Three early modern magic rituals to spoil witches[1]

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Pre-modern learned magic practitioners and the less educated cunning-folk who began to take up the learned tradition in the sixteenth century regarded their practices as fundamentally opposed to witchcraft, a fact beautifully illustrated by these three charms to identify witches. They derive from a collection written in England around 1600 composed mainly of works of ritual magic in Latin and English. Like the rest of the works in this collection, they call upon the power of the divine through ritual gestures, names of God, and liturgical formulae. Magicians of this kind may not have conceived of themselves as holy, but they certainly never conceived of their operations as involving any form of pact with spirits. Instead, their power derived from God and was made possible by their status as Christians.[2]

This opposition of "good" Christian magic and witchcraft was not new in the sixteenth century, but if their collections are any indication, earlier learned practitioners were more concerned with protection from, and cures for, malefic magic, and it was only in rituals for theft that they concerned themselves with determining identity. The defence against magical assault appears in a variety of forms as does the alleviation of magically induced maladies, but these rituals do not include discovering the source of such attacks.[3] Late

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[2] For a general discussion of necromancy see Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, Engl.: Sutton, 1997).

[3] A fifteenth-century medical collection that includes magic texts also includes a cure for witchcraft (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5315, ff. 76v-78r). A fifteenth-century collection of naturalia and magic includes two operations to cure magically induced illness (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. Lat. 1188, ff. 76v-78r and 116v). A sixteenth-century collection of astrological image magic includes an image which will protect one from witchcraft (London, British Library, Sloane 3846, f. 45r). A seventeenth-century medical collection contains a cure for magically induced ailments (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1442, VI, p. 26). For protection from fairies, defence against witchcraft, and for a horse that is forespoken see Oxford, Bodleian Library,

medieval collections of magical works very commonly contain works for the detection of thieves; this was also a service offered by cunning-folk well into the modern period.[4] A text known as the "Eye of Abraham" is perhaps the most common medieval ritual to identify a thief, existing in numerous Latin and English versions.[5] Like many other operations for theft, it seeks to cause the guilty party grievous pain until they identify themselves and confess to the crime. The texts presented here thus follow the usual pattern of the operations for thieves rather than those for magical assaults or maladies, suggesting that they may originally have been charms for theft which were adapted for use against witchcraft. That the first is a multi-purpose charm for identifying witches, thieves, or other enemies supports this theory.[6]

Records of cunning-folk performing rituals similar to those presented here occur in other sixteenth-century sources, and we find similar practices in the manuscripts of practicing magicians after 1600,[7] but I am aware of no examples of such practices prior to

Additional B. 1., ff. 20v, 24v, and 25v respectively. The collection from which the texts presented here are drawn also includes examples of these more traditional forms (Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. 173, ff. 63r-64v and 69r). In an early seventeenth-century record, a woman identifies a potential magical assailant to her physician, who appears more concerned with determining whether her maladies were magically induced than with confirming the identity of the assailant (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1447, art. IX, p. 14). Even in the early modern period, such cures are more numerous than operations to detect the source; see Owen Davies, *Cunning-Folk: Popular Magic in English History* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 106-10. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart refers to such activities by cunning-folk as "unwitching": see *Witch Hunters: Professional Prickers, Unwitchers and Witch Finders of the Renaissance* (Stroud, Engl.: Tempus, 2003), 37, 74, 84, and 129.

[4] On professional magical practitioners see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971), 212-52. See also Davies, *Cunning-Folk*, 96-101. Many examples of magical operations for theft are discussed in George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 185-213. For examples of thief detection see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional B. 1., ff. 11v-12r and 14r. For necromantic rituals to detect thieves or to force them to come to the operator, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D. 252, ff. 67, 110r-110v, 114v-118v, and 126v-131v. For an operation to see a thief in a dream vision see London, British Library, Sloane 3850, f. 160r. The ritual magic operation *De arte crucifixi* includes discernment of the identity of thieves as one of its possible uses: see London, British Library, Harley 181, f. 80v.

