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Magical Techniques and Implements present in Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri,
Byzantine Greek Solomonic Manuscripts and European Grimoires:
Transmission, Continuity and Commonality
(The Technology of Solomonic Magic)

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Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Classics)

Statement of Originality

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

.....
Stephen Skinner

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“Magic is not, as the followers of Epicurus and Aristotle think, utterly incoherent, but, as the experts in these things prove, is a consistent system, which has principles known to very few.”

- Origen, *Contra Celsus* 1.24. (transl. Henry Chadwick, 1953)

“Magica est scientia arctandi spiritus malignos et benignos per nomen dei et per nomina sua.”

- Berengarii Ganelli, *Summa Sacre Magice*.

Kassel MS 4^o Astron. 3, f. 2.

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to research and identify the transmission, continuity and common elements of magical techniques and implements present in magicians' handbooks, from the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (2nd century BCE – 5th century CE) via the Byzantine Greek Solomonic manuscripts (6th century – 16th century), to European Latin and English Solomonic grimoires (13th century – 19th century).

The evolution of magical techniques is traced from one period to another, using the papyri, manuscripts and printed editions of handbooks actually written, used or owned by magicians, rather than the literature about them. In this way magic is treated like any evolving technology, where a surprising degree of continuity and commonality has been found, stretching over periods up to two thousand years.

There is no intention to examine social, political, economic or religious issues, or the reaction to magicians of their surrounding lay community, or to assess the effectiveness of these techniques, purely an intention to identify the commonality, continuity and transmission of their techniques and equipment.

The nature of the blending of Egyptian, Greek and Jewish magical techniques, equipment and *nomina magica* in Alexandria in the first five centuries of the Common Era is discussed, and the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are analysed from the point of view of methods, *materia* and intended outcome, with a detailed breakdown of sources and rite types.

The commonality between these methods and ingredients so established, and their reappearance in the Byzantine Greek *Hygromanteia* and related texts is demonstrated, with an analysis of why some methods persisted and others faded away.

The migration of these methods and *nomina magica* from the Greek *Solomōnikē* to the Latin grimoires, particularly the *Clavicula Salomonis*, is analysed on a technique by technique basis, with illustrative passages drawn from vernacular Solomonic manuscripts like the *Lemegeton*. Areas of discontinuity are evaluated, and the sources of material from other sources, such as the pentacles of the *Key of Solomon*, ascertained and identified.

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Abbreviations

Printed Sources

ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CCAG	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Goetia	<i>Goetia</i> (volume 1 of the <i>Lemegeton</i>)
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Juratus	<i>Liber Iuratus Honorii</i> (ed. Gösta Hedegård)
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
PDM	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> (ed. Betz)
Raziel	<i>Sepher Raziel</i> [the Latin text]
SWCM	<i>Source Works of Ceremonial Magic</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
ZFPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Manuscripts:

GV	<i>Grimorium Verum</i>
Hygromanteia	<i>The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia</i>
KoS	<i>Key of Solomon</i>
Otot	<i>Sepher ha-Otot</i>
SMS	<i>Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh</i>
SSM	<i>Summa Sacre Magice – Berengarii Ganelli</i>

Manuscripts of the Hygromanteia:

A	Atheniensis 1265, National Library of Greece.
A2	Atheniensis 167, Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens.
B	Atheniensis 115, Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece.
B2	Bononiensis 3632, University Library of Bologna.
B3	Bernardaceus, private library of the Bernardakēdes.
D	Athonicus Dion. 282, Dionysius Monastery of Mount Athos.
G	Gennadianus 45, Gennadius Library of Athens.
H	Harleianus 5596, British Library.
M	Monacensis Gr. 70, Bavarian Regional Library of Munich.
M2	Mediolanensis H 2 infer., Ambrosian Library of Milan.
M3	Mediolanensis E 37 sup., Ambrosian Library of Milan.
M4	Metamorphōseōs 67, Metamorphōseōs Monastery of Meteōra.
N	Neapolitanus II C 33, National Library of Naples.
P	Parisinus Gr. 2419, National Library of France.
P2	Petropolitanus Academicus, Paleographic Museum of the Science Academy of Saint Petersburg.
P3	Petropolitanus 575, National Library of Saint Petersburg.
P4	Petropolitanus 646, National Library of Saint Petersburg.
T	Taurinensis C VII, National University Library of Turin.
V	Vindobonensis Ph. Gr. 108, Austrian National Library of Vienna.

*Manuscripts of the Clavicula Salomonis: Text-Groups*¹

Ab	Rabbi Abognazar Group
AC	Abraham Colorno Group
Arm	Armadel Group
CMC	Clavicule Magique et Cabalistique Group
Exp	Expurgated Group
GN	Gregorius Niger Group
GO	Greek Originals Group (i.e. <i>Hygromanteia</i>)
GP	Geo. Peccatrix Group
KK	Key of Knowledge Group
RS	Rabbi Solomon Group
SM	Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh Group
SS	Secret of Secrets Group
TG	Toz Graecus Group
UT	Universal Treatise Group
Zk	Zekorbeni Group

¹ These are not specific manuscripts but groups of manuscripts as per Mathiesen (2007), pp. 3-9, amended in Skinner and Rankine (2008), pp. 28-31, 412-414. Each group represents between one and 15 manuscripts, a total of 146 manuscripts in all. References made to these groups are valid for every manuscript in the group.