



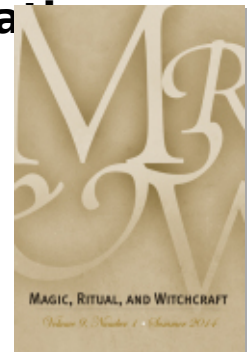
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**False, Lying Spirits and Angels of Light: Ambiguous
Mediation in Dr Rudd's Seventeenth-Century Treatise
on Angel Magic**

Egil Asprem

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False, Lying Spirits and Angels of Light

Ambiguous Mediation in
Dr Rudd's Seventeenth-Century
Treatise on Angel Magic

EGIL ASPREM

University of Amsterdam

INTRODUCTION

“His only (but great and dreadful) error [was], that he mistook false lying Spirits for Angels of Light, the Divel of Hell . . . for the God of Heaven.” With these words the seventeenth-century scholar Meric Casaubon (1599–1671) introduced and condemned the famous angel conversations of John Dee (1527–1609) and his sryer Edward Kelly (1555–97), describing them further as “a Work of Darknesse.”¹ Casaubon did not dispute Dee’s good intentions with the magical experiments, or his self-conception as a pious Christian. The problem was rather the doctor’s gullibility when faced with what, in Casaubon’s view, were obviously evil spirits *masquerading* as angels.

Casaubon’s suspicion was entirely typical of the line antimagical arguments had followed for ages. Ever since the early church fathers, theologians had more or less agreed that magic generally worked by the aid of demons, whether explicitly or implicitly.² From the Middle Ages onward the perceived powers of the devil and his legions came to be seen as formidable in the theologians’ eyes; devilish feats of trickery and illusion were especially

I wish to thank Dr. Kocku von Stuckrad for leading me on the right path in an early stage of the research that went into this article. Without his tutoring I would have wandered lost in the dark woods of long dead necromancers.

1. Casaubon, “The Preface,” in *A True & Faithful Relation of What passed for many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee and some Spirits* (London, 1659).

2. Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 37–42; Norman Cohn, *Europe’s Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians Medieval Christendom*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 22–23.

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emphasized.³ When condemning the increasingly popular *Ars Notoria* of the thirteenth century—a system relying on prayer and invocation of angels and other presumably *benign* mediators for bringing knowledge and illumination to the practitioner—Thomas Aquinas wrote that the use of *verba ignota*, or unknown angelic names, in these practices should warn the good Christian that the entities invoked were in fact demons rather than angels.⁴ And any such contact with demons, no matter for what goal, should be considered unlawful and dangerous.

Worries about infernal tricksters only increased in the coming centuries. So much so that by the early modern period the question of how it was even possible to distinguish a demonic illusion from a real divine miracle was considered one of the most difficult epistemological problems in theology and natural philosophy alike.⁵ It was against this background that Casaubon had raised his suspicions toward Dee's and Kelly's angels.

Both Dee and (especially) Kelly were aware of the ambiguity of these entities themselves, something that becomes clear at several instances in the angel diaries Dee recorded.⁶ Magical practitioners generally were seldom ignorant of the theological accusations raised against their practices, even back in the Middle Ages. Rather, they often appeared to share this concern, but confronted these difficulties with greater optimism than their theologian contemporaries, looking for ways to *resolve* the issues of ambiguous mediation rather than giving up their efforts altogether.⁷

3. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 24–29.

4. Claire Fanger, “Plundering the Egyptian Treasure: John the Monk's *Book of Visions* and Its Relation to the *Ars Notoria* of Solomon,” in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, ed. Claire Fanger (Phoenix Mill, U.K.: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 222–23.

5. Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 166–67.

6. Two famous instances being Casaubon, ed., *A True & Faithful Relation*, 12–13, 153.

7. An interesting medieval example of this is the *Liber florum celestis doctrine* (previously referred to as *Liber visionum*) by John of Morigny. See Fanger, “Plundering the Egyptian Treasure”; Fanger, “Virgin Territory: Purity and Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Catoptromantic Texts,” *Aries* 5.2 (2005): 200–224, at 221, n. 39. A different but related response to and defense of magic from a medieval magician is evident in the *Liber iuratus Honorii*. See Gösta Hedegård, ed., *Liber Iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm: Almqvist og Wicksell International, 2002); Robert Mathiesen, “A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision,” in *Conjuring Spirits*, 143–62; Richard Kieckhefer, “The Devil's Contemplatives,” in *Conjuring Spirits*, 250–65; Jean-Patrice Boudet, “Magie théurgique, angelologie et vision béatifique dans le *Liber sacratus sive iuratus* attribué a

In this essay I will show how these magico-epistemological issues are grappled with in a treatise on angel magic presumably written in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This treatise has been considered by some to represent an unknown and “secret tradition” or transmission of the angelic conversations of John Dee and Edward Kelly, which is one of its main sources. The manuscript is titled *A Treatise on Angel Magic*, contains an intriguing blend of magical practices from the late medieval and early modern periods, including material taken and (as I will show) critically modified from parts of Dee’s diaries, and is purportedly written by one Dr. Rudd.

My approach in this essay is twofold. To my knowledge, Rudd’s *Treatise on Angel Magic* has not yet been treated by academic scholarship except with a few words in passing, despite having been available in print since 1982.⁸ The first task of this essay is therefore to treat the issues of dating, authorship, and context of the manuscript, which seems to me to have been the source of quite some confusion. In doing this, the supposed relation to Dee’s and Kelly’s material is in particular need of further scrutiny, as certain misconceptions about this relation have been contended and uncritically repeated. This may in turn have led to an interpretation of the text on faulty premises, which I will aim to overcome with this contribution.

In the second part of the article, I will delve deeper into the text in an attempt to disentangle and analyze some of the magical content and speculations it presents. In one sense this should be seen as a continuation of the task of providing the proper context for Rudd’s *Treatise*, as I will show the way the author engages with a variety of different sources, trying to negotiate and synthesize differing views. This also leads me, however, to an examination of the author’s take on the ambiguity of mediating entities and the specific ritual techniques Rudd devises to overcome that problem. With reference to and comparison with the elements Rudd borrows from Dee’s diaries, in themselves well known and thoroughly studied (thus in one sense almost “paradigmatic”) material, I will aim to show some of the continuity and breach in this later early modern reception of Dee’s crystallogomantic experiments. As will be noted, Rudd’s attempt to bring together a variety of authorities on magical and theological matters seems to have suggested to him a more skep-

Honorius de Thebes,” in *Les anges et la magie au Moyen Age*, Melanges de l’École Française de Rome 114 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2002), 851–90.

8. Albeit the first edition was of only 250 copies, and soon became an expensive collector’s item. It has since appeared in a couple of later editions, most recently in a new paperback. See Adam McLean, ed., *A Treatise on Angel Magic* (York Beach: Weiser Books, 2006) (hereafter *Treatise*).

tical interpretation of Dee's "angels," theologically more in line with Casaubon's statements that opened this introduction than with Dee himself, but remaining essentially the interpretation of a magician in search of ritualistic solutions.

ABOUT THE MANUSCRIPT

Dating, Authorship, and Context

The *Treatise on Angel Magic* is part of a collection of manuscripts written down by one Peter Smart in the early eighteenth century (some of the dates that pop up in the related corpus are 1699, 1712, and 1714), but, according to Smart himself, authored earlier by "Dr. Rudd."⁹ Frances Yates, who looked into some of these manuscripts for her research on *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, conjectured a connection with Thomas Rudd (1583–1656), a mathematician and military engineer who published an edition of John Dee's mathematical preface to Euclid in 1651.¹⁰ This attribution has since stuck, and no one has to my knowledge tried to corroborate or refute it with reference to historical evidence. The alchemy scholar Adam McLean, who published the *Treatise* in its entirety for the first time in 1982, has observed that references to the English jurist and philosopher John Selden (1584–1654) make the first half of the seventeenth century the earliest possible dating of the original work.¹¹ However, as I will provide substantial evidence for through the course of this article, Selden is not the only reference providing evidence for a *terminus post quem*. Substantial parts of the *Treatise* rely on a series of occult and magical works appearing in print only in the 1650s; entire sections are even taken verbatim from James Freake's 1651 English translation of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*. This and similar evidence leads me to set 1659 as the very earliest possible date of the work (see the end of the next section). As Thomas Rudd died in 1656 this would seem to exclude him as the final author of the work in question.

