

**Magic and Politics in Medieval Italy**  
**A Case Study of the Avignon Dossier (*Miscellanea* 1320)**

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**Abstract**

This thesis aims to examine the role magic and heretical trials played in Medieval politics, particularly among the difficult relationships between Italian territorial lords and the Church. Adopting the methodological approach of microhistory, this study focuses on a fourteenth century court document found in the Vatican archives (*Miscellanea 1320*), which includes two depositions made in a trial against Matteo Visconti, Lord of Milan, accusing him of attempting to murder Pope John XXII by means of necromancy. Alongside Matteo Visconti, the depositions incriminate a number of prominent people, including the poet Dante Alighieri. This thesis offers an analysis of *Miscellanea 1320* followed by an annotated translation of the text. By means of close-reading, source-criticism, and historical contextualization, this thesis illustrates the role of magical texts in Medieval Italy, especially at the court of the Visconti family, demonstrating how members of the clergy could use magic to incriminate their adversaries and discredit their political goals and authority to rule.

## Abrégé

Cette thèse vise à examiner le rôle que la magie et les procès hérétiques ont joué dans la politique médiévale, en particulier dans les relations difficiles entre les seigneurs territoriaux italiens et l'Église. En adoptant l'approche méthodologique de la microhistoire, cette étude se concentre sur un document judiciaire du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle trouvé dans les archives du Vatican (*Miscellanea 1320*). Ce document comprend deux dépositions faites lors d'un procès contre Matteo Visconti, seigneur de Milan, l'accusant d'avoir tenté d'assassiner le pape Jean XXII par le biais de la nécromancie. Outre Matteo Visconti, les dépositions incriminent un certain nombre de personnalités, dont le poète Dante Alighieri. La thèse propose une analyse de *Miscellanea 1320* suivie d'une traduction annotée du texte. Au moyen d'une lecture attentive, d'une critique des sources et d'une contextualisation historique, la thèse illustre les textes et les pratiques magiques dans l'Italie médiévale, en particulier à la cour de la famille Visconti. Elle démontre également comment les membres du clergé pouvaient utiliser la magie pour incriminer leurs adversaires et discréditer leurs objectifs politiques et leur autorité à gouverner.

## Acknowledgments

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I would also like to extend my gratitude to the people of the Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, who have always been present when I needed assistance during the chaos of COVID-19. I am particularly thankful to Professor Cristiana Furlan and Professor Anna Maria Tumino, whose lively presence and friendly support brightened up the gloomy days spent wearing masks and social distancing.

Last but not least, my thanks go out to my family: my mother, Arax, who patiently listened when I spoke of Medieval Italy; my father, Vicken, who went out of his way to drive me around Montreal to acquire the necessary materials so I could make it home on time before a national curfew; and my siblings, Patil and Andre, who tolerated me and my creative process. A most heartfelt thank you goes to my partner, who has been unwavering in his support and unconditional love, helping me focus on completing my research.

## Introduction

“Les premières années du XIVe siècle ne son qu’un long procès, a dit Michelet, ... les accusations viennent en foule, la sorcellerie était mêlée à toutes”<sup>1</sup>

For France and Italy, the turn of the fourteenth century indicated the beginning of the long-lasting trials and accusations of magic and heresy against all kinds of people. Many of these infamous trials were recorded during Pope John XXII’s pontificate, from 1316 until 1334. The pontiff, paid special attention to the prevalence of magic, beginning his trials against heresy in 1317.<sup>2</sup> Examples of these earlier trials detail the accusations against Hugues Géraud, Bishop of Cahors; Bernard Délicieux; and Louis de Poitiers, Bishop of Langres. Each these historical trials had one thing in common: the charge of heresy against Pope John XXII. While the trials in France were more renowned, Italy similarly featured historically important trials imposed by Pope John XXII with the same pattern of accusations. A considerable amount of these documented trials involve members of the Visconti family.<sup>3</sup>

The Visconti case is recorded in manuscripts such as MS. Vat. lat. 3936, and MS. Vat. lat. 3937,<sup>4</sup> which include a collection of testimonies and attempted trials against the members of the Visconti family, as well as their trustees, such as Scotus of san Gemignano.<sup>5</sup> Taking into

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<sup>1</sup> Histoire de France, liv. V. ch. 5, see also André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science, Volume 3, The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, part 1*, (USA: Columbia University Press, 1934), 18. See also André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 1.

<sup>3</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 1-3. See also Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science, Volume 3, The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, part 1*, (USA: Columbia University Press, 1934), 18.

<sup>4</sup> The digital version of MS. Vat. Lat. 3936 can be found here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3936](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3936)

The digital version of MS. Vat. Lat. 3937 can be found here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3937](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3937)

<sup>5</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 7. Note: Scotus of San Gemignano

consideration the existing manuscripts on the topic, this thesis aims to explore *Miscellanea 1320*, a document found in the archives of the Vatican library in the volumes of the *Notai d'Orange* unit, from the jurisdiction of *Avignon et comtat Venaissin/Orange*. The *Notai d'Orange* is a collection of 447 volumes, and *Miscellanea 1320* can be found in the miscellany section of the volumes (nn. 380-447). The miscellany in question represents a testimony against Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti, which took place in the Avignonese curia. What sets *Miscellanea 1320* apart from the other documents are the recorded details of actions, which in turn provide insight into the Medieval world of magic in the courts and in the Church.

There has been considerable scholarly interest in *Miscellanea 1320* since the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> The first scholar to bring attention to the existence of the document was Giuseppe Iorio in 1895.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, G. L. Passerini, in 1896<sup>8</sup>, wrote a review of Iorio's study in *Giornale Dantesco*. Eubel Konrad then proceeded to publish a transcription of the full document in 1897.<sup>9</sup> The miscellany sparked the interest of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars, who, after the publication of Konrad's transcription, wrote incessantly on the subject. Of particular importance are Gerolamo Biscaro<sup>10</sup> and André-Michel Robert,<sup>11</sup> whose works provide lengthy details concerning the setting and content of the miscellany.

One of the reasons why this miscellany has interested scholars is the inclusion of Dante's name in the second deposition, and it seems that the main scholarly focus on the miscellany has

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is one of the particularly interesting figures found in *Miscellanea 1320*. A detailed analysis of these figures will be found later in the thesis.

<sup>6</sup> See "Primary Sources on *Miscellanea 1320*" in the *Bibliography* of the thesis.

<sup>7</sup> Giuseppe Iorio, *Una nuova notizia sulla vita di Dante*, (Roma: Rivista Abruzzese di scienze, 1895), 353-358.

<sup>8</sup> G. L. Passerini, *Recensione* in *Giornale Dantesco* IV, (Venezia-Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1896), 126.

<sup>9</sup> Eubel Konrad, "Vom Zaubereiwesen anfangs des 14. Jahrhunderts" in *Historisches Jahrbuch* (1897), 609-625.

<sup>10</sup> Gerolamo Biscaro, "Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti contro papa Giovanni XXII," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo: Giornale della società lombarda, Serie 5, Fascicolo 4*, (Italy, 1920).

<sup>11</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909).

been solving the mystery around the incriminating mention of the poet. Careful attention to the relevant scholarship shows that nearly every source mentioning the miscellany pays attention to this mystery, especially in their titles. For instance, Iorio's study was titled "*una nuova notizia sulla vita di Dante*" (a fresh news concerning Dante's life). Despite the notoriety of Dante in particular, *Miscellanea 1320* raises various questions on the Medieval community of Italy, discussing many other important figures present from the courts of Cangrande della Scala and Matteo Visconti, who will be discussed later in the thesis. Unfortunately, the focus on Dante may have caused scholars to overlook the possibility that this document was forged by the Church to get rid of the Visconti family and various other important figures of the time.

*Miscellanea 1320* also sparks questions not only about the pope's feud with the Visconti, but also on the reception and uses of magic in the Medieval Italy. For instance, how was magic perceived in the Middle Ages? What were the main texts, also known as grimoires, that codified black magic for medieval readers? Were these grimoires circulating in the different Medieval communities, and if so, which ones were accessible in Italy? When and why was this trial taking place, and was there a certain grimoire used to carry out the actions of this hearing? Who are the figures mentioned in the trial, and what is their importance historically? Finally, what evidence is there to prove the possibility that this document has been forged?

### **The Scope of the Study**

After presenting a detailed translation of *Miscellanea 1320* in the third and last part of the introduction, this thesis will provide a thorough study of the document, composed of three chapters. Chapter 1 presents an elaborate thematic analysis of the miscellany's contents and discourse. It is important to note that this is the only chapter that takes the document at face value with respect to its socio-political and historical context. This first analysis of *Miscellanea*



*1320* provides an understanding of the reception and perception of magic in the Middle Ages, which includes the experiences, views, ideas, and constructed knowledge of magic shared by the Medieval world. This chapter also introduces the learned magic in the Middle Ages, in the context of universities and theologians. By exploring the semantic field of magical language in the Middle Ages, the chapter will provide definitions of particular period magical terms, such as *magia*, and *maleficium*. Furthermore, this chapter hypothesizes which grimoires the accused relied on to carry out their plans against Pope John XXII, as per *Miscellanea 1320*. Finally, this chapter concludes by elaborating the genre of magic used in the document, along with the rituals, demons, and herbs mentioned within it.

Chapter 2 presents a textual analysis of the miscellany. This analysis places the miscellany in its social, political, and cultural contexts. Not only does it track down the places and dates mentioned in the miscellany, but it also introduces a brief analysis of the figures mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320*. For these reasons, I have divided chapter 2 into three parts. The first part focuses on Pope John XXII and the politics at the time he began his pontificate. This part explores and explains the beginning of the heretic trials, along with the trials of the Knights Templar, and the Angevin crusades. Explaining this historical and socio-political context, these events will be linked directly to the Visconti family. The second part focuses on the case of the Visconti and their feud with Pope John XXII. In turn, the third part introduces the people mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320* and explains how the accusations against the Visconti lords unfolded. Chapter 2 also offers an understanding of how magic was received in the clerical and courtly worlds. The historical and contextual analysis elaborated in Chapter 2 also provides reasons as to why the document may have been forged by the pope to get rid of the Visconti and other people of interest.

Chapter 3 serves as the conclusion of my thesis, analyzing the aftermath of *Miscellanea 1320*. The two depositions that are recorded by the papal court opened the doors for crusades against the Italian *signori*. Indeed, almost every person mentioned in the miscellany ended up branded as a heretic, even post-mortem. Those who did not carry a charge of heresy were excommunicated and eventually gave in to the Church's orders. This chapter demonstrates the highly political nature of *Miscellanea 1320* as a document, with magic coming in as a marginal issue. The conclusion contributes a final analysis of *Miscellanea 1320*, and along with the rest of the thesis and archival evidence, argues that the document was indeed forged by the papacy for political reasons. This chapter also ends the thesis with a new transcription of *Miscellanea 1320*.

### **A Detailed Translation of *Miscellanea 1320***

*Miscellanea 1320* comprises two depositions, each with different dates. Both depositions are the testimony of the Milanese cleric Bartolomeo Cangnolati.<sup>12</sup> The first hearing took place on February 9, 1320, and the second on September 11, 1320.

#### **I. February 9, 1320**

Bartolomeo Cagnolati's testimony was gathered in Avignon with the presence of Arnaud de Via, who was the deacon cardinal of Saint-Eustache, Petri or Pier, who was the abbot of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, the apostolic notary of Avignon Gerard of Lalo, as well as Bertrand du Pouget, who was the nephew of Pope John XXII and cardinal priest of S. Marcello at the time of this deposition.<sup>13</sup> As Bartolomeo explained, in mid-October of 1319, while he was in Paullo, a small town in the vicinities of Milan, he was summoned by Matteo Visconti for an urgent matter.

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<sup>12</sup> In the original Latin, the name of the cleric is written as "Bartholomeus Canholati".

<sup>13</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 13.

The next day, Bartolomeo was in Matteo's palace, where he faced the Visconti himself, judge Scotus of San Gemignano, and physician Antonio Pelacane.<sup>14</sup>

Matteo Visconti proceeded to ask Bartolomeo for a favour, revealing a silver sculpture of a few inches long in the size of a palm, in the form of a human, with "*Jacobus papa Johannes*" engraved on its front. On its chest was the Cabbalistic sign of Saturn (which resembles an upside-down N), and the name of the demon *Amaymō*.<sup>15</sup> The statuette had a perforated head that could be covered by a coin, like a lid on a jar. After a long justification on why the pope did not deserve to live, Matteo Visconti revealed that he wished for Bartolomeo to suffumigate<sup>16</sup> the statuette to cause harm and eventually murder the pope. It had become clear to the cleric that the statuette was a talisman in the making<sup>17</sup> and he refused to do such thing. Scotus of San Gemignano and Antonio Pelacane then asked the cleric if any "*zuccum de mapello*" (the juice of *aconitum napellus*)<sup>18</sup> was in his possession, which he also denied.

Antonio Pelacane, at this point, protested to have seen Bartolomeo in possession of aconite, to which the cleric countered by saying that he had it once but had cast the aconite from his napkin onto the toilet because a certain brother of the Hermits of St. Augustine called Andrea of Arabia had imposed on him a penance. While Matteo was becoming irritated, Bartolomeo

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<sup>14</sup> In the original Latin, the name of the judge is written as "Scotus domini Gentilis de sancto Geminiano," and "magister Anthonius Pelacane ph[ys]icus."

<sup>15</sup> The name of this demon is spelled differently throughout the miscellany, and in this summary, I will report them in the same spelling as they appear respectively. In modern spelling, the name of the demon is Amaymon.

<sup>16</sup> To suffumigate means to bathe an object in incense smoke. The act of suffumigation typically appears in books of magic. A well-known source on the subject is Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Donald Tyson, and James Freake, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (USA: Llewellyn's Sourcebook Series), 1993.

<sup>17</sup> The first part of the thesis will offer detailed explanations on the making and the uses of talismans and amulets, as well as image magic in the Middle Ages. I also identify the statuette mentioned in the document as a talisman, based on the scholarly research I have made. For further reading on the differences between talismans and amulets, see H. Darrel Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800. Archimedes (New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology)*, vol 55, (Springer, Cham., 2019).

<sup>18</sup> *Mapellus* could be a mis-transcription for *napellus*. *Zuccum de napellus* is the juice of the plant that we know today as monkshood or aconite, which is extremely poisonous. More information on this plant will be provided in chapter 1. For further reading, see John H. Arnold, *What is Medieval History? 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, (UK: Polity Press, 2021).

added that Petrus Nani of Verona would be in possession of aconite and was probably the best person in all of Lombardy to carry out such suffumigation. Tired of Bartolomeo's excuses, Matteo understood that the cleric would not commit his deed and threatened him to keep what was discussed a secret, hanging it on the price of his life. After explaining the dangers of the juice of aconite, Matteo showed Bartolomeo the function of the perforated head that he had covered with a coin.<sup>19</sup> The Milanese Lord then explained that he had seen the sign of Saturn in an otherwise unspecified "book from the West," along with the name of the demon *Amaymon*.<sup>20</sup> After being expelled from Milan and making his way to Pagnano, a city that is located in the mid-North of Venice and Vicenza,<sup>21</sup> Bartolomeo claimed to have received letters of security on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, with a red wax seal, indicating that the letters were sent by Lord Simon de Offeda, judge of Matteo Visconti. The letters claimed that Bartolomeo could walk in and out of Milan without any danger, and they were signed by Lord Simon de Offeda's notary, Jacob de Briocho.<sup>22</sup>

Upon his return to Milan, Matteo asked Bartolomeo to take the talisman to Petrus Nani in Verona to have it suffumigated. Bartolomeo declined to travel, citing his poor health as an excuse. The cleric stayed in Milan for eight days, and before his return to Pagnano, it came to his

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<sup>19</sup> From my understanding of the talisman's description, the perforated head is where the herbs would be placed for suffumigation. In this case, it needed the juice of *aconitum napellus*. No other herb is mentioned in the miscellany, or throughout this conjuration. The fact that the head is covered by a coin might be because it would make a perfect lid, but it also might symbolize how avaricious Pope John XXII was. I will elaborate the pope's notorious attempts to steal from the Italian *signori* in chapter 2.

<sup>20</sup> Note how the spelling of *Amaymon* is changed in the original document.

<sup>21</sup> In the transcription, the place is recorded as *Panhanum*. I give my thanks to Gerolamo Biscaro, who, in his article, was able to identify the city. According to the map of Northern Italy, on the way to Pagnano, Bartolomeo could have easily passed by Verona. Pagnano is the head of the triangle it forms with Vicenza and Venice. It is, in fact, the city furthest North from Milan mentioned in the document. Matteo Visconti's frustrations are legitimate because Bartolomeo was clearly refusing to commit his deed.

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that we do not know how many letters were sent from Matteo Visconti to Bartolomeo. The letters in question have not been kept either. In this case, the papal court thus relied on Bartolomeo's claims, without any physical evidence of which we are aware. I have tried to find if Bartolomeo was mentioned anywhere in Matteo Visconti's documents, since the cleric was able to give such detailed description of the letters, but my research was not fruitful.

attention that on November 18 of the same year, Antonio Pelacane had gone to Verona to deliver the talisman to Petrus Nani only to return to Milan on Christmas. Having returned to Pagnano, Bartolomeo had received letters with a seal demanding him to present himself in front of the Avignonese curia immediately.<sup>23</sup> Before reaching Avignon, however, Bartolomeo stopped by Milan, where he ran into Scotus de San Gemignano, who asked the cleric to accompany him to his home.

At the house of Scotus, the Visconti's subordinate showed Bartolomeo a book with which he needed help. The book contained spells of hatred, love, and theft, where the vowels were replaced by dots. The cleric then proceeded to ask about the suffumigation, and Scotus pulled out a coffin-like hamper<sup>24</sup> within which the talisman was lying. The talisman had been in a state of suffumigation for nine nights. Bartolomeo recognized it to be the same talisman, with the exception that it now had the word *Meroyne*<sup>25</sup> carved on each side/shoulder, thinking it probably referred to another demon. According to Scotus, the talisman had to be refilled on the coming Saturday, after which it had to be opened and placed in the air for 72 more nights. The conjuring spells had not yet been casted, as they would have to be done after sunset and before sunrise. According to the calculations of Scotus, the talisman would be ready on January 12, 1320, after which it would be burned with fire in various places and hung to slowly burn and melt on fire every night. With each perforation and each drop melting, it would cause physical deterioration and pain to Pope John XXII, leading to the pontiff's death. After sharing this information, Scotus

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<sup>23</sup> Another interesting claim from Bartolomeo. There are no records of these letters in the documents of the papal curia of which I am aware. After conducting thorough research, I was able to find quite a few documents on Bartolomeo Cagnolati from the papacy, but none of these letters.

<sup>24</sup> In the transcription, the word used for hamper is *cofinum*.

<sup>25</sup> I believe that this is a scribal error or in an error in transcription of by Eubel Konrad. A demon called *Meroyne* does not exist *per se*, but there are two possibilities on what this name could suggest. The first possibility is that this is supposed to be Merlin. The second possibility could be a demon called Mayerion, whose name appears in various spellings, such as Mayrion, Marion, Maroyne, and so on. More on the two names will be seen in the third part of Chapter 1.

bid Bartolomeo farewell, with the message that he would resend for the cleric if he needed more help.

By the time the cleric reached Avignon, he had sent his kinsman and friend Alexius to deliver the message to Simone de Torre,<sup>26</sup> member of the curia and close friend of Bartolomeo. The latter passed on the message to his friends in secrecy, and orally, in fear that if he were to write to his friends, his letters would be discovered. Bartolomeo's message to the pope was to be wary of future danger, and upon receiving this news, Simone de Torre had sent sealed letters to the curia waiting for Bartolomeo's arrival to Avignon.

## II. September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1320

According to the miscellany, this hearing took place on the fifth year of pope John XXII's pontificate, on September 11, 1320, in the presence of Arnaud de Via, who was the cardinal of St. Eustache; Petri, who was the abbot of St. Sernin of Toulouse; and the apostolic notary of Avignon, who was Gerard of Lalo. Bartolomeo recalled the events that took place upon his return to Milan in March 1320. While the cleric was riding on horseback towards his home in Milan with members of his family and close friends, Dionisio Perreto and Rogerio, he was stopped by three of Visconti's men, Bertramino, Predebon, and Cassago, who asked Bartolomeo if he was returning from the curia. Once Bartolomeo confirmed the information, Visconti's men forced the cleric down from his horse, and they made their way to see Scotus.

Upon seeing Bartolomeo, Scotus greeted him with sarcasm, and ordered his tributaries and servants to lead the cleric and himself to prison. Bartolomeo's hands and feet were cuffed,

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<sup>26</sup> This refers to Simone della Torre. In the miscellany, he is mentioned as *Symoni de Turre*. The della Torre family were the enemy of the Visconti, as both families fought over the rule of Milan. It should also be noted that the members of the della Torre family were Guelfs, and those of the Visconti were Ghibellines. This makes Bartolomeo a suspected Guelf. For more information on Simone della Torre, see the Anna Caso's entry, "Della Torre, Simone," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 37, 1989*. Published on Treccani, Online

and he was imprisoned for 42 days. The prison guards, along with the tributaries and servants, were all paid 1 florin per day each, and extra 4 florins were paid to the prison guards for accommodating tools and other defenses. The Visconti's men had obtained the letters sent from the curia,<sup>27</sup> and on that motive, they had taken Bartolomeo to an intense interrogation on his first night. When asked why he was in Avignon, Bartolomeo answered that he was called by the cardinal Napoleon Orsini to cure a nobleman who was ill. Bartolomeo then revealed that the sick person was Petrus de Via, grandson of the pope, who was struck by an illness caused by an evil spell. Bartolomeo confessed that he was able to cure him, and the letters served as evidence to prove his alibi.

When Scotus had asked if Bartolomeo had seen the pope, the cleric denied it, but did confirm that he cared about the pontiff. Intrigued by this new information, Scotus asked what kind of symptoms Petrus de Via was presenting. Bartolomeo explained that he was having trembling of the body at night. Scotus remained unconvinced by the cleric's alibi. A few days later, during another interrogation, Scotus revealed that Bartolomeo had greatly offended Matteo Visconti, who believed that the cleric had revealed the plans they had against the pope to the curia. Despite his protests, the cleric was threatened to be tortured by Scotus if he did not speak the truth. The interrogations took place routinely for twelve nights, and with each night passing, the threats became more serious.

After the twelfth night, Scotus warned Bartolomeo that if he did not tell the truth, it would be the last night of interrogation without torture. As the cleric announced that he had

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<sup>27</sup> Once more, Bartolomeo claims information that might or might not have been recorded. There were no receipts that I could find indicating how much the guards were paid during the cleric's imprisonment, nor was I able to find the letters from the papal curia that were in the hands of the Visconti.

nothing more to add, he was tortured by strappado<sup>28</sup> for several nights. After each night he was asked to tell the truth by Scotus, and the cleric did not change his answer. On the forty-second day, he was released from jail unexpectedly and with no explanation. Once out of the prison walls, it became clear that the citizens of Milan had bailed him out. He was released on a type of parole where he would need to report his whereabouts to Scotus twice a day.

The cleric had been abiding to the conditions of the parole imposed on him, until one day he was handed a letter from Galeazzo Visconti,<sup>29</sup> son of Matteo Visconti. In the letter, Galeazzo had requested for Bartolomeo to join him in Piacenza. Given that Bartolomeo was not allowed to leave Milan, Galeazzo had spoken with Scotus and had arranged for Bartolomeo to travel and meet him in Piacenza. Upon his arrival, the cleric was treated honourably at the castle of Maleo, where he resided for 10 days as Galeazzo's guest. After the 10<sup>th</sup> day, Galeazzo requested to meet Bartolomeo in one of his secret rooms. During that meeting, the young Visconti apologized for his father's actions and promised to make amends. Moreover, he added that Bartolomeo could trust him and tell him the truth about what happened at the curia, and he would not be subjected to any more torture.<sup>30</sup>

From Galeazzo's information, the cleric learned that the suffumigation had not worked because the spell was somehow prevented. Upon hearing this information, Bartolomeo replied that he did not say or do anything to the Roman curia that would have prevented the completion

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<sup>28</sup> Strappado, also known as corda, was a method of torture often imposed by Medieval inquisitions and other governments at the time. As described in *Miscellanea 1320*, typically, these inquisitors would tie a prisoner's hands behind his back then suspend him from a cord or drop him from a height, both techniques often resulted in dislocated shoulders. The inquisitors would also often add weight for increase the pain. This method was used on Bartolomeo, which resulted with various broken bones. For further reading, see A. L. Maycock, *The Inquisition from its establishment to the Great Schism; an Introductory Study*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927).

<sup>29</sup> Another interesting claim by Bartolomeo. In total, Galeazzo supposedly sent three letters to the cleric. Today, none of these have survive (or have ever existed).

<sup>30</sup> An important observation should be made here: it is interesting to see how Galeazzo would welcome a man who betrayed his own father. It makes one wonder why the Visconti were so fixated on Bartolomeo.



of the suffumigation. In his view, it was Matteo Visconti's and Scotus San Gemignano's incorrect handling of the talisman that prevented the ritual from succeeding. Realizing that Bartolomeo had noted errors in the spells and conjurations, Galeazzo implored the cleric to commit the deed if not for his father, but for him and for God. He also promised that Bartolomeo would be offered security of all kinds, and that amends would be made for his bodily injuries through significant financial reimbursement, and the cleric would lead a content life.

No offer seemed to change the cleric's mind because of his fear of God, even when Galeazzo explained the pope's plans to rule over Lombardy and all of Italy with his Guelfs. Galeazzo also mentioned how the pope was stealing from and destroying the Ghibellines. While Bartolomeo was still reflecting on the offer, Galeazzo shared that he had called Dante Alighieri of Florence for the same business. Upon hearing this news, Bartolomeo replied that he hoped that Dante would do whatever Galeazzo was asking; however, Galeazzo did not seem convinced, as he did not want Dante to implicate himself in this business, and he only trusted Bartolomeo. After two days, Galeazzo called for the cleric's decision. Bartolomeo finally agreed and asked if he had the talisman.

From Galeazzo's answers, we learn that he did not have the talisman in Piacenza, but he could call for it anytime. Given that Galeazzo did not have any juice of aconite in his possession, Bartolomeo pointed out that it could be found in Milan and Como. The cleric then made his way back to Milan with a note from Galeazzo addressed to Scotus proving Bartolomeo's innocence. After a few days of searching, he was able to find the juice of aconite in an apothecary in Milan for 30 florins. With the help of Galeazzo, the cleric was able to purchase it. The talisman was sent and arrived in Piacenza three days after the cleric's arrival with the necessary herb.

Bartolomeo recognized it and confirmed that it was the same talisman, with the only exception that this time it was already full.<sup>31</sup> Galeazzo then left everything in Bartolomeo's hands.

