

Published in *Oxford Bibliographies* in Medieval Studies. Ed. Paul Szarmach. New York: Oxford University Press, 9/30/2013. <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396584/obo-9780195396584-0006.xml?rskey=Wefeiw&result=2&q=necromancy#firstMatch>

NECROMANCY, THEURGY, AND INTERMEDIARY BEINGS

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INTRODUCTION

A relatively recent boom in scholarship on texts of ritual magic in manuscript is in the process of overturning much that was previously known or thought about the topic. As the history of magic itself is reconfigured, scholarship in this area is recovering data likely to color the intellectual history of adjacent areas too; it connects most directly to the areas of angelology, liturgy, private devotion, monasticism, and interreligious relations. In another direction, it connects to the history of science. Here, the broad term “ritual magic” is understood to cover private rites, different from the liturgies of the Catholic church (though in many cases derived from them), aimed at interacting with different kinds of spirits that, collectively, may be seen as intermediary between the human and divine realms. I will refer to the spirits as “intermediary beings” because of their often indeterminate status. Medieval theologians worked to dissuade people from private contact with all intermediary beings, which was viewed as dangerous and illicit; they argued

that the spirits engaged by these rites were demons, no matter what the texts (or the spirits) claimed to the contrary. Such ongoing persuasion was necessary because the magical sources are often ambiguous about the nature of the conjured entities: some were explicitly demonic, but others were indeterminate, neither saved nor damned; ghosts could be conjured, as could fairies. Sometimes contact with angels was directly sought. Texts conjuring angels are generally oriented to the pursuit of knowledge, whether local (e.g. recovery of stolen goods), global (e.g. the liberal arts and philosophy), or visionary. I will refer to these texts, in accordance with recent usage, as “theurgic texts.” Demonic magic might have a variety of uses beyond gaining knowledge, including creation of illusions, revenge, compulsion of favors and love; these texts will be referred to, in accordance with long-term usage, as “necromantic texts.” A third category, that of astrological magic deriving from Arabic sources, here referred to as “image magic,” is also important because a different spiritual cosmology is in play. The powers in these texts do not always manifest as entities; when they do, the entities do not always break down neatly into angels and demons. In practice these genres often blended with each other, since magical liturgies are adaptable to multiple uses, just as normal Catholic liturgies are. The ambiguity, flexibility, and varied utility of such rituals contribute to their interest.

GENERAL OVERVIEWS OLDER THAN FIFTY YEARS

Many of the works listed below focus primarily on Renaissance magic, but all of them in a sense enabled the work on medieval ritual magic to begin; all broke new ground at the time of publication, connect to medieval thought and practice, and remain interesting to read. A caveat: because so many texts of medieval ritual magic did not have the benefit of scholarly editions until recently, and because the ongoing process of excavating these texts reveals so much more than could have been guessed at even twenty years ago, there are numerous problems with the accuracy of representation of medieval magic texts and genres in scholarship in all earlier works. Nevertheless there are some classic studies that remain important. Walker 1958 and Yates 1964 remain the friendliest access to the area of philosophical or high magic in the Renaissance for novices to the area, while Butler 1949 enables a look at darker aspects of ritual magic in the same period. DeLatte 1932 is a useful though more specialized resource. Lynn Thorndike’s *History of Magic*, 1923-58, is still an important reference for all levels of access.

Butler, E.M. *Ritual Magic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.

Focused on early modern works, but with chapters on earlier periods, this is the second in Butler’s trilogy on the Faust legends. A Germanist, Butler worked mainly with printed materials, little with manuscripts, yet many texts treated are important for the middle ages too.

Delatte, Armand. *La Catoptromancie Grecque et ses Dérivés*. Paris: Librairie Droz, 1932.

Catoptromancy (“mirror divination”) is the ancient and widespread art of visualizing spirits in reflective surfaces; the technique links broadly to both theurgy and necromancy.

Delatte was a classicist, but despite this fact, and the book title itself, this book deals at length with the middle ages.

Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 8 Vols. NY: Columbia University Press, 1923-1958.

These massive volumes contain useful introductions to many areas of the field. The manuscript information remains indispensable to medievalists even now, though Thorndike often replicated cataloguers’ errors in describing content and details of texts in manuscript.

D.P. Walker. *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*. London: Warburg Institute, 1958.

Primarily focused on early modern magic, but deals with seminal issues for the medieval period. Walker introduced ideas and terminologies still in use, and influenced many later scholars in addition to Frances Yates.

Yates, Frances. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

This book had a major impact in making possible the study of magic within the history of ideas. It puts together many aspects of the prehistory of Bruno’s thought and configures a new picture of Bruno’s thought and work in the process.

RECENT OVERVIEWS

There is an ongoing endeavor to move medieval magical materials out of manuscript into printed editions, but despite the current spate of work, the topography of the area remains unsettled. These works listed below, however, are all in close touch with the manuscript evidence, offering some points of entry into the territory of medieval magic, and some new ways of constructing a picture of that territory. Jolly, et al., 2002 is an overview of witchcraft and magic targeting both scholars and students, and useful for teaching. Boudet 2006, Vescovini 2011, and Klaassen 2012 are all larger and slightly more specialized syntheses. Burnett 1996 and Fanger 1998 are essay collections on an array of different magical topics, some more specialized, others less so.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice. *Entre science et nigromance*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006.

Learned discussion of the cultural context of intellectual magic as it leads into the period of the witch hunts.

Burnett, Charles. *Magic and divination in the Middle Ages: texts and techniques in the Islamic and Christian worlds*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.

Collection of useful essays by one of the leading experts on the transmission of Islamic science, astrology and magic into Christian Europe.

Fanger, Claire, ed. *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998.

Still a primary English language access point to medieval ritual magic, though much of it has been superseded by newer work.

Jolly, Karen, Edward Peters and Catharina Raudvere. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. The Middle Ages*. Volume 3 of *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002

Geared to witchcraft but investigating links to magic. Part 1 offers a general overview of the cultural parameters of magic. See also Volume 4 in this series, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe, The Period of the Witch Trials*, Bengt Ankerloo, Stuart Clark, and William Monter.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Textbook written before the current boom of scholarship on ritual magic texts was launched, but informed by Kieckhefer's work on the necromantic manuscript that was to become *Forbidden Rites*.

