

## Elias Ashmole's notes on *Janua Magica Reserata*

The following notes and transcriptions are copied from BL Sloane MS. 3824 fol. 30-52. They refer to a magical treatise titled *Janua Magica Reserata*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Janua* is a 17<sup>th</sup>-century work on angel magic (probably ca. 1660<sup>2</sup>) of unknown authorship. It contains conjurations for the nine orders of angels of pseudo-Dionysius (Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, &c.) to appear in a “Crystal Stone or Glass Receptacle,” with a theoretical preface drawing heavily on Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.<sup>3</sup> The most complete copy known now forms the first half or so (fol. 3-95) of Sloane MS. 3825, and was for a time in the possession of Elias Ashmole. Based on that copy, and on a comparison with another copy to which he had access, apparently lacking the conjurations but with the theoretical section expanded and slightly rearranged, Ashmole made the notes and copies here transcribed.

After the transcriptions of Ashmole's copies, I have transcribed material relating to the *Janua* in a different hand which currently forms part of Sloane 3824, although they appear to have been on a detached sheet and a single torn page which were bound somewhat haphazardly inside other, unrelated material (a collection of talisman designs on one instance and a book of treasure-hunting processes and “experiments” involving various names spirits in the other).

Other materials which survive in Sloane MSS. 3821 and 3825 are in similar style, and possibly common authorship, to the *Janua*. These include “The Practice of the Tables,” also known as *Clavicula Tabularum Enoch*,<sup>4</sup> the “Operations of the Angles of the Air,”<sup>5</sup> “Celestial Confirmations of Terrestrial Observations”<sup>6</sup> and “A Select Treatise at it was first discovered to the Egyptian Magi”;<sup>7</sup> together they comprise an extensive magical system based around evocation to crystal, involving the Angels of John Dee's “Tables of Enoch,” the planetary Angels and Intelligences and the Demon Kings of the quarters.

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<sup>1</sup> *Lat.* “The Magical Gate Unlocked.” Typeset in Stephen Skinner & David Rankine (ed.), *Keys to the Gateway of Magic*, Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2005. While Skinner & Rankine used other material from Sloane 3824 in that edition, they did not include the passages copied by Ashmole.

<sup>2</sup> Some references in the following suggest it was compiled during, or shortly after, the “Commonwealth” period of English history (1649-1660). The work's use of printed sources make a date before 1659 extremely unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> Other identifiable sources include *T&FR*, *Arbatel de magia veterum* (*Arbatel of Magick*) and the pseudo-Paracelsan *Archidoxes Magica*.

<sup>4</sup> S1 fol. 2-157. Another copy, probably earlier & certainly more complete, is in Sloane MS. 307. The work appears to be untitled internally; “The Practice of the Tables” is how Hans Sloane's librarian designated it in the contents list of S1, based on some of the internal section titles, and it is unclear whether the title *Clavicula Tabularum Enoch* in Sloane 307 refers simply to the table of letter-squares at the start of the work, or the treatise as a whole.

<sup>5</sup> S1 fol. 158-169, 179v-187. There is no overall title in MS.: it comprises four sections titled “Operation of the East Angle of the Aire by invocation to the Regal Spirit **Oriens**,” and similarly for **Paimon** in the West, **Amaymon** in the South and **Egin** in the North. As indicated by the full titles, these call on the demon kings of the quarters, and various of their subordinates.

<sup>6</sup> S1 fol. 170-179r (interrupting the “Operations of the Angles of the Air.” This calls on various planetary Angels, mostly familiar from the *Heptameron*.

<sup>7</sup> S1 fol. 205-225. A fragment appears in S5 fol. 96v-99v. This is based around the planetary “Intelligences” mentioned in Agrippa, whose names are concocted in Hebrew to add up to one or another of the “magic numbers” of the planets.

### Source.

The following transcriptions were made from digitised images made (apparently in 2003) from microfilm photographs of the manuscript, which have been in Internet circulation for a while (as a PDF which also includes Sloane MSS. 3677 & 3821). The digitisation process reduced the greyscale photographs to 1-bit black & white, albeit at fairly high resolution (probably 500 dpi or more effective) resulting in some loss of detail; rubricated text in particular is nigh-unreadable in many places. Owing to the tight binding of the original MS. combined with the settings used for digitisation, text is lost in the gutter in many places.

### Note on the transcription.

English spelling has been retained as far as possible, including eccentricities of capitalisation and punctuation. English orthography was not standardised at the time this MS. was written down, and it is not unusual to see multiple spellings of a single word in the course of a single page or even paragraph.

Names of angels, spirits &c. are standardised in so far as, if a name is consistently spelt one way in the course of a particular text, variants that only occur once are generally treated as copyist errors. If there is sufficient variation to make establishing a standard orthography impossible, then the variants are transcribed.

Words or parts of words lost in the gutter or to torn edges are conjecturally restored from context where possible, flagged with double square brackets — [[these things]]

### Abbreviations used.

[[...]]	Marks text (generally a single word or part of a word) illegible or lost due to blotting, torn edges, over-tight binding of the MS., etc.
[[ ]]	Marks conjectural restoration of words or partial words unreadable in the MS. for one reason or another.
[[ ]]	Marks conjectural restoration of words omitted in text due to copyist error. Used sparingly.
< >	Marks words written in text in error that should be disregarded.
<illegible>	Typically marks a single illegible word.
fol.	Folio.
MS.	Manuscript.
OOP	Cornelius Agrippa, <i>Three Books of Occult Philosophy</i> . Unless otherwise stated references are to the 1651 edition, translated into English by “J. F.” and “Printed by R. W. for Gregory Moule” in London.
r	Recto
S1	British Library, Sloane MS. 3821.
S4	British Library, Sloane MS. 3824.
S5	British Library, Sloane MS. 3825.
sup. lin.	<i>Supra linea</i> – incates words have been written in above the main text line.
T1655	Robert Turner (trans.), <i>Henry Cornelius Agrippa his Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, of Geomancy, &amp;c. &amp;c.</i> , London, 1655.
T1665	Robert Turner (trans.), <i>Henry Cornelius Agrippa his Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, of Geomancie, &amp;c. &amp;c.</i> , London, 1665.
T&FR	Meric Casaubon (ed.), <i>A True &amp; Faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee [...] and some Spirits &amp;c. &amp;c. &amp;c.</i> London, 1659.
v	Verso

*[A note concerning material taken from Cornelius Agrippa]*

[30r] The first 5 pages<sup>8</sup> are taken out of the 36 Chap: of the 3<sup>d</sup> Book of Corneilus Agrippa's Occult Philosophy. Set forth by D<sup>r</sup>. French.<sup>9</sup>

The 6 & 7 page is taken from the 36 Chapter.<sup>10</sup>

The discourse relating to Ideas in p: 23 to the middle of page 25 is to be found in the 11 Chap. Of the first Booke of Occult Philosophy.<sup>11</sup>

The discourse of the 9 Orders of Angells in p: 47, 48, 49, 50 & 51 is taken out of the 10 chap: lib. 3.<sup>12</sup>

For Angells president in p: 61, 62, 63, see lib. 3 c: 24.<sup>13</sup>

[30v blank]

*[A note concerning the following excerpts]*

[31r] What follows was transcribed from another MS. Copsy of part of this Book; w<sup>ch</sup> reached only to the Isagogicall Observations in pag. 75 & noted by pages & capitall Letters, where they were inserted by Dr. R.<sup>14</sup>

Where note that to the Title (viz., *Janua Magica Reserata*) there was added in the said MS. Copsy per *Clavem Philomusei*.

Note that I find much of this discourse coppied out from Dr. French his translation of Cornelius Agrippa his Occult Philosophy, w<sup>ch</sup> I have noted in the Margins.<sup>15</sup>

[31v blank]

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<sup>8</sup> Fol. 3r-5r.

<sup>9</sup> "Of man, how he was created after the Image of God" (p. 457). From the start of the *Janua* to "untill it be made a wicked spirit" at the top of fol. 5v is an edited extract from this chapter.

The English translation of *De Occulta Philosophia*, as originally printed, was credited only to "J. F." Bibliographers have variously taken the initials to stand for "John French" and "James Freake." Ashmole, given his social circle, interests & and connections is likely to have been in a position to know.

<sup>10</sup> Probably an error for "37"; "Of mans soul and through what means it is joyned to the body." (p. 465). From "The soul of man, being a certain divine light" on fol. 5v to "the Soul flyeth away with this Celestial vehicle &c." on fol. 6r is taken from this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> "How Occult Vertues are infused into the serverall kinds of things by *Idea's*, through the help of the Soul of the World, and rayes of the Stars: and what things about most with this Vertue." The discussion of Ideas, beginning "It is yet further to be observed" (fol. 14r) begins with a short paraphrase from chap. 14, followed by a slight paraphrase of the bulk of chap. 11, ending at "virtues that are inferior species" in the middle of fol. 15r.

<sup>12</sup> "Of Divine emanations, which the Hebrews call Numerations, others Attributes." The attributions of Michael and Raphael in the *Janua* are counterchanged compared to those in Agrippa.

The following section of the *Janua* is taken almost entirely from ch. 37 & 38 of lib. III; the section after that from ch. 17.

<sup>13</sup> "Of the Names of Spirits &c." That chapter also includes material from lib. III cap. 16, 25 & 28, The following discussion of evil spirits is largely drawn from cap. 18

<sup>14</sup> The capital letters denoting sections were also written in S5 to indicate the insertion points.

<sup>15</sup> These marginalia have been noted in footnotes where they are legible.

*Excerpt A.<sup>16</sup>*

[32r] OBSERVE the words of an Orthodox & learned Father, who divinely saith thus; the Heavens, the Earth & every Creature, speakes unto us with their voyces;

The first voice saith, Receive a Benefit,

The second, pay thy Benevolence,

The third, avoyd punishment.

The Heavens saith, I give thee light in the day, that thou maist worke.

The darkness saith, I spread my Curtaine in the Night, that thou maist rest.

The Aire saith, I nourish thee with Breath; all kind of Fowles, I keepe at thy Comand

The Water saith, I give thee Drink, I purge away all uncleaness, I preserve all my Elementary Creatures to thy use, from the smallest Minnum, to the mighty Whale.

The Earth saith, I beare thee, I nourish thee with Bread & Wine, I fill thy Table with all sorts of Creatures & Fruite.

The second is a voyce of Admonition, in w<sup>ch</sup> the World saith: See Man how he loved thee, w<sup>ch</sup> made me for thee; I serve thee as thou servest him, w<sup>ch</sup> made both thee & me.

The third Voyce is a voice of threatening, where the Fire saith, thou shalt be burnt by me: The Water saith, thou shalt be drowned by me, the Earth saith thou shalt be swallowed up by me, as some have been; if thou lay by<sup>17</sup> thy Obedience to him, w<sup>ch</sup> put of all subjection to thee.

Hence you see, that all Creatures call upon Man to serve him, because he is the summe & Epitomy of alle; & do willingly obey him.

Behold then &c. ~~~~ p. 9.<sup>18</sup>

*Excerpt B.<sup>19</sup>*

[32v] HAVING briefly layd open the Excellency & dignity of Man, let us see what we shall Councill him to observe, before we enter upon our following Tractate, & the practise thereof. The subject whereof is Magick, & it hath been very much approved of, by all the ancient & Moderne Philosophers, unto whome it hath been revealed, by the holy Revelation of blessed Angels, as shalbe manifested, & made more plainly appere in the following description thereof; the which, before we shall insist on, wee shall lay downe some Theologicall & Philosophicall Aphorismes, by way of Instruction; to shew what a Magitian ought to bee, and how me may deck himself in a magicall habit, both in the inward & outward Man, & how he may put on him the Robes of the Cœlestiall &

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<sup>16</sup> Insertion point: after “were not perfected but in many days,” fol. 7r (p. 9).

<sup>17</sup> In the sense of “put aside, neglect” probably.

<sup>18</sup> This indicates where the ensuring text once more matches up with that in S5. In this instance there is no difficulty. The pick-up text after extracts B-D, however, indicates that in addition to containing additional passages, some of the text shared by the two copies was ordered differently.

<sup>19</sup> Insertion point: after “perfect mind doth not Change in Council,” fol. 8v (p. 12).

Angelicall disciplines, whereby he becomes more sublime, & ascende to more divine things, & participates fully & freely, of the Angellicall Converse & Ministry &c.

Now thus much observe by the way, to anticipate all doubts & objections, which in many ordinary discourses may arise frivolously, for want of better Judgment, when Things will not be otherwise perswaded, because perhaps the subject of our following discourse, may not in a Moment be rightly understood; For as in a Harmony or Consort of Musick, if one string thereof be out of Order, the whole Consort presently Jarres, & is dissonant & disordered, insomuch that the whole Body thereof immediately falls into a Confusion; So if one misticall Sence hereof be misunderstood, the whole Art is presently condemned.

None can draw a knowing & intelligent Man by Reason, unto things that reach a little beyond his present Capacity, but by receiving that Inspiration & force by Sense: For the Animall Spirit of Man, is by the influence of the [33r] Cœlestials, & the Cooperations of the Minde & Will, affected beyond his former & naturall disposition.

Now the more learned, discrete & expert Magitian, doth not admire this more rare & divine doctrine, & the great guifts and benifits proceeding therefrom, & received thereby; from whence, many wonderfull, Rare & admirable Experiments, Operacions & effects are produced & brought to pass, by virtue of the Cœlestiall Authority, managed according to the Order & discretion of the sublime<sup>20</sup> Magitian; because he is not a stranger to the heavens, &c.<sup>21</sup>

But not only these things, but also all naturall Arte & Sciences of use, are admired at, by the malevolent, detractive, indigent, vulgar & illiterate persons, who merely out of Ignorance, deride & condemne all things, they know not, nor are accustomed to.

This being as much as is necessary by the way, to dissipate any misty vapour of Interception, which ingender & beget nothing but pernicious opinions & debates, to the confusion of the senses, & the overthrow of the Intelligible Faculty, to the great Scandall of Learning & the experienced Magitian, & the dishonour of God also.

Wee shall now proceede unto those necessary & usefull Aphorims, very fit to be knowne & observed of him, who would be a Contemplator of diving things, & a Learner of Cœlestiall & Magicall Doctrine &c: And next to the Description of the Heavenly Magick & the Philosophicall & Theologicall use, construction & Practise thereof.

In the name of God, Amen.

