in rain, cure disease, and awaken the dead—which were done in all the various nations and sung by poets, recited by historians, and confirmed as possible by each of the most splendid philosophers and theologians.⁶ Thus, the prophets, apostles, and other men of God were illuminated by that great power.

Therefore, we must know that the influence of the first agent often produces something without the cooperation of the middle causes.⁷ Sometimes, things can happen by religious works alone, without the application of natural celestial virtues. However, no one can work by pure religion alone, unless they are made entirely intellectual. Whoever works with religion alone without the mixture of other virtues, if they persevere in the work for long, will be absorbed by the divine power and will not live long, and neither will anyone who attempts this be purified. They will cover themselves with judgment and will be delivered over to the spirit to be devoured.⁸

Chapter 7

That knowledge of the true God is necessary for the magician, and what the ancient magicians and philosophers thought about God.

Because all things exist and operate from the most supreme God, everything [first] depends upon the creator and then other divine powers, to whom is also given the authority to build and create. Indeed, [they are not given this authority] principally, but with the instrumental reason in the virtue of the First Creator, who is the beginning of all things and the first cause. What is produced by secondary causes may be more correctly said to be produced by the first, which has produced those causes. We, therefore, call those causes “secondary gods.” It is, therefore, necessary that each magician recognize that God, who is the producer and First Cause of all other gods and divine powers, which we call second causes, while at the same time they must not disregard those devotions to the secondary gods, providing sacrifices conforming to the condition of each.

Therefore, whoever invokes the gods and does not follow them with their special honors nor duly distributes to each of them what is appropriate will not be chosen to gain their presence or their effects, just as in harmony—if one chord is broken—everything is suddenly dissonant. Sometimes it also incurs the danger of punishment,¹ as was written of the Assyrians, who carried Salmanasar in Samaria: because they were ignorant of the lawful God of the earth, the Lord sent in lions to destroy them, because they were ignorant of the rite of the God of the earth.²

Now, therefore, we may see how the ancient magicians and philosophers thought of God. Indeed, we read that Nicocreon, the Cyprian tyrant, once asked who was the highest god, and Serapis responded through his oracle that he was the greatest god, whose head was the sky, his stomach the sea, his feet the earth, his ears in heaven, and his eyes the shining light of the Sun;³ which is not unlike what Orpheus sang in his verses:

Orpheus.

*And the king of the house of heaven is Jupiter;
The beginning and spring, truly one strength and God
Alone and all-powerful, in whose body
Is placed the earth, sea, fire, and air;
Likewise, the night and day, wise and first born
But sweet love all in the king's great body;*

*Jove's tall neck as we can see
Looking in awe to the great roof of heaven.
This head crowned with golden yellow hair
Spreading out glowing rays of stars,
Two horns on his head like the head of a bull.
One rising, the other setting . . .*

And elsewhere:

*But his eyes shine with the mighty light of Phoebus
And Moon, Phoebus wreathed in purple
The mind of the ethereal king knows of things to come
Which no sound, force, hidden fame
Or secrets can penetrate, he conquers all.
His inviolable body has no bounds
Spread out, his great shoulders and breast is spacious air;
His wings hold the winds.*

*With these, he flies faster than the east wind.
His swelling belly is the sacred ancient mother earth
From it, mountains rise from the depths,
The resounding sea girds his waist.
The foundations of the globe and raging Tartarus are the firmly set
At the feet of the great leader of Olympus.
These are concealed under the earth, then
From his heart comes a nourishing light.*

Sophocles. Euripides.

Therefore, they thought the whole world was Jove and certainly the mind of the world,⁴ who contains in himself the world that he produced. Sophocles said: "In truth, there is only one God, who has made the spacious heavens and earth," and Euripides said: "Do you not see the Exalted, whose arms embrace the infinite heavens and earth? Believe this is Jove, and believe this is God"; from which the poet Ennius sang:

Ennius.

*Observe this sublime brilliance, with which they all call upon Jupiter.*⁵

Porphyry.

Therefore, the whole world is Jupiter, as Porphyry said, and he is the animal of animals and God of gods. But Jupiter is such a great intelligence from whom the universe was produced and from whose intelligence everything was created; hence, Orpheus sang in his *Of Sacred Words*:

Orpheus.

*There is one perfect God, who created everything,
Cherishing all and over all things,
Who we can see only with our mind,
Who never brings harm to mortals,
Besides whom there is no other . . .*

And somewhat later:

*He is the beginning, middle, and end.
Which all of the ancient prophets have taught us,
Which God once gave in two tablets.*

And in the same song he calls:

*. . . The world
The only author and without death . . .*⁶

What God is.

Likewise, Zoroaster in the *Sacred History of Persian Things* thus defined God: “God is among all things, who never errs or has corrupted thoughts. He is the first, not born or dying, has no parts, or are there any like Him, author and driver of all good things, the father of all most-good and prudent things,

the sacred light of justice, the most absolute perfection of nature and inventor of wisdom.”⁷

But Apuleius described him as *basileum*—that is, a king, cause, reason, and first origin of all things in nature, the highest father of souls, eternal protector of living things, a father without begetting, nor place, nor time, nor can anyone comprehend, few can understand, and none can describe him.⁸

Therefore, since Euripides previously named Jove the highest God, through whose head Orpheus sang everything, appeared in light, but the other ministering powers must be considered—that is, those that are outside and separate from God—hence, the attendants and intelligences of God are called separate by philosophers.⁹ Therefore, they say religious worship is owed only to the supreme Jove; however, other divine powers are not owed this unless because of him.

Chapter 8

What the ancient philosophers thought about the divine Trinity.

Augustine and Porphyry testified that Platonists put God in three persons. The first of which is called the Father of the universe, the second is the Son and called the First Mind, also called this by Macrobius, and the third is Spirit or the World Soul,¹ which Virgil also called Spirit from the opinion of Plato, as he sang:

The spirit within nourishes and infuses the entire frame

*Mind moves the whole . . .*²

Plotinus and Philo related that the Son of God, the First Mind—namely, the divine intellect—flows from God the Father, just like words from speaking or light from a lamp.³ Hence he has taken the names “word,” “speech,” and “splendor of God the Father.”

Indeed, the divine mind, by itself and from a single and uninterrupted act, without any intermediation or vicissitude, understands the highest good. He engenders in himself an offspring and the Son, who is a complete intelligence, a complete image of himself, and a complete exemplar of the world: which our John and Hermes named the “word” or “speech,” Plato “the Son of God the Father,” but Orpheus [called] him “Pallas,” who was born from the head of Jove—that is to say, wisdom. This is the most absolute image of the highest God the Father, but yet by a certain relation or something intrinsic, as it were, distinctly begat and generated.⁴ As it said in *Ecclesiastes*: “I came from the mouth of the most High, the firstborn before all creatures.”⁵

But Iamblichus testified that this Son is one with the Father and is the same essence as God—that is, naming God the Father and Son of himself.⁶ Likewise, Hermes Trismegistus in *Asclepius* affirmed the Son of God in different places, indeed saying: “The mind of God and the father begat another mind, a craftsman,”⁷ and elsewhere, “Unity begets unity and reflects its love to itself.”⁸ In *Poimandres*, where [Hermes] seems to foresee the grace of future law and the mystery of regeneration, he says that “the author of regeneration is man, the Son of God, the will of the one God.”⁹ Indeed, he is saying that God has the fruitfulness of each sex.¹⁰

Likewise, Indian philosophers assert that the world is an animal that is part masculine and part feminine, and Orpheus likewise called the nature of the world and Jove of the world male and female¹¹ and asserted the gods belong to each sex. Hence in *Hymns* he thus said to Minerva: “You are indeed made male and female.”¹² And Apuleius wrote these verses about Jove in his book *Of the World* about Orphic

theology:

*Jupiter is both male and female, unaware of death.*¹³

And Virgil sang about Venus:

*I fall and am led by God . . .*¹⁴

Maro.

And elsewhere understanding Juno or Alecto said:

*Nor was the god absent from his erring right hand . . .*¹⁵

And Tibullus sang:

*Indeed, I have violated the great deity Venus with my words.*¹⁶

Tibullus.

And it is written that the people of Carene¹⁷ wonderfully venerated the Moon God. From this complete intelligence of the highest fertility, love is produced, binding the intelligence with mind—even more so, by how much more it is intimate to itself by an immeasurable proportion than offsprings are to their parents¹⁸—which is a third person; that is, the Holy Spirit.

Iamblichus also mentions the Chaldean oracles, placing a father's power in God, an emanation of the intellect of the Father. [He describes] fiery love coming from the Father and Son, and the same from God.¹⁹ Hence, Plutarch wrote that the gentiles described God as an intellectual and fiery spirit, without form, but can transform Himself into whatever He wishes and universally equalizes Himself.²⁰

And in Deuteronomy, it is written: “God is a consuming fire”;²¹ of which Zoroaster said that everything is born from fire. And the Ephesian Heraclitus taught that everything was born from fire. Hence the divine Plato placed God in the fiery essence,²² clearly understanding the indescribable splendor of God in himself and love about himself. And from Homer²³ we read of the ethereal kingdom of Jove, as he sang:

Homer:

Jupiter darkening the clouds and reigning in the ether.

And also, elsewhere:

*The fate of Jupiter is in the sky; he sits in the ether in the clouds.*²⁴

But it is called “ether,”²⁵ according to Greek grammar, from *aitho*, which signifies “burning.”²⁶ The spirit of air is a quasi-ether—that is, a “burning spirit.”²⁷ Hence, Orpheus called ether *pyripnon*, “fiery breather.”²⁸

αἴθερ.
ἄηρ.
πυριπνός.

Therefore, the Father, Son, and amorous Spirit are fiery and called three persons by Theologians, which indeed Orpheus invoked these verses in adorations: “Heaven I swear to you, wise work of the great God. I call upon you, Father, who first spoke when he formed the whole world by his counsel.”²⁹

Hesiod confessed the same under the names of Jove, Minerva, and Bulae³⁰ in *Theogony*, revealing Jove’s twofold birth in these verses: “Surely Tritonia, the first daughter with gray eyes, has equal power with the father, and prudent Bulae—that is, council.”³¹ Orpheus mentioned this many times in the aforementioned verses because of that dual emanation; indeed, an equality is produced from Jove and Minerva. Augustine in the fourth book of *The City of God* wrote that the Platonist Porphyry placed God in three persons: the first is called the Father of the universe; the second is called the “First Mind”³²—or, as Macrobius alternatively terms Him, “the Son.” The third is called the World Soul, which Virgil called Spirit according to the opinion of Plato, saying:

The spirit within nourishes and infuses the entire frame

*The mind moves the whole . . .*³³

Therefore, God—as Paul said—is “from all, in all, and through all.” Indeed, the Father is like a first fountain from which everything flows, but in the Son is like a pool where all of their Ideas are collected. By the Spirit, everything is set forth and distributed according to their own degrees.³⁴

Chapter 9

What the true and most orthodox faith is about God and the most holy Trinity.

Catholic teachers and people of faith have decreed that we must believe and declare that there is only one true God, uncreated, immeasurable, omnipotent, eternal, Father, Son, Holy Ghost—indeed, three persons coeternal and coequal with each other, yet having one essence and substance, and entirely one simple nature. This is the Catholic faith—that is, orthodox religion; namely, true Christianity—as we worship one God in a trinity, and the trinity in one, neither combining persons nor separating the substance.

The Father begat the Son from the eternal and gave him His substance but [also] retained it Himself. The Son likewise being born, received the substance from the Father, yet did not assume the individual person of the Father, nor did the Father transfer it to the Son; indeed, they are both of one and the same substances but different persons.

Likewise, this Son, although coeternal with the Father and born from the substance of the Father before the world, nevertheless was born into the world from the substance of a virgin and his name is Jesus: perfect God and perfect man, subsisting of a rational soul and human flesh, lacking nothing human except sin. It is, therefore, necessary that we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is man and God: one person, with two natures.

God was begotten before the world without a mother, and man was born in the world without a father from a pure virgin before and after the birth. He was allowed to die on the cross, but by the cross was restored, and resolved death with death. He was buried and descended to hell but led the souls of the Fathers from hell. He was resurrected by his own virtue in three days. He ascended to heaven and sent his Spirit as an advocate. He will come to judge the living and dead, and at his arrival, all men will resurrect in their flesh and return to account for their own works.¹ This is the true faith. If one does not believe it or doubts, they are far from hope for eternal life and salvation.²

Chapter 10

Of the divine emanations, which Hebrews call numerations, others call attributes, and gentiles call gods and deities, and of the ten Sephiroth and ten most sacred names of God presiding over them and the interpretation of them.

Although God is a trinity of persons of a single essence, we do not doubt that in Him are many certain divine powers emanating from Him like rays, which gentile philosophers called gods, Hebrew teachers numerations, and we call attributes.¹ Of these, Orpheus called wisdom Pallas, intelligence Mercury, the gestation of form Saturn,² productive strength Neptune, the secret nature of things Juno, love Venus, clear life the Sun or Apollo,³ and the whole reason of the world Pan.⁴ However, the soul, as it generates more inferior things, contemplates the superior, drawing itself into itself. It recites the threefold name of Sea,⁵ Neptune, and Ocean.⁶ There are many more of this kind, sung of elsewhere:

Jupiter and Pluto, Phoebus, Dionysus are one;

But why do we speak twice? A single God stands in all.⁷

And of the same Valerius Soranus sang:

Omnipotent Jupiter; king of kings and God

The progenitor and creator god, God that is one and all.⁸

Thus, the most prudent of gentile philosophers honored God under various names and deities,⁹ and also under various sexes. As Pliny said, the fragile and laborious mortality of the gods was distributed into many, and because of this men remembered their own fragility. Each god was honored in their portion where the need is greatest.¹⁰ Thus, those who needed faith invoked Jove. For providence they did likewise with Apollo, and for wisdom Minerva. Those who needed other things invoked other names.

Pliny's opinion of God.

Hence, a great variety of deities are distributed according to their many and various graces, “but a single God from all.”¹¹ As Apuleius said to Faustinus in his book *Of the World*: “Since there is one God, and one divine power, indeed He is called by many names according to many kinds, from whose diversity he is multiformed.”¹² Marcus Varro said in his book *On the Worship of Gods* that as all souls are reduced to one world or universal soul; thus, all gods refer to one Jove, indeed which god is honored under various names.¹³

Therefore, one must know the perceptual qualities through secret analogies, perfectly intellectualize the hymns of Orpheus, and certainly understand the ancient magicians.¹⁴ Inasmuch as one will learn that these differ little with kabbalistic secrets and orthodox tradition. For what Orpheus called Guardians and undefined gods, Dionysus called Powers,¹⁵ and kabbalists called those numerations Pachad¹⁶—that is, “fear of the divine.” Thus, what is Ein Soph¹⁷ in kabbalah, Orpheus called Night.¹⁸ Likewise, Typhon from Orpheus is Zamael in kabbalah.¹⁹

However, Hebrew mekubalim, who are the most learned of divine things, received ten principal divine names as certain divine powers and members of God; [these are given] by ten numerations, which are called Sephiroth. These are like garments, instruments, or examples of the archetype, flowing in all that is created through one superior all the way to the more inferior, yet by a certain order. They first and most closely influence the nine orders of angels and the choir of blessed souls, and by them in the celestial spheres of the planets, and men, from which then each thing receives power and virtue.²⁰

Of these the first is made Ehyeh,²¹ the name of the divine essence; this numeration is called Kether,²² which means “crown” or “diadem” and signifies the simplest essence of divinity and is called “that which the eye cannot see.” It is attributed to God the Father and influences through the order of Seraphim (or, as Hebrews called it, Chaioth ha Qadesh²³—that is, “holy animal”), and thence by the *Primum Mobile*, it grants the gift of being to everything, completing the whole world through the circumference to the center. Its particular intelligence is called Metatron—that is, “first presence”—whose duty is to introduce others to the first presence: and through him, the Lord spoke to Moses.

The second name is Yod or Tetragrammaton joined with Yod. This numeration is Chokhmah²⁴—that is, “wisdom”—and signifies the divinity full of ideas, first born, and is attributed to the Son. It influences through the Cherubim order (or what the Hebrews call Ophanim—that is, “forms” or “wheels”), and thence into the starry heavens, building as many figures as ideas are contained in him. It distinguishes chaos from creation by a particular intelligence named Raziel, who was in charge of Adam.

The third name is called Tetragrammaton Elohim. This numeration is called Binah²⁵—that is, “providence” or “intelligence.” It signifies forgiveness, quiet, jubilee, penitential conversion, a great trumpet, redemption of the world, life in the coming world, and is attributed to the Holy Ghost. It influences through the order of Thrones (or what the Hebrews call Aralim—that is, “great angels strong and valiant”), and hence thought to be the sphere of Saturn, ministering form to transient matter. Its particular intelligence is Zaphkiel, placed in charge of Noah, and the other intelligence Jophiel, protector of Shem.

These three numerations are the highest and most supreme, just as a seat of divine persons. By their order, everything is made, but are carried out by the other seven, which are therefore called the creating numerations.

The fourth is named El, whose numeration, Chesed²⁶—namely, “mercy” or “goodness”—signifies grace, pity, piety, magnificence, a scepter, the right hand, and influences through the order of Dominations (or as called by the Hebrews, Chasmalim).²⁷ Through the sphere of Jove, it fashions the effigies of bodies, granting mercy, peace, and justice for everything. Its particular intelligence is Zadkiel, who was placed in charge of Abraham.

The fifth name is Elohim Gibor—that is, “Valiant God punishing sins of the wicked.” This numeration is called Geburah²⁸—namely, “power, gravitas, fortitude, security, judgment, punishing by overthrowing, and wars.” It is joined to the tribunal of God, and the belt, sword, and left hand of Him. It is also called Pachad—that is, fear—and it influences through the order of Powers (or what the Hebrews call Seraphim), and thence through the sphere of Mars, which is strength, war, and pain, drawing the elements. Its particular intelligence is Camael, who was placed in charge of Samson.

The sixth is called Eloah,²⁹ or the name of the four letters joined with Va Daat;³⁰ and this numeration is Tiphereth³¹—that is, “ornaments, beauty, glory, and pleasure.” It signifies the Tree of Life and influences through the order of Virtues (or what the Hebrews call Malachim—that is, “angels”). In the sphere of the Sun, it gives clarity and life and thence produces metals. Its particular intelligence is Raphael, who was placed in charge of Isaac and Tobias the Younger, and the angel Peliel, who was placed in charge of Jacob.

The seventh name is Tetragrammaton Sabaoth or Adonai Sabaoth—that is, the “army of God.” This numeration is Netzach³²—namely, “triumph and victory.” The right column is applied to it, and signifies eternity and justice of an avenging God, and influences through the order of Principalities (or as the Hebrews called Elohim—that is, “gods”). In the sphere of Venus, it grants jealousy and love of justice and produces vegetation. Its intelligence is Haniel, and the angel is Cerviel, who was placed in charge of David.

The eighth name is called Elohim Sabaoth, which is also interpreted as the “army of God, not of war and justice, but of piety and concord” (indeed, having each name of the preceding [numerations] for His army). This numeration is called Hod, which is interpreted as “praise, confession, beauty, and fame.” The left column is attributed to it, and it influences through the order of the Archangels (or what the Hebrews called Bne Elohim—that is, “sons of gods”). In the sphere of Mercury, it grants ornate elegance and concord and produces animals. Its intelligence is Michael, who was placed in charge of Solomon.

The ninth name is called Shaddai³³—that is, “omnipotent and allsatisfying”—and El Chai³⁴—that is, “living God.” Its numeration is Yesod—that is, “foundation”—and it signifies the good intellect, covenant, redemption, and quiet, and it influences through the order of Angels (or what Hebrews call Cherubim). The sphere of the Moon grants increase and decrease in all things, and distributes and attends to the geniuses and guardians of men. Its intelligence is Gabriel, who was placed in charge of Joseph, Joshua, and Daniel.

The tenth name is Adonai Melech—that is, “lord and king.” Its numeration is Malkuth—that is, “kingdom and empire”—and signifies the church and temple of God and the door. It influences through the animastic order—that is, blessed souls (which the Hebrews called Ishim;³⁵ namely, “noble heroes and princes”). They are a more inferior hierarchy and influence the sons of men. They grant understanding, the wonderful knowledge of things, diligence, and prophecy. The soul of the Messiah presides over them, or—as others say—the intelligence Metatron, which is said to be the first creation or World Soul and was placed in charge of Moses.³⁶

Chapter 11

Of divine names, their power, and virtue.

God, although He is most singular, is appointed different names, which do not explain different essences or gods but certain qualities emanating from Him. Through these names, which are created, many and diverse blessings are given to us, as if they were distilled through certain channels. We described ten of these names above, which were also numerated by Jerome to Marcella. Then Dionysius collected 45 names of God the Father, and Christ. Hebrew mekubalim, from a certain text that is in Exodus, described 72 names of angels and God, which they call the name of 72 letters and Schemhamphoras¹—that is, “Revealed.”² Others proceed further through each of the places of the scriptures, giving an indication of so many names of God, although as to what their numbers are and what they signify is thoroughly unknown to us.³

Therefore, from these names, besides those that we have mentioned, is the name of the divine essence Eheie⁴ אהיה which Plato transposed as ὅν.⁵ Hence they called God τὸ ὄν,⁶ and others ὁ ὄν.⁷ The other name is Hu הוא, which was revealed to Isaiah, indicating the divine abyss, which the Greeks translated as τωτόν,⁸ and the Latin “Himself.” And the other name is Esch אש, received by Moses, which means “fire,” and the name of God Na נא, is to be invoked in disturbances and troubles. And also, the name Iah יה, the name Elion עליון, the name Macom מקום, the name Caphu כפו, the name Innon ינון,⁹ and the name Emeth אמת, mean “truth” and is the seal of God. There are two other names Zur צור and Aben אבן, each signifying “solid rock,”¹⁰ and one of them expressing the Father with the Son. We have mentioned many other names above in the scales of numbers.

And many names of God and angels were extracted from the sacred scriptures by kabbalistic, calculatory, notary, and gematrial arts, where certain letters from one name or many words were withdrawn and collected, or one name with each of its letters dispersed signifies or makes more.¹¹ But sometimes they are collected from the beginnings of words, such as the name Agla אגלא from this verse in the sacred scripture: אתה גיבר לעולם אדני—that is, “You are eternally strong, God.” Likewise, the name Iaia יאיא from this verse: יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחר—that is, “God, our God, is the one God.” Likewise, the name Iava יאוּא from this verse: יהי אור ויהי אור—that is, “Let there be light, and there was light.” Likewise, the name Ararita ארריתא from this verse: “There is one beginning of his unity, one beginning of his singularity, his change is one”¹² אחד ראש אחדותו ראש ייהודו תמורתו אחד. Another name is Hacaba הקבה extracted from this verse: הקדוש ברוך הוא—that is, “He is the holy and blessed one.” Likewise, the name Iesu ישו is found in the beginnings of these two verses: יביא שלוחו לו—that is, “Until the Messiah comes”;¹³ and in the other: ינון שמו וית—that is, “His name endures.”¹⁴ Similarly, the name Amen אמן from this verse: אדני מלך נאמן—that is, “The Lord, the faithful king.”

Sometimes they extracted these names from the ends of words, such as the same name Amen from this verse: לא כן הרשעים—that is, “Not so the wicked”—but the letters are transposed. Thus, in this final

verse: *לִי מָה שְׁמוֹ מָה*—that is, “Why me? What is his name?”—can be found the name of the Tetragrammaton. In all of these, a letter is placed for a speech and a letter extracted from a speech, or from the beginning, end, or wherever you wish.

Sometimes these names are extracted from all of the letters one by one, just as those 72 names of God are extracted from those three verses of Exodus: *וַיֵּצֵא וַיְבֹרֵא*, the first and last verses written from right to left, but the middle reversed from left to right as we will show later.

Thus, sometimes a speech is extracted from a speech, or a word from a word, by transposing letters (as Messiah *משיח* from *ישמה* Yismah and Michael *מִיכָאֵל* from *מלאכי* Malachi), but sometimes by changing the alphabet, which kabbalists call *Ziruph* *צִירופ* (such as from the name Tetragrammaton *יהוה* eliciting the names *מזפז* Mazpaz, *כוזו* and *Kuzu*). Sometimes names are also changed by the equalizing of numbers (as Metatron *מטטרון* for *Sadai* *שדי* : indeed, each makes 314; for the same reason the name *Iiai* *יאי* is an equal name to *El* *אל* by an equal number: indeed, each makes 31.)¹⁵

These are hidden secrets, of which it is most difficult to bring to judgment and to relate a complete knowledge; nor can they be understood and taught in any other language than Hebrew.

But, since barbarians (as Plato said in *Cratylus*) had divine names that they had from God, without which we cannot grasp the true speeches and true names by which God is called, we can say nothing else about these, except that which God by his own kindness has revealed to us.¹⁶ Indeed, they are the sacraments and vehicles of God’s omnipotence. These names do not come from men, nor indeed from angels. Rather, they are firmly instituted by the highest God Himself, who established them by way of the immovable numbers, which are inherent in certain characters and figures. They are exhaled from the divine harmony and consecrated with the assistance of the divine: whereby those that are superior fear them, the inferior tremble, the angels worship them, cacodaemons are frightened, and all creatures and all religions revere them.

Religious observations and devotions give us a great advantage in our invocations. They deify the union and also cause wonderful supernatural works, effects, and power. Therefore, no one for any reason may change divine law. Origen taught that [these names] must be preserved in their own characters without corruption,¹⁷ and Zoroaster also forbade modifying barbaric and ancient words. As Plato said in *Cratylus*, all divine words or names proceed originally from the gods, from antiquity, or from barbarians—the circumstances of their beginnings being not easily known.¹⁸ Iamblichus likewise taught that they should not be translated from their language to another: “Indeed, names do not keep the same reason interpreted in another language.”

Therefore, these divine names are the most suitable and most effective medium for joining and uniting man with gods.¹⁹ As we read in Exodus: “In every place, where the memory of my name is, I will come to you and bless you.”²⁰ In the Book of Numbers, the Lord said: “And they will put my name over the sons of Israel and I will bless them.”²¹

Divine names venerated as a pact.

Therefore, the divine Plato commanded in *Cratylus* and *Philebus* to venerate divine names more than divine shrines and statues, because they are more distinctly the image and virtue of God reserved in service of the mind, especially in divine inspiration, than in manual works.²² Therefore, sacred words by

themselves do not have their power in magic, as they are words, but from hidden divine powers operating through them in the minds of those who adhere to them according to faith, in which the hidden powers of God are, as it were, transmitted by a vehicle into them. They have ears to hear, purified by faith, and by the most purified customs invocations of the divine, they are made a home for God and made capable for these divine influences.²³ Therefore, whosoever correctly uses these divine words or names with a purity of mind and manner, following those laws that were handed down to us, will both achieve and accomplish many wonders.²⁴ As we read from Medea:

And she said the words three times, causing gentle sleep,

*Calming the turbulent seas and rushing rivers.*²⁵

The ancient Hebrew teachers observed this before the rest and customarily caused many wonderful things with words. Pythagoras also demonstrated how to wonderfully cure diseases of the mind and body with certain words.²⁶

Orpheus.

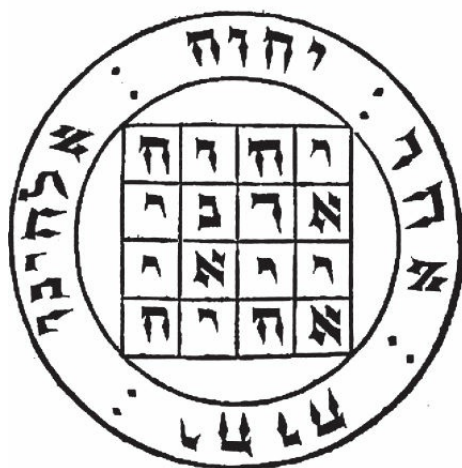
Thus, we also read that Orpheus, who was one of the Argonauts, averted a very fierce storm with certain words.²⁷ In a similar way, Apollonius approached a dead Roman girl with certain secret words and revived her again,²⁸ and with other certain words, Achilles summoned the dead as narrated by Philostratus.²⁹ But Pausanias wrote that in Lydia, in the cities of Hierocaesarea and Hypepis,³⁰ there were two temples to goddesses, which they called Persian and holy. In both places, when divine things were finished, the magician laid dried wood over the altar and sang hymns in his ancestral language. He then pronounced certain barbarous words from a book he held in his hands. Then suddenly, the wood fibers spontaneously started to flame and was seen to burn most brightly.³¹

Serenus Sammonicus also said about the teachings of medicine that if the name Abracadabra is written so that it diminishes letter by letter from the end of the word to the beginning as shown—and if the paper on which this is done is bound and suspended from the neck—it is powerful for those things against health. Whoever is sick or suffering from a semi-tertian or other fever will find if they do this that the illness will gradually fall away.³²

a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a	b	r	a
a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a	b	r	
a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a	b		
a	b	r	a	c	a	d	a			
a	b	r	a	c	a	d				
a	b	r	a	c	a					
a	b	r	a	c						
a	b	r	a							
a	b									
a										
a										

In the *Book of Speculation*, Rabbi Hama wrote about a sacred seal that is much more effective against all things inimical to the health of men—as well as whatever else troubles them. On the front side are the four quadruple names of God, thus alternating a square under itself so that the top and bottom are equal to each other and the four most sacred names or divine seals emerge. These are then inscribed within the circumference of a circle. But on the back is inscribed the seven-lettered name Ararita, and inscribed around this is its interpretation—that is, from the verse from which it is extracted—just as you can see depicted here:

Front Part



Back Part



These inscriptions should be made in ink upon the purest gold or virgin parchment, which must be whole, clean, and immaculate. According to this, they are formed from the smoke of a sacred candle, or incense, and holy water. The petitioner must be purified and expiated, with an infallible hope and constant faith, and his mind elevated to the most supreme God if they are to obtain and excel in this divine virtue.

There is a similar method against terror and harm from evil daemons and men, and against whatever dangers approach, whether from journeys, waters, enemies, or weapons. In the manner mentioned above, inscribe these characters on one side בווו and on the back צמרה, which are the beginning and end of the first five verses of Genesis and the symbol of the creation of the entire world. Of this binding, they say that a man—if he most firmly believes in God, the author of the world—will be cleansed of all evils.³³

Front Part



Back Part



One should not distrust or wonder at sacred words, with which the all-powerful God made the heavens and earth and bound with great power. Accordingly, it can be found (as Costa ben Luca said) that many other nonphysical things can do much: as can be proved by experience with the finger of an aborted child suspended from the neck of a woman, which impedes conception for as long as it touches her neck.³⁴

Additionally, in certain sacred words and divine names there is great and divine power, which is an operative virtue in wonderful effects, as the splendid philosophers Zoroaster, Orpheus, Iamblichus, Synesius, and al-Kindi each testify.³⁵ Artephius, a magician and philosopher, wrote a book on the virtues of words and single characters.³⁶ Origen, not inferior to the most splendid of philosophers, asserted against Celsus that in certain divine words are wonderful hidden virtues;³⁷ and in the book of Judges God said: “My name which is Pele ³⁸פלא which is interpreted by us as “worker or wonders” or “causing wonders.”

But the true name of God is not known to men or angels, only to God Himself, nor will it be made public (as the holy scriptures testify) before the purpose of God is fulfilled. Yet God has other names among angels and other men. Moreover, there is no name of God among us (as Moses the Egyptian said) that is not to be taken by works and signifying with participation, besides the name Tetragrammaton, which is sacred, signifying the substance of the Creator with a pure signification. In this nothing else participates with God the Creator; therefore, it is said to be a separate name, which is written and not read or pronounced, but named, and it signifies according to the heavenly language, which is God and perhaps also angels.³⁹

The true name of God is known only to God.

In a similar way, angels also have other names among themselves and in their language, which Paul called the language of angels,⁴⁰ of which he gave little to us; but from their duties and operations are decided all of their other names, which are not very effective⁴¹ [as we are unable to use them]. Therefore, magicians invoke them by their true names—that is, the heavenly ones, which are contained in the holy scriptures.

Chapter 12

Of the influence of divine names through each medium in these inferiors.

Although the highest Creator and First Cause rules and disposes all, He distributes the carrying out of tasks to various ministers of good and evil. John in Revelation called them favorable and harmful angels; of which the prophet sang elsewhere: “The angel of the Lord will stay around those who fear Him, and He will deliver them”; and he elsewhere describes [wrath and troubles] being sent by evil angels.

Whatever [tasks] angels carry out as if by attendants of God, the heavens and stars also do the same, as if by instruments [of God]. In this way, everything cooperates in the ministry.¹ As any portion of the heavens and each star judge certain regions or places of the earth, time, species, and individual, thus also the angelic virtue of that portion and star is applied to the same place, time, and species. Of this, Augustine wrote in his book *Questions*: “Each visible thing in this world has an angelic power placed in command of it.”² Thus Origen said in *Homilies on Numbers*: “The world has need of angels who are placed in charge of the earthly armies,” kingdoms, provinces, men, “the birth and rearing of beasts and animals, shrubs, plants, and other things,” granting a virtue, as they say, belonging to things from a hidden quality. Much more “are angels needed to be placed in charge of sacred works,” virtues, and men, as they always see the face of the highest God, gathering men and also the smallest together, and lead them to their rightful place, as well-ordered members of this world, in which God as a protector, most sweetly disposes all inhabiting it, not held or circumscribed, but containing all.³ In Revelation, John described that heavenly city, whose twelve gates were guarded by twelve angels, influencing what they receive from a divine name of twelve revolutions.⁴ In the foundation of that city are the names of the twelve apostles and the lamb.⁵

For as in the Law, with the stones of the ephod⁶ and the foundations of the holy city described by Ezekiel, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of Israel and the four-lettered name dominated over them, thus in the Gospels the names of the twelve apostles were inscribed in stone in the foundation of the heavenly city. [These names] stand for the tribes of Israel in the church,⁷ over which the name of the lamb influences—that is, the name Jesus, in which is the entire virtue of the four letters, since with the Tetragrammaton the Father gave him everything.

John 14.

Mark 16.

Therefore, the heavens receive influences from the angels, but those are from the great name of God and Jesus, whose power is first in God, then diffused through those twelve and seven angels, by which they are extended into twelve signs and seven planets, and consequently into all other ministries and instruments of God, penetrating all the way to the lowest parts. Hence, Christ said: “He will grant to whoever asks in the name of my Father”; and the risen one once said: “In my name, they will cast out daemons.” The four-lettered name is no longer necessary for those who follow, because the entire virtue is translated in the name of Jesus, in which alone miracles are done—nor is there another name (as Peter said) under the heavens given to men that can save them except that one.

Acts 4.

But we cannot think that we can relate his name with a polluted mouth, just as the name of some man, and by that virtue make miracles possible. We must invoke it in the [name of the] Holy Ghost, with a cleansed mind and fervent soul, that we can gain from him that which is promised to us, especially foreknowledge, without which we cannot be heard according to that prophet: “I will clearly hear, because he knew my name.” Thus, today no favor can be drawn from the celestials unless the authority, favor, and assent of the name of Jesus intervenes. Thus, Hebrews and kabbalists, though they are skilled in divine names, cannot work with those ancient names in the way their forefathers once did, since the coming of Christ. Now, it is proved by experience that no evil daemon, and no inferior virtue [descending] from these, which can vex or possess men, can resist this name, but [kabbalists] are not willing to genuflect and obey when the venerable name of Jesus must be pronounced. Not only are [daemons and inferior virtues] frightened by the name, but also by the sign of the cross. Not only should the “earthly, heavenly, and infernal genuflect,” but the insensible should also revere him, and at his nod, all tremble,⁸ when the name of Jesus is pronounced from a faithful heart and a truthful mouth and innocent hands impress with the healing sign of the cross. Christ does not speak in vain to his disciples when he says: “In my name daemons are cast out,” unless certain virtues in His name are expressed over daemons and the ill, serpents and poisons and tongues and the like.

Psalms 90.

Acts 4.

Mark 16.

From where the name of Jesus has its power:

These virtues belonging to the name of Jesus were set up by the virtue of God. [They arise not only] from the virtue of He whom this name signifies but also from a power engrafted to this word itself.² Since all creatures fear and revere [the name of Jesus] in he who uses it, evil and unclean men, if they only believe in this kind of divine invocation, can also bind daemons and [achieve] other great

operations of this kind.

Chapter 13

Of the members of God and of their influence in our members.

We read in various places in the sacred scriptures of the various members and ornaments of God: but by members of God, they are understood as certain many-layered and simple powers that endure in God. They are distinguished from each other by the sacred names of God. However, the garments and ornaments of God are like certain ways, relations, emanations, or channels through which He diffuses Himself. As often as our minds touch the fringes of [these garments], divine powers also move forth to some member, just as Jesus cried out about the woman with flowing blood: “Someone has touched me: for I feel the strength pass from me.”¹

What the members of God are.

What the garments of God are.

Luke 8.

Therefore these members of God are similar to ours, but they are the ideas and models of our members; to which—if we duly conform our members—then they are transferred into the same image and we are made the true sons of God and become like Him, doing and operating the works of God.² Therefore, much is mentioned in the scriptures of the members of God; for of His head we read in Songs: “Your head is as Carmel, the hair of your head is as the purple of a king.”³ However, “Carmel” here does not signify the mountain on the coast of Syria but instead the grub that makes the purple color.⁴

Songs 7.

What Carmel is.

The eyes of God.

Of the eyes, eyelids, and ears we read in Psalms: “The eyes of the Lord are upon the just, and His

ears to their prayers.⁵ His eyes gaze upon the poor, and His eyelids inquire the sons of men.”⁶ Of His mouth, taste, throat, lips, and teeth we read in Isaiah: “You have not asked at my mouth”;⁷ and in *Songs*: “Your throat is as the best wine, wine worthy for my beloved to drink, and food for his lips and teeth to ruminate.”⁸

The nostrils of God.

Also there are the nostrils which (as we often find in the Laws) smell the sweet scent of the sacrifice.⁹ Of His shoulders, arms, hands, and fingers, we read in Isaiah: “The government is made on his shoulders”¹⁰ and the royal prophet sang: “your hands, Lord, made and formed me.”¹¹ [We also read in the scriptures,] “I will behold your heavens, the work of your fingers.”¹²

The right and left hand of God, His heart, breast, back, back parts, face, and the rest.

He also has a right and left hand; hence, in Psalms it said: “The Lord said to my Lord: sit at my right hand.”¹³ Of the left, we read in the Gospels that the damned will be placed on this side on the last day.¹⁴ Also of the heart, breast, back, back parts, and face, as in the book of Kings that God found David according to his own heart;¹⁵ and we read in the Gospels of His breast, upon which the sleeping disciple conceived divine secrets.¹⁶ The psalmist described His back as having the paleness of gold;¹⁷ and He Himself said in Jeremiah: “I will show my back and not my face to them on the day of destruction.”¹⁸ To Moses, He said: “They will see my back parts.”¹⁹ Likewise, the psalmist said of His feet: “The darkness under His feet.”²⁰ In Genesis we read of Him walking to the south.²¹

In a similar way, we read of the many garments and ornaments of God. As the psalmist said: “The Lord reigns, beautifully dressed, clothed with light as a garment.”²² Elsewhere, it is said: “You are dressed in praise and beauty. The abyss is as a garment and a cloak,”²³ as in Ezekiel, God said: “I spread my cloak over you and cover your disgrace.”²⁴ Also of the rod, staff, sword, and shield, as the psalmist said: “Your rod and your staff console me.”²⁵ His truth surrounds you as a shield,²⁶ and in Deuteronomy we read of the glory of his sword.²⁷

These kinds and many more sacred speeches are declared to us [in scripture], so that the veracity of the divine members and ornaments they describe is not in doubt. Our members, that which is around us, and all of our works are ruled, directed, guarded, governed, and judged [by those of God.] As the prophet said: “He placed my feet upon the rock and directed my steps.”²⁸ Elsewhere it is said: “Blessed Lord my God, who teaches my hand to battle and my fingers to war.”²⁹ Of the mouth said: “Sent in a new song into my mouth.”³⁰ Still elsewhere the Savior said: “I will give you a mouth and wisdom,”³¹ and of hair He said: “The hair on your head will never die.”³² He also said that “the hairs on your head have been counted.”³³ Indeed, the all-powerful God, since he wished us to be in His image and like Him, made our members, limbs, and figures maintaining the same order and proportion to them according to the

similarity of His hidden virtues, lay open to us in many ways as if they were signs.

The opinion of Hebrew mekubalim.

Psalms 90.

Of this, the Hebrew mekubalim said that if a man has the members of his body expiated and made free from the filth of this world so that they are capable of receiving divine influences, then he becomes a home and appropriate seat for the hidden arm of God, and virtue to which the same name is appointed. Thus, if about that member there a need of something, the name from whom it depends is invoked and is suddenly heard clearly for accomplishing that work: "I hear clearly because he knows my name."³⁴ These are powerful and secret mysteries, of which it is not permitted to speak much more publicly.

Chapter 14

Of the gods of the gentiles, the souls of the celestial bodies, and which deities were once made sacred to [particular] places.

Philosophers posit, as we have shown above, that the heavens and stars are divine animals, and their souls are intelligences participating with the divine mind. They also posit that indeed some separated substances rule, but others are subordinate, ruling and managing, which they call intelligences and daemons.

But Plato himself asserted that the celestial souls are in no way confined to their bodies, just as with our souls and our bodies, but they can be anywhere they wish and can likewise rejoice in the vision of God, and rule and move their bodies without any effort or worry. Together these motions easily govern the more inferior.¹

Therefore, they called these kinds of souls “gods” and set up divine honors for them as well as declaring prayers and sacrifices, and venerated them in diverse cults. These are the gods to which all people are assigned, which Moses anticipated, saying in Deuteronomy: “Lest perhaps, your eyes are lifted to heaven seeing the Sun and Moon and all of the stars of the sky, and being turned against [God], you adore and serve them, to which all peoples are assigned, which are under the whole heaven; but the Lord Tetragrammaton has carried and led you from the furnace of Egypt, so that He would make you his inherited people”;² and in the same book, in the seventeenth chapter, he called the Sun, Moon, and the stars gods.³

Hebrew teachers say, regarding Abraham giving gifts to the sons of concubines, that the sons of the concubines in the blessing of Abraham were not attributed to God Tetragrammaton and highest creator but to foreign gods and divinities. We read about this in Genesis, in which place the term *Shemoth steltoma*—that is, “foreign names”—was used. Conversely, Isaac and his seed were assigned to the omnipotent God Tetragrammaton, and no part was assigned to foreign divinities. Abraham left Isaac as heir of everything he possessed.⁴ For this they are reproached in Deuteronomy, because they served foreign divinities and honored them, which they did not know and were not assigned to them.⁵

In Joshua,⁶ after the people were introduced to the promised land and overcame enemies, and the lots of the possessions of Israel distributed, the people were given the option to select the divinity that they would serve, saying: “The option is given to you today to choose which it pleases you the most to serve—whether the gods your fathers served in Mesopotamia, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you inhabit.” The people answered: “We will serve the Lord Tetragrammaton and He will be our God.” Joshua said to them: “You will not be able [to serve the Lord], because the Lord God Tetragrammaton is holy and strong and jealous.” Even so, the people persisted in serving Tetragrammaton, saying: “You are witnesses to yourselves that you have chosen the Lord, to serve Him. Therefore, take away the foreign

gods from your midst and incline your hearts to God the Lord of Israel.” A colossal stone was raised, and they said: “This stone will be a witness to you, lest perhaps later you wish to neglect and lie to the Lord your God.”⁷

Therefore, there were gods that were assigned to other nations, the Sun and Moon, the twelve signs, and other celestial bodies and divine works. Yet they were not according to bodies, but according to the souls adhering to them, and the entire host of heaven, as well as what Jeremiah called “the queen of heaven”—that is, the virtue that rules heaven which is the World Soul. Of this Jeremiah said: “Sons collect wood, fathers light the fire, and the women sprinkle the oil, so that they can make a cake for the queen of heaven.” The worship of this queen and other heavenly souls were not forbidden to them as *dulia*, but only as *latría*,⁸ which when summoned, are rejected by the Lord.⁹ However, the names of these souls or gods were previously mentioned; but to which region and people and city as individual and tutelary gods are assigned are partially referred to by our Origen, Tertullian, Apuleius, Diodorus, and many other historians.

Tutelary gods of various nations.

Therefore, all people worshipped their gods with their individual ceremonies: the Boeotians [worshipped] Amphiarus, the Africans Mopsus, the Egyptians Osiris and Isis, the Ethiopians, who live in Meroe, [worshipped] Jupiter and Bacchus, the Arabs Bacchus and Venus, Scythians Minerva, the Naucratis Serapis, the Syrians Atargatis, the Arabs Diaphara, the Africans Coelestus, the Norici Tibilenus,¹⁰ likewise in provincial Italy, the god consecrated to the Crustumensians was Delventius, to the Narnians Viridianus, Ancharia of Asculum, the Volsinians Nortia,¹¹ Valentia of Otriculum, the Sutrians Hostia,¹² and Curis of the Phaliscians were the most famous.¹³ The Latins honored Mars with the highest veneration, the Egyptians Isis, the Moors Iuba, the Macedonians Cabirus, the Carthaginians Uranus, the Latins Faunus, the Romans Quirinus, the Sabines Sangus, the Athenians Minerva, Samos Juno, Paphos Venus, Lemnos Vulcan, Naxos Liber,¹⁴ Delphi Apollo,¹⁵ and which Ovid sang in *Fasti*:

Athens has Pallas, Minoan Crete Diana,

The island of Lemnos adores Vulcan,

Sparta Juno and Mycenae Pelops,

Arcadia worships pine crowned Faunus,

*The Latins adore Mars, who presides over armies.*¹⁶

The Carthaginians and Leucadians honored Saturn. Jove [was honored] in Crete, Pyreus, Homole, Ida, Elis, and Libya, where there was an oracle. Epirus, Latium, Gnidus, Lyciae, and Macedonian Pisa [likewise honored Jove.] Mars [was honored] in Thermodon, Scythia, and Thrace.

The Scythians venerated the Sun as a single god, [for whom] they immolated a horse. The Heliopolitans worshipped him also, and the Assyrians, Rhodians, Hyperboreans, and Milesians all called him Apollo. The mountains of Parnassus, Phaselis, Cynthus, and Soracte were sacred to him, as well as

the islands of Delos, Claros, Tenedos, and Malea. [Also sacred to this god of the Sun was] a place in Lesbos, and the Grynaean grove or town. Furthermore, the cities Patara, Chrysa, Tarapnas, Cyrrhus, Delphi, Arrephnia, Entrosi, and Tegyra [were under this god].

Under the name of Bacchus or Dionysus were consecrated Thebes, the island of Naxos, Nisa (which is an Arab city), Callichoros, and the river of Paphlagonia, as well as Parnassus and Cythera, and the Boeotian mountains, in which a bacchanalia was made in alternating years. Also the people of Thamarita, a neighbor of Hyrcania, honored Bacchus with their own sacrifices.

The Assyrians before all introduced the devotion of Venus, then the Paphias of Cyprus, and Phoenicians and Cytherians, and who Aegeus followed, introducing her to the Athenians; the Lacedaemonians honored [Venus] Armatha and Venus Epytibia in Delphi.¹⁷ She was also honored in Kos and Amathus, an island in the Aegean sea, and in Memphis, a city in Egypt, and in Cnidus and Sicily and the Idalian grove and the city of Hypepa and Eryx, a mountain in Sicily, and also in Caledonia, Cyrene, and Samos. We also read that none of the divine ancient gods (as Aristotle testified) were adored with more ceremonies and in more places [than Venus].

Mercury was especially honored among the French, who they called Teutates, as did the Arcadians and Hermopolitans, Egyptians and Memphites.

The Moon was worshipped under the name of Diana in Taurica and in the region of Scythia. In Ephesus, she was most praised in a temple. In Mycenae, after the death of King Thoas of Taurica, her likeness was stolen from Iphigenia and Orestes. The sacred rites were changed, and she was worshipped near Aricia. [She was also honored by the Magnesians and by the people of Thessaly. [She also received veneration] in Pisa, the city of Achaea, in Tibur, and at the Aventine, a Roman hill. [She was an object of worship] in Perga—a Pamphylian town—and in Agra, in the Attic region. We read also that the people of Carene honored the Moon under the masculine sex.

And there were other deities sacred to [places], such as Pallas and Athena were sacred to Athens, and the mountains Pyreus and Aracynthus, the rivers Tritones and Akomeneum, the town of Boeotia, and Neona, and the Cyclades islands. Sacred places for Ceres were Eleusis, Attica, Enna and Catania, cities in Sicily, and Mount Aetna. The particular cult for Vulcan was on the island of Lemnos and Imbros, Thracian islands, and Therasia (an island sacred to Vulcan), and also in Sicily. The goddess Vesta was Trojan, and Aeneas carried her with him when he fled to Italy. She was also given the Phrygians, Ida, and the Dindymus as well as Phrygian mountains. [Her cult spread to] the towns Rieti and Umbria, and also the mountain Berecynthus. [It was furthermore adopted in] Pessinuntius, a town in Phrygia.

Juno was honored in Carthage and the cities Prosennea, Argos, and Mycenae, and on the island Samos. [She was also venerated by] the people of Phaliscus.

Neptune was sacred to Orchestus, a city in Boeotia. [He was also venerated in] Tenarus, a promontory of Laconia. The Trojan people and city were under the tutelage of Neptune as well.

Therefore, Moses in his Deuteronomy called this kind of national god—who presided and were lords of [the people of various nations]—gods of the earth. They were attributed to all people, not signifying anything other than the celestial stars and their souls.¹⁸

Chapter 15

What our theologians think about the celestial souls.

It is not only the opinion of poets and philosophers that the heavens and celestial bodies are animated with certain divine souls: it is also claimed by holy scriptures and by Catholics. Ecclesiastes describes heavenly souls, and Jerome expressly acknowledged the same.¹ Similarly, Origen, in his book *On Principles*, wrote that he absolutely thought that the heavenly bodies are animated because they are said to take orders from God, which only conforms to a rational nature. Indeed, it is written: “I have enjoined a command on all of the stars.” As Job noted, even the stain of sin does not entirely separate the stars from accord. Indeed, we read: “The stars are likewise not pure in his sight,” which certainly does not refer to the brightness of the body.²

Eusebius Pamphilus in *Theological Solutions*³ and Augustine in *Enchiridion* both thought that the celestial bodies are animated. More recently, Albertus Magnus also agreed in his book *The Four Coequals*, as did Thomas Aquinas, in his book *Of Spiritual Creatures*, and [Duns] Scotus in *Upon the Sentences [of Lombard]*. To these the most learned man Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus can be added.

Augustine⁴ himself overcame this in a strenuous discussion, in which he did not believe it was strange that the celestial bodies were worshipped with the veneration of the *duliae* and their judgment and help implored. Thomas himself also assented to this, unless they are hindered by the opportunity of idolatrous rites. Plotinus added that they understand our prayers, and likewise clearly hear them.

But if one wishes to entirely oppose this and take them as sacrilegious dogma, then listen to Augustine in *Enchiridion* and in the book *Of Retractions*, Thomas in the second book of *Against the Gentiles* and *Quodlibetal [Questions]*, Scotus in *Upon the Sentences*, and William of Auvergne in *Sum of the Universe*, all which unanimously answered, saying that the celestial bodies are animate or inanimate, referring to nothing of the Catholic faith.⁵

Therefore, although it seems ridiculous to many that souls are arranged in the spheres, [that they manifest as] stars, and that they preside over regions, cities, tribes, peoples, nations, and languages as the gods of the gentiles, these facts do not seem strange to those with a sound understanding.

Chapter 16

Of intelligences and daemons, their threefold kinds, their various names, and of infernal and subterranean daemons.

We must now discuss intelligences, spirits, and daemons. An intelligence is an intelligible substance that is entirely free from the dense and putrefying mass of a body: immortal, insensible, defending everything. This is the nature of all intelligences, spirits, and daemons. I say “daemons” here and [do] not [refer to] those that are called devils, but rather to spirits that are called by the quality of the name—that is, knowing, intelligent, and wise.¹

What intelligences are.

What these daemons are, and how many kinds.

However, according to the tradition of magicians, there are three kinds of these: The first are called supercelestial. Their minds are separated from their inner bodies, and are, as it were, intellectual spheres, honoring the one God as their firmest and most stable unity or center. For this reason, they now also call them gods because of a certain participation with divinity, because they are always filled by God and drink from the divine nectar.² They only live around the one God and do not preside over corporeal bodies, nor are adapted to the ministration of the more inferiors, but receive the light from God and infuse the more inferior orders, and they distribute single duties to each.

The celestial intelligences follow these in the second order, which are called worldly daemons—that is, applied beyond the divine worship of the worldly sphere—and which preside over the heavens and stars. From there, they are distributed into as many orders as there are heavens in the world and as many stars as there are in the sky. They called some Saturnine, which preside over the heaven of Saturn and over Saturn himself. Others [were termed] Jovian, who preside over the heaven of Jupiter and Jupiter himself. Similarly, they named various daemons on behalf of the other stars according to their names and virtues. Because ancient astrologers asserted that there are fifty-five motions,³ they devised as many intelligences or daemons. They likewise placed in the starry heaven daemons who preside over signs, triplicities, decans, fivefold divisions,⁴ degrees, and stars: for, even though the entire Peripatetic philosophical school assigned only one intelligence to each stellar orb, yet since each star and heaven has their own particular and different power and influence it is necessary that they have their own presiding intelligence that confers strength and action.

The number and offices of daemons.

Therefore, they placed twelve princes of daemons who preside over the twelve signs of the zodiac,⁵ thirty-six who preside over as many decans, seventy-two who preside over as many as fivefold divisions⁶ of the heavens and tongues of men and nations, four who preside over the triplicities and elements, and seven governors of the whole world according to the seven planets. They placed names and signs over all of them, which are called characters, and used them in their invocations, incantations, and sculptures. They described them in their instruments for operations, images, plates, mirrors, rings, papers, candles, and the like.⁷ For instance, when they operated for the Sun, they invoked by the name of the Sun and the name of the Solar daemon, and so on for the rest.

Third, they placed daemons as ministers for disposing those things that are more inferior. [These are the things] that Origen called “certain invisible virtues,” which are believed to be disposed upon the earth.⁸ Indeed, being visible to no one, they often direct our various journeys and business and take part in battles. As it is said they can cause prosperity, they naturally help their chosen friends achieve success in secret and inflict adversity as they please.⁹

In a similar way, they distributed these into more orders: for instance, some are fiery, some watery, some airy, and some earthy. Indeed, they counted four kinds of daemons according to the virtues of the celestial souls—namely, mind, reason, imagination, and the vivifying and moving natures. Hence, the fiery follow the mind of the celestial souls, from where they agree to the contemplation of the more sublime. The airy [daemons] follow and favor the rational powers, and they separate the sensual from the vegetable in a certain way. Airy [daemons] serve [those people who lead] active lives, just as fire [serves] the contemplative.¹⁰ The watery follow imagination and sense, serving the delightful life; earthy follow nature, favoring the vegetable nature.¹¹ In addition, they also distinguished these kinds of daemons as Saturnine and Jovian according to the names of the stars and heavens. Others are eastern, western, southern, and northern.¹²

The distinctions of daemons.

Finally, there is no part of the world deserted of the individual assistance of these daemons,¹³ not because they are alone but because they especially rule [that particular place]. Indeed, they are everywhere, although some prominently operate and influence elsewhere.¹⁴

However, these should not be understood as if they are subject to the influences of the stars. Rather, [one must conceive of them] as responding to the supermundane heaven, to which everything is directed and must conform. Thus, these daemons are fitted to various stars, places, and times—not because they are confined to a time or place (just as they are not [confined] to bodies they preside in) but because the order of prudence has decided it. Therefore, they favor and protect those bodies, places, times, and stars more. Thus, they call some diurnal, others nocturnal, and others meridional.¹⁵

In a similar way, some are called wooded, others mountainous, others rural, and others household. Hence there are Sylvanus, Faunus, Satyrs, Panes, Nymphs, Naiads, Nereids, Dryads, Pierides, Hamadryads, Potamides, Hinnides, Agaptas, Pales, Pareades, Dodonas, Fenilias, Lavernas, Pareas, Muses, Aonides, Castalides, Heliconides, Pegasides, Maeonides, Phebiages, Camenae, Charites, Genii, Specters, and the like, which common people called heavenly, and others demigods or goddesses.

Thus, some of these are very close and familiar with men. They are also affected by human disturbances, and Plato thought men did wonderful [arts of] magic by these instructions, just as by men's instruction some beasts that are very close to us, such as apes, dogs, and elephants, often do wonderful things above their species.¹⁶ The Danes and Norwegians have written of these things, testifying about various kinds of daemons in those regions who were subjected to the slavery of men.¹⁷

Additionally, some daemons are corporeal and mortal. Their bodies beget and perish yet live to a great age, which was the belief of the Egyptians and Platonists and was especially approved by Proclus. Likewise, the philosophers Plutarch, Demetrius, and the rhetorician Aemilianus also confirmed [that some daemons have mortal bodies]. Indeed, they testified of many prodigies in their time where the great daemon Pan and many other [daemons] first began wailing, and then died.¹⁸

Therefore, it is the Platonic opinion that the third kind of daemon is of this [mortal variety]. [The Platonists assert] that there are as many legions [of daemons] as there are stars, and likewise there are as many stars encircling the sky as there are daemons in any legion.¹⁹ The true number of good daemons, as related by Athanasius, is ninety-nine parts to the number of men, which was compared to the parable of the hundred sheep. Others think there are only nine parts according to the parable of the ten drachmas. Others think that the number of angels is equal to that of men, because the scripture says: "God set up the bounds of the people according to the number of angels."

Many more have written of their numbers.²⁰ However, of the more recent theologians—following the Master of sentences,²¹ Augustine, and Gregory—easily absolve themselves saying that the number of good angels exceeds human capacity, and that the unclean spirits contrary to these are innumerable, with as many arising in the more inferior world as there are clean spirits in the more superior world. Some theologians assert that they received [knowledge of this] by prophecies.²²

Under these [unclean spirits], they placed a sort of subterranean or dark daemon, which Platonists called "deserted angels" and "avengers of wickedness and impiety." [This is] just as there are [avengers] of justice and divine law.²³ [These "deserted angels"] are also called "evil daemons" and "wicked spirits," because they often strike and do harm. [The Platonists] also reckon many legions of these kinds of [evil] daemons, similarly distinguishing [those beings] according to the names of the stars, elements, and parts of the world, naming them and placing kings, princes, and guards for them.

Presiding over these are four most harmful kings according to the four parts of the world. Under these are many more ruling princes of the legions, and also many private offices; hence the Gorgons, Stenotacae, and Furies; hence Ctesiphone, Alecto, Megera, and Cerberus. Porphyry said these kinds of daemons [they] "dwell in a place near the earth, indeed within the earth itself." There is no evil that they dare not perpetrate. They have entirely violent and evil customs, and therefore devise and construct many violent and sudden snares. Conducting incursions, they often lie hidden. [They] often violently rush in and they very much delight in all things unjust and cause discord.²⁴

Chapter 17

Of the same according to the opinions of theologians.

Our theologians place three distinctions for angels, as Dionysus did. These are divided into three orders—which is to say that because there are three distinctions, there are nine orders. [The theologians] call these [orders] hierarchies, and these [distinctions] choruses.¹ Proclus also distinguished [the orders] by the number nine.

Therefore, [our theologians] place the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones as the highest in the hierarchy, considering them supercelestial daemons, [which] contemplate the order of divine providence. The first, [Seraphim, contemplate] the goodness of God. The second, [Cherubim, do likewise with] the essence of God as a form. The third, [the Thrones, engage in the same way with] the wisdom [of God].

Three distinctions of angels.

In the middle hierarchy, [our theologians] place Dominations, Virtues, and Powers. [These they characterize] as worldly daemons, assembling to govern the world. The first [of these—Dominations—] command, while the rest carry out [these commands]. The second[—the Virtues—]administer the heavens, sometimes conspiring to cause miracles. The third[—those called Powers—]ward off those things that seem to disturb divine law.

[Our theologians] placed lowest in this hierarchy the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. Indeed, Iamblichus enumerated the order of the cosmos in the same way. [These three types of spiritual beings] descend as ministering daemons to look after more inferior things. The first[— Principalities—]look after the public, princes, magistrates, provinces, and each and every kingdom.² We read [of the Principalities] in Daniel, where it is written: “the prince of the Persian kingdom resisted me for twenty-two days.” Jesus, the son of Sirach, testified that each nation has a guiding angel placed in command of it.³ Moses seemed to indicate this in his song in Deuteronomy, saying: “Since the Most High divided the nations, setting up boundaries according to the number of the angels of God.”⁴

The second of these [celestial beings—that is, Archangels—]are concerned with the sacred. They direct divine worship around every man, [presiding over] prayers and sacrifices in the presence of gods. The third[—those beings we call Angels—]dispose every small [thing]. [They are] near to each thing, [acting as] a single protector [for that to which they are assigned].⁵ Of these, there are also those that supply virtue to the smallest herbs, stones, and all more inferior things,⁶ which many are common with God, many with men, and they are mediating attendants.

Athanasius's opinion of angels.

Athanasius names seven other orders besides Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim, [these three being categories of intelligences] who are closest to God and sing hymns incessantly, loudly praising His glory and praying for our salvation. [This tier of the celestial hierarchy] is commonly called “the army of heaven.”⁷ The first of these [Thrones] is the doctrinal order, from which it spoke to Daniel, saying: “I come so that I might teach you what will come to your people in the last days.”⁸

The tutelary order:

Then there is the tutelary order, of which in Daniel we read: “Behold Michael, one of the princes, comes to assist me.”⁹ It is also said in that place: “In that time Michael shall rise, a great prince, who stands on behalf of the sons of your people.”¹⁰ Also of that order was Raphael, who carried and brought back Tobias the Younger.¹¹

After this is the procuratory order, which we read mentioned in the book of Job: “If the angel will speak for him, he will pray to the Lord and He will be pleased.”¹² Of the same it is also explained, which is written in the sixteenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus around the end: “The works of God are made in judgment from the beginning, and by the arrangement of man, He distinguished their parts and their beginnings in their nations; He eternally adorned their works neither going hungry nor laboring and they have not ceased their works, nor will they crowd their neighbor forever.”¹³

The procuratory order:

Next is the ministering order, of which Paul said in his epistle to the Hebrews: “Surely they are all ministering spirits sent to them, who will receive the inheritance of salvation?”¹⁴

The ministering order:

After this is the auxiliary order, of which we read from Isaiah: “The angel of the Lord went out and slew 185,000 in the camp of the Assyrians.”¹⁵

The auxiliary order:

Next is the receptive order of souls, of which we read from Luke: “The soul of Lazarus was carried by the angels in the bosom of Abraham,”¹⁶ and in the same place we are taught that we can make ourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity, by which we can be received into the eternal tabernacle.¹⁷

The receptive order of souls:

Additionally, there is the order of assistants,¹⁸ which we read of in Zechariah: “These are two sons of the oil of splendor, who stand with the Lord of the whole earth.”¹⁹

The order of assistants.

How the Hebrews numerate the orders of angels.

Hebrew theologians count and express these orders in another way: for the highest place they are called הקדש היות—that is, “holy animals” or “life”—by which God אלהים grants the gift of being. In the second place follow Ophanim אוֹפָנִים—that is, “forms” or “wheels”—by which God יהוה distinguishes chaos. In the third place are Aralim אֲרָלִים meaning “great angel, strong and valiant”—by which Elohim pronounced Tetragrammaton (or Tetragrammaton joined with He) יהוה administering form to fluid matter. In the fourth place are Hasmalim הַשְּׁמַלִּים, by which God El אֵל fashions the effigies of bodies. In the fifth order are Seraphim שְׂרָפִים, by which God Elohim Gibor גִּבּוֹר brings elements. In the sixth are Malachim מַלְאָכִים—that is, “angels”—by which God Eloha אֱלֹהָהּ produces metals. In the seventh are Elohim אֱלֹהִים—that is, “gods,” by which God Tetragrammaton Sabaoth יְהוָה produces vegetables. In the eighth are Bne Elohim בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים—that is, the “sons of the gods”—by which God Elohim Sabaoth אֱלֹהִים begets animals. In the ninth and lowest are Cherubim כְּרוּבִים, by which God Sadai שַׁדַּי cares after the species of man. Under these are the animastical order, called Issim אִישִׁים—that is, “heroes, strong, and blessed men”—by which God Adonai אֲדֹנָי grants prophecy.²⁰

Chapter 18

Of the orders of evil daemons, and their fallen and various natures.

There are also those from the school of theologians who distribute evil daemons in nine degrees, just as there are nine orders of angels opposite them.

Therefore, of these the first are *pseudothei*—that is, “false gods”— who usurp the name of God wishing to be worshipped as gods. They desire sacrifices and adoration, as that daemon who said to Christ: “If you will fall down to the ground and adore me, I will give all of this to you,” showing him all of the kingdoms of the earth.¹ The prince of these is the one who said: “I will ascend over the highest clouds and will be like the Most High,”² who is therefore called Beelzebub—that is, “the ancient god.”³

The first order of daemons.

Deceitful spirits follow as the second [order]. A deceitful spirit who was sent into the mouth of the prophets of Ahab was of this kind.⁴ The prince of these is the serpent Python, from which Apollo is called Pythius, and that woman Pythonica in Samuel,⁵ and others in the Gospels who had a Python in their bellies.⁶ Therefore, these kinds of daemons intermingle themselves in oracles and delude men with their divinations and predictions until they are cheated.

The second.

The third.

The third order is “vessels of iniquity,”⁷ which are also called “vessels of wrath.”⁸ These are the authors of evil and every evil art, as from Plato that daemon Thoth,⁹ who taught games and dice.¹⁰ Indeed, every crime, wickedness, and deformity comes from these. In Genesis, in the benediction of Simeon and Levi, Jacob says: “The vessels of iniquity are in their habitations, let my soul not come into their council.”¹¹ [These are] what the psalmist called the “vessels of death,”¹² Isaiah called them “vessels of madness,”¹³ Jeremiah called them “vessels of anger,”¹⁴ and Ezekiel [referred to] “the vessels of slaughter and ruin.”¹⁵ Their prince is Belial, which means “without a yoke” or “disobedient, evader, and apostate,”¹⁶ and which Paul said to the Corinthians: “What agreement has Christ to Belial?”¹⁷

Psalms 7.

Isaiah 13.

Jerem. 50.

2 Corin. 6.

The fourth.

The fourth are the avengers of crimes, and their prince is Asmodeus—that is, “making judgment.”^{[18](#)}

The fifth.

After these in the fifth order come the tricksters, who imitate miracles, serve evil magicians and witches, and seduce people with their miracles, as the serpent seduced Eve.^{[19](#)} Their prince is Satan, of which in Revelation is written that he seduced the whole world making great signs and fire descending from heaven in the sight of men on the ground, seducing the inhabitants of the Earth according to the signs which are given to him to make.^{[20](#)}

The sixth.

The sixth to offer themselves are airy powers. They mix themselves with thunder, lightning, and f lames, corrupting the air, inducing pestilences and other evils. Of their number, as written in Revelation, are four angels who are granted to harm the land and sea, possessing the four winds and four directions of the earth.^{[21](#)} Their prince is called Meririm—that is, the southern daemon, boiling spirit, and raging daemon in the south, who Paul to the Ephesians called the prince of the powers of the air, and spirit that works in the sons of disbelief.^{[22](#)}

The seventh.

The furies hold the seventh mansion, who seed evil, discord, wars, and devastations. Their prince in Revelation is called in Greek Apollyon, and in Hebrew Abaddon—that is, “extermination and devastation.”^{[23](#)}

The eighth.

The eighth place are accusers or spies. Their prince is Astaroth—that is “spy”²⁴—and in Greek called *diabolus*²⁵ (accuser or slanderer), who in Revelation is called the accuser of our brethren, accusing them night and day before the face of God.²⁶

Revel. 12.

In the last place are assailants or ambushers, each of which are close to each man. Therefore, we call them evil guardian spirits, and their prince is Mammon, which means “greed.”²⁷

But [those of this school] unanimously add to this that evil daemons who wander in this inferior world are hostile to all, and therefore called devils. Of these, Augustine said in the first book of *The Incarnation of the Word to January*: “Likewise of devils and his angels that are contrary to the virtues, ecclesiastic preachers have taught that there are indeed these things; but what and how they are, is not explained clearly enough. Yet there is this opinion among most that this devil was an angel, and became an apostate, persuading very many angels to change with him, who even now are called his angels.”²⁸ Yet the Greeks did not think all of these were damned, nor that all of them had evil intentions, but from the creation of time the dispensation of things is set up by a reason, and that they are assigned to torture sinful souls.

Other theologians say that no daemons were created evil but were driven out and cast down from heaven by the orders of good because of their transgressions.²⁹ Their fall is not only confirmed by our theologians and taught by the Hebrews but also by Assyrian, Arab, Egyptian, and Greek doctrines. Pherecydes of Syros³⁰ described fallen daemons and Ophion³¹—that is, the daemonic serpent at the head of the army of rebel [angels]. Trismegistus in *Pymander* and Homer sang of the same fall in their verses under the name of Tartarus,³² and Plutarch in his speech *On Usury*³³ signified that Empedocles learned of these kinds of fallen daemons.³⁴ Likewise, many daemons have confessed that they themselves are fallen.³⁵

The various pursuits of daemons.

Therefore, they were cast into this valley of misery. Some wander near us in the misty air, while others live in lakes, rivers, and seas. Others still [live] in the earth, frightening earthly things and attacking those who dig out wells and metals, provoking the earth to open, shaking the foundations of mountains, antagonizing not only men but also animals.³⁶ Others ridicule and mock, content only to make [men] weary rather than to harm. Others raise themselves beyond the heights of a giant’s body, then lower themselves to the smallness of pygmies, and then turn themselves into various figures, disturbing men with insane terror. Others desire to lie and blaspheme, such as we read in the third book of Kings, saying: “I will go forth and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Ahab.”³⁷ The worst daemons are those kinds who block journeys, invade travelers, enjoy war and the flow of blood, and afflict men with the fiercest insults. We read of these in Matthew, that no traveler will dare pass that way.³⁸

3 Kings 22.

However, scripture mentions daemons as nocturnal, diurnal, and meridional and describes other wicked spirits by various names. We read in Isaiah of onocentaurs,³⁹ hedgehogs, the hairy ones, sirens, lamiae,⁴⁰ owls, and ostriches.⁴¹ In Psalms, we read of asps, basilisks, lions, and dragons.⁴² In the Gospels, we read of scorpions,⁴³ Mammon, the prince of this world,⁴⁴ and the leaders of darkness,⁴⁵ of which the prince of all is Beelzebub, whom the scriptures call the prince of wickedness. Porphyry said their prince is Serapis, and who the Greeks named Pluto; and Cerberus is their leader, that three-headed dog, clearly because this most destructive daemon lives in the three elements, air, water, and earth; also, Proserpina is their princess and can do much in those three elements, of which she testified of herself in *Responses in these verses*:

Isaiah 34.

*Of the threefold nature, I am the maiden Lucina,
Bull and three-headed, sent from heaven golden Phoebus,
Who with many variant forms and three signs,
With three each I hold the likeness, earth, air, and fire,
You see from my soil that I care for my black dogs.*⁴⁶

Origen's belief of daemons.

Origen believed that daemons left their duties with God by their own will for their prince the Devil, but if they come to their senses a little again and enclosed in human flesh, that following this repentance after the resurrection by the same course that they came into this flesh, they will return to the light of the vision of God. They will then be freed from the ethereal and airy bodies. Then with knees bent to God with all heavenly, earthly, and infernal things, as God is all in all.⁴⁷

And the divine Irenaeus approved of Justin Martyr's opinion, that Satan did not dare speak blasphemy against God, until God arrived on the earth, because he did not yet know about his damnation.⁴⁸

Whether daemons can be saved.

Most fallen daemons hope for their future salvation. Most suppose that Christ heard the prayers of the daemons and assert (based the evidence that we read in the Gospels) that gave them leave that they should enter into the herd of swine.⁴⁹ [They deduce Christ's willingness to save the fallen] from the history of Paul the hermit, written by Jerome and venerated by the church with canonical hours,⁵⁰ and

they are well taught from the legend of Brendan that their prayers are heard. [These daemons] also supporting [their assertion that they do not hope in vain for for salvation] is as in the Psalm where we read: “The Ethiopians will fall down before him and his enemies will lick the ground.” [This is the] 71st Psalm, according to our computation, but according to the computation of the Hebrews it’s the 72nd.

According to the Hebrew truth, we read: “They who live in the wilderness will bend their knees before him”—that is, the airy spirits will adore him. Kabbalists assert that “his enemies will lick the dust,”⁵¹ which they explain of Zazel and his army, of which we read in Genesis: “You will eat the earth for all of the days of your life.”⁵² Elsewhere the prophet said: “Because the dust of the earth is his bread.”⁵³ Hence, kabbalists think that even some daemons can be saved, [an idea with] which Origen also agreed.⁵⁴

Origen.

Chapter 19

Of the bodies of daemons.

[On the subject] of the bodies of daemons, the greatest and most recent theologians differ with philosophers. Indeed, Thomas affirmed that all angels and evil daemons are incorporeal; yet they sometimes take bodies, which they soon leave.¹ Dionysius steadfastly affirmed in the *Divine Names* that angels are incorporeal.² Yet Augustine in *On Genesis* thus asserted: “Airy and fiery daemons are said to be animals, because they thrive with the nature of airy bodies. They do not decay by death, because that element which prevails in them is more appropriate for acting than submitting.” [Augustine] seemed to add that all angels from the beginning of their creation have airy bodies, formed by purer and more superior air, being more suitable for acting than submitting. Their bodies were preserved after the confirmation in good angels but changed to evil in their fall into the quality of denser air, so that they can also be tortured by fire.³

Also, Basil the Great spoke of not only the bodies of daemons but also angels as [having the form of] thin, airy, and pure spirits.⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus also agreed with this.⁵ Apuleius thought that not all daemons have bodies; accordingly, in the book *Of the Daemon of Socrates*,⁶ he said: “There is another more sacred kind of daemon who is always free from the chains and ties of the body and administers certain prayers.”⁷

However, the Platonist and Christian Psellus did not think the nature of daemons are without bodies, yet [he claimed that] the bodies of angels and daemons are not the same.⁸ Indeed, [his claim was that the bodies of angels] are all free from matter, while daemonic [bodies] are material in a certain way. [He asserted that] the bodies of [daemons are like those of] shades. They are subject to passions, as they feel pain when they are struck or burned by fire into visible ashes—a phenomenon recorded at length in Tuscany.

Although [the body of a daemon] is a spiritual body, it is capable of great sensation and can be touched. Although [this body may be] cut, it comes together again and is restored like air and water, yet at the same time [it is] hurt; hence, daemons fear the sharpness of iron, spears, and swords. Thus, in Virgil, the Sibyl said to Aeneas:

*Now go on your way and unsheathe your sword.*⁹

About which Servius said that she wanted Aeneas to consecrate his sword.¹⁰

Likewise, Orpheus described the kinds of demonic bodies:¹¹ which are indeed one body made only of fire but do not seem to suffer, which Orpheus called fiery and heavenly daemons. The other kind is

tempered with fire and air mixed, which are called ethereal and airy. If something airy is added to these, they become a third kind, which is called watery, which are sometimes seen. If something earthy is added, but not very dense, they are called earthy daemons, and they are more visible and sensible to us.¹²

The various kinds of daemonic bodies.

But the bodies of the more sublime daemons of angels are joined by the purest ethereal element and are not rashly seen by any man unless their kind are divinely presented. They are weaved of such splendid threads and are so thin that they transmit all the rays to our sight by their subtlety. [Such bodies] reverberate with splendor and deceive us by subtlety.

Of this Calcidius said: "Ethereal and airy daemons, because their bodies do not have enough fire so that they are evident, nor do they have enough earth so that their solidity resists touch, that their entirety is bound by the serene ether and fluidity of air, joined by an imperishable surface. The other daemons are not always as plausible, disagreeable, or invisible, sometimes visible, changing into different figures. They clothe themselves in shadows and bloodless phantoms, drawing the filth of a dense body, and they especially associate with the forest (which the ancients called "malignant souls") and from their affinity with the earth and water, they derive pleasure and lust."¹³ Of these kinds are lamiae, incubi, and succubi. It is not absurd to count Melusina a part of [this category].

Daemons are without sex.

Yet no daemon (as Marcus believed) can be thought of as male or female since these sexes relate to composed [bodies], but the bodies of daemons are simple. Although all of the fiery and airy daemons have the ability to change their form easily to what their imagination conceives, not all daemons can make themselves into any figure they wish. Dark subterranean daemons, because their imagination is contained in the difficulties of a thick and sluggish body, cannot bring about different figures as the others can. The watery, who live on the moist surfaces of the earth, are much like the demented softness of women, of which kind are Naiads and Dryads. However, those who live in arid and dry places produce dryer masculine bodies, such as satyrs, onocentaurs¹⁴ (with legs like an ass), fauns, sylvans, and incubi. Of these, Augustine wrote of many experiences learning that they were often visible to women and sought and procured intercourse. Certain daemons, whom the French call Duses, continually attempt this lust.¹⁵

Chapter 20

Of the infestation of evil daemons, and the protection we have from good daemons.

It is the common opinion of theologians that the essential nature of evil daemons is to equally hate gods and men.¹ Therefore, divine providence has placed the purest daemons in charge close to us, who are entrusted to us as shepherds or guides, that they may help us daily and ward off evil daemons, blocking and binding them so that they cannot hurt us as much as they wish. Thus, we read in Tobias that Raphael apprehended the daemon named Asmodeus and banished him to the desert in Upper Egypt.²

Of this, Hesiod said: "Jove has 30,000 spirits living on the earth guarding mortal men, who certainly watch justices and merciful deeds, clothed in air, moving everywhere on the earth."³ Indeed, there is no prince, no great man, who continues unharmed; nor any woman remaining uncorrupted; nor does any man in this valley of ignorance come to his end appointed by God, if good daemons nearby did not protect us, or if evil daemons were permitted to satisfy the evil wishes of men.⁴

Therefore, just as good daemons are individually appointed to stand guard to strengthen each man to the spirit of good, thus an evil [daemon] is sent as an enemy, presiding over their flesh and desires, and the good protector fights for us for our spirit against the enemy and the flesh. But man, between this fighting, is in the middle. [Man is] left in the hand of his own counsel and will give the victory to whom he wishes.

Therefore, we cannot reprimand the angels if they do not bring those nations who do not believe in the knowledge of the true God to true piety and religion and allow these people to fall into erroneous and perverse worship. It is to be ascribed to those who by their own will turn aside from the right path, adhering to the spirits of error, and give victory to the devil. Indeed, it is in the hand of man to adhere to whom he wishes, conquer whom he wishes, "from whom, if once the enemy daemon is overcome, is made his servant" and being conquered, another is unable to attack, like a wasp that has lost its sting. Origen also supported this opinion in his book *Periarchon*⁵ and concluded that the saints reduced the army of evil daemons when they fought back against them and conquered them. [These daemons] cannot disturb others anymore, or conquer those with the divine truth.

Angels should not be blamed for the wickedness of nations.

