

**NEW DIRECTIONS IN
BOOK HISTORY**

Series Editors: Shafquat Towheed and
Jonathan Rose

palgrave▶pivot

**MAGICAL
MANUSCRIPTS
IN EARLY
MODERN EUROPE**

The Clandestine Trade In
Illegal Book Collections

**Daniel Bellingradt
Bernd-Christian Otto**



New Directions in Book History

Series editors
Shafquat Towheed
Faculty of Arts
Open University
Milton Keynes, UK

Jonathan Rose
Department of History
Drew University
Madison, USA

As a vital field of scholarship, book history has now reached a stage of maturity where its early work can be reassessed and built upon. That is the goal of *New Directions in Book History*. This series will publish monographs in English that employ advanced methods and open up new frontiers in research, written by younger, mid-career, and senior scholars. Its scope is global, extending to the Western and non-Western worlds and to all historical periods from antiquity to the 21st century, including studies of script, print, and post-print cultures. *New Directions in Book History*, then, will be broadly inclusive but always in the vanguard. It will experiment with inventive methodologies, explore unexplored archives, debate overlooked issues, challenge prevailing theories, study neglected subjects, and demonstrate the relevance of book history to other academic fields. Every title in this series will address the evolution of the historiography of the book, and every one will point to new directions in book scholarship. *New Directions in Book History* will be published in three formats: single-author monographs; edited collections of essays in single or multiple volumes; and shorter works produced through Palgrave's e-book (EPUB2) 'Pivot' stream. Book proposals should emphasize the innovative aspects of the work, and should be sent to either of the two series editors.

Editorial board: Marcia Abreu, University of Campinas, Brazil; Cynthia Brokaw, Brown University, USA; Matt Cohen, University of Texas at Austin, USA; Archie Dick, University of Pretoria, South Africa; Martyn Lyons, University of New South Wales, Australia.

More information about this series at
<http://www.springer.com/series/14749>

Daniel Bellingradt · Bernd-Christian Otto

Magical Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe

The Clandestine Trade In Illegal Book Collections

Including a critical edition of a 'catalogus rariorum
manuscriptorum' from 1710.

palgrave
macmillan

Daniel Bellingradt
Institut für Buchwissenschaft
Friedrich-Alexander-Universität (FAU)
Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany

Bernd-Christian Otto
Max Weber Centre for Advanced
Cultural and Social Studies
Universität Erfurt
Erfurt, Germany

New Directions in Book History

ISBN 978-3-319-59524-5

ISBN 978-3-319-59525-2 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-59525-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017944567

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: © Bitboxx.com

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

PREFACE

I first met Daniel Bellingradt during an espresso break in the Hilgenfeld Café on the campus of Erfurt University in 2014. When he heard of my interest in the study of magic, he mentioned a strange book trade catalogue that he had encountered during his doctoral studies. He emailed me images of the four pages on the same day, and we loosely agreed to write a journal article on the catalogue. The project gathered speed about 1 year later, when I discovered that the collection advertised in the catalogue survives until this day in Leipzig University Library. We have since then worked on our ‘article’, which eventually grew into the present book.

‘Interdisciplinarity’ is an often-evoked buzzword in modern academia, but only seldom brought to its full potential in the humanities. In fact, scholars in the humanities, particularly historians, tend to remain solitaries, focused on their niche areas, and published by their lonesome. Against this backdrop, the collaboration with Daniel was rewarding and inspiring, as we both come from completely different areas, had to learn the other’s language and thinking, and also cope with all sorts of disagreements which forced us to think ‘outside of our box’ and adjust our own interpretations. In our view, interdisciplinarity only gets off the ground when one is forced to compose texts together and thereby engage in a two-angled analysis of the same material, whereby each of the two angles enriches the other. The findings presented here are the result of this form of collaboration, and neither of us would have been able to present similar findings without the aid and mind of the other.

The order of authors given on the title page does therefore not indicate lead authorship or intellectual priority but is purely alphabetical. Yet, the content analysis of the manuscripts (in Appendix A), which provides the basis for much of the book, was done by myself only.

Our acknowledgments go to Sandra Zawrel for her help in editing a first draft of the ‘*catalogus rariorum manuscriptorum*’; Olaf Simons for his expert advice on German script; Marco Pasi for his helpful suggestions on some Italian formulations; Asaph Ben-Tov for his feedback on some of the Hebrew elements; Thomas Fuchs for his friendly remarks on the history of the collection; Carlos Gilly for his precious advice and unpublished material on early modern book collections of ‘learned magic’; Linda Finnigan for her thorough proofreading of the entire manuscript; and Brigitte Pfeil, Marco Frenschkowski, Michael Siefener, and Peter Forshaw for their helpful remarks; as well as numerous other colleagues who read previous drafts of this book or posed nagging questions during public lectures or colloquia. We would also like to thank the Max Weber Centre (Erfurt University) and the Institute for the Study of the Book (Erlangen-Nuremberg University) for providing decent research infrastructure and funding, and our contacts at Palgrave MacMillan, foremost Camille Davies, for the speedy and uncomplicated publishing procedure.

Erfurt, Germany
March 2017

Bernd-Christian Otto

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	Exceptionality	5
3	Scarcity	29
4	Illegality	47
5	Conclusions	67
	Appendix A: The Catalogus Rariorum Manuscriptorum	73
	Appendix B: Images of the Original Catalogue (1710)	153
	References	159
	Index	163

Introduction

Abstract This book sheds light on the story of a collection of 140 manuscripts of ‘learned magic’, known as the Leipzig collection, that was sold in 1710 for a fantastic sum within the clandestine channels of the German book trade. The extraordinary high price of these scribal publications had its main reasons in the exceptionality, scarcity, and illegality of the collection. The introduction calls for an interdisciplinary, integrative, and thus more comprehensive analysis of books of ‘learned magic’ in and beyond early modern times.

Keywords Book history · Magic · Censorship · Manuscripts · Book trade · Early modern culturemodern culture

In 1710, a collection of 140 manuscripts of ‘learned magic’¹ was sold within the clandestine channels of the German book trade for the fantastic sum of 4000 ‘Reichs-Thaler’—an amount of money that would have covered the costs of building two to three mid-sized houses within the city of Leipzig or about 260,000–320,000 litres of beer. The extraordinarily high price of these scribal publications was based on the exceptionality, scarcity, and illegality of the collection. The seller, a Leipzig-based medical doctor named Samuel Schröer, was aware of the rareness of his offered goods—a collection of handwritten copies that is likely the largest corpus of manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ in eighteenth century

German-speaking Europe, and moreover the earliest collection of German translations of such texts. In his ambition to sell his collection of “indexed books,” as a contemporary voice put it, Schröer initiated the publication of a printed anonymous book trade catalogue entitled “CATALOGUS RARIORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM”. The original print-run of this catalogue, comprising four pages in quarto, had been done in Augsburg by the local printer-publisher Paul Kühtze, who also acted as a shadowy selling agent of the collection. The Leipzig-Augsburg networking was successful in 1710, when both the collection and the catalogue avoided short-term censorship attention, and a buyer successfully acquired the manuscripts.

In this book we intend to: (1) enlarge this story to a case study on the practices and features of clandestine activities of the early modern European book markets; (2) identify and contextualize a unique collection of (predominantly) German manuscripts of ‘learned magic,’ which is today hosted—more or less uncorrupted (with some minor losses, but also some minor amendments)—in Leipzig University Library; and (3) provide insights into the history of ‘learned magic’ in eighteenth century German-speaking Europe. In doing so, this study addresses, among other things, questions of censorship regimes and efficiency, of the textual-ritual tradition of ‘Western learned magic,’ and of the status and use of handwritten books in an alleged ‘age of print.’ Beyond these particular goals, the book intends to provide a methodological pathway towards an interdisciplinary, integrative, and thus more comprehensive analysis of books of ‘learned magic’ in and beyond early modern times. By seeing these books as artefacts of both the *longue-durée* tradition of ‘Western learned magic’ and of the early modern book market, our book takes a new stance towards scribal texts that are often regarded as eccentric, peripheral, or marginal. On a theoretical level the study contributes to understanding the social construction of precarious knowledge,² authoritative strategies to suppress such knowledge, and creative attempts to circumvent these suppressions. Appendices A and B provide a critical edition of the aforementioned ‘catalogus’ enriched with a brief content analysis of the manuscript corpus outlined therein (Leipzig University Library: Cod. mag. 1–142),³ and four images of the original selling catalogue. The study is structured by the apparent exceptionality (Chap. 2), scarcity (Chap. 3), and illegality (Chap. 4) of the collection sold in 1710.

NOTES

1. ‘Magic’ is held in quotation marks throughout this book to indicate that this is not a self-evident, but a highly problematic and value-laden category; on our own conceptualization of ‘Western learned magic’ as an analytical category of the Leipzig collection see below, Chap. 2. On ‘magic’ as a problematic and value-laden concept see, exemplarily, Otto (2011, 1–218), Otto/Stausberg (2013, 1–10), Hanegraaff (2016).
2. On the concept of ‘precarious knowledge’ see Mulsow (2012).
3. In the following, Cod. mag. will be abbreviated as CM.

REFERENCES

- Hanegraaff, Wouter, “Magic”, in: Magee, Glenn Alexander (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Western Mysticism and Esotericism* (Cambridge 2016), 393–404.
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, *Magie. Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen* (Berlin 2011).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Defining Magic: A Reader* (Sheffield 2013).
- Mulsow, Martin, *Prekäres Wissen. Eine andere Ideengeschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 2012).

Exceptionality

Abstract This chapter portrays the exceptionality of the Leipzig collection from different angles. First, the collection is part and parcel of the *longue durée* textual-ritual of ‘Western learned magic’, but it nonetheless holds a unique spot within this tradition. The chapter further outlines exceptional characteristics of books of ‘learned magic’, and discusses the selling catalogue that advertised the collection in 1710.

Keywords Book History · Magic · Censorship · Manuscripts · Book trade · Book catalogue

In what follows, the exceptionality of the Leipzig collection is portrayed from different perspectives. We will argue that it is part and parcel of the *longue durée* textual-ritual tradition of ‘Western learned magic,’ but that it nonetheless holds a unique spot within this tradition. Seen as a distinct genre, books of ‘learned magic’ display a range of exceptional characteristics. Finally, it is argued that the selling catalogue that advertised the collection in 1710 was itself as exceptional as its offered goods.

THE LEIPZIG COLLECTION: PART AND PARCEL OF ‘WESTERN LEARNED MAGIC’

The manuscript collection sold in 1710 is as exceptional as it is a tiny piece in the puzzle of a much larger textual-ritual tradition, namely, that of ‘Western learned magic’. There is no room in this study to discuss this tradition at great length, as it spans almost 2000 years and ranges from late antiquity to the twenty-first century,¹ thus paralleling (and sometimes merging into) numerous other elitist traditions of knowledge that have been transmitted from antiquity onwards. However, we shall nonetheless provide a rough sketch of said tradition in order to facilitate the analysis of the Leipzig corpus.

‘Western learned magic’ is a novel and relatively unknown object of scholarly analysis and historiography, and has mainly been explored and discussed in what has become known as the ‘Study of Western Esotericism’ over the past decades.² Essentially, ‘Western learned magic’ is an analytical construct for gathering a corpus of texts, particularly ritual texts, that include an etymological derivate, linguistic equivalent, or culturally established synonym of ‘magic’ as a self-referential and thus identificatory term.³ Its conceptualization has been inspired by discourse analysis and particularly the discussion of the ‘insider/outsider’ distinction in the Study of Religion.⁴ It is thus an attempt to cope with the problem that ‘magic’ has always been and still is a ‘floating signifier’⁵ that has been ascribed—usually with a pejorative or polemical impetus—to people, practices, or texts that would never have used the label for self-reference. In contrast, the analytical category ‘Western learned magic’ exclusively covers sources that display the ‘insider’ perspectives, performances, and theorizations of people who claim(ed) to be practising ‘magic(ians)’, and attempts at analyzing these sources “as from inside the system” (Kenneth L. Pike).⁶ Since these ‘insider’ perspectives, performances, and theorizations as well as their cultural and social contexts change(d) over time, the textual-ritual tradition of ‘Western learned magic’ bears no immutable ‘essence’ but is, in contrast, characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity, hybridity, and changeability.

As the concept of ‘magic’ is very old—it goes back to the old Persian (self-) appellation of a Median tribe or priest caste (‘maguš’), which was adopted, initially as a polemical invective, by Greek authors around the fifth century BCE⁷—the textual-ritual tradition of ‘Western learned magic’ is quite extensive. The first surviving corpus of relevant texts—the

so-called *Greek Magical Papyri* (or *Papyri Graecae Magicae*)—were written in Koine Greek and circulated in Egypt and surrounding regions between the second and fifth centuries CE.⁸ From that moment on, we must think of a continuous stream—or rather of multiple trajectories or even an intercultural network—of texts that depicted and prescribed an arsenal of different ritual performances as well as theorizations of ritual efficacy or physical causation. Over the course of the Middle Ages, this textual-ritual tradition transcended a wide range of geographical, cultural and religious borders, thereby manifesting in, among others, surviving Jewish (e.g., Hebrew or Aramaic), Islamic (e.g., Arabic or Persian), Byzantine (Middle Greek) or European (e.g., Old Castilian or Latin) texts of ‘learned magic’.⁹ The early modern period is characterized by several inter-related developments in the realm of ‘learned magic’, such as the adoption, reconceptualization, and advocacy of some of its texts and techniques by humanist scholars (‘*magia naturalis*’), as well as enhanced textual diffusion in vernacular languages and thus expanding author, reader and practitioner milieus (on this process of ‘democratization’ see further, below).

‘Western learned magic’ thus refers to a *longue durée* inter-religious and transcultural textual-ritual tradition of elitist knowledge about practices and theorizations that were conceptualized under the umbrella term ‘magic’ or related terms from an affirmative insider’s perspective. These features are reflected in the Leipzig collection in several ways. The above criterion of self-referentiality can be applied to the collection with sufficient plausibility.¹⁰ It hosts one of the most (in)famous and systematic early modern manuals for ‘conjuring spirits’—the *Clavicula Salomonis* (*Key of Solomon*)—in seven different versions and three different languages (German, Latin, and Italian),¹¹ thus displaying the transcultural nature of ‘Western learned magic’.¹² The collection clearly points to conceptual heterogeneity and hybridity as core features of ‘Western learned magic’.¹³ What is more, most of its texts are copies or translations of much older texts, going back, for example, to late ancient Jewish milieus,¹⁴ to the medieval Arabic realm,¹⁵ or to late medieval European monastery contexts¹⁶—thus attesting the above claim that we are, in fact, dealing with a coherent *longue-durée* textual-ritual ‘tradition’.¹⁷ Of course, there are also younger texts in the collection—some may even have been composed shortly before the sale¹⁸—but what is striking to a scholar familiar with the material is that the Leipzig corpus more or less assembles the ‘who’s who’ of the premodern (and particularly the

pseudepigraphic) heritage of ‘Western learned magic’. Whoever has compiled this collection or funded its numerous translations into German surely had taste.

EXCEPTIONAL GENRE CHARACTERISTICS

Books of ‘learned magic’ are among the most difficult ones to track, analyze and categorize in historical research. Like other premodern (scribal or printed) publications, they were unique media that were never entirely fixed, stable, static or unified.¹⁹ Particularly manuscripts have been described as “fluid, developing entities”²⁰ that could change their forms, layouts and contents with every new owner or producer, thus being continually and/or collaboratively re-written, re-edited, re-arranged, re-annotated, criticized, updated, supplemented, revised, re-imagined, or transcribed. Accordingly, manuscripts may be seen as “liquid” or “living books” or as “processes” themselves.²¹ This “constant flux”²² turned manuscripts into on-going projects of individual choices. A reliance on manuscripts, then, enabled early modern authors, compilers, copyists and/or practitioners of ‘learned magic’ to adopt an extremely liberal attitude towards the idea of being ‘faithful to the original’ (or, put differently, to the idea of ‘textual authenticity’),²³ which prompted some exceptional genre characteristics. As we shall see, manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ are indeed characterized by an unstable author-title-content relationship and by a high degree of intertextual variability, changeability, fluidity, and heterogeneity.

Let us begin with the issue of (alleged) authorship. Many manuscripts of the Leipzig collection are pseudepigraphic in the sense that they are ascribed (usually in the titles) to mythical, false or non-existent authors. For readers, users or collectors of such texts this may not have been problematic per se, as pseudepigraphs could become established and thus allow for identifying stereotypical textual or ritual contents. The most prominent pseudepigraph in the realm of ‘learned magic’ is Solomon, who is typically associated with the art of ‘conjuring spirits’ and figures in 15 manuscript titles of the Leipzig collection. Of the 140 manuscripts that were sold in 1710, over 50 are most certainly pseudepigraphic,²⁴ whereas only 10–15 texts seem to display ‘authentic’ author names (even though even these remain debatable, as in the case of ‘Paracelsus’). All remaining texts (ca. 75) give no indication of any author; in these cases, the title usually provides a rough outline of textual or ritual contents.

Pseudepigraphs were certainly not binding and could easily be exchanged according to the preferences of a copyist, compiler or translator, thereby adapting a text to a (new) cultural or linguistic context. This has, for example, happened with several *Claviculae Salomonis* in the Leipzig collection: Entry No. 7, for example (CM 2), displays an abbreviated German version of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but is here ascribed to Albertus Magnus who might have been perceived as the more adequate ‘author’ in German-speaking Europe. Entry No. 16 (CM 19) hosts a different (Latin) version of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but is now ascribed to a ‘Rehencatricus’, an alleged pupil of the ancient ‘sage’ Apollonius of Tyana.²⁵ The Leipzig corpus also hosts various versions of a text which outlines the fabrication and ritual use of seven planetary sigils and which is either assigned to Solomon (entry No. 72 = CM 38), Trithemius (No. 73 = CM 92), Paracelsus (No. 69 = CM 39), Albertus Magnus (No. 29 = CM 72), or to no author whatsoever (e.g. No. 70 & 71 = CM 93 & 94; see also CM 37). Apparently, ‘authors’ or author names are often nothing but *topoi* in the realm of ‘learned magic’: they have a predominantly symbolic or mythological function and indicate hidden knowledge, ritual power, or religious righteousness (note that Biblical figures such as Moses,²⁶ Jesus,²⁷ David,²⁸ and Jacob²⁹ are also used as pseudepigraphs in the Leipzig collection).

The same pertains, not unexpectedly, to titles. As a general rule, the titles of early modern texts of ‘learned magic’ are as fluid and ever-changing as their alleged authors.³⁰ The Leipzig collection attests to this fluidity to a particularly strong degree, as it mostly hosts German translations of older (mostly Latin, likely some Italian, and a few Hebrew) templates. Of the 140 manuscripts of the collection sold in 1710, the majority seem to display ‘new’ titles, particularly the Germanized texts, which amount to 117 in total. For example, entry No. 3 (CM 16) hosts a lengthy treatise on the art of ‘conjuring spirits’, which had circulated under the title *De nigromancia* in previous Latin and English manuscript versions, here ascribed to Roger Bacon.³¹ The German title in CM 16 now reads “Melani monachi Processe von Beschwerung mancherley Geister” (literally “Melani Monachi’s processes of conjuring various spirits”), thus indicating a pseudepigraphic and conceptual shift. The same happened, as already mentioned, with several versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis*. The title-content-relationship is confused in both directions, as different texts of ‘learned magic’ could also bear the same title, for example ‘secrets’ or ‘secret of secrets’. The latter refers to a specific text

that was translated from Arabic into Latin in the early thirteenth century (as *Secretum Secretorum*), and soon thereafter into different European vernacular languages.³² The very title gave rise to a thriving textual genre during the early modern period,³³ which covered all sorts of natural or supernatural ‘experimenta’ or ‘miracula’ and was loosely related to the concept of ‘natural magic’ (*magia naturalis*).³⁴ ‘Secret’, in fact, appears in no less than 26 titles of the collection (as either ‘secreta’ in Latin, ‘segreta’ in Italian, or ‘Geheimnüss’ in German texts).³⁵

Moving on to textual contents, early modern texts of ‘learned magic’ are usually patchwork products that de- or prescribe ritual performances and thus combine a vast range of different ritual techniques, recipe patterns, or ‘building blocks’ (variously based on astrology, angelology, demonology, numerology, evocations, fumigations, the use of material artefacts and devices, the use of special cloth, fasting and further preparations, speech acts of numerous kinds, further performative actions, or the use of a special ‘language’ of signs and symbols, to name only a few examples).³⁶ As these ritual techniques could be combined in a thousandfold manner, Stephan Bachter—in an extensive survey of German texts of ‘learned magic’ from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries—was tempted to use the analogy of a “Baukastensystem” (“modular design”).³⁷ Robert Mathiesen, in a survey of the early modern manuscript transmission of the *Clavicula Salomonis* based on 122 surviving manuscript versions, has identified at least 14 different “generic types” of the text.³⁸ The *Clavicula Salomonis* is, in fact, a typical text of ‘learned magic’ as it is virtually impossible to identify an ‘Ur-Version’ even by careful stemmatic analysis. In other words, the *Clavicula Salomonis* is rather a ‘genre’ than a ‘text’. However, as there are also ongoing continuities—that is, the author-title-content-relationship is not completely arbitrary, but displays a certain degree of stability across the variations—it makes most sense to speak of a complex interplay between *stasis* and *dynamis* in texts of ‘learned magic’.

Why did authors, compilers, copyists and/or practitioners adopt such an extremely liberal attitude towards the idea of being ‘faithful to the original’ or, put differently, to the idea of ‘textual authenticity’? Apart from (1) the long and entangled history of ‘Western learned magic’, which led to the accumulation of an ever greater amount of ritual texts, techniques, recipes, and modes of efficacy, and (2) the ongoing reliance on manuscript transmission even in an ‘age of print’ (see below), it should also be noted that (3) there never were any authorities in the

realm of ‘learned magic’ that would have determined any kind of orthodoxy or -praxy (to which authors, copyists, translators, or practitioners would have been accountable). In other words, no one ever monitored the ‘Werktreue’ of a given copy or translation, which certainly fuelled diverse textual diffusion.³⁹

THE EXCEPTIONALITY OF THE COLLECTION

Within the *longue-durée* textual-ritual tradition of ‘Western learned magic’, the Leipzig collection holds a prominent, if not unique, spot. Certainly, there had been extensive previous collections of (both scribal and printed) texts of ‘learned magic’ in other European languages and regions. Apart from Latin collections hosted in monastery libraries ever since the late Middle Ages,⁴⁰ British scholars in particular had assembled substantial private collections of ‘learned magic’ texts during the early modern period—such as John Dee (1527–1608),⁴¹ Thomas Browne (1605–1682),⁴² Elias Ashmole (1617–1692),⁴³ Hans Sloane (1660–1753),⁴⁴ Robert (1661–1724) and Edward Harley (1689–1741)⁴⁵ or Charles A. Rainsford (1728–1809).⁴⁶ In France, Marc Antoine René de Voyer d’Argenson (1722–1778) may come to mind, whose extensive manuscript collection—which included numerous texts of ‘learned magic’—formed the basis of the great French national library, the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal.⁴⁷ With regard to early modern German collections of (scribal or printed) texts of ‘learned magic’, however, historical data is scarce.⁴⁸ In general, the translation or composition of *German* texts of ‘learned magic’ has to be interpreted against the backdrop of an overall process of ‘democratization’ of ‘learned magic’ during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. ‘Democratization’ here refers to the increased accessibility of ‘learned magic’ texts in vernacular languages and, as a consequence, to expanding author, reader and practitioner milieus.⁴⁹ Whereas in previous centuries the transmission of ‘learned magic’ texts and techniques mostly relied on ecclesiastical (and foremostly monastery) milieus,⁵⁰ from the late fifteenth century onwards there was enhanced textual diffusion among all kinds of scholars, astrologers, medics, parish clergy, merchants and soldiers, and even illiterates (such as prostitutes).⁵¹ Said dynamics were certainly propelled by letterpress printing, even though manuscript transmission remained crucial in the realm of ‘learned magic’ at least until the eighteenth century (see below).

When this process—particularly the production of vernacular texts of ‘learned magic’—reached the German-speaking regions on a larger scale is hard to determine. While research in German ‘Volkskunde’ has stressed until very recently that this process properly began over the course of the eighteenth century only,⁵² we believe that the Leipzig collection calls for revising this perspective. As the collection sold in 1710 appears to be the end-product of a longer process of collecting, copying, vernacularizing, commenting upon, and re-arranging texts of ‘learned magic’ in early modern German-speaking Europe, we believe that this process may have been very much underway all throughout the seventeenth century, if not earlier. A few examples from the Leipzig collection may serve to illustrate this point.

First, the Leipzig collection hosts eight versions of a subgenre of ‘learned magic’ that often comes under the name *Höllenzwang* and is ascribed to the illustrious figure of Johann Georg Faust (ca. 1480–1541), the man behind the ‘Faust legend’.⁵³ The Faustian *Höllenzwänge* are usually extensive German manuals for ‘conjuring spirits’, which provide a sophisticated set of ritual performances that aim at subordinating large quantities of intermediaries for different inner-worldly purposes.⁵⁴ The systematic outline of these texts (they are often divided into two books of some twenty chapters each), as well as their sophisticated ritual setups (which include the preparation and use of richly illustrated ritual circles, cloth, and further ritual devices, as well as an array of sigils ascribed to hierarchies of intermediaries) are clearly derived from previous *Clavicula Salomonis* templates.⁵⁵ The *Höllenzwänge* differ from these templates, however, in that they often address the reader from the alleged first-person perspective of Johann Faust and they also seem to be characterized by richer illustrations, including images of the to-be-conjured demons.⁵⁶ German ‘Volkskundler’ such as Christoph Daxelmüller⁵⁷ or Stephan Bachter⁵⁸ have argued that the *Höllenzwänge* are products of the eighteenth century only. Clearly, the ‘publication’ dates depicted on the title pages (such as “1407” in CM 138; “1411” in CM 6; or “1510” in CM 139)⁵⁹ are false and intended to simulate great age. However, the existence of so many different versions in 1710 indicates that complex processes of textual appropriation, translation, innovation, re-arrangement and transmission must have occurred all throughout the seventeenth century or even earlier. In fact, Will-Erich Peuckert has claimed that at least parts of a *Höllenzwang* version not hosted in Leipzig—entitled *Doctor Johannes Fausts Magia naturalis et innaturalis oder Dreifacher*

*Höllenzwang*⁶⁰—must have been composed between 1533 and 1563 (that is, between Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* and Johan Weiyer's *De praestigiis daemonum*).⁶¹ The Leipzig collection thus calls for revising the tendency of German 'Volkskunde' to late-date the *Höllenzwang* genre.⁶²

What is more, there are numerous texts in the Leipzig collection that belong to the fuzzy genre of 'secreta' or 'miracula' literature (the German umbrella term was *Kunst- und Wunderbuch*). These texts bear close resemblance to the genre of 'Brauchbücher'⁶³ or 'Hausbücher'⁶⁴ in that they provide short, complexity-reduced rituals of 'magia naturalis' for a wide audience that lacks religious expertise, sophisticated language capabilities, or the timely and monetary resources for lengthy ritual performances.⁶⁵ Apparently, such texts had already circulated all throughout the seventeenth century (as is now known, modes of basic reading comprehension were widespread in German-speaking Europe in the seventeenth century),⁶⁶ and there may have been a particularly high demand for such practices—and the corresponding manuals—during the 30 Years' War. The so-called 'Passauer Kunst', which aimed at the 'Festmachen' (literally, 'making solid', i.e. becoming invulnerable) of combatants by means of 'learned magic' techniques (for example, by sewing complex sigils with 'voces magicae' and 'caractères' into one's clothes)⁶⁷ was popularized by Johannes Staricius who printed the so-called *Helden-Schatz* as early as 1615; the *Helden-Schatz* witnessed no less than 11 reprints until the end of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ The Leipzig collection reflects this popularity and provides three alternative versions of 'Festmachen' rituals, which had apparently circulated in manuscript form (see catalogue entries No. 33 [CM 134], No. 103 [CM 119], and No. 127 [CM 125]). Many German 'Brauchbücher' printed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries still include similar recipes for avoiding gunshot wounds and other military purposes.⁶⁹

In accordance with further findings—remarks in polemical literature indicate that Germanized texts of 'learned magic' circulated already during the late sixteenth century⁷⁰; various German manuscripts of 'learned magic' have indeed survived from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁷¹; print-runs of German books of 'learned magic' begin as early as the second half of the seventeenth century⁷²—the Leipzig collection indicates that the Germanization of texts and techniques of 'learned magic' was not in its beginning, but rather its final, stage in 1710.⁷³ Even though many of these texts address small, elitist readership circles

(which is reflected in their ritual and conceptual complexity), the Leipzig collection points to expanding reader and practitioner milieus and thus to processes of ‘democratization’ and ‘popularization’ of ‘learned magic’ in German-speaking Europe before 1710. German ‘Volkskundler’ may have focused too much on printed editions, which indeed have their peak in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to date these processes accurately.

Yet, even though German texts of ‘learned magic’ may have circulated somewhat earlier than so far assumed, there is currently no evidence of the existence of a comparably large collection of—predominantly German—books of ‘learned magic’ before 1710. We are thus inclined to think that the Leipzig collection holds a prominent, if not unique position within the history of ‘Western learned magic’. Apart from being one of largest book collections of ‘learned magic’ in eighteenth century German-speaking Europe, and moreover the earliest extensive collection of German translations of such texts, it is one of very few collections that has actually survived more or less in its entirety until this day.⁷⁴ Only after the sale of the collection, that is, over the course of the eighteenth century, have we been able to trace comparably large German collections. For example, the research library of Gotha hosts a handwritten list of some 30 texts of ‘learned magic’ that dates to the mid-eighteenth century.⁷⁵ This collection, too, was for sale—the indicated price was 20 ‘Louisdor’, a contemporary equivalent of about 6000–9000 litres of beer—but the collection was considerably smaller, and it obviously does not precede the Leipzig collection. Interestingly, some of the items on this list not only relate to texts, but also to ritual devices (such as belts or pentacles),⁷⁶ indicating that the ritual art outlined in these texts had actually been—or was still intended to be—put into practice. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, more and more German book collections of ‘learned magic’ continued to see the light of day.⁷⁷ This development seems to reflect an increased interest in ‘learned magic’ and related topics during the so-called ‘Enlightenment’ period,⁷⁸ which culminated in the large German print-compilations of the nineteenth century (Georg Conrad Horst’s six-volume *Zauber-Bibliothek* [1821–1826] and Johann Scheible’s 12-volume *Das Kloster* [1848–1849]). One of the most interesting later findings, however, is attached to the name Joseph Wetzels, whose collection of 158 (scribal and printed) texts of ‘learned magic’ had been seized by the authorities of Ravensburg in 1895.⁷⁹ Even though this collection is considerably

later, it is nonetheless fascinating as it indicates that a comparably large collection of ‘learned magic’ texts could still host 104 manuscripts (and only 56 printed versions) in the late nineteenth century. Apparently, even though more and more texts of ‘learned magic’ were printed from the late eighteenth century onwards, two-thirds of the collection of a practitioner of the late nineteenth century could still comprise manuscripts.

THE EXCEPTIONALITY OF THE CATALOGUE

The catalogue that offered the Leipzig collection for sale in 1710 (see Appendices A and B) was as exceptional as its offered goods. Early modern book catalogues came in many forms—such as inventories of private libraries, catalogues of desired books (wish-lists), lists of books written by specific authors or in a specific discipline, trade catalogues compiled by publishers (including catalogues for book auctions), or the banning lists of authorities—the ‘catalogus’ displays some unusual features: it was a rare version of a *printed* book catalogue for *manuscripts*; it was a trade catalogue without the usual trading details (such as prices, the name of the seller, etc.)⁸⁰; and it was a ‘real’ list, meaning that all listed manuscripts actually existed.⁸¹ As every niche of the book market had its own book lists, so the sales of ‘scarce’ or ‘indexed’ books had their own niche catalogues.⁸² When ‘scarce books’, that is, the most expensive and rare manuscripts, were offered at all at a book auction during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the auction catalogues always were in printed form (as in our case).⁸³ Advertising the Leipzig collection may have been a potentially lucrative but also dangerous business for both seller and owner, signalled by the missing prices, contact and provenance details.

The rudimentary nature of the data given had its main reason in the illegality of the collection and the elitist market the catalogue addressed. As will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections on ‘scarcity’ and ‘illegality’, advertising such a collection in elite networks of rich scholars and collectors was a shadowy business that required the concealment of documented names or details on the selling process. With this in mind, it is likely that the catalogue was provided for free,⁸⁴ in a face-to-face situation between a bookseller, or book agent, and a potential elitist customer. Another reason for the striking lack of relevant information in the ‘catalogus’ was the contemporary censorship situation. Selling such ‘scarce’ or ‘indexed’ books in the early eighteenth century was a hot potato even in relatively liberal Leipzig and had to be done secretly,

as the nameless bookseller or new owner of the collection surely knew. However, later sources have at least enabled us to identify the previous owner of the collection: apparently, it was a relatively unknown “Medicus zu Leipzig” named Samuel Schröer who, at that time 41 years old, had initiated the publication of the catalogue in 1710 in order to sell parts of his private book collection.⁸⁵ The book enthusiast Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach mentions the Augsburg-based bookseller and publisher Paul Kührtze as the provider or selling agent of said collection of “libros magicos”, which was sold for “4000 Reichs-Thaler” to a nameless “admirer”.⁸⁶

NOTES

1. See for an overview Otto (2016).
2. See for an introduction into this field of research Hanegraaff (2012); Hanegraaff (2013). Regarding German sources, see also earlier research in the discipline of ‘Volkskunde’: Jacoby (1931); Spamer (1955); Peuckert (1956); Peuckert (1967); Wanderer (1976); Daxelmüller (2001); Bachter (2005). See also Davies (2009, 118–123), who, however, begins his survey of German books of ‘learned magic’ in the late eighteenth century only.
3. See Otto (2016) for a more concise argument; elsewhere, the tradition has been referred to as ‘selbstreferentieller Magiediskurs’ (Otto 2011) or ‘discourse of inclusion’ (Otto 2013). The addendum ‘learned’ is used to point out that we are here dealing with (1) an elitist—textual!—discourse that usually requires expertise in several languages and religious traditions, and (2) prescriptions and theorizations that tend towards complex, time- and resource-consuming ritual performances. The addendum ‘learned’ thus operates as a marker of specificity of this particular corpus of sources and helps to demarcate it from other (allegedly ‘magical’) ritual traditions that were transmitted only orally and whose ritual performances thus remained rather short and simplistic. On our understanding of ‘Western’ see Otto (2016), 4–5, 20–21.
4. See McCutcheon (1999) for an introduction into the debate.
5. See Chandler (2007), 78: ‘floating signifiers’ have “a vague, highly variable, unspecifiable or non-existent signified. Such signifiers may mean different things to different people: they may stand for many or even any signifieds; they may mean whatever their interpreters want them to mean”.
6. See Pike (1999), 28.
7. See Otto (2011), 161–272 and Frenschkowski (2016), 57–58.

8. See Preisendanz/Henrichs (1973–1974) for the Greek text and a German translation, and Betz (1996) for an English translation as well as new findings.
9. Many of these sources survive in multi-lingual translations or are otherwise related. See for an overview Otto (2016); for a detailed case-study Leicht (2006).
10. The term ‘magic’ (‘Magie’ in German, ‘magia’ in Latin or Italian) figures in no less than 42 (of 140) titles of the Leipzig collection, the German synonym ‘Zauber’ is used in three further titles; if one goes into the texts, the concept of ‘magic’ is even more omnipresent; see Appendix A for further details.
11. See the Italian version in entry No. 54 (CM 4), Germanized versions in entries Nos. 7–8 (CM 2–3), 55 (CM 5), 56 (CM 27), and the Latin versions in No. 16 (CM 19) and 17 (CM 85). Another Germanized version can be found in CM 1 (not part of the the ‘catalogus’). See Appendix A for further details.
12. This transculturality is also reflected in the overall language mixture of the Leipzig collection, which consists of 117 (predominantly) German, 13 (predominantly) Italian, and 10 (predominantly) Latin texts; in fact, most manuscripts display a mixture of languages in both titles and contents, including also numerous Hebrew, some Greek and even a few Arabic elements. See Appendix A (element V) for further details. Said mixture points to the origin of large parts of the collection, which is rather to be located in Southern and/or Western Europe. On ‘learned magic’ in early modern Central and Eastern Europe see Szeghyová (2005) and Láng (2008); on contemporaneous developments in Northern Europe see the special issue “Magic and Text” in *ARV Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 70 (2015), guest-edited by Ane Ohrvik and Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir.
13. While the predominant focus of the collection lies on the art of ‘conjuring spirits’ (more than two thirds of the collection are devoted to said art in one way or the other), it also incorporates further sub-disciplines of ‘learned magic’ such as ‘magia naturalis’, ‘kabbalistic’ speculations on the power and numerological value of words, a vast range of divination techniques, astrology, alchemy, or rituals for ascending through the seven heavens and, thus, apotheosis.
14. See the *Sepher ha-Razim* in entry No. 14 (CM 40), here bearing the title *Liber Razielis Angeli*.
15. See the *Almandal* in entry No. 11 (CM 60), here bearing the title *Almodel Salomonis*.
16. See parts of the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* in entry No. 2 (CM 16), here entitled *Magia universalis divina angelica und diabolica*.

17. See for a more concise argument Otto (2016), “Historicizing ‘Western learned magic’”, 4, 23–24, 64. On ‘tradition’ see *ibid.*, 23–24, footnote 94.
18. For example, entry No. 5 (CM 15) hosts a version of the text *Abramelin*, here entitled *Abrahami eines Sohnes Simonis, Praxis cabale albe*, which was, in all likelihood, composed in the early 17th century; entry No. 67 (CM 14) provides a hand-written copy of Abraham of Franckenberg’s *Oculus Siderius*, first publ. 1647 in Danzig; entry No. 15 (CM 79) hosts a hand-written copy of a text that was initially printed in 1686 as *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis*. See Appendix A for further details.
19. See for the printed early modern book as a unique product of which “no two copies were identical” (Adrian Johns): Johns (1998), esp. 31; McKittrick (2003). See for a discussion on this feature as the result of practices of the intellectual and technical production: Bellingradt/Salman (2017).
20. Hanna (1996, 7).
21. Blake (1989), 403–432; Lerer (2015).
22. Johnston/van Dussen (2015, 5).
23. See, for the same pattern of unstable manuscript transmission over 2000 years in which a learned tradition (on wondrous races of the East) transformed over time, especially the case of three medieval English manuscripts: Ford (2016).
24. The most frequently used pseudepigraphs in the Leipzig collection are Solomon (15 instances), Dr. Faustus (8 instances), Albertus Magnus (4 instances), Trithemius (3 instances), Paracelsus (3 instances), Pelagius (3 instances), and Hermes (3 instances). All further (pseud-) epigraphs figure one or two times.
25. Davies (2009) discusses numerous further instances of shifting author names.
26. See entries No. 91 (CM 28) and 60 (CM 48).
27. See No. 61 in the ‘catalogus’.
28. See entries No. 57 (CM 9), 120 (CM 42), and 19 (CM 87).
29. See entry No. 18 (CM 59).
30. See on the issue also Bachter (2005, 38–54) and *passim*.
31. See the uncritical edition in Macdonald (1988); the text in CM 16 indeed mentions an English template ascribed to Roger Bacon in its foreword (see Appendix A).
32. See Forster (2006).
33. See Davies (2009, 56–57); Eamon (1994).
34. See on this early modern humanist concept Otto (2011, 413–504); von Stuckrad (2005, 62–98); Brach (2006); Goldammer (1991); extensively Peuckert (1967). Note that the meaning of ‘magia naturalis’ changed

considerably over the course of its early modern reception. Early versions of the concept (e.g., in the works of Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Theophrastus of Hohenheim, or Agrippa of Nettesheim) covered concepts of physical causation—such as the use of astrological talismans (‘images’) or the efficacy of special words (sometimes subsumed under ‘kabbalah’)—that were dropped by later authors, for instance by Giambattista della Porta in his influential *Magia naturalis* (first publ. 1558, revised ed. 1589). It is this later and indeed more ‘naturalistic’ version of ‘*magia naturalis*’ that influenced debates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Germany foremost through the translation of della Porta’s *Magia naturalis* (trl. by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth as *Haus-, Kunst- und Wunderbuch [...]*, Nürnberg 1680) and its popularization in Hildebrand (1610) and other German works of the seventeenth century.

35. If one counts ‘mystica’, ‘occulta’, ‘miracula’, ‘Wunder’, and/or ‘verbor-gen’ as synonyms of ‘secret’/‘Geheimnüss’, this figure rises to over 40 manuscript titles.
36. These are, in fact, only some of the ritual techniques usually combined in the *Clavicula Salomonis* genre.
37. See Bachter (2005, 55–73).
38. See Mathiesen (2007).
39. See also Klaassen (2013, 1–2): “the act of copying was not passive. On the contrary, it involved a wide range of choices, concious or otherwise, that might fundamentally alter the sense of the received text. [...] the scribe had the luxury of [...] choice”.
40. See, exemplarily, Klaassen (2013) and Page 2013 on some of these late medieval collections.
41. See Roberts/Watson (1990).
42. See Finch (1986).
43. The Ashmole collection is today stored in the Bodleian library; see Black (1845).
44. Sloane’s manuscript collection is today stored in the British Museum; see partly Long Scott (1904) and Ayscough (1782).
45. Harley’s library is today stored in the British museum: see Morton et al. (1808–1812).
46. Rainford’s collection is today part of the private library of the Duke of Northumberland, stored at Alnwick Castle; see McLean (online resource).
47. A survey of d’Argenson’s collection of ‘learned magic’ books can be found in de Givry (1963, 102–113).
48. There is still not even a tentative overview of early modern book collections of ‘learned magic’ and related topics. We have only come across

a few reliable sources regarding previous collections which may have included German translations, among them: (1) the collection of Jonas Adelwerth (d. 1600), on which see Gilly (1995), 52; (2) the collection of Carl Wiedemann (1555–1637): see Gilly (1994), 106f. and *passim*; (3) a collection offered for sale 1614 in Leipzig for ‘16000 Imperialibus’—its ‘*Catalogus Librorum Kabalisticorum*’ had been edited in Helvetius (1702), 99–102; this collection comprised 69 predominantly Latin texts, some of which seem to be fictitious; see Gilly (2005), 210; (4) the Saxon State and University Library Dresden hosts a comparably large collection of some 183 books of ‘learned magic’ and related topics, catalogued under ‘*Magica*’ (see Schmidt 1906); however, in contrast to the Leipzig collection, the Dresden collection has been successively compiled over the centuries (i.e., it does not represent a coherent early modern collection), the tableau of topics is much more scholarly and diverse, the predominant language is Latin, and it includes more printed than manuscript titles. We would like to thank Carlos Gilly for his helpful suggestions on this issue.

