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John Dee and Edward Kelley in Cracow: Identifying the House of Enochian Revelations

ABSTRACT

The peregrinations of John Dee and Edward Kelley in Poland and Bohemia are one of the more interesting episodes in the history of Western esotericism. The meticulous records of their crystallomantic seances and conversations with angels attracted attention of many scholars, especially from the English-speaking countries. However, they were not particularly concerned with the local contexts, concentrating on the relationships between the two Englishmen and their families. This paper presents partial results of our larger project of identifying persons and places noted by John Dee in Poland, concentrating on two houses in Cracow and their owners. One of them was rented by Dee for a year and it was there that the so-called Enochian language texts and related revelations were dictated to the English Doctor by angels (or his companion).

KEYWORDS

John Dee, Edward Kelley, Paweł Pernus, Philip Sidney, Enochian language, Renaissance magic, Cracow

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Among all the grand figures of Renaissance hermeticism that influenced the formation of Western esotericism, such as Ficino, Agrippa or Paracelsus, a special place is held by John Dee.¹ Not only was he an intellectual giant and a hero of Faustian-type legends like his elder colleagues, but, unlike them, he left a meticulously detailed record of “angelic conversations” carried out for many years with Edward Kelley as his medium.² They used crystallo-mantic techniques to contact a wide range of spirits of various ranks and, besides asking them questions of private and political nature, they received astonishingly precise and sophisticated directions for magical practice, today most commonly referred to as the Enochian system of magic. Through the publication of Dee’s diaries, the system had a considerable impact on later developments within the Western esoteric tradition, especially the currents initiated by the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and continued by Aleister Crowley.³ One of the most intriguing elements of Enochian magic are the forty

¹ Apart from the older biographies, some of which are still useful, until recently the standard monograph was: P. J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus*, London 1972. It has now been superseded by a new excellent biography, based on a wide range of newly discovered primary sources: G. Parry, *The Arch-Conjurer of England: John Dee*, New Haven–London 2012. Just some examples of numerous studies of various aspects of Dee’s hermeticism which were published in recent years include: N. H. Clulee, *John Dee’s Natural Philosophy. Between Science and Religion*, London–New York 1988; D. E. Harkness, *John Dee’s Conversations with Angels. Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature*, Cambridge 1999; G. Szőnyi, *John Dee’s Occultism: Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions, Albany, NY 2004; *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought*, ed. S. Clucas, International Archives of the History of Ideas / Archives internationales d’histoire des idées, 193, Dordrecht 2006; J. M. Rampling, *John Dee and the Alchemists: Practising and Promoting English Alchemy in the Holy Roman Empire*, “Studies in History and Philosophy of Science. Part A” 2012, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 498–508.

² The part covering Dee and Kelley’s stay in Central Europe is preserved (with some important *lacunae*) in a two volume manuscript: British Library, Cotton Appendix XLVI. It was first published as: *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years between Dr. John Dee... and Some Spirits*, ed. M. Casaubon, London 1659. A modern readable edition of selections from this and other diaries, checked against the manuscripts, is: *The Diaries of John Dee*, ed. E. Fenton, Charlbury, Oxfordshire 1998. The most recent edition of the whole text, taking into account all earlier published versions and the manuscript, is: *Dr. John Dee’s Spiritual Diary (1583–1608): Being a Completely New & Reset Edition of a True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits: Being British Library Cotton Appendix MS XLVI, parts I & II with additional material from Bodleian Ashmole MS 1790*, ed. S. Skinner, Singapore 2011. For quotations we mostly followed the last of them, but also checked the others and the original manuscript.

³ These developments are discussed and analysed in: E. Aspren, *Arguing with Angels: Enochian Magic and Modern Occulture*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions, Albany, NY 2012.

nine “Calls” or conjurations in the otherwise unknown “angelic language,” for which translations into English were also supplied.⁴ They were dictated to Kelley and recorded by Dee during their stay in Cracow, where they came on the invitation and in the service of Olbracht Łaski in 1584 and remained until mid-1585, making two trips to Prague in the meantime and eventually moving to Bohemia, where their patron was Vilém of Rožmberk. Dee left Central Europe for England in March 1589, while Edward Kelley made an extraordinary career as an alchemist in the Czech lands, where he received recognition of his (fictitious) nobility and was granted large land estates. He was eventually imprisoned for debts and died at the end of 1597 in Most.⁵

