

INVOKING MAHĀKALĀ:

Discovery of the Arabic Textual Tradition of the *Almandal Salomonis*

—

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Abstract

This paper presents the discovery of the Arabic textual tradition of the *Almandal*, also known as the *Almadel* and the *Almandal Salomonis*, one of the most important works of learned magic in the Middle Ages. No Arabic witnesses were previously known to scholarship, leaving only the Latin tradition available for study—until now. In addition to offering a translation of three Arabic manuscript witnesses, this study provides a modern English translation of the Latin versions found in Fiereze II.III.214, allowing for a comprehensive comparative analysis. This study highlights nuances that have been missing from the scholarly discourse, shedding light on terminology and attribution that were either misrepresented or absent in the Latin texts. This discovery not only fills a significant gap in the historical and scholarly record but provides a more comprehensive understanding of how the *Almandal* ritual was practiced in the Arabic tradition and provides further evidence for the transmission of elements of yogic-tantric practice to Europe through Arabic intermediaries. This work opens new pathways for future research into the Arabic *mandal* manuscript tradition and unprecedented opportunity to look back one step further in the editorial history to identify the sources for the Arabic text.

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Abbreviations

[...] = Editorial additions supplied for clarity and smoother reading.

Arabic A = *al-Ajnas* Typographic Print.

Arabic B = *al-Kashf fi 'Ilm al-Hurūf*, Tehran, Treasury Library (Totfim).

Arabic C = *Kitāb Dhāt al-Dawā'ir wa Kanz al-Dhakhā'ir*, Iran, Unknown Library.

Fir(a) = *Liber in Figura Almandal*, Florence, BNC, II.III.214, fols. 74v-77r.

Fir(b) = *Tabula Salomonis*, Florence, BNC, II.III.214, fols. 77r-78v.

H2 = Halle, U.L.S.A., 14.B.36, fols. 230r-233r.

F2 = Firenze, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 38, fols. 268r-278v.

Introduction

The *Almandal* (or *al-Mandal*, *Almandel*, *Almadel*, *almadael*, *almodal*, *Almodel-lum Salomonis*, *Almandal Solomonis*, *Sanctum Almandal*, *Sefer ha-Almadil*) has remained one of the most important works of learned magic since the introduction of Solomonian magic to Europe in the middle ages. Its notoriety is confirmed by important figures such as William of Auvergne, the author of *Speculum Astronomiae* (c. 1277 CE), Johann Trithemius (1462–1516 CE), Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535 CE), Jacques Gohory (1520–1576 CE), and Johann Weyer (1515–1588 CE). The work has received a fair amount of attention by modern scholars as well—the most noteworthy being David Pingree, Julien Véronèse, Damaris Gehr, Vajra Regan, and Jan R. Veenstra, all of whom agree, in one way or the other, that the text was originally translated from Arabic. Great effort has gone into proving this theory but with no extant Arabic manuscripts, these claims remain unsubstantiated—until now. In this paper I introduce three Arabic recensions of the *Almandal* that were previously unknown to Western scholarship.

Surprisingly, one text has been in plain sight the whole time—it is included in the popular typographic printing devoted to jinn magic, *Kitab al-Ajnas* (hereafter Arabic A). Another is preserved in the Treasury Library (*al-Khazana*), also known as Totfim in Tehran (hereafter Arabic B). And the third—and most complete edition—from an unidentified Iranian library (hereafter Arabic C). All are closely connected to the Islamic scriptural figure who brought the Queen of Sheba's throne to King Solomon, Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā', King Solomon's grand vizier and scribe. Each occurs as chapters of more extensive manuscripts which confirms the suspicion that the *Almandal* was excised from a larger work and circulated as a stand-alone text.¹ This has

¹ Sprawling compendiums of Arabic magic were commonly referred to by their authors as "Comprehensive Oceans" (*al-muhitat al-shaamila* or *al-Shāmīl fī al-baḥr al-kāmīl*); scattered pearls (*al-durar al-manthūra*) strung into a necklace (*qilāda*) of Noble knowledge (*ilm al-sharīf*). These names likely derive from how mystics describe the vastness of divine truth, where human understanding is but a single drop. Sufi poets often used the ocean to describe divine knowledge, faith, and mystical experience. Ibn 'Arabī writes in *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*: "The divine knowledge is an endless ocean, and the seeker is a diver in search of pearls."

without question contributed to their elusiveness. However, recognizing the tradition's association with Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā' rather than searching solely under King Solomon proved instrumental in locating these witnesses and will likely be key to identifying others in the future.

Given the striking alignment between the Arabic editions presented here and Version α of the Latin *Almandal*, the most plausible explanation is that these Arabic texts descend from an earlier Arabic exemplar—one that ultimately served as the basis for the Latin tradition. However, because the surviving Arabic witnesses do not predate the earliest extant Latin witnesses, chronology alone cannot establish this genealogy or exclude the possibility of earlier Latin influence. Nevertheless, as demonstrated later in this study, the cumulative linguistic, philological, structural, and manuscript evidence strongly favors this hypothesis.

With the emergence of Arabic manuscript evidence, we are now better able to distinguish which elements of the *Almandal* are likely inherited from the Arabic tradition and which may reflect Latin scribal invention or adaptation. This, in turn, allows us to more accurately locate the *Almandal* within the broader Islamicate *mandal* tradition—one that I outline in a typology introduced below. The remainder of this study presents the primary *mandal* types, highlights the principal insights of these Arabic texts, compares the Latin and Arabic manuscript traditions, and concludes with English translations of the texts.

I. THE MAṆḌALA AS MAGICAL TECHNOLOGY

To properly frame the discussion, it's important for readers to more fully understand the *mandal* as a technology of ritual magic. Despite numerous studies of the *Almandal* /*Almadel*, the history of the *mandal* remains largely unexplored, with little attention given to its cultural diffusion, its specialized forms within Arabic esoteric traditions, and its significance as both magical technology and cultural artifact. Apart from Travis Zadeh, exegetes have lacked knowledge from the Arabo-Islamicate tradition, or conversely, from the Latin tradition resulting in a persistent East–West divide in scholarship

that has hindered holistic readings of *mandal* texts and practices—this study addresses that gap.

The term *al-mandal*, or *Almandal*, is generally accepted to be of Indian origin and Islamicate transmission, combining the Arabic definite article *al* with *maṇḍala* (Sanskrit: मण्डल), the Sanskrit word for ‘circle’. In this context, the *maṇḍala* is understood as a type of sorcery. In mainstream Islamicate culture today, the word *al-mandal* is sometimes used to refer broadly to ceremonies of black magic (or *sihr*).

In the western world, the word *maṇḍala* recalls geometric art or cosmic diagrams crafted by a Guru, possibly in colored sand, or perhaps something to do with Zen and one’s spiritual journey, starting from outside to the inner core, through layers. Much of the western world’s understanding of *maṇḍalas* can be credited largely to psychologist Carl Gustav Jung who re-introduced them into modern Western thought in the 1960’s.

However, *maṇḍalas* are perhaps the oldest technology for communing with the supernatural. Its usage spans time and place, used and reused across numerous cultures. Since Vedic times, Buddhist and Hindu esoteric traditions have used it as a protective ground circle for invoking deities and other supernatural beings. In addition, it plays a key role in desire-oriented rituals designed to secure divine favor or attain supernatural powers (*siddhi*). This practice was later adopted by Muslim communities across Central and South Asia, and subsequently Western practitioners. As the word circulated within and beyond regional vocabularies, its substance shifted. Accordingly, the historical accounts of the *mandal* are unstable varying both in form and content. Broadly understood, the *mandal* is a sacred ritual space used to invoke deities, spirits, demons, angels, or jinn.

Within the Islamic esoteric tradition, four distinct ritual types bearing the name *mandal* can be identified, classified according to their primary function: Protection, Visualization, Expulsion, and Activation. A table outlining these categories and their distinguishing features is provided below.

Schema	Category	Terminology	Sources / Texts
<i>Mandal α</i>	Protection	Magic Circle – <i>mandal</i> or <i>al-ḥawṭah</i>	<i>al-Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil</i> , <i>Kitāb al-Shāmil wa Baḥr al-Kāmil</i>
<i>Mandal β</i>	Visualization	Surrogate Scrying – <i>darb al-mandal</i> (drawing the circle) or <i>fath al-mandal</i> (opening the mandal)	CLM 849, Moser Gaster MSS (ed. Samuel Daiches), Works of al-Toukhi the Sorcerer, PGM
<i>Mandal γ</i>	Expulsion	Composite altar and gazing surface used for exorcism and jinn entrapment – <i>al-mandal</i>	<i>Kitāb al-Mandal al-Sulaymānī</i>
<i>Mandal δ</i>	Activation	Altar (Table of Solomon) – <i>Almandal</i> , <i>Almadel</i> , or <i>mandal</i>	<i>al-Mandal Mahākīl</i> , <i>al-Mandal Sulaymān</i> , <i>al-Mandal Bisāt Sulaymān</i> , <i>Liber in Figura Almandal</i> , <i>Tabula Salomonis</i>

Although the present work is concerned with the Latin *Almandal* (*mandal δ*: Activation) it would be a disservice to exclude the others as they provide valuable insight into the Latin *Almandal*'s ancestry. Let us briefly survey each of the four types:

Mandal α – Protection

The first type within this typology is the “protective” *maṇḍala*, which corresponds to what is often referred to as the magic circle. It is apparently the oldest and original modality termed *mandal* in the Arab world making the other three derivative subtypes.

A magic circle, also known as a protective floor circle, is a ritually defined space, often inscribed on the ground, used in magical or theurgical operations to create a boundary between the practitioner and spiritual entities. Within Islamic, Jewish, and Christian esoteric traditions, the circle serves to repel summoned spirits, shield the operator, and align the ritual act with celestial forces. In many traditions, including the Solomonic and Indo-Tibetan, the magic circle is oriented according to planetary timing and cardinal directions, forming a sacred space wherein communication with spirits or divine intelligences may safely occur.

The use of magic circles can be traced back to antiquity. In Mesopotamian ritual practice, protective floor circles known as *zīsurrū* (Sumerian: ZĪ-SUR-RA-a) were a fundamental element of apotropaic ceremonies such as the *namburbi*. These were simple lines of flour—often from symbolically chosen grains—drawn to demarcate sacred space, purify the environment, and protect against hostile forces. Yet they lacked distinctive patterns or elaborate geometry. The same holds true for Greco-Egyptian papyri and ancient Jewish magical texts: protective circles are mentioned, but when they appear they are largely unpatterned, without the complex ornamentation that later became central in Western grimoires.

By contrast, in India geometric ritual diagrams were cultivated into a full ceremonial science. Rooted in Vedic ritual geometry and developed in early Tantric Hinduism and Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna Buddhism (fourth to seventh century CE), *maṇḍalas* defined ritual space with precision. Texts such as the *Subāhuparipṛcchā* (Tantra of the Questions of Subāhu), an action tantra (*kriyātantra*) written in Sanskrit in the early seventh century CE prescribe diagrams with concentric circles and four directional gates, a central throne for practitioner or afflicted, perimeter defenses and incantations, quadrants of color and elemental association, ritual lamps and offerings, consecrated implements, and activation by mantra recitation. These rites demanded an ordered sequence: purification of practitioner (*śauca*), cleansing of the space,

alignment with auspicious astrology, fumigation, consecration, geometric construction of the *maṇḍala*, declaration of intent, protective invocations, and strict retreat-like observances (*sādhana*).

Taken together, these operations already anticipate the full array of features that appear in the Arabic *mandal*. Indeed, Arabic and Persian grimoires preserve the term itself—*mandal*—directly from Sanskrit *maṇḍala*. Their designs are structurally homologous: concentric circles or squares with four gates, activated through nearly identical preparatory steps. Sufi practitioners in particular adopted these procedures, enriched by their encounters with Hindu and Buddhist ascetics through trade, conquest, and intellectual exchange across the Indian subcontinent. While the Umayyad conquest of Sindh marked the beginning of sustained contact, such cross-pollination predates Islam’s political expansion. It was carried by itinerant mystics, scholars, and Sufi masters in dialogue with Indian yogis and renunciants.

Textual provenance further suggests a Central Asian bridge, where Indian and Iranian religious cultures once formed a contiguous symbolic landscape. Within this matrix, the Indian *maṇḍala* provided the ritual logic for bounded spaces in medieval Islam. As Abū al-Faḍl al-Ṭabasī (d. 1089) attests in his *al-Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil*, the masters of spirit-subjugation whom he names—Sahl al-Tustarī, al-Ḥallāj, Ibn Hilāl, and others—were themselves Sufi authorities and transmitters of Hadith. Their techniques, though couched in Islamic piety, reflect a deep absorption of Indian ritual technologies.

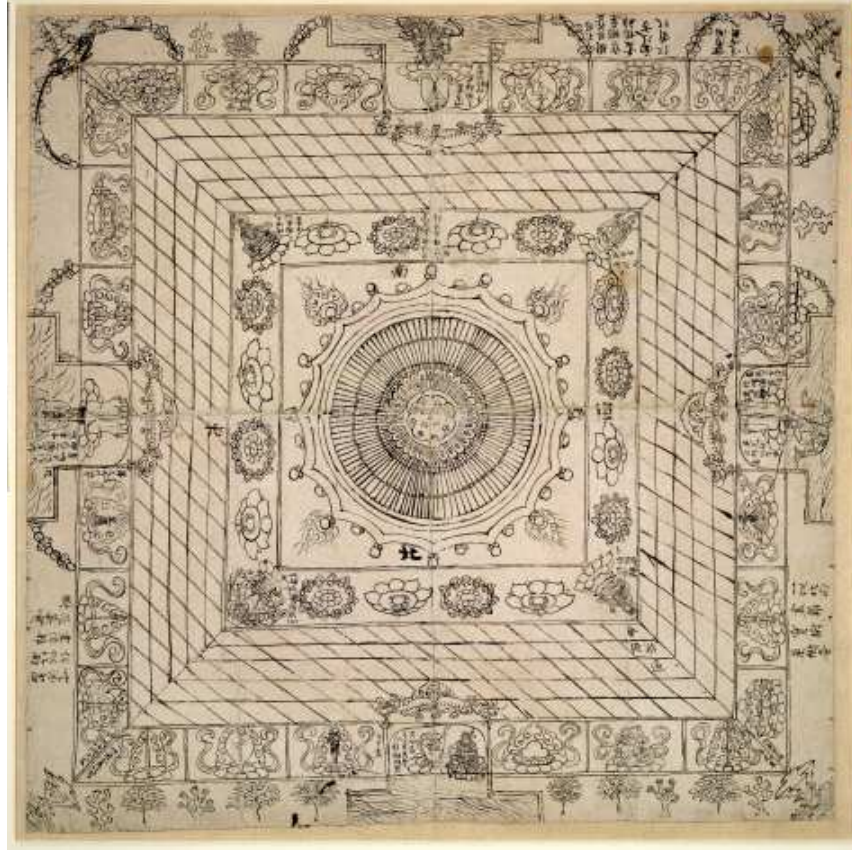


Figure 1. Altar Diagram (*maṇḍala*) with concentric lines and gates, one inscribed in Chinese: “entry point for the *dhāraṇī* preacher.” Excavated from Dunhuang (Ch.00189), Tang Dynasty, 851–900 CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The Accounts

The primary accounts of the *mandal* come from five key figures: Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Ṭabasī (d. 1089), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209 CE), Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī (d. 1229 CE), Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Rammāl al-Mu‘azzim al-Sā‘atī al-Haykalī. (fl. 1273 CE) and Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kashnāwī (d. 1741 CE).

Tabasī's Mandal

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Ṭabasī was a Shafi'i Muslim and Sufi Asharite author who lived most of his life in Nishapur in the early 11th century. Ṭabasī, honored with the title “Pride of the Imams” (*fakhr al-a'imma*), was regarded as a reliable transmitter of ḥadīth, possessing a chain of transmission that could be traced through major regional authorities, including the renowned ḥadīth scholar al-Ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh (d. 1014 CE) and the Qur'ānic exegete Abū al-Qāsim b. Ḥabīb (d. 1016 CE). Although many works are attributed to him, his *al-Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil* (The Comprehensive Compendium to the Entire Sea), a seminal work on conjuring spirits, appears to be most disseminated. His own ability to subjugate jinn was reported by the natural scientist and encyclopedist, Zakariyyā' al-Qazwīnī (c. 1203–1283 CE) who states that Ṭabasī was widely known to be able to command the jinn. Further, he describes Ṭabasī as the author of the *Shāmil*, a large work on how to make jinn obedient and the specific manner of subjugating them, with descriptions of incantations and the conditions for their use.²

While there are multiple accounts of the *mandal*, Ṭabasī's is apparently the exemplar. Tabasī attributes the technology to even earlier sorcerers such as al-Hallāj (d. 922 CE) and the Faustian-like figure ibn Hilāl. He also lists his teachers, most prominently, al-Ansārī, the Great Master (*al-Ustādah al-Akbar*). According to Ṭabasī, this knowledge traces back to Adam, passing through Seth, Enoch/Idrīs, Ezekiel, and Solomon, before continuing through 'Alī's line, the early Sufi masters, and the great conjurers—ultimately reaching the teachers of Nishapur who preserved and transmitted it.

² See Travis Zadeh. *Commanding Demons and Jinn: The Sorcerer in Early Islamic Thought* in a volume honoring Wheeler M. Thackston, edited by Korangy and Sheffield (Wiesbaden, 2014), 131–60.



Figure 2. Mandal diagrams from Tabasi's chapter on the conjuration of Lady Queen Abina (*al-sayyida al-malika*) in *Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil* (La Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Ms Arabes No. 984, fols. 66v, 67r), 1501 CE

Sakkākī's Mandal

Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī was born in 1160 CE in Khwarazm, Central Asia, where he lived most of his life. He died in 1228–1229 CE in Qaryat al-Kindi, in present-day Uzbekistan. He is widely known for his *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (The Key of the Sciences), a work on Arabic grammar, but in his later years became the court magician to both the last Khwarazm-Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mingbarnī and Chagatai Khan, the second son of Genghis Khan and Börte.

Sakkākī's technique for casting the *mandal*, although personally nuanced, draws—if not borrows directly—from Ṭabasī. His major work bears a nearly identical title to Tabasi's, namely *Kitāb al-Shāmil wa Baḥr al-Kāmil* (The Book of the Complete and Ocean of Perfection). Both individuals were active in Khorasan—Ṭabasī associated with Ṭabas and Nishāpūr, and Sakkākī likely operating in Khwarazm (modern-day northern Iran and Uzbekistan). Given the shared titles of their major works, their geographic proximity and the sustained presence of esoteric schools of knowledge in the region, it's

plausible that Sakkākī had access to Ṭabasī's manuscript tradition or was trained by successors or students familiar with his system. Sakkākī likely saw himself as building upon or systematizing the earlier Ṭabasī corpus, adapting it to a more scholastic and encyclopedic framework – *Kitāb al-Shāmil* (The Book of the Complete). As shown below, Sakkākī's *Shamil* includes figures much like those of Ṭabasī. However, unlike the *mandal* diagrams found in Ṭabasī's *Shamil*, he depicts the direction the practitioner should face and what words to write on the gates to block them.

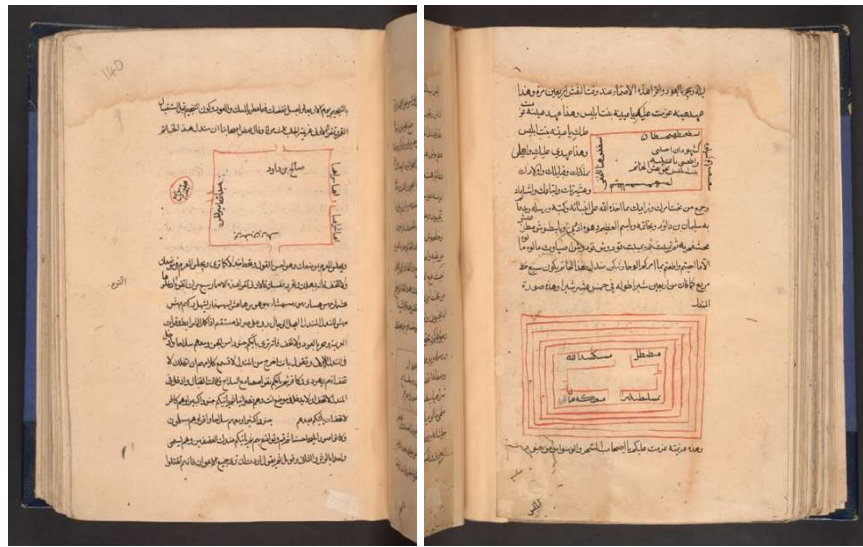


Figure 3. Mandal diagrams from Sakkākī's *Kitāb al-Shāmil* (British Library, Delhi Arabic 1915/b fols. 140r, 164v), seventeenth century CE. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

There is another work by Muhammad, the son of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī entitled, *Taskhīrāt* (Subjugation), which features the construction of *mandals* for the seven planets and other categories of spirits. While the *Shāmil* specifies a *mandal* is made from seven concentric lines, each *mandal* from *Taskhīrāt* is comprised of different numbers of concentric lines, alternating placements of iron rods (*mile fooladi*), daggers (*kārdhā*), and different colored banners (*a'lām*). Apparently, *Taskhīrāt* was excerpted and elaborated from his *Shāmil*, and it is possible that Sakkākī himself acted as the compiler of his father's

Kitāb al-Shāmīl. Even if compiled posthumously, the content clearly dates it to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and may be viewed as a kind of “Collected Works.” The text survives in several independent manuscripts, as well as integrated into broader compilations.



Figure 4. Mandal diagrams from *Taskhīrāt*. Library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (LICA): Left: MS 1917, fol. 15v; Right: MS 2973, p. 117.

Below are instructions for casting a *mandal* for the Sun from an edition of *Taskhīrāt* embedded within *Nujum al-ulum* (Stars of the Sciences), an illuminated Persian compendium of the occult sciences as practiced in a sixteenth-century Deccani court. This edition of the text is accompanied by lavish miniature paintings of each *mandal*:



If someone wishes to subjugate the sun, they must first draw four mandals in the form of a square, each one separate from the other and drawn with gold and copper³. The mandal is a series of lines (*khuṭūṭ*) that the master of the summons (*ṣāhib-i da'wat*) draws around oneself so that during the recitation of incantations (*a'zām*), one remains safe from the harm of spirits. After drawing the four mandals (*chahār mandal bikašad*), one should drive a dagger (*kard*) into the side of each mandal they have drawn. One should then place a standard made of golden silk (*ḥarīr*) on the ground in each of the four corners of the mandal, and draw a circle within the square. During the ritual, the master of the summons should sit (*benshinad*) within the lines and perform the fumigation (*bukhūr*). As a prerequisite to the ritual, the master of the summons should fast (*rūzeh*)⁴

³ Based on the miniature painting and other operations in the text, these are probably gold and copper “rods” that are then posted in the corners.

⁴ *Rūzeh* or *Rōzah* in non-Arab Muslim countries is the practice of abstaining, usually from food, drink, smoking, and sexual activity.

for three days and perform full ablution (*ghusl*)⁵ each day. The outfit to be worn by the summoner should be either red or yellow. During the burning of the prescribed incense (*bukhūr*), one must stand with respect before the sun in the same manner that one stands before kings and rulers. One should put his hands together⁶ in respect but unlike Aristotle and some other philosophers, one should not bow to the sun while reciting the hymns and burning the incense (*sūkhtan-i bukhūrā*).⁷ Doing so would have a negative effect as bowing to anyone or anything other than God is an act of infidelity (*shirk*)⁸. Sakkākī narrates that his own nephew was engaged in summoning the sun and acted upon the guidelines of Aristotle. During the ritual, after prostrating before the sun, a flame of fire appeared from the mandal after he exited it, and he was nearly burnt by it. From this experience, I realized that the act was improper and should not be done.⁹ Moreover, the master should sacrifice an animal (*jānevārī*

⁵ *Ghusl* is a full-body ritual purification (ritual bath) mandatory before the performance of various rituals and prayers. This "full ablution" is opposed to "partial ablution" or *wudu* that Muslims perform after lesser impurities such as urination or flatulence. This entailing only washing the face, arms, then wiping the head and finally washing the feet with water.

⁶ Prayer hands

⁷ See *Astromagia* (Vatican Library, Reg. Lat. 1283). This manuscript, dated to 1280, preserves methods attributed to Aristotle, Pythagoras, Pliny, Hermes, and others for making talismans and summoning the planets. It includes numerous full-color depictions of practitioners standing with hands joined in reverence to the planets and, in some cases, receiving rings from planetary spirits. One miniature shows a magician within a four-sided magic circle explicitly designated as a *mandal*. Like the *Picatrix* translated at the court of Alfonso X, this work ultimately derives from much older Arabic sources.

⁸ This is an example of praiseworthy magic where the magician subjugates spirits through the names and oaths directly to God in contrast to the illicit variety where the magician partakes in sinful acts, praises and invokes the spirit directly which is offensive to God. Razi, Ibn al-Nadim, and others have also made this distinction.

⁹ Certainly the act of stepping outside the magic circle contributed his Nephews tragic end consequently through devotion to the Sun directly. This caution is almost certainly a later Islamic interpolation. In the older astral-magical traditions—whether Sabian or other pagan contexts—such rites of reverence were integral to calming and invoking the planetary deities. Since the planets themselves were

qorbānī konad).¹⁰ The animal to be sacrificed should be of a yellow shade such as a yellow calf and one should give alms but never from the animals being sacrificed. This must be done on the night of a full moon, and the sacrifice must be completed before the dawn light—which is the redness in the west—completely disappears. During this time, the summoner should not step out of the mandal and should burn incense once at sunrise and once at sunset. He must burn 8 *miṭqāl* each time which would mean he has to burn a total of 16 *miṭqāl*¹¹ in one day.¹²

Rāzī's Mandal

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1149–1210 CE) was a towering Persian polymath, theologian, and philosopher of the Islamic classical period. Born in 1149 CE in the city of Rayy (in present-day Iran), he would have been an older contemporary of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī. He was a major exponent of Ash'arī theology and a master of Avicennan logic and metaphysics, which he critically engaged and reinterpreted. Al-Rāzī authored extensive works in theology (*kalām*), philosophy (*falsafa*), Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr al-Qur'ān*), medicine (*ṭibb*), and the occult sciences (*ulūm gharība*). His most famous occult work was, *al-Sirr al-Maktūm*, which was a scientific account of the astral-talismanic practices of the Sabians of Harran, but it was his earlier encyclopedic work, *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm*, that includes instructions for casting the *mandal*. While Rāzī

regarded as gods, gestures of veneration would not have been seen as offensive but as essential to the ritual logic. Rāzī's subjugation of the sun does however specify the practitioner remain standing until the sun reaches the high point of its elevation.

¹⁰ In his *De Radiis*, al-Kindi (c. 801–873 AD) dedicates an entire chapter to performing sacrifices which he claims, of all magical techniques, is the most powerful. He explains that all living organisms are the host to a form of energy, which is released when an organism dies. This transformation of a being of existence into a being of non-existence releases a great quantity and quality of rays. This power can be manipulated to achieve the desires of a practitioner.

¹¹ 1 *miṭqāl* = (almost) 4 grams

¹² This excerpt represents only a portion of this Subjugation. A full critical edition is forthcoming. For my preliminary edition of all seven planetary operations, see: <https://booksofmagick.com/sakkakis-taskhirat>.

does not explicitly refer to it as the *mandal*, his account does closely align with Ṭabasī's *Shāmil*, and in his *al-Sirr al-Maktūm*, he explicitly cites Ṭabasī as an authority on the occult sciences—making it likely that Rāzī also drew directly from his work.

As part of his account, Rāzī gives ten unavoidable conditions to the practice of *tanjīm* (astral magic):

There are ten unavoidable conditions. First, one must wear a garment, which should be new and delicate. Second, the place should be in a tall hut located in an empty desert. It would be ideal if there is a flowing river and trees nearby. The third condition pertains to time, the beginning of the operation should be on a day in the first half of the lunar month, such that the conjunctions of the ten auspicious planets align and conform to the intended purpose.

The days of *tanjīm* practice are seven, and it is even better if the practitioner fasts for a few days beforehand. For example, if one fasts on Wednesday, makes a seal on Thursday, and assembles the gemstone on it, they should engage in worship on Friday, and engage in *Tanjīm* on Saturday night. After that, they fast for seven days.

The fourth condition relates to drawing lines (*khaṭ-keshīdan*). One should draw seven lines, first making sure to draw the furthest one, and draw these lines with iron or steel. If it is a dagger (*kārd*), that will suffice, and not even the space of a needle's head should be left empty in the line; the line must be drawn with the right hand. Where the ends of the lines meet, they should insert that piece of iron. For the second line [and all subsequent lines], they should use another piece of iron.

Then, they should recite the amulet (*hīrz*) mentioned in the second principle over the line seven times, and write around it *Āyat al-Kursī*, *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, *al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, *Āman al-Rasūl*, and other verses from the great Qur'an¹³. The fifth condition relates

¹³ Ṭabasī gives a specific verse for each line.

to sitting. One must sit in the middle of the seventh line, such that nothing extends beyond it. They should bring a censer of incense (*mijmar-i bukhūrāt*) with them, place an iron lamp on both sides of them, face the Qibla, and position oneself opposite Mars.

The sixth condition pertains to daily religious practices (*ṭā'at-hā*). One must perform a ritual bath (*ghusl*) every day and another one every night. *Tanjīm* must be performed at night. But during the day, and at the time of the zenith, one must pray four units (*rak'āt*) of prayer, and in each unit recite *Sūrah al-Fātiḥah* and then *al-Tanzīl* and *Ḥā' Mīm al-Sajdah*, *Ḥā' Mīm al-Dukhān*, *Sūrah al-Mulk*, *Sūrah al-'Aṣr* and *Qul yā ayyuhā al-Kāfirūn*. During leisure time, one should be engaged with the Qur'an, especially *Sūrah Ṭāhā*, *Sūrah al-Nūr*, *al-Furqān*, *Fāṭir*, *Yāsīn*, *Ḥā' Mīm al-Mu'min*, *Sūrah al-Ṭūr*, *al-Raḥmān*, *al-Mulk*, *Āyat al-Kursī*, and the glorification (*tasbih*) mentioned in the second principle, which should be recited most of the time.

The seventh condition relates to exiting from the lines. One should try not to leave, and indeed not ask anyone for help, as the secret of this knowledge is cutting off bodily desires. If necessary, they should stand up, and recite the instructions from the amulet mentioned in the second principle. Then, they should recite another chapter that we will write in the second principle. Then, they say: "In the name of [453] the Compassionate, the Merciful", and he should step outside with his right foot, pull the iron out of the ground, and when he returns, refresh the lines.

Eighth, the time of breaking the fast and the nature of food: the time of breaking the fast should be after he has finished *tanjīm*, and as for the nature of food, he should avoid anything except for pure bread, sesame oil, vinegar with salt, and saffron.

Ninth, when he leaves and wants to go to sleep, it is said that it is preferable for him to sleep in another place, and when he intends to return to his place, he should make fresh ablutions, not say a word, and, if possible, not inform anyone about his condition.

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Tenth, in terms of making a ring, if he wants to start the work on Saturday night, he fasts on Wednesday, and on Thursday, he gets two weights of pure silver and brings a fasting and pure jeweler to make a ring. It should be made from that silver and a ruby stone attached to it. If that is not feasible, he can use a normal stone or clear crystal.

Then, at the time of the prayer on Friday, both he and the jeweler should perform ablution (*wozū kardan*). The design mentioned in the second principle should be etched on that stone, and a little musk and camphor should be placed under the stone. He should then place the ring on his right-hand finger and go to the place where he will be performing *Tanjīm*. Always keep it hidden from others.

Then he should pray four prostrations with reverence, and when he finishes, recite the preliminary intentions. He should then wrap the ring in clean white silk, put a piece of musk and amber in it, and put it in a clean bag. He can then break his fast.

And when night comes, he should perform ablution, put on clean clothes, and go up to a bright high roof, with a rod made of pomegranate wood or boxwood about five spans long. Then facing Mars, turn his face towards the Qibla and draw a line [the *mandal*]. Put the wood into the ground and hang that ring from the top with a gray horsehair and engage in chant. This is the sum of the conditions of *tanjīm*.

Rāzī goes on to specify what should be engraved on the ring, the invocations to be recited, and the signs that indicate the presence of jinn. In this chapter, he also addresses the reality of jinn, distinguishes them from the *shayāṭīn*, explains the practical utility of *tanjīm*, and clarifies the difference between sorcery (*siḥr*) and incantation (*‘azā’im*), among other matters.

Kashnāwī’s Mandal

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kashnāwī (1699–1741 CE) was a prominent eighteenth-century Fulani scholar, mathematician, astrologer, Arabic grammarian and jurist from Katsina, present-day Northern Nigeria.

His account of the *mandal*—referred to also as *al-ḥawṭah*—is drawn directly from Ṭabasī’s *Shamil*, which he explicitly cites. It’s the latest of all the accounts yet it is also the most accessible—Kashnāwī elucidates passages in Ṭabasī that are at times cryptic and unclear in their practical instructions. Kashnāwī authored two principal works. His *magnum opus* is a revision of al-Razī’s *al-Sirr al-Maktūm: al-Durr al-manẓūm wa-khulāṣat al-sirr al-maktūm fī ‘ilm al-ṭalāsīm wa-l-nujūm* (The Ordered Pearls and Summa of “al-sirr al-maktūm fī ‘ilm al-ṭalāsīm wa-l-nujūm”). As the title suggests, his aim was to render the work more accessible to readers. His other major composition, entirely of his own making, is *Bahjat al-āfāq wa-īdāḥ al-lubs wa-l-ighlāq fī ‘ilm al-ḥurūf wa-l-awfāq* (Joy of the Horizons and the Unveiling of Ambiguities in the Science of Letters and Talismans). Although he discusses the *mandal* in *al-Durr*, it is in this latter work that he recounts Ṭabasī’s *mandal* in detail. The two texts are closely connected, as the latter frequently refers the reader back to the former, and his inclusion of Ṭabasī’s *mandal* reflects the same effort to clarify, systematize, and make accessible an otherwise opaque body of esoteric instruction.

