"ALL THINGS WILL RESULT TO YOUR ENTIRE SATISFACTION": *THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES* AS INSTRUMENTAL EPHEMERA

by

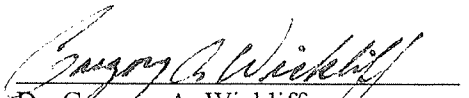
Paul Thompson Hunter

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in
English

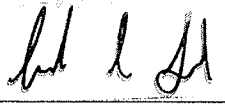
Charlotte

2020

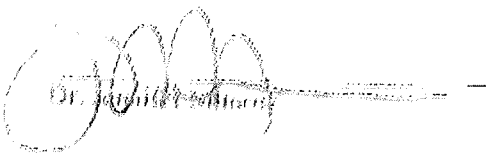
Approved by:



Dr. Gregory A. Wickliff



Dr. Consuelo Salas



ABSTRACT

PAUL THOMPSON HUNTER. "All things will result to your entire satisfaction": *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* as Instrumental Ephemera (Under the direction of DR. GREG WICKLIFF)

This thesis considers the 19th-century German grimoire, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (1880), through a theoretical framework that synthesizes Killingsworth and Gilbertson's tripartite schema in *Signs, Genres, and Communities in Technical Communication* with the historical approach of Elizabeth Tebeaux. This thesis is organized around three rhetorical concepts: communities, genres, and signs. The first section treats material and discursive conditions that allowed *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* to transverse cultural and linguistic boundaries. The roles of printing technologies, copyright protections, and direct mail marketing are examined. In the second section, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is read as a technical manual and compared to two contemporary works, *The Long-Lost Friend* (1850) and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* (1900). In this section, the roles of Biblical intertextuality, Mosaic attribution, and opaque organization are considered as explanatory factors for *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*' influence on Southern hoodoo practices. The third section examines the seals and tables of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" and characterizes them as hybrid symbolic-iconic signs, a designation that may prove useful for future consideration of images in magical texts.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the living memories of George Martin Hunter, Conner Lee Alderton, Andrew Edward Crabtree, and Hollis Hayden Myers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported in part by the Ruff Graduate Summer Research Scholarship. As such, I wish to acknowledge Tom and Ellen Ruff's support of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte Department of English. I would like to acknowledge the support of Dr. Greg Wickliff, who encouraged me to pursue this research and supported me through the writing process. Without his help, this thesis would not exist. Finally, I wish to acknowledge Dr. Consuelo Salas and Dr. Jennifer Munroe for their invaluable support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

For millennia, magical manuscripts (and later printed magical texts), or *grimoires*, have fascinated scholars, ranging from Thomas Aquinas to William Butler Yeats.[1] Yet examinations of these texts from a position informed by English studies are few, generally occurring in conjunction with examination of better known early modern works that touch on supernatural themes, such as William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* or Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus.*[2] As grimoires are some of the oldest texts that directly inform the English tradition, they are well worth study. Likewise, there have been literary-critical examinations of other ephemeral, instrumental texts, i.e., texts that explicitly detail operations for the reader to carry out. For instance, recipe books (Tompkins, 2013), estate management texts (Wall, 1996), and secrets books (Kavey, 2007) have all proven fruitful areas for scholars of the language and its uses. In technical communication studies, however, such examinations are still few. Yet as a field, technical communication has already benefited from other historical, boundary-expanding work, such as that of Elizabeth Tebeaux. She has posited that, if "a broad range of English texts" are examined, "we have a more accurate understanding of the character of English and how modern English evolved than we had when we relied only on studies of canonical literary texts" (2004, p. 116). Her work shows the fruitfulness of this labor: She has examined historical estate-management instructions (Tebeaux, 2010), books on English-Renaissance-era shipwrightery (Tebeaux, 2008), and early-English accounting texts (Tebeaux, 2000). Likewise, Tebeaux has demonstrated the role of early modern English women writers in the development of what has been termed "plain style" by examining religious meditations, maternal advice books, and "manuals of

pharmaceutical preparations" (1998, p. 138). Hopefully, this thesis will demonstrate the usefulness of expanding technical communication's disciplinary boundaries to include historical grimoires.

In choosing to examine *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, I have selected an occasionally bewilderingly-opaque text to demonstrate the usefulness of technical communication theory for examining historical instructional documents, in general. Despite being far-removed from our normal haunts of medicine, military, and digital technologies, a close reading of the text informs our understandings of the relationships between printing technologies and rhetorical circulation, genre criticism and instructional materials, and orality and textuality. By synthesizing the theoretical framework established by Killingsworth and Gilbertson in *Signs, Genres, and Communities in Technical Communication* (1992) with the historical concerns of Elizabeth Tebeaux, this thesis examines *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* in a three-pronged manner that serves to address the text in terms of the verbal and visual signs that comprise it, the genres it participates in and informs, and the discourse communities and technologies that facilitated the text's spread from Germany to the Southern United States and on to Africa. This thesis examines these rhetorical moves in three sections. The first chapter offers a textual history of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* that provides an overview of its publishing history and circulation through the Pennsylvania Dutch powwowing tradition to the Southern African American Hoodoo tradition. This somewhat historiographical-materialist approach also considers relevant aspects of 19th century publishing technologies, copyright law, and direct marketing in the United States, the Caribbean, Africa, and Germany. The chapter serves to highlight cultural and material conditions

that contributed to the grimoire's spread and to its resonance with seemingly discrete discourse communities.

The second chapter offers a reading of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* as a technical manual. In this genre-critical reading, I note the semiotic and temporal convergences and divergences with Killingsworth and Gilbertson's (1992) examination of the manual genre. In doing so, I unpack the saliency of Mosaic attribution and opaque indexing to show how these strategies extend the text's *ethos* beyond the mundane to the supernatural. I argue that the text grants readers a sense of agency through "revelations" about familiar narratives and processes. This sense of agency becomes all the more salient because of cultural beliefs that such power has been previously withheld from the reader. This sense of magical agency largely springs from readers' perceived participation in the semiotic chains that produced the Talmudic books of the Bible. Reader agency is reinforced by the editorial and authorial asides that occur regularly in the text, as well as by *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses'* procedures that reflect intertextual relationship with the Bible. This chapter explains how organization and Mosaic attribution allowed *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* to connect with a broader range of audiences than its contemporary magical texts, *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus.*

The third chapter presents a reading of the graphical seals and tables of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" proper. In this chapter, I advance an argument that these seals and tables demonstrate an iconographic function of pseudowriting. In short, because the seals and tables evoke the *idea of writing* and the power of literacy for the reader, they function as icons. In this way, they signify the

power of the Abrahamic deity and the Talmudic legends concerning Moses and Mount Sinai. Because this iconography depends on a polysemic, contextual semiosis with other passages in the text, the seals and tables can be characterized as a hybrid symbolic-iconic signs. They hold a semiotic position somewhat akin to other "magical" images in other grimoires but one that is complicated by the images' illegibility.

But before beginning this examination of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, we need to address one preliminary concern: the definition of *magic* in contemporary, Western academic contexts. Noted medievalist Richard Kieckhefer (1990) has demonstrated the contextually-bound nature of both medieval and contemporary academic discourses about magic as well as the culturally-bound notions of a *demonic magic* versus a *natural magic*. To avoid muddying the waters, this thesis limits its concerns to the *beliefs* and *practices* of the various groups that encountered and culturally invoked *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*.

Yet as 21rst-century technical readers, we cannot fully discount religious beliefs and contexts. To do so would be to willfully ignore nearly two centuries worth of *belief* and *practice* associated with *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. By virtue of its Mosaic attribution, the grimoire has been intentionally inserted into the longstanding Jewish tradition of Mosaic authorship. Judeo-Christian tradition has long held the belief that the Pentateuch, which comprises the first five books of the Torah, i.e., Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, was authored by Moses. Yet, from a European religious perspective, Mosaic attribution of a grimoire is somewhat fraught. As Kieckhefer (1990) has noted, the Old Testament frequently frames its stories of supernatural wonders in terms of "miracles worked by divine power" instead of some

baser manipulation of magical elements, e.g. sorcery. Those who practice magic in the Old Testament frequently receive "punishment for dabbling in magic" (p. 33). Saul consults the Witch of Endor and suffers gravely for his deviation from the Law set forth by Yahweh. In the New Testament, Simon Magus is defeated in a wonder-working contest by Simon Peter and is shown the folly of his sorcery compared to Divine miracles (see Kieckhefer, 1990, for a more detailed discussion). The Judeo-Christian, it would appear, is staunchly opposed to human agents acting in capacities traditionally reserved for divine agency. To quote Kieckhefer (1990): "the Christian definition [of *magic*] had a moral and social dimension but was explicitly centered on theological concerns" (p. 37). In terms of Judeo-Christian tradition, Mosaic attribution of a grimoire is high heresy. Tradition holds that Moses himself set down the exhortation of Exodus 22:18, "You shall not permit a sorceress to live" (see Kieckhefer, 1990, p. 33). However, non-Western European understandings of the Bible frequently cast Moses as the supreme magician, the archetypal conjurer. This is a cultural understanding of Moses that precedes the first printed Bibles by at least a millennium (see *Papyri Graecae Magicae* [PGM] XIII in Betz, 1996). As such, both understandings of Moses will be considered in this thesis.

In short, this thesis offers an attempt at a rational, textually-oriented reading of beliefs and practices that may appear irrational. Yet by examining irrational, opaque, and mystical instrumental texts, technical communication, as a broad field, can expand its purview beyond traditional "rational," "scientific," and "objective" texts to reveal the discursive, genre, and semiotic patterns that undergird all instrumental, operative texts.

---

[1] Benedek Láng's *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (2008) offers readers a thorough examination of these early

magical texts. Readers interested in pre-Renaissance circulation of Arabic and Hebrew philosophical and mathematical texts may find Láng's work especially relevant.

[2] See Barbara Mowat's "Prospero's Book" (2001) for an example of this type of academic investigation.

CHAPTER ONE: A TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES

Although *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* makes claims of Mosaic authorship, a rediscovery by Emperor Constantine in 330 CE, and a recommendation by Charles V in 1520 CE (1880, p. 1.6), this grimoire is largely a product of the nineteenth century. That century afforded a technological, legal, and commercial climate that allowed *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* to rapidly transform from an ephemeral eighteenth-century manuscript into a staple of Germanic and Anglophonic folk magical practice. First, the nineteenth century ushered in a widespread democratization of printing technology, which had become, through advances in mechanization, faster, more cost-efficient, and more reliable than the technologies of the previous century (Roemer, 2018). For instance, the Adams Power Press, with its automatized mechanical plate printing, allowed for wide dissemination of ephemeral texts because the printer could produce works in great volume with far fewer workers than previous presses had allowed for (Hawley, 2004). Second, the United States offered few copyright protections for foreign works during the nineteenth century; as Winship (1986) notes, "The availability of a large pool of popular foreign works that were unprotected by copyright certainly played an important part in the expansion of the American book trade, for it allowed these works to be reprinted in very cheap editions" (p. 159-160). Third, the expanding United States Postal Service served as "a means of direct distribution of printed materials" (Winship, 1986, p. 160). The textual history of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* brings to light the ways in which these three factors—accessible printing technology, limited copyright protections, and direct distribution—allowed for trans-cultural textual circulation

throughout the United States during the 19th century. We should also note that the text's circulation from Germany to the United States and then into the "Afro-Atlantic cultural continuum" (Polk, 1999) was facilitated by rapid increases in literacy among African Americans following the American Civil War. This chapter offers a textual history of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* that frames its publication and circulation in terms of these material conditions as well as the discourse communities that encountered, used, and circulated the text. This textual history will largely concern itself with *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'s relationship with two major American folk practices: Pennsylvania Dutch powwow and Southern African American hoodoo.

Earlier German manuscripts circulated that contained elements of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* or of other magical texts that would later be compiled with the grimoire. Yet the earliest verifiable print reference to the work occurs in 1797 in *Allegemienen literarischen Anzeiger*, a literary publication from Leipzig (Kilcher 2004; Sebald 1988).[3] Though this reference to a pre-19th century edition is enticing, clear evidence for the text's existence as a printed text that resembles later 19th century editions of the work is lacking (Davies, 2009, p. 123). Early copies of the grimoire, most likely in manuscript form, were compiled in Stuttgart by the prolific publisher Johann Scheible as the sixth volume of the *Bibliothek der Zauber-, Geheimniß- und Offenbarungs-Bücher und der Wunder-Hausschatz-Literatur aller Nationen in allen ihren Raritäten und Kuriositäten* (*Library of Magic, Mystery and Revelation Books and the Wonder-Treasure-Literature of all Nations in all its Rarities and Curiosities*), which was published incrementally between 1845 and 1849 (*Das Kloster*, n.d.). An 1854 catalogue of works offered by Scheible runs over 350 pages, which serves to indicate the

sheer volume of his printing operation (*J. Scheible's Antiquariat in Stuttgart*, n.d.). Such a vast catalogue for a relatively small printing firm would have been unimaginable prior to the 19th century's advances in printing technology. Scheible's operation would have also been aided by what Leonard (2015) terms "liberal" German press laws and the region's "porous geographical boundaries" (p. 56). Following its publication in the *Library of Magic,* a "full version" of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* was published as a stand-alone edition by Scheible in 1851 (Davies, 2009, p. 123).

In 1851, Scheible began the long tradition of publishing editions of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* that contained not only the *Books of Moses* themselves but also other occult texts. The 1851 edition comprised the *Books of Moses*, selections from "classic Faustian grimoires [such] as [the] *Black Raven* and [the] *Tabellae Rabellinae Geister-Commando,*" "a pirated chapter from Joseph Ennemoser's *Geschichte der Magie* [1844] on the magical practices of the Hebrews," and Godfrey Selig's "The Magical Uses of the Psalms" (Harms 2009, 46-47).[4] Selig's portion presents the most obvious connection to authentic, attested-to Jewish mystical practices. Selig's translation of the Hebraic work was originally printed in the Leipzig journal of Jewish culture, *Jude*, in 1788. "The Magical Uses of the Psalms," or, to use the original name of the publication, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim,* has been traced back to the Cairo Geniza manuscripts, which are written in a mix of Hebrew and Aramaic, and *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim* was first published as a printed work in 1551 in Sabbioneta, Northern Italy (Rebiger, 2010).[5] Likewise, "magical" uses of the Psalms is a well-documented component of Middle Age (e.g., Bergstrom, 2011) and Renaissance-era magic (see the ritual requirements described in all editions of *The Key of Solomon the King* [Mathers, 2017]). This version of *The*

Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, comprising the *Books of Moses*, "The Magic of the Israelites," *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*, and various sections of Faustian grimoires, traveled to the United States with German immigrants and was adopted by the Pennsylvania Dutch alongside the earlier "charm books" that had circulated in those communities. These charm books included 1819's *Albertus Magnus bewährte und approbierte sympathetische und natürliche egyptische Geheimnisse für Menschen und Vieh* [*Albert Magnus, Approved and Verified Both Sympathetic and Natural Egyptian Secrets, for Man and Beast*] and Johann Georg Hohman's 1820 publication, *Der lange verborgene Freund, oder, getreuer und christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann* [*The Long-Lost Friend, or, Faithful and Christian Instruction for Everyone*]. Much like *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, these works were sold in the United States primarily to Pennsylvania Dutch farmers, for whom "[b]ooks of simple Christian charms and prayers" had assumed cultural importance because "the fundamental Protestant belief in a personal relationship with God" had cultivated "a strong self-help culture of medicine and protection" (Davies, 2009, p. 191). All three works would inform the Pennsylvania Dutch magical tradition of Powwowing—the tradition of the "'braucherei' or 'hexerei,' rural practitioners who attended the needs of the local farmers in matters of theft, witchcraft, and illness of humans and animals" (Harms, 2009, p. 44). Yet *Albertus Magnus* and *The Long-Lost Friend* failed to achieve the same levels of cultural importance and textual circulation as the English-language editions of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* outside of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* were, however, more popular among the Pennsylvania Dutch than *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* due to the latter's being considered "a hex

book," a view of the work that largely springs from its inclusion of procedures for spirit evocation (Kriebel, 2007, p. 27-28).