Even though John Dee was the object of extensive research by scholars and esotericists (mostly from the English-speaking countries), the details of his and Kelley’s stay in Poland and Bohemia were mostly glossed over. Even excellent academic studies of recent decades did not go far beyond encyclopedic information about the people and places mentioned in Dee’s diaries, usually leaving most of them unidentified. This is quite understandable because access to Polish and Czech primary sources is difficult for scholars from Western Europe or overseas, the linguistic and paleographic barriers being the least of the problems. More importantly, proper interpretation of source information requires general knowledge of various areas of regional history, from the political situation and internal factions, through the genealogies of major families, to the legal system, taxes and structure of municipal records. Reference to voluminous secondary literature is likewise indispensable but difficult without general orientation in bibliographic aids, even if the researcher can read Polish or Czech.⁶ Therefore, establishing the fundamental

⁴ The standard analysis and reference work on the Enochian language by an Australian linguist is: D. C. Laycock, *The Complete Enochian Dictionary: A Dictionary of the Angelic Language as Revealed to Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelley*, London 1978. Compare also the article by a Polish linguist, dedicated to the memory of his Australian colleague: P. Klafkowski, *Odo Cicle Qaa, or Open the Mysteries of Your Creation. The Strange Case of the Enochian Language*, “Lingua Posnaniensis” 1996, Vol. 38, pp. 79–110.

⁵ On that later period in Kelley’s life and his contacts with Michael Sendivogius see: R. T. Prinke, *Beyond Patronage: Michael Sendivogius and the Meanings of Success in Alchemy*, [in:] *Chymia: Science and Nature in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. M. López Pérez, D. Kahn, M. Rey Bueno, Newcastle upon Tyne 2010, pp. 175–231; P. Chourová, *Alchymisté nebo šarlatáni? Edward Kelley a John Dee*, Praha 2010; R. T. Prinke, *Nolite de me inquirere (Nechtyějte se po mniě ptatj): Michael Sendivogius (1566–1636)*, [in:] *Alchymie a Rudolf II. Hledání tajemství přírody ve střední Evropě v 16. a 17. století*, eds. I. Purš, V. Karpenko, Praha 2011, pp. 317–333.

⁶ Many examples could be cited here but it is enough to point out that even the most recent and truly excellent monograph by Glyn Parry, based on an admirable array of primary sources and presenting Dee’s life in England within a broad context of the network

facts about the people and places recorded by John Dee in Central Europe cannot be accomplished without international cooperation of scholars from the countries he visited (which is obviously also true of many other areas of historical research involving travel accounts or borderland areas). The present paper discusses some results of such research on Dee and Kelley's stay in Cracow, expanding on the earlier article about their passage across Poland.⁷ Due to space limitations, the scope of this paper is restricted to the houses in which Dee and Kelley stayed, leaving other identifications to a more comprehensive publication.

The house at which they would live in Cracow became a concern for Dee already during their stay in Łask, the ancestral town of Olbracht Łaski. When Kelley realised that it was a small borough with no opportunities to find new potential victims of his ingenuity, the angels started to convince Dee that they had to go to Cracow, the capital of the kingdom. On 28 (or 18 *stylo veteri*) February 1584, during a conversation with one of the more familiar spirits, a girl named Madimi, Dee asked her: "At Cracovia, shall I set it [the Holy Table] up? And shall I require Pernus' house there? Or what house else is, in God his determination, for me and mine?" Madimi's reply was, as usual, rather enigmatic, but the Doctor insisted on receiving more precise information: "But now, as concerning the house, What is your word?," and the girl assured him: "You will not be destitute of an house. Will you believe me; For I am your true friend Madimi." At the time the heavy load of books and other things, which had been sent by ship from Amsterdam to Gdańsk with Edmond Hilton, was already in Toruń and Dee was reluctant to go on to Cracow without it, arguing with Madimi: "Did you not will us to have my chest from Torn before we go?" She apparently agreed, so the final decision was that "As soon as we can have it from Torn hither, then we are to be going."⁸

of his often little known acquaintances, contains numerous factual errors when discussing his sojourn in Poland and Bohemia (G. Parry, op. cit., pp. 172–174). For instance, the journey from England is said to have led via "Netherlands and northern Germany to Silesia", Olbracht Łaski's wife is said to have been Italian, the Jagiellonian University in Cracow is said to have been famous "for Paracelsian alchemical learning", etc. The chapters devoted to the Central European episode, unlike the others, are conspicuously based practically exclusively on the internal evidence of the diaries, the website of the Jagiellonian University being one of a few exceptions. It is by no means our intention to criticise the outstanding work of Glyn Parry but to show the difficulties involved in a single-handed comprehensive research on Dee and Kelley.