Whether our original author is Thomas Rudd or not, it is clear from the documents attributed to him or his possession that he stood firmly in the midst of the most prevalent esoteric traditions of his day and had extensive knowledge about many of their different branches. Much of the material attributed to him is squarely placed within the Rosicrucian and alchemical

9. Today this collection is in the Harley MSS 6481–6486 in the British Museum. The *Treatise on Angel Magic* is Harley MS 6482.

10. Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (New York and London: Routledge, 1972), 257–58.

11. McLean, "Introduction," in *Treatise*, 11.

currents, including such works as *The Rosie Crucian Secrets*, translations from Michael Maier's works, an English translation of *The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz*, and a quarto containing, among other things, a discussion on "Rosicrucian Chymical medicines."¹² It was this Rosicrucian material that interested Yates.¹³ An intriguing fact that Yates did not see or did not find important, but that may reveal something about Dr. Rudd's identity, is that he seems to have been a quite committed philo-Semite. This is indicated in two other manuscripts bearing his name. Harley MS 6479 is cataloged as a quarto "containing a defence of the Jews and other Eastern Men," and Harley MS 6480 contains a Hebrew grammar apparently compiled by Rudd himself.¹⁴ From his other occult material it seems clear that kabbalistic elements played a significant role for him as well, although always such elements as were already embedded in the Christian and occult kabbalah of the Renaissance.

Other manuscripts that Yates did not find relevant to mention contain what will be most important for this essay: extensive materials on ritual magic. First, Harley MS 6483 is "a quarto, containing all the Names, Orders, and Offices of all the Spirits Solomon ever conversed with: the Seals and Characters belonging to each Spirit, the manner of calling them forth,"¹⁵ etcetera. In other words, we are clearly dealing with a typical Solomonic grimoire of the "nigromantic" type.¹⁶ Side by side with this nigromantic manuscript stands the *Treatise on Angel Magic*. This is itself a vast synthesis of many different magical traditions, with some discernable influences including kabbalistic speculations, Renaissance Hermeticism, astral magic, nigromantic "goetic" and Ars Notoria magical traditions, huge portions of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, and, as mentioned, the magical systems "received" in John Dee's and Edward Kelly's angel conversations a generation or two earlier.

In addition to showing familiarity with most esoteric sources of the seventeenth century, Dr. Rudd also includes discussions drawing on sources from theological literature, both ancient and more or less contemporaneous. In

12. The first two are in Harley MS 6485, the *Chymical Wedding* in Harley MS 6486, and the last one in Harley MS 6481.

13. Especially the texts in Harley MSS 6485 and 6486. See Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 257–60.

14. McLean, "Introduction," 11.

15. Cited in McLean, "Introduction," 9.

16. This manuscript has just been published for the first time. See Steven Skinner and David Rankine, eds., *The Goetia of Dr. Rudd* (London: Golden Hoard Press, 2007).

short, the author of the *Treatise* was no doubt a compiler of very diverse material, and was familiar with a very diverse range of authorities. On one hand, the author can be regarded merely as making a compilation of all or most of the angelologies available to an informed seventeenth-century scholar and magician, as a sort of “required reading” for the actual practices laid down later.¹⁷ However, much of what we see in the *Treatise* itself can also be regarded as a result of a *synthesizing* effort on the part of the author to bring together many of these authorities in a more or less coherent magical theology. This focus should be kept in mind as we proceed.

A Secret Tradition?

The so-called “Enochian” elements that show up to a considerable degree in Rudd’s *Treatise*, taken from Dee’s and Kelly’s angel diaries, have made some speculate whether Rudd stood in a secret or hitherto unknown tradition deriving from John Dee. This is certainly McLean’s thesis,¹⁸ and it has also been partially adopted by certain other scholars dealing with the reception history of Dee’s work.¹⁹ It seems relevant to briefly evaluate the argument here, since it may have some bearing on how to interpret the manuscripts themselves.

According to McLean and those of like opinion, the strong Enochian elements in the *Treatise* would indicate that Dr. Rudd was heir to some of Dee’s manuscripts, and from these he copied the parts of the system used in his own treatise. In McLean’s account, the fact that some of the system is slightly altered in interesting ways (which I will show in detail later) seems also to indicate that Rudd was heir to a “tradition” that knew the “real” meaning of this enigmatic part of what has become known as “the Enochian system.”²⁰ The hypothesis thus states that certain manuscripts from Dee’s diaries were handed down to Dr. Rudd through Dee’s son, Arthur, who also briefly served as a scryer for Dee (although without much success).

However, there are several factual points that seem to me to make this story rather unlikely. First of all, the transmission of the angel diaries as it has come to be understood by most historians does not include Arthur Dee, and certainly no Dr. Rudd. It seems likely that Arthur Dee himself was actually

17. McLean, “Introduction,” 16.

18. McLean, “Introduction,” 11, 16; but see also idem, “Dr. Rudd’s Treatise—Some New Insights into the Enochian System,” *The Hermetic Journal* 16 (1982).

19. Marco Pasi and Philippe Rabaté, “Langue angélique, langue magique, l’énochien,” *Politica Hermetica* 13 (1999): 107.

20. McLean, “Introduction,” 15–16.

not heir to much of the Dee household after his father's death; Dee's son left for Russia to serve as the tsar's physician immediately after Dee's death, and had been living abroad before then as well.²¹ Rather it seems that Dee entrusted his library and also many of the possessions used during his angel conversations to his closest friend in the later years of his life, the alchemist and later colonial politician John Pontois.²² We have statements showing that these objects were in Pontois's possession when he died in 1624, and that they were then sold.

With that sale, the angel diaries were split in two groups of manuscripts. The first was sold to Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) together with the so-called "Holy Table" on which Dee and Kelly had worked.²³ These documents would later be published by Meric Casaubon in 1659, as a favor to the Cottons, who had once been his hosts.²⁴ The other group of manuscripts, however, remained unpublished until the 1980s.²⁵ The transmission of these documents also remains more conjectural. It seems that they first came into the hands of the surgeon and Paracelsian physician John Woodall (1570–1643), who we also know was connected with the death of Pontois. Although there is no positive evidence that he bought these documents, they resurfaced again only after a certain confectioner Jones had purchased a wooden chest from "a parcel of the Goods of Mr. John Woodall."²⁶ The Jones household did not seem to care too much about the manuscripts, however. The fragmentary nature of some of these documents today owes to the fact that a zealous kitchen maid of the Jones's was allowed to use some of these documents to line her employers' pie plates.²⁷ The manuscripts that did survive passed into the hands of Elias Ashmole in 1672 and from him into

21. Deborah Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 216.

22. *Ibid.*, 218–19.

23. *Ibid.*, 219. These documents are now to be found in Cotton Appendix XLVI, and detail the angel conversations from May 28, 1583, to May 23, 1587, plus March 20 to September 7, 1607. This and the other source materials pertaining directly to Dee's angel conversations are made available in digital facsimile copies at <http://www.themagickalreview.org/enochian/mss/> (retrieved 11.19.2007).

24. Owen Davies, "Angels in Elite and Popular Magic, 1650–1790," in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, eds. Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 298–99.

25. See Christopher Whitby, *John Dee's Actions with Spirits: 22 December 1581–23 May 1583*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1988).

26. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations*, 220.

