THE HOLY ALMANDAL

ANGELS AND THE INTELLECTUAL AIMS OF MAGIC

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Introduction: magic and the order of the intelligences

There is a well-known story from Porphyry’s life of Plotinus that is not only revealing with regard to Plotinus’s attitude towards magic, but that also implicitly reflects on the role of magic in civilisation. Hence it provides us with a few interesting insights into the direction that magic has taken in intellectual circles in the course of history. Porphyry tells of a one-time student of Ammonius, called Olympius, who, being very jealous of Plotinus, resorted to magical means to draw the harmful influence of the stars upon the great master. Unfortunately his conjurations backfired on him and he fell into a bodily spasm, blaming his misfortune on Plotinus, who, he claimed, had the spiritual strength to deflect the pernicious influence and turn it against its sender. On another occasion, an Egyptian priest visiting Rome offered to conjure Plotinus’s daimon and make it visible. The ritual took place in the temple of Isis in Rome, the only pure spot in the city. The occasion proved to be suitable for extraordinary revelations, for the spirit that appeared was not a daimon but a god. All those who contributed to the ritual by holding chickens – which probably functioned as a protective measure in case the spirit was malignant, though Porphyry does not explain this in full –, were aghast or jealous and squeezed the animals so hard that they choked. Plotinus became mighty pleased with himself and replied to a pious friend who invited him to attend the religious services of the New Moon and the cultic festivals, that it was not he who should come to them, but they who should come to him. This remark puzzled everyone greatly, but, Porphyry adds, no one had the heart to ask him what he meant. Since

1 Porphyry, Vita Plotini, cap. 10 (Plotinus, Opera, vol. 1, eds. Henry and Schwytzer, pp. 15-17). Flint et al., Witchcraft and Magic, vol. 2, pp. 148-149: ‘The chickens must be strangled at once if the spirit that appears turns out to be awesome. Such a sacrifice was probably conceived as an instant peace offering, after which the spirit would leave without harming any of the participants’. Graf (Magic, p. 114) argues that the strangling happened accidentally and caused the demon to disappear ‘because he cannot bear the presence of death’. Cf. Rist, Plotinus, pp. 16-18.
Plotinus believed that the intellect was superior to the daimonic realm, an intellectual in his view need not participate in civic religious rites. Speaking of 'them' and 'they', Plotinus may well have referred to the lesser deities.²

Apart from showing that Plotinus does not quite belong to this world - a consideration that had motivated Olympius -, Porphyry’s story also outlines some of the main characteristics of magic in the western intellectual tradition: (1) the link with celestial influence and hence astrology; (2) the distinction between good and evil intent on the part of the practitioner; and (3) the religious and sacral nature of the rituals of which the main aim is apparently to get in touch with higher, intelligent, and divine beings. Plotinus’s attitude is somewhat aloof and he clearly frowns upon ritual practices involving daimons and lower spirits. This attitude is no doubt the result of his doctrine of the undescended soul which automatically lifts the philosopher to the realm of the Nous. This doctrine, however, was not shared by the later Neoplatonists (notably Proclus and Iamblichus) for whom the ascent of the soul (after its descent) required daimonic assistance, and was best aided by theurgic rituals.³ This may draw our attention to yet another characteristic, namely (4) a purely intellectual view of magic as opposed to Olympius’s self-indulgent attitude, which aims at wish-fulfilment and the gratification of less noble emotions rather than insight and knowledge. Although magic as a means of obtaining health and happiness and harming one’s enemies would enjoy perennial popularity, magic as theurgy, as a cosmology encompassing the realms of nature and supemature, of stars and intelligences, would provide the intellectual structure that, especially in the later Middle Ages and the early modern era, would become the backbone of all scholarly and humanistic interest in the occult.

Scholarly interest, however, waxed slowly and not without impediments. Theurgy, so obvious a form of religious and intellectual contemplation for later Neoplatonists to improve and aid the soul in its intellectual ascent to the One, was not a practice compatible with Christian beliefs. Intellectual transcendence and the world of Ideas had found their Christian

² Shaw, Theurgy and the Soul, p. 12. Merlan, ‘Plotinus and Magic’, p. 346, follows the edition of Bréhier, and believes Plotinus referred to the gods. According to Merlan, Plotinus suggested ‘he had some secret power by which he could compel the gods to come to him’. Armstrong (Plotinus, Loeb vol. 1, p. 35) is less eager to turn Plotinus into a conjurer, and more sensibly argues that the reference is to lower, sub-lunar spirits to whom Plotinus, living on the level of the Intellect, thought himself superior. Daimons had a specific function in Plotinus’s philosophy (see his treatise Περὶ τοῦ εἰληχότος ἡμῶν δείκτος, Ennead 111.4) and the suggestion that Plotinus’s ‘god’ is aparhedros (Graf, Magic, p. 107) is incorrect.
³ Shaw, Theurgy and the Soul, pp. 11-13; cf. esp. Armstrong, ‘Was Plotinus a Magician?’
counterpart in Christ, mainly through Augustine's reading of Plotinus. The intermediary stages between heaven and earth had been filled with the ranks and files of the angels from the Bible and other Jewish and early Christian sources (as in Pseudo-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchies*); moreover, the story of Beth-El had drawn people's attention to the fact that there is, ultimately, a stairway to heaven, if only a metaphorical one. Yet the passage from earth to heaven in a pagan classical sense is, in the Christian era, blocked by a number of Christian monotheist impediments. There is the fundamental distinction between the Creator and His creation, which precludes all essential union with the One. Another is original sin and the concomitant corruption of nature, which can greatly obstruct the ascent of the soul. The third, finally, is the Church's monopoly on salvation. Man can retrieve his prelapsarian perfection only through Christ, who, on earth, is represented by the Church. In practice this meant that mystics and scholars interested in the improvement and ascent of the soul needed ecclesiastical approval.

In reality, of course, this never implied that forms of religion, whether heterodox or simply deviant, were paradigmatically excluded from the consciousness of medieval believers. The general idea was that if there is a stairway to heaven, or at least a passage to a numinous beyond, one should venture to climb or explore it without allowing oneself to be put off by institutions or authorities claiming to dominate that access. Magic itself had a strong tradition in the Middle Ages, in part going back to pre-Christian indigenous traditions, which the Church could only keep in check by disallowing some aspects whilst integrating others, in part also by relying on scholarly traditions deriving from the Arab world. These were only gradually disentangled and discovered to contain the theories and practices involved in dealing with the spirit-world. This kind of belief and practice was overtly condemned by the inspired authors of Scripture, but was all the more enticing for medieval monks and scholars for whom this oriental literature opened up new vistas of religious awareness. Various medieval records remain, which denounce and condemn this magical scholarly literature: such are the *Speculum astronomiae* by Albertus Magnus, or William of Paris's *De legibus*. Although condemnations did not prevent the spread of this magical literature, they did, however, for a long time prevent scholars from formulating a theoretical frame able to synthesise magical scholarly lore and known theories about the workings of the universe. Judicial astrology was the only field with a magical fringe that had a fully fledged theory of celestial causation to back it up. Spiritual and demonic

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4 Much of the magical literature from the Arabic world had roots in Persian, Babylonian and even Far-Eastern magic.
magic (as opposed to natural magic)\(^5\) for a long time remained practical disciplines, receiving philosophical attention mainly in the Renaissance under the influence of newly developed interests in Neoplatonism and Kabbalah, culminating in thoroughly elaborated occult philosophies.

The present contribution explores this metamorphosis of magic from practical to theoretical by studying the contents and reception of a medieval magical text called the \textit{Almandal}. It may have roots extending back into Persia and the Far East, but its medieval versions were thoroughly christianised. The \textit{Almandal} is a minor but intriguing magical text because the nature of the rituals it describes and the traces of its reception reveal it to be a telling index of lay interest and clerical apprehensions. The following discussion of its contents will be based on two extant versions in Middle High German known as \textit{Das heilige Almandel}: both were produced independently from each other around the year 1500, but they were based on the same Latin original.\(^6\) The text is ascribed to king Solomon, and contains the ritual prescriptions for invoking and conversing with angels. The text clearly reflects the four characteristics mentioned earlier in relation to Porphyry's narrative, itself a telling parable on the relation between practical magic and philosophical contemplation. With regard to the first characteristic, it may be said that the \textit{Almandal} is an astrological text since it is organised on the basis of the Zodiac and advises its readers about propitious times. The second characteristic also applies, since the \textit{Almandal} strongly emphasises

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\(^5\) Natural magic is more or less synonymous with natural philosophy; it tries to avail itself of the hidden virtues of nature, and according to medieval definitions should not involve itself with rituals or with the invocation of spirits.

\(^6\) The extant Latin sources are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.iii. 214; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400; and Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 89, sup. fols. 268 [383]-270 [385], dated 1494 (with kind regards to Jean-Patrice Boudet, for drawing my attention to this last manuscript). The Almandal-texts in these manuscripts differ substantially, which can be explained from the fact that almandal is a generic term rather than a name. A version, as contained in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400, may have been used as a basis for German vernacularisations: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 407 (the Spaun copy); Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 458; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. allemand 160 (see infra). The Freiburg and Paris copies are essentially the same translation. The Munich copy is different and was written independently from the others. Vienna, ONB, Hs. 3400 itself was probably not the basis for the vernacularisations and it does not contain a diagram. In what follows I use 'almandal' either as a title (\textit{Almandal}) or as a generic term, the spelling of which is closest to the supposed etymology of the word (related to 'mandala', cf. Pingree, \textit{Learned Magic}, p. 48) and in keeping with the spelling of Florence, BNC, ms. II.iii.214, mentioned above. Later medieval sources use the words 'almadel' or 'almandel' or even 'alimandel'. An edition of the German \textit{Almandals} is in preparation.
good intentions, piety, and purity of heart. The third characteristic is especially important for, above all, the Almandal outlines a religious ritual which brings the practitioner in touch with the angelic world. Contrary to the cult of the saints, the worship of and communion with angels has no clear tradition in the Middle Ages. Occasionally famous biblical angels, such as Michael, appear among the saints, but the legions that were known to early Christians, Jews, and also, to some extent, medieval scholars, from works such as the Testament of Solomon, the Sefer ha-Razim, or the Liber Razielis, were not the theme of special devotion; furthermore, their abstruse names raised suspicions of devil-worship among moralists and the protectors of the true faith. The spread of magical texts such as the Almandal made up for this deficit, for communion with the angels could lead one to God. Since angels, or in scholastic terminology: the intelligentiae, were, after all, the Christian substitutes for the Proclian or Iamblichian intelligences or daimones, there was also a distinct intellectual benefit to be obtained. This fourth characteristic, the intellectual aim of angelic magic, will be highlighted by means of the context of the Almandal, for it gained popularity in an era in which also the impact of Ficino and Pico, of Agrippa and Trithernius became noticeable. Discussion of the Almandal’s more self-evident characteristics, its use of astrology, its benevolent magic, and its clearly religious and devotional purposes, is postponed for the moment, while we analyse the contents of the Almandal.

