

JOHN DEE'S ACTIONS WITH SPIRITS:
22 DECEMBER 1581 TO 23 MAY 1583

in 2 volumes

by

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VOLUME I

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Synopsis

This thesis presents an investigation of the nature of the earliest extant records of the supposed communication with angels and spirits of John Dee (1527-1608) with the assistance of his two mediums or 'scryers', Barnabas Saul and Edward Kelly. The form chosen is a transcription of the records in Dee's hand contained in Sloane MS 3188, together with an introduction and commentary to the text, which has been transcribed only once before, by Elias Ashmole in 1672. In the Introduction the physical state of the manuscript is described and a hypothesis advanced as to how it arrived in the Sloane collection. Biographical details of Dee and his scryers are provided and a further chapter presents some background to Renaissance occult philosophy and the practice of scrying. Arguments that the manuscript represents a conscious fraud or a cryptographical exercise are examined and disproved and the magical system and instruments evolved during the communications or 'Actions' are described. The last chapter of the Introduction examines Dee's motives for believing so strongly in the truth of the Actions and suggests that a principal motive was the conviction, not held by Dee alone, that a new age was about to dawn upon earth. The Commentary aims primarily at explaining the many obscurities of the text. The thesis includes a photograph of an engraving of one of the magical instruments (the Holy Table) and a bibliography.

This thesis contains approximately 95,000 words, excluding the transcription of Sloane MS 3188.

Contents

Volume I

Abbreviations

Introduction

Chapter I	The Manuscript	
	a) Provenance	1
	b) Physical Characteristics	7
	c) Missing Leaves	10
	Notes	16
Chapter II	Biographical Details	
	a) John Dee	19
	b) Edward Kelly	43
	c) Other Scryers	49
	Notes	55
Chapter III	Magic and Scrying	
	a) Magic	63
	b) Scrying	75
	Notes	94
Chapter IV	Fraud and Cryptography	101
	Notes	113
Chapter V	The Magical System	116
	a) The Angels	117
	b) The Sigillum Dei	118
	c) The Forty-Nine Spirits	124
	d) The Lamine	129
	e) The Ring	131
	f) The Rod 'El'	132
	g) The Seven Ensigns of Creation	134
	h) The Show-Stones	137
	i) Magical Books	141
	j) The Holy Table	149
	Notes	155
Chapter VI	Motives	157
	Notes	178
Conclusion		180
Commentary		183

Contents (2)

Volume II

Conventions and Usages in the Transcription	i
The Transcription	1
Appendix (The Holy Table)	408
Bibliography	409

Abbreviations

- Calder I.R.F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist', unpublished University of London Ph.D. dissertation, 1952.
- CR 'The Compendious Rehearsall of John Dee his Dutifull Declaracion, and Proof of the Course and Race of his Studious Lyfe', Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, Warden of the College of Manchester, edited by James Crossley, Chetham Society Publications, vol. XXIV (Manchester 1851), pp. 1-45.
- Diary The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, edited by James O. Halliwell, Camden Society Publications, vol. XIX (London 1842).
- DNB The Dictionary of National Biography, 21 vols (London, later Oxford, 1885-1909).
- RM John Dee, General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Arte of Navigation (London 1577), facsimile edition, The English Experience No. 62 (Amsterdam and New York 1968).
- Josten, Ashmole Elias Ashmole, his Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work, edited by C.H. Josten, 5 vols (Oxford 1966).
- Josten, 'Unknown Chapter' 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', edited by C.H. Josten, JWCI, 28 (1965), pp. 223-257.
- Monas John Dee, Monas hieroglyphica, translated by C.H. Josten, Ambix, XII (1964), pp. 84-221.
- Occ. Phil. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, translated by J[ames] F[rench] (London 1651).
- OED A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, edited by James A.H. Murray et al., 10 vols (Oxford 1884-1928).
- Preface John Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface' to The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara, translated by Sir Henry Billingsley (London 1570)
- TFR Meric Casaubon, A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr: John Dee...and Some Spirits (London 1659).

Abbreviations (2)

Walker

D.P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella (London 1958, reprinted 1969).

I

THE MANUSCRIPT

Sloane MS 3188 contains the 'Actions with spirits' conducted by John Dee (1527-1608) and his scryers, principally Edward Kelly (1555-1595), between 22 December 1581 and 23 May 1583. These Actions are the records of visions of angels and other spirits and the messages delivered by them as seen and heard by the scryers with the aid of a crystal ball, and then immediately related to Dee, who though present saw and heard nothing. The manuscript contains 104 folios in Dee's hand which form his fair copy of notes recording the events taken at the time the Actions were conducted.¹ A short preface by Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) and some notes in cipher by William Shippen (1635-1693) are also contained in the present binding.

a) Provenance

In 1662 or 1663 a Mr. and Mrs. Jones of Lombard Street in London had occasion to move a chest, which they had bought shortly after their marriage, from its customary place in their house. Hearing something rattle they looked closely at the chest and Mr. Jones discovered a secret drawer containing various manuscript papers and a rosary and cross of olive wood. Being unable to understand the contents of these papers, they paid no great attention to them and many were eventually lost through being used by their maid to line pie dishes.² Two years later Mr. Jones died and although the chest perished in the Fire of London, the manuscripts, such as were left, were preserved. Mrs. Jones married again, this time to Thomas Wale who was a warder at the Tower of London and acquainted with Elias Ashmole. Learning the story of the discovery of the manuscripts and that the chest had once belonged to John Dee, Wale sent them to Ashmole on 20 August 1672 for his perusal.

The importance of the manuscripts was not lost upon Ashmole. Thirteen years before, most of the records of Dee's magical dealings from 28 May 1583 until his death had been published by Meric Casaubon as a warning how easily man may be deluded into dealing with devils.³ Now Ashmole had in his hands four magical books written by Dee and also the diaries of his magical experiments between 22 December 1581 and 23 May 1583 that immediately preceded those in Casaubon's edition. Here were the 'Actions with spirits' that formed the ground of all those contained in A True and Faithful Relation and without which the latter could not properly be understood. Consequently on 5 September 1672 Ashmole exchanged a copy of his popular work on the Order of the Garter⁴ for all the manuscripts that had been discovered in the chest.

After the attention of the Jones's maid the manuscripts were in a rather poor condition and Ashmole bound them and made transcripts of his own.⁵ He also spent much time trying to solve some of the difficulties and inconsistencies of the magical system that was evolved during those early years and began to collect information concerning Dee. In January of 1672 John Aubrey (1626-1697) had written to Anthony à Wood (1632-1695) that he hoped to be able to persuade Ashmole to write a biography of Dee and Ashmole seems to have considered the proposal seriously for he began to search for the MSS of Dee's that were reputed to be in the hands of Sir William Boswell, ambassador to the Hague.⁶ Anthony à Wood took up the task of writing Dee's biography, however, or at least of writing something concerning him within a larger work,⁷ and Ashmole decided to leave the project in his hands, writing that he would contribute such material as he had towards Wood's study. Yet

although much of Ashmole's information concerning Dee's life and magic, including his own annotated copy of TFR,⁹ were handed over to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford either with the Tradescant collection in 1683 or in the legacy of 1,758 books (which included 620 MS volumes, 311 in folio) that reached Oxford by 22 August 1692 after his death,¹⁰ the manuscripts discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Jones and Ashmole's transcripts of them were not included. They would else still be in the Bodleian with the other relevant manuscripts of both Dee and Ashmole. The reason concerns the directions given in Ashmole's will. This granted to Oxford all printed books and MSS, bound and loose, which would be found at the time of his death 'in the two uppermost Studies in my Turret at my house in South Lambeth' and in the inner closet 'within my lower Study over the Milke house' in the same house.¹¹ Evidently the manuscripts that now form part of the Sloane collection were not to be found there. It seems that they were not in the house at all since they were not catalogued among the 12 folio MSS that formed part of the collection of Ashmole's library that was auctioned after his death on 22 February 1694 at Roll's Auction House in Petty Canon Alley by St. Paul's Churchyard.¹²

C.H. Josten writes that 'it is not known how these Dee manuscripts, and Ashmole's transcripts of them, have found their way into the Sloane collection of manuscripts at the British Museum.'¹³ There are a few hypotheses that may be put forward, however, based upon evidence from the manuscripts themselves. On the flyleaf of SloaneMS 3188 Sir Frederic Madden, head of the manuscripts department at the British Museum from 1837 to 1866, wrote in January 1854:

This volume [was purchased at the sale] is in Dr. Dee's own handwriting, [of Sir Joseph Jekyll's library in January 1739/40] as far as fol. 108. [Lot]

A fair copy of it by Elias Ashmole was purchased at the same Sir Joseph Jekyll's sale, January 1739/40 (Lot 405) and is now MS Sloane 3677.¹⁴

The deletions, signified here by square brackets, indicate that while Ashmole's transcript was purchased at the above sale, there was some doubt concerning Dee's original MS. Sloane MS 3191, which contains the other four books found in Dee's chest, now bears no reference to its purchase, although there is an erased reference on the flyleaf by Madden to its having belonged to Thomas Cotton.¹⁵ Sloane MS 3189, which contains the so called Book of Enoch in Kelly's hand, was certainly in the Cotton collection,¹⁶ as were the manuscripts from which TFR was printed,¹⁷ these having been found buried in a field by Robert Cotton acting upon information he had received.¹⁸ The two possibilities that present themselves are that the original MSS discovered in the chest and Ashmole's transcripts remained together and somehow were acquired by Jekyll and then by Sloane, or else they became separated, only Ashmole's transcripts being acquired by Jekyll and the other MSS arriving in Sloane's collection by another way. It is not unlikely that the originals, being of greater scholarly as well as financial value, might have parted company with Ashmole's transcripts. The erased reference in Sloane MS 3191 suggests that they may have reached the Cotton collection, but they were never catalogued there at any time, and in order to reach the Sloane collection they must have left the Cotton collection before the founding of the British Museum in 1753. Since the Cotton collection spent much time sealed up, it is unlikely that these manuscripts were contained in it, unless they were suddenly removed by some person after the disastrous fire of 23 October 1731, a possibility which is again remote.

Even if Dee's original manuscripts were purchased at Jekyll's

sale along with Ashmole's transcripts, there is a period of at least forty-six years during which their location is not accounted for. In Ashmole's writings upon Dee many persons are to be found who seem to have had some interest in the Elizabethan scholar. Among them are John Aubrey, Sir Thomas Browne, Sir William Boswell, Meredith Lloyd, Anthony à Wood and William Shippen.¹⁹ This last figure was born in 1635, matriculated from Oxford in 1653, became a fellow of University College, and was preferred successively to Prestbury (1667), Kirkheaton (1670), Aldford (1676) and finally Stockport (1678) where he died on 29 September 1693. Shippen was intensely interested in Dee and collated his copy of TFR with the original manuscripts in the Cotton collection.²⁰ Ashmole's copy of a letter between Dee and William Camden of 7 August 1574 bears the marginal note that 'the Originall is in the Library at Dublin in Ireland, whence Mr. William Shippen now (1677) Minister of Kirkhethon neere Wakefield in Yorkshire tooke a Coppy, & from thence I caused this Transcript to be made.'²¹ Both Sloane MS 3188 and Sloane MS 3189 (The Book of Enoch) contain notes by Shippen. Bound in the back of Sloane MS 3188 are some papers by Shippen which provide a summary in long-hand and cipher of the contents of Dee's records and function to a certain extent as an index. One of the blank folios preceding the title page of Sloane MS 3189 has pasted upon it a note by Shippen explaining an error concerning the beginning of The Book of Enoch.²² The papers in the back of Sloane MS 3188 may have been gathered there when Sloane rebound the MS, but the note at the beginning of Sloane MS 3189 must have been with that MS when it arrived in Sloane's hands. The inference is therefore that these MSS arrived in Sloane's hands together with Shippen's

annotated copy, although only Sloane MS 3189 bears specific references to intermediate owners (see note 16) and we cannot tell whether Sir Joseph Jekyll ever owned more than Ashmole's transcripts of them. If Shippen did indeed possess the MSS at any time, they must have reached him soon enough before his death in 1693 for him to make extensive notes. A note by Madden on a flyleaf to Shippen's copy of TFR states that the annotations were made in 1683 and so it is likely that around that time Shippen may also have borrowed the MSS in Ashmole's possession. Since he must have borrowed Sloane MS 3189 from the Cotton collection, whence Ashmole took his own copy, there is some doubt about his effecting its return,²³ as it is now in the Sloane collection and bears signs of ownership by Dr. Biggs and Mr. Jane Hulbert (note 16). If he borrowed Sloane MS 3188 from Ashmole before the latter's death, he may also have failed to return that, Ashmole dying before Shippen had completed his work on the MS and then Shippen himself dying shortly afterwards, his goods and the borrowed MSS presumably passing on to his son William for disposal as he saw fit.

None of the evidence concerning the ownership of the MSS between their possession by Ashmole and Sloane is conclusive. The most probable hypotheses are however that either Ashmole lent the originals (and perhaps also his own transcripts) to some person and that they were not returned or that his widow disposed of them separately after her husband's death, perhaps according to some instructions given to her. The most likely candidate to whom the MSS might have been lent is William Shippen, since his hand appears in annotations in Sloane MSS 3188 and 3189, the former having been in Ashmole's possession and the latter having been in Sir John Cotton's. The place of Sir Joseph Jekyll in the

proceedings is only clear with regard to Ashmole's transcripts of Sloane MSS 3188 and 3191 and I am not convinced that he ever possessed Dee's original copies.

b) Physical Characteristics

Sloane MS 3188 contains 171 leaves in its present folio binding. The first two leaves are unpaginated, and thereafter the leaves are foliated in pencil in the top right hand corner from 1 to 169. Folios 1-13 measure 315-320mm high by 205mm wide and fol. 14 measures 220mm by 205mm. All other leaves measure 295-300mm by 205mm with the following exceptions: fol. 15 (175mm x 140mm), fol. 46 (77mm x 252mm), fol. 81 (200mm x 142mm), fol. 87 (134mm x 190mm), fol. 97 (112mm x 123mm), fol. 99 (70mm x 127mm), and fols 141-169 (188mm x 150mm).

The second leaf bears the note by Sir Frederic Madden concerning the purchase of the volume and the leaf designated as fol. 1 bears a note in an unknown hand which reads: 'Dr. Dee's conference with Angels from Dec. 22. 1581 to May 30. 1583 being what preceeds y^e other Conferences printed by Dr. Meric Causabon Lond. 1659. in folio with a preface by Elias Ashmole. Añ:1672.'²⁴ Fols 2-3 are in Ashmole's hand and contain the account of the manuscript's discovery. Thereafter until fol. 108 the manuscript is in Dee's hand, with the exception of fols 15, 16 and 46 which are in Ashmole's hand and fol. 99 which is mostly in Edward Kelly's hand. Fol. 87 is either in Dee's or in Kelly's hand, but being written in an unprecedented cipher it is not possible to define the authorship any more closely. Fols 109 to 169 are partly in cipher and are in the hand of William Shippen. The ink used in the manuscripts is either black or brown, except that certain characters

at fol. 97 are written in red ink. Some parts of the MS may have once been in red ink which has since faded to a yellow-brown colour, as is indicated by a comparison of the colours in Ashmole's transcript of The Book of Enoch against the original.

That part of the manuscript which I have transcribed and which forms the second volume of this thesis occurs between fols 2 and 108 inclusive. I have, however, retained the folio numbering in pencil as it now exists in the MS. Hereafter references to 'the manuscript' will only signify that part which I have transcribed, unless otherwise stated. Dee's records of his magical dealings are divided into five books and an appendix to the fifth book. Title pages occur at fols 4, 16, 31, 44 and 60, that at fol. 16 being in Ashmole's hand. The title to the appendix to the fifth book is written at the top of fol. 91a.

When Ashmole received the papers he placed them in his own binding²⁵ and certain words were wholly or partially obscured by the binding, while others were lost through previous damage to the MS. Consequently the MS contains words in Ashmole's hand, usually in the left hand margin, replacing those rendered illegible by his binding. Many of the original words have since reappeared as a result of the rebinding by Sloane and some repetition of words has therefore ensued. Ashmole also paginated each leaf of Dee's MS,²⁶ beginning at Dee's prefatory explanation to the Actions (fol. 7a) and this pagination is given below. The only numbers in Dee's hand occur in the fourth book between fols 45a and 59a and these are given below in round brackets. The numbers in square brackets are those which Ashmole deleted after he discovered an error in his own sequence.

fols 1a-6b unnumbered.

fols 7a-14b numbered 1-16.

fols 15a-16b unnumbered.

fols 17a-18b numbered 19-22.

fols 19a unnumbered as a consequence of damage to the folio.

fols 19b-30a numbered 24-45.

fols 30b-31b unnumbered.

fols 32a-35a numbered 47-53.

fols 35b-38a numbered 54 [56]-59 [61].

fols 38b-39a numbered 60-61, the latter number being written over 63.

fol. 39b numbered 62 [64].

fols 40a-41b numbered 63 [65 67]-66 [67 69].

fol. 42a numbered only [69] and is damaged.

fols 42b-43a numbered 68 [70]-69 [71].

fols 43b-44b numbered 70-72.

fols 45a-45b numbered 75-76, recto also being numbered (2).

fols 46a-46b unnumbered.

fol. 47a numbered (3).

fols 47b-49b numbered 78-82.

fol. 50a numbered (6).

fols 50b-51b numbered 84-86.

fols 52a-59b numbered 87-102, rectos also being numbered (8) - (15).

fols 60a-60b unnumbered.

fols 61a-80a numbered 103-141 with signs of erasures.

fol. 80b numbered 142 [144].

fols 81a-81b unnumbered.

fols 82a-85a numbered 143 [145]-149 [151].

fol. 85b numbered 150.

fols 86a-86b numbered 151 [153]-152 [154].

fols 87a-96b numbered 153-172.

fols 97a-97b unnumbered.

fols 98a-98b numbered 173-174.

fols 99a-99b unnumbered.

fols 100a-108a numbered 175-191.

fol. 108b unnumbered.

Of the six non-folio leaves bound in the manuscript only that at fol. 87 is paginated and included within the numbering sequence. Of the title pages those at fols 4, 31 and 60 are neither paginated nor included within the numbering sequence, while those at fols 16 and 44 are paginated.

c) Missing Leaves

Despite the attentions of the Jones's maid, the five books and appendix of Dee's magical dealings are nearly complete. There are papers missing at the beginning of the second book, possibly at the end of the second and third books, and at the beginning of the fourth. The five books of the manuscripts cover Actions between the following dates:

Book 1: 22 December 1581 - 15 March 1582

Book 2: 19? March 1582 - 21 March 1582

Book 3: 28 April 1582 - 29 April 1582 and 4 May 1582²⁷

Book 4: 15 November 1582 - 21 November 1582

Book 5: 23 March 1583 - 18 April 1583

Appendix: 20 April 1583 - 23 May 1583

The second book begins in the middle of an Action and the extant first leaf of that book is damaged in the upper half. Ashmole notes at fol. 15a that concerning Book 2 the 'beginning thereof is vtterly perished' but gives a more detailed conjecture

in his transcript. There he remarks that 'the first Leafe, and the vpper part of the second is vtterly perished' (Sloane MS 3677, 22a). There is no conclusive evidence as to the number of folios missing from the beginning of this book and Ashmole's note concerning the first leaf may only refer to the title page which is now in his hand (fol. 16). Dee had evidently received some instruction for the making of a seal, but whether in one or more missing folios or in a private vision of Kelly's (he often had such), it is not possible to determine. There might be much or little wanting from the beginning of this book, but according to Ashmole's estimation, based on the size of the extant first folio, there are only sixteen lines destroyed by the damage to each side of fol. 17 (see Sloane MS 3677, 24a and 24b).

Ashmole also conjectures that there are some papers missing between the second and third books, probably belonging to the second book, 'for in the begining of the Action of 28 of April Michael taxeth and threatneth Δ [Dee] for his slacknes in not preparing things appointed by him (which Δ excuseth with inability) but there is no mention of such appointment in the Action of 21 of March' (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). Kelly had left for London on 22 March²⁸ but there is no reference in any of Dee's writings as to the date of his return. The second book shows no obvious signs of any papers having been removed from its end and the third book is certainly intact at its beginning, bearing a title page in Dee's hand immediately followed by the beginning of the Action noted on that title page. It therefore seems more likely that the instructions which Dee failed to carry out and for which he was consequently admonished were contained in such papers as are wanting at the beginning of the second book.²⁹

It is very likely that the third book is not extant in its entirety. Ashmole reached the conclusion that this was so on account of the note on the title page of the fourth book which reads 'post reconciliationem Kellianam' ('after the reconciliation with Kelly') but his reasoning was in error. Kelly was first introduced to Dee under the name of Edward Talbot and the fourth book is the first time that he is noted under the initials of 'E.K.' rather than 'E.T.'³⁰ Ashmole at this time failed to realise that Talbot and Kelly were the same person, even though the style and tone of Dee's assistant remain the same and E.K. shows an extraordinary familiarity with all the information and the magical system that has come through the scrying of E.T. Ashmole notes that on 4 May 1582 'Mr. Talbot went away from Mortlack as soone as his account of 4 of May was finished, and deserted the imployment' and argues that in order for some reconciliation to have been made with Kelly before the beginning of the fourth book, Kelly must have been previously employed by Dee (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). It is curious that Ashmole did not connect Kelly with Talbot here since he does note that 'E.T. was unwilling to proceed as Skryer any further, because Michael willed him to marry and tis probable he here left off' (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). It makes greater sense to see Talbot and Kelly as the same man and this unwillingness shown on 4 May as the rupture that needed reconciliation than to suppose a change of scryer from Talbot to a different individual by the name of Kelly to whose previous employment and desertion there is not a single reference. Nevertheless Ashmole failed to make the necessary connection between Talbot and Kelly and so postulated some missing Actions.

Yet in spite of Ashmole's erroneous reasoning, Dee's Diary does

suggest that there might indeed be some Actions missing between 4 May and 15 November 1582. On 4 May 'Mr. Talbot went', presumably to collect some books that were in the possession of Lord Monteagles (see 24b, 44 - 25a, 4). There is no reference to any acrimony between Dee and Kelly, except in so far as Kelly was angered by an instruction from the angels on 29 April that he should take a wife, (39b, 45). Although he 'wold not willingly now deale' with the angels nor 'put of his hat in any prayer to god' (42a, 3-5), Kelly continued to act as scryer for the Action of May 4 which ends with a promise of a 'next Call' or Action (43b, 15). Although Kelly left on 4 May in mistrust of the angels, it is not certain that he broke the relationship with Dee at this precise time. Dee generally noted arguments between himself and Kelly either in his diary or in the records of the Actions,³¹ and that Kelly left in order to obtain the books held by Lord Monteagles is indicated by Dee's Diary entry of 13 July 1582, which reads:

Mr. Talbot cam abowt 3 of the klok afternone, with whom I had some wordes of unkenndnes: we parted frendely: he sayd that the Lord Morley had the Lord Mountegle his bokes. He promised me some of Doctor Myniver's bokes.

Yet although Kelly was evidently still performing services for Dee, he may have refused to continue as his scryer. There certainly seems to have been some kind of break between them between 4 May and 13 July since an erased note in Dee's diary states that on 6 May 1582 Dee's wife Jane was 'in a mervaylous rage at 8 of the cloke at night, and all that night, and next morning till 8 of the cloke, melancholike and ch<ided me> terrible for..... that come to me only honest and lerned men' and that 'by Mr. Clerkson his help was <pacified> '.³² Since she was pacified with the help of Clerkson, who had first intro-

duced Kelly, under the name of Talbot, to the Dee household,³³ and her complaint was that Dee was involved with dishonest men, it is probable that the cause of her anger was Kelly. If Kelly had refused to act as Dee's scryer at this time, Jane Dee may have berated her husband then in the hope of preventing any similar kind of man being taken into the household, or her anger at some action of Kelly's may have caused the scryer to forsake the household feeling much aggrieved at his treatment. Evidently some reconciliation was made by 13 July, however, and there is no further reference in the Diary to Kelly until 22 November, seven days after the extant Actions had begun again. That there was business between Dee and Kelly which is not recorded is shown by the fact that Dee's Diary entry of 13 July still uses the name of Talbot while the first extant Action thereafter uses the name Kelly without explanation for the change.

Nothing points conclusively to there being any papers missing from this third book, but neither is there any conclusive evidence that the book is complete as it now stands. The third book ends in an unsatisfactory way, the Action of 4 May bearing the superscription 'Liber 4', (42a, 1) while the fourth book is begun again with the Action of 15 November 1582. Whether the promise of further Actions given in the Action of 4 May and implied by the title of 'Liber 4' remains apparently unfulfilled until 15 November because Kelly refused to act any more as scryer or because part of the third book is missing cannot be satisfactorily answered. The six month gap is the longest period in the manuscript during which there are no Actions recorded and if Kelly consistently refused to serve, one would expect Dee to have made some attempt to procure another scryer. That he apparently made no such attempt³⁴ suggests

the probability that he may at some time during that period have prevailed upon Kelly to continue with the Actions, a rupture between them occurring towards the latter end of the period, perhaps connected with the revelation that Kelly had been using a false name.

The fourth book evidently lacks the first leaf, since Dee numbered the recto of each folio and the first extant leaf begins with the number 2 (45a). The four month period between books four and five was a result of Kelly spending the winter in Gloucestershire. On 22 November he went to Blockley at the foot of the Cotswold hills and was supposed to return in ten days (Diary). That he did not was probably partly a result of his own inclinations and partly a result of the difficulties of winter travel. When he did return he brought with him certain clues as to the location of some buried treasure, supposedly having been led to these clues by a spiritual creature, and this no doubt assuaged any wrath that Dee may have intended to vent upon him for his prolonged absence. The fifth book and its appendix are complete and there is only a five day period between the last Action of the manuscript and the beginning of TFR, such a gap being not uncommon between consecutive Actions.

1. Evidence for the manuscript being a fair copy may be found in some of the mistakes and corrections Dee made (see for instance 39a, MN34 and 54a, 15) and in a statement to this effect at 98b, 15.
2. The story of the discovery and loss of the manuscripts is contained in Ashmole's preface to Sloane MS 3188 (fols 2-3). The use of old papers for this purpose was a common culinary practice and a similar misfortune befell many of the manuscripts in the possession of the eighteenth-century scholar William Warburton (see W. W. Greg, 'The Bakings of Betsy', W.W. Greg, Collected Papers, edited by J. C. Maxwell (Oxford 1966), pp. 48-74).
3. A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee (A Mathematician of Great Fame in Q. Eliz. and King James their Reignes) and Some Spirits, edited by Meric Casaubon (London 1659), hereafter abbreviated to TFR. The manuscripts from which this volume was printed are now BM Cotton Appendix XLVI (2 volumes).
4. Elias Ashmole, The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (London 1672).
5. Ashmole's transcript of Sloane MS 3188 is now Sloane MS 3677. His transcripts of the other four books are now Sloane MS 3678.
6. See Elias Ashmole, his Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work, edited by C. H. Josten, 5 vols (Oxford 1966), I, 183.
7. Wood's account of John Dee is appended to his life of Arthur Dee (John Dee's son) in Athenae Oxoniensis, edited by Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London 1813-1820), III, 288-292.
8. Josten, Elias Ashmole, III, 1288-1289 (Wood MS F. 39, fol. 59). The letter is dated 30 December 1672.
9. This was based upon Meric Casaubon's own annotated copy of the work. Ashmole's copy is now Ashmole MS 580 and Casaubon's copy is also in the Bodleian Library, shelf-mark D. 8. 14 art.
10. See Josten, Elias Ashmole, I, 1301 and IV, 1891, n. 1.
11. Josten, Elias Ashmole, IV, 1828-1832. The will is dated 6 September 1686, six years before Ashmole's death.
12. See Bibliotheca Ashmoliana, A Catalogue of the Library of the Learned and Famous Elias Ashmole Esq., in the BM collection of sale catalogues 1680-1696, shelf-mark S-C 92319.

13. Josten, Elias Ashmole, I, 185, n. 1.
14. Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1739) entered the Middle Temple in 1680, was called to the bar in 1687 and was appointed Master of the Rolls on 13 July 1717.
15. What led Madden to this conclusion is not clear, but since the note refers to Ashmole making a copy from the MS belonging to Cotton, Madden may have confused this MS with Sloane MS 3189.
16. Ashmole writes that he borrowed the original from Sir John Cotton in order to make his own transcript (Ashmole MS 422, fol. 1b). It must be assumed that he did return the original, having no further need for it.
17. These MSS were not catalogued in Thomas Smith's Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae (Oxford 1696), but were noted as Cotton Appendix XXVI No. 5007 in the Planta catalogue of 1802. They were then bound in three volumes and described as 'a quantity of folio paper books of his [Dee's] own writing, consisting of many parts of his Liber mysteriorum, and conferences with angels'. It is possible that the Book of Enoch was one of these volumes, but since it is now in the Sloane collection, it almost certainly left the Cotton Library before the catalogue of 1802. The second flyleaf contains a partially torn note in an unknown hand that someone '[boug]ht this booke of Dr Biggs for a Guinea' and yet another hand on the following folio proclaims that 'Mr Jane Hulbert is my na[me]', these folios being later additions to those in Kelly's hand.
18. See John Aubrey, Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 2 vols (London 1813), second volume in two parts, II part 1, 311.
19. See Josten, Elias Ashmole, II, 662-3, 731, 754-5; III, 1242, 1285, 1288-9; IV, 1293, 1298-1300, 1332, 1371-3, 1398, 1453, 1656-7.
20. Shippen's copy is now in the British Library, shelf-mark 719. m. 12.
21. Josten, Elias Ashmole, IV, 1453.
22. Sloane MS 3189, fol. 2a.
23. It was a common complaint of owners of libraries that borrowers were unwilling to return copies lent to them, although the owners themselves were often guilty of the same behaviour. Sir John Cotton asserted for instance that many works lent to John Selden were never returned (see Aubrey, Letters, I, 23). Similar complaints were voiced by both Dee and Ashmole.

24. Sloane MS 3188 goes up to the Action of 23 May 1583 and TFR begins at 28 May 1583, so the cause of this error in declaring that the manuscript continues until 30 May is inexplicable.
25. A note by Madden on the flyleaf of Sloane MS 3191 declares that 'this Volume formerly belonged to Ashmole and on the clasps of the old binding his coat of arms was impressed'. It is reasonable to assume that Sloane MS 3188 was formerly in a similar binding.
26. In his transcript Ashmole writes that 'he supplied that defect' of pagination 'in the Originall' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 68a).
27. The Action of 4 May 1582 bears the marginal title 'Liber 4', but the Actions of 15-21 November 1582 are preceded by a title page denoting them as Book IV (fol. 44a). Dee thought to begin Book IV on 4 May but there followed a rupture between him and Kelly and Book IV was begun again after their reconciliation.
28. See the entry for this date in The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Camden Society Publications, vol XIX (London 1842), hereafter abbreviated to Diary.
29. The beginning of the second book (fol. 17a) does not give any real indication of the nature of the missing material.
30. At fol. 11a, 7, 'E.K.' appears to be written under 'E.T.', but the error might be sheer coincidence.
31. See for instance Sloane MS 3188, 91a, 4-19.
32. This entry is not recorded in Halliwell's edition and is to be found in the original diary which consisted of the Ephemerides of Stadius for 1554-1600 (Cologne 1570) and of Maginus for 1581-1620 (Venice 1582), in the margins of which were written respectively the memoranda which constitute the Diary from January 1577 to December 1600 and from September 1586 to April 1601. These volumes are now Ashmole MSS 487 and 488. The entry for 6 May 1582, part of which is illegible, is to be found in Ashmole MS 487, sig. Hhhhh 2v.
33. See Diary, 8 March 1582 and 9 March 1582.
34. On 19 June Dee was visited by his former scribe Barnabas Saul, but there seems to have been no attempt at reconciliation, for Dee 'chyd him for his manifold untrue reports' (Diary).

II

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

a) John Dee

The two principal sources of Dee's life are of his own composition. They are his diary and the autobiographical exposition that he prepared for the Queen's commissioners in 1592 in an effort to gain redress for 'the intollerable extremitie of the injuries and indignities' which his name had suffered at the hands of the populace for a number of years. This document was fully entitled The Compendious Rehearsal of John Dee his Dutifull Declaracion, and Proof of the Course and Race of his Studious Lyfe, for the Space of Halfe an Hundred Yeares, Now (by God's Favour and Helpe) Fully Spent, and of the Very Great Injuries, Damages, and Indignities, which for these Last Nyne Years He hath in England Sustained, (Contrary to Her Majesties Very Gracious Will and Express Commandment), Made unto the Two Honourable Commissioners, By Her Most Excellent Majestie Thereto Assigned, According to the Intent of the Most Humble Supplication of the Said John, Exhibited to Her Most Gracious Majestie at Hampton-Court. Anno 1592. Nov.9.¹

Other sources are to be found in the writings of Ashmole and Aubrey and in the biography in Thomas Smith's Vitae quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium virorum (London 1707). Since Smith's account only three works have attempted to give any comprehensive and accurate assessment of the whole of Dee's life:

Charlotte Smith's biography John Dee (London 1909); I.R.F. Calder's unpublished University of London doctoral dissertation John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist (1952); and more recently John Dee by Peter J. French (London 1972).² Since my concern is with Dee in relation to his magical dealings between 1581 and 1583, I propose to do little more than give the straightforward facts of his life and major works here.

Dee was born on 13 July 1527 in London, the son of Rowland Dee, a gentleman server to Henry VIII, and Johanna Wild, daughter of William Wild.³ Dee's early studies were in London and at the chantry school in Chelmsford and in November 1542 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, graduating with the degree of B.A. in the early part of 1546. He was then elected a Fellow of Trinity College and appointed as the Under-Reader of Greek. At a students' performance of the play Eirene ('Peace') by Aristophanes he devised a mechanical beetle which flew 'up to Jupiter's pallace, with a man and his basket of victualls on her back: whereat was great wondring, and many vaine reportes spread abroad of the meanes how that was effected' (CR, pp. 5-6). In a society in which mathematics was regarded with great suspicion,⁴ Dee's mechanical wonder excited rumours of supernatural powers being employed, rumours that were to plague his life to the end. In May 1547 he made his first journey abroad spending several months in the Low Countries in conference with 'some learned men, and chiefly mathematicians, as Gemma Frisius, Gerardus Mercator, Gaspar à Mirica, Antonius Gogava, &c.' (CR, p.5) and he returned the same year with two great globes made by Mercator and an astronomer's armillary ring and staff of brass, devised by Frisius, all of which he later left to Trinity College, Cambridge.⁵

In 1548 Dee received the degree of Master of Arts and entered as a student at the University of Louvain in the summer of that year, remaining there until 15 July 1550. His reputation for learning spread far and wide⁶ and when a few days after arriving in Paris on 20 July 1550, he gave readings on Euclid's 'Elements Geometricall, Mathematicè, Physicè, et Pythagoricè; a thing never done publicly in any University of Christendome' (CR, p.7), his audience, mostly

older than himself, was so large that the mathematical schools could not hold them and many were forced to listen at the windows. Following these lectures Dee became acquainted with many of the best minds on the continent,⁷ with whom in later years he maintained a steady correspondence, but despite an offer of 200 French crowns yearly to be one of the French King's Readers in mathematics, he returned to England in 1551.

In December 1551 Dee obtained through John Cheke (later knighted) an introduction to William Cecil, then Secretary and later Lord Treasurer of England, and received from King Edward VI an annual royal pension of 100 crowns, possibly in response to two manuscript works which Dee had dedicated to the young king, De usu globi coelestis (1550) and De nubium, solis, lunae, ac reliquorum planetarum, etc. (1551).⁸ On 19 May 1553 this pension was exchanged for the rectory of Upton-upon-Severn in Worcestershire, which despite Dee's reference to it as a 'bettering' (CR, p. 10) proved in the end to be a poor bargain. He never lived at the rectory and even when the rectory of Long Leadenham in Lincolnshire was added later in the year, he received only £80 per annum.⁹ At the end of February 1552 Dee entered the service of the Earl of Pembroke,¹⁰ writing two treatises at the request of the Duchess of Northumberland,¹¹ and apparently acted as tutor to the Dudley family, among whom was Robert Dudley, the future Earl of Leicester, with whom Dee ever remained a close friend, according to Anthony à Wood.¹²

When Mary Tudor succeeded to the throne in 1553 Dee was requested to calculate her nativity. He also cast the horoscope of the young Princess Elizabeth, then residing at Woodstock, and entered into correspondence with her. On 28 May 1555 an order

was made by the Privy Council for his apprehension and for a search to be made for papers and books relating to him.¹³

According to a letter written by one Thomas Martyn on 8 June that year Dee was imprisoned on the plea of a certain George Ferrys who asserted that Dee had struck one of his children blind and killed another by magical means and that Dee was attempting to enchant the Queen with his casting of horoscopes.¹⁴ He was cleared of any suspicion of treason in the Star Chamber but was handed over to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, for ecclesiastical interrogation. Bonner failed to find any chargeable fault in Dee's religious attitudes and an order was made for his release on 19 August 1555, albeit he was 'first bound in recognizance for ready appearance and the good abearing for about some four months after' (CR, p. 20). Even so Dee was present at the examination of John Philpot on 19 November of that year and may even have acted as Bonner's chaplain.¹⁵

On 15 January 1556 Dee presented to Queen Mary A Supplication ... for the Recovery and Preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments, in which he requested that a national library be founded by the state.¹⁶ No action was taken upon this request and in consequence Dee was to spend a vast amount of time and money on his own library in his house at Mortlake. Throughout his life Dee's financial position frequently reached the point of desperation, and undoubtedly the three most costly items of expenditure were his library, his laboratories and his continental travelling, although the latter was sometimes financed by patrons eager to see the Philosophers' Stone. Dee listed the contents of his library in 1583,¹⁷ by which time there were nearly four thousand items 'the fourth part of which were the written bookes' and he estimated

the value at two thousand pounds (CR, p. 27). The growth of this library was a continuing occupation throughout Dee's years at home and abroad.

After the death of Mary Tudor, Dee was invited to predict an auspicious day for the coronation of Elizabeth and as the years went by, his choice of 14 January 1559 must have given support to his reputation for learning in spite of continuing rumours of dark dealing. Autographed books that belonged to Dee show that he was lodging in London in 1555, 1557 and 1558, but his exact whereabouts are not known. Soon after her accession Elizabeth invited him to her service at Whitehall, Dee's friendship with Robert Dudley probably being primarily responsible, and he received the first of many unfulfilled promises of preferment.¹⁸ Before Christmas 1562 he once again left for the Continent, however, to arrange the printing of works already in manuscript. On 16 February 1563 he wrote to Cecil from Antwerp requesting leave to stay abroad since there were printers' delays and he wished to continue his researches. Between then and the appearance of his Monas hieroglyphica¹⁹ on 31 March 1564 Dee travelled to Zurich, Urbino and Rome, Pressburg in Hungary and back to Antwerp. He left Antwerp in the company of the Marchioness of Northampton, who had gone to Flanders to consult physicians about a cure for cancer,²⁰ and they reached England by 14 June 1564(CR,p.19).

Sometime in 1565 Dee married Katherine Constable, widow of a London grocer,²¹ and settled at Mortlake in a house belonging to his mother.²² There he was to carry on his researches, with occasional interruptions, for nearly twenty years, adding rooms and acquiring adjacent properties. Mortlake was close to the Court, the journey being easily made to London by river, and Dee probably

never received all the promised benefices because the Queen preferred to keep him close at hand.²³ In 1571 Dee made a journey to the Dukedom of Lorraine on some of the Queen's business and upon falling dangerously ill on his return, received the Queen's gratitude in the form of two of her own physicians being despatched to him from the Court (CR, p. 12). Such good fortune did not attend his wife, however, for she was laid in the ground on 10 March 1575 (CR, p. 17).

The year 1570 had seen the publication of the first English translation, by Sir Henry Billingsley, of Euclid's Elements of Geometry to which Dee added extensive notes and a 'Mathematicall Preface'. Increasing attention is being paid to the influence of this work in its own time, particularly the 'Preface',²⁴ but perhaps the true extent to which this work caused a revival of the Vitruvian arts in England will never be known. The 'Preface' outlines the entire state of science as it was known in the sixteenth century and advocates a form of education based upon the quadrivium, thus marking Dee as an educational reformer in line with Robert Recorde,²⁵ whom he succeeded as the leading scientific thinker of the age. The essential importance of Dee's 'Preface' is that it offered not only a mystical appreciation of the science of numbers, which may also be seen in the Actions with spirits, but also practical help to the 'Common Artificer' (sig. A4r). The Preface was a handbook of the scientific arts to be used in all walks of life where things were to be constructed, Euclid's text providing the method, and the classical rules of harmony and proportion providing the guiding spirit. Characteristically the work also contains a long personal defence of Dee's own reputation (sigs Alv-A2r) against those who saw the devil in the laws of Nature that

they did not understand:

And for these, and such like marveilous Actes and Feates,
Naturally, Mathematically, and Mechanically, wrought and
contrived: ought any honest Student, and Modest Christian
Philosopher, be counted, and called a Conjurer? (sig. Alv)

While Dee did turn to more occult sciences, it cannot be over-emphasised that he was ever anxious to further the prosperity of the nation in the most practical manner.

Seven years later a work that might have been equally influential was ready for the press. Dee had spent most of 1576 writing a series of volumes under the title of General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation (hereafter GRM). The first volume was dedicated to Christopher Hatton and bore the title The British Monarchy, or Hexameron Brytannicum and was printed in 1577,²⁶ while the second volume, The British Complement of the Perfect Art of Navigation, was never printed and is no longer extant, with the result that nothing is known of Dee's invention of the 'paradoxal cumpas', an exposition of which was contained therein.²⁷ The third and fourth volumes were likewise never printed, but only the fourth survives, being entitled The Great Volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries.²⁸ The title page of GRM declares that it was 'first published 24 yeres after the Invention thereof', so Dee first conceived the idea in 1553 when Queen Mary was still on the throne. The first volume of GRM is primarily concerned with putting forward proposals for increasing Britain's sea-power, not only for the purposes of imperial expansion but also for fishery protection, and Dee advocates the establishment of 'a Petty Navy Royall, of Threescore Tall ships', of 160 to 200 tons burden, these to be manned by those who could not show security of employment and abode. The navy was to be

financed from taxes, concerning which and other details such as victualling Dee made very detailed proposals.²⁹ This small navy was to operate in a defensive and protective role, safeguarding all British domestic sea-interests. Dee may therefore be regarded 'as the literary pioneer of the claims to the sovereignty of the sea which were put forth by England in the seventeenth century'.³⁰

The second volume was according to Dee's own account 'a great booke, in which are contained our Queene Elisabeth her tables gubernautick for longitudes and latitudes finding most easily and speedily, yea, if neede be, without sight of sun, moon, or star: with many other new and needefull inventions gubernautik' (CR, p.25). It was never published because the figures and tables it contained made the cost of printing prohibitive (see GRM, sig. E4r). The third volume was evidently of a less mechanical nature, probably dealing with such occult aspects as astrological influence and angelic governance,³¹ and was 'vtterly suppressed or deliuered to Vulcan his Custody' (GRM, sig. E4v). Of Famous and Rich Discov-eries is largely devoted to Oriental matters³² and contained 'the History of King Solomon, every three yeares, his Ophirian voyage, with divers other rarities' (CR, p. 25). Yet even though the first volume did appear in print, no action was taken upon Dee's proposals any more than action had been taken upon his earlier supplication for the founding of a national library. Even as he was continuously disappointed financially as promised benefices went to others, so was he continuously disappointed in the execution of projects that could have made Britain a power to be envied throughout the world in the middle of the sixteenth century.

On 5 February 1578 Dee married again, the bride being Jane Fromond, a lady-in-waiting at the Court to Lady Howard of

Effingham, wife of Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral. At the end of that year Dee undertook a journey to the Continent to consult one or more foreign physicians concerning an illness that the Queen was suffering. He sailed from Lee on 9 November (Diary) but the date of his return is not recorded. On 15 June 1579 Dee's mother surrendered the house and lands at Mortlake to Dee and his wife and on 13 July, Dee's fifty-second birthday, they presented her with a grandson Arthur (Diary).³³ During the following years Dee was to be much concerned with the proposed voyages for discovering a North-West passage and a new route to Cathay and his diary records meetings with Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert, John Davis and others involved in the planning and execution of the voyages of discovery made during Elizabeth's reign. On 10 September 1580 Humphrey Gilbert granted to Dee a patent 'for the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parrallell of the 50 degree of latitude' (Diary) and there is evidence that Dee may now have joined the Company of Merchant Venturers.³⁴ Such comings and goings of seamen, merchants and navigators continued until Dee began his prolonged stay on the Continent in 1583. The Queen was an occasional visitor, even making a special journey on 10 October 1580 to give Dee some words of comfort following the death of his mother (Diary) and reminding him that she had once called before on the day of his first wife's death (see CR, p. 17).

On 7 June 1581 Dee's second child Katherine was born, but strange events began to take place. On 3 August Dee noted that 'all the night very strange knocking and rapping in my chamber' was to be heard (Diary). This is undoubtedly connected with Dee's increasing involvement with magic, for the Action that opens

Sloane MS 3188 and which is dated 22 December 1581 is described by Dee as one of the last he experienced with Barnabas Saul as his scryer.³⁵ Dee had noted on 25 May of that year that he 'had sight in λρυσταλλω [a crystal] offerd' to him and he 'saw', though what it is that he saw is not clear. Barnabas Saul is first mentioned in the Diary on 8 October. The following day 'Barnabas Saul, lying in the hall was strangely trubled by a spirituall creature abowt mydnight' (Diary). On 6 March 1582 Saul 'confessed that he neyther hard no saw any spirituall creature any more' and left the Dee household two days later. The same day Dee was introduced to Edward Kelly, who was to act as his scryer until 1588, but who was then passing under the name of Edward Talbot. For the next two years Dee was principally involved in continuing discussions with those concerned with the voyage of discovery for a North-West passage and with the Actions which are recorded in Sloane MS 3188. Dee was meanwhile graced with another son, Rowland, who was baptised on 2 February 1583 (Diary).

On 18 March 1583 Dee 'receyved salutation' through a 'Mr. North from Poland' from Albertus Alasco (sometimes called Lasky), Count Palatine of Siradia, who was one of the most powerful of the Polish nobles reconverted to Catholicism. Lasky came to London on 30 April or 1 May following,³⁶ proceeding to Winchester House, Southwark, where he took up lodgings. Dee met Lasky in the Earl of Leicester's chamber in the court at Greenwich on 13 May and five days later Lasky dined with Dee at Mortlake (Diary). Lasky soon became partially involved in Dee's magical dealings, visiting Dee again on 15 and 19 June, staying overnight on the latter date, and dining with Dee once more on 2 August, this time at the Queen's expense (CR, p. 13). On the advice of the angels

'appearing' in the magical Actions, plans were made for the entire Dee household to return to the Continent with Lasky,³⁷ and on 21 September Dee, his wife and children, Kelly and his wife,³⁸ and Lasky left Mortlake for the two ships waiting for them some seven or eight miles beyond Gravesend. The departure was of a rather secretive nature, since Lasky was under some suspicion from Walsingham and Burghley,³⁹ and none of the remaining party had permission to leave the country. After some difficulties they landed at Brill on 29 September, boarding a Dutch hoy at Rotterdam. By degrees, the Actions with spirits still taking place at various halts, they reached Stettin on Christmas morning.

Dee had left his property in the keeping of Nicholas Fromond, his brother-in-law, but placed too much trust in the latter's goodwill. Upon his return in 1589 he found himself bound to remonstrate with Fromond and make a new agreement for him 'to occupy as a tenant with better order' (Diary, 20 December 1589). He had committed his household goods to the care of his brother-in-law with the intention of returning within twenty months, but Fromond sold some of the goods in his care and failed to collect rents owing to Dee (CR, p. 31). Shortly after Dee had left England in 1583 Fromond proved himself powerless to prevent an unruly mob, inspired by rumours of Dee being in league with the devil, from breaking into the library at Mortlake and destroying some 500 books, much laboratory equipment, and various astronomical and mathematical instruments, including 'the paire of Gerardus Mercator his best Globes' (CR, pp. 27-32). Much of the damage was utterly irreparable, some books being 'not to be gotten for money at any mart, or in any stationer's shop, they being very rare and excellent good bookes' (CR, p.32).

From Stettin the party moved quickly to Posen, covering the two hundred miles in only four days. Then they turned south and on 3 February 1584 reached Lask, the Polish prince's own property. The Actions continued and Dee was advised by the angels to go and live in Cracow (TFR, p. 67). It was five weeks after this instruction that the party finally moved, there having been much delay on account of Lasky's having mortgaged his estate at Kesmark⁴⁰ and being required to repay the money, which he did not have, by 23 April. Cracow was reached on 13 March and after lodging for seven nights in a church, they moved to a house in St. Stephen Street, Dee and his family shortly being joined by Kelly and his wife, who appear to have been a little delayed (TFR, p. 72). Lasky had remained behind, but arrived in Cracow on 25 April, en route for Kesmark. He now intended to redeem the property there, but King Stephen of Poland and his Chancellor were both set against him. Lasky therefore requested Dee to accompany him to Rudolph II, the Emperor of Austria, to whose father Dee had dedicated Monas hieroglyphica. The angels took Lasky's part but Dee delayed seeing the Emperor because of the heavy cost (TFR, p. 182). On 1 August he set off for Prague to see the Emperor, arriving there on the ninth, now in the company of Kelly's brother Thomas and Edmund Hilton, the son of John Hilton of Fulham, from whom Dee had borrowed money some years before (Diary, 18 June 1577). John Hilton had requested Dee on 4 October 1579 that his two sons be allowed to resort to Dee's house, so Edmund would have been accustomed to the way of life of the Dee household, including the disappearance of Dee and a scryer to a chamber for many hours.

On 15 August 1584 Dee was settled in Prague at a house lent for his use by a Dr. Hageck, the house being situated by Bethlem

in the old part of the city (TFR, p. 212). Dee's wife and children were still in Cracow, the first letter from her arriving on 21 August. Dee wrote to the Emperor on 17 August⁴¹ and on 3 September received a letter granting him an audience. Dee immediately went to the castle and promptly gave a full account of himself. Such was his faith in the angelic utterances received through Kelly, that he told the Emperor to repent his sins and that the angels had commanded that all Dee's angelic dealings should be shown to him. Rudolph not unnaturally said that the time was not convenient and that he would read the accounts at some later date. On 12 September Rudolph wrote to Dee that a Dr. Curtius (Kurtzcius) would act as an intermediary for arranging audiences and transmitting information and on 14 September Dee showed Curtius all his records of angelic dealings, which was not the wisest thing to do. There is some doubt about the honesty of Curtius and whether he did indeed pass on any information to the Emperor as he promised (TFR, p. 240). Dee also showed the fourth book (Sloane MS 3188, 44a - 59b) to the Spanish Ambassador at a dinner on 25 September. From these liberal displays of unorthodox religious activity probably arose the later trouble with the Papal Nuncio.

On 27 September Dee accused Curtius of being particularly unhelpful with regard to access to the Emperor, but upon being asked to release the Latin translations of the Actions, refused and promised to write a copy 'at leasure', which he probably did not do. Kelly meanwhile was voicing a desire to return to England (TFR, p. 247 & 254). On 8 October Dee's party was granted a passport of safe conduct for an indefinite time through all the Emperor's lands and Dee soon returned to Cracow to bring his family and goods on to Prague. He was back in Prague by 20 December

and on 12 January 1585 moved to another house near the market-place in Old Prague. Dee's position was now rather dangerous. The angels no longer favoured Lasky, Curtius and Rudolph and the records of the Actions contain undefined statements of plotting and treachery (see TFR, p. 379). On 27 February Dee and the two Kellys rode to Limburg, six miles from Prague in great secrecy, but they were back in Prague by 14 March, when Dee's son Michael was baptised. Michael was always a sickly child and died on 13 July 1594.

On 5 April Dee and Kelly returned to Cracow and on 17 April Dee accompanied Lasky to see King Stephen of Poland. On 23 May another audience was granted and a few days later King Stephen was present at a couple of Actions (TFR, pp. 404-408). August saw the party back in Prague, Stephen having been unconvinced by the Actions he had witnessed that Dee's promises to make the Philosophers' Stone could prove fruitful.

Now a newcomer, Francesco Pucci, became associated with the magical experiments. Pucci had spent much time in England and had left the Catholic church, publicly maintaining an extreme form of Pelagianism, in which he claimed that all men are by nature in a state of salvation.⁴² An angelic commandment resulted in Pucci re-entering the Catholic Church (TFR, pp. 413-417), but he was evidently living in Dee's house by 30 April 1586.⁴³ By this time some communication had arisen between Dee and William, Lord Rosenberg, and Dee was asking the angels whether Rosenberg ought to be admitted to the Actions (TFR, p. 419). On 6 May Dee journeyed to Leipzig, arriving on the eleventh, and on 14 May he wrote to Walsingham requesting that Thomas Digges might be sent to his side.⁴⁴ Dee had kept up a correspondence with the Queen and

Walsingham during the last few years, but he was no longer in great favour in England and none of his requests bore fruit.

On 30 May Emperor Rudolph gave Dee and his company six days in which to leave Prague and so they journeyed to Erfurt. Pucci called on Dee and held out hopes that permission might be given for a return to Prague, for the new Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Piacenza, was inclined to be more favourable than his predecessor Malaspina, with whom Dee had earlier run into trouble.⁴⁵ Pucci was in favour of Dee taking up the Nuncio's invitation to go to Rome, but it is quite clear that a charge of heresy awaited any arrival there. Pucci was probably trying to curry favour with the Church that he had once left and which still regarded him with some suspicion. Pucci consequently fell from favour with Dee and by the time that Dee's party arrived in Trebona⁴⁶ on 14 September, Rosenberg was the favourite and was admitted to the Actions by 14 October. In December Dee received an invitation from the Emperor of Russia to enter his Court and work in his service for a stipend of £2,000 sterling and a thousand roubles. For reasons of his own, perhaps a deep-seated loyalty to Elizabeth and England, to which he still intended to return, Dee refused the offer.

Kelly left for Prague on 30 December and commuted between Prague and Trebona frequently during the next three months, bringing money from Rosenberg on occasions. Lasky stayed at Trebona between 9 and 12 February 1587 and on 7 March sent Dee 3,300 ducats, probably through Kelly (Diary). Although the angels had cast doubt upon Lasky, he was still admitted to Dee's company as a friend, if no longer as one chosen by God for divine revelation. By 4 April Kelly was once more settled as part of the household and the Actions began again after some interruption. He was

however anxious to be set free from the angelic demands made upon him and told Dee that he prayed at least once a day that he might 'no more have dealing to scry' (TFR, p.*3). The angels reproved him but granted his freedom and declared that the visionary ability would pass to Dee's son Arthur. Consequently on 15 April Arthur Dee, then seven years old, was placed in front of the crystal in which the visions were to be seen. At first Arthur did see something, a vision of two men with crowns appearing three times on different days, but he also saw pricks of light which Dee concluded were probably 'something of the Glass it self: as there were in it certain white spots' (TFR, p.*5). By Friday 17 April Arthur was declaring that he no longer saw anything in the stone, while Kelly claimed to have seen many spirits while praying with Arthur. The experiments with Arthur came to an end on 18 April when he fainted and Kelly resumed the office. Kelly received instructions concerning a new unity to exist between the four adults, that is Dee, Kelly and their wives, and there began one of the most curious episodes in the whole business.

Dee understood this unity to be spiritual but Kelly said that he understood something different and resolved to leave (TFR, p.*11). After much hesitation he expounded to Dee that the unity was to be a common sharing of everything, including wives. Dee rebuked the spirit, Madimi, that brought 'so hard and unpure a doctrine' and he and Kelly argued until early in the morning. Dee's faith in the angels was such, however, that he was finally persuaded,⁴⁷ and told his wife that he could 'see that there is no other remedy, but as hath been said of our cross-matching, so it must needs be done' (TFR, p. *13). Jane was horrified but succumbed to her husband with the words: 'I trust that though I give myselfe thus

to be used, that God will turn me into a stone before he would suffer me to receive any shame or inconvenience'.⁴⁸ Both she and Kelly's wife demanded a repetition of the Action, but the answer was still the same. Thus on 3 May 1587 a document was drawn up and signed by all four partners which stated that they should hold all things in common with no intention of impurity or guilt and that they should tread under foot all doubting that the true power of the remission of sins was from the Creator (TFR, pp. *20-*21). The outcome of this cross-matching is not recorded in TFR, but an erased passage in the original manuscripts shows that a sexual relationship did take place, at least on the part of Kelly. In an Action of 23 May Kelly saw a man on a white horse (signified in the MS by ▷) and the following dialogue took place:

- ▷ Kelley: was thy brothers wife obedyent & humble vnto the
E K —she was
- ▷ Dee was thy brothers wife obedyent vnto the
△ —she was obedyent.
- ▷ Even as you wer, one obedyent vnto an other: Euen so
shall the lord deal wth you.
E K—he is rydden away: he semeth to ride througħ
a great feelde
E K— Here is now cōme Madimi
- ▷ Dee dost thow ly, or say truth, in saying she was
obedyent—
- △ —I cownted her obedyent for that, she did: Wherein she
thowght her obedience to consist: for that she did
not cōme after, as I thowght she wold, she might seme
in some part disobedyent: but if it offendeth not
god, it offendeth not me: and I beseche god it did not
offend him.⁴⁹

Kelly's motives throughout the whole business are obscure.

The angels had declared in an Action of 4 April that his wife was barren and there is evidence of hi\$ having taken a violent dislike to her.⁵⁰ Whether the angelic voice commanding the cross-matching was part of a fraud on Kelly's part or whether he really believed that he heard such a demand matters little. The day after Dee drew

up the first draft of the document signed by the four, Kelly wrote an article washing his hands of the whole matter and on 20 May Kelly cut Dee's document in two, retaining half. Whether this was to make Dee adhere to the covenant by threatening exposure or whether it was to ensure that Kelly's name would not be found on such an incriminating document is not clear. Either way this whole episode signalled the approaching end of the Actions with spirits for a protracted period. The manuscripts end the series of Actions with Kelly on 23 May 1587 and there are no other records of scrying until 20 March 1607, when Kelly was dead and Dee was using his servant Bartholomew Hickman as scryer. Whether there are some records missing after 23 May it is not possible to say, but Dee's Diary shows that Kelly became increasingly involved with alchemical experiments. It seems likely that attention was turned from angelic revelation to the making of the Philosophers' Stone, concerning which the angels had already delivered much information.⁵¹

Kelly was frequently riding to Prague and in October a certain John Carpio, who had joined them at Trebona, 'did begyn to make furnaces over the gate, and he used...rownd bricks, and for the yern [iron] pot was contented now to use the lesser bricks, 60 to make a furnace' (Diary, 28 & 29 October 1587). This Carpio was to leave on 10 December on the order of the Emperor 'to marry the mayden he had trubbled' in Prague, returning in April with his new wife. Kelly was by now established either in his own lodgings or in separate apartments in the Trebona house (see Diary, 13 January 1588). On 8 February 1588 Kelly sent for Dee to see how he distilled 'sericon', so he was evidently working separately and in some secrecy from Dee. The relationship between them was foundering

and on 10 April Dee wrote to Kelly and his wife two 'charitable letters, requiring at theyr hands mutual charity' (Diary) for Kelly was undermining Dee's influence with Rosenberg, who himself had much influence with the Emperor. The rest of the year saw Kelly demonstrating his alchemical skill to Dee, but ever using him unkindly, and Dee was no longer favoured by his erstwhile patrons. Kelly had more to offer them in the shape of the promised Philosophers' Stone. On 15 September Dee complained in his diary: 'the Lord Chamberlain cam to Trebona, and went away on the 17th. The rancor and dissimulation now evident to me, God deliver me! I was not sent for'.

Dee, with an addition to the family, a son Theodore born on 28 February, was resolved to return to England and on 10 November 1588 he wrote to the Queen, congratulating her on the defeat of the Armada and requesting leave to offer his services to her once again.⁵² On 4 February 1589 Dee delivered to Kelly various equipment and books for Rosenberg 'and he thereuppon gave me dischargd in writing of his own hand subscribed and sealed' (Diary), for Kelly was still being paid £50 a year for serving Dee.⁵³ Rosenberg was away and did not bother to make a personal farewell, dispatching his man Menschik to see Dee on his way. Dee left Trebona on 11 March, but in style with fifteen horses, three coaches, and an escort of twenty-four soldiers from Diepholt to Oldenburg, and six musketeers from Oldenburg to Bremen, all at a cost of some £600 (CR, p. 32). He was in Bremen by 19 April where he stayed until 19 November, mingling with the learned men of the region. He took ship for England and reached Gravesend on 2 December, six years after his departure and now alone with his family. He always hoped that Kelly would return (see Diary, 23

January 1590) but his erstwhile scryer was to meet his end in the Bohemia in which he had chosen to chance his fortune.

Dee returned to his house at Mortlake, to the ruined library and the despoiled laboratories. On 5 March 1590 his daughter Madimia was born. Dee's Diary now contains little more than domestic and financial matters and notes of his writing to Kelly, who was not performing the service of a friend to Dee (see Diary, 5 June 1590). Dee was in desperate financial straits. He had received no money from his two rectories while he was abroad, nor was there any awaiting him on his return. The Queen promised him something 'to kepe Christmas with', but riding by his door on 4 December declared that 'there was never promisse made but it was broken or kept', although two days later she sent him £50. By 21 January 1591 Dee recorded that he was 'utterly put owt of hope for recovering the two parsonages by the Lord Archbishop and the Lord Threasorer' (Diary) and he was forced to sell some plate. Throughout the year he was put in hope of rewards that never materialised, as with 'the jentle answer of the Lord Threasorer that the Queene wold have me have something at this promotion of bishops at hand' that he noted on 20 December. New Year's Day 1592 saw the birth of yet another dependant, his third daughter Francis.

By November 1592 Dee's state was so desperate that on the ninth he drew up a supplication which Lady Warwick presented the same day to the Queen at Hampton Court, begging for a personal audit of and investigation into his affairs (CR, p. 3). This was the Compendious Rehearsal and on 22 November two commissioners appointed by the Queen, Sir John Wolley, Secretary for the Latin Tongue to the Queen, and Sir Thomas Gorges of the Privy Council,

sat in Dee's 'late library-roome' and heard Dee read the document (CR, p. 4). The supplication contains towards the end a chapter containing 'sundry good reasons, why' Dee should 'rather desire Saint Crosse's, than any other living, fee, or dignity of like value to be had in any other place' (CR, p. 30). Dee's principal reasons for desiring the Mastership of Saint Cross embraced finance, privacy, and the potential for housing books, instruments, laboratories, and even a printing press (CR, p. 40). The immediate result of the Compendious Rehearsal was a gift of 100 marks from the Queen (Diary, 1st December 1592), and on 21 May 1594 his suit was 'graunted after a sort' by the Queen 'but referred all to the Lord of Canterbury' (Diary). By then however, Dee was having recurrent attacks of 'a great fit of the stone' in his kidneys (Diary, 31 March and 15 June 1594). Dee decided to support his supplication to the Queen with a brief version of the Compendious Rehearsal to Archbishop Whitgift and in 1594 or 1595 the Archbishop was presented with A Letter Containing a Most Briefe Discourse Apologeticall, with a Plaine Demonstration, and Feruent Protestation, for the Lawfull, Sincere, Very Faithfull and Christian Course, of the Philosophicall Studies and Exercises, of a Certaine Studious Gentleman: An Ancient Seruant to her Most Excellent Maiesty Royall.⁵⁴ Everything fell through, however, and on 29 June 1594, Dee wrote in his diary:

After I had hard the Archbishop his answers and discourses, and that after he had byn the last Sondag at Tybald's with the Quene and Lord Threasorer, I take myself confounded for all suing or hoping for anything that was. And so adiew to the court and courting tyll God direct me otherwise! The Archbishop gave me a payre of sufferings to drinke. God be my help as he is my refuge! Amen.

As if this was not enough to bear, his son Michael fell ill on 6 July and on 13 July 'did give up the ghost' (Diary).

In January the following year, however, Archbishop Whitgift was pressing the Queen to grant Dee the Wardenship of Christ's College, Manchester, as Dr. William Chadderton, the incumbent and Bishop of Chester, was to be promoted to the see of Lincoln. Sir John Wolley presented the bill to Elizabeth on 5 February 1592, but she deferred signing. She did finally put her name to the bill on 18 April and on 25, 26 and 27 May it passed the Signet, the Privy Seal, and the Great Seal (Diary).⁵⁵ The future at last held some kind of security for Dee and his family, which was increased on 14 August by the birth of another daughter, baptised Margaret on the twenty-seventh. Dee's house continued to see a succession of visitors, but preparations were under way for the northward move and on 15 February 1596 he arrived in Manchester.

The affairs of the College were in some disarray and Dee began to set them in order. A Royal Commission was appointed and on 18 June 'the commission for the colledge [was] sent to London to be engrossed in the Duchy office' (Diary). Dee's diary for the Manchester years record various controversies between himself and the curates under him. Dee had always stipulated that he wanted no post which bore the responsibility for the cure of souls and his interests in the college were strictly temporal. His library was in much demand, however, and it is not surprising that he records lending such works as John Wier's De praestigiis daemonum, the Fustis daemonum and Flagellum daemonum of Hierom Menghi, and the Malleus maleficarum.⁵⁶ Lancashire was renowned for witches and witch-trials. Disputes and difficulties over the College lands eroded Dee's income and by 17 February 1597 Dee was compelled to borrow money again and sell some of his plate, such as his 'silver tankard with the cover, all dubble gilt, of the

Cowntess of Herford's gift to Francis her goddaughter' and Dee's daughter (see Diary).

By the beginning of 1598 Dee had four lawsuits on his hands⁵⁷ and the troubles at the College continued. The diary ceases abruptly on 11 March 1598 and does not resume again until 10 June 1600. There are no records of Dee's life during this period, but he undoubtedly spent some of the time in London, since the first entry of 1600 records his setting off from London for Manchester again. He probably made a personal journey to represent to the Privy Council the terrible state of affairs at Manchester, where the College had become virtually 'no college'.⁵⁸ Another commission sat in the College chapter house on 3 July 1600, but Dee's problems did not only concern the affairs of the College. He records that on 11 September commissioners from the Bishop of Chester 'did call me before them in the church about thre of the clock after none, and did deliver to me certayn petitions put up by the fellows against me to answer before the 18th of this month' (Diary). By the end of the year Dee was again forced to borrow money against his plate (see Diary, 20 December 1600). The diary closes on 6 April 1601 and there is no further record of Dee's life save a few fragments at the end of TFR, concerned with scrying for treasure and stolen goods, and certain information gathered from acquaintances of Dee by John Aubrey and Ashmole.

Dee's son Arthur married in 1602 and settled near his parents at first, but it can have been little consolation to Dee. With the death of Queen Elizabeth on 23 March 1603 he lost his last patron and protector. King James's fixation with witchcraft placed Dee in a precarious position and although no charges were ever brought against him, rumours concerning his magical dealings

increased. Dee was evidently much harassed for on 5 June 1603 he presented to the King a petition 'to cause your Highnesse sayd Servant, to be tryed and cleared of that horrible and damnable, and to him, most grievous and dammageable Sclaunder: generally, and for these many yeeres last past, in the Kingdome raysed, and continued, by report, and Print, against him: Namely, That he is, or hath bin a Coniurer or Caller, or Invocator of diuels'.⁵⁹ He followed this three days later with a verse address to Parliament, requesting them to pass 'an Act Generall against slander, with a special penal order for John Dee, his case'.⁶⁰ To both pleas there was absolutely no response. It was as if Dee did not exist. A bereavement greater than that of his good name was to strike Dee in 1605, for having nursed her children safely through an outbreak of plague, Jane Dee fell victim herself and on 23 March was buried in the collegiate church of St. Mary in Manchester.

On 20 March 1607 Dee was in London 'at Mrs. Goodman her house' still using Bartholomew Hickman as his scryer (TFR, p. *34). Whether Dee had moved back to London permanently or not cannot be ascertained, but he was staying at 'the Three Kings' in Westminster in July and was in ill health (TFR, p. *33). The angelic dealing promised another journey abroad but it was a fruitless dream. The last entry in TFR is dated 7 September 1607. Dee was attended by his daughter Katherine but in his last days she was forced to sell secretly books from his library in order to obtain the money to keep them alive.⁶¹ On which day in December 1608 Dee died and on what date he was buried in the chancel of Mortlake church is not known, since the relevant parish records of Mortlake are missing, as is also the stone which Aubrey says marked his grave.⁶² Unfortunately his reputation as a necromancer and conjurer

did not die with him, but on the contrary took on an even more vigorous life.

b) Edward Kelly

Far less is known of Kelly than of Dee and much of the information concerning his life before the meeting with Dee is based upon later gossip collected by Ashmole and Anthony à Wood (see notes 2 and 3). That he was born at Worcester on 1 August 1555 we know from Dee's horoscope for him.¹ He is accredited with training as an apothecary² and with having studied for some time at Oxford under the name of Talbot.³ He is reported to have had his ears cropped in the pillory at Lancaster either for forging title-deeds or for coining base money about 1580.⁴ Long after his death he was accounted with having once dug up a corpse in Walton-le-Dale park in order to question the dead or 'an evil spirit speaking through his organs', but this belongs to the tradition of Dee and Kelly as necromancers in league with the devil.⁵ At some time he acted as a secretary to Thomas Allen,⁶ a magus not unlike Dee, whence he may have acquired his knowledge of magical works and particularly of Agrippa's De occulta philosophia.

His first meeting with Dee was on 8 March 1582 in the company of a Mr. Clerkson, if the title of 'frende' of Clerkson does indeed refer to Kelly (Diary). Kelly was using the name of Talbot and he and Clerkson visited Dee again at dinner time on 9 March and 'declared a great deale of Barnabas nowghty dealing' with Dee, Barnabas Saul being Dee's scryer at the time (Diary). The diary entry for this date shows that Dee may have heard of Kelly earlier than 8 March, and even if not, was impressed by Kelly's knowledge,

which already included visionary experiences. Clerkson informed Dee that Saul had been

telling Mr. Clerkson ill things of me [Dee] that I should mak his frend, as that he was wery of me, that I wold so flatter his frende the lerned man that I wold borow him of him. But his frend told me, before my wife and Mr. Clerkson, that a spirituall creature told him that Barnabas had censured both Mr. Clerkson and me.

On 10 March Kelly went again to Dee's house and asked Dee to show him 'some thing in spirituall practise' having 'two dayes before made the like demaunde' (Sloane MS 3188, 9a). Dee explained that he was not practised in 'the vulgarly accownted Magik' but confessed that he had long desired a helper in his 'philosophicall studies'. Dee then requested Kelly to try and call the angel Anchor to appear in a crystal stone and within fifteen minutes Kelly saw a spiritual creature who declared himself to be the angel Uriel. Thus began the relationship between Dee and Kelly as master and scryer, although Kelly confessed that his first coming had been to trap Dee if he 'had any dealing with Wicked spirits' (Sloane MS 3188, 9a).

Kelly was presumably not yet living in Dee's house, but there is no indication as to where he was lodging. He left for London on 22 March 'to take his jorney', probably to collect some belongings, and must have returned before 28 April, when the records of the Actions resume with some folios missing (see above p.11). On 4 May Kelly left again to collect some books that were in the possession of Lord Monteagles and there was evidently a rupture between Kelly and Dee between this date and 13 July; this I have discussed in reaching my conclusions about the possibility of some records of Actions being missing between 4 May and 15 November 1582 (see above pp.12-15). The Actions did not begin again until 15 Nov-

ember, by which time Kelly was using his real name. On 17 November the angels declared that 'none shall enter into the knowledge of these mysteries but this worker', indicating Kelly (Sloane MS 3188, 51b, 19-20) and his position as Dee's scryer was consolidated.

On 29 April the angel Michael had made Kelly swear to perform whatever Michael might require of him, and at the end of the Action had told him that he must take a wife (Sloane MS 3188, 39b). Kelly professed that he had no desire to enter into wedlock but sometime before he returned permanently to Dee's service he married Jane or Joan Cooper of Chipping Norton,⁷ who was born on 23 June 1563 (Diary, p. 1). The date of this marriage is not known, but since the girl came from Chipping Norton it seems most likely that it took place after Kelly had left Dee again on 22 November to go to Blockley at the foot of the Cotswold Hills. He was supposed to return in ten days but the Actions did not resume until 23 March 1583 and Kelly seems to have spent the winter in that area.

On his return Kelly also brought with him a book and a scroll 'written in strange characters' (Sloane MS 3188, 61a) and a phial containing a red powder.⁸ He had been led to the discovery by 'a spirituall Creature'. Dee often refers to the book as being 'the Book of Dunstan' and Fell Smith suggests that it may have been a copy of the manuscript Tractatus...de lapide philosophorum which was formerly believed to be the work of that saint.⁹ Certainly the book was alchemical in nature. The scroll gave in cipher the names of ten places which with angelic help would yield treasure buried by the Danes. The powder was an important discovery which would yield the secret of the Philosophers' Stone.

Although Kelly was employed as Dee's scryer he was not averse to raising spirits, even of a wicked nature, during Dee's occasional absences.¹⁰ This was one of the causes of dissension between them, but Kelly's volatile nature was such that their relationship was never stable for long.¹¹ Dee firmly believed that the spirits called into the crystal were good spirits, whereas Kelly frequently denounced them as deluders and refused to deal with them anymore. Each time Dee persuaded him to return to the business of scrying, arguing that the creatures were good and their words true. Kelly exhibited throughout that melancholic disposition which was traditionally associated with a capacity for visionary experience.¹²

Dee had contracted to pay Kelly £50 per annum on 29 June 1583 in order to retain the services of his scryer, but even this did not bind the two together in any certain fashion. On 4 July 1583 Kelly took offence at a letter which Dee had written to Lasky and shortly after saw a spirit which told him to leave immediately, for if he were to stay with Dee he would be hanged and if he were to go away with Lasky he would be decapitated. Kelly immediately rounded on Dee, saying:

You mean not to keep promise with me. And therefore if I might have a thousand pound to tarry, yea, a kingdom, I cannot. Therefore I release you of your promise of 50 pounds yearly stipend to me, and you need not doubt but God will defend you and prosper you, and can of the very stones raise up children unto Abraham (TFR, p. 30).

He then mounted his mare and rode off towards Brentford. Yet by ten o'clock that same night he had returned, calmed and pliant to Dee's wishes. The spirit Madimi appeared to him and rebuked him for his outburst, telling him that 'thou hast a Just God that loveth thee...therefore be thou vertuous' (TFR, p. 32).

After this scene with Kelly there is a hiatus in the records of the Actions. It seems that Kelly went away again for Dee's Diary notes that on 7 July 'George was dismissed my servys and payd all reconings in the presens of goodman Hilton and Mistres Kelly in my study'. He also notes that on 1 August 'a Wurbceter-shire man, a wicked spy cam to my howse, whom I used as an honest man, and found nothing wrong as I thought. He was sent to E.K.'¹³ He was evidently back in the Dee household by 18 August, however (Diary). On 21 September they all went with Lasky to Gravesend to catch the ships that would carry them to the Netherlands.

I have documented the travels of the party and the comings and goings of Kelly in the biography of Dee and concerning the Actions with spirits there is little to add. Kelly continued to act as Dee's scryer until 1588 with the usual outbursts, departures and reconciliations that had marked his relationship with Dee in earlier years. It was becoming evident to him, however, that Lasky was not going to become the King of Poland¹⁴ and that the expected largess at his hands was no longer to be looked for. His interest therefore turned to providing his own wealth through the making of the Philosophers' Stone. He claimed success on 19 December 1586, when Dee noted in his Diary that Kelly had made projection and produced nearly an ounce of best gold. Over the next few months Dee's Diary records many gifts from Lord Rosenberg being delivered through Kelly and it seems that Kelly had become a favourite of Rosenberg and possibly the Emperor as well. The new patronage could only be a result of his 'success' at transmutation. On 28 September 1587 Dee recorded that he delivered 'to Mr. Ed. Kelley (ernestly requiring it as his part) the half of all the animall which was made' which weighed twenty ounces

and by 8 February 1588 Kelly was working separately in his own laboratory and sending for Dee to view the results of his experiments (Diary). The partnership with Dee was breaking up but despite the many frictions between the two, Kelly did not totally ignore Dee. On 10 May 1588 Dee noted in his Diary that 'E.K. did open the great secret to me, God be thanked!', although the reason for this alchemical revelation may not have been so much friendship as a desire on Kelly's part to show Dee that he was the master now, having exceeded Dee in knowledge.

When Dee decided to return to England, the first of the party to begin the long homeward journey was Kelly's wife (Diary, 17 October 1588). Her relationship with her husband had never been good, and there was little to make her stay when Kelly alone decided to remain in Bohemia. Before leaving himself Dee gave Kelly his 'Glass, so highly and long esteemed of our Quene',¹⁵ and also gave him 'the powder, the bokes, the glas and the bone, for the Lord Rosenberg' (Diary, 4 February 1589). Dee seems to have expected Kelly to join him at Stade, thinking they would return to England together (Diary, 3 November 1589), but he was much mistaken. Kelly was now much honoured by the Emperor Rudolph for his gold-making and was made a knight of Bohemia.¹⁶ Throughout 1590 frequent letters passed between Dee and Kelly, either through Thomas Kelly or Francis Garland, and Kelly's reputation as a possessor of the Philosophers' Stone captured many minds.¹⁷ It was even said that Elizabeth received a warming pan, from the lid of which a piece had been cut, transmuted into gold and then replaced.¹⁸ Even Burghley was convinced and in a letter to Edward Dyer, urged him to try and persuade Kelly to return.¹⁹ He was also in direct correspondence with Kelly²⁰ and Kelly promised that he would 'shortly

send the good thing desired for your health'.²¹

It is doubtful whether Kelly ever had any intention of returning to England, but even if it had been in his mind, events in Prague were to overtake him. He had established himself in a house near the palace and had been rejoined by his wife, his brother and Edward Dyer. On the last day of April 1591 the Imperial Guard broke in to arrest Kelly, but he had already fled to Rosenberg. He was tracked down to Sobislaus, twelve miles from Prague, on 2 May and taken to the Castle of Pürglitz, three miles from Prague, where he was kept imprisoned for two years.²² The charge was apparently Laesus Majestatis, for three days before the order for his arrest Kelly had refused to obey a summons from the Emperor.²³ In prison he wrote a treatise entitled De lapide philosophorum which he dedicated to Emperor Rudolph and in which he writes of two other imprisonments.²⁴ He was enlarged on 4 October 1593 and the correspondence with Dee resumed. On 12 August 1595 Dee received 'Sir Edward Kellyes letters of the Emperor's, inviting me to his servyce again', but by then Kelly may already have been dead. The manner of his death is not certain, but the legend is that he was imprisoned again in one of Rudolph's castles and that he broke his legs in a fall, while attempting to escape, dying a few days later.²⁵ Wood notes the date of Kelly's death as being in October 1595 and the news reached Dee on 25 November, when he noted in his Diary simply 'the newes that Sir Edward Kelley was slayne'.

c) Other Scryers

Barnabas Saul

The first Action in Sloane MS 3188 involves a scryer by the name

of Barnabas Saul and is included by way of a prologue to the Actions with Kelly. There is little factual information available concerning Saul. Unlike many other of Dee's acquaintances and servants, his date of birth is not recorded in the Diary and if Dee ever did cast his horoscope, it is not extant. The first reference to him in Dee's writings is on 8 October 1581 when Dee records: 'I had newes of the chests of bokes fownd by Owndle in Northampton-shyre; Mr. Barnabas Sawle told me of them, but I found no truth in it' (Diary). The next day Saul 'was strangely trubbled by a spirituall creature about mydnight' (Diary). Saul ceased to scry for Dee by at least 6 March 1582, when he confessed that he 'neyther hard or saw any spirituall creature any more', but it is probable that he ceased much earlier, since the Action of 22 December 1581 is described by Dee as 'one of the last Actions' with this scryer (Sloane MS 3188, 7b). The date on which Saul began to act as Dee's scryer is uncertain, but it cannot have been particularly long before 1582 on account of the lack of references in the Diary, Dee being a meticulous recorder. Since Dee writes that the prayer on fol. 5a of Sloane MS 3188 was used from 1579 onwards, it is possible that Saul was first employed in 1579, the new prayer coinciding with the arrival of the new scryer.

