

Примечания

Введение

- ¹ John Strype, A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster (London, 1720), p. 76, 277–278.
- ² Более подробно о Фрэнсис Деверё и так называемом деле Овербари: Alastair Bellany, The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660 (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- ³ Я не первая и уж точно не последняя, кто пишет о ведунах. Фундаментальное исследование о ведунах в Англии: Owen Davies, Popular Magic: Cunning-folk in English history (London and New York : Hambledon Continuum, 2007).
- ⁴ Мэрион Гибсон написала много работ о деле ведьм из Сэнт-Осита, включая портрет, жизненный опыт и происхождение Урсулы Кемп. Рекомендую: Marion Gibson, The Witches of St Osyth: Persecution, Betrayal and Murder in Elizabethan England (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2022) and Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing (London : Routledge, 2000).

Глава I. Как отыскать воров и пропажу

- ¹ Grieg Parker, Probate Inventories of French Immigrants in Early Modern London (Abingdon : Routledge, 2016).
- ² ‘Inventory of a very poor elderly man, Germany 1544’, from Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, Early Modern Europe, 1450–1789 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- ³ G. L. Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (Harvard, MA : Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 199–200.
- ⁴ Henry Thomas Riley, Memorials of London and London Life (London, 1868), p. 518–519.

- ⁵ Tom Johnson, 'Soothsayers, Legal Culture, and the Politics of Truth i Late-Medieval England', *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 17/4 (2020), p. 431–450.
- ⁶ W. H. Dawson, *A History of Skipton* (London, 1882), pp. 389–94. В Публичной библиотеке Скиптона хранятся записи ведуна Тимоти Кроутера с комментариями Дэвида Овесона. В книге содержатся обширная информация по астрологии, несколько заклинаний для исцеления, поиска пропавших вещей и людей и немного церемониальной магии.
- ⁷ Историки Карен Джонс и Майкл Целль, первые написавшие об этом деле, утверждают, что Дардус, скорее всего, лишь делал вид, что планирует колдовать, — и действительно, возможно, так он и заявил во время расследования. Я не совсем верю в это, так как он точно был знаком с методикой. Подробнее: Karen Jones and Michael Zell, ' "The divels speciall instruments": women and witchcraft before the "great witch-hunt" ', *Social History*, vol. 30/1 (2005), p. 45–63 (53).

Глава II. Как найти любовь

- ¹ Так называемая модель «лестница существ» часто не упоминает женщин в какой бы то ни было роли. Более подробную информацию о социальной иерархии Англии раннего Нового времени можно найти здесь: Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1993).
- ² Более подробную информацию о гендерном распределении власти можно найти здесь: Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- ³ Catherine Rider, 'Women, Men, and Love Magic in Late Medieval English Pastoral Manuals', *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft*, vol. 7/2 (2012), p. 190–211.

- ⁴ Великолепное исследование духовной и культурной роли крови: Bettina Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood* (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 2006).
- ⁵ Malcolm Jones, 'Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art III: Erotic Animal Imagery', *Folklore*, Vol. 102/2 (1991), p. 192–219 (202–203).
- ⁶ Джессика Фримэн написала о жизни и колдовской карьере Марджери Джордемейн: Jessica Freeman, 'Sorcery at Court and Manor: Margery Jourdemayne, the Witch of the Eye next Westminster', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 30/4 (2004), p. 343–357.
- ⁷ *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, Edited from MS. Rawl. B 171, Bodleian Library, 2 vols (London : Early English Texts Society, 1906), II, p. 480.
- ⁸ Другие заклинания для избавления от импотенции и бесплодия можно найти здесь: Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2006).
- ⁹ Там же, p. 124.
- ¹⁰ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 243.
- ¹¹ James Raine, *Depositions from the Castle of York, Relating to Offences Committed in the Northern Counties in the 17th Century* (Durham : Frances Andrews, 1861), p. 204–205.
- ¹² Jones and Zell, '“The divels speciall instruments”', p. 54.
- ¹³ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547–80* (London : British History Online, 1856), secs 137, 142, www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/edw-eliz/1547-80. C. 135–138 [дата обращения: 04.05.2023].
- ¹⁴ Рекомендую: Valerie Kivelson, *Desperate Magic: The Moral Economy of Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 2013).