The Holy Almandal

The Holy Almandal is essentially a practical manual of ritual magic. The two German versions of the text, on which the following discussions and analyses are based, are extant in three manuscripts. One version is contained in a manuscript from Munich, another somewhat different version can be found in manuscripts from Freiburg and Paris.

(1) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Cgm 407, pp. 1-56 (this manuscript has page-numbers, no folio-numbers). Cgm 407 is a commonplace book in Middle High German, written in part by a merchant from Augsburg called Claus Spaun around 1496. Spaun is well-known to palaeographers and bibliographers for he liked to compile his own manuscripts, copying out a variety of texts, both literary and didactic. The present manuscript contains for the greater part pharmacological and horticultural texts. Spaun drew an almandal diagram on p. 15 (see figure 2 at the end of this contribution).

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(2) Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 458, fol. 221r-236r. This is a convolute manuscript produced partly in the period 1490-1493 and partly in the period 1505-1509, written throughout in one hand, and containing a variety of astronomical, astrological and mantic texts in the vernacular. Some of these are furnished with computational tables, horoscopes, and illustrations. An almandal diagram can be found on fol. 221r (see figure 1).

(3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. allemand 160, fol. 235v-246r. This is also a convolute manuscript from roughly the same period as the Freiburg copy, written in various hands with a similar motley of astrological and mantic texts, but also with some additional magical material (Annulum Salamonis). The book contains two almandal diagrams, on fol. 235v and on fol. 246r (cf. figure 1).

In both the Freiburg and the Paris manuscripts the Almandals are virtually identical, which suggests they are copies of the same translation. In the Munich and Freiburg manuscripts the Holy Almandal seems to be the odd text out; it is a magical text on angels giving a full description of the ritual conjurations involved, and as such it stands somewhat apart from the astrological material contained in the Freiburg manuscript; in particular, it seems to have even less bearing on the horticultural contents of Spaun’s book.

The text is usually referred to as Almandal, but the word proper specifically refers to a wax tablet, a small table or altar which is essential for the ritual. Its purpose is to invoke and conjure angels, who, when the ritual is performed properly, will appear to hover over the altar to listen to and answer a plea. The angels reside in the twelve ‘heights of heaven’ – what the German authors call Hohe, one of them (the scribe of the Freiburg manuscript) adding the Latin altitudo as an explanation. What is meant, of course, is the twelve signs of the Zodiac, something elaborately explained in the Spaun manuscript.

The almandal should be square with holes in the four comers. With a silver pen the magister (werckmeister) should, on a propitious hour (preferably before sunrise on a Sunday), engrave the divine name and some of its variants in the wax along with the sigils of Solomon, a hexangle in the middle, and four pentangles or hexangles in the comers. These star-shaped figures should also have holes. The reason for the holes in the altar is that the ritual requires incense offerings and the censers should be placed under the altar so that the fume can percolate through the openings. The magister is required to make four candlesticks of wax including four candles. The candlesticks have rims on which the almandal rests. Altar, candlesticks and

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8 Kehr, Kataloge, vol. 1.4, pp. 89-98.
candles must all be made of the same wax and must have the same colour, though colours can vary depending on the time when the ritual takes place. Depending on the Zodiacal sign, the altar can be white, red, yellow, blue, green, or even a mixture of colours, and if the magus adapts his dress to the occasion, it is more than likely that the angels will appear in a similar colour. Once the angel is there, the magus can converse with him, but only after he has placed the incense offering under the altar, for it is through the smell of the incense that the angel will be disposed to speak. The Almandal also contains a few guidelines on what to do in case the angel does not appear. This is where the candles can be of use, for then one has to engrave three or five Solomonic sigils in the candles. Before the flame has reached the place where the sigils are, the messenger will surely appear; angels may have problems with being punctual, but apparently they are very sensitive to ultimatums.

The appearance of the angels and the effect that this heavenly visitation has on the magus is described in some detail. The angel of the first altitude will appear in a white garment wearing a white banner with a white cross, with on his head a crown of red flowers; he will have the countenance of a beautiful young boy. Likewise the angel of the second altitude will look like a three-year-old child, appearing in a radiant red garment, wearing a crown of wild roses, with face and hands red like blood, as a sign of the fire of divine love. The angel of the third altitude will have the appearance of an armed knight, dressed in gold armour, his face likewise shining like gold. So the list continues, though after a while the novelty wears off and the descriptions become more succinct. We learn that the sixth angel looks like a seraph with multi-coloured wings, the ninth angel has the shape of an eagle, the tenth is a snow-white lamb with a red cross, and, finally, the twelfth has the form of a woman with a palm-leaf in her hand. The angels of the twelve altitudes all have different offices and tasks, such as the processes of birth and coming into being (no. 1), the regulation of profits, of money and of goods (no. 2), of all movements (i.e. locomotion), celestial motion, the flow of water in seas and rivers and all corporeal change (no. 3). They are also entrusted with the enlightening or illumination of the minds of man, teaching them the liberal arts (no. 4), astrology, theology, and for those who prefer a crash course there is always the notory art. Finally they concern themselves with politics (no. 6) and passion (no. 8). The angels of the twelfth altitude are the most exalted, for it is their task to constrain demons and to execute God's judgements on Judgement Day. These descriptive lists are interesting but appear to be rather arbitrary.

More interesting perhaps is the effect all this is supposed to have on the magus. The appearance of the angels will bring clarity of mind and merriment to the magus and the encounter will be ingrained on his memory for
the rest of his life. On his departure the angel will assure the magus that he regards him as a friend and brother, and the magus will be overtaken by a powerful affection for the angel and will love him above any other creature in the world. This is more than a grand emotion or a mystical experience; it has serious consequences for the well-being of the magus, for once he is on speaking terms with the angels, he need no longer fear damnation or dying without Grace. The magic of the almandal is essentially a ritual of redemption and the perfection of human nature.

In combination with the rituals of conjuration it is probably this strong claim that will have caused the Almandal to incur the censure of theological and ecclesiastical authorities, for in a way it tries to pave a way to God which is separate from the by then institutionalised route. The religious itinerary of the Almandal has some affinity with Kabbalistic beliefs. The text explains that the altitudes, which are named after the signs in which the Sun is at a given moment, each have a name of God impressed in it, a character engraved in their essence. Together these twelve names fully express God’s being. Hence when the angels hear the name, they worship the character, which, of course, is not only in the heavens, but also on the almandal and on the lips of the supplicant magus. Spaun knows that the divine names are in the substance of the heavens, but he speaks of the masse der katharactern, 'in the mass of the cataracts', which is more interesting and sounds like the noise of many waters;” sadly, this reading is erroneous (based on Spaun’s scribal error), since the word is 'characters', not 'cataracts'.

The rituals and liturgies for the perfection of the soul have a long history in the Latin West, from Neoplatonic theurgy, the ascent of the soul through the heavenly palaces in Jewish mystical literature, to the itinera-rrium mentis in Deum in Christian mysticism. Though private worship will no doubt have been regarded as a matter of personal choice and commit-

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9 This friendship between man and angel strongly resembles the relationship between magus and parhedros in the magical papyri. See Graf, Magic, pp. 107-117, and the contribution by Anna Scibilia in this volume (pp. 80-81). See also Kieckhefer’s discussion in Forbidden Rites, pp. 14-17.

10 Freiburg ms. 458 uses the term volkomen; Munich ms. 407 speaks of gerecht-fertig, which has a more immediate bearing on the concept of original sin. Munich ms. 407, p. 21: Und ist zii mercken mit fleysse, das die selben hoche des himels macht den menschen also gerecht-fertig, so das er zii ainigem mal mit einem menschen redende wirt, das sich der nymmer besorgen darfft der ewigen verdampnuse, noch stirbet auch nicht on die gnade des schöffers, also das es hat einen wunderlichen wege zii wider-pringen den menschen von sünden zu gnaden.

11 He may have mistaken the word for cataracta. For the noise of many waters see: Rev. 1:15, 14:2, 19:6.
ment, redemption was a different matter and depended fully on institutionalised mediation. The mystic may experience the love of God, but he should not sense the fusion of his soul with the divine, even though he secretly believes that all drops of water will eventually return to the great Ocean of Being. The medieval Church’s monopoly on mediated redemption is evident in the Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation, the only piece of non-paradigmatic word-magic that the Church would allow, in which the *hoc est corpus meum* can effect substantial change: it is the ritual guarantee for the resurrection. But the Church’s monopoly did not last for ever. The changes that occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are well known from the most conspicuous events, such as the emergence of lay piety and personal devotion. Finally, the Reformation rejected the institutional claims of the papacy. It is in this context that the German *Almandals* acquire a personal, practical and perhaps popular application, dissociated from a Latin clerical and academic context, but also dissociated from ecclesiastical claims on the itinerary to heaven. What the *Almandals* have to offer is private communion with the hosts of heaven, consultation and assistance in private affairs, a sense of elation and a taste of redemption. The private nature of the text (especially *Spaun’s* version), which expresses what we may label 'lay piety', becomes clear from a comparison of the two German versions.

*Magic pious, private and practical*

The two German versions of the *Almandal* (the Munich or *Spaun Almandal* and the Freiburg/Paris *Almandal*) are clearly based on the same text. This is evident from the lists of angel names in both versions, which are almost identical, and from the themes and the statements that the texts formulate; it can be shown, too, from the syntax, for though sentences differ idiomatically, the structure of subjects and predicates is nearly always the same. The Freiburg and Paris *Almandals* have a strong tendency to use Latin phrases occasionally (*altitudo, occidens, meridies*, etc.) usually followed by a German rendering. It is therefore likely that both versions are independent translations of the same Latin original. Although many magical texts adjure their readers to observe the greatest possible care and precision in copying and applying the material (even a minor error may spoil or abort the procedure, and this type of accuracy is comparable to that which one nowadays associates with the determination of genetic codes), the entire genre is very much subject to variability and mutability. Even two closely related versions, such as the Munich and Freiburg/Paris *Almandals*, demonstrate

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12 Cf. the remarks by Bernd Roling on p. 231 in this volume.
this. The orthographic variants of the angel names apart – they can easily be attributed to misreadings or scribal errors –, the versions differ in significant ways; segments of text were added in Spaun’s version that do not appear in the Freiburg and Paris manuscripts.

Spaun has incorporated segments in his text that clearly disrupt the structure and were certainly not there initially. One of his insertions concerns a list of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the main purpose of which is to orient the reader so that he will address the angels in the mansion that the Sun is in at a given moment. The twelve altitudes in the Almandal bear names such as Taor, Corona, Hermon, Pantheon, Cym, etc., and these are not readily associated with the more familiar list of Aries, Taurus, Gemini, or, as Spaun renders them in his mother tongue Wider, Stier, Zwiling, Crebs, and so on. He elaborates somewhat on the names of Zodiacal signs, explaining that when the Sun is in Taurus the land is ready to be plowed by bulls and oxen, that when the Sun is in Sagittarius in many places thunderbolts are shot from the heavens like arrows, that when the Sun is in Aquarius snow melts into water, and so on.