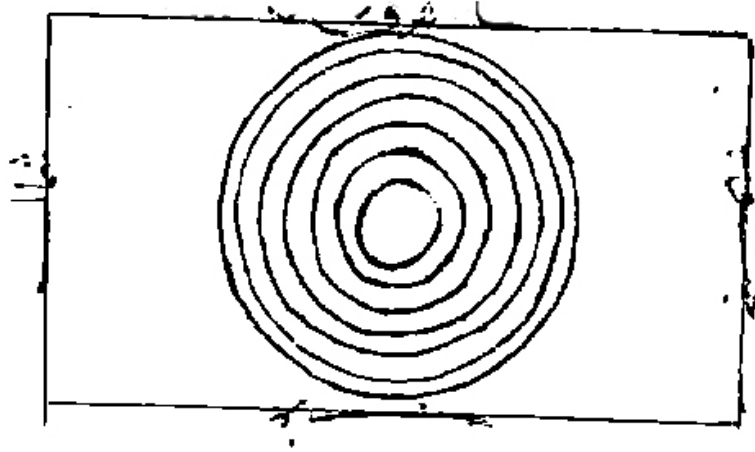
According to Kashnāwī, the *mandal* is essential for the *tanjīm* of attraction and response—an astral operation in which spirits attend, descend, and remain within a seal—an act considered the highest degree and ultimate goal of the *munajjim* (astrologer-magician). Since spirits often manifest in terrifying forms and images difficult for humans to endure, it is crucial that the seeker (*aṭ-ṭālib*) understand how to cast a protective enclosure (*al-ḥawṭah*), known as the *mandal*. Drawing on al-Ṭabasī, Kashnāwī emphasizes that such a measure is necessary to guard against the harm posed by rebellious jinn and demons (*‘ifrīt*):

The First Chapter: Regarding the protective enclosure (*al-ḥawṭah*) known as the *mandal*.

Regarding its description and its layout: know that *the mandal*, according to the sages, consists of seven [concentric] circles (*sab’*

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dawair), each enclosing the other, all of which are surrounded by a square line with four gates¹⁴, aligned with the four cardinal directions: East, West, South, and North. This can be seen in the figure below:



They considered nine requirements in the method of drawing the *mandal*.

The first is that each of the seven lines should be drawn with a tool made of iron and steel, specifically a spearhead attached to a long shaft. The surface should be well-prepared with a mixture of ashes, salt, and soil¹⁵.

The Second [Requirement]: There must be no visible gap where the two ends of the circle meet—the line must close seamlessly upon itself. Each of the concentric lines must also be drawn at equal

¹⁴ The diagram in this manuscript of *Bahjat* lacks the gates, but other witnesses—such as Beinecke Library, Yale University, Arabic MSS suppl. 29—includes gates, consistent with the design found in Tabasī's *Shāmil*.

¹⁵ Classical Tantric texts prescribe elaborate methods for testing the soil. The materials used to prepare the ground may include gold and silver dust, powdered jewels, grains, rice, fruit, and flowers. By contrast, the Arabic tradition clearly abbreviates this process.

distance from the others, without variation. Rather, they must all be uniform and consistent, for any deviation from these instructions leads to a fatal lapse.

The Third [Requirement]: A sharp iron tool should be planted into each of the lines and circles individually. It must be planted specifically where the ends of the circle join—meaning the junction of the circle's ends—except for the outer square line surrounding the circles, for that does not require the planting of iron.

The Fourth [Requirement]: That the planting of these iron [tools] be varied, such that they are not all on the same side. Rather, some should be placed behind him, some in front, some to his left, and some to his right. For if a side is left empty, it becomes a cause for fear and terror. Thus, it became mandatory to vary the starting points of the aforementioned lines. One should not start from one direction, nor two directions, nor three, nor four. Rather, they should have seven different starting points.

The Fifth [Requirement]: That he begins the rotation of the circle from the right side, proceeding toward his left.

The Sixth [Requirement]: That he makes the inner circle wide enough so that if he were to collapse, he would not fall outside of the *mandal*. For if he falls and exits the *mandal*, even by a little, it would mean certain death.

The Seventh [Requirement]: That he begins with the outer square [213r] surrounding all the circles¹⁶, and he must have the long spear with him inside the *mandal*. After finishing the square, he moves to the circles inside to the square, then proceeds one by one until he ends at the smallest of the circles. These are the circles that enclose the operator.

¹⁶ The outer square of the *maṇḍala* is called, the Earth House (*bhūgrha*) is Tantric literature.

The Eighth [Requirement]: Regarding what is written upon the lines. They [the Sages] differed on this; some said one should write on each of them:

- The Chapter of the Opening (*Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*).
- The Verse of the Throne (*Āyat al-Kursī*).
- From "The Messenger has believed..." to the end of the Chapter (*Al-Baqarah*).
- "Allah witnesses that there is no deity but Him..."
- From the beginning of Chapter *al-An'ām* to the end of three verses.
- Then: "**To Allah** belongs the Kingdom, to Allah belongs the Greatness, to Allah belongs the Pride, to Allah belongs the Power, to Allah belongs the Majesty".

Others mentioned rules different from this, as stated in the introduction.¹⁷

The Ninth [Requirement]: Closing the four doors of the *mandal*. They differed on this as well. **The Truth** is that three [doors]—other than the one directly in front of him—are closed as a precaution against the rebellious jinn entering and harming him. As for the one in front of him, it remains open. The reason for keeping that one door open is so that they [the spirits] may enter through it and circumambulate (*ṭawāf*) the operator during the peak of their obedience. If he follows the well-known opinion:

- On the left side:
Qul huwa Allāhu aḥadun, Allāhu aṣ-Ṣamad.
"Say: He is Allah, the One, Allah, the Eternal Refuge." (*Surah al-Ikhlāṣ*)
- On the back (behind you):
Laqad jā'akum rasūlun min anfusikum...

¹⁷ Ṭabaṣī offers an alternative practice, prescribing specific verses to be written on each of the seven lines, along with the exact excerpts to be used.

“There has certainly come to you a Messenger from among yourselves...” (*Surah at-Tawbah*)

- On the right side:
Law anzalnā hādhā al-Qur’āna ‘alā jabalin...
“If We had sent down this Qur’an upon a mountain...” (*Surah al-Hashr*)

This is the summary of the objective regarding the discussion on the enclosure (*al-hawṭah*).¹⁸

Nasīr al-Dīn’s Mandal

The only pre-modern manuscript that I have studied that doesn’t directly echo the work of Tabasī or Sakkākī is an illuminated Persian manuscript, *Daqā’iq al-Ḥaqā’iq* (Subtleties of Truth) compiled by Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Rammāl al-Mu’aẓẓim al-Sā’ātī al-Haykalī. The work is dated April 10, 1272 CE and attributed to the Central Anatolian city of Aksaray. It was presented to Kay Khosraw III, one of the last Rum Seljuq rulers, when he was a child.

It has five treatises dealing with astrology, angelology, talismans, magic, and prognostication. The manuscript is richly illustrated with astrological figures in strikingly anthropomorphic forms, including composite deities and beings with multiple arms reminiscent of Indian iconography. The anthropomorphic representation of astrological figures attests to the depth of intellectual and artistic exchange between the Iranian and Indian worlds.

It also includes a series of *mandals* for conjuring specific angels and jinn kings, each constructed from precise geometric frameworks—interlocking circles, cruciform layouts, and nested squares that divide the space into chambers for various ritual activities. Each line is bisected to create a gateway for ritual movement inward, from outer approach to inner consecration.

¹⁸ This excerpt concerns only the lines of the *mandal*. A more complete account of the *mandal* as transmitted by Kashnāwī will be published in full in a forthcoming edition.

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Each chamber designates specific placements for ritual implements and materials—such as water, bread, incense, weapons, lamps and reed pipes—arranged according to the spatial logic of the diagram.

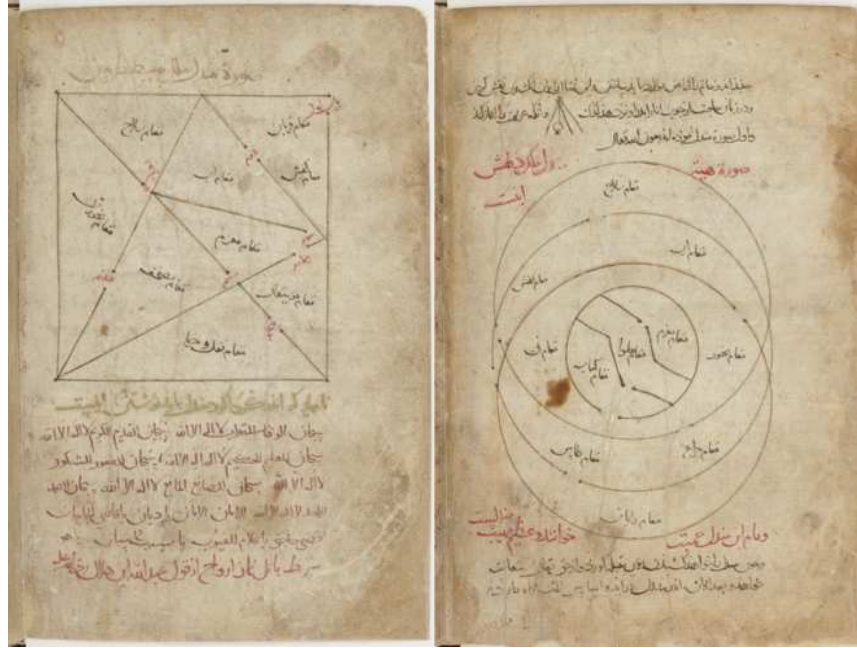


Figure 5: Mandal diagrams from *Daqā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq* (Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) Persan 174, fols. 74v, 70v), 1272 CE

The closest analogue to Ṭabasī's *Shāmil* occurs on folio 104v (Figure 6, p. 31). It is composed of seven concentric circles, recalling the diagram in his chapter on the conjuration of Lady Queen Abina (*al-sayyida al-malika*), daughter of the Devil (*al-Shayṭān*). Yet here the circles represent the planetary stations through which the spirits of the celestial spheres are called down. These seven circles are drawn upon the ground and a chamber erected above it. Unlike Ṭabasī's circular diagram, this design functions more like a ritual labyrinth, with gates placed at varying positions in each concentric ring, allowing movement from one circle to the next. While it is possible that the scribe adapted ritual techniques from Ṭabasī and Sakkākī, the

distinctiveness of the content suggests that it may instead preserve an independent strand of transmission from an older, shared esoteric tradition.



Figure 6. Mandal to be placed under the Dome of Iskandar from *Daqā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq* (Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) Persan 174, fol. 104v), 1272 CE.

The five accounts together demonstrate the breadth of the *mandal* tradition across Islamic intellectual and geographic landscapes. Ṭabasī anchors it in the formative Sufi milieu of eleventh-century Nishapur; Rāzī integrates it

into encyclopedic *kalām* and philosophy; Sakkākī adapts it for the courtly and talismanic sciences of Central Asia; al-Kashnāwī extends its life into eighteenth-century West Africa; and Nasir al-Dīn's *Daqā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq* embodies its creative flourishing in Anatolia, where geometric innovation and artistic elaboration turned the *mandal* into a richly illustrated ritual device.

By the 13th century, then, the *mandal* was no longer a peripheral borrowing but a fully naturalized element of Islamic esotericism—portable across regions, adaptable to multiple sciences, and deeply invested with both ritual power and cosmological meaning. It is precisely this maturity that allowed the *mandal* to travel beyond Islamdom.

In the translation hubs of *al-Andalus*, Castile, and Toledo, the *mandal* entered Western consciousness in two overlapping streams. *Mandal δ* (the *Almandal/Almadel*) reached Latin Europe directly through Arabic exemplars, structured around the descent of spirits into an altar-like device. *Mandal α*, by contrast, was more often reframed under Western terms (*circulos*, *kuklos*)—yet in Alfonso X's *Astromagia* (late thirteenth century CE) the Arabicized word *mandal* survives intact, and is seemingly illustrated in the accompanying miniature as a four-sided magic circle guarding a magician in confrontation with a spirit (Figure 7, p. 33). This represents the earliest known mention of the *mandal* in a Western manuscript. The text reads:

And when a demon-possessed person comes before you, if you wish to protect them: conjure [the spirit] by the names of Mercury and show them the ring. Then they will fall face-first to the ground upon the **mandal** which serves as a protective enclosure, and so it shall be.

This moment captures the culmination of a long trajectory: a ritual technology first elaborated in India, transmitted and transformed through the Iranian and Islamic worlds, and finally refracted through translation into Europe—where it served as a forerunner to the Solomonic magic circle, the most enduring emblem of Western ceremonial magic.



Figure 7. Magician summoning Mercury in a *mandal* inscribed with corrupted Arabic script from *Astromagia* (Reg.lat.1283.pt.A, fol. 36r), late thirteenth century CE. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Mandal β – Visualization

In Muslim lands, *al-mandal* also serves as the term—or part of the nomenclature—for the tradition of evocationary scrying, often called *istinzāl arwāḥ* (drawing-down the spirits). This includes *darb al-mandal* (drawing the circle) and *fath al-mandal* (opening the mandal) which together serve as a distinct category of divination that seeks the aid of jinn. Often referred to as the

“Ritual of Revealing,” it is especially popular for locating stolen goods or identifying thieves or murderers, though it can answer nearly any question—ranging from pregnancy and gender to the fate of the absent, profitability of transactions, and details about fugitives, rivals, and livestock.

The operation typically involves a prepubescent boy as seer (*al-Bulūg*), chosen for his purity and psychological neutrality. The *Fātiḥ al-Mandal* (Opener of the Mandal) writes verses of revelation (*kashf*)—usually Qur’anic—and affixes them to the boy’s forehead as a protective shield. A seal (*khātam*), often a four-sided *maṇḍala* invoking angelic names, is drawn on the seers left palm and black ink and oil are placed at its center for the boy to gaze into. For this reason, some call it, the “Mirror of Ink.” Incense is burned both to consecrate the space and help the seer reach trance. The jinn are summoned with persistent invocations until it appears, and the boy conveys what he sees.

The *mandal* can be accomplished through other mediums besides in a pool of ink – a new green bowl, a cup of water, a plain plate, an egg, blade of a sword, and Indian mirror are all common. It can also be opened directly to the *Fātiḥ*. Many grimoires include a ritual for opening it to yourself when a surrogate seer is not available.

Most *darb al-mandal* rituals appear in the form of brief, amulet-like texts. However, some manuscripts preserve significantly longer and more elaborate instructions. For instance, the mandal ritual described in al-Rāshidī’s *al-Amānī fī ‘ilm al-ruḥānī* spans numerous pages. While such extended versions exist, most texts assume the practitioner already possesses foundational knowledge of the rite, and thus omit many operational details.¹⁹

This framework, while Arabic in presentation, reflects a shared ritual structure found across Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Latin, Indian, Chinese and Tibetan traditions: A procession of spirits—often described as “sweepers, flag-bearers, and tent-pitchers”—arrives first to prepare the space for a higher being, in this case, a jinn king. Once he arrives, he is throned—sometimes on a chair or throne brought by his attendants, other times on one prepared by the magician himself. He may appear bearing flags, or riding a

¹⁹ For a full account see Edward William Lane. *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, edited by Edward Stanley Poole (London: J. Murray, 1904), 270-282

bay horse or camel, accompanied by soldiers (*askar*) from his tribe. A feast is then offered, either visualized or physically laid out, as it is believed that spirits of the underworld lack sufficient life force to speak unless nourished by the vital energy of food—not its substance, but its essence.

The term *mandal*, as applied to evocationary scrying, is itself something of a puzzle. It does not always refer to a circle, nor is it originally Indic in this specific context. Classical authors such as Ṭabasī, Sakkākī, and Rāzī make no use of the term in this way, suggesting that its association with scrying may have emerged relatively late. One of the earliest clear attestations comes from a Judeo-Arabic text composed in Iraq by Joseph ben Shim'on (d. 1226 CE), in which the *mandal* is described as a means of communicating with the spirits of the dead through adolescent boys acting as seers.²⁰ Further evidence appears in the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406 CE), who lists *darb al-mandal* among the types of divination practiced in his time—referring to the so-called “drawers of the circle” who make predictions by means of mirrors and water.

The visualization *mandal* hence emerges from a wide network of shared ritual technologies—recast through Arabic esotericism but still bearing the imprint of Indic ritual logic. The oldest known examples of evocationary scrying appear in Babylonian ritual tablets from the seventh century BCE but could date all the way back to the Sumerians.²¹ The Jews likely learned it during the Babylonian captivity and carried it into Greco-Roman Egypt, where it was incorporated into the magical traditions preserved in the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM). From there, these techniques may have influenced or paralleled Indian ritual forms like *prasenā*, which eventually made their way into Islamic traditions. Although it's difficult to establish a definitive line of transmission, the Arabic use of the term *mandal* suggests an awareness of Indian origins. It remains possible that Arabs encountered similar rites through Greco-Roman channels, but the prevalence of Indian medical and

²⁰ See Sarah Stroumsa, *Twelfth-Century Concepts of Soul and Body: The Maimonidean Controversy in Baghdad*, in Albert I. Baumgarten, et al., eds., *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 313–334.

²¹ See Samuel Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature*. London: Jews' College, 1913.

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magical knowledge in early Abbasid circles—particularly via the Barmakids²²—makes the Indian route more plausible, if not conclusive.

The following is a representative example of a *mandal* operation from this genre:

As Our Master (*Mawlānā*) first advised: Employ a prepubescent boy. Write the following letters and the Verses of Revelation on paper and attach to his forehead.

This is what you write on the paper:

²² The Barmakids were originally hereditary Buddhist leaders at the Nawbahar (*Nava Vihāra*) monastery in Balkh—an ancient city and cultural crossroads where Hellenism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Iranian religions coexisted. Khālid, son of the last Barmak, became chief minister (vizier) to the first two Abbasid caliphs, al-Saffāḥ (r. 722–754) and al-Manṣūr (r. 714–775). In addition to his political and administrative roles, Khālid was a notable patron of learning and played a key role in promoting the translation of foreign texts into Arabic. Given the Barmakids' Central Asian origins and ties to Buddhist intellectual traditions, he likely facilitated the introduction of Indian knowledge into the Abbasid court. His son, Yahyā ibn Khālid (d. 806), served as governor of Arminiya and was entrusted with the education of al-Mahdī's son, the future caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Yahyā later became Hārūn's powerful vizier and close confidant until his fall in 803. Like his father, Yahyā showed interest in his Buddhist heritage and was instrumental in transmitting ancient Indian knowledge into the Islamic world particularly the translation of Ayurvedic medical texts into Arabic. These included foundational works such as the *Sushruta Samhita* and *Ashtāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā*, brought by Indian physicians employed at the Barmakid hospital in Baghdad. Given the strong presence of *prasena* divination within Indian medical traditions—especially in diagnosing spirit-caused illness—it's likely that Yahyā's patronage also facilitated the introduction of this form of trance-based diagnostic scrying, which may have later reemerged in Islamic esoteric practice under the name *mandal*.



Now we have removed from thee thy covering, and piercing is thy sight this day.

Pour pure olive oil mixed with ink over his hand, and suffumigate it with frankincense. Place the frankincense incense on the fire and recite the conjuration. Frankincense is sufficient but for faster results, boil the Frankincense in the oil of African myrrh and spirits will be forced to appear that much faster.

[This is the conjuration:]

'Ānīn · 'Ānīn · 'Abarsūn · 'Abarsūn · 'Āṣūn · 'Āṣūn · Ḥalsūn · Ḥalsūn · Qayyūm · Qayyūm · Dayyūm · Dayyūm. Originator of the heavens and the earth, Full of Majesty and Splendor. Maytatron, Maytatron, answer my call and come down servants of these names and appear before this seer so that he may see you with his eyes · 'Āyānā · Ma'yānā · and address you with his tongue—Tongue of tongues, Answer! In the power of those names and your obedience to them, in the name of Allah WHO manifested Himself to the mountain, He leveled it to dust, and Moses fell down unconscious. Answer my call in the name of Allah WHO said unto the earth, "Come, willingly or unwillingly." They said, "We come willingly." It is from Solomon, and it is, "In the Name of God, the Gracious, the Merciful." Do not defy me and come to me submissively! Surrendering, Hurry! Now! Quickly! Immediately!

If the seer says that he saw a man dressed in white, tell him to ask that man to sweep the floor, sprinkle water, and line up seven chairs. Then he asks him to pitch a tent over each of the chairs. He invites all the Jinn tribes to enter the Mandal and instructs each tribe to sit

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under the chair of their king. You ask each tribe to fulfill your desire by the hand of their King. Should it be their day, ask the king what you want and let him go by reciting the following.

[This is the dismissal:]

Go! As you came, obeying in Allah and His Prophet. Go in peace. Bakhin · Bakhin! Go! May Allah bless you. Go! With gratitude in the name of Kāf · Hā' · Yā' · 'Ayn · Šād. And in the name of Hā' · Mīm · 'Ayn · Sīn · Qāf · Wāw. There is no power nor strength save in Allah!

Mandal γ – Expulsion

The final subtype, in contrast to the *Almandal*, is not so much a distinct type as it is a specific work that appears in a handful of manuscripts known by the title, *Kitāb al-Mandal al-Sulaymānī* (The Book of the Mandal of Solomon). The work provides both diagnostic criteria and a map for dealing with the unseen world (*'ālam al-ghayb*). Its operations combine spirit conjuration, apotropaic talismanic magic, and divinatory diagnosis, all centered upon the use of the *mandal*. Here the *mandal* serves multiple roles: it is a surface for gazing (akin to the visualization subtype), an altar upon which ritual acts are performed (corresponding to the Activation subtype), and the creation of a protective boundary by the casting of a magic circle (*al-da'ira*). In this way, the expulsion *mandal* blends features of the other subtypes into a multipurpose ritual instrument.

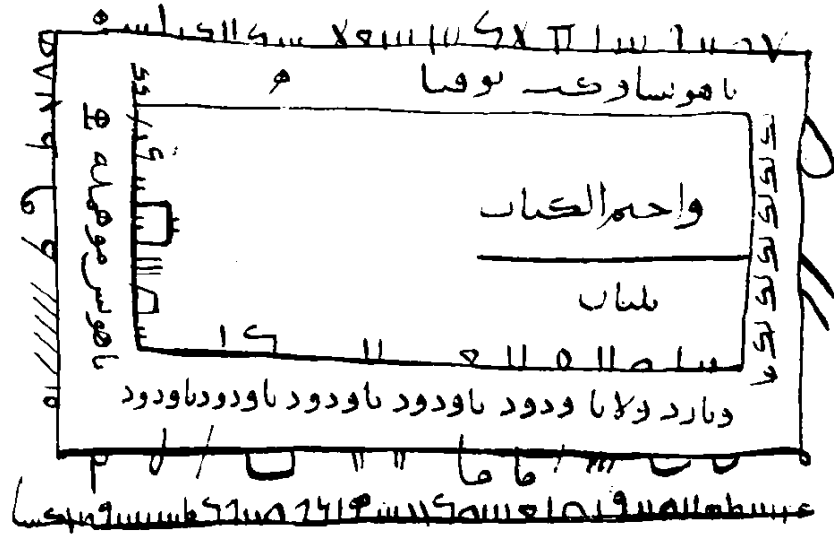


Figure 8. Mandal diagram from the *Kitāb al-Mandal al-Sulaymānī* chapter (Arcaine Arabic MS 10, p. 606), 1683 CE.

Kitāb al-Mandal al-Sulaymānī appears in only a few of manuscripts, descending from the Greater Horn of Africa. The earliest extant edition appears in a manuscript titled, *Kitāb al-asmā' wa-al-ṣifāt al-mujarrabāt* (The Book of Names & Proven Recipes) by Badr al-Dīn Muhammad 'Āṭif al-Shanīnī written in 1683 CE. This text appears to belong to the Yemeni, rather than the Ethiopian, text-type.

The text begins with a lengthy narrative of how the jinn Ṣakhr stole the ring of king Solomon (*Sulaymān*) and usurped his kingdom. Upon capturing and interrogating him, he reveals to Solomon a taxonomy of jinn tribes, their habits, appearances, and how they afflict mankind. Sakhr lists twelve tribes of jinn, each with specific appearances (e.g., black-skinned, birdlike, snake-colored), habitats (e.g., ruins, toilets, sea, clouds), behaviors (e.g., possession during childbirth, sleep disturbances, seduction), distinctive magical seals, ritual remedies and prophylactic formulas (*hurūz*, *sar*, *kitāb*), and named leaders—often shown riding animals, with iconographic diagrams (*ṣūra*).



Figure 9. Seals of Banū Arham, Banū Hawjil and Banū Khatfān, from the *Kitāb al-Mandal al-Sulaymānī* chapter (Arcaic Arabic MS 10, pp. 594-595), 1683 CE.

While the *Almandal* and the *Kitāb al-Mandal* are of entirely different textual traditions, it's interesting to note the common thread among these *mandal* text-types, namely, the story of the jinn figurehead, Ṣakhr, and his central role in the usurpation of King Solomons throne. In the Arabic grimoire tradition, Ṣakhr is the spirit most closely linked with Solomonic magic and the concept of magic rings. According to Arabic A, "he possesses many rebellious jinn that only Allah, the Most High and Exalted, can innumerate." However, he goes by other names in other traditions—Ashmedai in Hebrew, Asmodeus in Greek, and Aeshma daeva in Persian.

It's also worth noting the prominence of the Islamic scriptural figure, Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā', King Solomon's grand vizier and scribe in this subtype and the *Almandal* (type δ – Activation). It's surprising that with such a reputation, his name appears not once in a Latin grimoire. This leaves us with two possible conclusions—either Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā' was absent from the earliest manuscripts and only rose to prominence later—especially as Islamicate

esoteric traditions matured and looked for scriptural legitimization for powerful magical figures, or his name was intentionally left out. European translators, such as Gerard of Cremona, Hugo of Santalla, and John of Seville, often omitted names that were unfamiliar, potentially controversial, or hard to render. Also, names that explicitly tied magical efficacy to Islamic religious figures or Qur'anic theology may have been deliberately suppressed to "sanitize" the text for Christian audiences. Considering there is evidence of conscious cultural erasure and re-framing during the translation movement in twelfth- to thirteenth-century *al-Andalus* (especially Toledo), it is plausible that his absence in Europe was the result of "suppression." This pattern is certainly well established. Works such as *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (Latin, *Picatrix*) were stripped of authorship and reframed as Hermetic work compatible with Christian thought. The *Sirr al-Asrār* (Latin, *Secretum Secretorum*) was widely disseminated as part of Christian *mirrors for princes*, completely detached from its Islamicate context. Likewise, al-Kindī's *De Radiis* (Latin, *De Radiis Stellarum*), often attributed to "philosophus Arabicus" or lumped in with Hermes Trismegistus and other pagan figures, was received in the Latin world as scientific theory of astral influence divorced from its original Islamic metaphysical context. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā's exclusion from these *mandal* texts reflects a deliberate suppression of Islamic figures during the Middle Ages, when Islam was not only marginalized but also actively vilified in Europe, while Jewish and Greek mysticism, or anonymous authorities found greater acceptance, breaking the authentic chain of transmission. In our search for older Arabic manuscripts of the *Almandal*, Āṣif may well lead the way.

Mandal 8 – Activation

This now brings us to the focus of this study: the Latin *Almandal* (*mandal* 8: activation). Why this subtype, rather than any other, was transmitted into Latin and went on to circulate so widely with the name *mandal* intact remains unclear. The *mandal* is, without question, a staple of the Arabic magical tradition, and—as we have already seen—at least four distinct subtypes fall under this nomenclature, making it a natural candidate for transmission. Yet this subtype is uncommon within the Arabic grimoire

tradition, or else more manuscript evidence would survive. In contrast, *mandal* α (protection) is well attested across numerous medieval manuscripts. The most plausible explanation is that its transmission was a matter of chance: either the text belonged to a widely read compendium in *al-Andalus*, or it happened to be among the few manuscripts that Jewish and Latin translators had in hand when they set about preserving Arabic magical works. Further research into the Arabic manuscript tradition—and the discovery of additional witnesses—may yet help to clarify this puzzle.

In the Arabic tradition, the *Almandal* (i.e., *al-mandal*) is a ritual in which a mandalic diagram is inscribed on a red silk carpet (*bisāt 'aḥmar ḥarīr*) or on a plate of red copper (*nuḥās aḥmar*) or silver (*fidda*). The *mandal* may be elevated on four legs (*qawā'im*) to avoid contact with contaminated earth, or placed directly upon the ground when the surface is ritually pure; in some cases, it is inscribed directly into the earth. For operations of spiritual healing, the afflicted enters the *mandal*, thus requiring its placement on or in the earth. During the day, colored banners (*a'lām*) are posted in the four corners and replaced by lamps (*maṣābiḥ*) or candles (*sham'āt*) at night to light the operation. If elevated, a censer (*miḥmar*) filled with incense (*bukhūr*) is placed under it. According to Arabic C and the Latin texts, perforations are made in the center of the table so that the incense smoke can pass upward through it.

Before use, it is fumigated with incense, exorcised, and set under the stars. According to Fir(b) it should be starred for 7 days and 7 nights in a clean place. Some Latin manuscripts specify that the tablet should be one foot or one foot and a half square and a half-digit in height. Some versions also give the planetary timing for each phase of its construction.

Invocations are chanted and internalized to call a deity directly into the *mandal* figure to force lesser spirits—Jinn kings and their tribes—into doing the bidding of the practitioner when operations are performed over it. Invocations are also inscribed on the object to energize the spiritual being that enters it. This technology echoes the geometric diagrams used in the Tantric worship of a deity, often referred to as 'yantras (which are supports) for worship' (*pūjāyantra*) and named for their preceding deity, for example, 'yantra for the worship of Mahākāla' (*mahakalapūjāyantra*).

The figure has four gates, like a traditional Indian *maṇḍala*, presumably intended for physical entry. Below are the designs transmitted in our primary Latin and Arabic manuscript witnesses:

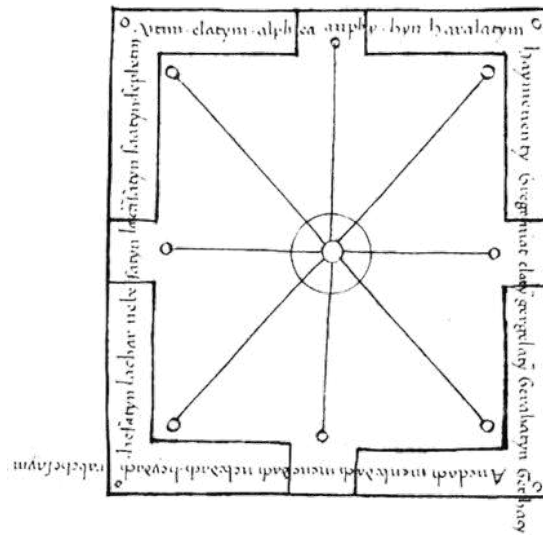


Figure 10. Mandala diagram from *Liber in Figura Almandal* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.III.214, fol. 74v), fifteenth century CE.

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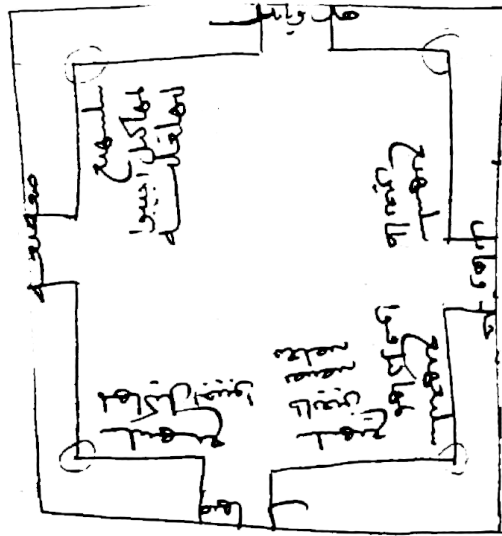


Figure 11. Mandal diagram from *al-Kashf fi 'Ilm al-Huruf* (Tehran, Treasury Library, Totfim, p. 57).

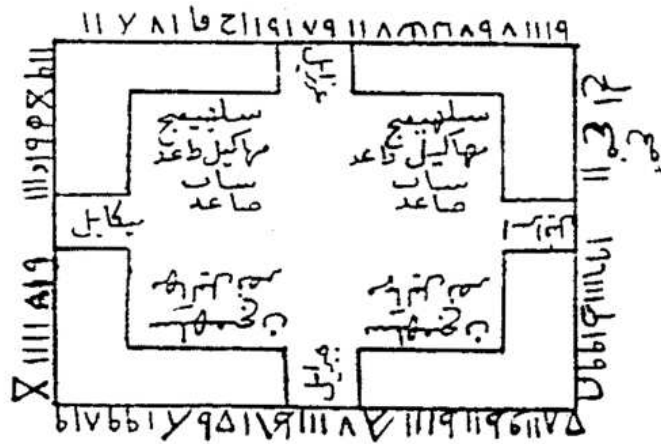


Figure 12. Mandal diagram from *Kitab al-Ajnas*, p. 70, n.d.

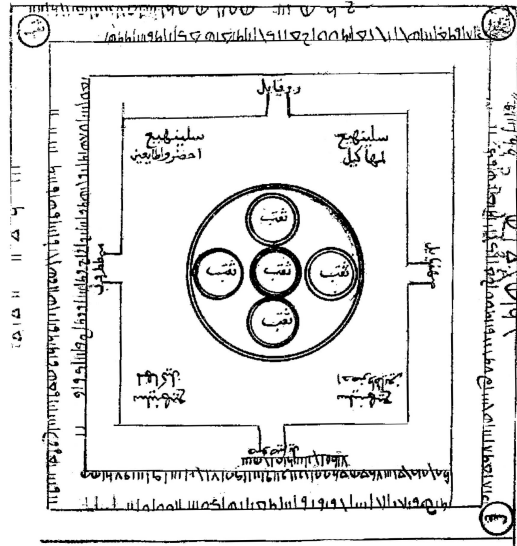


Figure 13. Mandal diagram from *Kitāb Dā'irat al-Dawā'ir al-Kubrā* (Iran, Unidentified Library, p. 123).