The 1851 German edition of the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* was followed in 1880 by the publication of English editions in New York and Elizabethville, Pennsylvania.[6] As the text's circulation and availability increased, the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* quickly earned a reputation not only for its supposed efficacy but also for its supposedly diabolical nature. As Davies (2009) notes, "For hex doctors… possession of the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* was essential to building a reputation" (p. 206). Invoking *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* serves as an ethical appeal for the hex doctor, whereby his ability to safely use the grimoire indicates his magical acumen. And given the dangerous, poisonous, and ineffectual health practices that dominated the 19th-century Pennsylvania Dutch country, alternatives were welcomed. In the 1880s, credentialed physicians prescribed the use of "calomel (mercury), medicinal alcohol, and opium (Kriebel, 2007, p. 73), hydrotherapy (Kriebel, 2007 p. 74), the humoral "Thomsonian System" (Kriebel, 2007, p. 74), and other various practices of "bleeding and purging" (Kriebel, 2007, p. 73). Consequentially, it is little wonder that many in the Pennsylvania Dutch community would instead turn to less invasive or caustic folk cures, like those detailed in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, *The Long-Lost Friend*, or *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*. The grimoire, much like Powwowing or hexing, in general, could be used with the intention of both healing and cursing. Some members of the Pennsylvania Dutch would consult hex doctors for all kinds of personal matters:

> In 1900, for instance, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Garl of Reading [PA] hired a hex doctor to rid the family of the witchcraft they believed had killed eleven of the infants in succession. He provided a charm to protect the twelfth baby, which he said was from a copy of *The Seventh Books of Moses* written in pen and red ink. (Davies, 2009, p. 206)

While safeguarding against infant mortality is generally not considered a sinister act, experiences with the grimoire like the Garls' were eclipsed by a rash of later negative, perhaps sensationalistic, news stories that painted the grimoire as a diabolic workbook that led men to madness. As Davies (2009) notes in his examination of the text:

> The *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* was more generally associated with bewitching rather than countering witchcraft. During a divorce hearing in Pittsburgh in July 1919, Mrs. Sarah Bickle testified that her husband 'took the *Seventh Book of Moses* and tried to put spells on me and he said would put spirits in the house after me.' Its [i.e., the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'] malign reputation was enhanced by a widely reported murder case in June 1916… Peter Leas, a 41-year-old blacksmith of Reading, Pennsylvania, ambushed a friend named Abraham Fick, a farmhand, stunned him with the handle of an axe and then chopped off his head. Leas was evidently psychotic, his wife and children having fled two weeks previously after he had threatened her with a knife. Leas gave himself up to the police shortly after the murder; 'A Handbook for Bible Readers and Christian Workers' and a memorandum book containing numerous scriptural passages were found in his pockets. In his confession Leas said that he had visited a charcoal burner several miles from his house who had consulted *The*

> *Seventh Book of Moses* and declared that Fick intended to murder Leas. So Leas decided he had better act first. The suggestion by some of the press was that Leas's insanity had been provoked by his own reading of *The Seventh Books of Moses*. (p. 207)

Later criminal events in Pennsylvania Dutch country would mark the decline of the text's circulation amongst members of that population, but, as the Pennsylvania Dutch's estimation of the grimoire fell, the circulation of the text amongst English-speaking populations would drastically increase and solidify the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'s reputation as a decidedly American grimoire or "Black Bible,"[7] to borrow Leonard Barrett's phrase (as cited in Elkins, 1986, p. 215).

The widespread circulation of English editions of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* outside of Pennsylvania Dutch communities is largely attributable to Chicago publisher "Doctor" Lauron William de Laurence (1868-1936). De Laurence[8] was born in Ohio to a Pennsylvania Dutch mother and a French-Canadian father—the former's heritage possibly explaining De Laurence's interest in occult publications. After developing an early interest in hypnotism and relocating to Chicago, De Laurence began to write and publish occult and mystical works that he would then sell door-to-door or by mail (Davies, 2009, p. 215). His was a career path largely facilitated by the rapid advances in printing technology and in available means of distribution. Some of his early works include *Hypnotism: A Complete System*, published in 1901 by the Henneberry Company at the urging of Fred Drake (Davies 216) and later by de Laurence, Scott & Co.; *The Sacred Book of Death*, published 1905 by the "de Laurence, Scott & Co. Masonic Temple"; and *The Great Book of Magical Art, Hindu Magic and East Indian*

Occultism, published in 1902 by "The de Laurence Company." Interestingly, both *The Sacred Book of Death* and *The Great Book* primarily consisted of pirated material from Allan Kardec's *Spirits' Book*, which was a foundational work in the Spiritualist tradition and originally published in French in 1857, and Francis Barrett's *The Magus,* a grimoire published in English in 1801 (Davies, 2009, p. 216). Indeed, any reader of *The Great Book* who expects to find *tantric* elements, i.e., elements from the Hindu and Buddhist mystical/magical traditions, will be greatly disappointed. Instead, readers will find fairly traditional Western formulae for evoking spirits interspersed with seemingly random photographs of the Indian subcontinent and Hindu temples. Despite this, *The Great Book* would turn out to be "the most popular of his writings" among Caribbean communities (Elkins, 1986, p. 216). Likewise, Barrett's work itself primarily consisted of pirated material from Henry Cornelius Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, originally published in 1531 in Paris, Cologne, and Antwerp, and from Pietro d'Abano's *Heptameron*, originally produced in 1496. Later, d'Abono's work would be repackaged as the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* and attributed to Agrippa. Piracy and misattribution were common among the grimoire publishers who preceded De Laurence. However, the late-nineteenth century would offer him the technological and societal means to produce such works at a much larger scale than any of his predecessors. Given that an English edition of the *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* was published by Hanh & Whitehead in Chicago in 1898, De Laurence's piracy is notable for its baldness. We can ascertain that the lack of meaningful copyright laws for such texts, largely foreign imports, shielded De Laurence and his contemporaries from effective legal scrutiny.

Interestingly, De Laurence's interest in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, which would be his most popular writing among African Americans in the United States,[9] appears to stem more from his business prowess than from his mother's Pennsylvania Dutch heritage. De Laurence purchased the printer's plates from Fred Drake, who he had initially met when attempting to sell his hypnosis text to the Donahue Company of Chicago, where Drake had been employed before leaving for the Henneberry company, the eventual publisher of *Hypnotism: A Complete System* (Davies, 2009, p. 216). According to De Laurence, "I bought the book because there were many people selling it at that time for $5.00 a copy[,] and I supposed it would be a good seller" (as cited in Davies, 2009, p. 216). The edition to which De Laurence was referring may have been the 1900 edition offered by the Egyptian Publishing Company of Chicago, an occult publisher that Davies (2009) notes was "little known" even during its peak (p. 214). De Laurence was apparently under the impression that the plates he had purchased came from a translation of an early German edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, most likely Scheiblel's 1851 edition; however, as Davies (2009) notes, "he [De Laurence] was not certain" (p. 216). And given that "this was one of a series of magic books compiled and plagiarized from a variety of published sources," attempting to determine the origin of Drake's printer plates is perhaps best thought of as a fool's errand (Davies, 2009, p. 216).

By the start of the United States Postal Department's 1919 mail fraud investigation, in which De Laurence was accused of "conducting a scheme for obtaining money through the mail by means of false pretenses, representations, and promises" (as cited in Davies 220), De Laurence had taken to describing himself as "the greatest

teacher, author and publisher of Occult and Magical Works the world has ever known" (as cited in Davies, 2009, p. 220). This was a claim that some people apparently believed as evidenced by "a story in the *Chicago Defender* in 1914 about Michael D. Williams, a youth from Lagos, Nigeria, who came to Chicago to study under De Laurence" (Elkins, 1986, p. 216). However, De Laurence faced issues with law enforcement in Chicago well before the 1919 mail fraud investigation. A 1912 article from the *Chicago Examiner* reveals much about the publisher and the culture in which he worked. The article, entitled "RICH CULT HOUSE IN SOCIETY DISTRICT IS RAIDED: Blacks and Whites are Arrested by Police for Practicing a Strange Alleged Religion of a New 'Absolute Life,'" reports that:

> Into the very heart of the most fashionable section of Michigan avenue last night went two patrol wagons on a hurry call. They stopped in front of the handsome brownstone house at 3340 Michigan avenue, owned by David A. Kohn and gathered up sixteen vari-colored "pupils" and "teachers" of "Dr." L. W. De Laurence's Institute of Psychology and Mental Training. And they took the whole outfit to the Stanton avenue police station.
>
> "Dr." De Laurence himself, protesting violently, but deserted by his white and negro bodyguard, which he euphoniously calls the "Order of the Black Rose," was taken along with the rest and locked up on a charge of keeping a disorderly house. It is expected that more serious charges will be lodged against him when the police have had time to investigate an astonishing story told by Mrs. Augusta Murle…

Blacks and whites, democratically commingled in the cause of acquiring and distributing the weird doctrines of "the doctor," have been living together in the house for several months, practicing strange rituals. They have been paying "the doctor" $75[10] a month for lectures—and "board" was free, consisting of bologna sausage and crackers in quantities not calculated to provide excessive nourishment…

"De Laurence sent me some literature when I was in Brooklyn," she [Murle] said, "and offered to teach me the Absolute Life in thirty-five lessons in four weeks for $75. So I came to Chicago. When I got in there I found an unspeakable state of affairs.

"The Order of the Black Rose was composed of Frank Dunn, a negro; a man named Alexander, who was a negro preacher; C. Newton, a white man; a man named Fleming, a Jamaica Indian; Henry and James Hettinger, negroes, and a while man named Siegfried. There was another white man whose name I do not remember.

"Only last night De Laurence hypnotized Fleming and made him do a prize fight with a student named Nelson. It was one of the most brutal things I ever saw.

"De Laurence would beat and kick his pupils and spit in their faces, and his lectures usually consisted in telling us that he would send us to perdition in twenty-four hours if we failed to obey him…"

"Dr." De Laurence… said: "I have not done anything but teach the gospel as it should be taught. My life is an open book. I believe that any man can be

> healthy and clean, or unhealthy and dirty, as he pleases, and that he can live as long as his will power lasts." (Vol. X, No. 280, 12 November 1912).

The references to interracial interactions provide the backbone of the article: De Laurence's true crime in this instance appears to be disregarding the ideologies of segregation, perhaps for his own personal gain given the cultish "board" referred to in the article's third paragraph.[11] Regardless of the validity of Murle's claims of hypnotized "prize fights," we can note that Murle frames "the unspeakable state of affairs" in terms of the lack of segregation in the Order of the Black Rose as evidenced by the recitation of the names and races. Likewise, we should note that Murle's involvement with De Laurence was facilitated by direct advertising through the United States Postal service, which indicates the importance of new routes of rhetorical circulation during the early 20th century. The Order of the Black Rose's location in a "society district" indicates both the apparent profitability of De Laurence's publishing efforts and his works' ability to transcend boundaries of race and class through means of the postal service. The mail fraud trial of 1919 revealed the extent of the De Laurence, Scott & Co.'s marketing apparatus and the profitability of works that promised "eternal life":

> By his [De Laurence's] own account he had recently taken in gross receipts of around $40,000[12] a year and owned around $100,000[13] in plates, stock, and merchandise [including, invocation candles, talismanic pieces of jewelry, and incenses]. He estimated that around 20 percent of business was overseas, mostly from Africa it would seem, since he complained that his profits were slim on such orders due to the cost of first-class post. He also sold a lot of books locally through Chicago and New York book dealers and stores including well-known

> names such as Charles Scribner and Son and Sears, Roebuck, and Company. He also supplied the Western News Company, which operated railway newsstands. One of his most regular clients was the less well-known Oriental Esoteric Library in Washington, DC. (Davies, 2009, p. 220)

De Laurence's publishing efforts persevered despite his frequent legal entanglements, again, none of which appear to concern piracy or other copyright concerns, and "in the 1930s the De Laurence publishing house claimed to be the largest seller of occult books in the world" (Elkins, 1986, p. 216). This statement that may have been true given the perfect storm of cheap printing technologies, avenues for direct distribution, and a lack of constraining copyright laws as well as the frequent references to his works throughout folklore investigations in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa (see Polk, 1999). His advertisements ran "in the major Afro-American newspapers," and his books were made available through mail order catalogues (Elkins, 1986, p. 216), which ensured his publications' finding of footholds in those communities. The De Laurence Company is still in operation today; however, the current catalogue available on its website does not mention any of De Laurence's publications. Instead, the company appears to focus on selling talismanic jewelry through the mail (*De Laurence's Mini Catalogue, no. 25*, n.d.).

As Davies (2009) rightly notes, the 1910 edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* produced by De Laurence, Scott & Co. "proved particularly influential in spreading its influence amongst the African-American population" (214). To illustrate his claim about the influence of the De Laurence edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, Davies turns, like many other scholars in the field have done (see Ellis 2000,

2004; Polk 1999; Sebald 1988), to the work of folklorist Harry Middleton Hyatt. I have left the following text unaltered for clarity:

> The same De Laurence edition also seeped deep into the thoughts and practices of rural African-Americans.... In the 1930s, the folklorist Harry Middleton Hyatt travelled up and down the eastern half of the country interviewing over 1,600 African-Americans about their magical beliefs. He found the *Sixth and Seventh Books* was already an integral aspect of hoodoo conjuration, used in conjunction with the Bible. As one hoodoo practitioner from Washington DC explained, 'you kin take and look in de Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses and find out whut to read, and den you go in yo' Bible and read it from yo' Bible.' The practitioner said that he was particularly familiar with the fourth psalm 'in order to accomplish things that you desire'. It runs as follows:
>
> > If you have been unlucky hitherto, in spite of every effort, then you should pray this Psalm three times before the rising of the sun, with humility and devotion, while at the same time you should impress upon your mind its ruling holy name, and each time the appropriate prayer, trusting in the help of the mighty Lord, without whose will not the least creature can perish. Proceed in peace to execute your contemplated undertaking, and all things will result to your entire satisfaction.
>
> The holy name is called: Jiheje (He is and will be) and is composed of the four final letters of the words Teppillati, verse 2; Selah, verse 5; Jehovah, verse 6; and Toschiweni, verse 9. The prayer is as follows:

> May it please Thee, oh, Jiheje, to prosper my ways, steps and doings. Grant that my desire may be amply fulfilled, and let my wishes be satisfied even this day, for the sake of Thy great, mighty and praiseworthy name. Amen!—Selah!—
>
> Hyatt asked, 'Is this Psalm in the Bible or in the Book of Moses?' They reply was, 'Both—but de meanings in de Book of Moses—Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses.' During the 1930s cheap paperback editions of the *Sixth and Seventh Books* were produced in the thousands, but De Laurence's name remained indelibly associated with it—besides much else magical. When Hyatt asked another Washington DC interviewee who used the *Sixth and Seventh Books* where to obtain the necessary 'dove's blood' ink and parchment to write magic prayers, the reply was, 'Ah know one in Chicago.' When asked the name, the reply was a hesitant, 'Ah don't lak tuch call dese names. Ah don't know whethah ah'd be doin' right den.' Reassured by Hyatt, he then said, 'Well, de Laurence.' (Davies, 2009, p. 214-215)

The preceding passage makes De Laurence's reliance upon direct marketing and his development of a magical reputation apparent. From a commercial perspective, we should note that in this passage Hyatt's informant reveals that De Laurence shrewdly provides both the procedure and the materials. Likewise, as with Murle's statement to the police, we find further reference to De Laurence's use of supernatural intimidation in this passage, as indicated by the informant's reticence to name him. Through these strategies of supernatural intimidation and commercial supply, not to mention the creation of a physical cult of followers, De Laurence managed to develop a commercially-viable

magical *ethos* that continues to the present. Further research into De Laurence, his marketing operation, and his public persona constitutes a useful entry point for broader examinations of direct marketing during this period and interracial rhetorical circulation.

But to understand *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'s interactions with the larger hoodoo tradition, we must first define *hoodoo*, and in defining it, we can begin to note how white, Christian hegemonic ideologies warp understandings of African American folk practices. Though the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019) offers two definitions for the noun *hoodoo*, neither are of particular use in this investigation as they demonstrate a profound misunderstanding of Afro-Atlantic belief systems and magical practices: the first definition is that a *hoodoo* is "One who practices voodoo"; the second is "An occult cause of bad luck; a person or thing whose presence is supposed to bring bad luck; (occasionally) a commotion, upset." The first definition is factually incorrect because hoodoo developed, at least primarily, independently of the various voodoo traditions in both Africa and the New World. *Voodoo* itself is an ambiguous term that may variously refer to Haitian Vodou, to New Orleans Voodoo, or to the traditional religious, practices and spirits, the *Vodun*, of the Fon people, who are primarily located in the contemporary West African nations of Benin, Togo, Ghana, and Nigeria. Broadly, the various New World voodoo traditions can be considered religious in nature in that they posit a pantheon of spirits and emphasize devotion to these spirits—both practices bearing a strong resemblance to the West African Vodun religion. Anthropologist Katrina Hazzard-Donald (2013) describes the relationship between the hoodoo system of the American South and other New World African-derived religious/magical systems "as [that of] third cousins with separate lines of development" (p. 7): though common

ancestors exist between the traditions, they are discreet in terms of their development, especially during the 19th century. The second definition offered by the *Oxford English Dictionary* is of little use to this investigation due to its obviously-negative, and potentially racially-biased, understanding of the word *hoodoo*. Though both African Americans and whites may use *hoodoo* in the negative sense of cursing, jinxing, or tricking (see Hyatt, 1978), this usage of the term does not help us uncover what the system itself was or entailed.

