

## Comparison of conjurations between the *Heptameron* and *Goëtia*

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As has been long recognised, the conjurations of the *Ars Goëtia*, a 17<sup>th</sup>-century English Solomonian text, have significant derivations from those of the *Heptameron*, a ritual based around Angels and “Aërial Spirits” of the seven days / planets, redacted and printed in the mid 16<sup>th</sup>-century but deriving from earlier works. What complicates matters, is that the well-known edition of the *Goëtia* edited by S.L. “MacGregor” Mathers and Aleister Crowley, first published 1904, is actually worded closer in places to Robert Turner’s English translation of the *Heptameron*, published in 1665 (the 1655 edition left all the conjurations in Latin), than it is to the texts of the *Goëtia* in the BL manuscripts. The following table gives the parallel passages from the Latin *Heptameron* (based mainly on the 1559 Marburg printing, but incorporating some corrections from later editions and a citation that was apparently added in the later “Beringos Fratres” editions of Agrippa’s *Opera*), the 1665 English *Heptameron*, the version of the *Ars Goëtia* in BL Sloane MS. 3285 (the copies in Sloane MSS. 2731 and 3648 exhibit relatively minor variations with that) and the Mathers–Crowley *Goëtia*.

Latin <i>Heptameron</i>	English <i>Heptameron</i> (Turner, 1665)	<i>Ars Goëtia</i> (BL Sloane MS. 3825)	<i>Goëtia</i> (Mathers / Crowley)
[ <i>Exorcismus Spirituum Aërorum.</i> ]	[ <i>An Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air.</i> ]		
Nos facti ad imaginem Dei, dotati potentia Dei, et eius facti voluntate, per potentissimum et corroboratum nomen Dei, EL, forte et admirabile vos Exorcizamus ( <i>hic nominabit Spiritus quos volet, cuiuscunque ordinis sint</i> )	We being made after the Image of God, endued with power from God, and made after his Will, do exorcize you by the most mighty and powerful Name of God, <i>El</i> , strong and wonderful (here he shall name the Spirits he would have appear, of what Order soever they be).	[ <i>omitted.</i> ]	[ <i>displaced: see “First Conjuration.”</i> ]
et imperamus, per eum qui dixit, et factum est, et per omnis nomina Dei, et per nomen ADONAY: EL: ELOHIM: ELOHE: ZEBAOOTH: ELION: ESCEREHIE: IAH: TETRAGRAMMATON: SADAI: Dominus Deus, Excelsus,	and we command you by him, who said the word and it was done, and by all the names of God, and by the name <i>Adonay, El, Elohim, Elohe Zebaoth, Elion, Eserchie, Jah, Tetragrammaton, Saday</i> , Lord God most high:	[ <i>citations displaced.</i> ]	[ <i>citations displaced, as above.</i> ]
exorcizamus vos, atque potenter imperamus, ut appareatis statim nobis, hic iuxta Circulum, in pulchra forma, videlicet humana, et sine deformitate et tortuositate aliqua.	We exorcize you, and powerfully command you, that you forthwith appear unto us, here before this Circle, in a fair humane shape, without and deformity or tortuosity:	[ <i>The Second Conjuration.</i> ]	[ <i>The Second Conjuration.</i> ]
Venite vos omnes tales, quia vobis imperamus,	come all ye such, because we command you	[ <i>omitted.</i> ]	[ <i>omitted.</i> ]

