



# Societas Magica Newsletter

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## The Key of Solomon: Toward a Typology of the Manuscripts

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

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# 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, Rijksuniversiteit, 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 Cerghedeau, 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

## 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 Angusheva "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"

Jan R. Veenstra "Venerating and Conjuring Angels: Eiximenis' Book of the Holy Angels and the Holy Almandal: Two Case Studies"

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 Sannino "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

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## Typology cont'd

### *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.<sup>3</sup> (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 15<sup>th</sup> century, though it has not been described in much detail.<sup>4</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century. Of the others, about one-third were written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and two-thirds in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. More than half of the 18<sup>th</sup>-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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 Salomonis*, or some vernacular equivalent. Frequently this Solomon is further identified as the son of David and/or the King of Israel (e.g. *Clavicula Salomonis filii David regis Israelitarum*). In a few manuscripts, however, he is identified simply as Rabbi Solomon, not said to be either a king or a son of David; these few manuscripts form a distinct text-group. 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 16<sup>th</sup> century. The French manuscripts often add that the work was later translated into French.

Century:	15 <sup>th</sup>	16 <sup>th</sup>	16/17 <sup>th</sup>	17 <sup>th</sup>	17/18 <sup>th</sup>	18 <sup>th</sup>	18/19 <sup>th</sup>	19 <sup>th</sup>	??	Total
Latin:	0	2	2	10	1	9	0	0	5	29
Latin/Dutch:	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
English:	0	2	0	6	1	4	1	1	0	15
Italian:	0	1	0	6	0	8	0	1	2	18
French:	1	0	0	7	2	33	0	1	2	46
German:	0	1	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	10
Czech:	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total:	1	6	2	33	4	62	1	4	9	<b>122</b>



## Typology cont'd

I have found extensive descriptions for only about one-fifth of these manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> 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)*.<sup>6</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

### 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 16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript in English, three 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts in Latin, and at least one 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript in French.<sup>8</sup>

### Invocation of Angels Text-Group [IA].

Two 17<sup>th</sup>-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*.<sup>9</sup>

**Zekorbeni Text-Group [Zk].** Three 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts in Latin or Italian have the strange title *Zekorbeni, sive Claviculae Salomonis libri IV*.<sup>10</sup> (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 18<sup>th</sup>-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.<sup>11</sup>

**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 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the title *Les vrais clavicules du Roi Salomon, ouvrage traduit de l'hébreux en langue vulgaire 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 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

### 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 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The usual form of the title is simply *Les Clavicules de Salomon* or *Les Vraies 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 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup>-century French manuscripts and a English translation from that French text. Its title is *Les Clavicules de Rabbi Salomon, traduites exactement du texte Hébreu en françois, le tout enrichi d'un grand nombre de figures mystérieuses, de talismans, de pentacles, cercles, canderies 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.<sup>15</sup>

### Lemegeton Text-Group [Lmg].

There are at least five 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts of an English work in five parts under a long descriptive title beginning: *Lemegeton; Clavicula Salomonis; or, The Little Key of Solomon*.<sup>16</sup> It is a work in five parts, compiled from texts that had otherwise circulated independently.<sup>17</sup> 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*.<sup>18</sup>

**Expurgated Text-Group [Exp].** At least three 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts contain a short work in German titled *Clavicula Salomonis Expurgata, oder Schlüssel des Königs Salomons wunderbahrllicher 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 cor-

responds 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 (Apotelesmatike` pragmateia Solomontos)*, sometimes *The Little Key of the Whole Art of Hygromancy, Found by Several Craftsmen and by the Holy Prophet Solomon (Tò kleidion tês pâses tékhnes tês hugromanteias, heurethên hupò diaphôron tekhnitôn kai tou` hagiou prophêtou Solomontos)*, and sometimes simply *Hygromancy*.<sup>19</sup> It is evidently the work of a Christian magician, not a Jewish one.

This work is known from sixteen or seventeen manuscripts.<sup>20</sup> Six of them were written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and another six or seven in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. (The other four are equally divided between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> 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 in Italy, whether into Italian or into Latin. Of course there is no mention in the Greek manuscripts of the Duke of Mantua or of Abraham Colorni.

### 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 17<sup>th</sup> or the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They all contain recent Hebrew translations from Italian or Latin magical texts, including passages from the *Key of Solomon*.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

### 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.<sup>23</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> century. This Greek text had reached Italy by the 15<sup>th</sup> century.
- In Italy it was translated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, if not in the 15<sup>th</sup>. It was first translated into Latin and/or Italian under the simplified title *Clavicula Salomonis*. It was also translated into English in the 16<sup>th</sup> 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 *Clavicula 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> The wildness of the manuscript traditions has now been confirmed from the records of the Inquisition (Sant' Uffizio) at Venice, held in the Archivio di Stato of that city, in which one finds the names of some women copyists of the *Key of Solomon* as well as some of the divergent manuscripts of the *Key of Solomon* that they wrote. See Sally Scully, "Marriage or a Career? Witchcraft as an Alternative in Seventeenth-Century Venice," *Journal of Social History* 2(1995), 857-876. Franca Romano, *Lauras Malipiero strega: Storie di malie e sortilegi nel Seicento* (Rome: Meltemi, 1996). Federico Barbierato, "Il testo impossibile: la *Clavicula Salomonis* a Venezia (secoli XVII-XVIII)," *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi* 32(1998), 235-284. Federico Barbierato, *Nella stanza dei circoli: Clavicula Salomonis e libri di magia a Venezia nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Milan: Bonnard, 2002) [not yet seen].