Therefore, just as each man is given a good spirit, thus also he has been given a diabolical evil spirit. Each [personal spirit of evil] seeks a union with our spirit. It strives to attract [our spirit] to itself and intermingle with it like wine with water. Indeed, the good conform themselves with good works and change us to unite with angels, as is written in Malachi of John the Baptist: "Behold I send my angel

before your face.” Of change and union it is written elsewhere: “he who adheres with God, his spirit is united with Him.”⁶

Malachi 3.

Also, an evil daemon conforms to us by evil works and desires to unite with us. As Christ said to Judas: “Surely have I not chosen twelve, and one of you is the Devil?”⁷ This is what Hermes said: when a daemon has influence in a human soul, he sprinkles the seed of his own notion, from where such a soul sprinkled with seeds is pregnant with a frenzy. Thus [the soul] bears wonderful things, but whether [they are good or bad depends upon] the duties the daemon [is given to carry out].⁸ Indeed, a good daemon—when influencing a holy soul—raises it to the light of wisdom. An evil daemon—transferred into a perverse soul—inspires theft, murder, desires, and whatever the duties of the evil daemon are into [the human in question].⁹ Good daemons (as Iamblichus said) most perfectly purge souls. Some also give other things to us, and being present, they give health to the body, strengthen the soul, secure the mind, take away what is deadly to us, favor heat, and deliver what is effective for life, and by a harmony, always infuse light into an intelligible mind.¹⁰

John 6.

Psalms 90.

But theologians contend among each other whether there are many guardians of men or only one. We think most agree with the saying of the prophet: “He has entrusted his angels to you, that they may guard you in all your ways,” which Jerome testified are placed not only in Christ but also in each man.¹¹

Therefore, all men are ruled by the ministry of diverse spirits and led to some degree of virtue, merit, and dignity, who show themselves worthy of them. However, those who are unworthy are dropped and expelled by these evil daemons, and also by good spirits all the way to the most extreme degrees of misery, as they seek out evil merits.¹² But those who are attributed to the more sublime angels are also preferred above other men: for angels caring for them exalt them and subject others by a certain occult power, although none of them can perceive it. Yet the one subject perceives a certain presiding yoke, from which they cannot easily free themselves; indeed, they fear and revere that power, which the more superior angels flow to the more superiors, and with a certain terror, they induce a presiding fear into the more inferiors.¹³ Homer seemed to perceive this when he said that the Muses gave birth to Jove and Jove begat kings, and they are always inseparable comrades. [Jove] assists them and by him, they are made venerable and dignified.¹⁴

Thus, we read that Marc Antony was once joined in a singular friendship with Octavian Augustus, often playing together. However, since Augustus always departed the victor, a certain magician secretly spoke to Marc Antony these sentences: “Why are you, O Antony, with that young man? Flee and avoid him: for you are older and have more excellent skills, are also more illustriously born, and are the

commander who has endured more wars. Yet your genius¹⁵ dreads the genius of that youth and your fortune flirts with his fortune. Unless you flee, you will soon entirely fall to him.”¹⁶ Surely a leader is like other men? How would one fear and revere other men, unless divine terror exalts them and strikes a certain fear in others, suppressing the others so that they should stand in awe of him as a prince? By being cleansed by right actions and sublime things, and also choosing opportune times and places, we must strive to join with more sublime and more powerful angels by degree, who care for us and deservedly prefer us before others.¹⁷

The genius of Augustus was more excellent than the genius of M. Antony.

Chapter 21

Of obeying one's own genius, and the investigation of its nature.

Just as every region in the celestials has a certain star and holds a celestial image influencing it more than the others, thus also in the supercelestial they obtain a certain intelligence. [That intel-ligence] presides and protects [along] with [other] infinite spirits or daemons of its order, all of which are called by a common name, “the sons of Elohim Sabaoth,” or בני אלהים צבאות—that is, the “sons of the army of God.” Hence, as often as the Most High deliberates some war, massacre, or desolation of some kingdom and subjugation of people in these more inferiors, then accordingly when these happen on the earth, they precede a conflict of those spirits above.¹ As it is written in Isaiah: “The Lord shall visit upon the armies of the high in the high, and upon the kings of the earth on the earth.”² We also read of the conflicts of spirits and guardians in Daniel—that is, of the prince of the Persian kingdom, of the prince of the Greeks, of the prince of the people of Israel, and their mutual conflicts.³ Homer seemed to once perceive this, as he sang:

Daniel 10.

*So great was the frequent heavenly shout,
With gods charging into fierce battle with each other:
Phoebus Apollo fought against Neptune,
Mars fought against Pallas Athena,
Juno opposed quiver-wearing Diana,
Latona pressed hard against winged Cyllenius⁴ with darts.⁵*

But since in each region there are all kinds of spirits and daemons, they are more powerful than the others when they are of the same order as the guardian of that region: thus, in the Solar region the Solar spirits are stronger than the others, in the Lunar [region] the Lunar, and thus for the rest.

The genius changes according to the change of place.

Consequently, they offer themselves and follow in our toils and events as we change our various places and provinces. They are more fortunate in one [place] than another—that is, where the daemon of

our genius obtains more power or where we can gain a more powerful daemon of the same order. Thus, Solar men, if they enter a Solar region or province, will be far more fortunate there because their leaders or geniuses are more powerful or more suitable living there. Their excellent protection is in that place, and often also the belief in their measure of power produces happy results.⁶ Hence, choosing a place, region, and time, where they can exercise, inhabit, and frequent the nature and instinct of their genius, is [more] conducive to a life of much happiness.

A name change is sometimes conducive.

A name change is also sometimes conducive [to this genius] because the qualities of names are indicators of things themselves, just as a mirror declares the condition of their forms. It thus happens that changing a name often makes a change in the thing [to which that name refers]. Hence, it is not without cause that the holy scriptures introduce God, while He blessed Abram and Jacob, He changed their names, calling one Abraham and the other Israel.

From where the nature of the genius can be discerned.

Ancient wise men taught [us] to recognize the nature of the genius in each man, [which comes] from the stars, their influences, and their aspects. [These] move about in each birth, but they have diverse and differing principles from each other because it is very difficult to take these sacraments of the heavens from their hands. Porphyry searched for the genius from the star that is the lady of the nativity, but Maternus either [searched] from the planets that had the most dignities or from that house that the Moon enters after the sign that it is in during birth.⁷ However, the Chaldeans did not inquire for the genius except from the Sun or Moon. Others (and many Hebrews) think that the [genius] can be found from some angle⁸ of heaven or from all of them.⁹ Others find the good genius from the eleventh house, which is therefore called the good daemon, but the evil genius from the sixth, which is called the evil daemon.

Therefore, since the search for these is laborious and very hidden, we will search for the nature of our genius much more easily from ourselves, noticing that which the instinct of nature and heavenly inclinations dictate, which from a young age suggests to us the soul with no distractions from contagions—that is, [our natural tendencies that remain after] the mind is purged from vain concerns, sinister affections, and other impediments are removed. Without a doubt, these [natural tendencies that arise from the mind when it is in a pure state] are the persuasions of the genius, which are given to everyone at the beginning of their birth, leading and persuading us to where the stars incline.¹⁰

Chapter 22

Of the threefold guardian of man and from where each comes.

Each man has a threefold good daemon that is his own guardian. Indeed, one is holy, the other is of the nativity, and the third is of profession.¹

The holy daemon.

Indeed, the holy daemon according to Egyptian doctrine is not from the stars or the planets but from a heavenly cause, from which God Himself assigned a daemon descending to the rational soul, universal, and above nature.² It directs the life of the soul and always produces good thoughts in the mind and is continuously active in illuminating us, although we do not always notice it. But when we have been cleansed and live quietly, then we perceived it. [Under such circumstances,] it speaks to us and communicates to us its voice, which was silent before.³ It continuously strives to bring us to holy perfection. Likewise, if we religiously worship this daemon with respect and sanctity as we know Socrates did, we can avoid ill fate with its assistance. Platonists⁴ think that daemons help us through wonderful dreams, averting evil and carefully preserving the good by means of the signs [they show]. The Pythagoreans customarily prayed together to Jove so that he would either withdraw evil or show them which daemon excels [in this task].

But the daemon of the nativity, which is called the genius, descends from the disposition of the world and circuit of the stars that were situated in the birth. Some suppose that when the soul descends into the body it naturally selects a guardian for itself from the chorus of daemons. [This choice is] not so much the choosing of a leader as of a protector. This executor and guardian of life unites, joins, and cares for the body and helps a man according to his duty that celestials appointed at birth.⁵ Therefore, whoever receives a fortunate genius becomes virtuous, effective, strong, and prosperous in their works. The philosophers call this “good fortune” or “good birth.”⁶

The daemon genius of the nativity.

The daemon of the profession.

However, the daemon of profession is given by the stars of such profession or sect, subjects a man

to some profession, which the soul, when it chose this body and began to dress itself in the character, secretly desired.⁷ This daemon changes when the profession is changed, then, according to the dignity of the profession, the daemon helps our profession be more dignified and more sublime. It successively cares for the man and is different from day to day as he compares himself to the guardian of the profession as [the man] rises from virtue to virtue. Therefore, when the profession agrees with our nature, and there is a daemon of our profession near us that is like us and agrees with our genius, it makes our life more tranquil, happy, and prosperous. However, when we enter a profession unlike or contrary to our genius, our life becomes laborious, discordant, and troublesome to patrons. Thus, it happens that some profit in some science, art, or ministry with little time and labor, but for others, it is hard work and devotions to labor are frustrated.

Although no science, art, or virtue is despised, one must first know their good genius and nature in order to live prosperously and happily. [One must also know] what good their celestial disposition promises. God is the distributor of all of these[: as it is said], “[God] distributes to each as He wills.”⁸ Follow and profess the beginnings of these [promises]; live in that virtue that the Most High Distributor elevated and brought to you. [God] made Abraham excel in justice and clemency, Isaac in fear, Jacob in strength, Moses in tameness and miracles, Joshua in war, Phineas in zeal, David in religion and victory, Solomon in science and praise, Peter in faith, John in charity, Jacob in devotion, Thomas in prudence, Magdalene in contemplation, and Martha in ministry.

Therefore, attend to that virtue with which you think you can most easily progress to the highest honor and that you can excel in where all cannot. Yet, in other [virtues], strive to be as proficient as you can. Disregard nothing. If you have harmonious guardians of nature and profession,⁹ you will see a double progress and growth in both that nature and profession. However, if [these two geniuses are] unequal, follow the best: for you will sometimes receive a more distinguished profession than in the nativity.¹⁰

Chapter 23

Of the tongue of angels, and their conversations with each other and with us.

We might doubt that angels or daemons—since they are pure spirits—have some vocal speech or tongue among each other, or with us, unless, as Paul said: “If I speak with the tongues of men or angels.”

Of what kind of speech the angels have.

But many hitherto doubt what their speech is. Indeed, most think that if they use some language, it is Hebrew because this is the first [language] of all. It emanates from heaven and arose before the confusion of languages in Babylon. [Hebrew is the language] in which God the Father gave the law, Christ the Son preached the gospel, and so many oracles were given to prophets by the Holy Spirit. Since all tongues suffer and continuously undergo various changes and corruptions, only this one has always remained uninjured. As an apparent instance of evidence supporting this belief, [we may consider the following:] each daemon and intelligence uses the speech of the nation in which they live—yet those who understand Hebrew speech do not speak in another language, but speak that alone.

The speech of angels is hidden to us.

How angels speak is as hidden to us as they are; but for our own speech a tongue is necessary, along with other instruments: the pharynx, palate, lips, teeth, throat, lungs, windpipe, and breast muscles (which have the beginning of the motion of the soul). If one would speak to another from a distance, they need to shout more vehemently, just as if close by, he whispers in the ear. If joined with the listener, a tighter breath is possible, for he would not need to slide to the listener to speak, but [would communicate] with no noise, as an image in the eye or a mirror. As the soul leaves the body, angels and daemons thus speak. What man does with a sensible voice, they do by impressing the conception of the conversation into those to whom they speak, which is a better way than if they spoke with an audible voice.¹

Thus, the Platonists say that Socrates indeed perceived his daemon with his senses but not with his body; rather, [he perceived] the ethereal body with a hidden sense. In a similar way, Avicenna believed that angels were often seen and heard by the prophets.² That instrument or virtue by which a spirit makes another spirit or man know what is in its mind is that which Paul called “the tongue of angels.”³ Yet, they most often send out an audible voice, as they cried at the ascension of the Lord: “Men of Galilee, why do you stand watching heaven?”⁴ In the old law, they spoke with many fathers in a sensible voice, but this is

only if they had taken bodies.

Acts 1.

However, we are ignorant of what senses these spirits and daemons use to hear our invocations and prayers and see our ceremonies. Indeed, there is a spiritual body of daemons, a large portion of which are [found] everywhere and are from every side sensible by nature. Thus, [spirits and daemons] touch, see, and hear without any medium and without any impediment. Yet they do not sense with separate organs as we do, but (perhaps as sponges with water) they sense with their entire body, drawing with each part, or in another way unknown to us. Indeed, we see that not all animals have the same strength of senses: for we have learned that many are without ears, yet we know that these can comprehend a sound, though we are ignorant of the reason [why this is possible].

Chapter 24

Of the names of spirits, their various applications, and of the spirits that rule the stars, signs, the directions of heaven, and the elements.

There are as many and diverse names of good spirits as well as evil, but their proper and true names, just as with the stars, are known only to God, who “alone numbered the multitude of stars, and called them by all of their names.”¹ We cannot know these except by divine revelation, and very few are expressed to us in the holy scriptures. However, Hebrew teachers think that the names of spirits were assigned by Adam, which, according to the scripture, “God brought all that He made to Adam, that he might name them: and whatever he named things, that was their name.”²

Men can impose names on spirits.

Hence, magicians and Hebrew mekubalim think that it is in the power of man to impose names on spirits, but only by those who are dignified and raised to this virtue by a divine gift or by a sacred power.

However, because no human voice can pronounce the name of the nature of divinity or the virtues of various angelic essences, the names of most spirits are therefore established by their works, signifying a certain office or effect that is desired from such a choir of spirits. These names then, which obtain effectiveness and virtues in no other way than by offerings and devoting sacrifices to the gods, draw some spiritual substance from above and below for a desired effect.

From where names of spirits are established.

I have seen and have learned certain things by inscribing the name and seal of a certain spirit on virgin paper in the hour of the Moon. I fed [this paper] to a river frog afterward and murmured certain songs, at which time I released the frog in the water. Soon, rains and showers began. I saw the same [sort of effect] when I inscribed the name of another spirit with its seal in the hour of Mars and gave it to a raven that was released after songs were murmured. Immediately from the area of the sky where he flew, lightning came from the clouds and violent shaking and horrible thunder followed. Yet, the names of those spirits were not of unknown tongues nor from anything else than from those signifying their offices. Of this kind are the names of those angels Raziel, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Haniel, which speak of the “vision of God, power of God, the medicine of God, and the glory of God.”³ In a similar way, we read the names of those offices of evil daemons: player, deceiver, dreamer, fornicator, and more

like this.

The presiding angels of the planets.

Thus, from ancient Hebrew fathers, we receive the names of the angels presiding over the planets and signs: for Saturn Zapkiel, Jupiter Zadkiel, Mars Camael, the Sun Raphael, Venus Haniel, Mercury Michael, and the Moon Gabriel.⁴ These are those seven spirits, “who always stand before the face of God,” who are committed and disposed all of the kingdoms of heaven and earth, and that which is under orb of the Moon. Indeed, the more secret theologians say that these rule everything by a certain changing of the hours, days, and years. [This is] just as the astrologers teach of the of the rulerships of the planets. Therefore, Hermes Trismegistus called these the seven “governors of the world,” where they are distributed to these more inferiors through the heavens as if with instruments, by gathering all of the influences of the stars and signs.⁵ There are those who appoint somewhat different names, saying that over Saturn presides an intelligence named Ophiel, Jupiter Zachariel, Mars Zamael, the Sun Michael, Venus Anael, Mercury Raphael, and the Moon Gabriel. Each of these governs the world for 354 years and 4 months, and the rulership begins with the intelligence of Saturn, after which, in order, the intelligence of Venus rules, then Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, the Moon, and the Sun, and then they return command to Saturn. Abbot Trithemius wrote a special treatise to Maximilian Caesar, in which those who would examine this from the heart can elicit a great knowledge of future times.⁶

Treatise of Abbot Trithemius.

However, [the spirits] presiding over the twelve signs are Malchidiel over Aries, Asmodel over Taurus, Ambriel over Gemini, Muriel over Cancer, Verchiel over Leo, Hamaliel over Virgo, Zuriel over Libra, Barbiel over Scorpio, Aduachiel over Sagittarius, Haniel over Capricorn, Gambiel over Aquarius, and Barchiel over Pisces.⁷ Of these spirits presiding over planets and signs, John remembered in Revelation, spoke of the previous in the beginning: “And of the seven spirits, which are before the throne of God,”⁸ which are found to also preside over the planets; but in a later passage, where he describes the building of the heavenly city, he testified that there were twelve angels in twelve gates.⁹

The angels presiding over the twelve signs.

Revel. 1.

Revel. 21.

The angels of the Lunar mansions.

Again, there are twenty-eight angels who rule over the twenty-eight mansions of the Moon, who are named according to order: Geniel, Enediel, Amixiel, Azariel, Gabiel, Dirachiel, Seheliel, Amnediel, Barbiel, Ardefiel, Neciel, Abdizuel, Iazeriel, Ergediel, Ataliel, Azeruel, Adriel, Egibiel, Amutiel, Kyriel, Bethnael, Geliel, Requiell, Abrinael, Aziel, Tagriel, Alheniel, Amnixiel.¹⁰

There are also four princes of angels who are placed in charge over the four winds and over the four parts of the world, of which Michael is placed in charge over the east wind, Raphael over the west, Gabriel over the north, and Noriel (who others call Uriel) over the south.¹¹

The angels of the four winds.

They are also assigned elements: Cherub for air, Tharsis for water, Ariel for earth, and Seruph for fire, and according to Philo, Nathaniel.¹² Each of these spirits is a grand prince and has the power of much freedom in their lordship of planets and signs. [They exercise this] in their times, years, months, days, hours, elements, parts of the world, and winds. Each of them also rules over great legions.

The angels of the elements.

In the same way, there are four other evil spirits who are most powerful kings that preside over the four parts of the world. They are called by the names Urieus king of the east, Amaymon king of the south, Paymon king of the west, and Egyn king of the north. Hebrew teachers perhaps more rightly call them Samael, Azazel, Azael, and Mahazael.¹³ Under [these evil daemons] many others rule as princes of legions and guardians, and likewise there are innumerable daemons of private offices.

However, ancient Greek theologians counted six daemons: [some of these] they called Telchines, and others named Alastores, who are evil to men, drawing water from the Styx with their hands and sprinkling it on the earth. From this come calamities, plagues, and famine. These [evil daemons] are named Acteus, Megalesius, Ormenus, Lycus, Nicon, and Mimon.

Telchines.

Those who wish to exactly learn the distinct names, offices, places, and times of other angels and evil daemons will find them in the book *Of Temples*, and also *The Book of Lights, Of the Greatest Stature* by Rabbi Simon, the book *Of Temples* by Rabbi Ishmael, and all of the commentaries in the *Book of Formation*,¹⁴ which is most eloquently written.¹⁵

Chapter 25

How Hebrew mekubalim elicit the sacred names of angels from holy scriptures, and of the seventy-two angels who hold the name of God with tables of Ziruph, and the exchange of letters and numbers.

There are also other sacred names of good and evil spirits appointed to each office that are much stronger than what we mentioned previously. Hebrew mekubalim extracted these from the holy scriptures according to the art that they teach, in which certain names of God are elicited from certain places.

General rule.

The general rule of this is that wherever something of the divine essence is expressed in the holy scriptures, a divine name can be duly collected from that place. However, wherever the divine name is found in the holy scriptures, carefully assess what office lies underneath that name. Therefore, wherever the scripture speaks of the office or work of some good or evil spirit, in that same place the name of the spirit whether good or evil can be extracted.

Rule for the extraction of spirits.

This immovable rule must be observed: that we take the good spirits' names from good and evil [spirits' names] from evil. Never should we mix white with black, day with night, or light with dark. From the following verses, we can show an example: "Let them be as dust in the wind and the angel of the Lord drive them away. Let their ways be darkness and slippery, and the angels of the Lord pursue them."¹

יהיו כמוץ לפני רוח ומאלאך יהוה רהה

יהי דרכם חשך וחלקלקות ומלאך יהיה ררפם

(from the 35th Psalm from the Hebrews, but for us the 34th); from which the names of these angels are extracted מידאל Midael and מיראל Mirael from the order of Warriors. Thus, from the verse: "You will place over him the wicked, and Satan stands at his right hand"² (the 109th Psalms for the Hebrews but 108th in the Latin) , הפקד עליו רשע ושטן יאמר אל ימינו , the name of the evil daemon Schihi is extracted שיעי , which designates "machinator of daemons."

There is a certain text in Exodus that contains three verses, which is written in 72 letters which begins: the first is Vaiisa ויסע , the second is Vaiavo ויבא , and the third is Vaiot ויט . If these are extended in one line—that is, the first and third from left to right, but the middle in a reverse order beginning from the right and ending in the left³—then each of the three letters alternating under them constitute one name, which [constitute] the 72 names that the Hebrews call Schemhamphoras. If El אל or Iah יה are added to the end of the divine name, they produce 72 three-lettered names of angels, each of which carries the great name of God, as it is written: “My angel precedes you; observe him, for My name is in him.”⁴

And these [names] preside over the 72 celestial quaternaries, and there are as many nations, tongues, and joints in the human body, and they cooperate with the 72 elders of the synagogue and as many disciples of Christ.⁵ They are also named according to the extractions made by kabbalists and are shown in the following tables according to one way of which we spoke.

But there are many other ways of making Schemhamphoras from these verses, such as writing all three alternating under themselves in the correct order from the right, and there are those that are extracted by the tables of Ziruph and tables of exchange, of which we made mention above: and because these tables take care of all divine and angelic names, we will, therefore, join these with this chapter.

THESE ARE THE 72 ANGELS CARRYING THE NAME OF GOD,
THE SCHEMHAMPHORAS.⁶

ו	י	ס	ע	מ	ל	א	כ	ה	א	ל	ה	י	מ	ה	ה	ל	כ
ה	ל	י	ל	ה	ל	כ	ה	ז	ל	א	ה	ז	ב	ר	ק	א	ל
ו	י	ט	מ	מ	מ	א	ת	י	ד	ו	ע	ל	ה	י	מ	ו	י
ל	א	א	ל	ל	א	ל	א	א	ל	ל	ל	א	א	א	ל	ל	א
Vehuiah	Ieliel	Sitael	Elemiah	Mahasiah	Lelabel	Achaiah	Cahethel	Haziel	Aladiah	Lauiah	Hahaiah	Iezael	Mebabel	Hariel	Hakamiah	Leuiah	Caliel
ל	ט	ו	י	מ	מ	ו	ו	י	מ	ו	א	ל	ו	י	ל	כ	מ
ו	ה	ל	י	י	י	מ	א	ל	א	י	ו	כ	מ	מ	ח	ו	ו
ו	ל	כ	י	ה	ו	א	ת	ת	ה	י	מ	ב	ו	ו	ח	ק	ד
ל	א	א	א	א	א	ל	ל	א	ל	א	א	א	ל	ל	ל	ל	א
Leuiah	Pahaliah	Necheael	Ielaiel	Melabel	Hahuiah	Nithaiah	Haiah	Ierabel	Seethiah	Reiuel	Omael	Iezabel	Vasariah	Iehuriyah	Lehahiah	Chauakiah	Manadel
א	מ	ו	י	ה	מ	ו	י	ס	א	א	מ	ו	ו	ח	א	ו	ו
ו	א	ה	י	ה	י	ו	י	א	ל	מ	י	ה	ו	ח	מ	ו	י
י	מ	א	ו	ה	כ	י	י	י	י	י	ל	א	י	מ	מ	א	ח
א	ל	א	א	א	א	ל	ל	ל	א	ל	א	א	א	ל	ל	א	א
Aniel	Haamiah	Rehael	Iezael	Hahabel	Michael	Veualiah	Ielahiah	Seahiah	Ariel	Asaliah	Mihael	Vehuel	Daniel	Hahashiah	Imamiah	Nanael	Nithael
מ	ט	ו	י	ו	מ	ו	י	א	מ	ו	מ	א	מ	ו	י	ו	מ
ו	ו	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י
ל	א	ל	א	א	א	א	א	א	א	ל	א	א	ל	א	ל	א	ל
Mebahiah	Poiel	Nemamahiah	Ielaiel	Harahel	Mizrael	Ymabel	Iahbel	Anael	Mehiel	Damabiah	Menkiel	Eiuel	Habuiah	Roehel	Iabamahiah	Haisei	Mumiah

TABLE OF PROPER⁷ EXCHANGES.

א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א
ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב
ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג
ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד
ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה
ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו
ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז
ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח
י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט
כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י
ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ
מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל
נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ
ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ
ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס
פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע
צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ
ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ
ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק
ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר
ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש

TABLE OF AVERSE EXCHANGES.

ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת
ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש
ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר
צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק
פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ
ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ
ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע
נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס
מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ
ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ
כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל
י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ
ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י
ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט
ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח
ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז
ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו
ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה
ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד
ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג
א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב

ANOTHER AVERSE TABLE CALLED THE IRRATIONAL.⁸

א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ת	א	ש
ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ש	ת	א	ב	ר
ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג
ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	צ
ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ה	ד	פ
ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ו	ה	ס	ע
ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ו	ז	ע	ה	ס
ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ז	ח	ו	ע
י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	צ	ק	ר	ט	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ז	ח	ש	פ	ו
כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ח	ט	י	פ	ל
ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ח	ט	י	מ	צ
מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	צ
נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	י	כ	ל	מ	ס	ק
ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	י	ק	ל	מ	נ	ע	כ
ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ר
פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ר
צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	י
ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ט
ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ג
ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	א
ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	א

TABLE OF ZIRUPH EXCHANGES.

אל	בת	גש	דר	הק	וצ	זפ	חע	טס	ינ	כמ
אב	גת	דש	הר	וק	זצ	חפ	טע	יס	כנ	למ
אג	דת	הש	ור	זק	חצ	טפ	יע	כס	לנ	במ
אד	בג	הת	וש	זר	חק	טצ	יפ	כע	לס	מנ
אה	בד	ות	זש	חר	טק	יצ	כפ	לע	מס	גנ
או	בה	גד	זת	חש	טר	יק	כצ	לפ	מע	נס
אז	בו	גה	חת	טש	יר	כק	לצ	מפ	נע	דס
אח	בז	גו	דה	טת	יש	כר	לק	מצ	נפ	סע
אט	בח	גז	דו	ית	כש	לר	מק	נצ	ספ	הע
אי	בט	גח	דז	הו	כת	לש	מר	נק	סצ	עפ
אכ	בי	גט	דח	הז	לת	מש	נר	סק	עצ	ופ
אל	בכ	גי	דט	הח	וז	מת	נש	סר	עק	פצ
אמ	בל	גכ	די	הט	וח	נת	סש	ער	פק	זצ
אנ	במ	גל	דכ	הי	וט	זח	סת	עש	פר	צק
אס	בנ	גמ	דל	הכ	וי	זט	עת	פש	צר	חק
אע	בס	גנ	דמ	הל	וכ	זו	חט	פת	צש	קר
אפ	בע	גס	דנ	המ	ול	זכ	חי	שת	קש	צר
אצ	בפ	גע	דס	הנ	ומ	זל	חכ	טי	קה	רש
אק	בצ	גפ	דע	הס	ונ	זמ	חל	טכ	רת	יש
אר	בק	גצ	דפ	הע	וס	זנ	חמ	טל	יכ	שת
אש	בר	גק	דצ	הפ	וע	זס	חנ	טמ	יל	כת
את	בש	גר	דק	הצ	ופ	זע	חס	טנ	ימ	כל

ANOTHER ZIRUPH TABLE CALLED THE RATIONAL.

אב	גת	דש	הר	וק	זצ	חפ	טע	יס	כנ	למ
אג	דב	הת	וש	זר	חק	טצ	יפ	כע	לס	מנ
אד	הג	וב	זת	חש	טר	יק	כצ	לפ	מע	נס
אה	וד	זג	חב	טת	יש	כר	לק	מצ	נפ	סע
או	זה	חד	טג	יב	כת	לש	מר	נק	סצ	עפ
אז	חו	טה	יד	כג	לב	מת	נש	סר	עק	פצ
אח	טז	יו	כה	לד	מג	נב	סת	עש	פר	צק
אט	יח	כז	לו	מה	נד	סג	עב	פת	צש	קר
אי	כט	לח	מז	נו	סה	עד	פג	צב	קת	רש
אכ	לי	מט	נח	סז	עו	פה	צד	קג	רב	שת
אל	מכ	ני	סט	עח	פז	צו	קה	רד	שג	תב
אמ	נל	סכ	עי	פט	צח	קז	רו	שה	תד	בג
אנ	סמ	על	פכ	צי	קט	רח	שז	תו	בה	גד
אס	ענ	פמ	צל	קכ	רי	שט	תח	בז	גו	דה
אע	פס	צנ	קמ	רל	שכ	תי	בט	גח	דז	הו
אפ	צע	קס	רנ	שמ	תל	בכ	גי	דט	הח	וז
אצ	קפ	רע	שס	תנ	במ	גל	דכ	הי	וט	זח
אק	רצ	שפ	תע	בס	גנ	דמ	הל	וכ	זי	חט
אר	שק	תצ	בפ	גע	דס	הנ	ומ	זל	חכ	טי
אש	תר	בק	גצ	דפ	הע	וס	זנ	חמ	טל	יכ
את	בש	גר	דק	הצ	ופ	זע	חס	טנ	ימ	כל
אב	גד	הו	זח	טי	כל	מנ	סע	פצ	קר	שת

TABLE OF NUMERIC TRANSPOSITIONS.

					א
				א א	ב
				א ב	ג
			ב ב	א ג	ד
			ב ג	א ד	ה
		ג ג	ב ד	א ה	ו
		ג ד	ב ה	א ו	ז
	ד ד	ג ה	ב ו	א ז	ח
	ד ה	ג ו	ב ז	א ח	ט
ה ה	ד ו	ג ז	ב ח	א ט	י

					י
				י י	כ
				י כ	ל
			כ כ	י ל	מ
			כ ל	י מ	נ
		ל ל	כ מ	י נ	ס
		ל מ	כ נ	י ס	ע
	מ מ	ל נ	כ ס	י ע	פ
	מ נ	ל ס	כ ע	י פ	צ
נ נ	מ ס	ל ע	כ פ	י צ	ק

					ק
				ק ק	ר
				ק ר	ש
			ר ר	ק ש	ת
			ר ש	ק ת	ך
		ש ש	ר ת	ק ך	ם
		ש ת	ר ך	ק ם	ו
	ת ת	ש ך	ר ם	ק ן	ף
	ת ך	ש ם	ר ן	ק ף	ץ
	ת ם	ש ן	ר ף	ק ץ	X ⁹

TABLE OF NUMERIC TRANSPOSITIONS. (cont.)

י א	ט ב	ח ג	ז ד	ו ה
י ב	ט ג	ח ד	ז ה	ו ו
י ג	ט ד	ח ה	ז ו	
י ד	ט ה	ח ו	ז ז	
י ה	ט ו	ח ז		
י ו	ט ז	ח ח		
י ז	ט ח			
י ח	ט ט			
י ט				

ק י	צ כ	פ ל	ע מ	ס נ
ק כ	צ ל	פ מ	ע נ	ס ס
ק ל	צ מ	פ נ	ע ס	
ק מ	צ נ	פ ס	ע ע	
ק נ	צ ס	ע פ		
ק ס	ע צ	פ פ		
ק ע	פ צ			
ק פ	צ צ			
ק צ				

תן	שף	רץ
תף	שץ	
תץ		

5	10	10	10	10
ה	דו	גז	בח	אט
50	100	100	100	100
נ	מס	לע	כפ	יצ
500	1000	1000	1000	1000
ך	תם	שן	רף	קץ

Chapter 26

Of finding the names of spirits and geniuses from the disposition of the celestial bodies.

Ancient magicians taught the art of finding the names of spirits for some desired effect, by extracting them from the disposition of the celestials. For example, [consider] some celestial harmony proposed to you for making an image, ring, or another undertaking under a certain celestial.¹ If you wish to find the spirit guiding that work, erect a celestial figure and place the letters in their number and order from the degree of the ascendant according to the succession of signs by each degree, completing the entire circle of heaven. Then those letters that fall in a place of stars, according to the number and fortitude of the same stars, mark these in number and order, constituting the name of the spirit—that is, the good. However, if you make these starting on the west² against the progressions of the signs, the result will be an evil kind.

Several Hebrew and Chaldean teachers teach that the nature and name of each man's genius can be found with that art, such as knowing the degree of the ascendant of anyone's nativity and weighing the other angles of heaven. Then which planets that are in those four angles that have more dignities (which the Arabs call *almutez*)³ be noted first among the rest, and according to that second place, which is next to it in the number of dignities, and thus the rest by that order, which holds any dignity in the preceding angles. By using this order, you will know the true place and degree of them in heaven, and beginning from the degree of the ascendant, place the twenty-two Hebrew letters on each degree according to the order of signs. Then those letters that fall in the preceding place of the stars, note and dispose them according to the order [mentioned] above that were found in the stars, and correctly combine them according to the rationale of the Hebrew tongue, make the name of the genius.⁴ According to custom, some monosyllabic name of divine omnipotence, for example, El or Iah, is joined to the end. If the letters are placed by the angle of the west⁵ and against the succession of signs, and the letters which fall in the nadir—that is, the opposite point—the aforesaid stars are joined in order as we have said and make the name of the evil genius.

However, the Chaldeans proceed in another way. Indeed, they do not take the *almutez* of the angles, but rather the *almutez* of the eleventh house, and they make it through all as has been said; but they acquire the evil genius from the angle of the *almutez* of the twelfth house, which they call the evil daemon, casting from the degree of the west against the progression of the signs.

Also, most Arabs and several Hebrews acquire the name of the genius from the five hylegical places,⁶ always projecting them from the beginning of Aries, and finding the letters according to hylegical order understood by astrologers, reducing and joining them in order, making the name of good genius. But the name of the evil genius is extracted from the places opposite the hylegical places and projected from the last degree of Pisces against the order of signs.

However, others do not use the hylegical places but instead take the place of the *almutez* over the five hylegical places, projecting it from the horoscope,⁷ as previously said.

And these names, thus according to the proportional numbers distributed by the starry calculator, compacted by joined and alternating letters, although with unknown sounds and significations, it is necessary to confess that the secret principal philosophies can do more in a magical work than significative names.⁸ While the intellect is astonished by those puzzles and the intent of the stretching of the mind, firmly believing that something divine is under it, these words and names, although not understood, reverently pronounce the glory of the divine, captivating oneself in spiritual piety in obedience of Him.

Chapter 27

Of the art of calculating these kinds of names from the tradition of kabbalists.

There is yet another art to these kinds of names that they call calculatory, which is done by following tables by entering some sacred, divine, or angelic name in the descending column of letters and then taking those letters that are found in common angles under their stars and signs. When reduced in order, they constitute the name of the good spirit from the nature of those stars and signs, under which it was entered. If they are made in the ascending column of letters, taking the common angles above the stars and signs marked in the lower line, it constitutes the name of the evil spirit. And these are the names of spirits from any order or heaven ministering good as well as evil, which, according to this method, you can multiply nine names in as many orders, inasmuch as with entering one name, you can extract another spirit of a superior order from the same place, good as well as evil.

Yet the beginning of this calculation depends on the names of God. Indeed, every voice has a virtue in magic since it depends on the voice of God and is thus formed.¹ Therefore we must know that all angelic names must proceed from some distinguished name of God, and therefore angels are said to carry the name of God, which, according to the scripture: “Because my name is in Him.”

Therefore as the names of good angels can be discerned from the names of evil, one can often join some name of divine omnipotence to the end, such as El, On, Iah, or Iod, and be pronounced with it.² And, because Iah is the name of beneficence, and Iod is the name of a deity, therefore these two names are only appointed to names of angels. However, the name El, because it brings about power and virtue, can, therefore, be added to not only good but also evil spirits. Indeed, even evil spirits cannot subsist or act somewhat without the virtue of God.

We must know that other [names] must be taken from common angles of the same stars and signs unless entering a mixed name, just as the names of geniuses are, which are spoken about in the previous chapter. They are composed by the disposition of heaven according to the diverse harmony of the stars; indeed, as often as the table is entered with these, the common angle is taken under the star or sign of the letter entered.

Additionally, there are those who extend these tables, so that they may also observe if the name of some desired star, office, or effect is entered, the good and evil daemon serving that office or effect is extracted. In a similar way, when the individual name of any person is entered, they believe that the name of the genius under that star that can be seen is placed in charge of such a person—such as [can be recognized] from their physiognomy, from the passions and inclinations of their mind, or from their profession and fortune—and recognize them to be Martial, Saturnine, Solar, or the nature of another star.

And although from their own significations, these kinds of distinguished names have little or no power, these kinds of extracted names and those derived from them are yet greatly effective, just as the rays of the Sun collected in the hollow of a mirror burn the strongest, yet the Sun itself is scarcely

moderately warm.

But there is an order of the letters in these tables under the stars and signs, similar to that of the astrologers' order of decans, novenaria, and duodecima.³ Alfonsus Cyprius⁴ once wrote of these calculatory arts, and I do not know if someone else has adapted this to Latin characters. However, as the letters of each language (as we have shown in the first book) have their number, order, celestial figure, and divine origin, I will easily concede that the names of these spirits can be calculated not only in Hebrew letters but also by Chaldean, Arabic, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, and whatever else there is, the tables of those being rightly made in imitation of the preceding.

Many object to this, but it turns out that with these tables, many men of different natures and fortunes, because of the sameness of their name, often obtain the same genius of the same name. Therefore, we must know (and must not think it absurd) that the same daemon can be separate from many souls and then can lead many. In addition, as different men often have the same name, thus also spirits of different offices and natures can have one name and be noted with one sign or character, yet regarded as different: for, as the serpent at one time is a figure for Christ and another time the devil, thus likewise the same sign is at one time equal in order to some evil daemon, at another time to some good angel. Finally, the ardent intention of the invoker, by which our intellect is joined to a separate intellect, make it that at one time we have one spirit, and at other times another yielding to us, although invoked under that name.

The tables that follow are for calculating the names of good and evil spirits under the presiding seven planets and militant order of the twelve signs.

Entrance of Evil

	☾	♀	♀	☉	♂	♂	♂	Line of Good
ת	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	א
ש	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ב
ר	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	ג
ק	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ד
צ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ה
פ	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	ו
ע	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ז
ס	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ח
נ	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ט
מ	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	י
ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	כ
כ	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	ל
י	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	מ
ט	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	נ
ח	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	ס
ז	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	ע
ו	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	פ
ה	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	צ
ד	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ק
ג	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	ר
ב	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ש
א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ת
Line of Evil	♂	♂	♂	☉	♀	♀	☾ ⁵	

Entrance of Good

	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	Line of Good
ת	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	א
ש	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	ב
ר	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ג
ק	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ד
צ	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ה
פ	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ו
ע	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	ז
ס	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ח
נ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ט
מ	ח	ז	ו	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	י
ל	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	כ
כ	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ל
י	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח	ז	מ
ט	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	נ
ח	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ר	ק	ס
ז	ק	ר	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ע
ו	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	פ
ה	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	צ
ד	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	ת	ש	ק
ג	ש	ת	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	ר
ב	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	ש
א	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	ת
Line of Evil	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	

Chapter 28

How spirits sometimes take their names from things that they are placed in command over.

I find still other kinds of names from those things over which spirits preside, imposing them, as those names are borrowed from the stars, men, places, times, or similar things. Divine names are added in this way: the spirit of Saturn is called Sabathiel, the spirit of Jupiter is Zedekiel, the spirit of Mars is Madimiel, the spirit of the Sun is Semiel or Semeschiah, the spirit of Venus is Nogahel, the spirit of Mercury is Cochabiah or Cochabel, and the spirit of the Moon is Iareahel or Levanael.

The spirits of the planets.

In a similar way, they also call spirits that are placed in command over signs—namely, from the names of the signs in order from Aries: Teletiel, Suriel, Tomimiel, Sartamiel, Ariel, Betuliel, Masniel, Acrabiel, Chesetiel, Gediel, Deliel, and Dagymiel; and if said with Latin names: Ariel, Tauriel, Geminiel, Cancriel, Leoniel, Virginiel, Libriel, Scorpiel, Sagittariel, Capriel, Aquariel, Pisciel; and from the planets: Saturniel, Ioviel, Martiel, Soliah, Veneriel, Mercuriel, and Lunael or Lunaiah.

The spirits of the signs.

However, because, as we have said above, all spirits, whether good or evil, search for a union with men, whom they also often overtake in a certain way (as in the holy scriptures we read of several men called gods, angels, and daemons). Indeed, the names of those who are endowed with some singular excellent virtue, or a persistent or obstinate incurable wickedness after leaving this world, have obtained a place among the names of good or evil daemons and are numbered with them, whether we think they signify the souls of those men or their good or evil geniuses.

Thus, we read from Ezra the name of the angel Jeremiel from the prophet Jeremiah, Zachariel from Zachary, and Uriel from the prophet Uria.¹ who Joachim killed.² Likewise, Samuel, Ezekiel, and Daniel were equally the names of prophets and angels. Phaniel is the name of both the angel and the place where Jacob wrestled the entire night.³ Ariel is the name of an angel and is said to be like the lion of God, and sometimes the name of an evil daemon and city, which was therefore called Ariopolis, where the idol of Ariel was worshipped.

Likewise, we learn in the holy scriptures that the names of many evil daemons arise from the most evil of men or from their habitations, such as the name Astaroth, which is the name of an evil daemon and was once the name of the city of King Og of Bashan, where giants lived. Likewise, Astaroth was once a city of the Amorites, the valley of Raphaim and Jeremiel, the region of the Allophyli.⁴

Likewise, they are names of idols and evil daemons such as Remma, the idol of Damascus;⁵ Chamos, the idol of Moab;⁶ Melachim, the idol of Ammon;⁷ Bel, the idol of Babylon;⁸ Adramelech, the idol of Assyria;⁹ and Dagon, the idol of the Allophyli.¹⁰ Philo said that the Amorites had seven golden statues who they consecrated after the flood, which they called the sacred nymphs, which they invoked each hour to show the Amorites their works, and their names were names of women, and they were the wives of seven wicked men—namely, Chanaan, Phut, Selath, Nembroth, Abirion, Elath, and Desuat. Precious stones that were sculpted and consecrated were placed before them. One of these stones [thus placed] had the power to restore sight to the blind, and no fire could destroy any of them. Their books were also consecrated with stones, which likewise could not be burned, cut by iron, or destroyed by water, until an angel of God stole them and buried them in the deep sea.¹¹

Seven wicked men.

However, we also know that Nimbroth,¹² Chodorlaomor, Balach, and Amelech are names of kings who have received names of evil daemons.¹³ Likewise, giants are called a name common with the daemons—Anakim עַנְקִים—because they did not participate with the image of God. They did not accept the splendor of the spiritual intellect. Their reason has multiplied many kinds of frauds and sins, and therefore they are not counted among the species of men (as Moses the Egyptian said) but of the species of beasts and daemons, even though they have the figure of a human: It is said “and such were the sons of Adam, who preceded Seth after Abel.” Of these [daemons], the wise Hebrews said Adam begat Tochot תּוֹכּוֹת—that is, “devils”—but afterward he found grace in the eyes of God. [Adam] begat Seth according to his image and likeness, which was according to the image of God. [Seth] attained a human perfection, which [the Anakim] do not have because they are not counted among the species of man due to their of viciousness, which is the cause of all evil and damnation.¹⁴

Souls become daemons.

It is also (as Porphyry said) the opinion of magicians that perverse souls are converted to the nature of daemons and are destructive, just as if they were made that way.¹⁵ Christ also confirmed this with his words to Judas, saying: “Surely have I not chosen twelve of you and one of you is the devil?”¹⁶ which therefore they call foreign daemons, because human souls are divided in hundreds among daemons. So the most wicked men and daemons have the same names; whether we call these souls or evil geniuses, some have taken names of evil men as if they were persons. Indeed, [the names] Behemoth¹⁷ and Leviathan¹⁸ may signify both beasts and daemons. Therefore, with these examples, the curious searcher can easily find and understand the names of good and evil daemons.

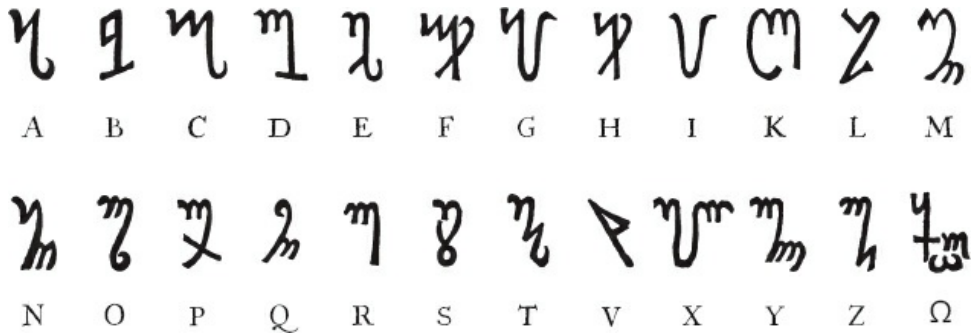
Chapter 29

Of the characters and seals of spirits.

Now we must discuss the characters and seals of spirits. Characters are nothing else than certain unknown letters and writings, guarding the holy¹ names of the gods and spirits from the use and reading by the profane. Ancients called these “hieroglyphics,” meaning “sacred letters,” because they were only devoted to the sacred gods. Accordingly, they considered it a sin to write the mysteries of the sacred gods with the [same] characters with which the profane, indecent, and common people wrote.

Porphyry said the ancients wished to conceal God and divine virtues by sensible figures, and by those [figures] that are visible, [they] signify the invisible. Sacred letters teach great mysteries and explain certain symbolic figures. For example, they declared all spherical and round things [to correspond with] with the world, the Sun, the Moon, hope, fortune, and the concept of a circle to heaven, but parts of a circle are for the Moon. Pyramids and obelisks are assigned to fire and the gods of Olympus. Cylinders related to the Sun and earth. The shape of a penis refers to generation and to Juno, and the triangle accordingly is said to indicate the feminine sex.²

These kinds of characters have no other root than the choice and authority of the builder—those, I say, who have received the power of building and consecrating these kinds of letters. Sacred priests who were from diverse nations and many religious sects made these, and their traditions do not come to us, except for a few certain scatterings or fragments that authors delivered to us. Therefore, some these kinds of characters are those noted by Peter de Abano, which were handed down by Honorius of Thebes, whose figures are thus related to our alphabet:³



Chapter 30

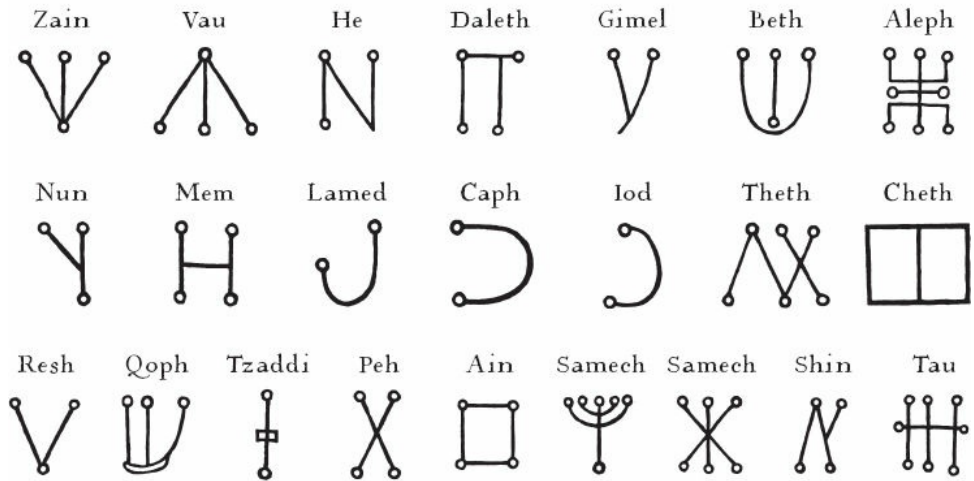
Another method of characters from the kabbalistic tradition.

I have found more methods of characters among the Hebrews, of which one is most ancient—namely, an ancient writing that Moses and the prophets used, whose form is not rashly revealed. Indeed, those letters were set up by Ezra and are still used today. There is also a writing among them called “celestial,” which is shown by the arrangement and figures of the stars, not unlike how astrologers draw images of the signs by the lines of stars. There are also those writings called Malachim or Melachim—that is, “of angels” or “royal”—and there is another called “the passage of the rivers.” And here are all of the characters and figures:¹

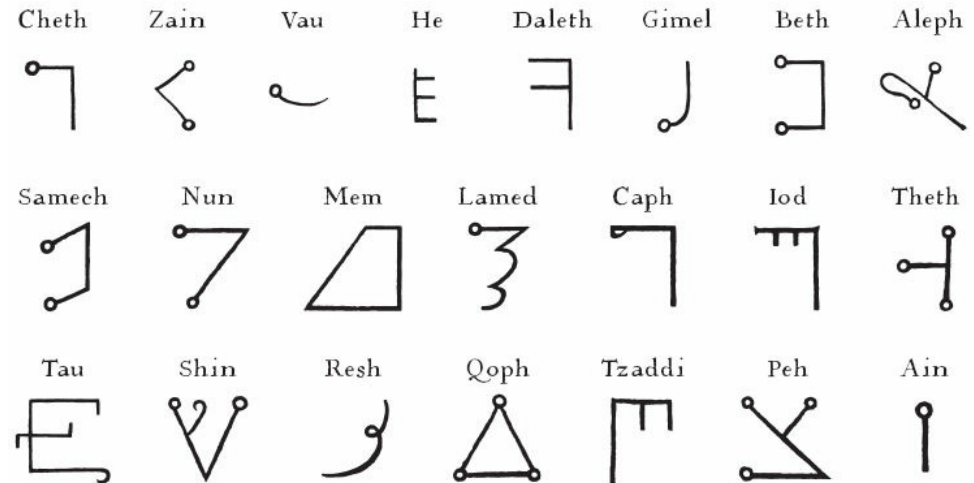
CELESTIAL WRITING

Theth	Cheth	Zain	Vau	He	Daleth	Gimel	Beth	Aleph
Tzaddi	Peh	Ain	Samech	Nun	Mem	Lamed	Caph	Iod
					Tau	Shin	Resh	Qoph

MALACHIM WRITING



WRITING OF THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVERS



There is another kind among kabbalists. It once had great veneration but today is used so commonly that it is almost found placed among the profane. It is thus: the twenty-seven Hebrew letters are divided into three classes,² of which each contains nine letters—namely, the first, ט ה ו ז ה ה ב ג ד א, which are the

signs of simple numbers and of intellectual things distributed into nine orders of angels. The second [class] has signs of ten and heavenly things in the nine orbs of heaven.³ However, the third [class] has the remaining four letters, with the five finals by order—namely, ק ר ש ת ם ן ף ץ, signs of hundreds and inferior things; that is, the four simple elements and five kinds of perfect compositions.⁴

They then distribute these three classes into nine vaults, of which the first is three ones—that is, intellectual, heavenly, and elemental—the second is of twos, and the third is of threes and thus the rest. The vaults are formed by the intersection of four parallel lines, intersecting themselves in right angles, thus shown in the following figure:

ג ל ש	ב כ ר	א י ק
ו ס ם	ה נ ך	ד מ ת
ט צ ץ	ח פ ף	ז ע ן

And if those parts are cut apart, they make nine particular figures, thus:



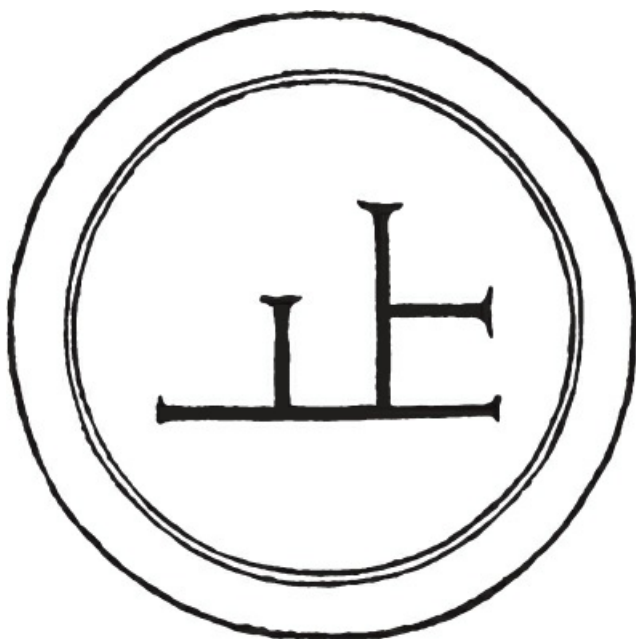
The notaricon written above are the nine vaults characterizing their letters. If there is one point [on a given letter], [this] indicates the first letter of that vault. If two points, this indicates the second vault. If three, it refers to the third. As an example, if you wish to form the characters of Michael, מיכאל, they are entered thus and extended into five characters, thus:



Which are then drawn together into three figures in this manner:



Then these are collected into one (yet the points of the notaricon are often omitted). Therefore, the character of Michael results thus:⁵



And there is still another method of characters, which is common to almost all letters and tongues and is a very easy method, which is by collecting letters. For instance, if you are given the name of the angel Michael, those characters are formed thus:

Hebrew

Greek

Latin



This method is most received by the Arabs; nor is there any writing that is so willingly and elegantly joined to itself as Arabic.

Moreover, you must know that angelic spirits, since they are a pure intellect and are entirely incorporeal, are not derived from signs, characters, paintable figures, or human command. We, [though] ignorant of their essence and quality, devote and consecrate the characters of those figures and seals from those names, works, or other things because of our dispositions—by which we cannot in any way compel those spirits to us. [However,] by these [figures] we can rise to them, inasmuch as from these kinds of unknown characters and figures, we can gather first by our inner senses as well as outer senses. Then by a certain admiration of our reason, we are brought to a religious veneration to them. Then the entire mind is seized into an ecstatic adoration, and with a wonderful faith, an infallible hope, and a vivifying love, we can invoke them in spirit and truth with their true names and characters and ask that we receive their virtue.

Chapter 31

Yet another method of characters and seals of spirits,
which are only received by revelation.

There is another kind of character, which is only received by revelation and cannot be found in any other way. The virtues of these characters written in secret seals are divinely revealed, breathing the harmony of some divinity. [These seals] are like a treaty or pact taken in league between us and them.

Of this kind is a seal shown to Constantine, which most call a cross. In Latin letters the words “IN HOC VINCE”¹ were written upon it. Another such seal was revealed to Antiochus, with the surname Soteris, in the figure of a pentagram. This proclaimed health (for if resolved into letters proclaims the word ὑγιαίνω²—namely, “HEALTH”). With these signs in faith and virtue, each king reported a great victory against their enemies. Thus, Judas received the noble seal מִכָּיִם from an angel, and for that reason was later surnamed Maccabeus, and he fought with the Jews against Antiochus Eupator in virtue of which he first slew 14,000 with a huge number of elephants, then another 35,000 enemies. Indeed, that sign was representative of the four-lettered name and the letters of the seventy-two names through the memorable symbol of the number and is shown thus: מִי כֹמֶךְ בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה—namely, “Which of you is as strong as the Tetragrammaton.”³ Therefore the figures of these three memorable seals must be formed thus:



Additionally, Porphyry said in his book *Of Answers* of these seals and characters that the characters and figures that signify the gods with which they can rejoice, be summoned, be offered to them, and what their figures of likenesses should be, were shown through the oracle of Proserpina. He also said that Hecate taught how likenesses should be set up for her and that they should be surrounded with wormwood, and painted with [images of] house mice, and with beautiful ornaments that were most pleasing to her soul, and as [with] many mice as her forms were to be taken, blood, myrrh, storax, and

other things were burned. If this were done, she would appear to the operator in dreams and answer.⁴ But we will show the oracle of Hecate, indeed saying thus:

Hecate's likeness and how sacred pacts are made to her.

Oracle of Hecate.

Pay attention, and I will show you how to make likenesses to me.

Take wood and wormwood and surround the place;

Then conceal the whole and paint it with mice,

Which often live in the house; and let there be beautiful

Ornaments that are most pleasing to our soul.

Then take myrrh, frankincense, storax, and blood

From mice equally mixed; then from above sing

With sacred words and truly take as many mice,

As the number of my forms you see; then take laurel

From that trunk prepare a sheath, and then piously

Make many prayers to my likeness and pay off your debts

*And vows: if these are done, you will see me in your dreams.*⁵

Of such kind were the former secret mysteries of the gods and daemons of the pagans,⁶ which they persuaded themselves that men could collect, detain, and bind. Hence, Iamblichus and Porphyry taught that if one invokes holy daemons, they must follow each with their particular honor and assign each their appropriate grace, offerings, gifts, sacrifices, words, characters, and the like, which are harmonious to their condition. Otherwise, they will never obtain the presence of divinities or daemons and desired effects. When invoked they will attempt to harm, especially those who do these things negligently.⁷

Chapter 32

How we can draw good daemons to us, and how we can conquer evil daemons.

The effects of religion are obtained through the effects of daemons. Indeed, no work of wonderful efficacy can be made in religion unless some good daemon nearby guides and satisfies that work. But good daemons, even if we draw them in different ways, are not chained—nor can they be bound by us.¹ They can only be implored by certain sacred things.

How daemons must be implored.

For instance, from Apuleius we read [of them being implored] “by the heavenly stars, by the infernal divine powers, by the natural elements, by the nocturnal silences, by the sanctuaries of Coptos,² by the increase of the Nile and the secrets of Memphis and the sistrums of Pharos.”³ Elsewhere, Porphyry [addresses these daemons, calling them], “You, who have risen from the mud, who sit in [your] place,⁴ who sail in ships, who change your form in each hour, and change in each zodiacal sign.”⁵

By these and these kinds of symbolic orations and hymns, because they are signs of divine virtues, daemons sometimes apply themselves to human uses, not because they are forced by some necessity, but voluntarily. By a certain custom, they easily approach those who conquer them by prayers of invocation. According to Porphyry in his book *On Answers*, Hecate said:

I come to you persuaded by your prayers.

Elsewhere in the same book it is said:

Conquered by the prayers of men, the heavenly powers to earth

*Convene and cause the future to be revealed.*⁶

But the sharing of divinity with the human mind happens because good spirits willingly assist us and share their power and virtue with us. They help us daily with illuminations, inspirations, oracles, predictions, dreams, wonders, portents, divinations, and auguries. They work and act in our souls⁷ as sharers of each other’s images, forming them by their influences and making us like themselves, so that

often our souls almost work wonders, which the celestial daemons often do.

The reason of assisting daemons.

However, we conquer evil daemons with the assistance of good [daemons], especially when we implore to the influence of the sanctity of God with sacred words and sing frightful sermons—conjuring divine powers by venerable names and signs of supernatural virtues, by miracles, sacraments, sacred mysteries, and the like. Certain conjurations and exorcisms are made by religious names and divine virtues because malignant daemons fear them. Profane men also often bind or humble evil daemons by sacred conjurations of this kind who cannot accomplish these things.

In his book *Because Idols Are Not Gods*, Cyprian said that daemons, when sworn by the true God, immediately concede to us, confess, and are forced to leave possession of the body, and either immediately burst forth or vanish by degrees, according to how the faith of the patient helps or how the grace of the swearer aspires.⁸

And Athanasius in his book *Of Various Questions* said there is no more terrible word and destructive magic to the power of daemons than the beginning of the 67th psalm.⁹ [which says:] “Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered.” Indeed, with those words first spoken, they soon vanish howling, and the devil disappears.¹⁰

And in *Against Celsus*, Origen said that he observed that pronouncing the name of Jesus very often expels innumerable daemons from the souls of men. Furthermore, it is in their bodies that it exercises the greatest power, casting out daemons.¹¹

Also, often we either bind or repel evil daemons with threats and indignities, especially lesser [daemons] or lamiae, incubi, and the like. [It is] just as we read from Lucan of that sorceress saying:

*. . . I will call you by your true name
I will leave the Stygian dogs in the heavenly light
I will follow you to the tomb, and guard the dead;
I will expel you from the grave and all funerary urns
And you Hecate, you show your face to the other gods
Often feigning a pale wasted form
And I will forbid Erebus to change his shape.*¹²

From Philostratus, we read that when Apollonius and his associates made their journey at night by a bright shining Moon, they met the phantom of a Lumia, which changed itself into one figure and then another, then suddenly vanished from sight. Apollonius recognized what it was, rebuked it in serious and insulting words, and encouraged his associates to do the same. Indeed, he knew that this was the best remedy for attacks of this kind. His associates obeyed what he said, and the phantom hissed and quickly flew away like a shadow.¹³

Indeed, as terrible as these kinds of daemons are, they can be moved, tremble, and are compelled with a feign terror, deceive, and make impossible threats. Of this, Chaeremon the sacred scribe said that these are things that especially convene daemons.¹⁴ Additionally (as we said above) certain kinds of daemons are not entirely harmful but are very close to men, so that they are also affected by human passions and very much delight in being familiar with men and willingly live with them. Others rejoice in partnership with women, others children, others different domestic or wild animals. Still others inhabit forests and woods, or live in fountains and meadows. Thus, Fauns and Lemures live in fields, Naiads in springs, Potamides in rivers, Nymphs in pools and waters, Oreades in mountains, Humedes in meadows. Dryads and Hamadryads [are found] in woods, where Satyrs and Sylvani especially live and rejoice in trees and sod. Thus, Naptas and Agaptas live in flowers, Dodonas in acorns, and Paleas and Fenilias in fodder and the countryside.

Therefore, whoever wishes to invoke them, it is easiest in places where they stay, drawing them with the scents of fumigations, pleasant sounds, with chords and musical instruments, which are made from the intestines of certain animals and appropriate woods. Indeed, [these things are used for] summoning them with songs, poems, and enchantments that are agreeable to them. This is to be especially done with a simple character, innocent mind, firm belief, and steadfast silence. Accordingly, they often meet children, women, more humble common people, and obscure little men; but those [humans] with a steadfast and bold mind [daemons] fear: [before such people] they flee and tremble. [I speak here of beings which are] good and inoffensive to the world, but harmful to evil and impure men. Lemures, Lares, and Larvae,¹⁵ along with other shades of the dead and makers of terror, are of this kind are also.

Hence, Plotinus said that the souls of men are sometimes daemons and that Lares can be made from men if they merit good. These the Greeks called “Eudaemonas”—that is, blessed daemons. Harmful daemons such as Lemures and Larvae are made from men if they merit evil. These the Greeks called “Cacodaemons.” Daemons are called “Manes” when they come from the soul of a man with an uncertain character.

Lares, Lemures, and Larvae are from men.

There are more examples of those apparitions, such as what Pliny the Younger remembered of the house of Athenodorus, the philosopher of Tarsus. [Pliny described hearing] a horrible, annoying sound; they observed the phantom of an old man. Philostratus likewise wrote of a Lamia of the philosopher Menippus the Lycian, which turned into a beautiful woman of Corinth. Apollonius of Tyana apprehended this daemon as a Lemure [rather than a Lamia]. [Apollonius also saw] at Ephesus a [Lemure] that imitated the likeness of an old beggar. [This Lemure] caused a plague but was overwhelmed by stones thrown by the order [of Apollonius.] There appeared a hunting dog [in the place of the old beggar] and soon the plague ceased.¹⁶

We must know that whoever works in evil with daemons intellectually can be bound by the power of good. However, those who work only in a worldly manner will work for himself in judgment to hell.

Chapter 33

Of the chains of spirits, and of their adjurations and expulsions.

There are three [kinds of powers we call] chains, by which the spirits are bound and implored or expelled. Some are taken from the elemental world. Take, for example, the practice of using more inferior or natural things, for which a spirit may have an affinity or be adverse, to adjure a given daemon when we would wish to invoke or expel them. [Such natural things] as flowers, herbs, animals, snows, ices, Tartarus,¹ fire, and the like [are employed to this end]. These are often engrafted with divine praises, blessings, and consecrations, as is shown in the song of the three children,² in the Psalm “Praise the Lord of the heavens,”³ and in the consecration and blessing of the paschal candle.

Accordingly, this [power we term a] chain works by a seizing virtue in spirits under the reason of love or hatred. The spirits that preside favor or abhor something natural or also beyond natural, just as these kinds of things also mutually love or hate each other. Hence, Proclus said: “As the lion especially fears the white rooster, thus spirits appearing in the form of a lion before a rooster suddenly disappear.”⁴

The second chain is taken from the celestial world—that is, when we adjure by the heavens, stars, their motions, rays, light, grace, clarity, nobility, strength, influence, wonders, and the like. This chain works in spirits through the manner of certain warnings and examples. It also has a certain amount of command, especially in ministering spirits and those from the lowest orders.

The third.

The third chain is from the intellectual and divine world. It perfects religion, as for example when we adjure from sacraments, wonders, divine names, sacred seals, and other religious mysteries. This chain is the most supreme and strongest of all, commanding spirits [with exceptional] power.

Order is maintained in chains.

But this must be observed: just as after universal providence is a particular providence, and after the universal soul is a particular soul,⁵ we first invoke by the more superior chains, and by the names and virtues that rule things, then by the more inferior and things themselves.

Who is bound by these chains.

We must also know that not only spirits but also all creatures— including tempests, fires, floods, plagues, illnesses, the power of arms, and each animal—are bound by these chains. They assume [these chains] whether by the method of adjuration, prayer, or blessing: as in the adjuration of serpents, besides the natural and celestial, commemorating from the mysteries and religion the curse of the serpent in the earthly Paradise,⁶ the raising of serpents in the desert,⁷ and additionally by taking the 99th verse in Psalms: “You will walk over the asp and basilisk and you will tread upon the lion and dragon.”⁸

Superstition is very strong.

Superstition also very much exerts an influence in these by translating some sacramental rites to that which we intend to bind or impede. For example, [rites intended for] excommunication, burials, or funerary processions [might be used] for banishing illnesses, serpents, mice, or worms. We read in many places that this has been done and still often happens.

Chapter 34

Of the animistical order and heroes.

After the choruses of blessed spirits, the next is the animistical order, which the Hebrew theologians call *Issim*—namely, the “strong and valiant men” who gentile magicians call heroes, demigods, or half gods. Fulgentius (an author not to be scorned) therefore thought that either [these heroes] were not thought worthy of heaven because of their humble circumstances, nor thought terrestrial because of their respect for grace, of which kind Priapus, Hippo, and Vertumnus once were,¹ or because they excelled in life in divine virtues and benefits for the human species. After this mortal man departs, he is translated into the blessed chorus of gods, perpetually providing for mortals the same virtues and blessings they once had in this life; or because they were begat from a secret superior seed, which they thought was mixed from gods or daemons with men, and therefore obtain a certain middle nature, so that they are neither angels or men, of which opinion Lactantius also followed.²

There are even those today who have intercourse and conjugal mixture with daemons; and now all believe that Merlin, a British prophet, was the son of a daemon born from a virgin; but Plato, prince of wisdom, was imagined to have been born from a virgin who was overwhelmed by a phantom of Apollo.³

Historians relate that certain Gothic women (called Alumnas), who were known for their appearance and ingenuity, were once driven from their camp by the Gothic king Filimirus (or as others say) Idanthresus.⁴ They traveled across the Asian wilderness of Scythia across the swamps of Meotides, and there were impregnated by Fauns and Satyrs, who first begat the Huns.⁵ Indeed, the author Psellus said that daemons sometimes cast seed from which certain small creatures arise.⁶

Therefore, these heroes have no less power in disposing and ruling these more inferiors than gods and daemons. They have their duties and protections distributed to them, for which reason they had temples, likenesses, altars, sacrifices, vows, and other religious mysteries expressed to them and not alongside the gods themselves. Their names had divine magical virtues and performed certain miracles when invoked. Eusebius narrated that for this reason many tried to invoke the name of Apollonius of Tyana.⁷ We read of many more [descriptions] of this kind from ancient poets, historians, and philosophers [who speak] of Hercules, Atlas, Asclepius, and certain other gentile heroes; but these are the delusions of heathens.

However, of our sacred heroes, we believe that divine power influences them. Truly the soul of the Messiah⁸ Jesus Christ rules over all of them, and Hebrew theologians also confirm this. [Jesus,] by his diverse saints, administers and distributes the diverse gifts of this grace to these more inferiors, just as if [these saints were] members [of his body] adapted to this, each saint being chosen to work with a particular gift. By our appeals of various prayers and invocations [to saints, they] freely bestow to each of us their gifts, favors, and grace, according to the multiform distribution of that grace. Indeed, [saints do this] more readily and abundantly than angelic powers, because they are closer to us and more similar to

our natures. Also, since they were once men and endured human affects and weaknesses, their names, degrees, and offices are well known to us.

Therefore, of this almost infinite number, there are twelve princes—namely, the twelve apostles of Christ, who, as the gospel of truth said, sit upon the twelve tribunals and judge the twelve tribes of Israel. In Revelation [the twelve apostles] are distributed upon the twelve foundations at the twelve gates of the heavenly city and preside over the twelve signs. [The twelve signs] are sealed in the twelve precious stones,⁹ and the orb of the earth is distributed to them.¹⁰

The true names of the apostles.

But their true names are [as follows]: first שמעון הכפי , Symehon Hacaepi (that is, Peter); second, אלעזר , Aleuzi, who we call Andrew; third, יעקב , Iahacobah (that is, James the Greater); fourth, פוליפוש , Polipos, who we name Philip; fifth, ברכיה , Barachiah (that is, Bartholomew); sixth, יוהנה , Iohanah, which we pronounce as John; the seventh is תמני , Thamni, which we pronounce as Thomas; the eighth is called מדון , Medon, who we call Matthew; the ninth is יעקב , Iahacob (that is James the Lesser); the tenth is חטיפא , Chatepha (that is, Thaddeus); the eleventh is שמאם , Samam, who is Simon the Canaanite; the twelfth is מתתיה , Matattiah, who we call Mathias.¹¹

After these are the seventy-two disciples of Christ, who preside over as many fivefold divisions¹² of heaven, tribes, people, nations, and languages.¹³ After them are an innumerable multitude of saints, who have received diverse offices, places, nations, and people into their protections and guardianship, whose undoubted miracles to the faithful who invoke them we plainly see and confess.

Chapter 35

Of mortal and earthly gods.

Immediately after these are the mortal gods, who are like what we call heroes and earthly gods or companions to heavenly gods—that is, kings, princes, and pontiffs who rule the world and dispose laws. We admire, worship, and venerate [such people] as gods, because God Himself has allowed His name to be shared, and with His own name has secured it to them, calling them gods, just as Moses said: “I have made you a god to Pharaoh.”¹ He [also] taught elsewhere, saying: “You will not speak ill of the gods,”² and again: “If the theft lies hidden, the lord of the house will apply himself to the gods.”³ The psalmist said: “The princes of the people were gathered with the god of Abraham, because the strong gods of the earth are vehemently lifted up.”⁴ [We read] elsewhere [in Psalms]: “God stood in the council of gods, but in their midst He judged the gods”⁵ and somewhat later: “I have said you are gods and all of you sons of the Most High.”⁶

However, He also taught of worshipping and venerating them, decreeing tithes and first fruits for them, presenting the law of the sword, forbidding [anyone] to curse them, and requiring obedience, although wicked. Hence, all ancients called their princes gods and worshipped them as divine powers, as Janus testified in the first book of Ovid’s *Fasti*, saying:

I reigned then when the gods of earth were powerful

*And deities mixed with the bodies of humans.*⁷

The divine Plato wrote in the third book of *The Republic* that princes alive or dead should be celebrated with divine honors.⁸ This instruction was always received from all nations and from the first age—that is, to deify princes with divine honors and consecrate them with an eternal memory. Hence, they imposed their never abandoned names to cities, provinces, mountains, rivers, lakes, islands, and seas; then pyramids, colossi, triumphal arches, trophies, statues, shrines, games, and festivals were dedicated with great pomp. They also called the heavens, stars, days, months by their names; hence, January is from Janus, July from Julius, August from Augustus, thus the day Hermes⁹ from Hermes Trismegistus, and the day Jove¹⁰ from Jove.

These customs we read are not only observed by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans but also by the remote barbarian Goths, Danes, and Teutons. Hence (as Saxo Grammaticus testified) what day [we] call Mercury, [the barbarians] would call that day Othin,¹¹ and what [we call] Jove, they call Thor. [Though they venerated these figures as gods,] Othin and Thor were once Gothic and Danish kings.¹² Furthermore, the Goths are not called by that name for any other reason than the highest god in their

tongue is called Gotthum. Hence, the Teutons are called that because they worshipped the god Mars, whom they called Teutanem, which is also the name the Gauls called Mercury. Therefore, kings and pontiffs—but only if just—are companions to gods and strengthened by a similar power. Hence, they can cure the sick by only their touch or word and sometimes command the seasons and heavens, as Virgil sang of Augustus:

It rained the entire night, the shows in the morning returned:

Jove and Caesar share command.^{[13](#)}

Joshua testified in the scripture that, when fighting in Gibeon, he commanded the Sun and Moon, saying: “Sun, do not move across Gibeon and the Moon across the valley of Ajalon.” [The scripture states that] “the Sun and Moon stood at his command, nor did the Sun set for the space of one day, until he avenged himself on his enemies and the Lord obeyed the voice of man.”^{[14](#)} [Further scriptural examples include how] Moses divided the Red Sea^{[15](#)} and Joshua the Jordan,^{[16](#)} both of them bringing their people over the dry bed on their feet. Likewise, Alexander the Macedonian marched his army.^{[17](#)}

Sometimes [these godlike men] exert an influence by prophetic spirits, as we read of Caiaphas in the holy scriptures that he prophesied that he would be the high priest that year.^{[18](#)} Therefore, since the Lord of the earth desires that kings and pontiffs be called gods and share their names and powers, surely it is appropriate that we deserve good from them and their judgments before ours and clearly obey, beseech them, and adore and worship them with every kind of veneration and revere the Most High God in them.

Chapter 36

Of how man was created in the image of God.

The Almighty God, as [Hermes] Trismegistus said, molded two images like himself—namely, the world and man—in which with one he would play in certain wonderful operations, but in the other, he might enjoy his delights.¹ Since God is one, He created one world; since He is infinite, He created a round world; since He is eternal, He created an incorruptible and eternal world; since He is immense, He created the greatest world; since He is the sum of life, He has also adorned the world with vital seeds, begetting everything from itself; since He is omnipotent, with only His own will, He created the world without any necessary nature and no preexisting material, but from nothing. Since He is the sum of goodness, He embraced His word, which is the first Idea of all things. He did this with His greatest will and essential love, and made the outer world from the model of the inner. [The inner world] is the ideal world, yet nothing was transmitted from the essence of Ideas, but rather [God] created [the outer world] from nothing. He accomplished this through the Idea from the eternal.

Mercury Trismegistus.

God also created man in His image² for, as the image of God is the world, thus the image of the world is man.³ Hence they think, and some have said, that man is not simply created in the image of God, but according to the image, as it were, an image of an image.⁴ Therefore [man] is called the microcosm—namely, the lesser world. The world is a rational animal and immortal, and likewise man is a rational animal, but mortal—which is to say, dissoluble. As Hermes said, since the world is immortal, it is impossible that some part will perish. Thus, death is an empty name, just as a vacuum is nowhere.⁵ Therefore, when we say a man dies, his soul separates from his body. He does not perish or turns into nothing.⁶

The image of God is the world, and the [image] of the world is man.

Nevertheless, the true image of God is His Word, wisdom, life, light, and truth, by which He Himself exists, of which the human soul is the image. Accordingly, we are said to be made in the image of God, not in the image of the world or creatures: for, as God cannot be touched, perceived with ears, or seen by eyes, thus the soul of man cannot be seen, heard, or touched. As God is infinite and cannot be compelled, thus the human soul is free and cannot be forced or measured. As God bears the entire world and all that is in it entirely in His mind, thus also the human mind embraces [the world] even in thought, and that which is singular only to God. As God moves and governs the entire world with only his nod, thus the

human mind moves and rules his body with only a nod. Therefore, it is necessary that the mind of man is sealed with the Word of God and the human body endued to the most complete model of the world.

Mercury Trismegistus.

Death is an empty name.

Thus, man is called “the other world” and “the other image of God,” because he has all that is in the greater world contained within him, so that there is nothing left that is not truly and actually also found in man himself; and all of these perform the same offices in him as in the greater world. In him there are the elements with the truest qualities of their nature; and in him is a small ethereal body, a vehicle of the soul, with the proportion corresponding to the heavens; in him is the vegetative life of plants, senses of animals, celestial spirits, angelic reason, and a divine mind: and the true conjunction and divine possession of all of these are likewise in one confluence. Hence, the holy scriptures call men “every creature,”⁷ and man is not only made the other world containing all parts within himself but also conceives and contains God Himself. Hence, Sextus⁸ the Pythagorean said that the soul of man is the temple of God, which Paul expressed much more clearly, saying: “The temple of God is you.” The same is testified in many places in the holy scriptures.

Man is the temple of God.

Therefore, man is the most distinct likeness of God since man contains in himself all that is in God: but God, by a certain eminence, contains everything with His virtue and simply as the cause and beginning of all. He has given this virtue to man as he likewise contains all, but is like a certain action and composition, as a tie, chain, and knot to all.

Therefore, only man enjoys this honor because he has a symbol with all, an operation with all, and a familiarity with all. He symbolizes with matter in an individual foundation, with elements in a fourfold body, with plants in a vegetative virtue, with animals in a sensitive [virtue], with the heavens in an ethereal spirit, and influences the more inferior parts with the more superior, with angels in intellect and wisdom, and with God in containing all. He is preserved⁹ with God and the intelligences by faith and wisdom, with the heavens and celestials by reason and wandering about, with all of the more inferiors by senses, lordship, and acting with everything: and everything is possible—even in God Himself, by understanding and loving Him.

And as God knows everything, thus also man can know the knowable, since he has a comparable objective; a common being, or (as others say) truth itself. There is nothing, no disposition found in man, in which something divine does not shine, nor is there anything in God that is also not found in man.

Therefore, whoever recognizes himself will recognize that all things are to be found in himself. He will first recognize God, from whose image he was made; he will recognize the world, whose likeness he bears; he will recognize all creatures, with which he is a symbol, and what aid he can have and can obtain from stones, plants, animals, elements, the heavens, daemons, angels, and how each [thing] is made to fit in their place, time, order, measure, proportion, and harmony, attracting and repelling from itself like iron

to a magnet.¹⁰

Geber taught in the *Sum of Alchemy* that no one can come to perfection in this art if he does not recognize those principles in himself. But by how much more one recognizes himself, by that much he achieves a greater power of attracting it, and by that much more he works greater wonders¹¹ and will rise to such a great perfection, that he is “made a son of God and transformed into the same image, which is God.”

The perfection and dignity of man.