49. See Davies (2009, 61–67) and *passim*.
50. See Kieckhefer (2014), 151–175, for a concise argument on this ‘clerical underworld’.
51. See on prostitutes Davies (2009, 80–81).
52. See particularly Daxelmüller (2001, 248–314), who makes the strong claim that vernacularized texts of ‘learned magic’ circulated among non-scholarly German populations only from the 18th century onwards; see also Daxelmüller (1996). The argument is still made in Bachter (2005, 7–8, 29–30). The question of dating this process of ‘vernacularization’ is crucial as it relates to the on-going dispute about whether there was a ‘magische Volkskultur’ in Europe before the 18th century at all (see on this dispute Bachter 2005, 28–29), which is, in turn, relevant to interpreting the European witch-hunts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
53. See CM 6, 22, 23, 30, 62, 138–40 (No. 45–52 in the ‘catalogus’).
54. See for further details Bachter (2005, 73–95), and the content analyses in Appendix A.
55. In at least two *Höllenzwang* versions of the Leipzig collection (see entries No. 47 and 49 [CM 140 and 23]) the ‘author’ refers to the *Clavicula Salomonis*; see Appendix A for further details.
56. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was also a collector of books of ‘learned magic’, was aware of the *Höllenzwang* genre and describes a manuscript exemplar hosted in Weimar in a letter to Carl Friedrich Zelter: see Riemer (1833–1834), 324–337. On Goethe’s collecting interests and potential inspiration by books of ‘learned magic’ see Kiesewetter (1893, 267–268); Bachter (2005, 84, 98–99); Davies (2009, 118).

57. See Daxelmüller (2001, 263–264).
58. See Bachter (2005, 7–8).
59. See Appendix A.
60. Edited in Scheible (1849).
61. Peuckert (1956), 135–138.
62. Interestingly, the current tendency of late-dating the genre seems to be a reaction to previous research that fell astray to the false dates on the title pages (see Daxelmüller’s critique of Peuckert and Brückner in Daxelmüller 2001, 263–264).
63. On these see Labouvie (1992).
64. See also Daxelmüller (1996, 844 and 858/59), footnote 77. An early printed text was Coler (1645). On Hildebrand’s *Magia naturalis, das ist, Kunst- und Wunderbuch* (1610) see above, footnote 34 (this chapter).
65. See Otto (2016, 54–55).
66. See Noflatscher (2003); Schilling/Ehrenpreis (2007).
67. ‘Voces magicae’ and ‘characteres’ are character sequences (‘voces magicae’), written in mysterious, unknown or illegible script (‘characteres’), which have no apparent semantic meaning but come with an aura of a hidden *signifié* and enhanced ritual efficacy; both are omnipresent in the Leipzig collection—see Appendix A for further details.
68. See Funke (2009).
69. See for example the *Romanusbüchlein*: Anonymous ca. (1880).
70. See, for example, Weyer (1575); Praetorius (1602), 361–364, esp. 362: “In Teutscher Sprach sind uberall bekannt etliche schändtliche Zauberen Bücher, welche ich vorwitziger Leut nachfragens halben nit nennen mag. Zu abgesetzten mögen auch gezehlet warden etlicher Sybillen Bücher, Traumbücher, Planetenbücher und andere dergleichen [...]”.
71. For instance, early German translations of the first Latin *Arbatel* print-run (Basel 1575) in manuscript form (e.g., Ms. Harleian 514, 1r–122v), which tend to ascribe the work to Paracelsus, date to the late 16th century: see Gilly (2005, 209–210); the German translation of Berengarius Ganellus’ *Summa Sacre Magice* hosted in Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Ms. Germ. Fol. 903) was composed around 1580; on 16th century German translations of the *Picatrix* see Gilly (1999); another candidate is the text *Abramelin* whose earliest manuscript witness (Ms. Wolfenbüttel, Codex Guelfibus 47.13 Aug. 4°) dates to 1608.
72. See foremost the prints, all published anonymously by the bookseller Andreas Lupprius in the late seventeenth century, of *Clavicula Salomonis et Theosophia Pneumatica* (1686) (this was an abbreviated German version of the text *Arbatel*); *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* (1686); *Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi Bombast [...] Gröstes und höchstes Geheimniß aller seiner Geheimnisse* (1986); *Claviculae Salomonis*,

- seu Philosophia Pneumatica* (before 1700). Thanks to Michael Siefener for his helpful remarks on this matter.
73. Two driving forces of this vernacularization process may have been the Reformation and, even more importantly in the realm of ‘learned magic’, the impact of the (predominantly German) Paracelsian discourse.
 74. The last issue is particularly important as the Leipzig collection hosts numerous Germanized texts whose Latin, Italian or Hebrew templates appear to be lost or currently unknown, thus being the only extant manuscript witnesses of these texts: see Appendix A for further details.
 75. See *Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Ms. Chart. B 1481.
 76. See, e.g., the remarks for No. 1 on the list: “Zu diesem seltenen Werk gehört folgendes Apparat. 1 Ein großer auf Pappe gezogener Kreis, so wie der in dem Buch ein kleiner zu sehen, nebst zwei Streifen zum Durchzeichnen, an deren Ende 4 Pendakeln angehängt sind 2) Ein Siegel Salomonis 3) 4 Pendakeln. 4) 3 Siegel der Thron = Engel”. The fabrication of such devices is indeed outlined in some manuscripts of the Leipzig collection, e.g., in No. 17 (CM 133).
 77. See, for example, a collection of 78 books of ‘learned magic’ advertised in 1797 in the *Leipziger Allgemeinen Litterarischen Anzeiger* (March 28), or the extensive collection (of both manuscripts as well as ritual devices) of Karl Wunderlich (1769–1841), which is today hosted in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt: on both see Bachter (2005), 43–44. Noteworthy are also the collection of Baron von Sonnenenthal (ca. 1757–1834), today stored at the Leopold-Sophien-Bibliothek in Ueberlingen, and the extensive bibliographic studies by Hauber (1738–1745), and Gräße (1843).
 78. See Hanegraaff 2012, 219, who speaks of an “unprecedented wave of popular literature in the domains associated with ‘superstition’, ‘magic’ and the ‘occult sciences’” in the Enlightenment period; see also Doering-Manteuffel (2004); on the ‘esoteric’ backdrop of the Enlightenment see, exemplarily, Neugebauer-Wölk et al. (1999); Neugebauer-Wölk/Rudolph (2008); Neugebauer-Wölk et al. (2013).
 79. See Beck (1905), and Bachter (2005), 50–51, for further details.
 80. See on the variations, meanings and communicative contexts of book catalogues of early modern times Walsby/Constantinidou (2013). See further Pollard/Ehrmans (1965); Taylor (1958).
 81. In contrast, many early modern book lists were full of uncertain announcements, and could display nothing more than the publisher’s future projects which may never materialize.
 82. See on special lists of clandestine or heretical books in eighteenth century France and Europe Darnton (1995); Haug/Mayer/Schröder (2011).
 83. See for example McKay (1937).

84. Note that, during the seventeenth century, book catalogues were generally sold in Europe and only occasionally provided for free.
85. See the preface of Roth-Scholtz (1732); on Schröer as medical doctor in Leipzig Ludovici (1729), 21. See for further details on Schröer below.
86. von Uffenbach 1753–1756, here vol. 1 (1753), 184–185.

REFERENCES

- [Anonymous; maybe ed. by Andreas Luppius?] *Claviculae Salomonis, seu Philosophia Pneumatica, Das ist: Heptameron Der Magischen Elementen Petri de Abano Philosophi* (before 1700?).
- [Anonymous] *Clavicula Salomonis et Theosophia Pneumatica. Das ist / die warhafftige Erkaenntnuß Gottes / und seiner sichtigen und unsichtigen Geschoepffen / die Heil Geist-Kunst genannt: Darinnen der gründliche einfältige Weg angezeigt wird / wie man zu der rechten wahren Erkaenntnuß Gottes / auch aller sichtigen und unsichtigen Geschoepffen / aller Kuensten / Wissenschaften und Handwercken kommen soll* (Wesel 1686).
- [Anonymous] *Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi Bombast Des hocherfahrenen / Berühmtesten Philosophi und Adepti Gröstes und höchstes Geheimniß aller seiner Geheimnisse / welches noch niemahls wegen seiner unvergleichlichen Fürtrefflichkeit ist gemein gemacht / sondern allezeit in Geheim gehalten worden. Nach seiner eigenen Handschrift von einem unbekandten Philosopho zum Druck treulichst mitgetheilet. Nebst einem Anhang noch mehr andrer fast unglaublichen raren Curiositäten / welche noch niemahls offenbahr worden.* (Wesel 1686).
- [Anonymous] *Romanus-Büchlein oder Gott der Herr bewahre meine Seele, meinen Aus und Eingang, von nun an bis in alle Ewigkeit, Amen. Halleluja* (Leipzig c. 1880).
- [Anonymous] *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* (Wesel 1686).
- Ayscough, Samuel (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London 1782).
- Bachter, Stephan, *Anleitung zum Aberglauben. Zauberbücher und die Verbreitung magischen ,Wissens' seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 2005).
- Beck, Paul, “Die Bibliothek eines Hexenmeisters”, in: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 15 (1905), 412–424.
- Bellingradt, Daniel and Jeroen Salman, “Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality, and Spatiality”, in: Bellingradt, Daniel, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke 2017), 1–11.
- Betz, Hans (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago ²1996).

- Black, William Henry (ed.), *A Descriptive, Analytical and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford 1845).
- Blake, N.F., "Manuscript to Print", in: Griffiths, Jeremy and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475* (Cambridge 1989), 403–432.
- Brach, Jean-Pierre, "Magic IV: Renaissance–17th Century", in: Hanegraaff, Wouter et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden 2006), 731–738.
- Chandler, Daniel, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London 2007).
- Coler, Johannes, *Oeconomia rryalis et domestica. Das ist: Ein sehr Nützliches Allgemeines Hauß-Buch vnd kurtze Beschreibung vom Haußhalten, Wein-Acker- Garten-Blumen und Feldebaw* (Mainz 1645).
- Darnton, Robert, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York 1995).
- Davies, Owen, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford 2009).
- Daxelmüller, Christoph, *Zauberpraktiken. Eine Ideengeschichte der Magie* (Düsseldorf 2001).
- Daxelmüller, Christoph, "Die Erfindung des zaubernden Volkes", in: *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 19 (1996), 60–80.
- de Givry, Emile Grillot, *Picture Museum of Sorcery, Magic, and Alchemy* (New Hyde Park 1963).
- Della Porta, Giambattista [trsl. Rosenroth, Christian Knorr von], *Des Vortrefflichen Herren Johann Baptistae Portae von Neapolis Magia Naturalis, oder Haus-Kunst-und Wunder-Buch: Zu erst von demselben Lateinisch beschrieben; hernach von Ihm selbst vermehret; nunmehr aber allen Liebhabern der natürlichen Wissenschaften zum besten [...] heraus gegeben Durch Christian Peganium, sonst Rautner genannt*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg 1680).
- Doering-Manteuffel, Sabine, "The dissemination of magical knowledge in Enlightenment Germany: The supernatural and the development of print culture", in: de Blécourt, Willem, and Owen Davies (ed.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester 2004), 187–206.
- Eamon, William, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton 1994).
- Finch, Jeremiah Stanton (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr Edward Browne, his son* (Leiden 1986).
- Ford, A.J., *Marvel and Artefact. The Wonders of the East in its manuscript Contexts* (Leiden 2016).
- Forster, Regula, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse: Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen Sirr al-asrar/Secretum Secretorum* (Wiesbaden 2006).

- Frenschkowski, Marco, *Magie im antiken Christentum* (Stuttgart 2016).
- Funke, Nikolas, “*Naturali legitimâque Magica*. Das ‘Festmachen’ im Militär des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts”, in: *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 13.1 (2009), 16–32.
- Gilly, Carlos, *Adam Haslmayr (1562–1631). Der erste Verkünder der Rosenkreuzer. Mit der Faksimile-Wiedergabe der ‘Antwort an die lobwürdige Brüderschafft der Theosophen vom RosenCreutz’ aus dem Jahre 1621 [...]* (Amsterdam 1994).
- Gilly, Carlos, *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica. Die Rosenkreuzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handschriften und Drucke* (Amsterdam 1995).
- Gilly, Carlos, “Paracelsus, Hermes, Ficino and the Picatrix Deutsch”, in: Gentile, Sebastiano and Carlos Gilly (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Ermete Trismegisto* (Florence 1999), 302–306.
- Gilly, Carlos, “The first book of white magic in Germany”, in: idem. and Cis van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza Dal ‘400 al ‘700. L’influsso di Ermete Trismegisto* (Venice 2005), 209–17.
- Goldammer, Kurt (ed.), *Der göttliche Magier und die Magierin Natur: Religion, Naturmagie und die Anfänge der Naturwissenschaft vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Renaissance. Mit Beiträgen zum Magie-Verständnis des Paracelsus* (Stuttgart 1991).
- Gräße, Johann Georg Theodor, *Pneumatica Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica oder wissenschaftlich geordnete Bibliographie der wichtigsten in das Gebiet des Zauber-, Wunder-, Geister- und sonstigen Aberglaubens vorzüglich älterer Zeit einschlagenden Werke; mit Angabe der aus diesen Wissenschaften auf der Königl. Sächs. Oeff. Bibliothek zu Dresden befindlichen Schriften* (Leipzig 1843).
- Hanegraaff, Wouter, *Western Esotericism: a Guide for the perplexed* (London 2013).
- Hanegraaff, Wouter, *Esotericism and the Academy* (Leiden 2012).
- Hanna, Ralph, *Pursuing history. Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts* (Stanford 1996).
- Hauber, Eberhard David, *Bibliotheca sive Acta et Scripta Magica: Nachrichten, Auszüge u. Urtheile von solchen Büchern u. Handlungen, welche d. Macht d. Teufels in leibl. Dingen betreffen* (Lemgo 1738–1745).
- Haug, Christine, Franziska Mayer and Winfried Schröder (eds.), *Geheimliteratur und Geheimbuchhandel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2011).
- Helvetius, Johann Friedrich (ed.), *Ein ausführlicher Tractat vom philosophischen Werck des Steins der Weisen, Durch eine Jungfer E.H. genannt, Anno 1574 geschrieben [...] Dabey angefüget ein Catalogus Librorum Kabalisticorum* (Hamburg 1702).

- Hildebrand, Wolfgang, *Magia naturalis, das ist, Kunst- und Wunderbuch. Allen kunstbegirigen/ und liebhabern solcher geheimbten Künsten/ zu sonderlichen gefallen [...] colligirt*, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1610).
- Jacoby, Adolf, "Die Zauberbücher vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit, ihre Sammlung und Bearbeitung", in: *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 31–32 (1931), 208–228.
- Johns, Adrian, *The Nature of the Book. Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago 1998).
- Johnston, Michael and Michael van Dussen, "Introduction: manuscripts and cultural history", in: Johnston, Michael and Michael van Dussen (eds.), *The medieval manuscript book. Cultural approaches* (Cambridge 2015), 1–16.
- Kieckhefer, Richard, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2014).
- Kiesewetter, Karl, *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des occulten Phänomenalismus und des mittelalterlichen Zauberesens* (Leipzig 1893).
- Klaassen, Frank, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park 2013).
- Labouvie, Eva, *Verbotene Künste, Volksmagie und ländlicher Aberglaube in den Dorfgemeinden des Saarraums, 16–19. Jahrhundert* (St. Ingberg 1992).
- Láng, Benedek, *Unlocked Books: manuscripts of learned magic in the medieval libraries of Central Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press 2008).
- Leicht, Reimund, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen 2006).
- Lerer, Seth, "Bibliographical Theory and the Textuality of the Codex. Toward a History of the Premodern Book," in: Johnston, Michael and Michael van Dussen (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book. Cultural Approaches* (Cambridge 2015), 17–33.
- Long Scott, Edward John (ed.), *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1904).
- Ludovici, Gottfried, *Universal-Historie Vierdter Theil, Worinnen Die Kirchen = Politische und Gelehrte Historie des achtzehnden Seculi ausführlich abgehandelt wird* (Leipzig 1729).
- Macdonald, Michael-Albion (ed./trsl.), *De nigromancia attributed to Roger Bacon* (New Jersey 1988).
- Mathiesen, Robert, "The Key of Solomon: Toward a Typology of the Manuscripts", in: *Societas Magica Newsletter* 17 (2007), 1–9.
- McCutcheon, Russel T. (ed.), *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (London 1999).
- McKay, George L. (ed.), *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713–1934. A Union List* (New York 1937).
- McKitterick, R., *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge 2003).

- Morton, Charles et al. (eds.), *A catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts in the British museum: with indexes of persons, places, and matters*, 4 vols. (London 1808–1812).
- Neugebauer-Wölk, Monika et al. (eds.), *Aufklärung und Esoterik* (Hamburg 1999).
- Neugebauer-Wölk, Monika et al. (eds.), *Aufklärung und Esoterik. Wege in die Moderne* (Berlin 2013).
- Neugebauer-Wölk, Monika and Andre Rudolph (eds.), *Aufklärung und Esoterik. Rezeption – Integration – Konfrontation* (Tübingen 2008).
- Noflatscher, Heinz, “Kommunikation und Alphabetisierung in Österreich in der Frühen Neuzeit – eine Standortbestimmung”, in: *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 5 (2003), 1–28.
- Ohrvik, Ane and Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (eds.), “Magic and Text”, in *ARV Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 70 (2015).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, *Magie. Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen* (Berlin 2011).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Defining Magic: A Reader* (Sheffield 2013).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, “Historicising ‘Western Learned Magic’: Preliminary Remarks”, in: *Aries* 16 (2016), 161–240.
- Page, Sophie, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the medieval universe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press 2013).
- Peuckert, Will-Erich, *Gabalia. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der magia naturalis im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1967).
- Peuckert, Will-Erich, *Pansophie. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weißen und schwarzen Magie* (Berlin 1956).
- Pike, Kenneth L., “Etic and Emic Standpoints for the Description of Behaviour”, in: McCutcheon, Russell T. (ed.), *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion* (London 1999), 28–36.
- Pollard, Graham and Albert Ehrmans, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogues. From the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge 1965).
- Praetorius, Antonius, *Von Zauberey und Zaubernern: Gründlicher Bericht. Darinn der grawsamen Menschen feindseliges und schändliches Vornemen: Und wie Christlicher Obrigkeit, ihnen zubegegnen, ihr Werck zu straffen, aufzuheben, hindern solle und könne* (Heidelberg 1602).
- Preisendanz, Karl and Henrichs, Albert (eds.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–1974).
- Riemer, Friedrich Wilhelm (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Hermann Böhlau, 1833–1834).
- Roberts, Julia and Andrew George Watson (eds.), *John Dee’s library catalogue* (London 1990).

- Roth-Scholtz, Friedrich, *Vetervm Sophorvm Sigilla et Imagines Magicae. E Johannis Trithemii Abbatis Peapolitani Qyondam Spanheimensis. Manuscripto – Erytae. Cvi Accessit Catalogvs Rariorvm Magico – Cabbalistico – Chymicorvm* (Herrenstadt 1732).
- Scheible, Johann (ed.), *Doktor Johannes Faust's Magia naturalis et innaturalis, oder Dreifacher Höllenzwang, letztes Testament und Siegelkunst. Nach einer kostbar ausgestatteten Handschrift in der Herzogl. Bibliothek zu Koburg vollständig und wortgetreu herausgegeben in fünf Abteilungen mit einer Menge illuminierter Abbildungen auf 146 Tafeln* (Stuttgart 1849).
- Schilling, Heinz and Stefan Ehrenpreis (eds.), *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten in konfessionsvergleichender Perspektive. Schulwesen, Lesekultur und Wissenschaft* (Berlin 2007).
- Schmidt, Ludwig (ed.), *Katalog der Handschriften der königl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1906).
- Spamer, Adolf, "Zauberspruch und Zauberbuch", in: *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 1 (1955), 109–126.
- Szeghyová, Blanka (ed.), *The role of magic in the past: learned and popular magic, popular beliefs and diversity of attitudes* (Bratislava 2005).
- Taylor, Archer B., *Catalogues of Rare Books. A Chapter in Bibliographical History* (Lawrence/Kansas 1958).
- von Stuckrad, Kocku, *Western Esotericism: a brief history of secret knowledge* (London 2005).
- von Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad, *Commercii Epistolaris Uffenbachiani Selecta / Variis Observationibus Illustravit Vitamque*, 3 vols. (Ulm 1753–1756).
- Walsby, Malcolm and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden 2013).
- Wanderer, Karl-Peter, *Gedruckter Aberglaube. Studien zur volkstümlichen Beschwörungsliteratur* (Frankfurt/Main, Diss. 1976).
- Weyer, Johann, *De Praestigiis. Erstlich durch D. Johan Weier in Latein beschrieben, nachmalen verteutscht von Johanne Fügolino, und jetzt widerumb nach dem letzten Lateinischen Original im 66. jar außgangen übersehen, an vielen orten mercklich gebessert, [...] (Frankfurt 1575).*

Scarcity

Abstract This chapter discusses the scarcity of early modern manuscripts of ‘learned magic’. First, manuscripts are portrayed as scarce and precious goods offered in special markets within the European book trade. The chapter further addresses the reasons for manuscript circulation in an age of print, the illustrious figure of the early modern ‘book hunter’, and the attractiveness of scarce books in elitist, e.g., Paracelsian, networks.

Keywords Book history · Magic · Censorship · Manuscripts · Book trade · Print culture · Humanism · Paracelsianism

Manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ were ‘scarce’ goods of the early modern book trade. ‘Scarce’ goods had their own markets and prices, particularly when they were offered in larger collections. Our understanding of ‘scarcity’ thus comprises aspects of manuscript circulation in an age of print, the illustrious figure of the early modern book collector or ‘book hunter’, and, finally, the attractiveness of ‘scarce’ books in elitist networks.

MANUSCRIPTS IN AN AGE OF PRINT

Handwritten newsletters, manuscripts, and books were part of the normal varieties of written media in early modern times, and scribal publications continued to be popular (and had their markets) in Europe at least from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.¹ The decision to avoid printing thus made these texts ‘scarce’ and precarious materials, as they often circulated in a few copies only.² However, compiling and selling a collection of 140 manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ in the early eighteenth century, many of which comprised hundreds of hand-written pages, was nonetheless extraordinary and calls for an explanation. In our view, there are at least four reasons for this kind of scribal production in an alleged ‘age of print’.

First, there has always been an overweight of hand-written (and often pseud- or non-epigraphic) texts in the history of ‘Western learned magic’ at least until the late eighteenth century. Admittedly, there was also a printed discourse on ‘*magia naturalis*’ and related topics (such as alchemy, astrology, ‘Hermetism’, ‘Kabbalah’, or Rosicrucianism) from the late fifteenth century onwards.³ This sophisticated humanist discourse was—compared to the pseud- or non-epigraphic manuscript corpus (which often dealt with the art of ‘conjuring spirits’)—less concerned with ritual, more theoretical, and also more ‘pious’, as partaking authors used their proper names and had a reputation to lose (if not more). In fact, some of these authors—such as Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Agrippa of Nettesheim, or Giordano Bruno—had to defend themselves against churchly accusations of having performed the ‘magical arts’ or engaged in pacts with the devil. Yet, even if they claimed otherwise, many of these ‘author-magicians’ were familiar with, and inspired by, the pseud- or non-epigraphic manuscript corpus of ‘learned magic’,⁴ so that there always remained an intimate relationship between both text groups. The humanist discourse on ‘*magia naturalis*’ and related topics thrived roughly between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and lost credibility and significance thereafter,⁵ even though some of its texts and arguments continued to prosper in certain (e.g., Rosicrucian or Freemason) milieus.⁶ There are a few scribal copies of previously printed works in the Leipzig collection,⁷ but it displays an overweight of pseud- or non-epigraphic literature and thereby demonstrates that the reproduction and dissemination of such texts via manuscript transmission was still very much alive in the early eighteenth century.

Second, to produce, use, or circulate scribal rather than printed versions of a text certainly was a conscious decision that allowed for hiding both the texts and their collectors or users from unwanted attention by those hostile to such materials. Compared to printed editions of usually more than 100 copies, manuscripts comprised only one or, at most, a few copies. The smaller the editions, the higher the chances to avoid problems with censorship authorities. No surprise, then, that the organization of large parts of clandestine communication was a scribal business in early modern Europe.⁸ The Leipzig corpus furthermore attests that texts of ‘learned magic’ (or parts of these texts) that had previously circulated in printed versions, were now hand-copied to avoid attention.⁹ Following Ira O. Wade, the practice of making scribal copies of a (hand-written or printed) work in order to circulate these written media among specific communities was still common in the eighteenth century,¹⁰ and people or groups sympathizing with ‘learned magic’ certainly were among those communities.

Following eighteenth century polemics, there is a third reason for the reliance on manuscripts. As manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ were ‘scarce’ goods in the early modern book market that promised extraordinary profits, one can easily assume that clever entrepreneurs provided an ongoing supply of such manuscripts. Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806), in his polemical work *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*, claims that a “hungry fraudster hears or notices that a wealthy fool is longing for such wisdom: quickly he sits down, writes a few pages of nonsense, and lets the other pay dearly for his lustfulness”.¹¹ Adelung believes that through such dynamics at least some of the many variations of ‘learned magic’ texts (such as the different versions of *Clavicula Salomonis*)¹² can be explained. He even gives an example: the lawyer Johann Ernst Philippi (1700–1757?) is, Adelung claims, one such fraudster who made his living by hand-copying books of ‘learned magic’ in the final years of his life.¹³ Certainly, this is a polemical remark,¹⁴ and we have outlined different reasons for the high degree of textual variability in the realm of ‘learned magic’ above. However, there are various ‘student stories’ from the latter half of the eighteenth century, which indicate that accessing books of ‘learned magic’ was, by that time, actually fairly easy (for example, via university libraries), and hand-copying them was, apart from being a lucrative business, also a fascinating one.¹⁵ Karl Kiesewetter, in his *Faust in der Geschichte der Tradition*, even speaks of “an entire

industry focused on the production of forged magical and alchemical scripts".¹⁶

Finally, there is the ritual issue. At least for early modern practitioners of 'learned magic', particularly those devoted to the art of 'conjuring spirits', it was crucial to use or produce a hand-written text. In fact, some of the rituals outlined in the Leipzig collection require the personalization of the book by means of elaborate consecration techniques, whereby it acquires 'magical' efficacy, which can then be used during the ritual. Such techniques have been observed since the late Middle Ages, and several versions of a corresponding manual (a text bearing the title *Liber consecrationum*) are included in the Leipzig collection.¹⁷ A little later in the eighteenth century, we even encounter a printed work that outlines how to produce a decent parchment manuscript for 'conjuring spirits': "Make this booklet of parchment [...] before summoning the spirits write the characters with red ink [...] the entire booklet is to be written in the [...] time of Venus, whereby it is necessary to utilize an unused dove feather and ink with copper water. One can also use green or red color at whim, because both these colors are welcomed by our planet".¹⁸ Apparently, early modern manuscripts of 'learned magic' were not only meant to transport textual information, but also to embody ritual authenticity and efficacy, and thereby remained the 'learned magician's' preferred medium in an alleged 'age of print'.

HUNTING 'SCARCE' BOOKS

During the early modern period, 'libri prohibiti' or 'libri haeretici', books banned or forbidden by the authorities of Europe, and 'libri obscoeni', mostly pornographic literature, were on offer in clandestine markets of the book trade from time to time, and were chased by early modern censorship regimes as well as individual collectors.¹⁹ 'Scarce' books were peculiar and desirous paper or parchment materials in a so-called 'age of print', which gave these manuscripts a special aura. This aura had its price and attracted elitist collectors of scribal publications throughout Europe. One of these collectors in early eighteenth century Germany was Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734). He was a Frankfurt counsellor from 1721 onwards, but also a true bibliophile and book-collector, and seems to have been rich enough to chase 'scarce' books, both in manuscript or printed form.²⁰ Next to the motivation to foster science by providing big book collections for future research,

his other main goal was to collect contemporary banned or forbidden books, as well as ‘libri obscoeni’.²¹ In fact, he admitted that his passion was to possess such “libros damnatos” as “Libri prohibiti majus desiderium excitant” (“prohibited books evoke greater desire”).²² When travelling from 1709 to 1711 to various cities throughout German-speaking Europe, England and the Dutch Republic, he bought books by the dozens and hundreds, and he precisely noted which kind of rare written media one could buy at these places, where the libraries were situated, and who owned these collections.²³ In his ambition to collect such media, ranging from books and manuscripts to letters and prints, he also paid employees to search for him, such as the Berlin-based scholar Charles Etienne Jordan (1700–1745). Jordan was instructed to acquire and seek after rare books that Uffenbach had only heard of and could not get possession of yet.²⁴

Around 1700, manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ may not have been the regular offer of European bookshops, but at times they were nonetheless for sale in book cities like Den Haag or Leipzig. In Den Haag, for example, Uffenbach bought a manuscript version of the *Clavicula Salomonis* from the local bookseller Pieter Frederik Gosse.²⁵ In this case, Uffenbach bought only the right to copy the manuscript as the original price of the scribal publication was 30 guilders—a fortune for a manuscript of 30 leaves in quarto (its contemporaneous value was about 1300–1600 litres of beer). Apparently, specialists and collectors of rare books knew the market and spent enormous sums for their desired objects.²⁶ Daniel Jütte has coined the term ‘economies of secrets’ for such milieus that dealt with texts of assumed or real arcane knowledge.²⁷

In 1711, Uffenbach’s private book collection, including prints, handwritten books and printed books, already comprised some 12,000 volumes.²⁸ By the time of his death in 1734, his collection had grown to an estimated 25,000 volumes, including more than 2000 manuscripts. Uffenbach was particularly interested in oriental (e.g., Hebraic) manuscripts, even though he was not proficient in any oriental language.²⁹ We also have proof that by 1720 Uffenbach had already collected numerous manuscripts of ‘learned magic’. As the catalogue of his manuscript collection reveals,³⁰ there were numerous relevant texts listed in the sections on “Dogmatici, Polemici, Rituales” and “Kabbalistici”, and Uffenbach’s own sub-listing included a section on “physikalische, chemische, magische Handschriften” (*Handschriften*, Pars IV).³¹ Between 1729–1731, when Uffenbach began to sell off his books—and thereby produced

his own selling catalogue,³² we find even more hints of manuscripts of ‘learned magic’, here classed under the headings “Orientalia Reliquia”, “Physica, chymica, alchymica”, and “Prohibita”.³³

ELITIST NETWORKS

As the case of Uffenbach demonstrates, hunting, owning, and trading manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ had become a lucrative business activity by the early eighteenth century. However, it also remained an elitist scholarly interest, which was rooted in the book and knowledge culture of Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe and attracted scholarly individuals and networks alike. One such network with a fascination for ‘learned magic’ was the early modern medical world with its many forms of professional (‘scientific’) and non-professional (‘alternative’) medical practices.³⁴ There is plenty of evidence for the circulation of German manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ around 1700 within the medical world in central Germany.³⁵ The affinity of medical networks towards ‘learned magic’ may have had two main reasons: the intimate relationship between medicine, alchemy, and the early modern discourse on ‘*magia naturalis*’ on the one hand,³⁶ and the social status of owning such manuscripts on the other. Regarding the first issue, the medical professional of Leipzig and previous owner of the collection, Samuel Schröer, certainly was attracted by astrological, alchemical and further alternative ideas about healing, just like many other scholars of his time.³⁷ For example, the theologian and medical professional Johann Conrad Dippel (1673–1734) openly argued for a direct connection between a godly ‘*magia naturalis*’ of “healing light” (“*Lichtsmagie*”) and alchemy-driven medical treatments.³⁸ Even though Schröer’s medical networks and their affinity to alchemical, Paracelsian and ‘learned magic’ healing practices remain obscure,³⁹ we do know that his working place, Leipzig, provided social spaces for exchanging and practising such knowledge around 1700.⁴⁰ Moreover, in Leipzig and in the nearby city of Halle, academic interest in alchemical knowledge and Paracelsian traditions was widespread within the local universities, providing even more potential for exchange and interest on such matters.⁴¹ For example, the alchemist and publisher Friedrich Roth-Scholtz of Nuremberg (1687–1736) claimed to have access to the former Schröer collection, being a friend of the anonymous buyer. Roth-Scholtz was impressed by the collection, and provided a printed (and revised)⁴² version of the book trade catalogue both

separately and as an appendix to his own publication *Vetervm Sophorvm Sigilla et Imagines Magicae* (1732).⁴³ Roth-Scholtz was, next to his book business, regularly engaged in cataloguing and commenting on (al) chemical books.⁴⁴ Hence, in his printed version of the ‘catalogus’, he provided further details on the provenance of some of the manuscripts, for example regarding previously printed versions or previous references to the titles in other literature.

If we assume that the buyer of the Leipzig collection was part of the local medical-alchemical milieu, a plausible guess may be the pharmacist Heinrich Linck (1638–1717), who possessed a thriving apothecary in Leipzig, and who assembled a well-known ‘cabinet of curiosities’ over the course of his life, which was one of the main attractions of the city at that time. The year of his death more or less corresponds to Uffenbach’s claim that the new owner of the collection died shortly after having acquired the corpus.⁴⁵ We also have evidence that Heinrich Linck was an eager and wealthy book collector, and the family’s manuscript catalogue from 1787 indeed reveals 23 manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ of which 17 titles clearly correspond to manuscripts of the Leipzig collection.⁴⁶ This is a strange finding: if Linck had bought the entire collection, why would his sons bequeath the collection to the ‘Rhatsbibliothek’ shortly after his death (see below), but produce duplicates of 17 manuscripts? As this is a rather improbable scenario, it may be more likely that Heinrich Linck and Samuel Schröer were part of the same social spaces that exchanged and practised ‘alternative’ healing methods, alchemical lore, Paracelsianism and ‘learned magic’ around 1700. We may conclude that the Lincks had either temporary access to the Leipzig collection (before 1710) or access to the same source of manuscripts that generated the Leipzig collection.

Next to such alchemist and Paracelsian networks, the word reached a wider audience when a copy of the 1710 ‘catalogus’ was discovered by the Hebraist and collector of oriental books Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739) in Hamburg. Wolf became aware of the catalogue while acquiring parts of Uffenbach’s collection in the late 1720s,⁴⁷ and prepared at least one new scribal copy, where he referred to the now missing collection and a printed version of the ‘catalogus’.⁴⁸ Given this exceptional after-life of the ‘catalogus’⁴⁹—which was reprinted several times by different scholars in the decades after the sale—it is not surprising that German Freemason circles, too, became aware of the collection. The Freemason Heinrich Wilhelm Marschalch reported at least once to the

book collector Uffenbach about the collection and thereby mentioned the selling price.⁵⁰ A direct relationship between the Leipzig collection and German Freemason or Rosicrucian milieus—which would have been a plausible guess in the first place—is, however, not found in the sources, even though these milieus certainly had a strong interest in alchemy, Paracelsianism, ‘magia naturalis’, and sometimes even the Solomonic art of ‘conjuring spirits’.⁵¹

A second reason for the affinity of medical networks towards ‘learned magic’ may have been the accumulation of social status by owning such manuscripts. In fact, in scholarly circles scarce books were often objects of social status, and this holds true for medical and alchemist networks as well. From the sixteenth century onwards, medical professionals used books beyond their textuality as “high-end objects, not intended for use but for display”.⁵² Like other rich scholars, wealthy medics were organized in small circles of knowledge exchange. Schröer himself certainly was a prosperous medic, as his extensive private library—which was offered for sale by his heirs in 1716 (see below)—demonstrates. In such networks of specialists, the main focus may not have been the content of the manuscripts, but rather the mere social function of owning such precious goods.⁵³ Being the owner of rare books may even have led to opinion leadership in certain métiers.⁵⁴ Thus, owning books of ‘learned magic’, or even having only temporary access to these, were attractive goals for scholars and elitist networks of early eighteenth century Germany, even if the original purpose of these texts—guiding through a complex ‘ritual art’ that may (or may not) improve the owner’s, practitioner’s, or client’s life—may have faded into the background.⁵⁵

NOTES

1. See, e.g., Love (1993), Infelise (2002), Barbarics and Pieper (2007), Droste (2011), Hall (2012).
2. Mulsow (2012).
3. See Otto (2011, 413–504); see also above, chapter two, note 34.
4. For example, Marsilio Ficino was strongly influenced by manuscript versions of the so-called *Picatrix*—the Latinized version of a pivotal Arabic text of ‘learned magic’ from the late tenth/early eleventh century entitled *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm*—while composing the third book of his influential work *De vita libri tres* (first ed. 1489): see Otto (2011, 443–444).

5. A survey of some underlying dynamics of this process may be found in Hanegraaff (2012).
6. See Otto (2011, 509–510). As we will see below, the distinction of two types of ‘magic’ (of which one—often dubbed ‘*magia naturalis*’—was considered more valuable and legitimate) remained a common topos in the eighteenth century and was adopted even in juridical and Enlightenment milieus.
7. For instance, entry No. 37 (CM 55) hosts a German *Arbatel* version derived from Andreas Luppianus’ first German *Arbatel* printing, publ. in 1686 in Wesel (see on Luppianus above, note 72); entry No. 15 (CM 79) hosts a hand-written version of the text *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* that was likewise printed by Andreas Luppianus in 1686; No. 1 in the *catalogum* is lost, but it was most certainly a copy of Johann Baptist Grosschedel’s *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum*, first publ. in Frankfurt/Main 1619/20. Further copies of previously printed texts can be found in entries No. 10 (CM 68), No. 67 (CM 14), and No. 80 (CM 80): see Appendix A for further details.
8. See examples for the circulation of handwritten texts in eighteenth century clandestine circles in Wade (1938), Benítez (1996), Moureau (2006), Bouza (2001), Küster (2004), Darnton (2000).
9. See above, note 7 (this chapter).
10. Wade (1938).
11. See Adelung (1788, 344–345): “Ich glaube, das ist auch die wahre Ursache, warum die meisten bekannten Exemplare der *Clavicula* so sehr von einander abweichen, so daß sie oft nicht die geringste Aehnlichkeit mehr unter einander haben. Ein hungriger Betrieger höret oder merket, daß ein begüterter Thor nach solcher Weisheit begierig ist: geschwinde setzt er sich hin, schreibt ein Paar Bogen Unsinn zusammen, und läßt jenen seine Lüsternheit theuer bezahlen. Wenigstens sind manche Abschriften auf diese Art entstanden”; our translation.
12. Adelung outlines seven different versions of the text in *ibid.*, 346–360. Note that Adelung also provided the first printed edition of a *Höllenzwang*, even though he had to omit the manuscript’s sigils and drawings in order to reduce the costs of publication: see Adelung (1788, 365–404). On Adelung see further Davies (2009, 118–119).
13. Adelung (1788, 345).
14. Julian Tamianus, in his polemical account of the Christmas Eve Tragedy of Jena in 1715, claims, too, that “Es ist demnach wahrscheinlich, daß diese Bücher von Betrügern zusammen geschrieben und Fausto, weil ganz Teutschland dessen Gackeln glauben beymessen, zugeeignet worden” (see Tamianus 1716, 21); Julius Tamianus (which is a pseudonym) seems to have been aware of the Leipzig collection and presents

- a list of some of its texts on pages 21–23 of said work. On the Christmas Eve Tragedy in Jena in 1715 (when three people from Jena—one student, two peasants—died on Christmas Eve in their attempt to conjure demons for treasure hunting by making use of a *Höllenzwang* manual) see Dillinger (2011, 124–130).
15. See, exemplarily, Barth (1790, 179–180); for further instances see Bachter (2005, 121–122).
 16. See Kiesewetter (1893, 265); our translation.
 17. See entries No. 4 (CM 18) and No. 95 (CM 20).
 18. See von Linden (1794, 510–511); our translation.
 19. See on the lucrativeness of rare and forbidden books in early eighteenth century Europe Haug/Mayer/Schröder (2011), Freedman (2012), Chartier and Lüsebrink (1996).
 20. See Franke (1967), Bader (2007).
 21. Franke (1967, esp. 31ff), Jung (1895).
 22. Quoted after Franke (1967, 89).
 23. See von Uffenbach (1753–1754).
 24. See on these search activities, lists of wanted books, and the arrangement between Uffenbach and Jordan Häselser (1993), esp. 38–43.
 25. Mentioned without further details or date in Franke (1967, 40).
 26. See Mulsow (2002), esp. 400–22.
 27. Jütte (2015).
 28. In 1711, Uffenbach’s collection comprised about 12,000 books (Pearce and Arnold 2000, 110).
 29. Uffenbach, who could not read Hebraic, possessed 235 Hebraic manuscripts in total; Uffenbach read these from 1713 onwards with the aid of Johann Heinrich May, professor for oriental languages at Giessen University (Bader 2007, 17–18). See on Uffenbach’s special interest in Hebraic manuscripts Franke (1967), esp. 62.
 30. Majus (1720).
 31. Franke (1967, 115).
 32. von Uffenbach (1729).
 33. Mentioned in detail in Franke (1967, 132–135). Uffenbach provided a separate index of his manuscripts in vol. 3 of his “Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana universalis”.
 34. See, exemplarily, Lindemann (2010, 281–283).
 35. See, exemplarily, Ernst (2007).
 36. This relationship is, of course, much too complex to be outlined here. We shall only point to the crucial figure ‘Paracelsus’, born Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (ca. 1493–1541), whose creative synthesis of ‘magia naturalis’, medicine, and alchemy (‘Chemiatrie’, ‘Iatromedicine’) inspired countless medical practitioners from the sixteenth to the

- eighteenth centuries. See on the ongoing fascination of Paracelsian ideas and his impact on the formation of medical sciences in early modern Europe: Peuckert (1967), Telle (1994), Webster (2008), Frietsch (2013), a concise overview of the relationship can be found in Hedesan (2015). See on different concepts of ‘magia’ in early modern medicine also Müller-Jahncke (1984).
37. The earlier—but much better documented—case of Richard Napier (1559–1634) indicates that early modern physicians openly engaged with conjuring techniques and literature (such as *Clavicula Salomonis*). Some of Napier’s surviving documents attest that he performed lengthy ritual procedures which culminated in disputes with an archangel: see MacDonald (1981, e.g. 15–19). On the comparable figure of Robert Fludd see Rösche (2008).
 38. See Dippel (1747, esp. 950–2). See on Dippel’s spiritualistic Protestantism and his engagement with Paracelsus Hannak (2013), Voss (1970). A contemporaneous German physician with a reputation in Paracelsian medicine (‘Chemiatriy’) and medical procedures inspired by ‘learned magic’ was Eberhard Gockel (b. 1636), who published works such as *Tractatus polyhistoricus magico-medicus curiosus* (1717).
 39. Not much is known about Schröer, who was born in the German city of Bautzen, Upper Lusatia, on June 14, 1669, died in Leipzig on March 17, 1716, and became a medical doctor in Erfurt in 1693 after defending his doctoral dissertation on opium (*De opii natura et usu*). He had a few later publications on the same topic (e.g., Schröer 1696). His medical patron, Gottfried Adolph Luja (1631–1714), however, seems to have had a rather anti-alchemical attitude as his “Leichenpredigt” from 1714 reveals (see Jenichen 1714).
 40. See the report on these spaces and activities given in Johann Konrad Dippel’s *Ein Aufrichtiger Protestant*, publ. 1733 under the pseudonym Christianus Demokritis.
 41. See for Leipzig the doctoral dissertations of Johann Ch. Fischer and Johann Gotthard Teutscher (Fischer and Teutscher 1711). For Halle see Richter and Richter (1703), Berner (1711). On Halle as a stronghold of ‘mystic’ and ‘occult’ activities around 1700 see Suitner (2013), Ahnert (2005), Meumann (2008).
 42. The collection now included 142 manuscripts, indicating some minor sales, but also few amendments.
 43. Roth-Scholtz (1732), eventually printed in Roth-Scholtz’s city of birth Herrnsstadt (Silesia). The catalogue of 1732 comprises eight leaves in octavo.
 44. See Braun (1889). For instance, in 1727 he published his *Bibliotheca chemica, oder Catalogus von Chymischen Büchern*.