Another alteration that Spaun made in the text consists in the occasional demonstrations of devotion. Thus he repeats from time to time that the master should kneel down devoutly, that the Almandal, after use, should be kept with reverence in a pure and sinless state, that the supplicants should pray to the angels so that these will pray to God on behalf of the supplicants. At one point Spaun even turns the Almandal into a proper Christian text by inserting an adaptation of the Apostles’ Creed and a prayer to the Virgin Mary in what looks like a conjuration formula.13

Other substantial additions occur towards the end14 where he gives a brief exposition of the geography of the earth, of the four elements, of the heavens, listing the planets and the celestial spheres (though he unfortunate-

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13 Munich ms. 407, pp. 17-18: Ich beschwere, ich aws bete, ich aws hayische durch den hailigen got, durch den waren got, durch den sichtigen got und unsichtigen schöpffer aller creaturen, und durch seinen eingeporen sune, unsern herren Jhesum Cristum den gekreutzgeten von Nazareth süsses und saliges gedachtmasse, empfangen von dem hailigen gaiste, geporen aus Maria der junckfrawen, verratten, gefangen, verspottet, verhalsschleget, verspeyt, gekront, entplösset, gekreuzigt, erstorben und begraben, der an dem tritten tag auf erstanden ist von dem tote und auff für zu den himelen, sitzet zu der rechten handt gottes des almechtigen vatters, der kunfftig ist zu richten die lebentigen und die toten und die welt durch das fewr und durch sein hailigoste mutter unserfrawen, auch ein k-unig der engel und der menschen, die aller hailigoste Maria, und durch ir gotlichait und auch [18] durch die gothait und krone seines hauptes des vor gesprochen hochsten lebentigen gottes, und durch dises haylig Almadell unsers maisters Salomon...

14 Munich ms. 407, pp. 48-56.
ly omits Jupiter), of the nine choirs of the angels (which is essentially the list of the celestial hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius), of the corresponding nine choirs of the saints, and he concludes his text by copying a scheme in which the more commonly known angels (Raphael, Gabriel, Samael, Michael, Satquiel) are linked to the days of the week, the planets and the Zodiacal signs. These textual fragments were added by Spaun with the express purposes of (1) 'christianising' an occult text that described a magical ritual that many clerics and scholars frowned upon, but which still strongly appealed to a man like Spaun, and (2) enhancing the popular didactic nature of the text. In establishing contact with the higher reaches of heaven he no doubt felt that some rudimentary knowledge of the Zodiac and the celestial hierarchies was necessary, even though he does not seem to have made an effort to clarify the interrelatedness of these fragments of knowledge.

In fact, the Freiburg and Paris *Almandals*, though terser and without the elaborate reference to the Zodiac which Spaun inserted, have a more precise and clearer bearing on astrology. This is largely so because they were incorporated into popular *astrological/mantic* convolute-manuscripts by scribes or translators who knew their material. Thus the Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* specifies the suitable hours on which the ritual should be performed: for instance, on a Sunday on the *horae solis*. Spaun is content with the remark that it should be before sunrise. The Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* carefully follows the Latin original in indicating the size of the almandal, which is *semipedale*, i.e. half a foot. Spaun simply remarks that it should be *nicht zu gros noch zu klein* (not too big, not too small). The Freiburg/Paris *Almandal* is very precise as to the orientation of the almandal, indicating the cardinal directions and assigning to each a magical name; in the outer rim of the almandal each cardinal direction is further subdivided into three segments, or three altitudes, indicated by means of three divine names, which are no doubt the names embedded in the very substance of the heavenly mansions. The logic of this construction is not adequately reflected in Spaun's drawing; he missed out on a name in one of the cardinal directions (*Aquilonis*/North) and dislocated two others (in *Occidens*/West and *Meridies*/South). It is therefore hard to imagine that his almandal could have been of any use to him. From the Augsburg taxregisters of the first decades of the sixteenth century it appears that his business deteriorated after 1505.

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15 The *horae solis* on Sunday are the 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd hour.
16 See figures 1 and 2. Spaun was clearly unsure about the magical words or names between the pentangles. Following the East-South-West-North direction in the almandal-diagrams, Freiburg ms. 458 and Paris, ms. *allemand* 160 have *Henoytheon, Primevivaton, Jatha, Anabona*. Spaun (Munich, Cgm 407) gives: *Onoytheon, Ya Ya, Anabona*, and a blank. *Primevivaton* may have given problems. Cf. Mathers's depiction of Solomon's *triangle* where the word is spelled *Primeumaton* (Solomon, *Goe-
The Freiburg/Paris Almandal is marked by a fair amount of precision, Spaun's Almandal by a layman's curiosity. Yet in both versions of the text astrology does not seem to be the dominant characteristic, even though Spaun made an elaborate—though somewhat unsuccessful—attempt to strengthen the text's relationship with the general astrological notions of his time. Essentially the Almandal is about angels and the divine name; thus it is firmly rooted in a tradition of pseudo-Solomonic magical literature. In this tradition we encounter many of the elements characteristic of the two Almandals from around 1500.

The tradition of Solomonic magic

The legendary status of Israel's third king as a man endowed by God with knowledge and wisdom contributed in no small measure to the spread in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages of books, especially magical texts, under his name. This fictional attribution could upgrade a text and lend it authority; it would also implicitly function as a structuring device giving the texts and the rituals a specific religious content, since Solomon was deemed a messianic figure and, certainly in the context of Christianity, as a type of Christ. It can be demonstrated from the wealth of Solomonic literature that the essential elements of the Almandal, the theurgic and the redemptive ones, can all be found in this tradition.  

An important early testimony of Solomonic magic is provided by Flavius Josephus who in praising the wisdom of the king describes him as a naturalist, an author of thousands of books, and as an expert exorcist. 'And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit and healing of men', Josephus writes, explaining that this 'art' consists of incantations for relieving illnesses and exorcist rituals. This form of medicinal Solomonic magic, which Josephus knows from his own experience, is a fairly common practice. He mentions the story of a fellow countryman, a certain Eleazar, who, in the presence of Vespasian, exorcised a possessed man by means of 'a ring which had under its seal one of the roots prescribed by Solomon'. The smell drives out the demon through the

\[ tia, Lemegeton 1, p. 70 \]. For the occurrence of the name in the main text of the Almandal, cf. Freiburg, ms. 458, fol. 229r and Paris, ms. allemand 160, fol. 241r. Primeuïathon. Spaun (Munich, Cgm 407, p. 29) has Pyremathon.

17 Kully, 'Spaun', col. 32.

18 For a general survey, see also Butler, Ritual Magic, pp. 47-99, and Butler, The Myth, pp. 35-43.

19 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities 8.44-49 (Loeb, vol. 7).

20 Cf. Wisdom 7:20, where it says that Solomon had knowledge of the 'virtues of roots'.
man’s nostrils and Eleazar orders the evil spirit to stay out in the name of Solomon, reciting one of the king’s incantations. To prove that his remedy actually works, the exorcist places a cup of water on the floor and orders the spirit to overturn it on his departure, which apparently the demon does, for Josephus is convinced that Solomon’s greatness and the special virtues that God bestowed on him have been sufficiently demonstrated on that occasion. A similar proof of a successful exorcism, it will be remembered, was given by Christ who drove a whole flock of demons into a herd of swine.

Solomon’s reputation in the first century AD appears to have been such that, in the context of his mission, Jesus felt it required some toning down. The Gospels tell us that Solomon’s wealth is no match to the lilies of the field and that his qualities as a judge are surpassed by those of Jesus.\textsuperscript{21} Like Solomon, Christ was frequently referred to as the 'son of David', which in connection with divine promises regarding the 'everlasting kingdom'\textsuperscript{22} soon persuaded typological interpreters of Scripture that Solomon was a type of Christ and that the promise applied in a literal sense to Solomon could only reach its fulfillment in the work of the Messiah. Next to Solomon’s office of judge it was essentially his \textit{magnum opus}, namely the building of the temple, the place wherein, as Scripture explains, the name of God resides,\textsuperscript{23} that was seized upon by Christian exegetes as a clear adumbration of the Resurrection and the work of salvation. Christ, of course, also drove out many demons, but exorcist \textit{skills} were not directly attributed to Solomon by the authors of the New Testament. Their toning down of Solomon’s greatness may conceal a tacit resistance to a popular tradition that made the king into a miracle worker who had power over devils and who had built the temple with the aid of angels and demons.

The finest example of this tradition is the well-known \textit{Testament of Solomon}\textsuperscript{24} originally written in Greek, evidently relying on Jewish sources or traditions. Especially Christians in the early centuries are believed to have taken an interest in the \textit{Testament} since it contains descriptions of exorcist procedures very akin to the exorcisms of Christ. The fact that the \textit{Testament} contains passages that make specific mention of Christ demonstrates that Christians left their mark on the text. It also shows that magical texts are a malleable genre as opposed to canonical texts, that are less sub-

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{II Sam.} 7:12 ff.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{I Kings} 8:16 ('That My name might be therein'); \textit{I Kings} 8:29.
ject to variation. Since magical texts were written for practical use, they were subject to change and there may have been as many variants of a text as there were different audiences and groups of users.

The aim of the Testament of Solomon is to instruct the readers about the names and powers of demons and to learn the names of the angels that constrain them. Even a cursory reading of Gospel narratives shows us that the world of the first century AD was replete with demons tormenting people and spreading like a disease. Attitudes towards demons will have resembled modern attitudes towards diseases in that one either has to try to get rid of them (by finding the cure or using exorcisms) or make them manageable (by fighting the symptoms or applying conjurations). And it is not surprising, therefore, that demons play a leading part in the book. The Testament tells the story of Solomon who, with the aid of a magical ring which he received from the archangel Michael, summons up fifty-nine demons whom he submits to a cross-examination, forcing them to reveal their name, their principal activities and occupations, and the names of the angels who preside over them and have the power to constrain them In the final chapter of the Testament one can read a brief report on Solomon’s polygamy and lust for foreign women who lead him into idolatry. Realising how his error has ruined him, Solomon draws up his Testament to instruct his people on the dangers and deceit of evil spirits and to teach them the names and the powers of the holy angels,25 for he fears that idolatry has been able to flourish because people have forgotten the names of the angels who constrain and bind the demons and the idols.26 The magic of the Testament of Solomon seems to be fairly beneficent in that it seeks to reveal the true nature of the evils in the world and wants to provide remedies by constraining demons with the help of angels. Teaching the pious readers angelic names seems to be the main aim of the text.

The importance of angelic names is borne out even more strongly by another Jewish magical text, the Sefer ha-Razim, or the Book of Mysteries, an eclectic document providing materials from the Hekhaloth literature and the magical papyri, which was dated by its editor to around the fourth century.27 Like the Testament it provides a narrative context for its magical prescriptions. The Book of Mysteries was given to Noah by the angel Raziel just before the Deluge, and the wisdom contained therein enabled Noah to construct the ark and survive the flood. He passed the book down to his descendants from father to son until it reached its final recipient: king

26 Ibidem 5:5.
Solomon. The text describes a cosmos of seven **firmaments** littered with angels of whom the names are diligently noted down and should be recited by the supplicant. The prayers and rituals should be performed in a state of purity, but the purposes which the angels can be made to serve go far beyond what orthodoxy would allow. The angels heal and protect, they can be made to predict the future, to interpret dreams (divination), to interrogate the Sun, the Moon and the stars, to question ghosts or spirits (necromancy), to win the heart of a wealthy woman or to win at horse racing (good luck and love magic), but also to inflict pain on an enemy or even kill him.