Beneficiall Aphorisms &c.: ~~~~ p. 16.

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<sup>20</sup> Written in, somewhat cramped, above "divine," which latter word has been crossed out.

<sup>21</sup> This and the preceding paragraph are very slight variants of a passage which occurs in S5 (fol. 10r / p. 15), also shortly prior to the chapter of aphorisms.

*Excerpt C.<sup>22</sup>*

[33v] IN NOMINE Dei Iehovah Amen. Halleluiah.

In the first place, a Magitian ought to know God who is the giver of all good Gifts; this is the true & Orthodox beleife & description of God, according to the religious Construction of Christian Professors.

God the first, the Originall, the Cause of Causes, Increate, the only wise, infinite, omnipotent, eternall, incomprehensible, unbegotten, without parte, perfection, most like himself, the Guide of all Good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the Father of all Right, having learned Justice without Teaching.—In the Godhead are three Persons, the Father Son & Holy Ghost, Coeternal & Coequall, of one most simple Essence, Substance, & Nature: And we ought to worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.

The true name of this Incomprehensible God, is neither known to Angells nor Men, but to himself alone, neither shall it be manifested, until his will is fulfilled, p: <illegible> init. [Luna]

Yet in this ineffable Essence, are contained many divine powers & Attributes, which as Rivolets flow from the Center of this Omnipotent Fountaine, & hath undoubtedly Influence on all things by a certain Order, from the highest things even to the lowest, & thenm as Beams are reflected from the Splendor of the most glorious & unspeakable Lumen, conteyning all things, have first & imediately Influence on the nyne Orders of Angells, & from them into the Cœlestiall Spheares, Planets & Men; & so accordingly, every thing receiveth power & virtue, to performe & fulfil the Office to which it is called.

[34r] Thus may wee behold the great Iehovah, called or distinguished, by the Names & significations of severall powerfull virtuous and ineffable Attributes, whereby our Intellect, being wrapt up in an Extrasiè of Cœlestiall & divine Contemplations, stand in admiration, to behold the wonders of his worke in Nature; and then for our further Illumination, that we may yet come nearer to the Knowledge & Inspection of the glorious Deity; behold through the portholes of the Cœlestiall Orbs, descends Natures Handmaid, to the assistance of all our Affairs, according to our Necessities, & naturall Juidciousness, in the fulfilling & accomplishing all things, in respect of their Counsell, Office, Quality or Nature, only to his Glory, & the use of Man, &c:

To conclude, there is certainly no names of God amongst us, that is not taken from his Works, &c.:

The Allsufficient God ~~~~ see p: 12<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Insertion point: after “the soul of man, standing and not falling.” (end of “Beneficial Aphorisms,” fol. 14r).

<sup>23</sup> This pick-up note was written in small at the end of the excerpt. After this excerpt, and continuing to the bottom of the page, Ashmole transcribed a passage which he later realised was already in his copy of the *Janua*:

*Excerpt D.*<sup>24</sup>

[34v] HAVING now briefly treated of the Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Harmonies, and the mutually correspondencies of these Inferiours with their Superiours; whereby we become capable, of receiving certain Cœlestiall Guifts from above, &c. – wee shall now touch at somewhat of the four Triplicities (or Elements) their various qualities, Natures, & Comixtions, & how they are formed every where, & in all things, both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall & Infernall.

*Of the Foure Elements.*

There are foure Elements, which are the originall Grounds of all<sup>25</sup> Corporiall Things, & of which all Elementatated Inferiour Bodies are compounded; not by way of heaping them together, but by Transmutation & Union; and they are Fire (1), Aier (3), Earth (2) & Water (4):

The Nature & Quality of þ <sup>e</sup>	{	Fire Earth Ayer Water	}	is	{	Hot & dry, Cold & dry, Hot & Moist, Cold & Moist	}	answering to the	{	East South West North	}	{	Eurus Notus Zephyrus Boreas	}
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These Elements according to two contrary qualities, are likewise contrary one to the other in Nature, *vizt*: Fire to Water — & Earth to Ayre — And upon another Account are opposite one to the other for Earth & Water is heavy, & Fire & Ayre is Light; And the Fire & Aire is active, & the Earth & Water is passive.

To the Fire is assigned      Brightness, Thynness & Motion.

To the Earth — — —      Darkness, Thickness & Quietnes.

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“The Allsufficient God hath created all things, ruling & disposing them, & setled his heavenly decrees, according to his divine, holy & gracious Will, then doth he distribute the putting thereof in Execution to the Care of divers & sevrall Ministers, the w<sup>ch</sup> S<sup>t</sup>. John in the Revelations calls assisting & destroying Angells.

“And whatsoever God doth by Angells (as by Ministers) the same he doth by the Starrs (as it were by Instruments) who accordingly transmit them to this sensible World, that after this manner all things might worke together to serve him, so that it is fit we should apply the tyme, place, & species of the Angells & Stars to their respective parte, according as they are referred to them, both in respect of their Offices & Signification, &c.

“Note, every thing may (be) aptly be reduced from these Inferiours to the Stars, from the Stars to their Intelligencyes, from thence to the first Cause itself, from the Series and Order whereof, all hidden Philosopher flowes, for every day [some”

The entire passage is cancelled and the catch-word does not appear on the next page. A note in the margin next to it (partly unreadable due to tight binding of the codex) indicates that this can be found on pp. 12-13 (fol. 8v-9r) under the head “Further Observations worthy of note.”

<sup>24</sup> Insertion point: after “as to its roots, causes and signs, it is reduced” fol. 10r (p. 15). This, it will be observed, is before the insertion point for excerpt C.

<sup>25</sup> In margin: illegible note, mostly lost in gutter, but based on the others, probably indicating the chapter of *OOP* here adapted.

Here you see according to these Qualities, these Elements of Fire and Earth, to be clearly contrary to each other.

The other Elements borrow their Qualities from these, as thus:

The Ayre receives two Quallities of the Fire, vizt: Thynnes and Motion, & one of the Earth, vizt: Darkness.

The Water receives two Qualities of the Earth, vizt: Darkness & Thickness, & one of the Fire, vizt: Motion.

Fire is twice more thinn then Ayer, thrice more moveable, & foure tymes more bright.

[35r] Ayre twice more bright than Water, thrice more thynn, & foure tymes more moveable.

Water is twice more bright than Earth, thrice more thyn, & foure times more moveable.

So that as the fire is to the Ayre, so is Aire to the Water, & Water to the Earth.

Then againe, as the Earth is to the Water, so is the Water to the Ayre, and the Ayre to the Fire.

And he who shalbe truly knowing & Learned, in these Qualities of the Elements, & their severall Commixtures, together with what followeth in relation thereunto, which is the Root & foundation of all Bodies, Causes, Natures, Virtues, Qualities & Operations, shall easily bring to pass many sublime, Rare, Wonderfull & Admirable Effects, to the astonishment of the Incredulous, & malevolent Detractors; and now we shall descend to particulars, and first<sup>26</sup>

### *Of Fire.*

Fire in all things & through all things, comes & goes away Bright, it is in all things Bright, & at the same tyme occult & unknown; When it is by it selfe (no other Matter coming to it, in which it should manifest its proper Action) it is boundless & invisible of itself, sufficient for every Action that is proper to it, moveable, yeilding it self (after a manner) to all things that come next to it, renewing, guarding Nature, enlightening not comprehended by Lights, that are vailed over; cleere, parted, leaping back, bending upwards, quick in Motion, high, always raising Motions; Comprhending another, not comprehended it selfe, nor standing in neede of another; secretly encreasing of it selfe, & manifesting its greatness to things that receive it: Active, powerfull, invisible, present in all things at once, It will not be affronted nor opposed, but (as it were in a way of revenge) it will reduce on a suddaine things in obedience to it selfe; It is incomprehensible, [35r] impalpable, not lessened, most rich in all dispensations of it selfe;

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<sup>26</sup> This section is adapted, with some omissions, paraphrases and added connencting text, from *OOP*, Book I, chap. 3, "Of the four Elements, their qualities, and mutuall mixtions" (pp. 6-7).

it is of it selfe one & penetrates through all things, it is shining & spread abroad in the Heavens, but in the Infernall place, it is streightened, dark, & Tormenting; and in the Midway it partakes of both: It is in it selfe One, but in that which receives it Manifold, & in differing Subjects it is distributed in a different manner.

Now the Fire which we use is fetched out of other things; It is in Stones, & fetched out by the Stroak of the Steele. It is in Earth, and after it is dug up, makes it to smoke; It is in Water, & heats springs & Wells; It is in the depth of the Sea, & makes it warme, when tossed with Windes; It is in the Aire, & makes it burne (as often tymes we see). It is in all Animalls, & Living things whatsoever; for every thing that lives, lives by reason of the inclosed heate: It is in all Vegetables, for that they are preserved by heat.

The properties of the Cœlestiall Fire is Heate, making fruitfull & giving Light & Lyfe to all things; by the properties of the Internall Fire is Darknes, a parching heate, consuming & making all things burne.

Now the true Cœlestiall Fire & Omnipotent Lumen, which is the Father of Lights, who saith from the Light of the World, sends forth the most glorious & illustrious Light of his Fire, according to his gracious desire, communicating it first to the diurnall Lamp the Sun, & the rest of the Cœlestiall Bodies; who then as mediating Instruments, conveyeth that Light into our Fire, which is the Vehiculum of the *Superiour* Light.<sup>27</sup>

### *Of the Element, or Triplicity of Earth.*

Earth is the Basis & Foundation of all the Elements, for it is the Object, Subject & Receptacle of all Cœlestiall Rayes & Influences, In it are contained the Seeds & seminall Virtue of all things, & therefore it is said to be Animall, Vegetable & Minerall: It being made fœcund by the Heavens, & the other Elements; brings forth [36r] all things of it selfe: it receives the abundance of all things, & is (as it were) the first Fountaine from whence all things spring; it is the Center, Foundation & Mother of all things; in it are great Secrets, & it is the first matter of our Creation, &c.<sup>28</sup>

### *Of the Element or Triplicty of Ayre.*

Aire is said to be a vitall Spirit, passing through all beings, giving lyfe & subsistence to all things, & binding, moving & filling all things; It imediately receives into itself, the Influence of all Cœlestiall Bodies, & then communicates them to the other Elements, & alsoe to all mixt Bodies. It receives into its selfe (as if it were a divine Looking glass) the Species of all things both Naturall & Artificiall, & ~~also~~ likewise<sup>29</sup> of all manner of speches,

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<sup>27</sup> This section is adapted from *OOP* Book I, chap. 5, "Of the wonderfull Natures of Fire, and Earth" (pp. 9-10). This is apparently noted by Ashmole in the margin (the note is mostly lost in the gutter owing to over-tight binding of the MS., but "5" and "9" are visible).

<sup>28</sup> This section is also adapted from *OOP* Book I chap. 5 (p. 10-11).

<sup>29</sup> 'also' has been crossed on in the MS., 'likewise' written *sup. lin.*, with an insertion mark below the cancelled word.

and reteynse them, & carries them with it; it enters into the Bodies of Men & other Animalls through their Pores, & makes an impression upon them, as well when they sleepe, as when they are awake; and affoards matter for strange dreames, &c. Hence it is, that one passing by a place, where a Man was slaine, or a Carcasse newly hid, is moved with feare & dread, because the Ayre in that place, being full of dreadfull species of Manslaughter, doth (being breathed in) move & trouble the Spirit of Man with the like species; for observe, that every thing that makes a suddain Impression, astonisheth Nature.<sup>30</sup>

### *Of the Element or Triplicity of Water.*

There is so great a necessity of Water, that without it nothing can Live, noe Hearbe, Plant or Vegitable whatsoever, without the moystning of Water, can bud or branch forth; In it is the seminary virtue of all things, specially of Animals, whose seede is manifestly waterish. The Seedes of Trees and Plants, although they are earthy, yet notwithstanding, must of necessity be rotted in Water, before they can be fruitfull, whether they be imbibed with the moisture of the Earth, or with dew or [36v] Raine, or any other water that is put to them on purpose; Yea those productions that are made in & upon the Earth, are partly attributed to the very water, as is testified by sacred Writt where it saith, that the plants & Hearbs did not grow, because God had not caused it to Raine upon the Earth. Such is the efficacy of this Element, that spirituall Regeneration, cannot be done without it (as our Saviour Christ testified to Nicodemus). *In fine*, infinite are the Benefitts, & divers are the Uses hereof: For by its Virtue all things are generated, nourished & subsist, & are increased. It was the first of all Elements, & the most potent, because it had & still hath the mastery over all the rest; It swalloweth up the Earth, extinguisheth Flames, ascends on high, & by the shining fourth of the Cloudes, challengeth the Heavens for their own; the same falling down againe, becometh the Cause of all things that growth on Earth. To conclude, Very many are the Wonders, that are done by this Element of Water, as is testified by many ancient & curious Writers, & also by Scripture it selfe.<sup>31</sup>

Here we may plainely see, know & understand (together with what followeth in the ensuing Tables), that the Elements are the first of all things, & all things are of & according to them, & that they are in all things, & diffuse their virtues through all things.<sup>32</sup>

And as in the Originall & Exemplary World, all things are in all; so likewise in this Corporiall World, all things are in all.

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<sup>30</sup> This section is adapted from *OOP* Book I chap. 6, "Of the wonderfull Natures of Water, Aire and Winds" (p. 14), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

<sup>31</sup> This section is adapted from *OOP* Book I chap. 6, (p. 11-12), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

<sup>32</sup> Adapted from the concluding sentence of *OOP* Book I chap. 7 (p. 20), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

For the Elements are not only in these inferior Bodies, but also in the Heavens, in Stars, in Devills, in Angells, & lastly in God, the maker & Original Example of all things, &c.

Elements therefore in the Exemplary World, are Ideas of things to be produced; in the Intelligences, distributed powers; in the Heavens, vertues; & in inferior Bodies, gross Formes.

To conclude: Note, In these Inferiour Bodies the foure Elements are accompanied with much gross matter; but in the Heavens they are (according to their natures & vertues) after a Cœstially, pure, [37r]<sup>33</sup> and more excellent manner, then in Sublunary things: For the firmness of the Cœlestially Earth, is there without the grossness of Water, & the agility of the Aier, without running over its Bounds, & the heate of Fire without burning, only shyning, giving lyfe to all things by its heate.

