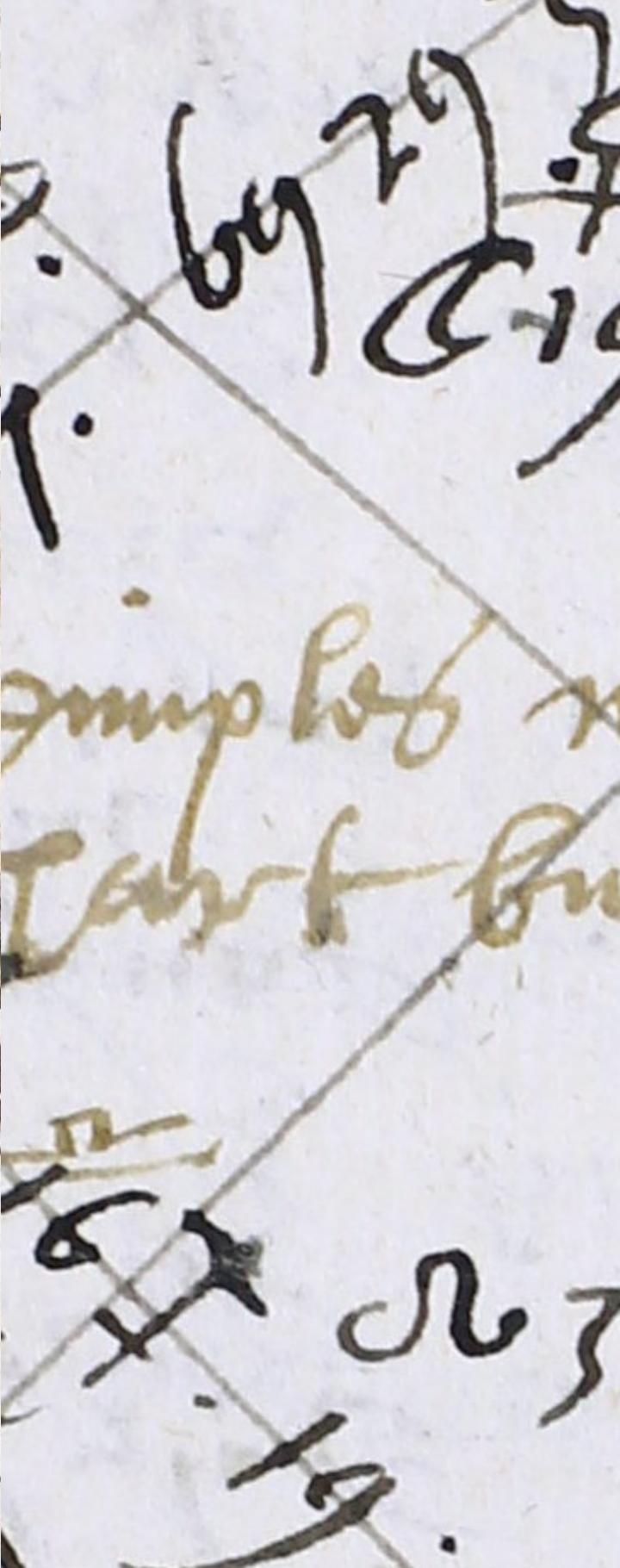
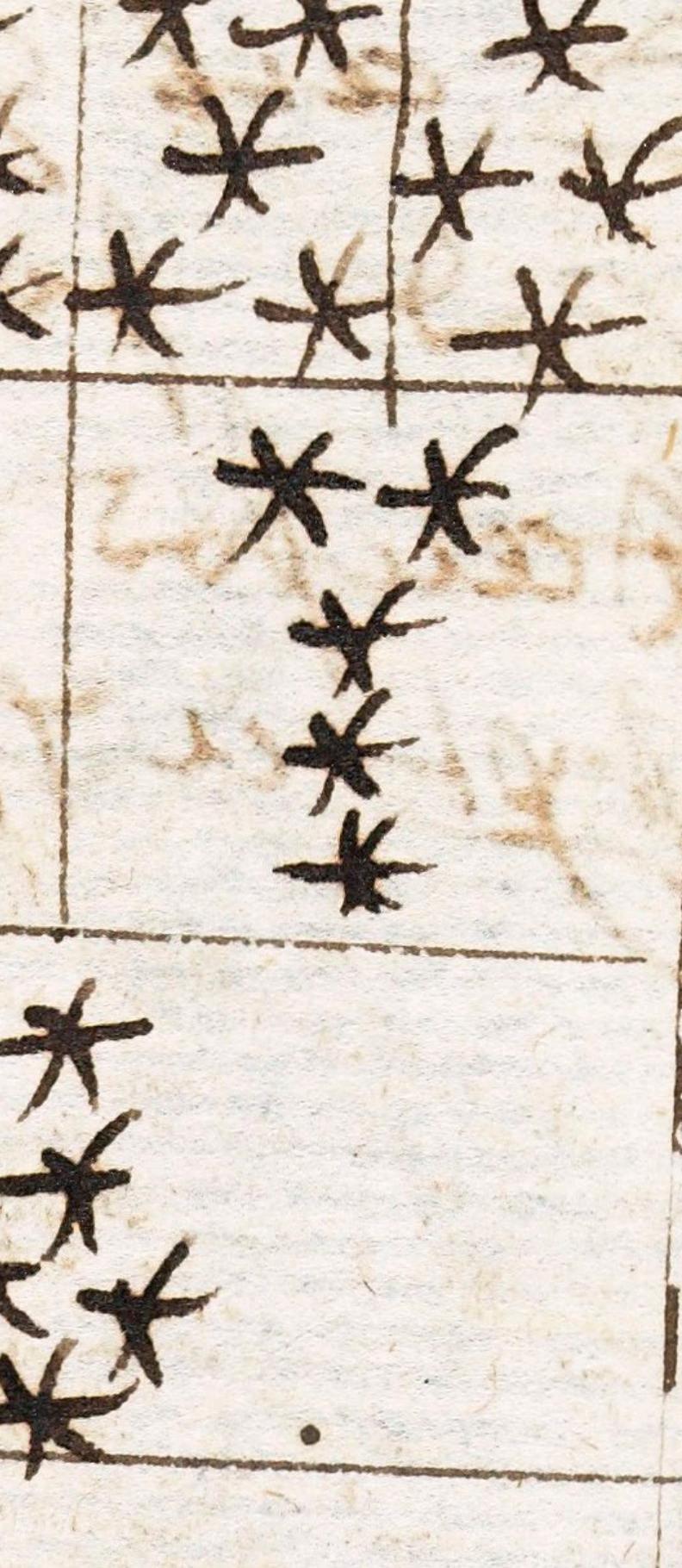


# CASEBOOKS

work towards an exhibition at Ambika P3



# CASEBOOKS

work towards an exhibition at Ambika P3

Natalie Kaoukji, Lauren Kassell and Michael Mazière

Preface	5
Introductions	
The Casebooks Project	8
Curating the exhibition	18
Artists and works	
Jasmina Cibic	22
Federico Díaz	30
Lynn Hershman Leeson	38
Rémy Markowitsch	46
Lindsay Seers	54
Tunga	62
Things in the casebooks	70
Credits	86

## Six contemporary artists and an extraordinary medical archive

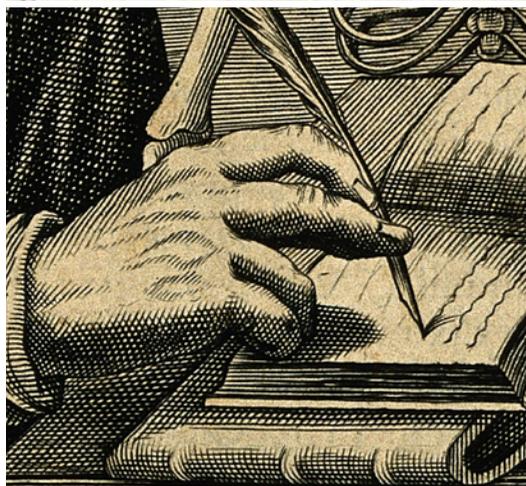
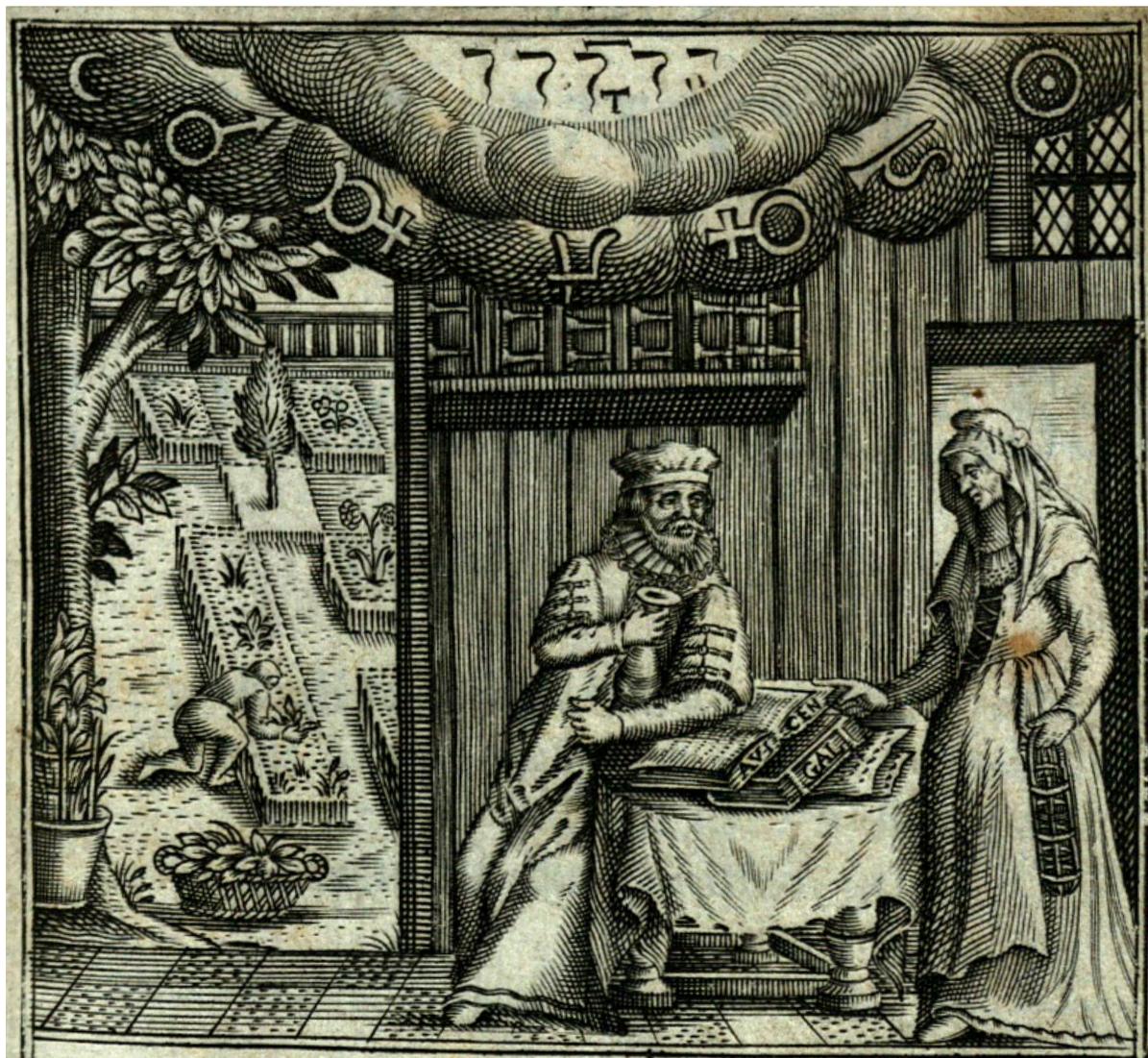
The exhibition CASEBOOKS was developed through a series of discussions between the Casebooks Project and Ambika P3. The project was keen to engage a broad audience in their research in ways that reimagined the material's complexities through alternative vocabularies. In particular the highly developed tradition in the visual arts of reflection on the archive, inscription, accumulation and non-human agency seemed to offer a way of opening the project's work up to a broader constituency whilst exploring and provoking historical traditions around these themes. Ambika P3's mission as an art and architecture laboratory in an academic context, above all, made it the ideal collaborator for this genuinely experimental project.

CASEBOOKS forms the centrepiece of a broader programme of engagement activities for the Casebooks Project, and was funded by the Wellcome Trust under a provision for public engagement scheme supporting the Casebook Project's Strategic Award. The artists were selected by a Curatorial Advisory Committee: Alanna Heiss (Chair), Professor Katharine Heron, Dr Natalie Kaoukji, Dr Lauren Kassell, Dr Michael Mazière, Sam Thorne and David Thorp.

Grateful thanks to everyone involved in the exhibition, and for an exceptional depth of collaborative engagement by the artists and their associates. It has been an extraordinary, rewarding and illuminating journey.

Katharine Heron and Lauren Kassell





## What is a casebook?

A casebook is a written collection of cases, typically recorded in a series, day by day. Doctors developed this form of writing in Europe in the 1500s. They borrowed scholarly practices of note-taking and mercantile habits of account keeping. They modelled themselves on Hippocrates, the ancient father of medicine, who had reputedly recorded case histories on clay tablets. By writing casebooks, doctors participated in an increased interest in natural particulars. They built on the work of ancient and medieval physicians whose writings detailed remarkable cases and exceptional cures, and, like natural historians, borrowed regimes of sustained observation from astronomers. Note-taking followed conventions, but the habits of speech, writing, and collecting that produced these documents were idiosyncratic.

Surviving casebooks take a variety of forms. Some are like account books, written at the time of the encounter. Others, like journals or diaries, were written when a doctor returned to his study after a day of visiting patients. Some doctors digested their account books or diaries into observations, narrating the history of the disease and cure, then discarded the rougher, more immediate notes. Whatever form casebooks took, they typically included the patient's name, age, complaint, its causes, a prescription or a payment.

Around a hundred examples of surviving casebooks have been identified within European archives of personal papers dating from the centuries before 1700. They are often catalogued as account books, diaries, journals, practice books, collections of cures or observations, or casebooks. The term 'casebook' was initially used for legal records in the late seventeenth-century, then applied to doctors' notes in the mid eighteenth-century. We use it to refer to the range of records that medical practitioners produced when they recorded their practices.

Casebooks, like many other new forms of written documents, were the product of what has been called the first age of information overload. With the shift from expensive parchment to affordable paper, and from laborious gothic to fluid cursive scripts, people wrote more. They developed habits of recording financial, civic and personal accounts and new tools to order, navigate and preserve the resulting mess of paper. Doctors adopted these new paper technologies to account for, reflect on and study their practices. The most extensive surviving set of casebooks from this period were produced by the English astrologer-physicians, Simon Forman and Richard Napier.

## Simon Forman's and Richard Napier's casebooks

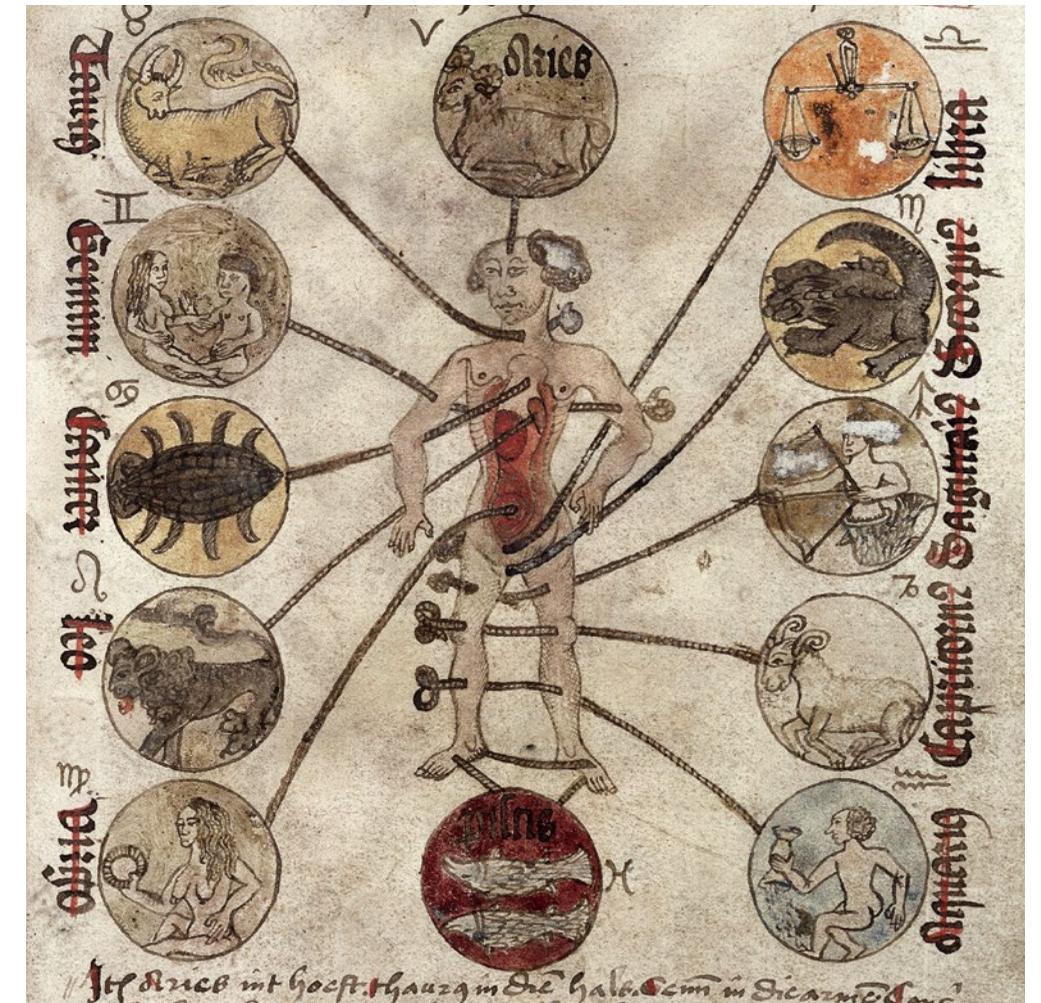


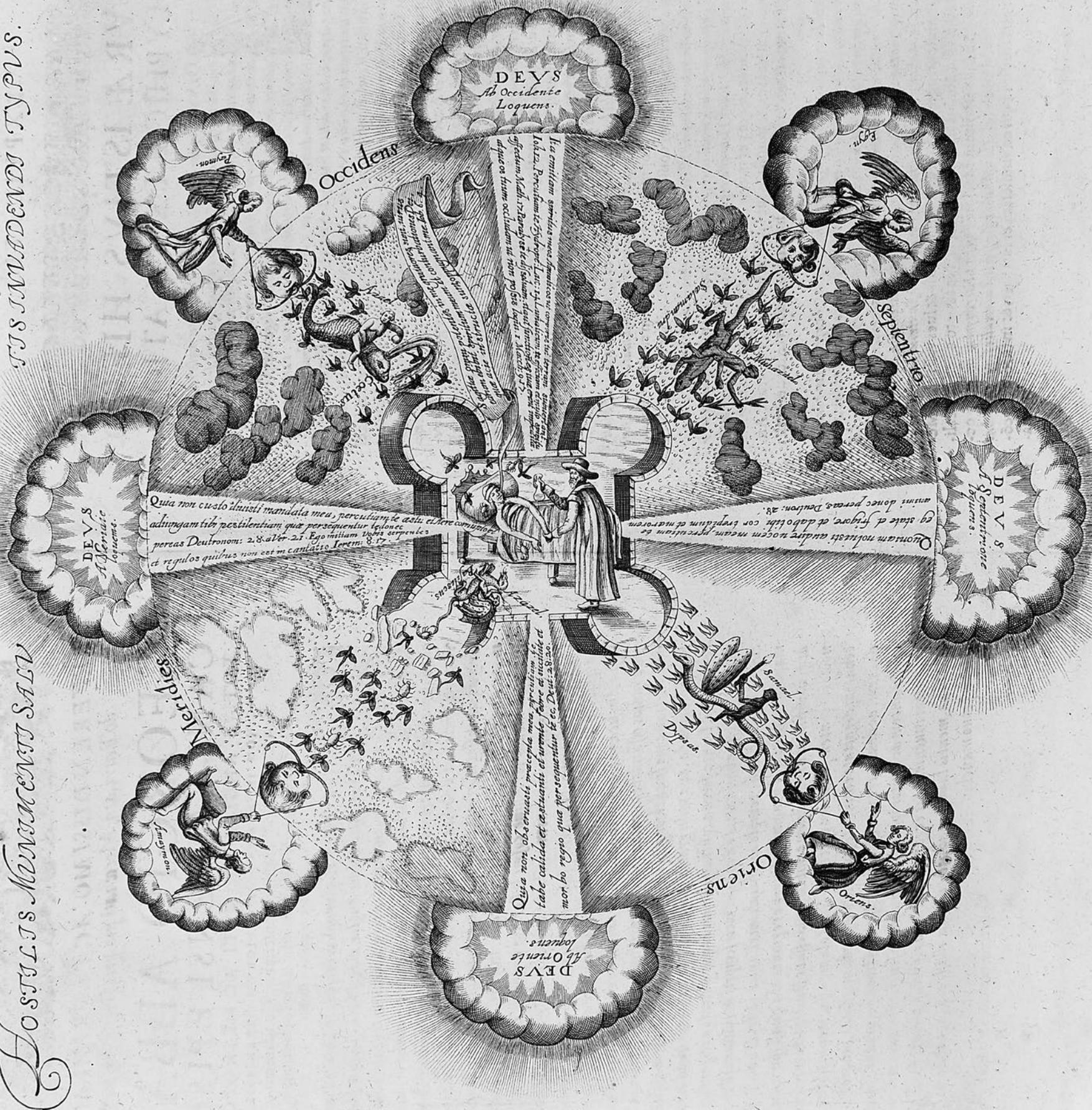
Simon Forman, a self-educated London astrologer-physician, began recording cases in the 1580s. He was an avid writer, ultimately leaving an archive of 15,000 manuscript pages about astrological medicine, alchemical study, his own life and other topics. He does not record how he learned his art, but he began to teach his methods to Richard Napier, a Buckinghamshire clergyman, in 1596. Forman continued to practise until his death in 1611, though only six years of his records survive. Napier practised for the rest of his life, leaving a complete run of records from 1596 to 1634. Together the astrologers' extant casebooks fill around 30,000 manuscript pages with some 80,000 consultations. This is one of the largest surviving sets of private medical records in history.

Forman and Napier, like other doctors, recorded their patients' names, ages and diseases, but astrological medicine shaped the nature of their encounters with patients and the content of their casebooks. They privileged a form of astrology that depended on the moment that a question was asked, known as horary astrology. Each consultation began with a question, asked by the 'querent', who was either the patient or a third party asking on his or her behalf. In most cases the question was some form of 'What is my disease?' The astrologers systematically headed each entry with the patient's name, age, question and the time it was asked; they also often noted whether the consultation was in person or by

messenger. They drew a horoscope, what they called a 'figure', of the planetary positions at that moment, and used this as the basis to judge the answer to the question. One consultation followed the next, in chronological sequence, providing the only order to these records.

Astrology had been taught within the medical curriculum in European universities from the thirteenth-century. Almanacs, first in manuscript, then from the late fifteenth-century in print, codified its tenets at the same time as its principles began to be debated amongst theologians and natural philosophers. The extent, rather than the fact, of the stellar influences on earthly bodies was debated; Forman's and Napier's practices were extreme but not unusual. Despite accusations by physicians and scholars that horary astrology was arbitrary and cheap, its practitioners attracted a thriving clientele from across the social spectrum through the seventeenth-century.





Early modern patients and practitioners shared a view of health and disease as a balance between bodily heat and moisture, often expressed in terms of the four humours — blood, bile, melancholy and phlegm — corresponding to elemental properties of air, fire, earth and water. Cures entailed expelling the foul humours that caused blockages within the body and restoring the flow of its vital forces. This broad understanding of blockages and flows accommodated divergent understandings between practitioners and their patients of the specific causes of disease, depending on whether they attributed it to, for instance, supernatural or natural forces or poor disposition or emotional upset. Prayer could expel demons just as a purge could expel a surplus of melancholy.

While Forman and Napier insisted that their astrological expertise enabled them to judge the causes of disease better than other practitioners, in practice they and their patients negotiated the meanings of a variety of signs, some observed by the astrologers, others reported to them by their patients and querents. An entry might contain a judgement based on the horoscope, or other sorts of evidence gleaned from the patient's words or appearance. Patients often brought or sent their urine, even though uroscopy — the use of the colour, consistency and content of urine to signal the state of the bodily humours — an established form of medical diagnosis since the Middle Ages, was beginning to be discredited. In practice, especially in questions about whether a woman was pregnant, a question notoriously difficult to discern for certain, Forman and Napier heeded the signs of the urine while questioning its validity. Unlike other physicians, Forman and Napier did not feel the pulse and seem not to have used touch to examine their patients.