Whether the angelic magic from late Antiquity contributed in a demonstrable way to the angelic magic of the Middle Ages is sometimes hard to assess. From the texts discussed above it is evident that its religious contents (aiming at redemption from sin and evil) as well as its beneficent applications (healing and exorcism) set the stage for medieval versions that clearly belong to the same genre. Before returning to the Almandal, one medieval instance of this type of angelic magic must be given that clearly rivals the medieval Church’s monopoly of redemption. This is the **Liber sacer sive juratus**, or the **Sworn Book** of Honorius of Thebes; as was pointed out by Robert Mathiesen, this may be a Christian production entirely modelled on the hierarchy and liturgy of the Church. There is even a relation between the Almandal and (one of the versions of) the Sworn Book because they share the same list of angel names for the Zodiac. The introduction to the book claims that under pressure of the persecutions initiated by the Pope and his Cardinals, the Magi, the true guardians of divine wisdom, held a council during which they decided to put their secret doctrine down in writing and swore an oath to keep the secret and safely pass the

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28 Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual'. Cf. also Kieckhefer, 'The Devil's Contemplative~' pp. 253-257, who believes the text ultimately derives from the Merka-bah-tradition in Jewish mysticism.

29 I am referring here to the English version of the Sworn Book, British Library, ms. Royal 17 A XLII which at the end, on fol. 80r-v, gives 'The names of the princes of the xii altitudes'. To illustrate my point I will juxtapose two brief angel lists of the first altitude of the East and the first altitude of the West from the Spaun Almandal (Munich, Cgm 407, pp. 16, 38, abbreviated as M), the Freiburg Almandal (ms. 458, fol. 224r, 233r, abbreviated as F), the Paris Almandal (ms. all. 160, fol. 237v, 243v, abbreviated as P), and the Sworn Book (British Library, ms. Royal 17 A XLII, fol. 80r-v, abbreviated as S). First altitude of the East M: Armiel, Gabriel, Barachiel, Libes, Helissan; F: Gabriel, Barochiel, Libes, Elyson; P: Gabriel, Barochiel, Libes, Eleyson; S: Armiel, Gabriel, Barachiel, Libes, Helissan; First altitude of the West M: Ay, Abbaym, Yohel, Abanay, Rathan, Corosay; F: Ay, Alayry, Boel, Albonoy, Zataz, Corozay; P: Ay, Alayry, Boel, Albonoy, Ratan, Corozay; S: Ay, Akin, Roel, Abanay, Rathan, Corosay. It would appear that Spaun and the scribe of the Sworn Book relied on similar lists. (Cf. ms. Sloane 2731, p. 219 in the present volume.)
document on to later generations of initiates. This council is, of course, the immediate obverse of the Council of Nicæa, where the articles of the Christian faith were formulated. Its self-justificatory opposition to ecclesiastical censure and authority strongly determined the outlook of the *Sworn Book*. It has its own Psalter and liturgy resembling the psalms and prayers of the Church; the main aim of its lengthy and burdensome rituals is quite orthodox, namely the attaining of the beatific vision. This places the book in the Neoplatonic theology of Christian orthodoxy, and hence in the company of Bonaventure and Dante (to whom Honorius, alas, is no match).

The religious motives that went into the composition and the reception of the *Almandal* will be evident by now. They vied with the authoritarian claims of institutionalised religion and hence made magic appealing to both monk and layman. But what made intellectuals take a serious interest in angelic magic? In what follows, this contribution will deal with the reception of the *Almandal*, its intellectual claims (touching briefly on astrology), the intellectual scrutiny to which it was subjected, and the curious transformations that both the text and the name (*almandal*) underwent.

**The reception of the Almandal: William of Paris and Albert the Great**

When the name almandal first appeared in the Latin West it was in the works of two scholastic authors, William of Paris (Guillaume d’Auvergne) and Albert the Great, who epitomised the standard forms of critique launched against magic in the Middle Ages. The former dealt with theological, the latter with philosophical objections. Both authors did extensive library research and provide their readers with lists and titles of magical texts, and both on occasion expressed the horror they felt when dealing with these materials. Yet the contexts in which they did their work were, generally speaking, quite different: William was primarily concerned with idolatry, Albert with astrology.

William of Paris mentions a small list of Solomonic magical texts comprising the *Rings of Solomon*, the *Nine Candariae*, the *Liber Sacratum*, and what he calls the *Mandel* or *Amandel*, a quadrangular figure which is said to be capable of drawing spirits. William's main objection to this type of magic is formulated in a passage on Solomonic pentangles in which he ex-
plains that idolaters actually believe that the angles have virtutes mirificae. Attributing divine powers to angles and triangles is nonsense, William explains, for if angles are divine, divinity will grow with the number of angles. Of course, an ever growing number of angles would eventually lead to a circle, which would certainly please magicians, but if angles are divine, then all things on earth are divine too, which would lead to pantheism. What William is actually criticising here is the belief inherent in magic that words, signs and symbols are not conventional but natural, and that their use or application will somehow affect the referent, even in the sense of causing substantial change.

Albertus Magnus approaches magic from a different perspective. The main reason why Albert deals with magical texts in his Speculum is not primarily a matter of theological indignation but rather one of scientific irritation over the fact that the magical texts he has seen 'borrow astronomical observations (...) for the purpose of simulation' to gain credibility. For him it is an abuse of knowledge as well as an attack on scholarly or scientific integrity. Although he admits that his 'spirit was never tranquil when dealing with these matters', theological or even demonological

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31 William of Paris, De legibus, cap. 27, p. 88b. William talks about anguli, not angeli. In Neoplatonism the higher levels of abstraction, where, so to speak, "God does geometry" (cf. Plutarch, Moralia 8.718b-720c), can be attained through theurgy. Shaw, Theurgy and the Soul, p. 204: 'Since the soul contains all the mathematicals, the geometric figures that it consecrates, draws, and visualises would schematize the entire process of its separation from, and return to the gods'. Proclus, in his Commentary on Euclid's Elements (132-133), elaborates on the relation between acute/obtuse angles in geometrical figures and encosmic/hypercosmic gods (see Proclus, Commentary, pp. 106-107). It should be pointed out that Proclus regards these angles and figures as symbols. That angles have virtues is an idea that also surfaces, e.g., in the medieval romance of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, where the pentangle of Solomon on Sir Gawain's shield is described (Sir Gawain, II. 625-630): *Hit is a syngne pat Salamon set sumquyle/In bytoknyng of trawpe, bi tytle pat hit habbe3, / For hit is a figure bat halde3 fyue poynte3, / And vche lyne vmbelappe3 and louke3 in ober, /And ayquere hit is endeles; and Englych hit callen / Oueral, as I here, þe endeles knot.* The word poynte3 refers to both the angles and the associated virtues or qualities. These, however, are no longer magical but moral. Regarding Gawain's spiritual armour we learn that the knight (1) is faultless in his five senses (wytte3); (2) is faultless in his five fingers; (3) trusts in the five wounds of Christ; (4) draws his fortitude from the five joys of St. Mary; and (5) has five major virtues: *fraunchyse* (generosity), *felaschyp* (love), *clannes* (purity), *corayse* (courtesy), and *piti* (compassion). This might suggest that the Gawain-poet has taken William of Paris’s criticism to heart. See Sir Gawain, II. 640-669, pp. 60-63.

32 Albertus Magnus, Speculum astronomiae, cap. 4, p. 223.

33 Ibidem, cap. 11, p. 243.
Albert gives the following depiction of the several branches of the science of the stars. In the first place, he distinguishes between astronomy proper and the art of making astrological judgements, which can be further subdivided into an introductory discipline (dealing with all theoretical aspects) and a practical discipline dealing with the exercise of making these judgements. This practical discipline comprises (1) revolutions, which deals with the great celestial motions that influence life on earth, such as conjunctions, (2) nativities, which deal with stellar influence on a person's birth, (3) interrogations, which essentially deal with causal arguments (why and when something can or cannot take place), and (4) elections, which in a very practical way deal with the organisation of one's life in accordance with celestial influence, by choosing propitious hours. It is in the context of astrological elections that he deals with necromantic books on images, illusions and characters, rings and sigils, of which he gives titles and incipits from memory. His main reason for scrutinising this abstruse literature is to prevent ignorance, to provide himself with knowledgeable arguments against any defender of necromancy and to demonstrate that all their arguments are invalid. This frame of mind clearly reflects on the subdivisions he proposes for the science of images: the first category is abominabilis, the second detestabilis, and the third is more neutrally labelled 'the art of astronomical images' since it tries to produce effects without the use of magic ritual and demonic assistance, so that if not efficacious, at least it is relatively innocent. This, however, is not the case with the former two. The abominable kind relies heavily on suffumigations and invocations and aims at practising both black (harmful) and white (benevolent) magic. The detestable kind relies more on the inscription of characters and sigils, and though it seems to be more beneficent in character, it still involves incantations with names in unknown languages, which Albert fears may conceal something that might vitiate the honour of the Catholic faith. The distinction is not clear-cut since among the detestable works he mentions is the standard group of Solomonic literature: the De quatuor annulis (on the four rings of Solomon), the De novem candariis (on the nine candariae), the De tribus figuris spirituum (on the three figures of the spirits), the De sigillis ad daemoniacos (an exorcist

34 But see the careful analysis of Nicolas Weill-Parot on pp. 175-176 in the present volume.
36 Candariae has been speculatively translated as 'candles' (Albertus Magnus, Speculum, p. 245), but more likely the word should be read as cantharias, -ae, a precious stone, according to Pliny, which derives its name from Scarab beetles. See Pliny, Natural History 37.187.
manual on the sigils for those possessed by demons) and the De figura Almandal. This last work, especially, is deeply concerned with suffumigations and invocations.37

In short: William criticises a tenet of belief or a philosophical presupposition in the magical books he has read, whereas Albert criticises them for containing bad astrology. Albert’s criticism, that the authors used astrology to enhance the prestige of their text, still rings true a few centuries later, in the text composed by Claus Spaun. Despite Albert’s critique, it is astrology that gave the Almandal some of its prestige and that proved to be an important vehicle in spreading the angelic magic which it contains. The two versions of the Almandal in Middle High German clearly bear out that their scribes and translators were fully aware of the importance of astrology, even though one of them was not quite sure where to insert the relevant information.