27. *Ibid.*, 2, 220.

the possession of the collector Hans Sloane. These originals are still in the Sloane collection of the British Library.²⁸

So where does the mid-seventeenth-century Dr. Rudd fit into this picture? If he was indeed heir to a manuscript tradition, or even an unknown *practical* tradition, it would have to be connected with one of these two transmissions. To me it does not seem likely, however, that Robert Cotton, who lent the documents to be read by the suspicious eyes of the Archbishop of Armagh,²⁹ and then to be published by Casaubon in a quite antimagical bent, would house a circle of magical practitioners in his library of which Dr. Rudd would be one central member. Neither does it seem likely that Mr. Jones, who simply stumbled upon the documents by accident, and obviously did not care enough about them to keep them out of the reach of a kitchen maid, would have any particular zeal for keeping alive a continued magical tradition based on them.

It seems more likely to me that Dr. Rudd was one of the many persons influenced by Casaubon's publication of 1659. It has been noted that despite Casaubon's intentions of putting out the diaries as a warning against performing this kind of magic, the effect was (as should probably have been expected) just the opposite.³⁰ Deborah Harkness retells an interesting story from a set of diary manuscripts in the British Library that record the activities of a small magical group from the 1670s and 1680s.³¹ This group seems to have directly emulated Dee's and Kelly's way of working crystallomancy, and even express conversations with the very same idiosyncratic angels encountered by Dee and Kelly in the diaries.³² Since the actual Enochian elements present in Dr. Rudd's *Treatise* are all to be found in Casaubon's *True & Faithful Relation*, just as were the angels re-encountered by the group Harkness mentioned, it seems most reasonable to conclude that Rudd's work belongs to the *revival* of the system following Casaubon's publication of 1659, rather than a *continuation* of an unknown tradition.

As mentioned earlier, this would also mean that Dr. Rudd cannot be the

28. Where they comprise Sloane MS 3188 (the diary for December 22, 1581—May 23, 1583), Sloane MS 3189 (the “received book” *Liber Loagaeth*), and Sloane MS 3191 (including the four “received books” *48 Claves Angelica; Liber scientiae, auxilii, et victoriae Terrestris; De heptarchia mystica; Tabula bonorum angelorum*).

29. Casaubon, “Preface.”

30. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations*, 222–23; Davies, “Angels in Elite and Popular Magic,” 298–99.

31. These diaries are in MSS Sloane 3624–3628. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations*, 222–23.

32. *Ibid.*

military engineer and mathematician Thomas Rudd, as he passed away three years prior to Casaubon's publication. In the end we do not know who "Dr. Rudd" really was, or even whether he existed at all. There is still the possibility that he may have been the pen name of Peter Smart. This remains an open question that cannot be answered based on the current situation of the evidence. By convention, however, I shall continue to refer to the author of this piece as "Rudd," although "Rudd-Smart" or some similar construction would probably be more accurate.

TREATISE ON ANGEL MAGIC EXPLORED

Structure, Content, and Major Influences

If my suspicion that Rudd's *Treatise* draws on Casaubon's work for its Enochian influences is correct, the work reflects quite perfectly the atmosphere of the late-seventeenth-century English occult milieu. Apart from Casaubon's publication in 1659, many other key works on practical occultism appeared in press in English translations for the first time during this period.³³ Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* was translated into English for the first time and published by James Freake in 1651. The spurious *Fourth Book* of Agrippa, containing practical instructions on the conjuration of spirits, was also published together with two key works on astral magic, the *Arbatel of Magic* and Pietro D'Abano's (spurious?) *Heptameron*, by Robert Turner in 1654.³⁴ Also translated and published by Turner around this time was the first English version of the *Ars Notoria: The Notory Art of Solomon*, appearing in 1656.³⁵ English manuscript versions of the nigromantic *Clavicule of Solomon*, or "Goetia," had been proliferating in England for a century already.³⁶ The influence of all these works is evidently present in Rudd's *Treatise on Angel Magic*, thus furthermore suggesting a dating along the lines that I have suggested. As mentioned earlier, Rudd's work can be seen as an effort to bring these and other authorities together in a synthesis of magical theology.

The synthesizing tendency of the work is already hinted at in the frontispiece signed by Peter Smart, dated 1699.³⁷ It seems to be a picture of a

33. Davies, "Angels in Elite and Popular Magic," 298–99; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 272–74.

34. See the modern edition by Stephen Skinner, ed., *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (Berwick, Maine: Ibis Press, 2005).

35. Davies, "Angels in Elite and Popular Magic," 298; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 273.

36. Davies, "Angels in Elite and Popular Magic," 298.

37. *Treatise*, 20–21.

mirror glass, turned with the back to the reader. The back contains impressive ornaments, with ribbons stretching across the mirror bearing the Hebrew letters of the *Shemhamphorash* and various other Hebrew names. However, it also contains figures from various magical alphabets, and on the top of the mirror, over two handles, is placed the “Secret Seal of Solomon,” known from the *Claviculae*, or goetic grimoires.³⁸ Apart from the interesting combination of symbolism, already showing influences from various grimoires and kabbalistic sources, the very depiction of a mirror reflects the emphasis later on in the *Treatise* on the use of catoptronic procedures, specifically crystals and/or mirrors, to evoke spirits.

The *Treatise* itself can be said to consist of two main parts. The first and more voluminous is also the more compendious of the two, bringing together a more or less encyclopedic knowledge of various issues connected to angels, demons, ritual practices, geomancy, and various types of spirits, such as hobgoblins, nymphs, sylphs, gnomes, and so forth.³⁹ A notable feature of this part of the treatise is that it brings together a wide range of diverse authorities. A considerable amount of all the occult information seems to be taken almost directly from Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia*,⁴⁰ while some chapters are taken from Paracelsus,⁴¹ some from the clavicules of Solomon,⁴² and some, importantly, from the diaries of John Dee.⁴³ Some other chapters are seemingly more idiosyncratic, or at least with larger portions of idiosyncratic elements.⁴⁴ As mentioned before, Rudd also included chapters dealing with questions of angelology and demonology from a more orthodox theological perspective, and often of the most condemning kind.⁴⁵ In these are men-

38. Compare with the reprint in the modern edition of the clavicules of Solomon: *The Goetia: The Lesser Key of Solomon the King, Clavicula Salomonis Regis*, trans. Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, ed. Aleister Crowley (York Beach: Red Wheel/Weiser, 1995), 76. This version appears to be based on the Sloane MSS 2731, 3825, and 3648.

39. *Treatise*, 23–170.

40. Especially from book 2, chapters 2–15, 21–22, 33, 46, which are reproduced almost verbatim from Freake’s English translation. Compare with *Treatise*, 25–28, 90–121, 127–34. Some other more or less obvious references to Agrippa include *Treatise*, 29 (DOP 2.55), 43–50 (DOP 3.25), 69–72 (DOP 3.18), 84–85 (DOP 2.52 and 2.47), 87 (DOP 3.23), 124–26 (DOP 3.16).

41. *Treatise*, 74–75.

42. Especially *ibid.*, 51–58. Compare with the spirit names and descriptions given in *The Goetia*, 27–67.

43. Especially *Treatise*, 30–42. All information here about Dee’s *Tabula Sancta*, or “table of practice,” and the original designs of the seven “ensigns of creation” is available from the engravings reproduced in Casaubon’s *True & Faithful Relation*.

44. Especially *Treatise*, 147–70.

45. As in the chapters “Of Angels Good and Bad, Their Degrees and Offices,”

tioned and quoted such authorities as Aquinas,⁴⁶ Augustine,⁴⁷ Anthony of Florence, and even the *Malleus maleficarum* of Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger,⁴⁸ so significant in the witch trials still raging in Europe at the time when Rudd presumably wrote his *Treatise*.

The second main part of the *Treatise* is perhaps more idiosyncratic, and also the strongest indication that the author himself indeed *practiced* a variety of angelic magic. This part is called “Dr. Rudd’s Nine Hierarches of Angels with Their Invocations to Visible Appearance,”⁴⁹ and consists mainly of practical instructions on how to invoke and deal with angels, prayers, warnings about the evil spirits that could intrude, and information on how to deal with such situations. Last are given specific instructions to invoke two sets of “hierarchic” spirits: nine “governing angels” (of the nine traditional orders of angels),⁵⁰ and the seven Olympian spirits (corresponding to the seven planets).⁵¹ It is this part that provides the best access to the “magical theology” of Dr. Rudd himself. In this we more clearly see how Rudd struggles with the different angelologies and demonologies presented in the first compendious section, and through a synthesizing approach tries to compose a set of ritual practices through which the problems of ambiguous mediation can be resolved. One of the most notable things found in Rudd’s prescriptions is his insistence on two different procedures depending on whether one wants to work with evil spirits or good angels. A more thorough analysis of this part of the treatise will occupy a later section of the paper.