**The compendious collection**

Forman's and Napier's casebooks are expansive, yet fragmented. The bulky archive contains glimpses not narratives, tissues not portraits, murmurs not soliloquies. Forman's turbulent life is inscribed within his surviving casebooks. Napier's quill touched the pages of his notebooks almost every day from his thirty-seventh to his seventy-fifth year. The casebooks offer traces of the lives of the astrologers and their patients from their births, joys, torments and deaths to their finances, trade, travel and the minutiae of their household management.

Represented in the casebooks are not only the medical practices and daily lives of some 60,000 individuals — their observations about the state of their bodies, their concerns, preparations, confinements and deathbeds — but also the details of a much wider set of influences on their health, from the effects of the planets to the manifestations of

their joys and sorrows on their bodies. The casebooks are testament to a cosmology in which bodies were subject to planetary influences, emotional and spiritual states and the effects of demons or hard words.

Forman's and Napier's casebooks are the artefactual remains of thousands of encounters between the astrologer-physicians and their patients, sequenced across four decades. They are messy and inconsistent, and written with little attention to their preservation or subsequent study. We do not know how usual it is for these encounters to be recorded. We do know that thousands of medical practitioners, from learned physicians to village healers and midwives, were at work at the same time as Forman and Napier. We glimpse several dozen of these practitioners in the casebooks, prompting us to ask whether they recorded their practices and if so why their papers do not survive to complement Forman's and Napier's collections.

The compilation of this prodigious archive was due in part to the distinctively written nature of astrological medicine. Its survival, on the other hand, was guaranteed by the intervention of the seventeenth-century antiquarian and collector Elias Ashmole. Ashmole's collection of books, manuscripts and antiquities sat within a wider and ambitious project which framed collection, recovery and accumulation as the fundamental concerns of natural knowledge. Forman's and Napier's casebooks were bequeathed by Napier to his nephew and astrological heir Sir Richard Napier, from whose son Ashmole acquired them in 1676. Ashmole donated his archive to the University of Oxford the following year, and founded the Ashmolean there in 1683. This was the first public museum in Europe. In 1860 the Ashmole Collections of books and manuscripts were moved to the Bodleian Library. This is where we now find Forman's and Napier's casebooks, bound by Ashmole into sixty-four calf-skin volumes.

## The Casebooks Project

The Casebooks Project aims to make these records understandable and accessible through a digital platform. It was set up in 2007, based in the Department of History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Cambridge. It is producing a dataset that categorises and links information about patients, their questions, their households and networks contained within the manuscripts; a search interface that guides readers through the records; explanatory material about the casebooks, astrological medicine and life in early modern England; and digital surrogates of the original volumes.

Conventional textual editing either privileges the text on the page, or the intentions that that text is meant to represent. Forman's and Napier's casebooks are notes, not literary texts or letters, and the digital format allows us to represent the text on the page and at the same time to capture some of the complexity behind the encounters they document. In the casebooks, disease, pregnancy, madness and fortune are carefully negotiated through lenses of bodily signs, personal histories, planetary indications and spiritual states. Each encounter was initiated with a question. When patients asked about the nature of their disease, whether they were pregnant, or how they would fare, the question was not only about the state of their bodies, but about the complex of planetary, spiritual, social and cultural norms into which it was seamlessly woven. Questions shaped these records, and in turn the project itself.

Each of the encounters in the casebooks presents an expression of a patient's place within a complex of social, cultural, medical, natural and supernatural schemes. To work out how best to represent these interwoven layers of meaning within the manuscripts, as texts and artefacts of encounters, the project is structured around an engagement framework. As we work on the records, we experiment with ways of preserving and rendering accessible multiple facets of these encounters, refining and recalibrating how we represent the casebooks.



## Anatomy of one of Napier's cases

The CASEBOOKS exhibition is part of this programme of work. It is a collaboration between the Casebooks Project and Ambika P3 at the University of Westminster. Together with Michael Mazière, the Ambika P3 Curator, we worked closely with the artists to establish resonances between the artists' own work and historically acute questions about the nature of the casebooks, the kind of medical practice they represented and their significance for our understanding of medicine and natural knowledge.

48,500 cases are currently live and the work is scheduled for completion in 2018. Edited cases are available on the project website, and a full set of images of the volumes can be viewed at the Cambridge Digital Library.

Lauren Kassell and Natalie Kaoukji

### Captions

- pp. 6-7 (1) One of Simon Forman's casebooks, open to a page from January 1600. He wrote the names of some of his clients in red ink. MS Ashmole 236, ff. 12v-13r. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- p. 8 (2) A woman consults a physician. Title image from John Sadler, *The sick womans private looking-glass* (London, 1636), engraved by John Droeshout. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge
- (3) A doctor makes notes. Detail from a portrait of the sixteenth-century French physician, Jean Fernel. Line engraving by N. de Larmessin, 1682, based on an earlier image. Wellcome Library, London
- (4) Image of man writing, illustrating 'memory', in Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus quadrilinguis* (Nuremberg, 1679), p. 374. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library
- p. 10 (5) Simon Forman (1552-1611). A painting thought to be of Simon Forman, c. 1900, probably based on the portrait of the astrologer by John Bulfinch, engraved by Richard Godfrey, which circulated widely from 1776. Wellcome Library, London
- (6) Richard Napier (1559-1634). A portrait of Richard Napier by an unknown painter. WA1898.19 Anonymous, 'Richard Napier'. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford
- p. 11 (7) Zodiac man from 'Ars computistica'. Each sign of the zodiac corresponds to a part of the body and its function. Manuscript by Heymandus de Veteri Busco, 1488. WMS 349, f. 22r. Wellcome Library, London
- p. 12 (8) The fortress of health invaded by demons, from the hermetic physician Robert Fludd's *Integrum morborum mysterium* (Frankfurt, 1631). The image shows an understanding of the body similar to that of the astrologer physicians: the body of the patient is situated within a much larger cosmology, and is acted on by a range of spiritual, meteorological, and astrological influences. Wellcome Library, London
- pp. 14-15 (9) Spines from the sixty-four volumes of Simon Forman's and Richard Napier's casebooks. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- p. 17 (10) Anatomy of one of Napier's cases, labelled with the classes of information designated by the editors of the Casebooks Project. On 15 September at 1:15 pm an anonymous querent asked Napier about Elizabeth Hartwell, a 25 year old unmarried woman from the village of Astwood who has 'clumpers of blood in her mouth' and other symptoms. MS Ashmole 228, f. 204r (case 12702)

The image shows a page from a handwritten casebook. At the top, there is a header section with labels on the left: 'Patient/querent', 'Address', 'Relations', 'Age', 'Question topics', and 'Date and time'. Below this is a central chart, a square with a diagonal cross, containing various numbers and symbols. To the right of the chart are labels: 'Chart' and 'Question topics'. Below the chart is a large section of handwritten text, with labels on the left: 'Judgment', 'Treatment', and 'Fee/payment'. The handwriting is in a cursive script, likely from the 16th or 17th century.

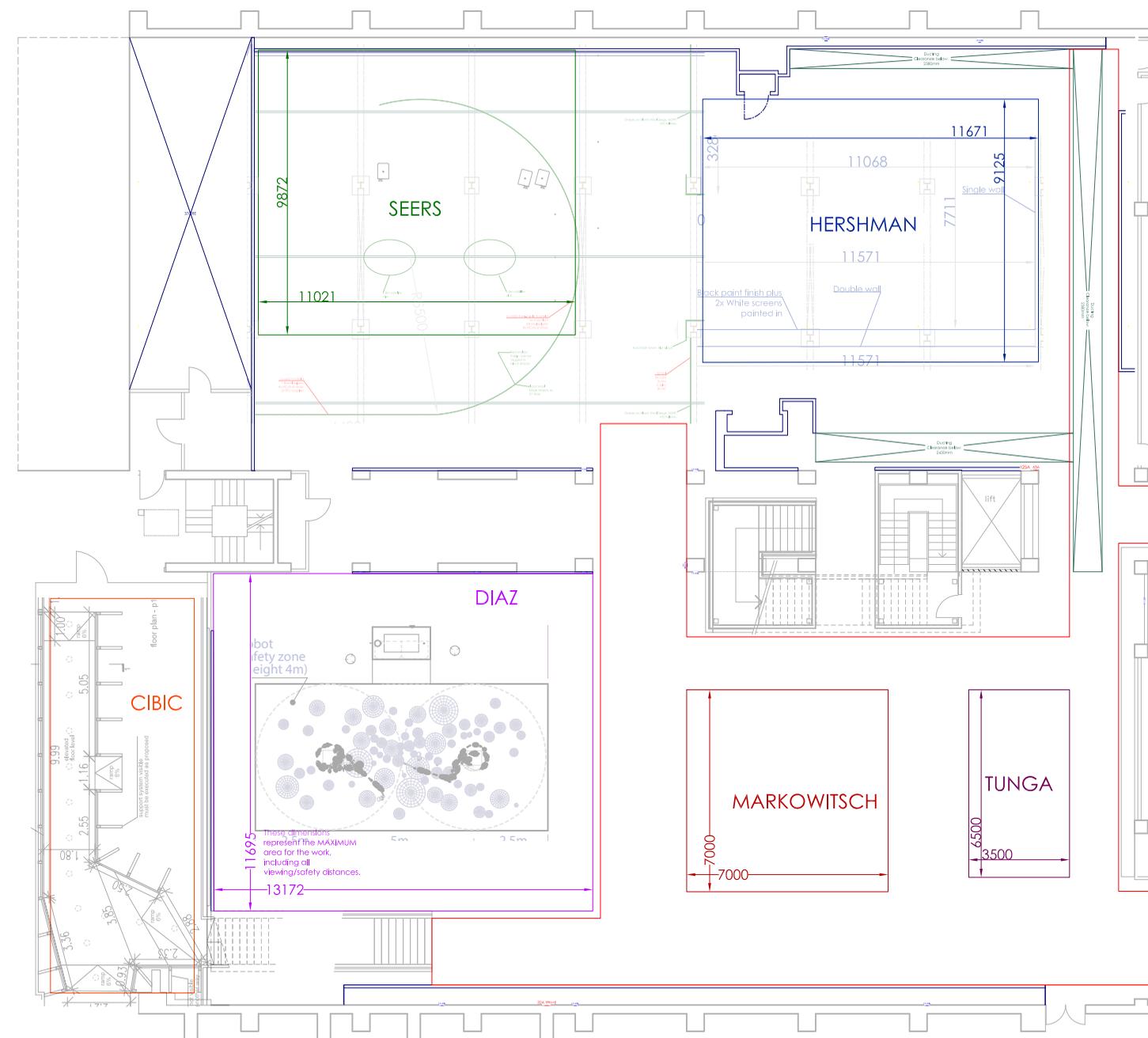
*The curatorial is always dialogical, with the resultant exhibition form being a condensed moment of presentation exposing to varying degrees the processes of cooperation, exchange, and agonistic coproduction that have made it possible.<sup>12</sup>*

The CASEBOOKS exhibition is one of the most collaborative projects to take place at Ambika P3. It brings together researchers on the Casebooks Project, based at the University of Cambridge, with the curatorial team at the University of Westminster. It is funded by the Wellcome Trust, and is dependent on the archive in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. From securing funding, assembling an Advisory Committee, selecting artists and liaising with their galleries to designing and producing the exhibition and its publicity, the exhibition was the result of a series of dialogical encounters with individuals and institutions invested at different levels of the creative process. These individuals and bodies are listed at the end of the book.

Ambika P3 is a 14,000-square foot space for contemporary art and architecture developed from the vast former concrete testing construction hall at the University of Westminster which presents a public programme of curated group exhibitions, solo exhibitions, education projects, talks and commercial events in central London. The location, approached as a project space, creates unique opportunities for artistic and curatorial experiments as it is open to a multitude of practices and collaborations. When, in 2007, the space was revived from its original concrete testing use by Professor Katharine Heron, Director of Ambika P3, it retained its original architecture adding a minimum of elements to make its use and access public friendly. It has retained its original footprint and also its original agenda as a space for testing, no longer concrete but ideas.

Curation is a broad field, and in the contemporary context has become a catch-all phrase to encompass almost any aspect of life that involves some form of considered organisation. But the realisation of projects at Ambika P3 draws upon multiple methods based on an interdisciplinary approach. Curatorial engagement with the artists in the search for an appropriate form and scale for their work involves innovative explorations of site, experimentation, testing and prototyping. The curatorial work on CASEBOOKS continues this agenda.

The Casebooks Project is founded in questions: the astrologers' patients asked them questions, historians ask questions. The collaboration aimed to create an exhibition that prompts and enables meaningful and nuanced questions. Working with artists provided an opportunity to develop an exploratory rather than didactic engagement framework



for the project. We assembled a Curatorial Advisory Panel which agreed a long list of 25 artists and invited proposals for the exhibition. Each artist was sent a briefing about the Casebooks Project and Ambika P3. The panel met to agree a short list of six artists, with an emphasis on diversity of ideas and media and a commitment to engage with the space and the project. Guiding factors in the selection of artists included how the works would present an original and complementary ecology of media. The six artists selected were Jasmina Cibic, Federico Díaz, Lynn Hershman Leeson, Rémy Markowitsch, Lindsay Seers and Tunga.

One of the key factors in curating the Ambika P3 space effectively is how the location of the art can propose an itinerary for the audience so as to produce a cogent journey of the selected work. As the plan illustrates, the whole of the space was used including the mezzanine at the entrance to the site where Jasmina Cibic's 'Unforseen Forseen' creates a tripartite corridor into which she proposes elements are channelled that today do not rationally fit, but that have throughout history shaped the development of the social world: political power; the moral and philosophical institutions of religion; and the divinations of those who translate the movements of celestial bodies. As the audience enters the exhibition, they are confronted with a structure which guides them through iconographies of power and astrology and provides both an obstacle and a way into the rest of the exhibition.

Down the steps and into the main double-height space are three works which seem to belong to different historical eras. Federico Díaz's 'BIG LIGHT Space of Augmented Suggestion' with its robotic arm manoeuvres between the haptic and augmented realities of the current technological robotic state of our society. The work makes parallels between the seventeenth-century belief in astrology and the movement of planetary bodies with the contemporary perception that technological progress can be the final solution to our problems.

Centrally placed on a pedestal is Rémy Markowitsch's 'The Casebooks Calf'. Markowitsch researched this project in great detail and we worked through various iterations which included the building of a consultation room, the development of an audio play and an attention to the insects caught between the pages of the original leather bound casebooks. Markowitsch's research delved into the visceral descriptions of the casebooks with the internal organs as the locus of illness. The final iteration is a large-scale sculpture of a calf made of calfskin, the material binding the manuscript volumes, and from which emanate readings selected from the consultations. The work focuses on the calf's interior as a source of knowledge while also referring to Poussin's *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*.

At the back of the high space is Tunga's 'Eu, Você e a Lua' (Me, You and the Moon) an existing work made in 2015 which resonates strongly with the casebooks. The work is engaged with astrology and alchemy, and in it converge multidisciplinary fields approached by Tunga

throughout his career. Tunga died before the exhibition but the work is in a sense a 'ready made' piece for our project and it is the only one which is not a new commission. The piece is composed of three large iron tripods, a large fossilised wood trunk, bronze sculptures with silver patina (patina of the moon), terracotta bowls, quartz crystals, resin and plaster sculptures plus a mechanism that drips amber essence from the large thumbs in bronze.

In the lower space of Ambika P3 we constructed two discreet environments for engaging and contemplating a pair of works. One is a room designed for the interactive work of Lynn Hershman Leeson, and the other a theatrical environment for the installation work of Lindsay Seers.

Hershman Leeson's previous work has been with site-specific interactivity, identity and artificial intelligence. Her 'Real-Fiction Botnik' is a 3D holographic Artificial Intelligence bot with a brain shaped by seventeenth-century astrological consultations, who is able to offer on-the-spot personal predictions. It is accompanied by 'Venus of the Anthropocene' which features an animatronic doll with golden detachable body parts. She sits in front of a mirror and when viewers approach her, their image replaces hers in the mirror and an overlay of their DNA appears.

Seers describes her work as focused around perception and recent scientific investigations as to how the brain works to form what we perceive. Her new commission for CASEBOOKS, 'Mental Metal', considers how elements of contemporary life have passed beyond causal, materialist/mechanistic Newtonian concepts to quantum speculations that have a hint of the supernatural about them. Following a method of correspondences, as Simon Forman did in his astral cosmology, Seers' work is shaped by affinities and Neoplatonic ideals of unification.

The six artists exhibited in CASEBOOKS worked in very different ways and the curatorial challenge was to find strategies which would provide the right design, environment and itinerary for the audience. The level of engagement with each artist went from prolonged dialogue with both Ambika P3 and the Casebooks Project to simply providing materials, resources and transport. This confirms my experience that each curatorial project brings a different set of demands, approaches and solutions. In the particular experimental contexts provided by sites such as Ambika P3, the role of the curator is multi-faceted, and dependent on the specifics of each project as it unfolds.

Michael Mazière

#### Captions

- p. 18 (11) CASEBOOKS Exhibition layout  
p. 19 (12) Paul O'Neill 'Curating as a Medium of Artistic Practice',  
*The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Cultures*,  
(Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 2012) p. 95



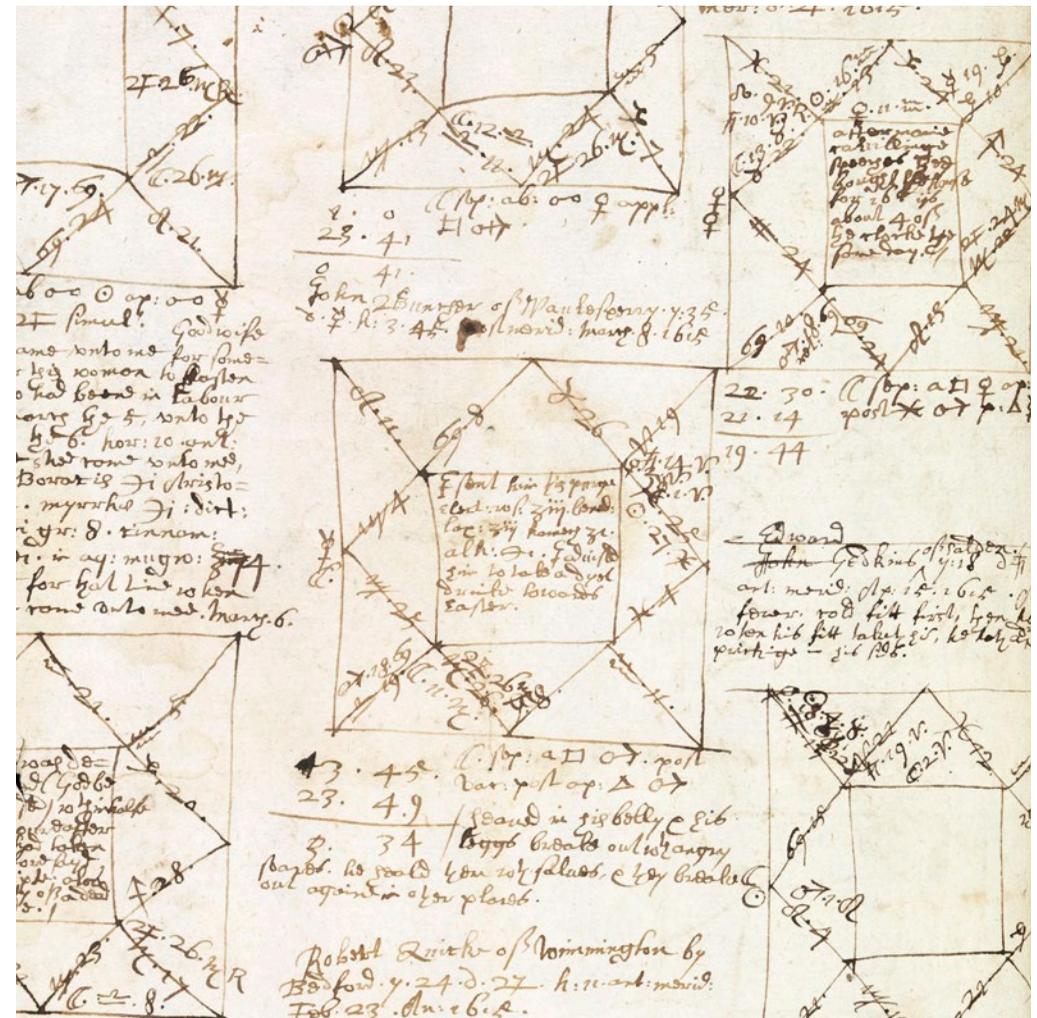
Jasmina Cibic



Jasmina Cibic's work questions the relationships that arise within the triad 'work of art – politics of representation – viewer'. Primarily interested in performative interventions and installations, her site specific works employ a range of activity, media and theatrical tactics to reconsider a specific ideological formation through the frame of art and architecture. Her work draws parallels between the construction of a national culture and the value it places on political aims, encouraging the viewer to consider the timelessness of psychological and soft power mechanisms that authoritarian structures utilise in their own reinsertion and reinvention.

Through her dismantling and careful analysis of the work of art, its representation, and its relationship to the viewer, Cibic tries to operate inside the system she is investigating. The mechanisms and structures of the system thus often become integral parts of the artist's practice, allowing her to transcend the plane of art and the language of form.

Jasmina Cibic's new work, 'Unforeseen Forseen', speaks to questions of space, direction and repetition in the casebooks. The work channels viewers along a corridor, a space between worlds and marked out through repetitive patterns. It recalls the repetitions of cyclical motions, daily routines, ritualised encounters and formulaic inscriptions by which the astrologers and their patients negotiate between spheres.





