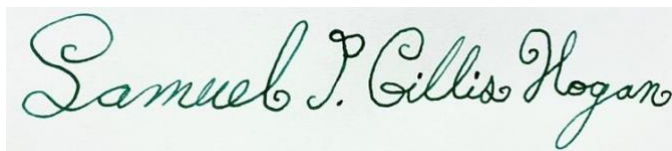Communing With Nature:
Fairies in English Ritual Magic and Occult Philosophy, 1400-1700

Submitted by Samuel Gillis Hogan to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
In October 2023

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that any material that has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University has been acknowledged.

Signature: …………………………………………………………..

Epigraph

'Faerie itself may perhaps most nearly be translated by Magic — but it is magic of a peculiar mood and power, at the furthest pole from the vulgar devices of the laborious, scientific, magician.'
- J. R. R. Tolkien, *On Fairy-Stories*

Dedication

To Magic.

Abstract

This study examines extant British fairy summoning rituals written between 1400 and 1700, as well as the occult philosophy that increasingly informed them. These operations took the technology of medieval ritual magic (traditionally used to summon demons and more nebulous spirits) and redirected it to invoke the fairies of medieval romance and ballads. I argue that, contemporaneously, a new conceptualisation of fairies began to emerge among Renaissance magic theoreticians and practitioners. This occult philosophical fairy merged literary fairies with medieval magical theory, revived classical texts about daemons/various *numina*, and the wonderous beings of European popular tradition. Unlike popular depictions of fairies which closely associated them with Faerie (another land or realm which was their primary habitation), occult philosophical fairies were understood to ubiquitously fill *this* world. In this framework they were presented as morally ambiguous and intrinsically aligned with various elements and natural features.

I demonstrate that influence from these occult philosophical discussions about fairies is evident in some sixteenth-century English fairy summoning rituals, but that this became much more pronounced after the influx of German occult philosophy (particularly that attributed to Agrippa and Paracelsus) in English translations which were produced during the the mid-seventeenth century. Based upon the manuscript context of fairy summoning rituals, I argue that many of those interested in these spells were service magicians with a particular interest in ritual magic. Some of these magicians clearly had a utilitarian approach, being more interested in what a summoned fairy could do for them rather than in what it was. Others, however, increasingly drew from occult philosophical discourses and

elaborated fairy summoning rituals with this material, emphasising their connection to the natural world and making it a source of power used when summoning them. I argue that this can be most helpfully understood as the development of a learned Christian animism at the cusp of modernity.

Acknowledgements

No matter one's context, pursuing a PhD is an arduous path. I cannot imagine endeavouring to travel down it without the support and guidance of my supervisors Catherine Rider and Jonathan Barry. Two more engaged, proactive, supportive, and encouraging supervisors I could not have asked for. They have gone far beyond what anyone could reasonably hope them to do. Their extensive feedback, their kind words, and the wisdom of their experience have been invaluable sources of instruction and reassurance to me throughout this process and I will be forever grateful to them for it. Their contribution has greatly strengthened this thesis; any shortcoming in it I claim wholly as my own.

This project has been funded by the Rothermere Fellowship, without the support of which I would not have been able to undertake this research. The fellowship was founded by the Viscount Rothermere, and the current Viscount and Viscountess Rothermere remain part of the Rothermere Foundation. As such, I may well be the last person in history to study magic under noble patronage. For all this I extend my sincere gratitude.

My academic journey did not begin in graduate school, and as someone with dysgraphia the early years of my education were particularly difficult. I am thankful to too many teachers, tutors, and learning specialists to list them all here – but without their labour and support this project would not have been produced by my hand.

I must thank my undergraduate medieval history professor, Lindsay Bryan, and ancient history professor Marica Cassis. Both marvellous instructors and exceptional human beings, their immense impact upon my understanding of the

past cannot be understated and will certainly colour the analysis I bring to all my future research. I am humbled by their continued friendship and support.

I would also like to extend my deepest thanks to Frank Klaassen, my Master's Supervisor, and Sharon Wright, for whom I have TAed often at the University of Saskatchewan. Their continued support of my academic career has meant more to me than I can adequately articulate.

In addition to my supervisors, a major factor in my decision to undertake my PhD at the University of Exeter was the rare community there of magic scholars. I was first told about Exeter's magic reading group by Emily Selove at a conference we both attended. Emily would go on to be my temporary PhD supervisor for several months, for which I extend my thanks. To be at the University of Exeter during the development of Centre for Magic and Esotericism, and the inauguration of the university's MA in Magic and Occult Science has been both a source of great excitement and pride for me. I am grateful to the community of magic scholars at Exeter for their efforts toward strengthening our field, and for their collegiality.

The importance of the support I received from my friends and peers cannot be understated. In sitting and working together in silence, bouncing ideas off one another, or in keeping each other sane by going for walks or playing games together, their impact has not only made this experience endurable, but a time I am sure I will look back upon with a certain nostalgia. In particular I would like to thank Rowena Squires (whose friendship the Fates insisted upon), Henry Marsh (whose advice I value, and of whose imagination I am in awe), James Green (whose creativity has given me so much joy), Verity Bruce (my fellow historian of magic who I have known as undergrad, master's, and PhD student), Tabitha Stanmore (whose collegiality and friendship has meant so much), and Erin Gallagher-Cohoon

(without our hours-long calls quietly working together I would not have made it through this project, especially after the emergence of the pandemic). I could not be more fortunate to have friends and colleagues such as you.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Hope Gillis and Medford Hogan. At every stage, in innumerable ways they have supported me. The confidence given by the solid foundation of their love has allowed me to pass through the fear and instability of grad school which might have otherwise overwhelmed me. Their material and emotional support made this research possible; I thank them for their interest in it. I thank my father for always making me feel that if worst came to worst he would still be there. I thank my mother for not only accepting, but encouraging me to pursue my innermost interests and passions.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Definitions

Astral Magic: The science of capturing stellar rays or spirits in astrological talismans. Also called astrological image magic.

Image Magic: See 'Astral Magic'.

Natural Magic: Magic performed by drawing upon the occult (hidden) properties of plants, stones, animal parts, and other natural objects.

Naturalia   I use this to refer collectively to natural magic and natural philosophy.

Necromancy: Magic used to summon demons. In antiquity and modern fantasy this refers to magic that summons and/or divines the future using the dead. Yet medieval magic texts (and modern historians of medieval magic) use the term refer to ritual magic that summons demons.

Occult Philosophy: Works of magical theory. Occult Philosophers often endeavoured to produce a coherent cosmology that reconciled magic with natural philosophy and (often idiosyncratic) Christian theology.

Ritual Magic: Umbrella term inclusive of necromancy and theurgic magic. Also sometimes called 'ceremonial magic'.

Theurgy: Magic used to summon angelic/divine beings, or to cause one's soul to ascend to experience the divine while living.

Abbreviations

The Three Books: Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy.* Translated by J.F. London: R.W. for Gregery Moule, 1651.

The Third Book: Book Three of Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy.* Translated by J.F. London: R.W. for Gregery Moule, 1651.

The Fourth Book: *Henry Cornelius Agrippa* [Pseudo.]*, His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy: Of Geomancy, Magical Elements of Peter de Abano, Astronomical Geomancy, The Nature of Spirits, Arbatel of Magic*. Translated by Robert Turner. London: J.C., 1655.

Occulta Philosophia: Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *De Occulta Philosophia*. Cologne: 1533.

Occult Philosophy: Paracelsus [Pseudo.]. *Theophrastus Paracelsus of Occult Philosophy*. In *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature*. Translated by Robert Turner. London: J.C., 1656.

Janua: The *Janua magica reserata*, an occult philosophical work preserved in Sloane 3824.

Introduction

In his influential 1651 work *Leviathan,* the English materialist philosopher

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) wrote that incorporeal spirits (which he associates

with polytheism) did not exist and he scorns 'the Gentiles' for viewing men, plants

and animals as 'a god or a devil, or by their poets feigned to be animated,

inhabited, or possessed by some spirit'.[1] He believed that they were fictions, born

from 'the Daemonology of the Heathen Poets, that is to say, their fabulous Doctrine

concerning Daemons, which are but Idols, or Phantasms of the braine, without any

reall nature of their own, distinct from humane fancy; such as are dead mens

Ghosts, and Fairies, and other matter of old Wives tales.'[2] His attribution of these

views to 'Heathens' and that perennial patriarchal pejorative 'old Wives' was meant

to denigrate them through association with the (from his perspective) primitive and

ignorant. But whether Hobbes knew it or not, this equation of fairies with classical

daemons and identification of them as the spirits that animate or inhabit the natural

world was not only present among his contemporary predominantly male learned

and semi-learned Christian practitioners of ritual magic and students of occult

philosophy, but would become *more* clearly articulated by them over the latter half

of the seventeenth century. The interpretation of fairies as entities which are

intrinsically connected to the elements as well as natural features and

environments has medieval roots, was more fully articulated by Renaissance

German occult philosophers (most notably Agrippa and Paracelsus) and was

transmitted to England where it increasingly influenced fairy summoning rituals and

---

[1] A. P. Martinich, *Hobbes* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 195. CF Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1651), 54-56.

[2] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 334.

the intellectual context which informed them. This reframed fairies from the

'otherworldly' beings of literature to entities who were intrinsically connected to,

and filling, *this* world.

0.1 Thesis Parameters and Source Base

This is not a study of fairies. The field is vast, with rich bodies of literary and

folkloric sources. Rather, this is a study of magic, specifically of the ritual practices

intended to summon fairies and the magical theory which offers greater context to

them. This thesis examines fairy summoning rituals preserved in manuscripts

written between the late fifteenth and the end of the seventeenth century in

addition to examining occult philosophical (or more theoretical works) recorded

between the late fourteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century.

I have anchored my analysis in an examination of the rituals themselves and

the manuscripts in which they circulated. While reference is made to literary texts

and written sources that appear to (with likely imperfection) preserve oral traditions,

these are only examined when they pertain to (and provide context for)

characterisations of fairies within ritual magic and occult philosophy. This provides

the necessary limitations to the scope of this project and privileges sources

produced by those within a tradition that understood fairies as real entities. While I

refer to continental examples of otherwise relevant rituals, this study is centred

upon those produced and circulating in England. Although much of the occult

philosophical material was continental in origin, it is how this material was

transmitted to and reinterpreted in England which will be the focus of my analysis.

I have chosen this material precisely because it offers an insider's

perspective on fairies. Many sources that appear to preserve oral traditions about

fairies were recorded (and possibly augmented) by people hostile to the tradition (see medieval canon law books, and early modern works meant to frame fairies as superstitions of the ignorant).[3] Similarly, literary sources are often produced with ludic purposes. While they may draw from and shape genuine conceptions of entities which were understood to be real, their authors may take poetic license and inject personal creativity not representative of wider cultural traditions.

The sources I have selected have the advantage that they (generally) lack these intermediary filters, being written in a non-fiction and practical context and from the perspective that the beings targeted by the magic existed. This does not necessarily make them superior sources for gaining an understanding of fairies as generally understood by the average contemporary. Hostile sources may record ideas that are far more reflective of common perspectives held by the public, and literary sources sometimes reflect ideas in circulation when they were written, but frequently shaped those held later. These exoteric sources, when contextualised and read critically, may reveal more about widespread understandings of fairies than the esoteric ritual magic and occult philosophical sources. By limiting the core analysis of this study to magic manuals and theoretical work, however, we can focus upon some emic voices and are able to trace the development of this context's changing perspectives throughout the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. These voices have been much less well studied, but offer a valuable

---

[3] Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions, and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005); *The examination of John Walsh: before Maister Thomas Williams, commissary to William, Bishop of Excester, vpon certayne interrogatories touchyng wytchcrafte and sorcerye, in the presence of diuers gẽtlemen and others. The. xx. of August. 1566,* (London: John Awdely, 1566); and Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, (Elliot Stock: London, 1886), originally published as Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London: Henry Denham for William Brome, 1584).

counterpoint to other scholarship on fairies that prioritise folkloric and literary sources (as is illustrated at length in the Historiography section below). By exploring these sources, this study examines the following questions: what were the contents of fairy summoning rituals and how were they transmitted? How and why did they change in transmission as a response to changes in the wider intellectual world? How did they draw upon occult philosophical as well as vernacular literary/folkloric material? What do they reveal about their readers/scribes' worldviews, particularily their view of the non-human entities in the world around them?

0.2 Methodology & Theory

As noted above, my historical methodology focuses on assessing primary sources written by those who understood magic to be functional. Specifically, I assess practical instruction manuals of magic and more theoretical works written on magical theory. My aim is to historically contextualise these sources and clarify the worldview they evince. I do this by examining the spells and identifying (when possible) where the ideas that compose them originated and how they changed over time. When direct sources are not extant, I examine contemporary philosophical, theological, and literary sources to reconstruct the cosmology that informs the rituals. I also employ context-function analysis, examining the entire manuscript in which a ritual is bound to reconstruct the wider interests of the compiler, the topics closely connected with the magic, and whether the magic was associated with any other notable categories of thought (such as medicine, religion, or university natural science curricula). This approach has had valuable

results in studies focusing on other branches of magic, such as those produced by

Frank Klaassen, Sophie Page, and Benedek Lang.[4]

While I am firmly methodologically grounded in the discipline of history, my

theoretical approach is highly interdisciplinary. I assess my sources from the

premise that those who produced them were rational (and often learned)

premodern people who understood the universe to operate and be structured in a

fundamentally different manner from the materialist worldview which is currently

the societal and academic norm.[5] This different worldview, in conjunction with ritual

requirements, allowed temporary entry into what are described as 'dissociative

states' from the modern materialist perspective (see section 0.3.6 for further

discussions of this). As such, reports of many preternatural experiences are rooted

not in ignorance or lies, but in accurate reports of (at least) subjectively convincing

experiences that were supported by contemporary cosmological perspectives.

Examining the primary sources produced by such people is therefore an

exploration both of long enduring textual traditions and of personal experiential

modifications.[6] This theoretical approach is heavily influenced by the experiential

source hypothesis proposed by David Hufford, the argument of magic's specific

rationality articulated by Richard Kieckhefer, the examination of the subjective

---

[4] Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Sophie Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Benedek Làng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).
[5] For deeper discussions of this see Richard Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *American Historical Review* 99, no. 3 (1994): 813-836; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[6] Frank Klaassen, 'Unstable Texts and Modal Approaches to the Written Word in Medieval European Ritual Magic', in *Orality and Literacy: Reflections Across Disciplines,* ed. Keith Thor Carlson, Kristina Fagan, and Natalia Khanenko-Friesen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

experience of ritual magic by Frank Klaassen, and the work on religious visionary experiences by the psychological anthropologist Tanya Luhrmann.[7] Although these scholars are not all explored further in this dissertation, they are central to my understanding of this material, the intellectual and cultural context that informs it, as well as reality and human understanding of it.

0.3 Historiography

0.3.1 Scholarship on Fairy Summoning Rituals

Although peer-reviewed scholarly sources that centre discussions of fairy summoning rituals are rare, the subject lies at the intersections of far vaster historiographies of magic and fairies. The aim of this thesis is to center a subject that has thus far remained marginal in both fields. There have been four primary phases of modern scholarship on fairy summoning rituals: the literary, the folkloric, the historical, and the practical. These are general trends and not absolute shifts, just as literature, folklore, and history all shape and influence each other (Briggs' work for example speaks to both the literary and folkloric contexts). This said, the literary phase primarily occurred in the nineteenth century when the main focus of scholarly attention given to these texts was due to how they might shed light on wider cultural conceptions of fairies which may have informed Shakespeare.[8] The folkloric phase is represented by Briggs who (in the mid-twentieth century) brought

---

[7] David Hufford, *The Terror that Comes in the Night: An Experience-centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Richard Kieckhefer, 'Specific Rationality'; Frank Klaassen, 'Subjective Experience and the Practice of Medieval Ritual Magic', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 7. no. 1 (2012): 19-51; Tanya Luhrmann, *When God talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship with God* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012); Tanya Luhrmann, *How God Becomes Real: Kindling the Presence of Invisible Others* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).
[8] James Orchard Halliwell, *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1845); William-Carew Hazlitt, *Fairy Tales, Legends, and Romances, Illustrating Shakespeare and Other Early English Writers* (London: Frank & William Kerslake, 1875).

together some fairy summoning rituals and discussed their cultural context, but had

a particular eye for how one might descry silent folk traditions by peering through

these texts.[9] In the last decade or so, the more recent historical phase has largely

grown out of the wider history of magic and aims to reconstruct the intellectual and

social context informing these rituals to understand the texts themselves (and

those who produced them). These scholars have tended to provide deep readings

of a few rituals and then build out from them using a nuanced understanding of the

wider cultural context.[10] This approach has tended to foreground the valuable

insights these texts offer into learned heterosexual male sexuality and desire as

well as the tension between their rituals' constructions of fairy femininity and

conventional understandings of demon/spirit gender.[11] Daniel Harms has also

made major strides toward a broader survey of the fairy summoning rituals, finding

illuminating connections between multiple fairy summoning texts.[12] This thesis is

primarily in alignment with the third historical phase of fairy summoning

scholarship.

---

[9] Katharine Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', *Folklore* 64, no. 4 (1953): 445-462; Katharine Briggs, 'The Fairies and the Practitioners of Magic', in *The Anatomy of Puck: An Examination of Fairy Beliefs Among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and Successors* (London: Routledge, 2003), 99-116. The latter work was first published in 1959.

[10] Frederika Bain, 'The Binding of the Fairies: Four Spells', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 1, No. 2 (2012): 323-354; Frank Klaassen and Katrina Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility and Having Sex with Spirits: Six Operations from an English Magic Collection ca. 1600', *Opuscula* 3, No. 1 (2013): 1-14; Daniel Harms, '"Of Fairies": An Excerpt from a Seventeenth-Century Magical Manuscript', *Folklore* 129, No. 2 (2018): 192-198; Daniel Harms, 'Hell and Fairy: The Differentiation of Fairies and Demons Within British Ritual Magic of the Early Modern Period', in *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Michelle D. Brock, Richard Raiswell, and David R. Winter (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[11] See Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies' and Harms, 'Hell and Fairy'. For more discussion of the points raised here see: Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 3-6.

[12] Harms 'Hell and Fairy', published several months after I began this PhD, is the most comprehensive discussion of fairy summoning rituals to date. I suggest reading it before this dissertation as Harms clearly and succinctly raises many points either supported or challenged by my work.

The last of these stages is 'fourth' only in that it is strongest today, although present throughout the modern period. This vein is the study of this material (most frequently published as editions of manuscripts and magical texts) for a readership (and, in some cases, by writers) interested in the practical application of traditional magic. Many of these authors are formidable scholars. In many cases they are the only modern examinations of this material, and I am indebted to the editions of some manuscripts that they have made available in print and online. In fact, this intimate and experiential relationship with the material can provide a privileged insight. The fact that some of these practitioners produce publications for peer-reviewed university presses, and some tenured scholars of magic are practitioners of the art, further complicate any sense of firm boundary between university-affiliated academics and this practitioner-focused scholarship (despite the differences being stark in some individuals at each extreme). Instead of highlighting this divide I have cited sources spanning this scholar-practitioner spectrum, drawing from and critiquing each based upon its merit.

In his 1999 preface to *The Triumph of the Moon* Ronald Hutton referred to feeling honour bound both to 'defend the ways of academe to Pagans' and 'to dispel prejudice and misunderstanding' from non-Pagans.[13] My experience has been that modern practitioners of traditional magic are welcoming of scholarly methodology and rigour, if painfully aware of the scorn with which they and their subject are treated by some scholars who are uncritically influenced by the Enlightenment prejudices that have traditionally shaped academic discourses on (and popular perceptions of) magic. Likewise, while I have seen (and sought to

---

[13] Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xi-xii.

dispel) hostile prejudices in the general public of non-magic practitioners, I have found this subject just as likely to inspire wonder and excitement (although sometimes with no fewer misconceptions). Misinformation on this subject abounds in most communities. I see my role as threefold. Firstly, I endeavour to contribute toward solidifying the place that the study of historical magic has within the academy. Secondly, I try to undertake public outreach to increase awareness of this history among a mainstream audience. Finally, I hope to listen to and share with the modern practitioners of magic.

I am often asked, by students and at conferences, what my relationship to my material is. In addressing this, another of Hutton's introductions comes to mind. In his work on the druids entitled *Blood and Mistletoe*, he notes that 'to some extent history occupies the space in my life filled in that of others by religion or spirituality.'[14] I could say much the same, although in my case it might be more accurate to place 'Magic' in the position of a deity and view history as my mode of worship.

I may represent an anachronistic echo of Romanticism's counter-cultural impulses against materialism and industrialism. If so, it is my hope that this has shaped which subject I have chosen to study rather than anachronistically warped my analysis of it. Romanticism is nostalgic for a path untaken. This study is an examination of one aspect of that path. I feel a keen sense of responsibility to the (often anonymous) magicians whose handwriting has become so familiar to me over the course of this research. In a subject plagued for so long by misconception,

---

[14] Hutton, *Triumph of the Moon*, xii.

hostility, and neglect, I hope this work illuminates (if only by moonlight) rather than obscures the material which it examines.

I have known some practitioners of modern magic to express distrust toward historians of magic. This view (apparently sparked by older scholarly studies that tended to view magic as ignorant or 'primitive') seems to characterise historians as treating the subject as a dead thing, using the distance of time and academic conventions to safely separate ourselves from our subject (as opposed to their embodied praxis). For my part, I am often distressed by the (now academically discredited) pseudo-historical origin narratives which falsely present practices fabricated in the nineteenth-, twentieth-, or even twenty-first century as ancient magical traditions. If one wishes to practice medieval or even ancient magic, sources exist with which one can do so. My aim is to contribute toward recovering and historically contextualising this material, thus helping to dismantle the misunderstanding, misuse, and anachronistic appropriations of magic by making premodern magic methods better understood/ more accessible. My study of magic through the discipline of history is therefore not an attempt to distance myself from this material, but to get closer to it.

0.3.2 The Boundaries of Faerie

Fairies are notoriously difficult to define due to their fluid and nebulous nature.[15] One approach to this is to narrow the scope by articulating clear etic

---

[15] Michael Ostling, 'Introduction' in *Fairies, Demons, and Nature Spirits: 'Small Gods' at the Margins of Christendom*, ed. Michael Ostling (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 7-9.

definitions,[16] or reducing the analysis of the material to a particular source base.[17] I avoid etic definitions as they are by nature ahistorical, but endeavour to focus only on fairies in the ritual magic and occult philosophical sources so as to limit this project to an achievable scope. However, this does not serve to define the boundaries of fairy, for the decision of which manuscripts are included in this survey is dependent upon how one defines 'fairy' since the term is not always employed in what otherwise appear to be relevant sources.

Other academics and popular historians/folklorists have adopted a taxonomical approach (attempting to name, define, and list many words for fairy-related beings as though they were various species of animal or plant) which varies from emic to etic in their categorisation.[18] Keith Thomas, Diane Purkiss, Richard Firth-Green, and Simon Young have spoken out against the taxonomical impulse, with Purkiss also debunking many widespread fallacies about fairies and their nature/origin.[19] She explains that these taxonomies represent 'too much fragmentation' and has led to the idea that there were hundreds of different types of fairies, and Firth Green observes that they 'very often… misrepresented the beliefs of a certain area'.[20] Purkiss contrasts this with anachronistically and

---

[16] Ostling, 'Introduction', 9-10. CF Katharine Briggs, *Vanishing People: Fairy lore and Legends* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 26; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 4.

[17] For example: James Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).

[18] Katherine Briggs, 'Some of the Personae of Fairyland', in *The Anatomy of Puck*, 184-196. See also Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck*, 13-16; Katharine Briggs, *A Dictionary of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies, and Other Supernatural Creatures* (London: Routledge, 2003); Theresa Bane, *Encyclopaedia of Fairies in World Folklore and Mythology* (London: McFarland & Company, 2013); Lucy Cooper, *The Element Encyclopedia of Fairies: An A-Z of Fairies, Pixies and Other Fantastical Creatures* (London: HarperCollins, 2014); Carol Rose, *Spirits, Fairies, Gnomes, and Goblins: An Encyclopedia of the Little People* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1996).

[19] Green, *Elf Queens*, 3; Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories* (London: Penguin, 2001), 5-10; Simon Young, 'Against Taxonomy: Fairy Families in Cornwall', *Cornish Studies* 21 (2013): 223-237; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 724.

[20] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 8; Green, *Elf Queens*, 3.

pseudo-historically narrow definitions which offered 'too much synthesis', thus

losing the complexity of the changing pluralistic conceptualisations of fairies.[21]

Despite her critique of fairy taxonomies, Purkiss does offer four categories of fairies

herself (which she argues are reduceable to two), emphasising the enduring lure of

this approach in delineating the boundaries of Faerie.[22]

The anthropological turn has provided cross-cultural comparisons which

have resulted in illuminating analysis of fairies and, in many cases, the

interpretation of encounters with them as shamanic visionary experiences.[23] A key

strength of this approach is that it assumes that those who reported seeing fairies

might not be lying or delusional, but recounting convincing visionary experiences.

This view elevates those who reported seeing fairies from ignominy, giving greater

dignity to their subjective experiences while still writing from within the perspective

of a materialist cosmology (since they were understood as 'visionary experiences',

instead of 'experiences'). It also tends to broaden definitions of fairies. Ostling's

use of anthropological cross-cultural comparison has demonstrated patterns of

cosmological syncretism and reinterpretation that occurs in various cultural

contexts in which 'small gods' are created by a universalising religion such as

Christianity subsuming lesser deities and animistic spirits into their cosmological

framework.[24] Although this broadens the scope of comparison, it does not apply

the word 'fairy' so broadly that it loses meaning. By applying the etic title 'small

---

[21] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 5-6.

[22] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 8-9.

[23] Emma Wilby, *Cunning Folk and Familiar Spirits: Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2013), 5, 243-244; Emma Wilby, *The Visions of Isobel Gowdie: Magic, Witchcraft and Dark Shamanism in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010); Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991); Ostling, *Small Gods*.

[24] Ostling, 'Introduction', 6-10.

gods' to these entities (which include fairies) Ostling successfully discusses cross cultural parallels without anachronistically broadening the definition of 'fairies' by applying it to similar entities from other cultural traditions (of which there are many).

Having surveyed the scholarship on the topic, Hutton clearly articulates a history of fairies which traces the dual development of both conceptualisations of these beings and the word 'fairy'. He argues that fairies went through a three-stage process of development that began in literature before spreading into wider cultural contexts.[25] Firstly, they emerged from a variety of inconsistent ideas which circulated in the medieval period that in turn drew from Christian reinterpretations of ancient antecedents. Secondly, they coalesced into a more uniform idea about the fairy kingdom which was articulated in literature in the fourteenth century and then spread widely throughout England, Wales, and lowland Scotland by 1500. Thirdly, they diversified with the splintering of this comparatively uniform concept into regional variants through local syncretism and divergence.[26]

The middle stage in this process was literary, but not conceived of as purely imaginary (which is to say, unreal) by contemporaries. As Hutton observes, just as King Arthur was initially presented as a historical person by Geoffrey of Monmouth and taken up as a hero of literary romances and pseudo-histories, so too did the fairy-beings of romance draw upon (and then shape) people's genuine understandings of wonderous preternatural beings.[27] This does not mean that Arthur was no longer thought of as a historical person, merely one who featured in many stories. Likewise, ideas about fairies coalesced and circulated in literary

[25] Ronald Hutton, 'The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition', *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 1137.
[26] Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1155.
[27] Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1154.

works, but this did not mean that they were thought of as fictitious. These were simply imagined stories about entities (which might elsewhere be known by other names like elf, dryad, pigmy, or fantasm) that could plausibly exist. In short, they may appear in literature, but were not ubiquitously understood to be purely imaginary beings.

By the mid-fifteenth century the word 'fairy' had spread beyond the literary context of French romances (where it was already firmly connected to fairyland) and was employed by the English to refer to certain wondrous beings in non-literary contexts.[28] As Hutton emphasises, this is not merely the etymological history of the word 'fairy' moving from literature to 'accounts of actual belief and action', but that both 'the word "fairy" and the [concept of the] fairy kingdom – were associated from their first attestation by ordinary people.'[29] This fairyland of romance was articulated in 'distinctively elite [literary] forms, such as the fays of chivalric romance and myths of the classical ancient world.'[30]

My findings affirm the three-stage development of fairies outlined by Hutton, but the way that this process occurred in occult circles was distinct. As is examined in Chapter Two, by at least the thirteenth century (during the first stage of this process) entities which apparently drew from the same fusion of ideas from which literary fairies developed were articulated in the magic manual known as the *Liber Razielis* where they are described as groups of non-angelic and non-demonic entities which (like literary fairies) took the shape of knights and maidens (see the discussion of the Liber Razielis in Chapter Three). It portrays these entities as

---

28 Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1153.
29 Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1153.
30 Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1153.

being uniquely connected to the elements and natural features. This portrayal was elaborated by Renaissance occult philosophers such as Paracelsus and Agrippa (as discussed in Chapter Three).

The second stage outlined by Hutton brought the word 'fairy' and literary depictions of them into England where, beginning in the fifteenth century (as outlined in Chapter One), the technology of ritual magic was redirected from more conventional targets to entities which were explicitly or implicitly the fairies of romances and literature. Influence from continental occult philosophy then offered cosmological frameworks through which English magicians (re)interpreted the (often vague) fairies of literature whom their rituals summoned, resulting in modifications and accretions to the ritual texts (as highlighted in Chapter One). This process of fusion and reinterpretation accelerated after the mid seventeenth-century influx of printed English translations of occult philosophical texts (as discussed in Chapters Two, Three, and especially Four). This can be seen as a manifestation of Hutton's third stage, although (instead of being a regional diversification) this variant developed within the occult community.

The fairies of occult philosophy, and the ritual magic which it increasingly influenced, enduringly differed from literary fairies in one key way. Instead of being linked to the idea of Faerie (a distinct world or land which these beings natively inhabit), they were understood to be intimately connected to *this* world and distributed more or less uniformly throughout the entire earth. This serves as the clearest point of departure between occult and popular conceptualisations of fairies and fairy related beings throughout the period discussed in this study. Chapter Three discusses this at length and, indeed, it is the key novel contribution of this thesis to the scholarly discourse upon this topic.

0.3.3 My Approach to 'Defining' Fairies

To deal with such semantically and conceptually unstable entities I have started from clearly 'visible' fairies and worked out from there to find the 'invisible' ones. I began by finding copies of rituals which explicitly identified the summoned entity as a fairy. Many summoning rituals, however, are in Latin (which has no direct translation for 'fairy'), and there were many cognate Latin and English terms used interchangeably for these entities even within a single ritual (such as fairy, dryad, pigmy, virgin, knight, and many more). I therefore endeavoured to find other copies of these rituals, to see whether or not they used the word 'fairy' to refer to the conjured entity. Copies which do not use the term are still integral to outlining the history and development of fairy summoning rituals.

Secondly, I sought out rituals that conjured beings who shared a name with prominent fairies. For example, the fairies Oberion and Sibilia were frequently targeted by fairy summoning rituals, and they are fairies whose names were well established in medieval literature (see Chapter One). These rituals often contained similar constellations of motifs which I then used to identify other relevant rituals which were related to them. I also noted which rituals frequently circulated together in clusters of fairy texts within larger ritual magic focused manuscripts. In this approach I appear to align with Daniel Harms who, since the beginning of my PhD, has published an excellent discussion of 'The Boundaries of Fairy in Ritual Magic'.[31] I have thus allowed my sources to determine what a fairy summoning ritual is, even when the term 'fairy' was not employed. It is my hope that the survey

---

[31] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 62-65.

of fairy rituals in Chapter One will sufficiently familiarise my readers with the material to allow them to see otherwise invisible fairies in the archives.

0.3.4 The Uses of Fairy Scholarship

Over the past three to four centuries the learned have produced studies of fairies which served various intellectual and political motivations (or, more charitably, have interpreted them through the lens of various ideological positions). Beginning in the seventeenth century Robert Kirk produced his early and influential work (that would be eventually entitled *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies*) so as 'To supress the impudent and growing Atheism of this age' and combat the growing Hobbesian philosophy which led to it.[32] Scholars, particularly those influenced by and formative to the nineteenth-century Celtic revival, wove fairies into their construction of national (and sometimes ethno-national) identities and Celticism or Celtitude.[33] These nationalist uses of fairies were countered by

---

[32] Michael Hunter, *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science and Second Sight in Late Seventeenth-Century Scotland: A New Edition of Robert Kirk's The Secret Commonwealth and Other Texts with an Introductory Essay by Michael Hunter* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 39, 77; Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves Fauns and Fairies*, ed. Andrew Lang (Stirling: Observer Press, 1933), 65; Michael Hunter, 'The Discovery of Second Sight in Late 17th-Century Scotland', *History Today* 51, no. 6 (June 2001), 51; Robert C. Utrup, 'Yeatsian Modernism: Romantic Nationalism, Hero Worship, and the "Celtic Element" in *Tender Is the Night* and *The Love of the Last Tycoon', The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review*, Vol. 16 (2018), 66.

[33] Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 20-21, 63, 65, 67, 69. For Kirk's treatise on Scottish-Irish charms and spells, see Hunter, *Occult Laboratory,* 78, 107-111; W.B. Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1902); Utrup, 'Yeatsian Modernism', 66; Ulick Joseph Bourke, *Pre-Christian Ireland* (Dublin: Brown & Nolan, 1887), 38-42; Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 5; Harry Oldmeadow, *Journeys East: 20th Century Western Encounters with Eastern Religious Traditions* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2004), 135; Walter Yeeling Evans-Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries* (London, New York: H. Frowde, 1911), 284-286. I employ 'Celticism' and 'Celtitude' as defined by Michael Dietler: 'Celticism consists of self-conscious attempts to construct ethnicized forms of collective memory and communal identity that are territorially bounded and embedded in overt political projects and ideologies (for example French or Irish nationalism, Breton or Scottish regionalism, and EU pan-Europeanism)... Celticity and Celtitude... are both postmodern global "identityscapes", linked in complex ways to new possibilities of mass-mediation and global flows of people and capital while, ironically, at the same time, frequently being motivated by romantic reactions against globalization... Constructing Celtitude has often involved a kind of re-essentialization, in which a sense of specific ethnic belonging has been carved out of a broader, generic, race-based "white" identity.' Michael

late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century narratives, such as that proposed by

British folklorist and Celticist Alfred Trübner Nutt and related neutrally by Minor

White Latham, which argued that fairies did not originally have various distinctive

national divisions (as nations were a recent conceptual development) but diverged

from a common ancestor in the cultural traditions of the 'Aryan' race.[34] This theory

(rightly discredited and now largely either ignored or forgotten by scholarship),

which Latham chillingly presents as a recent shift in scholarly discourse not three

years before Hitler rose to power, along with the pseudo-historical Aryan myth was

soon abandoned by legitimate scholars as pseudo-historical. The findings of this

thesis also counter this myth, suggesting an ongoing process of synthesis from

diverse cultural roots, rather than fragmentation from pre-historic unity. Whether by

examining the French and Italian romances or the potentially Iberian Jewish-

influenced *Liber Razielis* (discussed in Chapter Three) or the German occult

philosophy examined in Chapters Two through Four, this thesis counters the

nationalist and racial narratives that frame fairies as uniquely Scottish, Irish, or

'Celtic', or as 'Aryan' survivals.

Fairy scholarship in the twentieth century was characterised by the pursuit

of folklore and social history from below as accessed through the surviving

sources, attempting 'to reproduce the everyday belief' of those they studied.[35] This

research, naturally, lent itself to the anthropological turn which emphasised the

---

Dietler, 'Celticism, Celtitude and Celticity: The Consumption of the Past in the Age of Globalization', *Bibracte*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2006): 238, 240.

[34] Minor White Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies: The Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 8; Francesca Bihet, 'Fairies and Folklore: The History of Fairies in the Folklore Society 1878-1945' (PhD dissertation, Chichester University, 2020), 33.

[35] Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 1, 12-13; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 724; David Gentilcore, 'Anthropological Approaches', in *Writing History,* ed. Stefan Berger (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003), 166.

embodied and experiential implications of the sources, especially when compared with similar examples in other cultural traditions.[36] My research is most in line with the aims of (and respect given to the material by) the social and anthropological turns, as these approaches have been most helpful in examining this material (which Whig historians had shunned).[37] But I differ from these approaches in that I endeavour to centre, contextualise, and provide insight into the context of the sources themselves.

0.3.5 The Impact of Fairy Historiography in Current Socio-Political Discourse

The connection of fairies with white ethnic nationalism, noted in the previous section, has long fallen from any credibility within the bounds of legitimate scholarship. It has, however, strongly informed the popular cultural concept of fairies. On many occasions, upon mentioning the study of fairy summoning spells, people will ask whether one needs to go to Ireland or Scotland to find sources. Fairies are still a central motif in modern imaginings of Celtic-ness, in large part due to its romantic origins in the Celtic Revival.

More concerningly, however, some modern neo-Nazis and white supremacists laud research written about fairies, seeing it as supporting their constructed white identity and white nationalist ideals. An example of this can be seen in the fact that, during a media flurry surrounding my research in 2018, one news article containing an interview I gave to the Canadian Broadcasting

---

[36] Ostling, *Small Gods*; Wilby, *Cunning Folk*; Ginzburg, *Ecstasies.* Keith Thomas's work can be seen as an early step toward this, although he does not employ the cross-cultural technique. See Gentilcore, 'Anthropological Approaches', 166.

[37] For example, see Briggs greater interest in the Skimmed Water Ointment ritual than in Ashmole's Fairy Cluster due to the former's more obvious folkloric origins: 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 457-460.

Corporation was shared (to my horror) with seemingly positive coverage on the neo-Nazi white nationalist website Stormfront.[38] Conversely, another alt-right news agency (World Net Daily or 'WND') negatively altered the interview about my research that I gave to the University of Exeter's media department.[39] The Southern Poverty Law Center describes WND as a 'fear-mongering… paranoid, gay-hating, conspiratorial and apocalyptic [online publication]… from the fringes of the far-right and fundamentalist worlds'.[40] Their version added quotation marks around the word 'fairy' (apparently to imply that they were actually demons), and inserted a diatribe against my research written by Karl Payne, the fundamentalist preacher and previous chaplain of the Seattle Seahawks (an American football team), in which he warns that the study of summoning spells will unleash demons - and equating me (by name) with Hitler, Stalin, and Ted Bundy.[41]

Here we see two veins of modern alt-right. One branch tends toward fundamentalist Christianity, viewing fairies as demons in much the same way as did medieval inquisitors. The other branch roots its identity in a romanticized myth of pre-Christian 'indigenous' white nationalist or ethnic identity which seems to draw both on nineteenth-century nationalistic constructions of Slavs, Teutons, and Celts, and upon the Aryan myth of white ethnic racial and cultural origin.[42] The

---

[38] 'Meet the man who just earned a fellowship to study magic in the U.K.', *Stormfront.org*. Last updated 29, July 2018. https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1253027/.

[39] 'Long-forgotten Folklore of How to Summon Fairies Set to be Revealed', *University of Exeter: History*, last updated September 2018. https://history.exeter.ac.uk/news/articles/long-forgottenfolkloreofh.html.

[40] 'WORLDNETDAILY', SPLCenter, Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed October 10, 2023, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/worldnetdaily.

[41] 'University Studies Conjuring of Demons, "Fairies" Examines collections of old spell books of magic, witchcraft, sorcery ', *WND*, last updated 3, September 2018. https://www.wnd.com/2018/09/university-studies-conjuring-of-demons-fairies/. To clarify this rather astounding claim, he says that I am the spiritual successor of Aleister Crowley in the same way that he views Hitler as the spiritual successor of Charles Darwin (presumably because eugenics is based upon evolution), and Stalin was the spiritual successor of Marx (presumably because Russian communism was initially based upon the theories of Marx).

[42] Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 8.

racial and nationalist association of fairies has been a pseudo-historical

construction opposed to a faithful representation of the historical sources. I hope

that this study has demonstrated that understandings of fairies developed in an

ongoing process of synthesis and differentiation, and are neither artifacts from a

fictitious ancient white Aryan race, nor a tradition surviving from imagined pure

white pagan communities in Europe. The fact that any such ahistorical and

pseudo-historical narratives persist and are used to bolster these movements

emphasizes the importance of countering these fabrications with sound

scholarship, and demonstrates the great responsibility of scholars who study the

past. In our analysis we shape people's sense of personal and communal history,

and (thereby) their present identity, actions, and beliefs. We are consigned to the

futures woven by our stories of the past.

0.3.6 The Question of Belief

One key point of contention between fairy scholars is the degree to which

premodern, and especially early modern, people viewed fairies as real beings. Kirk

saw them as credibly real in the seventeenth century, and indeed, used them as

proof against Hobbesian materialism.[43] Although Keith Thomas states that by the

Elizabethan period fairies were primarily understood as mythological he seemingly

contradicts himself to agree with the better established view that they remained a

common living tradition at a popular cultural level for centuries after, and that 'to

contemporary magicians fairies were a valuable source of supernatural power' (as

---

[43] Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 65, 102; Hunter, 'Discovery of the Second Sight', 50; Hunter, *Occult Laboratory*, 39, 77; Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 13.

this study attests).[44] Emma Wilby (building upon the work of Carlo Ginzburg), has argued, through anthropological cross-cultural comparison, that visionary experiences with fairies were possible - thus reaffirming the credibility of reports that relayed first-hand experiences with them.[45] As shall be seen, especially in Chapter Four, my findings support the latter perspective.

A second, and more methodological, argument that has been raised is the question of how historians should discuss fairies (especially in contexts where contemporaries understood them to exist). The perspective of professionalised history was itself born from the enduring influence of enlightenment materialism and thus it is a disciplinary convention to write from the perspective of non-belief and reject the possibility of the preternatural. Michael Ostling has complicated the reductive binary of belief and non-belief, and has produced five varieties of belief/non-belief in small gods (a grouping of entities from various cultures that is inclusive of fairies): real-diabolised, real-propitiated, ambivalent-redefined, illusory-mocked, and 'real'-celebrated.[46] Ostling himself appears to treat the topic from the 'post-modern, playful sense' (a subsection of the '"real"-celebrated' category) making coy statements regarding fairies such as 'whatever other ontological status they may or may not have, for the purposes of this book such creatures are created in discourse.'[47]

There is, however, another approach which scholars can take in their historical writing which I call 'radical agnosticism'. This approach is radical in that it

---

[44] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 726-727; Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 13.

[45] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 5, 243-244; Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*; Ronald Hutton, *The Witch: A History of Fear, From Ancient Times to the* Present (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 215.

[46] Ostling, 'Introduction', 23.

[47] Ostling, 'Introduction', 2

is not merely agnostic toward various religious or preternatural views, but also

does not presuppose the verity of the materialist cosmology and places the reality

of the subject upon the table as a possible explanation (among others). The

earnestness of this position, without the plausible deniability afforded by humour,

requires no small degree of intellectual and professional bravery. This position was

foreshadowed in the words of Latham nearly a century ago when she wrote that 'It

has seemed necessary, in order to reproduce the everyday belief of the

Elizabethans concerning the fairies, to treat the fairies not as mythical personages

or as fanciful creatures of the literary imagination or of popular superstition, but to

regard them, as did their human contemporaries in the 16th century, as credible

entities and as actual and existing beings.'[48]

    This approach has been recently exemplified by Ronald Hutton in his

discussion challenging Ginzburg's theory of fairy encounters arising through

'shamanic' visionary experiences instigated by techniques such as entering trance

states.[49] In surveying alternate explanations Hutton states that these people might

have invented stories, told lies to escape torture, or experienced non-shamanic

altered states of consciousness such as sleep-walking/paralysis, or hallucination.[50]

He concludes this list by stating that 'In addition, to be perfectly just, one might

admit the final possibility that some of the people concerned actually met non-

human beings.'[51] By placing this possibility upon the table Hutton flouts centuries of

scholarly convention that has been established since the formation of the historical

discipline, dismantling *a priori* assumptions inherited from the Enlightenment and

---

[48] Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 13.
[49] Hutton, *The Witch*, 225-226.
[50] Hutton, *The Witch*, 226.
[51] Hutton, *The Witch*, 226.

liberating his scholarship to truly treat all worldviews (including the materialist cosmology) on equal footing.

In the attempt to treat all cosmologies equally, I have endeavoured to write this dissertation (despite any personal 'belief' in or 'disbelief' of the various perspectives assessed herein) from a place of radical agnosticism, neither affirming the objective reality of any cosmologies (including materialism), nor assuming their falsehood. I also avoid terms such as 'belief' when referring to knowledge that was not viewed with ontological dubiety by contemporaries. This approach has the limitation that it cannot (by its nature) affirm Truth, for which (to paraphrase Indiana Jones) we must turn to philosophy departments. However, historians writing from this perspective *are* able to demonstrate where things were subjectively convincing and specifically rational to the worldview in which the experience was had. To say that subjective experiences occurred is not to say that objective reality does not align with them (in the same manner that you are having the subjectively convincing experience of reading these words). I simply leave any judgments regarding the objective reality of subjective experience to my readers.

0.4 Overview by Chapter

Chapter One is the central pillar of this dissertation wherein I have (for the first time) identified, categorised, and named the various fairy summoning rituals that circulated in British manuscripts between 1400 and 1700. Where possible I have highlighted connections of influence between the rituals, outlined their key differences when multiple copies survive, and determined how ideas present in them relate to other sources. By clearly delineating and naming each ritual (and identifying subvariants) I hope that this chapter will be a valuable resource to future

scholars who study this area. Furthermore, this chapter aims to trace changes in these texts over the course of this period. Most notably, it highlights the increasing association between fairies and natural elements and features.

Chapter Two places the fairy summoning rituals into their larger intellectual context by examining the other material with which they circulated in manuscripts. These texts rarely travelled in isolation, and the other material that the scribes and compilers copied and bound into their manuscripts reveals much about what they were interested in, what they closely connected fairy summoning texts with, and what they used the magic for (when this is not specified by the ritual itself). Perhaps unsurprisingly fairy summoning rituals primarily travelled with other ritual magic texts used to summon demons and spirits. I argue that many of these manuscripts contain constellations of material indicative of service magicians/cunning folk, suggesting who was primarily employing and circulating these rituals.

Chapter Three explores relevant medieval, Renaissance, and early modern occult philosophical sources (and some literary sources) which influenced, contextualise, and/or circulated with fairy summoniong rituals. I argue that (based in part upon the *Liber Razielis*, classical religio-philosophical texts, ancient/medieval literature, and oral traditions) Renaissance occult philosophers reinterpreted fairies and fairy-related entities as spirits or beings of the elements which were not from other worlds or lands, but were distributed everywhere throughout *this* world and were connected to natural elements and features by their very essence or nature. I particularly note the influential contributions of Agrippa and Paracelsus which directly and indirectly impacted the conceptualisation of fairies by British magicians.

Chapter Four is a case study primarily focussing on the interrelated manuscripts Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825. These manuscripts, which appear to have once been a single volume, contain one of the most explicit articulations of the connection between fairies and natural features, as well as evidence of an increasingly egalitarian relationship between magicians and fairies. Although its degree of explicitness on these points is not representative of the wider source base, diverse aspects of the material discussed throughout this thesis are represented in these manuscripts. This being the case they appear to lay out explicitly what is implied by the contents of other manuscripts. I posit that this reveals the development of a conceptualisation of fairies (and a relationship between them and humanity) which may be best interpreted as the emergence of a form of animism within the magical theory and practice of learned and semi-learned Christian magicians and occult philosophers.

0.5 Animism

The key development which this thesis establishes is the shift from fairy summoning rituals invoking the otherworldly fairies of medieval literature to the fundamentally natural fairies of Renaissance occult philiosophy. This latter conceptualisation characterised them as being morally ambiguous entities which could be very helpful to humans who established a positive relationship with them (but dangerous to those who treated them bady) and were spread ubiquitously throughout the world, connected by their essence to various natural objects and environments. This became most explicit in late seventeenth-century fairy summoning rituals. The evidence for all this is examined in detail throughout the following chapters.

When I began this study I hoped to offer greater insight into the history of magic practice/theory and medieval/early modern ideas about fairies, which the development of this occult conceptualisation of fairies does. Yet my findings go beyond this. I argue that this conceptulaisation can accurately and helpfully be interpreted as the emergence of a learned Christian animism at the cusp of modernity. When understood in this light, this thesis is not exclusively relevant to fairy and magic scholarship but also traces the articulation of a fundamentally different way of conceptualising the entire natural world. This provides significant insights into histories of the environment and humanity's relationship with it during this period. Future work bringing these findings into more direct conversation with environmental history scholarship should bear fruit. The development of an animist worldview is the key contribution of this dissertation as it has thus far gone unobserved by other scholars examining this material.

We will return to the question of animism in the conclusion. But note that, if we are to understand this as a manifestation of animism, it must be understood as a learned *Christian* animism – with all the baggage of Genesis. In this intellectual context fairies were understood either to serve a function specifically for the good of humanity, or else as ambiguous/dangerous beings that could be of use to humanity. Although it might dismay modern environmentalist sensibilities, establishing beneficial relationships with these beings was not primarily achieved by preserving or nurturing nature. Instead, it was achieved by forging alliances directly with (or by controlling) these entities to gain the benefit of their wisdom, power, and the treasures of the earth. Despite this caveat, interpreting this understanding of fairies as an animist worldview articulates their writers' fundamentally different understanding of the natural world as a place ubiquitously

full of immanent persons with whom humans must establish and maintain

relationships.

Chapter One: Extant Fairy Summoning Rituals

This chapter identifies the different extant fairy summoning rituals and traces their transmission. Distinguishing one ritual from another is not always a clear process, however. Some rituals are similar in structure or borrow parts from one another. In other cases, a ritual is elaborated to the point that it is difficult to know whether it should be considered an elaborated variant or unique new ritual. While arguable, I have endeavoured to err on the side of specificity when identifying and naming the rituals so as to aid precise discussions of differences and features of various rituals. Some operations only survive in one copy, whereas others survive in multiple copies across several manuscripts. These texts are unstable and there may be slight variations between any two copies of a given ritual. When these differences are significant enough to change some key aspect or step of a ritual, I have distinguished different variants of the ritual. The order in which I have presented the rituals in this chapter, and the thematic sections into which I have grouped them, is chosen to highlight similarities and patterns between different rituals. I have highlighted where a ritual might have fitted into another section.

As mentioned in the Introduction, to avoid sowing confusion among future scholars by introducing a new naming system, I have endeavoured to use the names for rituals already established by other scholars, namely the Table Ritual (so named by Harms) and the Binding of the Seven Sisters (which is meant to align with the title given by Bain).[1] I have named all other rituals, endeavouring to capture a distinctive element of each in its title to make them more recognizable and easily remembered by future scholars examining this material. While in

---

[1] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies'. Harms, 'Hell and Fairy'.

principle I would prefer employing emic rather than etic names, the manuscripts often use different titles for the same ritual, or vice versa, and utilize generic or counterintuitive names. Furthermore, incipits are too unstable in these texts to warrant use as *ad hoc* titles. My hope is that this system will standardise academic discourse and facilitate clearer communication among scholars examining this branch of magic.

By describing how to conjure beings which originate in vernacular sources by using the 'technology' of Latinate ritual magic, fairy summoning rituals represent a rich point of convergence between medieval learned culture, and vernacular folk and literary traditions. Assessing the varieties of fairy conjuring texts and their possible influences reveals a great deal about their textual transmission, as well as the cosmographical ideas circulating amongst the learned and semi-learned in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Most significantly, this chapter will argue that a number of these rituals include or adopt the characterization of fairies as being intimately connected to the elements or natural environments and features, thus demonstrating the cross pollination of depictions of fairies and related beings in occult philosophical texts as well as between Latin and vernacular culture.

1.1 Fairy Kings

Stories of fairy kings, queens, ladies, and knights were not uncommon in medieval and early modern literature (see Chapter Three for some examples). Some ritual magic manuscripts and texts order their rituals to summon (or discussions of) fairies in a descending aristocratic hierarchy. For example, Folger VB 26 outlines the powers of Oberion, Mycob, and the seven sister fairies and

identifies them as the fairy king, queen, and queen's servants respectively.[2]

Likewise, both Sloane 3846 and Sloane 3826 contain a ritual to summon Oberion,

followed by one to summon a queen, and then one to summon a fairy knight.[3] I

have ordered sections 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 of this chapter to reflect this patriarchal

hierarchy and the order in which these entities were often presented. This said, this

ordering was not universal: fairy queens often appeared independently of their

male counterparts, and in Sloane 3824 Mycob is listed before Oberion both times

the two were referred to, suggesting her predominance, at least in the mind of this

spell's composer.[4]

Despite this fairy courtly hierarchy being present within this tradition there is

ambiguity within it. For example, the earlier (and longer) version of the Ritual for

Tobias explicitly identifies Tobias as a king, yet it states that he should be invoked

to appear as a king *or* a queen and later demands that he appear in male or female

form.[5] This calls into question the sometimes gendered nature of fairies that is

evident in several fairy summoning rituals discussed below (and arises in occult

philosophical texts, as seen in the discussions of Agrippa and Paracelsus in

Chapter Three). Demons are theologically understood to be masculinely valanced

but agender beings, which is to say that they are given male pronouns and titles,

yet can present as any gender and are without sex by their nature (lacking bodies).

The default masculine pronouns for incorporeal beings likely arises from the

medieval medical understanding of gender formation which understood females as

[2] Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library MS VB 26, 80-81.

[3] London, British Library Sloane MS 3846, 102v-112r. London, British Library Sloane MS 3826, 98r-100r.

[4] London, British Library Sloane MS 3824, 98r-98v.

[5] Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library MS VB 26, 234; *The Book of Oberon: A Sourcebook of Elizabethan Magic,* ed. Daniel Harms, James R. Clark, and Joseph H. Peterson (Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2015), 551-553.

defective males. The fact that Tobyas, despite being referred to as the king of the

pigmies, can appear as a woman and be referred to as a queen is more consistent

with grimoiric spirits or demons. For example, in the 'Office of Spirits' demons are

referred to as dukes, even when they are described as appearing in the shape of

women, yet Mycob is referred to as a Queen and with female pronouns.[6] As this

shows, the ambiguity of a fairy's nature leads to uncertainty as to whether

understandings of demonic gender applied to them.

The fact that fairies are sometimes referred to with female titles/pronouns is

itself anomalous. Unlike demons, most named fairies in this study who are

identified as queens and/or have characteristically female names are referred to

with female pronouns and/or feminine Latin suffixes. Certainly, the ambiguity of

fairy gender could be a source of anxiety for male magicians who intended to

copulate with a fairy. This can be seen, for example, in the Table Ritual and the

Binding of the Seven Sisters (discussed below). This tension may partially explain

why these fairy summoning rituals warn the magician not to ask about the fairy's

nature (specifically whether it is a spirit or a woman), since the answer might raise

heteronormative anxieties. The gendered nature of fairies in ritual magic texts

offers a fruitful area for future exploration.[7]

1.1.1 Oberion

Oberion was one of the three most frequently invoked named fairies.

Allowing that some rituals blur together in manuscripts (and so determining the end

---

[6] Folger Vb 26, 77, 81; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 200, 207-208; Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 65.

[7] For more on the gender dynamics of fairies see Chapter Three.

of one and beginning of another can at times be subjective), there are approximately seven distinct fairy summoning rituals that summon or draw upon the power of Oberion. These were collectively copied fourteen times in the manuscripts covered by this study, tying with both Sibilia and Mycob/Micol (see below).[8] This makes him the most commonly named male (or masculine presenting) fairy covered in this study.

The Oberion of the ritual magic tradition is unmistakably the entity popularised as Oberon by Shakespeare. Oberion comes from Auberi or Auberon which is the Old French cognate of Alberîch from the medieval German literary tradition.[9] George T. Gillespie notes that the name Alberîch comes from 'ruler of supernatural beings' or 'elves', yet he is reluctant to categorically state whether the name originated in the Germanic context or the French.[10] The earliest reference to Alberîch is in the *Nibelungenlied,* first written down by an anonymous twelfth-century poet in the south-eastern German speaking region of Europe who composed it from oral sources that may date to the fifth century CE.[11] Gillespie tentatively posits that Alberîch originated in the French tradition, observing the similarities between Auberon in the French verse romance *Huon de Bordeaux* (where Auberon is described as eternally looking like a three year old child due to another fairy's curse) and Alberîch in the early thirteenth-century heroic epic *Ornît*.[12] Gillespie may have been inclined to think that *Huon de Bordeaux*

---

[8] As can be easily seen in Appendix 1, see rituals 2, 8, 10, 11, 16, 21/J, and 23.

[9] George T. Gillespie, *A Catalogue of Persons Named in German Heroic Literature (700-1600): Including Animals and Objects and Ethnic Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 3-4.

[10] Gillespie, *German Heroic Literature*, 3-4.

[11] *The Nibelungenlied: The Lay of the Nibelungs,* trans. Cyril Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), xi-xii.

[12] Gillespie, *German Heroic Literature*, 4; Green, *Elf Queens*, 59, 222. Purkiss suggests that the popularity of Oberion in summoning spells may have been stimulated by Lord Berner's 1534 English translation of *Huon*

influenced *Ornît* because he erroneously dated the former to the twelfth century, whereas is was written at some point between 1216 and 1268.[13] In contrast to Gillespie, B. F. Beardsmore (drawing upon Dimitri Scheludko's 1928 theory) indicates that the early thirteenth-century *Huon de Bordeaux* drew Auberon from the *Nibelungenlied*.[14]

Many rituals to summon Oberion are very conventional in that they adhere (with some elaborating repetition) to the declaration, address, invocations, and instruction formula of invocation outlined by Richard Kieckhefer for demon-summoning rituals without adding in distinctive ritual actions or elements specifically indicative of fairies.[15] While he is sometimes explicitly identified as king of the fairies, many instances refer to him more vaguely as a spirit or even a malignant spirit. While fairies might be considered subvarieties of either group, it is possible that he was not thought of as a fairy by the compiler of every magic manuscript in which he occurs. His name's fairy origin, the placing of his invocations near to other fairy summoning rituals in several manuscripts, and the explicit identification of him as the fairy king in numerous summoning rituals warrants the inclusion of all conjurations of this once-and-future fairy in this study and suggest that at least some compilers did see him in this way.

---

de Bordeaux: Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 130; Katharine Briggs, *Fairies in Tradition and Literature* (London: Routledge, 2002), 11.

[13] For Gillespie's erroneous dating see: Gillespie, *German Heroic Literature*, 4. For the currently accepted dating of this text to the thirteenth-century see: B. F. Beardsmore, 'The Two Auberons', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 23, (1979): 23; Green, *Elf Queens*, 222. For the *terminus post et anti quem* see: *Le Huon de Bordeaux en prose du XVème siècle* ed. Michel J. Raby, (New York: Lang, 1998), xv-xvii.

[14] Beardsmore, 'Two Auberons', 23-24. See Dimitri Scheludko, 'Neus über *Huon de Bordeaux*', *Veitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xlviii (1928), 376-377.

[15] Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 127, 131-142.

1.1.1.1 Oberion's Plate (Appendix 1.10)

Potentially the oldest extant fairy summoning ritual (although not covered in this study due to being in an Italian manuscript) is a copy of Oberion's Plate in the late fifteenth-century manuscript Plut.89 Sup. 38 held at the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana which Harms has dated to 1494.[16] This copy is drawn clearly, depicting a naked humanoid figure with hair suggested all over his body. This presents him as a wild man or woodwose, who were depicted as men or women who were mostly covered in hair or leaves and were especially prevalent in art from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries.[17]

Competing concepts of Oberion are evident in various iterations of Oberion's Plate. Plut.89 Sup. 38's characterisation is also apparent in the illustrations of Oberion in the late sixteenth-century Sloane 3851 and the early seventeenth-century Wellcome 110, which both depict him as a hair-covered and possibly unclothed humanoid. As opposed to this wild characterisation, the beautiful romantic fairy king is indicated in the late sixteenth-century Folger VB 26.[18] On page 186 Oberion is depicted wearing a crown and what might be a suit of mail, but which might also be stylised scales (invoking half-serpents like Melusine) or leaves (a possible interpretation of a wild man). This said, chainmail is most likely since the first depiction of him on page 186 depicts him wearing a crown and courtly garb.

---

[16] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Plut.89 Sup. 38, 182r-183r. See also, footnote 571 Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 290.

[17] Timothy Husband and Gloria Gilmore-House, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism,* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 4.

[18] Folger Vb 26, 185-186. Note that while lines that might be interpreted as hair appear on the cheeks and forehead of this image, these marks appear in other illustrations in this manuscript in hairy and hairless contexts. I suggest that they were the illustrator's attempt at adding depth to give a three-dimensional effect.

The text of Oberion's Plate summons him using his counsellors (as well as angels of the sun and moon) as emissaries to bring him to the magician, further presenting him as a king with his court. The direction for him to appear as a beautiful soldier (mentioned below in the discussion of Sloane 3851) may also draw upon this romantic tradition of the fairy knight. Yet the conjurations of Oberion's Plate also direct him to appear as a young child. This may come from the ritual magic tradition's habit of directing spirits to appear in unintimidating and non-sexual forms so that the magician would not be frightened or tempted into leaving his protective circle. However, in the thirteenth-century French verse romance *Huon de Bordeaux* Auberon is described as being enchanted to appear always as a child of three years due to another fairy's curse, also potentially connecting this ritual to the depictions of this being in literature.[19]

The second representation of him on page 185 of Folger VB 26 depicts him with a necklace, an amorphous phantasmal body that descends into a single wispy tail, with a halo or headdress reminiscent of a turban, and a chin terminating in a pointed beard. The turban may be evidence of Arabic influence as Bain has posited.[20] It could also, however, reflect an orientalist association of fairies such as Oberion with 'the East', thus connecting them with decadence in the Western imagination (as is seen in the lay of Lanval).[21] Hutton posits that this may be inspired by *Huon de Bordeaux* which places Oberion's kingdom in the Near East.[22]

---

[19] Katharine Briggs, *Fairies in Tradition and Literature* (London: Routledge, 2002), 11.

[20] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 324.

[21] Marie de France, 'Lanval', in *Lays of Marie de France,* trans. Edward J. Gallagher (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2010), 41.

[22] Ronald Hutton, *Queens of the Wild: Pagan Goddesses in Christian Europe: An Investigation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 102.

If the headdress is a halo, it may be an attempt to emphasise his spiritual status or his bright and resplendent nature.

Whether conceptualised as a fairy, demon, or vague spirit, and whether depicted as a wild man, a noble king, or a (possibly) orientalised spirit, Oberion's status as the most frequently invoked male fairy solidified his place in ritual magic as the quintessential fairy king.

1.1.1.1.1 With Prefatory Incantations (Appendix 1.10a)

One of the earliest copies of Oberion's Plate included in this study is in the late sixteenth-century manuscript Folger Vb 26.[23] It contains an elaborate English and Latin ritual to summon 'Oberyon' in the form of a three-year-old boy who brings 100,000 pounds of gold and silver. This ritual involves many protracted invocations while in a protective circle and the production of an engraved image which is central to the ritual. Producing this is a three-day, three-step process in which the lamella[24] (which the text describes as 'tables of woode or in this plate of brasse') is engraved with various astral symbols, spirit names, sigils, and images of Oberion.[25] Angels of the sun and moon are invoked, as well as the names of his four counsellors, nobles, and angels (whose names and sigils are engraved on the plate): Storax, Carmelion, Caberyon, Severion.

Before the final invocation that summons Oberion, the magician is told to make his summoning 'circle in a garden or secret place'.[26] Ritual magic conventionally advises that summoning rituals be done secretly in private locations,

---

[23] Folger VB 26, 185-197.
[24] A thin plate of metal that contains magical formulae.
[25] Folger VB 26, 194.
[26] Folger VB 26, 195.

but the suggestion that the ritual be done in a garden is echoed by other fairy summoning rituals which specify that their targets would be summoned in natural, often plant-filled, locations such as orchards and forests (as is highlighted throughout this chapter). The instructions direct the magician to make a suffumigation from several plants with the specification that 'the fier [is] to be of elder or thornes.'[27] Likewise, once ready to begin the ritual the magician must 'caste into thy circle a faggot of elder or thorne & burne it there & hold the tables in that smoake'.[28] The association of fairies with elder and thorn trees is evident in other summoning rituals (such as the Elder Ritual and the Fairy Thorn Ointment, outlined below).

After the invocation, the magician is warned not to talk to Oberion 'for hee will report to thee Incredible thinge[s]'.[29] This warning is not one of mortal danger. The magician is not warned against being seduced or frightened out of his circle, but rather against tarrying. The danger of being distracted by fairies or their words is a repeated feature of fairy summoning rituals (see for example the Sylvan Square and Table rituals, below). Collectively they suggest the fear that fairies will beguile or otherwise cause the magician to miss his window of opportunity to successfully complete the ritual and thus fail in attaining his objective.

This ritual ends with an oath that the magician is to make Oberion swear when summoned, which binds him into the magician's service.[30] The words *Nota bene* have been added in a seventeenth-century hand to the margin on page 194

---

[27] Folger VB 26, 195; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 470.
[28] Folger VB 26, 195; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 470.
[29] Folger VB 26, 196; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 472.
[30] Folger VB 26, 197; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 473.

where the instructions for producing the plate begin.[31] This indicates either that the later reader wished to highlight this section, or (as is indicated by the abridged later copies, discussed below) the annotator disregarded, or viewed as less important, the lengthy invocations preceding this step.

I propose that the version with prefatory incantations was an elaboration based upon the shorter versions that circulated. This is supported by the fact that the earlier copy in Plut.89 Sup. 38 is closer to the shorter versions that circulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than was the more idiosyncratic version in Folger VB 26. The Folger version of Oberion's Plate also contains material that more explicitly links the rituals with fairies as they are presented in other rituals.

1.1.1.1.2 Without Prefatory Incantations (Appendix 1.10b)

All other copies of Oberion's Plate begin about where the *Note bene* has been written on page 194 of Folger VB 26. The late sixteenth-century London, Wellcome Library MS 110 contains an entirely Latin copy of this ritual on folio 97r and 105v (it became disordered at some point in the past, see Chapter Two). Written on paper in a late sixteenth-century secretary hand, given the quality of this manuscript and the material it contains, it seems that it was produced for personal use by one with a particular interest in ritual magic. The images to be engraved upon the plate are extant, however it is difficult to tell whether the drawing of Oberion was meant to depict a noble figure or a wild one, since the scribe was no great artist. As it is, the character appears twisted and to be the hairy variant, despite the incantation directing him to appear in a beautiful human shape and

---

[31] Folger VB 26, 194; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 467.

describing him as a spirit who is king of the East. Unlike Folger VB 26, the text directs the magician to make the plate out of lead or silver (in this it agrees with the copy in Plut.89 Sup. 38) and makes no mention of performing the ritual in a garden, nor using thorn or elder wood. Oberion is told to appear in an appealing human form (opposed to that of a knight or king) and the incantation uses the epithet *fulgentissimus.* The other spirits named on the image are: Storax, Carmelion, Raberion, and Simerion. This is one of the shortest versions of this ritual, appearing to have only the final invocation for Oberion.

Three versions of *Oberion's Plate* survive in the seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3318. This shorter, and almost entirely Latin, version does not leap into the ritual, but introduces it with a fictional provenance, claiming it originated in ancient Egypt and Babylon and was transmitted into Latin via Greek and Hebrew. An invocation later claims that King Solomon called upon Oberion, further connecting him to the ancient lineage attributed to ritual magic. It says the spell allows you to know the truth of all in air, earth, fire, or water and (like the version in Wellcome 110) claims Oberion is a powerful and terrible King of the East, which provides further support for an orientalist construction of Oberion. Like that in Folger Vb 26, the first copy in Sloane 3318 outlines a three-part ritual beginning on a Monday and culminating in conjuring Oberion on Wednesday. It also identifies Storax, Carmelion, Coberion, and Severion as angels who are to go as intercessors to petition Oberion to appear so the magician might bind him within the plate or mirror. The similarity of these last two names to 'Oberion' is notable, as is the fact that they are described as angels while Oberion is referred to as a terrible and resplendent spirit, with the epithets *dirius* as well as *fulgentissimus* used to describe him. This copy has no image of Oberion, but instead uses a sigil

to represent him. The text of this version does specify that he should appear in the shape of a mounted knight.[32]

Another copy follows this on ff. 62r-64r, the most distinctive trait of which is that it begins with a prayer. Most of the ritual is in Latin with a few lines in English. Much like in the other short variants of Oberion's Plate, the magician is directed to make the plate out of lead or silver. This agrees with the first copy in Sloane 3318, save for only directing him to appear in a beautiful human form (like Wellcome 110), rather than specifying a knight (as does the copy on folios 18v-21r of Sloane 3318).[33]

Like the second version in Sloane 3318, the final version (on folios 76r-79v) begins with a prayer to God. It agrees with the second version in most points, but while the invocations and prayers remain in Latin, the instructions have been translated into English with some modifications. For example, it states that the plate can be made from lead, silver, or copper, and the final paragraph states that a magician needs no helper or circle to summon Oberion so long as he keeps the plate in his right hand.[34] Only the last copy of this ritual in Sloane 3318 includes a drawing of Oberion, whereas the first two versions only include the spirit sigils and names to be engraved upon the plate. Despite the text describing him variously as an infernal spirit, appearing in *pulcrum forma humanum*, and as a 'fair' man, the image of Oberion which the scribe has drawn depicts him as a rather brutish and hairy figure, differing from the kingly version in Folger VB 26 but agreeing with the other versions. In this aspect too, the version in Folger VB 26 is anomalous.

---

[32] London, British Library Sloane MS 3318, 18v-21r.
[33] Sloane 3318, 62r-64r.
[34] Sloane 3318, 76r-79v.

It appears that the shorter versions either abridge or elaborate slightly on the earlier version represented by that in Plut.89 Sup. 38 while that in Folger VB 26 was an elaboration that emphasised/added elements to the ritual that more explicitly connected it to more literary (and possibly oral) fairies. Folger VB 26 was not just the only copy to depict Oberion as kingly, rather than a wild man, but it is also the only one to recommend that the magician use elder and hawthorn wood to burn the suffumigation. All three copies in Sloane 3318 direct the magician to suffumigate the plate while facing East before or while giving the final invocation of Oberion. Much like the copy in Folger VB 26 the first copy specifies that this must be in a secret place, while the second has this specification inserted above the line.[35] The third version does not say the place must be secret, but adds that the suffumigation must be made from 'Croco lig[n]us aloes' which seems to refer to crocus (likely saffron) and lignum aloes (agarwood).[36] The fifteenth-century version, in Plut.89 Sup. 38, does state that the suffumigation must be done in a secret place but vaguely states that the magician must burn pleasingly fragrant things (*rebus odorifeus*) there.[37] Changes such as these evince modifications born from adaptations made by individual scribes, incorporation of folkloric elements (such as the inclusion of hawthorn and elder), or even trial and error.

British Library MS Sloane 3851 (likely written between 1614 and 1636) is a fascinating magic manuscript including many pontifications upon the nature of various spirits, magic, and cosmography.[38] Folios 115v-116r contain a simple

---

[35] Sloane 3318, 20r, 63v.

[36] Sloane 3318, 78r.

[37] Plut. 89 Sup. 38, 108v.

[38] For David Rankine's discussion of dating this manuscript see *The Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, ed. David Rankine (London: Avalonia, 2011), 17-18.

English version of this ritual which summons Oberion as 'a Beutifull man like a Soldier' to appear in the air or a glass so that he might 'shew him selfe familiarly to me in all things and at all times.'[39] Despite this order to appear as a soldier, the invocation also directs Oberion to appear as a seven-year-old boy.[40] Here 'Scorax' and 'Carmelion' are identified as angels and lords of the sun and moon respectively, while Raberion and Seberion are identified as Oberion's counsellors. Unfortunately, this ritual terminates mid-page, as the scribe failed to finish copying it. It does direct the magician to make the plate out of lead or silver, however, suggesting that it was not derived from the longer version in Folger VB 26.

1.1.1.2 Call for Sibilia, Oberion, *et alia* into a Crystal (Appendix 1.2)

One of the oldest fairy-conjuring rituals assessed in this study is in the fifteenth-century Rawlinson D. 252 139r-143v. This is a fairly conventional ritual (written mostly in English with some Latin invocations) to summon a spirit into a stone so it will reveal the location of a thief to a child scryer. It is intended to summon Oberion, Egipia, Sibilla, or a spirit with an illegible name. The spirit is instructed to appear 'in feyer forme & in a fayer mannys [sic man's] lyknes' sitting on a three footed stool while wearing a red gown, a white cap, and a lit candle in its hand.[41] Despite being told to appear as a man, the clothes align with those worn by the Cumaean Sybil in contemporary art.[42] It is notably vague regarding the dwelling

---

[39] London, British Library Sloane MS 3851, 115v-116r.

[40] Sloane 3851, 115v.

[41] Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS D. 252, 141r.

[42] See: Andrea del Castagno, *The Cumean Sibyl*, c.1450, fresco transferred to wood, 250x154cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Cumaean Sibyl*, 1510, fresco, Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome; Studio of Guercino, *The Cumaean Sibyl*, 1591-1666, oil on canvas, 1170x920mm, Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire; and Bartolomeo Gennari, *The Cumaean Sibyl*, 1600-1699, oil on canvas, 1035x860 mm, Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire.

place of these spirits, simply ordering that she 'come out of thy place ther god hath ordenyd thyn abydyng'.[43]

A second version of the Call for Sibilia, Oberion, *et alia* into a Crystal immediately follows the first in Rawlinson D. 252. Mostly in Latin, this version summons the spirit into a crystal or mirror. It notes that Solomon constrained the targeted spirit, a boast not uncommon in ritual magic literature, and aligns in most significant ways with the preceding version.[44]

1.1.1.3 The Grand Ritual for Oberion (Appendix 1.8)

This lengthy ritual to summon Oberion in Folger VB 26 has several steps and appears to be influenced by the Office of the Spirits which precedes it in the manuscript. It begins with a Latin invocation to bring Oberion, followed by an English invocation. This is followed by a malediction, another invocation, a ritual script, another malediction, a license to depart, and concluding ritual instructions. These various incantations include statements that reveal how the composer or compiler of the incantations conceptualised Oberion and understood him to relate to other spirits.[45]

First is a Latin invocation in which the magician invokes the four kings (Oriens, Amaymon, Paymon, and Egin) to bring the most steadfast, or obstinate (*pertinacissimu*[*m*]), spirit Oberion in the beautiful shape of a three-year-old boy (*in pulchra forma, viz pueri tres annos nati*).[46] In this ritual Oberion is described as a

---

[43] Rawlinson D. 252, 141r.
[44] Rawlinson D. 252, 146v-147r.
[45] Folger VB 26, 113-120.
[46] Folger VB 26, 113.

demon, cast from heaven to hell due to his error (*te Oberion qui a tua culpa de Celo eiectus eras, usq[u]e ad Infernum*).[47]

The second invocation in this ritual is in English and calls upon the power of God to command the Emperor of Spirits 'Tantavalerion *vel* Golgathell', seven spirit-senators, and the four aforestated kings of the cardinal directions to bring 'that rebellious stubborne disobedient cursed & wicked kinge & spirit & an Inferiour vassal of thine' without him causing harm from the air (such as gales and thunderstorms).[48] This suggests that he was considered one of the spirits of the air. That beings sometimes identified as fairies were also considered spirits of the air by others is particularly noteworthy given the Lapwing Ointment's claim that it allows one to see spirits of the air and its enduring circulation with fairy summoning rituals (see below). The characterisation of King Oberion being under an emperor is unsurprising both in demonological and royal hierarchies. However, it should be noted that an empress of fairies and similar beings is named and invoked in the Sevenfold Ointment ritual (below).

The third stage is an almost entirely English malediction given if he does not appear immediately. It begins by asking the spirits why they have delayed bringing him 'in a fayer humane forme, *quasi puer tres annos nati*' ('like a three year old boy').[49] Here the spell clarifies that it is summoning Oberion to bring treasure, and the invocation after the malediction specifies that he is to bring 100,000 in legal currency. This very specific ability is attributed to Oberion in the Office of Spirits which appears shortly before this ritual in the manuscript (Folger VB 26, 80-81).

---

[47] Folger VB 26, 113.
[48] Folger VB 26, 114.
[49] Folger VB 26, 115.

While the Grand Ritual for Oberion does not specify that Oberion is a fairy, the Office of Spirits which precedes it does specify that Oberion is the king of the fairies. This suggests that either Oberion was thought of as a demonic spirit of the air who ruled over the separate class of fairies or, more likely, this ritual and others in Folger VB 26 presuppose that fairies are a particular sub-variety of demon.[50] This is further supported by the malediction which is meant to summon hellfire to burn Oberion by drawing him as a young boy and writing his name on virgin parchment, and holding it with repulsive substances in the smoke of a fire while reciting an excommunicatory incantation before dropping the image into the flames. It is interesting that both Oberion's Plate and the Grand Ritual for Oberion involve creating an image of Oberion and holding it in smoke. But where the former burns pleasant smelling or fairy-related wood to encourage him to come, the latter employs stinking materials to invoke hellfire to force him to do so.[51]

The invocation that follows the malediction invokes all the previous spirits to bring Oberion, several times mentioning that he is to bring 100,000 pounds of treasure.[52] This invocation goes further in clarifying that this fairy king is conceptualised as leader of a sub-variety of demons, commanding the gatekeepers of hell, Lucifer, '& all you spirites Infernall, & all other spiritte' to allow Oberion to come to the magician's call.[53] It also invokes 'spirite [sic spirits] of the ayere, of the earth, fier & water', suggesting that these too are fallen angels (a point that became increasingly contentious, see the Third and Fourth Chapters for

---

[50] Folger VB 26, 115-116.
[51] Folger VB 26, 115-116.
[52] Folger VB 26, 116-117.
[53] Folger VB 26, 117.

further discussion of this).[54] The second malediction in this ritual specifies that it

banishes Oberion, and all the spirits who the ritual has invoked to compel him to

come, into Hell 'and there stille inhabit and dwell, & never come to your fomer [sic

former] Rowmes [sic roams, rooms, or realms]'.[55] This suggests that at least some

of the spirits who are subject to infernal damnation and Lucifer's command are

normally suffered to roam beyond the infernal realms, likely within the world of the

elements in which humans dwell. The idea of spirits or entities in the elements

which include fairies and may or may not be a sub-variety of fallen angel is further

explored in the Third and Fourth Chapters. In short, however, this text

demonstrates that the association of fairies with the spirits who roam through the

elements of the world outside of Hell and yet may have been a type of fallen angel

was established in ritual magic by at least the late sixteenth century.

The ritual instructions and second malediction that follow this invocation

echo ideas about magically acquired treasure (especially that gained from fairies)

as outlined in the Pseudo-Paracelsian *Occult Philosophy* (discussed at greater

length in Chapter Three), namely treasure acquisition for Christian piety and the

risk of being given illusory treasure.[56] The magician is told to repeat the preceding

invocations three to four times (if needed) until Oberion appears, at which point a

ritual script outlines what the spirit will say and how the magician is to respond in

return.[57] Despite the very worldly riches this ritual seeks to acquire, an attempt at

altruistic justification is made by asking Oberion to bring the wealth not only for the

---

[54] Folger VB 26, 117.

[55] Folger VB 26, 119. Harms and Peterson have noted that in this context a 'Roam' refers to the 'space where one's roaming occurs; roughly, territory.' See Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 313.

[56] Johannes Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting in Europe and North America: A History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 59-60, 77-79.

[57] Folger VB 26, 118.

comfort of the magician and his family, but also so he might help the poor.[58]

Similarly, in *Occult Philosophy* the magician ostensibly seeks treasure because

spirits and fairies (inclusively defined) cluster about the hidden treasure they guard,

and so finding treasure is charitable because it frees the place where the riches are

hidden from phantasmal hauntings.[59] Both the final incantation and malediction in

this ritual demand that Oberion bring the treasure 'in true lastinge & good gold or

silver.'[60] This appears to reflect the fear of fairies bringing illusory treasure that

eventually vanishes or turns into worthless substances that is discussed further in

Chapter Four.[61]

The license to depart not only allows any spirits invoked to return to their

'pper [sic proper] places', but also commands him to leave 'by the virtue of our L.J.C.

[Lord Jesus Christ] the which was put upon the crosse for you & all you spiritee'.[62]

Other scholars have also noted the potential for spirits to be saved in ritual magic

texts that invoke both fairies and even more vaguely defined 'spirits'.[63] It is

reminiscent of the Qur'ān's declaration that both humans and jinn will be judged on

the day of judgement and granted damnation or paradise depending upon their

individual sin or piety.[64] This is suggestive of theological cross pollination with

---

[58] Folger VB 26, 118.

[59] Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 77-79.

[60] Folger VB 26, 118-119.

[61] Harms and Peterson have also interpreted this specification as guarding against illusory treasure being given: Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 311.

[62] Folger VB 26, 119.

[63] Richard Kieckhefer, 'Demons and Daimons: The Spirits Conjured', in *Forbidden Rites*, 157-158.

[64] 'O tribe of jinn and of men, if you are able to pass through the confines of heaven and earth, pass through them! You shall not pass through except with an authority... on that day none shall be questioned about his sin, neither man nor jinn... The sinners shall be known by their mark, and they shall be seized by their forelocks and their feet... This is Gehenna, that sinners cried lies to; they shall go round between it and between hot, boiling water... But such as fears the Station of his Lord, for them shall be two gardens...' The Qur'an 55:33-46. CF *The Koran Interpreted*, trans. A. J. Arberry, vol. II (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 252-253.

Jewish and/or Islamic traditions.[65] This idea that at least some fairies might be Christians, or even judged by God on the day of judgement is also apparent in some other fairy summoning rituals, as observed by Darren Oldridge of the conjuration of Elaby Gathen in Ashmole 1406.[66]

Despite some theological eccentricity, the ritual concludes with an abundance of caution, recommending that after Oberion has been dismissed the magician remain in his circle for two or three hours praying. Once completed it advises that the magician wash his face with water and hyssop and returns home by another path than whence he came. In addition to emphasising the danger that Oberion was understood to pose, this suggests that the ritual was not expected to be performed within the magician's home.[67]

1.1.1.4 Conventional Ritual for Oberion (Appendix 1.11)

This ritual, written primarily in English, is very similar to traditional demon summoning operations. The only aspect linking it to fairy summoning rituals is that it summons Oberion, immediately follows the Grand Ritual for Oberion, and has a note written in the margin that clarifies that this is another ritual for 'Oberyon' and not a continuation of the Grand Ritual for Oberion.[68] The ritual is intended to summon Oberion into a crystal or mirror to answer questions (although this object is abbreviated to 'M' throughout the ritual, so presumably a mirror was the

---

[65] Harms and Clarke have drawn the parallel with Jewish theology, see footnote 487 in Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 314.

[66] Darren Oldridge, 'Fairies and the Devil in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 31, no.1 (2016): 11; Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 1406, 50v, 52v.

[67] Folger VB 26, 119-120.

[68] Folger VB 26, 197.

preferred object).[69] The ritual collectively refers to a mirror or stone used to see spirits as a 'speculative'. I suggest that 'speculative' would be a convenient term for modern scholars to adopt as a general term for the various reflective objects used in summoning rituals, from mirrors and crystals to polished thumbnails.

The ritual is composed of a series of prefatory prayers, an incantation to purify the speculative (which evokes baptismal imagery), an invocation, a prayer, a second invocation in case he does not come, a series of Gospels which must be repeated along with the previous two invocations three times, and a final invocation. These are followed by a rudimentary ritual script for how the conversation between Oberion and the magician will go, two licenses to depart, a malediction should he not behave, another three licenses to depart, a final malediction (called a 'constriction' in a marginal note), and a protective circle for the magician and his companions to stand in which is labelled 'Oberion's Circle'.[70] The second to last license to depart includes the same stipulation included at the end of the Grand Ritual for Oberion which precedes it, namely that the magician should wash his face with water and hyssop before taking a different route home.[71]

1.1.1.5 Conventional Invocation of Oberion into a Crystal (Appendix 1.16)

Only one example of this primarily English ritual is extant and is situated amid a cluster of fairy-summoning operations (see Chapter Two) in e. Mus. 173. It is intended to summon Oberion and bind him into a stone so he can show visions of whatever the magician wishes to a child scryer. It is composed of an invocation

---

[69] Folger VB 26, 197.
[70] Folger VB 26, 197-200.
[71] Folger VB 26, 200.

of Oberion and a license for him to depart.[72] While its general method and purpose of conjuration of summoning Oberion may be similar, the invocation is distinct from the Conventional Ritual for Oberion and the Call for Sibilia, Oberion, *et alia* into a Crystal.