After revealing this information to the curia, Bartolomeo was asked what he did with the talisman. In fact, the cleric had brought it with him to the Avignonese curia. He confirmed that it was indeed the same talisman that he saw at Matteo Visconti's palace, at Scotus San Gemignano's house, and in Piacenza with Galeazzo Visconti. He also provided a detailed description of it and pointed out the changes that had been made overtime. Furthermore, the cleric made sure to share with the curia the fact that he had not touched the talisman<sup>32</sup> and brought it with him, so that no harm would befall on the pope. Bartolomeo then admitted to the story about Pietro de Via and explained how he used it as an alibi. Moreover, the cleric added that he had received three letters from Galeazzo Visconti, the first dating the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, the second the 19<sup>th</sup> of May, and the third with no date.<sup>33</sup> The first letter was the summons of Bartolomeo to Piacenza to meet Lamfranco Haruo, notary of Galeazzo Visconti, always in secrecy. The second letter stated that Haruo will send Bartolomeo the stipend that he was promised. Finally, the third letter was a follow up on the conjuring process. The cleric added a list of individuals present when he was tortured by strappado.

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The Transcription that Konrad published, on which my thesis relies, ends here. However, Gerolamo Biscaro adds a signature found at the end of the miscellany, which states: "*signum tabellionatus*," and "*Et ego Geraldus de lalo clericus de Monte viridi ecc.*"<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> While it is unclear where the talisman was before its arrival to Piacenza, it is clear that whoever had it also possessed juice of aconite since the head of the talisman was already filled with it.

<sup>32</sup> This can mean both literally and metaphorically, as Bartolomeo had placed the talisman in a bundle of cloths.

<sup>33</sup> One would wonder where Bartolomeo placed these letters. I would like to believe that the curia would have asked for them as evidence to be used against the Visconti, however, the letters are nowhere to be found.

<sup>34</sup> Gerolamo Biscaro, "Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti contro papa Giovanni XXII," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo: Giornale della società lombarda, Serie 5, Fascicolo 4*, (Italy, 1920), 458.

## Chapter I

### Understanding *Miscellanea 1320*

Not only does *Miscellanea 1320* represent a snapshot into the lives of several important historical figures of early 14<sup>th</sup> century Italy, it also is an excellent example of a Medieval legal document in which magic and politics are intertwined. This same document, however, can seem confusing when read for the first time because it provides no background information, but rather dives straight into the incriminating details of the Visconti brothers plot against Pope John XXII. In fact, it does not even mention the word magic, neither in Latin nor in the vernacular, which renders the understanding of the theme more difficult. A close examination of the entire document, analyzing the events contained within it, and a study of the language used when describing the ritual involving the silver statue reveals that *Miscellanea 1320* is an exemplary record of a trial against black magic.

As Richard Kieckhefer masterfully argues, “magic is a crossing-point where religion converges with science, popular beliefs intersect with those of the educated classes, and the conventions of fiction meet with the realities of daily life.”<sup>35</sup> Various ideas of magic were already mingled among distinct cultures by the time they arrived in Medieval Europe. For example, classical magic was already mixed with Germanic and Celtic magic, and Christian magic borrowed many of its notions from what was practiced by European Jews or from the Arab world.<sup>36</sup> The roots of Medieval magic can thus be traced back to multiple sources of origin. This, however, suggests that what was called “magic” by historical actors evolved overtime, and in the Middle Ages, the written sources of magic had indeed already been edited and rewritten

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<sup>35</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

numerous times with the unique notions each culture and century had to offer intermingled into the newly rewritten texts.

Medieval culture imagined two distinct types of magic: natural magic and demonic magic. Natural magic was viewed as a branch of science that dealt with the hidden powers of nature. As for demonic magic, it was thought to be a bastardized or a perverted version of religion, which had turned away from God, seeking help from demonic powers for personal gain (see Figures 1 & 2 in the “Photo Index”).<sup>37</sup> While it seems that finding a brief definition for these two views of magic is simple enough, the understanding of them and their use in Medieval society is particularly complex because each of them featured sophisticated layers of meaning, rules of practice, and theories of their nature. Documents such as *Miscellanea 1320* demonstrate this complexity. After reading *Miscellanea 1320*, one can understand that the operation discussed in this document involved a demonic invocation, the use of herbs in service of a kind of spell, in this case the *aconitum napellus*, and finally, astrology. One might quickly conclude that *Miscellanea 1320* exemplifies demonic magic, but the main question now becomes in what way should one understand and distinguish this case from natural magic because the elements of both appear to be intimately intertwined with one another?

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

### 1.1.Natural Magic and its Role in *Miscellanea 1320*

Except for the obvious conjuration and suffumigation found in the miscellany, what caught my attention is a small detail that might be an example of natural magic. While held captive and tortured by the men of the Visconti, Bartolomeo Cagnolati claimed in his alibi to have travelled to Avignon to cure Petrus de Via, grandson of the pope, who had been struck by an illness caused by an evil spell. The nature of this healing raises questions regarding natural magic, such as what was the importance of natural magic in the Middle Ages and what were the Medieval society's views on the matter?

In the Middle Ages, the question of magic was not easy to define for theologians, philosophers, healers, or the clergy. Despite the fact that everything about nature and the universe was questioned, the simple act of gathering some herbs could be deemed demonic.<sup>38</sup> The reason for this is because the ideas of magic on which the medieval theories developed were those of earlier Christian writers, such as the highly influential St. Augustine of Hippo, who claimed it was created and taught by demons to men (see Figure 3 in the "Photo Index").<sup>39</sup> For a reader of Augustine, magic was thus a mistaken pursuit, yet even Augustine's intellectual *milieu* questioned the science of magic, especially the science of astrology. Astrology had to "be unveiled as an arbitrary human construction," because although St. Augustine never approved of it, it required a longer dismissal, since his *milieu* made sense of it.<sup>40</sup> Because St. Augustine's theology on magic was widely known and accepted, until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when someone was asked about magic, a typical response would be that it had to do with demons and divination. In this understanding, divination becomes a kind of fortune telling, which often overlaps with

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<sup>38</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>40</sup> Claire Fanger, "For Magic, Against Method," in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, Sophie Page, and Catherine Rider, (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 28.

astrology and its prognostications. Indeed, many kinds of science would often be seen as the work of demons, including medicine.<sup>41</sup>

At the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, however, two major changes occurred that changed people's views on and knowledge of magic. First, the view of natural magic as an alternative to demonic magic emerged, and second, "the term came to be used for operative functions such as healing as much as for divination."<sup>42</sup> The term natural magic is quite self-explanatory as it suggests what earth and nature has to offer. The herbs were identified with Aristotelian terms, such as "hot" or "cold" depending on their type and 'temperature.' Moreover, the healing powers of an herb were often associated with their shape, for example, if an herb had the form of a liver, it was concluded that it would heal any disease that had to do with the liver.<sup>43</sup> While these inferences sound logical to a certain extent, the question of natural magic becomes more complex when considering what cannot be explained by visual effects and Aristotelian philosophy. Some effects of the herbs could not have been explained to the Medieval physician or theologian, and their conclusion was that the herbs drew on external forces, such as those of the cosmos, for their healing properties. This meant that because these medieval intellectuals could not analyze the plant closely, they would analyze the stars and planets instead.<sup>44</sup>

While, for obvious reasons, *Miscellanea 1320* features demonic magic, the alibi of the cleric suggested he may have knowledge of natural magic, and the crucial role it played in medieval society. In fact, my research shows that many of the healers in the Middle Ages were monks, priests, and clerics.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, this clergy also employed magic and prayer alongside

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<sup>41</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-70.

each other. For instance, these healers would often integrate blessings and prayers with one another for healing purposes if they were not inherently magical. A common example of this mixed use was during exorcisms (see figure 5<sup>46</sup>).<sup>47</sup>

This information leads me to hypothesize that Bartolomeo likely knew enough about natural magic that he could practice it. Approaching the miscellany from this point of view leads me to conclude that while explaining his alibi, the cleric demonstrated his skilled practice of natural magic to heal Petrus de Via to clear his name and remove any suspicion of him being a heretic. Since the Visconti Lords insisted on having Bartolomeo complete the conjuration, this put the cleric in a difficult position in the eyes of the papacy, because it meant that his knowledge of magic was quite elaborate. His only course was thus to draw the attention away from his knowledge of demonic magic and demonstrate his loyalty to Christianity and God by revealing his skills and knowledge on natural magic alone.

## **1.2. Demonic Magic, Theologians, and *Miscellanea* 1320**

As presented by the document, the plan of the Visconti brothers was to perform a type of magic that involved sophisticated knowledge of mathematics and astrology, as well as divination, religion, and the use of herbs. The Visconti brothers had prepared a silver statue, with the name of two demons carved on it and a holed head into which the juice of aconite could be poured. In short, the plan was to suffumigate the statue for a certain number of nights, while following Saturn (the symbol of which was also carved on the statue). Ultimately, the fate of the

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<sup>46</sup> The Ms. O. 2.48 is titled Medical Miscellany and can be found at the Trinity College in Cambridge. The folios cited in this thesis demonstrate St. Augustine's approach to herbs and medicinal magic, which he used to exorcise demons out of people. There are many other examples from other manuscripts showing how herbs can repel demons, which will be seen throughout this thesis. The full digitized manuscript of Ms. O. 2.48 can be found at this link: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=O.2.48#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=58&xywh=-519%2C-160%2C5301%2C3123>.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70. See also Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1923), 729-30.

pope would thus be subject to this talisman and the Visconti Lords. There are, however, some ambiguities that need to be addressed to understand the genre of magic featured in *Miscellanea 1320*, as well as the role of demonic magic, astrology, mathematics, fate, and divination.

While many brilliant minds wrote on these topics, for the purposes of this thesis, I will narrow my focus on a pool of theologians from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, such as Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Magister Speculi, and Roger Bacon. By briefly analyzing their views on astrology, divination, and natural and demonic magic, I will more accurately describe the type of magic described in *Miscellanea 1320*. In their works, the three authors make clear distinctions between the concepts of astrology and divination that are demonic and those that are a form natural magic. Roger Bacon even goes so far as to argue that the coming of the Antichrist will result from demonic astrology, divination, and magic, which in turn motivated Pope Clement IV and the church to begin their inquisitory trials against heresy, a phenomenon that we will see develop in the social context of the *Miscellanea 1320* in chapter 2.<sup>48</sup> *Speculum Astronomiae*, usually attributed to Albertus Magnus but also to Magister Speculi, who was first associated with the book by Nicolas Weill-Parot and in turn by many subsequent scholars,<sup>49</sup> is a work that defends astrology.<sup>50</sup> In his *Opus maius*, a work that “was surreptitiously commissioned by Pope Clement IV in 1266,”<sup>51</sup> Roger Bacon follows the footsteps of Albertus Magnus, defending astrology using complex mathematical terms and explanations.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> H.Darrel Rutkin. “*Opera et verba sapientiae: Astrology and Magic in Roger Bacon*” in *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800. Archimedes (New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology)*, vol 55, (Springer, Cham., 2019), 347.

<sup>49</sup> Nicolas Weill-Parot, “Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes (twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries), ‘Astrological Images’ and the Concept of ‘Addressative Magic’” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan N. Veenstra, (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 168.

<sup>50</sup> H.Darrel Rutkin. “Defending Astrology: Roger Bacon and the *Speculum Astronomiae*” in *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800. Archimedes (New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology)*, vol 55, (Springer, Cham., 2019), 117.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 117,118.



The key to understanding these defenses of astrology is to understand how the medieval theologians and society had been interpreting them. In his *Opus Maius*, Bacon explains what *he considers* to be the true form of mathematics as opposed to the false. Given that mathematics had the power of philosophy, Bacon made sure to defend the concept of *vera mathematica* (true mathematics) from *infamia*, which means bad reputation.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, he also explains that some theologians are so ignorant that they have confused true mathematics with false mathematics. According to him, *falsa mathematica* (false mathematics) denotes the concepts of *divinatio* (divination).<sup>54</sup> The idea that divination is a false science also features in the works of Thomas Aquinas, which we will see shortly.

Furthermore, Bacon revised this etymology of true and false mathematics in his *Secretum secretorum*, which he wrote in 1270,<sup>55</sup> where he explains:

But whatever the case is about this writing (*scriptura*, spelling) and its [sc. Etymological] derivation, false mathematics is, nevertheless, a magical art (*ars magica*). For five species of the magical art are enumerated, namely, *mantice* [=divination], *mathematica* [=mathematics or astrology], *maleficium* [=doing harm], *praestigium* [=illusions] and *sortilegium* [=the casting of lots (sometimes translated as “sorcery”)]. Therefore, false mathematics is the second part of the magical art. It usurps to itself a consideration of the celestial bodies (*coelestia*) deformed by characters, charms (*carmina*), conjurations, superstitious sacrifices, and various frauds.”<sup>56</sup>

According to Bacon, false mathematics is thus closely associated with astrology, magic, and divination. While true astrology is only used for theological and scientific purposes, false

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-24.

astrology is used for divinatory purposes.<sup>57</sup> As a result, false astrology and false mathematics are also known as mathematical magic or astral magic. This illegitimate magical astrology and mathematics similarly imply the use of conjurations, spells, and demons, and it is also described in *Speculum astronomiae* and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.<sup>58</sup>

Following a similar distinction between true and false sciences, Thomas Aquinas analyzes true divination which is found in the science of the stars, what we know as astrology and astronomy, which serves as a method of prediction, thus paralleling it with the illegitimate use of divination. Regarding the illegitimate use of divination, Aquinas calls out *superstitio* (superstition), which he explains is opposed to *religio* (religion) because it does not offer any kind of *cultus divinus* (divine worship) and is instead something that is underserving.<sup>59</sup> From this definition, he explains the different species of divination. He considers first species to be true because it offers divine worship through an object, for example praying to God via a cross. This he calls *ex parte objecti*; however, this species of divination is also offered to that which is not divine, such as demons or planets. This he calls the divination offered to *cuiusque creaturae* (any kind of creature).<sup>60</sup> Aquinas further divides this concept of divination into three different categories. The first category is what he calls *idolatria*, which stands for idolatry. Idolatry is a divine worship that is directed to something that is created, but not the Creator himself. The second category is *superstitio divinitiva*, which is what the human being has learned from the God they have chosen to worship, in other words, the demon they have chosen to worship and have consulted with through certain pacts. The third category concerns the practices of this type

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

of worship, otherwise known as *observationes*.<sup>61</sup> The category applicable to the magic within the *Miscellanea 1320* is *superstitio divinitiva*.

Aquinas explains to his readers that *superstitio divinitiva* depends on the *operations daemonum*. This, in turn means that any practice falls under *superstitio divinitiva* is an act that engages with demons, requiring interaction with and the making of pacts with them.<sup>62</sup> Thomas Aquinas thus concludes that divination, by which he means the foretelling of the future through astrological sciences, is illegitimate, because it involves communication with demons. Aquinas, here, follows in the footsteps of St. Augustine, on whom he based his ideas, by interpreting divination as entirely demonic; however, the question of legitimacy now falls on the astrologers because regardless of how much their authority is notoriously anti-astrological in the matters of divinations, they all claim the exception that if prayers are used instead of demonic conjurations, then the divination is not illegitimate.<sup>63</sup>

In his *Esotericism and the Academy*, Hanegraaff offers an explanation as to why there is little distinction between true or false sciences when it comes to the concept of *superstitio*. As Hanegraaff explains, *superstitio*, much like its Greek equivalent *deisidaimonia*, were neutral or positive terms. Arguably, “*Deisi* could mean fear, but also ‘awe’ or ‘respect,’ and *diamones* could be gods, goddesses, semi-divinities, or any other kind of superhuman being, regardless of their good or evil intentions.”<sup>64</sup> As a result of the work of Plato and Aristotle, the term, *deisidaimonia*, began to suggest the irrational, ignorant, and harmful deities from the popular culture, and was used in this way by the philosophical elite from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC onward. Moreover,

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-190.

<sup>64</sup> Wouter Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 159.

in the Roman Empire, the term *superstitio* evoked anything that was out of the natural order of things or strange, and the term was constantly associated with magic.<sup>65</sup> Inevitably, in Christian culture, the term mingled with ideas of the demonic because by default it was associated with anything that was pagan. In the Middle Ages, scholars often made reference to the term with the hopes of defining it. As we have already seen, Thomas Aquinas related it to *superstitio divinationes*, an idea that goes hand in hand with St. Augustine's views on the matter. Two other categories were associated with the term later in the Middle Ages. The first is *superstitio observationis*, which refers to visions, dreams, or reading omens, and the second is *superstitio artis magicae*, which indicates everything that concerns what was then considered the magical arts: the broad range of experimental sciences that was deemed to be false or illegitimate.<sup>66</sup>

I will now turn my attention to Magister Speculi whose ideas on *astronomia* (astronomy and astrology) and *imagines astronomicae* relate to the silver statue or talisman present in *Miscellanea 1320*. As previously discussed, *astronomia* is the science of the planets and stars and was of particular interest to the authentic Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Thomas Aquinas. While each of these thinkers extended this concept of astrological sciences to other notions, such as magic, fate, and divination, Magister Speculi argues that *imagines astronomicae*, which refers to magical objects such as talismans, are one of the highest and most important parts of *astronomia*.<sup>67</sup> Whether the author of *Speculum astronomiae* was Albertus Magnus or Magister Speculi, he distinguishes between *imagines* using the categories of the true

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>67</sup> H. Darrel Rutkin. "Imagines astronomicae (talismans) in the Speculum astronomiae, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas" in *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800. Archimedes (New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology)*, vol 55, (Springer, Cham., 2019), 275, 276.

and the false: he labels the legitimate and natural *imagines*, *imagines astronomicae*, and the false or demonic ones, *imagines necromanticae*.<sup>68</sup>

The *imago astronomica*, a term that seems to have been coined in *Speculum astronomicae*, is similarly divided into three categories; however, for the argument of this thesis, the most relevant kinds are the first and second. The first is the abominable, or *abominabilis*, which requires the use of *suffumigationes* (the use of herbs and essences) and an *invocatio*, which is a prayer that includes the name of particular demons and the required planets.<sup>69</sup> For instance, in *Miscellanea 1320*, the demons are Amaymon and Meruyn, while the planet is Saturn. The *abominabilis*, according to Magister Speculi, is the worst kind of idolatry because it is an improper use of rites and divine worship directed toward a demon or a planet through an object. This view aligns with Thomas Aquinas's idea of superstition and divination, which agrees with the idea that this kind of *imagines* is the most dangerous kind.<sup>70</sup>

The second kind of *imago* is the *detestabilis* (detestable), a slightly less dangerous kind than the first. This second kind involves *inscriptio characterum*, which is the writing of characters on a talisman.<sup>71</sup> In *Miscellanea 1320*, the *inscriptiones characterum* are the signs of Saturn and the inscription of the pope's name. According to *Speculum astronomiae*, these two kinds of talismans are *imagines necromanticae* (necromantic talismans),<sup>72</sup> which suggests the magic used in *Miscellanea 1320* is necromancy. Along with the use of *maleficium* and *sortilegium*, everything described in the miscellany fits the descriptions of demonic magic employing astral forces. The works of the theologians were widely spread during the Middle

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 277, 78.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 278. See also Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les images astrologiques*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 41-60.

Ages, and they partially became the blueprint of many conjurations that took place, and the Visconti brothers would have been able to draw from these sources to create their talisman. The theologians also provide detailed explanations as to how necromantic magic could be developed, including how to make a talisman, how to use astral, natural, and demonic magic, and the creation of grimoires.

### **1.3. The Grimoires and the Making of the Talisman in *Miscellanea 1320***

Some of the aforementioned theologians' ideas of magic came from the mixing of Arabic and Solomonic/Jewish magic with Christianity and Christian magic. *Miscellanea 1320*, being an insightful and rich document about the culture of magic in Medieval Europe, provides us with a confirmation that much of the knowledge of magic in the Visconti court came in written form. As mentioned early on in Bartolomeo's first deposition, "*quid significat verbum suprascriptum 'Amaymon' dixit se legisse in libro quodam, quod dictum verbum 'Amaymon' est nomen cuiusdam demonis existentis ad partem occidentalem.*" The *Miscellanea 1320* also mentions two unspecified books from the orient and the process of a conjuration in detail. Furthermore, the depositions also show that the Visconti court had enough knowledge of talismans and necromancy. The reason for this knowledge of oriental magic comes from the fact that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, King Alfonso X of Spain put in place a project to translate Arabic and Hebrew texts systematically.<sup>73</sup>

This program of translation was first put in place in Al-Andalus after the Christian reconquest of the region, where Islamic manuscripts and scientific knowledge were well preserved. Because the community was both multi-lingual and multi-cultural, the Muslim

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<sup>73</sup> Charles Burnett, "The Translating Activity in medieval Spain" in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*. Collected Studies Series, C556, (Aldershot, Great Britain: Variorum, 1996), 1036.

refugees served as translators and educated the Latin world about the Islamic sciences, which were more advanced than the Christian scientific culture of the time,<sup>74</sup> and along with the translation of Islamic books came Islamic ideas about magic. Unsurprisingly, authors of the Islamic scientific texts emphasized notions of magic and demons.<sup>75</sup> This historical information explains how, in *Miscellanea 1320*, Bartolomeo confirms the fact that the Visconti were relying on two books from the orient to successfully carry out their conjuration. While the cleric provides key information on the culture of magic in the Middle Ages, his inability to specify the grimoires and the way the Visconti were able to attain them renders the identification of the grimoires more complicated.

After researching the various books and grimoires translated in Alfonso X's court, one in particular stands out as a potential source for the description of the conjuration in the miscellany: the text we know today as *Picatrix*, which contains both the *Ghāyāt al-hakim*, a comprehensive text on magic, and the *Rutbat al-hakīm*, a book on alchemy.<sup>76</sup> The authorship of both texts is attributed to Maslama al-Majrītī, a well-known astrologer of his time,<sup>77</sup> and these texts were translated and paired together under the name of *Picatrix* in Alfonso X's court in 1256.<sup>78</sup> The reasons why *Picatrix* is likely one of grimoires used to prepare the conjuration in *Miscellanea 1320* is threefold. First, the types of magic that *Picatrix* contains – image magic and necromancy – are compatible with what is described in *Miscellanea 1320*. Second, *Picatrix* contains a rich trove of astrological signs and symbols alongside detailed conjurations that employ both astral

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 1036.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1038.

<sup>76</sup> J. Thomann, "The Name *Picatrix*: Transcription or Translation?", *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53, 1990, pp. 289-96.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1038.

<sup>78</sup> See the Introduction of David Pingree, *Picatrix, The Latin Version of the Ghāyāt Al-Hakim*, (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986).

and image magic. Third, it is possible that copies of *Picatrix* circulated in Italy during the time of the depositions.

With the help of *Speculum astronomicae*, I was previously able to identify the type of magic present in the *Miscellanea 1320* as the making of *imagines necromanticae*, and the theologians who discussed this form of magic based much of their knowledge on Islamic scientific sources such as Abu Ma'shar,<sup>79</sup> and Maslama al-Majrīṭī's work contained in *Picatrix* was within the same tradition of Islamic scholarship cited by these scholars. *Picatrix*, as a translated text, however, had numerous issues beginning from its initial translation into Latin, as some important philosophical passages were lost in translation. It is safe to say that the Latin *Picatrix* does not do justice to its original. While the name *Picatrix* was derived from its Latin translations because the astrological symbols the book contains, the title, *Ghāyāt al-Hakim*, on the other hand, translates to the Goal of the Sage, alluding to the content of suffumigation and conjurations present in the book. Even though the Latin translation is filled with errors and omissions of seemingly incomprehensible passages which were too complicated to translate at the time, it did, nevertheless, pass on the basic knowledge on image magic, astral magic, and the conjuring processes contained within it.<sup>80</sup>

*Picatrix* contains various kinds of conjurations but it also serves as a manual for image magic. Importantly, much of the text concerns necromancy and its uses,<sup>81</sup> especially in the Latin translation where the term for necromancy is translated as “*niger, nigra, nigrum*,”<sup>82</sup> suggesting

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<sup>79</sup> P. Adamson, “Abū Ma'shar, Al-Kindī and the Philosophical Defense of Astrology.” In *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, Vol. 69, No. 2, (Peeters Publishers, 2002), 249.

<sup>80</sup> Dan Attrell and David Porreca, *Picatrix: A Medieval Treatise on Astral Magic*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021), 1-4.

<sup>81</sup> Béatrice Bakhouché, Frédéric Fauquier, and Brigitte Pérez-Jean, *Picatrix: Un traité de magie médiéval*, (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 1-19.

<sup>82</sup> Dan Attrell and David Porreca, *Picatrix: A Medieval Treatise on Astral Magic*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021), 10.



dark or black magic. The original term, however, is the Arabic *sihr*, which does not distinguish between the branches of magic, simply meaning magic in Arabic, whereas necromancy refers strictly to dark magic. As a result of this erroneous translation, necromancy was associated with the astral magic and spiritual invocations found in *Picatrix*, rendering the book a grimoire.<sup>83</sup> In the European context, *Picatrix* thus became known as a book on necromancy and both image and astral magic. Consequently, *Picatrix* would have been considered one of the manuals that the Visconti needed to research to conjure their spirit and create their talisman.

The rituals found in *Picatrix* explain how image magic works and what transforms a statue into a talisman. The term *imago* in *Picatrix* refers to the statue or object used to suffumigate and conjure the needed spirits. In Arabic, the word for talisman is *musallat* or *tillasm*, which means the object in which certain spiritual powers are confined.<sup>84</sup> The chosen *imago* can only become a talisman once the necessary spirits are conjured and descend onto the said *imago*.<sup>85</sup> This transformation vivifies and enchants the talisman, which in turn allows it to act in malefic ways and cause harm to whomever the *imago* was directed. To successfully carry out the making of a talisman, one must know under which planets to place their *imago*<sup>86</sup> because the spirit that descends into the talisman must be that of the chosen planet, coupled with the chosen angels or demons. The person who carries out the conjuration must follow the classical planetary order.<sup>87</sup> Based on the science of astrology, the formula of  $24 = (3 \times 7) + 3$  must also be

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>85</sup> This is based on Al-Kindī's *De radiis*, known as *Theorica artium magicarum* in the Latin speaking world. For further reading, see Liana Saif, *The Arabic Influences on Early Modern Occult Philosophy*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan London, 2015).

<sup>86</sup> Béatrice Bakhouché, Frédéric Fauquier, and Brigitte Pérez-Jean, *Picatrix: Un traité de magie medieval*, (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 18-19.

<sup>87</sup> The classical planetary order in this case depends under which planet the suffumigation and the making of talisman should take place. In case of *Miscellanea 1320*, where the planet is Saturn, the order is as follows: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.

followed.<sup>88</sup> This means that the conjuration must take place in the hour of Saturn, begin on a Saturday (typically assigned to the planet Saturn), and be carried out for 24 hours and 7 days in full.