Глава III. Как выиграть в суде

- ¹ Daniel Jaquet, 'Six weeks to prepare for combat: Instructions and practices from the fight books at the end of the Middle Ages, a note on ritualised single combats', *Killing and being Killed: Bodies in Battle*, ed. Jörg Rogge (Mainz : Transcript Verlag, 2018), p. 131–164.
- ² Для пересчета использован конвертер валют Национального архива: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter [дата обращения: 08.05.2023].
- ³ Jaquet, 'Six weeks to prepare for combat', p. 143. Более подробно о традициях и правилах испытания поединком: Daniel Jaquet, Karin Verelst and Timothy Dawson (eds), *Late Medieval and Early Modern Fight Books: Transmission and Tradition of Martial Arts in Europe (14th–17th Centuries)*, (Leiden : Brill, 2016).
- ⁴ 'Gregory's Chronicle: 1451–1460', in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1876), p. 196–210. British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/camden — record-soc/vol17/pp196-210 [дата обращения: 26.07.2022].
- ⁵ Jaquet, 'Six weeks to prepare for combat', p. 145. Jaquet has also written an engaging blog about this particularly nasty engagement: Daniel Jaquet, '“Une piteuse bataille”: A trial by combat between commoners in Valenciennes, 1455', *Hypotheses* (17.12.2021), martcult.hypotheses.org/1511 [дата обращения: 08.05.2023].
- ⁶ Julia Boorman, 'Bishop Wyville's Brass', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, Vol. XVIII, Iss. 2 (2010), p. 97–118.
- ⁷ Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, p. 53–54.
- ⁸ Там же, p. 54.
- ⁹ Kivelson, *Desperate Magic*, p. 175.
- ¹⁰ Судебные разбирательства с помощью ордалий были обязательной частью английского права лишь короткий период времени, с 1166 по 1215 год. Однако, как показано в первой главе, подобные методы все еще использовались как досудебные расследования даже столетия спустя. Подробнее: Margaret

- H. Kerr, Richard D. Forsyth and Michael J. Plyley, 'Cold Water and Hot Iron: Trial by Ordeal in England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 22/4 (1992), p. 573–595.
- ¹¹ При перерасчете использовался калькулятор инфляции Банка Англии: www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator; при переводе денежных сумм используется калькулятор Банка Англии. Я использовала конвертер валют Национального архива, чтобы оценить дневную ставку рабочих: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter [дата обращения: 08.05.2023].
- ¹² Перевод взят здесь: Boorman, 'Bishop Wyville's Brass', p. 100.
- ¹³ Подробнее о похожих заклинаниях: Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2022), p. 85–92.
- ¹⁴ Kivelson, *Desperate Magic*, p. 176.
- ¹⁵ Майкл Хикс дает отличное описание энтузиазма в отношении монастырских пожертвований и их размера: Michael Hicks, 'The Rising Price of Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds), *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge : The Boydell Press, 2008), p. 95–110.
- ¹⁶ *Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; to which are Prefixed Examples of earlier Proceedings in that Court*, vol. I (London, 1827), p. xxiv.
- ¹⁷ Там же.
- ¹⁸ Roger Lockyer, 'Lake, Sir Thomas (bap. 1561, d. 1630), administrator and politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15903 [дата обращения: 11.05.2023].
- ¹⁹ Более подробное изложение дела можно найти здесь: Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England 1603–1642*, III (London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1890), p. 189–94.

- 20 Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae (eds), 'The Lake–Roos Affair', on Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources (online, Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I), www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/lake_roos_section/J0.html [дата обращения: 11.05.2023].
- 21 The Life and Letters of Francis Bacon, ed. James Spedding, vol. VII (London : Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1874), p. 77–78.
- 22 Оригинальный памфлет об этом событии назывался «Новости из Шотландии, обнаружение проклятой жизни и смерти доктора Фиана, известного колдуна» (Лондон, 1591). Также: J. Goodare, L. Martin and L. Miller (eds), *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- 23 Kivelson, *Desperate Magic*, p. 174.