45. See von Uffenbach (1753, 184–185).
46. See on Linck's manuscript collection Linck (1787); the manuscripts of 'learned magic' are listed (with different and erratic numbering) on pp. 242–244. These are: *Abraham eines Sohns Simonis aus Wormbs Praxis Cabalae albae, das ist die wahre Practica von der alten und Göttlichen Magie* (listed as No. 2 in the Linck catalogue; see No. 5 in the Leipzig 'catalogus'); *Desgleichen die Planetarische Punctie = Kunst, mit Anweisungen* (No. 12); *Abrahami Filii alteri Iosephi Cabala oder Translation eines kleinen ebräischen Pergament = Büchleins in teutscher Sprache* (No. 3; see No. 6 in the 'catalogus'); *Alberti Magni Negromantia, das ist des Schwarzen = Kunst = Buches Erster, 2ter und 3ter Theil* (No. 1; see No. 7 in the 'catalogus'); *Desgleichen Oxingium de Citatione Spirituum* (No. 1; see No. 42 in the 'catalogus'); *Arbatel de Magia veterum* (No. 5; see No. 37 in the 'catalogus?'); *Clavicula Salomonis et Theosophia Pneumatica, das ist die wahre Erkenntniß Gottes und seiner sichtigen und unsichtigen Geschöpfe* (No. 6; see No. 37 in the 'catalogus?'); *De Miraculis von Wunderwerken eine Abhandlung* (No. 22); *Eine gebrauchte Citation der Geister nebst den Characteren und Pendacula Salomonis* (No. 16); *Ein schönes Cabalistisches und Geomantisches Kunst Stück mit dem Würfel: Meine Zeit stehet in der Hand des Herrn mit Gebethen und Antworten* (No. 20; see No. 19 in the 'catalogus?'); *Fausti (D. Ioh.) Negromantia sive Cabala nigra et alba* (No. 4; see No. 51 in the 'catalogus?');—*Höllenzwang* (No. 14; see No. 46/52 in the 'catalogus?');—*Gülden und Silbern = Ring nebst Comando = Büchlein* (No. 21); *Globus Philosophiae occultae, das ist des von den 7. Mestern entsponnenen Globi oder Fünde Kugel Anweisung, wie solche soll gemacht werden* (No. 11; see No. 28 in the 'catalogus?'); *Kurze Anleitung oder Unterricht der wahren Magie* (No. 15; see No. 133 in the 'catalogus?'); *Magia Venatoria, das ist das Geheimniß der Jäger* (No. 8; see No. 32 in the 'catalogus?'); *Processus Magicus eine Vision in einem Glase, als die löbliche Philosophie und Primam materiam zu lernen* (No. 9; see No. 99 in the 'catalogus?'); *Psalterium Magicum* (No. 7; see No. 57 in the 'catalogus?'); *Rota Vitae et Mortis* (No. 18; see No. 112 in the 'catalogus?'); *Salomonis Filii David Citatio Gnomonum* (No. 13; see No. 17/37 in the 'catalogus?'); *Semiphoras und Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* (No. 19; see No. 15 in the 'catalogus?'); *Verschiedene zusammen getragene Magische Kunst-Stücke* (No. 17); *Wahrhafter Process welcher Gestalt die Geister aus den höhern Sphaeren sehr leichtlich und ohne sondere Mühe zur freundlichen Unterredung mit den Menschen können gebracht werden, ohne sonder Arbeit und Gefahr* (No. 10). See on a potential connection between the two collections also Pfeil and Lüdemann (2016).

47. Franke (1967), esp. 165f., mentions that Wolf bought books for a total of more than 500 guilders.
48. The handwritten copy by Wolf and the catalogue of Uffenbach are today hosted in the State and University Library Hamburg (Hist. Litt. 8°, 27).
49. Roth-Scholtz (1732, 2) stresses the ‘rarity’ of the catalogue and claims that several people have asked him to provide an edition: ‘Indessen bin ich öfters ersucht worden, diesen raren Catalogum abschreiben zu lassen’.
50. Uffenbach further states, quoting Heinrich Wilhelm Marschalch that ‘Alle darin gemeldte Scripta hat ein gewisser hiesiger Doctor ebedessen beysammen gehabt, und vor 4000. Reichstahler an den ersten vermoegenden Liebhaber verkauffen wollen’. According to Schröder (1806, 58), Marschalch was announced ‘Prov. Großmeister’ (in 1737) at the ‘Große Loge in London’.
51. On the importance of alchemy and Paracelsianism in Rosicrucian milieus see Frietsch (2013, 380–381); on ‘magia naturalis’ Otto (2011, 509–510). On the reception of Solomonian texts by Rosicrucians see, exemplarily, Davies (2009, 53, 93–94); and Giudice (2015, 182–187).
52. Graheli (2017).
53. See Assmann et al. (1988). See also Schröder (1998), Mulsow (2002, esp. 400–22).
54. See with regard to Uffenbach Franke (1967, esp. 21–35).
55. That is not to say that the Leipzig collection displays a purely ‘dead’ art, which was not practised at that time; to the contrary, the manuscripts clearly indicate their ongoing (ritual) use, e.g., through numerous amendments, corrections, commentaries or alternative recipes provided within the text and also (by different hands) on their margins.

REFERENCES

- Adelung, Johann Christoph, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit oder Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Schwarzkünstler, Goldmacher, Teufelsbanner, Zeichen- und Liniendeuter, Schwärmer, Wahrsager, und anderer philosophischer Unholden. Sechster Theil* (Leipzig 1788).
- Ahnert, Thomas, “Enthusiasm and Enlightenment. Faith and Philosophy in the Thought of Christian Thomasius”, in: *Modern Intellectual History* 2.2 (2005), 1–25.
- Assmann, Aleida et al. (eds.), *Sammler, Bibliophile, Exzentriker* (Tübingen 1988).
- Bachter, Stephan, *Anleitung zum Aberglauben. Zauberbücher und die Verbreitung magischen ‚Wissens‘ seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 2005).
- Bader, Bernd, “Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734)”, in: idem, *Mäzene, Künstler, Büchersammler* (Gießen 2007), 16–25.

- Barbarics, Zsuzsa and Renate Pieper, "Handwritten newsletters as a Means of Communication in Early Modern Europe", in: Bethencourt, Francisco (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2007), 53–79.
- Barth, Carl Friedrich, *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale. Von ihm selbst geschrieben. Erster Theil* (Frankfurt 1790).
- Benítez, Miguel, *La face cachée des Lumières. Recherches sur les manuscrits philosophiques clandestins de l'âge classique* (Paris 1996).
- Berner, Gottlieb Ephraim, *Principia Paracelsi Vulgaria, Non Esse Sufficientis, Ad Explicandas Causas Naturales [...]* (Halle 1711).
- Bouza, Fernando, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural des Siglo de Oro* (Madrid 2001).
- Braun, J., "Roth-Scholtz, Friedrich", in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 29 (1889), 346–8.
- Chartier, Roger and Hans-Jörg Lüsebrink (eds.), *Colportage et lecture populaire. Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris 1996).
- Darnton, Robert, "Public Opinion and Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris", in: Knabe, Peter-Eckhard (ed.), *Opinion* (Berlin 2000), 140–230.
- Davies, Owen, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford 2009).
- Dillinger, Johannes, *Magical Treasure Hunting in Europe and North America* (Basingstoke 2011).
- Dippel, Johann Konrad, "Anderer Theil des Weg-Weisers zum Licht und Recht in der äußeren Natur oder Entdecktes Geheimnis des Segens und des Fluchs in den Natürlichen Körpern zum wahrhafften Grund der Artzney-Kunst in Liebe mitgetheilet", in: idem., *Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen, Durch Publication der sämtlichen Schrifften Christiani Democriti [...]*, vol. 1 (Berleburg 1747).
- Droste, Heiko, "'Einige Wiener briefe woollen noch publiciren'. Die Geschriebene Zeitung als öffentliches Nachrichtenmedium", in: Bauer, Volker and Holger Böning (eds.), *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bremen 2011), 1–22.
- Ernst, Wolfgang, *Das grosse Sechsamterländische Zauberbuch und seine Laienapotheker und Laienärzte. Auf den Spuren des Röstlauer Waldmänner des 18. Jahrhunderts mit Textbeispielen aus ihrem Zaubers- und Rezeptbuch* (Weiterstadt 2007).
- Fischer, Johann Christian and Johann Gotthard Teutscher, *Dissertatio Physica, de Philtris [...]* (Leipzig 1711).
- Franke, Konrad, "Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach als Handschriftensammler", in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 7 (1967), 1–208.

- Freedman, Jeffrey, *Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe. French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets* (Philadelphia 2012).
- Frietsch, Ute, *Häresie und Wissenschaft. Eine Genealogie der paracelsischen Alchemie* (Munich 2013).
- Giudice, Christian, “Martinism in Eighteenth-Century France”, in: Partridge, Christopher (ed.), *The Occult World* (London 2015), 182–7.
- Gockel, Eberhard, *Tractatus Polyhistoricus Magico-Medicus curiosus, Oder Ein kurtzer / mit vielen verwunderlichen Historien untermengter Bericht von dem Beschreyen und Bezaubern [...]* (Leipzig 1717).
- Graheli, Shanti, “Italian Books and French Medical Libraries in the Renaissance”, in: Bellingradt, Daniel, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salmen (eds.), *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke 2017), 243–266.
- Großschedel, Johann Baptist, *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum* (Frankfurt 1619/20).
- Hall, David D., *Ways of Writing. The Practice and Politics of Text-Making in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Philadelphia 2012).
- Hanegraaff, Wouter, *Esotericism and the Academy* (Leiden 2012).
- Hannak, Kristine, *Geistreiche Kritik. Hermetik, Mystik und das Werden der Aufklärung in spiritualistischer Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 2013).
- Häsel, Jens, *Ein Wanderer zwischen den Welten: Charles Etienne Jordan, 1700–1745* (Stuttgart 1993).
- Haug, Christine, Franziska Mayer and Winfried Schröder (eds.), *Geheimliteratur und Geheimbuchhandel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2011).
- Hedesan, Jo, “Alchemy”, in: Partridge, Christopher (ed.), *The Occult World* (London 2015), 552–63.
- Infelise, Mario, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome 2002).
- Jenichen, Gottlob Friedrich, *Kunst sein Leben zu verlängern, wurde bey des weyland [...] Herrn D. Gottfried Adolph Luja, Hochberühmten und Hoherfahrnen Medici allhier, solennen Beysetzung [...] in der dabey gehaltenen Trauer-Rede in etwas erwogen* (Leipzig 1714).
- Jung, Rudolf, “Uffenbach, Zacharias Konrad von”, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 39 (1895), 135–7.
- Jütte, Daniel, *The Age of Secrecy. Jews, Christians, and the Economy of Secrets, 1400–1800* (New Haven 2015).
- Kiesewetter, Karl, *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des occulten Phänomenalismus und des mittelalterlichen Zauberes* (Leipzig 1893).
- Küster, Sebastian, *Vier Monarchien – Vier Öffentlichkeiten. Kommunikation um die Schlacht bei Dettingen* (Münster 2004).

- Linck, Johann Heinrich, *Index Musaei Linckiani, oder kurzes systematisches Verzeichnis der vornehmsten Stücke der Linckischen Naturaliensammlung zu Leipzig*. Teil 3 (Leipzig 1787).
- Lindemann, Mary, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2010).
- Love, Harold, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford 1993).
- MacDonald, Michael, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety and Healing in Seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge 1981).
- Majus, Johann Heinrich, *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana mssta, seu, catalogues et recensio mssorum codicum qui in bibliotheca Zachariae Conradi ab Uffenbach Traiecti ad Moenum adservatur [...]*, 3 vols. (Halle 1720).
- Meumann, Markus, "Diskursive Formation zwischen Esoterik, Pietismus und Aufklärung: Halle um 1700", in: Neugebauer-Wölk, Monika et al. (eds.), *Aufklärung und Esoterik: Rezeption – Integration – Konfrontation* (Berlin 2008), 77–114.
- Moureaux, Francois, *La plume et le plomb. Espaces de l'imprimé et du manuscrit au siècle des Lumières* (Paris 2006).
- Müller-Jahncke, Wolf-Dieter, "Zum Magie-Begriff in der Renaissance-Medizin", in: Schmitz, Rudolf and Gundolf Keil (eds.), *Humanismus und Medizin* (Weinheim 1984), 99–116.
- Mulsow, Martin, *Moderne aus dem Untergrund. Radikale Frühaufklärung in Deutschland, 1680–1720* (Hamburg 2002).
- Mulsow, Martin, *Prekäres Wissen. Eine andere Ideengeschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 2012).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, *Magie. Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen* (Berlin 2011).
- Pearce, Susan and Kenneth Arnold (eds.), *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting*, vol. 2: *Early Voices*, 4 vols. (Aldershot 2000–02).
- Peuckert, Will-Erich, *Gabalia. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der magia naturalis im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1967).
- Pfeil, Brigitte and Sabine Lüdemann, "'Man wirt ganz konfus von al Zeichen'. Die Handschrift 8° Ms. astron. 7 der Universitätsbibliothek Kassel – Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel ("Kasseler Zauberschrift")" [2016; URL: <https://kobra.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/handle/urn:nbn:de:hebis:34-2016091550889>].
- Richter, Christian Friedrich and Christian Siegmund Richter, *Fernerer Bericht von der Gesegneten Würckung der Essentiae Dulcis, in welchem Zugleich von einigen andern Medicamenten Erwehnung geschiehet [...]* (Halle 1703).
- Rösche, Johannes, *Robert Fludd: der Versuch einer hermetischen Alternative zur neuzeitlichen Naturwissenschaft* (Göttingen 2008).
- Roth-Scholtz, Friedrich, *Bibliotheca chemica, oder Catalogus von Chymischen Büchern, darinnen man alle die jenigen Autores findet, die von dem Stein der*

- Weisen, von Verwandlung der schlechten Metalle in bessere, von Berckwercken, von Mineralien [...] und was sonsten zu denen drey Reichen der Natur gehöret, geschrieben haben, und in der Roth-Scholtzischen Bibliotheqe verhanden seyn. [...] (Nuremberg 1727).*
- Roth-Scholtz, Friedrich, *Vetervm Sophorvm Sigilla et Imagines Magicae. E Johannis Trithemii Abbatis Peapolitani Qyondam Spanheimensis. Manuscripto – Erytae. Cvi Accessit Catalogvs Rariorvm Magico – Cabbalistico – Chymicorvm* (Herrenstadt 1732).
- Schröder, Friedrich Ludwig, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Freymaurery seit der Wiederherstellung der grossen Loge in London*, vol. 1 (Rudolstadt 1806).
- Schröder, Winfried, *Ursprünge des Atheismus. Untersuchungen zur Metaphysik- und Religionskritik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bad Cannstatt 1998).
- Schröer, Samuel, *D. Samuelis Schroeeri Brevis, Sat Tamen Curiosa in Naturam Opii Inquisitio [...] (Leipzig 1696).*
- Suitner, Riccarda, “La Diffusione Clandestina di manuali di magia nella Germania del primo settecento: Il caso della Pneumatologia Occulta”, in: *Historia Philosophica* 11 (2013), 47–57.
- Tamanius, Julius, *Sendschreiben an Hieronymum Pistellum, Worinne bey Veranlassung, der unweit JENA unternommenen Satans-Beschwerung, der Anfang und der Fortgang der Magie, wie nicht minder die Meynungen der Magorum untersucht, auch von denen dabey gewöhnlichen Mitteln, denen Sigillen, Pentaculn, Characteren, und Magischen Schrifftten Bericht erstattet wird (Zu Magiluna in Arabien = Jena 1716).*
- Telle, Joachim (ed.), *Analecta Paracelsia. Studien zum Nachleben von Theophrast von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 1994).
- von Linden, Maximilian J., *Handschriften für Freunde geheimer Wissenschaften. Erster Band* (Vienna 1794).
- von Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad, *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana universalis, sive, Catalogus librorum: tam typis quam manu exaratorum, quos summo studio hactenus collegit Zach. Conradus ab Uffenbach*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt 1729).
- von Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad, *Herrn Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen Holland und Engelland*, 3 vols. (Ulm 1753–54).
- von Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad, *Commercii Epistolaris Uffenbachiani Selecta / Variis Observationibus Illustravit Vitamque*, 3 vols. (Ulm 1753–56).
- Voss, Karl-Ludwig, *Christianus Democritus. Das Menschenbild bei Johann C. Dippel* (Leiden 1970).
- Wade, Ira O., *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750* (Princeton 1938).
- Webster, Charles, *Paracelsus: Medicine, Magic, and Mission at the End of Time* (London 2008).

Illegality

Abstract This chapter portrays the illegality of the Leipzig collection from different angles. The collection is first interpreted against the backdrop of polemics and legislative acts against ‘magic’ in early eighteenth century Europe. The chapter then focusses on illegal book markets in and beyond Leipzig and the local censorship authorities and activities; finally, it provides a short history of the Leipzig collection.

Keywords Book history · Magic · Censorship · Manuscripts · Book trade · Index librorum prohibitorum · Legislation

Pondering the ‘illegality’ of the Leipzig collection is more difficult than one might expect at first glance. Certainly, the European witch persecutions had unleashed a large number of polemical tractates and legal actions against the so-called ‘*crimen magiae*’ between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ However, the ‘witchcraft’ delict had also been criticized by an ever larger number of people from the fifteenth century onwards,² and by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—that is, by the time of the compilation and sale of the Leipzig collection—many early Enlightenment thinkers were engaged in an ongoing debate on the legal and ontological status of ‘magic’.³ Christian Thomasius, for example, denied basic capabilities ascribed to the devil and thereby fundamentally questioned the concept of ‘*crimen magiae*’ in his famous *Theses inaugurales, de crimine magiae* (Halle 1701). What is

more, the aforementioned humanist discourse on ‘magia naturalis’ and related topics had formulated and advocated strikingly positive interpretations of ‘magic’ ever since the late fifteenth century, which remained (at least partially) unaffected by authoritative repressions. The differentiation of two types of ‘magic’—of which one, ‘magia naturalis’, was considered valuable and legitimate and often praised in highest words—became, in fact, a common topos in early modern scholarly milieus and still informed German juridical debates of the eighteenth century (see below). The ‘illegality’ of the Leipzig collection is thus not a self-evident given, but has to be analytically construed in a nuanced way. In what follows, we will first interpret the collection in the light of polemics and legislative acts against ‘magic’ in the early eighteenth century, and thereafter focus on its situative communicative setting, both with regard to illegal book markets in and beyond Leipzig and with a particular focus on the censorship authorities and activities in Leipzig. Finally, we will provide a rough sketch of the history of the collection after 1710.

POLEMICS AND LEGAL ACTION AGAINST ‘MAGIC’ IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

There were three major accusations against ‘magic’ that propelled legislative acts against the so-called ‘crimen magiae’ between antiquity and late modernity: ‘magic’ was considered an anti-religious, ineffective, and/or anti-social ritual art. The first accusation relates to ‘magic’s’ alleged opposition towards ‘religion’ (thus from a Christian viewpoint ‘magic’ was often considered ‘heretical’ and/or ‘apostatic’), the second to ‘magic’s’ alleged opposition towards ‘science’ (or, in simpler terms, towards conventional assumptions about physical causation), and the third to ‘magic’s’ allegedly devastating societal impact. These three accusations already underlay the newly founded concept of ‘crimen magiae’ in the early Roman Empire (which was established around 50 CE),⁴ and the related formulations in the late antique *Codex Theodosianus* (9.16.3f), which in turn inspired a number of local legislative statutes against ‘magic’ during the European Middle Ages,⁵ as well as early modern demonological and ‘witchcraft’ treatises such as the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum*.⁶ Even though the early modern ‘witch craze’ enhanced the semantic scope of the polemical discourse about ‘magic’ (for example by adding gender stereotypes, sophisticated theological motifs—such as the

demon-pact theory—or anxiety-driven phantasies such as the ‘witch’s cult’⁷ or the devil’s ‘world conspiracy’),⁸ the aforementioned threefold accusation always remained the underlying argumentative pattern. This pattern also informed the so-called *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*, which had been installed in 1532 as the first Empire-wide German criminal law and which, with some minor changes and amendments, still was the valid criminal law in early eighteenth century Leipzig.⁹

The *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* (CCC) had, where it was enacted and observed, a regulative and easing impact on the persecution of ‘witches’, as it differentiated between malevolent and beneficent ‘Zauberei’ (the former goes back to the Latin category of ‘maleficium’ with its basal meaning of ‘malevolent ritual act’), aimed at a strong regulation of torture, and rejected stereotypical elements from the *Malleus Maleficarum* and other contemporaneous demonological texts (such as witch flight, witch Sabbath, or demon pact).¹⁰ However, it nonetheless continued to construe (malevolent) ‘Zauberei’ as religious heresy (or ‘Ketzererei’),¹¹ questioned, at least partly, its efficacy (with regard to divinatory practices),¹² and stressed its societal harmfulness.¹³ Crime as such was still considered an offense against God,¹⁴ and a convicted—and ‘successful’—performer of ‘Zauberei’ was to be sentenced with capital punishment (death penalty).¹⁵ No surprise, then, that a professor of the juridical faculty of Wittenberg, Johann Karl Naeve (1650–1714), who was aware of the Leipzig collection as early as 1713 (as he mentions some of its titles in his polemical work *Jus Justitiariorum oder das Gerichts-Recht in den Städten*), claims that delving into such literature may ultimately result in apostasy (“dadurch ein Mensch [...] zum Abfall von Gott gebracht werden kann”).¹⁶ Apparently, and in line with the CCC, juridical milieus of the early eighteenth century continued to adopt classical theological arguments against ‘magic’, and we may well believe that the relevant Saxon authorities concerned with censorship issues, mainly the ‘Bücherkommission’ in Leipzig, the Privy Council (‘Geheimer Rat’), and the High Consistory (‘Oberkonsistorium’) in Dresden, had argued or felt in a similar manner. Classifying non-Lutheran books of unwanted content, whether belonging to ‘learned magic’ or not, as ‘delicate’ and ‘harmful’ publications without further ado was surely a common practice around 1700 for the Leipzig ‘Bücherkommission’, given that it was subordinated to the Lutheran High Consistory.¹⁷

Yet, Johann Karl Naeve's aforementioned work also reveals a striking ambivalence, in that he also speaks of a different kind of 'magic' on the previous page, namely, of 'magia naturalis', which he perceives as the "schönste und lustigste Disciplin, welche insonders Gottes unermessliche Weißheit [...] zu erkennen veranlasst und eröffnet" ("the most beautiful and inspiring discipline, which allows for grasping God's immeasurable wisdom").¹⁸ Apparently, in the eighteenth century, literature on 'magia naturalis' and Paracelsianism was still widely received and discussed in scholarly circles.¹⁹ The differentiation of legitimate and illegitimate types of 'magic' even made it into various encyclopedic projects related to the political project of 'Enlightenment', such as Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (1732–54) or Denis Diderot's *Encyclopedie, ou Dictionnaire raisonne des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1751–80). For example, the extensive (anonymously authored) article "Magie" in the *Zedler* differentiates a "weisse und schwarze Kunst", devotes substantial space to outlining and defending the concept of 'magia naturalis' (which is based on "insight into secret and hidden things, so that one thereby yields all kinds of strange and extraordinary effects"),²⁰ and praises "göttliche Magie" as well as "wahre Magie" in lengthy separate articles,²¹ whereas 'black magic' (also entitled "magia diabolica" or "magia daemoniaca") is rejected on the grounds of the typical arsenal of theological presuppositions and stereotypes.²²

In other words, strikingly different interpretations of 'magic' were still in vogue in scholarly as well as juridical debates of the early eighteenth century. At the same time, contemporaneous legal frameworks (such as the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*) stipulated, in an almost anachronistic manner, a very basal, that is, largely un-nuanced, theological condemnation of 'magic'. Despite this discrepancy, we assume that the Leipzig censorship authorities, too, evaluated the Leipzig collection in a rather undifferentiated manner. The greater part of the collection was devoted to the art of 'conjuring spirits' and most authors of the eighteenth century that differentiated between 'magia naturalis' and 'magia daemonica' counted such texts to the latter category (see, apart from Naeve, also Georg von Welling's contemporaneous *Opus mago-cabbalisticum et theosophicum* [first ed. 1719], where he considers the *Clavicula Salomonis* to be an abusive contamination of the "true art magia and cabala").²³ However, the 'catalogus' also attests that more than one third of the 1710 collection was devoted to 'magia naturalis' in one way or the other,

and displays further textual sub-genres with a more pious slant (such as medical or kabbalistic texts).²⁴ By forbidding the trade of all catalogued manuscripts, the censorship authorities of Leipzig thus failed to acknowledge, or consciously avoided, a more nuanced evaluation.

CENSORSHIP AND MARKETS FOR ILLEGAL BOOKS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As has just been demonstrated, books of ‘learned magic’—such as those outlined in the ‘*catalogus rariorum manuscriptorum*’—were usually considered ‘harmful’ or ‘delicate’ by censorship authorities in a rather undifferentiated way, and were thus the ‘banned’ goods of the early modern book markets. However, there was a gap between censorship regulations and the often ill-equipped censorship bureaucracy on the one side and financially driven activities within the thriving early modern European book market on the other.²⁵ In fact, many scholars have emphasized the low impact and level of activity of early modern censoring, including the fragile authority of the censorship departments themselves.²⁶ Especially the slowness or unwillingness of the administration to deal with book censorship around the year 1700 is striking.²⁷ One reason for this was the fact that early modern book trade networks, particularly those devoted to ‘illegal’ written media, regularly and clandestinely crossed territorial borders.²⁸ However, directed censoring processes and the authorities’ potential to harshly punish people and books nonetheless needed to be taken into account in early modern Europe. As already mentioned, the censorship regimes of early eighteenth century Germany tended to categorize ‘magical’ or other ‘occult’ publications as harmful or delicate.²⁹ The book collector Uffenbach even claimed that the entire collection of manuscripts sold in 1710 was ‘indexed’ by the Roman Church.³⁰ However, indexed books could become precious collector items. Due to the ongoing or increased demand for forbidden books in the eighteenth century, we find hot spots for selling these goods all over Europe. One of the hot spots for manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ was Leipzig.

Leipzig was one of Europe’s most important points of production, collection, and distribution of all sorts of written media during the eighteenth century, and in German-speaking Europe it was also the main publishing centre and book fair, only paralleled by Hamburg. Leipzig, with about 28,000 inhabitants around 1700, was thus a good place to

acquire, organize, produce, offer, sell and re-sell all kinds of (handwritten and printed) publications.³¹ The city's numerous bookshops and bookstalls were full of legal and illegal written media. Accordingly, any kind of distribution control of forbidden books was a fruitless business in early eighteenth century Leipzig.³² Due to the political and territorial pluralism of the fragmented Holy Roman Empire, the censorship regime of the Electorate of Saxony was far from being effective. In fact, effective censorship campaigns (at either the Imperial or state level) were almost impossible.³³ The difficult situation of the Saxon censorship regime is best understood against the backdrop of the growing local book trade as well as the thriving print and publishing industries during the seventeenth century.³⁴ Due to the Saxon policy of protecting relevant industries and promoting their supreme position within the German and European book markets, censorship was not given the highest priority compared to other territories of Europe. The *Bücherkommission* in Leipzig, set up at the end of the sixteenth century to supervise the Leipzig book trade and to provide a body for both censorship and the regulation of reprinting within the entire Electorate, has been described as a rather generous board of authority.³⁵ Most of the time, the censorship activities on the ongoing illegal flows of the local and regional book market were either not effective or not pursued at all. Around 1700, the *Bücherkommission* was well known for its administrative sluggishness and aversion to dealing with book censorship.³⁶ However, now and then the Saxon authorities were keen to censor topics that might stir up controversial debate about religious or political issues in the Electorate.³⁷ In these rare moments, the Saxon authorities initiated censorship activities towards delicate publications, usually by questioning printers and booksellers followed by inspections of bookshops and, if needed, confiscations. As we shall see, this is precisely what happened in the case of the Leipzig collection.

CENSORING THE LEIPZIG COLLECTION

In late 1714, 4 years after the publication of the printed 'catalogus' and the sale of the manuscripts, the Leipzig *Bücherkommission* began its investigations. As may have happened often in these times, it took the Saxon authorities for censorship several years to detect a delicate publication such as the 'catalogus rariorum manuscriptorum'.³⁸ According to the relevant files, it is unclear how the authorities became aware of

the catalogue. The files only reveal that in mid-November 1714 the word—and the catalogue—had reached the administrative circles around the Elector of Saxony. Books of ‘learned magic’, or a lengthy catalogue offering such, alarmed the Lutheran (and partly Catholic) ministers, who immediately reported the case to the Leipzig Bücherkommission. The Elector ordered confiscation of all available catalogues and forbade the trade in these manuscripts (“die in beygefügetem Catalogo specificirten MSta”).³⁹ Controls were mandated in selected Leipzig bookshops, and booksellers were questioned: it turned out that the local bookseller August Martini⁴⁰ had not only received copies of the catalogue “from a good friend” (“von einem guten freunde bekommen”)—likely the selling agent and contact person for the sale in 1710, Paul Kühtze—but had also arranged a reprint run of “a few copies” (“einige Exemplaria”) due to ongoing demand.⁴¹ The censorship records in Leipzig further reveal that the printer, the Leipzig-based Gottfried Rothe, produced at least 100 additional copies of the catalogue in 1712,⁴² and both Rothe and Martini stated in their interrogations that a previous edition of the catalogue had been published in 1710 by a printer-publisher from Augsburg named “Küsze”; i.e., Paul Kühtze.⁴³ However, the investigations seem to have stopped abruptly as soon as the authorities failed to seize the corpus. According to Uffenbach, the new owner of the collection became aware (“bekame [...] Wind”) of the censorship activities and translocated the collection to a safe place soon thereafter.⁴⁴

THE HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION AFTER 1710

What happened to the Leipzig collection after the censorship authorities failed to seize the corpus in 1714? Later sources at least allow for providing a rough outline. On the last page of the 1732 edition, Roth-Scholtz lists seven manuscript titles which had, in the meantime, been sold off from the collection for 100 guilders each.⁴⁵ However, his revised catalogue now includes 142 manuscripts, indicating that the new owner must have added another nine manuscripts to the collection. According to the two most important sources on the destination of the collection, Uffenbach and Roth-Scholtz, the collection went—after the death of the new owner—either to the Leipzig-based “Raths-Bibliothec” (Uffenbach)⁴⁶ or to the Dresden-based “Königlich-Pohlnische und Churfürstlich-Sächsische Bibliothec” (Roth-Scholtz).⁴⁷

According to the head of special collections at Leipzig University Library, Thomas Fuchs, the present collection is an amalgamation of several sources⁴⁸: the major part of the collection stems from the ‘Stadtbibliothek’ Leipzig—previously the ‘Raths-Bibliothec’, which indicates that Uffenbach’s narrative is more likely. In fact, in 1838 Emil Wilhelm Robert Naumann published an annotated catalogue of all manuscript holdings of the ‘Stadtbibliothek’ (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*), which includes the collection. At that time, it comprised 140 manuscripts (which may indicate, again, minor losses and amendments).⁴⁹ Naumann apparently re-arranged the collection by using the new signature “Cod. mag.,” which explains the difference between the ‘old’ numeration of the 1710 ‘catalogus’⁵⁰ and the ‘new’ Cod. mag. numeration (the new order seems, however, as arbitrary as the old one).⁵¹ Due to archive losses during World War II, Leipzig University Library has no further information on the pre-history of this part of the collection. The second part of the collection, which consists of three manuscripts only, came from the private library of Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705),⁵² and two other sources.⁵³ However, as these losses and amendments are quite minor, the collection advertised in the catalogue of 1710 already comprised some 95% of the collection hosted today in Leipzig University Library.

How did the collection arrive at the ‘Rhatsbibliothek Leipzig’ in the first place? According to Uffenbach’s report (published in 1753, but written before 1734), the buyer of the 1710 collection died soon after the transaction and bequeathed it to the ‘Rhatsbibliothek’.⁵⁴ We do not know, however, why Schröer had actually sold his manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ (in contrast to other parts of his extensive private library: see below), and why the new owner bequeathed the collection to the ‘Rhatsbibliothek’ after his death. Regarding the latter question, the heirs of the new owner (the sons of Heinrich Linck?) may have bestowed the collection to the ‘Rhatsbibliothek’ due to its—in their eyes—obnoxious or offensive contents. The contemporaneous case of the Lossau collection (Hamburg) indicates that such inter-generational dynamics could have an impact on the early modern transmission of delicate or ‘banned’ books.⁵⁵

What we do know, however, is that Schröer, the Leipzig medic and previous owner of the collection, had a much more extensive library

that was offered for sale (apparently without the 140 manuscripts outlined in the ‘catalogus’) in 1716, shortly after his death, by his heirs.⁵⁶ We know further that the rest of his extensive library, that is, those parts which were not sold in or after 1716, was bequeathed to the ‘Rhatsbibliothek Leipzig’ in 1729,⁵⁷ whereby the ‘magical’ and ‘non-magical’ parts of Schröer’s collection were reunited. Note that almost all manuscripts that belong to the 1710 sale are, up to this day, bound in colored paper of the eighteenth century: this (new) binding must have been added by an employee of the ‘Rhatsbibliothek’ after having received the estate. That said, the numbering of the manuscripts (on almost all title pages), which precisely corresponds to the catalogue’s order⁵⁸ must have happened either before 1710 (during the selling preparations) or after 1729 (after both the collection and the catalogue were archived by the ‘Rhatsbibliothek’). In 1962 the collection moved from the ‘Stadtbibliothek’ to Leipzig University Library, where it remains til this day.

Interestingly, from the late eighteenth century on, the collection seems to have avoided scholarly attention until very recently. Neither Georg Conrad Horst,⁵⁹ nor Johann Scheible,⁶⁰ nor Johann Georg Theodor Gräße⁶¹—the three most important German editors and bibliographers of ‘learned magic’ in the nineteenth century—seem to have been aware of the Leipzig collection. The neglect by Scheible and Gräße is particularly suprising as they could have consulted the annotated catalogue published by Naumann in 1838. Most twentieth century scholars of German ‘Volkskunde’ seem to have overlooked the collection, too (notably Peuckert, Wunderlich, Daxelmüller). Not even Stephan Bachter, who takes into account a large number of German manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ in his *Anleitung zum Aberglauben* (2005), was aware of the collection (even though he consulted the nearby archives of Weimar and Gotha). The first and only scholarly edition of one of the shorter texts (entry No. 59 = CM 31) saw the light of day in 2013.⁶² Recently, all extant manuscripts of the 1710 collection and seven complementary manuscripts of the university’s stock⁶³ have been digitized and can now be accessed via its online platform (URL: <https://histbest.ub.uni-leipzig.de>). We hope that this book may build the ground for future in-depth research on this fascinating collection.

NOTES

1. See, exemplarily, Siefener (1992), Behringer (2004), Levack (2006), Voltmer and Rummel (2012, 34–57).
2. Some of these voices are gathered in Behringer (1995, 314–399), and Levack (2004, 275–318).
3. See, exemplarily, Pott (1995), Meumann (2013). See also Daxelmüller (1979).
4. See Lamberti (2002) and Otto (2011), 236–7.
5. Such as *Lex Baioworum*, 13, 8; *Lex Wisigothorum*, 6, 2, 4; in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* see foremost the *Decretum Gratiani*, *Decreti Pars Secunda*, Causa XXVI, Questio V.
6. See Neumann (1997).
7. See Oldridge (2002), esp. the articles in part III.
8. For a more concise argument see Otto (2012).
9. See Weber (2009).
10. See Ströhmer (2006), Voltmer and Rummel (2012, 54–6), thus Levack (2006, 101), stresses that “those jurisdictions that adhered strictly to the imperial code of criminal law, the *Carolina*, executed far fewer witches than those that blatantly ignored it”.
11. This goes back to the respective formulation in the previous *Constitutio Criminalis Bambergensis* (§ 131, 1: “gleych der ketzerey mit dem fewer”), which was dropped in the CCC, but remained the inspiring theological background; see Ströhmer (2006).
12. See CCC § 21 in Schroeder (2000, 33).
13. See CCC § 44 in Schroeder (2000, 45).
14. See Weber (2009, 12).
15. See CCC § 109 in Schroeder (2000, 73).
16. See Naeve (1713, 8).
17. See on these classification strategies within the Bücherkommission Kobuch (1988, esp. 52), Bellingradt (2011, 259–84).
18. Naeve (1713, 7); our translation.
19. See Schlögl (1993), Murase (2013), Kühlmann (2016).
20. See Anonymous, “Magie” (1739, 289): “Erkänntniß geheimer und verborgener Dinge, daß man vermittelst derselben allerhand seltsame und ungewöhnliche Würckungen hervor bringt”.
21. The lemma on ‘wahre Magie’ in the *Zedler* is particularly interesting: it is a plagiarism of an anonymous treatise entitled *Geheime Unterredungen zwischen zweyen vertrauten Freunden, einem Theologo Philosopizante und Philosopho Theologizante von Magia Naturali, deren Ursprung und Principiis, wo bewiesen wird, daß dieselbe eine natürliche, nützliche und zuläßliche Wissenschaft sey*, published (allegedly, with ‘Cosmopoli’ as publishing location) in 1702, and praises ‘magia naturalis’ as a ‘divine

- science', outlining its seven branches (namely, 'kalah', 'magia naturalis', sympathy and antipathy, 'interpretatio somniorum', that is oneromancy, geomancy, physiognomy, and chiromancy) in the metaphor of a rosebush.
22. On Diderot's lemma "Magie" in the *Encyclopédie* see Diderot (1765, 852) and Otto and Stausberg (2013, 59–63).
 23. von Welling (1719, 58); our translation.
 24. It is also to be noted that the large majority of the manuscripts in the Leipzig collection must have been copied and translated by professional scribes, which is clearly indicated by the quality of the script, thus pointing to learned, wealthy and permissive social spaces where such texts could be traded, copied, and translated during the 17th and early 18th centuries.
 25. See the discussion on recent developments of this field of research in Tortarolo (2011). Further see Minois (1995), Göpfert and Weyrauch (1988), Haefs and Mix (2007), Kemp et al. (2009).
 26. Fitos (2000), Birn (2012), Griffin (2005), Jostock (2007), Roche (1989).
 27. See, for example, Bellingradt (2015), Myers and Harris (1992).
 28. See, for example, Darnton (1995), Freedman (2012), Griffin (2005), Haug et al. (2011).
 29. See on this the examples given in Doering-Manteuffel et al. (2008), Conrad (2008), Szönyi (2011).
 30. von Uffenbach (1753, 184), referred to the collection of "libros magicos" as "librorum Indicem".
 31. For the best overview of the printing world of early modern Leipzig to date, see Rosenstrauch (1990).
 32. See Haug (2011, esp. 20).
 33. See Kapp (1886).
 34. See on this point Wittmann (1991, 138), Kiesel and Münch (1977, 19), Kirchhoff (1884, here 99–100).
 35. The history of the Leipzig Books Commission before 1800 has yet to be written. Being at the heart of Saxon censorship, the Bücherkommission was not only administering Saxon (print) privileges but had to identify harmful or delicate publications, determine bans, confiscations and inspections of bookshops, and further investigations if needed. See Hasse (2000, 58–68), Kobuch (1988, 34–7).
 36. See on the temporarily deliberately ignoring censorship authorities in Leipzig and Dresden the case study of 1726: Bellingradt (2015).
 37. Kobuch (1988), Eisenhardt (1970).
 38. See other examples in Bellingradt (2011, 272–86), and Bellingradt (2015).
 39. Letter of the Elector, dated 16.11.1714, to the Bücherkommission [Municipal Archive Leipzig (Stadtarchiv Leipzig), Tit. XLVI (F) Nr. 152, Vol. IV, fol. 46–46v].