Latin Heptameron	English Heptameron (Turner, 1665)	Ars Goëtia (BL Sloane MS. 3825)	Goëtia (Mathers / Crowley)
per nomen Y et V quod Adam audivit, et locutus est	by the name <i>Y</i> and <i>V</i> , which <i>Adam</i> heard and spoke,	by the Name and in the name Y & U which <b>Adam</b> heard & spoake	by the name and in the name IAH and VAU, which Adam heard and spake;
& per nomen Dei, AGLA, quod Loth audivit, et factus salvus, cum sua familia,	and by the name of God <i>Agla</i> , which <i>Lot</i> heard and was saved with his Family;	[citation displaced.]	and by the name of GOD, AGLA, which Lot heard and was saved with his family;
& per nomen IOTH, quod Iacob audivit ab Angelo secum luctante, et liberates est de manu fratris sui Esau:	and by the name <i>Joth</i> , which <i>Jacob</i> heard from the angel wrestling with him, and was delivered from the hand of his Brother <i>Esau</i> ;	& by the name <b>Joth</b> which Jacob heard from the angel wrestling with him, and was delivered from the hands of Esau his Brother,	and by the name IOTH, which Iacob heard from the angel wrestling with him, and was delivered from the hand of Esau his brother;
		and by the name of God <b>Agla</b> , which Lot heard and was saved with his family,	
et per nomen ANEPHEXETON, quod Aaron audivit, et loquens, et sapiens factus est:	and by the name <i>Anephexeton</i> , which <i>Aaron</i> heard and spoke, and was made wise;	and by the name <b>Anaphexaton</b> which <b>Aron</b> heard and speak and became wise,	and by the name ANAPHAXETON which Aaron heard and spake and was made wise;
		and by the name <b>Schemes-Amathia</b> which Joshua called upon and the Sun stood still,	
		and by the name <b>Emanuel</b> which the 3 Children, <b>Sedrach Mesach</b> and <b>Abednego</b> sung in the midst of the fiery furnace, and were delivered,	
		and by the name <b>Alpha &amp; Omega</b> which <b>Daniel</b> named & Destroyed the Bell & the Dragon,	
et per nomen ZEBAOOTH, quod Moyses nominavit, et omni flumina et Paludes, de Terra Ægypti, versæ fuerent in sanguine.	and by the name <i>Zebaoth</i> , which <i>Moses</i> named, and all the Rivers and waters in the land of <i>Egypt</i> were turned into blood;	& by the name Zebaoth which Moses named, & all Rivers & waters in the Land of Ægypt were turned into blood	and by the name ZABAOOTH, which Moses named and all the rivers were turned into blood;
Et per nomen ESCERCHIE ORISTON, quod nominavit, et omnes fluvii ebullierunt Ranas, et ascenderunt in Domos Ægyptiorum, omnia destruentes.	and by the name <i>Ecerchie Oriston</i> , which <i>Moses</i> named, and all the Rivers brought forth frogs, and they ascended into the houses of the <i>Egyptians</i> , destroying all things;	& by the name <b>Escerchie Oriston</b> which <b>Moses</b> named, & all the Rivers Brought forth frogs, & they went into the houses of the Egyptians, Destroying all things,	and by the name ASHER EHYEH ORISTON, which Moses named, and all the rivers brought forth frogs, and they ascended into the houses, destroying all things;
Et per nomen ELION, quod Moyses nominavit, et fuit grando talis, qualis non fuit ab initio Mundi:	and by the name <i>Elion</i> , which <i>Moses</i> named, and there was great hail, such as hath not been since the beginning of the world;	& by the name <b>Elion</b> , which <b>Moses</b> called upon, & there was great haile, such as never was sence the Creation of the world to that Day,	and by the name ELION, which Moses named, and there was great hail such as had not been since the beginning of the world;
et per nomen ADONAY, quod Moyses nominavit, & fuerunt Locustæ, et apparverunt super terram Ægyptiorum, et comederunt, quæ residua errant grandini,	and by the name <i>Adonay</i> , which <i>Moses</i> named, and there came up Locusts, which appeared upon the whole Land of <i>Egypt</i> , and devoured all which the Hail has left;	& by the name <b>Adonay</b> which Moses named And there came up Locusts throughout all the land of Egypt and devoured all that the Hail at [ <i>sic</i> ] left,	and by the name ADONAI, which Moses named, and there came up locusts, which appeared upon the whole land, and devoured all which the hail had left;
[et per nomen Schemes amathia, quod Josua vocavit, et remoratus est Sol cursum, (citation not in the earlier printed versions)]	and by the name <i>Schemes amathia</i> , which <i>Josua</i> called upon, and the Sun stayed his course;	[citation displaced.]	and by the name SCHEMA AMATHIA which Ioshua called upon, and the sun stayed his course;