Man is united with Him. This is not granted to angels, the world, or any other creature, but only to man. [Unlike these others, man] can be made the son of God and be united with Him.¹² If man is united with God, all things that are in man are united, especially in the mind. Then the spirits, animal powers, vegetative powers, and the elements all the way to [complex] matter are drawn with him and the body, which is his form. He is brought forth to a better fate and celestial nature until he is glorified in immortality. This (which we have said) is the personal gift to man. This dignity of a divine image is special to him and is shared with no other creature.

There are other theologians who assign three powers of man (memory, intellect, and will) to the image of the divine Trinity. There are also those who go further and [arrange] them not only in those three powers, which are called “first acts,” but they also place this image in secondary acts: as thus memory is the Father, intellect represents the Son, and will the Holy Ghost. Thus, also the word produced from our intellect and love flowing from our will, having a present object and producing the same, indicating the Son, Spirit, and Father.

Additionally, the more secret theologians teach that each of our members represents something in God and as such bear His image. Even in each of our passions we represent God, but by a certain analogy: for in the holy scriptures we read of the anger, fury, repentance, complacency, goodwill, hatred, games, delight, pleasure, and indignation of God, and many more like these. We have spoken something above about the members of God,¹³ but it may be also appropriate here.

Mercury Trismegistus recognized the mystery of the Trinity.

Mercury Trismegistus also confessed of the divine Trinity, describing [it as composed of] intellect, life, and brightness, elsewhere called words, mind, and spirit. [According to Hermes] man is made in the image of God represented in the same Trinity.¹⁴ Indeed, an understanding mind, a vivifying word, and a spirit [each] belong to them as a divine brightness—diffusing itself on all sides, filling, moving, and connecting all. Yet, this is not understood from the natural spirit. [The natural spirit] is a medium through which the soul is united with the flesh and body, by which the body lives and works and one member works with another. We spoke of that spirit in the first book. [The spirit we address here] is driven by the rational¹⁵ spirit, yet is also corporeal in a certain way. However, it does not have a heavy body, tangible and visible, but is a subtle body and easily united easily with the mind—that is, that more superior and divine [part] that is in us. One should not marvel if we say that the rational soul is that spirit and is corporeal or having and sensing some corporeality, while it is in the body and uses it just as an

instrument, if you understand in the manner of the Platonists that that ethereal body of the soul is a vehicle.

Plotinus and all Platonists after Trismegistus place three things in men, which are called the supreme, the lowest, and the middle. The supreme is that divine thing, which is called the mind, superior part, or illuminated intellect. In Genesis, Moses called it the breath of life, which comes from God or from His Holy Spirit breathing into us. The lowest is the sensitive soul, which is also called an *idolum*,¹⁶ and Paul the apostle called the “animal man.” The middle is the rational spirit, connecting and binding each extreme—that is, the animal soul with the mind, and the wise nature of each extreme. However, it differs from the most supreme, which is called the illuminated intellect, mind, light, and the supreme part. It also differs from the animal soul, from which the apostle said we must separate by the virtue of the Word of God, saying: “The Word of God is alive and effective and is more penetrable than a two-edged sword reaching all the way to the division of the soul and spirit.” Indeed, as that supreme part never sins, never consents to evil, and always resists error and encourages the best; thus, that lowest part and animal soul is always immersed in evil, sin, and concupiscence and draws to ruin, of which Paul said: “I see another law in my members and captivating me in the law of sin.”

Platonists placed three things in man.

Mind.

Therefore, since it is the highest part, the mind is never damned, but when its associates are punished, it departs uninjured toward its source. However, the spirit, which Plotinus called the rational soul, since by its nature is free and can adhere to each as it pleases if it firmly adheres to the superior part, it is, in the end, united and blessed with it, while assumed into God. If it adheres to the lowest soul, it is depraved and lessened, while it is made an evil daemon.¹⁷ But this is enough of the mind and spirit, so we will now consider speech or words. Mercury [Trismegistus] estimated that these have as much worth as immortality.¹⁸

Speech or words.

Indeed, speech or words “without which nothing can be accomplished”¹⁹ or can happen, is the expression of both the expresser and the thing expressed, and the speech of the speaker. That which is spoken is speech and words are the conception of the conceiver; and that which is conceived is words and the writing of the writer and that which writes is the word and the forming of the former; and that which is formed is the word and the creation of the creator; and that which is created is the word and the doing of the doer, and that which is created is the word and the knowledge of the knower; and that which is known is the word and all that can be said is nothing, unless there is a word and it is called *equality*. Indeed, it equally manages itself with everything, since it is not one thing more than another. It grants equally to everything, as they are neither more nor less. Being sensible, it makes all things sensible, as light makes itself and all things visible. Therefore Hermes [Trismegistus] called the word “the shining son of the mind.”²⁰

But conception—that is, the process by which the mind conceives itself—is the inner word generated from the mind, this being the knowledge of itself. However, the outer and vocal word is the offspring and presentation of that [inner] word, and the breath signifying something proceeds from the mouth with sound and voice: but all of our voices, words, and speeches, mix with the air and will vanish unless they are formed by the voice of God. The spirit and Word of God remain and accompany life.

Indeed, all of our speeches, words, spirits, and voices have no virtue in magic unless they are formed by a divine voice.²¹ Aristotle—in *Meteorology* and at the end of *Ethics*—admitted that there is no virtue either natural or moral, unless through God. In the *Secret of Secrets*,²² he asserted that our understanding, being good and sound, can do much in the secrets of nature . . . provided one is influenced by divine virtues. Otherwise, they are nothing²³

Thus, our words can produce many wonders, but only if formed by the word of God, in which our univocal²⁴ generation is perfected as Isaiah said: “From your form, O Lord, we have conceived, as a woman rightly conceives from the form of their husbands, and we have borne a spirit.”²⁵ This, in a certain way, concerns the opinions of Indian Gymnosophists, as if delivered by their hands though authors, that Buddha, the prince of their doctrine, was born from the right side of a virgin.²⁶ From the Muslims, there is a constant opinion, of those who they call in their tongue *Nefesogli*, who are born with a certain occult manner of divine dispensation without carnal intercourse, and therefore have a wonderful and passionless²⁷ life as angels and are entirely supernatural. However, we will dismiss these trifles: only the King Messiah, “The word of the Father made flesh,”²⁸ Jesus Christ, has revealed this secret, [and Jesus] will more openly manifest this when the time is right. Therefore, a very like mind to himself, as Lazzarelli sang in the *Crater of Hermes*:

*Now the Father has given speech to man
That like gods he will bring forth gods,
Born with senses from above.
Very happy is he, who knows his
Allotted duty, completing and willing:
He is counted as among the gods
Not less than the gods above.
They speak to hold back every danger
And sickness, chasing ruin far away;
They grant foreboding dreams and influence
The toils of men, and grant evil to the wicked.
They give splendid gifts to the pious, thus God
Fulfills the command of the father.
These are His disciples, these are the sons of God.*²⁹

[They] are not born from the will of flesh, “nor from the will of man, or blood, but born from God.”³⁰ It is a univocal generation, in which the son is similar to the father in all ways, and in which the birth is according to the same species as the begetter.³¹

This is the power of the word formed by the mind in receiving the rightly disposed subject, just as a seed coalesces in the womb for generation in birth; but I say “disposed” and “duly received,” because not everything partakes in the word in the same way. Other [things partake in the word] in other ways. These are the most hidden secrets in nature, and they should not be explored publicly.

Chapter 37

Of the human soul, and by which medium it is joined to the body.

The human soul is a certain divine light created according to the image of the Word, the cause of causes, the first exemplar, and the substance of God, formed with a seal whose character is the eternal Word.¹ Likewise, the human soul is a certain divine substance, indivisible and present in every part of the body, thus produced by an incorporeal author so that it depends only on the virtue of the agent, not from the womb of matter. The soul is a substantial number, uniform, transformative with itself, rational, far surpassing all bodies and matter, whose division is not according to matter, nor from inferior and dense things, but rising from the effective cause. Indeed, it is not a quantitative number but removed from all corporeal laws. Because of this, it is not divided or multiplied by parts.²

What the human soul is.

Therefore, the soul is a certain divine substance flowing from a divine fountain, carrying number along with itself; of course, it is not that divine [number] with which the Maker disposed everything but rather a rational number, which—since it has a proportion to everything—can understand everything.³

Therefore, according to Platonic opinion, the human soul proceeds immediately from God and is [then after] joined by a medium that is suitable to this denser body. Indeed, from its first descent, it is enveloped in a celestial and airy body, which is called a celestial vehicle of the soul and which others call the chariot of the soul.⁴ This medium, appointed by God, is the center of the world and is first infused into the middle point of the heart, which is the center of the human body. It is then diffused into all of the parts and members of the body. When it joins its chariot to natural heat, the spirit born from the heart through this heat. Through this [spirit, the soul] plunges into the humors. Through [the humors] it clings to the members. All of these [members] are made equally close [to the soul], although [it is] transferred from one to the other, just as heat adheres most closely to air and water, although it is taken by air to water. Thus, it is plain how the immortal soul by an immortal body—that is, an ethereal vehicle [of the soul]—is enclosed by a dense and mortal soul.

However, when these mediums dissolve or fail by sickness or evil, then the soul recovers itself through each medium and flows back into the heart, which is the first receptacle of the soul. But when the spirit of the heart fails, and its heat is extinguished, it abandons him. The man dies and the soul flies away with this ethereal vehicle, and his guardians, his genius, and daemon follow it and carry it to the judge. There the sentence is brought, and God quietly leads good souls to glory, and the daemon draws violent souls to punishment.⁵

Chapter 38

What divine gifts man receives from above from each of the orders of the celestials and intelligences.

All virtues are diffused into men from the highest fountain of good by the seven planets as if they were instruments: by Saturn a sublime contemplation, profound intelligence, dignified judgment, firm speculation, and a stable and immobile intention; by Jupiter an unshaken prudence, temperance, kindness, piety, modesty, justice, faith, grace, religion, fairness, clemency, and regality; by Mars a fearless truth, constant strength and fortitude, boldness, and an ardent desire to act and a practical and unchangeable vehemence of mind; by the Sun a nobility of mind, clarity of imagination, a nature of knowledge and opinion, maturity, deliberation, zealousness, the light of justice, reason, and the judgment of separating right from wrong, purging light from the darkness of ignorance, discovering the glory and charity of truth, the queen of all virtues; by Venus a fervent love, sweetest hope, desire of movement, order, concupiscence, beauty, charm, growing desire, and propagation of itself; by Mercury a penetrating faith and belief, plain reasoning, a vigor of interpreting and pronouncing, a grave eloquence, a sharp ingenuity, a rational discourse and swiftly moving senses; by the Moon a pacifying harmony, fertility, a power of generating and increasing, increase and decrease and moderate temperance and faith, which maneuvers in known and hidden things offering leadership to all, also the motion of tilling the earth for the manner of life and granting augmentation for itself and others.¹ These influences are principally drawn from these seven intelligences who stand before the face of God, who disposes the soul, the seat of these virtues. But the planets only dispose the body, giving a manageable complexion, proportioned and tempered with all good things, and they are as instruments of the intelligences. However, God, as the first cause, gives influence and increase to all.

What man receives from the planets.

Therefore, those who seek the virtues and various dispositions of the soul must judge on behalf of the medium through which these [influences] have passage to us and obtain the diversity of natures. They are not joined with the bodies themselves unless they are proportional by these stars. Thus, in a body brought to temperament from Jupiter, they suppose that the soul is infused with temperance from the divine power and intelligence of Jupiter, and thus for the rest. According to the disposition, if the soul works well in this body, it is purged and expiated, and returns back to the divine powers and mansion² from which it descended.³

Man is also strengthened by the wonderful virtues of the angelic orders. For example, from the angels, [he is strengthened so] that he is a messenger of divine will and an interpreter of the divine mind; from the Archangels, that he is a master of all “beasts in the land, fish in the sea, and birds in the air,”⁴

which are given to him; from the Principalities that all are subdued to him, and embrace and draw all powers to him with a certain occult and supercelestial power; from the Virtues he receives strength for the reward in the race that we run in this life that he would be strengthened in this constant fight; from Powers to preside against enemies of this human domicile; from Dominations [he receives] assistance, so that we can subject domestic enemies, that we always carry [this assistance] with us and overtake them in the end; from Thrones that we are joined and fix our memories to the collection of those eternal visions; from the Cherubim the light of the mind, the power of wisdom, superexcellent images and figures, by which we can contemplate the divine; and from the Seraphim that by the perfect flame of love we can finally hold fast to them.⁵

What man can receive from the angelic orders.

These are degrees or ladders by which men can easily ascend to any kind of virtue by a certain natural connection and chariot according to the various dispositions of the body and soul, the favor of the stars in the disposition of the body, and the intelligences presiding over them. During the descent, the soul is endued with the nature of these, just as light is colored by the glass through which it passes, and also the favoring heavenly virtue of the Maker, from which [comes] all good and without which nothing good and perfect can be gained.⁶

Therefore, those who trust only in the course of natural power and favor inferior things all work in vain. They suppose they will reach the divine and struggle to plant their foot in the heavens by capturing celestial favor, which they must receive from God alone. Accordingly, these more inferiors (meaning animals, herbs, stones, and metals) have their power supplied by the heavens, but the heavens [have theirs] from the intelligences, and [the intelligences have theirs] from the Maker, from whom all of the greatest virtues arise. As man is the microcosm, there is no member that does not respond to some element, some planet, some intelligence, and some measure and number in the Archetype, as we have shown above.⁷

Chapter 39

How superior influences, since they have a good nature,
are distorted in these inferiors and are made causes of
evil.

Because all virtues and powers are from above, from God, from the intelligences, and from the stars and do not err and cannot cause evil, it is necessary that all evil and anything whatsoever that is found discordant and dissonant in these more inferiors are not from evil influences, but from an evil disposition arising from the receiver. As Chrysippus rightly sang:

*Mortals falsely accuse and foolishly complain to the gods above,
That indeed [gods] are the causes of our evils
But it is we, and each of us hurts ourselves.*¹

Hence, Jupiter, remembering the fallen Aegisthus slain by Orestes in Homer, said in the council of the gods:

*O outrage, mortals first accuse the gods
And think we are the cause and source of evils
That come to them, but they are ruined because of their impious acts
While they voluntarily ask for their own ill fate.*²

Therefore, when the perverseness of the subject receives perverse influences, or its debility cannot tolerate the effectiveness of the superiors, then influences full of discord from the celestials are received into matter, resulting in dissonance, deformity, and evil; yet, celestial powers always remain good. While they exist in themselves and are influenced from the Giver of Lights through the holy intelligences and heavens until they reach [the sphere of] the Moon, their influence is good as in the first stage, but then when it is received by a viler subject, it also becomes vile. Indeed, then—according to the diverse nature of the recipient—it is received in diverse ways. The disagreeing qualities in the same subject in itself, and it varies and suffers with the suffering subject. Hence, everything is finally taken hold by the subject, and something else results other than the superior influences.³

Therefore, harmful qualities in these more inferiors are far different from celestial influences. In the

same way as light should not be blamed for sore eyes, fire for burning, a sword for wounds, and a judge for chains and prison, so evil influences should not be blamed on the celestials for evil dispositions and works. Thus, if we are well-disposed with the superior influences, we “cooperate in all good things.” If [we are] evilly disposed because of our sins, the divine which is in us departs, making way for all evil things.

Therefore, the cause of all of our evils is sin, which is the disorder and distemper in our souls. If [sin is] evilly ruling [us], or prostrating and declining [us] from what the celestial influences require, everything rebels and is distempered for our ruin. Then in the human body, which would be otherwise composed with the most temperate and most agreeable harmony, distempered elements are born; evil humors arise; even the good become disordered and separated from themselves with a certain vicissitude; the body is vexed and tortured. Then, a most vehement dissonance is perceived either from excess, diminution, an internal⁴ accident, or excessive food. From [any of these causes], excessive humors [can be] generated and illness arise. The bridle of the animal spirit is also broken in the battle [when sin wins out in our nature]. Then the celestial influences—otherwise good in and of themselves—become harmful, just as the light of the Sun is evilly disposed to the eyes.

Then Saturn influences anxiety, tedium, melancholy, sadness, obstinacy, rigidity, blasphemy, desperation, deceit, malevolent larvae, frightening graves, dreadful corpses, and troublesome daemons. But Jupiter then influences greed and perverse opportunities for wealth and tyranny. Mars [influences] impetuous anger, profane arrogance, rash boldness, and persistent cruelty. The Sun [influences] imperious pride and insatiable ambition. Venus [influences] the deceits of concupiscence, lustful love, and ugly pleasure. Mercury [influences] fraud, treachery, lies, evil machinations and the eagerness for sin. The Moon [influences] increasing instability of all things and whatever is contrary to human nature. These are the ways that man, according to his incongruity with the heavens, can receive harm when he should receive good.⁵

Evil influences from the superiors.

Because of the same dissonance with the heavens, as Proclus said, men are then subjected to evil daemons who, as attendants of God, release themselves to torture them. Then [these daemons] come to [men] “sent as evil angels,” until [those men] are expiated, having been cleansed of their debts. [In this way] man returns to [his] heavenly nature. Therefore, the best magician can hinder much evil from the disposition of the stars’ progress when he beforehand perceives their nature. [He can thus] prevent, guard, and fortify [himself] when [the stars] meet [and are] malefically disposed. As we have said, [such preparations may be made] so that [the magician] will not be harmed when they should receive good.

Chapter 40

That each man is impressed with a divine character from
whose power he can attain wonderful works.

With no small amount of experience, it has been proved that man is engrafted with a dominant nature and a certain power of binding. As Pliny testified, if an elephant meets a man wandering in the wilderness, he is merciful and gentle and shows him the way. It is also said that [if an elephant] sees the footsteps of a man before seeing him, it shakes in fear of ambush, stops, and looks around frightened. In the same way, a tiger—the most ferocious of all wild beasts—is said to immediately carry away its babies when it sees a man. There is much more like this written by various authors in great volumes about animals.

Why wild animals fear fragile men.

Why do these animals know to fear man, if they have never seen him? Since [animals] have such excellent size, strength, and speed, what is this nature of man that strikes fear in them if they have seen him and know why they fear him? Indeed, all historians inquire and acknowledge this but leave it to others to teach and prove.

Therefore, as we read from Philostratus on this subject, Apollonius of Tyana saw a boy leading a huge elephant. [His companion] Damis asked why such a huge animal was obedient to such a small child. [The boy] answered that it was from a certain active terror sent to man by the Maker, which all inferior creatures and animals perceive, that they fear and stand in awe of man. This is like a terrifying character and seal God has impressed on man, in which he is superior to everything, and they recognize him as supreme, whether a slave or an animal. Indeed, otherwise a boy would be unable to rule a herd or elephants, a king to frighten his people, nor a judge [to frighten] the culprit.

Therefore, this character is impressed on man by the divine Idea, which the Hebrew kabbalists call Pachad, פחד, and the left hand or sword of God. However, man has not only a sign by which he is feared but also [a sign] by which he is loved, whose Idea in the divine numerations is called Chesed, חסד, which signifies clemency and the right hand and scepter of God.

Signs and characters are impressed onto each one of us from these divine numerations by the intelligences and stars according to our capacity and purity. The first man undoubtedly held these signs with every integrity and fullness when all living things—attracted by gentle tameness and subjected by terror—came to him as a lord so that he might impose a name onto them. However, after the sin of transgression, he fell from dignity with all of his posterity—yet that character is not entirely extinct in us, though however much more one is heavy with sin, that much more he is far from these divine characters and receives less from them. Whereas [man should] receive kindness and reverence from animals, men,

and daemons, he falls into servitude and fear. Fearing this, Cain said to God: "All who find me, will kill me." [This was] because he feared beasts and daemons, not just men, of whom there were few [at that time].

But long ago many men lived innocently, living the best life, thus profiting by that obedience and power, as did Samson and David; Daniel with the lions; Elisha with the bear; Paul with the viper. Many hermits lived in the desert, hollows, and caves of wild beasts. They neither feared them, nor took any harm. Indeed, as sin obscures that divine character, purification and expiation of sin restores it and shines on it more.^{[1](#)}

Chapter 41

What various opinions are concerning man after death.

It has been decided that all men generally die once.¹ Death is fated to all, but one is natural, another violent, another voluntarily accepted, another imposed for offenses of human law or inflicted by God, not due to nature, but seemingly as a punishment for sins. As Hebrew teachers say, God remits to none. Because of this, the agreement was delivered to Hezekiah, that after the house of the sanctuary was destroyed, although there was no order of judicial execution remaining, there was yet a fourfold kind of punishment, by which one can be condemned, that no one guilty of death can avoid retaliation. For those who deserve death by stones, God willing, would either be thrown headlong from a roof, tread upon by wild beasts, or crushed by a collapse or fall. However, those who deserve to be burned, should either be consumed by fire, his life finished by a venomous sting, a bite from a serpent, or his life finished by poison. But those who might be slain by a sword would be slaughtered by violence from the state, a rebellion of the people or a faction, or ambushed by robbers. Those who would be hanged by a noose would be either drowned in water or killed by some other strangulation.² The great Origen thought that when Christ is described in the Gospels as saying: “Who kills by the sword, dies by the sword,” the Messiah was referring to this aspect of the doctrine.

Adrastia.

Pagan philosophers also proclaimed retaliations of this kind of order as *adrastia*³—that is, the inevitable power of divine law. According to this, man’s future courses are weighed out according to the reason and merit of his previous life. Those who ruled unjustly in their previous life would, in the next life, fall back into a servile position; hands that have been stained by blood, will be forced to undergo retaliation;⁴ those who live a bestial life, will be cast into a brutish body.

Plotinus wrote of this in his book *On Everyone’s Individual Daemon*,⁵ saying: “Whoever kept a human quality will again be born a man. However, whoever only used their senses will return as brutish animals. Those who especially use senses together with anger arise as wild animals, but those who use senses through concupiscence and pleasure will arise as salacious and gluttonous animals. However, if they do not use their senses with one of these [passions], as living with degeneration of sense, will arise as plants: inasmuch as their cares were primarily or mostly of the vital part, that they were changed into plants. However, those who lived excessively bewitched by music and not deprived of other things, are born again as musical animals. Those who have reigned unreasonably, are made eagles, unless they are corrupted by some viciousness. However, those who follow a civil virtue, are born again as men.” In Proverbs, Solomon himself sometimes called man a lion, tiger, bear, or boar, and named others a hare, dog, a hunting or rabbit dog, an ant, hedgehog, a serpent or spider, an eagle, lizard, rooster, bird, and

many more like this.⁶ Hebrew kabbalists do not admit that souls are cast down into brutes, yet they do not deny that those who have thoroughly lost their reason in another life are left with a brutish disposition and imagination.

Plotinus.

They likewise add that souls return three times and no more because this number seems to abundantly provide purgation from sins.⁷ According to Job: “He has liberated his soul from going to destruction, however living to see the light. Behold in all of these, God works three times in each one, that He will call back these souls from corruption and illuminate them with the light of the living.”⁸

The soul returns to this life three times.

Now we will finally see what the ancients thought of the dead. When a man dies, the body returns to earth from which it began. The mind returns to the heavens from where it descended, as Ecclesiastes said: “Dust returns to its earth from where it came, and the spirit returns to God who gave it.”⁹ Lucretius expressed [this idea] in these verses:

*What is from the earth likewise goes back
Into the earth, and what was sent from the shores of the ether
Is received again into the brilliant temples of heaven.*¹⁰

But Ovid did this better in these verses:

*Four things are men's: soul, flesh, spirit, and ghosts
These four accept four places:
Earth covers flesh, shades wander around tombs,
Souls have Orcus,¹¹ and spirits long for the stars.¹²*

Flesh.

Therefore, with the flesh abandoned and the body finished with life, it is called a corpse. Hebrew theologians say, [the corpse] is left in the power of the daemon Zazel,¹³ of whom it is said in the scriptures: “You will eat the earth for all of your days,”¹⁴ and elsewhere: “Dust is your bread.”¹⁵ But man is created from the dust of the earth, for which reason that daemon is called the lord of flesh and blood,

as long as the body is not expiated and sanctified with funerary rites.

Hence, it is not without cause that the ancient fathers ordained expiations of corpses, that what was most unclean should be sprinkled with holy water, incense burned, exorcized with holy orations, illuminated with lights for as long as it was over the earth. Finally, [the body was] to be buried in a sacred place.¹⁶ Thus, Elpenor from Homer said: "I ask you, Ulysses, please remember me and do not leave me unburied, lest unburied I will anger the gods."¹⁷

The human mind,¹⁸ which has a sacred nature and a divine birth, does not share punishment because it is always without fault. However, if the soul it has performed well, it rejoices with the mind. It goes forth with its ethereal vehicle, passing freely with the choirs of heroes transcending or reaching for the heavens, where it enjoys a continuous blissful felicity with all of its senses and powers. It has a perfect understanding in all things above, a divine vision, a possession of the kingdom of heaven, and shares divine power, lavishing various beneficent gifts in these more inferiors as if an immortal god.

If it conducts evil, the mind judges it and abandons it to the will of daemons. A sad soul without mind wanders as if it were a specter in these inferiors, which is called an image, as from Virgil of Dido's complaints:

*And now the great image of me will go under the earth.*¹⁹

Whereby this soul then, without an intelligible essence, is abandoned to the command of a raving fantasy. It is also exposed to the torment of corporeal qualities, knowing that by the just judgment of God, it is to be forever deprived of divine vision for which it was created because of its sins.²⁰ Indeed, this divine vision, as the scriptures testify, is present in all evils, is the harshest of all punishments. The holy scripture calls it the outpouring of the wrath of God.²¹

Therefore, this image of the soul enters a shade as an airy body, which being cloaked, sometimes advises friends, and expels enemies, just as from Virgil, Dido threatened Aeneas, saying:

My shade will be everywhere, and I will punish you, cruel one.

For, when the soul is separated from the body, disturbances, memories, and senses remain. Platonists say that souls, especially [the souls of] killers, destroy enemies since human indignation is not as effective as the divine Nemesis and daemon foreseeing and permitting it.²²

Thus, as Hebrew teachers interpret it, since the spirit of Naboth departed with a desire for revenge at the end of its life, and was made to satisfy a vengeful spirit of a lie, God permitted it to go forth and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all prophets, while it made Ahab go up to Ramoth Galaad.²³ Virgil, the Pythagoreans, and the Platonists all admitted that separated souls retain memories and the will of things borne in this life, and that they are not extinct. Augustine also adhered [to this idea]. As [Virgil] sang:

. . . The grace with which they took their chariots

And armor while alive, the care

*In feeding splendid horses, also followed them under the earth.*²⁴

Algazel, in his book *On Divine Knowledge*, says that the operations of the soul, being common to the adjoining body, impress into the soul a character of use and exercise. Other Arab and Muslim philosophers think this as well. If strongly impressed, it will use them according to similar operations and passions that were not erased in life even after it is separated from the body. Therefore, although the body and organs are corrupted, the soul does not therefore cease operations. Its affections and like dispositions remain.²⁵

Manes.

The ancients refer to these souls with the common name of *manes*. [This word refers to] those who were innocent or cleansed of moral virtues in this life, and, as Virgil sang:

Who suffered wounds because they fought for their country

And those who were pure priests, while they lived,

And those pious poets speaking worthy of Phoebus

Or improved life by discoveries of arts

*And those who made others remember them by their merits,*²⁶

although they departed without the righteousness of grace and faith. Many theologians think their [souls] were carried off enduring in certain happy fields,²⁷ as Virgil said:

They came to happy places and beautiful fields

*Fortunate woods and happy homes,*²⁸

where they enjoy certain wonderful pleasures and sensitive, intellectual, and revealed knowledge.²⁹ Indeed, they are perhaps educated in faith and justice, just as Christ once preached the Gospels to those spirits in prison.³⁰

For, as certainly as no one can be saved without faith in Christ, it is thus probable that if this faith toward salvation is preached to many pagans and Saracens after this life in those receptacles of souls, [their souls] are detained in them just like a common prison, until the time comes when the greatest Judge weighs the merits of their actions. Of this opinion Lactantius,³¹ Irenaeus,³² Clement,³³ Tertullian,³⁴ Augustine,³⁵ Ambrosius,³⁶ and many other Christian writers also agreed.

However, those souls who are impure, incontinent, and passing with unjust sins do not have such happy dreams, but [instead] wander with horrible phantasms and [in] degenerate places, having no free thoughts unless dragged away by permission or manifestation. Then, with continuous carnal desire and sanguine appetites (because of the stain of their corporeal tarnish) they are subjected to pain and fear daggers and swords.³⁷

Without a doubt, Homer seemed to sense this, when in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, he introduced Ulysses's dead mother assisting him with a sacrifice but neither recognized him nor spoke to him as he kept shades away from the sacrificial blood with his unsheathed sword. Later the prophet³⁸ Tiresias suggested that his mother nibble and drink the black blood, and she immediately recognized her son and spoke to him, crying. However, the soul of the prophet Tiresias, despite the unsheathed sword, even before he nibbled the blood, recognized Ulysses and pointed out the shade of his mother assisting him.³⁹ Therefore, whatever wicked sins souls have collected in bodies in this life that are not expiated, carry their habits along with them to hell, forcing them to cleanse themselves and pay the penalty for their sins, which the poet explained in these verses:

*Why, when the light of life leaves for the last time,
Are miserable people not freed from all evils, nor bodies
Entirely freed from plagues and many things deep within
By necessity morals long grow in set ways
Therefore, penalties are exercised and the punishments
Of old evils are paid off . . .*⁴⁰

Indeed, as the morals and habits of men are in this life, for the most part, such affections follow the soul after death, which the mind also recalls what it once bore in life. These then more intently and sharply come to mind, because of how much they cease the various offices of life such as nourishing, invigoration, generating, feeling, the various toils of human occupations, as well as the comfort and obstacles of a dense body.⁴¹

But then to the rational fantasy comes those kinds that are more turbulent and raving, by how much more or less an intellectual spark lies hidden, dormant, or entirely extinct in these souls, which are then also introduced from evil daemons, either the most false or most terrible kinds. From here in the concupiscible virtue it is tormented by a concupiscence of an imaginary good, which it once affected in its formal life. It is deprived of acquiring opportunities, although sometimes it seems to almost obtain pleasures for itself, but to be driven away by evil daemons to harsher punishments, just as poets say Tantalus [was kept] from a feast, Sardanapalus from an embrace, Midas from gold, and Sisyphus from power.

Lemures. Lar.

Lemures are souls that quietly care for household things, live in the house, and are called household

gods. But they are most severely tortured in the irascible virtue with a hatred of imaginary evils, whose disturbances, false suspicions, and horrible phantasms then fall upon them, and sad images revolve around them. Sometimes the sky falls on their heads, sometimes they are consumed by violent flames, sometimes they are submerged in the waters of vast whirlpools, sometimes the earth opens up and swallows them, sometimes they are transformed into various beasts, sometimes they are mangled or devoured by deformed monsters, sometimes they are expelled everywhere through forests, seas, fire, air, and foul and infernal places. Sometimes they are taken by daemons and tortured. Everything we think happens to them after death is no different from in this life those who are affected by madness, mania, delirious with melancholic humors, or tormented by horrible visions in dreams as if they were real.⁴² Yet [these experiences] are not real. They only take on the appearance [of reality] in the imagination.

Thus, after death, these terrified souls are as if they are dreaming horrible images of sins, and their wicked conscience drives them headlong into different places. Therefore, Orpheus called the people dreams, saying: “The gates of Pluto cannot be opened, within is a people of dreams.”⁴³

Larvae, or makers of terror.

When such wicked souls—which rely on no good home and wander in an airy body—are represented to our sight as any form, they are called “larvae” or “makers of terror.” Indeed, they are nothing to the good, but harmful to the evil. [The may appear] at one time as thin, then another time as dense. [They manifest] under the appearance of various animals and monsters, whose characters they once excelled in life. As the poet sang:

*Then the various forms and faces of wild beasts mock you.
Indeed, he will suddenly become a wild hog and tiger;
A scaly dragon and a lioness with a tawny mane.
Or he will give a sharp roar of flames
Transforming himself into any miraculous thing,
And fire, horrible beasts, and running rivers.*⁴⁴

Indeed, the unclean soul of a man, who in this life assembled too great a habit to the body, weaves another body for itself from the vapors of the elements, rebuilding from malleable matter as if drinking, and makes that body continuously vanishing. It does this with a certain inmost affection of the elemental body. It is also as if in a prison, and a sensible instrument carried by a certain divine law. Thus, it suffers cold, fire, and whatever offends the body and spirit,⁴⁵ such as foul odors, howls, wailings, hissings, lashings, cutting, and chains. As Virgil sang:

*Therefore, they enforce punishments and they pay
For ancient evils; some are hung, spread out
To the empty winds, for others the poison of crimes*

*Are cleansed under vast gulfs or burned by fire.*⁴⁶

And Homer in his *Necromancy*;⁴⁷ Alcinous described to Ulysses:

I saw the famous Tityus, son of the Earth

His body stretched out over nine acres

*With vultures gnashing his entrails on each side.*⁴⁸

Sometimes these souls not only inhabit these figures of bodies, but by an excessive affection of flesh and blood also cast themselves into animals seizing the bodies of reptiles and animals, entering into whatever species and possessing them like daemons.

Perverse souls are cast into beasts.

Pythagoras supports this, as did Trismegistus before him, asserting that perverse souls are often cast into reptiles and beasts. Yet they do not vivify and fashion those bodies as essential forms, but inhabit them as if living in a prison, or by standing in a nearby place as an internal mover of the thing moved, or are tormented by being tied around them, as Ixion to the wheel of serpents, and Sisyphus to the stone. Nor do they only seize beasts, but also sometimes men,⁴⁹ as we have described already with regard to the soul of Naboth, from which went forth a lying spirit in the mouths of prophets.⁵⁰

Hence, many have asserted that the lives or spirits of wicked men enter into certain bodies and cause daily evil. They sometimes even kill. [The opposite] is more fortunately granted to blessed souls, that like good angels, can dwell with us and illuminate us just as we read of Elias, who was lifted from men, and that spirit lowered over Elisha. Elsewhere were read that God took the spirit that was in Moses and gave it to seventy men.⁵¹ Here lies hidden a great mystery, which should not be revealed rashly.

Danish History, book 5.

Sometimes (and this is very rare) souls are driven to such insanity that they desire not only the bodies of the living, but—by a certain Stygian power—move to forsaken corpses and revive them to accomplish horrible deeds. We read from Saxo Grammaticus that a certain Asuitus and Asmundus vowed to each other that the one who lives longest would be buried with the one who died first. Finally, Asuitus was consumed by sickness and was taken to a vast tomb with his dog and horse, with whom Asmundus, because of his vow of friendship, allowed himself to be buried alive, taking meat to feed on for a long time. At last Ericus, king of Suecia, was passing through the place of the tomb of Asuitus with his army. Thinking there was a treasure, he broke it apart, throwing open a hole, leading Asmundus to the light. [Ericus] saw [Asmundus's] foul face with the putrefaction of funerary soil and a bloody scar with blood flowing from it, because Asuitus repeatedly revived during the night, and in his struggles wrenched off

[Asmundus's] left ear. [Asmundus] was ordered to explain the cause of the wound, which he narrated in these verses:

*Why are you astounded who see me colorless?
Truly all who live, fall among the dead.
I know not what daring Stygian gods
Sent the spirit of Asuitus up from the underworld,
With fierce teeth eating his fleet-footed horse,
And offering his dogs to his abominable mouth.
But he was not content to eat horse and dog.
He soon brought his rapid claws to me,
Tearing my cheek and lifting off my ear;
Hence the horrible image of my mangled face,
Blood leaping wildly from the wound.
Yet the monster did not go unpunished;
For with my sword I cut off his head
And pierced his sinful body with a stake.*⁵²

Pausanias referred to an account not unlike this, taken from the interpreters of Delphi—namely, that there was a certain infernal daemon whom they called Eurynomus, who took the flesh of the dead and ate it so that there was hardly a bare skeleton left.⁵³ We also read in the annals of Crete of manes that were called “Carechanas.” These often return to their bodies, come to their widows, and satisfy their lust. To avoid this, so that they will not vex their wives anymore, it was stipulated in municipal laws that the heart of those rising shall be pierced by a nail, and the entire corpse burned. Without a doubt, these are fanciful [sounding stories]. They may not seem to be very credible, but these extensive laws [related to the things they describe] and [the mention of such things in] ancient histories make them credible.

Similarly, we should not regard it as strange from the Christian religion that many souls can revive before the resurrection of the whole flesh of their bodies. In fact, we believe that many, by the singular favor of God, are taken with their bodies to glory . . . and also that many descend alive into hell. We have also heard that bodies of the dead are often removed from their graves by daemons, without a doubt for any other use than to be imprisoned and tortured by their hands.

To these prisons and chains of bodies, are also added habitations of the most vile and foul places: the fires of Aetna, gulfs of waters, the shakings of thunder and lightning, deep holes in the earth, and areas where light is weak that do not receive the rays of the Sun and are ignorant of the stars’ splendor because they are clouded in perpetual darkness and night. Ulysses is reported to have reached there, as Homer sang:

Here the Cimmerian people are rumored to be, caverns

*Perpetually clouded and immersed in a dark mist,
Where the eye of the rising Sun can never reach and
Reflect his rays, but eternal night oppresses these wretched men.*⁵⁴

However, neither are all of these empty trifles, as many have recorded the cave of St. Patrick,⁵⁵ the cave of Vulcan, the craters of Aetna,⁵⁶ the tunnel of Nursia,⁵⁷ and have seen and recognized these places. Accordingly, Saxo Grammaticus wrote of greater things than these, such as of the palace of Geruthus and the cave of Ugarthilocus.⁵⁸ Then Pliny,⁵⁹ Solinus,⁶⁰ Pytheas,⁶¹ and Clearchus⁶² marveled at the prodigies of the Northern Sea, of which Tacitus, in his history of Drusus, wrote of armies that were led astray in the German sea, and of various wonderful things that were seen in there, such as strong whirlwinds, unheard of kinds of birds, and sea monsters in changeable forms of men and animals.⁶³ In his book *Of Germany*, he wrote of the Hellusians and Oxiones, who had human faces and limbs of other beasts.⁶⁴ Without a doubt these cannot exist except by the works of manes and daemons, of which Claudianus also once sang:

*There is a place where Gaul spreads out its furthest shore,
The ocean spreading out its waters, where Ulysses brought
A libation of blood for the people vowing silence.
There shadows flew with a faint hiss
Their lamentable complaints are heard, and the inhabitants
Saw the likenesses of the pale dead and figures passing.*⁶⁵

Aristotle wrote of the islands of Aeolia near Italy, that there was a certain tomb in Lipara, which one could not safely approach at night. There [could be heard] the crash of cymbals and rattles and a certain wild laughter, and also the inhabitants firmly asserted that tumultuous and empty sounds could be clearly heard. One time a drunk young man approached that place, and at night fell asleep at the hollow of the tomb. There, after three days of searching for him, he was found taken for dead. When the funeral was prepared, and he was led out for burial, he suddenly awoke and spoke to the great admiration of all what he saw and endured.⁶⁶

In Norway, there is a certain mountain that is the most dreadful of all, which is commonly called Hechelberg. Before itself, it brings the appearance of hell, from which great wailing, weeping, voices, and shouting can be heard, so that the horrible noises reach to almost a mile around. Huge vultures and the blackest crows fly about, making horrible cries thoroughly terrifying those who come near. Additionally, two springs gush, one is extremely cold, and the other is an intolerably intense heat far exceeding the other elements. In the same area to the south is a promontory called Nadhegrin, where daemons are present in airy bodies that can be seen by all.⁶⁷

In Scotland, there is the mountain called Dolorosus from which comes horrible lamentations and terrifying hissing. In Thuringia,⁶⁸ there is a mountain called Horrisonus, from where, according to rumor,

sylvanuses and satyrs live, but experience teaches, and faithful writers also testify. There are similar wonders in diverse regions and provinces, but I am not willing to refer in this place that I have seen with my own eyes and touched with my own hands, lest because of the astounding wonder of these things I will be thought a liar by disbelievers.

Tertullian.

However, neither do I think that we should disregard what many of our [faith] think about receptacles of souls, who do not disagree much from what we have just said. Of this Tertullian said in the fourth book of his *Against the Heresies of Marcion*: “It is apparent to each wise man who has ever heard of the Elysian fields, that there is some determinate place which is called the bosom of Abraham for receiving the souls of his sons, and that this area is not heavenly, yet it is higher than hell, ‘where the souls of the just rest,’ until the consummation of all things, which will restore the resurrection with the fullness of reward.”⁶⁹ In fact, Peter the apostle asked Clement of these things: “You force me, O Clement, to disclose indescribable things; but yet as far as I am allowed to mention them I will not regret it. Christ, from the very beginning was always with the pious, in each generation. Although [he was with them] secretly, [he was] yet always near. He frequently appeared, especially to those who waited for Him. However, it was not yet the time then to resurrect the bodies that were dissolved. This was either a recompense from God that those who are found just should remain longer in a body, or at least as is clearly referred in the scriptures of certain just men, that the Lord transferred them. In a like example, others who pleased God’s will were also carried away, being transferred to Paradise will be kept for the Kingdom. However, those who could not entirely fulfill the standard of justice and had some remnant of wickedness in their flesh, indeed had their bodies decay after death, though their souls were protected in good and happy regions, so that in the resurrection of the dead when they might recover their bodies, being cleansed with resolution, they will acquire an eternal inheritance according to the things they have done well.”⁷⁰

Peter the apostle.

Likewise, Irenaeus in the end of his book *Against the Heresies of the Valentinians* said: “Since the Lord went in the middle of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were, then later corporally arose and after the resurrection was taken up, it is undoubted that the souls of his disciples, for whom the Lord did these works, shall depart to the invisible place assigned to them by God and remain there awaiting for resurrection. Afterward, their bodies will be received and will arise perfectly—that is, corporally—just as the Lord resurrected. Thus, they will come into the presence of God. Indeed, no disciple is above the master, but all who are perfect are like their master. Therefore, just as our master did not immediately fly away and depart but waited for the time of his resurrection defined by the Father (also shown through Jonah) He arose and was taken up after three days. Thus, we must also await resurrection for a time defined by God and foretold by the prophets. Those who rise in this way will be taken up, as many of them as the Lord has given this honor.”⁷¹

Irenaeus.

Lactantius.

Firmianus Lactantius also agreed with this in that book *Divine Institutes*, whose title is *Of the Divine Reward*, saying: “No one should think that souls after death are immediately judged, for all are detained in one common holding place until the time comes when a great Judge examines their merits. Then those who are approved of righteousness will receive the prize of immortality, but those whose are sinful and wicked are uncovered and will not rise again, but will be put away with the wicked in the same darkness, destined to certain punishment.”⁷²

Augustine.

Ambrose.

Augustine and Ambrose are of the same opinion. In [Augustine’s] *Enchiridion* it is said: “[During] the time which is interposed between the death of man and the final resurrection, the soul is held in hidden receptacles, as each is worthy of rest or toil according to that which it obtained while it lived in the flesh.”⁷³ Ambrose, in his book *Death as a Good*, said: “The Scripture of Ezra called the homes of souls storerooms, which meeting human complaints, that the just who preceded them seem to be all the way to the day of judgment—namely, for a long time—to be cheated of the recompense they are owed, [the scriptures] wonderfully say that judgment day is like a crown. Indeed, the day of the crown is expected by all, that until that day, the conquered may be ashamed, and the conquerors can gain the palm of victory. Therefore, while waiting for the fullness of time, souls expect the recompense they are owed: punishment remaining for some, glory for others.”⁷⁴ In the same chapter, he called hell a place that is not seen, where souls desire to be freed from bodies. In the second book of *On Cain and Abel* he said: “The soul is loosened from the body, and after the end of this life, future judgment is still yet uncertain, being in suspense.”⁷⁵

The Gospel of the Last Judgment supports these, as Christ said in Matthew: “Many will say to me in that day: ‘Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in your name, and in your name cast out daemons, and in your name made many miracles?’ and I will confess that I never knew them.”⁷⁶ From this speech, it seems to agree that all the way to this day, they who were uncertain of their sentence and trusted miracles which were completed in Jesus’s name while they live, a certain hope of salvation meanwhile has been suspended.

Therefore, because the judgment of souls is delayed until the last day, most theologians think that atoning for judgment can help not only the just but also the damned; thus, Trajan Caesar was freed from the underworld by the blessed Gregory and justified to salvation, although some think that he was not freed from the penalty of the crime, but that instead the justice of punishment was put off until the Day of Judgment. However, Thomas Aquinas said it seems to be more probable that from the blessed Gregory’s intercession of Trajan he lived again, and a gracious power followed, which freed him from punishment and the bondage of sin.

There are theologians who suppose that intercession from hell does not lift punishment nor lessen guilt, but only brings a certain comfort and alleviation of pain. This is like the sweating bearer of burden,

where the sprinkling of water seems to lift the pressure of the weight, or helps him bear it more easily, although none of the weight has been lifted. Yet the common opinion of theologians denies that any prayers and funerary rites can intercede to negate the guilty from the cave of Dis.⁷⁷ However, since all of these are of an incomprehensible obscurity, many have vainly sharpened their wits on them.

Augustine's famous opinion.

Therefore, we agree with Augustine's opinion: as he said in the tenth book *On Genesis*: "It is better to doubt hidden things than to quarrel over uncertain things. Clearly, I do not doubt that the rich man is to be understood in the flames of loss, and the poor man in the relief of joys, but how we must understand that flame of hell, that bosom of Abraham, that rich man's tongue, that finger of the poor man, that thirst of torture, that cooling drop, is scarcely found by the casual searcher, but certainly never from the argumentative."⁷⁸ But we will set this aside and will rush forward, where we will discuss the restitution of souls.

Chapter 42

By what methods magicians and necromancers think they can summon the souls of the dead.

From what we have already said, it should be clear that souls love the bodies they left after death—for there are souls whose bodies are without their due burial, or who left their bodies from a violent death, and thus wander around their bodies with a turbulent and moist spirit as if drawn by some affinity to them.¹ They recognize those mediums by which they were once joined to their bodies and could easily be called and drawn forth by similar vapors, fluids, and fumes. Furthermore, they could also be summoned by certain artificial lights, songs, sounds, and the like, which excite the imaginative and spiritual harmony of the soul. Sacred invocations and the like, which are from religion, should not be neglected because of the superior nature of the rational portion of the soul. Thus, we read of the sorceress who summoned Samuel,² and we also read from Lucan of the prophet of Thessaly who raised a corpse.³

Hence we read from poets and those who can relate things like this, that souls of the dead cannot be summoned without blood and a corpse, but their shades can be easily drawn by fumigations of these things, to which eggs, milk, honey, oil, wine, water, and flour can be added, since they are an excellent medium for souls to reach their bodies, just as we read in Homer of a long instruction where Circe teaches Ulysses.⁴

They think that these things can only be done in places where these kinds of souls are known to be most situated, either because of some affinity, as if their abandoned body was drawing them because of some affection once imprinted in their life drawing the soul to some place, or because some hellish nature of a place, therefore suitable for purging or punishing souls. Such places are most known by the experience of visions, nocturnal incursions, and similar occurrences of phantoms. Some are sufficiently known by themselves, such as cemeteries, places where criminals are often executed, places where there were public massacres in recent years, or where in recent years corpses of the slain are buried but not correctly expiated or interred. Indeed, expiation and exorcism of any place, and also the sacred rite of burial being correctly used to bodies, often prohibits the approach of souls themselves and repels them far from places of judgment.

Hence, necromancy has its name because it operates on corpses and desires responses from the shades and manes of the dead, as well as subterranean daemons. It draws them into the corpses by certain stygian songs, infernal invocations, funerary sacrifices, and impious offerings. For instance, we read from Lucan of that witch Erichtho, who summoned the dead and predicted to Sextus Pompey all of the events of the Pharsalian war.⁵ Also in Phigalia, a city in Arcadia, there were certain magicians, skilled priests in sacred rites, who could summon souls to life.⁶ The holy scriptures testify that a certain female sorceress summoned the soul of Samuel.⁷ Also, the souls of saints certainly love their bodies and often

hear more readily where the symbols of their relics are protected.

Two kinds of necromancy:

There are two kinds of necromancy: one [called] necromancy, which raises corpses, and is not done without blood; and the other [called] scyomancy, in which only summoning the shade suffices.⁸ Finally, they work all of their experiments with the corpses, bones, and members of the slaughtered, and what is from them, because there is a daemonic power friendly to these [parts]. Therefore, they easily attract wicked daemonic influences, because of a likeness and a great familiar quality. With these, the necromancer, relying on their works, can do very much in terrestrial and human things, kindling forbidden loves, causing dreams, sickness, hatred, passions, and the like. Then they can also bring the powers of these souls, thus far being enveloped in a humid and turbulent spirit, wandering about their cast off [bodies], the same as what wicked daemons commit.

Therefore, because from experience these avengers of wickedness have learned that perverse and impure souls violently wrested away from their bodies, and men not expiated and without burial, linger around their bodies and are drawn to them by affinity. They draw unhappy souls by the acquisition of their bodies, or by taking some part of it. Then by compelling them with stygian invocations,⁹ they implore through the formless corpses dispersed through open fields, wandering shades who are without a burial, corpses sent back to Acheron and guests of hell, whose untimely death were carried off to Tartarus, and by the horrible desires of damned and arrogant daemons.¹⁰

Those who would truly restore souls to their bodies must know the particular nature of the soul: from where it emerged; by how much and how many degrees of perfection it is full; which intelligence strengthens it; by what medium it diffuses in the body; with what harmony it can be bound together with; what affinity it has with God, the intelligences, the heavens, the elements, and all other things whose image and likeness it holds; and finally what influence joins it to the body.¹¹

What one must know if one truly desires to restore the soul to the body.

Indeed, all of these skills are required for raising the dead, who do not belong to men but only to God and those with whom He wishes to share, such as Elisha, who revived the dead son of the Shunammite. Thus, Alcestis was said to have been resurrected by Hercules and lived a long time, and Apollonius of Tyana restored the life of a girl.¹²

It must be noted that it sometimes happens to men that their vivifying spirit is withdrawn and appears dead and unfeeling. [Under such circumstances,] the intellectual nature remains united with the body, has the same form, and remains in the same body. [In such cases,] the vivifying power does not actually continue in it, but remains withdrawn in union with the intellectual nature. Yet it does not cease to be. Although a man [in that condition] can be said to be truly dead (inasmuch as death is the absence of life) that body may not be truly separated and can be awakened and come to life again.

Thus, in this, many miracles appear, and many Jews and gentiles have seen many like these in previous ages. A number of [these miracles] are recited in the tenth book of Plato's *Republic*—namely, a

certain Phereus¹³ of Pamphylia lay for ten days among those who were slain in battle, and on the twelfth day he was laid on the funeral pyre and revived and spoke of certain wondrous things he saw during his time of death.¹⁴ We partially spoke of this in the first book, and we will speak more below, where we will speak on oracles that come in rapture, ecstasy, and in the struggles of death.

Chapter 43

Of the power of the human soul in the mind, reason, and idolum.

The human soul consists of mind, reason, and idolum.¹ The mind illuminates reason, from reason emanates imagination, and all is one soul. Reason, unless it is illuminated by mind, is not immune from error: but the mind does not give light to reason unless enlightened by God—that is, the first light.² Indeed, the first light in God stands above all understanding, which is why it cannot be called an intelligible light. But that light, when infused in the mind, can be made intellectual and be understood. Then, when reason is infused by the mind, it is made rational and not only able to be intelligent but also cognizant. Then when the idolum is infused by reason, the soul is not only made cognizant but also imaginable, yet still less corporeal. However, when it moves in the ethereal vehicle of the soul, it is at first made corporeal (though not clearly perceptible) until it crosses over in an elemental body (whether simple and airy, or a compound body) in which the light is clearly made visible to the eye.

What the human soul consists of.

Considering this progress of light, Chaldean philosophers speak of a certain astounding power of our mind. [This power] is, of course, made possible because our mind—if the entire acuity is fixed on God—will be filled with divine light. Thus, filled with light, its rays will be diffused to each medium: even to the densest, darkest, heaviest mortal bodies, surrounding them with the most plentiful light, and making them like the stars, equally shining. Then, also with the abundance and lightness of its rays, it lifts them high just like straw elevating from the flame of fire.³ Sometimes it can immediately move the body as a spirit to remote parts, as we read of Philip in Acts of the Apostles when he baptized a eunuch in India and was immediately found in Azotus; and likewise of Habacuc from Daniel. Thus, others enter closed doors and avoid guards and chains, as we read of Peter the apostle and Peter the exorcist.⁴

One may marvel less at this if they see those famous melancholics who walk in their sleep, go to impassible places, climb inaccessible places, and perform works of that those who are awake could not do. There is no other reason for this in nature than a strong and boundless⁵ imagination.

This same virtue is in every man and is in the human soul from the root of his creation. It varies in different men in its strength, weakness, increase, and decrease. [This variation is] according to his activities and use, through which it is extracted from power to action. Those who learn this correctly can ascend in his knowledge until their imaginative virtue transcends and is joined with the universal virtue.⁶

Al-Kindi, [Roger] Bacon, and William of Auvergne called this the sense of nature, Virgil called it the ethereal sense, and Platonists called it the vehicle of sense.⁷ Thoughts are made stronger when that

ethereal and celestial virtue is poured over them, whose splendor comforts them, until the species, notions, and true understanding of things are apprehended. Thus, what one thinks in his mind comes into being just as he thought, and arrives with such a great power that it can immerse, join, and insinuate itself into the minds of men. [In doing this, that splendor can] make them certain of his thoughts, will, and desire. [One] also comprehends with their senses present objects through great and remote spaces and can cause many things in little time as if they were done without time. This is not given to everyone but rather to those whose imaginative and cogitative virtues are strong and who arrive at the limit of speculation. It is appropriate to apprehend and declare everything by the splendor of the universal virtue or intelligence, and the spiritual apprehension that is over them. This is a necessary virtue that anyone who follows the truth should follow and must obey.⁸

Sense of nature, ethereal, vehicle.

Now, therefore, if the virtue of the imagination is so great that it can insinuate itself into what it wishes, not impeded or prohibited by either place or interval of time, and in whatever direction it dreams or imagines, it can sometimes drag its heavy body along with it. There is no doubt that the power of the mind is greater if at any time it takes its own nature and is not burdened by allurements, persevering uncorrupted, and is like itself.

Here are some examples: Souls abound with such a plentiful light of the celestial stars that an abundant light overflows in great abundance from their bodies. Thus, Moses's face shone so that the children of Israel could not look at him because of the splendor of his face;⁹ thus, we read that Socrates was transfigured so that he conquered the light-bringing wheels of the Sun;¹⁰ thus, Zoroaster transformed and his body was lifted up; thus, Enoch and Elijah ascended to heaven in a certain fiery chariot; thus, Paul was taken up to the third heaven; thus, our bodies after the judgment of the world, which is then called glorified, and likewise taken up and we can say for this reason will shine like the Sun and Moon.¹¹

Indeed, that this can and has happened is acknowledged and shown by Avicbron the Moor, Avicenna the Arab, Hippocrates of Cous, and the entire Chaldean school.¹² Historical records show that Alexander the Great—being in great danger and circumvented in India, and his mind thus raging—seemed to the barbarians to pour out light. The father of Theodorus was also said to pour out sparks from his entire body, and a certain wise man was said to pour out sparks that had sounds. Nor is this power of the soul only in men, but we learn that it is also sometimes in beasts such as Tiberius's horse, who seemed to have flames coming out of his mouth.¹³

The mind is above fate in providence: it is neither affected by influences of the celestial bodies, nor natural qualities. Therefore, only religion heals it. The idolum of the soul is in fate, and above nature, which is a certain node of the body and soul. [This node is] under fate but over the body. Therefore, it is changed by influences of the celestial bodies and is affected by natural and corporeal qualities.

What the idolum of the soul is.

What I call the "idolum" of the soul is that vivifying and rectifying power of the body, the origin of

the senses by which the soul itself unfolds its powers of perception in this body. It senses corporeal things through the body, moves the body through a place, rules in the place, and nourishes the body in a body.

There are two most powerful dominating virtues in this idolum.¹⁴ The first one is called fantasy, imaginative virtue, or thought, of whose power I have already spoken regarding the passions of the mind.¹⁵ The other virtue is what is called the sense of nature, of which we have also spoken, where we made mention of haruspices.¹⁶

Two virtues in the idolum.

Therefore, man, by the nature of his body, is under fate. The soul of man moves nature in fate by its idolum, thus the mind is above fate in order of providence. Reason, however, is free by its own law. Therefore, the soul, in this way, follows the manner of those parts: sometimes it ascends in the mind through reason, where it is filled by divine light, and sometimes it descends into the idolum, where it is affected by the influences of the celestial bodies and qualities of natural things. [When it descends thus into the idolum,] the meeting of sensible passions distracts it. Sometimes the soul returns itself entirely into reason, searches out other things with arguments, or contemplates itself.¹⁷ Indeed, it is possible that this part of the rational soul, which the Peripatetics called the possible intellect, can arrive at [such a state] that it can freely discourse and operate without conversion to phantoms.¹⁸ Finally, so great is the command of this reason that as often as something meets either in the mind, idolum, nature, or body, it cannot pass over to the soul unless reason intends itself to it. In this way, the soul does not perceive itself by seeing, hearing, and feeling, nor [does the soul] allow itself to perceive by external senses until contemplative reason first conceives it. [The soul] comprehends when it is idle, and not when it is concerned with other things, as we can plainly see in those who do not notice someone because they are thinking more diligently of something else.¹⁹

Therefore, know that neither supernal influences, natural affections, sensations, passions either of the body or soul, nor whatever is sensible, can drive or penetrate the soul, unless by the judgment of reason itself. Thus, by its actions, not by outside violence, [reason] can either influence or disturb the soul, which also innumerable martyrs have proved. The philosopher Anasarchus from Abdera, by the command of the tyrant Nicocreon from Cyprus, was thrown into a concave stone. While he was struck with iron mallets, he neglected the punishments of his body and said: "Beat, beat the vessel of Anasarchus: nothing will frighten me." The tyrant ordered that [Anasarchus's] tongue be cut off, and with [Anasarchus's] own teeth he bit it off and spat it out in the face of the tyrant.²⁰

The steadfastness of Anasarchus.

Chapter 44

Of the degrees of souls and their perishing or immortality.

The mind, because it is from God or perhaps the intelligible world, is therefore immortal and eternal. Reason is long-lived because of the benefit of its celestial origin from heaven, but the *idolum*,¹ because it is from the bosom of matter and depends on sublunary nature, is subjected to ruin and corruption. Therefore, the soul through its mind is immortal. The reason for this is that, although the soul is long-lived in its ethereal vehicle, it is dissolvable unless it is restored the circuit of a new body. Therefore, the soul is not immortal unless it is united with the immortal mind. Thus, the *idolum* of the soul—that is, the part called the “sensitive” or “animal” soul, because it is drawn from the bosom of corporeal matter—is dissolved with the body and perishes together with it, or in some cases the shadow remains not long afterward in the vapors of the dissolved body. [The *idolum*] shares nothing with immortality unless it is likewise united with a more sublime power.

Therefore, when the mind is united with the soul, it is called the “standing” soul, rather than “falling.”² However, not all men attain this mind. This is because, as Hermes said, God the Father wished to display it as a contest and prize for souls. Those who neglect it, being without mind, surrender [themselves to their] corporeal senses³ and become like irrational animals and are appointed to the same destruction as them. As it said in Ecclesiastes: “There the destruction of men and beasts is one, and the condition of both are equal: as man dies, thus they also die; likewise, they all breathe and man has nothing more than beasts.”⁴

Not all men attain the mind.

Hence, many theologians think souls of this kind have no continuing immortality after the death of the body, except for only a hope of resurrection when all men are restored anew. Augustine wrote that this was a heresy of the Arabs, who likewise say that the soul perishes with the body and in judgment rises again with them.⁵

However, Hermes said that those who are supported by divine grace receive a mind [as a gift] and become immortal according to the combination of their works, embracing all things in the earth, sea, and heavens by their understanding, and even that which lies above heaven, so that they will consider goodness itself.⁶

Those who have lived a middling life, who have not obtained a divine intelligence but instead a certain rational image⁷ of [this intelligence], are banished to certain secret receptacles when they pass from the body. There they are affected by sensible virtues and move about in certain kinds of acts. They either freely rejoice or are gravely hurt by opinions and irascible and concupiscible virtues. St. Augustine

also shared this belief and wrote upon it in his book *Of the Spirit and the Soul*.⁸

Indian, Persian, Egyptian, and Chaldean wise men handed down [the doctrine] that this soul survives much longer than the body, yet [they held that it is] not immediately made immortal, unless by transcorporation.⁹ However our theologians philosophize in a far different way: indeed, they say, that even if all souls have a common origin and the same birth,¹⁰ they are yet distinguished from each other by the Creator by degrees, not only accidental but also by certain internal degrees rooted in their essence. Each soul is different from the other by that which is individual to itself. Johannes Scotus also held this opinion, and Parisian theologians thus decreed these opinions in their articles. Hence the Wise Man said: “I was an ingenious child and obtained a good soul,” which is much better than many others.

According to this inequality of souls, each is capable of their own duty in their own degree. As we read in the Gospels “One is given five talents, another two, another one, each is given according to their own virtue.” The Apostle also said: “He gave some apostles, others prophets, others preachers and teachers for the perfection of saints, for the ministry of works, for the edification of the body of Christ.”

Indeed there are, as Origen said, certain invisible virtues, which are committed to dispense things over the earth. Just as we find that there is no small difference between one man and another, [we find that the same circumstance exists between these invisible virtues]. Some [men] attain the highest degrees of wisdom or dignities; others somewhat differ from beasts, and grazing beasts are made semi-beasts. Others still overflow with virtues and rich fortunes, while some men have nothing or a little, and what little a man has is often stolen from him and given to one who has. This is the divine justice in the distribution of gifts: they correspond to the virtues of those receiving, to whom rewards are also given according to their works, that what proportion there is of gifts to gifts, and merits to merits, it is also the proportion of rewards to rewards.¹¹

Finally, you must know that all noble souls have a fourfold operation: the first is divine by the quality of the divine image; the second is the intellectual by [the soul's] formality¹² of participation with the intelligences; the third is the rational by perfection of its individual essentiality;¹³ the fourth is the animal or natural by its association to the body and these more inferiors. Thus, there is no work in the whole series of the world that is so admirable, so excellent, and so wonderful, as the human soul embracing its image of divinity. Magicians call this the standing soul and not falling because it cannot accomplish [things] by its own virtue without any outside help. Therefore, the form of every magical virtue is of the soul of man standing and not falling.¹⁴

Noble souls have a fourfold operation.

The standing and not falling soul.

Chapter 45

Of prophecy and frenzy.

Prophecy is when priests or others are enlivened, discern the causes of things, and foresee the future—that is, when oracles and spirits descend and are delivered by gods and daemons. Indeed, Platonists call these descents “the falling of superior souls upon our souls,” and Hermes [Trismegistus] called them the “senses of daemons” and “souls of daemons.”¹ Ancients called daemons of this kind *Eurycleis*² and *Pythones*. The ancients firmly believed that daemons of this kind often entered men’s bodies and used voices and tongues to predict the future. Plutarch remembered this phenomenon in his dialogue *Of the Causes of the Obsolescence of Oracles*.³

Cicero followed the Stoics, affirming that foreknowledge of the future only happens with the gods. The astrologer Ptolemy said: “Only those inspired by the divine can foretell particular things.” Peter the apostle supported this, saying: “Indeed, prophecy does not come from the will of man at any time, but the Holy Spirit inspires the speaking of holy men of God.” Isaiah affirmed that prophecy of the future is the descent of particular gods and the divine, saying: “Report to us those things to come, and we will tell them because you are gods.”⁴ However, descents of this kind or senses do not pass over into our souls when they are more diligently occupied in something else. Rather, they pass into [our souls] when [they are] unoccupied. There are three kinds of vacancies of this sort: frenzy, rapture, and dreams. We will now speak of each in order.

The foreknowledge of the future only happens with the gods.

Three kinds of vacancies.

Chapter 46

Of the first kind of frenzy: from the Muses.

Frenzy is an inspiration coming from souls, gods, or daemons,¹ as addressed in this verse from Ovid:

*A god is in us, and we commerce with the heavens,
From ethereal seats, those spirits come.*²

Plato defined this as an aversion and a binding. Accordingly, he abstracted from those by which the corporeal senses are excited. Being alien to animal man, it adheres to a divine power, from whom it receives things it cannot investigate from its own power.³ Indeed, when the soul is free and unbound, with the reins of body released, it transcends the chains of its members as if boldly escaping an unsupervised prison. It holds back none of the urges of its impulses and is stirred by a divine spirit. Comprehending everything, it foresees the future.

There are four kinds of divine frenzy proceeding from each divine power—namely, from the Muses, Dionysus, Apollo, and Venus.

Four kinds of divine frenzy.

The first frenzy, which proceeds from the Muses, awakens and tempers the mind by drawing the more superior natural things to the more inferior.⁴ The Muses are the souls of the celestial sphere, according to which, each is found in their level, by which superior things are attracted to the inferior.

Frenzy from the Muses.

The lowest of these [levels] corresponds to the sphere of the Moon, which holds those [frenzies] that are from vegetables, such as plants, fruit from trees, roots, and that which is from harder matter, such as stones and metals, and alligations and suspensions of those.⁵ Thus it is said that the selenite and hyena stones excel in prophecy; likewise, verbena and the herb *theangelidam* excel in prediction,⁶ just as is mentioned above.⁷

The second level corresponds to Mercury, and holds that which is from animals, and that which is composed from different natural things and mixed with each other,⁸ drinkable and edible: of this kind are

the heart of moles, which if swallowed fresh and pulsing, is said to cause divination and show things to come.⁹ And Rabbi Moses Cusensis wrote in his *Commentaries on Leviticus* that there is an animal called an *iedua*, ידוּעַ, that has a human form with a thin cord coming from the middle of its navel. It is fastened to the ground like a gourd, and it devours everything that is around it according to how long that cord is. Because it deceives the sight, it cannot be captured unless the cord is cut by the blow of an arrow, and when cut, it dies. Finally, if certain bones [from this animal] are set onto the mouth according to certain laws, that person is immediately seized with a frenzy, and they desire to speak oracles.¹⁰

The third level corresponds to the sphere of Venus, which holds the subtlest powders, vapors, and scents, and what is made from these, such as unguents and fumigations, which we spoke of above.

The fourth level concerns the sphere of the Sun. This holds harmonious voices, words, songs, and sounds, by which sweet concord drives gloomy discord away from the soul and rouses the mind.¹¹ From this Hermes, Pythagoras, and Plato¹² commanded us to calm or rouse a dissonant mind by singing and harmony. Thus, Timothy is said to have incited Alexander the king to frenzy with sounds. As Augustine testified he witnessed himself, the Calamensian priest often called himself forth from his body into rapture and ecstasy with a certain mournful harmony.¹³ We have also spoken of this above.

The fifth level agrees with Mars. This holds vehement imaginations, affections of the mind, conceptions, and movements, of which everything was shown above.

The sixth level responds to Jupiter. This holds reasonable discourse, deliberations, consultations, and moral purifications. Part of this we mentioned above, and part we will speak of later. It also contains under itself admirations and veneration. Fantasy and reason are sometimes harnessed by stupefaction as they suddenly overlook all of their actions. Then the mind, being free, is exposed to a divine power, whether a god or some daemon. It thus receives heavenly and divine influences—that is, of what was deliberated before. Thus, we read that the Sibyls and priests of Pythia often received oracles in caves of Jupiter and Apollo.

The seventh level refers to Saturn; this holds most secret intelligences and the contemplations of a quiet mind.¹⁴ I say here that contemplation of a free mind is in the speculation of wisdom with suspended wonder, for the kind of thinking that is made from puzzles or images is a certain speculation or discourse concerning Jupiter, and not contemplation.¹⁵

Contemplation.

The eighth level refers to the starry heaven, which observes the position, motion, rays, and light of the heavenly bodies. Likewise, it holds images, rings, and the like, which are made according to the standard of the heavens, of which we have spoken above.

The ninth level corresponds to the Primum Mobile—that is, the ninth sphere or the universe itself. This holds more formal things, such as numbers, figures, and characters, and observes the occult influences of the heavenly intelligences¹⁶ and other mysteries. Because [formal things] bear the effigies¹⁷ of the heavenly divine powers and invoked spirits, they easily draw and impel them by a certain necessity of conformity to agree, and also hinder them so that they will not easily retreat. We read what Porphyry wrote of this in *Oracles*:

*Finally, now cease and spare your words and rest
Scatter ancient and retreating figures
And remove from my members the linen shroud.*

And in another place:

*Loose the wreaths and sprinkle water at my feet
Take the laurel branch from my hands
And erase all lines and all characters.*[18](#)

We have already handled all of these above and will say more below.

Chapter 47

Of the second kind of frenzy: from Dionysus.

The second frenzy comes from Dionysus. Through outer and inner expiations, exorcisms, sacraments, solemnities, rites, sanctuaries, and observations, it directs the soul into the mind,¹ the more supreme part of itself. [The mind] is made a worthy and unpolluted temple for the gods, which the divine spirits can inhabit. The soul[, when directed into the mind,] possesses it as the associate of life, filling it with happiness, wisdom, and oracles. [This is accomplished] not in signs, marks, or conjectures, but with a certain passion of the soul and an unbound and free motion: thus Bacchus prophesied to the Boeotians, Epimenides to the Cretans,² and the Sibyl Erytrea to the Trojans.

Sometimes this frenzy takes hold with a clear vision, sometimes by a distinct voice:³ thus Socrates was ruled by his daemon, whose advice he carefully obeyed, whose voice he repeatedly heard with his ears, and who also appeared in the form of a daemon.⁴ Indeed, prophetic spirits often allow themselves to be visible and accompany well-cleansed souls, of which there are many examples in the holy scriptures—Abraham with his slave Hagar, Jacob, Gideon, Elijah, Tobias, Daniel, and many others.⁵

Which angels were familiar with the ancient fathers.

Thus, Adam was often familiar with the angel Raziel; Shem (the son of Noah) with Jophiel; Abraham with Zadkiel; Isaac and Jacob with Peliel; Joseph, Joshua, and Daniel with Gabriel; Moses with Metatron; Elijah with Maltiel;⁶ Tobias the Younger with Raphael; David with Cerniel; Manoah⁷ with Phadael; Cenez with Ceruel; Ezekiel with Hasmael; Ezra with Uriel; and Solomon with Michael. Sometimes these spirits by virtue of their souls enter organic bodies—whether bestial or rational—and seize and use that soul as a base, delivering voices through corporeal instruments, as is shown in Balaam's ass and in Saul, into whom the spirit of the Lord leaped and prophesied. Of this Apollo said in *Answers* from Porphyry:

*With songs, bright Phoebus was subdued from high
Silently descending, passing through pure air
Blowing breath and slipping into throats
Entering the innocent mind and filling the whole
With divine powers, acquiring voice in mortal throats.⁸*

Chapter 48

Of the third kind of frenzy: from Apollo.

However, the third kind of frenzy comes from Apollo, who is the world mind. This makes the soul rise over the mind with certain mysteries, vows, sacrifices, adorations, invocations, and certain sacred arts or secret confections, which the gods infuse with the virtue of their spirit, joining it with deities and daemons.¹ We read of [this in scripture regarding] the ephod, [with which priests] prophesied when [that vestment was] applied.² As we read in the *Book of Senators* in the chapter of Eleazar, Rabbi Ishmael prepared certain cakes, inscribed certain divine and angelic names, and thus consecrated them. Those who ate them with faith, hope, and charity,³ soon shone forth with a prophetic spirit of wisdom. We read in the same place that Rabbi Johanan, the son of Jochahidis, once illuminated a certain coarse farmer named Eleazar, who was completely illiterate, in such a way that he was unexpectedly and suddenly surrounded with brightness and he preached the mysteries of heavenly laws to wise men. All who were near him were dumbfounded. Histories relate of a certain Egyptian named Heraiscus who was endowed with a certain divine nature so that if only seeing a likeness that had some divine power, was immediately moved into a prophetic frenzy. We likewise read in the holy scriptures that when Saul was among prophets, the spirit of the Lord leaped into him and he prophesied, and that whenever he departed from the crowd of prophets he ceased to prophesy. The same happened when Saul sent those attendants to capture David; who, when he saw the crowd of prophets and Samuel standing over them, acquired the spirit of the Lord and also prophesied to them.⁴ So great is this extraordinary divine light that prophets are often seized in divine frenzy so that it also seizes those near them and are likewise compelled by a spirit of frenzy.⁵

A wonderful art.

Therefore, it is not incredible that someone who is ignorant can be suddenly made wise, and again the wise be made ignorant. Indeed, there is a certain art but understood by few, of informing, equipping, and illustrating a faithful and pure mind of a man in such a way, that the light of wisdom and doctrine can be suddenly carried from the darkness of ignorance. On the contrary, there is a method by certain hidden secrets to make those who are unclean and disbelieve to make them ignorant, although presently wise and educated, and then restore them back again.⁶

Prophets inspired by the will of the gods fear nothing.

As Apuleius testified, the human mind also can by a certain sacred avocation and ingratiation, be

lulled to sleep and be frightened so that it would forget the present, especially if simple and pure. Therefore, the remote memory of the body is brought back into its divine nature and thus purified by divine light. It can be inspired with divine frenzy and predict future things. It can also receive the virtue of certain wonderful effects.

Iamblichus said: "When the prophets are inspired with the will of the gods, they fear nothing, and they dread nothing: for they rush through impassible ways and carry fire without injury and cross rivers." Thus we read of certain caves, tripods,⁷ hollows, fountains, lakes, and the like, such as of Apollo and Trophonius, which were consecrated to the gods in this manner, or were made by that mystery.⁸ From these, priests could drink from the spirit of prophecy, just as Iamblichus wrote to Porphyry: "The Sibyl in Delphi often receives the god in a twofold way; indeed, by a delicate spirit and fire, which rushed forth somewhere from the mouth of the cave; either seated at the entrance on a brazen tripod devoted to the god, but in either case she was driven by that divine spirit, pouring forth predictions. Then a great fire from the entrance surrounded her from every side, and there filled her with divine powers, or adhered to the sacred seat through which the god influenced her to immediately erupt in prophecies. However, the prophetess in Branchidae⁹ who sat either on an axle or held a staff in her hand that was given to her by some deity, sometimes either washing her feet or the border of her robe in water or drinking waves of vapor from the fire. From all of these, she was filled with a divine splendor and poured out oracles of many things."¹⁰

We also read that in the region of Thrace, there was a sanctuary sacred to Liber,¹¹ from where predictions and oracles were often made, and whose temple priests drank sufficient wine to agitate things. Also at Claros, there was a temple to Clarian Apollo, where they were permitted to utter divine things, having first drunk water¹² to complete things.¹³ There is also a prophetic fountain in Patras¹⁴ Achaea placed before the temple of Ceres, where those inquiring about the sick would approach, holding a mirror with a string tied to it, sent [the mirror] away [with the string] to the highest fountain in the water. When finished, they offered certain prayers and fumigations and they could see the outcome of the [sick person's health]. Also, not far from Epidaurus, is the city Laconia with a deep swamp called "the water of Juno," into which cakes of grain were cast for answers: [these were interpreted as being] positive if, when the cakes were thrown in, the waves calmly retained them; the opposite if [the waves] repulsed them as if despising them. Also similar are the caves of Aetna, as frequently named, into which coins or victims were thrown to presage happiness or sadness by whether the caves retained what is thrown in or rejected the offering.¹⁵ Similar things were narrated by Dio in his *Roman History* of the place called the Nymphaeum, where frankincense was placed in flames and oracles were taken hold, and spoke about everything one wishes to know, except those things concerning the dead and marriage.¹⁶ Likewise, wonderful is what Aristotle wrote of a fountain in Palici of Sicily, to which those approaching affirmed some vow, threw a tablet inscribed and sealed with their wishes. If they were honest [the tablets] would be seen to float on the water. However, if the vows were false and they made them deceitfully, [the tablets] would immediately sink. Then flames would suddenly burst forth on the person who swore falsely and burn them to ashes.¹⁷ There was likewise an oak in the city of Dodona: as soon as someone entered to receive an answer, it immediately moved and made a sound. Also, in that place, there was a statue holding a staff near a basin (that is, a bowl). [When this statue] was hit, it answered with controlled strikes with the basin. We read of this from the letters of Ausonius to Paulinus:

Nor does Dodona's brazen tinkling cease,

For as many times as the rod's rhythmic strikes

Immediately answer with measured blows to the basin. [18](#)

Chapter 49

Of the fourth kind of frenzy: from Venus.

The fourth kind of frenzy comes from Venus. This fervent love converts and transmutes the mind into God, making it thoroughly like Him, as it were into its own image of God.¹ Of this Hermes said: “O Asclepius, man is a great wonder, an animal that must be honored and adored. Indeed, he passes into the nature of God, where he *is* God; he knows the kinds of daemons, recognizing himself as being born among them; he despises the part of himself that is human nature, confident the other part is divine.”² Therefore, the soul is likewise converted and made like God. Thus, it is formed from God.³ Above all understanding, it knows all things by a certain essential contact⁴ with divinity. Therefore, Orpheus described love as blind because it is above understanding.⁵

Why love is blind.

The soul now thus converted into God by love (and raised above the intellectual sphere besides this because of the integrity of its virtue) obtains the spirit of prediction and prophecy. It sometimes also works wonders and greater things than the nature of the world can, which indeed are called miracles. It is just as the heavens act by its image, light, and heat, that the power of fire cannot do by its natural quality. This is even known in alchemy by experience. God also by His image and light can thoroughly bring about [miracles], but the world cannot do so by its own innate virtue. However, the image of God is man, at least as much as man is made like God by a Venusian frenzy. [When this occurs, man] lives only by the mind and entirely receives Jove into his breast.

Miracles.

The soul of man.

Moreover, the soul of man, according to Hebrew teachers and kabbalists, is defined as the light of God, and created after the image of the Word, cause of causes, first example, the substance of God, and formed by a seal whose character is the eternal Word.⁶ Hermes Trismegistus considered saying that such a man is either more excellent than deities, or at least becomes equal to them.⁷

Chapter 50

Of rapture, ecstasy, and predictions that happen to those taken with epilepsy, fainting, and those in a struggle [with death].

Rapture is a separation [and] aversion [of the soul from the body] and [its] enlightenment [thereby]. [This rapture] comes from God, [and] by it God draws the soul that has fallen into the more inferior back to heaven from above.¹ The cause of this is a continuous contemplation inside us of the Most High. This happens to the extent that one is aligned with the most profound intention of the mind possible. [The mind] joins with the incorporeal wisdom of the soul, to the extent that it removes itself from the most vehement agitations we receive from the sensible and corporeal. As Plato said, [this happens] in such a way that [the soul] sometimes even flees the body and seems to, as it were, dissolve.² Thus, Aurelius Augustine wrote of the Calamensian priest, which we remembered above:³ “He lay down like a dead man without breath, and he did not feel when burned or cut.”⁴

What rapture is.