Like many other New World belief systems, hoodoo[14] is an amalgamation of religious and magical traditions coming from African, European, and indigenous American sources. For the sake of clarity, I will defer to the definition of *hoodoo* offered by Hazzard-Donald (2013) in *Mojo Workin' The Old African American Hoodoo System*, one of the recent works that have helped scholars understand and (re-)contextualize understandings of African American belief in the Southern United States:

> Hoodoo is the indigenous, herbal, healing, and supernatural-controlling spiritual folk tradition of the African American in the United States. Hoodoo has endured numerous labels, among them black magic, witchcraft, devil's work, and superstition, though other less pejorative names include spirit work, root work, conjure, spiritualism, psychic work, or simply "the work." (p. 4)

As Hazzard-Donald (2013) notes, the original tradition was primarily oral, passed down from one generation to the next by direct instruction. Parts of that tradition persevere despite the rapid influx of marketeered hoodoo items that began in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Hazzard-Donald (2013) posits that hoodoo can be conceptualized as two distinct complexes: "The Old Tradition 'Black Belt' Hoodoo Complex" and the

"Modern/Contemporary Hoodoo Complex." The first is an aggregation of the beliefs and practices of the following groups: midwives; morticians, grave diggers, and undertakers; pharmacy assistants, both enslaved and free; conjurers/root workers, treaters, swampers; and the Spiritualist and Sanctified Church (p. *xii*). The second is an aggregation of the beliefs and practices of the following groups: spiritual marketeers, curio shops, catalogs, the Internet, and snake oil salesmen; "numbers" lotteries and dream books, Spiritualist churches, including Holiness and Baptist churches; botanicas and voodoo; candle shops and Santeria; urban commercial practitioners, psychics, palm readers, and prophets; and old tradition practitioners, conjurers, root doctors, and treaters" (p. *xii*). Just as the sources of the tradition have changed so have the tradition's routes of transmission; Hazzard-Donald (2013) writes:

> Among contemporary African Americans, certain retained aspects of hoodoo were learned from parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents who passed tales, information, beliefs, practices, and paradigms to their descendants, sometimes inadvertently. And more recently, marketeered hoodoo supplies and paraphernalia have made their appearance in Internet catalogs and Web sites, supermarkets, botanicas, spiritual supply houses, drug stores, as well as revitalized curio shops, the place turned to most often by the uninformed for hoodoo supplies and sometimes services. (p. 4-5)

As such, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* can be seen as one of the marketed materials that entered into the old tradition complex and helped form the contemporary. As previously indicated in the discussion of De Laurence, Scott & Co., the grimoire, along with *Albertus Magnus* and *The Long-Lost Friend*, were "vigorously" promoted to

African American markets both in-and-out of Chicago (Hazzard-Donald, 2013, p. 111). Hazzard-Donald (2013) cites an advertisement in a 1912 issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, which was a primarily African American publication, that promoted all three texts. The advertisement ran alongside the paper's local news (p. 111). In the following chapters, we will examine the textual aspects of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* that allowed it to resonate with hoodoo-practicing discourse communities while *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* slipped into relative obscurity. However, we can note at this juncture that the conditions faced by African American communities in the early 20th century mirror those encountered by the Pennsylvania Dutch fifty years prior: increasing literacy rates (see Fultz, 1995) and a disconnect from older traditions, as aptly illustrated by Kriebel's (2007) discussions of the decline and obfuscation of Germanic folk practices in the United States and Hazzard-Donald's (2013) hoodoo complexes. Thus, the text of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* fills similar gaps for these communities. In the following chapter, we will examine how the textual tradition of the grimoire intersected with and informed orally-derived hoodoo practices during the early to mid-20th century.

Yet the popularity of *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* was not solely a United States phenomenon. As previously noted, folklore studies have long worked to trace the history, circulation, and cultural importance of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Folklorist Patrick Polk's (1999) work, "Other Books, Other Powers: *The 6th and 7th Books of Moses* in Afro-Atlantic Folk Belief," offers a thorough evaluation of the circulation and resonance of the grimoire in African American, Afro-Caribbean, and African discourse communities. Polk (1999) notes that the De Laurence edition of *The*

Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, which, as previously noted, was internationally available through De Laurence, Scott & Co. mail-order catalogues, has been found in the following locations by various scholars[15]:

> In Africa, the use of the book [i.e., the De Laurence edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*] has been noted in Cameroon (Probst 1989), Ghana (Debrunner 1959), Nigeria (Drewal 1988; Field 1960; Peel 1968; Probst 1989; and Turner 1967 and 1979), South Africa (Elkins 1986:216) and other nations. In the Caribbean, researchers have encountered the tome in Jamaica (Barrett 1976; Elkins 1986; Hill 1981; Hogg 1961[;] Seaga 1969; Simpson 1965), Grenada (Polk n.d.; Smith 1963), Montserrat (Dobin 1986), Saint Vincent (Beck 1979), and Trinidad (Herskovits 1947; Simpson 1965). (p. 119)

As De Laurence's publication spread throughout what Polk (1999) terms the "Afro-Atlantic" cultural grouping—a phrase used to indicate the close ties between African American populations throughout North America, South America, and the Caribbean and the black African populations on the African continent—so did public perception of the De Laurence increase. Polk (1999) offers the following examples:

> In Jamaica, some consider De Laurence to be the world's finest magician (Hogg 1961:1) and a "super-guru" (Barrett 1976:121). Not surprisingly, one of Robert A. Hill's informants in his study of the emergence of Rastafarianism in Jamaica during the 1930s stated that "If you weren't reading de Laurence in those days, you weren't considered to be doing anything great" (1981:69). Indeed, such were the magical powers attributed to De Laurence that one Jamaican informant informed Leonard Barrett that the psychic phenomena troubling a neighbor was

> due to the fact that the individual in question was a student of De Laurence who had failed to pay for his lessons in a timely manner. As a result, it was believed that the magician had sent ghosts to harass the man in order to hurry up payment (1975:98). In Grenada, De Laurence's name is also well known, and one individual described him as a powerful magician who resides "in Chicago near the North Pole and lives with a large number of pigmy servants" (Polk, n.d.). In Trinidad, Melville Herkovits discovered De Laurence publications were highly valued, and a member of a Spiritual Baptist church confided to him that "The work that de Laurence does is a correct Baptist work" (194: 229). (Polk, 1999, p. 120).

Again, the widespread dissemination of the volume demonstrates the perfect technological-legal storm of lax copyright protections, direct mail marketing, and printing advances upon which De Laurence was able to capitalize, in the most literal sense of that word. Likewise, the informant's references to De Laurence's apparent occult prowess illustrates the inherent *ethos* of textuality for some readers during this period (see Ong, 1982, for discussions of authority and textuality). However, objections to the text continued despite of, or perhaps *because of*, its widespread circulation. For instance, the Reverend Debrunner, a Ghanaian minister, offered the following assessment of the text:

> There are, for example, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, which are not by Moses at all but contain magical formula and are much sought after. Since its appearance in the sixteenth century [a time period claimed in the "The Sixth Book of Moses" (p. 1.6) and in "Magical (Spirit-Commando) beside the Black Raven" (p. 2.40) portions of the grimoire], this volume has been doing mischief by

> submitting men who followed its precepts to a sort of psychological slavery, which even today can have bad effects on the owner of the book. (as cited in Polk, 1999, p. 121).

De Laurence's book, much like the man himself, provoked strong reactions. However, the work's circulation is not solely attributable to De Laurence's reputation. Polk (1999) offers five explanatory "factors" for the circulation of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* "throughout the African-Atlantic cultural continuum" (p. 128). Polk's (1999) "factors" are as follows:

> (1) The wide acceptance of the volume as an authentic Mosaic text; (2) the book's emphasis on the utility of the Bible and scripture in rites, rituals, and magical procedures[;] (3) the increasingly positive valuation of literacy and the written word; (4) De Laurence's reputation as [a] man of great spiritual knowledge and power; and (5) the counterproductive effects of censorship. (p. 128)

Based on my research into the text and its history, I believe these assertions are largely correct, and, as such, they will serve as preliminary conceits for the following chapters in which we discuss the role of Mosaic attribution, the text's intertextual relationship with the Bible, and the significance of the seals.

As circulation of the De Laurence editions of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, which, like the 1880 English edition, include "The Magic of the Israelites," "The Magical Uses of the Psalms," and the fragmentary selections from the 1851 edition, increased among various African American, Afro-Caribbean, and West African communities (see Polk 1999), the grimoire all but disappeared from the Pennsylvania Dutch communities of its origin in the U.S. The diminished circulation (and presumed

diminished use) of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* amongst whites in the United States was hastened by the York Hex Murder Trial, which took place between 1928-1929 and is a major event in the history of the text.

The York Hex Murder Trial represents, in some ways, the end of the traditional Pennsylvania Dutch powwowing practice. The crime that preceded the trial is notable for the murders' motives and brutality; if nothing else, the crimes detailed below demonstrate the occasionally grave effects of folk practices. The following comes from Kriebel's (2009) synthesis of Ammon Aurand's *Pow-Wow Book* (1929) and Arthur Lewis' *Hex* (1969), the two sources for accounts of the trial. However, as both are marked by "editorial comments deriding powwowing and the people who practiced it" (Kriebel 2009, p. 116), I defer to Kriebel's (2009) summary:

> Nelson D. Rehmeyer, a sixty-year-old powwower—some said he was a witch—living in Rehmeyer's Hollow, new Red Lion (York County), was murdered on November 27, 1928, by John Blymire, John Curry, and Wilbert Hess. They testified that they had come to Rehmeyer's house not to kill him but to secure a lock of his hair and his copy of *The Long-Lost Friend.* By burying the hair or destroying the book, they reportedly believed, they would lift a hex that Rehmeyer had placed on Blymire, Curry, and the Hess families. The trio had come armed with a rope, presumably in order to tie up Rehmeyer, a powerfully built man weighing more than two hundred pounds. However, when Rehmeyer did not get the book at once, the three attacked him, wrestling him to the ground [sic]. There was a lull when Rehmeyer promised to get the book if they let him up, but when they did, Blymire testified that Rehmeyer came at him and that the

> three responded by beating Rehmeyer. It is unclear who actually struck the fatal blow—Blymire testified that Curry did it—but eventually Rehmeyer was dead. They went upstairs to look for *The Long-Lost Friend* but found nothing. Curry and Hess did find a small amount of money on a dresser, which they pocketed. They then wrapped the body in a mattress and a blanket and set fire to it and fled the house. (p. 116)

Although the book in question was *The Long-Lost Friend*, not *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, it is worth remembering that *The Long-Lost Friend* was widely held in much higher esteem than *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Yet as *The Long-Lost Friend* became more diabolical, the estimation of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* continued to decline in the public consciousness of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Davies (2009) has termed this a transfer of "baleful associations" (p. 207). Following the murder of Nelson D. Rehmeyer, the resulting trial, and the widespread mockery of "the 'Dumb Dutch' stereotype" in media coverage of the trial, local authorities worked to delegitimize powwowing and "suppress all such 'superstition' by introducing 'scientific education' and consolidating public schools" (Kriebel 2009, p. 121). As illustrated by the case studies in Kriebel's work, current forms of powwowing are markedly similar to other faith healing practices, making use of the laying on of hands and recitations of prayers and scriptures—a far cry from some of the Faustian and talismanic procedures detailed in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Grimoires, at least at the exoteric level, appear to have been removed from Pennsylvania Dutch folk practice at present.

Though the preceding textual history is largely concerned with the grimoire in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa, suggesting that *The Sixth and Seventh Books of*

Moses was primarily an Anglophonic phenomenon following its translation would be incorrect. As Sebald (1988) notes, the text was used by peasant groups in the Franconian Jura mountains, which are located in central Germany, and these peasant groups' magical traditions have lasted well into the 20th century. Sebald (1988) notes that a 1930s edition of the grimoire offered by the Gutenberg publishing house of Dresden offers readers additional "formulas, recipes, and folk cures" and "emphasiz[ed] old German remedies… even alluding to the scientific validity of a number of them" (p. 57). During the 1950s, the Braunschweig-located publishing house Planet produced an edition of the grimoire that also contained the purported "8th, 9th, and 10th Books of Moses"[16]; the Planet edition sold over 9000 copies within the first few months of its publication (Sebald, 1988, p. 57). The Planet edition led to anti-witchcraft activist Johann Kruse and his pseudo-intellectual Archives for the Investigation of Contemporary Witchcraft Superstition at Hamburg to sue Planet (Davies, 2009; Sebald, 1988, p. 57-8); According to Sebald (1988):

> Kruse sued the Planet publisher, trying to achieve a "cease and desist" order against the publishing of the grimoire. A 1956 court hearing exhibited two opposing teams of experts. On one side, Professor Will-Erich Peuckert, renowned ethnologist from the University of Göttingen, testified for the defendant; on the other side, Professor Prokop spoke for Kruse's cause. The court found the publisher guilty of deceit and "harmful publication," prohibited publication, and imposed a fine. However, the appeals court disagreed, granted continued publication, rescinded the fine, and Kruse lost the case. The main credit for the outcome must probably be given to Professor Peuckert, who employed his well-

> known power of rhetoric to impress the court with the principle of free expression and, more specifically, the *value of age-old remedies and folk customs*. In any case, Kruse and Peuckert emerged from the controversy to remain irreconcilable opponents, if not personal enemies. (p. 58, emphasis added)

This trial reveals an interesting intersection of textuality and orality: apparently, by the time of the trial, the earlier orally-derived Germanic folk practices had been replaced by a textual tradition, which was then compiled alongside *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, a text that bears no real indication of coming from an actual oral tradition given the text's emphasis on scribal practices in its operations. Likewise, the litigation, much like the court cases against De Laurence, reveal tensions between established authorities, such as the legal system, and folk practices that can appear subversive.

Kruse's efforts to suppress the grimoire proved impotent: in 1979, Karin Kramer published an edition in West Berlin; the Migene Gonzalez-Wippler English edition appeared in 1982; the hyper-granular Peterson edition appeared in 2008. These editions are merely among the most widely known editions; the De Laurence edition is available in a facsimile-print edition at the Lucky Mojo webstore, a major nexus point for modern, marketed hoodoo practice. Countless digital editions exist in digital archives such as Scribd, Google Books, and the Wayback Machine. If anything, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* have persevered to the degree that its circulation is no longer bound to printing technology. It certainly was never bound by copyright law.

Though the preceding textual history is largely cursory and serves to establish background information for the following chapters, it does indicate avenues for future research into *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. For instance, examination of 18th-

century manuscripts that bear resemblance to 19th-century editions of text is lacking in the literature and constitutes a major avenue for future investigations of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Certainly the references to *The Eighth Hidden Book of Moses*, *The Hidden Book of Moses concerning the Great Name*, and *The Tenth Book of Moses* in PGM XIII raise questions about a tradition dating back to antiquity despite the papyrus's lack of content similarity to any edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (see Betz,1996, p. 188-195). Likewise, examination of how 19th-century copyright laws evolved could prove useful for understanding aspects of the publishing boom that occurred in the United States during that century, especially with regard to the publication and dissemination of ephemeral medical manuals. Likewise, further comparisons of how these various communities actually implemented the text's operations would prove useful for understanding the physical and rhetorical circulation of the text. Finally, De Laurence continues to be an under-researched but massively influential figure for this time period. Further biographical investigations of the publisher would prove not only entertaining and informative but also would be useful for understanding the intersections of race, publishing, and religion in the early 20th century. The next chapter considers *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* as a technical manual and reads it against *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*.

---

[3] Davies (2009) notes that Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Karl Wunderlich (1769-1841) both had manuscript copies of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* in their libraries (p. 118-119).

[4] Harms (2009) notes that the Godfrey Selig who translated "The Magical Uses of the Psalms" into German is "not to be confused with the German Pietist and member of Kelpius' 'Woman of the Wissahickon' colony, Johannes Gottfried Selig" (p. 47). As this was a point of confusion in my own research, it bears repeating here.

[5] *Sefer* (or, ספר) denotes *book*. Some sources (e.g., Trachtenberg, 1939) omit *sefer* and simply refer to this publication as *Shimmush Tehillim*. I have elected to retain *sefer* to emphasize the published nature of the text.

[6] In my research, I have been unable to verify the existence of the Elizabethville edition of the grimoire. Davies cites Kevin J. Haye's *Folklore and Book Culture*, published in Knoxville in 1997. Peterson has also alluded to the Elizabethville edition on his website.

[7] *Black* has a double meaning here. It refers to both the text's popularity among African American and Afro-Caribbean communities and its reputation as one of the "instruments of Obeah," to use the phrase of Jamaican censors (as cited in Elkins, 1986, p. 215). *Obeah* refers, in general, to the syncretic spiritual practices of enslaved African Americans in the West Indies, similar to Palo in Cuba, Santeria in Cuba, hoodoo in the Southern United States, and Vodou in Haiti. Clearly, the negative connotations surrounding such practices, which are well attested to (see Hurston, 1990), spring from colonial expressions of Christianity. In Jamaica, *Obeah* largely refers to witchcraft.

[8] For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the publisher as *De Laurence* throughout this thesis. We should note at this juncture that much of the previous research into De Laurence comes from folklore studies (e.g., Elkins, 1986). Research into De Laurence is frequently complicated by the untruths De Laurence purposefully promulgated about his reputation and magical abilities.

[9] Though *Hypnotism: A Complete System, The Book of Death*, and *The Great Book* would all find footholds in Caribbean communities (see Elkins, 1986), I have yet to encounter a reference to any of these texts in works related to texts used in the hoodoo tradition (e.g., Harms, 2009).