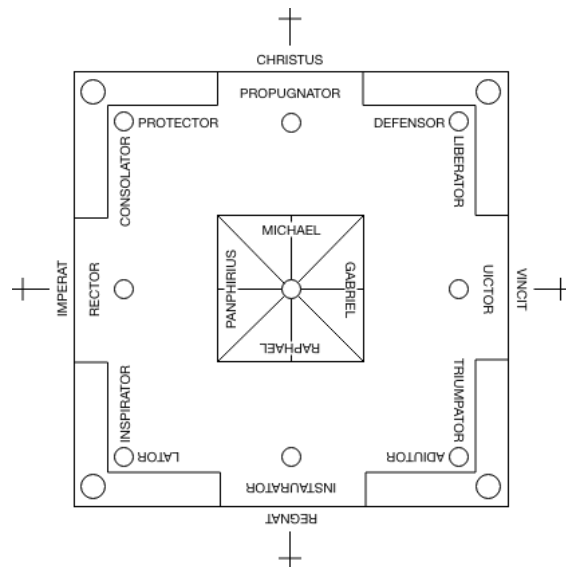


Figure 14. Areola diagram drawn according to the instructions given in *De coloribus et uirtutibus lapidum* (Corpus Christi College, MS 243), thirteenth century CE.

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The operation also requires the construction of signet rings which are to be crafted, fumigated, and placed under the stars at specific planetary days and hours. They are then used to seal the lamps or candles which assist in the making the spirits obedient to the practitioner. The following seal designs, as transmitted in the manuscript witnesses, are to be engraved into the gem of the ring:

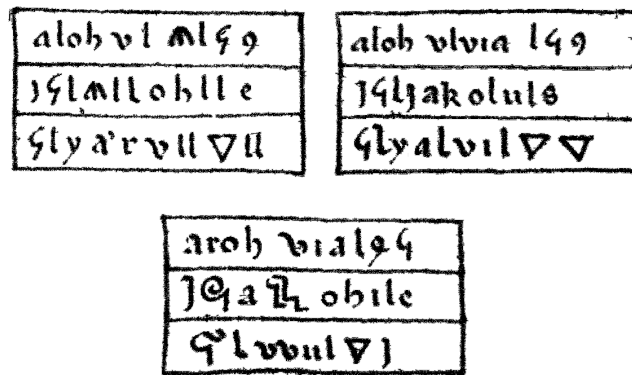


Figure 15. Seal of assakihhelublic (Şakhr ibn Iblīs) from *Tabula Salomonis* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.III.214, fol. 77v), fifteenth century CE.

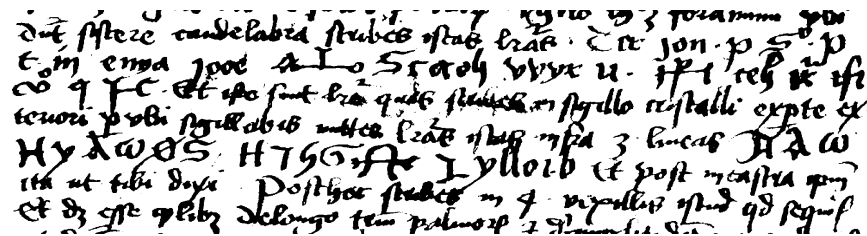


Figure 16. Seal of the *Almandal* from Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 14 B 36, fol. 230v, end of the fifteenth century CE.

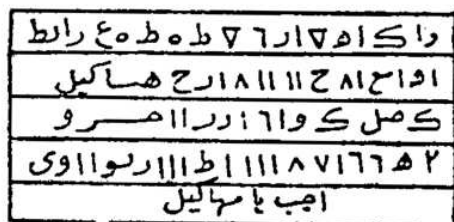


Figure 17. Seal of Mahākīl from *Kitab al-Ajnas*, p. 66, n.d.

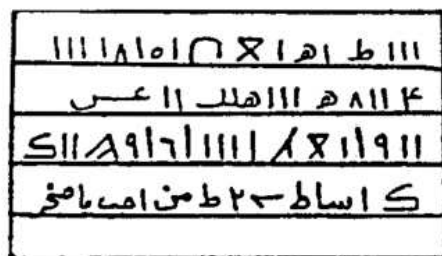


Figure 18. Seal of Şahkr from *Kitab al-Ajnas*, p. 68, n.d.

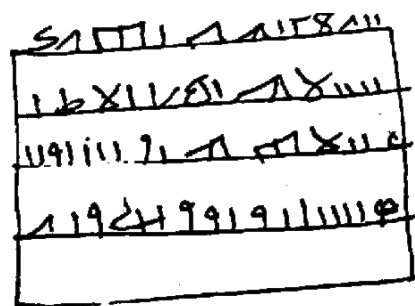


Figure 19. Seal of the *Mandal* from *al-Kashf fi 'Ilm al-Ḥurūf* (Tehran, Treasury Library, Totfim, p. 57).

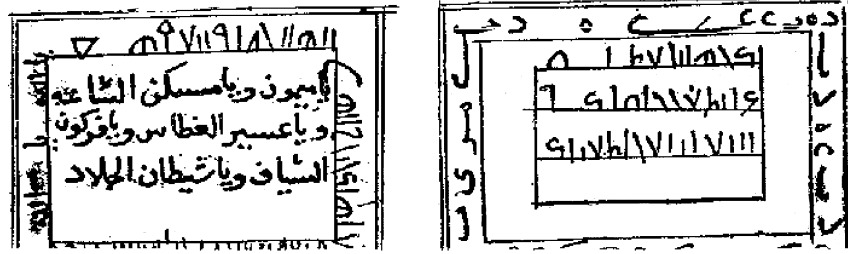


Figure 20. Seal of the *Mandal* (Left image: Interior; Right image: Exterior) from *Kitāb Dā'irat al-Dawā'ir al-Kubrā* (Iran, Unidentified Library, p. 125).

According to the Arabic textual tradition, the *Almandal* figure derives from the celestial Carpet of King Solomon. Arabic C preserves the complete Solomonic narrative of the *Almandal*, a textual layer absent from the surviving Latin witnesses. According to the text, the carpet descended from Paradise, measuring twelve *farsakhs* (approximately forty miles) in length and width and marked by three hundred and sixty veins. Within it was a *mandal* structured by four gates bearing the names of angels and exalted divine names by which the jinn were compelled to obedience, and at its four corners colored banners displaying Qur'ānic proclamations of divine sovereignty. When Solomon wished to travel, his throne was set in the center of the *mandal* upon the carpet and he ascended with his armies of humankind and jinn. The wind bore him across the earth with miraculous speed, and by night the lamps at the corners of the *mandal* shone as it moved through the air.

The narrative also recounts how Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs stole Solomon's ring and briefly usurped his kingdom. Before his exposure, Ṣakhr copied the *mandal* from the carpet, replacing Solomon's name with his own, thereby transferring its obedience to himself. When Solomon's authority was restored and Ṣakhr was bound and cast into the Mountain of Smoke, the copied *mandal* passed through Mahākāl to Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā', returned to Solomon, and finally placed among the people.

From a functional standpoint, this *mandal* subtype resembles the *maṇḍalas* cast in the *Mantra of Bhrkutī*, the Wrathful or Vajra Blaze, found in the so called, *Tibetan Book of Spells* from the Silk Road site of Dunhuang—a multicultural crossroads where Tibetan, Chinese, Indian, Sogdian, Khotanese, and

Turkic influences converged. The book was written and used in the tenth century, before being consigned to a cave containing thousands of manuscripts and paintings discovered in the beginning of the twentieth century.²³ The text specifies a four-cornered *maṇḍala* measuring one cubit per side (the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.) and to chant a specific mantra over it until the Wrathful deity Bhrkutī appears. Once empowered, the *maṇḍala* is used to tame evil spirits, summon any kind of demon, make them your servants, and subjugate an ogre. The ritual also includes a series of coercive and baneful operations to be performed by casting a small *maṇḍala* and reciting the mantra of Bhrkutī, including: pacifying the harmful intentions of an enemy, summoning and domesticating wild animals, bringing forth water from a dry spring, sharpening your insight, acquiring wealth, finding treasure, healing the sick and dying, binding a possessing spirit, healing a spellbound person, drying up a lake, reversing the flow of a river, healing an insane person, causing an enemy to be struck by lightning, protecting from a dog bite, bringing a *shatu* under your control, breaking up two *Priya*, reconciling a disagreement, binding the tongue, making someone friendly, and bringing people together.

In addition to Tibetan and Sanskrit, the Dunhuang corpus preserves adjacent magical materials—including *maṇḍala*-like diagrams and ritual technologies—in Iranian languages such as Khotanese and Sogdian. This reflects not only the multicultural nature of the Silk Road, but also how widely disseminated the *maṇḍala* had become across linguistic and religious boundaries prior to the rise of Islamic dominance in Central Asia.

Furthermore, the existence of Ritual manuals like these demonstrates that *maṇḍalas* were already employed as operational diagrams in Sogdian, Indian and Tibetan spell-craft. Islamic magicians, therefore, did not so much reinvent the *maṇḍala* as a magical instrument as they continued and contextually adapted an existing magical technology.

²³ See Sam Van Schaik, *Buddhist Magic: Divination, Healing, and Enchantment through the Ages* (Shambhala, 2020), especially chapters 4 and 5, for a detailed examination of Tibetan spell texts and the use of *maṇḍalas* as ritual instruments for magical operations.

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Figure 21. Exorcistic ritual being performed before a wrathful *maṇḍala* from Dunhuang preserved in the National Museum New Delhi Collection (ch.00379).

The primary Latin manuscript witnesses—what Gher refers to as “version α” (e.g., F1, F2, and H2)—closely align with the Arabic tradition. However, there exists a line of Latin recensions that diverge significantly. Known as “version β” (e.g., H, W, A, V), these texts present a substantially different *Almandal* design and replace the jinn and devils with angels of the four altitudes. In this version, the *Almandal* is crafted not from a metal plate but from white wax, further distancing it from the Arabic tradition. According to Gher, this recension line likely originated with Jewish Kabbalists who adapted the original Latin version, which was later retranslated into Latin by Christian magicians.

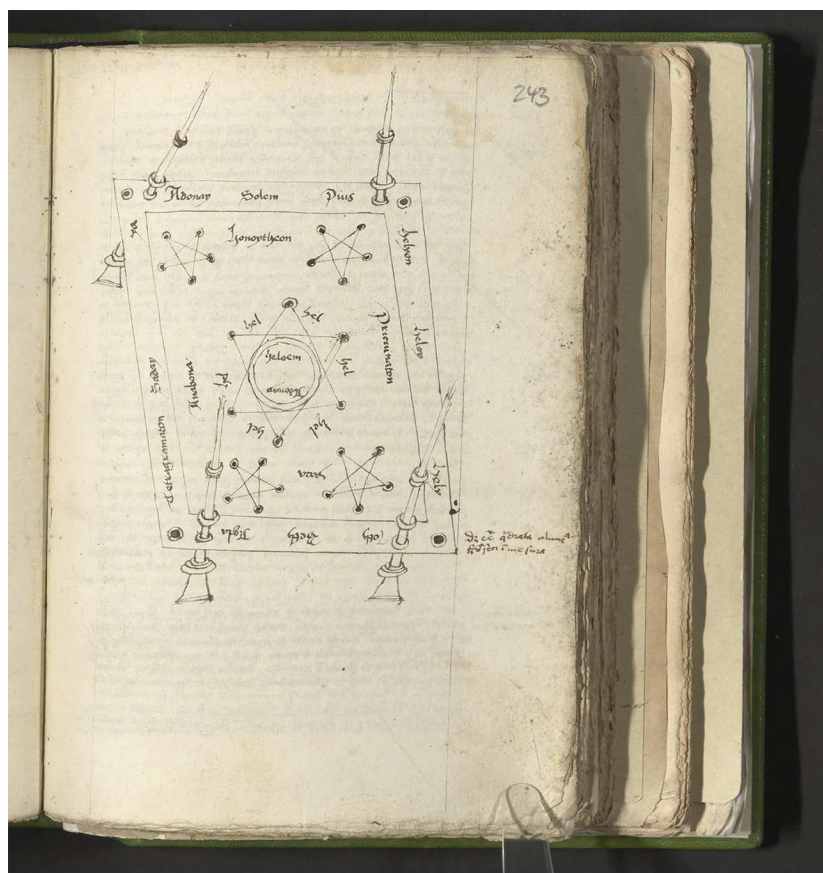


Figure 22. *Almandal* diagram from Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 14 B 36, fol. 243r, end of the fifteenth century CE.

INVOKING MAHAKALA

Additional vernacular adaptations also circulated, including German, French, and Hebrew versions, as well as a line of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English editions (*Almadel*), which sometimes introduce a crystal stone placed at the center of the *Almandal* for spirit visualization.

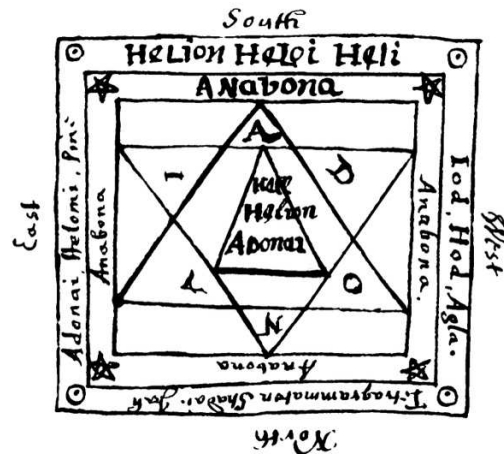


Figure 23. *Almadel* Diagram from an English version of the *Almandal: Salomons Almadel Art* (London, British Library manuscript Sloane 3825, fol. 145v), seventeenth century CE.

Although the *Almandal* has many wonderful properties, its primary convention in the Arabic tradition is spiritual healing—an application that was greatly deemphasized when it was translated into Latin and subsequent European languages. This is not surprising considering the spiritual healing and exorcism are arguably more integral to the Arabic grimoire tradition than in many European grimoires, which prioritize spirit invocation for power, wealth, or knowledge. The Islamic tradition often presents sorcery, illness, madness, and possession as manifestations of jinn interference—and so a large portion of magical practice is aimed at controlling and expelling jinn to heal these afflictions. The Arabic text encompasses an entire system of exorcism—exposing, judging, binding, and slaying rebellious jinn, making them speak, take oaths, etc.

It is also plausible that the Latin transmitters deliberately omitted these elements to avoid overtly Islamic formulations that did not align with the conceptual and theological framework of a Christian readership. The omitted treatments are framed in explicitly Islamic terminology and diagnostic categories: *waswasah* (intrusive whispers), *ma'qūd* (binding), *mashūr* (enchantment), *majnūn* (insanity caused by jinn possession), and *rīḥ* (wind-affliction).

In addition to exorcism and healing, “version α” Latin manuscripts—such as F—include a full suite of manipulative and coercive magical operations. According to Arabic C, the *mandal* was principally sanctioned for healing—for the treatment of madness, enchantment, and spiritual affliction—yet retaining within it the sovereign authority to compel obedience from jinn and even from human beings. This authority is reflected in the coercive operations—absent from Arabic B, only partially preserved in Arabic A, yet contained almost word-for-word in Arabic C. More striking than these textual divergences, however, is the shift in ritual application that emerges in the Latin tradition.

When the *Almandal* was transmitted into the Latin world, its function appears to have been expanded: European practitioners began using it not only for spirit invocation, but also to consecrate ritual instruments—a use entirely absent from the Arabic texts. Berengario Ganell, in his *Summa Sacrae Magicae*, explicitly states that every object used by the magician must pass through a consecration ceremony performed on top of the *Almandal*. This expanded function was further adopted into other Latin grimoires of the period, including Book 4 of *De coloribus et uirtutibus lapidum*, which gives written instructions for building a device exactly like the *Almandal*, called the *Areola*, for the purpose of consecrating stones. It is for this reason I have designated this *mandal*, the “activation” subtype.

With the Arabic texts now at our disposal, several other key elements are brought to light. In the next section we will explore these topics.

II. A NEW LIGHT ON THE LATIN ALMANDAL

Invoking Mahākāla

Until now, the thwarting entity at the center of the work has generally been identified with the Archangel Michael. The name indeed appears in multiple forms— *Mechil*, *Mehokal*, *Mechechil* (Firenze II. III. 214 (F)); *amohaquel* (Halle, U.L.S.A., 14.B.36); *Maelchyl* (Firenze, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 38). Yet the Arabic evidence makes it unmistakably clear that this identification is mistaken. The principal spirit is none other than the fierce Indian deity Mahākāla, rendered in Arabic as *Mahākāl al-Hindi*. Not only has the name been mistransliterated but the deity's role in the original Arabic text has been significantly downplayed in the Latin tradition. In fact, the Totfim manuscript titles the entire work after him, *al-Mandal Mahākāl* (The Mandal of Mahākāl). This reduced prominence is due in part to the excision of the *mandal* legend from the surviving Latin witnesses, which recounts how the *mandal* came into the possession of Mahākāl after he seized it from the jinn Ṣakhr, who had copied it from Solomon's carpet during his usurpation of the kingdom. After Solomon later imprisoned Ṣakhr, Mahākāl inscribed his own name within the *mandal* in place of Ṣakhr's, thereby transferring the authority of obedience to himself, before returning it to Solomon through Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā. Mahākāl is therefore known as the Guardian of the Mandal, and it is through his authority that the jinn and devils may be compelled to obedience within the practitioner's *maṇḍala*.

Mahākāla is a formidable and complex deity deeply embedded in the ritual and cosmological traditions of South Asia. In Hinduism, he is a fierce manifestation of Śiva, embodying the destructive and transformative force of time (*kāla*) itself. In Tantric and Yogic traditions, Mahākāla appears as a protector of sacred knowledge and an agent of spiritual power, often invoked to subdue hostile spirits, avert misfortune, or empower ritual actions. His name, derived from the Sanskrit *mahā* ("great") and *kāla* ("time" or "death"), literally means "Great Time" or "Beyond Time," signaling his dominion over cosmic cycles and ultimate dissolution. In Tibetan Buddhism, he is revered as a wrathful guardian (*dharmapāla*)—most notably as the "Protector of the Tent"—charged with defending the Dharma and subjugating negative forces. Across these traditions, Mahākāla is not merely a destroyer, but a liminal figure who governs transitions, thresholds, and the boundary between order and chaos. His fearsome iconography, association with rings and seals, and

frequent appearance in tantric manuals and ritual handbooks underscore his importance as a controlling force—one called upon not only to guard, but to bind, banish, or command.



Figure 24. A basalt statue of Mahākāla from Odisha, dated to the Pala period (eastern Bengal, 1100–1200 CE). The Victoria and Albert Museum in West London (IM.10-1930).

Mahākāla was well known to Persian and ancient Islamic sources. His name occurs in the chronicles of numerous Islamic historians, geographers and travelers over the centuries. The earliest account of Mahākāla was the result of an envoy sent to India intended to bring back medicinal plants and write about the religions. The envoy was sent by Khalid ibn Barmakaid (709–781/82 CE), vizier to the first two Abbasid Caliphs, al-Saffah (722–754 CE) and al-Mansur (714–775 CE). Khalid was instrumental in promoting scholarship, including the translation of foreign works into Arabic. Given the

Barmakids' Central Asian origins and connections to Buddhist intellectual traditions, he played a central role in transmitting Indian and other forms of knowledge to the Abbasid court. The original report is lost, along with all the names of those who were involved, but the account—written in the hand of al-Kindi—was used by Ibn al-Nadim (d. ~995 CE) as the basis for his chapter on “The Doctrines of India” in his encyclopedia *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (The Book Catalogue). The Persian geographer Ibn Khordadbeh (d. 849 CE), who was a high-ranking official in the Abbasid caliphate and family friend of Barmakids, also referenced a report of the envoy but apparently had access to a more complete copy. He used it when he wrote his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, extant today in abridgment only. This expanded text is evidenced by the homonymous geographical work of Abū Abdallāh Jayhānī. Jayhānī was the Persian vizier of the Samanid Empire from 914 to 922 CE and student of Abu Zayd al-Balkhi (850-934 CE). His work is also lost but has been preserved in the works of later authors, most notably, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 991 CE), Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Ḥayy ibn Zāḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī (d. ca. 1060 CE), Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marvazī (d. ca. 1125 CE), and Muhammad al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153 CE). The account describes the names and places of worship in the land of India and China and various religious sects. Among these sects are the ones who worship al-Mahākālayah:

They have an idol named Mahākāl which has four hands and is sapphire in color, with a great deal of lank hair on its head. It bares its teeth, its stomach is exposed, and on its back is an elephant's skin dripping blood. The legs of an elephant's hide are tied in front of it. In one of its hands is a great serpent with its mouth open, in another is a rod, in the third there is a man's head. It has the fourth hand uplifted. Two snakes are in its ears, like earrings, and two huge serpents, which have wrapped themselves around it, are on its body. On its head there is a crown made of skull bones, and has a necklace also made of them. They claim that it is a demon from among the devils, meriting worship because of its great power and its possession of qualities which are praiseworthy and lovable, as well as despised and abhorred, and also because of its giving and refusing,

doing good and committing evil. It is, moreover, their refuge during times of adversity.²⁴

The report from this envoy would become the basis for numerous accounts of the Indian religion and broadly introduce Mahākāla to the Muslim world. Over the centuries, Muslim historians, geographers, theologians, and travelers drew upon this account time and again, gradually transforming Mahākāla into a great and powerful *Ifrit* (or devil)—a being who could be petitioned for worldly aims, teach magic and instruct on the adjuration of spirits (*aza'im*).

In the Persian tantric work, *Kāmarūpañcāśikā* (The Fifty Verses of Kāmarūpa), the author cites the city of Ujjain as the residence of Mahākāla Deva and home to a great community of spiritual magicians or *Siddha*; those who have mastered the science of imagination (*ilm i-wahm*) and commanding spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyya*). The work provides valuable insight into how Indian Esoteric practices were reimagined through the eyes of medieval Muslim intellectuals. Composed sometime prior to 1353 CE, the text stands apart from most Arabic and Persian magical treatises in that it preserves distinctly Indian ritual vocabulary. Rather than fully transposing or Islamizing its procedures, the work remains largely undomesticated, retaining technical terms such as *japa* (mantric repetition), *homa* (fire offering), and

²⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. Bayard Dodge, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 2:835. Nadīm begins the chapter with a quotation from the work: “Book. In it are the sects and religions of India. I transcribed this book from a book among the books on Friday the third of al-Muharram [the first Muslim month], during the year two hundred and fifty-nine A.D. 863/64.” The author was also unknown to al-Nadīm but he claims that it was written in the handwriting of Ya qūb ibn Ishāg al-Kindi (ca. 800–870 CE), letter for letter. This is not surprising given al-Kindi played a huge role in the Abbasid translation effort in Baghdad under the patronage of al-Ma'mun. He translated many Greek scientific and philosophical works into Arabic, in particular the Neoplatonic authors. According to Dodge, it is likely that this book was translated by some unknown scholar, copied by Ya'qūb ibn Ishāg al-Kindi, and then used by al-Nadīm to form the basis of the account of Indian sects which follows in the succeeding paragraphs. The book describes the names and places of worship in the land of India with descriptions of the buildings and the state of Idols.

references to *maṇḍalas*, into which one enters to summon spiritual entities. Ritual activities include tossing flowers onto drawn figures, burning oil, resin and reciting invocations like, “MHĀKĀLĪ MHĀJOGNĪ KĀLĪ MHĀJOGNĪ KĀMĪŚRĪ AŪŪM BT SVĀHĀ” —practices all deeply rooted in Indian tantric traditions. The *Kāmarūpañcāśikā* therefore reflects an intermediate phase in the transmission of Indian esoteric knowledge—retaining ritual vocabulary, while rendered in Persian descriptive language and thought, yet not fully assimilated into the Islamic esoteric canon.²⁵

The Shafi'i Muslim and Sufi Asharite author, Abu al-Fadl Muhammad al-Tabasī (d. 1089 CE) also knew of Mahākāla. In his magical treatise, *al-Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil* (The Comprehensive Compendium to the Entire Sea), al-Tabasī provides a similar account combined with instructions on how to conjure *Mahākāl al-Hindī*, a great and powerful demon king. While the work is clearly not a translation from Hindi or Sanskrit like the *Kāmarūpañcāśikā*, he does trace the origins of many practices back to India, beginning with Adam—who, according to Islamic tradition, descended there after the expulsion from Paradise—and to early Islamic figures who spent time in the subcontinent.

In Islamic cosmology, Indian deities were often regarded as offspring of the jinn—beings imbued with immense power but viewed as morally ambiguous and spiritually dangerous. Even the jinn themselves, Tabasī notes, come from the high mountains of India. Sufi masters, recognizing both their peril and potency, employed *maṇḍalas* as ritual enclosures to protect themselves when invoking spirits. The most distinguishing feature of Tabasī's *Shamil* is the instructions on how to cast such a *maṇḍala*, or *mandal* as he calls it. It is composed of seven concentric circles surrounded by a quadrilateral with four gates, three of which are blocked off, leaving one as a door for the spirits to enter and circumambulate around the magician. The ritual closely echoes Esoteric Buddhist and Hindu Tantric *maṇḍala* ceremonies such as those found in the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (ca. sixth century CE), the *Subāhuparipṛcchā* (early seventh century CE) and the *Prapañcasāraṇtantra* (eighth or ninth century).

²⁵ For a full English translation see Carl W. Ernst and Patrick J. D'Silva. *Breathtaking Revelations: The Science of Breath from the “Fifty Kamarupa Verses” to Hazrat Inayat Khan*. Richmond, VA. Sulūk Press 2024.

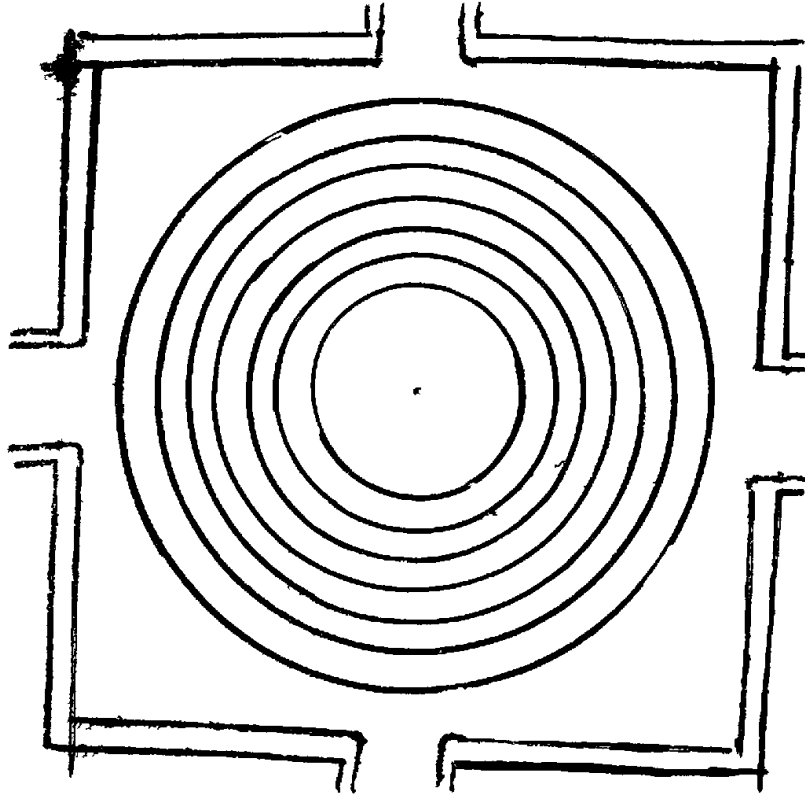


Figure 25. Primary *Mandal* design from Tabasī's *Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil fī al-dawr al-āmil fī uṣūl al-ta'zīm wa-qawā'id al-tanjīm* (Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, New Series no. 160, fol. 14v), seventeenth to eighteenth century CE.

Because Tabasī's manual predates Latin descriptions of the magic circle by several centuries, the *mandal* may be understood as an early precursor to the later, more intricate Solomonian circles of the Latin West. The only puzzle is why the Sanskrit word was reframed in Western terms (i.e. Latin: *circulos*; Greek: *Kuklos*) while the other *mandal* (*Almandal/Almadel*) was transmitted so purely through Arabic, in which it was still used to refer to a magical object,

in Latin.²⁶ Further investigation, particularly into materials like Alfonso X's *Astromagia*, may eventually illuminate this semantic shift.

The connection between Mahākāla and *maṇḍalas* is not accidental. It is rooted in centuries of esoteric tradition across both Indian and Islamicate worlds. In this context, identifying Mahākāl as the central thwarting entity in the *Almandal* is significant. It is essential for understanding the work's underlying ritual logic. Just as Mahākāla oversees tantric *maṇḍalas* as a guardian of thresholds and a destroyer of obstacles, Mahākāl appears in Islamic adaptations as a similar figure. He acts as an authoritative spirit through whom access to the *mandal's* power is revealed. Their repeated pairing across traditions shows a consistent connection: the *maṇḍala* and the governing spirit, summoned within it for rites of protection, subjugation, or transformation. Recognizing Mahākāl's role thus restores a lost aspect of the *Almandal's* ritual framework and ties it to a longer history of ritual cosmology.

Clarifying Latin Aza'im

The proper spelling and pronunciation of many of the *voces magicae* also become evident with the Arabic *Almandal* in hand. When Arabic words are transliterated into Latin, errors can occur due to the differences in the phonetic and script systems of the two languages. A striking example is the word *Sephea* (H2), *Sepheatin* (F1), and *Sepheatyn* (F2), which according to the Arabic should be *shafāh* or *shafāhah*—not the angel Séraphiel, as suggested by Veronèse. In English, the word translates to “orally,” as in “I speak aloud...,” or perhaps denotes a purely vocalized magical term. It also resembles *svāhā*, the Sanskrit word meaning “well said” or “well done,” often used in Vedic rituals and mantras.

The transformation of *shafāh* in Arabic to *sephea* in Latin is an example of how words adapt when they move between languages, each with its unique

²⁶ See David Pingree. *Learned Magic in the Time of Frederick II*. In *Micrologus*, 2, 1994, pp. 39-56.

phonetic, morphological, and orthographic characteristics. The Arabic “sh” sound has been simplified to “s” in Latin, as the Latin language lacks a “sh” phoneme. The Arabic “ā” (a long ‘a’) is rendered as “e,” approximating the vowel within the Latin vocal system. The “f” in Arabic becomes “p” in Latin—a shift perhaps driven by phonetic confusion or intermediary transmission through a Romance vernacular. The final “h” is dropped, as terminal *h* is rare in Latin words. Because the power of magical words resided in their pronunciation and not their spelling, such substitutions often prioritized sonic resemblance over orthographic accuracy.

The appearance of a “t” in *Sepheatin* may reflect a misreading or mishearing of the Arabic letter ط (*taa’ marbūṭa*) at the end of *shafāhah* (شفاهة). While this character is usually pronounced as *-h* in pausal form, it becomes a *-t* when inflected in grammatical constructions or when read aloud in certain contexts. Early Latin translators unfamiliar with Arabic orthography may have misunderstood this feminine marker as a true final *t*, especially in the absence of vowel and case diacritics. This confusion would naturally lead to transliterations such as *Sepheatin* or *Sepheatyn*, where the silent *taa’ marbūṭa* was erroneously preserved as a pronounced consonant.

Additionally, the *-in* / *-yn* endings in the Latin forms appear to reflect an attempt to preserve the sounded cadence of the Arabic *voces magicae* rather than their orthographic form. In Arabic C, these names are all written with *kasra-tanwīn* (ـٍ) applied directly to the words, a scribal vocalization practice that imparts a lightly nasalized or extended terminal sound without functioning as true grammatical inflection. A Latin copyist encountering forms such as *shafāhah*, may therefore have reproduced what was heard or perceived in recitation, rendering the final resonance as *-in* or *-yn* and producing spellings like *Sepheatin* or *Sepheatyn*. The Latin endings thus represent an effort to transmit phonetic effect across scripts, preserving the audible force of the vocables rather than their precise Arabic spelling, even though the underlying form likely remained simply *shafāhah*.

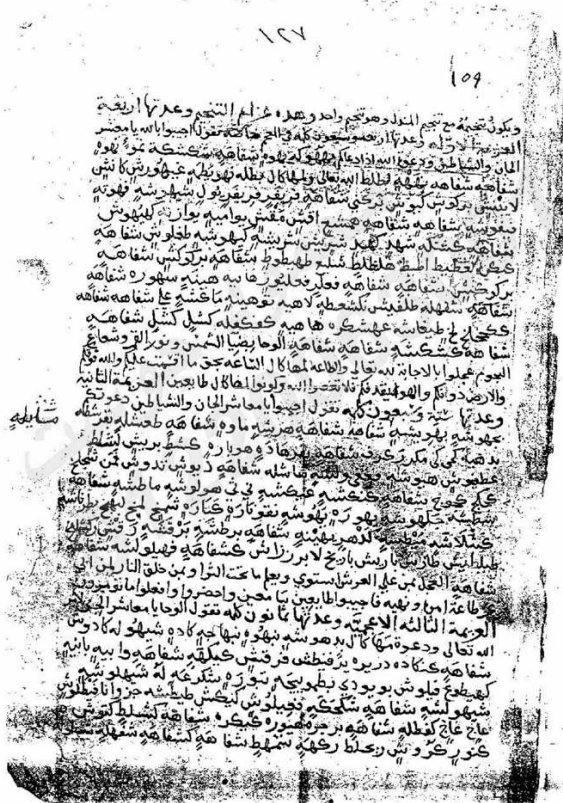


Figure 26. First and Second Invocations to Mahākāl in Arabic C, showing the *voces magicae* repeatedly supplied with *kasra-tanwīn* (ـ); note the added word in the left margin, also written with *tanwīn*, likely correcting the text. (Iran, unidentified manuscript, p. 126).

The Arabic witnesses therefore confirm the correct base form, which helps resolve the nature of these otherwise obscure *voces magicae* in F1. The same phenomenon appears in other manuscripts admittedly translated from Arabic to Latin, such as Darmstadt Hs-1410, in which many of the 54 angelic names also end in “yn” (e.g., *Anmeylyn*). These misrenderings reflect a broader pattern of phonetic approximation and morphological reinterpretation in the transmission of Arabic esoteric vocabulary into the Latin

magical tradition, often shaped by an attempt to preserve the perceived sound of the original vocables rather than their precise orthographic form.

Origin of the Almandal figure

Now that Arabic manuscript witnesses of the *Almandal* have come to light, all of which preserve the same figure as the Latin tradition, it is worth briefly considering the figure's origins. The diagram is, in fact, a variant of an older Islamic ritual design, also referred to as the *mandal* (subtype α), in which the practitioner sits to receive visions, command spirits, or attain esoteric knowledge. Its four gates were used, as one might expect, to physically enter the space, while iron rods (*mīle fūlādī*), daggers (*kārdhā*), and flags or banners (*a'lām*) were posted around the perimeter.