Two Theories on Mediating Spirits in Dr. Rudd’s Magical Theology

One of the central concerns of both parts of Rudd’s *Treatise* is the dichotomization of good and bad spirits. The many references to orthodox theologians in the first part of the *Treatise* reveal the overarching framework of the angelic

Treatise, 59–63; “Of Incubi and Succubi,” *ibid.*, 64; “The Power and Authority that Necromancers and Witches Have Over the Devil,” *ibid.*, 65–67; “The Devil Doth Sometimes Enter the Body of Unreasonable Creatures,” *ibid.*, 138–44; “Anthonia de Florencia, His Opinion Why the Devil Suggesteth Evil Thoughts to Us in Our Sleep,” *ibid.*, 145–46.

46. Especially *Treatise*, 59, 65–67.

47. Especially *ibid.*, 66–67.

48. *Ibid.*, 60, 139, 142.

49. *Ibid.*, 171–225.

50. *Ibid.*, 193–211.

51. *Ibid.*, 212–23. These are taken from the *Arbatel of Magic*, and their descriptions are almost given verbatim. Compare with *Arbatel of Magic*, aphorisms 15–21. Modern reprint in *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (as above, n. 34), 145–53.

fall and the parallel hierarchies of evil demons and good angels. The chapter entitled “Of Angels Good and Bad, Their Degrees and Offices” brings together Aquinas and the *Malleus maleficarum* to tell the story that after the fall, certain demons found their dwelling place in the lower parts of the air, on the earth, and in water, and that these demons are the causal agents used by “necromancers” and “sorceresses” to conduct their “devilish operations.”⁵² Furthermore, this chapter holds that the various kinds of such demons tirelessly work to lure, deceive, and tempt man into sin and damnation.⁵³ The dichotomization of angels and demons is also clear when the *Treatise* states that “we have an Angel Guardian to direct and guard us” from these temptations.⁵⁴ In a passage taken more or less directly from Agrippa, evil fallen angels are categorized in nine orders, in a clear parallel to (and inversion of) the nine angelic hierarchies.⁵⁵ The mischief of such devils is further explored in chapters with titles such as “Of Incubi and Succubi,”⁵⁶ “Why the Devil Suggesteth Evil Thoughts to Us in Our Sleep,”⁵⁷ and “The Devil Doth Sometimes Enter the Body of Unreasonable Creatures.”⁵⁸

Alongside this classical Christian demonology we also find chapters propounding a more neoplatonic theory of spiritual beings and mediators. This theory plays a significant role in astral magic and the construction of talismans.⁵⁹ The chapter “Of Intelligences and Daemons,” which is also taken almost verbatim from Agrippa, classifies three sorts of spirits “according to the tradition of the Magi.”⁶⁰ The first and highest class is that of the “super-coelestial” intelligences, which are disjoined from body and matter and simply take part in the celebration of the one true God—on a parallel to the traditional conception of the seraphim. Their only active role apart from this is to bestow the light that they have from God on the inferior orders in a sort of emanatory system.⁶¹ Under these “intelligences” stand two classes of

52. *Treatise*, 59–60. These were quite orthodox claims, and had been so even since the early church. See Cohn, *Europe’s Inner Demons*, 22.

53. *Treatise*, 60.

54. *Ibid.* “Guardian angels” do not seem to have any further role in Rudd’s system, however.

55. *Ibid.*, 69–72. This discussion seems to be taken straight out of *De occulta philosophia* 3.18.

56. *Treatise*, 64.

57. *Ibid.*, 145–46.

58. *Ibid.*, 138–44.

59. The chapter on “the Little Tables of the Planets,” taken directly from *De occulta philosophia* 2.22, is a good example of this. See *Treatise*, 107–21.

60. *Ibid.*, 124.

61. *Ibid.*

“Daemons” who, Rudd is careful to note, are not “those which we call Devils”—thus clearly distinguishing the two different demonologies in this case.⁶² The first order of these is comprised of the “Mundane Daemons,” which are really the intelligences presiding over the stars and celestial bodies.⁶³ The third and lowest order of spirits consists of the elemental spirits residing in the four elements and in different places of the earth, such as sylvans, satyrs, nymphs, dryads, genii, and so on.⁶⁴ In addition, and still following Agrippa, the *Treatise* states that a subsection of these lowest spirits are “unclean” and outright wicked spirits dwelling in subterranean realms and rather similar to the infernal kinds of fallen angels. Indeed, this parallel also seems to be made more explicitly by Rudd, as he suddenly diverges from Agrippa by referring to the *Clavicula Salomonis*, saying that these spirits come as “Kings, Princes and Presidents.”⁶⁵

How do these two theories, the Christian dichotomized view and the neoplatonic (morally) “neutral” or emanatory view, work together? In the more idiosyncratic chapters of Rudd’s *Treatise*, which we may suspect contains more of the author’s own formulations, the will to synthesize the different authorities again seems clear: the elemental “daemons” are presented as part of the same natural economy as the Christian demons and angels. For instance, these creatures are incorporated into the biblical mythos; according to the author, the nymphs, sylphs, pigmies, salamanders, giants, and melusins were all created by God in the same manner as Adam was, but stemming “not from Adam’s progeny.”⁶⁶ In other words, these spirits seem equal to ordinary beasts. Adding to this, Rudd speaks of the possibility of (evil) demons entering into and *possessing* the elemental spirits and using them to do mischief to man in a very parallel way as they could also do with animals.⁶⁷ Thus in the practical manuals of the second part of the book, Rudd speaks about “Celestial Angels and Intelligences” and “dignified Elemental Spirits of light” as one single category of benign mediators that the magician would do well to get in contact with. Their negative, opposing category is “the evil spirits and infernal powers of darkness” that the magician should do everything to prevent intruding into his operations.⁶⁸

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, 125–26.

65. *Ibid.*, 126.

66. *Ibid.*, 153.

67. Especially “On Gnomes, Etc.,” *Ibid.*, 161–62.

68. See for instance, *ibid.*, 173–82.

The Ambiguous Nature of “Enochian” Spirits: Rudd’s Reception of Dee’s Diaries

Given the anxiety to keep evil spirits and good angels apart, Rudd’s treatment of the so-called “Enochian” material from Dee’s and Kelly’s angel conversations is particularly interesting.⁶⁹ By once again bringing together different authorities in a synthetic fashion Rudd constructs an innovative magical system based on the engravings on the “Holy Table” of Dee and Kelly, the seven so-called “Ensigns of Creation,” and the letters of the “angelic” language.

The original Holy Table was one of the most important paraphernalia of Dee’s and Kelly’s angel workings. It was a wooden table with a 3 to 4-foot square surface serving as a sort of altar. Upon it would be the “Sigillum Dei Emeth,” the famous waxen image used in the workings, and the “show stone” crystal used for scrying would be seated on top of it.⁷⁰ According to Dee’s diaries the designs for making the Holy Table and the other ritual paraphernalia were purportedly transmitted by the angels themselves through Kelly early on in the conversations, on March 10, 1582.⁷¹ However, as has become apparent through more recent Dee scholarship that has looked more closely at earlier texts available to Dee and Kelly, not all of this was as novel as it presents itself to be. For instance, Stephen Clucas has pointed out the very close resemblance between Dee’s Sigillum Dei Emeth and a seal depicted in the fourteenth-century *Liber iuratus honorii*, which was in Dee’s possession but which he failed to cite as a source.⁷² There has also been conjecture that the alphabet of the angelic or Adamic language revealed by the angels was taken from Giovanni Pantheus’s 1530 tract *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam*, which was also in Dee’s possession.⁷³ However, ortographically

69. See “Clavis Tabulae Sanctae,” “Characters of the Sixteen Figures of Geomancy Expressed in the Great and Lesser Squares of Tabula sancta,” and “The Seven Tables,” in *Treatise*, 30–42.

