In the manuscript tradition several different works on ceremonial magic bear the same title, *Clavicula Salomonis* or the (Little) *Key of Solomon*. From published descriptions in manuscript catalogues and studies it is clear that various manuscripts of these texts differ considerably from one another, even within the manuscript tradition of a single work. The manuscript traditions of these works are therefore wild or open, not closed; that is, one cannot hope to reconstruct an archetype for one or another of these works by careful stemmatic analysis.\(^1\) Indeed, it is not always clear whether one is dealing with distinct works, or with wildly divergent texts of a single work.

If a classical stemmatic analysis will not allow the reconstruction of a single archetype for most of these works, other approaches must be found to tease out the textual history of the *Key of Solomon*, at least in its broad lines. One such approach is by way of the typology of manuscripts.\(^2\) Here I offer some materials for an eventual typological study of the manuscripts of these texts.

I have found descriptions of very many manuscripts of these texts in published catalogs and editions, sometimes with useful summaries of their contents. These descriptions are full enough at times to permit one to work up a provisional typology of the manuscripts. They are not, however, consistently of high enough quality that such a typology can be more than just provisional.

For personal reasons I have not been able to travel to inspect these manuscripts myself, nor to purchase any significant number of microform copies. Other scholars will have to refine this typology and the conclusions that I draw from it, modifying them as needed when they have obtained better data.
**SESSIONS SPONSORED BY THE SOCIETAS MAGICA AT THE FORTY-SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES, MAY 10-13, 2007**

For further details, see the website at http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/congress/

### I. MAGIC, SCIENCE AND NATURE

**[Session 384, Saturday 10:30 AM, Valley III, Stinson Lounge]**

**Magic, Medicine and Nature in Thirteenth-Century Priests’ Manuals**
Catherine Rider, University of Cambridge

**Sorcery and Sanctity: Natural Philosophy versus Learned Magic in Fifteenth-Century Cologne**
David J. Collins, Georgetown University

**Jacques LeFèvre d’Étaples: Humanism and Hermetism in the De magia naturali**
Jan Veenstra, Rijksuniversity, Groningen

### II. MAGIC AND THE HOLY BOOK

(Co-sponsored with the Research Group for Manuscript Evidence)

**[Session 479, Saturday 1:30 PM, Schneider 1255]**

**Biblical Authority in the Malleus maleficarum: Sacred Text in Support of a Radical Agenda**
David Porreca, University of Waterloo

**De magia naturali and Quintuplex psalterium by Jacques LeFèvre d’Étaples: Kabbalah as Biblical Magic**
Kathryn LeFevers Evans, Independent Scholar

**Qur’anic Symbols and Influence in the Corpus of Ahmad Ibn ‘Ali Al-Buni (d. 622 AH/1225 CE)**
Edgar Francis IV, College of the Holy Cross

### III. THE MALLEUS MALEFICARUM

**[Session 540, Saturday 3:30, Schneider 1265]**

**Thinking with Inquisitors: The Origins and Intentions of the New Text Translation of the Malleus maleficarum**
Christopher Mackay, University of Alberta

**Malleus maleficarum and its Influence on Sixteenth-Century Spanish Treatises on Superstition and Witchcraft**
Gabriela Cerghedean, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**Imago Maleficarum: The Impact of the Malleus maleficarum on Witchcraft Imagery in Sixteenth-Century Italian Art**
Guy Tal, Indiana University-Bloomington

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**REVIEW**

**Warburg Institute Colloquia 7: Magic and the Classical Tradition**
Edited by Charles Burnett and W.F. Ryan

240 pp., 3 B&W illustrations
ISBN 0-85481-131-1
ISSN 1352-9986

- M.J. Geller “Deconstructing Talmudic Magic”
- † David Pingree “From Hermes to Jabir and the Book of the Cow”
- Jeffrey Spier “A Revival of Antique Magical Practice in Tenth-Century Constantinople”
- W.F. Ryan “Ancient Demons and Russian Fevers”
- Adelina Anguisheda “Divination, Demons and Magic: A Hellenistic Theme from the Byzantine and Medieval Slavic Perspective”
- Sophie Page “Image-Magic Texts and a Platonic Cosmology at St Augustine’s, Canterbury in the Late Middle Ages”
- Charles Burnett “A Hermetic Programme of Astrology and Divination in mid-Twelfth-Century Aragon: The Hidden Preface in the Liber novem iudicum”
- Robert Goulding "Deceiving the Senses in the Thirteenth Century: Trickery and Illusion in the Secretum philosophorum"
- Nicolas Weill-Parot "Contriving Classical References for Talismanic Magic in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance"
- Paolo Lucentini and Antonella San-nino "Recommendatio astronomiae: un anonimo trattato del secolo XV in difesa dell’astrologia e della magia"
- Richard Kieckhefer "Did Magic Have A Renaissance? An Historiographic Question Revisited"
- Dorothy Severin "Two Fifteenth-Century Spanish Literary Conjurations and their Relationship to Lucan’s Pharsalia VI"