Therefore, so great is the command of the soul—that is, when it follows its own nature and is not burdened by the allurements of the senses—that by its own power, it suddenly rises while in no way remaining in the body. It is sometimes also unbound from its chains, flying from the body to a supercelestial cohabitation, where it is closest to God and is made as a receptacle to the divine, filled with divine light and oracles. Of this Zoroaster said: “You must ascend to the light itself, and to the rays of the father, from where the soul was sent to you clothed with much mind.” Trismegistus said: “You must rise above the heavens and be far away from the chorus of daemons.” Pythagoras said: “If the body is relinquished, freely passing into the ether, you will be an immortal god.”⁵

Thus, we read that Hermes, Socrates, Xenocrates, Plato, Plotinus, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, and Zoroaster were often removed in rapture and thus learned the wisdom of many things. We also read from Herodotus that there was a philosopher in Proconnesos named Aristaeus⁶ who had wonderful knowledge and whose soul sometimes departed his body. After seeing things in remote places, he returned to the body more learned. Pliny delivered something similar, that the soul of Harmonis Clazomenius abandoned his body and wandered, and likewise reported many and true things from far away.⁷ There is also to this day among the Norwegians and Pilappios,⁸ very many who can remove themselves for three whole days from their body and report many things from far away. Meanwhile one must guard them so that living animals do not come upon them and contaminate them; otherwise, it is said, they cannot return to their body.

Therefore, we must know that according to Egyptian doctrine, since the soul is a certain spiritual light, when it is unbound from the body it comprehends every place and every time, not unlike the light enclosed in a lantern. If opened, it is diffused everywhere and does not fail, for it is everywhere and always is.⁹ And Cicero in his book *On Divination* said: “The soul of man never divines, unless when it is completely unbound it has nothing or little to do with the body.”¹⁰ Therefore, when it comes to that state which is the supreme degree of contemplative perfection, it is then snatched from every created species and is not understood by acquired species but instead by the inspection of Ideas and it understands all things by the light of Ideas; of which light Plato said few men can partake in this life, but all are better with the gods.¹¹

The soul unbound from the body comprehends every place and time.

Also, those who faint and have epilepsy sometimes imitate rapture, and just like a rapture, predictions sometimes emerge; of these kinds of predictions, we read that Hercules and many Arabs were excellent.¹² And there are certain prophecies, which are a middle between the confines of natural divination and transnatural oracles—that is, those from some excessive passion such as too much love, sadness, among repeated sighs, or proclaim the agony of a future death, as Statius said of the mother of Achilles:

. . . Never in vain are parents

*Frightened at oars under glassy waves.*¹³

Indeed, there is a certain evident power and capability of all things in our mind, but it is impeded and obstructed by the darkness and mortality of the body. But after death, having attained immortality and being unbound from the body, it has full and perfect knowledge. Hence it happens that those near death and weakened by old age sometimes have a somewhat unaccustomed light, because the soul is then less shackled by the senses and understands most acutely, and now is, as it were, slightly relaxed from its chains. It is no longer entirely liable to the body and, as it were, closer to the place to which it was going, easily perceiving revelations, which, being mixed with its agonies, are offered to it.¹⁴ Of this Ambrose in his book *On the Belief of the Resurrection* said: “Our soul is eager to evade that same corporeal prison, which being free from areal motion does not know ‘where it goes or from where it comes.’ Yet we know that the soul can survive the body, and there being freed with the cloak of its senses thrown off, can contemplate to discern those things which it could not see before in the body. We can estimate this from an example of those who sleep: with their mind quiet, their bodies are as is as if buried. They raise themselves to the higher and report to the body visions of things absent or even the celestial.”¹⁵

Chapter 51

Of prophetic dreams.

Now what I call a dream is that which comes from the spirit of fantasy and the intellect, united together either by the enlightenment of the acting intellect over our soul¹ or by the bare revelation of some divine will² with a purged and tranquil mind. Indeed, our soul receives true oracles from this and sufficiently gives oracles to us. In dreams, we seem to ask, learn, gather, and discover; likewise, many doubtful things, many deliberations, many unknown and unexpected things, nor ever attempted by our minds, are revealed in our dreams. The images of unknown places appear. The likenesses of men both alive and dead [appear]. Predictions of the future and things that have happened are revealed, making known what has not been reported.³ These dreams do not need any art of interpretation of which we have spoken in the first book, which is divination rather than foreknowledge.

From where dreams are taken and understood.

It happens that those who see [these dreams] do not understand them, because—as Abdala the Arab said—since seeing dreams is from the power of imagination, thus understanding them is from the power of understanding.⁴ Therefore, those sleepers whose intellect is too greatly immersed in the commerce of flesh (or whose imaginative or fantastical spirit is so sluggish or rough) cannot receive the influences and images of the divine intellect's appearances and retain what is received. These men are completely useless for prophecies from dreams.

Therefore, if one wishes to receive true dreams, they must keep a pure, unshaken, and undisturbed fantastical spirit. Thus composed, their mind is made worthy, and the intellect can preside and become known: for such a spirit is most apt for prophecy. As Synesius said, [that state of mind is] the clearest mirror of images flowing from all things.⁵ Therefore, when we are of sound body, the soul not confused, not burdened with food and drink, nor one grieving over poverty, and no sin of lust or passion roaring within us, but instead chastely falling to sleep, then our pure and divine soul is unbound from all harmful thoughts. It is now free for dreaming, relying on that instrument of the divine spirit, radiating and gleaming from the divine mind, receiving rays and effigies into itself, and just as if it were a certain deifying mirror, the contemplation of understanding all common investigations and rational discourse is indeed far more certain, clearer, and more effective. The instructing divine powers invite those souls into their group by the opportunity of their nocturnal solitude. Moreover, that divinity will not fail to act as a guide when awake.

Likewise.

Therefore, whoever [pursues] quiet and religious meditation as well as a temperate and moderate diet according to nature preserves his pure spirit. This [spirit] is very much prepared so that in this way he becomes divine and aware. However, on the contrary, those who have a listless fantastical spirit will not receive clear and distinct visions. They are deceived and blunted, just like someone who is blind in one eye.⁶ Their debility causes a confused and indistinct judgment. As when we are drunk and filled with wine, our spirit is then oppressed with noxious vapors. It is just as turbulent water can often cause different forms [to appear] under it.⁷

Philostratus.

For this reason, the prophet Amphiaraus commanded, as we read in Philostratus, that those wishing to receive oracles must abstain from food for one whole day, but to abstain from wine for three days,⁸ because the soul cannot correctly prophesy unless it is free from wine and food. Indeed, the gods often grant oracles to the sober and religious mind and free from divine worship. As Orpheus exclaimed:

*Proclaimer of the future, greatest prophet,
Come to those souls soothed in the quiet of sleep
And in compelling them you awaken the mind,
By dreams, you implant the decrees of the blessed deities,
You silently foretell things to come to silent souls,
I say to those souls, who most correctly worship the gods.*⁹

Hence it was customary among the ancients that those who wished to receive answers would first celebrate with certain sacred expiations and sacrifices, and when the divine worship was completed, they would lie down in a consecrated bedroom, or at least on the fleece of the religious sacrifice. Indeed, Virgil remembered these rites in the following verses:

*They who seek answers to doubts; here where the priests brought
Offerings, in the silent night, lying on spread out skins
Of sacrificed sheep, desiring to sleep.*¹⁰

And somewhat later sang:

*And here the father Latinus himself came seeking an answer;
Sacrificing one-hundred sheep according to the rite.
There he lay down, his back supported*

*By the fleeces . . .*¹¹

And the rulers of the Lacedaemonians, as Cicero said, often lied down to sleep in the sanctuary in Pasiphae. The same thing happened in the temple of Asclepius, from where true dreams were thought to come; and Calabrians consulted Podalyrius, the son of Asclepius, by falling asleep on lamb's wool near that tomb: as dreams suggested those things they wished to know.¹²

The time for dreams is at night.

But the most familiar time for dreams is at night when the senses are freed from wandering objects, midday errors, and vain affections. Nor does fear strike the mind or stagger the thoughts, and steadfastly clings with a most peaceful mind to the divine.

Four kinds of true dreams.

But, as Rabbi Johanan said in the *Book of Senators*, there are four kinds of dreams: the first is early, which is made between sleep and wakefulness; the second is where one sees something regarding another; the third is when the interpretation is shown to the dreamer by nocturnal visions; the fourth is repeated to the same dreamer, according to what Joseph said to Pharaoh: "But you have seen the dream a second time showing the same thing, it is a firm verdict."

But the firmest dreams concern those things that were revolved and active in the mind when going to sleep, as it is written: "You king, thought as you began to lay in your bed, what would come to pass hereafter."¹³ But those who interpret others' dreams must have the knowledge to be able to distinguish and discern the likenesses of all things and understand the customs of all nations according to laws that they received from God and the angels.

Dreams are mixed with foolish things.

In addition, they must know that there is hardly a dream without something foolish, just as there is no kernel of grain without chaff. The patriarch Joseph testified himself about this of a dream that his father Jacob interpreted, saying: "What is the meaning of this dream that you have seen? Should your mother, brothers, and I worship you upon the earth"? Indeed, the result of this was that his mother died shortly afterward because she did not follow them. Rabbi Johanan also mentioned this in the book mentioned above, and Rabbi Levi added that all prophetic dreams cannot be cheated of their effects for more than twentytwo years: thus, Joseph dreamed in his seventeenth year what was later accomplished in his thirty-ninth year of age.¹⁴

Therefore, those wishing to receive divine dreams must have a welldisposed body, the brain free from vapors, the mind from disturbances, and abstain that day from dinner and drink that can intoxicate. The bedroom must be clean and neat and also exorcized and consecrated, in which suffumigations are

made. The temples on his forehead must be anointed, rings¹⁵ causing dreams on his fingers, and consecrated paper with the celestial image placed under his head, with prayers calling upon the sacred divine powers, lying down intently thinking about those things he wishes to know. Thus, he will see the truest and undoubted dreams with the true illumination of his intellect. Therefore, whoever can learn to connect the things scattered in this book, can easily obtain the gifts of oracles and dreams.

What is required to be susceptible to divinatory dreams.

Chapter 52

Of lots and marks holding the certain power of oracles.

There are also certain lots possessing a divine virtue of oracles and are, as it were, indicators of divine judgment. These are preceded with much prayer and supplication, and sometimes are also commanded by the Lord to be done, just as we read in Leviticus of the goat offered to God, and of the scapegoat,¹ and in the book of Numbers of the rods of the tribes of Israel.² However, Moses and Joshua sent out lots in the presence of the Lord, dividing the lands and inheritances to the tribes of Israel according to the precepts of God.³ The apostles of Christ previously sent out by prayers, selected Matthew in the place of Judas the traitor by lots.⁴ The prophet Jonah, when fleeing from the face of God, sailed to Tarshish when a storm came. [Jonah] was discovered by the sailors by lot to be the cause of the danger. When he was cast into the sea, the storm ceased.⁵ Caesar told of M. Valerius Proculus, who was captured by enemies. Lots were consulted three times about whether he should immediately be set on fire or set aside for another time. The lots were kind and he escaped unharmed.⁶ In Bura, a town in Achaia, there was once an oracle of Hercules that consisted of a tablet and dice. Those who asked for something, after finishing prayers to the god, threw four dice. The prophet observed the figures [of the dice], which were then written on the tablet showing what was to come: but all the dice were made from the bones of sacrificial victims.⁷

You must know that the ancient fathers did not often cast lots for any slight cause, but either because of necessity or a great urgent need, and did not summon them without great reverence, respect, expiations, fasting, purity, prayers, invocations, vows, sacrifices, consecrations, and other religious sacred mysteries. Indeed, these sacred rites were often made before their works so that they would especially provoke divine goodwill, benevolence, and the presence of the divine spirits, to whose dispensation the lots were directed to receive a true opinion to things that were asked.

Ancient fathers rarely cast lots.

Therefore, anyone who works with lots must approach them with a well-disposed mind, not disturbed, not distracted, and with strong feeling, a firm deliberation, and a constant intention of knowing what is requested. In addition, he must have strong purity, chastity, and sanctity toward God and the heavens, and have undoubted hope and a firm faith, and invoke with sacred orations, so that they are made worthy of meeting divine spirits and knowing divine will. For if you are thus disposed, the virtue of the lots will reveal great secrets to you and will become a true prophet [knowing] the past, present, and future of what is required.

The disposition of those who wish to cast lots.

But what we have said here concerning lots must be observed in the marks of all auguries—that is, with fear yet with a firm expectation. We must prefigure our cause for prophesying with certain marks or postulating with signs, just as we read that Eleazar, the servant of Abraham,⁸ and Gideon, the judge in Israel,⁹ have done. At Pharis, a city in Achaea, there was once a likeness of Mercury in the middle of the market, where omens were taken. Fumigations of frankincense and lit lamps were placed before it, and the country's coin was offered to the likeness's right hand. Then whatever was inquired was whispered in the ear of the likeness, and immediately afterward [the inquirer] stopped both ears with his hands, and he swiftly ran from the market. When he was past its limits, he immediately opened his ears and observed the first words he heard, which were received as an established omen and given as an oracle.¹⁰

Therefore, although these kinds of lots seem to be as casual, accidental events, and unreasonable to the ignorant, yet they are disposed by God and the more sublime virtues by a certain reason. They do not fall beyond the moderations of [God's] intentions. Surely, was not the choice of Saul as king of Israel by lot thought to fall on him casually and accidentally? Yet, he was previously decided by the Lord to be king and was anointed by Samuel the prophet: God appointed him king in this way and disposed the lots that they should fall upon him.¹¹ This is enough [concerning this subject].

Chapter 53

How one should dispose themselves if they wish to receive oracles.

Whoever desires to come to the supreme state of the soul, desiring to proceed to oracles, must be chastely and sacredly disposed. He must approach them pure and clean, so that he is not polluted by any wound¹ of filth, nor bearing any scars of sin impressed into his breast. He must purge and remove from the inside of his mind, as much as necessary and as nature permits, all sickness, sluggishness, wickedness, and the like, and all passions and irrational conditions that follow them, just as rust with iron. By correctly composing and disposing those things that belong to the tranquillity of mind, he will indeed receive truer and more effective answers.

However, we must thoroughly learn from religion and the wisdom those things that must be purged in the mind and restored to divine purity;² indeed, neither wisdom without religion nor religion without wisdom should be approved. Solomon said: “Indeed, wisdom is the tree of life to those who embrace it.”³ Lucretius said it is the discovering of God, or the breath⁴ of God, singing:

*He was a god, a god, O celebrated Memmius,
Who first found the reason for life
Which is now called wisdom, and by each art,*

*Removed such disorders and such darkness from life,
And placed it in such tranquillity and such clear light.*⁵

He likewise understood this to mean divine enlightenment, which is why Democritus observed that there are no wise men who are not roused by some divine frenzy,⁶ just as Menos from Crete, whom they say learned everything according to Jove and had frequent conversations with the god on Mount Ida. Athenians also say that Melesagoras the Eleusinian was taught well by the Nymphs. Hesiod, when he was a shepherd of sheep in Boeotia, drove his flock near a certain mountain called Helicon and was given some reeds by the Muses.⁷ When he received these, he suddenly became a poet.

Indeed, this happened so impulsively that this was certainly not of the human mind but of divine inspiration—that is to say, that God is in all works. God transfers himself into holy souls and sets up prophets and workers of miracles who are powerful in works and speeches. Just as Plato, Mercury, and Xystus the Pythagorean asserted, these kinds of men are the temple of God, in which God is the guest.

Our Paul agreed that man is called the temple of God, and elsewhere spoke of himself: “I can do all things in him who strengthens me”; indeed, God Himself is our strength, without whom nothing is possible.

Man is the temple of God.

Aristotle also admitted this in both his *Meteorology* and *Ethics* that there is no virtue, whether natural or moral, unless with God. In his *Secrets*, he added that a good and healthy comprehension of the secrets of nature is possible, provided that the influences of divine virtues are near, and not elsewhere.

But these influences are then only received when we are free from impediments weighing us down, from carnal and earthly occupations, and from all external agitations. Indeed, an inflamed and unclean eye cannot gaze on extremely bright lights, nor can they whose minds are unclean grasp the divine.

One must come to this purity of mind gradually and by certain degrees. One who is newly initiated into each of the mysteries cannot comprehend all lucid things. Their mind must become gradually accustomed, until their intellect can project and thoroughly mix with the divine light.⁸ Therefore, when the soul is correctly purged, expiated from human affairs, and then freed from all blemishes, it can leap outside and move freely, ascending upwards, capturing the divine. [Under such circumstances, it can] also teach itself, when perhaps it seems it was educated elsewhere. Indeed, it does not need to remember or demonstrate [this knowledge] by natural skill and by their mind, which is the head and helmsman of the soul. By its nature [the soul imitates] the angels, obtains what it desires, not by succession, and not by time, but in a sudden moment.⁹

Purity of mind is gained gradually.

Indeed, when David was not learning literature, he was a shepherd, was made a prophet, and knew divine things. In a dream one night, Solomon was filled with the knowledge of everything that is above and below; thus were Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and other prophets and apostles similarly educated.¹⁰ Indeed, it is a common opinion among Pythagoreans and Platonists that the soul can acquire perfect knowledge of everything knowable by way of purifying, without any other study or searching. Only a moderate, easy, and casual collation over intelligibles living from above is necessary.¹¹ Indeed, it can come to this by external expiation and understanding everything indivisibly through its substantial form.¹²

David, Solomon, and other prophets and apostles were taught suddenly.

How to expiate the mind.

The mind is purged and expiated by purity, abstinence, penance, and alms. It coalesces to certain sacred traditions, as is shown below. Indeed, the soul is cured by the study of religions, commonly called “occult.” [Once the soul is] restored to its health, supported by truth, and fortified by divine protection, it cannot fear the rising shaking.

Chapter 54

Of cleanliness and how it must be observed.

Inasmuch as external cleanliness is believed by no small [number of people] to help the purity of the mind, we must therefore especially observe cleanliness in diet, works, and dispositions. [It is necessary] to expel all filth and disturbances from the mind: this includes anything that offends sense and spirit, and those things in man¹ that are dissimilar to the heavens. This applies not only if these disturbances are in the mind or spirit but also whether they are in or around the body.² For this reason, Pythagorean philosophers who were taken by a keen desire for oracles first being celebrated with divine praises, then washed in the river or a bath, afterward dressing themselves in white and linen garments. [They clothed themselves in this way because] they thought that wool is a profane garment. This was because they rejected the filth of the excrements of beasts and felt it was necessary to live in a pure and absolutely immaculate room in order to obtain the oracles they wanted.

Wool is a profane garment.

In a similar way, the wise Brahmans³ of India often washed without clothes in a fountain called Dirce in Boeotia, first daubing amber⁴ drops and suitable scents on their head. Then after they were sufficiently clean according to the rites, they emerged at about noon, with bright linen garments, a white turban, with rings on their fingers, and bearing rods in their hands. In a similar way among the Gymnosophists, it was ordained that they wash in cold water three times in the day, and twice at night, before entering sacred sanctuaries; they also wore linen garments that they washed daily. Likewise, we read of the rite of washing in Hesiod's book *Works and Days*, where he sang:

The habits and behavior of Brahmans.

Never pour a libation of wine before dawn

With unwashed hands, or to any of the other immortals

For they will not hear and will scorn your prayers.

And elsewhere:

Those who cross a river with hands unwashed of perversity

*Anger the gods, who then grant pain.*⁵

Hence from Virgil, Aeneas addressed his father:

*O father, take the sacred vessels and our paternal gods in your hands;
For me to touch them after such recent battles and fighting
Is a sin, until I have washed in the running river . . .*

Indeed, it was customary among gentiles that when they performed a sacred rite to the gods above, they would purge the body by washing. However, when making offerings to the gods below, only a sprinkling was enough. Hence we read in Virgil how Dido said while preparing a sacred rite to the infernal gods:

*My dear nurse, bring my sister here,
And sprinkle her body with water from the river.*⁶

Elsewhere, where Aeneas is brought in among the infernals carrying a branch to Proserpina, Virgil thus sang:

*Aeneas gained the entrance to the sanctuary and sprinkled over his body
Fresh water . . .*⁷

Also, when he wrote of the burial of Misenus, he sang:

*He encircled his friends three times with pure water,
Sprinkling light dew with a fertile olive branch.*⁸

Indeed, a man thus clean is compared to the celestials, becomes spiritual, and is as such disposed to the contemplation and union with God, because God attends a clean body and pure mind. He embraces anything clean, [such as] internal organs, skin, garments, utensils, houses, gifts, offerings, sacrificial slaughter, and sacrificial offerings.

The cleanliness of all of this also purifies the air and attracts the cleanest of the celestial and divine influences. It allures and converts the clean ministers of God and good daemons. However, sometimes also unclean spirits and evil daemons, as the apes of good [daemons], seek out this kind of cleanness so that they can be adored and deceive. Therefore, we must especially observe that the mind be clean and

the heart pure, so that that the unclean powers can never ascend.⁹

Chapter 55

Of abstinence, fasting, chastity, solitude, tranquillity, and ascension of the mind.

Abstinence likewise intimately fortifies and protects its observers everywhere against vice and evil daemons. It makes the mind an unpolluted temple of God¹ and connects it with the mind of God. Nothing is better for health and temperance of the complexion than bringing together fewer superfluities, and not exceeding the necessary limits of nourishment. Indeed, nourishment should not be taken that is stronger for nature, but rather the nature should be stronger, just as many affirm that Christ accepted food in the [correct] proportion so that it did not generate a superfluous fourth digestion.² Likewise, many others who were unwilling to eat enjoyed health and active bodies: these included Moses and Elijah, who fasted for as long as forty days; this is why the face [of Moses] shone and could easily guide his body as if it were a spirit.³

Wise men and philosophers assert that our spirit is not as an earthly thing, or a body with digestion for certain organs to receive some nourishment from food and drink but draws its nourishment through every side of its body like a sponge—namely, by thin vapors penetrating the body from all sides. Therefore, those who desire to have this spirit be pure and powerful, should use drier foods and make this dense body thin with fasting, and make it easily permeable, lest, by that weight, the spirit will thicken and suffocate. Then they should preserve a clean body by washing, massage, exercise, and clothing and should strengthen the spirit by sacred purifications and suffumigations and bring it to a pure and thin integrity. Therefore, we must accept pure foods and be abstinent, just as Pythagorean philosophers (who kept a sacred and sober table) prolonged their life by temperance.

Indeed, a tempered life and complexion, because no dominant humor brings commotion to us so that fantasy can disrupt some image, makes our soul always subjected to heavenly influences, often while dreaming, but also sometimes while awake.⁴ In addition, Pythagoreans promise perpetual health for all and a long life if one can wisely moderate their mind, body, and motions by abstinence. Thus, Brahmans do not admit any to their college, unless they abstain from wine, meat, and sin, saying no one can understand God unless they emulate God by their way of life, which indeed Phraotes from Philostratus taught lower Indians.⁵

The effect of temperance.

In addition, we must also abstain from anything that corrupts the mind and spirit, and from lust and envy, which are servants of injustice. As Hermes said, [lust and envy] impel the mind and hand toward evil deeds.⁶ Leisure and luxury do likewise; indeed, they cause the soul to become suffocated by

numbness⁷ and create desire [for earthly things], so that we cannot foresee anything celestial. For this reason, Athenian priests, whom the Greeks call “Hierophants” as Jerome reported, often castrated themselves by drinking hemlock so that they could live more chastely in sacred acts and divine things.⁸ Also, the chastity of a mind devoted to God, as Orpheus taught the Musaeus in the *Hymn for All the Gods*, makes our soul a perpetual and everlasting temple of the gods.⁹

From what a man must especially abstain.

We must also abstain from all of the multitude and variety of senses, affections, imaginations, beliefs, and passions of this sort,¹⁰ which hurt the soul and pervert rational judgment. This we may plainly see in people who are lustful, envious, and ambitious. Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations* called these passions an “affliction” and “pestilential sickness of the mind.”¹¹ Horace called them a “passion” or “insanity,” where he sang:

*A thousand passions for girls and boys.*¹²

Ecclesiastes.

Likewise, there seems to be the same opinion that all men are foolish in something. We read in Ecclesiastes that “there is a limitless number of fools.”¹³ The Stoics, however, deny that passions fall to the wise man. I say [here] meaning passions that follow sensitive apprehension. They concede that a wise man has rational and mental passions. Thus, Boethius also seemed to think this, where he sang that some passions must be abandoned in the search of truth, in these verses:

*Also, you, if the power
Of clear light
Perceives truth,
Take the straight course
The beaten path.
Drive away joys,
Drive away fears,
Do not give aid to pain
And chase away hope.
They cloud the mind,
And pull back the bridle
Where they reign.*¹⁴

Therefore we must strip and avert our mind from all the many inner passions of this sort so that they can attain the simplest truth. We read that many philosophers attained [truth] while in solitude for a long time.¹⁵ Indeed, the mind is loosed by solitude from all of the cares of human toils and causes it to think daily about what the celestial divinities think.¹⁶ Thus, when Moses—the Hebrew law-giver and greatest of prophets, who was learned in all of the wisdom of the Chaldeans and Egyptians—wished to withdraw himself from his senses, he went into the vast solitudes of Ethiopia. There, in a place where every human toil was omitted, he turned his intellect and mind exclusively toward the contemplation of divine things. This pleased the omnipotent God, so that [Moses] merited seeing Him face-to-face. Moses also received the astounding power of miracles in this way, which are testified in the holy scriptures.¹⁷

Thus, Zoroaster—the father and prince of magicians—is said to have received the knowledge of all natural and divine things through a solitude of twenty years, where he wrote and did many things of the arts of divination and prophecy. Likewise, Orpheus declared in his writings to Musaeus similar works in the deserts of Thrace. We read also that Epimenides of Crete was educated from a certain very long dream: they say he slept for fifty years, [an allegorical story that] they understand [to mean he] lay hidden. Likewise, Pythagoras is said to have lain hidden for ten years,¹⁸ and Heraclitus and Democritus for the same reason were delighted with solitude.¹⁹ Indeed, it is in proportion to how much we relinquish the animal and human life that we live with angels and God, with whom we are united and are restored into a better fate. [When we live in that way,] we can do everything and dominate all.

What man should especially avoid.

Our mind is to be segregated from animal life, every multitude, and to be raised until it ascends to the very one, good, truth, and beauty, through each that is to such an extent knowable. These are known by degrees, as Proclus taught in *Commentary on Alcibiades*, showing how the perceptible should especially be avoided, that we can be transferred to an incorporeal essence. We must surpass the order of souls, yet multiplied by many methods, conditions, and various proportions, and many chains, and a manifold variety of powers, and to strive for an intellect and intelligible kingdom, and to contemplate how much better an interval these are than minds. We must also abandon an intellectual multitude, although united and individual, and come to the superintellectual and essential unity, free from every multitude and every fountain of good and truth. For a similar reason, we must avoid all knowledge that distracts and deceives (which can happen in many ways) so that we can follow the simplest truth.

Therefore, relinquish the multitude of affections, senses, imaginations, and opinions, which are as different themselves as some are contrary to others. We must ascend to knowledge, in which although there might be a varying multitude, there is yet no contrariety. Indeed, everything is connected to everything else, and each part of this unity ministers and serves the others by turns. [This essential interconnection extends] all the way to the One, presupposed by all, supposing nothing beyond it, to which all other things must be referred.

Yet this is not the highest point of knowledge. Above it is the pure intellect. Therefore, leaving all composed, divided, and multiform discourse aside, we shall ascend to the intellectual life and simplest intuition, beholding the intelligible essence with individual and simple perceptions, that we can reach the highest existence of souls, by which we are one, and under which our multitude is united. Thus, we will finally attain the First One, from where all unities begin, which through that unity we can, as it were,

touch the flower of our essence. When avoiding every multitude, will we rise in our unity, be made one, and act uniformly.[20](#)

Chapter 56

Of penance and alms.

The greatest part of purifications is the willing penance from sin: for, as Seneca said in *Thyestes*, those who repent their sin are innocent.¹ Indeed this brings the greatest expiation to us, while it opposes troubles from delights, cleanses the soul from senseless joy, and grants a certain singular strength, restoring us to the superiors.

What the greatest part of purifications are.

What penance is.

Therefore, penance is not only a killing of sins but a spiritual martyrdom of the soul, which the sword of the spirit pierces from every side. As Paul wrote to the Ephesians, “the sword of the spirit is the Word of God,”² and the prophet Jeremiah also referred to this when he said, “Cursed is he who keeps his sword from blood.”³ Likewise, the psalmist sang: “A sword is in their lips.”⁴

Therefore it must be explained that thoughts and affections of the mind, and every evil that comes from our heart and mouth, must be confessed to a priest, so that he can judge us according to the Word of God. According to that power permitted by God together with penance, we will be cleansed and purged and will be directed to good.⁵ There is no stronger sacrament found in any religion than an expiation for destroying sin. Hence, the gods themselves, as Ovid testified in *Pontus*:

*Often sins are lightened and snatched away by the return to light,
When they see the good, they repent their sins.*⁶

There is yet another sacrament of expiation called alms, of which I remember reading very little or nothing from philosophers, but the highest Truth has been taught to us, saying: “Give alms and all things will be clean to you.” From Ecclesiasticus we read: “As water extinguishes fire, thus alms extinguish sin.” Daniel taught the king of Babylon that he could atone for his sins by alms, and the angel Raphael testified to Tobias that alms free from death, purge sins, and make us find eternal life. Hence, Christ commanded that we pray to the Father: “Forgive as we forgive and give as we give,” and He also said elsewhere: “You will receive a hundredfold and possess eternal life”⁷ [if you give alms].

Alms are praiseworthy.

Also, He will damn those who neglected alms and works of compassion when judging the living and dead before reproaching the others, while saying: "When I was hungry and thirsty, you did not give me food or drink." In another place he spoke of the poor, saying: "What you have done to one of them, you have done to me."⁸ It seems to me that Homer also senses this when he introduces the young suitor Antinous by saying in these words: "Antinous, how terribly you have stricken this miserable beggar; he will ruin you if there is a god in the heavens. For sometimes the gods appear like strangers from elsewhere, overthrowing the cities, and beholding injuries and sins of men."⁹

Chapter 57

Of those things that are administered externally that bring expiation.

It is believed and related by those skilled in sacred things, that the mind can also be expiated by certain traditions and sacraments administered externally, such as by sacrifices, baptisms, exorcisms, blessings, consecrations, and purifications or blessings by the sprinkling of water. Certain anointings and suffumigations are also [understood to accomplish this]. [Skilled acts of this kind] are not as much consecrated, but rather have a natural power: for this reason, sulfur has a place in religions for expiating evil daemons with suffumigations. Likewise, eggs are similarly used for purifications, and hence they are called purificatory eggs. This is why Ovid said:

Let the old woman come and purify the bed, and carry

*To the place sulfur and eggs with trembling hands.*¹

Proclus also wrote that in purifications priests often used sulfur and asphalt or ablutions of seawater, because sulfur purifies due to its sharp odor, but seawater due to its fiery portion.² In a similar way, the herb cinquefoil purifies. Due to its purity, ancient priests used it in purifications.³ Likewise, olive branches are said to be of such purity that olive trees planted by courtesans either remain forever unfruitful or will entirely dry up.⁴ In a similar way, they used frankincense, myrrh, verbena, valerian, and an herb called *lucia*, which is also called *phu*⁵ in Arabic. They also employed the blessed clove flower for purification rites. Similarly, a fumigation with the gall of a black dog is said to be especially excellent for the expiation of the crimes of evil daemons, whatever they were. Likewise, a suffumigation of a hoopoe's feathers drives away phantasms.

What is wonderful and scarcely credible, except that Josephus, a serious author who is not to be scorned, wrote in the *History of Jerusalem* of the root of *baaras*.⁶ This root is named after a place near Machaerus, a town in Judea. It is said to have a flaming color that emits brilliance at night, yet taking it is very difficult, because it deceives the hand and flees from the eye, nor will it stay until the urine of a menstruating woman is first sprinkled on it. Yet one is not free from danger if it is taken in this way since sudden death follows its extraction unless the person is fortified with an amulet of the same root. If one is without such an amulet, then they should scratch⁷ a circle in the earth, tie a noose around the root, and tie [the other end] to a dog and then suddenly leave. The dog will follow persistently, attempting to draw out the root as if it were paying for the plight of his master. [The dog] will immediately die, but after this, anyone can handle the root without danger. The power of this is in expiations most excellent, as is verified in those who are vexed by unclean spirits who are immediately freed from it.⁸

The miracle of the root of baaras.

Materials⁹ of this kind act in spiritual substances by chasing away, drawing, mitigating, or arousing. They are of no other belief than how the fire of Sicily acts in souls, which, as William of Auvergne testified, [this fire] does not hurt bodies, but intolerably tortures souls that come near.¹⁰ But this subject was handled above.

Fire in Sicily.

Chapter 58

Of adorations and vows.

Adorations, vows, sacrifices, and offerings are certain degrees in sacred things for investigating God. Principally, they provoke divine will and kindle a sacred and imperishable communion between God and souls.¹ Indeed, we bring together a great power from orations, which are words we say with a true and sacred feeling and mind. When we apply to those deities, we move them so that they can direct us in their speech and answer by divine rays.² As Dionysius said, God speaks with men by means of these rays, but so secretly that it is scarcely perceptible, and this only by the few. That king and prophet David perceived most often. As he said: “I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me.”³

Therefore, if an adoration is continued for a long time and frequented often, it perfects the intellect and makes the soul greater for receiving the divine light. It kindles divine love and obtains hope, faith, and sacred customs. It cleanses the soul from all oppositions and obstacles. It also repels many evils that otherwise might befall us.⁴ Hence, Ovid sang:

*The angry god is persuaded by a voice of prayer.*⁵

I have often seen Jove when he wishes to throw fierce

*Lightening, have his hand held back with a gift of frankincense.*⁶

Man is returned to God by prayers. As Plato said in *Phaedrus*, [the moment we] reach God [is like when] horses stop and enter their stables, where they are fed ambrosia and given nectar to drink.⁷ Therefore, those who wish to possess some virtue must frequently pray and beseech He who contains the entire virtue in himself. But the best and optimal oration is that which is not made by the mouth but is offered with a sacred silence and an entire understanding of God,⁸ with each voice of the mind crying out the words of adoration to the gods presiding over the intellectual world.

How man must return to God.

A vow is the ardent affection of a chaste mind devoted to God, which longs for that which seems good.⁹ This disposition, as Iamblichus and Proclus testified, thus connects the soul with God, so that finally the operation of the mind and God are made one. God is the craftsman, and the soul is His divine instrument.¹⁰ Thus, sometimes vows make wonders happen, cure illness, and avert storms and the like, as testified by all of the ancients. Hence, we read that the most excellent and wisest men of all nations—

the Indian Brahmins, Persian magi, Egyptian Gymnosophists,^{[11](#)} Greek and Chaldean theologians—all sanctioned festivals to the gods and hidden mysteries. They chiefly meditated^{[12](#)} with divine vows and orations and brought about many wonders.

What vows are.

The perfection of a vow and an adoration—indeed, an adoration without a vow or a vow without an adoration, cannot be wholly perfect—requires two chief things. The first is the inquiry of that which must be adored and vowed, and by what reason, order, and medium it must be worshipped.^{[13](#)} Indeed, there are many cooperators and instruments of God—namely, the heavens, stars, administering spirits, celestial souls, and heroes—which are like doorkeepers, interpreters, administrators, and mediators. Be this as it may, the first god that must be implored is God the archetype, because only He is at the extreme limit of adoration. The other gods are entrances to God Himself.

Two requirements of the perfect vow.

Therefore, know that adorations and vows to only one God, the highest Father, King, and Lord of all the gods, must be principally made with a pure and pious mind. However, when [such adorations and vows] are made to the inferior gods, less effort is necessary, unless [those inferiors] are subdelegated by the highest Father for administration.^{[14](#)} Therefore, when adorations and vows are directed to inferior deities, Zoroaster and Orpheus thought it was appropriate to use suffumigations, characters, and the like. However, when making them to the supreme majesty of Jove, very little needs to happen. Hermes and Plato also forbade^{[15](#)} [excessive ritual when invoking that which is most supreme]. For this reason, Hermes said to Tat:^{[16](#)} “It is like a sacrilege when you pray to God, wishing to light frankincense and the like.”^{[17](#)} Indeed, as Porphyry said this is foreign to all piety. Nothing material can be found that is not repulsive to the immaterial God. Therefore, prayer that is made by voice is not appropriate for Him, but neither are inner prayers if the mind is contaminated by sin.^{[18](#)}

But the second requirement is a certain assimilation of our life with the life of the divine, proceeding in purity, chastity, and sanctity with a lawful desire to what we choose. Indeed, with this, we capture the highest divine benevolence and are subject to divine generosity.^{[19](#)} For, unless our minds are cleansed to make us worthy of being clearly heard and our wishes worthy of being done, it is undoubted that the gods rarely give aid to our prayers. For this reason, the divine Plato said that no prayers or gifts made by the unjust persuade God.^{[20](#)}

Therefore, we should desire nothing from God that is unbecoming to wish; indeed, for this reason only, we see many prayers and vows frustrated. This is because the people making the prayers are neither religiously disposed, nor are their desires and petitions pleasing to God, nor do they know how to discern the order to adore God and by which mediators they should approach Him. Because of the ignorance of this, our orations and prayers are often reduced to nothing, and our vows and supplications are denied.

Chapter 59

Of sacrifices and offerings, and their types and manners.

Sacrifice is a kind of offering that makes the offering sacred. It consecrates or sanctifies the one making the offering, unless either irreverence or some other sin impedes it. Therefore, these sacrifices and offerings present much trust to us, make us of the family of God, and repel many imminent evils from us. Indeed, Hebrew teachers confirm this more than others, saying that we sacrifice our animals and dissipate our things by sacrifice, deflecting imminent evils and the like from us.¹

Moreover, as the mortal priest in this inferior world sacrifices the soul of irrational animals by separating the body from the soul. Thus, the archangel Michael, the priest of the higher world, sacrifices the souls of men by separating the soul from the body. He does not separate the body from the soul, unless by accident such as what happens with frenzy, rapture, ecstasy, dreams, and the like, where souls are free, which the Hebrews call “the kiss of death.”²

Sacrifices and offerings are first and foremost made to the highest God. When directed to a secondary deity, understand that this should be done as we have said regarding orations and vows: then whatever we said there, understand this partly here by way of comparison.

Many kinds of sacrifice.

There are more kinds of sacrifices: some are called burnt offerings, when the victim is consumed by fire. Some are sacrifices through the outpouring of blood. In addition, some are called “healthful sacrifices,” which are made to obtain health. Some are “peaceful” for obtaining peace, some are “praises” for liberation from evil or for the distribution of good, some are “thankful” for acts of divine veneration and grace, indeed some are also made not for the honor or good will of God, such as the sacrifice for jealousy from among the Hebrews, which is only made to expose hidden adultery.³ There was once among the gentiles a sacrifice for expiation, which purged cities from hunger, pestilence, or any horrible work of calamity. These rites were to search in that city to discover the most disgraceful man and to seize and carry him to the appointed place, with him holding in his hands cheese, cakes, and dried figs. There they would flog him seven times with wooden rods. After that, they burned him with that wood and threw his ashes into the sea.⁴ Lycophron and Hipponax remembered this, and Philostratus narrated something not much different, telling how Apollonius of Tyana chased the plague away in Ephesus.⁵

Sacrifice for expiation.

Kinds of sacrifices.

There are many more kinds of sacrifices and victims, such as agonalia,⁶ dapsa,⁷ farreationes,⁸ hecatombe,⁹ hostia,¹⁰ hyacinthia,¹¹ armilustra,¹² ianualia,¹³ lualia,¹⁴ lupercalia,¹⁵ munychia,¹⁶ novendinalia,¹⁷ nyctiluca,¹⁸ palatialia,¹⁹ pastillaria,²⁰ popularia,²¹ protervia,²² scaenopegia,²³ solitaurilia,²⁴ stata,²⁵ rubigalia,²⁶ fontanalia,²⁷ ormia,²⁸ parentalia,²⁹ inferiae,³⁰ consualia,³¹ lampteria,³² amburbia,³³ ambarvalia,³⁴ vivalia,³⁵ thya,³⁶ holocaustomata,³⁷ orgia,³⁸ latialia,³⁹ dianetaurica,⁴⁰ bacchanalia,⁴¹ trieterica,⁴² liberalia,⁴³ cocytia,⁴⁴ cerealia,⁴⁵ thesmophoria,⁴⁶ adonia,⁴⁷ theonia,⁴⁸ laurentalia,⁴⁹ opalia,⁵⁰ palilia,⁵¹ quirinalia,⁵² ertumnalia,⁵³ gynaecia,⁵⁴ panathenaea,⁵⁵ quinquatria,⁵⁶ diapalia,⁵⁷ diasia,⁵⁸ horma,⁵⁹ hornea,⁶⁰ nemea,⁶¹ mytriaca,⁶² and palogygia.⁶³

And the victims of these are particular and diverse: a male goat and ass [were given to] Bacchus, a sow to Ceres, a horse to the Sun, a deer and a dog to Diana, an ass to Priapus, a goose to Isis, a rooster to Nyx, a female goat to Faunus, to Neptune a bull, a female goat to Minerva, a bull to Hercules, a boy to Saturn, a pregnant sow to Maia, and a rooster to Asclepius. They sacrificed insults and scorn to Hercules Gnidius. There were also priests of various ranks: pontiffs,⁶⁴ flamines, archflamines,⁶⁵ phylades,⁶⁶ salii,⁶⁷ and hierophants,⁶⁸ and various names of religions and superstitions, sacrifices, ceremonies, festivals, consecrations, dedications, vows, devotions, expiations, oaths, sacrificial victims, and litanies, by which the seduced gentiles sacrificed to false gods and daemons.

The true sacrifice is twofold.

But the true sacrifice that purges man and unites them with God is twofold: one is when Christ the high pontiff offered [Himself] for the remission of sins, purifying everything by the blood of his cross. The other is when a man offers himself clean, immaculate, as a living sacrificial victim to God, as Christ the high priest offered himself and taught us to be offered together with him as he was offered. Of the sacrament of his body and blood, he said: "Do this in remembrance of me." We likewise mortified by the passion of the mortal body in vivifying the spirit. Of this Porphyry said: "Let us strive to offer the sanctity of our life for the sacrifice."⁶⁹ Indeed, no one can be a good priest for God unless he presents himself as a sacrifice, builds his own soul, and sets up his mind and intellect as a temple into which he can receive the divine light.

Sacrifices are necessary to appease God.

As Heraclitus said, external sacrifices are a cure for souls, instituted by the highest physician. As Proclus said, an evil spirit possesses a man until it is expiated by sacrifice.⁷⁰ Therefore, sacrifices are sought out to appease God and heavenly virtues and to expiate a man, who bears the image of God Himself and the world.

The Egyptians had 666 kinds of sacrifices.

However, our Lord Jesus Christ, the true pontiff and highest priest, contained all sacrifices into only bread and wine as the primary substance of human flesh. [He did this] to cleanse us. [Through Holy Communion] we are perfectly cleansed in his blood, no longer needing to sacrifice an animal or another living thing, or to shed blood.⁷¹ The Egyptians had 666 kinds of sacrifices⁷² and set up divine honors and holy sacrifices to each of the stars and planets. The Egyptians did this because the stars and planets are divine animals participating with the intellectual soul and divine mind. For this reason, they said that if the stars are humbly prayed to, [the stars] will hear our prayers and grant celestial gifts, not as if by some natural pact but by their own free will. Iamblichus said that celestial bodies and worldly deities have certain divine and superior powers in themselves. However, they [also] have certain natural and inferior powers, which indeed Orpheus called “the keys to open and close,” and by these we are bound to the fated influences, however by these were are also freed from fate.⁷³

The stars hear our prayers and grant celestial gifts.

If some misfortune threatens from Saturn or Mars, magicians command that they do not immediately flee to Jupiter or Venus, but to Saturn or Mars. Thus Psyche, from Apuleius, who was persecuted by Venus because of her equal beauty, was compelled to earn favor not from Ceres or Juno but from Venus herself.⁷⁴ They sacrificed to each star with that which concerned them: the Sun with Solar things and its animals—for example, laurel, roosters, swans, or bulls; to Venus with her animals such as pigeons and turtledoves, and with her plants, such as verbenas, as Virgil sang:

How ancients sacrificed to the stars.

Carry the water and surround the altars with soft bands

*And burn rich herbs and masculine frankincense.*⁷⁵

In addition, whenever magicians made any confection concerning some star, whether natural or artificial, they afterward religiously sacrificed and offered to the same star. [The confection would] not just undertake a natural virtue from the influences duly accepted but also by receiving that religious offering. It was divinely confirmed and strengthened. Indeed, the offering of anything, when offered to God in the correct manner, is made no less a sacrifice, sanctified by God and is made a part of Him.

With what sacrifices the gods were typically honored.

Additionally, celestial and ethereal gods are honored with white sacrifices, but earthly and infernal [gods are offered] black. Terrestrial offerings are made over altars, but the infernal in pits. Airy and watery offerings are of flying things, but white [for the airy] and black [for the watery]. Finally, all gods and daemons (except the terrestrial and infernal, which are offered flying things) are only given quadrupeds, for like rejoices with like. In fact, it is only lawful to eat from the sacrifices to heavenly and ethereal gods, the extremities being reserved for the gods, the others less so. The oracle of Apollo

expressed all of this in these verses:

*Indeed, heavenly gods are offered victims three times
Which are white, and likewise three times to the terrestrial
rejoicing with black. Again, it is well known to lay sacrifices
Of heavenly gods on altars, the other gods in pits
And shed the black blood below.
Nor are they pleased unless the victim is buried under the earth; however
Nymphs rejoice with honey and clear wine being brought,
And deities that fly about the earth ask
For fires to be lit around the altars,
And likewise, cast the black bodies and also frankincense
And sprinkle grains of sweet cakes.
However, to those who have been given care of the deep,
Always bring whole victims to the shore
And throw the animal into the waves, but to the heavenly,
Deliver the extreme parts and burn them in fire.
But take what remains for yourself and have a feast,
Honoring them with thick scents in the air:⁷⁶*

Porphyry narrated these in his book *Answers*, to whom the rest assent; indeed, they say that these sacrifices are a certain natural medium between gods and men. Aristotle also asserted this, saying: “Sacrifice to God naturally belongs to man.”

Therefore, they are, they say mediums that taste the natures of both [God and man] are mediums and represent the divine analogically. They simultaneously have with the deity to whom they are offered a certain appropriate symbol of expiation, but [these symbols] are so hidden that human ingenuity can hardly grasp it. God and deities particularly require [sacrifice] for our expiation. The heavenly virtues are pleased [with sacrifice] and restrain themselves from the execution of punishment our sins deserve.⁷⁷ These are what Orpheus called the keys that open the gates of the elements and the heavens,⁷⁸ as by them man can come to the supercelestials, and the celestial intelligences and elemental daemons can descend to him.

Perfect men and the truly religious do not need [sacrifices], but only they who, as Trismegistus said, slip from harmony, and are thus made the servants of the heavens and creatures.⁷⁹ Because they are subjected to the heavens, they are therefore thought to be strengthened by the favor of heavenly virtue until, by flying higher, they are absolved from their guardianship and become more sublime than they.

Chapter 60

What imprecations and rites the ancients often used in sacrifices and offerings.

Now we may see what imprecations¹ they added to offerings and sacrifices. Indeed, when they offered or sacrificed to God, they said this or something similar: “I, your servant, offer and sacrifice this to you. I confess that you are the author of sanctity, and I call upon you to sanctify this offering, that you infuse the virtue of your high and honored spirit, that by it I will obtain what I desire. Certainly, your [spirit] being present will affect my offering, that you will make it sacred.” If there is an animal: “Thus as other things live and die by you, thus I am yours. By this offering and communion, for which I come offering and sacrificing to you, I profess to be of your family and your worshipper.” Additionally, in sacrifices, they said: “As this animal is in my power to be slain, or if I wish, to be saved, thus it is in your power to take away in anger or to give in love that which I desire.” Finally, when there is a sacrifice made for an expiation or for avoiding some evil, they said: “As this animal dies by my hand, thus all vice and foulness dies in me,” or “Let such and such evil or ailment die.” Likewise, “As the blood from this animal pours from its body, thus all sin and foulness sheds from me.” In burnt offerings, they said: “As this offering is thus consumed by fire so that nothing remains of it, thus all evil in me will be consumed,” or “Let such and such ailment, which we wish to repel and evade [be consumed].”² Likewise, it was customary among imprecations to also touch the altar with the hands of all for whom such a sacrifice was made and each of those who wished to participate with it: because an offering cannot be made from prayer alone, unless a prayer is made with hands also touching the altar; from which Virgil sang:

Words of sacrificing.

As he said such prayers and held the altar

*The All-powerful heard . . .*³

And elsewhere:

*I touch the altar, and I testify to the flames and gods as mediators.*⁴

Chapter 61

How these things must be performed to God and to inferior deities.

All adorations, offerings, sacrifices, supplications, and invocations are distinguished because they are made either only to God, or to inferior deities, such as angels, stars, and heroes. Accordingly, there are rules that you must observe, that as often as a prayer is offered to God alone for obtaining some effect, it must be done with the remembrance of some work, miracle, sacrament, or a promise taken from the holy scripture. For example, if there is a deprecation for the destruction of enemies, it must be remembered that just as God destroyed the giants in the flood of waters¹ and the endeavors of Babel in the confusion of tongues,² Sodom and Gomorrah in the rain of fire,³ the army of Pharaoh in the Red Sea,⁴ and the like, adding to these some malediction from the Psalms⁵ and what can be collected from the holy scriptures.

In a similar way, if we pray against the dangers of water, we must remember the salvation of Noah from the flood,⁶ the crossing of the children of Israel through the middle of the Red Sea⁷ and Christ walking with dry feet over the water. The same [may be remembered] for saving a ship from risks, commanding the wind and waves, and drawing out Peter from sinking in the sea,⁸ and the like.

But if it is necessary to pray for an oracle or a dream, either from God, angels, or heroes, many places from the Old Testament offer themselves, where we read that God speaks with men, with very many verses promising presages and revelations. There are also the various prophetic dreams of Jacob,⁹ Joseph,¹⁰ Pharaoh,¹¹ Daniel,¹² and Nebuchadnezzar,¹³ as well as whatever can be found in the New Testament and the Catholic religion [such as] the revelation of John, Paul, holy Magi, then Helen, Constantine, and Charles, then more recent prophets Methodius,¹⁴ Cyril, Joachim,¹⁵ Merlin, Brigitta,¹⁶ Mechtindis,¹⁷ Hildegard,¹⁸ the names¹⁹ of whom are often piously invoked to make us participate in divine revelation.

In addition, we can also invoke the holy name of God, especially that [aspect of God] that is significative of the thing desired or is likewise appropriate to it in some way. For the destruction of enemies we can invoke with the anger of God, the vengeance of God, the fear of God, the justice of God, and the power of God; for avoiding some danger, we can invoke the names of pity, defense, health, goodness, and the like.

Again, we must petition the executor of that which is desired: whether the angel [of that thing], some star, or one of the heroes on whom that office falls. Our invocation should be directed toward that figure. It must be made with due number, weight, and measure according to the rules delivered, which we have discussed with regard to composing enchantments. Indeed, there is no difference from these except that enchantments affect our mind and dispose those passions into a conformity with certain deities. Prayers are a worship and veneration exhibited to some deity from the same root. The same

method of consecration can be accepted, of which we will speak next.

Differences between enchantments and prayers.

Chapter 62

Of consecrations and their method.

A consecration is a lifting up of experiments¹ by which a spiritual soul, drawn by proportion and agreement, is infused into the matter of our works, which are then vivified by the spirit of understanding.

The effectiveness of consecrations is perfected by two things.

The effectiveness of consecrations is especially perfected by two things—namely, the virtue of the person [performing] the consecration and the virtue of the prayer and rite that administers the consecration.² In the person, a purity of life and power of sanctity is required: the first is acquired by the nature and merit; the second by initiation³ and dignification, of which we have spoken elsewhere.⁴ The one consecrating must also recognize this virtue and power and have a firm and undoubted faith in himself.

Prayer and its power.

We now intend to speak about those things that are required in prayer. There is a certain power of sanctification divinely engrafted into it, as if it was ordained by God for that purpose. We read the most eloquent explanation of this in the holy scriptures, which was either decided by the virtue of the Holy Spirit according to the ordination of the church, of which there are many more of this kind on record, or this sanctity is in the prayer itself, and not a virtue of the institution, but a remembrance of sacred things, as for example in the holy scriptures, histories, miracles, works, effects, favors, promises, sacraments, and sacramental things, which seem to cling to the consecrated thing whether properly, improperly, or by some similarity. We will now give some examples of this, by which the way can be easily opened for a total consideration of this subject.

The consecration of water.

Thus in the consecration of water the remembrance is because God placed the firmament in the middle of the waters,⁵ because He placed a fountain in the middle of the earthly Paradise from which the whole orb of the earth was irrigated by the four sacred rivers.⁶ He made the waters an instrument of His justice in the destruction of the giants through the general flood over the entire earth.⁷ Additionally in the

destruction of the army of the Pharaohs in the Red Sea.⁸ He led His people with dry feet over the middle of the sea⁹ and through the middle of the Jordan.¹⁰ He miraculously drew water from a rock in the desert¹¹ and drew out a fountain of living water from the molar of the jaws of an ass at the prayers of Samson.¹² He placed the waters as an instrument of His pity and a healthful washing in the remission of sins.¹³ Christ was baptized in the waters of the Jordan [and thus] cleaned and sanctified.¹⁴ Other like examples exist. In addition [one can] invoke divine names that conform to these: for example, God is called the fountain of life,¹⁵ living water,¹⁶ and river of life.¹⁷

The consecration of fire.

In a similar way in the consecration of fire [is achieved by] the remembrance of God creating fire as an instrument of the justice of His punishment and vengeance.¹⁸ [He created it for] the purging of sins, and when He judges the world He will command a conflagration to precede Him.¹⁹ He appeared to Moses in a burning bush²⁰ and preceded the children of Israel in a column of fire.²¹ He decreed that an inextinguishable fire be kept in the tabernacle of the covenant²² and when that fire was extinguished, He miraculously reignited it and kept the fire lit while hidden under water.²³ As before, like examples exist. Moreover, divine names also offer themselves, because God is a consuming fire²⁴ and a refining fire.²⁵ There are other terms that are appropriate to this fire symbolism as well, such as the splendor of God,²⁶ light of God,²⁷ lamp of God,²⁸ and the like.

Thus in the consecration of oil, they remembered sacred things pertaining to these, such as the oil of anointing from Exodus, incense, and sacred names conforming to these.²⁹ Such names include the name of Christ, which means “anointed” [in Greek] and which is of these kinds of mysteries. The two olive trees dripping sacred oil into burning lamps before the face of God in Revelation also belongs to this category.³⁰

The consecration of oil.

Thus in the consecration of places, the remembrance is of Mount Sinai,³¹ the tabernacle of the covenant,³² the sanctum sanctorum, the Temple of Solomon³³ and the sanctification of Golgotha hill by the mystery of the passion of Christ³⁴ and the field that was bought with the price of Christ’s blood.³⁵ Likewise, Mount Tabor, where the transfiguration and ascension to heaven was belongs to this type of sacred remembrance.³⁶ Sacred names are also used, such as the place of God,³⁷ throne of God,³⁸ chair of God,³⁹ tabernacle of God,⁴⁰ altar of God,⁴¹ dwelling of God,⁴² and the like.

The consecration of places.

Golgotha.

In a similar way, you can proceed in the blessings of other things, by inquiring from the holy scriptures, divine names, and sanctity of religion, which seem to be in a way agreeable to these things. For example, if a paper or a book has something of the mysteries, remember the tablets of the ten commandments given to Moses on Mount Sinai,⁴³ the holiness of the law, prophets, and scriptures⁴⁴ made known by the Holy Ghost, and the divine name of the testament of God,⁴⁵ the book of God,⁴⁶ the book of life,⁴⁷ the knowledge of God,⁴⁸ the wisdom of God,⁴⁹ and the like, will help.

Thus also if a sword is to be blessed, remember from second Maccabees that Judas Maccabeus was divinely sent a sword so that he will destroy the enemies of the children of Israel,⁵⁰ in the words of the prophets we have: “Take two-edged swords with you;”⁵¹ in the Gospels we have coats that will be sold to buy swords;⁵² we have in the history of David an angel who was seen holding a blood-stained sword.⁵³ Many more like this can be found in the prophets and in Revelation,⁵⁴ such as the sacred names of the sword of God,⁵⁵ the rod of God, the staff of God,⁵⁶ the vengeance of God,⁵⁷ and the like. Let these real examples suffice concerning consecrations and blessings, from which personal consecrations and benedictions can be easily taken.

But there is another powerful and very effective rite of consecration and expiation, which are kinds of superstitions—namely, when rites of some sacrament are transmuted to another thing that is intended to be consecrated or expiated, such as rites of baptism, confirmations, funerals, and the like. In addition, we must know that vows, offerings, and sacrifices, which have a certain power of consecration, are nevertheless as real and personal as things or persons that are devoted and offered to certain gods.

Other consecrations and rites.

Chapter 63

What can be called sacred, what can be called consecrated,
and how these can be between us and the gods, and of
sacred times.

Whatever is called sacred is consecrated by the gods themselves or by their assisting daemons. As I say, such things are dedicated to us by the gods. In this way, we say that daemons are sacred because God dwells in them, and they are often said to bear His name.¹ We read in Exodus: “I will send my angel who precedes you. Observe him and do not think that he should be despised, because my name is in him.”²

Sacred.

Mysteries.

Thus, mysteries are also called sacred; indeed, a mystery is that which has a sacred and occult virtue and a grace directed by the gods or daemons or dispensed by God, as are sacred names and characters, of which we have spoken above. Thus, the cross is sacred and mysterious, consecrated by the passion of Jesus Christ. Hence, certain orations and prayers are also called sacred and mysterious. They are not instituted by the devotion of men but rather by divine revelation, just as we read in the Gospels that Christ instituted the Lord’s Prayer.³

In the same way, certain confections⁴ are called sacred, to which God introduced the virtue of His singular ray. We read of this in Exodus concerning incense and anointing oil.⁵ Likewise, there is a sacred fountain with us. There are sacred methods of anointing. We use oil for baptism. As before, like examples exist.

There is another variety of holy things, which we call “sacred.” These are dedicated and consecrated to God by men. They include vows and sacrifices, of which we have spoken above. As we read in Virgil:

*But Caesar carried into Rome’s walls in a threefold triumph,
Consecrating his immortal vow to Italy’s gods.*

And Ovid in his book *Metamorphoses* sang:

*The festive day came near, Achilles the victor of Cycnus
Appeased Pallas with the sacrifice of the blood of a cow,
Its entrails placed on the burning altars.
And the gods accepted the scent penetrating the ether
Some were for their sacred use; the rest was given to the table.*

In a similar way, likenesses, shrines, idols, statues, images, pictures made in the likenesses of gods or dedicated to gods are called sacred, just as Orpheus sang in the hymn *To Lycian Venus*:

*The leaders of our country, led by divine inspiration
Built colossal statues in the town.*⁶

And Virgil:

*You, father, take the sacred and ancestral gods in your hands.*⁷

Hence, the divine Plato in the eleventh book of *Laws* taught that the sacred statues and images of the gods should be honored not according to [the statues] themselves, but because they represent the gods to us,⁸ just as the ancients venerated that likeness of Jove, thus interpreting him. For [the likeness] bears the likeness of a man, because the mind altogether produces seminal reason; but he is sculpted sitting, as it imitates a stable and unchangeable virtue; and he has the upper part open and naked, because he is visible to the intelligences and superiors; however, the lower parts are covered, because he is hidden to more inferior creatures; he holds a scepter in his left hand, because in this part of his body can be found the domicile of the most spiritual life, but the creator of the intellect, is the king and vivifying spirit of the world; however, in his right hand he holds out an eagle and victory: [the eagle] because he is the lord of gods, just as an eagle is over other birds, and [victory] because everything is subject to him.⁹

The interpretation of the likeness of Jove.

In a similar way, we venerate the figure of a lamb because it represents Christ, the figure of a dove because it signifies the Holy Ghost, and the figures of a lion, ox, eagle, and a man signifying the Gospels, and others like this, which we find expressed in the revelations of prophets, and in the holy scripture in various places. In addition, they confer to similar revelations and dreams and are therefore called sacred pictures.

There are also sacred rites and sacred observations, which are made for the veneration of gods and

religions, just as there are devotional gestures, genuflections, uncovering of the head, ablutions, sprinkling of holy water, fumigations, and outer expiations. There are likewise supplication processions and exterior ornaments of divine praises, including resounding music, lighting candles and lamps, signs and the striking of bells, and the decorating of temples, altars, and likenesses. In all of this is required the highest and most special worship and beauty. For that reason, whatever is the most special, beautiful, and precious—gold, silver, precious stones, and the like—is used. Indeed, these veneration and outer consecrations are, as it were, instructions and invitations to spiritual sacred rites and obtain the favor of the gods, as Proserpina testified in these verses:

*Which men ignore these brazen forms
Yellow gold or bright silver offered?
Who does not marvel, who does not say
That these are gods?*¹⁰

Priests of the divine powers are also called sacred, and the ministers of the gods being consecrated, also administer any sacred rites and consecrate things;¹¹ of which Lucan sang:

*The sacred pontiffs, to whom are permitted power.*¹²

And Virgil said of Helenus, the priest of Apollo:

*He prays for peace from the god and loosens bands
From his hallowed head . . .*¹³

However sacred rites of this kind are, as it were, a certain pact between the gods and us, and are exhibited under praises, veneration, or obedience, in the midst of which we often obtain some wonderful virtue from that divine power to whom is devoted such veneration. Thus are sacred hymns, sermons, exorcisms, incantations, and calls composed and dedicated to the praise and veneration of the gods. As Orpheus composed in the song *To the Stars*:

*Therefore, with sacred calls, I will invoke the pure daemons.*¹⁴

The early church used certain sacred incantations against illnesses and storms, which all venerated under some divine power, either by pronouncing orations, whether written and hung from the neck or carried as an allegation. We often obtain some virtue by that divine power, which many men greatly admire.

In this way, there are also sacred names, figures, characters, and seals, which contemplative men

with a pure mind for their sacred vows have devoted, dedicated, and consecrated for the veneration of God. Indeed, if someone with the same purity of mind, later pronounces these [in the same way in which] it was originally instituted, they will make similar wonders. [To accomplish this,] they must also be reserved in the same manner and [follow the] rules [that were] handed down when [these rites were] first instituted; for those who are ignorant of these will ruin and frustrate their work.

There are sometimes wonderful powers in names.

This is not only in the manner of barbarous words but also in Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, and others, and each tongue devoted names to God and attributed and dedicated to His essence, virtue, or works, with which we sometimes make wonders. Thus there are names from Iamblichus, which are Osiris, Icton, Emeph, Ptha, Epies, and Amun,¹⁵ thus from Plato and the Greeks ὄν, τόν, and ταυτόν,¹⁶ thus the Greeks called Jove ζῆνα, απο του ζην,¹⁷ which is “to live,” because it signifies that he provides life; likewise, δια,¹⁸ which signifies “through,” because through him everything is made;¹⁹ thus ἀθάνατον,²⁰ which signifies “the immortal”; thus from the Latin they called Jupiter, as it were a helping father, and similar things to these, just as these are certain proper names and even men are attributed to a vow, Eutychides, Sosia, Theophilus²¹—that is, prosperous, servant, and dear to God.

Similarly they conceived that certain material things have no small amount of sanctity and virtue from consecration, especially if priestly. It is just as we see with wax seals, in which there are inscribed figures of lambs to receive the virtue of the blessing of Roman priests against lightning and storms so that they do not strike the wearer.²² Indeed, a divine virtue is inspired and contained in consecrated images of this kind, as if it were a certain sacred letter that has the image of God.

They receive a similar virtue from blessed candles in the feast of Easter and in the feast of the Purification of the divine Virgin. A similar virtue is received in bells from their consecration and blessing, that they would prevent and restrain lightning and storms, so that these things do not harm those places where the sound of the consecrated bells is heard.

In a similar way, salt and water by their blessings and exorcisms receive virtues of expiation and make evil daemons flee.²³ As before, other like examples exist.

Sacred times.

There are also sacred times always observed with great veneration among the religions of all nations, which we are taught are either sanctified by the gods themselves or are dedicated by our fathers and ancestors to receive a blessing from the gods in remembrance and act in perpetual grace. Thus, Hebrews have their Sabbath, and heathens their festivals; thus we have solemn days of our sacred rites, which are always celebrated with highest veneration.

There are also times contrary to these, which are called “atoning” and we call “black days,” because in those days there was some conspicuous disaster or calamity suffered by the state. Among the Romans there was a day before the fourth nones of August, because on that day they suffered a huge disaster in the battle of Cannae.²⁴

Times of atonement.

Black days.

For a similar reason *postriduan*²⁵ days that are called “black,” to which battle often had bad outcomes on them. Thus, among the Jews, there are black days on the seventeenth day of June, because on that day Moses shattered the tablets,²⁶ Manasseh raised an idol in the sanctum sanctorum, and the walls of Jerusalem were thought to have been destroyed by enemies.²⁷ Likewise, the ninth of July is a black day because on that day happened the destruction of each of the temples.

Egyptian days.

For the same reason, there are days called “Egyptian,” which the Egyptians once observed. Any nation, for this reason, has their similar favorable and unfavorable days which can be easily calculated.

Magicians command that these sacred and religious days be no less observed than planetary days and celestial dispositions, and moreover they regard them as much more effective, especially for acquiring spiritual and divine virtues, because those virtues and influences are not from the elements and celestial bodies but descend from the intelligences and supercelestial world, helped by the common assistance of the gods. [The observation of these sacred days] is not broken by any adverse disposition of the celestial bodies, nor frustrated by the contagion of the corruptible elements, as long as the magician in no way lacks a firm belief and religious veneration—that is, joined with fear and trembling. Indeed, that is the particular sound of religion. Hence, those days are called religious, and to violate them is a sin. If we carefully observe them, we should not fear any remarkable evil which we otherwise would.

Chapter 64

Of certain religious observations, ceremonies, and rites of fumigations, anointings, and the like.

Whoever desires to labor in this faculty [of magic], must piously pray, entreating to the one God the Father that you can also be one and be made worthy of His mercy. Be clean on the inside and outside and in a clean place, because it is written in Leviticus: “Every man who approaches those things who is consecrated, in whom there is foulness, shall perish in the eyes of the Lord.”¹ Therefore, wash often and by the days decided according to the mysteries of number; dress yourself in clean garments and abstain from all foulness, pollution, and desire—indeed, the gods are unwilling to hear a man, as Porphyry said, who has not abstained for many days from venereal acts.² You must not touch a woman who is polluted or menstruating, nor one who suffers from bleeding,³ nor touch the unclean, nor the dead.⁴ As Porphyry said: “Those who touch the dead cannot be permitted to approach oracles,”⁵ perhaps because they are corrupted by a certain affinity of a funerary odor, the mind becomes senseless in taking in divine influences. Wash, anoint, fumigate⁶ yourself and offer sacrifice; indeed, God receives in the sweetest scent those [things] that are offered to him by a purified and well-disposed man. [His prayers will] likewise rise with that fumigation, oration, and their offering, thus the psalmist sang: “Let my prayer, Lord, be directed to you, as incense in your sight.”

Furthermore, the soul—as the offspring and image of God—delights in these fumigations and scents, taking these in through the nostrils, through which they enter into the body of man and by which, as Job testified, the most lively spirits are sometimes sent out. The heart of a man is then unable to be restrained or boils with either wrath or effort. For this reason, many think that scents are the most lively and spiritual of all the senses.⁷

In addition fumigations, sacrifices, and anointing penetrate everything, and opens the gates of the elements and heavens, that through them man can see and recognize the secrets of the Creator, heavenly things, that which is above the heavens, and that which descends from the heavens, as do angels, spirits of caves and the deep, and phantasms of abandoned places. These come, appear, become visible, and obey [by means of these rites]. All spirits are peaceful and are attracted like a magnet to iron [when these things are done] and join with the elements. [These rites] make spirits take bodies. Accordingly, the spiritual body is very much condensed by them and is thickened; and indeed, it lives by the scents of vapors, fumigations, and libations.⁸

In whatever you work, do it full of affection and with a longing heart, that all of the heavens and celestial bodies will favor you. With their favor, you can better pursue [your aims because] they bestow wonders with appropriate place, time, profession, custom, food, habit, exercise, and name; indeed, in these the power of nature is not only changed but also overcome.

Indeed, a fortunate place can confer much for favor. It was not without cause that God spoke to

Abraham that he should come to the land that he would show him, and “Abraham went rushing and proceeding to the south.” Likewise, Isaac went into Gerara, where he planted and gathered a hundredfold and became very wealthy.

Fortunate places confer favor.

Which place is agreeable must be carefully searched from each birth. Those who are cannot do this must observe where their spirits are most prominently restored, where their senses are invigorated, where the health and strength of their body is more proficient, where their work gives better success, where they have more favor, and where enemies succumb. [They must do this so] that they can know that region, and that place preordained by God and the superiors and disposed and prepared by the heavens. Therefore, revere this place and move according to your time and business, but always avoid unfortunate places.

Favorable names also return more fortunate things to us; however, unfavorable names return unfortunate things.⁹ Hence the Romans, when choosing the enrollment of their soldiers, were careful that the name of the first soldier [enlisted] was not in any way unfortunate; and in placing tributes and purifying a colony or mustering armies, censors selected good names.¹⁰ Moreover, they believed that if unfortunate names were changed into lucky names, likewise fortunate things would be changed for the better; thus, [when the Romans approached the city of] Epidamnus, so that they did not sail into danger,¹¹ decided to call it Dyrrachium; for the same reason Maleventum, because it referred to evil, was called Beneventum.¹² However, [the Romans] thought Lucrinus was a happy lake because it is the happiest name¹³ of all. Also, select hours and days for your works, for it is not without cause that the Savior said: “Are there not twelve hours of the day?”¹⁴ and so on.

Times can bring fortune.

Indeed, astrologers teach that the times can bring a certain fortune for our events, which magicians [also] observe. Finally, all ancient wise men agree that each moment of time and the disposition of the heavens is of extremely great interest. These [effects apply] to not just natural things but also to artificial things that have received its being in this world. Indeed, they have related that this initial moment [of inception] has such a great power, that the entire course of fortune depends on it. It can be predicted, and for an equal reason the fortune following that initial moment can be searched for backward [in time],¹⁵ which they firmly believe and profess by experience to have witnessed, just as when Caligula consulted Sulla the astrologer, he predicted [Caligula’s] most certain approaching death.¹⁶ The astrologer Metheon, predicted the calamity of the future war, [foretelling] the Athenians making a march on Syracuse. When Meson the astrologer was about to sail to Sicily, he predicted a storm. From the knowledge of these times, Anaxagoras forewarned which day a stone would fall from the Sun, as happened later at the Aigos,¹⁷ a river in Thrace. On the contrary, L. Tarucius Firmianus found the conception and birth of Romulus from his deeds and fortunes. The same man found the day of birth for the city of Rome from notable fortunate successes. Maternus referred to the beginning or birth of the world¹⁸ from which the

events of things can be learned.¹⁹

It can be shown in many examples how times can do much in natural things, inasmuch as there are trees that invert their leaves after the solstice, such as the poplar, elm, olive, lime, and white willow.²⁰ Shellfish, crabs, and oysters grow with the waxing Moon and become thinner with its waning, and the ebbing and flowing of the sea observes the motion and times of the Moon.²¹ And does not Euripus in Euboea²² ebb and flow at a wonderful speed?²³ Likewise, the Moon stands still for three days each month—namely, the seventh, eighth, and ninth. Among the Troglodytes, there is a lake that three times a day is made bitter and salty and again becomes sweet.²⁴ In wintry days when everything is withered, the dry pennyroyal flourishes,²⁵ and they say that on the same day when inflated bladders break, the willow leaves and pomegranate seeds turn and revolve. It is undoubted (and I have seen it myself and learned of sowing in Italy and France) that a nut tree may be dry for the entire year until the eve of St. John's day, when leaves, flowers, and ripe fruits are produced. This wonder entirely consists of only the time observed in its sowing.

That times can produce some wonderful virtue in artificial things, is constantly affirmed by astrologers in their books on elections and images. For this reason, we read from Plutarch of a likeness among the Pellenians that was built with an art that [created a wondrous effect:] wherever it looked in any direction it caused terror and great disturbances. Thus no one would dare gaze upon it without fear.²⁶ And in the *Life of Apollonius*, we read that Babylonian magicians tied four golden birds to the roof, which were called the tongues of the gods, and they had the power to unite the minds of the multitude to the love and obedience of the king.²⁷ On the island of Chios, there was the face of Diana placed high, whose face seemed sad to those entering but cheerful to those leaving.²⁸ Among the Trojans, sacrifices left around the likeness of Minerva did not putrefy. In the sanctuary of Venus at Paphos, it never rained in that area. If something was taken from the tomb of Antaeus, rains scattered from the heavens until that thing was dug out and retrieved. In the tomb of King Bibria of Pontus there were laurels displayed, which if someone brought some of these onto a ship, quarrels did not cease until they were discarded. In the island of Borysthenes, no birds infested the temple of Achilles. No flies or dogs entered into the Roman temple of Hercules in the ox market. In Olynthus in Thrace, there was a place, in which if a beetle happened to fall, they could not escape, but twisted about and died.²⁹ I could give almost innumerable examples even more wonderful than these, which ancients told of the arts of images and observations of times to be made.

But so that no one should believe them less and consider [these wonders] as trifles and something that became obsolete long ago, there are some more recent things that can be seen in this time in several places, and I will add some artificial wonders. They say that with the art of making images at Byzantium no serpent can strike, and jackdaws would not fly within the walls; that in Crete there are no owls; that in the Neapolitan fields cicadas cannot be heard;³⁰ that in Venice no flies enter the public houses of barbers; that in Toledo in the public market not more than one fly with a conspicuous white color can be seen for an entire year. In the preceding book we have spoken of manners and times, which (if observed) render these and similar things possible.

In addition, you must especially observe the power of sermons and words; indeed, through these, the soul expands into inferior natures, stones, metals, plants, animals, and all natural things, impressing figures and various passions into them, giving strength to all creatures or leading and drawing by a certain love. Thus, Cato testified that tired oxen are refreshed by words,³¹ then with words and prayers Tellus³²

can be reached so that she can cherish trees, and likewise, those trees can be persuaded to move to another place and grow only there. Likewise, turnips grow larger if they are entreated to while sown, that they would graciously contribute to the family and neighbors. Likewise, if a peacock is praised, they will soon unfold their feathers;³³ however, on the contrary, it is known that when the herb basil is sown with great cursing and disgrace, it brings fruit and is happy. Also, *garus*³⁴ being poured onto burns and wounds heals, but only if the name of *garus* is not mentioned.³⁵ Those who bewitch can kill trees by calling upon them, and they harm crops and children.³⁶

In addition, they say that there is such a great power in human imprecations that evil daemons can be expelled and banished. For this reason, Eusebius reported that Serapis among the Egyptians produced symbols that expelled daemons, and he also taught that daemons assumed the figures of brutes so that they can ambush men.³⁷

Finally, have God before your eyes in everything [you do]; indeed, it was written in Deuteronomy: “When you search for the Lord God, you will find Him if you search with your whole heart and the entire tribulation of your soul.”³⁸ But by truthful and constant faith you can please God and all the daemons,³⁹ of which we read in Mark: “Everything, whatever you desire when you pray, believe that you will receive it, and it will come to you.”⁴⁰ It said from Matthew: “If you have faith as a mustard grain, nothing will be impossible for you.”⁴¹

Likewise, constant prayer from the just will prevail over much: “Indeed, Elijah, as James said, is a man like us susceptible to passions and with prayer he prayed that it does not rain over the earth and it did not rain for three years and six months; and again he prayed and the heavens gave rain and the earth gave its fruit.”⁴² But beware that you do not pray for some vain desire or something that is against divine will. God wills everything that is good. “Do not take the name of God in vain, because He will not allow those who use His name for a vain thing to go unpunished.”⁴³ Be abstinent and give alms, because as the angel said to Tobias: “Prayer is good with fasting and alms.”⁴⁴ We read in the book of Judith: “Know that the Lord will hear your prayers, you remain fasting and pray in the gaze of the Lord.”⁴⁵

Chapter 65

The conclusion of the whole work.

In this book, we have compiled the traditions of the ancients from diverse collections for an introduction into magic. Indeed, this has been done in a few short speeches, but well enough for those who are intelligent.¹ Some of these are written in order, some out of order, some delivered in fragments, some hidden and must be left for the intelligent to investigate, who can more acutely examine what is written and can likewise search for the complete documents of magical arts and can consequently infallibly experiment with them. Indeed, we have delivered these arts in such a way that they cannot happen to be hidden from the prudent and intelligent.² However, the mysteries of these secrets cannot be admitted to the crooked and nonbeliever, as they will leave them in a stupor, destitute under the shadow of ignorance and desperation.

Therefore, you, sons of learning and wisdom: search in this book, collecting our dispersed intentions that we have displayed in diverse places because what is hidden in one place, we will make plain in another, as the wisdom is revealed to you.³ Indeed, we have only written this for you, whose mind is uncorrupted, instituted toward a right order of living, who with a chaste and pure mind with an unimpaired faith, fear, and reverence of God, whose hands are untouched by wickedness and blame, and with virtuous morals, sober, and a modest [manner]. Indeed, you alone will discover this learning that is protected for you and uncover secrets with many hidden puzzles, which cannot be elicited without an understanding of the secrets. You will understand them when the entire impregnable science of magic insinuates itself into you, and those virtues will appear to you, just as Hermes, Zoroaster, Apollonius, and other workers of wonders once obtained.

But you, spiteful slanderers, sons of crooked ignorance and foolish wickedness: flee from us. Such people are the enemies [of those whom I call sons of learning and wisdom]. [You, the slanderers,] are placed on a precipice, so that you may err and fall into misery. Therefore, if those who, because of their disbelief and lazy intellect, do not obtain their desire, do not ascribe the guilt of your ignorance to me, nor say that I erred or wrote with a false intention or lied. Those who do not understand our writings would accuse themselves;⁴ indeed, [our writings] are obscure and are covered with various mysteries, in which many can easily err and lose their senses.

Therefore, no one should be angry with me if I have hidden the
truth of this science with intricate puzzles and dispersed them
in various places; indeed, I have not hidden these from
the wise but from the crooked and wicked, and
I have delivered such speeches, which are
necessarily hidden from the foolish

and easily admit the wise to
the understanding of
them.⁵



THE OCCULT PHILOSOPHY



HEINRICH CORNELIUS AGRIPPA

FINISHED IN THE YEAR 1533,

THE MONTH OF JULY.



End of Book Three

Footnotes

Foreword. Christopher Warnock

- [1.](#) Henceforth called *Three Books*.
- [2.](#) Book Three, dedicatory letter.
- [3.](#) Book Three, ch. 65.
- [4.](#) Book One, ch. 1.
- [5.](#) Book One, ch. 8.
- [6.](#) Book Two, ch 39.
- [7.](#) Book Two, ch. 50.
- [8.](#) Tyson, p. 360

Translator's Introduction by Eric Purdue

- [1.](#) C. I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) and the Compagni critical edition.