Глава IV. Как отомстить

- 1 Life, Love and Death in North-East Lancashire, 1510 to 1537: A translation of the Act Book of the ecclesiastical court of Whalley, ed. Paul H. W. Booth et al., trans. Margaret Lynch (Manchester : Chetham Society, 2006), p. 95.
- 2 Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 58–61.
- 3 Jones and Zell, '“The divels speciall instruments”', p. 56.
- 4 Подробнее об этой теории: Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1988).
- 5 Booth and Lynch et al., *Life, Love and Death in North-East Lancashire*.
- 6 Marion Gibson, *Witchcraft and Society in England and America, 1550–1750* (London : Continuum, 2006), p. 1–7.
- 7 Willem de Blécourt, 'Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests: On Cunning Folk in European Historiography and Tradition', *Social History*, vol. 19/3 (1994), p. 285–303.
- 8 Подробнее о теории приписывания женщинам колдовских черт: Stuart Clarke, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', *Past and Present*, vol. 87/1 (1980), p. 98–127.

- ⁹ Ely Assize Records, EDR E9/4/8, Cambridge University Library. Данные от 20 ноября 1635 года.
- ¹⁰ Там же.
- ¹¹ Более ранний пример того, как ведуны добивались справедливости в случаях плохого обращения с ними, относится к 1570-м годам, когда в голову некой Джанет Мильнер сосед бросил жестянку за то, что она «лечила скот своими чарами». Джанет подала на него в суд за клевету, и сосед был вынужден просить у нее прощения на коленях. Подробнее: P. Tyler, 'The Church Courts at York and Witchcraft Prosecutions, 1567–1640', *Northern History*, vol. 4 (1970), p. 84–109 (100).
- ¹² W. H. Hart, 'Observations on some Documents relating to Magic in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth', *Archaeologia* (1867), p. 389–397 (395).
- ¹³ Juris G. Lidaka, 'The Book of Angels, Rings, Characters and Images of the Planets attributed to Osbern Bokenham', in Claire Fanger (ed.), *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and traditions of medieval ritual magic* (Pennsylvania : Pennsylvania State Press, 1998), p. 32–75.
- ¹⁴ Цитата из: Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, p. 97.
- ¹⁵ Цитата из: там же, p. 79–80.
- ¹⁶ '1290: Poppet — Curse', Museum of Witchcraft and Magic website, museumofwitchcraftandmagic.co.uk/object/poppet-curse-4/ [дата обращения: 17.08.2022].
- ¹⁷ Edward Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe: Culture, Cognition, and Everyday Life* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 35–7; 'Signs and Symptoms of Stress', Mind (2022), www.mind.org.uk/information-support/types-of-mental-health-problems/stress/signs-and-symptoms-of-stress/ [дата обращения: 02.10.2022].

Глава V. Как спасать жизни

- ¹ David Kathman, 'Stanley, Ferdinando, fifth earl of Derby (1559?–1594), literary patron', *Oxford Dictionary of National*

- Biography (2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26269 [дата обращения: 03.06.2023].
- ² John Stow, *Annals of England to 1603* (London, 1603), p. 1275.
- ³ Там же, p. 1277.
- ⁴ Там же.
- ⁵ Там же, p. 1275.
- ⁶ William Jackson, 'The Use of Unicorn Horn in Medicine', *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, vol. 273 (2004), p. 925–927.
- ⁷ Stow, *Annals of England*, p. 1275.
- ⁸ Judith Bonzol, 'The Death of the Fifth Earl of Derby: Cunning folk and medicine in early modern England', *Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 33/4 (2010), p. 73–100.
- ⁹ Stow, *Annals of England*, p. 1276.
- ¹⁰ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 187.
- ¹¹ Mark 5:1–20; New Catholic Version.
- ¹² Raine, *Depositions from the Castle of York*, p. 127n.
- ¹³ Люси Мур убедительно и вместе с тем трогательно доказывает, что родители в раннее Новое время любили своих детей: *Lady Fanshawe's Receipt Book: An Englishwoman's life during the Civil War* (London : Atlantic Books, 2018), p. 229–234.
- ¹⁴ *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, XIII, I*, no. 1150, p. 430.
- ¹⁵ Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A regional and comparative study* (London : Routledge, 1999), p. 281–282.
- ¹⁶ E. Mackenzie, *An Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive View of the County of Northumberland, and of Those Parts of the County of Durham North of the River Tyne, with Berwick upon Tweed, and Brief Notices of Celebrated Places on the Scottish Border*, 2nd edn (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1825), II, p. 35–36.
- ¹⁷ Цитата из: Kate Lister, *Harlots, Whores and Hackabouts: A history of sex for sale* (London : Thames and Hudson, 2021), p. 50.