This delightful book is hard to classify. Published in honour of David Pingree—who contributed an essay to the volume, but died just as it went to press in late 2005—Magic and the Classical Tradition contains essays and commentaries whose subject matter spans two thousand years and a wide variety of cultures. The presence of everything from Assyro-Babylonian namburbi charms to medieval Russian prayers against fever, along with more

*Cont’d on page 9*
Western Manuscripts of the Key of Solomon

I shall begin with manuscripts written in the Latin alphabet, reserving those in Greek and Hebrew for comment later. I have records of 122 such manuscripts now held in various libraries of Europe and North America. (They are listed in the appendix to this article.) From booksellers’ catalogues and scholars’ monographs I also know of several other manuscripts which I cannot trace to any present owner.

The languages in which these manuscripts are written are Latin, Dutch, English, Italian, French, and German. There is also one very late manuscript in Czech. So far as I know, there are none in Spanish or Portuguese, in any Celtic or Scandinavian language, or in any Eastern European language other than Czech.

One of these Western manuscripts may just possibly have been written as early as the 15th century, though it has not been described in much detail. However, it is in French, and so early a date for it fits very poorly with the history of the French text as revealed by the other manuscripts. The date of this manuscript needs to be reconsidered.

Eight of the remaining manuscripts were written in the 16th century. Of the others, about one-third were written in the 17th century and two-thirds in the 18th century. More than half of the 18th-century manuscripts were written in French, which make up about three-fourths of all known French manuscripts. In France the Age of Enlightenment seems to have gone hand-in-hand with a substantial new interest in the Key of Solomon.

These numbers may be shown with greater precision in the form of a table (see below).

As we shall see below, a Greek text of the Key of Solomon exists in more than a dozen manuscripts, some of which were written as early as the 15th century. This Greek text seems to be the original form of the Key of Solomon, which was probably translated into one or two Western languages at some point in the 16th century, and subsequently from them into the others. Plausibly, the first translations were into Latin and/or Italian, and the manuscripts themselves sometimes contain statements to that effect. Translations into other Western languages most likely were not made from the original Greek, but from some Western language.

In the West the most common form of the title is simply Clavicula Solomonis, or some vernacular equivalent. Frequently this Solomon is further identified as the son of David and/or the King of Israel (e.g. Clavicula Solomonis filii David regis Israelitarum).

In a very few manuscripts the work is connected with Toz (or Toç) Graecus, who is otherwise known as one of the several ancient sages also known as Hermes Trismegistus. Toz is a corrupt form of Thoth, who was identified with Hermes in antiquity.

In many Latin, Italian and French manuscripts this title is supplemented by a statement that the Key of Solomon was originally written in Hebrew and was translated into Italian (or sometimes, into Latin) at the behest of the Duke of Mantua by Abraham Colorni or Colorno. Colorni is known from other sources to have been a remarkably gifted Jewish inventor and engineer who flourished in Mantua and Ferrara during the second half of the 16th century. The French manuscripts often add that the work was later translated into French.

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</tbody>
</table>

Total: 1 6 2 33 4 62 1 4 9 122
Typology cont’d

I have found extensive descriptions for only about one-fifth of these manuscripts. Even from this limited material it has been possible to identify a certain number of text-groups. No doubt more such text-groups remain to be discovered when the rest of the manuscripts will have been examined more fully. Thus the following list of Western text-groups is no more than provisional.

Oldest (Western) Text [OT]. In its oldest form the Key of Solomon is a work divided into two books of about twenty chapters each. Manuscripts of this text-group were the main source of the English version which Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers published in 1899 for the use of actual ceremonial magicians under the title The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis). Mathers’ version, however, does not represent this text-group very accurately, for he omitted a few chapters that offended his sense of magical ethics and added several other chapters taken from other text-groups.