Whether Saul ever lodged in Dee's house is unknown, but it is evident from Dee's Diary entry of 27 January 1582 that he was by then living separately. It seems likely that he had already broken with Dee to some extent and was no longer scrying for him, having been indicted at Westminster Hall. He was acquitted on 12 February, but was no longer on friendly terms with Dee (see Diary, 9 March & 19 July 1582). The relationship between Saul and Dee was no better than that between Kelly and Dee. Dee had once had great hopes,

writing that 'hearing of one, (A Master of Art and a preacher of thy word admitted) accounted as a good Seer, and skryer of Spirituall apparitions, in Christalline receptacles, or in open ayre', he had eventually procured his services. Unfortunately Dee soon found 'great diuersity betwene his private usual manner, and intents of practise, and my pure, sincere, devowte, and faithfull prayer' (Sloane MS 3188, 7b), and he caught Saul dealing with wicked spirits (Sloane MS 3188, 10b). Like Kelly, Saul was 'very unwilling to here him self rebuked for his nawghtynes' (Sloane MS3188, 7b), and the partnership dissolved. The Action of 22 December 1581 is the only extant record of the dealing with Saul, the rest having been hidden in a capcase in the chimney of Dee's house at Mortlake (Sloane MS 3188, 90b). Whether they were found and destroyed when the mob broke into Dee's house in 1583, or whether they perished with the house or with so many of Dee's other papers after his death is unknown.

Bartholomew Hickman

Dee's last recorded scryer was Bartholomew Hickman, who was born at 'Shugborough' in Warwickshire on 24 August 1554 (Diary, p. 1), this presumably being the modern Lower Shuckburgh between Daventry and Southam (I can find no Upper Shuckburgh). He seems to have visited Dee first on 22 June 1579 in the company of his uncle Richard Hickman and a Mr. Flower, who had been commended to Dee by Christopher Hatton. There is no further reference to Hickman in Dee's Diary until 13 February 1591. It is possible that he may have acted as scryer for Dee in 1579, but he never seems to have lodged with Dee and there is no record of their meeting again until a couple of years after Dee's return from the Continent. By then Hickman was married and had a daughter Jane (Diary, 31 May 1591). According to the



extant records Hickman was never employed in Dee's service (although his daughter was) but was preferred by Dee to the service of Lord Willoughby (Diary, 2 December 1594). He remained a close friend of Dee, however, visiting him many times, receiving financial help, and sometimes acting as a messenger and carrier (Diary, 7 September 1592 & 27 February 1598).

Although not in Dee's service, Hickman probably did act as a scryer for Dee during his many visits, for on 29 September 1600 Dee 'burned before Mr. Nicols, his brother, and Mr. Wortley, all Bartholomew Hikman his untrue actions'.¹ In contrast to the relationship between Dee and his other scryers, Saul and Kelly, there is no indication that Dee and Hickman ever fell out with one another. Even the reference to 'untrue actions' does not necessarily imply that Dee thought Hickman acted fraudulently. The burning of the papers in front of witnesses suggests that Dee was in part recanting his spiritual dealings, perhaps to allay the rumours that were being voiced by other Fellows of the College at Manchester. Certainly Hickman was scrying for Dee again in the latter's last year, when the old man of eighty had returned to London (see TFR, pp. *32-*44).

Others

Dee's protestation to God in Sloane MS 3188 says that he had 'perceyued by some slight experience with two diuerse persons' that God had 'a speciall care' to reveal knowledge to Dee through his 'true Ministers Angelic and Spirituall' (Sloane MS 3188, 7b). This suggests that there was no extended period of scrying before the employment of Barnabas Saul, even though he appears to have had a special prayer for invoking the angels Raphael and Michael between 1569 and 1579 (Sloane MS 3188, 5a, 39-41). There are no definite

statements in Dee's writings as to the identity of these two individuals, but certain conjectures can be made.

Dee noted on 25 May 1581 that he had sight in a crystal (Diary) but this implies that he saw the vision himself, although this cannot be stated with any certainty. Even if a scryer was present, it was most likely to be Saul at this time. There is, however, a strong case for one Roger Cook having at some time acted as a scryer before Saul. In his Diary entry of 5 September 1581 Dee noted that Roger Cook 'who had byn with me from his 14 yeres of age till 28, of a melancholik nature, pycking and devising occasions of just cause to depart on the suddayn, about 4 of the clock in the afternone requested of me lycense to depart, wheruppon rose whott wordes between us; and he, imagining with hisself that he had the 12 of July deserved my great displeasure and finding himself barred from vew of my philosophicall dealing with Mr. Henrik, thought that he was utterly recest from intended goodnes toward him'. If Dee had first turned to scrying with a young boy, in the traditionally approved manner,² he might have used Cook in 1567. Cook was certainly an assistant in Dee's alchemical experiments (Diary, 28 December 1579), although not greatly trusted it seems (Diary, 5 September 1581). Cook was as troublesome to Dee as were Saul and Kelly, and the Diary entry of 12 July 1581 notes in Greek characters 'roger his incredible doggednes and ingratifulnes agains me to my face, almost redy to lay violent hands on me'. The unstable melancholy of Cook resembles that of Saul and Kelly and the humour was regarded as most suitable for such experiments as scrying.³

Another candidate is one William Emery, who was born in Danbury, Essex, on 14 July 1568. Dee was told by Adrian Gilbert and John Davis, who were later both conversant with the Actions with spirits,⁴

about 'some of Emery his most dishonest, hypocriticall, and devilish dealings and devises' against him (Diary, 18 October 1579). Since William Emery was then only eleven years old, this most probably refers to the boy's father. If Dee was pursuing the common practice of using a child as a scryer, then the father may have spread around reports of conjuring, after having once given his consent for the use of the boy. The charge of hypocrisy suggests as much.

Other candidates may be drawn from the names that Dee records in his Diary. On 3 April 1581 Dee went to one John Brown 'to see the manner of the doings' and he was engaged in 'philosophicall dealing' with a Mr. Henrick (Diary, 5 September 1581). A Robert Gardner had entered Dee's service on 29 September 1581, and after Saul had left declared 'a certain philosophicall secret, as he had termed it, of a spirituall creatuer' (Diary, 23 May 1582). While these three individuals would not appear by Dee's notes to have preceded Saul in any scrying experiments, it is possible that at an earlier time one of them had brought about Dee's 'slight experience'.

a) John Dee

1. The original in Dee's hand is now BM Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 1, but it was partly burned after Ashmole had made a transcript (Ashmole MS 1788, art. 1). It was first printed in the Appendix to Johannis confratris et monachi Glastoniensis by Thomas Hearne (Oxford 1726), and is most recently to be found in Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, edited by James Crossley, Chetham Society Publications, vol XXIV (Manchester 1851), pp. 1-45. All references to The Compendious Rehearsal (hereafter CR) are to this later edition.
2. Peter French's book has an extensive bibliography which lists the shorter studies of particular aspects of Dee's life and works even to the slightest reference, both in printed form and in manuscript, in addition to the standard larger works.
3. In the pedigree that Dee drew up for himself (BM Cotton Charter XIV, art. 1) the family was of Welsh origin and traceable to the ancient Welsh prince Roderick the Great. Dee also claimed a distant relationship with Queen Elizabeth herself.
4. See French, John Dee, p. 5, and I.R.F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1952), 2 vols, I, p. 15, for documentary evidence.
5. They are not to be found there now. It is possible that they always remained in Dee's library, while being 'left to the use of the Fellowes and Schollers of Trinity College' (CR, p. 5), since in his list of damage done to his library in 1583, Dee records the loss of 'the paire of Gerardus Mercator his best Globes, the Theorick of the eighth spheare, and the Astronomer's staff' (CR, p. 32).
6. Dee lists many visitors, including the Duke of Mantua, Don Luys de la Cerda 'afterwardes Duke de Medina Coeli in Spaine', Sir William Pickering, Mathias Hacus, Mathematician to the King of Denmark, and Joannes Capito, Physician to the King of Denmark 'and a good mathematician also' (CR, pp. 6-7).
7. 'Very many of all estates and professions were desirous of my acquaintance and conference, as Orontius, Mizaldus, Petrus Mont aureus,..Turnebus, Straselius, Vicomercatus, Paschasius Hamelius, Petrus Ramus, Gulielmus Postellus, Fernelius, Jo. Magnionus, Johannes à Pena, &c.' (CR, p. 8).
8. Dee listed his printed and unprinted works in The Compendious Rehearsal (pp. 24-27) and also in A Letter Containing a Most Briefe Discourse Apologeticall, written in 1594-5 (Autobiographical Tracts, pp. 73-77).

9. See Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, 1553, V, 199, and CR, p. 31.
10. See W.R.B. Prideaux, 'Books from John Dee's Library', Notes and Queries, 9th Series, VIII (1901), pp. 137-138.
11. Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigiensis, 2 vols (Cambridge 1861, republished 1967), II, 505-6.
12. Anthony a Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, II, 542. Leicester later became the patron of Dee, in so far as Dee ever received any continuous patronage, and he owned a first edition of Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements of Geometrie (London 1570), which contained an important preface and many annotations by Dee. Leicester's copy was advertised for sale in 1977 and a description may be found in Catalogue 954, 'Science and Mathematics', of Bernard Quaritch Ltd.
13. The order was 'to make searche for oone John Dye', but this is generally accepted as referring to Dee (Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-1556, n.s., V, 137).
14. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580, No. 34, p. 67.
15. See John Philpot, The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot, edited by Robert Eden, Parker Society (Cambridge 1842), pp. 69 & 80.
16. The original in Dee's hand is BM Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 6, and there is a transcript by Ashmole to be found in Ashmole MS 1788, art. 8. The Supplication is printed in Autobiographical Tracts, pp. 46-47.
17. See BM Harleian MS 1879, arts 1, 5 & 6, and Ashmole MS 1142, II (Ashmole's transcript).
18. 'Being to her Majestie commended by the right honourable Earle of Penbroke, and the Lord Robert, after Earle of Leicester...her Majestie used these wordes unto the said Lordes, "Where my brother hath given him a crowne, I will give him a noble"' (CR, p. 12).
19. This philosophical and alchemical work was printed at Antwerp in 1564 and reprinted at Frankfurt in 1591. It has been printed with an introduction and translation by C.H. Josten in AMBIX, XII (1964), pp. 84-221. All references to Monas are to this edition.
20. Dee seems to have been involved personally with the treatment of the Marchioness, for he received a letter dated 24 December 1564 containing a treatise Ad cancrum curandum from Bartholomeus de Rekingken in Vienna (Ashmole MS 1788, fols 134-135).

21. Chancery Proceedings, Series II, Bundle 49, No. 44, cited by E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography: 1485-1583 (London 1930), p. 107.
22. In a survey of 1616 the house was already called 'ancient' (Smith, John Dee, p. 30).
23. He performed useful services in allaying fears aroused by the discovery of a wax image of the Queen, transfixed with a pin, in Lincoln's Inn (CR, pp. 21-22), and in pronouncing his judgement on the appearance of a new comet in 1577 which had 'unduly bred great feare and doubt in many of the Court' (CR, p. 21).
24. See especially Frances A. Yates, Theatre of the World (London and Chicago 1969).
25. Dee had augmented Robert Recorde's Grounde of Artes in 1561.
26. The manuscript copy is now Ashmole MS 1789, art. 4.
27. On the paradoxal compass see E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography: 1485-1583, pp. 95-96.
28. BM Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 3. This MS is partly burned and parts of it are missing. A list of its contents is to be found in Ashmole MS 1788, art. 4.
29. John Dee, General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation (1577), facsimile edition, The English Experience No. 62 (Amsterdam and New York 1968), pp. 13-14 and 34-35.
30. Thomas Fulton, The Sovereignty of the Sea (Edinburgh 1911), p. 99.
31. See Commentary to 8b, 25.
32. Dee's Diary entry of 24 March 1577 reads: 'Alexander Simon the Ninivite came to me, and promised me his servise into Persia', although there is no record of Dee having gained any first-hand experience and knowledge of the Middle East and Orient.
33. Arthur Dee was to become an eminent physician and alchemist and his life is documented in Smith, John Dee, pp. 307-316, and in the Dictionary of National Biography.
34. In March 1579 Dee signed a letter with Thomas Gresham, Martin Frobisher and others to the Council of State desiring that those Adventurers who had not paid their contributions should be admonished to do so without delay (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580, p. 621.)
35. See Sloane MS 3188, 7b, 38-40. A scryer is a person who sees visions in reflecting objects such as water and crystal.

36. Dee's Diary records Lasky's arrival as being on 1 May whereas it is recorded as the last day of April in Douce MS 363, fol. 125.
37. See TFR, pp. 23, 29 and 33.
38. Kelly had married in 1583, but the precise date is not known.
39. Lasky was suspected of plots against the King of Poland. See pp. 175-176 below.
40. Kesmark is probably the Kežmarok of modern Czechoslovakia.
41. The text is printed in TFR, p. 218.
42. Concerning the religious controversies in Pucci's life see the article in DNB.
43. In the Action of 30 April 1586 there is a reference to the house in which Dee was living which mentions 'Fr. Pucci his Chamber door' (TFR, p. 419).
44. Thomas Digges (d. 1595), the mathematician, who referred to Dee as his mathematical father ('mihi Parentem alterum Mathematicum') in his work Alae seu scalae mathematicae (1573), sig. A2r.
45. See C.H. Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', JWCI, XVIII (1965), pp. 223-257. The Nuncio was most pressing to make Dee's acquaintance, but when Dee did finally agree to meet him, he found the Nuncio's words 'sweetly hypocritical'.
46. This is now Třebon in Czechoslovakia, but for convenience I shall retain the Latin form.
47. Justification for obeying the commandment for the cross-matching could be found in St. Augustine's Confessions: 'when God commandeth anything which is against the custom or compact of any people, although it were never done there before, it must then be done...Again there are some things like to flagitious sins and heinous crimes, which yet are not sins, because they neither offend thee, our Lord and God, nor human society...For the appearance of the act is often different from the intention of him that doth it; and the precise circumstances of the time, which are hidden from us, must often vary. But when of a sudden thou commandest anything, how unlawful and unexpected soever—though thou hadst once forbidden it; though thou for some reason dost conceal the cause of thy commandment for a time; and though it prove to be against the custom of some particular commonwealth—yet who doubts but that it ought to be done' (The Confessions of St. Augustine, tr. Sir Tobie Matthew, revised by Dom Roger Huddleston (London and Glasgow 1957), Bk III, Chs 8 & 9, pp. 82-85).
48. Smith, John Dee, p. 188.

49. BM Cotton MS Appendix XLVI, fol. 218a.
50. On 4 July 1583 Kelly attempted to break with Dee rather than go abroad with Lasky, saying amongst other things: 'I cannot abide my wife, I love her not, nay I abhor her; and there in the house I am misliked, because I favour her no better' (TFR, p. 30).
51. See pp. 160-161 below.
52. This letter is BM Harleian MS 6986, fol. 45, and a photographic plate is to be found in French, John Dee, following p. 132.
53. Dee had entered into this contract with Kelly on 29 June 1583 (TFR, p. 28).
54. This was printed in London in 1599 and is to be found in Autobiographical Tracts, pp. 69-84.
55. See also Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1595-1597, p. 45.
56. See Diary entries for 19 March 1596, 15 April 1596 and 6 August 1597.
57. See Diary entries for 19 January 1598 to 9 February 1598.
58. 'This colledge of Manchester, is allmost become No Colledge, in any respect', letter to Dyer 8 September 1597, Harleian MS 249, art. 13, fol. 104b.
59. John Dee, To the King's Most Excellent Majestie (London 1604).
60. John Dee, To the Honorable Assemblie of the Commons in the Present Parliament (London 1604).
61. See Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 149a.
62. Aubrey, Lives, I, 210-215.

b) Edward Kelly

1. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 137. Ashmole interpreted the horoscope as showing 'him a Man of cleere Understanding, quick Apprehension, an excellent Wit, and a great propensity to Philosophicall Studies' (Ashmole MS 972, being a copy of Theatrum Chemicum, p. 479). I.R.F. Calder notes that 'Jupiter is in the Medium Coelum indicating great worldly honour and position, but it is ill aspected suggesting misfortune and ultimate disaster' being 'moreover... conjoined with Mars, which unequivocally in this tenth house denotes a rash and hasty character, boastful,

presumptuous, stubbornly weak, one swayed by extravagant passions and generally unbalanced and treacherous' ('John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist', II, 466a).

2. Ashmole recorded that 'Mr. Lilly told me that John Evans informed him that he was acquainted with Kelly's sister in Worcester, that she shewed him some gold her brother had transmuted, and that Kelly was first an apothecary in Worcester' (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 58).
3. Anthony à Wood was informed that Kelly had studied for a time at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, but finding no such name in the matriculation register, assumed that he entered under the name of Talbot, three persons of that name being at Gloucester Hall in 1573 (Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 639).
4. Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 639. A writ was made against Kelly on a charge of false coinage, but considerably later, since he was informed of it by his brother Thomas on 5 June 1583 (see TFR, pp. 5-6). The charge was not sustained.
5. John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631), pp. 45-46. For the popular reputation of Dee and Kelly as necromancers through the following centuries, see French, John Dee, pp. 4-19.
6. See Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 639, and French, John Dee, p. 113, n. 2.
7. Joan Cooper's mother lived in Chipping Norton, which is referred to as Joan's 'home' (TFR, p. 6).
8. There are stories that Kelly found the powder in Wales, and that he found it at Glastonbury (see Lenglet du Fresnoy, Histoire de la Philosophie Hermétique (Paris 1742), I, 306-313, and The Alchemical Writings of Edward Kelley, edited by A.E. Waite (London 1893, reprinted 1970), pp. xvi-xviii). Before receiving the hidden manuscripts, Ashmole recorded a story that the powder was obtained from an Italian (Ashmole MS 1790, fols 60-61), but the powder is only referred to in Sloane MS 3188 after 23 March 1583 and these accounts are discredited.
9. Smith, John Dee, p. 193.
10. See for instance Sloane MS 3188, fol. 65b.
11. For an example of one of the arguments between Kelly and Dee, see Sloane MS 3188, fol. 91a.
12. See Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, translated by J[ames] F[rench] (London 1651), I, lx, pp. 132-133.
13. Halliwell's edition of the diary reads 'I was sent to E.K.', which is an incorrect transcription.

14. See pp. 175-176 below.
15. The Queen had asked to see Dee's 'glass so famous' on 10 March 1575, which Dee produced and explained 'to her Majestie's great contentment and delight' (CR, p. 17).
16. The actual title conferred upon Kelly was eques auratus and in February 1590, Kelly obtained a confirmation of his grant from England (Lansdowne MS 846, fol. 243). Dee added a marginal note to a prophecy of Kelly achieving greatness that 'this came to passe Anno 1589 when he was made Baron of Bohemia Anno 1590' (TFR, p. 32).
17. See Smith, John Dee, p. 203.
18. 'That warming Pann was of siluer, and the moity thereof was transmuted into Gold. It was the warming Pann of the Lord Willoughby then Embassador for Queen Elizabeth' (Ashmole MS 1446, fol 237b, being an annotation by Townesend to Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum).
19. John Strype, Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion...in the Church of England, 7 vols (Oxford 1824), VI, 617-620.
20. See Strype, Annals, VII, 3-6.
21. Lansdowne MS 66, fol. 164.
22. The account is contained in a letter from a merchant to Edward Wotton (Strype, Annals, VI, 621-625) and in a letter from Thomas Webbe to Burghley (Lansdowne MS 68, fol. 210).
23. The merchant in his letter to Wotton postulates various other possible reasons for Kelly's indictment (Strype, Annals, VI, 621-625).
24. The Alchemical Writings of Edward Kelley, ed. A.E. Waite, p. 5. In this volume De lapide philosophorum is taken from the Hamburg edition of 1676 and Waite also ascribes to Kelly the two tracts entitled The Humid Path and The Theatre of Terrestrial Astronomy.
25. Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, I, 642-643.

c) Other Scryers

1. See Diary. Dee also noted that 'all Barthilmew's reports of sight and hering spirituall wer burnt; a copy of the first part, which was afterward found, was burnt before me and my wife' (Ashmole MS 488, sig. Ppp5v).
2. See pp. 79-84 below.

3. Agrippa, Occ. Phil., I, lx, pp. 132-133.
4. Adrian Gilbert's brother Humphrey and John Davis appear to have been engaged in certain experiments with spirits themselves (see BM Additional MS 36674, fols 58-62).

III

MAGIC AND SCRYING

a) Magic

The history of magic in the Renaissance is a vast and complex subject outside the scope of this thesis, but before proceeding to an account of the particular magic of Dee's Actions with spirits, some general outline of the principles of magical thought at the time must be given. Recent work has clearly demonstrated the diversity of opinion and practice among the various disciples of magic in the Renaissance,¹ and it is difficult to treat the subject in general without ignoring the inconsistencies and contradictions between the doctrines held by different persons and also in any particular doctrine itself. Furthermore the breadth of interest that was exhibited by Renaissance magi makes it difficult to determine the borders of magic for at times it was 'on the point of turning into art, science, practical psychology, or, above all, religion' on account of a 'real overlapping of the fields of all these activities' (Walker, p. 76). Certain principles were nevertheless common to a great number of magical doctrines and formed the tradition to which Dee was an heir.

Magic was not so much revived during the Renaissance as rehabilitated. Magic, witchcraft and sorcery of various kinds were as prevalent during the Middle Ages as during the Renaissance, but the Renaissance generated a new approach to the universe which saw the relationship of God and man as primarily intellectual rather than material. The principal force behind the spread of this approach was the translation of the Corpus Hermeticum begun in 1463 by Marsilio Ficino on the insistence of Cosimo de Medici.² Since the works in this collection were thought to precede the writings of Plato and perhaps even those of Moses, they were held in great esteem as being closer to the purest and earliest source of divine

wisdom.³ The translation of the texts to which Ficino gave the name Pimander helped to re-establish the magic in the already known Asclepius of Hermes Trismegistus and the spread of the Hermetic movement propagated not only a new attitude towards the Creation but also a magical tradition.

The Hermetic philosophy was largely anthropocentric in outlook. It redefined the relationship between God and man, giving man a place not simply as the image of God but as a potential god himself. In the Oration on The Dignity of Man Pico della Mirandola, who was greatly influenced by the Corpus Hermeticum, declared that man was truly the son of the Father and could grow to be like his Father through the powers given to him by God:

O supreme generosity of God the Father,
 O highest and most marvellous felicity of
 man! To him is granted to have whatever
 he chooses, to be whatever he wills.
 Beasts as soon as they are born (so says
 Lucilius) bring with them from their
 mother's womb all they will ever possess.
 Spiritual beings, either from the beginning
 or soon thereafter, become what they are to
 be for ever and ever. On man when he came
 to life the Father conferred the seeds of
 all kinds and the germs of every way of life.
 Whatever seeds each man cultivates will grow
 to maturity and bear in him their own fruit.
 If they be vegetative, he will be like a
 plant. If sensitive, he will become brutish.
 If rational, he will grow into a heavenly
 being. If intellectual, he will be an angel
 and the son of God. And if, happy in the lot
 of no created thing, he withdraws into the
 centre of his own unity, his spirit, made one
 with God, in the solitary darkness of God,
 who is set above all things, shall surpass
 them all.⁴

Man was no longer a creature of original sin, troubled by the wars between reason and passion, and wandering between the joys of heaven and the fires of hell. Man was instead a creature of God, imbued with the potential 'to be whatever he wills' and to rise above the world to a unity with God. While the Hermetic texts are frequently

inconsistent with each other and may not be regarded as a unified body, they all exhibit an intense piety, a piety which was essential for the man who sought the way to be 'made one with God'. The gnosis might be achieved by contemplating the universe as the divine creation of God or by rejecting the material world and elevating oneself above matter through asceticism. In both cases unity with God would be achieved through the divine mens in man.

This intellectual-spiritual approach to God accorded well with the changes brought about by the advancement of mathematics. If the universe were divine then its contemplation as a creation of God concerned measurement and structural harmony, as well as the spiritual apprehension of its qualities. Plotinus had argued that matter did not in fact possess qualities in itself, for they were imposed by the mind and recognised in the illumination of it by the mind. Magnitude and number were first imposed upon it, determining what other forms it might then receive.⁵ If the material world was evil, then the gnostic might contemplate the ideas in the mind of the creator from which matter sprung, and it was therefore necessary to measure the material in order to approach its Platonic Form.

The Hermetic philosophy did not give rise to the new emphasis upon quantity rather than quality, but was fruitfully coincident with it. Hermeticism was capable of coexisting in one mind with 'the Neoplatonic interpretation of Plato dominated by the passion for a fully articulated vision of the world as a structural entity.'⁶ The Hermetic way to God was through a gnostic contemplation of the universe. The pathway indicated by Renaissance Neoplatonism was mathematical. Since number operated in the world of the divine Forms as well as in the material world, a quantitative approach to the universe could itself lead to gnostic revelation, the contem-

plation of number being the way from the material to the immaterial. For the magician inspired by the Hermetic possibilities of rising above the natural world to a unity with God, mathematics would be the modus operandi, and such quantitative empiricism led 'not to the refutation but to the codification of magic.'⁷

The Hermetic treatises assumed an astrological universe in which the lower world was governed by the stars and the seven planets, while each celestial body was in turn governed by one or more daemons.⁸ Magic demanded a similar hierarchical universe so that effects might be wrought by the action of one body, spirit or daemon upon another. Generally the Renaissance magicians and philosophers made a threefold division of the universe in a hierarchical plane. Reuchlin divided it into the 'Inferior, Superior and Supream' worlds,⁹ while Agrippa favoured the 'Elementary, Celestiall, and Intellectuall'. Dee's division, to which I shall return, was into the Natural, the Supernatural and the Mathematical.¹⁰ The ultimate aim of philosophy and magic was defined by Agrippa in a way that shows the interdependency of the three worlds:

Seeing there is a three fold world, Elementary, Celestiall, and Intellectuall, and every inferior is governed by its superior, and receiveth the influence of the vertues thereof, so that the very original, and chief Worker of all doth by Angels, the Heavens, Stars, Elements, Animals, Plants, Metals, and Stones convey from himself the vertues of his Omnipotency upon us, for whose service he made, and created all these things: Wise men conceive it no way irrational that it should be possible for us to ascend by the same degrees through each World, to the same very originall World itself, the Maker of all things, and first Cause, from whence all things are, and proceed. (Occ. Phil. I, i, pp. 1-2).

In this hierarchical universe the planets held a very important place in respect of man and the earth, for they acted as intermediaries between God with his angels and the world of nature in which

man lived and breathed. The planets sent down their influences to the earth and imbued the world with certain of their characteristics through the 'occult' properties in matter. These occult qualities could not be seen, but engaged a sympathy between the heavens and the earth and between different objects upon the earth which could be put to use by the skilful operator. Thus a particular plant might have the occult properties of fire and the sun, and therefore have sympathies with all things solarian. Through such base objects the influences of the higher bodies could be attracted, by virtue of the sympathies between the occult properties of the objects and the influences, in the form of rays, of the planets. Similarly certain effects could be produced by letting the occult properties of one body act upon or in conjunction with the occult properties of another body, magic on this level working through 'uniting the vertues of things through the application of them one to the other, and to their inferior sutable subjects, joyning and knitting them together throughly by the powers, and vertues of the superior Bodies' (Occ. Phil., I, ii, p. 3). According to Agrippa such an operation was 'natural magic', since it operated primarily in the elemental world, although the influences of the stars and planets also played a part. It was very distinct from what he termed celestial magic, which involved dealing with the daemons, spirits, and intelligences who governed the stars and the planets, and ceremonial magic, which concerned religion and dealing with angels and devils.

The term 'natural magic' was used to mean different things by various authors. It could range from a purely astrological definition as with Ficino's music theory and orphic singing (see Walker, pp. 3-24), to a definition which covered all that was not sorcery

and was 'nothing else but the survey of the whole course of Nature'.¹¹ 'Natural magic' was the harnessing of planetary influences, which might act directly upon the imagination of the operator or might act independently of him. The effects might be upon animate or inanimate bodies, the planets themselves being regarded as either according to the occasion, and if upon an animate body, might be directed towards the operator or towards some other individual. The essential principle of such magic was that it worked through the force of the imagination, the vis imaginativa, through the cosmic and human spirit, effects being either purely psychological or psychosomatic. Depending so largely on planetary influences, natural magic was a threat to orthodox religion, since it did not of necessity acknowledge a divine cause. Within a Christian context, the tendency was either for 'natural magic' to be given a Christian significance that it did not presuppose, or for Christianity to be given a magical efficacy other than that which it already claimed, and exclusively at that.

Natural magic was consistent with the Hermetic philosophy, since the Hermetic texts supposed a universe of astrological influences, and because the influences were drawn down and directed through the vis imaginativa of the operator, man was again given an exalted position, the vis imaginativa linking him with the stars, and therefore by extension with God. Magic embracing the conjuring of daemons also appeared to be condoned in the Hermetic treatises¹² and while the difference between natural and daemonic magic was great in respect of philosophic grounds — the one only supposed planetary influences while the other supposed planetary daemons and spirits — there was no great difference in the principles of practice. Angels and daemons were substituted for the impersonal planetary

influences and 'would be attracted or compelled by the various forces and would then accomplish the effects, acting not only on the body and spirit but also on the higher parts of the soul' (Walker, p. 76). A talisman with particular occult properties, having been fashioned at the right time from the right material and with the correct inscription, might be used to draw down the influence of a certain planet upon the operator or into another object. Alternatively the talisman might be used to summon the aid, and if powerful enough the presence, of the daemon who governed a particular planet. In the latter case a more complicated ceremony might well be used but the principle of sympathetic attraction was the same, whether the attraction was through such objects as talismans and seals, through perfumes, through words, or through all together in some combination. Under certain circumstances the sympathetic attractions of the various objects and words might be used to control an evil spirit for the operator's benefit.

The similarity of basic ceremony in the two types of magic resulted in some confusion over the term 'natural', for the word implied that such magic was good:

There was for everyone, without exception, a good and a bad astrology, just as, for nearly everyone, there was a good and a bad magic. There was general agreement on the criteria for distinguishing the magics: bad magic was to do with the devil and demons; good magic was 'natural' — though one could of course argue endlessly about the proper application of these criteria. (Walker, pp. 54-55).

The Papal Nuncio and the Jesuits at Prague wanted Dee and Kelly to confess that they were dealing with evil spirits.¹³ Such magic was by all definitions bad. Dee and Kelly maintained that they dealt only with angels and with good spirits. There could be no charge against them unless the spirits could be proved to be evil, for

dealing with the ministers of God was both good and 'natural'. Daemonic magic did not fall into the trap of atheism or deism which was the logical consequence of natural magic. It was however a rival religion to the orthodox church. Adversaries of magic frequently argued the charge that while the operator might believe that he was only dealing with the spiritual creatures of God, he might nevertheless be deluded by evil spirits posing as good. There are examples in Dee's Actions to substantiate the argument.¹⁴

I have not treated natural magic and daemonic magic as being particularly distinct despite the claims of many of the natural magicians to dissociate themselves from daemonic practices. My reasons for conflating the two to some extent is that the natural magicians frequently tried to hide from themselves that their magic was sometimes really daemonic and because by the time that Dee began scrying Agrippa had successfully broken down many of the distinctions between the two. He had exposed the natural magic of Ficino as being essentially daemonic and had 'confused transitive and thaumaturgic effects with purely subjective and psychological effects' (see Walker, p. 96). In the third book of De occulta philosophia he constantly places Christian examples alongside pagan and magical ones, making little distinction between them. Agrippa's only real division was between dealing with good spirits and dealing with evil spirits, and even then there is evidence that he believed in the value of magic even of the most dangerous kind.¹⁵ Nevertheless despite Agrippa's syncretic compilation, natural magic did follow its own course among various disciples. Agrippa absorbed natural magic into his exposition of daemonic magic, but natural magicians did often manage to avoid infusing daemonic magic into their doctrines:

[The] tradition, as Ficino left it, comprises two kinds of magic, the natural, spiritual magic of [his De vita coelitus comparanda, the third book of de triplica vita (Florence 1489)], and the demonic magic, only hinted at in that work, but quite easily discoverable from his other writings. The tradition, therefore, was likely to grow in two divergent directions; which it did. The demonic magic, combined with mediaeval planetary magic, led to the overtly demonic, recklessly unorthodox magic of Agrippa and Paracelsus. The spiritual magic tended to dissolve into something else: music and poetry, as with La Boderie; orthodox Christianity, as with Giorgi; unorthodox Christianity, as with Persio. At the end of the 16th century the two strands of the tradition come together again in the planetary oratory of Paolini and the magic practised by Campanella. (Walker, p. 75)

The greatest influences upon Dee and Kelly appear to have been Agrippa and Reuchlin. Agrippa's De occulta philosophia and Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico and De arte cabalistica are referred to specifically in marginal notes in Sloane MS 3188 (11b & 12a). Much that the angels said concerning general theories, such as whether angels have voices, follow the theories expounded in De occulta philosophia (see pp. 117-118 below) and at another time Kelly declared that the spirits were false since their geographical descriptions could be found in the works of Agrippa (TFR, pp. 158-159).

Dee's earliest full-length publication, Propaedeumata aphoristica (1558) shows that Dee was deeply immersed in natural magic of an astrological kind. The work consists of 120 aphorisms explaining the structure of the universe in terms of harmony and dissonance, sympathy and antipathy, and circular rays that emanate from everything that exists. He declares that 'whatever is in the universe has order and harmony in relation to everything else',¹⁶ and concludes that the world may be likened to a lyre.¹⁷ He attaches great importance to the vis imaginativa and ends the work with an appeal to the

authority of Hermes Trismegistus.¹⁸ The magic of Propaedeumata aphoristica involves no daemons. The stars are impersonal, and any evil resulting from their influences is a result of man's already corrupt nature.¹⁹

Like Reuchlin and Agrippa, Dee divided the universe into three worlds, but rather less simply. Dee believed that the universe consisted of the supernatural, which was 'immaterial, simple indiuisable, incorruptible, and vnchangeable', the natural, which was 'materiall, compounded, diuisible, corruptible, and chaungeable', and 'Thynges Mathematicall', which 'beyng (in a maner) middle, between thinges supernaturall and naturall: are not so absolute and excellent, as thinges supernaturall: Nor yet so base and grosse, as things naturall: But are things immateriall: and neuerthelesse, by materiall things hable to be signified' (Preface, sig. 4v). The importance of mathematics for understanding divine things was by then growing to be a common dictum. Nicolaus of Cusa (1401-1464) declared that number was always a pathway to truth among Platonists and recalled the statement of Boethius that nothing divine could be known without the aid of mathematics.²⁰ In his Preface Dee quoted the eleventh of Pico della Mirandola's Conclusiones that 'by Numbers, a way is had, to the searchyng out, and vnderstanding of euery thyng, hable to be known' and expressed the desire that 'those Conclusions were red diligently, and perceiued of such, as are earnest Obseruers and Considerers of the constant law of numbers' (Preface, sig. *jr). Agrippa stated quite adamantly that

the Doctrines of Mathematicks are so necessary to, and have such an affinity with Magick, that they that do profess it without them, are quite out of the way, and labour in vain, and shall in no wise obtain their desired effect. For whatsoever things are, and are done in these inferior natural vertues, are all done, and governed by

number, weight, measure, harmony, motion and light. (Occ. Phil., II, i, p. 167)

The origin of this emphasis upon mathematics in magic and things divine was the Platonic and Pythagorean conclusion that number and the proportion of numbers was 'the principall pattern in the mind of the Creator.'²¹ Such number was 'a rationall, and formall number, not of a materiall, sensible, or vocall, the number of Merchants buying, and selling' (Occ. Phil., II, i, p. 171)

Dee further argued that number had a trinitarian state:

One, in the Creator: an other in euery Creature (in respect of his complete constitution:) and the third, in Spirituall and Angelicall Myndes, and in the Soule of man. In the first and third state, Number, is termed Number Numbryng. But in all Creatures, otherwise, Number, is termed Number Numbred. And in our Soule, Number beareth such a swaye, and hath such an affinitie therewith: that some of the old Philosophers [e.g. Pythagoras] taught, Mans Soule, to be a Number mouing it selfe. (Preface, sig. *jv)

Through his numbering, God 'produced orderly and distinctly all thinges' and his 'Continuall Numbryng, of all thinges, is the Conseruation of them in being'. Consequently 'where and when he shall lacke an Vnit: there and then, that particular thyng shalbe Discreated' (Preface, sig. *jv). It was through the contemplation of number that man could achieve a gnosis leading to unity with the Creator:

By Numbers...we may both winde and draw our selues into the inward and deepe search and vew, of all creatures distinct vertues, natures, properties, and Formes: And also, farder, arise, clime, ascend, and mount vp (with Speculative wings) in spirit, to behold in the Glas of Creation, the Forme of Formes, the Exemplar Number of all thinges Numerable: both visible and inuisible: mortall and immortall, Corporall and Spirituall. (Preface, sigs. *jr-*jv)

Dee's conception of number arose from the tradition of numerological exegesis of the Bible, leading from Philo through the Civitas Dei of

St. Augustine, and the more abstractly systematic and philosophical tradition leading from Pythagoras through such writers as Nichomachus of Gerasa, Martinus Capella, and Rabanus.²² A syncretic approach to the two traditions was characteristic of Renaissance numerological thinking as the Hebrew and Greek traditions were conflated.²³ The ahistorical assumption that Plato was indebted to Moses led the Renaissance to believe that a single tradition might be traced in all preceding thought.

Yet despite Dee's acceptance and propagation of the doctrines of natural magic and a combined exegetical and philosophical tradition of conceiving the Creation in terms of formal number, the art of scrying which he practised was not based upon any tradition of natural magic nor upon a mathematical conception of the universe. The Actions do display some of the principles of natural magic, particularly with regard to the construction of some of the magical tools in respect of suitable material and time; they also exhibit a regard for the exegetical and arithmological traditions of numerology, as when the Book of Enoch is written in forty days and it is declared that 'by six and seven' all things are done (Sloane MS 3188, 54a, 32). Yet the calling of angels into a crystal belongs not to an intellectual but rather to a popular tradition of magic. It was the magic of the vagrant and the charlatan rather than the magic of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. It did not lead to gnosis dependent upon contemplation of the universe, but embodied a direct revelation by the ministers of God independent of any gnostic achievement. The visions were seen by the man who was frequently rebuked as a sinner and not by the man whose spiritual preparations should have rendered him the more recipient to the appearance of angels of God.

Dee diverged sharply from the magic that we might have expected from him. He involved himself in magic of a different sort to that

he had himself expounded in his earlier Propaedeumata aphoristica and differed in method from the daemonic magic catalogued by Agrippa. Although Agrippa mentions various forms of divination, he wastes no more than a few words on scrying and does not refer to the use of a crystal at all. Dee's involvement in scrying may be explained by the fact that it appeared to be successful; he had come across a method of receiving information from God's ministers and he was not going to let such a chance of learning the secrets of the universe slip away from him. It may be that the very fact that the spirits who appeared and were named during the Actions were hitherto unknown convinced him that the divine truth of the Creation was indeed being revealed to him. That many of the explanations of the construction of the universe may have followed his expectations, being in line with Neoplatonic thought, may have appeared as confirmation of this. Yet though the contents of the Actions with the spirits are firmly in accord with Renaissance doctrines, the method which Dee used to obtain divine revelation had changed little since the Middle Ages.

b) Scrying

Scrying may be defined as 'the faculty of seeing visions in a smooth surface or clear deep, or both.'²⁴ The earliest methods of scrying concentrated upon aspects of hydromancy, the seeing of visions in water, usually contained in a vessel of some kind. Such a method had apparent Biblical authority, for after concealing his silver cup in Benjamin's sack of corn, Joseph said to his steward:

Up, follow after the men; and when thou
dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore
have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this
it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby
indeed he divineth? (Genesis XLIV, 4-5)

This particular method seems to have declined in popularity during the sixteenth century in favour of mirrors and crystals, if the frequency of reference in magical works of the period is any guide, although it did not disappear entirely. Dee possessed a mirror of black obsidian and several crystals which he entitled 'shew-stones'.²⁵

The art of scrying with mirrors (catoptromancy) probably has rather different origins from divination with crystals (crystallo-mancy) although the two methods are frequently grouped together in manuscript instructions for calling spirits.²⁶ A major difference between the two methods is that invocations for crystals always summon angels or spirits to give the desired information, whereas accounts of catoptromancy do not always contain the appearance of such creatures. A vision of the future or some distant place does not necessarily require the presence of a spirit, even though a spiritual creature (good or evil) may be the original inspirator. The rituals for conjuring angels and spirits rarely appear in detail in the printed books of the period but such works of ceremonial magic as The Key of Solomon were circulated in manuscript.²⁷ The extent of the manuscript material suggests that scrying was widespread, but in many cases the manuscripts are simply copies of standard magical works and possession of a copy does not necessarily argue practice.

While the origins of catoptromancy are untraceable with any certainty, the popularity of the method may owe something to the legend of the magical tower. The legend is that in a certain town a magician erected a tower which had many extraordinary properties, one of which was a mirror which shone over the area and warned the inhabitants of the approach of any invading army. The legend exists in early Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Hebrew versions as well as

Greek, Latin and most modern European languages. It is perhaps best known as one of the tales in the collection entitled The Seven Sages.²⁸ From this legend perhaps arose the equally popular stories concerning Roger Bacon's glass prospective. Bacon's works show no evidence of his having attempted the practice of scrying, but he was well versed in the science of optics (as was Dee after him) and the apparent magical properties of shaped mirrors and lenses may have caused the legend to grow. It is fundamental to the plot of Greene's The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay (1594) and in the seventeenth-century chap-book, The Famous History of Fryer Bacon (1627), the glass is described as being:

of that excellent nature, that any man might behold any thing that he desired to see, within the compass of fifty miles round about him: With this glasse he had pleased divers kinds of people: for fathers did oftentimes desire to see (thereby) how their children did, and children how their parents did; one friend how another did, and one enemy (sometimes) how his enemy did: so that from far they would come to see this wonderfull glasse.²⁹

It is possible that the legend of Bacon's glass derives from experiments with heliographs,³⁰ but the antiquity of catoptromancy caused his optical experiments to be misinterpreted. The reputation to which Bacon became heir may have furthered the practice of catoptromancy as others tried to discover the secret of the glass prospective.

The majority of references to magical mirrors occur in literature and are based upon the Bacon legend. In Chaucer's 'Squire's Tale' the knight who visits King Cambyuskan has just such a glass:

This mirour eek, that I have in myn hond,
Hath swich a myght that men may in it see
Whan ther shal fallen any adversitee
Unto your regne or to youreelf also,
And openly who is youre freend or foo.
And over al this, if any lady bright
Hath set hire herte on any maner wight,

If he be fals, she shal his tresoun see,
 His newe love, and al his subtitlee,
 So openly that ther shall no thyng hyde.³¹

Just such a mirror was lost in the Dutch tales about Reynard the Fox, which Caxton translated in 1481:

The glasse...was of such virtue that men might see therein all that was done within a mile, of men, of beasts, and of all thing that men would desire to wit and know. And what man looked in the glass, had he any disease, pricking or moles, smart or pearls in his eyes, he should be anon healed of it. Such great virtue has the glass.³²

A third example is to be found in Spenser's Faerie Queene. Britomart enters her father's closet and discovers a mirror into which she looks, but instead of seeing her own reflection she observes the picture of a handsome knight. It is no ordinary mirror, for it had been given to her father by Merlin the magician:

It vertue had, to shew in perfect sight,
 What euer thing was in the world contaynd,
 Betwixt the lowest earth and heauens hight,
 So that it to the looker appertaynd;
 What euer foe had wrought, or frend had faynd,
 Therein discouered was, ne ought mote pas,
 Ne ought in secret from the same remaynd;
 For thy it round and hollow shaped was,
 Like to the world it selfe, and seem'd a world
 of glas.³³

Shakespeare also makes use of the legend of the magician's mirror. It is in a mirror that Macbeth sees the sons of Banquo who will be future kings of Scotland and Angelo compares his revival of the laws of Vienna with the magician's art in Measure for Measure. He says the law is now awake and

Takes note of what is done, and like a Prophet
 Lookes in a glasse that shewes what future euile
 Either now, or by remissenesse, new conceiu'd
 And so in progresse to be hatch'd, and borne,
 Are now to haue no successiue degrees,
 But here they liue to end.³⁴

There is no shortage in literature of references to scrying with mirrors, many being a consequence of Bacon's unearned reputation as

a conjurer, but first-hand accounts of the practice are rare, since it could and did lead to trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities.

The definition of catoptromancy given by Jules César Boulenger in Opusculorum systema (Lyons 1621) provides a little information on the practice:

CATOPTROMANTIA dicitur, cū Speculum in peluim aquae plenam mittunt, et puerum integrum, aut mulierem pregnantem, quae nondum nouem mensem attigerit, adhibent, vt in speculo ea cernant, de quibus inquirunt. Ioannes Salisberiensis lib.1. cap.12. Specularios vocant, qui in corporibus laeuigatis, et tersis, vt sunt, lucidi enses, pelues, cyathi, speculorumque diuersa genera diuinantes, curiosis consultationibus satisfaciunt.³⁵

A similar definition by Martino Delrio provides an historical example:

Κατοπτρομαντεία, quae rerum quaesitarum figuras in speculis exhibet politis: in vsu fuit D. Iuliano Imp. qui imperium emit, de quo ista Spartianus: fuit praetera in Iuliano haec amentia, vt per Magos plerāque faceret, quibus putaret vel odium populi deliniri, vel militum arma compesci. Nam et quasdam non conuenientes Romanis sacris hostias immolauerunt, et carmina prophana incantauerunt, et ea quae ad speculum dicunt fieri, in quo pueri, praeligatis oculis incantando, vertice respicere dicuntur, Iulianus fecit. Tūcque puer vidisse dicitur, et aduentum Seueri, et Iuliani decessionem.³⁶

One full record of the practice is contained in Les dialogues (Anvers 1574) by Jacques Tahureau, although its veracity is open to question. Yet even if the account is fictional, it is nevertheless sufficiently close to the general circumstances of other forms of scrying for it to be taken as a typical example. Tahureau reports that he went with a soldier friend to see a supposed magician:

Il vint tirer tout doucemēt de sa bourse (cōme si c'eust esté quelque precieux ioyau) vn mirouër tout brouillé et barbouillé de carac-

teres, auquel estoit magistralement depeint ce grād mot Tetragrāmaton, et aux quatre coins arriere pēinte de plusieurs croix et figures de planettes....ce magnifique Necromant ne laissoit point de continuer tousieurs ses coups, et extoller de plus en plus la grande et incomparable vertu de son mirouër, m'assuerat qu'il estoit fait de la vraye forme et maniere qu'estoit celuy de Salomon.

The magician had fasted for three days, except for bread and roots, had abstained from female company, and had both bathed and purified himself. After many chants and invocations he asked Tahureau if there was anyone living or dead whom he would like to see:

Et adonc non point pour aucune foy que i'adioutasse à ces bourdes et menteries, mais pour ne me manifester point si soudain mepriseur de sa folie, pour voir aussi quelle en seroit l'issue, ie luy nommay vne personne qu'il cognoissoit bien. Cela fait, il se signa d'une infinité de croix, puis ayāt fait vn cerne nous entrasmes dedans, et apres auoir tenu son mirouër assez long temps à l'opposite du Soleil, murmuré et gromelé entre ses dens certains mots, ietté quelques siflemens en l'air, se contretournāt, comme agité de quelque fureur deuers chascune des quatre parties du monde, Orient, Occident, Midi, et Septentrion, il me demanda si ie ne voyois rien dedans le mirouër: Ie luy respōdi qu'il disoit vray, et que ie ne voyois rien, fors que la representation de nos deux faces. Voyla vn cas estrange, ce disoit mon Philosophe cōtrefaisant du melācolique, il faut bien qu'il y ait de la faute de votre costé. Car quant est de moi ie le voy aussi visiblement, et autant au naturel cōme si ie parlois à luy, ie le voy comme il regarde dedans vn liure: Ha (ce me dit il lors soupirant à la Tuscanne) ie croy que vous n'auez pas vraye foy.³⁷

Characteristic of this and other methods of scrying are the purification, fasting and invocations. The attempt to capture solarian influences through holding the mirror in the sun's rays may be partially influenced by Ficino's daemonic and particularly solarian magic,³⁸ but the account given by Tahureau shows a much diluted version that is just as likely to be indebted to ancient sun worship or mere charlatanism. No daemons or angels appear and

this is consistent with most records of catoptromancy; it is the mirror itself which possesses the magical qualities, the visions appearing directly in the mirror.

The use of crystals in scrying, however, nearly always involves the invocation of angels and spirits to appear in the crystal and to answer questions, which takes this method of divination somewhat outside the limits of natural magic as it was generally defined. Jules Boulenger does not mention this aspect of crystallogomancy, merely adding after his description of catoptromancy: 'huc pertinet Crystallomantea, quam in cristalli frustis exercent. Ea frusta in cylindri, obeli, aut globi formam vt plerumque figurantur' (p.200).³⁹ Martino Delrio does refer to daemonic help in his description of an example of scrying with the aid of a crystal. Having first defined catoptromancy, he continues:

Non dissimilis praecedenti, Χρυσάλλομαντεία
nisi quod haec in cristalli frustis fiat annulo
inclusis, vel vasculo alteri, vel etiam nudis,
et in cylindrum aut obelum conformatis: quibus
etiam fingit se daemon inhabitare. Quēdam
Noribergae anno 1550, ferunt in cristallo
thesaurus vidisse, à daemone ostentatos:
quos cū postea quodam ante urbem loco
effosso quaereret, adhibitio familiari vno
spectatore, et iam in specu arcam vidissent,
atque ad eam cubantem atrum canem; magus
specum ingreditur arcam aperturus, canemque
abactus, sed Cerberi offam secum non
attulerat itaque ille cacumen speluncae
quassavit, et miserum ruinā obruit; qua
et specus terra oppleta.⁴⁰

Crystallomancy was frequently used for the location of buried treasure and the recovery of stolen goods and one of the earliest records in England of crystallogomancy, the confession of one William Byg, alias Lech, made at Wombwell in Yorkshire on 22 August 1467, may be regarded as typical of the practice. Charged with heresy, Byg made a full confession to William Poteman, the vicar-general of the

Archbishop of York, of which the following is an extract:

Et dicit interrogatus quod cencies, a tempore quo ipse primo pervenit ad villam de Wombewell, ad reducendum bona furtive subtracta, artem quae sequitur occupavit, viz., primo juvenem quemdam annorum etatis citra xij usitavit statuere super scabellum coram ipso Willelmo, et in manu pueri sive juvenis hujusmodi posuit, ut dicit, unum lapidem cristallum, ipsum cogendo dicere Pater Noster, Ave et Credo, secundum informationem istius jurati, et tunc verba proferre subsequencia; Domine Jhesu Christe, mitte nobis tres angelos ex parte dextera qui dicant aut demonstrent nobis veritatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus. Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit juvenem hujusmodi prospicere in lapidem, et petiit ab eo quid viderit, et si aliquid viderit, juvenis retulit ipsi jurato, et quandoque ut dicit, juvenis hujusmodi vidit in lapide praedicto bona subtracta et quandoque subtractores bonorum in eodem lapide, et quandoque duos angelos, et nunquam ultra. Et si primo viderit angelos apparentes, tunc verbis sequentibus usus est ipse juratus eisdem dicere; Domini Angeli, ego precipio vobis per Dominum et omnia sua nomina sancta, et per virginitatem, gratuite dicatis nobis veritatem et nullam falsitatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus, et aperte sine dampno meo et omnium presencium. Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit hujusmodi juvenem ipsos angelos sive angelum interrogare, sub hiis verbis; Say me trewe, chylde, what man, what woman, or what childe hase stolne yis thyng, and shewe me thing in his hand; et tunc usus est specificare subtracta. Et tunc, ut dicit, juvenis ipse clare prospiciebat in lapide hujusmodi cristallino subtractores bonorum ac ipsa bona subtracta. Et si juvenis hujusmodi prius noverit personas hujusmodi subtrahentes, voluerit specificare nomina eorundem, sin autem voluit per manum suam designare in qua patria et qua parte ejusdem subtractores hujusmodi moram trahebant. Sed pro majori parte, ut dicit, ipsi qui aliqua bona habuerunt subtracta juvenem secum adduxerunt qui noverit partes suspectas in hac parte. Et ulterius dicit quod (si) juvenis hujusmodi post primam conjuracionem, nichil [sic] in lapide prospex(er)it, itaverit ipse, (viz. ipse juratus) ipsam conjuracionem, dicentes; Domine Jhesu Christe mitte nobis tres angelos, etc. Et dicit, quod habuit ipse juratus firmam fidem de sciendo de hujusmodi bonis subtractis, si angelus vel angeli apparuerit vel apparuerint et juvenis hujusmodi loqueretur. Et dicit, quod vigesies juvenes hujusmodi nullam apparenciam in lapide viderunt, nec ipse juratus aliquo tempore.⁴¹

Although this confession before Poteman was made on 22 August 1467, Byg's full submission was not made before 23 March in the following year, when he received his sentence. The charge was very grave, particularly since at the end of the confession Byg admitted that the angels were evil spirits, but the sentence was surprisingly lenient. He was ordered to walk at the head of a procession in the Cathedral of York, bearing a lighted torch in his right hand and a rod to which his books were tied in his left. Affixed to his head was a paper with the words 'Ecce sortilegus' and on his chest and back were similar papers inscribed 'Invocator Spirituum'. The title of 'sortilegus' was affixed to his shoulders and he was ordered to make a full recantation and burn his books. The punishment was repeated in the parish churches of Pontefract, Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham. The lapse of time between the confession and the sentence may have been due to the fact that he said that he had left his books in Greenwich shortly after the death of the Duke of Gloucester and the ecclesiastical authorities would have been anxious to recover them so that they could be destroyed. The leniency of the punishment may have been a result of Byg's implicating several persons of rank in the practice:

Et dicit, quod circiter festum Sancti Andreae ultimo preteritum venerunt ad istum juratum usque Wombewell quidam Bisshop et Pagett de Derthington, et alii viri quorum nomina ignorat ipse juratus de presenti, et nunciaverunt eidem jurato qualiter duo calices ab ecclesia de Derthington subtractae fuerunt, desiderantes eum, quatenus vellet, eis suum auxilium in hac parte pro recuperacione eorundem exhibere. Quorum votis applaudit ipse juratus, ut dicit, et tunc habuerunt, ut dicit, ipsum juratum ad quemlibet honestum virum nomine Fitzwilliam armigerum, et ab inde usque Darthington cariarunt, et in presencia ejusdem Fitzwilliam, necnon cujusdam Scurdvill et aliorum quamplurium, produxerunt predicti Bisshop et Pagett duos pueros, et eos sedere fecerunt super ij herpicas, et artem suam predictam in eis exercuit

predictus juratus, ut dicit, et alter ipsorum
 puerorum, ut dicit, vidit in lapide predicto
 quemdam virum, sed quem nescit, ut dicit
 habentem calicem argenteum in manibus suis, et
 aliter, ut dicit, diffamavit nunquam ipse juratus
 vicarium de Darthyngton seu aliquem alium super
 premissis.⁴²

The Archbishop, being of Neville blood,⁴³ would not want to lay
 his hands upon a Fitzwilliam.

Less fortunate than Byg would have been the priest arrested
 by the Abbot of Abbingdon sometime between 1534 and 1540, when
 Thomas Cromwell was secretary. In a letter to Cromwell the Abbot
 requested instructions for dealing with the recalcitrant priest:

Right honorable and my very singuler good
 Maister, in my mooste humble wyse I comende me
 vnto you. It shall please your Maistership to be
 advertesed that my Officers have taken here a
 Preyste, a suspecte parson, and with hym certeyn
 bokes of conjuracions, in the whiche ys conteyned
 many conclusions of that worke; as fyndyng out of
 tresure hydde, consecratyng of ryngs with stones
 in theym, and consecratyng of a cristal stone
 wheryn a chylde shall looke, and se many thyngs.
 Ther ys also many fygors in hyt whiche haue dyuers
 thyngs in theym, and amongs all, one the whiche
 hath a swerde crossed ouer with a septor. I haue
 sente yo^r Maistership the boke by the berer herof,
 besechyng yo^r Maistership to send me your myende
 what I shall do with the parson. Whether I shall
 sende hym to Oxford Castell or Walyngford Castell,
 or to any other place that you wyll assigne. Yf I
 shall so do, I beseche yo^r Maistership to send some
 comāundement in wrytyng to the Shreyffe or hys
 Officers that they wyll reseve hym. I beseche you
 to be my good Maister as you haue before tyme byn.
 And so Jehu haue you in hys blyssed kepyng. Wretyn
 at Abbendon, the vjth day of October, at your
 Maisterships comāundement, with my seruyce.

THOMAS, Abbas Abendonensis Monasterij.⁴⁴

In these accounts there is no mention of the summoning of angels
 or spirits for any other purpose than the recovery of buried treas-
 ure and stolen property. Most scrying with the aid of crystals
 appears to have been solely for the purpose of locating concealed
 objects and not for direct contact with the supernatural world.

Yet there is no doubt that it had a wide distribution, since the Statute against conjuration and witchcraft of 1541-42 expressly prohibited the practice. Although the use of crystals is not mentioned, it is clear that the act was partly intended for the suppression of such scrying. It begins:

Where dyuerse and sondry persones unlaufully haue deuised and practised inuocacions and coniuracions of spirites, pretendynge by suche meanes to vnderstande and gette knowledge for theyr owne lucre, in what place treasure of gold and syluer shoulde or moughte be founde or had in the earth or other secrete places, and allso haue vsed and occupied witchcraftes inchauntementes and sorceries, to the destruction of theyr neyghbours persons and goodes....⁴⁵

The penalty imposed for such offences was death and forfeiture of all goods.

In 1549 Sir Thomas Smith examined a certain William Wicherly upon accusation of conjuring up spirits. Part of Wicherly's deposition concerns the use of a crystal, and gives greater detail of the results than do most confessions:

Item, he saith that about ten years past he used a circule called Circulus Salamonis, at a place called Pembsam in Sussex, to calle up Baro, whom he taketh an orientalle or septentrionalle spirit. Where was also one Robert Bayly the scryer of the cristalle stone, syr John Anderson the magister operator, syr John Hickley, and Thomas Goslyng, in which their practise they had sworde, ring, and hally-water. Where they were frustrated, for Baro did not appere, nor other vision of spirit, but there was a terrible wynde and tempest for the tyme of the circulation. And sithens that tyme he used no consecrat cyrcule, but hath used the cristalle to invoke the spirit called Scariot, which he called dyvers tymes into the cristall, to have knowledge of thyngs stolne, which spirit hath geuen hym knowledge an C. tymes, and thereby men have been restored to their goodes.

And this practise by the cristalle he hath at the commaundement of my lord protector executed in the presence of mr. Thynne, mr. Whalley, mr. George Blage and mr. Challoner, and one Weldon.

And by this meane my lord protector's plate was
founde, where this deponent told his grace that
it was hidd.⁴⁶

Wicherly attempted to call particular spirits into the crystal,
rather than just invoking any supernatural creature. Wicherly's
experiments show a more methodic approach to the art in that he
is clearly following a precise ritual to invoke a particular spirit.
Wicherly implicated others in the confessions of his own dealings,
and also named other scryers:

Item, he knoweth that one Lowth, in Flete-
strete, a broderer, useth the cristall stone,
and goeth about daily to dygge for treasure.

Thomas Malfrey of Goldstone beside Yarmouth,
and a woman besides Stoke Clare, whose name he
knoweth not, are skryers of the glasse....

Maier, a preest, and now say-master of the
mynt at Durham house, hath conjured for
treasure and their stolne goods.

Sir John Lloyd, a preest, that somtyme dwelt
at Godstone besides Croydon, hath used it like-
wyse. (p. 334)

The main purposes of crystallomancy in these cases are to discover
hidden treasure and to retrieve stolen articles.

The art of scrying appealed to all sections of the community
it seems. A manuscript book that belonged to Dr. Caius, the
founder of Caius College, contains long extracts from Agrippa's
De occulta philosophia, Abano's Elementa magica and various conjur-
ations. One of these is 'pro cristallo: aut Vrinali: aut
speculo', and requests visionary help:

In the name of the father + and of the son,
and of the holye ghost + amen, I pray the
heavenlye father, as thou art the maker of
heavne and the earthe, and of all thinges
therin, conteined, and not onlye hast made
them, but allso doist worke besides ther
creation wonderfullye in them; asweell in
angels thye celestiall spirites, as also in
men, foule, fishe, and beste, as in other
sensibell thinges, as in wodes, trese,
water, stones, gresse, and herbes, bye the
whiche ther operation, we are moved to prayse
thye holye name: and to saye, holye god and

heavnelve father, make me now to perceive and
understande, thye mervilous workes, in this
clere and puer cristall.⁴⁷

Later in the manuscript there is 'a notable Journal of an experimental Magician' which contains the records of scrying experiments between 24 February and 22 March 1567. These experiments involved John Davis as the scryer and H.G. as operator. Humphrey Gilbert was in England during 1567 and it seems most likely that the initials stand for his name, particularly since John Davis is probably the same John Davis who with Adrian Gilbert received instruction from Dee's angelic experiments.⁴⁸ The manuscript also contains an invocation 'to have a spirit in a glasse to tell all things' (fol.66a).

Anonymity seems to have been largely preserved by keeping the papers secret. John Davis does not hide his identity in the manuscript cited above, probably because he felt that he was acting within a Christian framework, much as Dee did. The magic that he was performing was good magic, for he was calling angels and not devils. There could be no wrong in calling upon God's creatures. The principal dangers lay in the suspicions and slanders of those who did not understand the nature of the experiments. Dee's life was a continual battle against the rumours of the ignorant who failed to perceive what he believed to be the Christian nature of his experiments and the good that must ensue. In private papers the facts were faithfully recorded as Dee's MSS prove. Although Simon Forman is something of a peculiarity of the time, his diary also demonstrates the openness of personal writings on the subject together with the need to prevent public knowledge. He summed up 1584 as 'a reasonable, good, and quiet yere; but I had certain braulles and sclaunders fell out against me aboute the detecting of one that had stollen certain thinges, wherby I was like to have bin spoiled'.⁴⁹

It is unlikely that Forman used a crystal for this episode since it is not until 1588 that he notes that he 'began to practise necromancy and to calle aungells and spirits' (p.19), but other methods of tracing stolen goods were equally suspiciously regarded. Catoptromancy may well have been the basis of his earlier experiment in the detection of a thief.

Not all experiments were particularly successful. At the end of Ashmole's copy of Dee's actions between 1581 and 1583 there are bound in some papers dealing with Actions held between 1585 and 1586 with unknown participants.⁵⁰ The experiment seems to have got out of control since no angels appeared but noises were heard and objects were inexplicably precipitated around the room. In general however, records of actual practices are fewer than copies of instructions and invocations. SloaneMS 3848 contains instructions for conducting 'an experyment approved and unknowne of Ascaryell to see most excellent and certainlye in a christall stonne what secretts thow wilt'. Although the experiment is 'approved' there is no evidence in the manuscript of it being put into practice. The experiment is in this case dependent upon solarian influences, much like the mirror in Tahureau's account of catoptromancy:

First take a christall stonne or a glasse, the greater the better so that it be fayre and cleare, without any ragges cracks or holes broken within and thou must have a thonge of harts skinn, to wrappe thy stonne in so that thy stonne may be well seene in the middest of the bindinge, and ever when thou dost wrappe the stonne about with the thonge say thus In nomine sanctae trinitatis et dietatis hanc gemmam tecondo: Then holde the christall stonne which is so dight in thy right hande against the .☉. [sun] which must be done in the heate of the .☉. at noone when the .☉. is in the highest and hottest and soe call him [Ascaryell] in such likenes as thou wilt by the conjuration followinge and he will come and shew thee what thou wilt in all countryes of all thinges whatsoever

thou wilt aske him and thou shalt commaund him
to bringe his fellowes with him.⁵¹

The special conjuration then follows. According to Ashmole, Sloane MS 3851 is in 'the hand writing of one Mr. Arthur Gauntlet, who professed Phisick and lived about Graies Inn Lane' (fol. 2b). After a transcript of Arbatel de Magia there follows a number of invocations for making angels appear in crystals or mirrors. From the authoritative manner of the instructions it is probable that this is a copy of a compendium of scrying of some sort, most likely circulated in manuscript. The invocation 'to call Three Heavenly Angells into a Christall Stone or looking Glasse to the visible sight of A Child' bears many similarities with William Byg's confessed method and suggests that Byg may have followed a standard work upon the subject:

Make a Crosse on the forehead of the Child
with the Thumb of thy right Hand Saying
In nomine Patris filii et Spiritus Sanctus Amen.
Then with a new Penn wright on the midst of the
Stone Or Glasse with Oyle Ollive this name Hermely.
Then sett the Child betweene thy leggs Thou sitting
in the Chaire And lett him say after thee. The
Lords Prayer The Beleefe and These names following
+ On + Ell + Eloy + Eley + Messias + Sother +
Emanuell + Sabaoth + In the name of the Father +
And of the Sonne + And of the Holy Ghost + Amen ~:
Then say to thy self this Prayer following . ~ .
O Lord Jesus Christ King of Glory by vertue of
those whome they call Hermely and by thy power
and mercy Send unto us Three of thy good Angells
from thy right hand of Glory Into the middest Of
this Cristall Stone (or Glasse) To the visible
Sight of this Childe maide and virgin lett them
make true answers True Judgment and true appear-
ance Revealing vnto us all things doubtfull and
unsertaine [sic] without all falshoode fraude or
deseipt [sic] Graunt this Sweete Jesheu I most
humblie pray and beseech thee Amen. (fol. 40b)

The use of a child, the recital of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the request for three angels from God's right hand, and the request for true answers all appear in Byg's confession. We may therefore presume that there was an established method of scrying and an

established ritual of invocation. Such instructions were probably circulated in manuscript along with other magical works. Magical rituals display an enormous variety, however, and although many examples of scrying experiments do not have such corroborative evidence of defined ritual as that above, they must not on that account be regarded as divergent from a principal method. Sloane MS 3851 contains many different forms of invocations for spirits to appear in a crystal and they are all set forth as equally valid alternatives.

The practice of scrying seems to have been as popular in the seventeenth century as in the sixteenth. Richard Napier, a former pupil of Simon Forman, was a practitioner of crystallo-mancy according to John Aubrey,⁵² and many noteworthy persons had experience of visions in reflective objects. Aubrey notes that he was reliably informed by James Harrington, the author of Oceana, that 'the Earl of Denbigh then Ambassador at Venice did tell him, that one did shew him there several times in a Glass, things past, and to come'. Sir Marmaduke Langdale also experienced a prophetic vision in a glass belonging to a magus and Sir Edward Harley possessed a beryl or crystal inscribed with angels' names that an unidentified minister and later a miller had once used.⁵³ Aubrey notes a few other examples that had come to his attention. A further example is to be found in William Lilly's autobiography:

I was very familiar with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been Speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlet about Gray's-Inn-Lane, a very lewd fellow, professing physick. This Sarah had a perfect sight, and indeed the best eyes for that purpose I ever yet did see. Gauntlet's books, after he was dead, were sold, after I had perused them, to my scholar Humphreys: there were rare notions in them. This Sarah lived a long time, even until her death, with one Mrs. Stockman in the Isle of Purbeck, and died about sixteen years since.

Her mistress one time being desirous to accompany her mother, the Lady Beconsfield, unto London, who lived twelve miles from her habitation, caused Sarah to inspect her crystal, to see if she, viz. her mother, was gone, yea or not: the angels appeared, and shewed her mother opening a trunk, and taking out a red waistcoat, whereby she perceived she was not gone. Next day she went to her mother's and there, as she entered the chamber, she was opening a trunk, and had a red waistcoat in her hand. Sarah told me oft, the angels would for some years follow her, and appear in every room of the house, until she was weary of them.

This Sarah Skelhorn, her call unto the crystal began,

'Oh ye good angels, only and only,' &c

Ellen Evans, daughter of my tutor Evans, her call unto the crystal was this:

'O Micol, O tu Micol, regina pigmeorum veni,
&c.' 54

Three points of particular interest arise from this account. Sarah Skelhorn's crystal acted in the same manner as the glass prospective of the Bacon legend in that it showed the future, whereas in other accounts of scrying for the recovery of stolen goods, the crystal shows the present whereabouts of the property. The angels also appeared outside of the crystal, as indeed they are recorded as doing in Dee's experiments.⁵⁵ Ellen Evans invoked the Queen of the Fairies as opposed to angels of God or other spirits, but then Lilly's accounts generally fail to distinguish between fairies and other spirits, since he regards them all as belonging to the world of the supernatural.

Lilly remarks that the summoning of spirits is an art that not all can master. He says that 'very many have failed just at that present when they [the angels] are ready to manifest themselves' (p. 230) and gives an example:

Sir Robert Holborn, Knight, brought once unto me Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had sight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost them both by carelessness; so that neither of them both would but rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing.

He would have given me two hundred pounds to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man. Those glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the master any thing he desires; Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta. (p.231)

Lilly notes of this Gladwell of Suffolk that 'Mr. Gilbert Wakering gave him his berril when he died; it was of the largeness of a good big orange, set in silver, with a cross on the top, and another on the handle; and round about engraved the names of these angels, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel' (p.231).

Lilly notes that 'neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, and upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways' (p.232). This is frequently emphasised in accounts of scrying as being a very necessary requirement. As with all magic, preparation of the body, mind and soul is required.

From all the accounts we may build up a general picture of scrying. Catoptromancy may use a young boy or pregnant woman as the medium and can involve incantations and purification ceremonies, but most often it is simply a question of looking into a mirror, for the mirror itself has magical properties. Crystallomancy usually invokes angelic aid and begins with purification of the operators, prayers to God and his angels, fasting and abstinence. In most cases a young boy is used as the medium, but even when an older person is used, it is not customary for the operator to see any visions himself. Lilly's account of Sarah Skelhorn's activities is unusual in this respect and more closely resembles modern practice, although modern crystallomancy does not generally include the appearance of angelic informants. The principal use of crystallo-mancy in the sixteenth century was for the recovery of stolen goods

and for the location of buried treasure. Some more learned operators like Dee sought more than that however. They were not concerned with making a living from the art, but with gaining supercelestial knowledge. Through the visions of angels in the crystal they sought to know what was hidden from mankind but revealed to the angels. Scrying for buried treasure did form a minor part of Dee's practice, but his main purpose did not rest on such a mundane level. Dee's use of the crystal far exceeded the limits of common practice and holds a singular place in the history of scrying.

1. See Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, 6 vols (New York 1929-1958), Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Berkeley and London 1972), D. P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella (London 1958) and Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London and Chicago 1964). I am particularly indebted for much of what follows to the study by D. P. Walker.
2. The work was completed before Cosimo died in 1464. What Ficino translated was only the fourteen tracts to which he gave the title Pimander, although his contemporaries used this title to designate the whole Corpus Hermeticum (see Yates, Giordano Bruno, pp. 12-14).
3. They were correctly dated as having been written in the second and third centuries AD by Isaac Casaubon (the father of Meric Casaubon) in 1614.
4. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Oration on the Dignity of Man (written c. 1486), translated by Elizabeth Livermore Forbes, in The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, edited by Ernst Cassirer et al. (London and Chicago 1967), pp. 223-254, p. 225.
5. See I.R.F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist', I, 141-148 for particular discussion of this point in relation to Dee.
6. Calder, I, 126.
7. Ernst Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, translated by Mario Domandi (Oxford 1963), p. 152.
8. I use the word 'daemon' rather than 'demon' to avoid the presupposed connection with evil implied by the latter term. A daemon may be good, evil, or impartial.
9. Johannes Reuchlin, E Cabala, printed in Sir Thomas Stanley's History of Philosophy (London 1656), p. 571 ff.
10. John Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface' to The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara, translated by Sir Henry Billingsley (London 1570), sig. 4v. Hereafter I shall abbreviate this to Preface.
11. Gianbattista della Porta, Natural Magick (1658), edited by Derek J. Price (New York 1957), Bk I, ch. ii, p. 2.
12. The Asclepius stated that daemons might be drawn down to inhabit and animate statues and in the Pimander the thirty-six decans, originally Egyptian sidereal gods, rule over the Zodiac according to divisions of ten degrees, while the 'governors' of the seven planets are represented as being especially powerful.

13. See Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter', pp. 229-237.
14. In the Action of 10 March 1582 'an Illuding Spirit' suddenly takes the place of Uriel without Dee and Kelly realising, the discovery being made much later (Sloane MS 3188, 9b and 96b).
15. See Walker, p. 91 and Thorndike V, 127-138.
16. John Dee, Propaedeumata aphoristica (London 1558), Aphorism IX, sig. Alv.
17. Propaedeumata aphoristica, Aphorism XII, sig. A2r.
18. Propaedeumata aphoristica, Aphorism CXIX, sig. F2v
19. Propaedeumata aphoristica, Aphorism CXII, sig. E4r.
20. Nicolai de Cusa, De docta ignorantia, edited by Ernestus Hoffman and Raymundus Klibunsky (Lipsiae 1932), p. 23.
21. Agrippa, Occ. Phil. II, i, p. 170, and Dee, Preface, sig. *jr.
22. On these two traditions see Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London 1970), pp. 22-44.
23. See Butler, Number Symbolism, pp. 47-77.
24. Theodore Besterman, Crystalgazing: A Study in the History, Distribution, Theory and Practice of Skrying (London 1924), p. 2.
25. See below pp. 137-141.
26. See for instance Bodleian, Rawlinson MS D 252, and BM Sloane MSS 1317, 3848 and 3851.
27. There are many magical works which bear the name of Solomon. The oldest version of the Key or Clavicle of Solomon is a sixteenth-century Latin copy translated from Hebrew by Isau Abbraha. This is now BM Additional MS 10,687. Copies of The Clavicle of Solomon are contained in Sloane MSS 2731, 3091, 3648, 3805, 3825 and 3847, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A fourteenth-century MS of Opus de arte magica of Solomon is in Sloane MS 3854.
28. For an account of the various versions see the introduction to Le Roman des Sept Sages, edited by H. A. Keller (Tübingen 1836).
29. The Famous History of Fryer Bacon, Early English Prose Romances III (London 1858), p. 147, edition limited to 500 copies.

30. The Sunday Telegraph of 25 June 1978 contains a short article by Gabriel Ronay about Dee's use of a heliograph which I have unfortunately been unable to verify. Ronay cites the Austrian chronicle Annales Ferdinandi as his source and states that Dee used the moon as the light source and 'sold the moonbeam telegraph to Hapsburg Emperor Rudolf II during his stay in Prague in 1584', although no such fact is recorded in Dee's own writings. Ronay relates the story as follows:

'On March 29th, 1598, a Hungarian Commando Unit blew up the gates of the fortress of Győr, Western Hungary. After five hours of battle, the town was recovered from the Turks. An officer called Hans Christoph Boheimß was despatched immediately on horseback to take the news of the victory post-haste to Emperor Rudolf.

It took him more than two days to reach Prague. The exhausted officer had to be helped out of his saddle and carried to the emperor to make his report. But the Emperor would not let him speak. To his amazement, a courtier recounted every detail of the battle.

He was then told that the news had reached the Emperor through the "moonbeam telegraph invented by the Englishman John Dee". According to the chronicle, sometime before the battle ten relay stations had been constructed between Győr and Prague at intervals of 40 kilometres. With the help of these, the news of the victory had been flashed to Prague'.

Even allowing for some sensationalism, the story is hard to believe. It seems most odd that the messenger should not know that his own side was operating a heliograph system and the 40 kilometre interval does seem very large, even assuming that the light source was the sun and not the moon. Some evidence that there might be at least some grain of truth in the story came in the form of a letter to the Sunday Telegraph the following week, however. A Mr. Laurence Moore, who had once been a Signal Corporal in the Imperial Camel Corps in the Hejaz and had used the moon as a light source for a heliograph, wrote:

'A heliograph used at night reflected a most beautiful light of the desert moon and was more effective than our Morse lamp of the time (Begbie, superseded by the Aldis).

The standard 5-inch heliograph in clear sunlight could be read with [a] telescope 40 miles away if both stations were at sufficient altitude; but the "Lunagraph" was limited to something less than 10 miles. There was a 9-inch helio mirror with a greater range but I never operated one'.

It is then possible that a heliograph might have been used but the problem remains as to what kind of code system might have been used to convey the message. I suspect that behind the whole story lies simply the glass that Dee gave to Lord Rosenberg which then came into Rudolf's hands

in 1588 and not 1584 (see below p. 140) and that Dee may have at some time experimented with the sending of extremely simple messages (e.g. a repeated series of flashes indicating an expected result had taken place) using both sunlight and moonlight. Popular gossip then put the two together and transferred them to good use as national propaganda.

31. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, edited by F. N. Robinson, second edition (London 1970), p. 129, 'Squire's Tale', lines 132-141.
32. The History of Reynard the Fox, edited by Donald B. Sands (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1960), pp. 144-145.
33. The Works of Edmund Spenser, edited by E. Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford and R. Heffner, variorum edition, 11 vols (Baltimore 1932-57, reprinted 1958-66), III, 24 (Bk III, canto ii, st. 19).
34. The First Folio of Shakespeare prepared by Charlton Hinman (New York 1968), Measure for Measure lines 849-854.
35. Jules César Boulenger, Opusculorum systema, 2 tomes (Lyons 1621), Tome 1, Bk iii, ch. 7, pp. 199-200:
'It is called catoptromantia when a mirror is placed in a basin full of water and a pure boy or a pregnant woman, who has not yet reached her ninth month, is used to perceive in the mirror things that are requested. In Book I Chapter 12 [of Polycraticus] John of Salisbury gives the name of Specularii to those who give answers through curious consultations in polished and clean bodies, such as bright swords, basins, ladles and various kinds of mirror suitable for augury'. From Specularios to the end is a direct quotation from Polycraticus, I, 12.
36. Martino Delrio, Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex (Lyons 1608), p. 283: 'Catoptromantia [is the art] which displays visions of things that are asked for in polished mirrors. The art was used by the Emperor D[idius] Julianus, who bought the empire and Spartianus writes: "Julianus, furthermore, was mad enough to perform a number of rites with the aid of magicians, such as were calculated either to lessen the hate of the people or to restrain the arms of the soldiers. For the magicians sacrificed certain victims that are foreign to the Roman ritual and chanted unholy songs, while Julianus performed rites, which took place, so we are told, before a mirror, into which boys are said to gaze, after bandages have been bound over their eyes and charms muttered over their heads. And in this performance one lad, it is said, saw the arrival of Severus and the retirement of Julianus"'. The passage in double quotation marks is from Scriptores historiae Augustae and I have used the Loeb translation by David Magie, 3 vols

(Cambridge, Mass. 1960), I, 365. According to Dio, lxxiii, 16, 5, the foreign rites involved the sacrifice of children.

37. Jacques Tahureau, Les Dialogues (Anvers 1574), pp. 228-229: 'He had drawn from his purse very gently (as if it had been some precious jewel) a mirror that was scribbled over with a confusion of characters and on which there was magisterially drawn this great word Tetragrammaton. The four corners on the back were painted with several crosses and the signs of the planets... This magnificent necromancer did not cease to keep up his attack, and extolling more and more the great and incomparable virtue of his mirror, assured me that it was made in the true form and manner of that which Solomon had possessed'... 'And then, not from any belief that I attached to these tales and lies, but rather so as not to show myself so suddenly as scorning his foolishness, and also to see what the outcome would be, I named to him a person that he knew well. When that had been done, he crossed himself an infinite number of times and made a circle into which we stepped. Then after holding his mirror in the sun's rays for quite a long time, murmuring and muttering certain words between his teeth, he whistled a few times while turning around, as if driven by some passion, towards the four corners of the world, East, West, South and North. Then he asked me whether I did not see anything in the mirror. I replied to him that he was quite correct and that I did not see anything, except the image of our two faces. "That's strange," said my philosopher, putting on a melancholy expression. "It must be that there is something wrong with you, for as for myself, I see him as clearly and just as naturally as if I were talking to him. I see him reading a book. Ah," he said to me then, sighing to the Tuscan, "I believe that you have no real faith"'.
 38. See D. P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, pp. 40-57.
 39. 'To this field [of divination] there also belongs crystallomancy, which is when they practise [the art] with pieces of crystal. These pieces [of crystal] are shaped into cylinders, obelisks, or (as they are most commonly) spheres'.
 40. 'Not dissimilar from the above is crystallomanteia, except that in this case it is practised with pieces of crystal clasped in rings, in a small vase, or even unadorned and shaped like a cylinder or obelisk. In these a demon claims to live. A certain person of Nuremberg is said to have seen treasures shown by a demon in a crystal in 1550. When he sought them afterwards at a certain spot dug out in front of the city, he and a friend he had summoned to be a witness saw a chest in a cave with a black dog lying down in front of it. The magician entered the cave and was going to drive away the dog and open the chest, but he had not brought a sop for Cerberus. The dog shook the top of

the cave and overwhelmed the wretched man in ruin, also filling the cave with earth' (I, 365).