40. See for the bookseller and publisher August Martini especially Paisey (1988, 163).
41. See the questioning of August Martini on 19.11.1714 by the Bücherkommission [Municipal Archive Leipzig, Tit. XLVI (F) Nr. 152, Vol. IV, fol. 49–49v]. A few dozen copies of Martini's were confiscated, too, and one copy is listed in the relevant papers of the Bücherkommission: Municipal Archive Leipzig, Tit. XLVI Nr. 152 Bd. IV fol. 47.
42. See the questioning of Gottfried Rothe on 19.11.1714 by the Bücherkommission [Municipal Archive Leipzig, Tit. XLVI (F) Nr. 152, Vol. IV, fol. 49–49v].
43. See on the Augsburg-based publisher Paul Kührtze (1676–1719), a rich Protestant, Künast et al. (1997), 1207ff.
44. von Uffenbach (1753, 184–5): “Ein Buchhändler, welcher gegenwärtige Blaetgen debitierte, kam auf Veranlassung Herrn D. Loeschers darüber in Verantwortung, und dieses letzte musste als conficiert denen Gerichten ausgeliefert werden. Doch bekame der Besizer von allem zeitlich Wind, so dass er die MSta insgesamt in Sicherheit brachte”.
45. According to Roth-Scholtz, these seven lucrative manuscripts were *Clavicula Salomonis*, *Raymundi Lullii Negromantiae & Conjuraciones*, *Raymundi Lullii Daemonum Arcana*, *Magia Theophrasti Paracelsi*, *Psalterium Theophrasti*, *Vera Kaballa Angelica*, *Theosophia Abrahami*. See Roth-Scholtz (1732, 16). However, these seven manuscript titles are not even mentioned in the ‘catalogus rariorum manuscriptorum’, and they also do not correspond to the five ‘catalogus’ titles which are missing in the contemporary collection (entries Nos. 1, 61, 136, 137, 138 in Appendix A).
46. von Uffenbach (1753), 185.
47. Roth-Scholtz (1732), preface.
48. We would like to thank Thomas Fuchs for his helpful suggestions.
49. See Naumann (1838), the collection is described on p. 190f.
50. Note that this numeration has been added to all but one (entry No. 15 = CM 79) title pages of the manuscripts. See Appendix A, where said numeration is indicated in element VII.
51. For instance, the 1710 ‘catalogus’ tends to display extensive texts at the beginning, and shorter recipes at the end, and it eventually groups texts that belong to the same sub-genre (e.g., it lists all Faustian texts from Nos. 45–52; content-wise related are also, e.g., Nos. 30–36, or 69–73). From a bird's eye perspective, however, no logical or systematic order underlies the 1710 catalogue, which indicates that the Leipzig collection has been

- separated from Schröer's larger book collection and compiled only for the purpose of the sale; in other words, it does not represent a thorough practitioner's 'canon' of 'learned magic' in the early 18th century.
52. This manuscript, CM 136, had already been appended to the collection by Naumann in his 1838 catalogue.
 53. CM 141 is from the estate of Christian Wilhelm Barth († 1861); CM 142 from Otto Linné Erdmann († 1869): see Fuchs (2009, 4–5).
 54. von Uffenbach (1753, 184–5): “Doch bekame der Besizer von allem zeitlich Wind, so dass er die MSta insgesamt in Sicherheit brachte. Er starb kurz darauf, und vermachte den ganzen Vorrath an die hiesige Raths-Bibliothek, allwo selbiger bis diese Stunde, wie wol en cachette aufgehoben wird”.
 55. See Mulsow (2008, 61–80); see also idem, (1998, 136–7, 238–9).
 56. The selling catalogue entitled “*Catalogus Librorum Miscellaneorum Praeprimis Chymicorum, Alchymicorum, Medicorum, Theologicorum, Steganographicorum Aliorumque Curiosorum, Rariorum Et Exqvistorum, Qyi Publicae Auctionis Lege Lipsiae In aedibus Schroecrianis auf der Peters-Strassen im blauen Engel d. 30. Nov. seqq. MDCCXVI. distrabentur: Accedit Appendix Librorum Incompactorum & picturarum quarundam, Schildereyen etc.*”, dated 1716, is today hosted in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (RLS Dm 3719).
 57. See Fabian and Corsten (1997, 39).
 58. See above, note 50 (this chapter).
 59. See Horst (1821–1826).
 60. See foremost Scheible *Das Kloster*, vol. 2 and 3 (1846), vol. 5 (1847); and idem (1853).
 61. See Gräße (1843), esp. 24–31. To be fair, Gräße mentions few manuscripts of the Leipzig collection (e.g. the *Magia militaris* in CM 134, or the *Clavicula Salomonis filii David* in CM 85). However, he gives no signature to these texts (in contrast to manuscripts from foreign libraries), and almost all *Höllenzwänge* and *Claviculae Salomonis* listed on p. 25–6 are from foreign libraries. It thus seems that Gräße tried to minimize the Leipzig stock of ‘learned magic’ texts.
 62. See Zeller (2013). Interestingly, there are already numerous surveys and discussions of the Leipzig collection in the internet drafted by contemporary practitioners; see foremost Vártejaru (2013), who compiled a useful table of all CM manuscripts.
 63. These seven manuscripts, which were not part of the 1710 collection, are: *Clavicula Salomonis expurgata oder Schlüssel des Königs Salomons wunderbarer Geheimnisse und vieler zukünftigen Dinge*.

J.H.H. Anno 1752 [UL: CM 1; 22 leaves (4°)]; *Tractat vom Geister Beschwerden zum Schatzgraben* [UL: CM 61; 11 leaves (4°)]; *IMPRECATIONES FAUSTI, Dr. Fausts Höllen = Zwang und güldin und silbern Ring oder Gezwang oder Hauptbeschwörung. [...]* *MCCCCXXCV* [UL: CM 77; 17 leaves (4°)]; *Clavicula Salomonis de secretis in nomine Adonai Tetragrammaton Appruch, Exbranor* [UL: CM 136; 20 leaves (4°)]; *Klain Commando Büchlin oder deutlich Anzaig und Erklerung der unschatzbaren großen und vollkommen Kunst aller Künste und Magnalien Das größte Geheimniß der Natur und verborgen Magia Durch annehmlich Red und Zeichen, auch Ausprach und Beschreibung der Syderischen, Aetherischen und Erd Gaister zu citiren gleichsam zu commandiren sich mit ihnen zu besprechen, verborgene Schätz und Reichthümer zu erlangen und andere geheime Dinge und Geheimnisse zu erforschen, als ein heilig Testament hinterlassen an seinen Sun von Johann Fust, berühmten Artist zu Maintz MCCCCLIV.* [UL: CM 137; 16 leaves (4°)]; *Rex Evanthes Arabicum. Der große Cabaliste war auf eine Witterhaut. Hyparchus Die Geheime Weisheit der Araber, auf Witterhaut. Alamaon Babylonier hat beschrieben das große Lichte in der Natur, auf Baum:Rinden. Iter Theil. in das Lateinische übersetzt von Rocherij Bachonis M. CC. LXXXII.* [UL: CM 141, fols. 3–21; 19 leaves (gr. 4°)]; *Propheta Pithis. Hat eröffnet und erklabret die Figuren und Schriften, so man in dem Heilighthum gefunden: auf Baum-Rinden und Kupfern Blatten beschrieben. IAMPLICIS. HAT ERKlaret die Tabellen Hermetis und andere mehr auf bleyern Tafeln. Micerine Egiptier. Hat Erklachret die Tabellen. ISIACO. PEMPINE. ISITIS. HORNEUM AVE BALM-BLAETTER.* [UL: CM 141, fols. 22–80, 58 leaves (gr. 4°)]; *Das Verborgene Licht in der Natur. Fratrís Vincentij, Ordinis Pradicat, Anno 1412. Aus dem Spanischen übersetzt von Trithemio von Sponheim, Abbas zu Spreutzburg 1430.* [UL: CM 141, fols. 81–149, 70 leaves (gr. 4°)]; *NAXAGORE EXPERIENTIA. Secundum ANNULOS PLATONICOS, et CATENAM AUREAM HOMERI: Daß ist: Aufrichtiger, und gründlicher Beweis, wieso gar schlecht und einfältig die Natur seye, und würke, und wie es die kunst, ihr also nach thun müße; wo sie nicht wieder die selbe, sondern mit derselben glücklich arbeiten wolle. Auch Augenscheinliche, und Sonnenklare Demonstration, wie eins, aus dem andern gehe gleich einer Ketten, so auß Lauter Ringen bestehet, da eine in den andern verbunden, endlich solche alle zusammen, also zu einem nutzbahren gebrauch herfür kom(m)en, oder thun, was sie sonst einzeln nicht vermöchten, so daß deswegen die unterschiedene Vorbereitungen unserer materie, eigentlich nichts anders sind, alß Eine einige continuirte Operation. gedani Anno arce Salutis 1710. Mense Maji Norimbergae die 24. Nov. 1714 anni nativit JC* [UL: CM 142, fol. 5–35; 35 leaves (4°)].

REFERENCES

- [Anonymous] "Magie", in: Zedler, Johann Heinrich (ed.), *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste [...]*, vol. 19 (Halle 1739), 289.
- Bachter, Stephan, *Anleitung zum Aberglauben. Zauberbücher und die Verbreitung magischen ‚Wissens‘ seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 2005).
- Behringer, Wolfgang. (ed.), *Hexen und Hexenprozesse in Deutschland* Munich ³1995).
- Behringer, Wolfgang, *Witches and Witch Hunts. A Global History* (Cambridge 2004).
- Bellingradt, Daniel, "The Publishing of a Murder Case in Early Modern Germany: The limits of censorship in the Electorate of Saxony (1726)", in: *Quaerendo* 45.1–2 (2015), 62–107.
- Bellingradt, Daniel, *Flugpublizistik und Öffentlichkeit um 1700. Dynamiken, Akteure und Strukturen im urbanen Raum des Alten Reiches* (Stuttgart 2011).
- Bernhard, Fabian and Severin Corsten, *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland. Vol. 18: Sachsen L-Z* (Hildesheim 1997).
- Birn, Raymond, *Royal Censorship of Books in Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford 2012).
- Conrad, Anne, *Rationalismus und Schwärmerei. Studien zur Religiosität und Sinndeutung in der Spätaufklärung* (Hamburg 2008).
- Darnton, Robert, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York 1995).
- Daxelmüller, Christoph, *Disputationes curiosae. Zum volkskundlichen Polyhistorismus an den Universitäten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg 1979).
- Diderot, Denis, "Magie", in: *Encyclopedie, ou dictionnaire raisonne des sciences, des arts et des metiers [...]*, vol. 9 (Paris 1765), 852.
- Doering-Manteuffel, Sabine et al. (eds.), *Das Okkulte. Eine Erfolgsgeschichte im Schatten der Aufklärung. Von Gutenberg bis zum World Wide Web* (Munich 2008).
- Eisenhardt, Ulrich, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1496–1806)* (Karlsruhe 1970).
- Fitos, Stephan, *Zensur als Mißerfolg. Die Verbreitung indizierter deutscher Druckschriften in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 2000).
- Freedman, Jeffrey, *Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe. French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets* (Philadelphia 2012).
- Fuchs, Thomas, *Handschriften und Urkunden der Stadtbibliothek Leipzig in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig: Neuzugänge nach 1838* (Wiesbaden 2009).

- Göpfert, Herbert G. and Erdmann Weyrauch (eds.), *„Unmoralisch an sich ...“: Zensur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1988).
- Gräße, Johann Georg Theodor, *Pneumatica Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica oder wissenschaftlich geordnete Bibliographie der wichtigsten in das Gebiet des Zauber-, Wunder-, Geister- und sonstigen Aberglaubens vorzüglich älterer Zeit einschlagenden Werke; mit Angabe der aus diesen Wissenschaften auf der Königl. Sächs. Oeff. Bibliothek zu Dresden befindlichen Schriften* (Leipzig 1843).
- Griffin, Clive, *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford 2005).
- Haefs, Wilhelm and York-Gothart Mix (eds.), *Zensur im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung. Geschichte – Theorie – Praxis* (Göttingen 2007).
- Hasse, Hans-Peter, *Zensur theologischer Bücher in Kursachsen* (Leipzig 2000).
- Haug, Christine, “Topographie des literarischen Untergrunds in Europa des 18. Jahrhunderts: Produktion, Distribution und Konsumption von verbotenen Lesestoffen”, in: Haug, Christine, Franziska Mayer and Winfried Schröder (eds.), *Geheimliteratur und Geheimbuchhandel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2011), 9–47.
- Haug, Christine, Franziska Mayer and Winfried Schröder (eds.), *Geheimliteratur und Geheimbuchhandel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2011).
- Horst, Georg Conrad, *Zauber-Bibliothek oder von Zauberei, Theurgie und Mantik, Zauberern, Hexen und Hexenprocessen, Dämonen, Gespenstern und Geistererscheinungen*, 7 vols. (Mainz 1821–26).
- Jostock, Ingeborg, *La censure négociée. Le contrôle du livre a Geneve 1560–1625* (Geneva 2007).
- Kapp, Friedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das siebzehnte Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1886).
- Kemp, Geoff et al. (eds.), *Censorship and the Press, 1580–1720*, 4 vols. (London 2009).
- Kiesel, Helmuth and Paul Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. Voraussetzungen und Entstehung des literarischen Markts in Deutschland* (Munich 1977).
- Kirchhoff, Albrecht, “Die kurfürstlich sächsische Bücher-Commission zu Leipzig”, in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels* 9 (1884), 47–176.
- Kobuch, Agatha, *Zensur und Aufklärung in Kursachsen. Ideologische Strömungen und politische Meinungen zur Zeit der sächsisch-polnischen Union (1697–1763)* (Weimar 1988).
- Kühlmann, Wilhelm, *Gelehrtenkultur und Spiritualismus. Studien zu Texten, Autoren und Diskursen der Frühen Neuzeit in Deutschland* (Heidelberg 2016).

- Künast, Hans-Jörg et al. (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden 1997).
- Lamberti, Francesca, “III. De magia als rechtsgeschichtliches Dokument”, in: Hammerstaedt, Jürgen et al. (eds.), *Apuleius. De Magia* (Darmstadt 2002), 331–50.
- Levack, Brian P. (ed.), *The Witchcraft Sourcebook* (New York 2004).
- Levack, Brian P., *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow ³2006).
- Meumann, Markus, “Die Geister, die ich rief – oder wie aus ‘Geisterphilosophie’ ‘Aufklärung’ werden kann. Eine diskursgeschichtliche Rekontextualisierung von Christian Thomasius’ *De crimine magiae*”, in: Neugebauer-Wölk, Monika et al. (eds.), *Aufklärung und Esoterik: Wege in die Moderne* (Berlin 2013), 645–80.
- Minois, Georges, *Censure et culture sous l’Ancien Régime* (Paris 1995).
- Mulsow, Martin, Martin, *Monadenlehre, Hermetik und Deismus* (Hamburg 1998).
- Mulsow, Martin, “Die Transmission verbotenen Wissens”, in: Schneider, Ulrich Johannes (ed.), *Kulturen des Wissens im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2008), 61–80.
- Murase, Amadeo, *Paracelsismus und Chiliasmus im deutschsprachigen Raum um 1600* [2013; URL: <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/18296>].
- Myers, Robin and Michael Harris (eds.), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600–1900* (Winchester 1992).
- Naeve, Johann Karl, *Jus Justitiariorum oder das Gerichts-Recht in den Städten, Ämtern und auf dem Lande, was dabey von den Richtern, deren Assessoren und Schöppen, auch anderen Justitiarien vornehmlich zu beobachten* (Wittenberg 1713).
- Naumann, Emil Wilhelm Robert, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur* (Grimma 1838).
- Neumann, Almut, *Verträge und Pakte mit dem Teufel. Antike und mittelalterliche Vorstellungen im “Malleus maleficarum”* (St. Ingbert 1997).
- Oldridge, Darren (ed.), *The Witchcraft Reader* (London 2002).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, *Magie. Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen* (Berlin 2011).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, “‘Magie’ beweisen? Überlegungen zur Prozesslogik des frühneuzeitlichen crimen magiae”, in: @KIH-eSkript. Interdisziplinäre Hexenforschung online 4 (2012), 79–100.
- Otto, Bernd-Christian and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Defining Magic: A Reader* (Sheffield 2013).
- Paisey, David L., *Deutsche Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger 1701–1750* (Wiesbaden 1988).
- Pott, Martin, “Aufklärung und Hexenaberglaube. Philosophische Ansätze zur Überwindung der Teufelspakttheorie in der deutschen Frühaufklärung”, in:

- Lorenz, Sönke and Dieter R. Bauer (eds.), *Das Ende der Hexenverfolgung* (Stuttgart 1995), 183–202.
- Roche, Daniel, “Censorship and the Publishing Industry”, in: Darnton, Robert et al. (eds.), *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775–1800* (Berkeley 1989), 3–26.
- Rosenstrauch, Hazel, “Leipzig als Centralplatz des deutschen Buchhandels”, in: Martens, Wolfgang (ed.), *Zentren der Aufklärung III. Leipzig. Aufklärung und Bürgerlichkeit* (Heidelberg 1990), 103–24.
- Roth-Scholtz, Friedrich, *Vetervm Sophorvm Sigilla et Imagines Magicae. E Johannis Trithemii Abbatis Peapolitani Qyondam Spanheimensis. Manuscripto – Erytae. Cvi Accessit Catalogvs Rariorvm Magico – Cabbalistico – Chymicorvm* (Herrenstadt 1732).
- Scheible, Johann (ed.), *Das Kloster. Zweiter Band: fünfte bis achte Zelle* (Doctor Johann Faust; I. Faust und seine Vorgänger (Theophilus, Gerbert, Virgil, etc.); Zur Geschichte Sage und Literatur. II. G. R. Widman’s Hauptwerk über Faust. Vollständig und wortgetreu. III. Faust’s Höllenzwang. – Jesuitarum libellous, oder der gewaltige Meergeist. Miracul-, Kunst- und Wunderbuch. – Schlüssel zum Höllenzwang. IV. Wortgetreuer Abdruck der ersten Auflage des ersten Buches über Faust, von 1587 (bisher in Zweifel gezogen, nun aufgefunden) (Stuttgart 1846).
- Scheible, Johann (ed.), *Das Kloster. Dritter Band: neunte bis zwölfte Zelle* (Christoph Wagner, Faust’s Famulus; Don Juan Tenorio von Sevilla; die Schwarzkünstler verschiedener Nationen und die Beschwörer von Hölle und Himmel um Reichthum, Macht, Weisheit und des Leibes Lust; auch zweiter Band von “Doctor Johann Faust” (Stuttgart 1846).
- Scheible, Johann (ed.), *Das Kloster. Fünfter Band: 17. –20. Zelle* (Die Sage vom Faust bis zum Erscheinen des ersten Volksbuches, mit Literatur und Vergleichung aller folgenden; Faust auf der Volksbühne, in den Puppen- oder Marionettenspielen; Zauberbibliothek des Magiers: Höllenzwang. Drei- und vierfacher Höllenzwang. Der große Meergeist. Wunderbuch. Der schwarze Rabe. Geister-Commando. Praxis magica. Schätzeheber u.s.w.; Auch dritter Band von “Doctor Johann Faust” (Stuttgart 1847).
- Scheible, Johann (ed.), *Handschriftliche Schätze aus Kloster-Bibliotheken, umfassend sämtliche vierzig Hauptwerke über Magie, verborgene Kräfte, Offenbarungen und geheimste Wissenschaften; ein Beitrag zum Aberglauben früherer Jahrhunderte* (Köln 1734 = Stuttgart 1853).
- Schlögl, Rudolf, “Ansätze zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Paracelsus im 17 und 18. Jahrhundert”, in: Dilg, Peter and Hartmut Rudolph (eds.), *Resultate und Desiderate der Paracelsus-Forschung* (Stuttgart 1993), 145–62.
- Schroeder, Friedrich-Christian (ed.), *Die Peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls V.* (Stuttgart 2000).

- Siefener, Michael, *Hexerei im Spiegel der Rechtstheorie. Das crimen magiae in der Literatur von 1574 bis 1608* (Frankfurt 1992).
- Ströhmer, Michael, “Carolina (Constitutio Criminalis Carolina, CCC: Die Peinliche Halsgerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls V. im Kontext der frühneuzeitlichen Hexenprozesse”, in: Gersmann, Gudrun et al. (eds.), *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung* [2006; online article, URL: http://www.historicum.net/no_cache/persistent/artikel/1586/] (last access March 7, 2017).
- Szönyi, György Endre, “The Boom of Esoteric Publications in Seventeenth-Century England”, in: Finke, Wayne H. and Barry J. Luby (eds.), *A Confluence of Words* (Newark 2011), 399–416.
- Tortarolo, Edoardo (ed.), *La censura nel secolo dei lumi: una visione internazionale* (Turin 2011).
- Vártejaru, Mihai, “Complete list of Leipzig University magical manuscripts (links)” [2013; online resource, URL: <http://studies-vartejaru.blogspot.de/2013/08/complete-list-of-leipzig-university.html>] (last access March 9, 2017).
- Voltmer, Rita and Walter Rummel, *Hexen und Hexenverfolgung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Darmstadt 2012).
- von Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad, *Commercii Epistolaris Uffenbachiani Selecta / Variis Observationibus Illustravit Vitamque*, 3 vols. (Ulm 1753–56).
- von Welling, Georg [Ps. Gregorius Anglus Salwigt], *Opus mago-cabbalisticum et theosophicum, darinnen der Ursprung, Natur, Eigenschafften und Gebrauch des Salzes, Schwefels und Mercuri [...]* (Frankfurt 1719).
- Weber, Judith, *Das sächsische Strafrecht im 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Reichsstrafgesetzbuch* (Berlin 2009).
- Wittmann, Reinhard, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (Munich 1991).
- Zeller, Rosmarie, “Eine kabbalistische Ausdeutung der Hecatombe Oder Hundert Lob-Sprüche von Christian Knorr von Rosenroth”, in: *Morgen- Glantz* 23 (2013), 329–54.

Conclusions

Abstract This chapter reflects upon the key themes that recur throughout the book, namely the exceptionality, scarcity and illegality of manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ in early modern Europe. The findings of the book are interpreted from the perspectives of book history and the history of ‘Western learned magic’.

Keywords Book history · Magic · Censorship · Manuscripts · Book trade · Early modern culture

At the outset of this study we have called for an interdisciplinary, integrative, and thus more comprehensive analysis of books of ‘learned magic’ in and beyond early modern times. For us this meant to combine our respective expertise in book history and the history of ‘magic’, and to interpret the Leipzig collection as an artefact of both the *longue-durée* tradition of ‘Western learned magic’ as well as the early modern book market. Our findings may therefore be interpreted from two angles.

From the perspective of book history and the early modern book trade, it has become evident that no later than the early eighteenth century, books of ‘learned magic’ had become extremely valuable trading goods. Particularly manuscripts of ‘learned magic’, such as the ones assembled in the Leipzig collection, were ‘scarce’ goods of the early modern book market. They were *per definitionem* singletons, their

production must have been time-consuming and costly, they came with an attached aura of secrecy and underground transmission, and they often promised great age. On the other hand, our research has also revealed that ‘demand determined supply’ in the eighteenth century trade in books of ‘learned magic’, and that there may have been enough clever entrepreneurs who provided an on-going and ever greater supply of such ‘scarce’ manuscripts. Contemporaneous critics have, in fact, suggested that the many variations across allegedly similar books of ‘learned magic’—such as the *Clavicula Salomonis*, which comes in seven very different manuscript versions in the Leipzig collection—are due to a quasi-industrial production of such manuscripts at the time. From a practitioner’s or sympathizer’s perspective, however, manuscript transmission (with all its difficulties, risks, and sources of error) was the only contemporaneous means to conserve and hand on ritual techniques and theorizations of ‘Western learned magic’. Even though the ‘illegality’ of this textual-ritual tradition was not self-evident, but a matter of on-going dispute, polemics and stereotypes against ‘magic’ were still widespread in the eighteenth century, thus preventing open circulation and also a more nuanced assessment of the Leipzig collection by theological, juridical or censorship authorities. Ritual mechanics provide another reason for manuscript transmission in the realm of ‘learned magic’ during an alleged ‘age of print’: at least some of its ritual disciplines (foremost the art of ‘conjuring spirits’) necessitated a personalized, consecrated and proverbially handmade ritual handbook, which, apart from transporting textual information, embodied ritual authenticity and efficacy.

Most interestingly, however, our findings reveal that by the eighteenth century, books of ‘learned magic’ at least partly travelled along the regular routines and trading procedures of the early modern book market. The Leipzig collection sold in 1710 was offered by a regular bookseller, announced by a trading catalogue, and sold from a bibliophile to a bibliophile without further consequences for either of them. This could, of course, only happen because of the striking ineffectiveness of the Saxon censorship authorities in those days, which became aware of the collection only years after the sale and obviously failed to seize the corpus. Due to this ineffectiveness, individual, as well as circles of scholars, wealthy collectors and book traders alike played their game without risking serious consequences. This game, however, was a pricey one: the 140 manuscripts of the Leipzig collection were sold for a sum that would have built two to three new bourgeois houses in the city of

Leipzig. Apparently, trading such manuscripts was one of the most lucrative business activities of those days, not only for booksellers.

The demand for such manuscripts was elitist in nature, fuelled by scholarly fascination, the collecting passion of rich elites, sometimes practical interests (for example in medicine), and driven by status motivations. Apparently, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a fairly unknown medic from Leipzig, Samuel Schröer (1669–1716), who was, like many of his day, affined to Paracelsian and alchemic discourse, had access to a sufficient degree of social spaces and monetary resources to acquire and compile this extensive collection. The exceptionality as well as the appeal of the collection is also portrayed in the striking after-life of the 1710 selling catalogue, which was reprinted several times by different editors over the course of the eighteenth century. In fact, a few rich book collectors, such as Friedrich Roth-Scholtz or Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, hunted such collections all over Europe. Once in their hands, however, books of ‘learned magic’ may have lost their original purpose (providing a ‘ritual art’ that may or may not improve one’s life) and instead became barter or status objects on library shelves, satisfying nothing more than the collector’s passion.

From the perspective of the history of ‘Western learned magic’, the Leipzig collection once more calls for taking books of ‘learned magic’ seriously and releasing them from bibliographic remainder categories such as ‘curiosa’, ‘rariorum’, or ‘superstitiosa’: categories that cannot grasp their apparent complexity and heterogeneity, nor were they ever meant to. In a nutshell, the Leipzig collection is perfectly suited for highlighting some core features of ‘Western learned magic’: it reveals the *longue-durée* character of this textual-ritual tradition (with numerous texts going back to the Middle Ages or even late Antiquity), its striking interculturality (with, for example, seven different versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis* in three different languages), its highbrow complexity and intellectual demands (with ritual prescriptions of hundreds of pages and various language prerequisites), and its ritual and conceptual heterogeneity and hybridity (with numerous sub-disciplines such as ‘conjuring spirits’, ‘kabbalistic’ speculations on the power of words, ‘magia naturalis’, or a vast range of divination techniques). The scholarly investigation of this tradition is still only in its beginnings, as the almost complete scholarly unawareness of the Leipzig collection until very recently reveals, particularly with regard to exploring, comparing,

and historicizing the exuberant mass of early modern manuscripts of 'learned magic' which have survived til this day.¹

In this regard, the Leipzig collection indicates that processes of 'democratization', 'popularization', and 'vernacularization' of 'learned magic' happened significantly earlier than so far assumed in German-speaking Europe. Particularly German 'Volkskundler' have argued that such processes emerged and had their climax only over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Leipzig collection indicates that these scholars may have focused too much on printed editions—which do have their peak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—while, at the same time, neglecting extant manuscripts, and thus failed in dating these processes accurately. The collection sold in 1710 (of which more than four-fifths of the manuscripts host German translations) appears to be rather the end-product of a longer process of collecting, copying, vernacularizing, and re-assembling texts of 'learned magic' in German-speaking Europe. Yet, as we have not been able to identify previous and comparably large collections of Germanized texts of 'learned magic', the Leipzig corpus seems to merit a prominent, if not unique, spot in the history of 'Western learned magic'.

Large book collections of 'learned magic', however, pose a problem to both the historian as well as the practitioner of 'Western learned magic'. Given that we often encounter a rigidly formalistic interpretation of ritual efficacy within the texts (i.e., they usually advocate the idea that every single ritual element must be enacted according to the script in order to enhance or guarantee ritual success), one wonders what to do when one comes across seven different manuscript versions of a text, which prescribe seven different ritual procedures. This problem may have become more severe over the course of early modernity, with more and more circulating versions and, eventually, the compilation of extensive book collections of 'learned magic'. While we do not know how a practitioner of the eighteenth century coped with this form of cognitive dissonance ('which script is the correct one?'), the logic might have been reversed in the contemporaneous book hunter's mind: the more versions, the more curious the 'magical art', and the more complete the collection.

NOTE

1. While the study of medieval manuscripts of ‘learned magic’ has been thriving over the past two decades (see, very exemplarily, Page and Rider (forthcoming)), there are still only few in-depth studies on texts and techniques of ‘learned magic’ in Europe between 1600 and 1800 (a notable exception is Davies 2009), despite a plethora of extant manuscript sources: early modern history has yet to discover this fascinating field of research.

REFERENCE

- Davies, Owen, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford 2009).
- Page, Sophie and Catherine Rider (eds.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Magic* (London forthcoming).

APPENDIX A: THE CATALOGUS RARIORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM

This chapter provides a critical, annotated edition of the 1710 selling catalogue (Appendix A), and four images of the original print run (Appendix B).

In the following we combine aspects of a critical bibliography and a classical edition of written media. The book trade catalogue of 1710 ('CATALOGUS RARIORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM') is edited in terms of its content, and enriched with bibliographical details and brief content analyses of all available manuscripts.

Abbreviations

CM Cod. mag.

UL Leipzig University Library

SLUB Saxon State and University Library Dresden

VD 16 Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts [www.vdl6.de]

VD 17 Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts [www.vdl7.de]

Further references are cited in the entries and the bibliography.

Notes on Entries The manuscript titles of the 1710 catalogue are listed in their original order, following the numbering and spelling of the catalogue. Each entry provides the following elements: I. Title of manuscript in semi-diplomatic transcription style (according to the catalogue—first entry—and the title page of the manuscript—second entry)¹; II. Format

and number of paper leaves; III. Drawing(s) included²; IV. Ascribed Authorship³; V. Language(s) of title and content⁴; VI. Additional titles included in the manuscript⁵; VII. Notes. In cases where there are no details available, the element is left out. The titles are given in full with spelling, capitalization and punctuation exactly as they appear in the catalogue and on the title page of the manuscript. *Nota bene*: the title provided in the manuscript (following the digitized versions of the manuscripts provided by the Leipzig University Library) may differ from the catalogue's title. The notes (VII) will include a brief content analysis of each manuscript, and further useful or relevant information.

Notes on Content analyses (Bernd-Christian Otto) The content analyses of the manuscripts (in entry VII) will focus on identifying basic textual or ritual genres and structures, including potential templates, rather than individual details or recipe patterns (only shorter texts allow for highlighting ritual details). If possible, dynamics of later transmission and impact are addressed. All indicated page numbers refer to the numeration in the digitized versions of the manuscripts provided by the university library of Leipzig, abbreviated as 'i.' (image). Inevitably, some technical terminology is used to describe textual contents: many manuscripts of the Leipzig collection are replete with '**voces magicae**' ('words of power'), character sequences that have no apparent semantic meaning and/or syntactic structure, but which come with an aura of a hidden *signifié*—they may, for instance, refer to angel or demon names—and of enhanced ritual efficacy (see on 'voces magicae', whose roots lie in antiquity, Flint 1999, 46–51 and *passim*). In a similar vein, '**caractères**' are omnipresent in the Leipzig collection: in contrast to 'voces magicae', these are letters or signs written in mysterious, unknown or illegible script; similar to 'voces magicae', they may have a hidden *signifié* and are believed to provide enhanced ritual efficacy (see on 'caractères', whose roots again lie in antiquity, Gordon 2014). '**Conjuring spirits**' is one of the most important sub-disciplines of 'learned magic' and forms the focus of more than half of the manuscripts of the Leipzig collection (on some of its texts and ritual mechanics see, exemplarily, Fanger 1998 and 2012). Two important sub-techniques of the art of 'conjuring spirits' are (1) the use of '**sigils**': these are sophisticated circular or rectangular arrangements of drawings, 'voces magicae' and/or 'caractères', which may be inscribed onto paper, parchment, amulets or rings, and sewn into one's clothes or held in one's hand during the conjuration procedure

(on some late medieval examples see Grévin/Véronèse 2004); and (2) the use of ‘ritual circles’ drawn on the ground, often equipped with ‘voces magicae’ (typically in Latin, Greek and/or Hebrew script) and/or ‘caractères’ (on ‘ritual circles’ see Kieckhefer 1998, 170–86). Finally, some of the manuscripts display ‘kabbalistic’ contents: ‘kabbalah’ here refers to an early modern Christian tradition of pseudo-Jewish lore, which is characterized by angelological speculations and/or angel conjurations, the importance and ritual use of powerful words (‘voces magicae’), numerological speculations, and/or the idea of God’s gradual creation of the world (usually in ten emanations called ‘Sefirot’). See on the history of ‘Christian kabbalah’, extensively, Schmidt-Biggemann 2012–2015.

CATALOGUS RARIORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM

No. 1

I. *G Roschedelii immerwehrender Magischer Calender*

VII. This catalogue entry is missing in the Leipzig archive, but it may have been a scribal version of Johann Baptist Großschedel’s *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum* (first publ. Frankfurt 1619/1620), which has been edited uncritically by MacLean 1994. On the history of the *Calendarium* see Gilly 2005. A contemporaneous (and possibly related) scribal version can be found in Dresden (Ms. SLUB, N 112).

No. 2

I. *Magia universalis divina angelica und diabolica*

Complete title of manuscript: *Die alleredelste und allerhöchste Kunst und Wißenschafft, das ist: MAGIA UNiversalis Divina Angelica ac Diabolica Scientia mali non est malum; sed usus, vel portius abusus* [UL: CM 16, fols. 1–86]

II. 179 leaves (4°) [first title: 86 leaves; second title: 93 leaves]

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German/Latin (content of first title); German/Latin/Hebrew (content of second title)

VI. *Folget ein schöner und lustiger Process des Melani Monachi von Beschwerung mancherley Geister* (see below, entry No. 3)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 2”

CM 16 is one of the most extensive manuscripts of the Leipzig collection. It is devoted to the art of ‘conjuring spirits’ and comprises

five chapters (i. 7–8: 1st ch.: ‘of divine visions’ [‘Gesichte’]; 2nd ch.: ‘knowledge of angels’ [‘himmlische Geister’: i. 55f.]; 3rd ch.: ‘knowledge of aerial spirits’; 4th ch.: ‘knowledge of terrestrial spirits’; 5th ch.: ‘knowledge of the great name of God’). Its most important components are a treatise on the 99 names of God (i. 24–50) in the first chapter which resembles medieval Islamic lore (see on the 99 names of God in Islam, e.g., Aḥmad ibn a-Būnī’s *Kitāb Šams al-Ma’ārif al-Kubra*, ed. Coullaut Cordero 2009; prayers to these 99 names are repeated several times throughout the manuscript: see i. 75–88, 138–147); a list of angels ascribed to the seven planets in the second chapter (i. 55–65); and portions of the *Sworn Book of Honorius* (*Liber Iuratus Honorii*) in the third, fourth and fifth chapters (for a critical edition of this late medieval ritual text see Hedegård 2002). The manuscript provides various drawings of ritual circles (i. 98, 112, 164–5; the so-called ‘sigillum dei’ or ‘Sigillum Dei Æmeth’ is to be found on i. 175, here called ‘Sigillum Salomonis’), which may be derived from the re-narration of the *Sworn Book of Honorius* in Berengarius Ganellus’ *Summa Sacre Magicae* (an extensive mid-fourteenth century Latin compilation of ‘learned magic’ that survives in Ms. Kassel 4° astron. 3), of which a late sixteenth century German translation survives in Ms. Staatsbibliothek Berlin Germ. fol. 903. See on this textual relationship Veenstra 2012.

No. 3

I. *Melani monachi Processe von Beschwerung mancherley Geister*

Complete title of manuscript: *Folget ein schöner und lustiger Process des Melani Monachi von Beschwerung mancherley Geister* [UL: CM 16, fols. 87–179]

II. 93 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Melanius / Roger Bacon

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 3” (see i. 177)

This text is devoted to the art of ‘conjuring spirits’ and ascribed to Melanius, a pupil of Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516). However, it provides a German translation of Ps.-Bacon’s *De nigromancia* (uncritically edited Macdonald 1988), which survives in various English manuscripts from the sixteenth century onwards (e.g., Ms. Sloane 3885, 36674). The text includes numerous drawings of spirits (i. 269, 281), and ritual circles and devices (e.g., i. 216, 252, 276, 285, 298, etc.),

which are clearly related to the manuscript versions edited in Macdonald 1988. CM 16 provides the only German translation of this text known so far and indeed refers to an English template ascribed to Roger Bacon in its foreword (i. 180).

No. 4

I. *Ein Tractat wie man ein Buch consecriren und bereiten soll die Geister dadurch zu beschweren*

Complete title of manuscript: *Jezund folget hernach ein Werck, wie man ein Buch consecriren und bereiten soll, zu der consecration der Geister* [UL: CM 18]

II. 145 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 4”

CM 18 comprises two parts. The first part (i. 5–88) outlines a lengthy procedure for consecrating the ritual book which may be related to an earlier Latin work entitled *Liber consecrationum* as well as the corresponding version in entry No. 95 (CM 20); a much shorter Latin *Liber consecrationum* survives in Ms. Munich Clm 849 (ed. Kieckhefer 1998, see therein pp. 256–76; see on further Latin versions Klaassen 2013, 237). The first part of the text also provides lists of angels ascribed to diurnal or nocturnal hours, weekdays, or the seven planets and outlines their conjuration (i. 63–88), including a drawing of the ritual circle (i. 88). The second part includes a lengthy treatise on the ‘letters and names Semaphoras’ (i. 89–290).

No. 5

I. *Abrahami eines Sohnes Simonis, Praxis cabalæ albæ, i. e. die wahre Practica von der alten und Göttlichen Magia*

Complete title of manuscript: *CABALA MYSTICA Ægyptiorum et Patriarcharum daß ist daß Buch der wahren alten und göttlichen MAGIA geschrieben von ABRAHAM den Sohn Simonis an seinen jüngern Sohn Lamech* [UL: CM 15]

II. 232 leaves (4°)

IV. Abraham von Worms

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with crossed out reference “Num. 5”

This is a scribal version of the text *Abramelin* ascribed to (Ps.-) Abraham von Worms (b. ca. 1362?). One of the earliest manuscript witnesses, which stems from the early seventeenth century (1608?), is Ms. Wolfenbüttel, Codex Guelfibus 47.13 Aug. 4°, incorporated (among other manuscript versions) in Dehn 2001 and Dehn 2015. A first printing of the German text was published in 1725 by Peter Hammer (Cologne), presumably based on the Wolfenbüttel manuscript; a surviving Aramaic version (Ms. Bodleian Opp. 594) seems to have been translated from a German template in the eighteenth century (see Scholem 1974, 186). Apart from a ‘biography’ of Abraham von Worms (first chapter), and some shorter recipes (second chapter), the text outlines a lengthy ritual performance—of some 18 months (see i. 207)—for acquiring one’s ‘guardian angel’ (third chapter). The fourth and last chapter provides 251 (5x5) letter squares for a vast range of ritual goals (i. 377–465). The text has been highly influential from the late nineteenth century onwards as in 1898 one of the leading figures of the *Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*, Samuel MacGregor Mathers (1854–1918), published an English translation of the text, based on a corrupted French translation of the German original (see Mathers 1898). Mathers’ version served as an inspirational source for Aleister Crowley’s *Liber Samekh* (see Crowley 1929, Appendix IV) and thereby remained crucial to practitioners of the 20th and 21st centuries.

No. 6

I. *Abrahami Judei Wormensis Cabala, so er seinem andern Sohn Joseph auf Pergament geschrieben hinterlassen*

Complete title of manuscript: *TRANSLATION eines kleinen Ebreyschen Pergamen Büchleins in deutscher Sprache* [UL: CM 17]

II. 171 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Elijah

V. German (title); German/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 6”

We have assigned CM 17 to No. 6 in the ‘catalogus’ (following the numeration on the title page), even though the catalogue title points to another version of the text *Abramelin* (see above entry), whereas CM 17 really hosts a different text coming under a different title (‘translation of a small Hebrew parchment booklet in German language’). Whatever the

reason for this confusion may have been, the text is an extremely lengthy manual of the ‘kabbalistic’ art that has been translated from a (Hebrew?) template called ‘Cabala of the prophet Elias’ (see i. 17). Divided into six chapters, it provides a large variety of short recipes for all sorts of ritual goals, wherein the ritual focus lies on uttering or writing efficacious words (*voces magicae*); in the sixth chapter a variety of rectangular word squares with Hebrew letters are depicted. An extensive table of contents can be found at the end of the manuscript (i. 226–234). Most pages of the manuscript are equipped with a broad margin, where commentaries, biblical references, and, in some cases, Hebrew spellings of *voces magicae* are provided.

No. 7

I. *Alberti Magni Negromantie, oder schwartzen Kunst-Buches erster Theil, welcher handelt von allen Zubereitungen, so bey der Operation vorkommen, und ohne dieses nicht kan exerciret werden*

Complete title of manuscript: *Alberti Magni NEGROMANTIA oder Schwarzen Kunstbuches erster Theil. Welcher handelt von alle Zubereitungen, so bey der Operation vorkom(m)en, und ohne dieses nicht kan exerciret werden* [UL: CM 2]

II. 49 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Albertus Magnus / Solomon

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with crossed reference “Num. 7”; the manuscript is part of a 2-volume text that includes entries No. 7 and No. 8

This is the first part of an abbreviated German version of the *Clavicula Salomonis*. There is still no scholarly edition of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, but an uncritical edition, based on several Latin, French and English manuscript versions can be found on the internet (see Peterson 2005). The version in CM 2 is divided into two books of 15 and 20 chapters, respectively; it provides no planetary circles (as other versions in the Leipzig collection do), but has a strong focus on caractères (called ‘Character’ in the text: see i. 11–14), which inhabit large parts of the second book (see below, entry No. 8 = CM 3). An image of the ritual circle is provided at the end of the first book (i. 96), and some of the prayers are kept in Latin. The version belongs, according to Robert Mathiesen’s typologization of the *Clavicula Salomonis* genre, to group [OT1] (see Mathiesen 2007, 4).

No. 8

I. *Alberti Magni schwartzen Kunst - Buches anderer Theil welcher handelt von würcklicher Stellung der Geister auch nur bloss durch Lesung*

Complete title of manuscript: *Alberti Magni NEGROMANTIÆ, oder Schwarzen Kunstbuches anderer Theil. Welcher handelt von würcklicher Stellung der Geister, auch nur bloß durch Lesung* [UL: CM 3]

II. 28 leaves (4°)

IV. Albertus Magnus / Solomon

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Volume 2 of catalogue's No. 7.; Manuscript title with reference "Num. 8"

This is the second part (i.e., the second book) of the *Clavicula Salomonis* version mentioned in the previous entry.