[5] The charm appears in Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), XII, 17. For other English versions see London, British Library, Sloane 2721, ff. 137r-v; London, British Library, Sloane 3846, ff. 83v-84r; London, British Library, Additional 34111, f. 75r. For Latin versions of this text see Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus 219 f. 186; London, British Library, Sloane 3850, f. 33v; London, British Library, Sloane 3381, f. 54; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1460, f. 125r. The collection from which the texts presented here are drawn also includes numerous examples of these more traditional forms: see Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. 173, ff. 23v-24r, 28r-28v, 32r, and 73r.

[6] See for example the "Eye of Abraham" cited above. In this operation, a nail is driven into the picture of an eye drawn on a wall, causing the guilty party to cry out in pain. Davies makes the same suggestion with regards to the "witch bottle" operation, also designed to torment a magical assailant (108-09).

[7] These include the more common rituals to confirm suspicion of witchcraft but also those to force witches to identify themselves or even to cause them pain: see Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (New York: Viking, 1996), 174-87. Similar operations appear in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, XII, 18. See also Brian Hoggard, "The

1500. Their appearance in the sixteenth century might be attributable to anxieties resulting from the loss of the apotropaic rituals (both official and unofficial) of Catholic piety, but similar patterns occur in Catholic France as well.[8] A new interest in this sort of magic may thus be a product of the heightened popular concern over witchcraft in the later sixteenth century. It may also reflect a desire on the part of the author to distance his good learned magic from bad witchcraft by allying himself with the forces that sought to stamp it out. Anti-magical works had been rhetorically collapsing the two from the fifteenth century, a strategy intensified in the sixteenth century by Reginald Scot amongst others.[9] Defenders of learned magic, on the other hand, commonly adopted a rhetorical strategy in which they presented their own putatively good practices in opposition to bad magic.[10]

Although the scribe may well have been a private enthusiast of learned magic, various aspects of the text suggest the sensibilities of a practitioner and also shed light on his attitude towards witchcraft. Given recent critiques of the notion that early modern people gendered witches as feminine, it is notable that with one exception the instructions refer to the witches as male *or* female.[11] More importantly, as Robin Briggs notes, cunning-folk seem to have had no interest in participating in formal persecutions: being potential suspects themselves, they generally avoided the attention of the authorities.[12] The "pricking" in the text presented here is not the same as "witch pricking," a common procedure carried out in witch hunts for determining numb areas on the body that were taken as a characteristic of witches.[13] In addition to using quite a different technique, the author or scribe evidently did not seek to initiate legal proceedings against the witches, but rather to force them to confess or merely abjure their evil ways. This intent accords well with Briggs' accounts, in which identification by cunning-folk commonly preceded witchcraft accusations by years or even decades.[14]

Archaeology of Counter-Witchcraft and Popular Magic," in *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*, eds. Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 167-86. For an eighteenth-century example see Willem de Blécourt, "'Evil People': A Late Eighteenth-Century Dutch Witch Doctor and his Clients," in ibid., 145-66. For an example of rituals similar to those presented here in a seventeenth-century manuscript, see London, British Library, Sloane 3851, ff. 45r-46v and 134r.

[8] On apotropaic rituals and how they interwove with late medieval piety see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 233-98. Briggs' examples cited above derive from the Lorraine region in France, where Catholic practice was the norm.

[9] See Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*.

[10] In the fourteenth century, John of Morigny adopted this strategy to justify his revision of the *Ars notoria*: see John of Morigny, "Prologue to Liber Visionum [C. 1304 - 1318]," eds. Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, *Esoterica* 3 (2001): 108-217. The same strategy was adopted by numerous writers in subsequent centuries, perhaps most famously by the great renaissance proponent of learned magic, Henry Cornelius Agrippa: see his *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* (Paris, 1531), ch. 48.