Klaassen, Frank. *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013.

Looks at the period of transition to the philosophical magic of the Renaissance, arguing that manuscripts of medieval ritual magic were the most formative sources for learned magic in this period.

Láng, Benedek. *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

Focused on manuscripts in Central Europe, but offers a solid introduction to the main ritual magic texts of the later middle ages; bibliographic essay on current debates in the history of magic in appendix.

Vescovini, Graziella Federici. *Le Moyen Âge magique: la magie entre religion et science du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*. Paris: Vrin, 2011.

French edition, corrected and updated, of *Medioevo magico: la magia tra religione e scienza nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Torino: UTET libreria, 2008). This work is broken down into three sections, Arabo-Latin magic, demons and demonology, and angels and separated substances, each offering a useful reference and introduction.

MISCELLANEOUS RESOURCES

The books, journals, and websites listed below all concern larger topics than medieval ritual magic alone, but are rich in information pertinent to the study of this area. Hanegraaff et al. 2005 is a reference work with coverage of many recondite subjects in the history of Esotericism." *Aries and Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* are journals dedicated to the areas of Esotericism and the history of magic respectively. Specific focus on medieval magic is found in essays gathered in *Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 2000 Vol 3*, and on medieval Spain in *La coronica* 2007. Many primary sources in translation, valuable for teaching, are found both in Maxwell Stuart, 2005 and **Archives of Western Esoterica,** a digital resource. Another digital resource, the website for the Societas Magica, has an open collection of newsletters on magical topics and links to manuscript sites.

Archives of Western Esoterica (Twilit Grotto)[<http://www.esotericarchives.com>]. Editor/curator Joseph Peterson.

Peterson is curator for this digital collection of esoteric materials from incunabula, mainly early modern, but some medieval. Indispensable resource, including the broad compendia of magical materials from Weyer and Scott along with much else; often the only English translation available.

**Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*[<http://www.brill.com/aries>]*. (2001-)

Aries is devoted to a relatively new domain of research in the humanities, Western Esotericism, which contains magic in its purview; not primarily medieval, but running important articles on medieval and early modern magic from time to time. In English, French, German and Italian.

La coronica issue 36.1 (2007). *Critical Cluster on Magic in Medieval Spain*

Special issue of this journal with many interesting articles on different aspects of magic in medieval Spain.

Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism. Ed. Hanegraaff, Wouter in collaboration with Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek, and Jean-Pierre Brach. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Geared to Western Esoterism but also provides a useful reference for many aspects of medieval and early modern magic.

**Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*[<http://magic.pennpress.org>]*. (2006-)

This journal's mandate is to consider all aspects of magic, from prehistory to the modern era; in practice a good percentage of material concerns medieval and early modern magic.

La Magie: Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 25-27 Mars 1999. Eds. Alain Moreau and Jean-Claude Turpin. 4 Vols. Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III, 2000.

Volume 3 of this large collection of essays on magic concerns the medieval period, but other volumes may be of interest as well.

The Occult in Medieval Europe: a Documentary History. Ed and trans P.G. Maxwell-Stuart. New York: St Martins Press, 2005.

Interesting if heterogenous collection of primary sources covering a range of issues, including divination, astrology, alchemy, possession, and superstition. Not mainly ritual magic; however the selections illuminate the historical context into which such magic texts fit.

Societas Magica[<http://www.societasmagica.org>]

Societas Magica is an organization dedicated to furthering communication and exchange among scholars interested in the study of magic in historical and analytical contexts. See especially Newsletters and Manuscripts.

INTERMEDIARY BEINGS: DEMONS, ANGELS, GHOSTS

In the past, scholars have tended to consider magic more in connection with demonology than angelology; however there is now increasing recognition that "demonology" is an insufficient category under which to study the interesting array of spiritual entities invoked in ritual magic texts. Angelology offers a more comprehensive rubric, though even angelology does not cover everything. Keck 1998 is still the primary guide to the medieval intellectual history of angels, though Chase 2002 is also valuable for the middle ages, as is Marshall and Walsham 2006 for the early modern period. Demonology has traditionally been the focus of more work, and there are several excellent studies, a few noted below; more will be found through Boureau 2006, Clark 1999 and Levack 2001. See also entry on "Intermediary Beings" in Hanegraaff et al. 2005 (cited

under *Miscellaneous Resources*). In understanding the experiential reality of intermediary beings, phenomena of possession are important as they illuminate crossover point between intellectual theorizing about the activity of demons, and the activities of demons as they manifest in the bodies of living human beings (possession). It is also a site where liturgies for controlling, exorcising and speaking with spirits may be tested and developed. To some extent this is also the case for ghosts, which might be conjured and exorcised just as demons were. Caciola 2006 is among the most valuable of recent works on the topic of possession, while Schmitt 1998 is still an important work on medieval ghosts.

Boureau, Alain. *Satan the Heretic: The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West*. Trans. Theresa Lavender Fagan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Important recent demonological study, first published in France as *Satan hérétique: Histoire de la Démonologie (1280-1330)*. Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2004.

Caciola, Nancy. *Discerning Spirits: Divine And Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Brings together evidence from medieval women's visionary literature with evidence in the theological literature of discernment; discussion of physiology of possession also.

Chase, Stephen. *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels*. Classics of Western Spirituality. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2002.

A counterpart to Keck (below), focusing on (and including translations of) a number of late medieval neo-Platonic writings on angels. Written too early to have included any mention of medieval theurgic texts like the *Ars notoria*, yet Chase's work illuminates an important part of their context.

Clark, Stuart. *Thinking with Demons: the Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Still an indispensable work on demons and demonology as these things impact early modern witchcraft literature.

Keck, David. *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Though ritual magic is not Keck's theme, angels offer ways of thinking philosophically about how knowledge might exist independently of the senses; and angels also become popular in regular devotion around the same time our theurgic texts emerge.

Levack, Brian, ed. *Demonology, Religion, and Witchcraft: New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic, and Demonology*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

A gathering of important essays focused on the activities of demons in relation to magic and witchcraft, including exorcism.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*. Trans. Theresa Lavender Fagan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Ghosts are liminal: souls in purgatory, bad ghosts, demonic apparitions all overlap, and may conjured or exorcized by similar liturgies. Schmitt's seminal treatment was first published in France as *Les revenants: le vivants et les morts dan la société médiévale*. Paris: Gallimard, 1994.