Once the conjuration begins with the suffumigation, the talisman is placed under the hour and day of Saturn. This means that the first day is Saturday. The second day would then be the day of the Sun, which is Sunday. The planet of the Sun, in turn, is the third planet after Saturn following the classical planetary order. The third day would naturally be Monday, which is under the planet of the Moon, which in turn is the third planet after the Sun, and so on. During the conjuration, while every day is ruled by a different planet, there are three or sometimes four hours in a day that are ruled by the initial planet. For instance, should the conjuration begin under the hour of Saturn, starting on a Saturday under the hour of Saturn, it is in turn affected by the spirits and power of that same planet for three to four hours a day on the remaining days of the week.<sup>89</sup>

This formula for making a talisman found in the *Picatrix* strongly resembles the talisman the Visconti were planning to make. Additionally, *Picatrix* contains the recipes for various poisonous herbs used for suffumigation to carry out a conjuration. While aconite is not mentioned specifically in *Picatrix*, the way the Visconti were planned to suffumigate the poisonous herbs aligns with the instructions mentioned in the book. Moreover, among the numerous conjurations, there are exactly 39 rituals on Divination, 29 on summoning spirits and

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<sup>88</sup> Béatrice Bakhouché, Frédéric Fauquier, and Brigitte Pérez-Jean, *Picatrix: Un traité de magie médiévale*, (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 19.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20. See also Nicolas Weill-Parot, “Astral Magic and Intellectual Changes (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries): ‘Astrological Images’ and the Concept of ‘Addressative Magic,’” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2002). For Further reading, see David Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū MaʿShar*, (London: The Warburg Institute University of London, 1968). As well as Abu Maʿshar’s *The Great Conjunctions*.

demons, 20 on unspecified magic, and 6 to bestow curses.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the sign of Saturn contained within the *Picatrix*, a symbol resembling an upside-down N, is the same that is used by the Visconti on their own talismans. The similarities between the Visconti conjuration and what is present in the *Picatrix* thus suggest that this grimoire was likely one of the books from the ‘orient’ mentioned as being in the possession of the court of the Visconti.

While the conjuration described in the deposition seems to have been based on the rituals in *Picatrix*, a question that arises from this connection is how would a copy of the grimoire travelled to Italy by the Fourteenth century? The Latin translation of *Picatrix* came from at least two different sources: the original Arabic and a Spanish translation. In fact, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, *Picatrix* went through numerous translations and modifications.<sup>91</sup> Among the earlier translators, however, Gerard of Cremona, known as *Girardus dictus magister* to his peers and pupils, was one of the translators who helped disseminate the translated texts through Italy and Western Europe.<sup>92</sup> While I could not find a fourteenth century manuscript with an Italian provenance in my research, there were numerous Latin versions circulating in Europe at the time. Indeed, eminent scholars, such as Galeotto Marzio (1427-1497), Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), relied heavily on *Picatrix* a century later, and even kept copies of the text in their own libraries.<sup>93</sup> As far as scholars are aware, the copies that were produced in Northern Italy date back to the early fifteenth century,

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<sup>90</sup> Dan Attrell and David Porreca, *Picatrix: A Medieval Treatise on Astral Magic*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021), 21.

<sup>91</sup> Béatrice Bakhouché, Frédéric Fauquier, and Brigitte Pérez-Jean, *Picatrix: Un traité de magie médiévale*, (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 25.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 25. See also Charles Burnett, “The translating activity in medieval Spain” in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*. Collected Studies Series, C556, (Aldershot, Great Britain: Variorum, 1996), 1043-45.

<sup>93</sup> Dan Attrell and David Porreca, *Picatrix: A Medieval Treatise on Astral Magic*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021), 5.

one of which is now found in Kraków.<sup>94</sup> This means that while we might not have surviving copies originating from Italy in the fourteenth century, it is still likely that the Italians were familiar with *Picatrix* through the earlier translations of this book.

While *Picatrix* seems to be a likely source for the Visconti on magic, the grimoire does not contain the names of the demons mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320*. For that reason, analyzing Bartolomeo's deposition will help identify which other grimoires the Visconti may have relied upon for their *imago*. In the first deposition, Bartolomeo states that there was the involvement of another book.<sup>95</sup> According to Bartolomeo's description of the book, the vowels in the book had been replaced by dots, and the grimoire contained spells on love, hatred, and the detection of stolen objects.<sup>96</sup> Additionally, the first time he mentions a grimoire from the orient he also mentions the name of the demon *Amaymon*. Bartolomeo's description of the written form of the vowels suggests that the book was not written in Latin. Instead, it is likely the book was written in either Hebrew or in Arabic because both languages use signs for their vowels.<sup>97</sup>

This linguistic detail means that there are numerous potential candidates for which grimoire Bartolomeo describes. Al-Andalus, at the time of the systematic translations of King Alfonso X, saw Christians, Jews, and Arabs living in respective large self-governing communities. This multiculturalism, in turn, resulted in the production of numerous legal

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<sup>94</sup> David Pingree, *Picatrix, The Latin Version of the Ghāyāt Al-Hakim*, (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986), 1-2.

<sup>95</sup> "Qui dominus Scotus respondit eidem Bartholomeo, quod volebat sibi ostendere **quendam librum**, in quo erant quedam verba, que non intelligebat quorum verborum sensum dictus Bartholomeus exposuit dicto dno. Scoto." For further reading, see the new transcription of *Miscellanea 1320* in the third part of the thesis.

<sup>96</sup> "Interrogatus, que erant illa verba et qui erat ille sensus, dixit, quod erant quedam experimenta ad amorem, ad odium et furta invenienda et talia, et erant scripta sine vocalibus litteris per puncta loco vocalium." For further reading, see the new transcription of *Miscellanea 1320* in the third part of the thesis.

<sup>97</sup> For further reading on Hebrew, an excellent source is William Henry Green, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, (NY: J. Wiley, 1891). For further reading on medieval Arabic, see Jonathan Owens, *The Foundations of Grammar: An Introduction to Medieval Arabic Grammatical Theory*, (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 1988). While languages are ever evolving, using their vowels as dots or other signs has not changes in both Arabic and Hebrew.

documents in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew, as well as the translation of many Jewish and Islamic books into Latin.<sup>98</sup> This tri-cultural fusion gave birth to books such as the *Liber Alchandreï*, a book of judgement filled with astrological charts with Arabic and Hebrew names for the planets and stars. *Liber Alachandreï*, representing the polyglot and tri-cultural atmosphere of Al-Andalous, and of sciences and magic, was also one of the earliest books produced by the translation efforts of Alfonso X's court that circulated widely in Medieval Europe.<sup>99</sup>

To narrow the candidates of possible grimoires from the fascinating world of Islamic and Jewish grimoires, I combined the information found in Bartolomeo's depositions with the research I have conducted previously. First, because I identified the type of magic used in *Miscellanea 1320* from *Speculum astronomiae*, I traced my steps back to the theologians and to the same book. In fact, the author of *Speculum astronomiae* provides an inventory of five books on Solomonic magic: "*De quatuor annulis* attributed to four of the King's [Solomon's] disciples; the *De novem candariis*; the *De tribus figuris spirituum*; the *De figura Almandla*; and one final 'little' book entitled *De sigillis ad demoniacos*."<sup>100</sup> Magister Speculi or Albert the Great also mentions the *Liber Razielis* and *Liber Samayn* in *Speculum astrononmiae*. While the author does not mention the origins of these texts, the account of the inventory he gives is significant because it shows how widely the Solomonic texts were known.<sup>101</sup> Roger Bacon's works, for example, demonstrate how widespread the familiarity with Solomonic books and magic was at the time. In his *Tractatus brevis*, Bacon acknowledges the existence of the Solomonic books and claims they are intended for fake astrologers who need the power of the demons to help them decipher or

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<sup>98</sup> Charles Burnett, "The translating activity in medieval Spain" in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*. Collected Studies Series, C556, (Aldershot, Great Britain: Variorum, 1996), 1036-37.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 1042-43.

<sup>100</sup> Julien Véronèse, "Solomonic Magic," in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, edited by Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 187.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 187-88.

cast their charts but does not go into further detail about them.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, even though he mentions other names, such as Hermes, Bacon focuses his concern on books titled *De sigillis Salomonis*. Additionally, he includes *Ars Notoria* (see Figure 4 in the “Photo Index”), the authorship of which he attributes to Solomon.<sup>103</sup>

Considering this inventory of Solomonic magic present in *Speculum astronomiae* and the theologians’ general feeling towards Solomonic magic and their demonic invocations, I then researched for a book which contains spells described in Bartolomeo’s deposition that also include the name *Amaymon* within the collection of Jewish and Solomonic grimoires. For example, the book *Ydea Salomonis*, which is cited in many works of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, is a book that destroys all faith in the divine law because it leads directly demonic magical rituals and contains many signs and figures, such as the Mandal, pentagons, figures, demons, and more.<sup>104</sup> While some authors combine multiple Solomonic texts together, others cite them distinctly. The *Liber Hermetic sive de rebus occultis* is an example of a wide combination of numerous Solomonic texts. It contains two versions of *De quattuor annulis*, which is ascribed to Solomon’s four disciples, Fortunatus, Eleazar, Macarius, and Toz. Moreover, it also mentions the *Ydea Salomonis*, two distinct versions of *Vinculum spirituum* or *Vinculum Salomonis*, *Liber Samayn*, *Liber Razielis*, *Liber Almadel*, *De officiis spirituum*, *Liber angelicus*, and finally, the *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>105</sup>

This body of literature contains many overlapping spells and conjurations. The books whose core spells concern love, hatred, and the detection of stolen objects, as well as demonic

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

invocations, are *Liber Almadel* and *Clavicula Salomonis*.<sup>106</sup> Since it seems that the court of the Visconti was relying on grimoires in their original language, be it Hebrew or Arabic, the grimoire that is a mix of both is *Liber Almadel*. This text also was widely circulated, and it relies heavily on both *Picatrix* and *Clavicula Salomonis*. Its demonic invocations call for *shayātīn*, which are the Islamic demons whose spirits are known as djinn and it employs the magic of *ymago* found in *Picatrix* and in *Clavicula Salomonis*. This *ymago* creates the *figura mandal*, a talisman that requires a pentacle or diagram borrowed from Solomonian magic to help conjure the necessary spirits and demons.<sup>107</sup>

The *Liber Almadel* consists of two parts. The first half of the first part mostly focuses on conjurations as seen in *Picatrix*, which are the invocations of supernatural spirits into an *imago* (with the accompanying astrological science). The second half of the first part, however, includes djinns and the *shayātīn*. Since demons and their spirits are earthly creatures in the Islamic world and do not relate to astrology, the *mandal* that is created for the talisman, which in turn has the name of the targeted person engraved on it, is used to compel the djinns of the demons to come and vivify the talisman. In short, the *mandal* serves as a door for the spirits to enter the talisman.<sup>108</sup> The second part of the book focuses more on exorcisms and suffumigation.<sup>109</sup> These rituals are explained through spells of love, hatred, illness, exorcisms, and other malicious spells.<sup>110</sup> While the spells in this grimoire resemble what is described in *Miscellanea 1320*, their rituals differ from what the Visconti was planning. Nevertheless, *Liber Almadel* does mention

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<sup>106</sup> For further reading see Julien Véronèse, *L'Almandal et l'Almadel latins au Moyen Age, Introduction et éditions critiques*, (Firenze: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), and S. Liddell Macgregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*, (London: George Redway York Street Convent Garden, 1889).

<sup>107</sup> Julien Véronèse, *L'Almandal et l'Almadel latins au Moyen Age, Introduction et éditions critiques*, (Firenze: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), 8-9, 19.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

the demon *Amaymon* based on *Clavicula Salomonis*. Given the description within Bartolomeo's deposition and the content of *Liber Almadel*, it is a likely candidate as the second grimoire on which the Visconti relied. In addition to these similarities, the *Liber Almadel* was widely read; by the Middle Ages, theologians were very familiar with it and had cited it on multiple occasions.<sup>111</sup>

There remains the possibility of a third grimoire on which Visconti relied: the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the contents of which align nearly exactly with what Bartolomeo describes in his deposition. The only difference between Bartolomeo's description and the actual grimoire is that *Clavicula Salomonis* contains various pentacles and diagrams in its rituals which were not mentioned.<sup>112</sup> There are various manuscripts of *Clavicula Salomonis* that have survived, and in his revised edition of Mather's *The Key of Solomon the King*, Joseph Peterson provides a survey of their current locations.<sup>113</sup> While the oldest surviving manuscripts date back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Pietro d'Abano's *Lucidarium artis nigromantice* (c. 1303-1310) proves that *Clavicula Salomonis* was read in Medieval Italy because in Abano's text he refers to it on multiple occasions.<sup>114</sup>

The difference between *Clavicula Salomonis* and the conjuration described by Bartolomeo – the lack of pentacles and diagrams – suggests a possibility as to why the Visconti men failed in their attempts at suffumigation. After meeting with Scotus san Geminiano, it seems that the judge of Matteo Visconti was indeed following a specific ritual, and it also becomes clear that the Visconti men had tried to conjure the spirits twice and failed. At the same time, according the Galeazzo Visconti and the cleric himself, Bartolomeo seems to be the only person

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>112</sup> See S. Liddell Macgregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*, (London: George Redway York Street Convent Garden, 1889).

<sup>113</sup> See S. L. Macgregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*, rev. and ed. Joseph Peterson, (NY: Weiser books, 2016).

<sup>114</sup> Julien Véronèse, "Pietro d'Abano magicien à la Renaissance: le cas de l'Elucidarius magice (ou Lucidarium artis nigromantice)," in *Médecine, astrologie et magie entre Moyen Age et Renaissance: autour de Pietro d'Abano*, ed. by Jean-Patrice Boudet, Franck Collard and Nicolas Weill-Parot, (Firenze: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 310.



capable of carrying out the conjuration correctly. This suggests that the cleric knew about the need for pentacles in the ritual but remained silent. In *Clavicula Salomonis*, Saturday is under the dominion of Saturn, the Archangel Tzaphqiel and Angel Cassiel, while the metal of lead and the colour black are associated with it.<sup>115</sup> The type of metal is consistent the Visconti's talisman and the colour black often suggests death or something more broadly malicious. More importantly, however, *Clavicula Salomonis* shows seven pentacles for Saturn (see Figure 5 in the "Photo Index"). The names and messages written around the pentacles differ in the various manuscripts, however, their basic purpose remains the same: the invocation of spirits through Saturn. Of the seven pentacles, the fourth is especially important for the conjuration described in *Miscellanea 1320*. This pentacle is employed for any operation that executes ruin, destruction, or death. It also invokes all the spirits from the South. The sixth pentacle of Saturn is also significant because it invokes the demons to govern the person towards whom the spell is targeted.<sup>116</sup> Mathers relies on MSS. Lansdowne 1202 and 1203 where the names of the demons are not necessarily written around the pentacles, however, in other manuscripts and in different pentacles, the name of *Amaymon* is clearly stated as the demon of the south.<sup>117</sup>

Another noteworthy detail regarding the Visconti and their possible use of *Clavicula Salomonis* comes from the discovery of a 15<sup>th</sup> century grimoire called *Vedrai Mirabilia*. The coat of arms found in its manuscripts are extremely similar to that of Filippo Maria Visconti, who was the Duke of Milan and a descendant of Matteo Visconti. Moreover, the manuscript contains rituals of magic, talismans, and suffumigation, which are very similar to the conjuration described in *Miscellanea 1320*, and *Clavicula Salomonis*. Currently, Jean-Patrice Boudet,

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. Mathers has contrasted the following MSS. together: Sloane MSS. 1307, Sloane MSS. 3091, Harleian MSS. 3981, Add. MSS. 10862, King's MSS. 288, and Lansdowne MSS. 1202.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 59, 60.

<sup>117</sup> MSS. Ad. 10862, f. 74r.

Florence Gal, and and Laurence Moulinier-Brogi hypothesize that the manuscript did indeed belong to the Visconti family.<sup>118</sup> If this is true, it opens the door to the possibility that Matteo Visconti was in possession of grimoires such as *Clavicula Salomonis*, but the ownership of the *Vedrai Mirabilia* manuscript remains inconclusive. After having identified three possible grimoires on which the Visconti relied – *Picatrix*, *Liber Almadel*, and *Clavicula Salomonis* – what remains is a consideration of the two demons and the use of aconite.

#### **1.4. Aconite, Amaymon, and the Mystery of Meruyn**

In his depositions, Bartolomeo makes it clear that Matteo Visconti and his men were quite insistent on finding and using the juice of aconite. Aconite, also known as “henbane, hellebore, hemlock, [and] monkshood,”<sup>119</sup> had been known in the ancient world as one of the most poisonous plants found in nature.<sup>120</sup> The most common type of aconite (and also the one sought by the Visconti) is the *aconitum napellus*, also known as monkshood. Although it is mentioned as early as the *De Materia Medica* of Dioscorides,<sup>121</sup> for the purposes of this thesis, I will solely focus on the three books identified above: *Picatrix*, *Liber Almandal*, and *Clavicula Salomonis*.

Among the three of them, *Picatrix* provides the largest inventory of magical herbs, including more than 164 different species of plants often found in the instruction of astral magic, and which are mostly used in suffumigation. The grimoire contains strict warnings about its content, especially for mandrake, datura, wolfsbane, and henbane.<sup>122</sup> As previously discussed, *Picatrix*

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<sup>118</sup> Jean-Patrice Boudet, Florence Gal, and Laurence Moulinier-Brogi, *Vedrai Mirabilia: Un libro di magia del Quattrocento*, (Rome: Viella Editrice, 2017), 11,12.

<sup>119</sup> Adrienne Mayor, *The Poison King: The Life and Legend of Mithradates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 58.

<sup>120</sup> Aconite is mentioned in classic texts, such as Virgil's *The Georgics*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, only to name a couple.

<sup>121</sup> Monkshood is named *napellus* because its root is thought to resemble a small turnip, which in Latin is *napus*. For further reading, see Dioscorides Pedanius of Anazarbos, *De materia medica*, trans. Lily Y Beck, (New York: Olms – Weidmann, 2017), Book IV.

<sup>122</sup> Shalen Prado, “Esoteric Botanical Knowledge-scapes of Medieval Iberia,” in *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, vol. 35 (2), 2021, 101.

has frequently been erroneously translated, and the Latin translators of the book faced two problems in particular: first, its unconventional content, and second, its unfamiliar use of these herbs. When the translators encountered an unknown plant, they would either copy the original name or write what they guessed the author meant.<sup>123</sup> For instance, wolfsbane in *Picatrix* comes from Armenia, meaning that both the geography and the origins of the plant were unknown to many translators.<sup>124</sup> Similarly, the translators confused the aconites monkshood and wolfsbane. Monkshood has purple leaves/flowers and is also called *aconitum napellus*, whereas wolfsbane has yellow/white leaves/flowers and is also called *aconitum lycotonum*.<sup>125</sup>

When Bartolomeo mentions that the book written in an original language had the name of the demon *Amaymon* in it, as well as spells on love, hatred, and the detection of stolen objects, I linked it to either *Liber Almadel* or *Clavicula Salomonis*. With respect to the *Picatrix*, however, it is unknown if the Visconti court relied on a Latin translation or an original if they indeed consulted a copy of it. Nevertheless, the similarities in the suffumigation processes described by Bartolomeo and those contained in *Picatrix* are uncanny. For instance, *Picatrix* book 4, chapter 6, point 2 explains how to make a suffumigation with the use of herbs and the planets. While it does not indicate the purpose of these rituals, it nevertheless serves as a manual for them. For the suffumigation of Saturn, the person carrying out the ritual needs to mix and grind together several types of herbs, among which is the mandrake plant.<sup>126</sup> The inclusion of mandrake is

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>124</sup> I was able to find the description of aconite in Book IV, chapter 7, point 33 in *Picatrix* thanks to Shalen Prado's article. For instance, in the two translated copies that I have used throughout this thesis, the word *aconitum* is not mentioned, but instead, there is the description of the plant based on its geographical taxa. The English (Dan Attrell and David Porreca) and French (Béatrice Bakhouché, et. al.) translations are both based on David Pingree's Latin version of *Picatrix*, which I also used. All three give the same description.

<sup>125</sup> Dioscorides Pedanius of Anazarbos, *De materia medica*, trans. Lily Y Beck, (New York: Olms – Weidmann, 2017), Book IV.

<sup>126</sup> Dan Attrell and David Porreca, *Picatrix: A Medieval Treatise on Astral Magic*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021), 245.

significant because a translator could have easily mistaken monkshood for the mandrake plant. Moreover, in *Picatrix* book 4, chapter 9 there is a more detailed explanation on how the suffumigation should be carried out after gathering the ingredients and deciding the planets accordingly. In this chapter, the prayers for each planet are found as well.<sup>127</sup>

The appeal of aconite for such a ritual is as scientific as it is mythological. This herbal symbolism is common in *Picatrix* because many plants were thought to have magical powers. For example, the mandrake plant and its reputation, the name of which derives from either Middle English or Middle Dutch. This unusual name was given to the plant because of its shape (man) and its supposed magical powers (drake, derived from dragon – see Figures 6 and 7 in the “Photo Index”).<sup>128</sup> Aconite had gained a similar reputation throughout the years: it was thought to have magical, shape shifting powers. In Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, book VI, for example, Athena transforms Arachne into a spider by sprinkling aconite on her.<sup>129</sup> After offering my hypothesis on the use of aconite in the Visconti ritual, I will now move on to analyse the mentioned demons in the ritual.

The first demon mentioned by Bartolomeo is *Amaymon*. This demon is thought to be the King of the South and is often coupled with Saturn in such rituals (see Figure 8 in the “Photo Index”), though, an exception to this is the sixteenth century grimoire *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, which associates *Amaymon* strictly with the East. The name *Amaymon* appears in numerous grimoires, and its variant spellings include *Maymon* and *Maimon*. One of the grimoires that contains the spell to summon *Amaymon* is *The Lesser Key of Solomon* (found in its *Goetia* book). This spell is extremely elaborate, and like the one found in *Picatrix*, it lists the

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, see page 279 of the invocation of Saturn.

<sup>128</sup> M. R. Lee, “The Solanaceae II: The Mandrake (*Mandragora Officinarum*): in League with the Devil,” *Journal-Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, vol 36, no. 3, 2006, 278.

<sup>129</sup> For further reading, see R. J. Tarrant, *Ovid Metamorphoses*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2004).

necessary ingredients and serves as a manual to summon this demon successfully. Moreover, summoning this demon requires the Seal of Solomon.<sup>130</sup> One of the earliest known grimoires that lists *Amaymon* is *Clavicula Salomonis*, in which the demon appears in various pentagrams and is associated with the south. In some manuscripts, such as MS. Aub24, fol. 74r, it seems the demon is attributed to the East, however, following the pentacles explained by Mathers in his edition of *Clavicula Salomonis*, it becomes clear that in some cases East means South.<sup>131</sup> As previously mentioned, to summon *Amaymon* with Saturn, the Visconti court needed the Seal of Solomon, which is one of the many pentacles for Saturn. *Amaymon* also appears in *Liber Almadel*, which is based on both *Picatrix* and *Clavicula Salomonis*.

While *Amaymon* was an easier demon to uncover from the Visconti ritual, the second demon, *Meroyne* remains more of a mystery. In the transcription of *Miscellanea 1320* by Konrad Eubel, we see the name of the second demon in two different spellings: *Meroyne* and *Meruyn*. My initial conclusion is that name of this demon was misspelled by the scribe who recorded Bartolomeo's depositions or by Eubel himself. Nevertheless, I will bring forth the argument that this name refers either to a demon called *Mayeryon* or Merlin. The demon *Mayerion* is spelled in various forms, some of which include *Mayrion* and *Marion*. This demon is associated with the direction North and serves the demon *Egyn*, who is the King of the North. The earlier grimoires that mention *Mayeryon* date from the 16<sup>th</sup> century; these include *The Cambridge Book of Magic* and *The Book of Oberon*, which are both based on older grimoires. The spell that invokes the demon *Mayeryon* concerns theft.<sup>132</sup> While I could not find this demon

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<sup>130</sup> This information has been taken from the website: [www.grimoire.org](http://www.grimoire.org), where all kinds of grimoires and demons are listed, with digitized versions of manuscripts and where to find them.

<sup>131</sup> I was able to find this information and track down the manuscripts thanks to the website [www.esotericarchives.com](http://www.esotericarchives.com)

<sup>132</sup> I was able to find this information and track down the manuscripts thanks to the website [www.grimoire.org](http://www.grimoire.org)

in earlier sources, nor is it present in the editions of *Picatrix*, *Libel Almadel*, or *Clavicula Salomonis* that I have consulted, it remains a possibility.

An alternative is that this name refers to Merlin, who was a twelfth century creation, believed to be the child of a “Welsh Christian princess and a demon.”<sup>133</sup> It was believed that Merlin was the Master of all things, especially the power to interpret astrology. He was also believed to have superhuman strength and power, moving Stonehenge from Ireland to England. Moreover, Merlin could also tell the past and the future, especially that of England.<sup>134</sup> This semi-human magician was not native to Italy, and yet he had a significant impact on Medieval Italian culture and literature. Interestingly enough, the story of Merlin arrived in Italy in 1128, earlier than the discovery of Arthur’s tomb in 1191 (see Figure 9 in the “Photo Index”).<sup>135</sup>

There were two ideas of Merlins in 13<sup>th</sup> century Italy: one was Merlin the betrayed lover, and the other was Merlin the political prophet. Notably, Merlin the political prophet had a significant influence on the political affairs of Italy. For instance, there was a common belief that Merlin had prophesized the end of Frederik II’s Empire, a belief shared by many, including Brunetto Latini. As a result, one of the most influential thirteenth century Italian contributions to Merlin’s tradition was *Les Prophécies de Merlin*, which is believed to be a translation from Latin to French requested by Frederik II.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, “Merlin revealed his prophetic powers by announcing the presence of struggling sub-terranean dragons and interpreting their political significance.”<sup>137</sup> Because Merlin’s powers were of pagan origins (he inherited them from his demon father), they naturally contradict the values of Christianity. Furthermore, it was believed

<sup>133</sup> Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *The True History of Merlin the Magician*, (USA: Yale University Press, 2012), 16.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>135</sup> Donald L. Hoffman, “Merlin in Italian Literature,” in *Merlin A Casebook*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 183.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>137</sup> Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 10.

that the conception of Merlin was intended to create opponent for Christ.<sup>138</sup> In some cases, it was believed that with the goodness of Merlin's mother and the help of a "pious cleric named Blaise," the magician was able to wield his powers justly.<sup>139</sup> If the Visconti did intend to summon Merlin, however, it is clear that they were using the semi-human magician for his political and prophetic powers to murder the pope successfully.

The depositions recorded in *Miscellanea 1320* are not surprising for their historical time. If the Visconti were indeed planning this invocation, they had good reasons for wishing the pope dead. In turn, the pope had better reasons to impose a trial on the Visconti family and their men.