**Celestial influence and angelic names**

The present context would be unsuited for a discussion of medieval theories of celestial influence,38 but there is one text that should briefly be examined here since it not only represents the astrological thought current at the time, but also provides a rationale of magic. This is al-Kindi’s De radiis stellae-rum39 – a work of natural and not of demonic or angelic magic – which would greatly influence medieval philosophers like Roger Bacon. Al-Kindi deals with the reciprocal radiation of stars and elementary bodies which, with great precision, determine the course of nature and allow the possibility of magical operations. In line with Islamic fatalism, the concept of cosmic harmony that al-Kindi uses implies that the stars are the directors of all natural processes in a fairly deterministic way, so that, in consequence, all individual beings in the world bear the imprint of the stars and are an exemplum of the universal harmony, reflecting, not unlike Leibniz’s monads, the totality of being. The ‘possibility’ of magic, however contingent it may seem to us, is in fact ordained by the stars (and ultimately by God); yet, ignorant of the Grand Design, we interpret as contingent what we cannot explain adequately. The things in this world resemble the stars in that, like their progenitors, they can also emit radiation and thus influence

37 It is possible that Albert the Great and William of Paris were familiar with the Almandals from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.i.3.214, which contains two Almandals: (1) fol. 74v-77r: Liber in figura almandal et eius opere, and (2) fol. 77r-78v: Alis liber de almandal quod dictur tabula vel ara Salomonis. I am obliged to Nicolas Weill-Parot for supplying me with xeroxes of these texts.
38 See North, 'Celestial Influence'.
39 Al-Kindi, De radiis (eds. D’Alverny and Hudry). See also Travaglia, Magic.
other things in the world. Hence it is that man's mental activities and sentiments can actually produce effects on remote objects. Accomplishing this requires fides (doubts are obviously pernicious sentiments in magic) and is done largely though rays emitted from the spiritus imaginarius.40

There is another important aid in the practice of magic, namely language.41 Through celestial influence, magical verba, nomina, incantamenta and carmina have specific potencies which derive from the planets, from the signs of the Zodiac or from the other constellations in the sphere of the fixed stars. The magus, therefore, in using magical spells and conjurations should pay specific attention to the astrologically propitious moments for performing his ritual. This is, of course, exactly the basic presupposition of the Almandal-rituals: they are efficacious only if the divine and angelic names are pronounced on the proper hours and under the correct Zodiacal sign. Al-Kindi recognised the existence of languages invented by man, but also believed that there is a sacred celestial language (which in later centuries in Western Europe would lead to speculations about a prelapsarian Adamitic language). The angel names and divine names no doubt belong to that category.

The great importance of astrology and Aristotelian causality, and in no small measure the theoretical flame for magical practices, such as, for instance, supplied by an author like al-Kindi, had the result that the Almandal, on its introduction in the West, acquired not only vehement criticism, but also a certain amount of prestige in the course of the fifteenth and possibly sixteenth century. The exotic names and the communion of angels outlined in the text held for most readers the promise of ancient wisdom and secret knowledge. The condemnations of Albert the Great and William of Paris may have caused a certain amount of fragmentation of the evidence of its transmission; yet, in the following pages a fair amount of material will be provided which will allow us to reconstruct the reception and intellectual attitudes regarding the book. From the discussions and references of William and Albert it is evident that the Almandal was known to exist as a separate text, and this is further supported by the manuscript traditions. A few Latin versions are still extant, as well as the German translations mentioned above.42 In the fourteenth century we find a reference to Solomon's Almandal in Anthony of Mount Ulm (Antonio da Montolmo, fl.

42 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400, fol. 192r-202r (fifteenth century); and the earlier mentioned Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.iii.214 (fifteenth century). For a brief description of the Florence manuscript, see Mazzatinti, Inventari, vol. 10, pp. 7-8.
around 1390), a man deeply involved in demonic magic.\textsuperscript{43} In the course of the sixteenth or seventeenth century English renderings were also produced, which will be briefly discussed towards the end of this contribution.

**Almandal and Almadel: diverse traditions**

The name 'almadel', 'almandel', or 'mandal' invites speculation as to its source and meaning. It no doubt came into the West via the channels which introduced new magic of Arabic origin, produced and translated in Spain in the second half of the twelfth century. The word itself may well have a Sanskrit origin, and consists of the Arabic article 'al' with the Sanskrit 'mandala'. David Pingree has pointed out the possible relationship between the Solomonic almandal and Indian astral magic, in which the use of special garments, flowers, suffimigations and prayers played an important part, next to the depiction of astrological talismanic images.\textsuperscript{44} Mircea Eliade explained that Indian mandalas served as receptacles for the gods who would descend into the altar.\textsuperscript{45} As is clear from the two German Almandals, its possible oriental roots are overshadowed by the vocabulary of the Judaeo-Christian magic of the Middle Ages.

This is borne out even more clearly by a gl\textipa{osa}, a gloss or commentary appended to one of the Latin versions of the Almandal (the Vienna manuscript) and supposedly written by 'Saint Jeronimus' (Jerome).\textsuperscript{46} It narrates how, on one evening, king Solomon is visited by a Seraph from the second altitude, who, responding to the king's desire to know the heavenly secrets, explains that this knowledge can be bestowed only on a person of special virtue. This wisdom is granted to Solomon as a reward for his judgement in the case of the two women who were quarrelling over a baby, and by means of this divine illumination he was able to write the Almandal in Hebrew. Later the text was retrieved in Athens by the Arab philosopher Solinus, who made a translation into Arabic and took the book home to teach this 'great secret' to his compatriots. Later again, the philosopher Symmachus, dispatched to Arabia on a secret embassy by Pope John II, found the book and rendered it into Greek. This Greek version finally came into the hands of Jeronimus when he was preaching the Gospel in Greece. He tells how

\textsuperscript{43} Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 3, p. 609.
\textsuperscript{44} Pingree, 'Learned Magic', pp. 42, 48; idem, 'Indian Planetary Images'.
\textsuperscript{46} The glossa can be found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 3400, fols. 194v-195r. The glossa was edited and published by Pack ('Almadel Auctor Pseudonymus', pp. 179-181).
impressed he was by the wisdom of the sages in that country and how these sages had explained to him that he should not marvel at this, for they possessed the sacred *Almandal* of Solomon, through which they had obtained their wisdom Jeronimus decides to translate the text into Latin, a task for which he is fully equipped after much study, consultation of the sages, and prayers to God. Knowing what the *Almandal* is actually about, one might have the impression that Jerome was not the scholarly type and by no means suited to the task of translating the entire Bible. Yet the idea is obviously that after having rendered the *Almandal*, and having obtained illumination through it, everything else was plain sailing. The story, of course, is a fiction and whoever wrote it should have paid more attention to chronology: Jerome died in 420 AD, while Pope John II was in office more than a century later.

Apparently the word 'almandal' had an exotic ring to it and was felt to be associated with Arabic names such as *al-Kindi* or Albumasar. In due course an anonymous author appeared who assumed the name Almadel, claimed to be an Arab and wrote a treatise called *Dejirmitate sex scientiarum* dealing with the six divinatory arts: pyromancy, haruspicy, hydromancy, augury, geomancy, and chiromancy. The author seems to combine 'much pretentiousness with a certain simplicity of mind', for he intends to write lengthy books on divination derived from rare Arabic sources (of which no traces remain), he tries to outline a firm philosophical basis for the divinatory arts (though he does not get beyond a few general remarks on celestial causality and the way in which the lower world is 'stamped' by the upper world), and, finally, he takes delight in enhancing the prestige of his treatise by the use of Arabic terminology (which he does with limited success, since he misinterprets the words). It is unclear when this text was composed, but since Gianfrancesco Pico is the first to notice it, it may well be a fifteenth-century creation.

Both the Solomonic *Almandal* and Almadel's treatise *On the Firmness of Six Sciences* drew the attention of scholars and magi in the Renaissance. Gianfrancesco Pico referred to the *Almadal Arabs* mainly in derisive terms, but he was aware of the Solomonic *Almandal* when he said that *Almadal Arabs* should not be confused with 'a more superstitious Almadel'.

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47 The *Dejirmitate* was first noted by Thorndike and later edited and published by Pack. See Thorndike, 'Alfodhol and Almadel'; *idem*, 'Alfodhol and Almadel Once More', and Pack, 'Almadel Auctor Pseudonymus'.


49 Pack (ibidem, p. 174, note to *Prefatio 10*) mentions 1300 as a *terminus post quem* and 1502 (when the younger Pico wrote about the treatise) as a *terminus ante quem*.

50 Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, *De rerum praenotione*, lib. IV, 7, p. 485 (*Nam Geomantia ipsa tripex habetur, pacto expresso, tacito et medio, qui et*
nes Wiems (or Weyer), copied Gianfrancesco and believed that Almadal was the name of an Arab magus; yet there is also a second reference by Wiems to the necromantic 'arts of Almadal, Bulaphia, Artephius, and Paul', which cannot refer to De firmitate by Almadal the Arab (Almadal Arabs), and must hence refer to the Solomonic Almandal.\(^{51}\) Wiems probably derived his reference from Trithemius and he may not have seen the Solomonic text. Cornelius Agrippa likewise referred to both Almadel and Almandal, but he was evidently more familiar with Almadal Arabs, the author of De firmitate, for in his De occulta philosophia he refers to him as an author on augury and geomancy.\(^{52}\) Later in life, having second thoughts about his occult interests, Agrippa refers to Almadel in his De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium as an author on natural magic, but in the same work he also speaks of the art of Almandal as superstitious theurgy.\(^{53}\) Johannes Trithemius likewise condemns the book, and refers to it as a Solomonic work.\(^{54}\) One must therefore conclude that the authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth century were aware of both texts and managed to distinguish the two.

In the later tradition of pseudo-Solomonic magical literature, the Almandal was incorporated in the Solomonic Corpus known as the Clavicula Salomonis. One of these Keys of Solomon, also known as the Lemegeton, was believed to consist of five parts, namely: (1) the Goetia; (2) the Theurgia-Goetia; (3) the Ars Paulina; (4) the Ars Almadel Salomonis; and (5) the Ars Nova and Ars Notoria.\(^{55}\) The Lemegeton has no clear medieval

\(^{51}\) Johannes Wierus or Weyer, De praestigiis daemonum 11.3, p. 101 ('Many followed in the footsteps of these men: Almadal, Alchindus, and Hipocus, of the Arab throng'); 11.6, p. 116 ('The vaunted arts of this school are the arts of Almadel, Bulaphia, Artephius, and Paul, the art of magical signs, the art of revelation, and similar monstrosities of impiety...').

\(^{52}\) Agrippa, De occultaphilosophia, 1.54, p. 192; 1.57, p. 201.

\(^{53}\) Agrippa, Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, cap. 42 ('Of natural magick'), p. 125, and cap. 46 ('Of theurgy'), p. 134. The demonologist Martin Del Rio also referred to the theurgic Almandal by quoting from cap. 46 of the De vanitate in his encyclopedic Disquisitio magicae 11.2, p. 96.

\(^{54}\) Johannes Trithemius, Antipalus maleficiorum 13 (Ad eandem vanissimam superstitionem est liber Almadel Solomoni adscriptus, qui sic incipit "Invenimus illuminationem spiritus sancti"), quoted in Peuckert, Pansophie, p. 49.