1.1.1.6 Oberion's Physic Ritual (Appendix 1.23)

Oberion's Physic Ritual is extant in both Sloane 3846 and Sloane 3826. In both manuscripts the full title of the ritual is 'The Invocation of Oberion Concerning Physick &c:' with the name 'Raphael' written above the word Oberion, although in Sloane 3826 this is added in notably different ink. Joseph Peterson has noted that neither copy of the *Liber Razielis* in these manuscripts appears 'to be directly based on the other'.[73] However, the presence of the *Liber Razielis* as well as this ritual, the Ritual for Queen Bilgal, and the Sylvan Square Ritual (appearing in that order) in each manuscript suggests that they either influenced each other or that this was a cluster of texts which existed in earlier common sources. If Sloane 3826 is older, then the ritual was initially for Oberion but a later annotator added 'Raphiel' as an addition or correction which was then copied directly into Sloane 3846. The evidence suggests, however, that it is the other way around (see Appendix 1, notes 16 and 17). In both copies the ritual aims to summon Oberion into a crystal or basin of water, presumably to teach the magician how to heal.[74]

This English and Latin ritual begins with an English prayer (which it calls an oration) and a consecration of the speculative. This is followed by a Latin

---

[72] Oxford, Bodleian Library e Mus MS 173, 72r.
[73] Joseph H. Peterson, 'Sepher Raziel (Sl. 3846)', *Esoteric Archives*, copyrighted 1999 and 2006, last updated Nov. 15, 2022, http://www.esotericarchives.com/raziel/raziel.htm.
[74] Sloane 3846, 102v-103r.

invocation that summons Oberion (who is referred to as an angel and spirit throughout the ritual) which ends in a series of divine names. Another Latin invocation follows this which the text calls a constriction. Then it gives a Latin bond to bind him and a licence for him to depart.

These invocations are followed by a series of ritual directions and specifications, such as an eye ointment made from eggs, seven drops of the blood of a black cat, and white hen fat mixed together with rose oil.[75] The ritual directions then describe various purifications that the magician must do to himself and the location of invocation, mostly reciting prayers and making things smell pleasant through washing, eating aniseeds, suffumigating with boiling rose water. The magician must perform the ritual in a silent place while the moon is in the correct position with the ointment in his eyes and while holding a candle of virgin wax engraved with Oberion's name.[76]

1.1.2 Tobyas

Tobyas (or 'Tobias') is a biblical male human name. How this name came to be one attributed to a fairy king is unclear. In the *Book of Tobit*, Tobias is a human who was sent the angel Raphael by God in response to the prayers of his father (the blind man Tobit) and the demonically harassed Sarah. Using the knowledge of the occult properties of the natural world taught to him by the angel Raphael (who, the text specifies, presides over healing), Tobias drove the demons away from Sarah, married her and became rich, before curing Tobit's blindness.[77] Given the

---

[75] Sloane 3846, 106r; Sloane 3826, 98v.
[76] Sloane 3846, 107r; Sloane 3826, 99r.
[77] *The Book of Tobit: The Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Old Latin with English Translations*, ed. Adolf Neubuer (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2005), 63-76.

permeability of the boundary between fairy-related beings and humans, it may be that this wealthy biblical figure who was learned in the secret powers of nature was reinterpreted as (or apocryphally thought to have become) a fairy king (although this connection is speculative). Unlike Grimoiric demons and angels, fairies are sometimes given human names, such as Margaret Barance (discussed in section 1.7.1.1, below) or Bessie Dunlop's once-human fairy companion Tom Reed.[78] This may be an example of a common human name being given to a fairy.

1.1.2.1 Ritual for Tobias, King of the Pigmies (Appendix 1.13)

The longer copy of this ritual in Folger VB 26 explicitly identifies Tobias as King of the Pigmies. While this title is not given to him in the later copy in e Mus 173, its placement amidst other fairy summoning materials in that manuscript suggests that the compiler of these texts associated this being with fairies. Whether explicitly or contextually associated with fairies, Tobias is the only named fairy king other than Oberion with a surviving ritual to summon him.

1.1.2.1.1 Longer and idiosyncratic (Appendix 1.13a)

This curious and rather incomprehensible ritual to conjure the king of the pigmies, here named Tobyas, is preserved with occasional cyphered words in Folger VB 26, pp. 234-235. The texts states that the ritual can be performed in any place and at any time (although it later advises that it be performed while the moon is waxing and in the 'fiery' signs of Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius).[79] It begins with an ill-explained numeric operation wherein various herbs are ascribed a number, and

---

[78] Ashmole 1406, 50v; Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, ix, 18.
[79] Folger VB 26, 234-235.

these numbers are then placed in and around a pentagram and three different circles. Another circle and a triangle with various numbers within them also appear in the margins. Once whatever is meant to be done with the above information is accomplished, various prayers must be recited, and the reader is directed to call the king *or queen* into a crystal. The magician is told to collect the dew from grass within his protective circle and apply it to his eyes. After this the text assures that 'all will appear true'.[80] An invocation of Tobyas follows several more prayers. This is a fairly standard ritual magic invocation, summoning the spirit by various holy powers and condemning it into the pit of hell should it not appear to the magician and answer his questions. Upon the appearance of the spirit a further invocation calls on the power of God to deprive him of his place in the spiritual hierarchy and condemns him to hell if he does not safely appear to the magician 'in a fair likeness of a man or woman'.[81]

1.1.2.1.2 Abridged and made conventional (Appendix 1.13b)

Another copy of the spell to summon Tobyas is extant in the seventeenth-century E Mus 173, f. 71v, which directly precedes three texts containing an invocation of Oberion, the Skimmed Water Ointment, and the Lapwing Ointment (described below). Other than this proximity to fairy related magic, however, he is not directly referred to as a fairy, or king of the pigmies. In fact, none of the strange elements of the ritual that appear in the Folger manuscript are present here. Instead, it simply relates the invocation to summon Tobyas and the invocation to

---

[80] Folger VB 26, 234. Compare this with the various ointments to see fairies discussed in this chapter, especially the Skimmed Water Ointment, below.
[81] Folger VB 26, 234-235.

bind him which appear in Folger VB 26. The only ritual instructions that the version in E Mus 173 contains is the single line, 'when he appeareth say thus' which separates the two invocations.

1.2 Fairy Queens

A part of fairy literature since medieval ballads, fairy queens were brought enduring prominence in English literature through widely circulated and popular late sixteenth-century works such as Spencer's poem *The Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's depiction of Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* This may have contributed to female fairies being more often invoked than male ones in summoning rituals, with Sibilia and Micol being most popular. It is not possible to know which female fairies were conceptualised as fairy queens by those who produced and circulated these rituals, except in cases where the summoned being is specifically identified as a fairy queen or is contextually suggested to be one. For example, while Micol is identified as a fairy queen in multiple texts, this is not true for Sibilia. Furthermore, the seven sister fairies are presented as the handmaidens of the fairy queen and only rarely is there a suggestion that one of them is the Queen herself (the ritual to summon Bilgal being a notable exception). The number of rituals to summon female fairies who are explicitly fairy queens is therefore less than those which invoke those who are not. Although rituals to summon fairy queens have been placed in other sections of this chapter (such as the Table Ritual below) there are two surviving rituals whose most distinctive feature is that they were used to summon fairy queens.

1.2.1 Bilgal

In both Sloane 3846 and Sloane 2826 there is a cluster of adjacent fairy-summoning rituals that create the descending hierarchy of a fairy court, from king to queen to knights. First is the Oberion's Physic Ritual, followed by the Ritual for Queen Bilgal, and finally the Sylvan Square Ritual.[82] Yet Bilgal was not always presented as a queen, nor even as a fairy. In the Office of Spirits in Folger VB 26 'Bilgall' is listed between Oberion and Mycob, being the final entry on page 80 before 'Mycob' follows on page 81 (which begins on a new leaf).[83] Although not described as Oberion's queen, what could easily be read as the female possessive pronoun is applied to this entity in the entry which states that 'Bilgall appeareth in the liknes of an oxe but a mans head with flames of fier poceedinge [sic proceeding] out of hir [sic her] mouth'.[84] This could also be a scribal error in copying 'his', which would be much more conventional for a spirit and aligns better with the described figure.

The image of Bilgal described in the Office of Spirits is then drawn above a ritual to summon the spirit Bilgal later in Folger VB 26, the invocation of which nonetheless directs the spirit to appear in a fair human form.[85] This demonstrates that despite the instructions of the invocation, the hand that drew the image preceding the ritual was drawing upon the Office of the Spirits written earlier in Folger VB 26. I suggest that the first compiler of the fairy cluster that circulated in Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 either had access to Folger VB 26, or else another copy of the Office of Spirits which listed Bilgal after Oberion. I posit that Bilgal

---

[82] Sloane 3826, 98r-100r; Sloane 3846, 102v-112r.
[83] Folger VB 26, 80-81.
[84] Folger VB 26, 80.
[85] Folger VB 26, 165.

initially had no more connection to Oberion than did the monstrous demon

Mosacus who directly precedes him in Folger VB 26's version of the Office of

Spirits. The proximity in this list, and perhaps the unclear gender of the possessive

pronouns, gave rise to the future compiler misidentifying (or reinterpreting) Bilgal

as a fairy queen, instead of the fire breathing ox with the head of a man.

1.2.1.1 Ritual for Queen Bilgal (Appendix 1.24)

Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 contain a mostly English invocation to

summon 'Bilgal'. The invocation commands Bilgal to appear before the magician

and his virgin scryer as a queen sitting upon a throne of beaten gold. Both versions

title the invocation 'The Call of Bilgal one of the 7'. The '7' is followed by characters

that are unclear in Sloane 3826 and are rendered '&c:' in Sloane 3846.[86] Given that

a ritual for Oberion precedes the text, and the Sylvan Square ritual (entitled 'An

experiment for a fayry' in these manuscripts) follows it, the fairy context suggests

that the title refers to the seven sister fairies.[87]

1.2.2 Micol

Micol, or Mycob, is sometimes specifically referred to as a fairy queen and

appears in the Table Ritual of the *Thesaurus spirituum*, which may date back to the

Middle Ages.[88] She also appears in the Call of Queen Micol, an invocation where

she is identified as queen of the 'pigmies', which was in use until at least the

nineteenth century. Three rituals in this study summon or mention her, namely the

---

[86] Sloane 3826, 99v; Sloane 3846, 109r.
[87] Sloane 3826, 100r; Sloane 3846, 111r.
[88] Possibly to the fourteenth century, but certainly fifteenth. See endnote 21 in Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 234-235.

Table Ritual; the Call of Queen Micol; and the Januvian Fairy Ritual. Far fewer

distinct rituals invoke Micol than they do Oberion or Sibilia. Yet, the comparatively

few rituals that summon Micob circulated widely, with numerous copies surviving.

In fact, there are thirteen copies of these rituals in the manuscripts covered by this

study, only one less than those for Oberion and Sibilia.

1.2.2.1 Call of Queen Micol (Appendix 1.19)

This brief, curious invocation appears in the seventeenth-century manuscript

Sloane 1727, folio 28 without any contextualising ritual or stated purpose. Two

copies occur in the seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3846, one copy on

folio 25v, and another on 100r, both of which are bound relatively close to other

fairy summoning material (see the Chapter Two). The latter copy agrees almost

verbatim with that in Sloane 1727, although that on 25v of Sloane 3846 has several

additional words and some differently ordered sentences. Despite these minor

variances, all three copies are very similar.

Despite the invocation giving no clue as to why Micol is being summoned,

reference to its use is recorded by William Lilly (who was later quoted by W. B.

Yeats who also used the call to summon the fairy queen).[89] He presents it as a call

to invoke the fairy queen so she might answer questions. A dropped 'r' in the fourth

line of the copy in Sloane 1727, and subsequent correction, indicates that this was

copied from an earlier text. It begins as a call to Micol, but the Latin appears

corrupted in places. It is so brief that it warrants transcription here in full:

> Micol O tu micoll regina pigmeorum deus Abraham : deus
> Isaac : deus Jacob : tibi benedicat et omnia fausta danet et

---

[89] William Lilly, *William Lilly's History of his Life and Times from the Year 1602-1681* (London: Maurice, Printer, 1715), 229-234; Yeats, *Celtic Twilight*, 93-94.

Concedat Modo venias et mihi moremgem veni Igitur O tu
micol in nomine Jesus veni cito ter [?] ~~quatu [?]~~ quatur[?] brasi
in qui nomine Jesu veniunt veni Igitur O tu micol in nomine
Jesu veni cito qui sit omnis honor laus et gloria in omne
ceūū Amen Amen[90]

1.3 Tables or Squares and Choosing the Best of Three

Three separate rituals share three distinctive features in common, namely:

the appearance of three entities of the same expressed gender, the requirement

that the magician ignore the two less powerful/beautiful of the three, and the use of

either a table or a protective square. It is unclear whether this similitude is the

result of intertextual influence, or an instance of convergent evolution. Katherine

Briggs, in her discussion of the Skimmed-Water Ointment, has demonstrated how

the idea that a specially prepared table was used to summon three fairies had

precedent in the thirteenth-century French play *Le Jeu de Feuillie*.[91] In Briggs'

example, however, one of the fairies was malignant, whereas in all the following

rituals only one was desirable.

The process of setting a table and leaving food out for three female entities

is also described in Burchard of Worms' eleventh-century penitential wherein he

states that at particular times of the year some women laid a table set for three in

hopes of receiving the aid of three sisters whom Burchard identifies as the

Parcae.[92] This identification of these three sisters with the *Parcae* is etymologically

suggestive since the *Parcae* were also referred to as the *Fatae*, which is the origin

---

[90] London, British Library Sloane MS 1727, 28. The question mark in square brackets represents an abbreviation unknown to me. The second to last letter in *brasi* is unclear. It may also be a poorly made 't', 'c', or 'r'.

[91] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 460-461. Cf. Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 6.

[92] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 76-77; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 728.

of the word 'fairy' (through old French).[93] Burchard uses the diminutive to refer to

the knives the women lay out, which may indicate that they were conceptualised as

diminutive. Bernadette Filotas observes that this may have been used to indicate

contempt for the practices. Burchard, however, also suggests that beings such as

these were diminutive in his discussion of *pilosi* (drawn from Isidore's list of

libidinous spirits which he in turn expanded from Augustine), which he lumps

together with *satyri*.[94] Yet Burchard's account stripped these beings of their

promiscuous nature, being instead described as entities who dwell in pantries and

storehouses. Burchard explains that people made child-sized bows and shoes for

them to play with, believing that these beings bestowed prosperity upon the family

in return.[95] Burchard did find the leaving of these offerings a serious matter, calling

for a year of fasting as penance for this practice.[96]

      This act of setting a table for 'women' who ostensibly bring good fortune is

also found in the thirteenth-century *Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre,* in which the

saint's hosts lay out a table for the 'nice women' who are later called 'neighbours'

although their human neighbours are proven to be in bed.[97] The saint observes

these mysterious men and women entering the home who, upon being pressured

by the saint, admit that they are demons that trick humans with this pretence.[98]

These parallels in penitentials and *The Golden Legend* (which was targeted at

---

[93] Green, *Elf Queens*, 79.

[94] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 78; Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. Stephan A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 190; Augustine, *City of God, Volume IV: Books 12-15*, trans. Philip Levine (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 548-551.

[95] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 78.

[96] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 78.

[97] See footnote 58 in Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 77; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 414.

[98] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 414.

priests to include engaging stories in their sermons and to reinforce orthodoxy)

indicate that this cluster of features travelled together and arose from oral or

literary traditions (or perhaps the above condemnatory texts describing such

practices).[99] The significance of the table and ritually prepared meal also found its

way into the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* as part of the passage that was

based upon Agrippa's discussion of fairy-related beings, and which would be used

as the theoretical explanation of fairies in ritual magic collections.[100]

1.3.1 Micol, Titan, and Burfax

These three beings are first attested to in the Table Ritual which originally

circulated as part of the *Thesaurus spirituum*. Titan (or Titam) may have been the

inspiration of Shakespeare's fairy queen Titania. Indeed, the earlier versions of the

Table Ritual do not specify which of the three is the most beautiful whom the

magician is meant to select, so Titam or Burfax may well have been thought of as

the preeminent entity. Despite the popularity of Shakespeare's work, however,

within the ritual magic tradition Micol clearly rose to lead the three. In fact, this ritual

might well have been put in the previous section on fairy queens, as Micol was

explicitly identified as queen of the fairies in several manuscripts (as has already

been seen in *Veni Micol, Regina Pigmeorum*, which likely derived the name of its

object from the Table Ritual). 'Titan' is likely a classical allusion to the titans,

however this is conjectural and the origin of the other two has been lost. Despite

---

[99] Eamon Duffy, 'Introduction', in *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), XI.

[100] See the Chapter Three and Chapter Four, as well as D, F, 20/I, and 21/J in Appendix 1. See also, *Henry Cornelius Agrippa, His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy: Of Geomancy, Magical Elements of Peter de Abano, Astronomical Geomancy, The Nature of Spirits, Arbatel of Magic*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J.C., 1655), 68-69.

Titan's exoteric popularity as Titania, and Micol's esoteric renown, Burfax has remained a lesser-known mystery.

1.3.1.1 The Table Ritual[101] (Appendix 1.6)

The 'Table Ritual' circulated widely, with ten copies appearing in seven separate manuscripts.[102] This ritual was so named by Daniel M. Harms. He uses this title, however, to refer to what I categorise as two distinct rituals which share multiple elements. For the purposes of this study, the Table Ritual refers to the set of texts which involve setting up a ritual meal and invoking three fairies (whose names are variations of Micol, Titan, and Burfax) to bring a ring of invisibility. The other set of texts which he subsumes under this heading are those which involve meeting three fairies after producing an ointment with which to see them and setting out a ritual meal (the 'Skimmed Water Ointment', discussed below).[103] Frank Klaassen and Katrina Bens have observed that the Table Ritual (as defined in this study) originates in the late medieval *Thesaurus spirituum*, which was largely focused upon demon conjuring.[104] Harms notes that the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (first published in English in 1655 and falsely ascribed to Henry Cornelius Agrippa) describes a means to summon a class of spirits with a ritual that is very similar to both the Table Ritual and the Skimmed-Water Ointment ritual, and contains themes taken up by several others.[105]

---

[101] This ritual was so named by Daniel Harms, see Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 69.
[102] See Appendix 1.
[103] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 70.
[104] Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 5.
[105] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 69.

1.3.1.1.1 The *Thesaurus spirituum*'s Table Ritual (Appendix 1.6a)

Folger VB 26 includes a Latin version of the Table Ritual on pages 38-39 that directs the magician to draw a protective circle around himself and half of a table in the day and hour of Jupiter. The circle is described as that which was used in the preceding love spell, yet this spell is not present in this manuscript.[106] This is a vestigial part of the ritual preserved from when the Table Ritual circulated in the magic manual called the *Thesaurus spirituum* (see the section on the *Thesaurus spirituum* in Chapter Two for more details) where it was preceded by a coercive demonic 'love' spell. The Table Ritual circulates in the *Thesaurus spirituum* and is still preceded by the love spell in Wellcome 110, Sloane 3853, and Sloane 3885. The *Thesaurus spirituum*'s version of the Table Ritual began to circulate independently of its source text, and variants of it developed.[107]

Once the table and circle have been made, the magician is directed to make his bed with fresh linen. These ritual instructions are then followed by a Latin invocation of the spirits Micoll, Titam, and Burfex by the power of the Trinity, Mary, and other divine powers, as well as the magician's ring, the spirits of Jupiter, and his sigil. They are directed to bring a ring of invisibility and allow the magician to select the last and most beautiful of them to sleep with him. If they do not appear after the first invocation the magician is directed to repeat it and the text assures the reader that they will come. Once they arrive, they will sit at the table, which will now be filled with all manner of comely food, and two of them will entice the magician to eat and drink, which he may not do. The prettiest and smallest will not entice the magician like the others, but will stand away from her comrades and

---

[106] Folger VB 26, 38; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 107.
[107] See the sub-sections of 1.3.1.1.1 of Chapter One, and Appendix 1.

ignore him. The magician is then directed to reach out to her with his sceptre, which she is meant to kiss before the magician recites another Latin invocation ordering her to grant the ring of invisibility and to lie naked upon the bed at the magician's pleasure until he releases her. The text states that she will try to entice the magician into bed *before* giving him the ring (and thus, presumably, to trick him into losing the state of purity by which he controls her). The passage instructs the magician not to give in, but to instead demand the ring first. Upon receiving it, the other two women will stop eating and the magician can dismiss them and then sleep with the fairest fairy. When finished, it instructs the reader to give her license to depart while he sleeps in the bed within the circle until morning. The extended period that the magician must remain in the circle after the spirit has been dismissed is reminiscent of the Grand Ritual for Oberion, and suggests anxiety about the danger of these beings should a magician leave the protected space. While it assures the reader not to fear her since she is a woman, and the invocations always refer to them as *virgines*, this text includes the prohibition that the reader must not ask her whether she is a woman or spirit (*quid est an mulier vel spi[r]i[tu]s*).[108] This (or similar) prohibitions restricting one's speech, occur in various fairy summoning texts.

Another, completely Latin, copy of this ritual appears in Wellcome 110, 79v-80v. This instructs the reader to make the circle from the preceding love spell in the *Thesaurus*, and follows the same formula as that in Folger VB 26.[109] Furthermore, when instructing the reader not to ask the maiden whether she is a woman or spirit,

---

[108] Folger VB 26, 39; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 110.

[109] Frank Klaassen and Sharon Hubbs Wright, *The Magic of Rogues: Necromancers in Early Tudor England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 4,

Wellcome 110 adds 'or phantastical body' (*seu corpus [f]antasticum*) – further

emphasising the ambiguity of her nature and substance.[110] The sixteenth-century

Latin copy of the Table Ritual in Chetham A.4.98, pages 72-76, also contains the

prohibition against inquiring about the entity's nature (although ordered differently),

and tells him not to ask 'whether she is a true woman, or a fantastical body, or a

spirit (*an mulier sit vera an corp[u]s fantasticu[m] seu sp[i]r[itus]*).[111]

As Chapter Three demonstrates in its examination of the *Liber Razielis*, the

beautiful women and knights of literature and histories, sometimes described as

'fantasms', blurred conventional Christian cosmographic taxonomies of spirits and

creatures (perhaps being spirits who made bodies for themselves from the

elements, or were spontaneously born from miasmas and certain natural

environments like mountains and bodies of water) and had been present in learned

magic traditions since at least the thirteenth century. In forbidding the magician

from questioning the entity, the prohibition against asking the entity's nature offers

three options of what it might be that the scribe found plausible, revealing what he

thought one might reasonably believe.

A copy of the Table Ritual appears in the late sixteenth- or early

seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3850, ff. 145v-146v. This text is written in

English and Latin, and is placed amidst a collection of other operations to go

invisible. This version states that the ritual ought to be performed in the day and

hour of Venus, but generally follows the established form of this text, invoking *Vos.*

S. Micol, Titam, and Burfex virgins. The 'S' might be an abbreviation of *sorores,*

although they are elsewhere referred to as *virgins*. 'S.'is more conventionally an

---

[110] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 110; London, Wellcome Library MS 110, 80v.
[111] Manchester, Chetham's Library MS A.4.98, 74.

abbreviation for *spiriti* in ritual magic texts, however, which remains a likely possibility. The ambiguity of this abbreviation is amusing since the end of the text preserves the assurance that the summoned entity is not a spirit, and the prohibition that the magician does not ask whether she is a spirit or woman.

Even when circulating independently of the *Thesaurus spirituum*, most other copies of the Table Ritual (see Appendix 1) varied only slightly from those in the *Thesaurus*, with some elaboration or abridgment.[112] Several different versions appear to have been elaborated from it, all of which survive in Chetham A.4.98.

1.3.1.1.2 The Agrippian Table Ritual (Appendix 1.6b)

Bound within the sixteenth-century Chetham A.4.98 is an elaboration of the Table Ritual that is so distinctive it might reasonably be considered its own independent ritual. While the manuscript has been dated to the sixteenth century, this ritual is far more indicative of trends in fairy summoning spells that reach their apotheosis in the seventeenth century (namely the influence of occult philosophy on practical ritual magic instructions, and the enhanced association of fairies with the natural environment, see Chapters Three and Four for a larger discussion). This operation draws upon the Table Ritual of the *Thesaurus spirituum*, and the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (see Chapter Two) to produce a ritual in which the connection of the summoned fairy to the natural environment becomes explicit and necessary for the success of the magic. Following an earlier copy of the *Thesaurus spirituum*'s Table Ritual in Chetham A.4.98 a later hand wrote a short note about fairies on folio 78, identifying Micob as their queen, Titan and Burfax as

---

[112] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 107.

her servants, and stating that this invocation can also summon the seven sisters of the fairies, before listing their names.[113] This precedes a page containing only the title: 'To call the queen of Pharies ut sequi[tur]'.[114] The ritual begins conventionally by directing the magician to purify himself through sexual abstinence for three days and to clean his body and clothes preceding the ritual, emphasising that this is especially important if you are summoning the spirit to appear 'corporally' rather than in a stone.[115] This suggests the recognition that it is more difficult to summon a spirit to appear in the air before one than it was with the use of a speculative.

The ritual must be performed in a meadow or orchard, echoing the places where the *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* say nymphs, dryads, and the like dwell.[116] Agrippa stated that, if one wishes to summon these entities, one 'may easily doe it in the places where their abode is'.[117] Interestingly, *Pro regina* offers the concession that, if needs be, instead of going to these verdant environments to invoke the queen the magician could also do so in a building so long as he prepared 'a fayr bed & the chamber be strewed wth rushes & set wth green bowes'.[118] While perhaps more practical for the city-dweller, or one who feared being caught practising this magic in a publicly accessible space, this compromise does not emphasise the significance of place in the manner that the Agrippian source material does, nor how later operations (such as the Januvian rituals) do. Rather, like the music and incense mentioned later in the ritual, the verdant

---

[113] Chetham A.4.98, 78. See entry A/i in Appendix 1.
[114] Chetham A.4.98, 79.
[115] Chetham A.4.98, 80.
[116] Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. J.F. (London: R.W. for Gregery Moule, 1651), 450. Cf Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 69. See Chapter Three for a more in-depth discussion.
[117] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.
[118] Chetham A.4.98, 80.

surroundings of the leafy bows and rushes, brought into the home, appear to have delighted the fairy and make her more likely to come and be agreeable. This associates these beings with nature, especially flora, but does not tether them to place, location or living natural objects. Despite this, it represents an early and extensive integration of occult philosophical material into practical ritual magic instructions.

Agrippa wrote that one might summon them 'by alluring them with sweet fumes, with pleasant sounds, and by such instruments as are made of the guts of certain animals and peculiar wood, adding songs, verses, inchantments sutable [sic suitable] to it'.[119] These instructions were also woven into the *Pro regina* ritual. It instructs the magician to make a suffumigation of lignum aloes, mastic, frankincense, and 'Storax beniam' ('beniam' may be some unknown additional ingredient, but I suggest that this refers to 'storax balsam').[120] It specifies that one must suffumigate the location where the summoning occurs and one's clothes to consecrate them.[121]

This ritual emphasises the importance of playing music while summoning the fairy queen. It states that you must have a 'solemne instrume[n]t wth the wch betwixt yor [sic your] invocate[ions] yo^u must sound some solemne harmony for wth that, thes kind of spts ar [sic are] delighted exceadingly'.[122] While the *Fourth Book* also contains these instructions, it merely applies them to 'another kinde of Spirits', whereas the *Three Books* specifically list dryads among the entities within the

---

[119] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.
[120] Chetham A.4.98, 80-81.
[121] Chetham A.4.98, 81.
[122] Chetham A.4.98, 81.

category of this 'certain kind of spirits'.[123] The directions instruct the magician to 'in

the na[m]e of the holy trinite wth perfect and solemne devotio^n pronouncinge thes[e]

oritons [sic orations] wch followe or sing [the] like'.[124] Not only is instrumentation

meant to accompany the ritual, but the very invocation itself might be sung to

facilitate its efficacy. Although the melody may have been lost, the very last

sentence added after 'ffinis' is the line 'After the tune of Iudge as yo^u list' ('list'

meaning 'desire' in this context, so that the title might be read 'Judge if You

Want').[125] The fact that the writer of the spell referred to a song by name suggests

that the melody was not some esoteric secret, but one used in popular songs. This

fairy summoning ritual demonstrates engagement not only between ritual magic

and occult philosophy, but between esoteric magical traditions and exoteric

oral/literary traditions.

The target of this ritual is explicitly referred to as the queen of the fairies and

as a 'driad' ('dryad'), suggesting that the writer of this ritual drew from the *Three

Books* rather than the *Fourth Book*.[126] While the use of the word 'dryad' suggests

roots in the *Three Books*, *Pro regina* also includes instructions for preparing a ritual

table and meal that is present in the *Fourth Book*. Given that *Pro regina* also

contains the names of Micol, Titan, and Burfax in both its prologue and invocation,

and directly precedes a copy of the Table Ritual, it probably arose from a fusion of

the Table Ritual and the *Three Books*. It may even be that this addition to the

Fourth Book was born from medieval copies of the Table Ritual, or the earlier

medieval sources (see above) from which it drew.

---

[123] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450. Cf. Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 68.
[124] Chetham A.4.98, 81.
[125] Chetham A.4.98, 87.
[126] Chetham A.4.98, 87.

Pro regina requires that the table be laid with a clean basin of clear water at one end and a dish of new ale or new milk at the other end.[127] Unlike the mere bread of the preceding copy of the Table Ritual, here cakes made from wheat flour and women's milk, flavoured with spices such as fresh cloves, are called for.[128] The idea that fairies desire (or possibly need) human milk while newly born is attested in later-recorded folklore in Britain and Europe.[129] Indeed, the notion of nursing human women being stolen away to nurse fairy-related or explicitly fairy beings has medieval precedent and early modern articulation, having been attested to by Gervase of Tilbury in his twelfth-century *Otia Imperialia* and Robert Kirk in his late seventeenth-century work *The Secret Commonwealth* (where he elaborates that the nurses are replaced by changelings upon being stolen).[130] This depiction of fairies stealing not only cow milk, but human milk may have informed the recipe of these ritual offerings.

The instructions end by directing the magician to recite several words, including 'Panton Craton… Corthee Corthe Corthea cortheos' which closely echo the Table Ritual such as the copy in Sloane 3850 which run 'paton, craton… corthe, corthea, cortheos…' and the copy of the Fire and Bath Ritual (see below) from Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* which lists the closely connected variants 'Panthon + Gaton… Sorthie + Sorthia + Sorthios…'.[131] It may be, as Klaassen and Bens have stated, that they originated from a common source.[132]

---

[127] Chetham A.4.98, 80.

[128] Chetham A.4.98, 80-81.

[129] Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends. Revised and enlarged edition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-1958), F372, F372.1.

[130] Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, 'Midwife to the Fairies (ML 5070): The Irish Variants in Their Scottish and Scandinavian Perspective', *Béaloideas* 59 (1991): 133–137.

[131] Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility, 7, 9.

[132] Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 7; Chetham A.4.98, 81.

The invocation not only refers to Micol as a dryad, but as 'Quene of the pharies', 'you virgins fayre', and 'O michol virgin O phare quene'.[133] It invokes her by the usual holy powers, as well as some more notable anomalies. She is summoned 'by your lord the kinge & to our lord and yours Jhsus [Jesus] Christ' placing her under the authority of Christ, but distinguishing her (fairy) king from Christ, who the text presents as the ruler of both humans and fairies.[134] The invocation places great emphasis on the music and the aforementioned words of power as forces by which she is summoned when it asks 'why do you stay & do not cu [sic come] to this mellodye corthee corthe and corthea yea & cortheos bring you to me'.[135] Finally, the invocation concludes by the magician stating 'I force & bind you by ye kinge of elfes that now you cum [sic come] to this mellodye'.[136] Not only does this (typically for this period) use elves, fairies, and dryads synonymously, but it also binds her by the power of the elf king to come to the melody, emphasising the significance of the musical element in the ritual.

1.3.1.1.3 Brief Invocation (Appendix 1.6d)

Inserted after *Pro regina* in Chetham A.4.98 is another version of the Table Ritual, a much-abbreviated copy written in a coarse hand. It consists only of a brief invocation of 'Michol tiā burfax' and a license for them to depart. [137] The lack of all ritual preparations (also omitting any reference to the preparation of a table, the acquisition of an invisibility ring, and copulating with the entity in the magician's

---

[133] Chetham A.4.98, 82, 87.
[134] Chetham A.4.98, 82, 87.
[135] Chetham A.4.98, 87.
[136] Chetham A.4.98, 87.
[137] Chetham A.4.98, 84-85.

bed) and the brevity of the incantation is reminiscent of *Veni Micol, Regina Pigmeorum*. Perhaps, like the *Veni Micol* ritual, this abridged version was used as a simple invocation to aid in scrying.

1.3.2 Unnamed Fairies

Several fairies summoned with rituals conforming to the characteristics of this category are not named in ritual instructions or invocations. Instead, these are rituals to gain contact with a common fairy, not a monarch or fairy of renown, but one of their number with whom the magician might make direct contact, and perhaps an ongoing working relationship. The Skimmed Water Ointment ritual summons and establishes an ongoing relationship with a female fairy, whereas the Sylvan Square ritual invokes traditionally male fairy knights.

1.3.2.1 The Skimmed Water Ointment (Appendix 1.17)

Two copies of this operation exist, although they are subsumed into the category of The Table Ritual by Harms, despite being separate rituals. The Skimmed Water Ointment lacks invocations, protective circles, and other ritual magic elements present in the Table Ritual, nor is there any mention of Micol, Titam, or Burfax in it. It also centrally features instructions to produce an ointment with which to see fairies that is absent from the Table Ritual. While distinct from the Table Ritual, the Skimmed Water Ointment ritual may have been influenced by, or drawn upon a common source with, the Table Ritual.

A concise iteration of this ritual, entitled 'To have Conference with the Faeries', survives in the early seventeenth-century Sloane 3851, f. 129r. It directs

the reader to go 'In the House where those [fairies] use'.[138] On the night before the new or full moon the reader is to sweep the hearth clean and set a bucket of clear water upon it before going to sleep. The preference for moon cycles rather than zodiac positions and absence of planetary hours indicates a lack of engagement with conventional astrological principles of ritual magic. One would not need astrological expertise, making the text accessible to a far wider, and comparatively unlearned, readership. The next morning a film is meant to appear upon the water like 'a fatte or Jelly' which the reader is directed to skim off with a silver spoon and store in a silver vessel.[139] It then directs the reader to set a table for three and supply it with food and drink on the night before a full or new moon. The magician is to apply the ointment to his eyes, light a fire with sweet wood and face it in silence until three women come into the room. It advises the reader not to speak to them, but to nod courteously to them until they have eaten. Thereupon the reader is meant to ignore the first two, but to take the third and 'aske what you will of hir.' This ritual maintains the pattern of fairies arriving in threes, the first two of which must be ignored, and the third selected. The prohibition against speaking to them is in keeping with the trope of a taboo that ought not to be broken, which is present in several other rituals.[140]

Another manuscript containing this text is E Mus 173, f. 72v, which elaborates slightly on some aspects of the ritual. In this version the ritual can be done the day of the full or new moon as well as the days before and after each. It explicitly directs the reader to 'goo to (the) house where (the) fairies mayds doe

---

[138] Sloane 3851, 129r.
[139] Sloane 3851, 129r.
[140] This paragraph is drawn solely from Sloane 3851, 129r.

use'.[141] This version specifies that the reader should be the first to approach the bucket before the sun rises in the morning, and describes a 'ryme like rawe milk or grease' which one must remove with a silver spoon, however this version does not require that it be stored in silver, but merely a clean saucer.[142] One ought to perform the next step of the ritual the next evening before eleven o'clock. The text continues on much like that in Sloane 3851, however this version states that one must face the table instead of the fire and that only the first maiden is malignant, and either the second or third can be selected, in this echoing the convention in the thirteenth-century French play *Le Jeu de Feuillie,* which Briggs compares to the Skimmed Water Ointment operation.[143] This is the point that the two versions diverge, and makes it anomalous to the other rituals in this category. Once a maiden has been chosen, the text tells the reader to go to the table and eat the food while asking her to select a place and time to meet the next morning. In addition to the prohibition not to speak when they first arrive, the magician is advised to speak with few words while setting up their appointment. The magician is instructed to let her leave him then and ensure he is not late for the appointment the next morning. While the text refers to her answering what one asks of her at the meeting, it also states that 'she wil be always (with) you', suggesting the establishment of an ongoing familiar spirit relationship.[144]

The copy in E Mus 173 does not stipulate that the reader needs to sweep the hearth, but adds that a clean towel should be left by the pail of water by the

---

[141] e Mus 173, 72v.
[142] e Mus 173, 72v.
[143] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 460-461. Cf. Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 6.
[144] e Mus 173, 72v.

hearth. This suggests that the pail of water is being left for the fairy women to bathe with, and that the ointment is produced from them as they wash. This is not explicitly articulated, however there is surviving literary evidence to suggest that this is the intended context. In the 1628 jestbook *Robin Good-Fellow, His Mad Prankes and Merry Jests* (discussed in greater detail in the Chapter Three) a female fairy named Sib (likely shortened from Sibilia) articulates what female fairies do.[145] Amongst these activities she states, 'now and then we goe together and at good huswives [sic housewives'] fires we warme & dresse our fairy children: if we finde cleane water & cleane towels, we leave them money, either in their basons or in their shooes'.[146] It is likely that this ritual and *Robin Good-Fellow* drew upon the same oral tradition, as all are contemporaneous to the early seventeenth century and the rituals likely precede the publication of *Robin Good-Fellow* by about two decades or more.[147] Clearly, the idea that fairy women came to wash their children in well-kept human homes, and could be benevolent when things were prepared well for them, was established by the early seventeenth century.[148] This ritual assumes that the grease washed from fairy children (or perhaps merely fairy children soaking in water) produces a film that can be applied to the eyes to see through fairy invisibility.

Harms posits that, since the Table Ritual (in which category he subsumes the Skimmed-Water Ointment ritual) circulated in handwritten manuscripts with Latin sections which were likely owned by 'educated men of status', its various

---

[145] British Library C.57.b.55. Accessed via '*Robin Goodfellow, His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*, 1639', British Library: Collection Items, accessed May 2, 2022.
[146] British Library C.57.b.55, 42. As the pamphlet is not paginated, the 'page numbers' given align with those with the images of the online PDF. For the access link see the bibliography.
[147] See Appendix 1 for the dating of these manuscripts.
[148] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 460.

domestic operations (like setting the table and making the bed which were often performed by women or servants) may represent 'an inversion of the social order, a transgression that might have signalled the power and efficacy of the operation.'[149] While the owners of both manuscripts containing the Skimmed-Water Ointment instructions were almost certainly male, Harms' theory overlooks the possibility that the original composers of the ritual were women. As aforementioned, this ritual contains no element requiring education and learned magical theory to which women typically had little access. Sib's speech in *Robin Good-Fellow* also suggests that at least a simplified version of the operation (leaving out a basin of clean water in a well-tended home in hopes of fairy-given rewards) was a practice with which the reader might be familiar. Rather than gender inversions or transgressions, these rituals may (to a greater or lesser extent) demonstrate the adoption of elements from orally transmitted women's magic by male ritual magic practitioners.

1.3.2.2 Sylvan Square Ritual (Appendix 1.5)

This ritual echoes the structure of other rituals in this section, in that three fairies appear, the first two tempt the magician, while the last rewards him. Unlike the other rituals, however, this ritual summons male entities. Only two of the eight copies included in this study explicitly refer to the knights as fairies, these being the late seventeenth-century copies in Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846, which manuscripts share sundry other parallels (see Chapter Two). Two sixteenth-century and six seventeenth-century copies of this text are included in this study.

---

[149] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 70.

After the earliest example of this ritual, the protective circle becomes a square, possibly due to unclear instructions within the earliest copy.

The oldest known copy of the Sylvan Square Ritual occurs in Cambridge Additional 3544.[150] First the magician is to fill a glass with the blood of a lapwing and go alone into a wood where, upon entering, he is to write several names and Latin phrases 'in the entering of the woode… in a portyce'.[151] Francis Young posits that this uses the term 'portice' (generally defined as part of a church) to refer to 'a natural arch or enclosure made by the trees of the wood'.[152] While Young observes that it is unclear what the words are meant to be written upon, I suggest (based upon later extant versions, discussed below) that this is a mistranslation of a term for virgin parchment. If this copy actually reflects the original term, then the words may have been meant to be written upon the trees themselves - suggesting that one must write the words in/on the opening of the woods. The magician is then instructed to make a circle upon the ground with the clean sword he has brought. This circle was drawn several folios earlier and is contained within a larger square. Although the circle is drawn in this manuscript, the instructions also describe its design, suggesting that the ritual may have circulated without the circle's illustration in earlier copies.

He is then to 'call the sprytes of the este [sic east] quarter' and repeat the *voces magicae* written in lapwing blood until 'ther shall apere to the a king & sitting upon a horse & holding a hawke on his fyste' who offers to do the magician's

---

[150] Cambridge, University Library Additional MS 3544, 100-101; *The Cambridge Book of Magic: A Tudor Necromancer's Manual*, ed. and trans. Francis Young (Cambridge: Texts in Early Modern Magic, 2015), 99-100.

[151] Cambridge Additional 3544, 100; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 99.

[152] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 99, 127.

will.[153] While it is tempting to find a fairy-related meaning in 'sprytes', given the

term's use in this period it is best modernised, as Young has done, to 'spirits'.[154]

The magician is directed to ignore this first entity's offer, 'scornefully turne' from

him, face North until he leaves, and repeat the incantation.[155] Then 'shall apere to

the [sic thee] another knyght'.[156] The reader is instructed to refuse him as well and

to face west until he leaves and call the spirits of that direction. Then a 'thirde

knight fayerer then the other twayne [sic two]' ostensibly appears on a yellow

horse, holding a hawk, and crowned with a diadem.[157] Finally the magician may

make his request, and choose a day 'yf ye lyste' (Young modernises this as 'if he

list' but it would be more accurately rendered 'if you desire/like') to command him

to do whatever the magician wishes and, if the magician returns the following day,

whatever he desires shall be done.[158]

That preserved on page 167 of Folger Vb 26 is in Latin. It appears to have

been more influential on the copies that came after it, and is likely a copy of the

Latin spell from which the English version in Cambridge Additional 3544 was

translated. It directs the magician to go to a secret grove (*nemus secretū*) and

states that instead of a 'portice' the words should be inscribed with the blood of a

hoopoe ('*upuparu*') upon virgin parchment ('*membrano virgineo*').[159] In this version

each knight posseses a hawk and is more handsome than the last.[160] It includes

---

[153] Cambridge Additional 3544, 100; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 100.
[154] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 100.
[155] Cambridge Additional 3544, 100; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 100.
[156] Cambridge Additional 3544, 100; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 100.
[157] Cambridge Additional 3544, 100-101; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 100.
[158] Cambridge Additional 3544, 101; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 100-101.
[159] Folger Vb 26, 167.
[160] Folger Vb 26, 167.

the square 'circle', but in a highly simplified version with a cross on each side, and a pentagram in each corner and the center.[161]

A copy spanning folios 18 and 19 of Sloane 1727 begins 'If thou woulds have what soever thou desire'.[162] It contains several noteworthy points that suggest it is more closely related to the copy in Folger Vb 26 than that in Cambridge Additional 3544. For example, it states that the *voces magicae* ought to be written on an abortive.[163] The word 'abortive' hereappears to be a term for the virgin parchment mentioned in Folger Vb 26. Most likely it is parchment made with the skin of a stillborn calf (hence 'abortive'), as some other ritual magic operations since at least the fifteenth century involve making parchment from the skin of a calf taken directly from its mother womb without having touched the ground (this can be purchased today under the title of 'slunk' parchment).[164] In this version each knight explicitly appears with a goshawk and is more beautiful than the last. In this manuscript, however, the square 'circle' is not drawn by the scribe, but its shape and construction are described in the text itself.[165]

In Sloane 3318 the ritual instructs one to write the words in a circle of virgin parchment (possibly refering to the 'abortive' recommended in Sloane 1727 or else simply parchment with nothing else written upon it). This version is accompanied with an elaborate version of the square with a double circle within it that is intersected by a cross. This is another version of the circle in Cambridge Additional 3544, both of which differ markedly from that preserved in E. Mus. 173 which

---

[161] Folger Vb 26, 167.
[162] Sloane 1727, 18.
[163] Sloane 1727, 18.
[164] *The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia*, trans. Ioannis Marathakis, (Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2011), 20, 22, 87-88.
[165] Sloane 1727, 18-19.

contains no details beyond those mentioned in the instructions, and replaces the inner circle with a pentagram. The instructions direct the magician to inscribe pentacles of Solomon in each corner of the square. In Cambridge Additional 3544 and Sloane 3318 these were rendered as stars of David, however E. Mus. 173 follows Folger Vb 26 in depicting these as pentagrams, an interpretation which is also present in Sloane 3824, Sloane 3826, and Sloane 3846. Like in earlier versions, the instructions in Sloane 3318 direct the magician to inscribe the 'circle 4 square wth a sword'.[166]

The copy of this ritual which appears in Sloane 3824 is entitled 'An Experiment to Obtain Whatsoever is Desired'.[167] In this version the reader is instructed to take four large pieces of calfskin parchment, sew them together, and inscribe a rather simple protective square upon it with the blood of a lapwing. It then gives several *voces magicae* to inscribe with the blood 'upon an Abortive'.[168] The use of the term 'abortive' suggests a relationship with the copy in Sloane 1727. I suggest that it is based upon the version in Sloane 1727 (or some variant copy thereof) for the ritual square has become simplified in the extreme, lacking any inner circle or pentagram – as though it was copied from a version of the ritual that (like the one in Sloane 1727) lacked an illustration of the ritual square and forced the scribe to reconstruct it from the unclear ritual instructions. Furthermore, the scribe of the version in Sloane 3824 (or his exemplar) seems to have been self-consciously aware of the ridiculousness of calling a fairly simple square a circle, even adding a disclaimer at the beginning of the ritual stating that one must 'make

---

[166] Sloane 3318, 56r-57r.
[167] *The Book of Treasure Spirits*, ed. David Rankine (London: Avalonia, 2009), 153.
[168] Rankine, ed. *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 153.

the Ensuing Square comenly called a Circle, though improperly by reason of its Contrary Similitude, but they are Generally Called Circles in this Art, because they all signifie one & the same thing'.[169] This semantic explanation is an attempt to reconcile the contradiction of the ritual's terminology and the accompanying image. The reader is to take a sword in his right hand to a secluded orchard or forest where he reads the *voces magicae* three times, lays down the square 'circle' and enters it holding the *voces magicae* in his left hand and facing east.[170]

While this ritual does not include the prohibition that the reader should not ask the being regarding its nature (as does the Table Ritual), a taboo is present, with the ritual stating that the final male knight will ask for the magician's 'fellowship' which the magician is to refuse and instead make his demand, which it recommends that the magician have written beforehand in a clear script.[171] The prohibition against promising friendship, and the stipulation that the wording of one's request ought to be precise is reminiscent of the 'legalistic precision' characteristic of demon summoning.[172] However, this was a later development found in Sloane 1727 and Sloane 3824. The copies in Cambridge Additional 3544, Folger Vb 26, and Sloane 3318 instead say that the magician may choose whether to accept this offer of friendship, advising the reader that 'thou aunswere after thy discretyon'.[173] The copies in Sloane 3826, and Sloane 3846 leave this out entirely.

The copies of this text preserved in Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 are entitled 'An Experiment for a Fayry' and, while agreeing with the other copies in

---

[169] Sloane 3824, 113v.
[170] Rankine, ed. *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 153-154.
[171] Rankine, ed. *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 155.
[172] As Bain observes with reference to manuscript Folger Xd 234. See Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 353.
[173] Cambridge Additional 3544, 100; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 101.

most points, do differ in several ways from other copies (in addition to the aforementioned lack of an offer of fellowship from the fairy).[174] It directs one to perform the ritual in a coppice, woods, or deserted place after sunset on the day of Jupiter under a crescent moon. It instructs the reader to write the set of *voces magicae* on virgin parchment with the blood of a lapwing after entering the wood, specifying that the bird must be male. In this version the square 'circle' is more elaborate than that in Sloane 3824, lining the square with the crosses and pentagrams which the text instructs one to draw upon the ground with a sword. Upon entering the 'circle' the magician is to go down to his knees and read the *voces magicae* (referred to in the operation as 'names') the same number of times as the number of days since the new moon. In this version the first two fairies to appear are not described, although it warns that the second will mock and deride the magician, presumably in an attempt to goad him out of the protective square. As in earlier versions, the third is described as riding a horse and wearing a crown.[175]

In both Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 the text follows two other summoning rituals, the first to summon Oberion and the second to summon 'Bilgal one of the 7' who is directed to appear as a queen.[176] It may be that in the order of these three texts we see a descent through the hierarchy of fairies, from the king, to one of the seven sister fairies who appears as a queen, to an unnamed but knightly fairy. This is discussed further in Chapter Two.

---

[174] Sloane 3826, 100r; Sloane 3846, 111r-112r.
[175] Sloane 3826, 100r; Sloane 3846, 111r-112r.
[176] Sloane 3826, 98r-99v.

1.4 Rituals for Sibilia

Sibilia was, along with Micob and Oberion, one of the most frequently invoked fairy-related beings, with fourteen copies of six rituals to summon her preserved by the manuscripts included in this study. Sibilia was a prominent medieval fairy in medieval literature. Orginating as the Cumaean Sibyl turned leader of a worldly paradice under a mountain, this figue appears in Italian, French, and Spanish literature beginning in the fourteenth century and became most popular in the sixteenth.[177] She also appears to have inspired (or been shaped by) the German Tannhäuser legends, with the Sibyl figure being recast as the Mountian Venus and her realm as the *Venusberg*.[178] This widespread literary renown secured her a place as a key target for those who wished to summon fairies.

Other rituals might also be put in this category, such as Call for Sibilia, Oberion, et alia into a Crystal (section 1.1.1.2, above) or even arguably The Skimmed Water Ointment operation due to its possible origin in stories circulating about the activities of a fairy named Sib (see section 1.3.2.1, above). These, however, had overriding similarities with rituals covered in these other sections and were placed there. For organisational purposes, rather than any analytical significance, the remaining rituals to summon Sibilia can be divided into two

---

[177] Gloria Allaire, 'Animal Descriptions in Andrea da Barberino's "Guerrino Meschino"', *Romance Philology* 56, no. 1 (2002): 24-26; Luca Pierdominici, 'Professor Pierdominici's Preface to *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle*: "The Transformation of Meaning Between Narrative and Recollection"', in *Legends of Le Marche: The Sibyl of the Apennines-La Sibilla Appenninica*, trans. James Richards and Luca Pierdominici (Macerata: Edizioni Simple, 2014), 83.

[178] J. M. Clifton-Everest, *The Tragedy of Knighthood: Origins of the Tannhäuser Legend* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1979), 22-23, 131-134.

groups: those which involve a flame or fire, and those which use another entity as an intermediary envoy to bring her to the magician.

1.4.1 Fire and Flame Rituals

This subsection is, admittedly, a rather miscellaneous category. It might also be labelled 'the rituals to summon Sibilia which do not involve envoys or fall into other categories.' They do all hold one point in common, however, which is the use of a flame in the ritual directions. The appearance of flames and fire in magic is not uncommon, particularly to burn incense or as a scryer's speculative. Indeed, in both Sibilia's Candle and the Ritual for the Prophetess Sibilia the magician or a child scryer is meant to see her within the candle flame.

1.4.1.1 Fire and Bath Ritual (Appendix 1.7)

This ritual is very closely related to the Table Ritual, with Harms subsuming it into the former category. Despite their many similarities, enough differences are present that I have categorised it as an independent ritual, although either descending from or having a close common ancestor with, the Table Ritual. Like its near relative, the Fire and Bath Ritual summons three apparently female entities to give the magician a ring of invisibility, after which he retires to his bed and receives the ring. Unlike the Table Ritual, there is no table or ritually prepared meal, the magician does not choose between the three entities who appear, although only one gives him the ring, and there is no suggestion of a sexual interaction between the magician and any of the summoned entities.

1.4.1.1.1 Longer

In the three-day version of this ritual in the sixteenth-century manuscript Sloane 3853 in the first or last three days of the moon the magician uses a candle to ignite charcoals in the middle of the room where he intends to summon Sibilia. Holding the candle he then recites *voces magicae* beginning 'Paton, Craton…' much like those present in the Table Ritual.[179] The magician then sets water over the flame to heat, and washes himself with this water before getting into a clean bed positioned close to the flame and reciting 'Crothe. Crothea. Crotheos.'[180] He then repeats a short invocation three times which calls upon the three sisters '??eillia.[181] Catillia. et Sabillia', although a later hand writes 'or mellia' above '??eillia' and an illegible word above 'Catillia'.[182] This may have been 'Aiillia' or 'Achilia' as these names were coupled with the name 'Melia' in the copies of this ritual preserved in Sloane 3850 and published in Reginald Scot's 1584 *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (see the discussion of Scot in Chapter Three for more) as '*Milia, Achilia,* [and] *Sibylia'*.[183] On the second day one repeats this process without need of heating the water or washing, and on the third day the first day's operation is redone in full. On the third day once in bed the magician must bind his face with a cloth so thin that he is able to see through it (as though to trick the entities into thinking that they need not hide themselves from him) and three beautiful women shall enter the room. Upon repeating 'Crothe. Crothea. Crotheoss' three times, two

---

[179] London, British Library Sloane MS 3853, 119v.

[180] Sloane 3853, 119v.

[181] The first two letters of this word are unclear, being similar to 'ag', 'ay', 'y', a very strange 'm', or an 'a' followed by the lower tail of an 'h'. However, it does not seem to agree with the forms used by this scribe for any of these letters. It may be an erroneous or anomalous version of one of these letters. Sloane 3853, 119v.

[182] Sloane 3853, 119v.

[183] Scot, *Discoverie*, 291.

of the beings will withdraw and the third will take the ring off her hand and put it upon the magician's finger.[184] The version of this ritual in the seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3318 agrees in most ways to that in Sloane 3853. One alteration is the instruction to recite psalms and the Athanasian Creed, before beginning the ritual. It also gives the summoned entities names that are evocative of those in Sloane 3853, referring to them as 'Meillya. Catyllya. et Sybillia'.[185] While not similar enough to suggest that the scribe of Sloane 3853 copied from Sloane 3818, these copies do attest to a distinct transmission to that found in Scot's work.

1.4.1.1.2 Shorter

The version present in Scot is comparatively abridged, and with several alterations, agreeing in many ways with a copy preserved in Sloane 3850.[186] As Klaassen and Bens have observed of Scot's version and the copy in Sloane 3850, 'Both evidently draw upon a common prior text and are not directly related.'[187] Differences between Sloane 3850's copy and that in Scot suggest that the former was not copied from the latter. Despite these differences, it and Scot's version are more like each other than are the copies preserved in Sloane 3918 and Sloane 3853, evincing that this variation was not idiosyncratic, but a variant which was in circulation. While it is likely that the three entities were explicitly identified as fairies in Scot's source, no known manuscript copy of this ritual survives which uses the

---

[184] Sloane 3853, 119v-120r.
[185] Sloane 3318, 68r.
[186] Scot, *Discoverie*, 247-248.
[187] Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 7. See especially their comparison between these texts in footnote 29 of the same page.

term. As such, the copy in Scot is the earliest explicit intratextual evidence that they were understood as fairies.

In Sloane 3850 the ritual (transcribed by Klaassen and Bens) is placed with a series of rituals for invisibility, including the Table Ritual, as part of a booklet called 'Experyme[n]tus of invisibilitie, and of Love and of of Love [sic] of Kardes diese [sic dice] Tables And Other Consaytes [sic conceits]' which is written in a messy late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth-century secretary hand not present in the rest of the manuscript.[188] This version instructs one to make a candle of virgin wax and start a fire, but does not mention any tile upon which to ignite the flame. It then gives instructions that generally agree with those given in the previous variant of the ritual. Instead of repeating this for three days, however, the ritual instructs the magician to go directly to his bed and lie there with his right arm hanging out of the bed with a kerchief or band of silk over his eyes. Once the three women in white clothes appear and give the magician the ring, he then commands the first two of them (now spelt 'millia' and 'afillia') to be ready to return with a new ring of invisibility at his request. Although initially skipping the three-night repetition, the end of the ritual states that if they do not come on the first attempt the magician must repeat the ritual until the third night when they are certain to appear.[189]

While the version in Sloane 3850 binds the first two sisters to be ready to return at the magician's command, the version of this variant that Scot drew upon instead names the first two and gives them a licence to depart. It then goes on to target Sibilia and binds her to return at the magician's command, suggesting that

---

[188] London, British Library Sloane MS 3850, 143; Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 9.

[189] Sloane 3850, 144r-144v. This ritual has been transcribed in Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 9-11.

she is the sister who gives the magician the ring.[190] Given that, as demonstrated in section 1.3 of this chapter, these rituals generally had the magician choose the best of three, I suggest that Scot's version is closer to the original and that the key target of this ritual was Sibilia who gave the ring of invisibility.

1.4.1.2 Sibilia's Candle (Appendix 1.1)

Five copies of a ritual invoking Sibilia to appear in a candle flame have been preserved in this study, two iterations of which appear in the fifteenth-century manuscript Rawlinson D. 252. This is a particularly textually unstable ritual, and each might be considered its own variant. They fall into three general categories, namely those that use a single candle, those that use a candle and a stone, and that which uses two candles.

1.4.1.2.1 With One Candle

The first version in Rawlinson D. 252 is rather conventional, containing no ritual directions but consisting of a series of invocations that call upon Sibilia to appear within a candle flame to answer questions for the magician, followed by a license for her to depart.[191] The pentagram which follows it on folio 14v may be intended to be used in this ritual, as the following incantation for a good angel is written awkwardly around the pentagram as though it was added after the pentagram was drawn. It is, however, ambiguous whether it was meant to be used to summon Sibilia or the good angels. Many names of God in the pentagram also appear in the invocation of Sibilia, which does offer further support for its

---

[190] Scot, *Discoverie*, 291.
[191] Rawlinson D. 252, 13r-14v.

association with the Sibilia's Candle.[192] The version of this ritual sub-variant in

Folger VB 27 is much the same, although it lacks the pentagram.[193]

1.4.1.2.2 With a Candle and a Stone

Although clearly identified as being a variant of the earlier version of Sibilia's

Candle in Rawlinson D. 252 by being entitled *Sequitur de Sibilla ut antea* ('another

for Sibilla as before'), these rituals have numerous differences. The later copy of

this ritual begins by directing the magician to get a candle and recite several

psalms before starting the incantation. These invocations are different from the

version earlier in the manuscript, specifying that she should appear in the shape of

a beautiful woman. The following instructions introduce a boy scryer who acts as

an intermediary between Sibilia and the magician. While the boy is told to stare into

the flame, the invocations command her to appear in a crystal or stone. The boy is

also given an invocation to recite in his mother tongue, being written in English.[194]

The version of this ritual in the early- to mid-sixteenth-century Cambridge

Additional, 3544 provides English directions for the magician to make a candle of

virgin wax and get a child of ten years or less who is born in wedlock. After this is a

series of invocations to summon Sibilia and ensure that the child sees her

correctly. Once again, the ritual suggests that she is summoned to appear both in

the candle and in a gem. While Francis Young translates the stone in question as

an 'emerald', the Latin original says 'margaretam' which is much more probably

translated as a 'pearl'.[195] Although the invocations differ from those in Rawlinson D

---

[192] Rawlinson D. 252, 13r-14v.
[193] Folger VB 27, 228-229.
[194] Rawlinson D. 252, 92r-94v.
[195] Cambridge Additional 3544, 9; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 8.

252, the basic structure is the same, but after the boy recites his invocation in English the instructions go on to say that she will go out of the candle and return with a stone in her hand in which she will reveal the identity of a thief or the answer to any question, although she will answer only one. This clarification may be a later attempt to reconcile the seeming contradiction of Sibilia appearing in a candleflame and a gemstone in this ritual subvariant. The ritual concludes with a license for Sibilia to depart.[196]

1.4.1.2.3 With Two Candles

This ritual instructs the magician to get a boy who is not more than ten or twelve years old and have him hold a candle in each hand while sitting between the magician's legs. The magician is directed to write the following seven names with red silk around each candle: 'Nothea. Rothea. attolle tronoyda. morma cutilia. Sibilia.'[197] This list of names has some similarities to that related by the variant with a candle and stone found in Cambridge Additional, 3544, wherein Sibilia is commanded to appear by the names 'Coa + Rocoa + Trenda + Norma + Ristilato + Sibella profatisiuator + Catica + Cauca' ('Profatisiuator' is likely an attempt to say 'prophesier' or 'one who prophesies' in Latin).[198] While these two lists of names do not suggest direct copying, there are enough similarities to indicate a common source. Notably, the version with two candles in Sloane 3318 concludes with a license to depart directed at *Sibilia cu[m] sor[or]iis tuis* ('Sibilia with your sisters').[199] This suggests that, at least in Sloane 3318, Sibilia was understood as one of the

---

[196] Cambridge Additional 3544, 7-10; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 7-10.
[197] Sloane 3318, 95r.
[198] Cambridge Additional 3544, 8; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 8.
[199] Sloane 3318, 96v.

seven sisters. The invocations differ to those in the variant with a candle and stone, but there is evidence of a common source, such as specifying that she appear in the shape of a beautiful woman.[200]

1.4.2 Envoy Rituals

Much as Oberion's Plate (which might arguably have been placed in this section) invokes angels and Oberion's councillors to convince him to come, there are three other rituals which are marked by using another class of being to act as an envoy, traveling to Sibilia and inducing her to appear before the magician. It is not uncommon for invocations to call upon greater or lesser entities in the spiritual hierarchy to respectively command or petition the targeted spirit to come to the magician. The rituals in this section are distinguished by addressing emissaries who do not explicitly rule or follow Sibilia but are other orders of entity altogether. They call on archangels, entrap dwarves, and bind the spirits of the dead to go whither the magician cannot and bring Sibilia to him.

1.4.2.1 The Archangelic Envoy for the Prophetess Sibilia (Appendix 1.4)

This ritual survives in three copies which are sufficiently different as to be considered distinct variants. They all contain the same noteworthy features and appear to be either abridgments or elaborations of one another. Collectively they demonstrate how different rituals trade elements between each other and change over time. The earliest extant version is Notes Expanding Sibilia's Candle, which is not a complete ritual, but a series of directions meant to supplement and be

---

[200] Sloane 3318, 95r-96v.

incorporated into Sibilia's Candle. It is possible that it drew from copies of the Archangelic Envoy ritual which are no longer extant, or the Archangelic Envoy ritual may have been elaborated from these supplemental notes. In either case, their contents are intimately interrelated.

1.4.2.1.1 Notes Expanding Sibilia's Candle

The earliest extant version of the Archangel Envoy ritual is not an independent ritual at all, nor does it mention an archangel. The Notes Expanding Sibilia's Candle survive in an early- to mid-sixteenth century version appearing appended at the end of the Lapwing Ointment operation (see section 1.6.1.1) in Cambridge Additional 3544. It is presented as a note on the conjuration of Sibilia earlier in the manuscript, which was the one-candle variant of Sibilia's Candle (see section 1.4.1.2.1). It directs the magician (and as many friends as he wishes) to do the ritual wearing clean clothes in a garden or other delectable place with the moon in an air sign (Gemini, Libra, or Aquarius). The magician must stand in a series of three circles while having several sigils in each hand and the names Elyamel, Beltatha, Belfule, Beltibe, Aeltha, Belsaph, Belzem, and Eleth written upon a parchment crown upon his head.[201]

1.4.2.1.2 Independent

The sixteenth-century copy of the Archangelic Envoy ritual in Sloane 3853 is more elaborate (or perhaps more complete) than the version in Cambridge Additional 3544, and is a stand-alone ritual with its own invocation. It agrees with

---

[201] Cambridge Additional 3544, 57-58; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 54-55.

the more abridged version, but after the direction for the crown it continues that the

magician must make a suffumigation of various odiferous ingredients. This is

followed by an invocation that calls upon the archangel Raphael to bring *Sp[iritu]m*

Sibille p[ro]phetisse ('the spirit of Sibille, the prophetess'), after which she is meant

to appear.[202] The need to perform the ritual in a garden or other beautiful place,

and the explicit identification of Sibilia as a prophetess are both highly evocative of

the sibyl-turned-fairy queen of medieval literature.[203]

1.4.2.1.3 Elaborated

The seventeenth-century version of this ritual in Sloane 3318 differs greatly

from the previous two copies. It still shows a common source with them, however,

containing several key features unique to this ritual, namely: identifying Sibilia as a

prophet, using a parchment crown, and (like the copy in Sloane 3853) also

employing an archangel to act as an envoy to bring Sibila to the magician. This

ritual, perhaps showing influence from Oberion's Plate, employs a plate with an

image of the targeted spirit engraved upon it. On the twelfth or fourteenth day from

the full moon the magician is told to engrave four images of a woman with a

daughter cradled in her right arm, with different sigils engraved upon their heads

and chests. Taking this and a plate inscribed with the figure of Saturn upon it, the

magician and '2 or 3 secret & bould [sic bold] fellowes' (presumably colleague

magicians) may perform the ritual.[204] It provides a circle that the magician is to

draw upon the ground with the point of a sword and, though it does not have to be

---

[202] Sloane 3853, 110r-110v.
[203] Sloane 3853, 109v-110v.
[204] Sloane 3318, 60r. For more on networks of magic practitioners see Klaassen and Wright, *Magic of Rogues*, 11-14.

done in a garden or beautiful place as with the previous two copies, the ritual does direct him to 'go w[i]thout ye towne in a secrett place' to summon her.[205] Thus the ritual emphasises the use of undomesticated space uninhabited by humans, rather than natural beauty or the presence of flora. After a series of invocations to Sibilla the archangel Michael appears and brings Sibilia to the magician holding her child. The depiction of Sibilia with a child is distinct from medieval depictions of her; however, as noted above in section 1.3.2.1, there is seventeenth-century precedent for a fairy named Sib and other female fairies going into people's homes to wash their children.[206] The appearance of the children in this ritual may arise from the contemporary circulation of this narrative. Once she appears the magician gives one last incantation directing her to consecrate the lead plate to the magician and answer truthfully, then the magician can ask any question he wishes.[207]

1.4.2.2 The Condemned Envoy Ritual (Appendix 1.18)

This ritual, found in the early seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3851, 104r-106v is a case of diabolic magic, which is anomalous in comparison to other fairy conjuring rituals, and is also found in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*.[208] The *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, (initially published in 1584), was intended to denounce the 'foolish' and 'superstitious' ways of those who believed in magic and Catholicism (part of the Protestant association of Catholics with superstition and magic).[209] Despite Scot publishing this ritual to demonstrate the

---

[205] Sloane 3318, 60r.
[206] *Robin Goodfellow, His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1639), 41-43.
[207] Sloane 3318, 60r-61v.
[208] Scot, *Discoverie*, 335-341.
[209] S.F. Davies, 'The Reception of Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft: Witchcraft, Magic, and Radical Religion', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 74, no. 3 (2013): 382.

ridiculousness of magic, it is likely that the scribe of Sloane 3851 (or his source) drew it from Scot's work. As a part of Frank Klaassen's argument regarding the rise of 'diabolic magic' after the Reformation (mentioned in the discussion of the Binding the Seven Sisters ritual, below), he states that magic miscellanies such as Bodley Additional B. 1 (likely owned by a cunning person) drew indiscriminately from other magic miscellanies as well as Scot's work.[210] This process of reinterpretation (or reclamation) can be seen when the scribe of Bodley Additional B. 1 began copying a passage which Scot refers to as a 'popish priapt or charme' and after beginning to copy the word 'charme' the scribe crossed it out to replace it with 'prayer'.[211] This slight change shows agency on the scribe's behalf, and a conscious reinterpretation of Scot's representation of the magic material.

In the copy of the Condemned Envoy ritual in Sloane 3851, the reader is directed to fast three days and go with a single companion to the fresh grave of a suicide victim (Scot's version states that one can also make a deal in advance with a man condemned to the gallows).[212] The companion must hold a candle in his left hand and a crystal in the right while the magician holds a hazel wand inscribed with various names of God. The spell ostensibly binds the soul into the stone so it will show visions whenever and wherever the magician wills it. The reader is directed to make an oath to pray for the soul, presumably to mitigate the suicide victim's eternal suffering in return for this service. Once this has been accomplished the magician is to order the spirit to act as an emissary to bring Sibilia, who is explicitly referred to as a fairy. With the enslaved soul and a further conjuration, the

---

[210] Frank Klaassen, *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 19.

[211] Klaassen, *Making Magic*, 70.

[212] Scot, *Discoverie*, 244.

magician is meant to conjure Sibilia into a circle 'to have common copulation' with her. The invocation binds her into the circle in the fair appearance of a virgin in white, and orders her to come when called to give council and find treasure hidden in the earth. Unusually, the license to depart does not send her back to the place from whence she came, as many rituals do, but instead instructs her to always remain with the magician invisibly, awaiting his call. This indicates that the goal of the ritual is to instigate a familiar spirit relationship between Sibilia and the magician, with the entrapped soul merely acting as an envoy to establish first contact with her. This format (invocations followed by copulation and then the establishment of a familiar spirit relationship - thus the sex serving a consummatory function) is also found in the Binding of the Seven Sisters, extant in Folger Xd 234, discussed in section 1.5.1.1, below.

1.4.2.3 The Dwarven Envoy Ritual (Not in Appendix 1)

Although the archive did not respond to my requests for access to this material, Harms refers to a relevant text in the National Record Office of Scotland's Guthrie family papers (manuscript GD188/25/1/3, pp. 159-63). This text directs the reader to go to the door of a church at midnight on Christmas Day and sprinkle holy water upon it, which will allow the magician to catch a male dwarf. At this point the magician can send the dwarf to bring a female 'elphine' who is ultimately bound to the magician as a helper.[213] It appears that as part of this ritual one must take four rods of willow and place them in each corner of a clean bedchamber before the sun rises. Four pieces of paper with the names of the fairy queen's four

---

[213] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 67.

companions must be placed on each post of the bed before the room is

suffumigated and strewn with sweet flowers.[214] The use of a bed and bringing flora

into the home to summon fairies echoes the elaboration of the Table Ritual with the

Fourth Book, discussed in section 1.3.1.1.2. The parallels between this and the

other rituals in this section are clear. It could be plausible that an archangel should

show sympathy to a human, or that a condemned human soul might be susceptible

to being bound by a magician (especially considering the perilous position of a soul

that died of suicide within the Christian cosmography given its equation with

homicide and lacking any opportunity for repentance or penitence).[215] Since the

Suicide Envoy ritual certainly has a sexual element, and the Dwarf Envoy may

include one as well (considering that part of the ritual centres around the

magician's bed) it may be that a female fairy was simply more desirable due to the

heteronormative assumptions of most ritual magic.[216]

1.5 For the Seven Sisters

The seven fairy sisters appear frequently in the manuscripts assessed in

this study. Sometimes merely appearing as a decontextualised list of names and at

others as part of a hierarchy of spirits under the command of the fairy queen, they

are also the targets of summoning and banishing rituals themselves. They have

their traceable origins in an eleventh-century spell to combat fevers called the

---

[214] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 68-69.

[215] See especially Alexander Murray, 'Canonists and Jurists', in *Suicide in the Middle Ages: The Curse on Self-Murder*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 245-286.

[216] Frank Klaassen, 'Learning and Masculinity in Manuscripts of Ritual Magic of the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, No. 1 (2007): 50-55, 57-62, 71-74. This said, it is noteworthy that the fairy queen is given primacy and listed before the fairy king in some texts, such as Sloane 3824, 97v-100v.

Sigismund Fever Charm.[217] Claude Lecouteux has observed that they were originally named after (or treated as personifications of) various ailments.[218]

The shift from fevers to fairies echoes and may arise from the associations of elves and dwarves with illness in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. This would be unsurprising given that fairies and elves were synonymous by the late Middle Ages. Elves and dwarves were so interwoven with madness and fever that some modern translations of leechbooks render 'dwarf' as 'fever'.[219] Neither a metaphor for illness nor an illness caused by a being, the fever was the dwarf, and the dwarf was an entity. Examples of the association of fairy-like beings and madness is also present in medieval narratives, such as the tale of Richard Sutherland who followed two green-clad men into their realm where he lost his sanity and speech until they were restored by a saint.[220]

The connection of fairy-related beings to illness is also demonstrated by the *Liber Razielis* which states that these knights and beautiful maidens were made by a miasma (*aere corrupto*) conjoining with certain elements/natural features.[221] It states that these *fantasmata* are also seen by those who have a corruption of the complexion and imbalance of the humours.[222] Since the entities were understood to be real, and imbalanced humours were understood to be the cause of

---

[217] *Medieval Medicine: A Reader*, ed. Faith Wallis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 69.

[218] Claude Lecouteux, *Dictionary of Ancient Magic Words and Spells*, trans. Jon E. Graham (Toronto: Inner Traditions, 2015), 301-302.

[219] Peter Dendle, *Demon Possession in Anglo-Saxon England* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2014), 94-95, 98; B. R. Hutcheson, '*Wið Dweorh*: An Anglo-Saxon Remedy for Fever in its Cultural and Manuscript Setting', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik* 69 (2012): 179-177, 197-199; Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 121-122.

[220] Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 62.

[221] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r.

[222] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r. Sloane 3826, 21v.

physical/mental illness, this assertion suggests that at least some experiences

which might appear to be delusions/hallucinations were in fact otherwise invisible

aspects of reality. These beings are specified to be summonable entities by the

Liber Razielis and, when read through the lens of Galenic and miasma theory

(which was authoritatively established in medieval thought by Isadore of Seville's

Etymologies), these entities might easily be interpreted as illness given body

through spontaneous generation.[223] The transition of the seven sisters from 'fevers'

to 'fairies' was a natural and subtle transformation given the permeability of the

division between these entities and illness in contemporary thought.

1.5.1 Summoning

Just as (within the worldview of the ritual magician) demons were wicked

when left to their own devices but could be forced into productive obedience by a

summoning ritual, so too could a perilous fairy be compelled by magic to aid a

magician. In this manner the perilous seven sisters, despite their erstwhile

association with illness, were invoked using the safeguards of ritual magic to turn

their powers to harm into powers to help.

1.5.1.1 Binding of the Seven Sisters (Appendix 1.14)

This ritual occurs only in Folger Xd 234 (c.1600) which is a single piece of

vellum comprising fairy conjuring texts. Frederika Bain frames these as four rituals,

roughly corresponding to where faint lines separate the text on the page and new

---

[223] For a discussion of Isidore's comments of corrupt air and its contextualisation within Galenic humoral medicine see Justin K. Stearns, *Infectious Ideas: Contagion in Premodern Islamic and Christian Thought in the Western Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 41-42.

headings are given. While an understandable conclusion, I argue that the last three 'spells' in Folger Xd 234 act as a unit, a single three-part ritual that is meant to be performed as a whole and could not travel individually in manuscripts without being rendered fragmentary. The first section is its own spell, which is an abridged version of the following three sections. The second section is the first step of a ritual, with an invocation of Lilia (one of the fairy sisters) to appear and ending with instructions to use the third section which allows the magician to copulate with and bind the fairy to himself. The fourth section is the licence to depart, used to temporarily dismiss the fairy to wherever she comes from until she is next called. As such, these 'four spells' should be treated as an abridged and extended version of the same ritual.[224]

In her section 'How and Why to Bind Fairies' Bain states that the rituals contain requests for 'treasure, knowledge, and sex' and demonstrate how a magician may 'bind to his will and command one or more fairies for sexual purposes'.[225] While this ritual possesses a sexual component, not all the potential benefits pertain to sex. This ritual's goals are to: bind the sisters to a book or person, answer questions, bring treasure, show where buried treasure is hidden, and explain where to find 'treasure hid in the yearthe & to showe me in what plasse thaye are hid & howe I maye distroie & caste owt þe Keperes therof.'[226] This association with treasure hunting magic is noteworthy given the particular connection of fairies with treasure (see Chapters Three and Four for further discussions of this).

---

[224] Folger Xd 234; Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 336-347.
[225] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 323, 325.
[226] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 336-339.

The end of the final spell on Folger Xd 234 is a license to depart which ends with several prohibitions, including the warning 'that you never tell, during the time she is bound in friendship to thee, what she doth for thee, to nobody... [despite] how great or whatsoever it be.'[227] Frederika Bain suggested that 'friend' in this context may be employed as a euphemism for a lover.[228] Indeed, this ritual is highly reminiscent of medieval motifs of humans gaining fairy patronesses. But the term 'friend' here ought not be reduced to a mere euphemism for a sexual partner. Medieval fairy patronesses offered far more to their beneficiaries. For example, the *Lai of Lanval* by Marie de France depicts an Arthurian knight, Lanval, meeting and (unusually for a chivalric knight) sleeping with a fairy who offers him all manner of help and unlimited wealth. She provides him with her love, body, knowledge, mentorship, and riches, but warns him that he must follow her prohibition and tell no one about her love, and that he would lose her forever if he revealed their relationship to another.[229]

Bain's emphasis on the sexual aspect of this ritual is justified by its anomaly within the broader learned magic tradition. It is very unusual that a magician be advised to sleep with anyone/thing before gaining a summoned entity's aid. Some magic manuscripts contain cautionary tales that specifically warn against this. Rawlinson D 252, which Frank Klaassen has described as one of the earliest manuscripts from England to be primarily composed of necromantic texts, contains one such cautionary tale.[230] Rawlinson D 252 recounts a first-person tale of a

---

[227] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 345.
[228] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 354.
[229] Marie de France, 'Lanval', 35-36. This is also in keeping with the motifs: 'Tabu: mentioning origin of supernatural wife', 'Tabu: disobeying supernatural wife', 'Tabu: boasting of supernatural wife', 'Tabu: revealing secrets of supernatural wife'. See respectively Thompson, *Motif-Index*, C31.2, C31.3, C31.5, C31.9.
[230] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 124.

magician who summoned a demonic horse to take him from Alexandria to India where he slept with a woman.[231] Upon mounting the demonic horse to return, it injured him since he had become impure, forcing him to recover from his injuries for several months, perform penance, and re-consecrate the ritual items in order to summon the horse again and return home.[232]

Bain, Klaassen, and Bens have framed sex as a primary end goal when it occurs in fairy summoning rituals, whereas the sources show that intercourse either occurs in the middle of the ritual (and thus is clearly not the final objective), or after the end of the operation once the main target (namely the ring of invisibility in the Table Ritual) has been acquired. Sex functions differently in these rituals. In the Table Ritual intercourse is an added perk secondary to the ring of invisibility. Here copulation has its traditional role as a taboo that causes impurity. In the Binding of the Seven Sisters and the Suicide Envoy Ritual sex is not framed as the magic's aim at all (despite the ritual's assurance that she is a beautiful and skilled lover). Rather intercourse is a means to an end; a functional step of the rituals themselves. The spell states that the magician must first have sex with the fairy and *then* ask her questions and gain her aid in other endeavours.[233] This stands in stark opposition to the Table Ritual which specifies that the magician must get the ring of invisibility from the sister *before* he copulates with her, presumably lest he become impure and lose control.[234]

Examining Folger Xd 234's rituals in their entirety and the language employed (of binding the 'virgin' forever into 'friendship' so she can aid and advise

---

[231] Rawlinson D 252, 75v-76v.
[232] Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 42-43, 64.
[233] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 345.
[234] Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 9-11.

the conjurer in all his endeavours) indicates that the ritual was not merely meant to briefly summon the fairy for an isolated encounter. Rather it served to *bind* her by constructing an ongoing familiar spirit relationship between the magician and the fairy. This is explicit in the title of the first version which begins 'Here followeth the way to make a band to bind the seven sisters of the fairies to thee, to your book, and to thy child or friend forever'.[235] Despite the preamble of the second ritual introducing it as 'the way and manner how you shall call one of these virgins of fairies aforenamed at once unto thy bed whenever thou list [sic like] and have her at pleasure', the ritual's structure strongly indicates that the sex acts as part of the binding, only after which does the fairy grant her other boons. While the title of the extended version suggests that the sexual aspect was part of what made this ritual desirable to some magicians, the title of the first version more accurately reflects the end results of both variants.

In the context of a ritual to establish an ongoing relationship with a familiar spirit, the intercourse is not a breach of ritual magic's purification taboos. Rather it functions as a ritualised consummation of the familiar spirit relationship (echoing that of a marriage which, in this period, was not valid until it had been consummated by sex) and binds the spirit and the magician together. In the second section of the longer version the magician recites a binding invocation and then has sex with the fairy. This is framed not in terms of achieving the spell's objective, but as taking ownership of her, as can be seen in the lines 'for I do choose thee to be my blessed virgin, in this world to have in copulation with… My will to be fulfilled, and I do bind thee visible appear to me in any places: to me and

---

[235] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 336-337.

to this book'.[236] This method of establishing a familiar spirit relationship is anomalous in the ritual magic tradition and appears unique to fairy spells – likely partially inspired by long-standing associations of fairies with sexuality (explored further in Chapters Three and Four).

The sexual aspect of the magician-familiar relationship in fairy summoning rituals may also draw inspiration from popular fairy lore about men taking fairy wives/lovers and witches sleeping with their familiars or the devil. While it may seem counterintuitive for practitioners of magic to include a practice which would associate them with witchcraft accusations, Frank Klaassen has argued that the early modern period witnessed the development of what he calls 'diabolic magic.' Using the Antiphoner Notebook (Bodley Additional B. 1) as an example, Klaassen argues that with restricted access to magic texts, and anti-magic/anti-Catholic rhetoric using hyperbolised examples and accusations of ghoulish magic, those who wished to do magic began drawing upon these exaggerated condemnatory texts as sources for magic practice, thus 'magic was turned into a caricature of itself or of medieval Catholicism' and included the 'atypical diabolic overtones' of hostile imaginations.[237] This marks a distinct point of departure from the medieval magic tradition, with the early modern period witnessing 'the shift of magic out of the comfortable embrace of conventional religion and its transformation into something that opposed conventional religion'.[238] In this context the accusations that witches slept with their familiars might (to one who wished to practice magic) be received not as repellent, but as instructional.

---

[236] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 345.
[237] Klaassen, *Making Magic*, 26-27.
[238] Klaassen, *Making Magic*, 27.

1.5.1.1.1 Short (Appendix 1.14a)

The first of the two rituals in Folger Xd 234 are collectively an abridged version of that which follows. After an invocation of the seven sisters, whom it explicitly refers to as fairies, it orders them to visibly appear to the magician by various conventional divine powers and names, but also (like *Pro regina*) 'by the Kynge of fayres & his vertou & by [the Q]uene of fayres & her vertues & powers'.[239] It commands her to come whenever the incantations in the magic book are recited and to bring treasure. It also directs her to teach how to find treasure and cast out its spirit guardians (see also section 1.5.2.2).

The incantation states that the magician will be able to copulate with the sisters when he wishes and that they will have no power to harm or delude him. This specification demonstrates fears of the danger posed by these entities.[240] This anxiety is also apparent in the following longer version which reassures the reader that the fairy with which he will copulate is without doubt a woman who cannot hurt the magician when bound.[241] Yet this text still contains the prohibition against asking the fairy what it is, as noted in various other rituals.[242] As Bain observes, this concern about the nature and potential danger of the fairies is reflected throughout the ritual, which invokes fairies with the same sense of legalistic caution that is common in traditional demon summoning invocations.[243]

The ritual concludes with the direction for the seven sisters to be obedient and a license to depart until summoned again. When commanding obedience,

---

[239] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 336. Since Folger Xd 234 is a single folio, I will not repeat a reference to it in each footnote, I will instead refer to Bain's transcription which should be more accessible to most readers.
[240] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 330-331.
[241] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 344-345.
[242] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 344-345.
[243] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 353.

however, the magician commands them 'all to be obedeyente to me & to hym'.[244]

The 'him' to which the incantation refers is apparently revealed by the title, which

claims the spell binds 'the seven sisters of the fairies to thee, to your book, and to

thy child or friend forever.'[245] Clearly, as noted above, the goal of this ritual is not to

have sex with the fairies, but to bind them to a book (thus consecrating it as a

magical object), to the magician or his friend (thus acting as a familiar spirit), or to

his child. It is conceivable that the fairies were bound to a child to serve a guardian-

angel-like role. While this might be read as a means of giving a child a guardian

spirit, this is deeply unlikely as magic education had traditionally been explicitly

prohibited for children.[246] The phrase 'thy child' likely refers to the use of a child

scryer, which was common practice in ritual magic, and it is conceivable that the

fairy was bound to the child to facilitate his or her abilities in this role.[247]

1.5.1.1.2 Long (Appendix 1.14b)

The longer version of this ritual is in three parts: the instructions and

invocation of summoning, the instructions and invocation of binding, and the

license to depart. The first section summons the seven sisters, Lilia specifically,

reciting an incantation alone in each of the four cardinal directions in the hour of

Jupiter. It directs the magician to make two chalk circles, one for the fairy, and one

for the magician. In the first, like the Table Ritual, the magician sets a square table

---

[244] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 338.

[245] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 336-337.

[246] *The Sworn Book of Honorius: Liber Iuratus Honorii*, trans. Joseph Peterson (Florida: Ibis Press, 2016), 50-51; Klaassen, 'Learning and Masculinity', 71-72.