No. 9

I. *Joh. Wable eines Venetianers hinterlassene Nachrichten von denen Gold-Gruben und Schätzen, Schlesiens, Vogtlandes und anderer Gegenden Teutschlanden, wo solche zu finden und anzutreffen*

Complete title of manuscript: *JOHANNIS WAHLE eines Venetianers und anderer. Altæ Urkunden und Nachrichten, Wo hin und wieder in Römischen Reiche, Gold= und Silber=Ertze, Goldkörner, Wäschwerck, Seiffen Werck. etc. zu finden seyen sollen* [UL: CM 8]

II. 104 leaves (4°)

IV. Johannes Wähle

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "Num. 9"

CM 8 is devoted to the practice of 'treasure hunting' in German-speaking regions. There are numerous earlier (Arabic, Latin, English) texts of the 'treasure hunting' genre which, however, provide information on different geographical regions. The text catalogues hundreds of German treasure sites, devoid of any geographical or logical order. While the bulk of the text provides information on directions and locations, there are only a few short ritual recipes, which focus on alchemy and/or astrology (see, e.g., i. 140f). As these are mostly based on the manipulation of material artefacts and do not display conjuration techniques, the text deviates from most other 'treasure hunting' manuscripts in the Leipzig collection, where 'conjuring spirits' plays a pivotal role. One of the earliest Latin witnesses of the 'treasure hunting' genre can be found in the afore-mentioned Ms. Munich Clm 849 (ed. Kieckhefer 1998, see

foremost No. 34 = pp. 291ff; see also Klaassen 1998, 21–4). An English manual from the seventeenth century (based on Ms. Sloane 3824) has been uncritically edited in Rankine 2009. See on the early modern ‘treasure hunting’ business Dillinger 2011.

No. 10

I. *Clavis Claviculae Salomonis s. Philosophiæ Pneumatica*

Complete title of manuscript: *CLAVIS Claviculae Salomonis seu Philosophiæ Pneumatica* [UL: CM 68]

II. 21 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 10”

CM 68 host a scribal copy of a previously printed text entitled *Claviculae Salomonis, seu Philosophia Pneumatica, Das ist: Heptameron Der Magischen Elementen Petri de Abano Philosophi* (ca. 1700: Andreas Luppius?). It is thus an amalgamation of an abbreviated German version of the Latin *Heptameron* (first publ. 1576) enriched with material from the Luppius-printing *Arbatel De Magia Veterum* (1686; see for a digitized version: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-ubr06638-2>; last access March 6, 2017). There is a facsimile edition of this text (Bilfinger 1971) and the only surviving copy of the original print-run is today hosted in the Karlsruher Institut für Technologie (Ms. I A 12). The manuscript provides drawings of two ritual circles, alongside a short Latin prayer (i. 42–3).

No. 11

I. *Almodel Salomonis von den 12. Chören der Engel in den überhimmlischen Wassern*

Complete title of manuscript: *ALMODEL SALAMONIS von den XII Chören der Engel in den Überhim(m)lischen Wäßern Gen: 1. Gott scheidet das Waßer unter der Vesten von den Waßer über der Vesten* [UL: CM 60]

II. 30 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 11”

This is a German translation of a late medieval ritual text that had been translated from Arabic into Latin as *Almandal* around the year 1230 (see Pingree 1994). It outlines the fabrication of a portable altar and various recipes for ‘conjuring spirits’ (the image of the altar can be found on i. 26); see on the Arabic-Latin translation the critical edition Véronèse 2012; for some substantial changes in German translations which were often entitled, as in the case of CM 60, *Almadel* or *Almodel Salomonis*, see Veenstra 2002 (on the crucial shift from demonology to angelology see Otto 2016, 210, footnote 231). The Latin title *Almandal* refers to Arabic ‘al-mandal’, which in turn reflects the Sanskrit term ‘mandala’, thus meaning ‘circle’. CM 60 includes numerous Latin commentaries in its margins.

No. 12

I. *Praxis Cabalistica Astronomiæ aureæ solaris vel supernaturalis i.e. die göldene Wunder-Kunst aller Heiligen, oder der göldene Schlüssel die himmlische Portas oder Fenster des Himmels zu eröffnen, item wie die Blumen des Paradieses und die Frucht des güldenen Baumes zu brechen*

Complete title of manuscript: *Praxis Cabalistica Astronomiæ aureæ solaris vel supernaturalis. Die güldene Wunder Kunst aller Heiligen oder. Der güldene Schlüssel die him(m)l. Portas oder Fenster des Himels zu eröffnen. Item wie die Blumen des Paradieses, und die Früchte des güldenen Baumes zu brechen* [UL: CM 70]

II. 44 leaves (4°)

V. Latin/German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 12”

This text, written half in Latin, half in German (the text shifts into German on i. 46), describes a set of prayers and ritual techniques that aim at ascending through the seven heavens in order to achieve divine union and acquire miraculous abilities. Due to the absence of ‘Solomonic’ narrative and ritual patterns and its rather pious character, the text seems to reflect discourses on Christian ‘kabbalah’, pre-nineteenth century ‘theosophy’, or Rosicrucianism. Ritual procedures for ascending through the heavens can already be found in late ancient Coptic manuscripts (see, exemplarily, Meyer/Smith 1994, No. 39 = pp. 66–70). There is one further manuscript in the Leipzig collection that outlines such techniques: see entry No. 23 (CM 69).

No. 13

I. *Speculum Salomonis, sive Sphæra universæ Sapientia & Scientia*

Complete title of manuscript: *SPECULUM SALAMONIS sive SPHÆRA VNIVERSÆ SAPIENTIÆ ET SCIENTIÆ* [UL: CM 78]

II. 24 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 13”

This text provides a manual for fabricating a divinatory mirror; various short descriptions of how to create such mirrors can already be found in the afore-mentioned Ms. Munich Clm 849 (see Kieckhefer 1998, No. 18 & 19 = pp. 236–38), which may be historically related to the Leipzig version, as both refer to the spirit ‘floron’. The manuscript provides numerous drawings of the mirror and its necessary inscriptions (e.g., i. 17, 19, 21–3, etc.), and a Latin commentator has provided alternative caractères in the margins of some pages.

No. 14

I. *Liber Razielis Angeli, Adamo pænitenti post lapsum a Deo missus, per quem possit intelligere, scire & agnoscere omnia mirabilia quæ facta sunt & fuerunt, & sunt facienda, item omnes Potestates quæ sunt in cælis & terris aquis, abyssis, item cælos corumque angelos ministros & virtutes*

Complete title of manuscript: *LIBER RAZIELIS ANGELI Adamo pænitenti post lapsum a DEO missus Per quem possit intelligere, scire et cognoscere omnia mirabilia, quæ facta sunt et fuerunt, et sunt facienda, it. omnes Potestates quæ sunt in cælis et terris, aquis, abyssis. it. cælos corumq(ue) Angelos, ministros et virtutes etc.* [UL: CM 40]

II. 69 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Raziel

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 14”

This is a Latin version of one of the oldest Jewish texts of ‘learned magic’, the *Sepher ha-Razim* (dating varies between the second and eighth century CE). The *Sepher ha-Razim* had been translated from a Hebrew (and/or Latin) template into Old Castilian in Toledo in 1259,

and at that time embedded within the seven-volume compendium *Liber Razielis* (a complete fifteenth century copy survives in Ms. Halle 14 B 36, fols. 5r–130v). However, Latin and vernacular versions of the *Sepher ha-Razim* have often been transmitted independently as *Sefer Rasiel* or *Liber Razielis*. In the original Hebrew version, over 700 angels are assigned to the seven heavens, alongside numerous recipes for their ritual instrumentalization; see for an edition of the Hebrew text (together with a German translation and a Latin manuscript transcript) Rebiger/Schäfer 2009.

No. 15

I. *Semiphoras & Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis*

Complete title of manuscript: *SEMIPHORAS und SCHEMHAMPHORAS. SALAMONIS REGIS* [UL: CM 79]

II. 43 leaves (4°)

IV. Solomon

V. Latin/German (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title without reference of the catalogue number

This text speculates on the ‘name of God’, which is in Hebrew sometimes called *Shemhamphorasch* (Hebr. *ha-Shem ha-m'fōrāsh*: ‘the complete / real name of God’). One of the earliest European texts that attests this motif is the late medieval ritual text *Liber Iuratus Honorii* (see above, entry No. 2 = CM16), where the *Shemhamphorasch* appears in a circular sigil as a sequence of 72 Hebrew characters (see Hedegård 2002, 131). CM 79 hosts a scribal copy of a text that was printed under the same title in 1686 by Andreas Luppius in Wesel (see VD17 32:682570C). It discusses different versions of the *Shemhamphorasch* (here interpreted as groups of angel names—the text is replete with voces magicae), which have accumulated over the centuries; a short survey of the text can be found in Veenstra 2012, 169–70.

No. 16

I. *Rehencatrici totius Indiae Regis Apollonii discipuli Ars Cabalistica Sacrae Philosophiae*

Complete title of manuscript: *REHENCATRICI, Totius Indiae Regis APOLLONII DSCIPULI, ARS CABALISTICA, SACRÆ PHILOOPHIÆ* [UL: CM 19]

II. 72 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Apollonius of Tyana / Solomon

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “N. 16”

This is a Latin version of the *Clavicula Salomonis* ascribed to ‘Behencatrus’ (or ‘Rehencatricus’), an alleged pupil of the ancient ‘sage’ Apollonius of Tyana. Parts of the manuscript may be related to a Latin template entitled *Liber Behencasin*, which had already been mentioned by Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) in his *Antipalus Maleficiorum* (composed around 1508, first publ. 1555; for an edition of this early modern list of ‘learned magic’ books see Zambelli 2007, 101–112: the *liber Behencasin* is mentioned on p. 109) and which had already provided sigils ascribed to the seven planets (a Latin text entitled *Behencatri viri sapientis et regis in India* can be found in Ms. Gent university library 1021 A, fol. 59v–62r). Due to its focus on planetary sigils, CM 19 differs from the *Clavicula Salomonis* version in the above entries No. 7 and 8 (CM 2 and 3). In Mathiesen’s typologization of the *Clavicula Salomonis* genre (Mathiesen 2007), it thus belongs to the [OT2] text group, even though it is divided into three books entitled “De Instrumentis Invisibilibus” (i. 9f), “De Visibilibus Instrument [sic!]” (i. 42f), and “De Invocationibus Spirituum sive de praxi totius operis” (i. 103f). Apart from numerous planetary sigils, the manuscript provides drawings of the ritual circle (i. 123) and ritual devices such as knives, staffs, and swords (i. 125–26). Further manuscripts of the Leipzig collection that depict planetary sigils are entries Nos. 29 (CM 72), 54 (CM 4), 55 (CM 5), 69 (CM 39), 70 (CM 93), 71 (CM 94), 72 (CM 38), and 73 (CM 92).

No. 17

I. *Clavicula Salomonis Filii David Latina*

Complete title of manuscript: *CLAVICULA SALOMONIS FILII DAVID* [UL: CM 85]

II. 30 leaves (4°)

IV. Solomon

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 17”

This version of the *Clavicula Salomonis* corresponds to a similar version in Ms. Duveen 388 (University of Wisconsin-Madison, Memorial Library), which has been uncritically edited in Peterson 2010. CM 85 thus hosts a scribal copy of the first printed edition of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, which had been published around 1700 under the title

Clavicula Salomonis Filii David Latina, presumably by Andreas Luppianus in Wesel. The manuscript includes no drawings, only a set of caractères (i. 50), and a table of contents is provided at the end of the text (i. 63–64). Following Mathiesen’s typologization (Mathiesen 2007), it belongs to the [OT1] text group.

No. 18

I. *Schemhamphoras Jacobi*

Complete title of manuscript: *SCHEMHAMPHORAS JACOB* [UL: CM 59]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

IV. Jacob

V. German

VII. Inner sleeve of first leave with reference “Num. 18”

CM 59 provides a table with 72 angel names assigned to German psalms, based on the Latin list in Johannes Reuchlin’s *De verbo mirifico* (first publ. 1494). Reuchlin seems to have been the first Latin author to draw a connection between psalms and angel names and has already referred to the list as ‘Jacob’s ladder’, a formulation which is picked up in this manuscript’s title as well as a prayer at the end of the text (i. 12); the angel names are derived from Exodus 14, 19–21 (see Schmidt-Biggemann 2012 [Vol. 1: *15. und 16. Jahrhundert*], 155).

No. 19

I. *Geomantia Psalorum, i.e. ein schön Cabalistisches und Geomantisches Kunst-Stück mit 3. Würffeln aus etlichen Psalmen Davids colligiret, durch welches man allerhand zukünftige Dinge so man zu wissen begehret gar natürlicher Weise erforschen und erfahren kan*

Complete title of manuscript: *GEOMANTIA PSALMORUM Ein schön Cabalistisches und Geomantisches Kunst=Stück mit 3. würffeln und etlichen Psalmen. Davids colligiret durch welches man allerhand zukünftige dinge so man zu wissen begehert, gar natürlicher weise erforschen, und erfahren kann.* Ψ. 199. No. 24. *deine zeugnüße sind meiner Raths Ernthe* [UL: CM 87]

II. 10 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. David

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 19”

This text outlines a divinatory technique based on 54 German psalms, three dice and a ‘tabulam mundam’ (depicted on i. 21); while the psalms are written in German, the instructions are given in Latin (i. 21–22).

No. 20

I. *Gebete und Antwort die Wahrheit von Gott zu erlangen, durch unterschiedene Loß, aus dem Buche der Heimlichkeit genommen*

Complete title of manuscript: תִּשְׁרֵת [yitšaret] *Meine Zeit stehet in der Handt des Herren. Ψ. 31. v 16. Gebethe und Antwort, die Wahrheit von Gott zuerlangen, durch sonderliche unterschiedene Loß aus dem Buche der Heimlichkeit, welches mit seiner hand geschrieben genommen. H. R. M. D. [UL: CM 89]*

II. 23 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Hebrew (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 20”

This text provides a divinatory technique based on prayers, dice, and ‘lots’ (pre-formulated answers). After some initial prayers and preparations, the rules of the divinatory technique are outlined in four steps (i. 17–24). Thereafter follow a large number of pre-formulated answers, whose numbering partly resembles that in the above entry No. 19 (CM 87). The text provides a lengthy apology and justification of the technique, thereby referring to Augustine of Hippo (i. 37–8) who is indeed known to have engaged in Bibliomancy. The ‘Buche der Heimlichkeit’ mentioned in the title may refer to one of the many early modern versions of the *Liber Secretorum* or *Secretum Secretorum* (see Forster 2006).

No. 21

I. *Geniosophia i. e. Tr. magico theosophicus dass einem sein Engel erscheine, und verborgene Dinge offenbare und lehre*

Complete title of manuscript: GENIO=SOPHIA i. e. *Tractatus Magico=Theosophicus Daß Einen sein Engel erscheine und verborgene dinge offenbare und lehre, colligiret von einen, deßen Symbolum Alles mit meinem Engel* [UL: CM 53]

II. 10 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 21”

This text outlines a series of prayers for acquiring one's personal angel or 'familiar spirit' (here called 'guter genius': see i. 8) which may facilitate one's life with its divinatory and miraculous abilities. While the introduction to the ritual is in German, the ritual prescriptions, including a set of angelic prayers (beginning on i. 11), are written in Latin. We are not aware of a Latin template bearing the title *Geniosophia*, but Latin texts aiming at acquiring a 'familiar spirit' can be found as early as the mid-thirteenth century (see Page 2007 and 2011).

No. 22

I. *Historia Nature & Genesis cum Antrophia, i. e. Natur-Bibel und Natur-Postilla*

Complete title of manuscript: *HISTORIA NATURÆ et Genesis cum Antrophia i. e. NATUR BIBEL und NATUR Postilla* [UL: CM 84]

II. 36 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "Num. 22"

This text, apparently a German translation of an unknown Latin template, first outlines the creation and inherent structure of the world in 78 short paragraphs and thereby makes use of technical terminology from alchemic and kabbalistic discourses. Thereafter follow a hundred-some (3x3) tables of correspondences which display all sorts of numbers, letters, signs, voces magicæ, geomantic constellations, names, herbs, theological concepts or biblical phrases. These tables may have been used for divinatory purposes, even though rules of their application are not to be found in the text.

No. 23

I. *Magia Naturalis, wie solche nach Influenz der Sterne zu practiciren*

Complete title of manuscript: *Magia Naturalis wie solche nach Influentz der Sterne zu practicieren* [UL: CM 69]

II. 27 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "Num. 23"

'Magia naturalis', as outlined in our introduction, meant many different things in early modern Europe. The foreword of CM 69 suggests, in fact, a broad understanding of the category, covering, among other arts, astrology, angelology, kabbalah, and 'conjuring spirits' (Solomon is referred to

on i. 11). However, the text really outlines a ritual procedure for spiritual ascension towards God, or self-deification, whereby the practitioner achieves miraculous abilities and thus the full potential of ‘magia naturalis’. After an outline of some ritual prerequisites (e.g., i. 13: ‘one shall love and trust God wholeheartedly’; i. 15: ‘know thyself’—‘Erkenne Dich Selbst’) and an astrological table (i. 14), the text provides lengthy theological and/or theoretical explanations of the ascension procedure, wherein particular importance is ascribed to the name of Jesus Christ (i. 19–20). Only in its final part (i. 37f) do we encounter ritual prescriptions, among them lengthy pre-formulated prayers with voces magicae (some of them in Hebrew: i. 42, 44). Interestingly, the text identifies the Christian motif of ‘Jacob’s ladder’ (i. 41) with the ‘Gnostic’ or Neoplatonic motif of ascending through the ‘seven heavens’ (i.e., the planets: i. 38–40, 44–45). Two cryptic drawings (equipped with Hebrew letters) exemplify the procedure (i. 41, 54) and relate, it is claimed (i. 40), to John Dee’s *Monas Hieroglyphica* (first publ. 1564).

No. 24

I. *Der warhafftige und endliche Process, welcher Gestalt ein Spiegel soll zugerichtet werden, darinnen man durch Würckung dess Gestirns alles dasjenige mag sehen, was der Mensch, auf welchen solcher gerichtet wird, zu wissen begehret, und unter den Horizont, da er gemacht, geschehen ist.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Der wahrhafte u. endl. Process welcher Gestalt ein Spiegel soll zugerichtet werden, darinnen man durch würckung des Gestirns, alles dasjenigen sehen mag, waß der Mensch auf welchen solcher gerichtet wird zu wissen begehret, und unter den Horizonte da er gemacht, geschehen ist.* [UL: CM 90]

II. 8 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 24”

CM 90 outlines a procedure for fabricating a divinatory mirror. The recipe makes frequent use of technical terminology from astrological and alchemical discourse and resembles the recipe in entry No. 13 (CM 78), but is much less elaborated.

No. 25

I. *Vera atque brevis descriptio Virgulae Mercurialis, eamque modus præparandi, pro ut eam invenit, atque ejus ministerio multos thesauros detegit. R. P. Bernhardus J. S. Ord. S. Francisci. Prag. 1532*

Complete title of manuscript: *Vera atq̄ brevis Descriptio Virgulae Mercurialis, eamq̄(ue) modus preparandi, pro ut eam invenit atq̄(ue) ejus ministerio multos thesauros detegit R. P. Bernhardus J. S. Ord. S. Francisci. Praga 1532* [UL: CM 91]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. R. P. Bernhardus

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 25”

This short recipe for fabricating a divining rod, here called ‘*Virgula Mercurialis*’, is ascribed to a Franciscan named R. P. Bernhardus (?). The manual includes a short conjuration of the seven planetary spirits and provides their names and caractères (i. 9), including a drawing of the rod (i. 10).

No. 26

I. *Arcanum von Besprechung der guten Geister aus denen Schrifften Sophnat Paneach extrahiret und verteutschet, nebst einer Vorrede und Capitel von der Virgula Mercuriali*

Complete title of manuscript: *ARCANUM Von Besprechung der guten Geister aus denen Schrifften SOPHNAT PAANEACH extrahiret und verteutschet von Chacham Elabuth Nebst einer feinen Vorrede des Übersetzers und Einen Capitre von der Virgula Mercuriali etc.* [UL: CM 54]

II. 16 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Josef

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 26”

This text claims, in its lengthy ‘*praefatio*’ (i. 5–8), to be translated from a (Latin?) template with the title *Sophnat Paaneach*, which refers, in Latin spelling, to the Hebrew title given to Josef by the Egyptian pharao in *Genesis* 41, 45. During the late eighteenth century, *Sophnat Paaneach* also functioned as the designation of the seventh initiatory grade of a German Freemason order named “Afrikanische Bauherren” (see Runkel 1931 [vol. 2], 72). CM 54 is divided into three parts, whereby the first two outline a procedure for conjuring seven planetary spirits (their names are given on i. 18, with variations on i. 19), and the third chapter provides instructions for fabricating a divining rod (‘*Virgulae Mercurialis*’: drawing on i. 29), two circular sigils (i. 30, 31), and a

divinatory mirror (drawing on i. 34). All chapter headings and most technical terms are written in Latin.

No. 27

I. *Wahrhafftige Zubereitung des so genannten Cinguli Salomonis oder Salomonischen Schlange, nebst darzugehörigen Sigillen und Ringen, welche man zu allen Beschwerden der Schätze und wieder alle böse Geister als ein Schirm gebrauchen kan*

Complete title of manuscript: *Wahrhafftige Zubereitung des so genannten Cinguli Salomonis oder Salomonischen Schlange. Nebst darzugehörigen Sigillen und Ringen welche wir zu allen Beschwerden der Schätze, und wieder alle böse Geister als ein Schirm gebraucht haben.* [UL: CM 133]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 27”

CM 133 outlines the fabrication of ritual cloth, namely, of a ‘Solomonic’ belt (‘cingulum Salomonis’), three sigils, and a ring. This outfit, it is claimed, protects during the art of ‘conjuring spirits’ and moreover helps in acquiring love and friendship. The text provides drawings of the belt inscribed with caractères and a snake (i. 9), of the sigils (i. 10–13) and the ring (i. 13), whereby the first two sigils are to be attached to the belt with a red thread, and the other two sigils are to be worn on the chest, while the ring is to be carried on the right thumb (see i. 8). Such belts were apparently used in Freemason milieus of the eighteenth century (see for instance the family archive Harrach, signature *AT-OeStA/AVA FA Harrach, Karton V 10*; cf. Seitschek 2012).

No. 28

I. *Beschreibung des von denen 7. Meistern und Philosophis entsponnenen Globi oder verborgenen Finde oder Kugelwercks, wie dasselbe soll gemacht werden*

Complete title of manuscript: *Beschreibung des Von denen Sieben Meistern u. Philosophis entsponnen Globi oder verborgenen Finde oder Kugelwercks wie daßelbe soll gemacht werden* [UL: CM 56]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 28”

This text outlines the fabrication of a powerful ‘Globi philosophia occulta’ (i. 9), a spherical amulet inscribed with a complex sigil (images on i. 14), which may be used for at least 10 different purposes, among them divination, protection, and invisibility (see i. 7–8). The introductory narrative ascribes said ‘Kugelwerck’ to Alexander the Great who had benefited from its powers during his conquest of Persia. The text seems to be translated from a Latin template, as some technical terminology and conjuration formulae are kept in Latin.

No. 29

I. *Alberti M. Tr. von den 12. himmlischen Zeichen und ihren Sigillis, item von den 12. himmlischen Zeichen und ihren Characteribus, und denn von den 7. Planeten, ihren magischen Ringen samt ihren grossen Heimlichkeiten, Kräfften, Tugenden und Nutzen, und letztlich von denen Speculis magicis mit zugehörigen Instrumenten und Sigillen nebst dessen hohen Gebrauch.*

Complete title of manuscript: *ALBERTI MAGNI Tractatus Von den 12. him(m)lischen zeichen, und ihren Sigillis Von den 12. himlischen zeichen u. ihren Characteribus und den Von den 7. Planeten ihren Magischen Ringen samt Ihren großen Heimlichkeiten, Kräften Tugenden und Nutzen letztlich Von denen Speculis magicis mit zugehörigen Instrumenten und Sigillen nebst deßen hohen Gebrauch Omnia ad Laudem Dei* [UL: CM 72]

II. 23 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Albertus Magnus

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 29”

CM 72 is all about planetary sigils, rings, and mirrors. Johannes Trithemius in his *Antipalus Maleficiorum* (see above, entry No. 16 = CM 19) had already mentioned a number of Latin texts devoted to zodiacal or planetary sigils ascribed to Hermes (Trismegistus), Appolonius of Tyana, Ptolemy, Geber (Jābir ibn Hayyān), or Arnaldus de Villanova. The origin of this genre is thus most likely Arabic. This Germanized version is divided into four chapters and first provides 24 neatly drawn circular sigils inscribed with caractères, pentagrams, and voces magicae—two for each of the 12 zodiacal signs (i. 8–19). Thereafter follow drawings of twelve ‘himmlische Zeichen’ (‘heavenly signs’), which are replete with caractères and accompanied by short ritual prescriptions

(i. 20–22). The text also outlines the fabrication of seven planetary rings (i. 23–29), which may be used for all sorts of purposes (such as dispelling bad spirits—the Saturn ring—, or becoming invincible—the Mars ring) and describes their consecration, which is done via lengthy prayers uttered in a ritual circle (drawing on i. 34). A fourth and last chapter is devoted to the fabrication of two divinatory mirrors, a ‘male’ and a ‘female’ one, which are to be inscribed with two sophisticated sigils (see i. 44, 46).

No. 30

I. *Magia Amatoriaz i.e. natürliche und übernatürliche Geheimnisse und Experimente die Liebe zu erwecken.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA AMATORIA, das ist Natürliche und übernatürliche Geheimnisse und Experimente die Liebe zu erwecken* [UL: CM 135]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 30”

The following seven entries (Nos. 30–36) correspond with regard to handwriting, structure and argumentation (all are inspired by a threefold differentiation of ‘magia naturalis’, ‘magia supernaturalis’, and ‘magia diabolica’—which could be derived from Paracelsus). CM 135 provides recipes for ‘Liebe und Freundschaft’ (‘love and friendship’: i. 5) and seems to have been translated from a Latin template. Due to its differentiation of ‘magia naturalis’, ‘magia supernaturalis’, and ‘magia diabolica’, the text is divided into three chapters. The difference between these three categories is that the first set of ‘experiments’ is based on the manipulation of herbs and other material artefacts, whereas the second and the third sets are based on prayers to angels and demons, respectively (the latter include ‘Beelzebub’: i. 15).

No. 31

I. *Pallium magicum i.e. experimente sich unsichtbar zu machen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA INVISIBILItatis. i. e. Geheimnisse sich unsichtbar zu machen.* [UL: CM 131]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 31”

This text outlines various ‘Geheimnüsse sich unsichtbar zu Machen’, i.e. procedures for becoming invisible. Similar to the above entry, it is divided into three sections and provides recipes based on ‘natural’, ‘supernatural’, and ‘diabolic magic’; accordingly, the procedures in the first section work by manipulating material artefacts (e.g., take an egg laid on Holy Thursday and bury it in dung for nine days; after excavating it you will find a stone which, worn on the body, grants you invisibility: i. 6), while the second section works through a prayer to ‘Adonai Jah Zebaoth’ (i. 10), and the third through invoking ‘Beelzebub’ in the name of Jesus Christ (i. 11).

No. 32

I. *Magia Venatoria i. e. Geheimnüsse der Jeger, gewiß zu schiessen, item einem einen Weydemann zu machen, solchen wiederum zu helfen, gewisse freye Schüsse zu haben, das Wild zu bannen, nebst unterschiedenen andern Geheimnissen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA VENATORIA das ist Geheimnüsse der Jäger, gewiß zu schießen, it. einen weydeman zu machen, solchen wiederumb zu helfen, gewisse frey Schüsse zu haben, das wild zu bannen etc.* [UL: CM 132]

II. 18 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 32”

This text outlines 17 ‘Geheimnüsse der Jäger’ in total, i.e. recipes for success during hunting. Similar to the above two texts, it provides recipes based on ‘natural’, ‘supernatural’, and ‘diabolic magic’ for most chapters, which promise great hunting advantages such as shooting with guaranteed accuracy (ch. 1), shooting with a pistol from a distance of 150 feet (ch. 9), shooting without the necessity of standing still (ch. 11), or capturing a rabbit which is difficult to catch (ch. 14). German hunters of the early eighteenth century who didn’t want to resort to ‘learned magic’ might have consulted Hans Friedrich Wilhelm von Fleming’s much more voluminous (700–page) *Der Vollkommene Teutsche Jäger* (1719) with its state-of-the-art hunting knowledge.

No. 33

I. *Magia militaris i.e. natürliche und übernatürliche Geheimnüsse sich feste zu machen, die rechte Passauer Kunst, feste wiederum aufzuthun, Reuter ins Feld zu machen, Kugeln abzuweisen, Stücke zu versagen, daß*

wenn du mit deiner Klinge deines Gegners anrührest, solche muß zuspringen, nebst unterschiedenen Cabalistischen Geheimnüssen vor alle Feinde, eine belagerte Stadt vor seinen Feinden zu beschützen, daß er solche nicht kan bestürmen noch einnehmen, seine Feinde in der Schlacht zu überwinden, daß ein Kriegs-Heer sich in die Flucht zertrenne, eine belagerte Stadt zu infortuniren, &c.

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA MILITARIS. das ist Natürliche und übernatürlichE Geheimnüsse sich feste zu machen, die rechte Passauer Kunst; feste wieder auf zuthun, Reuter ins Feld zu machen, Kugeln abzuweisen, Stücke zu versagen, daß wenn du mit deiner Klinge deines Gegners anrührest, solche muß zuspringen nebst unterschiedenen Cabbalistischen Geheimnüssen, vor alle Feinde, eine belagerte Stadt vor seinen Feinden zu beschützen, daß er solche nicht kan bestürmen noch einnehmen, seine Feinde in der Slacht Schlacht zu überwinden, daß ein Krieges Heer sich in die Flucht zertrenne, eine belagerte Stadt zu infortuniren.* [UL: CM 134]

II. 12 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 33”

This text provides ‘Natürliche und übernatürliche Geheimnüsse sich feste zu machen’, i.e. it outlines ritual procedures for becoming invulnerable, alongside further recipes for military purposes. It is divided into seven ‘tracts’ (the last tract on ‘different cabalistic experiments’ is sub-divided into a further six chapters), and provides different ‘natural’ and ‘supernatural’ recipes in most chapters. While the focus of the text lies on ‘Festmachen’ and also the ‘Festgemachte wieder aufzuthun’ (i.e. becoming vulnerable again: i. 14), there are also recipes for fabricating a ‘Thephrasti magical sword’ that dispels all enemies (i. 19), overcoming one’s enemies, or conquering a city. A contemporaneous German designation for such practices was ‘Passauer Kunst’ since Johannes Staricius’ *Helden-Schatz* (first publ. 1615), a widely read collection of ritual recipes for military purposes that could be seen as a side-product of the early modern discourse on ‘magia naturalis’. Interestingly, CM 134 provides images of apotropaic sigils which are mentioned but missing in Staricius’ *Helden-Schatz* and which, worn on the body, provide immunity against gunshot wounds (see i. 12 and 13). Similar recipes for military purposes can be found in entries No. 103 (CM 119) and 127 (CM 125).

No. 34

I. *Magia Odii i. e. Gheimnüsse unter 2. liebenden Personen Feindschaft zu erwecken, item unterschiedene Secreta daß einem die Feinde nicht schaden können, item Feinde wie sie zu erkennen, und wie solche magischer Weise zu lediren.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA ODII i. e. Geheimnüsse unter 2. liebenden Personen Feindschaft zu erwecken.* [UL: CM 99]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 34”

This text is divided into two parts and provides, in a first section, recipes for evoking hatred among two persons based on ‘magia naturalis’. The second section deals with ‘remediis odii’—i.e., remedies against hatred—, inspired by ‘magia naturalis’ and ‘magia divina’. There are no recipes based on ‘magia diabolica’ in this text. It begins with a personal foreword where the ‘kind reader’ (i. 5) is informed that the ‘previous tract’ has addressed love (the author most likely refers to the above entry No. 30 = CM 135), thus indicating a presumed original order of this group of texts.

No. 35

I. *Magia Captivorum i. e. Geheimnüsse Gefangene zu erledigen*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA CAPTIVORUM i. e. Geheimnüsse Gefangene zu erledigen* [UL: CM 98]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 35”

This text differs in hand-writing and narrative structure from the above five tracts, but seems nonetheless related. It provides a few simple recipes for freeing prisoners, e.g., by ritually unlocking their handcuffs, chains or doors. In the light of the above distinction between ‘magia naturalis’ and ‘magia divina’, all recipes in this text seem to be devoted to ‘magia divina’ due to their use of caractères, angel names and further voces magicae (including Latin prayers). The last page provides, in a different hand-writing, a recipe for freeing a prisoner inspired ‘ex magia naturali’ (i. 9).

No. 36

I. *Magia claustra aperiendi i.e. Etliche Experimenta Schlæsser aufzumachen*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA CLAUSTR APERIENDI i. e. Etliche Experimenta Schlösser aufzumachen* [UL: CM 88]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 36”

After a short note on the astrological timeframe for the ritual (i. 4), this ‘tractatus’ provides recipes for opening locks (‘Schlösser aufzumachen’). Even though the text seems to belong to the above group of tracts, there is no distinction applied between ‘magia naturalis’ and ‘magia divina’, and the recipes seem to apply a rather unsystematic mixture of techniques, which focus on the manipulation of ritual artefacts, but also include voces magicae and caractères.

No. 37

I. *Salomonis Filii David Beschvverungen der Olympischen Geister.*

Complete title of manuscript: *SALOMONIS Filii David Beschwerden der Olympischen Geister.* [UL: CM 55]

II. 9 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. German/Latin (title), German/Latin/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 37”

This is an abbreviated German translation of the text *Arbatel de magia veterum*, which was first published in Latin in 1575 by Peter Berna (in Basel). CM 55 is most likely derived from the first printed German *Arbatel* version that had been published by Andreas Luppius in 1686 (see entry No. 10 = CM 68). It provides an annotated list of the names and properties of seven ‘Olympic spiritis’, here called ‘ARATRON’, ‘BETHOR’, ‘PHALEG’, ‘OCH’, ‘HAGITH’, ‘GABIEL’, and ‘PHUL’ (i. 5–9), as well as pre-formulated prayers (which include Latin and Hebrew passages) and a large sigil (two-page drawing on i. 18–19) for their conjuration. For an uncritical edition of the full *Arbatel* (namely, of the English translation provided by Robert Turner as an appendix to his 1655 edition of the alleged fourth book of Agrippa of Nettesheim’s *De occulta philosophia*) see Peterson 2009.

No. 38

I. *Wahrer Proceß einen dienstbaren Geist in Glase und Ringe einzuschliessen.*
 Complete title of manuscript: *Wahrer Process Den dienstbaren Geist in Glase und Ringe einzuschließen, wie ein Priester zu Grätz practiciret* [UL: CM 86]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 38”

This treatise outlines a ritual procedure for ‘enclosing’ (‘einschließen’) a spirit into a glass or a ring. It first outlines the preparation of a golden or silver ring (drawing on i. 6), and a glass or glass bottle (drawings on i. 7 and 8), each inscribed with caractères and the names of archangels. The procedure is to take place on the evening of the third day of Pentecost in a quiet and secret location, and works by means of prayers, fumigations, consecrations, a ritual circle drawn to the ground and on paper or parchment (drawing on i. 13), and, finally, a short conjuration of the ‘masters of all spirits Astharot, Beelzebub, Sathan and Lucifer’ (i. 11). Interestingly, the text here refers to stronger conjurations taken from the ‘large Clavicula Salomonis’ (i. 12) in case the spirits do not obey and appear. If they do, they will deliver another spirit which may be incarcerated into the glass or ring by means of the same conjuration formula. The glass or ring is to be sealed with a ‘cap’ (‘Deckel’: i. 12) and the encapsulated spirit will report ‘all past, present and future things’ (i. 13). The Leipzig collection hosts another three texts that outline techniques for imprisoning spirits (compare entries No. 65 [CM 116], 88 [CM 105] and 99 [CM 121]).

No. 39

I. *Die Teufels-Peitsche i. e. mächtige und krefftige Beschvverungen die bösen Geister aus denbesessenen Menschen zu vertreiben, von den Schätzen zu verjagen, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Die Teufels Peitsche daß ist Mächtige und Kräftige Beschwerden, die bösen Geister aus denen beseßenen, Menschen zu vertreiben, von den Schätzen zu verjagen, und die Unheimlichen Örter von ihnen zu befreien, auch dieselben an einen gewissen Orth auf eine gewiße Zeit zu bannen.* [UL: CM 7]

II. 79 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Girolamo Menghi (?)

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 39”

This is a German translation of one of the many exorcist manuals that circulated in early modern Europe. Its title ‘Teufelspeitsche’ seems to resemble the (Latin) works of the Franciscan monk Girolamo Menghi (1529–1609), foremost his *Flagellum Daemonum* (first publ. 1576, Bologna; also Frankfurt 1706) and his *Fustis Daemonum* (first publ. Bologna 1584, also Frankfurt 1708) which circulated all over Europe (see Probst 2008). Of course, Menghi’s manuals were not only used for exorcistic rituals, but also for other purposes such as treasure hunting or curing impotency (Davies 2009, 59). Likely for these reasons, they were added to the papal Index in 1709, i.e. shortly before the sale of the Leipzig collection. In German speaking regions, the title ‘Teufelspeitsche’ was also used to denote amulets or leaves inscribed with Christian iconography and voces magicae, which were used for apotropaic or healing purposes (see Jacoby 1927/28).

As expected, the ‘exorcistic’ procedures outlined in CM 7 are more or less similar to those outlined in most ‘conjuring spirits’ texts of the Leipzig collection. Both text genres correspond with respect to ritual techniques—the *Teufelspeitsche* makes extensive use of pre-formulated prayers replete with voces magicae, or of fumigations and prescribed timeframes—and with regard to ritual goals—consider, for instance, the last recipe for summoning a spirit whenever the ‘exorcist deems that it is time to make use of it’ (i. 159); the text also provides numerous recipes for conjuring the four elements (earth, water, air, and fire). Apparently, early modern discourses on ‘exorcism’ and ‘learned magic’ were largely intertwined and produced very similar ritual texts; the same observation is made in the recent edition of an exorcistic manuscript from Munich (Chave-Mahir/Véronèse 2015).

No. 40

I. *Tr. de arte Phytonica*.

Complete title of manuscript: *TRACTATVS de ARTE PHYTONICA*. [UL: CM 97]

II. 5 leaves (4°)

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 40”

This treatise introduces the ‘phytonic’ art, which allows for knowing the future through invoking a spirit into a skull (‘phyton’ may refer to the Greek word ‘plant’, but plants or herbs play no decisive role in this ritual). The ritual includes numerous steps, such as fasting; preparing a dagger made of steel and the horn of a ram inscribed with the names of the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and going to remote running water and washing one’s body and clothes for three days in a row. Thereafter one takes a ‘dead head’ (i.e. the skull of someone ‘who has long died, and made clean of all flesh and filth’: i. 5), bathes it with holy water, inscribes—with the dagger—four voces magicæ onto the skull (i. 6/7: ‘Cortornifer, Forfornifer, Angerion, Cornigerion’), draws a ritual circle of nine cubits and utters a lengthy invocation to the four above-mentioned spirits. After the third or fourth repetition, the spirit(s) will enter the skull and ‘give an answer to everything’ (i. 8). Thereafter one is to release the spirit with another formula. The second half of the text does not provide an ‘explanation’ (i. 9: ‘Erklärung’), but indeed a different version of the same ritual with different voces magicæ.

No. 41

I. *Alberti Magni Cabala nigra, das ist: 8. grosser Welt Geister Beschvverung.*
Complete title of manuscript: *Alberti Magni CABALA NIGRA, daß ist Acht großer Welt Geister Beschwerungen, Nestorats zur Liebe, Paymon zur Unsichtbarkeit, Waran zum Schätzen, Oziel verborgene Dinge zu offenbahren, auch der Menschen Gedancken, Pergo alles Lebendige zu töden, Mephistophilis Weißheit und großen Verstand zu wege zu bringen, Rago alles zu vergifften, Megog Bäume, Blumen, und Kräuter, Vögel, Regen und Schnee zu wege zu bringen* [UL: CM 76]

II. 21 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Albertus Magnus

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 41”

This treatise addresses the ‘exorcist’ (i. 7 and passim) and outlines conjuration procedures for eight different spirits, which are responsible for eight different ritual goals (‘Nestorat’: love; ‘Paymon’: invisibility; ‘Waran’: treasure; ‘Oziel’: divination; ‘Pergo’: killing all things alive; ‘Mephistophilis’: wisdom and knowledge; ‘Rago’: poison; ‘Megog’: bringing about trees, flowers, herbs, birds, rain or snow). Each procedure works with prescribed timeframes, ritual circles, sigils inscribed with

caractères (drawings can be found on i. 13, 16, 19, 28–30, and 43), and, of course, lengthy conjurations (which are partly written in Latin).

No. 42

I. *Oxingium de citatione Spirituum*.

Complete title of manuscript: *Oxingium de Citatione Spirituum*. [UL: CM 75]

II. 23 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 42”

This treatise outlines a 29-step ‘conjuring spirits’ procedure for the purpose of treasure seeking. Interestingly, the 29 steps begin with a note concerning the relevance of the practitioner’s Christian denomination (i. 8: it does not matter whether the practitioner is Catholic, Protestant, or Calvinist, but he is to be pious and perform the Eucharist ‘right and well’). During the conjuration procedure—which includes the usual elements (astrological timeframes, bodily preparations, fumigations, ritual devices, invocations with voces magicae, and a ritual circle)—, a triangle plays a pivotal role. CM 75 provides drawings of the ritual circle (i. 48/49), and some of the prayers are written in Latin (e.g. i. 30–32). The text bears some similarities to other treasure seeking manuscripts in the Leipzig collection (entries No. 45 and 129 = CM 30 and 102), which all refer to ‘pigmies’ (see i. 13) that protect the hidden treasure.

No. 43

I. *Bischoff Albrechts Geister-Beschwörungen, 20. mächtige Geister zu citiren*.

Complete title of manuscript: *Des Bischoffs=Albrechts Geister=Beschwerden Zwantzig mächtige Geister zu citiren und zu beruffen, Schätze und anders mehr von ihnen zu überkommen*. [UL: CM 50]

II. 43 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Bishop Abrecht

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 43”

This treatise begins with 16 basic rules for ‘conjuring spirits’ (the main term used throughout the text is ‘exorcism’), then outlines the appropriate days and hours for the conjuration procedure, and provides a

drawing of the ritual circle (i. 15). Thereafter follows a detailed description of 20 spirits, their names and responsibilities, their sigils—which mainly consist of caractères—, further drawings of ritual circles (i. 26, 61, 77, 82) and a ritual knife (i. 54), and their conjuration and release formulae. The text was, in all likelihood, translated from Latin, given the Latin chapter headings and several untranslated prayer sections. Some of the 20 spirit names correspond to those mentioned in the above entry No. 41 (CM 76), such as ‘Azziel’ (i. 20), ‘Nestorat’ (i. 36), ‘Paymon’ (i. 38), or ‘Waran’ (i. 61).