⁷ R. T. Prinke, *John Dee i Edward Kelley w Wielkopolsce (1583–1584). Epizod „magicznej” podróży*, "Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej" 2009, No. 29, pp. 234–248.

⁸ *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., p. 222; Cotton Appendix XLVI:1, fol. 62r; *A True & Faithful Relation...*, op. cit., p. 68; *The Diaries of John Dee*, op. cit., p. 112 (partial).

That unidentified Pernus, at whose house Dee thought he might need to stay, is mentioned in two other places in the diary, certainly referring to the same person.⁹ Under 16 April 1584 Dee recorded Kelley's tirade about his disillusionment with their angels, who he now thought were "deluders, and no good, or sufficient Teachers," so that "he would have no more to do with them any manner of way, wished himself in England, and said that if the books [dictated by them] were his, that he would out of hand burn them, and that he had written to my Lord [Łaski] (by Pernus) that he took our Teachers to be deceivers, and wicked, and no good Creatures of God." In a note below Dee added: "Pernus went on last Wednesday morning, and he had received our Letters after noon, on Tuesday last."¹⁰ The context explains that Łaski was in Kieżmark and Pernus intended to go there, so the Englishmen used his services to send their letters. The third mention of Pernus – a year later – is much more informative. After another quarrel on the previous day, in the morning of 8 May 1585 Kelley informed Dee that a spirit had appeared to him and ordered Dee to take his two servants and immediately go to Łaski (then in Rytwiany) and together with him to king Stephen Báthory (then in Niepołomice). The spirit also, Kelley reported, "Bad me to board in the mean space with the Italian Doctor at Pernus' house. Bad me lie here every night."¹¹ As explained by Dee in a marginal note, the Italian living in the house of Pernus was Gregorius Jordanus Venetianus. He was an itinerant alchemist and astrologer, the author of prophecies published in 1591, who later appeared in various courts of Central Europe, including that of Rudolf II in Prague.¹² The note makes it clear that the house of Pernus was not the same

⁹ In Casaubon's edition the spellings are: Pernns (with inverted "u"), Pirmis, Permis, Pernis. The manuscript has Pernus in all cases or possibly Pernis in the second case. Such variants were quite common – for example the goldsmith Jerzy Pernus (died 1551) of the same family appears in municipal records under no less than a dozen surname forms: J. Pietrusiński, *Złotnicy krakowscy XIV–XVI wieku i ich cech*, Warszawa 2000, p. 436.

¹⁰ *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., pp. 252–253 (spelt Pernis); Cotton Appendix XLVI:1, fol. 88r; *A True & Faithful Relation...*, op. cit., p. 91; *The Diaries of John Dee*, op. cit., p. 119.

¹¹ *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., p. 516 (spelt Perin's); Cotton Appendix XLVI:2, fol. 107r; *A True & Faithful Relation...*, op. cit., p. 399; *The Diaries of John Dee*, op. cit., p. 179.

¹² Some information about that little known figure and his friendship with Caspar Dornau may be found in: C. D. Klopsch, *Geschichte des berühmten Schönaichischen Gymnasium zu Beuthen an der Oder*, Gross-Glogau 1818, pp. 214–215; H. Palm, *Dornau, Caspar*, [in:] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig 1877, pp. 351–352; R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612*, 2 corrected ed., Oxford 1984, pp. 278–279; G. Ernst, *From the Watery Trigon to the Fiery Trigon. Celestial Signs, Prophecies and History*, [in:] "Astrologi hallucinati". *Stars and the End of the World*

as the one in which Dee and Kelley lived in Cracow and in which the latter was supposed to spend the nights when Dee was away, as assumed by Stephen Skinner.¹³ His conclusion was logical, because in Łask (in the first mention of Pernus quoted above) Dee appears to have had Pernus' house recommended, perhaps with some reservations, as a possible place to stay in Cracow. That recommendation most probably came from his protégé Sir Philip Sidney, at whose invitation Olbracht Łaski came to England and who introduced him to Dee. Sidney met Łaski ten years earlier (November/December 1573) in Venice and also visited Cracow in October/November 1574 at the invitation of Marcin Leśniowolski. It was probably then that he met Pernus or even stayed at his house and thus suggested it to Dee, just as he did with the house of Tadeáš Hájek (Hagecius), in which he stayed in 1575 and which was also the lodging of Dee and Kelley upon their first arrival in Prague on 1 August 1584.¹⁴