[11] Although the first text concludes by assuming that the witch will be female, it instructs one to make both male and female dolls, which are then to be pricked. On the question of male witches see Lara Apps and Andrew Colin Gow, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

[12] Briggs, 174-87.

[13] Maxwell-Stuart, esp. 123-49.

[14] Briggs, 174-87.

The scribe, his interests, and habits

This manuscript is the work of a single scribe who mixes italic and secretary hands, the latter dating to approximately 1600 or 1610.[15] The scribe may be the "J. A. B." who appears in a love charm with his beloved, "A. D.," but it is not impossible that these identifying initials were simply copied from a source text.[16] Given the date, the frankly Roman Catholic nature of many of the conjurations raises some interesting questions about the scribe's religious beliefs. Invocations of the saints and prayers to the Virgin Mary suggest at very least that the operator was not bothered by the "old religion." Lapses in Latin grammar and spelling suggest mediocre attainment in the language, but these would not be out of keeping with many late medieval or early modern texts of magic, which were often written by scribes with a moderate level of learning. Significant sections of the manuscript are written in Latin, and at one point the scribe produces a reasonable translation of a Latin charm he has just recorded.[17] That some of the passages are copied from a Latin edition of Cornelius Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* (see below) suggests the scribe moved on the fringes of learned circles.

While some magic collections were clearly assembled by individuals interested only in practicing the art in private or perhaps even merely in studying it, this volume contains an ambiguous mixture of elements suggesting the scribe may also have had in mind more public forms of practice. Treasure hunting, thief detection, witch detection, and magical cures, which together represent a significant portion of this manuscript, were the province of both cunning-folk and professional magicians.[18] On the other hand, operations to see spirits without the aid of a skryer suggest that his interest in magic was as much motivated by a genuine personal fascination with the numinous as by the potential monetary gains of professional theft detection or treasure hunting.[19] Whether or not the scribe was a professional practitioner remains unclear, but given that he devotes only a tiny fraction of the collection to witch detection, this would not appear to have been a speciality.

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[15] A watermark appearing several times through the text, possibly Edward Heawood, *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae*, 3549 (ca. 1575), is consistent with this dating. The first operation below could conceivably have been derived from Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, XII, 18, first published in in 1584. But divergences from the text are significant enough to suggest either that they have a common source or that the version presented here is at least a second-generation copy. Similarities between a list of demons elsewhere in the e Mus. 173 collection and a similar list in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* are vague enough to suggest no more than a common source. The demons are listed in a small but complete conjuring manual, ff. 41r-47v; cf. Scot, XV, 2.

[16] f. 38r.

[17] f. 75r.

[18] On professional magical practitioners see Thomas, 212-52. See also Davies.

[19] An experiment "to see by thy selfe without a chyld or fellowe companion in a chrystall stone…." appears at ff. 26v-27r. "An experiment to see spirits what they doe" appears at f. 1r-v. For an operation "to see sprits of the Ayre" see ff. 69v-71v. Briggs discusses processes of witch identification involving the conjuring of demons, so the combination of such interests in this collection is not singular (181-82).

General contents of the collection and the question of genre

The approximately ninety items contained in this collection cannot be described in detail here. Although largely devoted to conjuring, the work also contains operations for angelic assistance, astrological talismans, and charms. In content and structure it differs very little from most contemporary collections of necromantic magic. The most common explicit goal of these operations is treasure hunting, but many lack any explicit purpose. Other kinds of operations include angel magic,[20] the creation of a magical roll for use as an amulet,[21] and a variety of "experiments" or charms. Usually appearing in clusters interspersed between the conjuring texts, the charms appear to have been drawn from various sources and written down as their source texts became available. Their goals include the return of stolen goods, identification of thieves, love, protection, and the staunching of blood. Such a combination of operations is quite typical of necromantic collections of the sixteenth century.[22]