No. 44

I. *Experimentum cum Spiritu Barone, zu bekommen vvas man verlanget.*

Complete title of manuscript: *CUM SPIRITU BARONE Experimentum zu bekommen was man verlanget. quo usus est Pastor quidam in Silesia.*

[UL: CM 96]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 44”

The title of this treatise corresponds to an Italian manuscript of the Leipzig collection (see entry No. 118 = CM 12), and even though both texts outline a procedure for conjuring the spirit ‘Baron’, their contents differ substantially. This treatise begins with a peculiar drawing of a curly-haired figure in a loincloth surrounded by caractères (i. 5), and thereafter provides a lengthy formula for conjuring ‘Baron’. Only at the end of the text we learn that this spirit will answer all questions, procure all desired things, and yield ‘harmony’ (‘Eintracht’: i. 9) between a man and a woman.

No. 45

I. *J. Fausti Praxis Cabalæ albæ & nigræ &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Praxis CABALÆ ALBÆ et Nigræ Johannis Fausti Magi Celeberrimi Solche praxin oder Kunst habe ich Christoph Wagner, nach meines Herrn Tode heraus geben wollen, alß meinen guten freunden in specie alß Thomas Wohlbalden, Thomas Hammern, Christoph Halligern, Casper Moiven, Johann Victore und Johann de Luna, und solch Geheimnis habe ich in Vertrauen, und Verschwiegenheit zu behalten, überschickt und verehren wollen, gedruckt zu Lion den 17. April: Anno 1511.*

[UL: CM 30]

II. 65 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust / Christoph Wagner

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 45”

With entry No. 45 begins a series of eight German treatises of ‘conjuring spirits’ ascribed to Johann Georg Faust, the man behind the ‘Faust legend’, and/or his disciple Christoph Wagner. This text is divided into three parts. The first part is divided into eight chapters and outlines a lengthy conjuration procedure for treasure hunting; it provides drawings of ritual circles, sophisticated sigils (i. 18), numerous caractères, and of the spirit ‘Mephistophiles’ who will appear ‘in the shape of a monk’ (i. 23). Similar to the entries No. 42 (CM 75) and 129 (CM 102), the treasure guarding spirits are called ‘pigmies’ (see i. 38). The second part is divided into 22 chapters and provides information on potential treasure sites and procedures for fabricating divinatory devices for finding such sites (such as a ‘metallic divining rod’: i. 56f; a ‘little magical bell’: i. 57f; several ‘magical mirrors’: i. 60f; several ‘cristalls’: i. 85f; and several sigils). The final part consists of four chapters, and provides astrological timeframes as well as drawings of sigils used for releasing the spirits.

No. 46

I. *J. Fausti Miracul und Wunder-Buch genant der Hællen-Zwvang, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MIRACUL=und Wunder=Buch aus Dr: Faustens Schrifften genant Der HÖLLENZWANG Mit welchen Er die Geister bezwungen hat, daß Sie Ihn haben bringen müssen Silber, Gold, Schätze, Edelgesteine, und alles was Er begehret, desgleichen hat er mit diesem Buche zu Wege gebracht der SpringWurzel und was dergleichen mehr zu verdenken ist. Gedruckt zu Lyon d. 14. Apr: 1407.* [UL: CM 138]

II. 70 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 46.” This manuscript is, in contrast to most other manuscripts of the Leipzig collection, not bound in coloured paper.

This text belongs to the ‘Höllenzwang’ genre ascribed to ‘Dr. Faust’ and consists of two parts. The first, much larger, part outlines various procedures for ‘conjuring spirits’ which ‘shall bring silver, gold, treasure,

gemstones, and all what he desires' (i. 5). This part includes extensive lists of voces magicae for each spirit (the voces magicae are written in red alongside abbreviations in cipher language); the text also provides drawings of sigils ascribed to each spirit as well as four ritual circles (i. 38–41): 'you can choose the one which you like' (i. 42). The second, much smaller, section contains two 'Experimenta Magica' (i. 145) for fabricating a divinatory mirror and a divining rod.

No. 47

I. *J. Fausti Practicirter Geister-Zwang.*

Complete title of manuscript: *D. J. FAUSTI Practicirter Geister Zwang wo durch Er die Geister bezwungen, daß Sie seinen willen allen volbringen müssen Gedruckt zu Passau 1605.* [UL: CM 140]

II. 22 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with crossed reference "Num. 47".

This is a rather short version of the Faustian 'Höllenzwang' genre (here called 'Geister-Zwang'), which begins with a poetic curse that warns the reader to read the text out aloud as 'the spirit follows the sounds' (i. 7). Thereafter 'Dr. Faust' reports in first person how he became affiliated with 'learned magic' and outlines his first experiences of 'conjuring spirits' (i. 9–14). A list of six spirits follows, which provides their sigils (i. 15–16) and voces magicae; the preparation of the ritual circle is outlined (double-page drawing on i. 36–37) and conjuration formulae for each spirit are given (partly in Latin). Interestingly, the end of the text cites—with page numbers—from a *Clavicula Salomonis* version, thereby providing cipher abbreviations for some of the voces magicae depicted earlier in the text (compare i. 28–30 and 43–47; similar lists can be found in entries No. 46 and 52 = CM 138 and 22)

No. 48

I. *J. Fausti so genannter schvvartzer Mohren-Stern.*

Complete title of manuscript: *DOCTOR FAUSTENS So genannter Schwarzer MOHREN-STERN Gedruckt zu London, 1510* [UL: CM 139]

II. 35 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 48”

This Faustian treatise was ‘reproduced most diligently from his own manuscripts’ (i. 6). It provides three chapters of different lengths. The first chapter outlines the preparation of the practitioner, the ritual circle (drawing on i. 9), two circular sigils, and various paper leaves inscribed with caractères (i. 10, 12). The second part provides seven different conjuration formulae in total (including alternative ritual circles and sigils). The text advises the practitioner to browse quickly through the manuscript and try out different formulae during the procedure as the spirits are ‘indescribably’ quick and ‘will pretend to jump into the circle and to tear you apart and to devour you’ (i. 15); the chapter ends with a release formula and a conclusive prayer. The third chapter (i. 65–74) provides a recipe for fabricating a divinatory rod.

No. 49

I. *J. Fausti Haupt und Kunst-Buch, i.e. aller Cabalisten und weisen Fundamental-Praxis zur Lehre in geheim seinem Diener Christoph Wagnern hinterlassen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *D. Johannis Fausti Haupt und Kunst Buch das ist Aller Cabbalisten und weisen Fundamental Praxis zu Lehre In geheim seinen Diener Christoph Wagner hinterlaßen.* [UL: CM 23]

II. 43 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust / Christoph Wagner

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 49”

This Faustian treatise is divided into two books of 23 and seven chapters, respectively. It resembles the contents of the Latin *Clavicula Salomonis* genre, and the ‘author’ indeed claims to have used the text as a template (see i. 10 and 91). The text begins with an interesting ‘first-person’ premium (i. 9–10), is richly illustrated with numerous drawings of ritual circles, sigils, and caractères and provides various tables that indicate the hourly angels for each weekday. The first book outlines preparations and prerequisites for the conjuration procedure (here called ‘the beginnings of magic’: i. 10), whereas the second book (i. 55ff) provides seven chapters with conjuration procedures for ‘seven sidereal spirits’ ascribed to the seven weekdays (Sunday: ‘Michael’; Monday: ‘Gabriel’; Tuesday:

‘Samael’; Wednesday: ‘Raphael’; Thursday: ‘Sachiel’; Friday: ‘Anael’; Saturday: ‘Cahsiel’).

No. 50

I. *J. Fausti Gauckel-Tasche.*

Complete title of manuscript: *D: Johann Fausten Gauckel Tasch Von allerley unerhörten verborghenen, lüstigen Kunststücken, Geheimnüssen, und erfindungen, dadurch ein Mensch Träume auslegen, weißagen, verschlossene Thüren öffnen, Potagra vertreiben, Ehrbrecher u. Huren erkennen, fremde Männer, Weiber und Jungfrauen zur Liebe bringen, sich selbst auff etl. Ellen größen, unsichtbar, u. Eisern machen, in andere Gestalt verwandeln, Donner und Blitz erwecken, Schlangen versamlen u. vertreiben Tauben, Fisch und Vögel mit Händen fangen, Feinde überwinden, und andere unzehlige ungläULiche, sonderbare, beydes lustige und nützliche Stück zu Wercke richten kann. Jetzo erstlich aus seinem D: Fausten mit eigener Hand geschriebenen Original, allen Künstlern zu sonderlichen Gefallen an Tag gegeben durch M: Johann de Luna, Christoph Wagners gewesenen Discipel, und den magischen Künsten wohl erfahren. Gedruckt im Jahr, Anno. 1624. [UL: CM 62]*

II. 19 leaves (4°)

IV. Johann Georg Faust / Johann de Luna

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 50”

This Faustian treatise combines a *herbarium*, i.e. a list of the ‘magical’ effects of selected herbs (in part one) with a *lapidarium*, i.e. a list of the ‘magical’ effects of selected minerals and stones (in part two). The effects mentioned here are mostly miraculous, such as opening locked doors, invisibility, invulnerability, magnifying oneself, transmutation, evoking thunder and lightning, or attracting and dispelling animals.

No. 51

I. *C. VVagneri Cabala Nigra, oder der vvarhafftige Hellen-Zvvang, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *NIGROMANTIA sive CABALA NIGRA ET ALBA Doct. JOH. FAUSTI mit allen darzugehörigen Beruff= und Beschwerungen seines famuli Nahmen Gottfried wagner herausgegeben, und zu London gedruckt. Anno 1411. A. 11. April. [UL: CM 6]*

II. 82 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust / Christoph Wagner

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 51”

Unfortunately, this Faustian treatise has no clear structure with numbered chapter headings, but shifts from topic to topic, covering, e.g., the fabrication of a ritual belt (drawing on i. 17), an extensive list of spirits with their respective seals (i. 27–42), all sorts of ritual circles (i. 46, 66, 74, 93, 120, 139, 155, 168), conjuration procedures for ‘the IX spirits’ (i. 67–73) or the ‘kings of the four elements’ (i. 109–19), and numerous ‘experimenta’ dedicated to treasure hunting.

No. 52

I. *J. Fausti Hellen-Zwang i.e.ausführlicher Unterricht vvelcher Gestalt die Geister zu beschyveren*, &c.

Complete title of manuscript: *MIRACUL und Wunder Buch aus D. Faustens Schrifften genandt der Höllen Zwang Mit welchen Er die Geister bezwungen hat, daß sie ihn haben bringen müssen, Silber, Gold Schätze, Edelgesteine und alles was er begehert, deßgleichen hat er mit diesen buche zu wege gebracht die Springwurtzel, und was dergleichen mehr zu erdenken ist. Gedruckt zu Lion d. 17. April. 1507* [UL: CM 22]

II. 28 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johann Georg Faust

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 52”

This Faustian *Höllenzwang* begins with a curse-like warning and an image of ‘Mephistophiles’ who appears ‘in the shape of a monk’ (i. 11; compare i. 23 of the above entry No. 45 = CM 30). Thereafter follow various preparations, astrological timeframes (weekdays and daily hours), ritual circles (drawings on i. 16–17), and the prayers and sigils necessary for the circles’ consecration. The bulk of the text consists of manuals for conjuring two particular spirits (‘Aziel’ and ‘Mephistophiles’), and includes their sigils as well as extensive lists of voces magicæ with cipher abbreviations. At the end of the manuscript we find a ‘contract’ with ten bullet points for banning ‘Mephistophiles’ and a release formula. The ‘contract’ includes a passage on acquiring caper spurge (*Euphorbia Lathyris*), a plant associated with all sorts of ‘magical’ effects in early modern times, which is also mentioned in the manuscript’s title (‘Springwurtzel’).

No. 53

I. *Tr. Nigromanticus de consecratione Libri Spirituum.*

Complete title of manuscript: *TRACTATUS NEGROMANTICUS. das ist ein geheimer Tractat von Beruff und Beschwerden der Geister und Könige in den vier Theilen der Welt, und wie man von ihnen alles erhalten kan was man nur wünschet und verlanget* [UL: CM 95]

II. 14 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 53”

This text outlines a procedure for conjuring four spirits or ‘kings’ ascribed to the four parts of the day (morning: ‘Belforte’; mid-day: ‘Bambaly’; evening: ‘Cerbiel’; night: unspecified). It begins with a lengthy confession and several prayers, then outlines the design of the ritual circle which is, in this case, rectangular (drawing on i. 9), and provides conjuration formulae for the four ‘kings’ and their ‘messengers’ (‘Bothen’). If these are successfully conjured, they will bring everything the practitioner desires. The second half of the text (i. 21ff) outlines an alternative conjuration procedure for an unspecified spirit, which includes several Latin prayers and another drawing of a ritual circle (i. 25). The text concludes with a procedure for consecrating the ritual book.

No. 54

I. *Clavicola di Salomone Italiana.*

Complete title of manuscript: *CLAVICULA del SALOMENE Re^e d’ Ebrei Spiegata dall’ Ebreo in Volgare per Rabi Colorno per ordine di Sua A. S. il Duca di Mantova in Anno 1453* [UL: CM 4]

II. 87 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Abraham Colorno / Solomon

V. Italian/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 54”

This is a lengthy Italian version of the *Clavicula Salomonis*, which belongs to the so-called ‘Colorno-group’ in that it claims to be translated from Hebrew into Italian by a Rabbi named Abraham Colorno in 1453 under the directive of A. S. Duce di Mantova (Ludovico III Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua²): see on this narrative further Jütte 2015, 85f (ch. 3). The manuscript is divided into two books and richly

illustrated with astrological tables (i. 17–19), drawings of ritual devices (i. 36–37), a large sigil (i. 85), and a ritual circle (i. 157), as well as numerous caractères (e.g., i. 60, 63, 70, etc.). Some of the conjurations are written in Latin, and the text provides 44 planetary sigils at the end of book one (i. 87–128), thus belonging, in Mathiesen’s typologization (Mathiesen 2007), to the [OT2] text group.

No. 55

I. *Claviula Salomonis Germanica mit vielen Pentaculis.*

Complete title of manuscript: *CLAVICULA SALOMONIS das ist Ein Buch von der wahren MAGIA. Bestehend. In Zwo Partes Worinne der Völlige Process der Wißenschafft derselben, in gleichen die sämtl. Preparation oder Zubereitung so wohl seiner selbst als auch derer darzugehörigen Sachen, und Instrumnten gehandelt wirdt, nebst vielen Medailles oder Pentaculn.* [UL: CM 5]

II. 110 leaves (4°)a

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 55”

This version of the *Clavicula Salomonis* is divided into two books with 17 and 20 chapters respectively. It is richly illustrated with drawings of the ritual circle (i. 28), ritual devices (i. 189–90), and a large number of caractères (i. 177f, 196f). It provides 44 (colored) planetary sigils at the end of book one (i. 111–54), thus belonging, in Mathiesen’s typologization (Mathiesen 2007), to the [OT2] text group.

No. 56

I. *Clavicula Salomonis Expurgata, oder deß Kænigs Salomonis Schlüssel vvunderbarlicher Geheimnüsse.*

Complete title of manuscript: *CLAVICULA SALOMONIS EXPURGATA oder des Koniges Salomonis Schlüssel wunderbahrlicher Geheimnüsse.* [UL: CM 27]

II. 30 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. German/Latin (title), German/Latin/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 56”

This is an abbreviated version of the *Clavicula Salomonis* which belongs, in Mathiesen's typologization, to the [Exp.] text group ('expurgata' here means 'simplified' and/or 'rectified'). CM 27 is richly illustrated with astrological tables, sigils, numerological squares (with Hebrew script) and caractères, and provides extensive lists of angel names.

Note: CM1 hosts a very similar version which was apparently not part of the 1710 sale (it is not bound in colored paper and has no numbering on its title page). Below its (similar) title, CM1 depicts 'Anno 1752' and 'J.H.H.' (see i. 5); it also contains an exemplar of the *catalogus rariorum manuscriptorum* as an insert to its back cover.

No. 57

I. *Psalterium magicum i.e. der Psalter Davids mit seinen natürlichen magischen und Cabalistischen Influenzien, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *PSALTERIUM Magicum das ist Der Psalter Davieds mit seinen Natürlichen Magischen und Cabalistischen Influentien, Operationen, Würckungen und Gebrauch beschrieben durch Phillipum Theophrastum Paracellum unter welches hinterlassenen Manuscriptis auch dieses gefunden worden.* [UL: CM 9]

II. 48 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Paracelsus/David

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "Num. 57"

This is a 'magical' version of the so-called 'Psalmenkommentar' of Theophrastus of Hohenheim (Paracelsus), a text that was presumably written around 1530, but only survives in manuscript copies from the late sixteenth century onwards. As with many other writings ascribed to Paracelsus, the authenticity of the text is disputed. That the present version originated from Paracelsian hands is even more unlikely as the 150 'psalms' outlined here are in fact short recipes for all sorts of ritual goals and often intermingled with caractères that are to be written on paper or metal lamens, together with short prayers. The text appears to be translated from a Latin template (see, e.g., i. 10). The Paracelsian commentaries of the Biblical psalms which have survived (psalms 75–150) are edited in Goldammer 1955–61.

No. 58

I. *Explicatio 10. Sephirarum divinorum nominum oder Erkl erung de  Cabalistischen Systematis und der allerheiligsten 10. Nahmen Gottes.*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPLICATIO SEPHIRARUM. X. DIVINORUM NOMINUM oder Erkl rung des Cabbalistischen Systematis, und der Allerheiligsten Zehen Nahmen GOTTES Wie solche unter dem Volcke Gottes in der Kirchen des Alten Testaments gebr uchlich gewesen und uns in heilicher Schrift hinterla en sind* [UL: CM 21]

II. 40 leaves (4 )

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German/Latin/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "Num. 58"

This is a collage of material derived from Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* (first publ. in two vols. 1684 in Frankfurt/Main), Rosenroth's *Trium Tabularum Cabbalisticarum decem Sephirothas sive Numerationes exhibentium descriptio* (first publ. 1679), and/or related texts from the early modern discourse on 'Christian Kabbalah'. The text is divided into 13 chapters, and is all about the 'tree of life' with its 10 'Sephiraot' (emanations of God's creation of the world), 22 'channels or tubes' (i. 27: 'Von den 22 Can len oder R hren'), the 32 'paths of Wisdom' (i. 65: 'Fu steigen der Weisheit'), or the 50 'gates 'Pforth n' reported by the Cabalists' (i. 77). Further chapters focus on efficacious names of God (voces magicae are provided in Latin and Hebrew script: see i. 22–23), angelology (i. 38–45) and the inherent structure of the world (crucial terminology is provided in both Hebrew and German: i. 54–58). Particularly noteworthy are the beautiful foldout drawings of the kabbalistic 'tree of life' and the 'pyramis lucis' (i. 5–6), which may have been derived from the second volume of Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (first publ. 1652–54).

No. 59

I. *Hecatombe oder Hundert Lob-Spr chevor so viele VVohlthaten Gottes alle Tage zu sprechen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *HECATOMBE oder Hundert Lob=Spr ch vor so viele Wohlthaten Gottes alle Tage zu sprechen, wie denn auch dergleichen zur Zeit Christi und der Aposteln, unter den Haebreern t glich*

im gebrauch gewesen von den Edlen Christian Knorr von Rosen Roth in Teutsche Reimen gesetzt und nach der heiligen Cabala eingerichtet. [UL: CM 31]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

IV. Christian Knorr von Rosenroth

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 59”

This is the only text of the Leipzig collection that has been edited so far (Zeller 2013). It contains Knorr von Rosenroth’s poem *Hecatombe*, which was originally published in Rosenroth’s *Neuer Helicon* in 1684 (see von Rosenroth 1684: the *Hecatombe* is No. 59). The 100-line poem outlines the creation of the world, the role of Jesus Christ, and some rules and prerequisites for the true Christian from a kabbalistic viewpoint, thus displaying Rosenroth’s idea of a genuinely ‘Christian kabbalah’. Interestingly, the Leipzig manuscript provides an additional column next to the poem text where Latin terms and short commentaries are provided, thus adding a second and more technical level of interpretation. Rosmarie Zeller believes that such annotated manuscript versions of the *Hecatombe* circulated in clandestine milieus of the late seventeenth century even before the poem was published—then without annotations—in 1684.

No. 60

I. *Das höchste Geheimniß daß der Mensch unter der Sonnen haben mag, i. e. alle verborgene Dinge zu erforschen und zu vvisen durch Urim und Thumim.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Das höchste GEHEIMNÜS das der Mensch unter der Sonnen haben mag I. E. Alle verborgene Dinge zu erforschen und zu wissen Durch Urim et Thumim. EX CABALA Sacra Mosaica excerptum ad experiundum.* [UL: CM 48]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Moses

V. German/Latin (title), German/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 60”

According to *Exodus* 28, 30 and a few other passages in the Hebrew Bible, ‘Urim and Thummim’ were two (or more) divinatory stones used by the Israelite High Priest(s). Even though the original procedure was already forgotten and speculated upon in the Babylonian Talmud, this

manuscript provides a detailed instruction of how to fabricate and use ‘Urim and Thummim’. Interestingly, they are here depicted in the shape of two golden spoons with Hebrew script on both sides of the scoop (see i. 4). In the early nineteenth century, ‘Urim and Thummim’ play a pivotal role during the foundation of Mormonism by Joseph Smith, who claims to have translated the ‘Golden Plates’ with the aid of a pair of stones fastened to his breastplate. Today, ‘Urim and Thummim’ are often translated as ‘light and truth’ (‘lux et veritas’).

No. 61

I. *Magia i.e.33. Sigilla Jesu Christi mit ihren VVürckungen.*

VII. This catalogue entry is missing in the Leipzig archive.

No. 62

I. *Drey Bücher Pelagii von den Offenbarungen, dadurch alle VVeisheit, und der gantzen VVelt Heimlichkeit von GOTT kennen erlanget vwerden.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Drey Bücher Pelagij, Welcher ein Heiliger, und Einsiedler gewesen ist, Von den Offenbahrungen, Dadurch alle Weißheit, und der gantzen Welt Heimlichkeit von Gott können erlanget werden. Fundamentum. Bittet, suchet, klopffet an. Ostende Veritatem JESU Veritas aeterna!* [UL: CM 26]

II. 61 leaves (4°) [first title: 57 leaves; second title: 3 leaves]

IV. Pelagius / Libanius Gallus

V. German/Latin (title), German/Latin (content of first title), Latin (content of second title)

VI. *Epistola Libanii Galli |: nomine scilicet :| ad amicum et discipulum Suum Trithemium, de operib(us) Pelagii Eremitae omnium Magiorum, qui unquam fuerunt principis.*

VII. Manuscript title with reference “N. 62”

The following three entries are ascribed to the Majorcan hermit Pelagius (d. ca. 1480; see Véronèse 2006); Latin templates of all three texts are hosted, inter alia, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Lat. 7869 and 7486: see Secret 1977, 412). CM 26 comprises two texts. The first is a lengthy German treatise on different types of divination and arranged in the form of a letter addressed to one of Pelagius’ pupils, Libanius Gallus, about whom we only know that he was an important teacher of the Benedictine abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516). The text displays a rather pious character, but provides an interesting list of ‘Teufelskünste’ (‘devil’s arts’: i. 32–35), which includes, apart from the

usual suspects, also unexpected arts such as ‘Phytognomia’ (divination by means of a snake), ‘Metromantia’ (divination by means of old women, veils and belts), ‘Clydomantia’ (thievery divination by means of holding the gospel of John and a key), or ‘Pnamantia’ (divination by means of herbs and truffles). The second text (i. 121–6) is a short letter authored by Libanius Gallus and addressed to his ‘friend and pupil’ Johannes Trithemius; it provides the titles, incipits, and short summaries of eight texts of ‘learned magic’ written by Pelagius.

No. 63

I. *Pelagii Eremitæ-Buch von Erkenntniß und Nahmen seines guten Engels*. Complete title of manuscript: *PELAGII ERIMITÆ II Bücher Von Erkändniß und Nahmen seines guten Engels* x [UL: CM 13]

II. 55 leaves (4°)

IV. Pelagius

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 63”

This text is devoted to angelic divination and divided into two parts. The first part comprises 19 chapters and is all about angelology and how to find one’s ‘good angel’ (i. 7: ‘guter Engel’) or ‘holy angel’ (i. 11). Interestingly, it is argued in chapter 4 (i. 14–16) that we are here dealing with a purely ‘Christian’ art that should not be considered ‘sorcery’ (‘zauberey’). The second part comprises 8 chapters and provides rules for consecration and a number of prayers for angelic divination. On the last page we find a date of composition: the text was allegedly written by Pelagius on July 10, 1480.

No. 64

I. *Pelagii Circulus s. Tabula Veritatis*.

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGISTRI PELAGII ERIMITÆ in Insula Majoricarum CIRCULUS Seu TABULA VERITATIS Proscribente eam Discipulo Suo Magistro Libano Gallo*. [UL: CM 25]

II. 39 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Pelagius

V. Latin (title), Latin/German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 64”

CM 25 hosts another text ascribed to Pelagius which, in contrast to the above two entries, has not been translated into German (apart from a

short German ‘nota’ on i. 8). Similar to the above entry No. 62 (CM 26), the text is arranged in the form of a letter to Pelagius’ pupil Libanius Gallus. It provides a lengthy divination procedure that make use of two ritual circles drawn onto tables, thus resembling the contemporaneous work *Almandal* (see the above entry No. 11 = CM 60). The first table is called ‘tabula veritatis’ (i. 7) or ‘circulo veritatis’ (i. 9; a drawing is provided on i. 18) and is ascribed to an angel called ‘ALMIEL’ (i. 17, 19). A short summary of the entire text and ritual procedure is given in Secret 1977, 412–3.

No. 65

I. *Magia Microcosmica*.

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA MICRO-COSMICA. Eccl. 8. v. 8. Ein Mensch hat nicht Macht über den Geist, dem Geiste zu wehren. Und hat nicht Macht zur Zeit des Sterbens, und wird nicht loßgelaßen im Streit.* [UL: CM 116]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 65”

This text, which has clearly been translated from a Latin template, claims that every human being owns a personal ‘birth angel’ (‘Geburthsengel’, ‘Geburthsgeist’: i. 9) or ‘genium’ and outlines a ritual procedure for isolating this angel without harm, locking it into a glass (‘einschließen’: i. 12), and using it for divinatory purposes.

No. 66

I. *Franckenbergs Saphiriel i. e. himmlisches Liecht und magischer Bericht die Geheimnisse der Zahlen mit ihren Figuren nach Götlicher Offenbarung und natürlicher Würckung gründlich zu gebrauchen.*

Complete title of manuscript: ספריאל [Safri’el] *SÆPHIRIEL das ist ein HIMLISCHES LICHT und MAGISCHER BERICHT Die Geheimnissen der Zahlen mit Ihren Figuren nach BIBLISCHER Offenbarung und NATÜRLICHER Würckung gründlich und erbaulich zu betrachten Esa: 40: z 6. Er führet Sein Heer aus und 4: Esdr: zehlet die Sternen: und kennet sie alle mit Nahmen Psl: 14.4:* [UL: CM 24]

II. 28 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Abraham von Franckenberg

V. German/Hebrew (title), German/Latin/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 66”

CM 24 is ascribed to Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652), a German mystic and esoteric author as well as friend and biographer of Jacob Böhme. Franckenberg published several works of ‘learned magic’ under his pseudonym Amadeus von Friedleben, the most important being *Raphael oder Artzengel*, a treatise devoted to the healing powers of archangel Raphael and the doctrine of signatures. CM 24 is all about numerology and richly illustrated with all sorts of tables, drawings, and diagrams. It is divided into 12 chapters; each chapter discusses various issues and numerological calculations related to the number of the respective chapter. The text may have been translated from a Latin template, as the annotations in some of the tables reveal. A numerological treatise of Franckenberg is currently unheard of, thus making it likely that this is a pseudepigraphic reference.

No. 67

I. *Franckenbergs Oculus Siderius oder neueröffnetes Stern-Liecht und Fern-Gesicht, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *OCULUS SIDERIUS oder Neu eröffnetes Stern=licht und Fern=gesicht zu gründlicher Erkündigung der unbeglaubten Relationen, Von Bewegung der Erdkugel und der eigentlichen gestalt, dieser sichtbaren Weld: Wie auch zu höherem Erkäntnis GOTTES und seiner WUNDER* [UL: CM 14]

II. 76 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Abraham von Franckenberg

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 67”

This is an accurate hand-written copy of Abraham of Franckenberg’s *Oculus Siderius*, an astronomical treatise that was first published in Danzig in 1647 (the manuscript contains a date of composition—1643: see i. 16). A copy of the original print-run is available online: VD17 14:080814P; last access March 6, 2017). The text frequently shifts from German into Latin and vice versa, and is mainly an apology of Copernican astronomy—here interpreted as ‘philosophia perennis’—, inspired by Giordano Bruno’s *de innumerabilibus, immensu et infiniturabili* (first publ. Frankfurt/Main 1591). See for a detailed analysis Schmidt-Biggemann 2013 (Vol. II: 1600–1660), 235–57.

No. 68

I. *Ars Paulina alias notoria dicta cum Figuris.*

Complete title of manuscript: *ARS PAULINA alias NOTORIA dicta.*

[UL: CM 124]

II. 9 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Paul

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 68”

This is not the Solomonian ‘Ars Paulina’ known as part three of the *Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis* (see for an uncritical edition Peterson 2001: the text provides a list of 24 ‘hourly angels’ and sigils for their ritual instrumentalization). Instead, CM 124 hosts an abbreviated and somewhat ‘Christianized’ version of the late medieval ritual text *Ars Notoria*, here called ‘ars memorativa’ (i. 5; on the *Ars Notoria* see the critical edition Véronèse 2007). Accordingly, it provides four contemplative drawings or ‘notae’ (see i. 9, 12, 15, 18), which revolve around the motif of the Trinity (pater-spiritus-filius). The text may be related to entry No. 110 (CM 109), which provides similar drawings of Trinity sigils.

No. 69

I. *Theophrasti liber de Septem Stellis & eorum Characteribus, & Spiritibus.*

Complete title of manuscript: *LIBER De Septem Stellis Dr. Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi ab Hohenheim eigener Hand abgeschrieben zu Saltzburg Ao. 1570.* [UL: CM 39]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Paracelsus

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “69” In contrast to most other manuscripts of the Leipzig collection, CM 39 is not bound in coloured paper, but provides a title page (i. 1).

This is one of several texts devoted to planetary sigils in the Leipzig collection (see also above, entry No. 29, and the following entries). After a short introduction (where Paracelsus speaks directly to the reader), it provides the sigils of the seven planets, whose spirits are here named ‘Belas’, ‘Draco Major’, ‘Malmahor’, ‘Tulmachur’ (‘alii dicunt Ulmahor’), ‘Salmahat’, ‘Pulathos’ and ‘Tolmor’ (i. 8–20). Paracelsus is

indeed known to have endorsed and experimented with celestial sigils: see, for instance, the (Ps.-?) Paracelsian treatise *Archidoxis Magica* (for a Facsimile reprint of Robert Turner's English translation [1656] see Skinner 2004). In fact, a *Liber de septem stellis* was ascribed to Paracelsus as early as 1582 (see Kühlmann 2013, 508). A shorter version of this text seems to have survived in Ms. SLUB Dresden N 119, fols. 8–11. In contrast to the following entries, the sigils in CM 39 are rather abstract and resemble caractères.

No. 70

I. *Starcker Harnisch der 7. Planeten in ihren 7. Siegeln und 7. Metallen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Starcker Harnisch der sieben Planeten in ihren sieben Sigillis und 7. Metallen.* [UL: CM 93]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 70”

CM 93 is divided into three parts and provides, in a first chapter (i. 5–9), 10 circular planetary sigils (with three alternative versions), which include figures and names (Saturn: ‘Oriphiel’; Jupiter: ‘Zachariel’ / alternative version: ‘Satoviel’; Mars: ‘Samael’; Sun: ‘Michael’; Venus: ‘Hagiel’ / alternative version: ‘Hagith’; Mercury: ‘Raphael’; Moon: ‘Gabriel’). The second chapter outlines their qualities (i. 9–12); the third chapter their ascribed angels, caractères, and metals (i. 12–13).

No. 71

I. *Absonderliche Zubereitung der 7. Siegel der 7. Planeten nebst dessen Gebrauch, welches Geheimniß das vollkommenste ist unter allen Geheimnissen unter der Sonnen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Absonderliche Zubereitung der 7. Siegel der sieben Planeten Nebst deßen Gebrauch, welches Geheimniß das vollkommenste ist unter allen Geheimnissen unter der Sonnen.* [UL: CM 94]

II. 10 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 71.” There are several copypate prints applied with glue to the manuscript.

This text is divided into seven chapters and provides, after a brief introduction, 14 circular planetary sigils (apart from caractères, pentagrams, and other illustrations, the front sigil includes a figure, the back sigil a numerological square). Interestingly, the sigils have been cut out from a different—apparently printed—text, and glued into the manuscript.

No. 72

I. *Regis Salomonis 7. Sigilla Planetarum.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Regis Salomonis Septem Sigilla Planetarum.* [UL: CM 38]

II. 9 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 72”

CM 38 provides 14 circular planetary sigils, alongside notes on their preparation and use. The sigils display caractères and voces magicae on the front side, and a figure and name on the back side.

No. 73

I. *Trithemii 7. Sigilla Planetarum.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Trithemij Septem Sigilla Planetarum.* [UL: CM 92]

II. 5 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johannes Trithemius

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 73 a”

This text provides 14 circular planetary sigils, and short descriptions of their use. The sigils display rather abstract motifs which resemble caractères; the planet name is depicted on the front side, and the name of the planetary spirit on the back side.

Note: CM 37, which was not part of the 1710 sale (it is not listed in the catalogue), hosts another Latin version of the ‘planetary sigils’ sub-genre which bears the title *Tr. de Constructione et usu septem Sigillorum Planetarum, Ægyptiorum*. Apparently, it was considered to be related to entry No. 73, as someone wrote “No. 73. b” on its title page. However, it is a distinct Latin version, which provides longer explanations, and seven circular planetary sigils with numerological squares.

No. 74

I. *I' Anello de invisibilita e modo de havesto per mello di Spiriti in forma tre puite formose.*

Complete title of manuscript: *L' ANELLO d' INVISIBILITÀ o modo d' haverlo per mezzo di Spiriti in forma di tre Putte formose.* [UL: CM 36]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 74”

This text outlines the fabrication of a golden ‘invisibility ring’. The manual includes three Latin invocations and provides a circular sigil that is to be inscribed onto the ring (i. 9), which includes the vox magica ‘AGLA’.

No. 75

I. *Anelli negromantici del Salomone Re, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *ANNELLI NEGROMANTICI DEL SALOMONE Re de Ebrei Secondo l' originale che si conserva fra i manoscritti segreti di Bibliotheca di Vaticano RŌMA.* [UL: CM 35]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 75 a”. CM 35 is not bound in coloured paper, but in a hard cover with golden ornaments.

CM 35 provides manuals for the fabrication of 14 ‘necromantic rings’ for different purposes, among them invisibility (i. 6: ‘per andare a vendersi invisibile ad ogni persona’), love (i. 7: ‘Per farsi amare da qualsivoglia femina’), healing (i. 9: ‘per guarire ogni sorte de infirmita di febre’), or lulling someone to sleep (i. 12: ‘Per fare dormire una Persona quanto ti piace’). An initial conjuration formula is written in Latin (i. 5–6), and each recipe comes with a 3-dimensional drawing of the ring with its inscriptions (usually a vox magica or angel name with caractères).

Note: CM 34, which was not part of the 1710 sale (it is not listed in the catalogue), hosts another German version of the ‘magical ring’ sub-genre that bears the title *PETRI DE ABANO Quatuor Annuli SALOMONIS wodurch einer all Sprachen kan reden, alle Schätze finden, bey iederman angenehm ist, auch sich unsichtbar und unüberwündlich machen kann.* Apparently, the manuscript was considered to be related to No. 75, as someone wrote “No. 75.b” on the title page of the manuscript. It is,

however, a distinct version, which provides recipes for fabricating four different rings (inscribed with the names Sun, Jupiter, Venus, and Mars, respectively, alongside caractères and further voces magicae; see i. 6) which may be used for all sorts of purposes (such as invisibility, love, treasure, speaking all languages, invulnerability). At the end of the text, alternative caractères are provided, as well as a ritual circle (i. 12). The author here refers to the ‘Clavicula Salomonis’ for further details (i. 12).

No. 76

I. *Misterio di pretre Sculpite e vero anelli magici naturali de Salomone Re, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MISTERIO DI PIETRE SCULPITE o vero Anelli Magici Naturali de Salomone Re d' ebrei secondo l' originale che si conserva frai manoscritti rari di Bibliotheca di Vaticano.* [UL: CM 33]

II. 10 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Petrus de Abano

V. Italian (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 76”

CM 33 hosts another text devoted to the ‘magical ring’ sub-genre—the rings are here indeed called ‘Anelli Magici’ (i. 5). It provides recipes for the fabrication of 30 rings in total, which cover a wide range of purposes such as gaining the local ruler’s affection (i. 7: ‘Anello del Sole per il Favore de Principi vel havere conessi amicitia’), protection against spirits (i. 11: ‘Anello Saturnino per resistere, essere obedito et defendersi da Spiriti), or becoming rich (i. 15: ‘Anello di Mercurio per essere obedito de Spiriti et aquistare ricchezze’).

No. 77

I. *Preparatio Speculi Salomonis insignis & sigillium Josua*

Complete title of manuscript: *SPECULUM SALOMONIS insigne ex Electro Magico. das ist Eine gewisse Art und Weise, wie das wahre SPECULUM SALOMONIS ex electro, zu allen was man in der Welt zu wissen begehrt, sey zu machen. H. SIGILLI JOSUÆ Preparatio Ex electro magico cum usu.* [UL: CM 32]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon / Josua

V. Latin/German (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 77”

This text outlines a series of complex and time-consuming instructions for the fabrication of three ‘magical mirrors’ (i. 21: ‘Speculi Magici’). The text is very technical, imbued with astrological abbreviations, and provides, after a seven-step introduction, several drawings with voces magicae and caractères, which should be drawn on parchment or paper and burnt for purifying the necessary metals (i. 7–9), or inscribed onto the mirrors (i. 12, 15–18). The first mirror allows for knowing everything that is spoken anywhere (i. 12); the second mirror allows for knowing the inner desires and feelings of someone (i. 16); the third mirror reveals ‘great secrets’ (i. 18: ‘große Geheimnisse’). The inscriptions of the first mirror include the vox magica ‘FLORON’, thus paralleling the recipe in entry No. 13 (CM 78). On the last two pages (i. 22–3) we find a different recipe entitled *Sigilli Josuae*, which provides drawings of a complex two-sided sigil, alongside notes for its fabrication; its purpose: victory over one’s enemies (i. 22: ‘Sieg über alle seine Feinde’).

No. 78

I. *Zwölff Signa Cælestia eorumque Sigilla magica.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Bereitung der zwölf himmlischen Zeichen Ihrer Siegel nebst deren großen Nutz und Gebrauch* [UL: CM 128]

II. 18 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 78”

This text provides circular drawings of 48 sigils in total, four for each of the twelve zodiacal signs. The first sigil usually includes a numerological square, the second a drawing, and the third and fourth sigils display voces magicae and caractères. The text includes brief descriptions of the necessary metals, the fabrication procedures, and the amulets’ different purposes, which are outlined only rudimentarily. On the last page we find a short Latin note concerning the necessity to use complete and correct magical recipes.

No. 79

I. *Astrologia brevis oder Erklerung der Planeten und Aspecten, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *ASTROLOGIA BREVIS oder Kurtze Erklärung derer Planeten, Aspecten mit anzeigung derer dinge, so ihrer qualität unterworffen sind.* [UL: CM 107]

II. 21 leaves (4°)

V. Latin/German (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 79”

This astrological treatise begins with an overview of the properties and qualities of the planets and then (i. 17f) provides brief explanations for a large number of astrological aspects (conjunctions).

No. 80

I. *Ein seltzame vor ungenharte Practica Peter Creutzers , darinn angezeigt vvorden die Neigung und Influssung der Sternen VVürcklichkeit aller Stunden Tages und Nachts.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Eine seltzame vor ungehörte Practica. Peter Creutzers, in Zeiten des hochberühmten Astronomi Meyster Johann Lichtenbergers Discipels, darin angezeigt werden die Neygunen und Einfließung der Sterne aller Stunden Tags u. Nachts, darnach der Mensch zu thun und zu lassen, u. in guten und bößen sich zu richten hat.* [CM 80]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

IV. Peter Creutzer

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 80”

This is a scribal copy of a previously printed work that was published in 1529 under the title *Ejn seltzam vor ungehörte Practica Peter Creutzers inn zeitten des hochberühmten Astronopmi meyster Johan Liechtenbergers discipels* (VD16: C 5810). The text belongs to the early modern German genre of ‘Planetenbuch’ (‘planet-book’); it assigns the 24 hours of the day to each of the seven planets and indicates what can be achieved during these ‘planetary hours’ through prayers to God. Peter Creutzer, a German astrologer of the sixteenth century, was a pupil of Johannes Lichtenberger (ca. 1426–1503) and published numerous astrological treatises, among them another *Planeten Büchlein, Wie man eines jeden Menschen Art, Natur und Complexion, nach dem er under eim Planeten und Zeichen geboren ist, erkennen soll* (Straßburg, ca. 1555; a digitized copy of this text can be found online: VD16: C 5821).

No. 81

I. *Segreti varii mirabili & provarì per me Gioann Mateo Peccatrice.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Segreti varii mirabili et provati per me Gioann Mateo Peccatrice Spagnuolo nel Anno 1538* [UL: CM 51]

II. 10 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Gioann Mateo Peccatrice

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 81”

This text outlines short rituals for a range of purposes, such as finding a lover, receiving luck, gathering money, or healing wounds or fever. The ritual techniques include the manipulation of material ingredients, the use of sigils or caractères (i. 8, 13), and short conjurations (written in Latin)—in one case, notably, of Lucifer (i. 12). They are numbered on the margins, amounting to 27 in total.

No. 82

I. *Magia de furto i.e. unterschiedene Geheimnisse seine Sachen vor Dieben zu verwahren, Diebe zu bannen daß sie den Diebstahl müssen wieder bringen, auch solche auf unterschiedene Art zu peinigen und zu lediren.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA DE FURTO das ist Unterschiedene Geheimnisse, Seine Sachen vor dieben zu verwahren, diebe zu bannen, daß sie den diebstahl müssen wiederbringen, auch solche auf unterschiedene art zu peinigen und zu lediren.* [UL: CM 66]

II. 18 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 82”

CM 66 is all about protecting one's goods from thieves, regaining stolen goods, and punishing or torturing thieves by different procedures. These include the use of protective prayers, sigils and caractères (see i. 33), various types of divination, and the construction of a sophisticated figurine of the thief (i. 34). The technical terminology used throughout the text reveals that the text has been translated from Latin, and a Latin reader has indeed amended lengthy commentaries—which include alternative recipes—in the margins of some pages (see, e.g., i. 19–20). Some of the recipes in this book resemble prescriptions in the nineteenth century German compilation *Romanusbüchlein*.