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<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

## Chapter II

### Necromancy, the Ghibellines, and the Pope: What Does *Miscellanea 1320* Offer?

While offering a thematic analysis of *Miscellanea 1320* is important, the study of people and places mentioned within it would be valuable as well. The findings in this chapter, however, are limited to showing the historical and political reasons on why the pope may have forged this document. Moreover, there are various questions that need to be answered in order to understand this document completely and to determine whether the document is a forgery definitively. For instance, how was Pope John XXII introduced to these magical trials, and what role did they play on the political grounds of the papacy? What did the Visconti family do to deserve not just various excommunications, but also a conspiracy to incriminate them by the papacy? What was the importance of the incriminated people in these depositions?

#### 2.1. *Jacobus papa Johannes*

“*contra Galeazum, contra Marchum,  
contra Luchinum, contra Stephanum,  
contra Johannem et contra Matheum.*”<sup>140</sup>

If we take *Miscellanea 1320* at face value, the victim is Pope John XXII. Indeed, it was common for the Ghibelline families to quarrel with the Italian popes, this specific miscellany shows that Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti did not just dislike the pope, they despised him. This hatred was so serious, that Matteo Visconti and his sons decided to turn to dark magic to assassinate the pontiff. There are numerous reasons for the hatred the Visconti felt towards the pope, but more importantly, there are also historical facts and recorded documents that explain

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<sup>140</sup> MS. vat. lat. 3936, from f.1r for Galeazzo, from f.12v for Marco, from f.14r for Luchino, from f. 14v for Stefano, from f. 15v for Giovanni, and the records after f.17r are on Matteo Visconti. Digitalized version of the manuscript can be found here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3936](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3936)



why the *signori* might choose to use demonic magic as a political tactic. The first step that I will take in this chapter is to explain the pope's relationship with magic and the socio-political situation before and during the time when *Miscellanea 1320* was recorded.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Pope John XXII paid special attention to heresy and demonic magic, and this was not without reason.<sup>141</sup> The pontiff was elected in 1316, and by 1317, he had already tried Hugues Géraud or Géraudy the Bishop of Cahors. The bishop was accused of trying to murder the pope with “poison and by sorcery with wax images, ashes of spiders and toads, the gall of a pig, and the like substances”;<sup>142</sup> the same means which caused the death of one of the pope's nephews, who was a cardinal. The Bishop of Cahors had been interrogated by the pope in person seven times, and after several admissions of guilt, he was condemned to be tortured by being whipped with rods, and then burnt at the stake.<sup>143</sup> Thus began the long years of unpleasant trials imposed by Pope John XXII against his enemies. Based on the history of the trials, it becomes clear that each person was charged according to the severity of their crimes. For example, the accusations against the Bishop of Cahors were that of necromancy and image magic. This was one of the highest and most serious charges of heresy possible. The difference in the severity of the charges becomes clear if two cases are compared with one another. For instance, if we compare the charges of the Bishop of Cahors with that of Robert Mauvoison, the distinction becomes apparent.<sup>144</sup>

Initially, Robert Mauvoison was charged in 1318 for misconduct, which was a lesser charge than that of heresy, but a serious enough crime for him to have to resign from his position

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<sup>141</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *The History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1923), 18.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

as archbishop of Aix.<sup>145</sup> The accusation against him was that he had been “practising forbidden divination (*artem mathematicam dampnatam et interdictam a iure*),”<sup>146</sup> and the charges drew both from his time as a student, during which he had addressed questions on chiromancy, and when he was archbishop, during which he had interrogated a Jewish astrologer named Moses on experimental sciences. This same Moses also supposedly knew how to make seals and amulets to bring fortune or misfortune and could tell the future. While Robert Mauvoison did admit these events occurred, he specified that he had not committed any of them with heretic intentions. These cases against Hugues Géraud and Robert Mauvoison both exemplify the earlier trials imposed by Pope John XXII on anyone he found suspicious.<sup>147</sup>

Despite how frequently he made such accusation, Pope John XXII did not popularize trials against magic and divination; leading church figures were already charging various people with heresy all over Europe at the time because magic had permeated all aspects of Medieval culture.<sup>148</sup> To explain how the church viewed magic properly, I must refer to primary sources discussed in chapter 1, specifically those by Roger Bacon. In his *Opus Maius*, Bacon discusses astrology in relation to philosophy and theology. In other words, he went from discussing political and personal human affairs to affairs that had to do with the church.<sup>149</sup> Bacon also presented his complex theological argument on how astrology related to religion to Pope Clement IV. Here is an extract from his work that I will cite to demonstrate how he formulated his argument on the direct link between religion and the heavens:

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<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>149</sup> Rutkin, H.D., “*Opera et verba sapientiae*: Astrology and Magic in Roger Bacon” in *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800. Archimedes (New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology)*, vol 55, (Springer, Cham., 2019), 235.

And the noblest investigation of this sort comes about through the revolution of all the principal religions from the beginning of the world. There cannot be more, and they are the religions of [1] the Hebrews, [2] the Chaldaeans, [3] the Egyptians, [4] the Agarenae or Saracens [= Muslims], who came to be from Hagar and Ishmael, [5] the religion of Christ, and [6] the religion of Antichrist. It is not surprising that philosophers have spoken about these things since they came to exist after the patriarchs and prophets, and were instructed by their sons and their books, as was shown before. Therefore, as much as I can explain this more plainly and fully at present, I will recite the opinions of the *mathematici* in which the authorities (*auctores*) agree.<sup>150</sup>

In his argument, Bacon points to mathematicians and astrologers, and continues by discussing the planets and their nature. He then explains the good and bad planets and links them to the six religions he had mentioned.<sup>151</sup> Borrowing his basic knowledge of the planets mostly from Ptolemy, Bacon explains the characters of each planet, such as their terrestrial houses, faces, and more. After discussing the great conjunctions, the theologian determines that the lunar conjunction with Jupiter meant corruption and the undoing of Christianity. Additionally, through the use of mathematics, Bacon concludes that the lunar law is *nigromantia* (necromancy) and *mendacium* (lying), which made the moon “*nigromatica, magica et mendosa*,” (“necromantic, magical and mendacious”).<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, he asserts, the *figurationes lunares*, which are the lunar shapes and movement, are corrupted. This corruption acts like a bad apple, which in turn causes corruption to other planets; however, since the moon changes its shape and appearance quickly, this corruption would not last long.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

With the help of many classical astrological books to support his arguments, Bacon states that all astrologers, ancient or modern, believed that the *Lex Lunaris* (the law of the moon) was associated with the Antichrist, who would eventually come to earth and deceive it *per Artem magicam* (through magical arts), eventually leading to the end of the world.<sup>154</sup> To prove further how false experimental sciences and magic would cause the doom of Christianity, Bacon claims that the Antichrist would come after Mohammed and would establish a *lex foeda et magica* (a filthy and magical law).<sup>155</sup> Bacon even estimates the timing of the Antichrist's arrival, urging the church to re-examine older prophecies in order to fight against him.<sup>156</sup> Bacon's discussion of magic in relation to the Antichrist was entirely pessimistic, and it was closely linked with astrology, mathematics, as well as charms and talismans. Addressing Pope Clement IV, Bacon made sure to demonstrate that mathematics and astrology, combined with magic, would become one of the most powerful tools that the Antichrist would develop.

According to the theologian, he was writing *de sapientia philosophiae*, which is the wisdom of philosophy, and could not hide such significant information from the pope. He then proceeded to tell him about the *sententias sapientium*, which means the opinions of the wise. The reason why Bacon decided to share this information directly with Pope Clement IV was because he believed that once the church had enough knowledge on what was happening, they would take the necessary steps to stop the Antichrist.<sup>157</sup> While I have focused on Bacon's approach to magic and religion to provide a background for the Church's trials against anyone they deemed suspicious in the 1300s, this does not mean that other theologians did not argue the same ideas.

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<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

Many philosophical and theological works that bring together astrology, magic, and the Antichrist, have contributed to the Church's ideas of magic.

The second series of events that influenced the Church's views on heresy and led to changes in their laws was the arrests of the Templars. While these arrests, ordered by Philip IV, are often taken as a historical case of conflict between Church and state, it should not be forgotten that it was first and foremost to "set in motion a heresy inquisition of unprecedented ambition."<sup>158</sup> On September 14, 1307, secret orders for arrests of the Templars were issued all over France, and by the 13<sup>th</sup> of October, these arrests had taken place. While Pope Clement V did not always agree with King Philip IV, the point of the arrests was to gather as many confessions of heresy as they could. In fact, it is safe to say that one of the purposes of these trials was to create a "proto-national heresy inquisition in France."<sup>159</sup> The King of France thus acted as though he was the pope of his kingdom, trying to seize control of certain papal authorities, such as "the power to deploy heresy inquisition."<sup>160</sup> As a result of these numerous trials, by the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were two official kinds of legislations against magic. The first was the legislation of the secular authorities, which came from kings, emperors, or important families in power, such as the Ghibelline families. While the secular law imposed harsh penalties, its concern was not as much the practiced magic itself, but rather the effects it produced.<sup>161</sup> The second was that of the Church, which would go about charging the guilty person differently. First, the Church would require penance from the accused, then it would decide their penalty

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<sup>158</sup> Sean L. Field, "The Heresy of the Templars and the Dream of a French Inquisition," in *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, (UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 14.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>161</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 177.

based on the type and extent of the magic they had practiced, as well as for the offense of God and for any harm caused to the targeted person.<sup>162</sup>

This competing law was problematic because either the secular authorities clashed with the Church, or those same authorities were heavily influenced by the religious authorities, rendering the differences between the two moot.<sup>163</sup> These trials were neither new nor unique to the fourteenth century, but the difference between the ancient trials and those of the 1300s was that theologians, such as Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, and Albertus Magnus, attempted to understand and differentiate false from real experimental sciences and magic. The trials peaked in the fourteenth century because of the excessive number of accusations of heresy levied by Pope John XXII and the king of France. The legal proceedings were orchestrated both by the Church and the court of France, thus mixing the secular law and the legislation of the Church together.<sup>164</sup> Up until the late Middle Ages, legal proceedings in municipalities would use what was known as the “accusatory” procedure, which would only happen if a person came forward and complained or accused another with a crime. If the victim, say person A, was able to prove that the accused, say person B, had committed the crime, and person B could not defend himself, he would be sentenced to the necessary penalties, up to and including execution. If, however, person A could not prove person B guilty because person B was able prove himself innocent, then person A would face penalties. This procedure changed as a result of the rise of magicians, their cases falling into the hands of the inquisitors.<sup>165</sup>

Initially, it was Pope Gregory IX (~1227-41) who put in place inquisitorial procedures in court. He hired inquisitors whose jobs were to find and charge anyone who had been suspected

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<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 188-190.

of using magic. Unlike the accusatory procedure, the inquisitorial procedure would not wait for a witness or victim to come forward and would rely on the aggravator's narrative by itself. There was also a special interrogation guide for the inquisitors to follow that allowed them to interrogate their suspect on a numerous subjects concerning magic. In a sense, they were provided with a list of everything they could interrogate suspect about and included on this list was questions relating to the conjuration of demons, wax and image magic, astrology, the use of herbs, the sacrifice of human body parts, and many more topics. The inquisitors would lead their trials on suspicion, interrogating their suspect about everything on their list to see how many crimes their suspect had committed. Based on that interrogation, the inquisitors, along with the curia and court (if involved) would decide on the prosecution and penalty of their suspect.<sup>166</sup>

By the time Pope John XXII began his pontificate, the inquisitorial method was already in place and practiced widely, and it thus unsurprising that it was the method of choice for the trials imposed by him. Indeed, the Templar trials in France showed what a forceful inquisitory method could accomplish, and Pope John XXII adopted and improved it. The popes of Avignon were eventually able to work with the king, demonstrating to people their authority, power, and control.<sup>167</sup> Under Pope John XXII, there were no idle inquisitors, and this created many enemies of the pontiff. Other than the various attempts on his life resulting from overzealous prosecution, however, the pope had two major problems. First, the Church's obsession with magic and heresy did not only come from the works of the theologians or the idea of the coming of Antichrist, it also came as a result of the formation of what Kieckhefer refers to as the clerical underworld, which is a term that refers to a group of necromancers who had clerical training.<sup>168</sup> As

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<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>167</sup> Sean L. Field, "The Heresy of the Templars and the Dream of a French Inquisition," in *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, (UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 33.

<sup>168</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 153.

Kieckhefer explains further, the term cleric is imprecise because it can have various meanings, thus necromancers were not only clerics. Typically, the term cleric, or *clericus* in Latin, would mean a clerk; however, cleric, in a more precise Medieval definition, suggests a university student who was ordained to a lower order. This included anyone who had studied theology and could be ordained to help priests in “various liturgical and practical functions”<sup>169</sup> and were allowed to perform various types of exorcisms.<sup>170</sup>

The church’s mistake was not that it ordained clerics, but rather that they lacked control over them. Theological education had been intertwined with spiritual guidance and the practice of performing rituals. Combining their theological knowledge and practical training, these clerics often explored the idea of magic, demons, and the practice of necromancy.<sup>171</sup> Additionally, monks, along with priests, could also enter the clerical underworld, along with non-clerical necromantic practitioners. The clerical underworld thus grew in number and strength, producing the numerous grimoires of spells and conjurations that we know today. These clerics might have practiced Necromancy in the Middle Ages for three purposes. First, to affect the mind and body of a targeted person, driving them mad or causing them physical discomfort, but not necessarily killing them. Second, to create illusions through the conjuration of objects and demons. Third, and most importantly, to “discern secret things, whether past, present, or future,”<sup>172</sup> such as finding stolen things, casting spells for hatred and love, identifying thieves, and much more.<sup>173</sup>

Pope John XXII’s second problem was his political quarrels with the Ghibelline families. This latter problem is particularly important for my thesis because, when coupled with the

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<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-158.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.



problem of the clerical underground, it will reveal more accurately the sociopolitical and historical milieu of *Miscellanea 1320*. While the King of France had sided with the Church, and the Avignonese curia was seemingly unstoppable in their trials, the Ghibelline families in Italy were mostly against the pope. In fact, one of the main reasons why Pope John XXII was the target of the Visconti was because he had intervened in their political affairs. As André-Michel Robert explains, after the trial of the Bishop of Cahors, Italy did not warmly welcome the Pope. In fact, there was instead an uprising against the pope that claimed he was a heretic, not those he had tried.<sup>174</sup> Pope John XXII thus found himself in a situation where, instead of being in the good graces of the Italians, he faced a group of adversaries whose leaders were Matteo Visconti, Cangrande della Scala, and the Passerini family of Mantua.<sup>175</sup> Visconti was certainly the most powerful among these three, considering his children ruled over much of Northern Italy. For instance, Galeazzo was Lord of Piacenza and Cremona, Marco ruled Tortona and Alessandria, Luchino led Pavia and Voghera, and Stefano was lord of Vercelli and Novara.<sup>176</sup>

It is further important to note that the hostilities between the Visconti and the pope began immediately after assumed the papacy. In fact, on October 14, 1316, the year during which Pope John XXII's pontificate began, he had written an amicable and peaceful letter to the Visconti, asking them to cease their war in Brescia. On March 12, 1317, the pope declared a truce between Robert, the King of Sicily, and Matteo Visconti and his allies. Moreover, the pope declared the

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<sup>174</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 273-74. See also Franz Ehrle, *Die Spiritualen, ihr Verhältniss zum Franziskanerorden und zu den Fraticelen* (*Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, IV, p. 7 et ss.), and Franz Ehrle, *Ludwig der Bayer und die Fraticellen und Ghibellinen von Todi und Amelia in Jahre 1328* (*Ibid.*, I, p. 158 et ss., II, p. 653 et ss.). André-Michel Robert cites from these sources in his book, and while I was unable to consult it, according to Robert, these sources claim that many Franciscans were spreading rumors about the pope to provoke the uprising against him. How much of this is true, and how much of it is fabrication, is difficult to say.

<sup>175</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 274.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

title of Vicar illegal on March 31<sup>st</sup> of the same year. Matteo Visconti, having received that title from the Emperor himself, did turn it over, but was then elected as the Lord of Milan by the people.<sup>177</sup> While Matteo Visconti initially adhered to the pope's decisions with respect to his political affairs, their relationship began deteriorating when, at the end of April of 1317, the pope reinforced his contract of truce on Matteo Visconti and ordered him to free the members of the della Torre family who had been imprisoned by the Visconti family. Considering that the della Torre family was the enemy of the Visconti,<sup>178</sup> Matteo answered that he could guarantee peace in the regions where he and his family reigned, but he would not liberate those whom he had imprisoned.<sup>179</sup> Thus began the long feud between the Visconti family and the pope, in which *Miscellanea 1320* takes a part.

It is also worth noting that the pope began financing the Angevin crusades against the Italian *signori* after these lords began defying his decisions. The papal curia thus formed an alliance with the Angevin Empire to begin crusades for primarily political reasons. A significant number of these crusades were carried out in Italy against the *signori* between 1254 and 1343. During that time, the crusades were waged in Italy because the papacy wanted to establish and display their power over the Italian lords. Among the popes who actively participated in these crusades was Pope John XXII.<sup>180</sup>

By 1317, Pope John XXII directed the crusades, which were fully supported by the Church's army, against various *signorie*. The pontiff viewed these crusades as a rebellion against heresy, thus he employed in them as tool frequently. By 1321, he had officially declared crusades against

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<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>178</sup> See the entry of Anna Caso, "Della Torre, Simone," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 37, 1989*. Published on Treccani, Online.

<sup>179</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 274.

<sup>180</sup> Norman Housley, *Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 15.

the Ghibellines, including Matteo Visconti.<sup>181</sup> By January 1, 1322, the papal state had issued a bull to enter to Milan and Piacenza. As the first attempt was unsuccessful, Bertrand du Pouget began preaching about the crusades against Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti by the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> of January and joined the Guelf forces with the Church's army. Various actions took place in a matter of 10 days, and by the summer of 1322, the Visconti *signoria* collapsed, and Matteo Visconti passed away.<sup>182</sup> These crusades were directed at many other *signorie*, but not all of them were successful. With every successful crusade, however, Pope John XXII was able to finance more, and as a result, an enormous part of the pontiff's treasury was often sent to Bertrand du Pouget in Lombardy.<sup>183</sup> This history further explains what political motivations might have inspired many of the trials against magic at the time and suggests why the pope may have forged such a document as the *Miscellanea 1320*.

## 2.2. The Visconti Affair

“[...] dominus Johannes digna Dei providentia papa XXIIus habens  
Matheum de Vicecomitibus de Mediolano et filios suos et quosdam alios  
ex certis causis graviter suspectos de labe pravitatis heretice [...]”<sup>184</sup>

Fortunately for scholars, Pope John XXII's trials against magic were often recorded. Indeed, a simple search for Matteo Visconti on the Vatican Library Archives website returns numerous digitized manuscripts. While many of these manuscripts are cited in the secondary sources I engage with in this thesis, such as the works of André-Michel Robert, Parent Sylvain, Gerolamo Biscaro, and more, the manuscripts that helped me gain a better understanding of

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-26.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>184</sup> Vat. lat. 3937, f. 1r, first paragraph. The digitalized version of the manuscript can be found here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3937](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3937)

*Miscellanea 1320* include vat. lat. 1320,<sup>185</sup> vat. lat. 2417,<sup>186</sup> vat. lat. 3936,<sup>187</sup> vat. lat. 3937,<sup>188</sup> vat. lat. 4275,<sup>189</sup> and vat. lat. 4869.<sup>190</sup>

The bulk of these manuscripts explain the reasons for the trials against the Visconti family, as they hold a collection of testimonies from unnamed witnesses on the heretic activities of Matteo Visconti and his sons. Additionally, the manuscripts also concern Ghibelline families, such as the della Scala family of Verona or the Este family of Ferrara (a mention of the latter includes a statement that they were allies of the Visconti, automatically making them suspects in the eyes of the papacy). As previously mentioned, the the Visconti family's rejection of the pope's request to free the members of the della Torre family, an important and powerful Guelf family, led to their fight with the papacy.<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, these manuscripts are particularly noteworthy because they trace the development of church attitudes towards superstitions and magic under Pope John XXII's time, especially around the years in which *Miscellanea 1320* was recorded. One example from these manuscripts that illuminates the pontiff's point of view on the depositions brought forth by Bartolomeo is MS Vat. Lat. 4869, which serves as an attestation of the pope's interpretation of demonic magic.<sup>192</sup> Moreover, MS Vat. Lat. 4275 is a wonderfully rich manuscript that, among various other important texts, holds two texts on Church laws regarding astrology and magic (see Figure 10 in the "Photo Index").<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, it is

<sup>185</sup> Vat. Lat. 1320: <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.1320>

<sup>186</sup> Vat. Lat. 2417: <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.2417>

<sup>187</sup> Vat. Lat. 3936: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3936](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3936)

<sup>188</sup> Vat. Lat. 3937: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3937](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3937)

<sup>189</sup> Vat. Lat. 4275: <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.4275>

<sup>190</sup> Vat. Lat. 4869: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.4869](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4869)

<sup>191</sup> See the entry of Anna Caso, "Della Torre, Simone," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 37, 1989*. Published on Treccani, Online.

<sup>192</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 288.

<sup>193</sup> MS Vat. Lat. 4275, first caught my attention because of the graphs on astrology it contains and because it has been cited in relation to *Miscellanea 1320*. Upon further research, I was able to discover that the manuscript is a collection of various texts. MS Vat. Lat. 4275 includes five of Oresme's works, treatises on mathematics by Jordanus de Nemore, astronomical works by Albertus Magnus and Thabit ibn Qurra, a defense of astrological

important to keep in mind that the case of the Visconti family and the pope is not limited to this body of work alone, which is a small part of the recorded information that I was able to find online with an extremely filtered search. It is also important to remember that this body of manuscripts is limited to what has been digitized and is easily accessible. *Miscellanea 1320*, the primary document of my thesis, remains undigitized and is found in an entirely different collection than the manuscripts mentioned above.

The pope began meddling in the affairs of the Visconti because the region of Lombardy had the reputation that it was governed by tyrants. The first step that the pope took was to send ambassadors or messengers of peace, who were Bernard Gui, a Dominican friar and an inquisitor from Toulouse who played a significant role in the arrest of the Templars ten years prior,<sup>194</sup> and Bertrand de Turre, a French theologian and cardinal of Milan.<sup>195</sup> The pair undertook diplomatic works for pope John XXII often in 1317 and 1318,<sup>196</sup> and the ambassadors stayed in lands controlled by the Visconti for five months from April 1317 until August 1317. Bernard Gui and Bertrand de Turre were asked to negotiate for peace, stop the small wars that were led by the Visconti against the Guelfs, and attempt to liberate the members of the della Torre family.

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questions, and two texts on the Church laws. For more detailed descriptions, see Dan Burton, "Nicole Oresme's *De visione stellarum* (On Seeing the Stars): A Critical Edition of Oresme's Treatise on Optics and Atmospheric Refraction" in *Medieval and Early Modern Science*, V. 7, (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>194</sup> See Sean L. Field, "The Heresy of the Templars and the Dream of a French Inquisition," in *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, (UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2018).

<sup>195</sup> Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100. Parent Sylvain also offers a bibliographical selection on Bernard Gui. For Bernard Gui, see *Bernard Gui et son monde, Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 16, 1981. For Bertrand de Turre, see P. Nold, *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan cardinal. Bertrand de la Tour and the apostolic poverty controversy*, (Oxford: Oxford, 2003), and C. V. Langlois, *Bertrand de la Tour, Frère mineur*, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 36, 1927, p. 190-203.

<sup>196</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 275. See also Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100.

Matteo Visconti resisted, and because these diplomatic negotiations failed, Pope John XXII turned to spiritual weapons, launching his first trials against the Visconti family.<sup>197</sup>

The trials involved various leaders of the Ghibelline families with whom the Visconti daughters were married, such as the della Scala and d'Este families. On October 9, 1317,<sup>198</sup> the pope asked the Bishops of Como and Asti to begin trials against Matteo Visconti, and the first trial began on 28 November of the same year the pope asked Visconti to free the imprisoned della Torre family members. Matteo did not reply to the trials, instead sending his judge and subordinate, Scotus san Gemignano, to inform the papacy that they were not interested in taking part in these legal proceedings.<sup>199</sup> By January 4, 1318, Matteo Visconti, Cangrande della Scala, and the Passerini of Mantua were excommunicated by the pope. On 16 December of the same year, the Ghibellines elected Cangrande della Scala as their leader or Imperial deputy. As a response, among many actions that Pope John XXII took, he also sent his nephew, Bertrand du Pouget, to Italy. Seemingly, the Pope's intention was that Bertrand du Pouget would act like an angel of peace to keep the wars between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines under control, but in truth, he was sent to reinforce and continue the failed trials against the Visconti family.<sup>200</sup>

*Miscellanea 1320* takes place after four years of trials and fights between the papacy and the Visconti family. Unsurprisingly, no matter how much Pope John XXII tried to impose his

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<sup>197</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 275. See also Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100.

<sup>198</sup> Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100.

<sup>199</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 276.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 275, 276. See also Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100.

inquisitorial methods on the Visconti family, he ended up following the accusatory method because Matteo Visconti refused to present himself in front of the papacy. This meant that at this point in time, the Visconti family, while always resisting, were facing serious charges with physical evidence and testimony against them. In MS Vat. Lat. 3936, a manuscript of 29 folios, the testimonies are grouped by family members. Unfortunately, this particular manuscript does not record the exact names and dates of each testimony, but it does contain 23 accusations against Galeazzo, 12 against Marco, 6 against Luchino, 9 against Stefano, 4 against Giovanni, and 35 against Matteo.<sup>201</sup> Vat. Lat. 3937, on the other hand, is divided into two booklets. The first booklet, folios I to CXII, contains a list of the trials launched against the Visconti family and their allies, such as Scotus san Gemignano. The second booklet, folios CXIII to CCCXXX, contains the information of those who supported the heretic activities of the Visconti family.<sup>202</sup> *Miscellanea 1320* falls in the midst of these manuscripts.