## Captions

pp. 22-23 (13) Jasmina Cibic: 'Building a Long Passageway' (2013)  
[Photo: M. Paternoster]

pp. 24-25 (14-17) Details from Jasmina Cibic: 'Building a Long Passageway' (2013) [Photo: M. Paternoster]

(18) A page of Napier's casebooks written by one of his curates, Robert Wallis. Wallis packed more consultations, as seen from the dense number of astrological charts, on the page than the other astrologers. MS Ashmole 213, f. 146r. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

pp. 26-27 (19) Simon Forman casts a chart on 14 March 1599 to learn how the Earl of Essex will fare in Ireland. MS Ashmole 219, f. 23r (case 5053). Transcription with spelling modernised. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

(20) Details of the astrological charts from four consultations: MS Ashmole 402, f. 180v, blank chart; MS Ashmole 213, f. 146r (case 50408) chart detail—'she proved with child'—in the hand of Robert Wallis; MS Ashmole 226, f. 201r (case 2434), geomantic chart for Emilia Lanier, 'whether she shall be a lady and how she shall speed'; MS Ashmole 226, f. 164r (case 2179), geomantic chart for Martin Lumbley in red and black ink. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

p. 29 (21) Details from Jasmina Cibic: 'Unforseen Forseens' (2017)



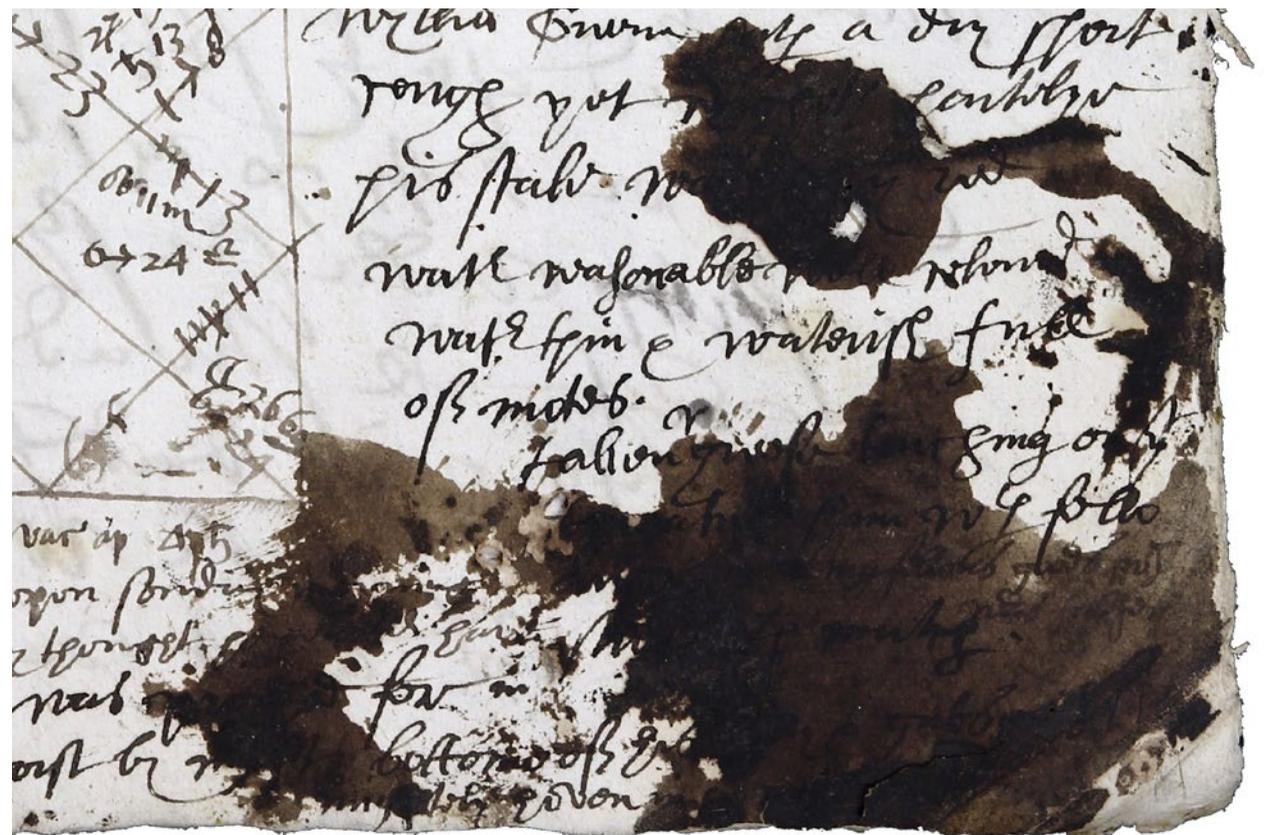
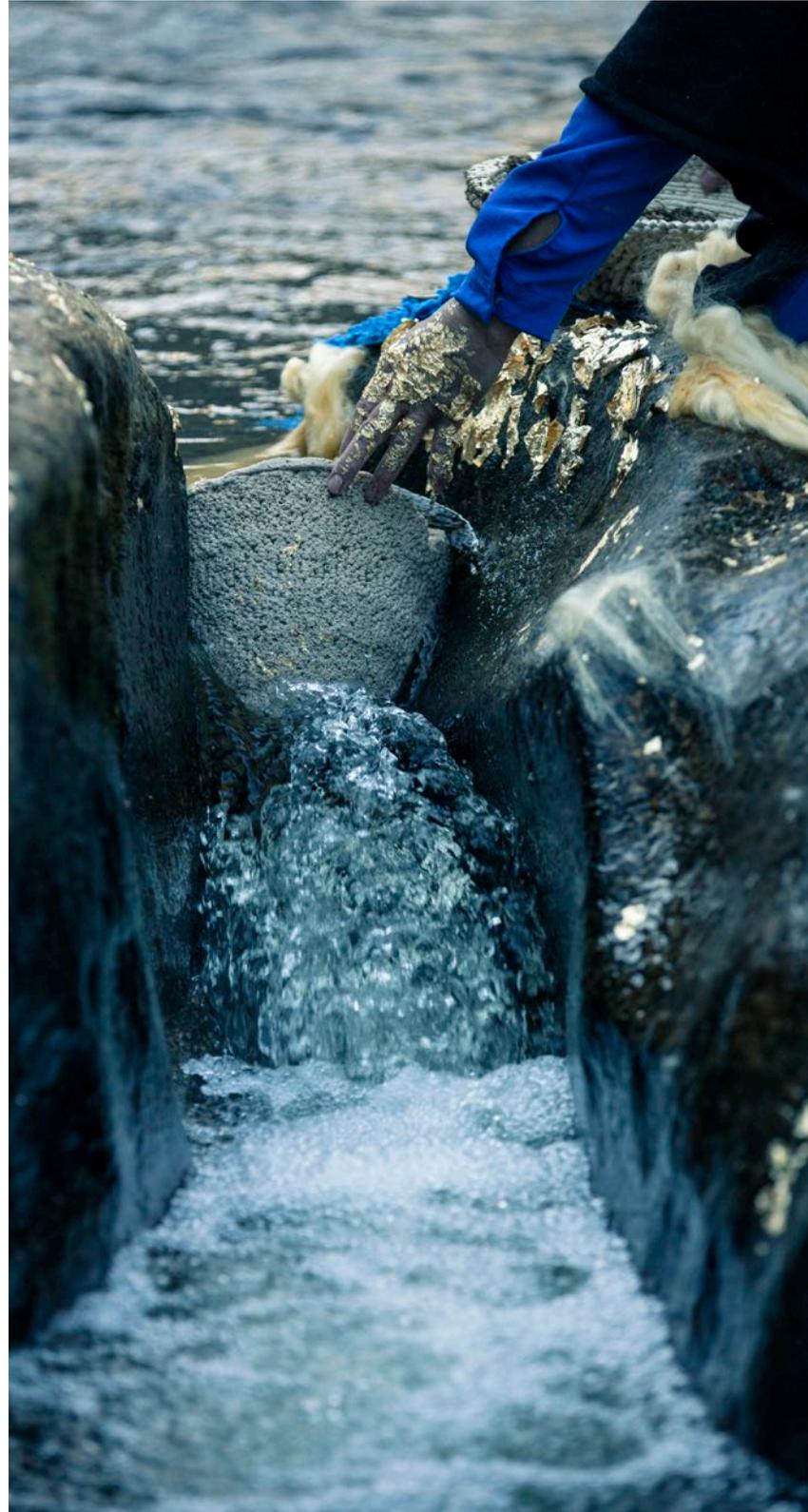


Federico Díaz

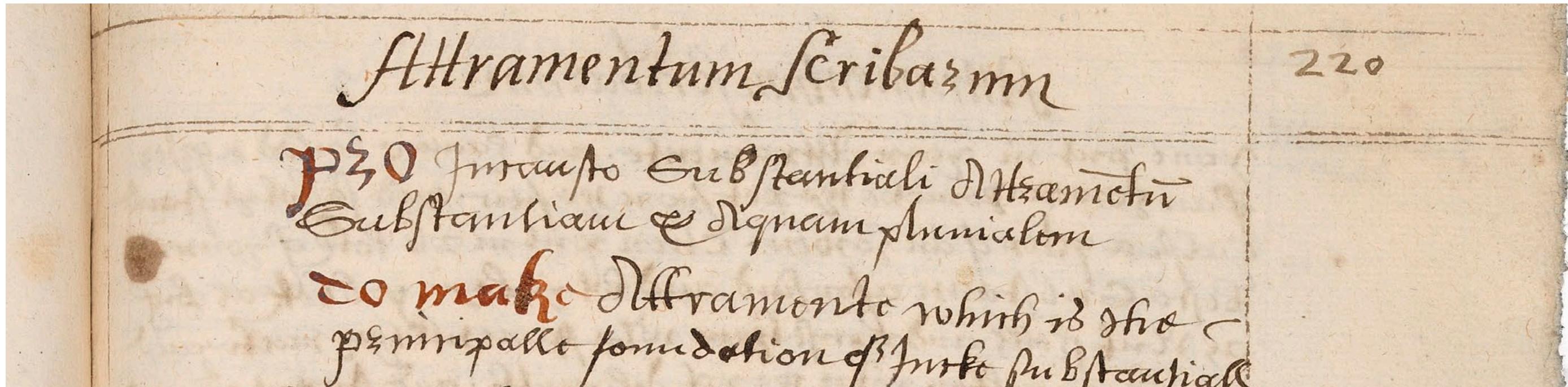
Czech-Argentinian artist Federico Díaz lives and works in Prague. Since the 1990s, Díaz has used new media to create works of art to engage people in the world beyond the visible. Working with multimedia art, interactive installations and projections, light and kinetic art, sound compositions and architecture, his pieces look to reveal immaterial aspects of the everyday reality of our natural environment which elude people through primary human senses alone.

His work is typified by the language of algorithmically-generated and systems art using media and technologies as a socio-political catalyst of social change. By investigating ideas drawn from art, nature and science, Díaz seeks to inspire a conversation about the relationship between man and the universe. The dynamic form of the installations hints at more philosophical ideas of the temporal effect of current actions on the future.

Díaz's work for CASEBOOKS is part of his continuing project 'BIG LIGHT' which resonates with the Casebooks Project through problematics around information and agency. 'BIG LIGHT' articulates the inescapable unfolding of a nexus of human and non-human consciousness. It is underpinned by the idea that all beings and things are fundamentally information. It displaces human agency from the centre of the picture, reimagining human knowledge as a tangential part of a much greater cumulative project. It focuses attention on questions around the non-human actors represented in the casebooks, the nature of the information the casebooks embody and for whom, and how such an enterprise might look reframed within a more broadly conceived emergent and non-human scheme.



left: (23) 'BIG LIGHT'; bottom right (24) An ink spillage in Napier's casebook; top right (25) 'BIG LIGHT Space of Augmented Suggestion'



**To make atrament which is the principal foundation of ink substantial**

Recipe of vitriol lb 2. and 5 lb of hammer lath that falls from red hot iron when it is hammered of the smiths and 2 lb of white dogs turds. Grind all together upon a stone with fair water until it be light paste. Then lay it upon a tile and make it plain upon with a ruler. And with a knife divide it into small pieces as it lies on the tile and so set it in an oven but not too hot that it may dry and so it is made [...]

**Substantia is thus made**

Recipe of the barks or rinds of the small twigs of the wood that is called in Dutch sleydorum and it must be gathered in March before the wood begins to bear flowers. Bathe a great quantity thereof in fair water. Then strain the water and boil it again to the thickness of honey always stirring the same with a stick to the bottom – and so take it out and so let it dry at the sun – and so it is made [...]

**An approved way to make ink substantial**

Recipe a quart of rain water gathered in the spring and when it begins to boil put in 8 lots of red atrament well ground in a mortar and let it boil by little and little somewhat far from the fire and bruise it with a spoon for it will easily swim above. Put it near the fire but let the water first boil before you put in your atrament. And having boiled a quarter of an hour remove the pot from the fire and so let it stand half a quarter of an hour. Then put in 26 lots of your best substance aforesaid and let it be in gobbots as big as nut shells and bruise them with a spoon till they melt and being molten cover the pot diligently, and stop it with paste upon or clay, that no vapour go out. And let it stand in a warm place in the winter as in a stove or by the fire yet not too near, because how much longer the pot does stand warm, so much the better will it wax clear, and commonly it must stand 8 days. But it is no great matter whether it be more or less, and then pour it off into a stone pot being very

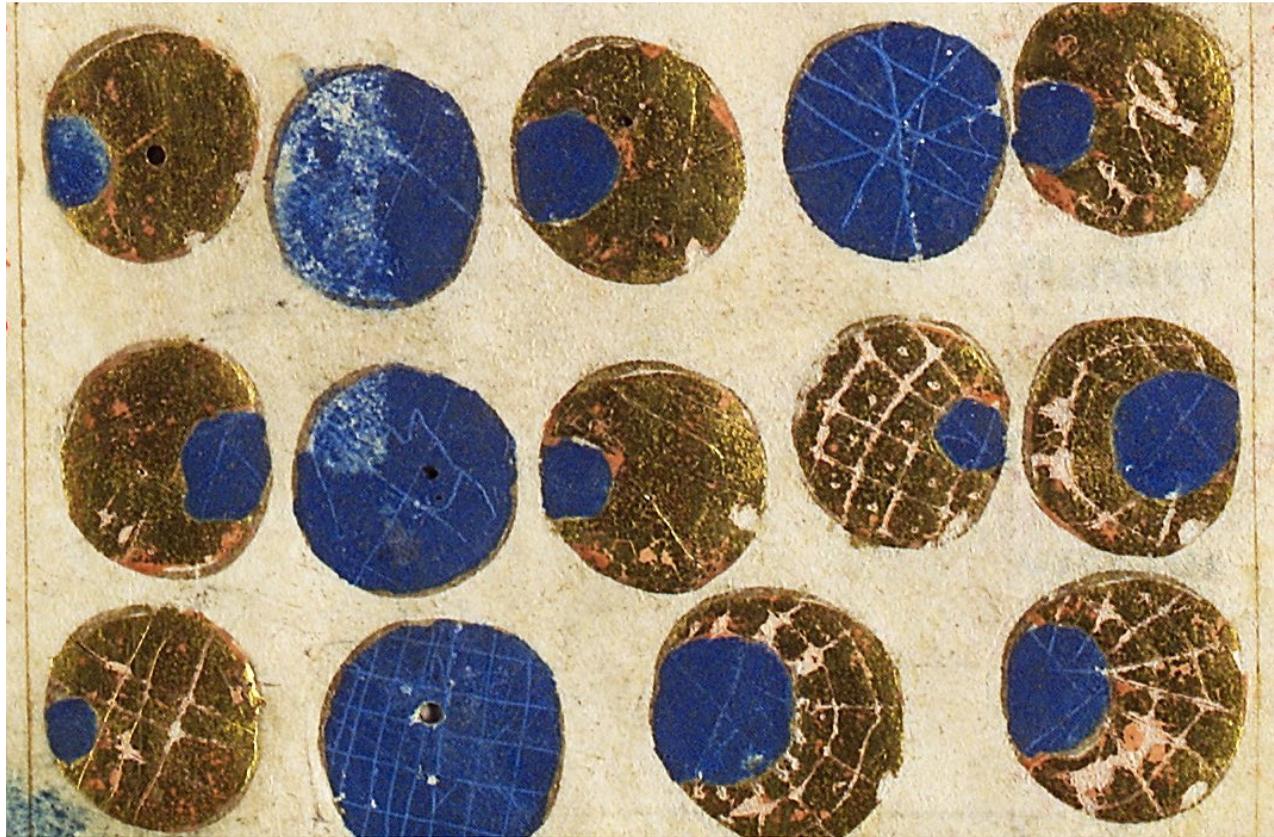
clean and dry, for in no case it ought not to be mingled with ink made of galls, or of any other kind of liquor, for it is then utterly marred as has been often proved.

Likewise the ink substantial is first poured from his faeces even in manner to the bottom, and then every day after for 15 or 16 days there will appear some ink more or less above the faeces, which must be poured off to the f\_\_ And when no more doe appear the faeces may be broken f\_\_ with a spoon for so are they made thin and the ink will the better appear upon them

**Another practice to make ink substantial**

[...] For this water so prepared is called the atramental water which is the principal foundation of this ink. Take therefore of this said water one quart and pour it into a clean brass pot and set it on the fire till it be almost ready to boil, but let it not boil then set the pot from the fire then take 2 lb of your substance above in small pieces and put into the pot into the atramental water softly and not troubling the water, then mingle it with a spattell softly till the substance begin to melt,

then set the pot on quick coals & keep it covered that it boil not and ever stir it softly with your spatula, that the substance may the better be dissolved and let it stand so long on the fire until a thin scum doth swim upon the top, which when it appears, take the pot off presently from the fire and stir it no more but cover it with a double woollen cloth and a board, that no vapour go out, because how much longer it remain hot, so much the sooner and better it does clear: let the pot be well covered and stand steady with out moving. And after 5 or 6 days let all the clear be poured off into a long slender pot, and pour it so long until the colour of the ink begins to be changed through the impurity of the faeces and then stay. And so set the pot declining for the rest to clarify as before said in the clearing of the atrament. When all this ink wholly poured off from the faeces. Then the faeces of the substance with the faeces of the atrament must be mingled together and boiled in rain water, and the pot then set after for 7 weeks or until it be sufficiently cleared, then pour it off and it will serve in stead year after of rain water, where of the water atramental is to be made as aforesaid



opposite top: (27) Progression of a lunar eclipse; opposite bottom (28) A recipe for blue ink ; above: (29) 'BIG LIGHT'

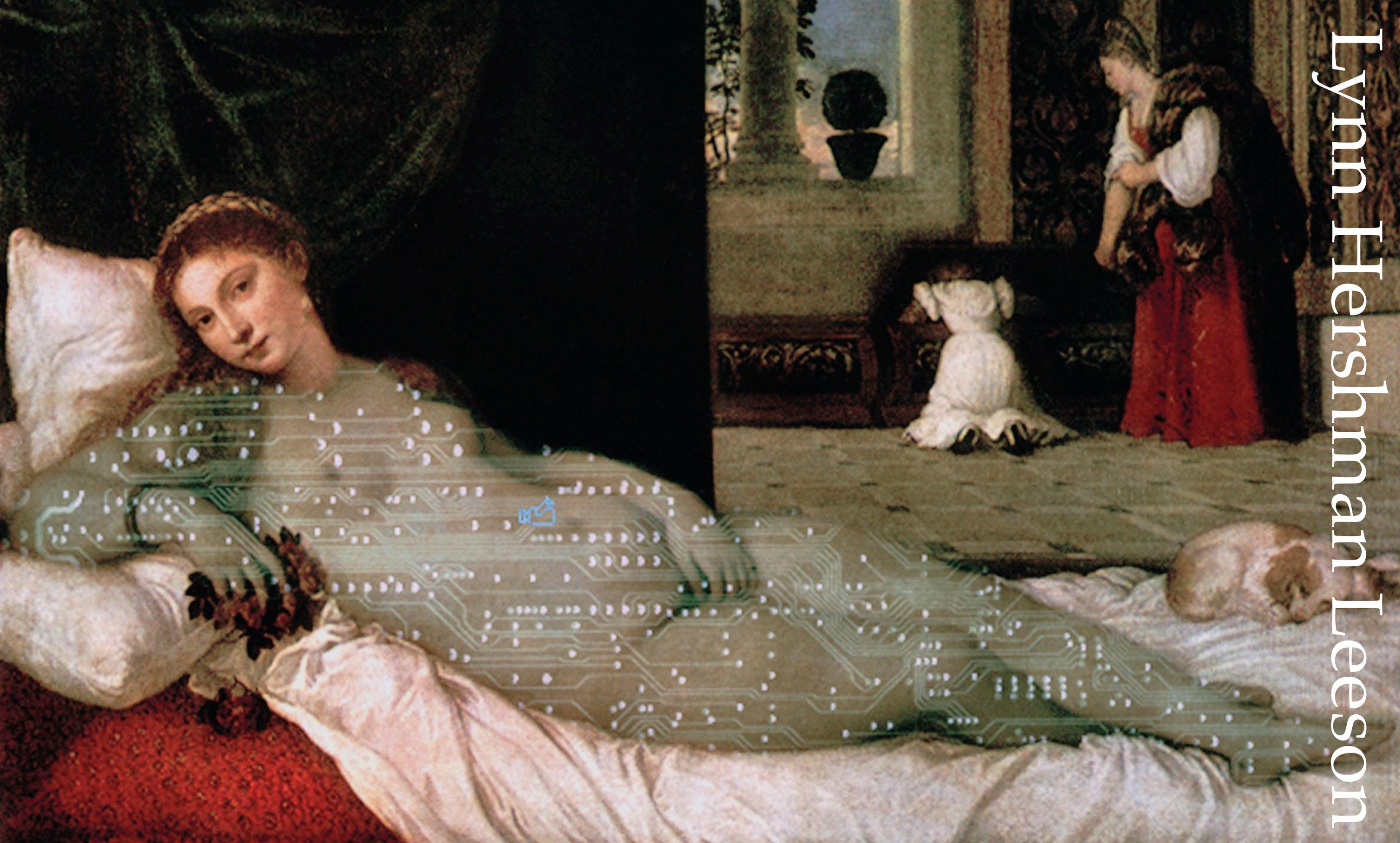
**To make turnfoil to write blue with**

*Take alum and dissolve it in warm water and put therein pieces or threads of linen cloth and being well soaked therein take them out and dry them in the sun. Then take the blue flower growing in the fields called woydensloemen stamp them and wring out the juice and put therein a little of the powder of alum and temper them on a stone together and therein put your aforesaid cloths and let them drink in so much of the juice as they will hold, and so dry them again and keep them clean. And when you will use them, take gum arabic dissolved in fair water as much as will suffice and into the same lay on of your cloths and you shall have a fair colour to write with*

bluebottles

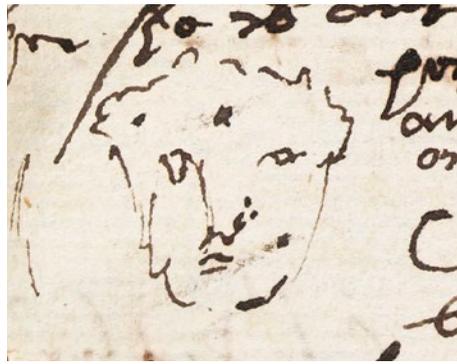
**Captions**

- pp. 30-31 (22) Federico Díaz: 'BIG LIGHT' [Photo: Václav Jirásek]
- pp. 32-33 (23) Federico Díaz: 'BIG LIGHT' [Photo: Václav Jirásek]
- (24) An ink spillage on the page of Richard Napier's 1604 casebook. MS Ashmole 207, f. 191Ar. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- (25) Federico Díaz: 'BIG LIGHT Space of Augmented Suggestion'
- pp. 34-35 (26) The opening of a recipe for ink, followed by detailed instructions for all the processes to make black ink (spelling modernised) from Simon's Forman's 'Of appoticarie druges', an alchemical commonplace book. MS Ashmole 1494, ff. 220v-221r. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- pp. 36-37 (27) Progression of a lunar eclipse, English fifteenth-century medical and astrological compendium, 1454. MS 8004, p. 53. Wellcome Library, London
- (28) A recipe for blue ink (spelling modernised). Simon Forman, 'Of appoticarie druges', MS Ashmole 1494, f. 225v. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- (29) Federico Díaz: 'BIG LIGHT' [Photo: Václav Jirásek]



Lynn Hershman Leeson





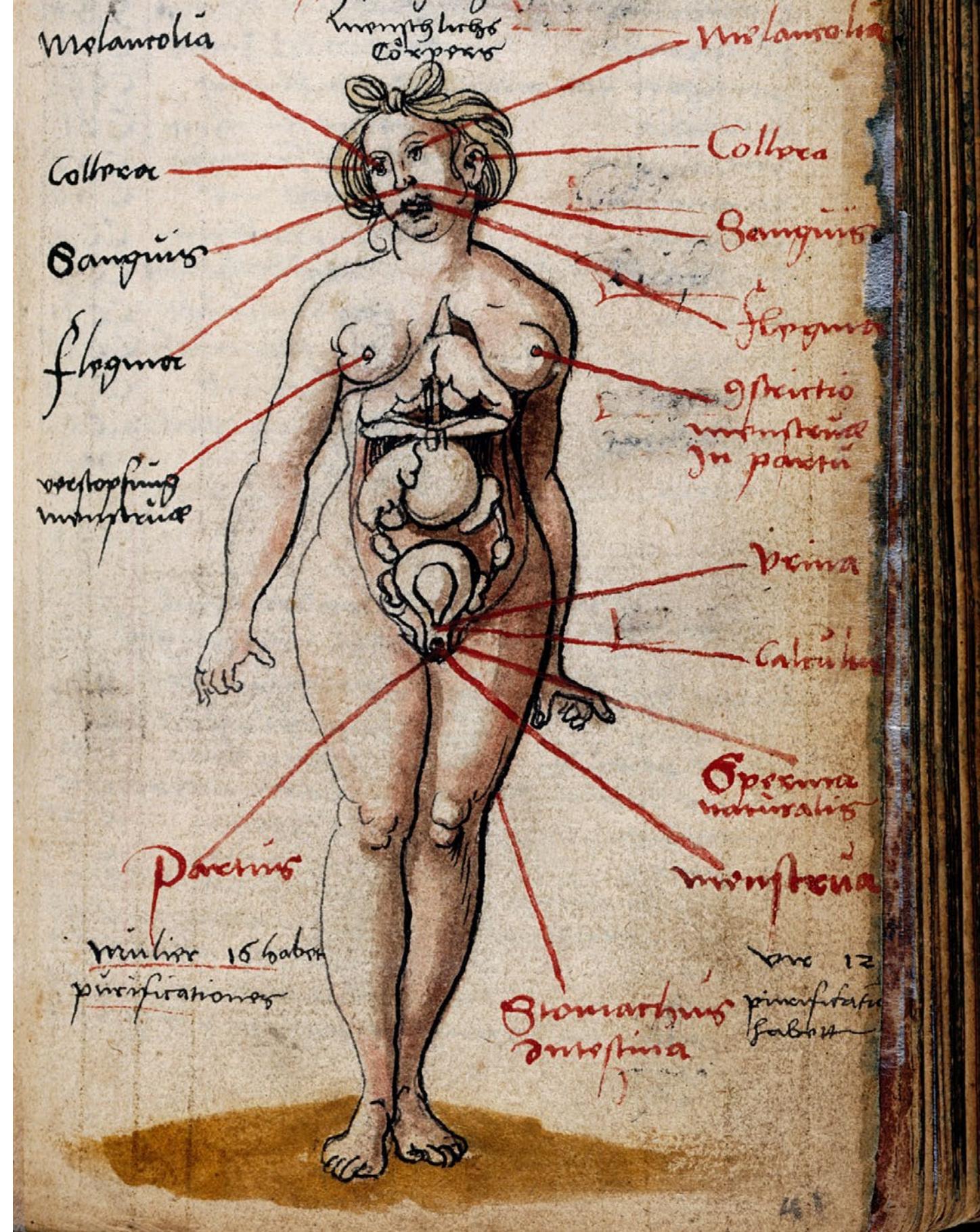
Charity Palmer alias pottell the daughter of John and Eliz Standback. Of 28 years 1597 the 3 Aug Wednesday am at 30 post 9 for Henry Sevedell of 30 years. The wife of Edmond pottell. Henry the son of Elizabeth and Edmond of St martins by Ludgate. He dwells in Paternoster Row. [...]