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et per nomen ALPHA et Ω, quod Daniel nominavit, et destruxit Beel, et Draconem interfecit,	and by the name <i>Alpha</i> and <i>Omega</i> , which <i>Daniel</i> named, and destroyed <i>Bel</i> and slew the <i>Dragon</i> ;	[citation displaced.]	and by the name ALPHA and OMEGA which Daniel named, and destroyed Bel, and slew the Dragon;
et in nomina EMANUEL, quod tres pueri, Sidrach, Misach, et Abednago in Camino ignis ardentis cantaverunt, et liberati fuerunt:	and in the name <i>Emmanuel</i> , which the three children, <i>Sidrach</i> , <i>Misach</i> , and <i>Abednego</i> sung in the midst of the fiery furnace, and were delivered;	[citation displaced.]	and in the name EMMANUEL, which the three children, Shadrach, Meschach and Abed-nego, sang in the midst of the fiery furnace, and were delivered;
et per HAGIOS	and by the name <i>Hagios</i> ,	and by the name <b>Hagios</b> ,	and by the name HAGIOS;
et sedem ADONAY,	and by the seal of <i>Adonay</i> ,	and by the seal of <b>Adonay</b> ,	and by the SEAL of ADONAI;
et per HO THEOS, ISKYROS, ATHANATOS, PARACLETOS,	and by ὁ Θεός, <i>Iscyros</i> , <i>Athanasos</i> , <i>Paracletus</i> ;	and by <b>Otheos</b> , <b>Iscyros</b> , <b>Athenatos</b> , <b>Paracletus</b> ,	and by ISCHYROS, ATHANATOS, PARACLETOS; and by O THEOS, ICTROS, ATHANATOS;
et per hæc tria secreta nomina, AGLA, ON, TETRAGRAMMATON,	and by these three secret names, <i>Agla</i> , <i>On</i> , <i>Tetragrammaton</i> ,	and by these holy and sacred names <b>Agla</b> , <b>On</b> , <b>Tetragrammaton</b>	and by these three secret names, AGLA, ON, TETRAGRAMMATON,
adiuro, contestor,	I do adjure and contest you;	[omitted.]	do I adjure and constrain thee.
et per hæc nomina, et per alia nomina Domini nostri Dei Omnipotentis, vivi et vera,	and by these names, and by all the other names of the living and true God, and by our Lord Almighty,	[omitted.]	And by these names, and by all the other names of the LIVING and TRUE GOD, the LORD ALMIGHTY,
vos qui, vestra culpa, de cœlo eiecti fuistis usque ad infernum locum,	[omitted.]	[omitted.]	[omitted.]
exorcizamus, et viriliter imperamus,	I exorcize and command you	[omitted.]	I do exorcize and command thee, O Spirit N.,
per Eum, qui dixit, et factum est, cui omnes obedient Creaturæ,	by him that spake the word and it was done, to whom creatures are obedient,	[omitted.]	even by Him Who spake the Word and it was done, and to Whom all creatures are obedient;
et per illud tremendum Dei iudicium,	and by the dreadful Judgement of God,	And by the dreadful Judgment of god	and by the dreadful judgements of GOD;
et per Mare omnibus incertum, vitreum, quod est ante conspectum Divinæ Maiestatis, gradientis et potentiale:	by the uncertain Sea of glass, which is before the face of the divine Majesty mighty and powerful,	and by the uncertain sea of glass, which is before the face of the divine Majesty, who is mighty and most powerfull,	and by the uncertain Sea of Glass, which is before the DIVINE MAJESTY, mighty and powerful;
et per quatuor Divina Animalia .T. ante sedem Divina Maiestatis gradientia, et oculos ante et retro habentia:	by the four Beasts before the Throne, having eyes before and behind	And by the four beasts before the throne having eyes before and behind,	by the four beasts before the throne, having eyes before and behind;
et per ignem ante eius Thronum circumstantem.	and by the fire round about his Throne,	and by the fire round about the throne,	by the fire round about the throne;
Et per sanctos Angelos Cœlorum .T.	and by the holy Angels of Heaven;	and by the holly angels of heaven,	by the holy angels of Heaven;
et per eam, quæ Ecclesia Dei nominator:	[omitted.]	[omitted.]	[citation omitted]
et per summam sapientiam Omnipotentis Dei,	by the mighty Wisdom of God,	and by the mighty Wisdom of god,	and by the mighty wisdom of GOD;