*Miscellanea 1320* first shows how magic was interpreted by the court and then how it was used as a political tool. The information that the miscellany describes is the making of a talisman and the use of demonic magic with the intention of murdering the pope. Considering the fraught relationship between pope John XXII and the Visconti family, one can understand why the Ghibelline family would want to have the Pope assassinated. There remain several unanswered questions, however, such as, how did the Visconti family come to choose image magic? Magic in the court was related to everyone in power, specifically kings, popes, and members of the Church. While the idea of magic in rural Medieval society was something people feared and tried to avoid as much as they could, for the court, it was a matter of necessary

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<sup>201</sup> Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

curiosity.<sup>203</sup> That being said, magic's had a reputation in courtly environments of something that was fascinating or even enchanting. Courtly writers drew on that fascination with magic as inspiration for their works, such as the Arthurian Romances of Chrétien the Troyes.<sup>204</sup> However, the seriousness of the situation was known throughout the courts even if they were covered with beautiful stories, and while a surviving letter on parchment addressed to Pope John XXIII with the date of December 10, 1410, from the Queen of Poland, Anna Cilly, reads the details of a heretic trial in great fascination,<sup>205</sup> the most notorious case in the French and Italian courts was often the case of the Bishop of Cahors.<sup>206</sup>

In the walls of courts and palaces, rumors spread that the Bishop of Cahors was sneaking images with seals and inscriptions into the Pope's chambers. In courts, as in any political establishments, there were numerous adversaries vying for power and influence. Unsurprisingly, some of these courtiers turned to necromancy as a method for dispatching rivals and enemies.<sup>207</sup> It cannot be established with certainty whether the *signori* of the Ghibelline families believed in image-magic or not. It is certain, however, that they employed demonic magic both to scare the pope and demonstrate their political power. The Visconti were aware that even though Pope John XXII was using these trials as a form of propaganda, attempts on his life by means of sorcery were many. At the same time, the pope was using these trials of heresy as political propaganda, making the trial proceedings available to the public broadly.<sup>208</sup> By conducting these political trials publicly, or better yet, by publicizing them, the Church was able to manipulate the public

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<sup>203</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 95-96.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>205</sup> Benedek Lång. *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*. The Magic History Series. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 209.

<sup>206</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 97.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>208</sup> Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 95.



perception about themselves harping on people's views on magic.<sup>209</sup> The church thus attempted to instill fear in the public by playing with their superstitions, assuring themselves of a certain type of political power based in religious fear.<sup>210</sup> The pope knew that if the Visconti were accused of heresy, they would fall in the hands of the Church, where he could control their destiny. While this does not eliminate the fact that the Visconti Lords may have found refuge in magic to fight the pope, it is more probable the pope sought to exploit attitudes towards dark magic by forging the *Miscellanea 1320* in order to incriminate the Visconti.

### 2.3. The Fine Selection of People in *Miscellanea 1320*

The actions in *Miscellanea 1320* began in 1319 after the Visconti family had already been excommunicated by the pope. Along with the Visconti, in the document, there is a list of people who were incriminated as well. For the sake of simplicity, I will place them into two categories. The first category is comprised of those who had direct physical contact with Bartolomeo: Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti, Bartolomeo Cagnolati, Scotus san Gemignano, and Antonio Pelacane, and the second group is comprised of Dante Alighieri and Petrus Nani, the two people who were not present alongside the Visconti. Beginning with the former group, I will introduce the person with whom each figure was in contact: Bartolomeo Cagnolati.

The biographical information on Cagnolati comes mostly *Miscellanea 1320*. According to the document, he was a clergyman and a citizen of Milan who seemed to be familiar with many powerful people and Church officials. Bartolomeo's last name has been recorded with various spellings, such as Canholatuss, Canolati, Cagnolatio, and a few others, however, in modern spelling, his last name generally reads as Cagnolati. Additionally, in his second deposition, it was recorded that Bartolomeo Cagnolati was the son of a certain *domini Uberti*.

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<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 672.

Cagnolati is also mentioned after this testimony in other Church documents, which will be discussed in the conclusion of the thesis.<sup>211</sup> While it is uncertain why Matteo Visconti called for Bartolomeo specifically, it is certain is that Bartolomeo was a cleric, and as previously discussed, clerics in the Middle Ages had basic university training and were often ordained to a lower order.<sup>212</sup> Unfortunately, it is difficult to know if Bartolomeo Cagnolati was definitively a member of the clerical underworld, but considering his title and the descriptions of him, it seems likely. After all, it seems that Bartolomeo knew of the practice of necromancy and had enough training to understand the effects of demonic magic.

Matteo Visconti was one of the twelve Visconti lords who ruled Milan, and despite his rich cultural program and artistic patronages,<sup>213</sup> after Pope John XXII's accusation, people often described him as a heretic. Despite being excommunicated on multiple occasions, he was nevertheless one of the greatest lords of Milan. Matteo Visconti was also aggressively ambitious in his political vision and territorial ambitions, resulting in various political wars which led to his exile from Milan from 1302 to 1310. During this time, the della Torre family regained control of the city. Despite the loss of Milan, the Visconti lords nevertheless maintained their control over other regions of Lombardy because of the dominion of Matteo's sons.<sup>214</sup> It was not until Emperor Henry VII needed Matteo to regain control over Milan, offering him unparalleled support, that Matteo Visconti returned to the city. With the Visconti Lord back in control of Milan, he imprisoned some of the della Torre family and banished others. After the coronation of

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<sup>211</sup> For further reading on the cleric, see Ugo Rozzo, "Cagnolati Bartolomeo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 16, (1973 – Online on [www.treccani.it](http://www.treccani.it)).

<sup>212</sup> Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 153.

<sup>213</sup> Marina Areli, "The Langobard Revival of Matteo il Magno Visconti, Lord of Milan," in *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 16, no. 1/ 2, (USA: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of Villa I Tatti, 2013), 377,78.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 395.

the Emperor as King of Italy on January 6, 1311, Matteo Visconti was pronounced imperial vicar of Milan,<sup>215</sup> a title he later had to forgo at Pope John XXII's request.

Matteo was also elected Lord of Milan by his own people. This election, however, did not mean that he stopped feuding against the Church. In addition to heresy, Pope John XXII accused him of "inappropriate insistence on seigneurial standing"<sup>216</sup> as well. Given that no accusation seemed to have effect on Matteo Visconti, between the years 1320 and 1322, he was convicted by the ecclesiastical court for numerous crimes, both real and fabricated.<sup>217</sup> *Miscellanea 1320* falls right before this surge of accusations against him, and it raises suspicions about the authenticity of the depositions. Matteo Visconti, realizing that he was being buried under a mountain of accusations, tried to divert this problem away from his children. In 1322, shortly before withdrawing to a monastery, he surrendered his lordship to his son Galeazzo Visconti. Matteo Visconti ended up dying shortly after as a convicted heretic.<sup>218</sup>

At the time of the depositions, Galeazzo Visconti was Lord of Piacenza. Unfortunately, Matteo Visconti's wishes did not come true, as his accusations were bequeathed to Galeazzo Visconti once he surrendered his lordship to him. Indeed, Galeazzo Visconti was soon after elected *capitanus et dominus* by the General Council because he defeated the Angevin-papal army at Bassignana. Consequently, it did not take long for the pope to pronounce an excommunication against him on March 12, 1323.<sup>219</sup> This excommunication, like his father's, was based on the charge of heresy, and his condemnation followed the same pattern, including his unwillingness to comply with the summons and appear before the papal court. Most of the

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<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 396.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 412.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 413.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 413.

<sup>219</sup> Jane Black, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan: Plenitude of Power under the Visconti and the Sforza 1329-1535*, (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2010), 39.

charges against Galeazzo stemmed from the accusations against his father for practicing dark magic; he was alleged to have worked together with his father to make pacts with demons.<sup>220</sup> The only deposition that directly mentions Galeazzo involved in a work of magic, however, is *Miscellanea 1320*. The other accusations against him are either vague or taken from his father's prosecutions. Moreover, in these accusations Galeazzo's faith is often questioned, since, according to his brother Marco, it seemed that the new Lord of Milan had a habit of honoring statues.<sup>221</sup> Eventually, the charges of heresy against Galeazzo were dropped at the final verdict. What stood were his associations with demonic magic that seemed to have been modelled after the accusations against his father.<sup>222</sup>

While the involvement of Galeazzo Visconti in these depositions remains questionable, the confidant of Matteo Visconti, Scotus san Gemignano, seems to have taken a more proactive role in the process of the conjuration. Scotus appears in the manuscripts of MS. Vat. lat. 3936 and 3937, and there is little information on him. He is also variously referred to as Scoto san Geminiano, Scotus da sancto Geminiano, and Scoto Gimignano. In *Miscellanea 1320*, he appears as *dominus Scotus domini Gentilis de sancto Geminiano*. Additionally, Bartolomeo mentions that he was the judge of Matteo Visconti, a detail which the manuscripts found in the Vatican archives support. Another noteworthy detail is that Scotus built the *Loggia degli Osii* in 1316 for Matteo Visconti, which is still standing and functioning today in Milan. Following the coat of arms, a plaque that is overshadowed by the gothic design of the building reads:

[...] *Et Domno Scoto de Sancto Geminiano*

<sup>220</sup> Georg Modestin, "The Making of a Heretic: Pope John XXII's Campaign against Louis of Bavaria," in *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, (UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 82-83.

<sup>221</sup> Sylvain Parent, *Dans les Abysses de l'infidélité: Les procès contre les ennemis de l'Eglise en Italie au temps de Jean XXII (1316-1334)*, (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2014), 278-80.

<sup>222</sup> Georg Modestin, "The Making of a Heretic: Pope John XXII's Campaign against Louis of Bavaria," in *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, (UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 82-83

*Legum Doctori, cuius probitate reguntur,*

*Iustitiae socii validi comitiva vigoris,*

*Hoc commisit opus: qui rem produxit in actum.*<sup>223</sup>

While there was no other pertinent information on his identity in the available documents, such as his date and place of birth and death, the references to him within these works suffice to show his importance in Matteo Visconti's court, which in turn, fits for his role in *Miscellanea 1320*. As previously mentioned, while Matteo Visconti would have Scotus San Gemignano answer his court mandates, the latter also had many accusations and pending trials against him. In MS. Vat. lat. 3937, the most pertinent information on Scotus San Gemignano is found on f. 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, and 40r.<sup>224</sup> These pages discuss accusations against him; however, they do not add more information on his identity other than calling him the judge of Matteo Visconti. In *Miscellanea 1320*, Scotus handles the suffumigation of the talisman after the first failed attempt. He also kept a close eye on Bartolomeo and follows the actions that the cleric took. Scotus even imprisons the cleric and tortures him when necessary. Ultimately, Scotus is the person who sends the talisman to Galeazzo Visconti in Piacenza, after having kept it at his home. These details suggest that Scotus san Gemignano and Matteo Visconti trusted each other.

It is also important to understand Scotus san Gemignano's title of judge. For someone to earn the title of a judge or a lawyer in the fourteenth century, they had to study at a university

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<sup>223</sup> I was able to find this information first in Francesco Pirovano, *La Ville de Milan: Nouvellement decrite par le peintre ... avec ses établissemens ... Trad. De l'Italien de Mr. le C. L. B., auteur de plusieurs ouvrages.* (Silvestri, 1822), 276-77. I have verified this inscription from photos found online. Here is a fuller transcription of the plaque that I was able to decipher from photos: "ANNO. MILLENO. TCENTENO. QUE. D. ACTO. DUM. SEXTUS. DECIM\*. DNI. IAM. SUBREPET. ANNUS. ALTA. VICECOMITUM. PLES. DE. STRIPE. MATHEUS CESAREI. PATRIA. DEFENSOR. HONORIS. IN. ISTA. HOC. SOLUM. VICO. STATUIT. SUD. ESE. FORILI. FULTU\*. MARMOREIS. VARIO. OB. DECORE. COLUMNIS. QUO. MEDIOLAN. SURGENS. DE. MORE. POTESTAS. ALOQUIT\*. POPULUM\*. CO\*TIO. CO\*VOCAT. IP\*M. ET. N\*NO. SCOTO. DE. SC\*O. IEMINIANO. IUSTITIE. SOTII. VALIDE. COMITIVA VIGORIS. HOC. COMISIT. OP\*. QU.REM. DIXIT. I\*. ACTU\*.

<sup>224</sup> Ms. vat. lat. 3937: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3937](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3937)

and earn a law degree. The most reputable University in Italy for law at the time was University of Bologna, and a typical law program would include the liberal arts, which would be associated with the faculty of medicine. Importantly, with respect to religion, the universities offered their degrees in canon law because they were not authorized to confer degrees in theology, even if at some point they were to include it in their curriculum.<sup>225</sup> This shows that Scotus, who may or may not have attended the University of Bologna, may have learned from the aforementioned elements of the curriculum about *aconitum napellus* and its effects, theologians and their ideas on magic, and the laws of the time.

The second person who first appears alongside Scotus san Gemignano is Antonio Pelacane, whose last name also appears as Pelacani in other sources. He is described in the miscellany as *magister Antonius Pelacane ph[ys]icus*. As it turns out, Antonio Pelacane was Antonio de Parma, a philosopher, astronomer, and medical scholar, most active in the first half of the fourteenth century. According to the archives of Parma, where Antonio Pelacane was most probably born, he was a member or student at the city's medical college.<sup>226</sup> Antonio Pelacane is recorded as having made his way to Bologna in 1306, where he carried the title of *magister*, after which, he moved to the University of Padova and worked as a teacher. This information is noted in two of his manuscripts, *Quaestio Utrum idropsis asclites* and *Quaestio De unitate intellectus*.<sup>227</sup> While Antonio Pelacane was already making a name for himself in the academic world, he carved his way into the political world of the fourteenth century Italy by marrying Mabilia Pallavicino. The Pallavicino family is also known as Pallavicini in various sources, and

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<sup>225</sup> I have taken this information from James Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Professions: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 244,245. See it for further reading.

<sup>226</sup> Dragos Calma, "Antonio Pelacani da Parma," in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, (online, 2015), 92. I could not find the archival records in my research to find out more about Antonio Pelacani's history of his medical studies, however, Dragos Calma cites: U. Gualazzini, *Corpus statutorum almii studii Parmensis*, Milano 1978, p. LXV.

<sup>227</sup> Dragos Calma, "Antonio Pelacani da Parma," in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, (online, 2015), 92.

Mabilia was the daughter of Oberto II Pallavicino, the general and vicar of Federico II. The family carried various titles, and they were mostly known as the marquis of Cremona, Parma, and Piacenza. With the Ghibelline connections of the Pallavicino family, Antonio Pelacane met Matteo Visconti and Cangrande I della Scala.<sup>228</sup>

From the recorded letters and testimonies of Cangrande's sons, it seems that Antonio Pelacane had strong political and personal ties with both Matteo Visconti and Cangrande della Scala. The philosopher, in turn, is unfortunately most famous for having been mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320*, and not for his scholarly works. In the miscellany, Antonio Pelacane brings the talisman to Petrus Nani, also known as Pietro 'Nan' da Marano, who was in possession of the *aconitum napellus*.<sup>229</sup> His actions and the role in the miscellany make sense and agree with his profession as *magister* because he would have been familiar with herbs and their uses and would have had various connections in Verona, especially considering his close relationship with Cangrande della Scala. Moreover, he is also mentioned as the physician of Matteo Visconti, a position which also aligns with his profession and education.

It is also particularly noteworthy that Antonio Pelacane authored various books on theology, physics, and medicine, and even more importantly, he did not shy away from stating his views on Thomas Aquinas's arguments regarding God's infinite power. In his *quaestio*, Pelacane openly rejected Aquinas's arguments supporting God's infinite power.<sup>230</sup> Considering such an argument, it is thus unsurprising that Antonio Pelacane's views and activities attracted the attention of the church and that he was present in activities mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320*.

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<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>230</sup> Antoine Côté, "Anthony of Parma's *Quaestio utrum primum principum sive Deus ipse sit potentie infinite*: an introduction Edition," in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, volume 84, (University of Ottawa, online, 2017), 4.

Finally, Antonio Pelacane's tomb and sepulchre is found in Verona, buried next to his wife, at S. Fermo Maggiore, and his elaborate sepulchre suggests that he was both wealthy and famous. Pelacane died in 1327. After Matteo Visconti's death in 1322, he most likely returned to Cangrande's court in Verona, where he was protected.<sup>231</sup>

The second group of people in the *Miscellanea 1320* are those who had not direct contact with Bartolomeo were not physically present but are nevertheless mentioned, and these are Petrus Nani and Dante Alighieri. *Petrus Nani de Verona*, as he appears in the miscellany, is recorded in history under various names, such as Pietro Nano, Petrus Nani, Petrus Nan, and more. While his full name is Pietro da Marano, the terms Nan, Nanus, Nani, or Nano are a nickname that refer to the fact that Pietro was a dwarf.<sup>232</sup> Petro 'Nan' da Marano was not a new arrival to the Scaligeri court during Cangrande's time. As mentioned in *Il Chronicon Veronese* (first volume), during the festivities of *santi Martini* hosted by Alberto della Scala in 1295, *Petrus Nanus de Vicentia*<sup>233</sup> was present as one of the Scaligeri knights, his name appearing in a

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<sup>231</sup> Dragos Calma, "Antonio Pelacani da Parma," in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, (online, 2015), 93. Dragos Calma offers an extremely detailed and elaborate list of bibliographical materials on Antonio Pelacani's life. *Treccani*, the online Italian Encyclopedia, has an entry on Antonio Pelacani where his works are separated by topic, and also offers an elaborate list of bibliography. From my research on the Vatican archives, I was able to find MS. Vat. Lat. 2172 f. 55r-57r which discusses Pelacani's *quaestio*, under the title of: *quaestio disputata: utrum primum principum sive Deus ipse sit potentiae infinitae*. MS. Vat. Lat. 4450, f. 73r-95v on *quaestiones super libro [Galen] de accidente et morbo* by Antonio Pelacani. Finally, MS. Vat. Lat. 4452, f. 1r-47v holds Pelacani's *recollections super I fen I canonis Avicennae recollectae sub magistro Anthonio de Parma viro in naturali philosophia et medicinali scientia elegantissime comprobata per me Albertum bononiensem*. All the manuscripts mentioned here have been digitized and can be found online.

<sup>232</sup> Nataschia L. Carlotto, "Pietro "Nan" da Marano," in *Gli Scaligeri, 1277-1387*, (Italy: Mondadori, 1988), 143. See also Louise Bourdua, "Lunch on Expenses: Travelling Friars in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century Veneto," in *A Venetian Miscellany Warwick Writing*, (Warwick: The University of Warwick, 2011), 16. As well as Robin O'Bryan, "Able-Bodied and Disabled Dwarfs in Italian Renaissance Art and Culture," in *The Routledge Companion to Art and Disability*, ed. Keri Watson and Timothy W. Hiles (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2022), 214.

<sup>233</sup> Pietro's father, Guglielmo, seems to have emigrated from Vicenza to Verona in 1257 because of his pro-Ghibelline and anti-Paduan views. By 1288, Guglielmo already had three children, Pietro, Marco, and Grailante, and was serving in the Scaligeri court. By 1294, Pietro was already elected as honorary knight by Alberto della Scala. For further reading, see Nataschia L. Carlotto, "Pietro "Nan" da Marano," in *Gli Scaligeri, 1277-1387*, (Italy: Mondadori, 1988), 143.



list among other knights.<sup>234</sup> In other archived documents from the year 1294, it is also mentioned that Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano had the title of *prima* knight of the della Scala court.<sup>235</sup> This means that Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano was already active and of high in rank when Cangrande della Scala was only 3 or 4 years old.

Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano is indeed the most puzzling person mentioned in *Miscellanea* 1320. According to Petrarch, he was a man of incredible wisdom who was influential in Cangrande’s political affairs.<sup>236</sup> In other sources, Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano is mentioned both as Cangrande’s knight and as a monk.<sup>237</sup> From a still unpublished sheet found in the archives of Venice recorded in 1340, information on two travelling Franciscan friars relates to Pietro’s final years of life.<sup>238</sup> The surviving paper records the habits of Pace da Lugo, the supervisor of Andriolo de’ Santi, who was the sculptor of the façade portal of the San Lorenzo church in Vicenza, and Tomaso da Camerino, who was an inquisitor. This document relates that Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano was executed, since the surviving document contains his warrant of execution carried out by the two friars. It appears that he died sometime before November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1341.<sup>239</sup> On the same sheet of paper there is also information on Pietro’s commission to build the façade of the San Lorenzo church in Vicenza.

<sup>234</sup> Renzo Vaccari, *Il Chronicon Veronese de Paride de Cerea e dei suoi continuatori, Volume primo, Tomo primo*, (Italy: Fondazione Fiorono Musei e Biblioteca Pubblica, 2014), 208.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 208, the source of this information comes from *Syllabus potestatum* (v. in Cipolla 1890, p. 400), as well as *Annales de Romano*, (*ibidem* p. 444). Furthermore, there is also a contribution from C. and F. Cipolla, titled “*Chronica illorum de la Scala*,” in *Antiche cronache veronesi*, v. I. (Venezia, 1890), p. 497-503, which repeats the same information on Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano as a first knight of Alberto della Scala.

<sup>236</sup> See Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum memorandarum libri, Liber secundus*, (1350) 54. “[...] *qui inter maxim,os habebatur, de se aliquid loqueretur, cepissetque vir immensi corporis de esu suo in etate iuvenili quedam incredibilia narrare, Petrus Nanus, qui in eadem Canis aula sapientia celebris sed mordax habebatur [...]*”

<sup>237</sup> Giuseppe Pettinà, *Vicenza*, (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d’Arti Grafiche, 1905), 56-57.

<sup>238</sup> Because I could not access the physical document, I relied on Louise Bourdua’s, “Lunch on Expenses: Travelling Friars in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century Veneto,” in *A Venetian Miscellany Warwick Writing* (Warwick: The University of Warwick, 2011), 16, 17.

<sup>239</sup> Louise Bourdua, “Lunch on Expenses: Travelling Friars in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century Veneto,” in *A Venetian Miscellany Warwick Writing* (Warwick: The University of Warwick, 2011), 16, 17.

Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano’s commission to build the facade of the church is a symbolic gesture. On the one hand, it represents his wealth and his well-established place in the Scaligeri court and in the Medieval Italian society. On the other hand, it represents as an act of repentance for his sins, since he was a usurer and hoped to earn a place in heaven.<sup>240</sup> His family, originating from Vicenza, made their way to Verona, and became familiar the della Scala family. Given that in Medieval culture, the *signori* (lords) paid special attention to people with disabilities, having dwarves as members of their court became a statement of their authority and power. Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano, who had already been a part of the Scaligeri court, was made an honorary knight because of his service as ambassador and advisor for the court by Mastino I della Scala in 1291.<sup>241</sup>

Despite this change in title, Pietro did not change his habit of money laundering, from which he made a fortune in his lifetime.<sup>242</sup> Eventually, this habit caught up with him, as he was executed for both heresy and usury.<sup>243</sup> Even though there was no evidence of him being a necromancer or being involved in heretical activities other than that mentioned in the miscellany, it does not come as a surprise that Antonio Pelacane would seek Pietro da Marano’s assistance. After all, the honorary knight was both rich and in a powerful position, meaning he could have acquired nearly anything he sought. Of course, since Cangrande della Scala was

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<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 16. See also Robin O’Bryan, “Able-Bodied and Disabled Dwarfs in Italian Renaissance Art and Culture,” in *The Routledge Companion to Art and Disability*, ed. Keri Watson and Timothy W. Hiles (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2022), 214.

<sup>241</sup> Robin O’Bryan, “Able-Bodied and Disabled Dwarfs in Italian Renaissance Art and Culture,” in *The Routledge Companion to Art and Disability*, ed. Keri Watson and Timothy W. Hiles (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2022), 214. See also Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200-1500*, (USA: John Hopkins University Press, 2019), 374.

<sup>242</sup> For his activities as a usurer, see Frederic Chapin Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice: Volume I: Coins and Moneys of Account*, (USA: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 569. For his political affairs that include finances and usury, see Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200-1500*, (USA: John Hopkins University Press, 2019), 374 – 422.

<sup>243</sup> Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200-1500*, (USA: John Hopkins University Press, 2019), 374.

excommunicated along with Matteo Visconti, it is only normal that the two *signori* became allies. Naturally, the Scaligeri court would thus offer the necessary help to the Visconti court to eliminate their mutual enemy. This leads us to the presence of Dante Alighieri in the *Miscellanea 1320*.

As Bartolomeo relates in the second deposition, recorded on 11 September 1320, after relentless attempts to have him participate in the conjuring, Galeazzo Visconti decides to call for the help of “*magistrum Dante Aleguiro de Florencia*.” It remains unclear if Dante was truly called or not, especially since Galeazzo admitted that he did not trust the poet with the task. Indeed, when the Florentine was summoned to Piacenza he was not informed why. Nevertheless, the mention of Dante’s in *Miscellanea 1320* has led to many theories, some of which are plausible, while others are farfetched and fantastic. For this thesis, I will attempt to elaborate a plausible explanation for the Florentine’s indirect presence in *Miscellanea 1320*. To do so, I will first trace Dante’s whereabouts to try to establish a connection between him and the others mentioned in the miscellany.

Scholars generally believe that Dante Alighieri was in Verona around January 20, 1320, where he presented his arguments on his *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* (later putting them in writing).<sup>244</sup> This event was recorded on a plaque that still exists on the facade of the St. Elena church, where the presence of the poet is recalled along with a sculpted portrait of Dante with Cangrande. If we take the second deposition at face value, it seems that Galeazzo believed that

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<sup>244</sup> There are various theories about Dante’s whereabouts during this time. While some are certain that the poet had left Verona for Ravenna in early 1319, others are certain that he left in the early months of 1320. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that Dante did not visit Verona in the early months of 1320. Considering the evidence on the face of the St. Elena church, it is likely that not only Dante was in Verona, but the plaque provides the clearest dates we have about the poet’s location to date (January 20, 1320). For more biographical information, see Marco Santagata, *Dante: The Story of His Life*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 314-318, as well as Alessandro Barbero, *Dante: A Life*, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2022), 252. For more detailed information on the poet’s *Quaestio*, see G. Boffito, *La “Quaestio de aqua et terra” di Dante Alighieri, Edizione principe del 1508 riprodotta in facsimile*, (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2021), IX.

Dante was still in Verona, even if the Visconti did not necessarily mention the poet's whereabouts (the actions described in the miscellany start in 1319, and end in 1320). This is one of the many theories that have emerged on Dante's presence in this document.<sup>245</sup> If we were to follow the logic of this first theory, it is likely that Antonio Pelacane would serve as the link between Milan and Verona. The physician was the only one who traveled between the two cities for the purposes of the conjuration.

The chances of Antonio Pelacane and Dante meeting are slim because the poet awkwardly left Verona in 1318,<sup>246</sup> and only returned in early 1320 (this means that if the document is accurate, he would have missed Antonio Pelacane by a month). Petrus Nani, on the other hand, was in Verona and was the advisor of Cangrande. Considering Cangrande and Dante's relationship, it is likely that Cangrande or Petrus referred the poet to Galeazzo, who in turn summoned him to Piacenza. While the theory that Petrus Nani and Dante knew each other is interesting, it remains unproven, however. The second theory that has emerged from this complex miscellany is that Dante was present in Piacenza during the summer of 1320. Although Dante's visit to Verona in January of the same year was brief, it is possible that the poet stopped at other cities as he made his way back to Ravenna. Indeed, Gerolamo Biscaro concludes that it is likely that the poet was already in Piacenza when Galeazzo wanted to meet with him (before September 11, 1320). Drawing from Iorio's detailed calculations on the timeline of Dante's whereabouts in the year 1320, Biscaro concludes that after testing Dante's knowledge of

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<sup>245</sup> In his *Dante: A life*, Alessandro Barbero mentions that scholar Giuseppe Indizio has believed in this theory (292). However, it is difficult to confirm.