\(^{55}\) See: Solomon, The Goetia, pp. 23-26; Solomon, The Lemegeton (ed. Wilby), part 4: 'The art and magic of Almadel', pp. 131-137 (uncritical, produced for the benefit of an occult fraternity, but based on a sole manuscript, British Library, Sloane 3648). Pégarius, L'anacrise, pp. 118-128 (facsimile reprint of an eighteenth- or nine-
tradition and most of the copies known today, especially the English ones, date from the seventeenth century. Part of the Goetia was published by Johannes Wierus as Pseudomonarchia Daemonum (1563) and by Reginald Scot in his Discoverie of Witchcraft (1584). The materials contained in the Lemegeton are usually drastically reorganised and therefore differ substantially from their medieval counterparts, if such counterparts are still available. It is interesting to see that the version of the Almandal that survives in the Lemegeton clearly bears the imprint of its medieval predecessors. The magical diagram that has to be engraved on the altar of wax is still more or less the same, yet the system of altitudes has been drastically truncated: instead of twelve altitudes there are now only four. Where the medieval Almandal had a clear bearing on the Zodiac, the seventeenth-century English versions are only geared to the four cardinal directions. This also has dramatic consequences for another important feature of the older Almandal: connected with the twelve original altitudes were the names of some sixty angels; with the diminution of the number of mansions, dozens of angels are made redundant, with only about twenty remaining. The enormous importance of astrology apart, the medieval Almandals are closely related to magical texts that focus on name-magic (such as the Sefer ha-Razim), and for some reason the magi of the seventeenth century who composed and perhaps used the Lemegeton were not very interested in the names.

Visualising angels and the aims of magic

A compensation for this loss of names may be found in the only novelty that the English Almandals offer when compared to their medieval an-

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56 Especially the Sloane manuscripts from the British Library: Sloane 2731 (which is dated 1686), Sloane 3648, and Sloane 3825. For a transcription of the Almandal in Sloane 2731, see appendix, below. Many such manuscripts are still extant both in scholarly libraries and private collections. Butler's discussion of the Lemegeton (Ritual Magic, pp. 65-80) was based on such a private copy.
cestors. The medieval texts explain that the angels appear above the almandal, without giving further details, but apparently we may infer that they are apparitions hovering over the altar. The English Almandals, however, are more precise in their descriptions: the angels are said to become visible in a 'crystal stone', meaning a show-stone used in scrying. This is clearly an innovation in the text since it is absent from the German Almandals. Such a change may indicate a shift in interest from word (or name) to image, especially images seen in show-stones, but this would show disregard for the great interest in word-magic and natural language theories that were dominant in the early modern era. It is more likely that the additional element of scrying resulted from ideas on the visualisation of angels. Probably these ideas derived from optics, or at least from the complementary views of physics and metaphysics on reflection and illumination.

The use of crystal stones in angelic magic has an important instance in England in the figure of the nation's most important magus, Dr. John Dee.58 Dee was, of course, following the divination-technique of crystal-gazing, which, as is borne out by many documents of the time, was immensely popular. His entire magical career was dedicated to seeking contact and communicating with angels, and to this end he used instruments not unlike the almandal, but much more elaborate. He had an altar built, the size of a large table, with on it, engraved in wax, his Sigillum Dei, which served as a support for his show-stone. For many years he used this equipment for communicating with angels, taking note of his spiritual conversations in extensive diaries, some of which are still extant. The remarkable thing about Dee's conversations is that he needed a scryer who could function as a medium for his angelic contacts. His most dubious collaborator was Edward Kelley, a charlatan with a criminal record, who fed on Dee's gullibility and made him believe that the angels had ordered them to share all things, wives included. This 'devil's pact' finally led to the dissolution of their relationship59 – which goes to show that the application of such an altar for heavenly communications is best done in private and on one's own. Yet John Dee took a deep interest in natural philosophy and optics, largely inspired by Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, who relied heavily on the philosophical theories of (natural) magic developed by al-Kindi.60 His interest in scrying and angelic magic, therefore, begs the question of whether he consciously and philosophically reflected on the practices to which he was dedicated. A few remarks on the history of scrying will show that it was

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58 See Harkness, John Dee's Conversations with Angels; Shumaker, 'John Dee's Conversations with Angels'; Dee, The Diaries of John Dee.
59 Harkness, John Dee's Conversations with Angels, pp. 21-22.
60 Clulee, 'Astrology, Magic, and Optics'; Clulee, John Dee's Natural Philosophy.
caught between the extremes of natural and demonic magic, and the question therefore remains, whether John Dee ever tried to reconcile the two.

The art of scrying or catoptromancy has a medieval tradition extending back to the elusive magus Artephius (or Artesius), who recommended the fabrication of instruments that could unite and concentrate celestial rays and who mentioned the ‘mirror of Almuchesi’ for purposes of divination.61 A twelfth-century student of catoptromancy explained the intricacies of Artesius’s art by regarding the sun as a mirror that reflects the images of all things, so that capturing the sun’s rays in shining objects may produce a reflection of present realities and perhaps reveal the secrets of nature.62 As a precursor of live television this method seems to leave little room for predicting the future; but more elaborate theories on celestial rays and planetary spirits would soon make up for that. In Michael Scot’s Liber Introductorius various practices of divination from shining objects or substances, including oil and water, are discussed (Michael speaks of hydromancy rather than catoptromancy), usually in relation to necromantic rituals such as outlined in the pseudo-Solomonic Ars Alphiarei Florieth ydee (the spirit invoked in this ritual is called Floriget or Florieth).63 William of Paris, too, was to give a more spiritual twist to this art of prediction by attributing it to the illumination of a superior spiritual light, the shining surfaces and objects being mere props (though not without peril: through demonic interference shining surfaces may damage the eyes).64 In a sense, Aristotelian and Platonic ideas are vying here to give an adequate explanation for the workings of catoptromancy. But the most dominant theory by far was the one disseminated by al-Kindi’s De radiis stellarum, on the rays of the stars penetrating the earth and determining all processes of life and movement. It is mainly through this theory that optics, i.e., the mathematical study of rays, came to play such an important role in magic and astrology, for Dee believed that optics could teach one to ‘imprint the rays of any star more strongly upon any matter subjected to it’,65 and mirrors or lenses were naturally the most adequate means of reaching that effect. Yet these are practical ramifications of the theory he never seems to have exploited. Instead, regarding his show-stones, he took a far more Platonic stance, for he related them to the Urim and Thumim of the high priests of Israel in

61 Delatte, La catoptromancie, pp. 18-20. Cf. also Pico della Mirandola, De rerum praenotione II.5.
62 Delatte, La catoptromancie, p. 21, refers to a marginal note in Berlin, ms. 956, fol. 21v.
63 Delatte, id., pp. 25-27; Oxford Bodleian Library, ms. 266.
64 Delatte, id., p. 32; William of Paris, De universo, cap. 20, p. 1053 Bc.
65 Clulee, John Dee’s Natural Philosophy, pp. 66-67.
which they sought the light of God to resolve doubts and questions. Physical and metaphysical light were still closely related in the mind of Dee, but it is interesting to note that in the angel conversations he was not looking for the acquisition of the standard celestial benefits (as Ficino was), but was rather aiming at acquiring knowledge of the laws of nature.

Though it seems unlikely that Dee ever used or knew the almandal, his angelic magic does not differ significantly from that of the medieval text. It may well be that Dee is at the end of a tradition of angelic magic in the Latin West that was first introduced by texts like the Holy Almandal. It is a magic of theurgy and redemption, but also of intellectual achievement. There is more than a millennium between Plotinus and Dee, but their quests for abstract thought and the laws of nature respectively bear great resemblance.

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66 Ibidem, p. 207. On the Urim and Thumim, see the contribution by Garcia Martinez in the present volume.

67 This essay was written as part of a research project on angelology and demonology funded by The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). Some of the preparatory research was conducted at London, where the author was a Francis Yates Fellow for three months at the Warburg Institute. The author wishes to thank Alasdair MacDonald for corrections and suggestions.
In this appendix I provide a transcription of one of the abbreviated English *Almandals* from the seventeenth century that are part of the *Lemegeton*. I have chosen the text of Sloane 2731 for largely practical reasons (for example, it is at least fully legible). I have collated it with two other versions of the same text: Sloane 3648 and 3825. Angular brackets ( ) indicate words and phrases omitted in Sloane 2731 but present in the other manuscripts. Square brackets [ ] indicate editorial interventions to facilitate reading. All round brackets are found in the manuscript itself. The collation has no pretension to list all orthographic variants. In respect of orthography, Sloane 2731 and 3648 are very alike, but 3825 is different in various places. Only where words or phrases differ significantly, or were omitted, or where names were spelled differently, have variant readings been documented in the notes. The spelling of Sloane 2731 has been carefully copied (including the use of ampersands). The punctuation, however, is applied by the present editor.

The first page of the manuscript contains a date: January 18, 1686. Marginal notes in the manuscript indicate that, at a later date, the text was carefully compared with another *Lemegeton* (which is almost certainly Sloane 3648). In these notes variant readings of angel names are carefully listed, but in the *Almandal* section, no such notes appear.

The *Almandal* from Sloane 2731 was published by A.W. Greenup but his transcription is no longer easy to obtain. His text contains a few modernisations in the spelling; it was not collated with other *Lemegeton* manuscripts (such as Sloane 3648 and 3825) and thus has a few lacunae. Sloane 2731 had also previously attracted the attention of MacGregor Mathers, but he only published the first part of this *Lemegeton*, the *Goetia*. The present transcription contains the table of contents of the *Lemegeton* (fol. Ir-v) and the text of the *Almandal* (fol. 28r-29r). At the end of this appendix three *almandal* diagrams are supplied, copied in facsimile from the German and the English *Almandals*.

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THE HOLY ALMANDAL

MS SLOANE 2731

[f.1r] Lernegeton; Clauicula Salomonis or The Little Key of Salomon which contains all the names, orders and offices of all spirits that euer he had any converse with; with thir seals or charactors belonging to each spirit, and the manner of calling them fforth to visible appearence in five parts called booke.

1. The first part is a booke of euel spirits called Goetia, shewing how he bound up those sperits, and used them in seuerall things whereby he obtained great fame.

2. The second part is a booke of spirits, partly good and partly euell, which is called Theurgiagoetia being all spirits of the ayre.

3. The third part is of spirits governing the planetary hours, and what spirits belongeth to euer ydegree of the signs and planets in the signs, called the Pauline art.

4. The forth part of this book is called the book Almadel of Salomon containing 20 cheefe spirits which gouerns the 4 altitudes or the 360 degrees of the Zodiac or the world or signes, &c. These 2 last orders of spirits is of Good and is called the true Theurgia, and is to be sought after by Divine seeking, &c.

The 5th part is a booke of orations and prayers that wise Salomon used upon the alter in the temple, which is called Artem Nouem, the which was revealed to Salomon by the holy Angel of God called Michell. And he also receuid many breefe notes written by the finger of God, which was deliuered to him by the said Angel with thunder claps; without which notes Salomon had neuer obtained to his great knowledge, for by them in short time he knew all arts and sciences both good and bad. From these notes it is called the Notory Art, &c.