- 18 Henry Thomas Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries* (London : Longmans, 1868), p. 464–466.
- 19 Там же, p. 464–466.
- 20 D'Arcy Power, 'A Universal Panacea', *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. 2 (1884), p. 157–158.
- 21 Смотрите, например: Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (ред.), *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c.1450–c.1850* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Tobias B. Hug, *Impostures in Early Modern England: Representations and perceptions of fraudulent identities* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2009).
- 22 Lea Olsan, 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice', *Social History of Medicine*, vol. 16/3 (2003), p. 343–366.
- 23 Sarah Fiddymant et al., 'Girding the loins? Direct evidence of the use of a medieval English parchment birthing girdle from biomolecular analysis', *Royal Society Open Science*, vol. 8/3 (2021).

Глава VI. Как быстро разбогатеть

- 1 Цитата из: Alec Ryrie, *The Sorcerer's Tale: Faith and fraud in Tudor England* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 8. Я настоятельно рекомендую эту книгу для более подробного знакомства как с этим делом, так и со всеми задействованными в нем людьми.
- 2 Более подробно об астрологии и небесной магии: Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, главы 6–7.
- 3 Более подробно: Sophie Page, 'A Late Medieval Demonic Invasion of the Heavens', в David J. Collins (ред.), *The Sacred and the Sinister: Studies in medieval religion and magic* (University Park, PA : Penn State University Press, 2019), p. 233–254.
- 4 Catherine Rider, *Magic and Religion in Medieval England* (London : Reaktion Books, 2012), p. 111.

- 5 Более подробно о свойствах ангелов и о том, как их вызывать: Claire Fanger, *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century* (University Park, PA : Penn State University Press, 2012), также *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (University Park, PA : Penn State University Press, 1998).
- 6 Dawson Turner, 'Brief Remarks, Accompanied with Documents, Illustrative of Trial by Jury, Treasure-Trove, and Invocation of Spirits', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. I (1847), p. 41–65; также Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, p. 110.
- 7 Turner, 'Brief Remarks'.
- 8 Gibson, *Witchcraft and Society*, p. 1–7.
- 9 Janet B. T. Christie, 'Reflections on the Legend of Wayland the Smith', *Folklore*, vol. 80/4 (1969), p. 286–294.
- 10 Johannes Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting in Europe and North America: A History*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 62.
- 11 Johannes Dillinger and Petra Feld, 'Treasure-Hunting: A Magical Motif in Law, Folklore, and Mentality, Wurttemberg, 1606–1770', *German History*, vol. 20/2 (2002).
- 12 Turner, 'Brief Remarks', p. 58.
- 13 Там же, p. 59.
- 14 Dillinger, *Magical Treasure Hunting*, p. 115.
- 15 Более подробно на эту тему: Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven, CT, and London : Yale University Press, 2012), глава 7.
- 16 W. H. Hart, *Observations on Some Documents Relating to Magic in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1867), p. 5–6.
- 17 Giambattista della Porta, *Natural Magick*: In XX books (London, 1658), p. 175.
- 18 Смотрите, например: Stephen Deng, *Coinage and State Formation in Early Modern English Literature* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 87–102.

Глава VII. Как заполнить королевство

- ¹ Jean de Waurin, A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, vol. II, ed. and trans. William Hardy and Edward Hardy (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887), p. 64–70.
- ² A. Tuck, 'Richard II (1367–1400), king of England and lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23499 [дата обращения: 15.06.2023].
- ³ Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England, p. 77.
- ⁴ Более подробно о связи яда и магии: Franck Collard, The Crime of Poison in the Middle Ages, trans. Deborah Nelson-Campbell (London : Praeger, 2008), p. 11–27.
- ⁵ Jean de Waurin, Collection of the Chronicles... of Great Britain, с. 81. Курсив составителей.
- ⁶ John Hardyng, The Chronicle of John Hardyng, Containing an Account of Public Transactions to the Beginning of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth. Together with the Continuation by Richard Grafton, to the Thirty Fourth Year of King Henry the Eighth (London, 1812), p. 360.
- ⁷ Более подробно: Н. А. Kelly, 'English Kings and the Fear of Sorcery', Mediaeval Studies, 39/1 (1977), p. 206–238.
- ⁸ Более подробно об этом деле: J. R. Veenstra, Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France (Leiden : Brill, 1997), глава 2.
- ⁹ Thomas Walsingham, Chronicon Angliae, Ab Anno Domini 1328 Usque Ad Annum 1388: Auctore Monacho Quodam Sancti Albani, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1874); Thomas Walsingham, The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376–1422, ed. and trans. David G. Preest and James G. Clark (Woodbridge : The Boydell Press, 2005).
- ¹⁰ W. M. Ormrod, 'Who Was Alice Perrers?', The Chaucer Review, 40/3 (2006), p. 219–229.