To the Reader

- [1.](#) “to a learned man . . . Gospels did not disapprove of it” – Ficino, *Apologia* 573.
- [2.](#) “To these [ignorant] people I advise . . . because they are poisonous” – Ficino, *Apologia* 573.
- [3.](#) One of the five rivers of the underworld in Greek mythology.
- [4.](#) “it speaks stones . . . smashed out” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 2:6, 42.
- [5.](#) “if you find things . . . do not reject the rest” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3: To the Reader.
- [6.](#) “That when I was a child . . . have you produced” – ref. Agrippa, *De Incertitudine* 41–48; ref. 1 Corinthians 31:11.

[7.](#) *Spanhemensus.*

[8.](#) “uncovered the entire web” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 1:4, 42.

Letter from Agrippa to Trithemius

[1.](#) *Reverendissimus Pater Dominus* – Venerable father of the Lord.

[2.](#) Agrippa wrote this as *Herbipolis*, the Greek form of *Wurzburg*.

[3.](#) “since it was once the primary summit and held . . . indicted with capital crimes” – ref. Trithemius, *De Septem – ad Joachimum marchionem*.

[4.](#) “unless perhaps one wishes . . . illuminate Tartarus” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c3; ref. Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 1:8, §4.

[5.](#) “She promises . . . the mountains” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:487–91.

[6.](#) “Lucan refers to the magic of Thessala” – ref. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:507–827.

[7.](#) “Homer to the omnipotence of Circe” – ref. Homer, *Odyssey* 10:210–399.

[8.](#) *Albertum Teutonicum in the original.*

[9.](#) *Anselmum Parmensem in the original.*

[10.](#) I.e., the book *The Picatrix*. It was sometimes attributed to a man named Picatrix, but the nature of the name itself is controversial.

[11.](#) *Cicchum Asculum Florentinum.*

[12.](#) “I have recently seen . . . Picatrix the Spaniard” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4; Agrippa added Albertus, Arnaldus, Anselmi, and Cecco.

Letter of Response from Trithemius to Agrippa

[1.](#) “The tired ox stamps his foot strongly” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 1:1, 47.

[2.](#) *Peapolitano in the original text.*

Dedicatory letter to Count Hermann of Weid

[1.](#) Hermann V Archbishop of Cologne (1477–1552).

[2.](#) *Wydae.*

3. *Westphaliae*.

4. *Mechlinia*.

Chapter 1. How magicians collect virtues of the threefold world will be shown in these three books.

1. “There is a threefold world . . . by its superior” – ref. Pico, *Heptaplus* “Aliud Prohemium”; Reuchlin, *De Art* 1:e2.

2. “Wise men do not find it irrational . . . virtues from above” – ref. Ficino, in *Dionysii* 1049.

Chapter 2. What magic is, what are its parts, and what is required of a professor of magic.

1. “Magical ability possesses great power” – Psellus, *Excerpta* 1944.

2. “Wonderful effects . . . accepting their congruity” – Pico, *Apologia* ee1.

3. “for all regulative philosophy . . . nature of the world” – Alcinous, *De Doctrina* §3, 1946–47.

4. “and its causes . . . integrity and parts” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:a4.

5. “Natural science, the watcher of nature, embraces all of these” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:a4.

6. “From where do the kinds . . . rain and fire come” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 1:743.

7. “Breaking its barriers and subsiding again” – Virgil, *Georgics* 479–80.

8. “The power of herbs . . . and reptiles” – Hugh, *Didascaliae* 2:17.

9. “Mathematics . . . celestial progressions” – Alcinous, *De Doctrina* 7:1949.

10. The source for this is unclear.

11. “So that the parts . . . rules the stars” – Virgil, *Georgics* 1:231–32.

12. “It shows the heavenly . . . labors of the Moon” – Virgil, *Georgics* 2:477–78.

13. Ursa Major and Minor.

14. “Arcturus and Pleiades . . . nights long” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 1:744–46.

15. “Hence by the seasons . . . pines in the woods” – Virgil, *Georgics* Book 1, lines 252–56.

16. Agrippa is following the Renaissance understanding of the term *daemon*. The modern usage of “demon” typically implies an evil spirit. The Greek root, *daimon*, is more complex. Sometimes it

could mean a deity or sometimes a spirit. By the Renaissance, the Latin *daemon* often referred to a lower-level spirit, one that was more terrestrial. Some daemons were good, some evil. Later in Book Three, Agrippa quotes Iamblichus at length, showing that daemons could be attending spirits for people, places, and various activities of life. Some support life and happiness, others do not.

17. “duly know and understand . . . binding religious law” – Apuleius, *Apologia* §25.
18. “These three powerful faculties . . . unite and actuate” – Pliny, *Natural* 30:1, §1, and Pico, *Apologia* ee2.
19. “the ancients valued . . . most sacred science” – Pico, *Apologia* ee1–ee2.
20. “It is found illuminated . . . Apollonius of Tyana” – Pico, *Oratio*. Agrippa added Trismegistus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and Proclus. Gog and Germa possibly ref. Magnus, *Mineralibus* 2:3, 3.
21. “whose books Democritus . . . writer in this art” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 9:1.
22. “Pythagoras, Empedocles . . . sanctity and secrets” – Pico, *Oratio*.
23. “In fact Pythagoras . . . and divine things” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c3.
24. “if they are not educated . . . rationale of magic” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 78.

Chapter 3. Of the four elements, their qualities, and their mixtures with each other.

1. “none of the sensible elements . . . from lightning” – Plato, *Timaeus* 49b–d.
2. J.F. translated this as “changeable.” The Latin here is *intransmutabilem*, meaning “unchangeable.”
3. “Plato thought . . . into itself again” – Ficino, *Tymaeum* 43:1475; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 54b–55c, 56d.
4. “Each of the elements . . . moist and hot” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 13.
5. “Yet according to Plato . . . from fire (movement)” – Ficino, *Tymaeum* 23:1448–49; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 55d–56d.
6. “But fire is twice as thin . . . thus air is to fire” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 13; Ficino, *Tymaeum* 23:1448–49; Plato, *Timaeus* 32b–c.
7. “this is the root . . . in natural magic” – Trithemius, *Westenburgh* 81–82.

Chapter 4. Of the rationale of the threefold consideration of the elements.

1. $12 + 7 = 19$; $1 + 9 = 10$; $1 + 0 = 1$.

2. This entire chapter refers to and is a reduction of Trithemius's *Westenburgh*.

Chapter 5. Of the wonderful natures of fire and earth.

1. "all wonderful operations . . . fire is active" – *Corpus Hermeticum*, "Asclepius" §2.
2. "Fire, as Dionysius said, . . . most riches into itself" – Dionysius the Areopagite (attr.), *De Coelsti Hierarchia* 15, 2.
3. "Fire is the immense and shameless . . . destroying or producing" – Pliny, *Natural History* 36:27, §200.
4. "Fire is singular in itself . . . burning on the altar" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:17, 14; 1:4, 17; 3:3, 6; ref. Cicero, *Nature* 2:9–10; John 8:12; Leviticus 6:23; Pythagoras, *Symbola* 1979; Ficino, *Sole* 1 p. 965.
5. "Roman Vestal . . . over and guarded their fire" – Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 8:35.
6. "But of all the elements . . . generated from it" – Plato, *Timaeus* 49a; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 372e; *Corpus Hermeticum* i5, §2–3; Plutarch, *Placitis* 1, 9.
7. "It receives all fertility . . . spring of everything" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:7, 3.
8. "center and foundation . . . mother of all" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 16.
9. "There are great . . . harmonious washing" – Trithemius, *Westenburgh*.
10. "it is the first material . . . preserves us" – Pico, *Heptaplus* 1:4.

Chapter 6. The wonderful natures of water, air, and wind.

1. "Indeed, water . . . moistening with water" – Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 14:38.
2. "It is the seminal . . . testified to Nicodemus" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:7, 4; ref. "swimming in water" – Genesis 1:20–24; "God did not cause it to rain over the earth" – Genesis 2:5; "Christ . . . Nicodemus" – John 3:5.
3. "likewise has great power . . . even more powerful" – Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 14:38; ref. Hesiod, *Theogony* 116.
4. "because it commands . . . all things to grow" – Pliny, *Natural History* 31:1, §1–3.
5. "wonders of water written by Pliny, Solinus" – ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 31:2, §4–30; Solinus, *De Mirabilibus* 33:1–4, 52:41–52.
6. "at midday, horned Ammon, . . . drunk at light" – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15:309–23, 329–34.
7. "Additionally, Josephus referred . . . Jewish seventh day" – Josephus, *Jewish War* 7:5, 1.

8. “read in the Gospel . . . from their illness” – John 5:2–4.
9. “We read of the same power . . . sound and whole” – Pausanias, *Description* 6:22–27.
10. “that in Lyceus, . . . well irrigated” – Pausanias, *Description* 8:38, 3–4.
11. “the physician Rufus of Ephesus” – Compagni cites *Iatrikà erotémata*, in *Oeuvres* 215–16.
12. “Hence, Hebrew teachers . . . world’s instrument” – Giorgius, *Harmonia* 1:7, 4; Compagni ref. sources Abraham 3–4.
13. “it is nearest to all of the celestial . . . divinatory dreams” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 2:9, 7.
14. In this section “appearances” is from the Latin *species*, meaning “type, kind, splendor, or appearance.” Of course, one could use the English word “species,” but I feel the sense of the word needs to be clarified.
15. “They also say . . . rather than to another” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 3:3, 3.
16. “it is possibly natural . . . the Abbot Trithemius” – Trithemius, *Steganographia* 3.
17. “There are also certain images . . . proved and taught” – Plotinus, *Enneads* 4:5, 6–7.
18. “We see how in the south . . . when the clouds depart” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 2:2, 1.
19. “Aristotle showed in *Meteorology* . . . face in front of him” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 12:26; ref. *Aristotle*, *Meteorology* 3:4, 373b; Magnus, *Meteororum* 3:4, 13.
20. “another astonishing illusion . . . which Pythagoras frequently” – ref. Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 5:42.
21. *Apeliotes missing in J.F.*
22. “indeed, they are nothing more . . . water with frost” – Bede, *Venerabilis*, “Natura Rerum” 26–27; “From the north is Boreas . . . east comes Eurus” – Pontanus, *Meteororum* lines 669–70, b5; “Jerome called it the cupbearer of rain” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 8:28; ref. to St. Jerome unclear; “the south wind flies . . . feathered with dew” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1:264–67.
23. “With ready strength . . . shake the entire Globe” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6:690–99.
24. “Truly Zephyrus . . . rapidly voracious” – Bede, *Venerabilis*, “Natura Rerum” 27.
25. The Big Dipper.
26. “At dawn Eurus . . . from the south” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1:61–66.

Chapter 7. Of the types of compounds, how they are according to the elements, and how the elements agree with each other, with the soul, the senses, and behavior:

1. “After the four simple elements . . . solid with dryness” – Giorgius, *Harmonia* 1:6, 8.
2. Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:730
3. Petrified sponge.
4. Some kind of porous stone.
5. “some cicadas (which are called *pyraustae*)” – Pliny, *Natural History* 11:36. It appears that the attribution of cicadas to *pyraustae* is Agrippa’s interpretation, as this may be a mythical animal.
6. “are unable to melt . . . ostriches, and lions” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 14; Agrippa added “after fire because of their generative spirit”
7. “beasts that breathe with a fiery vapor” – *Book of Wisdom* 11:19.
8. J.F. translated as “yellow.” The Latin here is *rubra*, meaning red. Typically choler, or bile, is said to be yellow, but Agrippa’s source Giorgio in *De Harmonia Mundi* 1:6, 4 mentions red, pale yellow, dark yellow, and black bile. (*Hinc dicitur cholera rubea, citrina, uitellina, nigra, et huiusmodi.*)
9. “Additionally, in animals, . . . bodies for itself ” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 7; Augustine, *De Genesi* 3:4.
10. “Finally, in the soul itself, . . . and anger by fire” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 4–5, 7; ref. “the intellect refers to fire . . . senses to earth” – Augustine, *De Spiritu* 6; “for vision is fiery . . . dense bodies for itself ” – Augustine, *De Genesi* 3:4.

Chapter 8. How the elements are in the heavens, the stars, in daemons, in angels, and finally in God Himself.

1. “all things are in all” – ref. to 1 Corinthians 12:6, 15:28; Ephesians 1:23; Colossians 3:11.
2. “It is the unanimous opinion . . . natures of these things” – Ficino, *Tymaeum* 24:1449.
3. “In these inferior [bodies] . . . heat gives life” – ref. Pico, *Heptaplus*.
4. “Of the stars, Mars . . . and are shared with us” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 14–17.
5. “among the signs . . . has the end” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 21.
6. “daemons are distinguished . . . others watery” – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:f4.
7. “four infernal rivers . . . earthy Acheron” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 16.
8. “fire of hell” – Mark 9:44.
9. “eternal fire . . . ordered to go” – Matthew 25:41.
10. “lake of fire” – Revelation 19:20, 20:10.

- [11.](#) “and Isaiah spoke . . . with corrupt air” – Deuteronomy 28:22.
- [12.](#) “They will jump . . . snowy waters” – Job 24:19.
- [13.](#) “the land of darkness . . . misery and darkness” – Job 10:21–22.
- [14.](#) “Also the elements are placed . . . a [kind of] watery cleansing virtue” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 11.
- [15.](#) “cover its heights with water” – Psalms 103:3; there is a typo here, Agrippa wrote *regis* instead of *tegis*.
- [16.](#) “the wings of the wind” – Psalms 103:3, 17:11.
- [17.](#) “Makes your angels spirits . . . burning fire” – Psalms 103:4.
- [18.](#) “of the angelic orders . . . Domination and Principalities” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 15.
- [19.](#) “Let the earth open and bring forth a savior” – Isaiah 45:5.
- [20.](#) “fountain of living water, cleansing and regenerating” – Numbers 20:6.
- [21.](#) “isn’t the spirit breathing the same breath of life” – Genesis 2:7.
- [22.](#) “Moses and Paul testify is a ‘consuming fire’” – Deuteronomy 12:24 and Hebrews 12:29, respectively.
- [23.](#) “first in the inferiors . . . in all parts blessed” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 16.

Chapter 9. Of the virtues of natural things most closely depending upon the elements.

- [1.](#) “The virtues of some natural things . . . are cured and caused” – Averroes, *Colliget* 5:3–21.
- [2.](#) “Men greatly admire . . . never be extinguished” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 63.
- [3.](#) “on the other hand . . . without any harm” – Magnus, *Marvels* 109.
- [4.](#) “There is a kind of flax . . . cannot be clearly heard” – Pliny, *Natural History* 19:1, §19–20.

Chapter 10. Of the occult virtues of things.

- [1.](#) J.F. translated as “noxious vapors.” The Latin here is *anthraces*, lit. “ulcers.”
- [2.](#) “There are also other virtues . . . this or that thing” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 1.
- [3.](#) “being of small in quantity . . . needs more matter” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.

4. “But they are called occult . . . searching by reason” – Magnus, *Marvels* 78–79.
5. “We recognize that food . . . as the phoenix” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d.
6. “There is one bird . . . call the phoenix” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15:392–93.
7. “Egypt came together . . . this rare bird” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d; ref. Lactantius, *Phoenix* 151–52.
8. “Matreas once brought . . . beast of Matreas” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 6:35.
9. Aristotle, *On Marvelous Things Heard* 73, 835b.
10. Pliny, *Natural History* 9:57, §175–76.
11. Polybius, *Histories* 34:10.
12. “singing stones” – Pausanias, *Description* 1:42, §2.
13. “ostrich digests and distributes . . . red-hot iron” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 63.
14. “small fish known as . . . in any manner” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:1, §2.
15. “Thus of small creatures . . . Alexander the Great” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 64, “pyraustae” – ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 11:36.
16. “it is said that Noah . . . mountains of Armenia” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:2, 24.
17. “One of these spoke . . . emperor Constantine” – Pico, *De Rerum* 4:9; ref. St. Jerome, *Vita Sancti Pauli* 8, col. 23–24.

Chapter 11. How occult virtues are infused into kinds of things by ideas through the World Soul, the stellar rays, and which things are most abundant with this virtue.

1. “According to Platonists . . . superior Ideas” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 2.
2. “They define an Idea . . . matter as shadows” – Ficino, *Platonica Theologia* 11:4.
3. “as many seminal reasons . . . all of its qualities” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
4. “thus, as every species . . . power of operation” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 77.
5. “through the seminal method . . . its own Idea” – see also Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
6. “In this way, things are found . . . inability of matter” – see also Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 4.
7. “Fire is their power . . . hinder them” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:730–31.
8. “Whereby those things . . . more inferior species” – see also Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 2–3.

Chapter 12. How different virtues are infused into different individuals and species.

1. “singular individuals . . . heavens and stars” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1, 246.
2. The traditional meaning of “horoscope” is the rising degree of an astrological chart; i.e., the ascendant.
3. This is another way of referring to the placement of the planets and stars at the time of birth, not only constellations of stars.
4. “Indeed all individuals . . . celestial influences” – attr. Magnus, *Marvels* 77.
5. “obedience of generated . . . stars and orbs” – Magnus, *Mineralibus* 2:1, 2; ref. Avicenna, *Artis chemicae*.
6. “Thus the various effects . . . all other things” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 14; ref. 1 Corinthians 12:11.
7. “Therefore God infuses . . . agreeing harmony” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 8.

Chapter 13. From where occult virtues of things proceed.

1. “lodestone” – Pliny, *Natural History* 20: introduction §2.
2. “diamond destroying iron attraction” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:4, §61; Augustine, *City of God* 21:4; Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 1.
3. *Balagius*: J.F. translated as “jet”; however, Albertus Magnus in *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 2, described the balagius as “red colored” and as a kind of carbuncle. Ref. Augustine, *City of God* 21:5.
4. “carbuncle” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 3.
5. “aetite” – Pliny, *Natural History* 36:21, §151, 30:14, §130.
6. J.F. translated as “causing abortion.” The Latin here is *trahit*, literally meaning “draw.”
7. “jasper” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 8.
8. “echeneis” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:1, §2.
9. “It is well known . . . rhubarb expels choler” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 1.
10. “chameleon” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §113.
11. *perstringit* – literally “grazes.” Ref. “heliotrope” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:10, §165.
12. The identity of this stone is unknown but was sometimes believed to be solidified lynx urine; Ref. *lyncurius* – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 10.

- [13.](#) The identity of this stone is unknown. Ref. “liparis” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:10, §172; Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 10.
- [14.](#) The identities of these stones are unknown. Ref. “Synochitides and anachitides” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:11, §192.
- [15.](#) Giorgio writes *eumetis*. The identity of this stone is unknown.
- [16.](#) “chameleon’s liver . . . oracular dreams” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 4, except “heliotrope” and “lyncurius.”
- [17.](#) Unknown plant. Pliny writes it as *latacen*.
- [18.](#) “Ethiopian herb . . . abundance of things” – Pliny, *Natural History* 26:4, §18.
- [19.](#) J.F. omitted “Spartan.” It seems that Agrippa added it himself since it doesn’t appear in the original Pliny.
- [20.](#) “Scythian herb . . . hunger and thirst” – Pliny, *Natural History* 25:8, §82–83.
- [21.](#) J.F. translated as “oracle.” The Latin is *numine*, which is literally “divine will” or “god.” The source text uses *Deus*, meaning “God.”
- [22.](#) “Apuleius said . . . not be spared” – Apuleius (attr.), *De Virtubus Herbarum* gg4.
- [23.](#) The Latin here is *formtricibus*, which has the connotation of a founder like in metallurgy. In other words, Ideas form things like a metallurgist forms things out of metal.
- [24.](#) “However, from where these virtues come . . . and virtue of each thing” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 4; ref. “Albertus to the specific forms of things” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 2–4; “which Plato said in the *Timaeus*” – Plato, *Timaeus* 41a–d.
- [25.](#) “There is a virtue . . . with the sons of men.” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 31; ref. Daniel 3:76–79.
- [26.](#) “The authority of the First Cause . . . darkened the Sun.” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 16; ref. Joshua 10:12–13; 2 Kings 20:9–11; Matthew 27:45.

Chapter 14. Of what the World Spirit is and how it binds occult virtues.

- [1.](#) “Democritus, Orpheus . . . full of gods” – See also Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 1.
- [2.](#) “since there is nothing . . . its own nature” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:2, 1.
- [3.](#) “called divine virtues . . . symbolic allurements” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 8; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
- [4.](#) “*Primum Mobile*,” a reference to Aristotle’s idea of the Prime Mover.

5. “It is true that the soul . . . its own will” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
6. “However the body . . . to the body” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:3.
7. A “fifth essence.”
8. “the virtues . . . from the spirit” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
9. “drawing from the stellar rays . . . immediately made” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:3.
10. J.F. writes, “that is an extense form and not intense” – The Latin here is *extensa et non intensa*.

Chapter 15. How we must investigate and test the virtues of things by way of acceptance and similarity.

1. “It is well known . . . by our reason” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.
2. “must consider this . . . becomes salt” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 74.
3. “Indeed, every agent . . . sensible flesh” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d5.
4. “Therefore, in those things . . . help the lungs” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 74–75.
5. “if eye of a frog . . . left for the left” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:7, §74.
6. Neither Agrippa, nor his source Albertus Magnus, give any examples of barren animals other than mules. Mules are generally infertile animals, as they are bred from horses and donkeys. Astrologically, they are ruled by Saturn and Mars, also considered barren planets.
7. J.F. translated as “turtle,” an archaic term for turtledove. The Latin here is *turtur*.
8. “the feet of a tortoise . . . captivation and intensity” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 81.
9. “increasing boldness . . . eyes or forehead” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 80.
10. *Corvi* – J.F. translated as “crows.”
11. “Psellus the Platonist . . . hearts, and eyes” – Psellus, *Excerpta* 1944.
12. “The same is true . . . it is discarded” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:15, §140.
13. “frogs and horned . . . in their sleep” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:5, §49.
14. “heart of a horned owl . . . someone sleeping” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §81.
15. “stags renew their old age” – Magnus, *De Animalibus* 22:2, 1.
16. “phoenix” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:2, §3–5.

- [17.](#) “pelicans” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 57.
- [18.](#) “animals who are long-lived . . . they do restore” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:2, 16.
- [19.](#) “just as Medea . . . aged Peliae” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:20; ref. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7:302–49.
- [20.](#) “blood of a bear . . . animal is the strongest” – Saxo, *Danish History* 2.

Chapter 16. How the operations of different virtues are transferred from one thing to another, and how they are shared with each other.

- [1.](#) “Indeed, this stone . . . becomes possible” – Plato, *Ion* 533d.
- [2.](#) Augustine, *City of God* 21:4.
- [3.](#) Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 11.
- [4.](#) “a public prostitute . . . shameless, and extravagant” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 80.
- [5.](#) “cloth that was used . . . wonderful qualities” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §49.
- [6.](#) written by Pliny . . . restored again” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:6, §130–31.

Chapter 17. How the virtues of things are investigated and tested by hatred and friendship.

- [1.](#) “Again, in the heavens, . . . Moon with Venus” – Alchabitius, *Ad Magisterium* 19v.
- [2.](#) “Whatever has friendly . . . not resting” – See also Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46; 2:3, 21.
- [3.](#) This is one of Heraclitus’s most famous statements. His works only survive in fragments and quotes.
- [4.](#) “However, . . . wealth and favor” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46; ref. Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 8.
- [5.](#) “jasper . . . childbirth” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:5. J.F. translated as “birth of anything.” The Latin here is *partum*.
- [6.](#) “agate in eloquence” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.
- [7.](#) “naptha draws fire . . . direction it sees” – Pliny, *Natural History* 2:105, §235.
- [8.](#) “herb aproxis . . . like naptha” – Pliny, *Natural History* 24:17, §158. Tyson mentioned that this plant could be the white dittany, which has a flammable sap.
- [9.](#) “masculine and feminine . . . mutual affection” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 11.

10. “friendship between blackbirds . . . turtledoves and parrots” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:74, §207.
11. “Often white pigeons . . . green birds” – Ovid, *Heroides* 15:37–38.
12. “Again, small fish and whales are friends” – Pliny, *Natural History* 9:62, §186.
13. “Thus felines . . . of a male” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 3.
14. “Mares in Cappadocia . . . that force conceive” – Augustine, *City of God* 21:5; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 8:42, 166.
15. *Apium risus* – some sources identify this as chervil and others as pasque flower. J.F. may be correct in calling it “pasque flower” since it is poisonous and causes vomiting and convulsions.
16. *Origanum*.
17. “Again tortoises, . . . from wild marjoram” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:27, §98.
18. Agrippa writes *regulum*, which refers to Pliny’s “basilisk,” meaning “little king.” In Pliny, a basilisk is a kind of small venomous snake. Magnus (attr.), in the Best and Brightman *Marvels*, translates this passage as “serpent.”
19. “A weasel . . . against poisons” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 87.
20. “Thus in certain animals of the poison” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 3.
21. *Chelidonium*, literally “swallow-wort.”
22. “swallows . . . their chicks” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:27, §97–98.
23. *Palumbi* – J.F. translated as “crane.”
24. *Corvi* – J.F. translated as “crow.”
25. “Similarly, ravens . . . extinguish poison” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:27, §101.
26. “Lions . . . eat an ape” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:76.
27. *Upupa* – J.F. translated as “lapwing.”
28. “Hoopoes, . . . by maidenhair” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:93. The Latin for “maidenhair” is *Adiantum*. J.F. translated this as “southernwood.” I believe this is because the Latin for southernwood is similar: *Adonium*.
29. “Thus, stags . . . that herb” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:27, §97.
30. *Caprae cretenses* – J.F. translated as “the same do goats in Candy.” Candy is an old term for Crete.
31. “It is the same . . . called hartwort” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 6; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 8:32, §112; “stags” – Cicero, *On the Nature* 2 §126–27. The Latin for “hartwort” is *Seselis*. J.F. translated this as “mountain osier”; i.e., water willow.

- [32.](#) “when venomous spiders . . . their health” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:27, §97.
- [33.](#) “Also, pigs . . . eating [crabs]” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:5, §55.
- [34.](#) *Toxico gallico* – J.F. translated as “French poison,” but what this refers to is unknown.
- [35.](#) Unknown.
- [36.](#) “Ravens . . . seek a cure” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 6.
- [37.](#) *Sideritide* – J.F. translated as “wall sage.” This is probably correct as pointed out by Tyson on p. 57, but I chose the more common name. The genus of ironwort is *sideritis*.
- [38.](#) *Helxine* – J.F. translated as “wall pellitory.” Bostock and Riley’s translation of Pliny agrees, so this might be correct. In modern botany, helxine is a different plant (*Soleirolia soleirolii*) known by many names.
- [39.](#) “Elephants . . . artichoke” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:27, §101; 100, 98.

Chapter 18. Of the inclinations of enmities.

- [1.](#) J.F. translated as “choler.” The Latin is *cholera*.
- [2.](#) Atheriac is an ointment or other mixture that is an antidote against poison or venom.
- [3.](#) “On the other hand . . . flowing blood” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
- [4.](#) “emerald . . . lust” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:5.
- [5.](#) Epilepsy.
- [6.](#) “agate . . . black bile” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.
- [7.](#) “and stomach pain” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 6.
- [8.](#) “topaz . . . excessive love” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
- [9.](#) “Likewise, . . . marjoram” – Horapollo, *Hierglyphics* 2:34.
- [10.](#) “bat’s wing” – Horapollo, *Hierglyphics* 2:64.
- [11.](#) *Solifugis* – Literally, “fleeing from the Sun.” J.F. translated as a “certain poisonous fly,” but it seems that *solifugis* refers to a poisonous ant, judging from Pliny.
- [12.](#) “poisonous ant . . . marjoram” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §92; 10:70, §195; Horapollo, *Hierglyphica* 2:34.
- [13.](#) *Apium raninum* – unknown plant.

14. “Thus the diamond . . . naturally appears” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
15. *Ocimum* – J.F. translated as “garden basil,” but Compagni sources Horapollon 2:79, where the Alexander Cory version translates this as “fleabane.” Basil is certainly correct as Pliny also discusses this in *Natural History* 20:12, §119–20, and Bostock & Riley also translate this as “basil.” Additionally, the modern genus of basil is *ocimum*.
16. “goats also . . . more destructive” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:79.
17. “which with cheese . . . spoil with age” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:15, §144.
18. “Scorpions . . . scorpion stings” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §90. In Pliny, “they” refers to women who are jealous of another’s beauty.
19. “we read . . . be cured” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 87.
20. *Stalabores* – unknown. From the context, this is clearly a venomous and/or a stinging animal.
21. *Ichneumons* – a parasitic wasp. Mentioned in Pliny, *Natural History* 8:24, §87.
22. “It is likewise said . . . are tormented” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:5, §55.
23. “Scorpions . . . each other” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:35.
24. “If the feather . . . immobilized” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:81.
25. “The bird . . . horse” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:50.
26. “stag . . . ram” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:85.
27. “also . . . viper” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:87.
28. “Elephants . . . pig” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 2:86.
29. “as do lions . . . rooster” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:21, §47.
30. “Leopards . . . boiled in it” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §78.
31. J.F. translated “crows” as “daws,” which is *cucus* in Latin. Agrippa’s Latin is *cornices*. “enmity . . . crows” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:74, §207.
32. Very similar to *pyrallis*, another name for *pyrausta*.
33. Unknown birds. It’s also not in Pliny, and J.F. left this out.
34. “among birds . . . turtledoves” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:74, §203–4.
35. Tyson points out that this is a type of falcon. So far I’ve been unable to locate a different source for this. This seems to be Cyrillic in origin, but the identity of this bird is unclear.
36. While it is unusual to list stags in this section, Agrippa is showing a natural enemy of dragons.

- [37.](#) *Cestris et lupus* – This fish is unknown. In Pliny, this is a mullet; the Latin is *mugil*.
- [38.](#) “wolf-fish . . . polyps” – Pliny, *Natural History* 9:62, §185. It is clear this is Agrippa’s source, but the first section is quite different. J.F. translated the first section as “mulletts and pikes, lampreys and congers.”
- [39.](#) “Likewise, leopards . . . drop off” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §93.
- [40.](#) *Orus Apollo*.
- [41.](#) Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* 2:72.
- [42.](#) “Likewise, lambs . . . flee from them” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
- [43.](#) The identity of this bird is uncertain. J.F. and Tyson say the *esalon* is the merlin, and this may be correct, but I’ve been unable to confirm this outside of the modern taxonomical name.
- [44.](#) Unknown bird. J.F. translated as “linnet,” which is possibly correct but uncertain.
- [45.](#) Unknown bird. J.F. confused this with *esalon*. Tyson believes this is a kind of small buzzard.
- [46.](#) “Pliny reported . . . of an *egithus*” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:74, §204–5.
- [47.](#) “dissent between olives . . . wither up entirely” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
- [48.](#) “Lions fear . . . more than this” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* 2:75.
- [49.](#) “A wolf . . . beget worms” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* 2:74.
- [50.](#) “Horses . . . camels” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:16, §67.
- [51.](#) J.F. translated as “cock.” The Latin here is *ariete*.
- [52.](#) “raging elephant . . . smeared with oil” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 8:46; ref. Plutarch, *Symposiacs* 2:7.

Chapter 19. How the virtues of things are investigated and tested, which things belong to the entire species, or what things are developed by being granted to particular individuals.

- [1.](#) “boldness . . . sparrows” – Throughout Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 80–81.
- [2.](#) “some men . . . heavy shivering” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46
- [3.](#) “Avicenna . . . uninjured” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 6:35; ref. Avicenna, *De Animalibus* 8:2.
- [4.](#) *Agrippina Colonia*.
- [5.](#) “Albertus . . . delightedly ate” – Magnus, *De Animalibus* 7:2, 5.

6. “suffered sickness . . . cures quartan” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 94. A quartan is a fever occurring every fourth day, now known as malaria.

**Chapter 20. How natural virtues in some [things] are throughout
their entire substance, but in other [things] in certain parts or
members.**

1. “Again, you . . . all of its parts” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 75.
2. “small fish . . . to a stop” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:1, §2.
3. J.F. translated as “civet cat.” The Latin here is *Hyaena*.
4. “the hyena . . . their speech” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:30, §106.
5. *Chelidonia*.
6. “The celandine . . . sight” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:27, §98.
7. “eyes of a basilisk” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §66.
8. Uncertain, but possibly a gnu. J.F. left this animal out from his translation.
9. “*catoblepas* . . . see them” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:21, §77–78.
10. “eyes of the hyena . . . to move” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:30, §106.
11. “certain wolves . . . a voice” – attr. Magnus, *Marvels* 93.
12. “likewise the voice . . . Moeris first” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 9:53–54.
13. Triballia – The Triablli were a Thracian tribe roughly in Serbia.
14. “Also, some women . . . angrily looking at them” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16; also Pliny, *Natural History* 7:2, §16.
15. “Telchian people . . . drowned them” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7:365–67.
16. “ants . . . hoopoe” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
17. “lizard’s gall . . . weasels” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §73.
18. “goat’s liver . . . moths” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:10, §162. J.F. translated *tineis* as “maggots.”
19. “dog’s heart . . . dogs flee” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:5, §99.
20. “Likewise, foxes . . . fox’s liver” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:20, §265.
21. “thus many things . . . ears hearing” – Plotinus, *Enneads* 4:4, §36.

[22.](#) לוז – “Luz,” possibly the coccyx; ref. Kaufmann Kohler, *Jewish Encyclopedia* 1906.

[23.](#) “And in the human body . . . the dead” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:7, 1.

Chapter 21. Of the virtues of things that belong to themselves only in their lifetime, and those [virtues] that remain in them even after death.

[1.](#) “they say . . . duck will die” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:7, §61.

[2.](#) “Archytas said . . . will lift.” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 91. Albertus specifies a serpent’s heart.

[3.](#) “if you swallow . . . divination.” This is an aggregation from Magnus (attr.), *Marvels*, *Secrets*, and Pliny. “Hoopoe” is from *Marvels* 94; “weasel,” *Secrets* 56; and “mole,” Pliny 30, 3, §19–20. Tyson sources “swallow” at *Secrets* 37–38, but this refers to a “swallow-stone,” which is drawn from the belly of a swallow and not a swallow’s heart. The original Latin in *Secrets* may be different.

[4.](#) “general precept . . . alive afterward” – See also Ficino, *Three Books* 3:11.

[5.](#) J.F. left out “eye.”

[6.](#) “removes the tongue . . . whatever is asked” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:5, §49; Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 99–100.

[7.](#) A fever reoccurring every third day.

[8.](#) “frog’s eyes . . . sleep away” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:10, §115–16.

[9.](#) *Pastinacae radius* – J.F. translated as “fork-fish.”

[10.](#) “ray of a stingray . . . sea again” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:10, §133.

[11.](#) “right eye of a serpent . . . release it.” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:6, §131.

[12.](#) Possibly a moray eel judging from Pliny, *Natural History* 9:29, §76.

[13.](#) J.F. translated this as “and that he is taken blind that did not let the fish go.” The Latin here “*sed altero illum capi lumine, qui viventem non dimiserit.*”

[14.](#) “teeth of all serpents . . . quartan fever” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 92.

[15.](#) “teeth removed . . . cure toothaches” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:3, §20.

[16.](#) “dogs . . . that was released” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:5, §99.

[17.](#) Democritus . . . might be destructive” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §114.

[18.](#) “There are also qualities . . . operate wonders” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:1, 2.

19. “an eagle . . . feathers and plumes” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 90–91.
20. “pelt of a lion . . . pelt of lamb” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §93.
21. “a drum made . . . skin of a lamb” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 91.
22. *Ericii Marini* – J.F. translated as “rotchet,” which Tyson identifies with the “red gurnard” fish. The source for Agrippa’s statement is unclear, but an ericius is a beam studded with spikes that is used for battle, and marini means “sea” or something from the sea. This could be a sea-urchin according to Lewis and Short’s *A Latin Dictionary*, 1879.
23. “and a lyre . . . from a sheep” – Magnus, *De Animalibus* 22:2, 1.

Chapter 22. How inferior things are under celestial bodies, and how the human body, activities, and customs of man are assigned to the stars and signs.

1. “they belong . . . highest inferior” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,928.
2. J.F. seems to have confused this section. He wrote Mercury’s rulerships as part of the Sun’s rulerships, and Saturn’s with Mercury’s. I believe the reason for this is that in the Latin, the ruling planet is placed at the end of each sentence. While not Agrippa’s direct source, there is a similar list in Al-Biruni, *Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, 423–26.
3. *Naribus* – J.F. translated as “buttocks.” The Latin for buttocks is very similar (*natis* or *natibus*). Traditionally the buttocks are ruled by Saturn.
4. Base of the spine.
5. “Indeed, concerning this, it is necessary . . . power of increase” – Critinas, *De Honesta* 12:2.
6. “Indeed, Hermes . . . mouth to Mercury” – *Sefer Raziel* 1:4.
7. “individual signs of the zodiac . . . Pisces rules the feet” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:10.
8. The triplicities are a traditional astrological dignity related to the four elements. There are three fire signs, three air signs, and so on.
9. “as the triplicities . . . stomach ceases” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 17.
10. J.F. translated as “marks.” The Latin is *termini*. Terms are the unequal divisions of each sign, each ruled by a planet. The Sun and Moon don’t rule any terms.
11. *Facies* – This is translated as “decan” or “face,” depending on the source. Both have the same sign divisions, but some systems give different planetary rulerships to decans versus faces. Decans and faces are the three 10-degree divisions of each sign.
12. *Gariophyllon* – J.F. translated as “clove-gilliflowers.” Kaske/Clark translated this as “clove” in *Three*

Books on Life. The gillyflower, carnation, or clove pink was often used as a substitute for cloves.

- 13. *Doronicum* – Possibly the *doronicum orientale*, which is a poisonous yellow flower. J.F. omitted this.
- 14. “peony . . . head and heart” – Ficino, *Three Books* 2:13.
- 15. *Arnoglossa* – J.F. translated as “ribwort.” This is possibly the *plantago lanceolata*, or lamb’s tongue.
- 16. “plantago . . . testicles” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 20.
- 17. “Saturn confers . . . are called ‘martial’” – Giorgius, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24–26.

Chapter 23. How we shall know under which star natural things are and which things are Solar.

- 1. “It is truly . . . certain stars” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,929.
- 2. “Thus, among Solar [things] . . . sharp and sweet” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 27; except “vital spirit” – 1:6, 26.
- 3. “its strengthening heart” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:11.
- 4. The identity of this stone is uncertain.
- 5. “Among stones, . . . emits a ray” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:14; except “has a virtue against falling sickness and poison” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 5.
- 6. *Confert* – lit. “gathers,” “unites.”
- 7. “the crysolite . . . repels follies” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 3.
- 8. “stone iris . . . opposite wall” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 8.
- 9. i.e., make one invisible.
- 10. “heliotrope . . . following the Sun” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46; Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 5; Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 35–36.
- 11. *Hyacinthus* – Although hyacinth has a modern connotation of zircon, this indicates a yellow sapphire. In the ancient world, the stone that is now called sapphire was always specifically referred to as blue sapphire.
- 12. “Hyacinth . . . cheer the mind” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 8; Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 47, though Albertus doesn’t say to hold it in the mouth.
- 13. Unknown stone.
- 14. “the pyrophilos, . . . against adversaries” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 14. Albertus calls this stone the *prassius*, and its description is “like an emerald,” thus different from Agrippa’s description. The

quote is otherwise identical.

15. Unknown stone.
16. “found by Apollonius . . . against all poisons” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15.
17. “Leopard” is *panthera* in Latin.
18. Unknown stone. According to Lecouteux in *A Lapidary of Sacred Stones*, 255, this is the same stone as *pantherus* mentioned immediately above.
19. Source unknown.
20. “Other Solar [stones], . . . balas ruby” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 27.
21. “Likewise Solar . . . very bright” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
22. J.F. translated as “marigold.” The Latin here is *heliotropium*.
23. *Lotos* – this can simply mean “lotus,” but even though Agrippa describes this as a “small tree,” judging from Ficino and Giorgio (*Harmonia* 1:4, 27), this is likely a regular lotus rather than the “lote-tree” as translated by J.F., and in turn Tyson’s Quranic reference. *Lotos* is Greek for “lotus.”
24. *Verbena* . . . evil daemons” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 2:3, 22.
25. i.e., Apollo.
26. An Indian spice somewhat like ginger.
27. *Libanotis*.
28. “Orpheus . . . Sun” – *Orphic Hymn* 8. This is typically frankincense.
29. “mint . . . bull” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1, 3:12, 3:14.
30. “such as the lion . . . called *Pathim*” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 18; ref. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1:21. Instead of *Pathim*, Giorgio uses *Pacim*, and Macrobius uses *Bacim*.
31. Another name for Leto, the daughter of Coeus and Phoebus.
32. “the baboon . . . of a kind bird” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 18; Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 1:16.
33. *Olor* and *cygnus* are two words for swan in Latin.
34. “*alar*, . . . raven” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,929; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:14.
35. “the hawk . . . among the Solar” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 27; ref. Porphyry, *De Abstinencia* 4:9.
36. “which is called a cat” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 1:10. Horapollon gives many reasons for this, foremost being that the cat is supposed to change their eyes with the Sun.
37. “scarab, . . . from above” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 18; Auvergne, *De*

Universo 1:3, 3.

- 38. “according to Apion’s interpretation . . . judged Solar” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:11, §99.
- 39. “sea-calves . . . lightning” – Pliny, *Natural History* 2:55, §146.
- 40. “mollusks . . . scorching heat” – Pliny, *Natural History* 9:60–61, §183–84.
- 41. Possibly a sea snail strombus.
- 42. Lit. “pearl fish.” The identity of this fish is unclear – possibly an oyster.

Chapter 24. Of things that are under the Moon.

- 1. “among elements is earth” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 14.
- 2. “also water . . . tasteless” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 30, Overlapping slightly between chapters 14 and 30 of Giorgio.
- 3. “among the metals . . . white and green” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2.
- 4. “selenites . . . each day” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:10, §181; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15.
- 5. “pearls, . . . crystal and beryl” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 15.
- 6. Alternately the *selenotrope*. The identity of this plant isn’t clear.
- 7. “*selenotropion*, . . . toward the Sun.” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,928.
- 8. “palm trees . . . moonrise” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:3.
- 9. “hyssop, . . . sharing from each” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:4, 6.
- 10. According to Best and Brightman, *Book of Secrets* p. 19, this may be chickweed.
- 11. “*chinostates*, . . . with the Moon” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 19.
- 12. i.e., nature of Mars.
- 13. “Martial onion . . . increases” – Critinas, *De Honesta* 4:6.
- 14. “the quail, . . . Moon and Sun” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:49. “Quail” in the Latin here is *origis*, from the Greek ὀρυγα, “ortyga.”
- 15. “rejoice in human company . . . various signs” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 30.
- 16. “baboons” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:14.
- 17. “cats . . . with the Moon” – Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 376, 63.

18. “hyena . . . gender” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:69.
19. *Lutres*.
20. “mice . . . decaying earth” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:1, 4.
21. *Mercuri* – lit. “diver.” J.F. translated as “didapper,” which Tyson identified as the *podiceps-minor*, a kind of diving bird. Tyson is possibly correct, but I chose “grebe” because the term denotes a more general grouping, of which the *podiceps-minor* is a part. There is a mention of this with the Latin *merculus* in the OED entry on “ducker.”
22. “equivocally produce . . . corrupted wine” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:1, 4.
23. i.e., a new Moon. J.F. translated as “will be a conjunction of their brightness.”
24. “especially Lunar . . . scarabs emerge” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:10.
25. The identity of this fish isn’t clear. In Latin, this simply means “cat.” Tyson identifies this as a sea-catfish. However, Agrippa’s source, Aulus Gellius, doesn’t give any indication this is even a fish but rather a normal cat. Gellius’s statement echoes Agrippa’s earlier mention of cats’ eyes growing larger and smaller with the Moon, referencing Plutarch. He also repeats the earlier statement about onions.
26. *Torpedo* – J.F. translated as “tortoise.”
27. “*aelurus*, . . . oysters” – Gellius, *Attic* 20:8.

Chapter 25. What is under Saturn.

1. “among elements . . . sharp, and heavy” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24.
2. Unknown. While this isn’t a contemporary source, the only other information I was able to find was the source quoted by Tyson, from Spence, *An Encyclopedia of Occultism*, describing the ziazaa as a black and white stone that “renders its possessor litigious, and causes terrible visions.”
3. Unknown.
4. “stones . . . dark and heavy” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24.
5. From Homer’s *Odyssey* 24:14 “. . . to where the dead inhabit wastes of asphodel at the world’s end.” Also known as the “asphodel meadows.” Tyson points out this could be the white daffodil, which agrees with William Turner’s *The Names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englishe, Dutch and Frenche* (1548).
6. J.F. translated as “dragonwort,” but the identity of *serpentaria* itself is uncertain.
7. J.F. translated as “the tree from which benzoine comes,” which would be the styrax. The Latin here is *silphium*, a now extinct plant primarily used for contraception.

8. “plants . . . stupefies” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24; except *asphodel*, Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 18.
9. “does not sow . . . black fig” – Critinas, *De Honesta* 20:6; Pliny, *Natural History* 16:26, §108; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3:20, §2.
10. Cypressess were often used in funerary rites in the ancient world and often planted at graves.
11. i.e., Pluto.
12. *Apium* – J.F. translated as “pas-flower,” which is what he also called the *apium risus* in ch. 17.
13. “camels . . . Peacocks” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24; except “dragon” and “toad.”
14. “quails . . . envious of birds” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:49.
15. “eels . . . separately from other fish” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:49.
16. J.F. translated as “lamprey.” J.F.’s justification for this translation is uncertain, and I’ve found no other sources. The more common Latin word for lamprey is *murena*.
17. “oysters . . . from them” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 21.

Chapter 26. That which is of Jupiter.

1. “among elements . . . sweet and agreeable” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 25.
2. “gold, because of its temperament” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16.
3. This is zinc oxide according to Kaske/Clark, *Three Books* p. 506, often used in paints and ointments. Omitted by J.F.
4. “stones . . . airy colors” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1; except tuthia.
5. Possibly *anthyllis barba-jovis*, a perennial shrub.
6. *Buglossa*.
7. *Spica* – Tyson attributes this to French lavender. However, both Ficino and Giorgio use *spica nardi*.
8. J.F. translated as “darnel,” identified by Tyson as *lolium temulentum*. The Latin is *lilium*.
9. “basil . . . henbane” – Ficino, *Three Books* 2:13; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 25.
10. *Foelices* – alternately lucky or fruitful.
11. According to Bostock and Riley, this could be a bay-oak, holm-oak, or beech. J.F. translated as “tree an oak, but much bigger.” Tyson identified it as the chestnut-oak.
12. *Ilex*.

13. Mentioned twice by Agrippa.
14. “trees that are happy . . . dogwood” – Critinas, *De Honesta* 20:6. Note that the Latin for “dogwood,” *cornus*, can also mean “cherry tree.”
15. “olives . . . styrax” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 25; Orpheus ref. *Orphic Hymns* 19.
16. “elephants, . . . pheasants” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 25.
17. “*cucupha*” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:55. The identity of this bird is uncertain. Some historians, for example Maspero in *History Of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria* 2:1, believe this is a hoopoe. J.F. translated as “cuckoo.”
18. “the eagle . . . justice and mercy” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 25.
19. The identity of this fish is unclear. Tyson says that this is the *anthias* mentioned by Pliny in *Natural History* 9:59, §180. Bostock and Riley believe this is the gilthead bream.

Chapter 27. That which refers to Mars.

1. “Martial element . . . cause tears” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 26.
2. “Among metals, . . . bloodstone” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2; except diamond.
3. Unknown.
4. “jasper, . . . abundantly hot” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 26.
5. “eaten, causes tears . . . shallot” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 26. Shallot = *ascalonia* – Tyson identifies this as a scallion. In ancient times, the shallot was believed to be from Ashkelon in Israel.
6. *Cornus* – J.F. translated as “dogwood.” This is among the correct translations of *cornus* as seen in the previous chapter, but *cornus* also means “horn,” which fits better in this context.
7. *Pardus* – J.F. translated as “*libard*.” *Pardus* can mean “leopard” or “panther.” I chose panther since leopard was already identified Book One, ch. 24, with the Latin *panthera*, which is more commonly “leopard.”
8. “horses . . . gadflies” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 26.
9. “baboons . . . anger.” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:14. Baboons were earlier said to be Solar, and this type of repetition can be observed throughout these lists of attributions. Things can be ruled by several planets, and planetary rulerships in traditional material may often contradict. The reason for this is because rulerships were derived by attributing shared qualities between planets and nature. These could overlap, rather than fall into discrete lists.
10. *Tinnunculi*.

- [11.](#) “those birds that are said to be dreadful . . . crows” – Critinas, *De Honesta* 21:15.
- [12.](#) *Arietem* – Unknown.
- [13.](#) J.F. translated as “sturgeon.” The Latin simply means “goat.” The modern goatfish is the same as the red mullet.
- [14.](#) Lit. “wolf.” May not be the same species as the modern wolf-fish.
- [15.](#) Unknown.

Chapter 28. That which is of Venus.

- [1.](#) “elements . . . water” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 16.
- [2.](#) “spirit, . . . red types of brass” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 28; except “seed.”
- [3.](#) “stones . . . white or green.” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 28.
- [4.](#) “verbena” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 21–22.
- [5.](#) Lucifer is Venus when she rises before the Sun, and Hesperus is when she rises after.
- [6.](#) “thyme . . . Hesperus” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 28.
- [7.](#) “male goats . . . after begetting” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:48.
- [8.](#) “wagtails, swallows” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 81.
- [9.](#) *Chenalopex* – J.F. translated as “burgander,” which Tyson identified as the cheldrake. *Chenalopex* is often translated as “Egyptian goose,” but both are waterfowl, so essentially the difference may not be that great.
- [10.](#) “pelicans, . . . their chicks” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:53–54.
- [11.](#) “pigeon . . . beneficial” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 28.
- [12.](#) Agrippa wrote “thirteen,” but his source Horapollo says thirty. Horapollo makes the connection between the number of times the eagle is “conquered” and the number of days in a month.
- [13.](#) “Also, the Egyptians . . . charges again” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:8.
- [14.](#) Typically *grues* means “crane.” This could be Agrippa’s error, or this refers to an unknown fish. J.F. translated as “pilchard.”
- [15.](#) Uncertain, lit. “scar-fish.” J.F. translated as “gilthead” and Tyson as a dolphin.
- [16.](#) Unknown. J.F. translated as “whiting.”

Chapter 29. Of what follows Mercury.

1. “elements . . . among all” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 15.
2. “among humors . . . exotic and mixed” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 29.
3. “Of metals . . . yellow and green.” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 29.
4. *Mercurialis Perennis*.
5. *Pimpinella*.
6. “Among plants . . . varying colors” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 29; except cinquefoil, Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 20.
7. “Of animals . . . stags” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 29.
8. “hyenas” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:69.
9. J.F. translated as nightingale, but the more common Latin word for nightingale, *philomela*, is farther down, which J.F. translated as “gnatsapper.” In modern taxonomy, *ficedula* is a genus of small fly-catching birds of which the nightingale is part.
10. Possibly a kind of lark.
11. “ibis” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:36.
12. “Among birds . . . porphyrio” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 29; except nightingale, magpie, and ibis.
13. “one-horned scarab” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:10. This refers to the insect. Renaissance authors frequently lumped together anything that could fly. It is similar with things that swim.
14. “trochus . . . male and female” – Pliny, *Natural History* 9:52, §166.
15. “the octopus . . . changes colors” – Pliny, *Natural History* 9:29, §87.
16. “stingray . . . skill” – Pliny, *Natural History* 9:42, §144.
17. “gray mullet . . . tail” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:2, §12.

Chapter 30. How the entire sublunary world, and that which is in it, is distributed among the planets.

1. “In a similar way . . . continuation of all” – Ficino, *Tymaeum* 1,459.
2. “In vegetation . . . leaves with the Moon” – *Sefer Raziel* 3:2.
3. “in stones, . . . with the Moon” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 18.

Chapter 31. How the planets are distributed among the provinces and kingdoms.

1. Part of modern-day Iran.
2. Part of modern-day Turkey and Armenia.
3. Sarmatia, the area on the north part of the Black Sea.
4. Region around Afghanistan and Uzbekistan.
5. Samarkand province in modern-day Uzbekistan.
6. Generally referred to by Pliny as the region of Africa stretching from around the horn of Africa to the southern tip. Some scholars say it specifically refers to modern-day Somalia or Tanzania.
7. Ancient empire on the northwestern tip of modern-day Iran.
8. *Tuscia* – Originally an Italian region covering much of the west-central part of Italy including Tuscany.
9. A large portion of modern-day France.
10. The southern Saudi Arabian peninsula.
11. Ancient province in southern Asia Minor in modern-day Turkey.
12. An ancient kingdom in western Asia Minor.
13. A province in southern Asia Minor.
14. A province in southern Asia Minor.
15. Northern part of Libya near the Gulf of Sudra.
16. Central Libya.
17. Bastarnae, roughly modern-day Moldova and Ukraine north of the Black Sea.
18. Kingdom of Edom.
19. Northwest Syria.
20. Part of modern-day Morocco.
21. Ancient region in north Africa roughly corresponding with modern-day Algeria.
22. Province in southern Italy.
23. *Orsenii* or *Orchenii* – Most likely Uruk in Mesopotamia. Another Latin name is Orchoi, from the Greek.

- [24.](#) Probably China.
- [25.](#) Possibly the Kharga Oasis in Egypt.
- [26.](#) The African side of the Red Sea.
- [27.](#) A part of the Persian empire on the southern part of the Caspian Sea.
- [28.](#) Modern-day Lake Urmia in Iran.
- [29.](#) A region on the modern-day northeastern coast of Libya.
- [30.](#) Near Cyrenaica on the same coast of Libya just west of Egypt.
- [31.](#) In the far southwest part of modern-day Iran. Mentioned in Chronicles 1:17 and Genesis 10:22.
- [32.](#) Roman province in Asia Minor.
- [33.](#) A state in western Georgia.
- [34.](#) “kingdoms and provinces . . . may be added” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 10; ref. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 2:3.
- [35.](#) “blessings of the tribes . . . of the apostles” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 8–9, 11–12. These chapters in Giorgio list how the parts of the world and the signs are distributed among the tribes of Israel and the apostles.

Chapter 32. Of what is under the signs, the fixed stars, and their images.

- [1.](#) *elelisphacon* – J.F. translated as “sange,” which Tyson identifies as “blood root.”
- [2.](#) *peristereona orthion*.
- [3.](#) *peristereona hyption* – I’m using J.F.’s translation here. *Hyptio*, it seems, is a Greek word meaning “reversed.”
- [4.](#) *scorpiuron* – J.F. translated as “mugwort.” Scorpionweed is a heliotrope.
- [5.](#) *arthemisiom* – J.F. translated as “scorpiongrass.” The genus *artemisia* includes mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*), which Kaske/Clarke also use in Ficino. J.F. swapped the herbs for Libra and Scorpio. The names Agrippa uses are exactly according to Apuleius. The switch that J.F. made is understandable, and possibly an error by Apuleius.
- [6.](#) *Lapathum*.
- [7.](#) *Callitrichum* – unclear. J.F. translated as “woundwort.” There is a modern genus called *callitriche*, which contains several starworts. However, these may be different plants.

- [8.](#) *Phlomis* – unclear. J.F. translated as “mullein.” Mentioned in Pliny in 25:74 as a hairy plant with rounded leaves. This could be the modern genus *phlomis*, also called Jerusalem sage.
- [9.](#) “In a similar manner . . . the Moon peony” – Apuleius (attr.), *De Virtutibus* fol. 35–39.
- [10.](#) *Chenostacen* – Possibly chickweed. J.F. translated as “goosefoot,” which is part of the modern genus *Chenopodium*. See chinostates Book One, ch. 24. “However, Hermes . . . *chenostacen*” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 18–22; ref. Hermes (attr.), *De Plantis Septem Planetarum*.
- [11.](#) *Diodoeo* – Unknown, but Pliny in 37:8, §157 said the diadochos resembles a beryl.
- [12.](#) *Diacedon* – Unknown. Tyson posits that this is diaxylen or camel’s thorn mentioned in Pliny, 24:13, §112.
- [13.](#) *Matrisylvam* – Lit. “mother of the wood.” I’m using Tyson’s suggestion, which I believe is correct.
- [14.](#) Capella.
- [15.](#) Regulus.
- [16.](#) The Latin here is *granatum*. Most translations, including J.F., translate this as “granite.” The Latin for granite looks similar to garnet: *granitum*.
- [17.](#) Algorab.
- [18.](#) *Lappacium* – J.F. translated as “burr.” I’m using Tyson’s suggestion, which I believe is likely.
- [19.](#) Unknown.
- [20.](#) Arcturus.
- [21.](#) Alphecca.
- [22.](#) Antares.
- [23.](#) Vega.
- [24.](#) Deneb Algedi.
- [25.](#) “Caput Algol . . . mandrake root” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 31; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:8. Compagni also cites Ibn Qurra, *De Proprietatibus Quarundam Stellarum*.
- [26.](#) Shaula.
- [27.](#) Capella.
- [28.](#) Possibly zinc oxide. See Book One, ch. 26.
- [29.](#) Probably the constellation Serpens. J.F. translated as “Dragon,” and Tyson identified as “Draco,” a different constellation.

30. “among stones chalcedony, . . . Mercury and the Moon” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24–30; Hermes, *De XV Stellis*.

Chapter 33. Of the seals and characters of natural things.

1. “ceremonies” – the Latin here is *debitisque solennitatibus fuerint fabricate*. This is omitted in J.F.
2. “All of the stars . . . celestial influences” – condensed from al-Kindi, *Stellar Rays* chs. 2, 5, 7–8; except “laurel . . . Solar characters” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,928.
3. “Julian called these letters sacred and divine” – Compagni cites the E. des Places edition of the *Chaldean Oracles*, fragment 108.
4. “lives of men are written in their hands” – Job 37:7.
5. “thus many natural treasures . . . characters of the Moon” – Cocles, *Chyromantie* 5:3–11. Note that J.F.’s (and Tyson’s) source for the images are likely from one of the early seventeenth-century editions of Agrippa’s *Opera Omnia*. I used Agrippa’s 1533 edition. None of the editions of *Three Books* exactly match Cocles’s original. Some lines are flipped and some individual symbols are randomly flipped, depending on the edition.

Chapter 34. How through natural things and their virtues, we can draw and attract influences and virtues of celestial bodies.

1. J.F. translated this “stirs up the madness of a dog.” The Latin here is *tactus scopae vel arbuti rabiem suscitāt consopitam*.
2. “Now if you wish . . . appropriately received” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1, 18.

Chapter 35. Of the mixtures of natural things with each other and their usefulness.

1. “We have learned . . . certain constellations” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12–13; except “many Solar things, . . . operations to make mixtures” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,929.
2. “These virtues . . . above him” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries*.
3. “certain compositions of herbs . . . gifts of the stars” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
4. “Eudoxis . . . honey from bees” – Compagni cites Eudoxus, *Fragmenta*, ed. F. Lasserre (Berlin: 1966), 114.
5. *Chyrannidis*.

Chapter 36. Of the union of mixed things and the introduction of more noble forms and the senses of life.

1. “Know . . . power for acting” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2.
2. “incomprehensible . . . wonderful” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 76.
3. “when materials . . . a nobler form” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
4. “Such is the great power . . . coming together of matter” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16.
5. “It grants . . . gifts with life” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:19.
6. “For example, sulfur . . . that is near it” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.
7. “as is compiled . . . laws of nature” – Auvergne, *Legibus* 12. Agrippa wrote *Laws of Plato* as *Laws of Pluto*. This is either the original printer’s mistake or Agrippa wrote it incorrectly. I’m deferring to William of Auvergne’s text.
8. “gnats are generated from worms” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:47.
9. “wasps . . . from horses” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:44.
10. This refers to a homunculus, which is the alchemical creation of a figure like a small man. Paracelsus, another of Trithemius’s students, would also write about this in his *De Natura Rerum* a few years later.
11. “Therefore, you must recognize . . . celestial influences” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
12. “you must recognize . . . void of their virtues” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 1:15, §49, p. 1,877.
13. “Wherever as much matter . . . celestial influences.” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 5:23, §233, p. 1,877.

Chapter 37. How with certain reliable natural and artificial preparations we may attract certain celestial and vital gifts from above.

1. A mekubal is a person who is knowledgeable in kabbalah.
2. “As Platonists say . . . occult philosophy” – Giorgio, *De Harmonia* 1:4, 20; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum* 9:2–4; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 3:34; *Zohar* 1:7.
3. “Indeed, something natural is drawn daily . . . agreement with agreement” – Ficino, in *Apologiam* 1,388.
4. “But the Greeks called . . . συμπάθειαν” – Pico, *Apologia* 95. Συμπάθειαν = *Sympatheia* – sympathy.

5. J.F. translated this as “water in heaven.” The Latin here is *materia*.
6. “Thus, earth agrees . . . matter in heaven” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:b1.
7. “Fire cannot be mixed . . . gifts from above” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
8. “stones and metals agree . . . similar images” – Giorgio, *De Harmonia* 1:6, 2.
9. “Again in spirituality, . . . God in immortality” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c1.
10. “Divinity is connected . . . senses with things” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c2.
11. “Indeed, this is the connection . . . will resound” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; except “the influence from their head the First Cause” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c2.

Chapter 38. How gifts are not only celestial and vital but are also received from certain intellectual and divine gifts from above.

1. “Magicians teach . . . insinuate themselves into us” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15, “certain reliable materials . . . Platonic school” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:13; ref. to Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 2:5–6, p. 1,880; Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,928; Synesius, *De insomniis* 1,969. Also Ficino, in *Plotini* 4:4, 42 on 1,748.
2. “Hermes Trismegistus . . . appropriate daemon” – Ficino, in *Apologiam* 1,388; ref. *Asclepius* §37.
3. “Augustine also remembers . . . *City of God*” – Augustine, *City of God* 8:23–34.
4. “Indeed, this is the harmony . . . participating things” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15.
5. “Indeed this virtue . . . certain natural things” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 1:11, pp. 1,876–77.
6. “a stone . . . speak predictions” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:10, §168; Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:2, 8.
7. “same effect is said of selenites, a Lunar stone” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:11, §181.
8. *Anchitide* – according to Bostock and Riley, this means “stone of necessity.” Pliny calls this stone *anancitide*. This stone and the synochitide are also mentioned in Book One, ch.13.
9. “stone *anchitide* . . . summons shades” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:11, §192.
10. “herb *aglaopotis* . . . summon the gods” – Pliny, *Natural History* 24:17, §160. Bostock and Riley believe this plant is the peony. Pliny calls this the *aglaophotim*.
11. “magicians can prophesy s drunk” – Pliny, *Natural History* 24:17, §164. According to Bostock and Riley this means “messenger of the gods.”
12. “historian Xanthus brought back to life” – Pliny, *Natural History* 25:2, §14. The dragon here could also be a serpent.

13. “a drowned fly . . . back to life” – Pliny, *Natural History* 11:36, §120.
14. “drowned bees . . . catnip” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 9.
15. “Eels . . . few days” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 55.
16. “pelican, when killed, can restore . . . own blood” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 56.

Chapter 39. That with certain reliable materials of the world we can draw the divine world and their divine ministering daemons.

1. “Gnostic magicians . . . abominable disgraces” – Psellus, *De Daemonibus* 1,944.
2. “Templars’ detestable heresy” – ref. Crinitus, *De Honesta* 24:13.
3. “daemon said to John . . . we obey him” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:k5; ref. Acts of John 4, §253.
4. “Therefore no one can doubt . . . less high” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26, ref. *Asclepius* §33.
5. J.F. translated this as “evil spirits.” Agrippa doesn’t seem to specify these daemons as evil, but whether this is implied is unclear.

Chapter 40. Of what bindings are and how they are made.

1. “It now remains . . . and so on” – Compagni cites Magnus (attr.), *Marvels*, but this particular passage seems to be missing from the Best and Brightman edition.
2. “bindings for thieves and robbers . . . fly or flee” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
3. “though scarcely credible . . . and the like” – Compagni cites Magnus (attr.), *Marvels*, but again this section seems to be missing from Best and Brightman.

Chapter 41. Of sorceries and their power.

1. “that they are believed . . . all inferiors” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:20.
2. “These herbs . . . sow crops in other’s fields” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:95–99.
3. “Of men . . . wild beasts” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 7:19–20.
4. “Picus, . . . with colors” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 7:189–91.
5. Possibly the top of the spine.
6. “Mixed from whatever . . . eye of a dragon” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:670–75.

7. “And Apuleius . . . bounding to the door” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 3:17–18.

8. “Likewise, Augustine . . . back to men” – Augustine, *City of God* 18:18.

Chapter 42. Of the wonderful virtues of certain sorceries.

1. “added to fresh new wine . . . bees flee” – Pliny, *Natural History* 7:15, §64; except “if the blood touches the vine,” from 28:7, §78, and “causes iron to immediately rust . . . touches copper . . . makes it rust,” from 28:7, §79.

2. i.e., rabies.

3. “Moon is silent” – J.F. translated this as “betwixt the decrease, and change of the Moon.” Bostock and Riley in their translation of Pliny translated this as “conjunction of the Sun and Moon,” which is a new Moon. The Latin here is *si in silente Luna contingat*.

4. “linen if boiled . . . will not increase” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:7, §77–83.

5. “hair of a menstruating woman . . . beget serpents” – Compagni cites Avicenna, *De Diluviis*.

6. “if hair is burned . . . flee from the scent” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:7, §70.

7. *Hippomanes* – a fleshy substance sometimes produced with newborn foals.

8. “piece of tissue called hippomanes . . . will never feed it” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:42, §165.

9. “There is another sorcery . . . passionate love” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:11, §181.

10. “Hence, at last, . . . harmful words” – Virgil, *Georgics* 3:280–83.

11. “I will sing . . . stepsons” – Juvenal, *Satires* 6:133–34. J.F. translated “stepsons” as “sons-in-law.” The Latin is *privigno*.

12. “herb Prometheus . . . as if it were beech” – Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3:1242–61. Agrippa made an error in saying a vulture lacerated his liver. This should be an eagle. Agrippa’s source, Apollonius, has the correct bird.

13. *Frotini*.

14. “Saxo . . . anything sharp” – Saxo, *Danish History* bk. 2.

15. “Hyenas . . . any way” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §104.

16. “Likewise, the ashes . . . follow him” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §106.

17. “skin of the forehead resists bewitchings” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §101.

18. “blood of a basilisk, . . . in appointments” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §66.

19. “if a tick is pulled . . . certain hope for life” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:10, §83.
20. “stone bitten . . . placed in a drink” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:5, §102.
21. “will not be barked at . . . big toe” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:5, §99.
22. *Cynoglossus*. “especially if joined . . . hound’s tongue” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 9.
23. “same happens . . . dog’s afterbirth” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:16, §147.
24. “dogs flee . . . dog’s heart” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:5, §99.
25. J.F. translated this as “red toad,” and Bostock and Riley in their translation of Pliny translated this as “bramble toad.” *Rubeus* can mean “red” or “bramble,” but the context here is clear that bramble is the likely meaning. The Oxford Latin dictionary simply says this is a “kind of toad, supposedly poisonous.” Pliny wrote that the Greeks called it *φρυνους*, or *phrynous*.
26. J.F. translated this as “snake’s skin.” The Latin here is *agnina*, possibly confusing it with *anguinus*.
27. “wrote about frogs . . . come from it” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:5, §50–52.
28. “drink made from a bears brain . . . madness of a bear” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:36, §130.

Chapter 43. Of fumigations, their reasoning, and power.

1. The Latin word for spirit, *spiritus*, can also mean “breath.” In this section, J.F. often translated *spiritus* as “breath.” Agrippa’s source here is Ficino’s *Three Books on Life*, in a section discussing how images and fumigations can be infused by spirit. As such, I’m translating this as “spirit.” Keep in mind that in Latin, Egyptian, Greek, and likely other ancient languages, there are close connections between spirit, breath, and air.
2. “Fumigations are . . . wonderful qualities” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:20.
3. “why fumigations are used . . . divine inspiration” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 3:24.
4. *Psyllii* – Possibly plantago psyllium.
5. “fumigations made from flax seeds . . . bring prophecy” – *Sefer Raziel* 2.
6. “Porphyry believed . . . airy daemons” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:13; ref. Porphyry, *Letters to Anebo*.
7. “burning a chameleon’s liver . . . rain and thunder” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:8, §113.
8. J.F. translated this as “sagapen,” which is likely giant fennel. The modern genus of *Ferula* also includes asafoetida, galbanum, and ammoniac, all common incenses, but these may or may not be the intended plant.
9. *Tassi barbassi* – possibly great or common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*).

10. Parsley – J.F. translated this as “smallage,” which is usually identified as celery. The Latin here is *apium*, which can mean “celery” or “parsley,” but it is translated as “parsley” elsewhere in *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*.
11. *Palma Christi*.
12. “fumigation is made with coriander . . . harmful phantoms” – *Sefer Raziel 2*.
13. Unknown stone also mentioned in Book One, ch. 13.
14. “fumigation of *liparis* . . . all beasts” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:10, §172.
15. “bones at the top of the throat . . . chases them away” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:9, §149.
16. “fumigation of peacock’s feathers” – Compagni cites Magnus (attr.), *Marvels*, but this section seems to be missing in the Best and Brightman version.
17. “fumigation of a horse’s hoof . . . left hoof is burned” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 94–95.
18. *Thymiamate* – J.F. translated as “red storax,” which I believe is incorrect. *Thymiamate* literally translates simply as “incense.” This is likely frankincense (in Latin *tus* or *thus*), because “incense” generically can refer to frankincense in Latin. It could be thyme (in Latin *thymum* or *thymi*). Storax in Latin is similar to the English.
19. “if a house is fumigated . . . seen as quaking” – *Sefer Raziel 3*.
20. “But vapors . . . infect the wearer” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:25.
21. “images and rings . . . testifies” – Compagni cites Porphyry, *Letters to Anebo*.
22. *Imum coeli*, lit. “bottom the sky.” In astrology, the I.C. is opposite the midheaven (M.C.). The M.C. represents the highest point a planet rises until it begins its decent. The I.C. is the opposite, which is the lowest point a planet descends until it begins to rise. In most house systems (other than whole signs, where these points can fall in other houses), the cusp of the 4th house is the I.C., and signifies, among other things, buried treasure. J.F. left out this detail.
23. “If one can bury . . . into madness” – *Sefer Raziel 2:3, 7*.
24. Spermaceti – oily secretion made by sperm whales; today used for cosmetics.
25. “bury gold . . . shades of the dead” – *Sefer Raziel 2*.
26. “you must know . . . sulfur will flee” – *Sefer Raziel 3*.
27. “Proclus gives . . . contrary to lions” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,929.

Chapter 44. The composition of certain fumigations appropriate to the planets.

1. Agrippa wrote *armoniac*. This is also spelled as *ammoniac*, a resin.
2. Raven – J.F. translated as “blood of a hart;” i.e., stag. The Latin here is *corvi*. J.F. likely confused it with *cervi*.
3. Herb frankincense – Frankincense is typically used as a resin. It’s not clear if Agrippa’s source means the leaf from a frankincense tree, or actually means the resin.
4. *lauri grana* – J.F. translated as “bayberries.” The Latin is *grana* and means “grain” or “seed,” but sometimes could refer to a berry. The berries and leaves of the laurel are aromatic.
5. *Folio indum*.
6. “In addition to these fumigations, . . . laurel leaves” – *Sefer Raziel* 3.
7. *Asam* – unknown. J.F. translated as “benjamin” i.e., benzoin, which is likely.
8. *Thymiama* – Again J.F. translated this as “red storax” as in the previous chapter.
9. “fumigations for the twelve signs . . . Pisces” – *Sefer Raziel* 3.

Chapter 45. Of the virtues of collyries, ointments, and love potions.

1. Collyries are ointments or drops for the eyes.
2. “not only can they act . . . also near them” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:20.
3. “But our spirits . . . unctuous” – Ficino, *Three Books* 1:2.
4. “As your lap . . . with poison” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 1:685–88.
5. “But sight, . . . other senses” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:5.
6. “gall of a man . . . certain other things” – *Sefer Raziel* 2.
7. *Artemesia* – See Book One, ch. 32.
8. “Proteus, . . . daughter of Erisichthon” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8:730–37, 12:556–58, 9:62–88, 8:852–54, 870–74, respectively. These are all examples of shape-shifting.
9. “Circe changed the companions of Ulysses” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:70.
10. “the sacred Lycaean Jupiter . . . certain Demarchus” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:22, §81–82. It isn’t clear from Agrippa’s statement, but Pliny wrote that Lycaean Jupiter changed Demarchus into a wolf for tricking him into eating human flesh.
11. “Augustine thought . . . this accident” – Augustine, *City of God* 18:17–18.
12. “sacred scriptures . . . certain other things” – Exodus 7:12, 22, 8:7, 18.

Chapter 46. Of natural alligations and suspensions.

1. Alligations are things that are attached by binding or tying, and suspensions are things that are hung.
2. In the Medieval and Renaissance periods, “accidents” meant anything that was not part of one’s essential being. For example, a natal astrological chart is often called the “accidents” of the native – the things that make individual people unique.
3. “through these alligations, . . . and the like” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 6.
4. “returns . . . distaste and abomination” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:8.
5. “But these kinds of passions . . . grafting of trees” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
6. “where the vital virtues . . . with each other” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 29.
7. “female palm trees . . . continuity of the rope” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 83.
8. “torpedo fish . . . long rod” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16. The torpedo is possibly an electric eel.
9. A type of sea slug (the group called *aplysiomorpha*).
10. “if a starfish . . . evil medicines” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:5, §44.
11. “if a woman . . . has it with her” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 1:5, 2.
12. “such as . . . sign in the sky” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15.

Chapter 47. Of rings and their composition.

1. Evil daemons.
2. “Additionally, rings, . . . root under it” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:8.
3. “Thus, we read in Philostratus . . . brightness of youth” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:8; Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 3:26; ref. Philostratus, *Apollonius* 3:41.
4. “Moses . . . according to Josephus” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 4; ref. Bacon, *Opus* 4:392. Agrippa’s source, Albertus Magnus, is not quoting Josephus. This passage is from Petrus Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, the section on Exodus, ch. 6.
5. *Cireneos*.
6. “said by Aristotle . . . bewitchings and daemons” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 3:26; ref. Aristotle, *Fragmenta* 528.
7. “Josephus said the same about Solomon” – Josephus, *Antiquities* 8:2, §5; Bacon, *Opus* 4:392.

8. “read in Plato . . . king of Lydia” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 3:25 after Plato, *Republic* 2, 359d–360b.

Chapter 48. Of the virtues of places, and the places corresponding to each of the stars.

1. “Pliny refers . . . breed in that spot” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:10, §85.
2. “dust collected from the tracks . . . fires of love” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:16, §148.
3. “dust in which a hawk . . . quartan fever” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:11, §98.
4. “a small stone . . . wrapped with it” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:10, §91.
5. “iron nail fastened . . . cure him of that evil” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:6, §63.
6. “herbs growing in the head . . . unaware of it” – Pliny, *Natural History* 24:19, §170.
7. “Orpheus believes, [Venus has] the sea” – *Orphic Hymns* 55.
8. “Among places . . . and the like” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24–30; “various established groves” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:2.
9. J.F. translated “brothel” as “stewhouse,” which was a contemporary term for brothel. The Latin here is *lupinari*.
10. Oriental from the Sun means rising before the Sun.

Chapter 49. Of lights and colors, lanterns, and lamps, and the colors distributed among the stars, houses, and elements.

1. “Light . . . intelligences and images” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:17.
2. “Dionysius said, the seraphim” – ref. Dionysius the Areopagite (attr.), *De Divinis* 1, 5.
3. “who divides . . . wishes” – 1 Corinthians 12:11
4. “but in God . . . they can be” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 4.
5. To clarify this confusing passage: in Classical optical theory, vision results from rays that come from our eyes and strike objects. Agrippa is saying that light invigorates and heats these objects, which then allows our eyes to perceive the color, and therefore us to see the object. In the dark, these virtues are more confused, as our rays have to penetrate farther.
6. “Therefore, magicians forbid . . . Sun or Moon” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:6, §69.
7. “shadow of a hyena silences dogs” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:30, §106.

8. “Pliny wrote . . . with asses” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:11, §181.
9. “skin of serpents . . . serpents to appear” – Compagni cites Magnus (attr.), *Marvels*, but this section seems to be missing in the Best and Brightman version. There is a similar recipe for causing fear on p. 109 of that text.
10. “centaury with honey . . . appear larger” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 2:1, 8.
11. “If illuminated . . . among each other” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 13.
12. “ink of a cuttlefish . . . Ethiopians will be seen” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:10, §141.
13. “Hermes, Plato, Kyranides, . . . Albertus” – Kyranides is an ancient Greek text showing remedies and miraculous effects of plants, animals, and herbs. The Albertus (Magnus) he cites refers to *Wonders of the World*, attributed to him, which has many examples of magical lamps. His references to Plato and Hermes are less certain.
14. “Colors are also certain lights” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:17.
15. “Of all the colors . . . and the Moon” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:11; parallels Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 24–30.
16. “houses of the sky . . . eighth black” – Alchabitius, *Ad Magisterium* 9v.
17. “The elements also . . . pale-like color” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 4.
18. “But all colors . . . living things” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:11.

Chapter 50. Of bewitchings and their art.

1. “Bewitchings are a binding . . . that foreign spirit” – Ficino, in *Symposium* 7:4.
2. “Your eyes though my eyes . . . aroused with fire” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 10:3.
3. J.F. translated this somewhat differently. Agrippa (and his source Ficino) explicitly says “direct gaze,” whereas J.F. says “edge of sight.”
4. “Therefore, you must know . . . joined with lights” – Ficino, in *Symposium* 7:10.
5. “Thus, strongly bound, . . . sudden gaze” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16.
6. “with the spirit and amorous blood . . . red fluid” – Ficino, in *Symposium* 7:5; ref. Lucretius, *Nature of Things* 4:1048–51.
7. “So great . . . subject to affection” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.

Chapter 51. Of certain observations producing wonderful virtues.

1. “quartan fever is said to be alleviated . . . will cure illnesses” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:7, §86.
2. “wood that was struck . . . throat and ear” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §45–46.
3. “difficult births . . . killed a man” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §33–34.
4. “One will never have . . . feet” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §44.
5. “Sexual organs . . . naming a widow” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §48.
6. “thrice nine times” – J.F. translated this as “nineteen times.”
7. “sheep’s spleen . . . leaving and entering” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:6, §51–52.
8. Either by a copyist’s error or Agrippa’s, the Latin here is *vituli* instead of Pliny’s *virili*. J.F. also translated this as “calf” instead of “man” – “calf” being the translation of *vituli*.
9. “a lizard killed . . . man’s lust” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:15, §141.
10. “a dog’s urine . . . feel numb” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:5, §102; “restrain lust” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:15, §143.
11. “one’s own urine . . . evil medicines” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:6, §69.
12. “small frog . . . cure coughs” – Pliny, *Natural History* 32:8, §92.
13. “one regrets a blow . . . spittle in the hand” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:3, §35–36.
14. “spitting in the right shoe . . . that is dangerous” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:3, §38.
15. “spit in our laps . . . too much boldness” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:3, §36.
16. J.F. translated as “unbroken.” The Latin is *infractis*.
17. “wolves will not approach . . . first set foot” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:20, §266.
18. Eastern part of the Peloponnesian peninsula.
19. “The Mathenian people . . . rooster’s pieces” – Pausanias, *Description* 2:34, §2.
20. “if one holds a viper . . . predict the future” – Pliny, *Natural History* 29:4, §69.
21. J.F. left out the frog and translated this as a “snake that was beaten.”
22. “with a staff . . . aid birth” – Pliny, *Natural History* 30:14, §129.
23. “if one measures a dead man . . . three times” – *Picatrix* 3:11.
24. “Albertus writes . . . will dissolve” – Compagni cites *Marvels of the World*, but this seems to be missing from the Best and Brightman edition.
25. “sitting with someone . . . hinders all actions” – Pliny, *Natural History* 28:6, §49.