The medieval Persianate magicians, Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Ṭabasī (d. 1089) and Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī (d. 1229), provide the earliest known ritual diagrams of the *mandal*. Their grimoires contain versions of *mandal* α —designs that, when stripped of their outer concentric layers, closely match the altar figure of the *mandal* (subtype δ), known in Latin as the *Almandal*. Like the *Almandal*, these are inscribed with angelic names or invocations at the four gates.

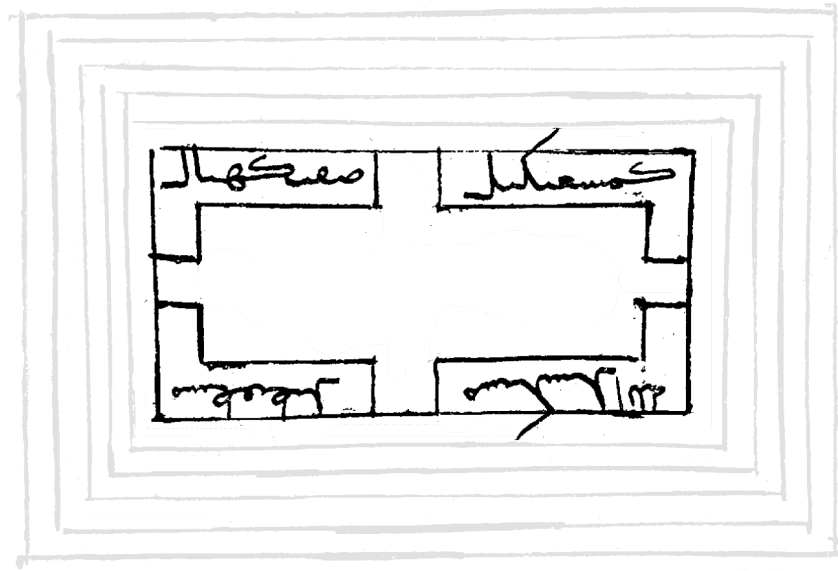


Figure 27. *Mandal* diagram (subtype α) taken directly from a manuscript of Ṭabasī's *Shāmil* (Princeton Islamic Manuscripts, New Series no. 160), with the outer concentric lines rendered in semi-opaque gray for visual clarity. See *mandal* diagram in Figure 10 (p. 39) for comparison.

As previously discussed, the *mandal* design, especially with gates and concentric shapes, is of deeply Indian origin, emerging from Vedic and later tantric traditions.

The four gates (*dvāra* / *torāṇa*), aligned to the cardinal directions, represent portals between the mundane and divine realms. They also correspond to the four stages of approach in ritual and meditative practice: entry, purification, empowerment, and union. In Vajrayāna Buddhist *maṇḍalas*, the gates are often flanked by guardians or wrathful deities—like Mahākāla—to protect the inner sanctum and challenge the unworthy. Each gate is also seen as a symbolic threshold that the initiate must cross in a ritual of ascension or possession.

In Islamic esotericism, the gates serve both spiritual and ritual functions, drawing from their Indian antecedents:

- The gates allow specific entities to approach or manifest within the liminal zone.
- Each gate is often assigned a name of power or spiritual entity to control access – echoing the Indian guardian-deity model.
- Ritual instructions often involve turning or facing the gates while reciting specific conjurations (*‘azā’im*), much like Indian circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*).

The concentric layers reflect progressive degrees of sanctity or realization. Typically, the outermost circle is the fire ring (*agni-maṇḍala*), which burns away impurities. The next layers often represent *vajra* rings (diamond-like barriers of truth), lotus petals (purity), or elemental realms. According to the *Subāhuparīṣṭhā* (The Tantra of Sabāhu’s Questions), these layers vex the minds of devas, asuras, and any hostile beings. The innermost square, called the *maṇḍala-grha* or palace, is the seat of the central deity (e.g., Mahākāla, Kālī, Śiva), and symbolizes the unified state of divine consciousness. In Tantric rites, especially *abhisheka* (empowerment) rituals, the initiate metaphorically moves from the outer edge inward, entering through the gates, traversing concentric sanctified zones, and arriving at the divine center — sometimes through visualization, other times by physically stepping through a *maṇḍala* constructed on the ground.

In Islamic esoteric contexts, the concentric circles or squares serve as barriers of containment and sanctification. Their primary functions serve to protect the practitioner from evil spirits by demarcating a sacred space, separating it from profane surroundings. In fact, the word *maṇḍala* derives from the root मण्ड (maṇḍ), to *adorn, decorate, or mark off* and the suffix -la implies a *tool, instrument, or space*, so the word literally means “A decorated or marked-off space”. This resonates with the Vedic and Tantric use of fire rings and elemental borders, but in Islamic magic these boundaries are reinforced with Qur’anic verses and divine names. Although Islamic magic rarely presents the *mandal* as a tool for meditative ascent (as in Buddhist tantra), the layered structure often aligns with cosmological models—the outer rings

INVOKING MAHAKALA

representing the sublunar world or seven planetary spheres and the center representing the presence or authority of God.

The *Almandal* figure exemplifies how ritual design can traverse both geography and theology—retaining its core identity as a sacred interface between the practitioner and the unseen, while adapting to new cosmologies and ritual needs. Whether as a tool for visionary ascent, spiritual containment, or planetary invocation, its layered and gated design speaks to a long-standing logic of sacred space. The survival of this figure—modified yet recognizable—from Indian ritual diagrams, through Persian-Islamicate esoteric compendia, to the Latin grimoires of medieval Europe, reveals not just transmission but enduring relevance across traditions of esoteric knowledge.

III. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Almandal* occurs in approximately 30 manuscripts with versions dating back to the thirteenth century. It appears to have been translated into Latin in the twelfth century from an Arabic source, itself shaped by influences from the tantric-yogic tradition. The two main sub-types are known from at least six Latin manuscripts and three German translations, dating from the fifteenth century. It also occurs in Hebrew, French and English. To this list we may now add three Arabic editions, which I refer to as Arabic A, Arabic B, and Arabic C. This study focuses on five independent texts (two Latin and three Arabic) which I will compare.

THE LATIN TEXT

The Latin manuscripts are of two varieties distinguished as *Almandal* and *Almadel*. Version α (*Almandal*) is closest to the Arabic witnesses and version β (*Almadel/Liber Intelligentiarum*) representing a significantly Christianized revision of the text. Gher suggests that the latter is an adaptation from the original Latin by Jewish Kabbalists and later translated back into Latin by Christian magicians. For one reason or the other, this version was the one

that was most widely disseminated; translated and adapted into German, Hebrew, French and English. The former appears to preserve a more authentic recension and is known today from only three manuscripts:

- Firenze, BNC, II.iii.214, fols. 74v-77r; 77r-78v
- Halle, U.L.S.A., 14.B.36, fols. 230r-233r
- Firenze, BML, Plut. 89 sup. 38, fols. 268r-278v

The primary Latin manuscripts were critically edited by Julien Véronèse in 2012. A third, unique version was published by Vajra Regan, and perhaps the most important study to date was produced by Damaris Gehr in 2013. Also noteworthy are Jan R. Veenstra's translation of BnF ms. Allemand 160, and Ezio Albrile and Elisabetta Tortelli's Italian translation of Firenze, BNC, II.iii.214.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.III.214 [Fir(a) & Fir(b)]

The Latin manuscript most pertinent to our discussion is cataloged as Firenze II. III. 214 of the National Central Library of Florence. The manuscript is an anthology of Hermetic and Solomonic magic texts from the Arabo-Islamic world; translated from Arabic into Latin, possibly in *al-Andalus*, given the repeat mention of Toledo. Some of these texts have been identified in their original Arabic, whereas others are preserved solely in Latin translation. It warrants highlighting that much of the material in the European grimoire tradition comes through Arab intermediaries if not directly from the Islamicate world. This includes the complete tradition of astral magic.

This manuscript preserves two similar editions of *Almandal: Liber in Figura Almandal* (fols. 74v-77r) and *Tabula Salomonis* (fols. 77r-78v). Both correspond closely to the Arabic witnesses presented in this study.

Fir(a)

Liber in Figura Almandal (Fir(a)) opens with the familiar invocatory formula characteristic of Arabic texts: "In the name of the Lord, the merciful and

compassionate.” Although the wording reflects its Latin transmission, it clearly corresponds to the Arabic *Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, the standard Basmala.

It begins with instructions on how construct the *Almandal* from a plate of red copper and how to prepare the fumigations. It is accompanied by an illustration of the *Almandal* with four gates; notably, this is the only extant manuscript to preserve the correct figure from the Arabic textual tradition.

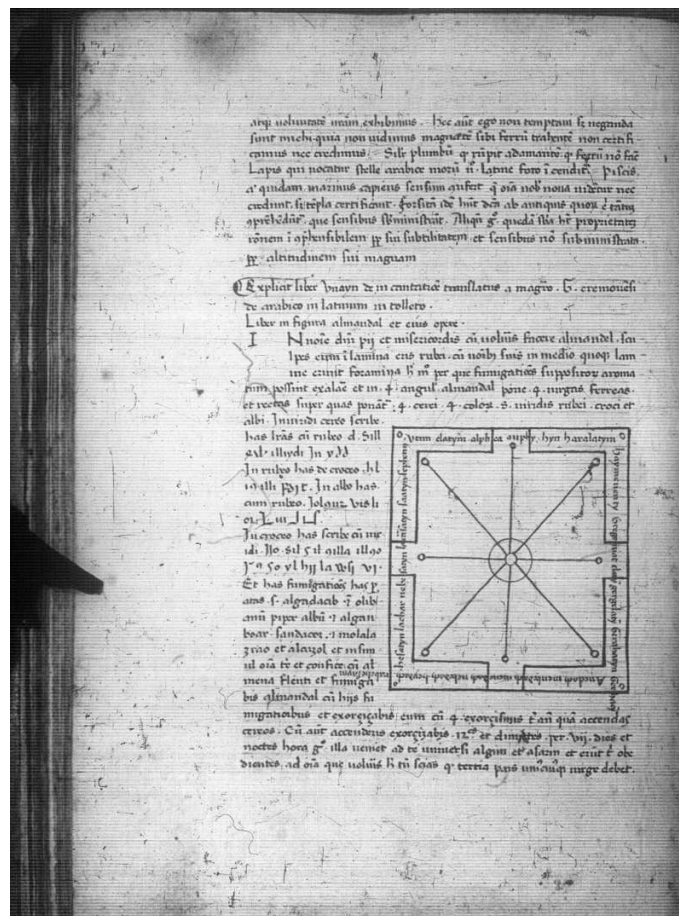


Figure 28. Mandala diagram from *Liber in Figura Almandal* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.III.214, fol. 74v), fifteenth century CE

It also provides characters to be written on differently colored candles placed at the four corners of the *Almandal*—almost certainly corrupt forms of Arabic letters. This stands in contrast to Fir(b) and to the Arabic text, both of which instruct that a light source should be set at the four corners during the night and *a'lām*—colored flags of green, white, red, and yellow—during the day.

The text gives two incense mixtures from Arabic pharmacopeia for use on the *Almandal*, many of which are given in corrupted Arabic. For example, *Alganboar* (= Arabic *al-galbanum*) which is galbanum, an aromatic gum resin derived from plants in the *Ferula* genus, particularly *Ferula gummosa*). The first mixture is apparently for the initial consecration of the *Almandal*, to be mixed with liquid alum, and the second for general use, to be mixed with liquid red storax.

The text goes on to give a series of spells: *On Provocation*, *On Love Between Two People*, *On Discord Between Two People*, *On Binding*, *On Causing Illness*, *On Discord in a Group*, *On Inflicting Illness*, *On Causing Retreat*, *On the Healing of a Demoniac (Possessed Person)*, *On Healing Illness*, and *On Healing of a Terrifying Dream*. Spells of a coercive or contorting nature such as these are well attested across the Arabic grimoire tradition. The *Almandal* appears to draw upon this broader repertoire, incorporating comparable spells into its own ritual framework while preserving their underlying functions. Notably, analogous practices appear in pre-Islamic ritual manuals from the Indian subcontinent, where rites for subjugation, control, and destruction were systematized under the category of *ṣaṭkarma* (“the six rites”) in tantric traditions. While we cannot assert direct transmission, the geographic proximity and shared logic of ritual manipulation suggest the possibility of influence—or at the very least, a parallel magical rationale grounded in late antique and early medieval ritual culture.

The text concludes with four exorcisms for Mahākāl. The operations repeatedly refer to them as *praedictis* (“aforementioned”), even though the exorcisms follow in the present arrangement. In the Arabic recensions, by

contrast, the exorcisms precede the operations—strongly suggesting they have been displaced in this witness.

Fir(b)

Tabula Salomonis (Fir(b)) follows the same textual architecture but gives ritual guidelines complimentary to Fir(a)—an alternate approach for making the *mandal* directly upon the earth (either on a floor-covering or directly on the floor of a house) and the different techniques for working either during the day or the night.

This version only has a partial illustration of the *Almandal*—four intersecting lines that when drawn specify the positions where holes should be opened if the *Almandal* is made from a plate of red copper. This radial geometric schema is different in the Arabic witnesses. While Arabic A and B both lack the holes, Arabic C depicts five circles enclosed within a sixth at the center. Apparently, the scribe copied instructions from—or worked from an edition that had—more than one set of instructions for constructing the *Almandal* because three variations of the same design are given:

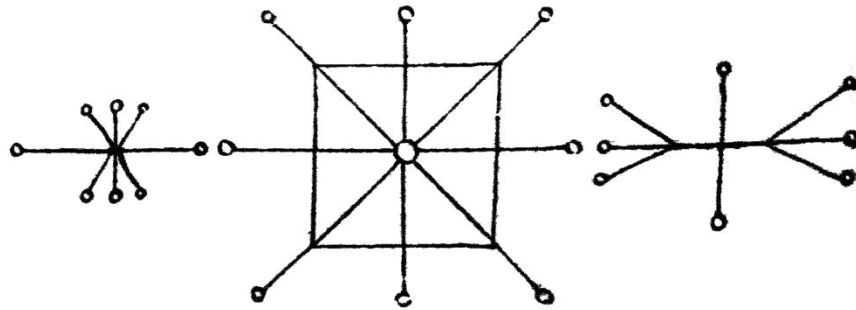


Figure 29. Lines to specify where holes should be opened in the *Almandal* from *Tabula Salomonis* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.III.214, fol. 77r), fifteenth century CE

Unlike Fii(a), the next section gives the same method for placing the light sources as the Arabic witnesses—lights placed at the four corners during the night and *a'lām*, that is, flags of green, white, red and yellow, to be placed during the day.

It then provides incense mixtures from the Arabic pharmacopeia, accompanied by clarifying notes on Arabic terminology, such as “almole (that is, bdellium).” After fumigating the *Almandal* with said mixtures, the *Almandal* should be “set out under the stars for 7 days and 7 nights.” This astrological detail is missing from Fii(a) but it is clearly stated in the Arabic texts. In Arabic esoteric practice, the act of placing seals or ritual objects under the open sky—typically at night—to expose them to celestial influences is referred to as “starring” (*istinājim*). This practice is rooted in the theory of astral causation and talismanic efficacy articulated by al-Kindī (d. ca. 870 CE), who argued that terrestrial matter could be imbued with celestial properties through proper timing and exposure. In his *De radiis* (On the Stellar Rays), al-Kindī outlines how astral forces influence the material world via rays, a concept foundational to later talismanic and theurgic procedures across the Islamic world and eventually transmitted into the Latin West.

As for spells, it includes four: *On the Healing of a Demoniac (Possessed Person)*, *On Sending a Petition*, *On Causing Harm*, and *On Protection*.

Also unique to this version are the instructions: “for the seal of the ring, or the sigil assakihhelublic” (Figure 12, p. 41). Arabic C clarifies this as a phonetic rendering of the Arabic name, Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs (Ṣakhr, son of Iblīs). Like the drawings of the lines to specify the positions where holes should be opened in the plate, there are three variations of the seal given. This is further evidence that Fii(b) was copied from more than one source.

After this are the four exorcisms of Mahākāl (different from those in Fii(a)) and a final section that describes the preparation of fumigations for use in both benevolent and baneful operations.

Halle, U.L.S.A., 14.B.36 [H2]

Halle, U.L.S.A., 14.B.36 is a gigantic Latin volume on learned magic written in the late fifteenth century and held at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (ULB) in Halle, Germany. The work has over 800 pages, including important works such as *Liber Razielis*, *Liber Semiphoras*, *Ars Notoria*, and two distinct versions of the *Almandal*.

Almandal first occurs on folio 226r. The top of the page clearly reads, *ALMADEL*, apparently added by a later reader to mark the beginning of the text. The entire codex has been rubricated in this manner with red ink. As noted by previous editors, 226r – 233v were extracted from Berengarius Gancelli's *Summa Sacre Magice*, a portion now lost from the Kassel manuscript (4^o Ms. astron. 3). Despite this, these pages had been ignored until Dr. Gher discovered they contain a unique version of the *Almandal*. Véronèse had previously classified these folios as part of the text beginning on f. 226r that he called, *De sacratione conjurationum et omnium experimentorum*. Even though he identified a certain consecration called *Almandal*, he classified these folios as paragraphs taken from the *Liber juratus*.

The version in question appears on folios 230r–233v, with the incipit indiscreetly underlined in red: “Almadel...” It corresponds to *Almandal* Version α, which Gher describes as “the most important version of the *Almandal* we have today.” According to him, it is “the least corrupt and the most original of all the Latin *Almandal* redactions received to date.”

Indeed, this version preserves more Arabic loanwords than other manuscripts—for example, *alaazysmae* (from Arabic ‘azā’im, “invocations”)—as well as less corrupted *voces magicae* (e.g., *Sephea* rather than *Sepheatin*, from Arabic *shafāh* or *shafāhah*). Even the names to engrave on the banners closely agree with the Arabic originals. For example, the third banner reads: *cullum hylle halaly* which Arabic C clarifies as, *Kullu ilā Allāh* (All is towards God), an abbreviation of the full phrase: *Kullu shay’in yarji’u ilā Allāh* (To God all shall return). However, despite these strengths, when compared with Arabic editions, this version still preserves some of the same corruptions as Fir(a) and Fir(b) in critical areas—particularly in the distorted rendering of the name of the principal spirit (e.g., garbled forms of Mahākāl). As such, it provides valuable additional context, though differences from the Arabic witnesses remain.

Another distinct version occurs on fols. 239r-243r, clearly separated from the other text by blank folios marking its beginning and end. The top of the page clearly reads, *Almadel*, again rubricated in red ink. This version (Gehr Ha2) represents a later state of the text which we refer to as version β (*Almadel/Liber Intelligentiarum*); a significantly Christianized revision of the text. It includes a unique Kabbalistic-inspired figure of the *Almandal* on the last leaf (fol. 243r) inconsistent with the Arabic tradition; a hexagram at the center and one at each corner with names of God from the Jewish tradition.

As identified by the *incipit*, version α is dedicated to the adjuration of evil spirits (*jinn* and *shayāṭīn*) as opposed to version β which deals exclusively with angels. It stands to reason that the author of this codex included both versions because the opposite approaches together provide a thorough exposition of the *Almandal* as magical technology.

THE ARABIC TEXT

Until now, the Arabic textual tradition of the *Almandal* had been lost to the Western world. With no extant copies of the text in its original Arabic, all discussions have remained speculative. The three texts presented here allow us to test these speculations through direct comparison with the aforementioned Latin recensions. Although the surviving Arabic witnesses do not predate the earliest extant Latin manuscripts and therefore cannot by themselves establish the genealogy of the Latin tradition, they nevertheless provide the first opportunity to evaluate that relationship through direct textual comparison. One hypothesis can be confirmed immediately: since the three Arabic recensions exhibit textual variation, we can now establish that the text circulated in multiple versions within the Arab world.

Equally significant is the degree to which the Arabic witnesses illuminate the Latin tradition. Numerous obscure readings, corrupted *voces magicae*, ritual terms, and otherwise unintelligible passages preserved in the Latin become comprehensible when compared directly with their Arabic counterparts. Throughout this study, we shall encounter repeated instances in which the Arabic witnesses clarify distorted names, explain previously opaque

terminology, restore corrupted ritual instructions, and resolve passages that have long resisted satisfactory interpretation. Among the more significant examples are the identification of *Mechechil* as *Māhākīl*; *Assakihhelublic* as *Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs* (Ṣakhr, Son of Iblīs); and *Alidmarmr Almandal* as *Iḍmār al-Mandal* (Concealments of the Mandal); the explanation of *Içimle artiginemen* as *ism li-l-tanjīm* (by the name of the *tanjīm*); the recognition of *alma* as *a'lām* (flags); the identification of the *voces magicae* inscribed on the flags as Qur'ānic verses; the demonstration that the Latin terminal *-in/-yn* endings arose from Arabic *kasra-tanwīn* mistakenly incorporated into the magical names; and the recognition that the *voces magicae* on the ring are, in fact, disjoined Arabic letters. While any individual example might be dismissed as coincidental, their cumulative effect strongly suggests that the Arabic witnesses preserve readings that are considerably closer to the earlier textual tradition than those surviving in the extant Latin manuscripts.

Furthermore, Dr. Gher was correct in asserting that the *Almandal* existed in a self-contained form, including all necessary information to perform *mandal* magic. However, the structure of the text in these manuscripts requires clarification. In Arabic A and B, the physical construction and overview of its applications appear as a distinct chapter while the invocations and the detailed operations are treated separately, often in different sections of the treatise. This dispersed structure suggests that *Almandal* is broadly compatible with, and integrable into, other ritual procedures throughout the work – such as operations for specific jinn kings and their talismans. At the same time, this does not preclude the existence of a more concise and derivative version that may have circulated independently. Indeed, Arabic C appears in a more condensed form, though it is transmitted within a larger compendium devoted to different types of *mandals*. This suggests that while shorter redactions may have circulated independently, they were also readily incorporated into broader collections of mandalic operations. Let us now examine each Arabic text.

Al-Ajnas Typographic Print [Arabic A]

Our first Arabic edition of the *Almandal* appears in *Kitab al-Ajnas* (hereafter Arabic A), a grimoire traditionally attributed to Āṣif bin Barkhiyā, King Solomon's court vizier who, according to Middle-Eastern lore and esoteric circles, brought Queen of Sheba's throne to King Solomon "...in the twinkling of an eye". The figure remains largely unexplored, as classical texts contain only a handful of indirect references to him, notably in veiled terms within Chapter 27 of the Qur'ān. However, Qur'ānic exegetical traditions hold him in high esteem, linking his extraordinary abilities to the Ineffable Name of Allah.

There is little doubt that the authorship is spurious, nor is the text as old as traditional lore claims. False attributions to Biblical figures—or other revered authorities—are common in the grimoire tradition, serving to legitimize a work and lend it an aura of authenticity or sacred prestige in the eyes of potential readers. Until now, *Ajnas* has generally been considered a modern work, as there appears to be no known manuscript lineage. Nevertheless, its existence cannot be dismissed outright, nor can the possibility that the text—or portions of it—derive from genuinely old sources. Still, the previous lack of evidence has led to its neglect by contemporary practitioners and its dismissal by scholars. It is typically distributed in inexpensive print editions in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and Persian, and was even translated into English some years ago by an independent publisher.

The word *al-Ajnas* derives from the root word *jins*, which means "type" or "category." In English, it can be interpreted as "the species", "the kinds", or "the categories," referring specifically to the different types or categories of spirits – *jinn*, angels, *ifrīts* (demons), etc. As the title suggests, *Ajnas* is one of the most comprehensive grimoires in the Arabic Solomonic cycle. It consists of 188 chapters describing the nature of diverse classes of spirits and the rituals associated with them. The title page reads:

Kitāb al-Ajnās
 Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā
 Istikhdamat, Aza'im, Khawatim, wa ghayruha

The Book of Species
 Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā

Control, Incantations, Seals, and more

Al-Mandal Sulaymān (the Mandal of Solomon) is richly weaved within *Kitāb al-Ajnās*, though the section specifically devoted to the *mandal* begins on page 66, roughly two-thirds through the volume. As elsewhere in the text, the material is organized into short, aphoristic chapters without clear transitions between sections or typographic variation between section headings. Except for the section with the figure of the *mandal*, *al-Mandal Sulaymān* does not have a chapter heading to delineate it from the rest of the book. This makes it incredibly difficult to discern where the *Almandal* text begins and ends. To add to the confusion, the *mandal* is mentioned in other parts of the text.

قد خبتا ارضوش طيطخوش نموه طيطخاخوش نموه ايل ايل الطاعة لله يا معشر الملائكة بحق مَنْ قال للسموات والارض اثتيا طوعاً أو كرهاً قالتا اثنينا طائعين فكذلك اتوني طائعين مسرعين بعزة رب العالمين .

الكلام على العفاريت الأربعة

الموكلين ببساط الخاتم والسر لهم والفقر عليهم تقول: يا براخ
براخ اشنديان اشنديان مترعان جياش جياش قطريوش ابهم طوهم
شاخ عجلوا يا أجنحة الكرويين وتهليل الروحانيين، وبعة الله الواحد
القهار الفعال لما يريد. الوحا يا ميمون يا ميطرون يا حاليش ويا
مجليش أجيوا بعة الواحد القهار الفعال لما يريد.

صفة خاتم مهاكيل وصخر

صخر بن عمرو بن شرجيل بن الأبيض بن حمليت الجني. وله من المردة ما لا يحصى عددهم إلا الله سبحانه وتعالى. وذلك أنك تصنع له خاتماً من فضة خالصة، فضع من عقيق أحمر، يوم الأحد أو يوم الجمعة ساعة شرفها، وتنفشه فإذا كملت نقشه وغسله في ماء ورد محلول فيه مسك وكافور، ثم تجعه على حسب تنجييم الخواتم. وهذه

۱۰ اکام ۷۶۳ طه طه ع رابط
۱۵ اح ۸۱۱۱۲ رح هـ اکین
کمل کے و ۱۶۱ زر ا مرو
۲ ۷۶۳ ۸۷۱۱۱ ط ۱۱۱ ر سو او ی
اجب یا مائیل

Figure 30. The opening of *al-Mandal Sulaymān* (*al-Ajnas*, p. 66), though the title is not explicitly mentioned.

The *Almandal* section opens with the spirits that govern the operation, beginning with Ṣakhr ibn ‘Amr ibn Shujayl ibn al-Abyad ibn Ḥamliyat al-Jinnī, a spirit long associated with Solomonic magic and magical rings. In Islamic tradition, Ṣakhr is identified as the *ifrīt* who once stole Solomon’s ring, thereby usurping his power. The text describes Ṣakhr’s dominion over multitudes of rebellious jinn and includes detailed instructions for crafting his magical ring (*khātam*). However, upon close examination, this ring is in fact attributed to Mahākāl—here spelled *Mahākīl*, adopting the angelic *-īl* ending—the guardian of the *mandal*, “whom all seven kings are obliged to obey.” The seal associated with it includes an illustration of the characters to be inscribed on its bezel and an invocation to be spoken and written beneath it—both of which directly invoke Mahākīl. This confirms that the earlier attribution to Ṣakhr is the result of an editorial error.

A subsequent chapter, *On the Utterance to the Offspring of Ṣakhr and the Seven Jinn Kings*, outlines a ritual to summon these spirits either collectively or individually. Each king corresponds to a day of the week, a planet, and a metal. Elsewhere in the text, a specific ring and invocation are provided for each.

The next chapter presents the correct ring of Ṣakhr—now described as “the aid over whom Solomon, son of David, was empowered”—along with a diagram and fabrication instructions. Both the rings of Mahākīl and Ṣakhr are presented as necessary ritual tools for asserting dominion over the spirits, their efficacy contingent upon precise timing, specified materials, and divine names.

Following this are four invocations (*‘azā’im*) addressed to Mahākīl. He is portrayed as the primary protective spirit of Solomon’s *mandal*, invoked by the practitioner to secure authority over spiritual forces. Each invocation addresses him with divine authority and *voces magicae*, calling for his swift obedience in commanding spiritual forces. The series escalates from commanding rebellious spirits and invoking Mahākīl by name, to summoning entire angelic hosts and tribal cohorts of jinn. The final formula includes a contingency: if the kings delay in appearing, the practitioner is instructed to engrave the seal of Ṣakhr on iron or copper and place it near fire—at which point “they will come faster than a bolt of lightning.”

The final section is devoted to the construction and use of the *mandal* itself. It is described as “one of the hidden secrets of Solomon,” and the chapter bears the heading: *The Description of Solomon’s Mandal, peace be upon him, and its operations*. It is worth briefly noting that this is the only chapter explicitly titled *The Mandal of Solomon*. Because the title appears in the middle of the treatise rather than at its beginning, it does not immediately signal that additional material relating to the *mandal* appears elsewhere in the work. According to the author, the *mandal* may be inscribed on metal—preferably silver or red copper whitened and anointed with oil (*naphtha*)—or drawn directly in the earth. It must be placed under the stars and accompanied by the seals of Šakhr and Mahākāl, a process referred to in Arabic esotericism as “starring” (*istinājīm*).

A rectangular illustration of the *mandal* accompanies the text. Running along its outer borders are characters forming alphanumeric strings, which may correspond to other parts of the ritual system, though their exact function is not always clear. In each corner of the quadrangle is text bearing the *voces magicas* and the phrases, “Obedience to Mahākāl—Ascending!” and “Victory to Mahākāl”. Phrases like these are also common in tantric yantras, where inscriptions reinforce divine command and ritual intent. The figure has four gates like a traditional Indian *maṇḍala* with the names of the archangels of the Islamic tradition—Isrāfīl, Mikā’īl, ‘Azrā’īl, and Jibrīl—inscribed in each of its four gates. While, F lacks these angel names, three names are present on a matching ritual figure (Figure 11, p. 40) called the *areola* in Book 4 of *De coloribus et uirtutibus lapidum*, a thirteenth-century grimoire concerning the ritual consecration of stones. Instead of ‘Azrā’īl, the *areola* includes the name, Pamphirius, “the overseer of the thunder”. Considering ‘Azrā’īl is purely an archangel of the Islamic tradition, it’s plausible that removing him was an attempt to rid the text of the technology’s Islamic genealogy—a theme consistent with broader efforts to Christianize or neutralize Islamic elements in magical texts as they circulated in Latin Europe. This book, although thoroughly Christianized and laced into a larger scholastic lapidary, can be considered the earliest version of the *Almandal*.²⁷ The similarly in design of

²⁷ See Vajra Regan, “*De consecratione lapidum*: A Previously Unknown Thirteenth-Century Version of the *Liber Almandal Salomonis*, Newly Introduced with a Critical Edition and Translation,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 28 (2018): 277–333.

the *mandal* and the *areola* is yet another hint that Arabic A represents an early state of the *Almandal* in Arabic before it was reinvented from Sanskrit materials.

The next paragraph appears out of place; it outlines the operation of exorcism, which describes possession by the “wind” (*al-rīḥ*), a term associated with *sār* spirits. The afflicted is brought into the *mandal*, and a companion is instructed to look upon them after divine names are inscribed between their eyes. This forces the spirit to depart. The practitioner is then given options: to bind the jinn with an oath, to imprison it, or—if it breaks its covenant—to destroy it.

Following this are the so-called, *wonderous workings* or *operations* (*taṣārīfuhu*) of the *mandal*, which the author claims are too numerous to list but includes three samples: summoning a person from near or far, destroying an enemy, and curing the possessed.

It is here that the preceding operation of exorcism should occur because the next chapters elaborate the operation: *the Names of Revelation*, *Binding a Jinni*, *the Manner of the Jinn Covenant* and a technique for *Slaying a Rebel Jinni*. There is no clear partition between *The Mandal of Solomon* and subsequent chapters so it’s hard to ascertain where the sequence ends but the next two sections on ritual daggers and spears are apparently related—they are also prescribed for compelling obedience or eliminating spiritual threats. Each weapon is linked to a specific jinn or angel and is to be used in conjunction with the *mandal*.

Arabic A closes with entries that continue the exorcistic logic, offering techniques for subjugating spirits, creating amulets, and summoning planetary intelligences but they do not appear directly related to the *mandal*. In one instance, Mīkā’il is identified as a separate angelic figure charged with overseeing one of the jinn kings, confirming that Mahākīl and Mīkā’il are distinct entities within the ritual structure, if there were any question of their unique identities. Mahākīl, in particular, is invoked again in a later chapter titled *Extracted Secrets Consisting of Names*, under a variant spelling (*Mahāqīl*), reinforcing the coherence of his presence throughout the larger work.

Table of Contents

1. The Description of the Seal of Mahākīl and Ṣakhr
2. On the Utterance to the Spawn of Ṣakhr and to all the Seven Kings
3. The Description of Seal of Ṣakhr
4. On the Utterance of Mahākīl
 - a. The First Invocation
 - b. The Second Invocation
 - c. The Third Invocation
 - d. The Fourth Invocation
 - e. Rebuke
5. The Description of the Mandal of Solomon
 - a. Construction on a metal plate
 - b. Construction on the clean earth
6. Figure of the Mandal
7. The Description of the Seal
 - a. Treatment of the Wind-Afflicted
 - b. Wonderous Properties of the Mandal
 - i. On Summoning Someone, Near or Far
 - ii. On Destroying an Enemy
 - iii. On Burning a Possessing Spirit from the Body
8. The Names of Revelation
9. On Binding a Rebellious Jinni
10. The Oath Formula
11. On Slaying a Rebellious Jinni
12. The Description of the Spear of Maymūn Abā Nūkh
13. The Description of the Dagger of Abā Nūkh
14. The Names for Killing All [Jinn] Kings
15. The Names of the Dagger of Abū al-Walīd Shamḥūrūsh

Tehran, Treasury Library (Totfim) Manuscript Lithograph [Arabic B]

This edition of the *Almandal*, much like Arabic A, is woven into a large one-volume compendium of practical magic attributed to Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā'. It does not include a standard title page, but the title is included in the

introduction, *al-Kashf fi 'Ilm al-Hurūf* (Unveiling in the Science of Letters). According to the author, Āṣif composed a book titled *The Moroccan Meaning*, spanning forty volumes, which contained the hidden truths of the highest-ranking scholars among the ancients. The author then summarized these forty manuscripts into a concise epitome, aiming to distill their essence—refining what was mentioned and disclosing what had been hidden. As he claims:

It is a book for which there is no equal across the ages, nor is it accepted except by the greatest scholars of judgment.