In Mathers’ version there is a lengthy supplement between Book I and Book II, giving the details of forty-four different planetary pentacles. This supplement is present in many manuscripts of the Oldest Text, but not in all of them. We may, therefore, distinguish two sub-groups within this text-group, one without the supplement [OT1], the other with it [OT2]. The extant Greek text (see below) appears not to have this supplement, so the first of these sub-groups is probably somewhat the older of the two. Yet each major sub-group includes at least one 16th-century manuscript.

Toz Graecus Text-Group [TG]. These manuscripts derive at no great distance from the Oldest Text (without the supplement on pentacles), and they retain the two-book structure of their source. They are marked by a title that refers to “the secrets of secrets” (secreta secretorum) of Solomon or of his Key, and they also cite the exposition of these secrets by Toz Graecus (sometimes corrupted to Ptolomaeus Graecus). This text-group is known from one 16th-century manuscript in English, three 17th-century manuscripts in Latin, and at least one 18th-century manuscript in French.

Invocation of Angels Text-Group [IA]. Two 17th-century manuscripts have an English text under the title On the Invocation of Angels. In his catalogue of manuscripts in the Sloane collection, Ayscough listed this text under “Solomon, Clavicula (Anglice),” so it may be a third independent English translation of the Key of Solomon.

Zekorbeni Text-Group [Zk]. Three 17th-century manuscripts in Latin or Italian have the strange title Zekorbeni, sive Claviculae Salomonis libri IV (The word “Zekorbeni” remains unclear to me.) This form of the Key of Solomon is divided into four books as follows: (1) De praeparamentis, (2) De experimentis, (3) De pentaculis, and (4) De artibus. The contents are more or less the same as the Oldest Text (with the supplement on pentacles), but the chapters have been somewhat rearranged. There are also two 18th-century French manuscripts of a text with the title Zekerboni, attributed to Pierre Mora, but I do not have enough information to determine whether they contain the same work as the Latin and Italian manuscripts.

Armadel Text-Group [Arm]. These manuscripts derive from the Oldest Text (with the supplement on pentacles), but the chapters have been greatly rearranged to reflect the order in which they would be consulted in conducting an actual magical operation. In some, but not all, of these manuscripts, the old division of the chapters into two books has also been obliterated and the chapters have been renumbered sequentially. There is also some added material at the end. This text-group is known from several French manuscripts of the 17th or 18th centuries, with the title Les vrais clavicules du Roi Salomon, ouvrage traduit de l’hébreux en langue vulgate par Armadel, 1220.

Secret of Secrets Text-Group [SS]. Despite a similar title and similar references to “Toz Graec” in the prologue, these manuscripts differ greatly in content and structure from those in the Toz Graecus text-group. They lack any division into books or into chapters. This text-group is known from several French manuscripts of the 17th or 18th centuries, with the title Le Secret des Secrets, autrement la Clavicule de Salomon, ou le veritable grimoire.

These last two text-groups [Arm and SS] were sometimes copied as a two-volume set.

Rabbi Abognazar Text-Group [Ab]. These manuscripts are not divided into books or numbered chapters. This text-group is known only from a few French manuscripts of the 18th century. The usual form of the title is simply Les Clavicules de Salomon or Les Veritables Clavicules de Salomon. The prologue states that it was anciently translated from Hebrew into Latin by Rabbi Abognazar, who took his translation to Arles, where it was found and translated into French by the Archbishop of Arles after the destruction of the Jews of that city. In some copies the archbishop’s surname is given as Barrault, and J. Jaubert de Barrault did serve as Archbishop of Arles from 1630 until his death in 1643.

Clavicule Magique et Cabalistique Text-Group [CMC]. This distinctive form of the Key of Solomon is in sixteen chapters. It is known from three manuscripts in French and one in German, all probably of the 18th century. Its full title is La Clavicule Magique et Cabalistique du Sage Roy Salomon. The prologue states that it was translated from Hebrew into Latin by Cornelius Agrippa, and then from Latin into French by Rabbi Nazar. This latter name is an echo of Rabbi Abognazar in the prologue of the preceding text-group.