No. 83

I. *Magia Visionum i.e. wie man Visiones und Gesichter haben soll, in Crystallen, Spiegeln, Metallen VVasser, Baum-Oele, nicht allein verborgene Dinge zu erfahren und verborgene Schätze auszuforschen, sondern auch insgemein alles was vorgehen und vorgenommen wird, ja alle verborgene Heimlichkeiten zu sehen und zu erkennen.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA. VISIONUM. d. i. wie man VISIONES u. Gesichter haben soll in Crystallen, Spiegeln, Metallen Waßer, Baum=Oele nicht allein verlohrene Sachen zu erfahren und verborgne Schätze auszuforschen; sondern auch insgemein Alles was vorgehet, u. vorgenom(m)en wird, ja alle verborgene Heimlichkeiten zu sehen u. zu erkennen. Joel. 3. Eure Jünglinge sollen Gesichte sehen.* [UL: CM 63]

II. 35 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 83”

This text is devoted to ‘Magia visionum’, i.e. ritual techniques for receiving visions of lost, stolen, distant or secret things. The preferred divinatory device is a mirror or crystal, but the text also outlines procedures that make use of a young boy or girl, a fountain, or an invoked angel. A substantial part of the text is devoted to consecrations and benedictions which, in the second half of the text, are partly written in Latin. The manuscript provides drawings of a ritual circle (i. 61) and a divinatory mirror (i. 65).

No. 84

I. *Claves Cabalisticæ quibus juxta mysticum numerorum sensum de dignitatibus, valetudine infirmi, amore, conjugis, furto, divitiis, & rerum aliarum futurarum eventu verum judicium ferre & un us cujuscunque hominis Genium sive sit bonus sive malus, invenire possimus.*

Complete title of manuscript: *CABBALA NUMEROSA CLAVES seu CABBALISTICÆ. Quibus, juxta mysticum numerorum sensum, de dignitatibus, valetudine in firma, amore, coniugiis, furto, divitiis, et rerum aliorum futurarum eventu versu latino verum indicium ferre possim(us).* Sap: II. v. 22. *Deus omnia ordinavit mensura numero et pondere x.* [UL: CM 64]

II. 25 leaves (4°)

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 84”

CM 64 outlines a numerological system for a divinatory inquiry-response technique. We are not aware of a Latin template bearing the title *CABBALA NUMEROSA CLAVES seu CABBALISTICÆ*, but the manuscript provides further traces of a Latin template, such as a Latin list of divinatory topics (i. 23). ‘Caballa’ here refers to the reciprocal assignment of numbers and letters (the relation is mapped on the bottom of i. 13), and the procedure works through posing a question and calculating

the numerological value of its word-components (eventually represented by their first or last letter) in a manner much too complicated to be outlined here. After an explanation of the calculation procedure, the text provides a large number of numerological tables (i. 24–53), which are divided into 15 main themes.

No. 85

I. *Liber Naturæ, das ist, das Buch der Natur und VVissenschaft aller vergangenen Dinge.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Liber Naturæ et Scientia Rerum præteritarum*. [UL: CM 58]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 85”

This divinatory text outlines the fabrication of seven rectangular numerological sigils ascribed to the seven planets. During pre-defined astrological timeframes, the sigils are to be drawn on leaves (i. 10: ‘Blätter’), and issues such as the ‘secrets of the potentates’ (i. 12), the ‘powers of sorcery’ (i. 16), or ‘theft, murder, adultery’ (i. 20) are revealed by looking ‘into’ (or simply at) the sigils.

No. 86

I. *Processus Matrimonii cum Nymphis.*

Complete title of manuscript: *PROCESSUS MATRIMONII CUM NYMPHIS* [UL: CM 44]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 86”

This peculiar text outlines how to ‘marry’ an elemental being, a ‘nymph’. The idea goes back to the fictional French story *Comte de Gabalis*, which was first published anonymously in 1670 but authored by Nicolas-Pierre-Henri de Montfaucon de Villars (1635–1673). The story takes place in an Rosicrucian milieu and discusses, as one of its main motifs, the possibility of receiving ‘supreme wisdom’ and ‘spiritual rebirth’ by marrying an elemental being. The fourfold distinction of salamanders (fire), nymphs (water), sylphs (air), and gnomes (earth) goes back to a (Pseudo-) Paracelsian treatise entitled *Liber de nymphis, sylphis, pygmaeis et salamandris et de caeteris spiritibus* (first publ. Basel 1590), but the idea

of ‘marrying elements’ was popularized by de Villar’s *Comte de Gabalis*, which was widely read after its publication (see Hanegraaff 2012, 222–27, for further details). It is surprising that, only a few decades after the publication of *Comte de Gabalis*, we encounter a German manual on how one can actually put the idea into practice. Until now it has been assumed that such practices emerged in the late nineteenth century only, with the *Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor* as one of its first recipe-holders (see for their ritual procedure Godwin/Chanel/Deveney 1995, 107–120).

As this is an interesting finding, the ritual mechanics outlined in this treatise shall be summarized in greater detail: choose a new, clean room; equip it with a new bed, mattress, pillow, table, armchair or chair and fumigate frankincense and myrrh for several days. On the first Friday of a new moon fast until the ‘stars are in the sky’ (i. 5); wear a new skirt, pants, socks, shoes and hat, and go to the room at ten o’clock in the evening without telling anyone. Fumigate the room and equip the table with plates, bread, vases and glasses with fresh fountain water as well as a ‘pentaculum veneris’ (i. 6). Thereafter follows a series of prayers to be uttered while sitting on a chair in front of the door (where ‘the spirits [Geister] shall enter’: i. 7) which include several series of voces magicae written in red ink. After the last invocation one hears a ‘noise’ (‘Geräusche’: i. 9) and is to lay down on the bed, while three ‘dames’ (‘Weibsbilder’: 9) of ‘angellike beauty’ (‘englischer Schönheit’: i. 9–10) will enter the room, greet you and laugh pleasantly while sitting down on the bed. Do not say a word and they will begin playing with cards and dice. The two dames that lose the game will mournfully leave the room, whereas the winning dame will ask ‘why have you called me?’ (i. 10). You are to answer: ‘Most beautiful and noble being, I have called you to know your name, feast upon your beauty, and enjoy your wisdom’ (i. 10). A marriage proposal in the light of ‘your and my creator’ follows, accompanied by an oath of faithfulness (‘touching no other earthly creature’: i. 11), further ceremonial formulations, and finally drinking the fountain water and eating the bread. The ‘dame’ reveals her name, promises to serve you, make you happy, rich, and ‘big’ (i. 13), but also threatens that you will be the most miserable human being on earth if you break your oath. As a token of the marriage, she gives you a precious piece of jewellery, her ‘virtuous love’ (i. 13), she embraces you, takes you by the hand and accompanies you to bed. You will experience ‘lust and delight’ which you may never have with any mortal being (i. 14). She will also teach all the arts and sciences, help in ‘word and deed’ (i. 14)

and make you and your kin rich. The text concludes with a short indication of how to release this auspicious entity.

No. 87

I. *Salomonis Trismosini Cabbala*.

Complete title of manuscript: *SALOMONIS TRISMOSINI CABALA* [UL: CM 57]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 87”

CM 57 appears to be translated from a Latin template and outlines the fabrication of four astrological amulets, here called ‘Magitten’. After a short introduction, the text outlines the required metals and astrological timeframes, provides the drawings and caractères to be inscribed onto the amulets (i. 9/10), and describes their purposes (among them ‘knowing something fast’: i. 13; ‘learning secret arts’: i. 14; ‘explore all languages’: i. 17; ‘get food and drinks delivered over 1000 miles’). The final section, which partly shifts into Latin, outlines a divinatory technique that makes use of different images and caractères (i. 21–3), which are to be drawn onto the practitioner’s left hand with black ink.

No. 88

I. *Processus versus Spiritum familiarem invitrum includendi*.

Complete title of manuscript: *Processus Versus Spiritum Familiarem in vi=trum includendi*. [UL: CM 105]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 88”

This text outlines another procedure for banning one’s ‘familiar spirit’ into a glass. The ritual lasts three weeks and consists of drawing a ritual circle, whereby two lampstands are put on the outer margins, and a glass into the middle (drawing on i. 7). One is to cut a piece out of the glass of one of the room’s windows, so that the spirit can throw a stone through the hole upon its arrival. A short invocation traps the spirit into the glass, which may bring ‘10000 kronen’ (i. 7) a day.

No. 89

I. *Kurtze Betrachtung von der Geistlichen und natürlichen Cabbala.*

Complete title of manuscript: *Kurtze Betrachtung von der Geistlichen und natürlichen Cabala dem hochverständigen Urtheil des fürtrefflichen Senioris der Rosianischen Gesellschaft über geben von A. Gottlob: B.* [UL: CM 52]

II. 15 leaves (4°)

IV. Adam Gottlob Berlich

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 89”

This seems to be an original treatise authored by Adam Gottlob Berlich (b. 1662), a fairly unknown Paracelsian medic from Dresden. It is divided into two parts. The first half outlines what it means to be a true Christian from a Cabbalistic viewpoint, discusses hierarchies of angels, gives tentative remarks on their invocation, and argues that ‘the foundation of all miraculous effects is the true belief in Christ’ (i. 16); the second part outlines 24 characteristics and effects of demons (‘Teufel’), thus allowing for a proper differentiation between ‘black and white, supernatural and unnatural things and powers’ (i. 31).

No. 90

I. *Hermetis Hebraei Geheimnisse von denen Stunden des Tages und der Nacht, vwie auch von denen magischen Bildern und Figuren, so in denselben zu machen und vwie damit zu operiren*

Complete title of manuscript: *HERMETIS HEBRÆI. Geheimnüße von Denen Stunden des Tages und der Nacht wie auch von Denen Magischen Bildern und Figuren so in derselben zu machen und wie darmit zu operiren* [UL: CM 29]

II. 50 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 90”

This text discusses the ‘secrets of the Hebrews’ and is divided into three parts. After some introductory remarks, the first part lists the spirits of the 28 mansions of the moon (their names are written in red: i. 10–23); the second part outlines ritual procedures for each of the 24 h of the day, which include astrological timeframes, amulets with caractères (e.g., i. 24, 36, 39, 41, etc.), material artefacts, and short invocations; the third section provides seven numerological seals (i. 87–104) which increase in complexity.

No. 91

I. *Kabala Mosaica s. revolutio alphabetaria Kabalistica Hebræo-Latina concinna*

Complete title of manuscript: *Kabala Mosaica seu Revolutio Alphabetaria Kabalistica Hebræo-Latina concinna*. [UL: CM 28]

II. 63 leaves (4°)

IV. Moses

V. Latin (title), Latin/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 91”

CM 28 outlines the mechanics of ‘Kabbalah Mosaica’, which here refers to a sophisticated system of numerology, i.e. a procedure for calculating letters into numbers, or of ‘Revolutio Alphabetaria’ (literally ‘circulation of the alphabet’: i. 7). The text provides all sorts of correlatory tables in both Latin and Hebrew (e.g., i. 14–5, 28–32, 85–130), and numerous examples of the calculation procedure.

No. 92

I. *Figura di SS. Trinitate per di cui mezzo di sanno Le cosse Segrete.*

Complete title of manuscript: *FIGURA di S.S. TRINITA per di cui mezzo di sanno le cosse Segrete* [UL: CM 106]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 92”

This text outlines a divinatory procedure for ‘knowing secret things’ (i. 5). One is to draw two images onto two sides of a paper amulet (i. 4–5), add what one wishes to know, utter some prayers (i. 7–9) and put the amulet under one’s head while asleep. The Trinity image (i. 4) very much resembles the one in entry No. 68 (CM 124: see therein i. 15).

No. 93

I. *Clavicola di Salomone tradatti della lingua hebraica, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *CLAVICOLA DI SALOMONE Tradatti dalla lingua hebraica dal dotissimo Mathematico Melchior d’ Egypto. Il qual dopo haverli provati li divulgo* [UL: CM 71]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Solomon

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 93”

Despite its catchy title, this text is a collection of 11 shorter ‘experimenta magica’ (i. 5), thus lacking the length, structure and systematic approach of the *Clavicula Salomonis* genre. The ritual mechanics include basic astrological calculations, Latin invocations with voces magicae, the manipulation of material artefacts, and the use of amulets with caractères (drawings on i. 6, 11, 20); the ritual goals include invisibility, love, or divination. The final recipe is about fabricating a divinatory mirror, which resembles the one in entry No. 122 (CM 45).

No. 94

I. *M. Busini Philosophiæ arcana physica quibus metalla & thesauri in terra latentes inveniri nullo negotio possunt*

Complete title of manuscript: *PHILOSOPHIÆ Arcana Physica quib(us) mediantib(us) metalla et thesauri in terra latentes nullo negotio inveniri possunt, producta a Michaelē Busino, è Societ: Jesu.* [UL: CM 74]

II. 13 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Michael Businus

V. Latin (title), Latin/German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 94”

This text, allegedly authored by a Jesuit named Michaelē Busino (apparently a German, given various German parentheses throughout the text: see i. 20), outlines a ritual procedure subsumed under the headings ‘philosophia’ or ‘physica’. Said procedure is completely based on ‘logical’ and ‘rational’ principles (i. 5: ‘Haec Philosophiæ [...] veniit ex principiis logicis ad normam sana rationis’); accordingly, it can be demarcated from ‘magia daemonica’ (i. 6) and other ‘artes superstitiosas’ (i. 7), but instead aligned with ‘magia naturalis’ and ‘Cabbala’. The procedure consists of fabricating two ritual devices—a rectangular mirror and a divining rod (drawings on i. 14, 18)—following metallurgic and astrological rules. The last chapters provide astrological timeframes for performing the divinatory art (i. 21) and outline the planetary effects.

No. 95

I. *Liber Consecrationum & Conjuracionum rerum omnium probatissimus & antiquissimus, alias Flos florum dictus*

Complete title of manuscript: *LIBER Consecrationum et Conjuracionum probatissimus alias FLORUM FLOS dictus* [UL: CM 20]

II. 54 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 95”

This text begins with prayers to God and the Holy Spirit. After a brief hierarchy of ‘angels’ which begins with Lucifer, Beelzebub, and Sathanas (i. 12–13), the text provides an extensive list of spirits which, it is claimed (on i. 36), is taken from *De officiis daemonum* (this annotated demon list served as the main template of Johann Weyer’s influential *Pseudomonarchia daemonum*, first publ. 1577; the presumably earliest manuscript witness can be found in the early fifteenth century Ms. Coxe 25, fols. 173–87). The manual for the conjuration procedure (which begins on i. 36) is divided into numerous sub-chapters which outline the consecration of the ritual book (i. 45f.), a lengthy series of prayers and voces magicae (i. 72f.), and provide drawings of ritual circles (i. 91–92) as well as various tables that correlate the hours of the day, the days of the week, and the planets (i. 94–96). The text concludes with some practical notes on the art of ‘conjuring spirits’.

No. 96

I. *Verum Chaldaicum Vinculum, s. Cingulum Salomonis a Sybillis, Cabalisticis & negromanticis jam in veteri Testamento apud Hebræos a Magis usitatum, pro infallibili solutione, vinculatione, & alligatione contra omnes Spiritus, &c.*

Complete title of manuscript: *MIRACULA NATURÆ das ist Beschreibung etlicher göttlichen Sigillen wie auch des Schlangen Gürthels dadurch viele und große Dinge gewürckt werden* [UL: CM 11]

II. 8 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 96”

CM 11 provides drawings of seven circular sigils in total, which are to be painted on double paper or virgin parchment, and sewn into the inner lining of one’s jacket (i. 9–10: sigil A onto the right breast, sigil B onto the left breast, sigils 3 and 4 below the shoulders, etc.). The text also outlines the fabrication of a ‘snake belt’, but irritatingly fails to depict its necessary caractères. The end of the text outlines 18 effects of the sigil-belt-combination, among them protection from thunderstorms, health, happiness, economic success, receiving what one wishes from rulers, or protection from heartpain and violent death (i. 12–15).

No. 97

I. *Experimentum, vwie man eines verstorbenen Menschen Geist zu sich citiren solle, daß er komme, mit einem rede und Antvvort gebe vvas man ihn fraget*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPERIMENTUM MAGICUM. Wie man eines verstorbenen Menchen Geist zu sich citiren solle, daß er kom(m)e und mit einen rede, und antwort gebe waß man Ihn fraget* [UL: CM 123]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 97”

This text outlines a ritual procedure for evoking the spirit of a deceased person for divinatory purposes (etymologically, this is the original meaning of ‘necromancy’). The ritual takes place at a graveyard or similar location (where the deceased have been buried), and consists of excavating, fumigating, and baptising one of the bones (‘Gebeine’) of the deceased with consecrated water, uttering lengthy prayers with voces magicæ—which form the bulk of the text (i. 5–16)—and inscribing some of these onto the bone.

No. 98

I. *Experimentum Negromanticum von 3. Reitern*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPERIMENTUM MAGICUM mit 3. Soldaten Fortunati Beutel zu überkommen* [UL: CM 122]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 98”

This text outlines a conjuration procedure that makes use of a ritual circle (drawing on i. 13), a sword (‘Degen’), a parchment or paper inscribed with voces magicæ (i. 5), and lengthy invocations (i. 6–12). It is to be performed in a forest and aims at conjuring three ‘soldiers’ who will deliver three bags full of ‘Thaler [...] and Gold’ (i. 12). The text concludes with a short formula for releasing the spirits (i. 14: ‘Beurlaubung’).

No. 99

I. *Eine Vision in einen Glaß die löbliche Philosophie und Primam materiam zu lernen*

Complete title of manuscript: *PROCESSVS MAGICVS Eine Vision in einem Glaß die löbliche Philosophie und Primum materiam zu bannen* [UL: CM 121]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 99”

CM 121 outlines a procedure for invoking an angel into a crystal glass. The procedure, which requires a ‘pious and God-fearing friend’ (i. 5), includes a lengthy prayer, the shattering of an egg (which has been laid on a Thursday), and the pouring of the egg white into a glass of water. An angel will appear in the glass and shine in four colours, indicating the alchemical ‘prima materia’ (i. 9–10), and answer your questions.

No. 100

I. *Ein kurtzes aber sehr nützliches Büchlein, so von vielen in VVerck und in der That erfahren, in vvelchen man nicht allein alle vorstehende Gevvinn, Schaden, Glück, VViderstand und anders so ein Mensch zu vvisen begehret, erfahren, sondern nechst GOTT auch aller Menschen VVunsch und Gedancken sich in Handel und Gevverbe darnach habende zu richten eröffnet vvirtd, erfunden und an Tag gebracht*

Complete title of manuscript: *Ein kurtzes aber sehr nützliches Loß Büchlein so von vielen in Werck und in der That erfahren, in welchen man nicht allein alle vorstehende Gewinn, Schäden, Glück, wiederfand und anders so ein Mensch zu wissen begehret, erfahren, sondern auch nechst Gott aller Menschen wünsche und Gedancken, sich in Handel und Gewerck darnach habende zu richten, eröfnet wird, erfunden und an Tag gebracht* [UL: CM 73]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 100”

This text outlines a divination procedure that makes use of three dice, 17 pre-formulated questions, and 17 tables which provide short answers to each question (i. 8–24). The text provides a short introduction to the procedure (i. 5–6), and a table for calculating the results (i. 7). The questions include crucial issues such as ‘If one shall live short or long’, ‘If one shall receive a son or daughter’, ‘If one shall receive win or loss’, or ‘If one carries love for you or not’ (i. 6).

No. 101

I. *Tabula Smaragdina Hermetis*

Complete title of manuscript: *TABULA HERMETIS, SMARAGDINA, cum duobus Chracteribus et Sigillis wieder alle Zauberey und Hexerey Unterschiedene Wunder zu würcken* [UL: CM 120]

II. 5 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 101 et. 102”. CM 120 apparently includes two entries, even though these clearly belong together and have been written by the same hand.

CM 120 does not include the famous *Tabula Smaragdina*, but two recipes for fabricating apotropaic sigils. The first recipe (= entry No. 101: i. 5–8) revolves around a circular drawing of the so-called ‘Sator Square’ (i. 5). The Sator Square is a five-word Latin palindrome (‘sator arepo tenet opera rotas’) whose roots lie in Roman antiquity; its translation is still largely disputed. On the Sator Square see, extensively, Hofmann 1979. This version is to be inscribed onto a golden amulet and worn around the neck on ‘bare skin’; its function is to protect from ‘sorcery and witchcraft’ (i. 7: ‘hexerey und zaubery’). The manuscript provides another recipe with drawings of two further sigils (= entry No. 102: i. 9–11), which have a similar effect.

No. 102

See entry No. 101.

No. 103

I. *Character defensivus oder der AraberKunst sich feste zu machen*

Complete title of manuscript: *CHARACTER DEFENSIVUS oder Der Araber Kunst sich feste zu machen* [UL: CM 119]

II. 2 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 103”

This text provides a drawing of a circular sigil with voces magicae (i. 5), which is to be inscribed onto an iron amulet under the influence of Mars, pressed into a piece of bread or a consecrated host, and buried for 24 h. The recipe is clearly related to the so-called ‘Passauer Kunst’ (see entries No. 33 [CM 134] and No. 127 [CM 125]) as the sigil protects in war and skirmish (i. 6: ‘Scharmützel’) by making one’s body ‘solid’ (‘feste’).

No. 104*I. Pentaculum das Gervitter zu stillen*

Complete title of manuscript: *Ein herrliches Pentaculum das Gewitter zu stillen* [UL: CM 117]

II. 2 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 104”

This text provides a drawing of a circular ‘pentaculum’ (i. 5) which, drawn into water, makes a thunderstorm move into the direction one is facing. The four voces magicae depicted on the second page (i. 6) protect—if kept in one’s house—from thunderstorms.

No. 105*I. Hermoginis und Virgilii experimentum auf dem Mantel zu fahren*

Complete title of manuscript: *HERMOGENIS und VIRGILII Experimentum auf den Mantel zu fahren* [UL: CM 130]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Hermes / Virgil

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 105”

This text outlines a procedure for flying or ‘driving’ (‘fahren’) on a jacket (‘Mantel’) in order to cover long distances (i. 5: ‘Thousand Miles’) in a short time and without damaging body or soul. The procedure involves the help of companions, choosing a remote spot or forest, sewing a parchment inscribed with caractères into a jacket (these are depicted on i. 13), drawing a ritual circle, placing and stretching the coat within the circle, sitting down on the coat (including all companions: i. 6), and uttering a short invocation of the three ‘princes’ Sathalaron, Larathon, and Barbaroth (i. 7). Upon their arrival, they shall be invited onto the coat, the companions shall close their eyes, and the coat shall fly to the predetermined destination. Thereafter one is to thank the ‘noblest and serene princes’ for their obedience (i. 10). The text concludes with a release formula.

No. 106*I. Aliud experimentum in der Lufft zu fahren*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPERIMENTUM In der Luft zu fahren*
[UL: CM 115]

II. 2 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 106”

This text outlines a procedure for fabricating seven-league boots in order to ‘drive through the air’ (i. 4). One is to buy new shoes, inscribe some caractères and voces magicae onto leaden soles (drawings on i. 5), put the soles into the shoes and cover them with another pair of leather soles. There are no further prayers or ritual steps necessary: these miraculous shoes will simply take one wherever one wishes.

No. 107*I. Experimentum einem mit dem Bocke zu holen*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPERIMENTUM Einen auf den bocke zu holen* [UL: CM 114]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 107”

CM 107 provides a manual for making ‘Beelzebub’ appear in the shape of a ram, who will ‘bring you what you want to have’ (i. 5) and answer your questions. The ritual consists of choosing a spot on a bifurcation, meadow or forest, drawing a ritual circle (see i. 7) and uttering a short invocation with voces magicae. The ritual may be repeated three times, in case Beelzebub should not appear. When the ram has delivered everything and left, one is to cross oneself, obliterate the circle with the left foot, and go home ‘in the name of God’ (i. 7).

No. 108*I. Zrvey Pentacula das Gevvitter zu stillen*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPERIMENTUM, das donner wetter zu stillen zu vertreiben und zu wenden wohin man will mit folgenden Pentaculo* [UL: CM 113]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 108”

This text outlines a procedure for fabricating a two-sided sigil (i. 5: ‘Pentacul’) made of silver and gold and inscribed with voces magicae (drawings on i. 8 and 9). One is to take the sigil into the right hand, direct it towards a storm, and utter a short prayer (i. 6–7)—the sigil will ‘take the strength, violence, and power from the storm’ (i. 5).

No. 109

I. *Preparatio Tabulae Trinitatis*

Complete title of manuscript: *PRAEPARATIO TABULÆ TRINITATIS* [UL: CM 108]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 109”

This text provides a ‘tabula trinitatis’ (i. 5), which is to be inscribed onto a golden plate in the night of the Holy Trinity. If one holds it in one’s right hand, the ‘angel who protects your body’ (i. 6: ‘der deines Leibes Hüter ist’) will appear, answer your questions, and make you blissful and popular among ‘rulers and all human beings’ (i. 6).

No. 110

I. *Sigilla Trinitatis, e.g. Dei Patris, Filii & Spiritus S.*

Complete title of manuscript: *SIGILLA TRINITATIS* [UL: CM 109]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 110”

CM 109 provides drawings of three ‘trinity sigils’ (i. 5–7) equipped with voces magicae and pentagrams. The first sigil is ascribed to the Father, the second to the Son, and the third to the Holy Spirit. The manuscript lacks any further textual or ritual prescriptions.

No. 111

I. *Zubereitung eines Pentaculi durch dessen Krafft die Juden durchs Meer passiret*

Complete title of manuscript: *PENTACULUM durch deßen Krafft man eilends über das Meer und See fahren kan* [UL: CM 110]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German/Hebrew (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 111”

This text provides a drawing of a rectangular sigil with Hebrew script (i. 7) that is to be written on virgin parchment. It helps ships to cross the sea in a short time and with no risk of damage. Upon entering the ship, one is to hold the sigil in one’s right hand, silently utter an invocation of archangel Gabriel, and hide the sigil in a secret spot on the ship. Upon one’s arrival, one is to retrieve the sigil and store it at a clean location.

No. 112

I. *Rota Vitæ & Mortis*

Complete title of manuscript: *ROTA VITÆ ET MORTIS* [UL: CM 129]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 112”

This text provides a circular sigil named ‘rota vitæ et mortis’ or ‘sphaera biantis’, which allows for figuring out if someone shall live or die. It works through a simple calculation procedure (depending on the number of letters in one’s name, the hour, day, month, and year, etc.) which, applied to the ‘rota’, results in an outcome of either ‘A’ (live) or ‘B’ (die). The exact same ‘rota’ is depicted and described (polemically) in Kircher 1665, 233f.

No. 113

I. *Zwey Türckische Sigilla*

Complete title of manuscript: *2. Türkische Sigilla sambt deren bereitung* [UL: CM 126]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 113”

This text provides two ‘Turkish’ sigils (which include Arabic letters and ‘words’—the copist was neither proficient in Arabic nor Turkish), alongside Latin prescriptions of their fabrication. The first sigil is to be made for repelling bad spirits (even though a German parenthesis reads ‘through which [...] the Jews have passed through the sea’: i. 6); the second for attracting love.

No. 114

I. *Der General-Schlüssel von allen VVissenschaftten und Geheimnißsen Trithemy*
 Complete title of manuscript: *der General=Schlüssel zu allen Wißenschaften und Geheimnißen TRITHEMII des Apts zu Spanheim* [UL: CM 118]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Johannes Trithemius

V. German (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 114”

CM 118 provides, after a short foreword (i. 5–6), an overview of the powers and characteristics of the seven planets, and twelve basic rules for the ‘operation’ (i. 9–11). Therafter follows an ‘experimentum’ for attracting love between a man and a woman (i. 12–16). It works by preparing a ‘philtrum’, i.e., a potation which is to be mixed with a hexagonal sigil drawn on parchment and inscribed with the vox magica ‘Anael’. One is to write one’s name and the name of the desired person to the left and right of said vox magica (an example is provided on i. 16, using Cæsar and Julia). While preparing the philtrum one is to utter a short Latin prayer (i. 13), and the final mixture should be burnt and drunk for the ‘health of those whose love you demand’ (i. 15).

No. 115

I. *ThemaNativitatis Cabalisticum*

Complete title of manuscript: *THEMA NATIVITATIS CABBA listicum* [UL: CM 104]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 115”

This text provides four numerological squares (3x3) ascribed to Saturn (i. 3–5). According to the text, such squares allow for accurate predictions (here subsumed under the heading ‘cabalistiche und geomantice judiciren’: i. 7), as they are based on exact calculation rules, which are outlined in the second half of the text (i. 5–9).

No. 116

I. *Problema Summum mathematicum & Cabalisticum*

Complete title of manuscript: *PROBLEMA SUMMUM MATHEMATICUM CABALAISTICUM. daß ist Ein wegweiseer zur geheimen Theosophischen Cabale und Mathematic, dieselbe waß sie sey erklärende* [UL: CM 81]

II. 17 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 116”

This text outlines ‘Cabala’, here understood as the art of ‘sealed signs, words, and numbers’ (i. 5). Due to a large number of technical terms written in Latin, it is most likely a translation of a Latin template. The art is divided into five sub-disciplines: (1) ‘Geometria S. Proportia Numeralis’; (2) ‘Notariacon, alias Notaricon’; (3) ‘Combinatio Literaria’; (4) ‘Commutatio Literaria’; (5) ‘Supputatio’ (see i. 6). The features, calculation rules, and functions of these sub-disciplines are outlined and illustrated by exemplary calculations or correlation tables (i. 6–18). The second half of the text, which comprises a further 18 pages (i. 18–36), provides numerous ‘exempla’ of the aforementioned rules. This part of the manuscript may have functioned as some sort of workbook, as numerous calculations have been crossed through and amended in-between the lines or on the margins. It may also have been written over a longer period of time, given the qualities of different inks used throughout.

No. 117

I. *Rogerius Baco de Secretissimis naturæ mysteriis Supercælestibus*

Complete title of manuscript: *ROGERII BACONIS de Secretissimis Naturæ Mysteriis Supercælestibus Manuscriptum, h.e. Tractatus de Lapichis Philosophici Præparatione et Virtutibus ejus Supercælestibus. Secretus et reconditus* [UL: CM 67]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Roger Bacon

V. Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 117”

This text outlines a lengthy alchemical procedure for producing ‘heavenly stones’ in which the ‘stars of the heaven have concentrated all their powers’ (i. 10–11). These stones may be used for different purposes, among them healing, repelling one’s enemies, protection, or knowing ‘divine secrets and revelations’ (i. 5). The latter is realized through a divinatory technique which consists of placing the stones in front of four

different astrological ‘tables’ (‘Tabellen’, depicted on i. 16) and uttering short prayers.

No. 118

I. *L’ esperimento de Spinto Barone per chiamarlo e legarlo*

Complete title of manuscript: *L’ ESPERIMENTO DEL SPIRITO BARONE per chiamarlo e legarlo* [UL: CM 12]

II. 8 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “118”

CM 12 outlines a conjuration procedure for the spirit ‘Barone’ (see also entry No. 44 = CM 96). Its ritual mechanics include a ritual circle (drawing on i. 7), fumigations, ritual artefacts (among them a vase and the ‘brain of a cock’: i. 10), and lengthy conjurations which are partly written in Latin. As soon as ‘Barone’ appears, he will fulfil one’s wishes, answer one’s questions, and perform the tasks one commands. Interestingly, if ‘Barone’ is disobedient, one can place him in a ‘carafe’, seal it with ‘virgin wax’ and roast it while uttering another Latin prayer (i. 12–13): then ‘Barone’ will certainly obey! He may be called anytime thereafter ‘per su nome’ (i. 15).

No. 119

I. *Oraculum Oneiromanticum, das ist 2. curieuse Experimenta in den Schlaf zu sehen vvas du verlangest*

Complete title of manuscript: *ORACULUM ONEIROMANTICUM, daß ist, 2. Curieuse Experimenta, in den Schlaff zu erfahren waß du wilt* [UL: CM 41]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. Paracelsus

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num. 119”

This text, ascribed to Paracelsus in its first headline (i. 5), outlines two procedures for dream divination. The first recipe works by fabricating a special ink (made of saffron and other ingredients) and a special quill, and by writing down the name of God (‘Tetragrammaton’), one’s own name, and one’s desire on virgin parchment at a specified time while uttering a short German prayer; one is to stick the parchment into one’s right ear, utter another prayer, and go to sleep. The second recipe, apparently written by a different hand, provides a pre-arranged set of voces

magicae (i. 8) to be written on a slip of paper, alongside one's query; after a short prayer, the slip is to be put under one's head while asleep.

No. 120

I. *Il Segreti di Salmi di Davide*

Complete title of manuscript: *I SEGRETI di SALMI di DAVIDE* [UL: CM 42]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

III. yes

IV. David

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "120"

This is a collection of 22 short Italian recipes, all of which work through writing a biblical psalm and a cluster of caractères onto different writing materials. The particular psalm and caractères used depend on the ritual goals, which include the facilitation of childbirth or abortion, healing, love, killing one's enemies, or receiving whatever one wishes. Interestingly, the last recipe against 'bad fever' (i. 15–16), which works through uttering a short Latin prayer and writing down the vox magica 'ABRACADABRA' in the so-called 'Schwindeschema' ('fading scheme'), goes all the way back to Roman antiquity, first attested in chapter 51 of Quintus Serenus' *Liber Medicinalis* (see Önnersfors 1991, 25f., 62).

No. 121

I. *Segreto magico di Scorpione o Mavaron per castigar inimici assenti*

Complete title of manuscript: *SEGRETO MAGICO di SCORPIONE O MAVARON per castigar i nemici assenti* [UL: CM 43]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "121"

This text provides a circular sigil (ascribed to Scorpio with its alternative name 'Mavaron': i. 7) to be written on virgin paper on a Saturday, alongside Psalm 109 and the name of an 'absent enemy' (i. 5) to be chastised or killed. The ritual mechanics also include the fabrication of a wax figure, prayers and fumigations.

No. 122

I. *Lo pechio magico per Visioni & Rispose varie*

Complete title of manuscript: *LO SPECCHIO MAGICO PER VISIONI et Risposte varie* [UL: CM 45]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian (title), Italian/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “122”

This is a recipe for fabricating a divinatory mirror ascribed to the spirit ‘Horosiel Princeps Scientarum’. The procedure involves the use of a table equipped with either a mirror or a crystal glass, astrological calculations, the use of a large rectangular sigil inscribed with voces magicae, hexagrams, and caractères (drawing on i. 6), and a short Latin invocation of ‘Horosiel Princeps Scientarum’ (i. 7), to be repeated 21 times. A similar ritual is outlined in entry No. 93 (CM 71).

No. 123

I. *Il velo & Invisibilta o Fegreto mirabile per andar in qualsivoglia luogo invisibile*

Complete title of manuscript: *IL VELO d’ INVISIBILTA o SEGRETO MIRABILE Per andar in qualsivoglia luogo invisibile* [UL: CM 46]

II. 2 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “123”

CM 46 hosts a fascinating short recipe for receiving an invisibility coat. One is to fabricate dough by chewing wheat flower and mixing it with well water in a ‘new earthenware vase’ (i. 5), go to a gallows, chop its wood, make a fire and bake the mixture. Once it is baked, one is to engrave a circular drawing onto a piece of wood, taken from the gallows, which includes the words ‘Pane—pizza’ (drawing on i. 5). If one inserts this piece of wood into the pizza and utters ‘Candur, Candur, Candur’, a ‘black man’ (i. 6: ‘huomo nero’) will appear and deliver the coat—but one is to make sure to give him the bread first.

No. 124

I. *Magia Cercorum; tre imagini magie 1. de Amore 2. d’ Odio, 3. Impiagar il nemico*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA CEREORUM. TRE IMAGINI MAGICE* 1. d' Amore. 2. d' Odio. 3. *Impiagar il Nemico* [UL: CM 47]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Italian/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "124"

This text provides three short recipes for love, chastising an enemy, and tearing lovers apart. All work through the use of astrological calculations, fumigations, figurines made from virgin wax and inscribed with voces magicae or caractères (drawing on i. 7), and short Latin conjurations.

No. 125

I. *Ein hohes Geheimniß Gottes durch einen guten Engel in Schlaf*

Complete title of manuscript: *Ein Hohes Geheimnis GOTTES durch einen gutten Engel in Schlaff* [UL: CM 111]

II. 4 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference "125"

This is a recipe for receiving a divine vision in one's sleep. The bulk of the text consists of lengthy prayers to God, to be uttered on one's knees in front of a crucifix, alone in one's room, on a Saturday night during full moon. When going to bed, one is to place a sophisticated circular sigil under one's head (drawing on i. 10).

No. 126

I. *Einen Magischen Ducaten oder vvas vor Schlag oder Sorten man haben vvill, (nur daß der vverth nicht über 2. Rthl. austrage) zu machen, vvelchen man des Tages drey-mahl ausgeben und verrvechseln kan, und er sich alle-mahl vvieder einfindet*

Complete title of manuscript: *Einen Magischen Ducaten, oder was vor Schlag oder Sorten man haben will* |: *nur daß der werth über 2 thlr nicht außstrage* :| *zumachen, welchen man des Tages 3 mahl außgeben und verwechseln kan, und er sich doch allemahl wieder einfindet, dabey aber derjenige so ihn einwechselt keinen Schaden hat, sondern er wird eben dergleichen Müntze* |: *wie er eingewechselt* :| *in seinen behältnis finden* [UL: CM 112]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “126”

This text outlines a procedure for fabricating a silver or golden coin which duplicates itself up to three times a day upon purchasing something, thereby returning into one’s purse. It works by fumigating an unused gold or silver coin (which is to be placed under a yellow or white canopy made of taffeta) for 30 days while remaining chaste and clean. Therafter one impregnates mint into the coin while uttering a short conjuration to a spirit ‘in the name Zardia’ (i. 5) at a specified time, depending on the weekday (a table is provided on i. 6).

No. 127I. *Character defensivus oder die grosse Arabische kunst vor Festigkeit*

Complete title of manuscript: *CHARACTER DEFENSIVUS oder Die größe Arabische Kunst vor Festigkeit* [UL: CM 125]

II. 2 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “127”

This recipe belongs to the so-called ‘Passauer Kunst’ and provides two drawings of circular sigils (i. 5) which are to be drawn or pressed onto a piece of bread (i. 4: ‘aufs Brod gedrückt’) under the influence of Mars. The bread is to be eaten before sunrise: it grants invulnerability against shooting, cannons, and stabbing.

No. 128I. *Kurtze Zubereitung eines martialischen magischen Spiegels*

Complete title of manuscript: *Kurtze Zubereitung Eines Martialischen Magischen Spiegels* [UL: CM 103]

II. 2 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “128”

This text outlines a recipe for fabricating a divinatory mirror that shows everything someone has already done or is yet to experience until the end of his or her life. It is made of steel during the first hour of the night or day, inscribed with caractères on its back side (drawings on i. 4 and 5), and slathered with a portion of salvia which the respective person has kept under his or her arms.

No. 129

I. *Magia Pigmeorum oder Bericht vwie der Mensch von den Berg mænchen vvelche bey denen verborgenen Schätzen oder Bergvvercken hüten, auf alles vvas man fraget darauf Antvvort bekommen, und die verborgenen Schätze oder Bergvvercke erlangen kænne*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA PIGMEORUM oder Bericht wie Der Mensch von den Berg=Mänchen welche bey denen verborgenen Schätzen oder Bergwercken hütten, auf alles was man fraget darauf Antwort bekommen, und die verborgene Schätze oder Bergwercke erlangen könne* [UL: CM 102]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

V. German/Latin (title), German (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “129”

CM 102 provides an outdoor recipe for conjuring ‘princes’ (i. 6) which protect hidden treasures (the title reads ‘Berg-Mänchen’—‘mountain pigmies’—but this formulation is not found in the text). The ritual works through placing a new table with chairs, meals and beverages at a secret location where one expects hidden treasure, e.g. in a mine (‘Bergwerk’: i. 5). Persuaded by means of animal sacrifice, fumigations, conjurations and a shared meal, the ‘princes’ will bring gold and silver, herbal remedies, ‘wild animals’ (i. 7), and answer questions: ‘Summa Summarum: they do what one demands’ (i. 7).

No. 130

I. *Magia Imaginum*

Complete title of manuscript: *MAGIA IMMAGINUM* [UL: CM 101]

II. 6 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. Latin (title), German/Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “NUM. 130”

This text provides four short recipes: one for making someone ‘cursed, despised, or stinky among the people’ (i. 5), two for love, and one for divination. All make use of a wax figure (‘imaginum’). The text was most certainly translated from Latin, indicated, for instance, by the divinatory ‘prayer card’ (‘Gebethzettel’: drawing on i. 10) described in the last recipe.

No. 131

I. *Oraculum Crystallomanticum S. Crystallomantia dabey eine absonderliche Art die Schätze zu erforschen und zu finden*

Complete title of manuscript: *ORACULUM CRYSTALLOMANTICUM Seu CRYSTALLOMANTIA dabey Eine absonderliche Arth die Schätze zu erforschen und zu finden. zu Prage 1563* [UL: CM 127]

II. 21 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “131”

This text outlines a divination procedure for finding treasure that makes use of a crystal sphere and a child or maiden. The bulk of the text consists of lengthy prayer sections (which include voces magicae and Latin parentheses) that are used for consecrating and sanctifying the child, the ritual devices, and the operator and, in the second half of the text, for conjuring the spirits that guard the treasures. The text provides several sets of caractères and pentagrams (i. 33, 35, 38) used for banishing the spirits. On the final page a scribe has placed the date ‘May 14, 1563’ (i. 44).

No. 132

I. *Zwey sonderbahre Arten verborgene Sachen zu erfahren*

Complete title of manuscript: *Zwey sonderbahre Arthen verborgene Sachen zuerfahren* [UL: CM 100]

II. 3 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “132”

This text provides two divinatory techniques that make use of the Bible (Bibliomancy). The first recipe works, after a short prayer, by opening the Bible on a random page and browsing forward by means of a particular calculation (one is to move on seven pages, take the 7th word in the 8th row of the 7th chapter, and count forward eight letters of the 8th word, etc.) until one finds the ‘correct’ chapter which ‘will give an answer to your request’ (i. 7). The second recipe is simpler in that one is to open the Bible on a random page and take the first letter of the first word on the left page: the text provides a pre-formulated answer for each of the 26 letters (i. 7–8).