[10] Approximately $1,100 today.

[11] A common practice among spiritual or religious cults is to limit the sustenance of the members in order to make them more malleable to the leader's whims.

[12] Approximately $600,000 today.

[13] Approximately $1.6 million today.

[14] While the terms *hoodoo, rootwork*, and *conjure* are used somewhat interchangeably to signify the belief system and magical practices of African Americans in the Southern United States, I will use the term *hoodoo* to refer to the beliefs and practices that originated in the American South during slavery. While *rootwork* and *conjure* may be used to refer to these practices, I have avoided these terms due to their respective herbalist and sorcerous connotations.

[15] For the sake of clarity, I am quoting Polk directly in the following block. I have provided full citations for the scholars he cites.

[16] I have been unable to access this particular edition of the text. Therefore, I cannot verify if those sections are the same or bear resemblance to the Greek Magical Papyri texts alluded to earlier in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: READING *THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES* AS TECHNICAL MANUAL: HOW INTERTEXTUALITY, AUTHORIAL PRESENCE, AND OPAQUE ORGANIZATION FACILITATE *ETHOS* AND TRANSCULTURAL CIRCULATION

The cultural folkways in which *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* participate have long been a subject of scholarly interest (see Ellis, 2000; Ellis 2004; Harms, 2009; Hyatt, 1978; Smith, 1995). Such works largely concern themselves with the text's nineteenth-century spread from the Pennsylvania Dutch community to the African American communities in the Southern United States and then to the Caribbean and Africa (see Polk, 1999, p. 119) or common, folklore-derived perceptions of the text (see Ellis, 2004). However, these folklorist accounts of the text, according to the conventions of the discipline, background the textual content and form of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* for the sake of foregrounding cultural concerns. Even Harms (2009)—who explicitly considers the relationship between *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, *The Long-Lost Friend,* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* and the oral accounts of their use in conjure practices as recorded in Harry Middleton Hyatt's monumental, five-volume *Hoodoo-Conjuration-Witchcraft-Rootwork*—only examines the texts themselves in passing. Yet reading the contents of the grimoire through a lens informed by rhetorical genre criticism (Miller, 1984; Miller, Devitt, & Gallagher, 2018) and technical communication genre theory (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992)[17] allows us to interpret the folklore accounts of the oral traditions associated with *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* while maintaining focus on the text itself. As indicated in the previous chapter, I will use Polk's (1999) five explanatory factors for the text's circulation as a starting point for this investigation; again, they are as follows:

> (1) The wide acceptance of the volume as an authentic Mosaic text; (2) the book's emphasis on the utility of the Bible and scripture in rites, rituals, and magical procedures[;] (3) the increasingly positive valuation of literacy and the written word; (4) De Laurence's reputation as [a] man of great spiritual knowledge and power; and (5) the counterproductive effects of censorship. (p. 128)

These assertions appear largely correct with regard to the success of the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* compared to other "occult manuals" from the era, such as *Le Dragon Rouge* (1801)*, Le Grand et Petit Albert* (1706)*, Le Livre des 72 Genies, Le Poule Noir* (18th century)*, The Greater and Lesser Keys of Solomon* (16th-17th centuries)*,* and *The Book of Black Magic and Pacts* (1910),[18] all of which also circulated throughout colonial spheres in the Americas (Polk., 1999, p. 115). However, scholars have not considered how these "occult manuals" compare to the contemporary instances of the manual genre. Nor have scholars robustly considered how *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* textually differs from 1819's *Albertus Magnus bewährte und approbierte sympathetische und natürliche egyptische Geheimnisse für Menschen und Vieh* [*Albert Magnus, Approved and Verified Both Sympathetic and Natural Egyptian Secrets, for Man and Beast*][19] and Johann Georg Hohman's 1820 publication, *Der lange verborgene Freund, oder, getreuer und christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann* [*The Long-Lost Friend, or, Faithful and Christian Instruction for Everyone*].[20] *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* was first published in English in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1875 (Harms, 2009, p. 45), and *The Long-Lost Friend* was first published in English in Westminster, Maryland, in 1855 (Harms, 2009, p. 46). These two contemporaneous texts were marketed alongside *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (Hazzard-Donald, 2013,

p. 111-112) and also appear in Hyatt's work (see Harms, 2009). This chapter seeks to fill this gap in the literature and to place folklore accounts of the text in conversation with a technical communication-oriented, genre-critical reading of these texts. In short, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* bears temporal and semiotic consistency with the contemporary manual genre, but it diverges in terms of authorial presence and organization. And in these divergences, we can identify how Mosaic attribution and opaque organization facilitate the text's development of magical *ethos* across cultural boundaries and the rhetorical remixing of orally- and textually-derived traditions.

Temporal Orientation, Operative Semiosis, and Biblical Intertextuality

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses bears temporal-orientation and semiotic consistency with the conventions of the manual genre as detailed by Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992). Broadly, the authors indicate that manuals occur "during" a project, function in the "operational" discursive mode, and are "present-oriented" (p. 79). As such, manuals can be characterized as instrumentally-aimed discourse.[21] Likewise, manuals serve "to enable performance" as well as "to explain and encourage" (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 79). As the authors note:

> A relevant text is thus present-oriented, but fully aware of the semiotic chains converging from the past and extending into the future. It evokes in the reader a feeling of a meaning-full and opportunity-saturated present by placing the reader at the center of newly joined discourse paths. (p. 95)

Much like contemporary manuals, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is a present-oriented text that serves to facilitate the reader's sense of agency. For example, let us consider a single page from "The Sixth Book of Moses," a portion of the text which

details the use of various “seals” and incantations to accomplish the operator’s aims. Under the heading, “The First Mystery,” the reader is presented with the name of the seal (“Sigillum Chori Servilium Archangeiorum of the Ministering Archangel”) and an accompanying incantation. Next, the reader is presented with the seal proper (see Figure 1) and a description of its intended use under the heading, “The Mystery of All Mysteries.”

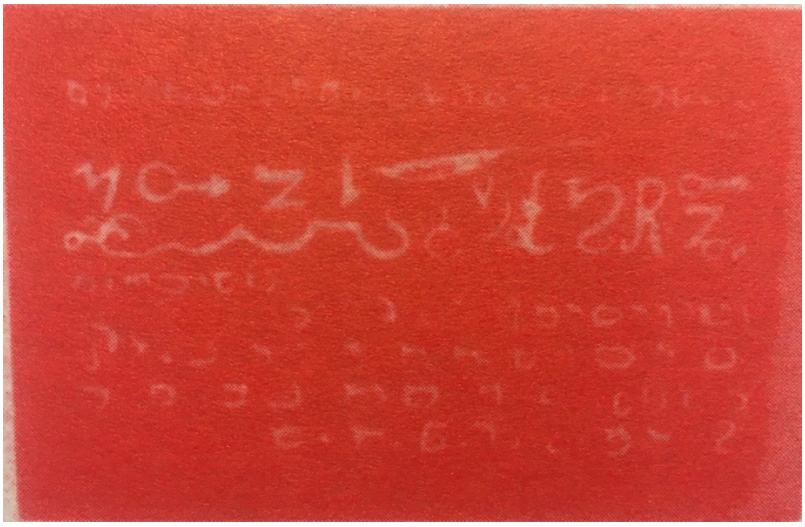


Figure 1
“Sigillum Chori Servilium Archangeiorum of the Ministering Archangel”
Note. Original scan from a packet of the seals I purchased. In the 1880 New York edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, the seal has white text on a black background rather than the red presented here.

According to the text, “If this Seal is buried in the earth, where treasures exists [sic], they will come to the surface of themselves, without any presence in plane lunio” (1880, p. 1.8). This use of the seal appears to be in addition to the general function of the seal, “bring[ing] what I [i.e., the conjurer] desire” (1880, p. 1.7), a claim for its use present in the accompanying incantation. In short, the reader is presented with a single operation in a single section, as indicated through the use of indexical headings, and offered the opportunity to achieve some form of social action (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p.

81; see Miller, 1984), i.e., reproducing the seal according to ritual requirements for the sake of some personally-defined gain or buried treasure. The text maintains the present tense in its instruction and facilitates future actions. The seal is "explained" and the reader is "encourage[d]" (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 79).

In terms of semiosis, the passage conforms to Killingsworth and Gilbertson's (1992) understanding of how technical manuals lead to the convergence of semiotic chains. A technical manual serves as a bridge between the author and the reader: the author's knowledge is established in the constellations of iconic, indexical, and symbolic signs of the manual, which then evoke mental signs in the reader, who then produces physical, aural, or textual signs in accomplishing the text's actions (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 76). Likewise, the manual semiotically bridges the past and future for the reader, who has encountered previous signs that have led to the manual being consulted in the first place (see Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 82). This process is mirrored by *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*: a reader encounters some problem in their present life, turns to the historical text, decides upon an action, and produces a physical, verbal, or mental sign. For instance, let us consider a passage from *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*, which is called "The use and Efficacy of the Psalms: The many Purposes to which They may be Applied" in the 1880 edition[22] (1880, p. 2.81). Regarding the 37th Psalm, the text reads:

> If any one has drunken so much wine as to lose his reason, and in consequence, fears are entertained for his safety, then quickly pour water into a pitcher, pronounce this Psalm over it, and bathe his head and face with the consecrated water, and give him also to drink of it. (1880, p. 2.92)

Semiotically, the mental signs in the reader related to the exigence, i.e., the fears for the drunken person's safety, lead to consulting the manual. In consulting the manual, the reader enters into the text's semiotic chain, wherein the author has provided visual signs related to such an occurrence and has prescribed a course of action. After reading the passage, the reader can then produce physical and verbal signs that, within the logic of the text, will resolve the exigence. These semiotic processes are abstractly equivalent with the processes that arise between a user, a manual, and a technology in contemporary settings because *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, like all other grimoires, *is fundamentally an instructional manual*.

Likewise, *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, contemporaries of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, can be characterized as belonging to the instructional manual genre in terms of present-orientation and semiosis. Let us briefly consider a passage from each to illustrate this claim. In *The Long-Lost Friend*, the reader finds the following instructions:

> A GOOD REMEDY AGAINST CALUMNIATION OR SLANDER.
>
> If you are calumniated or slandered to your very skin, to your very flesh, to your very bones, cast it back upon the false tongues. + + +
>
> Take off your shirt, and turn it wrong side out, and then run your two thumbs along your body, close under the ribs, starting at the pit of the heart down to the thighs. (Hohman, 1850, p. 10)

The exigence is the slander. The instructions are presented in the present tense and addressed directly to the reader. The text facilitates the reader's raising of physical signs following the reading of the manual. Though divergent in terms of materials and

procedures, the other operations detailed in *The Long-Lost Friend*, such as "How to Recover Stolen Goods" (p. 52), "A Good Way to Destroy Worms in Beehives" (p. 36-37) and "Recipe for Making a Paste to Prevent Gun-Barrels from Rusting, Whether Iron or Steel" (p. 37) follow the same temporal and semiotic patterns. The same is true of *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus.* The following passage from that text details a procedure for dealing with the same exigence as the selection from *The Long-Lost Friend*:

> During the month of August take a swallow from its nest. In its stomach you will find a stone, which you may wrap into a linen handkerchief, hang under your left arm. It is a good thing against slanderers, and makes you agreeable among the people. (1900, p. 114)

The passage conforms to the semiotic and temporal patterns of the manual genre: the reader is slandered, consults the text, and takes action. Though the exigence of this procedure is not indexed by the heading, an atypical occurrence in the *Magnus* text, other sections of the text make the semiotic process of exigence-reading-action explicitly apparent. For instance, as with *The Long-Lost Friend*, the headings in *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, e.g., "When a Cow Loses Her Milk" (1900, p. 115), "For a Swollen Foot of a Horse" (1900, p. 120), and "When the Milk of a Cow is Taken" (1900, p. 129), index the exigencies to which the procedure responds. Tellingly, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* fails to index the exigencies in such an explicit fashion, a claim that we will return to when considering the text's organization.

Though *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* are similar in terms of temporal orientation and semiotic chain convergence to *The Sixth and*

Seventh Books of Moses, we should note that operations detailed by *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* frequently bear an intertextual relationship with the Bible and are less reliant upon natural materials when compared to the operations prescribed by its contemporaries. This intertextuality is significant because, as Zora Neale Hurston has claimed, "All hold that the Bible is the greatest conjure book in the world" (as cited in Polk, 1999, p. 124), a claim that is well supported by both primary and secondary accounts of Hoodoo/conjure practice (Hyatt, 1970; Polk, 1999; Smith, 1995). Thus, when the reader of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* finds an operation and carries it out, the act of carrying out the operation can bridge, either explicitly or implicitly, the semiotic chains associated with the grimoire proper as well as those associated with the Bible, from which it derives some *ethos*. For instance, let us consider the following passage, which comes from "The Use and Efficacy of the Psalms," i.e., *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*, and details an operation responding to the same exigence as the previous passages from *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*. The passage provides explicit evidence of semiotic convergence between the *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and the Bible:

> Psalm 31—Would you escape slanders, and are you desirous that evil tongues may do you no harm or cause you vexation, repeat this Psalm in a low voice, with commendable devotion, over a small quantity of pure olive oil, and anoint your face and hands with it in the name of Jah.
>
> The letters constituting this holy name are found in the words: Palteni, verse 2, and Hammesachlim, verse 22. (1880, 2.91)

In the act of carrying out the operation and producing the associated physical and visual signs, the reader is led to consider the signs of the Psalter and its associated, cultural semiotic chains. Thus, the familiar becomes imbued with a sense of spiritual efficacy that reinforces the reader's sense of their own agency. This explicitly operative intertextuality is exemplified by "The Magical Uses of the Psalms," as the previous operation demonstrates, and "The Magic of the Israelites," in which Joseph Ennemoser frequently alludes to scriptural passages. Though the latter is not operative in that it does not prescribe procedures, "The Magic of the Israelites" serves as a conceit for the text, i.e., that *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is an authentic ancient Hebraic document, and in doing so, it establishes semiotic convergence between the reader's understandings of the Bible and of the grimoire. In other instances, the intertextual relationship is more implicit than explicit. For instance, the text's references to Sadock (p. 1.6), Balaam (2.5), and Leviathan (2.5) lead the reader to consider the relevant Biblical stories even though no specific scriptural passages are indicated by the text. By engaging in intertextual semiosis, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* plays on notions of esoteric and exoteric religious practice, a point that we will discuss further when considering the role of Mosaic attribution.

Though *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* also have religious themes and prescribe the use of prayers, those prayers are not revelations related to established religious practices; instead, they seem to comprise entirely new semiotic chains. For instance, in *The Long-Lost Friend*, under the heading "*A good Remedy for Worms, to be used for men as well as for Cattle*," one finds the following prayer and procedure:

> Mary, God's Mother, traversed the land,
> Holding three worms close in her hand;
> One was white, the other was black, the third was red.
>
> This must be repeated three times, at the same time stroking the person or animal with the hand; and at the end of each application strike the back of the person or the animal, to wit: at the first application once, at the second application twice, and at the third application three times; and then set the worms a certain time, but not less than three minutes. (Hohman, 1850, p. 10)

In short, the prayer is not biblical. Though it may evoke a mental sign related to the Virgin Mary, the reader is not led to consult the Bible or other texts. The semiosis is largely contained to the passage and its operation.

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses' fostering of intertextual semiosis, which frequently occurs in a multimodal fashion (see Miller, Devitt, & Gallagher, 2018)[23] wherein the reader of the text is presented with a graphical seal that corresponds to a well-known Biblical event, such as "Balaam's Sorcery" (p. 2.5) or the plagues of Egypt (p. 2.8-9), could also prove an explanatory factor for how *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* came to be seen as a revelation of true Christianity for marginalized groups. As Turner (1978) notes, marginalized groups who are forcibly converted to Christianity, such as African Americans in the United States, may believe "that the whites have neither revealed the full secrets of their Christianity nor given the local peoples the full or the true Bible" (p. 42). Thus, by fostering an intertextual relationship between *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and the Bible, the process of carrying out the prescribed operations signifies an engagement with a perceived truer, or *revealed*, Christianity. The

familiar stories of Moses, Aaron, Solomon, and Sadock and the familiar practices of Christianity, such as reading scripture and uttering prayers, are imbued with a new meaning in this intertextual relationship. Because this process does not occur with *The Long-Lost Friend* or *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, they are, perhaps, not perceived as revelations of "the White man's religion" (Turner, 1978, p. 42).