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viriliter Exorcizamus, ut nobis hic ante circulum appareatis, ad faciendam nostrum voluntatem, in omnibus, prout placuerit nobis:	we do powerfully exorcize you, that you appear here before this Circle to fulfil our will in all things which shall seem good unto us;	[ <i>omitted.</i> ]	I do potently exorcise thee, that thou appearest here before this Circle, to fulfil my will in all things which shall seem good unto me;
Per sedem Baldachiae,	by the seal of <i>Baldachia</i> ,	and by the seal of <b>Baldachia</b> ,	by the Seal of <b>BASDATHEA BALDACHIA</b> ;
et per hoc nomen PRIMEUMATON, quod Moyses nominavit, et in cavernis Abyssi fuerunt profundati vel absorpti, Datan, Corah, et Abiron:	and by this name Primeumaton, which Moses named, and earth opened and swallowed up <i>Corah, Dathan, and Abiram</i> ;	and by this name Primeumaton which Moses named and the Earth opened and swallowed up <b>Chora, Dathan &amp; Abiram</b> ,	and by this name PRIMEUMATON, which Moses named, and the earth opened and did swallow up <i>Kora, Dathan, and Abiram</i> .
		That you make true and faithfull answers, to all my demands and to perform all my desiers, so farr as in office you are capable to performe therefore come ye paecable visible and affable now without delay to manifest what I desire speaking with a perfect and clear voyce, Intelligible unto my understanding &c.	Wherefore thou shalt make faithful answers unto all my demands, O Spirit N., and shalt perform all my desires so far as in thine office thou art capable hereof. Wherefore, come thou, visibly, peacably, and affably, now without delay, to manifest that which I desire, speaking with a clear and perfect voice, intelligibly, and to mine understanding.
		[ <i>The Constraint.</i> ]	[ <i>The Constraint.</i> ]
[No parallel in <i>Heptameron</i> .]	[No parallel in <i>Heptameron</i> .]	I conjure the spirit N. [...] <b>Eye-saray</b> ,	I DO conjure thee, O thou spirit N., [...] EIE, SARAYÉ,
& in virtute istius nominis Primeumaton, tota cœli Milita compellente, maledicimus vos,	and in the power of that name Primeumaton, commanding the whole Host of Heaven we curse you	and by the power of his name <b>Primeumaton</b> , which commandeth the whole hoste of heaven, curse you	and by the power of this name PRIMEUMATON which commandeth the whole host of Heaven, curse thee,
privamus vos omni officio, loco, et gaudio vestro,	and deprive you from all your office, joy and place	and deprive you, from all your office, Joy & place	and deprive thee of thine office, joy, and place,
usque in profundum abyssi,	and do bind you in the depth of the bottomless Pit,	and binde you in the depth of the Bottomless pit	and bind thee in the depths of the Bottomless Pit or Abyss,
et usque ad ultimum diem iudicii vos ponimus,	there to remain until the day of the last Judgement	There to reamine unto the day of the last Judgement,	there to remain unto the Day of the Last Judgement.
et religamus in Ignem æternum, et in stagnum ignis et sulphuris,	and we bind you into eternal fire, and into the lake of fire and brimstone,	and I will bind you into <b>Eternall fire</b> & into the lake of fire and <b>Brimstone</b>	And I will bind thee in the <b>Eternal Fire</b> , and into the <b>Lake of Flame</b> and of <b>Brimstone</b> ,
nisi statim appareatis hic coram nobis, ante circulum, ad faciendum voluntatem nostram in omnibus.	unless you forthwith appear here before this Circle to do our will:	unless you come forthwith and appeare here before this Circle to doe my will in all things,	unless thou comest quickly and appearest here before this Circle to do my will.