Chapter 52. Of the face, gestures, habits, and figure of the body, to which stars these respond, and from where the arts of physiognomy, metoposcopy, and chiromancy have their foundations.

1. “with hellebore, . . . up or down” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16. J.F. added a section after this: “if thou pullest the leaf upward, it draws the humors upward, and causeth vomiting; if downward, it causeth purging, by drawing the humor downward.” This is not in either Agrippa’s or Ficino’s Latin.
2. “how much the face . . . people to love” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:17.
3. Compagni does not list any citations for the gestures for the planets. However, this material is part of the same section of Alchabitius listed below, though not explicitly quoted. These are also significations that would be familiar to any astrologer at the time.
4. “With head . . . stretched out lips” – Flaccus Persius, *Satires* 3:80–82.
5. J.F. translated as “embraces.” The Latin here is *risus*.
6. J.F. translated as “poisonous.” The Latin here is *venefici*, which can mean either “poison” or “sorcery,” but I believe sorcery works better in context.
7. J.F. translated this as “frowning forehead.” The Latin is *iunctis superciliis*.
8. J.F. translated as “bold.” The Latin here is *calvum*. This is probably a simple misprint.
9. “Indeed, Saturn . . . easy and sociable” – Alchabitius, *Ad Magisterium* 12r–15v.
10. “Finally there are . . . similar causes” – Magnus, *Speculum* 17.
11. “And although . . . parts of the body” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 4.
12. “Whoever best imitates . . . from the superiors” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.

Chapter 53. Of divination, auspices, and auguries.

1. “There are certain . . . *On Times*” – ref. Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 3; except “*On Times*.” The identity of *On Times* is unclear. It may refer to Aristotle, *Meteorology* 3:1.
2. *Hetruscum*.
3. *Exauguration*.
4. “Among the kinds . . . customarily taken” – Critinus, *De Honesta* 25:2.
5. In the list that follows, *confert* is missing, and there are several variations between the spellings of the augury names and their directions. Agrippa quotes his source Scot nearly verbatim, so these variations are in the original source and not Agrippa’s error.

6. J.F. omitted *scassarnova*; Tyson includes it in a footnote.
7. “Michael Scot recited . . . this is a bad sign” – Scot, *Phisionomie* ch. 56. Both Compagni and Tyson cite ch. 57, but this doesn’t match the 1477, 1486, 1490, or 1514 editions that we had available. Agrippa’s version is identical to Scot.
8. “The ancients . . . thrives and operates” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 1:3, 6, ref: Aristotle, *Problems* 33:7, 9; Homer, *Odyssey* 17:541–47.

Chapter 54. Of some different animals and other things that have significations in auguries.

1. “We see that many animals . . . followed those auguries” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 1; ref. Cicero, *On Divination* 1:41, §92.
2. “Twin crows . . . as a widow” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:8–9.
3. “black female doves, . . . always remain alone” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:32.
4. “Epictetus . . . or children” – Pico, *De Rerum* 6:4; ref. Epictetus, *Encheiridion* 28.
5. “portend height . . . but blood” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:6, but the Latin in Horapollo is *accipitrem*, or “hawk.”
6. “When the Locrians . . . gave [the Locrians] victory” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 20:3, §7.
7. “Hiero, when first . . . future as king” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 23:4, §10.
8. “When Alexander . . . Europe and Asia” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 12:16 §2–6.
9. “Lucius Tarquinius . . . rule of Rome” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:89; ref. Livy, *History* 1:34, §1–9.
10. This refers to the legend in which a vulture was seen during Rome’s first construction and directly preceded the death of Remus. See Livy, *History of Rome* 1:34, §1–9.
11. “vultures signify difficulties, . . . by experience” – ref. Livy, *History* 1:7, §1–3.
12. “Likewise, they show . . . turned their gaze” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:11.
13. “The pelican, . . . undergoes a crisis” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:54.
14. “Cranes, . . . lie in ambush” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:94.
15. The identity of this bird is uncertain. J.F. translated this as “cuckoo” in Book One, ch. 26, but left it alone here.
16. “*cucupha* . . . they are old” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:55.
17. “hippopotamus . . . ingratitude and injustice” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:56.

18. *Origis* – see Book One, ch. 24. Tyson notes that this could be confused with the animal “oryx” in certain translations of Horapollo, as the Greek word is only one letter different.
19. “Quails, . . . indicate hatred” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:49.
20. Unknown bird.
21. “Owls . . . foretell death” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:25. Agrippa’s Latin is *stryx*, which I have translated as “owl,” though Horapollo’s Latin is *nycticorax*, meaning “night raven.”
22. “because [an owl] was approved . . . spear of Hiero” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 23:4, §10.
23. “From its height . . . weeping call” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:462–63.
24. “The ignoble owl . . . to mortals” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5:550.
25. “[an owl] sang . . . against them” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 3:92; ref. Obsequens, *Liber de Prodigiiis* 26, 30.
26. The Latin here is *poteste*, making the literal translation, “dying men have the power of corpses.” I changed it for clarity.
27. “Almadel says . . . association with corpses” – Pico, *De Rerum* 6:4; Compagni cites Pico ref. to Almadel, *De Firmitate Sex Scientiarum* 1–2.
28. Naso is part of Ovid’s full name – Publius Ovidius Naso.
29. “We hate . . . in arms” – Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2:147.
30. “Laelius, . . . his doom” – Vergilius, *Dialogorum de Prodigiiis* 3:92; ref. Obsequens, *Prodigiis* 58.
31. “Almadel said . . . for that region” – Pico, *De Rerum* 6:4. Compagni cites Pico ref. to Almadel, *De Firmitate Sex Scientiarum* 3–4.
32. “Swallows, . . . from a death” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:31.
33. “a bat . . . able to fly” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:52.
34. “However, a sparrow . . . equally predators” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:51.
35. “in love . . . in an hour” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 2:115.
36. Bees . . . compliant people” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:62.
37. “However, flies . . . nevertheless return” – Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics* 1:51.
38. “when Tiberius . . . be a king” – Suetonius, *Twelve Caesars* 3:14.
39. “And Cicero . . . when victorious” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 1; ref. Cicero, *On Divination* 1:34.
40. “meeting a weasel is ominous” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum de Prodigiiis* 3:91.

41. “Meeting a hare . . . is captured” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 2:10, §45.
42. “mule is hostile because it is barren” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:42.
43. “However, pigs . . . destructive men” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:37.
44. “Horses show quarrels . . . expected peace” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:89; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 3:539–40.
45. “useful to Marius . . . Sulla’s threat” – Maximus, *Factorum* 1:5, §5.
46. “wolves are known as good messengers” and “wolf sees [the person] first, it will mute his voice” – Pliny, *Natural History* 8:22; “Hiero of Sicily . . . success of his kingdom” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 23:4, §9.
47. “The watchman . . . slaves in Sicily” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:92; ref. Obsequens, *Prodigiis* 27.
48. “signifies faithless . . . their descendants” – ref. Livy, *History* 1:4, 6–7. This is not a faithful quote. Agrippa added his own narrative to the story.
49. “lion is met, . . . in all” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 1:20.
50. “woman meeting a lioness . . . birth a second time” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:82.
51. *Ostentatio Tuscorum*.
52. “as was gathered . . . now yellow” – Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3:7, §2; ref. Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:43–44.
53. “when Cyrus . . . his kingdom” – Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* 1:4, §10.
54. “the angel, . . . as a companion” – Book of Tobias 6:1.
55. “A beaver, . . . ruin on himself” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:65.
56. “Among small animals, . . . by Hannibal” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:90; ref. Livy, *History* 27:23, §2.
57. “ants, . . . great army” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 1:52.
58. J.F. translated as “dragon.” The Latin here is *draconem*, which of course can mean “dragon” but also a serpent. See Pliny, *Natural History* 29:20 (Bostock & Riley).
59. “Tiberius . . . multitude” – Suetonius, *Twelve Caesars* 3:72.
60. “meet a snake, . . . no other member” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 1:45.
61. “A snake creeping . . . while later” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:89–90; ref. Livy, *History* 1:56, and Cicero, *On Divination* 1:18, §36.
62. “viper signifies crooked women” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:59.
63. “wicked children” – Horapollon, *Hieroglyphics* 2:60.

- [64.](#) “an eel . . . with any other” – Horapollo, *Hierglyphics* 2:103.
- [65.](#) “among other animals, . . . their causes” – Cicero, *On Divination* 1:51–52, §115–18.
- [66.](#) “foundation of the city of Rome . . . the slaughtered” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:92–93; ref. Livy, *History* 1:55, §5–6, and Obsequens, *Prodigiis* 70.

Chapter 55. How auspices are verified through the light of the natural senses, and some rules for proving them.

- [1.](#) “Auspices and auguries . . . theologian Orpheus” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:æ2.
- [2.](#) “they are verified . . . human events” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 3.
- [3.](#) “Nor do I . . . fates of things” – Virgil, *Georgics* 1:415–16.
- [4.](#) “these sorts of natural senses, . . . kept them warm” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 3.
- [5.](#) “These same senses . . . others are ignorant” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
- [6.](#) “In histories, . . . moderately” – *Suidas* 2:450.
- [7.](#) “a certain woman . . . two miles away” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
- [8.](#) “a certain [female] stork . . . mangled her” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 8.
- [9.](#) “a certain horse, . . . for incest” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 2:2, 69.
- [10.](#) Aristotle, *History of Animals* 9:47, 630b–660a.
- [11.](#) Varro, *De Re Rustica* 2:7.
- [12.](#) Pliny, *Natural History* 8:42, §154–58.
- [13.](#) “a certain asp . . . to the house” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:74.
- [14.](#) “From these examples, . . . agreements of this sort” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 21:15.
- [15.](#) “according to the doctrine . . . by the divine” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 24:6.
- [16.](#) “dreadful and deadly . . . mortal omen” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 21:15; ref. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5:549–50.
- [17.](#) J.F. said this is from Ovid.
- [18.](#) “Indeed, the swan . . . happiest bird” – Honoratus, in *Virgilii* 1:393; ref. Aemelius, Macer, *Ornithogonia*, part of a series of fragments heavily quoted in Medieval and Renaissance periods.
- [19.](#) Reading *oscivae* as *oscinis*.

- [20.](#) “omenal songbirds, . . . woodpecker and crow” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 21:15.
- [21.](#) “Often the crow . . . hollow oak” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 9:15.
- [22.](#) “However, there are birds . . . vultures” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 21:15.
- [23.](#) J.F. translated this as “two eagles.” The Latin here is *duae aves*.
- [24.](#) “Unless my parents . . . full sails” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 1:392–400.
- [25.](#) “But the most wonderful . . . Thales” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 1,937.
- [26.](#) “Philostratus and Porphyry . . . words were fact” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 6:6; ref. Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:3.
- [27.](#) “this is certain . . . no wonder” – al-Kindi, *Stellar Rays* ch. 6.
- [28.](#) “Democritus named certain . . . speech of birds” – Pliny, *Natural History* 10:49, §137.
- [29.](#) The calends can be either the first day or first few days of a month. A Roman month has three periods—the calends, nones, and ides. The ides is either the 13th or 15th day of the month, depending on the month. The nones is 8 days before the ides.
- [30.](#) “Hermes said . . . birds and other animals” – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 99. According to the Best and Brightman ed., the date is Oct. 28, but this is not confirmed against the original.
- [31.](#) *Draconum*.
- [32.](#) “the Arabs . . . good for predictions” – Pico, *De Rerum* 1:7; ref. serpents from Philostratus, *Apollonius* 3:9; mole from Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,929.
- [33.](#) “Let the entrails . . . was Tages” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1:636–37.
- [34.](#) “In the entrails . . . prominently pulse” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1:626–29.
- [35.](#) *Piacularia*.
- [36.](#) “if the victim was found . . . than he should” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 25:2.
- [37.](#) “Julius Caesar, . . . lacking a liver” – Pliny, *Natural History* 11:186, 179; Cicero, *On Divination* 1:52, §119.
- [38.](#) Caligula.
- [39.](#) “C. Claudius . . . battle in Liguria” – Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3:91; ref. Obsequens, *Prodigiis* 9.
- [40.](#) “Sulla sacrificed . . . eat the entrails” – Augustine, *City of God* 2:24.
- [41.](#) “The color frightened . . . bluish blood” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1:618–20.

Chapter 56. Of soothsaying of lightning and flashes, and how to interpret portents and prodigies.

1. J.F. translated *portenta* as “monstrous.”
2. “of the other auguries . . . significations of each part” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 10:7; ref. Cicero, *On Divination* 1:41, §93.
3. “Midas was a young boy . . . birth to a satyr” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 6; ref. Cicero, *On Divination* 1:36, §38; 21, §42; 23, §46; 20, §39.
4. “wife of Tarquinius . . . predicting his kingdom” – Livy, *History* 1:39, §1–3.
5. “as Aeneas . . . persuaded to leave” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 2:682–84.
6. “All preceded . . . disasters and prodigies” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 6.
7. “when M. Attilius . . . heard from the sky” – Pliny, *Natural History* 2:56–57, §147–48.
8. “the year that Hannibal died . . . two days” – Livy, *History* 39:56, §6.
9. “second Punic war . . . destroyed Italy” – Livy, *History* 27:11, §10.
10. “The Lacedaemonians . . . found on the ground” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 6; ref. Cicero, *On Divination* 1:34, §74.

Chapter 57. Of geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy; divinations of the four elements.

1. “Truly the earth . . . Rhodope speak” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:617–18.
2. “geomancy, the moving, . . . arts to us” – Pico, *De Rerum* 6:3; Compagni cites a ref. to Almadel, *De firmitate sex scientiarum* §5.
3. Book Two, ch. 48.
4. “The Persians discovered . . . Mithridates’ war” – Apuleius, *Apologia* 42. Apuleius said there were 160 verses instead of 150.
5. “read that Numa . . . a long time after Numa” – Augustine, *City of God* 7:35.
6. “a kind of hydromancy . . . full of water” – Psellus, *De Daemonibus* 1944.
7. “the Patraean fountain at Achaëa” – Pausanias, *Description* 7:21, §12.
8. “the water of Juno at Epidaurus” – Pausanias, *Description* 3:23, §8. W.H.S. Jones translates Juno as Ino.

9. “once captured by the Lycians . . . prophets predicted the future” – Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8:333.
10. “wife of Cicero . . . suddenly burst forth” – Honoratus, *Commentaries* 8:105.
11. “Pliny said . . . from the coals” – Pliny, *Natural History* 18:35, §358.
12. “capnomancy . . . and rolls” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 23:3; ref. Statius, *Thebaid* 10:597–602.
13. “craters of Aetna . . . sad if rejected” – Pausanias, *Description* 3:23, §9.

Chapter 58. Of reviving the dead, sleeping, and fasting for a long time.

1. “Arab philosophers . . . divine intelligences” – Compagni cites Avicenna, *Liber de Anima Seu Sextus de Naturalibus* 6:4, 2.
2. *Connaturatur*.
3. “read from Pliny . . . and many others” – Pliny, *Natural History* 7:52, §173, 176–79.
4. Book One, ch. 38.
5. Juba, . . . a certain Arab” – Pliny, *Natural History* 25:2, §14.
6. “and Apollonius of Tyana” – Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:45.
7. *Draconem*. – J.F. translated as “dragonwort” – See Book One, ch. 25.
8. “a certain Glaucus . . . drinking honey” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 2:8, 32.
9. “Also, Apuleius . . . young man spoke” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 2:28–29.
10. Presumably he was drowned.
11. “problems with the womb . . . other cures” – Compagni cites Moses Maimonides, *Aphorismi Secundum Galienum* 24.
12. “one was bitten . . . restored them to life” – ref. Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 16:11, §1–3.
13. “a certain boy, . . . more than Epimendes” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 1:9, 64; Pliny, *Natural History* 7:52, §175.
14. *Norvegia*.
15. “ecclesiastical histories . . . stop hurting them” – Gregory of Tours, *Glory* 94; Paul the Deacon, *Lombards* 1:4.
16. “Elias was given . . . forty days” – 1 Kings 19:8.

17. I didn't find Bocatius explicitly mentioned in Agrippa's source, but this is most likely Giovanni Boccaccio.
18. "Ioannes Bocatius said . . . forty days" – Petrarch, *Rerum Memorandum* 121.
19. "a certain man named Philinus . . . except milk" – Rhodiginus, *Lectio* 6:35.
20. "certain herbs of Sparta, . . . in their mouth" – Pliny, *Natural History* 25:8, §82–83.

Chapter 59. Of divination through dreams.

1. "dreams here, . . . sleepless visions" – Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1:3, §2–6.
2. "[phantasms and sleepless visions] are empty . . . circumstances" – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
3. i.e., horary astrology.
4. "Aristotole . . . senses confirm memory" – Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1:1, 980a–81a.
5. "rule for interpretation . . . memory does not fade" – Synesius, *De insomniis* 1,976–79.
6. J.F. misinterpreted this sentence, particularly in confusing "profection" and "perfection," which in turn Tyson further confused in his annotation of J.F.'s translation. The Latin is *profectionis*, which is a unique astrological term. A profection is the advancing of one sign or house per year in a natal chart. A Solar revolution (also called a Solar return) is a chart drawn up for when the Sun is in the same degree in a certain year as its degree in a particular natal chart. Both profections and Solar returns are among the predictive tools in traditional astrology.

Chapter 60. Of frenzy and divinations that happen when awake, of the power of the melancholy humor, which sometimes also allures daemons in the human body.

1. Most likely Maracus the Syracusan.
2. "Aristotle spoke . . . melancholic complexion" – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 3:8, 4; ref. Aristotle, *On Divination in Sleep* 2, 464a, *Problems* 30:1, 954 a–b.
3. "the cause of frenzy, . . . knowledge and divination" – Ficino, *Three Books* 1:5.
4. "especially if helped . . . especially Saturn" – Ficino, *Three Books* 1:6.
5. "is cold and dry . . . predictions of the future" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:11, 3:22.
6. "Of melancholy, . . . made poets" – Aristotle, *Problems* 30:1, 953a.
7. "all men in any excellent . . . rather than men" – Ficino, *Three Books* 1:5; ref. Aristotle, *Problems* 30:1,

953a; Plato, *Ion* 533d–534e, *Phaedrus* 244a–c, *Meno* 99c–d; Compagni cites Democritus, *Fragments* B 17–18.

8. “Thus, many melancholics . . . scarcely understood” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
9. “the divine Plato . . . decides this” – Ficino in *Ion* 1,283; Plato, *Ion* 533–34.
10. “command of the melancholy humor . . . salvation of souls” – Ficino, in *Apologiam* 1,388 and *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. Gellius, *Noctes* 15:18.
11. “Now the last . . . heavens above” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:4–7.
12. “You lead . . . perpetual fear” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:13–14.
13. “He will take . . . father’s virtues” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:15–17.
14. “The serpents . . . will die” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:24.
15. “Yet some . . . are near” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:31.
16. “Dear race . . . accomplishments will be” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 4:49–54.
17. *Transnaturalis*.
18. “certain predictions . . . divine revelations” – Pico, *De rerum* 2:6; ref. Plato, *Republic* 7:518.

Chapter 61. Of the forming of man, of the outer and inner senses, of the mind, of the threefold appetite of the soul, and the passion of will.

1. “supported by Alcinous . . . entire body” – Alcinous, *Doctrina Platonis* 15–17.
2. “senses are divided . . . likewise the purest” – Ficino, *Liber de Voluptate* 8.
3. “Indeed, the eyes . . . density like earth” – Ficino, *Liber de Voluptate* 4.
4. “However, the interior senses, . . . protect” – Ficino, *Liber de Voluptate* 8; ref. Averroes, *Colliget* 2:7, 17.
5. “as Iamblichus said, . . . impressions on the body” – Lydus, *Explicatio* 1.
6. “These senses . . . has the back” – Compagni cites Avicenna, *Liber de Anima seu Sextus de Naturalibus* 6:1, 5. Aristotle, *On Youth, Old Age, Life and Death, and Respiration* 469a.
7. i.e., the vocal cords.
8. “Over the sensible soul, . . . active intellect” – Ficino, *Liber de Voluptate* 4.
9. Anger and lust.

10. “Therefore nature set up . . . equal with God” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 1:2, 5.
11. “From its depraved appetites . . . malice toward another” – Ficino, *Liber de Voluptate* 10.

Chapter 62. Of the passions of the mind, their origin, difference, and kinds.

1. *Syndaeresis*.
2. In modern English, a common synonym for *concupiscence* is “lust.” In Agrippa’s sense, it is not meant to mean only sexual lust. The implication here is of an intense desire coming from the lower parts of the soul. I am keeping the term because this is also tied to Catholic ideas that Agrippa would have followed.
3. Entire chapter: Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* part 1:2 q. 23–25.

Chapter 63. How passions of the mind change one’s own body by exchanging accidents and moving the spirit.

1. “anger or fear, . . . other bodies seeing it” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.
2. “among some lovers . . . the other suffers” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
3. “anxiety induces dryness and blackness” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.
4. “physicians recognize . . . Stratonice” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:1; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 38, 3.
5. “it is undoubted . . . kill men” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 27.
6. “often lift sickness . . . denied long ago” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:1; “dogs often die . . . death of its owner” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 27; ref. “Sophocles and Dionysius” and “mother . . . suddenly died” – Pliny, *Natural History* 7:53–54; “son of Croesus” – Herodotus, *Histories* 1:85.
7. “Alexander the Great . . . from his mouth” – Rhodiginus, *Lectioinum* 8:26.

Chapter 64. How the passions of the mind change the body by the imitation of a likeness; also, of the transformation and transference of man, and the strength of imaginative power held not only in the body but also in the soul.

1. “vehemently moves the imagination . . . bitter taste” – Ficino, *Platonic Philosophy* 13:1; “seeing another yawn also makes one yawn” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 3:4, 95.

2. “And William of Auvergne . . . through imagination” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 65.
3. J.F. wrote this name as *Cyprus*, but this refers to Genucius Cippus.
4. J.F. adds here: “as upon those of the same body.”
5. “Thus, many are transported . . . inner imagination” – Ponzetti, *Tertia Pars* 3:3, 4.
6. “Avicenna wrote . . . are invisible” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 11:16; ref. Avicenna, *Animalibus* 8:2; Augustine, *City of God* 14:24; except “Gallus Vibius” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionem* 6:35; ref. Seneca, *Oratorum* 2:1.
7. “Pliny wrote . . . changing into men” – Pliny, *Natural History* 7:4, §36.
8. “Pontanus testified . . . many years of marriage” – Pontanus, *De Rebus* 10:5.
9. “how much imagination is able to do . . . more in the soul” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 65.
10. “that Medea, . . . love for Jason” – Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3:616–32.
11. “what Celsus wrote . . . from far away” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 6:35; ref. Augustine, *City of God* 14:24.

Chapter 65. How the passions of the mind also operate outside of themselves in another’s body.

1. “Passions of the soul . . . another’s body” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:1; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
2. “certain wonderful impressions . . . or brought” – Compagni cites Avicenna, *Liber de Anima Seu Sextus de Naturalibus* 6 4, 4.
3. “Passions of the soul . . . another’s body” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 3.
4. “that a camel . . . imagination of anyone” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 21; Avicenna, *Naturalibus* 6:4, 4; Algazel, *Metaphysica* 2:5, 9.
5. “a lusting pregnant . . . thing desired” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16.
6. “Jacob the patriarch . . . sheep of Laban” – Genesis 30:37–38. J.F. translated as “speckled rods.” This refers to the story where Jacob threw twigs that had strips of bark peeled from them into the water, discoloring the sheep who drank there. The Latin here is *virgis in aquam proiectis*.
7. “in these examples, . . . with a fixed gaze” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:1.
8. “Avicenna, . . . assent to the same” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:5, 3; ref. Aristotle, *On Dreams* 459b–460a; Galen, *Theriaca* ch. 11; Algazel, *Metaphysica* 2:5, 9.
9. J.F. translated this passage as “cockatrice, or basilisk.” The Latin here is *regulus et catoblepa*. The

identity of the catoblepas isn't clear and is also mentioned in Book One, ch. 20.

10. "it is known that a body . . . they are angry" – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.
11. "no one should marvel . . . another's body" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16.
12. "We read from . . . in this way" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:23; ref. Philostratus, *Apollonius* 6:17, 18; Iamblichus, *Pythagoras* 25–26, 28.

Chapter 66. That the passions of the mind are most helped by the proper timing of the celestials, and how the perseverance of mind is necessary in all works.

1. "passions of the mind . . . exposes itself to Saturn" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22; Ptolemy from Ptolemy (attr.), *Centiloquium* 2.
2. "Indeed, our mind . . . in us or from us" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:5, 3.
3. "we must vehemently aspire, . . . even more than medicine" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:20.
4. "since the power of the medicine . . . physician and medicine" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 5.
5. "Therefore, you must . . . influences of the superiors" – Trithemius, *Ad Joachimum* 100–102.

Chapter 67. How the human mind can connect with the celestial mind and intelligences, and likewise with them impress certain wonderful virtues on inferior things.

1. "Philosophers, . . . operations and into things" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:20.
2. "with them is an apprehension . . . when it is aligned with them" – Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* 74–76. Compagni cites e4v–f2v.
3. "Thomas Aquinas acknowledged" – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:8; ref. Aquinas, *Summa* 3:92.
4. "Accordingly, it is verified . . . effective and powerful" – Compagni cites Avicenna, *Liber de anima seu Sextus de Naturalibus* 6:4, 4.

Chapter 68. How our mind can change and bind inferior things to that which is desired.

1. "in the minds of men, . . . that which it binds" – Compagni cites Magnus (attr.), *Marvels* ev4–flr.

2. “Indeed, the superior binds . . . with each other” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15.
3. “Hence, lions fear . . . than lions” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:14.
4. “Thus, magnets draw . . . and the like” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:15.
5. “the root of bindings . . . loosens and hinders” – Compagni cites Magnus (attr.), *Marvels ev4-flr*.
6. “where you fear Venus, . . . Jupiter opposite” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:6.
7. “Indeed, astrologers . . . effects in inferiors” – Ficino, *Three Books* 2:16.

Chapter 69. Of speech and the virtues of words.

1. “you must understand . . . speech and orations” – ref. Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 10.
2. “with bestial animals . . . surpasses the other animals” – Compagni cites Galen, *Exhortatio ad Artium Liberalium Studia in Erasmus*, Opera Omnia 639.
3. Logos.
4. “for, λόγος . . . speech and words” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3h.
5. “words are the most suitable medium . . . prepared and set forth” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 10.

Chapter 70. Of the virtue of particular names.

1. “when the natural power of things proceed . . . kept in writings” – Ficino, in *Cratylus* 1,310.
2. “as influences from the heavens . . . they were named” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 20; ref. “Your names are written in the heavens” – Luke 10:20; “as it is written in Genesis” – Genesis 2:19.
3. “Therefore, all signifying voices . . . nature given by them” – al-Kindi, *Stellar Rays* ch. 6.
4. “we read from Philostratus . . . girl lived again” – Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:45.
5. “there were Romans who, in observing . . . abandoned their altars” – Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3:9, §2; *Virgil*, Aeneid 2:351–52.
6. “However, song . . . *Hidden Things*” – ref. Livy, *History* 5:1–5; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3:9, §2; *Compagni cites Serenus Sammonicus*, *Rerum Reconditorum* 5, fr. 1.

Chapter 71. Of complex speeches and songs, and the virtues and bindings of incantations.

1. “Beyond the virtues of words . . . affirmed or denied” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 10.
2. “Therefore, in composing songs . . . destroys and impedes” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
3. “from Apuleius, Psyche entreated Ceres . . . at Eleusis in Attica” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 6:2, §4–5.
4. “hymns of Orpheus, . . . as wise men know” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 5:39, §2.
5. “Therefore, suitable songs of this kind . . . fumigations, and the like” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
6. “by their customary numbers, . . . uncusomary movements” – al-Kindi, *Stellar Rays* 8.

Chapter 72. Of the wonderful power of incantations.

1. *Lunam despumari*. J.F. translated as “the Moon is clarified.”
2. “Apuleius said . . . extend the night” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 1:3, §1.
3. “The courses of things . . . hears the song” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:461–63.
4. “The Thessalian . . . not sown” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:452–53.
5. “The mind polluted . . . by enchantment” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:457–58.
6. “Songs can even . . . is destroyed” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:67–71.
7. “And I have seen . . . others’ fields” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:99.
8. “Songs strike . . . for no reason” – Ovid, *Amores* 3:7, 31–34.
9. “If these are not true, . . . whom enchant fruit” – ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 28:2, §17.
10. “I have seen her draw . . . snow in the summer” – Tibullu, *Elegies* 1:2, 45–48, 31–34.
11. “At will the banks . . . also Moon” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7:199–207.
12. “Also, all poets sing, . . . illnesses of beasts” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
13. *Homeland* – J.F. translated as “peculiar.” The Latin here is *patria*, meaning “fatherland,” “ancestral,” etc.
14. “Likewise, Solomon . . . restore health” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 9:5; ref. Josephus, *Antiquities* 8:2, §5; *Origen*, *Against Celsus* 8:58.

Chapter 73. Of the virtue of writings, and of making imprecations and inscriptions.

1. “The purpose of words . . . will of the speaker” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:h2.
2. “Therefore, magicians command . . . effect is to happen” – Magnus (attr.), *Secrets* 24.
3. “Albertus in *Speculum* likewise does not disagree” – ref. Magnus, *Speculum* 16.
4. “First three threads . . . lead the image” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:73–75.
5. “Tie three knots . . . tie these chains” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:77–78.
6. “As the clay hardens . . . Daphnis our love” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:80–81.

Chapter 74. Of the proportion, correspondence, and reduction of letters to the celestial signs and planets according to various languages, with a table indicating this.

1. “God has given man . . . power and immortality” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 12, §12.
2. “among all languages . . . sacred of all writings” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, §11, 3.
3. “as Hebrew teachers testify, . . . harmony bound in them” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 17.
4. “Additionally, Hebrews distribute . . . has been and will be” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 21.
5. “signifying those [things] that are produced . . . everywhere with them” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 3.
6. This refers to the kabbalistic practice of manipulating letters according to numbers associated with them. Agrippa explains this in more detail in Book Three.
7. “Origen, therefore, thought . . . natural signification” – Origen, *Against Celsus* 1:24–45, 5:45.
8. “if there is a first and causal . . . this is Hebrew” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 2>80
9. “Revolve” here, from the Latin *revolvere*, could be read in a couple of ways: one way could refer to the aesthetic curve of the letters, as *revolvere* can mean to “bend back.” Another reading could refer to the practice of eliciting names via a process of “revolving” the letters of the alphabet either forward or back. This is described in Book Three, ch. 25. The J.F. version says “resolve proportionally.”
10. “whose order . . . perfectly invented language” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 31:55.
11. “Indeed, voices and words . . . voice of God” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>19.
12. “Hebrew three mothers . . . are simple” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 17, but there are many deviations from this source. In Tyson’s note 7 for this chapter, he points out that Agrippa is incorrect, and he lists the usual letter correspondences. Tyson’s list corresponds to Giorgio’s. Giorgio also mentions that the three mothers are attributed to the intelligences. It’s not clear why Agrippa’s list varies so radically. Here are the corrections:
The three mothers are: װ, ם, ם.

The seven double are: ח, ט, פ, צ, ד, ג, ב.

The twelve simple are: ק, צ, ע, ס, ג, ל, י, ט, ח, ז, ו, ה

- 13.** Agrippa's meaning here is that each letter has the numerical value for itself (i.e., alef is 1, bet is 2, etc.) as well as a secondary numerical value calculated through the values of the letters that make up its name (i.e., the numbers for the individual letters A-L-E-F for the letter alef).

Dedicatory Letter to Count Hermann of Weid

- 1.** Cologne 1527.

Chapter 1. Of the necessity of the discipline of mathematics and its many wonderful operations, which only the arts of mathematics can perform.

- 1.** “discipline of mathematics . . . desired effects” –see also Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d2.
- 2.** “are ruled by ‘number, weight, and measure’” –Book of Wisdom 11:21.
- 3.** “even without natural virtues . . . without animal virtues” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 9; ref. Plato, *Laws* 889c–d.
- 4.** Greek –*automata*..
- 5.** “likenesses of Daedalus . . . narrated by Homer” –Erasmus, *Adagia* 2:3, 62; ref. Aristotle, *Politics* 1:4, 1253b; Homer, *Iliad* 18:369–79.
- 6.** Possibly Iarchus. *Gymnosophist* is a Greek term for Indian ascetics, literally meaning “naked philosopher,” not “philosophical exerciser” as J.F. wrote. Tyson kept this error. In the introductory letter in Book Three and chapter 27 of Book Two, Agrippa mentions Ethiopian Gymnosophists—a use of the term unique to his source, Apollonius of Tyana.
- 7.** “feast of Hiarba . . . carvers for the guests” –Philostratus, *Apollonius* 3:27.
- 8.** “statues of Mercury that spoke” –*Corpus Hermeticum*, 15, §24.
- 9.** “wooden pigeon of Architas that flew” –Gellius, *Attic* 10:12.
- 10.** “Cassiodorus wrote . . . sang sweet songs” –Crinitus, *Honestia* 17:12.
- 11.** Ref. Apollonius of Perga, *Conicorum*; Vitellius, *Perspectiva*.
- 12.** *Matheseos* – a Greek word literally meaning “knowledge” but implies mathematics or astrology.
- 13.** This probably refers to the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar), but the “column of Alexander” isn’t clear, though according to some stories these may refer to the Caspian Gates, which are sometimes called

the Gates of Alexander.

14. Most likely the obelisk currently in St. Peter's Square. It was in a different location during Agrippa's time. At one time there was a golden sphere thought to contain Caesar's ashes.
15. The Latin here is *Trevari*. The modern city of Trier was named for the Gaulish tribe called the Trevari. Mercury was one of the principal deities worshipped there.
16. "some who see a miracle . . . work of daemons" –see also Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 9; "Serapis in Egypt" –ref. Rufinus, *Ecclesiastica* 2:23. J.F. translated as "temple of Serapis in Rome." The Latin here is *de Solis idolo in Serapis templo apud Aegyptum*.
17. "William of Auvergne wrote . . . with a human voice" –Auvergne, *Universo* 1:1, 51 and *Legibus* 26.
18. The Latin here is *formaliora*. J.F. translated this as "formal," which is technically correct, but I feel that this is confusing in this context. These are more of the nature of the Platonic forms.
19. "general opinion of Pythagoreans . . . Christian theologians" –Pico, *Apologia* ee2.

Chapter 2. Of numbers, their power, and virtue.

1. "Severinus Boethius . . . bound in numbers" –Boethius, *De Institutione* 1:2.
2. "Therefore, numbers are powerful . . . each thing" –see also Ficino, *Three Books* 3:17; Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>25.
3. "And Proclus said . . . philosopher without them" –Giorgio, *Harmonia* Prooemium; ref. Proclus, *Tymaeum* 2; Themistius, *Paraphrasis* 6:8; Boethius, *De Institutione* 1:2; Plato, *Epinomis* 977b–78b.
4. "they speak of a rational . . . number of merchants" –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2, 1; ref. Plato, *Republic* 7:525b–526a.
5. "of which the Pythagoreans . . . divine and celestial" –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 2; ref. Augustine, *Arbitrio* 2:11.
6. "Through them is a way . . . formalized numbers" –Pico, *Conclusiones* 7>9–11.

Chapter 3. That numbers possess such great virtues in natural things as well as transnatural things.

1. *Transnaturalibus* –lit. "across nature." J.F. translated this as "supernatural."
2. "In numbers therefore . . . Rabanus" –Pico, *Apologia* ee2; except "Athanasius."
3. "Hence, Hilary . . . efficacy of numbers" –Hilarius, *Tractatus* §8.

4. “likewise, Rabanus, . . . virtues of numbers” –Pico, *Apologia* ee2; ref. Maurus, *De computu*.
5. A quotidian fever is a fever lasting for one day.
6. “shown in the herb pentaphyllon, . . . four for quartan” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.
7. J.F. translated as “turnisole.” Tyson identifies this as the *heliotrophum minus*. The Latin here is *heliotropii*.
8. “Serpents will die . . . will strengthen” –Rhodiginus, *Lectioinum* 15:25.
9. “Also, Pythagoreans profess . . . manner of computation” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 25.
10. “But you must know . . . future of the world” –Reuchlin, *Art* 3:n4.

Chapter 4. Of one and its scale.

1. “Indeed, one most simply penetrates . . . but by itself ” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g3–4.
2. “But Martianus . . . ardor to itself ” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7:731; ref. Aristotle, fr. 198.
3. “one is the beginning and end . . . desires one” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §7–8.
4. “because everything proceeds from one . . . lay aside the multitude” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 5.
5. “Therefore, one is referred . . . within Himself” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §8.
6. “one king in bees . . . cranes follow one” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 6, ref. Jerome Epistles 125, §15.
7. This may refer to the alchemical *azoth*.
8. “Among members . . . reach their limits” –ref. Trithemius, *Epistolae, Ioanni Westenburgh*.
9. “From one man, Adam . . . we in Him” –Clichtove, *De Mystica*; ref. 1 Corinthians 8:6, 15:22; Ephesians 4:5–6.

Chapter 5. Of two and its scale.

1. “Two is the first number . . . called uncomposed” –Reuchlin, *Art* 2:h2–3.
2. “Two is the first sprout . . . equally weighed” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §732.
3. “the number of science . . . resist them” –Clichtove, *De Mystica* 2; ref. Genesis 2:24; Ecclesiastes 4:9–12.
4. “number of marriage and sex . . . second female” –Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistarum* 9:393–94.

5. “the capable center, . . . signifies matter” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §732.
6. “Saint Jerome . . . ark in pairs” –Pico, *Apologia* ee2; ref. St. Jerome, *Jovinianum* 1:16; Genesis 6:19–20, 7:8.
7. “two brings occurrence of shadows, . . . travel at night” –ref. Apuleius, *Apologia* §64.
8. “Pythagoras said, . . . mingling of unities” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 6.
9. “Plutarch wrote . . . many mysteries” –Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 22:9; ref. Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 75, §381.
10. “two tablets” –Exodus 31:18; “two Cherubs” –Exodus 25:18–20; “two olives” –Zechariah 4:11–12; “two apparitions” –Exodus 33:11, 23.
11. “two testaments, . . . two first people” –Pico, *Apologia* eei.

Chapter 6. Of three and its scale.

1. “Three is the first . . . in religion” –Pico, *Apologia* ee2–3.
2. “Hence this number . . . joy of God” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g4; ref. Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:75.
3. “Pythagoreans use . . . and purifications” –Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 2:29.
4. “He encircled . . . pure water” –Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:229.
5. “First, I encircle . . . the image” –Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:73–75.
6. “Amaryllys tie . . . these chains” Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:77–78.
7. “And she said three . . . rapid rivers” –Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7:153–54.
8. “It is the custom . . . will be cured” –Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §36.
9. J.F. translated this as “harmony.” *Heimarmene* is a Greek word that, according to the *Corpus Hermeticum* 15 (Asclepius) §39, is the “necessity in all events . . . bound to one another by links that form a chain.” In other words, something like fate.
10. “Accordingly, three is perfected . . . and their offspring” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 2; ref. Aristotle, *Heavens* 1:1, 268a; *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §39–40.
11. “entirety of time . . . and thickness” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 3.
12. *Diapason, hemiolion, diatessaron.*
13. “together with these . . . irascibility and desire” –This section is missing from J.F.
14. “Harmony is contained . . . God the Maker” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §733; except “there are three

kinds of souls, vegetative, sensitive, and intellectual” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 3; ref. Wisdom 11:21.

15. *Oromasim, Mitrim, Araminim.*

16. “magicians distribute . . . discussed in a long series” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 2; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 35b–36b; Proclus, *Tymaeum* 2.

17. *Fixed signs: Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, Aquarius*; moveable: Aries, Cancer, Libra, Capricorn; common: Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, Pisces.

18. Lat. *Cardinum* –“hinge, pole, point.”

19. These divisions are
Angular: I, IV, VII, X
Succedent: II, V, VIII, XI
Cadent: III, VI, IX, XII

20. J.F. translated this as “faces and heads.” The Latin here is *facies et decani*. Faces and decans refer to the same sign divisions in traditional astrology, albeit with two possible systems of planetary rulership: a threefold ten-degree division of each sign. Some texts, as Agrippa does in ch. 36, sometimes distinguish one as belonging to the Indian division and the other to the Western. There is no inherent or consistent difference between the two words throughout most astrological literature.

21. Each of the signs belong to one of the four elements, each of which is called a triplicity, because each element rules three signs. The two most common triplicity systems are the Dorothean and Ptolemaic. In the Dorothean system, each element has three planets acting as lords, as Agrippa refers, a day, night, and participating ruler, and the Ptolemaic has two planetary lords, a day and night ruler. Agrippa refers to the planets that are lords of each triplicity, not to the signs that are part of them as Tyson mistakenly notes.

22. Jupiter, Venus, and, most commonly, the Sun. Ptolemy in *Tetrabiblos* 1:5 states that the Moon is a benefic, rather than the Sun, which he says can be either benefic or malefic, like Mercury.

23. “And the threefold Hecate, . . . chaste Diana” –Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:511.

24. “There are three persons . . . as many days” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 3; ref. Jonah 1:17; Matthew 12:40.

Chapter 7. Of four and its scale.

1. “Pythagoreans call the number . . . virtues of [other] numbers” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g2...

2. “it is the foundation . . . figure of a square” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 2 3.

3. These correspond to the four angles in an astrological chart: 1st, 7th, 10th, and 4th houses, respectively. These are also the four directions: east, west, south, and north, respectively..

4. East wind, west wind, south wind, and north wind respectively.

5. “from the gentiles, . . . contains four virtues” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g2–3; except “Additionally, four completes . . . first uneven in it” –Ficino, *Tymaeum* 20.
6. “four judicial powers arising . . . belief, and, perception” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 13.
7. “the Pythagoreans . . . strengthening their belief” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g2.
8. “I swear to you . . . parent of mind” –(attr.) Plutarch, *De Placitis* 1.
9. “there are four rivers . . . all churches” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 4.
10. The first edition added “that is to say, יהוה, which the Greeks called Tetragrammaton; namely, ‘four letters.’”
11. *Theos*.
12. “The Hebrews’ particular . . . Esar, Deus” –Ficino, in *Cratylum* 1,309–10.
13. *Lacedaemonii*.
14. *Numinibus*.
15. “Hence the Spartans . . . four winds” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g3; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 16; Ezekiel 1:1–15; Daniel 7:2–3.
16. “in Revelation . . . upon any tree” –Revelation 4:6, 7:1–2.
17. In the Tyson version the left and right columns are switched.

Chapter 8. Of five and its scale.

1. “The number five . . . of these numbers” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §1.
2. “it is the most lawful . . . perfect medium” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g4.
3. “said to be justice . . . equally from ten” –ref. Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §735.
4. “There are five senses . . . planets in the heavens” –Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 22:10.
5. Referring to the astrological essential dignity called “terms” or “bounds.”
6. “there are as many kinds of animals . . . swimming things” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §735.
7. J.F. translated as “sense.” The Latin is *status*.
8. “five kinds, from which God . . . standing, and moving” –Plato, *Sophist* 254d–255e.
9. “it signifies Christ’s . . . protect the worthy” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 5.

10. “Gentile philosophers . . . non-living thing” –Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 22:10.
11. “the patriarch Noah . . . flooding waters” –ref. Genesis 6:8, 13–22, 7:1–23.
12. “in the virtue of this number . . . a great people” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g4; ref. Genesis 17:1–21.
13. “in the time of grace . . . pentagrammaton יהשוע Ihesu” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:k5.
14. *Ieshu*.

Chapter 9. Of six and its scale.

1. J.F. translated as “scale of the world.” The Latin here is *mundique signaculum appellatur*. This was probably a transcription error and “seal” was intended.
2. “Six is the number of perfection . . . were completed” –Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g4; ref. Genesis 1:31, 2:1.
3. “to be the number of man . . . with the cross” –Clichtove, *De Mystica* 5; ref. Genesis 1:26–31; Matthew 27:1–50; Mark 15:1–37; Luke 22:66–71, 23:1–47; John 18:28–40, 19:1–30; Exodus 20 9, 16:26, 23:10, 21:2.
4. “For six days the glory . . . with a cloud” –Exodus 24:16.
5. The previous chapter said that there are five wandering planets. This is the more common way of counting the planets, which omits the Sun and Moon. They were considered separate from the other five planets, which go retrograde. The Sun and Moon never go retrograde. In this section, the distinction being made is between the Sun and planets that have latitude. The Sun is omitted here, because the ecliptic is the path of the Sun. The Sun can never be above or below its own path.
6. “six different positions . . . which is a sixth” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §736.

Chapter 10. Of seven and its scale.

1. “The number seven has . . . its whole greatness” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §5–8.
2. “Indeed, it contains the body . . . irascible and desire” –Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:6.
3. “Therefore seven . . . are seventy years” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §62–76; except “after the first seven days . . . born in the seventh month” –Gellius, *Attic* 3:10.
4. “the highest measure . . . seven feet” –Gellius, *Attic* 3:10. This doesn’t necessarily refer to our modern 12 inches to a foot. Older systems varied from about 10 inches to about 13 inches.
5. “seven degrees . . . does not endure” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §77–80.

6. “placed in continuing . . . that is, judicial” –Gellius, *Attic* 3:10. This refers to physicians using music for remedies, most likely with a seven-stringed lyre.
7. “God created the soul . . . Plato in *Timaeus*” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §2; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 35b.
8. *Ditonus*, *semiditonus*, *diatessaron*, *diapente*, respectively.
9. “the soul rules the body . . . and an octave” –Ficino, *Tymaeum* 1,459.
10. “of the celestial powers . . . agrees with the number seven” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §47–48.
11. Tyson wrote that this refers to signs between equinoxes and solstices, though Agrippa mentions it just after this passage. Here Agrippa is simply saying an opposition aspect in astrology is seven signs apart. These can be any signs, not just the cardinal signs. If you draw a line between two signs that are seven signs apart, and do the same perpendicularly, it makes a cross. In an astrological chart, the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th houses/signs are called angular houses and also mark the cardinal directions.
12. I slightly altered this to be closer to Gellius, Agrippa’s source, and for clarity, as Agrippa seems to have left out part of the phrase. Agrippa wrote: . . . *distant solstitium a bruma et aequinoctium hyemale ab aestivali*.
13. “seven circles in the heavens according to the longitudinal axis” –i.e., the seven planetary spheres.
14. “By a similar radiation . . . called the Pleiades” –Gellius, *Attic* 3:10.
15. I.e., $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 = 28$.
16. “Likewise, there are seven planets . . . like the second” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §47–55, 61.
17. “applies to Saturn . . . life in tranquillity” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 5; ref. Revelation 20:1–6.
18. “Additionally, Pythagoreans called . . . sacred to Pallas” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §11. This can also refer to an epithet to the Virgin Athena.
19. “In religion it has . . . indications of veneration” –Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:6.
20. “it is called the number of oaths . . . lambs in testimony” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:3, 9; ref. *Genesis* 21:27–30.
21. “said to be the number . . . times blessed” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:6, §44; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 1:94.
22. “Likewise, God . . . day of rest” –Genesis 2:2; Deuteronomy 5:14.
23. “hence, Christ rested in his tomb on the seventh day” –Clichtove, *De Mystica* 6; ref. Matthew 27:57–28:1; Mark 15:42–16:1; Luke 23:50–24:1; John 19:38–20:1.
24. “I immediately . . . seven times” –Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:1, §4.
25. “Lepers are likewise . . . blood of a sparrow” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 16; ref. Leviticus 14:7.

- [26.](#) J.F. translated this as “second book.” Versions of the Latin Vulgate Bible in Agrippa’s time had four books of Kings. The first two books of Kings correspond to Samuel 1 and 2 in later versions. Kings 3 and 4 for Agrippa correspond to Kings 1 and 2.
- [27.](#) “book of Kings, said to . . . he was cleansed” –2 Kings 5:10, 14 (Vulgate 4 Kings 5:10).
- [28.](#) “number of freedom . . . seven eyes of God” –Clichtove, *De Mystica* 6; ref. Exodus 21:2; Deuteronomy 15:12; Psalms 118:164; Genesis 4:24; Psalms 78:12; Matthew 12:45; Luke 11:26; Isaiah 11:2; Zechariah 4:10; except “Solomon took seven abominations” –Proverbs 26:25.
- [29.](#) “there are seven angels, . . . read in Tobias” –Tobias 12:15.
- [30.](#) “seven burning torches” –Revelation 4:5.
- [31.](#) “seven golden candlesticks . . . throne of God” –Revelation 1:4, 12–13, 16.
- [32.](#) “seven angels standing . . . seven trumpets” –Revelation 8:2.
- [33.](#) “he saw a lamb . . . with seven seals” –Revelation 5:6, 1.
- [34.](#) “when the seventh seal . . . made silent” –Revelation 8:1.
- [35.](#) “and three of divinity” missing in J.F.
- [36.](#) “Seven also has a great conformity . . . inferior nature” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 16.
- [37.](#) “seventh day God rested” –Genesis 2:2–3.
- [38.](#) “seventh from Adam . . . pious man” –Genesis 5:1–19.
- [39.](#) “also another seventh . . . named Lamech” –Genesis 4:17–19.
- [40.](#) “seven generations destroyed . . . seven vengeance” –Genesis 4:24, 15.
- [41.](#) “that master of history” –ref. Beauvais, *Speculum* 1:56.
- [42.](#) “seven and seven of all clean animals . . . Noah’s ark” –Genesis 7:2–4.
- [43.](#) “after seven days . . . earth with water” –Genesis 7:10–12.
- [44.](#) “Abraham gave Abimelech seven ewe-lambs” –Genesis 21:28–30.
- [45.](#) “Jacob served seven . . . seven for Rachel” –Genesis 29:20–30.
- [46.](#) “people of Israel . . . for seven days” –Genesis 50:10.
- [47.](#) “we read in the same place . . . seven of barrenness” –Genesis 41:18–30.
- [48.](#) “the seventh day is the Sabbath . . . for the Lord” –Exodus 20:8–11.
- [49.](#) “the seventh year a slave will be freed” –Exodus 21 2.

- [50.](#) “seven days cattle and sheep stay with their mother” –Exodus 22:30.
- [51.](#) “the seventh year land . . . sacred Sabbath and rest” –Exodus 23:11–12.
- [52.](#) “seventh day, because it is the Sabbath is called sacred” –Exodus 20:11.
- [53.](#) “seventh day is more solemn and more holy” –Leviticus 23:8.
- [54.](#) “first day of the seventh month will be a memorial Sabbath” –Leviticus 23:24.
- [55.](#) “burnt offerings . . . for seven days” –Leviticus 23:36.
- [56.](#) “seventh month celebrate . . . tabernacle for seven days” –Leviticus 23:41–42.
- [57.](#) “One whose finger was dipped . . . before the Lord” –Leviticus 4:6.
- [58.](#) “To be cleansed from leprosy . . . blood of a sparrow” –Leviticus 14:7.
- [59.](#) “for seven days wash . . . flowing blood” –Leviticus 15:13. I suspect there is a typo here from Agrippa. The Vulgate begins with “*si sanatus fuerit qui huiuscemodi . . .*” Instead of *sanatus* Agrippa has *sanguinus*. J.F. translated this as “menstruous.”
- [60.](#) “sprinkle with his finger seven times with the blood of a calf” –Leviticus 16:14.
- [61.](#) “I will smite you seven times for your sins” –Leviticus 26:24.
- [62.](#) “seven peoples had . . . land of promise” –Deuteronomy 3:12–17.
- [63.](#) “seventh year of remission” –Deuteronomy 15:1.
- [64.](#) “seven lights with the candlestick placed in the south part” –Numbers 8:2.
- [65.](#) “seven immaculate ewe-lambs . . . offered on the seventh day” –Numbers 28:11, 17, 19, 22, 27, 30; 29:1–12, 32.
- [66.](#) “Balaam raised seven altars” –Numbers 23 4.
- [67.](#) Agrippa gives her name as Maria, but the passage refers to Miriam.
- [68.](#) “seven days Maria, sister of Aaron, left the fortress leprous” –Numbers 12:15. No version of Numbers mentions leprosy. This may be Agrippa’s error, or there is an unidentified secondary source to which he is referring.
- [69.](#) “seven days one who touched a corpse was unclean” –Numbers 19:11.
- [70.](#) “And in Joshua seven priests . . . blew the trumpets” –Joshua 6:6–16.
- [71.](#) “seven years Abessa reigned in Israel” –Judges 12 9.
- [72.](#) “seven days Samson . . . riddle to his wife” –Judges 14:17, 12.
- [73.](#) “bound with seven cords . . . locks of his hair” –Judges 16:8, 13.

- [74.](#) “for seven years the children . . . king of Midian” –Judges 6:1.
- [75.](#) “books of Kings seven times . . . a little cloud” –1 Kings 18:43-44 (Vulgate 3 Kings 18:43–44).
- [76.](#) “for seven days the sons . . . joined in battle” –1 Kings 20:29 (Vulgate 3 Kings 20:29).
- [77.](#) “for seven years famine . . . murmuring people” –2 Samuel 24:13 (Vulgate 2 Kings 24:13).
- [78.](#) “seven times the child . . . again by Elisha” –2 Kings 4:35 (Vulgate 4 Kings 4:35).
- [79.](#) “seven men were crucified . . . days of harvest” –2 Samuel 21:9 (Vulgate 2 Kings 21:9).
- [80.](#) “Naaman was cleansed by Elisha by washing seven times” –2 Kings 5:14 (Vulgate 4 Kings 5:14).
- [81.](#) “seventh month Goliath was slain” –1 Samuel 17:48–51 (Vulgate 1 Kings 17:48–51).
- [82.](#) Paralipomenon is the Greek word for the book of Chronicles in the Bible. In the Renaissance, this was still the common title for this book.
- [83.](#) And in Paralipomenon . . . complete the foundation” –2 Chronicles 5:3. This is missing in J.F.
- [84.](#) “in Esther, we read of the seven eunuchs of the Persian king” –Esther 1:10.
- [85.](#) “seven men coupled with Sara, the daughter of Raguel” –Tobias 3:7–8.
- [86.](#) “Nebuchadnezzar’s furnace was heated seven times more” –Daniel 3:19.
- [87.](#) “seven lions were in the cave” –Daniel 14:31.
- [88.](#) “seven sons” –Job 1:2.
- [89.](#) “seven days and nights Job’s friends sat with him on the earth” –Job 2:13.
- [90.](#) “On the seventh, no evil will touch you” –Job 5:19.
- [91.](#) “seven weeks of years” –Leviticus 25:8. This is missing in J.F. The rest of this verse says: “. . . that is, seven times seven, which likewise make forty-nine years.”
- [92.](#) “seven councilors of Artaxerxes” –Ezra 7:14.
- [93.](#) “in the seventh month you will sound the trumpet” –Leviticus 25:9.
- [94.](#) “under Ezra in the seventh month . . . were in the cities” –3 Ezra 5:47–51.
- [95.](#) “first day of the seventh month Ezra read the law to the people” –Nehemiah 8:2.
- [96.](#) “David says praises seven times a day” –Psalms 118:164.
- [97.](#) “silver is tested seven times” –Psalms 11:7.
- [98.](#) “we return sevenfold to our neighbors into their bosoms” –Psalms 78:12.

- [99.](#) “wisdom carved herself seven columns” –Proverbs 9:1.
- [100.](#) “seven men [who] speak opinions” –Proverbs 26:16.
- [101.](#) “seven [behaviors] that the Lord hates and detests” –Proverbs 6:16–19.
- [102.](#) “seven evils in the heart of an enemy” –Proverbs 26:25.
- [103.](#) “seven watchmen” –Ecclesiasticus 37:18.
- [104.](#) “seven foolish eyes” –Ecclesiasticus 20:14.
- [105.](#) “Isaiah counted seven gifts of the Holy Spirit” –Isaiah 11:2.
- [106.](#) “seven women shall apprehend one man” –Isaiah 4:1.
- [107.](#) “with seven the mind of a woman . . . and her soul fails” –Jeremiah 15:9.
- [108.](#) “prophet grieved for seven days” –Ezekiel 3:15.
- [109.](#) “seven lamps and seven . . . the whole earth” –Zechariah 4:2, 10.
- [110.](#) “seven eyes over one stone” –Zechariah 3:9.
- [111.](#) “seventh day is turned to joy” –Zechariah 8:19.
- [112.](#) “seven shepherds are raised over the Assyrians” –Micah 5:4.
- [113.](#) “seven conditions of blessedness” –Matthew 5:3–10; Luke 6:20–22.
- [114.](#) “seven virtues to which are opposed seven vices” –Matthew 5:28–48.
- [115.](#) “seven petitions of the Lord’s prayer” –Matthew 6:9–13.
- [116.](#) “seven words of Christ on the cross” –This refers not to seven individual words but to the seven last sentences of Jesus while on the cross. Each statement, according to Catholic doctrine, has a single word describing the statement: i.e., “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do” is summarized as “forgiveness.” These statements show the progression of faith, redemption, and salvation. The seven statements are recounted in the following places: Luke 23:34, 23:43, 23:46; Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34; John 19:26–28, 19:30.
- [117.](#) “seven words of the Virgin Mary” –These seven words are similar in concept to the seven words of Christ, although less well known. In this case, the statements illustrate different expressions of love.
- [118.](#) “seven breads distributed by the Lord” –Matthew 15:36; Mark 8:6.
- [119.](#) “seven baskets of fragments” –Matthew 15:37; Mark 8:8.
- [120.](#) “seven brothers having one wife” –Matthew 22:25–27; Mark 12:20–23; Luke 20:29–32.
- [121.](#) “seven disciples of the Lord who were fishers” –Matthew 4:18–22; Mark 1:16–20; Luke 5:1–11.

- [122.](#) “seven water pots in Canaan in Galilee” –John 2:6.
- [123.](#) “seven wraths that the Lord threatens to hypocrites” –Matthew 23:13–29; Luke 11:39–52.
- [124.](#) “seven demons expelled from the sinful woman” –Mark 16:9; Luke 8:2.
- [125.](#) “seven more wicked demons taken in after expulsion” –Matthew 12:45; Luke 11:26.
- [126.](#) “for seven years Christ was in refuge in Egypt” –Matthew 2:13–21.
- [127.](#) “seventh hour fever left the son of the ruler” –John 4:52.
- [128.](#) “describes seven degrees of the wise” –James 3:17.
- [129.](#) “Peter seven degrees of virtue” –2 Peter 1:5–7.
- [130.](#) “seven deacons and seven disciples chosen by the Apostles” –Acts 6:5.
- [131.](#) “seven candlesticks are gathered, seven stars” –Revelation 1:12, 16.
- [132.](#) “seven crowns” –Revelation 12:3.
- [133.](#) “seven churches . . . watching the throne” –Revelation 1:4.
- [134.](#) “seven seals . . . seven spirits of God” –Revelation 5:1, 5–6, 4:5.
- [135.](#) “seven angels with seven trumpets” –Revelation 8:2.
- [136.](#) “seven horns of the dragon . . . seven diadems” –Revelation 5:6, 12:3.
- [137.](#) “seven plagues . . . of the seven angels” –Revelation 15:1, 6.
- [138.](#) “seven heads of the scarlet beast . . . sitting on them” –Revelation 17:3, 9.
- [139.](#) “seven thunders speaking their voices” –Revelation 10:3.
- [140.](#) The sources for the following two paragraphs have not been identified, if any.
- [141.](#) *Sine cura.*
- [142.](#) “seven men foretold . . . Jesus Christ” –Genesis 16:10–12, 17:14–21; Judges 13:3–15; Jeremiah 1:5; Luke 1:13–16, 30–33; Matthew 1:20–23.
- [143.](#) Not Livy, as according to J.F. This error is probably from misreading *Linus* as part of Livy’s Latin name, *Livius*.
- [144.](#) “When the seventh light . . . circled around” –Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 13:12, §16. The poet Linus exists only in fragments.
- [145.](#) Rabbi Joseph Castilla, whose full name was Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla, wrote the 13th century kabbalistic work *Ginnat Egoz*, “The Garden of Nuts.” The title is a symbol of mysticism as well as an acronym of the three main elements of kabbalism: gematria, notarikon, and temurah.

Chapter 11. Of eight and its scale.

1. “Pythagoreans called . . . a solid body” –Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:5, §14–18.
2. “Hence, in the Orphic . . . and Night” –Ficino, *Repubblica* 1,403.
3. The seven planetary spheres and the sphere of the fixed stars.
4. “signifies to us . . . maritime hymns” –Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>12.
5. “the number of covenant . . . the eighth day” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 7; ref. Genesis 17:11–12.
6. “in the Old Law, . . . golden plate” –St. Jerome, *Epistolae* 64; ref. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 3:7; Exodus 28:4–42.
7. “this number relates . . . in Matthew” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 7; ref. Matthew 5:3–10.
8. “the number of health . . . f looding waters” –St. Jerome, *Dialogus* 22; ref. Genesis 7:23. This is missing in J.F.
9. “eight sons of Jesse, of which David was the eighth” –1 Samuel 17:12–14 (Vulgate 1 Kings 17:12–14).
10. “received speech on the eighth day” –Luke 1:59–64.
11. “They regard this number . . . in clear danger” –Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 22:13.

Chapter 12. Of nine and its scale.

1. “nine orders of blessed angels . . . Archangels, Angels” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 8.
2. “He forms Ezekiel . . . topaz, carnelian” –Ezekiel 28:13.
3. “in the ninth hour . . . spirit departed” –Matthew 27:46–50; Mark 15:34–37; Luke 23:44–46.
4. “from where Homer . . . raging disaster” –*Illiad* 2:301–29, 6:174, 7:161, 18:578, 23:173–74, *Odyssey* 3:7–8, 8:258–59, 9:159–60, 14:248, *Homeric Hymns* 91, 104.
5. Possibly the cyclical predictive tool called *fidaria*, which are periods of years ruled by the seven planets and the two Lunar nodes.
6. “Yet sometimes it denotes . . . the ten lepers” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 8; ref. Augustine, *Quaestionum* 2:40.
7. “Nor is there a lack . . . type of devil” –Pico, *Apologia* ee3; ref. Deuteronomy 3:11.

Chapter 13. Of ten and its scale.

1. “Ten is called the all . . . through replication” –Pico, *Apologia* ee2.
2. *Denariae* –consisting of ten.
3. J.F. translated as “Io.” The Latin here is *Isidris*.
4. “Hence the ancients called . . . or drink wine” –Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11; ref. Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:23, §2.
5. Most likely referring to the body as a whole.
6. “ten sanguine parts . . . genitalia, and womb” –Ricius, *Isagoge* 36, 34.
7. A stringed instrument similar to a harp.
8. Tyson miswrote this as “sit.”
9. “ten curtains . . . Holy Spirit descended” –Pico, *Apologia* ee3; ref. curtains: Exodus 26:1, ten strings: Psalms 32:2, ten commandments: Exodus 20:1–17, Christ ascended: Acts 2:1–4.
10. *Lucifero*.
11. “Jacob conquered the angel . . . name Israel” –Genesis 32:23–29.
12. “Joshua conquered thirty-one kings” –Joshua 12:7–24.
13. “David conquered Goliath and the Philistines” –1 Samuel 17:17–18 (Vulgate 1 Kings 17:17–18).
14. “Daniel evaded the dangers of the lions” –Daniel 1:12–15, 7:7, 20, 24.
15. “This number, as with one, . . . end of everything” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 5, 1:1, 10, 2:1, 10, 1:4, 33; ref. Proclus, *Elementatio* 33; Deuteronomy 12:6, 26:2, 10, 12.

Chapter 14. Of eleven and twelve, with a twofold scale of twelve, and the kabbalistic and Orphic.

1. “The number eleven, . . . mourning for sins” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 9; ref. Exodus 26:7–9.
2. “free grace from God . . . heat of the day” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 9; ref. Matthew 20:1–15.
3. “number twelve is divine . . . are measured” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 19.
4. twelve tribes/princes –Genesis 25:16; Joshua 4:2.
5. twelve stones in Jordan –Joshua 4:5.
6. twelve stones –Exodus 28:15–21.
7. twelve bread –Leviticus 24:5–8.

8. twelve stones in the altar –1 Kings 18:30–31 (Vulgate 3 Kings 18:30–31). J.F. omitted the passages about the loaves of bread and the altar.
9. twelve lions –1 Kings 7:25, 44 (Vulgate 3 Kings 7:25, 44). The biblical source says these are oxen. The error seems to come from Agrippa and not his source, Giorgio.
10. twelve fountains –Exodus 15:27.
11. twelve spies –Numbers 13:3–4.
12. twelve apostles –Matthew 10:1; Mark 3:14; Luke 6:13.
13. twelve-thousand –Revelation 7:4–8.
14. queen of heaven –Revelation 12:1.
15. twelve loaves –Matthew 14:20; Mark 6:43; Luke 9:17; John 6:13.
16. twelve angels –Revelation 21:12.
17. twelve stones –Revelation 21:19–20.
18. hares . . . camel –Pliny, *Natural History* 10:63, §179.
19. peacocks –Pliny, *Natural History* 10:59, §161.
20. “twelve particular angels, . . . twelve eggs” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 19, 2:7, 23. The multiple references within are cited in-line.
21. The Hebrew in the second row varies between Agrippa’s Latin, J.F., and Tyson. Agrippa repeats the third name in the eighth name. Tyson swaps the eighth and ninth names. Agrippa also swapped the translations for “His” and “Holy” in the first row.

Chapter 15. Of numbers above twelve, their powers and virtues.

1. In other words, the virtues of some numbers are found by multiplication, subtraction, or adding certain notable numbers together.
2. “Christ’s appearance . . . led the Magi” –Matthew 2:9–11.
3. In Agrippa’s Latin, he wrote *Luna* (Moon) instead of *diem* (day), as appears in his source. This error seems to be by Agrippa.
4. *Phase* is sometimes used for “Passover” but is more commonly called Pasha.
5. “Thus, thirteen . . . that is, Passover” –Cliothove, *De Mystica* 10; ref. “Fourteen bears . . . that is, Passover” –Exodus 12:3–6; Leviticus 23:5.
6. “this number was so anxiously . . . [to fourteen]” –Pico, *Conclusiones* 11>52; ref. Matthew 1:17.

- [7.](#) Psalms 119–33.
- [8.](#) 2 Kings 20:6 (Vulgate 4 Kings 20:6).
- [9.](#) Numbers 29:12.
- [10.](#) “is composed from . . . obedient to ten” –missing in J.F.
- [11.](#) “Fifteen is the number . . . of the New Testament” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 11. Agrippa added “therefore . . . number of happiness.”
- [12.](#) “Israel served Eglon, king of Moab” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 12; ref. Judges 3:13–14.
- [13.](#) “Jacob served” –Genesis 31:38, 41.
- [14.](#) “Joseph was sold” –Genesis 37:28.
- [15.](#) “But the number twenty-two . . . as many books” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 14. In first-century Judaism, they divided the books of the Hebrew Bible differently into twenty-two. It contained the same material as the modern Hebrew Bible, but some were combined into larger books.
- [16.](#) “The number thirty . . . from the pharaoh” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 16; ref. “the thirtieth . . . of God” –Luke 3:21–23; “John the Baptist . . . ways of the Lord” –Matthew 3:1, Mark 1:4; “Ezekiel began to prophesize” –Ezekiel 1:1; “Joseph was . . . from the pharaoh” –Genesis 41:46.
- [17.](#) “Hebrew teachers appoint . . . all the way to one” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2, 7; ref. Abraham 1.
- [18.](#) “The ancients cherished . . . in great danger” –Crinitus, *De Honesta* 22:6.
- [19.](#) “time of the . . . over the earth” –Genesis 7:12.
- [20.](#) “the children of Israel . . . for forty years” –Numbers 14:33.
- [21.](#) “destruction of Nineveh . . . forty days” –Jonah 3:4.
- [22.](#) Exodus 34:28; Deuteronomy 9:9, 18.
- [23.](#) 1 Kings 19:8 (Vulgate 3 Kings 19:8).
- [24.](#) Matthew 4:2; Luke 4:2.
- [25.](#) Leviticus 12:2–4 mentions a forty-day purification period after a male child was born, and Mary’s observation of this period is implied in Luke 2:22.
- [26.](#) This appears to be a popular estimate by Medieval scholars. Forty months is just over three years. His ministry is variously estimated at two or three years.
- [27.](#) As in the number of months of Jesus’s ministry, this is a symbolic number. It is also tied to forty-hour devotion in Catholicism.
- [28.](#) Acts 1:3.

- [29.](#) “this is the number of atonement . . . and mysterious properties” –Pico, *Apologia* ee2–3.
- [30.](#) “Indeed, according to the law . . . indulgence and repentance” –St. Hillary, *Tractatus* Prologus §10; ref. Leviticus 25:10–11.
- [31.](#) “the Law and Holy Spirit . . . on Mount Sinai” —Compagni cites Origen, *Exegetica in Psalmos* 50; ref. Exodus 19:1.
- [32.](#) “and on the fiftieth . . . Holy Spirit” –Pico, *Apologia* ee3; ref. Acts 2:1–4.
- [33.](#) “the sacrificial fire . . . Babylonian captivity” –2 Maccabees 1:20–23.
- [34.](#) “Jeremiah predicted . . . Babylonian captivity” –Jeremiah 25:11–12.
- [35.](#) “completed the desolation of Jerusalem” –2 Chronicles 36:21.
- [36.](#) “seventy palms . . . Israel encamped” –Exodus 15:27.
- [37.](#) “Fathers descended into Egypt with seventy souls” –Deuteronomy 10:22.
- [38.](#) “seventy . . . Adoni-Bezek” –Judges 1:7.
- [39.](#) “seventy sons came from Jacob’s thigh” –Exodus 1:5.
- [40.](#) “seventy men all sons . . . men on one stone” –Judges 9:2, 4–5.
- [41.](#) “Abdon had seventy . . . ass colts” –Judges 12:13–14.
- [42.](#) “Solomon had seventy thousand men, who carried burdens” –1 Kings 5:15 (Vulgate 3 Kings 5:15).
- [43.](#) “seventy sons of King Ahab were decapitated in Samaria” –2 Kings 10:6–7 (Vulgate 4 Kings 10:6–7).
- [44.](#) “according to the psalmist seventy years is our age” –Psalms 89:10.
- [45.](#) “Lamech shall be judged seventy times seven” –Genesis 4:24.
- [46.](#) “seventy times seven pardons for offenses of sins” –Matthew 18:22.
- [47.](#) “two above . . . Old Testament” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 20.
- [48.](#) This division of the signs into six five-degree portions is not common in astrology. However, it is fairly common in occult texts to assign seventy-two daemons to the zodiac, or, in this case, angels.
- [49.](#) *Idiomati*.
- [50.](#) “and as many disciples . . . constitute seventy-two” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 23; except “they are of such great . . . it originates”
- [51.](#) “A hundred . . . complete perfection” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 22; ref. Luke 15:4–5.
- [52.](#) “a thousand complements . . . absolute perfection” –Clicthove, *De Mystica* 27.

53. “But there are two numbers . . . but with imprudence” –Plato, *Republic* 8:546b–c; Aristotle, *Politics* 5:12, 1316a.

Chapter 16. Of notable numbers placed in certain gestures.

1. Agrippa’s source, *De Nuptiis*, is about an allegorical wedding between Mercury (knowledge) and Philology. Each of the liberal arts is personified as a servant gifted to Philology.
2. “remembers those rites . . . his own name” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §729.
3. “When you say ‘1’ . . . laced together” –Bede, *De Temporum* 1:1.
4. “Luke of St. Sepulchers’s *Great Arithmetic*” –ref. Pacioli, *Summa*.

Chapter 17. Of various marks of numbers observed by the Romans.

1. All of the numerals below, Probus, *De Notis* 192–94.

Chapter 18. Of the marks of the Greeks.

1. “In the second [way] . . . rho, is hundred” –Bede, *De Temporum* 1:1.
2. “and the Greeks followed . . . and 900” –Reuchlin, *Art* 2:n3.
3. This table is from Bede, *De Temporum* 1:1. A correction from Compagni and Tyson: for the number 90, both Tyson and Compagni have the symbol ϩ. In the original Latin, J.F., and Agrippa’s source, Bede, the symbol is ϣ. Both signify the letter koppa. I’ve corrected the text to the original Latin.
4. Both Compagni and Tyson show the mark to the left of the letter, but J.F. and the original Latin show the mark under the letter, which matches Agrippa’s text.
5. *Pente*.
6. *Deka*.
7. *Hekaton*.
8. *Chilia*.
9. *Myria*.

Chapter 19. Of the marks of the Hebrews and Chaldeans, and certain other marks of magicians.

1. “The Hebrews also have letters . . . numbers” –Reuchlin, *Art* 3:n4.
2. “first book” –Book One, ch. 74.
3. The J.F. and Tyson versions have an interesting deviation. Instead of showing 3,421 and its character, they show 2,421 and its character. J.F. and Tyson seem to use the correct character for that number, but it isn’t the same number that Agrippa used in his example. I’ve restored the original.

Chapter 20. Which numbers are assigned to letters and of the divination of the same.

1. *Arithmantiam*.
2. “And they say . . . Achilles’ prey” –Marus, *De Litteris* 267–73.
3. “Also, Pliny said . . . side if even” –Pliny, *Natural History* 28:4, §33.
4. “The philosopher Alchandrinus . . . our other works” –Compagni cites Alchandrinus (Arcandam), *De veritatibus* a4r.
5. For example, if the names add up to 2,721, you then divide that by 9 = 302. $302 / 9 = 34$. $34 / 9 = 3.7$. The remainder is 4.
6. Rising sign.
7. “numbers, measures, and weights” –Book of Wisdom 11:21.
8. “He who has understanding . . . number of man” –Revelation 13:18.

Chapter 21. Which numbers are sacred to which gods and which are appointed to the elements.

1. J.F. said five is fire. The Latin here is *tetractyn*.
2. “God placed his tabernacle” –Psalms 18:6.
3. “Jupiter testifying . . . of the gods” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §731.
4. “is called Juno . . . partner and the like” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §732.
5. “The threefold Hecate, the three mouths of the virgin Diana” –Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:511.
6. “therefore, three . . . and Erebus” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §733; “powerful in heaven and Erebus” –Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:247.
7. “Four is the Sun . . . another form, the fifth” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §734–35; “assigned to Mercury”

–Rhodiginus, *Lectio* 12:10. The “fifth” here refers to the quintessence.

8. “Six, which . . . pertains to Venus” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §736; “applied by the Pythagoreans to birth and marriage” –Rhodiginus, *Lectio* 12:11.
9. “Seven is quiet and the number of Saturn” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 5.
10. “it also . . . both male and female” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §738.
11. “Plutarch also gives it to Apollo” –Rhodiginus, *Lectio* 12:12; ref. Plutarch, *The E at Delphi* 17, 391.
12. “said to be Vulcan, . . . bestows all cubes” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §740.
13. “Plutarch assigns it . . . eighth month” –Rhodiginus, *Lectio* 12:13. Rhodiginus wrote “Asclepius” rather than “Plutarch.”
14. “no less dedicated . . . end of all things” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §741.
15. “given to Janus, . . . second monad” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 7, §742.
16. Agrippa is referring to the Roman god Neptune, not the planet, which wouldn’t be discovered until 1846.

Chapter 22. Of the tables of the planets and their virtues and principles, and which divine names, intelligences, and daemons are placed in charge of them.

1. Compagni cites the discussion on planetary tables to *Secretum Secretorum*, attributed to Ptolemy. This is not the same text as the *Secretum* attributed to Aristotle.
2. Tyson remarks that the π in the middle is superfluous. I’m including it as written.
3. In the original Latin, this is incorrectly written as 157.
4. In the original Latin, this is incorrect, since the total of the square is 1,225. However, the Hebrew name is correct for 1,252.
5. Tyson states that the Latin and J.F. versions incorrectly have five letters. Only the J.F. version is incorrect. The Latin is correct.
6. Agrippa swapped these two characters.
7. The symbol in the J.F. and Tyson versions are oriented differently from Agrippa’s Latin text.
8. The Latin incorrectly has “45,” with the corresponding Hebrew numbers in the second table. J.F. corrected this.

9. The symbol in the J.F. and Tyson versions are oriented differently.

Chapter 23. Of geometric figures and bodies, of what magical virtue they exert their influence, and which [figures] agree to each element and the heavens.

1. “[are] ten when added to itself . . . of all numbers” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 5.
2. J.F. translated as “pentangle,” which also means “pentagon.” Tyson interpreted this as a “pentagram,” and indeed it seems that Agrippa is describing what we would call a pentagram. This comes up again in Book Two, ch. 27. The Latin here is *pentagonus*.
3. J.F. translated this as “double triangles.” The Latin here is *et extra quinque acutos quinque triangulorum hexagonorum*.
4. “Egyptians and the Arabs . . . rays of the angles” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18; also *Picatrix* 3:5.
5. “The Egyptians . . . great veneration of it” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18; also Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 6:8.
6. “One must pay attention . . . its like figure” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:17.
7. “One should not disregard . . . 60 planes” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 5; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 54e–56c.
8. Lat. *perspectiva* –i.e. geometrical.

Chapter 24. Of musical harmony, and its strength and power.

1. *Imitatrix*.
2. “it is the most powerful . . . suddenly provoked” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
3. “Thus, pipes allure . . . voices of organs” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 9, §927–29.
4. *Modulis* –literally “little measure.”
5. *Halesius* –Tyson noted that this is the Halesian Plain near Troy. There was an ancient city in Sicily called Halaesa, to which I believe Agrippa (from Solinus) is referring.
6. “the Halesian . . . flute is sounded” –Solinus, *Mirabilibus* 11.
7. “In Lydia, . . . with each strike” –Capella, *De Nuptiis* 9, §927–29; ref. Varro, *Rustica* 3 17.
8. “Hence, Democritus . . . held him back” –Ficino, *Epistolarum* I 651; ref. 1 Kings 16–32. Theophrastus, *Fragmenta* 88, Compagni cites Democritus, *Fragmenta*, in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiken*, ed. H. Diels, W. Kranz, Berlin 1901; also found in Giorgio, *Harmonia* proem.

9. “Saxo Grammaticus wrote . . . proceeding to rashness” –Saxo, *Danish* 12.
10. “in Apulia . . . moved to dance” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
11. “Gellius wrote, . . . illnesses of men” –Gellius, *Attic* 4:13; ref. Theophrastus, *Fragmenta* 87; Compagni cites *Democritus B* 300:7.

Chapter 25. Of sound and harmonies, and from where their wonderfulness in operation comes.