41. J. Raine, 'Divination in the Fifteenth Century by Aid of a Magical Crystal', The Archaeological Journal, XIII (1856), 372-374, pp. 373-374:
'The accused says that a hundred times, from his first coming to the town of Wombwell, he practised the following art for the recovery of goods that had been secretly stolen: first he placed a certain youth of less than twelve years of age on a stool in the presence of the said William and placed a crystal stone in the hand of the said boy or youth, making him say the Pater Noster, Ave and Credo. Then, according to the information of the accused, the boy was made to say the following words: "Lord Jesus Christ, send to us three angels from thy right hand to tell or show us the truth of all that we shall ask." Then, according to the accused, he made the said boy look into the stone and asked him what he saw, and if he did see anything, to tell the accused. He says that sometimes the boy saw in the foresaid stone the stolen goods, sometimes the thieves themselves, sometimes one angel and sometimes two angels, but never more than that number. If at first the boy saw angels appear, the accused would say the following words to them: "Ministering angels, I command you by the Lord God, by all his holy names, and by the Virgin Mary, freely to tell us the truth and no lies about anything that we shall ask, openly and without danger to myself and all present." Then using these words he made the said boy question the angels or angel: "Say me trewe... his hand." Then he would specify the missing property. The accused says that the boy would then see clearly in the said stone the thieves and the stolen goods themselves. If the boy already knew the said thieves, he would give their names, or if he did not, he would demonstrate with his hand in what country and in what part of the same they were staying. But for the most part, says the accused, those who had lost any goods brought with them a boy who knew the parties under suspicion in the case. Furthermore he says that if the said boy saw nothing in the stone after the first conjuration, he (the accused) would repeat the same conjuration, saying: "Lord...etc." He says that he had a firm faith that the stolen goods would be discovered if an angel or angels appeared and the boy spoke. He says that twenty times boys like this had seen nothing appear in the stone and that he himself never saw anything at this time.'
42. 'He says that about the time of the Feast of St. Andrew last there came to the accused in Wombwell a certain Bishop and Paget from Derthington, together with other men whose names he does not at present know. They told the accused how two goblets had been stolen from the church at Derthington and requested him, in so far as he would, to lend his help in respect of their recovery. The accused agreed to their wishes and they took him to a certain

honest man called Fitzwilliam, a gentleman. From there they went to Derthington and in the presence of that same Fitzwilliam, together with a certain Scurdville and others, the foresaid Bishop and Paget produced two boys and seated them on two wicker stools. The accused practised the said art in them and one of the boys saw in the foresaid stone a certain man, whom he did not know, holding the silver cup in his hands. Otherwise, as the accused says, he never maligned the vicar of Derthington or anyone else concerning what had been alleged in the foresaid matter'.

43. Geoffrey Neville was Archbishop of York between 1465 and 1476.
44. Original Letters Illustrative of English History, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 3rd Series, 4 vols (London 1846), III, 41-42, Letter CCLXVIII.
45. The Second Volume Conteynyng those Statutes whiche haue ben made in the Tyme of the Most Victorious Reigne of Kyng Henrie the Eight (London 1543), Anno XXXIII, ch. vii, sigs B5v-B6r, 'An act against coniuracions, witchcraftes, sorcery, and enchauntmentes'.
46. Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, edited by John Gough Nichols, Camden Society (London 1859), pp. 332-333.
47. BM Additional MS 36674, fols 40a-40b.
48. Gilbert became for a while a participant in the Actions, but Davis did not; both were heavily involved in the plans to find a North-West passage, however, and Dee's interpretation of an angelic command that Gilbert should 'cary the name of Jesus among the Infidells' would embrace Davis as well (Sloane MS 3188, 65a). Davis is further referred to at fol. 67a.
49. The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr. Simon Forman, edited by James Orchard Halliwell (London 1849), p. 17, edition limited to 150 copies.
50. Sloane MS 3677, fols 173a-175b.
51. Sloane MS 3848, fol. 148. The complete ritual continues until fol. 151a.
52. John Aubrey, Three Prose Works, edited by John Buchanan-Brown (Fontwell 1972), pp. 101-102.
53. Aubrey, Three Prose Works, p. 99.
54. William Lilly's History of his Life and Times, published from the original MS, London, 1715 (London 1822), pp. 228-229.
55. See TFR, p. 1.

IV

FRAUD AND CRYPTOGRAPHY

The unusual nature of Dee's scrying experiments does not remove the doubt that attaches itself to all methods of divination: the doubt as to whether the divinatory practice is a fraudulent exercise or a genuine inspiration. It is clear from the evidence contained in the previous chapter that whether spirits really appeared in the crystals or not, many people, including those who condemned the practice, believed that they did, although this itself is only proof of the belief and not of the fact of spiritual appearance. Until the recent rehabilitation of Dee, largely on account of the researches into Renaissance occult philosophy by Frances Yates, Dee's Actions with spirits aroused interest largely because of the doubt surrounding the authenticity of the events described. The central controversies were whether Dee was indeed dealing with angels or dealing with devils, and whether he was the perpetrator or the victim of a long-lasting fraud. While major interest in the Actions now centres upon Dee's position in relation to Renaissance scientific and occult thought, the question of the authenticity of the events is nonetheless pertinent. A judgement must be made. In reaching that judgement the conclusions of two prominent men deserve examination: Meric Casaubon, who believed Dee was deluded by devils, and Robert Hooke, who thought that the Actions were cryptographical.

When Meric Casaubon undertook the publication of most of the records of Dee's angelic dealings then in the Cotton library, his purpose was 'not to satisfie curiosity, but to do good, and promote Religion' (TFR, 'Preface' sig. Alr). The publication in 1659 was controversial and although the Archbishop of Armagh was attested to have declared that 'it was an excellent Booke to convince Atheists',¹ Casaubon recorded that 'the Booke was stopt at the Press, and in ques-

tion at the Councill Table, [and] if the Protector had lived it had not been printed'.² Casaubon was himself under some suspicion of atheism on account of an earlier attempt to prove that all divine inspiration was only 'imposture or melancholy, and depraved phantasie, arising from natural causes',³ and the publication of A True and Faithful Relation helped to refute the charge of atheism, while nevertheless demonstrating that supposedly divine inspiration was, at least in the case of Dee, diabolic deception. Casaubon was under no doubt that Dee and Kelly did raise spirits. After citing many classical authors he concluded that 'upon due consideration of the premises', he could in no way satisfy himself 'how any Learned man, sober and rational, can entertain such an opinion (simply and seriously) That there be no Divels nor Spirits' (TFR, 'Preface' sig.Clv). It was in the nature of the spirits that he considered Dee to be deluded, mistaking 'false lying Spirits for Angels of light' (TFR, 'Preface' sig. Dlv). For this Dee's pride was principally to blame (TFR, 'Preface' sig. D4v).

While Casaubon believed that Dee dealt with the spirits in all simplicity and sincerity (TFR, 'Preface' sig. D2v), he was equally convinced that Kelly was fully aware of the nature of the spirits raised:

For certain it is by this whole story [i.e. TFR], from the beginning to the end of it, that Kelley was a great Conjuror, one that daily conversed by such art as is used by ordinary Magicians, with evil Spirits, and knew them to be so. Yet I would suppose that he was one of the best sort of Magicians, that dealt with Spirits by a kind of Command (as is well known some do) and not by any Compact or agreement. (TFR, 'Preface' sig.D3r)

Dee's pride was again responsible for his refusal to believe Kelly's repeated admissions that the spirits they were dealing with were evil (TFR, 'Preface' sig. Elv). Casaubon acknowledged that Kelly might

have defrauded Dee, even mechanically faking apparitions, but thought the evidence to be too weighty to concede in this case that there might be no substance in the Actions (TFR, 'Preface' sig.A2v). Eleven years after the publication of TFR he was even more convinced that the Actions recorded the true raising of spirits:

But then those supernatural effects and operations by Witches and Magicians, which are daily seen, (though not acknowledged by all men, I confess, but upon what account, hath been enquired and fully discoursed by us elsewhere [i.e. TFR): though liable to such imposture, it is confessed (and what is not in this world) yet many of them so certain and so well attested as nothing can be more: whereof we have given many pregnant instances in the same book:) can he that beleeves them, and knows how to make a difference, between the power of created Spirits, and an Eternal God the Creator of all things; think any thing impossible to God?⁴

A contemporary noted his own opinions in the copy of TFR that Shippen collated and annotated, these cautiously following the judgement given by Casaubon in the 'Preface' to the work:

To Believe all this was mere Melancholy and Enthusiasme in Dr. Dee that continued so many years in him I thinke is an Assertion too bold for any Man to offer Or to believe that Either Bartholomew [Hickman], his son Arthur who did pretend to see did Abuse him I thinke is more then any one will say. For E:K no doubt he was a very Rascall but whether he was alwayes an Impostor and pretended to see that he did not and Hear also and so long together is very Difficult to believe.⁵

The same writer also noted that Meric Casaubon was 'a very learned and Pious Man but most lamentably troubled with Hypochondriac Melancholy'. The principal controversies raised by the book as to whether the spirits were real or imaginary, evil or good, became part of the larger controversy concerning the nature of the divine inspiration that was claimed by the Puritans. Casaubon himself admitted in a letter that the 'maine designe of this worke was to set out to view of all men: the condition of those...under pretended colour of

inspiration, and speciall guidance of the Spirit: and it is probable, that many were really deluded'.⁶ Casaubon's attitude towards and conclusions upon the Actions with spirits were therefore prejudiced by a priori considerations.

Robert Hooke (1635-1703) saw an entirely different significance in the spirits summoned during the Actions. Hooke accepted the theory that the Steganographia of Abbot Trithemius of Spanheim, which described operations with angels and spirits, was really a treatise upon cryptography, the spirits offering through their names, descriptions and functions a means of encoding any message.⁷ Hooke sought a comparison between Steganographia, which Dee had himself regarded as a book of extreme importance,⁸ and the Actions contained in TFR. Whether Hooke ever did read the paper he prepared on the subject, being 'not positive, but rather as Queries to be resolved by such as have better Abilities and Opportunities to solve them', before the Royal Society is uncertain, but it was evidently his intention to do so, for he felt obliged to defend the possible 'Unfitness of the Subject for the Consideration of this Society'.⁹ Hooke's thesis was 'that the greatest part of the said Book [TFR], especially all that which relates to the Spirits and Apparitions, together with the Names, Speeches, Shews, Noises, Clothing, Actions, and the Prayers and Doxologies, &c. are all Cryptography; and that some Parts also of that which seems to be a Journal of his Voyage and Travels into several Parts of Germany, are also Cryptographical' (p. 206). Hooke never proceeded any further with this theory, which was later taken up by Adam Clarke (1762?-1832), although he likewise failed to prove any substance to the theory.¹⁰ More recently the cryptographic theory has been suggested by Richard Deacon, but it is based upon evidence which is to my mind of doubtful authenticity and

which, even if accepted, does not presuppose that the whole series of Actions simply consisted of coded messages.¹¹

There are numerous reasons for rejecting any theory that the Actions are cryptographic in nature. Dee's desire for celestial information, divine revelation, a universal religion and the advent of a new age was the principal cause of his becoming involved with scrying in the first place (see Chapter VI). Furthermore there is no substantial motive for Dee and Kelly to produce such a lengthy fraud as seven years of near continuous reports 'encoded' in such a dangerous form as that of Actions with spirits. Although Dee was evidently employed upon state business abroad in 1571 (CR, p.12), there are no records of Actions extant from that time, even if such ever existed. The Actions began at Mortlake when Dee was a short river ride from the Court. Such information as he might have to deliver could be given by word of mouth. Even when he was on the Continent, he wrote a letter to Burghley concerning the treachery of the Jesuit Parkins in plain language.¹² The only likely recipients of coded messages would be Burghley and Walsingham and there are no records of Dee's Actions to be found amongst their collected papers. Furthermore, if the information was such that an elaborate code was required, it would have been strange for Dee to keep copies of his own all together, lest they should fall into the wrong hands.

There are some examples of codes in the course of the Actions but they are extremely simple. One involves the rearrangement of a passage according to a sequence of numbers¹³ and another involves drawing letters from a square according to a prescribed pattern (see Sloane MS 3191, fols 53b-56a). The simplest merely substitutes an original alphabet and Dee is able to solve this code very quickly when he is presented with it by Kelly (see Sloane MS 3188, 87a-88a).

These examples are well below the standard that was in use in state affairs at the time.¹⁴ Furthermore the diversity of the contents of the Actions, ranging in Sloane MS 3188 alone from the description of a system of forty-nine spiritual governors to lengthy passages in the alleged language of the angels, is itself an argument against any consistent cryptography. Such diversity makes the possibility of any single solution improbable.

In general, it can be said that any cipher system, or any method which claims to follow valid cryptographic procedures, must yield unique solutions. If in any system two different investigators applying the same key or keys to the same basic material get inconsistent answers, the system is self-refuting. In other words, it can be used to show its own invalidity.¹⁵

The diversity of material might of course indicate a diversity of ciphers, perhaps even that the Actions constitute a treatise upon cryptography, but in the light of Dee's commitment to the ideals expressed in the Actions and of the fact that they demonstrate the evolution of a magical system based upon angelic hierarchies, such cryptographic considerations may be safely dismissed.

The rejection of Hooke's theory does not presume that the scrying was not in some way fraudulent. Hooke astutely noted that there might have been some application of scientific knowledge, particularly the branches of

Chymistry, or Mathematicks, or Astrology, or Mechanicks, all which I find by his Writings he [Dee] was well versed in, and especially in the Business of Opticks, and Perspective and Mechanical Contrivances; an effect of which I conceive his Chrystal, or Angelical Stone, or Chrystallum sacratum, as he terms it, to have been, for that it was of a considerable bigness, and was placed upon a Pedestal, or Table, which he calls a Holy Table, which might contain the Apparatus to make Apparitions, when he had a mind to be seen in it, as likewise to produce Noises and Voices, if there were occasion. All which might be done by Art, as has been shewn, both formerly by Roger Bacon, and of late by the Echoing Head. (p. 206)

The skill required to produce images such that the unlearned might

believe supernatural methods were being employed was known to many who studied nature and the sciences at that time. Gianbattista della Porta gave various instructions for making 'an Image seem to hang in the Air' using concave mirrors:

This will be more wonderful with the segment of a circle, for it [the image] will appear farther from the Glass. If you be without the point of Inversion, you shall see your head downwards. That with fixed eyes, and not winking at all, you may behold the point, until it comes to your very sight ...the neerer you are to the Centre, the greater will it be, that you will think to touch it with your hands: and if it be a great Glass, you cannot but wonder; for if any man run at the Glass with a drawn sword, another man will seem to meet him, and to run through his hand. If you shew a Candle, you will think a Candle is pendulous lighted in the Air.¹⁶

Della Porta noted other experiments of a similar nature using both plain and concave mirrors and also described the operation of a rudimentary camera obscura, the pinhole camera:

You must shut all the Chamber windows, and it will do well to shut up all holes besides, lest any light breaking in should spoil all. Onely make one hole, that shall be a hands breadth and length; above this fit a little leaden or brass Table, and glew it, so thick as a paper; open a round hole in the middle of it, as great as your little finger: over against this, let there be white walls of paper, or white clothes, so shall you see all that is done without in the Sun, and those that walk in the streets, like to Antipodes, and what is right will be the left, and all things changed; and the farther they are off from the hole, the greater they will appear. (Bk. XVII, Ch.vi, p. 363)

He further suggested that scenes might be acted outside the chamber to provide animated displays of 'Huntings, Banquets, Armies of Enemies, Plays, and all things else that one desireth' and confessed that he had often presented such spectacles to his friends, the result being so convincing that it was often difficult to persuade them that no supernatural art was involved (Bk. XVII, Ch. vi, pp.364-5).

While such knowledge was not widely disseminated early in the century, the principles of optical science were known to many of the more learned men in Europe and particularly those who included

astronomy in their field of study. The simpler experiments such as that of the elementary camera obscura were apparently common knowledge among Renaissance 'scientists' for Agrippa wrote that 'it is well known, if in a dark place where there is no light but by the coming in of a beam of the Sun somewhere through a little hole, a white paper, or plain Looking-glass be set up against that light, that there may be seen upon them, whatsoever things are done without, being shined upon by the Sun' (Occ. Phil. I, vi, p. 16). Dee himself wrote a treatise upon burning-glasses in 1557¹⁷ and he was described by William Bourne as expert in the science of optics.¹⁸ Dee included a description of the art of perspective which 'demonstrateth the maner, and properties, of all Radiations Direct, Broken, and Reflected' in his 'Preface' to Euclid's Elements (sig. Blr) and evidently possessed a concave mirror of some sort:

if you, being (alone) nere a certaine glasse, and proffer, with dagger or sword, to foyne at the glasse, you shall suddenly be moued to giue backe (in maner) by reason of an Image, appearing in the ayre, betwene you and the glasse, with like hand, sword or dagger, and with like quicknes, foyning at your very eye, likewise as you do at the Glasse. Straunge, this is, to heare of: but more meruailous to behold, then these my wordes can signifie. And neuerthesse by demonstration Opticall, the order and cause thereof, is certified: even so, as the effect is consequent. Yea, thus much more, dare I take vpon me, toward the satisfying of the noble courrage, that longeth ardently for the wisdom of Causes Naturall: as to let him vnderstand that, in London, he may with his owne eyes, have profe of that, which I haue sayd herein. A Gentleman [i.e. Dee], (which, for his good seruice, done to his Countrey, is famous and honorable: and for skill in the Mathematicall Sciences, and Languages, is the Od [old?] man of this land. &c.) euen he, is hable: and (I am sure) will, very willingly, let the Glasse, and profe be sene. (Preface, sig. Blv)

This glass was probably that which the Queen requested to see when she arrived at Dee's home on the day that his first wife was buried and the properties of which she was pleased to understand (CR, p.17). Dee was also acquainted with the use of empty vessels in the ancient

theatre as amplifiers of sound, although it is unclear precisely how they worked.¹⁹ Dee quotes and translates part of the De architectura of Vitruvius in his Preface, recalling

the Brasen Vessels, which in Theatres, are placed by Mathematicall order, in ambries, vnder the steppes: and the diuersities of the soundes...are ordred according to Musically Symphonies and Harmonies: being distributed in the Circuities, by Dietessaron, Diapente, and Diapason. That the conuenient voyce, of the players sound, when it came to these preparations, made in order, there being increased: with the increasing, might come more cleare and pleasant, to the eares of the lokers on. (Preface, sig.d3v)

Dee was conversant with the principles of harmony and resonance and therefore with the principles of rudimentary amplification of sound. He certainly had the knowledge to produce a complicated optical illusion. The Actions first took place in his 'study' at Mortlake and he was preparing a special chamber in which to hold them (Sloane MS 3188, 103b, 27). All the circumstances were suitable for him to deceive an unwitting scryer that spirits were appearing and talking. There is however no evidence that he did so and no motive whatsoever. The Actions were themselves theologically dangerous enough with Dee believing in them sincerely. To produce such happenings as a deception would have put Dee in unnecessary danger — Kelly had admitted that his first visit was to trap Dee (Sloane MS 3188, 9a) — and there could be no profit in deceiving a scryer, especially one who was later persuaded to remain only by the offer of a stipend of fifty pounds a year.

If any deception was practised it was by Kelly upon Dee. Dee claimed that he was never able to see the spirits that appeared to Saul and Kelly. There were times when Dee heard odd sounds, such as a spirit stroking a book (TFR, p. 31), and he once recorded: 'I fele: and (by a great thundring noyce, thumming...in myne eares) I perceyue the presence of some spiritual creature abowt me' (Sloane MS 3188, 51b).

When Kelly repeated long passages of the angelic language it was as if he were taken by the spirit of God, for Dee recorded that 'there appeared fire to be thrown oute of the stone, vppon E K' (Sloane MS 3188, 71a), and then later 'the fire cam from E K his eyes, and went into the stone againe' after which Kelly 'could not perceyue, or read one worde' (Sloane MS 3188, 72b). It is not absolutely certain that Dee witnessed this fire, for Kelly might have described it to him, but the manner in which Dee records the experience suggests that it was something that he himself saw. He recorded later that while his child Rowland was sick, he saw some flashes of fire that 'did not lighten abroad' on 18 July 1584 (TFR, p. 210). What he meant by fire is not certain, however, for he might have been referring in fact to flashes of light and the fire in Kelly's eyes might really be light in his eyes, such as might be caused by some intense passion or semi-hypnotic state. There are certain obvious times when Kelly may have perpetrated a fraud upon Dee, such as when he returned from the Cotswolds with a scroll in strange characters, which Dee managed to decipher without too much trouble, Kelly claiming that he had been led to the discovery of the scroll by a 'spiritual creature' (Sloane MS 3188, 61a). During an Action of 29 April 1583 they were given instructions to make a seal and afterwards Kelly went to his room with a book that had been left by Adrian Gilbert. When he opened the book he 'found' a different version of the seal written in his own hand on one of the blank pages at the end of the book (see Sloane MS 3188, 98a-99a). He claimed to have no idea how the writing got there.

All the Actions may have been fraudulent, but again it is difficult to find sufficient motive. Although Dee undoubtedly looked after Kelly's immediate needs, the contract for the stipend of fifty

pounds was not made until 29 June 1583, some two years after Kelly had first acted as Dee's scryer. Furthermore the Actions were often performed with Kelly seated in front of the table on which stood the crystal stone and Dee either recording the Actions at a nearby table or seated on the other side of the table facing Kelly (see Sloane MS 3188, 47b and 48b). Kelly would have had little chance to keep any papers by him without their being discovered by Dee. The angelic system which he expounded was not simple and it is remarkable that there are not a great number of inconsistencies, since it must have been contained in his head, either consciously or unconsciously. If as Frances Yates claims 'Kelly was a fraud who deluded his pious master',²⁰ he was not only 'well-versed in Renaissance magic', but also possessed a most remarkable memory.²¹

Having rejected any chance of deceit upon the part of Dee, we must conclude that either Kelly saw nothing and successfully gulled Dee for the best part of seven years, or that he did indeed see angels and spirits, or that the visions were products of his own imagination. Casaubon argued that 'a very little distemper of the brain, scarce discernable unto any, but those that are well versed in the study of Natural causes, is enough to represent Spirits, Angels and Divels, Sights and Stories of Heaven and Hell to the fancy', but nevertheless believed that Kelly saw genuine spirits (TFR, 'Preface' sig. A2v). While I am not at all qualified in the sciences of psychology and parapsychology, I would venture that Kelly's visions were the product of a 'distemper of the brain'. He complained at times of pains in his body, and particularly in his head, caused by the sights and sounds of the Actions. On 29 March 1583 before seeing the angel Raphael he felt 'a thing (immediately) creeping within his hed, and in that pang becam all in a sweat'. He 'remayned much

misliking the moving and creeping of the thing in his hed' but 'at a quarter of an howre end it cam to one place: and so ceased somewhat' (Sloane MS 3188, 68a). The experience was repeated on 31 March (Sloane MS 3188, 69b). At another time he felt 'such a whirling and beating inwardly in his hed, that he could not vse any Judgement to discerne what appeared, for half a quarter of an howre almost' (Sloane MS 3188, 78b). On 23 April 1583 'his belly did seame to him, to be full of fyre: and he thowght veryly, that his bowells did burne' (Sloane MS 3188, 93a). These experiences (if true) suggest a mental condition, perhaps arising from a physical illness, that was unstable and might cause his imagination to produce visions and hear voices, particularly if Dee was unduly influencing him. From his writings and in particular his complaints, Dee appears to have had a strong personality,²² and it is perhaps significant that the angels frequently gave answers such as Dee evidently wanted to hear, while rebukes were more often directed at Kelly than at Dee. They also frequently gave answers that followed the teachings of works that were known to Kelly and Dee.²³ It is therefore arguable that many of the visions may have arisen from Kelly's subconscious, perhaps after concentration in the crystal (he frequently saw nothing for the first fifteen minutes) had induced in him some mild state of trance. Thus the Actions may be a mixture of pure deceit and subconscious imaginings. The same might perhaps be said of the whole art of scrying, for while much was undoubtedly fraudulent, stolen goods were recorded as being found after information had been delivered through a scryer. Overall the Actions seem to be a mixture of falsehood and if not truth itself, at least half-truth.

1. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 67b.
2. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 65b.
3. John Webster, The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft (London 1677), p. 8.
4. Meric Casaubon, Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine and Spiritual (London 1670), pp. 108-109.
5. The identity of the writer is not known and it is unclear whether Shippen's annotations were made after or before the notes on the blank leaves (see TFR, BM shelf-mark 719.m.12). Since the writer refers to Casaubon in the past tense, it is likely that the notes were made after Casaubon's death in 1671.
6. Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 65b.
7. Modern scholarship takes the view that while a system of cryptography is expounded in the first two of the three books of Steganographia, the work was indeed on daemonic magic and the cryptography provided a veil for the magical content and a means for the author to defend his work as being other than it really was (see Walker, pp. 86-90). Steganographia was not published until 1606, but was widely known in manuscript during the sixteenth century, Trithemius having died in 1516 (Walker, p. 86).
8. When Dee wrote to Burghley on 16 February 1563 asking for leave to remain abroad to oversee the printing of some of his works, he declared that he had obtained a copy of Steganographia and had copied it out in ten days. He described it as 'a booke for which many a lerned man hath long sowght and dayly yet doth seeke' and which was 'for your honor, or a Prince, so meet, so nedefull and comodious, as in humayne knowledg, none can be meeter, or more behofefull' (John E. Bailey, 'Dee and Trithemius's "Steganography"', Notes and Queries, 5th series, XI (1879), pp. 401-402 and 422-433, p. 402).
9. The Posthumous Workes of Robert Hooke (London 1705), pp. 205-206.
10. I. D'Israeli, Amenities of Literature, 3 vols (London 1841), III, 228.
11. Richard Deacon in his book John Dee: Scientist, Geographer, Astrologer and Secret Agent to Elizabeth I (London 1968) gives the text of an Action that he claims is in code. The text of this Action is not in Sloane MS 3188 or Cotton MS Appendix XLVI along with the other Actions, but is, he claims, to be found in 'Divers Curious Narrations of Doctor John Dee (in Russian), MS. by Arthur Dee, circa 1621-30, translated by Prince Belloselski' (p. 299). My efforts to trace such a manuscript and to get in touch with Mr. Deacon through his publishers have been fruitless,

and I am rather sceptical of the reference. Deacon says that the text of the Action was dispatched to London from Dee on the Continent through the agency of Francis Garland and yet does not name the recipient, who ought to be Walsingham, and I do not see why Dee should retain a copy which would pass to his son Arthur. If the Action was an encoded message intended for Walsingham, then I would expect any copy to be kept in as secret a place as the other Actions. The style of the Action is distinctly different from the rest and Deacon's book is the only work on Dee that makes mention of it.

12. Lansdowne MS 61, art. 58, fol. 159.
13. See TFR, pp. 362-363, 366 and 387. A passage is written down and then numbers are placed in an irregular order over the words. By rearranging the words into the order indicated by the numbers, an entirely new passage is constructed.
14. Concerning methods of encipherment during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see David Kahn, The Codebreakers (London 1966), pp. 106-156.
15. William F. and Elizabeth S. Friedman, The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined (Cambridge 1957), p. 25.
16. Giambattista della Porta, Natural Magick (1658), edited by Derek J. Price (New York 1957), Bk XVII, ch. iv, p. 361. The first edition of Magia naturalis was published at Naples in 1558, but contained only four books, a longer edition being published in 1589. The work went through at least twelve editions in Latin, four in Italian, seven in French, two in German and two in English.
17. De speculis comburentibus, now Cotton MS Vitellius. C.VII, art. 5.
18. 'For that there ys dyvers in this Lande, that can say and dothe knowe muche more, in these causes, then I: and specially Mr. Dee, and allso Mr. Thomas Digges', William Bourne, 'A Treatise on the Properties and Qualities of Glasses for Optical Purposes', printed in Rara Mathematica, edited by James O. Halliwell (London 1839), pp. 32-47. The original is Lansdowne MS 121, art. 13.
19. On the possible use of these vessels see Frances A. Yates, Theatre of the World (London and Chicago 1969), pp. 112-114.
- 20) Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London and Chicago 1964), p. 149.
21. One of the more remarkable facts is that the calls in the angelic language which make up the Claues Angelicae (Sloane MS 3191, fols 1-13) were delivered backwards, often in single letters, intermittently between 13 April and 13

July 1584 (TFR, pp. 78-209), and yet the translation of the words into English is with a few exceptions consistent. It is difficult to believe that Kelly could deliver the calls purely from memory in such a manner and over such a period of time, particularly since the letters were sometimes taken from the letter-filled squares of the Book of Enoch, directions being given which table was to be used and how many squares in each direction were to be counted in order to obtain each letter.

22. See for instance a letter dated 3 October 1574 which Dee addressed to Lord Burghley and in which he complained that he had not received the rewards to which twenty years of hard study entitled him. He declares that 'in zeale to the best lerning and knowledg, and in incredible toyle of body and mynde, very many yeres, therfore onely endured, I know most assuredly that this land never bred any man, whose account therein can evidently be proved greater than myne' (Lansdowne MS 19, art. 38). Similar examples of Dee's self-estimation may be found in his autobiographical works and his frequent pacification of Kelly also argues that ultimately his was the stronger personality.
23. See for instance pp. 117- 118 below and TFR, pp. 158-159.

V

THE MAGICAL SYSTEM

The magic contained in Sloane MS 3188 is of two kinds. The scrying belongs to the popular tradition of divinatory experience, while the magical system expounded by the angels with its concentration upon seals, talismans, combinations of letters, numbers, divine names and ritual invocations, bears a great similarity with the kind of magic described in the third book of Agrippa's De occulta philosophia. The angels who appeared in the crystal to explain this latter system generally belong to the traditional Judaic-Christian hierarchies. Yet Dee shows no concern with the ordering of the celestial hierarchies of Seraphim, Cherubim, Dominations, Thrones, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Archangels, and Angels that occupied the attentions of such writers as St. Augustine, St. Jerome and Dionysius the Areopagite. Even though Dee is instructed by 'traditional' angels, the majority of the manuscript is concerned with the description of the offices of 49 spirits, 28 Sons and Daughters of Light,¹ and the construction of various magical instruments, the most important being the Holy Table, and none of these may be directly traced to any source. Some influence from Agrippa is apparent, but the magical system which evolved during the Actions is in its details unique. All the magical instruments are intimately connected with the hierarchies of spirits that are described and also with each other. The two principal instruments, the Holy Table and the Sigillum Dei (shown at fol. 30a), contain the names of both 'traditional' angels and the spirits unique to Dee's Actions with spirits, but in an occult fashion. By examining the angels, spirits, and magical instruments separately, their interconnections will be made clearer than in the text of the manuscript itself and finally a reconstruction of their use can be suggested.

a) The Angels

The angels Annael, Uriel, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael each inform Dee at various times, but while he is concerned with the etymologies of their names (Sloane MS 3188, 6a), Dee makes no effort to ascertain whether any is more powerful or in any way more important than any other angel. He was content, for the most part, to receive the information that God imparted to him through the angels without questioning the roles of the angels in the Creation.

Nevertheless the information that the angels do impart contains reference to the offices of the angels and most of it reflects what may be found in De occulta philosophia. The angel Annael only instructed Dee in the Action of 22 December 1581 when Saul acted as scryer and appropriately Annael is the angel of the month December.² The angels who instruct Dee when Kelly acts as scryer are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel, the four angels who stand before the face of God and govern the four 'corners of the world' (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv, p.416). Agrippa also names seven angels of the presence, Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Cumael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael and Gabriel (Occ. Phil. II, x, 204-5) and these names are hidden in the Sigillum Dei (see Sloane MS 3188, 24b). The angels whom Agrippa calls the 'spirits' of the seven planets are also to be found in the Sigillum Dei and are called 'the 7 Angels, and Governors in the heuens next vnto [those angels] which stand allwayes before the face of God' (Sloane MS 3188, 28a). These angels or spirits are Sabathiel (Saturn), Zedekiel (Jupiter), Madimiel (Mars), Semieliel (Sun), Nogahel (Venus), Corabiel (Mercury), and Levanael (Moon). These angels that I have listed above with the addition of Semiel (Sloane MS 3188, 17b) are the only 'traditional' Judaic-Christian angels that appear in the manuscript.

Further influence of Agrippa may be seen when Uriel asks Dee whether he thinks that angels have voices (Sloane MS 3188, 89b). Dee replies that he believes angels 'are mere spirituall and nothing corporall' and that their message is insinuated 'in such sort as mans Imagination shall be, that both they here and see you sensibly'. Uriel then declares:

we haue no voyce, but a full noyce that filleth euery place: which whan you ones taste of, Distance shall make no separation.

Both these replies are in accordance with Agrippa's conjecture upon the subject:

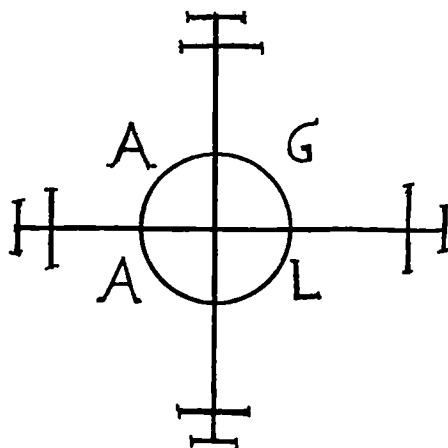
How angels speak it is hid from us, as they themselves are. Now to us that we may speak, a tongue is necessary with other instruments, as are the jaws, palate, lips, teeth, lungs, the aspera arteria, and muscles of the breast, which have the beginning of motion from the soul. But if any speak at a distance to another, he must use a louder voice; but if neer, he whispers in his ear: and if he could be coupled to the hearer without any noise, as an image in the eye, or glas. So souls going out of the body, so Angels, so Demons speak: and what man doth with a sensible voyce, they do by impressing the conception of the speech in those to whom they speak, after a better manner than if they should express it by an audible voyce.³

Dee's reply to Uriel follows Agrippa's hypothesis that the angels impress 'the conception of the speech in those to whom they speak' and Uriel's statement extends this to some kind of spiritual and inaudible 'noise' that fills the universe but which man may receive through the vis imaginativa. The close resemblance to Agrippa's theory further suggests fraud, conscious or unconscious, on the part of Kelly but would have demonstrated to Dee the truth of Agrippa's writing.

b) The Sigillum Dei

This seal, which is also called Sigillum Emeth ('seal of truth')

is shown on fol. 30a and is now in the possession of the British Museum. The instructions for its making were given by Michael and Uriel between 10 and 21 March 1582 (Sloane MS 3188, 9b-30a). It is made of undyed beeswax, measures nine inches in diameter and is one and one eighth inches thick. On the back is inscribed the sign



The word AGLA was a common name of divine power in the Middle Ages derived from the first letters in Hebrew of the Scriptural sentence 'thou art mighty Lord for ever' (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p. 335). The letters in the outer circle on the front of the seal may be used to obtain seven supposed names of God. When the number is over the letter, it indicates that the next letter is to be found that number of spaces to the right. When the number is under a letter, it indicates that the next letter is to be found that number of spaces to the left. The capital letters indicate the first letter of each name, and letters without numbers indicate that the last letter of a name has been reached. The names obtained in this manner are Thaaoth, Galaas, Gethog, Horløn, Innon, Aaoth and Galethog. Where two lower case letters 'a' occur together the second is struck out and so Thaaoth and Galaas become Thaoth and Galas. Innon is the only name that I have found recorded elsewhere (see Commentary to 22b, 7-13).

The letters with the crosses and numbers in the segments between the outer circle and the outer heptagon spell Galethog if read anticlockwise ignoring the crosses and numbers. The numbers are those found with the letters that form Galethog in the outer circle. The letters of the outer heptagon produce the names of the seven angels of the presence, if they are written in tabular form and read vertically from the top left corner:

Z	1	1	R	H	i	a
a	Z	C	a	a	c	b
p	a	u	p	n	h	r
h	d	m	h	i	a	i
k	k	a	a	e	e	e
i	i	e	e	1	1	1
e	e	1	1	M	G	✠

The names which are obtained are Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Cumael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael and Gabriel.

The letters underneath the borders of the outer heptagon are seven 'Names of God, not known to the Angels: neyther can be spoken or red of man' (28a, 25-26). Further names are extracted when these are written in tabular form.

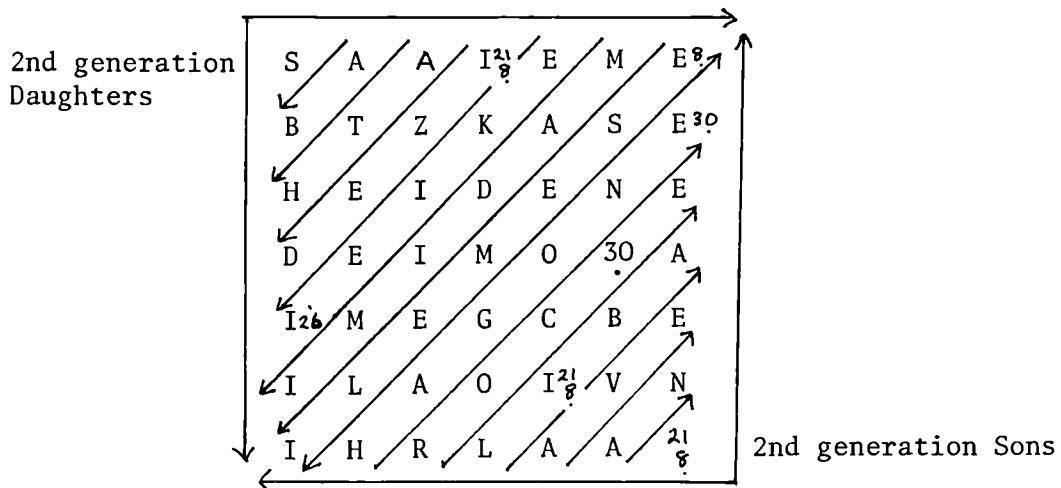
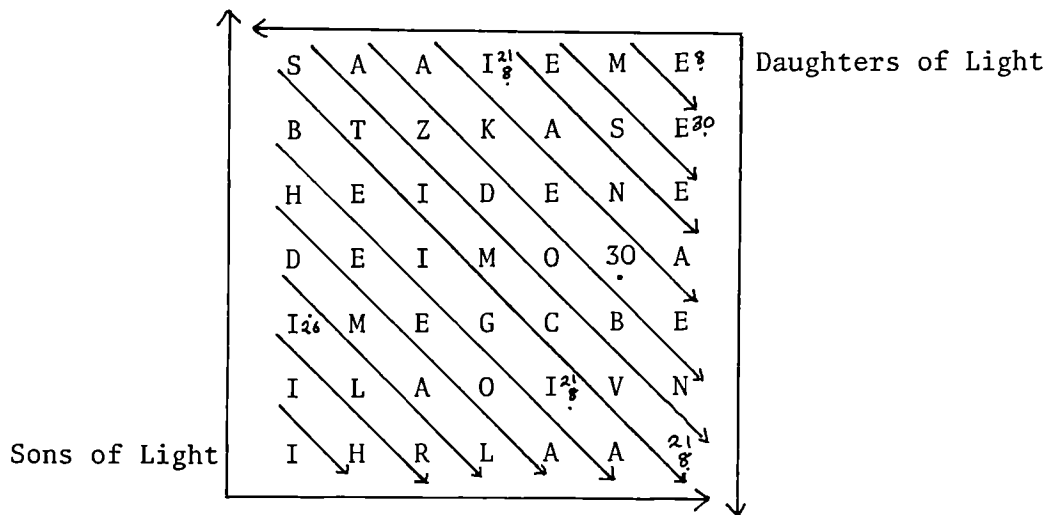
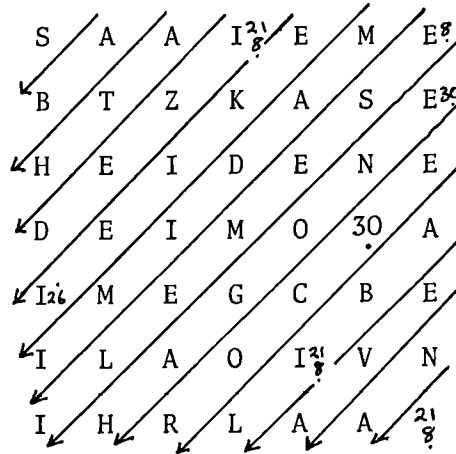
S	A	A	I ²¹ ₈	E	M	E ⁸
B	T	Z	K	A	S	E ³⁰
H	E	I	D	E	N	E
D	E	I	M	O	30	A
I ²⁶	M	E	G	C	B	E
I	L	A	O	I ²¹ ₈	V	N
I	H	R	L	A	A	21 ₈

By reading from the top left corner diagonally from right to left the names Sabathiel, Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel, Corabiel and Levanael are obtained, the numbers $\frac{21}{8}$ and $\frac{26}{8}$ standing for 'el' and the numbers $\frac{8}{8}$ and $\frac{30}{8}$ standing for 'i' (see fol. 29a). These names are to be found again in the centre of the seal and are the names of 'the 7 Angels, and Governors in the heuens next vnto [those angels] which stand allwayes before the face of God' (28a, 29-31). If the table is read from the top right corner diagonally from left

to right until the bisecting diagonal is reached the names of the seven Daughters of Light are obtained, namely El, Me Ese, Iana, Akele, Azdobn and Stimcul, the numbers $\begin{smallmatrix} 8 \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ and $\begin{smallmatrix} 30 \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ again standing for '1' but $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$ standing now for '1' rather than 'el'. The names of the seven Sons of Light are extracted by reading from the bottom left corner diagonally from left to right up until the bisecting diagonal. These names are I, Ih, Ilr, Dmal, Heeo, Beigia, and Stimcul again. In this case the numbers are ignored save for the $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$ which stands for the last letter of Stimcul. There is no good reason save that of pronunciation why the numbers should be noted with regard to the names of the Daughters of Light but ignored with regard to the Sons of Light.

Further diagonal reading of the table produces the names of the second generation Daughters of Light and second generation Sons of Light. The former are obtained by reading the table from the top left corner diagonally from right to left until the bisecting diagonal is reached. The resulting names are S, Ab, Ath, Ized, Ekiei, Madimi and Esemeli. In this case all numbers are ignored. The names of the second generation Sons of Light are to be found by reading from the bottom right corner diagonally from left to right. The names are El (from $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$), An, Ave, Liba, Rocle, Hagonel, and Ilemese. In this case the number $\begin{smallmatrix} 21 \\ 8 \end{smallmatrix}$ in Liba and $\begin{smallmatrix} 8 \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ in Ilemese are ignored while the other numbers are noted. Again the decision seems arbitrary. For clarification of the method the following tables demonstrate the various methods of reading the table.

angels next to
those of the
presence



The names of the Sons and Daughters of Light are inscribed in the borders and in the angles of the intertwined heptagon in the seal.

The names of the second generation Daughters and Sons are to be

found in the heptagons inside that which holds the names of the first generation Sons and Daughters. The offices of these two generations of Sons and Daughters of Light is not expounded in the manuscript at all, although Dee and Kelly receive instruction from the spirit Il, and later from Madimi.⁴

The seal produces its own inscription to a large extent. The name Galethog obtained from the outer circle is responsible for the letters and numbers in the segments between the outer circle and the outer heptagon. The names in the outer heptagon give rise to those in the centre. The names inside the outer heptagon give rise to all the rest. The circular shape is typical of most seals, particularly those involved in magical practice. There is however a particular significance to the numerological divisions of the seals. The outer circle is divided into forty squares. The number forty has great religious significance, being the number of years that the Israelites wandered in the wilderness and the number of days Christ fasted in the wilderness, which was also the length of the Flood and of Elijah's similar solitude. By the curious means of regarding the two letters 'a' taken out of the names of God in the outer circle as making the number of letters in the circle total forty-two when they are replaced, Michael states that the outer circle reveals a name of God of 42 letters (see fol. 21b).

Four smaller versions of this seal were made, two of which are in the possession of the British Museum, and they were to be placed in protective covers underneath the four feet of the Holy Table. The big seal was to be placed in the centre of the Holy Table and the crystal or 'show-stone', in particular that 'given' by the angels (see p. 138 below), was to be placed in the centre.

c) The Forty-Nine Spirits

A further table that Dee and Kelly received from the angels is that between fols 37b and 38a from which may be drawn the names of forty-nine spirits whose names all begin with the letter 'B'. The table has seven parts forming the four arms of a cross because the forty-nine spirits each had names of seven letters and were to be divided into seven septenaries.⁵ Each septenary had a king and a prince and the information delivered during the Actions concerns these kings and princes rather than the remaining spirits, who are assumed to aid the kings and princes in their particular offices. To simplify matters Dee himself drew up a table of the forty-nine spirits in which each septenary is represented in a segment of a circle which is itself formed of seven circles (see fol. 41a). This 'co-ordinated table' as he calls it bears a certain similarity with The Book of Formation by Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph which presents a circle of eleven rings, each containing two letters, with twenty-one spokes of letters around the circle.⁶ This 'Arcanum of the Great Symbol' permitted kabbalistic permutations to be obtained by the rotation of the combination of wheels so formed. The main instigation for Dee's circular 'co-ordinated table' is the information given by the angels in the Actions, particularly the governance of days of the week by the seven septenaries, but it is possible that Dee's choice of the table's shape may have been in part influenced by The Book of the Formation. In Dee's table the seven circles may be intended to represent the orbits of the seven planets, since the forty-nine spirits are responsible for various operations within the created universe. There may also have been some influence of kabbalistic knowledge upon Kelly, assuming that the beginning of the names of the spirits with the letter 'B'


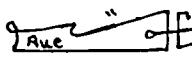

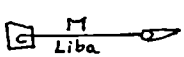

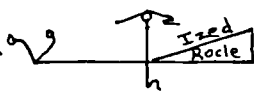

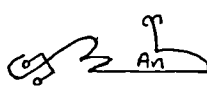
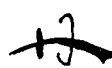

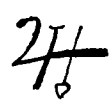
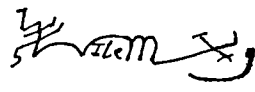

is a conscious choice on his part, as the letter 'B' is the first letter of the Bible in Hebrew and is also according to the kabbalistic lore of The Zohar the letter with which God began the Creation.⁷ The creation of the world by letters does not form a part of the information delivered to Dee and Kelly by the angels, for the magical system evolved is essentially much more practical than most kabbalistic teachings, but the insistence upon the letter 'B' which occurs in the manuscript, also dominating the so called seven 'Ensigns of Creation' (see below), is striking.

The roles of the forty-nine spirits, whom Dee calls 'angels' in his 'co-ordinated table' are confused by the fact that King Baligon has the alias of Carmara and Prince Bagenol has the alias of Hagonel and that under these alternative names the spirits have different offices. The offices of each king and prince are as follows:

King Bobogel	The government of wisdom.
Prince Bornogo	The perfecting of nature and the knowledge of all metals.
King Blumaza	King over the kings of earth.
Prince Bralges	The government of all invisible subjects.
King Babalel	The government of the waters.
Prince Befafes	The government of seas.
King Bnaspol	The government of the earth.
Prince Blisdon	The government of the earth and all subterranean things.
King Bynepor	The general state and condition of all living things.
Prince Butmono	Responsible for the life and breath in all living creatures.
King Baligon	The government of all aerial actions and Dee's 'show-stone'.
Prince Bagenol	No office is assigned.
King Bnapsen	The casting out of wicked spirits.
Prince Brorges	No office is assigned.

In the alias of Carmara, Baligon is responsible for the understanding of all sciences and in the alias of Hagonel, Bagenol governs operations of the earth and also the two generations of the Sons of Light. Dee was instructed that if he wished to perform a particular act or achieve a certain effect, he should invoke the aid of the king or prince who was responsible for the area of existence in which the act lay. At this point the magical system evolved in the manuscript took a practical and positively daemonic turn.

Each king and prince had his own seal, but while the seals of the princes are shown in this manuscript, the seals of the kings are not. They may however be gleaned from Sloane MS 3191, which is a collection of all the information given concerning the forty-nine spirits under the title of De heptarchia mystica. The seals are as follows:

<u>King</u>		<u>Prince</u>	
Baligon		Bagenol	
Bobogel		Bornogo	
Babalel		Befafes	
Bynepor		Butmono	
Bnaspol		Blisdon	
Bnapsen		Brorges	
Blumaza		Bralges	

No particular seal seems to be given to either Carmara or Bagenol, but I assume that Baligon's seal is also Carmara's and that Hagonel's is also Bagenol's. The kings' seals all contain the names of the second generation Sons of Light, although no explanation for this is given.

Each king and prince governs a day of the week. Sunday is governed by Bobogel and Bornogo while Monday is governed by Blumaza and Bralges, although Carmara and Hagonel are also given this responsibility, but in a 'general' rather than particular sense.⁸ Babalel and Befafes govern Tuesday, Bnaspol and Blisdon govern Wednesday, and Bynepor and Butmono govern Thursday. Friday is governed by Baligon and Bagenol while Saturday is the responsibility of Bnapsen and Brorges. Each king and prince has under him 'six perfect ministers' who each govern a four hour part of the day which the king and prince govern in its entirety. Unlike the names of the spirits up to this point, the names of these 'ministers' are for the most part unpronounceable.

Hagonel	OESNGLE, AVZNILN, YLLMAFS, NRSOGOO, NRRCPRN, LABDGRE.
Bobogel	LEENARB, LLANAEB, ROEMNAB, LEAORIB, NEICIAB, AOIDIAB.
Babalel	EILOMFO, NEOTPTA, SAGACIY, ONEDPON, NOONMAN, ETEVLGL.
Bynepor	BBARNFL, BBAIGAO, BBALPAE, BBANIFG, BBOSNIA, BBASNOD.
Bnaspol	ELGNSEB, NLINZVB, SFAMLLB, OOGOSRB, NRPCRRB, ERGDBAB.
Bnapsen	BANSSZE, BYAPAGE, BNAMGEN, BNVOLOS, BLBAPOO, BOBEPEN.
Carmara/Baligon	AOAYNNL, LBBNAAV, IOAESPM, GGLPPSA, OEEOOEZ, NLLRLNA.

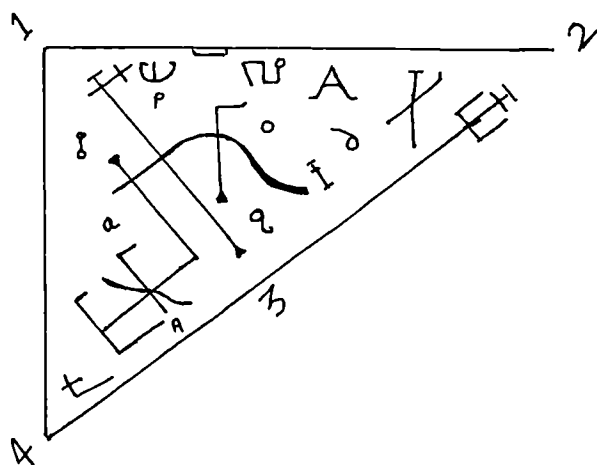
These spirits also assist the offices of their kings and princes. There is some confusion in the presentation of these tables, for in the first case Hagonel is a prince while the remaining governing spirits who make the presentation are kings. The presentation is not in the order of the days of the week governed and as the presentation proceeds, more emphasis is placed upon the spirits in their roles of assisting the offices of their kings and princes than in their government of parts of each day. The culmination of this is the calling of the last table of six ministers a 'table of kings', as unlike the other tables where the names are drawn from various of the septenaries in the table at fol. 41a, the names of the last six ministers are drawn only from the names of the seven kings. The sixth table is also called an 'infernall table', probably because Bnapsen has the power to cast out wicked spirits.

The names of the six ministers are sometimes referred to as being forty-two minsters, each letter standing for an individual spirit. The names of these ministers were to be written on the perimeter of a circular seal or lamine and when Dee wished to invoke the aid of any king or prince he was to stand upon the relevant seal (see fol. 51a). The seal of the king or prince was also to be laid upon the Holy Table. Further seals were to be made from a table that Kelly had presented to Dee but which is no longer extant. This table was circular, had a figure with a sword in the centre who represented Nature (see 102b, 15), and contained letters appertaining to the forty-nine spirits, some of these being written backwards. 'The Characters and words annexed to the Kings names in the vtter circumference' of the missing table were to be painted upon 'swete wood' and held by Dee in his hand but the precise use and function of this is not explained.

As more and more spirits and magical instruments are derived from the table of forty-nine spirits, the exposition of the magical system in the manuscript becomes more and more confused and eventually the angels concentrate more upon the writing of the Book of Enoch⁹ than upon the roles of the forty-nine spirits. Information concerning the spirits begins to peter out as the Book of Enoch starts to dominate the Actions. Nevertheless it is important to note that the revelation of the forty-nine governing spirits makes the magical system daemonic in a very practical way. Dee was even to request instructions as to how to use the spirits who governed the earth to help him discover some supposed buried treasure.

d) The Lamine

In the first Action in which Edward Kelly acted as Dee's scryer (10 March 1582) a seal was shown by Uriel. This seal, if made of gold and worn on the breast as a talisman would defend the body in every place and time and at every occasion (9b, 3-4), although whether this defence was against attack by evil spirits or against physical violence offered by other men was not declared. The seal or lamine (being made of a thin layer of beaten gold) was triangular in shape:



The triangle represents the decad, a number of perfection since 'it contains in itself all computations',¹⁰ but Dee also saw much significance in that his own name could be expressed by the letter delta. In a letter to the Emperor Rudolf II dated 17 August 1584, he calls himself Triplicis Alphabeti, litera Quarta (TFR, p. 218), thereby also linking his name with the tetraktys (see Commentary to 18a, 9). The lamine therefore in part represents Dee's name. The remaining symbols do not resemble the customary seals of angels and I have not been able to offer much explanation of their origins (see Commentary to 9b, 1).

The triangular shape was not uncommon for lamines and talismans.

The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy states:

The lamen which is to be used to invoke any good spirit, you shall make after this manner; either in metal conformable: or it may be made in clean paper, with convenient colours: and the outward form or figure thereof may be square, circular, or triangular, or of the like sort, according to the rule of the numbers: in which there must be written the divine names, as well the general names as the special. And in the centre of the Lamen, let there be drawn a character of six corners: in the middle whereof, let there be written the name and character of the Star, or of the spirit his governour, to whom the good spirit that is to be called is subject. And about this character, let there be placed so many characters of five corners, as the spirits we would call together at once. And if we shall call onely one spirit, nevertheless there shall be made four Pentagones, wherein the name of the spirit or spirits, with their characters, is to be written. Now this table ought to be composed when the Moon is increasing, on those days and hours which then agree to the Spirit. And if we take a fortunate starre herewith, it will be the better. (Occ. Phil. IV, pp. 61-2)

The lamine is then to be consecrated and we are told that 'this is the way of making the general Table, serving for the invocation of all good spirits whatsoever'. The triangular shape of Dee's lamine is concordant with the description in this pseudo-Agrippan work but the remainder of the instructions are more relevant to the Holy Table

and it is clear that Dee's lamine is very individual. Its purpose is also more as a protective talisman than as an instrument of invocation.

Dee was further instructed on 28 April 1582 that the lamine was to be hung (presumably still on the breast) 'vnseen, in some skarf' (32a, 19-20). At that date the lamine had still not been made and in fact it was never made for on 29 April 1583 the spirit I1 told Dee that 'the Character is fals and diuilish' and 'yf it shold haue byn gone about to be made, it shuld not haue byn suffred to pass vnder the forme of wyckednes' (96b, 23 & 29-30). Dee is informed that an illuding spirit interposed himself at the precise point of the demonstration of the lamine in the Action of 10 March 1582. In place of this lamine Dee is instructed to make the 'Character for Conciliation' that is to be found on fol. 97a, which is 4 inches square and which contains 'a certayn shaddow of [d]elta' in each corner (102a, 43). The lamine is also called a 'Character of Dignification' and is to have the names of the five angels which are written in the centre of the Sigillum Dei (Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semiel, Nogahel and Corabiel) engraved upon the back in a circle. The angelic 'show-stone' is then to be set in the midst of it (101b, 20-22). This means that the new lamine must be placed upon the Sigillum Dei, which resides at the centre of the Holy Table.

e) The Ring

Early in the scrying experiments with Kelly, Dee was instructed by Michael to make a ring bearing the name PELE, which is a name of God meaning 'a worker of miracles, or causing wonders' (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p. 378). Although Dee is told that 'without this, thou shalt do nothing' (12b, 3), there is no evidence that the ring was

ever made and there is a most curious statement by Michael that he will lessen the ring by a yard, which does not make a great deal of sense (32a, 21-23). The precise use of the ring is not explained, but it may be along the lines of Agrippa's comment upon the efficacy of rings

Rings also, which were alwaies much esteemed of by the Ancients, when they are opportunely made, do in like manner impress their vertue upon us, in as much as they do affect the spirit of him that carries them with gladness or sadness, and render him courteous, or terrible, bold, or fearfull, aimiable, or hatefull; in as much also as they do fortifie us against sickness, poisons, enemies, evill spirits, and all manner of hurtfull things, or at least will not suffer us to be kept under them.¹¹

Bearing the name of God that signifies 'a worker of miracles' the ring would be intended to 'impress' its 'vertue' of miracle-working upon Dee. Michael's statement that without the ring Dee will not be able to perform what is required of him suggests that, at this time anyway, it is thought of as essential to the practice of the magical system.

f) The Rod 'El'

On 16 November 1582 the spirit Carmara appeared holding a rod of office which was later described as being divided into three parts, two parts being black and the middle section being coloured red (58a, 12-13). On 26 March 1583 Dee and Kelly were told by Raphael that 'euery thing is for and to an ende', but that 'one thing differeth, the Ende, and the Begynning'. Raphael defined this difference as 'the El, rod, or measure which all ready is deliuered the stroke of which, bringeth all things, in theyr degree, to an ende' (63b, 13-18). Raphael appears to be speaking metaphorically, using 'El' in the sense of 'ell' as a unit of measurement but ignoring its

specific length of 45 inches. Carmara has however demonstrated this rod to Dee and Kelly with the words 'Ecce...Hic...Per hoc... a Mensurae fine, nos nostramque mensurabis potestatem'.¹² There is a strong suggestion that Raphael, who himself holds a tripartite rod of gold when delivering the first Enochian call (68b, 14), is doing rather more than using 'El' in the sense of 'ell' at 63b, 13-18. He is effectively giving the rod the name of El, a name of God.

Dee was copying down what he heard Kelly relate that the angels spoke and therefore Dee is in the first instance responsible for the spelling of 'El' rather than 'ell'. He was very alive to the possibility of such connections, even to the point of declaring that he liked the letter 'L' best of all the alphabet since it had the same sound as the name of God 'El' (91b, 52-53). On the other hand Dee makes no note that he is equating 'ell' with 'El' of his own accord and it would be characteristic of him to make such a note were he to feel entirely responsible for the thought. Thus it is fair to conclude that he believed the angel to have said 'El' (the capital letter excludes the possibility of a shortened spelling of 'ell').

The name El is earlier referred to by Michael (19a, 16) and is a very common divine name:

The name El (𐤇𐤋) is the most widely distributed of all names for Deity, being used in Babylonian, Aramaean, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Arabic...It has been referred to the Heb[rew] root 𐤇𐤋𐤍 'to be strong'...others have referred it to an Arab[ic] root ʾûl, meaning 'to be in front' (hence awwal, 'first'), 'to govern', and assigned to it the sense of 'leader'.¹³

It forms the latter half of many angels' names, acting as a suffix to mean 'of God' (see Commentary to fol. 6a). The name El equates the rod not only with God, but also with the cross (see Commentary

to 19a, 19-22), thereby giving it a Christian role. The possible reference to an ell would suggest that the rod is 45 inches long and although such a rod would be rather unwieldy it is possibly significant that each division of the rod would be 15 inches long as 15 is the numerical value of another name of God $\overline{\text{N}}$, Jah.

There is some implication in Raphael's words at 63b, 13-18 and Carmara's words at 58a, 21-24 that Dee is to make such a rod. No specific instruction is given and there is no record of Dee making such a rod, but the possibility cannot be discounted.

g) The Seven Ensigns of Creation

The seven tables shown between fols 33a and 35b are called the seven 'Ensigns of Creation'. Dee was instructed to make these tables in tin (102b, 28), but in the end they were painted upon the Holy Table, as he was given leave to do (102b, 37).

The presentation of the seven 'Ensigns' is a rather confused affair but clearly relates to the six days of the Creation and quite probably to the alchemical search for the Philosophers' Stone. To render this double symbolism of the presentation of the seven tables as orderly as possible, I will at this point offer some comparison between the biblical creation and alchemical processes. In George Ripley's The Compound of Alchymie (1471) twelve stages are assigned to the alchemical process. The first six lead to the making of the white stone which has the power to make base metals into silver, and then this may be turned into the 'red stone', the Philosophers' Stone itself, through processes somewhat repetitive of the previous stages. Since alchemy was as much a religious philosophy as a practical art, the changing of the white stone to the red may be compared with purification of the soul. Therefore in comparing the

biblical creation, ending with man, with alchemical processes, I will only use the first six stages ending with the white stone. I do not wish to place too much emphasis upon the similarities between the two creations, but such a comparison will help to clarify much of the symbolism in the visions that accompany the showing of each Ensign of Creation.¹⁴

Day	Biblical	Alchemical
1	Creation of Heaven and Earth and Light; separation of day from night.	<u>Calcination</u> : reduction of matter to non-metallic substances (earth, to water, to air, to fire).
2	Creation of the Firmament to divide the waters.	<u>Solution</u> : dissolving of 'hard and dry Compactyon' to liquid form ('water').
3	Creation of land; separation of land from water; creation of trees and plants.	<u>Separation</u> : the subtle divided from the gross and 'water' from 'oyle', repeated until 'Erth remayn benethe'.
4	Creation of sun, moon and stars. (The sun and moon are traditionally regarded as male and female).	<u>Conjunction</u> : 'Woman' to be impregnated by 'Man'. The female part is sometimes mercury, sometimes silver, and the male is sometimes sulphur, sometimes gold.
5	Creation of fish and fowls.	<u>Putrefaction</u> : the matter turns to a kind of liquid pitch. It will be revived by the 'celestial virtue' which has left it, often symbolised by ascending and descending birds.
6	Creation of animals and man.	<u>Congelation</u> : the matter becomes dry and white - the white stone.

While the relation of the two sides of this table is often tenuous, the traditional alchemical symbols often bear a striking resemblance to the corresponding products of the various days of the creation particularly from the third stage onwards.

The first Ensign of Creation is shown with the accompanying statement that it is the 'end of darkness' (32b, 17). The second Ensign is accompanied by a sound of falling water, a shining star, and 'a mervaylous turmoyling, tossing, and stur, a long tyme during' (34a, 21-22). Both these visions seem to represent the first day of the Creation, the second in particular signifying the chaos and turmoil over which the spirit of God moved (Genesis I, 2). To relate the seven Ensigns to the six days of Creation, two Ensigns would have to cover one day of Creation and it seems that in a rather confused way this occurs at the beginning of the demonstration. The next vision shows a 'ball of light' being flung up into the darkness and bringing a great transparent 'white Globe' (34a, 30). This probably represents the creation of a universe into which the earth is to be placed, the firmament of the second day. The fourth vision demonstrates a little round ball being thrown into the darkness, being transformed into 'a great thing of Earth' and being cast up into the 'rownd Globe' (34a, 40-43). This is evidently related to separation and the creation of land on the third day. The next vision shows a woman being cut in half by a sword and the two halves turning into a man and a woman (see conjunction) and the sun, moon and stars being created, as on the fourth day. In the remaining two visions, firstly a woman crumbles clay and it turns into birds (see the symbolism of putrefaction and the creation of fish and fowl on the fifth day), and secondly 'herbes and plantes becomming like a garden' are created (36a, 4-5). This last vision is hard to equate with the Creation or alchemical process, for the trees and plants were created on the third day, but although there is no specific day assigned to the creation of the Garden of Eden, it was presumably on the same day as man was created.

The visions that accompany the Ensigns clearly have some relation to the days of the Creation, even though they do not fit into a very precise scheme. My reason for regarding the visions as to some extent alchemical is on account of a vision at the very beginning of the demonstration of the Ensigns which shows 'a great hill of gold with serpents' (32a, 13). The hill may represent the Philosophers' Stone and the serpent 'matter in its imperfect unregenerate state'. As I have said in the Commentary, in which I have also detailed possible alchemical symbolism in each vision, the vision represents 'the goal to which Dee aspires (wisdom or the Philosophers' Stone) beset by troubles (the serpents as evil) or by impurities (the serpents as unregenerate matter)'.

The seven Ensigns were painted upon the Holy Table with blue lines and red characters. When Dee asked what the use of these seven Ensigns was to be, he received the rather unsatisfactory reply: 'they are the ensignes of the Creation; wherewithall they were created by God: known onely by theyr acquaintance, and the manner of theyr doings' (102b, 25-26). The 'manner of theyr doings' is not explained and their only function seems to be as parts of the Holy Table, unless 'theyr doings' are of alchemical significance.

h) The Show-Stones

It is not possible to say how many show-stones or crystals Dee possessed, but mention is made in the manuscript of three. There is the 'great Chrystalline Globe' used in the Actions with Barnabas Saul (8a, 6) which appears to be different from 'the stone in the frame', represented at fol. 8a, line 35, to which the angel Annael says that the angel Michael is answerable. This latter stone is mounted in a frame with a cross upon the top. This stone was given to Dee by

a friend (9a, 10) and was the one which Dee brought out when Kelly made his first attempt at scrying (although the more hastily drawn marginal sketch at this point shows the frame without a cross). Kelly used this stone in the ensuing Actions but on 21 November 1582 the spirit Carmara declared that he had brought another stone to be used with the Holy Table:

E[dward] K[elly] loked toward my west wyndow, and saw there first vppon the matts by my bokes a thing, (to his thinking) as big as an egg: most bright, clere, and glorious: and an angel of the heyth of a little chylde holding vp the same thing in his hand toward me...I went toward the place, which E K pointed to: and tyll I cam within two fote of it, I saw nothing: and then I saw like a shaddow, on the grownd or matts hard by my bokes vnder the west window. The shaddow was rowndysh and less then the palm of my hand. I put my hand down vppon it, and I felt a thing cold and hard: which (taking vp I) perceyued to be the stone before mentioned. (59b, 34-46)

Whether the crystal now in the British Museum is one of these stones is uncertain. In 1801 Francis Barrett stated that 'although Dee's manuscripts and his Magic Crystall are to be seen at the Museum there are six or seven individuals in London who assert they have the stone in their possession; thereby wishing to deceive the incredulous and tempt them to purchase at an enormous price'.¹⁵ The particularly interesting part of this claim is that many people claim to have the magic crystal that belonged to Dee whereas Sloane MS 3188 clearly shows that he possessed at least three if not more. This claim that Dee used one stone has resulted in Dee being attributed with owning a mirror of black obsidian and Aztec origin which is also now in the possession of the British Museum.

This mirror has been dated as having been made between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries and probably brought back to Europe after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes circa 1520-1530. During the seventeenth century the mirror entered the collections of the Earl

of Peterborough and then by inheritance came into the possession of Lady Elizabeth Germain (d. 1769). In 1770 it was purchased in an auction by the Duke of Argyle and then in 1771 presented by his son Lord Frederic Campbell to Horace Walpole.¹⁶ The mirror is displayed with a leather case bearing Walpole's initials. The history of the mirror then becomes obscure and Hugh Tait, Deputy Keeper of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum, who purchased the mirror in October 1966 described it in a radio interview as follows:

It was last seen in the Magniac Sale at Christie's in 1892, and after that, it disappeared from view into private hands. There were various stories that it had gone to Germany and had been lost during the war, and no one really had the slightest idea where it had disappeared to. One afternoon, I was sitting in my room, and a messenger came in to say that there was a gentleman in the waiting-room asking to see me. He said he was a bishop and, even more surprisingly, that he had Dr Dee's magic mirror with him—and would I like to see it? Of course, I was a little sceptical. I asked him to be shown in, and we went straight ahead from there, and it turned out to be a winner. There we were looking at the lost—so thought lost—Dr Dee's mirror.¹⁷

All this proves, however, is that the British Museum is in possession of the mirror that Walpole once possessed and which Walpole claimed was that used by Dee in the Actions. Yet such is the power of the legend that Dee used a mirror that Dr Peter French (author of John Dee) said in the same interview that on the Holy Table 'would have been placed either the mirror or one of Dee's crystals, as he had several objects in which to try to conjure angels' and Hugh Tait categorically stated 'there is no doubt that it is the missing mirror of Dr Dee'. Tait was rather more circumspect in his written article on the subject, however, admitting that 'the references to specific objects are so vague that in no instance [in Dee's writings] can the obsidian "mirror" be recognised'.¹⁸

Dee did possess a glass that he was particularly proud of and

when the Queen visited him on the day of his first wife's burial she requested Dee to fetch the 'glass so famous, and to shew unto her some of the properties of it' (CR, p. 17). The Queen went away pleased and it can hardly be that Dee presented to the Queen such a dangerous practice as the summoning of angels, for which he always used a scryer anyway. It seems more likely that this glass is that which Dee declared in the 'Preface' to Euclid that anyone could come and see at the house of a gentleman (himself) as proof that glasses exist of such a nature that 'if you...proffer, with dagger or sword, to foyne at the glasse, you shall suddenly be moved to give backe (in maner) by reason of an Image, appearing in the ayre, betweene you & the glasse, with like hand, sword or dagger, & with like quicknes, foyning at your very eye' ('Preface', sig. B4v). Yet even this glass does not suggest itself as that now in the British Museum for Dee is here clearly talking about a concave mirror and the black obsidian mirror is flat. Furthermore on 4 December 1588 Dee gave the glass 'so highly and long esteemed of Our Quene' to Kelly, who gave it to Lord Rosenberg who subsequently gave it to Emperor Rudolf II (Diary).

Dee's customary word for a mirror is 'a glass' and it is clear from various marginal sketches that when he refers to a 'stone' he means a spherical crystal. The speculum brought by the angel might be the obsidian mirror in that Dee at first mistakes it for a round shadow, and it is cold and hard, yet he does consistently refer to it as a stone and in Kelly's description it is only 'as big as an egg'. The light from the west window would cause the top half of a spherical crystal on the floor to be more translucent in the top half than the bottom, which would partly show the 'matts' or floor, and consequently it might at first be taken for a round shadow. A marginal note to

fol. 101b declares that the angelic stone is half an inch thick, which agrees well with the 13mm thickness of the obsidian mirror, but this is also the approximate diameter of the spherical crystal in the British Museum. The black obsidian mirror has a diameter of 189mm and a handle making it 226mm long and this is considerably larger than Dee's description of 'less then the palm of my hand'. Furthermore in the Action of 17 July 1607 in which Bartholomew Hickman acted as scryer, Dee reminisced about his days with Kelly and showed Hickman his 'Jewel that was brought', which had by then been 'set in gold' (TFR, p. *40). Thus while it is not impossible that Dee did own the obsidian mirror and used it in the Actions, the evidence connecting the mirror with Dee is very circumstantial.

i) Magical Books

The Actions with spirits gave rise to a number of magical books in manuscript that form an integral part of the magical system that was evolved through the Actions. Of the four books discovered in the secret compartment of Dee's chest (all now bound as Sloane MS 3191), three are derived from the Actions subsequent to the last in Sloane MS 3188. These three are entitled 48 Claues angelicae, Liber scientiae auxilii et victoriae terrestris and Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes.

The 48 Claues angelicae contains eighteen invocations and a further invocation suitable for any of thirty 'Aethyrs' in angelic (Enochian) language and were extracted from the tables in the Book of Enoch (see below) delivered to Kelly by the angels. These invocations were derived from the Book of Enoch by angelic help between 13 April and 13 July 1584 (see TFR, pp. 78-209) and were at that time translated into English. The 48 Claues angelicae contains an interlineated

translation of the angelic language and it is from this book and the occasional other translated word in the Actions that our entire knowledge of the Enochian language, peculiar to Dee's magical experiments is obtained.

The Liber scientiae auxilii contains details of spirits governing ninety-one various parts of the world along with the angelic names for those places. The first twenty-nine 'Aethyrs' govern three places or countries each while the last governs four. This book dates from the same period as the 48 Claves angelicae as does the Tabula bonorum angelorum which gives thirty-six invocations in Latin to angels with various responsibilities in the universe. The Tabula bonorum angelorum is intimately connected with the Liber scientiae auxilii in that it begins with a square filled with letters from which the angelic names for the places governed by the 'Aethyrs' are drawn. These books, which are in Dee's hand, have no relevance to Sloane MS 3188, however, for they contain a distinct change in direction of the magical system that was evolved during the Actions. The system expounded between 1581 and 1583 concerns the forty-nine spirits whose names all begin with the letter 'B' and the Sons and Daughters of Light but by 1584 these have faded into the background in favour of exposition of the roles and associates of the thirty 'Aethyrs', all of whose names are of three letters.

The fourth book, De heptarchia mystica, is of prime concern, however, for it contains a summary of the information delivered concerning the forty-nine spirits whose names are to be found in the table at fol. 41a. The work contains invocations to the kings and princes among these spirits for each day of the week and shows the seals of the kings that are referred to but not described in Sloane MS 3188. The book is essentially a collation of the information

given in the Actions between 29 April and 21 November 1582 and is in Dee's hand. Its purpose was to provide Dee with ready access to all that he needed for the practical summoning of these spirits without having to search through his copy of the Actions in which the information is delivered in bits and pieces.

The Book of Enoch, otherwise called Liber Logaeth ('Book of the Speech of God') and Liber mysteriorum sextus et sanctus, is in Kelly's hand and consists of forty-nine 'calls' in the angelic language (delivered first between fols 80b-85b of Sloane MS 3188), ninety-five tables of squares (forty-nine by forty-nine), filled with letters and occasionally numbers, two similar tables unfilled, and four tables drawn twice as large as the others. This is rather at odds with the description that the book should consist of forty-nine leaves, one of which is secret and 'neyther is, was or shalbe known' (62b, 28-29). The series of 'calls' in prose takes up ten folios and the remaining ninety-five small tables and two empty ones take up forty-eight leaves, while the last four tables take up eight leaves. The series of prose 'calls' is the first Enochian table but would not fit comfortably within a square, and only if it were put in a square and the last four tables disregarded, would the angelic statement be true.

A series of 'calls' in the Enochian language were delivered between 29 March and 6 April 1583, but this was a kind of prologue to the work and is not included. The book was to be written in forty days¹⁹ and was finished on 6 May 1583, the thirty-ninth day after the very first Enochian 'call' was delivered on 29 March (Good Friday). The instruction that the book should be written in 40 days was given on 6 April, the day when the second series of calls, which begin the Book of Enoch, were first delivered, and there is a

great deal of confusion as to when the forty days are supposed to begin (see 90a, 15 and Commentary). In the event the period extended from 29 March to 6 May so far as the delivery of all the angelic 'calls' and tables is concerned, but from 6 April to 6 May so far as the actual contents of the Book of Enoch are concerned. The tables were to be written from right to left and from the back of the book to the front, but Sloane MS 3189 is written normally. A further instruction was given that the book was to be rewritten in Enochian script, but despite frequent offers of angelic help (see TFR, pp. 78, 160 & 120), it does not seem to have been done. The first copy of the book was to be bound in blue (see fol. 79b) while the copy in Enochian script was to have a 'skin' of silver (TFR, p. 159) which Dee was in fact unable to have done successfully (TFR, p. 217).

The book was to serve several purposes. It was from the tables that the invocations in the 48 Clauae angelicae were obtained by finding letters in various squares according to a kind of grid reference and each table had reference to particular kinds of spirits (see 88b, 1-2). The main purpose however was in conjunction with the Holy Table to herald in a new age upon earth that would precede the end of all things. The details of how the book was to be used for this purpose were never delivered and the Actions continually delay imparting specific information as to the precise use of the Book of Enoch in this respect.

Arising from the delivery of the Book of Enoch is the angelic or Enochian language. This language presents the greatest single problem of Dee's Actions with spirits. It is supposed to be the language that the angels taught to Adam and, to expropriate Francis Bacon's words, constitutes the 'knowledge by the light whereof man did give

names unto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according to their proprieties'.²⁰ It is supposedly the language in which things are named as they are, rather than as they seem to be or by any arbitrary process. Enochian embodies that direct name-thing relationship which in Plato's Cratylus is suggested as existing in the earliest form of language and which in the Christian tradition is supposed to be the language before Babel. One thing in which the kabbalists were united was their view of Hebrew as 'language in its purest form', having a mystical value because it 'reflects the fundamental spiritual nature of the world',²¹ but Enochian supposedly surpasses Hebrew as 'the holy tongue'. It is a language of magical power not only because of its closeness to the divine source of all creation but because the words themselves are more than representative:

This kind of verbal force rests on a theory of language according to which there is a real, not conventional, connection between words and what they denote; moreover the word is not merely like a quality of the things it designates, such as its colour or weight; it is, or exactly represents, its essence or substance. A formula of words, therefore, may not only be an adequate substitute for the things denoted, but may even be more powerful.

(Walker, pp. 80-81)

Being the language of the angels, Enochian is seen as a language of creation, far more powerful than any corporeal object or action.

Two main problems present themselves with the Enochian language: firstly what is the source of the language's unique script, and secondly is it indeed a language in any formal sense? The Enochian alphabet consists of twenty-one characters, the addition of a dot to a previous character making an alphabet corresponding to twenty-two letters as in Hebrew (see fol. 64b). Each character has a name that has no apparent connection with the phonetic nature of the language. According to Dr Donald Laycock 'the characters have a

general appearance rather like Samaritan — though their stylised forms may also suggest Ethiopic. The scripts they do not resemble are proto-Semitic, or Egyptian hieroglyphic, or Sumerian — a resemblance that would seem essential if we were to believe that the script, like the angelic language, dated back to "before the Flood", and was the most ancient script of mankind'.²² Dr Laycock wonders whether Dee might have been in possession of an Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch which he could not read, but also points to Dee's copy of the Voarchadumia of Pantheus (1530) which is now in the British Museum and which contains an alphabet designated as Enochian (p. 14).

Meric Casaubon stated that the Characters 'are no other, for the most part but such as were set out and publised long agoe by one Theseus Ambrosus out of Magical books',²³ referring to the Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacum atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas of Theseus Ambrosius Albonesius (Papiae 1539), which contains a large number of alphabets both real and magical. Yet for all that there are occasional resemblances between these various scripts and the Enochian characters, no one script is consistently similar enough to warrant its being regarded as a source and Dr Laycock's conclusion that 'the Dee/Kelley alphabet may be fanciful, based perhaps on subconscious recollection of similar scripts in earlier literature' (p. 29) is as yet the only one that may sensibly be reached.

One possible source that may be mentioned, but which unfortunately is impossible to check is the so called Book of Soyga that Dee possessed but which is now lost.²⁴ The book was first mentioned by Dee on 10 March 1582 when Uriel informed Dee that the 'book was revealed to Adam in Paradise by God's good angels' (fol. 9a) and that the angel Michael could interpret the book which is later referred to by Dee as being 'written in tables and numbers' (fol. 89b).

By 18 April 1583 Dee is unable to find the book and is told that 'a minister has it' and that 'it is nothing worth' containing 'false and illuding witchcrafts' (fol. 89b). The book evidently gives an alphabet which like Enochian gives names to the letters, for Dee says on 29 April 1583 that as far as he remembers 'Zadzaczadlin was Adam by the Alphabet thereof' (fol. 96a), zad being the letter 'a', zac being the letter 'd', and lin being the letter 'm'. I.R.F. Calder suggests that 'there is a possibility that "Soyga" might have been the famous Voynitch MS. which has defied all decipherers from Kircher onwards' (II, 481) but Ashmole noted that 'the Duke of Lauderdale hath a folio MS. which was Dr. Dee's with the words in the first page: Aldaraia sive Soyga vocor' ('I am called Aldaraia or Soyga').²⁵ The book was recovered by Dee on 19 November 1595 (see Diary) but its whereabouts now are not known. How much this book may have provided a source for the Enochian language cannot be determined, but the fact that the book is in tables and numbers and clearly uses a new alphabet suggests that it may have had some influence on Kelly, though clearly not enough for Dee to note any resemblance between his 'Arabic boke' and the subsequent angelic book.

In his preface to his Enochian dictionary Donald Laycock argues that there are two versions of the angelic language: the first consists of the two series of forty-nine calls that are in Sloane MS 3188 and the second is the series of calls with interlineated translation that are in 48 Claues angelicae. He reaches this conclusion on the grounds that the first series of calls are largely pronounceable and that some of the texts run fluently with much phonetic patterning such as repetition rhyme and alliteration, while the second version of the language is taken letter by letter from the tables of the Book of Enoch and 'is less pronounceable than the old [language], and it

has awkward sequences of letters, such as long strings of vowels (ooaona, mooah) and difficult consonant clusters (paombd, smnad, noncf)' (p. 40). It is altogether 'the type of text produced if one generates a string of letters on some random pattern' (p. 40). This is undoubtedly true and it makes sense to regard the language which makes up the squares and the language which is subsequently extracted from the squares as different, but I have in my Commentary ignored this distinction since words do appear in the first version which also appear in the second version. They are not many and are often minor words such as conjunctions and prepositions, and at one point their juxtaposition does not make sense (see Commentary to 84b, 35), but it is the nearest that I can go to making any sense of the angelic language in Sloane MS 3188 and Dee does not note any distinction to be made between the two versions. He is informed that both are the language taught to Adam by the angels and still used by the angels, and squares filled with words of one language can be used to extract further words in the same language.