[247] The role of children in magic and how this does or does not relate to magical education would be an interesting avenue of future scholarly inquiry. See brief discussions of it: Klaassen, 'Learning and Masculinity', 56; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 97-98.

with linens and a lighted candle in a candlestick, although it does not mention any food or drink. The magician's bed should be within the confines of the second circle. The magician, his clothes, and bedding should be clean and well scented. The invocation, which summons her to appear beautifully and in a green dress, begins by referring to the previous abridged ritual, emphasising their inter-textual relationship.

The second part of the ritual includes a binding incantation after which the magician and fairy have sex. This too is ritualised, with the magician directed to lie on the right of the bed with the fairy upon the left. It then includes the usual reassurances that this is truly a woman while warning not to ask her. But it also adds, with some bravado, how perfect a lover she is, 'for I have diverse times proved her'.[248] It emphasises that after copulation 'Then when thou hast accomplished it and fulfilled thy will and desire with her, then mayst reason with her of any manner of things that thou desirest, and in all kind of question you list [sic like] to demand of her'.[249] After consummating the familiar spirit relationship, the magician can ask her for answers or to fulfil requests, or to sleep with him at any point. This is echoed by the license to depart which tells her to depart and rest but to 'be ready again to come unto me, at any time whensoever I shall command thee'.[250]

---

[248] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 344-345.
[249] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 345.
[250] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 346-347.

1.5.2 Exorcism

The seven sisters could be summoned to benefit a magician if their natural inclinations were suitably constrained by magic. Exorcisms to expel them from a person or place, however provide insight into magicians' ideas about what powers and behaviours fairies had if left to their own devices. In examining these the logic behind the fear of fairies and their power to bring treasure to the magician present in the Binding of the Seven Sisters is explained. In short, the seven sisters retained their depiction as bringers of illness and also gained the role, shared by fairies as well as many spirits, as protectors of hidden treasures.

1.5.2.2 Banishment of the Seven Sisters (Appendix 1.15)

The *Experiment Regarding Elphas* is not a fairy summoning ritual but one to banish the seven sisters, highlighting the vague but present distinction between elves/fairies and malignant spirits or demons. This ritual is extant almost identically in two seventeenth-century manuscripts, E Mus 173 and Sloane 1727. It consists almost entirely of an invocation to exorcise the seven sisters from a person or earth where treasure is hidden. It begins by calling upon various holy persons and events, and then reciting various *voces magicae*. It then invokes Lilia and her sisters to leave a person or earth where wealth is hidden and not to reduce, remove, or alter the treasure in any way.

This ritual uses various words when referring to the sisters, emphasising the ambiguity of terminology for these entities in this period. The incantation which appears in Sloane 1727 refers to them as spirits or 'elphes' (the latter of which is the term used throughout the copy in E Mus. 173), but the title given to the ritual broadens this list to explicitly include fairies, presenting it as 'A discharge of y^e

fayres or other sp[irit]s of Elphes from any place or ground, where treasure is laide or hide'.[251]

Earlier medieval rituals to banish and ward off elves (however defined) or their illness-inducing-influences, although not assessed in this study, have a long tradition going back to Anglo-Saxon leechbooks.[252] These medieval exorcisms often drew little distinction between elves and infernal entities, as can been seen in the exorcism of *vos elves & o[mn]ia g[e]n[er]a damo[ne]ᵐ* ('you elves and all demon verities') in the fifteenth-century manuscript Sloane 962 (9v), and the *Aliud Carmen p[er] eodem* (Another chant/incantation for the same) that expels *vos elfas… et om[n]es genus & semen diabolicū* (you elves… and all varieties and offspring of demons) beginning on folio 15r of Sloane 963 (note that the latter seems to use the generally feminine first declension to decline 'elfas', varieties of which are found elsewhere in this study).[253] Despite being spells to banish elves they share little with the Banishment of the Seven Sisters beyond their common aim of expelling elves (as defined by the term not necessarily the conceptualisation).

Despite not directly drawing from its medieval precedents in spells to banish elves, the Banishment of the Seven Sisters of e Mus. 173 takes lines directly from the eleventh-century Sigismund Fever Charm, from which the seven sisters originated.[254] e Mus. 173's banishing ritual appears to have been a Frankensteinian construction, with the words of the ancient Sator Square ('Sator,

---

[251] e Mus 173, 15v-16r and Sloane 1727, 23-24. I have modernised the spelling and expanded abbreviations.
[252] Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, 104-116, 156. See especially chapters four and five, which respectively are entitled '*Ælfe*, Illness and Healing (1): The "elf-shot" Conspiracy' and '*Ælfe*, Illness and Healing (2): *Ælfsīden*'.
[253] Sloane 962, 9v; Sloane 963, 15r. Cf Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 73.
[254] Wallis, ed. *Medieval Medicine*, 69.

Arepo, Tenet, Opera, Rotas') being listed as *voces magicae* (as they are in the

Januvian Fairy Ritual in section 1.8.2.2 below and the Munich Handbook,

discussed further in section 2.3.2) along with an abridgment of *Kyrie eleison*.[255]

Although it draws heavily upon the high medieval charm to banish fevers, the text

is clearly structured not as a charm to ward off fevers, but as an exorcism with two

applications: to remove the sisters from a person or from the earth where treasure

is buried.

The identification of these entities as *elphas* (which is a feminine Latinisation

of 'elves' and interchangeable with fairies in this period), and the connection of

them with buried treasure clearly draws upon the contemporary characterisation of

fairy-related beings as treasure guardians (see Chapters Three and Four).

Presumably this incantation was meant to be said before digging for treasure so

that its guardian spirits did not interfere.[256] Such an association precedes it by only

a few folios in E Mus. 173, in a ritual invoking Asazell and Narris for the purpose of

driving off all the entities that they have command over from the earth where

treasure is buried.[257] The ritual repeatedly banishes 'devels, sprits & elves',

sometimes adding 'evils'.[258] While making little distinction between spirits, devils,

and elves, the text does frame them all as malevolent guardians of earthly

treasures who might be commanded by a magician via more powerful entities,

such as Azazel. It is clear that fairies or elves, such as the seven sisters, could

[255] e Mus. 173, 15v-16r; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 113.
[256] See Chapter Four for greater discussion of this association between fairies and treasure and the logic of exorcizing treasure guardians.
[257] e Mus. 173, 9v-11r.
[258] e Mus. 173, 9v-11r.

guide magicians to their treasure when bound, or act as its malevolent defenders when free.

1.6 Organic Magic Ointments

Several rituals in this study, such as the Skimmed Water Ointment (see above, 2.2.2.1) and the Fairy Thorn Ointment (see below, 2.7.1.2), centre around the creation of ointments to see fairies. The Lapwing Ointment and the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual, however, are distinguished by both drawing heavily upon principles of contemporary *naturalia*, with a markedly sanguinary and adipose focus. These operations appear to hold some degree of common ancestry, with the latter likely drawing upon the former.

Despite points of correlation, these texts are very different. Notably, the Lapwing Ointment uses spontaneous generation which is not present in the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual. The concept of spontaneous generation (the notion that plants and animals could arise from matter under certain conditions without the need of parents or seed) originated in antiquity and was popularised by Aristotle. Its prominence was such that it survived into the nineteenth century. Drawing upon Aristotelian, Galenic, and neoplatonic sources, during the medieval period it was an accepted part of Latinate, Arabic, and Jewish natural philosophy and evident in some alchemical works.[259] Yet the Lapwing Ointment goes beyond standard spontaneous generation. It uses parts of a dead lapwing to create a new one which

---

[259] See Daryn Lehoux, *Creatures Born of Mud and Slime: The Wonder and Complexity of Spontaneous Generation* (Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2017), 4; Remke Kruk, 'A Frothy Bubble: Spontaneous Generation in the Medieval Islamic Tradition', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 35, no. 2 (Autumn 1990): 265-282; Ahuva Gaziel, 'Spontaneous Generation in Medieval Jewish Philosophy and Theology', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 34, no. 3 (2012): 461-479.

has unique properties that conventionally spawned lapwings do not have. Clearly the spontaneously generated bird has unique powers which are not occult properties shared by all lapwings because otherwise the ritual would have skipped the regenerative stage and simply used the original lapwing.

The generation of new creatures with magical properties present in the Lapwing Ointment is reminiscent of a ninth-century Arabic work of natural magic, the Latin translation of which is called the *Liber vaccae.*[260] The tamer aspects of this tract would later influence the more wondrous aspects of *naturalia* present in the Latin work *De mirabilis mundi,* and it was one of the many sources used in writing the *Picatrix.*[261] At its most transgressive moments the *Liber vaccae* offered directions to produce a humanlike 'rational animal' (a homunculus), and creatures with human and animal characteristics using processes that are grounded in spontaneous generation, sympathies, and occult properties in nature.[262] While this magic manual is not contained in any manuscript assessed in this study, the magic it contained offered precedent for the Lapwing Ointment and Sevenfold Ointment Ritual.

The ritualised stages of the *Liber vaccae*'s experiments, along with their gestation periods in enclosed containers for set periods of time, and the marvellous effects of the regenerated body are all reminiscent of the Lapwing and Sevenfold Ritual ointments. In that regard, the Lapwing Ointment draws more from traditions of natural magic than ritual magic, and falls squarely into what Maaike Van der Lugt has dubbed 'organic magic' due to its reliance upon the wonderous properties

---

[260] Maaike Van der Lugt, '"Abominable Mixtures": The *Liber vaccae* in the Medieval West, or The Dangers and Attractions of Natural Magic', *Traditio* 64 (2009): 232-233.
[261] Van der Lugt, 'Abominable Mixtures', 231-233, 249-250.
[262] Van der Lugt, 'Abominable Mixtures', 232, 235, 240, 250.

of human and animal viscera, as well as plants and stones.[263] The Sevenfold

Ointment Ritual is a more even blend of these two branches of magic.

1.6.1 Contextually Fairy Related

Many rituals discussed in this study do not specifically identify the entity

summoned as a 'fairy'. For some rituals one copy uses the term, while others do

not. For others the entity's nature is not identified, but their names are those of

known fairies in vernacular sources. Still others are clearly conceptualised as

fairies due to possessing a telling constellation of tropes associated with fairies in

esoteric and/or exoteric sources. No copy of the Lapwing Ointment ever explicitly

refers to the revealed entities as 'fairies'. Contextual evidence, however, indicates

that they were understood as such and so warrant inclusion in this study.

1.6.1.1 The Lapwing Ointment (Appendix 1.3)

Lapwing Variants			
Manuscript	Century[264]	Folios/Pages	Variant
Cambridge, Additional 3544	Sixteenth Century 1532-1558	56-57	Grease
Folger VB 26	Late Sixteenth Century	142-143	Blood
		143	Grease
E Mus 173	Seventeenth Century 1600-1610	35r	Grease
		73r	Blood
Sloane 3851	Seventeenth Century 1614-1636	129v	Blood

Figure 1: Lapwing Ointment - blood and grease variants.

---

[263] Van der Lugt, 'Abominable Mixtures', 238
[264] See Appendix 1 for dating details.

The six surviving copies of the Lapwing Ointment recipe make this text the most circulated set of ointment instructions in this study. There are two subcategories of the Lapwing Ointment (see Figure 1, above and Appendix 1). One instructs the magician to roast a magically created lapwing and use the grease that drips off it as an ointment. The other variety uses the blood of the generated lapwing for the same purpose. Both versions are extremely similar in structure and wording, but with a few key differences.

While it may strike anyone acquainted with medieval ritual magic as strange that lapwing blood should be called for and not the much more popular blood of a hoopoe, Harms and Clark write that some copies render this as hoopoe instead of lapwing, observing that hoopoes have been used to see spirits since the late antique Greek Magical Papyri.[265] It should be noted that despite the many differences between the Lapwing Ointment and Sylvan Square ritual, Harms and Clark conflate these operations, referring to both as the Lapwing Experiment, perhaps due to the centrality of this bird's blood in each.[266] As Harms and Clark observe, one ritual in the Greek Magical Papyri directs hoopoe (and several other birds') blood to be combined with various plant materials and powdered, blended, and put into the eyes when one summons a god to appear.[267] The magical potency of hoopoes travelled from ancient and late antique biblical, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman writings, into the Arabic world and (eventually) the Latin west.[268]

---

[265] See *Of Angels, Demons, and Spirits*, ed. Daniel Harms and James R. Clark (Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2019), 171.

[266] See footnote 305, Harms and Clark, eds. *Angels, Demons, and Spirits*, 171.

[267] Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells,* Second Edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 237-238.

[268] Timothy Schum, 'From Egypt to Mount Qāf: The Symbolism of the Hoopoe in Muslim Literature and Folklore', *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies* 3, no. 1 (2018): 40-41; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 66-67, n. 25. Cf. Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 126, n. 32.

The Lapwing ointment demonstrates, in real time, the replacement of hoopoes with lapwings in English magic rituals. The early- to mid-sixteenth-century Cambridge, Additional 3544 contains the earliest copy of the Lapwing Ointment recipe included in this study. Written in Latin, it instructs the magician to kill an '*vpupam'* (Latin for 'hoopoe') with a copper knife on a Thursday. By the late sixteenth century, however, two variants of this ritual circulated in English and directed the magician to use a lapwing, as attested to by Folger VB 26. All subsequent extant copies of this ritual are in English and recommend using a lapwing. This likely arose from the lack of hoopoes in the insular context, leading to the replacement of them with a locally available crested bird. The lack of hoopoes in England strongly suggests that the Lapwing Ointment was imported from a learned continental context. The alteration of hoopoe into a local bird indicates that these rituals were not merely being transmitted passively through purely antiquarian interests but were being practiced locally. The ritual significance of lapwings is therefore a distinctive feature of insular (in this case English) magic.

The Lapwing Ointment operation primarily involves killing a lapwing, draining it of blood, and placing this in a sealed vessel to gestate and produce worms. After the magician checks for the worms, he is to reseal the vessel for another period until only one great worm remains. At this point the magician adds nuts (and sometimes fruit) which he is to turn into a paste and shape around the worm (like a pseudo-egg) before sealing it all in the vessel again. After another period the vessel is to be reopened and a new lapwing is supposed to have developed. The magician is to extract and set aside the blood or fat from this new lapwing. The text then directs the magician to apply this grease or blood to his eyes as an ointment and face east where he will see spirits. He can then select

one and ask it questions, which the text assures the entity will answer truthfully. While this is the only purpose of the spell in the content of the text, the title given to this ritual in Sloane 3851 is 'To have familiar Spiritts', indicating that the selection process in the ritual was interpreted as selecting a familiar by at least one scribe.[269]

1.6.1.1.1 Grease Variant (Appendix 1.3a)

The grease variant of the Lapwing Ointment is found in Cambridge, Additional 3544, following the blood variant in Folger VB 26, and preceding the blood variant in E Mus 173.[270] While the English copies of the Grease Variant are apparently translations of the Latin copy in Cambridge, Additional 3544, there are some differences that appear to have arisen through translation or early circulation of the text. These differences are numerous but do not impact the structure of the ritual. For example, the Latin copy directs the first lapwing to be killed with a copper knife on a Thursday ('*die Jouis*'), whereas the English translations advise using a brass knife on the day and hour of Mercury.[271] The Latin version instructs the magician to make the pseudo-egg out of powdered '*dactulos quor[um] euellas lapides emidias nutar[um] que appellantur: fylberdes: & etiam amigdalor[um]*'.[272] Francis Young has translated this list as 'finger-shaped things pulled out of rocks, the kernels of nuts which are called filberts, and also of almonds'.[273] In an endnote he proposes that '"Finger-shaped things pulled out of rocks": *dactulos* is in this

---

[269] Sloane 3851, 129v.

[270] Cambridge, Additional 3544, 56-57; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 52-54; Folger VB 26, 143; e Mus 173, 35r.

[271] Cambridge, Additional 3544, 56; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 52-53; Folger VB 26, 143; e Mus 173, 35r.

[272] Cambridge, Additional 3544, 56; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 52-53.

[273] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 53.

case a reference to long, thin fossils found inside rocks'.[274] The word *dactulos* (or

dactylos) can also refer to, among other things, the fruit known in English as

'dates'. In this reading *evellas* should be understood as a second-person singular

present active subjunctive verb, and thus *dactulos quorum euellas lapides* ought to

be translated as 'dates of which you should pull out the stones', in short: pitted

dates. This interpretation is that adopted by the English translations of the Grease

Variant which present the list as 'ye meate of dates Almones figs & walnutt

kyrnels'.[275] This is echoed later when the date pits (the Latin renders this

'*lapidib[us] dactulor[um]*') and almond casings, walnut shells and other inedible bits

of the nuts and fruit used to make the pseudo-egg are used to fuel the flame over

which the newly created bird is roasted to extract the magical grease.[276]

The English copies have their roots in a common English translation from

the Latin, or a different Latin version, now lost. This is evident in idiosyncratic

elements held by both English versions that differ from the Latin so distinctly that

they are unlikely to have arisen independently. For example, the English copies

conclude by saying that, should the magician wish to remove the power to see

spirits he must wash his face with waters in which swallows have bathed. The

Latin, however, states that he must use an infusion of a certain plant ('*herba que*

d[i]c[i]t[u]r Buta') which Young suggests refers to buttercups.[277] Yet not all

differences between these copies are between the Latin and English versions. For

example, the intervals between the ritual's stages in Cambridge, Additional 3544

---

[274] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 126.

[275] e Mus. 173, 35r. The other copy adds 'small nutes' to this list, see Folger VB 26, 143.

[276] Cambridge, Additional 3544, 57; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 53-54; Folger VB 26, 143; e Mus 173, 35r.

[277] Cambridge, Additional 3544, 57; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 54; Folger VB 26, 143; e Mus 173, 35r.

and E Mus 173 are each nine days, whereas in Folger VB 26 the last step takes

ninety days before the new lapwing is produced.[278] I posit that the Latin version

preserved in Cambridge, Additional 3544 was translated into English, a

comparatively faithful copy of which is present in E Mus 173. The copy in Folger

VB 26 was copied from this English translation with some elaborations made in the

way that is (as has been discussed) not uncommon in ritual magic operations.[279]

While the Latin text makes no such claims, both English copies state that

the spirits will appear like humans, and assure the reader not to fear them since it

was by this ointment that 'this science' (magic) was discovered.[280] The idea that

magic was first learnt through conference with spirits (and perhaps fairies) implies

that by this means new magic could be taught or discovered.[281] The idea of secrets

allowed to gods and spirits, but sinful for humans to partake in, also had biblical

support in the story of Eve's encounter with the fruit of the knowledge of good and

evil. This tabooed knowledge contrasts with ancient Egyptian and medieval

European magicians' presentation of magic as a divine gift given to humanity by

God's angels or the gods so humans might 'ward off the blows of fate'.[282] Whether

given with divine authority or through spiritual rebellion, humanity acquires it

through revelation not rational invention. Some magic texts, such as several

chiromantic works, endeavoured to distance themselves from categorisation as

transgressive 'magic' and frame themselves as mundane natural knowledge that is

---

[278] Cambridge, Additional 3544, 56-57; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 52-54; Folger VB 26, 143; e Mus 173, 35r.

[279] Klaassen, 'Unstable Texts', 230-231.

[280] Folger VB 26, 143. e Mus 173, 35r.

[281] An idea long established by the *Book of Enochian*. See *The Book of Enoch*, trans. R. H. Charles (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), 35-36.

[282] Peterson, ed. *Sworn Book of Honorius*, 48-51; Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 17; Klaassen, 'Learning and Masculinity', 71.

discoverable through human reason via observation and experimentation.[283]

Clearly the writers of this text made no attempt to reconcile this magic with, nor

frame it as, *naturalia* despite drawing upon contemporary natural principles. In the

Book of Enoch we see an early and enduring example of humans learning magic

from spirits with which they have a sexual relationship, and even precedent for

human-spirit hybrids. The English copies of the Lapwing Ointment's grease variant

evoke this far older tradition of magic being presented as Promethean knowledge

given to humanity by spirits.

On f. 143 of Folger VB 26, the text prudently adds that, before the ointment

is made, the reader must also follow the instructions outlined earlier in the

manuscript on f. 97 (which explains how to consecrate a protective circle). It also

states that a chief ingredient for success with this ritual is on the previous folio

containing the blood variant, although (since the grease variant includes all of the

ingredients listed in the blood variant and more) it is unclear to what substance this

statement alludes, unless it is to the blood itself.[284] References like this emphasise

the inter-textual nature of some ritual magic manuscripts, and that single

operations cannot be interpreted in isolation of their wider manuscript context (see

Chapter Two).

1.6.1.1.2 Blood Variant (Appendix 1.3b)

The copies of the Lapwing Ointment, blood variant, found in Folger VB 26

and E Mus 173, are more elaborate than that in Sloane 3851, yet all three refer to

---

[283] Samuel P. Gillis Hogan, 'Stars in the Hand: The Manuscript and Intellectual Contexts of British Latin Medieval Chiromancy and its Scholastic and Astrological Influences' (master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2018), 45-47, 49-62.

[284] Folger VB 26, 143; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 368-369.

the entities revealed as spirits of the air.[285] Throughout Folger VB 26 'spirits of the air' and 'fairies' are discussed in close proximity, with the spirits of the air ruled by the four kings of the spirits of the air directly following Mycob in the *Office of the Spirits* and the two versions of the Lapwing Ointment on pages 142 to 143 follow shortly after a copy of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual which spans pages 138 to 140.[286] In E Mus 173 it is the last in a series of four fairy-related rituals (see Chapter Two).[287] Furthermore, the text directly follows two spells 'To have Conference with a fairy' (namely, the Skimmed Water Ointment followed by the Elder Ritual) in Sloane 3851.[288] This further supports the argument that, while the term 'fairy' was not used in this text, it was being interpreted by these manuscripts' compilers as a means by which one might reveal fairies and/or closely related entities.

The copy of the blood variant in Sloane 3851 is more rudimentary in many ways than its other extant copies. In Folger VB 26 and E Mus 173 the time between the different stages of the rituals varies between ten and twelve days, whereas the intervals in Sloane 3851 are seven days.[289] Upon seeing and selecting a spirit the magician is told to state a simple Latin command for peace between himself and the spirit, which is more rudimentary and garbled in Sloane 3851.[290] The versions in Folger VB 26 and E Mus 173 direct the reader to perform the ritual during the warmth of spring and summer months, with Folger VB 26

---

[285] Folger VB 26, 142-143; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 366; e Mus. 173, 73r.
[286] Folger VB 26, 81-84, 138-140.
[287] e Mus. 173, 71v-73r.
[288] Sloane 3851, 129r-129v.
[289] Folger VB 26, 142. Cf. Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 366; Sloane 3851, 129v; Rankine, ed. *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 289; e Mus 173, 73r; Harms and Clark, eds. *Angels, Demons, and Spirits*, 283.
[290] Sloane 3851, 129v. Cf. Folger VB 26, 142; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 366; e Mus 173, 73r.

specifying that the magician must also do so in the hour of Saturn with Mars in opposition or tringle (which is to say, 'trine').[291] The copy in Sloane 3851 made no stipulations about appropriate timing.

While the version in Sloane 3851 ends with the Latin command to bind the spirit, and that in E Mus 173 concludes with the notes on timing, the text in Folger VB 26, however, goes on at some length with a lively personal narrative about the spell's acquisition. The account states that it was written by John Weston of 'Dowway' who learned the recipe for this 'choleric' ointment from a 'Turk' during their colourful adventures together (which Harms and Clark posit was added to this ritual from another source due to the oscillation of first and second person pronouns in the text).[292] Interestingly, this narrative indicates that the ointment does not only bestow the ability to see spirits, but also the power to see humans who have used magic rings to become invisible.[293]

I suggest that the blood variant is an evolution from/corruption of the grease variant, or else is a translation of a Latin variant no longer extant. The more elaborate copies appear to be the original versions with the copy in Sloane 3851 being an abbreviated version. The short history found in Folger VB 26 is not present in any other copy of the grease or blood variants, and is thus likely an addition appended to the ritual. The shift in number of days between stages of the ritual in Sloane 3851's copy to seven may arise through influence from the similar Sevenfold Ointment Ritual which appears to have arisen or borrowed from the Lapwing Ointment.

---

[291] Folger VB 26, 142; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 366; e Mus 173, 73r.
[292] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 366-368.
[293] Folger VB 26, 142; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 367.

1.6.2 Explicitly Fairy Related

While no copy of the Lapwing Ointment uses the word 'fairies' to refer to the entities revealed by the ointment, this term is explicitly used in the closely related Sevenfold Ointment Ritual. This ritual is preserved in the late sixteenth-century Folger VB 26, and the early seventeenth-century Sloane 3851, ff. 130r-131r.[294] Both of these manuscripts also contain the blood variant of the Lapwing ointment. I propose that the Lapwing Ointment began as the Latin grease variant, was translated into English, the blood variant then emerged, and finally it was one of the sources that fed into the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual. This operation is one of the most developed articulations of a fairy conjuring spell (along with the Januvian Rituals, discussed below), containing many elements of which most other individual rituals possess only one or two.

Despite the word 'fairy' being used in the text of this operation, their titles do not identify them as such. In Folger VB 26 this ritual is entitled 'To make An oyle which is petious [sic precious] moste Rare & excellent of all others *ad videndum spi[ri]tib[u]s de ayre* [to see the spirits of the air] as followeth', which demonstrates that in this context fairies and their ilk were understood (by the writer of this title) to be a variety of aerial spirits.[295] The preposition *de* takes the ablative *ayre*, and so can mean 'from the air' as it is rendered by Harms and Peterson, however I suggest that *de* here is meant to convey the alternate translation 'of' or 'concerning'.[296] This is an important distinction as it clarifies that these are not spirits who necessarily dwell in or descend from the air, but who are naturally and

---

[294] Folger VB 26, 138-140; Sloane 3851, 130r-131r.
[295] Folger VB 26, 138.
[296] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 358.

taxonomically associated with the air as an element or region. The connection between fairies and classical aerial spirits is explored further in Chapters Three and Four.

Echoing the title of the Lapwing Ointment in the same manuscript, Sloane 3851's copy of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual is given the title 'To have Conference with familier Spirits'.[297] Familiar spirits are, generally, not a type of spirit but rather a role, a relationship with a magic practitioner, that many sorts of spirits might fill. The writer of Sloane 3851, or his source, clearly conceptualised fairies as a variety of spirit that made useful familiars. The use of fairies as familiars was not anomalous in the early modern period, so this is unsurprising, although informative as to the use to which summoned fairies were being put by some magicians.[298]

This operation most heavily draws upon the Lapwing Ointment instructions. Certainly, these rituals circulated together, with the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual appearing a few folios before the Lapwing Ointment in Folger VB 26 and on the folio after it (with only a few short operations between them) in Sloane 3851. Although not present in the grease variant of the Lapwing Ointment, all copies of the blood variant share an almost identically worded instruction with the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual. Folger Vb 26 renders this line 'annoynte thy eyes with the blood & looke forthe at the east windowe etc/ or eastwarde, & south[299] thou shalt see the spirits of the ayere of which thou mayest call one'.[300] Likewise e Mus. 173 directs

---

[297] Sloane 3851, 130r.
[298] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 20-21, 50, 53, 63-64, 67-69; Klaassen and Wright, *Magic of Rogues*, 15-16.
[299] Harms and Peterson render this as 'sooth' (as in 'truly'). However, the manuscript spells this 'south' and a cursory search of contemporary dictionaries did not show any attestation to 'sooth' being spelled 'south' (although atypical spellings are not surprising at this time). Given that the text is referring to directions, I suggest that this could be saying that the spirits appear to the east and south. If so, this was idiosyncratic as it is the east alone in other copies. Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 366.
[300] Folger VB 26, 142.

the magician to 'anoynt thy eyes wth y^e [sic the] bloud & look out of thy windowe

into ye East & yf [sic if] y^u [sic you] be in ye I looke into ye East & y^u shalt see all y^e

sp[i]rits of ye ayre then mayst y^u call one of them to thee'.[301] Finally Sloane 3851

renders this, '…Then take the bloud… and annoynt thy Eyes therwith. Then looke

forth of thy Chamber window toward the East And thou shalt see all the Spirits of

the Ayre in order. Then call one of them and take his office and he will tell thee.'[302]

Both copies of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual retain almost identical wording. That

in Folger Vb 26 says 'Annointe ['thine eyes'] therw[i]th & looke towarde the East,

then thou shalt see diverse creatures moste bewtifull to be behoulde [sic behold] in

garmente of divers coloures then speake to one of them which thou likest best'.[303]

That in Sloane 3851 is almost identically worded.

The earliest copies of both the Lapwing OIntment and Sevenfold Ointment

Ritual included in this study are found in Folger Vb 26. As such it is impossible to

determine which came first. However, as the earlier grease variant of the former

survives, I propose that the grease variant was elaborated into the blood variant,

gaining the directions to look east (and possibly south) to see the spirits. This was

then drawn into the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual which appears to have drawn from

many contemporary fairy and fairy-related rituals. Many elements and tropes which

permeate the entire body of fairy related rituals can be found in this quintessential

fairy summoning text.

---

[301] e Mus 173, 73r.

[302] Sloane 3851, 129v.

[303] Folger VB 26, 140.

1.6.2.1 The Sevenfold Ointment Ritual (Appendix 1.9)

Many elements of this ritual are represented in other fairy conjuring texts. For example, this ritual includes a taboo much like that in The Table Ritual, stipulating that the magician must not ask the being 'hir name, hir parentage, nor yet hir kindred, or for what shee is, for feare of Indignation, neither yet whether shee be a spirit or woman'.[304] Similar to the Skimmed Water Ointment text, in the Sevenfold Ointment recipe the magician is advised not to speak too much with the summoned fairy, but to remain concise and neither insult her nor pollute himself.[305] Also, while this ritual does not mention the oft invoked Sibilia (nor is she listed among the seven sisters) the seventh sister in this text, Delforia, is described as empress 'of all fayres [sic fairies], Sibilis, & all amiable creatures delightinge in the compaine [sic company] of humaine [sic human] people' (this is repeated as 'christen [sic Christian] people' later in the text).[306] This context demonstrates that the developer of this ritual conceptualised sibyls as a class of fairy-related being which were under the rulership of the fairy empress. The fact that this passage suggests that fairies were amiable to humans is echoed in the Januvian rituals (see 2.8.2, below) which assure the reader that no circle is needed when invoking these spirits and that they were 'more humane' spirits. While less common than other rituals such as the Table Ritual or Oberion's Plate, this ritual is in many ways the most developed articulation of many threads present throughout the fairy summoning tradition.

---

[304] Folger VB 26, 140; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 363.
[305] Folger VB 26, 140; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 363.
[306] Folger VB 26, 139; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon,* 360, 362.

Since the copy in Folger Vb 26 and that in Sloane 3851 are virtually

identical, save for the latter version's truncation of the more repetitive parts of the

former, I use the earlier version in the Folger manuscript to give an overview of this

operation. The first stage of the ritual begins on the day and hour of Mercury and

continues for the next seven days. Each day, in the hour of Mercury, the reader is

directed to kill a different animal (in the order of: a white owlet, a lapwing, a black

hen, a black cat, a 'want' (i.e. a mole), a bat, and a raven) while reciting the same

invocation to seven different sets of seven spirits.[307] These spirits are all under the

command of Rufangoll, and under the princeship of Hemeolon by whom these

seven sets of seven spirits, and all their inferiors, are bound to aid this operation

and not harm the magician. The fat of each creature is to be placed in one vessel

and the blood in another. The magician is to wash his hands with rose water and

then mix seven drams of fat from each creature together with a slice of bay tree

while reciting an invocation to the seven sisters (which explicitly identified them as

fairies). This invocation refers to Delforia as the empress of the fairies and she is

framed as the primary target of the ritual. It states that she goes among people

invisibly, but that upon application of the ointment she should appear visibly and,

as the magician commands, 'be as familiar with me as you were with kinge

Salomon [sic Solomon] that mighty p[r]ince & as you were with p[r]ince Arthur that

valiant p[r]ince'.[308] It is unclear why Arthur is referred to as a 'prince' rather than the

---

[307] Harms and Peterson specify that a 'want' refers to a mole. Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon,* 359-360. Moles have been referred to as 'wants' since at least the early sixteenth century, see John Stanbridge, *Vocabula magistri stanbrigi primum edita sua saltem editione*, (1510), s.v. 'want'; John Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse* (1530), s.v. 'want', accessed through: Ian Lancashire (ed.), 'Advanced Search', *LEME: Lexicons of Early Modern English*, University of Toronto Libraries, University of Toronto Press, accessed January 2023, https://leme.library.utoronto.ca/search/advanced. By the early eighteenth century it was specified as a northern English dialect word for a mole, see John Kersey the younger, *A New English Dictionary* (1702), s.v. 'want'. Accessed through *LEME*.
[308] Folger VB 26, 139; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 360-361.

'king' as was Solomon, although it may be a way to emphasise the superiority of Solomon as the God-graced, wise, and biblical king (and a preeminent figure in the ritual magic tradition). That Solomon was also referred to as a prince, however, suggests that the terms were being used interchangeably. Whatever the reason for this wording, the statement unambiguously encapsulates this ritual's unification of the Latinate Solomonic tradition of ritual magic with the vernacular courtly and popular romantic/balladic tradition of King Arthur and fairies. The invocation directs Delforia and her six sisters to reveal the secrets of all sciences and information which might be classed as natural magic (such as, 'the hidden Natures p[r]op[er]teies & vertues of mettalls p[r]ecious stones trees [and] herbes'), just as she showed it to King Solomon. It concludes with the traditional threat of hellfire should she disobey the command.[309]

In the second stage of the ritual this text directs the magician to go to a fairy throne (see the Fairy Thorn Ointment, section 1.7.1.2, for a discussion of fairy thrones/fairy thorns) 'at the conjunction of the Moon in the hour of Mercury' and inscribe the names of the seven sisters seven times upon virgin parchment along with magic sigils.[310] Three copies of their names should be written with the third feather of a lapwing's left wing, and four copies of their names should be inscribed with the fifth feather of a raven's right wing. The reader is then instructed to cover the vessel with the virgin parchment and seal it with virgin wax while reciting the names of the seven sisters. In the day and hour of mercury while the moon is

---

[309] Folger VB 26, 139.

[310] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*. I use Harms and Peterson's transcription here as the original text uses symbols that may be inaccessible to most modern readers. The original states that it must be 'done at the ☌ of the ☽ in the hower of ☿'. Note that the crescent is facing the other direction in the text. Folger VB 26, 139.

increasing the magician should cut four hazel rods of one year's growth, shave them of bark, and write the names of the seven sisters upon them. These should be placed in the four cardinal directions around the fairy throne. Then the magician should bury the vessel with a copper seal (inscribed with the symbols of Saturn, Mercury, the sun, the moon, Mars, and Venus around an elaborate central sigil that incorporates the symbol of Jupiter) in the fairy throne while repeating another invocation three times at each of the four rods. This invocation calls the seven sisters to come and 'make p[er]fecte' the ointment so that it would allow sight through their invisibility and 'fraude', which is to say, their deceptions or possibly illusions.[311]

Then, in a stage reminiscent of the Lapwing Ointment's periods of gestation, the text then directs the magician to use another hazel rod to draw a pentacle on the ground above the buried vessel three times a day for three days. Then the magician is told to dig it up and place the vessel in the sun, turning it three times a day for five days before leaving it in the sun a further five days without touching it. Finally, the magician is told to undergo seven days of purification before applying the ointment and (as the Lapwing Ointment text advises) looking to the east where he 'shalt see diverse creatures moste bewtifull to be behoulde [sic behold] in garmente[s] of divers couloures'.[312]

This final stage of the ritual, like the Lapwing Ointment, instructs the reader to choose whichever of the figures he prefers. Unlike the Lapwing Ointment text, however, the Sevenfold Ointment text binds the spirit with an invocation in which he leverages the being's hope of being saved on judgement day which echoes the

---

[311] Folger VB 26, 139; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon,* 361-362.

[312] Folger VB 26, 140; Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon,* 362.

implication in several incantations (such as that in the Grand Ritual for Oberion,

discussed in section 1.1.1.3) that these entities might be able to be saved (see

above). This invocation concludes with an English sentence ('the peace of God be

betweene thee & me') that is a direct translation of the simple Latin command

which binds the spirit at the end of the blood variant of the Lapwing Ointment

recipe (*vade pax sit inter te et me*).[313] The copy of the Lapwing Ointment in e Mus.

173 switches the order of the pronouns to *me et te*, suggesting that Folger VB 26 is

closer to when the material was incorporated from the Lapwing Ointment to the

Sevenfold Ointment Ritual.[314] The copy in Sloane 3851 characteristically garbles

this Latin command to *Vade Christus sit Mater te et me*.[315] *Vade* is clearly a

corruption of *Vale* (likely arising because lower case 'L' and 'D' look very similar in

some cursive hands) which means 'goodbye'. After this invocation the text of the

Sevenfold Ointment Ritual states that the being which the magician selected will

appear whenever he applies the ointment to his eyes, and the effect of the

ointment can be reversed by applying 'Rose water, or some other sweet water' to

his eyes.[316]

1.7 Ashmole's Fairy Cluster

In 1956 Katherine Briggs offered transcriptions of 'the well-known fairy

spells from Elias Ashmole's manuscript in the Bodleian, Ashmole 1406.'[317]

Although fairy summoning rituals have been obscure since Briggs' time, when she

---

[313] Folger VB 26, 140, 142.

[314] e Mus. 173, 73r.

[315] Sloane 3851, 129v

[316] Folger Vb 26, 140.

[317] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 458.

described them as well known in the 1950s she was likely referring to several

nineteenth-century printings. These rituals were first transcribed, although 'The

impiety of the originals has been omitted', in a short chapter (entitled 'Conjurations

for Fairies') from the 1845 publication *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of 'A*

Midsummer Night's Dream' by James Orchard Halliwell.[318] In 1875 William-Carew

Hazlitt described this and Joseph Ritson's 1831 *Fairy Tales* as 'Two scarce books'

in his amalgamation and reprinting of them as *Fairy Tales, Legends, and*

Romances, Illustrating Shakespeare and Other Early English Writers.[319] By the

early twentieth century these rituals were so well known in literary circles that they

entered into contemporary fantasy.[320] Briggs observed that 'all the precautions of

ordinary necromancy' were present in the ritual and was much more interested in

the Skimmed Water Ointment from e Mus. 173 which, she believed, reflected more

authentic folk custom.[321] Where Briggs frames the spells as traditionally

necromantic and as presenting fairies as ghosts, Oldridge argues that this is 'a

series of spells and conjurations involving fairies that implied a detailed

understanding of their nature.'[322] Harms calls into question Oldridge's assertion

that the fairy rituals in Ashmole 1406 demonstrate that Ashmole had 'considerable

knowledge of the kingdom of fairies' and instead asks whether this might have

been 'an antiquarian simply copying a piece from another work' which has yet to be

found.[323] Since this project has found another copy of the Fairy Thorn Ritual in

Sloane 3846, and specialised terminology in the Threefold Ritual like 'fairy throne'

---

[318] Halliwell, *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology*, 229-233.
[319] Hazlitt, *Illustrating Shakespeare*, iii.
[320] Hope Mirrlees, *Lud-in-the-Mist* (London: Gollancz, 2018), 176-177.
[321] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 457-460.
[322] Oldridge, 'Fairies and the Devil', 11.
[323] Harms, 'Hell and Fairy', 60

have been also found in the earlier Sevenfold Ritual, there is growing evidence to support Harms' postulation. These rituals may not provide certain evidence for Ashmole's engagement in and detailed knowledge of contemporary fairy oral folklore, but they do demonstrate awareness of and interest in fairies as portrayed in and summoned by ritual magic texts.

These comparatively 'well-known fairy spells' span folios 50v-55v of Ashmole 1406 and are comprised of four titled sections.[324] The contents of these folios have been treated as four distinct spells by almost all scholars who have discussed them (with Briggs combining what I have titled the threefold Ritual and Fairy Thorn ritual into one of three spells). When read together, however, they function as one ritual with two different possible invocations. Instructions for ritual preparation and action appear on folio 50v which the magician must do to consecrate the crystal and prepare for the invocation, this is followed by instructions for an ointment which bestows vision of fairies on 51r which is to be worn when summoning, and two different invocations run from 51v-53r and 53v-55v which allow the magician to choose between summoning the fairy Elaby Gathan or one of his choosing. While, in this context, these four titled sections function as one ritual, I discuss them separately here since the ointment instructions (at least) circulated independently in another manuscript and was therefore not exclusively part of this larger ritual.

---

[324] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 458. Ashmole 1406, 50v-55v.

1.7.1 Ritual Actions

Throughout this dissertation I sometimes refer to invocations as rituals and at others I describe them as part of rituals. This is because sometimes ritual instructions and the incantations which the magician should say travel together as a complete ritual, whereas at others invocations travel independently (presumably because the scribe who copied them assumed that the reader knew the basics of ritual magic and merely needed the invocation specific to the targeted spirit). Ashmole's Fairy Cluster ends with two incantations, but begins with a single set of ritual instructions, presumably intended to be used for either invocation. I have dubbed these instructions the Threefold Ritual and suggest that it was in part based upon the Fairy Thorn Ointment that is bound between it and the invocations.

1.7.1.1 The Threefold Ritual (Appendix 1.25)

The ritual directions are titled 'An excellent way to gett a Fayrie but for my selfe I call margarett Barrance but this will obtain any one that is not allready bownd'.[325] The notion that fairies can be 'taken off the market,' so to speak, by being bound into service by a magician is an interesting feature that frames the goal of this ritual as the establishment of an ongoing relationship with a fairy familiar. Similarly the copy of the Lapwing Ointment, blood variant, in Sloane 3551 tells the magician to 'call one of them [the spirits], and aske his office and he will tell thee. If he be for thy torne If he be not comannd [sic command] him to send one that is And he will do it.'[326] While the meaning of 'torne' is ambiguous, it may mean 'turn'. Furthermore, the period present in this copy appears to splice a sentence

---

[325] Ashmole 1406, 50v.
[326] Sloane 3851, 129v.

and (I suggest) was added to the text through the process of transcription. If I am correct in this, then this passage may be interpreted and lightly modernised as 'call one of the spirits and ask his office and he will tell thee if he be [available] for thy turn [with him as a familiar], if he be not then command him to send another that is, and he will do it.' If my reading is correct, then this is another example of fairy familiars being understood as being exclusively bound to their magician, but still summonable by others. An example of this idea also survives in the court records, with several treasure-hunting magicians from Yorkshire (rather audaciously) claiming that when they summoned Oberon to help them find treasure, he informed them that he was unable to help them as he was already bound into service to the cardinal.[327] This limited market for fairy (and perhaps any spirit) assistants make spells that target any fairy (such as the Lapwing Ointment, Skimmed Water Ointment, Januvian Rituals, and Ashmole's Invocation for Any Fairy) particularly valuable in establishing a personal and ongoing relationship with an unattached fairy that might be bound in exclusive service to the magician.

Like Tobias, the notably human name of 'margarett Barrance' speaks to the human-like nature of many fairies names, as can also be seen in the fairy familiar of the accused witch Bessie Dunlop, Tom Reid.[328] This said, Wilby clearly demonstrates that a range of human-like and obscure names were applied to spirits in early modernity, often with close parallels existing between demon and fairy names.[329] This may also indicate that humans were understood to be able to

---

[327] Klaassen and Wright, *Magic of Rogues*, 16.
[328] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, ix.
[329] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 63-64.

become fairies through death (as was suggested in the testimony of Bessie

Dunlop) or through being stolen by fairies (as occurs in the ballad of Tamlin).[330]

The Threefold Ritual contains extensive similarities with the second stage of

the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual (see above, section 1.6.2.1) and appears largely

derived from it or a common source. It instructs a magician to take a three-inch-

wide square crystal or glass and soak it in the blood of a white hen on three

successive Wednesdays or Fridays (indicating the mercurial or venusian

connections of the conjured beings).[331] The magician is told to wash it with holy

water and suffumigate it before taking three hazel rods of one years' growth,

stripping them of bark, and inscribing 'the spirits name, or fayries name' upon all

three.[332] It directs the reader to call the name three times over each stick and, on

the Wednesday before you perform the conjuration, bury them 'under some hill

whereas you suppose fayries haunt' and leave them there until the following

Friday.[333]

The Threefold Ritual instructions conclude by directing the magician to

summon the entity in the eighth, third, or tenth hour of Friday (these being the

hours of Venus and the Moon, emphasising the feminine associations of the

targeted entities). The reader is then to face east, invoke her, and bind her into the

glass.[334] Despite being directed to invoke the fairy, no invocation is immediately

given, instead f. 51r contains directions for producing an ointment that allows one

[330] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 17-19; David Herd, *Scots Songs* (Edinburgh: Martin & Wotherspoon, 1769), 300-301.
[331] Ashmole 1406, 50v.
[332] Ashmole 1406, 50v.
[333] Ashmole 1406, 50v.
[334] Ashmole 1406, 50v.

to see fairies, along with the instruction to apply it to one's eyes before summoning the fairy.

1.7.1.2 The Fairy Thorn Ointment (Appendix 1.22)

The instructions for producing an ointment with which to see fairies in Ashmole 1406 f. 51r is notable for its naturalistic and botanical focus, which stands apart from other more sanguinary fairy ointment recipes (such as the Lapwing Ointment and Sevenfold Ointment Ritual). It also includes some simple ritual elements, which other botanically focused ointments to see spirits tends to lack. Due to its brevity its transcription warrants inclusion here:

> An Ung^t? [unguent] to annoynt under the Eyelids and upon the Eylidds evninge and morninge. But especially when you call, or finde your sight not perfect. 1 p^t [pint] sallet oyle [olive oil] and put it into a Viall glasse but first wash it with rose water, and marigold flower water, the flowers be gathered towards the east, wash it till the oyle come white, then put it into the glasse, ut supra [as above] and then put thereto the budds of holyhocke the flowers, of mary gold; the flowers or toppes of wilde time the budds of younge hazle, and the time must be gathered near the side of a hill where fairies use to be, ^est and the grasse of a fayrie throne, there all those put into the oyle, into the glasse, and get it to dissolve 3 dayes in the sonne, and then keepe it for thy use; ut supra[335]

The unspecified fairy-related locations, such as collecting wild thyme from 'near the side of a hill where fairies use to be' and taking grass from a 'fayrie throne', require knowledge of local folkloric tradition that goes beyond what the manuscripts contain. This text presupposes that the reader is aware of the preternatural associations attached to his or her local geography, showing the

---

[335] Ashmole 1406, 51r.

blending of local oral customs and written magical traditions that some fairy summoning rituals embody.

While the late seventeenth-century copy of the Fairy Thorn Ointment preserved in Ashmole 1406 uses the term 'fayrie throne', the likely earlier (but certainly contemporaneous) seventeenth-century copy in Sloane 3846 renders this 'faery thoerne'.[336] Indeed, the word 'thoerne' in Sloane 3846 might easily (though incorrectly) be read as 'throne'. The connection between thorn trees and fairies is suggested by the suffumigation of thorn wood called for by the copy of Oberion's Plate in Folger VB 26 (discussed above, section 1.1.1.1.1). Given that no known explanation of what a 'fairy throne' is appears to be extant, it is tempting for the modern reader to suggest that 'fairy thorn' was the original phrase, since this term survives today (seemingly popularised by the Celtic revival) as a name for (often lone-standing) hawthorns, which are also called fairy thorns or fairy bushes.[337]

While the copy in Sloane 3846 uses 'thorn' and appears to be the older copy, the Fairy Thorn Ritual holds several noteworthy similarities to the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual (which predates it by several decades to a century).[338] Instead of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual's blood and animal fat, the Fairy Thorn Ritual uses flower water and olive oil, yet both ointments must ultimately be allowed to gestate in the sun for a number of days. The Fairy Thorn Ointment instructions direct the magician to take olive oil and 'wash it w[i]th Rose water & Mary gold flower water… untill the oyle come white'.[339] Mixing water and oil to produce a temporary emulsion

---

[336] Sloane 3846, 99v.

[337] G.H. Kinahan, 'Irish Plant-Lore Notes', *Folklore* 6, no. 4 (1888): 266. See for example William Allingham, 'The Fairies' and Samuel Ferguson, 'The Fairy Thorn: An Ulster Ballad' in W.B. Yeats, *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (London: Walter Scott, 1888), 3-5, 38-40.

[338] See Appendix 1.

[339] Sloane 3846, 99v.

does cause it to become opaque and whitish until the oil and water separate again. It may be, however, a misunderstanding of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual's direction that the magician must put 'the fat in another vessel' and 'Take the fatt of all these foresayed [sic aforesaid] fowles & beastes of eache of them 7 drammes mixe all well together with a slyse [slice] of baye tree./ upon the palme of your hande cleane washed with rose water sayinge in temp[er]ing of it these 7 wordes…'.[340] This directs the magician to mix the various types of fat together and to wash his hands with rose water. If the punctuation is ignored (or not present in a copy), however, this might easily be misread as directing the magician to mix fat and rosewater together in a vessel upon (or held in) his hand (as it is in the Fairy Thorn Ritual).

The most suggestive commonality between the Fairy Thorn Ritual in Ashmole 1406 and the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual is the common reference to fairy thrones. While the fairy thorn mentioned Sloane 3846 might have been corrupted into the fairy throne of Ashmole 1406, the copy of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual in Folger VB 26 (which predates each) also makes use of a 'fayre throne'.[341] It may, of course, be possible that much earlier copies of the Fairy Thorn and Sevenfold Ointment Ritual have not survived, and that the evolution from 'thorn' to 'throne' occurred in some texts before the late sixteenth-century production of Folger VB 26. With the evidence that survives, however, this is by no means clear. The 'grass of a faery thorne' might be grass taken from the foot of a hawthorn tree. This is a harder reading to justify in the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual, however, as the magician is directed to 'put the oyntment in a vessel, into the middest of the fairy

---

[340] Folger VB 26, 138.
[341] Folger VB 26, 139.

throne' and put the hazel wands in the four cardinal directions around the throne before drawing a pentacle 'over the vessell upon the grounde within the fayry throne with a hassell [sic hazel] rodd of one yeare['s growth]'.[342] Being able to place a vessel containing 49 drams (slightly more than ¾ cup) of fat into the branches or a hollow in a hawthorn tree might be plausible, but to draw a pentacle over the vessel, upon the ground, *and* within the fairy throne is far less likely (unless the vessel was buried at its roots, the pentacle drawn on the ground around the trunk, and within the limits of the tree's extended branches). Supporting this is that 'T' is written in the middle of the circle illustration. This might suggest 'throne', 'thorn', or 'trunk'. In any case, it may suggest that the fairy throne was encapsulated within the circle (despite the directions saying to draw the circle within the throne). It might refer to a hill or mound associated with fairies, but the order to place it in the midst of a throne is a much more passive action than digging and burying it would be, and it would therefore be surprising that this action is not specified. It could also be that the fairy throne refers to a grotto or cave into which the vessel should be placed and over which the pentacle should be inscribed. Finally, this may rise out of the *Sigillum dei* (which has a 'T' in its center, as see in Sloane 3853, 127v). The limited evidence (a keyword search of the journal *Folklore* on JSTOR found no results for 'fairy throne') renders any such theories inconclusive.

If the Threefold Ritual and Fairy Thorn ritual are influenced by the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual, then it appears that the meaning of 'fairy throne' was identified or reinterpreted as a hill associated with fairies. The copy in Ashmole 1406 instruct

---

[342] Folger VB 26, 139-140.

the magician to take three hazel sticks (much like the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual's four hazel wands) and (instead of placing them around a fairy throne) 'bury them under some hill wheras you suppose fayries haunt' before digging them up several days later when summoning the fairy.[343] The multiple stripped and inscribed hazel wands shifting from being placed around a fairy throne to being buried within a fairy hill suggests an eventual equation of the two features. This is complicated by the Fairy Thorn Ointment directing that 'time [sic thyme] must be gathered neare the side of a hill where fayries use to be [est] [sic east], and the grasse of a fayrie throne' must be gathered by the magician.[344] This could indicate that a fairy throne is distinct from a fairy hill, but may also be a change of synonymous terms to avoid redundancy. The copy of the Fairy Thorn Ointment in Sloane 3846, however, does not connect the hill with fairies, merely directing the magician to collect thyme 'gathered neare the side of a hill; and the grass of a faery thorne'.[345]

The Fairy Thorn Ritual, and the preceding discussions of the Lapwing Ointment and Sevenfold Ointment Ritual allow the construction of a, highly conjectural (considering manuscript attrition and the possibility of common sources that are no longer extant), chain of textual influence. If correct, then a Latin copy of the Lapwing Ointment grease variant came to England from the continent where, through the process of translation the original hoopoe used in the ritual became a lapwing. Either through independent translation of the Latin or by alteration of the English version, the Lapwing Ointment blood variant arose. This was then used as one source of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual which uses the blood and fat from

---

[343] Ashmole 1406, 50v.
[344] Ashmole 1406, 51r.
[345] Sloane 3846, 99v.

lapwings as well as six other animals. This then heavily influenced the development of the Threefold Ritual and the Fairy Thorn rituals, which may be an abridged and (comparatively) sanitized reimagining of the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual that required only blood of a white chicken, rather than the protracted litany of sacrificed creatures. Further detailed analysis and (ideally) more copies of these rituals would be needed to confidently determine this line of transition. But, at least, these texts were certainly circulating within the same manuscripts and intellectual circles and evince the cross pollination of ideas among fairy summoning rituals, further emphasising the conception of them as a distinct sub-type of ritual magic in the minds of numerous scribes and compilers.

1.7.2 Invocations

Invocations do circulate independently of ritual instructions in ritual magic collections, and I treat them as rituals for the sake of cataloguing this variety of ritual magic. When ritual instructions are present, however, I generally treat both instructions and invocation as a single ritual. Since Ashmole 1406 gives a title to the ritual instructions, the ointment instructions, and to each invocation, and because the Fairy Thorn Ointment circulated independently of this cluster, it is clearest to discuss them separately. As noted above, however, the ritual instructions and ointment recipe should be understood to be prefatory ritual operations that are part of a larger ritual that concludes with one of the two invocations that follow.

1.7.2.1 Conjuration of Elaby Gathen (Appendix 1.26)

The invocation to summon the fairy Elaby Gathen in Ashmole 1406 conforms so completely to standard ritual magic conventions with its structure and anxiously precise wording that it holds few features of note.[346] Briggs uses the Ashmole 1406 fairy material as a comparatively tame example of 'all the precautions of ordinary necromancy' being redirected toward fairies and contrasts it with the Skimmed Water Ointment Ritual (see section, 1.3.2.1).[347] While this is perhaps unfair with regards to the ritual instructions of the Threefold Ritual and the directions in the Fairy Thorn Ointment, her words ring true for the invocations. Both she and Oldridge point out that 'the fairy, named as "Elibigathan", [is refered to] as a fellow Christian' and that 'Elaby Gathan is addressed… as a spirit that has a stake in the great Day of Judgment.'[348] As discussed above (see, for example, section 1.1.1.3) fairy summoning rituals (at least) sometimes demonstrate the idea that fairies are able to be saved on Judgement Day (an alternative threat to the hellfire mentioned above), which is impossible for a demon in an orthodox Christian worldview. Where Briggs concludes that due to this 'there is little to distinguish the fairy from a ghost', Oldridge instead concludes that 'in common with the more humble [fairy] conjurors… in Restoration England, it seems Ashmole did not regard them as demonic' but that fairies were then othered from the Christian cosmology and eventually consigned to fantasy.[349] The evidence of this thesis roundly disagrees with Oldridge's larger argument here about the Reformation's impact on fairies' relationship with the Christian worldview and relationship with fantasy (see

---

[346] Ashmole 1406, 51v-53r.

[347] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 459.

[348] Oldridge, 'Fairies and the Devil', 11-12; Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 460.

[349] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 460; Oldridge, 'Fairies and the Devil', 11-12.

especially Chapters Three and Four). Yet, his statement that fairies were (at least often) not viewed as synonymous with demons and Briggs' observation of the (sometimes ambiguous) line between fairies and dead (or seemingly dead) humans is justified.

1.7.2.2 Ashmole's Invocation for Any Fairy (Appendix 1.27)

The invocation to call any fairy (one simply inserts the desired name) on folios 53v-55v is similarly conventional to traditional necromantic invocations as is the Conjuration of Elaby Gathan. Its most notable features are three telling scribal errors. A homeoarchy[350] on line thirteen folio 53v and a dittography[351] of 'onely' in line seventeen of folio 55r indicates that the scribe, possibly Elias Ashmole himself, was working from an earlier exemplar. Furthermore, the unwitting mis-transcription of 'above' instead of 'over' on line nine of folio 54v may indicate that the exemplar was not his own rough draft but an older text (no longer extant), the script of which he misread.[352] While I have entitled this 'Ashmole's Invocation for Any Fairy' due to its seemingly being solely preserved in Ashmole 1406, it is likely not to have been invented by him, but copied from an earlier source.

1.8 Locative Rituals

As has been demonstrated in the medieval *Liber Razielis*, and will be particularly highlighted in Chapters Three and Four, place became particularly

---

[350] A homeoarchy is an accidental line-skip while reading, caused by similarities in the two lines' initial wording.

[351] A dittography is a mistaken repetition by a copyist.

[352] Although the original text is not extant, the fact that folio 55r witnesses a mis-transcription is clear since the scribe caught and corrected the three aforementioned errors. Ashmole 1406, 50v-55v.

important to the understanding of fairies developed in occult philosophical and ritual magic circles. Fairies became conceptualised as being vitally tethered to natural (as defined by minimal human habitation and abundance of flora) environments and features, much as nymphs and dryads (the words for which were often synonymous with 'fairies') were in Roman sources. This was particularly evident in the Agrippian Table Ritual (see section 1.3.1.1.2, above). The following rituals (two of which are examined extensively in Chapter Four) are founded upon, or are most clearly understood in the context of, this esoteric conceptualisation of fairies as entities intimately and intrinsically associated with certain natural locations and features.

1.8.1 An Idiosyncratic Ritual

Briggs held the Skimmed Water Ointment to be 'a truly folk method of gaining a fairy familiar, which I [Briggs] believe to be unique in its traditional quality.'[353] While it may be a case of convergent evolution from common cultural source material, I hope that section 1.3 of this chapter demonstrates the common threads that it held with other ritual magic operations to summon fairies. The Elder Ritual, on the other hand, is truly idiosyncratic and suggestive of unlearned oral origins. It is unique in this study, and I have found nothing else like it among the fairy summoning rituals examined here. Both its rudimentary nature and ostensibly fabulous results suggest that this may be drawn from oral folk tradition.

---

[353] Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 457.

1.8.1.1 The Elder Ritual (Appendix 1.12)

This very simple (and rather outlandish) ritual survives in the late sixteenth-century Folger VB 26 under the title 'Wagram', and in the early seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3851 where its slightly abridged version is titled 'To have Conferrance with a Fayrie'.[354] Even the unabridged version is sufficiently brief so as to be given here in full:

Go under an elder tree att midday when the son [sic sun] is hotteste And under the shadow straw [sic strew] consecreatted [sic consecrated] rushes And call thryce Wagrany *vell* ['or'] magrano, And there wyll Apeere [sic will appear] before thee An yearbe [sic herb] shyneing lyke gold And behynd itt a ffayr [sic fair] woman, wch wyll aske thee what thow wouldest have, And thow [sic thou] shalt have Any thing thatt thow wylltt [sic wilt ('will')] aske, then take up the yearbe, And thow shalltt nott wantt Any thing whyllst [sic whilst] thow keepst [sic keepest] itt[355]

Harms and Patterson have rendered what I read as 'Wagram' as 'Magram'. While the lower-case alternate spelling in Folger VB 26 is clearly an 'm', it is an alternate spelling, and so cannot be used to confirm the true nature of the capital letter in its variant spelling. In either case, by the time the scribe of Sloane 3851 recorded this ritual it was rendered 'M' and the woman who appears is specifically identified as a fairy by the title.

The summoned entity may or may not have been conceptualised as a fairy by the scribe of Folger VB 26 or his source. But in the context of how fairies were constructed in the occult philosophy preserved in Sloane 3851 (see Chapters Two

---

[354] Folger VB 26, 224; Sloane 3851, 129r.
[355] Folger VB 26, 224.

and Three) this entity would be readily recognisable as a fairy or related beings

due to their association with natural spaces and features.

1.8.2 Januvian Rituals

Both of the following rituals are solely preserved in the (or with the) *Janua magica reserata*, which itself only appears to be extant in Sloane 3824, although some of its material is also found in Harley 6482. Both rituals demonstrate extensive synthesis of various ritual magic operations to summon fairies and discussions of fairy-related beings in occult philosophy. In fact, the theoretical discussions about the targeted entities and the conjurations of them are so interwoven that they cannot be sensibly separated. They are discussed at length in Chapter Four, and so I will only provide brief overviews of them here.

1.8.2.1 Januvian Gnome Ritual and Theory (Appendix 1.20/l)

After a discussion of these beings, Sloane 3824 instructs the magician to go to a place where they dwell and summon them while the moon is waxing by standing in a circle and reciting a protracted invocation from eleven at night to two o'clock in the morning for as many nights as it takes for one to visibly manifest. If the entity offers friendship the magician is directed to accept it, if not then he is to bind the being. The magician must then ask for information such as its name, sigil, and (like in the Sylvan Square ritual and the Januvian Fairy Ritual) he is told to have written his demand for the spirit before beginning the conjuration. Once the demand is given, he is to recite a license for the entity to depart. The ritual assumes that the reader is familiar with the conventions of ritual magic because, while the highly specialised summoning incantation is given, the magician is told to

recite a binding incantation and license to depart without being provided with one by the ritual text.[356]

1.8.2.2 Januvian Fairy Ritual and Theory (Appendix 1.21/J)

Amidst the descriptions of these beings' natures and behaviour, this ritual directs the magician to go to a place where fairies dwell on the night after the new moon and, much like the Table Ritual, set a table for them before invoking them with (or without) a protective circle. It then calls upon 'Mycob and Oberion' (alternatively given as Oberyon) to order one of the seven sisters or another fairy to come to the magician and answer to his request.[357] As in the Sylvan Square Ritual and Januvian Gnome Ritual, the Januvian Fairy Ritual also advises the magician to have written down his request before summoning the fairy. Like the Januvian Gnome Ritual he is told to do this between eleven at night and two in the morning, but specifies that he should recite the invocation nine times an hour and do so for seven nights. While the fairy may come before the seventh night, if it does not do so then a second and more coercive invocation is offered. This begins with a similar series of *voces magicae* (beginning with 'Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas') to that found in the Banishment of the Seven Sisters (upon which it presumably draws).[358] Thus the seven sisters, exorcised as treasure-guarding spirits by the Banishment of the Seven Sisters ritual, were summoned and bound to bring magicians treasure.[359]

---

[356] Sloane 3824, 92v-97v.
[357] Sloane 3824, 98r-98v.
[358] Rankine, ed. *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 112.
[359] Sloane 3824, 97v-100v.

1.9 Conclusion

As this survey of the extant fairy summoning rituals included in this study demonstrates, far from a rare or insular branch of magic, fairy summoning rituals drew upon conventional demon summoning rituals, vernacular literary and possibly oral understandings of fairies, occult philosophical treatises, and each other. They represent various methodologies ranging from those nearly indistinguishable from traditional ritual magic to uniquely and unmistakably fairy summoning operations. This chapter has identified, categorised, and named the surviving fairy summoning rituals themselves, but these did not exist in a vacuum. The following chapter explores the manuscripts in which these rituals were transmitted and what this tells us about their copiests/owners.

Chapter Two: The Manuscript Context of Fairy Summoning Rituals

Fairy summoning rituals almost always circulated in ritual magic focused manuscripts that often contain rituals and materials suggestive of ownership by service magicians (defined as those who performed magical services for clientele 'as a duty or for payment') or those interested in the magic useful to them.[1] This enduring manuscript/intellectual context stands in contrast to some other branches of magic such as chiromancy, which shifted from a monastic setting, to a medical/quadrivial context, to a courtly environment, and to *ad hoc* books of secrets.[2] Despite this seeming uniformity, these rituals cannot be properly analysed in decontextualized isolation. The order in which the material was compiled often reveals patterns suggestive of unstated common associations and preconceptions.[3] Furthermore, ritual magic was far from a stable and uniform tradition, and which texts and sources of magical authority were circulating and prioritised demonstrates a wider shift in the ritual magic tradition between the fifteenth century and 1700 which had an immense impact upon fairy summoning rituals. Namely, the increasing circulation of material from Renaissance occult philosophical works in ritual magic miscellanies.

Frank Klaassen has argued that medieval necromancy continued into early modernity and the hermetic and kabalistically inspired magic of Renaissance occult philosophy had little impact on the workaday practical manuals of ritual magic in the sixteenth century (with the exception of Agrippa whose work was, both in content and reception, more of a continuation of medieval necromancy - if also a

---

[1] Hutton, *The Witch*, xi, 24. Tabitha Stanmore, *Love Spells and Lost Treasure: Service Magic in England from the Later Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 11.

[2] Gillis Hogan, 'Stars in the Hand', 67-97.

[3] For examples of these approaches see: Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*; and Làng, *Unlocked Book*.

reformulation of it).[4] This remains largely true for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts assessed in this study, but this chapter demonstrates that the seventeenth century witnessed a significant increase in the circulation of occult philosophical texts which discuss fairies and related beings in the same manuscripts as rituals to summon them. Even when occult philosophical texts were not present in a manuscript, they circulated in the same libraries as ritual magic and appear to have been used to interpret the entities summoned by them (as suggested by the Agrippian Table Ritual in Chetham A.4.98, discussed in section 1.3.1.1.2 of the previous chapter). Yet, the binding of these materials within the same manuscripts provides direct evidence for access to each and the bringing of them into conversation with one another. That the occult philosophical discussions of fairies and related beings were being used to reinterpret the targets of fairy summoning rituals was made most explicit in the *Janua magica reserata* and Januvian Gnome and Fairy rituals (as is discussed more fully in Chapter Four). This was not a case of Renaissance magic replacing traditional medieval ritual magic, however, but providing new resources with which to expand and reinterpret it.

      This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first discusses the people who owned and (potentially) used these manuscripts, examining the boundaries of 'necromancers', cunning folk, and service magicians. The second section discusses the utilitarian approach of many of these manuscripts, which appear more concerned with what the rituals can accomplish than the nature of the entities which they invoke. Yet even in utilitarian contexts where the word 'fairy' is

---

[4] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 6-7, 9, 187-189, 199-200.

not used, rituals to summon what are elsewhere identified as fairies are often

clustered together. This suggests that, even when not articulated by the individual

texts, some scribes/compilers categorised fairies as a distinct subset of spirit/being.

Part three examines the relationship between fairy summoning rituals and larger

books of magic operations (especially the *Thesaurus spirituum*) and occult

philosophy which circulated in manuscript. This section demonstrates how

individual rituals could become liberated from larger magic manuals, and then how

manuscripts composed from miscellaneous rituals were sometimes (and often

imperfectly) structured as *ad hoc* introductory textbooks of magic. In such cases,

fairy summoning operations were sometimes bound close to the beginning of the

manuscripts, suggesting that they were conceptualised as safer or easier to

summon for the novice magician who might not yet wish to invoke more explicitly

infernal demons. The fourth section provides some illustrative examples of how

occult philosophical texts increasingly circulated in ritual magic manuscripts. The

contents and implications of these sources are then more fully examined in

Chapter Three.

2.1 The Owners of Fairy Summoning Rituals

2.1.1 Cunning Folk, Necromancy, Ritual Magic, and Service Magicians

Nearly all the manuscripts in this study are primarily ritual-magic focused

and contain at least some magical operations which would have been of use to

service magicians (save the anomalous case of the alchemically focused Ashmole

1406, discussed below, and Folger Xd 234 which solely comprises

decontextualised fairy summoning operations). There has been a scholarly impulse

to divide workaday 'cunning folk' from more learned 'necromancers' or

'ritual/learned magicians'.[5] For example, Klaassen observes that rituals for finding treasure, exposing thieves, and retrieving lost property (which, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, were all uses for which fairies were summoned) were indicative of both premodern cunning folk and necromancers (thus distinguishing between them).[6] Let us take as an example the case of e Mus. 173, which Klaassen dates to circa 1600 or 1610 and which Harms and Clarke observe to contain some folios which share a watermark with papers from 1575 that belonged to the aristocratic Townshend family from Norfolk.[7] Klaassen states that it is unclear whether this manuscript was used by a professional practitioner of magic, and observes that after 1600 operations to counter witchcraft, which had traditionally been associated with cunning folk, entered into the manuscripts of practicing magicians.[8] This distinction between cunning folk and necromancers/magicians is not unique in the historical analysis of magic, with the former often framed as 'parochial or homely' and practicing simplistic magical methods while the latter are framed as elite and practicing the elaborate rituals preserved in books of magic.[9]

Scholars have begun to question the now disciplinarily conventional distinctions between magicians and cunning folk. Tabitha Stanmore has argued that the division between ritual and cunning magic is largely an anachronistic scholarly

---

[5] Stanmore, *Service Magic in England*, 11.

[6] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 140.

[7] Harms and Clark, eds. *Angels, Demons, and Spirits*, 3. They cite the following sources to support this claim: 'Foster, "Thomas Allen (1540-1632), Gloucester Hall, and the Survival of Catholicism in Post-Reformation Oxford," 110; Bodleian Library and Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 2, pt. 2:676-677; Klaassen, "Three Early Modern Magic Rituals to Spoil Witches," 4; Heawood, Watermarks, 143, plate 480.'

[8] Frank Klaassen, 'Three Early Modern Rituals to Spoil Witches', *Opuscula* 1, No. 1 (2011): 2-4.

[9] Stanmore, *Service Magic in England*, 11; Tabitha Stanmore, 'Inherited Divisions: The False Dichotomy of Cunning Vs. Ritual Magic', Ars Magica: The Societas Magica Blog, Societas Magica, published 31 August, 2020, https://societasmagica.org/blog?arc=08-2020.

conceit rather than a historical reality. She writes that we should look to their 'aims, outcomes, and how they were perceived by their society' rather than the methods of magic they employed.[10] Indeed, Owen Davies has observed that more learned cunning folk (such as those who were also school teachers) may have employed ritual magic and disseminated it amongst their less erudite colleagues, and English translations and print editions made this material more widely accessible to cunning folk from the mid-sixteenth century onward.[11] The late medieval spread of literacy, increasing use of the vernacular, and the development of the printing press led to a democratisation of traditionally learned magic techniques in the early modern period.[12] Drawing upon the work of Ronald Hutton, Stanmore gives preference to the term 'service magician' as it avoids such muddy and potentially anachronistic divisions between magic practitioners who performed their art for renumeration.[13]

While scholars refer to medieval practitioners of spirit summoning magic as 'ritual magicians' (or 'necromancers' when demons are specifically invoked), it must be specified that this is not descriptive of a social role or identify group. Ritual magic is a magical methodology that might be employed by practitioners with various social roles (primarily priests, monks, courtiers, physicians, or university scholars in the medieval period, but also by some early modern 'cunning folk'). As such, describing someone as a ritual magician (or necromancer) is to describe the branch of magic that they habitually practiced or specialised in. A service magician, on the other hand, is an

---

10 Stanmore, 'Inherited Divisions'; Stanmore, *Service Magic in England*, 11.

11 Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History* (London: Hambledon, 2003), 120-121.

12 Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 176. Cf William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 105.

13 Stanmore, *Service Magic in England*, 11.

etic characterisation of a social role, describing people who would practice magic (potentially inclusive of ritual magic) for clients in return for renumeration. Ritual magicians and service magicians are therefore neither mutually exclusive nor existent upon a spectrum. They are categorically different, with the former referring to a form of practice and the latter referring to a social function. Service magicians could be ritual magicians, and vice versa. There are times, however, when there is no overlap at all. Some practitioners of magic were of a disposition or financial circumstance not to require using their magic for financial support. In such cases of personal (opposed to commercial) magical practice, a person might be a ritual magician without being a service magician. Conversely, a service magician might not have access to the operations of ritual magic or might actively decide not to use them in favour of (ostensibly less demonic) astral or natural magic operations. In such cases a person was a service magician but was not a ritual magician.

2.1.2 Private Interest vs. Public Service

There may have been people interested in magic, even practitioners of magic, who did not enact the art as a service. But to characterise such individuals as 'ritual magicians' (or 'necromancers') is misleading since (as has been established in the previous section) ritual magic was also practiced by service magicians (and private practitioners might be interested in magical methods other than ritual magic). Here Klaassen's distinction of 'private enthusiast of learned magic' from the professional practitioner is helpful.[14] Since these two groups could share interest in the same/similar rituals, however, it is difficult to distinguish

---

[14] Klaassen, 'Three Early Modern Rituals', 3-4.

between the private and professional practitioner using manuscript evidence alone (although some conjectures can be drawn in certain cases).[15] In reference to the earliest manuscript containing fairy summoning rituals in this study, Rawlinson D 252, Klassen observes that the scribe copied magic that would be useful to a cunning man (read service magician) while also including magic that was more theurgic in nature, pursuing deeper wisdom through magic (which is more reflective of private practice).[16] Rawlinson D 252 is not unique in this, further suggesting that this divide too could be permeable and nebulous.

2.1.3 Insights into the Relationship Between Fairies and Magic Practitioners from the Perspective of a Seventeenth-Century Service Magician as Preserved by Sloane 3851

As can be seen in the rituals outlined in Chapter One, fairy summoning rituals were employed for a variety of purposes which might make them of interest to a service magician (from finding thieves, to teaching physic, to being bound as familiar spirits). However, the manuscript Sloane 3851 offers insight into a key role they filled in the worldview of service magicians: as familiar spirits to magic practitioners. This manuscript dated to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century by Frank Klaassen (and argued by Rankine to have been composed between 1614 and 1636), was apparently written by 'Arthur Gauntlet of Graies Inn Lane' London.[17] Gauntlet was a service magician who (according to William Lilly)

---

[15] Klaassen, 'Three Early Modern Rituals', 4.

[16] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 140.

[17] Sloane 3851, 2r; Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 242; Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 3. For more detailed theories on the various owners of this manuscript, see Rankine, ed. *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 12-3, 18, 23-27; Sloane 3851, 4r.

employed a woman named Sarah Skelhorn as his scryer in the mid seventeenth century.[18] Sloane 3851 can be loosely divided into two sections: folios 3r-116r which are almost entirely dedicated to necromantic ritual magic, and folios 117v-145r which are largely dedicated to charms (short incantations sometimes employing brief ritual action or material components), natural magic (such as that employing the occult properties of herbs, stones, and animals), and image magic (which seeks to draw astral influence into talismans). Both sections involve magic operations used to summon fairies.[19] This combination of material is representative of that which circulated in the manuscripts assessed in this study. As Frank Klaassen said of e Mus. 173, while primarily focusing on necromantic rituals the scribe also collected 'operations for angelic assistance, astrological talismans, and charms', all of which Klaassen has deemed typical for predominantly necromantic manuscripts of the sixteenth century.[20] The sources examined in this study support this assertion.

In Sloane 3851 fairies were explicitly framed as familiars by the title of the Sevenfold Ritual, which this manuscript gives as 'To Have Conference with Familier Spirits'.[21] Likewise, on the previous folio and immediately following a copy of the Skimmed Water Ointment and the Elder Ritual (here named 'To have Confarence with the Fayries' and 'To have Conferrance with a Fayrie', respectively) a copy of the Lapwing Ointment – Blood Variant is entitled 'To have familier Spirittes'.[22] Although presumably other types of spirits could also serve the

---

[18] Rankine, ed. *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 9-11, 17-18. Compare with Lilly, *William Lilly's History of his Life*, 50, 52, 145-146, 149-150.

[19] Sloane 3851, 104r-106v, 115v-116v, 129r-131v.

[20] Klaassen, 'Three Early Modern Rituals', 5.

[21] Sloane 3851, 130r.

[22] Sloane 3851, 129r-129v.

role of familiar, the primary employment of fairies as familiars is driven home by two angel summoning rituals in the manuscript.

Sloane 3851 includes various angel invocations of use to a service magician, including those to: skry on a friend; find thieves; find hidden treasure; return stolen or errant cattle; heal; prophesy the past or future; return a runaway apprentice, criminal, or husband; break the power of a witch or group of witches; and establish contact with a good angel.[23] All of these would be the stock in trade of a service magician, and the spells to return apprentices and cattle (as well as love charms for both men and women) show the variety of Gauntlet's clientele: from farmers to tradesmen, men and women. Yet in these angel summoning rituals fairies are not framed as the magician's helpers (as they are in the rituals to summon them later in the manuscript), but as his enemies against which he might summon angels. This highlights how fairies were often closely associated with demons but not understood to actually be demons (otherwise there would be no need to make the distinction). The alliance portrayed between witches and both demons and fairies may also have contributed to this association.

In the first of two angel summoning rituals that invoke fairies the text instructs the reader to first ask the angel whether the illness is natural or born from witchcraft. If the latter, the magician is to direct the angel to make the witch and her spiritual assistants appear in the crystal. At this point the magician addresses the evildoers directly, invoking the witch 'And thou Spirit of witchcraft and sorcery Assistant to this hellish and cursed Creature' so 'That you nor neither of you neither that any other wicked witch Spirit or Fairie' may harm the bewitched

---

[23] Sloane 3851, 41v-53r.

client.[24] This is largely repeated in the following spell for when a family or herd of cattle have been ensorcelled by multiple witches. This second ritual offers the additional step that, once the witches and their assistants appeared in the crystal, the magician might direct the one that incited the others to this act to step forward.[25] The magician is then to invoke the witches 'And you Spirits of witchcraft and Sorcers [sic sorcerer's] Assistants to these Hellish and cursed creatures And you fairy spirits Elphes or Pigmes Or by what other Stile [sic style] name Title or Addition soever you are caled' who are later reasserted to be a 'witch Spirit or Fairy'.[26]

Taken together, in the aforementioned angel and fairy summoning rituals fairies (by whatever name: elf, pigmy, etc) were framed as valuable and common familiar spirits for all magic practitioners. The perspective that familiars could be fairies, instead of demons, matches that of some cunning folk accused of witchcraft in the trial records of preceding centuries who stated that fairies, not demons, were employed as their familiar spirits.[27] While the trial records indicate that authorities rejected these accounts of fairy familiars, interpreting them as deluding demons, these anti-witchcraft spells demonstrate that magic practitioners accepted that an imagined witch might employ a demon *or* a fairy as a familiar. Whether a fairy was a dangerous enactor of witchcraft, or a helpful assistant in the service magician's battle against witchcraft was entirely dependent upon the nature of the practitioner of magic who enslaved it. Thus, a witch might employ such a being, but so too could the service magician.

---

[24] Sloane 3851, 45r.
[25] Sloane 3851, 45v-46r.
[26] Sloane 3851, 46r.
[27] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 63-70, 74-76; Wilby, *The Visions of Isobel Gowdie*, 423-424.

2.2 'Invisible' Fairies

2.2.1 The Utilitarian Approach

Despite the more explicit distinction between fairies and demons evinced by Sloane 3851 (which was characteristic of later manuscripts, likely fuelled by the greater availability of occult philosophical works about them, as discussed below) many manuscripts do not explicitly distinguish fairies from demons (or any other type of spirit). Klaassen and Wright state that, in the early ritual magic context, Oberion was understood as a demon who was only later elaborated into a fairy in Shakespeare's works (or else, despite other fairy associations, he was frequently portrayed as a demon among necromancers).[28] Since in Rawlinson 252 the rituals to invoke Oberion and Sibilia include other spirits of dubious natures, and is bound alongside necromantic rituals to summon demons, this is an understandable argument.[29] Indeed, in the seventeenth century manuscript Sloane 3318 Oberion is listed along with Andromalchus, Egippia, and (the more explicitly infernal) Satthan.[30] Although the purpose for this list is not given, it is immediately followed by a charm to know whether you have found a place where treasure is hidden, possibly suggesting its use as all these entities have been elsewhere associated with finding treasure. Likewise, Oberion's name also occurs in the seventeenth-century service magician's manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library 5017 which lists 'Azazel, Raphan, Oberian' at the top of folio 3v with no context apparent.[31] This, and a slew of other examples, provide evidence for this demonic interpretation of him and similar entities (such as Sibilia).

---

[28] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 176; Klaassen and Wright, *Magic of Rogues*, 120-121.
[29] Rawlinson D. 252, 139r-143v, 144r-156r.
[30] Sloane 3318, 123.
[31] Chicago, Newberry Library MS 5017, 3v.

Given that both Oberion and Sibilla's names originate with medieval literary fairies, however, this assertion seems unlikely. Even if the scribe of Rawlinson 252 did not care about the nature of the beings he summoned, the rituals' original composer clearly knew the context from which he derived the spirits' names. Certainly, given the popularity of Oberion in early modern literature, including that produced by Shakespeare, it is likely that the seventeenth-century magicians would also have been familiar with this association of the name. Furthermore, to see fairies merely as demons deluding humans was a perfectly orthodox perspective at the time. While not all demons are fairies, it was possible to interpret all fairies as a deception (or even sub-variety) of demons. This allowed for a demonic interpretation of fairies that, while conceptualising them as demons, still allowed for an understanding of them as being categorically distinct from other types of demons (as being those demons who people call fairies). It is therefore more accurate to say that Oberion (first drawn from and later influencing vernacular literature) is a once and future fairy whose usefulness to many magicians was of more importance than his nature.

I suggest that many manuscripts, rituals, and lists of spirits were written with a utilitarian approach, less interested in how entities fit into wider cosmological frameworks than in how they could directly and practically benefit the magician. For example, in the late sixteenth-century portion of Sloane 3853, Oberion was listed alongside the notable demon Astaroth and the archangel Gabriel in a list of forty-five spirits under the heading 'Names off spirits freor [sic for] treasure.[32] Clearly

---

[32] Sloane 3853, 259. Note that while forty-five spirit names are listed, the thirty-sixth is crossed out. For more in the composition and dating of this manuscript see László Sándor Chardonnens, 'Necromancing Theurgic Magic: A Reappraisal of the *Liber iuratus* Extracts and the Consecration Ritual for the *Sigillum Dei* in an Early Modern English Grimoire', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 10, no. 2 (2015): 175-176.

these beings held different natures and roles, but they shared the common function

of treasure bringer to a magician. Similarly in Sloane 3318 Oberion and Sibilia

appear in two lists, the first called *de Spir[it]ibus ostentionis,* and the second called

de Spiritibus monstrationis.[33] Although they appear with various more or less

explicitly demonic names in this list, they are included not necessarily due to their

common nature, but because (as the titles suggest) they are spirits that are easily

made to appear visibly to the magician. Although some (especially seventeenth-

century) magicians and occult philosophers (or translators thereof), as discussed

below, were interested in the nature of fairies and their cosmological position,

many rituals (and even entire manuscripts) do not evince this concern. Although

this utilitarian approach is more generally characteristic of pre-seventeenth century

material, as Sloane 3853 demonstrates, it did endure throughout the seventeenth

century, despite increasing access to more theoretical works in the seventeenth

century.

Although it is tempting to attribute the utilitarian approach to the mercenary

use of magic by service magicians, this conclusion would be misleading. Sloane

3851 was owned by a service magician, yet includes several lengthy theoretical

works such as the *Arbatel,* what Rankine has identified as sections from the *Three

Books of Occult Philosophy*, and the pseudo-Agrippian *Fourth Book* in addition to

explicitly identifying several of the beings it invokes as fairies.[34] One manuscript

does not a library make. Harms and Clarke observe that e Mus 173 is a magical

miscellany which 'is more miscellaneous in content than others of the genre',

noting that the numerous sources the scribe drew from (such as the *Three Books*

---

[33] Sloane 3318, 41r, 80r.
[34] Sloane 3851, 10r-29v, 75r-91r, 105v, 112v-114v, 129r, 130v-131r.

of Occult Philosophy, *De nigromancia*, *Almadel*, and the *Liber Juratus*) indicate that the manuscript was meant to provide the tools required to summon spirits, and perhaps contain fragments meant to fill gaps left by other manuscripts in the scribe's possession.[35] Manuscripts might contain utilitarian operative rituals because the owner had other theoretical works in his library, or felt he understood the context without need of it being written down. The time and cost of manuscript production (especially in the Middle Ages) ought also to be considered. Examples of the utilitarian approach in later texts may simply be a continuation of this prudent convention.

Despite this utilitarian ambivalence to the nature of summoned entities, there is evidence (even in manuscripts lacking theoretical discussions about fairies) that fairies were conceptualised as either distinct from demons or a taxonomically distinct subvariety of them. There was little reason to make this distinction unless it was genuinely how scribes/compilers conceptualised them since they did not shirk from summoning explicitly infernal demons in other rituals (and so did not need to disguise demons as fairies to avoid censure). For example, a few folios before the Banishment of the Seven Sisters (which specifically refers to the sisters as 'elphas') in e Mus 173 is a ritual invoking the demon Asazell and an entity named Narris for the purpose of driving off all the entities that they have command over from the earth where treasure is buried.[36] The ritual repeatedly banishes 'devels, sprits & elves', sometimes adding 'evils'.[37] The text frames spirits, devils, and elves, as malevolent guardians of earthly treasures who might

---

[35] Harms and Clark, eds. *Angels, Demons, and Spirits*, 15.
[36] e Mus. 173, 9v-11r.
[37] e Mus. 173, 9v-11r.

be commanded by a magician via more powerful entities, such as Azazel. While this text lumps them together, it also lists each type of being, connecting them not with 'or' (which would imply that the terms are interchangeable) but with 'and' (indicating that the ritual can remove any of these different varieties of entity). This implies that, from the perspective of this text, devils/demons and elves might both be malevolent or hostile to humans when not magically controlled, and might be potential guardians of treasure in the earth, but were sufficiently distinct to warrant being listed separately. These implicit distinctions become more evident however when examining the order in which manuscripts were compiled, revealing clusters of fairy summoning rituals in manuscripts even when the rituals themselves do not explicitly refer to their targets as such.