Marshall, Peter and Alexandra Walsham, eds. *Angels in the Early Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Content of essays mostly later than medieval, but with some back illumination of medieval traditions (such as patron and guardian angels) that continue in the early modern period; sheds light on neighboring areas of demonology in the same way.

ACCESS TO TEXTS

It remains the case that many medieval magic texts known to be important are difficult to access, especially for students; translations do not exist or are not adequate and in some cases we are still waiting for editions. Below is a rough guide to editions that do exist, as well as those known to be in progress. Where available, articles are cited that may offer some guidance to the texts in manuscript.

Medieval Necromancy

Necromancy (*nigromancia*) is normally understood to refer to deliberate malevolent invocations and conjurations of demons. However the concept is complicated because some valences of the word also pointed to more neutral and scientific ideas, as discussed in Burnett 1996. There certainly are deliberate demonic conjurations found in medieval manuscripts, but the attempt to identify specific texts within the necromantic genre is complicated as well. Such texts tend to be gathered in loose, informal notebooks with a variable content, normally in Latin (though a German example is documented in Wade 2003), consisting of a variety of usually brief "experiments" in which demons can be made to serve the magician or obtain hidden knowledge. Necromantic handbooks might also include other types of texts that interested the compiler, such as instructions for making magic squares or astrological talismans of the image magic type, as well as jokes or party tricks, medical recipes, and other things. Thus, although we are increasingly

able to identify individual texts and fragments that float between manuscripts in this genre, the situation of necromancy is intrinsically fluid. The only edition of a complete necromantic handbook of this type is Kieckhefer 1997, though both articles by Boudet from 2003 as well as Page 2011 include valuable transcriptions of brief works, Klaassen 2007 looks at such magic from a gender studies perspective, citing manuscript sources along the way, while Leicht 2010 discusses the continuity between Jewish and Christian views of necromancy. See also “necromancy” in Kieckhefer 1989, Boudet 2006, Vescovini 2012 (all cited under *Recent Overviews*), and the articles by Kieckhefer gathered in Levack 2001 (cited under *Intermediary Beings*).

Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*, Stroud: Sutton, 1997.

Solid general introduction to the genre, useful not only for its edition of the necromantic handbook in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 849, but for the lengthy introductory essay.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice. “Deviner dans la lumière. Note sur les conjurations pyromantiques dans un manuscrit anglais du xv^{me} siècle.” S. Cassagnes-Brouquet, A. Chauou, D. Pichot et L. Rousselot (eds). *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*: 523-30. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003.

Includes transcription of some folios from a well-known (though nowhere edited in its entirety) necromantic manual, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D. 252, fols. 13-14v and 92-94v.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice. “*Les who's who démonologiques de la Renaissance et leurs ancêtres médiévaux[<http://medievales.revues.org/1019>]*.” *Médiévales* 44 (2003): 117-140.

Boudet edits a catalogue of demons preserved in a French manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College O.8.29, as *Livre des esperitz*, ancestor of a text more famously preserved by Weyer and in the early modern *Lemegeton* with the title *Goetia*.

Burnett, Charles. “Talismans: Magic as Science? Necromancy among the Seven Liberal Arts.” In *Magic and divination in the Middle Ages: texts and techniques in the Islamic and Christian worlds*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.

Key article showing important alternate valences for the word “necromancy,” whose sense was complicated in part because it was used to translate *sjhr* a more general Arabic word for “magic.”

Klaassen, Frank. "Learning and Masculinity in Manuscripts of Ritual Magic of the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 38.1 (2007): 49-76.

Examines elements of gendered self-construction evident in ritual magic, particularly necromantic experiments, incidentally offering an overview of the primary concerns of such literature.

Leicht, Reimund. "Nahmanides on Necromancy." *Studies in the History of Culture and Science: A Tribute to Gad Freudenthal*. Ed. Resianne Fontaine, et al. 251-264. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Article on use of "necromancy" in Nahmanides, in part a response to the cultural context described in Burnett 1996, showing it was continuous with the scientific understanding absorbed by Jewish culture.

Page, Sophie. "Speaking with Spirits in Medieval Magic Texts." *Conversations with Angels: Essays towards a History of spiritual Communication 1100-1700*. Ed. Joad Raymond. 125-49. London: Palgrave, 2011.

Surveys the important magical literature concerned with summoning and interacting with spirits that complicates the idea of necromancy in useful ways. Transcriptions of several spirit summoning short texts in appendix.

Wade, Elizabeth I. "Magic and Superstition in a Fifteenth-Century Student Notebook." *Fifteenth Century Studies* 28 (2003): 224-241.

Details contents of a German compendium, Clm 671, containing necromantic experiments, which Wade compares with contents of Clm 849 (edited in Kieckhefer 1997).

Image magic and the Arabic tradition

Image magic texts began to make their way into Europe with the translations of Arabic scientific materials in the thirteenth century. The texts were concerned with creating astrological talismans, or "images." The talismans had to be created on specific days and hours associated with certain planets, of materials which also corresponded with planets; figures with planetary associations were to be inscribed on them. Sometimes suffumigations with herbs or other substances meant to attract celestial powers were also involved. The harmonious cosmos depicted in these texts made image magic attractive and interesting to natural philosophers, in part because of the possibility that magical images might work naturally, with no demonic aid. In practice, however, many such texts involved potential or definite interaction with ambiguous spirits and it was not always easy for a practitioner to tell if he was attracting a "force" or invoking a "spirit." Some texts involved practices clearly recognizable as necromancy. In this way image magic overlaps with

necromancy and theurgy, and medieval philosophical discussions around the principles and problems of image magic are crucial for understanding the vexed relation medieval clerics might have with necromancy in particular. An important medieval text for this debate is a thirteenth-century work offering guidelines for distinguishing illicit images from the more scientific and permissible type called the *Speculum astronomie*. This work is edited and translated in Zambelli, et al, 1992. Another important text for rather different reasons was the Latin translation of the “de Radiis” of the ninth century Arabic philosopher Al-Kindi, which provided a theory to explain the principles behind astrological talismans. The “de Radiis” is edited in d’Alverny and Hudry 1974, and a French translation is found in Matton 1977. Burnett 2007 deals with Thabit, Arabic author of a popular text of image magic. More editions of short texts illuminating the astrological context from which these ideas emerged are gathered in Bos, 2001. Pingree 1984 is an important study of the diffusion of these Arabic texts into Europe. Cogent quick guides to the area in English are Page 2006 and Weill-Parot 2002, “Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes.” A more developed and substantial guide is Weill-Parot 2002 *Les images astrologiques*, which explicates the broad intellectual history of the area and its key texts. The longest and most interesting text in the image magic genre is *Picatrix* which has its own section following.

d’Alverny, Marie-Thérèse and F. Hudry. “Al-Kindi: De radiis.” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 41 (1974): 139–260.