The translation of the calls in 48 Claues angelicae is rather free, often using five or six words in English to one in Enochian (e.g. cordziz is translated as 'man', 'reasonable creature', and 'the reasonable creatures of Earth, or Man'). Also of the 250 or so different words that appear, more than half only make a single appearance, but nevertheless given the freedom of the translation there is a marked consistency in the meanings given to each word at separate appearances.²⁶ Also some words have definite roots (e.g. gohus, 'I say'; gohe or goho, 'he says'; gohia, 'we say'; gohol, 'saying'; gohulim, 'it is said'), but there is no consistency of endings either for verbs or nouns with clear roots. Dr Laycock's conclusion on the grammar is that it 'suggests English with the

removal of the articles ('a' and 'the') and the prepositions—and with a few irregularities thrown in to confuse the picture' (p. 43).

What then are we left with? Finally it is difficult to say more than that we have examples of one or possibly two closely related languages that are coherent enough to seem like a genuine language and yet irregular enough to defy the rules that we come to expect from a language in any formal sense. It is like a language but is not, and would seem to be a few steps further on from such nonsense language as Lewis Carroll's 'slithy toves'. The first series of calls are the kind of nonsense language one might make up if asked to speak and the 48 Clauae angelicae contains the kind of nonsense language one might write, while taking some care to remember the arbitrary meanings of words used more than once. Whether it originated from Kelly's conscious or unconscious thought is hard to determine, but the mixture of regularity and irregularity in the language might provide further evidence that Kelly both genuinely went into a trance like state and consciously fabricated visions and revelations to maintain his credibility in the eyes of Dee.

j) The Holy Table

Dee first received instructions for making the Holy Table as early as 10 March 1582 (see fol. 10a), but the early plan was later declared to be false and it was not until 26 April 1583 that he received the altered details for the table which brought together certain elements of the system of 49 spirits and the Enochian script (fol. 94b). An engraving of the table in its final form is to be found in A True and Faithful Relation and a photograph of this engraving forms the appendix to the text of the manuscript in this thesis. The table is

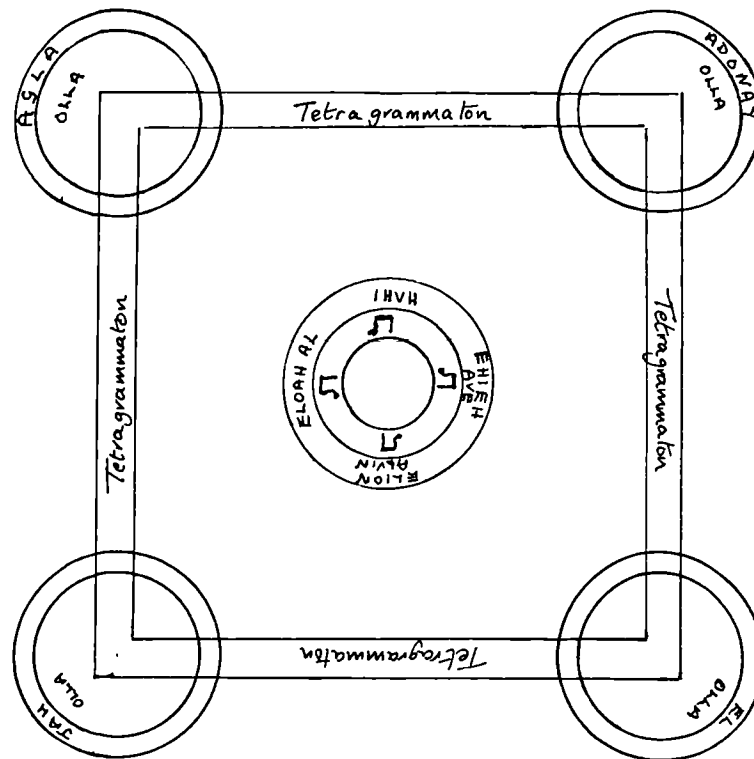
no longer extant, although it did survive Dee and was seen by Ashmole in John Cotton's Library.²⁷ He described it as being 'composed of 3 boards broad=waies beside the borderings; of a fine grained wood & very heavy, but the scent now lost'.²⁸ The original angelic instruction was for the table to be made from 'swete wood' (fol. 10a). Ashmole measured the table meticulously and all measurements that I shall give derive from his description. The top of the table was $7\frac{1}{10}$ inches thick and measured $36\frac{1}{4}$ by $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches, the angelic instruction being that it should be three feet square. The table had a border $\frac{4}{10}$ inches in from the edge which contained letters in Enochian script painted in red about $\frac{8}{10}$ inches high within two blue lines $\frac{3}{20}$ inches thick. The squares within which the letters were placed were one inch high and $1\frac{3}{20}$ inches wide. Twenty one letters were painted down each side, those at each corner being the letter 'B' in Enochian script on a gold background. The letters were obtained from a table rearranging the letters of the kings and princes of the forty-nine spirits whose names all began with the letter 'B' (see Commentary to 95b, 7).

The plan of the table in English letters at fol. 94b is mostly correct, with the exceptions that it does not show the positioning of the seven Ensigns of Creation and that all the letters are written from left to right. In the engraving of the table in TFR with its Enochian characters the letters in the top and bottom borders are written from right to left and the letters in the side borders are not only written from right to left but have exchanged sides as well. This latter move is rather hard to justify as consistency would also demand that the top and bottom borders were exchanged which they are not. The letters in the central square of twelve divisions are also written from right to left in the Enochian version but they maintain

their own lines. These central letters are also taken from a table of the kings and princes of the 49 spirits (see 102a).

Ashmole noted that the Ensigns of Creation were painted with blue lines and red letters and that the lines of the pentagon were painted gold. The central square was $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide and 11 inches high and had lines of blue and letters of gold. He further noted the sizes and exact locations of the seven Ensigns of Creation. The table was on a 'frame' which was two feet eight inches square and two feet seven and a half inches high and had four feet each 3 inches square. When Ashmole saw the table in John Cotton's library he found laid on the frame 'the wooden case which holds the Table of Practise, the foreside of which is closed with 3 Iron Hasps, to be locked vp with 3 Padlocks'. The pedestal or frame was made at Lasko in Poland in 1584 (see TFR, p. 69).

I have not been able to trace any specific sources for the design of the Holy Table, but the main scheme of a square table standing upon four small seals and upon which a larger seal would be placed could be derived from a manuscript copy of the Key of Solomon. In The Secret Lore of Magic Sayed Idries Shah reproduces a diagram from a version of the Key of Solomon in the Bibliotheque Arsenal.²⁹ It is not dissimilar from the sketch on fol. 10a, although the latter is in three dimensional perspective and contains no letters (the letters on this first version of the table seem to have been written down separately and discarded when they were later declared to be wrong). The diagram in the Key of Solomon uses conventional magical inscriptions:



Whether Kelly saw a version of the Key of Solomon is uncertain but it was a common manuscript work and most persons involved in occult matters would have read it at some time. The details of the inscriptions of the seals and Holy Table are Kelly's own, however, arising from the system that was gradually evolved during the Actions.

It is uncertain whether the Holy Table was ever in fact used in an Action. Dee was instructed that the table, the seals, the Character of Dignification and the Book of Enoch were to be used when 'the time' had come, but the date for their use is continually delayed and no specific reference remains in Dee's writings to their being employed. In the Action of 22 June 1583 Dee wrote that Kelly 'sate in the green Chair, by the holy Table, or place' (TFR, p. 25), but if this is a reference to the Holy Table itself, it only seems to indicate its being kept near at hand in readiness. The ordinary table upon which the stone was usually set (see fol. 47b) might in the circumstances be regarded as holy. The lack of a capital letter

for 'holy' may or may not be significant here.

The instructions which Dee received concerning the use of the Holy Table and its associated magical implements are specific in relation to their arrangement, but vague with regard to actual ceremony, particularly concerning the Book of Enoch. The table was to stand upon the four smaller versions of the Sigillum Dei, which were to be placed in small wooden protective covers (fol. 101b). The instructions for the first version of the Holy Table stated that red silk, two yards square, was to be laid underneath the table and a square piece of red silk 'somewhat broader then the Table' and with a tassel at each corner was to be laid over the large version of the Sigillum Dei, which was itself placed in the centre of the table (fol. 10a). Later it is declared that 'the sylk, must be of diuerse cullors, the most changeable that can be gotten' (fol. 101b). The Character of Dignification was to be placed over the seal (fol. 101b), but whether this would be over or under the silk is not clear. On top of this character was to be set the angelic stone, presumably in a frame. This was the arrangement to be used in conjunction with the Book of Enoch, but if Dee wished to engage the help of one of the 49 spirits he was to stand upon the relevant circular seal, place the individual seal of the king or prince upon the Holy Table and use the appropriate invocation from De heptarchia mystica. Presumably in this case the Character of Dignification and angelic stone would not be necessary; the instructions for these were received after the instructions concerning the invocation of the kings and princes.

In the event the Actions continued in the customary fashion and Dee was kept busy noting down more and more information concerning spirits in the universe, particularly when the magical system took a turn in direction with the introduction of details of the thirty

'Aethyrs'. The Holy Table does not seem to have been used as commanded and it would appear that Kelly introduced the thirty 'Aethyrs' when it seemed that the practical operation of the already accumulated magical implements might be put to the test.

1. Female spirits are rare in most religious and occult traditions, although Arabic legend presents female angels under the title of benad hasche, 'Daughters of God'. Dee accepts the Daughters of Light without question, but later quotes to a female spirit named Galvah the opinion of Trithemius that 'never any good Angel was read of to have appeared forma mulieri' (TFR, p. 12).
2. In his Dictionary of Angels (New York and London 1967) Gustav Davidson cites Trithemius as his source for this information.
3. Occ. Phil., III, xxiii, p. 413.
4. See fol. 94a ff. and TFR, pp. 1-3 & 28 ff.
5. Concerning the significance of the number 7, see Commentary to 18a, 32.
6. Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, The Book of Formation, translated by Knut Stenring (London 1923), plate facing p. 24.
7. G.G. Scholem comments on The Book of Formation that the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are put forward in their various permutations as being 'the signatures of all creation ...the structural elements, the stones from which the edifice of Creation was built' and that 'a similar tradition of the creative power of letters...is applied to the Torah: "No one knows its [right] order, for the sections of the Torah are not given in the right arrangement. If they were, everyone who reads in it might create a world, raise the dead, and perform miracles"'. (On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, translated by R. Manheim (London 1965), pp. 167-168).
8. See Sloane MS 3191, fol. 49.
9. This change in direction occurs after the Action of 23 March 1583 (fol. 60a ff.).
10. Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London 1970), p. 30. See also Occ. Phil., II, xiii, p. 212.
11. Occ. Phil. I, xlix, p. 94.
12. 'Behold...here...through this...by the end of measure, you will measure us and our power' (fol. 58a).
13. A Dictionary of the Bible, edited by James Hastings, 5 vols, II, 198-199.
14. My principal sources for what follows are Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1972) and F. Sherwood Taylor, The Alchemists (London 1951).

15. Francis Barrett, The Celestial Intelligencer (London 1801), p. 196.
16. See Hugh Tait, 'The Devil's Looking Glass: the Magical Speculum of Dr. John Dee', Horace Walpole, Writer, Politician and Connoisseur, edited by Warren Hunting Smith (New Haven & London 1967), pp. 195-212, pp. 210-211.
17. 'Dr Dee's Magic Mirror—Reflecting Two Elizabethan Worlds', The Listener, 23 & 30 December 1976, pp. 824-826, p. 824.
18. Tait, 'The Devil's Looking Glass', p. 206.
19. On the significance of the number forty, see p. 123 above.
20. Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis, edited by Arthur Johnston (Oxford 1972), p. 6.
21. G.G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (New York 1941, 3rd edition 1967), p. 17.
22. Donald C. Laycock, The Complete Enochian Dictionary (London 1978), p. 28.
23. TFR, 'Preface', sig. E4r.
24. Dee refers to it as his 'Arabic boke', but Soyga has no meaning in Arabic and no identification has been forthcoming from contacts I have used at the University of Baghdad.
25. Sloane MS 3677, fol. 142.
26. The language does not appear to be cryptographical despite Dee's statement to Kelly that he obtains 'some understanding of those holy words, their significations by reason of due applying the English to the word Christus', which is itself not very comprehensible (TFR, p. 91).
27. There is a late 17th century copy of the table in marble and somewhat smaller in size (600mm x 463mm) in the University of Oxford Museum of the History of Science.
28. Ashmole MS 1790, fols 55a-56a.
29. Bibl. Arsenal MS 2348, cited in The Secret Lore of Magic, edited by Sayed Idries Shah (London 1957, reprinted 1974), p. 28.

VI

MOTIVES

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When General and Rare Memorials was published in 1577, Dee described himself as being 'now at the end of his dayes' (sig. A.1r). He was fifty years of age and had endeavoured throughout his life to use his 'great Talent of knowledge and Sciences' to make 'the State Publik of this BRYTISH MONARCHIE, to become florishing, in HONOR, WEALTH, and STRENGTH,' only to be rewarded with the indifference of 'the Ingratefull and Thankles' and the aspersions of 'the skorners and Disdainers of such his faythfull enterprises' (sigs A. 4r-v). In the face of worldly disappointment and ingratitude for all his labours, he turned, in what he thought were his last years, from the realm of secular experiment and discovery to that of spiritual exploration and experience. It is plain from the protestation to God in Sloane MS 3188 that Dee had come to reject the secular search for truth in favour of divine revelation, largely on account of the lack of success attendant upon the former in providing the answers that he desired concerning the nature of the world:

O God Almighty, thow knowest, and art my director, and witnes herein, That I haue from my youth vp, desyred and prayed vnto the for pure and sownd wisdome and vnderstanding of some of thy truthes naturall and artificiall: such, as by which, thy wisdome, goodnes and powre bestowed in the frame of the world might be browght, in some bowntifull measure vnder the Talent of my Capacitie, to thy honor and glory, and the benefit of thy Servants, my brethern and Sestern, in, and by thy Christ our Saviour: And for as much as, many yeres, in many places, far and nere, in many bokes, and sundry languagis, I haue sowght, and studyed; and with sundry men conferred, and with my owne reasonable discourse laboured, whereby to fynde or get some ynckling, glyms or beame of such the forsaid radicall truthes: But, (to be brief) after all my forsaid endeavor I could fynde no other way, to such true wisdome atteyning, but by thy extraordinary gift: and by no vulgar Schole doctrine, or humane Invention. (fol. 7a)

In the light of Dee's many protestations at the ingratitude of his fellow countrymen¹, we may infer here that Dee was disillusioned with his earlier labours as much on account of lack of recognition

as on account of the failure of such labours to reveal God's 'radicall truthes'. Furthermore Dee's pride, which is often revealed in his defences of his work and reputation, shows through here in the statement that he has ever desired that God's 'wisdom, goodnes and powre...might be browght' not in some little but 'in some bowntifull measure' within his capacity. Dee's deep involvement with scrying arose in part from such disillusionment with the world of man and such expectations from the world of God, and also from two other causes, both promises: one was the promise of worldly wealth in the guise of buried treasure and the Philosophers' Stone; the other was the promise that a new age was soon to dawn.

Even in the existing Action with Barnabas Saul mention is made of some kind of hidden treasure (fol. 8a), although this may be a reference to stolen goods whose location was being sought through scrying, in line with popular tradition. In the Actions with Kelly the promise of discovering buried treasure plays a prominent part for a while. When Kelly returned to Dee after spending the winter of 1582-1583 at Blockley, he brought with him a book, a scroll written in strange characters (see fols 86b & 87a), and some red powder in a vial. These articles were to provide distractions from the main course of the Actions, for the scroll supposedly led to some buried treasure, while the book and the red powder were declared to contain the secret of the Philosophers' Stone.

It did not take Dee long to decipher the scroll which yielded a text in Latin which purported to have been written by a Dane who desired to let his countrymen know where to find some treasure that he had buried, and which to this end was accompanied by a diagram showing ten places (fol. 86b). The place names still do

not make much sense when deciphered, but I think I have identified one as Meon hill near Blockley (see Commentary to 88a, 23). Dee was in constant need of money to finance his laboratories and library and so was eager to take advantage of this discovery made by Kelly. Kelly's report that he had been led to find the articles by a spiritual creature further convinced Dee that God was helping him and he requested angelic help to obtain the treasure. At first the angels were scornful of his worldly desires, but eventually he was informed that if he gathered a sample of earth from each of the ten places shown on the scroll and invoked the aid of the spirit Blisdon, the prince who governed the earth and all subterranean things, and his ministers, the treasure would be brought before him (fol. 90b).

Without explanation the ten places become eleven places with the addition of Newbury (see 103b, 10 & 106b, 3), but evidently Dee or Kelly was able to make some sense of the place names deciphered from the script on the scroll, for on 8 May Dee wrote that he was going to 'lack the Cumpany of E K going for the Erthes...and to be away 10 or 12 dayes' (fol. 104b). Kelly returned with 'the erthes of the eleuen places before specified' on 23 May (fol. 106b), and Dee had been able, almost to his own surprise, to obtain a licence from 'the Governor and assistants for the Mines Royall' for digging for treasure.² When Dee asked in an Action of 28 May precisely what was to be done with the samples of earth, he received the evasive answer that they would have perished had they remained in situ (TFR, p.9). By 22 February 1584 Dee was still no further forward in the treasure hunt and asked the spirit Madimi 'that the Danish Treasurer [sic for treasure] in England, in the ten places, (seised on by E.K.) might be brought hither

[to Lasko], very speedily; whereby A[lbert] L[asky] might redeem Kesmark and Lasko lands, mortgaged: and also pay his debts in Cracow' (TFR, p.69). The reply was again evasive, warning Dee that 'small are the Treasures of this world, in respect of the wisdom that judgeth NATURE' (TFR, p.71). Thereafter the matter is dropped and Dee presumably lost hope of the spirits providing him with material wealth from this source. There is little credence to be attached to Aubrey's note of Meredith Lloyd telling him of 'John Dee conjuring at a poole in Brecknockshire, and that they found a wedge of gold; and that they were troubled, and indicted as conjurers at the assizes; that a mighty storme and tempest was rayseed in harvest time, the countrey people had not known the like'.³

Dee refers to the book which Kelly found as the Book of Dunstan (63a, MN14), which may have been a copy of the MS Tractatus... de lapide philosophorum attributed to that saint.⁴ The book was very nearly burnt when on 12 December 1597 Kelly spilt his oil lamp:

The spirit was spilled out, and burnt all that was on the table where it stode, lynnen and written bokes, — as the bok of Zacharius with the Alkanor that I translated out of French for som by spirituall could not; Rowlaschy his thrid boke of waters philosophicall; the boke called Angelicum Opus, all in pictures of the work from the beginning to the end; the copy of the man of Badwise Conclusions for the Transmutation of metalls; and 40 leaves in 4^o, intituled, Extractions Dunstani, which he himself extracted and noted out of Dunstan his boke, and the very boke of Dunstan was but cast on the bed hard by from the table. (Diary)

A red powder was also discovered with the book, but Kelly kept these two things close to himself. In the Action of 18 April 1583 the spirit Il 'advised E K to communicate to me [Dee] the boke, and the powder, and so all the rest of the roll, which was

there found: saying, true friendes vse not to hide any thing eche from other' (fol. 90b), but by 5 May he had not done so and it seems that they were not being kept at Dee's house (see 103b,10-14).

The powder was supposed to be the Philosophers' Stone, or something very close to it, and presumably a major problem, to which the Book of Dunstan would provide the answer, was how to perform the exercise of projection. Kelly claimed to have made nearly an ounce of gold on 19 December 1586 (Diary) and it seems that Kelly was still keeping the powder to himself. On 4 April 1587 Kelly was informed that if he wished to take no more part in the Actions he should bring the powder before the angelic presence in fourteen days' time. At this point the experiments with Arthur Dee as scryer begin and it is on 18 April that Kelly comes with the powder 'as he was bidden to do', but in fact resumes scrying in place of Arthur (TFR, p.*9). He is informed that the powder 'is appointed for a time by God, and cannot be used until then, without offence', but it is plain that he has already used some of it, probably in his 'successful' transmutation, for he is accused on 4 April of being 'a false steward, in taking out of that which is not thine own'. When Dee noted in his Diary on 10 May 1588 that 'E.K. did open the great secret to me, God be thanked!' he probably meant that Kelly shared the powder as well as the secret of its use, for on 4 February 1589 Dee gave to Kelly 'the powder, the bokes, the glas and the bone, for the Lord Rosenberg' (Diary). This is the first reference to Dee ever being in possession of the powder himself.

Yet for all the promises of material wealth, Dee's prime motive for becoming so heavily involved in the practice of scrying was of a spiritual nature. The angels prophesied that a new era

was about to come and their prophecy was a confirmation of the expected rather than a declaration of the unforeseen. In 1572 a new star had been observed in the heavens and five years later a comet blazed across the sky, which 'unduly bred great feare and doubt in many of the Court' (CR, p. 21). It seemed evident that the commotions in the heavens must foreshadow some great event upon the earth, and Dee's judgement given to the Queen upon the significance of the comet allayed fears that the event was to be some great disaster. It is most probable that Dee predicted quite the opposite, his judgement being founded upon the theory of cycles in world history. He ended the 'Aduertisement to the Reader' of General and Rare Memorials with a note that it was printed five years after the appearance of the new star and Anno Mundi 5540 (sig. e.*4r). The star and the dating from the beginning of the world were evidently important to Dee and, even though he apparently first attempted scrying as early as 1569 (see 3188, 5b), suggest that his efforts with Saul and Kelly may have been motivated by some factor connected with such a view of time and history. The conviction that a new age was on the way was founded upon the doctrine of trigons, which had been set forth by Alkindi:

The smallest cycle was of 20 years between the conjunctions of two major planets, which governed momentous events, largely internal to a country, changes in rule, rebellions, political crises etc; a second was known as a Triplicity, or Trigon, representing three signs of the ecliptic of 120° , and lasted 240 years — (the time between the occurrence of a major conjunction within a trigon, and a similar conjunction in the preceding one), and governed the great revolutions, and transference of hegemony; the third and greatest cycle was of four complete trigons, (the entire Zodiac) each of which represented one of the four elements, and which commenced with the fiery trigon, and the recurrence of which including the effects of the other two, also implied the appearance of a new religion that would thereafter dominate the world in the ensuing great period. It lasted 960 years... This cycle of 960 years should then be completed in 1582. (Calder, I, 787-788).

Tycho Brahe, the astronomer with whom Dee was long in correspondence, also interpreted the new star as signifying great political and religious changes. With a caveat that he could not pronounce his judgement with any absolute certainty, he declared that the star's 'shining forth with a joviall, cleere, and bright lustre, doth seeme to fore-shew a prosperous and peaceable state in humane affaires', while its 'Martiall fiery glistening' signified that 'some violence and trouble shall be intermingled with it'. Most importantly it seemed to portend 'a great alteration, if not an utter subversion of Religion', but for the better.⁵

Warming to his task he stated that 'there shall happen a great Catastrophe and universall change throughout all the chiefe Nations of the Earth, especially those which are situated Northward from the Aequinoctiall' and that this period of turbulence and resettlement would occur between 'the yeare of Christ 1583, and in the latter end of the Moneth of Aprill' and 'the yeare 1592' (p. 16). By an alternative method of computation Brahe arrived at a date of 1632 for the demonstration of the 'force and influence of this Starre', but at all events his prophecy foretold the calm before the Apocalyptic storm:

All the significations of this Star doe depend on the Trigonall revolution and transmutation of the Planets. And therefore if this bee the seventh revolution of the Planets, the first whereof was in the dayes of Enoch, the second in Noahs time, and at the Vniversall Deluge, the third in the dayes of Moses, when the people were freed from the Egyptian servitude, the fourth in the dayes of the Kings of Israel, the fift in the time of Christs Incarnation, when the Roman Empire was at the highest, and the sixt in the dayes of Charles the Great, when the Empire was translated to the Germanes, this last and seventh, is as it were the Sabbath to all the rest, and doth foreshew something of greater consequence than all the former, wherein it is worthy of observation, that all the trigonall revolutions, as the first, third and fift, were very profitable and advantagious to the world; and so it is not unlikely that this seventh

revolution being an unequall number, doth point out and fore-signifie the happy estate of things which is to come. Neyther doth this conjecture differ from the Prophetes of wise men which were illuminated with divine knowledge, who have foretold, that before the universall consummation & end of all things, there shall be a peaceable and quiet age wherein the divers formes of Religions and politike government, shall be changed and be made agreeable and conformable to the will of God. (pp. 17-18)

While Brahe admits that 'it is impossible to limit and set forth a certaine time for the consummation of the world, which onely dependeth upon the good-will and pleasure of God, and is not reuealed to the angels, and therefore cannot be knowne by any humain prescience' (p. 20), he does prophesy that the world is about to enter upon a final phase, similar to the final religious empire predicted by Guillaume Postel,⁶ and this echoed Dee's own nationalistic and religious hopes and ideals.

Dee believed that Britain and her queen were especially favoured by God and sought the establishment of a British Empire which would bring a Christian peace to the world, with all the benefits of safe passage and security that had been the promise of the Roman Empire.⁷ His proposal in GRM for the building of a permanent navy was part of a farsighted plan to establish this empire in which Elizabeth would become the leader of a new Christendom:

I haue oftentimes...and many wayes,looked into the State of Earthly Kingdoms, Generally, the whole World ouer: (as far, as it may, yet, be known to Christen Men, Commonly:) being a Study, of no great Difficuly: But, rather, a purpose, somewhat answerable, to a perfect Cosmographer: to fynde hym self, Cosmopolites: A Citizen, and Member, of the whole and only one Mystical City Vniuersall: And so, consequently, to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall Gouernment therof, vnder the King Almighty: passing on, very swiftly, toward the most Dreadfull, and most Cumfortable Term prefixed:

And I finde...that if this Brytish Monarchy, wold heretofore, haue followed the Aduantages, which they haue had, onward, They mought, very well, ere this, haue surpassed (By Justice and Godly, sort) any particular Monarchy, els, that euer was on Earth, since Mans Creation. (GRM, p. 54)

He further notes in the margin that Britain 'might haue Contended for the Generall Monarchie' of the world. As early as 1570 Dee had outlined a plan to 'make this kingdome flourishing, triumphant, famous and blessed'⁸ and had advocated further attempts to open up sea routes to the Orient whence 'verely, might grow Commoditye, to this Land chiefly, and to the rest of the Christen Common wealth, farre passing all riches and worldly Treasure' (Preface, sig. A.1). His plans did not just encompass an increase in merchant trade. By 1582 he was heavily involved with the plans for the voyage to be undertaken by John Davis and Adrian Gilbert to discover a North-West passage to Cathay and in March of that year he interpreted an angelic reference to the new age as signifying that 'this Adrian Gilbert shall cary the name of Jesus among the Infidells to the great glory of god, and the recouery of those miserable people from the mowth of hell into which, for many hundred yeres past, and yet contynually they do fall' (Sloane MS 3188, 65a).

While any Christian message carried by Gilbert would have been entrenched in the Protestant church, Dee's vision of 'one Mysticall City Vniuersall' was not founded upon any of the particular parties on either side of the religious schism. His angel-magic was closely related to an ardent desire to see the establishment of a universal religion in a reformed and reunited Christendom. Scrying embodied direct communication between man and the angels of God and the immediacy of this relationship with the Almighty classes Dee with such unorthodox religious thinkers as Pico della Mirandola and Giordano Bruno. Bruno believed that by embracing the magical religion of the world as expounded in the Asclepius attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, the world could be reconciled

in a pristine religion of universal love and gnostic revelation.⁹ It cost him his life on a charge of heresy. Dee's concept of a universal religion did not involve an abandonment of Christianity such as Bruno advocated, but included a similar emphasis upon universal love and direct revelation from God. The Church was 'the number of those which are governed by the Holy Ghost' irrespective of their nominal religion (TFR, p. 386). The articles of Dee's faith were summarily expressed by the alleged voice of the 'Holy Spirit' in an Action of 10 April 1586:

Whosoever wishes to be wise may look neither to the right nor to the left; neither towards this man who is called a catholic, nor towards that one who is called a heretic (for thus you are called); but he may look up to the God of heaven and earth and to his Son, Jesus Christ, Who has given the Spirit of His abundant and multifarious graces to those who live a natural life in purity and a life of grace in their works.¹⁰

Although Dee satisfied Bishop Bonner of his religious orthodoxy while Mary held the throne, there is no evidence that he was a Catholic recusant under Elizabeth. It may be safely assumed that when Elizabeth took the crown Dee embraced the religious stability that came with the Anglican church. His touchstone was that of righteousness and his complaint was ever against self-righteousness. On that basis there was to him no difference between catholicism and protestantism. On the Continent he adopted the religion of the country in which he stayed. On 19 April 1585 he took 'Ghostly counsel of Doctor Hannibal, the great Divine, that had now set out some of his Commentaries upon Pymander, Hermitis Trismegisti' and the next day 'received Communion at the Bernadine's, where that Doctor is Professor' (TFR, p. 397). He was fully prepared that the angelic communications should be revealed to the worthy, irrespective of their nominal allegiance:

May, therefore, our catholic brethren who are truly Christian, faithful, and distinguished by divine charity, (at a time appointed by God) be enriched by the knowledge of this short narrative, and may they be filled with very great consolation. (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 227)

Faith in God and Christ and charity to mankind were the criteria by which Dee judged his fellows and were the foundations from which he hoped to see a reformed and universal religion constructed.

When he finally answered the request of the Papal Nuncio at Prague for a meeting, he failed to find such qualities in the emissary from Rome.¹¹ On the contrary he sensed that the meeting was a trap and denied any angelic suggestions for the reformation of the Catholic Church to which the Nuncio referred (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 232). Kelly, who was also present, went so far as to declare that the problems of the church lay with its ministers. He informed the Nuncio that if 'the doctors, shepherds, and prelates mend their ways...a great and conspicuous reformation of the Christian religion would be brought about most speedily' (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter, p. 233). While it did not help their case with the Nuncio, who evidently wished to gain evidence for a charge of heresy, it was a statement with which Dee heartily concurred. Kelly had for some time before been making confession to a Jesuit priest, but had suddenly been refused absolution unless he admitted that the spirits with whom he dealt were evil and not God's angels. On hearing about this Dee was enraged and wrote:

Surely, all pious and true catholics will be grieved with us that, whilst pure religion is so sadly afflicted, so great a scandal should have arisen in the Catholic Church from which the fruit of the true, pure, and very great charity of God (namely a remission of sins and peace of conscience) should have issued.¹²

Dee had no quarrel with the Jesuits in principle,¹³ finding them to be 'mostly devout and peaceful men', and he believed that they

too would 'grieve that...so poisonous an egg should have been laid, whence, one must fear, a horrid basilisk, a great danger to very many people, will be born' (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p.237).

Dee's vision of a universal religion even included the generally despised Jews, for he expressed a desire that his Monas hieroglyphica should convince the Hebrew cabalists that 'the same most benevolent God is not only [the God] of the Jews, but of all peoples, nations, and languages' (Monas, p. 133). Indeed the reconciliation of the Jews with Christianity was a prerequisite of the final era of world history as Tycho Brahe pointed out:

If any doe object, that the end of the world is at hand, and that therefore there will not be sufficient time to bring about a new Change, I answere, that Saint Paul doth assure us, that the Iewes shall be engrafted into the Church, before the finall consummation of the world, which (by humaine coniecture) must needs require some time before, they being scattered over the whole face of the Earth, shall be gathered into one Nation. (Astronomical Coniectur, p. 20)

A prophecy of the Jews' restoration was voiced in the Action of 5 April 1583 (fol. 77b) as one of many prophecies of the coming of a new age upon earth.

The establishment of a universal religion and a final period of harmony in the world are strongly emphasised in the Actions and the angels proclaim that the information that they are delivering to Dee and Kelly is central to the arrival of this new era. Even in the Action with Saul, Dee equated the informing angel Annael with his office as 'Chief governor Generall of this great period, as I haue Noted in my booke of Famous and rich Discoueries' (fol. 8b). According to Agrippa the angels Zaphiel, Annael, Zadkiel, Michael, Cumael, Gabriel and Raphael each governed in turn a period of 354 years and 4 months, and Dee's date of 1577 as 5540 Anno Mundi fits

into this scheme whereby the third full cycle is in progress, Annael governing between 1348 and 1702. Trithemius stated that a new age would begin in 1525, 6732 years after the Creation and assigned the angel Gabriel as governing angel of this penultimate period of the world cycle, but Dee dated the Creation 1243 years later than Trithemius (see GRM, sig. E*3v). Later in the Actions there is some doubt expressed as to whether the chief governor of this period is Baligon, Carmara (an alias of Baligon) or Annael (see 51a, 20-21 & MN21).

Kelly seems to have realised rapidly that Dee would trust him most if what the angels delivered was at least in part a confirmation of what Dee already believed and promises of the fulfilment of some of his dearest hopes. In the second day's Action that took place with Kelly as scryer, on 11 March 1582, the angel Michael informed Dee that 'the world begynns with thy doings' (fol. 11a), and during the subsequent Actions the two participants were repeatedly told that they had been cleansed of sin and elected by God to a special purpose. The angels had separated them from 'fyled and wycked persons' (fol. 17a) and called them 'our fellows, and seruants to God' (fol. 24a). They would be considered 'in this world, and in the world to come' and were 'to be ioyned so, and in mynde vnited' as if they were 'one man' (fol. 32a). The spirit called Hagonel declared that his 'tyme is yet to come' (fol. 45a) and promised Dee a power equivalent to his own to throw down princes and kings (fol. 45b). Dee was also promised the sight of God (videbis Deum) by the same spirit (fol. 49a), and that he should be 'glutted, yea filled' and 'puffed vp with the perfect knowledge of Gods Mysteries, in his mercyes' (fol. 50a). Such promises were precisely what Dee wanted to hear

and the exposition of the orders of spirits that supposedly governed the world which accompanied these promises led him to believe that he was indeed being granted the revelation of divine secrets. He was promised the ability to 'cast oute the powre of all wicked spirits' (fol. 57a) as the disciples had been (Luke IX, 1) and the secret of the coming of the new age was revealed to him by the spirit called Bynepor, who declared that there should 'begynne new worldes, new peoples, new kings, knowledge of a new Government', this never having been 'reuealed no not in these last times, of the second last world' (fol. 56b).

Central to the coming of the new era was the Book of Enoch. The book had long been lost to man, but now that a new period of universal religion and world government was approaching, it was once again revealed to man and was to be instrumental in heralding in the new age. There was to be a time 'of great miserie, to the heavens, to the earth and to all liuing Creatures' in September 1583 according to a prophecy of the angel Uriel made on 6 April 1583 (fol. 79b), but the Book of Enoch was the key to salvation. It would heal all things ('omnia resanabit') according to Raphael (fol. 62a) and held the 'holy key, which vnlocketh the secrets of god his determination, as concerning the begynning, present being, and ende of this world' (fol. 101a). Dee had been 'hardened as the flynt' by God 'to be the first erthely witnes' of these divine secrets (fol. 92b), while the Lord had already sent his angels 'to viset the earth, and to gather the synnes thereof to gither' to be 'wayed before him in the balance of Justice', for all the nations of the world should know 'that there is a GOD which forgetteth not the truth of his promise' (fol. 101a).

Dee was instructed to have all the magical instruments including

the Book of Enoch in the angelic script, ready for use by 1 August 1583 (fol. 101a) and from the Book of Enoch would 'be restored the holy bokes, which haue perished euen from the begynning, and from the first that liued'. The book would also enable 'perfect truth' to be deciphered 'from imperfect falsehode, True religion from fals and damnable errors' along with 'all Artes: which are propre to the vse of man, the first and sanctified perfection: Which when it hath spread a While, THEN COMMETH THE ENDE' (fol. 101b). All this would be achieved in one month (101b, 29). There are no records of Actions during August of that year and in the Action of 12 April 1584 the spirit Nalvage declares that he has no power after 'the first day of August next' (TFR, p.77). On 7 May 1584 Gabriel informs Dee that the calls of the 48 Claues angelicae will be delivered 'before August' (TFR, p. 117), but by then Gabriel has already answered a query by Kelly about the year of this important month ('By August next?') by saying: 'What if it were a hundred Augusts?' On 16 November 1582 it had been declared that 'the tyme of Gods visitation' was '8', and Dee speculated that this might mean 1588 or eight years from the time of the Action, 1590. The Action of 26 October 1583 seems to confirm the date of 1588, for the spirit Il declares that 'these five years to come, are the Deliverance' (TFR, p. 43). The Antichrist is declared to be alive in the Action of 12 April 1584 (TFR, p. 76), although he is not the Pope as many believe (TFR, p. 412), and the period of the 'time to come' is said to be 950 years by Gabriel on 2 June 1584. It may be that Dee's return to England in 1588 was partly prompted by the failure of these prophecies to prove true, but there is so much vagueness, contradiction and postponement in the angelic prophetic utterances that Dee's hopes are unlikely to

have been attached to a specific date. Frequently the angels accuse Kelly of wickedness in spite of his election and this is taken as a cause for events not occurring as foretold and at other times attention is diverted from a prophecy by the introduction of a large quantity of new revelation of spirits, such as the thirty 'Aethyrs'. Despite all the reversals of fortune Dee suffered in his partnership with Kelly, he never seems to have lost hope and the dissolution of the partnership was more at Kelly's instigation than Dee's. Even as an old man of eighty Dee seems to have maintained some hope of all that was promised proving true, as the Action of 17 July 1607, with Bartholomew Hickman as the scryer, shows:

After dinner (horem circiter 4 .) as Bartholomew
and I talked of divers my doings with Mr. Kelley,
a Voice produced this to Bartholomews hearing,

A Voice.....I, John Dee, I have heard you all this
while.

Thou shalt be able to do, and to see, and to understand
more than all this thou has spoken of, according as
God hath promised thee.

△. Blessed be his holy Name, and his mercies be
magnified on me, to the honour of his holy Name.
Amen. (TFR, p. *40)

Dee then shows Hickman the angelic stone with an apparent enthusiasm of remembrance of those days with Kelly, and Hickman takes the advantage by seeing Raphael in the stone who promises another journey abroad.

The motives for Dee's Continental journey lie in the promise of a new age upon earth. Dee and Kelly are portrayed as purifying the world by their celestial knowledge in visions shown on 4 May and 15 November 1582 (see fols 42a-42b and 45a) and the missionary nature of the Actions is emphasised by the election of Adrian Gilbert to some of the secrets of the divine revelations and his choice as an emissary of God's word to the people of Atlantis.

Dee's works consistently show that he was most willing to share his knowledge with others, particularly for the good of his country, the 'Preface' to Euclid being a most notable example. The celestial knowledge delivered in the Actions was less for common consumption and early in the Actions with Kelly, Dee was enjoined to secrecy (fol. 17a), but in the Action of 10 April 1586 angelic command is in agreement with his own desires:

When it was enjoined on me by God Almighty to commit those things to writing which He communicates to us from His immense goodness and most abundant grace, I deemed it my portion...to be extremely careful lest by me, or by my negligence, they be offered to the handling or the sight of the proud, those without faith, the ungrateful, the envious, the impure, or of any unworthy person. Yet, surely, we were expressly instructed from the very first beginning of that our vocation and function, and we have known ever since, that it is in accordance with our duty and most agreeable to the Divine Majesty to show those mysteries in passing, to relate them compendiously, or to give a very brief account of an action (as we call it) (transcribed or translated from our authentic original autograph), to the worthy, namely to those who are pious, humble, modest, sincere, conspicuous in Christian charity, enlightened, to those to whom words of divine life and truth are, or may be, a very great consolation, and also sometimes (by a singular divine providence or command) to certain men of yet another kind.

Dee continues by writing that he has no doubt that in the fullness of time much that he has received from the angels 'will be published and known to the world in a most abundant, manifest, complete and effective way' to the eternal honour and glory of God (Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 226). The promise of a new age and a universal religion together with Dee's desire to share his knowledge with his fellow man (perhaps as much motivated by desire for renown as by a genuine philanthropy) are primarily responsible for his move to the Continent. Although he had made the acquaintance of Albert Lasky who at first promised to be a rewarding patron, there is good reason to suppose that Dee's journey to Europe was more in response to the religious and political climate

in central Europe than to any particular request from Lasky.

R.J.W. Evans notes that under the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian II 'the Austrian Habsburg territories supported a great range of religious opinion in the sixteenth century',¹⁴ and continues:

The further practical consequence of such variegated patterns of faith was a widespread de facto toleration: not a merit of the Reformation, but the very atmosphere in which it operated, tantamount to its lack of any clear focus. 'In affairs of religion everyone does as he pleases, and thus something like peace obtains between the parties,' observes one censorious Catholic, and the thought is seconded by a Lutheran: 'In Austria there is almost too much liberty in religion, since all those who have been banished from the rest of Germany for whatever reason flood to it with impunity.' 'At Prague, that populous and dirty place,' noted the Huguenot Prince de Rohan in 1600, 'there is no German sect of which one cannot find some trace.' After the 1520s little religious violence broke out and serious persecution was very rare throughout the century, Ferdinand's attack on the Bohemian Brethren for a few years from 1547 being the clearest case. The traditional Catholic edifice still stood, partly because it enjoyed the protection of the dynasty, more importantly because no single Protestant group had the strength or organization to replace it.¹⁵

Maximilian himself was 'remembered as a tolerant ruler who early in life so favoured the Lutherans as to be suspected of apostasy' and he patronised 'a court which, in its composition and mentality, represented the very image of educated moderation'.¹⁶ This atmosphere of toleration and learning undoubtedly impressed Dee during his earlier Continental journey for he dedicated his Monas hieroglyphica to Maximilian and travelled to Presburg to present him with a copy. In 1583 the Emperor was Rudolf II, who had by then moved the seat of his government from Vienna to Prague, and whose court was famous as a centre of alchemy, the court of William Rosenberg being a close second. If Dee was looking for a part of the world where the first seeds of the new age might grow, the Habsburg Empire might well have seemed to provide the most fertile soil. England, as he pointed out in General and Rare

Memorials, had missed many chances of becoming a centre of a new commonwealth, and had not provided him with the recognition that he sought. There is also a crucial piece of evidence noted by R.J.W. Evans that Dee had from an early time seen the Habsburg Empire as an important centre in the prophesied changes: Evans points to Dee's hand-written entries in his own copy of a prognostic almanac De coniunctionibus magnis insignioribus superiorum planetarum (Lauingen 1564) by the Czech astrologer Cyprian Leowitz:

The book contained a series of prophecies about events to be expected from 1564 to 1584; Dee evidently bought it at the time, and it is striking how he has underlined especially those passages connected with Habsburg or Bohemian history. Leowitz himself forecast some violent change to coincide with the new trigon which would enter the heavens in 1584, and he was very probably a personal acquaintance of Dee's. Besides being well known to his contemporaries in England and abroad he was the author of a tract on the casting of horoscopes to which Dee had appended one of his published works in 1558.¹⁷

When the angels' prophecies confirmed those that had been made by Brahe, Leowitz, and others, Dee's eyes must have turned towards Bohemia and the arrival of Albert Lasky may have seemed something more than mere chance.

Lasky was soon permitted to attend the Actions and for a time was given a central part to play in the coming of the new age. He was to be 'an arme vnto [God's] chosen' and when a reply was sought to Lasky's questions of whether he might succeed Stephen Bathory as King of Poland and/or gain the throne of Moldavia,¹⁸ Raphael declared that 'the Lord hath sayd: Thow shalt gouern a people: a time there is, which is prefixed: and it is the course of the sonne: Then shall it be sayd vnto him, O King' (fol. 107b). Subsequently the prophecy is extended to cover rule over twenty-one kingdoms (TFR, p. 17), and on 26 June 1583 Lasky was told in his own presence that he would have the kingdoms of both Poland

and Moldavia. A year later Lasky had fallen from angelic favour because of an unwillingness to turn wholeheartedly towards God, although the relationship with Dee was not entirely broken. By August 1584 the Emperor Rudolf was chosen to be exalted, if he would listen to God's word transmitted through the angels and Dee and Kelly (TFR, p. 220) but Rudolf's toleration of Dee's activities soon became strained and by 28 February 1585, two months before Rudolf finally expelled Dee and his company, the angels were promising Rudolf's destruction and the placing of King Stephen in his stead (TFR, pp. 380-381). The angels do seem to favour whomever seemed at the time to offer most hope of lucrative patronage to Dee and Kelly. The reasons for Rudolf's tiring of Dee's presence are made clear by a passage R.J.W. Evans cites from the Lutheran leader Budovec:

A learned and renowned Englishman whose name was Doctor De: came to Prague to see the Emperor Rudolf II and was at first well received by him; he predicted that a miraculous reformation would presently come about in the Christian world and would prove the ruin not only of the City of Constantinople but of Rome also. These predictions he did not cease to spread among the populace.¹⁹

Dee had set out for Bohemia with Lasky confident in the truth of the angels' prophecies and with a strong sense of a missionary purpose that would be justified by subsequent events. As it turned out he just became an embarrassment to be moved on while Kelly, who claimed the secret of the Philosophers' Stone, became someone worth holding on to, even if imprisonment was the surest means of keeping him.

Curiously the fortune attendant upon Dee in his pursual of the new age prophesied by the Actions is almost foretold by a passage in his 'Preface' to Euclid:

Diuine Plato, the great Master of many worthy Philosophers, and the constant auoucher and pithy perswader of Vnum, Bonum, and Ens: in his Schole and Academie, sundry times (besides his ordinary Scholers) was visited of a certaine kind of man, allured by the noble fame of Plato, and the great commendation of hys profound and profitable doctrine. But when such Hearers, after long harkening to him, perceaued, that the drift of his discourses issued out, to conclude, this Vnum, Bonum and Ens, to be Spirituall, Infinite, Aeternal, Omnipotent, &c. Nothyng beyng alledged or expressed, How, worldly goods: how worldly dignitie: how, health, strēgth or lustines of body: nor yet the meanes, how a merueilous sensible and bodyly blysse and felicitie hereafter, might be atteyned: Straightway, the fantasies of those hearers, were damp't. (sig. 4r)

Fortified by the frequently Neo-Platonic utterances of the angels who categorically state that all things are one ('Omnia vnum est', fol. 21a), Dee saw himself almost as a new and Christian Plato who could dispense to the world a wisdom and knowledge that was not even revealed to Plato himself. Unfortunately his hearers did not want the 'Spirituall, Infinite, Aeternal, Omnipotent' but rather those things that make up material success and happiness, and unlike Plato's visitors these men were in positions of power. Dee was not himself without a certain desire for materialistic welfare, but he saw this as both necessary for his search into the secrets of nature and attendant upon his Christian mission. Plato was not a hermit living sparsely in some cave; as a dispenser of God's wisdom Dee foresaw for himself a position of respected elevation. There is something pathetic in the degradation of his final years.

1. See Preface, sigs Alv-A2r; GRM, sigs Δ. 1r-e*4r; CR, pp. 20-38, and the Discourse Apologeticall.
2. All such digging came under the heading of mining rights and so had to be licensed.
3. Aubrey, Letters Written by Eminent Persons, II pt. 1, p. 312.
4. See Fell Smith, John Dee, p. 193.
5. Tycho Brahe, Learned: Tico Brahae his Astronomicall Coniectur of the New and Much Admired [Star] which Appered in the Year 1572 (London 1632), facsimile edition, The English Experience number 86, (Amsterdam and New York 1969), p. 15.
6. See Guillaume Postel, Le Thresor des Prophéties de L'Univers, edited by François Secret (The Hague 1969) and Calder, I, 789-791.
7. For a detailed study of Dee's imperialist ideas, see E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583 (London 1930), pp. 75-139, and Peter French, John Dee, pp. 183-199.
8. This treatise is now BM Cotton Charter XIII, art. 39.
9. For Bruno's religious ideals, see Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London and Chicago 1964), pp. 205-359.
10. Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 245.
11. The Nuncio was Germanus or Germanicus Malaspina, Bishop of San Severo from 27 April 1583 until his death in 1604.
12. Josten, 'Unknown Chapter', p. 237.
13. Dee wrote a letter to Burghley on 22 August 1589 proclaiming the treachery of a Jesuit named Parkins, but the letter shows no intrinsic antipathy towards the Jesuit order (Lansdowne MS 61, art. 58, fol. 159).
14. R.J.W. Evans, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchies, 1550-1780 (Oxford 1979), p. 11.
15. R.J.W. Evans, ibid, p. 13.
16. R.J. W. Evans, ibid, pp. 19-20.
17. R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II and his World (Oxford 1973), p. 221.
18. Stephen Bathory, Prince of Transylvania was elected to the Polish throne in 1575. On his death in 1586 there were many quarrels as to who should succeed to the throne the election eventually falling upon a Swedish prince who took the title of Sigismund III. Moldavia lies in the north-east part of Roumania and between 1561 and 1563 was ruled by the voivode Jakob Basilikos who had the

'tacit support of Maximilian II, the full co-operation of the Zborowskis and Albrecht Łaski in Poland' in the introduction of Utopian reforms (R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II, p. 108). Basilikos was murdered in 1563 and voivodes were created and deposed in rapid succession by the Ottoman Divan, but in 1600 the country was annexed to the 'Great Dacian' realm of Michael the Brave in Walachia.

19. R.J.W. Evans, Rudolf II, p. 245. To this may be added a comment in a letter from Arthur de Champernon to Walsingham dated 19 June 1584 (O.S.) and sent from Prague: 'I found an Englishman with his family at Cracow, called Mr. Dee, who, as is said, has followed Laski, quitting a certain estate for uncertain hope. It is to be feared that he will repent of it at leisure' (Calendar of State Papers: Foreign, 1583-1584, p. 558).

CONCLUSION

In his five volume collection of the writings of Elias Ashmole C.H. Josten commented of Dee's magical manuscripts:

The significance of many details, especially of the diagrams, in the manuscripts is not easily understood, and it may be said here that a future biographer of John Dee will have a difficult task in eliciting from these papers an account of the precise nature and methods of the magical system to which they refer.
(I, 186)

Since Josten made that remark there has appeared Peter French's well-documented study of Dee, but necessarily the details of Dee's magical dealings are subordinated to the study of the whole man. What I have attempted to do in this thesis is to provide the first step towards an account of the precise nature of the magical system of the Actions with spirits, but the task is by no means completed. When Dee undertook his Continental journey the system with the 49 spirits was superseded by the system based upon the roles and powers of the 30 'Aethyrs', to which the three manuscripts besides De heptarchia mystica that were discovered at the same time as Sloane MS 3188 belong. Little has been done to illuminate the darkness of this later magical system, from which other surviving artifacts, such as an engraved gold disc in the British Museum, arise.

In providing this transcript of Sloane MS 3188 with an introduction and commentary I have had two principal aims: one was to provide a transcript of a manuscript that must be read by anyone wishing to study Dee's life and which is consequently showing some signs of deterioration; the other has been to explain as far as possible the obscurities of the contents of that manuscript. Those more versed in the complexities of Renaissance occult philosophy will see influences and sources where I have seen none, but it has not been my aim to judge the place of Dee's magical

dealings within the context of the whole of Renaissance occult philosophy. I.R.F. Calder's thesis 'John Dee Studied as an English Neo-Platonist' is still the major work on that subject, to which must be added the important research contained in the many books of Frances Yates. What I have tried to do, however, is to provide an intelligible background to the manuscript, both in terms of the generalities of Renaissance magical thought and in terms of the art of scrying.

In time evidence may come to light which proves or disproves my hypothesis of the provenance of the manuscript. Its appearance in the Sloane collection is puzzling and I would like to be certain of the answer. It is also possible that in time new information concerning the lives of Dee and Kelly may appear, perhaps from records and documents pertaining to the Court of Rudolf II, although a letter from Dr. Miro Velinský of the State Library of Prague assures me that their 'specialists reported that they know of no manuscript, written by or relating to the above mentioned authors, which could be found on the territory of Czechoslovakia'. Yet the heart of my study has always been the manuscript itself and the elucidation of the magical system it contains and I hope that all suggestions of optical fraud or cryptography may now safely be dispelled and that the nature of the surviving magical instruments may now be more fully understood.

Any detailed study of the magic of the Actions with spirits is as much a study of Edward Kelly as of John Dee. It is in the chapters giving the background to Renaissance magic and the practice of scrying and advancing the case that one of the strongest motives for Dee's involvement was his adherence to the belief that a new age was soon to dawn (itself a subject for a thesis) that I hope I

have gone some way towards answering the questions posed by the manuscript's very existence—in particular the question as to what it was that bound Dee, who knew and corresponded with so many learned men, to this strange and volatile man from Worcestershire. Amidst all the turmoil of their relationship Kelly represented to Dee the hope that his most cherished dream might come true, a hope that Dee felt no other source was able to offer.

COMMENTARY

fol. 2a.

(Folios 2a-3a are in Ashmole's hand).

1) 20th]

The use of a colon in abbreviations was common during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, The Handwriting of the Renaissance (republished New York 1967), p. 142).

2) Samuel Story]

Story remained in Ashmole's service until the latter's death and was employed as clerk in the office of the Comptroller of Excise. He is referred to in Ashmole's will as 'My Cosen Samuel Story' (see Elias Ashmole, His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work, edited by C.H. Josten, 5 vols (Oxford 1966), I, 161 and IV, 1800, 1832 & 1892).

4) vizt]

An abbreviated form of 'videlicet'.

5) w^{ch}]

'which'.

22th]

The superior 'th' derives from the reading of the ordinal as 'the two and twentieth' (Tannenbaum, p. 154).

an^o]

'anno'.

6) 1583.]

A period before and after both Roman and Arabic numerals was common practice (Tannenbaum, p. 141), although Ashmole generally omits the preceding period.

7) printed Booke]

A True and Faithful Relation of what passed for Many Yeers between Dr: John Dee...and Some Spirits, edited by Meric Casaubon (London 1659). Ashmole's own copy is Bodleian Ashmole MS 580 and bears signs of collation with the original manuscripts, which were in the Cotton library, and with Casaubon's own copy which is now in the Bodleian Library (shelf mark D. 8. 14 art).

8) Cawsabon]

Casaubon's name is sometimes found in the form of Causabon. The use of 'w' for 'u' is rare in Ashmole's writings, though very common in Dee's.

9) The erasure may be a superior 'ch', since the preceding ampersand is blotted and appears to be partly over another letter. Ashmole may first have written 'w^{ch}', but then realised that this suggested that the later conferences were 'bound vp in this Volume'. He then substituted the ampersand. Lines 1-9 are still ungrammatical, however, and although 'and which' would help to solve the problem, the sentence would have benefited from a total reorganisation.

10-21) 48 Claues angelicae, Liber scientiae auxilii et victoriae terrestres (as Dee entitled the work), De heptarchia mystica,

and the book of calls, Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes are now BM Sloane MS 3191. Their significance is discussed in chapter V of this thesis. Ashmole's title of Liber scientia terrestris auxilii et victoria is unintelligible and he appears to be writing from memory.

12-16) See TFR pp. 418-419. The papers of 10 April 1586 in which the command to burn the books was given are entitled Praefatio Latina in actionem and are now Ashmole MS 1790, Art. 1. An English translation is entitled 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', edited by C. H. Josten, JWCI, XVIII (1965), 223-257.

13) ~~comanded~~^{ff}]

A contraction of 'commanded'.

14) The crosses refer to the marginal note.

19-20) Squares...Cross]

See Sloane MS 3191, fols 53b-54a.

24) William Lilly, the astrologer, who was born on 30 April 1602 at Diseworth in Leicestershire and died at Hersham, near Walton-on-Thames, on 9 June 1681, having moved there permanently in October 1665 (DNB).

25) freind]

'friend'. The form appears again at line 25 on folio 2b and similar inversions of 'i' and 'e' occur quite frequently in Dee's manuscript (e.g. 7a, 27).

Thomas Wale]

I have not been able to uncover any further information

concerning Wale than Ashmole gives here.

26) Ma:^{ties}]

'Majesty's.'

fol. 2b.

2) Ashmole was appointed Commissioner of Excise at Lichfield in 1644 and then at Worcester in 1645. After the Restoration he became successively Comptroller and Accountant-General of Excise (DNB).

3) Broadstreete]

Now Old Broad Street, leading off Threadneedle Street.
exchang]

Absence of a final 'e' is quite common in manuscript material of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

5) This work was first printed in 1672 by J. Macock for Nathaniel Brooke. It brought Ashmole a considerable amount of fame and the King's favour.

9) s:^d]

'said'.

14) M:^r Jones]

I have discovered no information on Mr. Jones beyond what Ashmole gives here.

15) Lumbardstreet]

Lombard Street, by the Royal Exchange.

17) Adle Streete]

Addle Street is off Wood Street by London Wall and lies close to both Lombard Street and Old Broad Street.

19) It is possible that this chest may have been used to transport all the angelic instruments, such as the Holy Table and its frame, during Dee's travels abroad. The measurements given show that it is not the same as the box in which Dee brought all his papers to be burnt on 10 April 1586 (Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter', p. 249).

22) ben]

'been'.

23) John Woodall]

John Woodall (1556-1643) lived in Wood Street after returning from abroad and worked hard to cure the plague in 1603. On 30 September 1641 he was appointed Examiner of Surgeons. He died leaving a daughter and three sons (DNB). For his influence and work see A. G. Debus, 'Woodall, Paracelsian Surgeon', Ambix X (1962) and G. L. Keynes, 'Woodall, Surgeon', Journal of the Royal College of Physicians II (1967).

23-25) The confusion over parentheses in these lines is unremarkable in manuscript material.

26) probabble]

A manuscript error rather than a conscious spelling, this orthography not being found in the OED.

27) It is unlikely that the chest would have been sold before Dee's death considering what Dee knew it contained, although some books from his library were disposed of by his daughter Katherine during his final years (Smith MS 95, fol. 131a, and Ashmole MS 1788, fol. 149a). Had she been aware that the chest contained her father's dearest possessions, Katherine would not have sold it, and were she unaware, it is hard to believe she would have disposed of it when more money could be obtained from her father's books.

MN7) Sence]

'Sense', i.e. Ashmole's sense of Mr. Wale's kindness.

80^l p Anūm]

Eighty pounds per annum.

fol. 3a.

1) John Woodall died in September 1643 and so if Ashmole is correct in saying that the discovery was made four years before the Fire of London (September 1666), the chest must have been purchased not more than nineteen years before the secret papers were found. Alternatively the papers were discovered in 1663, three years before the Fire, but twenty years after Woodall's death and the sale of his goods.

5-6) Box or Till]

'Box' refers to an open container space and 'till' is generally used to refer to a small compartment or drawer (OED). The chest was therefore probably divided into compartments, under which the secret drawer lay.

12-13) Chaplet...Cross]

There is no reference in any of Dee's writings to these articles, although they are customary properties of a natural and Christian magician. According to Agrippa the olive tree holds occult lunar properties (Occ. Phil. I, xxiv, p. 54), whereas cedar wood, of which the chest was made, holds solarian properties (Occ. Phil. I, xxiii, p. 52).

- 17) An elementary culinary practice to prevent the pastry adhering to the container in which it is baked. Concerning missing papers see Introduction pp. 10-15.

21) hapned]

'happened'.

- 24) Moorfields is just to the north of London Wall and quite close to Lombard Street.

fol. 4a.

5) + 1 +]

The numeral 1, indicating the first book.

fol. 5a.

- 1-42) Besides my other extemporary prayers and more vehement cries to God, this one [following] was used most often. I would say my morning and evening prayers asking for wisdom. In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Almighty, eternal, true and living God, reach down to help me: Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Lord God of Hosts,

hasten to my aid. Glory be to God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, for ever and ever. Amen. Teach me (O creator of all things) to have correct knowledge and understanding, for your wisdom is all that I desire. Speak your word in my ear (O creator of all things) and set your wisdom in my heart. O Lord Jesus Christ (who art the true wisdom of your eternal and almighty father), I most humbly beg your divine majesty that you deem it fitting to send me the speedy help of some pious wise man and skilled philosopher for understanding and perfecting most fully those things which will be of greatest worth in the increase of your praise and glory. And if no such mortal man is now living upon the earth who may be fit for this task, or who may have been assigned by your eternal providence to the performing of that service for me, then truly I most humbly, most ardently and most faithfully beg your divine majesty to deem it fitting to send me from the heavens your good spiritual ministers and angels, namely Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel: and (by your divine favour) whatsoever other true and faithful angels of yours, who may fully and perfectly inform and instruct me in the true and exact knowledge and understanding of your mysteries and great works (concerning all your creatures, their natural properties and best employments) and of such things as are necessary for we mortals to know, to the praise, honour and glory of your name, to my firm consolation and (through me) the consolation of the greatest number of your faithful [servants], and to the confusion and overthrow of your enemies. May this be done [through the names of] Jehovah Zebaoth, Adonai and Elohim. O blessed, most blessed and almighty Trinity, grant to me (John Dee) this petition

in such manner as will most greatly please you. Amen.

From the year 1579 in approximately this manner, in Latin or English (and furthermore in another singular and particular manner around the year 1569, sometimes for Raphael and sometimes for Michael) it was most pleasing to me to pour forth prayers to God. May God grant his wonderful mercy to me. Amen.

4) Oro]

A contraction for 'oravero'.

Vespertinaq]
K

'Vespertinaque'. It is unlikely that 'matutina' and 'vespertina' refer specifically to the services of matins and vespers, although Dee's morning and evening prayers probably contained part of these services. These two words occur in several places in the Vulgate Bible (see Psalm CXL, 2, and Exodus XIV, 24) but were also used in the Rule of St. Benedict (see Ch. XIII, 12). From these two uses the words passed into common usage among the monastic writers, but referring to the specific morning and evening services. Anyone familiar with the monastic life as it was lived in England until 1540 would naturally associate the words with the set services, but Dee was not a strict adherent to any of the orthodox churches. Furthermore he states that the prayers are for wisdom, which suggests that he had to some extent devised his own prayers, in the manner of that given here. For these reasons I have translated the words as 'morning and evening prayers', feeling that this conveys the true sense of Dee's usage.

8) Jehouah Zebaoth]

'Lord God of Hosts' is the translation accorded to this name by the Authorised version of the Bible.

11) semp]

'semper'.

saeculorū]

'saeculorum'.

12) ô rerum oīm]

'oh rerum omnium'.

12-14) Recte...fige]

These sentences are frequently repeated in later Actions as justification for the angelic conferences (see for instance 7a, 49-50).

22) Dee requests the help of angels 'very humbly' (humilime),

but it is plain that he believes that no-one on earth may help him despite his plea between lines 15 and 19.

His pride in believing himself to have reached the outer boundaries of mortal knowledge is apparent.

25) Concerning the offices of these angels see Commentary to fol. 6b and Introduction p. 117.

30) noīs]

'nominis'.

33-34) Adonay, Elohim]

The names used by the Jews to avoid pronouncing the

Tetragrammaton, translated as 'Lord' and 'God' respectively in the Authorised version of the Bible.

39) Concerning Dee's early scrying experiments, see Introduction pp. 49-54.

fol. 6a. (This page is written in a normal fashion from left to right, but I have reproduced it horizontally in order to demonstrate the spatial relationships of the notes).

1-5) Angelus...praedominans]

'The angel or intelligence^{now} governing the whole world'.

Dee notes on fol. 8b that Annael is the governor 'of this great period', by which he means that Annael governs the period of world history in which Dee lived. Over each period there ruled a different angel. Concerning these world cycles and their governors see Commentary to 8b, 26 and Introduction pp. 161-165.

Etymologia...Misericors]

'Etymology: the favoured [or] wretched mercy of God', i.e. the mercy of God shown to both the elect and the sinner.

6-10) 4. Angeli...Quaternarij]

'4 angels presiding over the four corners of the heavens, as Agrippa notes in the scale of four'. Agrippa's discussion of numbers in De occulta philosophia involves scales or tables in which each number is explained in terms of its significance in the various levels of creation (Opera I, pp. 157-200). For instance the names of God, Jehovah Zebaoth and Elohim (see 5a, 8 & 34) belong respectively to the scales of nine and five.

11) Etymologiae]

Michael: The etymology of Fortitudo Dei ('the strength of God') follows Agrippa (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv), although the Hebrew is more often translated as 'who is as God' (see Davidson, Dictionary of Angels).

Gabriel: Dee gives an etymology of 'the growing power, or the mightiness, or the increasing strength of God'. Agrippa gives 'the virtue of God' (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv) whereas the Hebrew is generally translated as 'man of God' or 'God is my strength' (see Commentary to 11b, 16).

Raphael: 'The medicine of God' in accordance with Agrippa (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv).

Uriel: 'Light of God' (not defined by Agrippa).

16) $\aleph \aleph \aleph$ et $\aleph \aleph \aleph$]

ANA & ANAH

17) \overline{coe}]

cognomine?

16-18) 'Anna, and Annah, is a particle of a suppliant and confessor. By this root [cognomine], it may be seen without absurdity to mean God of supplication and confession'.

According to later etymology Anna is a combination of AH and AN and is a supplicatory interjection, whose use may be seen in the Hebrew in Psalm CXVIII, 25 and Genesis I,3. It is variously translated as 'I beseech thee' and 'I pray thee now'.

fol. 7a.

1-2) The folio is torn at the top left hand corner and what these words were is not at all clear.

3-4) 'A faithful protestation to almighty God [and] to the perpetual memory of [this] matter, anno 1582'.

7-8) truthes naturall and artificiall]

In the Preface Dee divides the world into the supernatural, the natural and the mathematical, defining the natural as that which is 'materiall, compounded, diuisible, corruptible, and chaungeable' and perceived by the exterior senses (sig. 3v). Dee is searching for greater truths than those which the five senses can provide and his terminology here is that of the corpus of 'natural philosophy', largely gathered together by Agrippa. Natural truths are those of the world as God created it and include all occult properties and influences which Agrippa defined as having much form and little matter (Occ. Phil. I, x, p. 24). Artificial truths are those that arise from the combining of natural properties in a way that does not occur in the world under ordinary circumstances, except through the agency of man. Whereas one might learn natural truths by studying the properties, both visible and occult, of say mercury and sulphur, the lesson learned from heating them together to form mercuric sulphide would be an artificial truth.

9) frame of the world]

A common phrase. See for instance 'this goodly frame the earth' which Hamlet finds so sterile (Cambridge edition, ed. Dover Wilson, II, ii, 302).

10) Talent]

'Power' rather than 'ability'.

11) brethern and Sistern]

Obsolete forms of 'brethren' and 'sisters' (OED).

ō]

'our'.

13) languagis]

'Languages'. The 'is' plural instead of 'es' is quite frequent in Dee's writing.

sundry men]

See A Compendious Rehearsal pp. 6-8 where Dee lists many of his foreign acquaintances, all of considerable standing in the intellectual world.

14) discourse]

'Understanding'.

15) ynckling]

'Inkling'.

glyms]

'Glimpse'.

20) Enoch]

The biblical statement that Enoch 'walked with God' (Genesis V, 22 & 24) was taken to mean that Enoch communicated directly with God and his angels. This gave rise to many apocryphal books and Agrippa complained that in his day ^{books} were 'published up and down, under the feigned

Titles and Names of Adam, Abel, Enoch, Abraham, and Solomon' (Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, tr. Ja[mes] San[ford] (London 1569), pp. 116-117).

What we now know as the Book of Enoch disappeared sometime after being last referred to by George Syncellus in his Chronography around A.D. 800 and was not rediscovered until Bruce brought back an Ethiopic version found in Abyssinia in 1773 (The Book of Enoch, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford 1893), pp. 1-2). The disappearance accounts for the revelations of the square tables of numbers and letters by the angels being proposed as the lost Book of Enoch.

Moyses]

Moses saw God many times in various forms, as in the burning bush (Exodus, III) and in fire on Mount Sinai (Exodus XIX, 18), but also 'face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend' in the tabernacle (Exodus XXXIII, 11).

21) Abraham]

Abraham was prevented from sacrificing his son by the voice of an angel speaking from heaven (Genesis XXII, 11), but also saw God before the destruction of Sodom when 'three men' came to his tent (Genesis XVIII). These three men are traditionally identified as Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.

Isaac]

See Genesis XXVI, 2, when 'the Lord appeared unto him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of'. Isaac is visited again that same night (verse 24).

Jacob]

Apart from the vision of the ladder (Genesis XXVIII, 12), Jacob meets God's angels at a place he later called Mahanaim (Genesis XXXII, 1-2) and wrestles with an angel at the place he later named Peniel (Genesis XXXII, 24). In The Zohar (Vayishlah 170b) this latter antagonist is identified as Samael ('God's venom') who is often taken to be the Angel of Death.

22) Josua]

Joshua, whom God frequently instructs, although no angelic visitors are specifically recorded in the Bible.

Gedeon]

Gideon was called to the leadership of Israel by an angel who 'sat under an oak' (Judges VI, 11).

Esdras]

Esdras saw a company of righteous souls surrounding the Son of God (II Esdras II, 42-48) and was shown many prophetic visions by Uriel (see II Esdras, IV, 1; V, 31; X, 28-29).

Daniel]

On being discovered still alive in the lions' den, Daniel informed King Darius that 'my God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me' (Daniel VI, 22). Daniel also saw Gabriel (Daniel IX, 21) and another with a face 'as the appearance of lightning' (Daniel X, 5-6).

Tobias]

Tobias was accompanied by the angel Raphael on his journey to Rages in Media, the angel assuming the name of Azarias.
sundry other]

Lot was warned by two angels to leave Sodom before its destruction (Genesis XIX) and Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego

were saved from hurt in the furnace by one 'like the Son of God' (Daniel III, 25). Samson's parents were foretold of his birth by a visiting angel (Judges XIII, 19-21).

23) disposition]

See Acts VII, 53, where the people are said to 'have received the law by the disposition of angels'.

24-25) Biblical appearances of angels are generally for the purpose of preserving life and foretelling future events. These are worldly but hardly domestic affairs, although the for telling of future births, such as of Isaac to Sarah (Genesis XVIII, 10), may be grouped under this latter title. Even when a prophet answers such domestic questions as the whereabouts of Kish's asses (I Samuel IX, 20), an ulterior motive is present, in this case the anointing of Saul as King of Israel.

26-27) The high priests of Israel are supposed to have used the stones of the breastplate described in Exodus XXVIII for divinatory purposes (see M. Gaster, 'Jewish Divination', Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 12 vols (Edinburgh 1908-1921), pp. 806-814).

27) preists]

'priests'.

29-30) prophets...Seers]

See I Samuel IX, 9: '(Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer:

for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer)'.

31) aeronomicall]

This word is not in the OED, but presumably derives from aer, 'air', and numen, 'divine will or power', and therefore means 'of celestial and divine origin', proceeding from the breath (or word?) of God.

Samuel, for Saul]

See I Samuel IX.

32-33) See I Samuel X.

35) Cis]

Kish in the Authorised version.

36) god]

'good'.

37-38) Epistle of James I, 5: 'si quis autem vestrum indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo, qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non improperat: et dabitur ei' (Vulgate); 'if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him' (Authorised).

38) Salomon]

Solomon (see I Kings III, 5-12). Ashmole notes at this point: 'Solomons wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East Country & all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men, than Ethan the Ezrahite, & Heman, & Chalcol, & Darda the sons of Mahol. 1 Kings. Cap 4 30' (Sloane MS 3677, 8b).

40-41) See Job XXVIII, 12-13: 'But where shall wisdom be found?
and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not
the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the
living'.

42) mediately]
through an intermediary.
immediately]
without an intermediary.

44) wetingly]
'knowingly'.

46) the]
'thee', a common form in Dee's writings.

47) mann^os]
A contraction of 'manners'.

48) Mittas...ducant]
'May you send your light and truth to lead me'. This echoes
Psalm XLIII, 3: 'Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam: ipsa
me deduxerunt, et adduxerunt in montem sanctum' (Vulgate);
'O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let
them bring me unto thy holy hill' (Authorised).
que]
'quae' (see Tannenbaum p. 40).

48-49) See 5a, 12-14.

fol. 7b.

1) some]

A contraction of the obsolete form 'somme' (OED).

2) two diuerse persons]

See Introduction pp. 52-54.

4) one]

Barnabas Saul (see Introduction pp.49-51)

12) mann]

A contraction of 'manner'.

15-16) 'The Conjurers great art, and industrie, is not so much
in raising up a spirit, as in commaunding him downe againe'
(Samuel Harsnett, A Declaration of Egregious Popish
Impostures (1603), pp. 17-18).

16) vnhard]

'unheard'.

19) kingly prophet]

David.

20) Castra...eum]

'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that
fear him' (Psalm XXXIV, 7).

23-25) The English translation, Frier Bacon his Discovery of
the Miracles of Nature, and Magick (London 1659) reads:
'without all question the way is incomparably more easie

to obtain any thing, that is truly good for men, of God, or good angels, then of wicked Spirits' (pp. 3-4). This edition bears the notice on the title-page that it has been 'faithfully translated out of Dr Dees own copy, by T.M.'

28) preistly]

'In a priestly manner', a rare adverbial use (OED).

29) pceyve]

'perceive'.

31) here]

'hear'.

35) premisses]

The premisses implied in the visitation of angels to the Patriarchs, namely that God does not disdain to communicate with man through spirits.

38) imptinent]

'impertinent'.

39) This is probably not the very last Action with Saul, since he did not leave Dee's service until 6 March 1582 (Diary).

42) eridition]

'erudition'.

MN24) 'Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron' (Authorised, II Kings I, 4). Dee's reference of the fourth book of Kings

stems from the earlier naming of the first and second books of Samuel as the first and second books of Kings, and the present first and second books of Kings as the third and fourth books.

fol 8a.

1) Mane]

'In the morning'.

6) Chrystaline Globe]

Concerning Dee's various show-stones see Introduction pp.137-141.

11-14) The angel which Daniel saw in one of his visions is described as being 'girdled with fine gold of Vphaz', having a face 'as the appearance of lightning' and eyes 'as lamps of fire' (Daniel X, 5-6).

14-16) It is unlikely that Saul would be well versed in Hebrew, for even Dee confessed to finding the language troublesome (21b, 43).

19) a white dog]

The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy says that spirits of Mercury can appear in the form of a dog, but Annael has no connection with Mercury, being instead a governor of Venus, and so the significance of this apparition is not clear.

22-24) he...hearing]

Dee frequently emphasises the fact that he himself hears and sees nothing.

22-26) 'In the name of Jesus Christ, who are you?'

'All power is given to me'.

'What [powers]?'

'Good and evil'.

27) M.G.]

The letters are 7mm high.

28) de Thesauro abscondito]

'Concerning the hidden treasure'. It seems that a promise of discovering some hidden treasure must have been made in an earlier Action with Saul, as it was to be made later in an Action with Kelly (see 86b ff.), and the letters M.G. probably refer to this in some way, since they appear to prompt Dee's question. They may be the initials of a person concerned (although the Diary does not list such) or of a place where the treasure was supposed to be concealed.

30) 'Do not worry, for these [questions] are of no value'.

31) skulls]

The significance of this apparition is unclear. It may be connected with the hidden treasure in some obscure way.

34-36) 'Where is your power?'

'Why do you ask about any power of mine?'

'Why? I have indicated, it does not please me'.

36) Signifi]

A contraction of 'significavi'?

37) the stone in the frame]

Not the same as the 'Chrystaline Globe' (see Introduction pp. 137-8).

39-41) 'Is any good angel assigned to this show-stone?'

'Yes'.

'Who?'

42) מִיכָאֵל]

'Michael'. Dee uses 3 for mim, but I have changed this to the more usual מ . Although Saul knew little or no Hebrew, the name could be learned from Agrippa. Dee may just have written it in Hebrew on hearing Saul pronounce the name, which had appeared in the Hebrew on the title-page of his General and Rare Memorials (1577).

43) 'Is that the good angel of whom mention is made in the Scriptures?' See Jude IX and Revelation XII, 7.

q]

'quo'.

44-46) 'Even he'.

'May it not be that I may see him and deal with him?'

'Yes'.

46) \mathcal{A}]

Annael states at line 47 that this is the character of another angel, but it is not one of the traditional signs and without the papers subsequent to this Action little progress can be made in deciphering it. It looks as though it is composed of letters from the alphabet. One might draw 'A, I, H, J, T' and possibly 'L' from the character, but there is no traditional angelic name that can be composed from these.

47-50) 'What do you wish to signify by this?'

'It is the character of another angel'.

'Why do you show it here and now?'

'For a great cause'.

Annael's last statement is typical of the many vague promises that Dee received in his angelic communications.

MN9) A constant problem during all Dee's Actions (see for instance 9a, MN49).

MN19) Since the rebinding of the MS by Sloane, many of Dee's original words which were obscured by Ashmole's binding have reappeared; hence the repetitions.

fol. 8b.

2) him that is assigned to the stone]

Michael.

the feast]

Christmas, three days after the Action took place.

3-4) These preparations and the admonition to secrecy are common throughout the angelic conferences,

5) Newyeres tyde]

In the Julian Calendar New Year began on 25 March, but Dee was already working upon his reformation of the calendar. Since references to dates as 'new style' do not occur until TFR, there is some doubt as to whether January 1st is being alluded to here, but it would be more likely that the Actions would be postponed for several days rather than for several months. Even with the Julian Calendar, January 1st was regarded as the beginning of the new year in many quarters at this time, and the inconsistencies of practice argued the need for calendar reform.

Deale]

A command to enter into a further Action.

9-10) Solarian influences were regarded as particularly beneficial in natural magic (see Occ. Phil. I, xxiii, pp. 50-63 and Introduction pp. 66-69).

14) In a later Action with Kelly a spirit named Hagonel declares: 'Banish wrath: yt was the first, and is the greatest commaundemēt' (see 50a, 45 & MN45).

to]

'too'.

15) Dee seems rather disappointed and it may be that in an earlier Action Annael promised to deliver matter of great

import, just as in this Action he has declared that great things will be shown to Dee, though by another angel.

18-19) 'Glory be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, for ever and ever'.

24) *prepositus orbis veneris*]

'Governor of the planet Venus', as Agrippa notes, although using the alternative name of Haniel (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv, p. 414).

25-26) This reference is not to be found in what remains of Famous and Rich Discoveries and was probably in the suppressed 'secret centre' mentioned in General and Rare Memorials, which is dated from the year of the appearance of the new star in 1572 and Anno Mundi 5540 (sig. *3v). Trithemius assigned Gabriel as governing angel of this penultimate period of the world cycle of history (De septem secundeis fol. D3r) and not Annael as Dee states here. Later some doubt arises as to whether the chief governor is not rather a spirit named Baligon or sometimes Carmara (see 51a, 20-21 and MN21).

28-31) No such statement by Befafes (a spirit appearing in the Actions with Kelly) exists in the records of the Action of 20 November 1582 (55a-57b). This Action with Saul is declared to be the prologue by Carmara alias Baligon in the Action of 17 November 1582 (see 50a, MN45).

.. 9a.

3) '10 March, 11.15 a.m.'

4) Edward Talbôt]

Edward Kelly (see Introduction pp. 43-49).

5 shew]

'be shown'.

10) stone...frende]

The same as that set before Annael (8a, 37). There is no reference in Dee's writings as to whom the donor of this stone was.

12) Aliqui Angeli boni]

'some good angels'. Annael had said that Michael was answerable to the stone (8a, 42), but presumably in a later Action more angels were mentioned, unless it was the donor who first gave Dee this information. At lines 25-30 of this folio the angels Uriel, Michael and Raphael are said to be assigned to the stone.

13) Possibly the episode in the Diary (25 May 1581) when Dee looked in the crystal and saw (see Introduction p. 28).

13-15) Anchor,...Anachor and Anilos]

In Peter de Abano's Elementa Magica (contained in the Lyons edition of Agrippa's Opera) an invocation is given for use when dressing in the vestments of a magician which begins 'Ancor, Amacor, Amides, Theodonias, Anitor, per

merita angelorum tuorum sanctorum Domine' (Opera, p. 567).

Anitor and Anilos might be the same, mistaken either by Kelly misreading Abano, or by Abano mistaking his sources. Amacor could well be Dee's Anachor. The angels Ancor, Annasor, Anelos, Ansex and Amilos are to be found invoked in a scrying experiment contained in Sloane MS 3848 (fol. 3b), and so while a definite source for the names given here by Dee cannot be traced, they do seem to have a certain traditional flavour.

17) att]

'at'.

18) Dee's oratory was probably at the top of the house, as it was in his lodgings at Prague ('An Unknown Chapter', p. 240) and in most engravings of the houses of alchemists and philosophers.

20) Kelly generally saw visions in the stone within fifteen minutes of settling himself to the task.

30) Michael... nostris]

'Michael is the governor in our works'.

31) boke, of Soyga]

See Introduction pp. 146-147.

32) 'That book was revealed to Adam in Paradise by God's good angels'.

34) solus...interpretator]

'Only Michael is the interpreter of that book'.

35) Presumably this fact was revealed in an Action with Saul.

40) nr̄as]

'nostras'.