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69 Salomonis: Sloane 3648, 3825 Salomonis Rex
70 Salomon: Sloane 3648, 3825 Solomon the King
71 ‘visible’ added as interlinear correction; om. Sloane 3825.
72 called the Pauline art: Sloane 3825 and is called Ars Paulina
73 the book Almadel of Salomon: Sloane 3648 Almadee of Solomon; Sloane 3825
74 Ars Almadel Solomonis of the Zodiack or the world or signes: Sloane 3648 of the Zodiack; Sloane 3825 of the world & signes
75 From: Sloane 3825 which from
76 ‘it’ added as interlinear correction; om. Sloane 3825.
77 Notory Art: Sloane 3825 Ars Notoria
78 The fifth part of the book (the Ars nova, or Ars notoria) was never completed in Sloane 2731.
In this booke is contained the hole art of Salomon; although there be many other books that is said to be his, yet none is to be compared with this, for this contains them all, although they be titled with seuerall other names, as the book Helisoe which is the very same as this last is, which is called Artem Nouem and the Notory Art, &c. [f.1v] These booke was first ffound in the Chaldean and Hebrew tongue at Hirusalem by a Jewish Rabbi and by him put into the Greeke language and from thence into the Latin – as it is said, &c.

[f.28r] Here beginneth the fourth part of this book which is called the Art Almadel of Salomon.

By this art Solomon attains great wisdom from the cheif angels that governs the 4 altitudes of the world, for you must observe that there are four altitudes which represent the 4 comers of the world, East, West, North, & South, the which is divided into 12 parts, that is every part & the angels of every ... of these parts hath there particular virtues & powers, as shall be shewed in this following matter &c.

Make this Almadel of pure white wax, but the others must be coloured suitable to the altitudes. It is to be 4 inches square & 6 inches over every way & in every comer a hole & write betwixt every hole with a new pen these words or names of God following; but this is to be done in the day & hour of Sol. Write upon the first part towards the East: ‘Adonai’ Helorni, Pine & upon the second towards the south part: Helion, Heloi,

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79 Helisoe: Sloane 3648 Helisol
80 Notory Art Sloane 3825 Ars Notoria
81 was: Sloane 3825 were
82 the Art Almadel of Solomon: Sloane 3825 Salomons Almadel Art
83 art: Sloane 3825 rule
84 Solomon attains: Sloane 3825 Salomon obtained
85 is: Sloane 3825 be
86 which represent: Sloane 3825 representing
87 every part: Sloane 3825 every part or altitude into 3
88 Blank space after ‘every’.
89 parts: Sloane 3825 altitudes
90 the others must be: om. Sloane 3825
91 this: Sloane 3825 the
92 altitudes: Sloane 3825 altitude
93 4 inches square: Sloane 3825 four squares
94 'Adonai' added as interlinear correction; om. Sloane 3648; Sloane 3825 Adonai
95 part: om. Sloane 3825
Heli & upon the west part: Jod, Hod, Agla. And the fourth part which is north, writ: Tetragrammaton, Shadai, Jah & betwixt the first & the other parts make the pentacle of Solomon thus & betwixt the first quart write this word Anabona & in the middle of the Almadel make a sexangle figure & in the middle of it a triangle wherein must be written these names of God: Hell, Helion, Adonai & this last name round about the 6 angles figure as here it is made for an example.

And of the same wax there must be made 4 candles & they must be of the same colour as the Almadel is of. Divide your wax into 3 parts, one for to make the Almadel of & the other 2 parts to make the candles of & let there come forth of every one of them a foot made of the same wax to support the Almadel with. This being done, in the next place you are to make a seal of pure gold or silver, but gold is best, wherein must be engraven these three names: Helion, Helluion, Adonaij.

And note the first altitude is called Chora Orientis or the East altitude & to make an experiment in this chora, it is to be done in the day & hour of the sun & the power & office of those angels is to make all things fruitfull & increase both animals & vegetables in creation & generation, advancing the birth of children & making barren women fruitfull & their names are these (viz): Alimiel, Gabriel, Barachiel, Lebes & Helison.

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97 Agla is a common magical abbreviation for the Hebrew 'Thou art mighty forever, O Lord'. See Kieckhefer, Forbidden Rites, p. 139.
98 the: Sloane 3825 upon the
99 north: Sloane 3825 the north
100 writ: Sloane 3825 write these names
101 parts: Sloane 3825 quarters
102 Solomon: Sloane 3825 Salomon
103 first quart: Sloane 3825 first and other quarters
104 Hell: Sloane 3825 Hel
105 Adonaij: Sloane 3825 Adoni
106 about: Sloane 3825 in
107 here it is made: Sloane 3825 you may see in this figure, here made it being
108 See figure 3.
109 And: Sloane 2731 &
110 Divide your wax: Sloane 3825 you must divide the wax
111 one: Sloane 3825 one part
112 of: Sloane 3825 from
113 to: Sloane 3825 for to
114 wherein: Sloane 3825 wherein
115 And: Sloane 2731 &; om, Sloane 3825
116 an: Sloane 3825 any
117 these: Sloane 3825 those
118 Barachiel: Sloane 3825 Borachiel
119 Helison: Sloane 3648, 3825 Hellison
& note you must not pray for any angel but these that belongs to the altitude you have a desire to call forth & when you operate, sett the 4 candles upon 4 candlesticks, but be careful you do not light them before you begin to operate. Then lay the Almadel between the 4 candles upon waxen feet that comes from the candles & lay the golden seal upon the Almadel & having the invocation ready written in virgin parchment, light the candle[s] & read the invocation (as is set down at the latter end of this part).

And when he appears, he appeareth in the form of an angel carrying in his hand a fann or flag having the picture of a white cross upon it. His body being wrapped round with a fair cloud & his face very fair & bright & a crown of rose flowers upon his head, he ascends first upon the superscription of the Almadel as if it were a mist or fogg. Then must the exorcist have in readiest a vessel of earth of the same colour as the Almadel is of & the other of his furniture, it being in the form of a bason & put thereinto a few hot ashes or coales, but not too much least it should melt the wax of the Almadel & put therein 3 little grains of mastick in powder, so that it may fume & the smell go upwards through the holes of the Almadel when it is under it & as soon as the angel smelleth it, he beginneth to speak with a low voice asking what your desire is & what you have called the princes & governours of this altitude for. Then you must answer him, saying: I desire that all my requests may be granted & what I pray for may be accomplished, for your office maketh it appear & declareth that such is to be fullfilled by you if it please God; adding further the particulars of your request, praying with

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120 &: om. Sloane 3825
121 angel: Sloane 3825 angells
122 these: Sloane 3825 those
123 altitude: Sloane 3825 same altitude
124 a: Sloane 3825 the
125 Phrase in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
126 And: Sloane 2731 &
127 round: Sloane 3825 round about
128 ascends: Sloane 3825 desends
129 as: Sloane 3825 of
130 thereinto: Sloane 3825 therein
131 may fume: Sloane 3825 fumeth
132 go: Sloane 3825 may goe
133 Almadel: Sloane 3825 Armadel
134 what: Sloane 3825 why
135 this: Sloane 3825 his
136 for: om. Sloane 3825
137 it: om. Sloane 3825
humility\textsuperscript{138} for what is lawful & just & that you shall obtain from him, but if he do not appear presently, you must then take the golden seal & make with it 3 or 4 marks upon the candles by which means the angel will presently appear as aforesaid & when the angel departeth, he will fill the whole place with a sweet & pleasant smell which will be smelt a long time.

And\textsuperscript{139} note the golden seal will serve & is used\textsuperscript{140} in all\textsuperscript{141} the operations off all the 4\textsuperscript{142} altitudes. The colour of the Almadel belonging to the first altitude or\textsuperscript{143} chora is lilly white, the\textsuperscript{144} 2d chora a perfect red rose colour, the third chora is to be a green mixt with a\textsuperscript{145} white silver colour, the 4th chora is to be black mixt with a little green or a sad colour.

Of the second chora or altitude,

Note all the other 3 altitudes with their signs & princes (have)\textsuperscript{148} power over goods & riches & can make any man rich or poor & as the first chora gives increase & maketh fruitfull, so those\textsuperscript{149} gives decrease & barrenness & if any have a desire to operate in any of these 3 following\textsuperscript{150} choras or altitudes, they must do it in die solis\textsuperscript{151} in the manner as above is shewed. But do not pray for any thing that is contrary to the nature of there office or that is\textsuperscript{152} against God & his laws, but what God giveth according to the custom or\textsuperscript{153} course of nature that you may desire & obtain. (And)\textsuperscript{154} all the furniture (that)\textsuperscript{155} is to be used, is to be of the same colour the Almadel is of & the princes of this 2d chora is named\textsuperscript{156} (viz): Aphiriza,\textsuperscript{157} Genon, Geron, Armon, Gereimon\textsuperscript{158} & when you operate, kneel before the Almadel with

\textsuperscript{138} humility: \textit{Sloane 3825} sincerity (with 'humility' added as interliniar addition)
\textsuperscript{139} And: \textit{Sloane 2731 &; om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{140} used: \textit{Sloane 3825} to be used
\textsuperscript{141} all: \textit{om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{142} 4: \textit{om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{143} altitude or: \textit{om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{144} the: \textit{Sloane 3825} to the
\textsuperscript{145} a: \textit{om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{146} black: \textit{Sloane 3825} a black
\textsuperscript{147} or: \textit{Sloane 3825} of
\textsuperscript{148} Word in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
\textsuperscript{149} those: \textit{Sloane 3825} these
\textsuperscript{150} these 3 following: \textit{Sloane 3825} the other three
\textsuperscript{151} in die solis: \textit{Sloane 3825} on sundays
\textsuperscript{152} that is: \textit{om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{153} custom or: \textit{om. Sloane 3825}
\textsuperscript{154} Word in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
\textsuperscript{155} Word in Sloane 3825, but not in 2731 and 3648.
\textsuperscript{156} is named: \textit{Sloane 3825} are named as followeth
\textsuperscript{157} Aphiriza: \textit{Sloane 3825} Alphariza; \textit{Sloane 3648} Aphariza
\textsuperscript{158} Gereimon: \textit{Sloane 3825} Gereinon
clothes of the same colour in a closet hung with the same colours also, for the holy apparstion\textsuperscript{159} will be of the same colours & when he appeareth\textsuperscript{160} put an earthen vessel\textsuperscript{161} under the Almadel with fire or hott ashes & 3 grains of mastick to perfume\textsuperscript{162} as aforesaid\textsuperscript{163} & when the angel smelleth it,\textsuperscript{164} he turneth his face towards you asking the exorcist with a low voice why he hath called the princes of this chora or altitude. Then you must answer as before:\textsuperscript{165} I desire that my requests may be granted & the contents thereof may be accomplished, for your office maketh appear & declareth that such is to be done by you if it please God & you must not be fearfull, but speak humbly saying: I recommend my self wholly to your office & I pray unto you\textsuperscript{167} princes of this altitude, that I may enjoy & obtain all things according to my wishes & desires & you may further express your mind in all particulars in your prayer & do the like in the other \textsuperscript{169} choras following.\textsuperscript{170}

The angels of the\textsuperscript{171} second altitude appeareth in the form of a young child with cloths of sattin & of a red rose colour having a crown of red gillyflowers upon his head. His face looketh\textsuperscript{172} upwards to heaven & is of a red colour & is compassed round about with a bright splendor as the beames of the sun & before he departeth, he speaketh unto the exorcist, saying: I am your friend & brother & illuminateth the air round about with his splendor & leaveth a\textsuperscript{173} pleasant smell which will last\textsuperscript{174} a long time upon there heads.\textsuperscript{175}

Of the 3d chora or altitude.