Al-Kindi’s “De radiis” is a theoretical text vital for understanding the cosmology underlying image magic. An English translation by a practicing astrologer (out of print, per Amazon, but available here and there on the internet) is Al-Kindi, *On the Stellar Rays*. trans. Robert Zoller. Berkeley Springs, WV: Golden Hind, 1993.

Bos, Gerrit, ed. *Hermes Latinus: Hermetis Trismegisti astrologica et divinatoria*, vol. 4, part 4, 177–221. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

Many short texts from the Arabic image magic tradition are edited in this volume by a variety of contributors.

Burnett, Charles. “Ṭābit ibn Qurra the Ḥarrānian on Talismans and the Spirits of the Planets.” *La coronica* 36.1 (2007): 13-40

Brings to light interesting evidence from an autobiographical narrative in which Thabit describes how he deploys familiar spirits and talismans for his own protection; offers important updates to earlier work by Burnett on the *Liber prestigiorum* translated by Adelard of Bath.

Matton, Sylvain, ed. *La magie arabe traditionnelle*, Bibliotheca Hermetica, Retz, Paris, 1977.

Full and partial French translations of important texts (including full translation of Al-Kindi's *De Radiis* and a partial one of *Picatrix*).

Page, Sophie. "Image Magic Texts and a Platonic Cosmology at St Augustine's Canterbury." *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. Charles Burnett, W. F. Ryan, eds. 69–98. London: Warburg Institute, 2006.

Contains discussion of image magic texts from the monastic library at St. Augustine's. The appendix is an edition of a rare and interesting text, *Liber de essentia spirituum*, a theoretical text illuminating the Platonic cosmology.

Pingree, David. "The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe." In *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo* (Rome, October 2–4, 1984), 57–102. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1987.

Discusses what was translated by whom; cover the important texts of astrological magic, who had access to them, and when.

Paola Zambelli, et al, eds. *The Speculum astronomiae and its enigma: astrology, theology, and science in Albertus Magnus and his contemporaries*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992.

Edited and translated here is a thirteenth-century list of books concerning astrological images separated into licit and illicit categories which is a major touchstone for the intellectual history of image magic. Authorship currently disputed.

Les "images astrologiques" au moyen âge et à la renaissance: Spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XII^e–XV^e siècle). Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002.

Surveys the intellectual history of disputes surrounding image magic. Currently the most up to date reference for this genre. Appendix contains transcriptions of manuscript texts unedited elsewhere.

Weill-Parot, Nicolas. "Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries): 'Astrological Images' and the Concept of 'Addressative' Magic." *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*. Ed. Jan R Bremmer and Jan Veenstra: 167-187. Louvain: Peeters, 2002.

Valuable distillation in English of some primary points made in Les "images astrologiques" above; considers the medieval problems of filiation and distinction between image magic and necromancy.

Picatrix

Picatrix is the largest compendium of texts of this kind, important in the immediate medieval context of its translation as well as later. It is a kind of magical encyclopedia, a large compendium involving an array of materials, including astrological and cosmological theory characterized by an elevated and positive understanding of magic (which was important to its Renaissance readers), along with practical directives for making many different kinds of talismans, some of which were obviously “necromantic” in character. The Latin text is a translation of a Spanish version of an Arabic text, both translations commissioned in the mid-thirteenth century by Alfonso X, king of Castile, probably by a Jewish translator as suggested in Perrone Compagni 1975 and Pingree 1981. A Hebrew version was also produced in the same time period. The late David Pingree was the most important scholar of this text; his edition of the Latin (*Picatrix*, 1986) remains invaluable, while Pingree 1980 and 1981 discuss the transmission history of the work and its sources. Perrone Compagni 1975 is an earlier but still useful overview. For discussion and translation of the original Arabic see Plessner and Ritter 1962. A more recent translation from Latin to French with commentary, on relation of Latin and Arabic versions is Bakhouché, et al, 2003. The essay collection by Boudet, et al 2011 contains the most up to date work by scholars on this topic.

Bakhouché, Béatrice, with Frédéric Fauquier et Brigitte Pérez-Jean. *Picatrix, la version latine du Ghâyat Al-Hakîm, un traité de magie médiéval*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

A French translation from the Latin edition by Pingree, below, with introduction and commentary relating Latin and Arabic versions.

Boudet, J.-P., Anna Caiozzo, Nicolas Weill-Parot, eds. *Images et Magie: Picatrix entre Orient et Occident*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011.

A wealth of new work on many aspects of *Picatrix*; includes essays on sources and analogue texts. On Hebrew *Picatrix*, see article by Leicht.

Perrone Compagni, Vittoria, “*Picatrix latinus: Concezioni filosofico-religiose e prassi magica.*” *Medioevo* 1 (1975): 237-70.

Looks at the philosophical and religious interest in this magic text, as well as activity by Jewish translators.

Pingree, D. “Some of the Sources of the Ghayat al- Hakim,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980), pp. 1-15

Picatrix is compilation which has seams showing; this brief survey of sources illuminates the character of the different texts included.

Pingree, D. "Between the Ghāya and Picatrix. I: the Spanish Version." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981) 27-56.

Discusses the Spanish translation and translator of Picatrix, probably Judah ben Moses, ha-Kohen.