<sup>246</sup> Marco Santagata, *The Story of His Life*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 314-318.

magic, Galeazzo probably never mentioned his plan to the poet and turned once more to Bartolomeo.<sup>247</sup>

In this first scholarly publication on Dante and *Miscellanea 1320*,<sup>248</sup> Giuseppe Iorio presents three possible scenarios for the poet's presence in this document. One is the poet's presence in Piacenza. Iorio calculates that within the 70 days that Bartolomeo spent in Avignon and in prison, Dante had made his way to the Visconti's city. It is unclear, however, if Dante was in Piacenza because he was called by Galeazzo or he was passing by and Galeazzo called on him. Even though this theory is plausible, it remains inconclusive because of the lack of historical proof.<sup>249</sup> Moreover, many academics believe that Galeazzo lied about contacting Dante to provoke Bartolomeo,<sup>250</sup> which in turn speaks volumes on Dante's fame and reputation in Northern Italy. While Alessandro Barbero also considers that the cleric might be talking about a man named Dantino of the Alighiero, who also happened to be from Florence and spent some time both in Verona and Piacenza, he argues that it cannot be him because the dates do not correlate.<sup>251</sup>

The poet's title in *Miscellanea 1320*, *magistrum*, is also worth discussion. Although it is unclear whether Dante and Galeazzo were acquaintances or friends, it seems that the Visconti held the poet in high esteem, and even if he changed his mind about involving him, he still referred him by his title of *magistrum*, which the poet adopted in his *De vulgari eloquentia*.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Gerolamo Biscaro, "Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti contro papa Giovanni XXII," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo: Giornale della società lombarda, Serie 5, Fascicolo 4*. (Italy, 1920), 477.

<sup>248</sup> Giuseppe Iorio, *Una nuova notizia sulla vita di Dante*, (Roma: Rivista Abruzzese di scienze, 1895).

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 356. For further sources that speculate Dante's presence in Piacenza, see A. Candian, "Dante fu mai a Piacenza?" In *Bolletino Storico Piacentino, III*, (1908), 249-253, F. Molinari, "Dante fu a Piacenza?" In *La Libertà* (Piacenza, 8 April 1965), and C. Artocchini, "Ipotesi e riminescenze sui rapporti tra Piacenza e l'opera di Dante," in *Piacenza e Dante*, (Piacenza, 1967), 72-127.

<sup>250</sup> See Nicola Zingarelli, *Dante, Volume 3*, (Milano: Casa editore dottor Francesco Vallardi, 1912), 328. A. Candian argues the same thesis in his *Dante fu mai a Piacenza?*

<sup>251</sup> Alessandro Barbero, *Dante: A Life*, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2022), 223-224.

<sup>252</sup> Elisa Brilli, & Giuliano Milani, *Vite nuove. Biografia e Autobiografia in Dante*, (Rome: Carocci, 2021), 181.

Coupled with his *Convivio*, Dante demonstrated his knowledge and skills in the profession of his time, and with his status of *magister*, the poet indirectly put his candidature to serve in future governing bodies as an advisor of any *signore* as a secular educator.<sup>253</sup> Moreover, in terms of recorded politics, the events of Dante's abrupt departure from Verona in 1318 suggest that the poet disagreed with Pope John XXII's decisions. This theory, unlike the others, provides a political reason for Galeazzo's mention of Dante. As previously discussed, in 1318, Pope John XXII excommunicated Matteo Visconti and his trusted *milieu*, which included Cangrande della Scala.<sup>254</sup>

Cangrande della Scala was officially excommunicated on April 6, 1318, and Dante's notorious attack on the pope should not go unnoticed. While not naming him in specifically, Dante wrote in Paradise XVIII, v. 130-166:

But you who write only to cancel out,  
Remember that Peter and Paul, who died  
For the vineyard you destroy, are still alive.

Well may you say: "My desire is so fixed  
On him who wished to live alone  
And who by leaps [because Salome had danced] was led to Martydom,  
That I know not the fisherman nor Paul."<sup>255</sup>

Once Dante left the sky of Mars in Paradise, he rose to the sky of Jupiter, which is associated with justice. There, he asks the blessed souls to send prayers to the mortal souls who have been

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<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>254</sup> Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 100.

<sup>255</sup> This translation is a direct quotation from Marco Santagata's *Dante: The Story of His Life*.

under the influence of bad examples (Paradise XVIII, v.126). These bad examples were the popes who, out of their own avarice, excommunicate leaders as a political tool and as a revenue source. At this point of his journey, Dante directly criticizes the pope John XXII who was “cancelling out” the rules of the *signori*.<sup>256</sup> Moreover, he also criticizes the venality of these popes whose faiths, he insinuates, lied with John the Baptist, whose image was on the florin, and not with Peter and Paul, the founders of the church.

Dante wrote this part of Paradise in the spring of 1318. This time aligns with the pope’s threats to excommunicate Cangrande (enforced in April), suggesting that the poet was trying to support his patron. After this literary attack on the papacy, however, the poet did not discuss Pope John XXII or Cangrande’s political moves.<sup>257</sup> The reason for this silence might be that Pope John XXII and Cangrande were reaching a breaking point. The pope was extremely vexed when in December of 1318, Cangrande was voted as the leader of the Ghibellines. As a result, he decided to seize every property owned by the della Scala’s until the title of imperial deputy was renounced by the new leader.<sup>258</sup> This meant that in the year 1319, Cangrande was suffocating under the pope’s interdictions. All of Verona was living under the sanctions of the pope who was angrily commanding them from his seat in Avignon. It would be unsurprising if Dante, an aging Florentine exile, would begin considering another place to settle.<sup>259</sup>

In addition to these political details, it is also important to mention Dante’s advanced astrological knowledge demonstrated in his *Divine Comedy*. During his time in Verona, the poet

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<sup>256</sup> Marco Santagata, *Dante: The Story of His Life*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 309-310.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.

<sup>258</sup> Alessandro Barbero, *Dante: A Life*, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2022), 257.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 257-58.

showed a keen interest in both Islamic astrology<sup>260</sup> and the Jewish culture of the city.<sup>261</sup> He also made friends with notable astrologers, including Cecco d'Ascoli, with whom the poet interacted quite openly.<sup>262</sup> Considering that both had already made a name for themselves in their respective fields, Dante's association with him would have been widely known. It would thus be easy for a man such as Galeazzo Visconti to find Dante worth consulting. After all, the poet's political position was quite clear, and if he was not skilled in astrology, his interactions with his friends were no secret, meaning that Galeazzo Visconti might not have called on him for necromancy, but rather for political and intellectual reasons, which seems much more plausible.

While the magic ritual described in the miscellany is quite detailed, and it clearly shows the expertise of the people who undertook it, the historical and political *milieu* of its composition suggest that this document and its contents may have been fabricated. While it is true that Scotus san Gemignano, Antonio Pelecane, Petrus Nani, and Dante Alighieri were all incriminated by this document for their knowledge of magic, it does prove that they were skilled in this discipline. The final questions that remain are, how can one prove that the pope, along with Bartholomeo Cagnolati, forged this document? are there any other historical events to consider

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<sup>260</sup> On Dante's knowledge of the Qur'an and Islamic astrology, and his references to them in the *Divine Comedy*, see Jan M. Ziolkowski ed., *Dante and Islam*, (USA: Fordham University Press, 2019), and Miguel Asín Palacios, *La Escatología musulmana en la "Divina Comedia,"* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1919).

<sup>261</sup> The Jewish community in Verona in the 1300s was large and powerful. The notion of Cabbala was widely spread, and most of the Jews in the community were either Cabbalistic scholars or Islamic scholars. Dante had befriended an important Jew, Manoello Giudeo, who was an Islamic scholar, and served in the court of Cangrande. Consequently, it seems that Dante's was familiar with Cabbalistic theories and astrology, as well as with the works of Abu Ma'shar and Avicenna. See Giorgio Battistoni, *Dante, Verona e la cultura ebraica*, (Italia: Giuntina, 2004). See also: *Convegno di studi su "Dante e la cultura veneta" (1966: Venice, Italy, etc.)*, Fondazione "Giorgio Cini.", and *Comitato nazionale per le celebrazioni del VII centenario della nascita di Dante. Dante E La Cultura Veneta: Atti Del Convegno Di Studi Organizzato Dalla Fondazione "Giorgio Cini" in Collaborazione Con L'istituto Universitario Di Venezia, L'università Di Padova, Il Centro Scaligero Di Studi Danteschi, E I Comuni Di Venezia, Padova, Verona. Venezia, Padova, Verona, 30 Marzo-5 Aprile 1966*. Edited by Vittore Branca and Giorgio Padoan. (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1966).

<sup>262</sup> For Dante's interactions with astrologer Cecco d'Ascoli, see Alessandro Barbero, *Dante: A Life*, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2022), 263, and Cecco d'Ascoli, *L'Acerba*, ed. M. Albertazzi (Italy, Trento, 2005).



supporting this hypothesis? and, even more importantly, is there any surviving physical record that could prove this to be the work of the Church?

## Chapter III

### The Aftermath and Conclusion

If one takes *Miscellanea 1320* at face value, without looking at the bigger picture, it appears to paint Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti as organizing a conspiracy to assassinate the pope through necromancy along with everyone who is mentioned in the document; however, the preoccupation with the incrimination of Dante has led scholars to overlook the aftermath of the trial, which shows a different reality. The recorded testimonies in MS. Vat. lat. 3937, for example, go as far as February 7, 1324.<sup>263</sup> Even though Matteo Visconti and Dante Alighieri had already died by then, the pontiff maintained his program of accusation and excommunication. While the narrative of *Miscellanea 1320* end in February 1320, the story of its content continued as the pope sent his nephew, Bertrand du Pouget, to loosen the interdiction measures he was imposing on Lombardy on July 8, 1320. The pope's only condition was that Matteo Visconti would finally obey to his orders.<sup>264</sup>

According to MS. Vat, lat. 3937, on January 13, 1322, the pope excommunicated Matteo Visconti again.<sup>265</sup> On January 23 of the same year, only ten days after this most recent excommunication, Bertrand du Pouget travelled to Lombardy to assemble and provoke a party of opposition against Matteo in the hope of forming a crusade against him. Among this group was the della Torre family, still seeking revenge against the Visconti family.<sup>266</sup> On February 10, Bertrand du Pouget was preparing to fight against the Visconti with his opposition group, and on

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<sup>263</sup> Sylvain Parent. "Publication et publicité des procès à l'époque de Jean XXII (1316-1334): l'exemple des seigneurs gibelins italiens et de Louis de Bavière." In *Mélanges des l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, tome numéro 1, 2007, 101.

<sup>264</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 39.

<sup>265</sup> MS. Vat. lat. 3937, f. XXVII-XXX.

<sup>266</sup> See the entry of Anna Caso, "Della Torre, Simone," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 37, 1989*. Published on Treccani, Online.

the February 23, he gave a notice of fifteen days to all the citizens of Milan to denounce the perpetrators of the Visconti.<sup>267</sup>

The most solemn and serious excommunication of Matteo Visconti, however, came in the form of a letter. On March 14, 1322, with the help of Bertrand du Pouget, the archbishop Aicardo of Milan ordered the solemn excommunication of Matteo Visconti published on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of the same month upon du Pouget's legislation.<sup>268</sup> The pope and his nephew took many actions against Matteo Visconti, so much that they cannot be named one by one in this thesis. These documents and letters demonstrate that the pope was determined to destroy the Visconti family and he continued launching his crusades against the Lord of Milan even after Matteo had died.<sup>269</sup> Once he noticed that persecuting a dead man was not politically advantageous, he turned his attention to the other members of the Visconti family, Cangrande della Scala, along with the other *signori* whom he despised so much, imposing the same sanctions on them.<sup>270</sup> With respect to Cangrande della Scala, as previously mentioned, Verona lived under the interdictions of the pope during 1318 and 1319.<sup>271</sup> Cangrande, much like Matteo Visconti, dismissed the pope's excommunications, being more concerned with other political situations, such as his war in Padova.

Indeed, while the pope was terrified of heresy, vehemently trying to excommunicate and destroy the della Scala dynasty (along with the other *signori*), Cangrande was more concerned with his campaigns for the conquest of Padova. According to the testimonies of Albertino

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<sup>267</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoitement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 39.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 39. A copy of the letter is recorded in MS. Vat. lat. 3937, on f. 1r. I discussed it in the beginning of section 2.2, "The Visconti Affair."

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 40. On the June 26, 1322 the Pope initiated his crusades against Matteo Visconti. He asked for Charles of France's help in his letters. See André-Michel Robert's source for further reading.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 40. The official and final excommunication of the Visconti sons came on April 8, 1323.

<sup>271</sup> Alessandro Barbero, *Dante: A Life*, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2022), 257.

Mussato, a Paduan poet, Cangrande della Scala sent three ambassadors to Padova in 1320 for diplomatic negotiations, among these ambassadors was none other Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano.<sup>272</sup> This inclusion indicates an enormous trust between Cangrande and Pietro. It also shows that while the Avignonese curia and the pope were relentlessly summoning the leaders of Italy to face of the papal court, the *signori* in question were almost completely dismissive of the pope’s sanctions and excommunications because they were more concerned with their domestic political campaigns and wars. Another example of the pope’s tactics came on June 27, 1320, when he issued an excommunication notice against Cangrande while the Veronese lord was busy with his conquests of other cities.<sup>273</sup>

Another example of the papacy’s campaign against those mentioned within *Miscellenea 1320* is Bertrand du Pouget’s reaction towards Dante’s life and works, even after the poet’s death. Dante was never one to hide his opinions on the Church, writing about them frequently. As a result, in 1329, under the order of pope John XXII, Bertrand du Pouget arranged for a public burning of the *De monarchia* in Bologna and placed the work on a list of banned books.<sup>274</sup> The burning of the *De monarchia* is not surprising considering that Dante challenged the authority of the Church and questioned its governing body in it. This criticism would have easily offended the pope. The papacy’s anxiety of such heresy led to the pope and du Pouget

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<sup>272</sup> Nataschia L. Carlotto, “Pietro ‘Nan’ da Marano: ritratto di un cortegano scaligero,” in *Gli Scaligeri 1277-1387*, (Verona: Mondadori, 1988), 146.

<sup>273</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L’accusation de Sorcellerie et d’Hérésie Dante et l’Affaire de l’Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 39

<sup>274</sup> Gert Sørensen, “The Reception of the Political Aristotle in the Late Middle Ages,” in *Renaissance Readings of the Corpus Aristotelicum: Papers from the Conference held in Copenhagen 23-25 April 1998, Volume 9*, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 21.

posthumously accusing Dante of heresy.<sup>275</sup> du Pouget even wanted to scatter the bones of Dante with the hope of erasing his memory completely.<sup>276</sup>

As for the other people mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320*, Petrus Nani was eventually executed by inquisitors, and Antonio Pelacane was accused of being involved in Matteo Visconti's heretic activities.<sup>277</sup> Scotus San Gemignano was eventually formally condemned for excommunication by the Avignonesse curia, and the Church stripped him of his official titles and seized the entirety of his property and wealth.<sup>278</sup> Finally, Galeazzo Visconti was expelled from Piacenza under the orders of Bertrand du Pouget.<sup>279</sup> While these fates make sense after reading the historical facts behind the feud between the pope and the Visconti, there remains one detail that must be taken into consideration: after providing the Avignonesse curia with his two depositions, and presumably turning over the talisman, Bartolomeo was granted qualified immunity by the church.

It is quite curious that Bartolomeo was the only person who was able or willing to provide the Church with such detailed depositions against the Visconti, and their plans to murder the pope through image magic. Moreover, he was the only the cleric who was able to confirm or deny the facts that he presented. With that being said, following the principle of *testis unus, testis*

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<sup>275</sup> See the entry of Rossano De Laurentiis, "Du Pouget, Bertrand [Bertrando del Poggetto], in *Ereticopedia: Dizionario di eretici, dissidenti e inquisitori nel mondo mediterraneo*, (Online, 2020). The post-mortem accusation of Dante is recorded in the works of Bartolo da Sassoferato, who was a student in Bologna, and like Boccaccio, has recorded important political and historical events.

<sup>276</sup> See the entry of Beniamino Pagnin, "Poggetto, Bertrando del," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (1970), published on *Treccani, Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, (Online, 2020). Boccaccio mentions these events in his *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*. For more details see the edition of *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*, P.G. Ricci, (Milano-Napoli 1965), 638-640.

<sup>277</sup> Gerolamo Biscaro, "Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti contro papa Giovanni XXII," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo: Giornale della società lombarda, Serie 5, Fascicolo 4*, (Italy, 1920), 471. In MS. Vat. Lat. 3936, it is recorded "item dicit se credere et audivisse quod magister Antonius parmensis qui est conciliarius et medicus dicti Mathei, est magnus hereticus." This is also pointed out by Gerolamo Biscaro.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 471.

<sup>279</sup> Umberto Benigni, "Piacenza," in *Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 12*, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1913), 70.

*nullus*,<sup>280</sup> the depositions should have been dropped or simply added to the other testimonies for the case that the papacy was building against the Visconti under the accusatory method. It was Bartolomeo's testimony, however, that empowered the pope and his nephew to accuse every single person mentioned in the document and make sure that they were punished, even post-mortem. At the end of the first deposition, Bartolomeo showed that he was on friendly terms with Simone della Torre. This friendship suggests that the cleric was a Guelf himself and was friends with the enemies of Matteo Visconti. Moreover, as a cleric, he also had training in the science and arts of medicine and magic.<sup>281</sup> Consequently, the Avignonese curia put an enormous amount of trust in Bartolomeo's testimony, granting him immunity and paying him until 1328.<sup>282</sup>

A recorded receipt shows that Bartolomeo was paid a hundred florins on 18 February 1320 in return for his silence regarding the depositions. While this may have been a normal gesture, the church also began paying Bartolomeo various sums of money from October 31, 1320, until May 1328.<sup>283</sup> It seems that Bartolomeo was receiving a regular stipend from the Church. In the first months alone, he received 100 florins on November 5, 1320, 5 florins on February 8, 1321, and another 100 florins on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the same month. All of these payments are recorded in the archives of the Avignonese curia, and all the receipts were signed by the Cardinal Arnaldo.<sup>284</sup> The last payment is recorded to be on the May 24, 1328.<sup>285</sup> What is especially curious about these payments is that the Church did not have any more motive to keep

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<sup>280</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 291. For further reading on the principle of *testis unus testis nullus*, see André Gouron, "Testis unus, testis nullus Dans La Doctrine Juridique du XIIe Siècle," in *Mediaeval Antiquity*, vol 1; 24, (Belgium, Leuven, 1995).

<sup>281</sup> Gerolamo Biscaro, "Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti contro papa Giovanni XXII," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo: Giornale della società lombarda, Serie 5, Fascicolo 4*, (Italy, 1920), 459.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 460.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 461.

Bartolomeo safe because Matteo Visconti was already dead, and his children's power was quite diminished. This is important because while these payments were in fact for Bartolomeo's protection, the extra sums that he was been paid were for maintaining his silence and for collaborating with the church. This indicates that the cleric, who was already a suspected Guelf, was employed papacy during these depositions.

Considering that most the research on *Miscellanea 1320* has taken the document at face value, the Visconti and their accomplices have always been painted as the ones at fault. The evidence discussed above highlights at least two issues with this attitude, however. The depositions and the ensuing disciplinary actions were extremely one-sided, and the presence of Dante does not appear to respond to a visible logic. While I am not saying that the Visconti were not capable of (or uninterested in) plotting an assassination, what I am saying is that every political action taken by the pope after Bartolomeo's testimonies unfolded almost too perfectly. As André-Michel Robert discusses, it did not matter if the Visconti's conduct was real or not because the depositions were first and foremost a case of pure politics.<sup>286</sup> There has never been any other proof that the Visconti were heretics other than the ecclesiastical documents produced before this miscellany. While both the Avignonese curia and Bartolomeo claim to have obtained the talisman that was suffumigated, in reality, there is no evidence it ever existed, and the depositions could have been easily fabricated by Bartolomeo and forged by the papacy.

In conclusion, *Miscellanea 1320* does not sufficiently incriminate the Visconti. Furthermore, despite Bartolomeo claiming to have three letters from the Lord of Piacenza, the cleric is never mentioned in the documents of the Visconti, especially in relation to Galeazzo.

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<sup>286</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 41.

Moreover, there are no documents showing he was imprisoned by Scotus san Gemignano. While one might conclude that these documents did not survive, or that these events were simply not recorded, it defies credulity that the Lord of Milan did not record Bartolomeo somewhere as a traitor. After all, Scotus san Gemignano, Matteo Visconti, as well as Galeazzo Visconti were quite aware of Bartolomeo's travel to the papal curia. It is thus strange that Galeazzo had no qualms about writing to Bartolomeo to summon him to Piacenza for the conjuration itself.

Additionally, the pope detested everyone incriminated in the two depositions, and it seems as if *Miscellanea 1320* gathered into one document multiple people whom he desired to sentence to death. What makes this document especially dubious is the inclusion of Dante. The papacy did not approve of Dante's works and sought to besmirch his image; however, Dante had no noteworthy connection with the other people mentioned in the depositions. While we do know that the poet had a relationship with Cangrande, the lord of Verona is neither incriminated nor mentioned in this document. This makes it likely that Bartolomeo took included Dante out of convenience. The other people mentioned in *Miscellanea 1320* formed a kind of vanguard the Italian *signori* could trust; Antonio Pelacane constantly challenged the theological views of the church, Petrus Nani was the second hand to and advisor of Cangrande della Scala, and Scotus san Gemignano acted like he was Matteo Visconti's alter ego. Once these figures were incriminated, the lords of Italy would be weakened, thereby putting Pope John XXII in an advantageous position.

Pope John XXII may not have intended to forge a document to incriminate the Visconti, who were already excommunicated. Bartolomeo's depositions, however, would have contributed to the pontiff's strategy by substantiating the reputation that Matteo Visconti's was a heretic, a reputation which could easily lead into his execution. All the recorded accusations against these



figures are actually somewhat vague, especially when we consider that the pope had a clear ideas as to what constituted heresy. In his constitutions, the pope recorded that one could adore a demon and even baptize his images, but he would not necessarily be deemed a heretic.<sup>287</sup> Bartolomeo's depositions were the extra accusation with proof (the talisman) that the pope needed to charge Matteo with heresy and thus execute him. Furthermore, the inquisitors wanted to burn Matteo's body even after his death because this is what the law prescribed for a heretic. They were stopped by supporters of Matteo<sup>288</sup> in the same way that Bertrand du Pouget was stopped from scattering Dante's bones by the poet's supporters.<sup>289</sup> *Miscellanea 1320* is a document that provides a window into the political feuds of this time but only from the Church's point of view. The document has particularly interested scholars because it mentions Dante, and for years scholars have argued the poet's whereabouts and knowledge of magic. While these studies are legitimate and interesting in their own right, my argument is that Bartolomeo included Dante as an orchestrated campaign to smear the Visconti and other influential Ghibelline figures. In other words, while magic was thought to be a real problem in the Medieval society, there is a possibility that this hearing pointed to magic in order to incriminate certain people, with the hope of eliminating them.

### **A Transcription of *Miscellanea 1320***

*Miscellanea 1320* describes the two depositions made by Bartolomeo Cagnolati, one on February 9, 1320, and the other on September 11, 1320. The document can be found in the archives of the Vatican library in the volumes of the *Notai d'Orange* unit, from the jurisdiction

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<sup>287</sup> André-Michel Robert, *Le Procès de Matteo et de Galeazzo Visconti: L'accusation de Sorcellerie et d'Hérésie Dante et l'Affaire de l'Envoûtement (1320)*, (Rome: Imprimerie Cuggiani, 1909), 28. See also MS. Vat. Lat. 4869, f. 78r, 79r, and 79v.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. See also Ms. Vat. lat. 3937, f. 257. The recorded date of the orders to burn Matteo Visconti's body is 15 May 1323.

<sup>289</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*, P.G. Ricci, (Milano-Napoli 1965), 638-640.

of *Avignon et comtat Venaissin/Orange*. The *Notai d'Orange* is a collection of 447 volumes, and *Miscellanea 1320* can be found in the miscellany section of the volumes (nn. 380-447). The two depositions made by Bartolomeo retell the purported events of a plot employed by the Visconti against Pope John XXII, which involved demonic and image magic. The first scholar to note the importance of the document was Giuseppe Iorio, after which scholar Eubel Konrad published the first transcription of *Miscellanea 1320*. I have based my transcription on that of Eubel Konrad. Because I was unable to access the original document due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I have not made any changes in this transcription. While in my introduction I did express some doubts regarding strange statements, names, and places, such as the spelling and identity of “*Meruyn*,” for example, I did not change them in this transcription.

### *Miscellanea 1320*

I  
1320 Februar 9

Anno Dni. millesimo CCC°XX° die nona mensis febr., pontificatus sanctissimi patris dni. nri. dni. Johannis pape XXII anno quarto, Bartholomeus Canholati clericus, civis Mediolan., constitutus personaliter in presentia reverendorum patrum dnorum. Bertrandi tit. s. Marcelli presb., Arnaldi s. Eustachii diac. card., Petri abbatis s. Saturnini Tholosan., s. Romane ecclesie vicecancellarii, ac mei Geraldi de Lalo notarii publici incivitate Avinion., iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia a se corporaliter manu tacta puram, meram, plenam et integram dicere veritatem super universis et singulis infrascriptis, que sibi ante iurandum predictum exposita fuerunt, et super universis et singulis ea tangentibus, sive interrogatus fuerit sive non, illam, quam scit et de qua memoriam habet, prout antea ante iurandum predictum verbo et sine scriptis "veritatem exposnerat super eis, et ut plenius et perfectius veritatem poterit dicere et recordavi[t] de ea.

Qui Bartholomeus iuratus exposuit, dixit et deposuit, quod in mense octobris proxime preterito circa medium ipse Bartholomeus recepit nuncium et litteras speciales dni. Mathei Vicecomitis de Mediolano, quas litteras ipse Bartholomeus legit, in quibus litteris continebatur expresse scriptum, quod dns. Matheus mandabat sibi, quod in continenti visis dictis litteris veniret ad eum apud Mediolanum, omnibus negotiis pretermisissis, et quod non timeret de aliquo debito communi seu privato. Int[errogatus], ubi erat, quando recepit dictas litteras, dixit, quod in villa de Panhano dyoc. Mediolan. distante a Mediolano per viginti miliaria.