The author of Arabic A makes a similar claim: that he has summarized vast source documents from the Scholars of Truth and indexed the text in prose. Although Arabic B is in many respects unique, significant portions draw directly from Aḥmad al-Būnī's thirteenth-century grimoire, *Shams al-Ma'ārif* (The Sun of Knowledge).

The manuscript is preserved in the Library of the Treasury (*al-Khazana*) in Tehran also known as Totfim. Although it lacks a formal colophon, it bears a *waqf* seal on the upper left corner which reads, “This book was endowed by the late Hajj Muhammad Ali to the Library of the [Divine] Stations (*Maqāmāt Allāh*),”—a dedication typical of volumes from Totfim.



Figure 31. *Waqf* seal typical of volumes from the Treasury Library (*al-Khazana*), also known as Totfim, in Tehran.

The volume is a lithographic printing of an earlier manuscript, preserving the visual features and layout of its handwritten source. The exemplar it reproduces is written in a crude and uneven *ruq'ah* hand, likely prepared for functional use rather than display. The writing exhibits irregular spacing, simplified letterforms, and poor vertical alignment, suggesting a utilitarian rather than courtly origin. The scribe appears to have worked quickly: the text is marked by hurried strokes, frequent spelling errors, and many words lack *i'jām*. At various points, red ink has been applied over the printed text—likely later reader's marks—indicating that the volume continued to serve a working function after printing. Based on script style and layout, the manuscript may date to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Notably, other manuscripts written in the same hand are preserved in Totfim. The present copy is bound in plain blue boards, though the date of binding is unknown. Apart from its inclusion of the *Almandal* material, the textual content is otherwise unremarkable.

While broadly similar to Arabic A and C, this version introduces subtle differences in form and content, most notably in its title—While Arabic A is titled after Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd (Solomon, Son of David), this version is titled after the principal spirit of the work—Mahākāl—as *al-Mandal Mahākāl* which translates to *The Mandal of Mahākāl*. It begins in the middle of page 56 indicated by only the word “Chapter” which is extended to underline the first words, “The Description of the Mandal.”

As is common in grimoire literature, the work begins with a pseudepigraphic tale that traces the *mandal*'s origins to the time of King Solomon—a narrative not preserved in the Latin tradition. In this witness the narrative survives only in abbreviated form, though it is preserved more fully in Arabic C. According to the author, the *mandal* belonged to the Mahākāl who acquired it from Šakhr ibn Iblīs, leader of all jinn but was later taken by Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā', court vizier to King Solomon. According to the text, the design derives from the carpet of King Solomon which the demon Sakhr stole and used to assume control of his kingdom. The story of Šakhr is recognized in Islamic tradition much like the story of Ashmodeus in the Jewish tradition. Incidentally, this same story—although much more exhaustive—introduces

the loosely affiliated text, *Kitab al-Mandal al-Sulaymani* (Book of the Mandal of Solomon) however, in that version of the story, like most, it was a ring, not his carpet.

Following the legendary backstory are detailed instructions for constructing the *mandal* and preparing the fumigations—including the list of incenses, elevation of the plate on legs, placement of the censer, and circle of rose powder and salt. This section is considerably more detailed than in Arabic A, and notably, it corresponds almost word-for-word with what is found in Fir(a). The primary distinction lies in the fact that the *mandal* is inscribed not on a metal plate, but on a silk carpet, which is apparently draped over the table—or, as in Fir(b), placed directly on the ground.²⁸

Unlike Arabic A which gives operations for worldly ends such as summoning a person near or far and destroying an enemy, this version deals solely with exorcism—healing various types of spiritual ailments such as the imprisoned (*al-masjūn*), the oppressed (*al-maḥlūq*), the dislocated (*al-muḍlū*), the insane (*majnūn*), and the bound (*ma'qūd*).

On the second page of *al-Mandal Mahākīl*, the scribe (or redactor) subtly emphasizes a pivotal but otherwise obscure concept: *iḍmār al-Mandal* (the Concealment of the Mandal). Its significance becomes apparent only through deep familiarity with the Arabic magical tradition. The term refers to an internalized or concealed utterance, distinct from the more explicit conjurations (*'azā'im*) typically recited aloud. This mode of silent recitation closely parallels *mānasika* practice in Indian ritual theory, where mental utterance is treated as a discrete and hierarchically superior form of mantra from antiquity. Notably, both Latin versions Fir(a) and Fir(b) preserve this phrase, rendering it as *Alidmarmr Almandal* and *Abdmar*, respectively. Given the ambiguity of the term, it's not surprising the Latin translators left this word untranslated, especially if it was stylized like in Arabic B (see below). This portion of the text has likely remained shrouded in obscurity for over eight-hundred years—its purpose and significance buried beneath layers of

²⁸ According to Fir(b), “This mandal is made upon the earth, either on matting (*Stramento*) or [directly] on the floor of a house, as you wish.”

transmission. Only now, with the emergence of Arabic manuscript witnesses, can we begin to resurrect it from the grave of interpretive silence.

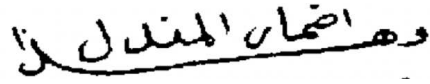


Figure 32. *Idmār al-Mandal* (the Concealment of the Mandal) from Arabic B.

The instructional portion of the text concludes with the concealment and invocations of the *mandal*. Yet the four explicit invocations to Mahākāl—present in both Arabic A, Arabic C and the Latin manuscripts—are notably absent. In their place, while incomplete, we find invocations to the seven kings associated with the seven planets and the seven days of the week. It is likely that these planetary king invocations are not part of the original *mandal* text, as they frequently appear independently in other Arabic grimoires. Moreover, the text instructs the practitioner to recite a brief addressative line—*Obey the call of Mahākāl and the call of the one who summoned you to aid at this very hour*—at each interval of the four invocations. This direct reference to the fourfold structure suggests that the section was once present but is now missing. Whether this omission reflects a one-off redaction or a complete variant recension of the *Almandal* remains uncertain.

At this point in the text, there is an impressive illustration of both the *mandal* (Figure 9, p. 39) and the seal of the *mandal* (Figure 16, p. 42) which correspond directly to those found in F11(a) and F11(b). The design of the *mandal* figure closely parallels the Latin tradition, as evidenced by the presence of four corner circles, likely marking the locations for the structure's legs. It also included a marginal gloss clarifying that the figure has been reversed from the source manuscript, probably to better fit the page. Here, it is in fact drawn lengthwise whereas it is drawn crosswise in Arabic A.

It's hard to construe where exactly the *mandal* text ends but it is likely here. What follows does however correspond thematically to Arabic A, beginning with instructions for the oath, making a jinni speak, and additional micro-operations aimed at treating individuals afflicted by jinn. It continues with

a series of spells for various purposes, followed by a section detailing the appropriate timing for operations: the days of the week and hours of the night and day—a chapter unique to this manuscript. The text then presents further names (e.g., *The Thirty-six Great Names*) and coercive spells reminiscent of those found in Arabic A and Firenze, BNC, II.iii.214. It culminates in another set of names to call upon the aid of the all-powerful Mahākīl, along with a list of “the eighty Suryani names passed from Iblis to his son, Barqān.” Though referenced earlier, these names were not listed in direct proximity to the *Almandal* section. The dispersed arrangement of these ritual components throughout the manuscript attests to the *mandal*’s ubiquity and integration across multiple domains of magical practice.

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1. Introductory line, “Description of the Mandal of Mahākīl and the Seal of the Mandal.”
2. Pseudepigraphic Origin Narrative.
3. Physical Construction of the Mandal
4. Properties of the Mandal [for treating afflictions]
5. Concealment of the Mandal
6. Figure of the Ring
7. Figure of the Mandal
8. Invocations and Concealments of the 7 Kings of the Days of the Week and their Seals of Capture (*ṣar’uhu*)
 - a. Sunday
 - b. Monday
 - c. Tuesday (seal missing)
 - d. Wednesday (missing)
 - e. Thursday (seal missing)
 - f. Friday (seal missing)
 - g. Saturday (seal missing)
9. The Oath Formula
10. To Make the Jinn Speak
11. More Exorcisms, Names and Coercive Spells [related to *mandal*?]

Unidentified Iranian Manuscript Lithograph [Arabic C]

Of the three witnesses, this edition of the *Mandal of Solomon* most closely parallels the Latin *Almandal*, indicating that Arabic A and B transmit an abbreviated form of the tradition. It preserves features that offer unique insights into the Latin text not found in the other witnesses. Like the other editions, the text is woven into a large compendium of practical magic. The title *Kitāb Dhāt al-Dawā'ir wa Kanz al-Dhakhā'ir* (The Book of the Essence of the Circles and the Treasure of the Provisions) appears at the head of the second page immediately before the standard invocation and formal introduction. A related but differently worded heading—*Kitab Da'irat al-Dawa'ir al-Kubra li-l-Imam Ahmad* (The Book of the Circle of the Great Circles by Imam Ahmad)—is written on the preceding leaf. That first leaf, however, reads more like a displaced or ancillary folio, containing a fragmentary spell and invocation rather than the expected structure of a title page. The placement and inconsistency of the headings suggest that the titling was added secondarily and may not belong to the original mise-en-page of the work.

Much like Naṣīr al-Dīn's *Daqā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, the text features numerous full page anthropomorphic seals representing different spirits and corresponding magic circles (type α *mandals*) rendered in diverse geometric configurations, bordered with sacred verses, and labeled with special instructions such as where to place the incense, seals and tablets, and the master's place of sitting and recitation of the litany. The corresponding text outlines the same strict 40-day discipline to achieve spiritual influence explained by Tabasī.

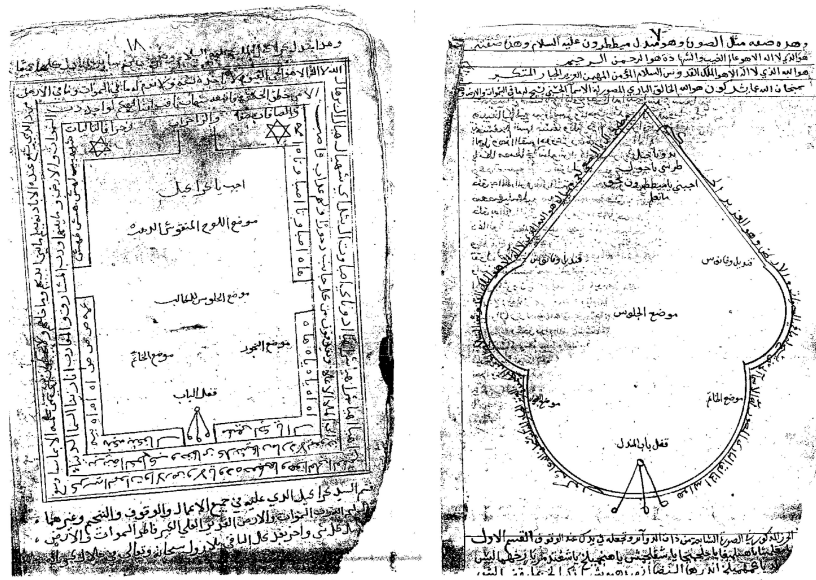


Figure 33. Type α protective mandals (magic circles) from *Kitāb Dhāt al-Dawā'ir wa Kanz al-Dhakhā'ir* (unidentified Iranian library, pp. 18, 70).

The manuscript was digitized from an Iranian library and circulated online in the early 2000's for commercial purposes. The available copies preserve no secure indication of original provenance, and firm identification has therefore not been possible. Although one copy bears the stamp of an individual named al-Falakī, this likely reflects a later archival or commercial mark rather than evidence of ownership. As with Arabic B, the surviving witness is a photocopy, which complicates precise dating and obscures many material features of the original exemplar.

Nevertheless, the presence of the *Almandal* together with operations closely paralleled in BnF Arabe 4826, a seventeenth-century magical compendium, provides significant corroboration for the antiquity of the textual tradition preserved here. Paleographical features visible in the surviving images—including a relatively fluid *naskh*-derived hand, simplified ligatures, and diagrammatic conventions consistent with late Persianate occult manuscripts—suggest that the underlying exemplar was likely composed between

the seventeenth and early nineteenth century. The reproduction itself is of poor quality, exhibiting heavy ghosting, ink bleed, and physical damage, which renders portions of the text difficult or impossible to read.

The *Almandal* appears roughly two thirds of the way into the text, following a series of operations that include *mandals* of the protective subtype (*mandal* α). The section is untitled and opens directly with the account of the celestial carpet of King Solomon, son of David, known only in abbreviated form in Arabic B and completely absent from the Latin witnesses. Incidentally, this is the same usurpation story that appears in the Expulsion *Mandal* δ (*Kitab al-Mandal al-Sulaymānī*) but without the carpet narrative. Instead that story centers on just the ring or seal of Solomon.

According to the author, the carpet of Solomon descended from Paradise and was structured as a *maṇḍala* marked by angelic names, divine inscriptions, and colored banners. Within this ordered space Solomon exercises dominion over humans, jinn, and the natural world, traveling through the air, borne by the wind, while seated upon a throne at the *mandal*'s center. His just rule is interrupted when Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs seizes his ring and usurps his authority, imitating Solomon's command over the jinn. As suspicion grows among the people, Ṣakhr attempts to appropriate the power of the *mandal*, copying its names and invocations and inscribing his own name in place of Solomon's before casting the ring into the sea.

Divine intervention restores Solomon's ring and kingship, leading to Ṣakhr's capture and imprisonment within the Mountain of Smoke. Before his downfall, however, the *mandal* passes into the possession of Māhākāl—here preserving the spelling without the theophoric ending *-il* (*-iel*) found in other witnesses—who receives it together with operative names and a copy of the ring. The *mandal* is subsequently presented to Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā and returned to Solomon, where it is reframed as a sanctioned instrument for healing, spiritual treatment, and the attainment of obedience from all jinn and devils (*shayāṭīn*). The narrative concludes with instructions for the physical construction of the *mandal* for making both jinn and humans obey the practitioner.

Unlike the other Arabic recensions, the banner specifications are given as part of the narrative prior to the physical construction of the *mandal*. Also unlike the others, it gives the exact inscriptions—and like Fīr(a)—the color

of the text to be written on the colored banners, which prove to be Qur'ānic phrases. What appear in the Latin witnesses as *voces magicæ* are therefore not independent magical names but transliterations of Arabic text into Latin characters, subsequently corrupted through transmission. For example, in Latin version H2 (Gehr Hai) banner three reads: *cullum hylle halaly* which Arabic C clarifies as, *Kullu ilā Allāh* , (All is towards God) an abbreviation of: *Kullu shay'in yarji'u ilā Allāh* (To God all shall return). Arabic C thus resolves a long-standing ambiguity in the Latin witnesses, restoring the Qur'ānic basis of the banner inscriptions and providing crucial evidence for reconstructing the ritual in its original form.

The instructions for the construction of the *mandal* agree with our other witnesses with some additional clarifying details. Āṣif states that *mandal* is written either on red silk (*ḥarīra ḥamrā'*) or upon red copper (*naḥās ḥamrā'*) clarifying that the essential requirement is that it should be a red surface. Like the other editions, it too gives the contingency that if you cannot construct a table, then it can be drawn directly on the ground, provided that the ground is pure. It then says to write the names on the gates, place an iron pillar in each corner, and a candle on top of each pillar. It then specifies the substances to be arranged around the *mandal*, together with the incense formula and the invocation cadence.

This passage is followed by a second set of instructions under the header “Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā said:”, corresponding to the same section in Fīr(b), where the heading instead reads “Solomon said:”. It explains that the *mandal* should be written on a sheet and draped over top of the tablet which is then elevated on four legs that are inserted into holes pierced in the four corners of the tablet and candles placed on top of each pillar. Although not specified here, earlier in the text it was explained that the candles are to be used at nighttime to light the ritual area. During the day, colored banners with Qur'ānic phrases are posted instead. It then explains that five perforations should be made in the center of the tablet so that the smoke of the incense may rise upward through them. It further specifies that the *mandal* sheet covering the tablet should also be pierced with holes.

Subsequent to the instruction for constructing the ritual area is a stunning figure of the *mandal*. It should be noted that of all the Arabic witnesses, this is the only version to specify that holes should be made in the center of the tablet to vent the incense from below. The figure has five circles enclosed

within a sixth at the center, each labeled *thaqb* (“hole”). Holes have also been drawn and labeled in each of the four corners to specify where the pillars are to be placed. The gates bear different angelic names than the other *mandal* figures (Top: Ruqā’il, Bottom: Mūsī’il, Right: Miḥyā’il, Left: Miṭaṭrūn), though the corner inscriptions remain the same.

Immediately after the *mandal* figure appears a section entirely absent from the other Arabic and Latin witnesses, labeled *karāsi* (“seats” or “chairs”). Page 124 consists of six square seats, while a seventh, more elaborate design occupies half of page 125. Although the text does not fully explain their function, they likely serve as ritual seats for the invoked spirits. The text says they should be made from thick parchment and elevated on legs. Some of the names of these seals correspond to the names on the *mandal* itself. It remains uncertain whether this feature belonged to the archetype underlying the Latin tradition and was subsequently omitted, or whether it represents a unique development within this witness.

The text then turns to the construction of the seal or ring of the carpet, which is stamped into wax at the time of astrological observation and treatment. This action assures obeisance from all the jinn and devils. As in Arabic A, two designs are transmitted, though in this recension one pertains to the interior of the ring and the other to its exterior face, in contrast to Arabic A, which associates one with Māhākīl and the other with Ṣakhr. The present arrangement appears to reflect the more consistent tradition. It’s also worth noting that the characters from the exterior face of the ring are strikingly similar to the seal in Fir(b). The similarity confirms that they are not intended as semantic units, but rather represent disjointed Arabic letters of the type commonly employed in talismanic inscriptions.

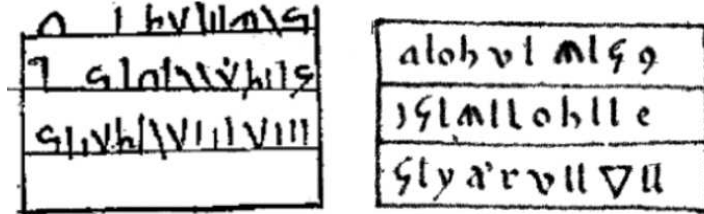


Figure 34. Comparison of the characters from the exterior face of the ring in Arabic C (Left) and characters from the Latin manuscript Firenze II. III. 214 (Right).

Following the ring appear four invocations addressed to Mahākāl. Arabic A likewise preserves four invocations, though in markedly abbreviated form when compared with the Latin witnesses, while Arabic B does not present them in a fourfold sequence at all. By contrast, the invocations in Arabic C correspond closely to those of the Latin tradition—especially Fir(a) and H₂—exhibiting notable agreement in length, structure, operative names, and phrasing. The exemplar also clarifies why the *voces magicæ* in the Latin witnesses frequently appear with *-in* / *-yn* endings. In Arabic C, the magical words are consistently written with *kasra-tanwīn* (◌ِ), a scribal vocalization habit that adds a faint terminal nasalization to the vocables without signaling true grammatical inflection. Rather than reflecting Arabic case endings, these forms preserve a graphic feature of the Arabic transmission, which Latin copyists later reinterpreted as part of the word itself. The consistent presence of these diacritical marks, together with the close structural alignment of the invocations, strongly suggests that Arabic C stands near the archetypal exemplar from which the Arabic material entered the Latin tradition.

The final section is dedicated to *The Operations of the Mandal of the Carpet* (*Tasārīf Mandal al-Bishāt*). Again, this witness aligns closely with Fir(a): both transmit eleven operations, and several operations correspond almost verbatim. In some parallel operations, the Latin preserves additional procedural detail not present in the Arabic—suggesting either that Arabic C preserves an abridged form of the text or that the Latin tradition expanded the material. Other operations diverge more substantially in their operative aim yet preserve the same compositional pattern and linguistic register. It is worth noting that the operations absent from the Latin are attested in Arabic A

and B, in one form or another. Their omission therefore raises the question of whether the Latin redactors intentionally excluded this material. Significantly, the omitted operations are framed in explicitly Islamic terminology and diagnostic categories: *waswasah* (whisperings), *ma'qūd* (bound), *mashūr* (enchanted), *majnūn* (insane or possessed), and *rīḥ* (wind-afflicted). It is thus plausible that the Latin transmitters deliberately omitted these elements to avoid overtly Islamic formulations rather than inheriting an exemplar in which they were already absent—though the latter possibility cannot be entirely excluded. The operations are: *On Summoning a Specific Person*, *On Harmony Between Two People*, *On Separation Between Two People*, *On Causing Obsessive Thoughts*, *On Healing the Insane (Possessed Person)*, *On Healing the Spellbound*, *On Healing the Wind-Afflicted*, *On Binding*, *On Causing Illness*, *On Separation of a Group*, *On Causing Retreat*.

The text ends with a final note including a warning not to perform any part of the work until after the prescribed fumigation has been carried out, and to ensure that the *mandal* is prepared as specified.

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IV. TRANSLATIONS

Notes on the Translations

The following translations aim to balance fidelity to the original texts with clarity and accessibility for modern English readers. For both the Latin and Arabic versions, spelling and phrasing have been modestly standardized, and

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section breaks, paragraphing, and punctuation introduced where appropriate to enhance readability and distinguish ritual components.

Editorial additions and foliation are marked in [square brackets], and all explanatory footnotes are modern insertions. In the Arabic translation, key terms are transliterated (e.g., *azīma*, *mandal*) rather than rendered in Arabic script, while divine or magical names (*voces magicae*) are preserved in transliteration without interpretation unless etymologically transparent. Where textual ambiguities or corruptions occur, explanatory notes or emendations are provided.

Headings and structure generally follow the principal manuscript witnesses, and conventions for rendering Arabic have been consistently applied throughout.

Arabic–Latin Transliteration Key

Arabic	Transliteration	Notes
ا	ʾ (ʿalif)	Glottal stop (hamzah); often omitted at the start of a word
ب	b	—
ت	t	—
ث	th	Like “th” in think
ج	j	Like “j” in jam
ح	ḥ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	kh	Like “ch” in German Bach
د	d	—
ذ	dh	Like “th” in this
ر	r	Rolled/flapped “r”
ز	z	—
س	s	—
ش	sh	—
ص	ṣ	Emphatic “s”
ض	ḍ	Emphatic “d”

ط	ṭ	Emphatic “t”
ظ	ẓ	Emphatic “dh”
ع	‘	Voiced pharyngeal; ‘ayn
غ	gh	Like French “r” in rue
ف	f	—
ق	q	Voiceless uvular stop (deeper than k)
ك	k	—
ل	l	—
م	m	—
ن	n	—
ه	h	—
و	w	Consonant “w” or long vowel ū
ي	y	Consonant “y” or long vowel ī
ة	h or t	“t” in construct state, “h” otherwise
َ	a	Short vowel fatḥa
ِ	i	Short vowel kasra
ُ	u	Short vowel ḍamma
ى (alif maqṣūra)	ā	Long a sound (variant of alif)
آ	’ā	Glottal + long a
و (long)	ū	Long u
ي (long)	ī	Long i
ء	’	Hamzah (glottal stop)

Optional Characters for Extra Precision

Latin	Meaning
ā	Long “a” sound (ا)
ī	Long “i” sound (ي)
ū	Long “u” sound (و)
‘	‘Ayn (ع)

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'	Hamzah (ء)
ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ḏ	Emphatic letters

THOMAS ARCAINE

I.

Liber in Figura Almandal

BOOK ON THE FIGURE OF THE ALMANDAL

A modern English translation from the Latin manuscript Firenze II. III. 214
of the National Central Library of Florence, Firenze, ff. 74v-77r.

—

Edited and translated by Thomas Arcaine

[74v]

Book on the figure of the almandal and its operation.

In the name of the Lord, the merciful and compassionate.²⁹

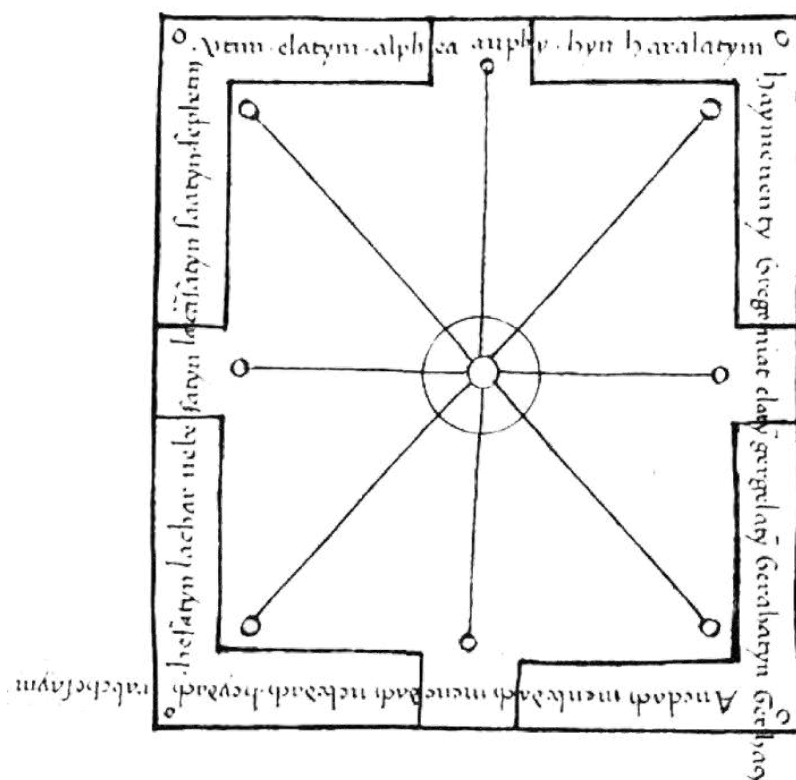
When you wish to make the almandel, you shall engrave it on a plate of red copper³⁰ with its names³¹. There should also be holes in the middle of the plate, in such a way, that the smoke of the aromatics placed below may exhale.³² And in the four corners of the almandal place four strait iron rods, on which shall be placed four candles of four colors: namely green, red, saffron/yellow and White.

²⁹ In Islam, the phrase “In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful” (*Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*) is known as the Basmala. It is one of the most common formulae in Islamic practice and serves as the standard invocatory incipit in Arabic texts, including many grimoires. In Latin manuscripts the Basmala is often reduced to a simple transliteration such as *In nomine Dei* (“In the name of God”). The fact that *Liber in Figura Almandal* preserves a fuller rendering—“In the name of the Lord, the merciful and compassionate”—indicates an attempt to translate the phrase rather than merely substitute a generic Latin formula. Its appearance here, even in this Latinized form, is a striking reminder of the manuscript’s Islamic origins.

³⁰ *lamina eris rubei*. Arabic A reads, “Silver or red copper whitened [and anointed] with oil” (*aw ‘alā nuḥās aḥmar mubayyad bi-l-naft*); Arabic B reads, “red silk carpet” (*bisāt ‘aḥmar ḥarīr*) which is draped over the tablet. Arabic C reads, “red silk” (*ḥarīra ḥamrā*) draped over the tablet or directly on red copper (*naḥās ḥamrā*).

³¹ Names on the figure are: “*Utim, Elatym, Alphea, Auphy, Hyn, Haralatym, / Haymeventi, Gregoniat, Claryn, Gergelatym, Gerahatyn, Gerhacym, / avedoch menbedach menedach nebedach heydach rabcheysaym, / hesatyn lachar nebesatyn lacarasatyn saatyn sephetim*.” Some of these names agree with those in the protective invocation in Fri(b).

³² Of the Arabic witnesses, adding holes in the plate for the aromatics to exhale is specified in Arabic C only.



On the green candle, write these letters with red³³:

d. Sill exl. illiydi In ydd

On the red candle, write these in yellow:

³³ In version H2 (Gehr Hat) the names for the flags and candles are: "1) *Almucul lehy algah Eytalchaa*; 2) *lehaaula vvelecog vetaullehil lehulleh haligy hyllazam*; 3) *cullum hylle halaly*; 4) *Culluzazyn ellicum illequezah allahy leu alchum guayeyley turgahnuam*." In Arabic C, the inscriptions are explicitly written out and prove to be Qur'anic phrases. What appear in the Latin witnesses as voces magicae are therefore not independent magical names but transliterations of Arabic text into Latin characters, subsequently corrupted through transmission.

ḥl 10 illi ḥṣṣṣ.

On the white candle, write these in red:

Ḥolānuz vishī ʿī Luḥḥḥ.

On the yellow candle, write these in green:

Ḥe-ṣil ṣ ḥ ḡilla ill ḡo
Ḥ.ḡ ṣo ṣl ḥṣṣ la ḡṣṣ ṣl.

And have these fumigations prepared, namely, algadacib³⁴ also frankincense³⁵, white pepper and galbanum³⁶, sandarac³⁷ and molalazrao and alcuzol³⁸, and mix all these three times and prepare with liquid alum and fumigate the almandal with these fumigations. You shall exorcise it for yourself with 4 exorcisms before lighting the candles. When, however, you have lit them [the candles], you shall exorcise 12 times and leave it for 7 days and 7 nights. Then, at that hour, all jinn and shayāṭīn³⁹ will come to you, and they will be obedient to you in all that you desire.

Know, however, that a third of each rod must [75r] be placed under the almandal and two-thirds above it. After the 7 days and 7 nights, wrap the almandal and all the rods in a clean cloth and store it in a clean place.

³⁴ The first incense listed in Arabic B gives is *al-ʿūd al-tayyib* (Aloeswood).

³⁵ *olibanum* = *Lubān* in Arabic.

³⁶ *Alganboar* = probably *al-galbanum* in Arabic

³⁷ *sandacoz* = probably *sandarac* (resin from *Tetraclinis articulata*)

³⁸ *alcuzol* is likely a variation of *alhochol* as found in F11(b), specified to be, *amber* or *timiamata*. However, amber is almost certainly a mistranscription or variation of the Arabic (*al-ʿanbar*), which means ambergris, not amber. And *Timiamata*, possibly derived from Greek *Tymiamata*, borrowed into Arabic as *tibiyāmāt* (medical preparations) which in Latin refers to complex incense mixtures.

³⁹ The corrupt Latin phrase, *algim et asarin*, has been standardized in this edition as “jinn and shayāṭīn”, meaning “jinn and devils/demons” for clarity and consistency.

These are the fumigations of the almandal: male frankincense, white pepper, aged timiama⁴⁰, bdellium, galangal, cinnamon, sarcocolla⁴¹, saffron, sandalwood, long pepper. They are to be mixed together with liquid red storax.

Timiama is composed from 4 substances namely alum, bright myrrh, and galbanum.⁴²

On Provocation⁴³

If you wish to compel someone—man or women—to immediately come to you and carry out your will, then fashion their image in church wax⁴⁴. As you shape it, speak the following words:

“I form this image in the name of [insert name]—if it is a son, name the mother; if it is a daughter, name the father—so that they may swiftly come to me (or to some other person—name the child of the one of being called, or name the father or mother accordingly)—or to such a place [name the location], and do my will or theirs.”

⁴⁰ *Timiamata*, possibly derived from Greek, *Tymiamata*, borrowed into Arabic as *tib-iyāmāt* (medical preparations) which in Latin refers to complex incense mixtures (compound incense) as specified in the next line (composed of “alumen, mirra clara, et galbanum”). It’s aged form (*vetus timiama*) was believed to have heightened potency.

⁴¹ Sarcocolla / sarququallah From Greek, sarkokólla / *σαρκοκόλλα* = “flesh-glue” is a plant exudate or gum-resin, traditionally thought to come from various Persian or Syrian shrubs used in medieval medicine. Described by Dioscorides, Galen, and in Arabic pharmacopoeia (e.g., Ibn al-Bayṭār) as a soft, viscous, yellowish resin. As an aromatic probably milder than storax.

⁴² Only three are listed—possibly a scribal ellipsis

⁴³ *De provocation*. In the Tantric tradition, bending a person to your will is called subjugation (*Vasikarana*.) It is classified as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tantra. All the operations of the *Almandal* belong to this category of Indian mantrayantra practice, which is unsurprising given the book bears a Sanskrit title and centers on an Indian deity.

⁴⁴ *cera*

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Then, take two feathers from a hoopoe or a white dove and place them with the image. Write or inscribe the name of the person the image represents on the chest and the mother's name on the shoulder blades.

After this, place that image in the center of the almandal and you will exorcize it with 4 exorcisms, 8 times (or at least 4), and do not let the fumigations wane during the conjuration because the entire body would be annihilated. Once this is finished, if the subject has not arrived, or you wish it to happen faster⁴⁵—impress the candles with the seal 3, 5 or 7 times (but no more). Then exorcise it with the same exorcisms as many times as before.

At the end of each exorcism, say:

“Come, So-and-so, as was said, before me—now at this very hour, before I sleep, Quickly! Quickly! Come!”

Always keep the fumigates burning. When the flame reaches the seals on the candle, the one you desire will be with you.

Whatever is done in the almandal, requires a pure person and a purified house.

On Love Between Two People⁴⁶

If you wish to enkindle love between two people, make two images bearing their names from white wax. Write their names on the chests of the images. Place them chest to chest, face to face, in an embracing posture. Bind them together with a strand of red silk thread. Anoint their mouths with honey and place them on the almandal along with roses. Then, using the 4

⁴⁵ Latin reads *sive dum venerit*, a syntactically awkward phrase that contradicts the procedural logic of the operation. Arabic C preserves the clearer reading, “If the person does not arrive...,” which is followed here.

⁴⁶ *De amore inter duos*. In the Tantric tradition, enkindling love and attraction between two people is called, *akarsana*. It is sometimes classified as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tantra.

aforementioned exorcisms⁴⁷, perform 12 rounds of conjuration. At the end of each exorcism, say:

“By this conjuration that I have spoken over you, and by the Seal of Solomon, son of David, enkindle love between Such and Such!”—as you mention their names.

After this, write the 4 exorcisms on clean and clear parchment using ink made from musk mixed with saffron⁴⁸. Also write:

“By these mighty names and by these powerful conjurations enkindle love between Such and Such, stable and lasting love!”

Then place the written parchment together with the images in a new clay jar⁴⁹ and bury it beneath the bed of one of the individuals, under the ground in their house—and you will see wonders.