Rabbi Solomon Text-Group [RS]. This equally distinctive form of the Key of Solomon is known only from
Typology cont’d
about six 18th-century French manuscripts and a English translation from that French text. Its title is Les Clavicycles de Rabbi Solomoun, traduites exactement du texte Hébreu en français, le tout enrichi d’un grand nombre de figures mystérieuses, de talismans, de pentacles, cercles, canadies et caractères. The first fourth of the work is divided into ten chapters on magical work. The rest is not divided into chapters, but consists of seven parts, one for each day of the week and its corresponding planet, giving such things as the planetary pentacle, the names and angels of each hour of the day and of the night for that weekday, the geomantic characters for that planet, its perfume, its prayer, invocation and conjuration, and several pentacles and talismans for purposes appropriate to that day of the week. 15

Lemegeton Text-Group [Lmg].
There are at least five 17th-century manuscripts of an English work in five parts under a long descriptive title beginning: Lemegeeton; Clavicyclus Salomonis; or, The Little Key of Solomon. 16 It is a work in five parts, compiled from texts that had otherwise circulated independently. 17 Its fifth part is an English translation by Robert Turner of The Notary Art of Solomon, which the compiler took from a printed edition of 1657. That year gives a terminus a quo for the Lemegeton in its present form. One manuscript was copied in 1687, which gives a terminus ad quem. 18

Expurgated Text-Group [Exp].
At least three 18th-century manuscripts contain a short work in German titled Clavicula Salomonis Expurgata, oder Schlüssel des Königs Salomons wunderbahrlicher Geheimnisse und vieler zukünftigen Dinge. From its brevity as well as its incipit and explicit this is likely to be (as its title says) a heavily expurgated form of the Key of Solomon.

The Greek Original of the Key of Solomon
There is a work on magic in Greek attributed to Solomon which corresponds closely in content and structure to the first of the above-mentioned text-groups, viz., the Oldest Western Text (without the supplement on Pentacles). Its title varies from manuscript to manuscript. Sometimes it is called the Magical Treatise of Solomon (Apotelesmatice pragramata Solomontos), sometimes The Little Key of the Whole Art of Hygromancy, Found by Several Craftsmen and by the Holy Prophet Solomon (To kleidion tès pásès tékhnes tès hugromanteias, heurêthèn hupò diaphóron tekhnitôn kai toù hagiou prophètou Solomôntos), and sometimes simply Hygromancy. 19 It is evidently the work of a Christian magician, not a Jewish one.

This work is known from sixteen or seventeen manuscripts. 20 Six of them were written in the 15th century and another six or seven in the 16th century. (The other four are equally divided between the 17th and the 18th century.) Since the manuscript evidence for this Greek text is significantly earlier than the manuscript evidence for any Western text of the Key of Solomon, the Greek text itself is also probably earlier than any of the texts in Western languages. It is almost certain that the earliest Western version was translated from this Greek text. Greenfield (162) speaks of “the Italian origin or influence apparent in a number of the manuscripts” of the Greek text. This fact gives some support to the claim made in a number of Western manuscripts that the Key of Solomon was originally translated from the Greek. 21

A Hebrew Version of the Key of Solomon
There are also a few Hebrew manuscripts of a Key of Solomon (Mafteach Shelomoh), all of which were written in the very late 17th or the 18th century. They all contain recent Hebrew translations from Italian or Latin magical texts, including passages from the Key of Solomon. 22 They have no bearing on the problem of a possible Hebrew original for that work, which—if it had existed—might have lain behind the Greek and the earliest Western versions. The claim of very many Western manuscripts (mentioned above) that the Key of Solomon was originally written in Hebrew may be only a presumption that any work by King Solomon would first have been written in Hebrew. 23

An Arabic Version of the Key of Solomon
In addition to his two reprinted editions, The Greater Key of Solomon and The Lesser Key of Solomon, L. W. De Laurence also published what he said is an Arabic translation of the Greater Key under the title Al-Miftah al-Azam li-Sulayman al-Hakim. In his Catalog of Books, de Laurence says that he paid for this translation to be made and he published it in 1920. 24 This claim needs to be investigated by some qualified scholar. The edition itself appears to bear a publication date of 1916.

Tentative Conclusions
The best tentative conclusions that can be drawn from all the above-mentioned data are as follows:

- A work called the Little Key of the Whole Art of Hygromancy, found ... by Solomon was composed in Greek (by a Christian) no later than the 15th century. This Greek text had reached Italy by the 15th century.
- In Italy it was translated in the 16th century, if not in the 15th. It was first translated into Latin and/or Italian under the simplified title Claviciula Salomonis. It was also translated into English in the 16th century. It remains to be seen whether any of these early translations were made from one another, or whether each of them was made independently from the Greek.
- Somewhat later the Claviciula Salomonis was translated into other Western vernacular
Typology cont’d

languages, namely, into German, Dutch, French and Czech. These later translations were probably made from a Latin, Italian or English text, not from the Greek.