Now therefore, that the Elements are to be found every where, & in all things, noe man can deny, first in these inferior Bodies, feculent & gross, Secondly in Cœlestiallys, more pure & clear, Thirdly in Supercœstiallys Living & in all Respects Blessed.<sup>34</sup>

There are likewise 4 Cardinall Windes, defluxing from the foure Corners, thus named & qualified:

Eurus, or the East Winde, is ravenous, cloudy & waterish.

Notus, or the South Winde, is cloudy, moist, warme & sickly, & is called the Butler of the Rains.

Zephirus, or the West Winde, is soft, blowing with a pleasant Gale, it is cold & moist, removing the effecte of Winter, bringing forth Branches, & pleasant Flowers.

Boreas, or the North Wind, is fierce, roaring, discussing Cloudes, makes the Aier serene, & bindes the Water with Froste.<sup>35</sup>

[37v] A Table, shewing how all things, both Cœlestially, Terretraily & Infernally, in their respective qualities, Natures & degrees, symbolize with the 4 Triplicities or Elements.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> There is a cancelled passage of seven lines in another hand at the top of fol. 37r. It appears to be part of a draft or variant copy of one of the conjurations of the *Janua*. (there are some minor, but possibly significant, differences in wording). I have transcribed it after the excerpts copied by Ashmole.

<sup>34</sup> From “And as in the Originall & Exemplary World” to here, this section is extracted and rearranged from *OOP* Book I, chap. 8, “How the Elements are in the Heavens, in Stars, in Divils, in Angels, and lastly in God himself” (pp. 20-22).

<sup>35</sup> From *OOP* Book I chap. 6, passing describing the winds, (pp. 16-18.)

<sup>36</sup> Except where noted this is drawn from Agrippa’s table of the scale of the number 4 in *OOP* Book II ch. 7 (pp. 186-7). The use of “Triplicities” to refer to the elements probably alludes to Agrippa’s somewhat cryptic ch. 4 of Book I, “Of a three-fold consideration of the Elements” which distinguishes for each element, “the pure Elements,” “Elements that are compounded, changeable, and impure, yet such as may be reduced to their pure simplicity” and “those Elements, which originally and of themselves are not Elements, but are twice compounded, various, and chageable one into the other.” It is not entirely clear whether, or if so how, this threefold division connects with the general three-worlds scheme (natural, celestial, divine / supercelestial) after which *De occulta philosophia* is structured.

<i>The foure Elements.</i>	<i>Fire.</i>	<i>Earth.</i>	<i>Ayr.</i>	<i>Water.</i>
Their Natures & Qualities.	Hot & Dry.	Cold & Dry.	Hot & Moist.	Cold & Moist.
Angells ruling the Elements.	Seruph.	Ariel.	Cherub.	Tharsis.
Parts answering in the Heavenly Angells & blessed Intelligences <sup>37</sup>	By the shining splendor, & glorious lustre of their Love.	By the stability of their Essence in which is the steadfast Seate of God	By the subtilty of their Breath	By reason of their Mercy & piety, which is a watery cleansing vertue.
Of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies or Orders of Angells. <sup>38</sup>	Seraphim, Potestates, Vertues,	Cherubim, Angells.	Dominations, Principalities.	Thrones, Archangels.
Of the Stars & Planetes.	Mars & Sol.	Luna & the fixt stars	Jupiter & Venus	Saturn & Mercury
Of the 12 Zodiaccall Constellations, or Cœlestiall Signs.	Aries, Leo, Sgittarius	Taurus, Virgo, Capricorns	Gemini, Libra, Aquary	Cancer, Scorpio, Piscis
Of the 4 Angles or Corners of the World	East	South	West	North
Of the four Windes	Eurus or Auster	Notus	Zephyrus	Boreas
Of the 4 Princes of the good Angells, that are set over the foure Angles of the World & the Windes.	Michael	Uriel or Nariel	Raphael	Gabriel
Of the 4 Princes of the Evill Spirits, set over the 4 Angles of the World, & the Winds, offensive to & troubling the Aire.	Uriens or Oriens or Ories.	Amaymon or Mayrary	Paymon, or Paynim,	Egin, or Egym.
Their Names according to ——— the Hebrew ——— is	Samael.	Mahazael.	Azazzel.	Azael.
Of the 4 Infernall Rivers.	Phlegeton.	Acheron.	Cocytus.	Styx.
In the Qualities of the foure Cœlestiall Elements.	Light	Solidity.	Diaphanousnes or Clearnes	Agility.
In the power of Mans Soule.	The Intellect.	Sense.	Reason.	Fancy.
In the Elementary part of Man.	The Minde.	The Body.	The Spirit.	Thee Soule.
In the Actions & Motions of Man, in usuall Gestures, &c. <sup>39</sup>	A fierce, quick & angry disposition.	A slow, firm, & ponderous Motion.	Cheerefulnes & an amiable disposition.	Fearfulnes, sluggishness & remises in working.
In the powers or parts of Animalls.	Vitall Spirit.	Bones.	Flesh.	Humours.
In humours of the the Body Pollitick.	Yellow Choller.	Black Choller, or Melancholly.	The Blood.	Flegme.
In the foure fold Spirit.	Animall.	Naturall.	Vital.	Generative.
In the foure kindes of Animalls.	Walking.	Creeping.	Flying.	Swimming.

[38v]

<sup>37</sup> These are not in the table in Book II, but are mentioned in Book I cap. 8 (p. 21). In the MS. images I was working from, some text in the last column was lost in the gutter, and has been conjecturally restored from said source.

<sup>38</sup> These are the attributions are given by Agrippa, in Book I (*loc. cit.*). In the table of the scale of the number 4, Seraphim, Cherubim & Thrones are referred to Fire, Domination, Powers and Virtues to Air, Principalities, Angels and Archangels to Water and three divisions of the Blessed Souls to Earth.

<sup>39</sup> This row is drawn from Book I, chap. 7 (pp. 19-20); the table in Book II has a row “Four manners of Complexion: Fire: Violence; Earth: Slowness; Air: Nimbleness; Water: Dulness.”

The foure Morall Vertues.	Justice.	Fortitude.	Temperance.	Prudence.
The foure Judicial Powers.	Faith.	Experience.	Science.	Opinion.
The four Annual Seasons.	Summer.	Autume.	Spring.	Winter.
Of Animalls.	Salamandr, Criket, Estrich, Lyon.	Moles, Wormes, & all small creeping things.	The Camelion & all flying Fowles.	Fishes, &c.
Of Vegetables <sup>40</sup>	Seeds, because of the multiplying Spirit.	Rootes by reason of their thicknes.	Flowers because of their Subtility.	Leaves because of their Juyce.
Of Mineralls or Mettals	Gold & Iron.	Lead & Silver	Copper & Tynn.	Quick-Silver.

Having briefly treated of the Natures & Qualities of the foure Elements or Triplicities, & how they are found everywhere, & in all things, & how all are oft & according to them, & diffuse their vertiues through all things; Wee will now touch at some occult vertues, & how they are infused into severall kindes of Things by Ideas, though the helpe of the Soule of the World, & the Raies & Influences of the Stars; which is very necessary to be first understood, before wee enter upon the ensuing Treatise.

There is nothing of such transcending vertue ~~~~ See p. 23.

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<sup>40</sup> This row and the previous are drawn from *OOP*, Book I, ch. 7 (p. 19).

*Excerpt E.*<sup>41</sup>

[38v] NOW HAVING briefly touched at some materiall Matters of Concernement, very fit to be knowne & understood; We shall in the next place treat of Angells & Spirits, Cœlestiall, Terrestriall & Infernall, their severall & respective Hierarchies, Orders, Offices & natures, & teaching the good use that a sober & qualified Magician may make of all, and how the assistance & Ministry of good Angells, may be obteyned by us, & the maligne, Illusions, Temptations & Assaults of the Evill Spirits repelled, shunned & overcome by us. Likewise necessary Instructions and brief Rules, teaching how to attaine thereunto, as hath been approved by auncient & modern Philosophers, who have been great Inquisitors and curious Searchers into Angelicall, Cœlestiall & Terrestriall occult Misteries & Sciences; without falling from the originall, true & christian Faith, or the orthodox, theological construction thereof, or in the least estranged from, or being disobedient to the divine Power of God, or any Civill Lawes, or Governments of Common Wealths.<sup>42</sup>

*Of the Cœlestiall Angells & blessed Intelligences, &c.: Their severall Derivations, Distinctions, Names, Natures, Qualities, Orders, Offices, Hierarchies and Degrass, as they are set over & governe all things, &c: (according to the Omnipotent Decress of the originall & first Cause) & of the Divine Numerations of God, called Attributes, of the ten Sephiroths, & the Ten most sacred Names of God that Rule them, & the significations & interpretations thereof; Of the Seventy-two Angells, that bear the Name of God in Banners, Schemhamphoras; and severall things worthy of Noate, &c.*<sup>43</sup>

An Angell is an Intelligible Substance ~~~~ &c: p. 27.

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<sup>41</sup> Insertion point: after “but for brevity sake here omitted” (fol. 16r / p. 27). This, in any case, seems to simply be an extended connecting passage leading into the chapter “Of Angels and Spirits” that follows.

<sup>42</sup> The use of this term suggests this passage was written in the period 1649-1660: England was declared “a Commonwealth” in May 1649 after the Parliamentary victory in the Civil War; for much of the period, this practically meant a military dictatorship. In 1660, following the death of Oliver Cromwell and the inability of his son Richard to gain the support of the military after assuming the title of Lord Protector, the country returned to being a monarchy under Charles II.

<sup>43</sup> This is a variant form of the preamble to the section “Of Angels & Spirits” that begins immediately after the insertion mark for section E.

*Excerpt F.<sup>44</sup>*

[39r] AS CONCERNING the Animasticall Order, or Choire of blessed Souls, or Heroes, various is the opinion of the Learned thereof; some suppose they were so called, either because for the meanness of their desert, they are not iudged worthy of Heaven, nor yet are accounted Terrestriall for the Reverence of Grace; or because they being eminent in this lyfe, for Divine Vertues & Benifits, then after this mortall Man is put off, are translated into the Choire of blessed Souls,<sup>45</sup> always providing for mortall Men the same Vertues & Benifits, which they long since had in this Lyfe: Or because they were procreated, partly from the seede of the Superiours, who are thought to be begotten, by the mixture of Angells with Men,<sup>46</sup> & so obteyne a certain middle Nature, that they are said to be neither Angells nor Men. And it is generally believed that Merlynn the British Prophet, was the son of an Angell,<sup>47</sup> and borne of a Virgin, and it is imagined that Plato (the Prince of Wisdome) was borne of a Virgin impregnated by a Phantasme of Apollo, & many such relations of the like manner, there are in the writing of the Auncients, who, together with some modern Philosophers doe aver, That those Heroes have noe less power in dispoising & ruling these inferior things, then the Angells;<sup>48</sup> & have their Offices & Dignities distributed to them; Therefore hath there been Temples, Altars, Images, Sacrifices, Vowes, & other Religious Mysteries dedicated to them, and their Names have been Invocated, have had Divine & Magicall Vertues, for the accomplishing & effecting some Miraculous Operations, as hath been tried by the name of Apollonius Tyaneus, & others, &c: now the opinion & beleife of the Roman Catholics (the most learned in Divine & Cœlestiall Mysteries, in this modern Age) hereof is this.<sup>49</sup> As concerning our holy Heroes (say they) wee beleive they excel in Divine power & (as the Jewish Theologians testifie) that the Soul of the Meschihæ (that is Jesus Christ, our only Lord & Saviour) doth rule over them; who by divers of his Saints, (as it were by Members fitted for this purpose) doth administer and distribute divers Guifts of his Grace, in these inferior parts, & every [39v] one of the Saints doe enjoy a peculiar Guift of working; and they being implored by us with divers prayer & supplications (according to the manifold distribution of Grace) every one doth most freely bestow their Guifts, Benifites & Graces on us, more readily & abundantly then the Angelicall Powers, by so much as they are nigher to us, & more allyed to our Natures, [as they who in tymes past, were both Men,

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<sup>44</sup> Insertion point: after “who was also the Ruler of Moses,” fol. 28r (p. 51).

<sup>45</sup> Agrippa: “into the quire of the blessed gods” (p. 453).

<sup>46</sup> Agrippa: “mixture of Gods or Angels with men” (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>47</sup> Agrippa: “son of a Spirit” (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>48</sup> Agrippa: “than the Gods” (p. 454).

<sup>49</sup> From “now the opinion & beleife” to here is an interpolation into Agrippa’s text, as is the parenthetical “say they” in the ntext sentence.

& suffered humane Afflictions & Infirmities,]<sup>50</sup> and their Names, Degrees & Offices are also more knowne unto us. Out of the number of these almost infinite, there are 12 chiefs and they are twelve Apostles of Christ, who (as saith Evangelicall Trtuh) sit upon twelve Thrones, iudging the 12 Tribes of Israell; & in the Revelations are said to be distributed upon twelve Foundations, at the twelve Gates of the heavenly Citty, & are Seated in the twelve precious Stones, unto whome the whole World is distrubted.<sup>51</sup> After these are the Seaventy two Disciples of Christ, who also ruleth so many Quinaries of Heaven, Tribes, People, Nations, & Tongues. After whome is an innumerable multitude of Saints, who have received divers Offices, Places & Nations into their Protection and Patronage, whose most apparent Miracles, at the Faitfull Prayers of those that Invoke them, Experience hath plainly manifested, &c.<sup>52</sup>

Of which Order of Heroes aforesaid, we can say little or nothing of, till Tyme hath produced some further satisfaction & granted us new experience therein, then as yet we have attained, having hitherto not practically insisted on, nor handled any Consideration of this Subject, it being in our apprehension so Mystical &c: that our understanding thereof aright, is not at present capable of; wherefore we shall wave any further treating thereof here, & come to discourse of the Nyne foregoing Hierarchies, their severall Divisions & Constructions, & what divine Guifts, Man receiveth therefrom, & from the Intelligences & Stars, & how Man is likewise degraded from those Cœlestiall Benefits, & deprived of them, &c.

Now we are to shew forth, &c. ~~~~ see p: 51.

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<sup>50</sup> This clause is enclosed in square brackets in the MS., where it appeared following “[...] are also more knowne unto us.” It was probably displaced by copyist eye-skip at some stage; in Agrippa (*loc. cit.*) it appears following “more allied to our natures.”