She has loved this fellow this ten years and she cannot be quiet when she is out of his company. [the drawing is here] Her husband she shall bury him and she shall marry again. On the side of the belly and two in the clitch between the belly and the thigh. Colour and countenance.

It seems he has dealt very friendly with her for money and else. And has known all parts of her body but has not carnally known her for he loathes a woman and cannot abide the smell of a woman. Is sodomitical, secretly minded and very religious. Affair long and in love with another. He will never marry her. She had another husband and her master begot her with child and then married her to this base squire. Her first husband lived scant a year. This has been married to her some year.

Thomasin Goodrom of 18 years last midsummer was born 1579 the 23 of June Tuesday at high noon vz. at 12 of the clock. The Rainbow and the Sheers in Southwark [...]

She shall have disease of the throat belly and foot and shall be wrapped in many snares. And her adversaries shall speak ill of her and trouble her and she shall have debate and strife for things that belong unto her. And her state and life shall be changeable and unsteadfast and yet shall victor in all things and the father of her children shall never continue whole or long in quiet with her and she shall love true judgement in all things and she shall come to good religion and her unlucky days are weds, fri, thurs. and she shall be famous and glorious in her acts and have enough in her old Age and it shall be long before she have any child or else shall have but one son of which she shall much rejoice. And her gain shall come out of watery places or matter. And she shall take thought in some deserty place, shall put herself in hazard of her life and shall be tormented with the continuance of many perils and she shall travail often and have some privy vice and in her age she shall have joy and her husband will be mad and she shall lose her substance and get it again and her profit must come by her own industry and she shall have children by another man or another man's child not her husbands shall be heir to her goods.



## Captions

- pp. 40-41 (30) Lynn Hershman Leeson: 'Digital Venus of The Anthropocene' (2017)
- pp. 42-43 (31) Detail graphic from Lynn Hershman Leeson: 'Agent Ruby' (1996 - 2002)
- (32) Astrological speculum, or mirror, in Napier's 1623 casebook. MS Ashmole 413, f. 86r. In the first comprehensive English astrological manual, *Christian Astrology* (1647), William Lilly describes the use of this kind of chart as a device for rectifying a nativity, meaning working backwards from the major events in a person's life to find out when they must have been born. Here it is associated with a nativity and horary entries for Frances Latch two days before her first birthday. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- (33) Lynn Hershman Leeson: 'Venus of The Anthropocene' (2017). Anatomical Body, Wigs, Gold Body Parts, DNA Bottles, Hypodermic Needles, Mirror, Mac Mini, Facial Recognition Software, Size Variable
- pp. 44-45 (34) Simon Forman's sketch of Charity Palmer, detailing the moles on her face, with a transcription of her case (spelling modernised). Marks on the face or body were understood to have been impressed at birth by the governing planets, and a person's nativity and fate could be read in these marks. MS Ashmole 226, f. 169r (case 2209). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- (35) Simon Forman's sketch of the faces of Elizabeth and Urith Palgrave, mother and daughter, showing placement of moles. MS Ashmole 219, f. 110v (case 5715). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- (36) Nativity of Thomasin Goodrom in Simon Forman's casebook, constructing her future from the configuration of the stars (spelling modernised). MS Ashmole 226, f. 46v (case 1398).
- (37) Sixteenth-century anatomy woman, from a physician's handbook of practical medicine, c. 1524-50 with notes on medical astrology, blood-letting, uroscopy, recipes and more. Western Manuscript 93, f. 41. Wellcome Library, London
- pp. 44-45 (38) Lynn Hershman Leeson: 'Deep Contact' (1984)
- (39) Detail from 'The fortress of health invaded by demons', from Robert Fludd's *Integrum morborum mysterium* (Frankfurt, 1631)





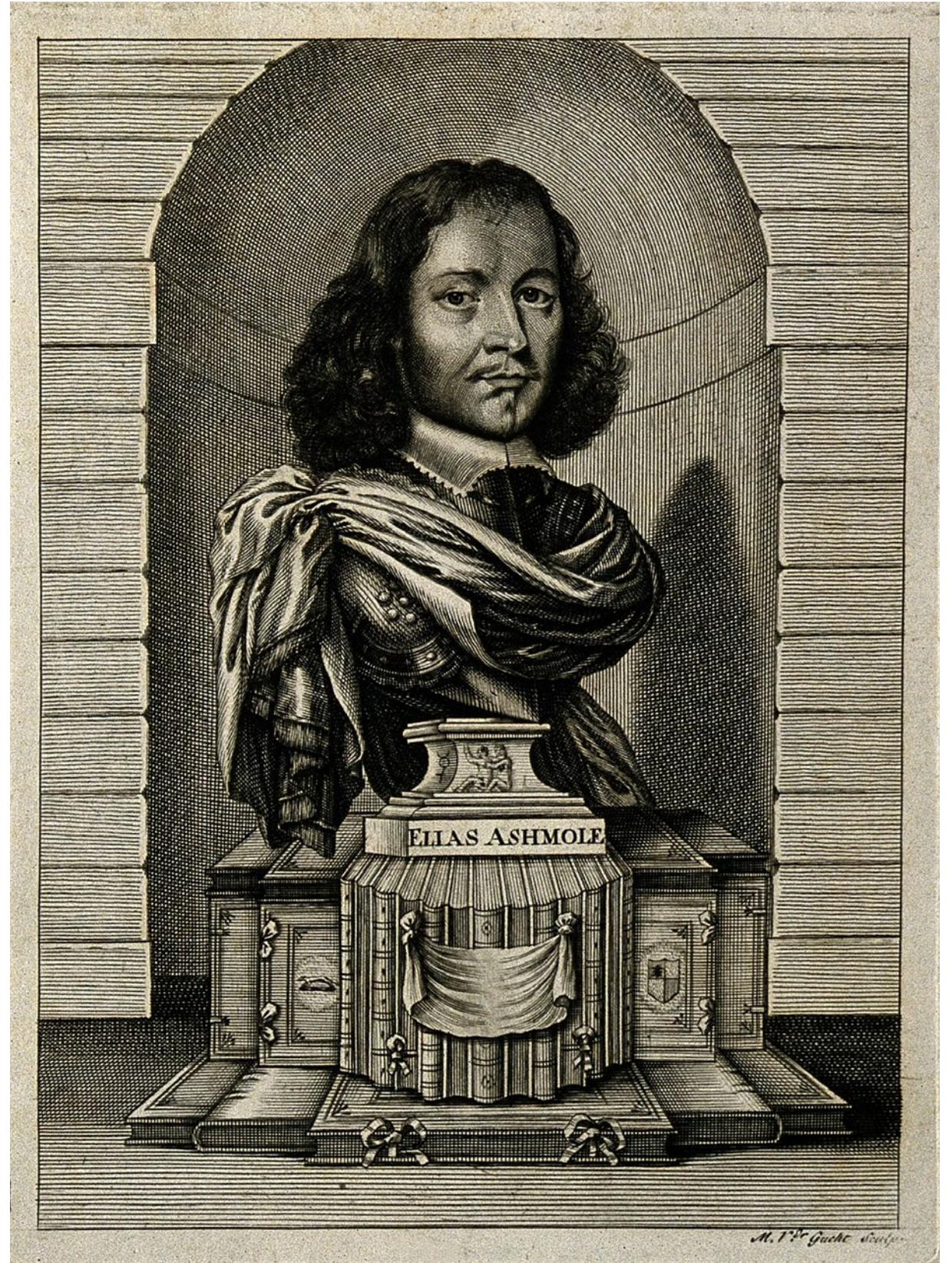
Rényy Markowitsch

The practice of appropriation is a central part of Rémy Markowitsch's artistic oeuvre. The Berlin-based Swiss artist draws on an immense store of references, be it literature, the history of colonialism, 1950s plant catalogues, or the passion of collecting and addiction to illuminate the contradictions of society by juxtaposing different media, acting as chronicler and archivist whilst creating new works of art.



Working with different techniques including photography, sculpture and language, one of his recent projects 'Alps' (2013) contemplates historical cultural ideas by fusing physical sculptures, photographs and site installation.

Markowitsch's 'Casebooks Calf', embodying the material bindings of the volumes, speaks to the casebooks as a collection, as a fetishisation of complete knowledge, brought to its logical conclusion by Elias Ashmole. The calf recites cases, speaking 'by fits' and then falling silent, which allude to men, women and beasts bewitched or overcome, by voices or by longing. The calf frames the collection as something not rational, inductive and accumulative, but as a manifestation of a hermetic mindset, and underpinned by a profound desire to restore some ever-receding original completeness.



Tuesday 18 Thursday 2. 40. p m. 1602. pained in

heart. & longs after every thing. +++ Elizabeth Fox

1601. Taken with a fear in a wood thinking she heard

++ Agnys Abbots of Layton parish of the Reach. 62

aded. & sayeth every thinge is too good for her. Head

head. Hath been let blood. She died May eve. It is of

ing from Saturn. +++ Lettice Ball of Nash 17 y Apr.

s whether any evil tongue have power over her.

times talks idly. She died the same day. +++ Susan

vision & sight at what time she laughed & saw Goody

trenchers & when it took her as they say she cried out

ember Saturday around 12 at night 1596. +++

5 children. 40 years. October 6. Saturday 6.40 am.

was well. & now was ill & raves & rages & speaks

a cold and fell into an ague. Cannot sleep, talks

very craved something to make her sleep. Much

will kill her self as her father did drown him self.

was here present. Moon separating from sextile with

after opposition with Mercury. Mind mightily

t but exceeding fearful. Tempted often to kill herself.

++ Millers 1598 July 14. Friday 7.45. Thomas

at will be her end. About 30 years old. She suspects

d & talks much of the devil. She can not speak.

ements. +++ Moon separating from square with

sun. It seems she has taken it with a great grief. Her

one that she thought had bewitched her. +++ John

0. am. March 14 1620. Has not slept for 5 or 6 days.

melancholy. +++ Mr Uvedale calfs & bullocks die &

January 17 Thursday 9: 50 am 1600. Moon

.) His 3 beasts did very strangely die. +++ An

d feb. 20 Saturday hor 3. p m. 1619. 12 days sick.

& always at night behave her self like a a bedlam &

e of her tongue. Cannot sleep these 12 days but lies

trine with Saturn approaching conjunction with

night as she thought seeing the devil coming to carry

e shall hang in hell by the tongue. And calls and cries

then again by fits rage. Cannot sleep. Will take

y thing. Does lose her excrements of urine and ordure

le Paxon 48 years. October 21. Tuesday 3. 40 p m

ies that she shall be drowned & sometimes burned.

y fits. Slept never a whit last night. Is distracted,

r son did marry against her will, yet she gave her

ed that she might see him buried. Her husband asks

om conjunction with Mercury approaching

Elisabeth Richardson took her sickness the 2 of July

10. 15. She has an idle head & speaks foolishness.

Bereaved of her speech & of her wits. +++ Mrs Mary Woodward of Easton Maudit 20

years. February 21 Thursday 9: 45 a m. 1605. Moon separating from trine with Mars

approaching trine with Saturn. Taken with Desperate fits. Her first fit began on Tuesday

last. Took a conceit partly by hearing of Mr Isaac's daughters of Fensham who as they

report are possessed, & partly ex impatientia amoris. +++ Sir Thomas Snags keeper. 30

years. September 15 Sunday 5. 40 p m 1616. New ague. Which took him this day sennet

& since is grown for lack of sleep mad. Bites and tears & can not be held down. Eats

nothing every day alike. +++ Grace Hall of Faeny Stratford 26 years. March 25.

Wednesday. 9. 30. am. 1601. +++ With child. Pained in her head. Doubts she is

bewitched. Would not take what I sent her. Cries out. She is bewitched. Light headed. Has

no sense nor care to do anything. She tells everyone that comes to her that her cattle,

child, and her self are bewitched. Goody Bricknell suspected. +++ John Beech not far

from Luton came to me from my house at Linford to London to talk with me & to have my

counsel. April 18 Monday 11. 30 am. 1603. Moon separating from trine with Mercury

approaching square with Venus after trine with Mars. Not sick at all in body but

disquieted in mind with fear and dread. Fears evil tongues. Unwilling to have any man

beside himself to know of his infirmity giving me great charge thereof. One that talks with

him cannot find any such thing in his talk, he talks so discretely. +++ Will Rogers of

Stock Hammon. 20 years old. Troubled in mind. Cannot be rid of the devil. Always comes

to his mind & cannot be shifted of him. April 25. Wednesday 6 p m. 1599. this 2 years.

+++ Luce Basell of Olnye 40 years. February 28. Sunday 4. 40. p m. 1602. Had not

sickness till 8 or 10 weeks since. She cannot keep her meat ever since this sennet. Comes

up shakes and burns with cold. Asks if she is pregnant. Urine of a mediocre colour. Jane

Drubb did curse her, and had a calf that foamed and died. Beat hard against the ground.

Taken grief and fear by the womb. Moon moving away from conjunction with Jupiter,

approaching trine with Venus. +++ Georg Myles complained of his chest. Windyness &

aptness to swound & of black stuff that comes from by his excrements. July 20 Tuesday 4.

p m 1619. It would seem that his spleen is not sound. Jupiter lord of the ascendant

approaching Saturn lord of the sixth house in the seventh, in Gemini. +++ Anne Becke

of Kemolten 60 years. August 11. Friday 6. 20 am. 1615. Rising of the womb. They do fear

she is possessed. Hath a great rising up to her throat one day more than others and

sometimes will cry. Lord Jesus Jesus help me and then again say that the devil will come

for her and have her. Sometimes talks well and sometimes idly. It is of Jupiter in Scorpio.

A black dullish water stinking and full of white stinking thick unsavoury matter. Has

eaten little since Wednesday was sennet. It begins at the bottom of her belly as a live thing

and rises up the [throat] and swells and she waxes big. +++ Thomas Kelly Jan 22. Friday

9 am. Had a sore shaking aguish fit 1608. The Lady Constable's man. Thomas Kelly fell

into a new & a strange aguish fit shaking bed & chamber round about Saturday. 9 am.

1608. Moon separating from opposition with Sun approaching trine with Venus. He died

of a pleurisy for not letting blood. And he voided at his mouth. +++ Jane Cuknole of

Torceter 28. Ever since Candlemas lunatic. Came in her own person to me this 20 of April

at 7 pm 1599. Friday. Lunatic & sometimes dumb. Will not converse with her husband.

Hates her children. Moon separating from conjunction with Jupiter, approaching sextile

with Venus. Clubber suspected to have her. And yet by her injuries felt a cold rise. These

apples stick in her throat that she bought of goody Clubber's maid. Eats her meat. Her

water very red and of a blue colour and full of black cloudy cobwebs. +++ Alice Hills of

separating from trine with Venus approachine square with Sun after square with Mercury

[...]. Not bewitched. [mother]. Raphael: let her blood and she will mend. Ellen Parret

threatened her for a lie made of her & said if she took her she would flay her. And after

came to visit her and told her that the devil was in her & would never out of her until she

lost her lying. Mightily troubled with a great arising in her chest up to her throat. They

can scarce hold her. Hath had it since 8 weeks and it began in her side like the falling

sickness and now for 3 weeks is send to keep her bed day and night. +++ Katherine Brook

of Blackwall of Poplar of 60 years. The 18th of June Thursday am at 15 past 8. Disease.

The late wife of George Brook. It is of Saturn in Scorpio, Moon separating from Venus in

Leo. Paint a figure of too great pain stomach, back, head. Gripes and cold. she has most

pain in her back and stomach and vomits and scours. Her ordure comes up at her mouth

and so will die or escape hard 9 days hence and has marvelous fits and it takes her about

the navel first and so works upward. She seems to be bewitched. Prepare 3 days and purge

and burn her water or make a cake of rye flour and her urine. +++ Margaret Page of

Lathbury 35 years old. She lies in & was delivered of a child 3 weeks since will be monday

next. she lacks her milk & can scarce digest her meat. She fears lest she is ill bespoken. She

has had many losses of cattle etc. October 13. Friday 11. 15. 1598. Moon separating from

square with Mars; approaching square with Mercury. She has a very weak stomach. She

lies in. Cannot rejoice her meat nor digest it. She has had a great arising in her stomach

ready to stop her wind and ready to make her swound and it rises like a great wind that

she must needs have her coats unlaced. Her liver is ill. She has an arising of the liver. A

woman consumed. Lean and a bare body before her child birth. Dry handed full of wind,

water well coloured. +++ Mr Althoms brother of London October 11 Saturday 7.19 am

1600. Tempted by Satan to drown him self light headed. It is of Venus in Scorpio moon

separating from opposition with Mercury. Tempted by Satan. +++ Ursula Thorpe of

Stony Stratford. Keeper of the Bull. Hipwell, uncle to Thorpe, 32 years old, sick ever since

Michaelmas. Goes abroad. Sent by Mr Oliver Barker. For his wife sister is her mother in

friendship & kindred. Doubts whether she is bewitched & has a canker in her tongue &

tempted. She has an ill stomach and spits putrefied blood. December. 21. Thursday 9. 15

am. 1598. Moon separating from sextile with Venus approaching sextile with Mars.

French disease. +++ Alice Marriot of Sirwell 45. years next October 29. Her husband

came for her without consent May 20 Thursday 3. 39 p m 1619. Jealous furious

mischievous to her husband & to certain women that she thinks that he has been nought

with. +++ Frauncis Marshall of Newport. Very strangely. Can scarce speak, only makes

signs for water to cool her. Her mouth is furred white with extreme heat. Takes her drink

by a quill. First bound, but that I gave her unbound her. Now in a lask & extreme hot &

dry. December 12 Tuesday 9. 30. am 1598. Troubled in her sleep. The husband for his wife

without consent. Moon separating from square with Jupiter approaching sextile with

Mars after sextile with Sun. A foul yellow red water. +++ Anne Wade of Hampsted

daughter to Sir William Wade. 14 years this next May. Taken in her tongue ever since 4

years old. & does stumble & stuttle & can scarce bring forth a ready word. April 23.

Sunday 12. 50 pm 1615. The mother without consent. Moon separating from sextile with

Sun, approaching square with Saturn. This child was sensible at 3. But afterward grew

like a changling senseless & as a natural. Grows well of a pretty stature & countenance

good. & eats well & holds down her head much & loves to be solitary. & still is clapping

walking & playing with her hands & cannot rest in a

mother] has had many child & goodly. & many stran

downwards & dead. Hath a litle child of 4 & 5 deafe &

deaf & dumb & he begins to speak a little of late & he

goes ill. Widow Bradly suspected & hanged. 6 yeres s

+++ Edward Bradford of Lillingstone Lovell 56 years

1603. A married man, a very mad man tied with chain

Spent his substance. +++ Joan Spark of Blunnam 32

am. 1604. ++++ Had 6 children. Was delivered a M

well. +++ Sometimes well, & she talks idly of the dev

has given her self to the devil. & would make her self

do it. In her fits will not talk. Has very strange fits &

to her. Fears a bad woman that used to curse them. ha

sleep. ++++ Agnys Butresse of Faenystatford 24 Ju

grievous moan for her senses cannot follow any busin

Monday but she returned & said that he would not; &

A bad tongue feared. Give her in Gods holy name a th

since had a Sigil on her neck & all spent took it off her

it were a great black Dog came to her & lay in her lap

June 23 Monday h. 10. 30 am 1617 with consent. wa

troubled in mind. Moon separating from conjunction

Saturn after sextile with Mars. Has her terms very w

youngest 4 years old. Has them very orderly. Head ve

been amiss 3 weeks before on lady day in Lent. A very

anger that she had the devil in her & since troubled in

though she love it exceedingly for fear that she should

in her hand least that she should either kill her self or

many wicked temptations very strongly as moving her

against her. She thinks that she is unworthy to eat or

any body else. +++ Thomas Bently of Turvy 33 year

Troubled in his sleep with dreaming of Children. +++

years married. June 13. Monday 11.30 am. 1603. Had

silver & gold. +++ John Hollowyll of 28 years a bac

Thursday 4 pm. 1602. Moon separating from square

Sun approaching sextile with Mars. Right huckbone,

of his back and down to his hip and ankle. Not able to

brickbat as many more now in a house haunted as is t

brickbats and pebble stones. +++ Joan Nelson of Mo

because her husband on a time beating her maid for d

knew to the contrary, she bearing of the blows when h

within a while after the servant Died & the mother of

until she had hanged him for killing of her Daughter.

black soot every day for this twelve months. 14 years

died. She loses of her beasts & kines fat & good on a s

sometimes she can make no butter. No physic will go

ember 10 Friday 8. 35 am. 1598. Once in a week to  
ard & little, like sheep trittles. She fears her liver is  
rough 40 years. January 27 Tuesday 9. 30 am. 1607.  
esent. Mopish and senseless. Moon separating from  
with Sun after trine with Jupiter. Never well since  
s still. Prays and calls upon God and thanks him.  
celine kneeled down upon her knees & prayed unto  
an & prayed to God that Mary Austoppe might  
had a tongue to speak again she said the plague of god  
ell light upon her. Her urine dunnish & somewhat  
stistering matter in the bottom. Stinking strong and  
Almost a year thus. The woman was at her labour  
ough I have not my wish one way yet I have it  
halstone 24 years. A maiden. September 12. Moon  
y approaching sextile with Jupiter after square with  
ven in her body face head chest body legs. Legs do  
run. Her wind is ready to be stopped. Goody

Smallbone hanged for witchery. She said that she left worst behind her. Suspect on goody  
Bailey. Thinks that she is haunted with some sprite or witch as she terms it. Her body  
pimples like to a gooskin. Ever short winded. +++ Elisabeth Gascoyne of Wickgen. 17  
years. June 16 Wednesday 3. 40. pm. She scratched a woman and so mended. Took her  
disease with a scare and frightening. By fits wonderfully handled. It is of Mars in Scorpio  
Moon separating from Sun in Pisces. About shrovetide had her sickness and never since.  
Chest stomach heart and swounded at the first taking of her sickness and after pained in  
her back. And was taken suddenly and fell down dead and quaked and will hang upon her  
mistress. Urine of a good colour and fears Goody Hooke of it that fell out with her for  
apples that she sold. This Elisabeth Gascoyne after it she had scratched the party and  
wiped away the blood on a rag and cast it into the fire and mended presently. +++ 1598  
Alce Rawling the daughter of Will Rawling fell sick. About Monday morning about July  
10 Monday 7. 30 am. She speaks idlly & is bereaved of her speech & tongue both. & wits.  
Moon separating from trine with Mercury approaching trine with Jupiter after opposition  
with Mars [...]. It should seem that this child should be in danger of death and yet should  
at length be delivered through the goodness of God.