- In the West the Clavicula Salomonis circulated as a wild text from the 16th century onward. Copyists felt free to change the text as they copied it, adding, subtracting, and rearranging material at will. This process created distinct text-groups, about ten of which have been identified above. Many other text-groups surely remain to be identified.

- In the West the Clavicula Salomonis seems to have had its greatest popularity in France in the 18th century, that is, in the Age of Enlightenment.

- The extant Hebrew texts of the Key of Solomon derive (in part) from these Western texts. There is no evidence whatever that the Greek text or any Western text was translated from the Hebrew, and no good evidence that a Hebrew text of the Key of Solomon existed before the 17th century.

Endnotes:


2 I do not include in this number the manuscripts preserved in the records of the Inquisition at Venice, which I know only from brief citations in the studies cited in footnote 1 above. Nor do I include any of 17th- and 18th-century printed editions.


5 There was a second edition in 1909, and there have been many later reprints. The reprint made by L. W. de Laurence (an occult publisher and mail-order supplier operating out of Chicago) in 1916 is titled The Greater Key of Solomon, in order to distinguish it from another of his reprints with the title The Lesser Key of Solomon. In his reprint de Laurence claims for himself the role of editor and translator, and also alters the text in several places to flog the sale of his own brand of magical supplies.

6 British Library Additional Ms. 36,674 (in English) lacks the Planetary Pentacles, whereas Additional Ms. 10,862 (in Latin) has them. Both mss. have been dated to the 16th century. The English translation has the title The Book of King Solomon Called the Key of Knowledge.

7 The English manuscript is British Library Sloane 3847, written in 1572; it has the title The Book of Clavicles of Solomon Containing the Secrets of All Secrets of All Crafts Magical of Nigromancy. Joseph H. Petersen states that it is a different translation from that mentioned in the preceding footnote, and publishes both texts on his web site <www.esotericarchives.com/solomon>.


9 The Latin manuscript is Bodleian Library Aubrey 24. It was written by the famous antiquary John Aubrey in 1674, who appears from marginal notes to have experimented with the magical operations that it describes. There is also an English version of the text in a manuscript of Frederick Hockley’s (ca. 1835).

10 Pietro Mora was executed for sorcery at Milan ca. 1630, according to Montague Summers, Witchcraft and Black Magic (London: Rider, 1946), pp. 135-139 (who cites no source).

11 I have a microfilm of the set at Harvard University: Houghton Library Mss. Fr. 554 + 555.

12 I have examined the manuscript of this text-group owned by Brown University. A master microfilm of it has been prepared, from which copies can be made.

13 The best recent edition of the entire work is by Joseph H. Peterson, The Lesser Key of Solomon (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 2001).

14 I have a photographic facsimile of one of these manuscripts (Bibliothèque nationale Ms. Franç. 25,314) published in a very limited edition: Les Clavicules de Salomon (Paris: Chamuel, 1892) [not yet seen].

15 Warburg Institute Ms. FBH 80, available in an on-line facsimile from the Institute’s library catalog.

16 The master microfilm of this set at Harvard University: Houghton Library Mss. Fr. 554 + 555.

17 Richard P. H. Greenfield, Goetia, the Book of Evil Spirits.

18 British Library Sloane Ms. 2731.


20 Richard P. H. Greenfield, Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988), esp. 159-163.

21 Hermann Gallancz, Ma'attech Shelomoh: Clavicula Salomonis: A Hebrew Manuscript
Typology cont’d
Newly Discovered and Now Described
22 Statements by Christian authors in the 17th century and later that Jews (and Arabs) possessed such a text may be mere speculation based on the references to a Hebrew original in Western manuscripts of the Key of Solomon. One Jewish author of the 16th century, writing in Hebrew, also mentions a work called Mafteach Shelomoh (cited by Rohrbacher-Sticker [1993/4], 265). I do not have the competence to judge whether this passage could only refer to a Hebrew text of the Key of Solomon, and not to a text in Greek or some Western language.
23 De Laurence’s Catalog of Books, no. 11 (ca. 1944), p. 270.