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Venite per hæc nomina ADONAY: ZEBAOTH: ADONAY: AMIORAM. Venite, venite, imperat vobis ADONAY SADAY,	Therefore come ye by these names, <i>Adonay, Zebaoth, Adonay Amioram</i> ; come ye, come ye, <i>Adonay</i> commandeth you;	Therefore com in and and by these holly names <b>Adonay, Zebeoth, Adonay, Amiorem</b> , come yee <b>Adonay</b> commandeth you.	Therefore, come thou! in and by the holy names ADONAI, ZABAOOTH, ADONAI, AMIORAN. Come thou! for it is ADONAI who commandest thee.
Rex Regum potentissimus, et tremendissimus: cuius vires nulla subterfugere potest Creatura, vobis pertinacissimus fururis, nisi obedietitis, et appareatis, ante hunc circulum, affabiles subito: tandem ruina flebilis miserabilisque et ignis in perpetuum inextinguibilis vos manet.	<i>Saday</i> , the most mighty and dreadful King of Kings, whose power no creature is able to resist, be unto you most dreadful, unless ye obey, and forwith affably appear before this Circle, let miserable ruine and fire unquenchable remain with you:	[No parallel in <i>Goëtia</i> .]	[No parallel in <i>Goëtia</i> .]
Venite ergo in nomine ADONAY: ZEBAOTH: ADONAY: AMIORAM: venite, venite, quid tardatis? Festinate imperat vobis ADONAY SADAY, Rex Regum,	therefore come ye in the name of <i>Adonay Zebaoth, Adonay Amioram</i> ; come, come, why stay you? hasten: <i>Adonay, Saday</i> , the King of Kings commands you;	[Displaced to end of first conjuration]	[Omitted.]
EL: ATY: TITEIP: AZIA: HYN: IEN: MINOSEL: ACHADAN: VAY: VAA: EY: HAA: EYE: EXE: A: EL: EL: EL: A: HY: HAU: HAU: HAU: VA: VA: VA: VA.	[ <i>voces magica</i> .]	[Omitted.]	[Omitted.]
["Berlanensis" conjuration.]	["Berlanensis" conjuration.]	[First Conjuration.]	[First Conjuration.]
<i>Deinde dicat:</i>	<i>Then let him say,</i>	I Invoke and conjure you spirit <b>N</b> . & being with power armed from the supream Majesty I throughly [ <i>sic</i> ] command you	I DO invoke and conjure thee, O Spirit, <b>N</b> .; and being with power armed from the SUPREME MAJESTY, I do strongly command thee,
BERALANENSIS: BALDACHIENSIS: PAUMACHIÆ: et APOLOGIÆ SEDES,	<i>Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Pamachia &amp; Apologia sedes,</i>	by <b>Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachia &amp; Apologia Sedes,</b>	by BERALANENSIS, BALDACHIENSIS, PAUMACHIA, and APOLOGIÆ SEDES;
per Reges potestatesque magnanimas, ac principes præpotentes,	by the most mighty Kings and Potestates, and the most powerful Princes,	and the most powerfull princes	by the most Powerful Princes,
Genio Liachidæ, ministri Tartaræ sedis:	<i>Genio, Liachidæ</i> , Ministers of the <i>Tartarean</i> Seat,	<b>Genio Liachidi</b> ministers of the Tartarean seat,	Genii, Liachidæ, and Ministers of the Tartarean Abode;
Primac, hic princeps sedis Apologia, nona cohorte:	chief Prince of the Seat of Apologia in the ninth Legion;	cheefe princes of <of> the seat of Apologia, in the Ninth Legion;	and by the Chief Prince of the Seat of Apologia in the Ninth Legion,
Ego vos invoco, et invocando vos coniuuro,	I invoke you, and by invoking conjure you,	I exorcize & powerfully command you spirit <b>N</b> ,	I do invoke thee, and by invoking conjure thee.
atque supernæ Maiestatis munitus virtute, potenter impero,	and being armed with power from the supream Majesty, I strongly command you,	[omitted.]	And being armed with power from the SUPREME MAJESTY, I do strongly command thee,