The Pernus family, descendants of Jorge Kippenhayn (student in Cracow 1483, d. 1531) from Pirna near Dresden and his eight sons, was already quite numerous so without knowing the first name of this particular member, his identity is not obvious. Not all of them owned houses, however, and it may be assumed that both Sidney and Dee would rather associate with well-educated people, which narrows the possible candidates to two grandsons of Jorge – Melchior (1526–1589)¹⁵ and Paweł (d. 1599/1600),¹⁶ respectively a nephew and a son of Walerian Pernus (d. 1568),¹⁷ a humanist and hebraist educated in Paris (1530–1536), who taught at the University in Cracow but in 1540 resigned and became a successful merchant. His nephew Melchior attended numerous universities, from Leipzig and Wittenberg to Padua and Ferrara, where he received a doctorate of medicine in 1552, and then became the town physician of Brno. Dee may have met him in 1563, when he was in the nearby Bratislava at the coronation of Maximilian I, but there are no sources to confirm it. Because from 1570 until his death Melchior Pernus lived in Toruń,

in Luther's Time, ed. P. Zambelli, Berlin–New York 1986, pp. 279–280; R. Seidel, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Caspar Dornau (1577–1631). Leben und Werk*, Frühe Neuzeit, 20, Tübingen 1994, pp. 16–17.

¹³ *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., pp. 252 (note 12) and 253 (note 1).

¹⁴ Detailed argumentation for this scenario will be presented in a separate publication for the lack of space here.

¹⁵ Z. H. Nowak, *Pyrmesius (Pernus) Melchior*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, red. E. Rostworowski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1986, pp. 512–513.

¹⁶ J. Bieniarzówna, *Pernus Paweł*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, red. E. Rostworowski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1980, pp. 635–636.

¹⁷ Eadem, *Pernus (Pirnis, Pyrmusz) Walerian*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, op. cit., 1980, pp. 636–637.

where Dee's chest with books was initially sent, the possibility of their earlier acquaintance is slightly strengthened but it still seems that the connection through Philip Sidney and the second candidate, Paweł Pernus, is more probable. Unlike his cousin, Paweł remained in Cracow and was the wealthiest member of the family, owner or co-owner of several houses. He also inherited his father's library and, more importantly, part of the great library of Just Ludwik Decjusz (diplomat, humanist, friend of Erasmus and Luther), the remaining parts of which he purchased. In October 1575, a year after Sidney's visit in Cracow, he entered the University of Heidelberg. Once again, it may be seen as parallel to Sidney's stay at Tadeáš Hájek's house in Prague, whose sons' studies at Heidelberg (and then Oxford) he promoted and partly financed. Moreover, in 1577 on his way to Prague after the death of Emperor Maximilian, Sidney stayed for a week or two in Heidelberg and may have taken Pernus with him, as he was back in Cracow by early 1578.

The house at which Dee expected to stay and Kelley "boarded" with Gregorius Jordanus Venetianus was most probably the one indeed called in later sources "the House of Pernus" (Kamienica Pernusowska) in St. Florian's Street (today no. 11). It belonged to Walerian Pernus but upon his death in 1568 there were numerous other heirs besides Paweł as the primary one, and until the end of the century its legal status was not settled. Thus it was most probably rented to various visitors, such as Sidney or Jordanus, and the income was divided among the co-owners. It was not, however, the house eventually rented by Dee.¹⁸

The Englishmen arrived in Cracow on Friday, 13/23 March 1584 and "were lodged in the Suburbs by... Church at ...", as Dee noted, leaving spaces to be filled with respective names.¹⁹ Coming from Miechów, they must have entered Kleparz, but because it was a town (the status Dee would have certainly recognised), it is not certain in which of the several suburban settlements they stayed. Most probably it was Garbary and one of its two churches – either that of Carmelites (but Dee would have noted it was part of a monastery) or of St. Peter the Little, which no longer exists. After a week, on Good Friday (30 March), Dee and his wife "removed to the house in St. Stephen's street [today Szczepańska], which I had hired for a year, for 80 gylders (of 30 gr[oschen])," where Kelley joined them another week later.²⁰ At that house the angels dic-

¹⁸ Wider context, precise source references and detailed argumentation will be provided in another publication.