No. 133

I. *Kurtze Anleitung oder Unterricht von der vvahren Magia*

Complete title of manuscript: *Kurtze anleitung oder Unterricht von der wahren MAGIA* [UL: CM 49]

II. 7 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “133”

This ‘short manual or lesson of the true magic’ (title) is all about finding the correct astrological moment for performing an ‘experiment’. Accordingly, the text assigns the seven planets to the weekdays and daily hours (a table is provided on i. 6), to different ritual goals and techniques (love, hate, invisibility, money, divination, etc.) and to different constellations of the planets and the signs of the zodiac. The text begins with an interesting claim: ‘The key or beginning of all magic is first to fear God, to honour Him wholeheartedly, and to worship Him with great devotion in all our acts and incipencies’ (i. 5).

No. 134

I. *Experimenta Magico magnetica, i.e. unterschiedene Magnetische und Sympathetische Curen vieler Kranckheiten*

Complete title of manuscript: *EXPERIMENTA Magico Magnetica daß ist Unterschiedene Magnetische oder Sympathetische Curen. Der Vornehmsten Kranckheiten so sonst auff gemeine art sich nicht wollen curiren lassen. colligiret von S. S. M. D* [UL: CM 10]

II. 42 leaves (4°)

IV. S. S. M. D (?)

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “134”

This text deals with ‘magnetic cures’, i.e. medical procedures that make use of lodestones and other ‘sympathetic’ effects, thus healing diseases that are incurable by ‘regular means’ (‘gemeine Art’: i. 7). Most likely, such procedures go back to Paracelsus who was one of the first European medics to recommend lodestones in healing procedures (Paracelsus is indeed mentioned on i. 84). An inspirational source of CM 10 may have been Johan Baptista van Helmont’s (1580–1644) *De magnetica vulnerum curatione* (first publ. 1610 in Paris) that was translated into German by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth in 1683 (see Dilg/Rudolph 1993, 50). CM 10 is divided into 10 chapters and goes through all sorts of diseases, injuries and magnetic cures, including a recipe for the ‘weapon salve’ (i. 78–82) which heals a wound by being applied to the

weapon that caused it. The text is replete with technical terms written in Latin, and an index is provided at the end (i. 85–87), whose chapter headings are also written in the margins.

No. 135

I. *Theophr. Paracelsi Chymisches medicinisches vade mecum*

Complete title of manuscript: *THEOPHRASTI PARACELSI CHYMISCHES und MEDICINISCHES VADEMECUM In welchen offenbahr gelehret wird 1. die Universal Medicin auf Menschen und Metalle, zum andern die Particular Tincturen, und 3tens unterschiedene Haupt Medicamenta, wie auch Sympathetische Arcana zubereiten* [UL: CM 82]

II. 11 leaves (4°)

IV. Paracelsus

V. German/Latin (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “Num: 135”

This Paracelsian ‘vademecum’ or handbook provides three chapters (‘Traktätlein’). The first outlines a procedure for fabricating a ‘Universal medicine’, i.e. a red tincture which allows for healing ‘all unlethal diseases’ (i. 8). The second chapter instructs how to fabricate six different tinctures, based on planetary conjunctions, while the third chapter provides recipes for eight different drugs against diseases of the head.

No. 136

I. *Curieuses Roß Artzney Büchlein*

VII. This catalogue entry is missing in the Leipzig archive.

No. 137

I. *Ausführliche Beschreibung des Lacken*

VII. This catalogue entry is missing in the Leipzig archive.

No. 138

I. *VWie man alle geringe VVeine durch Kunst der Natur verbessern und dero Kraft gedoppelt verstarcken kan*

VII. This catalogue entry is missing in the Leipzig archive.

No. 139

I. *Artzney Buch für alle Gebrechen vor Zauberey der alten Huren und Hexen zugebrauchen*

Complete title of manuscript: *Von gründlicher Heylung der zauberischen Schäden und vergifften Ascendenten Zustandt* [UL: CM 83]

II. 22 leaves (4°)

III. yes

V. German (title and content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “139”

This text outlines procedures for healing damages and diseases that arise from ‘sorcery’ (‘zauberey’) or ‘witchcraft’ (‘hexerey’). Interestingly, most procedures work by purely herbal means (i.e., by salves or tinctures). Only at the end of the text we encounter recipes that make use of prayers and voces magicæ or caractères inscribed onto forks (i. 42) or sigils (i. 46). In early modern Europe, recipe-collections against the effects of ‘sorcery’/‘witchcraft’ were often appended to exorcist handbooks (see, e.g., the third part of Menghi’s *Flagellum daemonum*, first publ. 1576, Bologna; cf. Probst 2008).

No. 140

I. *Magia Cryptographica das ist: unterschiedene Magische Alphabete, vwo durch man den Sinn der alten VVweisen in ihren verborgenen Schriften entdecken kan*

Complete title of manuscript: *Magia Cryptographica S. Tractatus de Modio occulte scribendi. das ist Unterschiedene Magische Alphabete, wo durch man den Sinn der alten weisen, in ihren verborgenen Schriften entdecken kann* [UL: CM 65]

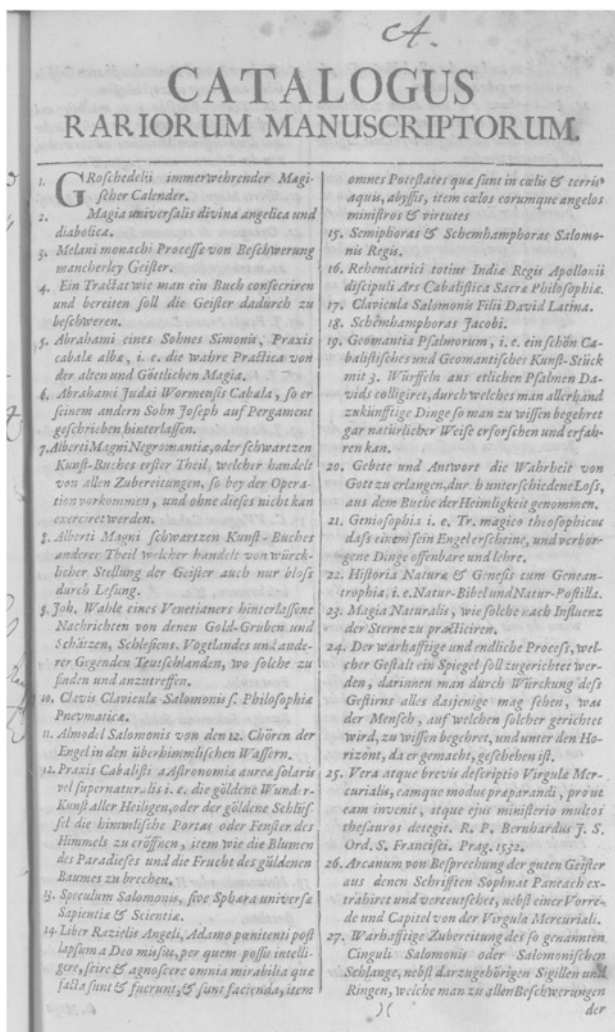
II. 10 leaves (4°)

V. Latin/German (title), Latin (content)

VII. Manuscript title with reference “140”

CM 65 provides 65 alphabets of caractères and other unusual or non-semantic signs that are to be found in texts of ‘learned magic’. Each alphabet comes with a Latin heading and a transcription of the respective sounds, but there are no further commentaries whatsoever. A contemporaneous German manuscript of ‘learned magic’ completely written in a caractères script is Ms. Kassel 8° Ms. astron. 7 (online available—URL: <http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1374150101659/1/>; last access March 13, 2017), ed. and transl. Pfeil/Lüdemann 2016. A similar but smaller collection of four alphabets of caractères can be found in Agrippa of Nettesheim’s *De occulta philosophia*, book 3, chapters 29–30.

APPENDIX B: IMAGES OF THE ORIGINAL CATALOGUE (1710)

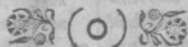


CATALOGUS RARIORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM (Stadtarchiv
Leipzig/Municipal Archive Leipzig, Tit. XLVI Nr.152 Bd. IV, fol. 47)

der Schätze und wieder alle böse Geister als ein Schirm gebrauchen kan.	38. Wahrer Proceß einen dienßbaren Geist in Glase und Ringe einzuschließen.	61. Magia
28. Beschreibung des von denen 7. Meistern und Philosophis entsponnenen Globi oder verborgenen Fünde oder Kugelwercks, wie dasselbe soll gemacht werden.	39. Die Teufels-Preiße i. e. mächtige und kräftige Beschwörungen die bösen Geister aus den besessenen Menschen zu vertreiben, von den Schätzen zu verjagen, &c.	62. Dra
29. Alberti M. Tr. von den 12. himmlischen Zeichen und ihren Sigillis, item von den 12. himmlischen Zeichen und ihren Characteribus, und denn von den 7. Planeten, ihren magischen Ringen samt ihren grossen Heimpli-keiten, Kräften, Tugenden und Nutzen, und letztlich von denen Speculis magicis mit zugehörigen Instrumenten und Sigillen nebst dessen hohen Gebrauch.	40. Tr. de arte Phytonica.	63. Pe
30. Magia Amatoria i. e. natürliche und über- natürliche Geheimmüsse und Experimente die Liebe zu erwecken.	41. Alberti Magni Cabala nigra, das ist: 8. grof- ser Welt-Geister Beschwörungen.	64. Na
31. Pallium magicum i. e. experimente sich un- sichtbar zu machen.	42. Oxiungium de citazione Spirituum.	65. Ma
32. Magia Venatoria i. e. Geheimmüsse der Jäger, gewiß zu schießen, item einem einen Weydemann zu machen, solchen wiederum zu helfen, gewisse freye Schüsse zu haben, das Wild zu bannen, nebst unterschiedenen andern Geheimmüssen.	43. Bischoff Albrechts Geister Beschwörungen, 20. mächtige Geister zu citiren.	66. Fra
33. Magia militaris i. e. natürliche und über- natürliche Geheimmüsse sich feste zu machen, die rechte Passauer Kunst, feste wiederum aufzuthun, Reuter ins Feld zu machen, Kugeln abzuweisen, Stücke zu versagen, daß wenn du mit d. inner Klinge deines Gegners anrührst, solche muß zu springen, nebst un- terschiedenen Cabalistischen Geheimmüssen vor alle Feinde, eine belagerte Stadt vor sei- nen Feinden zu beschützen, daß er solche nicht kan bestürmen noch einnehmen, seine Feinde in der Schlacht zu überwinden, daß ein Kriegs-Heer sich in die Flucht zertrenne, eine belagerte Stadt zu infortunicen, &c.	44. Experimentum cum Spiritu Barone, zu bekommen was man verlange.	67. The
34. Magia Odii i. e. Geheimmüsse unter 2. lie- benden Personen Feindschaft zu erwecken, item unterschiedene Secreta daß einem die Feinde nicht schaden können, item Feinde wie sie zu erkennen, und wie solche magi- scher Weise zu lediren.	45. J. Fausti Praxis Cabale alba & nigra &c.	68. Cha
35. Magia Captivorum i. e. Geheimmüsse Ge- fangene zu erledigen.	46. J. Fausti Miracul und Wunder-Buch ge- nannt der Hallen-Zwang, &c.	69. St
36. Magia claustra aperiendi i. e. etliche Expe- rimenta Schlaffer aufzumachen.	47. J. Fausti Practicirter Geister-Zwang.	70. St
37. Salomonis Filii David Beschwörungen der Olympischen Geister.	48. J. Fausti so genannter schwarzter Mohren- Stern.	71. Abs
	49. J. Fausti Haupt und Kunst-Buch, i. e. aller Cabalisten und vreisien Fundamental-Praxis zur Lehre in geheim seinem Diener Christoph Wagnern hinterlassen.	72. Pl
	50. J. Fausti Gauckel-Tasche.	73. Geb
	51. C. VVagneri Cabala Nigra, oder der vvar- haffte Hallen-Zwang, &c.	74. len
	52. J. Fausti Hallen-Zwang i. e. ausführlicher Unterricht vvelcher Gestalt die Geister zu beschwoeren, &c.	75. Reg
	53. Tr. Nigromanticus de consecratione Libri Spirituum.	76. Trit
	54. Clavicola di Salomone Italiana.	77. I
	55. Clavicula Salomonis Germanica mit vielen Pentaculis.	78. per
	56. Clavicula Salomonis Expurgata, oder des Königs Salomonis Schlüssel vverunderbar- licher Geheimmüsse.	79. mo
	57. Psalterium magicum i. e. der Psalter Da- vids mit seinen natürlichen magischen und Cabalistischen Influenzen, &c.	80. An
	58. Explicatio 10. Sephirarum divinatorum no- minum oder Erklärung des Cabalistischen Systematis und der allerheiligsten 10. Na- men Gottes.	81. Segre
	59. Hecatombe oder Hunder Lob-Sprüche wor- so viele VVolthaten Gottes alle Tage zu sprechen.	82. Gioan
	60. Das buchste Geheimmuß daß der Mensch unter der Sonnen haben mag, i. e. alle ver- borgene Dinge zu erforschen und zu wissen durch Urim und Thumim.	83. Magi
		84. nisse
		85. ren, D
		86. müssen
		87. tersch

in	61. <i>Magia i. e. 33. Sigilla Jesu Christi mit ihren VVürckungen.</i>	83. <i>Magia Visionum i. e. vwie man Visiones und Gesichter haben soll, in Crystallen, Spiegel, Metallen VVasser, Baum-Oele, nicht allein verborgene Dinge zu erfahren und verborgene Schätze auszuforschen, sondern auch ingemein alles vvas vorgebet und vorge- nommen vvird, ja alle verborgene Heimlich- keiten zu sehen und zu erkennen.</i>
ed	62. <i>Drey Bücher Pelagii von den Offenbarungen, dadurch alle VVeisheit, und der ganzen VVelt Heimlichkeit von Gott können er- lungen vverden.</i>	84. <i>Claves Cabalisticæ quibus juxta mysticum numerorum sensum de dignitatibus, valetu- dine infirmi, amore, conjugii, furto, divitiis, & rerum aliarum futurarum eventuum verum judicium ferre & un us cujuscumque homi- nis Genium sive sit bonus sive malus, invenire possimus.</i>
er	63. <i>Pelagii Eremita-Buch von Erkenntniß und Nahmen seines guten Engels.</i>	85. <i>Liber Nature, das ist, das Buch der Natur und VVissenstheiff aller vergangenen Dinge.</i>
en	64. <i>Pelagii Circulus. Tabula Veritatis.</i>	86. <i>Processus Matrimonii cum Nymphis.</i>
of-	65. <i>Magia Microcosmica.</i>	87. <i>Salomonis Trismosini Cabbala.</i>
en	66. <i>Franckenbergs Saphiriel i. e. himmlisches Licht und magischer Bericht die Geheim- nisse der Zahlen mit ihren Figuren nach Gattlicher Offenbarung und natürlicher Würckung gründlich zu gebrauchen.</i>	88. <i>Processus verus Spirituum familiarem invir- trum includendi.</i>
zu	67. <i>Franckenbergs Oculus Siderius oder neu- crassfacter Stern-Licht und Fern-Gesicht, &c.</i>	89. <i>Kurtze Betrachtung von der Geistlichen und natürlichen Cabbala.</i>
se-	68. <i>Ars Paulina alias notoria dicta cum Figuris.</i>	90. <i>Hermetis Hebraei Geheimnisse von denen Stunden des Tages und der Nacht, vwie auch von denen magischen Bildern und Figuren, so in denen selbst zu machen und vwie damit zu operiren.</i>
ge-	69. <i>Theophrasti liber de Septem Stellis & eorum Characteribus, & Spiritibus.</i>	91. <i>Kabala Mosaitica s. revolutio alphabetaria Kabalistica Hebraeo-Latin concinna.</i>
en	70. <i>Starcker Harnisch der 7. Planeten in ihren 7. Siegeln und 7. Metallen.</i>	92. <i>Figura di SS. Trinitate per di cui mezzo di fanno Re cosse segrete.</i>
ler	71. <i>Absonderliche Zubereitung der 7. Siegel der 7. Planeten nebst dessen Gebrauch, vvelches Geheimniß das vollkommenste ist unter al- len Geheimnissen unter der Sonnen.</i>	93. <i>Clavicola di Salomone tradatti della lingua hebraica, &c.</i>
zu	72. <i>Regis Salomonis 7. Sigilla Planetarum.</i>	94. <i>M. Bufini Philosophia arcana physica qui- bus metalla & thesauri in terra latentes inveniri nullo negotio possunt.</i>
ar-	73. <i>Trithemii 7. Sigilla Planetarum.</i>	95. <i>Liber Consecrationum & Conjuratum rerum omnium probatissimus & antiquissi- mus, alias Flos florum dictus.</i>
her	74. <i>I Anello di invisibilita e modo de havesto per mello di Spiriti in forma tre puite for- mose.</i>	96. <i>Verum Chaldaicum Vinculum, s. Cingu- lum Salomonis a Sybillis, Cabalisticis & negro- manticis jam in veteri Testamento apud Hebraeos a Magis usitatum, pro infallibili solu- tione, vinculatione, & alligatione contra omnes Spiritus, &c.</i>
zu	75. <i>Anelli negromantici del Salomone Re, &c.</i>	97. <i>Experimentum, vwie man eines verstorbenen Menschen Geist zu sich citiren solle, daß er komme, mit einem rede und Antwort gebe vvas man ihn fraget.</i>
ibri	76. <i>Mistero di prete Sculpine e vero anelli magici naturali de Salomone Re, &c.</i>	98. <i>Experimentum Negromanticum von 3. Reitern.</i>
den	77. <i>Preparatio Speculi Salomonis insignis & Sigillum Josue.</i>	99. <i>Eine</i>
des	78. <i>Zuvalff Signa Cælestia eorumque Sigilla magica.</i>	
vil-	79. <i>Astrologia brevis oder Erklärung der Pla- neten und Aspecten, &c.</i>	
Da-	80. <i>Ein seltsame vor ungeharte Practica Peter Creutzers, darinn angezeigt vvorden die Neigung und Influssung der Sternen VVürccklichkeit aller Stunden Tages und Nachts.</i>	
und	81. <i>Secreti varii mirabili & provati per me Gioann Mateo Peccatrice.</i>	
na-	82. <i>Magia de furto i. e. unterschiedene Geheim- nisse seine Sachen vor Dieben zu verwah- ren, Diebe zu bannen daß sie den Diebstahl müssen vvieder bringen, auch solche auf un- terschiedene Art zu peimigen und zu ladiren.</i>	
ben		
Tab-		
vor		
zu		
sfel-		
ver-		
ssen		
gis		

99. Eine Vision in einen Glas die tabliche Philosophie und Primam materiam zu lernen.
100. Ein kurtzes aber sehr nützliches Büchlein, so von vielen in VVerck und in der That erfahren, in welchen man nicht allein alle vorstehende Gevvinn, Schaden, Glück, VViderstand und anders so ein Mensch zu vVissen begehret, erfahren, sondern nechst Gott auch aller Menschen VVunsch und Gedanken sich in Handel und Gerverbe darnach habende zu richten eraffnet vVird, erfunden und an Tag gebracht.
101. Tabula Smaragdina Hermetis.
102. Zvvey Sigilla VVieder alle Zauberey und Hexerey.
103. Character defensusus oder der Araber Kunst sich feste zu machen.
104. Pentaculum das Gevvitter zu stillen.
105. Hermoginis und Virgilii experimentum auf dem Mantel zu fahren.
106. Aliud experimentum in der Luft zu fahren.
107. Experimentum eiuem mit dem Bocke zu holen.
108. Zvvey Pentacula das Gevvitter zu stillen.
109. Preparatio Tabule Trinitatis.
110. Sigilla Trinitatis, e. g. Dei Patris, Filii & Spiritus S.
111. Zubereitung eines Pentaculi durch dessen Krafft die Juden durchs Meer passirt.
112. Rota Vita & Mortis.
113. Zvvey Türckische Sigilla.
114. Der General-Schlüssel von allen VVissen-schaften und Geheimnissen Trithe-my.
115. Thema Nativitatis Cabalisticum.
116. Problema Summum mathematicum & Cabalisticum.
117. Rogerius Baco de Secretis finis natura mysterioris Supercaelestibus.
118. L' esperimento de Spinto Barone per chiar-marlo e legario.
119. Oraculum Onciromanticum, das ist z. curieuse Experimenta in den Schlaf zu sehen vvas du verlanget.
120. Il Segreti di Sabni di Davide.
121. Segreto magico di Scorpione o Mavaron per castigar inemici assenti.
122. Lo pechio magico per Visioni & Risposte varie.
123. Nivelo d' Invisibilita o Egreto mirabile per andar in qualivoglia luogo invisibile.
124. Magia Cereorum, tre imagini magia 1. de Amore 2. d' Odio, 3. Impiagar il nemico.
125. Ein hohes Geheimniß Gottes durch einen guten Engel in Schlaf.
126. Einen Magischen Ducaten oder vvas ver Schlag oder Sorten man haben vill, (nur d. 1. d. d. vwerth nicht über 2. Rhl. austrage) zu machen, vvelchen man des Tages dreymal ausgeben und verwechselt kan, und er sich allemahl wieder einfindet.
127. Character defensusus oder die groffe Arabische kunst vor Festigkeit.
128. Kurtze Zubereitung eines martialischen magischen Spiegels.
129. Magia Pignorum oder Bericht wie der Mensch von den Berg manchen vvelche bey denen verborgenen Schätzen oder Bergwerken hüten, auf alles vvas man fraget darauf Antwort bekommen, und die verborgenen Schätze oder Bergwerke erlangen kanne.
130. Magia Imaginum.
131. Oraculum Crystallomanticum S. Crystallomantia d. bey eine absonderliche Art die Schätze zu erforschen und zu finden.
132. Zvvey sonderbare Arten verborgene Sachen zu erfahren.
133. Kurtze Anleitung oder Unterricht von der vvairen Magia.
134. Experimenta Magico magnetica, i. e. unterschiedene Magnetische und Sympathetische Curen vieler Kranckheiten.
135. Theophr. Paracelsi Chymisches medicinisches vade mecum.
136. Curieuses Roß Artzney Büchlein.
137. Ausführliche Beschreibung des Lacken.
138. VVie man alle geringe VVeine durch Kunst der Natur verbessern und dero Kraft gedoppelt verstärken kan.
139. Artzney Buch für alle Gebrechen der Zauberey der alten Huren und Hexen zu brauchen.
140. Magia Cryptographica das ist: unterschiedene Magische Alphabete, wodurch man den Sinn der alten VVeisen in ihren verborgenen Schriften entdecken kan.



NOTES

1. Rules of semi-diplomatic transcription: The information of the titles is transcribed in the form and order in which it is presented in the source (including capitalization, punctuation, and spacing); letters, diacritics, and symbols are transcribed as they appear. Abbreviations are expanded to their full form where necessary (suspensions of German such as the ~ above the letter 'm', meaning a doubling of 'm' into 'mm', marked as '(m)'; contractions of Latin such as the left out 'us', signalled by a hyphen at the end of a word, marked as '(us)'; and the symbol] at the end of a word indicating the enclitic *-que* (and) is marked as '(que)').
2. Small non-semantic units such as ornaments, icons or 'caractères' will not be counted as drawings.
3. An 'author' is only mentioned in element IV when referred to on the title page of the manuscript, independent of his fictional, mythical, or apparently pseudepigraphical character.
4. Languages will only be mentioned in element V when they are used to build complete sentences. If texts include only chapter headings or few technical terms in a second language, we will not classify these as mixed texts; if, however, entire paragraphs, for example conjuration formulae, are written in a second language, both languages will be mentioned in element V, wherein the predominant language is mentioned first.
5. Element VI will only include texts that occupy an additional title page within the manuscript and clearly stem from a different author, text, or template; different recipes or 'experimenta magica' will not count as additional titles.

REFERENCES

- [Anonymous] *Arbatel De Magia Veterum, Joviel. Oriel. Gabriel Pomiell. Saturiel deutet an ein langes Leben und grosses Alter / langsam im Sterben / bedeutet auch viel Mühe und Trübsal. Joviel deutet an Herrlichkeit / Magnificentz und Reichthum. Gabriel deutet an Dienstbarkeit etc. Oriell deutet an in der Jugend / Stärcke / Kühnheit / Frechheit und Fröligkeit. Pomiell deutet an viel Widerwärtigkeit und Verdruß* (Wesel 1686).
- Chave-Mahir, Florence and Julien Véronèse (eds.), *Rituel d'exorcisme ou manuel de magie?: le manuscrit Clm 10085* (Firenze 2015).
- Coullaut Cordero, Jaime (ed.), *El Kitāb Šams al-Ma'ārif al-Kubra (al-ŷuz' al-awwal) de Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Būnī: Sufismo y ciencias ocultas* (Salamanca 2009).
- Crowley, Aleister, *Magick in Theory and Practice* (Paris 1929).
- de Blécourt, Willem, and Owen Davies (eds.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester 2004).
- Dehn, Georg (ed.), *Buch Abramelin, das ist die egyptischen grossen Offenbarungen oder des Abraham von Worms Buch der wahren Praktik in der uralten göttlichen Magie* (Leipzig² 2001).
- Dehn, Georg (ed.), *The Book of Abramelin: A New Translation—Revised and Expanded. Translated by Steven Guth. Foreword by Lon Milo DuQuette* (Lake Worth 2015).
- Dilg, Peter, and Hartmut Rudolph (eds.), *Resultate und Desiderate der Paracelsus-Forschung* (Stuttgart 1993).
- Dippel, Johann Konrad, [Pseudonymous: Christianus Democritus], *Christianus Democritus. Ein Aufrichtiger Protestant gegen ein in verwichener Leipziger Jubilate-Mese ihm fälschlich zugeschriebenes Scriptum. Und Ein orthodoxer Annihilator oder Zernichter der in diesem Scripto gleichfalls aus Nichts aufgebauten so genannten Microcosmischen neuen Schöpfung zum Vorspiel eines neuen Himmels und einer neuen Erde* (s.l. 1733).

- Fanger, Claire (ed.), *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (Stroud 1998).
- Fanger, Claire, (ed.), *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press 2012).
- Flint, Valerie I. J. (ed.), *The Athlone history of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. Vol. 2: Ancient Greece and Rome* (London 1999).
- Gilly, Carlos, "The rediscovery of the original of Großschedel's *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum*", in: idem. and Cis van Heertum (eds.), *Magia, Alchimia, Scienza Dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto* (Venice 2005), 310–15.
- Gijswijt-Hofstra, Marijke et al. (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries* (London 1999).
- Godwin, Joscelyn, Christian Chanel, and John P. Deveney (eds.), *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor: Initiatic and Historical Documents of an Order of Practical Occultism* (New York 1995).
- Goldammer, Kurt and Karl Sudhoff (eds.), *Theophrast von Hohenheim genannt Paracelsus Sämtliche Werke. Auslegung des Psalters Davids. Abteilung 2, vol. IV–VII* (Munich 1955–61).
- Gordon, Richard, "Charaktères between Antiquity and Renaissance", in: Dasen, Véronique and Jean-Michel Spieser (eds.), *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (Florence 2014), 253–300.
- Grévin, Benoît and Julien Véronèse, "Les 'caractères' magiques au Moyen Âge (xiie–xive siècle)", in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 162 (2004), 305–79.
- Hedegård, Gösta (ed.), *Liber Iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius* (Stockholm 2002).
- Hofmann, Heinz, *Das Satorquadrat: Zur Geschichte und Deutung eines antiken Wortquadrats* (Bielefeld 1979).
- Jacoby, Adolf, "Die Teufelspeitsche", in: *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 28 (1927/28), 81–105.
- Kircher, Athanasius, *Athanasii Kircheri E Societate Iesv Arithmologia Sive De abditis Numerorum mysterijs. Qua Origo, Antiquitas & fabrica Numerorum exponitur; Abditæ eorundem proprietates demonstrantur; Fontes superstitionum in Amuletorum fabrica aperiuntur; Denique post Cabalistarum, Arabum, Gnosticorum, aliorumque magicas impietates detectas, vera & licita numerorum mystica significatio ostenditur* (Rome 1665); available online: URL: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/1-larithm/start.htm> (last access March 1, 2017).
- Klaassen, Frank, "English manuscripts of magic, 1300–1500: A preliminary survey", in: Fanger, Claire (ed.), *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (Stroud 1998), 3–31.
- Kühlmann, Wilhelm, *Der Frühparacelsismus. Dokumente frühneuzeitlicher Naturphilosophie in Deutschland. Teil 3, 1* (Berlin 2013).

- Mathers, Samuel Liddell MacGregor (ed.), *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage* (London 1898).
- McLean, Adam (ed./transl.), *The magical calendar: a synthesis of magical symbolism from the seventeenth century Renaissance of medieval occultism* (Grand Rapids 1994).
- McLean, Adam, "Alnwick Castle" [online article, URL: <http://levity.com/alchemy/alnwick.html>] (last access March 7, 2017).
- Meyer, Marvin W. and Richard Smith (eds.), *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco 1994).
- Önnerfors, Alf (ed.), *Antike Zaubersprüche. Zweisprachig* (Stuttgart 1991).
- Otto, Bernd-Christian, "Historicizing 'Western learned magic': preliminary remarks", in: *Aries* 16 (2016), 161–240.
- Page, Sophie, "Magic and the Pursuit of Wisdom: the 'familiar' spirit in the *Liber Theysolius*," in: *La Corónica* 36.1 (2007), 41–70.
- Page, Sophie, "Speaking with Spirits in Medieval Magic texts", in: Raymond, Joad (ed.), *Conversations with Angels: Essays Towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100–1700* (New York 2011), 125–49.
- Peterson, Joseph H. (ed.), *The Lesser Key of Solomon. Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis. Detailing the Ceremonial Art of Commanding Spirits Both Good and Evil* (York Beach 2001).
- Peterson, Joseph H. (ed.), *The Key of Solomon (Clavicula Salomonis)* [2005; URL: <http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon/ksol.htm>] (last access May 23, 2015).
- Peterson, Joseph H. (ed.), *Arbatel: Concerning the Magic of Ancients: Original Sourcebook of Angel Magic* (Lake Worth 2009).
- Peterson, Joseph H. (ed.), *Clavicula Salomonis* (Duveen 388, n.p., 1700?) [2010; URL: http://www.esotericarchives.com/solomon/ksol_d388.htm] (last access December 21, 2015).
- Pingree, David, "Learned magic in the time of Frederick II", in: *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali* 2 (1994), 39–56.
- Probst, Manfred, "Menghi, Girolamo", in: Gudrun Gersmann et al. (eds.), *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung* [2008; online article, <https://www.historicum.net/purl/45zse/>] (last access February 19, 2017)].
- Rankine, David (ed.), *The Book of Treasure Spirits* (London 2009).
- Rebiger, Bill and Peter Schäfer (eds.), *Sefer ha-Razim: Das Buch der Geheimnisse*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 2009).
- Runkel, Ferdinand, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1931–32).
- Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm, *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbalah*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart 2012–15).
- Scholem, Gershom, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem 1974).

- Secret, François, “Conférence de M. François Secret”, in: *École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses* 86 (1977–78), 411–16.
- Seitschek, Stefan, “Freimaurerreliquien’ im Familienarchiv Harrach” [2012, online article, URL: http://oesta.gv.at/site/cob_40251/5164/default.aspx] (last access 21 December 2015).
- Skinner, Stephen (ed.), *The Archidoxes of Magic by Theophrastus Paracelsus. Facsimile reprint of the 1656 edition with introduction by Stephen Skinner* (Charlottesville 2004).
- Telle, Joachim (ed.), *La censura nel secolo dei lumi: una visione internazionale* (Turin 2011).
- Veenstra, Jan R., “The Holy Almandal. Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic”, in: Bremmer, Jan N. and Jan Veenstra (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leiden 2002), 189–229.
- Veenstra, Jan R., “Honorius and the Sigil of God: The *Liber iuratus* in Berengario Ganell’s *Summa Sacre Magice*”, in: Fanger, Claire (ed.), *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries* (University Park 2012), 151–91.
- Véronèse, Julien, “La notion d’‘auteur-magicien’ à la fin du Moyen Âge: Le cas de l’ermite Pelagius de Majorque [† v. 1480]”, in: *Médiévales* 56 (2006), 119–38.
- Véronèse, Julien, (ed.), *L’Ars notoria au Moyen Âge. Introduction et édition critique* (Florence 2007).
- Véronèse, Julien, (ed.) *L’Almandal et l’Almadel latins au Moyen Âge: Introduction et éditions critiques* (Florence 2012).
- von Fleming, Hans Friedrich Wilhelm, *Der Vollkommene Teutsche Jäger* (Leipzig 1719).
- von Rosenroth, Christian Knorr, *Neuer Helicon mit seinen Neun Musen. Das ist Geistliche Sitten-Lieder [...]* (Nuremberg 1684).
- Zambelli, Paolo, *White Magic, Black Magic and the European Renaissance* (Leiden 2007).

INDEX

A

Abraham von Worms, 77, 78
Abramelin, 78
Adelung, Johann Christoph, 31
Albertus Magnus, 9, 79, 80, 92, 100
Alchemy/alchemical, 30, 32, 34–36, 80, 89, 134, 141
Almandal/Almodel, 81, 82, 114
Ancient/antique/antiquity, 6, 7, 9, 48, 69, 74, 82, 85, 135, 143
Apollonius (of Tyana), 9, 85
Arabic, 7, 10, 80, 82, 92, 139
Arbatel, 81, 97
Ars Notoria, 117
Ashmole, Elias, 11
Astrology/astrological, 10, 30, 80, 89, 97, 101, 103, 107, 108, 110, 121–123, 126, 128, 129, 131, 142, 144, 145, 149
Augsburg, 2, 16, 53
Authentic, 8

B

Bacon, Roger, 9, 77, 79, 141
Bible, 112, 148

Book market, 2, 15, 31, 47, 48, 51, 52, 67, 68
Brauchbuch/Brauchbücher, 13
Browne, Thomas, 11
Bruno, Giordano, 30, 116
Bücherkommission, 49, 52, 53

C

Censorship, 1, 2, 15, 29, 31, 32, 48–54, 65, 68
Charactères, 13, 74, 75, 79, 83, 90, 91, 93, 96–98, 101–103, 105, 109, 110, 117–119, 122, 124, 128, 131, 132, 136, 137, 144–146, 148, 151
Clandestine/ity, 1, 2, 9, 31–33, 50, 51, 68, 98, 112, 115, 122, 125, 128, 130, 139, 147
Clavicula Salomonis/claviculae, 7, 9, 10, 12, 31, 33, 50, 68, 69, 79, 80, 81, 85, 98, 104, 105, 108, 109, 117, 131
Collect, 1, 2, 5–16, 30, 32–35, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53–55, 68–70, 81, 82, 85, 95, 98, 99, 101, 102, 112, 117, 131, 143, 151

Conjuring spirits, 7–9, 12, 30, 32, 36,
50, 68, 69, 74, 75, 76, 80, 82,
89, 91, 99, 101–104, 132
Consecrate/consecration, 32, 68, 77, 93,
98, 107, 108, 125, 131–133, 135, 144
Constitutio Criminalis Carolina, 49, 50
Copy/copist, 8–11, 32, 33, 35, 70,
81, 84, 85, 116, 123
Creutzer, Peter, 123
Culture/cultural, 1, 6, 7, 9, 34

D

D'Argenson, Marc Antoine René de
Voyer, 11
Dee, John, 11, 89
Democratization, 7, 11, 14, 70
Demon, 12, 49, 74, 93, 129, 132
Den Haag, 33
Devil, 30, 47, 49, 89, 93, 94, 98, 99,
113, 129, 132, 137
Diderot, Denis, 50
Dippel, Johann Conrad, 34
Divination/divinatory, 49, 69, 83, 87,
88, 91–93, 100, 103, 113, 148, 149
Divining rod, 90, 91, 103, 104, 131
Dresden, 49, 53, 75, 117, 129

E

Efficient/efficiency, 2
Elite/elitist, 6, 7, 13, 15, 29, 32, 34,
36, 69
Enlightenment, 14, 34, 47, 50
Exceptional/ity, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 15,
35, 67, 69
Exorcism/exorcist, 99, 100, 102, 151

F

Faust, Johann Georg, 12, 103–107
Ficino, Marsilio, 30

Franckenberg, Abraham von, 115, 116
Freemason, 30, 35, 36, 90, 91

G

Genre, 5, 8, 10, 13, 51, 74, 79, 80,
85, 92, 99, 104, 105, 119, 120,
121, 123, 131
Gosse, Pieter Frederik, 33
Gräße, Johann Georg Theodor, 55

H

Halle, 34, 47, 84
Harley, Edward, 11
Harley, Robert, 11
Hebrew/Hebraist, 7, 9, 35, 75, 78, 79,
83, 84, 88–90, 97, 108, 109–112,
115, 129, 130, 138, 139
Helmont, Johan Baptista van, 149
Heptameron, 81
Heresy/heretic, 48, 49
Hermes/Hermetic, 78, 92, 127, 136
Höllenzwang, 12, 13, 20, 28, 37, 38,
40, 59, 60, 64, 103, 104, 107
Horst, Georg Conrad, 14, 55

I

Illegal/ity, 1, 2, 15, 47, 48, 51, 52, 68
Index (librorum prohibitorum), 99, 149
Intertextual/ity, 8

J

Jewish/Judaism, 7, 75, 83
Jordan, Charles Etienne, 33

K

Kabbalah/kabbalistic, 30, 33, 51, 69,
75, 79, 82, 88, 89, 111, 112, 130

Kircher, Athanasius, 111, 139
 Kühltze, Paul, 2, 16, 53

L

Leipzig, 1, 2, 6, 12, 15, 16, 31,
 33–35, 48–55, 69
 Libanius Gallus, 113, 114
 Liber Iuratus Honorii, 76, 84
 Liber Razielis, 83, 84
 Library, 2, 11, 14, 36, 54, 55, 69, 74,
 85
 Linck, Heinrich, 35, 54
 Luppius, Andreas, 81, 86, 97

M

Magia naturalis, 7, 10, 12, 13, 30,
 34, 36, 48, 50, 69, 88, 89, 93,
 95–97, 131
 Manuscript, 1, 2, 8, 13, 15, 29–36,
 51, 67–70
 Martini, August, 53
 Medicine, 1, 11, 34–36, 51, 54, 69,
 129, 149, 150
 Melanius, 76
 Menghi, Girolamo, 99, 151
 Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, 30
 Mirror (magical), 30, 83, 89, 91–93,
 103, 104, 121, 122, 125, 131,
 144, 146

N

Naeve, Johann Karl, 49, 50
 Naumann, Emil Wilhelm Robert, 54,
 55
 Necromancy, 133
 Nettesheim, Agrippa von, 30, 97, 151
 Networks, 15, 29, 34–36, 51
 Numerology, 10, 116, 130

O

Occult/a, 13, 19, 22, 39, 40, 51, 92,
 97, 151
 Orient, 33, 35

P

Paracelsus/Paracelsianism
 (Theophrastus of Hohenheim), 8,
 9, 29, 35, 36, 50, 93, 110, 117,
 142, 149, 150
 Passauer Kunst, 13, 95, 135, 146
 Pelagius, 113, 114
 Philippi, Johann Ernst, 31
 Planetary sigil, 9, 85, 92, 109,
 117–119, 149
 Planetenbuch/Planetenbücher, 123
 Polemics/polemical, 6, 13, 31, 47–49,
 68, 139
 Practice/practitioner, 2, 6–8, 10, 11,
 13–15, 31, 32, 34, 36, 49, 68,
 70, 78, 80, 89, 95, 101, 105,
 108, 127, 128
 Price, 1, 14, 15, 29, 32, 33, 36
 Pseudepigraph, 8, 9, 116

R

Rainsford, Charles A., 11
 Ring (magical), 7, 32, 51, 55,
 70, 74, 91–93, 98, 112, 120,
 121
 Ritual circle, 12, 75–77, 79, 81, 85,
 93, 98, 100–105, 107–109, 114,
 120, 125, 128, 132, 133, 136,
 137, 142
 Rosenroth, Christian Knorr von, 111,
 112, 149
 Rosicrucian, 30, 36, 82, 126
 Rothe, Gottfried, 53
 Roth-Scholtz, Friedrich, 34, 53, 69

S

Saxony, Electorate of, [52](#), [53](#)
 Scarce/scarcity, [1](#), [2](#), [11](#), [15](#), [29–32](#),
[36](#), [67](#), [68](#)
 Scheible, Johann, [14](#), [55](#)
 Schröer, Samuel, [1](#), [16](#), [34–36](#), [54](#),
[55](#), [69](#)
 Scribe/scribal, [78](#), [81](#), [84](#), [85](#), [123](#),
[148](#)
 Sepher ha-Razim, [83](#), [84](#)
 Shemhamphorasch, [84](#)
 Sloane, Hans, [11](#)
 Solomon, [7–9](#), [79–81](#), [83–85](#), [89](#),
[91](#), [97](#), [108](#), [109](#), [117](#), [119–121](#),
[128](#), [130](#)
 Sonnenthal, Baron von, [22](#)
 Staricius, Johannes, [13](#), [95](#)
 Stereotype, [48](#), [50](#), [68](#), [77](#)

T

Thomasius, Christian, [47](#)
 Translation, [2](#), [7–9](#), [11](#), [12](#), [14](#), [70](#),
[76–78](#), [82](#), [84](#), [88](#), [97](#), [99](#), [117](#),
[135](#), [141](#)
 Transmission, [10–12](#), [30](#), [54](#), [68](#), [74](#)

Trithemius, Johannes, [9](#), [76](#), [85](#), [92](#),
[113](#), [114](#), [119](#), [140](#)

U

Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von, [16](#),
[32](#), [69](#)

V

Vernacular, [7](#), [10](#), [11](#), [12](#), [70](#), [84](#)
 Voces magicae, [13](#), [74](#), [75](#), [79](#), [84](#), [88](#),
[89](#), [93](#), [96](#), [97](#), [99](#), [100](#), [101](#), [104](#),
[107](#), [111](#), [119–122](#), [127](#), [131–](#)
[133](#), [135–138](#), [140](#), [143–145](#), [151](#)

W

Wagenseil, Christoph, [54](#)
 Wagner, Christoph, [102](#), [103](#), [105](#),
[107](#)
 Welling, Georg von, [50](#)
 Wetzel, Joseph, [14](#)
 Witch, [48](#), [49](#)
 Wolf, Johann Christoph, [35](#)
 Wunderlich, Karl, [55](#)