2.2.2 Contextual Fairies and Fairy Clusters

Despite largely circulating in miscellanies of diverse ritual magic materials, fairy summoning rituals were not infrequently bound into manuscripts adjacent or near to each other, forming clusters. These clusters demonstrate that several compilers saw these texts as connected. This not only indicates a conceptualisation of fairies as a distinct type or sub-category of spirit, but also can be used to reveal fairies that are 'invisible' when texts are decontextualised and assessed independently. The primary reason that fairies become 'invisible' in the archives is when rituals refer to them using the vague umbrella term 'spirits'. The use of commonly known fairy names or summoning techniques distinctive to fairy summoning rituals (see Chapter One) can offer intratextual clues and evidence. This evidence, however, is not always present (especially in cases where the ritual magic operations conform to more traditional conventions of necromantic ritual

magic).[38] In these cases the intertextual evidence of closely bound material can be used to reconstruct how the compiler of the texts understood them to relate to one another, highlighting for the modern scholar potential rituals that compilers might have understood to invoke fairies, despite the texts not employing this term.

Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 are among the clearest examples of why the context in which rituals circulated is so significant. They highlight how the material with which texts circulated can alter or clarify their meaning, which would be lost if examined independently. Unlike many contemporary seventeenth-century magical manuscripts (which are often miscellanies of various extracted passages and rituals), both manuscripts are largely composed of several lengthy magic manuals with some additional rituals included. Among their many similarities, each of these manuscripts contain the earliest known English translations of the *Liber Razielis*, a medieval grimoire that was bound (wholly or fragmentally) in at least five manuscripts included in this study (the larger significance of which to fairy summoning and occult philosophy is discussed in Chapter Three).[39]

Both Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 contain an identical cluster of fairy summoning rituals beginning with the Oberion's Physic Ritual (Oberion arising from an established fairy in medieval romance and sometimes being explicitly identified as such in contemporary ritual magic) and ending with a copy of the Sylvan Square Ritual which explicitly identified the operation's three knights as fairies.[40] Between these two operations is the Ritual for Queen Bilgal which is an invocation of this entity as 'one of the seven' (the 'seven' presumably being a reference to the well-

---

[38] For the conventions of medieval necromantic rituals see Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 131-142.

[39] Folger VB 26; Sloane 1727; Sloane 3826; Sloane 3853; and Sloane 3846.

[40] See Appendix 1 for these fairy clusters. Oberion is explicitly described as the fairy king in Folger VB 26, 80.

known seven fairy sisters).[41] She is referred to as a queen, but other than that only as a spirit. Bilgal is identified as a demon in other manuscripts, but I argue that this cluster was compiled by one who reinterpreted her (or 'him' if Bilgal is understood as a demon) as a fairy queen.[42] The order of these rituals suggests that their compiler conceptualised them as invoking a descending courtly hierarchy of fairies: from the fairy king, to the fairy queen, and then down to the fairy knights. In Folger VB 26's copy of the 'Office of the Spirits' the demon 'Bilgall' is listed between the explicit fairy king and queen (Oberion and Mycob).[43] Either by drawing upon this copy or similar proximity of these spirit names in manuscripts no longer extant, I posit that Bilgal became muddled into a fairy queen by the compiler of this ritual cluster.

Even clusters that lack the structured hierarchy of Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 can reveal unstated associations made by the compiler. Even though the words 'fairy' or 'elf' never occur in Sloane 3318, the fact that so many significant rituals were placed so close to one another in the manuscript suggests that the scribe viewed them as connected. A loose cluster of fairy related texts, interspersed with seemingly unrelated texts, spans folios 56r to 80v.[44] The first two rituals in the fairy-related cluster are the Sylvan Square and the Archangelic Envoy Ritual (which invokes the prophet Sibillia and her daughter via the archangel Michael) which is bound directly before a second copy of the Oberion's Plate

---

[41] Sloane 3846, 109r-110r; Sloane 3826, 99v.

[42] For Bilgal depicted as a demon (or at least a monstrous being) see Folger VB 26, 165.

[43] Folger VB 26, 80-81.

[44] The fairy related texts in this section of Sloane 3318 are: the Sylvan Square Ritual, 56r-57r; The Archangelic Envoy Ritual, 60r-61v; Oberion's Plate, 62r-64r; the Table Ritual, 67r-67v; the Table Ritual, 68r-68v; Oberion's Plate, 76r-79v; and the list of spirit names catalogued in Appendix 1 as 'viii', 80r-80v.

ritual.[45] The title of the first ritual which separates the Sylvan Square from the

Archangelic Envoy Ritual invokes Bileth to appear in a vessel full of clear water.[46]

This is followed by an operation attributed to the Franciscan friar Roger Bacon that

invokes Sathan to appear in the form of a Cistercian monk to answer questions

truthfully.[47] The Archangelic Envoy Ritual and copy of Oberion's Plate are followed

by another copy of the spell to summon the spirit in the shape of an old man, here

called Balanchus (64v-65r), and one to summon a spirit to appear in a mirror (65v-

67r). Then appears a suggestive text (which I have labelled Entry ε in Appendix 1)

on folios 67r-67v. It is very similar to the Table Ritual and the Fire and Bath Ritual,

invoking three women using a lit lamp to attain a ring of invisibility. Although

sufficiently distinct that I have hesitated to categorise it as a distinct variant of

either of these rituals (though it may well be a descendant or cousin of them), its

proximity to other established fairy-related texts is suggestive that the compiler also

understood this text to summon the same sort of entity. This is further supported by

the fact that the following folio contains a copy of the Fire and Bath Ritual.[48] These

are then followed by as assortment of commonplace conjurations, that are mostly

concerned with finding thieves and acquiring answers to questions.

A third copy of Oberion's Plate ends this cluster of fairy-related summoning

rituals. Oberion and Sibilia are mentioned on the following folio in a much-

expanded version of *de Spir[it]ibus ostentionis,* the list of easily visible spirits found

earlier in the manuscript (although here it is entitled *de Spiritibus monstrationis*).[49]

---

[45] Sloane 3318, 56r-57r, 60r-61v, 62r-64v.
[46] Sloane 3318, 57v-58v.
[47] Sloane 3318, 59r-60r.
[48] Sloane 3318, 68r-68v.
[49] Sloane 3318, 80r.

While fairy summoning rituals occur both earlier and later in the manuscript (see Appendix 1), the loose cluster of them here despite their different purposes, and despite the fact that they do not use the word 'fairy' or its cognates, suggest that the scribe did view them as associated, the only evident commonality between these diverse rituals being that their targets are sometimes interpreted as fairies.

The possibility that some clusters of fairy related materials coalesced in manuscripts due to connections other than the perceived nature of the beings they invoked cannot be overlooked. For example, all three fairy summoning rituals in Sloane 1727 appear between folios 18-28 (note I omit recto and verso specifications since all text in this manuscript is inscribed upon the recto). The first two of these are part of a series of rituals to gain treasure and drive off its guardians. The first relevant text is the Sylvan Square ritual (fols. 18-19) which appears to have been included as a useful method of having a spirit bring one treasure, since it is immediately followed by a list of spirits that drive off treasure guardians then three rituals to banish the same.[50] The third of these guardian banishing rituals is the Banishment of the Seven Sisters, which is here entitled 'A discharge of ye fayres or other sp[irit]s of Elphes from any place or ground, where treasure is laide or hide'.[51] Given the reputation of fairies as treasure guardians (discussed further in Chapters Three and Four) the proximity of these rituals may have been more due to their intended effects rather than the perceived nature of the entities they invoked. This banishment seems to end the cluster of treasure hunting rituals, but does not quite finish the cluster of fairy-related rituals.

---

[50] Sloane 1727, 18-24.
[51] Sloane 1727, 23-24.

After a ritual that uses an engraved poppet to bring good luck to a place or object (fol. 24), a brief charm for unknown purposes (fol. 24), and a lengthy ritual to force a thief to return (fols. 24-28), there is a very brief and corrupt copy of the Call of Queen Micol that urgently summons Micol, queen of the pigmies, to appear.[52] Like 'elves,' this scribe employs the term 'pigmies' interchangeably with fairies (as was not uncommon). This is demonstrated nine folios later where, amidst an assortment of short extracts from various magic texts, is the line 'Treasures of ye earth are, florella, Mical Tytan. Mabb lady to the queen'.[53] The appearance of the name Micol along with Titam in many variations of the Table Ritual dating back to the *Thesaurus spirituum*, firmly frame this coupling as being connected to fairies, as does the association of them with Mabb, here identified as a 'lady to the queen', but connected with the fairy queen since at least Shakespeare's time. This, then, appears to be a series of fairy names listed by their function (presumably guarding/keeping the treasures of the earth). This echoes both the context of the Sylvan Square summoning ritual and the Banishment of the Seven Sisters. The fact that 'Mical', seemingly a variant of 'Micol', is listed with other names closely associated with fairies offers further support that this was how she was being conceptualised, and certainly indicates for what purpose she might be invoked.

While not all fairy related clusters are discussed here (see Appendix 1 for the distribution of fairy related materials in the manuscripts examined in this study) that in e Mus 173 is particularly illustrative of how, by comparing evidence from within rituals with that in other manuscripts as well as the manuscript context, 'invisible' fairies can be found. As mentioned above, in e Mus 173 the ritual on

---

[52] Sloane 1727, 28.

[53] This list concludes with the oblique line 'Ia et va, in ye rebellion of ye sp': Sloane 1727, 37.

folios 9v-11r which banishes spirits, devils, and elves suggests that the scribe was aware of (and interested in) fairy related entities that were understood as similar to but distinct from devils. Later in e Mus 173 a cluster of four fairy summoning operations appear between folios 71v and 73r. This begins with the abridged Ritual for Tobias that (unlike the extended version in Folger VB 26) does not include any intratextual connection to fairies.[54] This is followed by the Conventional Invocation of Oberion into a Crystal that similarly refers to him only as a spirit and lacks any connection to fairies other than the summoned entity's name.[55] The following copy of the Skimmed-Water Ointment Ritual, here entitled '*Exp[er]imentu[m] optimu[m] verissimu[m]* for ye fairies', is the first (and only) use of the term 'fairy' within this manuscript. While the preceding two texts do not explicitly identify the spirits they address as fairy-related beings, their identification as such in (for example) Folger VB 26 and their proximity in this manuscript suggests that the scribe interpreted them as such, resulting in his compiling them together in immediate succession.

I also include the Lapwing Ointment (blood variant) on folio 73r in this cluster of fairy related material. This is not based purely upon its position within this manuscript alone, since the compiler of e Mus 173 does bind experiments that use different means to achieve the same purpose together throughout the manuscript, such as the two operations to uncover theft which immediately follows the fairy cluster (fol. 73r), and the five love spells which follow shortly after that (fols. 73v-75r). It might be that he lumped together the Skimmed-Water Ointment and the Lapwing Ointment as being two rituals which involve making ointments that reveal unseen things, without necessarily viewing the latter as revealing fairies. However,

---

[54] e Mus 173, 71v.
[55] e Mus 173, 72r.

although I have yet to discover a copy of the Lapwing Ointment which explicitly identifies the entities it reveals as fairies (generally claiming to make spirits of the air visible to facilitate gaining a familiar), they are almost always positioned in immediate or close proximity to fairy summoning material (see Appendix 1).

Of the six copies of the Lapwing Ointment variants that appear across three manuscripts in this study, only the copy of the Lapwing Ointment (grease variant) found on folio 35r of e Mus 173 is not closely bound with fairy related magic. Despite this, as noted above, the copy on folio 73r immediately follows the Skimmed Water Ointment which explicitly aims to give the ability to see fairies. This connection has been present since its earliest appearance in Cambridge Additional 3544 where it directly precedes instructions that are either derived from or inspired the Archangelic Envoy Ritual for the prophetess Sibillia, but which are framed as additional notes on how to summon Sibillia (presumably referring back to Sibillia's Candle bound earlier in the manuscript).[56] I posit that this manuscript was added to over time, demonstrating a chronology of scribal interest and textual availability. If read in this manner, even the much earlier ritual is brought into conversation with this cluster through cross references. In Folger VB 26 both the blood and grease variant are bound together (pages 142-143) and closely follow the elaborate Sevenfold Ointment Ritual (pages 138-140) which explicitly refers to the beings it reveals as 'fairies' and mentions notable fairies such as the seven sisters and Sibillia (see Chapter One). The Lapwing Ointment is separated from the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual in Folger VB 26 only by the instructions to enchant hazel rods to dowse for buried treasure, and an ointment recipe that (while similar

---

[56] Cambridge Additional 3544, 7-10, 56-58; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 7-10, 52-55.

in basic structure to the Skimmed Water Ointment) uses angels to bless an ointment (which contains hallucinogens) to grant sight of angels, spirits, or devils.[57] Likewise, in Sloane 3851 the blood variant of the Lapwing Ointment follows a copy of the Skimmed Water Ointment and the Elder Ritual (both on folio 129r), and shortly after is followed by the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual which uses the term 'fairy' and is framed as a means of gaining a familiar (130r-131v). As can be seen, the manuscript context of the Lapwing Ointment instructions consistently underscores the association between it and rituals to summon (and ointments to reveal) fairies. By comparing this with contemporary manuscripts, the Lapwing Ointment on 73r of e Mus 173 provides further evidence that the manuscript's scribe (and many others) viewed these materials as related to and of use in summoning and seeing fairies.

2.3 From Books of Magic to Magical Miscellanies

2.3.1 Fairies and the *Thesaurus spirituum*

In both Wellcome 110 and Sloane 3885 the copy of the Table Ritual is bound after a ritual that invokes infernal spirits (including 'Sathan') to acquire 'love', and before an operation for spirits who teach one how to transmute metals (entitled *De metallorum confeccionone*) followed shortly after by a ritual to summon a horse.[58] Yet this too may be read as gaining access to wondrous treasures, since horses were the expensive transportation that functioned as the conspicuous consumption of their day.[59] This placement echoes the association of fairies with

---

[57] Folger VB 26, 140-141.

[58] Sex, riches, invisibility, and a fast means of transport – all the hallmarks of a particular form of (rather adolescent) masculinity. Wellcome 110, 78v-93v; London, British Library Sloane MS 3885, 49v-52v.

[59] Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 54-57; Klaassen, 'Learning and Masculinity', 62.

both lust and treasure which are present in the Table Ritual itself, since it impels

the fairy to give the magician a treasure (the ring of invisibility) before sleeping with

him. While such associations may have informed the original compilation of these

rituals in this order, the sequence of these texts was preserved due to being part of

the larger necromantic manual known as the *Thesaurus spirituum*. The *Thesaurus*

(which appears to be related to the earlier fourteenth-century text *Practica*

nigromantia) was circulating by around 1500 where it is listed in Johannes

Trithemius' *Antipalus maleficiorum*.[60] The *Thesaurus* has been divided into four

parts since its inclusion in Trithemius' bibliography, with the conjuration of Micob,

Titam, and Burfax appearing near the beginning of the third section of the extant

versions assessed in this study.[61] The *Thesaurus* had a significant place in the

early manuscript context of fairy summoning rituals, with five of the seven

sixteenth-century manuscripts containing fairy summoning rituals assessed in this

study also containing copies of the *Thesaurus spirituum*.[62]

       The *Thesaurus* contains an early example of a fairy related conjuration

being bound near an ointment used to see spirits, precipitating a common

association in the ritual magic manuscripts (as seen in the discussion of the

Lapwing Ointment, above, and visible in Appendix 1). The ointment ritual is given

various titles (such as *De unguento pracioso* in Sloane 3885 which is likely

anglicised Latin for 'Of the Precious Ointment', and *Pro spiritu familiari* in Sloane

---

[60] Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance: From Ficino, Pico, Della Porta to Trithemius, Agrippa, Bruno* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 101, 104; Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 234-235.

[61] Zambelli, *Magic in the European Renaissance*, 101, 104.

[62] Chetham Mun.A.4.98; Wellcome 110; Sloane 3853; and Sloane 3885 contain copies of the *Thesaurus spirituum*. Cambridge Additional 3544 and Folger VB 26 do not. Sloane 3850 also has a copy that spans 117v-129v. Although its copy is not complete, it includes a table of contents which retains this order, see folio 118.

3853).[63] The ritual (henceforth *Pro familiari*) concludes employing the ointment to aid the magician in binding a spirit as a familiar (much like the Lapwing Ointment discussed above). In Wellcome 110, Sloane 3853, and Sloane 3885 *Pro familiari* is followed by the infernal 'love' spell and then the Table Ritual. The 'love' ritual is omitted by Chetham Mun.A.4.98, placing the ointment ritual and Table Ritual directly next to each other. Although they circulated close to one another, generally a new section of the *Thesaurus* begins either with the 'love' ritual or the Table Ritual, separating them through the *Thesaurus'* structure. Nonetheless, given the proximity of these texts within the late medieval *Thesaurus,* compounded with the literary precedent for using ointments to see fairies, it is unsurprising that this would become such a common connection. Even in the two sixteenth-century manuscripts which do not include the entire *Thesaurus*, the connection between fairies and ointments remains. In Folger VB 26 the Ritual for Tobias directs the magician to apply morning dew to his eyes when summoning Tobias (here explicitly identified as king of the pigmies), and in Cambridge Additional 3544 the Lapwing Ointment is immediately followed by a note referring back to the copy of Sibilia's Candle earlier in the manuscript and gives additional instruction for invoking her.[64]

Unusually, at first glance it appears that the copy of the *Thesaurus* in Wellcome 110 includes a fragmentary copy of Oberion's Plate on folio 97r, that echoes the context of the Table Ritual by directly following a love spell. This is because folio 98r concludes 'here ends the *Thesaurus spirit*uum, usefully and most faithfully produced through master Bakon and a certain Turk of whose society [he

[63] Sloane 3885, 47r; Sloane 3853, 34r.
[64] Folger VB 26, 234-235; Cambridge Additional 3544, 57-58; Young, *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 52-55.

had a] predilection.'[65] Folio 98r, however, begins mid-sentence, and is a non-sequitur to the previous one. Likewise, the fragment of Oberion's Plate is only the end of the ritual which has been erroneously bound out of context. At some point before foliation the manuscript was bound incorrectly, with the beginning of the ritual now being found on 105v. The complexity of this manuscript's foliation errors make it unclear whether it was initially included within the *Thesaurus* itself, but it appears that it was initially in a section of the manuscript dedicated to finding thieves, since necromantic ritual to find them precedes Oberion's Plate on ll. 104v-105r and it is followed by a ritual for the same purpose on 97v.

Oberion's Plate has a link to the *Thesaurus* beyond its apparently erroneous binding within it in Wellcome 110. Within the *Thesaurus* in Wellcome 110 is a list of planetary angels on folio 68r. This list includes Storax and 'Carmelyon' as the angels of the sun and moon respectively, both of whom are invoked in Oberion's Plate. While they appear in Wellcome 110's copy Oberion's Plate, they lack any explicit planetary connection there. In the contemporaneous Folger VB 26, however, their names are inscribed above drawings of the sun and moon. Clearly the scribe of Folger VB 26 was aware not only of Oberion's Plate, but of this list of spirits. This indicates that Oberion's Plate and this list of spirits were both available to the scribe of Folger VB 26, perhaps circulating together in earlier copies of the *Thesaurus* which are no longer extant. The symbols of Storax and Carmelyon given in Wellcome 110's list are the same in its copy of Oberion's Plate. Folger VB 26 uses the same symbol for Carmelion in its version of the ritual, but the symbols

---

[65] The untranslated text reads *Explicit theasurus spirituum utilis et fidelssime editus per magistrum Bakon et quendam Turcum eius socium predilectum*. 'Pseudo-Bacon Roger (1214?-1294) (& others)', Wellcome Collections, Wellcome Library, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/jaunz2nx. Cf. Wellcome 110, 98r.

for Carmelyon, Caberyon, and Severyon differ completely from their counterparts

in Wellcome 110. This indicates that the scribe of Folger VB 26 did not draw

directly from Wellcome 110, further suggesting that Oberion's Plate and this list of

planetary spirit names and sigils circulated together in earlier (no longer extant)

manuscripts which led to this cross-pollination of symbols and spirit names.

2.3.2 Repetitive Structures in Ritual Magic Manuscripts

Two (often coexisting) compilatory patterns are evident in several ritual-

magic collections in which fairy summoning rituals circulated. The first pattern is to

position basic ritual-magic materials at the beginning of the manuscript which

sometimes explicitly (but always implicitly) frames the manuscript as an

introductory textbook to the practice of ritual magic. This pattern is found both in

ritual-magic miscellanies (comprised primarily from compiled individual rituals

and/or short excerpts from larger texts), and collections of larger treaties of ritual

magic which were bound into single manuscripts. The second pattern, more

evident in ritual-magic miscellanies (opposed to collections of larger treatises), is

for the first part of a manuscript to include ritual magic operations for dramatic or

lofty ends, with later parts of the manuscript becoming more methodologically

diverse (with charms, natural magic, etc) and with more quotidian aims. If read

biographically this seems to echo the pattern observed by Richard Kieckhefer, who

concluded that it indicates that the compiler of the Munich Handbook was a learned

man 'who began by writing colourful and imaginative experiments in hopes of

establishing a reputation for expertise in the occult… but whose aspirations were

thwarted, and who eventually turned his attention to forms of magic that were less

fanciful, playful and fantastic, but more in demand for practical application and thus

more lucrative'.[66] While the clerical and courtly elements of the magician Kieckhefer outlines are not generally suggested by the manuscripts assessed in this study (due largely to their later period), several do maintain this progression from spells suggestive of glamourous magical ambitions, to those indicative of a comparatively prosaic life as a service magician. The early framing of some manuscripts as introductory textbooks for the magical novice (and, by extension, the compiler as the wise master of the art) may be an extension of this.

2.3.2.1 *Ad hoc* Magic Textbooks

Folger VB 26, Cambridge Additional 3544, e Mus 173, Sloane 3318, Sloane 1727, and Sloane 3851 all exemplify the pattern of placing basic magical operations/instructions near the beginning of the manuscript, making these miscellanies function as *ad hoc* introductory textbooks of magic. In all cases this initial conceit quickly unravels into miscellaneous magic material, often with further preliminary materials being bound far later in the manuscripts. The appearance of this general structure in several manuscripts suggests that this is indicative of a more general ethos amongst compilers of magical miscellanies and not merely an individual's eccentricity.

Cambridge Additional 3544 also follows this trend (particularly at the beginning) with Young stating that it 'aspires to be, but does not altogether succeed in being a coherent and unified text on necromancy… [which] begins with the preliminaries of the art… [and] then moves on to specific "experiments", with sections devoted to different purposes'.[67] It began as an *ad hoc* textbook of ritual

---

[66] Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 35-37, 39.
[67] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, xxvii.

magic by providing preliminary instructions needed to perform the art, such as those to properly harvest the blood of various animals for magical purposes, consecrate magical implements, and to produce a summoning circle.[68] Despite this initial order the manuscript was not written with a firm overarching plan. After a ritual to summon Sybilla and another to summon Mosacus, the scribe reverts to more basic instructions for performing ritual magic (such as outlining the proper hours and days to perform ritual magic for various ends and the proper daily suffumigations).[69] These summoning rituals were not later additions, as the passage that outlines the daily suffumigations makes reference to a list of angels on the twelfth leaf of the manuscript. This is part of the ritual for Mosacus and is only on the twelfth leaf due to the rituals of Sibilia and Mosacus preceding it.[70] After the text on daily suffumigations the introductory textbook layout ends and the manuscript becomes a series of miscellaneous rituals.

Similarly, Folger VB 26 begins with purification rituals and protective prayers, including excerpts from the book of angel magic *Heptameron of Pietro d'Abano* and protective charm-prayers either derived from or later informing the *Enchiridion of Pope Leo III* (to whom protective and ritual magic materials were attributed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to his reputation for having sent a protective textual charm-letter to Charlemagne).[71] Harms and Peterson have posited that the interruption of ritual magic material with extracts

---

[68] Cambridge Additional 3544, 2-7; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 1-7.
[69] Cambridge Additional 3544, 23-26; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 23-26. Francis Young observes that of the 91 experiments he catalogued in this manuscript the following all dealt with the 'preliminaries of necromancy': 1-4, 62, 67, 69, 70, 76-80, 83-91. However, 7 should be added to this list: Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, xxv.
[70] Cambridge Additional 3544, 12, 26; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 11-12, 26.
[71] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 53, 71; Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 34-35.

from the *Enchiridion* indicates that the scribe only had the text of the *Enchiridion* for a short time (perhaps borrowed from a fellow ritual magician) and was forced to copy it into his manuscript immediately.[72] While this is possible, the usefulness of protective orations (which include both specific wards against weapons and general protections from all perils) makes them a reasonable set of tools to forefront in a manuscript containing such a perilous art as ritual magic.[73] These excerpts are followed by instructions to consecrate various tools needed for ritual magic,[74] prayers,[75] and rituals to summon and communicate with one's guardian angel.[76] While the conjurations of one's guardian angel are written in another hand, they seem also to be useful prefatory material, since it would presumably be a safer magical aid than a traditional familiar (which might have a demonic or dubious nature). This is followed by more general conjurations of spirits into mirrors and stones, and invocations against spirits who do not obey the magician.[77] These are generic form-letter rituals in which the magician can insert any spirit name, and thus were widely applicable. The cluster of introductory material then ends, with instructions for consecrating a circle and holy water only added after the Table Ritual and an incantation to dismiss spirits.[78]

Despite largely placing the basics of ritual magic near the beginning of the manuscript, the scribe clearly added to the manuscript when he found material he wished to preserve. Even pages 202 to 203 contain instructions for a ritual bath

---

[72] Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 16-17.
[73] Folger VB 26, 21-24.
[74] Folger VB 26, 27.
[75] Folger VB 26, 28-29.
[76] Folger VB 26, 29-31.
[77] Folger VB 26, 32-38.
[78] Folger VB 26, 39.

which invoke the Water (which it identifies and addresses as a creature) to purify

the magician's body in the way that a magician ought to undergo before performing

ritual magic.[79] This suggests that, although some material was compiled before

beginning the book, allowing for him to order it in advance, he continued to acquire

new material and added it to the manuscript as time went on.

The first few operations in e Mus 173 also function as an *ad hoc* magic

textbook beginning with: how to consecrate a book of magic, how to consecrate a

stone into which one might summon spirits, an illustration by which one might

determine the planetary hours (which was important for various magical activities -

spirit summoning not least amongst them), rules of what must be done when a

cross appears in a conjuration, directions that no one may touch the stone before a

spirit is called, and a spirit conjuration that includes conjurations of the Wind, Earth,

and Light so that the magician would be able to have a direct vision of a spirit in his

stone.[80] While the manuscript begins with an impulse to presenting foundational

information, it quickly becomes a series of rituals and operations with little

overarching structure beyond clusters of related materials throughout. In fact,

foundational information is interspersed far later (with instructions to magically

consecrate a pen, ink, and paper not appearing until the third to last entry in the

manuscript).[81] It appears that the scribe added to it as he found more material

which was useful to him. He also did not copy each new text in isolation, but refers

back to earlier tracts in later texts (such as when he states …*ut supra in*

exp[er]imento Mosacus Sp[irit]us et cet on folio 12r, thus referring back to

---

79 Folger VB 26, 202-203.
80 e Mus. 173, 1r-2v.
81 e Mus. 173, 75v-76r.

instructions given on 3r so he would not have to rewrite it). This demonstrates that the scribe did not mindlessly copy material into the manuscript, but abridged and amended it with reference to the whole.

Sloane 3318 is a seventeenth-century manuscript of unknown provenance written in a single hand that is traditional in many respects, being a miscellaneous and self-referential[82] assortment of extracted ritual magic operations and instructions for other magical methodologies, such as charms.[83] The manuscript opens with a short tract spanning folios 2r to 16v called the *Elementa magica perfectissima. Rob: Lombardi minor Alexandriae professoris* ('The Most Perfect Magic Elements of the Alexandrian Professor Robert Lombard the Younger'), before losing its structure in a jumble of magical operations. The *Elementa magica perfectissima* contains the basics of ritual magic along with assurances that it leads to great power and instructions on how to consecrate a protective circle.[84] Then follow some basic planetary sigils and instructions to consecrate various ritual elements such as a sword, ring, wand and the room of one's house used for performing magic.[85] It concludes with a list of the various items required to perform the art. Only after the *Elementa magica perfectissima* has given this useful foundation in ritual magic are practicable operations provided, starting with a ritual to summon spirits to reveal future and hidden things.[86]

---

[82] See, for example, the conjuration of Sathan referring the reader back to the ritual to summon him that begins on page 45 of the old pagination, which is now folio 25: Sloane 3318, 59r.

[83] Klaassen and Wright also agree on the dating of Sloane 3318 to the early seventeenth century, see Klaassen and Wright, *Magic of Rogues*, 139.

[84] Sloane 3318, 2r-10r.

[85] Sloane 3318, 10v-16v.

[86] Sloane 3318, 17r-18v.

There is a possibility that the scribe of Sloane 3318 may have copied most of his manuscript out of an earlier manuscript as though it was one complete text. Folio 104v was left blank and the title at the top of 105r reads *hac sequentia ex all[i]o libro* ('this following [is] from another book'). It is possible that this title pertained only to the specific ritual that it precedes. Given the completely blank folio that the statement follows, however, it appears as though the scribe may have meant to indicate a clear end to the material which he took from one source and then began (as the title states) to draw from another book. If this assessment of this line's significance is correct, then the majority of the manuscript may have already been compiled by an earlier scribe and so reflects attitudes, conventions, and associations from earlier decades or centuries. This manuscript does not use the term 'fairy' or 'elf', despite containing several rituals that invoke names of entities who are elsewhere identified as fairies.

The seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 1727 is perhaps the most explicit magic miscellany in its opening conceit of being an introductory textbook to magic before quickly diversifying into a varied assortment of magic material that was of use or interest to the scribe. This opening text, titled 'The preface to ye Reader', frames itself not as a personal notebook, but as a text with which the next generation of magic practitioner would learn his art.[87] It is aware of the potential hostility with which it might be met by future readers, portentously opening with the line: 'Courtuos Reader if Readest as A friend, devine benediction attend the [sic thee] ^but if as an enemy be thou Rebuked of god'.[88] It continues to explain that magic was not discovered through study, but was given to humanity (namely to

---

[87] Sloane 1727, 2.
[88] Sloane 1727, 2.

Adam) by God via the angel Casiel.[89] Invoking the authority of the legendary

magicians Solomon, Bacon, and Lombardus (to whom ritual magic texts were

attributed) and citing the *Arbatel*, the text states what is required of the magician,

the place, and the appropriate times in which to perform magic.[90] It then claims that

the art of magic can be subdivided into Speculation, Revelation, Resuscitation, and

Visible Apparition.[91] The latter three branches of magic in this list are not revealed

in Sloane 1727, for after a discussion of speculation (which it defines as

summoning a spirit into a reflective surface for the purpose of answering questions)

the manuscript launches into instructions for consecrating your book and stone

(which must be done at the same time) and provides a conjuration of a spirit into a

stone.[92]

The manuscript bids an adieu to its 'Gentill Reader' by the tenth page and

instructs him to use this knowledge to progress with the art of magic. In the

description of speculation, the text states that by summoning spirits into a reflective

surface and questioning them one can learn the entirety of the magical art.[93] By

that logic, it stands to reason that this is the only spell a beginning magician should

need. But this is telling as it shows an impulse to value the direct teaching of the

magician by spirits, rather than from books (a mentality that permeated ritual magic

pedagogy).[94] It should be noted that the Latin in this manuscript is frequently

garbled and corrupt, possibly indicating that its scribe was not sufficiently well

---

[89] Sloane 1727, 2.
[90] Sloane 1727, 2-4.
[91] Sloane 1727, 5.
[92] Sloane 1727, 5.
[93] Sloane 1727, 5.
[94] Klaassen, 'Unstable Texts', 226-228.

educated in Latin to correct the Latin passages - and demonstrating why a direct spiritual tutor would be so valuable.

Sloane 3851 also begins with foundational material useful for one who was initiating their study of magic, and then it becomes increasingly miscellaneous. The manuscript opens with preliminary purification and prefatory instructions (attributed to Ptolemy) as well as specifications of the knowledge and demeanour necessary to practice magic (which is attributed to Cyprian, presumably the legendary magician St. Cyprian of Antioch).[95] This is followed by a several step prayer/incantation for protection and the breaking of malign magical influence (that was also attributed to Cyprian).[96] Gauntlet carefully placed a license to depart before any conjuration in this manuscript, ensuring that the reader would know how to dismiss a spirit *before* summoning any.[97]

The preliminary protective material concludes with a short prayer to commune with one's own genius.[98] This refers to the genius in the Platonic or Socratic sense, likely via Agrippa who describes the genius as a type of sidereal daemon which is determined by the astrological conditions of one's birth and whose nature is evident in each of our natural inclinations from birth.[99] The idea that such presiding/personal/tutelary spirits which the soul chose before birth might be visibly summoned forth is an old one, with Porphyry claiming that an Egyptian priest began such a ritual to bring forth Plotinus', before the ritual was ostensibly

---

[95] Sloane 3851, 3r.
[96] Sloane 3851, 3v-5v.
[97] Sloane 3851, 5v.
[98] Sloane 3851, 8v.
[99] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 408-410.

overwhelmed by the fact that Plotinus' was not a daemon, but a god.[100] Given this

context, the prayer in Sloane 3851 presumably invoked this entity forth so it might

act as a spiritual guide to the magician which he could trust to act in his best

interest. It then provides a series of charms that would be staples of a service

magician (in addition to some more miscellaneous operations).[101] These include

love charms attributed to a Captain Bubb; basic magical sigils; charms against

enemies, danger by fire or sword, worms, as well as more colourful ones to make a

person fall asleep at a table; and a diabolized version of the mole-skin-purse spell

to have any money spent return (which also appears in Cambridge Additional

3544).[102] Gauntlet then included a copy of the *Arbatel* which concludes the didactic

initiatory section of this manuscript.[103] The *Arbatel,* as discussed in Chapter Three,

provides forty-nine aphorisms about how magic ought to be practised. This draws

upon Paracelsian notions of the elemental beings and weaves them into its

cosmology and taxonomy of magical arts. These aphorisms would be of value in

initiating a reader to magic by outlining various branches of the art, providing

historical mythologies and cosmological structures with which to interpret magical

texts, and establishing proper conduct for magicians to follow.

Gauntlet (perhaps out of enthusiasm for working with them, or the belief that

they are the safest beings for a new magician to work with) begins the operational

summoning rituals of his manuscript with a substantial section almost entirely

dedicated to angel summoning rituals.[104] After the insertion of a spell to summon

---

[100] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, ed. Porphyry, trans. Stephen MacKenna (New York: Paul Brunton Philosophic Foundation, 1992), 8, 210-211.
[101] Sloane 3851, 8v-9v.
[102] Sloane 3851, 6r-9v. CF Cambridge, Additional 3544, 63; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 60-61.
[103] Sloane 3851, 10r-29v.
[104] Sloane 3851, 29r-53r.

an angel into a crystal in a different (and far less legible) hand,[105] is an assortment

of prayers/incantations, sigils, psalms, and general rituals for summoning

angels.[106] Of the two primary angel conjuring rituals, one summons an angel to

your own sight and the other to a child scryer. The latter operation was provided

because, the text explains, (while not necessary to be a magician) only some

people were given the 'gift to have sight' of spirits which most people lose after

going through puberty.[107]

2.3.2.2 Safer Fairies

The ritual to summon forth one's genius in Sloane 3851 echoes Folger VB

26's placement of the conjuration for one's guardian angel (mentioned above).

They are both bound near protective and preliminary magic material and are both

the first summoning ritual in their respective manuscripts. Their placement as the

first conjuration to be used by a magician reading through the basics of ritual magic

(as compiled at the beginning of each manuscript) suggests that they were

conceived of as safer than other spirits, perhaps even able to function as a spirit

guide or protector as the prospective magician launched forth into the deep of the

magical arts. While the ritual for one's guardian angel is written in another hand, its

inclusion suggests that its scribe or compiler saw this association. The personal

nature of these entities, and the implication that they are always with/a part of each

person (even if not visibly manifested), further indicates this and strongly suggests

---

[105] Sloane 3851, 30v.
[106] Sloane 3851, 31v-41r.
[107] 'the Child should not be above 12 yeares of Age' Sloane 3851, 39r-41r. I have relied upon Rankine's transcription in the in-text quotation above due to my copy of the manuscript being too faded in this passage. Rankine, ed. *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 117.

that their placement within these manuscripts was not incidental. The early cluster of angel-summoning material in Sloane 3851 can be understood as an extension of this. In several manuscripts, even those that follow the *ad hoc* introductory-magic-textbook structure that focuses preliminary material at the beginning of the codices, the first summoning rituals invoke fairies. This suggests that fairies too were sometimes conceptualised by compilers as safer entities to conjure that might be less dangerous or malevolent than conventional demons (perhaps due to their perceived neutral nature), and therefore of greater value for the novice summoner.[108]

Sibillia is the first entity summoned in Cambridge Additional 3544's copy of Sibilia's Candle. The ritual is bound along with an invocation of Mosacus in the midst of introductory ritual magic material. Nothing about Mosacus suggests that he is an angel or other outright benevolent being, however a very tenuous connection to fairies does exist. In Folger VB 26 Mosacus is listed directly before Oberion in the *Officiorum spirituum*. These texts appear to be drawing from a common tradition, since in both the Office of the Spirits and Cambridge Additional 3544's invocation of Mosacus he is described as appearing in the form of a young redheaded boy. It may be that Mosacus' ritual was not placed here due to the safer nature of the being it invoked, but due to the list of planetary angels it contains which were useful for the neophyte magician and is referred to in the prefatory material which followed it. Although far too circumstantial to suggest that he was conceptualised as a fairy, the fact that these rituals were bound at the beginning of the manuscript and were both preceded and followed by basic ritual magic material

---

[108] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 176.

indicate that they were understood as good spirits to summon before others (whether due to their usefulness or ease of conjuration).

As in Cambridge Additional 3544, the first summoning ritual to invoke a named spirit in Folger VB 26 summons a fairy (namely Micol accompanied by Burfax and Titam in the Table Ritual, here traveling separately from the *Thesaurus spirituum*).[109] Several summoning rituals appear before this, but they are generic 'form-letter' rituals into which any name could be inserted. Similarly in Sloane 3318 Oberion's Plate (folios 18v-21r) is the second ritual following only the material on the basics of ritual magic and an operation to summon spirits to reveal future and hidden things (spanning 17r-18v) which refers to the beings invoked as three kings of wisdom (*reges sapientiae*). Likewise, Sloane 1727's prologue that explicitly introduces the reader to the necromantic art is followed by foundational magical information (a series of magic figures, a list of seven demonic kings with their attendants, and the days on which it is best to perform magic) and a copy of the Sylvan Square ritual (making it the first summoning ritual outside of the introductory prologue).[110] Although the first fairy summoning ritual in both Folger VB 26 and Sloane 3318 are separated from the texts on the basics of ritual magic by other operations, the fact that these are the first named entities to be summoned demonstrates the scribes' enthusiasm for fairy summoning (which the numerous fairy-summoning rituals in each manuscript also evince). Similarly, Sloane 1727's first summoning ritual outside the introduction invokes the three knights who would later be explicitly identified as fairies. This repeated early placement may suggest

---

[109] Folger VB 26, 38-39.
[110] Sloane 1727, 19-24.

the perceived comparative safety of summoning entities who held names and features evocative of fairies.

In addition to the early placement of Oberion's Plate in Sloane 3318, Oberion also appears on folio 41r where he is listed along with Sibilla, Andriomalchus, Sathan, and many others in a context which indicates that they were considered easy targets for the novice magician. The inclusion of fairy names with demon names in this list (entitled *de Spir[it]ibus ostentionis*) does not necessarily indicate that the scribe understood them all to be the same type of being. The title suggests that this is a list of entities who appear most readily to the summoner, which is further supported by the fact that it immediately follows a text which gives further basics for performing magic, entitled *Observationes observandae*.[111] Furthermore, this list precedes an oration that is meant to be said before any magical ritual which causes a spirit to visibly appear.[112] In short, these are entities deemed easiest for a magician to successfully see when summoned, a useful quality for the novice. If this notion (that fairy-related beings were among the entities easiest to visibly summon) was not idiosyncratic to this text, then it may explain why rituals to summon Oberion and Sibillia were sometimes placed in clusters of preliminary magical operations near the beginning of manuscripts. The ideas that fairies were a safer variety of spirit to invoke would later become explicit in the late seventeenth-century Januvian Gnome and Fairy rituals (see Chapter One and Chapter Four).

---

[111] Sloane 3318, 39v-41r.
[112] Sloane 3318, 41r-41v.

2.3.2.3 The Life Cycle of a Magician

The final pattern often repeated in these manuscripts is the shift from initial grand ambitions to more prosaic (and potentially profitable) magic. Not only do the ends of the magic change, but also the methods used. As noted above, the shift from generally ritual-magic-focused operations at the beginning of manuscripts to increasingly miscellaneous assortments of ritual magic, charms, and natural magic near the end indicate that it was not uncommon for practical and pecuniary concerns to overtake the ambitious dreams of magicians over the course of their careers. Not all manuscripts follow this pattern, but it appears often enough to suggest that it was not an idiosyncratic or coincidental occurrence.

Cambridge Additional 3544 only partially reflects this shift (indeed, no manuscript purely reflects it), yet Francis Young has proposed an explanation as to why the compiler's priorities changed over time which sheds light on the more overt examples which follow. The aforementioned conjuration of Sibillia is part of a ritual magic cluster that opens the manuscript.[113] The Sylvan Square, on the other hand, is part of another largely ritual magic focused cluster at the end of the manuscript.[114] Cambridge Additional 3544's compiler certainly had a clear interest in ritual magic, but also included various other magical techniques (with numerous prosaic aims) mixed throughout, particularly the middle portion of the manuscript which primarily contains natural magic and charms. Regardless of magical method employed, the scribe clearly endeavoured to group together various operations for the same purpose, such as love spells (Young observes that erotic magic

---

[113] Cambridge Additional 3544, 2-59; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 1-56.
[114] Cambridge Additional 3544, 79-119; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 80-120.

comprises 31% of the experiments in this manuscript).[115] Yet these sections are not perfect, as materials relevant to 'categories already dealt with… crop up later in the manuscript, as if as afterthoughts'.[116] This indicates that the scribe had time to collect and order various methods to achieve the same aim before copying them into his manuscript, but continued adding to his manuscript over time as he found new relevant material. This may explain why foundational operations to consecrate several central tools of ritual magic conclude the manuscript.[117]

Francis Young in his edition of Cambridge Additional 3544 proposes that this manuscript was composed by a monk who, after the dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII, eked out a living for himself as a cunning man.[118] I am inclined to agree with this, given the time of the text's composition and the repositories of magical knowledge that were displaced by the Reformation. If this is the case, then it serves to demonstrate that not only was magic disseminating out of the medieval clerical context during this period (due to growing literacy, vernacular translation, and printing), but also the people who wrote and performed magic were cast out of the clerical context as it was dismantled by the religious and political tribulations of this era. This would have been particularly bad for monks who appear to have been disproportionately likely to be practitioners of magic.[119]

This pattern of moving from more lofty goals to everyday (and more potentially lucrative) magic is even clearer in Folger VB 26. This manuscript begins with more wondrous ritual magic (for rings of invisibility; for summoning, binding,

---

[115] Francis Young, 'Iintroduction' in *Cambridge Book of Magic*, xxv, xxvii.

[116] Young, 'Introduction', xxvii-xxviii.

[117] Cambridge Additional 3544, 109-119; Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 109-120.

[118] Young, 'Introduction', xvii.

[119] See Page, *Magic in the Cloister*.

and punishing spirits at will; to making the dead appear to speak; and the like) whereas the later material becomes largely dedicated to the prosaic magic that one associates with service magicians (healing charms and amulets against toothache, animal bites, and headache; patriarchal magic to induce conception, make women dance or conceive; and apotropaic magic against witchcraft). The shift shows a diversification of magic methodology, as well as a shift in application of magic from the acquisition of knowledge and great wealth and perhaps theurgy, to healing and helpful magical techniques with which one might carve out a living for oneself as a magic practitioner. Interestingly, this diversification becomes most pronounced after page 205, which is where the manuscript has been divided – possibly suggesting that the difference in the focus of the material in each section was observed by the manuscript's divider.

This distinction within the manuscript is (as it was before being divided), however, not absolute. The first half includes practical and natural magical instructions, such as those to produce an amulet against epilepsy/headache on page 52 and the excerpt from the *Sefer Raziel* on the occult properties of herbs, stones, and animals as well as their applications to make one prosperous or win the favour of princes (pp. 55-58). Likewise, the conjuration of Tobias the 'kinge of the pdgmcdcu' ('king of the pigmies') is the third to last excerpt in this manuscript.[120] Furthermore, ritual magic and natural magic do not exist in vacuums. Suffumigations of herbs, stones, and animal parts were used in ritual magic, and treatise on the occult properties of the same often note their impact

---

[120] Folger VB 26, 234. Cf. Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 551.

upon spirits.[121] If, however, we apply the above discussion of ritual magic as a methodology, and service magicians as a social role, then it becomes evident that the scribe who compiled Folger VB 26 shifted his interest away from ritual magic techniques and operations, until he focussed almost exclusively upon magic that would allow him to function more effectively as a service magician. This may indicate the scribe coming upon difficult financial times and having to offer services to support himself. If this is the case, then the life narrative of Folger VB 26's scribe may have echoed that lived by the scribe of Cambridge Additional 3544, and others.

Sloane 1727 also demonstrates this shift in focus from lofty ritual magic to became progressively more interested in magic that easily dealt with lucrative everyday concerns. Prior to page thirty-five the manuscript is almost completely composed of ritual magic, with most of these other magical methodologies being interspersed with ritual magic material in the second half of the manuscript. Since there is no discernible overarching order to much of the material in Sloane 1727, it appears that the scribe added to it as he found more material of use or interest to him. The manuscript (particularly after page thirty-five) contains many charms for love and to counteract various ailments, as well as more medical and gynaecological divination (that prognosticated death or recovery from illness, whether a man or woman is barren, or whether a woman is pregnant), and more patriarchal operations to determine a woman's virginity and to make her confess her secrets (the use of magic as a tool for patriarchal control of women was

---

[121] As witnessed in the use of herbs to see and bind spirits copied from the *Liber Razielis* in Folger VB 26, 57-58.

common in books of secrets).[122] These operations indicate a masculine

perspective that had both a male and female clientele.

Sloane 3851 can also be loosely divided into two sections: folios 3r-116r

which are almost entirely dedicated to ritual magic, and folios 117v-145r which are

largely dedicated to charms, natural magic, and image magic. Both sections

involve magic operations used to summon fairies.[123] Yet even these methods to

summon fairies hold true to this division of the manuscript, with those in the first

section of the book being elaborate ritual magic operations, and those in the

second half being operations or recipes that straddle the line between natural and

ritual magic by giving complex instructions for producing ointments that give sight

of fairies, but which have perfunctory traditional summoning and/or binding

methods (such as the Lapwing Ointment's single sentence binding of the spirit to

the magician as a familiar after the ointment had been made, without even the

need to invoke the spirit to appear).[124]

2.4 Theoretical Material Increasingly Bound with Operative Magic Instructions

Over the period examined in this study, occult philosophical texts

increasingly influence and circulate with fairy summoning rituals, particularly in the

seventeenth century. My findings support Klaassen's assertion that very little

theoretical material was bound into ritual magic manuscripts until the sixteenth

---

[122] Monica H. Green, 'From "Diseases of Women" to "Secrets of Women": The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 30, no. 1 (2000): 7, 18-19, 27-29. Cf. Tyler J. Reimer, 'Cultural Traditions of Sixteenth-Century English Books of Secrets' (master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2017), 72, 79, 80-88.
[123] Sloane 3851, 104r-106v, 115v-116v, 129r-131v.
[124] See Appendix 1 and Chapter One.

century.[125] The inclusion of more theoretical works seems to suggest a shift away from the more purely utilitarian context of earlier manuscripts. The divide between theoretical and operational magic texts ought not be overstated, however. Take, for example, a list of spirit names and their respective powers. Is this a theoretical work that taxonomises spirits into a hierarchy that informs the magicians' cosmology? Or is it a highly utilitarian list of spirits and their powers whose names might be inserted into a general summoning ritual to achieve the ends suggested by the spirit's listed powers? It might do either or both. While it is not helpful to impose artificial divisions between theoretical and practical material, the increasing prevalence of more cosmological material and passages taken from occult philosophical works (and their impact of fairy summoning rituals) is noteworthy. This is because in some of the theoretical material that was bound with fairy summoning rituals (especially that drawn from occult philosophical sources), we witness the reinterpretation of fairies as entities intrinsically connected to the elements and features of the natural world. While discussed elsewhere,[126] the increasing presence of magical theory/occult philosophy is a key development in the manuscript context of fairy summoning rituals and must be noted here with a few illustrative examples not otherwise discussed at length.

A key question is why this material became more prevalent in the first place. One explanation might be that the writers of these books became more distant from an intellectual environment in which the logic of the magical operations was self-evident. After all, people need not record what everyone already knows. In the case of this material, however, the expository segments did not introduce the

---

[125] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic,* 63.
[126] See especially Chapter Three.

reader to the concept of fairies, but rather they functioned to reinterpret them and firmly integrate them into various iterations of the occult Renaissance cosmography/cosmologies developed by influential writers such as Agrippa and Paracelsus (who in turn drew their ideas from various older magical texts, philosophy, and folk/literary traditions). This is to say, the expository accretions did not introduce the reader to fairies; rather, they synthesised fairy folklore with learned magical theory to reinterpret them as spirits who were ubiquitous throughout the natural world. In so doing, these texts both engage with and distance themselves from the vernacular and folk cultural origins of fairies.

The theoretical material that began to circulate with fairy conjuring rituals drew upon learned authorities to demarcate a place for fairies within the western magical tradition. Yet, this was not exclusive to fairy summoning rituals but a wider process that resulted in increasing theoretical material about other orders of spirits and branches of magic as well. This proliferation of theoretical material emerged in a period of cultural and intellectual instability in which old epistemological, ontological, and cosmological frameworks (if not abandoned) were shaken by the Reformation, expanded by the Renaissance (particularly Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*), and complicated by available vernacular translations of philosophical material and their accessibility via the printing press. This period of dramatic change did not lead to the rejection of the entirety of human history and its accumulated knowledge, but a reinterpretation and expansion of that which had been the orthodox and authoritative material in the Latin west. This is the same soil from which the reputed scientific 'revolution' and self-styled Enlightenment sprang.

Influence from occult philosophical works is apparent in some ritual magic manuscripts from even the sixteenth century. The late sixteenth-century

manuscript Folger VB 26 included not only rituals to summon fairies, but also some

short passages that explained their natures and abilities in the form of an accretion

added to the end of the *Officiorum spirituum*.[127] As mentioned in Chapter One, the

copy of the Table Ritual in Chetham A.4.98 is highly suggestive of influence from

the Third and (pseudonymous) Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy. But this is more

explicit elsewhere (if not directly in reference to fairies). In Sloane 3853 several

sections are taken from Agrippa, including a list of characters which it explicitly

states are characters and sigils of spirits from the Third Book of 'Hen[r]y

Corneli[us]' (as indeed they are, where he attributes them to the author of the

Sworn Book of Honorius, demonstrating the mutual flow of material between ritual

magic and occult philosophical texts).[128] Several folios later another set of

characters is likewise attributed to 'Cornelius Agrippus'.[129] The late sixteenth-

century Sloane 3850 contains material drawn from the Three Books of Occult

Philosophy, even attributing material in the manuscript to various authors with

magical connections (such as Agripppa, Bacon, Ciprian, Solomon, etc) and

attributing the invention of magic to Zamolxes (who Plato depicts as a Thracian

god-king who invented verbal healing charms that tempered the soul to heal the

body and thereby his followers could achieve even immortality) and Zoroaster (the

founder of Zoroastrianism, from the priests of which faith the word 'magic'

arises).[130] The attribution of magic to these figures appears to have been drawn

from Agrippa (although he only wrote that some people believed them to have

---

[127] Folger VB 26, 80-81.
[128] Sloane 3853, 49v; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 438.
[129] Sloane 3853, 53v.
[130] Sloane 3850, 115; Plato, *Charmides*, 156d-157a.

founded the science of magic).[131] By the seventeenth century, examples of

expository accretions attached to fairy summoning rituals (and circulating in

manuscripts which contain them) become far more comprehensive. For example,

the mid-seventeenth-century manuscript that now survives in Sloane 3824 and

3825 contains both fairy summoning rituals and material which provides the reader

with a cosmological framework that attempts to reconcile fairies into a coherent

worldview with their Christian faith and magical practices.

The seventeenth century (especially in its latter half) witnessed a dramatic

increase in the inclusion of occult philosophical material. For example, the writer of

Sloane 3851 had access to many tributaries of magical knowledge, including print,

manuscript, and oral sources.[132] He includes a copy of the English version of the

Arbatel (more of a theoretical work that outlines both the nature of various

branches of magic and how a magician ought to act) that was clearly not taken

from that printed by Turner in 1654. Despite this, the *Arbatel* (10r-29v), the

Heptameron (61r-74v), and the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (75r-91r) as well

as extracts from the *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (112v-114v) were included

in this manuscript, indicating that the compiler prefigured (or perhaps was part of

the community of magic practitioners who established) the influential magic texts

that would be translated and printed in English in the mid seventeenth century.[133]

Certainly, evidence in his publications demonstrate that Robert Turner was a part

of a wider medico-magical community of 'chemical physitions' who strove for crown

---

[131] Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (Cologne: 1533), 3.

[132] For an example of an oral source: he appears to have attributed a love spell to 'Caption [sic Captain] Bubbs': Sloane 3851, 8v.

[133] Sloane 3851, 10r-29v, 61r-74v, 75r-91r, 112v-114v. Rankine has produced a helpful table positing derivations and influences of Sloane 3851. See David Rankine, 'Introduction' in *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 22-23.

recognition as the Society of Chymical Physicians in opposition to the Galenic London College of Physicians.[134] He endevoured to carve a space for legitimate magic practice by distinguishing such practitioners from witches or necromancers.[135] His views may have shaped understandings of magic not only among those interested in practicing magic but amongst the general population as well, for he was likely the Turner consulted upon words relating to magic by Edward Phillips in producing his 1658 *The New World of English Words: Or, A General Dictionary.*[136]

The close association between these three works published by Turner in 1654 occuring in the early seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3851 demonstrates that these texts already circulated together prior to Turner's printed translation. These texts complement each other well, for the *Heptameron* and parts of the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* offer the practical mechanics of ritual magic, while the *Fourth Book* discusses at some length the more theoretical aspects of magic that characterise (especially late) seventeenth-century magic manuscripts. Together they offer both the fundamental mechanics and theoretical underpinnings of magical practice and a cosmological framework with which to understand magic and the powers with which the art deals.

2.5 Conclusion

Fairy summoning rituals tended to be instructional and often circulated in utilitarian contexts with other texts that outlined the practical operations needed to

---

[134] Peter Elmer, 'Robert Turner', *Biographical Register of Medical Practitioners Online* (forthcoming).
[135] Elmer, 'Robert Turner'.
[136] Elmer, 'Robert Turner'.

perform magic. Increasingly they began to circulate with theoretical material which explained their powers, natures, and how they fit into the universe. They began to include accretions drawn from occult philosophical works (suggesting that they circulated in the same libraries) and eventually were bound in manuscripts with extracts and compilations of occult philosophical works (further facilitating this cross pollination of ideas between the operative ritual and theoretical occult philosophical material). As the following chapter demonstrates, occult philosophy (especially when written in/translated into English) reinterpreted fairies as beings intrinsically connected to natural environments and features, especially those associated with the elements of water and earth. The impact this had on the manner in which fairies were understood by the writers/compilers/amenders of fairy summoning rituals is demonstrated most clearly in Chapter Four's case study of the single manuscript now preserved in Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3834.

Chapter Three: The Occult Philosophical Fairy

This chapter outlines significant occult philosophical works which, I argue, provided the theoretical framework through which fairy summoning rituals were increasingly understood by those who copied them. Through this process, specific elements from popular and literary sources were reinterpreted and interwoven with emerging learned occult philosophical cosmological frameworks. Collectively this chapter demonstrates the interplay between exoteric and esoteric, popular and learned, ideas about fairies with particular focus upon how this syncretic process shaped and contextualised fairy summoning rituals.

Ronald Hutton has argued that the great vogue of fairies peaked between 1560 and 1640 and was fuelled by the Reformation which stimulated greater inquiry into spirits (whether angel, demon, ghost, or fairy) and the increased climate of curiosity and intellectual leniency which began with humanism and resulted in the scientific revolution.[1] Some of these literary portrayals share elements with fairy conjuring spells and help to contextualise these rituals; thus indicating shared cultural roots and/or cross pollination. Despite these points of commonality, the literary and popular portrayals of fairies are distinct from the occult philosophical ones in that they connect fairies with the land of Faerie (a unique realm in which they dwell). In this way they are implicitly characterised as visitors, neighbours, and/or invaders of the human realm. In contrast to this, occult philosphical texts connected fairies intimately with the natural, created world and (post-Reformation) attempted to reconcile them with a newly open and unstable Christian theology. This interpretation was spearheaded by the influential printed

---

[1] Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1154.

works produced by the Renaissance occult philosophers Agrippa and Paracelsus who, in turn, appear to have been influenced by the medieval *Liber Razielis*.

Despite the occult philosophical fairy being distinct from the popular/literary fairy, magicians did not live in a vacuum and were influenced by contemporary exoteric ideas, which they often reinterpreted to reconcile them with magical practice and occult philosophical theories. In fact, the occult philosophical fairies did not emerge *ex nihilo*, but were attempts to provide a learned (and occult) explanation for the wondrous folk of popular literature and oral culture. Likewise, things that originated in occult philosophical works sometimes were adopted (although generally misunderstood and warped) into exoteric sources. For example, the word 'sylph', seemingly coined by Paracelsus to refer to woodwose-like beings (as seen below), was used in French ballet and gentlemen's magazines to refer to delicate airy fairies by the eighteenth century.[2] This reinterpretation both connected magicians and occult philosophers to more widespread conceptualisations of fairies, while simultaniously distancing themselves from them.

The emergence of print technology, increasing general literacy, and use of the vernacular during the early modern period allowed for more accessible and popular literary forms to emerge. Ronald Hutton has convincingly argued that the development of the fairy tradition ('defined as a body of ideas and beliefs handed down between generations') was primarily literary but 'blended indissolubly with broader culture at all levels of society.'[3] Despite drawing from accessible and

---

[2] As seen in the reference to the conception of an effete male sylph being based upon the ballet *Zélindor, roi des Sylphes* in Jean-François Marmontel, 'The Husband Turned Sylph: A Tale', *The British Magazine, or, Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies* 6, (1765): 584-585.

[3] Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1137.

inexpensive printed source material, magicians continued writing their rituals (and even occult philosophical texts) in manuscripts. This was in part due to the importance of the hand-written manuscript as a consecrated magical object itself (for an example see the Binding of the Seven Sisters, section 1.5.1.1 in Chapter One).

I do not use the term 'popular' throughout this thesis to refer to a specific class, which 'folk' implies. Instead, I use it to refer to the 'exoteric' (that which is widely known or available), in contrast to the esoteric material written by and for magic specialists. While the same processes of print, literacy, and increasing use of the vernacular made once esoteric knowledge far more accessible by a general readership, this does not necessarily translate to the adoption and promulgation of esoteric ideas among the general populace. As such, whether or not learned magic remained 'esoteric' due to accessibility, it was still esoteric in that few understood or adopted the theories and practices the arts contained.

This chapter argues that, amidst and interacting with vernacular and literary representations of fairies, an alternative esoteric explanation of these entities arose. With precident established by the medieval *Liber Razielis*, the view was expanded by Renaissance occult philosophers and proliferated in the early print occult philosophical context. This conceptualisation eventually became the primary lens through which fairies were understood and reinterpreted by the learned and semi-learned scribes of fairy summoning rituals. This becomes more pronounced in the seventeenth century when some of these occult philosophical discussions were published in English and began to appear in manuscripts with fairy summoning rituals (as is discussed below). This esoteric explanation primarily diverges from the popular and literary view by rejecting the idea of Faerie or

Fairyland and intimately tethering these beings to the natural sublunary world of the elements in which humans live.

3.1 Fairy-Related Entities in the Occult Philosophy of the Liber Razielis

The *Liber Razielis* (also known as the *Sefer Raziel* or *Book of Raziel*) was a medieval magic text which circulated in the same early modern intellectual circles as did fairy summoning rituals. No less than five of the manuscripts in this study contain extracts from, or complete copies of, the *Liber Razielis* and I will argue that its indirect influence on the materials assessed in this study is yet more widespread.[4] The *Liber Razielis* contains a discussion of several classes of entities which include one order of spirits and another of phantasms which together represent an early attempt to synthesise the disjointed assortment of medieval accounts of fairy-related beings. It provided a potential framework with which magicians could carve conceptual space for a class of being distinct from angels, demons, and humans.

The *Liber Razielis* (and fragments thereof) circulated with fairy summoning spells in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, offering a means by which one might explain them and (at the least) it offered a precedent for less orthodox spiritual entities which were neither demonic or angelic, neither divinely good nor infernally wicked. The direct physical proximity between the *Liber Razielis* and fairy summoning rituals is most explicit in the two complete copies which were bound with a cluster of fairy rituals in both Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 (discussed at greater length below and in Chapter Two). Yet the *Liber Razielis* primarily impacted

---

[4] Namely: Folger Vb 26, Sloane 1727, Sloane 3826, Sloane 3853, and Sloane 3846.

early modern occult philosophical explanations of fairies through the Renaissance thinkers that it influenced. I argue that the *Liber Razielis*' passages on spirits and phantasmal entities (notably referring to them with both the terms 'animal' and 'spirit') were influential upon the Renaissance scholars Agrippa and Paracelsus who drew upon it in constructing their theoretical discussions which would ultimately be used to explain fairies and their kindred (discussed below). As such, the *Liber Razielis* was primarily a forerunner for the elaborate theoretical material that (partially drawing upon Agrippa's and Paracelsus' elaborations of the *Liber Razielis*' second and fifth type of animal/spirit) began circulating with fairy summoning rituals, particularly in the seventeenth century.

3.1.1 The Text and Associated Traditions

The *Liber Razielis* is divided into seven parts, as it appears in the English versions that were bound with fairy summoning rituals. This book (as well as several others of the same or similar name) was closely associated with the angel Raziel and has deep ancient, late antique, and medieval roots. The medieval Latin and early modern English manifestations of the *Liber Razielis* influenced Agrippa and (as we have seen) circulated in the same intellectual circles as did fairy summoning rituals. Both through the influence of its reinterpretation by Agrippa, and through continued cross-pollination of ideas from this work (which provides not only instructional magic operations, but discursive material providing cosmological assertions and taxonomic overviews of the created world) the *Liber Razielis* provided a learned and traditional framework, attributed to angelic (and by extension divine) authority, through which to interpret the ambiguity of fairy-like beings. This provides context for specific practices such as the Sylvan Square

Ritual, and would be elaborated by Renaissance philosophers into various explanations of fairies that presented them as tethered to (or generated from) particular natural environments which were free from humanity.

The *Liber Razielis* emerged from a medieval context where various works of Jewish magic (often attributed to the angel Raziel) were translated into Latin.[5] It is extant in two manuscripts examined by this study, Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846. Sophie Page outlines several versions of the text, most notably a Latin version produced in the court of Alfonso X before 1259.[6] Page observes that copies of the *Liber Razielis* produced after 1500 are predominantly 'heavily abridged versions of the Alfonsine text and that the seventh book of the original compilation – the *Liber magice* – has been replaced by a different text, the Liber virtutis or *Semaforas*'.[7] This is true of the copies in both Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846.

Giralt has argued that the *Liber Razielis* contains aspects of Jewish magic and cosmology, influence from hermetic astrological magic, and elements found in Solomonic ritual magic.[8] From this rich and varied amalgam of magical, mystical, philosophical, and theological traditions, the *Liber Razielis* developed ideas which might be thought of as a creole cosmology. Just as with the formation of creole languages, ideas came together in the *Liber Razielis* from various parent traditions and were merged in a process of synthesis, systematisation, and reconciliation (or rejection) of inconsistencies in the inherited ideas and conceptual frameworks so

---

[5] Sophie Page, 'Uplifting Souls: The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*', in *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Claire Fanger (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 81.

[6] Page, 'Uplifting Souls,' 81-82.

[7] Page, 'Uplifting Souls,' 94-95.

[8] Sebastià Giralt, 'The Manuscript of a Medieval Necromancer: Magic in Occitan and Latin in ms. Vaticano, BAV, Barb. lat. 3589', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9, no. 1 (2014): 221-222, 229-230, 246.

as to produce a (sufficiently) coherent new system. The resulting system is formed from multiple cultural and intellectual traditions, but distinct from them. This, however, would not be well received by authoritative voices in any of the Abrahamic environments from which its source texts drew, and would have been quite alien to the polytheistic cultures in which many of its sources ultimately originated.

Giralt was apt in describing the *Liber Razielis* as 'an encyclopedia of magic' since it contains very few operable magic instructions.[9] It is an excellent introduction to the magical worldview and to what magical methodologies are, if not how to *do* many of them. It provides the deconstructed building blocks for a ritual, but offers very few 'pre-made' operations, and no extended invocations. It provides the tools of a magician's trade that might be used to construct bespoke rituals, in doing so offering an overview of the art that would be of interest for those pursuing various forms of magic, despite containing very few ready-made rituals and thus being more encyclopaedic than operational (much like Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*).

The seven parts of the *Liber Razielis* are each dedicated to a different subject. The second part, *Ala*, is a text of natural magic that covers the occult properties of stones, herbs, beasts, and letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Among these are several things of value to the prospective ritual magician, such as which herbs can be used as eye ointments to gain sight of spirits, or can be burnt to draw or expel them, and recipes for suffumigations which have more potent or wondrous effects.[10] It relates how certain stones provide command over spirits (and are

---

[9] Giralt, 'Manuscript of a Medieval Necromancer', 230.
[10] Reg. Lat. 1300, 26r-29v.

useful in the *Semiphoras*), what one must engrave upon the stones, and the importance of keeping them in a pure place.[11] Furthermore, the beasts, which are divided elementally, include six varieties of spirits which are the beasts which correlate to fire.[12] In addition to these more wondrous beasts, it describes the occult properties of various mundane animals, including how to anoint oneself with their blood and use or burn material harvested from them to draw or expel spirits.[13] Although offering few practicable instructions, the work would have been of great practical use, as well as offering a great deal of cosmological material that provide a valuable picture (and perhaps provided a valuable introduction) into the magical worldview that informs the text and its iteration of the magical arts.

3.1.2 The *Liber Razielis* in Manuscripts with Fairy Summoning Rituals

By the late Middle Ages and early modern period the *Liber Razielis* circulated in the same libraries and some of the same manuscripts as did fairy summoning rituals. As such, it was one source used to construct the theory and practice of ritual magic in this period, and (in conjunction with sundry other works) inform/reinterpret those which arose independently of it. The following examples of material drawn from the *Liber Razielis* which circulated in manuscripts with fairy summoning material (while not exhaustive) emphasise how it was not a static text which was transmitted in a vacuum. Rather, (even when the entire book is not present in a manuscript nor explicitly cited as an authority) the *Liber Razielis* was

---

[11] Reg. Lat. 1300, 21v-25v.
[12] Reg. Lat. 1300, 30r-31v.
[13] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v-35.

used as a reference to inform and construct magical operations in the wider intellectual context in which it circulated.

The fifteenth-century manuscript Rawlinson D 252 contains a magic operation intended to answer questions which lists the good angels: Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, Cherubyn, Ceraphyn, Arriel, Pantaseron, Mucraton, and Sandalon.[14] The same names appear in the *Liber Razielis* although they were originally rendered: Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, Cherubin, Seraphin, Arielim, Panthaseron, Metatron, Sandalfon.[15] This demonstrates that the Rawlinson scribe either had access to the *Liber Razielis*, or that the sources from which he drew were influenced by it. The three final angels are also listed as Pantaseron, Mucraton, Sandalon in the English version of the *Liber Razielis* which circulated in the seventeenth-century manuscript Sloane 3826.[16] As Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse have noted, Mucraton is a corruption of the famous Metatron (discussed further in Chapter Four), and Sandalon is a corruption of Sandalfon who (as G. Davidson notes) was 'a prince of angels, twin brother of Metatron'.[17] The fact that the English *Liber Razielis* disagrees with the Latin original while agreeing with the versions in the Rawlinson spell suggests that the corruption of the angel names occurred in an earlier copy of the *Liber Razielis* which was then used as a source for the later versions and the operation in Rawlinson D 252.

---

[14] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 148.

[15] 'Raphael Gabriel, Michael, Cherubin, Seraphin Arielim, Pathaseron, Mtraton, Sandalf' in Reg. Lat. 1300, 29v. 'Raphael Gabriel michael Chernbin Seraphin Mrielm pantaseron micraton Sandalon' in Sloane 3826, 20r. CF Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, 'Lier et délier*: de Dieu à la sorcière*', in *La Légitimité Implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), 108.

[16] Sloane 3826, 27r.

[17] Boudet and Véronèse, 'Lier et délier', 108; G. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York/London, Free Press/Collier-Macmillan, 1967), 54.

Folger VB 26 contains various extracts drawn from the *Liber Razielis*, including a highly abridged list of the animals/spirits, that it calls 'beasts' and which it claims are often called 'visions'.[18] It refers to the first as living 'fier' (such as the body of the sun), the second as mists and clouds, the third as spirits or souls of the dead, the fourth as a wind 'or quick ayere', the fifth as 'a fantasie or shade', and the sixth as a demon.[19] Despite listing all of these various entities, the only one for which it gives a description is the sixth. It is unclear, however, whether this is the only class the scribe was interested in, or whether he subsumed all these types of being under the final description, which describes them as shapeshifting and immortal beings of darkness. There are no suggestively proximate fairy summoning spells in this part of the manuscript (this passage appearing on page 56, while the preceding fairy summoning ritual is on pages 38-39, and the next relevant material is a mere list of the seven sisters' names on page 67, with sundry texts separating each, as seen in Appendix 1). Despite this ambiguous abridgement, the inclusion of this and an assortment of other material summarised from the *Liber Razielis* in Folger VB 26, demonstrates that the manuscript's scribe (who had an interest in fairy summoning material) was familiar with the *Liber Razielis*. It does not demonstrate, however, that he made any direct link between fairies and this extract. As such, this is not a case of directly juxtaposing material that was consciously linked in the mind of the compiler, but is an example of the material circulating in the same magical libraries and the sort of theoretical discussions available with which to interpret the magical instructions.

---

[18] Folger VB 26, 56.
[19] Folger VB 26, 56.

Sloane 1727, unlike Folger VB 26, binds an excerpt attributed to the '*Sepher Raziel'* directly before a list of spirits connected to treasures of the earth, which names the three beings of the table ritual and queen Mabb.[20] The excerpt which precedes the fairy related material is not from the relevant passage of the *Ala* (a sub-section of the *Liber Razielis*, see below)*,* but rather a note stating that invoking angels monthly while in a state of purity earns their aid in achieving his will '*et implent omnes petitiones eius cum magna virtute Sapientia et potestate*' ('and they fulfil all one's requests with great virtue, wisdom, and power').[21] This was summarised from the fourth book of the *Liber Razielis* which states that one who works with either days, months, and years (or perhaps the angels governing them) in a state of purity will have their aid in achieving his ends if he asks '*cum potencia fortitudine & sci[enti]a sua*' ('with his power, strength, and knowledge).[22] I posit that the semantic drift in this passage arose from translation into English and the retranslation into Latin, since the Latin version in Sloane 1727 aligns better with the English copy that circulated in Sloane 3846 and Sloane 3826 (see below) than it does with the medieval Latin version in Reg. Lat. 1300 (since the English renders this excerpt 'they helpeth him to fullfill what ever he axeth [sic. asketh] with great power & strength & wisedome.').[23]

Like Sloane 1727, Sloane 3853 contains several pages of astrological and angelic material from the *Liber Razielis* (that begins on folio 46r), but does not include the relevant passage from the *Ala*. It is bound close to a copy of the Table Ritual (ff. 36r-38r) which is still bound within a section of the *Thesaurus spirituum*

---

[20] Sloane 1727, 37r.
[21] Sloane 1727, 37r.
[22] Reg. Lat. 1300, 78.
[23] Sloane 3846, 147v. For a transcription see Peterson, 'Sepher Raziel'.

that ends on folio 45v and which directly precedes the Razielian fragment. As such, both manuscripts further demonstrate that the *Liber Razielis* travelled in the same libraries and transmission networks as did fairy related texts, allowing for cross-pollination of ideas.

3.1.3 Spirits, Nature, and the Elements in the *Ala*

Of most relevance to fairy summoning rituals is the second part of the *Liber Razielis*, entitled *Ala*. The text claims to be so named because just as wings give birds and fish the means to move and enact their will (whether that is to soar up to the heights or plunge into the depths), so too are the occult properties of stones, herbs, animals, and what it calls words (although they are letters) the wings by which humans are able to move and enact our wills in the world (whether we do good or ill with it).[24] The text is divided into four 'wings', or sections, ordered so as to deal with the occult properties of stones, herbs, animals, and the Hebrew letters respectively.[25] The third section on animals emphasises this hierarchy by stating that the 'beasts of the third wyng have power upon the twey [two] first wyngs of stones and of herbes'.[26] In this we see an ascending cosmological hierarchy from static stones, to growing plants, to moving animals, to the intellectual/spiritual principle of the (in the Jewish and certain Abrahamic worldviews) divinely delivered Hebrew language.[27]

---

[24] Sloane 3826, 12r.

[25] In Sloane 3826 these each begin on 12v, 16r, 20r, and 25v-26r respectively.

[26] Sloane 3826, 20v.

[27] For the primordial/divine nature of Hebrew and its instrumental role in the creation of the world in Jewish thought see especially, Josef Eskhult, 'The primeval language and Hebrew ethnicity in ancient Jewish and Christian thought until Augustine', *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, no. 60 (2014): 291-293, 302, 304-305; Milka Levy-Rubin, 'The Language of Creation or The Primordial Language: A Case of Cultural Polemics in Antiquity', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 49, no. 2 (Autumn 1998): 310-317.

The division of the text into four 'wings' is evocative of the description of the

angelic beings referred to as the four living creatures in the *Book of Ezekiel,* which

describes them as having four faces and four wings.[28] Given the angelic conceit

and context of the *Liber Razielis*, it is clear that the *Ala* were so named to evoke

the four wings of these biblical angels. Indeed, in the introduction to the section on

letters the text explains that just as an animal cannot fly with fewer than two wings,

the world cannot be governed with fewer than four elements, so the book had to

have four wings by which, according to Raziel, a human 'shall be as an angell'.[29]

This is further supported by the conclusion of the text which states 'we have

fulfilled this booke of the wing like to the angels that is Pantaseron Mucraton

Sandalon for everich [sic. each] of these hath 4 winge [sic wings] by comandement

of the benigne angell w^ch [sic which] the Creator sent to me that this booke were

better Compounded and well ordeyned'.[30] As discussed above, these angels were

(more accurately) rendered as 'Panthaseron, Metatron, Sandalfon' in a larger list of

spirits in the Latin Version of the *Liber Razielis*.[31]

The third *Ala*, on the properties of animals, is further divided by the four

elements, ordered in the descending cosmological hierarchy that is characteristic

of medieval thought: fire, air, water, and earth. The first section, on the animals of

fire, is a discussion of several varieties of spirits, this is followed by various animals

of air (birds), animals of water (such as marine mammals, fish, shellfish, and

aquatic/semi-aquatic reptiles), and animals of earth (land-dwelling mammals). This

---

[28] Ezekiel 1: 4-12.
[29] Sloane 3826, 26r.
[30] Sloane 3826, 27r.
[31] Boudet and Véronèse, 'Lier et délier', 108.

structure (with the most relevant sections highlighted in blue with white letters) is

visualised in the following figure:
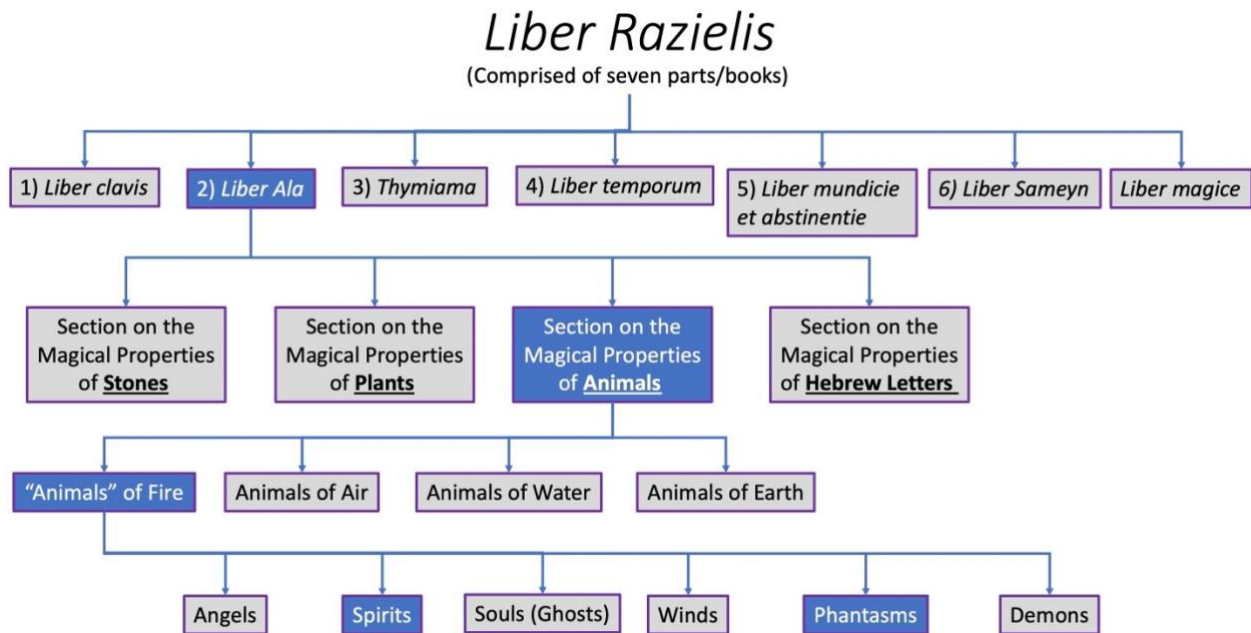
Figure 2: The relevant structure of the Liber Razielis *with noteworthy sections highlighted in blue.*

3.1.3.1 The Six 'Animals of Fire' in the *Liber Razielis*

Both Paracelsus' theory of elemental beings, which he portrays as

humanoid animals, and Agrippa's theory of the third order of spirits provided

cosmological context for medieval entities that were in some cases identified as

fairies, such as Melusine (discussed further below). Their theories were then used

by occult philosophers and magicians to make sense of fairies (as outlined in the

following section). Both of their theories, discussed at greater length below, were

notably influenced by the *Liber Razielis*' discussion of the six animals or spirits of

fire (specifically the second and fifth) in the *Ala*.

The *Ala* describes six different 'beasts' or 'spirits' of fire (the English

translations oscillate between these terms, and the Latin original used both *animal*

and *spiritus*) that are themselves arranged into a roughly elemental descending hierarchy. The descriptions of these entities are at times very ambiguous and lend themselves to divergent interpretations. While some are described as having bodies composed of the elements, all of them are specified to be intangible and unable to be touched with hand or foot for they are spirits and winds.[32]

The first type of animal/spirit is associated with pure celestial fire and likened to the sun, stars, lightening, and both gold and quicksilver. The text emphasises their purity and that their fire is unlike that produced with wood, candles, and oil on earth. It states that they do good and evil and rule over the four elements. This is the most angelic of the spirits listed in this section. While an Augustinian reading of this text (see above) would not allow for an entity identified as an angel to do evil, angels in various apocryphal texts (such as the watchers of The *Book of Enoch*) would certainly be identifiable as angels who did evil.[33] Furthermore, it may be that the rather moralistic English word 'evil' is a simplification of 'destructiveness' or 'cruelty' of which (from a human perspective) biblical angels are more than capable.[34] In any case, both the English translation of the text and the thirteenth-century Latin copy in Reg Lat. 1300 use the term 'angel' to refer to this class of being.[35] While the Latin original specifically uses 'angel' to refer to the first class, the second is referred to as a spirit, indicating its lesser and more ambiguous nature.[36]

---

[32] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v; Sloane 3826, 20v-22r.

[33] Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms 99-120, Part III: Volume 19,* trans. Maria Boulding, ed. Boniface Ramsey (New York: New City Press, 2003), 125; Charles, trans. *Book of Enoch,* 35-36.

[34] See, for instance, 2 Samuel 24: 15-17; 1 Chronicles 21: 14-16; 2 Kings 19:35; Revelation 9:15. This is meant as an illustrative, not a comprehensive, list.

[35] Reg. Lat. 1300, 30r.

[36] Reg. Lat. 1300, 30v.

The text compares the second type of spirit with wind and says that it is 'cleane but darker' than the first and that it takes after whichever element 'to which he is Joyned'.[37] It states that this class can take shape using water, darkness, cloud, mist, or 'fume'. Which material the spirit uses is determined 'by falling on it either by voce[38] or by shape of a beast elemented by these he taketh forme after that the nature above disposeth'.[39] This admittedly unclear passage indicates that the shape and material of this spirit's body is determined either by the location where it is summoned, or it takes the shape of whatever creatures are native to the element with which it is predisposed due to its elemental context/connections. The parallels between this class of being and Agrippa's third order of spirits are direct. His third order are elementally aligned wise and knowledgeable daemons, which he differentiates from diabolic demons (as he writes: 'Or I say these "demons" are not those who we call "devils", but [are] like knowledgeable, intelligent, and wise spirits so called from a peculiarity of word').[40] He explains that the daemons are elementally aligned and, while some theologians deny that they can have bodies, he relates that they have bodies composed from the elements with which they were affiliated and have natures that reflect them. [41] Likewise, Paracelsus divided his beings based upon the four elements and differentiated their natures based upon the element with which they were connected, as is discussed below.

---

[37] Sloane 3826, 20v-21r.

[38] This is, apparently, a term used here to indicate invocation by a summoner. With this reading the 'fume' is likely to be a reference to a magical suffumigation.

[39] Sloane 3826, 21r.

[40] This English translation is my own. The Latin runs: '*Dico aut dęmones hic non illlos quos diabolos vocamus, sed spiritus sic vocatos ex vocabuli proprietate, quasiscientes, intelligentes et sapientes*'. Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 239.

[41] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 240, 247-248.

The third type of beast/spirit is what we today would call a 'ghost', being the disembodied soul of the dead. It explains that they are the most tangible ('corpulent and thicke') type of spirit and that their shape is either determined by the hour in which they died (presumably determined by astrological timing) or else it appears in the shape of the body it once inhabited.[42] It says that they appear at night 'in places of dread' and churchyards.[43] While not of direct relevance to the present discussion, it is very important to emphasise that the inclusion of this clarifies that the other five types of beast/spirit are *distinct* from this one, and were therefore understood to be spirits who were never incarnate, or (at least) not the disembodied spirits of dead humans.

The wind is the fourth beast, described as 'quicke ayer', here meaning 'living air' which is supported by the Latin original where it is rendered as '*aer vivus*'.[44] It clarifies that this is in fact the invisible wind that blows upon us and moves the clouds, explaining that the wind is made by the planets and is controlled by them.[45] Significant here is how there is no stark line between the spiritual and mundane/natural/material world. This is unsurprising in the context of medieval and early modern cosmology, since theologians understood demonic marvels to be effected from their mental/sensory acuity making use of the deep knowledge of secret natural operations and properties gained over their course of their immeasurably long lives.[46] Demons were cast down to and operated within the

---

[42] Sloane 3826, 21r.
[43] Sloane 3826, 21r.
[44] Sloane 3826, 21r. Cf. Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r.
[45] Sloane 3826, 21r-21v.
[46] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 161-163; Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9, 20-21, 25; Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 19-20; Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 8-9; Kieckhefer, 'Specific Rationality', 90. Cf. Augustine, *De Divinatione Daemonum* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010). I also discussed this in relation to medieval chiromancy in Gillis Hogan, 'Stars in the Hand', 38-39, 42-44.

confines of the natural world, and thus spiritual forces were not seen as outside the bounds of nature (a much more useful division being the celestial vs sublunary realm of the elements). It bears emphasising, however, that the *Liber Razielis*' claim is not merely that spirits dwell and have power within the natural world. The *Ala* states that the wind (which had been understood by medieval and late antique scholars to be created by the natural operations and influence of the planets) was also a type of spirit, or 'animal', which is to say a 'quick' or animate being.[47] It does not state that spirits controlled or dwelt within the wind, but that the wind itself was a spirit, and by extension, that spirits were as natural and prosaic as the wind.