On Discord Between Two People⁵⁰

And on the contrary, if you wish to sow discord, make two images out of lard⁵¹ mixed with powered charcoal⁵². Paint the faces of the images with the same charcoal powder until they are thoroughly darkened. Insert thorns from a branch⁵³ between their shoulder blades and place them back-to-back. Then place aloe and salt between them. At twilight, wrap them together in a black cloth, first sprinkling sulfur over them before folding the cloth.

⁴⁷ Ms reads *praedictis* (aforementioned), but the 4 exorcisms appear later in the text. This may indicate textual displacement: In the Arabic witnesses the exorcisms appear before.

⁴⁸ *croco* which refers to saffron, derived from the stigmas of the crocus flower, commonly used in ritual ink, and fumigations.

⁴⁹ *piscida nova*

⁵⁰ *De discordia inter duos*. In the Tantric tradition, sowing discord or enmity between two people is called, *vidvesana*. It is classified as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tantra.

⁵¹ lardo

⁵² *carbonibus pulverizatis* = pulverized coals

⁵³ Arabic C clarifies this as a thorn from the *awsaj* (Boxthorn).

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Next, fumigate them over the almandal [75v] using burning sulfur. Perform twelve rounds of conjuration using the 4 [exorcisms], ending each with the standard formulas and words previously described.

Finally, separate the images and bury them in different cemeteries or at a crossroads, always placing them in opposition to each other.

On Binding⁵⁴

If you wish to bind a man or women, first fashion a copper needle or other implement inscribed with their name. Then, create an image from Toldeo wax⁵⁵. Pierce the phallus or vulva and drive thorns of a branch into the soles of the feet. Open the image below the navel, so that a channel runs up to the heart, and pour molten lead into the opening. Insert thorns between the shoulders blades as well. Place the image at the center of the almandal and perform the 4 [exorcisms] with their corresponding fumigations. In each round, say:

“Bind him or her!—Name the son and his father, or the daughter and her mother—so that he may not commit incest or suffer pollution, not even while sleeping.”⁵⁶

If they resist abstinence, they will pass blood in their urine. Finally, put the image in a grave whose occupant is unknown.

⁵⁴ *De ligatione*. In the Tantric tradition, binding or immobilizing a victim is called, *stambhana*. It is classified as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tantra.

⁵⁵ *cerea toletana*. One of several mentions of Toledo in this manuscript. In fact, Toledo was a major center of translation activity in medieval Spain, particularly from the twelfth century onward, where many Arabic scientific, philosophical, and esoteric texts were rendered into Latin by teams of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim scholars.

⁵⁶ i.e. “Bind Cain, Son of Adam, so that he may not commit incest or suffer pollution, not even while sleeping!” or “Bind Naamah, daughter of Lemech, so that she may not commit incest or suffer pollution, not even while sleeping!”

On Causing Illness⁵⁷

If you wish to cause someone to fall ill, fashion an image from black clay⁵⁸—the kind that is found in swamps, along the banks of rivers, or stagnant springs. These should be waters that do not flow cleanly. Drive thorns from a branch into the image's heart, and also into the feet and hands. Then bind it with a thread of yellow silk⁵⁹, and place it on the almandal. Recite the conjurations 20 times and say:

“Inflame him or her!”—naming either the person's mother or father, as the case may require.

Then place the image in smoke for 7 days, and the victim will fall ill with a most grievous illness.

On Discord in a Group

If you wish to sow discord among a group of people, obtain the liver of a goat on behalf of those you intend to divide, and write their names on the liver using aloe or alezaten⁶⁰.

Roast [the liver] over the fire and then place it on the almandal. Recite the exorcisms 25 times while holding an olive branch in in one hand and a

⁵⁷ *De mittenda egritudine*. In the Tantric tradition, making someone ill is a form of Eradication (*uccatana*) or Liquidation (*marana*). It is classified as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tantra.

⁵⁸ *Lutu nigro*

⁵⁹ Arabic C specifies red silk: *marbūṭan bi-ḥarīr aḥmar*.

⁶⁰ Probably refers to gum Arabic or mastic—a sticky, fragrant gum used for inscribing. Corrupted from something like *al-ʿaḏān*, *al-ʿuzān*, or related Arabic for “aromatic gum.”

pomegranate branch⁶¹ in the other, and strike the liver⁶² with them. Immediately, those people will disperse and not gather again.

On Inflicting Illness⁶³

If you wish to inflict illness upon someone, fashion an image of Toledo wax and pitch⁶⁴. Insert into its head a needle that has never sewn anything before, until it passes through the image. Drive a copper needle into the heart, nails in the eyes, and thorns of a branch in the soles and palms. Place [the image] on the almandal and pronounce the exorcisms 25 times, saying over it:

“Afflict him [or her] with illness!—naming the person, and naming their father or mother—so that they can neither eat, drink, nor sleep, and inflame them so that they cannot be cured unless I will it!”

Once this is completed, the affliction will begin⁶⁵.

On Causing Retreat⁶⁶

If you wish to cause someone who is traveling or about to travel to turn back, fashion their image from clay. Place black pigment in its eyes, bind its legs

⁶¹Olive and pomegranate trees were among the most abundant and symbolically charged in *al-Andalus*—especially in Granada, whose name means “pomegranate.” Olive remains the region’s most widely cultivated tree, a legacy of the Islamic era.

⁶²*flagelabis epar* = “strike the liver”—not gently, but *whip* or *beat* it ritually.

⁶³*De immittenda egritudine* in contrast to the previous *De mittenda egritudine*. The distinction between *immittenda* and *mittenda* reflects two types of magical aggression: the prior directed at causing illness in general, the present more directly imposing it into the victim’s body.

⁶⁴*pice*

⁶⁵Ms reads *cesset* (cease); likely intended to be “begin” (*incipiat*), as required by context.

⁶⁶*De retrogradatione*. In the Tantric tradition, immobilizing someone or something is called, *stambhana*. It can stop an individual or group as well as render something impotent, halting effectiveness. *Stambhana* is classified as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tantra.

and arms with chains made of twisted thread. Then throw the image face-down upon the almandal, speak the [exorcisms], saying:

“Make him retreat from his journey!”

Stand before the person and physically turn them away from their path. Hang the image somewhere in their house so that they do not go out again and take care that the fumigations under the almandal do not cease—for if they do, the person’s body will be destroyed. The final step is to apply [76r] the seals, as mentioned earlier. Perform all of this in a clean and purified house, far from others, and assure that you yourself are pure in soul and body, free from all defilement.

On the Healing of a Demoniac (Possessed Person)⁶⁷

When you wish to heal a possessed person, place him in a clean and well-lit location. Place the almandal at his feet so that the fumigation/smoke envelops him, and recite the conjuration until the afflicted person collapses to the ground, and then ask the jinn who is tormenting him: why he entered the body and—if you wish—about his full nature. Command him to depart from the body without injury or obstruction.

And if he refuses to speak to you, repeat the conjuration until he does. But if he still remains defiant, have his hands and feet bound, drag him through various rooms of the house, and strike him with rods⁶⁸ until he becomes obedient. Then order him to come out, causing no harm or impediment.

On Healing Illness⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *De curatione demonii* (On the curing of a demoniac) is present in Arabic A. However, within the Islamic grimoire tradition, the standard terms for possession are *muṣāb* (afflicted) or *maṣrū’ al-rīḥ* (wind inflicted) rather than words that explicitly denote spirit possession. In India it’s called Pacification (*santi*).

⁶⁸ Typically a branch from a pomegranate or similar bush.

⁶⁹ *De curatione morborum*. In the Tantric tradition, general protections and the pacification of disease is called *Śānti*. It can also be called *vināśana*—to destroy disease.

INVOKING MAHAKALA

If you want to heal any illness with the *almandal*, prepare the *almandal*, as described above and place it at the feet of the afflicted patient's feet. Recite the conjurations and at the end say:

“Deliver this one from every sickness and evil that has come upon him by your doing!”

Afterward, write the names that are inscribed around the *almandal* on a clean parchment and bind it to the patient's arm.

On the Healing of a Terrifying Dream⁷⁰

If you wish to heal someone who has been terrified by dreams, write the four aforementioned exorcisms on clean parchment and hang it on the arm of the afflicted.

This is *iḍmār al-Mandal*⁷¹, and recite:

“Elin · Regegin · Elin · Vigin · Rehihin · Elin · Çautin · Balighin · Maf-
erin · Recuthentin · Recinireghtin · Acutinum · Acienum · Jefegin ·
Acsin · Regenum · Tacamararim – Come, all 4 kings, by these names
I invoke you and by these words I speak over you: Azabarin · Çiditin
· Heituhenetin · Çeihesetin · Mactesein · Macreseghin · Rescretin ·

It is classified, and other times not, as one of the six magical rites (*ṣaṭkarma*) of Tan-
tra.

⁷⁰ *De curatione mali sompnii*. This would also be considered *Śānti* in the Tantric tradi-
tion.

⁷¹ Ms reads *Alidmarmr Almandal*; emended to *iḍmār al-Mandal*. The term is clarified in Arabic B as *iḍmār al-Mandal* (Concealment of the Mandal) or *iḍmārāt* (the Con-
cealments) referring to concealed or internalized utterances, distinct from overt
conjurations (*‘azā’im*). Given the ambiguity of the term, it is unsurprising the Latin
translator chose to leave the word untranslated, especially if it appeared in a stylized
form as in Arabic B (see below).

وصاغة المندل

Sefehetin⁷² · Sehetin · Seijeadiatin · Weniéviniection · Bitaçahutin · Dif-
ehçatin · Gergeretin · Gerhefetin, come quickly by the name of the
Creator.”⁷³

First exorcism

“In the name of the merciful and gracious Lord, come all of you, jinn
and shayāṭīn, when I call upon you Almaechil⁷⁴ · Bichenlatin · Ciah-
fratin · Sefehitin · Veriscesceretin · Servuencetin · Sefretin · Badatin ·
Cathalaratin · Çetunecatin · Frihiirasin · Resin · Leresseresin · Ber-
ensin · Canisin · Boreasin · Sefetin · Faubacharpairin · Stilviresin ·
Felvinsentin · Feusetin · Henisin · Acesin · Machesin · Banaemeçin ·
Baunerieçin · Rechietin · Sefeçin · Refreheresin · Resresin · Sarsatin ·
Çarluzin · Sephetin · Kartaratin · Lachaiatin · Aciatin · Hachalatin ·
Sarimin · Reiecostin · Sephectin · Berausin · Sephetin · Bauglin ·
Famumin · Heimetin · Hebictin · Scinhunereçin · Sepheetin · Catho-
cain · Lagin · Çahfesetin · Reslefin · Aglesin · Gaboeratin · Heseimin ·
Mericrotin · Ressehetin · Sephectin · Halunachahi, with the light and
splendor of the Sun and Moon and the rays of the stars.⁷⁵ Quickly! In

⁷² The most frequently occurring *voces magicae*, occurring also as: *Sehetin*, *Sepheetin*, *Sepheatin*, *Sephatin*, etc. According to the Arabic, the name should be, *Shāfahā* or *Shāfahāh*. This translates to “Orally”, as in, “I speak aloud...” or perhaps intended as a mere vocalized magical term. H2 is closer to the Arabic—the manuscript reads: *Se-phea*.

⁷³ This resembles, *On the Discourse with the Spawn of Sakhr and to all the Seven Kings* in Arabic A.

⁷⁴ *Almaechil* (Arabic: *Mahākāl al-Hindī*) = Sanskrit: *Mahākāla*—Protector of the Tent, Lord of Time, and Wrathful Deity: the ultimate destructive power of Brahman. Also appears as: *Almahesichil*, *Alamelul*, *Macheil*, *Mahekel*, *Almehelul*, *Alimaha*, *Mahekil* and related variants.

⁷⁵ According to the *Karpūrādi-Stotra*, a hymn to Kālī, “Mahākāla is himself *nirguṇa* and *niṣkriya*, but his Śakti makes the Sun and other heavenly lights rise, stay, and set.” For this reason, references to “the radiance of the Sun and Moon and the rays of the stars” are commonly found in Mahākāla mantras, alongside Qur’ānic invocations.

humility with obedience to Almahesichil⁷⁶. Quickly, Quickly! And by these names which have been invoked upon you, [76v] and God is upon you, and the earth is not with you, and the air is between us, give honor and obedience to God, and be obedient to Alamelul.”

Second exorcism

“Come, all jinn, for I worship the Creator, and [come], shayāṭīn, and be obedient to Macheil, and be ready for the command of Mahekel, and by these names: Habraatin · Baharabeserin · Melctin · Sefectin · Sephehectin · Herhesain · Meitin · Sephehetin · Jageditin · Havebicletin · Danavietin · Sagferin · Rezetin · Berdesin · Lestalatrin · Gadehefanisin · Hevisitin · Faclin · Walestin · Hesietin · Sephehetin · Jusin · Jedusin · Faulesin · Kebkesin · Hemluletin · Heieçin · Maestin · Çigasetin · Seglegin · Bestegin · Fegugin · Sephretin · Kelblesetin · Gaikesetin · Laliabursetin · Haiçisatin · Seccaseatin · Gelhusatin · Nabuchatin · Lahusatin · Banbozetin · Keselesetin · Mchaisatin · Rozbeniatin · Sephetin · Tansatin · Pacsatin · Racsin · Rabucin, therefore also Lemain · Leitasin · Talasin · Serain · Lançansin · Rapheresetin · Sepheretin · Algagel · Algagel, and quickly, quickly! By Him who ascended above the heavens and knows what is beneath the earth, and who prepared the fire for the one who resisted His will and His command: come and obey, even if unwilling, and do what He has commanded: Açağatin! Açağatin!, that is, In an instant! In an instant!”

Third exorcism

“Come, all obedient jinn and shayāṭīn, at the command of God and the obedience of Almehelul, and by these names: Bantosatin · Baratin · Deibegetin · Bedetin · Salkiedit · Redufin · Sefetin · Wedietin · Jemetin · Matusetin · Reideomin · Kaihisin · Barlodi · Taticiheheresetin · Baneigiteim · Ladradietin · Bistecregatin · Secreletin · Sepliheheçim · Sefretin · Sehekacatim · Fagichisin · Gagin · Kacalatin · Sepheheçin,

⁷⁶ The *mandal* figure in both Arabic A and B read, *Mahākīl Tā’ah* (Obedience to Mahākīl).

Harguimetin · Heniratin · Roboaratin · Dephehetin · Kelletin · Kavisin · Rabudin · Karusin · Hocalçi · Rahefatin · Scigetin · Sephehetin · Leffectin · Etterin · Eiretin · Badulatin · Cazgitisin · Rescatin · Lerietin · Laumetin · Nepoieshuletin · Sephectin · Reirezin · Geratin · Belfin · Lesin · Tanasin · Sephehesin · Çahaxatin · Alimaha⁷⁷, that is, "by the force of the winds," to Mahekil, just as you must be to his command and his obedience, and do what we command, and do not be rebellious against the names of God nor against His conjurations, but be obedient to Mahekil and to His command, just as you ought to be in my labor, so that it is fulfilled swiftly by the Creator who made all things."

Fourth exorcism

"Come all, jinn and shayātīn, and let your ears be prepared and open to hear the conjuration of Machehel, and be ready and obedient to him and by these names:

Lacsie · Heihecin · Lactin · Laritin · Measmakin · Semiahin · Selehin · Lebictin · Halarin · Henselche · Bidemelegin · Tabron · Cansin · Wacisin · Kabitenim · Karatin · Lauheletin · Galmegē · Bersilin · Gar-anem · Cablicin · Rehebelusetin · Restausirin · Sephehetin · Hocisatin · Cabrietin, that is, glory to Mahekil · Rubietin · Limechikiel · Sephehetin · Coratin, to possess Sephehetin · [77r] Meietin · Sailatagin, and come to me and let us go to Mahecal · Cirbennançagato · Limahe-lul, touch me just as you must according to his command and his obedience. But if you are rebellious against us, you are rebellious against the names of the Creator, then be in perpetual pain."

Here ends the 4 exorcisms of the almandal, praise to God and His judgment.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ *Alimaha*: Possibly derived from Arabic 'Alī (exalted) and Sanskrit *mahā* (great).

⁷⁸ The closing formula "praise to God and His judgment" is very typical in Arabic religious and magical texts. The phrase often appears in Arabic as: *al-ḥamdu li-Llāh wa-ḥukmihi*.

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II.

Tabula Salomonis

THE TABLE OF SOLOMON

A modern English translation from the Latin manuscript Firenze II. III. 214
of the National Central Library of Florence, Firenze, ff. 77r-78v.

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Edited and translated by Thomas Arcaine

[77r]

Another book of the almandal, also called the Table or Altar of King Solomon.

Chapter on the figure of the mandal⁷⁹, that is, the Table of Solomon.⁸⁰

Draw the figure, and within it include all the names that appear on each of its gates, ensuring that none are omitted. If you cannot find suitable materials, then make it upon the ground, away from people, in a clean and pure place, free from filth and all impurities. Write around its perimeter the names that are on its gates. Then place four iron rods at its four corners⁸¹, and place upon each one a wax candle. Burn roses⁸² and bits of salted woad in a circle around it and fumigate with aloitan (that is, good-quality aloeswood)⁸³ and almaheah (that is, cinnamon), and male incense, white pepper and Çandoloç⁸⁴ (that is, sarcocolo⁸⁵), almole⁸⁶ (that is, bdellium), almod (that is, sandalwood), nelalazac⁸⁷ (that is, Indigo dye) and cuçit (that is, long

⁷⁹ Rare instance where the device is correctly written as, *mandal*, without including the Arabic definite article, *al*.

⁸⁰ The presence of the word *Capitulum* (Chapter) in the title reflects the structure of the original Arabic text, where this section formed part of a larger composite work. This supports the conclusion that the Latin was excerpted from a more extensive Arabic source.

⁸¹ Iron rods are added to the corners and/or sides of the *mandal* in Sakkākī's *Taskhīrāt*.

⁸² In Tantric and yogic traditions, throwing roses into the sacred space is fundamental to *maṇḍala* rituals. They are used, not as incense, but to an offering to honor the invoked.

⁸³ Arabic for aloeswood or agarwood is oud / *ūd*. Aloitan / Aloin / Aloe = *alloeh* or *al'uluh*?

⁸⁴ Corrupted rendering of *şandal*, i.e., sandalwood. Arabic B gives sandarac (*al-sandarūs*).

⁸⁵ Sarcocolla / sarququllah From Greek *sarkokóllo* = "flesh-glue" is a plant exudate or gum-resin, traditionally thought to come from various Persian or Syrian shrubs used in medieval medicine. Described by Dioscorides, Galen, and in Arabic pharmacopoeia (e.g., Ibn al-Bayṭār) as a soft, viscous, yellowish resin. As an aromatic probably milder than storax.

⁸⁶ *al-murr* (Myrrh)?

⁸⁷ *an-naylaj*?

pepper). From these, prepare the finest fumigations, namely alhochol (that is, ambergris⁸⁸ or timiamata⁸⁹), almacinul (that is, elemi)⁹⁰, and after lighting the candles, exorcise with 4 exorcisms repeated 3 times. Then exorcise again 12 times with the same four, fumigating with the aforementioned exhalations—for then all the jinn and shayāṭīn⁹¹—that is, the corporeal and incorporeal demons from various parts of the earth—will appear before you, obedient in all things.

Solomon said:

Whoever wants to operate by means of this mandal must first be purified, because it contains the great names; names especially endowed with dignity and power over the jinn, compelling from them the obedience they grant to the one who has worked through it [the mandal]. The practitioner must be pure in soul and body. And if you have correctly completed the writing of the names, and prepared the rods, candles, fumigations, and the four exorcisms repeated twelve times, the jinn will immediately appear before you and you will command them in all you wish, and they will obey you. In this way, you will be able to prevent people from being killed, cure diseases, expel evil spirits from them, and many other things.

This mandal⁹² is made upon the earth, either on matting⁹³ or [directly] on the floor of a house, as you wish. And if you prefer, you may carve it on a plate

⁸⁸ *Amber*: Almost certainly a mistranscription or variation of the Arabic (*al-'anbar*), which means ambergris, not amber.

⁸⁹ Possibly derived from Greek, *Tymiamata*, borrowed into Arabic as *tibiyāmāt* (medical preparations) which in Latin refers to complex incense mixtures. According to Fir(a), *timiamata* is composed of “*alumen, mirra clara, et galbanum*.”

⁹⁰ *almacinul* is likely from Arabic *al-mā' al-'aṣīn* = “thick perfume/oil” so *elie* is likely a type of fragrant oil or resin or perhaps, Elemi resin (from *Canarium* trees—common in incense).

⁹¹ The corrupt Latin phrase, *algim et asarin*, has been standardized in this edition as “*jinn and shayāṭīn*”, meaning “jinn and devils/demons” for clarity and consistency.

⁹² Another rare instance where the device is correctly written as, *mandal*, without including the Arabic definite article, *al*.

⁹³ *Stramento* (< *strāmentum*): a spread-out covering (straw, rushes, or matting). According to Arabic B, it should be a red silk carpet (*bisāṭ 'aḥmar ḥarīr*).

of red copper with its names, and place 4 iron rods in its 4 corners, such that a third of each rod be underneath the mandal, and the rest above. Place candles upon them when you want to operate with it at night. At the top of each rod there should be a hole and there should be open holes in the center of the plate⁹⁴, according to this example [p. 106]⁹⁵ Then place it [77v] under the stars⁹⁶ for 7 days and 7 nights in a clean place and fumigate it with the best essences (incenses). Take care that no impurity comes near this place.

If, on the other hand, you wish to operate during the day, instead of candles place *a'lām*⁹⁷—that is, banners or silk streamers—in 4 colors: green, white, red and yellow on the staff called *'alam harām*⁹⁸ which is commonly referred to as, Jupiter's Beard.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *Lamina*

⁹⁵ These lines correspond to those found in *De coloribus et uirtutibus lapidum*, which survives in six manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries—representing the earliest known witnesses to the Latin *Almandal*. However, they are notably absent from the otherwise closely matching diagrams preserved in Arabic manuscripts A and B. Only in Arabic C do we find the circles—five in number, not joined by lines but instead grouped within a sixth, larger circle at the center of the *mandal*—each labeled “hole” (*thaqb*).

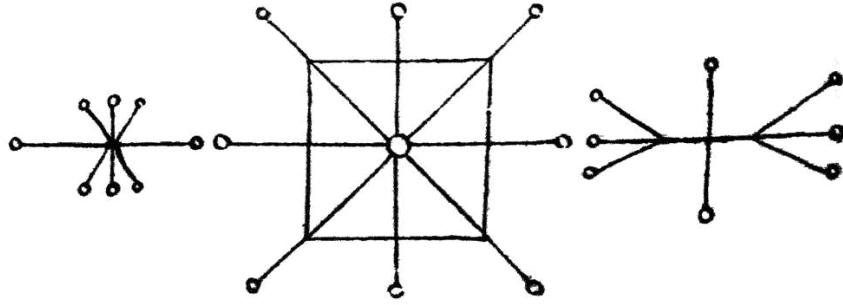
⁹⁶ *Constulatione* but should be *constellatione* which I translate as “stars.” In the Arabic grimoire tradition, this is referred to as “starring”

⁹⁷ Ms reads *alma*, *id est vexilla*; emended to *a'lām*. The Latin *alma* almost certainly reflects Arabic *a'lām* (“banners” or “standards”), a technical term for ceremonial flags or pole-mounted standards.

⁹⁸ Ms reads *almahararam*; emended to *'alam harām*. Here *alma* occurs again but referring to the staff itself. If *alma* is intended to be, *'alam*, the Arabic word for “flag, *hararam* may be the Arabic word, *ḥarām* which means either “consecrated” or “sacred precinct”. When combined, *almahararam* could be garbled Latin for, *'alam ḥarām*, a “consecrated standard” or “sacred flag staff”. It is also possible that *hararam* corresponds with the obscure term, *ḥadwān*, which Arabic B says the legs should be made in.

⁹⁹ *barbam Jovis* (Jove's or Jupiter's Beard) is the name of two plants: *Sempervivum tectorum*, also known as houseleek or hens and chicks, a succulent often grown on rooftops, believed to protect from lightning (hence associated with Jupiter, the god of storms) and *Anthyllis barba-jovis*, a silvery-leaved, evergreen shrub native to the Mediterranean region. F2 says to hang a tuft of *barba Jovis* from the flags. This seems to be related to the day of Jupiter when it says to make the candle holders. This could function as a tassel like those made of horse or yack hair on a Mongolian Tug.

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On the Healing of a Demoniac (Possessed Person)

When a possessed person has been brought before you, restrain him. Take 3 olive branches and fumigate the mandal and the seal as previously instructed. Strike the mandal with these branches 3 times: at first strike, the patient will raise his head; at the second, he will look at you; at the third, he will speak. Then you will question him and pass judgment as you see fit. If, however, he is rebellious and refuses to obey you, you may punish him immediately in the presence of witnesses, without hesitation.¹⁰⁰

On Sending a Petition¹⁰¹

And if you wish to obtain something from a king or from any man by means of a letter, write it, and place the written note on the mandal. While fumigating, perform an exorcism and invoke that thing you wish to come to pass. Then send the letter to him and you will obtain [your request].

Jupiter's Beard could also refer to the beard-like shape created by the flag hanging from the staff; a euphemism for a tasseled or finial-topped pole. Most likely, Jupiter's Beard is the wood that the pole is made from. In his *Taskhīrāt*, Sakkākī stipulates that flagpoles made of pomegranate wood should be constructed at each corner of the *mandal*.

¹⁰⁰ This is of course referring to the evil jinn that has possessed and speaks through the person.

¹⁰¹ *De petitione ab aliquo*

And if you wish to create a petition for fever or for love, proceed as above, and what you seek will come to pass—for the fever will be cured, and you will be loved.

On Causing Harm¹⁰²

And if you wish to harm someone, fashion an image of him from red wax and place it on the mandal. Then exorcise and fumigate, and say what you wish to be done to him—and it will be done. If it does not happen immediately, impress the seal into the candles an odd number of times—3, 5, or 7. And before the flame reaches the letters of the signs, many such effects will be accomplished through the almandal by one who is rational and discerning, and he who can perceive much from little. And this method, in its perfected form, was discovered by Solomon, son of David.

On Protection [from spirits during the ritual]¹⁰³

A safeguard against spirits so they do not harm you while you are working with the almandal. Have these names written on a parchment and recite them:

“Anedha · Menhedah · Heyhedah¹⁰⁴ · Nabehezzatin · Lacar · Saatin · Sepheatin · Vatuelatin · Alphahibin or Cergelatin · Harbalatin · Gerhatin.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² *De nocumento* = *halāk* in Arabic. In the Tantric tradition, causing harm is known as *marana*.

¹⁰³ Ms simply reads, *Deffensio*

¹⁰⁴ These names appear in the fourth conjuration of Mahākīl in Arabic A. They should read: Anhādah, Hayhādah, ...

¹⁰⁵ Some of these names agree with those written around the *Almandal* diagram in Fri(a). Considering Arabic B says to draw the *mandal* on parchment and hang it upon yourself as an extra precaution against the spirits, these names may be the same. As previously mentioned, several of them are also found in Arabic A as part of the third and fourth invocations of Mahākīl.

Thus is completed *iḍmār*¹⁰⁶, which is the safeguard I prescribe—to be written on virgin parchment, fumigated and exorcised.

The seal¹⁰⁷

This is the seal of the ring, or the sigil Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs¹⁰⁸, with which the candles are sealed three times at the hour of the treatment of the matter.¹⁰⁹ You will carve it on a crystal gem in the first hour of the day of Mars, or at the 8th [hour], and place it on the golden red ring. On the day of Saturn, and in its hour, set it upon pure and excellent silver.¹¹⁰ This is the ring with which the candles are sealed during the hour of the provocation of the matter and of the entire work. If God wills, the effect will be true.

Therefore, take it and guard it wisely, to your ability. This is the figure of the gem of the ring and its characters, [78r]

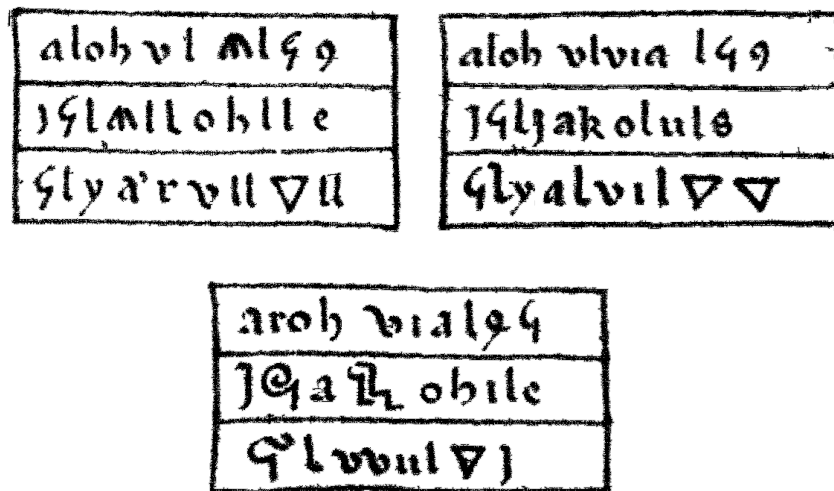
¹⁰⁶ Ms reads *Abdmar*; emended to *iḍmār*. This is almost certainly the same as, *Alid-marmr*, from Fii(a) which is clarified in Arabic B as *iḍmār* (Concealment) or *iḍmār al-Mandal* (Concealment of the Mandal)—a concealed or internalized utterance, distinct from overt conjurations (*‘azā’im*).

¹⁰⁷ These three figures bear a strong resemblance to one another. It is possible the scribe had access to multiple exemplars—each slightly different—and chose to include all three.

¹⁰⁸ Ms reads *assakihhelublic*; emended to Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs. The corrupted Latin form reflects a phonetic rendering of the Arabic name; the final letter, corrected by the scribe to -c, likely intended to be an -s. Arabic C explicitly connects the seal to Ṣakhr, son of Iblīs, confirming the reading.

¹⁰⁹ *curationis rei* (the treatment of the mater) aligns with the original purpose of the *mandal* ritual as a healing operation.

¹¹⁰ Arabic C gives a design for both an interior and exterior face of the ring. Here only the exterior face is preserved; the three lines of characters correspond closely to Arabic C.



which must be engraved—the great name of God—in the *Book of Images*,¹¹¹ of which Hermes Fallahalla¹¹² spoke, by which all things are made. Keep what must be kept.

First exorcism

The exorcisms of *Icimle artiginemem*¹¹³

¹¹¹ *Liber ymaginum*: Several Arabic works attributed to Hermes/Belenus, dealing with the magical use of images, were translated into Latin under titles such as *Liber Imaginum* and *De Imaginibus*. Several of these Hermetic texts are included in BNC, II.III.214.

¹¹² Perhaps *Hermes Fallahalla* is *Hermes alih alaliha* “Hermes, God of Gods.” The Sabians of Harran proclaimed Hermes as their god. It is the Sabians who are credited with the invention of the art of images/talismans.

¹¹³ Pingree identifies *Icimle* as the Prophet Ishmael (Ismā‘īl), but the Arabic evidence suggests this is unlikely. The obscure Latin phrase *Icimle artiginemem* reflects a corrupted Arabic original. Arabic C clarifies the reading as: *Wa-hādhihi ‘azā’im al-tanjīm* (“These are the invocations of the astro-magical operations”). The element *artiginemem* preserves *al-tanjīm*, while *Icimle* likely derives from a distorted *ism*-based construction—perhaps *(bi-)ism li-* or *ism li-* (“by the name of”). It is notable that the translator appears not to have rendered *tanjīm* into Latin, likely because it functions as a technical term without a precise equivalent, and was therefore transliterated

“In the name of the merciful God, obey, all jinn and shayāṭīn, at the invocation of Mechil when he calls you—obey! Biehulatin · Tahuhin · Sepheatin · Saphacatim · Nemaum · Naum · Nahirin · Saphatin · Sepheatin · Sephaatin · Nautim · Nathatin.”¹¹⁴

Second exorcism

“Ethatin · Hahuhin · Matinatin · Feyhorumzin · Feyorisin · Keyssin · Leyssin · Brecaiosin · Barachiin · Sephatin · Sephearim · Farahaiolin · Sethussatim · Sehinnssatin · Sepheatim · Heissarin · Lephezain · Laphstin · Akias · Makihas · lakas¹¹⁵ · Berennatin · Binediatin · Labitin · Kaphitin · Sepheatin · Kebkiatin · Lakhetetin · Athinatin · Adatin · Celiaim · Keyatotin · Sepheatin · Barthaaiosin · Sepheatin · Sepheatin.”

Third exorcism

“Alkasi¹¹⁶ · Falhuin · Fahlaiorin · Hemarin · Hetitin · benbatin · Cechinda · Ceaconda · Sepheatin · Sephebutin · Çephehhectin · Talphyçin · Bachelemhaharatin · Bentatin · Leiatin · Loiatin · Melchissatin · Helin · Sepheatin · Katin · Lahin · Tahiasatin · Ascayratin · Heyatin · Kehikaalatin · Kessilin · Sepheatin · Kaefeassin · Alasin · Tallassin · Agelleisin · Agelasin · Kecikalatin · Heshessatin · Costatin · Sepheathin · Ahalcasa · Alvaha, by the clarity of the Sun and the light of the Moon and the rays of the stars, hasten to obey God and show obedience to Mehokal · Asah, in the same way by these [words] with which I have adjured you. The Lord is upon us and the air upon you, obey Mechil as the Lord of the ages¹¹⁷ has commanded you. Amen.”

instead. The underlying Arabic may thus have read something like: “the exorcisms [or invocations] by the name of *al-tanjīm*.”

¹¹⁴ Compare with the names in the first invocation of Mahākāl (Arabic A).

¹¹⁵ *Akias · Makihas · lakas*: Corresponds to ‘*Akhḥalakha · Lakh* in Arabic C.

¹¹⁶ *Alkasi*: Corresponds to Arabic *Kish* or *Kashī* as found in Arabic A.

¹¹⁷ Lord of Ages sounds like Lord of Time or Great Time which is the primary epithet of Mahākālā.

Fourth exorcism

“In the name of the merciful and gracious Lord, obey, all jinn and shayāṭīn, God, and be obedient to Mechechil, in his service when he calls upon us, Ingenssatin · Begenssatin · Tansatin · Hailatin · Sepheatim · Sepheatim · Hedlassatin · Moihatin · Sepheatin · Tabsalatin · Lacarsatarin · Barachiatin · Keikehetin · Keikaratin · Sepheatin · Herbaratin · Hantaratin · Van · Nematīn · Capharin · Caphatin · Kassatin · Leokas · Latin¹¹⁸. Hasten and prepare for the invocation of Mechechil, and be obedient in all things. And if you have not, present yourself humbly, adjured by these great names: Çomieil · Mharaoui · Marvavil · Çareil—and be obedient to him in all things and to me, serving what is commanded without delay.”