Appendix: Manuscripts of the Clavicula Salomonis

In this list the symbol K in the first column indicates that the manuscript is listed by Paul Oskar Kristeller in his Iter Italicum (7 vols. London: Warburg Institute – Leiden: Brill, 1963-1997).
The symbol M in the second column indicates that a description of the manuscript can be found on Adam McLean’s web site at <www.levity.com/alchemy/solomon.html>.
The third and fourth columns give the date of the manuscript and the language of the text.
The abbreviations in the fifth column identify the text-group insofar as I have determined it (for about two-fifths of the manuscripts).

Alnwick (Castle), Duke of Northumberland’s Library
Ms. 584 M ? Latin OT2

Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Fondo Principale
Ms. Lambda II 23 (MM 512) K 17th Latin

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußische Kulturbesitz
Ms. germ. quart. 474 K 17th Latin/Dutch
Ms. Hamilton 589 K 17th Italian

Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell’Archiginnasio
Ms. A.646 17th Latin

Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana
Ms. E VI 23 K 16th Italian

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
Ms. III.1152 K 17th Italian

Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library
MS Fr 553 18th French. CMC
MS Fr 554 17th French Arm
MS Fr 555 17th French SS
MS Typ 625 18th German CMC
MS Typ 833 1779 French Ab

Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire’s Library
Ms. Shelf 73 D K 16th Latin

Covington (Virginia), Private collection of Harry A. Walton Jr.
A 901 K c. 1600 Latin

Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek
Ms. 1671 K 18th German Exp

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
Crawford Ms. 158 M 18th English RS

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek
Ms. 853 17th / 18th Latin

Genova, Biblioteca Durazzo
Ms. B VI 35 K 18th French

Ghent, Centrale Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
Ms. 1021 K 16th Latin

Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library
Ms. Ferguson 142 M 17th German
Typology cont’d

Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library
Mss. varia 223 K 18th Italian
Ms. Yahuda 18 K 18th English RS?

Hamburg, Stadts- und Universitätsbibliothek
Cod. alchim. 739 4to K 18th Latin

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
Ms. 302 18th Italian

København, Kongelige Bibliothek
Thott Ms. 625 4to K ? Latin
Thott Ms. 237 8vo K ? Latin

Kaliningrad [olim Königsberg], Stadtbibliothek [destroyed in 1944]
Ms. S 143 fol. K 17th German

Leipzig, Stadtsbibliothek
Ms. 707 18th GermanExp
Ms. 709 18th Italian
Ms. 710 18th German
Ms. 732 18th GermanExp
Ms. 773 18th German
Ms. 776 18th Italian
Ms. 790 18th Latin/Dutch
Ms. 841 17th Latin

London, British Library
Additional Ms. 10,862 [#1] 16th / 17th Latin OT2
Additional Ms. 10,862 [#2] 17th Italian Zk
Additional Ms. 36,674 [#1] K M 16th English OT1
Additional Ms. 39,666 K 1732 French CMC
Harley Ms. 3536A [#1] 17th French
Harley Ms. 3981 K M 17th French OT2
Harley Ms. 6483 M 1712- English Lmg
King’s Ms. 288 K M 18th French OT2
Lansdowne Ms. 1202 [#1] K M ? French Arm
Lansdowne Ms. 1203 K M 17th / 18th French Ab
Sloane Ms. 307 17th English IA
Sloane Ms. 1307 K M 17th Italian
Sloane Ms. 1309 K 17th Italian
Sloane Ms. 2383 M ? Latin
Sloane Ms. 2731 M 1687 English Lmg
Sloane Ms. 3091 M 17th French OT2
Sloane Ms. 3645 [#1] M 17th English OT
Sloane Ms. 3648 [#1] 1655+ English Lmg
Sloane Ms. 3805 [#4] 1685 English Lmg
Sloane Ms. 3821 [#1-5] 17th English IA
Sloane Ms. 3825 [#2] M 17th / 18th English Lmg
Sloane Ms. 3847 [#1] M 1572 English TG

London, University of London, Warburg Institute, Library
Ms. FBH 80 M 18th French CMC

London, Wellcome Library
Ms. 983 [#1] 1709 French
Ms. 4463 K M 19th Czech

Ms. 4655 K M ca. 1725 French
Ms. 4656 K M ca. 1725 French
Ms. 4657 K M 18th French RS
Ms. 4658 K M 18th French OT2
Ms. 4659 K M 18th French
Ms. 4660 K M 18th French Arm
Ms. 4661 K M 18th French RS
Ms. 4662 K M 18th French TG
Ms. 4664 K M ca. 1825 French
Ms. 4665 K M ca. 1835 English Zk
Ms. 4666 [#1] K M 18th French OT2
Ms. 4667 [#1] K M 18th French
Ms. 4668 K M ca. 1775 Italian
Ms. 4669 [#1] K M 1796 French
Ms. 4670 K M 1796 French RS

Madrid, Biblioteca nacional
Ms. 12,707 (Pp 113) K 17th Latin

Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale
Ms. 983 (Bb.108) [#1] 17th Latin TG?