70. Harkness, *John Dee’s Conversations*, 33–35.

71. *Ibid.*, 33.

72. Stephen Clucas, “‘Non est legendum sed inspiciendum solum’: Inspectival Knowledge and the Visual Logic of John Dee’s *Liber Mysteriorum*,” in *Emblems and Alchemy*, ed. Alison Adams and Stanton J. Linden (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1998), 109–32. For the *Ars Notoria* sigil, see Gösta Hedegård, ed., *Liber Iuratus Honorii* (as above, n. 7), 70. This and more links between Dee’s work and earlier medieval sources and practices are explored in Stephen Clucas, “John Dee’s Angelic Conversations and the *Ars Notoria*,” in Clucas, ed., *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 231–75; Fanger, “Virgin Territory” (as above, n. 7). For a highly relevant contribution to the more general discussion of medieval sources’ continued importance in Renaissance magic, see Frank Klaassen, “Medieval Ritual Magic in the Renaissance,” *Aries* 3.2 (2003): 166–200.

73. Donald C. Laycock, “Enochian: Angelic language or Mortal Folly?” in *The*

this relation seems weaker than Clucas's finding. At any rate, as Claire Fanger has commented, it does not seem implausible that more such cases may surface as more of the medieval sources become known to scholars.⁷⁴ For the time being, however, the design of the Holy Table itself and the figures engraved on it have not been clearly identified in earlier sources, and they are generally regarded as one of the characteristic and more idiosyncratic elements of Dee's and Kelly's workings.

In the center of the original Holy Table was inscribed a hexagram, in the middle of which was engraved a 3×4 square filled with characters in the "Angelic" script Dee and Kelly had been entrusted (see illustration below). More such letters would be engraved around the edge of the table. In addition to this, the angels instructed Dee to make seven "Ensigns of Creation," seven plates formed in tin, to be placed on the table during the work. However, the angels later allowed Dee and Kelly to paint these "Ensigns of Creation" directly onto the table with blue, red, and gold pigment.⁷⁵ The angels never revealed much about the true meaning of these "Ensigns." On May 5, 1583, the angel Uriel, when asked what "the 7 lamines" meant, responded that "they are the ensigns of the Creation; wherewithal they were created by God known onely by theyr acquaintance, and the manner of theyr doings."⁷⁶ Their number and description has prompted the conjecture that they may have been meant to symbolize the seven days of God's act of creation, and the seven stages of alchemical transformation.⁷⁷

At this point I should mention that the specific angelic conversations where these instructions were revealed were *not* to be found in the group of manuscripts that Casaubon published in his *True & Faithful Relation*.⁷⁸ At that time, the only copy of them was probably in Mr. Jones's kitchen, still trying to escape the maid. For that reason, the diary entries published in 1659, while containing an illustration of the Holy Table, did not have anything to say about its design by way of explanation.⁷⁹ The name "Ensign of Creation"

Complete Enochian Dictionary: A Dictionary of the Angelic Language Revealed to Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley, ed. Donald C. Laycock (Boston: Weiser Books, 1994), 19–64.

74. Fanger, "Virgin Territory," 203.

75. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations*, 35.

76. See *John Dee's Five Books of Mystery: Original Sourcebook on Enochian Magic*, ed. Joseph Peterson (York Beach: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2003), 399.

77. Whitby, *John Dee's Actions with Spirits* (as above, n. 25), 1:134–35.

78. That is, Cotton, Appendix XLVI. Rather these specific diary entries are preserved in Sloane MS 3188.

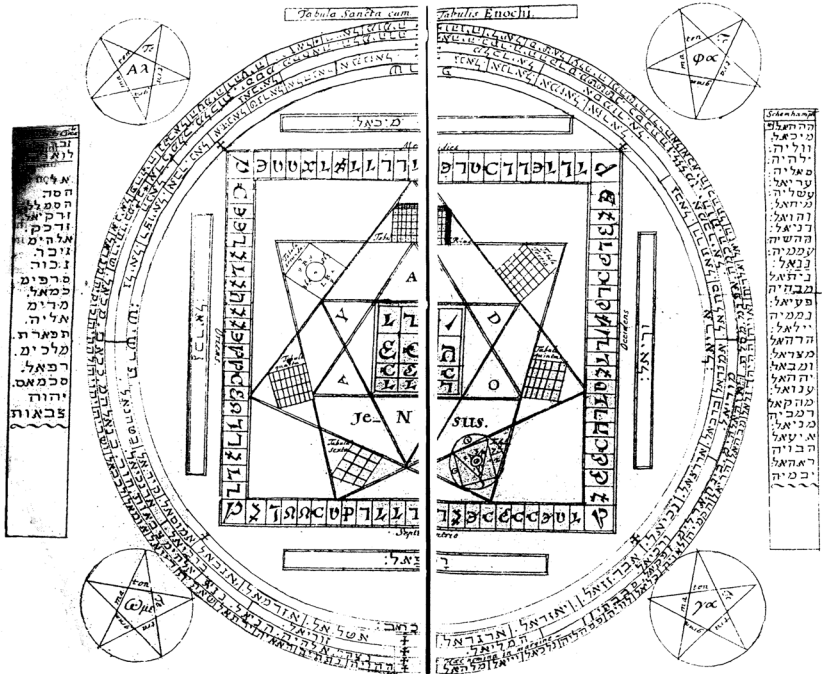
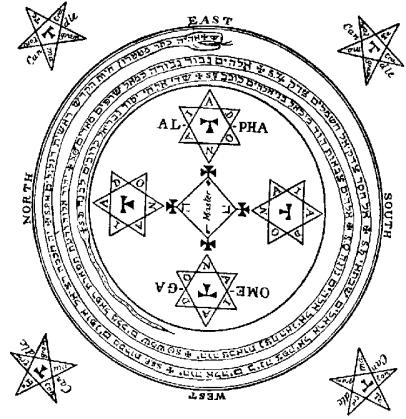
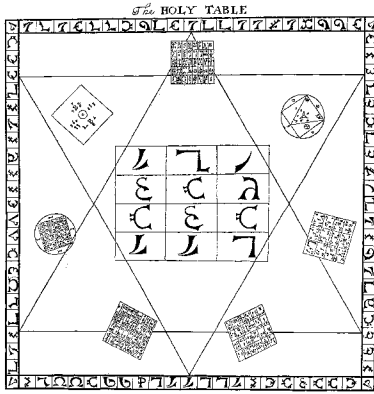
79. Although it is to be remembered that the *actual* table itself was in Cotton's possession, making it possible to create the engraving used in the publication.

does not appear either. In line with the argument I have made earlier against the hypothesis that Rudd was in possession of a “secret tradition,” I think it is noteworthy that Rudd’s treatise shows no knowledge of the original name given to the seven figures on the Holy Table. In Rudd’s discussions, the “Ensigns of Creation” are consistently mentioned as “the Tables of Enoch.” From this it seems increasingly less probable that Rudd had access to any information on Dee’s angel conversations beyond that which was published by Casaubon.