Here ends the exorcisms of Içimle artiginemen¹¹⁹

On fumigations, it should be known: if the image is made for iniquity (made for evil intent), use bitumen and other foul-smelling substances. But If used for good, use frankincense, aloeswood, [78r] crocus, balsam and the like.¹²⁰ When these have been performed properly, the desired result will follow, and all jinn will obey—from every direction, in every situation.

Explicit Almandal.

(Here ends the Almandal.)

¹¹⁸ Latin = *Lā*: a seed syllable (bija) contained within mantras. Also, in Arabic A (*On the Utterance for the Spawn of Şakhr*).

¹¹⁹As previously noted, the obscure phrase *Içimle artiginemen* likely reflects a corrupted Arabic expression, *ism li-l-tanjīm* (by the name of *tanjīm*).

¹²⁰ *Et similibus* = “and similar things” refers to other similar resins and incense: e.g., myrrh, storax, ambergris, etc.

INVOKING MAHAKALA

III.

مندل سليمان

AL-MANDAL SULAYMĀN / THE MANDAL OF
SOLOMON

From the Arabic typographic print of *Kitab al-Ajnas (Book of Species)* by Āṣif
bin Barkhiyā, pp. 66-75

—

Edited and translated by Thomas Arcaine

[66]

The Description of the Seal of Mahākīl and Šakhr*(Ṣifat khātam Mahākīl wa-Šakhr)*

Šakhr ibn ‘Amr ibn Shūjayl ibn al-Abyad ibn Ḥamliyat al-jinnī commands a host of rebellious spirits (*al-marada*) whose number is known to none but God, Glorified and Exalted be He.

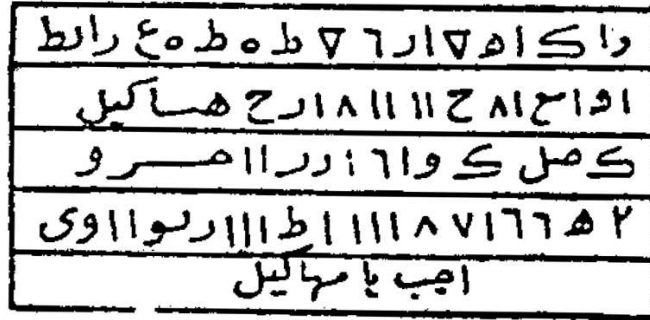
To fashion a ring (*khātam*) for him¹²¹, one should craft it from pure silver (*fiḍḍatin khālīṣah*) and inlay it with red carnelian (*‘aqīq aḥmar*). This should be done on a Sunday or Friday, during the planetary hour (*sā‘a*) of its exaltation (*sharaf*). Once engraved, the ring is to be washed in rosewater (*mā’ ward*) infused with musk (*misk*) and camphor (*kāfūr*), and then place it under the stars (*tanjīmuḥu*) according to the *tanjīm*¹²² of the seals.

[This is the ring, as it is before you:¹²³]

¹²¹ This is the ring of Mahākīl—or perhaps both Māhakīl and Šakhr—but certainly not Šakhr alone. Šakhr’s ring is given later. The inscription on this seal clearly reads, “Respond, O Mahākīl!”

¹²² *Tanjīm*, from the Arabic root *n-j-m* (“star”; pl. *nujūm*), denotes astrological or stellar operations—the practice of acting in accordance with the influences or configurations of the stars, often in connection with talismanic work. In later Latin reception this sphere of practice is broadly known as “astral magic.” The Latin witness Fir(b) preserves the term in a corrupted form as *artiginemem*. In his *al-Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil*, Ṭabasī employs the term more expansively, applying it not only to celestial operations but also to the conjuration of terrestrial spirits and jinn.

¹²³ The seal consists of magical symbols, numerals, and pseudo-writing, but the last few characters of each line do contain recognizable Arabic words.



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It grants authority (*ṭā'a*) over all the Seven Kings (*al-mulūk al-sab'a*). You say:

*"Respond, O Mahākīl, and you, O Ḥawq, and you, O Šālīḥ, and you, O Sulaymān, and you, O spawn of Šakhr—by the right of the names and the seals that circle you and all the Seven Kings—come forth in obedience, by the leave of the Lord of all Worlds."*¹²⁴

This phrase is to be written underneath the seal, from "Respond, O Mahākīl" to the end.

On the Utterance for the Spawn of Šakhr

(*al-kalām 'alā awlād Šakhr*)

And to all of the Seven Kings: speak these words when the matter is of grave importance, and whichever among them you call, they shall answer—all together or singly, as you will. If you wish to call one, do so; and if you wish to summon them all, you say:

¹²⁴ Arabic: *Ajīb yā Mahākīl, wa-anta yā Ḥawq, wa-anta yā Šālīḥ, wa-anta yā Sulaymān, wa-yā awlād Šakhr—bi-ḥaqq al-asmā' wa-l-khawātīm allatī tadūr 'alaykum wa-'alā jamī' al-mulūk al-sab'a—illā mā ataytum ṭā'in bi-idhn Rabbi al-'ālamīn.* (Some of this text is reflected on the *mandal* itself and bears similarities with the names in H2.)

“*Īl · Īl · Zaḥāj · by Za’rah · Īl · Aḥmad · Rīkh · Al-Ṭūd · Ṭūd · Aṭil · Yāligh · Lafārkarā · Sham · Lā · Bigh · Raqsh · Yādah · Shāmīn · Tham · Akbin. Respond, O assembly of the Seven Kings, by the authority that these noble and mighty names have over you.*”¹²⁵

The Description of the Seal of Ṣakhr

(*Ṣifat khātam Ṣakhr*)

He is the empowered aid (*al-‘awn al-musallaṭ*) by the hand of Solomon, King of David (*Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd*),—the master of the mandal (*ṣāḥib al-mandal*).

Instructions for Its Preparation

(*Ṣifat ‘amalihi*)

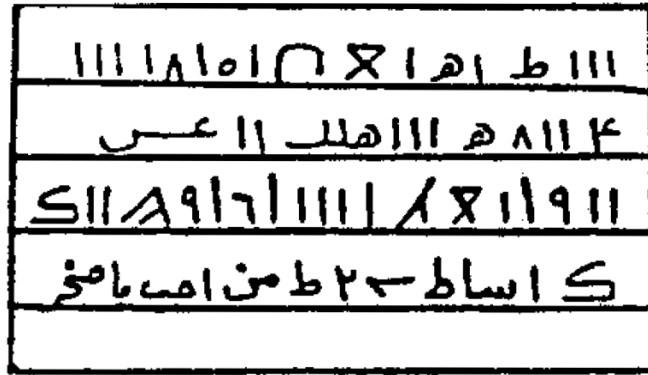
Fashion a ring from red copper (*nuḥās aḥmar*) or from gold if it is within your means, or from red carnelian (*‘aqīq aḥmar*)—for that is best. Do this on a Sunday, or a Thursday in the hour of exaltation of the day you choose. Engrave the seal on it on that day or another day like it, and preferably on a Friday at the start of the lunar month (*al-shahr al-‘arabī*). Wash it after engraving in flowing water (*mā’ jārīn*) and salt, then place it under the stars [68] according to the *tanjīm* of the seals. Afterward, conceal it in a pouch of purity and cleanliness after fumigating it with aloeswood (*‘ūd*) and myrrh (*mī‘ah*).

This is the blessed ring, as it is before you:¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Arabic: “*El El Zaḥāj By Za’rah El Aḥmad Rīkh Al-Ṭūd Ṭūd Aṭil Bāligh Lafārkarā Sham Lā Bigh Raqsh Yādah Shāmīn, thumma akbin. Ajībū yā ma’shar al-mulūk al-sab’a bi-ḥaqq hādhihi al-asmā’ al-karīma al-‘azīma ‘alaykum.*”

¹²⁶ The last line reads, “Respond, O Ṣakhr!”

INVOKING MAHAKALA



On the Utterance of Mahākāl

(*al-kalām 'alā Mahākāl*)

He is the one entrusted (*al-muwakkal*) with the Mandal of Sulaymān, peace be upon them both, and with its four invocations.

The First Invocation

(*al-'azīma al-'ulā*)

And it is this: An invocation from God and His Messenger to every arrogant tyrant and every disobedient devil (*shayṭān marīd*) of the watery, airy, earthy, or fiery nature.

“By the authority that these names have over you, answer my call, hasten to fulfill it, obey the names of God Most High, and grant my need! Make haste! Make haste Come swiftly! Come swiftly!—by the authority of these names: Tamūh · Shaqqasha · Namūh · Lahūh · Banaw · Nawā · Turūdū · Barābar · Kshī · Kshī, Ajrazkashī · Karbah · Aqra'ah · Hūma · Tamwīnuh · Yajfarushih · Sahayāhik · Shafāhā · Shafāhā. Obey the command of God and hasten to His names! Respond!”¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Arabic: *Bi-ḥaqq ḥādhihi al-asmā' 'alaykum, illā mā ajabtum da'watī wa-asra'tum 'ijābatī, wa-aṭa'tum asmā' Allāh ta'ālā wa-qadaytum ḥājātī. al-Wahā! al-Wahā! al-'Ajala! al-'Ajala! —bi-ḥaqq ḥādhihi al-asmā' Tamūh · Shaqqasha · Namūh · Lahūh · Banaw · Nawā · Turūdū · Barābar · Kshī · Kshī, Ajrazkashī · Karbah · Aqra'ah · Hūma · Tamwīnuh ·*

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The Second Invocation

(al-‘azīma al-thāniya)

You say: “*Īnblīsh · Īl · Īl · ibn Mahā’kīl · Mahākīlā · Kīsh · Kīsh · Falīsh · Yatba’ · Tatah · Mahākīl · shalayhīsha*—Obey by the authority of God and His names. O Mahākīl, respond!”¹²⁸

The Third Invocation

(al-‘azīma al-thālitha)

You say: “*Qahūshah · Shahāhah · Māya · madh-hanah · Yadahshah · Sharhalah · Shafāhah · Bukrah · Bukrah · Shajarah · Ṣaḥāṣaḥā · Nahāhah · Shalmū’*—Respond in obedience, O Mahākīl.”¹²⁹

The Fourth Invocation

(al-‘azīma al-rābi‘a)

You say: “*Inhādah · Hihādah · Shahāshah · Marāniyah · Bkrasha’ah · Sharsha’ah · Shafāhah · Shafāhah, Shafāhah · Waṭāyah · Jazhah*—Make haste, O assembly of the angels, come forth all of you, obedient to the mighty command of God, swift to His decree! O Banū Ṣakhr, O Banū Dāhir, O Banū ‘Amr—from all tribes and races!”¹³⁰

Yajfarushih · Sahayāhik · Shafāhā · Shafāhā. Ajībū li-‘amr Allāh ṭā’in wa-li-asmā’ih masāri’in! Ajīb!

¹²⁸ Arabic: *Īnblīsh · Īl · Īl · ibn Mahā’kīl · Mahākīlā · Kīsh · Kīsh · Falīsh · Yatba’ · Tatah · Mahākīl · shalayhīsha*—*īṭā’at Allāh wa-asmā’ihī yā Mahākīl, ajīb!*

¹²⁹ Arabic: *Qahūshah · Shahāhah · Māya · madh-hanah · Yadahshah · Sharhalah · Shafāhah · Bukrah · Bukrah · Shajarah · Ṣaḥāṣaḥā · Nahāhah · Shalmū’*—*bi-l-ṭā’a yā, Mahākīl!*

¹³⁰ Arabic: *Inhādah · Hihādah · Shahāshah · Marāniyah · Bkrasha’ah · Sharsha’ah · Shafāhah · Shafāhah, Shafāhah · Waṭāyah · Jazhah*—*al-Waḥā yā ma’shar al-malā’ikah i’ tūnī bi-ajma’ikum ṭā’in li-amr Allāh al-‘azīm masāri’in yā banī Ṣakhr wa-yā banī Dāhir wa-yā banī ‘Amr min jamī’ al-ajnas kāffah!*

And if the kings delay, then engrave the seal of Ṣakhr on iron (*ḥadīd*) or copper (*nuḥās*), and place it near the fire. They will come faster than a bolt of lightning.¹³¹

This completes the invocations.

The Description of the Mandal of Sulaymān¹³², peace be upon him

(*Ṣifat mandal Sulaymān ‘alayhi al-salām*)

Its operations (*taṣārīfuḥu*), and what is required from it for treatments and other purposes, and for summoning all the upper and lower spirits (*al-rūḥāniyya al-‘ulwiyya wa-l-sufliyya*)—for it is one of the hidden secrets (*asrār khafiyya*) that belonged to Solomon, peace be upon him.

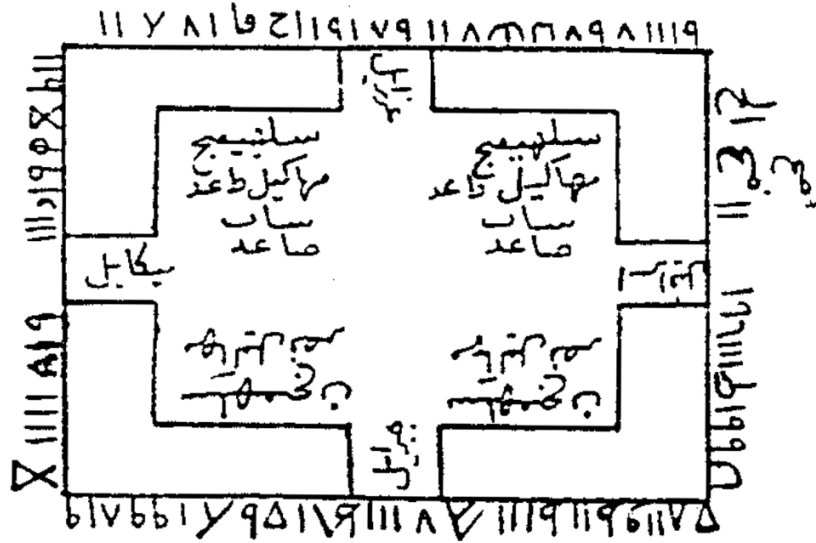
Engrave it on silver (*fiḍḍa*) if it is within your means; otherwise, upon red copper (*nuḥās aḥmar*) that has been whitened [and anointed] with oil (*naft*)¹³³. Then set it under the stars along with the two previously described seals: the seal of Ṣakhr and the seal of Mahākīl.

¹³¹ This rebuke procedure (*al-Zajr*) correlates with the sealing of the candles in the Latin *Almandal* version β if an angel fails to appear after reciting the initial conjuration.

¹³² Top left and right corners: *Salahmaj* | *Mahākīl ṭā‘id* (obedience) | *Sāb* | *Sā‘id* (ascending). Bottom left and right corners: *Salahmaj N* | *Mahākīl Naṣr* (victory). Right: *Isrāfīl* Left: *Mikā‘il* Top: *‘Azrā‘il* Bottom: *Jibrīl*

¹³³ *aw ‘alā nuḥās aḥmar mubayyad bi-l-naft*: Oil (specifically petroleum or naphtha) doesn’t typically whiten metal, so this probably means that the copper is to be whitened (by tinning or chemical treatment), then coated in oil—or polished and cleansed, with oil applied after.

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If you cannot find clean ground, then all of this should be raised above the ground on four supports.¹³⁴

The Description of This Seal

(*Ṣifat hādha al-khātām*)

This noble mandal is in the form of the Mandal of Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd, the one to whom all spirits would descend by force in obedience (*bi-l-qahr wa-l-ṭāʿa*).

Should you desire to employ its operations (*taṣārīf*), and someone afflicted (*muṣāb*) comes to you, then summon Mahākīl and bring the afflicted person

¹³⁴ This passage clarifies that the *mandal* is raised on four supports to avoid ritually impure ground. Arabic B and version F give further details: Let the tablet be upon four legs, on each corner a leg, and some of the legs should be raised slightly above the tablet to the extent that light sources can be placed at night and banners during the day.

into the mandal¹³⁵. Command him with whatever you will. Inscribe the names of revelation¹³⁶ (*asmā' al-naẓar*) between the eyes of the afflicted and instruct him to gaze at his counterpart in the mandal. If he sees him, then know that the body has been cleansed of the possessing spirit (*al-jasad qad khalā min al-rīḥ*)¹³⁷. At that point, veil¹³⁸ [the afflicted] and pronounce judgment over him—whether by oath¹³⁹, imprisonment¹⁴⁰, or execution¹⁴¹. Beware of hastening to kill, whether he be a Muslim or a disbeliever, for the rebellious one (*al-mutamarrid*) must break the oath three times before being put to death.

[The mandal's] operations are without number—known only to God, Most High. Among its wondrous properties are the following:

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If you desire a person—whether near or far, of high station or lowly—form his image and place it in the center of the mandal¹⁴². If done during the day, circle around it seven banners (*al-wiyah*) in seven colors, each affixed to a spear¹⁴³ (*rumāḥ*), each spear measuring the length of a cubit (*dhira'*)¹⁴⁴.

¹³⁵ The Buddhist action tantra, *Subāhuparipṛcchā* (early seventh century CE), describes a ritual where a wrathful deity is conjured and a possessed person is positioned at the center of a four-gated *maṇḍala* for exorcism.

¹³⁶ These Names are given on page 71.

¹³⁷ The author uses the term *al-rīḥ* (the wind) to refer to a possessing jinni. It is a common and classical term used throughout Arabic literature, the Qur'an, and magical texts. Jinn are sometimes associated with wind because according to Islamic belief, the jinn were created by God from "fire of scorching wind" or "smokeless fire". They can also appear as mists, sandstorms, and even ride upon the wind.

¹³⁸ Ms reads, *hijāb* which is traditionally believed to offer protection from the unseen. Even today, some maintain that women without proper *hijab* attract jinn, who can become enamored and, in extreme cases, cause possession.

¹³⁹ The Oath is given on page 72.

¹⁴⁰ The formula for binding a jinni is given on page 71.

¹⁴¹ The formula for slaying a jinni is given on page 72.

¹⁴² This is likely an effigy or statuette of the person. In Arabic B, C and the Latin text, images of this variety are made from clay or wax.

¹⁴³ Construction of the Spear is given on page 72.

¹⁴⁴ A cubit is an ancient unit of length, roughly equivalent to the length of a forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger

If done at night, circle around it seven lit candles (*sham'āt*) with the same seven banners¹⁴⁵, and recite over them the Four Invocations (*'azā'im al-arba'a*) and summon whomever you wish—even if beyond the Seven Seas—they will come instantly, obedient to God and His names.

If you desire to destroy a specific person, place their image in the mandal along with something of theirs, or something containing their perspiration, and command as you wish—your command will be executed. But beware: do not act unless it pleases God, Exalted is He.

And if someone brings an afflicted person and you wish to burn the possessing spirit within their body, write the following names in a bowl (*zubdiyyah*). Then rinse them off, and make the afflicted person drink the water—the possessing spirit will burn within their body.

These are the names:

*“Fāṭir · Raqah · Amsa · Amsa · Dāwā · 'anhu · Kasulṭī · by the knowledge of Shinsharūdan · Wudd · by Shīmash.”*¹⁴⁶ *Burn by the leave of the Lord, the Almighty! For had we willed, We would have transformed them where they stood, such that they would neither advance nor return. Respond and burn!”*

The Names of Revelation to Be Written Between the Eyes of the Afflicted
(*Asmā' al-naẓar allatī tuktab bayna 'aynay al-muṣāb*)

They are:

*“al-Mufarqish · Hāmūr · Isr · Behold, by the right of Shakḥamūsh · Salhā · Ṭīsh · Ṭīfish · Hāṭīsh · Armīsh · Behold, by the right of Shakḥamūsh.”*¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ A slightly different presentation of the same principle is found in Arabic B, C and Version α of the Latin text for working either during the day or night.

¹⁴⁶ Arabic: *Fāṭir, Raqah, Amsa, Amsa, Dāwā, 'anhu, Kasulṭī, bi-'ilm Shinsharūdan, Wudd, bi-Shīmash.*

¹⁴⁷ Arabic: *al-Mufarqish Hāmūr Isr Inẓur, bi-ḥaqq Shakḥamūsh Salhā Ṭīsh Ṭīfish Hāṭīsh Armīsh Inẓur bi-ḥaqq Shakḥamūsh.*

[On Binding a Rebellious Jinni]¹⁴⁸
(*Ribt al-jinnī al-mutamarrid*)

And if the jinni resists and you would not have him escape your grasp, bind him as you wish. Write these names on a slip of parchment and place it beneath the foot [of the afflicted]—and he shall not flee, even if he lingers there for a year. They are:

o i l q q b o i i i

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The Oath Formula
(*Ṣifat al-‘ahd*)

You say unto the afflicted:

“Swear by God, there is no god but He—Knower of the unseen, the Dominant, the All-Powerful, the Witness. He watches over every soul and that which it has earned. The One by who commands the heavens and the earth is held fast. You shall never return to this human again—not in wakefulness, nor in sleep, neither by day nor night. If you return, you are worthy to be slain.”

Let this be repeated three times until the king [of the jinn] hears it. Then write the following testament:

“He has born witness that there is no god but He—the angels, those endowed with knowledge, and those present, all bear witness. There is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise.”

Then, in the presence of those assembled, say to the king—or if his name be known, address him directly:

¹⁴⁸ This is clearly separate from “The Names of Revelation” – added Headline treatment for consistency.

"If the jinn, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, returns to this body or this world, or draws near to it again, then he has disobeyed God and is worthy to be slain."

Then write a general covenant over all the jinn with this text:

1 8 7, 1 1 7 2 6 6 6,
0 5 1 9 6 6 1 1 7 2 6 6 6,

And combine it with an amulet to carry that binds him by this oath.

[On Slaying a Rebellious Jinni]¹⁴⁹

(Qatl al-jinnī al-mutamarrid)

Āsif ibn Barkhiyā' said:

If you wish to slay a rebellious or stubborn adversary¹⁵⁰, draw his image, form a circular mandal around it (*wa-tarsum ‘alayhā mandalan dā’iran*), and cast the spirit forth from within. Write these names within the belly [of its image] and pass judgment upon it as you wish. If you pierce the belly of the image, then it shall pierce the belly of the rebel. These are the names:

“Tiltılmüş · Hashar · Malî · Nafîn · Tuhutulüş · Tiltüş · Hakk · Hamah · Talih · Taflih”

The Description of the Spear of Maymūn Abā Nūkh, Great in Obedience

(Thumma hādhihi šifat harbah Maymūn Abā Nūkh al-‘azīma al-tā’a)

It is to be wrought from iron, forged on a Saturday during the hour of Saturn (*Zuhal*), while Libra (*al-Mīzān*) is rising. Engrave it in that same hour or one of its kind, or else on a day of similar virtue. Then wash it in [73] running

¹⁴⁹ This is clearly a separate section from “the Oath”— Added headline treatment for consistency.

¹⁵⁰ This refers to a rebellious spirit, not a human enemy.

INVOKING MAHAKALA

water and salt. Prepare for it a sheath (*ghilāf*), set it out under the stars, and array it with the appropriate seals.

Engrave on the first face [of the blade] these names: “O Company, *Ṣarṣar al-Muṣayṣar · Jalshar · ‘Ar’ūshah · Naṭfa’ghaf · Kīlah · Karīb · Ashīṣ’ūn · wa-Karīkh · Mīhar · Liyatraq · Mar’amar · ‘Ānī · O Qarṣaṣā · O Bahlujū · Fashā · Bishmūkhiyā O Ṭaybir · Lihlāqah · Bi-‘ilmī · Falā · Yamā · Lūtiyā*, Obedient ones, respond by the power of God!”

The Names on the Sheath¹⁵¹

(*Asmā’ al-nuṣub*)

Engrave on the first face [of the sheath]: “*Anhir · Bāhiyā · Sharāhiyā · al-Shadāy · Ṣabā’ūt · Birā · Ṭabī’ · O Maymūn · Ba’lshāqish · Marāqish · Aqshābaqish · Shaqamū · Nahshar · Kashālīh · ‘Aqshar · Ṭahsh*”

On the second face [of the sheath] is written: “*Sabbūḥ · Sabbūḥ · Quddūs · Quddūs · Lord of the angels and the spirit. Glory be to the Creator of Light · Sahlankum · Lā · Urahmatā · Bārīyā · Marītā · Make haste, O Ṭayyib!*”¹⁵²

The Description of the Dagger of Abā Nūkh

(*Ṣifat sikkīn Abā Nūkh*)

It is forged under the same ascendant sign (*ṭālī*) mentioned previously, and inscribed on the first face [of its blade] with:



And on the second face [of the blade]:

¹⁵¹ *al-nuṣub* refers here to a set-up or erected talismanic object. However, since the “first face” is mentioned again below, these names likely belong to the object’s covering or sheath; accordingly, the term has been translated as “sheath” in this instance.

¹⁵² Arabic: *Sabbūḥ Sabbūḥ Quddūs Quddūs Rabb al-malā’ikah wa-l-rūḥ. Subḥān Khāliq al-nūr Sahlankum Lā Urahmatā Bārīyā Marītā. Asra’ Yā Ṭayyib.*

م ١٩ ١١٩ ٥١ ح ١٧ ٤١ ٦٣ م ١١ ١١ ١٩ ١٧ ١١

On the blade the following names are also written:

“*Jibrīl · Mīkā’il · Isrāfīl · Hīnflāt · Adūnāy · Ṣabā’ūt + the names of death for Maymūn.*”

Then draw an image of the Mandal on pure ground, and write these names on parchment or on the ground. Drive the dagger in any letter and say: “O Maymūn, *slay him*,”—And verily, it shall slay him. If it is cut with scissors (*miqraād*), he shall likewise be slain. If the dagger cuts any part of him, [74] it will do so completely. These are the names:

“*Ṭaṭṭarūyish · Hash · Malbah · La’fī · Ṭanṭūsh · Ṭaṭṭālūsh · Maḥkamah · Ṭaṭḥīḥ · Ḥaj · Ḥujjaj · Qazā · ‘Alīṭā · Saqaṭamā.*”

Names for Killing All [Jinn] Kings

(*Asmā’ taqtul jamī’ al-mulūk*)

If a king from among the kings or an intruding spirit (*‘arīd*) from among the intruders disobeys you, and you wish to kill him, write these names on parchment if it is within your ability, or on the ground [if it is not]. Then drive into it the spear of Maymūn—for whatever is done to it will be done to him. And invoke whichever king you wish, and he will carry out your command.

The names are:¹⁵³

م ١٩ ١١٩ ٥١ ح ١٧ ٤١ ٦٣ م ١١ ١١ ١٩ ١٧ ١١ طمطلوش

¹⁵³ *Ṭamtalūsh* is written here and in the lower right of the seal. Because its redundant, I removed the first instance.

The Names of the Dagger of Abū al-Walīd Shamḥūrūsh and Its Instructions

(*Asmā' sikkīn Abū al-Walīd Shamḥūrūsh wa-ṣīfat 'amalihā*)

Engrave it under the ascendant of the seal of Shamḥūrūsh, on a Thursday.¹⁵⁴ It should be made of iron. On the first face [of the blade], write this line:

[illegible]

And on the second face [of the blade]:

bb ▽ b o i i i s i s i i i g m s n v q q

“Halshalshalikḥ · Halmashikḥ · Malashkḥ · Al-Sā’ilīn · Matatīhā · Batamūn · O Kāmūn Aghyāthā · Yā · Yā · Hūmīn · Hawāmīr · O Nawāmīr, of the Flames! O Master of the Abductors (Sāhib al-Khawātif).”

Also write:

"Jibril · Mikā'il · Isrā'il · By khalkhamish · Khankhamish · Jajamish · Jajamish · Akmash · Makish · Kalimish · Kalimish · Yaksh · Sahq · Sahq · Shalsh · Taquash · Mafush · Fakush · I destroyed ye, O enemy of God · [by] the kindled fire of God, which pierces through to the hearts. Verily it is closed in upon them · And I burn you by Halmashikh [75] · Malashkih · Al-Sā'ilin · Matatihā · Batamūn · O Kāmūn Aghyāthā · Yā · Yā · Hūmin · Hawāmīr · O Nawāmīr, of the Flames! O Master of the Abductors (Sāhib al-Khawātif)." 155

¹⁵⁴ In magical cosmology, Shamḥūrūsh is one of the seven kings of the jinn and is traditionally associated with Thursday and the planet Jupiter (*al-Mushtarī*). “Under his ascendant” refers to choosing an astrological hour when Jupiter is rising, or when Shamḥūrūsh’s influence is considered strongest.

¹⁵⁵ After, “*And I burn you by Hakmashih*” it says to use the previous set of names. I have inserted them here for continuity.

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Know that these names are of great obedience and swift response. Among their wondrous properties is this: if you wish to expel wind (*riḥ*) from the body, write this line at the location of the wind. Write it on a tablet (*lūḥ*), or on a piece of wood, or on clean earth if you find nothing else. Speak the names aloud, stabbing each letter in the line, until the wind exits the body.

This is its formula—safeguard it, for it is among the great secrets. It is this:

1 21 111 171 1117 ∇ h 99199 h

INVOKING MAHAKALA

VI.

مندل مهاکیل

AL-MANDAL MAHĀKĪL / THE MANDAL OF
MAHĀKĪL

From the Arabic Manuscript, *al-Kashf fi 'Ilm al-Ḥurūf* (Unveiling in the Science of Letters) from the Treasury Library (Totfim) in Tehran, pp. 56-57

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Edited and translated by Thomas Arcaine

[56]

Chapter: **The description of the Mandal** of Mahākīl (*al-mandal mahākīl*) and the Seal of the Mandal, (*khātām al-mandal*) which is engraved with three names and used to imprint the lamps (*al-masaabih*).¹⁵⁶ Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā acquired it from Mahākīl, who in turn took it from Ṣakhr, son of Iblīs—a single fragment from the Carpet of [King] Solomon, son of David (peace be upon him), taken at the moment he assumed his rule.

Mahākīl said:

If you want the jinn and the devils (*al-jinn wa al-shayāṭīn*) to obey you and not disobey your command, then write this mandal on a red silk carpet (*bisāṭ 'aḥmar ḥarīr*) and fumigate it in a clean place, free from impurities. Recite over it the Four Invocations (*'Azā'im al-arba'ah*) twenty-four times, and at the end of each invocation, say:

"Obey the call of Mahākīl and the call of the one who summoned you to aid at this very hour."

And bring good aloeswood (*al-'ūd al-tayyib*), frankincense (*al-lubān*), white pepper (*al-fulful al-abyad*), sandarac (*al-sandarūs*), white costus (*al-qashshār al-abyad*)¹⁵⁷, blue bdellium (*al-muql al-azraq*), and liquid storax (*al-mī'ah al-sā'ilah*).

Let the sheet (*al-safhah*) and tablet (*al-lawh*) be upon four legs (*qawā'im*)—one on each corner, and some of the legs should be raised slightly above the surface to the extent necessary that the lamps can be placed at night and the

¹⁵⁶ The *mandal* is only one part of a larger compendium, with no clear demarcation within the volume—it begins mid-sentence, halfway down the page, pronounced by only the word “Chapter” which is extended to underline the first words, “The Description of the Mandal.”

¹⁵⁷ The term *al-qashshār al-abyad* remains unidentified; it is therefore likely a corruption of *qust abyad* (‘white costus’), as explicitly specified in Arabic C.

colored banners (*al-alwān*)¹⁵⁸ during the day. And let the legs be made in *ḥadwān*,¹⁵⁹ if possible.

When you place it, set the censer (*al-miḥmar*) and the incense (*al-bukhūr*) beneath it, and burn a ring around the mandal on the ground using rose powder (*bijuzfah al-ward*) and fine salt (*daqīq al-milh*). Fumigate with the aforementioned incense and preform the invocations over it twelve times, and the armies will come to you from every direction.

If you fear for yourself while standing among them [the jinn and devils], place your trust inwardly. Entrust yourself with the concealment of the mandal (*iḍmār al-mandal*), write it on parchment, and fasten it to your left upper arm. By this, you will be protected from their harm, God willing.

If you want to use it to heal someone, bring the mandal close and position the colored banners. If your operation is done during the day, this is sufficient. But if it is at night, place the lamps (*al-maṣābīḥ*) in the locations of the colored banners. Place the ascendant (*ṭālī*) in the center of the mandal and have the afflicted (*al-muṣāb*) turn his head toward the Mandal. [57] Then disperse it and compel [the possessing spirit] with the concealment of the mandal, and invocations of the eighty Suryani names (*al-taw'iyah al-suryānīyah al-thamānīn isman*)¹⁶⁰.

The same is done for the imprisoned (*al-masjūn*), the oppressed (*al-maḥlūq*), the dislocated (*al-muḍlū*), and every afflicted one (*kull mubtalā*), and everyone you treat. And do not proceed except when you are pure and ritually clean. Beware—take care to avoid impurity. Likewise, the place in which you set up the mandal must be pure, for it contains the majestic names of God (*al-asmā' al-jalīlah*), exalted is He.

¹⁵⁸ Ms reads *al-alwān* (the colors). In this context, the term refers to the ritual banners and is translated accordingly as “colored banners.”

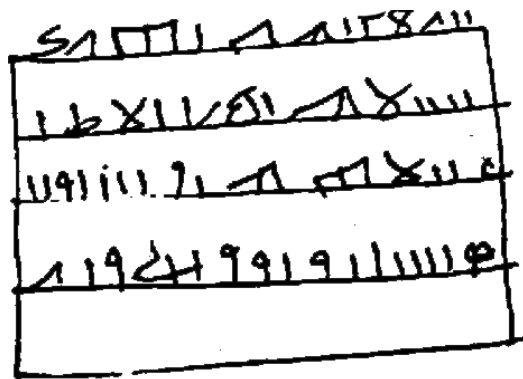
¹⁵⁹ The term *ḥadwān* is obscure—likely a misspelling, regionalism, or scribal corruption—but it appears to refer to the material the legs are made from or perhaps recessed sockets or stabilizing holes, as depicted in the mandal diagram.

¹⁶⁰ These names are given later in the text.