<sup>51</sup> At this point in Agrippa (pp. 454–455) are listed the names of the twelve Apostles in Hebrew, Romanized Hebrew and English.

<sup>52</sup> Up to here is quoted or paraphrased (with some significant verbal changes) from *OOP* Book III chap. 33, “Of the Animasticall order, and the Heroes” (pp. 453–455), as noted by Ashmole in the margin at the start of the section. The following paragraph is connecting text.

*Excerpt G.*<sup>53</sup>

[40r] HAVING briefly Treated of the Cœlestially Hierarchies, & of the Ruling Intelligences in each Orb & Spherare; wee must also understand, that although the<sup>54</sup> blessed Intelligences are especially appointed for the Divine Worship & service of God, yet notwithstanding they have also the Government of every Heaven & Star; And as you see there are as many Hierarchies, Orders & Offices of the good Angells as there are Heavens, or Cœlestiall Spheares; and as the Stars are divided according to the nature of the Spheares, & the particular Intelligences Star (or Planet) governing it, as they rule themselves & Sheares, are Saturnine; Joviall, Martiall, Solar, Veneriall, Mercuriall & Lunar (as the learned in Astrologie affirme) although (I say) there is but one ruling Intelligence assigned to each particular Orbe or Spheare, yet seeing the every star, hath its proper & different power, nature, virtue, Office & Influence; so also hath every Star its particular ruling Intelligence, whereby it confirmeth power & operation: soe that as the Stars are innumerable, so also are the Legions of the Cœlestiall Angells, as experience doth abundantly testifie.

Astrologicans say, that there are seaven Planets called errattick or wandring Stars in the Heavens, & they are thus named, & all known by these Characters.

♄ Saturne.	♃ Jupiter	♂ Mars	☉ the Sun	♀ Venus	☿ Mercury	☾ Moone.
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There are also twelve Signs in the Zodiack, through which the Seaven Planets move, & in which they celebrate their severall Aspects, & wherein they have Fortitudes & Debilities, as is further explained in the Astrologically Tracte foregoing, & they are thus Nominated, and distinguished by the following Characters.



♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Aries.	Taurus.	Gemini.	Cancer.	Leo.	Virgo.	Libra.	Scorpio.	Sagitarious.	Capricorn.	Aquarius.	Pisces

There are also foure Elements or Tripliticies, which these twelve signes are divided into, & are accordingly governed day & night by the seven planets, as herere you see, & they are Fire, Earth, Air, Water.

<p>♈    ♌    ♐</p> <p>Are of the Fiery Trigon, &amp; is governed in the</p> <p>{ Day } by { ☉ }   Night }    ♃ }</p>	<p>♉    ♍    ♑</p> <p>Are of the Earth Triplicity, &amp; is governed in the the</p> <p>{ Day } by { ♀ }   Night }    ☉ }</p>
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<sup>53</sup> Insertion point: after “who assist the Ruler of the whole Earth.” fol. 33r (p. 61).

<sup>54</sup> In margin: “Lib: 3: [[c:]] 16. [[p:]] 391.”

<p>             Are of the Aiery Trigon,            &amp; is governed in the            { Day } by { ♃ }            { Night } { ♆ }         </p>	<p>             Are of the Watery Triplicity,            &amp; is governed in the the            { Day } by { ♀ }            { Night } { ♄ }         </p>
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There are likewise four Angles, Quarters, Parts, or Corners, answering to the foure Elements or Triplicities; & to the parts of Heaven & Earth, being so dividved, thus named.

East,	South,	West,	North.
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The Moon (being a generall significatrix in all things), both Magically & Astrologically, as all the Ancients, & all our Phisitians doe confidently & experimentally affirme, for that she conveyeth through er Spheare, all the Influxes of the Superiours & the Inferiours, as is sufficiently & apparently knowne by the common Observation of all Men (or at least, by as many as rationally understand themselves) in the Doctrin of Elections, & in the most excellent use of Phisick & Philosophy) she passing constantly through the 12 Cœlestiall Signes, in the space of eight & twenty daies or thereabouts, hath therein fixed in the eight Spheare, eight & twenty Mansions, which by the<sup>55</sup> Magicians of India & the auncient Arabian & Chaldean Astrologians, have diverse Names & Properties attributed to them, through which, whilst the Moone passeth, it obteyneth various & accordingly respective Powers & Vertues; and every Mansion conteyneth twelve degrees, 51 Minutes & almost 26 Seconds; And therefore since they Commence from the first degree of Aries, & soe in order until the last, we shall shew you the beginnings thereof & their severall Names.

<sup>55</sup> In margin: "lib 2. c. 33." (OOP p. 285-289). The table is derived from the text of that chapter, the numbers give the *end point* of each "Mansion."

[41r]

No.	Sign.	Deg.	Min.	Sec.	Names of each Mansion
1.	♈	12°	51'	25"	Alnath
2.	♈	25°	42'	51"	Allothaim <i>or</i> Albochan.
3.	♉	8°	34'	17"	Achoamazon <i>or</i> Athoray.
4.	♉	21°	25'	40"	Aldebaram <i>or</i> Aldelamen
5.	♊	4°	17'	9"	Alchatay <i>or</i> Albachay.
6.	♊	17°	11'	34"	Alhanna <i>or</i> Alchaya.
7.	♋	0°	0'	0"	Aldimiach <i>or</i> Alarzach.
8.	♋	12°	51'	25"	Alnaza <i>or</i> Anatrachya.
9.	♋	25°	42'	51"	Archaam <i>or</i> Archaph.
10.	♌	8°	34'	17"	Algelioche <i>or</i> Algebh.
11.	♌	21°	25'	40"	Azobra <i>or</i> Ardaf.
12.	♍	4°	17'	9"	Alzarpha <i>or</i> Azarpha.
13.	♍	17°	11'	34"	Alhaire.
14.	♎	0°	0'	0"	Achureth <i>or</i> Arimet, <i>or</i> Azimeth <i>or</i> Alhumech <i>or</i> Alcheymech.
15.	♎	12°	51'	25"	Agrapha <i>or</i> Algarpha.
16.	♎	25°	42'	51"	Azubene <i>or</i> Ahubene.
17.	♏	8°	34'	17"	Alchil.
18.	♏	21°	25'	40"	Alchas <i>or</i> Altob.
19.	♐	4°	17'	9"	Allatha <i>or</i> Achala. <sup>56</sup>
20.	♐	17°	11'	34"	Abnahaya.
21.	♑	0°	0'	0"	Abeda <i>or</i> Abeldach.
22.	♑	12°	51'	25"	Sadabacha <i>or</i> Zodeboluch, <i>or</i> Zandeldena.
23.	♑	25°	42'	51"	Zabadola <i>or</i> Zobrach.
24.	♒	8°	34'	17"	Sadabath <i>or</i> Chadezoad.
25.	♒	21°	25'	40"	Sadalabra <i>or</i> Sadalachia.
26.	♓	4°	17'	9"	Alpharg <i>or</i> Phragal Mocaden.
27.	♓	17°	11'	34"	Alcharya <i>or</i> Alhalgalmoad.
28.	♓	30°	0'	0"	Albotham <i>or</i> Alchalcy.

[41v] The Compass of the Circle of the Zodiack, is accounted by the Astrologians to conteyne 365<sup>57</sup> Degrees, for that every Sign therein conteynes 30 Degrees & (as we said before) there are 12 Signes in the Zodiack, so that 12 tymes 30 make 360. And every Signe divided againe likewise particularly into three parts, results 12 tymes three,<sup>58</sup> which makes 36. The which are called Decans, or a division of Ten, & they are also governed by the seven Planets, and by the Astrologians are called the Faces of the Signs, as is elsewhere further explained, &c.

<sup>56</sup> "by others *Hycula or Axala*" (OOP p. 288).

<sup>57</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>58</sup> In margin: "Lib: 3: c. 16: p. 391."

They are again divided into fifts, of which there is 6 in every signe, so that 12 tymes six resulte 72. The which are called Quinaries of Heaven.

Observe what a great communion there is with the numbers 12 & 72 & this harmony betwixt them; for as you see before, every signe divided into six parts, there results 72 fives, & soe many are the Names of God, & soe many were the Elders of the Synagogue, & Interpretations of the old Testament, & the Disciples of Christ, & so many are the languages, & the Tongues of Men & the Nations; Answerable to these are soe many manifest Joynts in Mans Body, whereof in every Finger & Toe there are three, which together with the 12 principall reckoned in the numbertwelve makes up 72. And every five is set over one Idiome with much efficacy, that the Astrologians & Phisiognomists can know from thence, from what Idiome very one ariseth.

Now we have briefly in Astromagicall Termes, given you a description & Difinition of the 7 Planets, the 12 Signs of the Zodiack, the 4 Elements, Trignons or Triplicities of the 4 Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Angles, of the foure Cardinall Windes, of the 28 Mansions of the Moone, of the 36 Decans and of the 72 Cœlestiall Quinaries what they are, & how knowne, & to be understood; Now seeing that (as we said before) to all & every of these, & to every Star, Asterism & Constellation, there is a ruling Angel or Intelligence, whereby the Influence thereof is conveyed to Inferiours, according to the holy & divine Will & degree of God, to his Honor & Glory, & the good of Man; Wee shall in the next place, give a description of the Intelligent Angells, their various denominations, & their severall degrees Orders & Offices, according to their Government aforesaid.

[42r] The Names of the seven President Angells, or Planetary Intelligences Governing the Cœlestiall Orbes, continually standing before the Face of the Omnipotent & divine Majestie, to whome is intrusted the disposing of all Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Things, as the Elementary Regions & Kingdoms of the Earth, & all things sublunary, regulating by a certain vissitude of Daies, Houres & Yeares, who by the Heavens, Starrs & Planets (as by Instruments) distributes the Cœlestiall Influences of the Superiours upon these Inferiours.

Names of the Cœlestiall Angels, &c: ~~~~ see p. 61.

*Excerpt H.<sup>59</sup>*

SOMEWHAT in a few words we shall say, how possible it is for Man to attain the verball Coloquy with good Angells, notwithstanding we have a speciall Treatise writ thereof a little hereafter following, and although we could remove many Objections, tending to the impossibility thereof; as the fulfilling of the Law, the ceasing of Oracles, & when we shall looke for Signes, none shalbe given us, & that we have Moses, the Prophets, the Apostles, the holy Gosepll, & other sacred Manualls & Commentations all which if we will not believem we shall scarce believe Angells; & that those Angells which were sent to divers holy men & women, mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, is said by many of our Theologians to be the Mesiah; & many the like passages we could raise, & when we have soe done, could give an answer to them all; but in this place we shall not medle therewith, we shall treat of those Subjects in our foregoing Preface, preceding our Booke; we shall here only shew forth some of the most eminent *Inspirati* in holy Scripture, & a word or two of our opinion thereupon.

[42v]

The Angells that were sent to: <sup>60</sup>			
Moses,	Methratton.	Joseph & Mary the Mother of Christ,	Gabriel.
Adam,	Raziel.	Sem the son of Noah,	Jophiel.
Noah,	Zaphkiel.	Jacob,,	Peliel.
Abraham,	Zadkiel.	The wife of Manoah	Phadaël.
Sampson,	Samaël.	David.	Cerviel.
Solomon,	Michaël.	Ezekiel.	Hasmaël.
Isaac,	} Raphaël.	Esdras,	Uriel.
Tobit iunior,		Elias,	Melhiel.
Joshua,	} Gabriel.	Cenez,	Cerrel.
Daniel,			

This together with many others, mentioned in sacred Writt, which we could nominate, we could nominate, were inspired by the holy Revelations of Blessed Angells; & to say that all these Angells were the Mesiah, in my opinion would be a mistake, in the literall Interpretation of the Text: and we doe very believe, that they were severall certain Misticall Types representing the coming of the Mesiah, as the contente of the old Testament abundantly shew forth, and as the Propheticall Doctrines of the aforesaid Holy men, recorded therein, doth plainly manifest, they speaking as they were inspired,

<sup>59</sup> Insertion point: after “who was also the Ruler of Moses,” fol. 28r (p. 51).

<sup>60</sup> The names are tabulated from *OOP* book III ch. 47 (p. 305). Most of these were already mentioned in the chapter of the *Janua* on the Nine orders of Angels (fol. 26r-28r, deriving from *OOP* book III ch. 10).

which noe Question proceeded from the immediate Decree of the Holy Trinity; to prove which we shall give an apparent Testimony.

There was neither any Learning nor Arte knowne to the Auncients, but what came first by Inspiration; Observe that place in Exodus Chap: 34. v. i. to the ii where God taught Bezaliel & Aholiah and all those that were intellectually qualified, to worke curiously in Gold, Silver & Brass, & other rare Arts & Hanicraft workmanship; Soe likewise David, from an illiterate Shephard became a Prophet; Soe also Solomon was inspired, & all prophesied of the coming of the Messiah Only, not that he was already come; It was only the Angell that was sent to them.