As is also typical of these sorts of manuals, it is difficult to identify the sources for many of the texts, but a few can be identified. A text usually known as the *Practica nigromancie* or *Thesaurus spirituum* in its medieval Latin versions appears here in English and, like its Latin progenitors, reflects significant textual divergences from other known versions.[23] Numerous passages and figures are drawn directly from the Latin edition of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*, the most common printed source for magical information of that century.[24] Some of the passages suggest familiarity with the *Sworn Book of Honorius*, but no direct textual connection can be made to the work.[25]

I have described these texts as "operations" or "rituals," but I might also have described them as charms. The collector of the manuscript evidently regarded all of the magical operations, including these, as related sorts of activities, and thus they might justifiably be understood to belong under the broader umbrella of necromancy. But historically, magical works including simple spoken and/or written formulae, sometimes employing a physical substance such as a medicine or magical object, have been referred

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[20] An operation for three good angels appears at ff. 31r-31v.

[21] See ff. 33v-34v and 35v-36r. For more on textual amulets see Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006).

[22] For another example see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional B. 1. This late sixteenth-century text combines a variety of charms and conjuring exercises, many drawn from Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. For a discussion of this manuscript see Frank Klaassen and Chris Phillips, "The Return of Stolen Goods: Reginald Scot, Religious Controversy, and a Late Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of Magic," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 1, no. 2 (2006): 135-76.

[23] See ff. 69v-71v. For other versions of the *Practica nigromancie* see London, British Library, Sloane 3850, ff. 117v-129r; London, British Library, Sloane 3853, ff. 3-45; London, British Library, Sloane 3885, ff. 26-57; London, London Society of Antiquaries, MS 39, f. 15r-17v; London, Wellcome Institute, Wellcome 110, ff 57r-98r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. 173, ff. 69v-71v; and London, British Library, Additional 36674, f. 149.

[24] Text and figures on f. 21 and ff. 37v-38r are drawn from *De occulta philosophia* I, 33 and III, 11 respectively. On extracts from Agrippa see Frank Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, forthcoming), ch. 6.

[25] The rules given at the start of the conjuring ritual at ff. 41v-47v loosely echo some of the rules of the *Sworn Book of Honorius*. See Gösta Hedegård, ed. *Liber Iuratus Honorii -- a Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm: Almovist and Wiksell International, 2002), 60-1.

to as charms.[26] Such texts constitute a separate genre in the sense that they were often brought together in dedicated collections and can also be found in the margins of manuscripts with no other connection to magic.[27] They were also recognized to be less theologically problematic than lengthy texts which invoked, or appeared to invoke, demons. A brief prayer calling upon Saint Apollonia to ease a toothache–her martyrdom involved having her teeth pulled out or broken–would be a good example of a simple, common, and theologically defensible charm. Kieckhefer breaks charms down into prayers, blessings, and adjurations. With their invocation of divine names and adjuration of witches, the charms in this manuscript fall into the latter category.[28]

Editorial Conventions

The scribe occasionally employs an italic hand (as opposed to the usual secretary) to set off certain words. Text appearing in the manuscript in an italic hand is indicated in bold face below. All expansions of abbreviations are indicated in italics.

The combination of crosses (indicating when the speaker should make the gesture of a cross) and complex interweaving of verbal formulae into the instructions makes any attempt to impose modern punctuation clumsy and unworkable. Accordingly, punctuation and capitalization are represented as found in the manuscript. Where the scribe has employed a forward slash as a full stop, I have done so as well.

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[26] Lea Olsan lists six elements usually present in charms: a) a heading indicating the purpose, b) a short introductory formula such as "In nomine patris...", c) an incantation or "operative words," d) directions for performance, e) "application to the patient" including prayers, rituals, or remedies, and f) an "affirmation of effectiveness" such as "*probatum est*." Some of these elements are here, others not. See Lea Olsan, "Charms in Medieval Memory," in *Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. Jonathan Roper (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 59-87, esp. 61.