¹⁹ Cotton Appendix XLVI, fol. 66v; *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., p. 228; *A True & Faithful Relation...*, op. cit., p. 72; *The Diaries of John Dee*, op. cit., p. 114.

²⁰ Ibidem; unlike Casaubon and Fenton, Skinner reads "or 30 gr.", which is incorrect. Polish monetary unit, *złoty* (also called *gulden* or *floren*), had the value of 30 Polish groschen.

tated to them the Enochian “Calls,” their translation and another magical text entitled *Liber scientiae auxilii et victoriae terrestris*, all of which were completed by mid-July. The exact location of the house could not be identified earlier because there are not enough clues in Dee’s diaries. Besides the name of the street and information about proximity of St. Stephen’s Church (belonging to the Jesuits since 1579), the only helpful passage is the relation of what happened when the Englishmen returned from their second visit to Prague, on Friday, 12 April 1585:

When we came to our house, we found that a stranger was set into it, by the Landlords (Mr. John Lang, the Judge, and Martin Platner²¹) and having by me the key of the Storehouse, and of the Street-door, I caused my stuff brought with me to be set in, and that night we made hard shift for lodging. But the new and forced in tenant gave me leave to have one of my Bedsteads, which was one stove, and emptied the same to us, with much ado. Saturday and Sunday we were sore out-faced or rather threatened, that we should have no house there, and also one Bonar his arms were set upon the door, as if the house had been allowed to him *ex officio*.²²

The Bonar or Boner family were originally Cracovian burghers but by that time they became one of the more powerful noble families and the one who took over Dee’s house (certainly for his guests or servants rather than himself) may have been Seweryn Boner the Younger (aft. 1530–1592), the castellan of Cracow. After spending three nights in such conditions:

Monday I made the Rector privy of the Injurie I indured, and he courteously sent two Masters of Arts with me to the Proconsul [=Mayor] to have Citations for the Landlords to appear on Tuesday by 7 of the clock, to answer to our complaint.²³

The rector of the University was Marcin Glicjusz (serving the term 1583–1585), to whom Dee had presented a Greek manuscript of Boetius (still in the Jagiellonian Library) on 24 November the previous year. The “two Masters of Arts” obviously cannot be identified, but the mayor (*proconsul*) of Cracow was Jan Waxman, who had just started his term on 9 April. On Monday evening Olbracht Łaski arrived and on Tuesday morning had the new tenants removed by force, allowing them to keep their goods in one of the rooms.

²¹ The names are mistranscribed by Casaubon (*A True & Faithful Relation...*, op. cit., p. 397) as Long and Plutner; Fenton and Skinner have them corrected.

²² *Dr. John Dee’s Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., p. 512.

²³ *Ibidem*.

In the mean space I appeared with my Lawyer or Attorney Mr. Tedaldo, (an Italian) an ancient Practitioner in the Polish and Cracoviae Causes: And to conclude, I had a Decree against my Landlords, that I was to have (at least) half year's warning; whereupon John Langk²⁴ gave me warning to avoid at Michaelmas [29 September],²⁵ and so we came from the Court or Town-house, called *Praetorium* in Latine.²⁶

This positive result seems to indicate that Dee must have prolonged the period of the agreement before leaving for Prague (which he may have recorded in the missing part of the diary), as he originally noted that he had rented the house for a year, which had passed on 30 March. The lawyer Jan Tedaldo (or Tedaldi) was a member of a Florentine family long established in Cracow and is well-known for representing in court numerous Italian inhabitants of the city. In 1599 he killed his unfaithful wife and was sentenced to death, afterwards changed to exile from the city.²⁷ The town hall was pulled down in 1820 and now only the tower remains. The room where the sittings of the municipal court took place was the most representative one, located on the second floor.

Unpleasant as that incident was for John Dee, it made the identification of his house in Cracow possible because it was duly described in the court records. There are two entries, as described by Dee, the decision of the court and the “warning” to leave the house in half a year’s time:

[1585] Actum feria tertia post Dominicam Palmarum proxima [...] Sub eodem Actu

[gloss:] Inter Dominem Joannem Lang et Doctorem Dee.