40-41) 'Request and ~~.invoke~~ our presence with sincerity and humility. Anchor, Anachor and Anilos are not to be called into this stone'.

44-45) 'These things are mostly to do with Michael. Michael is the angel who illuminates your steps. And these things are revealed in virtue and truth and not by force'.

47) Angels were believed to govern particular days and hours and therefore to respond to invocations in their hours and upon their particular day. A comprehensive list of the angels and their times is given in Abano's Elementa Magica (Agrippa, Opera, pp. 562-583). There was some dispute as to whether the hours were of equal length or diurnal and nocturnal.

49) 'Every hour is ours'.

MN49) The note indicates that Dee only regarded the spirit who gave the character (shown on fol 9b) as an illuding spirit. The Uriel of the Action preceding this moment is not doubted. Concerning the reference to the Appendix to

the fifth book see Commentary to 9b, MN3.

1. 9b.

- 1) The character measures 65mm along the top edge, 55 mm down the left side and 78mm along the hypoteneuse. None of the signs contained in the character corresponds to the customary seals or sigills of major angels and I have been unable to trace their origins, if they have any beyond Kelly's imagination.

3-4) 'This seal, engraved in gold and worn on the breast, [will act] in the defence of the body in every place and at every time and occasion'.

7) 'To God alone be all honour and glory'.

MN3) Dee raises the question of the truth of this character again in an Action of 29 April 1583 (96a, 38-44). The spirit Il says then that it is an 'Instrument appliable only to Dignification' and there is a reference back to this folio (designated by Dee as fol. 6). Then Il declares that 'the Character is fals and diuillish' (96b, 23) and proceeds to deliver another. In the Appendix to the fifth book the only reference in the two Actions of 5 May 1583 takes the form of the naming of Kelly's evil angel as Belmagel 'which hath followed [Kelly's] sowle from the beginning' (100b, 2).

20) the Seven psalmes]

The 'Penitential Psalms' which express sorrow for sin and a desire for pardon and number seven in all. They are

Psalms VI, XXXII, XXXVIII, LI, CII, CXXX and CXLI (VI, XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX and CXLII in the Vulgate). Pope Innocent III ordered their recitation during Lent.

sauours]

Spirits were invoked and celestial influences attracted by the use of perfumes as well as words (see Occ. Phil. IV, pp. 60-62).

21) with hand and hart]

Physically by burning the perfume and spiritually by bearing a sincere and amenable heart.

22) thorowgh]

'through'.

25) ioinctly]

'jointly'.

26) to_ugither]

Dee uses _u as a hyphen and to join two words into one compound word.

- 30) The chair had first appeared while Uriel was informing Dee how Michael might be entreated (see MN15) and together with the table that appears at line 34, forms an integral part of the later Actions. Frequently Kelly sees the chair and table immediately, but the angels only after some time. To an extent the sight of the chair and table is hereafter a safeguard against illuding spirits, since being a seat of perfection (line 32), no evil spirit may abide it. The

danger remains however that evil spirits may counterfeit objects as well as spirits of goodness.

- 35) The table is apparently identical to the Holy Table that Dee was instructed to make (see Introduction pp.149-154).

fol. 10a.

- 1) This is the first command concerning the making of the Holy Table (see Introduction pp.149-154).

- 2) *Sigillum Dei*]

'The seal of God'. See Introduction pp. 118-123

- 5) perfect wax]

Wax purified by ritual as well as physically pure wax. The seal is made of undyed beeswax, which is purer than treated wax, but in magical processes all instruments and properties are cleansed by incantation, prayer and sometimes holy water.

- 6) no respect of cullours]

Uriel says that the characters on the sides of the table are to be written in yellow (line 28) and further commands indicate that the angels with whom Kelly was communicating were aware of colouration in the natural world. This phrase therefore probably means that no specific colours are required for this seal to be effective.

- 7-8) With a diameter of 9 inches the circumference would in fact be 28.278 inches. The figure of 27 'and somewhat more'

appears to have been reached by multiplying the diameter by three and regarding the result as less than true. In Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements of Geometry (1570) Dee appended the note that Archimedes' value of π as less than $3\frac{1}{7}$ and more than $3\frac{10}{71}$ had served well for practical purposes and 'who so is not contented, let his owne Methodicall travaile satisfie his desire: or let him procure other thereto' (fols 356b-357a). In De Architectura X, cap 14 Vitruvius used a value of $3\frac{1}{8}$, but the Renaissance offered a variety of values. Franco of Liege suggested $\frac{22}{7}$ while Tycho Brahe proposed $\frac{88}{\sqrt{485}}$, but the former was generally taken as sufficient for most purposes as appears by the works of Dominicus Parisiensis (1378), Albert of Saxony (c 1365) and Nicholas Cusa (c 1450) among others (David Eugene Smith, History of Mathematics, 2 vols (1923), II, 307). One would expect the angels to use at least a value of $3\frac{1}{7}$ and therefore arrive at a circumference of 28 inches and 'somewhat more' for the seal. The discrepancy of a whole inch furthers the argument of Dee being deceived by Kelly who evidently had a very rudimentary knowledge of mathematics. It is perhaps a little surprising that Dee makes no comment upon an inaccuracy of which he must have been aware.

- 11) The arms of the cross measure 56mm vertically and 57mm horizontally, with the longer crosspieces at the end of each arm being 5mm from each tip. The inner circle is 18mm in diameter.

The cross really comprises five crosses. Each arm itself forms a separate cross. The word AGLA is a common name of

divine power in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (see C. W. King, 'Talismans and Amulets: Mediaeval Talismans', Archaeological Journal XXVI (1869), pp. 225-235). The word is derived from the Hebrew Atha Gebir Leilam Adonai (King, p. 229), אלה נבר לעולם אדני in Agrippa's account (Occ. Phil., III, ix, p. 335), which means 'Thou art mighty Lord for ever'.

- 12) The table was in fact $36\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $35\frac{7}{8}$ inches and stood on a frame $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It was $\frac{7}{16}$ inches thick (Ashmole MS 1790, 55a-56a).
- 13) The two smaller seals in the British Museum measure 125mm ($4\frac{9}{16}$ inches) in diameter and are 20mm ($\frac{8}{16}$ of an inch) thick.
- 15) vttermost]
'outermost'.
- 19) four square]
Having four exactly equal sides (OED).
- 20) knops]
'Knops' or 'bosses, usually ornamental and hanging down' (OED).
- 25) See MN25 concerning the falsity of the characters which Dee was first given. They are not 'in a schedule annexed' as Dee claims at line 26; it was either removed by him on being told that they were false, or else it was bound at the end of the first book and perished with the

beginning of the second book.

27-28) In Ashmole's description of the Holy Table these letters around the border are said to be in red (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 55a).

30) The oyle, is perfect prayers]

'Oil' was frequently used metaphorically in the Bible, usually in association with gladness (see Psalm XLV, 7 and Isaiah LXI, 3). It is not specifically used as a metaphor for prayer, but the promise of Uriel that 'that oyle shalbe opened vnto you' faintly echoes the flowing of oil from rock that is afforded to God's chosen (Deuteronomy XXXII, 13 and Job XXIX, 6).

33) The diagram shows the Holy Table with the Sigillum Dei in the centre and the two farthest feet standing upon the smaller seals. The bottom of the page prohibited Dee from showing the seals on the foremost feet. The sides are labelled from the point of view of the magical operator, the designation in fronte ('in front') being furthest from him and iuxta pectus ('next to the chest') being closest to him (see also the diagram on 94b). The remaining two sides are designated 'on the left' and 'on the right'. The diagram correctly represents the basic parts of the Holy Table as it was made although the correct inscriptions were not obtained until much later (see 94b). See also Introduction pp. 149-154.

The rhombus of the diagram measures 45mm on all sides (hence the poor perspective) and the inner square marking the border measures 32mm on all sides. The circles representing the Sigillum Dei measure 17mm and 12mm in diameter respectively, while the circles representing the smaller seals are 10mm and 6mm in diameter. The rear right leg of the table measures 43mm and the rear left 5mm. The two front legs are both 36mm high and all the legs are 3mm wide.

MN2) 'Erroneously, to my ignorance; see later'. See 10b, 30-42, and 12b, 13-22. Whatever design for the seal that Dee was going to copy from an unspecified book, it was not that finally used, for the whole of the second book of this manuscript is devoted to instructions for making the seal which is represented on fol. 30a.

MN25) 'Beware, since an angel of darkness intruded himself here, as is demonstrated in the Appendix to the fifth book' (see Commentary to 9b, MN3).

fol 10b.

1) Lundrumguffa]

The name of this spirit seems peculiar to this manuscript.

3) Brymstone]

'Sulphur'. Agrippa notes that 'sulphur hath a place in Religions, to expiate ill Demons with the fume thereof', the element containing a 'naturall power thus to do', even

though the accompanying ritual might at first seem more important (Occ. Phil. III, lvii, p. 528). An example of the use of sulphur and assfoetida in a destructive ritual is to be found in the Key of Solomon (The Secret Lore of Magic, edited by Sayed Idries Shah (London 1957, reprinted 1974), p. 14).

4) thy dowghter]

Dee's daughter Katherine who was born on 7 June 1581.

- 5) Dee frequently records his pains and illnesses in his Diary, but there is no reference at this time to any aches. He did suffer badly from shoulder pains on 10 July 1581 and these continued for 14 days. It is possible that he may have felt some recurrence of this the night before the Action.

12) Maherion]

I have not found the name of this spirit elsewhere.

- 15) Robert Hilton came into Dee's service on 24 October 1581 and was perhaps the son of one John Hilton of Fulham from whom Dee borrowed £40 on 18 June 1577. Dee's servant George is not identified by surname in the Diary but left Dee's service on 7 July 1583.

- 19-20) See Tobit III, 17 and VIII, 3. Asmodeus 'fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him'.

22) a mean]

'A means' to dispose of the evil spirit.

24) the tyme of prayers]

The first of the Canonical Hours is Prime, ordained for
6 a.m.

25-26) Pri...sicut &c.]

See 8b, 18-19.

MN8) as it allso in the next action may appere]

See 10b, 37-11a, 5.

38) bet]

'beat'.

39) heary and owggly]

'hairy and ugly'.

fol. 11a.

3) ponished]

'punished'.

7) A 'K' is written underneath the 'T' of 'E.T.', thus shedding
some doubt about when Dee learned Kelly's real name (see
Introduction p. 12).

7-8) See Proverbs XXVIII, 10: 'Whoso causeth the righteous
to go astray in an evil way, he shall fall himself into
his own pit'. In Revelation IX, 1, it is stated that the
key to the Bottomless Pit is given to the fifth of the

seven angels of the presence. In Agrippa's Scala Septenarii the fifth angel is Haniel, alias Annael, (Occ. Phil. II, p. 187).

9) The superscribed erasure may be by Ashmole, if he had at first written 'sweat' and then decided it was unnecessary to do so.

11) an other]

This is Michael.

14) a sworde]

Michael is traditionally associated with a fiery sword with which he guards the gates of Eden.

16) roab]

'robe'.

21) the square Table]

The table shown in the stone (9b, 34).

26) seching]

'seeking'.

27) Frequent promises are made by the angels throughout this manuscript and in TFR that a new age is about to begin (see Introduction, chapter VI).

29) Michael is chief of the archangels, chief of the order of virtues, ruler of the fourth heaven, and generally the

mightiest of the angels in biblical and post-biblical lore (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). Effectively he is second only to the Trinity.

32) Thow shalt see me]

It was a common belief in early times that to see God or one of his angels was to die. Jacob gave the name of Peniel, meaning 'the face of God', to the place where he wrestled with the angel and gave the reason: 'for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved' (Genesis XXXII, 30). Manoah, the father of Samson whose birth is foretold by an angel, declares to his wife 'we shall surely die, because we have seen God' (Judges XIII, 22). His wife however astutely observes that 'if the Lord were pleased to kill us', he would not 'have shewed us all these things' (Judges XIII, 23), and Michael's promise to Dee that the angel's presence will be visible is a sign of God's merciful favour.

34) Those that sowght thy life]

Evil spirits like Lundrungguffa.

37-39) 'Glory, praise, honour, virtue and power be to thee, immortal, invisible and omnipotent God, for ever and ever' (see I Timothy I, 17).

fol. 11b.

4) Dee is writing the notes that form the basis of this manuscript while seated at a desk near Kelly and the show-stone (see Introduction p. 16, note 1).

6) In each Action so far an illuding spirit has appeared.

10) Nariel]

This alternative is given in Occ. Phil., III, xxiv, p. 416.

See also Commentary to line 34 concerning the name 'Na'.

16) The angel Gabriel is here associated with 'the strength of God' (line 13) but this appellation is that given to Michael at fol. 6a (and in Occ. Phil., III, xxiv, p. 414). Dee attaches the name to Gabriel erroneously, as he points out in the marginal note to this line. Doubt exists in any case about the etymology of Gabriel's name for it may be derived from גַּבְרִיֵּל or גַּבְרִיֵּל , 'man', or possibly from גַּבְרִיֵּל and גַּבְרִיֵּל , 'strength'. Gabriel is therefore either 'man of God' or 'strength of God' depending upon the vowel points, which are usually omitted in Hebrew writings. Dee may have been misled by thinking of גַּבְרִיֵּל and גַּבְרִיֵּל , meaning 'strength', which he would recognise from the names of the Sephiroth in the Kabbala (גַּבְרִיֵּל , Geburah). His error (as it is deemed to be here) is pointed out at 17a, 13-14.

20) This man wearing the black hood represents Dee. The hood is presumably symbolic of the spiritual blindness from which the angels relieve him at line 26.

34) NA]

Agrippa notes that the name NA is the name of God to be invoked in times of trouble (Occ. Phil., III, xi, p. 371). The letters are 7mm high within a circle of 22mm diameter. See also Commentary to 12a, MN16.

38) plights]

'pleats'. In this vision Dee receives new garments and is crowned with laurel (lines 39-40) to signify his position as one of God's elect.

41-42) This action parallels the eating of the bread in the Eucharist.

MN16) 'rather Michael was so called: for Gabriel is the power of God, and therefore the certain strength, but of another grade'.

fol. 12a.

5) 'The angel of your profession'. Dee professes true learning (philosophia vera) according to his note at 100b, MN22.

8) Agrippa notes that 'the Demon of profession is given by the Stars, to which such a profession, or sect, which any man hath professed, is subjected, which the soul, when it began to make a choyce in this body, and to take upon it self dispositions, doth secretly desire' (Occ. Phil. III, xxii, p. 410). If a man changes his profession, the daemon leaves him and another suitable to that profession takes his place. This daemon may be friendly or contrary to the man's Genius (guardian spirit). Dee's marginal note refers to the chapter heading 'Triplicem vnus cuiusque hominis custodem esse, & a quibus singuli procedant' (Opera, p. 372), 'That there is a threefold keeper of man, and from whence each of them proceed' (Occ. Phil. p. 410).

9-10) See Deuteronomy IV, 4, Romans V, 1-2, I Corinthians XV, 49, and Hebrews VI, 13-19.

13) 'Praise God in his works'.

15) strength against trubble]
See Commentary to 11b, 34.

25) cursy]
'curtsy'.

26) This line seems to suggest that a ring has previously been spoken of, but it may simply be a command that Dee is to acquire a similar ring. If any forewarning of this requirement was given, it might have been in one of the visions that Kelly claimed to have outside of the Actions (see for instance Diary, 9 March 1582).

30-34) Solomon is generally reputed to have possessed a ring with which he worked many wonders, although this has been thought to be a synonym for the seal or pentagram of Solomon. In the Key of Solomon the author, supposedly Solomon himself, declares that the contents of the work were revealed to him by an angel and traditionally Michael is supposed to have been the mediator between Solomon and God (see Shah, The Secret Lore of Magic, p. 25).

33) The circles of the diagram measure 33mm and 25mm in diameter

and the square is 14mm on each side. The circle in the centre of the square has a diameter of 7mm and the central bar is 12mm long.

37) skarse]

'scarcely'.

42) Most Solomonic talismans were fashioned in gold.

44-45) The significance of the 'V' over the 'L' is not at all clear. There may be some significance lying in the kabbalistic numerical values of 6 and 30, but interpretations in this direction become vague and somewhat fanciful. Furthermore Dee does not himself pursue any line of enquiry on the significance of the letters and the ring fades in importance when the instructions are given for the making of the Sigillum Dei.

46) PELE]

The name Pele signifies 'a worker of miracles, or causing wonders' and is one of the names of God (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p. 378). See also Commentary to 12a, MN46.

MN7) See Commentary to line 7.

MN16) 'Et sequit^r: Nequa^rq Iacob appellabit nomen tuū sed Israel: quoniam cum deo & homine praeualuisti: Vt est item vocabulum Na: quod in animi molestia turbationibusq^r utimur. Sicut Moyses in numeris: Dimitte Na peccatū populi tui:

quod uos interpretatū habetis: Dimitte obsecro. Et psalmo cantesimo ac decimoseptimo: A na domine saluificia na. A na domine fortunatifica na: quod uos elegantius sic: O domine saluum me fac: o domine bene prosperare' (Johannes Reuchlin, De verbo mirifico (1494) and De arte cabalistica (1517), facsimile edition (Stuttgart 1964), De verbo p. 72).

'And it follows: thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel: for with God and man you have prevailed [see Genesis XXXII, 28]. And so it is with the name Na, which we use when in turmoil and troubled of spirit: for instance Moses in Numbers [XIV, 19]: "Na, pardon the iniquity of your people," which may be interpreted as "pardon, I beseech thee". And also it is in Psalm CXVII [Vulgate]: "Ah Na Lord, salvatory Na: Ah Na Lord, prosperity-giving Na"; which you more elegantly find thus: "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord: O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity" [Authorised, Psalm CXVIII, 25].'

MN46) Despite much searching I have not been able to find any reference to the name Pele in Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico. The work does contain a section that deals almost exclusively with divine names and it is possible that when Dee made these marginal notes concerning the names Na and Pele, he was writing from memory and thought that the name Pele was included. Alternatively the marginal notes may have been a reminder to him to look up the names in Reuchlin's work and one might take as evidence for this the fact that he does not make any reference to which of the three books that form Reuchlin's work is to be consulted.

fol 12b.

5) See Isaiah IX, 6.

6) See Commentary on the name PELE, 12a, 46 & MN46.

9) the other day]

See fol. 10a.

10) opened his sworde]

Michael turns the blade of the sword to Kelly's view.

11) EMETH]

The Hebrew word for 'truth'. Agrippa records that it is also 'the seal of God' or sigillum dei (Occ. Phil, III, xi, p. 371). See also Commentary to MN11.

13) mervayledst]

'did marvel'.

22) perfyted]

'perfected'.

24) Dee does later question Michael's apparel, which earns him a reprimand (25a, 16-18).

30-32) Later the drawing of a veil across the vision in the stone becomes a signal for the end of an Action (see 45b, 48).

34) Dee is warned several times for trying to regulate the angelic appearances according to worldly time and incurs the angels' displeasure for doing so (see for instance 70a, 42).

39) Valete]

'Depart'.

45) [flourish]

Hereafter the end of an Action is frequently signified in the manuscript by a flourish of the pen.

MN11) 'Concerning the Seal of Truth see Reuchlin, De arte cabalistica, book III and Agrippa [Occ. Phil.] book III, chapter 11 (for the latter see Commentary to line 11). Reuchlin states: 'Ehieh sigillat per Emeth, hoc est essentia p ueritatem. Sicut nobilis ille dictator ait Eliezer Haklir אמת חתמת , Emeth est sigillum eius. Probat hoc ratio arithmetica quam imitantes si multiplicauerimus Ehieh p Ehieh surgent quadringenta quadraginta & unū, q simul sunt אדנ hoc est uerū seu ueritas' (De arte cabalistica, facsimile edition, (Stuttgart 1964), III, lxiia, p. 235). 'Ehieh [a name of God: I AM] seals through Emeth ["truth"]; this is through the essential truth. As that excellent teacher Eliezer Haklir says... "Emeth is his seal". Arithmetical reasoning proves this as may be seen if we multiply Ehieh by Ehieh, for there arises a total of 441, which is the same as that of Emeth, "a true thing" or "truth".'

Reuchlin uses the kabbalistic numerical value of אהיה

(Ehie) and אֶמֶת (Emeth) which are 21 and 441 respectively.

fol. 13a.

2-4) The description of this angel is consistent with his being an angel of the sun (see Commentary to line 18).

7) 'Invoke the name of God and acknowledge him'.

8) nri]

'nostri'.

Deus...nobis]

'God be merciful and bless us' (Psalm LXVII).

11-12) Not knowing the spirit's name Dee and Kelly fear that it may be an evil spirit and therefore command the spirit to reveal his name by using the powerful conjuration of the Trinity.

15-17) The circle of candle-like sparks are again consistent with this angel's position as an angel of the sun.

18) SALAMIAN]

In Abano's Elementa Magica Salamia is an angel of the sun and power is invoked for Sunday through various names of God and 'per nomina sanctorum angelorum, qui dominantur in quarto exercitu, et serviunt coram potentissima Salamia, angelo magno et honorato' (Agrippa, Opera, p. 596). The invocation is 'by the names of the holy angels who govern in the fourth heaven and serve in the presence of

the most mighty Salamia, a great and honoured angel'. The names of Salamia and Salamian are not traceable in other magical works that I have consulted, but there are a number of angels whose names bear some similarity. Selemia is one of the five men (i.e. angels) who wrote down the 204 books related by Esdras (II Esdras XIV, 24) and this name is sometimes recorded as Salemia (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). Salmey is one of the holy angels of God invoked in the Grimorium Verum and Salmia is the name of an angel petitioned in ritual prayer for the fulfilment of the conjurer's desires (Davidson).

23) wordly]

A manuscript error for 'worldly'.

26) Mamon]

Mammon is an archdemon and the demon of avarice (see Matthew VI, 24 and Luke XVI, 13).

28) vertues Adonay]

'Virtues of Adonai'. The celestial spirits are divided into various ranks: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Virtues, Princes, Archangels and Angels, although most angels hold a place in each order. Authorities differ on the order of ascendance of these divisions (a list can be found in Davidson, Dictionary of Angels, Appendix p. 336).

34) he dyeth]

Mammon's death is not to be found in traditional sources

and this reference would seem to be consistent with the prophecies of the coming of a new age that are made to Dee. In this case avarice will be no more.

35) Dee seems to have been unhappy about performing rituals of exorcism, having previously asked Uriel to discharge the evil spirit Lundrumguffa (10b, 18).

40) grisely thretting]
'threatening in a grisly way'.

45) The angel with the long arms is not identified.

47) This angel is Raphael whom Agrippa identifies as the 'medicine of God' (Medicina Dei) in Three Books of Occult Philosophy (III, xxiv, p. 414). The name is partly derived from Raphael's healing of Tobias's father Tobit (see Arbatel de magia, Agrippa Opera p. 711).

11N20) See Commentary to line 18.

fol. 13b.

1) the Angel of your Direction]

Presumably not quite the same as the angel of Dee's profession but the angel governing Dee's goal in life, or at least one of his goals (see Commentary to OCH). Agrippa does not refer to the existence of angels of direction.

OCH]

In Arbatel de magia seven spirits are given governance over

various natural phenomena. They are called Aratron, Phaleg, OCH, Hagith, Ophiel and Phul (Agrippa, Opera, p. 714). Och governs matter under solarian influence, teaches perfect medicine and converts all things into purest gold and precious stones (Opera, p. 716). He is the angel who is the ruling spirit of the Philosophers' Stone and has governance over alchemical experiments, both of which were very important in Dee's life and may be called his 'direction'.

- 8) Dee again makes the mistake to be found at 11b, 16, over the meaning of the name Gabriel, but is further confused by the fact that his angelic informant, whom he thought was the same as in the previous Action (i.e. Michael), now announces himself to be Fortitudo Dei. It is not clear, however, why Dee should be convinced that this new entrant should be the same as his informant in the previous Action, nor why he should reject his own conclusion that the angel with the sword should be Michael (11b, 24) even though Uriel had just then announced 'Fortitudo Dei, tecum semper est' (11b, 18).

- 11) Fortitudo Dei here identifies himself as indeed being Michael.

- 12) POLIPOS]

In Revelation XXI, 14, the twelve apostles are said to govern the foundations of the New Jerusalem. According to

Agrippa the fourth gate (or foundation) bears the name of Polipos (פּוֹלִיפּוֹשׁ) which is Hebrew for Philip (Occ. Phil. III, xxxiv, p. 455).

15) that day]

Either an unspecified day when great secrets will be revealed or the day on which Dee understands the meaning of the name Polipos.

16) that which I haue commaunded thee]

Dee's marginal note refers back to Annael's command 'be not to hasty in wrath' (8b, 14) which is later called 'the fyrst, and...the greatest commaundemēt' (50a, 45).

18) Ashmole's superscription relates to the end of the previous line.

24) Other names of Michael, which means fortitudo dei according to Agrippa, are conceived by men; in heaven the angel has no other name than his function, which is to be the strength of God and is therefore his being and his reason for being.

29) this]

Salamian.

34) Agrippa his boke]

See MN34. The name of Salamia[n] does not occur in Agrippa's own work but in Abano's treatise contained in the Lyons edition of Agrippa's Opera.

38) It appears from Dee's Diary that Kelly had a journey planned, which he began on 22 March (see also Introduction p. 11).

47) lamin]

A thin layer of metal, sometimes in the form of a disc, which may be inscribed like a talisman and used for magical or astrological purposes. For details of the laminewhich has survived see Introduction pp. 129-132.

49) artificially]

'by art or craft'.

MN1) libello Arbatel in ☉]

In Agrippa's Opera this work is entitled Libri Arbatel magiae, tomus primus dictus Isagoge. The sign ☉ is the astrological sign for the sun of which Och is a governor.

MN33) Clauis Agrippae]

'The key of Agrippa' or in other words his works.

fol. 14a.

1) The caret belongs to the marginal note which is in fact written vertically in the left hand margin. The top part of the page is cut short and the left hand margin is torn at the top, but it is unlikely that any writing is missing except for a heading of F.D. , the catchword of fol. 13b, at the beginning of the first line of this folio.

2-3) Michael (Fortitudo Dei) and Raphael (Medicina Dei) are indicated here.

7-8) See Commentary to 7a, 22 concerning Esdras and Tobias.

20) Kelly quite frequently had to rest after scrying and complained of headaches (see Introduction pp. 111-2).

23) Crossingly]
'making the sign of the cross'.

25) These lights had been put on the chair by Salamian (13a, 15-16).

MN) The caret at line 1 indicates that this note was to have followed that line.

fol. 15a (in Ashmole's hand).

1-7) Concerning missing papers see Introduction pp. 10-15.

6) diu^s]
'divers '.

7) fol^l]
'following'.

MN3) The erasure of this marginal note can be explained by reference to Ashmole's transcript. Concerning the missing papers at the end of the second book he wrote: 'I suppose

here were some other Actions betweene 21 of March and 28 of Aprill 1582 which belonged to the 2nd Booke, and are wanting', giving as his reason the fact that at the beginning of the Action of 28 April 1582, which opens the third book, 'Michael taxeth and threatneth Δ for his slacknes in not preparing things appointed by him (which Δ excuseth with inability)'but of which 'appointment' no mention is made in the Action of 21 March (Sloane MS 3677, 23a). Having reached this conclusion Ashmole put the marginal note (itself indicating a later time of writing than his main text on this folio) in the wrong place at first. It belongs at the end of the second book (fol. 29b). See also Introduction pp. 10-15.

fol. 17a.

In his transcript of the MS Ashmole estimates that 'about 16 lynes' are missing from each side of the first extant folio (Sloane MS 3677, 24a & 24b) and that the first leaf is 'utterly perished' (Sloane MS 3677, 21a). What remains of the Action which took place evidently occupied an afternoon and an evening (see 19b, 20, 20b, 21, & 21b, 4). The Action must have occurred between 15 March and 20 March, these being the dates of the preceding and subsequent dealings, and since two other Actions of the second book took place on 20 and 21 March and continue instructions concerning the making of the Sigillum Dei from this first Action, I would conjecture that this opening Action is dated Monday 19 March. It seems probable that the instructions

for making the seal were given over three days of intensive dealing.

- 5) The asterisk shows that a note was written in the margin here of which the vestigial lines at MN5 are all that remain. The note probably referred to the fili and filiae lucis and their sons and daughters, who are introduced between 26b, 36 and 28a, 3.

- 6) eū]
'ever'.

- 8-10) 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'. See Psalm CXVIII, 26, Matthew XXI, 9, Mark XI, 10 and Luke XIII, 35. The pause in the Latin may indicate that Kelly was going to say something different at first.

- 11) Michael first appeared with a sword at 11a, 14.

- 15-16) All the earlier problems concerning the design of the Sigillum Dei have been resolved and Dee has evidently received instructions concerning its form. This may have occurred in the missing leaf of this Action or in a private vision of Kelly's. The most likely time seems to be the private conversation of Michael to Kelly recorded at 13b, 44-50. Since the letters and numbers inscribed on the seal are not given until later, Dee must here be asking whether he has correctly drawn the lines within which the letters and numbers are to be placed.

17-18) According to Dee's definitions at fol. 6a the strength of God's mercy and God's medicinal virtue correspond to Annael and Raphael. One might tenuously connect 'the liuing God' with Gabriel, whose name was taken by others (though not Dee) to mean 'man of God', although the phrase is taken from the Bible (Deuteronomy V, 26 and Joshua, III, 10) and is a specific reference to an aspect of God.

20) herof]

'hereof'.

20-21) Concerning Dee's purpose to share his knowledge with genuine seekers of truth, see Introduction pp. 164-168.

22 Saints]

'Saints'.

24) fyled]

'defiled'.

27) Michael said a similar thing about Solomon's ring (12a, 37).

37) See 5a, 12-14.

fol. 17b.

6) The circle has been a symbol of eternity from very early times. In Monas hieroglyphica Dee states at the beginning that 'the first and most simple manifestation and representation of things, non-existent as well as latent in

the folds of Nature, happened by means of straight line and circle ' (Monas hieroglyphica, translated by C. H. Josten, AMBIX XII (1964), 84-221, p. 155). 'The Circle of his aeternity' has specific reference to the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei, for it contains obscurely 7 names of God (22b, 7-13) and it is symbolic of the eternal nature of God and his angels.

- 8) This appellation may be an echo of the kabbalistic definition of God as 'The Holy One, Blessed be He', a name attributed to God in his capacity as the promoter of man's moral strivings (Zohar, V, 394 Appendix).

- 11) the matter in hand]

The construction of the Sigillum Dei.

- 12) this outward circle]

The outer circle of the Sigillum Dei (see fol. 30a).

- 13) whose greatest numbers are fowre]

The circle is to be divided into four and each quarter into ten, so that there are dividing lines at the four compass points.

presently]

'immediately'.

- 15) Semiel]

Semiel is variously called Semiael (17b, 37), Semieil (20b, 45), Semyeil (21a, 12) and may also be the Semeliel whose

name appears in the seal at fol. 30a (see also reference at 29a, 22). In the marginal note to line 15 Dee notes that Semiel means 'asthough he wer the secretarie, for the Name of God'. Semiel is composed of שֵׁמ (shem) which means 'a name' and אֵל (El), 'God', and because the angel bears the 'name of God' but is not God, he is therefore a kind of 'secretarie, for the Name of God'. Gustav Davidson identifies Shemael (a different transliteration of שֵׁמ אֵל) with Kemuel, Camael and Shemuïel as 'the mighty angel who stands at the windows of Heaven listening for the songs of praise ascending from synagogues and houses of study of the Jews' (Dictionary of Angels, p. 273). Since the seal contains names of God and the angels, Semiel may be considered to be best equipped to instruct Dee and Kelly concerning them, if the etymology of his name also reflects upon his office.

24) Mighty lord]

Semiel is of a lower hierarchy than Michael.

26) I, am his Tables]

This is consistent with Semiel being 'secretarie, for the Name of God'. See also Commentary to MN41.

28) 40 white Creatures]

These creatures will each show a letter and in most cases also a number which are to be written in the 40 spaces into which the outer circle of the seal has been divided.

30) This line faintly echoes the Book of Common Prayer in the

order of service for Communion: 'For thou onely art holy:
Thou onely art the Lorde, thou only O Christe with the
holy Ghost, art most highe in the Glory of God the father'
(Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book 1559 (Edinburgh 1909), p. 104).

33) two great pillers of brass]

The angel in Daniel's vision has 'arms and feet like in
colour to polished brass' (Daniel X, 6).

MN41) 'Semiel—approximately signifies God, my name; it is so
because these tables may be the Name of God or the Divine
Names'. This helps to explain line 26 as well as connecting
Semiel with the praise of God's name given by the 40 creatures.

fol. 18a.

This folio is also slightly torn at the top left and top
right. There are four guards between fol. 17 and fol. 18
but there are no pages missing in the text.

2) commonly]

'every time'.

striking]

for 'stroking'.

5) opened his brest]

The creature opened his silk garment and displayed his breast.
It might simply mean that he displayed his breast to view,
as Michael 'opened' or showed his sword (12b, 10), but in
most of the ensuing revelations the letters and numbers do
seem to be on the bodies of the spirits and not on their
clothes.

7) $\frac{4}{\tau}$]

In an Action of 25 June 1584, $\frac{4}{\tau}$ is called 'the Seal of the living God, (Tau with the four) which signifie the four powers of God princ[i]pial in earth' (TFR, p. 173). These four powers are Power, Strength, Mercy and Justice (36b, 9).

9) Yt Liueth and Multiplied]

Agrippa writes that 'the Pythagoreans call the Number of four Tetractis, and prefer it before all the vertues of Numbers, because it is the foundation and root of all other numbers; whence also all foundations, as well in artificiall things, as naturall, and divine, are four square'. The number of four 'also contains the mysterie of the whole Trinity', for it contains the proportions of 1:2 equal to 2:4, and 1:1 equal to 2:2. From the proportion of 1:1 we see 'the unity of the paternal substance, from which the Son proceeds equal to him' and in 2:2 we see 'the procession of the Holy Ghost from both'. The most sacred name of God, the Tetragrammaton, is composed of four letters and Agrippa thus effectively combines a Christian exegesis with the Kabbala and with the Pythagorean reverence of the number four as the 'perpetual fountain of nature' (Occ. Phil. II, vii, p.183).

11) Each of the forty creatures disappears in a different way, the significance of which is not entirely apparent.

12) It is the name of the Lorde]

The number 4 implies the Tetragrammaton which is 'the name of the Lorde'.

15) Prayse...reuerent]

See Psalm CXI, 9: 'Holy and reverend is his name'.

17) 'O God, God, our God, you are blessed now and always', which is not a direct biblical quotation but echoes many phrases of a similar nature in the Bible, such as I Chronicles XXIX, 10.

21) romayne]

'Roman'.

23) his name]

This refers to the name of the creature.

24) it is but one]

The number accompanying the letter is a single figure.

25) The dots are Dee's and indicate that he has failed to transcribe something which Kelly reported. Since he describes the various ways in which the creatures disappear except in this case, it is evident that for some reason he was unable to write such an account here.

26) The Seale of God's Mercy]

Like the phrase 'Yt Liueth and Multiplied for euer' at line 9, this phrase seems to be an epitome of the creature just seen and the letter and number which he has displayed. The act of sealing is a frequent image in the Bible for the

work of God upon man, the impression of God's word (the seal) being made upon man's heart (the wax). See for instance Psalm XXII, 14.

32) Multiplicatum...terra]

'Your name is multiplied in the earth'. According to Agrippa the number seven 'is of various and manifold power' and 'the Vehiculum of mans life...for it contains body and soul', the number 4 relating to the elements and the number 3 to 'the soul, by reason of its threefold power, viz. rationall, irascible and concupiscible'. Agrippa relates the number 7 extensively to processes of generation, gestation and growth (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 193-194).

36) Vidimus Gloriam tuam Domine]

'We have seen your glory, O Lord'. See Isaiah LXVI, 18, and John XI, 40.

39) This letter and number occupy the fourth space in the outer circle of the seal and the significance of the number being under the letter, in contrast to the previous revelations, is explained at 21a, 24-31.

42) *a white garment*] See Commentary to 18b, 41.

43) Illius Gloria sit nobiscum]

'May his glory be with us'. Again this is delivered in the manner of an epitome of the creature with his number and letter.

45) like syluer]

The previous creature showed his number and letter on a tablet of gold, although it is difficult to see any precise significance in this. Gold is the metal of the sun and silver that of the moon, but beyond relating this to the role of the Sigillum Dei as a seal of the Creation, the reasons for these metals being shown remains obscure, particularly since the items on which the ensuing numbers and letters are shown do not allow any coherent interpretation.

47) Et...benedictus]

'And it is the number of blessed virtue'. Agrippa defines the number 22 as signifying 'the fulness of wisdom' since it is the total of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet (Occ. Phil. II, xv, p. 222).

48) Videte Angelos Lucis]

'See the Angels of Light'. A preliminary reference to the revelation of these creatures at 24b, 21-28.

like a white Cok]

Again the significance of this is obscure, but it may be tenuously related to the revelation of the letters for the outer heptagon of the seal, those on the first two sides being shown on the feathers of 'a white fowle like a pigeon' and of 'a white byrd' like a swan (see 23a, 8 & 25).

50-51) 'And I am the end and have no number. I am number in number. And every number is my number. See'. This spirit only shows the letter 'n', this being the final letter of

one of the names contained in the seal. No number is required since the lack of number itself denotes the end of the name (see 21a, 24-31).

MN6) The 'T' as it is written in the seal is nevertheless roman and not gothic.

MN12) The Holy Language referred to here is Enochian, even though the phrase is usually used to describe Hebrew (see for instance Monas hieroglyphica, trans. Josten, p. 133). As with Hebrew the last letter of the alphabet in Enochian is 'T'.

MN12-MN52) Dee here gives the Enochian names of the letters that have been shown (see fol. 64b), using the contraction 'alr' for aliter, 'otherwise'.

fol. 18b.

1) to gather]

'tog ther'.

4) Et est Vita in caelis]

'And he is life in the heavens'.

5) Et ego viuo cū bene viuentibus]

'And I live with those that lead a good life'.

6) his veale]

The veil is worn by the spirit.

- 8) 'We live. Hallelujah. O holy name'. See Commentary to line 12.
- 12) 'Blessed is the number of the Lamb'. According to Agrippa
 'six is a number of perfection, because it is the most perfect in nature, in the whole course of numbers, from one to ten, and it alone is so perfect in the collection of its parts it results the same, neither wanting, nor abounding [i.e. $1+2+3 = 3+3 = 1+5$ (5 being $3+2$) = $2+4$ (4 being $1+3$) = $\frac{1}{6} \times 6 + \frac{1}{3} \times 6 + \frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 6$]...It is also the number of our redemption, for the sixth day Christ suffered for our redemption: whence there is a great affinity betwixt the number six and the Cross' (Occ. Phil. II, ix, p. 191). Christ's designation as the Lamb refers specifically to his sacrifice for man's redemption (see Isaiah LIII, 7).
- 14) Orate invicem]
 'Pray alternately'.
- 16) Omnia data sunt a Deo]
 'All things are given by God'.
- 17) Concerning the number 22 See Comentary to 18a, 47.
- 18) 'And the end is not in him'. This may simply refer to the fact that this letter does not end one of the names hidden in the seal, but there may also be some reference to 'o' as omega and therefore a symbol of the end of all things.

19) Benedictus es tu Deus]

'You are blessed O God'. See Commentary to 18a, 47.

20) The rainbow is a symbol of God's faith with the world after the Flood (Genesis IX, 9-16) and a circle is symbolic of eternity.

21) 'May angels fall prostrate at your name O Lord'. See Hebrews I, 6.

22) 'You are the first O'. Quite why there should be reason to celebrate the first presentation of the letter 'o' is not clear.

25) ]

A triangle is a symbol of divinity and in Renaissance illustration the Tetragrammaton is often contained within a triangle. The triangle is also connected with the decad (Occ. Phil. II, xiii, p. 212) and it is possible that the letter 'a' here is meant in part to signify alpha, the beginning.

26) Et...caeteris]

'And your number lives in the rest'

27) The number of 22 is later corrected to 20 by Uriel (see MN27) and hence Dee's superscription.

29) Nomen illius est nobiscum]

'The name of that one is with us'. From this point on the underlining of the first letter of the phrases delivered by Michael on a creature's departure indicates that the next letter to be shown is the same as that underlined.

32) Creasti...tua]

'O Lord, you have created the angels for your glory'
(creasti for creavisti).

34) Et te primus Creavit Deus]

'And God created you first'. In Genesis the first creation is the heaven and the earth and the division between. The number 14 represents fusion and organisation, however (J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (New York 1962), p. 224), although the disappearance of the spirit like a star may embody the creation of the heaven.

36) The letter 'a' has a numerical value of one and therefore represents unity as well as a beginning. The figure is embraced by God's unity.

37) all Clay]

The image of man as clay in the potter's hand is often used in the Bible (see Isaiah LXIV, 8 and Jeremiah XVIII, 6) and Job says that 'your remembrances are like unto ashes, your bodies to bodies of clay' (Job XIII, 12).

38) Since the number 6 is symbolic of Christ and the redemption

of man and 'altogether applyed to generation, and Marriage, and called the Scale of the world' (Occ. Phil. II, ix, p. 191), this creature seems to represent the human condition and man's relationship with God.

39) Et...tuo]

'And they are created and perish in your name'. One would expect a biblical quotation here, but this nevertheless echoes biblical thought on man's mortality.

40) fell down all into dust]

See Genesis III, 19: 'for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return'.

41) The white garment would seem to represent the spirit which binds the soul, the 'white thing', to the body. This view of man's composition is indebted to Agrippa, for Agrippa follows Platonic thought in defining the soul as self-moving and the body as unfit for motion, but then ascribes a third medium to bind them together, something which is 'as it were no body, but as it were a Soul, or as it were no soul, but as it were a body' (Occ. Phil. I, xiv, p. 33). He further defines it as 'the naturall spirit...[which] yet in some sense is also corporeall, notwithstanding it hath not a grosse body and easie to be united with the mind viz that superiour and Divine one which is in us' (Occ. Phil. III, xxxvi, p. 461, misnumbered as p. 445). This is what the Platonists called the 'celestiall vehicle of the soul' or 'the chariot of the soul'. Agrippa comments that when a man

dies 'the soul flieth away with his Celestiall vehicle, and the Genius his keeper and the Demon follow it being gone forth, and carry it to the Judge, where sentence being pronounced, God quietly leadeth forth the good souls to glory' (III, xxxvii, p. 466). The celestial vehicle is incapable of pleasure and pain, which is the inheritance of the soul. Agrippa does not state what happens to this insensitive semi-corporeal and semi-intellectual medium, but if the body belongs to the natural world and the soul to the intellectual world, one would expect the celestial vehicle to return to the celestial world of the stars.

- 43) 'Innocence rises to the face of God'. The vision of death shown by this spirit is much indebted to Agrippa, but is also perhaps Apocalyptic in that in Revelation white raiment is the reward of the righteous (III, 5).

- 44) did ouer]

'did stroke over'.

- 46-47) Innocentium...tuis]

'O Lord, you have seen the names and the blood of the innocent upon the earth and you are just in your works'. The first clause is reminiscent of Psalm XCIV, 21: 'they gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and conde n the innocent blood'. The second clause is not in fact a direct biblical quotation but recalls the claim that 'the Lord...is righteous in all his works' (Daniel IX, 14 and Baruch II, 9).

47-48) garment all bluddy]

This creature represents the martyred innocent and hence the appearance as a child in bloodstained garments. See also the spirits at 19b, 47 and 20a, 51.

48) a ball...of perfume]

The significance of this is not clear.

50-51) Numerus...rerum]

'Your number is infinite and will be the end of things'. This sentence may be occasioned by the fact that 'h' has a numerical value of 8, which according to Agrippa is the number of justice and fulness (Occ. Phil. II, xi, p. 202).

51) powre]

'pour'.

MN11-MN25, MN30-MN36 & MN49) These are the Enochian names of the letters shown (see fol.64b).

MN27) See 20b, 20 ff. where Kelly sees Uriel in a private vision and corrects errors in the letters and numbers.

MN40) This seems to confirm that Dee recognised the division of man into body, soul and 'natural spirit' which was made here.

fol. 19a.

1) and his garment flew upward]

See Commentary to 18b, 41.

2) 'There is no number to him'. The creature has shown only the letter 'h'.

3) 'All things perish before the face of God and on the face of the earth'. See Commentary to 18b, 50-51.

4) and like a water]

'and there was like a water'.

5) O benedictum Nomen tuū Domine]

'O blessed is your name O Lord'.

6) Numerus perijt cum illis]

'Number perishes with them'. I do not see why a plural is used here.

7) a great water remayn]

'a great water to remayn'. There is not sufficient evidence to suppose that this vision represents the creation of the waters or the Flood.

9) 'Light remains in darkness. Your name is Glorious'. The first sentence recalls the prophecy of Isaiah of the coming of Christ as a light in the darkness (IX, 2) and the similar statement of John (John I, 5).

- 11-12) Seven names are drawn from the letters in the outer circle of the seal and it is difficult to see any great significance in this grouping of the forty creatures, although Dee's lines around the statement indicate that he felt there must be some reason for this division. Perhaps the lack of any marginal note indicates that he failed to find any.
- 15) Trinus sum]
'I am threefold'.
- 16) 'Blessed be the name El'. El is the Hebrew name of God ^ל~~x~~ which is noted by Agrippa in the scale of two (Occ. Phil. II, v, p. 179). Dee later declares that his favourite letter of the alphabet is 'L' since it signifies the divine name of El through its sound (¶1b, 52-53). See also Commentary to lines 19-22.
- 17) Perhaps the triple placing of the letter 'l' explains line 15. The relating of the letter 'l' to the name El also ~~makes~~ the three letters 'l' into a symbol of God's trinitarian state.
- 19-22) The cross measures 26mm high and 20mm across, the upright having a width of 3mm at the top and 7mm at the base. The crosspiece is 4mm wide. In Monas hieroglyphica Dee states that apart from the red^e_Λmption the cross signifies the quinary, the number 25, the number 50, the decad, the number 252 and several other numbers (Monas, tr. Josten, Theorems XVI & XVII, pp. 169-175). He also writes: 'moreover, the name of that letter, "El", seems to have reference to the denary

virtue of the cross also inasmuch as it is placed in the middle between the first letter of the alphabet and the very denary of the cross [i.e. the letter 'X'], being tenth in sequence from either. And since we have shown that in the cross there are two such integral parts, it is obvious (if we now consider only their numeral meaning) that out of it [the cross] grows the number One Hundred' [L+L = C, two letters 'L' being obtained from the cross, \perp and \neg] (Monas, tr. Josten, Theorem XVI, p. 171).

19) three mens heads]

Another reference to a trinitarian state.

21) 'My lips praise the Lord'. The erasure shows that Dee originally wrote laudabunt ('will praise') echoing Psalm LXII, 4. Laudabunt was originally separated by the cross and when Dee erased 'bunt', he just added 'nt' to 'lauda'.

22) Concerning female spirits see Introduction p. 155, note 1.

23) scotcheon]

'Escutcheon', a shield with armorial bearings.
to hir]
'to her'.

24) did eat it]

See 11b, 42, where the man in black (pro Dee) ate the name NA. See also Revelation X, 10, where St. John eats a book given to him by an angel.

25) Et hic est El]

'And this (or here) is El'.

28) Benedicta sit aetas tua]

'May your state be blessed'. The number 30 which accompanies the 'l' is also the numerical value of 'l' and Agrippa relates it to the baptism of Christ in his thirtieth year (Occ. Phil. II, xv, p. 223).

29) These little fires may be connected with the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples as tongues of fire, bringing them into a state of blessedness.

32) Natus est illa Lux]

'Born is that light', a reference perhaps to the birth of Christ.

33) Ille est Lux noster]

'He is our light'. See Isaiah IX, 2 and John I, 5.

36) The three letters 'n' again presumably have a trinitarian significance, although it may simply be that the creature bears three because the letter 'n' here forms the end of the holy name Innon, which is hidden in the outer circle of the seal and itself contains three 'n's.

37) Numerus tuus est benedictus]

'Your number is blessed'. The spirit in fact bears no number, but the word may also be taken to refer to the triplicity of the revelation of the letter 'n'.

38-39) 'Your number is with us: nor till now did we know his end. May you come with your number, O one in eternity'.

41) clymed on a ladder]

This may be prompted by Jacob's dream of the ladder reaching up to heaven and filled with angels (Genesis XXVIII, 12-16).

42) 'They knew him by his tongues'. The first letter is not underlined but does nevertheless indicate the next letter to be shown.

43) Benedictus...est]

'Blesse is he who is thus and thus'.

44) trenchers]

'plates'.

44-45) ]

The triangle measures 12mm on each side and 13mm across the base and is therefore intended to be equilateral. The figure forms four isosceles triangles. See Commentary to 18b, 25 concerning the triangle and to 19a, 19-22 concerning the cross, which is contained in this triangle. Yet even if the combination of the triangle and the cross and the clear indications of the numbers three and four which the figure presents make this a potent symbol, it remains of virtually no importance in relation to the rest of the manuscript. Dee makes nothing of it.

47) fyre cam out and in of his mowth]

See Semiel at 17b, 22-23 and the spirits at 20a, 39.

MN6-MN49) The Enochian names for the letters shown.

fol. 19b.

1) Et...tuis]

'And you are true in all your works'.

3) 'Rejoice all of his people, rejoice all of his people,
from this moment rejoice'.

5) Incipit virtus nostra]

'Our strength begins'.

6) The 'G' in the MS is 4mm high.

8) The marginal note explains that this is the first spirit to
disappear in this way. Subsequent spirits vanish behind
Michael, behind the chair, or simply disappear.

9) 'Live correctly all his saints'.

12) Agrippa writes that the number thirteen 'shews the mysteries
of Christs appearing to the Gentiles, for the thirteenth day
after his birth a star was a guide to the wise men' (Occ.
Phil. II, xv, p. 222). The Churches in Revelation are
Gentile and this may be significant in relation to line 14.

14) 'This is the angel of my church, who may teach him my way'.

In Revelation seven angels are ascribed to the seven churches (I, 20) and we also read: 'I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches' (XXII, 16).

14) a gyrdel]

A belt or cord around the waist.

15) a Rod] The child delivered of the woman 'clothed with the sun' in Revelation is 'to rule all nations with a rod of iron' (XII, 5).

16) a Sworde]

If this spirit does have an Apocalyptic origin, the sword may represent the 'war in heaven' between the angels and the dragon (Satan). See Revelation XII, 7.

18) leggs, like pillers of brass]

Michael first acquired these at 17b, 33.

19-20) This indicates that the Action must have taken place in the afternoon, there being no breaks in the information so far received in this second book.

21) See I John II, 15: 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world'.

22) 'He joined the spirit with their minds'. A reference perhaps to the Pentecost.

26) ioyned p pale]

'Joined per pale'. 'Per pale' is a heraldic term for the division of a shield down the middle into two equal halves, with separate armorial bearings, usually of husband and wife, on each side.

27) heraulds]

'heralds'.

27-29) The drawing of the heart measures 18mm high (14mm in the middle) and 17mm across at its widest point.

29) 'The number of that one is without number'. There is no number to accompany the letters since they form the end of the name 'Galethog'.

31) 'It is time. Acknowledge your God'. The sense is probably apocalyptic.

34) in the second place]

i.e. the second place on (23rd) from the space last filled (21st).

35) 'Your image, (death), is bitter'. In the marginal note Dee explains that Imago may be written with either a 'Y' or an 'I'. He wrote 'Imago' first, presumably in the notes he made at the time of the Action, but changed it to 'Ymago' in this MS, which is a fair copy, because 'Y' is the next letter

to be shown. The superscribed 'I' gives the word its more usual orthography. The whole sentence may arise from the showing of the letter 't' because in kabbalistic exposition the letter Tau is sometimes given significance in its role as the last letter of Maweth ('death') as for instance in the Zohar (I, 9). See also G. G. Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, trans R. Manheim (London 1965), Ch. V, pp. 158-204.

38) Iustus es malis deus nr̄]

'You are just to the wicked, O our God'. The number 15 is according to Agrippa 'a token of spiritual ascensions' (Occ. Phil. II, xv, p. 222) and the letter 'Y' was a supposedly Pythagorean symbol of the choice to be made between a life of virtue and a life of vice (Monas, trans Josten, p. 119).

39) Place it in the former place]

i.e. in that before the last occupied, the 22nd space in the outer circle of the seal.

40) Opera fidelium, Delectatio meq̄]

'The works of the faithful are my delight'.

41) Hic est Deus nr̄]

'Here is our God'.

42) 'Behold, iniquity reigns in my house'. A letter 'o' has just been shown and in the Zoharic exposition of the alphabet the letter Ayin, which has no sound but nevertheless

corresponds in its alphabetic position to the letter 'o' in other alphabets, is refused the right of beginning the creation on account of its 'standing for iniquity' (Zohar, I, p.10).

44) very lean]

See also the creature at line 50.

full of little e]



Covered all over with letters of this type.

46) 'The Beast devoured my people, but he will perish in eternity'. This is not a direct biblical quotation, but the beast referred to must be that of Revelation XIII, 1 or that of Revelation XIII, 11.

49) 'Iniquity abounds in my temple, and the holy live with the wicked'. The 'bluddy apparell' (line 47) recalls the innocent (see 18b, 47) and the 'serpents heds' (line 47) recall the 'old serpent, which is the Devil' (Revelation XX, 2). The underlined first letter of 'Abundat' indicates the next letter to be shown, so a strict adherence to order would demand that this line read 'Abundat Iniquitas...'

MN) The marginal notes other than those at lines 7 and 35 refer to the Enochian names for the letters shown.

MN35) Gon — cū puncto]

The Enochian letter  for 'Y' has a point to differentiate it from  for 'I' (see fol. 64b, 34).

fol. 20a.

- 2) The marginal note shows that this apparition is superfluous, there being no number or letter shown. If any had been revealed there would have been no spaces in the outer circle of the seal remaining unfilled after the corrections made on fol. 20b and only one unfilled, instead of two, before these corrections were made.

- 3) 'The earth is wicked in its evil deeds'.

- 6) Angeli....sanctis]
 'His angels ministered to the saints'.

- 7) Target]
 A small shield.

- 8) Regnabit Iniquitas pro tempore]
 'Wickedness shall reign for a time'.

- 9) a great arming sword]
 A sword forming part of a set of military accoutrement or suit of armour. It is probably a two-handed sword.

- 10) The emphasis on gold in this vision may be related to the statement at line 8, gold being a source of corruption as well as the right of kingship.
 16, ouer it]
 The number is later corrected as being under the letter
 (See MN10).

12) Nulla...terrā]

'No virtue reigns upon the earth', a statement rather similar to that at line 8. The vision which follows is of a fashionable braggart.

17) Non...Caelis]

'His number is not in the heavens'. No number accompanies the showing of the letter 'n'.

18) 'The old serpent raised his head, devouring the innocent'.

The old serpent is referred to in Revelation XIII, 9 and XX, 2 (see Commentary to 19b, 49).

22) 'My kingdom (or rule). Who may oppose it?'. See Isaiah I, 8:

'He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me?'
(Quis contradicet mihi).

25-28) 'Not because he is A, but because he contradicts A. Neither a part of him nor his number is to be found in heaven. But he has an earthly number, which is a mystery'. The part of the spirit not to be found in heaven is presumably the 'A', for while the letter Aleph (or alpha) was often used to signify God, a distinction is here being made between this particular showing of the letter 'A' and the designation of God by the first letter of the alphabet. This creature bears the letter 'A' because he is in fact entirely opposed to God (see Commentary to line 29).

29) The number 666 is the number of the Beast in Revelation (XIII, 18), but Agrippa gives the number to the daemon of

of the sun called Sorath, this being the total of the numerical equivalents of the Hebrew סללל (Occ. Phil. II, xxii, p. 243). Any trinitarian significance based on the triangular form of the number 6, which is the number of Christ, is confounded by lines 25-28.

30) 'This mystery is to be revealed to you later'. It is not.

32-35) This part of the Action was related to Dee by Kelly some time later (see MN32 and 20b, 20 ff.).

32) 'The earth is disturbed with his (or her) iniquity'.

33) his face as brass]

See the vision of Ezekiel (XL, 3).

36-37) 'Arise O ministers of God, arise (I say) [and] fight: the name of God is eternal'.

39) fyre cam oute of theyr mowthes]

See the spirit at 19a, 47.

41) A misreading of his original notes of the Action must have caused Dee to begin describing the next spirit (at end of line 40) before inserting this line.

44) 'All the earth trembles at the sound of his trumpet'. The blowing of the trumpet which shall begin the Last Judgement is described by Matthew (XXIV, 31) and in Revelation (VIII-XI).

48-49) 'O God, serve your people, O God, serve your people, O
God (I say), serve your people Israel'.

50)a fyry sword]

It is just possible that this part of the vision may have
been prompted by the flaming sword which guards the way
to the Tree of Life in Eden (Genesis III, 24), since the
previous lines form an impassioned plea to God to help his
fallen nation.

51) vesture all bluddy]

See the spirits at 18b, 47 & 19b, 47.

52) Est numerus in numero]

'He is number in number'. This is explained in the following
line.

53) 'In the sixteenth century [the number five] was made very
much after the pattern of our lower-case printed s'
(Tannenbaum, p. 156).

MN2) supfuous]

An error for 'supfluous' (superfluous).

MN30) 'A Mystery to be revealed to us'.

MN51) The Enochian for the letter 's'.

fol. 20b.

1) owgly]

'Ugly', see the spirit with three heads at 19a, 19.

skabbed]

See the spirit with leprosy at 20a, 34.

3) Nunc sunt Dies tribulationis]

'Now are the days of tribulation'.

4) 'This is the foresaid number'.

5-7) The marginal note explains that Uriel corrected the vision at lines 1-4 for this one instead.

5) Audite, Consummatum est]

'Listen, it is finished', consummatum est being Christ's last words upon the cross according to the Vulgate version of John XIX, 30.

8) 'Angel prepare your trumpet'. The imperative is erroneously plural.

9) Venit Tempus]

'The time comes'. See 19b, 31.

10) This action is the same as that of the spirit at 21a, 1.

13-14) Hij...adhuc]

'These two heavenly ones are yet to come'. There are two vacant spaces in the outer circle of the seal at this stage

on account of the fact that the 33rd letter and number were delivered at a later time (see 20a, MN32). From the 31st space Dee's inscription therefore reads: n, 6/A, 5/G, h/14, o/17, s, a/5, a/24, spaces 39 and 40 being vacant. After the correction the seal then reads: N, 6/A, o/10, 5/G, h/14, o/17, s, a/5, a/24, only the 40th space being unfilled.

15) 'Go. Nature has its end'.

16) florished]

'flourished'.

27) quantit<y>]

See the ninth place in the circle where the number is corrected from 22 to 20 (18b, 27).

28) and some for place]

See the 30th space in the circle of the seal and 20a, 10 & MN10.

28-29) one letter or place omitted]

If the spirit at 20a, 2, had shown any letter or number, there would have been just one space unfilled in the circle of the seal before the corrections and none after the corrections.

30) dowed, vppon]

'doubted of'.

32) Hi j duo Caelati sunt adhuc]

See Commentary to lines 13-14 above.

34) ax Judgmēt]

'ask for judgement'.

37) 'Truth is only in God. And all these things are true'.

38) history]

In the sense of a sequence of past events.

40) descrier]

An altern tive for 'scryer' (see MN39).

47) Consummatum est]

See line 5 above.

MN) [A line joins...]

Dee often uses lines to join words which are the same or phrases which deal with similar matters in order to make an immediately visible cross-reference on a folio.

fol. 21a.

1) See the spirit at 20b, 10.

2) greke ω]

Omega, the last letter of the Greek alphabet, certainly has an apocalyptic significance in its place in the last space in the outer circle of the seal (see Commentary to 18b, 18).

4) See 20a, 29.

5) put oute]

'covered from sight'.

Iste est numerus suus]

'This is his number'.

8) Omnia vnum est]

'All things are one'. See Introduction pp. 165-168 & 177.

9) The forme of the World]

The vision of the world in the stone noted at 18b, 2-3.

9-13] The circle has a total diameter of 37mm and is composed of thirteen circles altogether. The innermost circle has a diameter of 15mm and the figure 1 is 5mm high.

11-12) Semyeil]

An alternative for Semiel (see Commentary to 17b, 15).

16) Go forward]

'Proceed with the Action'.

17) 'Praise the Lord in his sanctuary' (Psalm CL, 1).

18-19) See the names extracted at 22a, 37-43 and 22b, 7-13.

20) This does not mean that each of the forty letters leads on to seven angels, but that the forty letters in total contain

the names of seven angels. A similar usage of 'euery letter' is to be found at 28a, 34.

24) Number significatiue]

A number full of significance in that it offers precise instruction for finding the next letter in the concealed name of God.

26) it sheweth removing]

'it indicates the direction'.

28) The vnder number]

The number underneath a letter.

30-31) When a letter without a number is reached, the whole name has been extracted from the circle of the seal.

34) Make experience]

'Try it'.

35) exclusively]

Exclusive of the space containing the number being counted.

46) ThAaoth]

This is later corrected to Thaoth (see 21b, 11-16).

50-51) Dee has previously referred to these angelic dealings as 'Actions' (see 7b, 39) and the designation of them by the word 'Calls' here is a case of his assuming an accident of vocabulary to be an angelic command.

MN12) The use of capitals in 'SemEIL' differentiates the two parts of the name, sem which means 'a name' and EL or EIL which is itself a name of God.

MN24) This note is written in Ashmole's hand on a piece of paper which is stuck onto the original folio in the nature of a repair.

fol. 21b.

4) his first Rule]

See 21a, 48. It is the rule which will correct ThAaoth to Thaoth (see 11-16 below).

5) Saluete]

'Welcome'.

8-9) All the names together must have a total of forty letters, although the rule against double letter 'a' means that in practice there are 38 letters in the seven names.

10-11) Some of the letters stand for numbers, perhaps according to their kabbalistic values. This aspect of the seal is not pursued.

c
12) w/ch/hich]

The margin is very tight and Ashmole wrote a superior 'ch' for what could not be seen after his binding of the MS but has since reappeared with the binding by Sloane.

16) his inward powre]

The letter 'A' signifies God and unity, having a numerical equivalent of one (see Commentary to 18b, 25, & 20a, 25-28).

18-19) Even with Dee's marginal note the meaning of these lines is obscure. In the collection of seven names the letter 'a' occurs in doubled form three times, but this does not explain why Michael states that seven names proceed from this letter. Only one name (Aaoth) begins with the letter 'a'.

20-21) The first letter of a conjunction of two letters 'a' is only to be erased when it occurs in the middle of a name; thus Aa th retains the double 'a'.

23) go]

The vision of the heart with these letters (19b, 28) in fact shows og according to normal English practice, but Dee may have interpreted it according to the Hebrew practice of reading from right to left.

24-42) The three versions of the 42 letter name of God along with their Latin translations are taken from Petrus Galatinus Columna's Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis (see Commentary to MN29). Other versions that have been postulated by the kabbalists tend to consist of the many names of God put together until a composite name of 42 letters has been reached.

29-31) 'that is: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost,

three in one and one in three, or trinity in unity and unity in trinity'.

32) הקדש לא]

This should read הקדש אל. The mistake is Dee's.

34-35) 'God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, yet not three gods but one God'.

38) on this maner]

'in this manner'.

41-42) Sicut...Messias vnus]

'Just as the rational soul and the flesh [make] one man, even so do God and man [form] one Messiah'.

41) anima rationalis]

Agrippa points to 'the threefold capacity of our soul, namely the imagination (imaginatio), the rational (ratio), and the mental (mens)' (see Frances A. Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (London 1979), p. 53).

The imagination could make a man a master in an art of some kind, while the intellect (mens) could show the way to 'the secrets of divine matters', but through the reason knowledge could be gained of 'natural and human things'. It is not clear however that Columna's 42 letter name of God differentiates the soul in quite this way and the 'rational soul' may simply be contrasted to the 'sensible soul' that is shared with the animals.

44-46) In the seven names collected from the circle of the seal double 'a' occurs twice in the middle of the names and in accordance with the rule expressed at 21b, 11-16, the first 'a' is always struck out. Since the letters are numbers as well (21b, 10-11), Michael is arguing that the striking out of the 'a's does not delete their numbers from the sequence obtained from the circle of the seal. Therefore the total of the outer circle still remains 40, being composed of thirty-eight letters and two 'numbers' from the deleted 'a's; if the 'a's are reinstated 'the old rule of 42 letters' is obtained. This does all seem to be little more than some juggling with terms by Kelly in order to get 42 out of 40.

47-48) The outer circle of the seal is here also stated to be a means of binding wicked spirits, in the same way that the holy names around the pentacle of Solomon are supposed to act as barriers between the conjurer and evil spirits.

MN29) Petrus Galatinus Columna, Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis (Basle 1561), p. 95. Columna in fact makes two mistakes: in the second name $\Pi\Gamma\Gamma$ stands, making the name total 43 letters (hence Dee's erasure of Γ at line 32), and in the first name $\Pi\Gamma$ is omitted altogether, although it may be found correctly in Book II, chap. 12 (p. 62). Both mistakes are almost certainly printer's errors.

MN44) '42 are here in potential, but not in deed'.

fol. 22a.

1) In this they were all Created]

The meaning is metaphysical; the animals were created in
'Truth', represented by the seal.

2-3) ADAMS Treatise from Paradise]

Michael means Dee's Book of Soyga (see 9a, 31-32 and
Introduction pp. 146-7).

4-6) 'Alpha and omega: the first and the last; one God alone
lives now and for ever: He is and will be: and here are
his holy names. I have spoken'. The holy names are in the
seal.

7) watcht]

'watched over by angels'.
who is euen now at the Dore]
This is probably a question.

8) Clerkson]

Kelly first came to Dee's house in the company of this Mr.
Clerkson (see Introduction p. 43).

10) 'Let us bless the Lord'.

12) The cross measures 9mm high by 6mm across, the arm being
5mm from the base.

13-15) The note in the box reads from line 15 upwards, this

being indicated by the caret. There seems to be no prefatory material to this Action.

17) 'The will of God be done'.

19) There is no reference in Dee's Diary or his other notes to the nature of Kelly's business here.

25) shitt]

A manuscript error for 'shutt'.

27) Canapie, of beaten gold]

The term 'canopy' was frequently used figuratively to describe the overhanging firmament and it may be that this vision is intended to represent the realms of heavenly purity.

28) 'Behold it is a mystery. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel' (see I Samuel XXV, 32 & Psalm LXXXII, 18).

31) an]

'and'.

34) Sapientiam]

'Wisdom'.

37-43) These are the names gathered from the circle of the seal.

The first 'a' of a double 'a' in the middle of a word is

crossed out in the first two names according to Michael's instruction (21b, 11-16). A more accurate list of the names is to be found at 22b, 7-13 (see these lines for Commentary).

fol. 22b.

1) misrekēing the numbers]

It is not easy to see how Dee made this mistake, since the only 's' in the circle has no number to lead on to 'og', it being the last letter of the name 'Galas' and the thirty-seventh in the circle. Perhaps Dee simply misread his own writing, despite what he says here.


3-6) See the rearranged order at lines 7-13. The reasons for this rearrangement are however not clear. Dee's original order of the names is that obtained by following the order indicated in the outer circle of the seal.

7-13) The only one of these names for which I have been able to find a source is 'Innon' which in the form of םןן is designated as a name of God by Agrippa (Occ. Phil. III, xi, p.371). According to the later adept, MacGregor Mathers, Innon is the holy name of an angel by which daemons are commanded to appear in Solomonic conjuration (Gustav Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels), although a common source for Kelly and Mathers is exceedingly unlikely considering the nature of the Order of the Golden Dawn.

14-15) This is an instruction to proceed anti-clockwise to fill

in the segments formed between the sides of the outermost heptagon and the outer circle of the seal (see 30a).

18-24) All these letters bearing some form of cross spell the name 'Galethog' and are placed in the angles between the outer heptagon and outer circle of the seal so that the name may be read in an anti-clockwise direction. The letters are given a more esoteric significance at 24a, 26-40.

18) The letter  is 10mm high. The number 5 is the number which the 'G' of 'Galethog' bears in the outer circle of the seal. This measurement and rule serve also for the signs between lines 19 and 23.

24) The circle around 'G' is 10mm in diameter and the cross is 6mm high.

27) assone]
'as soon'.

32) See 21a, 8.

38) that which is in the east]
The baskets are hanging around the horizon seen in the show-stone (see 22a, 32-33).

39) Seal this]
'Seal this in your heart'?

fol. 23a.

1) the 7 partes of the circle]

The seven sides of the outermost heptagon of the seal.

3) for the tyme wilbe Long]

This statement is rather unusual since most references by the angels to 'the time', by which they mean the coming of God's kingdom upon earth, infer that it will be in the not too distant future.

Seuen, rest in 7]

Seven names rest in the seven sides of the heptagon.

4) 7, liue by 7]

The letters in each side of the heptagon are parts of names which may be extracted by writing each group of seven letters in descending rows and then reading from top to bottom (see 24b, 21-28). Thus the first seven names cause another seven to come into being.

The 7, gouern the 7]

The names as read in the heptagon are the names of seven angels who govern the angels bearing the second set of names extracted at 24b, 21-28.

4-5) And by 7, all Gouernment is]

The second set of seven names are those given in Agrippa's Scale of Seven as governing the world (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 204-205). Each of these angels is also given governance over a planet. The unpronounceable first set of names belong,

according to Michael, to angels who govern these governors, and therefore the importance of septenaries in governance is strongly emphasised. According to J. E. Cirlot the number seven is symbolic of perfect order (A Dictionary of Symbols (New York 1962) p. 223) and Agrippa accords the number the power of representing supreme unity and of binding body and spirit (Occ. Phil. II, x, p. 193).

8) a white fowle like a pigeon]

This description suggests a dove, symbolic of peace and of the Holy Ghost.

9) 'Z' is th first letter placed in the heptagon.

7 f athers]

Each feath r contains a letter to be placed in the first side of the heptagon (see fol. 30a).

11-12) Se Commentary to lines 4-5 above.

26) a swan]

The symbolism of the swan is of great complexity. The swan is sacred to Venus, can represent hermaphroditism, and was compared by the alchemists to 'philosophical Mercury', the mystic Centre and the union of opposites. It also represents the satisfaction of a desire (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). None of these meanings seem to be in Kelly's mind, however.

27) 'He spoke and it was done'. This echoes God's creation of the world through his word (see Genesis I, 3).

28-34) These letters fill the spaces in the second side of the heptagon in the Sigillum Dei.

39) like to a peacock]

In Christian art the peacock represents the immortality and incorruptibility of the soul (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, p. 251) and this may be esoterically related to the role of Cumael (the third angel's name to be drawn from the letters in the heptagon) as a personification of divine justice (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). The immortal soul must finally face the justice of God.

40-41) 'And you live with him: and your reign is with him'.

44-50) These letters occupy the spaces in the third side of the heptagon in the seal.

fol. 23b.

2-4) 'He gave them power in the heavens. His power is great. Pray'.

6) a griphen]

A fabulous animal, being half eagle and half lion with a long serpentine tail. The griffin is found as the guardian of the roads to salvation or standing beside the Tree of Life and in medieval Christian art it is commonly associated with signs tending towards ambivalence, representing for instance both the Saviour and the Antichrist (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). No specific symbolism seems to be accorded to it here, however.

8-14) These letters occupy the spaces in the fourth side of the heptagon.

18-20) 'God is great in his angels, and great is their power in the heavens. Pray'.

21) an Egle]

The symbolism of the eagle is multifarious, but a common interpretation is that of a heavenly messenger, which taken a stage further allows the bird to be seen as representing the spirit of prophecy (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, p. 92). Haniel is the fifth name to be drawn from the letters in the heptagon, and while Gabriel is traditionally the angel of annunciation, the role has also been given to Haniel, alias Annael (Davidson, Dictionary of Angels). The bird can therefore be seen as a suitable bearer of the fifth set of letters.

25) These letters occupy the spaces in the fifth side of the heptagon. The circle measures 41mm in diameter and the squares measure 6mm.

28-29) 'Your messenger is great in the heavens. Pray'. There remains doubt as to whether these pronouncements by Michael with each show of letters are introductory or valedictory, but if the latter, the words may clearly be related to Haniel's role (see ⁿCommentary to line 21 above).

30) Basket]

A singular for a plural.

- 36) Uriel takes over the exposition from Michael because the sixth name to be extracted from the letters is that of Michael himself. Michael is therefore 'here' in name and 'not here' in presence.

- 38-40) The phoenix is symbolic of all processes of destruction and rebirth and the bird which Kelly sees certainly resembles a phoenix in its sparkling fiery qualities. The action of the bird, however, strongly argues that it is a pelican, which in this portraiture is a most potent symbol of the Redemption and of service to one's fellow man:

The Pellican, for to reuiue her younge,
Doth peirce her brest, and geue them of her blood:
Then searche your breste, and as you haue with tonge,
With penne proceede to doe our countrie good:
Your zeale is great, your learning is profounde,
Then helpe our wantes, with that you doe abounde.

(Whitney's Choice of Emblemes, edited by Henry Green, facsimile reprint (London 1846), p. 87).

A bird which is a mixture of phoenix and pelican may be interpreted as symbolic of the rebirth of man through Christ's sacrifice, although the precise nature of any intended connection with Michael, whom Dee defines as 'the strength of God', is not clear.

- 43) The square measures 24mm on each side and the segment of the circle measures 14mm at the base. The sixth side of the heptagon in the Sigillum Dei reads 'i i e e l l l', so the

letters are intended to be read clockwise, beginning at the top left corner.

MN36) See 24b, 23-24.

fol. 24a.

- 2) 'He gave to the angels power in the light of heaven'.
- 4) The revelation equivalent to Michael's name now being past, Michael himself returns to continue the exposition.
- 6) a strange fowle with many wings]
Save for the fact that all winged creatures represent spirituality, the symbolism of this creature remains obscure.
- 8) The circle measures 32mm in diameter. The letters are to be read anti-clockwise from the top 'e'.
- 9) 'And God joined them in one'.
- 13) There is no specific function of explication assigned by tradition to Uriel.
- 16) The title of 'fellows' again emphasises the election of Dee and Kelly by God.
- 17) This is equivalent to Dee's customary prayer of 'recte sapere' etc. (see 7a, 49).

24) the 7 angles]

The segments between the heptagon and the outer circle of the seal.

26) Those 7 letters]

See 22b, 18-24.

the 7 Seats of the One]

Seats (sedes) are an order of Angels mentioned in Augustine's Civitas Dei and may be equated with the more common order of Thrones.

27-28) Even if the crosses which accompany the letters are meant in each case to stand for 'El' (see Commentary to 19a, 19-22), the names of these '7 secret Angels' remain veiled. The 'G', 'A' and 'H', each with a cross, might represent Gabriel, Annael and Haniel, but Annael and Haniel are customarily alternative names for the same angel and in such a sequence one would also expect the names of Michael and Raphael, if not Uriel as well. While there are several angelic names which begin with the first six letters of the name Galethog and which also end in 'el', there is no recorded septenary of angels that I have found which comprises ~~7~~ angels whose names begin with these letters, and I have found no angelic name which begins with 'og' and ends in 'el'. The names of these '7 secret Angels' are not revealed in any later Action and Kelly's lack of further explanation is probably deliberate.

28) in substance]

'in essential nature, with regard to the divine being of God', a theological usage (OED).

29) in forme]

In Scholastic philosophy 'form' was 'the essential determinant principle of a thing' (OED).

29-30) Inwardly to the HOLI GHOSTE]

Agrippa writes that the number 7 is 'consecrated to the Holy Ghost, which the Prophet Isaiah describes to be seaven fold, according to his gifts viz. the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, the spirit of counsell, and strength, the spirit of knowledge, and holiness, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord' (Occ. Phil. II, x, p. 197).
See Isaiah XI, 2.

32-33) the 7 inward powres of God]

See Commentary to lines 29-30 above. If those seven qualities are not referred to here, then these powers only add further to the vagueness and obscurity of this passage.

36) qualifieth]

'gives quality to'.

38) ONE in SEVEN]

The one name Galethog is supposed to contain the names of the '7 secret Angels'.

38) He is twice THREE]

The marginal note corrects this to 'twice three and one'.

Agrippa notes that the number seven 'hath a Unity, as it were the coupling of two threes' (see Commentary to 18a, 32).

fol. 24b.

1-2) The numbers accompanying the letters in the segments between the heptagon and the outer circle of the seal are those that are found with the letters that make up the name of Galethog in the outer circle.

8) See John I, 5.

14) The parte]

The heptagon.

16-17) See Proverbs III, 32: 'for his secret is with the righteous'.

22-28) The names of the seven angels between lines 22 and 24 are obtained by reading downward and are the names of the Angels of the Presence according to Agrippa (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 204-205).

29) the number of 72 Vertues]

Despite Dee's assumption in the marginal note to this line, it is not clear whether the 48 letters (excluding the final cross) lead collectively to the 72 virtues or whether each letter individually represents 72 virtues, making a total of 3456. In the former case the method by which the names

are supposed to proceed remains obscure and it is perhaps no accident that no further exposition of this point is given. The angelic order of Virtues is not usually to be found numbered except for its seven governing angels, and the reference may rather glance at the 72 angels who bear the name of God shemhamphorae. A clear explanation of how these 72 names are gathered from Exodus XIV, 19-21 is to be found in C.D.Ginsburg, The Kabbalah (London 1865) pp. 50-54, and they are also listed in Davidson, Dictionary of Angels, p. 345. Yet even if these names do act as a source for this angelic pronouncement, no connection with the cross and 48 letters in the heptagon of the seal is evident.

30) The names of the virtues are not revealed.

38) In Ashmole's transcript this line bears a marginal note in which Ashmole writes: 'This I suppose was spoken by Michael, though the noting by whome is omitted in the originall' (Sloane MS 3677, 39a).

44) Man is frayle]

See Psalm XXXIX, 4.

MN21) Uriel does not appear among the seven governing angels whose names are contained in the outer heptagon of the seal.

MN26) In an Action of 25 June 1584 it is explained that 'the earth is the last, which is with the Angels, but not as the

Angels, and therefore it standeth in the Table of the seven Angels, which stand before the presence of God in the last place, without a Letter, or number, but figured by a Crosse' (TFR, p. 173).

MN29) See Commentary to line 29.

MN44) This note refers to the suggestion that the books of Lord Monteagle are in danger (see 25a, 1-4).

fol. 25a.

3) L. Mowntegles]

William Stanley, the third Lord Monteagle, died in 1581 and the fourth Lord Monteagle was William Parker, who inherited the title through his mother, the daughter and heiress of William Stanley. Parker was born in 1575, and so Dee is referring to Stanley and is presumably attempting to purchase books once owned by Stanley and now for sale as a result of his death.

M^r Mort]

The identity of this man remains hidden, but it is probable that he was acting as an agent for the sale of Stanley's books.

4) whereof mention is made before]

If any earlier mention was made it was presumably in the missing page at the beginning of the second book. Dee's Diary states that on 22 March 1582 'Mr. Talbot went to London, to take his jorney', evidently to see Mr Mort about the books.

12) a Trumpeter]

See the spirits at 20b, 9 and 21a,1.

13) heare]

'hair'.

14) The sownd therof]

In contrast to the previous spirits with trumpets this one evidently does blow upon his.

16) There are two carets for the superscription, one being before the comma after 'Skryer'.

17) This warning was given at 12b,24.

18-20) 'And this is his glory, which will not be shaken by the wicked. What do you want? Δ Next to the will of God, the wisdom necessary for us' (see 7a, 49 and 24a,17). The speech-heading of Michael is misplaced but the curved line to the left of lines 18 and 19 indicates that it should be at the line above its present position.

21-24) 'The wisdom of the world is nothing [see Job XXVIII, 12] but will perish in eternity. May the eternity of the Lord come, from all parts of the world. Come, come, if God Adonai wills. Perform your office Phanaël'. Phanaël is here given the office of blowing the last trump.

24) Phanaël]

I have found no other record of this angelic name, but Phanuel ('the face of God') is an archangel of penance and often equated with Uriel. Along with Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, Phanuel is designated as one of the four angels of the presence, when those angels are not deemed to be seven in number. In the Sybilline Oracles he is one of the five angels who know all the evils that men have committed, which makes his office of blowing the last trump here particularly appropriate.

31) Mone and sterr[s]

'Moon and stars'.

32) Multiplex est Deus noster]

'Our God exists in many forms'.

33-34) Seuen...erth]

For an exposition of the number seven in relation to heavenly and earthly bodies and events see Agrippa, Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 193-202.

34-35) seuen...body]

The number four relates to body and the elements and the number three appertains to the soul. The number seven therefore 'contains body and soul' (see Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 193-194 and Commentary to 18a, 32).

36) The number seven 'hath a Unity, as it were a coupling of two threes' (Occ. Phil. II, x, p. 194).

37) See Commentary to line 36 above.