Alongside the second, the fifth type of animal (second to lowest in this spiritual hierarchy and followed only by a discussion of the sixth kind of animal/spirit, which are shapeshifting demons which fell from the heights into the darkness in the earth) is of most significance to this study. It holds connections to various aspects of later fairy summoning spells as well as Agrippa and Paracelsus. Unlike the preceding animals/spirits which were identified as angels, spirits (that take form depending upon surrounding elements and natural features), spirits (of the dead), and winds respectively, the fifth type is referred to as a 'fantasy' (*fantasma*).[48]

While the English translation of this section is very muddled, comparison with the Latin original provides greater clarity – and Renaissance occult philosophers such as Agrippa and Paracelsus would have drawn upon the Latin.

---

[47] For examples of the wind and weather being connected to planetary movement see Hildegard, '*Liber divinorum operum*', in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* CCCM 92, eds. A. Derolez and P. Dronke (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), (44-45) XLIV-XLV; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologia* 2.2.95.7. Cf. Gillis Hogan, 'Stars in the Hand', 33, 45-47.

[48] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r.

The English states that 'The vth beast or vision is a fantasy that is a shade to the similitude of divers colors or maners come pounded [sic compounded] of diverse together'.[49] A superficial reading of this might suggest the unreality of these beings, and that they were mere tricks of shadow and colour to create a fantastical vision. But the Latin renders this *uintaum* [sic *quintum*] *a[n]i[m]al ut qui[n]ta visio est fantasma hoc est u[m]bra et est ad similitude[n]em div[er]so[rum] colo[rum]*.[50] Here *ut quinta visio* functions as a parenthetical statement meaning 'the fifth animal, that fifth vision, is a phantasm that is a shade and is to the similitude of diverse colours'.[51] My translation clarifies that *visio* is not being used to refer to this particular class of spirit/animal, but to all six types. This being was not understood as any mere imaginal seeming, but a type of entity as real as angels or the wind. The contradiction of a multicoloured shadow supports the seventeenth-century translation of *umbra* as a 'shade' (understood as a type of entity) instead of a 'shadow' (which more commonly refers to that which is formed when light is blocked by a solid object).

> The passage on the fifth type of spirit continues (as Sloane 3826 renders it):

> And this forme is made in desert place, or in a corrupte ayre or otherwhile it descendeth from hills to the similitude or lightnes [sic likenss] of knights, and they be said exercitus antiquus, that is an olde hoste And otherwise upon matters to the similitude of fayre women[52]

The line regarding women in Sloane 3826 is totally nonsensical, but comparing this with Sloane 3846 and Reg Lat. 1300 reveals that the scribe of Sloane 3826

---

[49] Sloane 3826, 21v.

[50] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r.

[51] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r. The English translation is my own.

[52] Sloane 3826, 21v. Note that the transcription by Don Karr incorrectly records 'host' (spelled 'hoste' in the manuscript) as 'house'; Cf. *Sepher Raziel also Known as Liber Salomonis a 1564 English Grimoire from Sloane MS 3826*, eds. Don Karr and Stephen Skinner (London: Golden Hoard Press, 2010), 82.

misread 'w' as 'm', and in doing so changed 'waters' to 'matters'. Part of this

passage's confusion is found in Sloane 3846 as well, and arises from a tenuous

grasp of the conjugations and prepositions in the Latin original. These early

modern English translations indicate that phantasms are made in deserted places

or corrupt air *or* when air descends from hills. The Latin states *Et ista forma fit in*

loco deserto ut in aere corrupto & aliq[uis] descendit in mo[n]tes ad similtudi[n]em

militu[m], which is more accurately translated 'And that form would be made in an

abandoned place as in corrupt air and some descends into mountains to the

similitude of warriors/knights'.[53] This is to say that when corrupted air descends

into mountains it takes the form of knights. This is significant when compared with

the context of the original Latin passage regarding the women, *Et aliq[uis] iux[ta]*

aq[ua]s ad similitude[n]em mulie[rum] pulcra[rum] which means 'And some

adjoining waters to the similitude of beautiful women'.[54] It is not the air coming *from*

mountains, it is that descending *into* and adjoining with the natural

features/elements of mountains and waters in deserted places that give shape to

these phantasms, echoing those in the second categry.

The gendered division of the spirits that attach themselves to (and form their

bodies from) the earth and water was not unique to the *Liber Razielis*. One such

example was articulated by the eleventh-century Byzantine courtier, scholar, and

monk, Michael Psellos (1018-1078) in his (or possibly pseudo-Psellos') *De*

operatione daemonum.[55] This work enjoyed great popularity in the Renaissance

and early modern period after it was translated into Latin by Marsilio Ficino (whose

---

[53] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v.
[54] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v.
[55] Stratis Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1, 4-5, 11, 18, 266-267.

version had no less than four printings in the sixteenth century) and included in his 1497 work *Iamblichos: De mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum et alia opuscula*.[56]

In response to why some daemons are known to always appear as women when spirits can take any shape they please and have no inherent sex, Psellos writes that 'the Aqueous and Terrene [daemons], occupying an intermediate position [between arial and subterranean]… are incapable of changing their forms, but in whatever forms they delight, in these they constantly continue… if the dæmon… appeared feminine, for being a lascivious dæmon, and delighting in impure moistures, changing its form, it naturally assumed that which is best adapted for a life of pleasure'.[57] This creates clear parallels to the *Liber Razielis*' second kind of beast/spirit which connect themselves to the elements, and this is also evident in Agrippa and Paracelsus.

Like Psellos, the *Liber Razielis* also distinguishes between spirits that can change shape at will and those spirits that take human form due to the resonance between their inner natures, the elements from which they make their bodies, and the gendered nature of those natures and elements. After discussing phantasms the *Liber Razielis* explains that demons fell from the heights into the darkness and lowness, and while forever consigned to the shadows their natures burn with fire. They too have bodies made from the elements, but they can take any shape they wish, from angels to animals, humans to celestial bodies.[58] In the context of the

---

[56] Darin Hayton, 'Michael Psellos' *De daemonibus* in the Renaissance', in *Reading Michael Psellos*, ed. Charles Barber and David Jenkins (Lieden: Brill, 2006), 198; Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 266-267.

[57] Michael Psellos, *Psellus' Dialogue on the Operation of Dæmons*, trans. Marcus Collisson (Sydney: James Tegg, 1843), 42-43. The version of this text I used was transcribed and corrected by Joseph H. Peterson. For an access link see the bibliography.

[58] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31r-31v. Sloane 3626, 21v-22r.

Liber Raziel, this explicitly distinguishes fallen demons from the four more nebulous orders of spirits that lie between them and angels.

3.1.3.2 Influence of the Ala's Second and Fifth Type of Spirit on Renaissance Occult Philosophers

I posit that the second and fifth type of spirit in the *Liber Razielis* were the common roots of Paracelsus' treatise on the four elemental beings and Agrippa's third order of spirits. The conclusion to the *Ala's* discussion of these six elemental animal/spirits of fire emphasises that, despite the fact that they receive a body depending upon the element they enter, their life (*vita*, perhaps better understood given the context as their intrinsic essence or animating principle) is of fire.[59] I suggest that this is the source for Agrippa's claim that the third order of spirits take their bodies and forms based upon the element they inhabit in the world.[60] Yet the ambiguous wording and structure in this passage of the *Ala* offered room for divergent interpretations. The oscillation between words for spirit-beings and '*animal*' for these entities (and placing the discussion of them before the animals of sky, sea, and land) frames these beings as the highest of the animals. I argue that Paracelsus also drew upon this in producing his theory of soulless elemental beings, likely inspiring his argument that (while possessing spirit-like abilities and seeming like humans in appearance and activities) these beings were the highest of the animals.[61] Agrippa also read the *Liber Razielis*, but reframed them as his

---

[59] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v.

[60] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 390-393, 402-404.

[61] For Paracelsus' argument that these entities were animals see, Paracelsus, '*Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmaeis et Salamandris et de Caeteris Spiritibus Theophrasti Hohenheimensis*', in *Four Treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus*, trans. and ed. Henry E. Sigerist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 228, 230.

third order of spirits, emphasising (despite this order constructing bodies from the elements) their spiritual nature. Paracelsus read this and reframed them as his elemental beings, emphasising (despite their spirit like qualities) their animal nature. Thus did the terminological and conceptual ambiguity between animals and spirits in the *Liber Razielis* become distilled into two extremes by Agrippa and Paracelsus who framed them as material worldly spirits and spirit-like animals respectively.

Agrippa combined the discussion of the second and fifth type of animal/spirit into his third order of spirit.[62] Like the *Ala*'s second type of animal/spirit, the phantasms of the fifth type take their appearance based upon the natural feature/element with which they are joined upon descent to the earth. Agrippa echoes this by affirming that the third order take on bodies composed from the elements. Agrippa states that those spirits in the third order who are aligned with earth and water take male and female form respectively.[63] Paracelsus also echoes this by stating that the varieties of elemental beings connected with earth and water are overrepresented by male and female members respectively.[64] While the fact that the animal vs spirit divide of Paracelsus and Agrippa appears to have arisen from divergent interpretations of the *Liber Razielis*' ambiguity suggests direct engagement with the *Liber Razielis*, this text was not utterly anomalous and reflects other medieval arguments about the nature of spirits. In addition to drawing from the *Liber Razielis* Agrippa was also certainly familiar with Psellos' *De operatione daemonum*, as he cites it. The resonance between the *De operatione*

---

[62] The third order of spirit is discussed at length in Chapter Three.
[63] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 404.
[64] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 240, 243.

daemonum and the *Ala* (whether or not the former influenced the latter) certainly

reaffirmed this association in the Renaissance and early modern period when they

were both in circulation among occult philosophers, and portrayed a class of entity

which were intimately connected by their inner natures to (and with bodies woven

from) the dry and wet environs upon the surface of the earth. This conceptual

tethering of spirits to specific natural features is what we might call an 'animist

precedent' that was established in the medieval period and was elaborated upon

by later Renaissance and early modern occult philosophers.

Despite their divergent interpretations, both Agrippa and Paracelsus note

that these entities are of value to one who invokes them or fosters a relationship

with them. Likewise, the *Liber Razielis* states that the six types of animals (despite

being spirits and winds which cannot be touched by hand or foot) may be invoked

with purification, prayer, praise of god, and suffumigation (in short, through ritual

magic).[65] This clarifies that, despite the other terms or concepts that might apply to

the six types of animal/spirit, they were all entities that were summonable by a

magician. They were therefore all of use to those who practised magic.

**3.1.4 Contextualising the Fifth Type of Spirit: Fairies in Relevent Medieval
Popular and Literary Traditions**

The passages about the fifth type of animal/spirit are evocative of various

European conceptualisations of fairies and wondrous folk to the point that, I argue,

they were likely inspired by these traditions. As intimated above, many strands of

ideas about wondrous beings circulated in dialogue with Christian orthodoxy's

---

[65] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v; Sloane 3626, 21v-22r.

demonization of them. As such, ideas about demons, fairies, ghosts, and witches were all spun from this amorphous mass of tradition, reinterpretation, and idiosyncrasy – the idiosyncrasies of which process we have only limited insight due to a centuries long process of limited sources, censure, and attrition. Despite this, obvious parallels with the beautiful, wondrous knights and maidens of medieval romance (in which the word 'fairy' and the recognisable constellation of concepts of aristocratic fairies who dwell in their own realm first emerges) are clear.[66] But (as can be seen in the translation above, and in the Latin's *ad similitudi[n]em militu[m] & dicu[n]t[ur] ex[er]cit[i?] antiqui*) the text makes clear that the phantasms of the mountains that take the shape of knights 'are called the ancient army'.[67] The use of the passive voice here indicates that in this section of the *Liber Razielis* its writer provided context and an explanation for what people commonly called the ancient army. As explored in the following section, this concept (as articulated in other texts) was far from hegemonic: portrayed variously as a host of the dead, or of humans, this phantasmal army influenced ideas of ghosts and developments of the concept of witches and their sabbaths. As is discussed below, the hunt was also associated with proto-fairy wondrous beings, and I suggest that the *Liber Raziel*'s explanation of the army was not only later used to explain fairies as entities distinct from witches, ghosts, and demons by Renaissance occult philosophers, but served the same function for explaining contemporary wondrous beings that appeared in tales and literature of the writer's own time. This is made clear through examining the nature of the entities depicted in contemporaneous literature circulating in courtly circles in the high Middle Ages.

---

[66] Green, *Elf Queens*, 17-18; Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1143, 1151.
[67] Reg. Lat. 1300, 31v.

For good reason did the English copy of the *Ala* in Sloane 3846 translate 'the ancient army' as 'the old host', for the text offers an explanation for the nature possessed by those who comprised the phantom host (motif E500 in the Thompson Index) or wild hunt (motif E501), a widespread European motif which is known by many names in various languages and cultural contexts since its identification by Jacob Grimm who portrayed it as the remnant of a primeval, unified, fertility-oriented mythology or pagan religion.[68] Challenging this rather ahistorical conflation of various regionally and temporally specific story models, Ronald Hutton has identified two distinct host traditions that were later conflated by modern folklorists into the Wild Hunt motif; these he dubs 'the Wandering Dead' and 'the Followers of the Lady' which differed both in their development and transmission temporally and geographically.[69]

As Hutton has argued, the host of wandering dead emerged out of Greco-Roman accounts of dangerous nocturnal spirits, supplemented with Christian demons and the eleventh-century rise in clerical accounts of ghosts, which were increasingly depicted as traveling in groups.[70] The host, characterised as an army of penitent spectres (often soldiers), is first attested 'in the 1120s and 1130s' written in both German and French, of which Hutton labels the most famous that written by 'the Anglo-Norman monk Orderic Vitalis (1075-1142 CE) who mysteriously dubbed it '"the retinue of Herlechin"'.[71] By the thirteenth century this

[68] Thompson, *Motif-Index*, E500, E501; Hutton, *The Witch*, 125-127.
[69] Hutton, *The Witch*, 128-136.
[70] Hutton, *The Witch*, 128.
[71] Hutton, *The Witch*, 129-129; 'Chronology of the Lives of Odelerius and his Son Orderic Vitalis', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, eds. Charles C. Rozier, Daniel Roach, Giles E. M. Gasper, and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), xii-xiii.

had disseminated from clerical circles to the wider public and spread into Germany and Spain.[72]

Sophie Page provides a *terminus ante quem* for the translation or compilation of the Latin Liber Razielis when noting that Alfonso X commissioned a (now lost) Castilian translation of the *Liber Razielis* in 1259.[73] Alfonso X's interest in 'Arabic image magic and Jewish angelology' resulted in the compilation and translation of such texts.[74] If the *Liber Razielis* was produced/compiled in the court of Alfonso X (or a century later in the mid fourteenth century as proposed by Damaris Gehr) then Hutton's assertion that accounts depicting the host of wandering dead had entered Spain by the thirteenth century means that the concept of the host of wandering dead was present in the region where the *Liber Razielis* was compiled by the time of its completion (or before).[75] I suggest that the compiler (having heard accounts of the wandering army) added the line identifying these entities with the fifth type of animal/spirit.[76]

By identifying the ancient host as being of the phantasmal type of animal/spirit, the *Ala* excludes the knightly entities of the 'wandering dead' tradition from belonging to the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth type of animal/spirit. This is to say, the *Ala* argues that they are not angels, the second type of spirit, winds, ghosts of the dead, or demons. This contradicts many surviving explanations of the

---

[72] Hutton, *The Witch*, 129.

[73] Page, 'Uplifting Spirits', 81.

[74] Page, 'Uplifting Spirits,' 81.

[75] Damaris Gehr, 'La fittizia associazione del Liber Razielis in sette libri ad Alfonso X il Saggio e una nuova determinazione delle fasi redazionali del trattato, della loro datazione e dell'identità dei compilatori coinvolti', *Viator* 43, (2012): 181. For the date of the host's spread to Germany and Spain see Hutton, *The Witch*, 129. For one suggestion that the Latin *Liber Razielis* was 'put together by Alfonso' X, see Page, 'Uplifting Spirits', 81-82.

[76] I say 'if' as this has been debated. Sebastià Giralt notes not only that the *Liber Razielis* makes the claim of its translation in the court of Alphonso X, but that the scholar Damaris Gehr has questioned this. See Giralt, 'Manuscript of a Medieval Necromancer', 229.

host, including the assumptions of the Thompson Index, which subsumes its discussion of the wild hunt and phantom host under its category E, 'the Dead'.[77] Weaving the host into this spiritual taxonomy reinterprets its members not as ghosts or demons but as these entities born from elements and landscape. Not eerie phantoms, but uncanny fantasms. This offered a distinct conceptual category with which future scholars could conceptualise stories about such entitles.

De nugis curialium is an example of the type of stories circulating in the twelfth-century courtly context. Other scholars have produced excellent studies of fairies and their inspirations in medieval literary contexts, several of which I cite below, but a comprehensive overview would be a PhD project of its own, and the subject has already received far more scholarly attention than the summoning spells and occult philosophy which this thesis seeks to examine and contextualise. Many of Map's stories are representative of those which were shared in courtly contexts, and offer a sufficient variety not to necessitate my cherry-picking material relevant to the present discussion from sundry sources. Map is examined here as a useful comparison to, not a source of, the *Liber Razielis*' fantasms. It must be emphasised that the writer(s) of the *Liber Razielis* was unlikely to have been familiar with Map's collection (and the fact that it survives in only one complete copy (Bodleian Library, Oxford 851) does not indicate the text's ubiquity) but he almost certainly lived in a similar social and intellectual context as Map and was familiar with the same tales and terminology used to refer to such beings. Just as the second and fifth type of animal/spirit of *Liber Razielis* was later drawn upon by Agrippa and Paracelsus, so the discussion of the fifth type of animal/spirit was the

---

[77] Thompson, *Motif-Index,* E.

Liber Razielis' author's attempt to synthesise, explain, and contextualise the contradictory and heterogeneous collection of wondrous folk (whether a wandering host, beautiful women sometimes found by waters, or mysterious knights) described in contemporary stories, accounts, and histories, of which Map provides many pertinent examples. It is essential to fully understand this as it is one of the many links between the beings described by this passage of the *Ala* with fairies (as by at least the sixteenth century fairies were explicitly identified as the riders who stole humans away into their troops despite humanity thinking them dead).[78]

While the *Liber Razielis* may have been novel in creating a comparatively clear distinct non-demonic category for the ancient host which distinguished them from ghosts, the ambiguous (and fairy-ish) nature of such hosts was earlier attested in Walter Map's twelfth-century *De nugis curialium*. Clearly connected to Vitalis' '"retinue of Herlechin"', Map relates the tale of the ancient Breton king Herla who had an encounter with a being (and its retinue) that blends the Anglo-Saxon dwarf with the Greco-Roman satyr and the woodwose/wild man.[79] Described as a 'pigmeus' and likened to 'Pan' (*vir qualis describi posset Pan*) this being had a red beard, goats' legs, and wore a deer skin.[80] The entity introduced himself as a king of many kings and leader of an innumerable and infinite people (itself

---

[78] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, xv.

[79] For Vitalis's comments see Hutton, *The Witch*, 128-129.

[80] Walter Map*, De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles,* eds M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1983), 26-27. Note that in another tale Map gives almost the same description of this being, also comparing it with Pan. He rather obliquely states that since 'pan' means 'all' he is said to have in himself the form of the entire cosmos. In this passage Map relates that the being claimed to have been one of the angels cast out of heaven with Lucifer and scattered throughout the world. *Post hunc se sibi ultroneum obtulit aliud quoddam pedibus caprinis, uentre hispido, nebridem habens pectore stellis stellatam, facie ardenti, mento barbato, cornibus erectis; huiusmodi autem Pana dicunt antiqui; pan autem interpretatur omne, unde tocius in se mundi formam habere dicitur. Hic uerbis discretis uiam docuit, quesitusque quis esset, respondit se angelorum unum qui eiecti cum Lucifero dispersi sunt per orbem singuli secundum merita superbie sue.* Map*, De nugis*, 164.

foreshadowing Agrippa's later claims about the countless individuals in the third order of spirits, see below). He not only held knowledge of things to come, but had a wealth of gold and gems wrought with inimitable craftsmanship. This echoes both earlier depictions of dwarves in the sagas as bearers of treasure and the connection to wealth held by Pluto/Hades (with whom the king of fairies would be equated by Chaucer and the writer of *Sir Orfeo*) and the later Renaissance construction of Paracelsus' elemental beings (especially those of the earth).[81]

In addition to these classical and potentially Anglo-Saxon connections, the text connects these fairy-like beings with the Celts (here defined as the speakers of the insular Celtic languages) not only by the entity being portrayed as appearing to a Breton in a time before the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain, but also by the pigmy king telling king Herla that they were related by blood (*quoniam et optimus es et loco michi proximus et sanguine*).[82] Eventually Herla is led into the realm of these pigmies through a cave in a high cliff; it is lit not by the sun or moon, but by innumerable lamps, echoing Giraldus Cambrensis' description of the twilit realm of the fair pigmies under the earth (who spoke their own language which Gerald preserves as a corruption of Gaelic).[83] It appears that classical, Anglo-Saxon, and seemingly Celtic traditions had been fused into this innumerable magical and wonderous 'pigmy' race who dwelt in their own land enterable through caves and in a hill, so producing a being who possessed a constellation of traits recognisable as those to which the term 'fairy' was eventually applied, while still showing the source

---

[81] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 251-252; Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 76-78. See also, 'Pluto, who is king of faery land, And many a lady with him in the train Following Proserpina' in Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. David Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 269.
[82] Map*, De nugis*, 26.
[83] Map*, De nugis*, 28-29; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales,* ed. Betty Radice, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 133-136.

traditions that came together to produce the concept. The term 'pigmy' was often used to gloss 'dwarf' in Anglo-Saxon leechbooks, and may well have functioned as a Latin cognate for those and similar entities in an English context (rather than referring back to the crane-battling entities of classical mythology).[84]

Herla's host, as described in *De nugis curialium*, was not composed of the pigmies, however, but of ancient humans. Upon leaving the subterranean realm after what seemed three days, Herla and his retinue discovered that centuries had passed and the Saxons had been settled in the area for two hundred years. Their queen and kingdom a distant memory, the host discovered that if any of them descended from their horses they would crumble into dust.[85] The pigmy king had warned them not to dismount before a bloodhound he gave as a gift to Herla had done so. As Map states: *Canis autem nondum descendit.*[86]

While Map's *De nugis curialium* frames the wondering host as humans, they are inextricably linked to the wondrous beings with whom they became embroiled. The host is like the living dead despite never having died, stolen out of time and returned with their lost centuries threatening to fall upon them the moment they dismount. Their nature is ambiguous, their state liminal, their continuous existence dictated by the curse (or blessing) bestowed upon them by the pigmies. Later Map refers to the nocturnal wanderers of '*Herlethingi'* as *phalanges*, *milicia,* and *exercitus erroris infiniti*, suggesting that their depiction in Britain aligns with that noted later in Castilian sources, as being a wandering troop of ancient warriors.[87] Yet Map also states that both men and women were seen in this host and that

---

[84] Bill Griffiths, *Aspects of Anglo Saxon Magic* (Michigan: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1996), 54.
[85] Map*, De nugis*, 30-31.
[86] Map*, De nugis*, 28-29.
[87] Map*, De nugis*, 370.

among them people recognised those who had died.[88] Whether this was meant to intimate that this was a ghostly host, or that those recognised had also been stolen away and altered by the pigmies, is not clear. In all likelihood, he simply recorded two variations of the same tale which did not conceptually agree.

Map did not set out to produce a cosmographically coherent text, but a collection of what he deemed (as the title intimates) courtly nonsense. Yet he does not dismiss all the contents as imaginary and does attempt to understand the contents of these stories. What he collected as trifles may not have been viewed as such by his fellow courtiers and wider society, and indeed he often indicates the (to his mind) partial or complete plausibility of certain tales he records. As Carl Watkins has convincingly argued, Map maintains a fundamentally Augustinian position, perennially undermining or calling into question the possibility of neutral angels or the existence of spirits beyond the dualistic categories of divine angels and infernal demons.[89] Watkins posits a didactic structure to *De nugis curialium*, which (if correct) renders Map's collection effectively a workbook designed to lay out conventional Augustinian interpretations of ambiguous supernatural beings and then test the reader by providing ambiguous accounts without explicit guidance.[90] Whether this was an intentional didactic choice or not, it makes clear that many stories of ambiguous entities were already 'circulating in rural parish, urban community and even the royal court' by the twelfth century, the explanations for which were contested and varied.[91]

---

[88] Map, *De nugis*, 370-371.
[89] Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, 203-208.
[90] Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, 203-208.
[91] Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, 202-203.

Another strand of Map's writing about these beings concerns the *fantasma*, *fantasia*, and *fantastica*. Map says that *fantasma* is derived from the word *fantasia* and refers to the appearances that demons make, presumably their illusions or illusory appearances. Map raises the incompatible stories of *fantastica* which are not fleeting constructions, but endure and interbreed with humans to become the ancestors of many contemporary people (which explains how the pigmy king might convincingly profess to be a distant relative of the human king Herla).[92]

Map's work provides just one source which included the knightly men and beautiful women (often found in or near woods, hills, and waters) that circulated among courtiers by the twelfth century and were often referred to as fantasms (although variously cosmologically explained and conceptualised by different people). I argue the *Liber Razielis* offered a reinterpretation of these beings of literature and contemporary historical report that clarified their natures and distinguished them from other varieties of spirits, which later Renaissance and early modern occult philosophical texts (particularly those by Agrippa and Paracelsus) built upon.

3.2 Printed Occult Philosophical Discussions of Fairies and Related Beings

Amongst the occult philosophers of the Renaissance and early modern period, those whose theories had the greatest impact on fairies, as discussed in manuscripts containing fairy summoning rituals, were Agrippa and Paracelsus (in both Latin and later English translations). As the following discussion demonstrates, English magicians and translators directly drew upon Agrippa's work

---

[92] Map, *De nugis*, 160-161.

with more frequency than Paracelsus, whose fairy-related theories more commonly entered England through translations of pseudonymous authors and other occult philosophical texts which drew (sometimes quite loosely) upon his work. Whether directly or indirectly, however, their ideas entered into and shaped the intellectual culture that informed fairy summoning rituals in England.

Agrippa and Paracelsus both interpreted various entities who are also often identified as fairies (such as Melusine) as beings innately connected to the elements. I argue that this is due to them both being influenced by the *Liber Razielis.* As outlined above, the *Liber Razielis*' terminological ambiguity regarding whether its elementally aligned beings were 'creatures' or 'spirits' resulted in two divergent interpretations by later occult philosophers who drew from it. Agrippa read the text and identified them as a type of spirit, whereas Paracelsus identified them as a type of beast or creature. Agrippa specifically refers to the *Liber Razielis* and draws from it in several parts of his *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, so his familiarity with the text is not in question.[93] It is possible that he was introduced to the text by the abbot and occult philosopher Trithemius. Certainly, they operated within the same intellectual circle with Agrippa even submitting an early draft of *De occulta philosophia* for Trithemius' feedback in 1509/1510.[94] Although there is scholarly debate as to whether Paracelsus was also a student of Trithemius, Paracelsus did cite a visit to St. Jacob in Würzburg (where Trithemius was abbot) as a formative early experience in his study of the occult.[95] It is very likely that

---

[93] V. Perrone Compagni, 'Introduction' in *De occulta philosophia*, ed. V. Perrone Compagni (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 42.

[94] Marc van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa, The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 16.

[95] Noel L. Brann, 'Was Paracelsus a Disciple of Trithemius?', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 10, no. 1 (1979): 71-73, 81-82.

those he met engaged with shared sources and intellectual currents with Trithemius, and Paracelsus mentions an 'abbot of Sponheim' (where Trithemius was previously abbot) amongst those whom he met.[96] In short, the *Liber Razielis* circulated among early sixteenth-century occult philosophers in Germany. Given Paracelsus being acquainted with other occult philosophers at this time, and the similarities between his theories and those espoused by both Agrippa and the *Liber Razielis*, I postulate that he and Agrippa both read the earlier text and came to markedly different conclusions from it. These were then, as exemplified in Chapter Four, both drawn upon by early modern English magicians as they endeavoured to provide a theoretical framework with which to understand the fairies that they summoned.

3.2.1 Agrippa's Occult Philosophical Interpretation of Fairies and its English Reception

Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* had an early and increasing impact upon fairy summoning spells and the context in which a magician might understand them. Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* was published in 1533 at Cologne, with the first book of it already having been published in 1531.[97] When Agrippa is directly cited or quoted at length in English manuscripts containing fairy summoning spells, however, the passages often align with the translation used in the 1651 English print edition ascribed to J.F. (generally identified as John French). As such, for this topic an examination of this English version is of primary importance, especially how this version (re)interprets its Latin source material.

---

[96] Brann, 'Was Paracelsus a Disciple?', 71-72.
[97] van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa*, 44.

Agrippa (especially as filtered through the English translation) was extremely influential and was used as a core source of authoritative knowledge by the scribes of the manuscripts in this study. As is evident throughout this thesis, the manuscripts' interpretation, acceptance, and rejection of his ideas became evident in what they chose to include, alter, and omit. Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* synthesised classical, Norse, and fairy-related beings with a fundamentally Christian cosmology to establish an animist precedent when discussing his 'third order' of *dæmones*. This list was altered to explicitly include fairies by the later English translation.

Although Agrippa does not use the word 'fairy' in his treatise (as he wrote in Latin), he does employ classical terms that were often given as synonyms for fairies in contemporary dictionaries. French's English translation of *De occulta philosophia* went beyond the use of these synonomous terms to make the presence of fairies in Agrippa's work explicit. However, as we have seen in the previous chapters, some influence from *De occulta philosophia* is manifest in English fairy summoning spells in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, before French's translation was produced. The fact that Chetham A.4.98 already showed Agrippian influence in the sixteenth century suggests that his work rapidly spread to England and began influencing at least some practitioners of magic.[98] In fact, the diffusion of his ideas may predate the official publication of the Latin *De occulta philosophia* for, due to the long period of production and revision, multiple manuscript variations of the work began circulating before the eventual publication of the print copy.[99] Whether or not this knowledge disseminated via manuscripts or

---

[98] See the Agrippian Table Ritual in Chapter One (see also 6b in Appendix 1).
[99] van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa*, 16-17.

very early print editions of his work, it is clear that Agrippa's discussion of his third order of spirit was readily identified by contemporaries as fairies, despite the term not yet being employed within the text.

By the seventeenth century, however, French's translation of Agrippa (Book Three, Chapter 16) was providing authoritative bases for a cosmology which understood the world to be filled with an order of spirit which was intimately connected to the sub-lunary (but supra-infernal) world and of which fairies were understood to be a part (or for which 'fairy' was viewed as the common colloquial word). In the following sections I have included footnotes indicating the words used in the Latin original to clarify how French's (mis)translation interwove fairies into this worldview (and created much confusion about the nature of various spiritual beings discussed by Agrippa). Although the Latin original does seem to have had some impact upon English fairy summoning rituals, the impact of French's addition of explicit fairies to his translation was much greater, and it is the primary version explored here.

3.2.1.1 From Platonic Daemons to Fairies

Agrippa's third order of spirit would come to be used to explain fairies, but he largely developed this category of being through his attempted reconciliation of more ambiguous classical entities with a Christian worldview. This became obfuscated by the English translation where French (apparently uncomfortable with the infernal associations of the term 'demon') repeatedly rendered *demones* as 'angels':

> …we must discourse of Intelligences, spirits and Angels.[100] An Intelligence is an intelligible substance, free from all gross and putrifying mass of a body, immortall, insensible, assisting all, having Influence over all; and the nature of all intelligencies, spirits and Angels[101] is the same. But I call Angels[102] here, not those whom we usually call Devils,[103] but spirits so called from the propriety of the word as it were, knowing, understanding and wise. But of these according to the tradition of the Magicians, there are three kinds…[104]

Note that Agrippa's original wording specifies that he explicitly does not use the term *dæmones* in reference to diabolic entities, but to a separate class of spirits. His Latin title for this chapter makes the morally neutral application of this term more overt, discussing the three varieties of *intelligētiis & dæmonibus* as well as touching upon *infernis & subterraneis dæmonibus*. The chapter goes on to discuss the three varieties of *daemones*, which produce a rather neoplatonic hierarchy. The first, the supercelestials, are minds without bodies or influence over anything below them, but merely reflect the light of God and shine it down to 'inferior' things.[105] This appears to be a Christianisation of the gods in the platonic cosmology outlined by Apuleus in *De deo Socratis*, from which the larger discussion of the third order of spirit appears largely inspired.[106] Following closely, the next order are the celestial intelligences. This second order is as numerous as the heavens and stars, each of which is appointed one which governs it. When discussing this French continues to show his discomfort with Agrippa's use of the term *dæmones*. For French demons are fallen angels and angels are divinely good. As such, he seems to either translate *daemones* as either 'devil' or 'angel'

---

[100] *intelligentiis, spiritibus & dæmonibus*

[101] *intelligentiarum, spirituum, dæmonum*

[102] *demones*

[103] *diabolos*

[104] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 360; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 239.

[105] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 390.

[106] Apuleius, *Apologia. Florida. De Deo Socratis*, ed. and trans. Christopher P. Jones. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 358-363, 370-379. For the discussion of the gods see 350-359.

depending upon how he felt about the characterisation of a daemon in any given

passage. This leads to an immensely confusing and contradictory translation as it

arbitrarily divides the initial discussions of morally ambiguous daemons. For

example, French's version renders *dæmones mundanos* as 'worldly Angels.'[107]

After describing the first two orders, Agrippa goes on:

> Thirdly they established Angels as Ministers[108] for the disposing of those things which are below, which *Origen* calleth certain invisible powers to the which those things which are on earth, are committed to be disposed of. For sometimes they being visible to none to direct our journies and all our businesses, are oft present at battels, and by secret helpes do give the desired successes to their friends, for they are said, that at their pleasures they can procure prosperity, and inflict adversity.[109]

Here arises the first complication of French's use of 'Angels' to translate

dæmones. He has intimated that there is an order of Angels which are sufficiently

vindictive as to treat some humans with favouritism and those they dislike with

malice. This might make sense for Apuleus' *dæmones,* in the morally neutral

Classical manner which Agrippa adopted.[110] It conflicts, however, with established

Christian understandings of beatific angels (who would only punish by divine

command, opposed to personal whim).

3.2.1.2 The Elemental Connections of Agrippa's Third Order of Spirits

Agrippa divides the third order of dæmones by the four elements. The

associations made with those of water and earth are often shared by fairies. For

example, he also establishes that those of the water are 'devoted to a sensual

---

[107] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 239; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 390.
[108] *Dæmones quasi ministros*
[109] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 240; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 391.
[110] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 370-373.

life'[111] (just as female fairies were associated with water and sexuality) and those

of the earth are connected to plants (just as fairies were often associated with

forests).

> In like manner they distribute these into more orders, so as some are fiery, some watery, some aerial, some terrestrial; which four species of Angels[112] are computed according to the four powers of the Ce|lestiall souls,[113] *viz.* the mind, reason, imagination, and the vivifying and moving nature; Hence the fiery follow the mind of the Celestiall souls, whence they concur to the contemplation of more sublime things, but the Aeriall follow the reason, and favor the rationall faculty, and after a certain manner separate it from the sensitive and vegetative; therefore it serveth for an active life, as the fiery for a contemplative, but the watery following the imagination, serve for a voluptuous life; The earthly following nature, favor vegetable nature…[114]

Apparently drawing upon the second and fifth type of spirit in the *Liber*

Razielis and echoing Paracelsus (as seen below), Agrippa divides these spirits by

element. This determines not only where they dwell and from what their bodies are

made (as discussed below), but their various natures and behaviours.

3.2.1.3 The Explicit Inclusion of Fairies in the Third Order and Their Identification as Spirits of Natural Place and Feature

Following a discussion of how these beings can also be subdivided between

those that are Jovial and Saturnine, as well as by the four cardinal directions

(echoing Trithemius' *Steganographia*) Agrippa clearly outlines the prevalence of

these spirits and their connection to place.[115]

Moreover there is no part of the world destitute of the proper assistance of

---

[111] *vitae servient voluptuose*. Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 240; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392.

[112] *quatuor dæmonum species*

[113] *cælestium animarum*

[114] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 240; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 391-392.

[115] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 240; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392.

these Angels,[116] not because they are there alone, but because they reign there especially, for they are everywhere, although some especially operate, and have their influence in this place, some elswhere neither truly are these things to be understood, as though they were subject to the influences of the Stars, but as they have correspondence with the Heaven above the world, from whence especially all things are directed, and to the which all things ought to be conformable; whence as these Angels[117] are appointed for diverse Stars, so also for diverse places and times not that they are limited by time or place, neither by the bodies which they are appointed to govern, but because the order of wisdom hath so decreed, therefore they favor more and patronize those bodies, places, times, stars; so they have called some Diurnall, some Nocturnall, other Meridionall;[118]

In this passage we see the clear beginnings of a cosmology that views the world as being inextricably saturated with spirits who are drawn to various aspects of the world by their inner natures. While he specifies that these spirits are not bound to the objects, times, or locations they govern (and can presumably wander to and fro throughout the earth as they wish), they have both a preference for these things, and the greatest power there.

After stating that the world is filled with these *dæmones* Agrippa lists several names that have been given to them. It is here that French associated fairies with this class of being:

…in like manner some are called Woodmen,[119] some Mountianeers [sic][120] some Fieldmen,[121] some Domesticks.[122] Hence the gods of the Woods,[123] Country gods,[124] Satyrs, Familiars,[125] Fairies of the fountains, Fairies of the

---

[116] *Denique nulla mundi pars est propria horum dēmonum adsistētia destituta*

[117] *dæmones*

[118] French's translation makes these appear to be adjectives describing these spirits. The Latin, however, presents these as nouns, reading: *dixerunt diurnos, alios nocturnos, alios meridianos.* I propose that this is actually the beginning of the following list of the varieties of these entities, better translated as 'Diurnals, Nocturnals, and Meredionals.' Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 240-241; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392.

[119] *Sylvestres*

[120] *montanos*

[121] *campestres*

[122] *domesticos*

[123] The phrase 'gods of the woods' is entirely embellished from the simple Latin word *Sylvani.*

[124] *Fauni*

[125] *Panes*

Woods, Nymphs of the Sea,[126] the Naiades, Neriádes, Dryades, Pierides, Hamadryades, Potumides, Hinnides, Agapte, Pales, Pareades, Dodonae, Feniliae, Lavernae Pareae, Muses, Aonides, Castalides, Heliconides, Pegasides, Meonides, Phebiades, Camenae, the Graces, the Genii, Hobgoblins[127] and such like;[128] whence they call them vulgar superiors,[129] some the demi-gods and goddesses; some of these are so familiar and acquainted with men, that they are even affected with humane perturbations, by whose instruction *Plato* thinketh that men do oftentimes wonderfull things, even as by the instruction of men, some beasts which are most nigh unto us, as Apes, Dogs, Elephants, do often strange things above their species;[130]

By comparing French's translation with the original Latin (offered in footnotes where relevant) two levels of reinterpretation become clear. Initially Agrippa, in Ficinian fashion, reinterpreted the classical entities listed in this passage (such as satyrs and nymphs) in an attempt to salvage them from Paganism and integrate them into a fundamentally Christian (if unorthodox) worldview. He also incorporates entities from medieval canon laws (such as *Sylvestres*) that appear to have either reflected, or influenced, proto-fairy concepts of wondrous and dangerously seductive sylvatic folk who dwelt in the woods.[131] Due to the liminal nature of these entities (emphasised here by their familiarity with, and similitude to, humans) it is perhaps natural that French would interpret these spirit-like beings who acted human, could be good or evil depending upon how

---

[126] The three entries 'Fairies of the fountains, Fairies of the Woods, Nymphs of the Sea' are completely fabricated from the single Latin word *Nymphae* (or the previous two were complete insertions).

[127] Lemures

[128] *eiusmodi.* It should be emphasised that in this word we see that this list was not meant to be exhaustive, indicating that many more of these sorts of entities might be included in this list. In this sense the additions in the English translation were not accurate to the literal meaning of the Latin, but were true to the inclusive spirit of the passage.

[129] *plebem superum.* This is better translated as 'superior folk' since *plebem* functions as the noun where *superum* functions as the adjective. This is made even more explicit by the adjective following the noun, as is conventional in Latin. The reason for French's translation of this is unclear, although perhaps he wished to present them as being more illustrious (*plebs* not being the most dignifying of words). The translation that results, however, is oxymoronic.

[130] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 241; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392-393.

[131] Green, *Elf Queens*, 100; Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 78, 81. Cf. Laurence Harf-Lancer, *Les fees au moyen âge. Morgane et Mélusine. La naissance des fees* (Geneva, 1984), 17-25.

they are treated, and who bestow aid and knowledge upon those they trust, as

fairies - especially given their depiction in contemporary literature. It is possible, for

example, that French believed that *nymphae* encompassed beings that were

classed as three different types of entity in English (namely Fairies of the Forest

and Fountains, as well as Nymphs of the Sea). Yet, the very fact that he also

includes 'Nymphs of the Sea' leaves the two varieties of fairies standing less as a

translation of *nymphae* than a novel insertion between Agrippa's *panes* and

nymphae. Despite the fact that French was clearly happy to add, his choice does

not appear to be against the spirit of Agrippa's Latin original. Agrippa's statement

that the famous medieval fairy Melusine was from this order suggests that he

included the entities identified as fairies within this category of spirit.

French's translation of *lemures* ('shades of the dead') as 'hobgoblins' either

indicates that he interpreted hobgoblins as originating from the human dead, or

that he wished to incorporate more fairy beings from vernacular traditions into the

fold of this third order of spirit.[132] And this is not the only place where this

translation occurs; elsewhere French translated Agrippa as saying:

> Hence *Plotinus* saith, that the souls of men are sometimes made spirits: and
> of men well deserving are made familiars which the Greeks call Eudemons,
> i. e. blessed spirits: but of ill deserving men, hags,[133] and hobgoblins,[134]
> which the Greeks call Cacodemons, i. e. Evil spirits; But they may be called
> ghosts when it is uncertain whether they have deserved well or ill. Of these
> apparitions there are divers examples…[135]

---

[132] Jennifer Speake and Mark LaFlaur, 'lemur', in *The Oxford Essential Dictionary of Foreign Terms in English* (Oxford University Press, 1999); Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 241; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 393.
[133] *Laruas fieri*
[134] *lemures*
[135] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 280; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450. Note: I have determined the translations given by French based upon the assumption that he was identifying 'hag' with the feminine *larua*. But the order in English is reversed. In the Latin original *lemures* is listed first.

By transforming *lemures* to 'hobgoblins' French includes not only spirits of the natural world and the old gods of various polytheist traditions into this order, but also some spirits of the dead who are identified not only as becoming antagonistic hobgoblins, but helpful familiars. The English makes this connection to fairies explicit, but even in Latin Agrippa defines lemures both as the dead, and as members of this third order of spirit. The third order included old gods, spirits of natural space and features, and the spirits of ancestors, which come together to create a category of being reminiscent of earthly kami in Shintoism.[136]

Clearly French was comfortable leaving other Latinate terms for the various beings unadulterated. Perhaps Agrippa would have welcomed this, since he does end his list with an inviting *eiusmodi,* indicating that all spiritual entities which were not celestial, infernal, or planetary that humans encounter belong to this order of *dæmones*. Regardless of intent, while Agrippa opened the door of legitimacy for classical entities to exist as a low rank in the divine hierarchy by outlining a neutral class of spirit within a Christian framework, French (through intentionally or unintentionally creative translation) used this door to usher in fairies and hobgoblins. This provided a precedent and framework with which to justify, understand, and reinterpret fairies for later writers, that was legitimised by the influential authority of Agrippa.

The fact that Agrippa likens the relationship, and level of knowledge, between this order of being and humans to that between humans and animals is telling. It places them above humans in a hierarchy, which is not an unusual perspective on the relationship between humans and spirits based on medieval

---

[136] John Bowker, 'Kami', in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

Christian orthodoxy. It should be noted that the animals which Agrippa uses as examples are apes, dogs, and elephants, which he describes as rather near to us (*bestiae nonullaæ nobis propinquiores*).[137] While apes are like us in shape, once dogs and elephants are taken into consideration it becomes clear that the animals listed are those associated with intellect. The gap between humans and these *dæmones* is therefore characterized as that between humans and the most intelligent of the animals. The value of their friendship and aid (and the implied danger of their ire), therefore, becomes clear. The final section of this chapter (which is relevant to later characterisations of fairies) reads:

> and they who have written the Chronicles of the Danes and Norwegians, do testifie, that spirits of diverse kinds in those regions are subject to mens commands; moreover some of these to be corporeall and mortall, whose bodies are begotten and dy, yet to be long lived is the opinion of the Egyptians, and Platonists, and especially approved by *Proclus. Plutarch* also and *Demetrius* the Philosopher, and *Aemilianus* the Rhetoritian affirm the same; Therefore of these spirits of the third kind, as the opinion of the Platonists is; they report that there are so many Legions, as there are Stars in the Heaven, and so many spirits in every Legion, as in heaven it self Stars…[138]

This passage is significant in four key ways. Firstly, it overtly associates this order of spirit not only with classical sources, but with wondrous folk of Danish and Norwegian chronicles, connecting them more firmly with other regional traditions. Thus, Agrippa lays the foundation for the inclusion of beings from local folk beliefs and various literary and polytheist traditions into this third order. Secondly, it establishes that some of these entities are both corporeal and mortal, echoing the discussion of fairies by other occult philosophers (as seen below). Thirdly, the idea that there are as many legions of this third order of *dæmones* as there are stars,

---

[137] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 241; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 393.

[138] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 241; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 393.

and as many of them in each legion as there are stars - may be literal. Yet, it

appears more a poetic way to express their universality, accounting for the

assertion that no place or thing is without them. Fourthly, it establishes that these

spirits are able to be commanded by humans, highlighting their usefulness to

magicians.

3.2.1.4 Agrippa's Advice for Summoning/Establishing a Relationship with Fairies/The Third Order of Spirits

These spirits, connected with specific natural places and features, who help

those they like and harass those they dislike, presents a world in which one is

aided by maintaining a positive relationship with these entities and (indirectly) their

natural environment. In chapter thirty-two 'How good spirits may be called up by

us, and how evil spirits may be overcome by us', Agrippa explains how one might

do this.[139] This not only directly impacted occult philosophy about fairies, but

clearly influenced several fairy summoning rituals. In reference to this third order or

being, here described as not being as malevolent as other spirits, but being those

most similar to humans:

> There is moreover as hath been above said, a certain kind of spirits not so
> noxious, but most neer to men, so that they are even affected with humane
> passions, and many of these delight in mans society, and willingly dwell with
> them: Some of them dote upon women, some upon children, some are
> delighted in the company of divers domestick and wild animals, some
> inhabit Woods and Parks, some dwell about fountains and meadows. So the
> Fairies,[140] and hobgoblins[141] inhabit Champian fields;[142] the *Naiades*
> fountains: the *Potamides* Rivers; the Nymphs marshes, and ponds: the
> *Oreades* mountains; the *Humedes* Meadows; the *Dryades* and
> *Hamadryades* the Woods, which also *Satyrs* and *Sylvani* inhabit, the same

---

[139] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 447.
[140] *fauni*
[141] *lemures*
[142] *campos*

also take delight in trees and brakes, as do the Naptae, and Agaptae in flowers: the *Dodonae* in Acorns; the *Paleae* and *Feniliae* in fodder and the Country.[143]

In this listing French largely preserves the Latin terms for the various entities

except his conspicuous replacement of *fauni* and *lemures* with 'fairy' and

'hobgoblin'. Furthermore, despite the addition of fairies next to nymphs in the

above section, the fact that he replaced 'fauni' with 'fairy' demonstrates that he is

not gendering fairies as characteristically feminine. The association of fairies with

fauns in this period is also evident in the woodcut of the eponymous character of

the 1639 publication of *Robin* Goodfellow, *His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*.[144] He

then goes further than merely describing them, to offer guidance on how one

establishes contact with and calls forth such entities:

> He therefore that will call upon them, may easily doe it in the places where their abode is, by alluring them with sweet fumes, with pleasant sounds, and by such instruments as are made of the guts of certain animals and peculiar wood, adding songs, verses, inchantments sutable [sic] to it, and that which is especially to be observed in this, the singleness of the wit, innocency of the mind, a firm credulity, and constant silence; wherefore they do often meet children, women, and poor and mean men. They are afraid of and flie from men of a constant, bold, and undaunted mind, being no way offensive to good and pure men, but to wicked and impure, noxious. Of this kind are hobgoblins,[145] familiars,[146] and ghosts of dead men.[147]

In this passage, largely inspired by *De deo Socratis*, Agrippa outlines two

different means by which people establish a positive relationship with these beings,

one for the learned (and by extension the magician) and one for the general

---

[143] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 279; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.
[144] *Robin Goodfellow*, 2, 16.
[145] *lemures*
[146] lares & laruæ
[147] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 280; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.

populace.[148] In his description of the learned magical method he establishes that,

in addition to the general means of invoking spirits, they like good scents and

music. Agrippa's influence is clearly evident in the sixteenth-century Agrippian

Table Ritual (Appendix 1.6b) in Chetham Mun.A.4.98 that integrated these

elements into the Table Ritual to summon Mycob (identified in this example as the

queen of fairies and elves as well as a dryad) by invoking her while playing music

with a 'solemn instrument' in a meadow or orchard.[149] Although Agrippa drew much

of this from *De deo Socratis*, the inspiration was not direct, and these elements

clearly come from an Agrippian source. For example, in *De deo Socratis* the

passage equivalent to Agrippa's assertion that music made with special

instruments is needed to summon them explains that the *numina* from various

regions delight in different things, with (most notably) 'Greek ones usually [taking

pleasure] in [circle] dances, but barbarian ones in the noise of cymbal players,

drummers, and choral pipers.'[150] The elaborate ritual of the learned method stands

in stark contrast to the second means by which one could acquire the good will of

these entities, which was through possessing certain morals and demeanours

associated with the meek and the humble. He uses this to justify why these beings

often appear not to learned men, but to women, children, and uneducated men.

This interesting reversal of the association of belief in fairies with the ignorant

indicates that Agrippa was aware of accounts in which average people

encountered these beings, and sought to account for the fact.

---

[148] Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 370-379.
[149] Chetham Mun.A.4.98, 80, 82, 83, 87.
[150] Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 372-375.

3.2.1.5 The Third Order of Corporeal Spirits: Fairy Sex, Gender, and Sexuality

Chapter nineteen *De corporibus dæmonum* (which French diabolises with his translation of this as 'Of the Bodies of the Devils') explains that they are of four varieties that correspond to the four elements.[151] Those who have some earth in the composition of their bodies are described as *terrene dæmones* that have a particular connection to both the elements of water and earth and to forests which (according to Agrippa) the ancients called the *malignā anima* (which French renders as 'wicked soul').[152] The connection to woods has highly sexual implications, with Agrippa stating that these spirits are subject to earthly pleasures like lust, thus echoing medieval *sylvaticae*.[153] Here French's use of the term 'fairy' as translations for these watery and earthy woodland *dæmones* becomes increasingly justified, as Agrippa postulates that the famous medieval fairy Melusine was likely of this order of spirit.[154] However, where Agrippa calls these *lamiae, & incubi, & succubi,* French translated *lamiae* as 'hobgoblins.'[155] This shows inconsistency in his translation, since in chapter sixteen he gives this as the translation of *lemures.* This suggests two explanations: either French conflated the various terms and believed that hobgoblins were seductively demonic women who were the ghosts of the dead, or (more likely) he simply saw hobgoblins as wicked entities that he connected with the ghastly horror of *lemures and lamiae.* In chapter thirty-two, however, French translated *lamia* as 'hag.'[156] This is a more faithful translation since it maintains both the femininity and horror of *lamias* (while also

---

[151] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 249; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 402.

[152] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 248; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 403-404.

[153] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 78, 81.

[154] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 248; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 404.

[155] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 248; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 404.

[156] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 280; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 451.

reaffirming their fairy connection with this English term). I suggest, therefore, that rather than a consistent translation of his words, French was wilfully inserting fairies and hobgoblins into Agrippa's text.

Agrippa's comment about Melusine leads him into a discussion of the sex of these entities, agreeing with the conventional theological stance that spirits are by nature neither male nor female. Agrippa states that their bodies are simple and thus without sex.[157] He asserts that those who are of fire and air can take any shape they wish at will, and that those who dwell beneath the earth are fixed in their shape. However:

> …the waterie, and such as dwell upon the moist superfices of the earth, are by reason of the moistness of the element, for the most part like to women; of such kinde are the fairies of the Rivers,[158] and *Nymphs* of the Woods:[159] but those which inhabite dry places, being of dryer bodies, shew themselves in form of men, as Satyrs, or *Onosceli*, with Asses legs, or *Fauni*, and *Incubi*,[160] of which he saith, he learned by experience there were many, and that some of them oftentimes did desire and made compacts with women to lie with them: and that there were some Demons,[161] which the French call *Dusii*, that did continually attempt this way of lust.[162]

By specifying that those connected to water tend to take on the shape of women Agrippa echoes humoral theory in which women were merely men who were not warm enough in the womb and were therefore connected to the cooler

---

[157] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 248; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 404.

[158] *Naiades*. This highlights French's inconsistency and the arbitrary nature of his translation, since in chapter sixteen he left *naiades* as Latin in his translation and does not mention fairies of the rivers.

[159] *Dryades*. Further evidence of French's inconsistency, since in chapter sixteen he listed both Dryads and fairies of the wood as being among the various entities in this third order of spirits. It appears that he simply saw fairies as interchangeable with these classical terms. That a naiad was the fairy of a river, and a dryad was the fairy of the woods, etc.

[160] *Faunos, Sylvanos & incubus*. French missed or left out the sylvans from this list. This changes the sense of this passage, as 'sylvans' connects this discussion to the fairy-related beings discussed around it, whereas fauns and incubi (although themselves ambiguous) were more readily interpreted as infernal due to Augustine's influence (from whom the end of this passage clearly draws). Augustine, *City of God*, *Volume IV*, 548-551.

[161] *dæmones*

[162] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 248; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 404.

elements of earth and water.[163] Since, conversely, men had more heat and were

associated with the warmer elements of air and fire, it is unsurprising that Agrippa

states that those who dwell in dryer places take the shape of males.[164] In this

manner Agrippa is able to maintain that spirits have no sex, while accounting for

their gender expression, and explaining why some are more inclined to perform

one gender or another. While their sexuality is heteronormative, it is noteworthy

that Agrippa characterises male-presenting *dæmones* as sexual instigators more

than the female ones. The second half of this passage is largely drawn from

Augustine, who stated that '…Silvans and Pans, who are commonly called incubi,

often misbehaved towards women and succeeded in accomplishing their lustful

desire to have intercourse with them. And the tradition that certain demons,

termed Dusii by the Gauls, constantly attempt and perpetrate this foulness is so

widely and so well attested that it would seem impudent to deny it.'[165]

3.2.2 Paracelsus' Four Varieties of Elemental Being

Paracelsus' treatise *Ex libro de nymphis, silvanis, pygmaeis, salamandris, et*

gigantibus etc., was published posthumously in 1566 (nine years before the

Arbatel, which it informed).[166] The original publication was written in German, with

the title and section headings in Latin.[167] A full Latin translation was published by

1569.[168] Paracelsus' *De nymphis* had a largely indirect influence upon fairy-related

---

[163] Anne E. Bailey, 'The Female Condition: Gender and Deformity in High-Medieval Miracle Narratives', *Gender & History* 33, no. 2 (2021): 434-435, especially endnote 61.

[164] Bailey, 'Female Condition', 434-435 and endnote 61.

[165] Augustine, *City of God*, *Volume IV*, 548-551.

[166] Henry E. Sigerist, 'Introduction' in '*Liber de Nymphis*', 222.

[167] Philippus Aurelius Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (Paracelsus), *Ex libro de Nymphis, Sylvanis, Pygmaeis, Salamandris, & Gigantibus &c.* (Nissae Silesiorum: Excudebat Ioannes Cruciger, 1566).

[168] Sigerist, 'Introduction', 222. Cf. Paracelsus, '*Ex libro de Nymphis, Sylvanis, Pygmæis & Salamandris*', in *Philosophiae magnae*, trans. and ed. Gerard Dorn (Basil: Peter Perna, 1569), 171-202.

occult philosophy. Although indirect, however, the impact was cumulatively significant as the seventeenth century progressed. By the production of the late seventeenth-century/early eighteenth-century manuscript Harley 6482 a slightly modified version was included in full (as is discussed further in Chapter Four). Some Paracelsian ideas in English fairy summoning texts came from other works attributed to him, such as the 1657 English translation of the *Three Books of Philosophy Written to the Athenians* which outlines the elemental beings.[169] Likewise, the *Arbatel* was heavily informed by Paracelsus's teachings on this subject (as discussed below). The English edition of the Pseudo-Paracelsian *Occult Philosophy* also drew heavily from *De nymphis*, although it appears to have misinterpreted (or, at least, altered) much of it, as is discussed at length in Chapter Four. Much like Agrippa and his third order of spirits, Paracelsus' four types of elemental beings represent a fusion of classical myth and philosophy, vernacular culture and literature, as well as the *Liber Razielis'* precedent. The Paracelsian model (sometimes in uneasy reconciliation with the Agrippian model) informed much of the occult philosophical material about fairies that accompany several of the rituals included in this study.

3.2.2.1 Paracelsus' Overview of the Elemental Beings

Paracelsus describes four classes of 'spirit-men', for each of which he uses several appellations: the water people, nymphs, nymphae, undinae, undines; the wind people, air people, forest people, sylphes, sylvestres; the mountain people, pygmies, gnomi, mountain and earth manikins, *mani*; and the fire people,

---

[169] Oswald Croll, *Three Books of Philosophy Written to the Athenians* (London: M.S., 1657), 26-27, 66, 69.

salamanders, vulcani.[170] To Paracelsus they are natural creatures made by God. But like all creatures, be they humans or animals, these beings could randomly produce 'monstrous' births from 'normal' parents, which are the sirens, giants, dwarves, and will-o'-the-wisps respectively.[171] He argues that these four peoples are like humans because they eat and drink, are made from true flesh, blood, and bone, they have the shape of humans, and because they possess the gifts of speech, culture, and reason.[172] Yet they are not humans, because they lack a soul and therefore neither worship Christ, nor did Christ die for them, since they were not born of Adam.[173] In this way, Paracelsus places these beings outside the scope of Christianity, and Christ's salvation. He describes them as wild men who are to humanity as the wolf is to the dog.[174] Since they were not born of Adam, their bodies are not made from the earth which humans inherit from Adam's creation. Lacking this earth their bodies are subtler than humanity's, thus they are able to pass through walls and be invulnerable to earthly perils such as fire and water.[175] This line of argument is only slightly undercut when he later cites Matthew 3:9, to argue that the reference to God being able to make men from stones offers proof that there can be people not born of Adam, such as giants and dwarves, who are stronger than humans.[176]

---

[170] Paracelsus states that 'These are not good names, but I use them nevertheless. The names have been given them by people who did not understand them.' In this line Paracelsus reveals that he is discussing beings from established traditions who he argues are being misunderstood. In short, he is talking about beings who already have established traditions and is producing a coherent cosmographical framework that explains them. Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 226, 231, 237, 239, 243, 249, 251.

[171] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 249, 252.

[172] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 227-228, 229.

[173] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 220-230.

[174] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 239.

[175] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 228, 230.

[176] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 250.

Due to their strange abilities they seem more like spirits than humans. Yet they are not spirits because they have bodies, eat, give birth, and die.[177] While he explains that they are incarnate beings, not demons, he states that their lack of a soul deprives them of the 'judgement to serve God, to walk his path' and also leaves them vulnerable to demonic possession.[178] Paracelsus argues that they are neither humans, nor spirits. [179] Instead they are their own class of being, combining human and spirit qualities to become something greater than the sum of its parts, as two colours combine to produce a single new one.[180]

According to Paracelsus, their lack of a soul causes them to die utterly out of the world, and so while appearing human they are actually the most human of the animals.[181] Yet, they are able to interbreed with humans, in which cases their offspring inherit a soul through Adam's lineage.[182] While at one point he states that they 'are neither man nor beast', at others he states that 'they are beasts' who 'are, among all animals, closest to man'.[183] In this way they echo humanity in Paracelsus' text. Just as humans are the closest creature to God, these beings are the closest animals to humans.[184] Thus while called 'men' they lack a soul making them the highest of the animals due to their human reason and spirit-like ways. Eloquently summarising he states that they 'die with the beasts, walk with the spirits, and drink with men.'[185]

---

[177] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 228, 230.
[178] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 230, 240, 245.
[179] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 228-229.
[180] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 228.
[181] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 230.
[182] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 238, 240, 243.
[183] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 230.
[184] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 230.
[185] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 230.

3.2.2.2 More Worldly than Humans

Although fairies are often conceptualised as otherworldly, for Paracelsus our possession of a soul makes us far more otherworldly than the elemental beings. Paracelsus contrasts the elemental beings with humanity by framing them as part of nature as opposed to humans, who are separated from it. As the German medical historian Walter Pagel eloquently relates, in Paracelsus' *De meteoris* (likely written circa 1529-1530 although not published until 1566) Paracelsus explains that because humans possess a soul they are 'not physically one with the elements', standing in the centre of the cosmos '*on*' earth and water, '*by*' the air and '*under*' the sky – yet not '*in*' any of them.[186] Humanity purchased its 'freedom and mastery of the elements at the price of detachment and ignorance'.[187] Humans, therefore, understand the world as outsiders, and have less art and wisdom than the elemental beings. For Paracelsus these beings did not dwell in another world, but in the elements of nature of which they were a part. In this way he frames them not as supernatural (implying that they are above or apart from nature) but as intimately and necessarily natural creatures (far more so than humans).

As a result of their soullessness and connection to nature, these beings act as their God-given instinct dictates. Their society, laws, even the fact that they clothe themselves is determined by 'inborn nature', in the same manner that animals such as ants and birds have hierarchies and roles.[188] This is reminiscent of

---

[186] Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*, (Basel: Karger, 1982), 62; Didier Kahn, 'Paracelsus' Ideas on the Heavens, Stars and Comets', in *Unifying Heaven and Earth: Essays in the History of Early Modern Cosmology*, eds. Miguel Á. Granada, Patrick J. Boner, and Dario Tessicini (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2016), 67.

[187] Pagel, *Paracelsus*, 62.

[188] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 234.

the sibyl/fairy queen's incomprehension of free will due to her perfect knowledge of future things when talking with Guerrin, but is ultimately rooted in St. Thomas Aquinas' discussion of astrology in his critique of divination.[189] He argues that augury could be used to licitly prognosticate things to come since birds, being animals, are instinctual beings which are more sensitive to the planets and are therefore directed by their influence on the sublunary world.[190] This was the argument of astrology's defenders, that while most humans were swept along with the planetary influences and bodily impulse, humanity could resist their song through use of human will and reason, thus ensuring free will and avoiding the determinism that was so contrary to medieval Christian theology.[191] While Paracelsus states that these beings have reason and intellect equal to (and wisdom of sublunary nature exceeding) that of humans, but their lack of a soul deprives them of free will. They are therefore one with nature, acting always in accord with it and, being soulless, lack the free will to act in contradiction to it or the dictates of planetary influence. The notion that these beings are soulless appears to have become widespread amoung magic practitioners, and is even echoed in the (apparently Paracelsian-influenced) writings of the Icelandic cunning man Jón Guðmundsson (1574-1658), who claimed to have met with elves and wrote that:

> They have flesh, and blood, and skin,
>
> Hearing, and the speaking art;
>
> Nought but soul wants elfin kin,

---

[189] Andrea da Barberino, 'Guerrino, Detto il Meschino', in *Legends of Le Marche: The Sibyl of the Apennines-La Sibilla Appenninica*, trans. James Richards and Luca Pierdominici (Macerata: Edizioni Simple, 2014), 54-57.

[190] Aquinas, *Sum*. 2.2.95.7. For a more in-depth discussion of this see Gillis Hogan, 'Stars in the Hand', 46-47.

[191] Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 128-129.

That is their inferior part.[192]

These beings are, therefore, necessarily outside the scope of Christian salvation, of good and evil, of morality itself - as is a bird, a forest, or the sea.

Despite their lack of salvation, Paracelsus did aim to reconcile them with his Christian worldview. This is achieved by giving them an occupation, a cosmological reason for being created. Paracelsus argues that the monstrous births of all his elemental beings, like comets, are made by God for the purpose of being seen by humans as an inauspicious warning of evil things to come.[193] He states that the four types of elemental being were placed in the world by God to protect all the treasures within their respective elements (which likely contributed to the depiction of fairies and related entities as treasure spirits in Paracelsian-influenced occult philosophy, see Chapter Four).[194] For example, Paracelsus states that because nymphs guard treasure, one can discover treasures and minerals in the water where they are found.[195] Paracelsus makes a fascinating claim as to why the elemental beings are needed to guard treasures; namely, that they portion it out to humans so that only so much is discovered at any one time, thus ensuring that there are enough treasures and resources to last humanity until the end of time.[196] In essence, for Paracelsus the elemental beings were placed in the world to ensure divinely sanctioned environmental sustainability (albeit, for the benefit of humanity, rather than the preservation of nature for its own sake).

---

[192] Jón Arnason, *Icelandic Legends*, trans George E. J. Powell and Eiríkr Magnússon (London: Longman's, Green, and co., 1866), xvii, xlvi.

[193] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 243, 252. Note: Although Paracelsus outlines a class of being for each element, only those of water, air, and earth will be discussed here. They are the most relevant to understanding the discussions around fairies in summoning spells and wider occult philosophy.

[194] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 252.

[195] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 252.

[196] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 251-252.

3.2.2.3 The Water People: Lamiae, Mermaids, and the Fairy of

Romance/Ballad

Paracelsus takes aspects of contemporary folklore and literature,

interweaving them into his elemental beings to connect disparate traditions within a

unifying cosmology, as is particularly noteworthy in his discussion of the water

people. The nymphs most resemble humans, dressing in the same clothing and

speaking in human tongues. Unlike humans, they are mostly female (birth of males

being scarce among their people).[197] He explains that, despite this, their primary

motivation for seducing human men is not for lack of males among their own

people, but because if an elemental being manages to seduce a human into

marriage (and they are married within a church) the rite of marriage imbues the

being with an eternal soul, allowing it to live eternally upon dying.[198] He echoes

Gervase of Tilbury in saying that that those humans who marry again, even if his

wondrous wife has disappeared, are met with death.[199] The connection between

fairies and human seduction has already been well established in the medieval

traditon, and can be seen in the spells involving sex with fairies discussed in

Chapter One.[200]

Paracelsus, in fact, uses the example of Melusine, identifying her as 'not

what the theologians consider her' (presumably a demon) 'but a nympha'.[201] He

---

[197] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 239-240

[198] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 238-239, 241-243.

[199] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 242; Green, *Elf Queens*, 79, 99.

[200] Green, *Elf Queens*, 52, 100. For an extended discussion of this argument see his chapter 'Incubi Fairies', 76-109. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. Stephan A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 180-183, 190; Augustine, *City of God, Volume IV: Books 12-15* trans. by Philip Levine (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 548-551; Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 97; Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 81; Laurence Harf-Lancer, *Les fees au moyen âge. Morgane et Mélusine. La naissance des fees* (Geneva, 1984), 17-25.

[201] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 245.

comments that if someone is married to an elemental being and insults them then they will vanish back into their element.[202] This does not annul the marriage, however, and a man is still bound by marriage because she remains faithful to preserve her hard-won soul. According to Paracelsus the only way that a wife lost in this manner might be seen again is for the man to remarry, on which occasion she will reappear to bring death to her unfaithful husband 'as has happened many times.'[203] The notion of humans marrying fairies (especially those connected to water) who then leave forever was long established in tales such that of the lake women in *De nugis curialium,* and even survives today in tales of the Selkie. It also emphasises that the association of these beings with sexuality (which rituals that include copulation with a fairy also evince) is preserved in the occult philosophical tradition (as it was by Agrippa) despite various reasons for this penchant being supplied.

Sibilia is identified as one of the water women, although under a different name. Paracelsus explains that the goddess Venus was in truth a powerful nymph who passed on the name 'Venus' like a title to her offspring, leading many to believe that she lived eternally.[204] After this the nymphs referred to any great one among them as 'Venusberg, after the idol of unchastity.'[205] The Venusberg to which he refers is the Germanic equivalent of Sibilia's mountain from the French and Italian legends of her sinister paradise which emerged in the fifteenth century with possible thirteenth-century roots.[206] Although the German tradition rendered the

---

[202] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241-242.

[203] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 242.

[204] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 243-244.

[205] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 244.

[206] Pierdominici, 'Between Narrative and Recollection', 83. Clifton-Everest, *Tragedy of Knighthood*, 131-132.

name of the realm's leader as 'Venus' (emphasiing her sexual temptation), anyone familiar with the equivalent figure widespread amoung romance-language literary versions would have identified this being as the sibyl. Indeed, the wonderous sibyl of these literary texts became the fairy named Sibyl in several medieval French romances.[207] This is apparently the origin of the fairy Sibilia summoned by various rituals, demonstrating both how the fairies of summoning rituals were the targets of summoning rituals, but were also reinterpreted by occult philosophy.

3.2.2.4 The Air/Forest People: Sylphs, Woodwoses, and Fauns

While 'air people' would better represent Paracelsus' elemental divisions of these beings, I will generally use the term 'forest people' since Paracelsus more frequently uses it, and it is more in keeping with how they were conceptualised and the source traditions from which they were drawn. As shall be seen, Paracelsus' description of these beings also provides greater insight into charcaterisations of some fairies in summoning rituals. Like the water people, Paracelsus' forest people appear similar to humans, but less so than the water people, being 'cruder, coarser, longer and stronger than both'.[208] They are like humans in more than appearance alone, for they dwell in the element of air and 'burn in fire... and drown in water' as humans do (unlike the other elemental beings which, like fish, can breathe within the element they were placed in).[209] He describes them as 'shy and fugitive' and as being coarser than nymphs, for while the water people can naturally speak languages, the forest people cannot unless they are taught, but

---

[207] Green, *Elf Queens*, 142-143.

[208] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 235.

[209] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 232-233.

apparently learn to do so easily.[210] Associating them with the forest, coarseness, and the inability to speak without being taught, separates these beings from civilisation, echoing his declaration that the elemental beings are undomesticated wild men. Paracelsus thus offers an explanation for the woodwose or wild men of medieval and Renaissance folklore and art.

Their purpose in the cosmos, like the other elemental beings, is to guard treasure. They gather where treasure is hidden, and particularly that which is in rocks on the surfaces of the earth.[211] Paracelsus firmly locates their dwelling place within the forests (even calling them 'the forest people').[212] In fact, Oxford Learner's Dictionaries suggests that the word 'sylph' was a fusion of the Latin words *sylvestris* and *nympha* and Paracelsus has been credited with coining the term.[213] Clearly the beings described as 'sylphs' by Paracelsus were related to nymphs but were certainly not nymph-like and this etymology may have been retroactively applied due to later romantic imaginings of sylphs. Given his characterisation of these beings as those who dwell in the forests, and the fact that he uses 'sylphs' interchangeably with 'silvestres' it seems likely that this term was derived from *silva* (also rendered *sylva*), the Latin word for 'forest'.

Paracelsus reinterprets classical fauns and Augustinian incubi as morally neutral sylphs who are possessed by the devil's malign influence, as demonstrated when he states that the devil 'can be found in the forest possessing sylphs and

---

[210] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 239-240.
[211] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 252.
[212] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 233, 237, 239, 240.
[213] 'Sylph', Merriam-Webster, accessed November 5, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sylph. 'Sylph', Oxford Learners Dictionaries, accessed June 5, 2023, https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/sylph.

venturing to make love to women who live in forest regions.'[214] In fact, it seems that his forest people were more inspired by the fauns, satyrs, incubi, and 'little hairy ones' of Augustine and subsequent late antique and medieval writers (see footnote 745). The woodwose, or wild men and women of the forest, were often depicted as covered in hair, as seen in the early sixteenth-century book of hours illumination of them on folio 104v of Syracuse University Library Manuscript 7, and on folio 41v of the late fifteenth century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1173.[215] Just as Augustine took the hairy and lascivious Gaulish and Greco-Roman folkloric beings and reimagined them as a single class of demons, Paracelsus took these demons and reimagined them as natural creatures, albeit beings who were susceptible to demonic influence. By building his discussion from the idea (possibly arising from his interpretation of the *Liber Razielis'* spirits as corporeal animals) his elemental beings with bodies not born of Adam provide a naturalistic explanation for how these entities could reproduce with humans.[216]

The monstrous births of the forest people further connected them with wild folk, opposed to waif-like airy women. When they give birth to monsters their tallness and strength becomes accentuated and they give birth to giants who appear human but are twenty to thirty feet tall.[217] Giants are made by God as a warning of a significant and destructive disaster to come to the land in which they appear.[218] He distinguishes these from giants born from humans, like Saint

---

[214] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 240.

[215] Syracuse, Syracuse University Library, MS 7, 104v; iImage of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1173, 41v accessed on the cover of Green, *Elf Queens*. For the dating of this manuscript see: Maxence Hermant, 'Latin 1173', Archives et Manuscrits, La Bibliothèque nationale de France, January 2019, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc59106h.

[216] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 220-230.

[217] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 250.

[218] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 252.

Christopher, who have souls.[219] Interestingly, he states that the monstrous births of

elemental beings can have children with humans, but only one generation.[220] He

may have developed this theory by observing that when some animals of different

species mate they produce sterile offspring, like a mule (this occurs if the resulting

hybrid has an odd number of chromosomes). He goes on to say that the result of

such a cross will either be human and possess a soul, or will be a giant and lack

one, the offspring does not become a blend.[221]

Just as the feminine sexuality which typifies his water people and the name

Sibilla were parts of the characterisation of summoned fairies, links also exist to the

forest people in the ritual magic context. By the end of the seventeenth century this

text circulated in manuscript along with other occult philosophical material about

fairies and related beings.[222] However some of his ideas appear to have entered

into the English context earlier via the *Arbatel* (discussed further below). Whether a

case of direct influence, indirect influence, or convergent evolution, comparing

Paracelsian forest and earth people with several depictions of fairies highlights how

fairies were conceptualised and the entities from popular culture which occult

philosophers and ritual magicians drew upon/reinterpreted.

In both a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century version of Oberion's Plate,

Oberion is depicted as a (possibly naked) man covered in hair.[223] The late

sixteenth-century copy of Oberion's Plate in Folger VB 26 Oberion is depicted

variously as a crowned figure in mail, in noble clothing, and as a figure with a

---

[219] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 247.

[220] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 250-251.

[221] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 250-251.

[222] London, British Library Harley MS 6482, 126r-142v.

[223] The late sixteenth-century version is in Wellcome 110, 97r and the other is in the seventeenth-century Sloane 3318, 79v.

nebulous vapour-like body that tapers into a point at the base.[224] The first two of these depictions are unlike those in the aforementioned manuscripts since they are more in line with the romantic or balladic fairy, while the third is an outlier to both characterisations. Yet in the very back of this manuscript, which contains multiple fairy summoning rituals, on page 204 is nothing but two illustrations of woodwose/wild men. One holds a club while strangling a serpent while the other stands beside a loosely sketched waist-tall humanoid. Both woodwose have long hair and are covered in fur. These drawings share a style with those of Oberion indicating that they were drawn by the same hand, and the proximity of this material may indicate that competing notions of what fairies were coexisted within his mind. On the opposite page from the wild men is a long haired and voluptuously proportioned woman in an ornate royal gown, and below her a basilisk with a draconic chicken body and face with a barbed serpentine tail.[225] This juxtaposition is evocative of Melusine and the fairy queen (or sibyl) who must transform weekly into snakes and basilisks (as discussed above in relation to Sibilla and the water people). The diminutive figure beside the woodwose on page 204 parallels Paracelsian earth people more than the woodwose-like air people which he connects with forests.

3.2.2.5 The Earth People: Pygmies, Dwarves, and Familiars

The earth people are perhaps most reflective of how fairy-related beings were understood to be both valuable as familiar spirits and as keepers/distributors of the treasures in the earth in both *De nymphis* and the ritual magic tradition.

---

[224] Folger VB 26, 185-186.
[225] Folger VB 26, 204-205.

Paracelsus describes the earth people as looking like humans but at one point describes them as being two spans tall (about eighteen inches), and at another as half human height or slightly more.[226] This self-contradiction may be rooted in Paracelsus's drawing upon various conflicting sources. He writes that, unlike the water and forest people, the earth people 'rarely marry humans and are only obliged to serve them.'[227] They possess the gift of speech and are honest, diligent, and particularly loyal workers to humans, for they cannot break a pledge of service once so bound, unless the human breaks his or her side of the deal.[228] So great is this obligation, and so closely are they bound to those they are in service to, that they cannot escape without reason - so he advises that people with an earth person bound to them ought never to offend it (echoing the common fairy taboos mentioned in Chapter One and the discussion of the water people, above).[229] He says that they are 'highly gifted' and valuable to humans since they can 'serve, protect, warn, guide' and reveal secrets of the past, present, or future.[230] They possess wealth beyond measure and coin their own gold since they are the guardians of treasures within the earth, and he particularly notes that where they dwell 'tremendous quantities' of metals and treasures are found.[231] He wrote that they were known to pay off people who entered their underground halls so as to be left alone.[232]

---

[226] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 235, 240.
[227] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 239.
[228] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241.
[229] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241.
[230] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 239.
[231] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241, 251.
[232] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241.

Paracelsus contradicts himself by saying that, to these beings, earth and stone is as air is to us, and that they walk through it 'hence they do not suffocate. They do not require our air, we do not theirs.'[233] He goes on to write that they see through the earth as we do air so that, even below the earth, they see the sky and receive light.[234] According to Paracelsus they walk through earth and stand upon water as though it were their earth. Yet he contradicts this narrative of inverted elemental relationships by also stating that they live in mountain caves and that the subterranean 'vaults, and similar structures, of the height of a yard' which people find underground are the halls constructed as dwellings by the earth people.[235] If they walked through earth like the air, then they would hardly make their homes in air-filled caves and subterranean voids.

As Henry E. Sigerist observes, Paracelsus visited and worked in many mines, likely hearing the folktales about dangerous spirits in mines which are attested in treatises on mining by other authors.[236] It may be that here we witness a slip where Paracelsus has taken an aspect of local folklore (that subterranean caverns found by miners and some mountain caves were dwelling places made by, perhaps diminutive, supernatural beings) and imperfectly tried to reconcile it with his unifying cosmographical framework (that for each elemental being their element is to them as air is to humans).

As Paracelsus' fire people (and the monstrous versions of the elemental beings) are of less importance to fairies in the occult philosophical and ritual magic tradition, they are passed over here. Evidence for the circulation of *De nymphis* in

---

[233] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 232.
[234] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 234-235
[235] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 233, 235.
[236] Sigerist, 'Introduction', 220.

England are too late to confidently suggest direct influence upon the ritual magic tradition (although given the attrition rate of magical texts this is by no means ruled out). As the following section (and Chapter Four) demonstrate, sources which drew upon *De nymphis* did circulate in the English vernacular and were printed, demonstrating the indirect transmission of Paracelsian elemental beings into England.

3.2.3 The *Arbatel* in Print and Sloane 3851

The *Arbatel* is a taxonomic and pedagogical text about magic (first published in 1575 by Peter Perna (1522-1582) in Basel, Switzerland as *Arbatel de magia veterum*).[237] It was first published in English as *The First Tome of the Book of Arbatel of Magick, called Isagoge* along with the English edition of the *Fourth book of Occult Philosophy* ostensibly translated by Robert Turner in 1655.[238] The *Arbatel*, however, is also present in Sloane 3851.[239] Sloane 3851 is noteworthy because, like the manuscript examined in Chapter Four, it contains a substantial blend of not only fairy summoning rituals, but occult philosophical works which might be used to inform them. The *Arbatel*, while not directly next to a fairy summoning ritual, is sensibly placed near the beginning of the manuscript since it is comprised of aphorisms meant to be understood by the magician before proceeding with the art of magic. As such, it can be understood as the starting point, the general framework used to the magic contained in the manuscript. While

---

[237] Joseph H. Peterson, 'Arbatel De magia veterum (Arbatel: Of the Magic of the Ancients)', Twilit Grotto: Archives of Western Esoterica, Twilit Grotto Esoteric Archives, January, 2023, http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon/arbatel.htm. 'Peter Perna', The British Museum, accessed September 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG154798.
[238] Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*.
[239] Sloane 3851, 10r-29v.

the manuscript seemingly contains the date 22 May 1696 within it, Rankine has

argued that (due to the word 'hora' following this four digit number) it was a

complex method of writing the hour, not the year.[240] He goes on to say that the

manuscript was composed at some point between 1614-1636, evidenced by

insertions in Ashmole's hand throughout the manuscript and what is known of the

life of the manuscript's supposed author (the London cunning man Arthur

Gauntlet).[241]

The supposed date of the manuscript's production and the publication of the

Arbatel's English translation initially appear contradictory. The wording and

phrasing of the *Arbatel* in Sloane 3851, however, is different from that in Turner's

1655 edition. Most notably, Turner omitted the line *Haec producit Deos, qui in*

*templis habitant omnis generi*s from his translation despite its presence in the 1575

and 1579 Basil editions.[242] Sloane 3851's copy includes this line, however,

translating it as 'This produceth Gods of every kind which dwell in the Temples.'[243]

Since he had access to a copy of the *Arbatel* that predated the publication of the

English print translation, and since the *Arbatel* had circulated in an edition in which

it was conjoined with *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* since 1575, then it

appears perfectly possible that Rankine's earlier date estimate for the manuscript

is correct while also accounting for Sloane 3851's inclusion of ideas drawn from the

The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy before its English translation. It appears that

the scribe of Sloane 3851 translated the *Arbatel* directly from the 1575 Latin Basle

---

[240] Rankine, 'Introduction' to *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 17.

[241] Rankine, 'Introduction' to *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 17-18.

[242] *Arbatel: Concerning the Magic of the Ancients*, trans. and ed. Joseph H. Peterson (Newburyport: Ibis Press, 2009), xxvi-xxvii, 8-9.

[243] Sloane 3851, 11r. See also, Rankine, ed. *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 56. Cf. Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 216.;Peterson, ed. *Arbatel*, 8-9.

edition, or (more likely) there was an English translation of this work circulating (presumably purely in manuscript form) before Turner's 1655 print edition was published.

3.2.3.1 The Cosmology and Magical Theory of the *Arbatel*

In Sloane 3851 the *Arbatel* is entitled 'Of the nine Tomes of the Magic of Arbatel' and spans folios 10r-29v. The aphorisms are divided into nine books or 'septems', each of which discuss a different branch of magic and associates each type of magic with a different ancient society or source (except the first 'book' which is a general set of aphorisms for all magic). For example, the third book is on Olympic (or planetary) spirits, whereas the eighth covers the magic of Hermes which it states originated in Egypt.[244] The fifth book (aphorisms 29-35) is evocative of Sibilia, however, by focusing on 'Romane [sic Roman] or Sibbiline magick which worketh with defending Spirits and lords which is [sic are] distributed throughout the world This is the Doctrine of the Druids'.[245]

The English association of Druids with Roman religion and fairies is evident in contemporary poetry. The 1633 play *The True Troianes, Being a Story of the Britaines Valour at the Romanes First Inuasion*, depicts the 'Priests and Druids in their hallowed grouse [sic groves] [who] Propitiate the gods, and scanne events By their mysterious Artes' and bards singing 'Pan doth play / Care-away. / Fayries small / Two foote tall, / With caps red / On their head / Daunce around / On the

---

[244] Sloane 3851, 10v-11r. The latter is clearly a reference to Hermes Trismegistus, the late antique syncretic amalgam of Hermes and Thoth. Many mystical texts were attributed to him. At times he was characterised as a god of magic, and at others he was described as an ancient philosopher-king. Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, trans. David Lorton (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), 3, 6; David Porreca, 'Hermes Trismegistus in Thomas of York: A 13th-Century Witness to the Prominence of an Ancient Sage', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Áge*, 72, no. 1 (2005): 153-154.

[245] Sloane 3851, 11r, 22r-23v.

ground.' [246] Druids are thus portrayed as propitiating the gods and scrying in sacred

groves while the associated bards sing songs of commingled Roman gods and

fairies. Likewise, the 1615 poem *An Epigramme Called the Ciuill Deuill* relates that

'Here I beheld the nimble Satyres dance / The Druids sung, the water-Sea-nimphs

praunce, / Ore the delicious Mede…'[247] In the seventeenth-century English

imaginary the Roman gods were anachronistically thought to be the same as those

of the druids, and were associated with fairies.