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per eum qui dixit, et factum est, et cui obedient omnes creaturæ:	by him who spoke and it was done, and to whom all creatures are obedient,	[omitted.]	by Him Who spake and it was done, and unto whom all creatures be obedient.
[Compare the opening of the "Exorcismus"			
Nos facti ad imaginem Dei, dotati potentia Dei, et eius facti voluntate,	[We being made after the Image of God, endued with power from God, and made after his Will,	[omitted.]	Also I, being made after the image of GOD, endued with power from GOD, and created according unto His Will,
per potentissimum et corroboratum nomen Dei, EL, forte et admirabile vos Exorcizamus ( <i>hic nominabit Spiritus quos volet, cuiscunque ordinis sint</i> )	do exorcize you by the most mighty and powerful Name of God, <i>El</i> , strong and wonderful (here he shall name the Spirits he would have appear, of what Order soever they be),	[omitted.]	do exorcise thee by that most mighty and powerful name of GOD, EL, strong and wonderful; O thou Spirit N.
et imperamus, per eum qui dixit, et factum est, et per omnis nomina Dei,	and we command you by him, who said the word and it was done, and by all the names of God,	in and by him that said the word and it was done; and by all the holy and most glorious names of the most holy and true God,	And I command thee by Him who spake the Word and His FIAT was accomplished, and by all the names of GOD.
et per nomen ADONAY: EL: ELOHIM: ELOHE: ZEBAOOTH: ELION: ESCEREHIE: IAH: TETRAGRAMMATON: SADAI:	and by the name <i>Adonay, El, Elohim, Elohe Zebaoth, Elion, Eserchie, Jah, Tetragrammaton, Saday,</i>	and by these his most holy names <b>Adonai, El, Elohim, Elohe, Zebeoth, Elion, Eserchie, Jah, Tetragrammaton, Saday,</b>	Also by the names ADONAI, EL, ELOHIM, ELOHI, EHYEH ASHER EHYEH, ZABAOOTH, ELION, IAH, TETRAGRAMMATON, SHADDÄI,
Dominus Deus, Excelsus,	Lord God most high:	[citation omitted.]	LORD GOD MOST HIGH,
exorcizamus vos, atque potenter imperamus, ut appareatis statim nobis, hic iuxta Circulum, in pulchra forma, videlicet humana, et sine deformitate et tortuositate aliqua.]	We exorcize you, and powerfully command you, that you forthwith appear unto us, here before this Circle, in a fair humane shape, without and deformity or tortuosity:]	that you forthwith appeare and shew yourselves here unto me before this Circle, in a fair and humane shape, without any deformity or ugly shew,	I do exorcize thee and do powerfully command thee, O thou spirit N., that thou dost forthwith appear unto me here before this Circle in a fair human shape, without any deformity or tortuosity.
		and without delay, doe ye come; from all parts of the world to make <make> rationall answeres unto all Things which I shall ask of you, and come yee peaceably visibly and afably without delay, manifesting what I desire, being conjured by the name of the Eternall living and true God, <b>Helioren</b> , I conjure you by the especial and true name of your God that you are obedient unto and by the name of the King, which beareth rule over you, that forthwith you come without Tarring and fullfill my desires, and command, and persist unto the End, & according to my Intentions and I conjure you by him by whome all Creatures are obedient	