Int[errogatus], quid intellexit per verba suprascripta in dictis litteris, videlicet quod non timeret de aliquo debito privato vel communi, dixit, quod venientes ad civitatem, quibus collecta imposita fuerit per commune Mediolan., arrestantur, nisi solverint; et ideo dictus Matheus mandabat in dicta littera dicto Bartholomeo, quod non timeret arrestum de tali debito. Dixit etiam, quod post receptionem dictarum litterarum in crastinum bene mane iter arripuit et ivit Mediolanum ad dictum Matheum ipsumque Matheum invenit in quadam camera palatii sui; et cum eodem Matheo in dicta camera tunc erant dominus Scotus domini Gentilis de sancto Geminiano, iudex et deffensor societatis Mediolani, item magister Anthonius Pelacane ph[ys]icus. Et cum ipse Bartholomeus salutasset dictum Matheum, ipse dominus Matheus recepit Bartholomeum gratiose traxitque ipsum Bartholomeum ad unam partem eiusdem camere, dixitque idem dominus Matheus eidem Bartholomeo, quod ipse volebat facere ipsi Bartholomeo magnum servitium, bonum et honorificum, et volebat ipse Matheus, quod ipse Bartholomeus faceret eidem Matheo unum magnum servitium, immo maximum, maius videlicet, quod aliquis vivens possit sibi facere: adiciens ibidem dictus Matheus, se scire pro certo, quod ipse Bartholomeus sciebat bene facere servitium predictum, de quo ipse Matheus intelligebat.

Cui Matheo ipse Bartholomeus respondit, se paratum facere eidem Matheo totum illud servitium, quod sciret et posset facere pro eo. Et tunc ibidem et in continenti ipse Matheus vocavit dominum Scotum, dicens ei, quod ostenderet illud, quod portabat; et tunc ibidem dictus dominus Scotus extraxit de sinu suo ibidemque ostendit et exhibuit eisdem Bartholomeo et Matheo quandam ymaginem argenteam longitudinis unius palmi et ultra, habentem figuram hominis: membra, caput, faciem, brachia, manus, ventrem, crura, tibias, pedes et naturalia virilia. In cuius ymaginis fronte ipse Bartholomeus vidit et legit sculpturam ad instar litterarum latinarum, que sculptura et littere continebant verba, que sequ[un]tur: „Jacobus papa Johannes”, et in pectore eiusdem imaginis erat tale signum: N, et littere, que sequuntur, videlicet „Amaymò“. Int[errogatus], quomodo scit, quod predictae littere, scripture et signum essent in dicta ymagine, dixit, quod ita vidit, legit et cognovit in dicta ymagine. Et tunc ibidem dictus Matheus Vicecomes dixit verba, que sequuntur, eidem Bartholomeo: “Iste papa ita parum est papa sicut ego quantum ad Deum; et si esset papa, non faceret ista, que facit, nec poneret totum mundum in errore, et nititur et laborat et posse suum facit me exheredare et extirpare; et ego conabor et posse meum faciam, quod sibi similia faciam.” Dixit etiam ipse Bartholomeus, quod multa alia verba iniuriosa ibidem dixit dictus Vicecomes de domino nostro papa, que ipse Bartholomeus audivit, sed non recordatur de omnibus. Dixit etiam, quod ibidem in continenti post predicta dictus Matheus Vicecomes dixit eidem Bartholomeo verba, que sequuntur, aut similia, videlicet: “Bartholomee, ecce istam ymaginem, quam feci fieri ad destructionem ipsius pape, qui me persequitur: et est necessarium, quod subfumigetur; et quia tu scis facere subfumigationem in talibus, volo, quod tu facias subfumigationes isti ymagini cum solemnitatibus

convenientibus ; et scias, quod, si hoc feceris, que rogo, ego faciam te divitem et potentem iuxta me et in terra mea.” Dixit etiam, quod ipse Matheus Vicecomes promisit eidem Bartholomeo multas gratias facere, si ipse Bartholomeus predicta faceret, que rogabat. Dixit etiam ipse Bartholomeus, quod ibidem tunc propter predicta fuit ipse Bartholomeus valde iratus et respondens ad predicta dixit eidem Matheo Vicecomiti, se nescire facere subfumigationes predictas, excusans se per plures vices se nescire facere subfumigationes predictas. Cui Bartholomeo tunc ibidem dictus dominus Scotus dixit verba, que sequuntur: “Habes tu succum de mapello?” Cui Bartholomeus respondit, se non habere. Et tunc ibidem dictus magister Anthonius, qui erat in alia parte camere predictae, dixit eidem Bartholomeo verba, que sequuntur: “Domine Bartholomee, cavete vobis, quid dicitis, quia ego vidi vos habere succum de mapello.” Cui Bartholomeus respondit, quod verum erat quod semel habuerat, modo tamen non habebat, quia quidam frater Heremitarum s. Augustini vocatus frater Andreas de Arabia iniunxerat ei in penitenciam, quod dictum succum de mapello proiceret in latrina: quod et fecit ipse Bartholomeus. Dixit etiam, quod dictus Matheus ibidem tunc post predicta ostendebat in vultu suo, quia dictus Bartholomeus excusaverat se super predictis, se tristem et iratum.

Et tunc ibidem ipse Matheus petiit ab ipso Bartholomeo, si credebatur, quod das. Petrus Nani de Verona sciret facere subfumigationes predictas. Qui Bartholomeus respondit se credere, quod dictus dominus Petrus sciret facere predicta, et quod nullus esset in Ytalia seu in Lombardia, qui subfumigationes predictas melius sciret facere quam dictus dominus Petrus. Dixit etiam ipse Bartholomeus, quod predicta verba de predicto domino Petro dixit eidem Matheo ad exonerandum se de predictis, que requirebat dictus Matheus.

Postquam ibidem tunc dictus Matheus audiens dicti Bartholomei excusationes predictas dixit eidem Bartholomeo verba, que sequuntur: “Vade, recede, bene video, quod tu non vis facere servitium meum.” Et cum Bartholomeus recederet cum licentia dicti Mathei, ipse Matheus vocavit eundem et dixit ei verba, que sequuntur: “Audi, Bartholomee, bene cave tibi, quod non reveles alicui viventi hec, que tibi dixi et que vidisti; quia si revelares alicui hoc, totum aurum mundi non sufficeret tibi, quod remaneres in vita.” Int[errogatus], per quem modum dictus Matheus dixit eidem Bartholomeo verba predicta de non revelando, dixit, quod elate, superbe et iniuriose et ostendens vultum suum terribilem.

Int[errogatus], quid est dictum habere succum de mapello, de quo supra exposuit, dixit, quod est una confectio veneni mali de peioribus, ut audivit dici, ad destructionem susipientis dictum succum, quia est quedam herba vocata mapello, de qua fit dictus succus. Interrogatus, quid significabat signum seu character suprapositus, quem dixit esse in pectore dicte imaginis, dixit se vidisse tale signum in

quodam libro, in quo scriptum erat, quod dictum signum erat planete Saturni. Interrogatus], ad quid sit tale signum, dixit, quod ad nuncendum, ut credit, qui sit sub pianeta Saturni. Int[errogatus], quid significat verbum superscriptum “Amaymon”, dixit se legisse in libro quodam, quod dictum verbum “Amaymon” est nomen cuiusdam demonis existentis ad partem occidentalem. — Dixit etiam, quod dictus dominus Scotus tradidit dictam ymaginem dicto Bartholomeo et ipse Bartholomeus recepit eam in manus suas proprias dicto Matheo presente, vidente, iubente et ordinante predicta. Et tunc dictus Bartholomeus inspexit diligenter dictam ymaginem, vidit et palpavit, et vidit, quod dicta ymago habebat caput perforatum et supra foramen erat quedam copertura parva de argento rotunda, que amovebatur vel ponebatur pro voluntate. Dixit etiam, quod dictum foramen erat in vertice capitis dicte ymaginis.

Post que dictus Bartholomeus licentiatu recessit a presentia dicti Mathei. Dixit etiam dictus Bartholomeus, quod, cum post predicta rediisset ad domum suam apud Panhanum et dictus Matheus misit eidem Bartholomeo nuncium quadam die de mense novembris proxime preteriti, qui nuncius dixit eidem Bartholomeo ex parte dicti Mathei, quod dictus Matheus Vicecomes mandabat sibi, quod veniret ad eum in continenti, et mittebat eidem Bartholomeo litteras securitatis, quas litteras securitatis idem nuncius tradidit eidem Bartholomeo. Int[errogatus] dictus Bartholomeus, si recepit dictas litteras, dixit, quod sic. Int[errogatus], si placebat ei, quod eas exhiberet, dixit, quod sic: quia pro tuitione sua portababat easdem. Et in continenti ibidem dictus Bartholomeus extraxit de sinu suo quandam litteram patentem, scriptam in pergamento, sigillatam quodam sigillo cereo rotundo cere rubee. Quod sigillum asseruit idem Bartholomeus esse sigillum domini Symonis de Offeda iudicis dicti domini Mathei. Dicta autem littera continebat tenorem, qui sequitur: “M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>XIX<sup>o</sup> ind[ictione] tertia, die Mercurii XIV mensis novembris dominus Symon de Offeda, iudex domini Mathei et deputatus officio intratarum communis Mediolani concessit et bullam et fiduciam dedit Bartholomeo Canholato, quod tute et impune possit et ei liceat venire, stare et morari, ire et redire in civitate et pertinentiis et comitatu Mediolan. et coram dicto Symone occasione loquendi cum ipso, ita quod non possit capi, detineri nec molestari in persona vel rebus pro aliquo debito publico nec privato nec aliqua condemnatione nec dacio: que parabola duret hinc per totum mensem novembris. Ego Jacobus de Brioclio notarius prefati domini iudicis de eius mandato me subscripsi.”

Post que dictus Bartholomeus dixit, quod post receptionem nuncii et litterarum predictarum in crastinum bene mane arripuit iter suum et ivit Mediolanum ad dominum Matheum, quem invenit in predicta camera dicti palatii. Quem Bartholomeum dictus Matheus gratiose recepit et dixit idem Matheus dicto Bartholomeo verba, que sequuntur videlicet: “Dicas, Bartholomee, cogitasti in illo negotio de illa ymagine, de qua loqui fuimus tibi pridie?” Cui dictus Bartholomeus respondit per verba, que sequuntur: “Domine, ego cogitavi super illis, sed nichil scivi facere nec scio aliquid facere super illis.” Et tunc dictus Matheus dixit dicto Bartholomeo verba, que sequuntur: “Volo, quod tu vadas Veronam ad dominum Petrum Nani et portes tecum ymaginem, quam vidisti, et tradas eam domino Petro Nani et dicas ei ex parte nostra, quod dictam

ymaginem debeat subfumigare cum solemnitatibus convenientibus, et quod faciat dictus dominus Petrus quedam alia, que ego dicam tibi.” Cui Matheo dictus Bartholomeus respondit se excusando, se sanum non esse, se potentem non esse ad eundem Veronam cuiusdam infirmitatis pretexto, quam habebat in latere. Cui Bartholomeo idem Matheus dixit verba, que sequuntur: “Bene video modo, quod tu non vis facere servitium nostrum nec aliquid pro nobis; vade, vade, recede.” Qui Bartholomeus recessit a presentia dicti Mathei et stetit ibidem in Mediolano fere per octo dies; et antequam recederet, audivit dici a multis et audivit famam publicam esse in Mediolano, quod dictus magister Anthonius iverat Veronam, ubi moratur dictus dominus Petrus Nani.

Int[errogatus], si scit vel audivit dici, quare dictus magister Anthonius iverat Veronam, dixit, quod non. Int[errogatus], si scit vel audivit dici, quanto tempore dictus magister Anthonius moram traxit Verone, dixit se audivisse dici a multis bonis viris, quod circa XVIII diem mensis novembr. proxime preteriti dictus magr. Anthonius recessit de Mediolano et ivit Veronam, et circa festam Natalis Domini proxime preteritum idem magr. Anthonius rediit de Verona et ivit Mediolanum.

Int[errogatus], si scit vel audivit dici, quid fecit Verone dictus magr. Anthonius, dixit, quod non de vera scientia vel de novo auditu; credit tamen, quod dictus Anthonius iverit Veronam. ut procuraret cum dicto domino Petro Nani, quod dicta ymago subfumigaretur iuxta voluntatem dicti Mathei.

Dixit etiam dictus Bartholomeus, quod, cum post predicta rediisset ad domum suam apud Panhanum, recepit quendam nuncium et litteras quorundam dominorum de Curia, quod ad Curiam personaliter veniret in continenti. Qui Bartholomeus volens satisfacere dictis dominis et precibus eorum, deliberato, quod veniret ad Curiam, cogitavit, quod certificaret se, si de dicta ymagine factum fuisset aliquid vel completum. Propter quod ivit Mediolanum et dum per quendam vicum transitum faceret, obviavit dicto dno. Scoto, quem salutavit. Qui dominus Scotus dixit eidem Bartholomeo, quod veniret ad domum suam, quia volebat ei loqui. Qui Bartholomeus accedens ad domum dicti domini Scoti, dictus dominus Scotus et ipse Bartholomeus intraverunt quandam cameram soli; et cum inter se ad invicem loquerentur, dictus Bartholomeus petiit a dicto dno. Scoto, quid placebat sibi et quare vocaverat eum. Qui dominus Scotus respondit eidem Bartholomeo, quod volebat sibi ostendere quendam librum, in quo erant quedam verba, que non intelligebat quorum verborum sensum dictus Bartholomeus exposuit dicto dno. Scoto.

Interrogatus, que erant illa verba et qui erat ille sensus, dixit, quod erant quedam experimenta ad amorem, ad odium et furta inveniendae et talia, et erant scripta sine vocalibus litteris per puncta loco vocalium. Post que ibidem tunc dictus Bartholomeus interrogavit dictum dnm. Scotum petens ab eo, quid factum fuerat de illa ymagine supra dicta. Qui Scotus respondit, quod dicta ymago stabat multum bene et erat obtime (!) subfumigata: petens ab eodem Bartholomeo. si volebat eam videre, dicens eidem Bartholomeo verba, que sequuntur, “Vis tu videre illam ymaginem?” Qui Bartholomeus respondit per verba, que secuntur: “Sicut placet vobis.” Et tunc ibidem dictus Scotus aperuit quendam cofinum et extraxit de dicto cofino dictam ymaginem eamque tradidit dicto Bartholomeo. Qui Bartholomeus tenuit dictam ymaginem in manibus suis et in ea vidit signum predictum et litteras et nomina, que antea viderat, quando primo vidit dictam ymaginem in camera et presentia dni. Mathei, et recognovit, quod illa ymago erat eadem, quam

antea viderat. Dixit tamen dictus Bartholomeus, quod noviter adiunctum fuerat in dicta ymagine a parte posteriori inter duas spatulas verbum, quod sequitur: “Meruyn”.

Int[errogatus], quod volebat dicere dictum verbum “Meruyn”, dixit se credere, quod est nomen demonis. Dixit etiam ipse Bartholomeus, quod tunc ibidem interrogavit dictum dnm. Scotum, si dicta ymago fuerat subfumigata modo suo convenienti. Qui dns. Scotus respondit, quod sic multum bene. Et tunc ipse Bartholomeus interrogavit dictum Scotum, per quot noctes fuerat subfumigata. Qui dns. Scotus respondit, quod per novem noctes fuerat subfumigata dicta ymago convenienter. Post que ibidem in continenti dictus Bartholomeus interrogavit dictum dnm. Scotum, quid intendebat ulterius facere de dicta ymagine. Qui dictus Scotus respondit eidem Bartholomeo, quod intendebat dictam ymaginem implere sabbato tunc proximo venturo et postmodum ponere dictam ymaginem ad aerem et tenere eandem ymaginem ad aerem per septuaginta duas noctes. Qui Bartholomeus interrogavit dictum Scotum, si sciebat coniurare dictam ymaginem modo convenienti. Qui respondit, quod sic et quod bene habebat coniurationem, que debebat fieri de sero post solis occasum et de mane ante solis ortum.

Interrogatus], si dixit sibi dictas coniurationes, dixit, quod non. Int[errogatus], quod sabbatum fuit sabbatum predictum, in quo dicta ymago debebat impleri per dictum Scotum, dixit, quod dictum sabbatum fuit videlicet dies XII mensis ianuarii proximo preteriti. Dixit etiam dictus Bartholomeus, quod post predicta ibidem tunc ipse Bartholomeus interrogavit dictum dnm. Scotum. quid fieret de dicta ymagine post septuaginta duas noctes predictas et utrum tunc esset dicta ymago omnino completa vel utrum aliquid deficeret ad complementum diete ymaginis.

Qui dictus dns. Scotus respondit eidem Bartholomeo, quod dicta ymago esset omnino completa post dictas septuaginta duas noctes, excepto quod post poneretur ad ignem ad calefaciendum de nocte in nocte et ad consumandum ea, quae essent infra dictam ymaginem. Int[errogatus], si dictus dns. Scotus dixit eidem Bartholomeo plura verba post predicta, dixit se non recordari de pluribus verbis, hoc excepto quod in exitu camere dicti dni Scoti, cum ipse Bartholomeus recedebat, ipse dns. Scotus dixit eidem Bartholomeo verba, que secuntur: “O Bartholomee, si nos indigeamus te et auxilio tuo super istis, nos mittemus pro te.” Post que dictus Bartholomeus recessit.

Int[errogatus] dictus Bartholomeus, quid intellexit per dictam calefactionem diete ymaginis ad ignem, dixit se credere, quod dictus Scotus intelligebat, quod, sicut intrinseca diete ymaginis per dictam calefactionem paulatim consumerentur, sic illa persona consumeretur palliatius, contra quam fuerat facta dicta ymago.

Dixit etiam dictus Bartholomeus, quod, quam cito primo vidit dictam ymaginem in presentia dicti Mathei, cogitavit, quod significaret predicta dno. pape, ut ipse dominus papa caveret sibi de futuro periculo. Propter quod ipse Bartholomeus, quam citius potuit, mandavit dno. Symoni de Turre et amicis suis secrete, ut super premissis de futuro periculo se caveret. Dixit etiam, quod tot foramina erant in dicta ymagine, quot foramina habet super se homo vivus.

Int[errogatus], quare predicta significavit vel significari fecit dno. Symoni de Turre potius et primo quam alteri, dixit, quia habebat familiaritatem cum eo et quia sciebat eum esse devotum dni. pape, et quia ipse Bartholomeus nullum notum habebat in Curia, cui posset significare predicta; ymmo nec fuit ausus scribere dicto. dno. Symoni propter periculum, si littere invenirentur, quod posset inde sequi. Et ideo ipse Bartholomeus misit Alexium consanguineum suum et familiarem, ut dicto dno. Symoni revelaret predicta, et misit eidem dno. Symoni pressuram sigilli sui, ut melius super predictis crederet Alexio supradicto. Qui dictus Symon misit dictum Alexium ad Curiam cum litteris suis super predictis ad aliquos amicos, prout Alexius dixit sibi. Qui amici de Curia scripserunt eidem Bartholomeo, quod veniret ad Curiam, quam citius posset.

1320 September 11

Anno Dni. M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup> die XI septembr., pont. dni. dni. nri. sanctissimi patris dni. Johannis pape XXII anno quinto, constitutus in presentia reverendi in Christo patris dni. A[rnaldi] s. Eustachii dyac. card. et ven. patris dni. P[etri] abbatis s. Saturini Tholosan., s. Romane ecclesie vicecancellarii, ac mei G[eraldi] de Lalo notarii publici:<sup>1)</sup> Bartholomeus Canholati clericus, filius quondam dni. Uberti Canholati, iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia corporaliter a se tacta dicere veritatem super hiis, que deponet, et super hiis, in quibus interrogabitur, ac super hiis, que sciet quomodocunque facientia ad presens negotium, et nullam falsitatem aut mendacium dictis suis adicere seu aliquialiter immiscere. Qui Bartholomeus int[errogatus] dixit, deposuit et asseruit, quod anno presenti una die quadregesime proximo preterite de mense martii ipse pro negotiis suis intravit civitatem Mediolan. equitando cum quibusdam familiaribus suis, videlicet Dyonisio Perreto et quodam alio vocato Rogerio; et cum per dictam civitatem dirigeret gressus suos ad domum propriam, quam habet in Mediolano, Bertrominus, Prandobonus et Cassagus, domicelli et familiares Mathei Vicecomitis de Mediolano, cum quibusdam suis complicitibus obviaverunt eidem Bartholomeo, qui appropinquantes ad eum dixerunt ei verba, que sequuntur, aut similia: “O messer Bartholomee, venitis vos de Curia?” Qui respondit eis, quod sic. Et tunc dixerunt ei: “Venite nobiscum ad domum dni. Scoti.” Qui dixit eis, quod statim, cum descendisset in domo propria, veniret ad videndum dnm. Scotum. Et tunc dixerunt ei: “Oportet vos statim venire nobiscum ad dnm. Scotum” ; et duxerunt eum invitnm ad dnm. Scotum, retinentes equos eiusdem. Et cum eum dicto dno. Scoto presentassent, dixit dicto Bartholomeo : “O Bartholomee, longo tempore expectantes desideravimus te” ; et precepit stipendiariis et servientibus suis, quod ipsum Bartholomeum ad carcerem ducerent. Quem Bartholomeum in carcere posuerunt et in ferris magnis et ponderosis pedes suos et tibias incluserunt et districte ac vilissime tenuerunt sine aliqua claritate per XLII dies : et comentarien[si] solvit ipse Bartholomeus et alii custodibus carcerum unum florenum pro quolibet die et ultra hoc quatuor florenos pro ferris et aliis munimentis spectantibus ad custodiam carceris, quando fuit a carcere liberatus.

Dixit etiam, quod prima nocte, qua fuit in dicto carcere, dictus Scotus fecit eum ad se adduci circa mediam noctem fecitque eum iurare de veritate dicenda, licet ipse Bartholomeus allegaret se esse clericum et portaret clericalem tonsuram et licet protestaretur, quod iuramentum non posset ipsi preiudicare, cum archiepiscopus Mediolanus seu eius vicarius esset iudex suus, et non ipse Scotus, et de sua clericali tonsura haberet litteram archiepiscopi Mediolani. Super quibus





quod dictus Scotus fecit eum reduci ad dictum carcerem et postea multis vicibus et per multas noctes, fere per duodecim noctes non immediate sequentes, sed quibusdam interpauis, dictus Scotus fecit ad se adduci dictum Bartholomeum de carcere eique dixit terribiliter : “Oportet, quod tu dicas in nocte ista veritatem, et oportet, quod ego compellam te per martirium ad dicendum veritatem, quid et quibus in Curia revelasti de dicta ymagine ; dicas, dicas veritatem. “ Qui Bartholomeus dixit se veritatem dixisse.

Post que dictus Scotus ibidem interrogavit dictum Bartholomeum, quomodo curavit dictum Petrum ; qui respondit, quod per quosdam potus, quos sibi ministravit, et quasdam orationes. Et tunc dictus Scotus dixit dicto Bartholomeo, se non curare de cura dni. Petri, sed quod responderet ei de dicta ymagine. Et tunc dictus Bartholomeus dixit ei quod non poterat aliter respondere, quam responderat. Et tunc dictus Scotus dixit eidem Bartholomeo: „Vide, Bartholomee, male libenter ego procedam contra te ad martirium, sed finaliter oportebit, quod per martirium dicas veritatem ; ego parcam tibi ista nocte, quod non poneris ad martirium, et provideas tibi, quod dicas veritatem prima vice, qua venies coram me, quia pro certo oportebit per martirium illa vice dicere veritatem, et ego ex nunc exonero me.“

Et fecit eum reduci ad carcerem et poni in compedibus et ferris. Et cum per aliquas noctes ita mansisset, quadam alia nocte fecit eum de dicto carcere adduci ad se. Et cum esset in presentia eiusdem Scoti, ipse Scotus terribiliter et subito interrogavit eundem Bartholomeum, si volebat aliud dicere sine tormento, quam dixerat. Qui Bartholomeus respondit, quod aliud dicere nesciebat, nisi sicut supra dixerat. Et tunc dictus Scotus precepit parari martirium et fecit spoliari dictum Bartholomeum usque ad camisiam et ligari fecit manus eius retro dorsum fortiter per suos servientes, fecitque ipsum Bartholomeum poni in martirio seu tormento et ligari ad segam seu funem, ferris ponderosis pendentibus in pedibus seu tibiis dicti Bartholomei ponderis fere viginti librarum seu ultra, precepitque satellitibus suis, quod levarent dictum Bartholomeum ad martirium seu tormentum. Qui Bartholomeus ad preceptum dicti Scoti fuit per dictos satellites ad martirium elevatus et sic detentus in eodem tormento seu martirio per longum tempus, dicto Scoto recedente a presentia dicti Bartholomei. Et post paululum dictus Scotus rediit ad presentiam dicti Bartholomei pendentis in dicto tormento: qui Scotus precepit dictis satellitibus dicens eis: „Succutiat eum subito“; qui satellites succutientes dictum Bartholomeum fecerunt eum descendere subito fere usque ad terram. Et sic continuaverunt assensum (!) et descensum subito de persona dicti Bartholomei in dicto tormento per septem vices. Et tunc post predicta dicti satellites diligaverunt eum et duxerunt eum confractum ad cameram seu aulam, in qua erat. dictus Scotus. Et tunc dictus Scotus dixit eidem Bartholomeo: „Vide, Bartholomee, provideas tibi, si volueris, quia scias pro firmo, quod omni nocte faciam idem fieri de persona tua, sicut factum est nocte ista, donec dixeris, quid revelasti in Curia de dicta ymagine : et ita continuabo tibi usque ad mortem.“ Et tunc Bartholomeus dixit: „Vos potestis facere, quod placet vobis, ego autem non possum dicere, nisi quod supra dixi.“ Et tunc Scotus precepit eum reduci ad carcerem.

In quo carcere fuit per multos dies. Et tandem adveniente quadragesima secunda die, de qua supra dixit, [quod] per quadraginta duos dies fuerat in carcere predicto, idem Scotus fecit eundem Bartholomeum educi de dicto carcere et fecit amoveri ferros de tibiis suis eumque adduci postmodum in publicum in quadam torri, ubi dictus Bartholomeus

vidit quinquaginta homines de genere suo et ultra et multos alios nobiles et bonos homines civitate Mediolan., qui omnes clamaverunt pro eo liberando. Et fuit liberatus de carcere sub duorum milium florenorum pena promissa, quod deberet mandatis dicti Scoti per omnia obedire et coram eo omni die bis se presentare.