Plessner, Martin and Hellmut Ritter. *Picatrix: Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magriti*. London: Warburg Institute, 1962

A German translation from the original Arabic, which was earlier edited by Ritter as *Pseudo-Magriti, Das Ziel des Weisen*. Ed. Hellmut Ritter. Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner: 1933.

Plessner, Martin. "A Medieval Definition of Scientific Experiment in the Hebrew *Picatrix*." *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 36 (1973): 358-9.

Discusses alterations to the sense of the word "experiment" in the Hebrew translation.

Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghayat al-Hakim. Ed. David Pingree. London: Warburg Institute, 1986.

The volume is a commentary; Pingree's edition is contained in attached microfiches. The only complete English translation is designed for ritual magic operators: Christopher Warnock and John Michael Greer, trans. *The Complete Picatrix: The Occult Classic Of Astrological Magic*. Adocentyn Press, 2010-11.

MEDIEVAL THEURGY

Theurgy is a Greek word translating literally to "God work," signifying rituals of purification of the soul for the sake of augmenting knowledge, and involving fellowship with benign intermediary beings (gods or *daemones* in a neo-platonic context, angels in a Christian one). The term originates in late antiquity, and it is only recently that "theurgy" is beginning to be adopted by some medievalists to cover late medieval rituals (such as *the Ars notoria*) aimed at invoking angels to gain knowledge – a semantic territory also covered by the term "angel magic." While newly in use as a term of art by medievalists, theurgy has a long history of being contested. For a more detailed overview of this situation and the terms on which "theurgy" is being adopted by medieval scholars, see Fanger 2012. Janowitz 2002 has a good introduction to the problem of theurgy in Late antiquity, and Shaw 1985, on the theurgy of Iamblichus remains a methodologically important discussion. Analogue texts in Hebrew are discussed in Swartz 1996. For the topic as it pertains to the Christian context of Pseudo Dionysius, see especially Rorem 1993, Shaw 1999 and Dillon and Wear, 2007. Unlike the situation for necromancy, the primary medieval theurgic texts are long ritual scripts that were carefully copied, often travelled solo in manuscript, are sometimes found in deluxe editions, and are identifiable by title or incipit. The most important Christian texts of this kind have their own sections below. A collection of recent

essays on medieval angel magic texts is found in Bresc and Grevin 2002.

Bresc, Henri and Benoît Grévin, eds. *Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 114 no. 2 (2002).

Contains a number of indispensable essays on the concept and use of angels in magic; useful both for overview of the territory and in its detailed discussion of specific texts.

Dillon, John M and Sarah Klitenic Wear. *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition: Despoiling the Hellenes*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007

Details the indebtedness of Dionysius to neo-Platonic thought; especially relevant to theurgy are chapters 6 and 7.

Rorem, Paul. *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

See especially Rorem's discussion of *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in this key introduction to Pseudo-Dionysius; response in Shaw 1999.

Fanger, Claire. "Introduction: Theurgy, Magic and Mysticism." *Invoking Angels, Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2012: 1-33.

Overview of the term "theurgy," current scholarly uses in discussions of late antique neo-platonism and Jewish mysticism, and rationale for its adoption to cover some medieval Christian texts.

Janowitz, Naomi. *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity*. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2002.

Accessible coverage of how rituals could be labeled negatively as "magic" or positively as "theurgy" in late antiquity and how this problematic structure is still active in medieval Christianity; less specialized than Shaw (below) but useful in the same way.

Shaw, Gregory. "Theurgy : Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus." *Traditio* 41 (1985): 1-28.

Important for its discussion of problematics surrounding "theurgy" in its late antique contexts.

Shaw, Gregory. "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius the Areopagite," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999).

Carries the discussion of problematics of “theurgy” into Christian terrain with Pseudo-Dionysius; responding to Rorem 1993.

Swartz, Michael D. *Scholastic Magic. Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Covers a group of texts dealing with rituals to bring down knowledge of the Torah by an angel, with many specific functional parallels to the later medieval Christian *Ars notoria*.

Almandel

This work derives in its earliest manifestations from an Arabic milieu, in which it appears as a set of experiments conjuring djinn. A later Christianized version of the text is attributed to Solomon. In this version, the “Almandal” is a kind of altar made of wax and inscribed with names of God that is used to summon angels of the twelve altitudes to answer questions, bestow knowledge, or do whatever the operator desires. The operation involves prayers and suffumigations and the lighting of four candles at the corners of the altar; the angels (carefully described) are seen above the altar among the candles in the smoke. The work is known from the early thirteenth century, cited (and condemned) by William of Auvergne. Véronèse 2011 edits several Latin forms of the text; Jan Veenstra is editing a German version, described and discussed in Veenstra 2002 and Veenstra 2006. Important background is offered by Lory 1997 and Regourd 2001.

Lory, Pierre. “Anges, djinns et démons dans la magie musulmane.” *Religion et pratiques de puissance*. Ed. A. de Surgy. 81-94. Paris: Harmattan, 1997.

Useful introduction to the Muslim spiritual cosmology in operation through *Almandal*.

Regourd, Anne. “Le Kitāb al-Mandal al-Sulaymāni, yéménite postérieur au Ve/XI^e s. ?” *Res Orientales* 13 (2001), *Démons et merveilles de l’Orient*. 123-138.

Discusses an early tributary to the tradition ; see also Regourd on Kitāb al-Mandal in *Images et Magie* (ed. Boudet, et al., 2011, cited in **Picatrix*,* above).

Veenstra, Jan R. “The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic.” In *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, edited by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra, 189–229. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.

Discussion of context for *Almandal* based on the German versions under edition by Veenstra; includes transcription of an short version of the text in English (involving only four altitudes) from a seventeenth-century Sloane manuscript.

Veenstra, Jan R. "Venerating and Conjuring Angels: Eiximenis's *Book of the Holy Angels* and the *Holy Almandal*; Two Case Studies." In *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, edited by Charles Burnett and W.F. Ryan, 119–134. London: Warburg Institute, 2006.

Useful both for its treatment of the specific texts and as an overview of licit and illicit modes of interaction with angels in the middle ages.

Véronèse, Julien. *L'Almandal et l'Almadel latins au Moyen Âge. Introduction et éditions critiques*. Florence: Sismel, 2011.