1. “we will not deny . . . humors of the body” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21.
2. “Hence, it confers . . . soul and body” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 12.
3. “But it is necessary . . . certain analogy” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:2, 6.
4. “voice is sound and animated breath” –see also Aristotle, *On the Soul* 2:8 420b–421a.
5. “Chalcidius said . . . arcane motions” –Chalcidius, *Timaeus* interpretate 2:220.
6. “Lactantius said . . . why it happens” –Lactantius, *De Opificio Dei* 15.

Chapter 26. Of the agreement of [sounds and harmonies] with the celestials, and how each harmony of sound responds to each star.

1. “Now you must know . . . a certain strenuousness” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21
2. “among particular harmonies . . . grace of a fourth” –Ficino, *Timaem* 33.
3. Literally “four strings.” This would be on a lyre.
4. Lowest.
5. Next to the lowest.
6. Next to highest.
7. “Additionally, the ancients . . . number of planets” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 16.
8. The lowest note, a whole tone below the rest of the four chords.
9. “the muse Thalia . . . the chord *meses*” –Boethius, *De Musica* 1:27.
10. Another term for *proslambanomenos*.
11. “She spouts . . . near the Pole” –Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum* 4:12.

- [12.](#) An Italian stadium is about 186 meters, or almost 607 feet.
- [13.](#) “several who find . . . sweetest harmony of all” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 16.
- [14.](#) J.F. translated as “sixfold.” The Latin is *sescupla*, which could easily be confused for “six,” *sextus*.
- [15.](#) This is talking about the precession of the equinoxes, which due to a wobble in the Earth’s axis, the stars appear to move against the order of the signs at a rate of about 71.6 years per degree. Ref. Ptolemy, *Almagest* 7:2.
- [16.](#) “but the proportion . . . gives the sweetest harmony” –Giorgio, *De Harmonia* 1:6, 30.
- [17.](#) J.F. translated as “one and a half.” The Latin here is *dupla sesquialtera*.
- [18.](#) The Latin is *sesquiertia*, meaning four-thirds. There are twenty bases for water (icosahedron) and six for earth (cube).
- [19.](#) “Also the elements . . . an intervening element” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 17.

Chapter 27. Of the proportion, measure, and harmony of the human body.

- [1.](#) A stylobate is the top step of a platform where a column rests.
- [2.](#) Genesis 6:15.
- [3.](#) The Latin here is *sescupla*, meaning “one and a half times,” but this should be “sixfold.”
- [4.](#) “Man, because he is . . . stretch toward it” –Combines Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 10, 3:1, 1; 1:6, 2–3; ref. Genesis 6:15. Similar illustrations to the ones in this chapter can be found in Tory, *Champ Fleury*, but without the astrological and occult symbols.
- [5.](#) The Latin for “elbow” is *cubitus*.
- [6.](#) This section seems to be confused. Agrippa wrote *ab imo pectinis ad summum pectoris*. J.F. translated this as “from the bottom of his breast to the top of his breasts.” This is likely a typo due to the similarity of *pectinis* and *pectoris*.
- [7.](#) Vitruvius wrote that this is a sixth, not a seventh.
- [8.](#) “encircling a man . . . seven feet in height” –ref. Vitruvius, *Ten Books* 3:1; Gellius, *Attic* 3:10.
- [9.](#) The Latin here is *lacerti*, which typically means the upper arm. Since this doesn’t make sense, I opted for J.F.’s translation, which seems to be more consistent.
- [10.](#) J.F. translated as “a thirteenth part,” not two. The Latin is *totius altitudinis duae decimaetertiae*.
- [11.](#) J.F. translated as “latitude of the mouth.” The Latin here is *tanta est latitudo colli*.

- [12.](#) J.F. translated as “so great is the compass of the mouth.” The Latin here is *tanta est colli circulatio*.
- [13.](#) Nine faces constitute a squared and well-set man . . . middle of the nose” –This material can also be seen in Gaurico, *De Sculptura* 2:2 and Cocles, *Chyromantie* 5:2.
- [14.](#) I.e., the wrist.
- [15.](#) I.e., the circumference of the wrist is two and a half times the circumference of the thumb.
- [16.](#) J.F. translated this simply as “leg.” The Latin here is *pernam et petasonem*.
- [17.](#) “all of these measures . . . last are eightfold” –Mixed material from Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 2–3, 3:1, 1, 1:6, 6.
- [18.](#) “Dioscorides wrote . . . limited to man” –Censorinus, *De Die Natali Liber* 17, §14.
- [19.](#) “As Pliny writes, . . . the Egyptians” –Pliny, *Natural History* 11:37, §184.
- [20.](#) The meaning for this is unclear. *Micum*, is close to *michum*, which means a “crumb” or “particle.” Latin spellings often vary, so *michum* and *micum* are possibly the same. J.F. translated this as “neck,” which by the description is possible, but there is no obvious link between *michum* and “neck.”
- [21.](#) “Aristotle thought . . . [by an analogous mechanism]” –Aristotle, *Physics* 8:6, 260.
- [22.](#) “people of Ethiopia . . . copied to their bodies” –Aristotle, *Politics* 4:4, 1290b; Herodotus, *Histories* 3:20.

Chapter 28. Of the composition and harmony of the human soul.

- [1.](#) “as the concord . . . proportionate each other” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 12.
- [2.](#) “reason to concupiscence has a proportion . . . proportion of *diapente*” –Pico, *Conclusiones* 25:8–10. These are an octave, a fourth, and a fifth, respectively.
- [3.](#) “Indeed, this agreement is hidden . . . agreements with each other” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 2.
- [4.](#) “Indeed, the Moon . . . Saturn all receptivity” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 23.
- [5.](#) “Therefore, free will . . . when absent” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 22.
- [6.](#) “the soul corresponds to earth . . . heavens through the intellect” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 5.
- [7.](#) “there is nothing more effective . . . their sacred duties” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* Prooemium; ref. 1 Kings 16:23.

Chapter 29. That the observation of the celestials is necessary in all

magical operations.

1. “every natural virtue . . . chosen for this” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.
2. “when the power . . . for their males” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
3. Climate (also called *clime*) here refers to the seven latitudinal zones of the earth as described by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*.
4. “Therefore, in any operation, . . . figure of heaven” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2
5. “Nor should you expect . . . aspect of the other” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:6.
6. “Indeed, he is the messenger . . . superior gods” –Alpuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:11.
7. In traditional astrology, a planet in conjunction with the Sun is in a malefic condition called “combust” or “under the Sun’s beams.” The exact number of degrees can vary between astrological authors, but typically combustion is when a planet is between 17' and 7.5° from the Sun. A planet is considered under the Sun’s beams when it is between 7.5° and about 15°. However, if a planet is in a very close conjunction of a few minutes of a degree, usually 17 minutes, this is considered a highly beneficial condition called *cazimi*.

Chapter 30. When the planets are the most powerfully influential.

1. I.e., moving out of conjunction with the Sun, which is a debility or affliction for a planet. See footnote 7 in the preceding chapter.
2. Houses 1, 10, 7, 4.
3. Rising before the Sun.
4. Houses 2, 11, 5, 8. Succedent houses are not typically considered ideal houses for most elections, but can sometimes be used in particular situations.
5. Each of the planets is in its “joy” in a particular house: Saturn the 12th, Jupiter the 11th, Mars the 6th, the Sun the 9th, Venus the 5th, Mercury the 1st, and the Moon the 3rd. In the Medieval and Renaissance periods, this was typically considered a minor dignity. Not a primary consideration.
6. In most systems, the final term of each sign is ruled by either Saturn or Mars. Each sign is slightly different, but malefics rule the final few degrees thus the final degrees of a sign are not considered ideal.
7. These are individual degrees in each of the signs considered malefic. See Lilly 1:19 and Bonatti 2:24. Again, these are rarely considered as primary considerations by practicing astrologers. J.F. translated this as “pits and vacuities.” Tyson incorrectly noted that this, with the orbs of the planets, is a number of degrees before or after a planet where it holds influence. This orb of influence is actually a different concept, called a moeity, and is part of traditional aspect doctrine.

8. I.e., the degree of the new or full Moon, respectively, before a particular date, event, or the nativity. Tyson appears to equate this with orbs, as mentioned in the previous footnote.
9. I.e., between 15° Libra and 15° Scorpio. This means the “burnt way.” This is a particularly negative placement for the Moon.
10. This chapter mixes content from Ficino, *Three Books* 3:2, 6, 10.

Chapter 31. Of the observation of the fixed stars and their natures.

1. Some of these colors differ from J.F. and may be confusing. For the Sun and Venus, it seems that Agrippa (from Hermes) is making a distinction of intensity. J.F. tends to call the less intense light “reddish,” but I believe this is not the intent of the text. The Latin uses two words for each planet (besides Mercury and the Moon), referring to different ways of “shining,” not one as shining and one as reddish. Mercury and the Moon have one designation each.
2. Venus is typically called Lucifer (meaning Morning Star) when rising before the Sun and Hesperus (meaning Evening Star) when rising after. Vesperus comes from the Latin for “evening.”
3. The Moon is described as “fair” by J.F., which is technically correct, but I clarified it as pale. The Latin is *blondus*. This is similar to Lilly in *Christian Astrology* 1:12 saying that Venus is a “bright shining color.”
4. “Know that all of the fixed stars . . . stronger their significations are” –Hermes, *XV Stellis* chs. 1–2.
5. I’ve noted common modern names for the fixed stars and their positions as of March 2021.
6. Mirach –00° Taurus 41’.
7. Algol –26° Taurus 27’.
8. The Pleiades is a constellation of seven stars. One of the most prominent stars is Alcyone currently located at 00° Gemini 16’.
9. Currently located at 10° Gemini 04’.
10. Capella –22° Gemini 09’.
11. Sirius –14° Cancer 22’.
12. Procyon –26° Cancer 04’.
13. Regulus –00° Virgo 07’.
14. Alkaid –27° Virgo 14’.
15. Gienah –11° Libra 00’. In modern astronomy, this is called the left wing.
16. Algorab –13° Libra 44’.

- [17.](#) Currently located at 24° Libra 08'.
- [18.](#) Arcturus –24° Libra 31'.
- [19.](#) Alphecca –12° Scorpio 35'.
- [20.](#) Antares –10° Sagittarius 03'.
- [21.](#) Vega –15° Capricorn 36'.
- [22.](#) Deneb Algedi –23° Aquarius 49'.
- [23.](#) Markab –23° Pisces 46'.
- [24.](#) “navel of Andromeda . . . nature of Jupiter and Mars” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:8; also Hermes, *XV Stellis* ch. 4.
- [25.](#) “It is a general rule . . . from the fixed stars” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 22.

Chapter 32. The Sun and Moon and their magical reasoning.

- [1.](#) Abu Ma'shar.
- [2.](#) “The Sun is the lord of all elementary . . . Moon and four elements” –Ficino, *De Sole* 6; ref. Abu Ma'shar, in *Sadan*, “Opheus” fr. 168:16; Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 7:4.
- [3.](#) Plato, *Republic* 6 508b–c.
- [4.](#) Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* 7:4.
- [5.](#) Dionysius, *De Divinis* 4:4.
- [6.](#) Job 24:17.
- [7.](#) Psalms 103:21–23..
- [8.](#) “among the remaining stars . . . for their work” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 10.
- [9.](#) “Ptolemy said . . . has in air” –Ptolemy, *Centiloquy* 35.
- [10.](#) “it is said by Homer . . . planets brings to us” –Aristotle, *On the Soul* 3:3, 427a; ref. Homer, *Odyssey* 18, 136–37.
- [11.](#) “The Moon is the neighbor . . . happily aspects it” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 30; “Plato . . . golden chain” –Plato, *Theaetetus* 153c–d; “Thabit” –Compagni cites Ibn Qurra, *De proprietatibus*.

Chapter 33. Of the twenty-eight mansions of the Moon and their virtues.

1. “Fixed in the eighth sphere . . . powers and virtues” –ref. Alpharus, *Pluvius* 4–5.
2. Abraham Ibn Ezra.
3. “The mansions . . . sphere are these” –Ibn Ezra, *Coniunctionum* 84 r–v.
4. The Arabic names and descriptions of all the mansions are from *Picatrix* 1:4, with a few variants. The alternate Latin/English names are from Leopold, *Compilatio* a6. As the spelling of mansion names can be fluid, I’ve noted the names from the Latin *Picatrix* as well as the Arabic names with English translations for each.
5. Lat. *Alnath*, Ar. *al-sharatān/al-nath*; Eng. “the two portents/the butting.”
6. Lat. *Albotain* Ar. *al-butayn*; Eng. “the Little Belly.”
7. Lat. *Azoraya* Ar. *al-thurayyā*; Eng. “the Pleiades.”
8. Lat. *Aldebaran* Ar. *al-dabarān*; Eng. “the two buttocks.” Agrippa’s Latin says *Aldebaram*.
9. Lat. *Almices* Ar. *al-haqā/al-maysān*; Eng. “the tuft of hair/the bright twinkling star.”
10. J.F. wrote “40 seconds,” *Picatrix* has 44.
11. Lat. *Athaya* Ar. *al-han’a/al-tahāyī*; Eng. “the camel’s brand/the rain-bearers.”
12. Lat. *Aldirah* Ar. *al-dhirā’*; Eng. “the forearm.”
13. Lat. *Annathra* Ar. *al-nathra*; Eng. “the tip of the nose.”
14. Lat. *Atarf* Ar. *al-tarf*; Eng. “the eyes.”
15. Lat. *Algebha* Ar. *al-jabha*; Eng. “the forehead.”
16. Lat. *Azobra* Ar. *al-zubrah/al-kharātān*; Eng. “the mane.”
17. Lat. *Acarfa* Ar. *al-sharfa*; Eng. “the change.”
18. Lat. *Alahue* Ar. *al-’awwā’*; Eng. “Boötes” (the constellation “the ploughman”).
19. J.F. called this the “Dog Star.” Not to be confused with Sirius, part of Canis Majoris. This star is associated with Maera, Icarus’s dog in the constellation of Boötes.
20. Lat. *Azimech* Ar. *al-simāk (a’zal)*; Eng. “the undefended.”
21. “Spike” here meaning “ear of grain.” Virgo often is depicted holding a handful of wheat.
22. Lat. *Algarfa* Ar. *al-ghafr*; Eng. “the coat of mail.”
23. Lat. *Azubene* Ar. *al-zubānā*; Eng. “the claws.”
24. Lat. *Alichil* Ar. *al-iklīl*; Eng. “the crown.”

25. Lat. *Alcalb Ar. al-qalb*; Eng. “the heart.”
26. Lat. *Exaula Ar. al-shawla/al-ibra*; Eng. “the tail/the sting.”
27. Lat. *Nahaym Ar. al-n’ā’im/al-wasl*; Eng. “the ostriches/the binding.”
28. J.F. wrote “wealth of societies.” The Latin here is *sociorum*, meaning allies, associates, etc.
29. Lat. *Elbelda Ar. al-balda*; Eng. “the place.”
30. Lat. *Caadaldeba Ar. sa’d al-dhābih*; Eng. “Luck of the slayer.”
31. Lat. *Caaddebolach Ar. sa’d bula’*; Eng. “Luck of the swallower.”
32. Lat. *Caadacohot Ar. sa’d al-su’ūd*; Eng. “Luck of lucks.”
33. Lat. *Caaddalhachbia Ar. sa’d al-akhbiya*; Eng. “Luck of tents.”
34. Lat. *Almiquedam Ar. al-fargh al-muqaddam/al-fargh al-awwal*; Eng. “the preceding/first spout.”
35. Lat. *Algarf almuehar Ar. al-fargh al-mu’akhkhar*; Eng. “the following spout.”
36. Lat. *Arrexhe Ar. batn al-hūt/al-rishā*; Eng. “the belly of the fish/the rope.”

Chapter 34. Of the true motion of the celestials to be observed in the eighth sphere and the rationale of the planetary hours.

1. Deiectionibus.

2. Essential dignities and debilities are based on the planets’ position in the zodiac and are considered an integral part of their nature. Accidental dignities and debilities are based on situational placements of planets such as angularity, aspects, direction (direct/retrograde), and sect (diurnal/nocturnal).
3. J.F. translated this as “windings.” Tyson interpreted this as the tilt of the Earth causing a winding motion in the paths of the stars. The Latin here is *cardines*. The meaning is to note when a star is at one of the angles (1st, 10th, 7th, or 4th houses), particularly if it is culminating, between the 1st and 10th houses, or setting, between the 10th and 7th houses.
4. In other words, take the planet ruling the day as the ruler of that day’s first hour. Each subsequent hour follows the normal Chaldean order. For instance, Sunday is ruled by the Sun. The Sun rules the first hour at sunrise, then the second hour is ruled by Venus, the third Mercury, the fourth the Moon, the fifth is Saturn, and so on. Diurnal and nocturnal hours will be unequal except on equinoxes because the time between sunrise and sunset are divided equally by 12, and then sunset to sunrise. On equinoxes, the day and night are equal.

Chapter 35. How artificial things, such as images, sigils, and the like,

obtain some virtues from celestial bodies.

1. Agrippa left out “from above.” I inserted it back in from Ficino’s original for clarity.
2. “So great is the magnitude, . . . wonderful celestial virtue” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
3. “The divine teacher . . . from the stars” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:25; ref. Aquinas, *On Fate* 4.
4. “celestial bodies are animated, . . . celestial figure” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:16.
5. “Ptolemy in *Centiloquy* . . . also their images” –attr. Ptolemy, *Centiloquy* 9.

Chapter 36. Of the images of the zodiac that accept virtues from the stars when engraved.

1. “there are many celestial images . . . and Chaldeans” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.
2. “and their parts . . . from the others” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:1.
3. J.F. translated as “palsy.” The meaning is the same, but I used the more common modern term. The Latin here is *paralysis*.
4. “For this reason . . . Sun, and Jupiter” –Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 5.
5. The ten-degree divisions of the signs, which are called faces and decans by different sources. Agrippa uses “face” for the Western system, and “decan” for the Indian system. Ficino uses “face” and seems to refer to the Indian system. In other words, in astrological literature as a whole, “face” and “decan” are often used interchangeably. However, it is important to understand to which system the author refers.
6. “an image of a lion . . . of Leo rising” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.
7. The Latin here is *ethicam*, but I cannot find a fever with this name. However, Agrippa’s source, Albertus Magnus, wrote “fevers called ethica and causon.” A causon fever just means a very hot fever. J.F. translated this as “hectic.”
8. “Now again Gemini, . . . provokes lust” – Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 5.
9. According to the *OED*, *synocha* is a continuing fever.
10. “Likewise, Taurus, Virgo . . . Mercury, and Saturn” –Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 5.

Chapter 37. Of the images of the faces and their virtues, and of those images that are outside the zodiac.

1. “Porphyry said . . . Teucer the Babylonian” –ref. Porphyry, *Introduction*; Teucer, *Fragmenta*.
2. Agrippa’s images and descriptions are a mixture of different sources. The images of Aries, for example, with some slight variances are from *Picatrix* 2:11. The effects of the images for Aries, and the majority of the other images and effects, are from Angelus, *Astrolabium planum*, with some intermittent insertions from Leopold of Austria, *Compilatio de astrorum*. I’m refraining from exact citations here for the sake of simplicity.
3. The Latin here is *dignitatem*, alternately “dignity.” J.F. translated as “dominion.”
4. Angelus, *Astrolabium* 1,488
5. Ref. Hyginus, *Poetica Astronomicon* 3:2–18.
6. Ref. Aratus, *Phaenomena* 26–450.
7. “Pegasus, which is strong . . . madness and insanity” –Magnus, *De Mineralibus* 2:3, 5.

Chapter 38. Of the images of Saturn.

1. “Indeed, Saturn brings long life . . . extreme old age” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22; ref. Abu Mashar, in *Sidan*.
2. *Picatrix* says a “lizard” instead of a bunch of grapes.
3. “image of Saturn in sapphire . . . black or dark” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.
4. All images from *Picatrix* 2:10; except “image against . . . kidneys” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.
5. The ninth house, which rules religion, magic, astrology, and philosophy.

Chapter 39. Of the images of Jupiter.

1. “For the operations of Jupiter, . . . yellow garments” –*Picatrix* 2:10; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.

Chapter 40. Of the images of Mars.

1. “operations of Mars . . . first face of Scorpio” –*Picatrix* 2:10; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.

Chapter 41. Of the images of the Sun.

1. *Balayo*.

2. “operations of the Sun . . . combustion of the Moon” –*Picatrix* 2:10; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.

Chapter 42. Of the images of Venus.

1. “operations of Venus . . . confers beauty” –*Picatrix* 2:10; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.

Chapter 43. Of the images of Mercury.

1. “operations of Mercury . . . rooster or fire” –*Picatrix* 2:10; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.

Chapter 44. Of the images of the Moon.

1. “operations of the Moon . . . feet the same” –*Picatrix* 2:10; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.

Chapter 45. Of the images of the Head and Tail of the Dragon of the Moon.

1. I.e., $\emptyset$.
2. “images for the Head . . . figure of a serpent” –de Abano, *Conciliator Diff.* 156.
3. “Indeed, the Egyptians . . . becoming young again” –Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 1:10.

Chapter 46. Of the images of the mansions of the Moon.

1. I.e., the face of the ring.
2. The Latin here is *ungula aromatica*. *Ungula* means “nail” or “hoof,” though clearly the intention is the Latin for “oil,” which is *ungere*. J.F. translated as “aromatic calamus.” It isn’t clear why he chose this.
3. The Latin here is *dardum*. JMG & CW in *Picatrix* 4:9 translated as “lance,” and J.F. as “golden bracelet.” *Dardanum* is mentioned in Pliny, *Natural History* 33:3, as a kind of golden bracelet, which might explain J.F.’s choice. It also appears in Agrippa 2:51. It may be related to the modern Spanish *dardo*, or “dart.”
4. J.F. translated as “jet.” The Latin here is *carabe*, a term imported from the Arabic/ Persian *kahruba*. There are similar terms for amber in French, Spanish, and other languages.
5. “In the 1st . . . In the 28th” –*Picatrix* 4:9.

Chapter 47. Of the images of the fixed Behenian stars.

1. The constellation containing Sirius, called the “dog star.”
2. Dog seems to be missing in Hermes. J.F. omitted “hare.”
3. Procyon.
4. Regulus.
5. Alkaid.
6. Gienah.
7. Arcturus.
8. Alphecca.
9. Antares.
10. Vega.
11. Deneb Algedi.
12. “under Caput Algol, . . . an angry man” –Hermes, *XV Stellis* 4.

Chapter 48. Of the figures of geomancy, which are the medium between images and characters, and its table.

1. Compagni, c.f. Barth.[olomaeus] Parm.[ensis] *Summa geomanciae*, Wien, Nationalbibliothek, ms. lat. 5523. Agrippa gives multiple names for each sign, which I’ve translated into English. The first name for each figure is the common Latin name, and below that are the English translations.

Chapter 49. Of images whose figure is not like some celestial figure, but of that which the mind of the operator desires.

1. J.F. translated as “effigies and representation.” The Latin is *effigies et vestigia*. *Vestigia* literally often means “footprint,” “trace,” or “remains.”
2. “other kinds of images . . . beating each other” –Compagni cites Magnus, *Wonders*, but this seems to be missing from the Best and Brightman edition.
3. “magicians command . . . as for love” –ref. Magnus, *Speculum* 16.
4. “They also commanded . . . book *Speculum*” –ref. Magnus, *Speculum* 16.

5. “Indeed, they said . . . mind of the operator” –Compagni cites Magnus, *Wonders*, but this also seems to be missing from the Best and Brightman edition.
6. “magician Nectanabus . . . were destroyed” –Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46. This refers to Nectanebo II in the *Alexander Romance*.

Chapter 50. Of certain celestial observations and the practice of some of their images.

1. This refers to the Hyleg, which is a planet, usually the Sun or Moon, which indicates whether a person will live to adulthood. This can also be used in various predictive tools.
2. I.e., the degree of the closest new (conjunction) or full Moon (prevention) prior to birth, also called the *syzygy*. Conjunction here means the conjunction of the Moon and Sun, and prevention an opposition. Tyson incorrectly tied this to a passage of *Tetrabiblos* 3:10.
3. The house of life refers to the rising sign or first house. This is a redundant statement, considering the lord of the ascendant is mentioned just after, so perhaps was mentioned to describe one the functions of the ascendant. This is word for word from Ibn Qurra.
4. “for destroying or impeding something . . . lord of the house of the Moon” –Ibn Qurra, *Imaginibus* 2.
5. This may be a misunderstanding on Agrippa’s part. His source for this passage, Ibn Qurra, mentions that making four identical images and burying them in the four corners of the place makes the images stronger. He doesn’t mention using the earth from the four corners, but it’s easy to see this logic.
6. “make certain animals flee . . . not enter this place” –Ibn Qurra, *Imaginibus* 1.
7. To be clear, where Agrippa says “under the ascendant of that place” or “under the ascendant of that thing,” this doesn’t necessarily refer to a birth chart of a particular place or thing since this isn’t always possible. Agrippa’s source, Ibn Qurra, also refers to the ascendant of a horary question for the particular situation in those cases.
8. “for profit . . . to gain profit” –Ibn Qurra, *Imaginibus* 4.
9. “for friendship and love . . . or bury them” –Ibn Qurra, *Imaginibus* 7.
10. “for successful petitions . . . far as they go” –Ibn Qurra, *Imaginibus* 3.
11. Agrippa uses *spiritus* here, which contrasts with his use of *daemon* in Book Two, ch. 22.
12. Tyson left out the Moon.
13. The passage “and fasten . . . plant” is missing from J.F.
14. “sons of Abraham will rise up from stones” –Matthew 3:9.

15. “stiff neck” –Exodus 32:9.

Chapter 52. Of characters that are derived from things themselves with a certain similarity.

1. In the original manuscript that was offered to Trithemius, there was a table with some notable differences:

“Now we can see the characters of the signs and stars designated by astrologers and magi.

Characters of the planets according to astrologers.

Saturn ♄ ♄
Jupiter ♃ ♃
Mars ♂ ♂
The Sun ☉ ☉

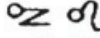
Venus ♀ ♀
Mercury ☿ ☿
The Moon ☾ ☾

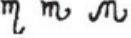
Characters of the planets according to the magi.

Saturn ♄ ♄
Jupiter ♃ ♃
Mars ♂ ♂
The Sun ☉ ☉

Venus ♀ ♀
Mercury ☿ ☿
The Moon ☾ ☾

Characters of the signs according to astrologers.

Aries 
Taurus 
Gemini 
Cancer 
Leo 
Virgo 

Libra 
Scorpio 
Sagittarius 
Capricorn 
Aquarius 
Pisces 

Characters of the signs according to the magi.

Aries 
Taurus 
Gemini 
Cancer 
Leo 
Virgo 

Libra 
Scorpio 
Sagittarius 
Capricorn 
Aquarius 
Pisces 

Characters of some of the stars of the eighth sphere according to the magi.

Caput Algol 
Pleiades 
Aldabaran 
The Goat 
Canis Major 
Canis Minor 
Heart of the Lion 
Tail of Ursa Major 

Wing of the Raven 
Spica 
Alcameth 
Elpheia 
Heart of the Scorpion 
Falling Vulture 
Tail of Capricorn 

"There were many other characters of the signs and stars designated by the Egyptians and Arab from this book."

2. “Spike” here means an ear of grain.
3. Star sigils: Hermes, *15 Stars* 4.

Chapter 53. How no divination without astrology is perfect.

1. In this case, “revolution of the year” refers to the practice in mundane astrology where the chart for a given place is drawn up at the point where the Sun enters Aries—also called an “Aries ingress.” A revolution in natal astrology is a chart for when the Sun enters the degree of the Sun in the natal chart. Since this section talks about public events, it is unlikely that this is what he means. The great conjunctions refer to the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, which in mundane astrology refer to greater periods of time and portend notable events.
2. *Intronizationes*.
3. Again, J.F. calls this “perfections.” A *profection* is a traditional astrological predictive technique.
4. Agrippa uses the word *alienate*, meaning “to separate,” “give up,” or “become numb.”
5. “is well-taught . . . in the air” —Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1:587–88.
6. I.e., casting stones or die to find signs.
7. “Praenestian dice, . . . fates of the Romans” —Crinitus, *Honesta* 22:3.

Chapter 54. Of lots and from when and where the virtues of their divinations are produced.

1. “not caused by accident . . . described fortune” —Aristotle, *Magna Moralia* 2:8, 1,207a.
2. Book One, ch. 67.
3. I.e., horary.
4. Compagni cites a reference to Magnus, *Wonders*, but this seems to be general. This is also reminiscent of Bonatti’s 1st Consideration, p. 264.
5. “whatever prognostications . . . drawing the lot” —ref. Pico, *De Rerum* 6:6.
6. J.F. confused the actual question Hadrian asked. He wrote: “. . . Hadrianus long since made inquiry, and which we read befell Trajanus the Emperor.”
7. There is a misprint in all versions of the Latin Agrippa, including the critical edition. The second line reads: *Sacra ferens, nosco crines lucanaque menta*. *Lucanaque* should be *incanaque*. J.F.’s translation is correct however.

8. “we read in Aelius . . . not in vain” –Spartianus, *De Vita* 2; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:808–12.
9. What we might call “picking a name out of a hat.” These are lots that we use to show impartiality, and not predictive.
10. “of which Cicero also makes mention” –ref. Cicero, *In Verrem* 2, 2:51.

Chapter 55. Of the World Soul and celestials according to the traditions of poets and philosophers.

1. “This work constructed . . . silent reason” –Manilius, *Astronomica* 1:247–51.
2. “The void of air . . . great Jove” –Lucan, *Pharasalia* 5:94–95
3. “You are a medium . . . like image” –Boethius, *Consolatio* 3:9, 13–17.
4. “First the heavens . . . hinder them” –Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:724–31.
5. “as the world not only . . . World Soul” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 15:5.
6. Al-Ghazali
7. “All Platonists, . . . confirm this” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 4:1.

Chapter 56. The same is confirmed by reason.

1. “The whole body . . . alive nor has a soul” –Ficino, *In Symposium* 6:3.
2. Alternately, “cannot produce nature.”
3. “Indeed, who denies . . . substances in these inferiors” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 4:1; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 30b; Plotinus, *Enneads* 4:4, 22, 4:9, 1.
4. “Hermes [Trismegistus] wrote . . . thought a philosopher” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:2, 6; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum* 12, §18; Pico, *Conclusiones* 15:1.
5. “those who deny . . . foundations of all philosophy” –Pico, *Conclusiones* 2>19.
6. “Therefore the world . . . from intercourse” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 4:1. This discussion of spontaneous generation is part of a larger discussion in Ficino about how there are plants that obviously come from seeds, even though they may have been carried far away from their source, but because the world has a soul, it is able to impart a soul into things that don’t have apparent means of generation.

Chapter 57. That the World Soul and celestial souls are rational and

share in the Divine Mind.

1. “the universal works . . . restoring injuries” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 11:4.
2. “philosophers do not think . . . additionally a goddess” –Plotinus, *Enneads* 4:4, 22.
3. “it is absurd . . . reasons for theirs” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 11:4.
4. “If, as Plato said, . . . intelligence and mind” –Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
5. “Since the perfection . . . the most perfect soul” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 4:1; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 30a–b.
6. “Therefore they share . . . vary their deliberation” –Ficino, *Epinomis* 1,528; ref. Plato, *Epinomis* 983b–c.
7. Compagni’s critical edition incorrectly says “corruptibili” instead of “incorruptibili.” This was verified in both the 1550 Lyon and 1533 Cologne editions.

Chapter 58. Of the names of the celestial souls and their lordship in this inferior world—namely man.

1. J.F. left out “souls.” The Latin here is *De nominibus animarum coelestium*.
2. J.F. translated this as “the Planet and the Morning.” The Latin here is *in igne ponit Phanetam et Auroram*. Aurora does indeed mean “morning,” but it’s also the name of a Roman goddess. J.F. appears to have confused *Phanetam* with *Planeta*.
3. “one must note . . . Pluto and Proserpina” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 4:1; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 44–53.
4. “However, magicians call . . . water Neptune” –Ficino, *In Symposium* 1:3.
5. “each of the twelve constellations . . . particular Neptune” –Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 4:1.
6. In other words, Jupiter rules Leo, which opposes Juno-ruled Aquarius.
7. “The Ram Pallas, . . . recognizes his Pisces” –Manilius, *Astronomica* 2:439–47; possibly taken from a citation in Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 19.
8. “Therefore, no one . . . their usefulness” –Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>3.
9. This is the Latin for *Mnemosyne*, the Greek goddess of memory.
10. J.F. translated this as “mercifulness.” *Misericordia* means “mercy,” but again this is a proper name of the goddess of mercy.
11. *Hammon*.

12. “the ancients themselves appointed . . . ruled by heavenly virtues” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 29; ref. Virgil, *Eclogues* 6:3–4; Livy 1:21, §4.
13. “but any of the activities of men . . . wide Nile” –Eusebius, , *Praeparatio* 5:6–7; ref. Porphyry, *De Philosophia*.

Chapter 59. Of the seven governors of the world, the planets, and their various magical names devoted to speeches.

1. “there are seven governors of the world” –*Corpus Hermeticum* 1:9.
2. I.e., “heavenly.”
3. *Revolutorem*.
4. An early name for Jupiter. It literally means “father of heaven.”
5. “Saturn is called . . . Horus, Osiris” –These are taken from various *Orphic Hymns*, primarily from 13, 15, 19, 20, 65, 88, 8, and 34.
6. “The Sun and likewise . . . immortal fire” –Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:15.
7. *Arcitenens* –an epithet for Apollo.
8. I.e., *lucifer* with a small “l.” Lucifer as a name (as morning star) refers to Venus.
9. This refers to the traditional astrological debilities of “combust” and “under the Sun’s beams.” Combustion is when a planet is between 17° and 8.5 degrees from the Sun. A planet is considered under the Sun’s beams when it is between 8.5 and 15 degrees. In these placements, a planet is either being damaged by the heat of the Sun or being obscured by it.
10. “also called bow-carrier . . . splendor to all” –*Orphic Hymns* 8, 34.
11. An epithet for Apollo.
12. “night it is called Dionysus . . . interpreted as ‘individual’” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 9; ref. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1:17, §5, 1:18, §8, 1:23, §17; Compagni also cites ref. *Homeric Hymns* 21.
13. *Amicabilis ductrix* –literally “dutchess of the friendly.”
14. *Sospitatrix* –a title for Juno.
15. “Venus is called . . . nor idle” –*Orphic Hymns* 55; Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:5, 2, 35.
16. J.F. translated this as “bringing the light, bringing the years of the Sun to light.” The Latin here is *et dicitur Lucifera quasi lucero ferens Solis aut nos ducens ad lucem*.
17. “because in all sexes . . . however difficult” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 16.

- [18.](#) A Greek epithet meaning “the twinkling one.”
- [19.](#) “Mercury is called . . . both sexes” –*Orphic Hymns* 27.
- [20.](#) “Lucan called . . . inner places” –Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 15; ref. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 10:209.
- [21.](#) *Noctiluca*.
- [22.](#) In all printed editions of Agrippa, this text says *maris salubria flumina*, meaning, as J.F. translated, “healthful (or wholesome) rivers of the sea.” This passage is sourced from Apuleius’s *Golden Ass*, where the original Latin says *maris salubria flamina*, with the meaning as I translated it. This is likely a simple misprint.
- [23.](#) “The Moon is called . . . sea shudder” –*Orphic Hymns* intro, 2, 9, 36, 29; Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 10:2, 10:5, 11:25.

Chapter 60. That human imprecations naturally imprint their powers in outer things, and how the human mind through each degree of dependencies ascends in the intelligible world and becomes like the more sublime spirits and intelligences.

- [1.](#) “virtues of the terrestrial orb . . . fall into errors” –attr. Aristotle, *Libri XIV* 6:2–5.
- [2.](#) “furthest end” –The Latin here is *concavo* –literally a hollow or concave. J.F. translated as “circumference.”
- [3.](#) “Thus, the universal soul . . . finally everything returns” –attr. Aristotle, *Libri XIV* 10:8, 3, 17, 2, 7.
- [4.](#) J.F. translated as “under type,” which isn’t a clear translation –though literal. *Hypotypus* is from the Greek ὑποτύπωσις, meaning “model” or “outline.” This is a physical object as an outward face referring to an ideal form.
- [5.](#) “The super-celestial and intellectual . . . participating with it” –attr. Aristotle, *Libri XIV* 11:1.
- [6.](#) “you should especially pray . . . because of our bodies” –attr. Aristotle, *Libri XIV* 10:19.

Dedicatory Letter to Count Hermann of Weid

- [1.](#) “If this is neglected, . . . evil daemons” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 3:13; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:18.
- [2.](#) Homer, *Illiad* 1:533– 35.
- [3.](#) Aristophanes, *Plutus* 130.
- [4.](#) “heavenly chorus . . . through any god” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:g4.

5. “learn without pretense’ . . . hiding the intelligence of them” – Book of Wisdom 7:13, though the Latin source has *honestia* rather than *intelligentiam*, reading as “not hiding those riches.” This change was likely deliberate by Agrippa.
6. Priests of Isis.
7. *Bragmani*.
8. *Carminibus*. Alternately this could be “songs.”
9. “laid down and wrapped in Cimmerian darkness” – Erasmus, *Adagia* 2:6, 34.
10. *Amaricinum*. This is reminiscent of a Latin phrase, *sicut sus amaricinum amat*, meaning “as a swine loves marjoram.” This is similar to our saying “as pigs fly”– something unlikely to happen. J.F. translated this passage as “such sweet ointment with their nose.”

Chapter 1. Of the necessity, virtue, and usefulness of religion.

1. “know the laws of religion” – Apuleius, *Apologia* 25.
2. “it is the common opinion . . . cannot be well” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:1 and *Charmides* 156d–157a– b.
3. “A man is truly healthy . . . strength of body” – Apuleius, *Dogmate Platonis* 262.
4. “a firm and robust mind . . . from divine religion” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §29.
5. “Indeed sacred religion . . . of the earth” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26.
6. “Whoever lays aside . . . evil daemons” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 3:13.
7. “However, [the practice of] scorning . . . understanding religion” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15:22.
8. “finally nothing is more pleasing . . . distant above him” – Apuleius, *The God* 300.
9. “we must first purge . . . piety and religion” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d2
10. “wine springing forth virgins” – Zechariah 9:17.
11. “Bacchus, the most supreme . . . prelate of priests” – Ficino, *Three Books* 1:Prooemium.

Chapter 2. Of silence and concealing that which is secret in religion.

1. “whatever you aspire . . . irreligious mind” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §32.
2. “divine Plato . . . to the public” – Crinitius, *Honestia* 6:3; ref. Plato, *Letters* 2:312– 314c.

3. “Pythagoras and Porphyry . . . by the profane” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 3:58; Maternus, *Matheseos* 7:1.
4. “You with virtue gather, . . . presently teach” – Ficino, *Epistles* 11; Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 13:12; ref. Orphicorum fr. 247:1– 9.
5. “read from Virgil . . . from this grove” – Crinitius, *Honesta* 6:3, ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:258– 59.
6. “Give these books to the wise of your people” – 2 Ezra 14:46.
7. “whose hearts you know can grasp and protect these secrets” – 2 Ezra 12:38.
8. “the religious books . . . by the profane” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:230; ref. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1:19; Marcellinus, *Roman History* 17:4, 22:15.
9. “With the sacrifice completed, . . . by the profane” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:22.
10. “Indeed, the loyalty . . . owed to religion” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 3:58; ref. Tertullian, *Apology* 7.
11. “I might speak . . . idle curiosity” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11:22.
12. Agrippa wrote “Theodotus” after Beroaldus. J.F. translated this as “Theodorus.”
13. “we read of Theodectes . . . publishing them publicly” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:232; Theodectes ref. Josephus, *Antiquities* 12, 113.
14. “a certain Numenius, . . . divulged at all” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:232; ref. Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:2.
15. “ancients always studied . . . before swine” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:2, 8; ref. Porphyry, *De Vita* 2– 3; Mark 4:33– 34; Matthew 7:6.
16. “the prophet said . . . publicly in letters” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:3, 7; ref. Psalms 118:11.
17. “Dionysius bound Timothy . . . due respect” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:6, 6; ref. Dionysius, *De Divinis* 1:8, *De Coelesti* 2:5, *De Ecclesiastica* 1:1.
18. “just as the gods detest . . . all operations” – Trithemius, *Ad Joachim*.

Chapter 3. What dignification is required so that one can become a true magician and worker of wonders.

1. “Therefore, we must . . . virtues of the gods” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 1, §30; Reuchlin, *Art* 3:k2.
2. “Natural dignity is the best . . . outer perfection” – Agrippa is drawing heavily from Trithemius’s letter *Ad Joachim*.
3. “which time one comes . . . deformed nose” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:3, 6; ref. Leviticus 21:11, 14,

18:19, 21:18– 20.

4. “that a boy about . . . restored to his divinity” – Apuleius, *Apologia* 43.
5. “Passion” comes from the Latin *passio*, which means “suffering.”
6. “hindrances lifted . . . power enter” – Proclus, *In Alcibiadem* 1,920.
7. “Religious operations obtain . . . religion has consecrated” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 2:11.
8. “be a perfect man . . . anger of the gods” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 5:21.

Chapter 4. Of the two supports of ceremonial magic: religion and superstition.

1. “these are inserted . . . other animals” – Lactantius, *Divinarum* 7:9.
2. “whoever neglects these . . . by evil daemons” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 3:13.
3. “Whatever you do . . . Father through him” – Colossians 3:17.
4. The term *Book of Senators* is from Ricius and is likely a Latinization of Sanhedrin.
5. Proverbs 28:24.
6. Deuteronomy 32:6.
7. “Whoever has neglected . . . law of your mother” – Sanhedrin 11:2; ref. 6 Proverbs 1:8.
8. “Nothing displeases God . . . be without religion” – Ficino, *Christiana* 4.
9. “Everything venerates God . . . others intellectual” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,928.
10. “the song of the three children” – Daniel 3:52– 90.
11. “religious rites and ceremonies . . . God the creator” – Ficino, *Christiana* 4.
12. “Indeed, no religion . . . is taught by God” – Lactantius, *Divinarum* 2:3.
13. “Therefore, all devotions . . . are also superstition” – Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 2b:q92, art. 1, q2.
14. “Likewise, those . . . it must not be” – Pico, *De Rerum* 4:1.
15. “and wisdom, . . . than the straight” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 24; ref. Augustine, *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos* 1:16.

Chapter 5. Of the three guides of religion, which lead us to the path of truth.

1. Three of the seven virtues in Catholic tradition.
2. “descending from the highest . . . divine beauty” – Proclus, *In Alcibiadem* 1,910; ref. 1 Corinthians 13:13. This passage in Corinthians also states that love is the greatest virtue.
3. “It likewise protects us . . . to our supplications” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d2.
4. “we read from Homer . . . friend to him” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c; ref. Homer, *Illiad* 1:380– 81.
5. “Many sins were forgiven, because she loved much” – Luke 7:47.
6. “However, faith . . . divine revelation” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:c4– h.
7. “since it descends . . . to our intellect” – Auvergne, *De Fide* 1:6.
8. “Finally, by faith, . . . same power” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* b4.
9. “as Proclus said . . . connecting us with God” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 24:44; ref. Proclus, *Platonis* 1:25.
10. “Daniel evaded . . . believed in his God” – Daniel 6:17– 24.
11. Matthew 9:22; Mark 5:34; Luke 8:48.
12. “As Christ said . . . illuminate you” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 5; ref. Matthew 9:28.
13. “Thus, according to Homer, Pallas . . . if you believe” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4; ref. Homer, *Illiad* 1:207.
14. Compagni cited this as from Reuchlin, *De Verbo*, from either 1:c4 or 3:k5, but I was unable to verify the source.
15. “example from Luke . . . ‘naked and vulnerable’” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:k5; ref. Acts 19:13– 16.

Chapter 6. How, with these guides, the human soul rises into the divine nature and is made a producer of miracles.

1. “placed at the height and peak of the human soul” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:b4.
2. “Hence, it arises . . . that are above” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4
3. “Not only in science, . . . power of change” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.
4. “Hence, it arises . . . and arduous” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4.
5. “the dead obey . . . elements serve” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d2; ref. Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 3:15.
6. “men devoted to God . . . theologians” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.
7. “the influence of the first . . . middle causes” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>26.

8. “no one can work by pure . . . be devoured” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 11>12– 13.

Chapter 7. That knowledge of the true God is necessary for the magician, and what the ancient magicians and philosophers thought about God.

1. “It is, therefore, necessary . . . danger of punishment” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 5:21– 22.
2. “as was written . . . of the earth” – 4 Kings 17:24– 26.
3. “we read that Nicocreon . . . light of the Sun” – Crinitus, *Honesta* 24:16; ref. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1:20.
4. “what Orpheus sang . . . mind of the world” – Ficino, *Epistles* 11:934– 35; ref. Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:9.
5. “Sophocles . . . upon Jupiter” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4.
6. “whole world is Jupiter . . . and without death” – Ficino, *Epistles* 11; ref. Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:9, 13:12.
7. “Likewise, Zoroaster . . . inventor of wisdom” – Crinitus, *Honesta* 16:2; ref. Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:10.
8. “But Apuleius described . . . none can describe him” – Apuleius, *Apologia* 64.
9. “since Euripides . . . separate by philosophers” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 6; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 15.

Chapter 8. What the ancient philosophers thought about the divine Trinity.

1. “Augustine and Porphyry . . . World Soul” – Augustine, *City of God* 10:23, 29; ref. Porphyry, *De regressu animae*. Augustine is the main extant source for this; Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:2, §14, 16; 1:6, §8, 20; 1:14, §15.
2. “The spirit . . . the whole” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:724– 27; Plato, *Timaeus* 34b– 35b.
3. “Plotinus and Philo . . . light from a lamp” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 11:4; Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 7:13.
4. “the divine mind, . . . begat and generated” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 7; ref. John 1:1; *Hermeticum* 1, §6; Plato, *Epistles* 6, 323d.
5. “I came from the mouth . . . all creatures” – Ecclesiastes 24:5.
6. “But Iamblichus . . . Son of himself” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 8:2– 3.

- [7.](#) “mind of God . . . a craftsman” – *Hermeticum* 1, §6.
- [8.](#) “Unity begets unity . . . to itself” – *Liber XXIV Phil.* 1.
- [9.](#) “author of regeneration . . . one God” – *Hermeticum* 13, §4.
- [10.](#) “fruitfulness of each sex” – *Hermeticum* 15, §20.
- [11.](#) “Indian philosophers . . . male and female” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:26; ref. Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:9.
- [12.](#) “Hence in *Hymns* . . . male and female” – *Orphic Hymns* 32.
- [13.](#) “Jupiter is both male and female, unaware of death” – Apuleius, *Mundo* 7:401b.
- [14.](#) “I fall and am led by God” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 2:632.
- [15.](#) “Nor was the god . . . erring right hand” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 7:498. There is a mistake in Agrippa, who wrote *oranti* (praying) instead of *erranti* (erring). As a result, J.F. translated this incorrectly.
- [16.](#) “Indeed, I have . . . with my words” – Tibullus, *Elegies* 1:2, 81.
- [17.](#) A town in ancient Mysia in modern Asia Minor. The citation for this sentence is unclear.
- [18.](#) From this complete intelligence . . . to their parents” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 7.
- [19.](#) “Iamblichus also mentions . . . same from God” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 8:2– 3.
- [20.](#) Plutarch, *De Placitis* 1:6.
- [21.](#) Deuteronomy 4:24.
- [22.](#) Plato, *Timaeus* 40a.
- [23.](#) Homer, *Illiad* 2:412, 15:192.
- [24.](#) “Hence, Plutarch . . . in the clouds” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:f2.
- [25.](#) *Aether*, literally “upper air” or “upper sky.”
- [26.](#) *Ardeo*.
- [27.](#) *Spiritus* can also mean “breath,” so accordingly J.F. translated this as “fiery breathing place.” Keeping in mind that the Latin here is *igneum spiraculum*, which is indeed “fiery breathing place,” and the Greek *Pyripnon* means “fire breather,” one could consider this as a double entendre, meaning both breathing and spirit.
- [28.](#) “it is called ‘ether,’ . . . fiery breather” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:h4; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 5.
- [29.](#) “Heaven I swear . . . by his counsel” – Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio* 1:15.
- [30.](#) *Boulaia*, a Greek epithet for Athena, meaning “of the council.”

- [31.](#) “Surely Tritonia . . . council” – Hesiod, *Theogony* 895– 96.
- [32.](#) “And Augustine . . . First Mind” – Augustine, *City of God* 10:23.
- [33.](#) “and the Son . . . the whole” – Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:14, §14; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:726– 27; Plato, *Timaeus* 34b– 35b.
- [34.](#) “Therefore, God . . . own degrees” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 12; ref. 1 Corinthians 8:6.

Chapter 9. What the true and most orthodox faith is about God and the most holy Trinity.

- [1.](#) “we worship one God . . . their own works” – Athanasian Creed.
- [2.](#) “Catholic teachers . . . and salvation” – see also Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:k2, k5.

Chapter 10. Of the divine emanations, which Hebrews call numerations, others call attributes, and gentiles call gods and deities, and of the ten Sephiroth and ten most sacred names of God presiding over them and the interpretation of them.

- [1.](#) “Although God . . . call attributes” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 5.
- [2.](#) Saturn is sometimes identified with the fetus since Saturn is the first planetary sphere.
- [3.](#) “Orpheus called . . . Sun or Apollo” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:1, 6; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 32, 28, 13, 17, 16, 55, 8.
- [4.](#) “whole reason of the world Pan” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:2, 13; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 11.
- [5.](#) *Maris*.
- [6.](#) “However, the soul . . . and Ocean” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>18.
- [7.](#) “Jupiter and Pluto, . . . God stands in all” – Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio* 1:15.
- [8.](#) “And of the same . . . one and all” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:2. This is the only surviving fragment of a reportedly large poem.
- [9.](#) *Numina*.
- [10.](#) “prudent of gentile . . . need is greatest” – Pliny, *Natural History* 2:7, §15.
- [11.](#) “but a single God from all” – 1 Corinthians 8:6.
- [12.](#) “Apuleius said to Faustinus . . . is multiformed” – Apuleius, *Mundo* 7:401a.

- [13.](#) “Marcus Varro . . . various names” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:2.
- [14.](#) “Therefore, one must know . . . ancient magicians” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>7.
- [15.](#) “Orpheus called Guardians . . . called Powers” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>9, Proclus: 13.
- [16.](#) *Pahad. Agrippa used unusual spellings for the Sephiroth, noted throughout.*
- [17.](#) *Ensoph.*
- [18.](#) “what is Ein Soph . . . called Night” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>15.
- [19.](#) “Likewise, . . . in kabbalah” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>13.
- [20.](#) “Hebrew mekubalim, . . . power and virtue” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 21.
- [21.](#) *Ehie.*
- [22.](#) *Cether.*
- [23.](#) *Haiioth Hacadosch.*
- [24.](#) *Hochma.*
- [25.](#) J.F. translated as “Prina.”
- [26.](#) *Haesed.*
- [27.](#) *Hasmalim.*
- [28.](#) *Geburach.*
- [29.](#) *Eloha.*
- [30.](#) *Vaudahat.*
- [31.](#) *Tiphereth.*
- [32.](#) *Nezah.*
- [33.](#) *Sadai.*
- [34.](#) *Elhai.*
- [35.](#) *Issim.*
- [36.](#) The section of Sephiroth comes from – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 21; Riccius, *Cabalistarum* 39– 48; Reuchlin, *Art n4*. Generally, the significations are from Giorgio, the numerations with planets and angels from Reuchlin, and alternate meanings from Riccius. There is some occasional crossover.

Chapter 11. Of divine names, their power, and virtue.

1. *Shem ha-Mephorash*, Hebrew for “explicit name.” The passage he refers to is Exodus 14:19–21, three verses that each have 72 letters in Hebrew. This is addressed again in Book Three, ch. 25.
2. Reuchlin, in *Art* 3:l, expands this as “the great revealed name of the highest God.”
3. “God, although He . . . unknown to us” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:6, 6; ref. St. Jerome, *Epistolae* 25; Dionysius, *De Divinis* 1:3, 4–13.
4. *I am*.
5. *On*.
6. *To on*.
7. *O on*. Each Greek term translates various ways of saying “being” or “I am.”
8. *Tauton*.
9. “Therefore, from these . . . Innon ין” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e4–f2, g4; ref. Exodus 3:14; Plato, *Timaeus* 28a; Isaiah 42:8, 43:25, 51:25; Deuteronomy 4:2; Numbers 14:19; Exodus 15:2; Psalms 71:17.
10. J.F. translated as “solid work.” The Latin here is *solidam petram*.
11. “many names of God . . . or makes more” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:m4, n2.
12. “the name Iaia . . . change is one” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:m4, o5; in all of these examples, the examples and logic are similar in Agrippa and Reuchlin (not always exact), but the Hebrew is different. Ref. Deuteronomy 6:4; Genesis 1:3.
13. the name Iesu . . . Messiah comes” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:4, 4; ref. Genesis 49:10.
14. “in the other . . . His name endures” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:6, 8; ref. Psalms 71:17.
15. “name Amen . . . each makes 31” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:m4–n1; ref. Isaiah 65:16; Psalms 1:4; Exodus 3:13; Psalms 20:2; Exodus 23:20.
16. “since barbarians . . . revealed to us” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:6, 6; ref. Plato, *Cratylus* 425e. This likely refers to barbarous words, nonsense words found in magical incantations. There were often directives to not change these words, though the words themselves were often corrupted versions of deities or places. This is not related to the concept of “barbarian” cultures attributed by the Greeks and Romans.
17. “Origen taught . . . without corruption” – Ficino, *Cratylus* 1,309; ref. Origen, *Contra* 1:24, 5:45.
18. “Zoroaster also . . . from barbarians” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d4; ref. Plato, *Cratylus* 425e–426a.
19. “Iamblichus likewise . . . man with gods” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e4; ref. Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 7:5, §257.
20. “In every place, . . . and bless you” – Exodus 20:24.

21. “And they will put . . . bless them” – Numbers 6:27.
22. “Therefore, the divine . . . manual works” – Ficino, *Cratylus* 1,309; ref. Plato, *Cratylus* 400e, Philebus 12c.
23. “sacred words by themselves . . . divine influences” – Pico, *De Rerum* 7:4.
24. “correctly uses these divine . . . many wonders” – Ficino, *Cratylus* 1,309.
25. “And she . . . rushing rivers” – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7:153– 54.
26. “the ancient . . . certain words” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21, *Cratylus* 1,309.
27. “read that Orpheus, . . . with certain words” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e2; ref. Apollonius, *Argonautica* 1:1,134.
28. “Apollonius . . . revived her again” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d3; ref. Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:45.
29. “other certain words, . . . by Philostratus” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21; ref. Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:15– 16.
30. Possibly somewhat southeast of Thyatira in Turkey.
31. “But Pausanias wrote . . . most brightly” – Pausanias, *Description* 5:27, §5.
32. “Serenus Sammonicus also said . . . gradually fall away” – Serenus, *De Medicina* lines 933– 46.
33. Note that the two sigils are reversed, and the “front part” sigils are reversed in Tyson but correct in J.F.
34. “In the *Book of Speculation* . . . touches her neck” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:c5. Reuchlin wrote the “earlobe of an aborted child.” The Costa ben Luca reference is in *De incantatione et adiuratione collique suspensione*, p. 741, in Agrippa, *Opera Omnia*.
35. “in certain sacred words . . . each testify” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:21; ref. *Zoroastrian Oracles* fr. 150; Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 1:9, *Synesius* 19; al-Kindi, *Rays* 3:6. The Orpheus reference is unclear.
36. “Artephius, a magician . . . single characters” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 27.
37. “Origen, not inferior . . . hidden virtues” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:f; ref. Origen, *Contra* 1:24, 5:45.
38. “book of Judges . . . is Pele” – Judges 13:18.
39. “God has other names . . . perhaps also angels” – Maimonides, *Perplexed* 1:61.
40. “Paul called the language of angels” – 1 Corinthians 13:1.
41. “duties and operations . . . not very effective” In Reuchlin, *Art* 3:l3, he expands: Raphael for medicine, Gabriel virility, Michael wonder and awe or strength.

Chapter 12. Of the influence of divine names through each medium in these inferiors.

1. “Although the highest Creator . . . in the ministry” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 29; ref. Revelation 7:11, 2; Psalms 33:8, 77:49.
2. “any portion of the heavens . . . command of it” – Ricius, *Isagoge* 64; ref. Augustine, *Quaestionum* 79.
3. “Origen said . . . containing all” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 7; ref. Origen, *Numeros* 14; *Matthew* 18:10.
4. “whose twelve gates . . . revolutions” – Revelation 21:12.
5. “In the foundation . . . the lamb” – Revelation 21:14.
6. “in the Law, . . . the ephod” – Exodus 28:9– 11.
7. “described by Ezekiel, . . . in the church” – Ezekiel 48:31, 35.
8. “in the name Jesus . . . nod, all tremble” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:1, 3, 3:3, 7, 2:3, 7, 2:2, 16, 2:3, 3. This long section pieces quotes from all the above chapters in different orders. Ref. John 14:13; Mark 16:17– 18; Acts 4:12; Psalms 90:14; Philippians, 2:10.
9. “Christ does not speak . . . this word itself ” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 10; ref. Mark 16:17– 18.

Chapter 13. Of the members of God and of their influence in our members.

1. “We read in various places . . . pass from me” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3:10; ref. Luke 8:46.
2. “Therefore these members . . . works of God” – Ricius, *Portarum* 140– 41; ref. 1 John 3:1– 2.
3. “Your head is as Carmel, . . . purple of a king” – Songs 7:5.
4. This statement seems to be original to Agrippa and may indicate the sea snails from which Tyrian purple is made, but the exact reference is unknown. Purple and crimson dyes are also important to the work of Paracelsus.
5. “The eyes of the . . . ears to their prayers” – Psalms 33:16.
6. “His eyes gaze . . . sons of men” – Psalms 11:4 (Vulgate 10:15).
7. “You have not asked at my mouth” – Isaiah 30:2.
8. “Your throat . . . to ruminate” – Songs 7:9.
9. “sweet scent of the sacrifice” – Genesis 8:21.
10. “The government is made on his shoulders” – Isaiah 9:6.

- [11.](#) “your hands, Lord, made me and formed me” – Psalms 118:73.
- [12.](#) “I will behold your heavens, the work of your fingers” – Psalms 8:3.
- [13.](#) “The Lord said to my Lord: sit at my right hand” – Psalms 109:1.
- [14.](#) “of the left . . . on the last day” – ref. Matthew 25:33, 41.
- [15.](#) “God found David according to his own heart” – ref. 1 Kings 13:14.
- [16.](#) “breast, upon . . . divine secrets” – John 13:23, 21:20.
- [17.](#) “His back as having the paleness of gold” – ref. Psalms 67:14.
- [18.](#) “I will show my . . . day of destruction” – Jeremiah 18:17.
- [19.](#) “They will see my back parts” – Exodus 33:23.
- [20.](#) “The darkness under His feet” – Psalms 17:10.
- [21.](#) “walking to the south” – ref. Genesis 12:9.
- [22.](#) “The Lord reigns . . . light as a garment” – Psalms 103:2.
- [23.](#) “You are . . . garment and a cloak” – Psalms 103:1, 6.
- [24.](#) “we read of the many garments . . . your disgrace” – Giorgio *Harmonia* 3:6 2– 3. “I spread my cloak over you and cover your disgrace” – Ezekiel 16:8. Other individual biblical references are noted in each place.
- [25.](#) “Your rod . . . console me” – Psalms 22:4.
- [26.](#) “His truth surrounds you as a shield” – Psalms 90:4.
- [27.](#) “glory of his sword” – Deuteronomy 33:29.
- [28.](#) “He placed my feet . . . directed my steps” – Psalms 39:3.
- [29.](#) “Blessed Lord my God . . . fingers to war” – Psalms 143:1.
- [30.](#) “Sent in a new song into my mouth” – Psalms 39:4.
- [31.](#) “I will give you a mouth and wisdom” – Mark 21:15.
- [32.](#) “The hair on your head will never die” – Mark 21:18.
- [33.](#) “The hairs on your head have been counted” – Luke 12:7.
- [34.](#) “Indeed, the all-powerful . . . knows my name” – Ricius, *Portarum* 139– 40; ref. Psalms 90:14.

Chapter 14. Of the gods of the gentiles, the souls of the celestial

bodies, and which deities were once made sacred to [particular] places.

1. “But Plato . . . the more inferior” – Ficino, *Symposium* 6:3; ref. Plato, *Laws* 10 896c– 899d.
2. “These are the gods . . . inherited people” – Ricius, *De Anima*; ref. Deuteronomy 4:19– 20.
3. “called the Sun, Moon, and the stars gods” – Deuteronomy 17:3.
4. “Abraham giving gifts . . . everything he possessed” – Genesis 25:5– 6.
5. “they are reproached . . . not assigned to them” – Deuteronomy 29:26.
6. *Iesus Nave*.
7. “The option is given to you . . . Lord your God” – Joshua 24:15– 27.
8. *Dulia* is a veneration of saints and angels, and *latria* is the worship of God and the Trinity. Agrippa is saying that veneration of celestial souls is permitted, as long as they are not seen as gods but as inferior to God.
9. “there were gods . . . rejected by the Lord” – Ricius, *De Anima*; ref. Jeremiah 7:18.
10. In Agrippa’s Latin, he wrote *Norni Tibelaenum*. In his source Crinitus, it is written as *Norici Tibilenus*. I suspect Agrippa’s error is either a typographical error, or he misread it. Tertullian’s original is restored. J.F. translated this as “Nornians, Tiberelus,” which Tyson identified as the mythical king of Alba, Tiberinus.
11. Agrippa wrote *Nursia*. This seems to be another typographical error.
12. Agrippa wrote *Nortia*, his source Critinus wrote *Murcia*, but Critinus’s source Tertullian wrote *Hostia*. Restored from Tertullian.
13. “the names of these souls or gods . . . were the most famous” – Crinitus, *Honesta* 9:3; ref. Apuleius, *The God* 15; Origen, *Contra* 5:34; Tertullian, *Apology* 24.
14. Freedom
15. “Latins honored Mars . . . Delphi Apollo” – Lactantius, *Institutionum* 1:15.
16. “Athens has Pallas, . . . over armies” – Ovid, *Fasti* 3:81– 85.
17. “The Assyrians . . . in Delphi” – Rhodiginus, *Lectioinum* 16:17; Pausanias, *Description* 1:14, 1:2.
18. “of this kind . . . and their souls” – Ricius, *De Anima*; ref. Deuteronomy 4:19– 20.

Chapter 15. What our theologians think about the celestial souls.

1. "Ecclesiastes . . . acknowledged the same" – Ricius, *De Anima*; ref. Ecclesiastes 1:6; St. Jerome, *Ecclesiasten* 1:6.
2. "similarly, Origen, . . . brightness of the body" – Origen, *De Principiis* 1:7; Ricius, *De Anima*; ref. Isaiah 45:12; Job 25:5.
3. "Eusebius Pamphilus in *Theological Solutions*" – Compagni cites Eusebius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* 18:2; Augustine, *Enchiridion* 15.
4. *Aureolos* – This is a name for Augustine.
5. "More recently, . . . Catholic faith" – Ricius, *De Anima*; ref. Magnus, *Quatuor* 3:2, 16; Aquinas, *Spiritualibus* 6, *Contra* 2:70, *Quaestiones* 12:16; Augustine, *Enchiridion* 15, *Retractationum* 1:11; Scotus, *Sententias* 14:2. Agrippa added Cusanus, *De Genesi* 5; Plotinus, *Enneads* 4:4, 26; Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 31.

Chapter 16. Of intelligences and daemons, their threefold kinds, their various names, and of infernal and subterranean daemons.

1. "I say 'daemons' . . . and wise" – Plato, *Cratylus* 398b; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 13.
2. "call them gods . . . divine nectar" – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:2.
3. Referring to the 55 spheres that contain the motions of the planets mentioned in Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 13:1073b– 1074a.
4. *Quinariis*. This could mean a fivefold division of 360 or the fivefold division of the zodiac called "terms" or "bounds." The intention is open to question since this is an unusual word for "terms." I am unaware of any text attributing daemons to the terms. Another possibility is a five-degree division of the zodiac. At this time, I am unaware of any astrological or magical text explicitly discussing this, but it could refer to occasional references of the 72 demons in some Solomonic magic texts. It is also possible that Agrippa's source, William of Auvergne, made an off-hand remark with no foundation.
5. "applied beyond the divine worship . . . of the zodiac" – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 24.
6. *Quinariis* again.
7. "They placed names and signs . . . and the like" – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 24.
8. "that Origen . . . upon the earth" – Origen, *De Principiis* 2:9.
9. "Indeed, being visible . . . as they please" – Saxo, *Danish History* 3.
10. Aristotle's attribution of air as hot/moist and water as cold/moist was made earlier in his career and was counter to other contemporary opinions. His model was created to explain processes of generation and corruption. Aristotle apparently changed his mind in later writings and minimized the

elemental qualities, saying that air is cooling. However, this change did not filter into the mainstream of esoteric literature. Some astrologers today are beginning to adopt an alternate view influenced by a medical-stoicized view of air as cold/moist, and water as warm/ moist. This may be a way to solve some qualitative problems that arise in astrology.

11. “they distributed these into more orders . . . favoring the vegetable nature” – Ficino, *Apologiam* 1,387.
12. “they also distinguished these kinds of daemons . . . southern, and northern” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:2.
13. “no part of the world . . . these daemons” – *Corpus Hermeticum*, *Asclepius* §3.
14. “not because they are alone . . . influence elsewhere” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 1:9.
15. Noon or middle.
16. “some of these are most . . . above their species” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:2; ref. Plato, *Symposium* 202e– 203a, *Laws* 4:713d.
17. “Danes and . . . slavery of men” – Saxo, *Danish History* 2, 8.
18. “some daemons are corporeal . . . and then died” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:2; ref. Proclus, *Tymaeum* 1; Plutarch, *De Defectu* 17. The passage about Pan is missing in J.F.
19. “these are the third kind . . . in any legion” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:2; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 32b, 36c– d, 48b.
20. “The true number of good daemons . . . their numbers” – Compagni cites Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*; ref. Matthew 18:12– 13; Luke 15:4– 6, 8; Deuteronomy 32:8.
21. Peter of Lombard.
22. “more recent theologians . . . received by prophecies” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 8, 2; ref. Peter of Lombard, *Sentences* 2:9, 7, 2; Augustine, *Enchiridion* 9, 29; Nazianzus, *Orationes* 42:9.
23. “which Platonists called . . . and divine law” – Chalcidius, *Timaeus* 2:135.
24. “Of these kinds of [evil] daemons . . . unjust and cause discord” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, p. 1,935.

Chapter 17. Of the same according to the opinions of theologians.

1. “Our theologians . . . called choruses” – Dionysius, *De Coelesti* 6.
2. “which Proclus also . . . and every kingdom” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 16:1; ref. Compagni cites Proclus, *Platonis Theologiam* 3, 14; Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 2:7– 9.
3. “Jesus, the son of Sirach, . . . command of it” – Ecclesiasticus 17:14. “Jesus” here refers to Yeshua

ben Eliezer ben Sira, the author of Ecclesiasticus.

4. “Moses seemed to indicate . . . angels of God” – Deuteronomy 32:8.
5. “the second of these . . . single protector [for that to which they are assigned.]” – Ficino, *De Christiana* 14.
6. “Of these, there are also . . . all more inferior things” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 8, 2.
7. “Athanasius names seven other orders . . . army of heaven” – Compagni cites Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 31.
8. “I come so that I might teach . . . last days” – Daniel 10:14.
9. “Behold Michael, one of the princes, comes to assist me” – Daniel 10:13.
10. “In that time Michael shall rise, . . . sons of your people” – Daniel 12:1.
11. “of that order . . . Tobias the Younger” – Tobias 5:4– 7, 11:1– 6.
12. “If the angel . . . will be pleased” – Job 33:23– 24.
13. “The works of God . . . their neighbor forever” – Ecclesiasticus 16:26– 28.
14. “they are all ministering spirits . . . of salvation?” – Hebrews 1:14.
15. “angel of the Lord . . . of the Assyrians” – Isaiah 37:36.
16. “soul of Lazarus . . . bosom of Abraham” – Luke 16:22.
17. “in the same place . . . eternal tabernacle” – Luke 16:9. “Mammon” here refers to wordly wealth not the daemon of that name.
18. The Latin here is *adsistentium*, which also means “standing.”
19. “These are two sons . . . the whole earth” – Zechariah 4:14.
20. “Hebrew theologians . . . grants prophecy” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:n4.

Chapter 18. Of the orders of evil daemons, and their fallen and various natures.

1. “If you will fall . . . kingdoms of the earth” – Matthew 4:8– 9.
2. “I will ascend . . . Most High” – Isaiah 14:14.
3. Beelzebub is typically translated as “Lord of the Flies,” which is widely believed by scholars to be a deliberate derogatory alteration of Baal-zebul, which does indeed translate as “supreme lord.” Since this passage is thus far unsourced, it may be Agrippa’s error.

4. “Deceitful spirits . . . of this kind” – 1 Kings 22:22 (Vulgate 3 Kings 22:22); 2 Chronicles 18:21.
5. “that woman Pythonica in Samuel” – 1 Samuel 28:7– 8 (Vulgate 1 Kings 28:7– 8).
6. “in the Gospels who had a Python in their belly” – Acts 16:16. *Python* here can be translated as “soothsayer,” which indeed is the case in the King James version of the Bible. I kept Python here, to show the connection with serpent.
7. “vessels of iniquity” – Genesis 49:5– 6.
8. “vessels of wrath” – Jeremiah 50:25.
9. *Theutus*.
10. “from Plato . . . games and dice” – Plato, *Phaedrus* 274 c– d.
11. “In Genesis, . . . into their council” – Genesis 49:5– 6.
12. “the psalmist called the ‘vessels of death’” – Psalms 7:14.
13. “Isaiah called the ‘vessels of madness’” – Isaiah 13:5.
14. “Jeremiah called them ‘vessels of anger’” – Jeremiah 50:25.
15. “Ezekiel [referred to] the ‘vessels of slaughter and ruin’” – Ezekiel 9:1– 2.
16. *Belial in Hebrew means “without value.”*
17. “What agreement has Christ to Belial” – 2 Corinthians 6:15.
18. Asmodeus comes from the Avestan *Aeshma-daeva*, meaning “wrath demon.”
19. “as the serpent seduced Eve” – Genesis 3:1– 13.
20. “in Revelation . . . him to make” – Revelation 12:9, 13:13– 14.
21. “in Revelation . . . directions of the earth” – Revelation 7:1– 2.
22. “to the Ephesians . . . sons of disbelief” – Ephesians 2:2. The name Meririm is unique to Agrippa and the origin is unknown at this time.
23. “their prince in Revelation . . . ‘extermination and devastation’” – Revelation 9:11.
24. The name Astaroth comes from Ashteroth, and is more likely related to the Semetic goddess Ishtar.
25. Devil.
26. “in Revelation . . . the face of God” – Revelation 12:10.
27. *Mammon* comes from the Latin *Mammona*, which means “wealth.” The switch of meanings here is interesting.

28. “Augustine said . . . called his angels” – Compagni cites Augustine, *De Incarnatione Verbi ad Ianuarium* 1:3; Origen, *De Principiis* 1:Praef.
29. “yet the Greeks . . . their transgressions” – Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 1:28; Origen, *De Principiis* 2:9, §2; 1:8, §4.
30. The Latin here is *Syrus*, which is “Syrian.” Pherecydes was from a Greek island called Syros, not to be confused with Syria.
31. *Ophin*.
32. “Their fall . . . of Tartarus” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 9; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum*, *Pymander* §14, *Homeric Hymns* 3:336, 4:256. The Latin for *Tartarus* here is *Atarus*. This is a typo Agrippa carried over from Giorgio.
33. *De foenore*, actually *Plutarch’s De vitando aere alieno*, “That We Should Not Borrow From Others.”
34. “and Plutarch . . . fallen daemons” – Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 1:28; ref. Plutarch, *De vitando* 7; *Empedocles fr.* 115.
35. “many daemons . . . are fallen” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 9.
36. “they were cast into this valley of misery . . . but animals” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:o5; Psellus, *Operation* 1,940– 41.
37. “I will go forth . . . of Ahab” – 1 Kings 22:22 (Vulgate 3 Kings 22:22).
38. “that no traveler will dare pass that way” – Matthew 8:28.
39. A centaur that is part ass and part man.
40. A female daemon.
41. “we read in Isaiah . . . and ostriches” – Isaiah 34:13– 15, 13:21– 22.
42. “In Psalms, we read of asps, basilisks, lions, and dragons” – Psalms 90:13.
43. “scorpions” – Revelation 9:5.
44. “Mammon, the prince of this world” – Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13; John 14:30, 16:11.
45. “the leaders of darkness” – Ephesians 6:12.
46. “of which the prince of all . . . my black dogs” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 4:22; ref. Matthew 12:24; Luke 11:15; Porphyry, *De Philosophia* 2.
47. “Origen believed that daemons . . . all in all” – Rhodiginus, *Lectio-num* 1:36; ref. Origen, *De Principiis* 1:6.
48. “the divine Irenaeus . . . about his damnation” – Irenaeus, *Contra* 5:26.

- [49.](#) “Christ heard the prayers . . . herd of swine” – Matthew 8:30– 32; Mark 5:12– 13; Luke 8:33.
- [50.](#) “Most fallen . . . canonical hours” – St. Jerome, *Vita Sancti* 8.
- [51.](#) “Ethiopians will fall . . . lick the dust” – Psalms 72:9 (Vulgate 71:9).
- [52.](#) “You will eat the earth for all of the days of your life” – Genesis 3:14.
- [53.](#) “Because the dust of the earth is his bread” – Isaiah 65:25.
- [54.](#) Origen, *De Principiis* 1:6, §3; 2:5, §3.

Chapter 19. Of the bodies of daemons.

- [1.](#) “Indeed, Thomas . . . soon leave” – Aquinas, *Potentia* 6:6– 7.
- [2.](#) “Dionysius . . . are incorporeal” – Dionysius, *De Divinis* 7:2.
- [3.](#) “Yet Augustine . . . tortured by fire” – Augustine, *De Genesi* 3:10.
- [4.](#) “Basil the Great . . . pure spirits” – St. Basil, *De Spiritu* 16.
- [5.](#) “Gregory of Nazianzus also agreed with this” – Nazianzus, *Orationes* 29:30, 38:9.
- [6.](#) The Latin here is *De daemone Socratis*, which Agrippa carried over from Rhodiginus. The original title is *De Deo Socratis* (On the God of Socrates).
- [7.](#) “Apuleius thought . . . certain prayers” – Apuleius, *On the God* 16.
- [8.](#) “Psellus did not think . . . not the same” – Psellus, *Operation* 1,939– 40.
- [9.](#) “Now go . . . your sword” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:260.
- [10.](#) “Servius said . . . consecrate his sword” – Servius, *In Vergilii* 44.
- [11.](#) “Orpheus described the kinds of demonic bodies” – *Orphic Hymns* 1 (To Musaeus).
- [12.](#) “Dionysius steadfastly . . . sensible to us” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:26, 27, 29. This citation is not completely linear and moves back and forth between these chapters. Rhodiginus’s sources cited above with their quotes.
- [13.](#) “Calcidius said . . . pleasure and lust” – Calcidius, *Platonis* 2:134– 35.
- [14.](#) *Onoscodos*.
- [15.](#) “Yet no daemon (as Marcus believed) . . . attempted this lust” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:27; *ref. Psellus*, *Operation* 1,942– 43; Augustine, *City of God* 15:43.

Chapter 20. Of the infestation of evil daemons, and the protection we have from good daemons.

1. “common opinion of theologians . . . hate gods and men” – Psellus, *Operation* 1,941.
2. “in Tobias that . . . Upper Egypt” – Tobias 8:3.
3. “Jove has 30,000 . . . everywhere on the earth” – Hesiod, *Works* 352– 55; also Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:36; Reuchlin, *Art* 3:o5.
4. “there is no prince, . . . evil wishes of men” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.
5. Or *Peri Archon, On the Principles*—though this citation appears to be from *Against Celsus*. Agrippa is quoting from Giorgio here.
6. “Therefore, just as each man . . . united with Him” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 5; ref. 2 Peter 2:19; Origen, *Contra* 8:44; Malachi 3:1; 1 Corinthians 6:17.
7. “Also, an evil . . . one of you is the Devil?” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:5, 2; ref. John 6:70.
8. “when a daemon has . . . duties the daemon [is given to carry out]” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 9, §3– 4.
9. “Indeed, a good daemon . . . evil daemon are into [the human in question]” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 10, §20– 21.
10. “Good daemons . . . an intelligible mind” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 2:6.
11. “whether there are many guardians . . . in each man” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:5, 5; ref. Psalms 90:11; Jerome, *In Psalms* 90:11.
12. “all men are ruled . . . seek out evil merits” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 7.
13. “those who are attributed . . . into the more inferiors” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 4.
14. “Homer seemed . . . venerable and dignified” – *Homeric Hymns* 25.
15. I.e., guardian spirit.
16. “we read that Marc Antony . . . fall to him” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:31; ref. Plutarch, *Fortune* 7.
17. “Surely a leader . . . before others” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 4.

Chapter 21. Of obeying one’s own genius, and the investigation of its nature.

1. “Just as every region . . . those spirits above” – Zohar 2:4, 10.
2. “The Lord shall visit . . . earth on the earth” – Isaiah 24:21.

3. “also read . . . their mutual conflicts” – Daniel 10:20– 21.
4. Hermes.
5. “So great was the frequent . . . Cyllenius with darts” – Homer, *Illiad* 20:66– 71.
6. “they offer themselves . . . produces happy results” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:32; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:23.
7. I.e., the sign the Moon enters after the nativity.
8. *Cardines* – literally “hinge” or “point.” In this case, it refers to the angles in astrology—the 1st, 10th, 7th, and 4th houses. In a traditional square chart, these houses literally look like points or hinges.
9. This refers to a technique called “almuten” that was popular in late-Arabic astrology up to the Renaissance. It is a technique to find the most powerful planet in either one degree or from multiple degrees. In this case, all four angles.
10. “Hence choosing a place, . . . stars incline” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 9; ref. Genesis 17:5, 32:28– 29; Porphyry, *Epistula* 39; Maternus, *Matheseos* 4:19.

Chapter 22. Of the threefold guardian of man and from where each comes.

1. “Each man . . . of the nativity” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 9:1; Ficino added “and the third is of the profession” – *Three Books* 3:23.
2. “Indeed, the holy . . . above nature” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 9:1; “according to Egyptian . . . or the planets” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:31.
3. “It directs the life . . . was silent before” – Proclus, *Alcibiadem*.
4. J.F. translated this as “Pythagoreans.” The Latin here is *Platonici*.
5. “by the assistance of this daemon . . . appointed at birth” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 9:1; “if we religiously worship . . . daemon excels [in this]” – Rodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:31; ref. Pythagoras, *Verba* 1,979.
6. This is referred to in Agrippa’s primary sources Ficino, *Three Books* 3:23 and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles* 3:92. There are a couple of layers: 1. following the nature of your daemon will make one fortunate, and also 2. certain planets are inherently fortunate, such as Jupiter, Venus, and the Moon.
7. “whoever receives a fortunate . . . secretly desired” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:23; Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 1:31.
8. “distributes each as He wills” – 1 Corinthians 12:11.
9. J.F. translated as “religion.” The Latin here is *professionis*.