Et cum se per aliquos dies dicto Scoto presentasset, accidit una die, quod dns. Galeas filius dicti dni. Mathei misit dicto Bartholomeo quandam litteram, in qua mandavit sibi, quod visis presentibus veniret ad eum apud Placentiam. Qui Bartholomeus scripsit dno. Galaad (!), quod non poterat propter arrestum, quo detinebatur Mediolani. Et tunc dictus Galaas (!) misit. proprium nuntium dicto Scoto, quod relaxaret dictum Bartholomeum, et Bartholomeo, quod veniret ad eum apud Placentiam. Et secum fuit in exercitu castri Mallei per decem dies. Qui Galeas ostendit in vultu et in verbis multum sibi displicere, quia dictus Bartholomeus sic fuerat gravatus et dedit sibi unum equum et fecit sibi multos honores. Et demum quadam die, cum dictus Galaad (!) intravit Placentiam, vocavit ad cameram suam dictum Bartholomeum, dicens ei : “Bartholomee, multum doleo de gravaminibus tibi illatis per patrem meum et per dnm. Scotum, et scias, quod ego emendabo tibi totum dampnum, quod inde recepisti, verum tamen bene dico tibi, quod non debes mirari, si pater meus et dns. Scotus moti fuerunt contra te, quia pro certo, si vera essent illa, que ipsi credebant de te, non fuit mirum, si contra te processerunt; tu enim sciebas, quod illa ymago fuit tibi ostensa, et pater meus et dns. Scotus petierunt a te consilium et auxilium, ut tu faceres, quod illa ymago suum complementum haberet: et tu recusasti dare consilium et auxilium et postmodum ad Curiam accessisti et loquutus fuisti cum papa et cardinalibus et cum multis aliis. Propter quod non debes mirari, si pater meus credidit, quod tu revelavisses in Curia, dictam ymaginem factam fuisse, et quod tu ipse adiuvisses, quod dicta ymago non fuisset sequuta suum effectum : quia illa ymago erat facta cum tanta solemnitate, quod pro certo suum assequeretur effectum, super quo facta est, nisi fuisset per factum hominis impedita.”

Item dictus Galaad adiunxit verba, que secuntur, vel similia, dicens Bartholomeo eidem: “Bartholomee, ego rogo te, quod, si fecisti aliqua, propter que dicta ymago fuerit, impedita, rogo te, mihi dicas nec timeas, quod aliquod malum tibi eveniat, quia pro certo ego preservabo te ab omni malo et ab omni dampno, nec scietur per aliquem nisi per me.” Qui Bartholomeus respondit, se nihil de dicta ymagine dixisse in Curia Romana nec alibi nec super ea de hoc, quod sciebat, aliquid revelasse nec fecisse aliqua, propter que dicta ymago fuerit impedita vel eius effectus; “nec pater vester habet me increpare nec de me conqueri, quod aliqua fecerim contra eum, licet forte posset me increpare et de me conqueri, quod requisitus et rogatus per eum sibi recusavi servire, licet cognovissem bene per verba dni. Scoti et per ea, que audiveram a patre predicto, quod erraverant super negotio dicte ymaginis.”

Item dixit ipse Bartholomeus, quod in continenti dns. Galaad rogavit eum instantissime, quod pro Deo daret sibi consilium et auxilium super dicta ymagine, quod illa veniret ad complementum suum, presertim, cum pro patre suo predicto nihil voluerit fecisse, quod saltem faceret pro dicto dno. Galaad : quia pro certo ipse bene remuneraret eum et faceret sibi magnum bonum et faceret sibi talem satisfactionem pecuniariam de iniuriis et dampnis sibi illatis, quod ipse perpetuo esset contentus.

Super quibus dictus Bartholomeus incepit se excusare, dicens, quod

non poterat aliquid super premissis facere sine damnatione anime sue et quod nullo modo volebat perdere animam. Et tunc dictus Galad dixit: "Vide, Bartholomee, non timeas propter hoc perdere animam, ymo scias, quod, si anima tua esset perdita et dampnata, anima tua salvaretur, si faceres ea, que ego rogo: quia tu vides, qualiter iste papa ponit morbum in tota Lombardia et Ytalia et fecit fleti committi homicidium; et scias pro certo, quod ille homo salvaretur, qui procuraret, quod iste papa moreretur. Tu enim, Bartholomee, vides, quod notorium est, quod iste pape est partialis et facit partem cum parte Guelfa et facit Guelfos eiectos reduci in domos suas et non permittit, quod Guibellini reducantur ad domos suas, sed cassat et persequitur Gebellinos. Et ideo scias pro firmo, Bartholomee, quod magnam elemosinam et misericordiam faceret, quicumque daret mortem isti pape: et ideo rogo te, Bartholomee, quod tu facias ea, de quibus ego rogo te." Et tunc dictus Bartholomeus respondit super predictis: "Dne. Galas, sciatis, quod ego cogitabo super predictis, quid ego potero facere." Cui Galas dixit: "Deus det tibi bene cogitare." Et tunc ibidem dictus Galas dixit eidem Bartholomeo: "Scias, quod ego feci venire ad me magistrum Dante Aleguiro de Florencia pro isto eodem negocio, pro quo rogo te." Cui Bartholomeus dixit: "Sciatis, quod multum placet mihi, quod ille faciet ea, que petitis." Cui Bartholomeo dictus Galas dixit: "Scias, Bartholomee, quod pro aliqua re de mundo ego non sustinerem, quod Dante Aleguiro in predictis poneret manum suam vel aliquid faceret; ymo nec revelarem sibi istud negotium, qui daret michi mille florenos auri, quia volo, quod tu facias, quia de te multum confido."

Post que post duos dies immediate sequentes dictus Galas misit pro dicto Bartholomeo; et cum venisset ad eum et intrasset cameram suam, dictus Galas interrogavit eundem Bartholomeum, dicens ei: "Bartholomee, studuisti in illa materia, de qua rogavi te, quod nos possemus liberari ab illo dyabolo magno papa?" Cui Bartholomeus dixit: "Dne. Galas, vos ita scitis allicere hominem, quod homo non potest se excutere a vobis; et sciatis, quod ego nescio me excusare super hiis, de quibus me rogastis. Ecce, dne., ego sum paratus facere voluntatem vestram." Cui Galas dixit: "Bartholomee, regratior per mille vices; ego enim eram tuus et sum modo plus et plus etiam, quam quod si me emisses". Et tunc dictus Bartholomeus quesivit a dicto Galas, si habebat dictam ymaginem. Qui respondit, quod non, sed bene poterat eam habere, quando vellet. Item dictus Bartholomeus interrogavi dictum Galas, si habebat zuccum de mapello. Qui respondit, quod non. Cui Bartholomeus dixit: "Oportet, quod habeatis zuccum de mapello, quia sine illo nihil possumus facere." Et tunc Galas dixit: "Nescio, unde possimus habere, nisi mittamus Veronam." Et tunc Bartholomeus dixit: "Credo et non dubito, quod inveniemus in Mediolano vel in Cumo." Et tunc dictus Galas rogavit dictum Bartholomeum, quod iret apud Mediolanum pro habendo zuccum de mapello. Qui Bartholomeus ad mandatum dicti Galas ivit Mediolanum cum nuncio speciali dicti Galas mandatum habente ab eo, quod diceret dno. Scoto predicto, quod non impediret in aliquo dictum Bartholomeum. Dictusque Bartholomeus stetit per aliquos dies in Mediolano et quesivit zuccum de mapello et finaliter invenit apud quendam ypothecarium dictum zuccum de mapello. Et cum invenisset zuccum de mapello et vellet redire apud Placentiam ad dictum Galas, invenit quendam nuncium dicti Galas, qui sibi quandam litteram presentavi ex parte dicti Galas eius sigillo sigillatam, in qua rogabat eum quod opus eiusdem Galas faceret

bonum et forte. Et rediit ad dictum Galas dicens ei, quod invenerat zuccum de mapello et habebat constare XXX fior. auri, et aliter non poterat haberi. Cui Bartholomeo dictus Galas tradidit XXX fior. pro emendo dicto zucco de mapello, dicens ei: “Non curo, Bartholomee, quantumcunque constet, dum tamen negotium fiat.” Et tunc dictus Bartholomeus ivit Mediolanum iterato et emit dictum zuccum de mapello precio XXX florenorum auri et portavi secum apud Placentiam, ubi erat dictus dns. Galas, et presentavi et ostendit dictum zuccum de mapello dicto Galas. Et tunc dictus Galas interrogavi dictum Bartholomeum, dicens: “Bartholomee, quid habemus modo facere?” Cui Bartholomeus dixit: “Dne., oportet, quod nos habeamus illam ymaginem.” Qui Galas respondit: “Statim habemus eam.” Et cum per triduum in Placentia existentes expectassent dictam ymaginem, post dictum triduum dictus Galas vocavit dictum Bartholomeum, cui constituto in presentia sua in camera sua dixit idem Galas: “Ecce, Bartholomee, ymaginem nostram” et ibidem dictus Galas cum manibus suis propriis tradidit dictam ymaginem in manus dicti Bartholomei. Qui Bartholomeus eandem ymaginem respiciens diligenter vidit et cognovit, quod illa ymago erat illa eadem, quam dicti dnus. Matheus [et Scotus] eidem Bartholomeo alias in Mediolano in camera dicti dni. Mathei et in camera dicti Scoti ostenderant, tradiderant, et eam in dictis locis tenuerat, quia vidit et cognovit formam, characteres et litteras, quos primo viderat, quando alias viderat dictam ymaginem; et nullam differentiam vidit, nisi quia cognovit, quod tunc in Placentia, quando dictus dns. Galas eandem ymaginem sibi tradidit, erat plena, et quando alias vidit eam in Mediolano, erat vacua. Et tunc, cum dictus Bartholomeus vidisset et inspexisset dictam ymaginem in presentia dicti Galas, dixit idem Bartholomeus dicto Galas: “Ecce, dne. ego bene video et cognosco, quod ista est illa eadem ymago, quam alias pater vester et dns. Scotus ostenderunt michi.” Cui Bartholomeo dictus Galas dixit: “Ecce, Bartholomee, non est amplius necesse, quod ego rogem te de negotio isto; pone te ad faciendum, quod scis super negotio isto.”

Post que dictus Bartholomeus interrogatus, quid fecit de dicta ymagine et ubi tenuit seu tenet eam, dixit et respondit, quod ex tunc, videlicet postquam dictus Galas eam sibi tradidit, habuit et habet eam et tenet et secum portavit de Placentia usque ad Avinionem. Interrogatus, si potest eam ostendere, dixit, quod sic. Et exhibuit ibi dictus Bartholomeus quendam fardellum parvum de pannis ligatum et disligavit dictum fardellum et ex illo fardello disligato traxit et accepit quandam ymaginem argenteam factam ad formam, speciem seu figuram hominis.

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi ymago erat illa, dixit seu deposuit, quod ista ymago est illa eadem, de qua supra per totum dixit seu deposuit, videlicet quam sibi exhibuerat et tradiderat dictus dns. Matheus et postea dictus dns. Scotus in Mediolano et demum dictus dns. Galas in Placentia.

Int[errogatus], quomodo et qualiter scit, quod ista ymago sit illa eadem, quam sibi dicti dns. Matheus, Scotus et Galas ostenderunt sibi, dixit, se scire ex certa scientia istam ymaginem esse illam eandem ymaginem. Int[errogatus], quomodo et quare scit, dixit, quia ista ymago habet foramen in capite, quod claudi et aperiri potest, sculpturam in fronte capitis, in pectore et inter spatulas et omnes alias figuras, species et formas et signum, longitudinem et amplitudinem, brachia, manus, tibias et pedes, caput, faciem, ventrem, crura et naturalia virilia et foramina, sicut habebat ymago, quam predicti sibi ostenderunt. Int[errogatus], quas sculpturas, que nomina, que signa habebat illa

ymago, quam sibi ostenderunt predicti Matheus, Scotus et Galas, dixit, quod in fronte ymaginis, quam predicti ostenderunt eidem, vidit et legit sculpturam ad instar litterarum latinarum, que sculptura et littere in fronte dicte ymaginis continebant verba, que sequuntur: “Jacobus papa Johannes”, et in pectore ipsius ymaginis erat tale signum N et littere, que secuntur: „Amaymo“ et inter spatulas “Meroyne.” Dixit tamen, quod ista dictio „Meroyne“ non erat sculpta inter spatulas dicte ymaginis, quando prima vice ipse Bartholomeus vidit ipsam ymaginem in Mediolano in presentia dictorum Mathei et Scoti in camera dicti Mathei; secunda autem vice, qua in Mediolano vidit dictam ymaginem in presentia et in camera dicti Scoti, ipse vidit et cognovit, quod dictio „Meroyne“ erat sculpta inter spatulas dicte ymaginis. Propter que scit, quod ista ymago est illa eadem, quam prenominati sibi ostenderunt. Item quia dictus dns. Galas dixit sibi, quod ista ymago est illa eadem, quam dicti pater et Scotus sibi ostenderunt. Int[errogatus], si scit aliqua alia super predictis, dixit, se non recordari ad presens de pluribus, nisi quod eam aportavit, ut per eam non possit evenire dampnum domino pape.

Int[errogatus], si dictus Scotus retinuit equos suos vel recuperavit eosdem, dixit, quod non recuperavit; ymmo dictus Scotus eos retinuit et adhuc retinet ipso Bartholomeo invito. Int[errogatus], quot erant illi equi, dixit, quod quatuor. Int[errogatus], quantum valebant, dixit, quod valebant centuno flor. et plus. — Int[errogatus], si fuerunt vera illa, que dixit supra de dno. P[etro] de Via, dixit, quod non; ymmo ipse Bartholomeus fingebat vera esse illa, que dixit de dno. P. de Via, ad illud finem, quod dictus Scotus non possit scire nec presumere, quod periculum vite dni. pape procuraret vitari. — Int[errogatus] de continentia littere misse eidem Bartholomeo per dictum Galas, dixit, se non recordari ad plenum de omnibus, sed habet secum litteram predictam sigillatane sigillo dni. Galas. Quam litteram dictus Bartholomeus ostendit sigillatane sigillo dicti dni. Galas, cuius tenor talis est: „Amico carissimo Bartholomeo Canholato (!) Galaas Vicecomes, civitatis et districtus Placentie dns. generalis, salutem et amorem sincerum. Rogamus amicitiam tuam, quod cum Lamfranco Haruo notario nostro debeas venire ad nos Placentiam et de hoc non facias verba cum aliquibus. Dat. Placentie XV maii.“ Tenor alterius littere sigillata (!) sigillo dicti Galas talis est: „Discreto vero Bartholomeo Canholato amico carissimo Galas Vicecomes, civitatis et districtus Placentie dns. generalis, salutem et sinceram dilectionem. Placeat credere discreto viro Lamfranco (!) Haruo notario nostro, latori presentium, ea, que ex nostra parte duxerit referenda, et illa adimplere sine tarditate nostri amore. Dat. Placentie XIX maii.“)

Int[errogatus], quare dixit dicto Galas, quod ipse [Bartholomeus] cognoverat per verba dictorum patris et Scoti, quod erratum fuerat in facto dicte ymaginis, dixit, quod ideo, ut dictus dns. Galas sperans, quod ipse Bartholomeus volebat sibi servire, confideret de eo, ut compleret factum dicte ymaginis et eidem Bartholomeo sub tali confidentia dictam ymaginem traderet, et ad illum finem, quod dictus Bartholomeus haberet dictam ymaginem, ut dns. papa non haberet aliquod periculum. — Int[errogatus], si habet litteram, in qua rogavit eum dns. Galas, dixit, quod sic. Quam litteram exhibuit, cuius tenor talis est: „Amico carissimo Bartholomeo Canholato Galas Vicecomes etc. salutem. Rogamus amicitiam vestram, de qua confidimus, quod opus nostrum faciatis et sic forte et bonum.“ — Int[errogatus], qui erant presentes, cum ipse fuit positus, levatus et tortus in ipso tormento, dixit, quod dictus

Scotus et quidam vicarius, dns. Johannes, qui erat iudex dicti Scoti,  
et quidam vocatus Manno et quidam, qui vocatur Riczo, et multi alii  
usque ad numerum octo, sicut videtur sibi.

# List of Figures and Images

**Figure 1:** *Bas-de-page scene of Saints Simon and Jude with three Pagan magicians, 14<sup>th</sup> century MS 2 BVII, f. 273 v.*



MS 2 BVII is a manuscript dating back to 1310-1320 with the title *Psalter* ('*The Queen Mary Psalter*'). While it is an Old Testament cycle with a calendar, Canticles, Litanies, and prayers, it also has self-explanatory miniature illustrations found at the *bas-de-page*. I chose the image on f. 273 v. because it clearly distinguishes between the Christians and the Pagans, showing on which side each groups stood. Regarding the context of the manuscript and the St. Augustinian views, it is an example of what the Medieval intellectual or priest would read. The same miniature image is also cited by Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 9-10. The digitized manuscript can be found on the British Library's website, on the following link: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_2\\_b\\_vii](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_b_vii)

**Figure 2:** *Satan is helping two witches make a brew in a cauldron and another one who is trying to snatch a child from a woman, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Cotton MS Tiberius AVII, f. 70.*



Cotton MS Tiberius AVII is a manuscript dating between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, entitled *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Chronicle*. The figure cited is found on f.70 and depicts witches brewing herbs and trying to snatch a baby from a mother's hands. It also shows how some sciences would have been depicted as relying on the evocation and help of demons. The same manuscript has many episodes where the pilgrim encounters demons and devils. This same illustration is found in Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 11 and Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 14. The digitized manuscript could be found on this link: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton\\_MS\\_Tiberius\\_A\\_VII/1](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_A_VII/1).



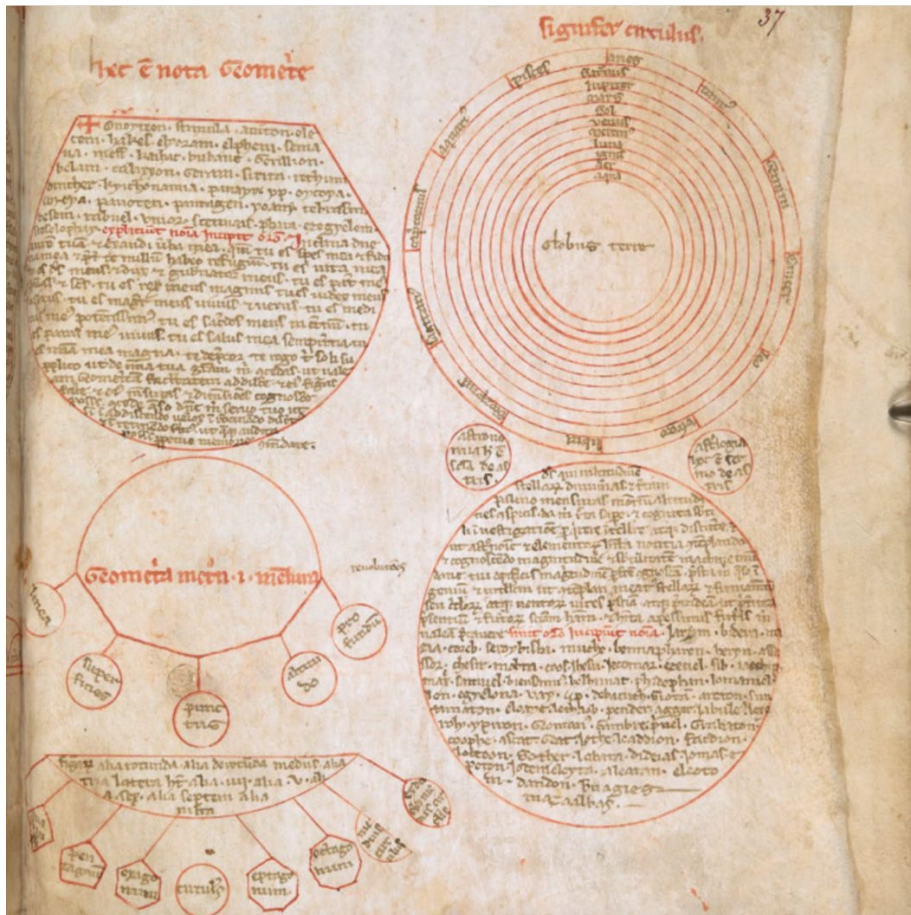
**Figure 3:** F. 54v. Augustine recommends an herb to exorcise demons, f. 55r. the herbs takes effect. Trinity College MS O.2.48 fs. 54v. and 55r.



The MS O. 2.48 is entitled *Medical Miscellany* and can be found at the Trinity College, Cambridge. The folios used in this thesis demonstrate St. Augustine's approach to medicine magic, using herbs to exorcise demons out of people. There are many other examples in different manuscripts showing how herbs can repel demons that will be seen throughout this thesis. The full digitized manuscript can be found on this link:

<https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=O.2.48#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=58&xywh=-519%2C-160%2C5301%2C3123>.

**Figure 4:** *Notae of Astronomy* from *Ars Notoria*, 13<sup>th</sup> c., Sloane MS 1712, f. 37.



This is an example of a page from *Ars notoria*, on which there is a generic diagram of the medieval universe found in the *notae* of the astronomy section (on the right of the page). The lower circles of the diagram are partly prayers and partly names of power. In summary, this diagram asks God for an understanding of the knowledge of the universe and for the practitioner to become famous for his findings on the machinery of the world. For further reading, see Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 41. The full digitized version of the manuscript can be found on this link: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Sloane\\_MS\\_1712](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Sloane_MS_1712).

**Figure 5:** The Fourth Pentacle of Saturn in *Claviculae Salomonis*.



I have taken this photo of the Fourth Pentacle of Saturn from the translation of Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers. I have used his book *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)* throughout my thesis. He, in turn, based his work on different MSS. This fourth pentacle of Saturn is particularly important for my thesis and for *Miscellanea 1320* because it could be used to cast the spell of ruin and destruction of a person, or an object.

**Figure 6:** Bas-de-page illustration of a dog extracting mandrake plants, Royal MS 2 BVII, f. 119v.



Figure 6 is found in the manuscript of Royal MS 2 BVII. This illustration is from the second part of the manuscript and is an example of how medieval laymen would persuade a dog to extract a mandrake plant (with the help of a piece of meat in this example) out of fear that if they were to stand too close, they would be cursed and die. The same illustration can be found in Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 21. The digitized manuscript could be found on this link:

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_2\\_b\\_vii](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_b_vii).



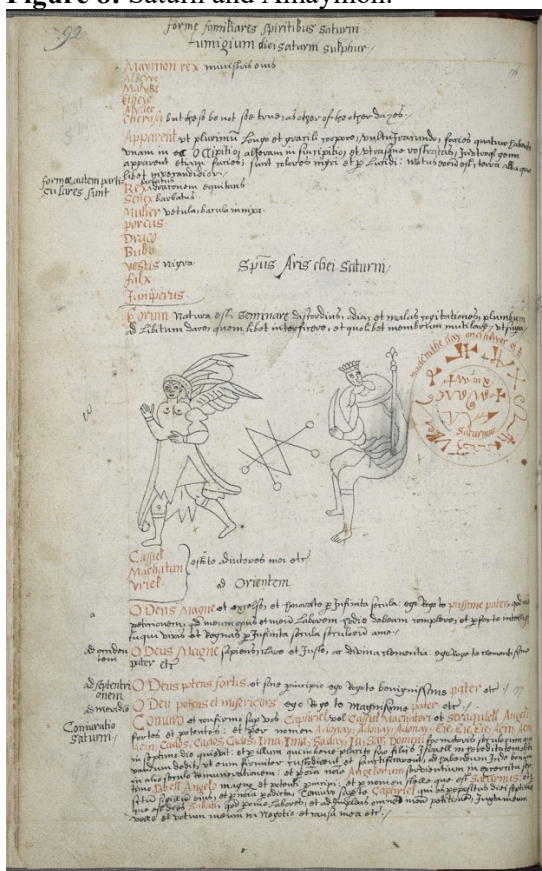
**Figure 7:** A mandrake plant getting extracted with the help of a dog, MS Harley 5294, f. 43r.



Figure 7 represents another example of a mandrake plant extraction found in MS Harley 5294, f.43 r. The same illustration is used in Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 14. The digitized manuscript could be found on this link:

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_5294](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5294).

**Figure 8:** Saturn and Amaymon.



This is a page from the *Book of Oberon*. It shows the name of Amaymon at the top written as Maymon rex showing and a spell in relation to Saturn. It contains the names of the necessary demons, and angels, along with the spell and prayers. The full digitized manuscript can be found here:

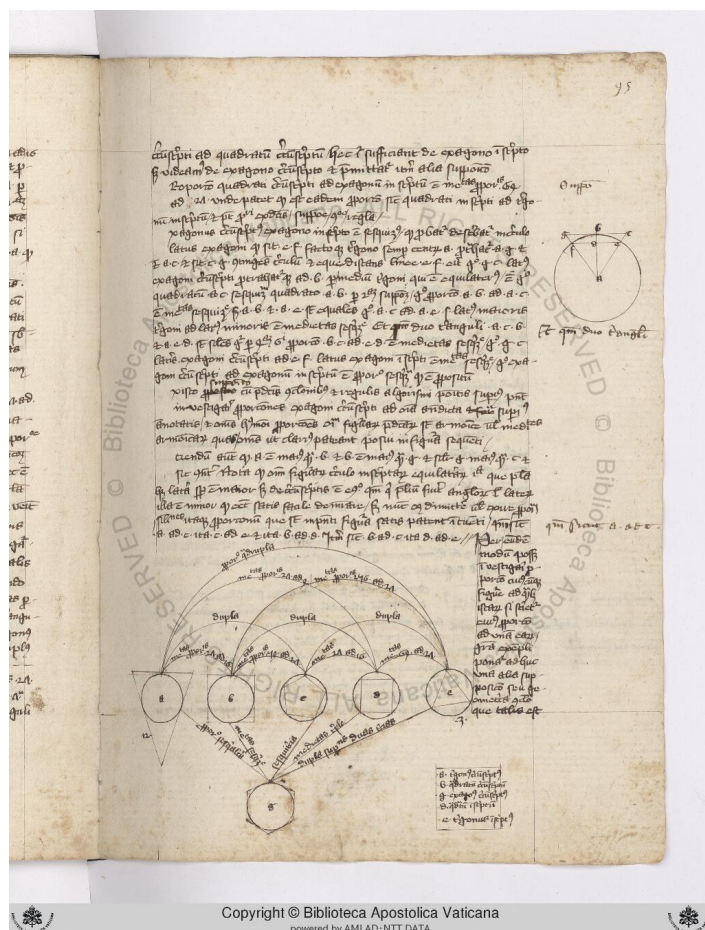
[https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~368422~131390?qvq=q%3Abook%20of%20magic%3Bsort%3ACall\\_Number%2CAuthor%2CCD\\_Title%2CImprint&mi=91&trs=292#](https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~368422~131390?qvq=q%3Abook%20of%20magic%3Bsort%3ACall_Number%2CAuthor%2CCD_Title%2CImprint&mi=91&trs=292#)

**Figure 9:** The conception of Merlin, Add. MS 10292, f. 77 v.



This manuscript is an earlier example of the Lancelot-Grail, dating back to 1316.  
The full manuscript can be found here:  
[https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_10292](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_10292)

**Figure 10:** An example page from MS Vat. Lat. 4275, f. 95 r.



Folio 95 r. from MS Vat. Lat. 4275 demonstrates the richness and importance of the manuscript. The full manuscript can be found here:  
[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.4275](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4275)

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### **Online Resources**

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