Ex decreto Dominorum Consulum Cracoviensium Honoratus Dominus Joannes Lang, Advocatus Cracoviensis et Martinus [page 58] Platnyrz ut exequutores testamenti Honesti olim Caesaree Jergerowy debent Excellenti Domino Joanni Dee Anglico, Medicine Doctori domum lapideam eidem iuxta intercisam certam inter se invicem factam aren-

²⁴ Casaubon and Skinner transcribe the name here as Laugh (the latter identifies it as Lang in a footnote), but the form in the manuscript seems to be either Langk or Langh (Fenton has just Lang).

²⁵ Stephen Skinner interpreted it as “Notice to leave at Michaelmas [university] term, which runs from October to Christmas” but it is obviously the date before which they had to leave the house, being a little less than half a year from 16 April, as confirmed by the decree of the court quoted below.

²⁶ *Dr. John Dee's Spiritual Diary...*, op. cit., p. 512.

²⁷ J. Ptaśnik, *Z dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 1907, nr 9, 1–148, pp. 21–22, 38, 93–94; see also a few references in: W. Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację*, Biblioteka “Więzi” 178, Warszawa 2005.

datam locare seu liberam mittere, ad festum usque S. Michaelis proxime Venturum siquidem ipsi iuxta predictam intercisam ante semestre mansionem non abrenunciauerint, salus tamen census florenorum quadraginta iuxta priorens contractum circa emigrationem persolnendo. Super quo decreto pars utraque benevole agueuit.

[gloss:] Decretum inter Dominem Lang et Doctorem Joannem Dee Anglicum

Caeterum ydem Dominus Joannes Lang Advocatus et Martinus Platnerz ibidem in facie offy predicto Do. Doctori Joanni Dee mansionem memorale domus abrenunciauerunt abrenuncinatque presentibus volentes ultra festum S. Michaelis proxime Venturum mansionem domus predictus eidem amplius concedere neque locare.²⁸

The approximate English translation follows:

[1585] Tuesday after Palm Sunday [16 April] [...] On the same date

[gloss:] Between master Jan Lang and doctor Dee.

Upon the decree of lords aldermen of Cracow, the honourable masters Jan Lang, voyt of Cracow, and Marcin Platnerz [armourer], the executors of the honest Cezaria Jerger's last will, are to rent or release the stone house to John Dee, an Englishman, doctor of medicine, which [house] was leased to him according to a certain agreement made mutually between themselves, until the nearest Michaelmas [29 September] and longer, unless they, by the said agreement, withhold that lodging to him six month earlier, with the reservation arising from the said agreement concerning the need to pay the rent of forty florins [złoty] before moving out. Both sides voluntarily satisfied the court [with fees] for this decree.

[gloss:] Decree between master Lang and Doctor John Dee, Englishman

The same masters Jan Lang, voyt, and Marcin Platnerz, in the presence of this office withheld and are hereby withholding the lodging in the said house to the said doctor John Dee, not willing to let him and continue leasing to him the lodging in the said house after the nearest Michaelmas.

The information that the owner of the house had been Cezaria Jerger (Jergerowa), while Dee's "landlords" were only the executors of her will, allowed us to identify "the house of Doctor Dee" on the basis of further research in municipal records of Cracow, as well as to reconstruct the whole context. The house in question, called *kamienica* or a stone house, was located at the very end of St. Stephen's street, opposite the church of that name

²⁸ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (ANK), Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 449: Consularia cracoviensia. Inscriptiones ab a. 1585 ad a. 1586, pp. 57–58; in this transcription all abbreviations are expanded and capitalisation modernised.