10. “This daemon is changed . . . than in the nativity” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:23; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:5, 5; 3:1, 13; 3:1, 9. Agrippa added “who made Abraham . . . Martha in ministry.”

Chapter 23. Of the tongue of angels, and their conversations with each other and with us.

1. “We might doubt . . . an audible voice” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 11, 4; 3:8, 11, 2; ref. 1 Corinthians 13:1, “confusion of languages in Babylon” – Genesis 11:1–9; Psellus, *Operation* 1,941.
2. “Thus, the Platonists . . . by the prophets” – Ficino, *Apologiam* 1,387; ref. Compagni cites Avicenna, *Liber Philosophia Prima* 10:1, *Liber de Anima* 4:4, 5.
3. “Paul called ‘the tongue of angels’” – 1 Corinthians 13:1.
4. “Yet, they most often send . . . watching heaven” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 11, 4; ref. Acts 1:11.

Chapter 24. Of the names of spirits, their various applications, and of the spirits that rule the stars, signs, the directions of heaven, and the elements.

1. “alone numbered . . . their names” – Psalms 146:4.
2. “God brought . . . that was their name” – Genesis 2:19.
3. This is not a quotation, but an etymology. In order, these names translate as “the secret of God,” “the strength (or virtue) of God,” “Who is like God,” “God has healed,” and “Joy of God.”
4. “Thus, from ancient Hebrew . . . Moon Gabriel” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 6; ref. Ibn Ezra, *Reasons* 43r.
5. “these the seven . . . stars and signs” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:8, 8, 2; ref. Revelation 8:12, *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, §9.
6. “those who appoint somewhat . . . knowledge of future times” – Trithemius, *De Septem* 4–15.
7. Agrippa wrote Barchiel for Scorpio and Pisces, most likely in error. I replaced it with Barbiel in Scorpio from Book Two, ch. 14.
8. “And of the seven spirits . . . throne of God” – Revelation 1:4.
9. “describes the building . . . angels in twelve gates” – ref. Revelation 21:12.
10. “Again there are twenty-eight angels . . . Alheniel, Amnixiel” – *Picatrix* 4:9. Agrippa’s list is a little different, possibly because of manuscript variations. Here is the list according to the critical edition and Greer/Warnock version of *Picatrix*: 1. Geriz, 2. Enedil, 3. Annuncia, 4. Assarez, 5. Cabil, 6.

Nedeyrahe, 7. Selehe, 8. Annediex, 9. Raubel, 10. Aredafir, 11. Necol, 12. Abdizu, 13. Azerut, 14. Erdegel, 15. Achalich, 16. Azeruch, 17. Adrieb, 18. Egrel, 19. Annucel, 20. Queyhuc, 21. Bectue, 22. Geliel, 23. Zequebin, 24. Abrine, 25. Aziel, 26. Tagriel, 27. Abliemel, 28. Anuxi.

11. “There are also four princes . . . over the south” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:o5.
12. “assigned elements: . . . Philo, Nathaniel” – Reuchlin, *Art* 1:d4; ref. Philo (attr.), *Antiquities* 38.
13. “there are four other . . . and Mahazael” – D’Ascoli, *Mundi* 3:d4; Reuchlin, *Art* 3:o5; ref. Compagni cites Zoroaster, *Fragments* O104 in Bidez/Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*.
14. *Sefer Yetzirah*. Tyson plausibly theorizes that the other titles are sections of the Zohar.
15. “Those who wish . . . eloquently written” – Riccius, *Isagoge* 21, 36.

Chapter 25. How Hebrew mekubalim elicit the sacred names of angels from holy scriptures, and of the seventy-two angels who hold the name of God with tables of Ziruph, and the exchange of letters and numbers.

1. “Let them be as dust . . . pursue them” – Psalms 34:5– 6.
2. “You will place . . . right hand” – Psalms 108:6.
3. “certain text in Exodus . . . ending in the left” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:l2; ref Exodus 14:19– 21.
4. “each of the three letters . . . is in him” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:l4; ref. Exodus 23:20– 21.
5. “And these [names] . . . disciples of Christ” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 23.
6. The rows of this table contain the characters from Exodus 19, 20, and 21. In the 1533 edition, Agrippa varied from these verses in two places. He used *ṣ* rather than *ṣ̣* for the name Poiel, and he switched the columns for Mehiel and Menkiel.
7. J.F. calls these “right” exchanges, which is technically correct but possibly confusing to twenty-first-century readers. The Latin here is *recta*, which means “right” in the sense of “correct” or “virtuous.” The next table would be the opposite of virtuous.
8. To avoid introducing errors of interpretation, this table is presented exactly as it appears in the 1533 edition, and any mistakes or variations to the patterns have been left intact. The large characters indicate thousands, as mentioned in Book 2, chapter 19.
9. Tyson added two final Kaphs (ך ך) on the left end of this row. This is not in any edition of Agrippa or J.F. Note that the large alef represents 1000.

Chapter 26. Of finding the names of spirits and geniuses from the

disposition of the celestial bodies.

1. In other words, find a planet, fixed star, Lunar mansion, etc., that is most appropriate for the results the magician desires—Venus for love, for example.
2. Opposite the ascendant—the cusp of the 7th house.
3. Also called *almuten*, from the Arabic *al-mubtaz*, meaning “victor.” An *almuten* is a planet that holds the most dignities in a single degree, or among several degrees.
4. Agrippa’s first private edition, *The Occult Philosophy* (1510), had a notably different (and clearer) version of this text: “Some Hebrews think that the nature and name of the genius for each man can be found in this way: recognize the degree of the ascendant of anyone’s nativity and similarly the degree of the tenth, seventh, and fourth examining the *almutez* planet according to the five essential dignities over the four angles, thus that which has more dignities is the *almutez* and lord of the genius and placed first among the others and after that [the planet] that is next in the number of dignities and in that way the rest follow that have dignities in any of the previously [mentioned] angles; with this order used, you may know the true place and degree of those in the zodiac, then, beginning from the degree of the ascendant by each degree place the twenty-two Hebrew letters—that is, ת ש ר ז צ א ב ד ה ו ה ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ז ר ש ת—one letter for each degree and reserve those degrees where the planets fall as said above; find these in the order disposed above and correctly combine the name of the genius that is established.” The order of the Hebrew alphabet as stated is not standard and there are letters missing, gimmel and kof.
5. The seventh house.
6. The five hylegical places are the degrees of the Sun, Moon, ascendant, part of fortune, and the prenatal lunation. This is also the most common order of places, mentioned immediately below.
7. I.e., ascendant.
8. “according to the proportional . . . significative names” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>21.

Chapter 27. Of the art of calculating these kinds of names from the tradition of kabbalists.

1. “Indeed, every . . . is thus formed” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>19.
2. “know that all angelic names . . . pronounced with it” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:14– 5; ref. Exodus 23:21.
3. Alternately this could read “tens, nines (J.F. wrote elevens), and twelves.” This most likely refers to the dignity of decans, which is well known, and the other two refer to lesser-known dignities sometimes mentioned in Medieval astrology.
4. Unknown. As Tyson mentioned, this may refer to Alfonso X of Castille, but this reference is unclear.

5. In the 1533 edition, Agrippa swapped Mercury with the Moon.

Chapter 28. How spirits sometimes take their names from things that they are placed in command over.

1. “Uriel from the prophet Uria” – 2 Ezra 4:1, 5:20.
2. “who Joachim killed” – Jeremiah 26:23.
3. “Phaniel is the name . . . entire night” – Genesis 32:24– 31.
4. “Astaroth . . . of the Allophyl” – Judges 2:13; Deuteronomy 1:4; Joshua 9:10, 12:4, 13:12, 15:8, 18:16; Isaiah 17:5; 1 Kings 27:10, 30:29. Allophyl are the Philistines.
5. “Remma, the idol of Damascus” – 2 Kings 5:18 (Vulgate 4 Kings 5:18).
6. “Chamos, the idol of Moab” – Numbers 21:29; 1 Kings 11:7 (Vulgate 3 Kings 11:7).
7. “Melachim, the idol of Ammon” – Jeremiah 49:1, 3.
8. “Bel, the idol of Babylon” – Daniel 14:2; Jeremiah 50:2, 51:44.
9. “Adramelech, the idol of Assyria” – 2 Kings 17:31 (Vulgate 4 Kings 17:31).
10. “Dagon, the idol of the Allophyl” – Judges 16:23.
11. “Philo said . . . deep sea” – Philo (attr.) *Antiquitatum* 25:26.
12. Nimrod.
13. “Know that Nimbroth, . . . evil daemons” – Genesis 10:8– 9; 1 Chronicles 1:10; Genesis 14:1, 5; Numbers 22– 24; Joshua 24:9; Genesis 36:12, 16; Exodus 17:8– 16; Numbers 24:20; Deuteronomy 25:17– 19; 1 Kings 14:48, 15:2.
14. “not accept the splendor . . . evil and damnation” – Maimonides, *Perplexed* 1:7.
15. “(as Porphyry said) . . . they were made that way” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §38.
16. “Surely have I not . . . is the devil” – John 6:70.
17. “Behemoth” – Job 40:15.
18. “Leviathan” – Isaiah 17:1.

Chapter 29. Of the characters and seals of spirits.

1. J.F. translated as “secret.” The Latin here is *sacra*.

2. “Porphyry said . . . feminine sex” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:7; ref. Compagni ref. Porphyry, *De Cultu* fr. 1.
3. “those noted by Peter De Abano . . . Ω” – Trithemius, *Polygraphiae* 6:q4.

Chapter 30. Another method of characters from the kabbalistic tradition.

1. “the passage of the rivers” – De Balmes, *Grammatica Hebraea* b6; Panthaeus, *Voarchadumia* 15; Tory, Champ Fleury, though Tory called them “Chaldean letters.”
2. See Book Two, ch. 19.
3. The order of the Hebrew letters in the second class and the bottom row of the following image vary in some editions of *Three Books*. Compagni reproduced an incorrect version of both the letters and the image. The correct version, found in the 1533 Cologne edition, is reproduced here. J.F. and Tyson likewise reproduced the correct version.
4. “There is another kind . . . perfect compositions” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:n4.
5. The J.F. version of this sigil is upside down. J.F. may have used either the 1550 edition of *Three Books* or Agrippa’s *Opera Omnia*, both of which have this image upside down. The version included here is from the 1533 edition and is more consistent with the graphic above it.

Chapter 31. Yet another method of characters and seals of spirits, which are only received by revelation.

1. The Latin here means “In this conquer,” which is slightly different than the more common phrase from Constantine’s conversion story: *In hoc signo vinces*, “in this sign conquer.”
2. *Hygieia*.
3. “Of this kind is a seal . . . Tetragrammaton” – Reuchlin, *Art* 3:o6.
4. “Additionally, Porphyry said . . . dreams and answer” – Pico, *De Rerum* 7:2; ref. Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:11, from fragments of Porphyry’s *De Philosophia*.
5. “Pay attention . . . in your dreams” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:12; ref. Porphyry fr. of *De Philosophia*.
6. “Of such kind . . . daemons of the pagans” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:14.
7. “Hence, Iamblichus . . . did these things negligently” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:d2; ref. Porphyry, fr. of *De Philosophia*.

Chapter 32. How we can draw good daemons to us, and how we can conquer evil daemons.

2. J.F. left this phrase out. Agrippa's Latin reads as *per adepta conceptitia* (literally "by obtaining conception"), but Apuleius has *adyta Coptica*. I've restored the original Latin from Apuleius, as this is most likely a simple error.
3. "by the heavenly stars . . . of Pharos" – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 2:28. "sistrums of Pharos" missing in J.F.
4. The 1903 Griffin translation of Eusebius says: "seated upon the lotus." Since the Latin for lotus is *lotus*, and the Latin for place is *loco* or *locus* are so similar, this is likely an error.
5. "You, who have risen . . . zodiacal sign" – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:10; ref. Porphyry, *Epistula* 31.
6. "these kinds of symbolic . . . to be revealed" – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:8; from fragments of Porphyry's *De Philosophia*.
7. "But the sharing of . . . in our souls" – Ficino, *Apologiam* 1,388.
8. "Cyprian said . . . swearer aspires" – Cyprian, *De Idolorum* 7.
9. J.F. said "68th psalm." The Latin here is *quam initium sexagesimi septimi psalmi*.
10. "And Athanasius . . . devil disappears" – Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 14; ref. Psalms 67:2.
11. "Origen . . . daemons" – Origen, *Contra* 1:6.
12. "I will call . . . change his shape" – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:732– 38.
13. "From Philostratus, . . . like a shadow" – Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 2:4.
14. "Indeed, as terrible as . . . especially convene daemons" – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:10; ref. Porphyry, *Epistula* 31; Compagni cites Chaeremon, *Fragments* 3.
15. *Larvae* is Latin for "ghost."
16. "good and inoffensive . . . plague ceased" – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:g4; ref. Plotinus, *Enneads* 3:4, 3– 6; Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*. Edited by R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963 7:27; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4:25, 4:10.

Chapter 33. Of the chains of spirits, and of their adjurations and expulsions.

1. I.e., hell or infernal regions.
2. "song of the three children" – Daniel 3:52– 90.

3. “Praise the Lord of the heavens” – Psalms 148:1.
4. “As the lion . . . suddenly disappear” – Proclus, *De Sacrificio* 1,929.
5. “after universal . . . particular soul” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 10>29.
6. “curse of the serpent in the earthly Paradise” – Genesis 3:14.
7. “raising of serpents in the desert” – Numbers 21:8– 9.
8. “You will walk . . . and dragon” – Psalms 91:13. Agrippa seems to be in error by writing “99th Psalm.” The Latin here is *nonagesimi noni Psalmi*.

Chapter 34. Of the animistical order and heroes.

1. “Fulgentius . . . Vértumnus once were” – Fulgentius, *Expositio* 11.
2. “they excelled in this life . . . Lactantius also followed” – Lactantius, *Divinarum* 2:14.
3. “but Plato, . . . of Apollo” – St. Jerome, *Adversus* 1:42.
4. I added a few connecting words here for clarity. J.F.’s translation makes the king’s name the name of a place.
5. “certain Gothic women . . . begat the Huns” – Jordanes, *Origins* 24, though it may not be Agrippa’s direct source. Jordanes called these women *Haliurunnae*. This seems to be a Latinized version of the Proto-Germanic word *halja-witjan*, meaning “witch.”
6. “author Psellus . . . small creatures arise” – Psellus, *Operation* 1,940.
7. “Eusebius narrated . . . Apollonius of Tyana” – Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem* 42.
8. *Meschihae*.
9. “sit upon the twelve . . . precious stones” – Revelation 21:11– 14.
10. This is a possible reference to Ptolemy in *Tetrabiblos*: regions of the earth assigned to signs.
11. “But their true names are . . . we call Mathias” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 12.
12. Quinariis.
13. “After these are the seventy-two . . . and languages” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:7, 23. Agrippa, from Giorgio, seems to have confused “disciple” (two paragraphs up) and “apostle.” The seventy-two apostles were unnamed messengers of Jesus’s word in Luke 10.

Chapter 35. Of mortal and earthly gods.

1. "I have made you a god to Pharaoh" – Exodus 7:1.
2. "You will not speak ill of the gods" – Exodus 22:28.
3. "If the theft lies hidden, . . . to the gods" – Exodus 22:8.
4. "The princes of the people . . . vehemently lifted up" – Psalms 46:10.
5. "God stood . . . judged the gods" – Psalms 81:1.
6. "I have said you are gods and all of you sons of the Most High" – Psalms 81:6.
7. "I reigned then . . . bodies of humans" – Ovid, *Fasti* 1:247– 48.
8. "The divine Plato . . . with divine honors" – Plato, *Republic* 3:414a.
9. Wednesday, in Latin, *Mercurii*.
10. Thursday.
11. Odin. Agrippa's spelling here reflects the pronunciation of the letter ð. This evolved to become d or dh during the Middle Ages, producing the "Odin" spelling that is more familiar in modern English usage.
12. "as Saxo . . . Danish Kings" – Saxo, *Danish History* 6.
13. "It rained . . . share command" – Virgil, fr. 256 in *Theologia Latina*.
14. "Sun, do not move . . . voice of man" – Joshua 10:12– 14.
15. "Moses divided the Red Sea" – Exodus 14:21– 22.
16. "Joshua the Jordan" – Joshua 3:15– 17.
17. "Alexander the Macedonian marched his army" – Compagni cited Callisthenes fr. 25 in *Fragmenta in Scriptores Rerum Alexandri Magni*, ed. C. Muller, Paris 1846; Pliny, *Lives Alexander* 812– 13.
18. "high priest that year" – John 11:49– 51.

Chapter 36. Of how man was created in the image of God.

1. "The Almighty God . . . enjoy his delights" – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 1; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum* 15 § 6.
2. "God also created man in His image" – Genesis 1:27.
3. "as the image of God . . . world is man" – *Corpus Hermeticum* 8, §5.
4. "hence they . . . image of an image" – see also Lazarelli, *Crater* p. 64, 71– 72, 77.
5. "since the world is immortal . . . vacuum is nowhere" – *Corpus Hermeticum* 8, §1.

6. “we say a man dies . . . turns into nothing” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 12, §16.
7. “Therefore it is necessary . . . men every creature” – Pico, *Heptaplus* 5:6; ref. Mark 16:15.
8. In Agrippa, *Xystus*. Probably Quintus Sextus.
9. Compagni made an error here, writing *conversatur* instead of *conservatur*.
10. “Hence Sextus . . . like iron to a magnet” this is an aggregate of several chapters from Giorgio, *Harmonia*: 1:6, 32– 33; 3:6, 4; 1:5, 10; 3:6, 1; 3:1, 7; 3:4, 6; ref. Sextus, *Sentences* 46; 1 Corinthians 3:16; 2 Corinthians 6:16.
11. “And Geber . . . greater wonders” – Geber, *Summa* 1:1.
12. “made a son of God . . . united with Him” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:5, 1; ref. John 1:12; 2 Corinthians 3:18.
13. Book Three, ch. 13.
14. “But there are other theologians . . . represents the trinity [he describes.]” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 33; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, §12, 12, §12– 13, 15, §10.
15. J.F. translated as “natural spirit.” The Latin here is *spiritu rationali*.
16. See Book Three, chapter 43 for a more in-depth explanation of this term.
17. “but this is driven by the rational spirit . . . an evil daemon” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:5, 1; 3:5, 3– 4; ref. *Plotinus*, *Enneads* 5:3 2– 3; *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §10; Genesis 2:7, 1; 1 Corinthians 2:14; Hebrews 4:12; Romans 7:23.
18. “Mercury . . . as immortality” *Corpus Hermeticum* 12, §12.
19. “without which nothing can accomplished” John 1:3.
20. “Mercury [Trismegistus] the shining son of the mind” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, §6.
21. “all of our speeches . . . a divine voice” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>20.
22. *Secretis Dogmaticus*.
23. “And Aristotle . . . otherwise they are nothing” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 2; ref. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1:2, 339a, *Nicomachean* 10:8, 1179a, *Secrets* 4.
24. J.F. translated as “universal.” The Latin here is *univoca*.
25. “From your form, . . . borne a spirit” – Isaiah 28:17– 18.
26. “This, in a certain . . . of a virgin” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 8:1; ref. St. Jerome, *Adversus* 1:42. The Latin is in error, saying “begat a virgin from his side,” which is also how J.F. translated this. The legend is that Buddha was conceived and was born from the right side of his mother, Maya. The Latin here is *e latere suo virginem generasse*.

27. J.F. translated as “impassible.” The Latin here is *impassibilis*. The mistranslation is understandable, but the idea here is that the person has a life without suffering.
28. “The word of the Father made flesh” – John 1:14.
29. “Jesus Christ, has revealed this secret . . . sons of God” – Lazzarelli, *Crater* 78– 79.
30. “nor from the will of man, or blood, but born from God” – John 1:13.
31. “It is a univocal generation . . . as the begetter” – Lazzarelli, *Crater* 77.

Chapter 37. Of the human soul, and by which medium it is joined to the body.

1. “The human soul . . . the eternal Word” – Lazzarelli, *Crater* 73.
2. “The soul is a substantial number, . . . multiplied by parts” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:5, 9.
3. “Therefore, the soul . . . understand everything” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2, 1.
4. “according to Platonic opinion . . . chariot of the soul” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 10:1; ref. Plato, *Phaedrus* 246– 48.
5. “This medium, appointed by God, . . . souls to punishment” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 18:1; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 41e, *Phaedo* 107d.

Chapter 38. What divine gifts man receives from above from each of the orders of the celestials and intelligences.

1. “All virtues are diffused . . . itself and others” – This planetary list is a distillation of Macrobius, *Commentarii* 1:12, and Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 11, 1:6, 17, 30.
2. This does not refer to Lunar mansions but rather the source dwelling place of the soul.
3. “those who seek the virtues . . . which it descended” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 2.
4. “beasts in the land . . . birds in the air” – Genesis 1:28.
5. “from the angels . . . finally hold fast to them” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 32.
6. “These are degrees . . . be gained” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:8, 5.
7. “As man is . . . we have shown above” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 1.

Chapter 39. How superior influences, since they have a good nature,

are distorted in these inferiors and are made causes of evil.

1. “Because all virtues . . . hurts ourselves” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:3, 8– 9; ref. Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 6:8.
2. “O outrage, . . . own ill fate” – Homer, *Odyssey* 1:28– 31.
3. “when the perverseness . . . superior influences” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 9.
4. *intrinseco* – J.F. translated as “intrinseral,” which Tyson mistranscribed as “iatrinseral.” Tyson noted *iatrinseral* as meaning “medical” (from the Latin *iatro*), which of course is not Agrippa’s intention.
5. “Therefore harmful qualities . . . receive good” – Giorgio, *Harmonia*, mixture of 1:3, 11 and 3:1, 3; ref. Proclus, *Alcibiadem* 1,909; Psalms 77:49; Ptolemy (attr.), *Centiloquy* 5.

Chapter 40. That each man is impressed with a divine character from whose power he can attain wonderful works.

1. “With no small amount . . . shines on it more” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 7– 8; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 8:4, §9; Philostratus, *Apollonius* 2:11– 16; Genesis 4:14; Judges 14:5– 6; 1 Samuel 17:37 (Vulgate 1 Kings 17:37); Daniel 6:1– 24; 2 Kings 2:24 (Vulgate 4 Kings 2:24); Acts 28:3– 9.

Chapter 41. What various opinions are concerning man after death.

1. “It has been decided . . . die once” – Hebrews 9:27.
2. “agreement was delivered . . . some other strangulation” – Sanhedrin 4:5.
3. From the Greek ἄδραστος, meaning “inescapable.” – It is also the name of a legendary king of Argos who won a victory according to a prediction from an oracle.
4. “The great Origen . . . undergo retaliation” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 3:27; ref. Origen, *Contra* 2:10; Matthew 26:52.
5. Plotinus’s literal title is “Concerning the Daemon Allotted to Us.”
6. “Plotinus wrote . . . many more like this” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:6, 14; ref. Plotinus, *Enneads* 3:4, 2; Proverbs 28:1, 15, 26:11, 23:5, 30:25, 28, 30, 31.
7. “Hebrew kabbalists . . . purgation from sins” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 3:27; Zohar 2:6.
8. “He has . . . light of the living” – Job 33:28– 30.
9. “Dust returns . . . who gave it” – Ecclesiastes 12:7.

10. “What is from the earth . . . temples of heaven” – Lucretius, *Nature* 2:999– 1,001.
11. Orcus is a Roman god of the underworld. It was also often a name for the underworld itself.
12. “But Ovid . . . long for the stars” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g4. The ancient identity of this verse is unclear.
13. “Therefore, with the flesh . . . daemon Zazel” – Zohar 1:1.
14. “You will eat the earth for all of your days” – Genesis 3:14.
15. “Dust is your bread” – Isaiah 65:25.
16. “not without . . . buried in a sacred place” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:3, 6.
17. “I ask you, Ulysses . . . anger the gods” – Homer, *Odyssey* 11:71– 73.
18. In this section, J.F. continually translated *mente* (mind) as “soul” and *anima* (soul) as “spirit.”
19. “And now the great . . . under the earth” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:654; Ficino, *Legibus* 1,514.
20. “Whereby this soul . . . because of its sins” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 18:10; Aquinas, *Gentiles* 3:61.
21. Indeed, this divine vision . . . wrath of God” – Revelation 16:1.
22. “Therefore, this image . . . permitting it” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 16:5; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:386; Plato, *Laws* 9:865d– e.
23. “Thus, as Hebrew teachers . . . Ramod Galaad” – Ricius, *Talmud* e3; ref. 1 Kings 21:1– 14, 22:1– 14 (Vulgate 3 Kings 21:1– 14, 22:1– 14); 2 Chronicles 18:21; Sanhedrin 11:1– 2.
24. “Virgil . . . under the earth” – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:i1– i2; Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:653– 55; Plato, *Phaedo* 107d; Augustine, (attr.) *De Spiritu* 30.
25. “Algazel . . . dispositions remain” – Algazel, *Metaphysics* 2:5, 4; Avicenna, *Metaphysics* 9:7.
26. “Who suffered . . . their merits” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:660– 64.
27. “although they . . . happy fields” – Lactantius, *Institutionum* 7:20.
28. “They came . . . happy homes” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:638– 39.
29. “where they . . . revealed knowledge” – Lactantius, *Institutionum* 7:20.
30. “just as Christ . . . spirits in prison” – 1 Peter 3:19.
31. *Institutionum* 7:21.
32. *Against Heresies* 5:31.
33. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6:6.

- [34.](#) *De Anima* 55.
- [35.](#) *Enchiridion* 29.
- [36.](#) *Bono Mortis* 10.
- [37.](#) Lactantius, *Institutionum* 7:20.
- [38.](#) J.F. translated this as “prophethess,” but Tyson attributed this error to Agrippa. The Latin here is *vate*.
- [39.](#) “Without a doubt, Homer . . . mother assisting him” – Homer, *Odyssey* 11:82– 91, 145– 54.
- [40.](#) Why when . . . paid off” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:735– 40; Lactantius, *Institutionum* 7:20.
- [41.](#) “Indeed, as the morals . . . a dense body” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 18:10.
- [42.](#) “From here in the concupiscible . . . as if they were real” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 18:10; ref. Homer, *Odyssey* 11; Diodorus, *Library of History* 2:23– 28; Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 11
- [43.](#) “Therefore, Orpheus . . . people of dreams” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 18:10; ref. Orpheus, *Argonautica* 1,142.
- [44.](#) “When such wicked souls . . . running rivers” – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:i2; Virgil, *Georgics* 4:406– 11.
- [45.](#) “unclean soul of a man, . . . offends the body and spirit” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 18:10.
- [46.](#) “Therefore, they enforce . . . burned by fire” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:739– 42.
- [47.](#) *Necyomantia*. This was a common ancient title for Homer’s eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus descended into the underworld.
- [48.](#) “I saw the famous . . . on each side” – Homer, *Odyssey* 11:576– 78; Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio* 28.
- [49.](#) “Sometimes these souls . . . sometimes also men” – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:g4; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum* 10, §7– 8.
- [50.](#) “the soul of Naboth, . . . mouths of prophets” – 1 Samuel 21:1– 4, 22:1– 4 (Vulgate 1 Kings 21:1– 4, 22:1– 4).
- [51.](#) “as we read of Elias, . . . to seventy men” – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:g6; ref. 2 Kings 2:9– 15 (Vulgate 4 Kings 2:9– 15); Numbers 11:25.
- [52.](#) “from Saxo Grammaticus . . . with a stake” – Saxo, *Danish History* 5.
- [53.](#) “Pausanias referred . . . skeleton left” – Pausanias, *Description* 10:28.
- [54.](#) “Here the Cimmerian . . . wretched men” – Homer, *Odyssey* 11:14– 19.
- [55.](#) The cave of St. Patrick is a small sanctuary on Station Island in Ireland, also called St. Patrick’s Purgatory. It is sometimes described as having a pit that, according to legend, provided visitors proof of purgatory.

- [56.](#) Aetna is an active volcano in Sicily, and Vulcan may be a cave there.
- [57.](#) The exact identity is unclear. There is a monastery dedicated to St. Benedict built over his famous cave in Norcia, which may be a possible candidate.
- [58.](#) “Accordingly, Saxo . . . Ugarthilocus” – Saxo, *Danish History* 8.
- [59.](#) *Natural History* 4:13, §95.
- [60.](#) *Collectanea* 19:12.
- [61.](#) Compagni cites *Fragmenta*, ed. H.J. Mette 11b.
- [62.](#) Compagni cites *Fragmenta*, in F. Wehrli, *Die Schilke des Aristoteles*, unknown fragment.
- [63.](#) “Tacitus, in his history . . . men and animals” – Tacitus, *Annals* 2:24.
- [64.](#) “In his book . . . other beasts” – Tacitus, *Germany* 46.
- [65.](#) “There is a place . . . figures passing” – Claudianus, *Rufinum* 1:123– 28.
- [66.](#) “Aristotle wrote . . . saw and endured” – Aristotle, *Wonderful Things Heard* 101, 838b.
- [67.](#) These two Norwegian mountains are unknown, but Agrippa’s source may have been Franciscus Irenicus’s *Germaniae exegeseos volumina duodecim*, published in 1518, which has a similar passage in Book Ten, ch. 18.
- [68.](#) A German state.
- [69.](#) “Of this Tertullian . . . fullness of reward” – Tertullian, *Adversus* 4:34.
- [70.](#) “You force me, . . . have done well” – Pope Clement I, *Recognitiones* 1:52; ref. Matthew 3:17.
- [71.](#) “Likewise, Irenaeus . . . given this honor” – *Adversus* 5:31; ref. Psalms 22:4; Jonah 2:1; Matthew 10:24– 25, 12:40; Luke 6:40; John 13:16.
- [72.](#) “No one should think . . . certain punishment” – Lactantius, *Institutionum* 7:21.
- [73.](#) “the time, which is interposed . . . lived in the flesh” – Augustine, *Enchiridion* 29, §109.
- [74.](#) “The Scripture of Ezra . . . glory for others” – Ambrose, *Bono Mortis* 10; ref. 2 Ezra 5:42, 7:32– 33.
- [75.](#) “The soul is loosened . . . in suspense” – Ambrose, *Cain* 2:2.
- [76.](#) “Many will say . . . I never knew them” – Matthew 7:22– 23.
- [77.](#) “Therefore, because the judgment of souls . . . cave of Dis” – Aquinas, *Supplementum* 71:5.
- [78.](#) “It is better to doubt . . . from the argumentative” – Augustine, *Genesis* 8:5; ref. Luke 16:22– 24.

Chapter 42. By what methods magicians and necromancers think they can summon the souls of the dead.

1. “it should be clear that souls . . . affinity to them” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §47. Agrippa added “moist” here. This may be a copyist error.
2. “sorceress who summoned Samuel” – 1 Kings 28:11– 20.
3. “prophet of Thessaly who raised a corpse” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:719– 25.
4. “souls of the dead cannot be summoned . . . teaches Ulysses” – Homer, *Odyssey* 10:516– 30.
5. “that witch Erichtho . . . Pharsalian war” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6:624– 820.
6. “in Phigalia, . . . summon souls to life” – Pausanias, *Description* 3:17, §9.
7. “female sorceress summoned the soul of Samuel” – 1 Kings 28:11– 20.
8. “two kinds of necromancy . . . the shade suffices” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* praef.
9. “because from experience . . . stygian invocations” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §47.
10. “implore through the formless . . . arrogant daemons” – Virgil, *Georgics* 8:264, 11:166, *Aeneid* 5:99.
11. “Those who would truly . . . joined to the body” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 7.
12. “all of these skills . . . of a girl” – Reuchlin, *Art* 2:g4; ref. 2 Kings 4:32– 37 (Vulgate 4 Kings 4:32– 37); Euripides, *Alcestis* 1,005– 40; Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:45.
13. In the *Republic*, his name is Er. It is unclear where Agrippa got Phereus. Reuchlin is consistent with Plato.
14. “a certain Phereus . . . time of death” – Plato, *Republic* 10:614a; Reuchlin, *Art* 2:g4.

Chapter 43. Of the power of the human soul in the mind, reason, and idolum.

1. Regrettably, I feel that I need to leave this word untranslated, which is contrary to my normal approach. The literal translation of *idolum* is “specter” or “image” and, of course, “idol.” However, Agrippa is using *idolum* in a different way, which he borrowed from Ficino. Essentially *idolum* is the “simulacra” to the soul and describes the lowest of three levels of the soul. *Platonic Theology*, 13:2, variously described *idolum* as: if the mind is the soul’s Sun, then reason is the light, and the *idolum* is the rays of light. He also described the mind as the head of the soul, reason the body, and the *idolum* as the feet. He says that the highest *idolum* is the *idolum* of the World Soul, which is connected to the *idola* of the twelve spheres, and thus the *idolum* of rational souls depends on the *idolum* of the World Soul. This transmission of the highest *idolum* to the lowest is fate. The ideal of an image or likeness is most likely due to a connection between the *idolum* and imagination and

giving form to reason. J.F. consistently translated *idolum* as “sense” or “sensitive.” I believe simply calling it “idol,” “specter,” “likeness,” or “image” doesn’t make it clear. *Idolum* is a loan word from the Greek εἶδωλον, *eidolon*, meaning the same thing.

2. “The human soul consists . . . the first light” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 3:h4.
3. “Indeed, the first light . . . flame of fire” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4.
4. “immediately move the body . . . Peter the exorcist” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2, 11; ref. Acts 8:38– 40, 12:7– 10; Daniel 14:33– 38.
5. J.F. translated this as “strong and exalted imagination.” The Latin here is *fortis imaginatio et exterminata*.
6. “same virtue is in every man . . . universal virtue” – Maimonides, *Perplexed* 2:38.
7. “Al-Kindi . . . vehicle of sense” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 5>45; ref. al-Kindi, *Stellar* 5; Bacon, *Opus Maius* 5:1, 4; Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:3, 11; Proclus, *Elementatio* 207, 209; Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:747.
8. “Thoughts are made stronger . . . must obey” – Maimonides, *Perplexed* 2:38.
9. “Thus, Moses’s face . . . his face” – Giorgio, *Harmonia*; ref. 2 Corinthians 3:7.
10. This story most likely refers to Plato, *Symposium* 220c– d, where Socrates stood in one spot for an entire day studying a problem. From the context it appears to be inspired by Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2, but there are several differences.
11. “we read that Socrates . . . Sun and Moon” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. Plato, *Symposium* 220c– d; Ecclesiasticus 44:16; 2 Kings 2:11 (Vulgate 4 Kings 2:11); 2 Corinthians 12:1– 4.
12. “Avicbron . . . Chaldean school” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 2:6; ref. Avicbron, *Fons* 3:44; *Avicenna*, *Philosophia* 10:3.
13. “Historical records show . . . of his mouth” – Rhodiginus, *Lectionum* 8:26.
14. “mind is above fate . . . in this idolum” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
15. Book One, ch. 63.
16. Book One, ch. 55.
17. “man, by the nature of his body, . . . contemplating itself” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
18. “Indeed, it is possible . . . to phantoms” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 5>19.
19. “Finally, so great . . . something else” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
20. “neither supernal influences . . . of the tyrant” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:1; Cicero, *Tusculan* 2:22, §52, *Nature* 3:3; Laetius, *Lives* 9:10, §59.

Chapter 44. Of the degrees of souls and their perishing or immortality.

1. See previous chapter. Again J.F. translated this as “sensitive.”
2. “when the mind . . . rather than ‘falling’” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 6>9 and 21:1.
3. “not all men attain this mind . . . corporeal senses” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 4, §3– 5.
4. “There the destruction . . . nothing more than beasts” – Ecclesiastes 3:19.
5. “Augustine wrote . . . rises again with them” – Augustine, *De Haeresibus* 83.
6. “those who are supported . . . consider goodness itself ” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 4, §3– 5; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:7, 18, 2.
7. J.F. translated this as “rational intelligence.” The Latin here is *imaginem*.
8. “shared this belief . . . *Spirit and the Soul* ” – Augustine (attr.), *Spiritu* 8, 30.
9. “Indian, Persian . . . unless by transcorporation” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 21:8.
10. “indeed, they say . . . same birth” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2, 6.
11. “yet distinguished from each other . . . rewards to rewards” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2– 3; ref. Scotus, *Quodlibetales* 2; Wisdom 8:19; Matthew 25:15; Ephesians 4:11– 12; Origen, *De Principiis* 2:9, §3.
12. Meaning having a set form.
13. “all noble souls have a fourfold . . . individual essentiality” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 6>2.
14. “Therefore, the form . . . not falling” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 9>12.

Chapter 45. Of prophecy and frenzy.

1. “Hermes [Trismegetus] called . . . ‘souls of daemons’” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §24.
2. Agrippa made a minor error here. He wrote “Eurideas.” The “d” in the name was probably a printing error or the type bled together—often a problem with early printed works.
3. “Ancients called . . . *Obsolescence of Oracles*” – Plutarch, *Obsolescence* 9.
4. “Cicero followed . . . you are gods” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 3; ref. Cicero, *Divinatione* 2:6, §15– 17; Ptolomy (attr.), *Centiloquy* 1; 2 Peter 1:21; Isaiah 41:23.

Chapter 46. Of the first kind of frenzy: from the Muses.

1. “Frenzy is an inspiration coming from souls, gods, or daemons” – Ficino, *Symposium* 7:13.
2. “A god is in us . . . spirits come” – Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 3:549– 50; Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:b4.
3. “Plato defined . . . own power” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 4; ref. Plato, *Phaedrus* 244– 45, 265a– b.
4. “There are four . . . more inferior” – Ficino, *Symposium* 7:14.
5. The lowest of these . . . alligations and suspensions of those” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.
6. “selenite . . . excel in prediction” – Pliny, *Natural History* 37:10, §114– 15, 168; 25:8, §106; 24:17, §164.
7. Selenite, hyena stone, verbenia, and theangelidam are all mentioned in Book One, ch. 38.
8. “The second level . . . mixed with each other” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.
9. “of this kind . . . things to come” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 151.
10. “And Rabbi Moses . . . speak oracles” – Ricius, *Compendium* 38. A *iedua* or *yeduah* is a legendary plant that appears to sprout not men but lambs with stems attached to their bellies like an umbilical cord. This might be confused with the mandrake, also used to prophesy, which said to appear as a man. It is also worth noting that casting lots, such as with animal bones, was often associated with Mercury/Hermes, as opposed to higher oracles, such as the Delphic, with Apollo/ the Sun.
11. “The third level . . . rouses the mind” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.
12. “Hermes, Pythagoras, and Plato” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §9; Plato, *Republic* 3:401d– 402e, for Pythagoras, Compagni cites fragment d1 from *Die Fragmente* by H. Diels and W. Kranz, though Agrippa’s direct source is unknown.
13. “Calamensian priest . . . rapture and ecstasy” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. Augustine, *City of God* 14:24.
14. “fifth level agrees with Mars . . . a quiet mind” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
15. “I say here . . . not contemplation” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:6, 16.
16. “eighth level . . . heavenly intelligences” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.
17. Tyson wrote this as “energies.” This is a typo, and J.F. translated it correctly. The Latin here is *effigem*.
18. “Finally, now cease . . . all characters” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:9; ref. Porphyry, *De Philosophia* 2.

Chapter 47. Of the second kind of frenzy: from Dionysus.

1. “second frenzy . . . into the mind” – Ficino, *Symposium* 7:14, *Ionem* 1,282.

2. Agrippa wrote *Cois*, a typo carried over from Giorgio. The original Latin is *Cres*. J.F. translated it as “Cous.”
3. “not in signs, . . . distinct voice” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 4; ref. Cicero, *Divination* 1:18, §34.
4. “thus Socrates . . . form of a daemon” – Apuleius, *Daemon* 19; ref. Plato, *Apology* 31d.
5. “Indeed, prophetic spirits . . . many others” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 1:4, 13.
6. “Thus, Adam . . . Elijah with Maltiel” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 1; except Joshua and Daniel. J.F. translated Maltiel as “Malbiel.”
7. The Latin here is *Manne*, which is normally the Latin for “manna.” J.F. translated this as “Manoah,” which is normally *Manue* in Latin. This is likely correct, since *Manne* appears to be a typographical error.
8. “Sometimes these spirits . . . mortal throats” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:8; ref. Porphyry, *De Philosophia* 2; Numbers 22:28; 1 Kings 10:10.

Chapter 48. Of the third kind of frenzy: from Apollo.

1. “third kind of frenzy . . . deities and daemons” – Ficino, *Symposium* 7:14.
2. “We read of . . . applied” – ref. 1 Kings 23:9– 12.
3. Three of the cardinal virtues in Catholic doctrine. This is not part of Jewish doctrine, and the Catholic virtues were sometimes added to Christian kabbalistic texts in an effort to “legitimize” Jewish ideas, and also to convert Jews to Christianity.
4. “in the *Book of Senators* . . . prophesied to them” – Ricius, *Isagoge* concl. 23, Talmud e2. The story about the farmer appears in both books, but the story about the cakes only appears in *Isagoge*. Ref. 1 Kings 10– 13. Haraiscus from *Suidas* 2:450.
5. “So great is this . . . spirit of frenzy” – Maimonides, *Guide* 2:37.
6. “it is not incredible . . . restore them back again” – Ricius, *Isagoge* Talmud e2. This is also reminiscent of Daniel 4:25– 35, where Nebuchadnezzar was driven mad by God and then restored to sanity again.
7. Referring to the Oracle of Delphi.
8. “the human mind also . . . by that mystery” – Apuleius, *Apology* 43.
9. *Branchis*.
10. “Iamblichus said . . . of many things” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 20:1; ref. Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 3:4, 11.
11. A title for Bacchus, meaning “free.”

- [12.](#) J.F. translated as “wine.” The Latin here is *aqua*.
- [13.](#) “in the region of Thrace, . . . to complete things” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 21:3; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1:18, §7.
- [14.](#) J.F. translated this as “fountain of father Achaea.” This is because the Latin for “Patras” is *Patris*, which also means “father.” Patras is a city in Achaea.
- [15.](#) “prophetic fountain in Patras . . . or rejected them” – Pausanias, *Description* 7:21, §12.
- [16.](#) “narrated by Dio . . . dead and marriage” – Dio, *Roman* 41.
- [17.](#) “what Aristotle wrote . . . burn them to ashes” – Aristotle, *Wonderful Things* 57, 834b.
- [18.](#) “likewise an oak . . . blows to the basin” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 25:10; ref. Ausonius, *Epistles* 29.

Chapter 49. Of the fourth kind of frenzy: from Venus.

- [1.](#) “fourth kind of frenzy . . . image of God” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 14:1.
- [2.](#) “O Asclepius, . . . part is divine” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §6.
- [3.](#) “soul is likewise converted . . . formed from God” – Ficino, *Symposium* 2:4.
- [4.](#) J.F. translated this as “contract,” which is typically *contractus* in Latin. The Latin here is *contactu*.
- [5.](#) “Orpheus described . . . above understanding” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 5>6.
- [6.](#) This appears to be another example of Christian doctrine imposed onto Judaism.
- [7.](#) “the soul of man, . . . equal to them” – Lazzarelli, *Crater* 73– 74; ref. *Corpus Hermeticum* 10, §24.

Chapter 50. Of rapture, ecstasy, and predictions that happen to those taken with epilepsy, fainting, and those in a struggle [with death].

- [1.](#) “Rapture is a separation . . . back to heaven from above” – Ficino, *Symposium* 7:13, *Ionem* 1,281; Plato, *Phaedrus* 250d.
- [2.](#) “Plato said, . . . as it were dissolve” – Plato, *Phaedrus* 251 d– e.
- [3.](#) Book Three, ch. 46.
- [4.](#) “He lay down . . . burned or cut” – Augustine, *City of God* 14:24; Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
- [5.](#) “so great is the command . . . be an immortal god” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:g4; ref. *Les Mages hellenises* Bidez/Cumon Zoroaster, fr. 115 (cited by Compagni), *Corpus Hermeticum* 4, §8; Pythagoras, *Aurea Verba* 1,979.

6. Agrippa wrote this as “Atheus,” possibly due to unclear typography from his source.
7. “we read that Hermes, . . . true things from far away” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. Herodotus, *Histories* 4:13; Pliny, *Natural History* 7:52, §174.
8. J.F. translated this as “Lapland.” This may be correct, but I’ve been unable to verify it.
9. “according to Egyptian doctrine, . . . everywhere and always is” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2, 5.
10. “The soul of man . . . little to do with the body” – Cicero, *Divination* 1:50, §113; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 2.
11. “when it comes to that state . . . with the gods” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 5>29– 30; Plato, *Timaeus* 40e, *Sophist* 216c, *Phaedrus* 246d.
12. “those who faint . . . Arabs were excellent” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
13. “there are certain prophecies, . . . glassy waves” – Pico, *De Rerum* 3:8; ref. Statius, *Achilleid* 1:25– 26.
14. “those near death . . . offered to it” – Pico, *De Rerum* 2:6; Plato, *Crito* 44a– b, *Apology* 39c– d.
15. “Our soul is eager . . . even the celestial” – Ambrose, *De excessu* 2, §20– 21; ref. John 3:8.

Chapter 51. Of prophetic dreams.

1. “either by the enlightenment of the acting intellect over our soul” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 7:1.
2. “by the bare revelation of some divine will” – Pico, *Conclusiones*, Adelandi: 4.
3. “In dreams, . . . not been reported” – Synesius, *De Insomniis* 14.
4. “those who see [these dreams] . . . power of understanding” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 21:6.
5. “if one wishes to receive true dreams, . . . flowing from all things” – Synesius, *De Insomniis* 11, 16.
6. J.F. translated this as “divine sight.” The Latin here is *luscus oculus*.
7. “those who have a listless . . . [to appear] under it” – Synesius, *De Insomniis* 6.
8. “prophet Amphiarus . . . wine for three days” – Philostratus, *Apollonius* 2:37.
9. “soul cannot correctly prophesy . . . worship the gods” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. *Orphic Hymns* 85.
10. “They who seek answers . . . desiring to sleep” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 7:86– 88.
11. “And here the father . . . by the fleeces” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 7:92– 95.

- [12.](#) “rulers of the Lacedaemonians, . . . wished to know” – Cicero, *Divination* 1:43, §96; Pico, *De Rerum* 4:9.
- [13.](#) “there are four kinds of dreams . . . come to pass hereafter” – *Talmud* 1: *Berakhot* 9; ref. *Genesis* 41:32; *Daniel* 2:29.
- [14.](#) “hardly a dream without something foolish, . . . thirty-ninth year of age” – *Talmud* 1: *Berakhot* 9; ref. *Genesis* 37:9– 10.
- [15.](#) J.F. translated as “things causing dreams.” The Latin here is *obvincitis digitus somniorum annulis*.

Chapter 52. Of lots and marks holding the certain power of oracles.

- [1.](#) “goat offered to God, and of the scapegoat” – *Leviticus* 16:8– 10.
- [2.](#) “of the rods of the tribes of Israel” – *Numbers* 17:1– 6.
- [3.](#) “Moses and Joshua . . . precepts of God” – *Joshua* 14:2, 21:4– 42.
- [4.](#) “apostles of Christ . . . traitor by lots” – *Acts* 1:24– 26.
- [5.](#) “prophet Jonah, . . . storm ceased” – *Jonah* 1:3– 15.
- [6.](#) “Caesar told . . . escaped unharmed” – Caesar, *Gallic War* 1:53; Polydorus, *Dialogorum* 3.
- [7.](#) “In Bura, . . . sacrificial victims” – Pausanias, *Description* 7:25, §10.
- [8.](#) “Eleazar, the servant of Abraham” – *Genesis* 24:12– 14.
- [9.](#) “Gideon, the judge in Israel” – *Judges* 6:36– 40.
- [10.](#) “Pharis, a city in Achaea, . . . given as an oracle” – Pausanias, *Description* 7:22, §2– 3.
- [11.](#) “Surely, was not the choice . . . fall upon him” – *1 Kings* 10:20– 21.

Chapter 53. How one should dispose themselves if they wish to receive oracles.

- [1.](#) I’m translating this loosely. The Latin here is *sordis impetigine*, where *impetignie* literally means “attack” but also a kind of scaly pustule on the skin called “impetigo” in English. In this sense, it can also mean a disease or defect of the soul. Either way, the intention is clear. J.F. translated this as “polluted with no filthiness, and free from all guilt.”
- [2.](#) “He must purge and remove . . . restored to divine purity” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 1, §31.
- [3.](#) “Indeed, wisdom . . . those who embrace it” – *Proverbs* 3:18.

5. “He was a god, . . . such clear light” – Lucretius, *On the Nature* 5:8– 12.
6. “likewise understood . . . some divine frenzy” – Ficino, *Three Books* 1:5.
7. “just as Menos . . . by the Muses” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:b3.
8. “that is to say, that God is in all works . . . mix with the divine light” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 2; ref. Plato, *Phaedrus* 244a– e; *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, §22; Sextus, *Sententiae* 46; 1 Corinthians 3:16; 2 Corinthians 6:16; Philippians 4:13; John 15:5; Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1:2 339a, *Nicomachean* 10:8, 1179a, *Secrets* 4.
9. “when the soul is correctly purged, . . . sudden moment” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; Porphyry, *Abstinence* 1, §47– 48.
10. “Indeed, when David . . . apostles were educated” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:2, 6; ref. 1 Samuel 16:11– 13 (Vulgate 1 Kings 16:11– 13); 1 Kings 3:5– 15 (Vulgate 3 Kings 3:5– 15); Isaiah 6:8; Ezekiel 2– 3; Daniel 2:19.
11. “Indeed, it is common . . . living from above is necessary” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 3>40.
12. “by external expiation . . . its substantial form” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 3>66.

Chapter 54. Of cleanliness and how it must be observed.

1. J.F. translated as “things are in mind.” Most likely this is a typographical error. The Latin here is *quae insunt homini dissimilia coelo*.
2. “external cleanliness . . . around the body” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4.
3. *Bragmani*.
4. *Electreis* from the Greek ἤλεκτρον, Elektron.
5. “wool is a profane garment . . . grant pain” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4; ref. Hesiod, *Works* 724– 26, 740– 41.
6. “Hence from Virgil . . . from the river” – Beroaldus, *Commentarii* 11:1; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 2:717– 20, 4:634– 35.
7. “Aeneas gained . . . Fresh water” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:635– 36.
8. “He encircled his friends . . . olive branch” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:229– 30.
9. “Indeed, a man thus clean . . . never ascend” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 8.

Chapter 55. Of abstinence, fasting, chastity, solitude, tranquillity, and ascension of the mind.

1. “Abstinence likewise . . . temple of God” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §43, 45; 4, §2.
2. This refers to the ancient Greek idea of four-stage digestion. The first happens in the gastrointestinal tract and produces chyle (lymph and emulsified fats), resulting in feces. The second happens in the liver, producing the four humors, and its wastes are eliminated through bile, urine, and sweat. The third happens in the blood, feeding the organs, producing urine and sweat. The fourth brings together the four humors into living tissue, and its wastes are also urine and sweat.
3. “Christ accepted food . . . as if it was a spirit” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 6; ref. Exodus 34:28–29; 1 Kings 19:8 (Vulgate 3 Kings 19:8).
4. “Indeed, a tempered . . . while awake” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2.
5. “Thus, Brahmins . . . taught lower Indians” – Giorgio, *Harmonia*, Proem.; ref. Philostratus, *Apollonius* 2:26, 30. The phrase “lower Indians” is not clear whether this means a lower caste or a region.
6. “servants of injustice . . . evil deeds” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 13, §7.
7. J.F. translated this as “suffocated with the body.” The Latin here is *torpore*.
8. J.F. likely read it as *corpore*. “Athenian priests . . . divine things” – Crinitus, *De Honesta* 9:10; ref. St. Jerome, *Jovianum* 1:49, §320.
9. “chastity of a mind . . . temple of the gods” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. *Hymns of Orpheus*, Prologue.
10. “We must also abstain . . . passions of this sort” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 1, §31.
11. “Cicero . . . sickness of the mind” – Cicero, *Tusculan* 3:2–4.
12. “A thousand passions for girls and for boys” – Horace, *Satires* 2:3, 325.
13. “there is a limitless number of fools” – Ecclesiastes 1:15.
14. “Also, you, . . . where they reign” – Boethius, *Consolation* 1:6.
15. “We read . . . for a long time” – Porphyry, *Abstinence* 1, §36.
16. “Indeed, the mind . . . divinities think” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2. J.F. translated this very differently: “prepared to receive the gifts of the celestial deities.” The Latin here is *quotidie sentit quae coelestia numina cogitant efficere*.
17. “Thus, when Moses . . . holy scriptures” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. Exodus 3–4.
18. “Thus . . . hidden for ten years” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:2; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 11:42, §242, Hymns of Orpheus, Prologue; Laetius, *Lives* 1:10.
19. “Heraclitus and Democritus for the same reason were delighted with solitude” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:4, 4; ref. Laetius, *Lives* 9:1, 7; Cicero, *Tusculan* 5:39.

20. “mind is to be segregated . . . act uniformly” – Proclus, *Alcibiades* 1,922.

Chapter 56. Of penance and alms.

1. “those who repent their sin are innocent” – Seneca, *Tragedies*, Agamemnon §243.

2. “sword of the spirit is the Word of God” – Ephesians 6:17.

3. “Cursed is he who keeps his sword from blood” – Jeremiah 48:10.

4. “A sword is in their lips” – Psalms 58:8.

5. “it must be explained . . . directed to good” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:6, 11.

6. “Often sins . . . repent their sins” – Ovid, *Epistles* 1:58– 59.

7. “highest Truth . . . possess eternal life” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:6, 11; ref. Luke 11:41; Ecclesiasticus 3:33; Daniel 4:24; Tobias 4:11; Matthew 6:12; Luke 11:4; Matthew 19:29; Mark 10:30.

8. “I was hungry . . . done to me” – Matthew 25:42, 40.

9. “Antinous, how terribly . . . sins of men” – Homer, *Odyssey* 17:483– 87.

Chapter 57. Of those things that are administered externally that bring expiation.

1. “Let the old woman . . . trembling hands” – Ovid, *Ars* 2:329– 30.

2. “Proclus also wrote . . . fiery portion” – Proclus, *Sacrificio* 1,929. “Fiery portion” may refer to saltwater’s drying quality and the fact that it causes thirst.

3. “herb cinquefoil purifies . . . in purifications” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:12.

4. “olive trees planted . . . entirely dry up” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 46.

5. This also appears to be valerian. Also mentioned in Book One, ch. 28 as a Venusian herb.

6. Probably mandrake. See James George Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*. London: Macmillan, 1918, p. 392. See also Book Three, ch. 46, footnote 10.

7. J.F. translated this as “sacrificing around the earth.” The Latin here is *terram circumcirca scarificantes*.

8. “Josephus, a serious author . . . immediately freed from it” – Josephus, *Jewish War* 7:6, §3; 7:25, §23– 29.

9. J.F. translated this as “waters.” The Latin here is *materias*.

10. “William of Auvergne testified, . . . souls that come near” – Auvergne, *De Universo* 1:1, 55.

Chapter 58. Of adorations and vows.

1. “Adorations, vows, . . . God and souls” – Iamblichus, *Mysterries* 5:26.

2. J.F. translated this as “in a divine ray.” The Latin here is *per radium divinum*.

3. “Indeed, we bring together . . . speak in me” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 10; ref. Dionysius, *Theologia* 1:4; Psalms 84:9.

4. “Therefore, if an adoration . . . otherwise might befall us” – Iamblichus, *Mysterries* 5:26.

5. “The angry god . . . voice of prayer” – Ovid, *Ars* 1:441.

6. “I have often seen Jove . . . gift of frankincense” – Ovid, *Fasti* 5:301–2.

7. “Man is returned . . . nectar to drink” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:6, 16; ref. Plato, *Phaedrus* 247e. Nectar and ambrosia in Greek mythology are the foods that the gods ate to make them immortal. Agrippa (via Giorgio) is saying that eternal life is obtained by God, who is in Christ.

8. “best and optimal oration . . . understanding of God” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 4:11; ref. Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §34.

9. “A vow is the ardent . . . seems good” – Ficino, *Alcibiadem* 2.

10. “This disposition, . . . divine instrument” – Ficino, *Platonic Theology* 13:4; ref. Iamblichus, *Mysterries* 5:26; Proclus, *Tymaeum* 1.

11. Elsewhere in *Three Books*, Agrippa refers to the Gymnosophists, i.e., ascetics, as both Indian and Ethiopian.

12. The Latin here is *incubuisse*, which literally means “lying or sitting upon” or “brooding.”

13. “Hence, we read . . . must be worshipped” – Ficino, *Tymaeum* 6; Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:6, 15.

14. “Hence we read . . . for administration” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 1:c4.

15. “Therefore, adorations . . . Plato also forbade” – Ficino, *Alcibiadem* 2; ref. *Zoroaster Oracles* fr. 149; *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §41; Plato, 2 *Alcibiades* 142–43.

16. Tat is a form of Thoth, however in some early sources, Tat was the son of Hermes Trismegistus and was the second Hermes.

17. “It is like a sacrilege . . . and the like” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 15, §41.

18. “this is foreign . . . contaminated by sin” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 4:11; ref. Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §34.

[19.](#) “second requirement . . . divine generosity” – Ficino, *Tymaeum* 6.

[20.](#) “divine Plato . . . persuade God” – Plato, *2 Aleibiades* 142– 43.

Chapter 59. Of sacrifices and offerings, and their types and manners.

[1.](#) “Sacrifice is a kind of offering . . . and the like from us” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 24; Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22.

[2.](#) “as this mortal priest . . . kiss of death” – Pico, *Conclusiones* 28:1 and 11>11; Compagni cites Zohar 1, app. 2 pp. 663– 65.

[3.](#) “not for the honor of . . . hidden adultery” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 10; Numbers 5:13– 31.

[4.](#) “once among the gentiles . . . into the sea” – Tzetzes, *Historiae* 728– 60; ref. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1,157– 59; Hipponax, *Testimonia* fr. 6.

[5.](#) “and Philostratus . . . plague away in Ephesus” – Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4:10.

[6.](#) Ancient Roman festivals for various deities, celebrated on Jan. 9, May 21, and Dec. 11. There were often some agonalia for Mars celebrated throughout March.

[7.](#) A sacrificial meal.

[8.](#) Probably a sacred marriage, from the Latin *confarreatio*.

[9.](#) The sacrifice of a hundred animals.

[10.](#) Sacrificial victim.

[11.](#) A Spartan festival held in honor of Hyacinth, the lover of Apollo, held in the summer month called Hyacinthius.

[12.](#) A festival held on October 19 to purify the arms of Roman soldiers.

[13.](#) A festival held in honor of Janus.

[14.](#) Possibly related to a sacred grove.

[15.](#) A Roman fertility festival held on February 15.

[16.](#) A Greek festival held on the 16th of the spring month Mounichia in honor of Artemis.

[17.](#) A nine-day festival held to mark the arrival of a portent.

[18.](#) Unknown. Possibly a night festival.

[19.](#) A sacrifice made on Palatine Hill, usually called Palatuar.

20. *Pastillus* – a sacrificial cake.
21. Unknown, but a close-sounding word, *Populonia*, is a term for Juno. It could also refer to something “of the people” or something public.
22. Unknown. However, *protervus* means “bold or reckless.”
23. The Feast of the Tabernacles.
24. *Suouetaurilia* – purification sacrifice.
25. A goddess who gave protection against fire.
26. A Roman festival held on April 25 in honor of Rubigus to protect crops from disease, particularly wheat rust.
27. A Roman festival held on October 13 in honor of Fontus, the god of springs and fountains.
28. Unknown.
29. A Roman festival held from Feb. 13– 21 in honor of the family dead.
30. Offerings made to one’s ancestors or dead.
31. A Roman festival for the god Consus on Aug. 21 and Dec. 15.
32. A Greek festival for Dionysus, mentioned in Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7:27, §3.
33. An annual expiatory procession around Rome.
34. A ceremony in honor of Ceres, in which a bull, pig, and sheep are sacrificed after a procession of three times around the fields of Rome.
35. Probably Vinalia, a Roman festival for the wine grape harvests held on August 19 in honor of Jupiter and Venus.
36. A Greek festival for Dionysus.
37. A burnt sacrifice.
38. A festival for Dionysus with unrestrained behavior and a sacrifice in which the animal’s flesh is ripped apart.
39. A festival for Jupiter Latialis, protector of Latium.
40. A statue of Artemis in Laconia, where youths were flogged so that blood scattered on the altar. From Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3:16, §7– 11.
41. Festival for Bacchus.
42. A rite happening every three years.

- [43.](#) A fertility festival held on March 17 for Liber Pater, where boys obtained their adult togas.
- [44.](#) One of the rivers in the underworld.
- [45.](#) A Roman seven-day festival held in mid-to late April in honor of Ceres.
- [46.](#) A Greek festival held on the 11– 13 day of the month of Pyanepsion (Oct– Nov.) in honor of Demeter and Persephone.
- [47.](#) A spring festival held in honor of Adonis.
- [48.](#) A festival held for Dionysus.
- [49.](#) A Roman festival held on Dec. 23 in honor of Acca Larentia, the nurse of Romulus and Remus.
- [50.](#) A Roman festival held on Dec. 19 in honor of Ops.
- [51.](#) *Parilia*, a Roman festival for Pales held on April 21.
- [52.](#) A Roman festival held on Feb. 18 in honor of Quirinus.
- [53.](#) A Roman festival held in honor of Vertumnus.
- [54.](#) Unclear. However, in Plutarch's *Lives*, in the section on Cicero, he mentions a private sacrifice that women performed for the Roman "good goddess" whom the Greeks called Gynaecia.
- [55.](#) A festival held in honor of Athena.
- [56.](#) A Roman festival held on March 19– 23 in honor of Minerva.
- [57.](#) Dipolieia, an Athenian holiday held on the 14th of Skirophorion (June/July) in honor of Zeus.
- [58.](#) A Greek festival for Zeus.
- [59.](#) Unknown.
- [60.](#) Unclear. However, Horme is a Greek daemon of effort and action.
- [61.](#) Nemea is in Greece, where Hercules is said to have killed the Nemean lion. There was a sacred grove and temple to Zeus located there.
- [62.](#) Possibly the Martalia held on June 11 in honor of Mater Matuta.
- [63.](#) Unknown.
- [64.](#) The highest ranking priests in the Roman state religion.
- [65.](#) Flamines were priests who served particular Roman gods. *Archiflamen* doesn't seem to have been used in ancient times but shows up later in the same context as "archbishop." As Tyson pointed out there were special flamines who served the Capitoline triad—Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus—but they were often called *flamines maiores*.

- [66.](#) Unknown.
- [67.](#) Twelve young men dressed as archaic warriors who danced and leaped in a procession for Mars.
- [68.](#) High priest of the Eleusinian mysteries.
- [69.](#) “But the true sacrifice . . . for the sacrifice” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:6, 10; ref. Luke 22:19; Porphyry, *Abstinence* 2, §34.
- [70.](#) “no one can be a good priest . . . expiated by sacrifice” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 12; ref. Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 1:11; Proclus, *Alcibiadem* 1,909.
- [71.](#) “our lord Jesus Christ, . . . or to shed blood” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:3, 10.
- [72.](#) “The Egyptians . . . kinds of sacrifices” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 2. While this is most likely not something the Egyptians historically did, William of Auvergne clearly linked this number with Revelation 13:16–18.
- [73.](#) “if the stars are humbly prayed . . . freed from fate” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22; ref. Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 8:8; Orpheus, *Fragments* 316.
- [74.](#) “Psyche, from Apuleius, . . . Venus herself” – Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 6:2–5.
- [75.](#) “Carry the water . . . masculine frankincense” – Virgil, *Eclogues* 8:64–65.
- [76.](#) “Additionally, celestial and ethereal . . . scents in the air” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 4:9; ref. Porphyry, *De Philosophia* 1.
- [77.](#) “sacrifices are a certain natural . . . sins deserve” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:3, 9; ref. Aristotle, *Nicomachean* 5:7, 1134b.
- [78.](#) “Orpheus . . . and the heavens” – Ficino, *Three Books* 3:22; ref. Orpheus, *Fragments* 316.
- [79.](#) “Perfect men . . . heavens and creatures” – *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, §15.

Chapter 60. What imprecations and rites the ancients often used in sacrifices and offerings.

- [1.](#) Calling down curses.
- [2.](#) “Indeed, when they offered . . . repel and evade [be consumed]” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 24.
- [3.](#) “As he said . . . All-powerful heard” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 4:219–420.
- [4.](#) “I touch the altar, . . . as mediators” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 12:201.

Chapter 61. How these things must be performed to God and to

inferior deities.

1. “God destroyed the giants in the flood of waters” – Genesis 6:4– 7.
2. “endeavors of Babel in the confusion of tongues” – Genesis 11:1– 9.
3. “Sodom and Gomorrah in the rain of fire” – Genesis 19:24– 25.
4. “army of Pharaoh in the Red Sea” – Exodus 14:26– 28.
5. A curse. Some well-known Psalms of this nature are 109 and 69.
6. “salvation of Noah from the flood” – Genesis 6:6– 8.
7. “children of Israel through the middle of the Red Sea” – Exodus 14:21– 22.
8. “Christ walking . . . sinking in the sea” – Matthew 14:24– 32.
9. Genesis 28:12– 15.
10. Genesis 37:5– 9.
11. Genesis 41:1– 7.
12. Daniel 7– 12.
13. Daniel 2:1– 45, 4:1– 24.
14. Methodius of Olympus.
15. St. Joachim.
16. Brigitta of Sweden.
17. Possibly Mechtildis of Edelstetten.
18. Hildegard of Bingen.
19. J.F. translated this as “the deities of whom.” This is because the Latin for “name,” *nomina*, and the Latin for “deity” or “divine power,” *numina*, are similar.

Chapter 62. Of consecrations and their method.

1. “Experiments” here is one of the classical definitions, which is the act applying experience.
2. J.F. left out the passage about rites.
3. J.F. translated this as “imitation.” The Latin here is *initiationem*, probably from a simple misreading.

4. Book Three, ch. 3.
5. “God placed the firmament in the middle of the waters” – Genesis 1:6– 7.
6. “He placed a fountain . . . four sacred rivers” – Genesis 2:10– 14.
7. “He made the waters an instrument . . . entire earth” – Genesis 7:17– 23.
8. “destruction of the army of the Pharaohs in the Red Sea” – Exodus 14:27– 30.
9. “led His people with dry feet over the middle of the Red Sea” – Exodus 14:22.
10. “and through the middle of the Jordan” – Joshua 3:15– 17.
11. “miraculously drew water from a rock in the desert” – Exodus 17:5– 6.
12. “drew out a . . . prayers of Samson” – Judges 15:17– 19.
13. “healthful washing in the remission of sins” – Ephesians 5:26.
14. “Christ was baptized . . . cleansed and sanctified” – Matthew 3:15– 16; Mark 1:9– 10; Luke 3:21– 22; John 1:29– 33.
15. “fountain of life” – Psalms 35:10.
16. “living water” – John 4:10.
17. “river of life” – Revelation 22:1.
18. “vengeance” – 2 Thessalonians 1:8.
19. “will command a conflagration to precede Him” – Psalms 96:3.
20. “appeared to Moses in a burning bush” – Exodus 3:2.
21. “preceded the children of Israel in a column of fire” – Exodus 13:21.
22. “decreed that an inextinguishable . . . of the covenant” – Leviticus 6:12– 13.
23. “that fire was . . . hidden under water” – 2 Maccabees 1:19– 21.
24. “consuming fire” – Deuteronomy 4:24; Hebrews 12:29.
25. “refining fire” – Malachi 3:2.
26. “splendor of God” – Psalms 89:17.
27. “light of God” – Ecclesiasticus 50:31.
28. “lamp of God” – Job 37:3.
29. “from Exodus . . . conforming to these” – Exodus 30:23– 38.

- [30.](#) “two olive trees . . . face of God” – Revelation 11:4.
- [31.](#) “Mount Sinai” – Exodus 19:10– 23.
- [32.](#) “tabernacle of the covenant” – Exodus 33:7.
- [33.](#) “sanctum sanctorum, the Temple of Solomon” – 1 Kings 6:1– 38 (Vulgate 3 Kings 6:1– 38).
- [34.](#) “sanctification of Golgotha . . . passion of Christ” – Matthew 27:33– 50; Mark 15:22– 37; John 19:17– 30.
- [35.](#) “field that was bought with the price of Christ’s blood” – Matthew 27:7– 10.
- [36.](#) “Mount Tabor, . . . ascension to heaven was” – Matthew 17:1– 9; Mark 9:2– 9; Luke 9:28– 36.
- [37.](#) “place of God,” – Genesis 35:7.
- [38.](#) “throne of God” – Matthew 5:34; Psalms 44:7, 92:2.
- [39.](#) “chair of God” – Ezekiel 28:2.
- [40.](#) “tabernacle of God” – Joshua 22:19; Numbers 31:30; Ezekiel 37:27.
- [41.](#) “altar of God” – Baruch 1:10; 2 Maccabees 13:10.
- [42.](#) “dwelling of God” – Psalms 10:4; Ephesians 2:22.
- [43.](#) “tablets of the ten commandments given by Moses on Mount Sinai” – Exodus 34:1– 29.
- [44.](#) “holiness of the law, . . . and scriptures” – Ecclesiasticus 39:1; Luke 1:72; Psalms 24:14, 77:10, 88:29, 102:18, 104:8, 110:5.
- [45.](#) “testament of God” – Numbers 14:44.
- [46.](#) “book of God” – Isaiah 34:16.
- [47.](#) “book of life” – Ecclesiasticus 24:32; Philippians 4:3; Revelation 3:5, 13:8.
- [48.](#) “knowledge of God” – Proverbs 2:5; Hosea 4:1, 6:6; Isaiah 11:9; 2 Corinthians 10:5.
- [49.](#) “wisdom of God” – Romans 11:33; 1 Kings 3:28 (Vulgate 3 Kings 3:28); Ecclesiasticus 15:10, 19; 1 Corinthians 1:24, 2:7.
- [50.](#) “from second Maccabees . . . children of Israel” – 2 Maccabees 15:15– 16.
- [51.](#) “Take two-edged swords with you” – Psalms 149:6.
- [52.](#) “coats will be sold to buy swords” – Luke 22:36.
- [53.](#) “angel was seen holding a blood-stained sword” – 1 Chronicles 21:27.
- [54.](#) Revelation 14:14– 19.

[55.](#) “sword of God” – Judges 7:20; Isaiah 34:6; Jeremiah 12:12.

[56.](#) “rod of God, the staff of God” – Psalms 22:4.

[57.](#) “vengeance of God” – Ezekiel 25:14; 2 Thessalonians 1:8–9.

Chapter 63. What can be called sacred, what can be called consecrated, and how these can be between us and the gods, and of sacred times.

[1.](#) “Whatever is called sacred . . . often said to bear His name” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e3. Tyson misread this as “whose name they are often said to hear.” J.F. translated this correctly. The Latin here is *cuius nomen saepe ferre dicuntur*.

[2.](#) “I will send my angel . . . name is in him” – Exodus 23:20–21.

[3.](#) “Christ instituted the Lord’s Prayer” – Matthew 6:9–13; Luke 11:2–4.

[4.](#) A mixture of various substances.

[5.](#) “We read of this in Exodus . . . anointing oil” – Exodus 30:23–28.

[6.](#) “another variety of holy things . . . in the town” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e3; ref. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8:714–15; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12:151–55; Proclus, *Hymns* 5:3–4.

[7.](#) “You, father, . . . in your hands” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 2:717.

[8.](#) “Hence, the divine Plato . . . gods to us” – Ficino, *Legibus* 11:1,553; ref. Plato, *Laws* 11:931a.

[9.](#) “just as the ancients venerated . . . subject to him” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:9.

[10.](#) “Which men ignore . . . these are gods?” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:15, though Eusebius said this is from Hecate.

[11.](#) “Priests of the divine . . . consecrate things” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e3.

[12.](#) “The sacred pontiffs, . . . permitted power” – Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1:595.

[13.](#) “He prays for peace . . . hallowed head” – Virgil, *Aeneid* 3:370–71; Reuchlin, *De Verbo* e3.

[14.](#) “Therefore, with sacred calls, I will invoke the pure daemons” – *Orphic Hymns* 7:2; Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2:e3.

[15.](#) “names from Iamblichus, . . . Epies, Amun” – Iamblichus, *Mysteries* 8:3; Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 3:11; ref. *Porphyry*; Cultu fr. 10, cited by Compagni.

[16.](#) *On, Ton, Tauton*.

17. *Zena, apo tou zen.*

18. *Dia.*

19. “thus from Plato . . . everything is made” – Reuchlin, *De Verbo* 2f, 4:h4; ref. Plato, *Timaeus* 28a, *Cratylus* 396a– b.

20. *Athanaton.*

21. The Latin here is *Eutyichidem, Sosiam, Theophilum*.” J.F. translated this almost correctly (except writing Eutychis instead of Eutychides).

22. “we see with wax seals, . . . strike the wearer” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 27.

23. “similar virtue from blessed candles . . . evil daemons flee” – Auvergne, *De Legibus* 27.

24. August 2, 216 BCE.

25. Literally “after days.” In Ancient Rome, these were thirty-six days that fell outside the Roman nones, ides, and calends. They were considered appropriate for certain kinds of business or festivals, but generally inauspicious for most undertakings.

26. “Moses shattered the tablets” – Exodus 32:19.

27. “Manasseh raised . . . destroyed by enemies” – 2 Kings 21:7, 25:10 (Vulgate 4 Kings 21:7, 25:10); 2 Chronicles 36:19; 1 Maccabees 1:21– 23; Jeremiah 52:6– 19.

Chapter 64. Of certain religious observations, ceremonies, and rites of fumigations, anointings, and the like.

1. “Every man . . . eyes of the Lord” – Leviticus 22:3.

2. “indeed, the gods . . . venereal acts” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:10; ref. Porphyry, *Epistula* 28.

3. J.F. translated this as “with hemorrhoids.” The Latin here is *haemorrhaeam*, which can mean “hemorrhoids,” but this seems oddly specific and does not fit with its source, Leviticus.

4. “not touch a woman . . . nor dead things” – ref. Leviticus 19:19, 20:18, 22:4– 5, 8.

5. “who touch the dead . . . approach oracles” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 5:10; ref. Porphyry, *Epistula* 28.

6. J.F. tends to say “perfume” in this chapter. The Latin is *fumigabis*, or forms of it. This implies the use of smoke, rather than a perfume as we would understand it today. This may not be entirely strict in a practical sense, but we’ll leave that to the practitioner. Essentially the practitioner is preparing himself similarly to how one prepares a talisman or religious object.

7. “God receives in the sweetest scent . . . all the senses” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 2:3, 21; ref. Psalms 140:2; Job 27:3.

8. “Accordingly, the spiritual body . . . and libations” – Prophyry, *Abstinence* 2. J.F. translated “libation” as “sacrifices.” The Latin here is *libaminum*.
9. “With their favor, you can better pursue . . . return unfortunate things” – Giorgio, *Harmonia* 3:1, 9; ref. *Genesis* 12:1, 9, 26:12–13.
10. “Hence the Romans, . . . selected good names” – Cicero, *Divination* 1:45.
11. Epidamnus is similar to the Latin *damno*, meaning “danger, harm, or condemnation.”
12. Agrippa called it *Maleoton*. In Latin, *Maleventum* means “bad air” (though some say it meant “bad events,” which is incorrect). *Beneventum* means “good air.”
13. Lucky or profitable.
14. “Are there not twelve hours of the day?” – John 11:9.
15. In astrology, this is called rectification, where the exact birth time, and sometimes date, can be found backward by identifying notable events.
16. “when Caligula consulted . . . certain approaching death” – Suetonius, *Caesars* 4:57.
17. *Aegos*.
18. Also known as the Thema Mundi.
19. “Maternus referred . . . can be learned” – Maternus, *Matheseos* 3:1.
20. “trees that invert . . . white willow” – Pliny, *Natural History* 16:36, §87.
21. “Shellfish, crabs . . . of the Moon” – Cicero, *Divination* 2:14.
22. A narrow strait on the Greek island of Euboea.
23. “Euripus . . . wonderful speed” – Erasmus, *Parabolae* h3; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 2:100, §219.
24. “Troglydytes, . . . becomes sweet” – Erasmus, *Parabolae* g5; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 21:15, §18.
25. “wintry days . . . pennyroyal flourishes” – Cicero, *Divination* 2:14.
26. “likeness among the Pellenians . . . without fear” – Plutarch, *Lives*, Aratus: 32.
27. “Babylonian magicians . . . obedience of the king” – Philostratus, *Apollonius* 1:25.
28. “island of Chios, . . . those leaving” – Erasmus, *Parabolae* g3; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 36:4, §13.
29. “In Olynthus . . . and died” – Erasmus, *Parabolae* c5; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 11:24, §99.
30. “Neapolitan fields cicadas could not be heard” – Solinus, *De Mirabilibus* 2, 11.
31. “Cato testified . . . by words” – Cato, *Agricultura* §72, though Cato says to smear melted pitch on their hooves.

- [32.](#) An ancient Roman earth goddess.
- [33.](#) “peacock is praised, they will soon unfold their feathers” – Erasmus, *Parabolae* i4; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 10:20, §43.
- [34.](#) *Garv* is an unknown kind of fish, but I don’t see any indication that it refers to a lobster, as J.F. calls it. However, judging from the Bostock and Riley translation of Pliny, the ancient Roman fermented fish sauce *garum* seems to be intended here.
- [35.](#) “*garus* being poured . . . isn’t mentioned” – Erasmus, *Parabolae* g5; ref. Pliny, *Natural History* 31:44, §97.
- [36.](#) “Those who bewitch . . . and children” – Pliny, *Natural History* 7:2, §16.
- [37.](#) “Eusebius reported . . . ambush men” – Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 4:23; ref. Porphyry, *Oracles* 2.
- [38.](#) “When you search . . . of your soul” – Deuteronomy 4:29.
- [39.](#) The last part of the quote from Deuteronomy up to this point is missing in J.F.
- [40.](#) “Everything, whatever you desire . . . come to you” – Mark 11:24.
- [41.](#) “If you have . . . impossible for you” – Matthew 17:20.
- [42.](#) “Indeed, Elijah . . . gave its fruit” – James 5:17– 18.
- [43.](#) “Do not take the name . . . go unpunished” – Deuteronomy 5:11.
- [44.](#) “Prayer is good with fasting and alms” – Tobias 12:8.
- [45.](#) “Know that the Lord . . . gaze of the Lord” – Judith 8:17.

Chapter 65. The conclusion of the whole work.

- [1.](#) “In this book, . . . are intelligent” – Geber, *Summa* 1:1, 1, 1:1, 7.
- [2.](#) “delivered these arts . . . from the prudent and intelligent” – Geber, *Summa* 1:2, 12.
- [3.](#) “what is hidden in one place, . . . revealed to you” – Geber, *Summa* 1:1, 1.
- [4.](#) “Those who because of their disbelief . . . accuse themselves” – Geber, *Summa* 1:1, 7; Trithemius, *Steganographia* 31.
- [5.](#) “delivered such speeches, . . . understanding of them” – Geber, *Summa* 1:2, 12.

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