Likewise, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is a far more multimodal text than either *The Long-Lost Friend* or *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus.* In all operations of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" as well as in considerable chunks of the "Volume II of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses: Formulas of the Magical Kabala; Or, The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses Together with an Extract from the Genuine and True Clavicula of Solomon the King of Israel" (1880, p. 2.1), the reader is presented with a seal or table that visually signifies the operation. For instance, in an "Extract from the Magical Kabala," the reader is given seals related to Balaam (1880, p. 2.5), Leviathan (1880, p. 2.5), the plagues against Egypt (1880, p. 2.8), and the burning bush (1880, p. 2.8). In this way, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* allows readers to understand these stories in a new, visual mode and perceive a sense of agency that relates both to *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and the Christian tradition. Multimodal rendering of Bible stories is not limited to esoterica as evidenced by the widespread popularity of "illuminated" Bibles during the 19th century (see Perry, 2014, p. 138). But unlike a canonical religious work, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* appear to grant a sense of agency over revelations concerning familiar narratives and religious practices, an enticing proposition for readers who may feel that such power has been intentionally withheld from them.

Another point of divergence between the texts' operations is worth noting: the procedures in *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* detail the use of natural materials more frequently than *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. For instance, in *The Long-Lost Friend*, Hohman (1850) offers the following procedure "to obtain things which are desired": "If you call upon another to ask for a favor, take care to carry a little firefinger-grass with you, and you shall certainly obtain that you desired [sic]" (p. 12). And in *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, the author claims that if one "Grease[s] the eyes with the blood of a bat" they will "be able to see in the Darkest Night" (p. 27), which is an obvious instance of a type of sympathetic, natural magic that frequently occurs in earlier European "secrets books" (see Kavey, 2007). The prescribing of natural materials in *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* often occurs in procedures that have a medical aim. For instance, Hohman (1850) prescribes the following procedure for dealing with "various ulcers, biles, and other defects":

> Take the root of iron-weed, and tie it around the neck; it cures running ulcers; it also serves against obstructions in the bladder (stranguary [sic],) and cures the piles, if the roots are boiled in water with honey, and drank; it cleans and heals the lungs and effects a good breath. If this root is planted among grape veins or fruit trees, it promotes the growth very much. Children who carry it are educated without any difficulty; they become fond of all useful arts and sciences, and grow up joyfully and cheerfully. (p. 13)

Iron-weed, or *Vernonia fasciculata*, is native to the Midwest and Eastern United States, but does not occur in much of the Southeastern United States (Missouri Botanical

Garden, n.d.). A southern reader who would be unfamiliar with the plant would have little use for this procedure or others that rely upon natural materials from other regions. Likewise, such medical procedures, when introduced to other cultures that have deeply-ingrained, preexisting herbal traditions, such as the Southern African American cultures (see Brown, 2012, 144-145; Hazzard-Donald, 2012, p. 51-52), would be forced into competition with those traditions. A marketized text is unlikely to displace hundreds of years of orally-derived herbal practice quickly, especially if literacy rates are low and the herbs unavailable.

We should note, however, that the 1880-edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* does prescribe a few medical operations that rely upon natural materials in its final section. For instance, cow spleen is offered as a preventative measure against "day blindness" (1880, p. 2.127). Yet these remedies are framed in terms of ancient Hebraic remedies (see 1880, p. 2.122-129) and generally do not prescribe the use of regionally-specific materials. I have yet to encounter a reference to these procedures in folklore accounts of the text, but the references to "The Magical Uses of the Psalms" occur regularly. As such, the intertextuality of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*' popular operations and their lack of reliance upon natural materials or curios may serve as explanatory factors for why this text, unlike *The Long-Lost Friend* or *The Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, achieved resonance with African American communities in the Southern United States.

Authorial Presence and Organization

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses diverges from the technical manual genre, as described by Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992), in two clear ways: authorial

presence and organization. Yet these divergences are what allow us to interpret folklore accounts of the text and generate further understandings of the text's ability to move from the Pennsylvania Dutch to Southern African Americans in a way that *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* failed to do. Regarding authorial presence in the manual genre, Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992) note, "the reader is nearly totally dependent upon the author to provide accurate and usable information" (p. 86). However, the author's persona is rarely evoked in the contemporary manual:

> In one sense, the presence of both I and you is obliterated in the manual. The kernel *do this* suggests that the author has, in effect, disappeared and that the user, the "understood subject" of the imperative, has fused with the action, has become pure action or function. (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 122)

Yet instead of the near-obliterated author of Killingsworth and Gilbertson's (1992) manual, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is replete with authorial voices. Various editors, translators, and commentators appear throughout the volume. For instance, one "translator," perhaps Godfrey Selig, writes:

> Before I proceed further with the translation of the Psalms, it is necessary to insert in this place an admonition, which the author, who wrote only for his own nation, deemed unnecessary, and which, nevertheless, should be addressed to everyone. "Each human being," says the celebrated Kabbalist, Rabbi Isaac Loriga, "except only the ignorant idolator, can by a pious and virtuous life enter into the consecrated temple of the true Kabbala, and can avail himself of its benefits without being able to speak or understand the Hebrew language. He can pray, read and write everything in his mother tongue; only the holy name of God and

> the angels that may occur in the experiment, must, under all circumstances, be written and retained in the mind in the Hebrew tongue (for they must in no case be uttered), because, on the contrary, a wrong direction might otherwise easily be given to the experiment, and consequently it would lose all its holiness, worth and efficiency." (1880, p. 2.81)

Thus, the translator has evoked his presence to provide further clarification about the text and to indicate specific information about its use. Yet the translator has not solely evoked his own presence: the extended quote from an unknowably obscure figure, Loriga, furthers the text's esoteric appeal, and Loriga's credentials as a rabbi and supposedly esteemed Kabbalist further the appearance of authenticity for the reader. Interestingly, Loriga's initial condition for entering "the consecrated temple of Kabbala" —a certainly evocatively religious-occult phrase—bear a thematic similarity to the secrets books of early modern Europe: the efficacy of the text's "experiments" depends upon moral character of its operator (see Kavey, 2007, p. 5). Likewise, Loriga's admonishment that all "the holy name of God and the angels" must be in Hebrew reinforces the reader's sense of the text's authenticity and ties the work back to Western Esotericism, which has used Hebrew, especially the names of the Abrahamic deity (Véronèse, 2010), since Antiquity through to the present (see Betz, 1996, p. 194; Regardie, 1986). Furthermore, Loriga's indication that the reader merely needs to set the names of God and the angels in Hebrew, rather than the entirety of the operation, serves as an assurance to the reader that he or she can make use of the text.

The Hebraic nature of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses s*erves as a characteristic conceit of the text and is made explicit in its prefatory material, which

again evokes authorial presence for readers of the manual. In the 1880 edition's "Preface," an editor writes:

> [T]he authors wrote in accordance with a system which was, or at least, seemed clear to them, and illustrious persons, in all ages and climes have not considered the labor requisite to fathom the mysteries of magic as labor expended in vain, and although they condemned the form, they could not deny the possibility or even fact that gifted men, of inherent worth, could accomplish such wonderful things. (p. 1.3)

The reader is confronted not only with the presence of the editor but also with other "authors" as well as the assurance "that gifted men, of inherent worth, could accomplish such wonderful things." All of the authors, translators, and editors that appear throughout the volume serve to index the tables, seals, and operations of the manual as authentic elements of the ancient Hebraic magical tradition and provide evidence for the supposed Mosaic attribution. For instance, the inclusion of the extended academic essay, "The Magic of the Israelites," which according to Harms (2009), is "a pirated chapter from Joseph Ennemoser's *Geschichte der Magie* [1844]" (p. 46-47), frames the other selections in the text as authentic components of a Hebraic tradition by the very nature of its presence in the volume. In later editions of the work (e.g., Gonzalez-Wippler, 1991), "The Magic of the Israelites" serves as an introduction to the *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* further illustrating its rhetorical function.

Additionally, the opacity of the operations, tables, and seals, i.e., the untranslatable words, mysterious graphical elements, and claims of supernatural efficacy, serves as a dialectic counterpoint to the authorial and editorial voices: Moses and the

other ancient Hebrews appear so advanced spiritually and magically that the reader requires further editorial asides to make sense of the text's contents.[24] The author of the preface seems to indicate that the reader should understand the core occult practices of the text are authentic Mosaic artefacts and the other voices as secondary authorial instruction. In other words, the editor is leading the reader to consider Moses and "other Hebrew patriarchs (Polk, 1999, p. 117) as the true authors of the seals and procedures detailed by the text, an argument made explicit in the opening of "The Sixth Book of Moses," the "The Conversation of God," which reads:

> Adonai, Sother, Emanuel, Ehic, Tetragramaton, Ayscher. Jehova, Zebaoth, the Lord of Hosts, of Heaven and Earth; that which appertains to the Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses, as follows:
>
> Adonai, E El, Zeboath. Jebaouha, Jehovah, E El. Chad, Tetragramaton Chaddai, Channaniah. al Elyon, Chaye. Ayscher, Adoyah Zawah, Tetragramaton, Awiel, Adoyah, Chay, Yechal, Kanus, Emmet, thus spake the Lord of Hosts to me Moses
>
> Eheye, Ayscher, Jehel, Yazliah, Elion. Sum qui sum ab aeterno in aeternum, thou my servant Moses, open thou thine ears, hear the voice of thy God. Through me Jehovah, Aglai, the God of heaven and earth, thy race shall be multiplied and shall shine as the stars of heaven. In addition to this I will also give thee might, power and wisdom, to rule over the spirits of heaven and hell.
>
> Over the ministering angels and spirits of the fourth element as well as of the seven planets. Hear also the voice of thy God wherewith. I give thee the seven seals and twelve tables. Schem, Schel, Hamforach, that the angels and spirits may

> always yield obedient service to thee, when thou callest upon them and citest them by these seven seals and twelve tables of my omnipotence; and hereunto thou shalt also have herewith a knowledge of the highest mysteries.
>
> Therefore, thou, my faithful friend, dear Moses, take thou the power and high might of thy God.
>
> Aclon, Ysheye, Channanyah, Yeschayah, E El, Elijon, Rachmiel, Ariel, Eheye, Ayscher, Eheye, ElyOn. Through my Seals and Tables. (1880, p. 1.6-7)

This passage presents the primary conceit of the "Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses": the tables and figures reproduced in the text are the same as the tables and figures presented to Moses on Mount Sinai that granted him spiritual authority. In this way, the reader now participates in the semiotic relationship established between the Abrahamic god and Moses, albeit at a lower register: the instruction has been passed from God to Moses to the reader. Likewise, the blending of Hebrew, Latin, and English, generates esoteric appeal because most rural, 19th-century U.S. readers would have been unable to fully understand the significance of the language. In this way, the unknowability of meaning mirrors the mystery of religious revelations.[25] The chorus of authorial and editorial voices indexing Moses, among other Hebrew Patriarchs, as the primary author of the seals, tables, and procedures, forces us to consider what *Moses* signifies and the situatedness of those significations.

Popular understandings of Moses are broad enough that the significance of *Moses*, as a symbolic sign, is largely dependent upon the cultural conditions of the interpretant who encounters it. Two common understandings of Moses prove salient for unpacking how the *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* achieves resonance with variously

discrete groups: Moses as Egyptian and Moses as conjurer. As we are discussing what Johnson (2010) has described as "the opposition between history and memory," the material, historical realities of the Biblical tradition and ancient Egyptian civilizations are less important than what aspects of those traditions signify for those who encounter such representations. For instance, an Egyptian understanding of Moses ties *The Sixth and Seventh Books* explicitly to the contemporaneous, 1819 German charm book, *Albertus Magnus bewährte und approbierte sympathetische und natürliche egyptische Geheimnisse für Menschen und Vieh* [*Albert Magnus, Approved and Verified Both Sympathetic and Natural Egyptian Secrets, for Man and Beast*], as well as the early modern secrets books. As Johnson (2010) writes:

> The idea that there was hermetic wisdom in Egypt that one needed a secret initiation to know was one of the most tenacious memories of Egypt. When Moses is said to possess "all the wisdom of the Egyptians" in Acts 10, it is this secret wisdom that people have always assumed was meant…. The fascination with non-Western writing and secret wisdom lives on whether or not any historical basis is found. In the Renaissance, Marsilio Ficino and other writers "discovered" the "hermetic books" supposedly written by Hermes Trismegistus… at about the time of Moses and gave new life to the memory of Egypt. No amount of proof that the writings were forged, cobbled together from Egyptian magic books, Jewish mysticism, and Platonism, has diminished the prestige of literary hermeticism. (p. 49).

In the European tradition, attributing esoteric texts to established figures, both ancient and recent, is a well-established practice. For instance, Kavey's (2007) survey of secrets

texts contains discussion of texts attributed to Aristotle, *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (p. 32), and to Roger Bacon, *The Mirror of Alchimy* (p. 47). As Kavey (2007) notes, "none of these men had anything to do with the books they were supposed to have written, and some of these laudable authorities [such as Hermes Trismegistus] were not even real" (p. 32). Likewise, by attributing the text to Moses, European readers' understanding of that sign would necessarily evoke the mystical aspects of ancient Egyptian civilization, which have long been part of the western esoteric tradition (see Faivre, 2010; Hanegraaff, 2013; and Versluis, 2007). Thus, the Egyptian-ness of Moses would allow European readers, or, specifically 19th century European immigrants to the United States, to reconcile the text with their preexisting mystical and supernatural understandings of the world and Christianity.

However, other cultures, primarily those of African descent, have a somewhat different view of Moses, which, while dovetailing with the first, is distinct enough to warrant further discussion: Moses as conjurer and African American folk hero. In this role, Moses' authorial evocation in the manual genre becomes an explanatory factor for the ability of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* to transverse the "Afro-Atlantic cultural continuum" (Polk, 1999, p. 128). In a summary of African American folk conceptions of Moses, Polk (1999) notes:

> As the bearer of the Word of God and as the liberator of an enslaved people, the biblical patriarch Moses was easily adapted to serve as an African-American cultural hero. The lyrics of North American slave spirituals, for example, depict Moses as an epic hero and celebrate, among other things, his triumph over Pharaoh and the resulting emancipation of the Israelites. (p. 123)

He quotes Hurston, who writes, “because Moses made a nation and a book, a thousand million leaves of ordinary men’s writing couldn’t tell what Moses said” (as cited in Polk, 1999, p. 124). These understandings of Moses frequently demonstrate his capacity for supernatural agency and action and tie directly to Biblical narratives:

> Hurston emphasizes Moses’ power over nature, and his magic. The basis for this is already in the Bible. There are many pages of description of the ten plagues but very little on the Ten Commandments. It is not God’s will but Moses’ that Moses die before reaching the Promised Land… The folklore tradition blends with what the Western tradition lacks—which somehow becomes African—namely a closeness to nature, talking animals, and magic. (Johnson, 2010, p. 80)

Thus, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* become a way in which marginalized communities can assert the supernatural agency of Moses, a familiar and trusted figure, through familiar and trusted semiotic processes, i.e., the reading and recitation of passages from the Bible. One of Hyatt’s informants offers the following understanding of the relationship between Southern African American Hoodoo and Moses as conjurer, and the passage illustrates the centrality of the Hebrew patriarch to the tradition:

> Hoodooism started way back in de time dat Moses days, back in ole ancient times, nine thousand years ago. Now you see, Moses, he was a prophet jis’ like Peter, Paul, an’ James. An’ den he quit bein’ a prophet an’ started de hoodooism - what we call de *Seven Book of Moses*, dere where hoodooism took about. (as cited in Polk, 1999, p. 125)

As Polk (1999) notes, this passage demonstrates an understanding of Moses, wherein “Moses is viewed not only as a biblical prophet who brought forth seven books of

scripture (i.e., the Pentateuch and the 6th and 7th Books) but also as the archetypal conjurer" (p. 125). As Polk (1999) notes, "Hoodoo practitioners who utilize both the Bible and the 'lost books' of Moses are understood to be doubly the inheritors of Moses's spiritual wisdom and arcane knowledge" (p. 125). This understanding is undergirded by the Mosaic attribution of the text because the semiotic chain that holds the reader and Moses parallels by the semiotic relationship between Moses and the Abrahamic deity. In this way, by utilizing the text to respond to pressing exigencies, the reader directly participates (or perceives themselves as participating) in the same process that produced the Bible's first five books, which are already a great source of magical knowledge and agency for African American Hoodoo practitioners following the decline of the older practices (see Hazzard-Donald, 2013).[26]

This evocation of Moses and the related semiotic chains should not be taken as an indication that *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* lack authorial presence; rather, the authorial presences of those texts are either highly-specific and fixed or irrelevant to Southern African American culture. For instance, in *The Long-Lost Friend*, the reader is presented with the following prefatory material, which evokes a very particular authorial presence:

> I have given many proofs of the usefulness of this book, and I could yet do it at any time. I sell my books publicly, and not secretly, as other mystical books are sold. I am willing that my books should be seen by everybody, and I shall not secrete or hide myself from any preacher. I, Hohman, too, have some knowledge of the Scriptures, and I know when to pray and call unto the Lord for assistance. The publication of books (provided they are useful and morally right) is not

> prohibited in the United States, as is the case in other countries where kings and despots hold tyrannical sway over the people. I place myself upon the broad platform of the liberty of the press and of conscience, in regard to this useful book, and it shall ever be my most heartfelt desire that all men might have an opportunity of using it to their good, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Given at Rosenthal, near Reading, Berks county, Penn., on the 31st day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1819.
>
> JOHN GEORGE HOHMAN
>
> *Author and original publisher of this book*. (Hohman, 1850, p. 5)

The text then provides a series of "testimonials," "[w]hich," Hohman writes, "go to show at any time, that I, Hohman, have successfully applied the prescriptions of this book" (p. 6). Examples of the testimonials include the following: "LANDLIN GOTTWALD, formerly residing in Reading, had a severe pain in his one arm. In about 24 hours I cured his arm" (p. 6); "SUSANNA GOMBER had a severe pain in the head. In a short time I relieved her" (p. 7); and "HENRY JORGER, residing in Reading, brought to me a boy who suffered extreme pain, caused by a wheal in the eye…. In a little more than 24 hours, I, with the help of God, have healed him" (p. 6). Hohman then threatens those he has just cited in the testimonials:

> If any one of the above named witnesses, who have been cured by me and my wife through the help of God, dares to call me a liar, and deny having been relieved by us, although they have confessed that they have been cured by us, I shall, if it is at all possible, compel them to repeat their confession before a Justice of the Peace. (1850, p. 8)

These passages are telling. Though Hohman's authorial presence saturates *The Long-Lost Friend*, in a way that Moses' does *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, Hohman must establish his own *ethos*. Whereas the authorial and editorial asides in the *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* serve to index Moses as the source of the volume's materials, Hohman's are much more concerned with establishing the efficacy of the text and his own magical acumen. It is little wonder then that Hohman's volume failed to achieve the same level of cultural resonance as *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (see Harms, 2009, p. 59): instead of relying on an intertextual relationship to previous semiotic chains, Hohman has to create both the text and its authority in his asides.[27] And because a Pennsylvania Dutch powwower certainly lacks the same cultural relevancy as Moses for Southern African Americans, the volume is more easily discounted. Likewise, because *The Long-Lost Friend* cannot be considered a revelation concerning an intentionally occluded religion, its operations are forced to compete with preexisting oral semiotic chains related to folk cures for medical maladies, which were well-established in Southern African American communities prior to the marketing of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, *The Long-Lost Friend*, and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* to those groups (see Brown, 2012; Hazzard-Donald, 2013).