and its cemetery, with only the merchants' hospital of the Fraternity of Virgin Mary between it and the city walls. From the early 1540's it belonged to Feliks Jerger (Jörger), an armourer, who died in the mid-1570's.²⁹ After his death the house was inherited by his wife Cezaria, who is listed as the owner in tax registers for the following years.³⁰ The last time her name appears there is in 1582, as later registers of the *szos* tax have not survived.³¹ She died shortly before 1 March 1584, when she is mentioned in records as deceased,³² and the house became the property of numerous heirs – Feliks Jerger's children from his three marriages. On 25 February Cezaria's lengthy last will, made on 1 January, was entered into records of the city bench by its executors³³ – Jan Lang (d. 1588), the voyt of Cracow and neighbour of Cezaria's father Stanisław Conradt, living at the Little Market (today no. 1B), and Marcin Płatnerz (also called Zamank, d. bef. 1597), living at St. Florian's street (today no. 29), who was her son-in-law, husband of her daughter Anna.³⁴ In her last will and testament, Cezaria directed that the two stone houses – one in St. Stephen's Street, formerly belonging to her husband Feliks, and her own house in Hospital Street (Szpitalna) – could not be divided between the elder children until her underage daughters Barbara and Cezaria would get married. In the meantime "they should be rented, and the rent is to be used partly on building and reparation, the other part on food, clothes and other needs, as well as the dowry of those two underage Barbara and Cesara."³⁵

It can now be reconstructed with a high degree of probability that early in March 1584, acting according to the late Cezaria Jerger's will, Jan Lang and Martin Płatnerz started looking for a suitable tenant to whom the two houses might be rented. At about the same time, on 23 March, Dee and Kelley with their families arrived in Cracow and started looking for a suitable lodging. The first thing for the English Doctor to do would be to contact Paweł Pernus, whose house had presumably been recommended to him by Philip Sidney, but at the time it must have had other tenants already. Since Pernus held the office of the municipal scribe and Lang was the voyt, they certainly met al-

²⁹ ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 2504, p. 8 (*szos* tax register from 1542); for more about him see: A. Swaryczewski, *Platnerze krakowscy*, Warszawa–Kraków 1987, pp. 132–134.

³⁰ ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 2532, p. 8 (tax register from 1577); rkps 2537, p. 9 (tax register from 1578); *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska. Część I (1568–1577)*, red. K. Jełonek-Litewka, A. Litewka, L. Walczy, Fontes Cracovienses, 5, Kraków 1997, 207 (nr 136).

³¹ ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 2551, p. 9; rkps 2552, p. 9; rkps 2553, p. 9.

³² ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 22: Scabinalia Cracoviensia. Inscriptiones, p. 231.

³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 207–217.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 230–233.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 209–210.

most daily in the town hall and thus Pernus would have known about the availability of the house in St. Stephen's Street, which he could have recommended to Dee – and introduced him to Lang as a trustworthy tenant. As a result, they signed the rental agreement for one year and on 30 March John Dee moved into the house, Kelley joined him a week later and on 12 April they started receiving the Enochian “Calls” and other revelations – in Dee's study on the first floor.

By the mid-1590's the heirs of Cezaria Jerger sold the house to the nobleman Stanisław Kuczkowski, *żupnik* (*zupparius salis*) of Cracow.³⁶ Later it was rebuilt and combined with the neighbouring house, then the ownership passed to the Jesuit Order, after whose dissolution the house was given to the University. In 1784 it was auctioned and bought by Dominik Estreicher, the progenitor of the well-known family of bibliographers and art historians, who refurbished the twin house with an elevation based on that of Grande Albergo Hotel in Rovereto (Tirol).³⁷ After changing hands several times in the second half of the 19th century, in 1908 the house was purchased and immediately pulled down by Jan Wolny, who had a huge *art nouveau* house built on the site. The original two-storey house rented by John Dee from Cezaria Jerger occupied the space of the right half (closer to the city walls, now Planty Park) of the present Wolny's house, located at St. Stephen's Square no. 2 (Plac Szczepański, formed when the church was pulled down in 1802).

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³⁶ K. Follprecht, Z. Noga, *Wykaz właścicieli nieruchomości w Krakowie w 1598 r.*, [in:] *Atlas historyczny Polski. Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku. Część II: Komentarz, indeksy*, red. H. Rutkowski, Warszawa 2008, 163–202, p. 164.

³⁷ K. Estreicher, *Kolltąj i kamienica Estreicherów*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 1977, nr 48, pp. 164–168.

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Sub eodem Ac. La.

Ex Decreto Dominor. Consuli Cracoviensium et Honorat. Dominus Joannes Lang. Advocatus Cracoviensis et Marthus Plat. Juner Do: Jo. Jammy Lang. et Docto: Dec.