It is still interesting to see what Rudd, *not* knowing the original intentions, does with these particular elements from Dee’s and Kelly’s diaries. It seems clear to me that Rudd tries to mend the holes he finds in Dee’s system by once again synthesizing it with other authorities known to him. The synthetic approach leads to novel interpretations, when Dee’s material is interpreted through the framework of other authors and systems. The first time we encounter the Enochian material in Rudd’s *Treatise* is in an elaborate illustration, which in itself seems to give away much of Rudd’s novel conception of the system (see illustration below).⁸⁰ The illustration bears the title *Tabula Sancta cum Tabulis Enochi* (“The Holy Table with Enoch’s Tables”) and shows the Holy Table with the seven “Ensigns of Creation” in the middle. Some slight alterations have been made to the design of the table itself. Within the points of the hexagram Latin letters have been inserted, forming the name “Adonay.” Outside the hexagram the word “Jesus” has been written. The hexagram itself has been surrounded by a heptagram, containing the seven Ensigns, or “Enochian tables” in Rudd’s terminology, within its seven points. Around this is the square edge with angelic letters, as in the original. However, the main alteration of this illustration is that the table has been placed within a many-layered circle inscribed with the Hebrew names of certain angels and names of God. In a rectangular box by the side are mentioned some of the *Shemhamphorash*, or seventy-two secret names of God, which according to kabbalistic traditions can be extracted from Exodus 14:19–21. Within the circle, but around the table, are inserted the four compass directions written in Latin, along with the names of the four angels Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Uriel written in Hebrew. Outside of the circle are four smaller circles with pentagrams inscribed, bearing Greek letters adding up to the words “Alpha” and “Omega.” Each of the pentagrams also bears the name “Tetragrammaton,” written in Latin characters.

The thing one should note with this new arrangement of the Holy Table

80. *Treatise*, 30–31.



Upper left: Dee's Holy Table. **Upper Right:** modern reproduction of Goetic magical circle for demon conjurations, based on MS Sloane 3648. © Ordo Templi Orientis, 1995, 1997. All rights reserved. **Bottom:** Rudd's "Tabula Sancta cum Tabulis Enochi." Note how Rudd's illustration seems a synthesis of the two others. Dee's altar has been reembedded in a nigromantic magical circle. Excerpted from *A Treatise on Angel Magic* by Adam McLean with permission of Red Wheel/Weiser. www.redwheelweiser.com.

is that it is entirely in the lines of the more goetic, “nigromantic” grimoire traditions, wherein the magician is supposed to make a circle very much in the design just described, and from within it conjure the spirits (which may be explicitly evil demons, or else neutral elementals, or so forth) into a triangle, pentagon, or some other confined space outside the circle.⁸¹ The circle with angelic and divine names is identical to those contemporaneously used in this form of magic; also the powerful names Tetragrammaton and Alpha and Omega frequently occur (as seen above).⁸² These rituals were, however, aimed at *constraining* the spirits with the help of the sacred and angelic names inscribed for protection in the circle and its periphery. As Richard Kieckhefer has pointed out, they functioned both as a protective measure to keep the magician safe from whichever abomination he had conjured up outside the circle, and also as a focused locus of power to constrain that foreign spirit.⁸³ At any rate, this was a common technique when dealing with explicitly *evil* or at the very least somewhat ambiguous spirits. Since Dee was convinced that the spirits he was dealing with were good angels sent from above, he had found no need for such measures. This makes it perhaps more intriguing that Rudd fused the system with a framework for more demonic types of ritual magic. But it seems especially intriguing when one considers what Rudd writes later on in his practical manual concerning the differences in method for dealing with evil and good spirits:

Evil spirits . . . may be constrained and commanded by invocation to service and obedience, comparatively as vile slaves. . . . But Celestial Angels and other dignified Elemental powers and spirits of light by nature wholly benevolent and good, *may not be commanded nor constrained by any Invocation.*⁸⁴

81. This procedure can be gleaned from a variety of sources. See for instance Mathers and Crowley, eds., *The Goetia* (as above, n. 38); “Of Occult Philosophy or of Magical Ceremonies: The Fourth Book,” in *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (as above, n. 34), 19–58, and “Heptameron,” in *ibid.*, 59–96.

82. The illustration provided here is from *The Goetia*, 70–72. See also Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, ed., *The Key of Solomon the King* (York Beach: Weiser, 1989), 17–18. The latter is reproduced from Add. MS 10.862, Sloane MSS 1307 and 3091, Harley MS 3981, King’s MS 288, and Lansdown MSS 1202 and 1203. For another necromantic authority saying the same and which I have demonstrated was available to Rudd, compare Skinner ed., *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 49, 52–54. For a scholarly commentary, see Kieckhefer’s discussion of the use of magical circles in necromantic liturgies generally and the Munich handbook particularly: Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 170–85.

83. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 175.

84. *Treatise*, 179–80. Emphasis added.

In other words, he prescribes two different modes of working, depending on the nature of the spirits one wants to interact with, and good spirits are *never* to be constrained. Taken to its logical conclusion, this would mean that Rudd does not consider Dee's and Kelly's spirits "wholly benevolent and good." Had they been so, Rudd would not have allowed prescribing a liturgy aimed at constraining the spirits. It would seem instead that Rudd agreed with Casaubon's interpretation of the spirits given in the preface to *A True & Faithful Relation*: Dee had mistaken "false lying Spirits for Angels of Light," and the methods for dealing with them should be changed accordingly.

This interpretation seems to be supported by the further alterations or adjustments Rudd makes to the data available from Dee's diaries. By understanding the spirit actions recorded by Dee in the light of more nigromantic practices, Rudd sets out to mend the holes and errors he finds. In tune with this, several of the individual elements of Dee's system are given novel, and significantly "darker" or "dirtier," interpretations. For example, in the chapter following Rudd's illustration, a new interpretation is made of some of the angelic characters inscribed around the edge of the Holy Table and of the seven Ensigns.⁸⁵ Rudd attributes the letters of the angelic script as presented on the table to the figures of geomancy⁸⁶ and to various spirits of a rather dubious nature.⁸⁷ Rudd correlates two sets of spirits with the letters: the (more or less benevolent) intelligences of the twelve zodiac signs according to Agrippa, and the *bad* spirits or *Daemonia* of the planets, which Agrippa set forth in *De occulta philosophia*, book two, chapter twenty-two.⁸⁸ In Agrippa's discussion of magically drawing down planetary influences into talismans, he operates mainly with two sorts of entities connected to each planet: an *intelligentia* and a *daemonium*. In his description of these, the intelligence is benevolent and beneficial to use, while the daemon is malevolent and mediates the negative aspects of the planet in question.⁸⁹ In line with what has been said already, it is to be noted that Rudd consistently chooses to use the malicious

85. The fact that only sixteen out of the twenty-one letters appear can be considered another indication that Dr. Rudd did not know about the manuscripts now in the Sloane collection. He only makes use of the letters that appear on the engraving in Casaubon's publication.

86. That is, the art of divination by lot. The most authoritative introduction to the art in Rudd's times would probably be the translation of Agrippa's "Of Geomancy," first printed in his *Opera* and reissued in English translation in Turner's 1654 edition of *The Fourth Book*. See Skinner, ed., *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*.

87. *Treatise*, 32–33.

88. Compare *Treatise*, 32–33 with *De occulta philosophia* 2.14, 2.22.

89. See *De occulta philosophia* 2.22.

daemons and not the benign intelligences as corresponding to each angelic letter. In this way Rudd has taken the alphabet that in Dee's opinion belonged to the pure, Adamic language spoken before the fall and turned it into a magical, symbolic script partially signifying wicked spirits. The reason for doing so seems to be the result of his generally synthesizing effort to bring together various authorities, in this case at the expense of Dee when it comes to the actual interpretation of the nature of the spirits involved.

The heightened ambiguity resulting from this synthesis of Dee's and Kelly's angels with other systems becomes even more explicit when we consider the role that the seven "Ensigns of Creation" or "Enochian tables" are given. Rudd introduces the question of how the Enochian tables are to be used by first relating them to the four compass directions, being ruled by the four archangels.⁹⁰ He then goes on to note that "these Tables . . . are charged with Spirits or Genii *both good and bad* of several Orders and Hierarchies, which the wise King Solomon made use of."⁹¹ The mention of King Solomon is to be noted, since it is clear from what follows that the bad spirits mentioned are actually (again) the goetic demons or fallen angels of the clavicles of Solomon. The way this is shown is also quite intriguing. The seven "tables of Enoch," as shown distributed on the Holy Table in Casaubon's engraving, are in themselves rather enigmatic, consisting of a variety of geometrical shapes (mostly squares), with some letters (mostly the letter "b" for some reason), numbers, and crosses distributed in a seemingly haphazard way. To give an example: one of the tables (being the one to the middle left in Casaubon's engraving shown above) is formed like a circle with a square inside, around which are four "I's. The square itself is divided in 6×6 smaller squares, containing letters, numbers, and an unknown, presumably magical, character. The upper left square contains the numbers and letters "5 P b 4 P" and the next one "A 8 B 3 O." Rudd, however, seems to have "found the key" to these perplexing signs and letters. In his version of this table, which he calls "Tabula Veneris" (the table of Venus), the two squares mentioned contain the entries "5 Paimon Bathin 4 Purson" and "Astaroth Ebra."⁹² These are mostly names of fallen angels, or demons, taken from the *Goetia*.⁹³ For instance, according to the *Goetia*, Paimon is "a Great King, and

90. *Treatise*, 33.