Latin edition which includes an introduction to the text and its various avatars, including the "gloss" by a pseudo-Jerome.

Ars notoria

Originating in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the *Ars notoria* was a popular text of which many manuscripts are still extant. Its popularity extended through the early modern period, and it even makes it into printed editions. By means of its prayers, angels could be summoned to assist the operator in gaining knowledge of the seven liberal arts, philosophy and theology by divine infusion. The name, "Ars notoria," or "Art of notes" derives (by its own account) from the *notae*, a set of complex figures inscribed with prayers that travelled with the manuscripts and serve as focal points for meditation. Its curricular orientation made it understandably popular in a university setting. The main scholar of this material is Julien Véronèse, who edits the Latin text in *L'Ars notoria au Moyen Âge* 2007. Helpful contextualizing work by him may also be found in Véronèse 2002 and 2012. Boudet 2000 offers important updates to historical background on this text as discussed in articles by Camille, Klaassen and Fanger in Fanger, 1998 (cited above under *Recent Overviews*). For an English translation see *Ars notoria* 1657.

Dupèbe, Jean. 'L'*ars notoria* et la polémique sur la divination et la magie.' *Divination et controverse religieuse en France au XVIe siècle (Cahiers V.L. Saulnier, 4)* 35 (1987): 122-134.

Looks at *Ars notoria*, in context of sixteenth-century condemnations of magic, discussing potential filiations with neo-Platonic theurgy and breaking the first new ground since Thorndike. Dupèbe is also the first to link the prayers in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 276 with John of Morigny.

Ars Notoria: The notory art of Solomon, trans. Robert Turner. London: F. Cottrel, 1657.

This early modern translation is still the only English version of the text and does not contain the *notae*; it is available online through **Archives of Western Esoterica** (cited under *Miscellaneous Resources*)

L'Ars notoria au Moyen Âge. Introduction et édition critique. Ed. Julien Véronèse. Florence: Sismel, 2007.

This critical edition is an important access point for this text, though lacks the commentary found in Volume I of Véronèse's dissertation.

Boudet, Jean-Patrice, "L'Ars notoria au Moyen Âge: une résurgence de la théurgie antique?" In Moreau, Alain and Turpin, Jean-Claude, eds. *La Magie: Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 25-27 Mars 1999*. Vol. 3. Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III, 2000: 173-191.

Furthering work by Dupèbe and Véronèse, Boudet argues that the *Ars notoria* is an endogenous product of Christian Latin culture, not (despite appearances and some earlier suggestions) a derivative of any Hebrew tradition or text.

Véronèse, Julien. "Les anges dans l'*Ars notoria*: révélation, processus visionnaire et angéologie." Bresc, Henri and Benoît Grévin, eds. *Les anges et la magie au Moyen Âge. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 114 no. 2 (2002): 813-849.

Describes the angelologie of the *Ars notoria* and how it links to visionary process.

Véronèse, Julien. "Magic, Theurgy and Spirituality in the Medieval Ritual of the *Ars notoria*." In Fanger, Claire. *Invoking Angels, Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2012: 37-78.

English exposition of the background and use of the *Ars notoria* and its glosses; this article offers the handiest access to the text outside the edition.

Berengario Ganell- *Summa Sacre Magice*.

This massive compendium, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, gathers together various magical materials circulating in Spain and southern France, assembling them under the rubric of a single treatise on magic. The work is important both because of the intrinsic interest of the materials gathered, and because it is one of the earliest books on magic to circulate under the name of an author/compiler (most earlier ritual magic texts circulating either anonymously or pseudepigraphically, under the names like Solomon, Hermes, Enoch, or related historical or legendary figures). As such, the document bridges the medieval texts and the early modern philosophical magic (such as is found in Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, which is similarly a compendium under the rubric of a treatise). In fact, a Latin manuscript of the *Summa sacre magic* was at one point owned by John Dee. The text, whose discovery was announced in Gilly, 2002, is still difficult of access; only fragments of it have been published so far, but an edition of the whole is in preparation by Damaris Gehr (see Gehr 2011). The materials compiled include

stretches of *Almandel*, *Liber Razielis*, and the *Liber iuratus* (on which see especially the article by Jan Veenstra below). Little has been written on this text and Gehr's edition is eagerly awaited.

Gehr, Damaris. "‘Spiritus et angeli sunt a Deo submissi sapienti et puro’: il frammento del Magisterium eumantice artis sive scientiae magicalis. Edizione e attribuzione a Berengario Ganello" *Aries* 11.2 (2011)189-217

Edition of and commentary on a fragment a text uniquely known through Ganell's work.

Gilly, Carlos. "Between Paracelsus, Pelagius and Ganellus: Hermetism in John Dee." In *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal '400 al '700; L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto / Magic, Alchemy and Science, 15th-18th Centuries*, edited by Carlos Gilly and Cis van Heertum. Vol I: 286-94. Florence: Centro Di, 2002.

The first announcement of the text, looking at its relation to John Dee.

Liber iuratus Honorii

A primary aim of this text is to produce for the operator a vision of God as Adam and the prophets saw him. The *Liber iuratus* is apparently extant in fewer copies than the *Ars notoria*, but it is an interesting and unusual work on its own terms, a complex hybrid of Christian, Jewish and Islamic traditions that makes extravagant claims for its own virtues in its opening and closing paragraphs. The work was originally known through a handful of copies on the British Library but it has recently been shown to exist in an older version probably originating in Spain, whose context is discussed in Veenstra 2012. For early works offering summary, background and context for the British Library version see Kieckhefer 1998 and Mathiesen 1998. Corrections and updates to both articles are offered in Boudet 2002, Mesler 2012 and Fanger 2012. The work is edited in Hedegård 2002.

Boudet, Jean Patrice. "Magie théurgique, angéologie et vision béatifique dans le Liber sacratus attribué à Honorius de Thèbes." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge*, 114.2 (2002): 851-90.

Clarifies Kieckhefer 1998, and pursues questions of the texts possible Jewish origins somewhat further.

Hedegård, Gösta. *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International 2002.