- ¹¹ Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, с. 97; Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, p. 33.
- ¹² Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, p. 106.
- ¹³ Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 160. Выражаю благодарность Мэтту Беннетту за помощь с переводом.
- ¹⁴ T. J. Pettigrew, 'Original Documents No. II: A Certain Confession of the Earl of Kent. MS Cotton Julius C11', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, VII (1851), p. 140–142.
- ¹⁵ 'Henry V: October 1419', в *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, Paul Brand, Seymour Phillips, Mark Ormrod, Geoffrey Martin, Anne Curry and Rosemary Horrox (Woodbridge, 2005), *British History Online*, www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/october-1419 [дата обращения: 20.07.2023].
- ¹⁶ О деятельности Лэмба глазами современников: Anon., *A briefe description of the notorious life of Iohn Lambe: otherwise called Doctor Lambe. Together with his ignominious death* (London, 1628); также Roger Lockyer, 'Villiers, George, First Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), Royal Favourite', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2011), www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28293 [дата обращения: 15.06.2023]; Anita McConnell, 'Lambe, John (1545/6–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15925 [дата обращения: 25.09.2017].
- ¹⁷ *Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; and His Assassination by John Felton*, ed. Frederick W. Fairholt (London : Percy Society, 1850), p. xv и обложка.
- ¹⁸ Более подробно: Roger Lockyer and Anita McConnell's articles on Villiers and Lambe in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (no. 16 above).
- ¹⁹ Steven Ellis, 'Dacre, William, third Baron Dacre of Gilsland and seventh Baron Greystoke (1500–1563), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary*

- of National Biography (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2008), www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-46514 [дата обращения: 15.06.2023].
- ²⁰ ‘Henry VIII: December 1532, 16–31’, in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531–1532*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1880), p. 681–700, British History Online, www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol5/pp681-700 [дата обращения: 20.07.2022].
- ²¹ Там же.
- ²² Там же.
- ²³ Там же.
- ²⁴ Там же.
- ²⁵ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 94–95.

Глава VIII. Как предсказать будущее

- ¹ G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of King’s Bench under Edward III*, vol. vi (1958), p. 162–163.
- ² Все цитаты об этом случае: там же, p. 162–163.
- ³ Там же, p. 163.
- ⁴ Более подробно на тему литературных обменов между мусульманской, христианской и еврейской средневековыми культурами: Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette (eds), *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2013); интересная недавняя дискуссия об исламском завоевании Иберии и последующем культурном обмене в специальном выпуске: ‘What was the Islamic Conquest of Iberia?’, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, vol.11/3 (2019).
- ⁵ *The Poetic Edda*, ed. and trans. Carolyne Larrington (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1996).
- ⁶ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Chapter 6; Rider, *Magic and Religion*, p. 221–228.
- ⁷ Очаровательная, но глупая комедия Роберта Грина эпохи правления Елизаветы I рассказывает о приключениях Роджера