91. *Ibid.* Emphasis mine.

92. *Ibid.*, 36.

93. With the exception of Ebriah, who nevertheless may be connected to "Ebriel," the name of the ninth unholy sephirah according to Isaac ha-Cohen of Soria. See Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), 101.

very obedient unto Lucifer,” and Astaroth is “a Mighty, Strong Duke, and appeareth in the Form of an hurtful Angel riding on an Infernal Beast like a Dragon, and carrying in his right hand a Viper.”⁹⁴ The rest of the squares of this and the other tables are similarly filled with dubious creatures: Bune, Barbatos, Botis, Berith, Buer, Belial, Forcator, and so on.⁹⁵ In this light, there seems little question why Dr. Rudd felt the need of a protective circle to work with Dee’s system.

However, these explicitly demonic entities are still mingled with more benign and neutral angels and intelligences. First of all, named among all these demonic entities we also find the occasional good angel, such as Michael and Gabriel. Furthermore, each of the seven tables are correlated with the seven planets, which, one could argue with reference to the rest of Rudd’s *Treatise*, are being presided over by seven angels conceived of as more or less benign. For instance, reference is made to the angels Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Camiel, Raphael, Haniel, Michael, and Gabriel, who are said to preside over the planets and “stand before the face of God.”⁹⁶ However, Rudd once again also wants to include the Agrippan spirits dwelling in the planets, and this time mentions both the *intelligentiae* and the *daemonia* of the planets.⁹⁷

The will to bring all these different spirits and correspondence systems into his synthesis makes the final picture of Rudd’s recreated Enochian magical system seem, at the surface of it, confusing or even inconsistent. However, it should be viewed as the outcome of an attempt on the author’s part to bring together the great variety of authorities he recognizes into a workable and “safe” magical system. When viewed as such, the attempt to make coherence is much more notable than the apparent confusion and inconsistency. This becomes clearer through a look of the last part of Rudd’s *Treatise*, in which his examples for practical experiments are laid out.

“*Test is Truth*”: Rudd’s “*Angelic Invocations*” and His Response to *Trickster Spirits*

The system Rudd presents in the last part of his *Treatise*, the “*Invocations to Visible Appearance*,” is not directly connected with the Enochian material discussed above. The main sources on which it is built seem rather to be

94. See *The Goetia*, 31, 41.

95. *Treatise*, 36. The description of all the spirits appearing in the seven “tables of Enoch” is given by Rudd in the chapter entitled “The Names of Some of the Good and Bad Spirits Solomon Made Use of,” *ibid.*, 51–57. These are mostly taken verbatim from *The Goetia*.

96. *Treatise*, 41. Once again, these attributions are taken from Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia* 2.10.

97. *Treatise*, 34–35, 39–40.

(unsurprisingly) Agrippa and *The Arbatel of Magic*, easily available to Rudd through Robert Turner's 1654 edition of *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*. Remembering the distinction he made in his operations, this part is concerned with invoking good spirits, which should not be constrained. The instruction is an assemblage of directions on how to conduct the procedure of invoking "good Angels or dignified Elemental powers of light," advice on how to overcome various problems the magician might encounter during these workings, specific examples of prayers or invocations to be used, and finally a list of two sets of (presumably "dignified") spirits to invoke, with the seals and some additional information about each.

These spirits are really two different sets or groups of spirits again taken from different traditions. The first group encompasses the nine angels set over the first nine kabbalistic Sefirot, from Kether to Yesod (or "Hesod," as Rudd spelled it). These angels are seen as corresponding to the nine angelic hierarchies, from the order of seraphim to the order of angels, and assigned specific places in the cosmos: the seven lowest to the seven planets, with Raziel assigned to the fixed stars and Methatron to the Prime Mover beyond the firmament.⁹⁸ These arrangements seem again to be based on Agrippa's tabulations in *De occulta philosophia* 2.13. There is, however, some overlap between these angels and the following seven "Olympian" spirits. These are again seven spirits said to presage over the seven planets, but this time taken from the *Arbatel of Magic*. In an introduction to this section, probably written by Peter Smart, it is even stated about the first set of angels, and especially about the mighty angels Raziel and Methatron, that "it is the opinion of Dr. Dee and Dr. Rudd, and Iamblichus that ancient magician, that it is rarely practiced since the Olympic powers are sufficient to be invoked and advised with."⁹⁹ In other words, it would seem that the two sets have the same functions and uses, but one being more powerful—most of the time *too* powerful—than the other.

The passage is also important in another respect, since it shows explicitly what is elsewhere only hinted at implicitly; all the different systems gathered are seen as essentially *compatible* with each other, regardless of the sometimes apparent eclecticism. Again the point seems to be to make a consistent magical theology in which the relationship between differing authorities, in this case the *Arbatel* and Agrippa's kabbalistic tabulations, are set out more explicitly and clearly. As we see, Rudd does this through postulating a hierarchy

98. *Ibid.*, 194–95.

99. *Ibid.*, 212.

where the Hebrew angels seem more dignified than the Olympian spirits of the *Arbatel*, but where the latter are the most proper to be called down.

One of the most intriguing aspects of Rudd's "Invocations," however, is its tireless preoccupation with the problems posed by evil spirits. The very first paragraph emphasizes the importance of carefully observing the appearances of both good and evil spirits, so that the magician may be able to tell the difference.¹⁰⁰ The problem is not that it is unlawful to deal with wicked spirits per se; it is rather that these require a different method of working, as we have seen already. Wicked spirits should be constrained, while good angels can only be "called forth by humble entreaties."¹⁰¹ Thus the method of working in this section is described as being more markedly different than the one we encountered in the previous section. When aiming at invoking the good angels, Rudd proposes using a "Show Stone," that is, a crystal, or a "Glass Receptacle."¹⁰² This is in line with what Dee and Kelly had done, but also with catoptromantic and crystallo-mantic folk traditions that had existed in Britain for generations before Dee.¹⁰³ When a good angel is successfully invoked into such a receptacle, beautiful colors should appear before the magician "in and about the stone or glass as a bright cloud or other pretty kind of Hieroglyphical show, both strange and very delightful to behold."¹⁰⁴ Then the figures of the spirits themselves should appear in the stone. The good angels would be recognizable as "very fair, beautiful, affable and youthful, smiling, amiable and usually of flaxenish or gold coloured hair, and in behaviour or gesture very courteous and friendly, in speech very gentle, mild, eloquent, using no vain, idle or superfluous language or discourse."¹⁰⁵ Likewise their clothes would never be ragged, but always unblemished and presentable, and so on.¹⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, then, the evil spirits are on the contrary "ugly, ill favoured and beastly in shape and appearance."¹⁰⁷

100. *Ibid.*, 173.

101. *Ibid.*, 180.

102. *Ibid.*, 173.

103. Indeed, this is yet another point where Dee's practices were not as idiosyncratic or novel as some have previously thought. See Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, 16; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 255–56, 272–74; Armand Delatte, *La Catoptromancie Grecque et ses derives* (Paris: Droz, 1932); Benedek Lang, "Angels around the Crystal: The Prayer Book of King Wladislas and the Treasure Hunts of Henry the Czech," *Aries* 5.1 (2005): 200–224; Fanger, "Virgin Territory."