### Captions

pp. 46-47 (40) Rémy Markowitsch: 'Casebooks Calf' (2017)

pp. 48-49 (41) '... have you seen my Alps?' (2013)

(42) The collector: portrait of Elias Ashmole. Line engraving  
by M. van der Gucht, 1723, after W. Faithorne. Wellcome  
Library, London

(43) Ashmole's bookmarks: slips of papers lodged in the  
casebooks marking the cases that he extracted from them  
for further study. MS Ashmole 194, f. 351a; MS Ashmole  
218, ff. 27Ar, 203Ar, 241Ar; MS Ashmole 405 f. 71Br; MS  
Ashmole 413, ff. 6Br, 19Br, 189Br, 201Br. By permission of  
the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

p. 50 (44) Zodiac man of the twelfth-century *Zakhira-i Khvarazm*

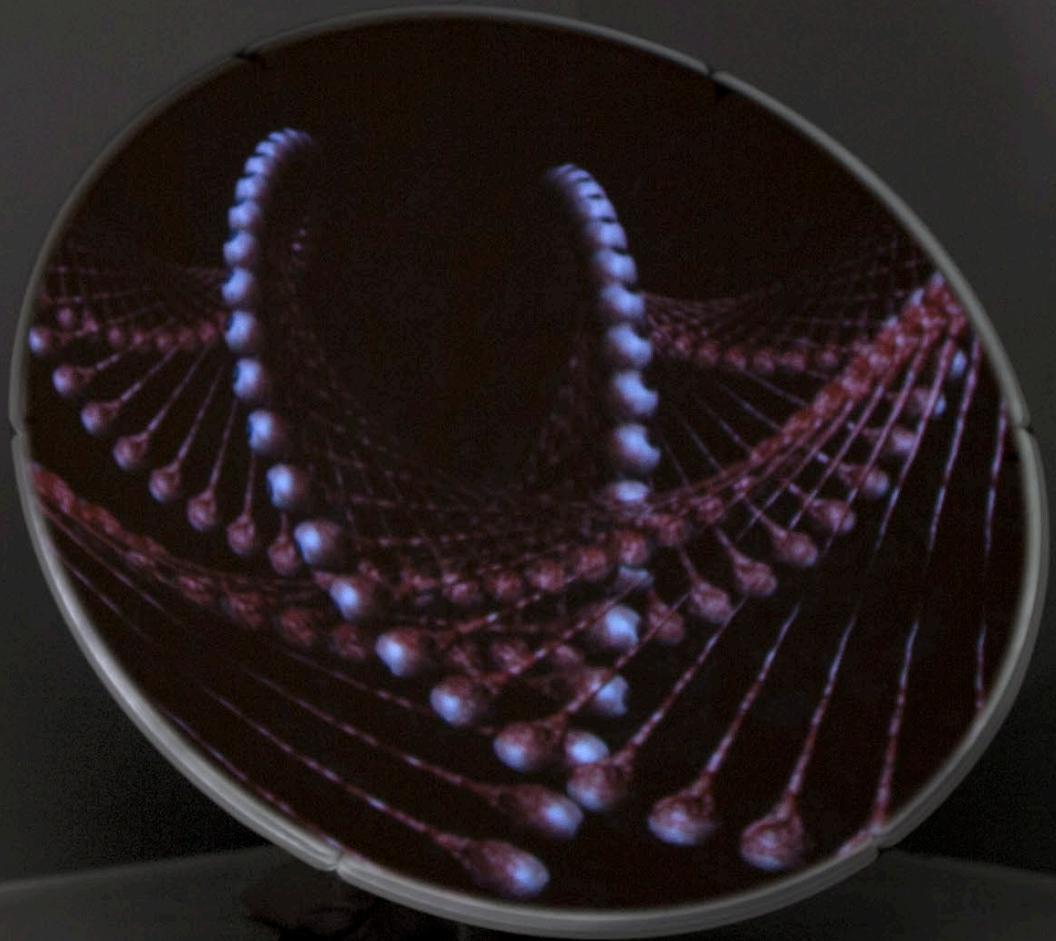
*Shahi* of al-Jurjani and Tashrih-i Mansuri. In the long  
tradition of representations of the correlation between  
signs of the zodiac and parts of the body, Taurus governs  
voice. Wellcome Iconographic Collection 582971i,  
Wellcome Library, London

pp. 50-52 (45) A selection of cases about voices, longing and bewitched

animals spoken by Markowitsch's 'Casebooks Calf': cases  
16671; 19541; 28831; 14852; 11744; 21546; 47857; 13536;  
50379; 13005; 48272; 45641; 16553; 43891; 19083; 13654;  
12317; 20484; 49292; 42211; 32602; 12256; 38073; 9425;  
11747; 18910; 11889; 48779; 11870; 24451; 14269; 21595;  
46806; 45205; 14719; 15119; 18212; 11790; 30527; 17896;  
17265; 13548 (spelling modernised)

p. 53 (46) Head detail of Rémy Markowitsch: 'Casebooks Calf' (2017)





Lindsay Seers

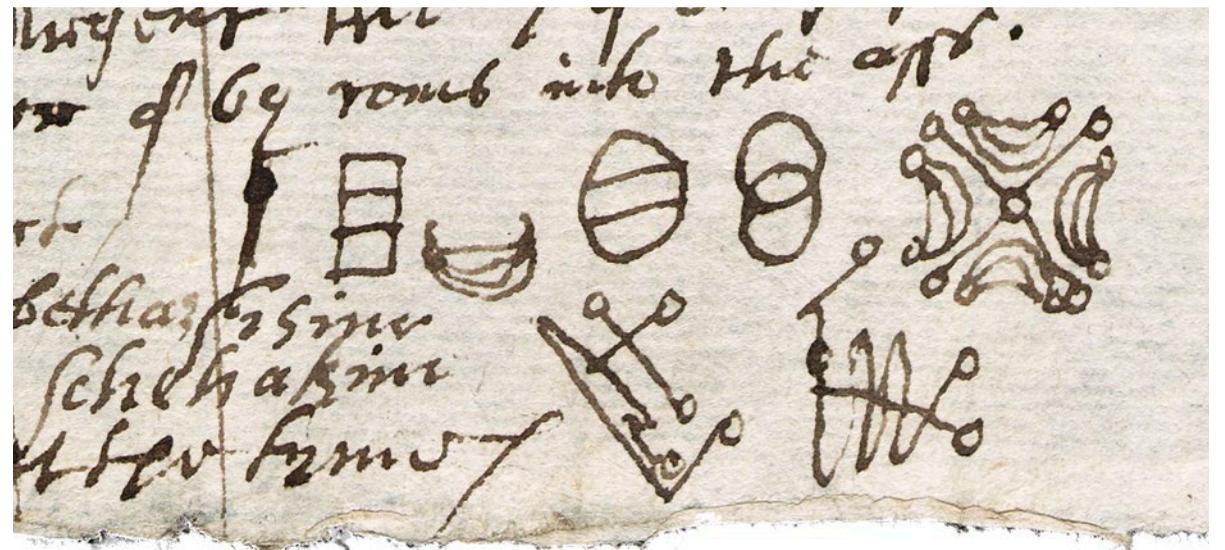


Lindsay Seers' video installations place film imagery within the structures most appropriate to specific narrative constructs. Through Seers' photographic explorations, the past is constantly reconfigured, as if it contains an infinite virtual potential for different outcomes which are all already embedded in one another.

What constitutes the artistic practice for Seers is not mere storytelling, but a matrix where there is no formal separation between the conceptual investigation of the act of photography, the camera as apparatus, the common desire for film and photography to act as evidence of events, and the complex historical and personal synchronicities of events themselves. Rather than a detached systematic outline of these relationships, the viewer witnesses the actual unfolding of a creative process, where the act of observation and understanding influences the outcome of events themselves. These structures are both factual and theatrical, thereby embodying the dual aspect of the evidence and the artefact. It is impossible for the viewer to enter this emotional landscape without making their own identifications and associations, without being an implicated participant within the unfolding of history, its apparatuses and institutions as well as its human narratives.

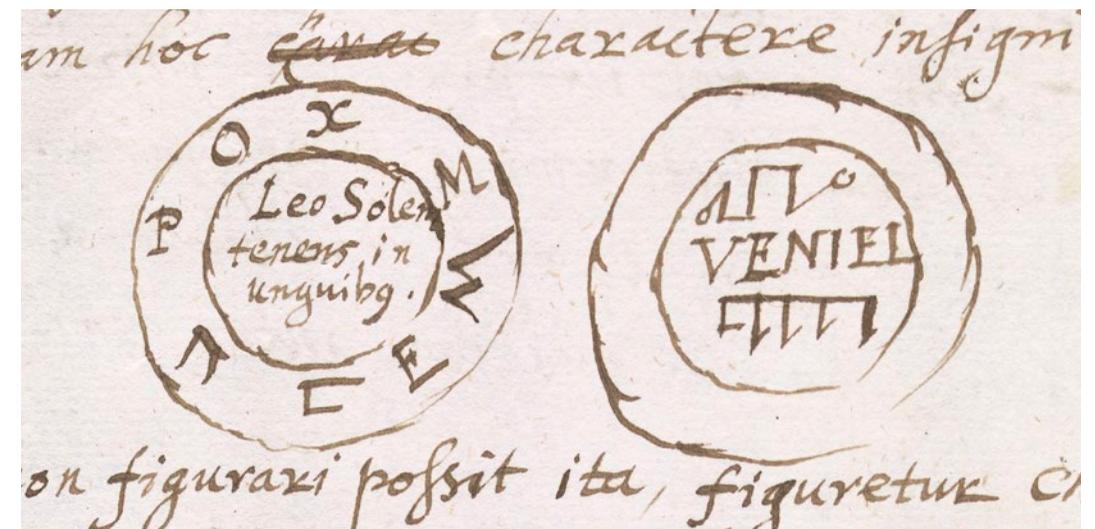


Seers' installation for CASEBOOKS explores themes bringing together dreams, longing and magical inscriptions. Her use of projection to explore these themes speaks powerfully to the manipulation of distance which describes the scheme of influences that underwrites the casebooks, allowing symbols to act in the place of planets, and both to act on the bodies of men.





Griffen Crokar of little Kymble 60 y. Decemb. 3. Saturday 9. 50 am. 1603. His eyesight failed him by little he knows not how. His ground is haunted & treasure is hid there as the report goes. There is heard much music & melody. This Gryphen Crocker has seen lights. The parson of Elsborough 18 years since delivered a note out of a book unto Henry Gynger that now dwells at wigginton in Hertfordshire an old man of 80 years. As follows: Elsborough church & little Kymble church of the right side of the way even against the castle hill there lies of gold & silver & Jewels brass & pewter a weane load laid in by lord Everet Knotsby & his man at the conquest. This was all that was delivered him in a note which he lost willing him to enquire further for he himself saw often a great light which has been seen since by many since his death. And sometimes there will appear a thing like a black hog & very lately seen a white cat with a marvellous long & great tail which ran into a pond. Music heard lately by Crockwell & his wife & children. Henry Ginger with in those 2 years when some came to seek this treasure saw a white bullock without ears & horns. & others saw a fair gentlewoman. A lion an antelope a friar with a gray cloak cast upon his shoulders. But none could find the treasure.



left: (51) 'It has to be this way'; top: (52) The apparitions of Griffen Crokar; above: (53) Sigils in Richard Napier's casebooks

Captions

pp. 54-55 (47) Lindsay Seers: 'Mental Metal' (2017)

pp. 56-57 (48) Lindsay Seers: 'Human Camera' (1997)

(49) Lindsay Seers: 'Mental Metal' (2017)

(50) Simon Forman's sketches of sigils in his casebook. MS Ashmole 195, f. 58r (case 3617). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

pp. 58-59 (51) Lindsay Seers: 'It has to be this way' (2009)

(52) The apparitions of Griffen Crokar, recorded by Richard Napier (spelling modernised). MS Ashmole 197, f. 116r (case 14265)

(53) Sigils in Richard Napier's casebooks c. 1622-24, written by an unidentified scribe. MS Ash 413, f. 225v. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

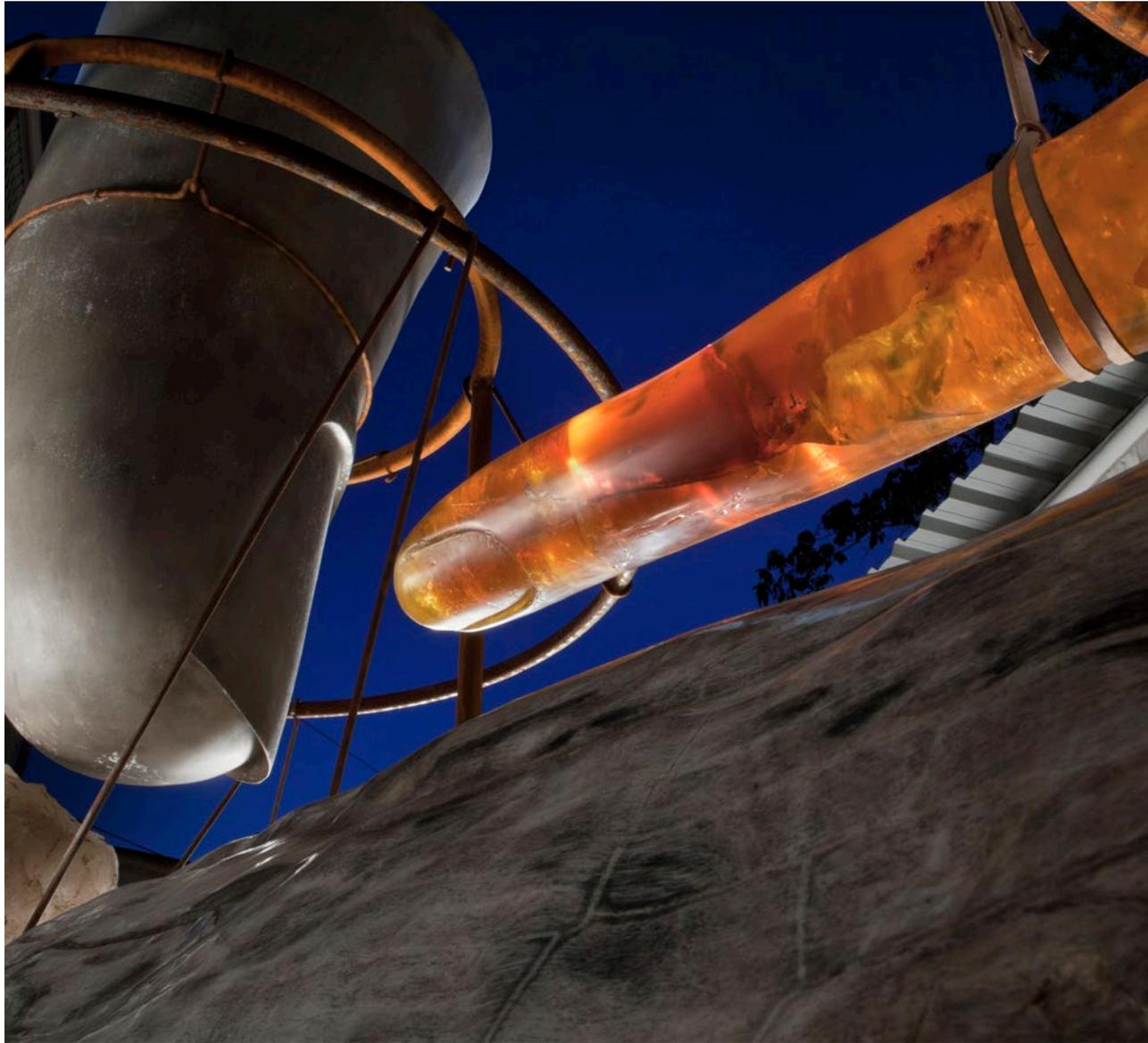
p. 61 (54) Simon Forman's drawing of a sigil for Martha Shackleton. MS Ashmole 411, f. 58v (case 9059). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford



Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, including a large arrow pointing right and some illegible cursive script.



Tungga



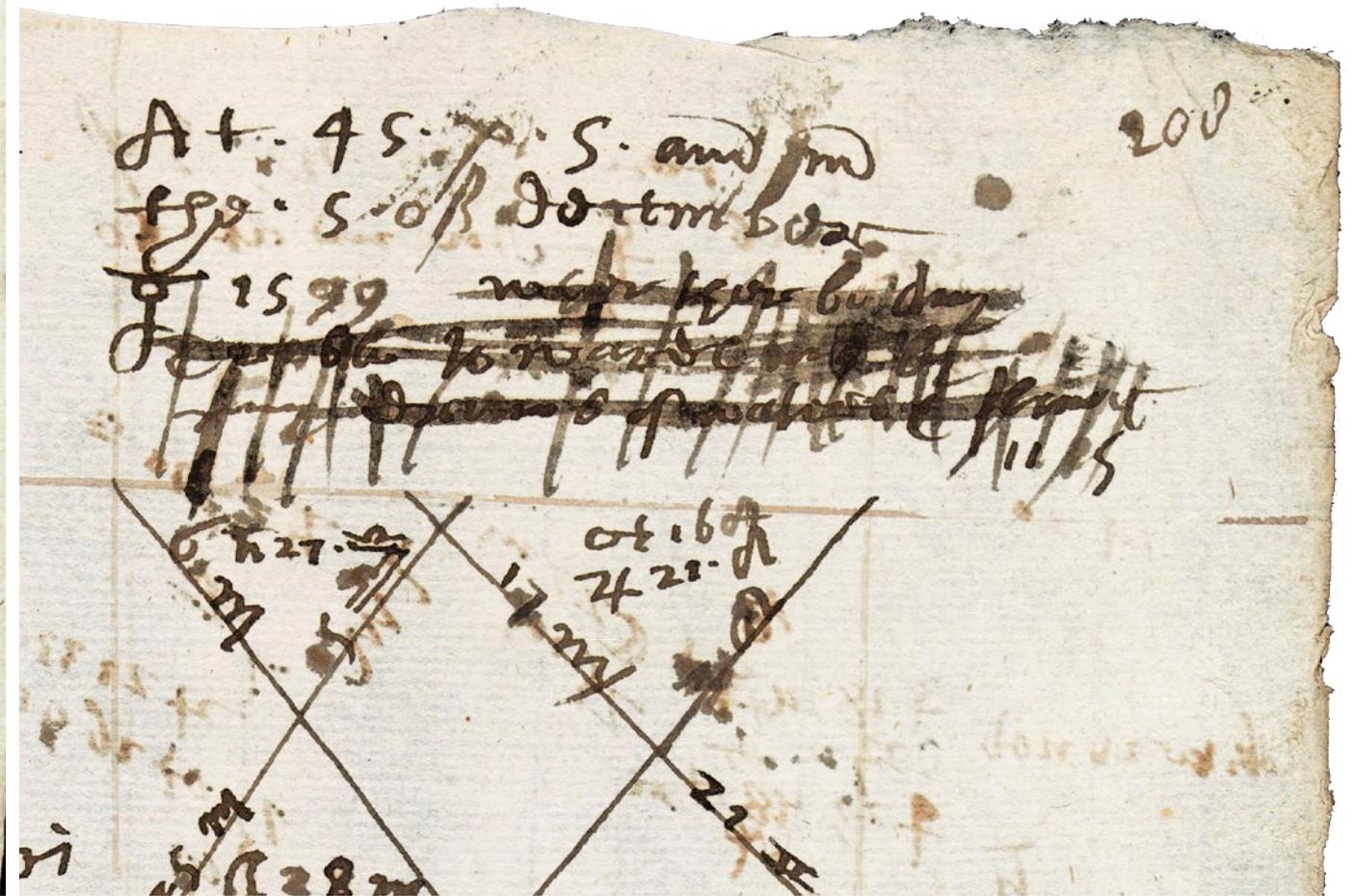
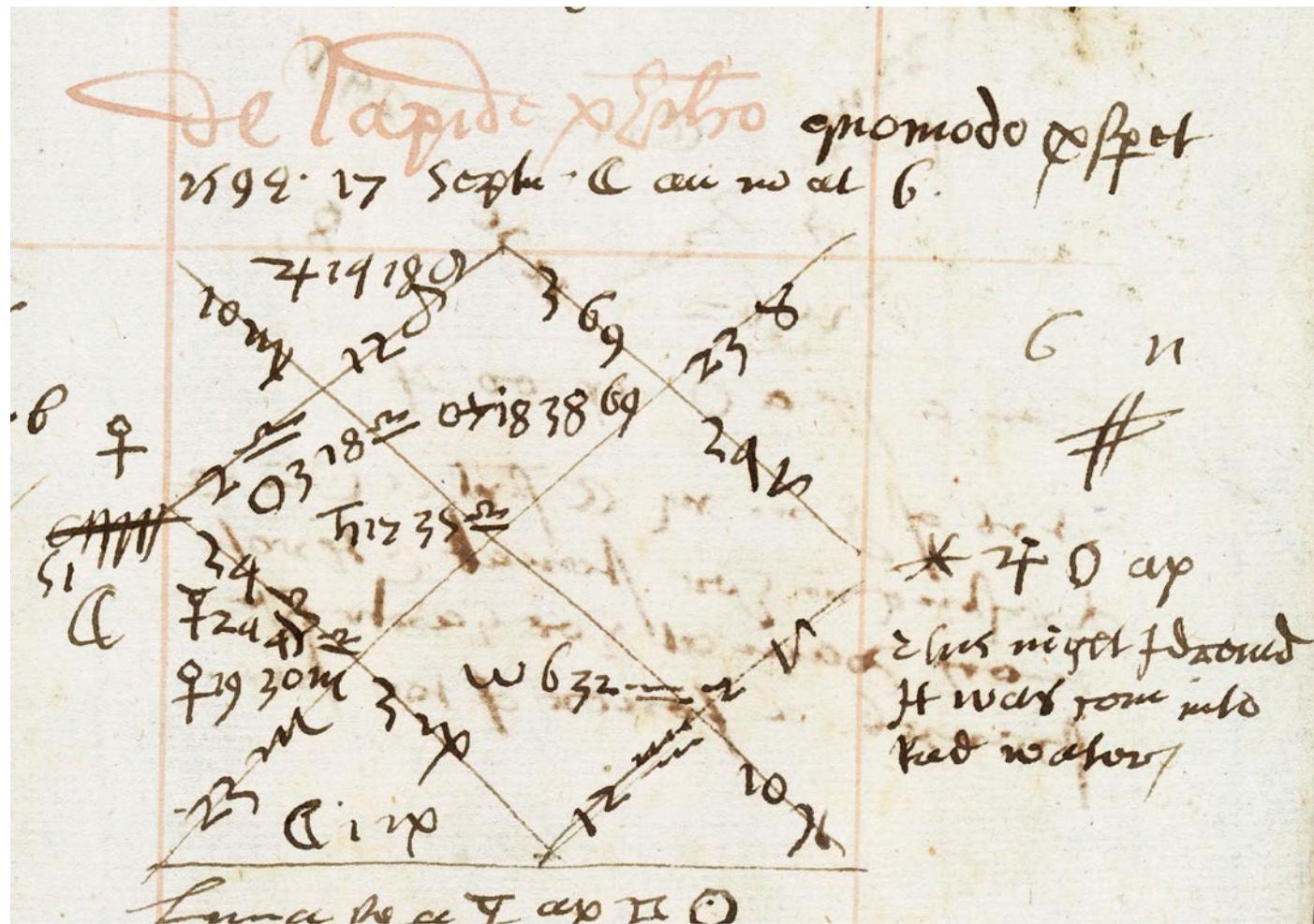
Tunga (1952-2016) was one of the leading Brazilian artists of his generation. His interests in science, alchemy, psychoanalysis, philosophy, and poetics culminated in a rich body of work that explores the relationships between language, image, and object. While each piece functions as a discrete entity, collectively they play an integrated role within a larger network of narratives running continuously and in parallel with one another.