[27] See Lea Olsan, "The Language of Charms in a Middle English Recipe Collection," *ANQ* 18.3 (Summer 2005): 29-35; "The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *Oral Tradition* 14.2 (1999): 401-19; and "Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice," *Social History of Medicine* 16.3 (Dec. 2003): 343-66.

[28] Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 69.

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The manuscript

Shelfmark: Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. 173.
Material: Paper, 76 folios. Watermarks, possibly Heawood, *MCP*, 3549 (ca 1575).
Size: 14 x 20 cm.
Language: English and Latin.
Script: A single scribe mixes secretary and italic hands.

The text

37r To spoyle a theefe or witch or any other enemie and to be delyuered from *th*e evell.

⊙ **Ante solis ortum**.[29] I gether *th*e boughe of this sommers growth in
*th*e name of such a one **N**[30] when you haue gathered *th*e wande then
cover *th*e table and say **+** In nomine patris + et filii + et spiritus
sancti + Amen.[31] thrice. And so strikinge vpon *th*e carpet saye as
followeth. **droche. myrocke. esenaroth. + betu + baroch + Ass +**   5
maaroth +[32] and then say holy trinitie pun*n*ish him that hath
wrought this mischeefe and tak yt away by thy great Iustice
Eson + Elyon + Emaris + Ales + Age + and strike *th*e carpitt w*i*th
the wande[33]

To make a witch confesse her evell before you

Take a lambe skyn made in parchment and make therin 2   10
images, one of a man and another of a woman and make them
on *th*e satturday morninge at *th*e sonne rysinge and vse them
in this man*n*er, Take a bodkyn or a nayle and look in what
place you would haue them hurt In *tha*t place prick them
and doe so twyce or thrice a day and *th*e pa*r*tye *tha*t you shall vse   15
so shall never take rest nor sleepe untill she hath seene
you and requeired pardon at your hands /

In prickinge say as heareafter followeth

I compel and co*n*strayne thee thou wicked p*er*son or you wicked

[29] Before the rising of the sun. The Latin phrase is preceded by the conventional sigil for the sun.
[30] N is commonly used in English and Latin manuscripts to indicate where a name should be inserted. The first two sentences are evidently to be recited as the operator gathers the wand.
[31] In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.
[32] Such words of power separated by crosses are common in medieval charms and the more involved operations of ritual magic. The crosses serve as visual cues to set them off from the rest of the text and also to indicate that the operator should make the sign of the cross. On divine names in magical texts see articles by Julien Veronese and David Porreca in *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 5.1 (forthcoming).
[33] For lines 1-9, cf. Scot, XII, 18.

persns wh*i*ch haue commytted and done this wicked and devilish 20
act, by *th*e true god, by *th*e lyvinge god and by *th*e holy god *tha*t thou
nor you haue no power to w*i*thstand or resist any callinge
but w*i*th all hast and speed possible w*i*thout delay or tarrieng
*th*ou come vnto me and co*n*fesse thy naughtye and wicked deeds
wh*i*ch *th*ou hast done in *th*e name of god / And also I coniure 25
and constrayne thee to come by all *th*e holy names of god
and especiallye by thes **Semurhamephoras[34] + Agla + Adonay +**
Anabona + panton + Craton + Agyos + Eskyros + Atha-
natos + messyas + Sother + Alpha + et Omega + Ema-
nuel + Sabaoth + vnigenit*u*s + Via + Vita + homo + Vsy- 30
on + principia + Cormogenit*u*s + Sapentia + Consolator
+ Adiuvator + primus et novissimus + El + Elemay
+ on + Tetragramaton + and by *th*e holy name Ihesus
at w*hi*ch name all things both in heaven in earth and also in
hell doe bowe[35] / And by *th*e holy virgine marye mother 35
of our lord Ihesus christ / And by S*t* John Baptist
w*hi*ch was *th*e foreronnere of our lord Ihesus Christ
and by *th*e golden girdle w*hi*ch S*t* John sawe gyrte about
*th*e loynes of our lord[36] and by *th*e two edged sword that
37v p*ro*ceeded out of *th*e mouth of god,[37] and by all *tha*t god is able to doe 40
and by all *th*e powers in heaven, in earth, and under *th*e earth
I adiure you by *th*e 7. planets and 12. sygnes,[38] and by all *tha*t you
be subiect vnto, and by all *th*e names of Angels, and especially
of thes **Michaell + Gabryell + Raphaell + Basquiel + Sama-**
el + Anael + Capael + Carafax + Wiel + and by all things *tha*t 45
god hath made to *th*e honour and glory of his name *tha*t *th*ou or you
w*hi*ch haue done this wicked and develish deed haue no power
to resist nor w*i*thstand my callinge but w*i*thout all delaye or
tarienge to come speedelye in all hast possible in payne or
vnder payne of eternall damnation from worse payne to 50
worse In *th*e name of *th*e father, *th*e sonne, and *th*e holy ghost Amen.