104. *Treatise*, 173.

105. *Ibid.*, 174–75.

106. *Ibid.*, 175.

107. *Ibid.*, 178.

If this had been all there was to it, things would have been easy for the magician. However, as the first part of the *Treatise* shows, Rudd knew his theology, and knew that evil spirits, being tricksters par excellence, will try to *masquerade* as good angels and interfere with magical work even—or perhaps *especially*—when not invited.¹⁰⁸ The fact that one can thus never be sure from appearance alone whether a spirit is good or bad tires the magician and leaves him with what Rudd, in a seizure of classical pathos, describes as a “desperation not knowing how to unravel this Gordian Knot or to be satisfied or delivered from hopeless pilgrimage, but by the hope of Icarian wings.”¹⁰⁹ To deal with this problem the magician has to remain ever suspicious, and to observe certain rules during the invocation that will, according to Rudd, expel demons in disguise while respecting the integrity of good spirits.

Most importantly, the magician should adopt a certain method of addressing the spirit when it has arrived, which takes the form of a sort of cross-examination. There is even some subterfuge implied in this. For instance, when a spirit appears having the features of a good angel (but of whose nature one still cannot be sure) one should greet it by saying “Welcome be the light of the highest, and welcome be the Messengers of Divine Grace and Mercy”¹¹⁰ and so on. This will no doubt satisfy the spirit if it really *is* a good angel. But if it is a wicked spirit in disguise, Rudd claims, “it will immediately vanish or flow hastily away at the rehearsal of the word Mercy.”¹¹¹ Even after this, one should continue to question, but in a way that will be pleasant to a real angel and problematic and revealing of a deceiving demon. This process could eventually take the form of a whole conversation between the magician and the spirit. Rudd gives a rather amusing example illustrating how such a conversation might appear:

[The magician asks:] “In the name of JESUS who art thou?” Then perhaps it will say, “I am the Servant of God.” Then you may say—“Art thou come from God? Art thou sent from him with good tidings or message?” Then perhaps it will say to you, or some such like words—“What I am he knoweth of whom I bear witness.” Then you may ask its name, saying then—“What is your name? Either as it is notified among the blessed Angels or called by mortal man, if you be of verity and so of charity you cannot mistake my speeches.” Then it will tell you its name, or say nothing at all. But if it doth tell you his name, then you may say to it—“If you be in

108. *Ibid.*, 178–79.

109. *Ibid.*, 179.

110. *Ibid.*, 175.

111. *Ibid.*, 175–76.

the name of Jesus, mercies of God in the merits of Christ, Mankind elect is to be saved.” Then it will give you a sufficient answer to satisfy you or else it will be gone from you. And then if it be of good and hath answered your request, then perhaps it will say, “Thus much thou hast required.” Then you may say—“I did so for so is his Judgement and Justice against the Impertinent and his mercy to his Elect. Test is Truth.”¹¹²

Test is the route to truth. What concerns us here is that the nature of Rudd’s testing is built on the spirit’s response to certain “divine words of power.” Thus we find the capitalization of the name “Jesus” and the emphasis on mercy in the previous passage, both to expel malicious spirits.

At the bottom of this lies an optimism that evil spirits can be bound, commanded, or simply overpowered and expelled through the powerful nature of certain words and symbols from the Christian pantheon. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, this was a common theological idea in the early centuries of the church, but one that was gradually replaced by an increasingly pessimistic view of the individual Christian’s possibility of resisting demonic powers. In magic, however, the idea survived. As Richard Kieckhefer has shown, the use of divine names and words of power to expel demons and other evil forces was retained in exorcism liturgies throughout the Middle Ages, and the techniques were extensively used in necromantic, constraining magical rituals, as already discussed in this essay.¹¹³ In Rudd’s *Treatise* they become instrumental to the magician’s attempt to solve the paradox of discerning false, lying spirits from good angels, in a balancing act aiming to avoid constraining the latter or surrendering to the former.

CONCLUSION

For the early modern learned magician, who knew his theology, and also knew of accusations of witchcraft and presumably believed in their reality, there was a grave danger in working magic, posed by the ubiquity of false, lying spirits. The problem had been a concern of magicians for centuries, which we can see clearly in manuals such as the early-fourteenth-century *Liber florum celestis doctrine*. It is nevertheless interesting to see how the early modern writer, Dr. Rudd, writing in the aftermath of Dee’s and Kelly’s claim

112. *Ibid.*, 185.

113. See especially Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 126–69. Also his thesis on the “clerical underground” in *Magic in the Middle Ages*. For more on the contexts of exorcisms, see Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possessions in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003).

to infamy, grapples with these problems. We have seen how he does not condemn dealing with wicked spirits per se, but rather stresses that the danger is in confusing the two types of spirits. For this reason he operates with two different and clearly separated frameworks for ritual magic: one for invoking good spirits and one for conjuring and constraining evil ones.

The system thus constructed seems to be the result of a synthesis of different magical traditions and authorities. In so doing he walks in the footsteps of earlier grand synthesizers, from d'Ascoli to Agrippa; but working in a time and climate where more information was available, Rudd is able to draw on a greater variety of sources, from the *Ars Notoria*, the *Arbatel*, the Dee diaries, and similar traditions aimed at contact with benign entities for noble purposes of gaining knowledge and divine illumination, to the explicitly demonic kinds of nigromantic conjuring. Rudd's synthesis seems to be a perfect reflection of what one could expect from a well-informed occultist of the second half of the seventeenth century in England with a will to make sense of it all. Over a short decade in the 1650s, many of the books that would be the standards of ritual magic even down to our own times were published for the first time in English translations.¹¹⁴ Agrippa's already grand synthesis could be expanded, explored, and corrected in conjunction with other textbooks on magic, divination, witchcraft, and the like.

Rudd's treatment of the Enochian material taken from Dee and Kelly, probably from Casaubon's publication, is a particularly clear example of this synthesizing tendency. The benign, angelic mediators Dee placed his trust in have been demonized by Rudd, and the manner of working with them has been reembedded in the goetic system. This was of course unthinkable to Dee himself, and even the matter of some heated debate between Dee, Kelly, and the angels. It was known that Kelly was experienced in demonic forms of conjuring and frequently wanted to do things his way instead of listening to the angels whom he distrusted; at one point the angels even ordered him to burn his old books of "dirty magic."¹¹⁵ I have provided evidence here that Rudd continued Kelly's and even Casaubon's suspicion about Dee's angels, that they were indeed wicked, and changed the methods for dealing with them accordingly.

114. Modern editions of the very same English translations that appeared in the 1650s—Freake's version of Agrippa, Turner's version of such texts as the *Arbatel* and *Heptameron*, and also Casaubon's presentation of Dee's work—are still standard works today, cementing the long lasting impact of the occult activity of this particular decade on British (and in our days, world wide Anglophone) occultism.

115. Casaubon, *True & Faithful Relation*, 116.

But this did not mean that Rudd had given up any hope in *real* benign mediators. The fact that Dee and Kelly failed to reach such spirits did not mean that it was impossible—an argument similar to that put forward by John the Monk, the fourteenth-century author of *Liber florum*. While recanting his past sins with the *Ars Notoria*, also accused of being implicitly demonic, John the Monk petitioned through prayer to the holy Virgin to be granted permission to write a new book, but this time dealing with the *real* benign entities, guaranteed by Mary herself.¹¹⁶ With a similar intention, Rudd designed an elaborate procedure of questions and answers, deploying divine names and in other ways testing the spirit appearing before the magician claiming to be a good spirit or angel. Relying on a theological position that, except in certain liturgical contexts, had been increasingly marginalized since the Middle Ages, Rudd insisted that Christian words of power would no doubt expel the wicked while doing the good no harm. With this system, which is a mild appropriation of the methods used also in the more constraining sort of conjurations, Rudd convinces his readers that the magician can overcome the Gordian knot of separating false lying spirits from Angels of Light. Test is truth.

116. See Fanger, “Plundering the Egyptian Treasure,” 225–35.