In this volume the Latin text is made accessible for the first time; predates the discovery of the earlier version of the text announced in Veenstra 2012. English translation is available through ****Archives of Western Esoterica**** (cited under ***Miscellaneous Resources***)

Kieckhefer, Richard, "The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus*, the *Liber visionum* and the Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism." In Fanger, Claire, ed. *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998: 250-265.

Opens the question of possible Jewish influence on the *Liber iuratus*; tentative in its claims, but still a landmark.

Mathiesen, Robert. A thirteenth-century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the Sworn Book of Honorius of Thebes." *Conjuring Spirits*, ed. In Fanger, Claire, ed. *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998: 143-162.

Mathiesen gives an account of the polemical preface to the *Liber iuratus*, and offers some observations about likely effects of the text on users.

Mesler, Katelyn. "The *Liber iuratus Honorii* and the Christian reception of Angel Magic." *Invoking Angels*, ed. In Fanger, Claire. *Invoking Angels, Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2012: 113-150.

Adduces evidence showing that both Hebrew and Islamic styles of angels and angelogy can be found in this text.

Veenstra, Jan R. "Honorius and the Sigil of God: the *Liber iuratus* in Berengario Ganell's *Summa sacre magice*." In Fanger, Claire. *Invoking Angels, Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2012: 151-191.

Veenstra's discovery of an earlier form of the *Liber iuratus* in Ganell's *Summa sacre magice* overturns much of what was formerly thought to be known about the *Liber iuratus*.

John of Morigny- *Liber florum celestis doctrine*

Written by a monk named John at the Benedictine monastery of Morigny, the *Liber florum* is a compilation of prayers comprising a complex ritual system for acquiring the liberal arts that is loosely modeled on the *Ars notoria*. Extant in about 20 known manuscripts, in two known authorial versions, the *Liber florum* includes a visionary autobiography in which John describes visions he induced by means of the *Ars notoria*, his extrication from magic, and the subsequent delivery of the thirty prayers of his own art by the Virgin. This is the only known medieval first person account of ritual magic use, and gives a unique perspective on what the practice of the *Ars notoria* entailed and the kinds of visions it produced. The book was condemned and burnt at

Paris in 1323, as recorded in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. For a long time this condemnation stood as the only memorial to John's text, which was not known to survive. Multiple copies of the text began to be discovered only in the nineties. In addition to articles by Fanger and Watson in Fanger 1998 (cited under *Recent Overviews*), useful early notices of this work are offered in Barnay 1995 and 1997. While the full edition of this work still awaits publication, John of Morigny 2001 is an edition of the opening section (the *Liber visionum* or "Prologue" to the ritual text) by Fanger and Watson. Fanger 2010 and Watson 2010 both aim in different ways to open the work to a larger intellectual and literary context. Láng 2005 discusses the appropriation of John of Morigny's prayers in a Polish prayer book.

Barnay, Sylvie. "La mariophonie au regard de Jean de Morigny: magie ou miracle de la vision mariale?" *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age*. Ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public. 173-90. Paris: Sorbonne, 1995.

Barnay was the first to announce the discovery of a copy of John's *Liber florum* in a Turin manuscript after the brief note in Dupèbe, 1987. This item and the next are the first published record of extant copies of the full text.

Barnay, Sylvie. "Désir de voir et interdits visionnaires ou la mariophonie selon Jean de Morigny" in *L'Homme Religieux, Mélanges offerts à Jean Delumeau* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 519-27.

Introduction to the *Liber florum* with a useful overview of John's biography

Láng, Benedek. "Angels Around the Crystal: The Prayer Book of King Wladislas and the Treasure Hunts of Henry the Bohemian," *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 5 (2005): 1—32.

Concerns a text for summoning angels in a crystal, which incorporates a large percentage of prayers from John of Morigny, providing evidence of *Liber florum's* circulation in central Europe.

Fanger, Claire. "Sacred and Secular Knowledge Systems in the *Ars Notoria* and the *Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* of John of Morigny." *Die Enzyklopädie der Esoterik: Allwissenheitsmythen und universalwissenschaftliche Modelle in der Esoterik der Neuzeit*. Eds. Andreas B. Kilcher, Philipp Theisohn. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2010: 157-175.

Sets both *Ars notoria* and *Liber florum* in the context of late medieval epistemological understandings, showing how many assumptions about sacred and secular knowledge in these texts are shared by better known philosophical and theological writers.

Fanger, Claire. "Complications of Eros: The Song of Songs in John of Morigny's *Liber Florum Celestis Doctrine*," in W. J. Hanegraaff and J. J. Kripal, *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism*. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008: 153-174.

Also works to set the operations of the *Liber florum* into a broader cultural context by elaborating its intimate relation to medieval commentaries on the Song of Songs.

John of Morigny. *Liber visionum*. C. Fanger and N. Watson. "The Prologue to John of Morigny's *Liber visionum*: Text and Translation[www.esoteric.msu.edu/Volumell/Morigny.html]*." *Esoterica* 3 (2001).

The only accessible edition and translation of the visionary autobiography or *Liber visionum* (about one fifth of the *Liber Florum*). An edition of the whole work including the prayers is in progress by the same editors.

Watson, Nicholas. "The Phantasmal Past: Time, History, and the Recombinative Imagination." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 32 (2010): 1–37.

Looks at *Liber florum* in the context of other works that offer models of imagination with potential methodological utility for critical discourse.