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Ms. Z 164 sup K 18th Italian
Ms. + 72 sup. K 17th / 18th French

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Clm. 28,942 K 18th Latin

Münster, Universitätsbibliothek
Ms. Nordkirchen 169 K 18th Italian

Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville
Ms. A 18 (formerly 24,079) K 18th French

Neustadt an der Aisch, Evangelische Kirchenbibliothek
Cod. 31 K 18th Latin

New Haven (Connecticut), Yale University, Beinecke Library
Mellon Ms. 85 [#1] 18th French

Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek
Ms. 34 x K 17th Latin

Oxford, Bodleian Library
Ashmole Ms. 187 M ? Latin
Aubrey Ms. 24 (Cat. 6544) M 1674 Latin Zk
Michael Ms. 276 M ? Italian

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Ms. Franç. 14,783 15th (?) French
Ms. Franç. 24,244 18th French
Ms. Franç. 24,245 18th French
Ms. Franç. 25,314 1634 French Ab
Ms. Lat. 11,265 K 18th Latin
Ms. Lat. 14,075 [#1] K 17th Latin
Ms. Lat. 15,127 17th Latin TG
Ms. Lat. 18,510 K 18th Latin
Ms. Lat. 18,511 [#1] K 18th Latin
Typology cont’d
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal
Ms. 2346 [82] 18th French RS
Ms. 2347 18th French Zk/Ab
Ms. 2348 18th French
Ms. 2349 18th French Arm
Ms. 2350 18th French SS
Ms. 2493 18th French SS
Ms. 2790 18th French Zk/Ab
Ms. 2791 18th French

Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana del Seminario
Ms. 139 (167) 18th Latin

Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönbornsche Bibliothek
Ms. 357 17th Latin TG

Providence (Rhode Island), Brown University, John Hay Library
Ms. BF1611,M313,1798 1798 French RS

Sankt-Peterburg, Publicnaja biblioteka
Ms. Lat. Q III 645 K 18th Latin
Ms. Lat. Q III 647 K 18th Latin

Review cont’d
obviously “classical” topics such as Renaissance astrology and Neoplatonic philosophy, clearly demonstrate that the book’s title is to be taken in the loosest possible sense. This is a good thing: the Warburg Institute deserves our gratitude for bringing experts in such a wide variety of disciplines into conversation with one another.

What makes Magic and the Classical Tradition especially valuable, however, is its modest but fascinating collection of primary texts, all of which have here been edited and translated into English for the first time. The texts are not supplied with full apparatus, but important variants are footnoted, and basic information is provided about the relevant manuscript traditions. Therefore, these editions are good resources for all but the most technical scholarship.

The primary texts gathered in Magic and the Classical Tradition, like the volume itself, do not fall into any neat system of classification. For instance, the thirteenth-century Secretum philosophorum is “magic” only in the modern sense; that is to say, it’s a list of parlour tricks of the sort that might take place at a child’s birthday party. Yet, as the brilliant accompanying essay by Charles Burnett illustrates, the Secretum is helpful for understanding different views of “magic” in the Middle Ages, since it contains a subtle critique of credulous audiences who can easily be led to believe that mirrors or magnets possess supernatural powers.

Sophie Page’s contribution, a discussion of a collection of image-magic texts bound into a manuscript at Corpus Christi in Oxford, includes a transcription of the Liber de essentia spirituum. Not only did Page edit the text itself, but she also underlined the words that John Dee underlined when he was in possession of the manuscript in the 1580’s. Perhaps, then, this could be considered the most representative article in the volume: a lively combination of text, commentary, and transmission history that opens up exciting possibilities for future study.