This process of non-resonant authorial presence occurs, too, in *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus.* The book's title page provides a brief description of Magnus:

> By that celebrated Student, Philosopher, Chemist, Naturalist, Psychomist, Astrologer, Alchemist, Metallurgist, Sorcerer, Explanator of the Mysteries of

> Wizards and Witchcraft; together with recondite Views of numerous Arts and Sciences—Obscure, Plain, Practical, Etc., Etc. (1900, p. *i*)

These appositive phrases serve to establish the *ethos* of Magnus, which would have been well understood by knowledgeable European readers. Another text, *The Secrets of Albertus Magnus of the vertues of Hearbs, Stones, and certain Beasts*, had undergone four successful printings by 1600 (Kavey, 2007, p. 60). Like those of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and *The Long-Lost Friend*, the authorial and editorial voices of *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* serve to highlight the supposed efficacy of the text as well as its seemingly spiritual bent:

> I, therefore, beseech every one, into whose hands this book may come, not to treat the same lightly or to destroy the same, because, by such action, he will defy the will of God, and God will, in return therefore destroy him, and cause him to suffer eternal punishment and grim damnation. But to him who properly esteems and values this book, and never abuses its teachings, will not only be granted the usefulness of its contents, but he will also attain everlasting joy and blessing.
>
> …
>
> And now, I submit this book to you, dear reader, for your best use and profit, in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen! Yea, even so be it. (1900, p. *iv*)

However, outside of the European tradition, in which Magnus is remembered as a 13th-century Dominican Bishop who served as the instructor of Thomas Aquinas and a proponent of Aristotelian investigations, the sign *Albertus Magnus* does not connect to other salient semiotic chains, such as Protestant Christianity and the Bible, for nineteenth-

century or more modern readers of the work. Thus, while a text authored by Moses can be seen as a revealed aspect of an imposed faith and a chance to exert agency within a well understood framework, a text authored by Magnus may have been seen as a more alien entity, unconnected to relevant cultural practices and semiotic chains. The lack of widespread folklore references to the text, aside from references to a wagon wheel ritual that occurs in several texts from that period (see Harms, 2009, p. 62) indicates its failure to meaningfully circulate to the Southern African American communities and the Caribbean syncretic traditions.[28] Authorial *ethos* is only relevant if the interpretant can connect the sign to a meaningful object. *Albertus Magnus*, much like *John George Hohman*, does not meaningfully signify to a broad swath of interpretants who would have encountered the three texts.

The other major divergence between *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and the manual genre as detailed by Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992) proves an explanatory factor for the text's ability to circulate amongst cultures: the apparent lack of overarching organization. Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992) note, "the logos of organization follows the pathos of the reader" in manuals (p. 101). As the authors write: "each section of the manual should present a unique task, a single operation. It should be more or less self-sufficient and should exclude features unrelated to the task" (p. 101). Thus, the manual, in its organization, accounts for the user's ability to navigate through the task and scaffolds the task in such a way that the physical actions instructed by the text are mirrored in the pacing and division of the manual itself. Section headings and sequentially numbered steps are examples of this genre convention. The *logos* of the organizational patterns of *The Long-Lost Friend* and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus*

Magnus follow the *pathos* of their readers: by setting the exigencies that the operations respond to in indexical headings, the texts are easily navigable. *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* even presents the reader with multiple tables of contents and indexes.

However, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is, in a word, bewildering in its organization. The text begins with "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses"; immediately after these, the reader is confronted with a nearly 40-page pseudo-academic essay concerning the magical practices of ancient Hebrews. The second volume then moves through a series of seemingly-fragmentary texts, including an "Extract from the Magical Kabala of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses" (2.3); an "Extract from the True Clavicula of Solomon and of the Girdle of Aaron" (2.9); a section entitled "Biblia Arcana Magica Alexander According to the Tradition of The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses" (2.11); and an "Extract from the Magical-Kabala, of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses by S.T.N" (2.17), which claims to be the first translation of the text "from the Cuthan-Samaritan Language into English" and bears a 1776 date in the title (2.17). The second "Extract" appears to provide explanatory notes for the earlier "Extract," one of the few instances of explicit intertextuality between sections of the 1880 edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. In the second extract, the reader is presented with the following instructions that appear to detail the use of the seals of the first extract, which, interestingly, appear in other fragments in slightly different forms (compare the "Breastplate of Moses" on 2.3 with the "Breastplate of Moses" on 2.26):

> 1. Before you can enter the temple of consecrated light, you must purify your soul and body during thirteen days.

2. As a brother and disciple of the new covenant, or as a Christian, you must receive the holy sacrament for the glorification of the three kings—Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar.

3. Three holy masses must be read as often as you make use of this Book in your priestly service with your intention fixed upon the three glorified kings.

4. You must provide yourself with a ram's horn, wherewith to call together the angels and spirits. This horn must be included in your intentions of the holy mass.

6. You must wear a breastplate of parchment, ten inches high and ten inches wide, inscribed upon it the names of the twelve apostles with the five-fold name of Schemhamforasch, in the same order that it is placed on the last leaf.

6. You must draw a circle around you upon white paper, or upon sky-blue silk. Its circumference shall be thirteen feet, and, at the distance of each foot, one of the following names must be written, viz.: Moseh, Messias, Aaron, Jebova, Adoni, Jesus, Christas, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar. Al. Al. Al.

7. Between each name you must place the holy symbol of Horet…

8. The breastplate must be included in the intention of the holy mass.

9. Through consecration with holy triple king's-water and with three burning wax tapers, you must finally pronounce a benediction over this book, the horn, the breastplate, and the circle, after reading a well-selected mysterious ritual.

10. You may enter alone, or begin this great work with two companions, by day or by night, but always from the first to the thirteenth of the month, and during the thirteenth day, and through the whole night of the new moon, and also during full

> moon, when the three planets, Saturn, Mars and Jupiter, are visible in the heavens on the day of exorcism, either singly or together.
>
> 11. You must always stand with your face toward Zion, or toward the rising of the sun.
>
> 12. *He who refuses a copy of this book, or who suppresses it or steals it, will be seized with eternal trembling, like Cain, and the angels of God will depart from him*. (p. 2.18-19, emphasis added)

Tellingly, the "breastplate" referenced in the preceding passage *is not* the "Breastplate of Moses" (2.3 *or* 2.26) nor the "Breastplate of Aaron" (2.3 *or* 2.26) but rather an explicitly Christian object, as indicated by the inclusion of "names of the twelve disciples" (2.18). Likewise, the astrological conditions indicated by the instructions are not reiterated or referenced in the explicitly astrologically-oriented "Astrological Influence Upon Man and Magical Cures of the Old Hebrews" (2.113) which appears a seemingly Talmudic explication of the function of planetary hours, a longstanding concern of grimoires (see Mathers, 1974; Mathers, 2017). Another inconsistency and organizational oddity is worth noting: The magical circle, arguably a central concern of most magical grimoires (see Crowley, 1997; Davies, 2009; Mathers, 1974; Mathers, 2017; Shores, 2014), referenced in the preceding instructions differs from the magical circle offered visually by the text (2.40), which occurs in an appended selection from "Magical (Spirit-Commando) beside the Black Raven," a Faustian grimoire that purports a 1501 publication[29] (p. 2.40). Finally, we should note that the final listed item, "He who refuses a copy of this book…," seems to indicate a talismanic function of the book itself. In addition to the seals and tables of the text, which Polk (1999) has noted have talismanic and "apotropaic"

functions (p. 118), this passage indicates that the book itself is magical and will resist being suppressed, seized, or stolen. This passage is akin to Harm's (2009) comments regarding *The Long-Lost Friend*'s talismanic function (p. 59). However, as this passage is severely backgrounded in the 1880 edition, we cannot assume that the supposed talismanic function of the text factored into its initial circulation. While neither the 1880 English edition nor the 1910 De Laurence edition emphasize this passage, later editions of the work, such as Peterson's 2008 edition, place this admonishment in the title page. Detailing further instances of incohesive organization and information design is unnecessary, for such instances are legion throughout the text. *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is, indeed, a bewilderingly "inchoate mass of occult material" (as cited in Elkins, 1986, p. 216).

Interpreting Folk Accounts

These consistencies and divergences from the manual genre allow us to interpret the folklore accounts of the text and its use. Through incoherence and lack of overarching organization, the individual sections of the text are divorced from a larger procedure: the sections bear only limited meaningful relation to one another. The implementation of the text's procedures, then, becomes dependent upon which sections the reader pays attention to. And because each section is discrete, they readily fold into other textual and oral traditions. As Harms (2009) has noted "strict adherence to the technique and goals as stated in the 'Magical Uses'… is unusual" (p. 56). The lack of organization, when understood in terms of authorial presence, i.e., that all sections function independently but are authentic Mosaic or ancient Hebraic artifacts, fragments of lost or recently

rediscovered culture, allows us to understand Hyatt's folkloric accounts of the text, such as the following:

> Informant 1124: If yo ' wanta bring a person back regardless to who he is, wife or some of yore lovin' friends -regardless to who is dat's gone away from home an' yo ' wants to bring him back. We goes den to de *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and read de 32nd or 37 chapter, an' go to de five-an'-ten-cent store an ' buy a tin plate. Don't pay but five cents fo' it. Yo ' cannot git but six persons from rim tuh rim right straight cross. In dat yo ' can't git but six persons in de plate, chew know. (Hyatt, 1970, p. 1810)

Tellingly, neither the 1880 nor the De Laurence editions of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* offer chapter numbers as indexical signs. Likewise, neither refer to a "tin plate" at any point in their contents. What is occurring in this utterance is an intersection of an oral Hoodoo tradition, which is clearly post-emancipation given the operator's presumed freedom to purchase and own property, relating to returning persons to the practitioner or his/her clients with the textual tradition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, which has seamlessly folded into an older orally-derived practice. The utterances prescribed by the text, whichever ones the informant is actually referring to, are granted authority because they derive from Moses. Another example further illustrates this intersection of orality and textuality in the recorded uses of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*:

> Informant 1236: Yo ' might say right now yo ' brother in jail. Well, now, he know he killed a man - he killed a man fo ' nuthin. Well, he gotta have a lawyer. Well, now, we goin ' have de lawyer. All right. Yo ' go tuh de Bible an ' yo' git de S*even Book of Moses*… Yo ' git de seven apostles - de seven

> disciples, whut we call 'em, an ' write 'ern down. All right. Yo ' git chew a silver dollah an ' a piece of flannen [flannel], an ' yo ' cut dat flannen round dat silver dollah . Yo ' go tuh de jail an' yo' tell 'im tuh put de name - de prophet [disciples] name in his shoes - de toe of his shoes - de toe of his left footed shoe. All right, put dat - an ' take de flannen wit dat an ' put it onto him . See dat [is] signs. Yo ' goes on back an ' yo ' git chew a frog. Well, yo ' might know de judge name, knows de prosecutor. Yo ' take that frog - take dat stuff - take de judge name an' put it in de frog mouth - feed dat frog an' turn him loose. De prosecutor can't prosecute chew - de judge goin ' be on his side - an' de witness, he got him in his shoe, see. (Hyatt, 1970, p. 1128)

Courtroom rituals are a common practice in the Hoodoo tradition (see Hazzard-Donald, 2013, p. 74-75) and frequently rely upon “root chewing” techniques, wherein the practitioner chews a form of the Galanga root “to render the evidence harmless and provide the best outcome for the accused” (Hazzard-Donald, 2013, p. 74). This informant’s technique is clearly responding to the same exigence as the root chewing practice, i.e., a legal exigence and potential imprisonment, and attempting a similar resolution; however, the procedure detailed relies on both textual practices, i.e., the reading and writing work associated with the textual tradition, and the use of animal curios and other materials, which could come from the earlier orally-derived Hoodoo practices that make use of talismanic procedures and animal components (see Hazzard-Donald, 2013, p. 37). The reference to “seven disciples” is puzzling as there are traditionally 12 disciples regardless of the branch of Christianity. As there are seven seals

in “The Sixth Book of Moses,” these seals could be what the informant is referring to. If so, the informant’s understanding of the text appears to have been shaped by an oral tradition that prescribes certain ways of reading and understanding. Finally, let us consider a passage from Hyatt (1970) that both Davies (2009) and Polk (1999) have relied upon in their examinations of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*:

> Informant 2744: And then I always repeat certain words over a person when ah 'm healin' 'em.
>
> Hyatt: Are those words a secret? Or something you wouldn't want to tell me?
>
> Informant 2744: "May it please thee , O Jehoges , to prosper" - I mean, "May it be thou most holy will, O El Mejah to heal de body and soul of dis person." You gotta call de mother 's name and de person that you are healin’. "May it be thou most holy will, O El Mejah, to heal de body and soul of John or Susan, free 'em from plague and oppression." [30]
>
> Hyatt: What were those words that you read out of the Bible? Were those secret?
>
> Informant 2744: No, dat wouldn't be secret. It would be secret to people dat come to see me but not secret to persons dat knows -you know what I mean, if you understand . It's the 10th Psalm of the Book of Moses ....Dis one dat keeps running in mah mind is de Psalm dat you read three times befo' sunrise. Dat's de 4th Psalm. That is in order to accomplish things that you desire. There's a certain name, a certain spirit, that you call upon.
>
> Hyatt: Is this Psalm in the Bible or in the Book of Moses?