- Бэкона с «медной головой», демонстрируя долговечность этого поверья: Robert Greene, *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay, As It Was Plaid by Her Majesties Servants* (London : Edward White, 1594), p. 12.
- ⁸ Более подробно о том, где были собраны записи об этих поверьях: Rider, *Magic and Religion*, глава 1.
 - ⁹ Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 290.
 - ¹⁰ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 214.
 - ¹¹ Jones and Zell, “The divels speciall instruments”, p. 55.
 - ¹² Там же, p. 55.
 - ¹³ Heinrich Harke, ‘Astronomical and Atmospheric Observations in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in Bede’, *The Antiquarian Astronomer*, no. 6 (2012), p. 34–43.
 - ¹⁴ ‘Explore the Bayeux Tapestry Online’, The Bayeux Tapestry Museum, www.bayeuxmuseum.com/en/the-bayeux-tapestry/discover-the-bayeux-tapestry/explore-online/ [дата обращения: 21.06.2023].
 - ¹⁵ Liana Saif, *The Arabic Influences on Early Modern Occult Philosophy* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), глава 2.
 - ¹⁶ Цитата из: Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 152.
 - ¹⁷ Каталог рукописей: Британский музей, New Series, 1 vol. В 2 частях (London : British Museum, 1834–40), I, part I: The Arundel Manuscripts, p. 14.
 - ¹⁸ Елизавета I была не менее обеспокоена гороскопами, составленными во время ее правления. Акт против провокаций и слухов был принят в 1581 году и напрямую запрещал «гадания, предсказания и проч. о продолжительности жизни королевы, о том, кто станет наследником короны, или пожелания смерти королевь»: «1580-1: 23 Elizabeth p. 2: Against seditious words and rumours», The Statutes Project, ed. John Levin, statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/sixteenth-century/1580-1-23-elizabeth-c-2-against-seditious-words-and-rumours/ [дата обращения: 12.05.2023].
 - ¹⁹ Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England*, p. 49.

- 20 Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (London : Faber & Faber, 1979).
- 21 William Lilly, *Anglicus, Peace or No Peace, 1645* (London : John Partridge and Humphrey Blunden, 1645), p. 67.
- 22 Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion in the Modern West: Prophecy, Cosmology and the New Age Movement* (London and New York : Taylor & Francis, 2012).
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- 24 Fleur MacDonald, ‘What, if Anything, Can Psychics Tell Us About All of This?’, *The New York Times*, (15.01.2021). 9781847927316_CunningFolk.indd 246 [дата обращения: 07.08.2023].
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- 26 Более подробно о хиромантии и других формах предсказания судьбы: Matthias Heiduk, ‘Prognostication in the Medieval Western Christian World’, в Matthias Heiduk, Klaus Herbers and Hans-Christian Lehner (eds), *Prognostication in the Medieval World* (Berlin : De Gruyter, 2021), p. 109–152.
- 27 Более подробно о гадании по руке во Франции: France, see Michael R. Lynn, ‘The Curious Science: Chiromancy in Early Modern France’, *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft*, vol. 13/3 (2018), p. 447–480.
- 28 David Cressy, *Gypsies: An English History* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 5, 15.
- 29 Там же, p. 41.
- 30 Richard Saunders, *Palmistry, the secrets thereof disclosed, or, A familiar, easy and new method whereby to judge of the most general accidents of mans life from the lines of the hand withal its dimensions and significations as also that most useful*

piece of astrology (long since promised) concerning elections for every particular occasion, now plainly manifested from rational principles of art, not published till now ... (1663), text made available through the Text Creation Partnership and Oxford Text Archive, ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12024/A62237/A62237.html?sequence=5 [дата обращения: 21.06.2023].

Глава IX. Как изобразить магию

- ¹ Эта связь отмечена здесь: Elina Gertsman, 'Illusion and Deception: Construction of a Proverb in Hieronymus Bosch's The Conjurer', *Athanor*, 22 (2004), p. 31–37.
- ² Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Montague Summers (New York : Dover Publications, 1972), p. 182–183.
- ³ О переводе Чосера и его последующем распространении «Трактата об астролябии»: Christine Chism, 'Transmitting the Astrolabe: Chaucer, Islamic Astronomy, and the Astrolabic Text', в Faith Wallis and Robert Wisnovsky (eds), *Medieval Textual Cultures: Agents of transmission, translation and transformation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), p. 85–120.
- ⁴ Can in the space of one natural day –
This is to say, in four and twenty hours –
Where-ever you desire, in drought or else showers,
Bear your body into every place
To which your heart wishes to go,
Without harm to you, through foul or fair;
Or, if you desire to fly as high in the air
As does an eagle when he desires to soar,
This same steed shall bear you ever more,
Without harm, until you be where you wished,
Though you sleep or rest on his back.
Перевод: Harvard's Geoffrey Chaucer, chaucer.fas.harvard.edu/pages/squires-introduction-and-tale [дата обращения: 22.06.2022].