In this chora you must\textsuperscript{176} do in all things as you was\textsuperscript{177} before directed in the other 2. The angels of this altitude is named\textsuperscript{178} (viz): Eliphaniastai,\textsuperscript{179}
Gelomiros, Gedobonai, Saranava\textsuperscript{180} & Elomina,\textsuperscript{181} they appear in the form of little\textsuperscript{182} children or little women drest in green & silver colours, very delightfull to behold & a crown of bays\textsuperscript{183} besett with (flowers of)\textsuperscript{184} white & green colours upon there heads & they seem to look a little downwards with there face\textsuperscript{185} & they speak as the others do to the exorcist & leaveth\textsuperscript{186} a mighty sweet perfume behind them.

[29r] Of the fourth chora or altitude.

In this chora you must do as before\textsuperscript{187} in the other & the angels of this chora is\textsuperscript{188} called: Barchiel, Gediel, (Gabiel),\textsuperscript{189} Deliel & Captiel.\textsuperscript{190} They\textsuperscript{191} appear in form of little men or boys with cloths of a black colour mixt with a dark green & in their hands\textsuperscript{192} they hold a bird which is naked & their heads (are beare, only it is compassed round and besett\textsuperscript{193} with ivy berries. They are all very beautifull and comely, and are\textsuperscript{194} compassed round with a bright shining of divers colours. They leave a sweet smell behind them also, but differs from the others something.

Note there is\textsuperscript{195} 12 princes besides\textsuperscript{196} those in the 4 altitudes & they distribute there office[s] amongst themselves, every one ruling 30 days every year. Now it will be in vain to call any of the\textsuperscript{197} angels unless it be those that governs then,\textsuperscript{198} for every chora or altitude hath its limited time according to the 12 signs of the Zodiac & in that sign the sun is in. That\textsuperscript{199} or those angels that belong to that sign hath the government, as for example:

\textsuperscript{177} was: Sloane 3825 are
\textsuperscript{178} ts named: Sloane 3825 are named as follows
\textsuperscript{179} Eliphaniasai: Sloane 3825 Eliphamasai
\textsuperscript{180} Saranava: Sloane 3825 Saranana (Greenup has ‘Taranava’).
\textsuperscript{181} Elomina: Sloane 3825 Elomia
\textsuperscript{182} little: om. Sloane 3825
\textsuperscript{183} bays: Sloane 3825 bay leaves
\textsuperscript{184} Phrase in Sloane 3825, not in 2731; 3648 deleted ‘flowers’.
\textsuperscript{185} face: Sloane 3825 faces
\textsuperscript{186} leaveth: Sloane 3825 leaue
\textsuperscript{187} before: om. Sloane 3825
\textsuperscript{188} is: Sloane 3825 are
\textsuperscript{189} ‘Gabiel’ only in Sloane 3825.
\textsuperscript{190} Greenup misspelled ‘Capitiel’.
\textsuperscript{191} They: Sloane 3825 these
\textsuperscript{192} hands: Sloane 3825 hand
\textsuperscript{193} The repetition of ‘besett’ is, of course, otiose.
\textsuperscript{194} Line in Sloane 3825, not in 2731 or 3648.
\textsuperscript{195} Is: Sloane 3825 are
\textsuperscript{196} besides: Sloane 3825 rulling besides
\textsuperscript{197} the: Sloane 3825 those
\textsuperscript{198} governs then: Sloane 3825 then gouerneth
\textsuperscript{199} That: Sloane 3825 that angell
suppose I would call the 2 first of the 5 that belong to the first chora, then choose the first Sunday in March after the sun hath entered Aries & then I make an experiment & so do the like if you will the next Sunday after again if you will call the 2 second that belongs to the first chora, (then you must take) that Sunday after the sun enters in April. But if you will call the last of the 5, then you must take those Sundays that is in May after the Sun is entered to make your experiment in. Do the like in the other altitudes, for they have all one way of working, but the altitudes have a name formed severally in the substance of the heavens, even a character, for when the angels hear the names of God that is attributed to them, they hear it by virtue of that character. Therefore it is in vain to call any angel or spirit, unless he knows what name of God to call him by. Therefore observe the form of this conjuration or invocation following.

The Invocation

O thou great blessed & glorious Angel of God (N) who rulest and is the chief governing angel in the first chora or altitude in (the East). I, the servant of the highest, the same, your God, Adonaij, Helomi & Pine, whom you do obey & is the distributor & disposer of all things both in heaven, earth & hell, do invocate, conjure & intreat yee (N) that thou forthwith appear in the virtue & power of the same God Adonaij, Helomi & Pine & I do command thee by him whom you do obey & is set over you as king by

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200 the: Sloane 3825 those
201 after: Sloane 3825 that is after
202 hath: Sloane 3825 is
203 an: Sloane 3825 my
204 &: Sloane 3825 But
205 Phrase in Sloane 3825, not in 2731 or 3648.
206 that Sunday after the sun enters in April: Sloane 3825 then you must take the Sundays that are in April after the ☉ is entred ☉
207 will: om. Sloane 3825
208 5: Sloane 3825 5th
209 is: Sloane 3825 are
210 the heavens: Sloane 3825 heaven
211 is: Sloane 3825 are
212 virtue: Sloane 3825 the the vertue
213 he knows: Sloane 3825 you know
214 name: Sloane 3825 names
215 him: Sloane 3825 them
216 conjuration or invocation following: Sloane 3825 following conjuration or invocation
217 Phrase omitted in Sloane 2731, but present in 3648 and 3825.
the divine power of God, that you forthwith descend from thy orders or place of abode to come unto me & shew thy self plainly & visibly here before me in this crystal stone in thy own proper shape & glory, speaking with a voice intelligible & to my understanding. O thou mighty & powerful Angel (N), who art by the power of God ordained to govern all animals, vegetables & minerals & to cause them & all creatures of God to spring, increase & bring forth according to there kinds & natures. I, the servant of the most high God whom you obey, do intreat & humbly beseech thee to come from your celestial mansion & shew unto me all things I shall desire of you, so far as in office you may or can or is capable to perform if God permit to the same. O thou servant of mercy (N), I do humbly intreat & beseech thee in & by those holy & blessed names of your God, Adonai, Helomi, Pine & I do also constrain you in & by this powerful name Anabona that you forthwith appear visibly & plainly in your own proper shape & glory in & through this crystal stone, that I may visibly see you & audibly hear you speak unto me & that I may have thy blessed & glorious angelical assistance, familiar friendship, &

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218 The opening lines of the invocation in Sloane 2731 and 3648 ('O thou great ... from thy orders') are differently organised in Sloane 3825 (although the words are more or less the same): 'O thou great, mighty & blessed angel of God, N, who rueloth as the chiefe & first governing angel in the first chora or altitude, in the East, under the great prince of the East, whome you obey and is sett over you as kinge by the divine power of God, Adonai, Helomi, Pine; who is the distributter & disposer of all things, holly in heaven and earth and hell; I, the servant of that God Adonai, Helomi, Pine, which you obey, doe invoke, conjure & intreat thee, N, that thou forthwith appeareth, & by the virtue & power of the same God, I doe command thee forth from thy order...'

219 unto: Sloane 3825 into

220 powerfull: Sloane 3825 blessed

221 all animals, vegetables & minerals: Sloane 3825 all vegetables and animalls

222 to cause: Sloane 3825 causeth

223 all: Sloane 3825 all other

224 the most high God whom you obey: Sloane 3825 the same your God

225 do: Sloane 3825 I doe

226 from your celestial mansion: om. Sloane 3825

227 may or can or is: Sloane 3825 can or be

228 intreat: Sloane 3825 entreat thee

229 beseech: Sloane 3825 humbly beseech

230 those holy & blessed: Sloane 3825 these 3

231 God: Sloane 3825 true God

232 I doe also: Sloane 3825 doe

233 powerfull: om. Sloane 3825

234 you: Sloane 3825 thee

235 &: om. Sloane 3825
constant society, community\textsuperscript{236} & instruction both now & at all other times to inform & rightly instruct me in my ignorance\textsuperscript{u7} & depraved intellect, judgment & understanding & to assist me both herein & in all other truths else the Almighty Adonaij, the King of Kings, the giver of all good gifts, that\textsuperscript{235} his bountifull & fatherly mercy be graciously pleased to bestow upon me. Therefore, o thou blessed Angel (N), be friendly unto me (and doe for me)\textsuperscript{239} so far as God shall give\textsuperscript{240} you power (in office to performe wherunto I invocate you in powre)\textsuperscript{241} & presense to appear, that I may sing with his holy angels: O mappa la man Hallelujah Amen.

When he appears,\textsuperscript{242} give him or them kind entertainment & then ask what is just & lawfull & that which is proper & sutable to his office & you shall obtain it. So endeth the 4th Book called the Almadel of Solomon the King.\textsuperscript{243} Finis.\textsuperscript{244}

\textsuperscript{236} community: Sloane 3825 communication
\textsuperscript{237} Ignorance: Sloane 3825 ignorant
\textsuperscript{238} that: Sloane 3825 shall in
\textsuperscript{239} Phrase in Sloane 3825, not in 2731 or 3648.
\textsuperscript{240} shall give: Sloane 3825 hath given
\textsuperscript{241} Phrase omitted in Sloane 2731, but present in 3648. Sloane 3825 has 'I move you in power' instead of 'I invocate...'
\textsuperscript{242} appears: Sloane 3825 is appeared
\textsuperscript{243} the 4th Book called the Almadel of Solomon the King: Sloane 3825 the Booke Almadel of Solomon.
\textsuperscript{244} Finis: om. Sloane 3825
Figure 1. The *almandal* as it can be found in Freiburg im Breisgau, *Universitätsbibliothek*, Hs. 458, fol. 221r, and Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ms. *allemand* 160, fol. 246r (courtesy of the University Library of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg). Paris, *allemand* 160 also has another incomplete almandal diagram on fol. 235v in which the inner set of four names (*Primeuuiaton, Jatha, Anabona, Henoytheon*) are mislocated. (The cardinal directions in figure 1 added by J.R.V.)
Figure 2. Spaun’s almandal copied from Miinchen, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 407, p. 15 (courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The word 'Euan' (right hand corner) seems to be a scribal error. (The cardinal directions in figure 2 added by J.R.V.)
Figure 3. The almandal of British Library, ms. Sloane 2731, fol. 28r, carefully copied from the manuscript (courtesy of the British Library). The indications of the cardinal directions (South and East) are not in Sloane 2731, but in Sloane 3648 (fol. 30v). The diagram can also be found in Sloane 3825, fol. 145v.