Likewise, anyone who wishes to heal the insane (*majnūn*), the imprisoned (*masjūn*), the spellbound (*ma'qūd*), or oppressed, this is **the Concealment of the Mandal**, and these are the invocations of the Mandal:

Raḥāmahū · al-Zurra · Il · Aḥmad · al-Tūt · Aṭyal · Yāligh · O Kawām · Lajah. Respond—by the protection of God—O hosts of the Four Kings, by what was perfected through you before your names, and by what I now speak after your names¹⁶¹: 125¹⁶² · Hihādh · Hihāj · Shuhhīyah · Sukar · Shafhah · Harshafah · Shafāhum—cause him to leave.”

[And this is the seal of the mandal:]



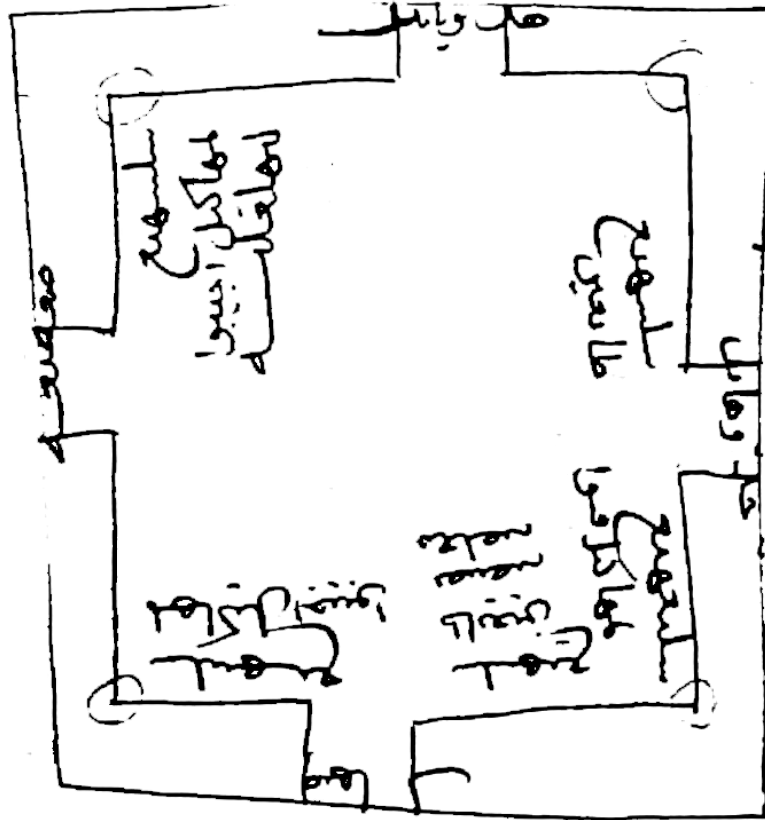
And this is the figure of the mandal¹⁶³:

¹⁶¹ These appear to be the same names as those in the *Utterance to the Spawn of Ṣakhr* in Arabic A.

¹⁶² 125 is intended to be converted to letters using the Abjad numeral system and be pronounced as a name: 100=ق (q), 20=ك (k), 5=ل (l).

¹⁶³ The four gates of the *mandal* include angel names and the four corners include *voces magicae* and short phrases of obeisance such as *Respond Mahākīl* and *Obedience to Mahākīl*.

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These are the concealments (*Idmārāt*) of the seven [jinn kings] and the spirits (*rūḥāniyyat*) assigned to them, along with their secrets or designated invocations.

[Utterances for the planetary jinn kings follow in the manuscript; the text is partially illegible and incomplete, and has therefore been omitted from translation.]

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V.

مندیل بساط سلیمان

AL-MANDAL BISĀT SULAYMĀN / THE MANDAL
OF THE CARPET OF SOLOMON

From the Arabic manuscript *Kitāb Dhāt al-Dawā'ir wa Kanz al-Dhakhā'ir*
(The Book of the Essence of the Circles and the Treasure of the Provisions)
from an unidentified Iranian library, pp. 121-128

—

Edited and translated by Thomas Arcaine

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It was said that the carpet descended from Paradise, measuring twelve *farsakhs* in both length and width¹⁶⁴. The carpet possessed three hundred and sixty veins, and within its mandal were four gates. Upon each gate were inscribed the names of the angels. Along the edges of the carpet were four exalted divine names, by which the jinn obeyed him [Solomon] and did not refuse his command.¹⁶⁵

When one entered the mandal, there was a name written in its four corners, and beneath that name was inscribed:

“Solomon, son of David — answer me in obedience.”

Whenever Solomon desired to journey to a distant place, a throne was set for him in the center of the mandal upon the carpet. The throne was square, and at the four corners of the carpet were four colored [banners]: green, white, yellow, and red.

- Upon the **green** was written in white: “Sovereignty belongs to God, the One, the Subduer” (*Al-mulku lillāhi al-wāḥidi al-qahhār*).
- Upon the **white** was written in green: “There is no power and no strength except through God” (*Lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh*).
- Upon the **red** was written in yellow: “To God all shall return” (*Kullu shay’in yarji’u ilā Allāh*).
- Upon the **yellow** was written in red: “Everything perishes except the Eternal Face of God” (*Kullu shay’in hālikun illā wajhahu al-dā’im*).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Approximately sixty-six thousand meters

¹⁶⁵ Names of angels are inscribed on the four gates and four divine names on each of the four sides of the Areola in *De consecratione lapidum*.

¹⁶⁶ These Qur’ānic phrases clarify the names assigned to the banners in Latin version H2 (Gehr Ha1). For example, the third banner in H2 reads: *cullum hylle halaly* = *Kullu ilā Allāh* (*Cullum* = *kullu*, *hylle* = *ilā*, *halaly* = *Allāh*) = “All is towards God” i.e. “To God all shall return.” (*Kullu shay’in yarji’u ilā Allāh*), the inscription on the third banner.

The Prophet of God, Solomon son of David, would ascend the carpet with his armies of humankind, jinn, and devils (*shayāṭīn*). He would sit upright upon his throne, the ring of kingship in his hand, the crown of honor upon his head, and garments of splendor upon him. To his right stood his vizier from among men, and to his left his vizier from among the jinn and the beasts. Above him were birds and clouds shading him, while the wind bore him forward until he rose over all the regions of the earth—its seas, its rivers, and its mountains.

The jinn listened to him in fear and awe. The wind would carry him a journey of a year in a single day, and a journey of a month in a single hour. By night, in the corners of the carpet, lamps were kindled in the place of the banners, shining within the hollow of the carpet as it moved through the air, so that no jinn remained who did not behold it, nor beasts who did not gaze upon it.

Thus he remained in his dominion, ruling justly among the people, until God—exalted is He—decreed otherwise. His ring was taken from him by Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs¹⁶⁷, the jinn. Ṣakhr then seated himself in Solomon’s place, commanding the jinn as he wished, and they obeyed, believing him to be Solomon son of David. Yet the people grew suspicious, and many among them doubted.

Ṣakhr ruled by his own command, though such rule was not accepted by the wise among Solomon’s people, nor was it pleasing to God. At last they agreed that he was the devil and that Solomon had been stripped of his kingdom. The people cried out about this matter in every place.

When Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs realized he had been exposed, his soul inclined him toward the ruin and destruction of the kingdom. He turned to the carpet and copied from it the mandal with its names and invocations, leaving nothing but the cloth. In the center of the mandal he inscribed his own name:

“Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs—answer in obedience,”

¹⁶⁷ Fīr(a) contains a corrupted instance of this name: *assakihhelublic*.

replacing the name of Solomon, son of David. Then he took the ring and cast it into the sea.

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He returned to the carpet, yet without the power of the Seal he could not take it. Then God Most High restored Solomon's ring to him, and he returned to his kingdom. The humans, the jinn, and the beasts gathered before him once more.

When Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs saw that God had restored Solomon's dominion, he became certain of his destruction and abandoned all hope of escape. He looked to his right and to his left, considering what remained in his possession. He gave Mahākāl¹⁶⁸ the mandal which he had taken from the carpet, together with the names and invocations inscribed in it. He also gave him a copy of the Ring, upon which three names were engraved. It was said that through these names obedience was granted to this mandal and this ring in all the treatments and operations he wished to perform.

When Solomon son of David put on the ring, the people recognized what had occurred of unjust rule. The first command he issued to a group of jinn, demons (*ifrīt*), and rebellious spirits (*marada*) was that they bring Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs. They searched for him across the face of the earth, even to the Islands of Incense (*Jaza'ir al-Bukhur*), continually following his trace until they seized him and brought him before Solomon.

Solomon bound him in iron, then placed him between two slabs of marble and poured molten copper and lead over him. He sealed it with his ring and cast him into the Mountain of Smoke¹⁶⁹ (*Jabal al-Dukhan*), where he remains until the Day of Resurrection.

When Mahākāl despaired of any further benefit from Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs and knew that all connection and hope of reunion with him had ended, he took

¹⁶⁸ *Mahākāl al-Hindī* = Sanskrit: *Mahākāla*—Protector of the Tent, Lord of Time, and Wrathful Deity: the ultimate destructive power of Brahman.

¹⁶⁹ An active volcano.

the mandal to Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā, the vizier of Solomon son of David, and spread it before him. Āṣif looked at it and said, “This mandal belongs to the carpet of the Prophet of God, Solomon, and no one was able to take it. Tell me, O Mahākāl, how did it come into your possession?”

Mahākāl replied, “You have spoken truth. It was indeed on Solomon’s carpet, but I took it from Ṣakhr ibn Iblīs. He had copied it from the carpet when he had seized the kingdom. I took it from him when he intended to flee, along with his ring, upon which certain names were engraved. He taught me everything he used to do with it in treatments and operations. When Solomon imprisoned him and all news and hope from him ceased, and when I knew he would never return to the world and that I would never see him again, I wrote my name inside the mandal in place of his, so that obedience would belong to me.”

Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā then took it and brought it to Solomon son of David. It contains many benefits for those who seek obedience from the jinn and their advantages, especially in the practice of healing, in which there is no end to its utility.

Then Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā said, “Place it among the people for whoever wishes to work with it in treating the insane (*majnūn*), the enchanted (*mashūr*), and those who are spellbound (*ma’qūd*), and to treat all spirits for the benefit of people in matters of good only.”

Then Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā said, “Inform me, O Prophet of God, about the adaption of the treatment and its method.” So Solomon instructed him fully.

Then Āṣif summoned Mahākāl and said to him, “If you wish the jinn and humans to obey you, write this mandal upon red silk (*ḥarīra ḥamrā*) or upon red copper (*naḥās ḥamrā*) exactly as it was on the carpet of Solomon—peace be upon him—and as it was depicted. If you cannot find a silk carpet, then draw the mandal upon the ground in a place where there are no people and free from impurity. Write the names around it at each gate. Place in each corner an iron pillar, and upon each pillar place a candle (*sham’ah*).

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Surround the mandal with rose petals, barley flour, salt [and fumigate with] aloeswood (*al-‘ūd*), myrrh (*al-murr*), frankincense (*al-lubān*), white pepper (*al-fulful al-abyaḍ*), sandarac (*al-sandarūs*), blue bdellium (*al-muql al-azraq*), and white costus (*al-qust al-abyaḍ*). Light the candles after reciting the four invocations three times. Before lighting the candles, begin by reciting the mentioned invocations twelve times while burning the specified incense [123] and all the jinn and devils will come to you from all regions and quarters of the earth, and they shall be obedient by the leave of the Lord, the Exalted.”

Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā said:¹⁷⁰

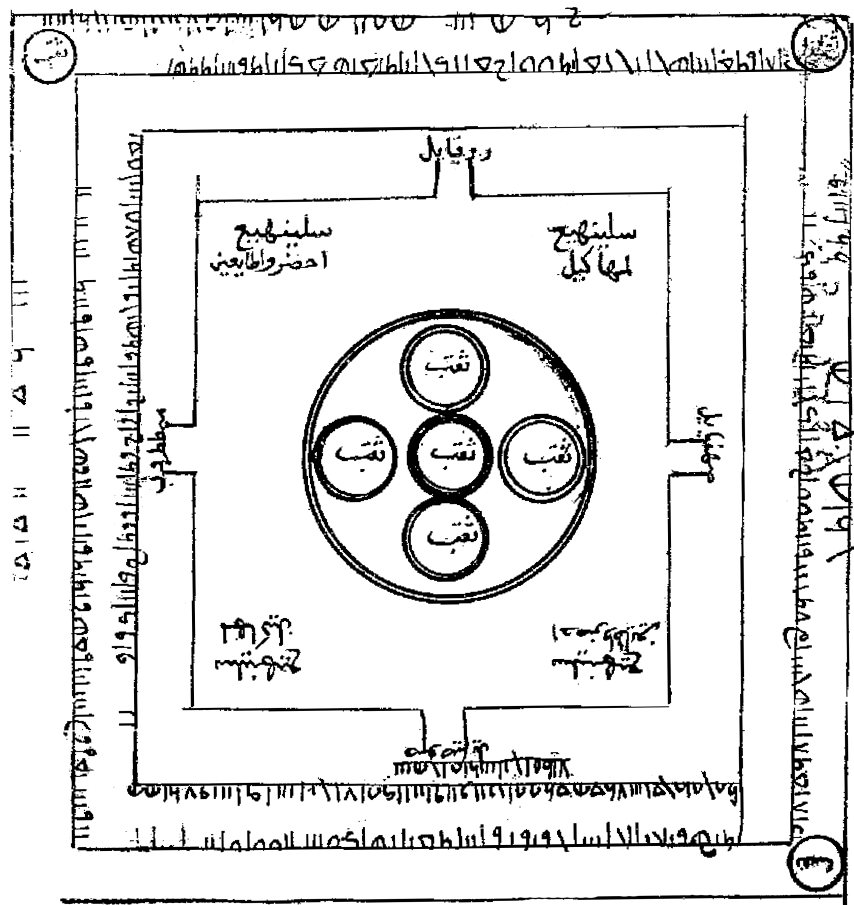
“Write this mandal on a square, paper-thin sheet, or on a page prepared according to the figure that will be mentioned. Then make a square tablet (*lawh*) and pierce a hole in each of its four corners. In every hole place an iron pillar, one third of it beneath the mandal and a third above it. Upon the head of each pillar place a candle.

Arrange the seats as described at the end of this carpet, and let there be openings before it. In the center of the tablet make five perforations so that the smoke of the incense may rise upward. Likewise, there should be perforations in the sheet upon which the mandal is written.

When you wish to perform the working, place the written sheet upon the tablet, set up the pillars, fix the iron in its corners, and burn the incense.

This is the description of the mandal as mentioned above.”

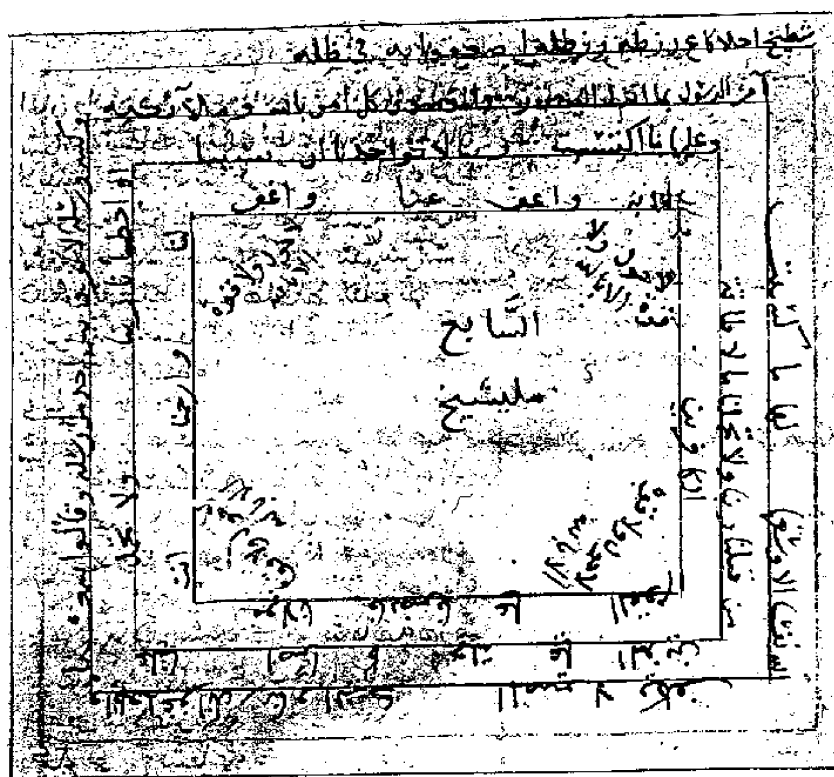
¹⁷⁰ F11(b) reads “Solomon said:”, likely part of the redactional process that removes Āṣif from the narrative, aligning with the broader medieval tendency to efface Islamic elements in favor of a more acceptable Judaic framework.



INVOKING MAHAKALA



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The aforementioned seats are to be made from parchment of some thickness, not thin. Each one is to be made with four legs. At each corner of some of the chairs, a hole is to be pierced, and a leg inserted into each hole so that they are elevated above the ground.

*

And this is the Seal of the Carpet, without which its work cannot be completed except by this Seal. And know that it is stamped into wax

INVOKING MAHAKALA

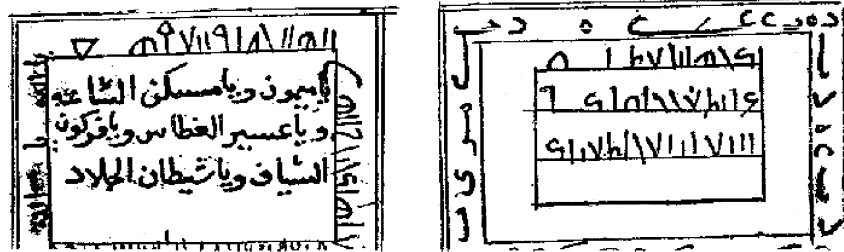
at the time of *tanjīm*¹⁷¹ and treatment. By this, the mandal and the carpet are completed, and obedience is fulfilled. If you wish to work with this seal, it is to be done on Tuesday in the first hour. It is then to be mounted upon a silver ring on Saturday in the third hour, which is the hour of Mars.

So take heed, be rightly guided, and beware of error.

This is the seal:

The Interior

The Exterior



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The *tanjīm* [of the ring] is conjoined with that of the mandal, the two constituting a single operation. What follows are the invocations of the *tanjīm*¹⁷², four in number:

¹⁷¹ *Tanjīm*, from the Arabic root *n-j-m* (“star”; pl. *nujūm*), denotes astrological or stellar operations—the practice of acting in accordance with the influences or configurations of the stars, often in connection with talismanic work. In later Latin reception this sphere of practice is broadly known as “astral magic.” In his *al-Shāmil fī al-baḥr al-kāmil*, Ṭabasī employs the term more expansively, applying it not only to celestial operations but also to the conjuration of terrestrial spirits and jinn.

¹⁷² This sentence clarifies the obscure phrase in the Latin text, *Icimle artiginemem*. The Latin appears to reflect an attempt to render an Arabic ism-construction—perhaps *ism li al-tanjīm* (“[invocations] by the name of the *tanjīm*”)—which, through phonetic transcription and subsequent corruption, became *Icimle artiginemem*. The reading

*

The First Invocation

Its number is seventy-four words in the special lexicon (*al-mu‘jam khāṣṣah*).
Say:

“Come, by God, O assembly of jinn and devils (*al-jinn wa al-shayāṭīn*),
and the call of God when He calls you:

Behūkah · Behwah · Shaqāqah · Shakshakah · Tamūh · Namūh ·
Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Nahh · Laṭlaṭ — God Most High — by Mahākāl
— Baṭlah · Nahū · Yaṭmah · Ghīhūrash · Kā nash · Lāyibnash · Barkūsh
· Kiyūsh · Barkanī · Shaqāhah · Farīfarfar · Yūl · Shīhūhah · Fahūtah ·
Fīfūshah · Shafāhah · Shaqāhah · Hamsha‘ · Aqsh · Maqsh · Yawāmiy-
yah · Yawāzanah · Kahīhūsh · Shafāhah · Kashkah · Shahad · Kahad ·
Sharīsh · Sharīshah · Kayhūshah · Ṭaghlūsh · Shafāhah · Kabkan ·
Laghṭīṭ · Aṭīṭ · Halṭīṭ · Shala‘ · Ṭahīṭūṭ · Shafāhah · Barkūkash ·
Shafāhah · Barkūkash · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Fa‘kar · Fa‘liyūr · Hābiyah
· Hīnah · Sahūrah · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Shaqhalah · Ṭalfish ·
Naksha‘ṭah · Lāhiyah · Tawhīnah · Mākashah · ‘Alī · Shafāhah ·
Shafāhah · Barkūkash · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Fa‘kar · Fa‘liyūr · Hābiyah
· Hīnah · Sahūrah · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Shaqhalah · Ṭalfish ·
Naksha‘ṭah · Lāhiyah · Tawhīnah · Mākashah · ‘Alī · Shafāhah ·
Shafāhah · ‘Akhḥalakha · Lakh · Ṭighāshah · ‘Ahshakarah · Hāhiyah ·
Kafkafilah · Kadhal · Kadhal · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Kashkashah ·
Shafāhah · Shafāhah.¹⁷³

confirms that the passage introduces invocations connected with the technical prac-
tice of *tanjīm*, rather than a personal name or *voces magicae*.

¹⁷³ The *voces magicae* are supplied with *kasra-tanwīn* (◌َ◌ِ), a scribal vocalization that signals a light nasalized cadence rather than true grammatical case. Latin witnesses preserved this feature as *-in* / *-yn* endings (e.g., *Bichenlatin* · *Ciahfratin* · *Sefehitin* · *Veriscesceretin* · *Servuencetin* · *Sefretin*). In recitation, the reader should retain a brief *-in* glide between successive names, reflecting the manuscript’s vocalization, rather than pronouncing the nasal element as an integral part of each word, as later Latin translators appear to have done.

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Appear—by the radiance of the sun and the light of the moon and the rays of the stars; hasten to answer God Most High and in obedience to Mahākāl at this very hour, by that which I have sworn over you; God is above you and the earth beneath you and the air binds you, so do not disobey God and be obedient at this very hour.”

The Second Invocation

Its number is seventy words. Say:

“Come, O assembly of jinn and devils, I have summoned you:

Baḥhūṣah · Bahūyṣah · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Harshah · Māwah ·
Shafāhah · Ṭa’shalah · Baqarshaṭlah · Badhahabiyyah · Kaḥī · Kaymu-
karrar · Karf · Shafāhah · Baqarhādah · Hūbarah · Kashṭ · Barīsh ·
Layshalṭ · ‘Aṭfiyūsh · Hiyūshah · Faghfi · Walshah · Hāshalah · Shafāhah
· Diyūsh · Tadūsh · Faman · Shajlakh · Kajūkh · Shafāhah · Kanakshah
· Ṭkshah · Nī · Thī · Kārah · Shamakh · Lamakh · Labakh · Baṭranāshah
· Kashlāshah · Mayṭshah · Kadahriyahīnah · Shafāhah · Bartshah · Bar-
qashah · Raqsh · Raqsh · Rakshlakh · Ṭayṭlīsh · Ṭārīsh · Bārīsh · Bārīkh
· Lābarazzāsh · Kashafāhah · Fahīlūlshah · Shafāhah.

Hasten, by Him who is established upon the Throne and knows what lies beneath the earth, and by Him who created the Fire and those who refused; in obedience to His command and His prohibition—so come obedient and attentive, come forth, and do what you are commanded.”

[127]

The Third Foreign Invocation

Its number is eighty words. Say:

“O assembly of jinn and devils, by the command of God Most High—the invocation of Mahākāl:

Mahākāl · Badhūshah · Nabhūwah · Nabhājah · Kādhah · Shīhūlah ·
Kādūsh · Shafāhah · Kankādah · Darīrah · Yarfanīṭash · Farqash ·
Kaykah · Shafāhah · Wābiyyah · Bāniyyah · Kahīṭū' · Fīlūsh · Büyūdī ·
Baṭmūyḥiyyah · Tabūrah · Shakra'ah · Lah · Shīhlūshah · Shīhūlshah ·
Shafāhah · Shakhākah · Faghīlūsh · Kīsh · Ṭīṭshah · Jazwānā · Fīṭlūsh ·
'Āj · Ghāj · Kaṭṭalah · Shafāhah · Barjarmahīyūrah · Kīkrah · Shafāhah ·
Kashlaṭ · Karūsh · Kanūr · Karūsh · Rīḥlaṭ · Rakkah · Shamhaṭ ·
Shafāhah · Kashafāhah · Shafāhah · Shafhalah · Shafkalah · Kahīṭah ·
Lafilūṭash · Mākathbah · Ṭashkashah · Balaṭ'ah · Shafāhah · Shafāhah ·
li-Mahākāl · Shahūlah · Hūlah · Kash'aṭī · Kash'aṭ · Lādiyah · Bahūlah ·
Shaqāhah · Shafāhah · Hiyūliyah · Kāshifah · Halūliyah · Kiyū'aṭ · Talf
· Laf · Ṭīṭsh · Shafāhah · Shakhākah · Mahākāl.

Respond and obey as you have been commanded. Do not disobey the
Names and the invocations, but be obedient to God and to Mahākāl,
by the right of the Lord of the Worlds.”

The Fourth Foreign Invocation

Its number is sixty-seven words. Say:

“Come, O assembly of jinn and devils, all together. The Names belong
to God:

Bisafāhiyah · Lafṭ · Lafīṭ · Bāshamakh · Shamalkh · Lāya'aj · Shamlūkh
· Lābiyyah · Khalīq · Dalshāṭ · Hāyid · Malākh · Kīr · Waṭīsh · Famaṭīsh
· Waṭīsh · Kīrkūh · Shafāhah · Bar'iyyah · Haybah · Shafāhah · Lūlah ·
Ṣālīnkhat · Barlīsh · Barātā · Ṭīlaq · Shalkh · Fīṭīsh · Shafāhah · Kar-
haṭsh · Bankhaljīm · Fīshrāsh · Badhatnīyah · Katablūshah · Kashṭī ·
Mashfash · Jād · Ramābid · Malākh · Fahū · Laṭshah · Shafāhah ·
Hāṭshah · Kibriyyah · Mahākāl · Shafāhah · Shafāhah · Shan-
balzanmūrah · Hūrah · Bishafāhah · Māyah · Saṭlī' · Sharabā · Bātād ·
Wathā · Ajrā · Warnā · Ṭalīṭshakrūysh · Ajrūysh · Ṣabrūh · Rahaq ·
Rahiq · Kīrūysh · Fīṭūsh · Fanūr · Shalkhīn · Shambūsh · Mashṭatan.

Appear obedient, by the right of Him who causes the living to die and
gives life to the dead, and who is above the highest height, and who
created the earth and the heaven, caused the rivers to burst forth and

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subdued the seas, and brings the light of the eruption and alternates the night and the day. Hasten to the Names of God Most High and to Mahākāl with readiness, and be obedient to Him and to His command, by the right of the Lord of the Worlds.”

*

Operations of the Mandal of the Carpet

[On Summoning a Specific Person¹⁷⁴]

If you wish to compel someone—man or youth—to come to you, then fashion an image of the one you desire from pitch and church wax, and as you shape it, say the following words:

“I form this image in the name of so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so.”

Then, take two feathers from a hoopoe or a white dove and place them upon the arms of the image and write the name of person the image represents between the shoulder blades and upon the chest. After this, place it in the center of the mandal and exorcise it with the invocations of the mandal twenty-four times, and prepare the incense. If the person does not arrive¹⁷⁵, then impress each candle with the seal three, five or seven times; and at the end of every invocation say:

“Bring so-and-so, daughter of So-and-so, at this very hour.”

Then the person will come more swiftly than the blink of an eye, God willing.

¹⁷⁴ Fii(a) reads, *De provocation*—to compel a person to come to you and carry out your will.

¹⁷⁵ Fii(a) adds that you can seal the candles if you want the result to happen faster.

[On Harmony Between Two People¹⁷⁶]

If you wish to bring harmony between two people who are hostile to one another, fashion [two] images from white wax. Write their names on the chests of the images. Place them face to face, in an embracing posture. Bind them together with a strand of red silk thread. Then write the invocations upon parchment with musk and saffron, and write:

“O God, bring harmony between So-and-so, daughter of So-and-so,
and So-and-so, daughter of So-and-so.”

Then place them together in the center of the mandal and exorcise them with the four invocations twelve times. At the end of each invocation, say:

“Bind So-and-so and So-and-so together in love.”

Then place it beneath the bed of one of them or place it in their path, and they will come to love one another by the leave of the Lord.

[On Separation Between Two People¹⁷⁷]

And If you wish to separate two people, fashion an image of each of them from clay. Blacken their faces and place the images back-to-back. Place a thorn from the ‘awsaj bush¹⁷⁸, a strip of human skin, and every foul scent in the center of the mandal and exorcise with the aforementioned invocations eighteen times. At the end of every invocation, say:

¹⁷⁶ Fir(a) adds that the mouths of the effigies should be anointed with honey and placed on the *Almandal* with roses. It also says that they should be placed in a new clay jar before burying it beneath the bed.

¹⁷⁷ Fir(a) adds that aloe and salt should be placed between the two effigies, sulfur sprinkled over them and wrapped together in a black cloth. It also says to separate the images and bury them facing away from each other in different cemeteries or at a crossroads after exorcising and fumigating them with burning sulfur on the *Al-mandal*.

¹⁷⁸ ‘*Awsaj* is the Arabic name for the boxthorn (*Lycium shawii* or *Lycium sp.*), a thorny shrub from the Solanaceae family that bears edible leaves.

“Separate So-and-so from So-and-so at this very hour.”

Then they will be parted by the leave of the Lord, Most High.

[On Causing Obsessive Thoughts]

If you wish to cause someone to become afflicted with obsessive thoughts (*waswasah*¹⁷⁹), then fashion an image from clay or from kneaded earth [128] while it is still warm. Grind it, sift it, and knead it with lime nine times, adding more lime each time. Then leave it in the sun until it dries, and repeat this seven times. After that, form from it the image required for the operation; open its arms, and place a stone in its lap, and on another day open its legs and place one of its arms in front of the other. Then place the image in the center of the mandal and exorcise it with the four invocations ten times each day. Continue this every day until the image dries completely. Then place the image within a wall where the wind can reach it but where it remains out of the sun, and it will cause obsessive thoughts by the leave of the Lord.

If any part of these treatments proves difficult for you, then impress the seal upon the wax that is on the mandal, stamping each candle three, five, or seven times, and your treatment will succeed by the leave of the Lord, Most High.

[On Healing the Insane (Possessed Person)]

If you wish to treat a possessed person (*majnūn*), cast the mandal as previously mentioned and recite the invocations twelve times as previously described, saying at the end of each invocation:

¹⁷⁹ *Waswasah* refers to intrusive “whisperings” — obsessive or distressing doubts and insinuations commonly understood in Islamic thought to originate from Shayṭān, the jinn, or the lower self. These whisperings undermine clarity and faith, often manifesting as anxiety-driven thoughts regarding purity, prayer, or daily life, encouraging obsessive, repetitive actions.

“Bring to me the afflicting spirit of So-and-so, son of So-and-so.”

He will not be able to restrain himself from appearing immediately, and you may exercise authority over him as you wish—slaying, imprisonment, or otherwise.

[On Healing the Spellbound]

If you wish to treat one who is spellbound (*ma'qūd*), cast the mandal as I have previously described to you and seat the bound person before you. Recite the aforementioned invocations twenty-four times, saying at the end of each:

“Untie the binding of So-and-so, son of So-and-so.”

And it will be released, by the leave of the Lord.

[On Healing the Wind-Afflicted or Enchanted]

If you wish to treat one afflicted by wind (*rīḥ*) or sorcery (*mashūr*), cast the mandal as I have previously described to you and recite the aforementioned invocations eight times, and he will be healed by the leave of the Lord.

[On Binding¹⁸⁰]

If you wish to bind any man or woman, fashion an image from clay or in the form of a child-sized figure. Insert thorns in its soles of the feet, insert a red copper needle in its phallus [or vulva] and a copper needle in its navel, and place a thorn again in its phallus [or vuvla]. Then pour [molten] lead over it and place the image in the center of the mandal. Recite the aforementioned invocations seven times, saying at the end of each:

“Bind So-and-so (male) or So-and-so (female) so that he[/she] neither urinates nor defecates.”

¹⁸⁰ The operative aim of the corresponding operation in Fir(a) is to bind someone sexually, that is, “so they may not commit incest or suffer pollution.”

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Then bury it in an abandoned grave whose occupant is unknown, and he will be bound by the leave of the Lord.

[On Causing Illness]

If you wish to cause someone to fall ill, fashion an image from clay and insert in its heart a thorn from the *'awsaj* bush tied with red silk [thread], and between its shoulders another thorn from the *'awsaj* bush, and likewise in its head, its legs, and throughout its entire body. Then place the image in the center of the mandal and recite the aforementioned invocations twenty-four times. At the end of each invocation say:

“Make So-and-so or So-and-so ill.”

Then place the image in a location where smoke from fire reaches it for seven days, and he will fall ill by the leave of the Lord.

[On Separating a Group¹⁸¹]

If you wish to separate a group of people who are gathered together, write their names upon the liver of a goat with aloe, then lay it upon the burning coals in the center of the mandal and recite the aforementioned invocations. Then strike the liver with an olive branch until it is torn apart and nothing remains of it, and they will disperse at that very moment by the leave of the Lord.

[On Causing Retreat¹⁸²]

If you wish to cause someone who is traveling to turn back, fashion an image from clay kneaded with wine. Place some ink and black pigment in its eyes and its legs, then place the image in the center of the mandal face-down, with

¹⁸¹ Separation (*iftirāq*) become Discord (*discordia*) in the Latin

¹⁸² F11(a) adds that you should stand before the person and physically turn them away from their path before hanging the image somewhere in their house and to apply the seals to the candles as the final step. It also stresses purity and not to let the fumigations go out or the victim's body will be destroyed completely.

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its legs toward the ground. Then recite the aforementioned invocations three times, saying at the end of each:

“Cause So-and-so or So-and-so to turn back from their journey at this very hour.”

Then hang the image in his dwelling, and he will return from his journey by the leave of the Lord.

✱

Take care not to perform any part of the work until after the prescribed fumigation has been carried out, and ensure that the mandal is prepared as I have described.

Thus is completed the explanation of the Mandal of the Carpet of Solomon, son of David—peace be upon him—in full and perfect form.

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