The fifth book begins by moralising that magic can be used for good or evil,

but ill uses receive divine punishment.[248] It goes on to state that magic can bring

wealth and worldly office 'as the Melusine history testifies.'[249] The medieval

account of the fairy Melusine was a prevalent tale that much scholarship describes

and analyses.[250] As may be intimated by my frequent mention of her, I find

Melusine an excellent barometer with which to judge how a writer defines or refers

to the entities sometimes identified as fairies. If an author describes her as a

nymph, then he will likely refer to other fairy-like beings as nymphs; if he identifies

her as a demon, he will generally view fairies as a type of demon. After a

discussion of how magic can bring so much wealth and power that it allows a

magician to 'institute himselfe Monarch of the world', the author states that

---

[246] Jasper Fisher, *The True Trojans, Being a Story of the Britains' Valour at the Roman's First Invasion* (London: I.J., 1633), 8-9.

[247] Richard Brathwait, 'An Epigramme called the Ciuill Deuill', in *A Strappado For the Divell* (London: I.B. 1615), 44.

[248] Sloane 3851, 22r-22v.

[249] Sloane 3851, 22v.

[250] See for example: Green, *Elf Queens*, 24, 29-32, 43-46, 49, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 70-71, 72, 113; Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance*, 15, 16, 28–30, 116, 122–130, 136, 137–138. For comprehensive studies specifically focused on Melusine see (for example): Lydia Zeldenrust, *The Mélusine Romance in Medieval Europe: Translation, Circulation, and Material Contexts* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020); Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, eds, *Melusine of Lusignan: Founding Fiction in Late Medieval France* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

285

'Likewise the learned Romans out of the bookes of the Sibbills after the same manner instituted themselves lords of the worlde as historie testifies.'[251] These passages demonstrate that the author knew of the Sibylline books of Rome and treated their consultation as the source of Rome's success. While this does not specify whether the author conceptualised sibyls as a human occupation or class of spiritual being (as does the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual later in Sloane 3851 on folios 130r to 131v), Aphorism 34 clarifies matters by stating that the 'Sibbills and cheife Preists' knew that there is only one true way to summon spirits, and that the wide variety of summoning spells in circulation were due to superstitions and lies.[252] This grouping of sibyls and priests indicates that a 'sibyl' in this text was understood as a human occupation, not a proper name or class of being.

According to the *Arbatel* the source of all magic, and by extension the magic of the sibyls, 'is the revelation of that kind of Spirits of what sort the magick is' and 'neither are they Mans inventions as the Saduces hold.'[253] Aphorism 48, from which these lines are drawn, provides insight into the religious context of this text. While the author was clearly Christian, with frequent moralisation about the necessary virtue and godliness of a magician, he also (with characteristic Renaissance veneration of the classical inheritance) occasionally makes reference to 'gods' and says that 'Thou canst not speake or doe anything without Minerva the Goddis of Learning.'[254] Yet Aphorism 48 argues that various ancient cultures were taught magic by different sorts of spirits, and that ancient pagan religions were also

---

[251] Sloane 3851, 22v-23r.
[252] Sloane 3851, 23r.
[253] Sloane 3851, 28v.
[254] Sloane 3851, 20r

born from these spirits' teachings.[255] This argument adheres to the aforementioned orthodox perspectives about magic and pagan religions being demoniacally taught, yet the intent differs. While traditionally religious authorities had used this argument to affirm the illicit and corrupt nature of such knowledge, the *Arbatel* uses this pedigree to affirm the verity of magic, perhaps against the aspersion that it was merely made up by humans. While the word 'atheist' was known to the scribe (since he uses the term on folio 29v), the fact that he chose to use the term 'Sadducees' as his example of spirit deniers may have been intended to elevate his argument to something more ancient and lofty through use of a biblical connection, or it may indicate an anti-Semitic impulse. In this way the text's author tries to collect the wisdom of the ancients while rejecting their lack of Christianity. He derides those magic practitioners who fall into idolatry and demon worship as 'Cacomagicians' (*kakós* being the Greek word for 'bad, which also gave rise to the word 'cacophony' in the same period).[256]

The *Arbatel's* cosmology of magic's origins simultaneously connects magic to pre-Christian religions and to demons. By stating that magic was taught to humans by the spirits whom ancient cultures wrongly worshiped as gods, it frames the exploitation of spirits as acceptable, but the worship of them as wicked. It appears that this text still internalises the perspective, popularised by Augustine, that the gods and daemons of antiquity were actually fallen angels (or 'demons'). The 'sibyl' was connected with fairies in many ways, whether characterised as an individual demonic or fairy entity, a class of fairy-like beings, or an ancient human vocation. Yet she is far from the only classical root from which fairies draw. In fact,

---

[255] Sloane 3851, 28r.
[256] Sloane 3851, 20r.

one need not look any further than another passage from the *Arbatel* to see more of the intellectual milieu which fed into the concept of a fairy.

3.2.3.2 Fairy-Related Paracelsian Influences in the *Arbatel*

While the *Arbatel* does not convey any coherent sense of the elemental beings as they are portrayed by Paracelsus (see section 3.2.2), it does use vocabulary and limited description that clearly betray familiarity with *De nympha.* Aphorism 24 discusses these beings with great detail in its description of the seven magical secrets which humans can study without angering God. The third secret is 'to have the obedience of creatures in the elements, who are in the form of personal spirits: likewise of pigmies, of sagani, of nymphs, of dryads, and of forest men.'[257] The copy of the *Arbatel* in Sloane 3851 draws upon the 1575 Latin original as the last type of being is referred to as 'Silvatick men', whereas the earliest English printing of the *Arbatel* (bound with the *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* and translated into English by Robert Turner in 1655) refers to them as 'Spirits of the Woods'.[258]

This is an important distinction since, as was indicated in Aphorism 38, the *Arbatel* does not characterise these beings as immortal spirits, but as mortal beings like 'men'. Rather, while some use immortal creatures (likely referring to more conventional spirits), others use mortal ones such as nymphs, satyrs, and creatures that dwell in other elements such as pigmies.[259] The use of the term 'pigmy' is more indicative of Paracelsus, but it should be noted that both Agrippa

---

257 The translation is my own. Latin taken from Peterson, 'Arbatel De magia veterum'.
258 Sloane 3851, 18v; Peterson, 'Arbatel De magia veterum'; *Arbatel*, 238.
259 Peterson, 'Arbatel De magia veterum'; Sloane 3851, 24v.

and Paracelsus argue that this strange class of spirit/entity are mortal (despite extremely long lives), as related above.

Aphorism 24's reference to 'sagani' suggests that it may have drawn upon Paracelsus' *De meteoris* in which he, without explanation, collectively refers to the elemental beings as *saganae* (a Latin word for 'witch').[260] Paracelsus described them as being 'like the spirits in speed', possibly referring to their quick minds and acute senses indicated by the term *sagax* ('intellectually quick, acute, perceptive'), which may have influenced his terminology.[261] The agility of spirits had long been connected to their knowledge, foresight, and ability to produce natural wonders to rival miracles. Albertus Magnus echoed Augustine in arguing that spirits possessed great speed, keen senses, and intimate knowledge of the natural world due to their long lives, and this gave them the power to produce magicians' marvels and accurately anticipate future events.[262] While not immortal like spirits, Paracelsus does state that these beings 'reach a very old age'.[263] Paracelsus may have been influenced by this precedent for the source of spirits' knowledge and power, and wove these into his 'spirit-men' ('men' here presumably used in the gender neutral sence) or *saganae* (which has a female ending, which is unusual in latin for a group inclusive of even one male, perhaps emphasising the predominance of the overwhelmingly female water folk).

---

[260] Pagel, *Paracelsus*, 61-62; Kahn, 'Paracelsus' Ideas', 98.
[261] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 228.
[262] Bartlett, *Natural and the Supernatural*, 25; Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 19-20; Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 90. Cf. Augustine, *Divinatione Daemonum*. An English translation of this is available in Augustine, 'The Divination of Demons', trans. Ruth W. Brown in vol. 15 of *The Writings of St. Augustine*, in vol. 27 of *The Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Thomas P. Halton et al. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1955), 414-440.
[263] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 243.

Aphorism 24 (at least) appears to have been written primarily with reference to *De meteoris*, since it employs the collective term *saganae* (which is anglicised to 'saganes', and thus made gender neutral, in Sloane 3851).[264] Also, the *Arbatel* does not refer to a class of beings who exist in fire. This is telling, since by the time he wrote *De meteoris* Paracelsus proposed a three-element system and does not list the *vulcani* with the other elemental beings.[265] From this strange use of the term 'sagani', to the specification that these beings were not immortal spirits, it is clear that the writer of the *Arbatel* drew the concept of elemental beings from Paracelsus.

3.2.3.3 Hybrids and Monsters in the *Arbatel*

Aphorism 35 in Sloane 3851 not only draws upon Paracelsus but obliquely warns that the magician must be wary of desiring worldly things since 'Mearmaids and other Monsters deceive us who likewise desire the Society of the humane minde'.[266] The 1655 English translation, however, renders this as 'sirens' and monsters coveting human understanding, and the 1575 Latin version says that '*Syrenes' and 'Monstra'* desire (*appetunt*) the mind of humans (*mentis humanae*).[267] I argue that this Aphorism is the result of a muddling of Paracelsus' *De nympha*. Instead of the elemental beings (particularly the nymphs) gaining a soul from God by marrying humans (as is described in *De nympha*), the *Arbatel*'s author focused on the negatively valanced monstrous versions of them and implies

---

[264] Sloane 3851, 18v.

[265] Note that Paracelsus does not omit the fire elemental being entirely. The salamanders or *vulcani* of his earlier treatise were universalised to a distinct class of being which existed in every element and produced whatever God wished them to make. Kahn, 'Paracelsus' Ideas', 98-99.

[266] Sloane 3851, 23r-23v.

[267] Peterson, '*Arbatel De magia veterum'*.

that they try to steal the human soul, perhaps through seduction since he warns

against earthly pleasures. This assumes that the scribe misunderstood Paracelsus'

work, causing him to transform 'soul' into 'mind'. Yet this does not seem so extreme

a leap.

Aphorism 26 is of particular interest to Chapter Four's examination of the

'animastic' order, and stories of fairy-human hybrids (such as Robin Goodfellow, or

his father Oberon, as discussed below). It discusses various means by which

people 'had the gift of foreseeing of Secrets' of magic, such as revelations from

God, spirits, dreams, and astrology.[268] The aphorism states that 'the

Nimphidicals... [are] the sones of Melasine [sic Melusine] and Achilles Eneas

Hercules begotten by the Gods.'[269] This implies that spiritual lineage might lead to

one gaining magical prowess. In the translation copied in Sloane 3851 it is unclear

whether nimphidicals are the descendants of half-human supernatural ancestors,

or whether Melusine and Achilles had children together whose offspring are the

nimphidicals. The 1575 Latin version, however, specifies that '*Huc referuntur*

Nymphidici, sicut Melisinæ filii & diis geniti Achilles, Æneas...' ('Additionally, those

called 'Nymphidici', like the sons of Melusine and the begotten of the gods Achilles,

Æneas...").[270] Here the text masculinises the word for 'nymph' and states that both

the children of the famous medieval fairy-related being Melusine *and* the

descendants of gods are *nymphidici*. This not only connects pagan gods with

fairies to those who saw Melusine as a fairy, but also connects fairies with the

---

[268] Sloane 3851, 19v-20r.
[269] Sloane 3851, 20r.
[270] The Latin was taken from Joseph H. Peterson's transcription of the 1575 edition of the Arbatel from Basil, BL 719.a.2 found in Peterson, '*Arbatel De magia veterum*'. The English translation of this offered here is my own.

offspring of gods, like classical heroes and (as I will argue further in Chapter Four)

Merlin. This passage is within a discussion of where people learn magic, following

a list of men who gained great magical secrets,[271] and another list of men who had

a lesser degree of wisdom,[272] indicating that the offspring of such entities had

some natural propensity for magic (as is echoed in the Tenth Key, see Chapter

Four).

3.3 Atypical Printed Sources for Fairies in Ritual Magic and Occult Philosophy

3.3.1 *Robin Good-Fellow*, Sibilia, and the Skimmed Water Ointment

As noted in Chapter One, the anonymous pamphlet *Robin Good-Fellow, His*

Mad Pranks and Merry Jests (which circulated in England in the early seventeenth

century) provides context (and a possible source) for the Skimmed Water

Ointment. Despite the text's ludic quality, it clearly offers insight into at least some

of the fairies summoned by ritual magicians. *Robin Good-Fellow, His Mad Pranks*

and Merry Jests is representative of the literary depiction of fairies. While the oldest

edition currently available is held by the British Library (C.57.b.55) and was

published in 1639, in 1841 John Payne Collier produced what he claims was an

edition of the 1628 publication held in the private collection of Lord Francis

Egerton.[273] Collier cites earlier references to Robin Good-Fellow to posit that many

---

[271] In the original 1575 version of the *Arbatel* these men are: 'Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Euclides, Archimedes, Hermes Trismegistus, the father secrets, with Theophrastus Paracelsus.' The translation is my own. Peterson, '*Arbatel De magia veterum*'.

[272] In the original 1575 version of the *Arbatel* these men are: 'Homerus, Hesiodus, Orpheus, Pytagoras' Peterson, '*Arbatel De magia veterum*'.

[273] *Robin Goodfellow*. John Payne Collier, 'Introduction' in *The Mad Pranks and Merry Jests of Robin Goodfellow* (London: C. Richards, 1841), v.

more copies of it had circulated earlier, at least before 1588, making it a possible source for Shakespeare's depiction of Puck in a *Midsummer Night's Dream*.[274] As, however, Collier has been described as simultaneously a 'student and reviver of early English literature' and 'a first-class fraud' due to his manuscript forgeries and print fabrications, his contributions should be received with discernment.[275] In any case, the extant 1639 publication demonstrates that it was certainly in circulation by the first half of the seventeenth century.

The framing narrative of the text is that the writer travelled to Kent on a rainy day and found refuge in an alehouse where he had a great deal of alcohol and was told a long tale to pass the time by the hostess. This tale is divided into two parts and many short stories, poems, and songs of his life. These collectively tell of three stages of Robin's life: his conception and youth among humans, his encounter with and acquisition of magic from his fairy father, his many deeds helping and harming humans, and his acceptance into fairy land. The remainder of the pamphlet is a description of the mischief he does among humans, and finally the section 'How the Fairyes called Robin Good-fellow to dance with them, and how they shewed to him their severall conditions' in which different fairies are named and described.[276]

According to the text, Goodfellow was the offspring of a human and her incubial lover, Oberon. His conception occurred 'Once upon a Time, a great while agoe… [when] there was wont to walke many harmelesse Spirits called Fayries, dancing in brave order in fayry rings on greene hills… (sometimes invisible) in

---

[274] Collier, 'Introduction', v-vi.

[275] Mathew Lyons, '17 September 1883: Death of a Master Forger', *History Today* 72, no. 9 (2022): 26; Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), xi.

[276] *Robin Goodfellow*, 37.

divers shapes'.[277] Amongst them was the 'hee fayry [sic he-fairy]' named

Oberon.[278] The narrator states that he does not know whether he was their king,

but certainly 'hee had great governement and command in that Country'.[279] In

incubial fashion Oberon came nightly with other fairies to the bedroom of a human

woman where they would dance 'and oftentimes shee was forced to dance with

him' but would vanish before dawn leaving silver and jewels to show his affection

to her.[280] Although it is unclear whether 'dancing' is used literally here or as a

euphemism for copulation, the young woman eventually became impregnated by

him. Old women reassured the mother that her child would have good fortune

because he 'had so noble a father and a fayry' and that he would grow to 'worke

many strange wonders'.[281] The significance of half-human and half fairy/spirit

beings was touched upon with the Arbatel's nymphaticals, but is examined at

greater length in Chapter Four's discussion of the order of heros in Agrippa and

Agrippian-influenced works.

After childhood misadventures caused by his mischievous nature and taking

all (even metaphorical/idiomatic) orders literally, he fled first from his mother and

then the tailor who employed him until finally Oberion contacted him and increased

his natural powers so that 'Wish what thou wilt, thou shalt it have, / And for vex

both foole and knave: / Thou hast power to change thy shape'.[282] These gifts were

meant to give Good-fellow the opportunity to join the fairies of fairyland (evidently

not a right accorded to fairies born of a human woman). Oberon stated that

---

[277] *Robin Goodfellow*, 6.
[278] *Robin Goodfellow*, 6.
[279] *Robin Goodfellow*, 6.
[280] *Robin Goodfellow*, 6-7.
[281] *Robin Goodfellow*, 7.
[282] *Robin Goodfellow*, 7-10.

Goodfellow may harm the wicked, 'But love thou those that honest be, / And helpe them in necessity' (much like Agrippa's third order of spirit) because 'If thou observe my just command, / One day thou shalt see Fayrie Land'.[283] This story conveys that Goodfellow, as one born to a fairy and a human, was able to transcend his essentially human upbringing to become worthy of being a fairy, defined here as an inhabitant of Faerie. The means by which this is achieved is significant, for while the stereotypical good Christian or angel might be understood as being an enactor of goodness, and a sinner or demon a perpetrator of wickedness, a fairy is portrayed here as one who does wicked to the wicked and good to the good. Many episodic stories follow, most of which include the saving of innocents by the cruel, humiliating punishment of the wicked. In some of these we see the more domestic associations with Good-fellow that is evinced by his other name presented in this pamphlet, 'Hob-goblin' (identified as a domestic spirit in some contemporary dictionaries and in occult philosophical works, as is discussed in Chapter Four's discussion of Harley 6482).[284] Eventually Goodfellow proves himself by his mischief and is welcomed as one of their own by Oberon and 'many faryes all attired in gréene silke' who followed their bagpiper (Tom Thumb) into 'Fairy Land' to learn their secrets.[285] The work concludes with an overview of several other fairies and the sort of tricks that they were wont to do.

In this final section the discussion of Sib contains several points which are particularly illuminating to fairy summoning rituals, and warrant discussion here. I suggest that 'Sib' is shortened from the name of the frequently summoned fairy

---

[283] *Robin Goodfellow*, 11.
[284] *Robin Goodfellow*, 16-20.
[285] *Robin Goodfellow*, 30-31.

Sibilia. Sib describes how female fairies do not 'walke nightly' as frequently as the

male fairies, but when they do they seek out clean homes of women who have left

out basins of clear water and washcloths so that the fairies might wash their

children in them.[286] If these are present then the fairies leave money, but if not then

they dirty beverages by washing their children in milk or ale and sometimes dunk

the unsatisfactory housekeeper in a nearby river.[287]

This appears to give context to the Skimmed Water Ointment, both copies of

which are roughly contemporaneous with this work. If correct, then either one

inspired the other or (what is more likely) both written accounts arise from a belief

(presumably largely oral) that fairies visited human homes at night and (if left a

basin of clean water) washed their children there. The Skimmed Water Ointment

goes further to suggest that a residue (either washed off of the fairy children, or

produced by soaking them) that rose to the surface could be collected to see

fairies. *Robin Good-Fellow*, by connecting the practice of leaving basins of water

out for fairies (and stipulating that women were punished when this water was not

left out), offers some further evidence for my suggestion in Chapter One (section

1.3.2.1) that the Skimmed Water Ointment may have originated as magic

performed by women which eventually found its way into the manuscripts of men

who wished to summon fairies.

Echoing accounts from Scotland and northern England of humans entering

fairy hills and receiving treasures, Sib states that they act as money lenders to any

human who comes to their hills in need. If, however, the poor unfortunate souls

'bring it not againe at the day appointed, we do not onely punish them with

---

[286] *Robin Goodfellow*, 42.
[287] *Robin Goodfellow*, 42.

pinching, but also in their goods, so that they never thrive till they have paid us.'[288]

The offering of wealth, and the fiscal nature of their curse, is yet another example

of the association of fairies with treasures and the dangers they pose to those who

try to seek them, as we saw in numerous fairy summoning rituals outlined in

Chapter One.

The story of *Robin Good-Fellow* centres around the eponymous character

becoming worthy to join his father and fairy kindred in Faerie. Yet it also suggests

that Sib and the other female fairies spend time in hills to hand out treasures to

humans. This is not necessarily a contradiction. Faerie was not always

conceptualised in the modern sense of an 'other dimension' or 'parallel universe'.

Rather, the esoteric conception of fairies as being a ubiquitous part of our world

and the literary portrayal of them having their own realm (whether understood as a

separate reality or a land somewhere upon or under the earth) both began to form

from divergent interpretations of common source traditions in the fourteenth

century.[289] While fairies having their own realm (however defined) became and

remained the predominant literary and popular understanding of fairies in the late

middle ages and early modern period, the esoteric explanation was taken up and

elaborated in the Renaissance, primarily articulated by Agrippa and Paracelsus.

This source shows the permeable boundary between exoteric and esoteric

fairies in this period. The representation of fairies as inhabiting fairyland was not

taken up in ritual magic or occult philosophical sources. Yet, leaving the basin of

water for the fairies, understanding them as stewards of immense treasure, and

---

[288] *Robin Goodfellow*, 42.

[289] For coalescence of the idea of fairlyand in the fourteenth century see Hutton, 'Making of the Early Modern British Fairy', 1155. For the explanation of fairies as dwelling in and/or emerging from our world, see my discussion of the *Liber Razielis* and Walter Map.

even the names of preeminent fairies such as Oberon/Oberion and Sibillia/Sib demonstrate that these traditions cross-polinated. While there is insight which can be gained by analysing these as distinct streams of thought, they cannot be understood in complete isolation of one another.

3.3.2 Fairies in *A Discoverie of Witchcraft* and *A Discourse on Spirits*

Thus far this chapter has examined sources that were written by magic practitioners and/or theoreticians (represented by the various occult philosophical treatise outlined), or more ludic literary accounts that represent contemporary popular culture. In *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (written by Reginald Scot and published in 1584) we have a skeptical hostile source specifically written to ridicule magic beliefs and practices, which (nonetheless) shaped them. Despite never having completed a university education, Scott drew upon two-hundred and twelve Latin and twenty-three English authors to compose his book which argues that witchcraft was a fiction and accused witches were innocents, dismisses spirits as metaphors, derides alchemy as charlatanry, and rejects astrology and Catholicism as credulous superstitions.[290] Scot firmly identifies belief in witchcraft, fairies, and Catholicism as ignorance in the opening note to the readers where he writes that 'the Confusion of these old women … them which are called Witches… the want of *Robin Good-fellow* and the *Fairies*… the false translations and fond interpretations used, specially by Papists… take such hold upon mens fancies, as thereby they

---

[290] David Wootton, 'Scott [Scot], Reginald', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, published 23 Sep. 2004.

are led and enticed away from the consideration of true respects, to the

condemnation of that which they know not...'[291]

Although an influential work in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

(with reprints in 1651, 1654, and 1665), Scott's hard-line scepticism was rejected

by those whose worldview included preternatural elements. Those who were

against magic, such as King James I, saw this argument as dangerously lulling

people into a false sense of security despite the (from his perspective) real infernal

threat of witchcraft/magic.[292] Conversely, those who were interested in magic

began using Scot's text, which included magic operations to demonstrate how

ridiculous he found them, as a sourcebook of magical operations (although tracing

this can be difficult as he and a given magic practitioner may have drawn from

common sources now lost).[293] Indeed, just as Scot took many rituals out of

contexts where they were taken seriously and recontextualised them in his book

which derided them, so too would his book be recontextualised by the eventual

addition of the second *A Discourse Concerning the Nature and Substance of*

Devils and Spirits (henceforth *Concerning Devils and Spirits*).

Book two of *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, is an anonymous tract added to

the end of the 1665 reprinting of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. It contains a

fascinating discussion of fairies that connects them with nature, Norse and Celtic

---

[291] Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London: Andrew Clark, 1665), xxii. This text is taken from an unnumbered page. I have cited it as 'xxii' as it is the twelfth page from the first after the title page. It is the second page of the section entitled 'To the Readers'. It can be accessed on Early English Books Online via this link: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?cc=eebo;c=eebo;idno=a62397.0001.001;node=A62397.0001.001:5;seq=15;vid=53058;page=root;view=text.

[292] James I, *Daemonologie in forme of a dialogue, diuided into three bookes* (Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, 1597), i-ii. This text is taken from an unnumbered page. I have cited it as 'i-ii' as they are the first two pages of text after the title page. See image 2 and 3.

[293] Klaassen, *Making Magic*, 19.

regions, and syncretises them with Indigenous gods and spirits in North America. While anonymous, the author clearly wrote from a Protestant perspective and disapproved of magicians summoning infernal spirits. He was cosmopolitan in outlook, clearly having read many regional histories and travel logs, using these to syncretise fairies with (to him) similar entities from other traditions. Unlike the radical scepticism of Scot, however, the anonymous additions evince a worldview that contained spirits and magic, as the expansions were due to the repurposing of Scot's anti-magic text as a grimoire.[294]

Modern scholars have noted that nine books were also added to book fifteen of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* in the 1665 edition.[295] Butler dubbed the anonymous author 'Anti-Scot' due to his taking of magic's reality as 'gospel truth' and finding 'a darksome beauty in the ritual process' that stands in opposition to Scot's mocking scepticism.[296] Certainly, the rituals added to chapter fifteen evince the same cosmology as the second book of *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, suggesting common authorship or derivation. The author is aware of ideas circulating about elemental beings (such as that they are a type of fallen angel, that they are souls of the dead, and that 'their nature is middle between Heaven and Hell' and they have their own third kingdom) and is suspicious of these arguments.[297] Instead, he identifies the elemental beings/fairies (somewhat like Agrippa) as a type of 'astral spirits' or 'daemons' (distinct from demons/devils) which are (unlike Paracelsian omens to humanity and guardians of nature's

---

[294] Davies, 'Reception of Reginald Scot', 395-396.
[295] Davies, 'Reception of Reginald Scot', 395. Cf. Davies, *Cunning Folk*, 126-127; E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 242-253.
[296] Butler, *Ritual Magic*, 242-243.
[297] *A Discourse Concerning Devils and Spirits: Book II* (London: Andrew Clark, 1665), 41.

treasures) without purpose or role in the universe and merely wander throughout the world amongst those things to which they are aligned.[298]

The 1665 additions outline a three-tiered spiritual hierarchy composed of both spiritual beings and souls of dead humans inhabiting the heavenly, astral, and infernal spheres.[299] The spirits are respectively the angels; astral spirits/daemons/aerial spirits/terrestrial spirits/fairies/various terms for classical beings/elemental spirits; and demons (governed by Michael, Uriel, and Lucifer respectively), while the souls are the righteous, ghosts that walk the earth, and the damned.[300] While the latter two groups can be summoned, it argues that angels are above the reach of human magic and cannot be successfully summoned.[301]

As in many sources, this model brings fairies and ghosts into proximity as they both inhabit the astral sphere, however this text specifically delineates one from another. The treatise states that ghosts remain when people had unfinished business or violent deaths (especially murder and suicide).[302] These ghosts are not the soul but (much like a personal daemon) rather an astral spirit formed of the elements which all people have and which continue to remain and keep the person's shape after death (if they did not die in peace), but can only last as long as moisture remains in the body it once inhabited (thus giving them a set time on earth).[303] He even suggests that 'Ancient Heathens' burnt their dead to ensure that their ghosts could not walk the earth.[304] The text notes that some have proposed

---

[298] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 40-41, 49.
[299] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 40-41.
[300] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 40, 45-53, 56-57, 60, 62.
[301] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 40-41.
[302] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 45-46.
[303] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 45, 47.
[304] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 48-49.

that the other sort of spirits are the dead, or demons, or neutral angels who fell and remain between heaven and hell, yet it rejects these to argue that they are produced by the stars – hence their astral status.[305]

While called spirits, in this view astral spirits arise not through God's direct action (like angels, fallen angels, and human souls), but rather indirectly through the natural operations and interactions of his creation. The astral spirits are 'composed of the most spiritual part of the Elements' that are shaped and born from astrological influence radiating into the world and commingling with these elements.[306] This is evocative of the *Liber Razielis*' second type of spirit (those who join to the elements) and the fifth type of spirit (which are born from earthy mountains and bodies of water), as discussed above. It also echoes Paracelsus' assertion that the elemental beings are without soul (and by extension free will) but are completely controlled by the movements of the planets.[307] According to *Concerning Devils and Spirits,* once the astral spirits have come into being they are able to reproduce among themselves and live for centuries and millennia before wearing away and returning to the elements 'as Ice when it is resolved into Water'.[308] Thus, they are more an organisational state in which matter operates in the universe before ultimately disorganising and becoming one with the universe again (much as modern materialist science educators argue about all life forms today). The idea that they are mortal is also found in Agrippa's third order of spirits and that they can reproduce and their soulless return to the elements upon death is present in Paracelsus (see above).

---

[305] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 41.
[306] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 41, 50-51, 53.
[307] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 41, 50, 55.
[308] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 41, 50.

Apparently drawing upon the Paracelsian model, he argues that these beings contain nothing that 'may be called *innate Evill*, having nothing in them that is eternal as the Soul of Man: and consequently nothing in them that is able to make them capable of enjoying Heaven, or induring [sic enduring] the torments of Hell', which is to say that they are morally neutral and have no immortal inner soul, despite their elemental bodies and astral genesis giving them bodies and minds that can think and feel.[309] By presenting them as bodies with no souls, they are framed as the opposite of heavenly and infernal spirits who are essentially ethereal incorporeal beings with no bodies. This is discussed in terms of the inward and outward world respectively throughout the text. The text states that ghosts and demons are utterly unable to impact the world through anything other than influence upon the human mind because they are incorporeal entities that cannot touch or change anything.[310] Astral spirits, however, 'cloath themselves with visible bodies, out of the four Elements, appearing in Companies upon Hills and Mountains' and are thus able to physically interact with the world.[311]

This text presents fairies, as is suggested in Agrippa (and shall be seen in the *Janua Magica Reserata* discussed in the following chapter), as being earthly entities below the order of aerial astral spirits. They are terrestrial spirits (in that they dwell upon the surface of the earth) and are different depending upon:

> …the places which they occupy, [such] as Woods, Mountains, Caves, Fens, Mines, Ruins, Desolate places, and Antient Buildings, calld by the Antient Heathens after various names, as Nymphs, Satyrs, Lamii, Dryades, Sylvanes, Cobali, &c. And more particularly the Faeries, who do principally inhabit the Mountains, and Caverns of the Earth, whose nature is to make strange Apparitions on the Earth in Meddows, or on Mountains being like

---

[309] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 41.
[310] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 46, 54-55.
[311] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 41.

Men, and Women, Souldiers, Kings, and Ladyes Children, and Horse-men cloathed in green…[312]

Whereas Agrippa's third order of spirit and fairies were contextually connected in Latin, and made explicit in the English translation, this text refers to this class 'particularly' as fairies, suggesting that this was the most significant of this broad class of terrestrial spirits for whom many names have been ascribed in various languages and cultures (such as the classical and Germanic beings listed in this passage).

The text may have been influenced by literary accounts of fairies. For example, he says that 'Certainly the Lares… or houshold Gods of the antient Heathens' were fairies who would dwell in a home until insulted, when they would leave.[313] This is reminiscent of stories like the cobbler and the fairies, or the young woman who made cloths for Robin Goodfellow (inciting his ire) as thanks for his nocturnal spinning of her hemp in *Robin Goodfellow*.[314]

Despite this possible use of literature as a source, the author is not credulous. For example, while he allows that humans are sometimes temporarily stolen away by fairies, he identifies changelings as people with mental disorders, denying the ostensibly common idea that they were decoys that hobgoblins replaced real children with, instead asserting that mental disorders arise through the astrological conditions of one's birth.[315] Likewise he dismisses the view that incubi (who share the distinction of being terrestrial astral spirits along with fairies) are (as popularly believed) the cause of 'Night-hag, which certainly have a natural

---

[312] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 50-51.
[313] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 51.
[314] *Robin Goodfellow*, 18-20.
[315] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 51.

cause', being instead induced by 'diseases of the blood'.[316] He concedes that some spirits may take the opportunity to add to the fear, demonstrating that, while not attributing all things to preternatural magical or spiritual cause, he exerts this scepticism within a worldview that contains magic and spirits.

In addition to literary sources, he specifically cites contemporary (sometimes nationalist and/or colonialist) accounts of other regions and their cultures, most notably for the present discussion: 'Hector Boethus in his History of Scotland' (Hector Boece's 1527 *Historia Gentis Scotorum*, published in English as part of the 1577 edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles*), 'Olaus magnus' (presumably his 1555 *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, published in English in 1658), and 'the discourses of Drake, Cortes and Purchas' on the Indigenous peoples of North America in 'New Albion, and as far South as Mexico' (all of which were available in English in Samuel Purchas' 1626 *Purchas his Pilgrims*).[317]

From these accounts of other regions, and the available corpus of occult philosophical texts, he proposed the globalising (although fundamentally colonialist) theory that particularly connected fairies with both Nordic and Scottish cultures as well as Indigenous North American spiritual traditions. He concluded that gods, spirits, and numinous beings of all these traditions are the same sort of entity. While he later allows that some polytheist gods were demons ('devils') manifesting under different names, he also explains that some are the neutral astral spirits.[318] He argues that elemental astral spirits are not distributed equally

---

[316] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 52.

[317] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 51; Hector Boece, *History of Scotland*, trans. Raphael Holinshed in *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vols. 1& 2 (London: Henry Denham, 1587); Olaus Magnus, *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals and Other Northern Nations* (London: J. Streater, 1658); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London: William Stansby, 1625).

[318] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 58-59.

across the globe, but are more prevalent in certain regions (such as Norway, Iceland, Greenland, and Novaya Zemlya).[319] He cites Roman and Greek mythology and history to argue that when people talk of natural features which speak to humans (such as 'vocal Forrests… Talkative rivers' and 'sensitive Fountains') it is actually the astral spirits (variously referred to as phantasms, spectres, apparitions, 'prophetical Spirits', and 'Spectre proper to the place according to the Constellation') that inhabit them which speak to people.[320]

As mentioned above, this text states that astral spirits are able to reproduce amongst each other. The writer goes further to claim that 'from the Loins of such [astral spirits] arise the numerous brood of Elves, Faeryes, Lycanthropi; And Pigmyes, sometimes visible, sometimes invisible'.[321] He states that the fairies who dwelt and revelled in Greenland and nearby islands where no humans lived (suggesting that he was unaware of continued Inuit settlement of the region even after Norse attempts of settlement died out) had migrated 'to the Northern parts of America, where they shall find their off-spring adored for Gods, and Goddesses, by the ignorant Inhabitants about new Albion, and as far South as Mexico'.[322] Lycanthropes were, it appears, included in this list because the writer was under the impression that at the time the Spanish invaded the Americas the Indigenous people 'could familiarly convert themselves into Wolves, Bears, and other furious

---

[319] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 53.
[320] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 53.
[321] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 53.
[322] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 53; Hans Christian Gulløv, 'Inuit-European Interactions in Greenland' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Prehistoric Arctic*, eds. T. Max Friesen and Owen K. Mason (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 897-898, 905-906.

Beasts; in which Metamorphosis their Enthusiasms and Divinations were suggested, and such were held in greatest esteem'.[323]

This recasting of Indigenous spirits and gods as fairies may seem an elevation in status from dismissal as unreal, or condemnation as being demons by orthodox Christianity, however it remains demeaning and enshrines a fundamentally colonialist narrative not only in the human, but also spiritual realms. Since, within this model, astral spirits and their fairy children are spread across the globe, there is no reason for people dwelling in North America to worship those who came from North-Western Europe. Instead of relying upon the logic of the system he outlines, the writer echoes the human history of European colonisation and mirrors it in the alleged behaviour of spirits. In addition to stating that astral spirits are more prevalent in Nordic and Slavic regions, he also firmly associates them with Celticity in their preferred language. When discussing the 'Northern Faeries' (the twelve thousand children and wife of Balkin who is described as taking the shape of a satyr), who inhabit northern Scotland (Sutherland and Caithness) and the Orkney Islands, he writes 'That their speech was antient Irish, and their dwelling the Caverns of the Rocks, and Mountains'.[324] This is echoed later in his discussion of infernal demons when he states that a magician must bind these entities to speak in one's native tongue since otherwise they will speak 'in Irish, Welch [sic Welsh], Latine, or Russian, which are the Languages most affected by them'.[325]

---

[323] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 58.
[324] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 51.
[325] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 64.

These regional language preferences are particularly contradictory with his discussion of demons since he argues that gods from religions across the world are the same spirits who go by different names in different places (indeed, while clearly divided in the text, it appears that there were some traits that non-angelic spirits held in common in this text which are best contextualised by assessing both discussions together). He proposes that languages themselves arise from different astrological influences on different regions of the world.[326] Likewise, the names of spirits differ when they move from one part of the world to another due to astrological conditions in different areas (a way in which spirits differ from souls of the dead which always retain their names from life).[327] Even in his account of a particular astral spirit (Luridan) he states that it had been the 'genius Astral' of the largest of the Orkney Islands where he functioned as a domestic fairy in the time of King Solomon (when the Jewish people knew him as 'Belelah'), but he only has a set amount of time allotted in any location and had to move to Wales to teach 'their Bards in Brittish Poesy [sic British poetry] and Prophesies' (another example of the Celtic/Druidic connection of fairies in the *Arbatel*).[328]

Despite being entities that are able to (and in some cases are astrologically compelled) to move to different regions of the world, and despite appearing in parts of the world to which they are not bound (such as Luridan being known in Jerusalem despite living in the Orkney Islands at the time, presumably through conjuration) sprits are still associated with these Norther European languages, and Latin. This does not arise from the worldview he outlines, but rather (I argue) from

---

[326] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 64.
[327] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 59-60, 64.
[328] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 51.

the place held by Nordic, Slavic, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish regions in the imagination of this English writer. Namely, they were conceptualised as being locatively distant from the familiar and inhabited by spirits. The Latin held its virtue through its temporal distance from the familiar and its association with spirits due to its use in learned magic.

The text argues that different cultural magical traditions are distinct and should not be mixed, and that the names of spirits (as well as the ways in which they are summoned) differ depending upon 'the Constellation under which the Countrey lyeth'.[329] But this is not understood as merely a matter of cultural convention, but a functional feature of magic so that 'no effect would follow, if one Countrey should… [use] the Forms and Exorcisms that are used by another Nation'.[330] This redefines magic not as a universal art, but as a variegated one that is foundationally connected to each region of the world based upon the interaction between the land and stars. This is the opposite of the Renaissance view of magic as a once shattered art which might be reconstructed through finding the grains of truth preserved in various cultural traditions. Instead, different magical methodologies arise in different cultural traditions because those are the only magical operations that work in the lands wherein they were discovered. He explains that this is why European Christians are comparably bad at magic: 'because they have little or nothing from their own Constellation, but make use of what they have borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, or the ancient Imbecillity of the Aegyptians [sic Egyptian] Priests; I mean, their simple forms of

---

[329] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 59.
[330] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 59.

Invocation.'[331] Thus the very arts of magic themselves become tethered to the lands in which they arose.

Fairies in *Concerning Spirits* are the children of elemental astral spirits and are (to some extent) interchangeable with their parents who are (as in Agrippa) primarily the spirits of earth and water (which are associated with forests and bodies of water respectively). These beings have bodies made from the elements and have exceptionally long mortal lives. Born from natural forces in the world they lack any enduring soul or spirit and return to the elements from which they arose when their time comes, like waves returning to the sea. Although able to move, they are entities intrinsically connected to certain natural features and also to certain regions of the world. With their miraculous powers and knowledge, they are syncretised with the gods and spirits of classical, Germanic, Nordic, Slavic, Celtic (defined here as Wales, Ireland, and Scotland), and Indigenous North American spiritualities as imagined by a seventeenth-century Englishman inspired by contemporary colonialist travel records and accounts of regional history/folklore. This differentiates fairies from angels, ghosts, and demons; tethers their existence to specific geographical locations, elements, and natural features; and reinterprets accounts of preternatural beings from other regions through the lens of the occult philosophical texts that (especially in English translation) framed fairies and their ilk as spirits of the natural world.

---

[331] *Concerning Devils and Spirits*, 59.

3.4 Conclusion

When assessed in the context of the fairy summoning rituals examined in Chapter One, it becomes clear that occult philosophers understood fairies as beings connected by their very nature to the elements and natural features of the sublunary world. This idea has its earliest known articulation in the medieval *Liber Razielis*, but became elaborated by Renaissance occult philosophers such as Paracelsus and (most influentially) Agrippa. This reinterpretation did not reject the fairies of literature, but reinterpreted them – thus the avenues for conceptual crossover remained open. As such, the esoteric conceptualisation of fairies was distinct but not isolated from the exoteric ones. As outlined in Chapter Two, occult philosophical texts circulated not only in the same libraries as fairy summoning rituals, but (increasingly) in manuscripts with them. This facilitatated the reinterpretation of the fairies invoked by summoning rituals to be the fairies and fairy-related entities described by occult philosophers. This led to the augmentation and eventual development of entirely new fairy summoning rituals. The most explicit examples of rituals which invoked occult philosophical fairies appear in Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824 (discussed in the following chapter).

Chapter Four: A Case Study of Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825

This chapter largely (but not exclusively) focusses upon manuscripts Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825. I have selected these as a case study because they demonstrate how many of the threads traced in the preceding chapters came together and interwove in the seventeenth century. In Chapter Three I have discussed the *Liber Razielis'* connection of fairy-related beings to the elements (particularily water and earth) and Agrippa's expansion of this (framing them as innumerable entities filling the world and connected to various natural features, particularily water and flora). I argue that the precedent of the *Liber* was divergently interpreted and expanded by Agrippa and Paracelsus. This chapter demonstrates how the *Janua magica reserata* (henceforth *Janua*), found in these manuscripts, represents one re-integration of these interpretations, synthesizing Agrippian, pseudo-Agrippian, Paracelsian, and pseudo-Paracelsian sources to describe a class of beings which includes (or is synonymous with) fairies, and which emphasizes their intimate connection to the elements and natural features.

This synthesis, in conjunction with other excerpts contained within the manuscript such as the appended 'Tenth Key' and a text beginning 'The Heavens; the Earth & every Creature, speakes unto us with their voyces' (henceforth 'The Heavens'),[1] articulates an animist cosmology that was born in the learned and semi-learned intellectual environment of practical magic and occult philosophical texts. This animism retains the fundamentally anthropocentric Christian preconceptions of its writers; presenting the world as being ubiquitously filled with spirits of natural element, feature, and place, who were nonetheless under the

---

[1] I have given the incipit of the text as its title. It follows only a one sentence preface that ascribes the text to an unspecified 'Orthodox & learned Father', see Sloane 3824, 32r.

Christian God and (often) existed for the benefit of humans (or the world that humans inhabit).

Chapter One demonstrated the increasing connection of fairies with the natural environment in fairy summoning rituals, while Chapter Three recounted the development of theoretical materials that made explicit this increasing connection to nature and which were drawn upon by manuscripts with fairy summoning rituals, particularly in the seventeenth century. This chapter covers the seventeenth-century flowering of both these shifts toward natural connection and theoretical expansion, and how they reflect wider trends toward producing a coherent occult philosophy/theology/cosmology during this period, and the changing relationships between the English populace and the natural world.[2]

I selected these interconnected manuscripts to provide a case study not because they are archetypical, but because they are exceptional. They contain some of the most direct and explicit manifestations of the general trends traced in this thesis which are present (to lesser extents) in many of the manuscripts discussed. Containing texts that hybridise Agrippa's third order of spirit, Paracelsus' elemental beings, and key fairies invoked in the ritual magic context such as Oberion, Mycob, and the seven fairy sisters, these manuscripts are perhaps the clearest synthesis between more theoretical occult philosophy and practical magical operations. It is in fact the degree to which they are representative of these larger trends that makes them anomalous, as they provide

---

[2] For some examples of scholarship discussing the formation of occult philosophical cosmologies in this period see Frances Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Ag*e (London: Routledge, 2008); Noel L. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy Over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999). For a discussion of the changing relationship between humanity and nature see Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

exaggerated examples of what is comparatively minor elsewhere. Because they are unusually overt in demonstrating these wider trends, they may reveal explicitly what is implicitly informing other manuscripts.

This chapter is divided into four main parts. The first analyses the theoretical discussions about fairies in: the *Janua* as presented in Sloane 3825, additional sections of the *Janua* bound in Sloane 3824, and an addition to the aforementioned *Janua* beginning with 'The Heavens'. Collectively these comprise the main theoretical context informing the Januvian Fairy and Gnome Rituals in Sloane 3824. Part Two focusses on the theoretical text 'Distinctions' as well as the Januvian Gnome and Fairy Rituals (discussed both together and separately). This section achieves two key things. Firstly, I assess the terminology and conceptualisation of fairies and related, or often incorrectly equated (from the perspective of the text), beings to clarify the cosmology employed by these rituals and disambiguate the meaning of the texts despite idiosyncratic and compilatory ambiguities in terminology and depiction of these entities. Secondly, I examine the rituals in depth to demonstrate the unusually positive relationship between the magician and the summoned entity, and the importance of this friendship and (correct) belief in these entities to have success with the magic involved. The third, and shortest, section discusses the Sylvan Square ritual in this manuscript, positing why the Scribe may not have identified its three knights as fairies, given the relationship between humans and fairies modelled by the *Janua* and Januvian rituals. The fourth and final section returns to the question of animism, assessing the 'Tenth Key' and the additional section of the *Janua* discussing 'animasticall spirits'. Although I ultimately identify this as an angel summoning ritual, the angels appear to be summoned, at least in part, to command the order of entity elsewhere

identified as fairies. Through the reinterpretation of 'animasticall spirits' in the

'Tenth Key', we appear to have the earliest etic or emic use of a variant of

'animistic' to refer to spiritual or spirit-like entities intimately connected to the

natural world (employing an emic definition of the sublunary world of the elements).

For the sake of clarity, I have compiled the relevant parts of these

manuscripts into the following table which is discussed at greater length in the

following section:

Manuscript	Larger Sub-Section of the MSS Containing Key Texts	Page Numbers and Scribe of the Larger Sub-Section of the MSS Containing Key Texts	Key Texts/Passages Assessed in this Chapter	Page Numbers and Scribe of the Key Texts/Passages Assessed in this Chapter
Sloane 3825	*Janua magica reserata* and the Nine Celestial Keys	3r-95v Scribe 1	The section of the *Janua magica reserata* which exclusively discusses fairies and related beings.	38r-40r Scribe 1
	Insertion into Scribe 1's Materials	95v-96r Scribe 3	The Tenth Key	95v-96r Scribe 3
Sloane 3824	Additions to Sloane 3825's *Janua,* Transcribed from a Lost Copy	31r-52v Scribe 2	'The Heavens; the Earth & every Creature, speakes'	32r Scribe 2
			Janua's lost section on the Animistical Spirits	39r-39v Scribe 2
			Expansion of the *Janua's* Fairy Discussion	49v-52v Scribe 2

	Sigils and Disordered Material	78r-88v Multiple Hands	The Tenth Key	81r-81v, 83r-83v Scribe 4(?)
	Scribe 1's Ritual Magic Theory and Operations, Predominantly for Treasure	89r-120v Scribe 1	Januvian Gnome Ritual and Theory	92v-97v Scribe 1
			Januvian Fairy Ritual and Theory	97v-100v Scribe 1
			'Distinctions'	101r-102v Scribe 1
			Sylvan Square Ritual	113v-114v Scribe 1

Figure 3: A list of the key texts examined in this chapter and their immediate manuscript context.

4.1 Key Fairy-Related Texts in Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825

Despite the rich array of material contained in these manuscripts, this chapter primarily focuses upon the fairy-related material they contain. As can be seen from Figure 3, multiple hands contributed to these manuscripts, but most of the material connected to fairies was inscribed by the same hand (henceforth referred to as 'Scribe 1'). The fairy related material written by Scribe 1 comprises an extended theoretical discussion of them in the *Janua*, and three rituals to summon them: the Januvian Gnome and Fairy rituals (which are interwoven with further theoretical discussions about them) and the Sylvan Square Ritual. Sloane 3825's substantial theoretical discussion of fairies and related beings occurs in a section (spanning folios 38r to 40r) of the *Janua*. It draws heavily from Agrippa and Paracelsus and hybridizes them. This appears to have initially preceded the three rituals now in Sloane 3824, and heavily shaped those I have dubbed 'Januvian' rituals due to this influence.[3]

---

[3] Rankine has also observed that material on folio 98r appears to echo that in London, British Library Sloane MS 3825 (this being the discussion of them in the *Janua*), see Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 109 footnote 88.

The Januvian Fairy Ritual and Januvian Gnome Ritual are part of a section of Sloane 3824 written in the same hand (Scribe 1) as the *Janua* and 'Nine Keys' (a series of angel invocations) in Sloane 3825. The Januvian rituals are presented in a single continuous passage which is largely a series of practicable ritual magic operations that are interwoven with expository material about the nature of fairies. This highlights that the scribe was just as interested in understanding these spirits and their place in the cosmos as he was with using them. Spanning folios 89r-120v, all but the last few folios of this section were also once paginated from one to fifty-two (now 89r-116v) by the same hand that paginated much of Scribe 1's contributions to Sloane 3825. Only folios 105 and 109 were later insertions which were added after the initial pagination of this section. This suggests that the section travelled independently of the rest of this manuscript for some time, likely after having been separated from the contents of Sloane 3825 and before being bound with the rest of the material in Sloane 3824. The fairy-related rituals themselves (folios 94v-97v and 97v-100v) are positioned near the beginning of this section of Scribe 1's writings in Sloane 3824 (folios 89r-120v) which interweaves rituals with discussions about different kinds of spirits that guard treasure and offering different conjurations for various spirits and circumstances. While Scribe 1's contributions have been divided between Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824, they were initially bound into a single manuscript that was later divided and compiled with materials in other hands. Since some of the tracts written by Scribe 1 cut off abruptly, it is likely that he wrote more material (now apparently lost) which is not included in these manuscripts.

It is unclear when the manuscript was divided, but its provenance is fairly clear. László Sándor Chardonnens has noted that Sloane 3824 passed through the

hands of Elias Ashmole before it passed, as Rankine writes, 'from Baron John Somers (1651-1716), Lord Chancellor of England, to his brother-in-law Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738), Master of the Rolls, to Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753)'.[4] Sloane committed it to the care of the nation upon his death in 1753 which, in part, instigated the founding of the British Museum that year to house his collection.[5] It is therefore likely that any additions or divisions in the manuscript occurred before that date.

Sloane 3824's first ritual to summon a fairy-related being, copied (or composed) by Scribe 1, is the Januvian Gnome Ritual (folios 92v-97v). The ritual instructions which precede the invocations are interwoven with more theoretical discussions of the (unnamed) entities it invokes. It is contextually clear that the ritual summons the largely Paracelsian 'pigmy' entities of the earth which are discussed in the *Janua* where they are primarily referred to as 'gnomes'.

The second fairy summoning ritual in Sloane 3824 is the Januvian Fairy Ritual, spanning folios 97v-100v. It specifically identities the beings it invokes as fairies and elves, and repeats much of the material that preceded the invocations in the Januvian Gnome Ritual (but varies in several ways discussed in Part Two) and the invocations are completely different. This ritual also primarily draws upon the *Janua* to outline Agrippian fairies, but evinces broader awareness of fairies in the ritual magic tradition.

The passage on hauntings and treasure, which I have dubbed 'Distinctions' (folios 101r-102v), that immediately follows these two rituals refers back to the

---

[4] Chardonnens, 'Magic Manuscripts', 3, 5; Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 20; 'The Sloane Collection', Natural History Museum, The Trustees of The Natural History Museum, London, Accessed October 2, 2023.
[5] Chardonnens, 'Magic Manuscripts', 3, 5; Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 20; 'The Sloane Collection'.

fairy-related operations that preceded it. Clearly it was not copied out of context, but modified and integrated into its new manuscript context with the Januvian rituals. By referring to the preceding *Janua*-inspired rituals this text frames the entities that each invoke as being sub-categories of a single type of spirit, as does the *Janua*.[6] This is, in part, why the Januvian Gnome Ritual is included in this study of fairy-summoning spells despite it not explicitly identifying the nature of the summoned entities within the invocation itself.

While the fairy cluster in Sloane 3824 is in the same scribal hand as the *Janua* in Sloane 3825, this does not guarantee that they were initially composed by the same person. It may be that this scribe copied them from an earlier exemplar now lost. Certainly, at least one other copy of the *Janua* existed, if the additions to the *Janua* supplied by Scribe 2 were genuine. What is clear is that the composer of the Januvian Gnome and Fairy rituals had access to the *Janua* (either because he authored it or possessed a copy of it). This composer also had access to the pseudo-Agrippian *Fourth Book* and the pseudo-Paracelsian *Occult Philosophy*. Furthermore, since 'Distinctions' refers to the two preceding rituals, it was either produced along with them or was appended to them after they were written and revised with reference to them.

The final fairy-summoning spell in Sloane 3824 is a copy of the Sylvan Square Ritual spanning 113v-114v. This copy does not refer to the entities invoked as fairies, and it may be that it was not conceptualized as a fairy-summoning ritual by its compiler (as discussed further in Part Three). Nevertheless, this ritual is certainly explicitly identified as a fairy-summoning operation in other manuscripts

---

[6] Sloane 3824, 101r, 102r-102v.

and (even if not framed as invoking fairies in this manuscript) is still very revealing about how the compiler conceptualized fairies – as is explored below.

The only text to explicitly refer to fairies in Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824 which was not written by Scribe 1 is a passage in Sloane 3824 written by Scribe 2. Scribe 2 had access to the tracts written by Scribe 1 and another copy of the *Janua* (now lost) which included additional material. Scribe 2 copies out the material from the lost version of the *Janua* which was not present in Scribe 1's copy, explaining where it ought to be inserted into Scribe 1's version. Most significantly, in Sloane 3824 Scribe 2 preserved additions to the *Janua* which include an expansion of the *Janua's* discussion of fairy-related beings which spans 49v-52v. This passage recognises the ambiguities of fairies and the confusing myriad of ideas about them. The passage begins to deconstruct widespread errors (from the perspective of the writer) about fairies but appears incomplete.

The tone and content of the fairy discussion in Scribe 2's addenda to the *Janua* are different from that of Scribe 1 in Sloane 3825. But despite the flux and flow of both concept and terminology, the general occult philosophical and ritual magic trend toward conceptualising fairies as spirits intimately connected to natural environments and features is present (and highlighted) throughout both of these manuscripts. Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824 demonstrate both the trust in traditional authoritative sources for epistemological security, and the ingenuity of magic scribes as they actively omitted, synthesised, and added new material to the texts they copied and compiled.[7]

---

[7] For how scribes actively engaged in altering these texts see Klaassen, 'Unstable Texts', 217-243.

4.2 Theory

4.2.1 Relevant Magical Theory in the *Janua Magica Reserata*

The extended treatise entitled *Janua magica reserata* (*The Unlocked Door of Magic*) is cosmologically focussed. It represents a point of synthesis of various occult philosophical sources and represents an attempt to reconcile various sources of magical theory. It also contains some of the clearest representations of the learned Christian animism which I argue increasingly informed fairy summoning rituals.

4.2.1.1 Synthesising Sources of Magical Theory and Ritual Magic

Sloane 3825 opens with the *Janua* which outlines the many varieties and hierarchies of spirits, their natures, and functions. Much of this material is also found in Harley 6482, and additional material ostensibly from a longer (now lost) copy of the *Janua* is copied in Sloane 3824. This text functions as an introductory textbook to magic. Indeed, it appears to have been conceptualised as such at the time, since its name seems to be based upon the very popular *Janua linguarum reserata*, an introductory Latin textbook first published in Latin and Czech during 1631, with a Latin/English/French version being published that same year.[8]

Due to the compilatory nature of the *Janua,* it initially appears to be (and, in some cases, is) cosmologically discordant. Despite this, the original scribe of the text shows agency, and observing what he selected, omitted, and highlighted demonstrates which aspects of the source texts the scribe(s) preferred and was interested in, while his inclusion of points that contradict one another highlights his

---

[8] 'John Amos Comenius summary', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified May 2, 2020; Johann Amos Comenius, *Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata*, trans. John Anchoram (London: George Miller, 1631).

attempt to be faithful to sources which he clearly perceived as authoritative. The *Janua* has received little scholarly attention, often only mentioned in a single line supporting arguments about other topics, or published in editions primarily geared toward modern magic practitioners (with only un-examined acknowledgment of the fairy-related material it contains).[9] Other than the introduction to its edition, an extensive historical analysis of this text is yet to be written (beyond a page-long discussion of the text's cosmology by Damon Zacharias Lycourinos).[10] My examination of the fairy aspects of the text is novel, and I hope that it draws more attention to this interesting text.

Within the *Janua* are fairy-related sections lifted from various magical texts such as the English translation of the Pseudo-Paracelsian *Occult Philosophy* in *Of the Supreme mysteries of Nature* published by Robert Turner in 1656, and an extended segment that abridges various passages from the English translation of Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* published by John French in 1651. The segments taken from the former work are indicated through their (at times identical) wording and shared reinterpretations (or misunderstandings) of Paracelsus' essay on the four varieties of elemental beings. The segments from Agrippa betray their origin by retaining the 1651 version's use of the term 'fairy' and 'hobgoblin' in place of Latin terms for classical entities.[11] The inclusion of this material suggests that this text was written no earlier than 1656, challenging

---

[9] Stephen Skinner and David Rankine, *The Keys to the Gateway of Magic: Summoning the Solomonic Archangels and Demon Princes* (Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2019), 11-24, 30-32, 35-40; Jeb J. Card, *Spooky Archaeology: Myth and the Science of the Past* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018), 22; *Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis: The Lesser Key of Solomon,* ed. Joseph H. Peterson (York Beach: Weiser Books, 2001), xiii; Bernd-Christian Otto, 'Historicising "Western Learned Magic"', *Aries* 16, no. 2 (2016): 211-212.

[10] Damon Zacharias Lycourinos, *Ritual Embodiment in Modern Western Magic: Becoming the Magician* (London Routledge, 2018), 59-60.

[11] For further discussion of French's edition see Chapter Three.

Rankine's dating of this manuscript to between 1641-1649 and (if this and Sloane

3824 were in fact initially bound together) Bain's dating of the manuscript to 1649.[12]

However, it is possible, even likely, that these English translations circulated in

manuscript before their printed publication. Similarily, this manuscript may have

been written by French or Turner in which case the material would not have

needed to circulate. In either case these datings could stand.

     The scribe concludes a preliminary Agrippian discussion of fairies and fairy-

related beings (that spans folios 37r-38v and is primarily drawn from chapters

nineteen and thirty-two of *Three Books*) with a table that summarises and very

explicitly lays out the connections between fairies/related beings and various

environments/features, which I have reproduced here:

Fairies, Hobgoblins, Elphs	In Champion fields
Nyades	Fountaines
Potamides	Rivers
Oreades	Mountaines
Humedes	Meddows
Dryades & Hamadryades	Woods
Satyrs & Sylvani	Trees Brakes & Bushes
Naptae & Agaptae	Flowers
Dodonae	Acorns, fruits
Palea & fenilia	Fodder & the Country

Figure 4: '*Table… Discribing breafly the names of most of these Kinde of terrestiall Spirits… with what places and things they Doo inhabit, Delight, & Dwell in.*' - Sloane 3825, f. 38v.

[12] Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 19-20. Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 333.

The table reproduced in Figure 4 is followed by the line 'There are Likewise Certaine things Vulgarly Called Gnomi, or inhabiters of mountanes, but of some improperly Sylphes, or Pigmies or halfe Men.'[13] This line is an alteration of a passage from Psuedo-Paracelsus's *Occult Philosophy* which read 'Under the Earth do wander half-men, which possess all temporal things, which they want or are delighted with; they are Vulgarly called Gnomi, or Inhabiters of the Mountains: but by their proper name, they are called Sylphes or Pigmies'.[14] *Occult Philosophy* frames this passage on gnomes as the beginning of an entirely new topic entitled 'Of Persons and Spirits wandering under the Earth' following a chapter on spirits that appear in dreams.[15] By changing this to begin 'There are Likewise…' the compiler of the *Janua* frames the Gnomi as a continuation of the preceding table and discussion of fairy-related beings and where they dwell that was compiled and abridged from Agrippa. In doing so he merges these two distinct (and at times discordant) interpretations of fairies and fairy-like beings, attempting to hybridise them to coexist in an emerging occult cosmology.

Calling these beings 'fairies' and 'fairy-like' beings is complicated in the context of the *Janua* since fairies were understood (similar to the English version of Agrippa's third order of spirit) as one variety within a family of terrestrial spirits.[16] 'Terrestrial spirits' ought not be equated with the Paracelsian earth-aligned pigmies/gnomi or the sub-section of Agrippa's third order of spirits connected to the element of earth, however. In the section entitled 'Some further Considerations, Distinctions, & Difinitions, of thie [sic Definitions, of the] Subject touching spirits' the

---

13 Sloane 3825, 38v.
14 Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 51.
15 Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 45-51.
16 Sloane 3825, 38r-38v; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392-393.

Janua (summarising and altering Agrippa's nineteenth chapter) refers to some of these terrestrial spirits as having an affinity with earth (such as hobgoblins, incubi, and succubi) and others with water (such as 'Fayries of the Rivers &… Nymphs of the Woods').[17] It is clear that, in the *Janua*, several types of spirits had different elemental associations, but they were all terrestrial because they dwelt upon the surface of the terrestrial world.[18] It should be noted that neither the English version of Agrippa nor the *Janua* refer to spirits of fire nor air as fairies, distinguishing spirits of these elements from terrestrial spirits that reside on the surface of the earth.

Not only are the occult philosophical works of pseudo and genuine Agrippa and Paracelsus brought together in the *Janua's* discussion of fairies, but also the fairy-summoning ritual tradition. After a few lines stating that elves love those that love them and hate those who hate them (drawn from occult philosophical texts) the *Janua* states that 'Of this terrestiall Order are Likewise those, which are Commonly Calld Fairies, of which they[E] [sic] are Seaven Sisters thus nominated,' before a table which merely lists the names of the seven sisters as Lillia, Restilia, Foca, Tolla, Affrica, Julia, and Venulla.[19] Thus, the *Janua* joins the fairies of the occult philosophical tradition with the fairies of the ritual magic tradition. No longer joined by (unstable) word usage alone, the theoretical explanation of fairies provided by the nebulous, heterogeneous, and still forming cosmology of the occult philosophical tradition was directly and explicitly used to explain and contextualise

---

[17] Sloane 3825, 37r-37v.
[18] This use of terrestrial spirit is made more explicit later as discussed below.
[19] Sloane 3825, 39v-40r.

the named fairies invoked by ritual magic operations, as indeed was done in the Januvian Fairy Ritual written by the same scribe in Sloane 3824.

4.2.1.2 What Fairies Are Not

The ostensible extracts of a lost copy of the *Janua* with more material are preserved in Sloane 3824, referring back to the copy in Sloane 3825 as though it was placed earlier in the manuscript. Clearly the hand which copied these extracts (henceforth referred to as Scribe 2) added his material to the manuscript before Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824 were separated, but after Scribe 1 had copied the version of the *Janua* now in Sloane 3825. Scribe 2, helpfully, made note of the corresponding pages in the *Janua* where the additional material was placed in the lost copy. The additions to the discussion about fairies which Scribe 2 recorded demonstrate that the writer of the *Janua* was aware of alternative interpretations of fairies and rejected them in favour of the occult philosophical explanation that represents them as beings intimately tethered to the natural world.

The final extract supplemented in Sloane 3824 to the copy of the *Janua* in Sloane 3825 was an extended discourse upon the nature of fairies that initially continued on from where the discussion of them ends in Sloane 3825 and preceded the preface to the *Nine Keys*.[20] This tract laments that 'severall hath been the Opinions of later Ages, concerning these Terrestriall Spirite &c: together with many vaine, ignorant & idle Censures'.[21] He then states that he will relate the various opinions and then his own opinion, although he does not complete this task

---

[20] Sloane 3825, 40r; Sloane 3824, 49v.
[21] Sloane 3825, 40r; Sloane 3824, 49v.

(or it has been lost).[22] In the following table I have distilled the perspectives he

relates and his refutations of them:

'the Coniectures of some' about Fairies	Refutations
Since they often bring good, they are angels or God-given familiars.	They dwell on the earth and cannot be angels which are by nature celestial. They do not undertake the hard labour of angels. Elves and fairies are too worldly for the divine activities of angels.
They are often invisible, and not seen by humans.	They do appear to humans that they like and are only invisible to those they dislike. All the magic by which magicians have banished them from various locations has deprived them of both office and joy and is why they are seen less frequently than in the past.
They are the ghosts of those who died by violence or suicide.	The soul/spirit of a human cannot remain on earth after death and interment. The body returns to earth, the soul to God or the devil. The choir of heroes/blessed souls (discussed at length in the discussion of 'animasticall' spirits in Part Four) are identified as those who died and ascended (not only saints - as Agrippa describes the 'Animasticall order' - but the saved). Experiences of hauntings that people report are wrongly attributed to ghosts and are truly fairies or demons. In short, fairies are not ghosts, but the phenomena that people attribute to ghosts are actually fairies.
They are visions ('Phantasies') who have no internal reality or selfhood, but merely appear as omens of good or ill fortune in the place they are seen.	Unrefuted.
They are the enchantments of magicians.	Unrefuted.
They are the ghosts of humans who hid treasures in life and are condemned to remain by it in death until someone finds it.	Unrefuted in itself, but refuted indirectly by the reasons against them being the ghosts of those who died violently (see above).

---

[22] Sloane 3824, 49v-52v.

Figure 5: Common positions and the Janua's refutations of them, Sloane 3824 49v-52v.

This section concludes by the writer reflecting that fairies cannot be the souls of the dead because:

> … in this perfidious age wherin we now live, there is not scarce one Man of ten thousand, that liveth a virtuous… lyfe, or dyeth iustified either by his Faith or good Worke… by this Rule, there would have been and would continually be, far more innumerable of wandering spirite and Goblins upon the Earth, then [sic than] people & Inhabitante. and so by course half the world had need be Magicians, to expel & drive them away, & instead of crying downe [i.e. decrying] the Art they had more neede to cry it up, exalt, esteeme & cherish it; and the learned therin (professors we may not call them, for none dare, or be known to profess it, the ignorance of the Age is such)… 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 spirite, &c: [23]

From this writer's perspective fairies are real but rarely seen and rarely believed in. If they had been the ghosts of the unsaved, then the world would be filled with them, however people saw spirits so rarely that few believed in them anymore. The extent to which this reflects commonplace contemporary views must be considered with regard to the snide and bitter tone with which this scribe writes. This is seen in the writer's lamentation that magicians do not receive respect as learned men, and his casual belief that nearly all his contemporaries will be

---

[23] Sloane 3824, 52r-52v.

condemned to hell. His explanation for the lack of fairies (that magicians have banished them from so many places that they have become scarce) is a perspective very different from Agrippa (who presents them as ubiquitous), but still affirms their connection to the particular locations with which they are aligned.

The passage ends with him stating that 'we shall explaine something hereof more fully in the Argument following; & so wind up this Answer &c:'.[24] But it is almost immediately cut off, so we know no more of his refutations or personal perspective, unless they are what is reflected in the Januvian Gnome and Fairy rituals (discussed in Part Two).

4.2.1.3 Speaking with Nature in the *Janua*

The first extract supplemented by Scribe 2 which does not appear in Sloane 3825's copy of the *Janua* is a fascinating passage which is far more mystical than it is magical. Ascribed to 'an Orthodox & learned Father,' the passage gives voice to the Sky, Air, Water, Fire, Earth, and Darkness, which all make a series of promises and threats to humanity. The promises all present the natural forces as acting for the benefit of humanity, for example, 'The darkness saith, I spread my Curtaine in the Night, that thou maist rest.'[25] This is an animate world with voice, one that is filled with Great Forces with which one might establish a relationship. But it is still fundamentally a Christian worldview in which nature (as Genesis portrays) was made for the benefit of humanity. This is emphasised when 'the World saith: See Man how he [God] loved thee, wch made me for thee as thou servest him, w^ch

---

[24] Sloane 3824, 52v.
[25] Sloane 3824, 32r.

made both thee & me.'[26] This is a world in fellowship with (and service to)

humanity, but ultimately under God. The establishment of a positive relationship

with these forces is not framed as being established though nurturing and

respecting these natural features, they are presented as far too powerful to need

the aid of humanity. Instead they require dedicated Christian piety, threatening

horrors 'if thou lay by thy Obedience to him'.[27] Just as the promises outline the

benefits that these great entities/natural forces give to humanity, the threats outline

the dangers posed by them, such as when 'The Water saith, thou shalt be drowned

by me'.[28] Much like a sermon, the section moralistically concludes '~~Now~~ Here you

see, that all Creatures call upon Men to serve him [God], because he is the sūm &

Epitomy of all, & do willingly obey him.'[29] Although not discussing fairies, this

passage very clearly outlines the learned Christian animism which informs the

Januvian Fairy Summoning ritual. For just as the Water, World, and Darkness

struck deals of fellowship with humanity in return for human veneration of God, so

are the fairies of the Januvian Fairy Summoning Ritual invoked to appear by the

fact that 'yoᵘ [the fairies] are our friends, & we are yo[u]ʳ friends, and all of us

servants to the Highest'.[30]

4.2.2 'Distinctions' and the Januvian Rituals

The Januvian Gnome Ritual and the Januvian Fairy Ritual are each

preceded by, and interwoven with, material which explains the nature of these

---

[26] Sloane 3824, 32r.
[27] Sloane 3824, 32r.
[28] Sloane 3824, 32r.
[29] Sloane 3824, 32r.
[30] Sloane 2824, 98v.

fairies and fairy-related orders of terrestrial spirits. Drawing from Agrippa, Pseudo-Agrippa, and Pseudo-Paracelsus this material and that surrounding it (folios 92r-102v) demonstrates how fairies and related beings are related to, and distinct from, demons (as well as exemplifying why ghosts, demons, and fairies might easily be confused). The rituals are followed by a passage (folios 101r-102v) that begins 'By these Distinctions' (which I refer to as 'Distinctions' since the passage has no title, but the scribe underlined this word with dots). 'Distinctions' is largely a summarisation of the chapter in the Pseudo-Paracelsian *Occult Philosophy* entitled 'Of treasure and Riches hid under the Earth' and explains various reasons for why certain locations are haunted, and outlines the use of fairies in treasure hunting.[31]

If the *Janua* demonstrates a synthesis of various occult philosophical texts with ideas about fairies from the ritual magic tradition, the Januvian Gnome and Fairy rituals are the most explicit synthesis of occult philosophy in practicable ritual magic operations. With their theoretical prefaces and relationship with the theoretical text 'Distinctions' which follows them, it is difficult to determine where theoretical description of fairies ends and instructions to summon them begin. These rituals not only represent some of the most explicit integration of occult philosophy which tethered fairies to certain natural environs with rituals, but also demonstrates the emergence of an unusually trusting and convivial relationship between magician and summoned spirit which is perhaps unprecedented within the Christian ritual magic tradition. If we understand the occult philosophical material as representing a learned Christian animism, then this animism set the precedent for a positive relationship between the human and non-angelic spirit communities.

---

[31] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 64-70.

The Januvian Fairy Ritual's text concludes on folio 100r, with the summoning circle for this ritual given its own page and title on the verso. Despite the preceding circle that divides 'Distinctions' from the Januvuan rituals and discussion of fairies, 'Distinctions' itself specifically refers back to 'the two last kind of Terrestiall [sic] Spirits, next forespeaken of' which clearly demonstrates that the scribe was connecting the entities it discusses with those of the preceding Januvian Fairy and Januvian Gnome rituals.[32] The contextualising material around these rituals evinces that the connection between fairy-related entities and treasure (while reflective of contemporary attitudes) was primarily justified in occult and ritual magic contexts with (indirect) Paracelsian influence.[33] In Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824 the variety of non-demonic terrestrial spirits (which includes fairies, as seen in Figure 6, below) was a composite of Agrippa's third order of spirit and Paracelsus' elemental beings. Through translation of Agrippa and synthesis, these composite entities were explicitly identified as fairies, or rather fairies were framed as one of the commonplace terms people used to refer to all of them.

The web of occult philosophical and ritual magic textual influence in the Januvian Gnome and Fairy Rituals is complex, but the following simplified table should offer some clarity (note, not all textual influences that contributed to each source text are included here):

---

[32] Sloane 3824, 102r.
[33] For a further discussion of how Paracelsus' strengthened associations between fairy-related beings and treasure (and its influence on magic practice), see Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 59-60, 66, 69- 70, 77-79.
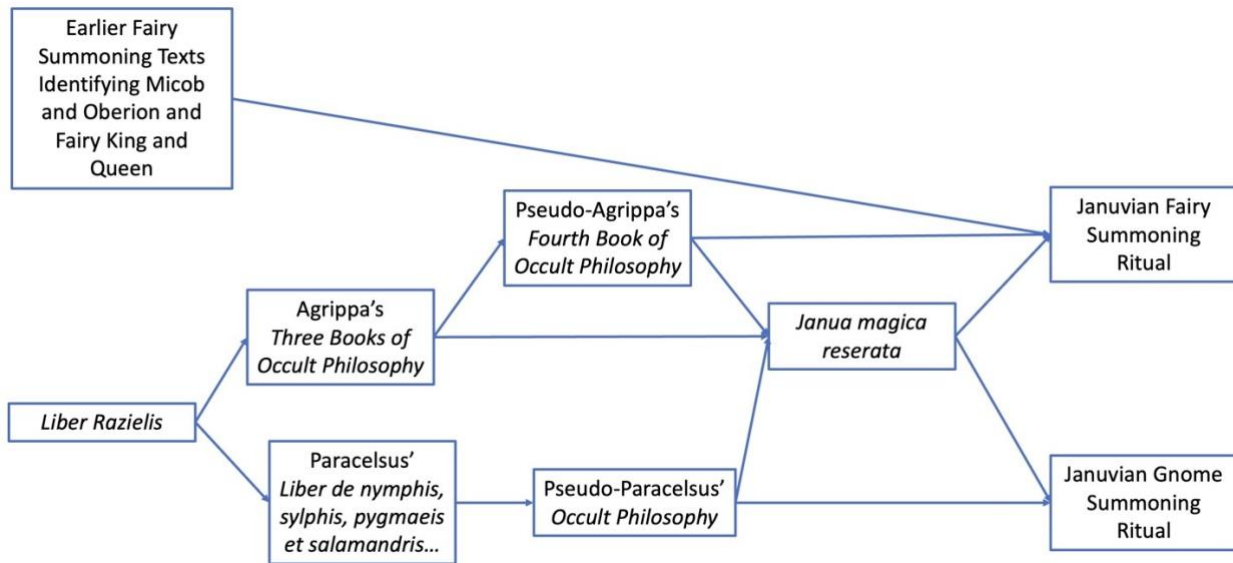
Figure 6: Key influence on the Januvian Gnome and Januvian Fairy Rituals.

4.2.2.1 Earthy Sylphs: Terminology in 'Distinctions', the *Janua*, and *Occult Philosophy*

'Distinctions' is largely drawn from 'Of treasure and Riches hid under the Earth' in the Pseudo-Paracelsian *Occult Philosophy.* According to 'Distinctions' the magician should be able to tell which sort of spirit guards the treasure, whether they are 'Sylphs or Fayries, or any other spirits of what order or nature Soever whether Aÿeriall, Terrestiall or Infernall'.[34] Rankine argues that the word 'sylph' is used here 'due to their airy nature', but this is incorrect.[35] In this section aerial spirits are presented as the violent angry angels and evil spirits who infest locations that God has cursed and good spirits have withdrawn from.[36] The term 'sylph' is used again at the end of this discussion where it says that treasures which are 'kept by the Ayeria[l] spirits or Terrestiall [sic] first before spoken of'

---

[34] Sloane 3824, 101r.

[35] Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 115.

[36] Sloane 3824, 101r. For more on the loci of early modern treasure hauntings see Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 55-57.

(those terrestrial spirits commonly called 'devils') are more difficult to acquire than those held 'by the more humane Sort of Terrestiall [sic] Spirits, as Sylphs, Fayries &c: or the Like.'[37] Rather than invoking aerial connections, it appears that the scribe uses the term 'sylphs' when referring to the more earthy order of mine- and cavern-dwelling fairy-related spirit that true Paracelsus dubbed pigmies/gnomes (which I have referred to in this chapter as 'gnomes' for conformity with the *Janua*). The modern image of the wispy, 'airy-fairy', effete sylph had not yet formed, and Paracelsus's original sylphs who dwelt in the woods were described as rugged and predominantly male forest-dwelling wild men- or woodwose-inspired entities - which might be easily muddled with pigmies/gnomes due to their shared male depictions and their similar habitat (upon and within the surface of the earth respectively).[38]

This terminological confusion arises from *Occult Philosophy'* chapter 'Of Persons and Spirits wandering under the Earth' which states that 'they are Vulgarly called *Gnomi* or Inhabiters of the Mountains: but by their proper name, they are called *Sylphes* and *Pigmies*'.[39] This terminological jumble was bequeathed to the *Janua* and 'Distinctions'. The *Janua* appears aware that 'sylph' is incorrectly applied to the Paracelsian earth beings while also strangely dismissing the preferred term used by the genuine Paracelsus (namely, pigmy) when it changes the passage in *Occult Philosophy* to 'There are Likewise Certaine things Vulgarly

---

[37] Sloane 3824, 102v. Note that Rankine leaves out 'Ayeria[l]' and changes 'more humane' to 'monstrous', significantly altering the meaning of this passage. This may be due to the poorly scanned copies of this manuscript which are in circulation online, in which these words are particularly unclear. Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 119.

[38] See Chapter Three.

[39] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 51.

Called Gnomi, or inhabiters of the mountanes, but of some improperly Sylphes, or Pigmies'.[40]

The *Janua* produces ambiguity by identifying 'sylphs' and 'pigmies' as the incorrect names of the entities commonly called gnomes (which differs from genuine Paracelsus who used pigmies and gnomes interchangeably, whereas sylphs were completely different entities). The *Janua* proceeds to primarily employ 'Gnomi' in reference to these mining spirits.[41] The *Janua* does use 'Sylphes or Pygmyes' (and also 'Elphs') interchangeably to refer to these spirits which are 'Little by nature', favour mines and treasures, but which can appear to humans in any size or shape.[42] This, however, does not appear to imply that these are a type of being distinct from gnomes. Rather, the scribe appears to have copied too precisely from *Occult Philosophy*, from which this passage was drawn and which favours these other terms as the correct nomenclature for these spirits.[43] This passage of the *Janua* clearly uses the terms synonymously with gnomes since this passage is in the midst of the discussion about them. This placement, and the fact that he already states that some use 'pigmy' and 'sylph' incorrectly to refer to gnomes, demonstrates that the compiler of the *Janua* thought of 'sylph' as being one of the words commonly used to describe these earth-dwelling spirits.

---

[40] Sloane 3825, 38v.
[41] Sloane 3825, 38v.
[42] Sloane 3825, 38v-39v.
[43] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 54.

4.2.2.2 The Relationships Between Fairies, Hauntings, Treasure, and Humans in 'Distinctions'

After its explanation of demonic hauntings, 'Distinctions' discusses gnomes (which it calls sylphs) and fairies. It indicates that they were understood to be visually indistinguishable with humans but explains that those gnomes who take wages from humans by working as miners, tradesmen, or as servants can be identified by the fact that they never eat with humans – a point that contradicts (genuine) Paracelsus who specifically notes that these beings eat and drink like humans. It also seems out of place immediately following the Januvian Fairy Ritual which involves preparing a meal for fairies.[44] This contradiction is due to the compilatory nature of this part of the manuscript. It could arise from a folkloric taboo of fairies eating human food which mirrored that against humans eating fairy food (as suggested by the initial refusal of the green children of Woolpit to eat any human food save raw beans).[45]

Summarising *Occult Philosophy,* 'Distinctions' differentiates fairy-made treasure from that hidden by dead humans which fairies have claimed. While the latter is easy to acquire, the former is difficult since fairies are apt to transform it into soil or other refuse.[46] The only way to determine whether such a transformation has occurred is for the magician to burn the refuse, which will turn it

---

[44] Sloane 3824, 102r. For them appearing like humans (despite actually being smaller) and performing labours for them, see Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 54-55; Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 228. It is possible that describing this variety of being as doing trades and working as servants was an attempt to include in this order of entity the figures from stories who help shoemakers, tailors, spinners, or other laborers (*Robin Goodfellow*, 9-10, 18-20; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, F346, F346.0.1, F346.1, F451.5.1.19) and who are house fairies/elves (see James I, *Daemonologie*, 65).
[45] John Clark, '"Small, Vulnerable ETs": The Green Children of Woolpit', *Science Fiction Studies* 33 no.2 (2006): 210.
[46] Sloane 3824, 102r-102v; Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 67.

back into treasure if that is its true substance.[47] This clearly draws upon oral and literary depictions of fairies.[48] *Occult Philosophy* states that if a hoard made by fairies is found 'Such treasures are to be left, if the keepers thereof consent not.'[49] 'Distinctions' reflects the ritual magic perspective of the summoning spells to which it was bound. It merely warns that fairy-made riches are more difficult to acquire, omitting any need for fairy consent. This highlights a key difference between the fairy-related material in Sloane 3824 and *Occult Philosophy*. While the latter text evinces manageable fear of fairies and takes considerations not to anger them, Sloane 3824 presents a particularly optimistic (if not entitled) perspective which assumes good-will from fairies while lacking qualms about taking their treasures (apparently assuming their willingness to give up their treasures despite their protective illusions).

As Dillinger has highlighted, *Occult Philosophy* says that, beyond treasure hunting for the sake of personal wealth, the practice removes the treasure guardian spirits which cause disruptive hauntings (discussed in Chapter Three).[50] As such, the treasure-hunting magician served an important altruistic social service.[51] Even when 'pigmies' spirited away the treasure to another location, a treasure-hunting venture could still be successful in that it made a location safely habitable again.[52] 'Distinctions', however, makes no such commentary. With a ritual magician's pragmatism, 'Distinctions' and preceding summoning rituals are explicitly and specifically intended to acquire treasure from the spirits who would guard it.

[47] Sloane 3824, 102v; Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 67-68.
[48] Mac Cárthaigh, 'Midwife to the Fairies', 141.
[49] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 67.
[50] Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 78-79; Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 69-70.
[51] Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 78-79.
[52] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 69-70.

Further drawing from *Occult Philosophy*, 'Distinctions' states that it is possible by sheer good fortune for an mundane person (with no knowledge of magic) to stumble upon treasure which humans have hidden because the fairies do not tend to enchant the appearance of human treasures, reserving this precaution for the treasures that they have made.[53] 'Distinctions' adds (perhaps inspired by Agrippa's assertion that they like those who like them) that if a person has a positive enough relationship with the fairies then they might withdraw from their treasure, allowing him to come across it without recourse to magic.[54] This passage accounted for reports (whether first-hand claims or literary/legendary ones) which circulated about people who were not magic specialists encountering fairies and enjoying the benefits and treasures of their familiarity.[55] This is atypical, given the wilfully esoteric and elitist perspective evinced by ritual magic sources. *Occult Philosophy*, while discussing magical subjects and practices, is virulently opposed to ritual magic (calling its practitioners 'perfidious Negromancers').[56] The notion that anyone might (without magical methods) acquire fairy treasure appears to be primarily encouraged by *Occult Philosophy*'s prejudice against ritual magic treasure-hunting techniques, and this element was preserved in 'Distinctions' despite its acceptance of ritual magic practices.

Clearly misunderstanding (or rejecting) Paracelsus' arguments about the corporality of elemental beings and echoing the muddled discussion in the earlier chapter 'Of Person's and Spirits wandring under the Earth' (see above), Pseudo-

---

[53] Sloane 3824, 102v; Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 69.

[54] Sloane 3824, 102v; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 391, 450.

[55] This is prevalent in many ballads, romances, and stories for centuries. For example see Map*, De nugis*, 352-357; Green, *Elf Queens*, 39-40, 104-105.

[56] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 66-67.

Paracelsus assures the treasure hunter that 'although they should corporally appear, yet they are only visions.'[57] Likewise, Sloane 3824's Januvian Fairy Ritual, Januvian Gnome Ritual, and their surrounding theoretical discussions all omit the Paracelsian argument (that these beings are not spirits) completely. This is more in keeping with the Agrippian view and the ambiguity/contradiction in Pseudo-Paracelsus on this point. The apparent lack of access to *Ex libro de nymphis,* in which Paracelsus' argument was clearer, facilitated the conclusion that these entities were spirits and not spirit-like beings/rational animals.