The experiment of W. Baco*n* to destroy witches

Willia*m* Bacon[39] *th*e freire made a bonde *tha*t all wicked p*er*sons
should come before him and confesse the evell deedes, in

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[34] I.e., Schemhamphoras, the seventy-two names of God derived from Exodus 14:19-21.

[35] Philippians 2:10.

[36] Revelation 1:13.

[37] Revelation 2:16.

[38] This section bears some resemblance to a conjuration for the dead in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, XV, 7 where we find a conjuration citing the girdle and sword followed by the heavens.

[39] This may be a corrupted reference to Roger Bacon, the medieval natural philosopher who has had several magical texts pseudonymously attributed to him, notably the *Thesarus spirituum* or *Practica nigromantiae*. See for example the versions in London, British Library, Additional 36674, f. 149 and London, British Library, Sloane 3885, ff. 26-57.

*th*e newe of *th*e moone, *th*e moone being in Ayrye signes
on *th*e satturday in *th*e hour of [Sigil for Saturn] take a peece of p*ar*chment   55
and wryte therin *th*e picture and similitude of *th*e man or of
*th*e woman suspected In his forhead wryte *th*e name of
*th*e p*er*son, and on his brest these carecters. [characters] and then
w*i*th a sharpe bodkyn all to beprick *th*e picture in *th*e head and
brest and reade this co*n*iuration followinge /   60

I coniure thee or you N. witch or witches by *th*e livinge god
*th*e true god and *th*e holy god, and by all *th*e p*ro*phets and patriarks
martires, confessors and virgins, and by all *th*e holy people w*hi*ch
followe *th*e lawes of god, and by all Angels and Archangels
Thrones, Dominations, Principals, powers, Cherubin and   65
seraphin, and by *th*e 4. Elements Fire, Water Ayre and
Earth, and *th*e 30. Thundrings and lightenings as **sem caph tan
sade dalleth** etc. [40] and by *th*e 7. planyts . **Saturne Iubiter
mars . Sol . Venus . mercurie** and luna / and by all *th*e powers
p*ro*nounced before / I coniure you witch or witches wher   70
soever or what soever you be *tha*t are w*i*thin 7. myles of
this place no rest to haue but prickinge paynes sleepinge
and wakinge vntill you doe come w*i*th speed hither into this
poole or water, and therin to co*n*fesse to me some parte of
your wicked and develish deeds w*hi*ch you haue done to such   75
a p*er*sone N. by *th*e vertue of *th*e holy trinity. fyat fyat fyat.
Amen.

When he or she is come geve them counsell
vtterlye to forsake such wickednes for ever.

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[40] "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices: and there were seven
lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God" (Revelation 4: 5).
"And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the
mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off" (Exodus 20:18).
The source of the names that follow is unclear.