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et per hoc nomen ineffabile, TETRAGAMMATON: 𐤆 𐤇 𐤅 𐤄 : IEHOVAH, in quo est plasmatum omne sæculum, quo audito Elementa corruunt, aër concutitur, mare retrogradatur, ignis extinguitur, Terra tremit, omnesque exercitus Cælestium, terrestrium, et infernorum, tremunt, turbantur et corruunt:	and by this ineffable name <i>Tetragrammaton</i> Jehovah, which being heard, the Elements are overthrown, the Air is shaken, the Sea runneth back, the Fire is quenched, the Earth trembleth, and all the Hosts of Celestials, Terrestrials and Infernals, do tremble, and are troubled and counfounded together:	and by this ineffable name <b>Tetragrammaton</b> <b>Jehovah</b> , which being heard, the Elements are overthrown, the aire is shaken, the sea runneth back, the fire is quenched, the Earth trembleth, and all the hosts of Celestials, Terrestrials & Infernalls doe tremble, and are troubled and confounded together,	And by this ineffable name, TETRAGRAMMATON IEHOVAH, do I command thee, at the which being heard the elements are overthrown, the air is shaken, the sea runneth back, the fire is quenched, the earth trembleth, and all the hosts of the celestials, terrestrials, and infernals do tremble together, and are troubled and confounded.
quatenus cito, et sine mora, et omni occasione remota, ab universis Mundi partibus, veniatis: et rationabiliter de omnibus quæcunque interrogavero, respondeatis vos,	Wherefore forthwith and without delay, do you come from all parts of the world, and make rational answers unto all things I shall ask you you;		Wherefore come thou, O spirit N., forthwith and without delay, from any or all parts of the world wherever thou mayest be, and make rational answers unto all things that I shall demand of thee.
et veniatis pacifice, visibiles, et affabiles: nunc, et sine mora, manifestantes quod cupimus: coniurati per nomen æterni, vivi, et veri Dei HELIOREN: et mandata nostra perficientes, persistentes semper, usque ad finem et intentionem meam,	and come ye peaceably, visibly, and affably, now without delay manifesting what we desire, being conjured by the Name of the eternal, living and true God <i>Helioren</i> , and fulfil our commands, and persist unto the end, and according to our intention,	[displaced.]	Come thou peaceably, visibly, and affably, now, and without delay, manifesting that which I shall desire. For thou art conjured by the name of the LIVING and TRUE GOD, HELIOREN, wherefore fulfil thou my commands, and persist thou therein unto the end, and according unto mine interest,
visibiles nobis, et affabiles, clara voce, nobis intelligibili, et sine omni ambiguitate.	visible and affable speaking unto use with a clear voice, intelligible and without any ambiguity.	that you visibly and affably speak unto me with a Clear voice Intelligible, and without any ambiguity,	visibly and affably speaking unto me with a voice clear and intelligible without any ambiguity.
		therefore come ye in the name <b>Adonai Zebeoth</b> , <b>Adonai Amiorem</b> , com com why stay you hasten <b>Adonay</b> , <b>Saday</b> , the Kinge of kings commandeth you.	

According to the edition of the *Lemegeton* by Joseph Peterson (Weiser, 2001), based on the Sloane and Harley MSS., there are only minor variations in the conjurations between the BL texts.

## Conclusions:

1. The redactor of the *Ars Goëtia* used Turner's 1665 translation of the Heptameron, or a text deriving from it (since all known *Goëtia* texts perpetuate errors or omissions in Turner's rendering of the *Exorcism*), but besides the *major* rearrangements (*i.e.* splitting the bulk of the *Exorcismus / Vinculum* between the second conjuration and the "Constraint," and using chunks of the "Beralanensis" conjuration in the initial "Conjuration for to call forth any of the forsaide spirits") freely rearranged and rephrased citations in the second conjuration; other sections, though, agree word-for-word with Turner.
2. While retaining most of the major rearrangements of the *Ars Goëtia*, Mathers (or, possibly, the scribe / redactor of an otherwise unknown *Lemegeton* MS. in a private collection which Mathers drew on) went back and conformed the text more closely to Turner both in phrasing and arrangement of individual citations. If this was not an invention of Mathers, it did not come from the Hockley *Lemegeton* transmission line; the copy of the Hockley *Goëtia* in Wellcome MS. 3203, for example, while woefully incomplete, is closer to the Sloane MSS.

T.S.

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