The section written by Scribe 1 in Sloane 3824 begins with 'An Experiment to call out Spirits, that are Keepers of treasures Trove'.[58] This spell invokes a number of spirits, some clearly diabolic (such as Sathan). It explains that the magician should know where, why, and by whom treasure was hidden and whether a spirit guards it. If so, he must determine whether the spirits are aerial or terrestrial and whether the power that bound them to the treasure is 'Magicall inchantment, or… Divine justices'.[59] Clearly magic was presented as able to guard treasures by binding spirits to it, but the text goes on to explain that the 'Divine justices' are incurred when one mistakes demons for good angels and follows them, or one does something so heinous and wicked that God or the 'Good Angells Curses Such a person, family or House' for three or four generations (clearly drawn from Deuteronomy 5:9), abandoning them to the whims of malevolent spirits which good spirits normally keep at bay.[60] Such places and people, devoid of angelic protection due to a divine curse, cannot 'prosper until providence be appeased, the Curse

---

[57] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 67.
[58] Sloane 3824,89r-92r.
[59] Sloane 3824, 89r.
[60] Sloane 3824, 89r-89v.

Expiated, and the Angry Angell or Aÿeriall Spirit Discharged, or the inchantment taken of [sic off] from the Treasure, if any be there hid'.[61] Until that time 'Doth the Ayerial spirit haunt, infest & trouble Such houses or places & molest the inhabitants, terrifying and affrightening them'.[62]

The term 'aerial spirits' holds no parallels to Paracelsus' elemental beings of the air, and is instead used synonymously with the malevolent and dark 'angry angels' and 'evil spirits' (such as Sathan), which are distinguished from terrestrial spirits.[63] It claims to have 'elsewhere before Explaind' how a magician might know whether treasure is protected by 'magicall Spell, or any powerfull Charmes' or whether it is guarded by either terrestrial or aerial spirits, which appears to refer back to the *Janua's* discussion of these varieties of spirits, suggesting that this section originally was bound after the *Janua* in Sloane 3825.[64] It explains that if the spirits are identified as aerial, then the first spell in this section is to be used, although it is very 'tedious & tiersom' due to aerial spirits being 'by nature obstinate and perverse'.[65] In this and other depictions of aerial spirits (discussed below) the text appears to draw upon the interpretation of these entities as wicked demons.

This is different from both Paracelsus' characterisation of the sylphs (who were often mute, a bit brutish, and reclusive but ultimately non-hostile unless possessed by the devil) and Agrippa's subdivision of the third order of spirit connected to the air (who were more rational than the other spirits).[66] Instead, the evil or cruel depiction of aerial spirits seems to echo other magical texts in

---

[61] Sloane 3824, 89v.

[62] Sloane 3824, 89r.

[63] Sloane 3824, 89r-89v.

[64] As has been suggested by Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 2, 19, 82; Sloane 3824, 92r.

[65] Sloane 3824, 89v, 92v.

[66] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 240-241; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 232.

circulation and more orthodox theology which demonised classical daemons. This malicious depiction is present in ritual magic material more generally (with entities such as the four kings of the air being often presented as demonic princes of the air or cardinal directions), while Trithemius' spirits of the air could also be wicked (although in other works such as the *Lemegaton* the aerial spirits could be good or evil and held power over the elements, likewise in the *Sworn Book of Honorius* aerial spirits could be good or evil and terrestrial spirits were portrayed as entirely malevolent/infernal).[67] Agrippa went so far as to say that these four kings Urieus, Amaymon, Paymon, and Egyn were evil spirits who (he continues) are more accurately named by learned Jewish scholars: Samaël, Azazel, Azael, and Mahazaël.[68] The idea that spirits who dwell in the air are evil has old roots in early and influential Christian thought, such as Augustine's literal demonisation of classical *daemones* (who dwelt in the air above the earth of humanity and below the ether of the gods) and John Cassian's *Conferences* which describe an order of aerial spirit which are overtly demonic (despite influencing some early modern descriptions of fairies).[69] The text presents an endless battle of good angels keeping evil spirits at bay so that when something happens to offend God and the good angels withdraw from a place, the evil aerial spirits are waiting to inhabit it.[70] As such, I posit that both devils and aerial spirits are presented as fallen angels in

---

[67] Sloane 3824, 117r-120v; Sloane 3824, 100r, 116v; Peterson, *Sworn Book of Honorius*, 226-233, 278-279; Johannes Trithemius, *Steganographia* (Frankfurt: Matthew Becker, 1606), 1. The four kings are prevalent in ritual magic operations of this period, with numerous references to them in Folger VB 26 which includes some extended discussions of them that connect them explicitly to the air, direction, and infernal entities like Lucifer. See: Folger VB 26, 62, 73-75, 81-84. For the confusion about the elemental alignment of the morally ambiguous directional order of spirit, see Sloane 3825, 36v-37r.

[68] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 256.

[69] John Cassian, 'Of the Different Desires and Wishes Which Exist in the Powers of the Air', *The Conferences of John Cassian*, tran. Edgar C.S. Gibson, vol. 11 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1894), chap. 32; Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 350-367.

[70] Sloane 3824, 89r-89v.

this text. They are divided from each other not due to differing natures, but due to location of habitation. Devils walk upon the earth, aerial spirits dwell in the air, but they are both evil orders of fallen angels.

4.2.3 Demonic vs. Fae Terrestrial Spirits

Having offered the ritual to control the aerial spirits who guard treasure, the text shifts its attention to the varieties of terrestrial spirits which might be summoned to convey treasure from where it was hidden to wherever the magician might be.[71] Before the first ritual to summon terrestrial spirits (the Januvian Gnome Ritual) the scribe draws heavily from the *Third Book,* chapter eighteen, to explain them.[72] Sloane 3824 defines terrestrial spirits as those who dwell upon the earth and distinguishes between those 'vulgarly Called Divells' and those 'Vulgarly Called of all people generally Fairies or Elphs' (see Figure 7).[73] Whereas the celestial angels are good, and both the aerial spirits and terrestrial devils can be evil fallen angels, the fairies and gnomes are 'by nature both godd [sic good] & bad'.[74] In short, the text does not distinguish between spirits primarily by their inner nature nor their vocation, but divides them by the sphere or element in which they dwell: celestial, aerial, aquatic, terrestrial, and infernal (although the infernal and aquatic ones are only mentioned and not discussed at length here). The following table demonstrates the divisions between the varieties of spirits as presented in this part of Sloane 3824:

---

[71] Sloane 3824, 92r-100v.
[72] Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 94.
[73] Sloane 3824, 92r, 98r.
[74] Sloane 3824, 93r.
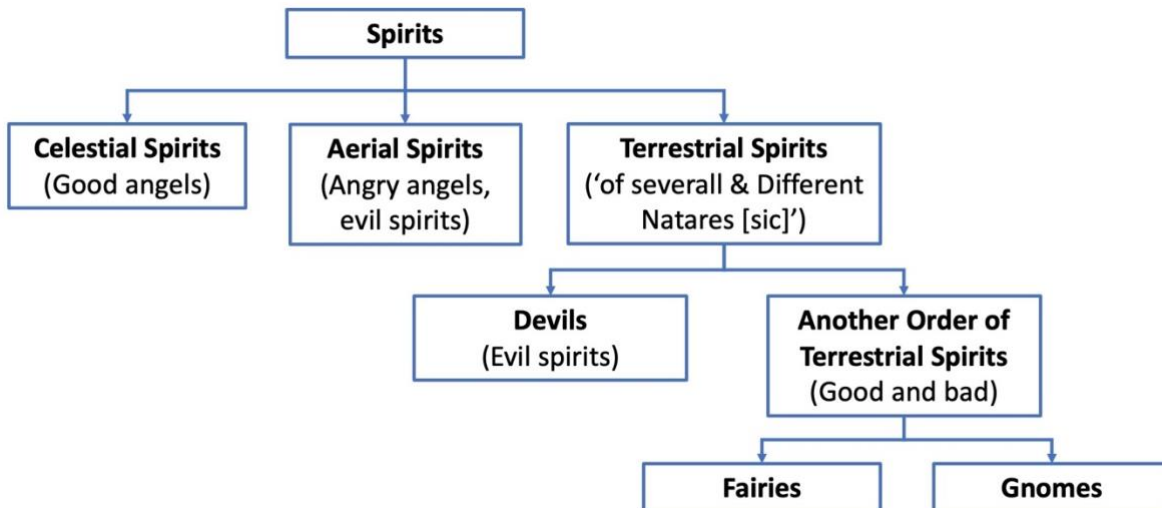
Figure 7: Divisions of spirits by location of habitat - as presented in Sloane 3824 fols. 89r-90v, 92r-94v, which precedes the Januvian Fairy Ritual and Januvian Gnome Ritual.

The divisions in Figure 7 are based upon where the entities dwell, rather than the natures of the spirits and their relationships with each other. The following chart (Figure 8) reflects the relationships and natures of the spirits as they are indicated in this section:

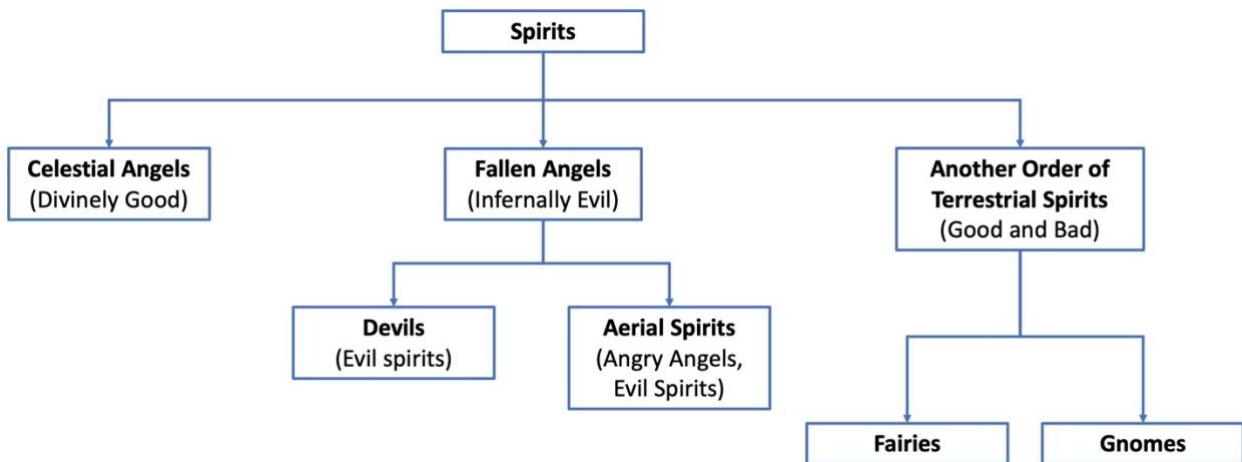*Figure 8: Divisions of spirits by natures, relationships with each other, and morality - as indicated in Sloane 3824 fols. 89r-90v, 92r-94v, which precedes the Januvian Fairy Ritual and Januvian Gnome Ritual.*

The devils are utterly evil and are those angels who fell in the rebellion against God, yet there was still room for confusion as some varieties of them echo

fairy traits. Like fairies some of them are described as being less dangerous than other devils, dwelling in mines below the earth, being able to give themselves 'the smallness of a pigmy' or 'the length of Giants', and dwelling in the 'Obscaure' air, rivers, seas, and bogs, yet they are still ruled by Beelzebub and are 'Evill and pernitious by nature', affirming their diabolic essence.[75] This is mostly drawn from Agrippa who used Cassian's *Conferences* as a source for his chapter *Of the orders of evil spirits, and of their fall, and divers natures,* as well as for his discussion of the third order of spirit.[76] The similarities between *Of the orders of evil spirits* and Agrippa's third order of spirit may be why, by the time Scribe 1 wrote his sections of Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824 he drew upon *Of the orders of evil spirits* to describe fairy-related entities as well as diabolic ones.[77]

4.2.4 The Source of Fairy Treasure and Some Conceptual Origins

Despite the theoretical concerns of classification and habitat evinced in these source texts, the rituals themselves focus primarily upon the association of these beings with treasure. This treasure, however, is no longer the natural resources/treasures of the earth (as they were in Paracelsus' original depiction) but hoards of hidden/buried treasure. The Januvian Fairy Ritual explains that when humans hide their treasure for safekeeping in a place where these beings dwell and then die 'these terrestrial Elves' lay claim to it.[78] This extends 'Distinctions'' and *Occult Philosophy*'s assertion about the gnomes/sylphs and

---

[75] Sloane 3824, 92r-92v. The scribe left out any primarily earthy locations from this list (unlike his source text of Agrippa), and when later listing the places where fairies dwell he only reiterates dry places.

[76] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 399-400.

[77] One can see this text (Cassian, 'Powers of the Air', chap. 32) echoed in Agrippa and the works he inspired, see: Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 400; Sloane 3824, 92v; Sloane 3825, 39v.

[78] Sloane 3824, 98v.

fairies/elves/nymphs.[79] The connection between fairies and treasure was widespread in early modern England (and Europe in general).[80] This idea had been articulated and integrated into the emerging occult philosophical context by Paracelsus who claimed that the purpose for which God made the four varieties of elemental beings was so that they might guard the treasures of the earth from and for humanity.[81]

The Paracelsian influence is particularly evident in the Januvian Gnome Ritual but, as discussed above, the fact that the ritual itself portrays fairies as laying claim to human treasures instead of natural resource deposits shows that (once entered into the practical context of ritual magic) the divine purpose and cosmological position of the elemental beings faded, with just the association with treasure (despite where it comes from) preserved. No longer were they the divinely appointed elemental guardians who conservatively distributed nature's wealth for the good of humanity, but were spirits of natural feature and place who laid claim to lost human treasures.

The shift from natural guardians and distributors to hoarders of human and gnome/fairy-forged treasures is present in *Occult Philosophy*, suggesting that common ideas about these beings coloured the writer's interpretation of Paracelsus' arguments.[82] Indeed, Paracelsus himself offered some precedent for this by stating that the earth people/pygmies/gnomes mint their own coins.[83] Unlike 'Distinctions', however, which argues that they do so by taking a bit of wealth from

---

[79] Sloane 3824, 102r-102v; Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 55-56.
[80] For a clear survey of this using various primary sources see Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 66-72.
[81] See Chapter Three.
[82] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 51-53, 55-56, 65-67.
[83] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241.

every reserve of natural mineral deposit that they guard, Paracelsus claims that they have the power to wish whatever they need into existence.[84] They use this power to adorn their homes, give gifts to humans they like, and to pay off any humans who find their way into their mountain halls so that the humans will leave their realm.[85] The notion that fairy-related beings could wish whatever they wanted into reality survived in the literary context (see the discussion of *Robin Goodfellow*) but it does not appear to have been retained in the occult philosophical texts that circulated in Early Modern England, which favoured a more naturalistic understanding (given the parameters of nature in this occult philosophical context).

Despite 'Distinctions' explaining that these fairy spirits collect their wealth from various natural deposits of minerals in the earth so as not to deplete any one, the Januvian Fairy Ritual only notes treasures that fairies claimed from humans.[86] This provides a certain justification of the ritual; the magician is, after all, only regaining human treasures that belong to no living soul - surely the magician had as much claim to found treasure as did any fairy. Dillinger presents as a widespread early modern concept (and he claims that the German *Occult Philosophy* argues explicitly) that when a human dies while hiding treasure s/he is unable to move on until the treasure is found.[87] This produces not only a moral justification for treasure hunting, but a moral imperative to do so.[88] However, while the English version of *Occult Philosophy* raises this idea, it follows it by stating that 'I say that all the Judgements which are spoken of before, are but false opinions',

---

[84] Sloane 3824, 102r; Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241.
[85] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 241.
[86] Sloane 3824, 98r-98v, 102r.
[87] Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 78.
[88] Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 78.

arguing instead that such apparent ghosts are in fact fairy-related beings (the 'halfe-men, that bear rule and wander in the four Element… Nymphs… Sylphes or Pygmies').[89] Even if fairy-related beings were the source of these hauntings, Dillinger's argument that removing treasure was seen as an act of Christian good works due to removing disturbing spirits from an area, still stands.[90]

In addition to any moral concerns, the comparative ease of gaining human-hidden treasures provided a practical reason for preferring them to those which were fairy-made. 'Distinctions' explains that it is easier to magically acquire treasures from fairies which 'hath been made by man & used amongst men' while it was very difficult to gain treasure that fairies produced.[91] It continues to explain that fairies transmute (or appear to change through illusion) their wealth into things like soil, dung, or (presumably pottery) shards so as to make the magician not recognise it for its value. It continues that fire melts their enchantment, so gathering up any such detritus and throwing it into a fire will refine the 'metals and minerals' and cause them to 'return to the Same Essence it had before'.[92] Despite knowing this clever foil to fairy enchantment, it was still far easier to acquire human-made treasures with fairy aid than it was to wrestle theirs from them (and less likely to result in disappointing or cumbersome illusions).

---

[89] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 55-56.
[90] Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, 78.
[91] Sloane 3824, 102r.
[92] Sloane 3824, 102r-102v.

4.3 Practice

4.3.1 The Januvian Gnome Ritual

4.3.1.1 Believing is Seeing: The Januvian Gnome Ritual and its Immediate Context

The Januvian Gnome Ritual follows the discussions of aerial spirits and terrestrial devils as well as 'An Experiment to call out Spirits, that are Keepers of treasures Trove'. Whereas the preceding ritual was used to control the difficult spirits that guard treasure due to a previous magician's enchantment or the wicked spirits who infest locations that God has cursed, the Januvian Gnome Ritual invokes spirits which appear 'With far more ease and Serenity, then any of ye Aÿeriall forespeaken of'.[93] This, and the following Januvian Fairy Ritual, are each introduced by discussions of these two related varieties of terrestrial spirit. They are clearly closely linked to each other since although the theoretical discussions preceding each ritual differ, they are similar (to the point of redundancy). Furthermore, following the Januvian Fairy Ritual, 'Distinctions' explicitly links these two varieties together in one discussion of 'the two last kind of Terrestiall Spirits, next forespoken of [i.e. immediately before this]' who are more humane and closer to humans 'then [sic than] yᵉ [sic the] Ayerialls & infernals'.[94] This parallels *Occult Philosophy* and the *Janua*'s discussion of 'Nymphes' and 'Sylphes' or 'Pygmies' after the malevolent spirits.[95] Indeed, the transition between gnomes and the discussion of fairies following the Januvian Gnome Ritual begins by saying that there is another type of terrestrial spirits which share the nature of the last ('There

---

[93] Sloane 3824, 94v.
[94] Sloane 3824, 102r.
[95] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 56, 58-59.

are also another Sort of terrestiall spirits of the nature of these next forespeaken of').[96] This not only clearly distinguishes fairies and gnomes from infernal demons, aerial spirits, and terrestrial devils, but also emphasises the connection between fairies and gnomes. I take pains to emphasise this because the expository discussions about these entities are often highly ambiguous, yet they are explicitly distinguished from demons, supporting the view that the category of 'terrestrial spirit' is better divided (as I have in Figure 7 above) between devils and fairy-related beings. The Januvian Gnome Ritual and its preceding discussion not only claim that these entities are different from demons, but use the correct understanding of this fact (and the positive relationship with them that this knowledge establishes) as a force of preternatural power.

The discussion of devils is followed first by a general description of the explicitly non-demonic fairy-related beings as discussed in the *Janua*. After this overview, it focusses upon those who dwell in mines and caves of the earth.[97] While this passage does not give them their own term (beyond being an unnamed variety of terrestrial spirit), 'Distinctions' refers to them as sylphs which it uses to refer to the *Janua*'s corresponding discussion of *gnomi* which corresponds with Paracelsus' earth-aligned pigmies.[98]

In this prelude to the Januvian Gnome Ritual, fairies and gnomes are characterised as less frightening than aerial spirits and devils, appearing in human form to those they like, but hideously to those they dislike, and repeating Agrippa's assertion that the third order of spirit is good to those they like and wicked to those

---

[96] Sloane 3824, 97v.
[97] Sloane 3824, 93v-94v.
[98] Sloane 3824, 93v-94v; Sloane 3825, 98v.

they dislike.[99] What is particularly interesting about this reiteration is its specification that they love those who love them, who are honest, and who keep their word, and hate not only those who hate and mistreat them, but also those 'proclaiming and beleeving y^m [sic them] to be, what in truth by nature they are not, as infernall Divells &c:'.[100] The magician also takes pains to emphasise that he believes in these beings, affirming in the invocation of them that 'we Doe veryly & sincerely beleave of yo^u, and that yo^u are [real]'.[101] Since it explains that these beings appear monstrous or do not appear at all to those who disparage them or equate them with demons, the text implicitly explains why someone who believes them demons (or does not believe in them at all) would experience them as demonic, or would be unable to encounter them.[102] Here the magician's cosmology is framed in direct opposition to the traditional orthodox view, which would identify fairies as demons. Furthermore, it frames this incorrect identification as being a mistake of the ignorant, who lose the opportunity to acquire the many boons that these beings can give with their immeasurable wealth and mastery of all worldly knowledge (whether it be mundane 'Liberall Sciences' or their magical 'Curious Arts').[103]

By indicating that those who do not believe will be unsuccessful in witnessing fairy-related entities, and that those who think them demons will see horrors, the Januvian Gnome Ritual indicates that certain categories of experience are only available to those who are pure, are holders of traditional

---

[99] Sloane 3824, 94r; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.
[100] Sloane 3824, 94r.
[101] Sloane 3824, 96r.
[102] Sloane 3824, 94r.
[103] Sloane 3824, 94v.

knowledge/understandings, and/or are illuminated by esoteric secrets. Following

this logic would account for why some people do not see fairies or meet success in

summoning rituals. From this perspective it is not that the entity is not real, nor that

the spell does not work, but that these experiences are beyond what the

uninitiated/unbeliever is able to experience. This would account for why a magician

performing a ritual magic operation would experience success, whereas the

materialist would face failure and dismiss it as unreal. It, in fact, insulates the

practice of magic from those who (through scientific experimental inquiry) would try

to disprove the preternatural. This defence would be a reasonable conclusion,

given that many magicians did experiment with ritual magic (as evinced by the

instability of the genre as different magicians tweaked the ritual magic instructions)

and would report that the operations were successful from the evidence of their

experimentation.[104]

4.3.1.2 Belief as Friendship, Friendship as Power

The Januvian Gnome Ritual's invocation elevates the wrong done to these

entities (through their being misidentified as demons by humans) into a force by

which the magician might summon them. Most of the invocation is a fairly generic

spell to summon and break the guardianship of treasure spirits, explicitly

addressing it to spirits 'of whatsoever order you and… by whatsoever names y[ou]

are Called or Known by, though not known to us… of w[t] soever [sic whatsoever]

nature order they are of, whether Aÿeriall, Terrestiall, or Infernall'.[105] Yet, in the

second half, the ritual becomes far more specific to the sub-class of terrestrial

---

[104] Klaassen, 'Unstable Texts', 225-228.
[105] Sloane 3824, 95r-95v.

spirits which (context reveals) were gnomes. It appears that the scribe (or his

source) inelegantly modified a general invocation of treasure spirits to specifically

be directed towards gnomes, leaving these vestigial vagaries. The more specific

addition is significant because it calls upon the spirits to appear by virtue of the

magician's correct belief in their nature and existence:

> And further know spirit or spirits… Know ye I say and understand, yt though I call not apon yo^u, neither by name, Kⁿowledge or any Signature, more or otherwise then by the name of "spirit or spirits,"[106] as being att present altogether unknowne to us, yet I call upon yo^u with the Toungue, Heart & spirit of faith and Confidence, for we Doe veryly & sincerely beleave of yo^u and that yo^u are, & w^t [sic what] our fourfathes forefathers [sic] have reported and Declared to us, of you, & in all things concerning yo^u, And of all these noble Services you have Done for them, and of yor worthy friendship And familiaryty with them, & we also absolutely believe yo^u to be as courteous, friendly & Benevolent, to whom you please, and have love to, and that Simpathize in faith Love and Friendship wth yo^u, as y^{ou} are justly Displeased and adversly obstinate to such, whose Willfull, pervers and blind Ignorance, Doth not onlely misbelieve, and are wholy incredible of you, butt also much abuse yo^u, in their most Grosse & scurrilous Languages, frequent Disco^{ur}ses, & most abominable mistakes; all which willfull obstin[ate] Scurrility, abuseiveness And increduly, we Doe here in the presents of heaven And Earth, and of all the Good Angells and spirits, utterly detest ~~and~~ abhor, and doe Absolutely protest against It as most ridiculous, impertinent & hereticall &c: Therefore as we verily, absolutely & clearly believe of yo^u, & desire friendship with yo^u… assist us in all Such of our Terrestrial Affaires[107]

There is a great deal of significance to unpack in this passage. It is rather

anomalous and does not directly draw from any other summoning ritual that I have

yet found. In fact, its certainty about the nature of the spirit it invokes is the

opposite of that established by earlier fairy summoning rituals which were

accompanied by the stipulation that the magician not inquire into the true nature of

the entity he summoned.[108] Despite this, the passage is not produced *ex nihilo*,

---

[106] I supplied these quotation marks for clarity.

[107] Sloane 3824, 96r-96v.

[108] As seen in the Skimmed Water Ointment, The Table Ritual, and the Sevenfold Ointment Ritual. See Appendix I for relevant manuscripts.

and reflects the Agrippian assertion that these entities were helpful to the good and wicked to the bad, which we also find represented in literary works, such as *Robin Goodfellow, His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*.[109] Yet this passage goes further, establishing once again hat those who the fairies dislike are not merely those who are morally evil or who are rude/abusive toward them, but also those who believe them to be demons, or do not believe in them at all. Here we see the declaration of belief being used as a political act to establish belonging and fellowship, not between humans, but between the human magician and the non-human entities that he invokes. By stating this, the magician positions himself in opposition to those who hold these other views so as to ingratiate himself to the fairies (or, in this case, gnomes), aligning himself with a particular intellectual position that constructs community (even if only imagined) not only with other magicians and people who believe in fairies (past and present), but also with the non-human community of these spirits.

This clearly demonstrates awareness of the three primary competing perspectives on the nature of fairies which circulated in contemporary learned contexts (that they were their own category of being/spirit, that they were demons, and that they did not exist), showing that the plurality of views was known by those who understood fairies to be real. It is telling that he labels non-belief in these beings (or the incorrect belief that they are demonic) as heretical and disavows these perspectives before heaven and its angels, demonstrating that (far from contrary to Christian faith) he views belief that these entities are a distinct order of being as a fundamental aspect of correct (if not orthodox) Christian cosmology

---

[109] See Chapter Three.

(thus echoing the well-established medieval ritual magic perspective that magicians have more correct Christian beliefs than the official church).[110] This paints the picture of a man who saw himself as standing within the true Christian tradition, echoing the bitter, persecuted arrogance with which Paracelsus concluded *Ex libro de nymphis* where he wrote that 'when the end of the world will come close, then all things will be revealed… the fake scholars exposed… He who now cries, will be quieted, and… it [will] be found of all scholars… whose writings were right and whose wrong… For that time I also recommend my writings for judgement'.[111]

This incantation suggests not only a rejection of the traditional theological interpretation of fairies as demons, but also a rejection of disbelief in them. This disbelief likely stems from ancient and medieval literary and theological scepticism about the existence of fairy-related beings and their realms.[112] Rejection of non-belief may in part be due to the rise of atheism and materialism. If so, this is not the only example of anti-atheist arguments in magic manuscripts of this period. Although not directly related to Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825, at the end of the roughly contemporaneous copy of the *Arbatel* in Sloane 3851 there is a chart delineating the two sciences, that of good and that of evil. Under that 'of evil' is a category of 'bad wisdome' under which falls 'Athism.'[113] Certainly, the additions to the *Janua,* bound earlier in Sloane 3824 complain both that many people no longer believe in fairies and about the rise of both sceptical heretics and potentially

---

[110] See, for example, Peterson, ed. *Sworn Book of Honorius*, 60-65.

[111] Paracelsus, *'Liber de Nymphis'*, 253.

[112] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 366-367; Augustine, *City of God*, *Volume IV*, 548-551; Gerald of Wales, *Journey Through Wales*, 136; Map, *De nugis*, 160-161.

[113] Sloane 3851, 29v.

materialists, as seen in the lines 'the ignorance of the Age is such… that hardly one person of an hundred, will beleive any such thing at all, as Spirite[s], &c'.[114] Since this was added by Scribe 2 who was expanding upon the writings of Scribe 1, however, it is likely that the Januvian Gnome Ritual was not written with reference to these expanded sections of the *Janua*. Clearly in this period magicians interested in fairies wrote with resistance to scepticism and against (at least perceived) increasing disbelief in an enspirited world (even if it was not yet a widespread position which had gained cultural hegemony). It may be that this context helps explain the disparagement of non-believers and the active articulation of belief in this invocation.

Despite lacking a true name or sigil for the spirits, the Januvian Gnome Ritual calls them to appear not only by the magician's belief that they exist, but by the knowledge that they are what his forefathers reported them to be. In this he appeals to the force of tradition and inherited wisdom, although it is unclear whether he had in mind ancestral wisdom passed on through oral tradition; the occult philosophical traditions of the *Janua*, Agrippa, and Paracelsus; or whether he meaningfully distinguished between the two. In any case, this shows the self-perception of being the inheritor (familially or intellectually) of the traditional knowledge of, and potential for friendly relationships with, these entities. In connecting their friendship and services for humans with the magician's forefathers, he echoes the earlier assertion in the *Janua* that 'in antient times ~~that~~ many of these ~~Aff~~ aforesaid Gnomes, Fairēs Elphs & other terrestiall & wandering spirits, have been seen & heard amongst Men, but now it is said & beeleved that

---

[114] Sloane 3824, 52v.

they are not so frequently: yet it is… Creditably Reported, that some of them have been Discovered… being not so Conversant with and among Men, so frequently in Latter times'.[115] This idea that fairies were more prevalent in the past has remained strong from the Middle Ages to at least the twentieth century, and is clearly evinced here.[116] But, while Chaucer's Wife of Bath indicated that the friars drove out fairies with Christianity, and the *Janua* vaguely explains the cause of this shift as being 'Easily Conjectured, by the Meanest Capacity', this invocation explicitly provides another reason.[117] The idea that the spread of Christianity drove out fairies does not make sense within the conceptual framework evinced by these texts because it integrates them into a, fundamentally, Christian occult cosmology. Rather, fairies are implied to be offended by scepticism and traditional (and, from this perspective, incorrect) Christian orthodoxy.

In this passage the friendliness of these entities to the magician is emphasised, as it is with the Januvian Fairy Ritual (see below). This is further emphasised by the prefatory assurance that they 'come to us, With far more ease and serenity, then any of ye Aÿeriall' spirits.[118] Furthermore, while nothing is said about a summoning circle, once the gnome has been summoned the instructions say that it will show a sign 'of love & friendship, and a kind of willingness to satisefie yor Desires' so that you can 'bind him with the bond of spirits, if you so desire' but that if it willingly offers aid then the magician need not bother binding

[115] Sloane 3825, 40r.

[116] Barbara Rieti, 'Always Going and Never Gone?', in *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland* (St. John's: Memorial University Press, 2021), 1-16; Lauren Kassell, '"All Was This Land Full Fill'd of Faerie," or Magic and the Past in Early Modern England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 1 (2006): 118-119.

[117] Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 171-172; Sloane 3825, 40r.

[118] Sloane 3824, 94v.

it.[119] This demonstrates a lackadaisical attitude to the traditional protective conventions of ritual magic that is also present in the Januvian Fairy Ritual, demonstrating a shift from the domineering master-slave power relationship between magician and fairy (preserved from medieval demon conjurations in early fairy-summoning spells), to one of friendship.[120] While the composer of this ritual echoes Agrippa's statement (transmitted through the *Janua*) that these beings are good to those they like and wicked to those they dislike, he seems confident that he will be among the favoured due to his correct understanding of, faith in, and respect for these entities.[121]

4.3.2 Commonalities and Differences Between the Januvian Fairy and Januvian Gnome Rituals

While very different incantations, the Januvian Gnome Ritual and the Januvian Fairy Ritual) are similar in explanatory material and clearly summon two varieties in a single subclass of terrestrial spirits which were understood as distinct from demons. Both rituals show a lack of fear toward these spirits, not because they were seen as always kind and harmless, but because the magician assumed his approval from (and friendship with) these entities due to his reverence toward them and his belief in their existence and non-infernal nature. Beyond those who think them demons and those who do not believe in them, he also disavows those who perpetuate mistakes about them with 'Grosse & scurrilous Languages' and

---

[119] Sloane 3824, 97r.

[120] For the preservation of anxieties regarding safety in fairy summoning rituals see Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 353 footnote 89.

[121] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450; Sloane 3825, 38r, 39v; Sloane 3824, 94r.

discourses, which presumably refers to literary or oral accounts which contradict his understanding of fairies while also presenting them as real and non-demonic.[122]

The amicable relationship between the magician and these spirits is echoed in both the Januvian Fairy and Januvian Gnome Rituals. Beyond the elements echoed (sometimes word for word) in both of the discussions preceding these rituals and the text of the Januvian Fairy Ritual itself, the rituals' instructions also align by directing the magician to recite the invocations between eleven in the evening and two in the morning during a waxing moon with a pre-prepared sheet of what one wished to say to it once it has appeared.[123] While the instructions say that these rituals can be done wherever treasure is known to be located, they have the benefit (as intimated by the aforementioned advice which follows the invocation of aerial spirits, that one may use them when one does not have access to the location where treasure is buried) of also being able to be performed at the places where these spirits reside.[124]

The gendering of these entities is a significant point of difference between them. The fairies and elves are described as 'more feminine' (echoing Agrippa via the *Janua* and the *Three Books* and the *Fourth Book*) whereas the gnomes are described in connection to mining and labour (drawing from Paracelsus via the *Janua* and *Occult Philosophy*), both of which were occupations associated more with males.[125] The connection with mining may not be the source of their masculinisation, however, as in the Early Modern period women performed above-ground auxiliary mining work in Germany, all members of mining families

---

[122] Sloane 3824, 96v.
[123] Sloane 3824, 97r, 100r. This stipulation is also present in the Sylvan Square Ritual.
[124] Sloane 3824, 94v.
[125] Sloane 3824, 93v, 97v. Compare Sloane 3825, 39r.

contributed to British mining, and about forty percent of Scottish miners were female.[126] Instead, this is drawing upon the *Janua's* distinction between spirits connected to dry places that tend to take male form versus those who 'Dwell upon the Moyst Superficies of ye Earth' who tend to appear female (which was articulated by Agrippa and Paracelsus who echoed established humoral theory, the *Liber Razielis*, and medieval literary precedent).[127]

In the Januvian Fairy Ritual the magician is directed to stop incanting 'if Any Apparition or Vision should appear', whereas the Januvian Gnome Ritual informs the reader that a gnome first appears as a moving, shifting, floating vision and that the magician must continue to incant 'untill it seem to be more staid, & stand before yo^u'.[128] The visual aspects of this suggest that the writer was a practitioner. The description sounds very like what might be experienced if one, upon performing such a ritual, successfully began entering an (at the least) subjectively convincing dissociative visionary state.[129] Certainly, a week of limited sleep, life structured around the ritual, and the purifying processes that are emphasised in these spells, would facilitate this process.[130]

---

[126] Rossana Barragán Romano and Leda Papastefanaki, 'Women and Gender in the Mines: Challenging Masculinity Through History: An Introduction', *International Review of Social History* 65, no. 2 (2020): 195-196.

[127] Sloane 3825, 37v-38r; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 404.

[128] Sloane 3824, 97r, 99r.

[129] For more on ritual magic inducing dissociative states see Klaassen, 'Subjective Experience', 32, 48.

[130] Klaassen, 'Subjective Experience', 22, 24, 32, 34-35, 37-39.

4.3.3 The Januvian Fairy Ritual

4.3.3.1 The Use of the Word 'Fairy' and the Entities it Signifies

The contextualising material which follows the Januvian Gnome Ritual and precedes the Januvian Fairy Ritual explains that terrestrial spirits are any type of spirit that dwelt upon (or slightly within) the surface of the earth. Clearly these beings were understood to exist within this world, yet (while the firmly established connection between fairies and the natural environment is present in the prefatory instructions of this ritual) their connection to certain natural features and elements is de-emphasised and the connection between them and treasure expanded. In fact, the locations where it specifies that fairies dwell are caves, caverns, houses, and the 'Superficies of the Earth', all places where one might search for treasure (as opposed to those places related in the *Janua*'s table of environmental connections in Sloane 3825, see Figure 4).[131]

The invocation in the Januvian Fairy Ritual is introduced by material that interweaves prefatory instructions for the ritual itself with theoretical discussions about the nature and behaviours of these beings. This preamble claims that this 'Kind of Terrestrial spirits are vulgarly Called of all people generally Fairies and Elves, and the natures and Qualities of them are known to many'.[132] This statement establishes two important points that initially appear contradictory. By stating that knowledge about fairies was widely known the writer connects the fairies summoned by this ritual to the exoteric folk or literary representations of fairies and elves, indicating that there was some truth in these accounts since they allow the wider populace to know about fairy 'natures' and 'Qualities'. However, it

---

[131] Sloane 3824, 97v.
[132] Sloane 3824, 98r.

frames the general interpretation of fairies as inaccurate or imprecise by asserting

that the terms 'fairy' and 'elf' are 'vulgar' terms which actually refer to a certain

subgroup of terrestrial spirit. While the word 'vulgar' could simply mean 'Common

or much used of the common people', elitist prejudice made the term synonymous

with the rude, uncouth, unlearned, unrefined, and 'vile'.[133] Even in the least

pejorative reading of this word, it still demarcates between the specialist and the

general populace. In fact, contemporary dictionaries contrasted the specialised

physician's explanation of incubi as 'a naturall disease, caused by humours' with

the fact that 'vulgar thinke it some spirit', highlighting this specialist and non-

specialist divide.[134] This is not to say a learned vs. unlearned divide, for indeed

many writers of literary depictions of fairies, from Chaucer to Spencer, were

learned men. Nor is this a divide between those within and outside the tradition

which understood fairies as real, for the text also scorns common people for being

too afraid of fairies to make use of their potential aid (and people generally do not

fear what they do not think could be real).[135] Rather, this is a divide between the

esoteric specialists whose cosmological framework (and understanding of fairies)

was informed by occult philosophical texts, and the exoteric conceptualisation of

fairies (whether they were learned or 'folk', literary or oral). For the writer of this

text, the widespread accounts of fairies may hold grains of truth, or even accurately

describe the behaviours of these spirits; but they employ language that lacks

technical precision.

---

[133] John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (1616, 1621, 1641), s.v. 'vulgar'; John Baret, *An Alveary or Triple Dictionary, in English, Latin, and French* (1574), s.v. 'Vulgaris'. Dictionary entries accessed through *LEME*.
[134] John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (1616, 1621, 1641), s.v. 'incubus'; Thomas Blount, *Glossographia or a Dictionary* (1656), s.v. 'incubus'. Accessed through *LEME*.
[135] Sloane 3824, 67v.

4.3.3.2 The Magicians' Purity and the Fairies' Friendship

Drawing heavily upon the description of the 'Table Where Fairies Dwell' ritual in the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy,* the Januvian Fairy Ritual in Sloane 3824 directs the magician to set up a table with food and drink 'in such places where Either they haunt or Are most frequent in' and to suffumigate the area with 'good Aromatick Odours'.[136] This ritual not only draws upon the *Fourth Book*, but is also contextualised by the *Janua* and informed by other fairy summoning rituals not present in Sloane 3824 or Sloane 3825. After outlining the ritual instructions regarding setting up the table, the text specifies that fairies are governed by Mycob (a name for the fairy queen not present in literary sources but common, with some variation, in fairy summoning rituals such as Table Ritual and the Call of Queen Micol discussed in sections 1.3.1.1 and 1.2.2 respectively) and Oberion (notably spelled with the ritual magic context's 'i', as opposed to the literary sources' 'Oberon', as discussed in 1.1.1) with the seven sisters being next in command below them, following the hierarchy present in Folger Vb 26 and Chetham Mun.A.4.98.[137] While Oberion and Sibilia might have enjoyed their vogue amongst magicians due to their role in various medieval and early modern ballads and romances, the seven fairy sisters appear to have gained their place in ritual magic collections upon their own merits (or through their connection to Oberion and the fairy queen).

The Januvian Fairy Ritual explains that under the sisters are many legions of fairies who 'wander to and fro upon the Earth' and who keep many hidden or buried treasures 'especially such as are hidden in those places that they frequent,

---

[136] Sloane 3824, 98r.
[137] Folger Vb 26, 80-81; Chetham Mun.A.4.98, 78.

inhabit, or Delight in'.[138] While such places are not fully enumerated here, the *Janua* elaborates upon them with the clear table written by Scribe 1 (see Figure 4) that is introduced as a 'Table… Discribing breafly the names of most of these Kinde of terrestiall Spirits… with what places and things they Doo inhabit, Delight, & Dwell in.'[139] As can be seen from these almost identical wordings, the fairies were understood to lay claim to treasures buried or hidden in their associated environs.[140]

Like the Januvian Gnome Ritual, the Januvian Fairy Ritual emphatically departs from the sense of fear and righteous domination of demons by God-supported magicians which characterises the relationship between magicians and the spirits they summoned in medieval ritual magic, and in the enduringly anxious wording of early fairy summoning rituals with 'legalistic' precision.[141] Far from threatening the fairy to appear under pain of hellfire or banishment to hell, this fairy invocation 'adjure[s]' and 'Earnestly Require[s]' that Mycob and Oberion (in the name of Jehova and Christ) send one of the fairy sisters 'or in Your friendly Benevolence, to send some one or other spirit or spirits, of your Hierarchy or orders' to fulfil the magician's treasure-hunting desires.[142] In addition to the more apologetic language of 'adjure', 'humbly urge' and 'most Earnestly Desire' (rather than commanding or constraining), the invocation emphasises the goodness of the beings it summons by describing fairies as friendly and benevolent.[143]

---

[138] Sloane 3824, 98r.
[139] Sloane 3825, 38v. Many of these locations are related in the preface to the Januvian Gnome Ritual which precedes the Januvian Fairy Ritual, see Sloane 3824, 93r.
[140] Sloane 3824, 92v-93r, 97v.
[141] Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 353.
[142] Sloane 3824, 98v.
[143] Sloane 3824, 98v.

Furthermore, the invocation characterises them as having an amicable relationship with humans and even potentially Christian faith. The invocation even appeals to the power of their friendship and fellowship under God: 'I confidently and Earnestly importune of you as are our friends, & and we are your friends, and all of us servants to the Highest in whose name I Call upon you'.[144]

Although atypical of the medieval ritual magic tradition, this increasingly benevolent conceptualisation of faires did not arise *ex nihilo*, nor was this shift specific to fairies. As Bair Worden convincingly argues, due to various social and religious shifts (from reaction against the Puritan zealotry of the English Civil War to public interest in more moderate forms of religiosity in line with Enlightenment ideals and fashionable theological movements) led to the entire preternatural world being re-imagined as more benevolent toward humanity.[145] Hell lost much of its fury, the devil became less of a present force, demonology followed likewise, human nature was reimagined from fallen and sinful to a thing to be lauded and supported, and the persecution of witches began its ebb tide (in many places).[146] Even the almighty himself was rendered a less terrifying and vengeful figure, with earlier Protestant depictions of a righteous Old Testament deity giving way to a 'gentler, kinder God'.[147] In such a changing preternatural landscape, it would be suprising for fairies to be unaffected. This shift is apparent in some late seventeenth-century fairy-summoning rituals but ought not be thought of as a quality that was unique to fairies. While characteristic of broader developments in

[144] Sloane 3824, 98v.
[145] Blair Worden, 'The Question of Secularisation', in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, eds. Alan Houston and Steve Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 27, 30-35.
[146] Worden, 'The Question of Secularisation', 36-37.
[147] Worden, 'The Question of Secularisation', 35-36.

the period, fairies were perhaps more susceptible to it in ritual magic texts than demons due to the precedent for their moral ambiguity (which was firmly established in occult philosophy by Agrippa, as discussed below). This friendly relationship reaffirms that which was depicted in the preceding Januvian Gnome Ritual. The prefatory instructions to the Januvian Fairy Ritual state that preparing the meal and calling the fairies 'doth allure them to friendly familiarity willingly & Readily fulfilling your desires &c: without much Difficulty, and some have used no circle at all, to the Calling of these spirits, but only being Clean'.[148] Purity, both spiritual (through fasting, abstinence, and confession) and physical (through bathing and wearing clean clothes) was a key component of ritual magic.[149] However, this elevation of it to the only core requirement of the ritual beyond the invocation is anomalous to traditional ritual magic, but increasingly characteristic of invocations for fairy-related entities in occult philosophically influenced rituals.

The elevation of the magician's personal purity above the mechanics of ritual magic techniques strips the ritual of nearly all its protective aspects. Such purity was traditionally understood to allow the magician to channel God's power to summon and bind a spirit.[150] This state of grace provided an element of protection to the magician. Yet this was merely one aspect of protection, and it would have been reckless to suicidal (from the perspective of medieval ritual magic) to summon a spirit without a protective circle or bindings. This is attested by the warning stories which circulated of magicians who stepped foot out of their circle (despite doing all else correctly) and were dragged bodily to hell.[151] Traditionally,

---

[148] Sloane 3824, 98r.
[149] Klaassen, 'Subjective Experience', 37-39.
[150] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 105-106.
[151] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 17, 118-119.

without the circle all other protective measures were moot, leaving the magician at the whim of the spirit he has called.

The comment that a circle is not needed was the result of several elaborations. It has its root in Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, transmitted through the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* which in turn influenced the Januvian Fairy Ritual both directly and indirectly through its reworked contributions to the *Janua* (see Figure 6). At each stage alterations occurred which increasingly created a precedent for this benevolent portrayal of fairies and the whimsical approach to traditional protective measures. In the *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* the origin of this passage does not mention the ritually prepared meal, but says that one must go to the place where the desired variety of the third order of spirits dwell, suffumigate it with sweet scents, and recite appropriate incantations while playing music with (presumably string) instruments that are made from particular (unspecified) animal guts and strange wood.[152] After these cryptic musical specifications, Agrippa asserts the ambiguous relationship that these spirits held with humans, while notably emphasising the importance of the magician's inner state over ritual rigour:

> …that which is especially to be observed in this, the singleness of the wit, innocency of the mind, a firm credulity, and constant silence; wherefore they [i.e. the third order of spirit] do often meet children, women, and poor and mean men. They are afraid of and flie from men of a constant, bold, and undaunted mind, being no way offensive to good and pure men, but to wicked and impure, noxious.[153]

The pseudo-Agrippian *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy's* elaboration upon the above retains the instructions to suffumigate the location where they dwell, but

---

[152] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450-451.
[153] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.

adds that the magician must prepare a table covered in clean linen with bread and running water or milk in unused earthenware vessels and new cutlery (unlike the veritable feast outlined in the Januvian Fairy Ritual).[154] The *Fourth Book* emphasises the importance of the relationship between these spirits and the places they dwell by advising that should the special instruments, song, and incantation fail, then the magician is to resort to aggressive tactics, such as cursing them 'and especially by threatning them to expel them from those places where they are conversant.'[155]

Whereas the above comments about the inner state of the magician in the *Third Book* are positioned as being 'especially' important in comparison to the preceding music, incantations, and aromatics, the *Fourth Book* places this in relation to the coercive techniques and threats, following them with the statement that 'if need be, thou maist betake thee to use Exorcismes; but the chiefest thing that ought to be observed, is, constancy of minde, and boldness, free, and alienated from fear.'[156] The apparent use of exorcism only 'if need be' (as opposed to being central to spirit summoning) sets this apart from conventional ritual magic and implies a degree of comfort with these spirits unlikely to be knowingly extended to entities conceptualised as infernal.

After the description of the ritual table and meal, the *Fourth Book* states that 'if perchance you shall fear any evil Spirit, then draw a Circle about it, and let that part of the Table at which the Invocant sits, be within the Circle, and the rest of the

---

[154] Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 68-70.
[155] Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 69. Clearly their affection and connection to such natural features was perceived as so central to the third order of spirit that the threat of expulsion from these places was the magician's trump card in dealing with them.
[156] Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 69.

Table without the Circle'.[157] The *Fourth Book*'s framing of a protective circle as optional, only being necessary if one fears evil spirits, emphasises that the writer did not conceptualise this fairy-related variety of spirit as generally evil, or even a threat to a good person.[158] The Januvian Fairy Ritual draws heavily from this part of the *Fourth Book* (and/or the Table Ritual), although leaving out aspects (such as the need to use a musical instrument) and elaborating others (such as the food laid upon the table and the assertion that so long as the magician is 'Cleane washed and apparreld' then he need not even use a circle).[159] These source texts provided precedents for the amicable and benign fairies of Sloane 3824's Januvian Fairy and Gnome Rituals, upon which they elaborated.

Conversely, pseudo-Paracelsus' *Occult Philosophy* states that protective circles are not necessary because one ought not use ritual magic at all.[160] It presents the terrifying magic of fairies as mere illusion that one ought to ignore, aided by song and laughter.[161] While obviously conceptualising these entities very differently and viewing relations between humans and these entities (and the use of ritual magic to this end) from opposing perspectives, they ultimately both prioritise the inner state of the magician over any external ritual action. While Sloane 3824 clearly ignores the anti-ritual magic position of *Occult Philosophy*, the agreement between it and the Agrippian/Pseudo-Agrippian position (that circles were not necessary) likely highlighted and reaffirmed this point for the writer of the Januvian Fairy Ritual.

---

[157] Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 69.
[158] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.
[159] Sloane 3824, 98r.
[160] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 33-34, 37-38, 66.
[161] Paracelsus [Pseudo.], *Occult Philosophy*, 66-67.

The default medieval position was to assume the malevolent danger posed by spirits, rendering this presumption of goodwill toward humans by non-angelic entities an anomalous (although not unprecedented) shift.[162] In fact, the *Sworn Book of Honorius* states that having too positive and reciprocal a relationship with spirits (especially by not binding them or by offering them sacrifices, which the gifts of food might be interpreted as) is what distinguishes idolatrous paganism from divinely sanctioned Christian ritual magic.[163] There were some medieval magic texts which offered more amicable constructions of the relationship between humans and spirits (see Chapter Three's discussion of the *Liber Razielis*), but this is far more prevalent in classical sources (both magical and non-magical).[164] It appears that this was elaborated upon and adopted more widely in the post-Renaissance occult tradition. This is not a survival, but a revival of the potential for a more equanimous and convivial relationship with certain spirits that developed within a Christian context with the benefit of renewed Renaissance access to classical texts with which to model relationships between spirits and humanity.

4.3.3.3 The Need to Choose One's Words Carefully

A precaution advised by the Januvian Fairy Ritual has sometimes been interpreted as suggesting that the entities invoked are of the more mischievous or dangerous variety of fairy, but this is rooted in a misinterpretation of the warning's context. The ritual explains that for seven nights from eleven until two the magician

---

[162] For a discussion of morally neutral/ambiguous spirits summoned in ritual magic and the possible survival of more daemonic demons in ritual magic, see Richard Kieckhefer, 'Demons and Daimons: The Spirits Conjured', in *Forbidden Rites*, 154-169.

[163] Peterson, *Sworn Book of Honorius*, 62-63.

[164] See Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 3-4, 6, 67; Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 358-377. Cf. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 54-56.

is to repeat the invocation nine times until a fairy appears, at which point he is to write down its name and seal and read a pre-written command to the fairy.[165] The direction to write what one says to the fairy in advance also appears in the *Sylvan Square Ritual*, and may have been drawn from it (certainly the scribe was aware of the text, having copied it thirteen folios after this ritual).[166] Unlike the Sylvan Square Ritual, the Januvian Fairy Ritual gives a somewhat ambiguous explanation for this step, saying that one must do so 'because then they [the fairies] are In A greater Readiness, and Chargeth not the memory to recollect It Self, for being So stumbled & hobbled in your conceptions, you may Chance to lose that opportunity and peradventure your Design too'.[167]

The advice to prepare one's statement may merely have been meant to facilitate the magician's interaction with the spirit, given that the nearby non-fairy-related ritual to summon the spirit Bealpharos also directs the magician to prepare in writing what he wishes to say to the spirit.[168] Rankine, however, has interpreted this as an attempt to avoid fairy glamour and misinterpretation by carefully wording one's command or question.[169] While Dianne Purkiss' assertion that we need to rediscover the fear of fairies in order to understand how pre-modern people related to them is important (especially given the saccharine portrayals of fairies that have shaped public perception of them since the Victorian period) it may be that Rankine has taken this too far. It is true that one could read this as the fairies muddling the

---

[165] Sloane 3824, 100r.
[166] Sloane 3824, 113v-114v.
[167] Sloane 3824, 99r.
[168] Sloane 3824, 108r-110r. Note that folio 109 is a short insertion that describes the wickedness of fallen angels.
[169] Rankine, *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 111.

mind of the magician with enchantment so that he does not speak clearly or that they might interpret his commands in bad faith, but this is far from explicit.

The wording of the direction to write one's instructions for the fairies in advance can also be taken, more straightforwardly, as a warning about the enthusiasm and mercuriality of fairies who will vanish before one's request is articulated if it is not concise (as suggested by the statement that 'they are In A greater Readiness… yo^u may Chance to lose that opportunity'), and about the wonderous nature of their appearance in conjunction with the anomalous personal context of performing a ritual jn the middle of the night, which might cause anyone to stumble over their words (since the magician should 'Chargeth not the memory to recollect It Self…being So stumbled & hobbled in your conceptions').[170] While the fear of fairy trickery may well be why this advice was initially included in the older Sylvan Square Ritual, the Januvian Fairy Ritual's prevailing positive representation of fairies and their relationship with humans, and the wording of the explanation for this precaution, indicate a less perilous reason for preparing one's statement.

4.3.3.4 When Fairies Rebel and the Connection to e Mus. 173

Despite the Januvian Fairy Ritual assuming the friendliness of fairies, their goodwill toward the magician, and their ease of visible conjuration, the text nonetheless provides a contingency plan should the fairies not initially appear. Echoing the *Fourth Book*'s advice to resort to coercion if the more amenable initial methods of establishing communication with the fairies fail, the Januvian Fairy

---

[170] Sloane 3824, 99r.

Ritual directs the magician to use another invocation after a week of using the first unsuccessfully.[171] While the phrasing of the second invocation is far more assertive and domineering, it says nothing of banishing the fairies from the places they dwell as the *Fourth Book* recommends, although it does command them to remove themselves from the treasure and aid the magician(s) in acquiring it.[172]

This second invocation begins with the curious use of the words comprising a Sator square as *voces magicae*, followed by the abridged *Kyrie eleison* that was used in the Banishment of the Seven Sisters from the manuscripts e Mus. 173 (composed in the early seventeenth century) and Sloane 1727.[173] As noted in the Chapter One, this ritual feminises and Latinises the word 'elves' into 'elphas' and uses it to refer to the seven fairy sisters.[174] These similarities in phrasing indicate that either the invocation in the late to mid seventeenth-century Sloane 3824 is partially based upon that in early seventeenth-century e Mus. 173, or they both draw upon a common source. Not only is the Banishment of the Seven Sisters in e Mus. 173 likely decades older than Sloane 3824, but (with its exorcism of the fairy sisters from a person <u>or</u> from earth) it also stands as an intermediary text between the eleventh-century 'Sigismund Fever Charm's' expulsion of illness by removing the seven sister fevers from a person, and Sloane 3824's conjuration and exorcism of the seven fairy sisters as guardians of treasure in the earth.

Ms e Mus. 173 follows the *Kyrie eleison* with 'Also I co[n]iure you always sisters of Elphas & all your subiects by thes holy names of our lord…' whereas Sloane 3824 follows it with 'I Exorrize [sic exorcise]. adiure com[m]and constraine

---

[171] Agrippa [Pseudo.], *Fourth Book*, 69; Sloane 3824, 99r-100r.
[172] Sloane 3824, 99v.
[173] e Mus. 173, 15v-16r; Sloane 1727, 23r.
[174] e Mus. 173, 15v.

& most Earnestly urge and request yo Akerayes, the sisters of those terrestriall spirits, who are Called Fayries or Elphs by & in the name of the incomprehensable God…'.[175] Since it is possible that these invocations come from a common root, it is unclear whether 'always' or 'Akerayes' was the original word used in this invocation. 'Akerayes' may be a corruption from a yet earlier (hypothetical) manuscript (perhaps through conflation with *Kyrie*) of *Akeraios,* a Greek term which refers to unmixed and pure substances or an innocent mind uncorrupted by evil.[176] If so, then this echoes contemporaneous descriptions of female fairies as 'gentle' and virgins.[177] 'Akerayes' could also be a later (perhaps intentional) misreading of 'always' by someone familiar with Greek. Regardless of its origin, in Sloane 3824 the term clearly functions as a collective term for the sisters as it is rubricated, along with the sisters' names, 'Mycob', 'Oberyon', and the words 'Fayres' and 'Elphs'.[178]

The spell concludes by explaining that the magician is to invocate these beings between eleven at night and two in the morning because (despite the introductory claim that fairies are 'more frequently visible than any others [spirits]') this is the hour that they are most easily seen and when they are most active, being 'avespertine[179] Nocturnal' spirits (this is opposed to the *Third Book* which refers to some as 'Diurnall, some Nocturnall, [and] other[s] Meridionall').[180] The end of the Januvian Fairy Ritual explains that God commanded that they be invisible

---

[175] e Mus. 173, 16r; Sloane 3824, 99r.
[176] Carl Ludwig Willibald Grimm, *Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon: A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*, ed. and trans. Joseph Henry Thayer (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2010), s.v. ακέραιος. Note that this dictionary was first published in 1889.
[177] For example, Harley 6482, 18r-18v.
[178] Sloane 3824, 98r-99v.
[179] From *vesper* meaning that which is of or related to the evening.
[180] Sloane 3824, 100r; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392.

and less active during the day (unless someone specifically calls upon them to appear) so that they would not frighten average people.[181] This follows the same logic applied to mundane nocturnal dangerous animals, who were understood by contemporary writers to be awake while people slept so that humans might not be harmed by them.[182] The reason that fairies would frighten people, despite the claimed usefulness and benevolence of these entities, is explained by the contextualising material that immediately precedes and follows this ritual. Yet, despite the frequent assurances regarding the safety and friendliness of fairies, and the devil-may-care assertion that 'some have used noe Circle att all' to summon them, the ritual nonetheless is followed by an illustration of a protective circle.[183] This indicates that (perhaps due to the diversity of fairy traditions, or his own personal caution) the ritual's writer/compiler was not quite so confident in the kindness and identity of these beings as he claims.

4.3.4 The Januvian Fairy and Gnome Rituals: Synthesis and Elaboration

The Januvian Fairy Ritual in Sloane 3824 is a synthesis of several earlier fairy summoning rituals, with clear influence from occult philosophical writings about fairies and related beings (see Figure 6). This is unlike many fairy summoning rituals which (as has been demonstrated in Chapter Two) tended to circulate in the more utilitarian context of ritual magic manuals and miscellanies which provided only the practicable instructions. As we have seen from the theoretical occult philosophical texts in Chapter Three, and the many pragmatic

---

[181] Sloane 3824, 100r.
[182] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural* World, 19.
[183] Sloane 3824, 98r.

and utilitarian ritual magic manuscripts covered in Chapter Two, these literatures were likely circulating in the same libraries and informed each other, but were less extensively bound together in the same manuscripts. Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825 show the most dramatic intra- and inter-textual interweaving of fairies from the ritual magic tradition with the discussion of fairies and fairy-like beings in the occult philosophical tradition. Despite all the powers and possibilities that these source texts promised, the primary utility that fairies had for the magician who compiled this ritual was to acquire treasure.

4.4 The Sylvan Square Ritual's Knights Excluded

The Sylvan Square Ritual is the final operation in Sloane 3824 which is sometimes explicitly identified as a fairy summoning spell. Its significance to the wider tradition of fairy-summoning rituals has been discussed in Chapter One. To summarise its contents, however: this ritual involves going to a deserted place or woods with a parchment inscribed with the blood of a lapwing to summon three knights, the first two of which must be ignored in favour of the third. There is little evidence within the context of Sloane 3824, however, that the compiler of these rituals conceptualised the entities invoked in this spell as fairies. Far from rendering this ritual irrelevant, it reaffirms the compiler's default conceptualisation of fairies as having a benign relationship with humanity.

The three knights were clearly coded, and sometimes specifically identified, as fairies.[184] The pattern of three entities appearing, the first two of which one must refuse before accepting the prize offered by the third and most beautiful appears

---

[184] The titles given for this ritual in Sloane 3826, 100r and Sloane 3846, 111r explicitly identify the knights as fairies.

both in the Sylvan Square ritual and the Table Ritual. This model echoes several fairy motifs.[185] As it is not included in this manuscript, there is no indication that Scribe 1 had access to the Table Ritual (since the table aspect of fairy summoning, present in the Januvian Fairy Ritual, had already proliferated due to the *Fourth Book*). Lacking this, and (presumably) a source that explicitly identified the knights as fairies, this parallel might not have been readily apparent.

The connection of these knights with forests fits into the Renaissance codification of the connection between fairies and natural environs, but also follows the medieval precedent of fairies or fairy-like entities favouring trees, forests, and deserted places.[186] The copy of this ritual in Sloane 3824 is the only example to state that it might be performed in an orchard. Other versions only refer to a forest or deserted place where people rarely frequent (the need of secret spaces being a frequent stipulation of ritual magic texts more broadly). The stipulation that the magician might use an orchard (rather than a forest) as the location where the ritual might be done is evocative of rituals to summon Sibilia in a garden and the extended invocation of Micol in Chetham Mun.A.4.98 which directs one to summon this 'dryad' in an orchard (the latter seemingly inspired by Agrippa's *Three Books* in adding this specification).[187] The most natural explanation for this is that some scribe, identifying these knights with the fairy-related beings of Agrippa or these other fairy-summoning spells, added the specification that the spell might be performed in an orchard. This may have been Scribe 1 or the scribe of the source from which he copied the Sylvan Square Ritual. Given that the connection of fairies

---

[185] Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 4-6.

[186] Green, *Elf Queens*, 14, 100; Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 151-152.

[187] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 54; Chetham Mun.A.4.98, 80; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 450.

with natural features was so heavily emphasised in the *Janua* and appears (although admittedly less emphasised) in both Januvian rituals, it is somewhat surprising that the knights were not explicitly identified as fairies and that the ritual was not placed closer to the other fairy-summoning rituals in the manuscript.

It is conceivable that Scribe 1 (or the compiler of this material) did interpret them as fairies but bound the spell amongst those summoning demons (and less specific spirits) because they were all entities that helped one acquire treasure. The Sylvan Square Ritual was repeatedly bound preceding an invocation of the spirit Bleth (possibly related to or synonymous with the demon Beleth) to appear in a urinal (possibly chamber pot) or glass of water in Cambridge Additional 3544, Sloane 3318, and Sloane 3824.[188] Even in the fifteenth century, one invocation in Rawlinson D 252 connected Bleth with fairies when invoking either 'Bleth, andro malchum, Egippiam, Oberionem, vel Sibillam' to discover the whereabouts of a thief.[189] Yet, the conjuration of Bleth which follows the Sylvan Square Ritual is used to acquire information, not treasure (directly). Even allowing that the Sylvan Square Ritual may have circulated with the invocation of Bleth following it, then it is still surprising that the compiler would not have placed them at the beginning of this assortment of summoning rituals, thus keeping the fairy-related materials together by placing it directly after the fairy-summoning spells and 'Distinctions.'

There is one positive argument founded upon a line in the Sylvan Square Ritual that may have convinced the scribe that the knights were not fairies despite some of their fairy-like qualities. Mirroring the end of the Table Ritual, which states that the magician may sleep with the fairy, the Sylvan Square Ritual states that,

---

[188] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, 99-102; Sloane 3318, 56r-58v; Sloane 3824, 113v-115r.
[189] Rawlinson D. 252, 144v.

once the magician has made his request of the third knight, the knight asks 'Will you have my fellowship,' which the magician must refuse.[190] This request of friendship is a far less threatening prospect than sleeping with this male presenting entity to the heteronormative presumptions of the male magician, yet even this the magician is told to refuse (unlike the Table Ritual in which the magician may sleep with the female presenting fairy).

The power dynamics at play here are telling. It is likely that to sleep with a female fairy was not conceptualised as an act between equals, given not only contemporary sexual power dynamics, but also the context of a summoning spell which (conventionally) binds the entity summoned to follow the magician's will. A friendship between two (apparently) male beings, however, is far more equal. Perhaps denying this was a means of negating any hold the fairy might gain over the magician. Certainly, it holds to the traditional uneasiness toward the summoned entity indicative of many (especially early) fairy-summoning rituals and traditional demon-summoning spells. Scribe 1, however, was clearly familiar with the Januvian representation of the relationship between humans and fairies as being fundamentally characterised by friendship and fellowship. This amicable relationship was a source of power used to summon these entities in the Januvian Gnome and Fairy summoning rituals, and was thus presented as the defining feature of fairy invocations in this manuscript. I suggest that so strong was this conceptualisation that, despite the fairy-related elements in the Sylvan Square Ritual, Scribe 1 did not associate the three knights with the fairy beings with whom humans ought to seek (not avoid) convivial and trusting relationships.

---

[190] Sloane 3824, 114v.

4.5 The 'Tenth Key' and 'Animastic' Spirits

4.5.1 The Tenth Key

The 'Tenth Key' is an insertion which occurs in both Sloane 3825 and (as an extended version) in Sloane 3824 in two separate hands. It warrants explanation here because the invocation (especially the version in Sloane 3825) appears to synthesise the animastical (or 'animastic', 'Animastick', 'Aninastik' - as the English texts contain many variations of this term) order (which was derived from Agrippa's *ordo animasticus* and included in the additions to the *Janua*, as discussed in the following section) with material taken from the *Janua*'s discussion of fairy-related beings.[191] This potentially framed these angels as the overseers of sub-lunary fairy-related entities (or even elevating the *Janua*'s fairy-related spirits to the lowest order of angels). Despite the significance of the 'Tenth Key' to understanding the context of this study (and vice versa) I have not categorised it as a fairy-summoning ritual (and thus not included it in Chapter One). This is because it is far more an angel (rather than a fairy) summoning ritual, as can be seen by its context. In Sloane 3825 the text is inserted into a blank space following the angel summoning text called the 'The nine great Cælestiall Keys, or Angelicall invocations' (hence this being the *tenth* key), and in Sloane 3824 it is bound amongst a collection of pentacles which precede the series of invocations for treasure spirits of which the Januvian Gnome and Fairy Rituals are a part.[192]

'The nine great Cælestiall Keys, or Angelicall invocations' are innovations elaborated from the *Janua* and Agrippa's summation of the ten Sefirot.[193] In this

---

[191] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 281; Sloane 3824, 81r.
[192] Sloane 3824, 81r-81v, 83r-83v; Sloane 3825, 95v-96r.
[193] Sloane 3825, 49r-49v.

context the addition of the 'Tenth Key' was a reasonable extension of the text given

that Scribe 2 recorded an additional section of the *Janua* about animastic spirits

which was (according to Scribe 2) initially in a subsection of the part of the *Janua*

entitled 'Of the nine, or Orders of Cælestiall Angels and the Animasticall Order of

Heroes, or Quire of Blessed Souls'. This text was almost exactly drawn from

chapter ten of the *Third Book* in which Agrippa summarises his understanding of

the ten kabbalistic Sefirot.[194] Agrippa (and therefore the *Janua*) identifies the

animastical order with the tenth Sefirot, and it was directly following this that the

Janua initially also included the explanation of the animastical order which Agrippa

did not elaborate upon until chapter thirty-four.

It appears that the writer of the *Janua* did not interpret the animastic order

as angels and wished to write a series of angel conjurations. The later writer of the

'Tenth Key' may or may not have conceptualised the animastic order as being

angels themselves, but certainly interprets them as being governed by angelic

forces which might be invoked. The 'Tenth Key' invokes the entity named Issim or

the soul of the messiah which it describes as rulers of the 'quire of the blessed'.

While identifying heroes or the animastic order as being a rung on the celestial

hierarchy, it also specifies that its members are sub-celestial, dwelling in the

spheres of the elements.[195] It alters or misunderstands its source text, rendering

Issim as the governing intelligence of the angel 'Mitraton'.[196] The *Janua* and

Agrippa do not identify 'Issim' as an entity, but as the Hebrew term for the

animastic order.[197] In fact, the writer of the 'Tenth Key' did not need to have had

---

[194] Sloane 3825, 26r-28r.
[195] Sloane 3825, 95v.
[196] Sloane 3824, 81r.
[197] Sloane 3825, 28r; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 215, 370, 397 453.

access to Agrippa directly, as all the material included in the invocation was present in the extended version of the *Janua*. The invocation identifies Issim as residing in the highest heaven and having command over the animistic order which dwell in the elements.[198] Other angels invoked in the ritual (however) are in the lowest (rather than highest) heaven, such as Hajoth and Hakadosch who are described 'as ministring Angells… Appointments in the Order of Aninastik or Quire of Blessed Souls and Residing in the tenth heaven, & bearing office Rule & power in the sphere of the Elements'.[199] This ambiguity makes it unclear whether the 'Tenth Key' presents the entities it invokes as angels commanding the animastic spirits in the elements, or as angels who are the animastic order and thus are the spirits of the elements themselves. In either case, the entities invoked are explicitly angels, but it may re-imagine the fairy-related beings connected to the elements as the lowest order of angel.

The writer of the 'Tenth Key' draws upon Agrippa (via additions to the *Janua*) to invoke the powers of the so-called animastic order of spirits which it seems to synthesise with Agrippa's third order of spirit and (perhaps) the *Janua*'s discussion of the fairy-related non-demonic terrestrial spirits.[200] The term 'blessed souls' is easily interpreted as referring to the saints, yet the descriptions from within the invocation show no evidence of this interpretation. I posit that, instead of Agrippa's conclusion about saints (discussed in the following section), the writer of the 'Tenth Key' focused upon the first half of the discourse on animastical spirts which presents them as half-spirits-half humans. This is likely due to the 'Tenth

---

[198] Sloane 3825, 96r.

[199] Sloane 3824, 81r.

[200] Sloane 3824, 81r; Sloane 3825, 95v.

Key' being influenced by the *Janua* and written within the same anti-Catholic context. The 'Tenth Key', as it appears in Sloane 3825 describes the order as residing in and 'bearing office Rule & power in the spheare of the Elements' and asks for their aid in producing natural wonders, acquiring and manufacturing treasures, learning medicine, and sharing knowledge of the 'Elementall Creatures' and their powers 'as they are severally placed'.[201] Not only do all these features correlate to the long-standing associations of fairies with knowledge, wealth, and health, but the elemental creatures that dwell in various locations sound very much like Agrippa's third order of spirit and fairy-related entities in the *Janua* and its source texts. While the iteration in Sloane 3824 is primarily aimed at gaining 'knowledge & [the] way of truth and all true Physicall & Mettaphysicall Sciences' both versions refer to this class of spirit as the 'Animastick' order, the hierarchy of heroes (recalling the demi-god heroes of classical myth which Agrippa initially describes), and the choir (or quire) of blessed souls (originally *animae beatae* in Agrippa).[202]

4.5.2 Saints, Heroes, Daemons, and Fairies: The Animastic Spirits as Intermediaries Between Humanity and Higher Entities

The addition to the *Janua* recorded by Scribe 2 beginning 'As concerning the Animasticall Order' runs from 39r to 39v of Sloane 3824, but restored to the *Janua* it would come after the enumeration of the nine hierarchies of angels and before the discussion of humanity, functioning as an intermediary category of being

---

[201] Sloane 3825, 95v; Sloane 3824, 81r.
[202] Sloane 3824, 81r-81v; Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, cxii, cxxix,

between humanity and the celestial spirits and having 'a certaine midle Nature'.[203]

Indeed, the diagram of the macrocosm in Harley 6482 adds a sphere for the

'Animastic' order below the sphere of the moon but above the sphere of fire.[204]

This placement suggests that the order was understood to be part of the sublunary

world, but encompassing (and thus presiding over) the elemental spheres. It is

clearly inspired by (and for the most part paraphrased from) chapter thirty-four of

Agrippa's *Third Book* where he discusses an 'Animasticall order' of spirits which

'the Magicians of the Gentiles, call Heroes and Demi-gods, or gods half men'.[205]

Since this passage held no particular connections to fairies as presented in

Agrippa, it was not explored in Chapter Three's discussion of the *Three Books*. The

changes made to it in the *Janua*'s additions, however, synthesise this order of

spirits with the *Janua*'s hybridisation of Agrippa's third order of spirit, Paracelsus's

elemental beings, and the fairies of ritual magic - and thus discussion of Agrippa's

original version here is also warranted as a point of comparison and to

demonstrate the points of change and evolution of this passage.

Chapter thirty-four of the *Third Book* can be divided into two main sections.

First Agrippa states that the gentiles used to believe in beings which were half-

gods and half-men who were the demi-gods and heroes of classical myth.[206] The

English explains that these were often understood to be the children of humans

and gods or angels (*daemonum* is the original Latin, once again demonstrating

how the English translation whimsically transformed Agrippa's morally neutral

---

[203] Sloane 3824, 39r; Green, *Elf Queens*, 87.
[204] Harley 6482, 2.
[205] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 453-455.
[206] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 453-455.

daemons to demons or angels).[207] He lists minor gods, classical heroes, and significant magicians and philosophers (such as Merlin and Plato) as his archetypical examples of this intermediary order.[208] Yet he dismisses all this as 'the follies of the Gentiles'.[209] In the chapter's second section Agrippa dismisses the first half as erroneous, arguing that this animistic order is that of the holy saints. They are closer to humanity, having once been human, yet are imbued with divine power and influence. Thus, they hold this intermediary role between the human and the divine.[210]

The writer of the *Janua* omits the conclusions of Agrippa, due to the Protestant rejection of Catholicism and (by extension) the saints. Given the vitriolic anti-Catholic sentiments born by the Reformation, some Protestant readers found it possible not to take issue with magical instructions while viciously censoring Catholic prayers.[211] In a similar manner the writer of this part of the *Janua* self-consciously distances himself from any echoes of Catholic sentiment, despite recording Agrippa's occult ideas. Agrippa begins the second section of this chapter by stating that although the explanation of the animastic order outlined in the first half 'are the follies of the Gentiles; but as concerning our holy Heroes [i.e. the saints] we beleve [sic] that they excel in divine power'.[212] The *Janua*, however, changes this to 'Now the opinion & beliefe of the Roman Catholiks (the most

[207] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 453-454; Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 281.
[208] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 454. For Merlin's incubus-father-as-fairy see Green, *Elf Queens*, 9, 84-91.
[209] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 454.
[210] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 454-455.
[211] For examples of this see: Làng, *Unlocked Book*, 125-126; David Bell, "A Cistercian at Oxford, Richard Dove of Buckfast and London BL Sloane 513," *Studia Monastica*, 31 (1989): 87. Cf. Gillis Hogan, 'Stars in the Hand', 48, 94-95.
[212] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 454.

learned in divine & Cælestiall Mysteries, in this moderne Age)[213] hereof is this. As

concernnig [*sic*] our holy Heroes (say they) wee beleive [sic] they excell in Divine

Power…'.[214] After the lightly paraphrased discussion of saints the writer of the

Janua concludes, 'Of wch Order of Heroes aforesaid, we can say litle [*sic*] or

nothing of; till Tyme hath produced some further satisffaction… it being in our

apprehension so Mysticall &c: that our understanding… is not at present capable of

[understanding it]'.[215] The composer of the *Janua* rejected Agrippa's conclusion

that this intermediary rung between humans and spirits in the cosmological

hierarchy is filled by the saints. While he does not go so far as to explicitly assert

that the pagan interpretation was correct, the alterations he made suggest it. He

does affirm that this category of being was unknowable, at least at present. Despite

the assertion that this order was a divine mystery, it is interesting that in the

Janua's new addition to the end of this passage the writer chose the term 'Heroes'

(used in the first half of this chapter of Agrippa) as opposed to 'saints' (used in the

second).[216] This tacitly suggests that he conceives of the first explanation offered

by Agrippa, that 'of the Gentiles', as the correct one. Furthermore, while Agrippa

alludes to the first section of the chapter as outlining the views of entities that the

'Hebrew *Theologians* call *Issim*, that is, strong and mighty men; the Magicians of

the Gentiles, call *Heroes* and *Demi-gods*, or gods half men', the version in the

Janua merely states that 'various is the opinion of the Learned' at the beginning of

the section.[217]

---

[213] An unusually positive account of Roman Catholics for an English source from this period. But, notably, one that still falls into the stereotype that they are more heavily associated with magic.

[214] Sloane 3824, 39r.

[215] Sloane 3824, 39v.

[216] Sloane 3824, 39v.

[217] Sloane 3824, 39r; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 453.

Slight changes to the wording from that found in French's English edition suggest either that the *Janua*'s version is drawn from some other English translation of the *Three Books* circulating in manuscripts no longer extant, or else that the writer of the *Janua* wished to make the first section more readily reconcilable to a Christian worldview. For example, the Januvian extract refers to them as 'the Animasticall Order, or Choire of blesed Soules, or Heroes' that were 'thought to be begotten, by the mixture of Angels with Men. And it is generally beleived that Merlyne the British Prophet, was the son of an Angell, and borne of a Virgin.'[218] This echoes the half-human and half spirit nimphidicals of the *Arbatel* discussed in the previous chapter. While elsewhere in the English version of the *Three Books* 'blessed soules' is used, in this chapter of the *Third Book*, the *Janua*'s quire of 'blesed Soules' was (in the original Latin) the (notably plural) quire of 'blessed Gods' (*deorum beatorū*) who were 'begotten by the mixture of Gods or Angels[219] with men' with Merlin being 'the son of a Spirit[220], and born of a virgin'.[221] The *Janua*'s replacement of 'spirit' and 'god' with 'angel' softens the potentially infernal or polytheistic implications of this passage, strongly suggesting an endeavour to put the first half of Agrippa's discussion of the animastical order on the same level with his second half which explained them as saints. In this way he rejects the overly Catholic explanation of these beings as saints, and instead recasts the daemons, heroes, and polytheistic gods as this tenth order of angel.

Although the paternal parentage of Merlin has come to be generally accepted as being incubial and often specifically infernal, the Agrippian framing of

---

[218] Sloane 3824, 39r.

[219] *daemonum*

[220] *daemonis*

[221] Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, cclxxxi; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 190, 215, 367, 370, 481, 453.

his father as the more neutral spirit or benevolent angel is not out of place.[222] In

fact, it more accurately reflects the initial portrayal of his father by Geoffrey of

Monmouth (died 1155). In *The History of the Kings of Britain* Geoffrey cites the

Platonist philosopher Apuleius' (c. 124 CE-post 170 CE) *De deo Socratis* to explain

that between the earth and moon dwelt half-human-half-angel-entities called

incubus daemons.[223] Far from being infernal fallen angels (which is to say, those

evil spirits primarily associated with hell), Geoffrey presents incubial daemons as

the *daemones* of classical cosmology (more specifically Platonic cosmology),

dwelling in the air between humanity and the gods/God.[224] As Green notes, 'By

citing Apuleius rather than Augustine [who was better known and also notes this],

Geoffrey gives his "middle spirits" a distinctly neoplatonic (as opposed to patristic

caste'.[225] According to Geoffrey's character Maugantius, far from a rarity, the

evidence of numerous philosophers and histories affirm that many humans have

been conceived in this manner.[226]

Rather than a fallen angel, Geoffrey presents Merlin's father as one of a

class of spirit-human hybrids that dwell in the elemental spheres between the earth

and the moon. These do not merely dwell cosmologically between earthbound

humanity and the celestial realm, but possess intermediary natures between

humans and angels. This very accurately reflects Apuleius' writings (with which

Geoffrey was clearly familiar) when he said just as daemons 'are placed between

---

[222] Green, *Elf Queens*, 9, 84-91.

[223] *…inter lunam et terram habitant spiritus quos incubus daemones appellamus. Hii partim habent naturam hominum, partim uero angelorum…* See: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of* De gestis Britonum (Historia regum Britanniae*)*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 139.

[224] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 341, 358-359.

[225] Green*, Elf Queens*, 87.

[226] *In libris philosophorum nostrorum et in plurimis historiis repperi multos homines huiusmodi procreationem habuisse.* See: Geoffrey, *History of the Kings*, 139.

us and the gods in their physical location, so they are in their mental nature, having immortality in common with those above, but emotionality with those below'.[227] This aligns with the Platonic depiction of daemons and intermediaries between the gods and humans, partially sharing the nature of each and (much like later saints) acting as intercessors who delivered human prayers to the gods and divine gifts to humans.[228] In fact, Apuleius merely says that daemons can love or hate humans and experience human emotions (this, I posit, being Agrippa's source for similar claims about the third order of spirit and subsequent repetition of this regarding fairy-related beings in occult philosophy and the Januavian rituals).[229] Geoffrey's attribution of the copulation of daemons and humans appears born from post-Augustinian associations, as suggested by the use of the term 'incubus' which is not present in *De deo Socratis*.

The Janua retains Agrippa's framing of the animastical order as holding a state between humanity and angels. Agrippa outlines this in chapter ten of the *Third Book* where he draws upon kabbalistic mysticism and the pseudo-apocrypha. In this chapter Agrippa associates the ten *Sefirot* of the kabbalistic tradition with nine orders of angels and the choir of blessed souls.[230] In discussing the tenth and last *Sefirot* he states that members of the animastic order 'are inferior to the *Hierarchies*' since their primary influence is upon humanity and they are able to 'give knowledge and the wonderfull understanding of things, also industry and prophesie; and the soul of *Messiah* is president amongst them or (as others say) the intelligence *Metattron*, which is called the first Creature, or the soul of the

---

[227] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 362-363.
[228] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 343, 360-361.
[229] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 370-373.
[230] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 367.

world'.[231] If it may be understood that Agrippa was conceptualising 'messiah' in the Christian (rather than original Jewish) sense, then the president of this order is the one person that even the most orthodox Christian would admit was fathered by God and born of a human woman. Likewise, Metatron was the name given to the biblical human Enoch when he was transformed into an angel by God.[232] This story is extant in the pseudepigrapha, originated in an early Jewish mystical context, was part of the mystical Jewish tradition which gave rise to twelfth- and thirteenth-century kabbalism, and continued to influence kabbalism through the Middle Ages and early modern period.[233] As articulated by the scholar of Jewish esotericism, Agata Paluch, in this tradition can be seen the 'idea of authority of rule of the supreme angel in both human (as Enoch) and divine (as Metatron) realms'.[234] It was likely due to familiarity with this tradition that Agrippa drew the parallel between the exceptional circumstance of a human being turned into an angel and this class of being that straddles the line in the cosmological hierarchy between humanity and the angels.

This subtle shift of the animistic order from being confidently presented as saints (divinely elevated human souls) by Agrippa, to being ambivalently presented as mystically unknowable (or possibly half-human-half-spirits) in the *Janua* provided a conceptual space in which to reinterpret and hybridise the first half of the chapter on animastical spirits with the elemental spirit-men of Paracelsus and the third order of corporeal elemental spirits outlined by Agrippa. The *Janua*

---

[231] Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 367, 370.

[232] Agata Paluch, 'Enoch-Metatron Revisited: Prayers, Adjurations, and Metonymical Hermeneutics in Premodern Jewish Mystical and Magical Texts', *Entangled Religions* 13, no. 6 (2022). Note: very unhelpfully for any academic trying to use their articles, the publishers of this journal give no page numbers.

[233] Paluch, 'Enoch-Metatron Revisited'.

[234] Paluch, 'Enoch-Metatron Revisited'.

(drawing from *Occult Philosophy*) referred to the 'gnomi' as 'half Men' who 'are not properly Said to be spirits', and its writer also clearly drew upon the English translation of the *Three Books* which refers to members of the third order of spirits as 'the gods of the Woods [*Sylvani*], Country gods, Satyrs, Familiars, Fairies…Nymphs… Dryades… the Genii, Hobgoblins [*Lemures*] and such like; whence they call them vulgar superiors [*plebem superum*], some the demi-gods and goddesses [*semideos deas'ue*]'.[235] By identifying this third order (which includes fairies in the English version) as what some call demi-gods and goddesses and stating that the Egyptians believed that 'some of these to be corporeall and mortall, whose bodies are begotten and dy, yet to be long lived', the English translation of the *Third Book* presents these entities as a category of being half way between the human and the spirit, neither incorporeal nor fully human. All of these influences present categories of beings that echo the demi-gods mentioned in the discussion of the animastical spirits and hold the same position between humans and spirits. Once (due to anti-Catholic sentiments) the saints could no longer hold this category, the conceptual space was readily filled (with recourse to the first half of Agrippa's chapter) by synthesising the animastical order with the fairy-related entities discussed in the *Janua*. This synthesis in the *Janua*'s magical theory was then put into practice by the ritual magic operation of the 'Tenth Key'.

---

[235] Sloane 3825, 38v; Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy*, 392-393; Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, ccxli.