[43r] Can we say that any of the aforesaid Cœlestiall Messengers, that were sent to Moses, Adam, Noah, Solomon, Tobias, &c., were the Messiah, or that Christ was only an Angel, before he was borne of the Virgin Mary in the flesh, to ransom the World, no, they were only the Angells or heavenly Messengers, to fulfil Gods Will, Decrees & Command, as he should institute & appoint them; as is manifest in the Parable spake by our Saviour Christ in St. Matthew's Gopsell Chap: 21. V: 33. to 40. God sends his Messengers, before he sends his Son. Therefore they were only Angells or Messengers, & not the Messias; and did inspire those holy Men, unto whom they were sent, in all knowledge & wisdom, & to foretell the coming of the Messias, &c. We could make out all these severall Types & Representations of Christ, in the old Testament (which we cannot say were Christ himself) as they were delivered by these Cœlestiall Messengers, to those holy men appointed by God, to reveale & make knowne his Lawes & Purposes to the World, & of the coming of the Messiah, but we shall Treate of that elsewhere in its proper place. Let it suffice now, that wee only tell you, what our Saviour saith in many places of the Gospell, Search the Scriptures (saith he) & see whether or noe, they doe not testifie & beare witness of mee. The Scriptures doth not testifie, that he was already come, or that he had been here before,<sup>61</sup> but that he was to come, & at that tyme he was come; not to one or two particular persons, in the forme of an Angell, or any other Cœlestiall Similitude; No, it was not his Office, he came to the lost Sheepe of the House of Israell, he came to seeke & to save that which was lost; He came in the Flesh, & lived accordingly (sin excepted) therein, to the apprehensions of those, who then lived & had seene him, &c: and wrought many Miracles to those who believed, to the astonishment of all Spectators, & People Wherefore he came, for you heare him complaine of nothing more, than want of Faith, & whosoever would but believe, onto such was nothing

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<sup>61</sup> It is likely that the original compiler of the Deuteronomic History (*i.e.*, the narrative sections of Deuteronomy and the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings) initially considered Josaiah King of Judah to be the Messiah, but this was obscured by the later redaction of the final section of II Kings after the death of Josaiah, the reversal or failure of his religious policies and the humiliation and destruction of the kingdom in the ensuing decades. The Idea of the Messiah, certainly in the pre-captivity period, was case more of a king, metaphorically anointed by God, who would unite the nation, drive off whichever empire last turned it into a vassal state & restore general obedience to the laws of Yahweh, than any kind of divine incarnation.

impossible neither incredible. He lived upon this Earth [43v] 33 yeares or thereabouts, & that to fulfil the unalterable Degree of his Father & the Scriptures, which did only Typify & testifie of him; he permitted himself to be betrayed & apprehended, by a tumultuous company of crude & masterless Soldiers & Renegadoes, for saith Hee, are you come as against a Theife, think yee that I cannot have Legions of Angells to assist me, if it were not for fulfilling the Scripture & the Will of my Father,<sup>62</sup> and was crucified, put to death, & soe suffered in the Flesh, after many Scoffs, buffetings, scourging, and other vile abuses; after he was dead in the flesh, he was buried, according to the order of deceased mortals, & not kept above ground; he overcame Death & Hell, & the third day after he was interred, he rose from the dead, & continued upon the earth with his disciples, forty daies, & then was taken up into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God, making continuall Intercession, for as many as faithfully believe, & turne to God by him.

He was nothing at all specified of an Angell, but the Angell that appeared to him in the Garden to comfort him before he was betrayed, & the Angell that appeared to Mary Magdalene, & the other Mary, at the Sepulchre of Christ, when they went to visit the Sepulchre, & of the Angels that spake to his disciples, when he ascended into Heaven, and of some others in the new Testament, which we might as well say was this Messias, as those of the Old Testament. No, they were Angells only, & as soe to this day, & ever wilbe to the end of the World, & are drawn to converse, by those who are accordingly qualified, as we have mentioned elsewhere before. So that here you see a plain distinction between Christ & the Angells, the Messiah being the only Son of God, & the second person in the Trinity, & the Angells only Messengers or Agents, to perform the Will of God, according to his appointment & decree.

Can we thing that the Angell that drove Adam & Eve out of Paradise, or the Angell that appeared unto Jacob in a Dream, Gen. 31. 10. 11. 12, or those Angells that met Jacob, Gen: 32. 1, or that Angell that delivered Jacob from all Evills, Gen. 49. 15. 16. Or that Angell that [44r] was sent to conduct the Elect of God, Exod: 23, 20. 21. Or that Angell mentioned Gen: 24. 7, or the Angell that was sent to Hagar, Gen: 16. 7. to the end, or the Angell that talked with Zacariah, Zeckh: 2. 3. Or (or) that Angel that smote & killed an hundred eighty five thousand Assyrians in the Camp of Ashur 2 Kings 19. 35, Isa. 37. 36. Or that Angell which God sent to Daniell Chap: 6. 22. & 10. 13. Or that Angell that God sent to conduct young Tobias &c: or the Angell that appeared to Joseph, Mat. 2. 13, or those Angells that ministered to Christ after his Temptation in the Wilderness, Math: 4: 11. Mar: 1. 13. Or that Angell that appeared to Zacharias, in the Temple of the Lord, Luke i. ii. Or the Angell that saluted the Virgin Mary, the Moster of Christ, Luke 3. 26. &c. Or that Angell that appeared to the Shephards, at the Birth of Christ, & the rest of

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<sup>62</sup> There is an asterisk by this word in the MS., with another in the margin by it, but nothing else visible written in the margin.

the Cœlestiall Hierarchies mentioned in Luke 2. v. 9 to 43 or those Angells soe frequently mentioned in the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John, or that Angell that comforted Christ in the Garden, Luke 22. 43. or those Angells that stood by the Apostles, at Christs Ascension into Heaven. Acts 1. 10. 11. Or those Legions of Angels mentioned by our Saviour, Math. 26. 53. Or the Angel that appeared unto Baalam, Numb. 22. 31 unto 36. Or the Angell that appeared to Mary Magdalene &c. at the Sepulchre of Christ, at his Resurrection from the dead, Matt: 28. 2. 3. 4. 5. Mar: 16. 5. John 20. 12. 13. Or that Angell mentioned in the Epistle of St. Jude, ver: 3. All these with so many more Texts in Holy Scripture, alluding to the same sence & purpose; All these (I say) cannot be said to be the Messiah,<sup>63</sup> they are said to be Angells, & so are called & noe otherwise; Wittnes these Texts in holy Writt. See what the Kingly Prophet David saith, in Psalme 34. 7. & 91. 11, & 103. 20, & 104. 4. Heb: 1. 7. Mah: 19. 10. & in some other places, where you see what the Offices & duties of the Angells are, & that these are Angells, & ministering Spirits in the Heavens, & they are likewise ordained for the Glory of God, & the use of Man, being accordingly qualified; Wee reade not any thing in that old Testament, [44v] that these Angells should be a Messiah. There are other places that Typifie & represent the coming of the Messiah, which is clearly another thing, or another Subject. It cannot be said that Christ was an Angell, or took upon him the Office of an Angell, either before or after he came into the World; for as we said before, he is of the Godhead, & the second Person in the Trinity, & ever was so from the beginning, for we read in Gen: 1. 26. That when God created Man, he consulted the Godhead or Trinity,<sup>64</sup> purposing to make an excellent worke, above all the rest of the Creation; he consults not with Angells, for they were Created, & the works of his hands as well as inferior Creatures, & in the beginning somewhat inferior to man till he fell from his Allegiance &c.: by all which we clearly conceive, & probably conclude, that the aforesaid apparitions mentioned in the Scriptures, were Cœlestiall Angells, or Messengers, preceding the Messiah, &c. And if we grant all that our Theologians doe<sup>65</sup> infer hereupon, then is our opinion strengthened, as to our present Subject. That it is possible for a sober & qualified person to converse verbally with the Cœlestiall Angells, for if the Godhead it selfe, the second person in the sacred Trinity, was willing to serve Man, & appeare unto him, & converse with him, then certainly Angells may as they have done; & still does, at this present day, as be experience we doe well know; & that they are no delusions, we shall clearly demonstrate in conclusion of this present Treatise concerning Angells & Spirits, &c.

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<sup>63</sup> I am not sufficiently familiar with Christian theological debates in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England to comment on whether or not the position attacked in this rambling diatribe was ever seriously maintained. Sadly, it may be necessary to become such, as works like the present cannot be fully understood if treated in isolation from the social / cultural / religious context in which they were produced.

<sup>64</sup> There is nothing in Gen. I. that can reasonably be translated "Trinity." The entire chapter consistently uses the "plural of majesty" for God.

<sup>65</sup> Written *sup. lin.*

But although we could insist further hereupon, yet wee shall not treat any more thereof in this place, All that wee shall say here in this place<sup>66</sup> at present is this:

That there was noe Art nor Science first found out by any Man but he had it immediately by the Inspiration, Dictation & Ministry of Angells; as we could instance in many undeniable Examples; but we shall only shew you one out of sacred Writ, & that is in Exodus 31. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. & Chap: 35. 8. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. And was not the Arke that God commanded Noah to build, the originall & first platform of Shipping? We could make mention of theimprovement thereof, & of the Arte of Astronomy & Navigation, but we shall treat of that elsewhere.

[45r] Let it suffice now, that we plainly see, that many very rare Arts and Inventions there are in the World, & that they came to our Auncestors, by the ministering & revelation of the blessed Angells; & we have come to the knowledge thereof, by the Tradition of the Auncients, &c.

Now thus much let us take notice of, & observe by the way; that through Warrs (the cheife Engine of Ruine & destruction) Ignorance, Fire, suddaine mortality & many other Casualties, an infinite of the Learning & scripts of the Auncients, have been lost & destroyed; yet by the helpe of Angelicall ministry, restored againe to succeeding Ages. For if we may believe Scripture (which I suppose none can deny) God is the same God yesterday & forever; he is Alpha & Omega, his decrees is unalterable, & his promise the same, from the beginning to the end of the World, & shall continue unalterable from Generation to Generation; for God spared not his only begotten Son, & as he was borne in the Flesh, so he suffered in the Flesh, to fulfil the Decree of God the Father: &c.

Now then, if God soe loved the World, or Man, that he gave his only Son, the second person in the Trinity to be offered up a sacrifice to appease the wrath of his Father, & so became a Ransome for the Redemption of the World from Sin & Satan, for that God delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turne from his wickedness & live, & therefore he would not leave any thing undone, nor any means unattempted to bring us nearer to him, & to Contemplate his goodness to us, in giving us the command over all things, both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall, and Infernall (as we have further illustrated in the beginning of this Treatise) if Man (I say) be so excellent a Creation, & Ornament in Nature, & find such favours & benignities from Him, & be so precious his Sight; What thing is it that he may aske, that he cannot obteyne, if he cloath himself in the wedding Garmnet of Faith & humiliation, &c. See Heb: 11. Math 7. 7 8 & 17. 19. 20. 21. & 29. 19. 20. 21. 22. Marke 9. 23 & 11. 20. to 27. Luke 7. 7. & 11. 9. 10. & 17. 5. 6. John: 14. 11. 12. 13. 14. & 15. 7. 8. 16. 23. 24. Ephes. 6. 16. 17. 19. Phil. 2. 4. 5. 6. Col: 1. 22. 23. 2 Cor. 13. 5. James 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 1 John: 5. 14. 15. 2 Pet: 1. 4. Gal. 3. 6. 7. & many others, &c.

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<sup>66</sup> "in this place" written *sup. lin.*

[45v] If it be soe that Man by obtaine any thing of God, if he aske it in Faith, in which, whosoever asked at any tyme, never departed away empty; then it is undoubtedly to be granted, that Man now, as well as in the primitive tymes, may have conversed with Angells, & by their Cœlestiall Ministry, may reedifie revive & repaire lost Science, & obtaine the wonderfull knowledge & understanding, of all Misticall & occult Secrets in nature (that remaine so yet unknowne to these later Ages) most admirable & beneficiall to Man. Notwithstanding the fulfilling of the old Testament, & the decease of Oracles. For wee are positivly of the beleife, that God loveth Man now, as well now as [ever he did, & is ready & willing to bestow the same benefites upon us, well as]<sup>67</sup> our forefathers, if we are accordingly qualified, & worthy the receiving thereof; for nothing impedites Gods blessings, but our unworthyness, &c.

Having briefly<sup>68</sup> touched on some eminent & remarkable places & Texte out of sacred Writt, & the probable Conjectures of some auncient Rabbis, & the Conclusions of Moderne Theologians thereupon, together with the more remarkable Approbations of some, who have consulted & conversed verbally with Angells, as we have more at large treated of elsewhere, leaving the Construction thereof to those who are more Theologically & Cabalistically conceited, with the Opinions of Tradition only; it is sufficient we have only hinted thereat, & partly know the Misteries thereof &c.: But as wee cannot please the humours of all, soe let every one please themselves (as we have done) with what Reason best dictates them to, not swerving from the Divine Laws & Principles, &c: & what we have said, we have said; having omitted severall other places of holy writ, mentioning the Apparition of Angells, unto the Servants of God, who walked in his Lawes & kept his Statutes & Ordinances, as in Gen: 18. 2. & 19. 1. 15. & 22. 11 & truly (as we said before) I know no reason why man now as formerly may not receive the like benefits, if he walke in those paths of Righteousness his Forefathers walked in (notwithstanding the decease of Oracles, &c.) for there is ne decease or decrease of Gods Love & Goodness to [46r] Man, though man decreaseth in duty to God, God is to be found, of all those that seeke him, & will deny nothing that Man can ask of him, (be it what it will &c.) if he be worthy to receive such benefits, & is capable of making good use thereof &c.: & for this it sufficeth here &c.

Yet one thing we may not omit, as a matter of Principall Contentment and being fit to be knowne, & understood, & that is this, &c.:

In all the Scriptures we read, that Angells appeared in the Similitudes of Man in white Rayment & many tymes for that reason, were taken for men, (& called Men of God) until they were discovered, in or neare their deparature from those unto whome they appeared, after they had fulfilled the will of God, & delivered their message; & then they

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<sup>67</sup> Words in square brackets written along the edge of the page in the margin.

<sup>68</sup> You keep using that word. I do not think it means what you think it means.

would usually say, That they had seene an Angell of the Lord (but before he was discovered or knowne to be an Angell, he was seemingly a Man, in forme & behaviour, & so thought to be, &c.) But we read not of any Angell therein, that did ever or usually appeare, in the shape or similitude of a Woman. Now for the reason, that some of our Modern Magitians, have had appearances of Angells in female shape, & forms, being contrary to the Theologicall Construction of those, who were called or thought to be good Angells, insomuch that some very Learned in this Art, have delivered their opinion thereof, and John Tritheme the Abot of Spanheim, the learned Father & Master in this Art, in his little Book *Octo Questionum Maximiliani Cæseris*, Quest. 6 saith, That never any good Angell was read of, to have appeared in the forme of a Woman, &c. & more to the like purpose, &c.