1585.
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Platini et alii Executores Testamenti Henrich olim Cesaris Imperatoris dederunt excellenti Domino Joanni Dee Anglico Mediano Doctori Domum lapideam eidem iuxta viciniam certam inter se inuicem factam. Arrendatam locare seu liberam nittere ad festum S. Michaelis proximi futurum, siquid ipsi iuxta dictam viciniam, aut viciniam mansione non abrenunciaverint: Salus tamen Consuli Florentini quadraginta iuxta priorem contractum circa emigrationem proleunda. Sup. quo decreto, pars Vtraque venole adiungit.

Capitulum ydem Do: Joannes Lang Advocatus & Marthus Plat. per. ibidem ni facti officio. Obiit Do: Doctore Joanni Dee mansione memorata Domus abrenunciaverunt abrenunciaturq. Vtr. lib. nallentes Ultra viciniam S. Michaelis proximi futurum mansione domus Edic. & eidem amplius concedere, neq. locare.

Decretum inter Do: Lang et Docto. rum Joann: Dee. Anglicum.

Fig. 1-2. Entry of John Dee's case in *Consularia Cracoviensia* of 1585.
Source: ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 449, pp. 57-58.

Marcus Ritter 10111	fl. 2 gr.	Antonijus Andricus Lana Mercator 15 gr.
Haroldus Thoma-Ashelm de wratislawia in festu		Antonijus Franciscus Muzawo 6 gr.
Cregorius Czernegus	fl. 4 gr.	Antonijus Stanislaus Skrzeskowna iudua 8 gr.
Platca s. stepha ny		Antonijus Mathias Baralo Tabinator 2 gr.
Antonijus de scisi	fl. 3 gr.	Antonijus Casaria Platnerica 7 gr.
Johannes milk Pistor Domi propria Locyubi litwa.	fl. 2 gr. 23	Antonijus Allezus weobel Tabinator fl. 3 gr.
fl. 1 gr. 6.	fl. 11 gr. 23.	fl. 6 gr. 24.
		fl. 3 gr.

Fig. 3. Entry in the Szos tax records for 1582, listing Caesaria Platnerka (the armourer's widow) as the owner of the house in St. Stephen's Street.
Source: ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa, rkps 2551, p. 9.

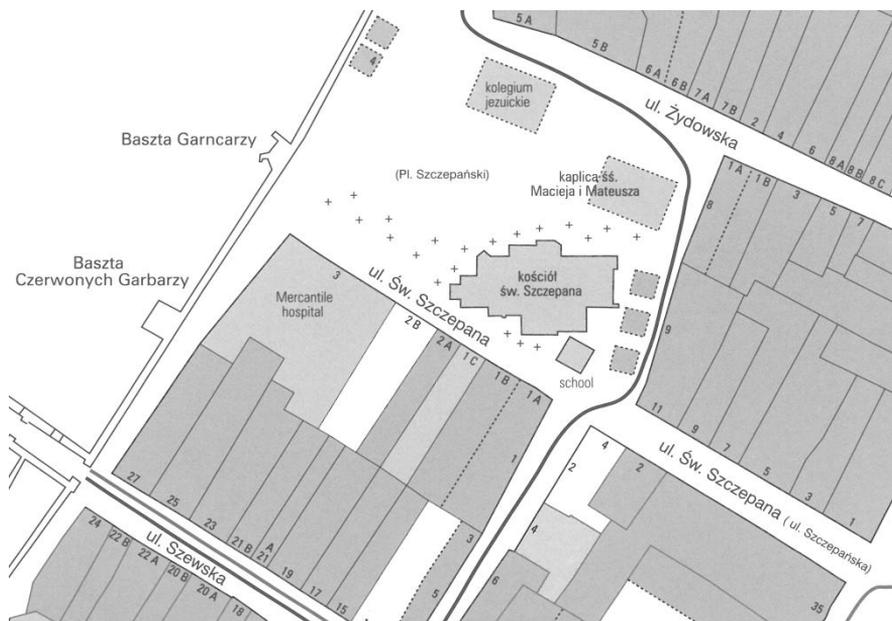


Fig. 4. Map of the buildings in St. Stephen's Street in 1598 – reconstruction.
 Source: Kamila Follprecht and Zdzisław Noga, [in:] *Atlas historyczny Polski. Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku. Część I: Mapy, plany*, Warszawa 2008.

The house in which John Dee and Edward Kelley lived is marked as number 2B.



Fig. 5. Wolny's house in 2012, with the outline of probable space occupied by Cezaria Jerger's house, rented by John Dee in 1584–1585.

Source: Photograph by Zygmunt Put from Wikipedia.