4.6 Conclusion

Sloane 3824 and Sloane 3825 represent an exceptional example of the process by which scribes modified and elaborated their texts with several examples of how ritual magic came to be influenced by and even based upon occult philosophy in early modern England. It brings together trends I have identified in the previous chapters. The *Janua* highlights the slippery nature of words and concepts used to describe and distinguish between fairies and demons. Yet, despite this, nowhere is there a more explicit articulation of the emergence of distinct portrayals of fairies in ritual magic and occult philosophy. This portrayal was comprised of three distinct features: the desirability of humans (including magicians) establishing positive relationships with these beings, and their willingness to do so; the intermediary position of fairies between humans and spirits; and the intrinsic connection of these entities with various natural environments and features. The greatest people of legend (philosophers, magicians, and founders of noble families) might be born from union with these beings, and humans angered them at their peril. The recognition of differing perspectives about these beings and their natures (or even reality) was recognised by the text, and the correct belief in them leveraged as a means to establish friendship with them and avoid their ire. Through fairies, not only were beings of romance and classical traditions reclaimed within a (fundamentally) Christian cosmology, but the potential for a positive relationship with them was also reclaimed. This differed from the domineering dynamic archetypical of the necromancer-demon relationship in medieval ritual magic, yet still retained the magician's primarily exploitative motivations as he summoned them to acquire their treasures. Despite the anthropocentric perspective of the texts, taken together they

present an animate world, filled with spirits of nature who are very close to humans and with whom we might (and ought) to commune.

Conclusion

The history of fairy summoning rituals is one of dramatic change and lasting tradition. While interpretations of fairies changed, and rituals developed and were modified accordingly, some motifs and elements proved enduring. Thus was old fabric cut into new patterns. This study outlines the development of fairies in occult philosophic texts and ritual magic manuals wherein they were increasingly conceptualised as what I have loosely called occult philosophical fairies: beings found throughout this world and connected to natural features and the elements by their innermost essence. In this way they differed from exoteric fairies of literature and folk custom who were generally understood as belonging to and primarily inhabiting Faerie (whether understood as another land upon the earth, a realm below the earth's surface, or a world parallel with and intertwining with our own).

These esoteric perspectives did not exist in a vacuum. They arose from and were used to reinterpret literary and folkloric accounts of fairies and related beings (from the Albericht/Auberion of German and French literature, to the mountain Sibyl/Venus of Italian, French, and German romances). The development of the esoteric fairy had medieval precedent in the *Liber Razielis* and also drew on classical influences, particularly in Agrippa's reinterpretation and synthesis of gods of the earth from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Platonic daemons in Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*. These theories were then applied (particularily by later scribes) to entities explicitly identified as 'fairies' when they were translated from Latin into English and drawn upon by early modern English ritual magicians and occult philosophers. Some scribes took an active role in the compilation and reinterpretation of established texts and theories, showing not mere antiquarian

interest, but active engagement with the source material that reflected the ideas internalised by these scribes.

These were not attempts to disguise demons as fairies, since fairy summoning rituals primarily travelled with explicit or implicit demon conjurations (rendering such subterfuge unnecessary). It is not always clear in ritual magic operations whether fairies were conceptualised as their own order of being or a sub-class of demon, but even when this ambiguity remains and only the word 'spirit' is used to refer to them, they are overwhelmingly clumped together and are clearly conceptualised as being a distinct order or sub-order of entity. As this thesis demonstrates, fairies became increasingly benign between 1400 and 1700, with the most explicit example of this examined more fully in Chapter Four. Initially as dangerous as they were wondrous and of questionable morality, by the late seventeenth century they were sometimes viewed as being so amenable to humanity as to establish bonds of friendship without conventional ritual binding and protective constraints. This was a fundamental shift in the relationship between human magician and the spirit summoned, moving away from the controlling domination of medieval ritual magic (which made sense when the targets of rituals were primarily conceptualised as fallen angels by medieval Christian magicians). This represents not a survival, but a revival of the more respectful and egalitarian dynamic between magician and the spirit summoned found in Hellenistic summoning rituals (see sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.3.2 in Chapter Four). This can be interpreted as the development of a type of animism which was articulated in a learned Christian context and became more prevalent in seventeenth-century England.

5.1 Animism Revisited

Turning the gaze of animism back upon 'the west' challenges Whig (and Enlightenment) narratives of Europe (particularly Northwestern Europe and England) being uniquely and monolithically a bastion of materialism (framed as 'modernity', 'science', and/or 'rationality'), especially in its relationship to the natural world. Not only does the primitivisation and othering of Indigenous animisms need to be unlearned, but also the false narrative of Western exceptionalism and materialism needs to be qualified. Yet the question of whether 'animism' is a useful tool with which to think is a matter of contention; this word has not always been seen as helpful by scholars.

By 1966 Carlo Ginzburg would describe works as flawed which maintained an 'over-insistence on such outdated categories as animism'.[1] This negative association has been more recently echoed by Ostling who in 2018 referred to 'the mode of religiosity still unfortunately labelled "animism"'.[2] Clearly animism has fallen into enduring scholarly disrepute. Ginzburg and Ostling appear to be critiquing the colonialist use of 'animism' (characteristic of English scholarship) to primitivize and 'other' Indigenous spiritualities, often presenting animism (like magic) as the first stage which preceded more 'advanced' religion in a progress narrative of historical development.[3] This is to use animism as people came to understand it after Edward B. Tylor coined it: as the worldview that everything has

---

[1] Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, 177.

[2] Ostling, 'Introduction', 9.

[3] Kenneth M. Morrison 'Animism and a Proposal for a Post-Cartesian Anthropology', in *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Graham Harvey (London, New York: Routledge: 2014), 38; Martin D. Stringer, 'Building on Belief: Defining Animism in Tylor and Contemporary Society', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 68; Stephan Harding, 'Towards an Animistic Science of the Earth', in in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 373-374; Val Plumwood, 'Nature in the Active Voice', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 449; Graham Harvey, *Animism: Respecting the Living World* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2005), xii, 28-29.

a spirit which resides within it by intrinsic design (just as the human soul is the innate animating force within humans).[4]

More recently there has been a movement to reclaim animism, referred to as 'new animism' by Harvey, by treating such worldviews in a manner that is more nuanced and dignifying to the traditions being studied.[5] When I refer to 'new animism' it is this recent scholarly reclamation movement of which I speak. While one must be wary of using animism as a universalising term, given the 'relational and local nature of Indigenous animisms,' the conceptualisation of fairies (and related beings) as persons who are ubiquitously connected to natural space and feature, and the significance that Agrippa and later occult philosophers placed on establishing positive and beneficial relationships with these entities, seems to align with the use of 'animism' employed by anthropologists Nurit Bird-David and Danny Naveh who state that 'Animism, as we utilize the term, is about a world full of immediate relational beings.'[6]

Drawing from Graham Harvey, Isabel Laack relates the view that humans are 'embedded in reciprocal cycles of nourishment,' and that 'animism could be called a kind of "inter-species etiquette."'[7] The importance of establishing a positive relationship with fairies and related beings is demonstrated in rituals and occult philosophy examined in Chapters One, Three, and Four. These relationships were

---

[4] Robert A. Segal, 'Animism for Tylor', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 61. The degree to which Tylor himself understood animism in this way has been challenged, see Stringer, 'Building on Belief', 65; Graham Harvey, 'Introduction', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 4.

[5] Harvey, *Animism*, 28-29; Harvey, 'Introduction', 7; Linda Hogan, 'We Call it Tradition', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 22.

[6] Nurit Bird-David and Danny Naveh, 'Animism, Conversation, and Immediacy', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey, 27. Cf. Isabel Laack, 'The *New Animism* and Its Challenges to the Study of Religion', *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 32, no. 2 (2020): 122.

[7] Laack, 'The *New Animism*', 123. Cf. Harvey, 'Introduction', 1-12.

supposed to be fostered by maintaining certain manners and observances to avoid their ire and gain their goodwill both within and outside of ritual contexts.

Anthropologists have grown critical of the characterisation of the 'spiritual/material dichotomy' that envisages animism as the belief that spirits inhabit matter, arguing that this projects the materialist distinction drawn between the two onto worldviews in which this divide does not apply.[8] Since Tylor, the study of certain Indigenous groups, such as that of the Anishinaabe people whose traditional land includes what is now known as Manitoba Canada, have observed that they do not separate the human from the natural or spiritual worlds and therefore such '*other-than-human persons*' might be met in a dream or vision, or in prosaic situations in which they are understood to have physical bodies, wisdom, and power.[9] It is therefore perhaps less important whether or not a spirit dwells *in* certain objects or locations, than it is to understand that there are spirits *of* each object and location. This distinction applies very well to Agrippa's third order of spirits and the esoteric discussions of fairies which his writings influenced (see especially Chapters Three and Four).

Although the fairies targeted by magicians in this study are generally understood as more or less corporeal spirits who often take humanoid form (thus making this more in keeping with older scholarly ideas of animism as 'belief' in humanoid spirits) I also refer to texts wherein the Winds are understood as spirits, as well as more conceptual principles such as Love, and even a source affirming that ancient agreements were made between humanity and such persons as Earth, Sky, and Darkness (see especially Chapters Two and Four). It is the understanding

---

[8] Laack, 'The *New Animism*', 119.
[9] Laack, 'The *New Animism*', 121.

of fairies as connected to particular places/natural features by their essence and

the significance placed upon establishing and mediating relationships with these

other-than-human-people which lead me to argue that we can interpret the ideas

developing over the course of this study (and becoming most clearly articulated in

the late seventeenth century) as a manifestation of animism.

The 'nature' to which they were connected is sublunary and inclusive of both

wilderness (like mountains, forests, rivers, and elder trees) and domesticated

spaces with abundant plants or food (such as orchards, gardens, and kitchens).

This is not a worldview that divides the natural from the human, although fairies are

framed as most distant from the realm of learned men (without the aid of

summoning operations). For writers of occult philosophy and ritual magic,

knowledge of fairies and related beings became understood as a tradition which

'our fourfathes [sic forefathers] have reported and Declared to us'.[10] If this is to be

understood as animism then it must be clarified that it was not a 'religion' (as the

title of Evans-Wentz's *Fairy Faith* implies), but it was understood by insiders as an

enduring ancestral tradition.

Ostling mentions animism as a component of fairies or the broader category

of 'small gods' within which fairies are subsumed, yet he does so in terms of

origins.[11] Ostling defines 'small gods' as being 'found within the encompassing,

totalizing framework of a world religion that tends to find problematic the

relationships characteristic of animism, and therefore seeks to condemn, contest,

or marginalize continued belief in "small gods" among some adherents of the world

---

[10] Sloane 3824, 96r-96v.
[11] Ostling, 'Introduction', 10, 29.

religion in question.'[12] As such, animistic elements are framed as the initial state of these beings which was challenged, reworked, and (often imperfectly) reconciled into the framework of the world religion as it incorporates the small gods into itself. As Ostling writes 'This is not to say that a… pre-Christian *motobil* or *satyr* lack fairy-like qualities… but rather that they become what we here call small gods only when their relationship to the hegemonic religion becomes problematic… "small gods" become objects of critical reflection only as… animistic "survivals" problematically present within a Christianity that attempts to exclude them.'[13]

Scholarly proponents of the new animism tend to challenge traditional narratives by holding up Indigenous animisms as critiques against the west and its materialism which has enabled environmental exploitation, thus reversing the polarity of animism's cultural valuation.[14] But by framing animism always in terms of origins and survivals, or as Indigenous perspectives from which 'the west' is excluded, scholars continue (even when inversing the value of animism) to maintain the traditional placement of animism in the past, or as essentially non-western. In so doing the fundamental narrative of Tyler and other early anthropologists is preserved: that animism is a thing distinctly un-western and un-modern (only surviving among the people previously characertised as 'primitive' by western scholars).

The manifestation of animism presented in this thesis is *not* a preserved survival, yet its long-standing precedent is clearly evident in medieval and ancient

---

[12] Ostling, 'Introduction', 10.

[13] Ostling, 'Introduction', 10.

[14] For some examples see: Hogan, 'We Call it Tradition', 27; Plumwood, 'Nature in the Active Voice'; Harding, 'Towards an Animistic Science of the Earth'; Adrian Harris, 'Embodied Eco-Paganism', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey; Matthew Hall, 'Talk Among the Trees: Animist Plant Ontologies and Ethics', in *Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, ed. Harvey.

sources. Many British service magicians accused of witchcraft throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reported gaining magic (or other benefit) through congress with fairies.[15] It may well be that the written rituals in this study were reflecting or inspired by a cultural awareness of such practices being performed by non- or semi-literate service magicians (or at least professed by those accused of witchcraft). Even in cases where there is no suggestion of engagement with ritual magic or occult philosophy, the connection of fairies with natural settings is frequently present. For example, they were often described as dwelling in hills not only in James I's *Daemonologie*, but also by those such as the seventeenth-century accused witch Isobel Gowdie who claimed that they lived under the 'downie hillis', and one mid-seventeenth-century service magician who ostensibly said that he entered a fairy hill to have his store of healing powder replenished by them repeatedly.[16] Fairies were very often described in the trials as dwelling in their own lands, with fairy monarchs – demonstrating the influence (and syncretisation) of the regional elves (themselves a synthesis of Anglo-Saxon elves and Christian incubial demons) with the noble fairies of medieval romance.[17] Elves were, in fact, already being equated with Greco-Roman numina of the landscape, such as *nymphae* which glosses the Old-English *ælfenne* as early as the first half of the ninth century (admittedly in a continental manuscript).[18]

Referring to the thirteenth century context, Hutton writes that some ambiguous proto-fairy entities (such as are discussed in section 3.1.4 of Chapter Three) 'occupied a parallel world to the human one, usually accessed through

---

[15] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 18, 21, 67-70; Hutton, *Queens of the Wild*, 79, 92-95, 101; Hutton, *The Witch*, 215.

[16] James I, *Daemonologie*, 85; Wilby, *Visions of Isobel Gowdie,* 78; Hutton, *Queens of the Wild*, 101.

[17] Hutton, *Queens of the Wild*, 78-85, 97.

[18] Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, 78-79; Hutton, *Queens of the Wild*, 78.

portals in hollows, mounds, lakes or hills where they had a complete society'.[19] Yet

from the thirteenth century through to the early modern period it was frequently

ambiguous to what extent these realms were comparable to the modern notion of

another dimension entered through portals, and to what extend these beings were

literally understood to dwell within the hills and lakes and forests of this world. More

work remains to be done in parsing this seeming contradiction. In all likelihood it

was often ambiguous, variable, or an anachronistic distinction to project upon the

past.

　　　　Emma Wilby has written that by the early modern period 'the body of

accumulated knowledge and customs relating to fairies... was an amalgamation of

many of the animistic beliefs and rituals surrounding nature spirits, deities, ghosts

and so on which had not been completely homogenized into Catholic hagiolatry

and the cult of the dead.'[20] To this Hutton has responded that 'Wilby's emphasis on

British fairy belief as a remnant of an ancient animist cosmos is still ultimately

sound, as the Anglo-Saxon elves must surely have derived from that, but it misses

out the vital component of development in beliefs concerning such beings during

the medieval period.'[21] It is in the change over time and across new intellectual and

cultural contexts that the animism articulated in this thesis emerged as a novel

development of this period. While almost all aspects of it arose from medieval and

ancient sources, the renaissance and early modern period showed the weaving of

these old threads into new patterns to articulate in writing for the first time an

animist cosmology that was (idiosyncratically) reconciled with a fundamentally

---

[19] Hutton, *Queens of the Wild*, 77.
[20] Wilby, *Cunning Folk*, 17.
[21] Hutton, *The Witch*, 233-234.

Christian framework that understood fairies and related beings not only as dwelling in certain natural environments but as being explicitly responsible for and connected to them. This process elaborated and reframed threads which survived, while also reviving threads which had been lost. Thus, this animism is both the result of longstanding continuity and a dramatic new development.

In Chapter Four I argue that in the *Tenth Key*, the *Janua*, and the Januvian Gnome and Fairy Rituals of Sloane 3825 and Sloane 3824, we see the coalescence of an order of animistic spirits understood to ubiquitously fill the world which were connected to natural environments and features. These manuscripts preserve the emic use of the term 'animistic' by members of a learned and semi-learned western Christian intellectual and cultural environment to refer to entities that they understood as real, connected inextricably with the natural world, and of which fairies were apparently understood to be a part (or under the command of). This occurred two centuries before the etic employment of the word 'animism' by western anthropologists to primitivize and 'other' Indigenous cultures and traditions. By reading European intellectual history through the lens of animism we help decolonise the term, or (perhaps) to colonise 'the west.' In so doing we demonstrate that animism is not an inherently 'non-western' Indigenous cosmology, nor is it essentially 'primitive' or unlearned. Indigenous manifestations of animism are aspects of cultures which are not primitive or ignorant at all, and in the material examined in this study we see animism develop in a learned Western European context at the cusp of modernity.

5.2 Epilogue

While this project ends with the close of the seventeenth century, conceptualisations of fairies continued to shift and develop after 1700. Simon Young has outlined the modern development of fairies in a manner I find both clear and compelling. He posits that in the 1880s spiritualists began to frame fairies as nature spirits and theosophists elevated them to greater importance.[22] As these movements rose in prominence after World War I, their discourses framed fairies as 'the souls of individual plants and trees'.[23] This 'Theosophic Fairy' would go on to shape what Young calls the 'contemporary fairy', a grouping inclusive of both the (comparatively 'twee') 'Cottingley Fairy' archetype and the ('more gritty') 'Neo-Pagan Fairy' which is generally conceptualised as a kind of nature spirit particularly associated with plants.[24] A potentially profitable area for future research will be to determine whether the ideas about fairies articulated by the spiritualists and theosophists drew from the premodern esoteric fairies outlined by this study. If so, it will give these seemingly modern developments much older conceptual roots that stretch back to the Renaissance and draw upon medieval and revived classical sources.

Yet the materials assessed in this study have not only survived through their influence upon general modern conceptualisations of fairies, but have inspired specific literary texts. Modernity inherited a vast corpus of early modern and medieval literature about fairies from which to construct modern fairy fiction. Much of this corpus is comprised of exoteric portrayals of fairies in medieval romances,

---

[22] Simon Young, 'Fairy Ain't What It Used To Be: Traditional vs Contemporary Fairies', in *Deep Weird: The Varieties of High Strangeness Experience*, ed. Jack Hunter (Milton Keynes: August Night Press, 2023), 197.
[23] Young, 'Traditional vs Contemporary Fairies', 197.
[24] Young, 'Traditional vs Contemporary Fairies', 198-200.

early modern popular ballads, plays, stories, and other literary texts which had an immense impact on modern views. This is evident in everything from the prominence of Oberon in popular modern fantasy (spanning the Romantic paintings of Sir Joseph Noel Paton to twenty-first century D&D manuals),[25] the reimagining of figures from ballads such as Tamlin's appearance in *Fire and Hemlock*,[26] and broader concepts about fairies such as their proclivity for stealing children[27] and unfortunate adults.[28] This is to mention only some well-known examples.

Amongst the many strands of older material reworked into modern fiction, elements taken from the occult philosophical fairy are clearly indicated. For example, in *The Princess and the Goblin* George MacDonald describes goblins (which he uses synonymously with 'gnomes') hollowing out cavities in the earth to make their homes which they abandon when human miners come near (thus creating the subterranean chambers miners find) and in *The Little Mermaid* Hans Christian Anderson's eponymous character needs the love of a human in order to gain a soul (as did Paracelsian pigmies/gnomes and nymphs/water people respectively).[29] Given the endurance of these works in their influence upon shapers of modern fantasy like J.R.R. Tolkien, and through direct adaptation, the influence of occult philosophical fairies upon modern literary fairies is clear.

---

[25] Sir Joseph Noel Paton, *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania*, 1849, oil on canvas, 99.00 x 152.00 cm, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh; Mike Mearls, Jeremy Crawford, et al., *D&D Player's Handbook* (Washington: Wizards of the Coast LLC, 2014), 108.

[26] Diana Wynne Jones, *Fire and Hemlock* (New York: Penguin Group, 2012).

[27] W.B. Yeats, 'The Stolen Child', in *Collected Poems* (London: Pan Books, 1990), 20-22.

[28] Susanna Clarke, *Jonathan Strange & Mr Norrell* (New York: Bloomsburry, 2004), 472-492. The idea for this thesis first emerged out of a conversation about my love for this novel with my then master's supervisor Frank Klaassen.

[29] George MacDonald, *The Princess and the Goblin* (London: Puffin Classics, 2010), 57-58, 62; Hans Christian Andersen, 'The Little Mermaid' in *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales: Second Series*, ed. J.H. Stickney (London: Ginn and Company, 1915), 143-145.

Fairy summoning rituals have also survived in twentieth and twenty-first-century novels, both conceptually and directly. In 1926 Hope Mirrlees wrote the novel *Lud-in-the-Mist*, which Neil Gaiman has aptly referred to as 'a little golden miracle of a book'.[30] This novel offers an exoteric portrayal of fairly traditional fairies (in this case: human-sized otherworldly beings with an ambiguous relationship to the human dead and who dwell in the land of Faerie to the West of the duchy where the story primarily takes place). Yet Mirrlees not only draws upon premodern literary sources (such as *Robin Goodfellow, His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*) in constructing her novel, but also includes authentic fairy magic, albeit redirected to a different end. In chapter nineteen an antidote to the otherwise incurable poison 'The Berries of Merciful Death' is discovered by the book's protagonist. The instructions given are, with only minor alterations, the Fairy Thorn Ointment, originally used to bestow sight of fairies.[31] Mirrlees appears to have drawn this from the nineteenth-century printed collections of material ostensibly relevant to Shakespeare which made the spell available to a much wider exoteric readership.[32]

Mirrlees' partner (a word I use with intentional vagueness here due to the suggestive nature of their bond and the contentious debate it has sparked among biographers) Jane Ellen Harrison was an 'influential Cambridge classicist'.[33] Despite negative views towards paganism, Harrison had a romantic and almost ecstatic relationship with ancient ritual, and was the first to propose the idea (historically anachronistic but influential upon modern wicca and some neo-pagan

---

[30] Neil Gaimon, introduction to *Lud-in-the-Mist*, auth. Hope Mirrlees (London: Gollancz, 2018), x.

[31] Compare Mirrlees, *Lud-in-the-Mist*, 176-177 with Sloane 3846, 99v and Ashmole 1406, 51r.

[32] Halliwell, *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology*; Hazlitt, *Illustrating Shakespeare*.

[33] Hutton, *Triumph of the Moon*, 38.

communities) of a primeval threefold mother goddess which included a maiden and mother (and to which the crone would later be added).[34] The fascination with myth, folklore, and ritual that Harrison and her circle had may have brought these fairy summoning rituals into Mirrlees' orbit.

Similarly, in Susanna Clarke's short story 'On Lickerish Hill' the antiquarian John Aubrey is asked whether he knows how to summon a fairy, to which he responds in the affirmative since '"Mr Ashmole (who is a noble Antiquary and haz [sic] made the Collections at Oxford) haz [sic] putt [sic] them downe [sic] in his Papers."'[35] It is unclear whether or not Clarke was aware of the cluster of fairy rituals preserved in the Ashmole collection. It appears likely that she was not as she professes to have drawn upon folk magic and literary sources, but not ritual magic, in creating the magic of her novels (unless she interpreted Ashmole's rituals as folkloric).[36] Furthermore, the fragmentary lines of the ritual given in the short story (while clearly modelled from conventional ritual magic invocations)[37] do not correspond to any of the fairy summoning invocations in the Ashmole collection discussed in this study. Even if coincidental, the story attributes fairy summoning spells to one of the manuscript collections which in fact preserves them, and centres the summoning of fairies through learned magic in both this short story and her 2004 novel *Jonathan Strange and Mr Norrell*.

---

[34] Hutton, *Triumph of the Moon*, 38, 128-130, 199, 286.

[35] Susanna Clarke, 'On Lickerish Hill', in *The Ladies of Grace Adieu and Other Stories* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 47.

[36] Susanna Clarke and Madeline Miller, 'Piranesi: Susanna Clarke in Conversation with Madeline Miller', YouTube, September 6, 2021, video, 50:00-52:14.

[37] 'I, John Aubrey, call thee, Queen Titania, in the name of… conjure and straightly charge and command thee by Tetragrammaton, Alpha and Omega and by all other high and reverent… meekely and mildely to my true and perfect sight and truly without fraud, Dissymulation or deciete, resolve and satisfye me in and of all manner of such questions and commands and demandes as I shall either aske, require… quickly, quickly, quickly, come, come, come. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat. Amen, Amen, Amen… Etcetera'. See Clarke, 'On Lickerish Hill', 52.

The fairies that arose in the ritual magic and occult philosophical context, however, are not beings bound between covers of novels or in some fantastical other world. They are not the inhabitants of Faerie. They are of *this* world, dwelling throughout it unseen but to those with the gift or skill to see them. To this end were these rituals applied: to break their invisibility, to greet them face to face and hear their voices so that we might learn from them once again - 'for by this meanes was our science [first] found'.[38]

---

[38] Quote from Folger VB 26, 143. Supplemented by E Mus 173, 35r.

Appendix

Appendix: Fairy Related Texts in Manuscript			
Manuscript	Approximate Date	Folio Number	Fairy-Related Text
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D. 252	Fifteenth Century[1]	13r-14v	1a
		69v-72v	αa
		92r-94v	1b
		139r-143v	2
		144r-156r	2
Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 3544	Sixteenth Century 1532-1558[2]	p. 7-10	1b
		p. 56-57	3a
		p. 57-58	4a
		p. 90, 100-101	5
Manchester, Chetham's Library MS A.4.98	Sixteenth Century[3]	72-76 (of PDF)	6a
		78	A/i
		78-83 & 87	6b
		84-85	6d
London, British Library MS Sloane 3853	Second Half of the Sixteenth Century[4]	36r-38r	6a
		109v-110v	4b
		119v-120r	7a
		208r	ii
		259r	iii
Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library MS Vb 26 (1&2)	Late Sixteenth Century Years 1577 and 1583 written in manuscript[5]	p. 38-39	6a
		p. 67	iv
		p. 80-81	B
		p. 113-120	8
		p. 138-140	9
		p. 142-143	3b
		p. 143	3a
		p. 167	5
		p. 185-197	10a (and vi on p. 187)
		p. 197-200	11
		p. 224	12
		p. 228-229	1a
		p. 234-235	13a
London, Wellcome Library MS 110	Late Sixteenth Century[6]	79v-80v	6a
		97r & 105v	10b
London, British Library MS Sloane 3885	Late Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century Post 1588[7]	50r-51r	6a
London, British Library MS Sloane 3850	Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Century[8]	144r-144v	7b
		145v-146v	6a
		Article 1	14a

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library MS Xd 234	Late Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century c. 1600[9]	Article 2-4	14b
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus 173	Early Seventeenth Century 1600-1610[10]	9v-11r	β
		15v-16r	15
		21r	v
		35r	3a
		56v	vi
		61r	5 (fragment)
		64v-65r	αa
		71v	13b
		72r	16
		72v	17
		73r	3b
London, British Library MS Sloane 3851	Early Seventeenth Century 1614-1636[11]	11r, 18v, 23r-24v, 28v	C
		45r-45v	Γ
		45v-46v	δ
		90r-90v	D
		104r-106r	18
		115v-116r	10b
		129r	17
		129r	12
		129v	3b
		130r-131v	9
London, British Library MS Sloane 1727	Seventeenth Century[12]	ff. 18-19	5
		ff. 23-24	15
		ff. 24-25	αa
		ff. 28	19
		ff. 37	vii
		ff. 52-53	αa
London, British Library MS Sloane 3318	Seventeenth Century[13]	18v-21r	10b
		41r	viii
		56r-57r	5
		60r-61v	4c
		62r-64r	10b
		67r-67v	ε
		68r-68v	7a
		76r-79v	10b
		80r-80v	ix
		95r-96v	1c
		123r	x
London, British Library MS Sloane 3825	Seventeenth Century c. 1641-1649[14]	27v-28r	E
		37r-40r	F
		95v-96r	ζ
		39r-39v	G

London, British Library MS Sloane 3824	Seventeenth Century c. 1641-1649[15]	49v-52v	H
		81r-81v, 83r-83v	ζ
		92v-97v	20/I
		97v-100v	21/J
		101r-102v	K
		113v-114v	5
London, British Library MS Sloane 3846	Seventeenth Century c. 1637-1672 *Terminus post quem: 1564 Terminus ante quem:* 1692[16]	25v	19
		31r-31v	6a
		38r-39v	αa
		41r-43r	αa
		84v-88r	αb
		54v	xi
		62r	xii
		99v	22
		100r	19
		102v-108r	23
		109r-110r	24
		111r-112r	5
London, British Library MS Sloane 3826	Seventeenth Century[17]	98r-99r	23
		99v	24
		100r	5
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1406	Second half of Seventeenth Century *Terminus ante quem:* 1692[18]	50v	25
		51r	22
		51v-53r	26
		53v-55v	27
		56r-63r	η
London, British Library MS Harley 6482	Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Century c. 1699-1714[19]	18r-18v	L
		54r-54v	Ma
		101v-102v	N
		111r-112r	Mb
		126r-142v	O
		278r-278v	Θ

Legend:

1.1 Fairy Summoning Rituals (see Chapter One for descriptions):

1 – Sibilia's Candle

- 1a – With One Candle
- 1b – With a Candle and a Stone
- 1c – With Two Candles

2 – Call for Sibilia, Oberion, et alia into a crystal.

3 – The Lapwing Ointment

- 3a – Grease Variant

- 3b – Blood Variant

4 – The Archangelic Envoy for the Prophetess Sibillia

- 4a – Notes Expanding Sibilia's Candle
- 4b – Independent Ritual
- 4c – Elaborated Ritual

5 – Sylvan Square Ritual

6 – The Table Ritual

- 6a – The Table Ritual.
- 6b – Elaboration of Table Ritual with the *Fourth Book*
- 6c – A brief invocation to summon 'Michol tiā [and] burfax'.

7 – Fire and Bath Ritual for the Three Sisters

- 7a – Longer
- 7b – Shorter (in Scot)

8 - The Grand Ritual for Oberion

9 – The Sevenfold Ointment Ritual

10 - Oberion's Plate

- 10a – With Prefatory Incantations
- 10b – Without Prefatory Incantations

11 – Conventional Ritual for Oberion

12 – The Elder Ritual

13– Ritual for Tobias, King of the Pigmies

- 13a – Longer and idiosyncratic.
- 13b – Abridged and made conventional.

14 – Binding of the Seven Sisters

- 14a – Short
- 14b – Long

15 – The Banishment of the Seven Sisters

16 – Conventional Invocation of Oberion into a Crystal

17 – The Skimmed Water Ointment

18 – The Condemned Envoy Ritual

19 – Call of Queen Micol

20/I – Januvian Gnome Ritual and Theory

21/J – Januvian Fairy Ritual and Theory

22 – The Fairy Thorn Ointment

23 – Oberion's Physic Ritual

24 – Ritual for Queen Bilgal, One of the Seven

25 – The Threefold Ritual

26 – Conjuration of Elaby Gathen

27 – Ashmole's Invocation for Any Fairy

1.2 Theoretical Discussions about Fairies

A/i - Prologic notes on fairies, their Queen Micob, and the seven sisters (with

names listed).

B – Pages from the Office of Spirits that include Oberion, Micob and the seven sisters.

C – Paracelsian fairy-related discussions in the *Arbatel.*

D – Agrippian fairy-related material in the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*.

E – Discussion of 'animastick' spirits from Agrippa's *Third Book of Occult Philosophy.*

F – Section in the *Janua magica reserata* about fairies and related beings that draws from Agrippa's *Third Book of Occult Philosophy*, pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, and Paracelsus' treatise 'Of Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies, and Salamanders' via Pseudo-Paracelsus' *Occult Philosophy*.

G – *Janua's* lost section on the Animistical Spirits.

H – Expansion of the *Janua's* Fairy Discussion.

20/I – Januvian Gnome Ritual and Theory.

21/J– Januvian Fairy Ritual and Theory.

K – 'Distinctions', drawn largely from Pseudo-Paracelsus' *Occult Philosophy*.

L – Seal of Sibillia, Gentle Virgin of the Fairies, listed with seal as part of the 'Table of Enoch'.

M – Of Spirits Called Hobgoblins or Robin Goodfellows

- Ma – Discussion of hobgoblins.
- Mb – Discussion of hobgoblins with accretion/expansion on demonic possession.

N – Third order of spirit from Agrippa

O – A version of Paracelsus' *Of Nymphs, Sylphs, Pigmies, and Salamanders*

1.3 Closely Associated Rituals

α – While not a fairy summoning ritual, it uses the name and character of the entity Sibilia along with others inscribed upon a poppet to force a thief to return. Connected only through use of the name 'Sibilia'.

- αa – Poppet with Sibilia for a Thief
- αb – Poppet with Sibilia for Love

β – Exorcism of Devils, Spirits, and Elves from Treasure by Azazel and Naris

Γ – Counterspell Against Witches and Witchcraft-Sent Spirits of Illness Affecting an Individual.

δ – Counterspell Against Witches and Witchcraft-Sent Spirits of Illness Affecting a Family/Cattle.

ε – Ritual involving a lamp to summon three spirits for a ring of invisibility. Has striking resemblance to the Table Ritual and the Fire and Bath Ritual.

ζ – The Tenth Key

η – A Ritual for Ophiel. States that God has dominion over 'all Witches of

bewitching, Promillia Annilia Vocatia, Soffocalia, Asuicha, Catalia Amonilia, and Jgnia [Ignia], and all other Spirits Divells Elfs, or Elfshots'. Also commands 'All wicked and dammable Spirits of whatsoever nature or degree they are of good or bad dvells Spirits or Witches of bewitching Elf or Elfshots, Olimpians Pharies or Pigmies belonging to Belzebub, Lucifer Sathan or Mammon Sendius Seophilus or Mephestophilus, Bancor or Banchon, Asmodeus Andromalchus Legion and Benias'.

Θ – Invocation of Murid who 'is the satilite of the Moon… wondering and shining in the tops of high woods and groves; beholding the playing of Fairies, restraining the rage of Goblins'.

1.4 Fairy Names in Lists of Spirit/Fairy Names

A/i - Prologic notes on fairies, their Queen Micob, and the seven sisters (with names listed).

ii – Oberion listed with Bleth, Egipia, Baron, *et alia*.

iii – Oberion listed with Bleth, Egipia, Baron, *et alia* as spirits who bring treasure.

iv – A list of the seven sister's names.

v – Oberion listed with Bleth, Cantivalerion, Andromalcus *et alia* as names of spirits which are to be recited. This follows a circle of the earth, suggesting that all of these entities were understood to be terrestrial spirits.

vi – Oberion, Carmelion, and Storal listed with sigils alongside other spirits.

vii – Florella, Mical, Tytan, and Mabb, listed as pertaining to treasures of the earth.

viii – Sibilla, Oberion, Egipia listed together among others (such as Andrew Malchus and Baron).

ix – A list of spirits that are easily seen, including Oberion, Sibilla, Egipia (as well as Andromalcus, and Baron, but also Sathan).

x – Oberion, Egippia, Andromalchum, and Baron listed along with others (such as Sathan).

xi – 'Oberian' listed with 'Asazel' and 'Rathan'. Their connection is ambiguous, but may be part of the preceding list of spirits 'pro amore'. This is unlikely as the preceding list ends in a period and the following spell for love notes only those before the period ('Almazni' and 'Elicona').

xii – 'Sibilia' listed beside 'Asterothe' and among other goetic demons. Divisions of list unclear, but possibly lists her as a spirit under mercury who are 'shouers [sic showers] for theft' that directly precedes another list of spirits 'p[ro] amore'.

1.5 Legend for the Legend

Arabic Numerals: Fairy Summoning Rituals.
Lower Case Latin Alphabet: Indicates variants of another category.
Upper Case Latin Alphabet: Theoretical discussions of fairies in occult philosophy.
Greek Alphabet: Closely associated rituals which are not fairy summoning rituals or

occult philosophical discourses.

Lower Case Roman Numerals: Signify where names that are explicitly identified as fairies in ritual magic operations appear in lists of spirit (or explicitly fairy) names.

Forward Slash: A forward slash between two characters from two different categories indicates an entry which straddles two categories and so has been cross-listed in the legend.

1.6 Notes on manuscript dating:

[1] Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, 134.

[2] Young, ed. *Cambridge Book of Magic*, xiv.

[3] 'Summary: [Manuscripts/1/325], File, Tractatus de nigroma[n]tia [necromancy]', Chetham's Library, accessed 19 October, 2023, http://185.121.204.150/ChethamLibrary/#/details/ecatalogue/9321.

[4] 'Detailed Record for Sloane 3853', Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, British Library, accessed 19 October, 2023, https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=763&CollID. László Sándor Chardonnens has dated the first part of the manuscript (fols 2-175) to the second half of the sixteenth century, whereas he dates the second part (176-268) to the late sixteenth century. László Sándor Chardonnens, 'Necromancing Theurgic Magic', 175-176.

[5] The catalogue dates this to circa 1577-1583. Harms and Peterson have noted that two dates occur in the manuscript, ('May 8, 1577, on page 51, and 1583, on page 105'). They note that some material referred to on the pages before 51 were from 'texts published in 1575' and so posit that it was written between 1575 and 1577. While suggestive enough to inform my dating in this appendix, it must be noted that magic texts may well have circulated in manuscript before being committed to print and so may predate these 1575 publications. See Harms, Clark, and Peterson, eds. *Book of Oberon*, 15 and 'Book of magic, with instructions for invoking spirits, etc.', Luna: Folger Digital Image Collection, Folger Shakespeare Library, accessed 19 October 2023, https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~368836~131436:Book-of-magic,-with-instructions-fo.

[6] 'Pseudo-Bacon Roger (1214?-1294) (& others)', Wellcome Collections, Wellcome Library, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/jaunz2nx.

[7] The Sloane Catalogue dates this manuscript to the seventeenth century. Others have noted that it contains a watermark dating to 1588, offering a *terminus post quem*. The fairy-related ritual is written in an earlier hand than some other parts of the MS. For watermark see: Juris G. Lidaka, review of *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, edited by Gösta Hedegård, *Speculum* 79, no. 1 (January 2004): 196-197.

8 Frank Klaassen and Katrina Bens have dated the compilation of this MS to the seventeenth century, and the 'messy secretary hand' that wrote folios 143r through 166r (which contain all the fairy summoning material) to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 9.

9 Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 324.

10 'Copies of incantations, charms, prayers, magical formulae, astrological devices, and the like', Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts, Bodleian Libraries, accessed 19 October, 2023, https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/4940. See also Briggs, 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic', 456; Klaassen, 'Three Early Modern Rituals', 4; Harms and Clark, eds. *Angels, Demons, and Spirits*, 3.

11 The online catalogue unhelpfully dates this MS as '14th century-early 18th century'. The handwritten catalogue dates it to the seventeenth century. Frank Klaassen has dated the manuscript to the late sixteenth - early seventeenth century. In his edition of the manuscript David Rankine gave several reasons why he believes the dates to be between 1614 and 1639. 'Magic: Tractatus et experimenta magica: 14th-17th centt', Explore Archives and Manuscripts, British Library, accessed 19 October, 2023, https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?query=any,contains,Sloane%203851&vid=IAMS_VU2&search_scope=LSCOP_BL&sortby=rank&tab=local&docid=IAMS040-002116241&lang=en_US&mode=simple&fromRedirectFilter=true; Klaassen, 'Transformations of Magic,' 242; Klaassen and Bens, 'Achieving Invisibility', 3; Rankine, ed. *Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet*, 12-13, 18.

12 'Sloane 1727 Paper, in 4to., ff.65, XVII Century. An anonymous treatise on Magic', Explore Archives and Manuscripts, British Library, accessed 19 October, 2023, https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?query=any,contains,Sloane%201727&vid=IAMS_VU2&search_scope=LSCOP_BL&sortby=rank&tab=local&docid=IAMS040-002114080&lang=en_US&mode=simple&fromRedirectFilter=true.

13 'Robert Lombard, Ordinis Miniorum', Explore Archives and Manuscripts, British Library, accessed 19 October, 2023, https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?query=any,contains,Sloane%203318&vid=IAMS_VU2&search_scope=LSCOP_BL&sortby=rank&tab=local&docid=IAMS040-002115705&lang=en_US&mode=simple&fromRedirectFilter=true.

14 Rankine has suggested that this manuscript was composed over the course of some years (as is normal) inclusive of the years 1641 and 1649. This places this manuscript securely in the seventeenth century. Rankine, ed. *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 20.

15 Bain gives 1649 as the date of the manuscript, but in this she appears to be drawing upon Rankine. Bain, 'Binding of the Fairies', 333; Rankine, ed. *Book of Treasure Spirits*, 20.

[16] The handwritten Sloane catalogue dates this to the seventeenth century. Multiple dates are written in this manuscript, including 1631 on folio 122r (where a series of letters, mostly containing love poems were copied into the MS along with their dates – they were presumably added to the MS some years later), 1637 on folio 95r (where it appears to be the date that a copy of the *Liber Thebit Ben Gorat* (which seems to be a corruption of Thābit ibn Qurra, a ninth century Islamic scholar)), and 1672 on folio 102r (which seems to be the date that instructions for how to produce a magical healing signet ring were given to the scribe by a Sr. Richard Napier). A note on folio 128r suggests that the *Liber Razielis* in this manuscript was copied from a version written by a William Perry of London in November of 1564, which (if correct) provides the manuscript with a fairly concrete *terminus post quem*. Notes appear to have been made to the completed work by Elias Ashmole (in the 1670s according to László Sándor Chardonnens), who died in 1692 – offering a concrete *terminus ante quem* for the MS. The fairy summoning rituals in this manuscript appear to be written in the same hand as the instructions to make Richard Napier's Ring which directly preceding the summoning rituals in Sloane 3846, which is dated in the MS to October 1672. Sophie Page dates the copy of the *Liber Razielis* in this manuscript to the sixteenth century. See Page, 'Uplifting Souls', 96; Chardonnens, 'Magic Manuscripts', 5.

[17] Sloane 3826 and Sloane 3846 contain much of the same material. It is likely that one drew from the other or arose from a common source. Sophie Page dates the copy of the *Liber Razielis* in this manuscript to the seventeenth century. Page, 'Uplifting Souls', 95.

[18] Darren Oldridge states (and Daniel Harms accepts) that Elias Ashmole wrote the fairy summoning material in Ashmole 1406. Ashmole certainly owned the MS, and the rituals use the initials "E.A." where the magician speaks his name – which is suggestive. Darren Oldridge, *The Supernatural in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 2016), 121; Harms, *Hell and Fairy*, 60. I have accepted this attribution for the purpose of dating, but it should be noted that (to my eye) the handwriting of this passage does not appear like that in other known instances of his work. It is possible that he was trying to write particularly clearly, thus causing the apparent dissimilarity. It could also be that another hand copied the rituals into the manuscript from Ashmole's papers, but this is only supposition.

[19] The esotericist Adam McLean has posited that this manuscript was part of a six-volume set (Harley 6481 to Harley 6486) transcribed by Peter Smart between 1699 and 1714 from earlier (possibly late seventeenth-century) material. *A Treatise on Angel Magic*, ed. Adam McLean (San Francisco; Weiser Books, 2006), 9.

Note: There are several manuscripts containing fairy summoning rituals which are not listed in this appendix or included in this thesis due to the COVID pandemic. They will be included when this material is reworked into a monograph.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Cambridge, University Library
　　　Additional 3544

Chicago, Newberry Library
　　　5017

Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana
　　　Plut. 89 Sup. 38.

London, British Library
　　　Harley 6482
　　　Sloane 1727
　　　Sloane 3318
　　　Sloane 3824
　　　Sloane 3825
　　　Sloane 3826
　　　Sloane 3846
　　　Sloane 3850
　　　Sloane 3851
　　　Sloane 3853
　　　Sloane 3885

London, Wellcome Library
　　　110
　　　4669

Manchester, Chetham's Library
　　　A.4.98

Oxford, Bodleian Library

      Ashmole 1406

      e Mus 173

      Rawlinson D. 252

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

      lat. 1173

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library

      VB 26 (1&2)

      Xd 234

Printed Primary Sources

A Discourse Concerning Devils and Spirits: Book II. London: Andrew Clark, 1665. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A62397.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *De Occulta Philosophia*. Cologne: 1533. https://archive.org/details/DeOccultaPhilosophiaLoc1533/page/n5/mode/2up.

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius [Pseudo.]. *Henry Cornelius Agrippa, His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy: Of Geomancy, Magical Elements of Peter de Abano, Astronomical Geomancy, The Nature of Spirits, Arbatel of Magic*. Translated by Robert Turner. London: J.C., 1655. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2248551918/12192922/6E17513B05F54A72PQ/1?accountid=10792.

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy.* Translated by J.F. London: R.W. for Gregery Moule, 1651.

https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240905163/11994557/BD4309498BCA48A6PQ/2?accountid=10792.

Boaystuau, Peter (sic Pierre Boaistuau). *Theatrum mundi*. Translated by John Alday, London: H.D., 1566. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240943544/A3DD671992754111PQ/2?accountid=10792.

Boece, Hector. *History of Scotland*. Translated by Raphael Holinshed. In *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Volumes 1 & 2. London: Henry Denham, 1587. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A68198.0001.001/1:28?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.

Bolton, Edmund. *Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie Depraved: An Historicall Worke*. London: T.S. 1624. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240890275/Sec0063/51AE0D33D62C4DF3PQ/13?accountid=10792.

Brathwait, Richard. 'An Epigramme called the Ciuill Deuill'. In *A Strappado For the Divell*, 40-53. London: I.B. 1615. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2141158050/Z300287327/51AE0D33D62C4DF3PQ/12?accountid=10792.

Clarke, Susanna. *Jonathan Strange & Mr Norrell*. New York: Bloomsburry, 2004.

Clarke, Susanna. 'On Lickerish Hill'. In *The Ladies of Grace Adieu and Other Stories*. London: Bloomsbury, 2006.

Comenius, Johann Amos. *Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata*. Translated by John Anchoram. London: George Miller, 1631. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2248524166/fulltextPDF/DC4B4D9DAD2A45F1PQ/3?accountid=10792.

Croll, Oswald. *Three Books of Philosophy Written to the Athenians*. London: M.S.,
    1657.
    https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248502309/99867693/481968BD
    06584DDFPQ/1?accountid=10792&docview_hit_text=.

English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Edited by Francis James Child. Vol. 1. New
    York: Dover Publications, 1965.
    https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/44969/pg44969-
    images.html#Ballad_39.

English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Edited by Francis James Child. Vol. 2.
    Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1884.

Fisher, Jasper. *The True Trojans, Being a Story of the Britains' Valour at the
    Roman's First Invasion.* London: I.J., 1633.
    https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240900430/99837888/51AE0D33D62C
    4DF3PQ/6?accountid=10792.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. London: Andrew Crooke, 1651.

von Hohenheim, Philippus Aurelius Theophrastus Bombastus (Paracelsus). *Ex
    libro de Nymphis, Sylvanis, Pygmaeis, Salamandris, & Gigantibus &c.*
    Nissae Silesiorum: Excudebat Ioannes Cruciger, 1566.
    https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/12494/edition/34970/content.

James I. *Daemonologie in forme of a dialogue, diuided into three bookes*.
    Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, 1597.
    https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240857109/Sec0003/5D93D4F132F54
    458PQ/3?accountid=10792.

Lilly, William. *William Lilly's History of his Life and Times from the Year 1602-1681.*
    London: Maurice, Printer, 1715.

MacDonald, George. *The Princess and the Goblin*. London: Puffin Classics, 2010.

Magnus, Olaus. *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals and Other Northern Nations*. London: J. Streater, 1658. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240853011/Sec0051/C8C7F75CA2AF4C45PQ/561?accountid=10792.

Marmontel, Jean-François. 'The Husband Turned Sylph: A Tale'. *The British Magazine, or, Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies* 6, (1765): 583-588.

Mirrlees, Hope. *Lud-in-the-Mist*. London: Gollancz, 2018.

Paracelsus [Pseudo.]. *Theophrastus Paracelsus of Occult Philosophy*. In *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature*. Translated by Robert Turner. London: J.C., 1656. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2240955410/99868077/6B49555C17B34B43PQ/1?accountid=10792.

Paracelsus. '*Ex libro de Nymphis, Sylvanis, Pygmæis & Salamandris*'. In *Philosophiae magnae*. Translated and edited by Gerard Dorn, 171-202. Basil: Peter Perna, 1569.

Paracelsus [Pseudo.]. *Theophrastus Paracelsus of Occult Philosophy*. In *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature*. Translated by Robert Turner. London: J.C., 1656. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/A76997.0001.001/1:10.2.5?c=eebo;c=eebo2;g=eebogroup;rgn=div3;view=fulltext;xc=1;q1=Occult+philosophy.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. London: William Stansby, 1625. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A71305.0001.001/1:3?rgn=div1;view=toc.

Robin Goodfellow, His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests. London: Thomas Cotes, 1639. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/robin-goodfellow-his-mad-pranks-and-merry-jests-1639.

Scot, Reginald. *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, (Elliot Stock: London, 1886). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/60766/60766-h/60766-h.htm#p_522

Scot, Reginald. *The Discovery of Witchcraft*. London: Andrew Clark, 1665. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A62397.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.

The examination of John Walsh: before Maister Thomas Williams, commissary to William, Bishop of Excester, vpon certayne interrogatories touchyng wytchcrafte and sorcerye, in the presence of diuers gẽtlemen and others. The. xx. of August. 1566. London: Imprynted by John Awdely, 1566.

Yeats, W.B. *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*. London: Walter Scott, 1888.

Yeats, W.B. *The Celtic Twilight.* London: A.H. Bullen, 1902.

Yeats, W.B. 'The Stolen Child'. In *Collected Poems*. London: Pan Books,1990.

Printed Editions of Primary Sources

Andrea da Barberino. 'Guerrino, Detto il Meschino'. In *Legends of Le Marche: The Sibyl of the Apennines-La Sibilla* Appenninica, translated by James Richards and Luca Pierdominici, 12-81. Macerata: Edizioni Simple, 2014.

Andersen, Hans Christian. 'The Little Mermaid'. In *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales: Second Series.* Edited by J.H. Stickney. London: Ginn and Company, 1915.

Antoine de La Sale. 'Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle'. In *Legends of Le Marche: The Sibyl of the Apennines-La Sibilla Appenninica*, translated by James Richards and Luca Pierdominici, 93-137. Macerata: Edizioni Simple, 2014.

Apuleius. *Apologia. Florida. De Deo Socratis*. Edited and translated by Christopher P. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 534. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa theologica*. Translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Vol. 2, *Second part of the Second Part*, QQ. 1-189 and *Third Part*, QQ. 1-90. 3 vols. New York: Benziger Bros., 1947-1948. https://sacred-texts.com/chr/aquinas/summa/.

Arbatel: Concerning the Magic of the Ancients. Translated and edited by Joseph H. Peterson. Newburyport: Ibis Press, 2009.

Arnason, Jón. *Icelandic Legends*. Translated by George E. J. Powell and Eiríkr Magnūsson. London: Longman's, Green, and co., 1866.

A Treatise on Angel Magic. Edited by Adam McLean. San Francisco; Weiser Books, 2006.

Augustine. *De Divinatione Daemonum*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010. http://clt.brepolis.net.qe2a-proxy.mun.ca/llta/pages/Toc.aspx?ctx=686673.

Augustine, 'The Divination of Demons'. Translated by Ruth W. Brown. In Volume 15 of *The Writings of St. Augustine*, 414-440. In Volume 27 of *The Fathers of the Christian Church.* Edited by Thomas P. Halton et al. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1955.

Augustine. *City of God, Volume I: Books 1-3.* Translated by George E. McCracken. Loeb Classical Library 411. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Augustine. *City of God, Volume IV: Books 12-15*. Translated by Philip Levine. Loeb
Classical Library 414. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Augustine. *City of God, Volume VII: Books 21-22*. Translated by William M. Green.
Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Augustine. *Expositions of the Psalms 99-120, Part III: Volume 19*. Translated by
Maria Boulding. Edited by Boniface Ramsey. New York: New City Press,
2003.

Betz, Hans Dieter. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic
Spells.* Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales*. Translated by David Wright. Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 2011.

Cassian, John. 'Of the Different Desires and Wishes Which Exist in the Powers of
the Air'. In *The Conferences of John Cassian*, translated by Edgar C.S.
Gibson. In vol. 11 of *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of
the Christian Church*. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1894.
https://ccel.org/ccel/cassian/conferences/conferences.ii.viii.xxxiii.html.

de France, Marie. 'Lanval', in *Lays of Marie de France.* Translated by Edward J.
Gallagher. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2010.

Herd, David. *Scots Songs.* Edinburgh: Martin & Wotherspoon, 1769.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. *History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of
De gestis Britonum (*Historia regum Britanniae*)*. Edited by Michael D.
Reeve. Translated by Neil Wright. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007.

Gerald of Wales. *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales.* Edited by Betty Radice. Translated by Lewis Thorpe. London: Penguin Books, 1978.

Hildegard. '*Liber divinorum operum*'. In *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* CCCM 92. Edited by A. Derolez and P. Dronke. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.

Isidore of Seville. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Edited and translated by Stephan A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kirk, Robert. *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves Fauns and Fairies*. Edited by Andrew Lang. London: David Nutt, 1893.

Kirk, Robert. *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves Fauns and Fairies.* Edited by Andrew Lang. Stirling: Observer Press, 1933.

Le Huon de Bordeaux en prose du XVème siècle. Edited by Michel J. Raby. New York: Lang, 1998.

Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis: The Lesser Key of Solomon. Edited by Joseph H. Peterson. York Beach: Weiser Books, 2001.

Map, Walter. *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Edited by M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke & R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1983. https://www-oxfordscholarlyeditions-com.uoelibrary.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/actrade/9780198222361.book.1/actrade-9780198222361-book-1.

Medieval Medicine: A Reader. Edited by Faith Wallis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Of Angels, Demons, and Spirits. Edited by Daniel Harms and James R. Clark. Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2019.

Paracelsus, '*Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmaeis et Salamandris et de Caeteris Spiritibus Theophrasti Hohenheimensis*'. In *Four Treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus*. Translated and edited by Henry E. Sigerist. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Plato, *Charmides*. Edited and translated by Christopher Moore and Christopher C. Raymond. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2019.

Plotinus. *The Enneads.* Edited by Porphyry. Translated by Stephen MacKenna. New York: Paul Brunton Philosophic Foundation, 1992.

Psellos, Michael. *Psellus' Dialogue on the Operation of Dæmons.* Translated by Marcus Collisson. Sydney: James Tegg, 1843. http://www.esotericarchives.com/psellos/daemonibus.pdf.

Sepher Raziel also Known as Liber Salomonis a 1564 English Grimoire from Sloane MS 3826. Edited by Don Karr and Stephen Skinner. London: Golden Hoard Press, 2010.

Sir Orfeo. Edited by A.J. Bliss. Oxford University Press: London, 1954.

The Book of Enoch. Translated by R. H. Charles. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921.

The Book of Oberon: A Sourcebook of Elizabethan Magic. Edited by Daniel Harms, James R. Clark, and Joseph H. Peterson. Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2015.

The Book of Tobit: The Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Old Latin with English Translations, ed. Adolf Neubuer. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2005.

The Book of Treasure Spirits. Edited by David Rankine. London: Avalonia, 2009.

The Cambridge Book of Magic: A Tudor Necromancer's Manual. Edited and
    translated by Francis Young. Cambridge: Texts in Early Modern Magic,
    2015.

The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy. Edited by Donald Tyson. Woodbury:
    Llewellyn, 2018.

The Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet. Edited by David Rankine. London: Avalonia,
    2011.

*The Keys to the Gateway of Magic: Summoning the Solomonic Archangels and
    Demon Princes.* Edited by Skinner, Stephen and David Rankine. Singapore:
    Golden Hoard Press, 2019.

The Koran Interpreted. Vol. II, *Suras XXI-CXIV*. Translated by A. J. Arberry. New
    York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia. Translated by Ioannis
    Marathakis. Golden Hoard Press: Singapore, 2011.

The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia. Translated by Ioannis
    Marathakis. Golden Hoard Press: Singapore, 2011.

The Nibelungenlied: The Lay of the Nibelungs. Translated by Cyril Edwards.
    Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

The Poetic Edda. Translated by Carolyne Larrington. Oxford: Oxford University
    Press, 2014.

The Sworn Book of Honorius: Liber Iuratus Honorii. Translated by Joseph
    Peterson. Florida: Ibis Press, 2016.

Trithemius, Johannes. *Steganographia*. Frankfurt: Matthew Becker, 1606.
https://books.google.ca/books?id=yqRNAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

de Voragine, Jacobus. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Primary Web Sources

Andrea del Castagno. *The Cumean Sibyl*. c.1450. Fresco transferred to wood, 250x154 (cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/a/andrea/castagno/2_famous/5cumean.html.

Clarke, Susanna and Madeline Miller. 'Piranesi: Susanna Clarke in Conversation with Madeline Miller'. YouTube, September 6, 2021, video, 50:00-52:14. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cQHhFyQbLoE.

Elmer, Peter. 'Robert Turner'. *Biographical Register of Medical Practitioners Online*. Forthcoming at https://practitioners.exeter.ac.uk/.

'*Fasciculus rerum geomanticarum*: Plut.89 sup.38'. Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana Digital Repository. Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana. Accessed August 25, 2022. http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOMLwqhI1A4r7GxMQnq&c=Fasciculus%20rerum%20geomanticarum#/oro/223.

Gennari, Bartolomeo. *The Cumaean Sibyl*. 1600-1699. Oil on canvas, 1035x860 (mm). Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire. http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/959453.

'Long-forgotten Folklore of How to Summon Fairies Set to be Revealed'. *University of Exeter: History*. Last updated September 2018. https://history.exeter.ac.uk/news/articles/long-forgottenfolkloreofh.html.

'Meet the man who just earned a fellowship to study magic in the U.K.'. *Stormfront.org*. Last updated 29, July 2018. https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1253027/.

Michelangelo Buonarroti. *Cumaean Sibyl*. 1510. Fresco, Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome. https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/eascfa/dinner_party/heritage_floor/sibyl_of_cumae.

Paton, Sir Joseph Noel. *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania*. 1849. Oil on canvas, 99.00 x 152.00 (cm). Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh. https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5264

Peterson, Joseph H. '*Arbatel De magia veterum* (Arbatel: Of the Magic of the Ancients)'. Twilit Grotto: Archives of Western Esoterica. Twilit Grotto Esoteric Archives, Updated January, 2023. http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon/arbatel.htm.

Peterson, Joseph H. 'Sepher Raziel (Sl. 3846)'. *Esoteric Archives*. Copyrighted 1999 and 2006, last updated November 15, 2022, http://www.esotericarchives.com/raziel/raziel.htm.

Studio of Guercino. *The Cumaean Sibyl*. 1591-1666. Oil on canvas, 1170x920 (mm). Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire. http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/960075.

'University Studies Conjuring of Demons, "Fairies" Examines collections of old spell books of magic, witchcraft, sorcery '. *WND*. Last updated 3, September

2018. https://www.wnd.com/2018/09/university-studies-conjuring-of-demons-fairies/.

'WORLDNETDAILY'. SPLCenter. Southern Poverty Law Center. Accessed October 10, 2023. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/worldnetdaily.

Secondary Sources

Åkerman, Susanna. 'Queen Christina's Latin *Sefer-ha-Raziel* Manuscript'. In *Judaeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713)*, edited by Allison P. Coudert, Sarah Hutton, Richard H. Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner, 13-25. Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media, 1999.

Allaire, Gloria. 'Animal Descriptions in Andrea da Barberino's "Guerrino Meschino"'. *Romance Philology* 56, no. 1 (2002): 23-39.

Allaire, Gloria. 'Medieval Italian Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela: New Literary Evidence'. *Journal of Medieval History* 24, no. 2 (1998): 177-189.

Bailey, Anne E. 'The Female Condition: Gender and Deformity in High-Medieval Miracle Narratives'. *Gender & History* 33, no. 2 (2021): 427–447.

Bain, Frederika. 'The Binding of the Fairies: Four Spells'. *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 1, No. 2 (2012): 323-354.

Bane, Theresa. *Encyclopaedia of Fairies in World Folklore and Mythology.* London: McFarland & Company, 2013.

Barragán Romano, Rossana and Leda Papastefanaki. 'Women and Gender in the
Mines: Challenging Masculinity Through History: An Introduction'.
International Review of Social History 65, no. 2 (2020): 191-230.

Bartlett, Robert. *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Beardsmore, B. F. 'The Two Auberons'. *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 23, (1979):
23-30.

Beekes, R.S.P. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Brill, 2009.

Bell, David. 'A Cistercian at Oxford, Richard Dove of Buckfast and London BL
Sloane 513'. *Studia Monastica*, 31 (1989): 69-87.

Bernheimer, Richard. *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and
Demonology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Bihet, Francesca. 'Fairies and Folklore: The History of Fairies in the Folklore
Society 1878-1945'. PhD dissertation, Chichester University, 2020.

Bird-David, Nurit and Danny Naveh, 'Animism, Conversation, and Immediacy'. In
The Handbook of Contemporary Animism, edited by Graham Harvey.
London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Bourke, Ulick Joseph. *Pre-Christian Ireland.* Dublin: Brown & Nolan, 1887.

Bowker, John. 'Kami'. In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions.* Oxford
University Press, 2000. https://www-oxfordreference-
com.uoelibrary.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/acref/9780192800947.001.0001/a
cref-9780192800947-e-3814.

Brann, Noel L. 'Was Paracelsus a Disciple of Trithemius?'. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 10, no. 1 (1979): 70-82.

Brann, Noel L. *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy Over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Briggs, Katharine. 'Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic'. *Folklore* 64, no. 4 (1953): 445-462.

Briggs, Katharine. 'The Fairies and the Practitioners of Magic'. In *The Anatomy of Puck: An Examination of Fairy Beliefs Among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and Successors*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Briggs, Katharine. *A Dictionary of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies, and Other Supernatural Creatures.* London: Routledge, 2003.

Briggs, Katharine. *Fairies in Tradition and Literature.* London: Routledge, 2002.

Briggs, Katharine. *The Anatomy of Puck: An Examination of Fairy Beliefs Among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and Successors*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Briggs, Katharine. *Vanishing People: Fairy lore and Legends.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Briggs, Katherine. 'Some of the Personae of Fairyland'. In *The Anatomy of Puck: An Examination of Fairy Beliefs Among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and Successors*. London: Routledge, 2003.

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

Card, Jeb J. *Spooky Archaeology: Myth and the Science of the Past*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018.

Chardonnens, László Sándor. 'Necromancing Theurgic Magic: A Reappraisal of the *Liber iuratus* Extracts and the Consecration Ritual for the *Sigillum Dei* in an Early Modern English Grimoire'. *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 10, no. 2 (2015): 172-198.

'Chronology of the Lives of Odelerius and his Son Orderic Vitalis'. In *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*. Edited by Charles C. Rozier, Daniel Roach, Giles E. M. Gasper, and Elisabeth van Houts. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016.

Clark, John. '"Small, Vulnerable ETs": The Green Children of Woolpit'. *Science Fiction Studies* 33 no.2 (2006): 209-229.

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

Clifton-Everest, J. M. *The Tragedy of Knighthood: Origins of the Tannhäuser Legend*. Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1979.

Collier, John Payne. Introduction to *The Mad Pranks and Merry Jests of Robin Goodfellow*, v-ix. London: C. Richards, 1841.

Collins, J. J. 'Sibylline Oracles (Second Century B.C. – Seventh Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction'. In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* edited by James H. Charlesworth. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2011.

Compagni, V. Perrone. Introduction to *De occulta philosophia*, 1-53. Edited by V. Perrone Compagni. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992. https://archive.org/details/deoccultaphiloso0000agri/page/42/mode/2up?q=Razielis.

Cooper, Lucy. *The Element Encyclopedia of Fairies: An A-Z of Fairies, Pixies and Other Fantastical Creatures.* London: HarperCollins, 2014.

Davidson, G. *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels*. New York/London, Free Press/Collier-Macmillan, 1967.

Davies, Owen. *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Davies, Owen. *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History.* London: Hambledon, 2003.

Davies, Owen. *The Haunted: A Social History of Ghosts*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Davies, S.F. 'The Reception of Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft: Witchcraft, Magic, and Radical Religion'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 74, no. 3 (2013): 381- 401.

Dendle, Peter. *Demon Possession in Anglo-Saxon England*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2014.

Didier Kahn, 'Paracelsus' Ideas on the Heavens, Stars and Comets'*.* In *Unifying Heaven and Earth: Essays in the History of Early Modern Cosmology.* Edited by Miguel Á. Granada, Patrick J. Boner, and Dario Tessicini, 59-158. Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2016.

Dietler, Michael. 'Celticism, Celtitude and Celticity: The Consumption of the Past in the Age of Globalization'. *Bibracte*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2006): pp. 237-248.

Dillinger, Johannes. *Magical Treasure Hunting in Europe and North America: A History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012*.*

Duffy, Eamon. 'Introduction'. In *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Eamon, William. *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Ebeling, Florian. *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*. Translated David Lorton. New York: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Eskhult, Josef. 'The Primeval Language and Hebrew Ethnicity in Ancient Jewish and Christian Thought Until Augustine'. *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, no. 60 (2014): 291-347.

Evans-Wentz, Walter Yeeling. *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries.* London, New York: H. Frowde, 1911.

Filotas, Bernadette. *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions, and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005.

Flint, Valerie. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Freeman, Arthur and Janet Ing Freeman. *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*. Vol. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Gaimon, Neil. Introduction to *Lud-in-the-Mist.* Authored by Hope Mirrlees. London: Gollancz, 2018.

Gaziel, Ahuva. 'Spontaneous Generation in Medieval Jewish Philosophy and Theology'. *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 34, no. 3 (2012): 461-479.

Gehr, Damaris. 'La fittizia associazione del Liber Razielis in sette libri ad Alfonso X il Saggio e una nuova determinazione delle fasi redazionali del trattato, della loro datazione e dell'identità dei compilatori coinvolti'. *Viator* 43, (2012): 181-207.

Gentilcore, David. 'Anthropological Approaches'. In *Writing History,* edited by Stefan Berger. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003.

Gillespie, George T. *A Catalogue of Persons Named in German Heroic Literature (700-1600): Including Animals and Objects and Ethnic Names.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Gillis Hogan, Samuel P. 'Stars in the Hand: The Manuscript and Intellectual Contexts of British Latin Medieval Chiromancy and its Scholastic and Astrological Influences'. Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2018.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

Giralt, Sebastià. 'The Manuscript of a Medieval Necromancer: Magic in Occitan and Latin in ms. Vaticano, BAV, Barb. lat. 3589'. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9, no.1 (2014): 221-272.

González, Olga Cecilia Méndez. 'Anglo-Iberian Relations 1150-1280: A Diplomatic History'. Doctoral dissertation, University of East Anglia, 2013.

Graf, Fritz. 'Historiola'. In *Brill's New Pauly*. Edited by Hubert Cancik and, Helmuth Schneider. English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar. Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, and English Edition by: Francis G.

Gentry. Accessed September 18, 2019. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e515850.

Green, Monica H. 'From "Diseases of Women" to "Secrets of Women": The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages'. *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 30, no. 1 (2000): 5-40.

Green, Richard Firth. *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Griffiths, Bill. *Aspects of Anglo Saxon Magic*. Michigan: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1996.

Grimm, Carl Ludwig Willibald. *Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon: A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*. Edited and translated by Joseph Henry Thayer. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2010.

Gulløv, Hans Christian. 'Inuit-European Interactions in Greenland'. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Prehistoric Arctic*. Editors T. Max Friesen and Owen K. Mason. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Gutiérrez Fátima. 'Le Venusberg et la légende du Tannhäuser Paradis païens, enfers chrétiens'. *Caietele Echinox* 24, (2013).

Hall, Alaric. '*Ælfe*, Illness and Healing (1): The "elf-shot" Conspiracy'. In *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.

Hall, Alaric. 'Ælfe, Illness and Healing (2): *Ælfsīden*'. In *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.

Hall, Alaric. *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.

Hall, Matthew. 'Talk Among the Trees: Animist Plant Ontologies and Ethics'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Halliwell, James Orchard. *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'*. London: The Shakespeare Society, 1845.

Harding, Stephan. 'Towards an Animistic Science of the Earth'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Harf-Lancer, Laurence. *Les fees au moyen âge. Morgane et Mélusine. La naissance des* fees. Geneva, 1984.

Harms, Daniel. '"Of Fairies": An Excerpt from a Seventeenth-Century Magical Manuscript'. *Folklore* 129, No. 2 (2018): 192-198.

Harms, Daniel. 'Hell and Fairy: The Differentiation of Fairies and Demons Within British Ritual Magic of the Early Modern Period'. In *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern* Period. Edited by Michelle D. Brock, Richard Raiswell, and David R. Winter. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Harris, Adrian. 'Embodied Eco-Paganism'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Harvey, Graham. 'Introduction'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Harvey, Graham. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*. Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2005.

Hayton, Darin. 'Michael Psellos' *De daemonibus* in the Renaissance'. In *Reading Michael Psellos*. Edited by Charles Barber and David Jenkins. Lieden: Brill, 2006.

Hazlitt, William-Carew. *Fairy Tales, Legends, and Romances, Illustrating Shakespeare and Other Early English Writers*. London: Frank & William Kerslake, 1875.

Hogan, Linda. 'We Call it Tradition'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Hornblower, Simon. 'Sibylline Oracles and Other Apocalyptic Literature'. In *Lykophron's Alexandra, Rome, and the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018),

Hufford, David. *The Terror that Comes in the Night: An Experience-centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Hunter, Michael. 'The Discovery of Second Sight in Late 17th-Century Scotland'. *History Today* 51, no. 6 (June 2001): 48–53.

Hunter, Michael. *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science and Second Sight in Late Seventeenth-Century Scotland: A New Edition of Robert Kirk's The secret Commonwealth and Other Texts with an Introductory Essay by Michael Hunter.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001.

Husband, Timothy and Gloria Gilmore-House. *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980.

Hutcheson, B. R. '*Wið Dweorh*: An Anglo-Saxon Remedy for Fever in its Cultural and Manuscript Setting'. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik* 69 (2012): 175-202.

Hutton, Ronald. 'The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition'. *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 1135–1156.

Hutton, Ronald. 'Witches and Fairies'. In *The Witch: A History of Fear, From Ancient Times to the Present*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Hutton, Ronald. *Queens of the Wild: Pagan Goddesses in Christian Europe: An Investigation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022.

Hutton, Ronald. *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hutton, Ronald. *The Witch: A History of Fear, From Ancient Times to the Present*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

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

Jean-Patrice Boudet and Julien Véronèse, 'Lier et délier*: de Dieu à la sorcière*'. In *La Légitimité Implicite*. Edited by Jean-Philippe Genet. Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015.

'John Amos Comenius'. Encyclopedia Britannica, last modified May 2, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/summary/John-Amos-Comenius.

Jones, Diana Wynne. *Fire and Hemlock*. New York: Penguin Group, 2012.

Kassell, Lauren. '"All Was This Land Full Fill'd of Faerie," or Magic and the Past in Early Modern England'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 1 (2006): 107-122.

Kieckhefer, Richard. 'Demons and Daimons: The Spirits Conjured'. In *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Kieckhefer, Richard. 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic.' *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 3 (1994): 813-836.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

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

Kinahan, G.H. 'Irish Plant-Lore Notes'. *Folklore* 6, no. 4 (1888): 265-267.

Klaassen, Frank. 'Learning and Masculinity in Manuscripts of Ritual Magic of the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance'. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, No. 1 (2007): 49-76

Klaassen, Frank. 'Subjective Experience and the Practice of Medieval Ritual Magic'. *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 7. no. 1 (2012): 19-51.

Klaassen, Frank. 'Three Early Modern Rituals to Spoil Witches'. *Opuscula* 1, No. 1 (2011): 1-10.

Klaassen, Frank. 'Unstable Texts and Modal Approaches to the Written Word in Medieval European Ritual Magic'. In *Orality and Literacy: Reflections Across Disciplines,* edited by Keith Thor Carlson, Kristina Fagan, and Natalia Khanenko-Friesen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

Klaassen, Frank. *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.

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

Klaassen, Frank and Katrina Bens. 'Achieving Invisibility and Having Sex with Spirits: Six Operations from an English Magic Collection ca. 1600'. *Opuscula* 3, No. 1 (2013): 1-14.

Klaassen, Frank and Sharon Hubbs Wright, *The Magic of Rogues: Necromancers in Early Tudor England.* Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021.

Klaits, Joseph. *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts.* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Kruk, Remke. 'A Frothy Bubble: Spontaneous Generation in the Medieval Islamic Tradition'. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 35, no. 2 (Autumn 1990): 265-282.

Laack, Isabel. 'The *New Animism* and Its Challenges to the Study of Religion'. *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 32, no. 2 (2020): 115-147.

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

Larson, Jennifer. *Ancient Greek Cults.* New York: Routledge, 2007.

László Sándor Chardonnens, 'Magic Manuscripts from Somers and Jekyll in the Collections of the British Library', *Societas Magica Newsletter* 35 (Spring 2017): 1-8.

Latham, Minor White. *The Elizabethan Fairies: The Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1930.

Lecouteux, Claude. *Dictionary of Ancient Magic Words and Spells*. Translated by Jon E. Graham. Toronto: Inner Traditions, 2015.

Lecouteux, Claude. *Phantom Armies of the Night: The Wild Hunt and Ghostly Processions of the Undead*. Translated by Jon E. Graham. Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions, 2011.

Lehoux, Daryn. *Creatures Born of Mud and Slime: The Wonder and Complexity of Spontaneous Generation*. Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2017.

Levy-Rubin, Milka. 'The Language of Creation or The Primordial Language: A Case of Cultural Polemics in Antiquity'. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 49, no. 2 (Autumn 1998): 306-333.

Lidaka, Juris G. Review of *Liber iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, edited by Gösta Hedegård. *Speculum* 79, no. 1 (January 2004): 196-197. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/epdf/10.1017/S0038713400095142.

Luhrmann, Tanya M. *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft Ritual Magic in Contemporary England*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Luhrmann, Tanya. *How God Becomes Real: Kindling the Presence of Invisible Others*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.

Luhrmann, Tanya. *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship with God*. New York: Vintage books, 2012.

Lycourinos, Damon Zacharias. *Ritual Embodiment in Modern Western Magic: Becoming the Magician*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Lyons, Mathew. '17 September 1883: Death of a Master Forger'. *History Today* 72, no. 9 (2022): 26.

Mac Cárthaigh, Críostóir. 'Midwife to the Fairies (ML 5070): The Irish Variants in Their Scottish and Scandinavian Perspective'. *Béaloideas* 59 (1991): 133–143.

Maddox, Donald, and Sara Sturm-Maddox, eds. *Melusine of Lusignan: Founding Fiction in Late Medieval France*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.

Martinich, A.P. *Hobbes*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005.

Mearls, Mike, Jeremy Crawford, et al. *D&D Player's Handbook*. Washington: Wizards of the Coast LLC, 2014.

Morrison, Kenneth M. 'Animism and a Proposal for a Post-Cartesian Anthropology'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Murray, Alexander. 'Canonists and Jurists'. In *Suicide in the Middle Ages: The Curse on Self-Murder*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Oldmeadow, Harry. *Journeys East: 20th Century Western Encounters with Eastern Religious Traditions*. Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2004.

Oldridge, Darren. 'Fairies and the Devil in Early Modern England'. *The Seventeenth Century*, 31, no.1 (2016): 1-15.

Oldridge, Darren. *The Supernatural in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Ostling, Michael. 'Introduction'. In *Fairies, Demons, and Nature Spirits: 'Small Gods' at the Margins of Christendom*. Edited by Michael Ostling. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Otto, Bernd-Christian. 'Historicising "Western Learned Magic"'. *Aries* 16, no. 2 (2016): 161-240.

Page, Sophie. 'Uplifting Spirits: The *Liber de essential spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*'. In *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, edited by Claire Fanger. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

Page, Sophie. *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Page, Sophie. *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.

Pagel, Walter. *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*. Basel: Karger, 1982.

Paluch, Agata. 'Enoch-Metatron Revisited: Prayers, Adjurations, and Metonymical Hermeneutics in Premodern Jewish Mystical and Magical Texts'. *Entangled Religions* 13, no. 6 (2022): https://er.ceres.rub.de/index.php/ER/article/view/9519/9154.

Papaioannou, Stratis. *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Paxton, C. G. M. and R. Holland. ' Was Steenstrup Right? A New Interpretation of the 16th Century Sea Monk of the Øresund'. *Steenstrupia* 29, no. 1 (2005): 39-47.

Pierdominici, Luca. 'Professor Pierdominici's Preface to *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle*: "The Transformation of Meaning Between Narrative and Recollection"'. In *Legends of Le Marche: The Sibyl of the Apennines-La Sibilla Appenninica*, translated by James Richards and Luca Pierdominici. Macerata: Edizioni Simple, 2014.

Pinch, Geraldine. *Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 1994.

Plumwood, Val. 'Nature in the Active Voice'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Porreca, David. 'Hermes Trismegistus in Thomas of York: A 13th-Century Witness to the Prominence of an Ancient Sage', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Áge*, 72, no. 1 (2005): 147-275.

Purkiss, Diane. *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories*. London: Penguin, 2001.

Rampton, Martha, ed. *European Magic and Witchcraft: A Reader*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

Rankine, David. 'Introduction'. In *The Grimoire of Arthur Gauntlet.* Edited by David Rankine. London: Avalonia, 2011.

Reimer, Tyler J. 'Cultural Traditions of Sixteenth-Century English Books of Secrets'. Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2017.

Richards, James. 'Translator's Note'. In *Legends of Le Marche: The Sibyl of the Apennines-La Sibilla Appenninica*, translated by James Richards and Luca Pierdominici, 9-11. Macerata: Edizioni Simple, 2014.

Rieti, Barbara. 'Always Going and Never Gone?'. In *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland*, 1-16. St. John's: Memorial University Press, 2021.

Rieti, Barbara. *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland*. St. John's: Memorial University Press, 2021.

Rose, Carol. *Spirits, Fairies, Gnomes, and Goblins: An Encyclopedia of the Little People.* Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1996.

Scheludko, Dimitri. 'Neus über *Huon de Bordeaux*'. *Veitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xlviii (1928): 361-397.

Schott, Jeremy. *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Schum, Timothy. 'From Egypt to Mount Qāf: The Symbolism of the Hoopoe in Muslim Literature and Folklore'. *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies* 3, no. 1 (2018): 37-57.

Segal, Robert A. 'Animism for Tylor'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

Sigerist, Henry E. 'Introduction'. In '*Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmaeis et Salamandris et de Caeteris Spiritibus Theophrasti Hohenheimensis*'. In *Four Treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus*. Translated and edited by Henry E. Sigerist. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Sørensen, Jesper. *A Cognitive Theory of Magic*. Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2007.

Speake, Jennifer, and Mark LaFlaur. 'Lemur'. In *The Oxford Essential Dictionary of Foreign Terms in English*. Oxford University Press, 1999. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199891573.001.0001/acref-9780199891573-e-3862.

Spurgeon, Charles H. *John Ploughman's Pictures*. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1896.

Stanmore, Tabitha. *Love Spells and Lost Treasure: Service Magic in England from the Later Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Stearns, Justin K. *Infectious Ideas: Contagion in Premodern Islamic and Christian Thought in the Western Mediterranean*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Stringer, Martin D. 'Building on Belief: Defining Animism in Tylor and Contemporary Society'. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey. London, New York: Routledge: 2014.

'Sylph'. Merriam-Webster. Accessed November 5, 2019. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sylph.

'Sylph'. Oxford Learners Dictionaries. Accessed June 5, 2023. https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/sylph.

Thomas, Keith. *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* London: Penguin Books, 1991.

Thompson, Stith. *Motif-index of Folk-literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends.* 6 volumes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-1958. https://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/.

Utrup, Robert C. 'Yeatsian Modernism: Romantic Nationalism, Hero Worship, and the "Celtic Element" in *Tender Is the Night* and *The Love of the Last Tycoon'. The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review*, Vol. 16 (2018), 60-83.

Van der Lugt, Maaike. '"Abominable Mixtures": The *Liber vaccae* in the Medieval West, or The Dangers and Attractions of Natural Magic'. *Traditio* 64 (2009): 229-277.

van der Poel, Marc. *Cornelius Agrippa, The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Wade, James. 'Fairies and Humans Between Possible Worlds'. In *Fairies in Medieval Romance.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.

Wade, James. *Fairies in Medieval Romance.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.

Walde, Christine. 'Sibyl'. In *Brill's New Pauly*, edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, English edition by Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, and English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1111620.

Watkins, Carl. *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Wilby, Emma. 'The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland'. *Folklore* 111, no. 2 (2000): 283-305.

Wilby, Emma. *Cunning Folk and Familiar Spirits: Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic.* Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2013.

Wilby, Emma. *Invoking the Akelarre: Voices of the Accused in the Basque Witch-Craze, 1609-1614*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2019.

Wilby, Emma. *The Visions of Isobel Gowdie: Magic, Witchcraft and Dark Shamanism in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.

Wootton, David. 'Scott [Scot], Reginald'. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.* Oxford University Press. Published 23 Sep. 2004, https://www-oxforddnb-com.uoelibrary.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24905.

Worden, Blair. 'The Question of Secularisation'. In *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*. Edited by Alan Houston and Steve Pincus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Yates, Frances. *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Young, Francis. 'Introduction'. In*The Cambridge Book of Magic: A Tudor Necromancer's Manual*. Translated by Francis Young. Texts in Early Modern Magic: Cambridge, 2015.

Young, Simon. 'Against Taxonomy: Fairy Families in Cornwall'. *Cornish Studies* 21 (2013): 223-237.

Young, Simon. 'Fairy Ain't What It Used To Be: Traditional vs Contemporary Fairies'. In *Deep Weird: The Varieties of High Strangeness Experience.* Edited by Jack Hunter. Milton Keynes: August Night Press, 2023.

Zambelli, Paola. *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance: From Ficino, Pico, Della Porta to Trithemius, Agrippa, Bruno*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Zeldenrust, Lydia. *The Mélusine Romance in Medieval Europe: Translation, Circulation, and Material Contexts*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020.

Secondary Web Sources

Benjamin, Lisa. 'Persephone (Deity)'. *Salem Press Encyclopedia*. Salem Press, 2018. http://search.ebscohost.com.uoelibrary.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=89407969&site=eds-live&scope=site.

'Book of magic, with instructions for invoking spirits, etc.' Luna: Folger Digital Image Collection. Folger Shakespeare Library. Accessed 19 October 2023. https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~368836~131436:Book-of-magic,-with-instructions-fo.

'Copies of incantations, charms, prayers, magical formulae, astrological devices, and the like'. Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts. Bodleian Libraries. Accessed 19 October, 2023. https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/4940.

'Detailed Record for Sloane 3853'. Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts. British Library. Accessed 19 October, 2023. https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=763&CollID.

Hermant, Maxence. 'Latin 1173'. Archives et Manuscrits. La Bibliothèque nationale de France, January 2019. https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc59106h.

Ian Lancashire, editor. 'Advanced Search'. *LEME: Lexicons of Early Modern English*. University of Toronto Libraries. University of Toronto Press. https://leme.library.utoronto.ca/search/advanced.

'Magic: Tractatus et experimenta magica: 14th-17th centt'. Explore Archives and Manuscripts. British Library. Accessed 19 October, 2023. https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?query=any,contains,Sloane%203851&vid=IAMS_VU2&search_scope=LSCOP_BL&sortby=rank&tab=local&docid=IAMS040-002116241&lang=en_US&mode=simple&fromRedirectFilter=true.

'Peter Perna'. The British Museum. Accessed September 2021. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG154798.

'Pseudo-Bacon Roger (1214?-1294) (& others)'. Wellcome Collections. Wellcome Library. https://wellcomecollection.org/works/jaunz2nx.

'Robert Lombard, Ordinis Miniorum'. Explore Archives and Manuscripts. British Library. Accessed 19 October, 2023. https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?query=any,contains,Sloane%203318&vid=IAMS_VU2&search_scope=LSCOP_BL&sortby=rank&tab=local&docid=IAMS040-002115705&lang=en_US&mode=simple&fromRedirectFilter=true.

'*Robin Goodfellow, His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*, 1639'. British Library: Collection Items. Accessed May 2, 2022. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/robin-goodfellow-his-mad-pranks-and-merry-jests-1639.

'Sloane 1727 Paper, in 4to., ff.65, XVII Century. An anonymous treatise on Magic'. Explore Archives and Manuscripts. British Library. Accessed 19 October,

2023. https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?query=any,contains,Sloane%201727&vid=IAMS_VU2&search_scope=LSCOP_BL&sortby=rank&tab=local&docid=IAMS040-002114080&lang=en_US&mode=simple&fromRedirectFilter=true.

Stanmore, Tabitha. 'Inherited Divisions: The False Dichotomy of Cunning Vs. Ritual Magic'. Ars Magica: The Societas Magica Blog. Societas Magica. Published 31 August, 2020, https://societasmagica.org/blog?arc=08-2020.

'Summary: [Manuscripts/1/325], File, Tractatus de nigroma[n]tia [necromancy]'. Chetham's Library. Accessed 19 October, 2023. http://185.121.204.150/ChethamLibrary/#/details/ecatalogue/9321.

"The Sloane Collection'. Natural History Museum. The Trustees of The Natural History Museum, London. Accessed October 2, 2023. https://www.nhm.ac.uk/our-science/departments-and-staff/library-and-archives/collections/sloane-collection.html.