This opinion of his struck such a deep impression of beliefe, in later Students in this Art, that it befot contest thereupon; for seeing Angells more frequently & familiarly appeare, in Feminine forme than in Masculine forme, together with the great scandal, that that been throwne upon this incomparable, matchless & protoplast Art, by the Ignorant mistakes, false, malicious & misconstrive opinions, and interpretations thereof by Scismaticall Sectaries, & many others, who carpe at & inveigh all things they understand not, nor are accustomed to (& wiell may such scandalize Arts & Sciences & caluminate the Students therein, who kick, spurne at and [46v] endeavour to overthrow Kingdomes & Commonwealths, and the Governments thereof: both Ecclesiasticall & Civill, except they have a principall Office, Interest or Benefit therein, themselves) calling some Atheisticall, Hereticall & Malignant, others Diabolicall, delusive & deceitfull, prophaine, superstitious & what not: when as indeed the contemners, revilers, & abusers of Art<sup>69</sup> are worse themselves, then what they style Arte & Artists to be, &c: as we could clearly make out to the shame & silencing of all such, who either impudently this Art, or blasphemously the works of God in Nature, &c., oppose or deny; but we shall mention this elsewhere before: & shall leave such to the reward of God, according to his Judgments &c: but we shall to our matter in hand,

Wee shall now dissipate the former mistake of Trithemius, and remove the doubte of some others, who I am confident, though resolved mistakes have erred, & soe consequently missed their Expectations, & lost their purpose, because they would not confide in Effeminate Appearances, iudging them according to the foregoing report, Trithemius & some other gave of them: Who being so mistaken and dismissed without any further Question made threof, or search therein, stiled this Art Ridiculous, Diabolicall, Useless & altogether unfit for Man to practise, for that it was a strong delusion, and superstitious & hereticall & impossible for any good to come thereof or to have any satisfaction therein, or to learne any thing therefrom, of good Ministry,

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<sup>69</sup> "of Art" written *sup. lin.*

Admonitions or directory Rules or rudiments of Learning, binding to the disclosing of any secret in Nature, or the repairing of any lost Science or Art, that that been a long tyme buried in oblivion, nor any other benefit that man may receive, but illusions only, and many the like aspersions hath been cast upon this profound, cœlestiall & unparalleled Art. But such who give this censorious report of this Art, do report it of the Art only, not of themselves; for if there be any defect, [47r] without doubt it is in themselves (caused by their owne Ignorance, for want of better Judgment therein, thereby wanting merit & not being worthy thereof) not in the Art. This we doe confess, that there may be an abuse in all things, & that some men may assume to themselves, more then they ought to doe, & become superstitious out of mere Curiosity; & others may become Idolatrous for want of Faith & better Judgment, & some others Atheisticall, Ridiculous & Blasphemous, in giving that to Angells, Art & their owne abilities presuming thereupon, which is due to God only; others there by who converse with Infernall & other sorts of wicked & evill Spirits, for the fulfilling of their owne base, lewde, ungodly & unworthy & uniuert ends & worldly lucre, when as we should use them as our Vassalls only, & keepe them in bonds & subjection, denyng their Councells as wholesome Doctrine, using them according to their Offices only, that is to restraine them from doing Evill; which that is a qualified Magitian knoweth how to doe, & what is meant by it, he well understandeth &c: All which is as bad as bad may or can be, or be said to be, yet I cannot say it is worse, than for any one ignorantly, unadvisedly, ignominiously, scurrilously, traditionally only, or any otherwise maliciously to scandalise, asperce & condemne, what they cannot attaine unto, nor doe not understand: for he who shall soe doe, doth (in my Opinion) rob God of his honor, as those who shall make use of & give his Glory, Praise & Honor (due to him only) to other powers & interests being inferior; & the work of his, & mens hands; or those who fall into dispaire, which is as much as to say, That they think God is not sufficient, to give us any such Benefits, or will heare us when we call upon him, or that he hath layd aside his mercies to Man, or that he hath forgot his promises, or that there is noe truth in the Cœlestiall Hierarchies, & Choirs or Legions of good Angells now as formerly, nor in any Arte & Sciences, which there is noe man, but will conclude to be as ridiculous & absurd, as all the rest, if not more.

[47v] How then can any dare or presume to condemne this Art, or other Arte or Naturall Sciences, when as there nothing is found amiss therein? If there by any defect, it is in Man, not in Art: In all the Scriptures we shall finde, that God & our Saviour Christ, complaine of nothing more in Man, then Pride, Presumption, Ambition, Perversnes, want of Faith & Obedience to his Lawes & divine Institutions; God made, constituted & Ordained, the services of all Angells, &c. & Sublunary Creatures, in a wonderfull Order, to & for the use, behoofe & good of Man, & Man for himself; to laud & magnifie him as an more excellent Ornament then all the worke of his Creation besides, until Man (being

seduced) through Ambition, thinking to be as wise & good as God himself, by eating the forbidden fruit (being a great presumption to doe, when God had warned him to the contrary, before which amongst all the rest of the Creation, God hath set apart nothing for himselfe, as an Edict to the Man, but that one Tree, which wee now adaies think, were but a very easy Commandment to keepe, & a very great matter to breake it, considering the State & Condition that Man was then in) & soe you see (though a small Justification both to keepe or breake) how hard a matter it proved in both: The breach of which Commandment caused Man to become more base & vile, then the Beasts of the fields, & from the best, became the worst ornament of the whole Creation, &c.

Here you see the defect clearly lyes in Man, not in Nature or Art, nor in any Creatures, or other thing; tis Man that falls, the divine Instituions & Inevitable decrees of God stands, & all Arts & Sciences Also, & will doe to the end of the World, notwithstanding all the superfluous Batteries, & malignant Oppositions to the contrary.

Let us now behold all these malicious detractors, like the Blind leading the Blind, till they all fall into the ditch of gross Errors, & there lye wallowing in the Myre of Absurdity, where we shall leave them belcing out stinking Nonsense, against most apparent Truthes, until they are choakt as well as blinded, &c.

[48r] Now, before you endeavour to take the Mote out of the Eye of Art, I pray you take the Beame out of the Eye of your owne Ingorance, and think not that Pearls are to be cast to Swine, or Diamonds to Dunghill Cocks, that such Guifts wilbe given to you to deride, or make a worldly Ostentation or Lucre thereof. No, if you reade them with humility, admiration, gravity, or other suck like solid Observations, as becometh a sober & qualified Christian to doe; & when you have so done, sit downe & consider, as the Bereans did at the doctrine of Paul, in Acts 17. 11. Not condemning anything that doth not at all deserve it. And so for the subject we have partly said.

Wee shall put a period to this part of the Isagoge, in answer to what Trithemius asserteth in his foresaid Method, concerning the Appearance of Angells (vizt) That never any good Angell was read of, to have appeared in the forme of a Woman.

A most excellent & descreet Magitian<sup>70</sup> living since him, though peradventure not altogether so well learned, yet every whit as pious, Serious, Qualified & endowed with as good parts as his, or any one, that hath lived since, unto this present tyme, & now it is June 1649,<sup>71</sup> who before he would stand to the single Testimony of Tradition only, was resolves (if possibly it might be) to know the certain and apparent truth thereof, from

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<sup>70</sup> John Dee (1527-1609).

<sup>71</sup> This date is not credible. As Ashmole observed, much of the discourse in these sections is drawn out of Dr. French's translation of the *De Occulta Philosophia* of Cornelius Agrippa (pub. 1651); and while it is not *a priori* impossible that material from this circulated in manuscript prior to its publication (getting a work of that length & complexity translated, set up in type, printed, bound & distributed is not something that happens overnight), the extent of the borrowings and the perpetuation (in other parts of the *Janua*) of errors in the printed edition, gives an earliest possible date somewhat after that; and that's before we consider John Dee's spirit diaries.

those, whome he thought & knew, could better informe him, having had severall shewes & Operations. And most or all their appearances, that convened before him, were usually or for the major part Feminine<sup>72</sup>—This Gentleman being at a certain tyme in his Study upon Action, & being in Conference with the Angell called Galvah, he makes demand of the aforesaid Question unto him or her, for she appeared unto him, in the similitude of a Maid or Virgin;<sup>73</sup> & she returns him this Answer,

#### *The Angel Galvah's Reply to the Magitian.*<sup>74</sup>

It is evident that the Angells of God, are incomprehensible to those that are their Inferiours; for the higher Order is incomparable to God, & by degrees those that are Inferiours, are Incomparable to them.

[48v] It followeth therefore, That in respect of that Degree in Angells, things are Incomprehensible.

Angells of themselves neither are Man nor Woman, therefore they doe take Formes (not according to any Proportion in Imagination, but) according to the decrees<sup>75</sup> & applicable Will both of him, & of the thing wherein they are Administrators. For they are all Spirits, ministering the Will of God: and unto whome, unto every thing within the compas of Nature, & the use of Man. It followeth therefore, considering that they minister not of themselves, that they should minister in that unsearchable Forme, within the which their executions are limited.

Now if Trithemius or any other can say, that Woman also hath not the Spirit of God, being formed & fashioned of the selfe same matter (notwithstanding in a contrary proportion by a degree), If Trithemius, or any other can separate the dignity of the Soule of Woman, from the Excellency of Man, but according to the forme of the matter, then might his Argument be good.

But because that in Man & Woman, there is a proportion and preperation of Sanctification in Eternity alike; therefore may those that are the eternall Ministers of God, in proportion to Sancification, take unto them the Bodies of them both (I meane in respect of the Forme) for as in both you read *Homo*, so in both you finde one & the same dignity in Internall matter all one.

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<sup>72</sup> This is almost arguable if one only considers the records covered in *T&FR*, and that only because Galvah appears very near the start of that record (p. 10); prior to her the Angels seen by Kelly include *Madimi* and *Ath* of the *Filia Filiarum lucis* (both female), *Murifri* (male), and an unnamed “voyce,” later said to belong to “one [...] much like *Michael*.” *Madimi* & *Ath* got more shew-stone time than the other two.

<sup>73</sup> Kelly described her as “a Woman, like a old mayde, in red peticote, and with a red silk upper bodyes: her hair rolled about like a Scottish woman: The same being yellow.” (Cotton Appendix XLVI part i. fol. 8r; *T&FR* p. 10).

<sup>74</sup> In margin, “<illegible> p. 33” (the first ‘3’ possibly altered to ‘1’). The following speech (to “I will yet alledge greater”) is taken from Dee’s record of the Action of 1583.06.14, *T&FR*, p. 13. In S5 it appears, slightly paraphrased and not credited, somewhat earlier in the *Janua* (fol. 18r-19r).

<sup>75</sup> Underlined in S4. Not underlined or emphasised in *T&FR* or Cotton Appendix XLVI.

Now Trithemius spake, in respect of the filthiness (which indeed is no filthiness) wherewith all weoman are stained, & by reasons from the naturall philosophers, as a man tasting more of Nature indeed, then of him who is the Workman, or a Supernaturall Master, He (I say) concluded his naturall Invention.

In respect of myself, I answer Trithemius thus, I am *Finis*, I am a beame of that wisdom, which is the end of Mans Excellency.

And if Trithemius mark well, he shall perceive, that true Wisdome is always painted in a Womans Garment: for then the purity of a Virgin, nothing is more com[mendable.]<sup>76</sup>

And if (saith she), you think that these Arguments are not sufficient, I will yet alledge greater.

Thus far the Angell Galvah; and I think it in my Opinion very satisfactory to any ingenious & intelligible Man; & truly I also think, that we may commend the whole, with the most select of this Isagoge, without any sensible Errour.

Having briefly &c. ~~~~ p: 65.

[It is unclear to whom this rambling diatribe was addressed. It is unlikely that the *Janua* was written for general publication, and anyone known to be hostile to the subject-matter would be unlikely to be willingly given a copy. Possibly the author was trying to convince himself or his associates of the compatibility of their magical practices with their religious faith.]

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<sup>76</sup> Some text omitted: *T&FR* reads, “Those also that are called *Filiae* and *Filiae Filiarum* are all comprehended in me, and do attend upon *True Wisdom*; which if *Trithemius* mark, he shall perceive [...]” Part of the last word of this paragraph is lost in the gutter in S4. Galvah continued, “God, in his Judgment, knoweth, how Trithemius is rewarded.” The *Filiae lucis* (Daughters of Light) and *Filiae filiarum lucis* (Daughters of the Daughters of Light), the former originally described as “seven women in green,” the latter as “seven wenches in white” are among the angels of Dee’s *Sigillum Æmeth*

*Excerpt I.*<sup>77</sup>

[49r] [...] as we have inserted, in a particular Tract or Treatise or two following, where they are all fully explained, & the practicall uses thereof, as hath been proved, & by the Ingenious may plainly and satisfactorily appeare.

We have spoken before concerning the Natures of good Angells and Spirits, & of their diversities & distinctions; Now that we may not mingle truth with falsehood, nor run our selves into Meanders and Premunies (?), by mistaking ourselves in these things, whereby many Errours hath been committed, and for that reason this Art hath been much scandalized & abused, when as indeed, it is only the Misunderstanding thereof, & the insufficiency & ignorance of the peretended Master thereof, where he knoweth not a good Apparition from a bad one, a true one from a false one, &c: For he who is a Magitian, must expect Temptations & Illusions, but he he can rightly distinguish them, & overcome them (the which he ought to know how to doe, or else he cannot be perfect in the Art) then the tempting illuding evill Spirit, flyeth away powerless, and becometh like a Waspe that hath lost her Sting, having no power or strength to tempt any more; for behold the evill Spirit doth sift & winnow us as Wheate. Wee could treat much hereof, but it is no place, we shall speake more afterwards, at the Conclusion of this Part, we shall shew you here a distinction (as we said before) of these spirits which are Terrestriall & Infernall, &c.: whereby we may be aware of their Temptations & Delusions, & pray that God would deliver us from them & give us power over them, to restraine & vanquish their evill, malignant attempts & assaults, &c.

The Bodies of evill Angells, &c. ~~~~ see p: 69.

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<sup>77</sup> Insertion point: after “Innumerable spirits of private offices,” fol. 37r (p. 69). The opening apparently replaces “as before said” in S5.

*Excerpt K*,<sup>78</sup>

[49v] VARIOUS is the Construction, & severall that been the Opinions of later Ages, of & concerning these Terrestriall Spirits, &c.: together with many vaine, ignorant & idle Censures, that have passed of them; of which we shall first give an account, & then our Opinion, &c.

Some doe suppose, that where they doe bring any benefit or good to Man, that they are Angels, or good & familiar spirits, sent to those men from God, & by him are taken from them againe, by reason of their great & heinous sins & enormous offences & Transgressions, in abusing such his mercies & labours; for often tymes they bring many good Offices & benefits to Men, & doe undertake & sustaine many hard Labours for them.

Some are of Opinion, that the Spirits will not bee seene by us, because that when a man seeth them, he cryeth out & is astonished, suppose that they are the Spirits & Soules of Men, that have come to an evill death, that have either desperately hanged or drown'd themselves, or any other waies violently made themselves away, or that have lived a vile & lewd Conversation, or otherwise vitious & noxious in their lives & dealings &c.: & for that cause doe wander about, & are reserved by the Devill until the day of Judgment.

