

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 Schröder 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 Luppis 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.

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- [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).
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