- ⁵ ‘when you desire to ride anywhere,
 You must turn a peg, which stands in his ear,
 Which I shall you tell between us two (secretly).
 You must name him to what place also,
 Or to what country, that you want to ride.
 And when you come where you desire to abide,
 Bid him descend, and turn another peg,
 For therein lies the essence of working the device,
 And he will down descend and do your will,
 And in that place he will abide still.
 Though all the world the contrary had sworn,
 He shall not thence be drawn nor carried away.
 Or, if you wish to bid him go thence,
 Turn this peg, and he will vanish at once
 Out of the sight of every sort of creature,
 And come again, be it by day or night,
 When you wish to call him again
 In such a manner as I shall to you say
 Between you and me, and that very soon.
 Ride when you wish; there is nothing more to do.’
 Там же [дата обращения: 22.06.2022].
- ⁶ E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, magic, nature, and art* (Philadelphia, PA : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), глава 5.
- ⁷ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, глава 5.
- ⁸ Parry, *Arch-Conjuror of England*, p. 11–12.
- ⁹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An edition and translation of the Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge : Boydell and Brewer, 2007), p. 138–40; более подробно об эволюции образа Мерлина: Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *The True History of Merlin the Magician* (New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 2012).

- ¹⁰ Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester manuscript*, ed. And abridged by Helen Cooper (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 58–81.
- ¹¹ О нравственной двусмысленности магии в средневековых романтических текстах: Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance* (Woodbridge : Boydell and Brewer, 2010).
- ¹² John Lyly, *Mother Bombie: As It Was Sundrie Times Plaied by the Children of Powles*, 2nd edn (London, 1598), с. E3v. Thomas Heywood, *The Wise Woman of Hoxton*, ed. Sonia Massai (New York : Routledge, 2003).
- ¹³ Heywood, *The Wise Woman of Hoxton*.
- ¹⁴ Lyly, *Mother Bombie*, p. E3r.
- ¹⁵ Там же, p. D3v.
- ¹⁶ Все цитаты в этом абзаце: там же, p. E3r–E4r.
- ¹⁷ *The Merry Devil of Edmonton...* Edited with a Preface, Notes and Glossary by H. Walker, ed. Hugh Walker (London : J. M. Dent, 1897), с. 26–27.
- ¹⁸ Robert Greene, *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay, As It Was Plaied by Her Majesties Servants* (London : Edward White, 1594).

Заключение

- ¹ Terry Pratchett, *Hogfather* (London : Gollancz, 1996). На русском: Пратчетт Т. Санта-Хрякус. Москва : ЭКСМО, 2005.
- ² Идеи социолога Макса Вебера о предполагаемом «расколдовывании мира» были особенно популярны в первой половине XX века. Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* [1920] (London : Methuen, 1965)*. Последние исследования о продолжении «расколдовывания мира»: Thomas Waters, *Cursed Britain: A history of witchcraft and black magic in modern times* (New Haven, CT,

* На русском: Вебер М. Социология религии. Москва : Директ-Медиа, 2010.

and London : Yale University Press, 2020); также: Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture 1736–1951* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1999) и Owen Davies, *A Supernatural War: Magic, divination, and faith during the First World War* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2020).

- ³ Благодарю Генри М. за то, что поделился со мной этими размышлениями. Цитирование с разрешения автора.
- ⁴ Rhonda Byrne, *The Secret* (London : Simon & Schuster, 2006).
- ⁵ Oliver Wainwright, 'In Iceland, respect the elves — or else', *The Guardian* (25.03.2015), www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/mar/25/iceland-construction-respect-elves-or-else [дата обращения: 30.06.2023].
- ⁶ Will Pavia and Chris Windle, 'Fairies stop developers' bulldozers in their tracks', *The Times* (21.11.2005, www.thetimes.co.uk/article/fairies-stop-developers-bulldozers-in-their-tracks-dhk3qfz3rr7 [дата обращения: 30.06.2023]; Mary Phelan, 'Ireland takes fairies more seriously than you might think', *Irish Central* (24.07.2021), www.irishcentral.com/roots/ireland-fairies [дата обращения: 30.06.2023].

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