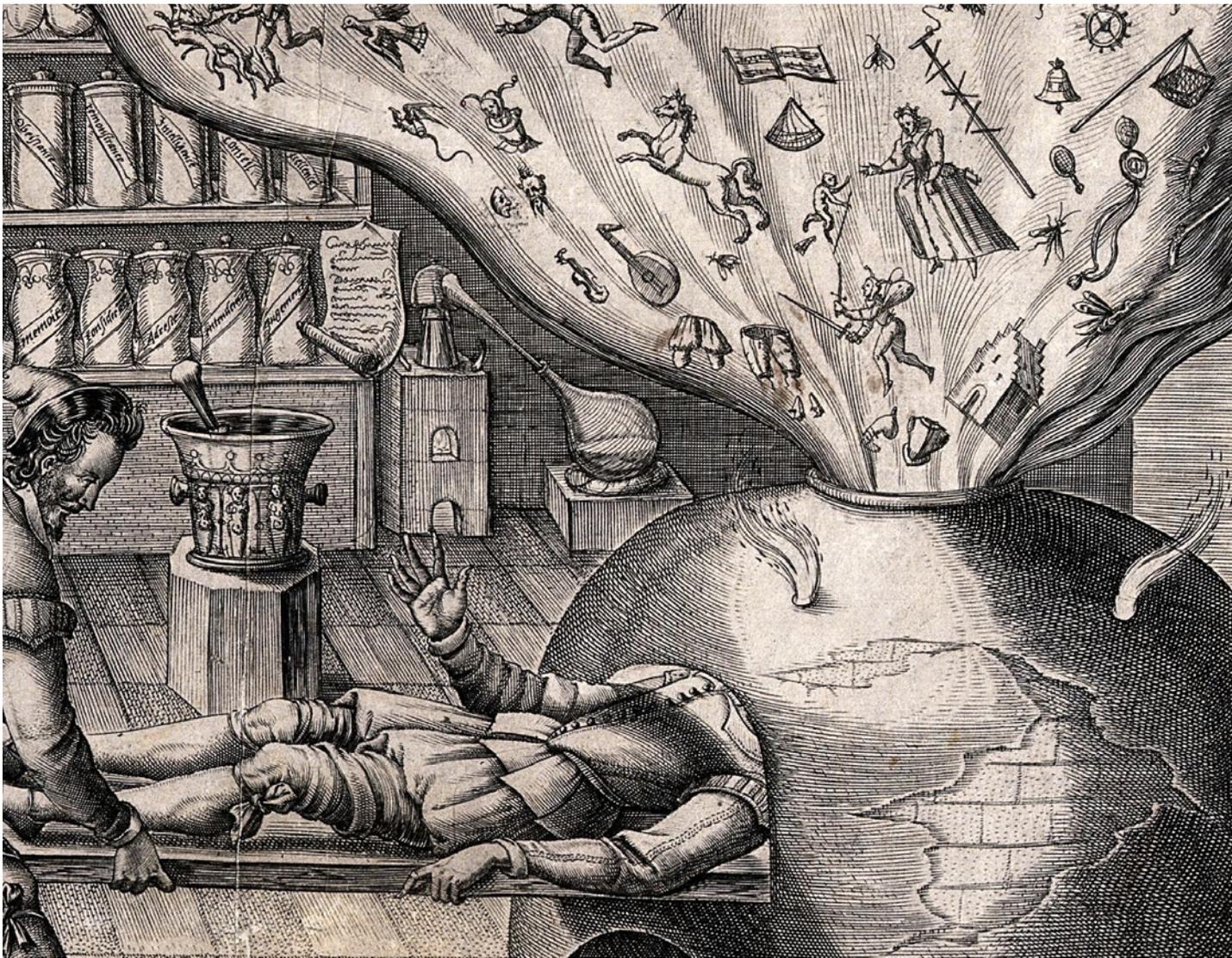
Tunga's principal media of sculpture, installation and performance hint at deeper and more spiritual concepts as does the unexpected assemblage of materials in his sculptures, dissolving boundaries between distinct and unrelated media, and emphasising the narrative potential he saw in objects.



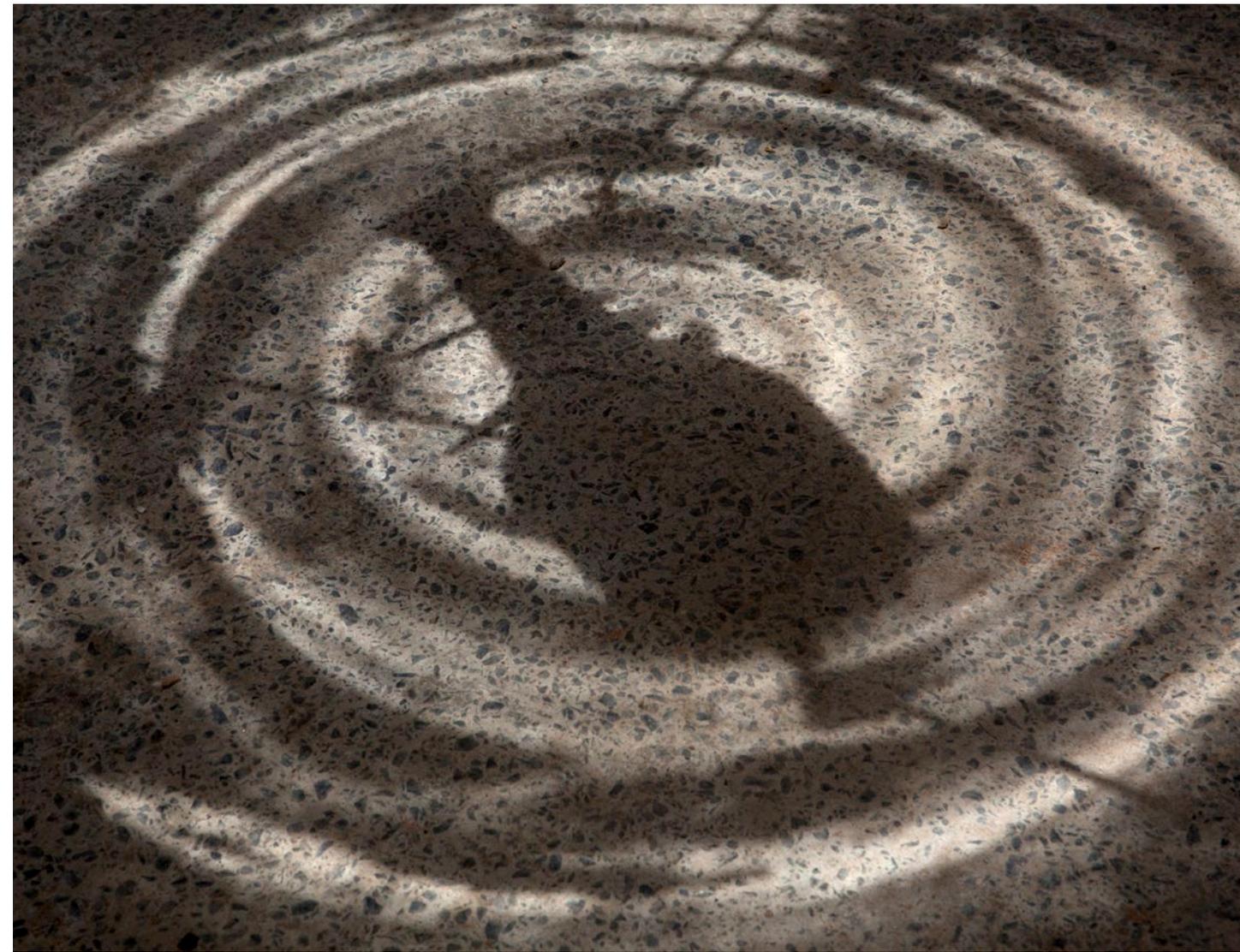
For the CASEBOOKS exhibition, Tunga selected his recent work 'Eu, você e a lua' [Me, You and the Moon] (2015). This monolithic sculptural constellation of welding, clay, rock and organic materials symbolises alchemy, astrology and the senses, through the repeated use of symbolic forms paired with evocative geological and organic materials. It speaks of the natural and the manmade, the ancient and the new, the functional and the allegorical. The tripod at the centre of the work is a recurring structural component of Tunga's work, alluding to his corporeal philosophy and understanding of the connections and interactions between bodies and objects with a third, ephemeral force.

The work speaks not only to the three-way conversation of the casebooks evoked by its title, but also to the immediacy of the encounter which flickers behind the records, as though on the cusp of another world.





above: (61) Detail from 'A surgery where all fantasy and follies are purged and good qualities are prescribed'; right: (62) Tunga: 'Eu, Você e a Lua'



### Captions

pp. 62-63 (55) Tunga: 'Eu, Você e a Lua'

pp. 64-65 (56-57) Tunga: 'Eu, Você e a Lua'

pp. 66-67 (58) Simon Forman consults the stars about the philosophers' stone on 17 September 1599, and next to the entry noted a portentous dream: 'This night I dreamed it was come into red water' (spelling modernised). MS Ashmole 219, f. 156r (case 6046). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

(59) Simon Forman consults the stars about 'whether there will be any trouble towards me by my dreams of water and flying', then

expunges the entry (spelling modernised). MS Ashmole 219, f. 208r (case 6428). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

(60) Detail of petrified wood from Tunga: 'Eu, Você e a Lua'

pp. 68-69 (61) Detail from 'A surgery where all fantasy and follies are purged and good qualities are prescribed'. Line engraving by M. Greuter, c. 1600, later printed under the heading 'Dr Panurgus'. ICV No 11921, Wellcome Library, London

(62) Detail of shadow of a bottle from Tunga: 'Eu, Você e a Lua'



## Topics about which the astrologers were asked, as designated by the Casebooks Project editors

afflicted in mind, anxiety and melancholy, fits, hallucinations, head, impairment, lightheaded, lunatic, morbus, sick at heart, sickness, strange affliction, tempted and suicidal, passions, alteration, bedridden, cause of the problem, childbirth, curable, cured, disease, life or death, medical counsel, mend or pair, morbus, recipe, recovery ('mend or no'), report, sickness, 'state' or 'status', strange affliction, trauma, treatment, unidentified medical, whether to be let blood, aegilops, ague, apoplexy, asthma, cataract, choleric passion, colic, dropsy, falling sickness, epilepsy, gonorrhoea, gout, green sickness, hypochondriac passion, jaundice, measles, migraine, morbus gallicus, new ague, plague, planet-stricken, pleurisy, pox, purples, sciatica, scrofula, scurvy, squinsy, stone and strangury, surfeit, took a cold, whites, ankles, anus, arms, back, bladder, bones, bowels, breasts, chest, ears, everywhere, eyes, face, feet, fingers, flesh, genitalia, groin, guts, hands, head, heart, hips, joints, kidneys, knees, legs, limbs, liver, loins, lungs, navel, nose, reins of the back, shoulders, side(s), sinews, skin, spleen, stomach and belly, teeth, thighs, throat and mouth, torso, waist, womb, bad breath, bleeding, bloating and swelling, bruise, burning and inflamed, cannot speak, constipation, diarrhoea and bloody flux, dizzy and/or faint, dry and/or thirsty, eating and drinking problems, eye troubles, fevers, chills and sweating, fits, gripings, gnawings and stitches, gross humours, hair loss, hearing problems, hernia, fistula and haemorrhoids, hiccups, itch, lame, numb or paralysed, lesions and abscesses, lumps, menstrual problems, nausea and vomiting, non-lactation, pacing, pain and pricking, respiratory problems, rheumy, sleep problems, spitting blood, stooped, bent or stiff, urinary problems, wasting, wind, worms, alive or dead, childbirth, emotions, fertility, life or death, pregnancy, alchemy, devil, dreams, fairy pinched, haunted, sigils, witchcraft, absent person, character, choice of employee, clearing name, controversies, conversation, death, fortune, friendship, gambling, gifts, girl or boy, how long someone will live, journeys, mind reading, paternity, personal history, pregnancy, religious experience, rumours, secret enemies, send, theology, trust, turba, visits, wardship or upbringing of children, whether to help, whether to practise, who will die first, fidelity, marital prospects, marital relations, romantic relations, stalking, absent ship, condition, current affairs, death and/or disease of animals, finance and property, legal matters, loss and theft, occupation, preaching, preferment, prison, punishment, residence, treasure, weather, unknown

## Occupations in the casebooks, as represented by the astrologers and their patients

agent, ale brewer, ale keeper, apothecary, apparitor, aqua-vitae man, assistant preacher, attendant, attorney, bagpipe-player, bailiff, baker, barber, barber-surgeon, barrister, basketmaker, bell-founder, bishop, blacksmith, bone lace maker, bonesetter, bookbinder, bookseller, boy (servant), brewer, bricklayer, broker, butcher, butler, captain, carpenter, carrier, carter, cattler, chamberlain, chambermaid, chandler, chaplain, chapman, chapwoman, cheesemonger, clerk, clerk of assize, clerk of the kitchen, cloth worker, clothier, coachman, coal carrier, collar maker, comfit maker, commissary, constable, cook, cookmaid, cooper, cornsacker, counsellor, cowherd, cunning man, curate, currier, cutler, dairymaid, day labourer, distiller, doctor, draper, drawer of beer, driver, drover, dry nurse, dyer, embroiderer, falconer, farmer, farrier, fiddler, fisherman, fishmonger, flax woman, fletcher, footman, fowler, fuller, furnace maker, gardener, gilter, glassman, glover, goldsmith, grocer, groom, haberdasher, hayward, head hosteller, herb-woman, herdsman, herdsman, horse keeper, horse-leech, horseman, hosier, housekeeper, huntsman, husbandman, innkeeper, ironmonger, jail keeper, joiner, judge, justice, keeper, keeper of the hawks, keeper of the wardrobe, kitchen boy, kitchen maid, labourer, labouring man, lace buyer, lace maker, launderer, lawyer, leap maker, liming woman, linen draper, loader, locksmith, magistrate, maid, maltster, man (servant), marshal, mason, master groomporter, mercer, merchant, midwife, miller, miller's man, minister, musician, needlemaker, nurse, orange worker, ostler, page, painter, pantler, parchment maker, pasture-man, pedlar, perfumer, pewterer, physician, pinner, ploughboy, plumber, plumber's man, porter, postmaster, poulterer, preacher, precise tailor, printer, proctor, queen's attorney, ratcatcher, rector, registrar, retainer, saddler, sailmaker, saltpetre-maker, scholar, schoolmaster, scrivener, scullion, sealmaker, secretary, sergeant-at-arms, sergeant-at-law, servant, shearman, sheep-shearer, sheetmaker, shepherd, sheriff, shipmaster, ship's captain, ship's purser, shoemaker, shopkeeper, sieve maker, silk weaver, silkman, smith, soldier, solicitor, soothsayer, spurrier, steward, stone carver, student, summoner, surgeon, swineherd, taborer, tailor, tailor's man, tanner, tapster, tasker, taverner, tile-burner, tiler, tithing-man, tombmaker, town clerk, town servant, tranter, turner, under-butler, under-sheriff, usher, vicar, victualler, vintner, wainman, waiting gentleman, waiting gentlewoman, waiting woman, warrener, wax chandler, weaver, wheelwright, white baker, wise woman, woman (servant), woodward, wool and linen mercer, woollen draper, woolman, workman, workwoman, yeoman, yeoman of the horse

## An illustrative list of things in the casebooks

Items listed here appear in either the question (transcribed) or the judgement (currently untranscribed) portion of the cases. Case material is referred to by case number, as designated by the Casebooks Project; extraneous material is referred to by manuscript volume and folio.

**accounts** 8905 (not adding up); 20363, 20369, 20382 (Nicholas Leate's)

**animals** 14265 (apparitions of black hog, white cat, white bullock, lion, antelope); 30222 (hawk lost); 43314 (crab lice); 48188 (cat); 23668 (a buck for D Fleming); 47855 (fat doe sent to RN); 3066 (wolf, in her breast some say); 49987 (2 live quails and 10 live partridges sent to RN); 21682 (2 rabbits sent to RN); 9452 (why the crows follow her); 41327 (hen) *livestock general* 20465 (stolen beasts); 41123 (falconry); 11990 (ducks) *See also 'cattle'; 'dog'; 'horse'; 'sheep'; 'parrot: ingredients/remedies' below; and topic 'sick and dying animals'*

**appearance, observations on** 11814 (a very fat faced man); 47949; 11747 (thin); 2835 (tall; freckled face); 1769 (enemy who is tall; long visage; ruddy); 462 (wife a tall brown woman somewhat long and visage very gentle); 12041 (a pretty bloody coloured wench) *predicted* 1897 (woman in a white waistcoat, black browed); 12226 (long visage); 12299 (a lean man, a black swarthy man) *See also 'fat/corpulent' below*

**apples** 20806 (basket of) *and witchcraft* 12256 (apples stick in her throat that she bought of goody Clubber's maid); 17265 (fell out with her for apples that she sold); 49363

**apron** 14259 (stolen); 19696 (stolen lawn apron)

**astrological interest** 836 (no evil towards her till 18 days hence; later notes she is sick 18 days later); 13866, 21803, 14089 (RN sends away enquiries about stolen animals; because he says he never meddles with such trivial matters); 48175, 48176, 48177, 48178, 48179, 48180 (retrospective horaries for Joan Kent who drowned herself); 34811 (RN narrates how he has composed the chart); 40428 (RN takes 10s payment, which he offers to repay doubled if he's wrong); 11787 (he died according as I said that day at night) *See also 'death' below for observations added later*

**bath (treatment)** 15872 (to sit in)

**beating** 19036; 19093; 17215 (Malins struck him); 11790 (maid beaten and died); 48188 (child beaten to death); 20405 (wonderfully beaten); 14033 (by his master); 15752; 20914 (she was kicked); 32331 (RN beating James; see also topic 'punishment' for related cases); 38101 (Ellen Parrot threatened to beat her); 46587 (kicked, shut in a door); 45459 (beats her husband and all who come to her); 48944 (husband calls her whore bitch and beats her); 39163 (brother gripped her about the stomach); 48942 (beaten by husband; mother in law a great cause of it); 11990 (some he stroke with his fist against his will); 29865 (abused by her husband, beaten by him); 12733 (zeal and beats wife); 18188 (cares not whom he strikes); 49357 (dreams of someone coming to beat him)

**bed** 940; 45419 (locked every night to her bed); 1031; 16948; 11859; 18188 (frighted in his bed); 19702 (husband in bed with); 16948 (vomits nightly in bed); 49464 (set fire to); 49660 (pissing of bed); 48272 (does lose her excrements of urine and ordure in her bed ); 32602 (fit shaking bed and chamber); 13491 (can scarce remove her clothes being a bed) *keeps his/her bed* 18723; 12437; 13495 (kept not his bed but soon mended) *brought a bed (childbirth)* 35102; 34608; 48912; 25811; 20595 *See also 'linens/bedding' below; topic 'bedridden'*

**black** 46806 (black dog); 11790 (vomiting black soot); 14265 (black hog); 12256 (black cobwebs in urine); 43990 (black spots); 15872 (2 black sheeps hides boiled for a bath); 35435 (black visions waking & sleeping); 18188 (cries out of a black man & black thief)

**books** 3822 (SF's lost); 4358 (SF's); 4446 (SF, bosom book of physic); 928 (SF's missing book of medicine); 38943 (Al Karani, burned by RN accidentally with a candle); 34811 (consulting ephemeris)

**bread/cakes/baking** 10889 (bread); 2179 (stolen bread); 12361 (eats nothing but bread); 43281 (lame in the knees a fortnight ever since Goody Slone was not allowed to bake with her); 33207 (3 small cakes); 9425 (make a cake of rye flour and her urine); 11554 (swelling in his neck the size of a penny cake)

**breastfeeding/ lactation** 49078 (wetnurse); 27055 (suckles her child); 11780 (child died for want of milk); 11747 (mother lacks milk); 25811 (milk dried up); 12492 (milk went away after churching); 48912 (dreamed she must not nurse her own child); 13010 (refuses his nurse's breast); 15761 (has a child of 2 years old sucking on her); 32759 (suckles a child of a quarter); 36079 (her sucking child about six months old); 45459 (a young child about a year old which she is still nursing); 42629 (breasts leak)

**broken** 15385 (2 or 3 ribs); 16948 (ribs); 16751 (arm); 3271 (lock); 11517 (coffer); 2069 (pots of potion burst, one on the way home, the other as soon as it got home, standing in the cupboard); 26637 (in his body); 657 (heart); 30943 (collar bone); 12689 (legs); 40813 (leg)

**burned** 38943 (book; accidentally with a candle); 12306 (Alice Kent's child burned in the face); 49464 (bed; attempt to burn house, husband, child and self); 33573 (house and horses burned); 11753 (burn/scald) *witchcraft* 48912 (hair and nail clippings); 9425 (urine); 17265 (rag with witches blood on it) *For burning in body see also topic 'burning and inflamed'*

**butchers' adventures** 41868 (butcher absconded with money); 34242 (butcher suspected of stealing bullock); 11062 (suspected of stealing calf); 815 (fears he will die)

**butter** 12173 (butter anointed helps his aches best); 39214; 11790 (bewitched, can't make butter)

**candle** 38943; 11931; 12995 (a candle with cinnamon); 12649 (at candle light); 18256 (2 hours after candle night)

**cattle** 5164; 19083; 11747; 45321 (on way to milk a cow) *cattle missing, stolen, lost* 12714; 21974 (stolen cattle; stolen sheep); 30122 (30 cattle stolen); 43116 (cow and calf stolen); 47586 (lost cattle) *cattle missing butcher suspected* 34242 (stolen bullock; butcher suspected); 11062 (calf stolen; butcher suspected) *cattle bewitched* 21595 (2 calves strangely taken); 20484 (bewitched calf) *injured by* 18639 (tossed by a cow) *See also topic 'death and/or disease of animals'*

**caul** 36451

**chamber/bedroom** 1504; 941 (whether unlucky); 8052 (spoons stolen from); 32602 (fit shaking bed and chamber)

**changeling** 13137 (became as a natural changeling); 24451 (grew like a changeling senseless & as a natural)

**cheese** 27937 (cheeses heave & wax bitter; witchcraft); 36011 (bitter; strong taste of rennet; witchcraft); 36331 (swell; witchcraft; sent to Napier); Ash 402 27v (piece of cheese with certain words written on it, for dog bite)

**childbirth** 24090 (lunatic in her child bed) *mother died or injured* 18510 (died in childbed & her child also); 46541 (hurt in childbearing) *child died/stillborn* 1400; 45627 (3 children but her labour stops & all her children die in the delivery); 17035 (2 died in childbed. All died & lived not above 9 days); 45538 (3 children & die always before they come to Christendom); 34606; 34608; 14384 (delivered of a child stillborn); 40373 (child dead born) *born early* 28518 (last child being borne 6 or 7 weeks before the time); 37930 (untimely birth, mother sad & melancholy) *lying in* 5247 *See also 'twins' above; topic 'childbirth'*

**children** 10607 (7 children); 47521 (has had 9); 11986 (5 children); 35585 (has had 12 children); 21595 (had 6 children); 40909 (5 children); 12423 (never had child)

**cloth/rag** 11089 (a piece of holland); 11480 (82 yards lost from his mills); 32548 (100 yards stolen from a fuller); 17265; Ash 220 177r (linen); Ash 218 31r (cloth dipped in vinegar); 30804 (put it in a cloth and chew)

**clothing** 45572 (at night renting & tearing his satin garments ); 50380 (put on a shirt not aired one morning); 49923 (so swollen he can scarcely do up his clothes); 13491 (can scarce remove her clothes); 21327 (scarf lost); 40813 (stolen apparel); 40432 (cannot keep her clothes on her back); 3005 (Bess Jonas for her clothes); 5988 (Bagly for his clothes); 49730 (pair of gloves and velvet mittens); 1993 (tunic) *doublet* 2191 (in which SF's missing lamen was found); 8796 (duploid, taken away in the night); 8791 (a woman has stolen it); 8808 (thief confessed) *cloak* 36870 (lost); 1963 (pro pallio); 39708 (costing 32s 4d) *stockings* 11043; 11066 (stolen) *garter* 47212 (taken betwixt her gartering & kneepan ); 21595 (to make herself away); 6646 (SF's lost yellow garters); 2515 (SF's garters) *girdle* 7614 (SF's wife's; does Sibill have it) *corsets* 12066 (over strait laced); 11747 (must unlace her coates for wind rising in her)

**coffer** 40813; 11517; 17516; 34270 and 34271; 11129

**coin** 719 (Portugue, swallowed); 2835 (a French Crown); 47525 (£5 in Jacobusses); 11671 (2 English Crowns)

**collar** 1636 (of Anne Fletcher's missing dog, blueish green with silver bells)

**colleges** 49405 (butler of Corpus Christi college who is foolish by fits & tends often to laugh & smile); 31729 (John Faldo of Trinity College, Cambridge); 38367 (a Scottish scholar once of Magd college); 28353 (Mr Vilwayne of Exeter College); 46142 (Mr Dollin of Exeter College in Oxford)

**comb** 41522

**cosmetic** 43990 (a water mundicative to make her look young); 36946 (a bottle of water cosmeticall, ointment cosmeticall); 48215 (to thicken his shedding hair)

**crutches** 13384; 18923 (cannot go but with crutches); 23551 (goes with crutches); 11885 (went with crutches)

**cured/recovered** 37288 (was mend by my counsel); 11983 (she recovered, in chart); 10235 (was amiss & now is mended by that I gave him); 11814 (he mended for that time but died afterward, in chart); 49421 (was very sick and mended); 39281 (did certify me that she found much ease & good by my counsel, gods name be blessed for it)

**dead for a time** 12684; 13577; 13578; 12666; 17270; 44588 (infant seemed dead for an hour); 45321 (fell down dead going into the yard to milk a cow); 31781 (falls down dead many times)

**death** *died* 26637; 12460 (she died, in chart); 14852 (she died the same day); 1872; 13215; 8397; 11780; 34606; 34608 (child dead, in chart); 40373 (dead born); 48188 (child beaten to death); 18118 (he died, in chart) 46240 (child suffocated by pillow); 48572 (this child died last night); 27307 (I went not, she died); 12047 (a timpani, died) *death indicated* 23451; 4965 (will die early of this disease) *died some time after* 48912; 11790; 41868 (he mended not and died); 13489 (she died not long after); 12955 (head drilled by surgeons, died a month after) *fearing death* 11753; 30884 (they fear death; handled in a like manner to one who died) *close to death* 20405 (nearly killed in a drunken fray); 17702 (like to die with it); 16739 (like to die from bleeding); 13630 (desirous to have his neighbours forgive him as expecting death); 4961 and 4960 (in peril of his life) *dead body* 926 (shall get wealth by the death of one or by the dead body)