> Informant 2744: Both - but de meanings is in de *Book of Moses -Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses*. The 10th Psalm - well dat Psalm whut you use fo' healing and removing conditions from a person .
>
> Hyatt: Do you use any other book in addition to *Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses*?
>
> Informant 2744: You kin take and look in de *Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* and find out whut to read , and den you go in yo' Bible and read it from yo ' Bible. You go to the fo' corners of the earth[31] and you take nine new keys[32] and you call the spirit of this person - nine keys and walk to the four corners and you call the spirit. Yo' go dere at midnight and you call de spirit of de person whut you want and this person will come . You worry 'em - de spirit [identified later] will worry 'em. Yo' send out yore thoughts through dese new keys and that brings the person back that you desire to. (p. 751-752)

In this passage, we find a clear mixing of textually and orally-derived practices. The selections concerning the four corners, the nine keys, and the calling of a person's spirit all come from an older, orally-derived Hoodoo practice, potentially of an African origin (see Hazzard-Donald, 2013, p. 19-33). What is telling, however, is the use and significance of the Psalms in this operation. As Hazzard-Donald (2013) notes, certain Psalms had already accrued a magical reputation before the introduction of marketized Hoodoo items at the start of the 20th century. She also notes that, by the early Reconstruction, the psalms had begun to "totally replace the traditional West and Central West African chants and prayers" (Hazzard-Donald, 92). Examples include "slaves'

traditional use of Psalm 10 when requiring protection during travel, especially when running away, Psalm 53 for God's divine protection, and Psalm 109 to curse and damn" (Hazzard-Donald, 92). Yet in "The Magical Uses of the Psalms," Psalm 10 is used in conjunction with spring water and olive oil to remove "unclean, restless, and evil spirit[s]" (1880, p. 85); Psalm 53 is grouped together with Psalms 54 and 55 as ways to handle "open or secret enemies" with varying degrees of severity (1880, p. 2.94); and Psalm 109 is used in conjunction with sparkling wine and mustard seed to deal with "a mighty enemy, who plagues and oppresses you" (1880, p. 2.102). All of the Psalms are presented with similar instructions; As Polk (1999) rightly notes, "what makes the occult volume [i.e., *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim* or "The Magical Uses of the Psalms"] so compelling is that, in a time of need, an individual can use the work to ascertain which specific Psalm should be used in dealing with the matter at hand" (p. 119). We should also note that Hyatt's informants refer to this portion of the text with far more regularity than to other sections (Harms, 2009, p. 55). As evidenced by Hyatt's informants, following the publication of the De Laurence edition of the text in the early 20th century, the textual-based significances of the Psalms had replaced the previous orally-transmitted uses. This replacement, like the other instances of remixing of early, orally-derived Hoodoo practices with textual elements, indicates the primacy of textuality (see Ong, 1982). While *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* belongs to the broader genre of the manual, "The Magical Uses of the Psalms" can also be understood as a manual, independent from the rest of the text due to the lack of overarching organization. Specifically, it is a manual for the Bible, from which it derives further *ethos* due to semiotic chain convergence. All told, because the sections of *The Sixth and Seventh*

Books of Moses lack a meaningful, organizing cohesion, they can be divorced from other sections of the text and remixed into other practices, some of which stem from older, orally-derived Hoodoo practices.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how three texts, *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, *The Long-Lost Friend*, and *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* belong to the same broad genre category, i.e., the manual. However, in comparing and contrasting these texts along the lines of temporal-orientation, semiotic convergence, authorial presence, and organization, it becomes evident how *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'s authorial presence and lack of meaningful organization facilitated its adoption by African American Hoodoo practitioners. Likewise, we have noted how intertextuality furthers its usefulness. *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is not only a manual: it is a manual for the Bible. In the next chapter, we will consider the seal and tables of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" to uncover how these visual representations of divinity serve to further develop the text's reputation and its usefulness within talismanic folk traditions.

---

[17] Though somewhat dated now, Killingsworth and Gilbertson's *Signs, Genres, and Communities in Technical Communication* (1992) is an especially useful text for abstractly considering technical/procedural documents. Due to its three-part schema, the text allows for a critical framework that bridges the smallest signs in the text to the broadest of discourse community concerns. Likewise, because the text was produced prior to the widespread adoption of the Internet, it is less concerned with digital aspects of technical/procedural documents, an especially useful feature for considering historical texts.

[18] Where possible, I have provided the dates from Grimoire.org. For *The Greater and Lesser Keys of Solomon*, I have provided a range that includes the publication dates for *The Key of Solomon* (1572) and *The Lesser Key of Solomon* (1641) because *The Greater and Lesser Keys of Solomon* referenced in Polk (1999) appear to be a compilation of

those texts. *The Book of Black Magic and Pacts*, which was retitled *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* in some editions, was written by Arthur Edward Waite, a member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and published originally in 1898. I have accessed a De Laurence edition of that text from 1910 and provided a reference for that work in this thesis. I have been unable to access a copy of *Le Livre de 72 Genies*; however, given that *The Lesser Key of Solomon* (see Crowley, 1997) details operations for 72 spirits, *Le Livre de 72 Genies* is likely within the same tradition. The work may be a French translation of an earlier Arabic work, too.

[19] I will refer to this text as *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*.

[20] I will refer to this text as *The Long-Lost Friend*.

[21] We can define *instrumentally-aimed discourse* as discourses "devoted to the systemizing and control of human actions" (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 222). However, we must be mindful that our understanding of *instrumental* is not presented pessimistically; certainly, the revulsion felt when considering Aristotle's discussion of slaves as instruments instead of individual human beings indicates the inherent issues of a rigid definition of instrumentality (see Aristotle, *Politics* book 1; cf. Mitchell, 1998, p. 144-145). Let us consider a broader understanding of *instrumentality* and *instrumental discourse*; Walter Beale defines instrumentally-aimed writing as "the kind of discourse whose primary aim is the governance, guidance, control, or execution of human activities. It includes such specific products as contracts, constitutions, laws, technical reports, and manuals of operation" (as cited in Killingsworth and Gilbertson, 1992, p. 214). Of particular interest for our purposes is the idea of instrumentally-aimed discourse as providing *guidance* and as occurring in "manuals of operation," for the very nature of guidance assumes that the guided person exhibits agency and has some individual choice regarding their relationship to the text. Likewise, the manual genre and its conventions are predicated upon an understanding of the reader's agency to disregard the text at any point. Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992) expand upon Beale's conception of instrumentally-aimed discourse and offer several cogent points:

> Instrumental texts are structured around imperative sentences (*do this*) and other performative constructions—*you (or he or she or it) will/shall/should do this*. The reader is the active agent, the "you" to whom commands, recommendations, requests, and suggestions are addressed.
>
> The directive usually flow from a point of greater knowledge or authority to a point of lesser knowledge or authority, from a master of a technique or body of knowledge (author) to an apprentice (audience), from an expert to a non-expert. Prototypes may be found not only in the world of government and technical writing, but also in the wisdom literature and holy scriptures of ancient cultures and in many political writings. (p. 214)

However, discourse does not exist in a vacuum; instrumentality, in general, indicates that there are material conditions which must be responded to by human action that is facilitated by the discourse.

[22] I will refer to this text as either "The Magical Uses of the Psalms"—to reflect the title commonly ascribed to it (see Gonzalez-Wippler, 1999)—or as *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*–

–to reflect the Hebraic origins of this particular section of the grimoire (see Rebiger, 2010).

[23] Miller et al. (2018) offer four significant claims about genre, as a theoretical concept, that serve as useful guideposts for rhetorical genre criticism:

1. "Genre is multimodal, providing an analytical and explanatory framework across semiotic modes and media and thus across communication technologies" (p. 271). As Miller et al. (2018) note, this aspect of genre studies is well-illustrated by the work of Jenkins (2014) in memes and Gallagher (2004) in civil rights memorials. For our purposes, this multimodality occurs in the contrasts among the iconic, indexical, and symbolic.
2. "Genre is multidisciplinary, of interest across traditions of rhetoric, as well as many other disciplines" (p. 272). For instance, Miller et al. note that applications of the literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas regarding heteroglossic dialogism and intertextuality have already proven useful to scholars of rhetoric who seek to examine genre. Likewise, the authors note that genre allows for an interdisciplinary back-and-forth; for instance, the authors note that the work of Kedra (2004) bridges the disciplines of rhetorical studies and visual arts in a mutually-beneficial manner, whereby examination of genre in visual arts fosters a deeper understanding of the multimodal aspects of genre for scholars of rhetoric. For our purposes, to make sense of the iconic and symbolic signs of an ephemeral, instrumental text, we may require knowledge housed in other disciplines. For instance, to understand the meaning of circuit diagram, an iconic sign, we may have to turn to work in electrical engineering; to understand the early modern anatomy diagram, we may have to turn to medical history.
3. "Genre is multidimensional, informing many perspectives on communicative interaction" (p. 273). As previously noted, genre serves a liminal function that bridges "form and action" (Miller et al., p. 270), and due to this liminal nature, its "mediating function" (p. 273), Miller et. al (2018), who draw on the work of Richard Lanham, argue that examination genre allows scholars to examine how "form is manifested substantially and substance formally" (p. 273) and how "individual intentions and socially objectified exigences mutually produce and sustain each other" (p 273). For our purposes, an examination of genre allows us to connect the document to other semiotic chains, which may help uncover additional dimensions of the text's communicatory functions.
4. "Genre is multimethodological, yielding to multiple empirical and interpretive approaches" (p. 274). The authors note that genre criticism allows for methodologies from corpus analysis to close textual analysis as well as "examin[ation of] social histories, audience response, authorial testimony, technological framings, economic factors, and the like" (p. 274). Peircean semiotics constitutes merely one of many ways to approach the question of genre.

Because of the broad applications of genre criticism and its inherent flexibility as a critical perspective, it's especially useful for examining texts that have been left out of the canon. We can see applications of all four of these generic aspects in ephemeral, 19th century and earlier medical manuals; these appearances of multimodal, multidisciplinary,

multidimensional, and multi methodological criticism help us to better understand how to apply generic criticism to historical texts. For instance, Elizabeth Tebeaux (2010) engages in corpus analysis and syntax analysis in her examination of English agriculture and estate management texts, and her examination hinges upon critical evaluation of the modalities of the texts.

[24] The explicitly instructional nature of the editorial asides is evidenced by the "Editor's Note" to the "Sixth Book of Moses" and "Seventh Book of Moses" in *The New Revised 6th & 7th Books of Moses and the Magical Uses of the Psalms*, in which Gonzalez-Wippler (1991) writes:

> Before starting any of the invocations connected with any of the Seals or Tables, the would-be magician should trace a reasonable facsimile of the circle on the floor or on a piece of black material. The usual dimensions of a magical circle are nine feet in diameter. Oriens in the diagram means east, and those words should be facing in an eastern direction, as should the magician, all during the invocation. The simplest way to locate the east is to find where the sun rises in the morning. (p. 28).

Each successive edition of the work following the 1880 English translation appears to provide further clarification of the text's contents. Examination of these changes over time could prove a novel way of understanding the cultural knowledge of the various groups the text was adopted by. Likewise, the changes to the editorial and authorial voices serve to indicate how *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is a living document and has changed radically over its two centuries in print.

[25] This fostering of *ethos* through opacity is abstractly similar to the role that hyper-technical tables and backmatter serve in contemporary instances of the manual genre. Both generate the appearance of rigorous credibility.

[26] Though I have selected the 1880 edition to control for De Laurence's authorial presence and establishing of *ethos*, we must note that his *ethos* certainly factors into *The Sixth and Seventh of Moses*'s ability to circulate among the African American communities in Chicago, the Southern United States, the Caribbean, and Africa. Obviously, popular conceptions of De Laurence, such as those discussed in the previous chapter, would have shaped a reader's understanding of the text. In the 1910 edition's title page, he refers to himself as "DR. L. W. de LAURENCE" and provides a list of his previous works and accomplishments:

> Author Of "The Great Book of Magical Art, Hindu Magic and East Indian Occultism," "The Famous Book of Death and Hindu Spiritism," "The Mystic Test Book of The Hindu Occult Chambers, Magic Mirror, Hindu and Egyptian Crystal Gazing." Author and Publisher of the Five famous "Text Books" for "The Congress of Ancient, Divine, Mental and Christian Masters" etc., etc.

De Laurence is clearly working to establish a mystique. Likewise, in the title page, when he writes that *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* "has become very rare, enormously popular, and formerly sold for $5.00," we can note the impacts of esotericism and market concerns in the development of a text's authority. However, as illustrated by Polk (1999), De Laurence's popularity occurs more so in the Caribbean and in Africa than in the

Southern United States. Thus, our primary concern will be with the importance of Mosaic attribution.

[27] While *The Long Lost Friend* was certainly not as popular as *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* among the practitioners of the Hoodoo tradition, it certainly was part of the landscape. Harms (2009) makes the following argument regarding *The Long Lost Friend*:

> Combining the book's high sales with its low usage among conjure doctors, we might conclude that the vast popularity of *The Long-Lost Friend* was not so much because it was a book of charms, but because it was seen to have inherent apotropaic qualities. Nevertheless, some of the rites from Hohman's book became part of the corpus of Hoodoo. An excellent example is the wagon ritual for catching a thief described in *The Long-Lost Friend* as "How to Recover Stolen Goods," also found in the *Egyptian Secrets* and the *Romanusbuchlein* [*The Little Book of the Roma*, published in 1788]. (p. 59)

Thus, I am not arguing that *The Long-Lost Friend* failed to circulate among practitioners of the Hoodoo tradition and achieve some level of cultural resonance but rather that its impact is far smaller and less profound than that of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, which Harms (2009) notes "seems to have had the greatest impact on the conjure tradition" (p. 55). Harms (2009) quotes one of Hyatt's North Carolinian informants who told Hyatt that the volume was "de onliest book dat tell yo' whut de Psalms is good fo" (p. 55), a claim that further reinforces the importance of intertextuality for *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'s spread.

[28] Interestingly, one of the only references to *The Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus* in Hyatt comes from Doctor Buzzard, the famed South Carolinian Hoodoo practitioner, who used "a love spell featuring the tongue of a turtle dove as a crucial ingredient" in his practice (Harms, 2009, p, 62). The *South Carolina Encyclopedia* entry for Doctor Buzzard alludes to one of the conjurer's conflicts with local law enforcement that highlights the intersections of law, medicine, and folk practice during the early decades of the 20th century (see Criswell, 2016). Though beyond the scope of this thesis, the references to Doctor Buzzard's legal entanglements and De Laurence's' well-established conflicts with the law raise questions related to the roles of race in the criminalization of magical practice.

[29] On his website, Peterson (2019) has noted:

> There must be some corruption in the text here [i.e., the text related to circle on 2.37]. The circle is obviously intended to be drawn on the ground, since the Magus is directed to enter into it… and the four cardinal directions are labelled — Oriens (East), Meridies (South), Occidens (West), and Septentrio (North). The directions to draw the design on parchment with the blood of a dove is probably intended for the seal of the spirit, which also would explain the red ink.

However, with regard to *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*'s ability to be remixed with preexisting, orally-derived traditions, such "corruptions" may be more of a feature than a bug as we will soon discuss.

[30] The practice described here bears a passing resemblance to common faith healing practices, such as those described in Kriebel's survey of contemporary powwowing practices among the Pennsylvania Dutch.

[31] The "four corners" are a common conceit in Hoodoo (see Yronwode, n.d., "How to Use Sachet Powders").

[32] The keys here serve a sympathetic function, and the numbers have a numerological significance for the practitioner. Further research would be required to detail their explicit function in this operation.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SEALS AND TABLES OF "THE SIXTH BOOK OF MOSES" AND "THE SEVENTH BOOK OF MOSES": HOW PSEUDOWRITING FACILITATES HYBRID SYMBOLIC-ICONOGRAPHIC SEMIOSIS

The 1880 New York edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*' content runs the gamut from extended academic essays such as "The Magic of the Israelites" to explicit intertextual instructions such as "The Magical Uses of the Psalms." Yet "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Books of Moses" proper largely consist of seals and tables that, according to the text, "were revealed by God, the Almighty, to his faithful servant Moses, on Mount Sinai" (1880, p. 1.6). The text claims that, in reproducing the seal or table according to ritual requirements, which vary according to the edition or even within the same editions (see Chapter Two), the user or magician can access the Abrahamic deity's "omnipotence" (1880, p. 1.7). The user can achieve "knowledge of the highest mysteries" and compel "angels and spirits" (1880, p. 1.7) as well as other, more mundane concerns, such as revealing buried treasure (1880, p. 1.8), "restor[ing]" health to the ill (1880, p. 1.11), and "bring[ing] great fortune by water" (1880, p. 1.17). Despite the beliefs of some text's critics (see Chapter One), none of the seals or tables bear any diabolic undertones, either in their claimed effects or in their imagery, which draws upon Hebrew, Latin, alchemical, and astrological characters. Likewise, none purport to affect harm on others, unless, for instance, one reads "good fortune in case of quarrels" (1880, p. 1.20) as having sinister implications, a reading unsupported by the text. This chapter examines two possible sources for the seals, the tradition of the Greek Magical Papyri and Jewish Kabbalah, while noting avenues for future research. It disputes Sebald's (1988) claims that the grimoire is "voodoo-like" (p. 54) by comparing the images of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" to traditional Haitian Vodou

veve imagery. In explicating these comparisons and possible routes of tradition transmission, I note the difficulty of semiotic classification for the seals and tables. By drawing on the work of Elkins (1999), I will advance an argument that, through the presence of pseudowriting, the seals achieve, in Peircian terms, a hybrid iconographic-symbolic semiosis. Finally, I indicate how the graphical seals and tables have survived in the Hoodoo tradition by briefly examining material artifacts.

In a widely-cited article concerning *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (see Davies, 2009; Polk, 1999), Sebald (1988) offers the following argument about the authenticity of the seals that occur in "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses":

> At this time historians are uncertain about the authorship of the grimoire and also reject the notion, alluded to in the foreword, that it is an offshoot of Kabbalah, the ancient mystic philosophy of the Jewish people. In fact, Jewish scholars and rabbis, whom I have shown copies of the grimoire, vehemently object to the idea that the voodoo-like grimoire has anything to do with genuine Kabbalah. They see the manual of magic as a fraud and consider its ascription to Judaic heritage an insult. (p. 54)

As evidenced by the author's diction (e.g., "voodoo-like," "fraud," "insult"), Sebald's assessment is bald in the way it discounts the beliefs and practices of the groups who actually use *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, especially those groups whose cultural practices are "voodoo"-adjacent (see Chapter One for a discussion of the differences between *voodoo, hoodoo, voudon,* etc.). Even a brief comparison of traditional "voodoo" imagery, such as the *veves* of Haitian Vodou (see Figures 2 and 3),

reveals that actual “voodoo”-related imagery is far more linear and geometric and less verbal, or *pseudo-verbal*, than the seals and tables of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (see figure 4).