38) The name YHSVH (Jhesu), which is the wonder-working name of Reuchlin's De verbo mirifico, consists of five letters and is the name to be called upon in 'the time of grace' according to Agrippa (Occ. Phil. II, viii, p. 189). The Son of God may also be found in the number six contained in seven (see Commentary to 18b, 12).

38-39) the proportion of the Holy Ghoste]

Agrippa writes that in the proportion of 2:2 the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son may be seen (Occ. Phil. II, vii, p. 183). The Son and the proportion of the Holy Ghost are contained in the number seven in the constituent numbers of 5 and 2 and in the number 4 (2:2) which remains after the number of the Trinity has been extracted.

40) thy 7 Trumpets]

'And I saw the seven angels which stood before God: and to them were given seven trumpets' (Revelation VIII, 2).

41) thy 7 Angels]

The seven angels of the presence, who have the seven trumpets and have or are the seven thrones referred to at line 40.

42) See line 33 above.

fol. 25b.

4) Uriel was designated as possessing an office of explication and instruction at 24a, 13.

7) 'Such is our God'.

12) 'Our God is one, God, our God'.

13-14) The joining of the pillars symbolises unity in seven (see 25a, 36).

15-23) These letters form the name underneath the first side of the heptagon in the Sigillum Dei.

23) *Μυστηριον* est]

'It is a mystery'. *Μυστηριον* is closer to the Latin 'mysterium' than the correct Greek *Μυστηριον* .

30-34) These pillars are sent by evil spirits, in the same manner that illuding spirits kept intruding in the Action of 10 March 1582 (9a-10b).

31) 'The evil one perishes with the wicked'.

33-34) 'Such is your audacity Satan, but our God lives'.

36) NON SVM]

'I am not'. The marginal note indicates that these pillars

are not to be heeded.

38) SVM]

'I ~~am~~', equivalent to the holy name $\Pi' \Pi \aleph$ (Ehie) which God spoke to Moses from the burning bush (Exodus III, 14). These pillars provide the next name for the seal.

44) B T Z]

The first three letters of the second name, written under the second side of the heptagon in the seal.

45) cumfet boxes]

'cumfit boxes', cumfits being sweetmeats such as preserved fruit or pickles (OED).

46) 'These are the secrets of secrets'. The phrase echoes 'the holy of holies' (sanctus sanctorum).

fol. 26a.

1) 'Invoke his name or we can do nothing'.

3) K A S E]

The remaining letters to be written under the second side of the heptagon.

7) 'Thus, O Lord, thus, thus'.

8) the Table]

The Sigillum Dei.

9) Laudate...aeternum]

'Praise the name of the Lord who lives for ever'.

11) Ipse]

Literally this means 'himself', but it is rather the Latin equivalent of the Tetragrammaton, the holy name of God which means 'he is'.

12) 'And your mercy is great O Lord' (see Psalm LXXXVI, 13).

16-17) These letters are placed under the third side of the heptagon in the seal.

19) 'The Lord is to be found in his number' (literally 'placed in his number').

22) 'I live like a lion in their midst'. Christ is called the 'Lion of the tribe of Juda' in Revelation V, 5.

23) 'And your power is great everywhere'.

25-28) These letters are placed under the fourth side of the heptagon in the seal.

27) 'This is not except by prayer'.

31) Serpens...serpentem]

' I am the serpent and have devoured the serpent'. The

second serpent is Satan, but the first is God, the serpent being symbolic of energy and, when biting its tail, also of eternity (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols).

32) 'You are the serpent to both good and evil, O Lord'. Since all things proceed from God, evil exists only by his allowance.

34-36) These letters appear under the fifth side of the heptagon in the seal.

37) 'The number of that one is known to none'.

41) 'I am the penetrating fire'. This sentence recalls the Pentecost.

41) Et sit nobiscum O Deus]
'And may it be with us O God'.

45) I apered]
The letter 'I' appeared.

46) $\frac{21}{8}$]
The marginal note states that this should read $V \frac{21}{8}$.

49) Angels like little Children]
The names of the Sons of Light, the Daughters of Light, and their sons and daughters are to be extracted from the letters delivered by the pillars and these angels are

presumably representative of them.

fol. 26b.

1) N]

This is the last letter of the sixth name to be written under the heptagon of the seal, the others having been delivered at 26a,43-46 (with the exception of the V that was omitted in error).

2) 'Thus, thus, thus [is] our God' (see 26a,7).

6) 'The end'.

7) 'God [is] our joy and light'.

10-14) The seventh name for the seal is delivered here.

11-12) This vision seems to represent the Creation, although it could equally well be seen as representing the chaos on earth that follows the blowing of the trumpets for the Last Judgement in Revelation.

13) Consummatum est]

See 20b, 5 & 47.

16-17) 'One, one, one; all flesh fears his voice'.

19-20) See 14a,20 and Introduction pp. 110-112.

21) shold do well]

'would be all right'.

27) stoles]

'stools'.

flowre]

'floor'.

28) him]

Kelly.

32-34) 'Approach, daughters of goodness: behold your God comes
near: come'.

35) On female spirits see Introduction p. 155, note 1.

36) a wreath] *a cordet of twisted silk (OED).*

39) 'Write what you see'.

40) a blue tablet]

The colour blue 'stands for religious feeling, devotion and
innocence' (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). The colour is
appropriate considering what the tablet bears. Unfortunately
there is no apparent reason why these spirits should also
be dressed in green, the colour of fertility.

41) EL]

See Commentary to 19a, 16.

41-48) The names delivered here are written in the angles formed

by the interwoven heptagon in the seal.

MN32) 'The daughters of goodness or the little daughters of light: see the following page'. Dee generally refers to these spirits as filiae lucis, 'the daughters of light'.

fol. 27a.

1) Nos possumus in Caelis multa]

'We can do many things in the heavens'.

3) your next place but one]

Inside the angles of the intertwined heptagon rather than in the heptagon itself.

5) 'Approach little daughters of light' (see 26b, MN32).

6-7) Adsumus...stas]

'We come, O you who stand before the face of God'. Michael is one of the angels of the presence.

8) Hijs nr̄is benefacite]

'Do well by these our [chosen] people', referring to Dee and Kelly.

9) Factum erit]

'It shall be done'.

10) Valete]

'Go'.

11) The erased 'E' shows that Dee originally began to write 'E.K!', as Kelly was relating the vision to him.

11-13) 'And the Lord said, come sons of light, come into my tabernacle. Come (I say), for my name is exalted'.

15) The Daughters of Light were attired in this manner but in green silk (26b,35-36).

16-22) These are the seven metals associated with the seven planets.

Gold is the metal of the sun, silver that of the moon and copper that of venus. Tin belongs to jupiter, iron ('yern') to mars, quicksilver to mercury and lead to saturn. The order in which the metals are shown is a little peculiar in that one would expect a descending order of baseness or an order related to the order of the planets, but this may only be achieved by swopping the places of the tin and the quicksilver. When this is done, a descending order of baseness, also c rresponding to the Copernican system less the earth, is achieved.

24) 'Although they are generated at one time, still they are one thing'. The caret refers to the marginal note which would change the sentence to read: 'although they are not generated at one time', thus making more sense. The lines concern the Aristotelian conception of matter being ultimately all one matter, but taking an infinite variety of forms. This concept lay at the heart of the alchemical theory of transmutation, which ^{sought to} change the form of matter (see F. Sherwood Taylor, The

Alchemists (London 1951), pp. 12-17).

26-34) These names are written in the arms of the intertwined heptagon.

34) 'Act for them [i.e. Dee and Kelly] when the time shall come'.

35) Volumus]

'We will'.

36-37) 'Great is the glory of God amongst you. He will be for ever. Hallelujah. Go'.

39-40) 'God said: let my name be remembered, but let yours be forgotten'; not a direct biblical reference.

42-44) 'Come, come, come, daughters of the Daughters of Light, come; you who will have daughters, come now and always'.
'Qui' should be quae.

MN5) See Commentary to 26b, MN32.

MN11) 'The Sons of Light'.

MN43) 'The daughters of the Daughters [of Light]'.

MN44) A third generation of Daughters of Light does not make an appearance.

fol. 27b.

1-2) Dixit...Adsumus,]

'God said: I have created my angels, who may destroy the daughters of the earth. We are come'. The 'daughters of the earth' are presumably evil spirits, in opposition to the Daughters of Light, but they make no appearance in the Actions.

2) 7 little wenches]

These are the second generation Daughters of Light.

3-5) They are dressed like the Sons of Light (see 27a, 14-15).

6) Vbi fuistis vos]

'Where were you?'

6-7) In terris...glorificatis]

'On earth with the saints and in the heavens with the glorified'.

9) The significance of this speech impediment is obscure.

11) Non...hoc]

'This mystery may not yet be known', referring to the objects in the hands of the spirits. In contrast to 25b, 23, the Greek mysterion is now in Roman letters. This cannot just be a case of Kelly mixing up the Greek and Latin words, since it was Dee who wrote mysterium in Greek letters at 25b, 23.

12) white Ivory]

I cannot discover any traditional symbolism attached to ivory but purity is evidently represented.

13-19) These names occur inside those last delivered in the
Sigillum Dei.

20-21) 'What may you do for these? We will be with them in all their works'. Again the spirits offer aid to Dee and Kelly (see 27a,34-35).

22) Valeas...Caelis]

'You are worthy and you are great O [you] in the heavens'. The letter 'O' is both vocative and symbolic of God's perfection and eternity, being a circle. Furthermore the 'O' may refer to God's role as omega, the end of all things.

25) 'And he sent the sons of the Sons [of Light] teaching in Israel'.

26-27) 'The Lord said: come to my voice. We are here'.

27) 7 little Children]

These are the second generation Sons of Light.

28-30) The scholarly dress conforms with the role of these spirits as teachers (line 25 above) and purple 'provides a synthesis comparable with, yet the inverse of, violet, representing




power, spirituality and sublimation' (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, p. 52).

31) 'What is done among the sons of men?'

32-34) 'They live in evil (they said) and we do not have a place with them, such is their injustice. Woe unto the world because of offences. Woe unto those from whom the offences come. Woe unto those with whom we are not'. The second and third sentences are derived from Matthew XVII, 7.

35) The three cornered tablets are symbolic of divinity (see Commentary to 18b,25). Since the names delivered between lines 37 and 47 'grow from' the names written under the sides of the outer heptagon of the seal and these are the second generation Sons of Light, the green colouring may be justified in terms of fertility and growth.

37) E]

Agrippa writes that among the kabbalists 'there is yet another fashion of Characters, common to almost all letters, and tongues, and very easie, which is by the gathering together of letters; as if the name of the angel Michael be given, the Characters thereof shall be framed thus. In Hebrew , in Greek , in Latin , (Occ. Phil. III, xxx, pp. 443-444). The writing of 'EL' as such a compound letter is a simple example of this tradition.

37) Nec...Mundus]

'Nor is the world afraid at my name'.

37-47) These names are written in the inner heptagon of the
Sigillum Dei.

38) Nullus...meam]

'None shall see my face' (see Exodus XXXIII, 20).

39) Non...dicā]

'The virgin is not [living] on earth with whom I may speak'. This phrase and the name 'Aue' recalls the Annunciation by Gabriel to the Virgin Mary.

42-43) Tanta...illo]

'Such is the weakness of the holiness of the day. The righteous have deserted him'. 'Diei' is probably an error for 'Dei' ('of God'). The first sentence is hard to make sense of, but may be pointing to the fact that man must turn to God of his own accord; God does not compel man to follow his ways (compare with Donne's Holy Sonnet XIV, 'Batter my heart, three person'd God'). In Latin 'Liba' means a sacrificial cake and it is possible that reference is being made to the Host.

44-45) Opera...me]

'The works of their hands are in vain; but none shall see me'.

47) Ecce...vuiuo]

'Behold—Hagonel—I live with those that are yet holy'. The 'e' and 'l' of Hagonel are written as one composite letter (see Commentary to line 37 above).

MN47) 'See book four concerning this Hagonel'. Hagonel later instructs Dee in many matters.

fol. 28a.

1-2) Hij...Doctrina]

'These have imitated my doctrine. In me is found the doctrine of all things'.

3-4) Imitauerūt, for Imitati sunt]

The verb 'to imitate' is correctly passive in Latin: imitor.

5) Non curat numerum Lupus]

'The wolf does not care for (or pay attention to) number'. This would appear to refer to Kelly and in this respect the comment on the biblical use of wolves in metaphor which is to be found in Cruden's Concordance under the heading of 'Wolf' is illuminating: 'In a country where a large part of wealth consisted of flocks of sheep the habits of wolves became thoroughly well known, and were often used as symbols of such habits and actions of mankind as might bear a resemblance to them'.

6) Ne...virtutem]

'He does not take away the least virtue from virtue'. 'Virtue' is being used in both a particular and a general sense and the line may be paraphrased as 'not even the smallest virtuous act of those who lead righteous lives goes unnoticed by God'.

7-8) 'Be with them. Be (I say with them). Be (I say) with me. Go.' This is spoken to the spirits. The first closing parenthesis has evidently been misplaced and should come after 'say'.

10) 'It has been said at this time'.

13) See 24a,13. 'Interpretate' is an error for 'interpret'.

14-15) 'Vr. All understanding is from the Lord. Mi. And his name is Halleluyah'. 'Hallelujah' means 'praise Jah', Jah being one of the names of God.

17-23) This table is incorrect, the correct version being given at 28b,34-40. The erasures are very faint and the corrections are made in pencil and I suspect that they were made by Ashmole. Since Dee shortly received the correct version there cannot have been great need to correct the first example, whereas Ashmole may have wanted a convenient comparison of the two versions for his investigations into Dee's magic.

Even when the numbers in the table are explained as letters, most of the names remain unpronounceable.

27-28) 'Blessed is he who keeps his names secret'. In Revelation secret names are also given to the elect (II, 17) and the angel called Faithful and True has another name which is said to be secret (XIX, 12).

29-31) The names of these angels who stand next to the seven angels of the presence are obtained by reading from the top left corner diagonally downwards from right to left. The first name is S/AB/ATH/I $\frac{21}{8}$, or Sabathiel ($\frac{21}{8}$ standing for 'el'). The seven names obtained in this way are Sabathiel, Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel, Corabiel and Levanael (all numbers except $\frac{21}{8}$ represent simply the letter 'l').

32-33) 'Holy, holy, holy is he, our God'. Compare with Revelation IV, 8.

34-28b,1) The further names to be extracted from the table are those of the Daughters of Light, their daughters, the Sons of Light and their sons.

34) Every letter]

Not each individual letter, but the entire table allows the names to be found (see 21a, 20).

36) Every daughter her daughter]

Every daughter of the Daughters of Light.

36-37) bringeth furth a sonne]

This suggests that 27a,44 should read filios, 'sons', rather than filias, 'daughters',

MN13) 'Uriel's office'.

fol. 28b.

2) the God of seuen]

See 24a,26-42.

4-7) 'The voice of the Lord in strength. The voice of the Lord in decorum. The voice of the Lord reveals secrets. In his temple let us praise his name El.'

10-11) The names of the Daughters of Light are to be found by reading the table diagonally from the top right corner from left to right. Each diagonal produces a name: El, Me, Ese, Iana, Akel , Azdobn, Stimcul (see 26b,41-48). The last name is the diagonal from one corner to the other (what is here called the 'one Centre').

12-13) The names of the Sons of Light are obtained by reading from the bottom left corner diagonally upwards from left to right: I, Ih, Ilr, Dmal, Heeoa, Beigia, Stimcul (see 27a,26-33).

14) These principles allow the names of the second generation sons and daughters of light to be obtained. The names of the second generation daughters are found by reading from the top left corner diagonally from right to left, ignoring the numbers: S, Ab, Ath, Ized, Ekiei, Madimi, Esemeli (see 27b, 13-19). The names of the second generation Sons of Light are obtained by reading from the bottom right corner diagonally upwards from left to right, using the transliteration of the number in the bottom right corner only: El, An, Ave,

Liba, Rocle, Hagonel, Ilemese (see 27b,37-28a,1).

18-20) Dee is to look for a letter over an 8.

19) vnder neth]

'underneath'.

22) This first name is 'El'.

24-25) The number 8 occurs under the letter 'l' in the 17th place of the outer circle of the seal, but also under 'o' in the 24th place.

27) See Commentary to 27b,37.

28) 'The name of the Lord lives for ever'.

34-40) This is the corrected version of the table.

34) Viuit in Caelis]

'He lives in the heavens'. Presumably each of these phrases that follow is intended to reflect upon the supposed meaning of these unpronounceable names.

35-40) Deus...tabula]

'Our God. Our leader. He is here. Light in eternity. He is the end. This table is true'.

41-42) 'This table is true, and is partly known to us and partly unknown to all. Look further'.

43) in the second place]

'In the second line'.

44) The name of the Second Daughter of Light is 'Me', but the 3⁰ represents 'l' in the derivation of the name of Hagonei from the table. The transliteration of the numbers is based upon the letters with which they occur in the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei. The position of the dot indicates that the letter is to be found above the number and the first example in the seal is to be found in the 15th place of the outer circle.

MN25) 'El' and 'l' are argued as being one and the same (see Commentary to 19a,16 & 19-22 and Monas Hieroglyphica, edited by C. H. Josten, p. 171).

fol. 29a.

1) The 26[.] by I is the beginning of the fifth unknown name of God in the table. The point above the number indicates that it is to be found above a letter and 26 occurs over 'l' in the 14th space of the outer circle of the seal. The transliteration is not used in obtaining the name of the fourth second generation Daughter of Light (Ekiei), but is used in extracting the name of Zedekieil from the table.

3) The only time the number 21 occurs in the outer circle of the seal is in the 25th place, under the letter 'e'.

6-7) '[God's] virtue is with you. Pray'.

10-11) 'Our God's angels of light. And he placed his angels
in their midst'.

18) The table actually reads 'Sabathiel'.

19) The name of this angel is more normally found as 'Zedekiel'.

26-27) The names are written inside the inner heptagon, Zabathiel
having a letter placed on each side of the figure and the
remaining names being written in a circle around the inner
pent cle.

45) This cross measures 8mm high by 6mm across, the arm being
5mm from the base.

47) The dimensions of this cross are the same as those of the
cross at line 45 above. The final 'e' and 'l' of Levanael
are written one over the other.

MN10) 'Angels of Light'.

MN24) Corabiel is one of the angels of the first heaven who
rules in the west and who may be invoked on Mondays
according to Abano's tables (Agrippa, Opera, p. 580).

fol. 29b.

1-3) 'God saw that his work was good and he ceased from his
labours. It was done' (see Genesis I, 31).

5-10) This is an expanded form of the liturgical blessing
(see Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book 1559, p. 105)

11) These Angels]

Sabathiel, Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semiel, Nogahel, Corabiel
and Levanael.

12) the Lightes of the .7. Circles]

The seven planets on their spheres. The angels assigned to the planets by Agrippa are those whose names are extracted at 24b,22-24 (Occ. Phil. III, xxiv, p. 414), but he also gives them governance over the world (Occ. Phil. II, x, pp. 204-205). At 23a,11-12, Kelly was informed that the angels whose names were extracted at 24b,22-24, governed the earth and here a different septenary is being pronounced as governors of the planets, although there is a divergence from Agrippa.

14-16) Uriel is sometimes included as one of the Angels of the Presence

16) 'I have spoken'.

20-21) 'May the name of the Lord be blessed from this moment and continuously for ever and ever'.

fol. 30a.

The drawing of the seal has a diameter of 195mm (7.7 inches).
The inner bands are 7mm wide and the inner pentacle has a

thickness of 2.5mm (0.1 inches).

- 1-3) 'The Seal of God, called AEMETH or EMETH ['the truth'] of God'. There seems little point in the Hebrew being written twice since the vowel points are the same in both cases, although they are intended to represent the two possible versions of Aemeth and Emeth. The transliteration of the aleph becomes in this case purely a matter of preference.

fol. 31a.

- 1-6) 'The third book of mysteries. 28 April 1582. The third book. The fourth book'.

- 3-4) The third book also contains an Action of 29 April and an Action of 4 May (36a and 42a).

- 5-6) These lines are in Ashmole's hand and arise from the fact that he designates the title page of book four (44a) as beginning the fifth book and assumes that the fourth book begins with the Action of 4 May (see Commentary to 42a, 1).

fol. 32a

- 2) my Complayntes]

It is evident from lines 10-12 that Dee had been experiencing considerable difficulty in performing the tasks set for him by the angels, such as the construction of the lamine and the ring.

6) one Action, in one person]

The communication of the angels is directed towards one mind, that of Dee and Kelly together (see line 7).

9) This reference to slackness and Dee's subsequent excuse caused Ashmole to believe that some papers were missing from the end of the second book (see Introduction p. 11).

13) A great hill of gold with serpents]

This vision lends itself to alchemical as well as religious interpretation. The hill may be symbolic of the Philosophers' Stone as well as just divine wisdom and while in religious symbolism the serpent is the devil, in alchemical symbolism it has the same significance as the dragon, representing 'matter in its imperfect unregenerate state' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 145). The vision would therefore represent the goal to which Dee aspires (wisdom or the Philosophers' Stone) beset by troubles (the serpents as evil) or by impurities (the serpents as unregenerate matter).

14) a mighty great water]

In alchemical symbolism the dragon or serpent has to be slain 'which means that the metals...have to be reduced to a non-metallic condition' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 145). This is achieved by boiling and distillation, various 'waters' being produced. The great water may, however, simply be a symbol for the destruction of the hill and serpents, thereby implying the transience of worldly things and ambition (see line 17).

19) The lamine is probably to be covered by red silk like the seal and the Holy Table (see 10a, 18-21).

19-23) The triangular sketch measures 26mm along the top and 29mm down the vertical side; it is intended to be isocetes but is not completely on the folio.

21) the Ring]

Presumably this is the ring bearing the name PELE (see 12a, 33) although line 23 does suggest some large circle of which no reference is extant in the manuscript.

23) It is inconceivable that the ring bearing the name PELE should be so large as to accommodate this kind of reduction, but it is not easy to see what else might be referred to here.

27) PELE]

See Commentary to 12a, 46.

28) Venite Ese]

'Come Ese'. Ese is the third of the Daughters of Light.

29) Fire is an emblem of God's word (see Jeremiah XXIII, 29) and of the baptism of the Holy Ghost (see Matthew III, 11).

30) The 'thing' is a 'figure' which changes into the two Daughters of Light Ese and Iana (see line 37).

31-32) 'Praise the Lord in the heavens. Pray'.

34-35) 'Come hither Ese. Come hither Iana'. Iana is the fourth of the Daughters of Light.

36) 'He gave you a show in your tables'. Dee uses the word 'show' for visions or displays of tables by the angels and spirits and I take demonstratio to be its Latin equivalent.

38) lightened]
'shome'.

41) 'From these come created things and these are their names'.
The first 'these' refers to the tables that are to follow and which will be known as the Tables of Creation.

44) 'Number one', the table at fol. 33a.

48) septem...2^o.]

'The seven Daughters of Goodness [see 26b,MN32], in book two above' (see 26b, 41-48).

MN19) [simpler]

This word is not entirely legible and this is the nearest that I can come to making sense of it, unsatisfactory though it is. This might be paraphrased as 'no further details were given of the lamime'. Ashmole's transcript offers no solution as he has just copied the letters as best he could, ending with the same flourish or slip of the pen as the original. The first five letters are

the most certain.

fol. 32b.

1) the first Shew]

This is a vision of part of the first table, given in its complete form on fol. 33a. For ease of reference to parts of these 'tables of creation' I shall adopt a system as if the constituent squares were lettered consecutively across the top and numbered consecutively down the completed table. Thus this 'first Shew' would be A1.

3) The second]

This second square is A2 of the completed table on fol. 33a.
in like wise]

Since there is no cross in this square, this must mean that it was likewise 'wyped oute' by the finger.

4) The third]

Square A3 in the table on fol. 33a.

5) This figure is to be found in square G2 of the first table.

It is not clear why the squares between A3 and G2 receive no individual reference.

6) The two Crossed ones]

This probably refers to square H2 where two letters 'B' are separated by a cross, although it could be B2.

7) The next]

This refers to either all those between H2 and H3 (i.e.

all those in the third line down except for the last) or,
 if 'the two Crossed ones' referred to B2, to all those between
 C2 and H3. It seems most likely that the specific meaning
 of 'the next' is 'the next line of squares'.

8) This is square H3.

9) This line refers to square A4.

11) The square with $\begin{smallmatrix} G \\ M \\ + \end{smallmatrix}$ is F4 in the table.

12) that he let stand]

This square was not blotted out.

13) Five]

Presumably five of the Daughters of Light.

burnt]

Either 'destroyed' or 'made appear with fire'.

The diagram is G4 and H4 in the table.

14) This diagram occupies the squares A5, B5 and C5 in the table.

16) The places are very black]

The letters seem to be of a bright colour or gold (see line 5)
 against a black background, although Ashmole's description
 of the Holy Table gives the lines of the tables as blue and
 the letters, numbers and diagrams as red (see Introduction
 p.137).

17) Finis Tenebrarū]

'The end of darkness', an accompanying phrase suitable to a 'table of creation'.

18) the little woman]

The Daughter of Light who has presented the table (32a,38).
the clowde]

The 'myst' which appeared at 32a,40.

19) mery]

'merry'.

20) comprehended]

This word not only bears the meaning of 'understood' but also of 'included' and 'contained'. In the creative process the first table represents 'the end of darkness' and there seems to be a reference to John I, 5: 'And the light shineth in darkness: and the darkness comprehendeth it not'. See also Genesis I, 4, in which light is divided from darkness.

22) .6. other Tables]

These are shown on fols 33a, 33b, 35a and 35b.

28-29) 'A good beginning in his name and it is', or 'and the beginning is good in his name' if the 'et' is misplaced.

32) 'Come daughters of the Daughters of Light, Ese'. Either Ese or Iana showed the first table. After this summoning six of the second generation Daughters of Light appear.

Ese is one of the first generation daughters, however,
and it is strange that her name should be called here.

- 33) Dee's marginal note to this line indicates that he failed
to hear or transcribe something here in his original notes.

- 34) white apparell]

The second generation Daughters of Light were clothed
in 'white silk robes' at their first appearance (27b,3).

- 38) This figure represents the Trinity, showing three proceeding
from one (three words 'vnus' from one 'V') and one
contained in three ('vnus' meaning 'one'). The letter 'V'
also contributes to this meaning since the Hebrew Vau
has a numerical equivalent of 6, which represents unity,
the binary and the ternary (1 + 2 + 3). See Commentary
to 18b,12 and Reuchlin, De verbo mirifico, sigs e4v-e6r.

- 39) It is not clear which of the second generation daughters
this is.

- 40) a ball of light]

This must represent Light, created on the first day of
God's great work. Much of the symbolism accompanying the
showing of the ensuing Tables of Creation may have an alchemical
significance and in this field the ball of light would
represent fire and divine wisdom (for a comparison of
the six days of the Creation and alchemical processes, see
Introduction pp. 135-136).

42) Dies primus]

'The first day'.

43) Vbi est Tabula?]

'Where is the table?'

44) Est]

'It is'.

47) Three faces]

Another symbol of the Trinity.

ouer]

'At the top'.

49) three cullours]

The emphasis is again upon a trinitarian state. The mixture of red and white may symbolise the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son, white representing purity and red representing martyrdom. There may also be an unspecified connection with the red and white stones of the alchemical process.

MN32) 'The daughters of the daughters, Ese, see book two above'.

See 26b,41-48 and 27b,13-19.

fol. 33a.

- 1) Numerus Primus]
'Number one', in Ashmole's hand. This table measures four inches square and was to be placed at the top of the Holy Table (see Introduction p.134). The significance of the letters and figures remains obscure, if indeed there is any real significance. The frequency of the letter 'B' probably relates to the 49 spirits whose names all begin with that letter (see the table at 40a).

The first square (A1) of the table bears a resemblance to square B4 in the table at fol. 35a, the numbers being half those in the later table and the positions of the letters and numbers being reversed (see Commentary to fol. 35a).

The figure in square F4 of this table is similar to the last line of the table at 24b which ends M G †, the letters beginning the names of Michael and Gabriel (see 24b, 28).

- 3) This second table has a diameter of $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches and was to be placed in the upper right corner of the pentagram in the Holy Table.

The three interlocked circles in the top left corner of the square represent the eternal state of the Trinity (see 34a, 14). The same may also be represented by the numbers 1, 2 and 3, and by the circle containing those numbers. The letter 'A' probably stands for alpha (see 34, 16) and the 'LV' may somehow refer to ending (see 34a, 16), if only through the last and innermost name in the Sigillum Dei, Lavanael. Alternatively the letters may represent Annael and Uriel, reading 'LV' from right to left in Hebrew fashion.

J. E. Cirlot attributes to the square within a circle the significance of the 'quaternary in the universe: the material principle within totality' (Dictionary of Symbols, p. 119) and to the inverted triangle the significance of the 'ternary--involutive' (p. 117). The design is appropriate to a Table of Creation as the material (the quaternary) and the spiritual (the ternary, whose involution may be equated with Agrippa's definition of the soul as self-moving) are seen contained within the universe.

6-7) In the Action of 29 April 1583 the spirit Il declares that 'the 7 Tables of Creation...apperteyn to the 7 kings and Princis' (96b, 1-2) and that the '7 Characters...are propre to euery king and Prince according to theyr order' (96b, 7-10). The kings and princes referred to are the 49 spirits listed on fol. 40a.

8) Conciliation]



A bringing together into harmony, presumably of man and God and his angels. The tables are defined as such instruments at 96b, 6-7.

9) wher my Character is fashioned]

The character given to Dee at fol. 9b is declared as false at 96b, 23. No new one is fashioned but he is informed that the Table of Dignification (97a) contains his character Δ in every corner (102a, 42).

fol. 33b.

Each table measures 4 inches square. I cannot reach any remotely

satisfactory conclusions about any interpretation of these tables, except to point out two possible references to alpha and omega: firstly the A — 0 in square B2 of the first table, and secondly  , the opposite of the  shown at 18b, 25 (see Commentary), in square B1 of the lower table.

fol. 34a.

1) a strong sounding]

'a loud noise'.



3) a sterre]


The centre of the second table contains a three pointed figure like a small star.

6) O honor...eris]

'O honour, praise and glory be to you who are and will be'.

8) seuen priks]

There are six points, above the '1', the '2' and the '3', below the  and  , and beside the '7' in the second table.

The seventh is either that making the circle on the left into the astrological figure of the sun () or in the centre of the three pointed star, although the latter is probably just a point left by the compasses in the drawing of the circle. These 'priks' are not related to those which indicated letters from numbers in the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei.

14-16) Vnus...Origo]

'He is one, he is three; he is in each angle and comprehends all things. He was, is and shall be to you. He is the end and the beginning'. 'Vobiscum' would perhaps make more sense

than 'vobis' ('and shall be with you'). The three interlocking circles in the table represent the unitarian and trinitarian states and the 'A' probably represents alpha, the beginning. How the 'LV' or anything else in the table might represent 'the end' is not clear (see Commentary to 33a, 3).

17) 'I was: I am what I was not', reading 'fui' for the second 'sum' (see MN17).

18) 'There was not light and now there is'. See Genesis I, 3.

21-22) This signifies chaos and the turmoil of the waters over which the spirit of God moved (Genesis I, 2) before separating the light from the darkness and on the second day creating the firmament.

27) a woman]

Another of the second generation Daughters of Light, the second of these to appear.

a ball like glass]

At 32b, 40, a 'ball of light' was shown. The creation of the sun and moon is not noted until 34b, 21, however, and so perhaps these two balls are not meant to signify those planets. In the order of the Creation the second day saw the division of the waters above and below the firmament of heaven, which is essentially the creation of a universe into which the earth is to be placed. The limits of the universe may be symbolised by the 'great white Globe' at line 32 ^{(see 34b, 20-24),} / in which case the 'ball like glass' may be the firmament. If the symbolism is

alchemical, the ball and globe probably represent vessels in which matter is to be heated and distilled. Alchemical vessels took a variety of shapes, but the essential parts were a furnace or heat-source, a receptacle for the boiling liquid, a condenser, and a receptacle for the product. Sometimes the condenser and the first receptacle were all of one piece (for sketches of equipment see Taylor, The Alchemists, pp. 38-43, 48 and 140). The evidence for such an interpretation is slender, however, being merely the vision at line 36.

32) a Table]

The third table first shown at fol. 33b.

35) Ecce signū Incomprehensibilitatis]

'Behold the sign (or seal) of incomprehensibility'. The last word may rather mean 'that which is not able to be comprehended by man'.

36) The division of the waters occurred on the second day of the Creation. The vision also seems to represent distillation.

37) The erasure occurs because the words should precede rather than follow a vision; hence the flourish before the repetition.

39) See 32b, 44.

40) This is the third of the second generation Daughters of Light.

41) a little rownd ball]

This becomes the earth (line 42). The earth is created on the third day and the land separated from the waters (Genesis I, 9-10). In alchemy the third stage is separation which is repeated until 'Erth remayn benethe' (see Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Los Angeles & London 1972), p.171).

44) Fiat]

'Let it be done', a word frequently attributed to God in the Creation.

45) This is the fourth table, the lower one on fol. 33b.

47) 'Write. It is the truth'.

48-50) In Genesis man is not created until the sixth day and woman not until after the seventh day. In alchemical symbolism, however, the marriage of male and female is very common. Sometimes these are gold and silver, sometimes mercury and sulphur (Taylor, The Alchemists p. 148; Shumaker, Occult Sciences, p. 172). This marriage occurs during the fourth stage of the process, 'conjunction', after the 'earth' has been obtained by separation. The splitting of the woman into male and female seems to represent this marriage in reverse.

fol. 34b.

2) Venito Vasedg]

'Come Vasedg'. There is no such name amongst any of the spirits of light. 'Vasedg' looks like a word in the Enochian

language, but if so, it is one whose meaning has not been left to us. The next woman to appear is the fourth of the six second generation Daughters of Light who first appeared to show the tables at 32b, 32-34, and is therefore either Ekiei or Madimi. 'Vasedg' seems to bear no relation to either of these names.

4) 'The life of these is from my hand'.

6) a rownd]

'a circle'.

7) O Lux Deus $\overline{\text{nr}}$]

'O light, our God' or more probably 'O our light is God'.

8) Hamuthz Gethog]

'Gethog' is one of the names derived from the outer circle of the Sigillum Dei (see 22a, 39). 'Hamuthz' again seems to be an Enochian word of whose meaning there is no record; it may however be a compound word partly derived from the Enochian 'ham', 'creature'.

7-10) The circle of the figure has a diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the inner square has sides measuring 1 inch.

9) This woman is the fifth of the second generation Daughters of Light to appear.

13) two vmaequall partes]

The creation of the sun and moon (see MN21).

13-14) 'The other part' is made into the stars. The creation of the sun, moon and stars took place on the sixth day according to Genesis.

16) the other woman]

The woman who appeared at 34b, 3, who is to show the sixth table (the lower on 35a). The woman who steps in front of her is to show the fifth table (the first on 35a).

18) Lumina...tuae]

'These are the lights of your understanding'.

19) Fere...numerus]

'This number is scarcely to be believed by anyone'. Presumably this means the number of the stars (see lines 21-22).

25) The cross measures 43mm. It indicates a return to the sequence of events which began this folio, the showing of the sixth table.

28) The birds were created on the fifth day according to Genesis. In the fifth stage of the alchemical process, putrefaction, the matter turns to a liquid pitch. This is frequently symbolised by a corpse, and according to biblical imagery man is but dust or clay and shall return to that state. The 'corpse' loses vapours but will be revived by 'celestial virtue', this process being symbolised by ascending and descending birds (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 149).

29) the bosse]

The centre of the table.

31) fatch]

'fetch'.

32) 'They are multiplied for your use'.

fol. 35a.

The first table measures 4 inches square and the second has a diameter of 4 inches with an inner square of 3.8 inches.

Square B4 in the first table on this folio is probably related to square A1 in the very first Table of Creation shown (see

Commentary to 33a) and is also to be found written at the right hand side of a table from which divine names of 91 parts

of the earth are obtained in tabula bonorum angelorum (Sloane MS 3191 fol. 54a). This table of divine names was revealed to

Kelly on 25 June 1584 at Cracow and expounded in later Actions

but the precise significance of $\frac{b.6}{4.5}$, which is crossreferred

back to this fifth Table of Creation, is never made clear (see

TFR, pp. 172-173). The table in tabula bonorum angelorum also

has at the top left corner the figure $\overset{''''}{T}$ (Sloane MS 3191, fol.

53a), which Dee here relates in the marginal note to the $\overset{+}{T}$

of the Sigillum Dei (see Commentary to 18a, 7). The marginal

note cannot have been written before the Action of 25 June 1584.

The erased drawing of a table is a repetition of square B1 of

the second table on this folio.

fol. 35b.

The table is 3.3 inches square and the circle has a diameter of 0.9 inches. The significance of the letters and numbers remains obscure.

fol. 36a.

2) 'All rejoice at the end'. The last of the Tables of Creation is to be shown.

3) a woman]

The sixth second generation Daughter of Light to appear.

4) h rbes, and plants]

In Genesis the trees and plants were created on the third day, but the creation of Eden is not assigned to any specific day (see Genesis II, 8). See also Commentary to line 10.

6) 'It is the work', or perhaps 'the work is'.

7) This table is the seventh, that on fol. 35b.

7) one, all in white]

The seventh second generation Daughter of Light perhaps, since they first appeared clothed in white (27b,3).

10) A tree is a symbol of the whole alchemical process since it 'grows out of the earth, the mineral, and bears fruit, which is spiritual, having the power to become wine, which yields

a spirit' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 150). If this interpretation is followed, the darkness which is cast up into the globe (line 9) may be seen as representing the mystery at the heart of the matter.

13) 'He will overshadow your footsteps with the light of truth'.

14) The Actor]

i.e. he who does, in the sense of 'creator and architect of the universe'.

15) Disposer]

God is here seen as creator of order, who looks after the needs of the world (see 'disposition' at 7a, 23).

16-17) Create you new vessels]

This is not a biblical quotation, although man is frequently likened to a vessel in the Bible (e.g. Psalm II, 9; Acts IX, 15).

18) out of the stone]

The sword appears to come out of the stone, but unlike other later visions there is no certainty that the vision is indeed outside the stone. The phrase 'in manner' declares that this is only what appears to happen.

21) the yard square Table]

The Holy Table.

21) the Wax]

The 'clean purified wax' for the Sigillum Dei. See 10a, 6.

22) the Character]

The lamine (see 9b, 1 and Commentary to 32a, 19).

ar motioned]

'are moved or commanded' ('ar' for 'art').

23) Gloria...amen]

The initials stand for 'gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum' (see 8b, 18-19).

27) the Tables following]

Those on fols 37b, 38a and 41a (see 39a, 26-28).

31-32) 'And he placed them in his ministry. What do you lack?'

33-34) 'The wisdom and knowledge necessary for us to be able to serve God to his glory'.

35) 'To have wisdom is a gift from God. To have knowledge comes from the Creation and created things'.

36) 'Come Daughters' [of Light].

43) pforme]

'perform'. Concerning the keeping of this vow, see 39b, 40-47.

47) the lower world]

The spirits that govern the resources of the earth are now to be shown. These spirits may be used for practical benefits, being of the lower order and with due rites subject to man's command (see 36b, 1-2).

fol. 36b.

5) see 36a, 36.

6) these Tables]

These are shown on fols 37b-38a.

8) The Whole Gouernment]

The whole government of the lower world, not of the heavens.

) Powre, Strength, Mercy, and Justice]

These are signified by the ⁴T in the Sigillum Dei and the ^{'''}T of the marginal note to fol. 35a, being 'the four powers of God princpial in earth' (TFR, p. 173, 'princpial' sic).

12) the first knowledge]

See 36a, 35, where wisdom is defined as coming from God alone whereas knowledge may be gained from studying God's creations. This 'first knowledge' is wisdom from divine revelation.

18) All the 7]

The seven Daughters of Light (see line 5 above).

24) a bright Circle]

This probably signifies God surrounding the macrocosm.

27) The outer circle has a diameter of 3 inches (75.5 mm) and the penultimate circle a diameter of 2.9 inches (73 mm). The inner circle is 2.6 inches (66 mm) in diameter and the centre cross measures 0.7 inches (18 mm) square on each arm.

f 1. 37b-38a.

Part of this table is not extant. Even when the manuscript came into Ashmole's hands these folios had suffered, for in the left margin of his transcript he wrote: 'the spaces not filled up were decayed and broken away in the Original' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 57b). The table in Dee's MS has an inner diameter of 10.3 inches (260 mm) and an outer diameter of 11.1 inches (281 mm), although these measurements are not consistent at all points of the circles. Each arm is intended to be three inches square, although the sides vary from 2.9 inches (73 mm) to 3.3 inches (83 mm). I have noted in red those letters and numbers which appear in Ashmole's copy (3677, 57b-58a) but have since been destroyed in Dee's manuscript.

The Table provides the names of the 49 governors. Each name begins with the letter 'B' and the remaining letters are discovered by finding the appropriate letters in tables 2-7. Each letter of the first name is preceded by the numeral 1, each letter of the second by the numeral 2, and so on up to 49, the order of letters being that of

the tables 1-7.

It is possible to an extent to reconstruct the missing parts of the table, but since there is no rule for individual placings within each small square in tables 2-7, the correct positions of the missing letters in the original cannot be ascertained. The letters missing from the numbers in the second table are 'A' to go with 15 (Babalel), 'L' to go with 23 (Blisdon) and 'A' to go with 17 (Bazpama). The letter 'N' with no number was preceded by 36 (Bnapsen). '43R' is incorrect since the forty-third spirit is named Blumaza. A correction is made in the marginal note where '12R' (Branglo) is changed to '13R' (Brisfli) and '43R' to '30R' (Brorges). Allowing '43R' to be a plain error, the missing letters and numbers are '13R' (Brisfli), '30R' (Brorges) and '41A' (Bartiro). If the marginal corrections were made the missing letters and numbers would be '12R' (Branglo), '41A' still and '43L' (Blumaza). See also Commentary to 39a, 29.

In the third table there is also a number of partially filled squares that can be reconstructed. The 'A' should be '6A' (Bamgal), '19A' (Bragiop) or '37A' (Bralges), although the latter may be discounted since '7A' should clearly be '37A'. The '8' is part of '38R' (Bormila) and the 'V' should be '5V' (Blvmaza). The other missing letters and numbers are '4S' (Besgeme)? '44G' (Bagenol) and '48R' (Barfort). '35R' is incorrect and should be '35L' (Baldago).

The right hand marginal note to the fourth table seems superfluous since '11' is already in the table. The erasures on the bottom line are a result of Dee's having originally omitted to write in '340'. The remaining tables are all correct if the corrections in the seventh are observed.

fol. 39a.

1-20) In these lines each of the subdivisions of the table on fols 37b-38a is given a particular significance. The first table represents wisdom; the second, government; the third, nobility; the fourth, trade; the fifth, the quality of the earth and the seas; the sixth, aerial motions and the seventh, wisdom of a ~~divine~~ nature. For later corrections to this exposition and the relation of the seven tables to the seven kings and princes among the 49 spirits, see Introduction pp. 124-126.

7) The significance of the fourth table is extended to include the waters at line 49, the seas being the principal vehicle for England's trade.

12) Qualitie]

'Essential intrinsic nature'. The significance of the fifth table is reduced simply to that of earth at line 50 (see also MN12).

18) The wisdom of God is likened to fire in the Bible (e.g. Matthew III, 11).

21-22) the State of the whole earth is known]

Wisdom, government, nobility, the four elements and their associated users and inhabitants are represented in the tables.

23) Composed for euer]

'Created eternally'.

26-28) See 36a, 25-27.

29) These letters and numbers are the first two in the fourth row down of the second table. Evidently only six figures and letters were given at first, the last space being left vacant, although on correction the sixth number and letter were moved to the seventh place and the new letter and number (30N) were placed in the sixth space (see lines 34-41).

33) 'You may not see this without reason'.

34-41) The marginal note explains that Dee later decided to insert this account here while making his notes into the fair copy that comprises this manuscript.

38) ∴.]

The dots refer to the marginal note which explains the omission here.

41) 30.N]

This should be '36N' (Bnapsen). The 30th name is Brorges.

44) [her] his]

'Her' is written under 'his'. At 36a, 36 the showers of these tables were defined as the Daughters of Light.

46-52) The symbols of the books, crown, robes, water and animal, herbs, fan, and fire represent respectively wisdom, government, nobility and the four elements (see lines 1-20).

49) Aq̃]

Aqu, 'water'.

aīal...colorū]

'A living four-footed animal of all colours' (animal quadrupes vivu omnium colorum).

50-52) T rra...Aer...Ignis]

'L rth...air...fire'.

101. 39b.

1) 'Go forth in his name, who sent you here'. This is not a direct biblical quotation, but it calls Christ sending forth the disciples to preach the word (Luke IX, 1-6).

3) Fontayn]

'Fountain'.

19-20) The superscription by Ashmole is a result of 'teacheth' being lost in binding. The repetition of 'he teacheth' is probably deliberate.

21) the Excellency]

i.e. of the instruction.

26) perseth]

'pierces'.

30) vppon 7 equall numbers]

There are 7 tables containing an equall number of spaces,
seven rows by seven.

34) The number '29' in its first occurrence is corrected to 49,
since 'generall names ' erbraces all the spirits. No reason
is given why the first 29 should be more important than the
rest, and it is a number that does not bear any traditional
ignificance.

35) quantitie]

This refers to the number before each letter, since letters
preceded by the same number are put together to make the
names of the 49 spirits.

36) ith dition]

By collecting together each letter preceded by the same
number.

38) A nmol 's u, rscription is again caused by the tight
binding. The name is Baligon.

39) the]

Kelly (see MN59).

43-44) Kelly must take himself to the world in that he must
apply himself to worldly matters, but also forsake the world
in that he must marry and cleave solely to his wife.

46) contrary to my vow and profession]

This suggests that Kelly, like Barnabas Saul before him, was a preacher, although there is no further evidence of his ordination.

50-51) 'To God in the highest [be] all honour, praise and glory for ever and ever'.

MN31) 'See the particular table of these forty-nine collected names on the following page' (40a).

fol. 40a.

1) 'Collected table: containing the names of 49 good angels, by Dee'. See Introduction pp. 124-129.

fol. 41a.

1-2) 'A coordination of the 49 good angels thus set out by John Dee'.

The table has a total diameter of 7.7 inches (197mm) and each ring is 0.2 inches (4mm) wide. The 49 angels are divided into groups of seven and each group is allotted a planetary sign. These are from the top: venus, the sun, mars, jupiter, mercury, saturn and the moon. The governing angels of these planets are traditionally Haniel (or Annael), Michael (or Raphael), Camael, Zedekiel (or Zadkiel), Raphael (or Michael), Zaphkiel and Gabriel. The corresponding metals are respectively copper, gold, iron, tin, mercury, lead and silver (see 27a, 16-22). The numbers written on the outside of the circles refer to the angels in the order in

which their names have been obtained, as does the inner circle of numbers from 1 to 49. Baligon is therefore the first in this order.

The dotted lines with 'iste est caeteris' ('and so on') indicate that the prince of each group (the second named) belongs to the king of the next group (the first named). Thus Bornogo is prince to Bobogel, Befafes is prince to Babalel, and so on round the circle (see Introduction pp. 124-126 and Sloane MS 3191, 46b-50a).

fol. 42a.

1) Liber < 4.>]

See Introduction pp.14-15 and Commentary to fol. 44a.

14) 7 Bundells]

See the seven baskets at 22a, 23.

faggots]

The term could be used for a bundle in a general sense (OED).

They are wrapped in silk of various colours (line 33).

15) superaltare]

A portable consecrated stone for use on an unconsecrated altar or table (OED).

16) Senser]

'Censer'.

21) plighes]

'pleats'.

26-27) This man is Christ, the 'one eye, and somtyme Three'
having trinitarian significance.

32) sweating]
See line 13.

35) The bundles contain specimens of all living creatures, as
did the ark, although there seems to be no precise significance
in this.

37) The 'little hill of flaming fyre' may represent a source of
divine wisdom, particularly in relation to the significance
attached to the vision of the two birds following.

38) taketh of]
'takes out'.
a little byrd]
The 7 baskets at 22a, 23, all contained birds of some sort.

39) hoouerth]
Sic for 'hovereth'.

41) to be open before]
'to have his garment open in front.'

42) spotted with blud]
This represents Christ's wounds.

49) The small bird undergoes a transformation, increasing in
size and beauty through the blessing of Christ. This vision
is to be interpreted in terms of what gifts God will
bestow upon Dee and Kelly (43a).

51) 'Thus, thus, thus our God'.

52) Multiplicabit...sua]
'He will increase all things by his blessing' (see 34b, 32).

MN49) in sequentibus libris]

'In the following books'.

MN53) This symbol is a version of the chi-ro, a monogram for the name of Christ.

fol. 42b.

3-4) The birds represent Dee and Kelly who are joined together as one (see also 32a, 6-7).

5-6) See Commentary to 42a, 49.

10-11) There is no change in the quality or nature of the bird, only a change in its size. This could be taken to mean that the transformation that Dee and Kelly will undergo through and for Christ will not be any drastic change of state, such as to a spirit form, either through death or in a Faustian way.

12) a voyce]

The voice is like that of Michael (MN12).

15) I, AM]

This is the name by which God identified himself from out of the burning bush to Moses (Exodus III, 14) and is the Tetragrammaton (יהוה , 'he is') in the first person singular (אהיה). See Martin North, Exodus, a Commentary (London 1962), p. 43.

19) It is in vayne to stryve]

This does not mean that man's efforts are of no consequence, but rather that man's power is nothing in comparison with God's and that it is vain to strive against the will of God.

21) 'Progress and advance in virtue and truth to the honour and glory of God'.

22) our Cauillations]

'Our' should be 'your' (MN22).

24) i.e. what Dee has written here is the answer.

25) to the Infirmitie]

'To the infirm'. The noun is used generatively in the sense of those who may be classed under the condition of infirmity.

31) The taking of the stars and giving of them to the other bird who replaces them signifies celestial knowledge passing through Dee and Kelly.

35-37) Dee and Kelly are to purify the world through their celestial knowledge.

38-43) braue]

'finely dressed' (see 20a, 12-15). Dee and Kelly are to overcome the corrupt rulers and overthrow them, but the pure and needy will not suffer.

41) Seely]

'Spiritually blessed, deserving of pity, poor' (OED).

45-46) I cannot satisfactorily interpret this vision of four resurrected kings except as the four cardinal virtues (justice, fortitude, prudence and temperance) or the four principal powers of God that Dee recorded at 36b, 9.

fol. 43a.

1) qui < ck >]

'alive'.

2) in good liking]

'friendly'.

3) If the four resurrected kings represent the four virtues or the four principal powers of God, we see them here spreading through the world to the four 'corners' of the earth.

6) gryped]

'gripped'.

7) [̄caret̄]

A word, perhaps 'other', appears to be missing before 'Fowle', but the margin is torn and the word is not extant. The rejection of the metals signifies the rejection of worldly wealth, although it may be a rejection of ordinary metals in the search for the Philosophers' Stone.

9) an old mans head]

If the stone at line 12 is the Philosophers' Stone, then the head signifies the storehouse of knowledge and wisdom that must be penetrated before the stone may be found.

11) in steede]

'instead'.

12) Tennez ball]

'tennis ball'.

13) These colours all form part of the alchemical process. The white stone is produced from the black matter obtained during the process of 'putrefaction' and the red stone is obtained from the white. The corrosive acid used to dissolve gold was often symbolised by a green lion, green 'no doubt because of the color imparted to it by the copper compounds always present as impurity in the mixture of gold and silver' (Taylor, The Alchemists, p. 151). Whether such reference is intended by the ~~vision~~ is not clear.

16) The achievement of the Philosophers' Stone corresponded to the achievement of a high degree of wisdom and purity, alchemy being as much a spiritual quest as a physical science. The eating of the stone is similar to the eating of the name Na at 11b, 41-42.

19) The emphasis on gold signifies that the achieving of the Philosophers' Stone is accompanied by spiritual worthiness, gold being a symbol of purity and wisdom.

22) 26 Crowmes of Gold]

The significance of this eludes me.

24) Sachels]

'Satchels'.

palmer's bags]

Palmer's were pilgrims who had made the journey to the Holy Land and as a sign thereof carried a palm leaf or branch. The term did become debased to mean any pilgrim, however. Palmer's wandered through the country begging food and shelter, having adopted poverty as a way of life, and their entire possessions would be contained in a bag.

25-26) The gold signifying wisdom is to be sown in the world.

The image of the seed is very powerful in alchemy, since 'the alchemist who melted up gold with silver and copper [need not have] necessarily regarded himself^{as} in any way falsifying gold; for he probably believed that the gold acted as a seed which, nourished by the copper and silver, grew at their expense until the whole mass became gold' (Taylor, The Alchemists, pp. 34-35). This is also the essential principle of 'projection', the turning of base metals into gold through the Philosophers' Stone; the seed of gold in the base metal, all matter being different only

in form, was encouraged to grow.

32) Open strong locks]

Do not turn back even if the way ahead appears to be barred.

38) See the two birds coupled at 42b, 3-4, and also 32a, 6-7.

39) By whome]

By the glorious man, Christ (see 42a, 26-27).

40) To achieve wisdom and/or the Philosophers' Stone.

41-43) The two small birds have been transformed into large beautiful birds and then into crowned men.

44) Secrecy is commanded.

45) This is spoken to Kelly (MN45) and presumably refers to his oath to perform what Michael commanded, that is to take a wife.

fol. 43b.

1) Ashmole's addition is written on a piece of paper attached to the folio as a repair.

8) ^my.]

A contraction for 'them'.

9) May not a n o..]

In his transcript Ashmole writes 'May not an o.....'
presumably for 'an other' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 65b).

11) honest]

After binding the MS Ashmole could presumably only see the
'h' of this word. In his transcript he writes 'any honest...'
since part of the sentence was missing, this presumably
being the word 'man' (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 65b).

15-16) Benedictus...eius]

'Blessed is the Lord in his gifts and holy in all his works'.
This is not a direct biblical reference.

fol. 44a.

2) 'The fourth book of mysteries', 'the third' being erased.

Ashmole designates this as the fifth book (line 8), having
decided that book four is that which contains the Action of
4 May 1582 (fols 42a-43b).

5) 'After the reconciliation with Kelly' (see Introduction pp.12-15).

6-7) 'Be merciful unto us, O God, and forgive us as we forgive'.

See the Lord's Prayer, Matthew VI, 12 (Dimitte nobis debita
nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris).

fol. 45a.

Ashmole writes that 'the first leafe in the Originall is wanting which takes vp two leaves of my writing, & therefore I have left so much space for it' in his transcript (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 67a). See also Commentary to 46a.

1) Hagonel]

Hagonel is the sixth of the second generation Sons of Light (see 27b, 47). Baligon, whose alternative name is Carmara, is the first of the 49 spirits listed on fols 40a and 41a. The identity of this Hagonel and the equation of Carmara with Baligon are however a little confused for in Sloane MS 3191 (De heptarchia mystica, ch. 7) King Carmara and Prince Hagonel are to be invoked on Monday (fol. 47a) while King Baligon is to be invoked on Friday (fol. 49b). Carmara governs the understanding of all sciences while Baligon governs all aerial actions and particularly Dee's show-stone later given by the angels (see 59b, 33-46). Hagonel governs the first and second generation Sons of Light (see lines 6-7 and Sloane MS 311, 47a) and all the operations of the earth, and is clearly therefore not the same as that Hagonel who is the sixth of the second generation Sons of Light. The issue is partially resolved at 45b, 23-26.

4-5) Evidently there are 6 spirits standing beside Carmara who is facing Hagonel, but Hagonel is one of their number, thus forming 'the 7'.

5-9) The drawing stands 40 mm high and the spear or flagstaff is 3 mm wide at the base. The flag measures 14 mm high and

17mm across. The flag to the right measures the same across and is 12mm high.

6-7) 'Your power reigns in the sons [of light]. Behold the sign of [your] works'.

6-7) The **inverted** 'C' and 'B' in the flag stand for Carmara and Baligon.

8) **euersted]**
'upside down'.

9) **aversed]**
'back to front'.

10) The woman is depicted on the flag at 47a, 12.

12) the armes of England]

From the time of Richard I to Edward III the arms of England were **gule three lions passant guardant in pale gold**.

Edward III quartered the arms of France in token of his claim to the French throne. Thus the arms showed two quarters with the gold lions on red, and two quarters with the gold fleur-de-lis on blue, and these remained the royal arms until the end of Elizabeth I's reign (see Boutell's Heraldry, edited by C.W. Scott-Giles and J.P. Brooke Little, revised edition (London and New York 1966) pp. 20-21 and Plate V). These arms are roughly represented in the right hand flag at lines 6-7.

The confusion at the end of this line of text results

from Dee having originally written 'old' above 'semed', using a double stroke to indicate that they belonged to the same line of text. Ashmole then erased 'semed' and wrote 'seemed old' above the line after binding the manuscript.

13) Adhuc...est]

'There are yet two, and it is not time'. Hagonel ('the man') means that there are two more parts of the work to be delivered (see 49a, 18) which are the Second Book of Creation and the appendix to that book (see 46a, 19-25).

14) avauanced]

'advanced'.

18) The Sonnes of men]

The Sons of Light and their sons are being referred to here, since in De heptarchia mystica Dee follows a transcript of line 18 and part of line 19 with a table of the names of the two generations of the Sons of Light, and further writes the word 'light' above 'men' (Sloane MS 3191, 40a).

21) My tyme is yet to come]

The line which joins this sentence to the vision at line 43 indicates that the time to come concerns an era of wisdom under the aegis of philosophers (see also the line connecting line 6 with MN42).

22) the first of the twelve]

This definition is not explained later and the key may be in the missing folio. The reference is not to the apostles.

24) The symbol of the seal Barees is the astrological sign of the sun and the alchemical symbol of gold.

26) onely Kings]

individual kings.

30) The kings who carry the evenly balanced scales represent the just rulers of the earth.

cownterpeysed]

'counterpoised'.

31) hong]

'hung'.

The kings carrying the uneven balances represent the unjust rulers.

33) sowre and hevy cowntynance]

'sour and heavy countenance'.

37) Vera...Impuria]

'True...impure'. According to the dots there are 21 in each company.

41) 'The true are with those that are true, and the impure with those that are impure'.

42) Princes of Nature]

Those that follow are like scholars, being dressed in black gowns and carrying books and measuring sticks. They are 'princes of Nature' in that they hold and enquire after the secrets of Nature.

48) Lucem]

'Light'.

49) Mundi tenebras]

'The darkness of the world'. The two companies of scholars represent those who have received divine revelation and have achieved understanding of God's creation, and those who have not and remain in intellectual and spiritual darkness.

MN18) 'The Sons [of Light] and the Sons of the Sons [of Light], in book 2 above' (see 27a, 26-33, and 27b, 37-28a, 2).

MN44) Geomatrae]

'Geometers, land-measurers'.

Note at the foot of the page) See Introduction pp. 124-126, fol. 46a, 1-8, and Sloane MS 3191, 46b and 47b.

fol. 45b.

1) After 'Lucem' there is a repair to the folio by Ashmole, but whatever was written upon it is no longer legible, In his transcript Ashmole puts a marginal note of Hagonel (see MN1) and line 2 is clearly spoken by this spirit.

4) 'I am the first and fourth Hagonel' (see Commentary to line 24).

5) Pri: Quar,]
for Primus et Quartus.

7) The first]
The kings at 45a, 26.

8) tell the priks of the last 8]
The figure is presumably a number 8, but in order to comprehend the reference I suspect the missing folio at the beginning of this Action would be required.

9) science]
'knowledge'.

12) [†]Ho]
This sign represents Carmara.

13) I am his Minister]
The marginal note explains that 'minister' should read 'prince'. Hagonel is speaking here. In Sloane MS 3191 Carmara is the king whose prince is Hagonel and they are to be invoked on Mondays. The note in the right hand margin states that Carmara is the king to be invoked 'in generall', although more particularly the king is Blumaza, whose office is undefined but related to Mondays (Sloane MS 3191, 47a-47b; see also Sloane MS 3188, 46a, 1-8).

14) ue augme...]

Part of 'haue augmented', but the rest is missing. In De heptarchia mystica we find 'augmented' but Dee has underlined it with points and written 'subiected' over it (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 33a).

16) Despite Hagonel's stating that he will show Dee what these weapons are, they are not in fact clarified.

18) The three, of eche side]

There were six spirits accompanying Hagonel at 45a, 4.

24-25) There are evidently three other Hagonels, governed by this Hagonel who is placed before the other three because he rules them, but is also additional to the other three. He is therefore the first and fourth Hagonel.

34) The second assembly consisted of nobles (45a, 35).

37) The third assembly consisted of scholars or philosophers (45a, 42-43).

39-40) vbi...est]

'Where there is not glory, neither is there goodness nor any good thing'. The glory is presumably of God.

41) seuen of the seuen]

The seven second generation sons of the seven Sons of Light (see MN42).

44) E.[T]K.]

A 'T' is written under the 'K' of 'E.K.' Dee was more used to writing 'E.T.' for Edward Talbot.

45-47) Vox...Mundi]

'A voice which it is not fit for men to hear; but they with their sons have praised God. Blessed is he who is the only begotten son and the glory of the world' (see John I, 14).

48) The black cloth signifies that the Action is ended.

MN3) Hagonel is standing forth from Carmara and the six other spirits and evidently his appearance has been described to an extent in the missing folio. According to 48a, 29, Hagonel is wearing a coat shorter than that of his fellows.

MN12) 'Hadonel' is an error for 'Hagonel'.

MN25) aīi]

'aliter', otherwise.

MN42) See 27b, 37-28a, 2.

great Circle following]

This is a table which Dee received from Kelly (see 49a, 19) but there is no copy extant, although Dee must have intended to keep it with the Actions.

fol. 46a.

This is in Ashmole's hand and is written on a piece of paper

measuring 252mm across and 77mm high which is bound into the MS. The writing is in two columns, the right-hand column beginning at line 12.

- 1-8) Ashmole conjectures from the note at the bottom of 45a that the functions of Blumaza and Bobogel were described in the missing folio at the beginning of this book. Bobogel is the king to be invoked on sundays and governs wisdom; his prince Bornogo governs the knowledge of metals (Sloane MS 3191, 46b). Blumaza is the particular king to be invoked on mondays (as opposed to the general king Carmara), but no description follows his name in Sloane MS 3191 (fol. 47b). Blumaza's prince is Bralges, who governs invisible subjects.

- 4) 5: May 1583]

See 102a, 27-32 and 103a, 1-2.

- 9) ]

This diagram probably represents Carmara's 'triple crown' (see note at foot of fol. 45b).

- 10) app^s from sev^dall]

'appears from several'.

- 11) fol. 2.a. & b.]

Fols 45a and 45b were foliated by Dee as '2'.

- 12-15) 'Note, as Michael and Vriel, at the begynning of these revealed mysteries, were present, and gaue Authority to

Carmara to order the whole Heptarchicall Reuelation; so,
 at the Conclusion, they appeared agayn and Raphael with
 them; and Michael concluded the second boke of this particular
 Reuelation Heptarchicall, with these words following
 [m rginal note: Michael. Nouēb. 19.] Merciful is our God,
 and Glorious is his name' (Sloane MS 3191, 33a). See 57b, 11.

13) p^s sent]

'present'.

15) Revelacow]

'Revelation'.

17-18) This book is designated the fourth book (44a), although
 Ashmole gives it the title of the fifth book due to the
 heading of 'Liber 4' on fol. 42a. In De heptarchia mystica
 it is called the second book as it forms the second
 chapter of that work, though in a condensed form.

19-25) The Action of 16 November 1582 (47a-48b) is the first
 book of the Book of Creation (see 48b LH marginal note
 and 54b, MN8). The Action of 15 November (45a-47b) may also be
 included under this title. In De heptarchia mystica (Sloane
 MS 3191, 33a) Dee writes: 'lib^o Creationis 1^o. Principes
 loquebatur magnalia Dei: in secundo, Reges maxime hoc
 faciunt' (in the first Book of Creation the princes spoke
 of the mercies of God: in the second, the kings performed
 this).

19) m^Dginall]

'marginal'.

22-23) The note concerning the appearance of Michael, Uriel and Raphael has a marginal note in De heptarchia mystica of November 19 (see Commentary to lines 12-15 above). The appearance in fact took place in the Action of 20 November, which begins at 55a (see 57b, 11).

25) See Sloane MS 3191, fol. 33a.

fol. 46b.

This is written and signed by Frederic Madden (see Introduction pp. 3-7).

fol. 47a.

The text continues from 45b.

4) 'Praise and honour be to immortal and almighty God, now and always'.

MN2) The marginal note has been largely destroyed and was so when Ashmole bound the MS. Those parts in pointed brackets are taken from Sloane MS 3677, but the rest is still in Ashmole's hand.

6) Die ♀]

♀ is the astrological sign of venus and also the sign for Friday.

7) He with the triple Crown]

Carmara.

8) the rod]

Evidently in the missing folio Carmara was holding a rod of office, consisting of three parts diversely coloured, two parts being black and one being red (see 58a, 12).

10) Ille...Venite]

'For he is God. Come'. It is uncertain whether the 7 figures here are the same as those at 45a, 4.

12) This is the same flag as that at 45a, 6, except that now the picture of the woman (45a, 10) is also shown.

16) two to come]

See 45a, 13.

20-21) Heptagonum stellare]

'The star-shaped heptagon'.

Copper]

This is the metal appropriate to venus and fridays (see MN20)

21-25) The heptagon has a radius to each outer angle of 18mm.

The three sets of numbers follow the same order as those on the table at 41a (see Commentary to 41a).

21) The first Holder]

Hagonel, whose seal is in the first angle of the heptagon.

21) Ille nosti]

'You have got to know him'. I assume that the nominative case of 'ille' is an error. Hagonel has already been introduced.

23) The second holder is Bornogo, who is the minister to Bobogel's government and is to be invoked on sundays. He has the power to perfect nature and possesses knowledge of all metals (see lines 25-28 below and Sloane MS 3191, fol. 46b).

24) doth reverence]

The pirit bows down.

26) my seale]

Bornogo's seal is shown in the heptagon on fol. 48b.

29) Actually]

Here the word carries a sense of 'actively'.

of the first of the twelue]

Hagonel calls himself 'the first of the twelve' (45a, 22) and Bornogo is defining himself as proceeding in some way from Hagonel.

30) Second of the Seuen]

Bornogo is the second of the 7 spirits holding the heptagon. All these spirits are princes (see 48b) and Bornogo is also the second of the first septenary in the table at 41a.

31) The folio is cut very close on the right hand, so there may once have been a drawing of the seal, although there is none in Ashmole's transcript. The seal is shown in the heptagon at 48b.

35) The third spirit is Befafes, who is also called Obelison and who governs the seas (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 48a). His king is Babalel who governs all to do with water and they are both to be invoked on tuesdays.

36) I drowned Pharao]

Befafes is claiming that it was through his agency that Mo es parted the Red Sea and then closed it again over Pharaoh and his host as they pursued the Israelites (Exodus XIV).

39) and it is .8.]

In the marginal note to this line Dee computes that if this means 'th tyme of Gods visitation' will occur in eight years' time, it will fall upon 16 November 1590. He reflects, however, that 88 years may be meant (i.e. 1670). See Introduction, Chapter VI.

MN22) Bagenol is the prince of Friday. Although his office is not defined, his king Baligon governs all aerial actions. Since Carmara is also Baligon (45a, 1), Dee is attempting to equate Hagonel and Bagenol (see also 58b, MN44 and MN46).

fol. 47b.

2) enstruct]

'instruct'.

5) Christ walked upon the waters of Lake Galilee (Matthew XIV, 25 and Mark VI, 48).

5-6) sealed me w<ith>his name]

See 2 Corinthians I, 22, and Ephesians I, 13 & IV, 30.

6) Thow hast written me]

Befafes has not declared his name here, although Dee has written concerning him in the tables at 40a and 41a.

9) skur d]

'Scourged'. This probably refers to the Flood.

10) pr<int>]

Possibly this should be 'printed', referring obliquely to the rainbow as God's sign that the Flood would not happen again.

12) feathers]

These are strongly inappropriate to a prince of the seas, but Michael also appeared with feathers at 11a, 16.

15) See 45b, 48.

17) 'To God alone be all honour and glory'.

20) Carmara has his own chair, different to that of Michael.
one and the other]

This should read 'one on the other' (MN21).

22-23) Dee and Kelly are facing each other across the table
on which the stone rests.

24) The fourth spirit is Butmono. He is here given government
of the earth, but in Sloane MS 3191 he is given charge
over the life of living creatures (fol. 49a), which office
is given to Blisdon at 48a, 10 below. In Sloane MS 3191
Blis on is given government of the earth and his king is
Bnaspol, while Butmono's king is Bynepor (Sloane MS 3191,
48b-49a). See however 48a, MN17 below. The order given in
Sloane MS 3191 is the result of later changes (see 55b, 46-48
and 56b, 24 ff. below).

28) members]

'limbs'.

29) bis]

'twice', noting the repetition of 'all things'.

30) there]

Sic, for 'their'.

32-34) In Revelation John sees the bottomless pit and 'there
arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace'
(IX, 2). The beast also arises from this pit (XI, 7), but is

finally bound and cast back in as Sathan (XX, 3). There may be some play on Satan's name of Lucifer. Since Butmono here governs earth, the bottomless pit is part of his charge.

36-38) Dee's constant need was for money, He is promised access to buried treasure and later this search took a great part in the content of the Actions (see Introduction pp.157-60).

38) Wordling]

Sic, for 'worldling'.

45) It seems that most spirits of earth are bound there against their wills.

46) the myddest of my self]

See the marginal note to this line.

47) The seal is d scribed as having power to bend spirits of earth to Dee's will (48a, 1-2). Presumably the seal would have to be engraved upon a talisman.

fol. 48a.

vnlok]

1) 'Unlock hidden places or secrets' (see 43a, 32).

3) This is the first appearance to my knowledge of the names of any of the 49 spirits in any document.

4) Being a good spirit, Butmono finds it distasteful that he should have charge of the bones of the wicked, as well as the just.

8) This spirit is prince Blisdon, whose king is Bnaspol and who is to be invoked on Wednesday (Sloane MS 3191, 48b). Concerning his office see Commentary to 47b, 24.

9-10) See Commentary to 47b, 24.

11) The Image of One excepted]

Blisdon is here given power over all living creatures except man, who is in God's image.

17) Blisdon's seal is shown in the heptagon on fol. 48b.

20) my Violl]

The vial of oil (see MN21) appears to indicate an appointed span of time; presumably there is no connection with oil as prayer (see 10a, 30)..

23) What Dee asked or spoke of here is not recorded.

27) The sixth spirit is Brorges, prince to king Bnapsen, and is to be invoked on Saturday. Bnapsen has the power to cast out wicked spirits, but the office of Brorges is not recorded in Sloane MS 3191 (50a). The fire that issues from Brorges is probably related to such an office of exorcism.

29) This refers to Hagonel (see 45b, MN3).

30) owgly, grisely]

'ugly, grisly'.

33-34) Noui Januam Mortis]

'I have known the gate of death'.

35-36) Et...Dixi]

'And the glory of God pierced the walls of the wicked. I have spoken'. This would be a suitable saying for a spirit that has power to cast out wicked spirits.

40) ey sight]

'eyesight'.

41) Mysteria...imprimate]

'Impress these mysteries on your minds (or souls)'.

MN10) 'In living prayers'. Each life is seen as a prayer to God, or as a prayer from Blisdon to God (see line 17).

MN17) See Commentary to 47b, 24.

MN18) 'The virtue of his office'.

MN37) Prince Bo=]

Sic for 'Prince Bro='.

fol. 48b.

1) all Blew]

This symbolises the office of the next spirit, described at line 8, blue representing the air and sky.

1) beholdeth]

'Holds on to', obsolete form (OED).

4) This last spirit is Bralges, who is the prince to King Blumaza and is to be invoked on Monday, as are Carmara and Hagonel. Bralges governs invisible spirits and all powers that cannot be seen (see line 8 below and Sloane MS 3191, fol. 47b).

5-6) Dee and Kelly are on opposite sides of the table on which the stone is laced (see 47b, 22-23).

10) like little snakes]

These are or represent the invisible spirits under Bralges' power.

11) the seale]

Bralges' seal may be seen in the seventh angle of the heptagon on this folio.

12) the]

'thee'.

14) Blot out suspition of us]

It would seem from this command that Dee was not particularly happy with the offers of daemonic help. He may have expressed some private doubts to Kelly.

20) reseruing]

'Keeping from the knowledge of others', obsolete form (OED).

24) Highest to the Lowest]

The marginal note refers to the tabula collecta, indicating that 'from the highest to the lowest' may mean all of the 49 spirits.

29) 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord our God' (see Isaiah VI, 3, and Revelation IV, 8).

30-32) 'Blumaza is king over the kings of the earth and they are his first prince and his ministers, as I conjecture'.
The kings of the earth act collectively as a prince to Blumaza's kingship. This probably refers to a comment in the missing folio.

33) The heptagon has a radius of 42mm to its outer points.


MN6) See 57a, 30-38.

MN7) 'Dominion' should read 'in the air'.

MN14) Exchue]

'Eschew'.

MN20) 'The secrets of God are not to be revealed to men'.

MNLH) 'Carmara calls this first part one book in the fifth page following, with this sign  ' (see 51a, 33 & MN33).

fol. 49a.

2) The Cloth]

The black cloth drawn across the stone signifying the end of an Action.

4) The M n with the Crowne]

Carmara (see 47a,7). The identity of the figure is also signified by the crown over 'man' at line 6.

5) Diaph nitie]

Transparency.

8) like a seame]

The 'narrov path' at first looks like a line showing where two rt of the globe might be joined together.

9) superficies]

'surface area'.

9-10) The path goes from the lower point of the globe equivalent to th south rn hemisphere up to the topmost point, where on a gl be of the world the north pole would be.

11) The chair appears to be on the globe, about on eighth of the whole height own from top or north polar region (see line 13).

12) eigth]

Sic, for 'eighth'.

14-15) Unless there was some specific reference in the missing first folio to this book, Carmara must mean the introduction of the seven princes who held the heptagon (the vision of the kings, nobles and philosophers was interpreted by Hagonel).

16-17) Nam... \overline{nro}]

'For he is one and indivisible. Glory, glory, glory be to our Creator' (\overline{nro} for 'nostro').

18) Two partes are yet to come]

See 45a, 13 and 47a, 16.

19) the round table]

See 45b, M42. The table is not extant.

21) 'Come, let us step by step repeat the works of God' (see lines 55-56).

22) The first of the .7.]

Hagonel.

24) 'These are your lessons, which you do not yet understand' (see MN24).

26) 'God is one and our work is one' (\overline{nrm} for 'nostrum').

28) 'We are ready to serve our God'.

30) In Sloane MS 3191 Prince Blisdon, who governs the earth (an office given to Butmono at 47b, 24), is said to govern 42 ministers (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 48b). In fact each prince here is accompanied by 42 spirits.
 this order]
 Seven rows of six, as shown between lines 32 and 35, but see 49b, 38.

33) The figure with the cape (the short coat) is 25mm high and represents Hagonel. In Sloane MS 3677 Ashmole wrote in a marginal note that 'Carmara, Crowned was placed on his head, but scraped out' (fol. 74a).

33-36) Et...sunt]

'And my name is my whole number, nor is there reproach in our number. Mos s named us. Just as the power of these men is, so is that of these women, and while their power is not one, yet they exist in unity'. The men and women are the Sons and Daughters of Light (see MN36).

37) Dee thinks the sentence should begin with 'tam' to form a comparison in conjunction with 'quam'.

39) Quatenus...vestrorū]

'How great is this vanity of yours?'

40-42) 'You knew [nosti for 'novisti'] these numbers to be in God, in the world and in the lesser world. In God, that is

with us: in the lesser world is to say with you'.

43-49) 'Your mind is joined with knowledge [see 42b, 3-4, and 43a, 38]. It is sown in the presence of philosophers [Phōs for 'philosophos'], and that greatly, concerning Nature, which is not with you but with us and it is by our power. You will see God. You have seen our works, the works (I say) of his hands. We will be moved by the finger of G d. He came from God. He was a man among men: for he is yet with them. And his power gives force, virtue and being not only to us, but to our works'. This speech recalls the unity ascribed to Dee and Kelly through the knowledge of G ' ecrets and proclaims the unity of all things that proceed from God.

50) Inhu ta... ua rit?]

'Wh t i it that your unburied (incorporeal?) soul seeks?'

51) Ab ... st]

'By arth, by man; it is said by man'. This would seem to refer to man's creation from the dust of the earth (see in particular John III, 31 and I Corinthians XV, 47).

55-56) This n t is joined by a line to line 21. Carmara is repeating the exposition of the spirits of the heptagon to some extent, although this time using the round table that Kelly had 'sent' to Dee (see 45b, MN42). The confusion is over the offices of the fourth and fifth princes (see Commentary to 47b, 24).

MN6) $\bar{a}l]$

'alias' or 'aliter'.

MN18) 'This...twice, on the right(?)...Two are yet to come
an it is not time'.

MN29) See 3 a, 47-48 (the spirits holding crowns and robes).

MN31) \bar{e} racing]

'embracing'.

MI 40-48) 'lu b rs'. 'Natur '. 'The power of God'.

fol. 49b.

1) to s d]

'Tr ted roughly, haken, teased' (OED).

2) skap d]

'sc '.

5 6 S e 3 a, 47- 8. The crowns signify wisdom, the three-
qu rter crowns temporal rule, and th robes nobility.

7) pfect]

'perfect'.

9-10) balls of gold]

These may signify orbs of state.

18) Our workmanship is all one]

See 49a, 26 and 36.

19) Each day is divided into periods of four hours related to the seven groups of six, or more properly six groups of seven (see lines 38-41 below).

19-20) Euery part occupyeth a part]

Each of the six groups is responsible for a four hour period (but see Co mentary to line 23 below).

21) with Kings]

This may r fer either those spirits who are kings or to temporal kings (see 51a, 18).

23) the first place]

The first roup at ine 32 below number seven and there is some confusion as to whether the table is composed by six groups of seven each showing a line which is to be read horizontally, or whether the first of the first group of six shows the first letter in that line, the first of the second group shows the second letter and so on, so that the letters delivered by each group of six are those which are read v rtically. If the latter is the case then responsibility for each four hour period of the day is divided among members of each group of six. This doubt as to how the table is composed means that 'the first place' could mean either the first line of letters read horizontally or the first line of letters read vertically, though from subsequent tables the former is more likely.

24) Depriuation]

'Change'. The second six are to be used when it is desired that something be removed or changed.

25) residue]

The remaining groups of six (or seven?).

30-31) and so of the second six]

Either the second six all showed their letters or this refers to the first of the second six.

31- 2) The source of these letters is explained at 59a, 10-20.

Th error of OFSNGLL instead of OESNGLE was discovered when th source was explained and the correction was then s perscribed here.

3 -41) The dispo ition of the spirits could be seen as either

sev n grou_s of six or six groups of seven depending on wh ther the columns were arranged vertically or horizontally.

An unmarked change has taken place however, as can be seen by comparing the rows of dots at 49a, 32-35, with the table of letters on this folio, and by 50b, 28, what was here called 'the first six' is being called 'the first 7'.

44) the hand]

There is no indication as to whether this should be 'left' or 'right' hand.

50) See 49a, 26 and 36, and line 18 above.

52) The 'O' is the second letter of Bobogel.

53) 'Thow' is the catchword for the next folio. Bobogel is the first name of the second septenary in the table at 41a, which gives rise to Dee's question. The numbering of each septenary on the inside of that table, whereby Bobogel belongs to the first septenary, may date from this time.

MN18) 'So he said on the previous page, our work is one' (see 4 a, 26).

MN40) 'In six and seven are all things' (see 54a, 32).

MN52) See the table at fols 37b-38a.

fol. 50a.

2) The table at fols 37b-38a is to be compared with the missing table. Although Ashmole's diagram seems to represent the table at 41a, the latter table does not contain a man with a sword (see line 5 and MN9). The missing table must have resembled that at fol. 41a, however; indeed the latter may partly be a copy of the missing table.

3) for er Tables]

See 37b-38a, 40a and 41a.

4) that of 7 tymes 7]

The table at 41a with its seven septenaries.

the rownd Table]

The missing table 'sent' to Dee by Kelly (see MN5).

5) the point of his sword]

See Commentary to line 2 above.

6) the Bees]

The letters 'B'.

7) B.1. B.2. B.3. B.4. etc]

See the table at fols 37b-38a.

8-9) The names of the 49 spirits all begin with the letter 'B'.

10-17) Unfortunately this description of the missing table does

not give enough information to provide a reconstruction.

Lines 10-11 indicate a similarity with the table at 41a.

21) my instructions]

See 39b, 29-38, though the instructor there is Uriel.

MN17) In the table at 41a the name Bobogel is the eighth name

and 'O' is the second letter of that name. In the missing

table 'O' is evidently the ninth letter in a circle which also contains numbers.