**debt** 462; 20258; 13823; 2434 (she is now very needy and in debt); 28900 (husband indebted left his wife & 6 children); 50307 (much grief for debt); 6949 and 6227 (whether Ralph Green will be imprisoned for debt)

**devil** 45459 (said to her that he must have her); 48272 (tells her that she shall hang in hell by the tongue); 45205 (one said to her in her anger that she had the devil in her); 12317 (cannot be rid of the devil); 21595 (says fondly that she has given herself to the devil); 42211 (says the devil will come for her and have her); 38073 (told her the devil was in her)

**diet drink** 20966; 37275; 20632; 46457 (ill after his diet drink)

**dinner** 20424 (Marjory Britten); 18718 (Mrs Troughton)

**diseases** *gonorrhoea* 29160 (taken from millstone falling on him); 14392 (from jumping over hedge); 39660 (taken with the strain of a wild horse) *new diseases* 40358; 37384 (new ague); 16715 (the new disease) *plague* 15533 (feareth the plague) *plague at Bedford in 1607* 1889; 31890; 31891; 31892; 31895 (metuit pestem for he was there); 31898 (I wrote a note for the whole town) *cause of disease* 11767 (lying down in a field); 41045 (hunting on a wet day) *See also topic 'plague'; 'new ague'*

**dog** 4215; 4119; 5845; 1636 (white bitch lost by Anne Fletcher and 6 related cases) *black dog* 46806 (as it were a great black dog came to her and lay in her lap) *bitten by* 34132 (mad dog); 17565 (through arm); 35697 (mad dog) *parts of* Ash 218 213v; Ash 402 27v (dog's liver to cure dog bite)

**dreams** 7558 (pregnant dreams; many; doleful and wonderful); 9334; 4801 (whether he will have the woman he dreamed of for his wife); 49357 (is much afraid in his dreams); 6428 (SF dream of water and flying); 48912 (dreamed she must not nurse her own child); 14719 (troubled in his sleep with dreaming of children) *See also topic 'dreams'*

**drowning** 46806 (went to drown herself); 47857 (fears she'll kill herself as her father did drown himself); 48177 (she did drown herself in January following); 31740 (wont to drown herself); 8280 (would have drowned himself); 18910 (tempted by Satan to drown himself); 45641 (says sometimes that she shall be drowned and sometimes burned); 11990 (grief touching a child of a year and a half drowned in a mucklepit); 48175, 48176, 48177, 48178, 48179, 48180 (retrospective horaries for Joan Kent who drowned herself)

**drunkenness** 20405 (in danger to be killed in a drunken fray); 5247 (Bess Parker, the time she went to Lambeth with a baker and came home drunk); 19099 (Drunken & so he has taken a fall from a horse); 47580 (mad & furious at this time much given to drinking)

**execution** 38231 (accused witch; likely to death); 17896; 39163; 39985 (hanged for witchcraft); 11790 (mother of beaten maid would see the girl's master hanged); 24451 (Widow Bradly suspected & hanged 6 years since); 18322 (those suspected to have done her harm, one of them hanged, the other in Northampton gaol)

**faking** 50385 (whether possessed or a dissembler)

**fall** *from house* 16122; 15587 (a hovel) *from ladder* 28457; 34244; 17206; 28457 *from cart* 19172; 17561; 47511 *from tree* 11230; 11515; 12666; 16751 *down stairs* 20966; 17475 *See also 'horses' below*

**falling out** 19797 (two of Napier's servants); 4569 (SF asks how long before Dean Wood and Ferdinand fall out); 40462 (between Elizabeth Gibbs and Elizabeth Soule); 23551 (fears he is bewitched since his father fell out with Joan Adams); 12711 (ever since their falling out has been evil handled)

**fat/corpulent** 47949; 44145; 11932 (a gross & fat woman); 10571 (a fat man; cannot abide the sight of meat but is very hot & sweats exceedingly); 18188 (fat and hungry); 26902 (gross body); 12358 (a corpulent man & full faced); 13108 (fat woman & much pinched about the heart); 44352 (fat & corpulent) *maybe pregnant* 42629

**figurative language** 10864 (some ill thing or two as big as mice within his shoulders); 15331 (hucklebone as if all were asleep); 46806 (as it were a great black dog came to her and lay in her lap); 26915 (like stinging of nettles all her face & body over); 12442 (feels a thing round in her belly as a dish); 13386 (pricking in his head as it were with daggers); 12887 (as a thing that heaves & sucks on him); 20315 (took him under the ear first as if he had been struck suddenly as it were with a planet); 11653 (she is pulled as it were in pieces); 26847 (cries in her back as a woman in labour); 11395 (skrike as if daggers were thrust in to her); 12757 (pricking like needles at the heart); 12977 (a think lying on his breast like a hag); 11767 (as if it were pricked with nails); 12301 (water as clear as a bell); 12301 (has as it were a thing lumbering in her chest); 3066 (a canker in her breast and as some say a wolf)

**food and drink** 11795 (when he eats flesh & porridge it heaves up his chest); 46379 (eats nothing but drink or buttermilk) *broth* 36451; 50337; 50339 (cannot take any thing but posset ale & broths); 50337 (desires to drink, eats nothing but broth) *drinking/thirst* 36749 (taking cold drink); 11870 (drinks through a quill); 10718 (drinks much); 11938 (thirsty & dry)

**football** 28876 (footebale)

**foreign places/foreigners** 4449 (Barbary); 926 (The West Indies); 2819 (The Canaries); 228 (Leghorn); 49141 (French) *The Indies* 5810; 4449; 4453 *The South Cape* 7678; 6456

**gaol/jail/prison** 48912; 19702; 656 (predicted); 1309; 6926 (for her guest Frances Nelson that is in Duncark in prison); 21968 (Shelton the witch in prison); 18322 (suspected witch in Northampton gaol) *See also topic 'prison'*

**garden** 126; 665; 1179; 11801 (walking at night in her orchard); 19512 (he was blasted in a garden); 17935 (planet struck in her garden)

**gold** 24441 (where they dug for gold); 6362 (2 gold bracelets with Fox engraved); 11032 (a piece of gold stolen); 15119 (had a voice that told him there was silver and gold); 1326 (stolen from study); 2063 and 2191 (SF's gold lamen) *medicinal* 47367 (aurum potable); 1346 (pillulae aureae)

**goosebumps** 17896 (body pimpleth like to a gooseskin)

**grief** 20484 (fear and grief); 20302 (taken through her husband's bad and uncourteous dealing); 11990 (grief touching a child of a year and a half drowned in a mucklepit); 457 (will have sorrow and grief enough); 20484 (grief and fear taken by womb); 20258 (grief taken touching debt and his many children); 32369; 13413 (grief taken for the death of her late husband); 11932 (taken a grief for payment of moneys); 11929 (grief taken in law); 12011 (a grief touching her mother in law); 10607 (sorrow and grief); 13536 (taken with a great grief); 14546 (a great swounding by taking grief for her children which died); 12306 (has taken grief with a child of hers that was burned in the face & cannot be healed); 10804 (heart taken grief for her child departed); 49846 (took in ill part the death of her 2 children); 44371 (a mad foolish woman with the loss of her child that died); 45641 (took grief that her son did marry against her will, wished that she might see him buried); 1471 (poor widow with 4 children, taken much grief for her husband's death)

**guilt** 41868 (so vexed and tormented over theft that he returned to confess it)

**halter** 15752 (he put a hempen halter about her shoulder)

**hands** 28477 (hands shake before fits); 24451 (childishly clapping hands, scratching and playing with hands); 16739 (chopped his hand); 18182, 11747 (dry); 17215 (swelled); 4958 (swells in his hands); 41868, 48751 (lost use of); 45205 (afraid to have knife in); 11561 (in whose hand the money remains); 17476 (no use of arms or hands) *in the hands of enemies* 4589; 4999 *See also topic 'hands'*

**handled** 11979 (piteously handled); 11982 (miserably handled); 12346 (sore handled); 12047 (extremely handled); 12711 (evil handled); 12825 (ill handled); 13134 (grievously handled); 42517 (sorely handled); 10197 (piteously handled); 11777 (extremely handled); 24857 (wonderfully handled) *See also topic 'strange affliction' most of which refer to someone being strangely handled*

**hate** 12256 (will not converse with her husband; hates her children)

**head** 11814 (giddiness in head); 16669 (head & ears & the noises therof); 12955 (drilled by surgeons of Oxford); 45459 (taken in head while going to make hay) *fell on* 14149; 20761 *light headed* 45205 (light headed as if she had no brains); 19083 (light headed has no sense or care to do anything) *swimming* 17004 (swimming in his head, ready to fall down); 13491 (swimming in the head)

**horse** 2852; 42088; 39974 (gelding sent to RN); 39277 (his man hurt his horse coming here) *bruise/blow/bite from* 30010; 27148; 16525; 19209; 12446; 11810; 18182; 16752; 49347 (mad mare) *fell from* 45502; 12302; 18703; 12446; 13384; 19034; 19099; 17983; 14799; 13701; 13361; 17424; 19882; 20700 *fell on him* 13577; 13578 *run over by* 39879; 20630 *purchase/sale* 39128; 41504 (RN); 16636 (purchased by RN); 32587 (RN horse purchase); 24882 (RN selling a gelding); 41317 (RN recommended for purchase); 43449 (RN prospective purchase of gelding) *lost or stolen* 11759; 14215; 20414; 17326; 13866; 38842; 38843; 11242; 16372; 23431; 11481 (mare and gelding worth £30 lost); 19144 (mare and gelding lost); 40751; 9514 and 9530 (missing horse); 19773 (stolen mare); 20044 (colt lost); 20106 (stolen gelding); 35666 (missing mare); 11231 (3 geldings lost); 13490 (stolen or strayed); 12662 (stolen horse and mare) *bewitched* 49245 (to death) *sick* 30481 (RN's)

**house** 1805 (whether he shall have her & the house or the house without the woman or no house at all) *SF, whether to take the house* 138; 420; 669, 1263 *broken into* 26655 (beds, bolsters, blankets taken away); 3270 and 3271 (SF's); 49464 (attempt to burn house, husband, child and self); 33573 (house and horses burned)

**households/family relations/living arrangements** 34793 (two women living under the same roof went into labour together); 17411 (Goody Robinson wants RN to come to her house and divide possessions between her and her son); 33993 (doesn't want to go home to her own house, now being at Filgrave with her mother); 49369 (husband seldom visits her, lives at her friends house); 6362 (list of members of household)

**hunting/shooting** 11515; 41045 (being a wet day he was hunting and came home sick)

**infidelity/adultery** *mistresses* 49369; 4935 (Anne Spaldean for Wilfred her husband that keeps Elizabeth Morishe in Seathing Lane, will he love her for ever or not) *infidelity predicted* 1016 (the husband of the house will desire to lie with her); 19702 *infidelity planned* 656; 1179 *infidelity suspected* 3603 (Bess Parker, whether a whore, makes love to some base Saturnine companion); 1179 (Avis Allen, Kate); 13483 (suspected of adultery with her master had a child but she said it was by a servant of the house) *See also topic 'fidelity'*

**ingredients/remedies** 1346 (rhubarb); 328 (dill); 12995 (cinnamon); 47367 (bezoar); 328 (vervaine); 15872 (watercress); 39214 (fried mallow); 39214 (vinegar); 38102 (oil of vitriol); 38102 (arm blood or any other blood of a woman); 39239 (juice of radishes); 39239 (white wine); 38102, 19167 (turpentine); 46030 (wash with white wine); 11988 (antimony); 10889 (fennel); 10889 (cumin); 10889 (anis); 14754 (conserve of Anthos); 11984 (stone pitch); 9500, 39378 (opium); 11985 (cassia, manna); 11984 (daisy and comfry water); 328 (st johns wort) *animals and animal parts* 31917 (leeches); 46541 (stags pizzle); 46541 (hog's bladder, powdered); 39239 (scorpion oil); 16561, 17561, 15663, 16182 (oil of swallows); 10889 (pigeon dung); 39214 (cow dung) *See also 'gold'; 'sheep'; 'roses' below*

**injured by** 12123 (nail); 39224 (stile); 11771 (timber); 12689 (pair of harrows); 39105 (hatchet); 13349 (coggle); 12840 (arrow, in the eye); 14552 (hemp beetle); 15509 (lever); 21465 (mill wheel); 18088 (millstone); 19222 (sack); 15385 (andiron); 18212 (sprites, casting buckbats and pebble stones) *cart* 15234; 49533; 49534, 15331, 27272; 48973 (a laden cart); 18285 (a laden cart of furze); 33539 (jolting of a cart) *See also 'horse'; 'cattle' above*

**jewellery/jewels** 14262 (lost jewels); 16702 (diamond lost); 6362 (2 gold bracelets with Fox engraved) *See also 'rings' below*

**key/lock** 40813; 12775 (bunch of keys lost); 3271 (who broke the lock on study door); 45419 (locked every night to her bed)

**killling** 19702; 45205 (fears she will kill self; child or friend); 11790 (maid alleged to have died from a beating); 48188 (child beaten to death); 49208 (fears that some will kill her)

**knife** 45205 (afraid to have a knife in her hand)

**ladder** 28457; 34244; 17206; 28457 (fall from); 14732 (strained carrying)

**lamen** 2063 and 2191 (SF's gold, lost and found in doublet) *See also 'sigil' below*

**laughter** 49141 (will by fits laugh and be again extremely sick by fits); 42054 (laughing frenetic fits); 47346 (fell into a sudden strange laughing, did nothing but laugh); 33081 (pines, will laugh & then ill ready to die); 37025 (first mopish & despairing & now does laugh & sing); 11744 (took her fit by some foolish vision & sight at what time she laughed); 31740 (mopish, sottish, laughs, looks well); 16959 (mad & laughs and confused speech); 38634 (will laugh at his own folly); 49405 (butler of Corpus Christi college who is foolish by fits & tends often to laugh & smile)

**lies/slander** 38073 (threatened her for a lie made of her, if she took her she would flay her); 20681 (that RN had said that Edith Carpenter had bewitched someone, which was false); 49919 (mind much troubled about her husband slandered)

**linens/bedding** 46240 (pillow); 26655 (beds; bolsters; blankets taken away); 29833 (2 bed clothes; 3 towels missing) *sheets* 15327 (robbed 3 or 4 times); 28944 (lost); 35241 (missing 4 sheets); 35347 (4 pairs of sheets); 38382 (lost a sheet on midsummer day); 41693 (stolen from RN)

**lists** 1706 (parties suspected); 5247 (paternity candidates for Bess Parker's child); 6362 (members of household); Ash 229 302r (skillful midwives); 49347 (people bitten by a mad mare); 42859 (suspected witches); 43679 (suspected witches); 44431 (suspected witches)

**lodger/tenant** 11043 (a loder); 7020 (John Ferne, her border); 11838 (Doctor Sparkes tenant)

**longing** 16671 (longs after every thing)

**love** 45582 (crazed his brains for love to a wench); 40651 (distracted for one she loved & her friends hindered); 13369 (Robert Malins died poisoning himself for that he could not marry a maid that he loved extremely); 21973 (crazed in brain for the love of a maid); 16553 (ex impatientia amoris ); 24298 and 24300 (frenetick for a lover that will not marry her); 35431 (loves a wench & is almost lunatic for her); 49141; 2209; 6211; 462 (he has loved another which now he loves not so... loves not his wife); 657 (broken heart); 41375 (frustrated love); 20335 (out of his wits with love); 6899 (whether she shall obtain him she hath loved long); 4935 (whether her husband will love his mistress forever or not); 6817 (whether Dean Wood will continue his faithful love); 13348 (haunted by sprite, with love crazed); 40609 (parents would not bestow her on a party that she loved) *and money* 29049 (refuses any good match, will only consider those who are beggarly or poor); 41375 (her friends won't consider him because he is poor); 2209 (dealt friendly with her for money) *See also topic 'romantic relations'*

**malpractice/unsuccessful treatments** 12999 (doctors made him cast 8 stools but thought he would die); 11088 (matrix rent by unskillful midwife); 45627 (children keep dying in childbirth, whether best to leave her old midwife); 38861 (bladder perished by midwife's negligence); 12354 (nothing will work; last treatment brought out dead worms); 31110 (took his physic, it made him very sick); 46457 (ill after his diet drink); 33689 (Katherine Robinson pines and consumes after my letting of her blood & physic); 27478 (medicine did nothing); 31066 (pills wrought extremely as if she should die with them); 49421 (said I did him harm by letting blood)

**marriage** 462 (married against his will); 29049; 49141 (refusing marriage); 20237 (would not marry her father's choice, loves another); 23741 (whether more likely to be a cross than a blessing); 12643 (her father's servant got her with child but her father would not let him marry her) *See also topic 'marital relations'*

**menstruation** *from strange places* 25200 (breasts); 11280 (nose); 34130 (nose); 12376 (had not her courses this two years, bleeds now & then at the nose); 23627; 17565 (anus); 20771(stopped); 18639; 49078 *stopped as indication of pregnancy* 38972 *in pregnancy* 1109; 49933; 22011; 42629 (whether pregnant)

**mill and related** 5740; 21465 (injured by mill wheel); 20071 (millstone); 29160 (millstone)

**mind not body** 17364 (troubled in mind and not in body); 13654 (not sick at all in body, talking with him you would not suspect anything wrong)

**mirror** 9305; Ash 413 86r (astrological speculum)

**miscarriage** 1435 (utrum abortivum nec non); 41145 (utrum abortum partietur); 6211 (she will have two children and miscarry one of them) *whether the child within her is dead* 941; 30480; 29758 (an sit gravida et an vivet necne) *stillborn* 1400; 40373 (child dead born); 47697 (lost 8 children & only one came to birth)

**moles/marks on body** 2209 (drawing of face); 5715 (drawing of two faces); 2434 (a wart or mole in the pit of the throat); 8791 (marked in the face in the right side); 17057 (for her freckles)

**money** *loans* 17101 (Rive tries unsuccessfully to borrow money from RN); 13831 (Mr Underhill tries unsuccessfully to borrow £4 from RN); 27065 (Rich Ellis tries unsuccessfully to borrow £30 from RN to buy a pardon for his son); 37962 (Robson that RN should entreat his brother to lend him money on security of land); 42691 (Hopkins came to borrow £3 from RN in great perplexity); 45379 (RN lent to Mr Price, schoolmaster) *specific quantities* 38231 (20s); 12266 (he gave his word for xx libra); 4798 (£30); 47525 (£5 in Jacobusses); 49987 (£4 repaid to RN); 6362 (£8 lost by Joan Fox); 12880 (11 drachma lost by Isaack Seedthorpe); 11129 (£5 taken out of a bag of £); 8924 (£20); 20649 (£12 stolen); 22036 (£9 stolen); 28162 (11s lost); 34270 and 34271 (£11 stolen); 12652 (10s lost); 6007 (£150 stolen); 10091 and 6276 (£40 missing); 10864 (2 hundred pounds, purchased land for); 35644 (20s received from Thomas Compton); 49971 (60l lent for the use of her child); 11671 (2 English Crowns, left by Evington in the dock); 20382 (30 pounds missing from Leate accounts found); 29846 (12 shillings); 33463 (his father would not give more then £100 of the £500); 38981 (4d, Grashop to bag money against Christmas); 39708 (32s 4d for cloak); 43918 (9s 6d sent by messenger with instruction to conceal it from his father & mother & master) *See also ‘coins’ above; topic ‘payment information’*

**mother in law** 48942 (beaten by husband, mother in law a great cause of it); 12011 (a grief touching her mother in law); 7580 (whether Samuel Drewitt has pox, the mother in law asks without consent)

**noise** 24332 (head full of noise); 14446 (a singing in her head); 11917 (hearing a great wind in his head); 43890 (a great noise in her head drowning her hearing); 32688 (lumbering in his ear and a noise); 16669 (head & ears & the noises therof); 18705 (a pain & noise in his ears this xi weeks); 19541 (taken with a fear in a wood thinking she heard a voice, ever since out of her wits) *out loud* 16561 (makes her cry that she is heard all over the street); 12042 (sounds much at every full of the moon); 12228 (cries out with extremity of pain); 12441 (cries and complains much)

**nose** 39132 (5 quarters old, picks nose); 37384 (bloodletting site); 34130 (menstruating from nose); 11912 (whooping fallen to bleeding at the nose); 11980 (that which should go downward voids out of her nose)

**not knowing** 39022 (troubled with idle fancies & cannot tell any reason of it); 47760 (lost her senses & knew no body for an hour); 12957 (past knowledge almost and cries with the pain); 11814 (sometimes so ill that he knows not what he does); 48119 (knows not what he talks); 47152 (knows not what he does); 24190 (rages & knows no man); 12750 (vomits & foams at the mouth & hath no memory)

**opinion** *of patient* 12464 (as he thinks); 11795 (as if his hart & milt were broken as he himself thinks) *of others* 12702 (those around her suspected); 42211 (they fear she is possessed); 20258 (they fear an impostume); 40820 (possessed as Thomas Say the curate of the town does think); 2339 (witchcraft suspected by the Doctors of Oxford); 12337 (some think the lifting of Sir Arthurs trunks brought his deafness upon him); 12266 (he gave his word for xx libra & Driven to pay it some suppose this to have crazed his mind); 44563 (either bewitched or stark mad as her husband says)

**parrot** 1680; 42048 (Napier sent a parrot which doesn’t speak and then dies)

**poison** 13215 (took poison, in chart); 1481 (taken evil drink or medicine); 50153 (ratsbane in pie); 13573 (food poisoning, herrings suspected) *See also ‘ratsbane’ below*

**poor** 29049 (will only consider those who are beggarly or poor); 38231 (a bagger woman); 32732 (a poor baggerwoman); 11982 (dead poor and low brought); 11932 (sent a poor woman); 12155 (orphan, kept of alms by the town); 14269 (spent his substance); 12475 (kept of alms); 49316 (Mrs Hipwell’s poor alms boy)

**prayer** 14269 (would not pray); 11931 (prayed and desired his father to do so); 10476 (thinks prayers will do her little good); 49208 (will pray all night long); 48272 (will pray by fits and then again by fits rage); 47890 (I prayed to god for her)

**pregnancy** 27567 (Mrs Uvedale’s maid, great with child); 10377 (pimpling of face which comes when she is with child) *unknown, concealed or denied* 21328 (denies she is pregnant up to birth); 14385 (delivered of a child still born, not knowing that she was with child) *doubted* 46197 *proved to be* 1328; 13034 (signifies she

should be with child); 1010 (seems to be with child); 751; 919; 1080; 49846 (with child, in chart); 10607 (proved with child, in chart); 10852 (Mrs Rolfe is with child, in chart) *made pregnant by SF* 10049 (whether she is pregnant now?); 1134 (whether pregnant from it) *not pregnant* 30863 (fears his wife is not with child) *fall during pregnancy* 14116 *lame in pregnancy* 35794 *unwanted* 18510 (took much physic to destroy fruit of her womb); 30804 (proved with child and would have destroyed it); 44004 (would not be with child) *predicted delivery date* 7558; 34608 *quick* 1010; 23786 (in chart); 41708 (in chart); 38250 (in chart)

**purse** 4210 (crumena); 12490; 17516; 17575; 29765; 29764; 2835

**ran away** 49141 (refusing marriage); 5315 (with eggs and money); 41868 (butcher, ran away overseas with men’s money); 4946 (ran away from her husband); 35320 (a wench run away)

**ratsbane** 21744; 21767 (washed head and dipped comb in); 30359 (applied to itching head); 41522 (combed head with); 43314 (applied to members); 50153 (ate it in a pie)

**red** 49975 (any thing that she toucheth the redness sticketh to the heart); 919 (red restritive); 17565 (conserve of red roses); 1636 (red cheeks; red ears of AF’s dog) *See also ‘volumes’ (red ink) below*

**refusing** 29049; 49141 (marriage); 32511 (sex); 45205 (food and drink; thinks she is unworthy to eat or drink); 13010 (nurse’s breast); 20237 (father’s choice of husband)

**ring** 8776 (sent by Frances Prannell); 48116; 48109 and 48117 (Mrs Leate’s lost wedding ring); 2835; 3524 (SF’s; lost); 6039; 10091 and 6276 (gold ring missing); 1856 and 1906; 40202 (sent as token); 5683 (ring with ruby as token); Ash 237 61v (rub eye with); 3420 (with sigil)