<sup>2</sup> I have employed such an approach elsewhere with good results in the study of Cyrillic manuscripts of the Church Slavonic version of the books of the Old Testament. See my articles, "Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Church Slavonic Translations from the Old Testament," *Polata knigopisnaja* 7(March 1983), 3-48, and "The Typology of Cyrillic Manuscripts (East Slavic vs. South Slavic Old Testament Manuscripts)," *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists* (Kiev, 1983), I: Linguistics, ed. by Michael S. Flier (Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1983), 193-202.

<sup>3</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century printed editions.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Franç. 14783. See Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français, Ancien supplément français*, III, Nos. 13091-15369 (Paris: Leroux, 1896), p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Most are on line at Adam McLean's web site <[www.levity.com/alchemy/solomon.html](http://www.levity.com/alchemy/solomon.html)> and Joseph H. Peterson's <[www.esotericarchives.com/solomon](http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon)>. Others are described by Johann Christoph Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, vol. 6 (Leipzig: Weygand, 1789), 332-457, and Carl Kiesewetter, *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition* (Leipzig: Max Spohr, 1893), 324-340.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century. The English translation has the title *The Book of King Solomon Called the Key of Knowledge*.

<sup>8</sup> 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](http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon)>.

<sup>9</sup> British Library Sloane Mss. 307 and 3821[#1]. See Samuel Ayscough, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum* (London, 1782), p. 876; Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1904), p. 331.

<sup>10</sup> 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).

<sup>11</sup> 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).

<sup>12</sup> I have a microfilm of the set at Harvard University: Houghton Library Mss. Fr. 554 + 555.

<sup>13</sup> A photographic facsimile of one of these manuscripts (Bibliothèque nationale Ms. Franç. 25,314) was published in a very limited edition: *Les Clavicles de Salomon* (Paris: Chamuel, 1892) [not yet seen].

<sup>14</sup> Warburg Institute Ms. FBH 80, available in an on-line facsimile from the Institute's library catalog.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> The best recent edition of the entire work is by Joseph H. Peterson, *The Lesser Key of Solomon* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers prepared a modern English version of the first of these five parts, which was published by Aleister Crowley in 1904 under the title *The Book of the Goetia of Solomon the King*. There are many reprints of Crowley's publication. That made by L. W. de Laurence in 1916 is titled *The Lesser Key of Solomon: Goetia, the Book of Evil Spirits*.

<sup>18</sup> British Library Sloane Ms. 2731.

<sup>19</sup> For a synoptic re-edition and translation of the Greek text see Pablo A. Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*, (= Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, vol. 73; Leiden: Brill, 2002), esp. 151-175, 209-223, 231-309.

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

<sup>21</sup> Hermann Gollancz, *Mafteach Shelomoh: Clavicula Salomonis: A Hebrew Manuscript*

## Typology cont'd

*Newly Discovered and Now Described* (Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffman & London: D. Nutt, 1903), and also his *Sefer Mafteah Shelomoh (Book of the Key of Solomon): An Exact Facsimile of an Original Book of Magic in Hebrew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914). Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "Mafteah Shelomoh; A New Acquisition of the British Library," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 1(1993/4), 263-270, and her "A Hebrew Manuscript of Clavicula Salomonis, Part II," *The British Library Journal* 21(1995), 128-136.

<sup>22</sup> 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 Mafteah 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.

<sup>23</sup> *De Laurence's Catalog of Books*, no. 11 (ca. 1944), p. 270.

## A REMINDER

Members who wish for timely reception of the next issue of the journal **Magic Ritual and Witchcraft** should make sure that dues are paid before the end of May; otherwise delivery of the first issue will be delayed till November.

Dues for 2007 are \$35. Anyone can make a payment by paypal or credit card at the membership page of the website: <http://brindedcow.umd.edu/socmag/>.

If you live in the US, you may send a cheque to treasurer Amelia Carr, Allegheny College, Art Department, Meadville, Pennsylvania, 16335, USA.

## 20% Discount

Members of the Societas Magica are entitled to a 20% discount on all books in the Magic in History series put out by Pennsylvania State University Press. Mention that you are a Societas Magica member when ordering books by phone (800-326-9180) or fax (877-778-2665). These telephone numbers work from the US and Canada.

## 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](http://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

Ms. varia 223 K 18th Italian  
Ms. Yahuda 18 K 18th English RS?

### Hamburg, Staats- 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, Stadtbibliothek

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 [#2]	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
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### Pommersfelden, Gräfllich Schönbornsche Bibliothek

Ms. 357	K	17th	Latin	TG
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### Providence (Rhode Island), Brown University, John Hay Library

Ms. BF1611,M313,1798	1798	French	RS
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### 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

### Sevilla, Biblioteca Zayas

Ms. C.V.1	K	19th	Italian
Ms. C.XIV.1	K	18th	Italian
Ms. C.XIV.22	K	16th	German

### Überlingen, Leopold-Sophien Bibliothek

Ms. 164	K	18th	German
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### Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Ms. 11,262		17th	Italian	Zk
Ms. 11,344		17th	Latin/Dutch	
Ms. 11,517		18th	French	

### Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek

Ms. Extravagantes 39	K	17th	French
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### Zittau, Stadtbibliothek

Ms. B.107 [#2]	K	?	Italian
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### Unidentified private collections [described on Adam McLean’s web-site]

Ms.	M	?	French
Ms.	M	18th / 19th	English RS
Ms.	M	18th	English RS

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.

Ayse Tuzlak

The University of Calgary

## 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; magic, 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](mailto: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](mailto:olsan@ulm.edu)

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