MN22) See 45a, 1-3 and 19. Dee had received instruction

but from Uriel (39b, 29-38).

27) **♄** is the astrological symbol of **saturn** and the sign for Saturday.

29-30) The confusion over who gave Dee instruction is now resolved by Carm ra pointing to the unity of God's angels and spirits (see lines 38-39).

37) The Strength of God]

This is to be understood literally and not as an appellation of the angel Michael.

45) See 8b, 14.

46) rayng]
'reign'.

47) euidēt]
'evi nt'.

MN32) There is no reference on fol. 45 to Carmara's rule being till the end of time, although Hagonel, his prince, states that his time is yet to come (45a, 21). There must have been a more exact reference in the missing folio at the beginning of this book.

fol. 50b.

1-2) See 49a, 30-32.

5) See 49b, 31-42.

7) The first]

Hago el who presented the 42 spirits.

8) Th 7 next him]

The spirits who spelt the name OESNGLE. They are responsible for God's gifts to those that rule according to God's laws (see lines 9-10 below and 49b, 20-23).

12-13) 'It rei n , it r ighs, it reigns, Oh iniquity reigns on the face of the whole earth. The heart of man is filled with vil nd v nitie '.

14) 'It oegin , f r t ir n w pover b gins, not without it being given to th , n r...'

15) Vid qua s]

'S e, I g [you]'.

16) b tch]

'A swelling or boil' (OED). Corruption of the soul is represented by corruption of the body.

17) the residue]

The remaining 35 spirits of the 42. This slightly contradicts the definition given at 49b, 24-25.

19-20) The first seven spirits work in unity, but the remainder work individually.

23-24) See 49a, 29, although they were there numbered as six
(see MN19).

29) AVZNILN constitute the second seven.

30) There are 6 names under the subjection of Hagonel, each
name containing 7 letters (49b, 31-42).

31) The seal of Hagonel, called Barees (45a, 23).

33) The seal stands for seven, which with the 42 makes a total of
49. It is not clear who this seven are.

36) See Commentary to lines 23-24 above.

40) where his fate stood]

The tables shown by the 42 spirits wherein a letter was
displayed were made 'vpppon the place of theyr standing'
(49b, 28). The first was 'O'.

42-43) Prince Hagonel ('presupposed') with six names (49b, 31-42).

44) some]

'sum'.

49) they]

A manuscript error for 'theyr'.

MN11) 'Theyr new power begins'.

MN47) Praxis]

'Action' (Greek).

fol. 51a.

1) or one of them]

One of the 42 may be used, since all 42 have in general the same office.

4) The prince referred to is temporal.

5-6) See 46a, 1-4 and 48b, 30-32. 'Yesterday' indicates that it is not Hagonel's government over kings that is being referred to since that information was delivered on the same day as this evening Action.

10) the Princis of Creation]

The princes in the table at 41a.

17) Dee is elevated in being chosen to receive such knowledge.

18) Philip II was King of Spain from 1556 to 1598. What Dee's purpose is remains unknown, but it is probably connected with geographical discovery. In 1580 Dee had obtained 'the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parallel of the 50th degree of latitude' and it was in the autumn of 1582 that plans for Adrian Gilbert and John Davis to make a voyage in search of a North-West Passage to Cathay (China) were being formulated by Dee, definite arrangements being made and Walsingham being informed in January 1583. Since the Pope had divided all the world's

discoveries between Spain and Portugal, Philip II would undoubtedly figure in the early planning, both as a political obstacle (Dee presented to Elizabeth two parchment roles detailing her Titles to Foreign Lands on 3 October 1580) and as a possible ally. See E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583 (London 1930), Chapter 7, especially pp. 134-139.

20) Generall prince, Gouvernor or Angel]

Dee at first takes this to be Baligon, the presiding king of the 49 spirits, but in the marginal note thinks it may rather be Annael, who is 'chief governor generall of this gr at perid' (see 8b, 25).

23) my name]

Carmara or Baligon (see MN23).

24) him, which was shewed the yesterday]

Hagonel.

26) his six perfect Ministers]

OESNGLE, AVZNILN etc (49b, 31-42) or possibly the other princes who held the heptagon (see 48b).

30) those tables]

Those at 49b, 31-42. Dee is receiving instructions for ceremonial daemonic magic.

32) the first Character]

The seal called Barees (see 45a, 23). The marginal note still includes the cross with it (see 48b, marginal note RH of heptagon).

34) the Table]

The Holy Table.

36) the Ring]

The ring bearing the name PELE (see 12a, 34).

37) The lamin co prehends Dee's name by being in the form of
th le t r lta.

38) as is affore sayd]

See 9b, 3.

45) these T bl s]

Th se at 41b, 31-42.

49-50) This is a note at the bottom of the page and not part
of the ain text.

MN23) See 57a, 37.

MN33) See Commentary to line 32 above.

MN34) See fol. 10a.

MN38) The stone to be used for scrying in this particular ceremony is not mentioned by Carmara here, but is brought by an angel at 59b, 17-46.

fol. 51b.

1) advancement:]

'advancement'.

2) The advancement of God's glory with Philip II is undoubtedly connected with the proposed expedition to find a North-West Passage and that Adrian Gilbert should use the voyage in part to spread the word of God to the heathen (see 65a, 35-37). In 1511 Dee had written a great volume in Latin on the propagation of the Christian faith among the infidels of Atlantis (De modo Evangelii Jesu Christi publicandi, propagandi, et billiendi inter Infideles Antlanticos). The work was in four books, the first addressed to Elizabeth, the second to the Privy Council, the third to Philip II and the last to the Pope (CR, p. 26, item 17).

5-6) See 32a, 10-12, where Dee complained of lack of 'habilitie' to make the table, ring and lamine. It seems that during Kelly's absence between May and November the work did not progress any further.

7) with this]

'with this'.

9) Chargis]

'Charges'. See Dee's customary form of 'princis' for 'princes'.

11-12) See Dee's earlier noting of the tripartite nature of
so e of the angelic revelation at 48a, 18-19.

17) the im g of God as a shield to the righteous is com on in
th Bible (ee for instance Psalm XXXIII, 20 and Proverbs
XXX, 5).

19-20) Kelly i here confirmed in his position as Dee's scryer and
partn r in c l ti l knowledge.

21) th Prince]

Qu n Elizabeth. D 's situation was made difficult by his
l ck f m ney and t continual disappointments of not being
p ointed t the livings he r requested (ee Introduction
p. 26).

33- 4) 'Prai , honour, glory, virtue and rule to God in the
highe t'.

39) This Action began at 7 pm (see 50a, 27).

41- 2) 'Come Bobogel, king and princ of nobility. Come with
[your] ministers. C e (I ay), come fortified with your
satellites'.

43) thumming]

A roaring noise. This is the first time that Dee confesses to being in any way affected by the appearance of a spiritual creature.

MN3) 'The great mercy of God conceded to Dee himself' (ipi for ipsi).

MN11) 'Observe these three things'.

fol. 52a.

1) heade]

'heed'.

2) Both thy ey and hand]

This suggests that Dee may actually see the 'contrarie powers', which he never does, although it may be understood as meaning just that he will see the effects of such evil spirits.

4) ioly]

'jolly'.

4-5) See the spirits at 20a, 12-16 and 42b, 38-40.

5) rapers]

'rapiers'.

6-7) rownd hose of veluet vpperstoks]

Bobogel is wearing trunk hose with canions. The canions were

a tight-fitting extension of the trunk hose covering the thigh, separate nether-stocks being worn. The canions were often decorated with lace trimmings (see Iris Brooke, A History of English Costume (London 1937) p. 90. Her sketch of co tume of 1585 (p. 85), which I have simulated below, is very close to the d scription of Bobogel's dress.)



9) put vn r his gyrdel]

Put un er his belt for greater security.

pantofells]

A tyre of slipper. The word could be applied to every sort of undershoe and was in common use from c1570 to 1650/1660 (OED).
pynsons]

A thin shoe of somekind, of which there is no existing description. The word became obsolete after 1600 (OED). In

Bobogel's case it seems that they are in addition to the pantofles, so they may be soft shoes worn inside pantofles which are for outdoor use.

11) ruffyn like]

'ruffian-like'.

18-19) 'Let us act according to the will of God. He, our Go , is truly noble and eternal'.

20) Once again 42 letters are to be delivered.

27) I cannot d uce any particular significance in the way each grou of piriits disappears.

53-56) The circl has a diameter of 49mm and an inner diameter of 43mm (2 inches and 1.8 inches). The origin of the letters is explain d at 59a, 21-25.

MN1) Cave]

'Beware'.

MN38) dictata]

'Instruction' or 'dictation': Dee's first notes to the Action of which this MS is a fair copy.

fol. 52b.

12) 'To God alone[be]all honour and glory!.

18) ^{He}Ho is not here a speech-heading, but an identification of
'he'.

19) the standing furniture]

The chair and possibly the table and globe.

21) one]

Bobog l (see line 49 below).

26-31) The sketch is 47mm long and 10mm wide at its broadest point.

There are 49 dots u₁ on it, representing the 7 pipers and
the co pany of 42.

28) bobbed]

'mocked, scoffed at, mad a fool of' (OED).

30) table]

This is evidently that shown at 52a, 53-56 .

35) fardingales]

A hooped c ntra₁ tion to spread the skirt around the waist.


wemen]

'wom n'.

39-40) 'Just as the evil praise you, God, God, our God, so do
the good'.

43) Dee received these letters at 52a, 20-26.

45) Bobogel is the eighth name in the table at fol. 41a.

46) The 'great Circle' is the missing table and must have provided the character for Bobogel which is recorded in Sloane MS 3191 as  (fol. 41a). The reference to the heptagon ('the Table with 7 angles') is erased because it is an error, the heptagon showing the characters of the princes and not the kings.

47-48) See 48b.

49) Nomen eū est Bobogel]

'My name is B bogel'.

51-52) 'Bobogel — king; Bornogo — prince'. They are to be invoked on sundays (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 46b).

fol. 53a.

2) Prince]

Thi is used figuratively since he is a king.

4) Science]

'knowledge'.

7) frustrate]

'frustrated'.

9) praters]

'Talkers of idle and foolish things, boasters.' It is significant

that the instruments they play are wind instruments.

10-12) These prayers appear to make the same sound (i.e. that of truth) which only Bobogel and some of his ministers can truly make (see 52b, 39).

16) what I assure]

'what I encompass and rule', or else 'what I weigh' in the sense that there is no deception in Bobogel.

17) Ordinationem... let]

'Raise the order of infinite power'.

19) the first letter]

LEE for LVAR.

20) O...Deo]

'O unit in Nature and in God'.

21-22) O...s]

'O equality of God and Nature. Go in God, Nature from God and itself'.

23-24) Concito...Naturae]

'His history without number. Yet with us he is at one and the same time the fountain and head of Nature'.

25) and become, all One Man]

See 19a, 19, another symbol of trinitarian unity.

25-29) This figure would seem once again to represent Christ (see the 'glorious man', 42a, 26 ff.), who as God made flesh unites earth and heaven.

30) Veritas...est]

'The truth which is sought is ours'.

32-34) A knowledge of organic and inorganic matter was essential in alchemy and it is perhaps significant in alchemical terms that on foot should seem to be of lead, this being the cutlery base metal on which the alchemists tried to project. The figure has a foot of lead and presumably a crown of gold (line 28) and his apparel is composed of both the organic and the inorganic. Alternatively (or perhaps in addition) the foot of lead may signify base wisdom (lead is the metal of saturn) in contrast to the divine wisdom represented by fire at line 28.

34) Aposiopesis]

A rhetorical artifice in which the speaker comes to a sudden halt as if unable or unwilling to proceed.

The sketch to the left is 15mm high.

35) 'Blessed be he who [is?] the light of my head'. The 'etc' implies that the remainder of the sentence is well known but I can find no biblical parallel.

37) 'One in head, one in breast, one in the feet'. This must

refer to the constitution of this one man from the three spirits.

38) stept out 9]

These are the other three ternaries, who with that of LEE, ake up the four ternaries at 54a, 17-20.

40) Jentlemā]

'Gentleman'.

2) not to l te]

Bo ogel paused, but not overlong, before repeating Dee's nam .

44) th fir t Ternarie]

This is the first ternary of the nine, but the second ov rall, representing the letters NAR of LEENARB.

46-48) 'We vill. We can. What not?'

49) Faciamus...societate]

'Let us do what they have done, for w are three; we are Adam by society' i.e. they are en.

50-53) This ternary is rejected by Bobogel (see 54a, 18).

Although they try to emulate the ternary LEE, they can in no way do so. Although the body of the compound man that they form see s like gold (53b, 1), there is no strength or substance in the figure.

11N34) The astrological symbol for saturn and the alchemical symbol of lead.

fol. 53b.

5) BLN]

The 'B' of LEENARB and the 'LN' of LNANAEB (52a, 30-31).

6-8) 'From him. Throu h him. With him'.

9 & 12) Qui...Vanum]

'Whoever is without these three...will work in the church
f God in vain'.

lea<ni...>] 'leaning'.

10) Apo iop is]

See 53a, 34. B b gel pauses in the sentence which begins at line 9 and ends at line 12.

13) <b....>]

'bodi s'?

17-18) th place becam fayre]

Th peo,le in the globe are cleansed through penitence
(see MN17).

19) a triangular stone]

A pyramid (see marginal sketch).

20) A mill powered by a horse walking in a circle around the two millstones fixed to a central axle.

23-26) What the white ball, the flaming sword and the fine linen hat-band should signify is not clear. The flaming word recalls the angel (usually thought to be Michael) who guards the gate of Eden (Genesis III, 24) and is customarily a symbol of purification (Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p. 324), but this sheds no light upon the other two objects.

28) to him ward]
'towards him'.

34) clyft]
'Cleft'.

36) 'They are always, and their food is one'.

3) vicissim]
'In turn'. The resulting combination of letters is LBELEN, those of the first ternary being here underlined.

43) ANA]
From LNANAEB (52a, 30-36).

44) Ab illo sed]
'From him, but' (see line 6 above).

45) Cum illo sed]
'With him, but' (see line 8 above).

48) brauer]

More ostentatious.

49-50) Aliqui...Digni]

'Some [have] such things [i.e. fashionable clothes] on account of worthiness, [but] others [have] such things because they are not worthy'.

51) Per illu]

'Through him' (see line 7 above).

||rayle]

This belongs to line 50 ('appa=rayle').

53) See lines 13-14 above.

fol. 54a.

1) This ternary tries to emulate the third, but fails to do so, just as the second failed in its emulation of the first.

2) Cahos]

'Chaos'.

3-4) See 53b, 23-24.

6) The hole must have opened again after closing (53b, 34).

9) Et...ignis]

'And because they were lacking in ardent fire'. The fourth

ternary has tried to attract the attention of the people in the same way as the third, but they have nothing substantial to offer.

11) apparail]

'apparel'.

12) See 53b, 46-48.

15) Fawt]

'Fault'. Probably in his first notes the first and second ternaries were linked together and the third with the fourth.

21) Omnes...illo]

'All belong to Nature, but not in him' (contrast with 53a, 20-22). Not all the ternaries are divinely inspired.

22) The O ren yning]

12 points have shown the four ternaries and there are then for 30 spirits remaining of the original 42.

23) the relected Cumpany]

The second and fourth ternaries (see lines 18 and 20 above).

26) See 52a, 49.

27) This company is neither intrinsically good nor intrinsically evil, but only according to how they are used (see MN27).

28) 'We are the seven gates of Nature, and of he who knew
God' (i.e. Adam). The last phrase explains their neutrality.

30-31) the rest of the 30]

23 spirits are left in this company after the disappearance
of seven in white smoke. The disappearance of these 23 in
black smoke indicates that they also are rejected by
Bobogel.

32) In seto... nia]

'In six and even among all things' (see 49b, MN40).

33) The six]

The first twin twins.

5) the n]

'the sun'.

rule]

'rolled'.

36) the small narrow race]

The upper part of the path traced on the globe described
at 4a, 7-13.

40) 'The one who formed these [i.e. the six] is the second
in the heptagon', i.e. Bornogo, prince to Bobogel (see
fol. 48b).

41) See 49b, 31-42.

41-45) The spirits LEENARB—AOIDIAB each govern a four hour part of Sunday as the spirits OESNGLE—LABDGRE did of Monday. Their use is similar (see 51a, 30-35).

45-48) There is considerable confusion over the division of parts of the day among the 42 ministers of each prince. At 49b, 31-42, each of the six groups of seven of Hagonel's ministers were allotted a period of 4 hours, while Hagonel's seal represented a further seven spirits including himself (see 50b, 31-34). In the case of the 42 ministers of Babalel and Befafes, each group of seven also governs a four hour part of the day while the king and prince are responsible for the whole day (see 55b, 25-26). A similar division is made with the ministers under Bynepor and Butmono (56b, 14) and Bnaspol and Blisdon (56b, 44-45). The division here of the spirits under Bobogel and Bornogo does not make sense. Even allowing for the fact that each group of seven letters was earlier referred to as groups of 'six' (see 49b, 30) the division cannot be made 'as before' if 'the first six of the six orders' (line 45) refers to LEENARB or if the 42 ministers are to be divided into seven groups of six rather than six groups of seven. It seems most likely that the intention is that six groups of seven (LEENARB—AOIDIAB) are each given a four hour period of the day (as at 49b, 31-42) and that 'the first six' (line 45) should refer to spirits represented by the seal of Bornogo other than Bornogo himself, as was the case with Hagonel (50b, 31-34).

49) See 50b, 40.

MN52) vide ante 3 folia]

'See three folios before' (see Commentary to lines 41-45 above).

fol. 54b.

4-6) These spirits know God ('one in heuen') and all things to do with man and the world.

7) These few spirits reflect the nature of heaven.

9) See marginal note.

10) vse of the...]

It seems from what follows that Dee is asking a general question about the instructions he has been given for commanding the spirits.

14-15) See the first ternary LEE at 53a, 25-29. This ternary transformed itself into 'One Man' composed of herbs and metals.

18-20) The 'purpose and intent' is yet to be revealed.

21) 'I have spoken'.

24-27) 'Come, come (I say), approach. Come, king. O king, king, king of the waters, come, I say come. Great is

your power, though mine is greater. Our God remains, rules as, and is that which he was and just as he was'.

28) Then cam one]

Babalel.

29-31) 'We are ready to praise the name of him our creator.

The name (I say) of one [who is] now and living. These things are obscure to clouded minds [but] true and manifest to true and perfect [minds]'.

32) Ecce adsunt]

'Behold, they are here'.

35-36) left arme...righ<t>arme]

This refers to the sleeves of his garment.

41) Babalel governs the waters and with his prince, Befafes, is to be invoked on tuesdays (Sloane MS 3191, 48a).

43-48) The origin of these letters is explained at 59a, 26-33.

47-48) 'Let all (omne) that lives praise God, one and three in all eternity (aeternum)'.

47) The 'A' of AOONMAN should be 'N', this correction being made later.

MN25) 'The king of the waters'.

fol. 55a.

7) at an ynche]

'close at hand', obsolete (OED).

8) Ha Sir ha]

There seems no reason for the hyphens joining the words.

9) Multin]

The name does not occur again.

10) skipiak]

'skipjack, a pert shallow-brained fellow' (OED).

12-14) Babalel is dressed as before (see 54b, 34-36). It is appropriate to his office that he should seem to stand upon water.

16-18) 'Come prince of the seven princes who are princes of the waters. I am a powerful and wonderful king in [respect of] water, whose power is in the depths of the waters'.

19-21) Princeps...Heptagonon]

'This prince is the third prince in the heptagon' (see 48b).

The prince's name is Befafes.

21) 'Heptagono' is the correct Latin form.

22) Heptagonωμ]

'Heptagonom'. 'Heptagonon' would be 'heptagonωυ'.

22) verè...dixi]

'Truly, plainly and clearly have I spoken'.

23) 'You have measured the waters?'...'It is done'.

24) The doubt is not specified.

25) See Commentary to lines 34-35 below.

26) Phers]

'Philosophers'.

28) I was with Salomon]

Michael also claimed to have been with Solomon (see 13b, 17).

Scotus]

While Joannes Duns Scotus (1265?-1308?) would tend to be a more familiar name to Kelly, this most probably refers to John Scotus (fl. 850), author of De divisione Naturae, who argued the unity of nature proceeding from God through the creative ideas to the sensible universe and being resolved into its first Cause.

29) 'I was [known] in respect of my powr'.

30) Mares]

'The Seas'.

Since]

'Since then'.

34-35) Unless there are some unrecorded incidents of Kelly's scrying, these lines must refer to Actions with Barnabas Saul or one of the other possible scryers.

38) the fifth of the Seuenth]

In the Action of 5 May 1583 Dee asks Uriel about this statement of Befafes and receives the following reply:
'He speaketh so of him self, in respect that he shall be the fifth that shall be Vsed. In consideration of Nature he is the fifth, althowgh not consequently in the Order of Operation' (103a, 5-7). The 'Order of Operation' refers to the use of the Holy Table.

39) Obelison the wicked]

This spirit is presumably the direct antithesis of the Befafes Obelison. He is not mentioned again.

40-41) Redemption is here offered to evil spirits and angels as well as to man. See also 57a, 17-19.

43) The AEgyptians called me...Obelison]

I have not been able to trace any source for this statement.

45) A pleasant deliverer]

What language should produce this etymology is not apparent but the word appears as 'obelisong', translated as 'as pleasant deliverers' in the Fourth Call or Key of 48 Claves Angelicae (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 4b; see also TFR, p. 109).

48 Claves is in Enochian with an interlineated translation.

46) The former 7]

Those who came in with Babalal (see 54b, 42).

49) They are spirits of the waters.

52) becomethh]

Sic for 'becometh'.

54) Maij <.1.>]

This should read 'Maij 5' (see Commentary to line 38 above).

There is no Action of 1 May 1583 and Ashmole must have misread Dee's manuscript.

MN46) Circlets are more proper to princes.

fol. 55b.

1-2) Clouds, hail and snow are water in the atmosphere and
come under the governance of these spirits.

9) vprorre]

'uproar'.

25-26) See 54a, 45-47.

29) Dee wishes to know the hour at which the day might be said
to begin. It could be at midnight, 9 am , first light or
some other significant time.

32-36) 'God gave life to all creatures. Come, come fire, come
 life of mortal things (I say) come. Approach. God reigns.
 O come. For he reigns alone and is the life of the living',

37) These are Bynepor and Butmono who govern the general
 condition of the world and the life of all living creatures.
 They are to be invoked on thursdays (Sloane MS 3191, 49a).

38-40) This king and prince govern the life and breath of
 living creatures and the 'smokes' of their 42 ministers
 may represent the breath of life (pneuma) and the sparks
 the inner 'fire' or energy in living creatures.

41) red, as blud]

This has a clear significance to the life of mortal creatures.

46-48) See Commentary to 47b, 24. There is no Action of 5 May
 1582 and Dee is referring to the Action of 5 May 1583 where
 he received instructions for a new Character (101b, 20-22 &
 102a, 38-43). These new instructions confirmed that the
 Character given to him at 9b was the work of an evil spirit
 and here he puts the confusion between Butmono and Blisdon
 down to another illuding spirit (see MN46).

fol. 56a.

5) Verè beatus]

'Truly blessed'.

7) yo^r,]

'your'.

B B A L P A E]

The 'P' is written over an erasure and there is a 'p' in the right-hand margin. The source of the letters is given at 59a, 34-42.

8-9) This king Bynepor begins the fourth septenary but is the twenty-second of the collected 49 spirits in the table at 41a.

20) 'To the giver of all good things [be] unceasing and immense praise'.

25) The only explanation I can give for the vision of running water is that it is one of the essentials for life.

29-30) Bynepor governs the general state of things in the three levels of vita suprema, superior, and infirmia (Sloane MS 3191, 49a).

32) He that Measureth]
God (see MN32).

36) 'Generally' should be erased in favour of the superscription 'generaltye'.

41-43) 'The highest, "middle" and lesser planes of existence are measured by my hands' (see Introduction pp. 66-73).

44) Despite Bynepor's great office and power, he is not self-created, but of God and his power is given by God alone.

45) I dubble life from One]

He is responsible for procreation and the multiplication of life beginning from Adam. 'One' may however signify God.

MN32) 'God spoke'. 'Ipse' is used as a Latin equivalent of the Tetragrammaton. See also John I, 1-3.

fol. 56b.

5) the second last world]

This time is regarded as the penultimate era in world history (see Introduction pp.162-170).

8-10) 'He entrusted life and gave power of being to me, to live and be glorified(?) eternally by all things everywhere'.

11) m<or....>]

'mortals'?

14) the rest as befo<re.>]

The manner of using Bynepor and the division of the 42 spirits (presumably with 7 contained in his seal) over the parts of the day follows the pattern that has been established with the earlier kings and princes.

16) See marginal note.

19-20) Bynepor governs the state of the world and the breath of life and so brightens the world and is welcomed by the people.

24) This king and prince are Bnaspol and Blisdon, who govern the earth and are to be invoked on wednesdays (Sloane MS 3191, 48b). At 47b, 24 the office of governing the earth was given to Prince Butmono.

29) Vgly people]

These are 'spirits of perdition' which guard treasure in the earth (see 57a, 1).

33-41) This circle has an outer diameter of 78mm (3.9 inches) and an inner diameter of 66mm (3.5 inches). The source of the letters is explained at 59a, 43-46. OOGOSRS should be OOGOSRB, the correction being made after the explication at 59a, 43-46 although De heptarchia mystica retains OOGOSRS (Sloane MS 3191, 42b).

33-46) See Prince Butmono at 47b, 35-36: 'Behold the bowels of the earth are at my opening'.

38-39) he in whome I am]

God.

47) vide lib^o 5: 1583. Martij 26]

On 26 March Dee asked Raphael whether he might use Blisdon

and his ministers to unravel the secrets concerning buried treasure which were contained in a scroll brought back from Northwick Hill in the Cotswolds by Kelly after he had been guided by 'a spirituall creature' (see 61a and 63a, 36-39). Despite the statement here that 'they are and shalbe at thy comaundement', Raphael would not sanction an invocation of the spirits.

47-49) Vide...26]

'Concerning these things see [the Action of] 26 June [1584] in the Cracow Book'. In this Action at Cracow a further table was said to contain four good angels with 'power over Metals, to find them, to gather them together, and to use them' and also 'the Princes of those wicked ones, that stood afar off in the Table of the Creation', this being a reference to the 'Vgly people' at line 29 (see TFR, p. 180).

MN6) 'Behold all new things'.

fol. 57a.

- 3) Bnaspol is the king of the fifth septenary and the 29th of the 49 spirits in the table at 41a.
- 4) Prince Blisdon is the fifth name in the heptagon at 48b and the 23rd in the table at 41a.
- 8) 'Come, where there is no rest but the gnashing of teeth'. They 'which do iniquity' will be cast 'into a furnace of

fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth'
(Matthew XIII, 42). See also Matthew VIII, 12.

9-10) No spirit issuing fire appeared in the Action of 19 November the day before. The only spirit who appeared then who in any way resembles this one was the compound figure formed by the fourth ternary with the 'chaos of faces' (54a, 2). A fiery spirit may have appeared to Kelly in a private vision on the 19th November whose appearance he related to Dee. The description does however fit Prince Brorges who appeared on 16 November (see 48a, 27-28).

14) and the etc]

The appearance of the princes and kings has been described before and they are all pretty much the same. The king here is Bnapsen and the prince is Brorges and they are to be invoked on saturdays (Sloane MS 3191, 50a). While Bnapsen governs practisers of magic and with^ccraft and has the power to cast out wicked spirits, no office is assigned to Brorges, although his earlier appearance at 48a suggests that his office should be similar.

15) as I haue sayd before]

It was Hagonel who punished 'lyers, witches, enchanters, Deceyvers, Blasphemers' before (45b, 31-32) and Dee's marginal note here indicates his awareness of the discrepancy.

17-19) Some spirits who were once evil will be redeemed (see 55a, 39).

23) The outer diameter of this circle is 64mm (2.5 inches) and the inner diameter is 54mm (2.1 inches). Within the circle there is an unskilful picture of a demon with his hair like flames (in red ink) and with sharp teeth. The origin of the letters is explained at 59a, 47-54, but according to that explanation the table should read: BANSSZE, BYAPAGE, BNAMGEN, BNVOLOS, BLBAPOO, BOBEPEN.

24) fode]
'food'.

25) A word is missing after 'sempiternall' (see MN25).

26) Bnapsen is the 36th name in the table at 41a, but Brorges is the sixth prince in the heptagon at 48b, Bralges being the seventh and last. Brorges is the last if Bralges is counted as the first (see MN27RH) but this then makes the numeration of the preceding princes incorrect.

30) 'Come you who are under my power'.

35) Carmara governs all aerial actions under the name of Baligon . Why he should interpose here, however, is not entirely clear.

36) of the last Ternarie]

ANA (see 53b, 43). In an Action of 5 May 1583 Dee questioned this phrase of Carmara and received the answer: 'he is the ende of the Three last corruptible times: wherof, this is the last' (103a, 18-20). The last ternary wore 'brave' apparel and were rejected by Bobogel (see 53b, 48 & 54a, 20).

38) Carmara is to be invoked on mondays but on fridays in his alias of Baligon.

39) the last before]

Bnapsen and Brorges.

40) the Fifth]

Bnaspol and Blisdon.

MN27) If Bralges is the first, then his king Blumaza must also be first; therefore the sixth division of the table at 41a and the seventh point of the heptagon at 47a are both numbered as 1 in addition to their correct numbers. Since Baligon represents the last table of 42 ministers he is also both first (as Carmara) and seventh in the table at 41a. In the Action of 5 May 1583 Dee was told that 'Blumaza is the first, in respect (And so all the rest, are the first in respect) of their own being' (102a, 29-30).

MN30) See 48b, 8.

fol. 57b.

1) This circle has an outer diameter of 76mm (3 inches) and an inner diameter of 63mm (2.5 inches). The letters are explained at 59b, 1-5.

6) For, so I call it]

The angels and spirits are not bound by human concepts of time.

11-13) See 46a, 12-15.

15-16) This triple division corresponds to the vita infirma, vita superior and vita suprema (see 56a, 41-43 and Introduction pp. 66-73).

17) This line seems to refer to God rather than Annael as Dee suggests (MN18), although Annael is the angel governing this period of world history (see 6a).

21-23) 'Glory, praise, honour and eternal jubilation be to our God [who is] omnipotent, the best and the greatest'.

26-29) All the other kings and princes governing each septenary have appeared except for this pair.

MN14) Prima pars Artis Triplicis.]
 'The first part of the threefold art'. See 58a, 37-41.
 in Esse]
 'in being'.

fol. 58a.

2) the first table]

The Holy Table.

3) red and grene]

It is difficult to extract any precise significance from the colours of the cloth, but green customarily represents fertility and red usually denotes majesty, violence or the life-giving principle. In alchemical terms green can represent solution and red is the colour of the achieved Philosophers' Stone. (See Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols and Taylor, The Alchemists).

10) See 57b, 5.

12) See 47a, 8-9.

14-20) 'O how great is the infirmity and corruption of man, who scarcely has faith in [God's] angels, his good angels at that, or even in God? The corrupt of the world have in them all worldly things, the dregs. O our God, our God, (I say) our true God with his true angels and those who serve him is always true. Ask what you will. I have spoken, and what I have spoken is overshadowed by truth, justice and perfection'.

21) Ecce]

'Behold'.

22-23) Hic...Per hoc]

'Here...Through this'.

24-25) 'And by the end of the measure, you will measure us and our power. Do [it], I say. What do you want?'. The drawing of the rod or measure is 27mm (1.1 inches) high.

26-27) parabolically]

'In the manner of a parable'. Dee here presumably resolves some of his doubts (see line 10 above).

33) negligēt]

'negligent'.

35-36) 'In the shadow of death there is no equality. For nothing is obscure which you have received through him. Perform'. This statement refers to Kelly, through whom the angels have communicated. Dee and Kelly are the elect of God and therefore not equal with other men.

37) See 57b, 14-16.

38) There are seven septenaries of spirits.

39-40) Again the universe is divided threefold into different planes of existence.

42-43) The seven kings are the first of each septenary in the table at 41a.

46) The characters of the kings were in the missing table but are to be found in De heptarchia mystica (see Introduction pp. 125-126). The names of the second generation Sons of

Light are here taken by Dee to be the characters of the kings (MN48, central) and they are to be found in the more complicated characters assigned to each king in De heptarchia mystica (Sloane MS 3191, 46b-50a).

fol. 58b.

1) See 27b, 37-28a, 2: the second generation Sons of Light.

5-6) of my self being the First]

Carmara ([†]Ho) is also Baligon who is the first of the 49 spirits (see table at 41a).

8) and lawfull]

This should read 'and unlawful' (see MN8)

9-10) The first point of the heptagon at 48b contains only the seal of Hagonel and no accompanying name.

10) S..]

'Six on'?

11) the Globe]

The missing table which Dee received from Kelly (see also 59a, 1-2).

18) wart]

An error for 'wast'.

the most perfect forme]

A reference to the table at 37b-38a perhaps.

22) There are seven seals but only six names in the heptagon at 48b.

23) The names are to be found in the tables at 40a and 41a.

24-25) See MN25.

27-30) Unless the name of Marmara occurred in the missing folio at the beginning of this book, Dee has not noted it, only Carmara.

35) See 55a, 20, although the distinction may first have been made in the missing folio at the beginning of this book.

39) to weete]
'to wit'.

40-46) The kings and princes, signified by the crown and circlet are here related according to their numbers in the table at 41a.

44-45) modo retrogrado quasi]

'As if by a retrograde step'. See the dotted line that connects the king Bobogel to the prince Bornogo in the table at 41a.

53) Novēb. 23.]

This is the date of the note being made.

MN8) myshard]

'misheard'.

MN25) impfect]

'imperfect'.

MN40) 'This sequence is made by adding 7. Thus adding 7 to the number 43 gives 50, a number greater than 49 by one, which may signify the first king, Baligon' (\overline{pt} for 'potest' or its subjunctive mood). Having proceeded around the circle of the table at 41a, Baligon, who occupies the first place occurs again as the 50th.

MN41) 'This sequence is made by adding 7. Therefore if 7 is added to the number 37, we find 44 to be the next prince' (g^o for 'ergo'). The 44th spirit is Bagenol. Both this marginal note and the one above separately link all the kings together and all the princes together, but neither succeeds in showing the relationship in the table between the kings and their princes.

MN46) See MN44. The statement 'My Prince is in myself: which is a mysterie' was not in fact spoken at all, unless in the missing folio at the beginning of this book. Nevertheless the memory of such a statement led Dee to think of Baligon's prince as the anagrammatical Baginol instead of the correct Bagenol. At the existing beginning of this book however, Hagonel said: 'the Sonnes of men, and theyr sonnes are subiect vnto my cōmaudemēt. This is a mystery'

(45a, 18-19) and there is an attendant marginal note to the speaker of 'Bagenol' (MN16). If Carmara is also Baligon, then Hagonel is also Bagenol. It is unusual for Dee to be inaccurate in his cross-references, but the admission 'as far as I remēber' suggests that he was unable to find the statement 'my Prince is in myself' when he looked for it himself.

MN46 RH) This correctly links Bagenol (the 44th spirit) with Baligon (the first).

MN41 RH) See Commentary to MN46 above.

MN44) See Commentary to MN46 above.

fol. 59a.

1-2) Nalvage first appeared in an Action of 11 February 1584 and was responsible for delivering the calls of 48 Claues angelicae which take up much of A True and Faithful Relation and are also to be found in Sloane MS 3191 (see TFR, p. 63).

5-6) i.e. from 58b, 26 to 59a, 4.

9) his peculiar Table]

Each prince has his own table consisting of the letters delivered by the 42 spirits accompanying each prince between fols 49b and 57b.

10) the First Table]

See 49b, 31-42.

- 12) The two numbers in the margin reflect respectively the order in which the tables were given and their order if Baligon is regarded as the first of the 49 spirits
- 13) OESNGLE is obtained from the second letters of Bobogel and Befafes, the third of Basmelo, the fourth of Bernole, the fifth of Branglo, the sixth of Brisfli and the seventh of Bnagole, who form together the second septenary in the table at 41a.
- 17) AVZNILN is obtained in a like manner to OESNGLE, but from the third septenary. The system is continued to the last septenary.
- 20) LEENARB is derived from the second septenary by working inwards from the last letter of the king (Bobogel) to the first letter of the seventh spirit (Bnagole).
- 24-25) The subsequent names in the second table are derived from the remaining five septenaries using the same process as that for LEENARB, Bamnode being the 49th spirit.
- 25) trauersi, quasi retrograde]
'Across as if backwards'.
- 26) Both 'lower' and 'latter' should read 'last' (see MN26).
- 27) 'Right' should read 'left' (see MN27).

26-33) As with OESNGLE etc, the first two letters of each name in the third table are derived from the same circle in each septenary of the table at 41a.

28) the last word is of second seven]

A manuscript error for 'the last word of the second seven',

34-42) This is a mirror image of the progression used to obtain the names for the third table.

41) // ble]

The superscribed end of 'Table'.

43-46) This progression is the mirror image of that used to obtain the names for the second table.

47) the Infernall Table]

See 57a, 15-22.

47-54) The progression uses the stated letters of the king of each septenary save for the first (Baligon, who is self-sufficient), the 49th spirit being used in his stead. The rule for each name is to use consecutive letters of each king and then the last letter of the seventh spirit in the septenary of the king who contributed the sixth letter. The first septenary under Bobogel is never used. The result of using this rule, however, gives BANSSZE, BYAPEE, BNAMEEN, BNOLOS, BLBAPOO, BOBEPEN, as opposed to BANSSZE, BYAPARE, BNAMEEN, BNVAGES, BLBOPOO, BABEPEN, shown in the table at 57a, 23.

MN12) This note is rather confused but I think the sense of it is this. Baligon and his septenary have not so far been used in obtaining the tables of names of the 42 spirits and therefore may be seen in this respect as being the last septenary in the table at 41a (note the figure 7 inside the circles at 41a). Blumaza is designated as 'the first' in the Action of 5 May 1583, but he holds this position 'secretly' (see 102a, 27-30 and MN30). As a result of this 'secret of preeminence' his name is accompanied by the numeral 1 in the table at 41a (the innermost numeral). This results in a sequence of septenaries from Blumaza to Bnapsen which is numerated a little irregularly: 1, 7, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. I feel that the 'necessity' does not lie in the system of septenaries but rather in the need to overcome discrepancies in the system.

fol. 59b.

1-5) This table uses the first septenary under Baligon, which may also be regarded as the last since it produces the seventh table. The whole of this septenary is not used, however, but only letters contained in the names of each of the seven kings.

4-5) 7. tenaries]

'Septenaries'.

6) made all of Kingly substance]

All the letters are derived from the names of kings.

8-9) the great Circular table]

The missing table 'sent' to Dee by Kelly.

18) Dee is of course using a stone, but the angels now give him one appropriate for the commandment of the 49 spirits.

20) the Roman Possession]

The Roman Empire.

24) it]

The new stone.

27) See MN27.

29-31) The new stone is governed by Baligon (see Sloane MS 3191, 49b).

32) The angel who brings the stone is unspecified save for the description at lines 36-38 below,

35) matts]

'mats'.

36) heyth]

An obsolete form of 'height' (OED).

48) 'Truth in truth: God in God; he is one in one'.

51-52) 'To him who is to come to judge eternity with fire
be all honour, praise and glory for ever and ever'.

MN49) 'Beware'.

fol. 60a.

1) 'The fifth book of mysteries'.

3) Kelly left for London on 22 November 1582 and then set off the next day for the village of Blockley in Gloucestershire. He was supposed to return within ten days (see Diary), but the next diary entry is for 7 May 1583. Dee was very busy with conferences concerning the proposed expedition to discover a North-west Passage during these intervening months, which also saw the birth and baptism of his son Rowland. There is no record of disagreement between Dee and Kelly, facts which Dee usually noted, and so while it is possible that some Actions may have taken place between 22 November 1582 and 23 March 1583 and been lost through the attentions of Mrs Jones's maid, it seems more likely that Kelly was absent with Dee's consent. On 23 March 1583 Kelly returned with John Husy from Blockley (61a, 2) with a scroll that he was supposed to have found at the nearby Northwick Hill on 12 March (66b, 14).

5-6) Ashmole denotes this fifth book as containing the sixth book and the Appendix to the fifth book as being the seventh.

fol. 61a.

3) Mr John Husey]

There is no reference in Dee's Diary to this person.

Blockley]

The village of Blockley is situated on the edge of the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire, 6 miles from Broadway, 7 miles from Stow-on-the-Wold and 87 miles from London.

6) monument]

'Monument': a written document or record.

7) Northwick Hill is just to the north-west of the village of Blockley.

7-8) It seems that Kelly and Mr. Husey may have been conducting their own scrying experiments which led to the discovery of the book and scroll. A red powder was also discovered (see Introduction pp160-161).

9-11) Neither Dee nor Kelly was able to decipher the scroll and so the angels are to be asked to enlighten the company, although in fact no information is forthcoming in this Action.

12) a foles cote]

The motley.

15) hery]

'hairy'.

- 16) 'You have penetrated [penetravisti] the nature of my injustice'.
- 17) Feci, nam decedo]
'I have done, for I depart'.
- 19) wexed]
'waxed'.
- 20) the Table...the Chayre]
The angelic Holy Table and the chair normally associated with Michael.
- 22) The spirit who stays is Raphael, signified by Me[†] at line 38 (for Medicina Dei), so the other two are probably Michael and Gabriel. The ~~†~~ probably signifies that Raphael is wearing a crown (see 64a, 50).
- 23-24) Aucte...incredibile]
'Hail. It is true and incredible'.
- 26-34) 'The way, truth and virtue are one: and his greatness is admirable and takes many forms. And the breath comes from your [God's] mouth (and has life), by which all things live by your assent and illumination. Hail the word, hail the creator and measure of things, which were, are and shall be. You have enlightened the eyes of [you] creatures by intelligible monuments [see line 6 above] and warnings. Life to the good, but death to the wicked and to those who

are cast aside from your consideration. How great and innumerable are your gifts (O [God of] Justice)? O remiges varpax. Lord have mercy'.

33) O remiges varpax]

This is a phrase in the Enochian language for which there is no translation available.

36-37) 'O blessed Trinity, send your light and truth that they may lead me to the holy mountain and your tabernacles'. See 7a, 48 and Psalm XLIII, 3.

38) 'Where unbelievers [may] not [go]'.

39-40) 'We are not unbelievers: but our hope lives eternal and [his] truth, the fountain of life, is omnipotent'. Aeterna may refer to veritas rather than to spes, or even to both.

41-45) Adduxi...videbitis]

'I have brought water from that river for you [i.e. the fountain of life]. It is truly a medicine for your imperfections and needs. Understand now both who I am and with what I am provided. Drink and receive fulness into your bones. For many are the imperfections of mortals. I have, and you will have: I have brought [the water] and you will see'.

MN15) 'Covered with hair'.

fol. 61b.

61a,45-61b,4) Verbum...eius]

'The word is that light by which every imperfection is destroyed. Those who believe will enter [introibunt] into his holiness, where [lies] the potion and eternal medecine. You have truly considered [see MN3]. I am just as you believe. For by truth and justice his words and teaching are true and perfect'. The whole of Raphael's speech effectively promises divine inspiration and the help of the Holy Spirit.

6) Recte sapere]

See 5a, 12.

Thow hast it]

i.e. knowledge and understanding.

9) botom]

'bottom'.

12-13) The water which causes the tree (i.e. Dee) to swell and bring forth fruit is the teaching of Raphael (see 61a, 41), but more specifically the angelic language (see 63, 34-37).

16-17) 'Behold the servant of the Lord. May his will (like his mercy) pronounced concerning me be performed in me'. This is not dissimilar from Mary's reply after the Annunciation (Luke II, 38).

21-22) This refers to the contents of the fourth book.

26) Oute of Seuem]

The heptarchical revelations of the fourth book.

28-31) See Commentary to 12-13 above.

31) marble stone]

Marble signifies constancy and permanency.

32) the blud of a dragon]

Dragon's blood was the name given by the alchemists to the resin obtained from certain plants, but it is more likely that it is used here only to symbolise fierceness.

Northen]

Sic for 'Northern'.

34-35) The figure's face is composed of all substances within the primordial Chaos.

35-37) This passage owes its origin to the Platonic concept of ideal Forms and the perfect and eternal model used by the Creator in fashioning the Universe. In his Preface Dee's description of the threefold nature of the universe (supernatural, natural and mathematical) is accompanied by the statement that 'the generall Formes, notwithstanding, are constant, unchaungeable, untransformable, and incorruptible' and are neither of man's perception nor his conception. (Preface, second page).

37) his two eyes]

The sun and the moon. The figure reaches from earth to the heavens.

38-40) This figure is a representation of the 'liquor' which Raphael brings: the word of God, perfect in itself, and the language of the angels.

40) nature Intellectuall]

The highest kind of nature, that of the mind and its apprehensions.

MN3) 'He speaks of my thinking it might be Raphael'.

MN23) 'Unbelievers'.

fol. 62a.

1) The image of nature is continued but refers to growth in the world of the intellect.

8) I respect the time]

Perhaps the black cloth appeared signifying the end of the Action and Dee is giving his assent to leaving off.

13) a slepe]

'asleep'.

14) At 63a, MN30, Dee remarks that 'a lambs hed, may be a token

of our humilitie required'. The lamb is of course representative of Christ in his sacrificial role.

16-25) 'These are signs to you of humility and penitence: all that I do is yours and not mine [i.e. his actions are significant]. Let his name be praised in heaven, and also on earth. Seek power in the humility of his words and you will see the glory of his face. For the glory of his virtue is merciful and omnipotent. What is vain is on account of corruptions of his works: what is necessary is truly according to your needs. For he made all things towards his praise and (behold) the works of his hands together praise the light of his countenance. Praise [him] in turn. Live in humility. My medicine (which is his) will in truth heal all things'. The final sentence suggests that the angelic language will reunite the world (see Introduction pp.169-71).

26) feldes]

'fields'.

29) Nature and Reason]

Raphael's medicine is the language of Adam and the angels (see 63b, 34-37), which is intelligible to all created things, whether imbued with life and animated or not (see 63b, 46-48).

34-37) These are the steps of celestial learning.

41) deapest]

Sic for 'deepest'.

42) he]

It is not clear to whom this refers. Solomon asked God for wisdom, but did not forsake the world (62b,1). The next reference is to Adam (62b,7), but the description here does not fit him either.

fol. 62b.

2) subject or object]

Subject is that part of a thing in which its essential attributes reside and object is the thing as it is perceived.

3) from him, that proceedeth]

God.

5) the first]

Adam, who was in the image of God, but not like God in power and glory.

5-6) A reference to the Fall, but see Commentary to line 7 below.

7) Dee's marginal note declares that 'Adam, before his fall, knew all things' and we seem to have some confusion in lines 5-8. Either the reference to Adam's Fall in lines 5-6 and his subsequent revival is to be understood as separate from the reference to Adam's prelapsarian knowledge, the revival being the coming of Christ, or there is an intimation of

Adam's existence before his receiving the breath of life from God. The double reference to the creation of man in Genesis (I,27 and II,7) may go some way towards explaining this: Adam's 'slombring' is his existence before God 'breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul' (Genesis II, 7).

10) a meane be adiected]

'a purpose be added'. All that Dee has been taught has yet to be put to use and only in use does it have value.

14) ende]

'purpose'.

15-17) A new golden age is promised, although it is as yet but a dream.

22) This book is the Book of Enoch which Dee will copy out under instruction.

26) make the clere]

'make your understanding clear'.

28) Et finis est]

'And it is the end'.

28-29) One...known]

One leaf of the book is so secret that it shall never be known. Dee's marginal note records that the addition of this leaf makes the total 49.

30-31) Presumably the mysteries are those concerning the 49 spirits of the 4th book, but set out in tables in the Enochian (angelic) language.

32-33) The book seems to be divided into three parts.

36-37) This defines the relationship that Dee and Kelly are to hold towards each other.

38) Grutch]

'Grouch, complain' (OED).

42) A third person is to be admitted to the conduct of the Actions. At first it was Adrian Gilbert, but then Lasky became a fairly frequent attendant (see Introduction pp.175-6).

47) Adrian Gilbert]

See Introduction pp.165-6 and Commentary to fol. 63a.

fol. 63a.

1-3) See the pictures at 86b

8) supercaelestiall]

See Introduction p. 66.

10) tre]

'tree' (see 61b, 9-13).

11) Act]

'Visible results, deeds'.

12-13) King Bnaspol and Prince Blisdon.

13) whose]

This word should be deleted. Raphael says that questions concerning buried treasure are not his concern, but are to be dealt with by Bnaspol and Blisdon.

15) See 56b, 33-41 for Bnaspol's 42 ministers.

17) dew]

'due'.

19) lymms]

'limbs'.

24) Gloria $\overline{\text{pri.}}$ etc.]

See 8b, 18-19.

MN11) 'Power/Deed'.

MN15) See 56b, 33-42.

Circa...&c.]

'Around May 1587 a certain Ben (a spiritual creature) said to E.K. himself that he had guarded that powder and book of Dunstan'. In fact this information was delivered to Kelly in a private vision as he laboured over a still on 18 April 1587 (TFR, p. *12).

27-29) See 61a, 19-22.

30) See 62a, 14-15.

31) Magna...dixisti]

'Great are the things of which I have spoken, O God',
assuming Alla to be God.

32) hard before]

'immediately in front of'.

36) See 86b.

40) The buylder of the Temple]

Solomon. Raphael says that both worldly riches and wisdom
may be bestowed by God according to his pleasure. This would
be pleasant to Dee's ears, for much as he desired wisdom, he
was in constant need of money to finance his library and
laboratories.

43) one...other]

God and man.

45) those trifles]

Buried treasure.

feetest]

'fittest'.

fol. 63b.

1) existinction]

'Existence' and 'extinction' have been confused together, but it is plain that 'existence' is meant. The Creation contains all manner of things, and while some may be worthless or even wicked, in terms of the overall scheme they are non^etheless necessary.

2-7) Raphael admits that there might be some good arising from worldly wealth, but he refuses to disclose any information about such a vain subject.

8) Sterne]

This is a possible spelling of 'star' but not one that Dee generally uses and as such the sense would be obscure. It is most likely that 'sterne' is an adjective, so that the line could be read as 'stern director to thee'. Alternatively 'the Sterne' may mean 'the strict', i.e. those who lead ascetic lives.

9) All those]

All the spirits in book four.

11) This vessell]

The 'liquor' or medicine which Raphael brings, the language of the angels.

11-24) The spirits have their times and if they are called upon at the wrong time, they will not answer. Peter de Abano's

Heptameron concentrates upon the times of various angels
(see Agrippa, Opera, pp. 589-93).

14) The 49 spirits will answer Dee's questions purely from
friendship, but they may not be used at the incorrect time
(see lines 21-22).

16) 'The Ende' refers to using the spirits, while 'the Begynning'
simply refers to calling them.

17) El]

See Introduction pp.132-4. It seems from line 18 that the
rod may be a kind of magician's wand which Dee is to use.

18) to an ende]

To a purpose, as well as to a conclusion.

19) the seven]

The seven septenaries.

25) 'Former' should be 'further'.

27 & 30) Dee's words, if indeed he spoke, are not recorded .

31-32) Dee may receive information from the spirits at any
time, if not practical help (see line 14).

33) farder]

This form is unusual, since Dee customarily writes 'further'.

36-39) Dee is to be taught the language of the angels. Raphael declares that man's languages after Babel are poor imitations of that language which truthfully relates to the objects described.

46-48) The language of the angels encompasses the whole of the Creation and is understood by all that has been created.

MN35) 'Truth'.

MN37) 'The language and speech of the angels'.

MN46) primitiue]

The sense is 'ancient' and 'original'.

fol. 64a.

1) The first]

Adam.

3-4) See Introduction pp. 144-145.

6) Three]

Enoch, Elijah and John the Evangelist. Enoch and Elijah (Elias in MN10) were both translated to be with God before they could actually die (see Genesis V, 24, Hebrews XI, 5, and 2 Kings II). John the Evangelist, the best loved disciple of Christ, was to 'tarry till [Christ should] come again', so that a legend arose that he should not die (John XXI, 21-23).

7) the three laws to destroy that Monstre]

I do not understand this reference, but I think that the monster must be death, rather than Satan, and that the destruction of death at the Last Judgement, when death and hell are thrown into the lake of fire, forms the basis of the reference (see Revelation XX, 14). Christ delivered man from death, but that is to be understood as a mystical victory following the crucifixion, and I am sure that if the reference were to Christ there would be some mention here of the resurrection.

10) els wold I not]

'Otherwise I would not reveal it'.

12) 'Perceth' should be 'presseth' (MN13).

16) iote]

'jot'.

18) sheuered]

'shivered, shattered'.

21-23) The angelic language is here seen as the word which created the world (see John I, i-3).

24) he sheweth a boke]

See 62b, 22-23.

30-40) The diagram measures 101mm square (4 inches) and contains 50 X 50 squares, which should in fact be 49 X 49 (see line 33).

32) See 62h, 22-23.

37) certayn Characters]

The letters of the Enochian alphabet.

45) These letters are from right to left those transliterated at 64b, 2-22. The forms are more clearly defined in a later Action (see 104a, 30-31).

49) Like Hebrew, the Enochian language is to be written from right to left.

51) The rod is clearly the rod El again.

MN5) 'The conversations of angels'.

MN6) 'Three taken from men into the heavens and turned into angels'.

MN47) Dee later asks Uriel whether such a shelf is to be made under the Holy Table and receives a negative answer (see (102a, 44-102b, 3)).

fol. 64b.

2-22) A clearer form of the letters is shown at 104a, 30-31.

What is given here is the first form of each letter, its name and a transliteration. The form given to tal (line 9) and that given to van (line 20) appear to have changed places in the later version and the later form of gisg (line 22) is significantly different.

5-7) Vnus....es]

'You are one, one, one, [and] great, great, great'. A Trinitarian state is here emphasised.

22-23) Magna...eius]

'Great is his glory'.

27-28) Numerus...tibi]

'O most perfect number, one and three. Glory be to thee'.

(See Commentary to

34) The letter 'y' is another form of the letter 'i', but with a point to denote the consonantal office.

MN32) It would seem that Dee was not given any transliteration in this first exposition and so the transliterations at lines 2-22 must have been added later as well. This may well account for the confusion over the Enochian letters for van and tal (see Commentary to lines 2-22 above).

37) noyce]

'noise'.

38-46) The meaning of this prophetic vision is not clear, except that it may probably be assumed that virtue defeats wickedness.

42) putto]

'put to' (see 105a, 7).

50) i.e. in two years (see MN50).

fol. 65a.

1) Up until now the cloth has been black (see 59b, 15).

3-6) There is no reference to a visit by Gilbert on 27 March 1583 in Dee's Diary, but evidently Dee began to broach the subject of instruction from and possible participation in the Actions (see 62b, 42-47). The presence of Kelly and the absence of any others concerned with the expedition to find a North-West Passage indicates that no serious planning of that voyage could have formed the subject of the visit. Whether the fireball was seen by Kelly alone or by Gilbert as well is not clear, and only custom would suggest that Dee himself did not see anything. In either case the experience seems designed rather to frighten off Gilbert than to encourage him to participate in the Actions.

7-10) There is some possible ambiguity over the identities of each person here: the fire of God's judgement will quicken

Gilbert's deadness to the advancement of Christ's name.

Gilbert's voyage to discover a North-West Passage is also to be evangelical (see lines 35-37 below).

11) A reference to the coming of the Holy Spirit to the twelve Apostles (Acts II, 1-4).

13) Whether Dee remained silent or this is simply a misplaced delta is not clear.

19-20) See 58a, 37 & 45.

22-23) See 62b, 42-47.

26) 'I am the medicine'.

27) Medicina or Medicus Dei]

'The medicine or physician of God'. This definition is responsible for the symbol [†]Me, which Dee evidently added as preface to Raphael's earlier speeches when transcribing the fair copy from his original notes.

28) his hands]

Through Gilbert.

42) Dee was already well acquainted with much of the area that Gilbert was going to visit in the course of the expedition, since he had mapped a great deal of the region and written

several treatises pertaining to 'Atlantis' (see CR, pp. 25-26 and Introduction pp. 164-5).

50) See 64b, 30.

52) At 62b, 37-38 Dee and Kelly were described as hand and finger. This image here also refers to Kelly's subservient but necessary role to Dee, for Kelly is to tell Dee what he sees while Dee must interpret the significance of the visions.

MN44) 'Darkness behind the back'.

fol. 65b.

1-4) During early March Dee had met with Adrian Gilbert and John Davis and others concerned with the North-West Passage expedition, and on the 18th he had been visited by a Mr. North from Poland, who brought 'salutation from Alaski, Palatine in Poland' to the Queen and to Dee (Diary). Dee was to meet Lasky on 13 May and leave for the Continent with him, Kelly and their families on 21 September. Some plans might already have been under way in March concerning the possibilities of going abroad, perhaps instigated by Lasky's salutation. See also line 25 below.

6) let]

'hinder'.

- 7) The warnings that a new age is soon to dawn may have had some influence on Dee's Continental journey (see Introduction pp.173-175).
- 10) 'O book, book, book, life to the good, [but] in truth death itself to the wicked'.
- 11-12) 'Great are his wonders contained in you [i.e. the book]: and great is the name of your seal. The light of my medicine [be] with you'.
- 14) 'Glory, praise and honour be to God the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost'.
- MN10) 'The book'.
- 17-18) 'May they all perish who work against the virtue of my name: and who have hidden the light of my justice' (reading justitia mea as an error for justitiae meae).
- 21) Multa...ipe]
'We [suffer] many things, because he [God] suffers many things'.
- 23) See lines 25-31 below.
- 25) Dee probably went to London for further discussions concerning the North-West Passage expedition.

28) apon]

'upon'.

30-31) See the spirit at 61a, 12-15, who is also covered with hair beneath his apparel.

31-32) Once again Kelly was prepared to leave Dee's household. The 'k' of his initials is miniscule.

36-37) See Luke XI, 11-12.

38-40) Dee instigated the Action to question Raphael concerning Kelly's experience.

42) Camikas zure]

The meaning of these Enochian words is not known.

44) The white fire probably signifies the Holy Ghost inspiring Raphael's words.

46) By 'the works of thy hands' Raphael here means man and/or spirits of darkness.

50) His]

Satan's.

MN17) 'Plotters'.

MN30) 'Hairy'.

fol. 66a.

1) ponishment]

'punishment' (see also line 45 below).

2) Satan is not one of those for whom redemption was offered
as a possibility (see 55a, 40-41).

10) greif]

'grief'.

13-14) tentations]

'temptations'.

20) kindenes]

Also in the sense of 'kinship' with God's Creation.

23) See 65a, 28-32.

24-25) The greater is the steadfast application of Dee and
Kelly to the work, the greater the work shall be.

26) 'Truth' is omitted from this line (see MN26).

27) they]

Evil spirits assuming the shape of good spirits.

36-37) See 65a, 7.

39) sow]

'sew'.

39-40) Evil spirits are permitted to bring troubles upon man
for his sin in this world as well as in the after-world.

42-43) This promise was of great significance to Dee (and has
to some extent proved true, albeit some Actions were lost
and the memory of the extant Actions has not always been
sympathetic).

46) See the two birds whose wings were joined together at
42b, 3-6.

49) immediate]
'direct, without an intermediary'.

51) apon]
See 65b, 28.

51) those that are present]
The disciples of Christ.

MN22) 'Raphael's office'.

MN46) The vision of the two birds occurred during the Action
of 4 May 1582 (42b, 3-6).

fol. 66b.

1-3) A reference to the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost
(Acts II, 1-4) and possibly in line 3 to the witnessing of

the Transfiguration (Matthew XVII, 1-10).

5) 'Let the vengeance of God come and the lying tongue be afflicted'.

10) sknorked]

'To **snork**' is a dialect form meaning 'to snort or grunt' (OED).

12) 'Let him speak, for he is not ours'.

14) See 61a, 3-10.

16) our good frende]

Raphael.

17-18) The spirit is only permitted to speak through God's grace.

21) Gargat]

No further reference exists to this name in Dee's writings and I have not been able to trace any other origin.

22) sentence]

'meaning'.

26-29) Dee does not shy away from trying to convert the spirit to the ways of God.

36) Sic soleo iniustis]

'Thus I am accustomed [to deal] with the unjust'.

38-39) 'O Lord, purify your holy place and destroy the iniquity
of your enemies'.

43) 'The true vision is truly noted. Let it still be noted to
the glory of God'.

45) ye]

'Yea'.

46) 'I have spoken and it is done'.

47-48) common externall Judgmēt]

The judgement of the world.

48) the appertenances]

I think Dee is doubting Gilbert's aptitude for the
evangelical aspect of the voyage rather than his suitability
as a leader of the expedition.

50) See Psalm VIII, 2, Matthew XXI, 16, and Isaiah XXXV, 6.

51) the sonne]

'the sun'.

MN25) See 86b-87a (pp. 152-153 in Ashmole's pagination).

fol. 67a.

1) or man, so brittle a substance?]

See Genesis II, 7.

2) ientle]

'gentle'.

3) in a palpable imagination]

Animals clearly have minds, though incapable of rational discourse. Nature is here seen as residing in all created things, but in different ways: in trees and plants as a quality merely of life and growth; in animals as a discernible though elementary mind; in man as her true self and in her full glory.

4) the quantities]

In particular the elements, but presumably Nature mixes in man all that may in man be called Nature (i.e. not divine) according to the correct ratio.

6) norrished]

'Nourished'. Nature nourishes all in their kind, binding all differences together.

8-9) body...leadeth him]

These are body, soul and spirit (see MN8). Man is divided into three parts according to Agrippa: 'the naturall spirit ...is the middle by the which the soul is united with the flesh and the body, by the which the body liveth...which yet

in some sense is also corporeall, notwithstanding it hath not a grosse body, tangible and visible, but a most subtile body and easie to be united with the mind viz. that superiour and Divine one which is in us' (Occ. Phil. III, 36, p. 461, misnumbered as 445). This 'naturall spirit' is the Animus Mundi. The third quality in Raphael's description could be equated with the Animus Mundi in that the strength of God could be seen as the binding element of the Creation, but I think the sense of Raphael's remarks is rather that man is composed of the corporeal, the spiritual and the divine. The divine part of man is not God, but rather the strength of God, and some correlation can be made with the concept of Noûs (Mind) in the Hermetic treatise Pimander. The supreme god is sometimes Noûs , but it is also man's intellect (working in a state free of the senses) and it is only through Noûs that God himself is knowable.

10) earth...fire]

According to Plato the elements differed in form rather than in substance and should therefore be spoken of not as 'being a thing' but rather as 'having a quality' (Timaeus, edited by Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth 1971), 17, p.67). In this he was followed by Aristotle, who added the theory of exhalations from which the alchemists derived much of their theory of transmutation of metals (see Taylor, The Alchemists, pp. 12-17). Plato, however, wrote that when earth met fire,

it would be dissolved, but finally become earth again, for its parts 'can never be transformed into another figure' (Timaeus, 24, p. 78). Just how earth may 'in mixture' become fire in any permanent sense is therefore not clear, but Raphael's words may have a symbolic meaning: earth-(man) may, by the addition of an external fire (the Holy Spirit) and a comingling with it, become fire (divine).

12) the dogged harted people]

Israel in captivity.

13) the twelue Lamps]

The apostles.

20) him]

Adrian Gilbert.

23) John Davis]

See Introduction pp.87-88. Davis was also involved in the expedition to find a North-West Passage.

ax]

'ask'.

24) Kalendar]

'list, register'.

25) the things before prescribed]

The angelic language.

28) 'To God alone be all honour and glory'.

34) Dee had been requested to prepare details concerning the reformation of the Julian Calendar and give his opinion concerning the scheme propounded by Pope Gregory XIII. He had delivered his treatise to the Lord Treasurer on 26 February 1583 (Diary) to whom it was also dedicated. The work caused much controversy, although Dee's calculations were generally approved by contemporary mathematicians. Pope Gregory's scheme (which was finally adopted by Chesterfield's Act of 1751) advocated that eleven days should be dropped from the Julian Calendar, whereas Dee proposed that ten days should be omitted. The Queen, advised by the bishops, did not accept either scheme. Dee's treatise is now Ashmole MS 1789, arts 1 & 3.

36-37) Concerning the voyage to discover a North-West Passage Dee had noted on 16 July 1582 that Sir George Peckham 'promysed me of his gift and of his patient [sic for 'patent'] ...of the new conquest' (Diary), while he had already been granted 'the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parallell of the 50 degree of latitude' by Humphrey Gilbert on 10 September 1580 (Diary). Dee is officially named in the request of 1582 that a patent be given for the North-West voyage.

39) behofe]

'advantage'.

42) partition]

'difference'.

43-44) These lines may be paraphrased as: 'all things have a share in an overall quality, but taken separately many different qualities are seen to make up this unity'.

49) in speculation]

'looking forward to the effects'.

ol. 67b.

5) intermedled]

'intermingled'.

8) Instigators]

These instigators or causes might be temporal or spiritual.

9-13) See 67a, 38-39. There is a difference between worldly advantage and spiritual advantage. Raphael offers no worldly help concerning Dee's setbacks, but offers comfort in the form of spiritual advancement, though with an accompanying disappointment in worldly affairs.

12) choseth]

Sic for 'chooseth'.

14) David was annointed as a future king by Samuel while he still tended his father's sheep (I Samuel XVI, 13), Samuel having been instructed by God (I Samuel XVI, 1-7).

22) It seems from the sense and the following line that the question should be in the negative.

23) yej]

This could be 'yes', the form of 'yej' arising from an accidental dot above the final 's' ('yej'), and this is how Ashmole read it (see Sloane MS 3677, 109b). Greater sense is made, however, if 'yej' is regarded as an error for 'yet'.

24) ame]

Sic for 'am'.

28) the two former points]

See 67a, 34-37.

30) God, being all powerful, has rule over the acts and judgments of princes, but exercises that power according to his own judgment.

32) 'A twofold secret'?

37) shote]

'shoot'.

35-44) Dee is promised a future role of power as one of God's elect.

MN2) 'Proper angels'.

MN36) 'Deceitful speech'.

MN47) 'Prevailing'.

fol. 68a.

1) as thow hast deliuered]

This may mean either 'as you have said' (see 67b, 26-28) or 'as it has been delivered to you' (i.e. as Raphael has indicated at 67b, 35-50).

3) all Offices]

The 49 spirits who govern the world.

6) As things be planted here]

Either Dee has collected the various items for making the magical instruments or he is merely referring to the instructions written ('planted') in the manuscript (see line 10).

7) eas]

'ease'.

10) compendious]

'Abridged'. Dee thinks that a form of operation more suitable for travelling is required, which operation will not use the large Holy Table. Dee may already have been contemplating his Continental voyage.

16) the other]

Adrian Gilbert (see MN14).

19) The Erth and the tree]

Kelly and Dee (see MN17). Gilbert as the planter is not absolutely necessary to the Actions (see MN19).

21) God is invoked as a witness.

25) God shall performe the, thy Philosophicall Harmonie]

God will answer Dee's prayer for help and angelic visitation (see MN26)

27) physitien]

'physician'.

30-33) 'To almighty God, our creator, redeemer and sanctifier, be all honour, praise and act of thanks'.

MN26) 'Deus, in adiutorium meum intende: Domine ad adiuuandum me festina: Gloria [Deo], Patri, et Filio et spiritui [Sancto]' (see 5a, 7-10).

37) good friday]

29 March 1583.

38) savor]

The term is used in the general sense of 'sensation'.

40) This occurs again at 69, 8.

46) the paper of the letters]

A paper containing the letters of the Enochian alphabet,
either fol. 64b or a transcription thereof.

ol. 68b.

4) This should properly read: 'the first side of the first
leaffe of the boke'.

7) od]

'Odd' in the sense of 'extra'. 49 X 49 totals 2401.

10) Each side of the book in fact contains 2401 words, rather
than 2401 letters (see 69a, 40-42).

11-15) The drawing of the rod El measures 36mm by 1mm.

14) The rod has previously been described as being two parts
black and one part red (58a, 12-13).

16-20) The diagram on the right measures 40mm (1.6 inches)
square.

16) Keph van]

The Enochian for the letters 'Z' and 'U'/'V'.

17) The Enochian for RESCH.

21) Med gal]

OD.

23) ADAPH

24) 14 letters have so far been shown occupying 3 squares.

25) MAL. At 64b, 12, the last letter is spelt 'vr', but the sound is like 'ourh' (64b, 17).

26-51) SES GENO AU MARLAN O MUSPA AGIOD PAN GA SES GAMPEDAZ
CAPCNEH GO OD SEMELABUGEN DOMNA PHIAM GA VANCRAH VREPRES
ADEPD AZE DRUZ TARDEMAH (such words as are translatable
are dealt with in the Commentary to 69a, 27-33).

29) $\delta\rho\upsilon\zeta$ is the Greek transliteration of 'druz'.

MN6) Dee's working out of 49 X 49.

MN44) 100 letters have been shown by the end of this line.

pl. 69a.

1-21) VA CESTS GRAPAD SED UNBAR DOMIOL ADEPOAD CHEVACH / MAH /
OSSHE / DAPH ONIZDAR PANGEPHI ODAMH GEMEDSAL A DINOZA
HOXPOR ADPUN DAR GARMES.

25-26) See Jeremiah XIX, 3-4 and John X, 2-4.

27-33) Dee evidently wrote these words of Enochian as he heard

them spoken by Kelly. He then at a later time transliterated the words given between 68b, 16 and 69a, 21, making the appropriate corrections. Some words, however, he failed to correct properly. The true text should read: Zuresch od adaph mal ses geno au marlan o muspa agiod pan ga ses gampedaz capcneh go od semelabugen domna phiam ga vancran vrepres adepd aze druz tardemah va cests grapad sed unbar domiol adepod chevach mah osshe daph onizdar pangephi odamh gemedsal a dinoza hoxpor adpun dar garmes. The letter van may represent either 'u' or 'v' and veh either 'c' or 'k'. The only words which are translatable (i.e. appear in the Calls in Sloane MS 3191 which bear an interlineated English translation) are:

od.....'and / are / and are'.

a.....'on / the'.

mal may have some connection with fire from malpurg, 'fiery darts'; malprg, 'a through thrusting fire'; malpirg, 'the fires of life and increase'.

o can stand for the number 5, but in conjunction with other words can mean 'that' or 'but'.

38) sely]

'holy, blessed, or poor' (see 42b, 41).

MN14) 100 letters are written between the end of 68b, 44 and the beginning of 69a, 14. A further 235 letters are then shown.

MN27) There is no indication as to where Dee obtained the word
'veresk', unless that is how he heard 'zuresk' at some stage.

fol. 69b.

8) See 68a, 40-43.

10) 'Eternity in heaven'.

13) Mensuratur]

'It is measured'.

14) Sint...intelligent]

'May their eyes be opened that they may understand'.

18) 'The second from the first' (i.e. the second line).

19-48) IHEHUSCH GRONHADOZ ARDEN O NA GEMPALO OICASMAN VANDRES
ORDA VEVEIAH NOS PLIGNAPHE ZAMPONON ANEPH OPHE[C]D A
MEDO[Z]X MARUNE GENA PRES NO DASMAT VORTS MANGET A DEUNE
DAMPH NAXT OS VANDEMHNAXAT (A DEUNE is a hyphenated word:
see 70a, 25).

fol. 70a.

1-20) OROPHAS VOR MINODAL AMUDAS GER PA O DAXZUM BANCES ORDAN
PA PRES UMBLOSDA VORX NADON PATROPHES UNDES ADON GANEENS
IHEHUDZ.

11) Incomprehensibilis...tua]

'You are incomprehensible in your eternity'.

22) While making the corrections Dee at first thought that there was an error in 'Ihehusch', but then discovered that there was not and so put a line through the dots he had placed under that word.

22-27) The corrections made by Dee are true, with the exceptions of 'plignase' (23) which should be 'plignaphe' and 'ma' (26) which should be 'pa'. There is also some doubt about 'ganebus' (27) as opposed to 'ganebns' (see line 19 and MN19). The words for which a translation exists are as follows:

o.....'five' or 'that' or 'but'.

a.....'on' or 'the'.

os.....'twelve'.

There may be some connection between vorts (line 24), vor (25) and the two words vors, 'over' and vorsg, 'over you'. Adon (27) may be related to adoian, 'the face'.

Ihehusch sounds like Jesus and many words in Enochian beginning with 'I', 'Iad' and 'Ieh' concern attributes of God (e.g. Iad, 'God'; Iadnah, 'the ark of knowledge'; Iehusoz, 'his mercies'). On the grounds that Ihehusch signifies Jesus, it is possible to conjecture that vandemhnaxat (25) means 'disciples / apostles / followers' since it is preceded by os, 'twelve'.

32) Gehudz]

This is presumably how Dee first heard Ihehudz (28), but he corrected it when making the fair copy which forms this manuscript (see line 36).

36) soluted]

'solved'.

38) cōteyne]

'contain'.

42) The visions disappear on account of Dee's presumption in requesting a faster method of delivery.

MN19) van]

The letter 'u' in Enochian.

fol. 70b.

2) Line 2 is completed to the right hand of line 3.

6) See Isaiah V, 21.

10) There is perhaps the word 'are' missing before '49 voyces'.
There are 49 leaves in the book, each with a square of
49 X 49 spaces.

19) God in his role as a God of vengeance to the wicked is frequently likened to a whirlwind (see for instance Isaiah LVI, 15, Jeremiah XXIII, 19, Nahum I, 3 and Zechariah IX, 14).

20) 'We are far from the perversity of destruction'.

26) here]

'hear'.

29) Whether 'element' means letter, word or syllable is not clear and the 49 ways of understanding are never explained.

31) The implication is that when the single language of man was confounded at the Tower of Babel, it was split into separate languages which it already contained. Perhaps these languages were 49 in number (see line 29).

35) 'There is nothing here which is not perfect'.

37) See 65a, 7-8.

38) here]

i.e. into the stone.

40) Dee is to receive instruction directly from God.

MN11) See 62b, 27-30 and 62b, MN29.

MN40) Theodidacti]

'persons taught by God'.

fol. 71a.

1) choseth]

'chooseth'.

2) This prophecy is frequently repeated in connection with the Book of Enoch.

3) Powre must distinguish]

I presume that this refers to the election of Dee and Kelly by God for the furtherance of God's purposes.

4) by thy finger]

Kelly was described as the finger to Dee's hand at 62b, 37-38.

9) There are two senses to the word 'see'. Dee and Kelly may see that God's 'might is great'. God's sight is 'the light of his own powre' and 'till he see' is to be understood in the sense of God's looking and sending forth his light, rather than receiving it.

12) workmanship]

'Work', an early usage according to OED.

15) Ne Ne Ne na Iabes]

Enochian for 'holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts' (ne, 'holy'; na, 'Lord of Hosts'; Iabes, 'God, Lord, Supreme Life').

See Isaiah VI, 3.

16-18) 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of the glory of his majesty, to whom be alone be all honour, praise and glory' (the Sanctus).

MN1) 'Power'.

22) A voyce like a Thunder]

God's voice (see Job XXXVII, 4; XL, 9, and Psalm XVIII, 13).

25) Aqua vita is alcohol achieved through distillation; it burns with a blue flame.

26) Sum]

'I am' (see Exodus III, 14).

29) Impleta...tuo]

'All things are fulfilled to your glory and honour'.

35) The fire enables Kelly to read and understand the words (see 71b, 7) and when the fire leaves him he can no longer understand the language. See Acts II, 3-4: 'and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance'.

44) 'Thus I am accustomed to purify the errors of men'.

MN33) This sketch measures 5mm square and represents the book.

fol. 71b.

2) mowght]

'might'.

4) See Commentary to 71a, 35.

11-14) The translatable words are:

ge.....'our / not'.

da.....'there'.

o.....'but / that / five'.

a.....'on / the'.

16) Ergo...Sum]

'I am he who is in you. Therefore to myself who is'. The second sentence is rather like a reply to line 17. Concerning the relation of 'Sum' to the Tetragrammaton see Commentary to 42b, 15.

17) 'Not to ourselves, O Lord, not to ourselves, but to your name do we give glory' (see Psalm CXV, 1).

19-24) Apart from 'o' (see Commentary to lines 11-14 above), the translatable words are as follows:

ar.....'winnow / that / so that'.

la.....'one / the first'.

de.....' of / to'.

ca.....'therefore'.

ol.....'I / myself'.

Whether 'Øl' is the same as 'ol' is uncertain.

27) Orate]

'Pray'.

32-34) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / that / so that'.

a.....'on / the'.

fol. 72a.

1-12) The translatable words are:

aSee Commentary to 71b, 32-34 above.

es.....'four'.

da.....'there'.

iads is probably related to Iad, 'God'.

Concerning Ihehusch (line 2) see Commentary to 70a, 22.

17) Locus est hic sanctus]

'This place is holy' (see 71a, 46).

18) Sacer est a te Domine]

'It is [made] holy by you, O Lord'.

21-30) The translatable words are:

gah.....'spirit(s)'.

da.....'there'.

ar.....'winnow / that / so that'.

a.....'on / the'.

ors.....'darkness'.

adma may be related to adna, 'obedience'.

NA must be the name of God (see Commentary to 11b, 34, and also fol. 74a, MN26).

MN3) It is unlikely that this is a translation of adipr, but rather that Dee is noting a significance between spelling and pronunciation.

ol. 72b.

1-5) The translatable words are:

las.....'rich'.

a.....'on / the'.

o.....'but / the / five'.

Concerning Na see 11b, 34 and 74a, MN26.

10-12) This is not a direct biblical quotation, but see I Chronicles XVI, 9 and Psalm CV, 2.

22) Magnus]

'Great'.

23) Locer...Deo]

'A holy place acceptable to God' (see 72a, 18).

26) This reads vlla doh in Enochian script, or more properly doh vlla since Enochian is written from right to left (allv hod). A transposition of the words takes place in the next line.

27-32) The translatable words are:

par.....'they / (in) them'.

olna may be related to oln, 'made'.

Concerning NA see 11b, 34 and 74a, MN26.

MN23) 'A holy place'.

MN26) The letter 'v' should be ʋ in Enochian whereas here it looks more like veh, ʃ , 'c'.

fol. 73a.

1-5) The translatable words are:

dax.....'loins'.

o.....'but / that / five'.

ar.....'that'.

a.....'on / the'.

da.....'there'.

gohed.....See MN3.

cruscanse...See MN5.

nap may be related to napta, 'sword(s)'.

7-18) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

pola.....See MN11.

par.....'they / (in) them'.

iad.....'God'.

dax (line 10) may mean 'loins' but its presence as part of a compound word raises some uncertainty.

ALLA may be a borrowing of the Moslem name of God.

21-26) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

la.....'first'.

ALLA.....See Commentary to lines 7-18.

MN17) Dee originally miscalculated by not regarding the underlined words as compound words.

MN21) Dee miscounted and thought that there were only 48 words shown. A possible underlining of 'sama' (line 15) to make the compound word 'no tempa ro sama' shows in the manuscript, but I am not convinced enough of its existence to put it in this transcript; it may be just a mark or the end of the pen stroke since it does not underline the whole word. Whatever the reason for Dee's miscalculation, if his marginal note is correct, one would expect the next group of words to be 50 in number. They are however only 49 as usual. See also 79b, 13.

fol. 73b.

5) a peces]

'in pieces'.

7-12) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

o.....'but / that / five'.

ne.....'holy'.

asch (line 9) may be related to Ascha, 'God' (73a,MN3).

14-20) The only translatable word is a, 'on / the'.

22) Orate]

'Pray'.

23-29) The translatable words are:

crus.....'more'.

a.....'on / the'.

la.....'first'.

par.....'they / (in) them'.

Mica may mean 'power', since all compounds of mica concern power ~~and~~ might.

MN9) See 64b, 34.

MN14) See 72a, MN23.

MN24) Cruse]

'A pot, jar, bottle or drinking vessel' (OED)

ol. 74a.

1-8) The translatable words are:

iaisg.....See MN2.

a.....'on / the'.

os.....'twelve'

de.....'of / to'.

Peleh (line 8) may be a name of God (see Pele at 12a,46).

chramsa.....See MN4.

iaialphzudph may be compounded partly from iaial,

'include / conclude'.

12) Orate]

'Pray'.

15-21) The translatable words are:

galsagen.....See MN14RH.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

a.....'on / the'.

23-28) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

la.....'first'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

da.....'there'.

ne.....'holy'.

Concerning life see MN24.

MN7) 'Iently' (gently) refers to the 'ch' sound which should be soft rather than hard. Dee often notes the hard sound by writing a 'k' above the 'ch' (see line 2).

MN16) This refers to the word 'alpan'.

MN24) Quite what the words mean is not clear, though their implication is explained.

MN24RH) There is no evidence as to when Dee first heard the phrase.

MN26) See 71a, 15.

fol. 74b.