Some doe suppose them to be only Phantasies, & doe presage and foreshow much good fortune to those places, wherein they are seene & heard; which many tymes hath so happened & come to pass, especially where the Truth hath been fixed & staple with a constant Taciturnity.

Some think that they are Magitians inchantments.

[50r] Some these are, who having seene & heard them about Treasures hidden in the Earth, have iudged that they are the Spirits of Men, who have hid Treasures in that place, & ought to remaine there, until their Custody thereof be found out, whereby they may be discharged therefrom, & the Treasure be obteyned, if the Master Artist, or carefull Magician, know how to order his Affairs, & understand what he undertake aright; if not he may shooe the Goose.<sup>79</sup>

These are the Coniectures of some; & many are the opinions of divers concerning them, but these aforesaid being the Major testimony, and comprehending the sences of all others, that have treated thereof, that wee thinke it both needless & useless to insert any more then what we have done, being all beside the Truth, & wide of the Marke they aimed at: wherefore we shall give a true answer to the foregoing Censures imagined of them, & a briefe narrative touching them.

As to the first Construction, we shall say thus; they cannot be Cœlestiall Angells sent from God, to communicate Benefits to Men, for they dwell not in the Earth, neither do

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<sup>78</sup> Insertion point: after “by the Meanest Capacity,” fol. 40r (p. 75).

<sup>79</sup> [Possibly a now obsolete idiom for “he can get lost”?]

they retheyne such grossness as a Terrestrial Nature, their habitations & offices are far different, & of an other quality, as wee have fully & apparently demonstrated formerly in their proper place; neither are they capable of suffering any such hard Labours. Their Offices are to Teach, Instruct, Guide & defend the Truth of sacred Misteries, & such as walk according to the Lawes & Commandments of God, & our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a greater benefit & blessing, then all these Terrestrial Elphs or Spirits, or all the Treasures of the World can give or purchase. These things are so obvovs, that wee neede not spende any further thereof, as the foregoing Method of the Natures &c. of the Cœlestiall Angells, will exemplarily & more evidently make it appeare, &c.

To the second we answer; Tis true, they are not, neither will they be seene by all, but by some more especially, with whome they are affected & delighted, as we have fully explained, in the beginning of this section,<sup>80</sup> & from others they fly, & will not [50v] appeare to them, for the reasons before specified; that is, either they are daunted & dismayed, or that they are of a courageous Spirit & undaunted Resolution, & soe through their Confidence & want of knowledge and better Judgement, force them to fly or vanish away; or by Art force them to yeild, and fuffill such his desires, as his present occasions & affairs render him capable of demanding, & afterwards by the Artist driven away from one place, & confined to another (as we shall further discourse anon) whereby they cannot (as before) appeare againe, but remaine as a Waspe that hath lost her Stinge; whence it cometh to pass, that they are said by such condignity to be deprived of their Office & Joy; which may without any sensible error, serve for another Reason to that, which is mentioned about the beginning of the foregoing page; why these Terrestrial Spirits are not soe frequent, visible & familiar now as formerly.<sup>81</sup> All which is likewise soe plaine, that it needs noe further exposition, &c.

To the third we answer, That these Terrestriall Elphs or Spirits, cannot be said to be the Soules or Spirits of any that have come to an evill or untimely end, or desperately made themselves away, &c.: as is asserted, for wee question, whether the Soule or Spirit of any one, can properly be said to reside, or be seene on Earth, after the Body is deceased and interred in the Grave; yet wee deny not, but that many houses hath been much troubled, & infested with Visions & Apparitions, and hath been disturbed annoyed & molested, with severall Incumberances, Incursions & unusuall Noyses & Hurly burlies; and that such like shapes & similitudes, hath been seene to walke & wander thereabouts, & in such hours as such an one lately lived in & that it was in such a likeness & resembled such a person, & seemed to be in such a habit & in such a posture; & many such like things (somewhat whereof we have seene by Experiences) & therefore they are said to be

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<sup>80</sup> This possibly alludes to a passage not copied here, as already being in Ashmole's copy of the *Janua* (S5, fol. 38r, deriving in turn from *OOP* Book III ch. 32 (p. 450)

<sup>81</sup> *i.e.*, in the passage immediately prior to the insertion point for this excerpt (S5 fol 40r, immediately following the list of the seven sisters).

the Ghoste of such or such a Person; but this is contrary to the opinion of those, who refer these things to the Terrestriall Spirits, Elphs, Sylphs or Pigmies. There is few or none twell in those Places which they inhabite, although they willingly resort, oftentimes & frequent [51r] and sometimes dwell in those places, which we inhabit (yet without dispute, it is not without but for some Cause), yet this cannot manifest them, to be the Soules of the deceased. This is a manifest mistake. And since it hapneth soe oppertunely, we shall give a breife description & definition of these things, in this place; that the differenece between the Soules of the deceased, the Devills & these Terrestriall Elphs or Spirits, & the true foundationall grounds thereof might be knowne, to avoid all further Misconstructions thereof.

Manifest & divers are the opinions & suppositions of the auncient Philosophers, & modern Theologians concerning this subject, & different one from another, that it would even be endless & toylesome to insert their Traditions, & so painefull to beat our brains thereupon, considering how useless & impertinent a Subject it is, if we understand the substance thereof aright, as to coniecture the state of mans Souls, & his spirituall condition after death, we shall not trouble our selve much therewith, only as much thereof as is expedient for our preset purpose, in regard our present Task lyeth otherwise; & shall conclude with St. Augustine, That it is better to doubt concerning secret things, then to contend about things uncertain. And soe we shall to our intended purpose, in answer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> foregoing Construction.

Most certain it is, that Death is fatall to all, & it is appointed for all men once to dye, & as the Preacher saith Eccles 12. 7. When Man dyes, his Body retournes to the Earth, from whence it was taken & the Spirit retournes to God who gave it. Whence we may infer the words of the Philosopher, who saith, The Spirit of Man is of a sacred nature, & divine offspring, & is always faultless, wherefore it is incapable of any punishment. Others conclude thus, That the soule if it have done well, rejoyceth together with the Spirit, & going forth with the Ayeriall Charriot, passeth freely to the Quire of Heroes (that is of blessed Souls) or reacheth Heaven, where it enioys a blessed & perpetuall felicity, & the divine Vision, & possession of the kingdome [51v] of Heaven; But if it hath done ill, the Spirit iudgeth it, & leaves it to the pleasure of the Devill, & the sad Soule wanders about Hell like an Image, and being voyde of an intelligible Essence, & left to the power of a furious Phantisie, is ever subject to the Torment of Corporeall Qualities; knowing that it is by the iust Judgment of God, for ever deprived of the divine Vision for its sins, the absence whereof is the most grievous punishment of all: for when the Soule is separated from the Body, the perturbations of the Memory & Sence remain; To which St. Austin assents saying, That separated Soules retheyne the fresh Memory of those things, which they did in their lyfe. Firmianus, a writer of no mean Judgement & capacity, asserteth thus, Let not any man concede (saith he) that the Souls or the dead, are

iudged immediately after death, for they are all deteyned in one common custody, until the tyme shall come, where in the Almighty Judge shall examine their Deeds & Deserts; Then they who shalbe found Righteous, shall received the reward of Immortality, but they whose sins & Wickedness shall then be detected, [shall not arise again, but shalbe inclosed or shut up with the wicked in darknes destined]<sup>82</sup> to eternall punishments. In which opinion St. Austin subscribeth, where he saith in his *Enchiridon*, That the tyme which is interposed between the death of Mankind, & the last Resurrection, conteyneth the soule in secret hidden Receptacles, where every Soule receiveth condign Rest or Misery, for the good or evill which it did in the Body, whilst it lived in the Flesh. St. Ambrose doth not dissent herefrom who saith, That the day of reward is expected of all, therefore whilst the fullness of tyme is expected, the Soules expect a due Recompense, Cœlestiall Glory & Fœlicity, being elected & prepared for some, and endless Tormente, Paines & Punishments ordained & determined for others: he further saith, that the Soule is loosed from the Body, & after the end of this lyfe, is even as yet in suspence, being doubtfull of the Judgment to come. Heere we may behold, the generall assertions of the Auncient Fathers and Philosophers, the which is also the opinion of the major part of our modern & later Theologians, and other Writers who hath followed the Traditions of the Auncients, [52r] as we have found, by curious & diligent search, with no small paines, for our further & more ample satisfaction in this Subject, being a matter much in contest & debate, & truly we can find litle difference in the Judgment of the learned, from what we have here insisted. And as for the opinions of the Scismaticks & Sectaries hereof, who are more conceitedly wise, then wisely Conceited, we pass them by; as being of noe worth, value, vailidty or estimation, &c.

In all which foregoing passages, we cannot finde one atome of satisfaction, one syllable to prove, that these terrestriall Spirits, Sylphes, or whatsoever we may call them, are or can any way probably, or at all be the Soules of the deceased, either in generall or particular, but rather make clearly against such Opinions, & seemeth to be a complete & rationally answer, to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Construction foregoing.

Wee shall only add a word or two of our own Opinion, & so conclude what we promised in the beginning of this Answer, & that is thus [We positively conclude, that these Terrestriall Spirits, can neither properly nor improperly, be said to be the soules of any deceased Persons, in no kinde of Respect; our [...]],<sup>83</sup> That if it were soe, then should be have these Spirits most numerous & frequent, as we could instance in hundred of Examples, neither are we without Presidentes enough & manifold to prove it, And I dare confidently aver, that in this perfidious age wherein we now live, there is not scarce

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<sup>82</sup> Text in square brackets written in margin with insertion mark before “to eternall punishments.”

<sup>83</sup> Text in square brackets written in margin with insertion note after “& that is thus.” The last three or four words are partially lost in the gutter & unreadable in the images I’m working from.

one Man of ten thousand, that liveth a virtuous, pious religious, Charitable, honest, christian lyfe, or dyeth iustified by his Faith or good Works, as I am very confident Millions of some Christians in this Terrestriall World,<sup>84</sup> can say and shrewdly conjecture, by manifold & woefull experience, without any materiall & sensible Errour; yet God forbid we should iudge uncharitably of any One, though never so bad, & herein let noe one goe about to pull the Beame out of our Eyes, before he have taken the Mote out of his owne Eyes. And soe by this Rule, there would have been and would continually be, far more innumerable of wandering Spirits and Goblins upon the Earth, then People & Inhabitants, and soe by course halfe the world had neede be Magicians, to expel & drive them away, & instead of crying downe the Art, [52v] they had more neede to cry it up, exalt, esteeme & cherish it, and the learned therein (Professors we may not call them, for none dare, or be knowne to process it, the ignorance of the Age is such) We say, that to beleive Soules of wicked people, that depart this life, cannot goe to the place God hath predestinated and ordained for them, but must wander up & downe this terrene Globe, like Spirits & Goblins to fright folks is an Errour, & a palpable mistake; or to think that they can be turned or metamorphosed into Spirits, is as false; for as we said before, if that were true, the World would soe abound with Terrestriall Spirits & Goblins, that we should not be voyd of multitude of Experiments therein, & Exemplifications thereof, &c.: and yet we see, there is such a scarcity of such things, that hardly one Person of an hundred, will believe any such thing at all, as Spirits, &c.: which hotherwise could not of necessity but convinece any incredulous person, the Apparitions & usuall Signs, Testimonies, & other severall significations thereof would be so common, &c: Wee could alleadge greater Arguments to prove our Answer to these things, but we shall explaine something hereof more fully in the Argument following; & so wind up this Answer &c: Therefore observe &c.<sup>85</sup>

Isagogicall Observations &c. ~~~~ p: 75.

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<sup>84</sup> Of course, given the population of the planet at the time this was written, precious few of the “Millions of some Christians” would be among the “one in ten thousand.” The passage is hyperbole of course, and jeremiads on the corruption of the age can be found in, well, every age: but there is other evidence indicating that this work was written when a civil war in England was in recent memory, and either during or shortly after a time when the country was under a military dictatorship run by a gang of religious fanatics.

<sup>85</sup> As far as I can tell, in all that rambling and ranting the writer hasn’t actually stated what they think those critters actually *are*, not indeed addressed all the opinions on the subject listed at the start of this section.

*Janua Magica Reserata:  
Further excerpts and fragments*

[The following passages are in different handwriting, but are all connected to the *Janua Magica Reserata*. The first occupies the top of fol. 37r but has been crossed through. It appears to be part of a draft of the “Celestial Keys”]

“[...] same to transmit your true & reall presence, Corporally, in your Appearances plainly & Visibly, to the Sight of our Eyes, & Voyces to our Ears, that We may also as plainly & Visible see you & Audibly here you, speake unto us: or otherwise to Appear out of the same Visibly here before us, as it shall please God & you his Servants, or Servants as Messagers of his paterniall grace, & mercy, Seemeth Most Meet, proper, pertinent, or best befitting this action, Appearance, Occasion or Matters &c.”

[The corresponding text in the “Celestial Keyes” of the Sloane 3825 *Janua* has minor variations in wording, most significantly omitting ‘Corporally’ (instead typically reading “... Angelicall & Reall presence, plainly unto the Sight of our Eyes ...”).]

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[The following invocation is found on fol. 81 & 83 of S4, which appear to comprise a single folded sheet that was inserted into an unrelated collection of talismanic designs with accompanying text (a small slip with a design of a dodecagram and heptagram was in turn stuck inside it, and now forms fol. 82). The title, sub-title and text follow the pattern of the “Cœlestiall Keys” of the *Janua*. A shorter “Tenth Key” in a different hand and style was written in on an unused page following the Ninth Key in S5.]