***Liber Razielis* and related works**

Liber Razielis is a title given to a compilation of texts emerging under the aegis of Alfonso X (like *Picatrix*, above). The book claims to have been delivered by the angel Raziel to Adam when he sorrowed over the fall. The Alfonsine compilation includes a set of seven core texts about different aspects of ritual magic, including the *Liber clavis* (on astrology); *Liber ale* (on natural magic); *Liber thymiama* (on suffumigations); *Liber temporum* (on angels associated with divisions of time), *Liber mundicie et abstinentie* (on ritual cleanliness); *Liber Sameyn* ("Book of the Heavens," a book known to be closely related to an actual Hebrew source, *Sefer ha-Razim*), and the *Liber magice* (on talismans). There were also several texts that sometimes appeared as appendices including *Liber semiforas* (a book of divine names, the title variously transliterated as *semhemaforas*, *semiphoras*, and so on) which sometimes took the place of *Liber magice*. The translator's preface cites a Hebrew original for the entire compilation, though Page 2012 notes that the structure may be "partly if not entirely a creation of Alfonso and his translators" (82). Like the compilation *Picatrix*, the assembled Latin *Raziel* materials served as a kind of magical encyclopedia, attractively embedded in a cosmological framework with a lofty and positive view of magic. No full edition of the Latin text exists, though online transcriptions of abbreviated vernacular versions in *Sepher Raziel* n.d. by Peterson and Karr help to fill the gap. A translation of the Hebrew *Sepher ha-Razim* is in Morgan 1983. Scholarly discussions of the Latin text, including Secret 1969, Büchler 1986, García Avilés 1997, and Page 2007 are specialized

treatments that presuppose some knowledge of manuscript materials. Page 2012 may be the most accessible overview in English

Büchler, Alfred. "A Twelfth-Century Physician's Desk Book: The *Secreta secretorum* of Petrus Alphonsi quondam Moses Sephardi." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 37.2 (1986): 206-12.

Identifies a reference to a "*Secreta secretorum*" in Petrus Alphonsi as a work potentially linked to the Raziel compilation, an important datum in the very incomplete historical record of this text.

García Avilés, A. "Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis*: imágenes de la magia astral judía en el scriptorium alfonsí." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 74 (1997): 26-39.

Overview which helpfully traces the history of various portions of the Alphonsine Raziel compilation and reflects on the importance of *Liber Razielis* to Alfonso X.

**Sepher Raziel*[<http://www.esotericarchives.com/raziel/raziel.htm>]* (Sl. 3846) Ed. Joseph Peterson.

This edition is from British Library, Sloane 3846, one of several abbreviated early modern English versions of the text. A closely related version from Sloane 3826 is transcribed by Don Karr, available *online[<http://www.digital-brilliance.com/contributed/Karr/Solomon/LibSal.pdf>]*.

Morgan, Michael. *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.

English translation from the Hebrew of the book corresponding to Liber Samaym in the Latin Raziel compilation.

Page, Sophie. "Magic and the Pursuit of Wisdom: the 'familiar' spirit in the *Liber Theysolius*." *la Corónica*, 36.1 (2007): 41-70.

Liber Theysolius is one of the texts sometimes annexed to *Liber Razielis*, which offers an array of theurgic and talismanic experiments; it shows interesting filiations with other texts of Arabic lineage.

Page, Sophie. "Uplifting Souls: The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*. *Invoking Angels*, ed. In Fanger, Claire. "Introduction: Theurgy, Magic and Mysticism." *Invoking Angels, Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*. University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2012: 79-112.

Analyzes the prefaces to *Liber Razielis* and *Liber de essentia spirituum* and elaborates the way both cosmological pictures are friendly to theurgy; a detailed breakdown of content of both Latin texts is given in appendices.

Secret, François. "Sur quelques traductions du Sefer Razi'el." *Revue des Etudes Juives* 128 (1969) 223-245.

Looks at translations in and out of Spain after the thirteenth century.

LINKING MEDIEVAL TO EARLY MODERN MAGIC

In the history of magic, as with other areas of the humanities, the issues surrounding what distinguishes "medieval" from "early modern" magic are vexed, open to the same kinds of revisions and disputes occurring in other fields and disciplines. As with other areas too, much that used to be taken for granted as "fact" about medieval and early modern magic is no longer stable, impacted by the ongoing recovery and editing of actual medieval texts. Overall, there is increasing recognition of the complexity and theological awareness of medieval magic texts, and a broadening view of the reliance of the early modern writers on medieval materials – not just on theological or philosophical materials either, but ritual materials too. Interestingly, the transmission of magic texts continues when other aspects of Catholic ritual fall into ill repute in protestant areas. John Dee is an interesting case in point because the dissolution of monasteries had a clear and direct impact on his library, which included copies of several of the most significant works listed under *Medieval Theurgy* above. The topic of periodization itself is treated in the special issue of *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 2007. Stuckrad 2010 and McWilliams 2012 are concerned in different ways with the boundaries of modernity and are both methodologically interesting. Kieckhefer 2006 and Zambelli 2007 are the most accessible perspectives of continuities between medieval and early modern magic by historians of these periods. More specialized but useful articles are Clucas 2006 and Klaassen 2003.

Clucas, Stephen, "John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the *Ars notoria*: Renaissance Magic and Mediaeval Theurgy" *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Essays in English Renaissance Thought*. 231-274. Ed. Stephen Clucas. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press, 2006.

Investigates the filiations and potential influences of *Ars notoria* on Dee's work, especially the records of his crystal gazing experiments.

Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 37.3 (2007). "Medieval/Renaissance: After Periodization"

The introduction to this special issue gives a good overview of recent conversations about periodization (the issue is not mainly on magic, though the topic inevitably comes up at least glancingly in the articles).

Kieckhefer, Richard. "Did Magic Have a Renaissance? An Historiographic Question Revisited." *Magic and the Classical Tradition*. Eds. Charles Burnett, Will Ryan. London: Warburg Institute, 2006: 199-212.

Looks at what, if anything, really changed about the practice of magic in the Renaissance.

Klaassen, Frank. "Medieval Ritual Magic in the Renaissance." *Aries* 3, no. 2 (2003): 166-99.

Shows that manuscripts of ritual magic increase in the Renaissance, and occur in greater numbers than image magic texts.

McWilliams, Stuart. *Magical Thinking History, Possibility and the Idea of the Occult*. London: Continuum, 2012.

Issues of periodization are a major concern of this book, which looks at how magic has been entangled with the discourses of the humanities. Not a history of magic, but interesting excursus on what magic has meant in academic writing.

Stuckrad, Kocku, von. *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Investigates identity formation as it is produced in the context of a plurality of religious discourses from medieval to early modern; complex argument which touches all the magical traditions discussed here.

Zambelli, Paola. *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Translated from *Magia bianca, magia nera nel Rinascimento* (Ravenna, A. Longo, 2004), but incorporating additional material. Sets Renaissance white (natural) magic against the simultaneously developing history of black (ritual) magic; Zambelli suggests that "natural magic" is only a partial representation of what magic meant to Renaissance magi.