3-8) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

os.....'twelve'.

om.....'know / understand'.

dax.....'loin(s)'.

Sem (line 8) appears to mean 'in his place' (see MN8).

10-15) The translatable words are:

a.....'on / the'.

ag.....'none / no / no one'.

There are only 48 words here if the compound word ar pah (line 14) is in one square, but the marginal note suggests that the two parts of the word are in different squares and so might be mistaken as being separate words.

17) See 72b, 7-8.

21-22) 'Glory be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and always'.

29) Bonus...es]

'It is good, O God, because you are goodness itself'.

30) Et...Magnitudinis]

'And [it is] great, because you [are] the magnitude of greatness itself' (i.e. God is the sum of greatness).

31) Adgmach means 'much glory' (see MN31).

32) Sum...locus]

'I am, and this place is holy'.

33) There is no translation of hucacha, but considering its sound and context it is possible to hazard a guess that it means 'in the highest'.

36) Presumably NA is again the name of God NA.

MN32) 'A holy place'.

fol. 75a.

1-6) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

vors.....'over'.

gascampho.....'why didst thou so?' (see MN4).

ge.....'not / our'.

Befes argedco..'O Befafes, we summon you with
humility and adoration of the Trinity' (see MN5).

9) 'Welcome to you in [the name of] him who is with you'.

12-15) Kelly is reading out the words and Dee is presumably repeating them as he writes them. Raphael warns that this repetition will result in the Enochian being put to use as invocations at the same time as being written down. The troubles that could ensue are shown by Kelly's experience detailed at fol. 88b.

24) axed]

'asked'.

28) 'Vors' customarily means 'over'.

34-35) God will make Dee hear and write the words perfectly.

40-46) The translatable words are:

ors.....'darkness' (though here it is part of
a compound word).

arphe.....'descend'.

MN5) Deus sine fine...Deus a Deo]

'God without end...God from God'. The note is erased on
account of the fact that orh is defined as a wicked spirit
'contrary to Befafes'. Even here, however, some confusion
remains, for the note of the wicked spirit in fact refers
to arzulgh (see second MN5).

MN5RH) Orh is underlined and is presumably the word to which
this note has reference, although semhaham may be connected
with the shemhamphorash, the 72 letter name of God extracted
by the kabalists from writing Exodus XIV, 19-21
boustrophedon (see C.D. Ginsburg, The Kabbalah (London
1865) pp. 138-141).

MN5 following) Lumen a Lumine]

'Light from Light'.

MN5) Spiritus...tenebrarū]

'The spirit orh is the second in the scale of the imperfection of darkness'. The source of this information is not clear.

fol. 75b.

3-9) The translatable words are:

las.....'rich'.

uran.....'see'.

Asch may be derived from ascha, 'God'.

11-16) There are no translatable words in this passage.

18-24) The translatable words are:

lu.....'nor'.

26-31) The translatable words are:

ca.....'therefore'.

Bobagelzod must derive from the spirit Bobogel, despite the slight difference in spelling.

MN3) The 'preface' would therefore be up until the recitation of the 23rd line of the square which is 49 X 49.

fol. 76a.

4-9) This time Kelly does not lose his understanding of the language and its significance immediately.

10-12) 'To our living, true and omnipotent God be all praise and act of thanks, now and always' ('graz^z' for 'gratiarum').

16) Quia...infinita]

'Because God, God, our God himself, whose infinite mercy'.

The sentence is unfinished.

21-27) There are no translatable words in this passage.

The words in capitals would seem to be names.

29-35) The translatable words are:

sem.....'in his place' (see 74b, MN8).

dax.....'loin(s)'.

MN31) It is not clear whether this note refers to tohcoth or

Labaḥh, since both are underlined.

ol. 76b.

1-8) The translatable words are:

geh.....'thou art'.

padgze.....See MN6.

10-17) The only translatable word is Congamphlgh (see MN11).

19-25) Assuming that parts of compound words will not necessarily

retain the meaning assigned to them as individual words, the

only translatable word is dax, 'loin(s)'. In order for

these words to fill 49 squares each part of a compound

word must occupy a different square, and one other word

must further be split into two squares; lothe (line 22) is

the most likely candidate as it is underlined in two sections.

26-28) There are no translatable words in these lines.

MN6) 'Justice from the least divine [power, but] without blemish'.

MNLL) fide]

'by faith'.

fol. 77a.

1-2) There are no translatable words in this passage.

6-10) There are no translatable words in this passage and taking each part of the compound words to be in different squares, the total comes to fifty and not to forty-nine.

12-17) There are no translatable words in this passage, but the excess number of words in lines 6-10 is compensated for by there being only 48 here.

19) Orate]

'Pray'.

20-25) There are 51 words here (2 in excess, not 3 or 4 as Dee writes in MN23), none of which is translatable.

30-31) See 39b, 50-51.

ol. 77b.

4) Expectas expectaui Dominū]

'I waited patiently for the Lord', Psalm XXXIX, 1 (Vulgate);
Psalm XL (Authorised).

8) Charles Sled]

No information is forthcoming on this person.

9-12) Dee takes this as a prophecy that the Jews will be restored to their land. The image of the headless people may simply represent the Jews scattered over the face of the globe, but may also be derived in a circuitous way from I Corinthians XI, 3, where St. Paul writes that 'the head of every man is Christ', whom the Jews rejected.

15-16) A Trinitarian symbol.

21-27) The translatable words are:

iusmach.....'begotten' (see MN22).

amma.....'curse(d)'.

iadsma (26) probably concerns some aspect of God

(iad means 'God').

29-36) There are 51 words here, counting Adgzelga and the underlined dox an ga had as each single words, but the hyphenated last word as two. If the corrected version of the first word is taken into account there are 53 words and there is no method of reducing the number down to 49.

The translatable words are:

phama.....'I will give' (see MN30).

od.....'and'.

bethlemcha may well mean 'Bethlehem' in which case

iehusa (33) and iehuscoth may refer in some way to

Jesus (cf. iehusoz means 'mercy').

ol. 78a.

- 1-6) There are only 43 words here, even counting the parts of the compound words separately. The reason given for this shortage is that Kelly was not given time to read the line properly (see MN2).

The translatable words are:

Arphe.....'I desire the O God' (see MN1).

apachana.....'the slimy things made of dust' (MN3).

vges (3) may be connected with 'strength' (see vgeg,

'become strong'; vgegi, 'waxeth strong'; vgear,

'strength').

- 8-15) There are no translatable words in these lines, although

Na zuma may be related to the name of God NA.

- 17-22) Do nasdoga matastos is translated in MN19 and vnchas may be related to vnchi, 'confound'.

- 24-29) There are no translatable words in these lines.

MN19) This refers to do nasdoga matastos.

fol. 78b.

1-8) The only translatable word in these lines is lu (line 4) which in Sloane MS 3191 customarily means 'nor', but is translated here as 'from one' (see MN4).

12-14) 'To God alone be all praise, honour and glory through all eternity'.

19-20) See 68a, 40-43.

21) SVM]

'I am'.

22) Sum quod sum]

'I am that I am' (see Exodus III, 14). There seems to be no relation of gahoachma with either the Hebrew or the usual Enochian word for 'I am', zir(do).

23-28) There are 52 words here if each interrupted underlineation is treated as a hyphen, but there is no method by which the number may reduced to 49 according to a consistent rule. The only translatable word is lu (see Commentary to lines 1-8 above).

30-32) Counting the interrupted underlineations as hyphens there are 49 words here, but none are translatable.

ol. 79a.

1-4) Only 47 squares would be filled by these words. The translatable words are:

Nostoah.....'it was in the beginning' (see MN1;
geuamna may form part of the phrase).

da.....'there'.

iurehoh is partly explained at MN4.

6-9) Only 44 squares would be filled by these words (see MN9).

The only word that can in any way be translated is NA,
the name of God.

13) See 77b, 15-16.

14) Laua zuráah]

See MN14.

15) noyce]

'noise'.

16-23) The translatable words are:

iana^{which}/may refer to the Daughter of Light (26b, 45).

dax.....'loin(s)'.

oxex.....'vomit'.

lonsas may be connected with lonsa, 'power'.

25-29) The translatable words are:

Amgedpha.....See MN25.

galdamichaël presumably describes some attribute of the angel Michael and iadse some attribute of God (iad, 'God').

MN14) Pray into god]

Sic for 'pray unto God'.

MN21) See 10a, 26.

MN27) See 80b, 38.

ol. 79b.

1-2) Om is the only translatable word, meaning 'know / understand'.

3) sindall]

A thin rich silken material. The colour blue can signify hope, faith, the Virgin Mary, eternity (applied to God) and immortality (applied to man) in ecclesiastical symbolism (Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols). Blue also forms the outer lines of the Holy Table and Dee notes that his copy of the book is likewise to be covered in blue (MN4).

11) This probably refers to a flash of lightning rather than a growing light. The word in its archaic form can mean either.

12) See 71a, 46 and 77b, 15-16.

13) See Commentary to 73a, MN21.

16) perceyuerance]

It is unlikely that this refers to steadfastness in this context; a meaning of 'perception' would be more appropriate. The OED does not list this form, but does list 'apperceyvance'.

18-19) 'Let all creatures unceasingly sound the glory and praise of our creator'.

25) thrise]

'thrice'.

33) See Exodus III, 14.

34) 'May his voice come that he may tell the sons of men what is to come'. The speaker is Uriel (see line 36).

36) 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'

39-40) These may perhaps represent Kelly and Dee (so often represented by Δ), imbued with God's knowledge.

42-44) The month of misery will therefore be September 1583, and on the 21st day of that month Dee left Mortlake with his wife and children, Kelly and his family, and Albert Lasky, for the Continent (Diary).

ol. 80a.

5) Uriel holds up the triangle of fire (see MN5) which may represent Dee inspired with heavenly wisdom.

7) The number 49 is significant to the book containing the angelic language.

11) This other]

The ball of fire (see MN11).

11-13) Ashmole writes 'the seveanth part' but Dee certainly wrote 'seventith' (i.e. seventieth) and the cause of Ashmole's transcribal error is unclear. Whereas Dee is to receive the knowledge that will 'renew' him many times, Kelly is given a fraction of the wisdom symbolised by the round ball of fire (see lines 42-43 below). Kelly's proportion is $\frac{1}{5310}$ if 'the first part of seuenty seuen' means $\frac{1}{77}$. Apart from the customary significance attached in magic to the number seven (see Commentary to 18a, 32), I can find no importance in these numbers.

14-15) See John XX, 22: Christ 'breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost'.

16-17) See Introduction pp. 143-144.

20) the tyme of God his Abridgmet]

The writing of the book is to hasten the coming of God's kingdom upon earth.

24-25) See Exodus XXXII, 33; Deuteronomy IX, 14 and XXIX, 20.

27) hable]
'able'.

36) Eache line]
Each line of letters in the angelic language.

40-41) 'Behold the servant and wretched little man of our God;
let it be done to me according to the pleasure of his
will'. To an extent this resembles Mary's reply to the
Annunciation.

42-43) Presumably this is reported by Kelly rather than seen
by Dee. The fire comes from the ball and not the triangle.

fol. 80b.

4) Mistres Haward]
Frances Seymour, daughter of William, Lord Howard of
Effingham (1510?-1573) by his second wife Margaret (d. 1581),
and herself the second wife of Sir Edward Seymour, Earl
of Hertford (1539-1621). They were married sometime before
1582 and she died without issue on 14 May 1598 (DNB).

5-6) The Action began at 10.15 in the morning (see 78b) but
began again, after an interruption, in the afternoon (see 79b).

9) See 79b, 42-44.

27) in character]

In the angelic script.

30) Kelly must have a book before him in which to write down the words from the visionary book on the table. The description in line 31 fits the first page of the Book of Enoch (Sloane MS 3189, fol. 3a) exactly, and this suggests that the Book of Enoch was written as the words were first delivered, at least up until the section that is composed of squares 49 X 49, and is not a fair copy.

35) second page of the first leafe]

See Sloane MS 3189 fols. 3a-4a. In fact these are two pages, but Ashmole's correction of 'page' to 'row' (MN35) is of no help (as the erasure presumably shows he realised).

37) The Enochian script in fact reads asney vah nol (see MN38).

The mistake remains in the Book of Enoch.

38-42) None of these words are translatable. The lines are continued on fol 82a.

ol. 81a.

This inserted leaf measures 200mm high by 142mm across. The letters in the left hand column read NHQBUFXODZLSGAP as do those in the right hand column. The central column reads CETPRIM. The statement that they concern 'letters names, vsed in sense' suggests that these are letters used as numbers.

The parts of the Enochian language for which a translation does exist do not bear this out however, for the numbers are represented by different words: 5 is O, 1 is L and 9 is M, for instance. There are some indecipherable notes at the bottom of the folio, which is not transcribed by Ashmole in Sloane MS 3677.

fol. 81b.

This folio is written sideways.

2) The book in the vision consists of 49 leaves, but Dee needs more than one leaf to write down the contents of the first leaf in the visionary book, thereby exceeding 49 leaves in his copy.

3-6) The last 9 rows of the second series of 49 shown consist only of single letters (see 85b, 11-19). The disparity between the size of square required to contain the words shown before these last 9 rows, a size that cannot fit in Dee's book (see line 2 above), and the size of square required to take the last 9 rows leaves Dee with considerable problems of transcription. This second series of 49 is called 'the first leafe' because it forms the first series in both the visionary and extant versions of the Book of Enoch. The previous series of 49 is not included in that book.

7-11) Dee has transcribed much of the tables by ear and so is uncertain about the true spelling of some words on account of the hard and soft sounds that the letters are capable

of representing.

14-17) As a result of the fact that not all rows consist of 49 words, a perfect table of 49 X 49 squares cannot be constructed. The table would be 'wide' since the squares would be filled with words rather than single letters; the ensuing tables in the Book of Enoch use only single letters or numbers.

MN) The word 'solgars' may give a clue as to the date of these notes. On 3 June 1583 Dee was given instruction to inscribe the word 'solgars' in Enochian script on a 'plate of lead' along with the name of a patient numerically expressed, in order to create a talisman which would act 'as a cure against...infections'. Dee had a certain Isabel Lister and 'another woman, who hath great need' in mind (see TFR, p. 5).

fol. 82a.

1-2) There are no translatable words apart from the name of God NA.

4-10) The only translatable word is os, 'twelve'.

12-18) There are no translatable words in these lines.

20-25) The only translatable word is adna, 'obedience'.

27-29) Apart from the name of God NA, none of these words are translatable.

MN4) This note concerns andsu.

MN10) Whether armad is one word or not, it must come from one square in order to maintain the total of 49 words.

MN17) Ω is the Enochian script for the letter 'P'.

ol. 82b.

1-3) The only translatable word is nor, 'son(s)'. There are fifty words in this passage.

5-10) The only translatable word is orh, although its precise meaning is a matter of some doubt (see Commentary to 75a, MN5).

12-14) The translatable words are:

goho.....'(he) sayeth'.

vors.....'over'.

16-19) There are 50 words here of which only ol, 'I / myself' is translatable. Aschah may perhaps be related to ascha (see 73a, MN3).

21-25) The only translatable word is nor, 'son(s)'.

27-32) The only translatable word is ar, 'winnow / (so) that'.

MN14) In fact there are only 35 words.

MN32) There are in fact 49 words if the usual practice of regarding a hyphenated word as two words is followed.

fol. 83a.

1-3) None of these words is translatable and furthermore they would occupy 55 squares.

5-7) None of these words is translatable and they would occupy 50 squares.

9-12) The only translatable word is geh, 'thou art'.

14-17) The only translatable word is ar, 'winnow / (so) that'.

19-23) The only translatable word is par, 'they / (in) them'.

25-29) The translatable words are:

vors.....'over'.

las.....'rich'.

a.....'on / the'.

MN3) Dee may have written that there were 54 words, although there are in fact 55.

fol. 83b.

1-5) There are no translatable words, although lefe (line 4) has occurred before in the phrase life lefe Lurfando (see 74a, MN24).

7-10) There are 50 words, none of which is translatable.

12-16) The translatable words are:

ol.....'I / myself'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

The separation of ol and the name of God NA by the word madan suggests that madan is related to Mad, 'God'.

18-23) The translatable words are:

gah.....'spirit(s)'.

ol.....'I / myself'.

25-31) The translatable words are:

ol.....'I / myself'.

om.....'know / understand'.

There is some doubt over the meaning of gorh (see 75a, MN5).

33-35) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

geh.....'spirit(s)'.

lu.....'nor / from one'.

om.....'know / understand'.

MN19) This note refers to the first syllable of gunzanquah.

MN28) both these]

i.e. both paragraphs together.

fol. 84a.

1-2) There are no translatable words in these lines.

4-9) The only translatable word is vors, 'over'. Sabaothal is presumably related to Deus Sabaoth, 'Lord God of Hosts' and Iadd with Iad, 'God'.

11-16) The translatable words are:

geh.....'thou art'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

18-22) The translatable words are:

ol.....'I / myself'.

ne.....'holy'.

vors.....'over'.

24-29) The translatable words are:

ne.....'holy'.

a.....'on / the'.

vors.....'over'.

nor.....'son(s)'.

31-36) The translatable words are:

nor.....'son(s)'.

vors.....'over'.

a.....'on / the'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

ol. 84b.

1-5) The translatable words are:

ne.....'holy'.

ol.....'I / myself'.

a.....'on / the'.

7-12) There are no translatable words in these lines.

14-19) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

de.....'of / to'.

vors.....'over'.

geh.....'thou art'.

par.....'they / (in) them'.

goh is the root of words that betoken various parts of the verb 'to say' (e.g. gohe, 'say'; gohol, 'saying'; gohus, 'I say').

21-26) The translatable words are:

ors.....'darkness'.

adnah may be related to adna, 'obedience' and

aldah to aldi, 'gathering' and aldon, 'gather / gird up'.

28-32) The translatable words are:

adna.....'obedience'.

nor.....'son(s)'.

34-36) The only translatable words are a, 'on / the' and geh, 'thou art', but they occur together (line 35) and the combined translation does not make sense.

MN26) There are only 48 words between lines 22 and 27.

fol. 85a.

1-2) The only translatable word is adna, 'obedience'.

4-7) The translatable words are:

ors.....'darkness'.

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

bah (4) may be related to bahal, 'cry aloud'.

9-11) None of these words is translatable.

14-17) The only translatable word is la, 'first'. There are only 47 words here.

19-22) None of these words is translatable.

24-27) The only translatable word is ar, 'winnow / (so) that'.

29-33) In order to make just 49 words neo must be counted as a single word despite its double underlining. The translatable words are:

geh.....'thou art'.

a.....'on / the'.

os.....'twelve'.

35-36) The translatable words are:

ar.....'winnow / (so) that'.

vors.....'over'.

gohor may be part of the verb 'to say' (see
Commentary to 84b, 14-19).

Tal may mean 'as the first' or 'as God', since
ta can mean 'as' and l can mean 'the first' or
'God' (El). Such compounding of words does sometimes
occur in Enochian: see vors, 'over' and vorsg, 'over
you'.

fol. 85b.

1-4) The only translatable word is ol, 'I / myself'.

6-9) None of these words is translatable.

11-19) The commas show the ends of these words which are
evidently written from left to right, although the
Enochian language is normally written from right to
left. The only translatable word is a, 'on / the' (lines
11 and 18). These lines differ from the previous lines
in that each square now only holds one letter, rather
than a complete word, and this caused Dee to foresee
difficulty in drawing up a square of 49 X 49 squares to
contain both practices (see 81b, 3-6).

20) later]

'latter'.

21) an other boke]

Sloane MS 3191, The Book of Enoch, where the 49 preceding rows are also written (see Commentary to 80b, 30).

28) fortith]

'fortieth' (see 79a, 25).

34-35) Neither of these persons is identifiable.

34) greciā]

'Greek' (grecian).

38) κατὰ κρόκη]

Katastiktos, 'spotted, stained'.

39) maculosus or condemnatus]

'defiled or condemned'.

40) Est]

'He is'.

MN2) ouyna]

'oumna', for 'amna'.

MN39) 'strong, steadfast'. This is the opposite of what is said at line 39.

fol 86a.

1-6) See 61a, 3-11. This is the scroll found at Northwick Hill

and given to Dee by Kelly on 22 March when he returned with John Husy from Blockley.

fol. 86b.

This folio consists of ten circles showing clues as to the identity of ten places. Earth from each of these places was to be gathered and then used in an undivulged manner to find buried treasure (see Introduction pp. 158-160). The circles measure 67mm in diameter except for the largest which is 83mm in diameter. The script is not Enochian, but probably something made up by Kelly, since there is a strong suggestion of fraud concerning this scroll. On 5 June 1583 Dee noted that Kelly was 'in a marvellous great disquietnesse of minde, fury, and rage' because he had heard of a commission being out to 'apprehend him as a fellow for coyning of money', because his 'wife was gone from Mistresse Freemans house at Blokley', and because 'Mr. Husey had reported him to be a cosener'.

Some letters in the first circle are indecipherable, bearing no relation to the script as shown later (87a), but such as may be deciphered reads 'gilds cros / hic o..... / meridio...a / onali .oton'.

The writing in the second circle (across) reads 'blankes suters croces'.

The writing in the third reads 'marsars got cros'.

The writing in the fourth circle reads 'huteos cros'.

The writing in the fifth circle reads 'fluds grenul'.

The writing in the sixth circle reads 'mons mene'.

The writing in the seventh circle reads 'mountegles arnid'.

The writing in the eighth circle reads 'lan sapant'.

The writing in the ninth circle reads 'corts nulds'.

The writing in the tenth and largest circle reads 'morr merse'.

fol. 87a.

This leaf is bound into the MS and measures 190mm wide by 134mm high. It reads as follows:

Tabula locorum rerum et thesaurorum absconditorum
menadoni mei gordanili militis et danaorum principis
expulsi multorumque [sic] aliorum clarissimorum [d for z]g
britanie meridionali parte virorum contra eiusdem
inhabitatores militantium quam hic familiarissimorum
[d for z]g consensu aliquando ad nostratum rediuntium
commoditatem et auxillium abscondere et sepelire decrevi
qua quidem intellecta facile possunt ad lucem abscondita
efferre.

The erasure at line 3 reads 'mil'. It is not certain whether this leaf is in Kelly's hand or whether it is a copy by Dee, his transcription causing the inaccuracies. For the origin of the

'scroll' see 61a, 3-11

fol. 88a.

2) There is no reference in Dee's Diary to this Court visit.

4) cifre]

'cipher' (see 87a).

7) gessing]

Perhaps an error rather than a conscious spelling.

9-12) There is some doubt about 'k' and 'x' (see MN23). From the deciphering of the script between lines 14 and 20 it is plain that the cipher for 'x' is $\sqrt{}$.

14-20) 'The table of places of hidden things and treasures belonging to Menahan, my Gordanil (?), soldier and prince of the Danes who was driven out, and to many other most famous men (in the southern part of Britain) who fought against the inhabitants of that same place. I have decided to remove and hide this table here, with the agreement of my nearest friends and relations, [so that] sometime [it may be] for the use and help of my countrymen who return. By this table, when it is understood, they can easily bring the hidden things to light'.

At 87a, 2, 'Menahan' is 'Menadon'. 'Gordanil' may be a fabricated word for a title of some kind, or perhaps of a tribe (e.g. 'Menahan, of my Gordanil tribe').

Why a Dane should leave a message for his compatriots written in coded Latin is incomprehensible and furthers the argument that it is a fraud perpetrated by Kelly.

23-33) The squares in which these words are written measure in order 55mm wide by 23mm high, 37mm by 15mm, 52mm by 8mm, 18mm by 10mm, 32mm by 10 mm, 27mm by 6mm, 32mm by 8mm, 22mm by 12mm, and 25mm by 15mm. See Commentary to 86b for the words as they are written in the original document.

The words purport to be the names of places and some are obviously so. Gilds Cross, Blankis Suters Cross, Marsars Got Cross and Huteos Cross (Huet's Cross: see MN5) are either place names or landmarks. Huet's Cross is evidently by Northwick Hill (see MN5). The only place that I have been able to identify, however, is Mons Mene which is almost certainly what is now called Meon Hill, some seven miles NNE of Blockley. It is most likely that all the places are in the Cotswold area.

It may be that some attempt has been made to construct names that might be of Danish origin (e.g. Fleds Grenul), but the mixture with Latin is unsatisfactory. Mowntegles Arnid is presumably not intended to recall Lord Monteagles but the coincidence is telling.

MN5) The book is that which is often referred to as having been written by St. Dunstan, but of which no precise record exists.

MN15) In fact Danes, Saxons and native Britons formed a reasonably united population under Canute and while powerful factions ~~rose~~ in dispute on his death in 1035 it is false to think of the Danes either invading or leaving England's shores.

MN23) Inexplicably Charlotte Fell Smith believed this note to indicate Dee's mistrust of Kelly when it clearly concerns the doubt over the character for the letter 'k' in the coded document (Charlotte Fell Smith, John Dee:1527-1608 (London 1909), p. 91).

fol. 88b.

2) the eighteenth leafe]

The first ~~ten~~ leaves of the Book of Enoch contain the second series of 49 rows in this manuscript. There is no indication when the other rows were received, but since the letters appeared in the air (see 88b, 30-31) and the rows were recorded in Sloane MS 3189, there was no need for Dee to record them here as well.

3-26) Dee and Kelly were warned earlier about the dangers of reading the tables after writing them (see 75a, 11-15).

6) Spades are appropriate to spirits of the earth who presumably guard the earth's treasures.

heares]

'hair'.

hanginging]

Sic, an error for 'hanging'.

15) Dee would be ruling squares for the Book of Enoch. In Sloane MS 3189 only the outside lines of the 49 X 49 squares are ruled between fols 10a and 11b, but from fol. 12a all the squares are drawn.

17) wrest]

'wrist'.

19) The circles measure 7mm and 10mm in diameter. Dee evidently sees these marks for himself, but they could be self-inflicted by Kelly, perhaps indeed by pressing groats upon his wrist, although such an action generally only produces an impression of the outer edge of the coin.

20-26) Since Dee could not see the spirits (see line 24), the scene must have afforded Kelly much amusement, unless they were indeed afflictions of his mind.

23) gyrning]

'snarling, baring their teeth' obs. (OED).

26) Baggagis]

'Baggages', an abusive term.

avoyded]

'went away'.

29) The Queen visited Dee this day (Diary).

30-31) See 80b, 15-20.

31) a blak clowde]

This cloud is reminiscent of the heptagon bearing the names and seals of the seven princes (fol. 71a).

32) Dee was no longer using the stone since the letters appeared in the air to Kelly.

37) carful]

'Full of care'. The sentence declares that Dee is not to worry since God has promised to deliver the letters to him.

38-39) Three fingers must therefore be at each corner.

40) assone]

'as soon'.

44) This is a separate note at the foot of the page joined by a line to line 32.

MN29) Good Friday was 29 March.

MN37) αὐτος εἶπα]

A Greek version of 'ipse dixit', meaning 'he himself said'.

\overline{dcz}]

An abbreviation for dictum, dictum Deus meaning 'read as God'. Ipse is a Latin equivalent of the Tetragrammaton in its usage.

fol. 89a.

7) severally]

'individually'.

14-15) See 70a, 38-70b, 5.

14-20) While Dee's earlier request for the tables to be delivered more speedily was resolved (70a, 38-70b, 5), Dee is here again reprimanded for complaining that the tables may no longer be seen, as if the judgement of when they should appear were in his hands.

24-25) Dee's work (the 'fardell') will be completed during the time of sorrow, which is perhaps that prophesied for September (see 79b, 42-45).

30-31) Dee may here have raised the points written on fol. 81b.

32) Justification]

A theological usage meaning an 'action whereby man is justified, or freed from the penalty of sin, and accounted or made righteous by God' (OED).

35) the first begynning]

'the first instructions'.

39-41) The book is here clearly seen as having an important role in the coming of the new age.

44) See 74b, 32.

45) aduertise]

'Instruct'. There is also an obsolete usage meaning 'to warn or admonish' (OED).

46) wrasted]

'unsettled, diverted' (OED).

47-48) See MN47. Later Dee is asked his opinion concerning the human faculty of hearing these spiritual creatures apparently speaking (see 89b, 9-17).

MN32) The ende]

'The purpose'.

fol. 89b.

1) The two fethered fow<1>]

Dee and Kelly (see 42a, 53-42b, 6).

2) the Captayn]

Adrian Gilbert (see 64b, 38-46).

3) The Book of Enoch was to be transcribed in 40 days (see 80a, 16).

5-6) Dee noted in his Diary that on 4 May 1583 'Mr. Adrian Gilbert and Mr. Pepler went by water to Braynford and so to ride into Devonshire'.

10-14) This proposal that the angels communicate with man through the vis imaginativa indicates that Dee thought his magic to be 'natural' (see Introduction pp. 67-69)

15) ones]

'once'.

15) Dee shall be in contact with the angels no matter where he is and whether they appear visibly or not.

17) more nearer to thy estate]

A lower spirit, closer to man's corporeal nature.

19) Il is the spirit's name.

22) El]

See Commentary to 19a, 16 & 19-22.

24) Concerning the Vice figure see Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York 1958), chapters 5 & 6,

29) Messenger]

'Messenger': Uriel.

34) the Arabik boke]

The so called Book of Soyga, which Dee appears to have mislaid (see 9a, 31-46).

36) It is not possible to guess why Il should say that the book is in Scotland or whether any particular minister is being referred to.

39) The Lord Threasorer]

William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598).

41) When Kelly might have said this and his source of information are not explained.

42) Agyos]

Greek for 'devoted to the gods' and therefore 'sacred' or 'holy'.

literis transpositis]

'with the letters transposed'.

43) alca miketh]

Enochian language. It is not clear whether lines 44-45 are a literal translation of soyga alca miketh or a comment on the nature of the book, contradicting lines 36-37 above.

46) a language to ght in Paradise]

It is the same language as the angels speak (see 63b, 36-45).

47) by infusion]

God instilled it into Adam's mind (see Introduction pp. 144-5).

48) Chevah]

Eve, from the Hebrew חַיָּה, meaning 'life' or 'life-giving'.

49) the Ayrie Tower]

The Tower of Babel (see Genesis XI, 1-9).

MN14) 'The voice of angels'.

MN19) Dee equates the name Il with that of El, which is the name of the first of the Daughters of Light and of the first of the second generation Sons of Light, and also a name of God.

MN34) 'The Arabic book'.

fol. 90a.

1) your Masterships boke]

The book in which Kelly is transcribing the letters that appear to him.

3) by tradition]

By oral tradition.

4-5) There is no mention of a Book of Enoch in the Bible, but it may be inferred from Enoch's prophesying, since the prophecies of the Old Testament prophets are written down.

6-9) Prophetaut...impij]

'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him [God]', Jude, 14-15.

12-13) Enoch was translated 'and he was not, for God took him'
(see Genesis V, 24 and Hebrews XI, 5).

14) the brass]

This may refer to the treasure, but the colloquialism of
'brass' for 'money' is not current in this period. It
probably means that he cannot bring Dee the strength of
Enoch's prophetic spirit, but he can bring the books
containing Enoch's prophecies.

15) According to the marginal note '28 dayes' should read
'18 days'. The instruction that the Book of Enoch was to
be written in 40 days was given in an Action of 6 April 1583
and so 12 days have passed since then. A further 28 days
would complete the 40 and so leave no time for the remaining
tables to be written. 18 days more would mean that Dee
should find the books on 6 May. In fact Dee went to London
on 6 May while Kelly completed the transcription of the
tables of the Book of Enoch and no mention is made of Dee
finding any books under his pillow that night (see 104a, 19-
31).

17) Esdras, accompanied by five angels, wrote 204 books under
the inspiration of God (see II Esdras XIV, 37-48).

19-20) The Jews are describes as 'a stiff-necked people' in the
Old Testament (Exodus XXXII, 9 and XXXIV, 9; Deuteronomy IX,
13 and X, 16).

21) trik]

'trick'.

22) shoo]

'shoe'.

23) skorf]

'scarf'.

fowle skinne]

The skin of a fowl, rather than a foul skin.

24) See MN24 for Dee's interpretation of this vision.

26-28) Washing is in the Bible a sign and symbol of repentance, sanctification, redemption and the receiving of the Holy Spirit (see I Corinthians VI, 11, Titus III, 5, and Revelation I, 5).

29) This identification of Il as a woman suggests that Il is the first of the Daughters of Light (see MN29).

31) syngolla]

Evidently a spirit, though the name is not recorded elsewhere in Dee's writings that have survived the passage of time.

32) synfulla]

The name of this spirit is not recorded elsewhere either.

35-38) See 85b, 34-40.

38) $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\theta$]

'Firm, steady'. The Macedonian is clearly giving an untrue answer, so it is likely that Dee has explained the circumstances of his coming across the word $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\tau\theta$. The Macedonian would hardly be gratified by the reference of $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\tau\theta$ to himself and so sought to defend his reputation.

39) the common lexicon]

Dee's library list of 1583 records several lexicons of Greek and Latin without authorship, including folios printed at Basle in 1541 and at Lyons in 1550.

40) $\varphi\alpha\nu\omicron\rho\nu\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ his lexicon]

Varinus Phavorinus, Lexicon graecum (Rome 1523), contained in Dee's library list of 1583.

42-43) Misteries of Latine greke and hebrue]

I have not been able to find this title in Dee's library list (Harleian MS 1879), nor in the more legible transcript by Ashmole (Ashmole MS 1142). It ought to be there as the library list is dated 6 September 1583 and, as Dee was soon going abroad, one would expect the record to be accurate and complete. It is possible, however, that the title given here is in fact a sub-title following some other form of identification that is noted in the library list.

46) Gariladrah]

This spirit is not referred to elsewhere in Dee's extant writings.

47) sins]

'since'.

51) set]

This should probably be 'sēt' for 'sent'. Uriel has sent Il.

54) This refers to Kelly who arrived from Blockley on 22 March 1583 (see 86a).

55) Raphael was the instructor in the Action of 23 March 1583 (61a), but Gariladrah makes no appearance there. There is no evidence that there are any papers missing between books four and five while Kelly was away in Gloucestershire (see Introduction p. 15), but it is possible that the spirit Gariladrah may have made some appearance in some Action with another scryer during Kelly's absence. This is mere conjecture, however, as there is no indication of Dee's having employed any scryer or even of Dee's having continued any kind of Action during the months that Kelly was away.

MN51) pag. precedēte]

'On the previous page' (see 89b, 16-17).

fol. 90b.

6) Dee and Kelly are to make use of the tables in the angelic language in August, which is a month before the prophesied time of trouble (see 79b, 42-43).

7) ictu oculi]

'with an eye-beam', i.e. by sight.

18) Some details of Elizabethan mining rights may be found in Georgius Agricola, De re metallica (1556), translated by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York 1950) p. 85 (note).

20-23) Daemonic help may be invoked by using pieces of earth collected from the ten places shown on the scroll.

27) I mary]

'Aye, marry'.

your chest]

This may be the same chest in which the manuscript was found. Dee is evidently perturbed that the Macedonian and Mr Sandford, who came to see him on 9 April 1583 (85b, 34-35), knew 'so particularly' about the chest (see lines 31-32 below). The phrase 'so particularly' suggests that the chest is in some way unusual, which may indicate that it is the chest with the secret drawer.

27-30) Il promises to increase the treasure forty-fold and then give Dee half.

33) braynford]

Brentford.

35) grecia]

Greece.

Anglia]

England.

36) The Greek appears to be an occultist and this line suggests that he believes he knows where some treasure is to be found but will be misled.

38) The rings must be magical, but no further information is given.

39) See MN39.

44) This is the first reference to the powder which Kelly claimed to have found with the book and scroll. It was used in attempts at transmutation, Kelly claiming to achieve some success (see Introduction pp. 160-161).

47) Amicorum oīa coīa]

'All things in common between friends' (amicorum omnia comunia).

48-49) 'Whence to God alone be shown praise, honour and glory'.

52-53) See 91a, 1-2.

MN4) 'Hidden treasure'.

MN27) The sketch of the chest measures 15mm wide by 10mm high,
the front of the chest being 5mm high.

MN39) a capcase]

A travelling case, bag or wallet, and by transference any
receptacle such as a box or chest (OED).

fol. 91a.

1-2) 'Appendix to the Fifth Book of Mysteries'.

4) eger]

eager, 'biting, keen' (OED).

4-8) The cause of Kelly's conviction that the spirits are
all devils is the lack of communication from the angels
pr saged by the black heptagonal cloud. In this MS no
spirit discovered as an illuder has uttered words of truth
and so his statement at lines 6-7 must refer to experiences
outside those in this MS, either prior to his meeting Dee
or during Dee's absences.

10) leese]

'lose', obs. (OED).

11) cumber]

'encumbrance'.

10-12) Kelly's desire to break with Dee and pursue his way alone suggests that much of the argument may be stage-managed.

13) Cotsall playne]

I assume this is the area south-east of the Cotswold Hills. I can find no record of Cotswold being so spelt and only the tiny village of Codsall in Staffordshire resembles this orthography. Kelly was a Worcestershire man, however, and Cotsall is close enough to local pronunciation of Cotswold to indicate that this is the area referred to.

14) sklaunderous]

'sland rous'.

15) Little Ned is not identifiable and neither is the location of The Black Raven (the only record I have traced of an inn called such details a position on the west side of Bishopsgate: see J. Holden MacMichael, 'Bishopsgate Street Without' N&Q (1911) 11th Series III, pp. 2-3).

rayeld]

'railed'.

16) This Lush is not identifiable.

17) Surgoen]

Sic for 'surgeon'. Evidently Kelly has kept Ned to a bargain previously made with Lush and which Ned wished to avoid honouring.

18) overthwartly]

'opposed'.

21) See 89a, 37: 'God shall make clere whan it pleaseth him'.

22) See 89a, 26.

24) See 89a, 2-5.

37) See fols 7a-7b.

39) An echo of the last line of the Te Deum: 'O Lord in thee
have I trusted: let me never be confounded'.

40) nether]

Sic for 'neither'.

seely]

'poor'.

40-41) stone...bred]

See Matthew VII, 9 and Luke XI, 11.

41-42) Voluntate...deus]

'He will fulfil the desire of them that feare him' (Psalm
CXLV, 19 in both Authorised and Vulgate).

43-44) See Matthew XVI, 26: 'What is a man profited, if he shall
gain the whole world, and lose his own soul'.

46) det]

'debt'. Dee's expenditure on his library and alchemical laboratories caused him to be constantly in debt.

a greater charge]

This must refer to the upkeep of his house in Mortlake and provision for his family.

47) my 40 yeres course of study]

Dee entered Cambridge in November 1542 at the age of fifteen.

49) byte]

The sense of 'bite' here is that of a sharp cutting action as in sharpening one's wit.

bowlt]

'Bolt' as in to pass through a sieve, to find by sifting (OED).

50) lifing]

Sic for 'living'.

51) Egland]

England.

54) presently]

'immediately'.

MN38) 'Wisdom'.

MN46) ls]

An abbreviation for 'pounds'.

fol. 91b.

4) *Dextera Domini*]

'by the right hand of God'.

6) See 79b, 42-45.

12) 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord' (see Psalm CVIII, 26).

17) I go about it]

'that I am concerned with it', but see also lines 21-23 below.

18) See 90a, 51-52.

19) this]

Presumably the heptagon which is revolving (see line 22 below).

23-24) See G orgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (1556) translated by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York 1950), pp. 210-211. Two machines using horse power for ventilating mineshafts are described and illustrated.

26) Il is unable to offer such a medicine as that earlier offered by Raphael.

30) *poticharie*]

'Apothecary'. The form is not recorded in OED.

34) *Jovis oīa plena*]

'All things are filled with God' (see 91b, 5).

38) bill]

'list' [of drugs].

41) Iudra galgol astel]

These Enochian words are not translatable.

45) Marcus Heremita]

Saint Mark the Anchorite.

47) 'Furthermore knowledge is not on a few occasions hidden on account of carelessness committed in the operation of any [particular] thing', Sancti Marci Eremitae Exercitatoris sententiae siue duo libelli de lege spirituali graecè & latine iterum editi (Helmaestadi 1617), p. 60. Dee's edition is clearly earlier.

48) The full text reads: Animus hominis sine corpore bona & mala multa perficit. Ceterum corpus sine mente horum nihil potest perficere. Quapropter lex libertatis ante opus cognoscitur. 'The soul of man achieves many good and bad things without the body. Moreover the body may not achieve any of these without the mind. Wherefore the law of liberty is known before the fact [of liberty]', De lege spirituali (1617), p. 62

49) Mary]

'Marry'.

51) See fol. 30a.

52) Ilemese is the seventh of the second generation Sons of Light (see 28a, 1).

53) See Commentary to 19a, 19-22.

55) See Commentary to 92a, 4.

MN6) 'In the afternoon'.

fol. 92a.

4) the Quaternie of M, the second]

Sig. M2.

6-10) 'A contrite heart). Without contrition in the heart it is impossible to be entirely freed from vice and blemishes. However, I say, the heart eats away at the threefold moderation of sleep, food and bodily freedom. An excess and abundance of these others breeds pleasure; but pleasure promotes improper thoughts and is inconsistent with prayer and proper thought', De lege spirituali (1617), p. 122. The second sentence is rather difficult to understand, but presumably when St. Mark says that the heart eats away at moderation, he means that the desires of the heart are antithetical to a moderation that he sees as inherent in each man by nature. There is a struggle between impulses that tend to moderate behaviour and impulses that tend to licentious behaviour and only a contrite heart can overcome the impulses that lead to licentiousness.

11) and this instant and]

The first 'and' is an error for 'at'.

13) whie]

'why'.

14) 'To God alone be all honour, praise and glory'.

MN3) The instruction that the book should be written in 40 days was given in an Action of 6 April (80a, 16), but the first Enochian table was delivered nine days earlier on 29 March (68b).

19) frowardnes]

'perversity, refractory nature' (OED).

22) See Isaiah LXI, 10: 'he hath clothed me with garments of salvation'. See also Psalm CXXXII, 16.

24) The voice is that of God, identified by the use of 'I AM' (see Commentary to 42b, 15).

41) a word is missing in this line (see MN41).

46) in hemme]

'hem in'.

MN21) 'Us'.

MN26) An abbreviation for 'Uriel'.

fol. 92b.

1) arrise]

Sic for 'arise'.

11-15) There could hardly be a stronger warning against the presumption of trying to hasten God's revelations.

14) those that are of quiet myndes]

Other persons who are more patient than Dee and Kelly.

17) One of you]

There seems little doubt that this is Dee, since in any comparison of Dee and Kelly that the angels make, Dee is declared to be the more steadfast.

18) Cedar]

Cedar is a symbol of Christian incorruptibility and was the wood used in the building of Solomon's temple (see I Kings V, 6).

25) The caret indicates some missing words which are to be found in the marginal note to this line.

the number]

This may refer to Dee and Kelly, being two, or to the 49 leaves in the book or to the length of time appointed.

34) this world decreasing]

The doctrine of the decay of nature is not in accord with

the promise of a new age upon earth, but a general decrease in godliness has been frequently pointed out by the angels.

42-43) See 70b, 23-25.

MN11) The sword is 12mm high and 3mm wide at the guard, which is 3mm from the tip of the handle. The swords at MN27 and MN33 are of the same dimensions.

MN12) 'Note and beware'.

fol. 93a.

2) omitt]

Sic.

3) furdred]

'furthered'.

6) Dy]

'Die'. Dee has not actually tried to hasten the revelation of the book, but his asking what sign might foreshadow further revelation shows a similar presumption. There is some echo of Christ's words to the nobleman: 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe' (John IV, 48). Faith does not demand signs.

14-15) I can find no reference to the incident, but evidently the adulterous man found, or thought he found his legs on fire. St. Bride's Church is in Bride Lane near Ludgate Circus.

21) A. G.]

Adrian Gilbert, who apparently has no doubts about the truth of the Actions.

24-25) I can find no information concerning the discord between Kelly and Gilbert.

26-29) 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name do we give all glory, praise and honour and will give [so] for ever' (see Psalm CXV, 1, Authorised and Vulgate).

fol. 94a.

4) Either Kelly left Dee's house after the Action of 20 April in which he declared his intention to leave (see 91a, 9-13), only visiting Dee for the Action of 23 April, or else he left after 23 April even though his doubts were answered (see 93a, 23). Dee's specific reference to his wife's welcome to Kelly suggests that she may have been the cause of the latter's departure, especially since the erased Diary entry of 6 May 1582 suggests that she had no love for the scryer (see Introduction p. 13)...

7) cherfly]

'cheerfully'.

11-14) In Monas hieroglyphica Dee wrote: 'If a continuous multiplication be performed, beginning with the first monad, of all numbers which have been described, from the first to

the last [and] in [their] natural sequence—so that the product of the first and second be multiplied by the third, and the product [of that multiplication] by the fourth, and so on up to the last [number]—then the ultimate product indicates the [number of] permutations possible among the several terms [of the series]. [This rule can be applied] likewise for any number and variety of things' (Monas, ed. Josten, p. 209). Dee is describing the equation $N = n!$, or $N = (n-1) \times (n-2) \times (n-3) \dots \times 1$, when N is the number of ways of taking n objects from n objects. In 1564, the date of the first printing of Monas hieroglyphica, this was one of the very few works in which the laws of permutation were discussed, although they were by no means unknown at the time (see D.G. Smith, History of Mathematics (London 1925) II, 524-528). In the case of transposition of letters this rule is only applicable if a transposition AB is not the same as a transposition BA . Thus transposing A , B and C we achieve 6 permutations (AB , AC , BA , BC , CA and CB). If however AB and BA amount to the same, the rule is $N = \frac{n^2 - n}{2}$. Thus for three letters A , B and C there are three permutations (AB/BA , AC/CA , BC/CB).

18) lerne]

Used transitively in the sense of 'teach', as it still is in some dialects.

20) Adam~~i~~call Alphabet]

The letters of the Enochian language.

20-21) Since there is no different form of the script for miniscules and majiscules, the script has an 'vnchangeable proportion'. That the Enochian alphabet begins with the letter 'B' may be taken as mystically significant as it is the first letter of Genesis in Hebrew and it is the letter chosen by God to begin the Creation according to the Zoharic exposition (Zohar, I, 9-13).

25) The Holy Table is to be painted with Enochian letters and the seals given in Book II. Since anyone seeing the design of the Holy Table would instantly understand that it was a magical implement, it may not have been easy to find a painter willing to perform the task.

26-27) master Lyne]

This individual is not identifiable.

30) aduertise]

'warn'.

33-34) There is no record extant of when Dee received this plan for the Holy Table, which Il no declares to be false (see lines 40-42 below), although evidence of its existence has appeared before (see ^{79a}, MN21). Dee received the basic plan of the table in the first book (see 10a) but he did not receive any Enochian letters until the fourth book (64b). If the plan Dee now shows to Il had Roman letters, then it might have been received any time after 10 March 1582, but if it shows Enochian letters, it could not have been

received until after 26 March 1583. I suspect that Kelly presented Dee with the plan after a private 'vision'.

40) that]

The plan of the Holy Table.

fol. 94b.

2) enhemme]

'hem in'.

I AM]

See Commentary to 42b, 15.

they]

The characters in Dee's present plan of the table.

3) browght the the truth]

'brought thee the truth'.

4-5) Caelestiall demonstration]

This may refer to the knowledge revealed to Dee and Kelly or to the created universe.

7) The inner square of the plan is to be 6 inches square.

9) When Ashmole saw the Holy Table in John Cotton's library, the outer border was indeed one inch wide between the lines which were $\frac{3}{20}$ of an inch broad (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 55a).

10) This diagram measures 7 inches (180mm) square in the outer square and 6 inches (154mm) square in the inner square. The

innermost square of 12 places is 2 inches (52mm) high and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches (67mm) broad and $1\frac{3}{4}$ (44mm) from the inner square at the sides. The innermost square is 2 inches from the inner square at top and bottom. The bases of the pentacle are 1 inch (25mm) from the inner square and the central apexes are in the centre of the top and bottom lines of the inner square. On the right hand side of the inverted triangle of the pentacle there are two lines drawn $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (1.5mm) apart, the inner line being an error and not shown in this transcript. The diagram is drawn and labelled from the point of view of one standing in front of the bottom edge and so the top edge is labelled 'in the front of the table', the sides 'on the left hand' (a sinistris) and 'on the right hand' (a dextra), and the bottom as 'next to the chest'. For the relation of this plan to the engraving of the finished product as shown in TFR see Introduction pp. 150-151 and Appendix to the text of the manuscript.

1N10) 'See [two] folio[s] later, and also in the table of the heart, flesh and skin, for in the outer lines you have this table beginning here the same, but at the beginning omitting 'l' and receiving 'o'. See C mmentary to 95b, 23-29.

fol. 95a.

4) in fronte Tabulae]

See 94b, 10 and 10a, 33.

6-27) The first column reads osonsslgenoeemofodggn. The 'm'

(tal at line 20) is an error for 'o' in the table at 94b and the plan as shown in TFR (see MN20). The other three columns are correct according to the table at 94b and the plan in TFR, gon 'with a prik' (line 24) signifying 'y' as opposed to 'i' when without 'a prik' (see 64b, 34).

29) Dee's reply that there is nothing in the middle of the table indicates that at the time of receiving the instruction to construct the square and the border (94b, 7), he drew such a plan as that shown at 94b, 10 but without any letters in the centre, which he filled in as he received them. Since the MS is a fair copy of the original notes, Dee was able to draw the diagram completely when writing fol. 94b.

32) 'To almighty God alone be perennial praise'.

35) dowed of the heds of the letters]

Dee was unsure whether the letters ought to be written facing inwards or outwards.

39) There are 21 letters in each side of the border. Dee is to divide the border by 19, so that 19 letters placed there with two in the corners may make a total of 21.

41) the liuely branches]

Dee and Kelly.

46-48) in Numero...operis]

'In the number of the ternary and quaternary: in which the whole origin and foundation of this your most holy work lies'. The number of letters in the table clearly

demonstrate the ternary and the quaternary: there are 12 in the centre (4×3) and 21 along each border ($3 \times (4 + 3)$). Removing the 4 'B's at the corners there are 19 letters in each border, which number has been delivered in terms of 12 and 7 at line 39 above (3×4 added to $3 + 4$). Since the ternary signifies spirit and the quaternary signifies matter and also respectively the active and the passive, they are of fundamental importance in numerological exegesis of the Creation (for fuller discussion of this practice see Christopher Butler, Number Symbolism (London 1970)).

52) skarsly]

'scarcely'.

MN47) 'The ternary and the quaternary'.

fol. 95b.

1) See 18b, 45. This signifies God's inspiration.

2) bak]

'back'.

3) the Bees]

The letters 'B' of the kings and princes of the 49 spirits.

4-5) A table of 84 squares, being twelve across and seven down, to accommodate the letters of the fourteen names, now of 6 letters each without their initial 'B's.

5-6) The names are written from right to left in the table at line 23 below, the kings' names being on the right hand side: thus [B]aligon [B]agenol at line 23.

7-8) In fact the table is read from the bottom right in vertical columns from bottom to top. The first three columns on the right give the letters on the right side of the border of the Holy Table (lnnyaoauaanbbblmpseaoi), which is again written from right to left. The next three columns give the letters of the bottom border. The letters in the remaining borders are not obtained from this table but from the similar table at 98a, 11, where the top line has been placed at the bottom. Confusion over the tables bedevils the construction of the Holy Table (see Introduction pp. 149-154).

9) certayn letters]

The letters to be placed in the central 12 squares of the table.

12) that Third and Fowrth member]

The central 12 squares of the table.

19) God transpose your myndes]

Dee and Kelly are to be of one mind.

20) See 94a, 11-14.

22) See 92b, 11-15.

- 23) This table measures 85mm ($3\frac{1}{4}$ inches) across by 91mm ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches) high.

fol. 96a.

- 2) boke Soyga]

See Introduction pp. 146-147.

- 3) Zadzaczadlin]

The Book of Soyga evidently gives an alphabet, much in the manner of the exposition of the Enochian alphabet, in which the name of the letter 'A' is zad, of the letter 'D' is zac and of the letter 'M' is lin. In Enochian a similar use of the names of the letters to create the name Adam would be V galvntal.

- 5) See 95b, 21.

- 6) `a primo]

'From the first' (see line 7).

- 7) 'May he who is the first and the last, Alpha and Omega, be merciful unto us'. This is not a direct biblical quotation, but see Revelation I, 7.

- 9) comprehended]

Both in the sense of 'understood ' and in the sense of 'embraced' as at line 8.

- 12) Il was described as being apparelled like a Vice at 89b, 24, although a pied coat is more the dress of a Fool.

14) wrethe]

'wreath'.

18-20) This refers to a rearrangement of the table at 95b into that at 98a, 11 and then into that at 98a, 7. The letters on the outside of the table at 98a, 11, form the innermost part of the table at 98a, 7 (the skin becoming the centre). Those next in from the 'skin' at 98a, 11, occupy the outer border of the table at 98a, 7, (the flesh becoming the outside), and those at the centre of 98a, 11 are divided and placed in the four inner corners of the table at 98a, 7. See Commentary to table at 98a, 7.

23) The letters of the 'heart' or centre of the table at 98a, 11, are twelve, whereas there are 44 letters forming the 'body' or 'flesh'. Only if there were 48 letters in the 'body' could the 'heart' be 'the fowrth part'. The only other explanation is that it is a reference to the fact that the letters of the 'heart' occupy the four corners of what might be called the 'body' of the table at 98a, 7, but it is all very confused.

24) The letters of the outer border or 'skin' of the table at 98a, 11, occupy the centre or 'heart' of the table at 98a, 7.

28) ~~Marginal note~~ 34 declares that there are 'three manner of works with God his Name'. In Monas hieroglyphica Dee noted three numerical approaches to the Tetragrammaton. YHWH has a numerical value of 26. If considered as a 'Pythagorean

quaternary' of 1, 2, 3 and 4, it may be contemplated in the light of its 24 permutations, its sum of 10 (1+2+3+4) or its complete addition of 30 ((1+2)+(2+3)+(3+4)+(1+3)+(2+4)+(1+4)). If considered as an 'artificial quaternary' the Tetragrammaton may be contemplated in the light of its multiple sum of 12 (1X2X3X2), its sum of 8 (1+2+3+2) or its complete addition of 24 ((1+2)+(2+3)+(3+2)+(1+3)+(2+2)+(1+2)). See Monas, ed. Josten, pp. 209-211.

29-30) The earth differs from the heavens in the purpose which God has assigned to it.

33) See Commentary to line 28 above.

34-36) These divisions only have an arbitrary relation with the three approaches to the Tetragrammaton outlined in the Commentary to line 28 above, but the same divisions are applied to Dee's magical implements (see 96a, 43-96b, 12).

37) Character]

The seal promised to Dee and first shown at fol. 9b.

38) our]

Dee is referring to himself and Kelly.

39-41) See 9b, 3-4.

47) The square of (3+4) is 49, which is the number of spirits in the table of good angels in Book III. The significance

of the ternary and quaternary has been pointed to at 95a, 46-48 and it is worth noting that the square of 3 and the square of 4 in relation to the right-angled triangle at line 40 are the first two terms in the series demonstrating Pythagoras' Theorem with whole factors ($3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2$). What Il means by 'centrally', however, is not clear, nor does Dee understand, but both the character at 9b and at line 40 above are numbered from 1 to 4. The most probable explanation is that the centre of the table at 98a, 11, consists of 12 squares which, with one exception of one letter caused by a later correction (see 102a, 6-23), form the centre of the Holy Table.

MN18) aenigmaticall]

'enigmatic'.

MN40)'See the inscription in its place, 10 March 1582, fol. 6'

(see 9b, 3-4).

fol. 96b.

1-2) This note refers to line 7.

5) See 96a, 35.

6) The Table]

The Holy Table.

7-10) The seven tables in the second book which adorn the

Holy Table at various points. They are likened to coats of

arms for the seven kings and princes.

11) See 96a, 36.

13-14) these bokes]

The Book of Enoch with its tables.

16-17) euery letter...God]

Every letter in each table of the Book of Enoch, which presupposes a vast number of names of God.

18) they are but one name]

God being one, his names do not signify different beings.

The Asclepius of the supposed Hermes Trismegistus states that:

'it is impossible that the creator of the majesty of the All, the father and lord of all beings, should be designated by one or even by a multiplicity of names. God has no name, or rather he has all names, since he is at once One and All, so that one must either designate all things by his name, or give him the name of all things' (Corpus Hermeticum, tr. A. J. Festugière with text established by A. D. Nock, 4 vols (Paris 1945-1954), II, p.321, cited and translated by Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London & Chicago 1964), p. 125). The thought is also to be found in The Decades of Henry Bullinger [1587 edition; first ed. 1577], edited by Rev. Thomas Harding, Parker Society, 4 vols (Cambridge 1849-52), IV, p. 210.

18-20) The different names of God signify different aspects of God and his Creation, from beginning to end.

23) See 9b, MN3.

25) The former Diuel]

The spirit who, in the guise of Uriel, gave Dee the
character on fol. 9b.

insinuat]

Sic for 'insinuate'.

30) A rather similar idea is voiced at 94a, 28-29.

31) It is now to show Dee's true character.

32) See MN32.

35) See 96a, 18-20.

42) propre characters]

Enochian script.

46) the vppermost prik]

The top corner of the innermost diamond in the table at
98a, 7.

47) These two letters are in the squares below the 'O' in the
table at 98a, 7.

48) See the right and left corners of the diamond in the table at
98a, 7.

MN19-20) 'corruptible [and] incorruptible generation'.

MN23) falls]

Sic for 'false'.

tradition]

That which has been handed down.

MN32) 'Wittily he means my mathematical demonstrations'. It means 'a show' by 'demonstration' at line 32, whereas Dee would use the word in the **sense** of 'proof'.

fol. 97a.

This table is drawn on a piece of paper measuring 123mm across by 112mm. The lines are in black and the letters are in red ink. The outer square measures 4 inches (102mm) and the inner square 3 inches (76mm). The squares of the central diamond are $\frac{4}{10}$ " square. All other measurements are defined by the nature of the table. For the transliteration in Roman letters see the table at 98a, 7.

fol. 98a.

7) The dimensions of the table are the same as that on fol.

97a. The 'y' in the central diamond is written over an 'i'.

11-17) This table differs from that at 95b, 23, in that the names of [B]align and [B]agenol are now on the bottom line. The table measures 3 inches (77mm) square within the lines which are a little over $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch thick. The letters in the two outer columns (the 'skin') form those in the centre of the table at line 7 above. The middle section (reading 'ogelorno' from right to left on the top line) provides the letters for the outer border of the table at line 7, again from right to left. The centre square provides the letters

which occupy the four corners of the inner square of the table at line 7, each column of three letters being given a triangular arrangement.

18-20) See Commentary to 96a, 18-23.

21) sone]

'soon'.

22) 'To our almighty God be perennial praise and immense glory'.

MN11) The digits in this note are placed to the left of the text of the note, but this may not be accurately represented by virtue of the manner of transcription; hence the apparently curious placings of '2' and '3'.

fol. 98b.

2) ſ]

Dee rarely uses this form of 'the'.

2-3) This is the first reference to Kelly's wife. Evidently she had not yet moved into Dee's household.

4-5) William Hunnis, Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne; The Psalmes Called Poenitentiall Reduced into Meeter by W. Hunnis, 3 pts, 12^o, H. Denham, 1583, entered 7 November 1581. Other editions were printed in 1587, 1589, 1597, 1600, 1604, 1609, 1615, 1618 and 1629, so it was evidently a popular work of its kind.

8-10) This 'automatic writing' is highly suspicious. Being alone in his bedchamber, Kelly could easily have written this to deceive Dee, presumably to increase Dee's belief in what the angels had delivered during the Action.

10) The character resembles that at 98a, 7, in form and is to be found on fol. 99a.

18) suttlet]
'subtle'.

23) sprong]
'sprung'.

31) fayntharted]
'faint-hearted'.

41) suttily]
'subtly'.

48) rehersed]
'repeated aloud'.

53) The text is continued at fol. 100a.

fol. 99a.

This inserted leaf measures 127mm across by 70mm in height and is the blank page from Hunnis's book (see 98b, 20-21). The table on the left measures approximately 18mm across by 28mm in height,

the inner square being approximately 12mm square (the lines are drawn inaccurately). This table does not bear any relation as far as the letters are concerned with that on the right which measures approximately 60mm square, with an inner square of 35mm. This leaf including the marginal note at line 1 are in Kelly's hand

MN11) See 100b, 2.

8]

'our'.

fol. 10 a.

- 9) While this refers specifically to mankind, it is worth noting that this division of soul and body was frequently extended to cover the whole universe on an ascending scale of sublimity: 'The Philosophers have maintained...that the Heavens and Stars are Divine Animals, and their souls intellectual, participating of the Divine mind' (Agrippa, Occ. Phil. III, vii, p. 384). The reference to an 'infinite number' of souls precludes any adherence to a theory of transmigration of a limited number of souls.

11) my Temple]

The world.

13) three of you]

Dee, Kelly and Adrian Gilbert.

16) assales]

'assails'.

23) Pugna...victoria]

'There will be a battle [against temptation], but the
victory will be yours'.

24) these days to come]

The time of trouble promised for September.

34) yongling]

This refers to K lly, who was now 27 years old, while Dee
was 55.

35) yeld thy lymmes]

'yield thy limbs'.

40) Tables]

Presumably those in the second book which are of small
account in comparison with the Book of Enoch.

45) this euill]

The false table at fol. 99a.

46) Judgment is not of me]

Uriel is speaking although he has voiced the word of God in
the first person earlier.

MN13) 'Strength in God and on account of God'.

MN27) 'A sentence against this wicked spirit who wished to
deceive us'.

fol. 100b.

2) BELMAGEL]

I have not been able to discover any references to this
spirit beyond that here and at 99a, MN11.

3) thy sowle]

Uriel is still talking to Kelly.
his destruction]
The destruction of Kelly's soul.

5-6) the secrets of mans fingers]

'The works of man's hands'.

6) so much as / ^c [] that [] /]

'so much as he that'. Belmagel has governed the wicked works
of man's hands.

10-11) See 98b, 39-44.

11) Thow]

Kelly.

12) willdernesse]

Sic for 'wilderness'.

19) See 66a, 43.

22) your profession]

See MN22.

34-35) 'To our almighty God be all praise, honour and act of
thanks, now and for ever'.

MN2) 'The particular evil angel of Kelly himself'.

1N20) 'From the evil of temptation'.

MN22) 'My profession is true philosophy. See book one' (see
12a, 5-7).

fol. 101a.

2) fryday last]

3 May.

3) Evidently the tables have once again begun to appear to
Kelly's vision.

monday next]

6 May, the 39th day since the book was begun on 29 March
(but see Commentary to 92a, MN3).

4) to wete]

'to wit',

9) It is not possible to verify which of the questions that
follow form part of those that Dee had prepared, for he
evidently asks some spontaneous questions as well.

12) Beati...pacem]

'How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace' (Romans, X, 15). See also Isaiah LII, 7, and Nahum I, 15.

17) per te Jesu Christe]

'For the sake of Jesus Christ'.

18) This boke]

The Book of Enoch

25) after the manner of men]

See 89b, 10-13.

27) This preparation will probably include prayer and fasting (see Introduction pp. 92-93).

32) wayed]

'weighed'.

36) The second]

'The second part'.

~~37-39~~) See Acts I, 11. The promise of a second coming is definite, stating that Jesus shall come. The distinction here is between the promise of a second coming at an undefined time and the certainty of the second coming in the near future.

fol. 101b.

3) that wicked childe]

The Antichrist. See I John II, 18.

6) Yelde]

'yield'.

10) in his own marks]

In Enochian characters. If the book was ever finished in this manner, it has not survived.

11) =ner]

Only 'ma' of 'marks' at line 10 is easily legible, the final letters being somewhat lost in the binding, and Ashmole must have conjectured that the word was 'manner'. Ashmole's transcript has 'marks', however, which is an unusual divergence (Sloane MS 3677, fol. 161b).

13-14) The 204 books supposedly written by Esdras, for instance.

16) The new age to be heralded by the Book of Enoch will end the schism in the churches and replace it with one true religion. This lies very much at the heart of Dee's hopes for the future and his reasons for going abroad in the September of this year.

19) The end of the world and the Last Judgment.

20) Thy Character]

The character at 97a. On the reverse must be written the names Zedekieil, Madimiel, Semeliel, Nogahel and Corabiel as in the Sigillum Dei (30a).

22) the stone]

The stone brought by the angels (see 59b, 40-46).

23-25) The stone is here granted a use like a 'glass perspective' within which anything desired may be seen (see Introduction pp. 76-7). The powers of such vision appear to be offered to Dee personally, but the use of a scryer may simply be implied.

26-28) If the table were to stand upon the four smaller seals, they would be damaged since they are made of wax. A protective wooden cover for each seal is described.

29) After all the trouble gone to concerning the Holy Table and the other magical implements, this limited use must have seemed rather strange, but the implication is that after the table has been used in August, the new age will quickly be heralded in.

30-31) See 42b, 26-34.

37) The silk for the Holy Table (see 10a, 18-21).

MN35) iornayes]

'journeys'.

fol. 102a.

1) that day]

1 August 1583.

2) ells]

'else'.

4) Mals don mals]

'P R P'. See the table at 94b, where in the centre squares mals don mals is erased in favour of vr don vr.

5) practise Table]

The Holy Table.

6-9) See the tables at 98a, 11, and line 17 below.

15) Tabula, collecta]

See 41a. In the tables at 95b, 23, and 98a, 11, the kings are with their respective princes, but in the table at line 17 below they are with the princes next to whom they stand in the table at 41a.

16) The 12 letters in the centre of this table are those in the centre of the Holy Table.

24) See Commentary to line 15 above.

25) See the table at 98a, 11.

26) See the table at 95b, 23.

27) See the table at line 17 above and 48b, 30-33.

29-31) Each king may be placed first according to laws which the Book of Enoch will reveal. Since each governs a day of the week, each takes precedence upon his own day. See also Commentary to MN30 below.

33) Dee requires a more careful show and transcription of the Enochian characters. This was received by Kelly during Dee's absence (see 104a, 29-31).

38) See 51a, 37. Ashmole's pagination makes 51a page 85 and the superscription at the end of the line is in Ashmole's hand.

39) cōteyne]
'contain'.

40) the true Character]
The table at 97a.

42-43) The form of delta may be seen in the four corners of the inner square and in the corners of the diamond in the table at 97a.

45) stoare howse]
'storehouse'.

46) stole]
'stool'.

MN30) Each of the seven planets and each of the twelve signs of the Zodiac may be considered preeminent, the other planets and houses then being considered in relation to the one taken as being preeminent. Thus while the aspect formed between two planets in an astrological chart is a single aspect, it may be considered from the point of view of each planet: a square aspect of say the sun and mars may be considered firstly from the significance of the aspect on solarian influences and then from the significance of the aspect on martial influences.

fol. 102b.

1) mēbres]

'members' (the line is equivalent to a marginal note).

3) Principals]

This should be 'principles' (see MN3).

4) the great Circle]

The table brought by Kelly but no longer extant (see 49a, MN24).

6) more ou]

'moreover'.

7) aversed]

Back to front.

euersed]

Upside down. See 45a, 8-9.

8-10) See MN9 for example.

14) the boke]

The Book of Enoch.

15) In the centre of this missing table there is a figure holding a sword (see 50a, MN9).

17) the first part]

See line 21, assuming the reversed numeration to be correct.

23) the 7 lamines]

The 7 tables given in book II.

28) Tin is the metal appropriate to Jupiter (Occ. Phil. I, xxvi, p. 57). They were not so made, however (see Commentary to line 36 below).

31) In the diagram of the Holy Table in TFR the tables are shown in Roman letters and Arabic numerals. The marginal note suggests that Uriel's reply which is missing was in the negative.

37) When Ashmole saw Dee's Holy Table in John Cotton's library, these seven tables were painted on the surface,

38-42) The letters around the border of the Sigillum Dei gave the seven names of God at 22b, 7-13.

44-45) See 21b, 9-11, and 44-46. Some letters are the same and Dee is asking how they may be distinguished as separate.

MN9) The outer letters are taken from the missing table. $\begin{matrix} M \\ \hline Lba \end{matrix} \rhd$
 is the seal of Babalel as given in De heptarchia mystica
 (Sloane MS 3191, fol. 41b). 6 more similar seals can be
 made for the other 6 kings, but without Kelly's table it
 is impossible to conjecture their precise construction.

fol. 103a.

3-4) See 55a, 38.

7) the Order of Operation]

The use of the Holy Table, although this line seems to
 contradict line 5 above, unless what is being pointed out
 is that Befafes's fifth place 'in consideration of Nature'
 and his fifth place in the 'Order of Operation' is a matter
 of coincidence and not consequence, and therefore there is no
 general rule which may be applied to the other kings and
 princes.

8-9) It has already been stated that the practice is to begin
 on 1 August 1583 (see 101a, 26), although the reference may
 be taken as simply a command to have all things ready by then.

13) See 51b, 19-20. Gilbert has been informed of some of the
 promises that the angels have made but has not been initiated
 into the secrets of the Holy Table or the Book of Enoch.

17) The repetition of 'necessitie(s)' is presumably an error.

18-19) 'Behold I am of tyme present. I am of the last Ternarie'
(57a, 36). This appeared to refer to the rejected ternary
ANA (see 54a, 20), but Uriel explains that it refers to
three eras in world history.

21) Noes flud]
Noah's flood.

24-26) This refers to the missing table. The characters are to
be found in De heptarchia mystica (see Introduction pp. 126-7)
and the words are presumably those letters which will be used
in the seals similar to that given at 102b, MN9.

MN1) there]
Sic for 'their'.

MN24) 'See the preceding page above'.

MN27) See 102b, MN9.

39) expedition]
'haste'.

40) fatching]
'fetching' (see 90b, 20-23).

43) My angel]
Possibly Il.

45) that earthy filth and Corruption]

The treasure.

fol. 103b.

10) Nubery]

Newbury in Berkshire.

13) the red congeled thing]

The red powder (see Introduction pp. 160-161).

18) Albert Laski]

See Introduction p. 28.

24) The sense of the line does not require the word 'and'.

27) the Chamber for Practise]

Perhaps Dee's oratory, although he may have prepared some other room.

28) half_pace]

The frame on which the Holy Table stood was 2ft 8 ins square (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 56a) and so this can hardly mean half a yard, particularly since the top of the Holy Table was a yard square. The half-pace may be a small raised step.

32-33) See 101b, 26-28.

34) According to Ashmole's measurements of the Holy Table the feet were 3 inches square (Ashmole MS 1790, fol. 56a).

35) heith]
'height'.

42) mery]
'merry'.

MN18) 'Albert Laski [Count] Palatine of Siradia came from Poland to London on the first of May 1583' (see Introduction p. 28).

MN43) 'Many things to be endured for the sake of our almighty God'.

fol. 104a.

6) This vision seems to foretell the Spanish Armada, but any power wishing to attack England would have to amass a large naval force and relationships with Spain were steadily worsening. The subsequent truth of the prediction is probably fortuitous, unless Kelly had picked up some information from some such source as one of Dee's visitors who might also be keeping eyes and ears open for Walsingham.

8) It would not take divine inspiration to see in 1583 that Mary Queen of Scots was likely to meet the headsman's block before too long. As Catholic claimant to the throne her very presence had caused rebellion and conspiracy even without her direct involvement and she was effectively kept in close custody.

15-16) 'Eternal glory be to our almighty and eternal God'.

MN8) Fodringham Castell]

Fotheringay Castle.

27) mann]

'manner'.

29-31) The letters are $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch high. In the Holy Table the form of **13** is found and not that of **R** which is superscribed.

fol. 104b.

4-5) The Book of Enoch has to be put into Enochian script (see 101b, 10).

14) assone]

'as soon'.

18) the Table cloth]

The silk covering the table.

21) 'True and holy for ever' (see Christ as the Lamb of God).

24) A wicked spirit is to come forth to tempt Dee (see MN26)

29) curteours]

'courtiers'.

31) I smell the smoke]

A proverbial expression akin to 'I see which way the wind is blowing'.

44) the dredful day]

The Day of Judgment.

46) Pereant...Tenebrarum]

'May darkness perish with the Prince of Darkness'.

fol. 105a.

4) Ashmole may be wrong in attributing this line to Dee where the leaf is torn.

6) Dee is not to receive direct angelic help in copying the Book of Enoch into Enochian characters, but God may direct his judgment as at 71a, 4.

7) putto your hands]

Probably 'put your hands to the task', rather than 'put your hands together (i.e. pray)'.

10) expedition]

'haste'.

12) Dee is some £300 in debt (see 91a, 46).

22) Tunge]

'Tongue'.

23) The sketch of the tongue measures 3mm by 7mm. A tongue apparently on fire signifies the Word of God.

26) Convenient]

The obsolete sense in relation to time of 'due, proper' overcomes the apparent weakness of the sentence (OED).

30) In the Bible the 'imagination of man's heart' is frequently described as evil and stubborn, implying a neglect of God (see Genesis VIII, 21; Deuteronomy XXIX, 19; Jeremiah XXIII, 17; Luke I, 51).

3) savegard]

'safeguard'.

1N6) See Dee's questions concerning the form of the book at 104b, 6-10.

fol. 105b.

4) vnconvenient]

See Commentary to 105a, 26.

.

5) The sin of carnality is a result of the Fall, and although marriage is a blessed state that redeems the sin, abstinence is conducive to a higher spiritual state (see 101a, 27).

11) Holly Thursday]

Holy Thursday is an old name for Ascension Day.

18) the 22 Psalm]

'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Psalm XXII in both Vulgate and Authorised).

20) This is Annael who has been absent since

and who is designated as 'the mercy of God' (misericordia Dei) at fol. 6a.

21-22) See Psalm CIII, 13: 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him'.

24-26) This does not in fact seem to be a direct biblical quotation, but see Psalm XXXIII, 18, and Psalm XXII, 5.

30-31) Behold...me]

The arm of God stretches to all corners of the earth and he sees all.

31) Annael is 'the mercy of God' (see fol. 6a).

35) Actum est]

'It is done'.

38) The Table shown in the stone is here referred to as the Tabernacle, stressing its holy nature.

41) See Luke XV, 7.

MN30) See fol. 6a and Commentary to line 20 above.

fol. 106a.

This folio has suffered damage in the top right corner.

2) fiat]

'Let it be done'.

4) Justification comes only from God and not from man.

8) See 105a, 6.

14-15) The first series of 49 calls in the Book of Enoch
consists of more than 49 words (see fols 68b-79b).

16-17) See 85b, 11-19.

18-22) Dee probably intends to use ruled paper (see 81b, 2)
and then he will draw a vertical line after each word so
that each word is effectively in a ruled box.

24-25) How everything may now appear more beautiful when covered
by a veil is not clear. The statement may refer to things
just prior to the covering with the veil or to the veil
itself.

30-31) Jubilate...versamini]

'Be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands' (Psalm XCIX, Vulgate;
Psalm C, Authorised).

33) bote]

'boot'. Kelly wishes to buy riding boots, or shipman's hose

which consisted of wide trousers as opposed to the more normal tight-fitting hose.

35) goodman Pentecost]

No further identification of this individual can be made.

The title of 'Goodman' generally covered householders under the rank of 'gentleman', especially yeomen and farmers (OED).

iiij^{ls}]

Three pounds.

angels]

This gold coin, more fully the angel-noble as it was originally a new issue of the noble, bore a device showing Michael slaying the dragon. At the time of its original issue during the reign of Edward IV its value was 6s 8d, but by the reign of Edward VI it had acquired a value of 10 shillings.

fol. 106b.

3) eleuen places]

Only ten places were indicated on the scroll that Kelly brought back from Northwick Hill (86b), but Newbury in Berkshire has also been specified (103b, 10).

4) pteyn/g/]

'pertaining'.

7-9) A licence was required to dig for treasure (see 90b, 18).

- 11) These words are not translatable. 'Lephe' may have some relation with the phrase 'life lefe Lurfando' (see 74a, MN24). Concerning 'Pinzua', see MN11.
- 15-18) 'The earth is heavy and troubled with the iniquities of the enemies of light. It is therefore cursed, because it is in the depth of perdition and darkness'.
- 19) Sordida...nobis]
'It is sordid and odious to us'.
- 20) Proprijs...tremulis]
'It scourges itself with its own trembling [inhabitants]'.
- 23-26) 'Perhaps he may say, but he is not one who may hear. We see the groaning [earth], but he is not one who may pity. Let us therefore sanctify his holy [place] because we are sanctified in him'. The implication is that God is a God of Wrath as well as a God of Mercy.
- 27) Fiat]
'Let it be done'.
- 32) 'The old passes away and the new begins'.
- 34) flowr]
'floor'
pretious]
'precious'.

39-40) This apparently signifies the new age of God's justice upon the earth.

MN32) 'The new [age]'.

fol. 107a.

2) light fire]

The word 'and' is probably missing.

3-4) This must signify God's divine wisdom being transmitted through Raphael.

9) (I say not)]

Raphael is speaking God's words and not his own.

12-13) quae...gradu]

'Which are now at their utmost point [of decay]'.

14-15) See 68a, 16-19.

17) My pathes are thorny]

See 62b, 16.

22) See Ephesians IV, 24.

30) I AM]

See Commentary to 42b, 15.

31) therew/th]

'therewith'.

33) H_useh...pacaduasam]

These words are not translatable, but 'Peleh' may be related to the name of God Pele (see 12a, 46).

36) yf you haue eares, heare]

See Matthew XI, 15.

37) This mercy was never]

This mercy was never shown before.

38) 'Let the wicked depart and perish'.

41-42) this Poland<er> prince]

Lasky.

45) 'What may be said concerning the life of Stephen, King of Poland?' Lasky had pretensions to the Polish throne and it is possible that he was the instigator of Dee's asking these questions between lines 45 and 47.

46) 'Whether his successor will be Albert Lasky of the House of Austria?'

47) 'Whether Albert Lasky, Prince Palatinate of Siradia, will have the Kingdom of Moldavia?'

MN9) 'The remission of sins'.

MN31) 'The unjust angels with regard to Divine Justice'.

fol. 107b.

This folio is much damaged.

2) the]

'thee'.

4-5) It seems that the angels do not hear God directly, but rather are inspired by God acting through them.

6) The 'first' must be the speed demanded of Dee and Kelly at line 2 and the 'second' must be the warning, which can be inferred from what remains of lines 2 and 3, that speed must not be demanded of God and his angels.

7) The 'third' is the inspiration of God through the angels.

9) He]

God.

10) 'Ende' is used firstly in the sense of a termination, and secondly and thirdly in the sense of a purpose.

14) See 71a, 10-13.

15) puft vp]

'puffed up'.

this princis father]

I have not been able to discover any information concerning Lasky's father, but he may have been as involved in disputed territories as Lasky was (see p. 178, note 18).

17) Lasky is here incorporated into the circle of the elect, to be an arm to the chosen three (Dee, Kelly and Gilbert).

18-24) These lines prophesy a state of war and turmoil after which Lasky will be King, although whether of Poland or Moldavia or both is not specified. This will take place in a year's time ('the course of the sonne').

20) He is dead, in respect of his absence]

Being absent from his lands, Lasky is of no consequence in respect of them; his prophesied kingship may only take place upon his return. The sentence may, however, have the alternative meaning that King Stephen will die during Lasky's absence from his homeland.

25) See 42a, 54-43a, 8.

28) bankett]

'banquet'.

32-34) See Acts I, 8.

35) rosen]

Sic for 'risen'.

35-39) This seems to refer specifically to spiritual enemies, although Lasky would have had his share of temporal enemies on account of his political involvement and ambitions.

39-40) I will graunt him his desire]

This sentence refers again to Lasky and his desire to rule Poland.

MN22) 'A prophecy of the rule of Albert Lasky, but he himself did not want to convert himself constantly to God and adhere to God'. This note was probably written sometime later, after Lasky had proved an inconstant friend during Dee's continental journey.

MN29) 'Just doings'.

fol. 108a.

This folio is greatly damaged.

1-6) These lines seem to prophesy opposition to Lasky.

8) See Revelation VII, 3; IX, 4; XXII, 4, concerning the mark of God upon man and the blessed in heaven.

10) the Prince]

This could be either Lasky or Elizabeth who was opposed to Dee's going abroad.

11-12) See MN11 and line 1-6.

13) See MN13.

26-32) 'Ever blessed be the three and one, our eternal and omnipotent God. Amen. The Book of Mysteries which is parallel to and a new beginning of the sixth (and holy) book follows'. Liber Mysteriorum (& Sancti) parallelus Novalisque is the title of the first book in TFR. The Book of Enoch bears the title Liber Mysterioru, Sextus et Sanctus (Sloane MS 3189, fol. 2a) and therefore the first book in TFR, being called the sixth since it follows the appendix to the fifth book (see 91a, 1-2), is a parallel version of the sixth book which is effectively begun again (novali literally means 'ploughed anew').

MN13) See 106b, 6-9.

MN14) This alteration would in fact make little sense.

MN25) This shows a certain finality.