### *The Tenth Key*

*Moveing & calling forth to Visible appearance the Cœlestiall Hierarchy of Heoes of Quire of Blessed Soules of the order of Animastick whose principall governer of Blessed Intelligences is Issim or the Soul of Messiah Residing & bearing Rule in the Spheare of the Elements.*

**O You Glorious** great Sacred and Cœlestiall Angells or Blessed Intelligences **Jereceue** and **Mitraton**<sup>86</sup> whose principall governing Angell or Blessed Intelligence is **Issim** & all others ye Cœlestiall Angells or Servants of the most high, omnipotent Incomprehensible immense Immortall & Eternall God of hosts the onely Creator of heavne & Earth & of all things whatsoever Both Cœlestiall & Elemental Animal Vegitable Minerall & Reptile or Insect that is contained & Comprehended therein & that serve before the most high & Excellent honoured Angells **Hajoth HaKados**<sup>87</sup> as ministering Angells present & always at his most high superior & Divine Commands and Appointments in the Order of **Aninastik**<sup>88</sup> or Quire of Blessed Souls and Residing in the tenth heaven, & bearing office Rule & power in the sphere of the Elements wee servants also of the Hiest & Reverently here present in his holy feare Do Call upon you & humbly Request & Earnest Entreate you & move you to Visible appearance by & through this most Excellent Ineffable great might signall sacred & Divine name of the most high God **Issim**<sup>89</sup> & his numeral attribute **Malcuth** who sitteth in the most Imperiall & highest heaven before whom all the hosts or Quires of Angells Incessantly Singeth **O mappa-laman Hallelujah** who created all Heaven & Earth in Six Dayes and all things there therein is & he Rested from his labors & he Blessed all that he had Done & Sealed the Same in his most high great & holy name **Marinata Abint Jeja** as the most high & onely God of heaven & Lord of hosts the maker of time & by the Seal of your Creation being the marke of Character of

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<sup>86</sup> *Ierescue* and *Mitraton* are mentioned as the Western Angels of Wednesday in the *Heptameron*, where they have no particular connection to Malkuth, the Sphere of the Elements or the Order of Blessed Souls.

<sup>87</sup> The *Chaioth ha-Qadosh* (חיות הקדש) are more normally associated with the first sphere. They are not cited in the “First Key” of the *Janua* but are mentioned in the chapter of the ten Sephiroth and preceding table (S5 fol. 25v, 26r).

<sup>88</sup> I have allowed all the variant spellings of this name to stand, as it is generally lettered quite clearly.

<sup>89</sup> *Issim* or *Ischim* (אִשִּׁים, also appears as יִשִּׁים) more normally appears as the name of a class of Angels associated with Malkuth (Agrippa, deriving from Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*) or Yesod (777 col. LXXXVI, deriving from *Kabbala Denudata* tom. I part iv fig. xvi (M)). The name of God associated with Malkuth in Agrippa’s scale of the number 10 is *Adonia Melekh*, אֲדֹנָי מֶלֶךְ.

holiness unto you & by the Occult Mystery & Secret Vertue Efficacy & Influence thereof Dignifying & Confirming you in Orders office name natures & Corporallity with Divine Cœlestiall Angelicall immortall Eternall & Sublime Excellency glory power purity perfecting goodness & love first unto the servis of the most high God & his Divine Laws & Commands & nextly unto the Charge Care Conduct Concell Comfort Benifitt & Assistance of his severants the Sons of man Living on Earth to inspire Instruct & guide them unto the Knowledge & way of truth and all true [81v] Physicall & Mettaphysicall Sciences, Either Immediately from the holy Ghost, unto more Choyce Vessells of honour or Mediatly by Divine grace, & permission, from your Selfe or Selves, unto the Sons of man Servants of God Dwelling on Earth, whensoever you Shall be of them Invocated Called forth & thereby moved to Descend, & appeare unto them &c: by all aforesaid & by the great Signall Vertue, power Dignity Excellency & Efficacy thereof & both immediately primary & mediatly Secondary by Respective mediums of Divine high Grace & mercy & according ly Dependent & So thereby flowing & accordingy Defusing, by Several Emanations proper a Symbolizing power & Vertue from the Superiours to the Inferiours wee Do humbly bessech Earestly Resquest Command Constraine & move you **Jereceue & Mitraton** to visible appearance being Located & bearing Rule in the sphere of the Elements together with all Others who is under the Command of your principall governor **Issim** in the Order of **Anamastick** in generall & particular Joyntly & Severally, Every & Each one by office Respectively to gird up and gather your Selves together Some one or more of you (as it shall please God) ye: by Divine Permission to move & Descend from your Cœlestiall mansion or place of Residence into this **C.S.** or **G.R.**<sup>90</sup> & therein to appear visibly unto us & wee also Entreat you would be graciously pleased in and through the same to transmit your true Angelicall & Reall Presence plainly unto the sight of our Eyes, & your voyces unto our Eares that wee may plainly & visibly see you & audibly here you speake unto, or otherwise to appeare out of the same; as it shall please God & you his servants of Divine Grace & Messagers of mercy seemeth most meet proper pertinent & best befitting this Action, Appearance, Occasion or Matter, & to show plainly & visibly unto us, a forgoing Signe or teste of your Appearance, And wee do also yet further humbly Beseech Earneast Entreate, & undeniably Resquest & move you O **Jereceves & Mitraton** to move Descend & appear & personally to give your presence Move I say from your place of Recidence from that mansion Ord & Spheare of the Elements the Office & order of Anmastick In by and through the Divine Signall Mighty & Powerfull name of your God **Issim** and his numeral attribute **Malcuth** And the great Efficacy, Vertue, Excellency, power prevalency & Superiority thereof, to Gird up and gather your Selves together Every & Each one joyntly & by it selfe, Respectively & Severally to [83r] move & Descend from your Cœlestiall Mansion or place of

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<sup>90</sup> "Crystal Stone or Glass Receptacle."

Residence Apparently visible to the sight of our Eyes into this **C.S.** or **G.R.** standing here before us as being sett for that purpose or otherwise unto us & before us out of the same as it shall please God & you his Servants of Divine Light Grace & mercy seemeth most meet, & best befitting this Action And to show forth a preceding sign of your Appearance & to be freindly unto us & by your Angelliciall Benevolency, Cœlestiall Illumination favourable Assistance: familiar society, Mutall Correspondency, verball Converse Continuall Community & sacred Instructions, both now & at this time present, and at all other times to informe & Rightly Direct our most weake Depraved Stupid & Ignorant intellect judgments & understandings And to Conduſt us by your Angelicall Instincts & Archy dictions into the luminous path way of Truth, leading unto & giving science & to make us partakers of undefiled Knowledge without whose Angelicall Guide & Spirituall Conduct blessed assistance & Benevolent Advertisements it is very Difficult if not impossible for us or any mortall on Earth to finde or Obtain, & to be Esteemed worthy of Enterance into with testimony wherefore wee humbly Entreate & move you O **Jereceue Mitraton**, & all Others ye president & Inferiour Angells servants of the most high God Residing & officiating in the spheare of the Elements In the order or Hierarchy of **Anamasticks** who all obediently serve and readily fulfil hs Omnipotent Decress & Commands in his Divine Dispensations & Appointments According to your Generall respective offices, in by and through this his Ineffable Imperiall great Signal & Divine name **Issim** & his numericall attribute Malcuth & by the power Efficacy & vertue thereof we servants also of the same your God & by the strength & force of our faith & hope in him for Divine Assistance Grace & mercy herein do Earnest request powerfully invoke & confidently move you & Call you forth to visible Appearance here before us in this **C.S.** or **G.R.** or otherwise thereout here before us as it shall please God is given unto you so to Do: And likewise to shew visibly some unto us a forgoing Signe or teste of your Appearance, O you Servants of mercy **Jereceue & Mitraton** Residing serving & officiating in the Sphere of the Elements (Move we say) and by the Superiorous power & [83v] Permssion and in the name of the highest Descend and appear & visibly shew your selfe or selves joyntly & Severally & Respectivley unto us in this **C.S.** or **G.R.**, standing here before us or otherwise out of the same as it shall please God to permit & Appoint you & to shew us a preceding Sign thereof And by your Mediate Angelicall Inspiration Information or Cheef teaching to instruct help aid & assist us both at this time present & also at all other times & places whensoever & wheresoever wee shall move, & call you forth to visible Appearance & to our Assistance in whatsoever truths or subject matter or things Appertaining thereunto in all wisdom & true Sciences, both Cœlestiall & Terrestrial &c: that shall be necessary for us And also as any other Emergent Occasion shall Duly & properly require to the advancement & setting forth of God's Glory, & the Improvement of our Wellfaire, Comfort & benefit of our world & temporall Estate &

Condition whilst wee yet live And likewise in all such matters or things whatsoever Else that shall be necessary for us to Know & Injoy Even beyond what wee are able to aske or think which the almighty giver of all good gifts shall in his bountifull & paternall mercy be graciously paced hereby to give you to Reveale & show forth unto us or otherwise to bestow upon us O ye great Angells & intelligences **Jereceue & Mitraton** Resiing Locating & bearing Rule in the Spheare of the Elements and all others ye Cœlestiall Angells of the Order of **Anamastick** Medium of Divine grace & mercy Ministers of true light & understanding & Servants of the most high God particularly Recited & Spoken of Invocated moved & Called forth to Visible Appearance (as aforesaid) Descend (we say) & by the power of Superiour Emission some one or more of you Appear visibly here before us as shall please God and be freindly unto us, & in your respective offices, Do for us as to the Servants of the most high God whereunto wee move you all joyntly & severally in power & presence whose works shall be song of honour & the praise of your God In your Creation.

Amen.

\* \* \* \* \*

[These two passages are found on fol. 109 of S4, which appears (based on the digitised microfilm) to be a single loose leaf, with the bottom 60% or so torn off, which was stuck inside an unrelated collection of treasure-hunting processes and “experiments” involving various named spirits, prior to the latter being bound up with other materials, whether by Ashmole, Sommers or another owner. They are in an apparently different hand to both the S5 *Janua* and the cancelled passage on fol. 37r of S4.

The first passage, crossed out in MS., appears to be a draft or variant of one on fol. 31v of S5. Some letters are lost due to blotting; these are restored in square brackets by cross-referencing with S5 and *OOP*.]

### *The Theologicall Construction of Angels & Spirits, &c.*

There are nine Orders of Angels, thus nominated and Distinguished in their severall and respective Hierarchies & Offices. (*viz.*),

*Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Potestates, Vertues, Principality, Archangels, Angels.*

The Superiour Hierarchies are *Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones*, and these are Supercelestiall Angels, contemplating the Order of the Divine Providence; the first in the Goodness of God; the second in the Essence of God, (as the form), the third in the Wisdome of God.

The middle Hierarchy are *Dominations, Vertues, Potestates*; these Angels concur to the Government of the World. The first of these command that which the others execute. The second are Ministers to the Heavens, and somet[[imes]] to the working of Miracles. The third drives away those things which [[se]]em to be able to disturb the Divine Law.

The Inferiour Hierarchy are *Principallities, Archanges, Angels*: these as ministering Spirits descend to take care of Inferiour th[[ings]]. The first of these take care of publik things, of Princes, Magistrates, Provinces and Kingdomes. Daniel cap. 10 v. 13. Ecclesiasticus, Apocriph:<sup>91</sup> Deut.<sup>92</sup> The second are present at Sacred Dutys, and direct the Divine Worship about every Man, and Offers up his Prayers & Sacrifices [...]<sup>93</sup>

[This is adapted from the beginning of *OOP* book III chap. 17, which it titled “Of these [*scil.* “Intelligences and Spirits”] according to the opinion of the Theologians.”]

[The following untitled passage about evil spirits spirits, occurs on fol. 109v, and does not correspond directly to anything in the S5 *Janua*. Some letters are lost at the torn right edge. To make this clear, I have marked line breaks in the MS with |. A capital ‘A’ appears in the left margin by the start of the text.]

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<sup>91</sup> A space in the MS., probably left by the scribe intending to fill in later after looking up the chapter and verse.

<sup>92</sup> Another space here.

<sup>93</sup> Torn or cut edge of page here. Some letter tops are visible but not enough to make out any words.

There are a kind of Spirits Subterranean and obscure, which are the Ang[els] | that failed, Revengers of Wickednes, according to the Decrees of the Divine Ju[stice,] | and they are evill Angels, and wicked Spirits; because: many times they | annoy and hurt even of their own accords, and there are Legions of them, [...] | they are likewise distinguished according to the Names of the Stars, Elemen[ts] | and parts of the World. Of these, four most mischievous Kings do gover[n] | and bear rule over the other; according to the four parts of the World, | under whom are many moure Princes and Governours of Legions governing [...] | and many more of private Offices. These kind of Spirits inhabit a place | either very nigh [[to t]he<sup>94</sup> Earth, or within the Earth it self: There is no [...] | mischief which they dare not commit (if God give them leave.) Their Customs ar[e] | altogether violent and hurtfull, and they plot, ~~and~~ contrive, & endeavour & perpetrate ma[ny]<sup>95</sup> sudd[en] | michiefs and Disasters. And when they make any Incursions, sometimes the[y] | lye hid, and sometimes doe offer open violence. They are very much | delighted in all things done wickedly and Contentiously.

[The text ends just above the torn bottom edge, with a horizontal rule below the paragraph. Two heavy diagonal strokes are visible at the cut-off, suggesting that whatever was on the missing part of the page was cancelled prior to the page being torn. It is paraphrased from the final section of *OOP* Book III, ch. 16 (pp. 393–394):

“[...] under these [*scil.*, good Angels] they [“the latter Theologians”] place a kind of spirits, subterrany or obscure, which the Platonists call Angels that failed,<sup>96</sup> revengers of wickedness, and ungodliness, according to the decree of the Divine justice, and they call them evill Angels and wicked spirits,<sup>97</sup> because they oft annoy and hurt even of their own accords; of these also they reckon more legions, and in like manner distinguishing them according to the names of the Stars and Elements, and parts of the world, they do place over them Kings, Princes and Rulers and the names of them; of these, four most mischeivous Kings do rule over the other, according to the four parts of the world; under these many more Princes of Legions govern, and also many of private offices. Hence the *Gorgones*, *Statenocete*, the furies. Hence *Tisephone*, *Alecto*, *Megæra*, *Cerberus*: They of this kind of spirits, *Porphyry* saith, inhabite a place nigh to the earth, yea within the earth it self; there is no mischief, which they dare not commit; they have altogether a violent and hurtfull custome, therefore they very much plot and endeavor violent and sudden mischiefs; and when they make incursions, sometimes they are wont to lie hide, but sometimes to offer open violence, and are very much delighted in all things done wickedly and contentiously.”

It is to be noted that in passages adapted from *OOP*, the compiler of the *Janua* universally omitted Agrippa’s reference to authorities, whether Christian theologians or later Platonists, that were not the Bible.]

<sup>94</sup> Words partially blotted in MS.

<sup>95</sup> “& perpetrate ma[ny]” written *sup. lin.* with insertion mark after “endeavour.”

<sup>96</sup> *quos vocant Platonici desertores angelos*

<sup>97</sup> *malos dæmones & spiritus nequam*