**relapse** 41762 (any fear of); 47892; 42805 (was sick and mended and then fell into continuous shaking)

**religion** 1177 (oath on bible); 1427 (holy sacrament); 1426 (abroad at prayers); 37459 (suddenly taken going to divine service); 13522 (at sermon time she raved & cursed & spoke very profanely & foolishly); 30527 (prayed on her knees that another never have her health); 1425 (in holy contemplation and divine service all day); 42211 (invocation); 13483 (came to me when she intended to receive the communion after she had her child); 29481 (calling upon god for mercy); 41566 (persuaded to believe there is no god) *christening/baptism* 35102; 24256 (RN, going to christen Mr C’s child & received a letter forbidding me to come); 47852 (3 boys at a birth, all christened and all died); 17151 (use of cross in baptism debated) *churching* 12492; 46971 (3 months since his father churchd him) *treatment invocation/charm* Ash 237 61v (that will give him great ease by the grace of god Halleluiah Halleluiah Halleluiah); 41868 (good counsel to serve god and he shall amend) *See also ‘prayer’ above*

**roses** 17565 (conserve of red roses; ointment of roses); 15663 (ointment of roses and swallows); 49975 (plaster of roses); 26884 (syrup of roses); 11980, 11982, 11992 (electuary of roses); 11980 (electuary of roses)

**scratch** 23797 (distracted of her wits & did scratch her husband); 24451 (scratching people by the hands) *suspected witch* 17265 (scratched a woman and so mended); 13536

**sent/given to astrologers** 36331 (bewitched cheese; wine); 42048 (parrot); 40202 (ring as token); 11758 (wine); 5683 (ring with ruby as token); 19646 (hay); 19784 (venison); 14383 (carpet); 20806 (basket of apples); 24441 (fire stone); 47855 (a fat doe); 49987 (2 quails and 10 partridges); 28944 (dish of gudgeons); 49730 (pair of gloves and velvet mittens); 21682 (2 rabbits); 19646 (a load of hay); 39974 (gelding of 3 years); 14383 (a carpet); 11758 (wine); 39281 (basket of lemons)

**sex** 32511 (refusing sex); 19702 (no sex with wife, only mistress) *SF ‘halked’/‘haleked’* 443 (Elizabeth Hipwell, in his study); 1134 (Avis Allen); 2096 (Anne Barnes); 2154 (Ellen Flowers, asking about absent husband); 2361 (Catherine Stoe, and 10049 for whether subsequently pregnant); 3202 (Anne Churchay); 5526 (Joyce Barinhurst, asking about marital prospects); 5888 (his wife); 8651 (Anne Coudwell, asking about her husband’s disease) *SF asking about halking* 2470 (whether with Emilia Lanier); 2479 (Lanier, I went and stayed all night but could not hallek) *naught* 38941 (she has been naught with one); 12319 (was naught with one of her master’s servants that was married); 48779 (Jealous furious mischievous to her husband & to certain women that she thinks that he has been nought with)

**sheep** 10991 (71 stolen sheep); 19554 (lost sheep); 20035 (stolen sheep); 16127 (2 lost sheep); 21803 (lost sheep); 31028 (lost a sheep worth 16s; and often before); 21974 (stolen cattle, stolen sheep); 11790 (excrement like sheep trittles) *injured by* 14904 (took a rush by a cade) *parts of* 15872 (hides boiled) *wool* 18639 (gathering); 17553 (the wool men had my wool and promised to send money); 49427 (bought wool from Goody Crowley and fell ill)

**ships** 2860 (The Griffen of Amsterdam; The Paradise of Amsterdam); 5810 (The Little John); 6456 (The Intente); 926, 1661 (The Lions Whelp); 2819 (The Greyhound); 4449 (The Rebecca); 4453 (The Neptune); 7678 (The Green Dragon); 228 (The Desire of Yarmouth) *See also topic ‘missing ships’ or search ships by name in cases where they are classed third parties*

**sigil** 41868 (tin); 46806 (all spent); 49730 (2 sigils requested); 9059 (with drawing); 3617 (with sketches); Ash 413 225v (with drawings); 3420 (ring); 39262 (made of copper) *See also ‘lamen’ above, and topic ‘sigils’*

**signage (pub/inn/shop names; the sign of the)** 1636 (Crutched Friar); 1398 (Rainbow & the Shears in Southwark); 4100 (Unicorn in Cheapside); 1993 (Crown); 2179 (Three Kings); 7816 (Crown); 6362 (Fox); 11932 (The Swan of Two Necks); 27478 (The George); 2425 (The White Lion); 5232 (The Turk’s Head)

**silver** 27154; 46949; 19976 (silver dish); 34010 (silver porringer); 1636 (silver bells on collar); 9533; 19071 (2 silver spoons)

**sleep** 12042 (does startle in his sleep) *sleepwalking* 1779; 3261 *talking in sleep* 39163 (will descry all that is in her heart in her sleep) *first sleep* 16948

**smell** 2209 (cannot abide the smell of a woman); 16025 (cannot abide the scent of meat); 9508 (perfumer)

**solitary** 48749 (grew heavy hearted & solitary); 24451 (loves to be solitary)

**speechless** 12256; 8262; 41868 (can scarce speak and not plainly); 14385 (delivered of a child still born not knowing that she was with child; speechless); 13542 (speaks foolishness, bereaved of her speech & of her wits); 13548 (bereaved of her speech & tongue both); 10539 (says nothing but yea & no)

**spit** 45459 (spits in everybodys face); 12221 (scarce can swallow his spittle) *medicinal* Ash 237 61v (recipe/charm, first let the party spit upon his hand)

**spoons** 8052 (cochiarii, 6 missing); 19071 (2 silver spoons); 18648 (missing 3 days); 21747; 14961 (cheek swelled, cannot eat, it grieves her to put a spoon in her mouth)

**stabbed** 10126 (in the side); 12689; 35505 (tempted suddenly to stab herself or others)

**strained carrying** 11696 (a bruise by carrying my milk & overstraining himself); 14732 (ladder)

**study** 3271 (who broke the lock on study door); 1326 (gold stolen from study); 443 (SF halked Elizabeth Hipwell in study)

**suggestion** 16553 (took a conceit partly by hearing of Mr Isaac’s daughters of Fensham who as they report are possessed)

**suicidal** 47010; 21595 (would make herself away); 47510 (moved to kill himself); 7956 (haunted and suicidal); 13215 (took poison); 546 (seeks her own death or will run into it voluntarily); 1481 (an enemy to herself; has taken evil drink or medicine); 12841 (tempted to kill herself); 30329 (would make himself away); 47709 (thoughts to offer violence to himself) *See also ‘drowning’ above, topic ‘tempted and suicidal’*

**taste** 21254 (cannot relish any thing); 46718 (whether pregnant; ill & cannot relish); 42073 (RN tasting urine, water good but strong savouring) *bad taste* 18949 (everything tastes bitter to him); 23792 (bitterness in her mouth); 50329 (all things seem bitter to her); 36011 (cheese bitter with strong taste of rennet)

**thoughts** 47885 (filthy); 45205 (thinks god objects against her); 1504 (pensive); 47521 (wicked and evil thoughts); 47709 (violent thoughts)

**tied** 45419 (locked every night to her bed); 14269 (very mad, tied with chains); 45324 (when she is put into a chair she must be bound to it)

**tongue** 8262 (taken); 28477 (swells before fits); 4633 (long tongued); 48272 (in her mad fits cut off a great piece of her tongue; devil tells her she will hang in hell by her tongue); 46806 (bad tongue feared); 46737 (troubled much and would put out his tongue); 11860 (tongue has scales on it); 12441 (amiss in her limbs & tongue & feet); 20125, 20315 (fears ill tongue); 13548 (bereaved of her speech & tongue both); 12959 (his tongue scabbed & broken out); 12697 (fear least she be encumbered with a bad tongue); 28959 (a goodly eloquent tongue); 24451 (taken in her tongue ever since 4 years old); 30527 (so long as she had a tongue to speak)

**twins/triplets** 26844 (Bridget Charnock 14 y, Rich. Charnock 14 y); 13460; 15816; 22033; 23523; 12011 (delivered of two children at a birth); 47852 (3 boys at a birth, all christened and all died); 13372 (Will. & Henry Lane, twins)

**urine** 11933 (black scales and black humours); 11929 (red and full of rags); 11987 (full of black scales and motes); 12256 (black cobwebs); 11804 (black scales swimming in it) *in remedy* 38102; 9425 (burn urine, or make cake of rye flour and her urine)

**vessels, pots, cups, dishes, bowls, jars** 2351 (SF’s pots of water); 2069; 48109 (2 little jars of oil); 11519 (bronze pot); 19976 (silver dish); 34010 (silver porringer); 46024; 23790 (kettle); 11744 (flinging of trenchers) *cup* 9533 (silver); 4642 (pro poculo)

**vision/sight** 13091 (seeing double); 14265 (apparitions); 11744 (took her fit by some foolish vision & sight at what time she laughed); 39575 (is frighted with ill sights); 43321 (saw some ill thing); 30527 (eye sight fails her); 12239 (makes him as it were blind); 48272 (as she thought seeing the devil coming to carry her to hell) *See also topic ‘hallucinations’*

**voided** 20258 (much filthy black green nature); 34608 (her meat as she takes it); 16948 (every thing which she has taken, mightily every 24 hours); 17565 (some worms); 13823 (slimy stuff); 11868 (19 worms); 22021 (bitter and yellowish stuff upward); 12984 (with the phisic I gave her 4 great worms upward & certain more worms); 11980 (that which should go downward voids out of her nose); 12217 (a worm, black & long); 13055 (black blood and sometimes 40 stools); 46046 (she voided worms, in chart); 49292 (black stuff that comes from by his excrements)

**volumes, physical attributes** *drawings* 2209 (face with moles); 5715 (two faces); 9275 (face?); 9059 (sigil for Martha Shackleton); 3617 (sigil design sketches); Ash 413 225v (sigil drawings) *foolscap watermark* Ash 415 inside cover; Ash 402 inside cover, i; Ash 201 facing inside cover *red ink* 2179; 6105; 6108; 6109 *diagrams* 40494 (fugitive sphere, showing which direction the person has fled); Ash 413 86r (astrological speculum)

**vomiting** 11790 (black soot); 11936 (long ropes of phlegm); 13361 (blood); 14552 (blood); 16752 (hot water comes up at mouth); 9425 (ordure comes up at mouth); 11784 (that which comes up is black as soot); 13488 (vomited & rid much filthy baggage)

**watch** 33109 (RNs, news that the man that had my watch was at Crowley)

**water** 12907 (dares not to ride lest seeing the water she should fall into it); 6428 (SF dreams of water and flying); 30624 (flooding); 50576 (As soon as she recovers out of her fit, she always covets to run into the water or river) *See also ‘drowning’ above*

**white** 14265 (white bullock); 1636 (white bitch); 1897 (white waistcoat)

**witchcraft** *witchcraft suspected* 29049; 17896; 48912; 2339 (suspected by the Doctors of Oxford); 11747 (suspected by patient); 28353 (Agnes/Ann Gunter; whether bewitched; whether Mr Cunny be skillful to help against witchery); 38231 (accusation); 25811 (suspects ill people); 19083 (tells everyone that her child, her cattle and herself are bewitched); 20484 (Jane Drubb did curse her); 48089 (fearful of ill words); 18948 (doubts it is by god’s doing); 46520 (suspects a woman that gave his mother phisic); 436; 2930; 1601; 9425; 9226; 9318; 49363 *not witchcraft* 38073 (not bewitched, mother, in chart) *to clear herself of witchcraft accusation* 13413 (her disease is a grief taken for the death of her late husband) *See also ‘scratch’, ‘apples’, ‘cheese’, ‘butter’, ‘execution’ above; topics ‘witchcraft’, ‘strange affliction’*

**witches** *suspects named* 19083 (Goody Bricknell); 12256 (Goody Clubber); 17265 (Goody Hooke); 25811 (Dorothy Katlyn, Elinor Warner, Joan Chamberlyn); 17896 (Goody Smallbone); 18948 (Bess Banes, Jane Ruff); 20484 (Jane Drubb); 36011 and 27937 (Alice Cave, Dorothy Rising); 38073 (Ellen Parrot); 43951 and 43955 (Joan Barnwell); 39938 (Elizabeth Conny); 49681 and 40022 (Jays Howe); 27221, 39677, 40461, 40462 and 41327 (Elizabeth Soule); 40648 (Goody Campbell); 33892 (Agnes Page); 41009 (Edward Hawkins); 47697 (Old Goody Coppingford); 11744 (Goody Isabel Barnwell); 31740 (Mr Langford, once curate of Wolverton); 20315 (Clement Whitton feared); 11996 (Jane Warren, Dorothy Sumner); 12231 (Katherine Parkins gave them hard words); 47317 (Agnes Brightwell suspected); 49427 (Goody Crowley, Goody Aunsell)

**work** 11795 (well by day working but ill always every night, never better then when he is working); 28900 (very sleepy at her work); 21973 (crazed in brain, put out of service by his Mistress for the love of a maid) *cannot work or work impeded* 14732 (if he strain himself at work); 12446 (cannot work); 12099 (can scarce travell)

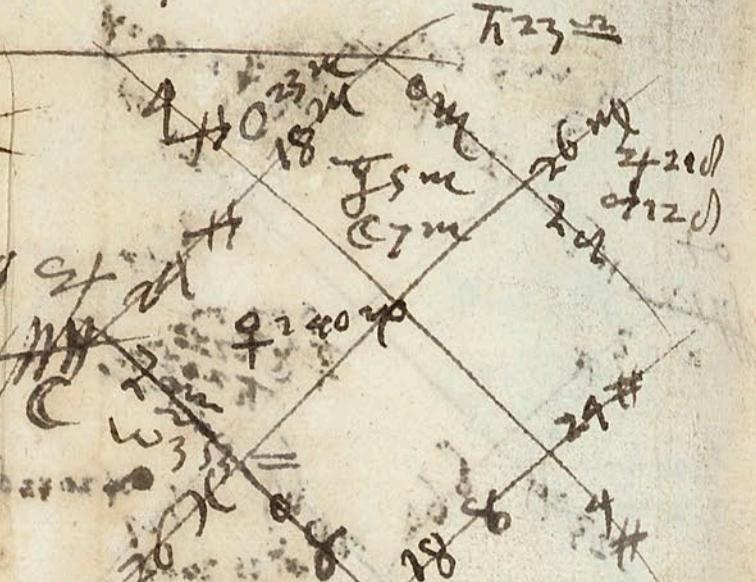
**wrestling** 17090

**writing** 2351 (SF’s lost notes); 3905 (SF for his writings); 31149 (as he was writing overcome with a quaking); 17242 (vellum parchment, whether servant will buy the good stuff or not) *See also occupations ‘parchment maker’, ‘scrivener’*

Henry 3<sup>rd</sup> 1215  
 35 years 1599 1206 of  
 November of an in 1599  
 1215

Madrian 1215  
 of 48 years in 1599  
 1599 1206 of November of  
 an in 1599 1206 of  
 1206 of

It is of 9 in 1206 of  
 1206 of 9 in 1206 of



The Casebooks Project and Ambika P3 are grateful to everyone who has helped with this exhibition: Chloe Sheppard and Meroe Candy at the Wellcome Trust helped to shape our vision of the collaboration and Chloe guided us in securing the Provision for Public Engagement that funds the programme of work with the exhibition as its centrepiece. David Dornie introduced Casebooks to Ambika P3. Alexandra Franklin and James Allen at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, facilitated the timely delivery of high-resolution images of the original manuscripts, and the Bodleian generously granted us permission to use them. Additional funding towards the exhibition and this book has been provided by the University of Westminster; the Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia; Pembroke College, Cambridge; Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Cambridge.

### CASEBOOKS Curatorial Advisory Committee

Alanna Heiss, Chair	<i>Founder and Director of Clocktower Productions and MoMA PS1</i>
Prof. Katharine Heron	<i>Founder and Director, Ambika P3</i>
Dr Natalie Kaoukji	<i>Research Fellow, Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge</i>
Dr Lauren Kassell	<i>Director of the Casebooks Project and Reader in History of Science and Medicine, University of Cambridge</i>
Dr Michael Mazière	<i>Curator Ambika P3 and Reader at the Westminster School of Media, Arts and Design</i>
Sam Thorne	<i>Director, Nottingham Contemporary</i>
David Thorp	<i>Freelance curator</i>

### Casebooks Project Advisory Committee

Alexandra Franklin	<i>Coordinator, Centre for the Study of the Book, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford</i>
Vanessa Harding	<i>Professor of London History, Birkbeck, University of London</i>
Tim Hitchcock	<i>Professor of Digital History, University of Sussex</i>
Rob Iliffe	<i>Professor of History of Science, University of Oxford</i>

Thanks to Gina Czarnecki, who joined the Casebooks Project Advisory Board (2014–15) to assist with the development of the project's engagement framework.

### Casebooks Project team

Lauren Kassell	<i>Director</i>
Michael Hawkins	<i>Technical Director</i>
Robert Ralley	<i>Senior Editor</i>
John Young	<i>Senior Editor</i>
Joanne Edge	<i>Assistant Editor</i>
Janet Yvonne Martin-Portugues	<i>Assistant Editor</i>
Natalie Kaoukji	<i>Research Fellow</i>

## CASEBOOKS: Six contemporary artists and an extraordinary medical archive

17-23 April 2017, Ambika P3, University of Westminster

Dr Natalie Kaoukji	is an historian of science and medicine and a Research Fellow on the Casebooks Project in the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge.
Dr Lauren Kassell	is Reader in History of Science and Medicine in the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, and Director of the Casebooks Project.
Dr Michael Mazière	is an artist, curator and writer, currently Reader in Film and Video at the Westminster School of Media, Arts and Design at the University of Westminster.

### CASEBOOKS Exhibition team

Prof. Katharine Heron	<i>Director</i>
Dr Michael Mazière	<i>Curator</i>
Niall Carter	<i>Business &amp; Venue Manager</i>
Heather Blair	<i>Administrator for Exhibitions &amp; Events Coordinator</i>
Jonathan Samuels	<i>Production and Installation Manager</i>
Paul Khera	<i>Poster</i>
Janette Scott	<i>PR</i>
Clare Hamman	<i>Book designer and editor</i>

### Artists' credits

#### Jasmina Cibic

Sophia Carr-Gomm, Kathryn Edwards, Pelagie May Green, Diana Krasovskaya, Barbara Blanka Wegorzewski (performers)  
Scarlet Sheriff (casting)  
Mateja Šetina, Sami Jalili, Andrej Zavodnik (research and production assistants)

#### Lynn Hershman Leeson

Martina Haidvogel  
Mark Hellar

#### Lindsay Seers

Keith Sargent (animation/production)  
Tom Wright (camera/lighting)  
Pendle Poucher (sound design)  
Michael Bryne (actor)  
David Dhonau and Julian Broadhurst (music)  
Robin Klassnik, Ryan Black (production)  
Anna Nesbit (technical consultant)

#### Federico Díaz

Jen Kratochvil, Anna Minarikova, Dimitri Nikitin, Ales Hvizdal, Daniel Marko, Jonas Rosulek, Anymade Studio  
*Special thanks to:* Czech Centre, London

#### Rémy Markowitsch

Ben Posener (speaker)  
Joost van der Velden & Team (sculpture)  
Nickolas Wolter (electronics)  
Jens Müller (sound)  
Joey Zimmermann (coaching co-direction)  
Sebastian Fischer (digital processing)  
Franz Felber (project management)

#### Tunga

Gabi Carreira and Eric Sander/Courtesy AGNUT (photography)  
André Millan, Franco Noero and Luhring Augustine (galleries)  
AGNUT (artist studio)  
*Special thanks to:* Antônio Mourão, Sarina Tang, Fernando C. Sant'anna and Pedro Bastos

The Casebooks Project: A Digital Edition of Simon Forman's and Richard Napier's Medical Records 1596–1634

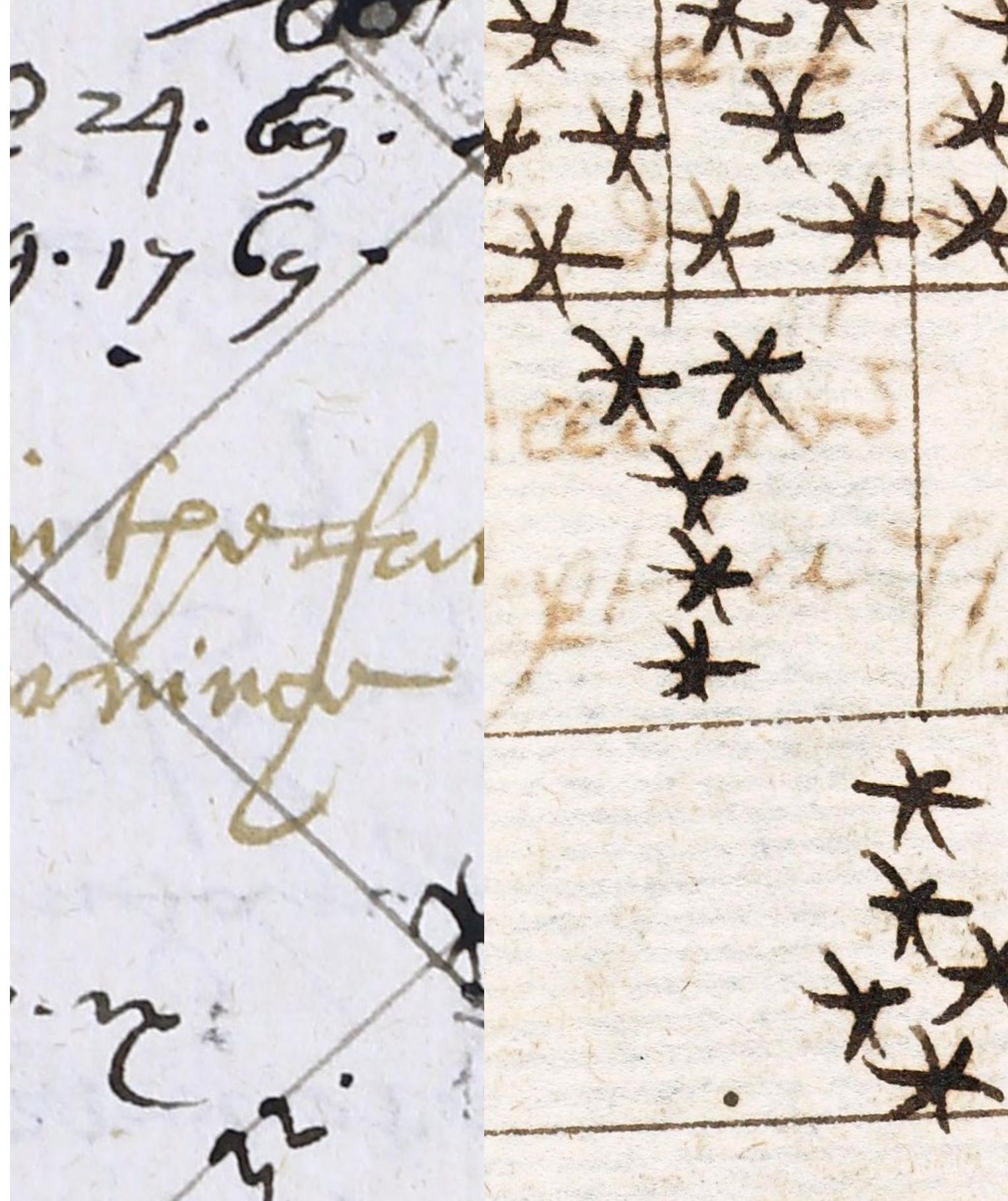
Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge

[www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk](http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk)

[www.cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/casebooks](http://www.cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/casebooks)

Ambika P3, 35 Marylebone Road, London NW1 5LS

[www.p3exhibitions.com](http://www.p3exhibitions.com)



*Front cover* Geomantic figure, MS Ashmole 226, f. 201r.  
Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library,  
University of Oxford

*Inside cover* Detail from MS Ashmole 181, f. 16r. Reproduced  
by permission of the Bodleian Library, University  
of Oxford

*pp. 70-71 (63)* Empty charts. MS Ashmole 174, p. 230; MS  
Ashmole 213, ff. 137v; 173r; MS Ashmole 413, ff.  
215v, 222r. By permission of the Bodleian Library,  
University of Oxford

*pp. 84-85 (64)* Pages of Simon Forman's casebooks from  
November 1599, MS Ashmole 219, ff. 189v-190r

Produced by Clare Hamman for the Casebooks Project  
Printed by the University of Westminster, London, 2017  
ISBN: 978-0-9933986-7-4