The articles that do not contain critical editions of medieval texts are also worth reading, though the scholar who is looking for contemporary theoretical perspectives on the study of magic might be disappointed. In one sense, I found this absence refreshing: the discipline of religious studies has engaged in so much hand-wringing about rhetoric and polemic and social identity that it was nice to encounter a book that forgoes all that in favour of some good old-fashioned textual analysis. On the other hand, I did wish that a few of the articles were less cavalier about using words like “magic” or “religion”; for better or for worse, we can no longer take the meaning of such terms as self-evident.

The one notable exception to my complaint above, and the only article in this book that directly engages with contemporary critical theory, is Richard Kieckhefer’s “Did Magic Have A Renaissance? A Historiographic Question Revisited,” which is a sophisticated analysis of the assumptions scholars make about “medieval” versus “Renaissance” perspectives on magic. Kieckhefer’s article should be required reading for anyone who
Review cont’d

claims that there is a linear development from the “barbaric” spells of the Picatrix to the refined “philosophy” of Ficino and his school. The Frazerian/Hegelian idea of “progress,” as is too often applied in our discipline, is elegantly critiqued here.

Space does not permit even a brief review of all the articles in this volume, but I would like to mention a couple of standouts. M.J. Geller’s “Deconstructing Talmudic Magic” reconsiders the common assumption that the only differences between the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds is length and “completeness”; Geller demonstrates, with well-chosen and often amusing examples from Assyrian magical materials, that the Babylonian Talmud was indeed influenced by its geographical and social context, and that that context did not make an impact on the Palestinian redaction.

W.F. Ryan’s discussion of Russian fever-spells follows the stories of demons that brought illness to pagan and Christian alike, finding surprising connections between manuscripts separated by centuries. And finally, Adelina Angusheva’s article on popular portrayals of the Delphic oracle forces us to re-examine the common assumption that the prophetess gibbered to her clients, drunk on fumes. Even though some sources (including sympathetic sources from late antiquity) describe Pythia this way, the original Greek understanding of her prophesying may have been very different.

The very best articles in this collection prove that a careful analysis of a text does not need abstract theories to support it. When unusual texts are permitted to speak for themselves, the reader is naturally invited to think about old issues in new ways. At the same time, however, these articles demonstrate that our work as scholars is not yet done. Many important questions are opened up by this volume, and it will take further analysis—and perhaps some abstract theory—to answer them fully.

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Announcing the first Societas Magica Conference

Magic: Frontiers and Boundaries
At the University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3G1
12-15 June, 2008

Call for Papers

In the history of western culture, magic tends to be a term by which accusations are made or intellectual territories defended; like the terms ‘heresy’ or ‘perversion,’ it does not have a stable or secure content. Any accusation that an act, ritual, or mode of practice is magical will have a formula that is peculiar to the time, place, institution, race, class, or gender of the accuser. Conversely, arguments that magic is a good thing, in a spiritual or material sense, also vary according to context, particularly because pro- and anti-magical arguments develop in relation to each other, and cause changes in one another’s rhetorical and conceptual strategies. Assertions that magic exists or does not exist, has ceased to exist, is marginal, is flowering, has just declined or just erupted, is religious or non-religious, scientific or non-scientific, or develops into religion or science are part of an ongoing argument.

This conference will explore the locations, in texts, bodies of texts, or historical contexts, where magic becomes a problem, a disputandum, or a frontier of knowing, from the ancient to the modern period, including modern ritual magic and contemporary magical religions. To put it another way, it will examine specific examples of the relation of magic to convention, to authority, to ‘religion’ and ‘science’ from a sociological or historical perspective.

We invite papers for sessions on topics including but not limited to: magical theologies; magical epistemologies; magical sciences; magic and the law; magic and the universities; magic in art and literature; magie, sanctity and inquisition; magic and Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Paganism and new religious movements. If you are interested in presenting a paper, please send title and abstract along with a CV, to the organizers at societas.magica@gmail.com.

Proposals must be received by September 1, 2007.

The Societas Magica invites proposals for essays to run in future issues of the newsletter.

We are looking for short essays (1500-2500 words) announcing new developments deriving from research in the study and teaching of magic and its related topics. We would be especially interested to see lead articles on modern magic, or periods other than medieval.

We are also looking for smaller pieces for our notes and queries column. News about dissertations in progress or completed, manuscript discoveries, or other such items are all welcomed.

Please contact Lea Olsan: olsan@ulm.edu

For more information about the Societas Magica see our website at http://brindedcow.umd.edu/socmag/