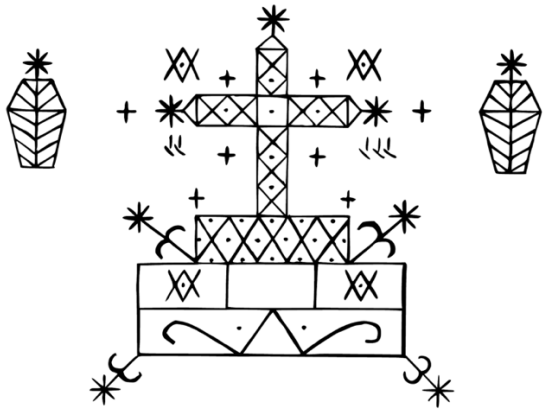


Figure 2
Veve of Baron Samedi, a Haitian Vodou Loa

Note. From Chris (2007). This figure illustrates the geometric, linear designs that frequently occur in traditional Haitian Vodou imagery. The figure is unlike those of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*

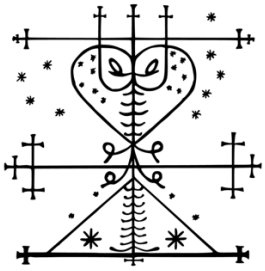


Figure 3
Veve of Maman Brigitte, a Haitian Vodou Loa

Note. From Chrkl (2005). This figure further illustrates the geometric, linear designs that frequently occur in traditional Haitian Vodou imagery. Cf. Figure 4.

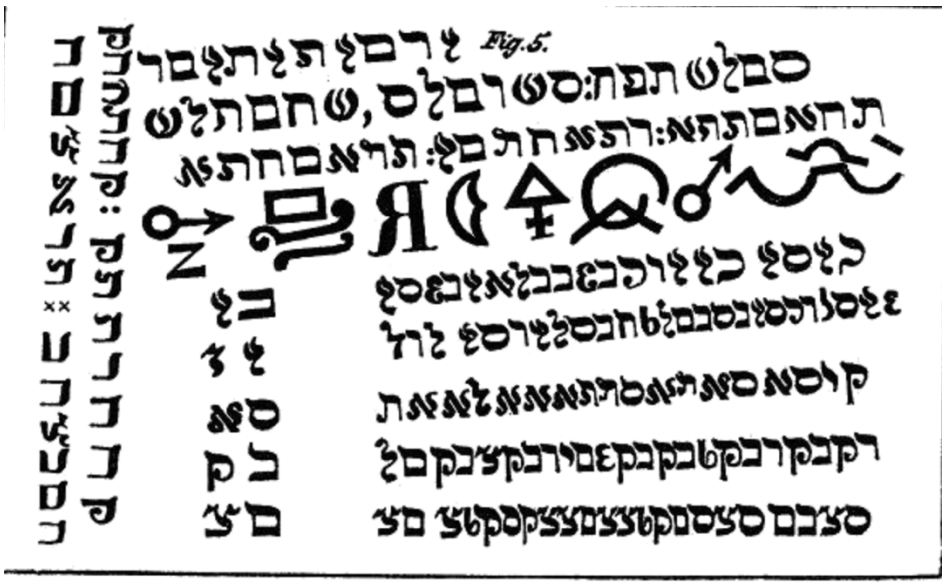


Figure 4
"Seal of the Power Angels seu Potestum over the Angels and Spirits of All the Elements" from the 1880 New York edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*

Note. From a public domain scan of the 1880 New York edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Listed in the references under "Seal of the Power Angels" (n.d.). The Hebrew characters appear as if they could be translated though they cannot be. Likewise, the unparallel nature of the lines of Hebrew characters suggests what Ong would term a chirographic tradition. The seal also includes alchemical and astrological symbols, which may lend further credence to a reader's belief in its supernatural efficacy.

If anything, the seals are far more akin, in appearance, to the verbally-derived Kabbalistic amulets described in Trachtenberg (1939, p. 132-152) or those occurring in the Greek Magical Papyri such as the "Charm to restrain anger" in PGM X (Betz, 1996, p. 149) than those coming from "voodoo"-adjacent traditions.

Despite the inaccuracy of the "voodoo" claims, Sebald (1988) does advance a useful argument that connects *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* to the Greek Magical Papyri and Kabbalistic traditions by drawing on Betz (1996). Sebald (1988) notes that the "tenor" of the spells included in the Greek Magical Papyri "perfectly harmonize with the spells found in the 'Books of Moses'" and their addenda. For instance, Sebald (1988) notes that "[i]n both media we find spells to secure love, gain

riches, restore health, gain influential friends, become invisible to others, escape miseries of all sorts, achieve longevity, discover treasures, punish enemies, win quarrels, obtain secrets, and so forth…." (p. 54). He also notes the occurrence of "references to Adonai, Moses, and Eloij" in both compilations and concedes that "the heavily Hebrew-oriented tone of the grimoire may indeed point in the direction of the Kabbalah" (1988, p. 55). Regarding the alluring connection between the Greek Magical Papyri and *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, Sebald (1988) concludes that:

> The similarities of the goals and aspirations embedded in the spells of the two documents probably reflect universal needs and problems of humanity. *Hence it is universality of the human condition and not literary descendancy that accounts for resemblance.* (Sebald, 1988, p. 55, emphasis added)

Likewise, from a visual standpoint, the images of the Greek Magical Papyri tend to include drawings of figures in addition to verbal, or *pseudo-verbal*, signs. For instance, "A phylactery" that serves as "a bodyguard against daimons, against phantasms / against every sickness and suffering" in PGM VII includes written text, some of which are clearly barbarous phrases[33] with no meaningful signification, surrounded by an ouroboros with a lion's head, which may represent the Gnostic Demiurge (Betz, 1996, p. 134). As such, a connection between the Greek Magical Papyri's images and the seals and tables of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* appears unlikely. However, as previously noted, works attributed to Moses, including the *The Eighth Hidden Book of Moses* in PGM XIII, do occur in the Greek Magical Papyri (see Betz, 1996, p. 188-195). This attribution speaks either to unity in tradition or to the widespread cultural significance of Moses.

Unlike Sebald (1988) and his rabbinical informants, we cannot be so quick to discount the connections between *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and attested-to Kabbalistic tradition. In a 1939 examination of Jewish magical practices, Trachtenberg notes the recurring elements of talismanic amulets within the tradition:

> The elements that standout in this text [referring to the text of a "typical amulet" against the evil eye (p. 139)] are: 1. most important, the names of God and of Angels; 2. the Biblical expressions or phrases, descriptive of God's attributes, or bespeaking His protection and healing power, such as "YHVH Zebaot is His name," "who rests upon the Cherubs," etc…. 3. the meticulousness with which the various functions of the amulet are detailed; 4. The name of the person the amulet is meant to serve, and his mother's name. (p. 140)

In *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, specifically "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses," we find many of these same features though they are somewhat distorted. For instance, in the incantations that accompany "The Fourth Seal of the Ministering Cherubim and Seraphim with their Characteristics" in a seal that purports to "save a person from all misery, and give the greatest fortune and long life," the text lists various Hebrew names of angels, e.g., "Anoch," "Ehym," and "Chabalym"; refers to various Talmudic passages, e.g. "the wisdom of Solomon" and "the snakes of Moses"; and the operator must include his or her name in the incantation (1880, p. 1.9-10). However, the magician is not led to insert his or her name into the seal proper, nor do the characters in the seal proper correspond to the alluded to names of the Abrahamic deity if we subscribe to Sebald's (1988) claim that rabbinical informants have discounted such translations of the characters (p. 54). Likewise, the use of barbarous words in the

accompanying incantation, i.e., “Dallia, Dollia, Dollion… Alos, Jaoth, Dilu” (1880, p. 1.10), that are used to compel the spirit are more akin to passages in the Greek Magical Papyri than anything I have encountered regarding Jewish mysticism. Based on these divergences between attested-to Jewish tradition and the contents of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, we might conclude that Sebald’s accusations of forgery are accurate. Certainly, I cannot dispute rabbinical opinion that the seals and tables do not meaningful translate. However, the designations of forgery and illegibility do not account for the fact that many groups who encountered the text thought of the seals and tables as significant and authentic. As Sebald (1988) notes, “the effectiveness of an article of faith does not depend on the historical authenticity of the article, but on the personal need of the believer” (p. 54). Given the absence of clear historical precursors to the seals and tables in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, the task faced by scholars of the text has become accounting for how these visual images achieve semiosis with readers: the question we are dealing with here is not a question of authenticity or legibility but rather a question of significance, which leads us to the concepts of pseudowriting and Peircian iconography.

In considering the graphical seals and tables of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, pseudowriting, as a semiotic concept, proves useful because the seals and tables resist neat semiotic schemas, such as that advanced by Jacques Bertin in *Semiology of Graphics* (2011) or Charles Sanders Peirce as his work is treated in Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992): the seals and tables do not conform to the icon, index, and symbol of the Peircian schema (Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 47-49; see Atkin, 2010), nor

do they conform to the graphic, figurative, or abstract classifications of Bertin (2011, p. 2). In defining *pseudowriting,* Elkins (1999) writes:

> As a provisional definition it's helpful to say that pseudowriting includes every image that is not writing but still contains orderly disjoint signs. That simplification serves to make the essential point that there are dysfunctional scripts that look like they could plausibly be read. Our feeling that an image is (or should be, or might be, or once was) writing weakens when the signs begin to overlap or fuse; it strengthens when the signs are uniform, well-ordered, and rationally spaced… Either the pseudowriting has a clear syntax (that is, an interesting sequence of characters), so that it looks as if it's ripe for deciphering; or it seems to lack syntactic ordering, so that it appears as a list, a sample, or a fragment rather than a potentially legible script. (p. 144)

Pseudowriting is not writing; it is the appearance of writing. In Peircian terms, we are not considering true symbolic semiosis but, rather, the appearance of the potential of such a semiosis. Likewise, pseudowriting exists on a spectrum with some images more readily evoking the idea of potential deciphering and legibility than others. In terms of folk practices, such "writing" has been well-documented from before the widespread publication and circulation of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. For instance, pseudowriting, as a technique, also factors into historical accounts of Afro-Caribbean magical practices. As the researcher Charles Rampini stated in 1873, a traditional practitioner of Jamaican Obeah:

> Has his cabalistic book, too, full of strange characters, which he pretends to consult in the exercise of his calling. One of these is now in my possession. It is

> an old child's copy-book, well-thumbed and very dirty. Each page is covered with rude delineation of the human figure, and roughly-traced diagrams and devices. Between each line there runs a rugged scrawl, *intended to imitate writing*. (as cited in Polk, 1999, p. 120-121, emphasis added)

The connection between the appearance of literacy and the cultivation of *ethos* is apparent in the previous quote. For those in what Ong termed a primary oral culture, the act of literacy itself can be seen to have aspects of magical power. For our purposes, this preexisting cultural practice may prove a further explanatory factor for the success of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* in circulating throughout Afro-Caribbean communities.

The concept of pseudowriting becomes all the more salient for unpacking the semiosis of the seals and tables of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" because the text explicitly indicates that, by using these images, the magician will access the "omnipotence" of the Abrahamic deity (1880, p. 1.7), a god for whom no graven images exist. *People of the Book* is a common epithet for Jewish peoples, Christians, and Muslims, because the Abrahamic deity appears *in words* rather than *in images*. Consequently, when writing, or the appearance of it, is used to signify aspects of the deity, such writing serves an iconographic function, in Peircian terms, for it "exhibits a similarity or analogy" to the Abrahamic deity, the object of the sign (as cited in Killingsworth & Gilbertson, 1992, p. 47). For instance, the Tetragrammaton, i.e., the Hebrew characters *Yod He Vov He* which serve as the name of the Abrahamic deity, function as an graphical icon for that entity when incorporated into a talisman. Yet translatability is not a prerequisite for characters' ability to function as icons. For

instance, when a reader, the *interpretant* in our Peircian schema, encounters a figure from *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* that he or she *believes* to contain representations of the Hebraic names of god and angels, that figure serves as an icon for those religious, spiritual entities. For readers who are not Hebrew literate, the translations, or lack thereof, of the Hebrew characters in the seals and tables is immaterial. However, in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, these signs do not serve a purely iconographic function because they are in what Bertin would term a "polysemic" relationship with the surrounding linguistic signs: the figures become meaningful due to the surrounding text's symbolic-semiosis, which allows them to serve as icons for the god of Abraham and Moses. In other words, the reader understands the seals and tables as icons for the god because the surrounding passages, editorial asides, and authorial voices lead the reader to do so. Thus, the seals and tables of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" serve a hybrid symbolic-iconic function in how they mediate a relationship between interpretant, i.e., the reader, and object, i.e., that which is symbolized by the seals and tables. An example will clarify this designation.

The third seal presented in "The Sixth Book of Moses" is entitled the "Seal of the Ministering Throne Angels ex Thoro III. Bibliis Arcanorum"; the text provides the following description of its use: "Carrying this Seal with you will cause you to be very agreeable and much beloved and will also defeat all your enemies" (1880, p. 1.8-9). The conjuration is as follows:

> I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon thee, and conjure thee Tehor, by all the Holy Angels and Arch Angels, but the holy Michael, the holy Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Thronus, Dominationes principalis, virtutes, Cherubum et

> Seraphim, and with unceasing voice I cry, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth, and by the most terrible words: Soab, Sother, Emmanuel, Hdon, Amathon, Mathay, Adonai, Eel, Eli, Eloy, Zoag, Dios, Anath, Tafa, Uabo, Tetragramaton [sic], Aglay, Josua, Jonas, Calpie, Calphas. Appear before me, N. N., in a mild and human form, and do what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.) (1880, p. 1.8-9).

The seal itself appears on the following page due to organizational issues that appear to stem from the printing process (i.e., the plates with the seals and tables appear to have been separate from the plates with the text at some point during the publishing process). Semiotically, a reader encountering the seal will rely upon the indexical and symbolic signs, e.g., the headings and authorial asides, to understand the significance of the image. This relationship is an instance of polysemic semiosis, wherein, as with language in general, the significance springs from the relationship between the various signs, both visual and linguistic, that populate the page. As such, the reader, who most likely lacks a working knowledge of Hebrew, may take certain passages of pseudowriting within the seal as the Hebraic names of the angels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, etc. In this way, the seal serves as an icon for those entities. However, this iconographic function is dependent upon the polysemic relationship between all textual elements on the page. The seal is not a *true icon*; rather, it is an icon that achieves semiosis through a polysemic, or *symbolic* relationship with other signs. As such in returning to Peircian diction, we can categorize the seal as a symbolic sign that achieves an iconic function through pseudowriting: it is a hybrid iconic-symbolic sign.

Another example: the first table in “The Seventh Book of Moses” is entitled “The First Table of the Spirits of the Air”; its accompanying directions read as follows: “To carry upon the person the First Table of the Spirits of the Air, who are as quick to help as thought, will relieve the wearer from all necessity” (1880, p. 1.16). Interestingly, the conjuration that immediately accompanies the table is spatially presented in nearly-parallel form with the content of the table itself (see Figure 5 for the text; see Figure 6 for the table). The table is likewise divided into four quadrants. Because the table contains Latin script, we can ascertain that the quadrant with *Jehova* corresponds to the top quadrant, *Schadday* to the bottom, *Elohe* to the left, and *Eead* to the right. Professional translation would be required to determine if the rest of the conjuration corresponds to the Hebrew characters; however, a polysemic relationship between the two is fostered because of the Latin script. Interestingly, the table appears to signify both the “Spirits of Air” as well as the aspects of the Abrahamic deity, i.e., the various names such as *Jehova, Deus, Adonay*, that will allow the operator to successfully coerce them.

Jehova Father	Deus Schadday
Deus Adonay Elohe I cite Thee through Jehovah	Eead I conjure thee Through Adonay

Figure 5
Text Accompanying “The First Table of the Spirits of the Air”
Note. I have reproduced this figure from p. 1.16 of the 1880 New York edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses.*

Figure 6
"The First Table of the Spirits of the Air"
Note. Original scan from a packet of the seals I purchased with a copy of the Gonzalez-Wippler edition of the text in 2019. In the 1880 New York edition of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, the seal has white text on a black background.

Likewise, "The General Citation" that follows several pages later explicitly indicates the relationship between the text of the conjuration, the table, and the physical actions required of the operator:

> Aba, Jehovah, Agla, Aschaij, Chad, Yah, Saddaij, Vedreb, Aschre, Noosedu, Zawa, Agla. Here utter the names of the Angles of the Seal or Table, and their proper names.
>
> Eheije, Aijscher… Vaij, Yehuel.
>
> Here stop for a short time in prayer to God. Surrender yourself into the will of Almighty God; He will conduct your undertaking to your best interest. Hereupon take again the Seal or the Table written on parchment, in your hand, and begin anew the citation above. Should your desire still remain unfulfilled, continue as follows… (1880, p. 1.25)

The text explicitly indicates that the images of the seals and tables correspond to the signs uttered in the conjurations. This semiotic relationship operates independently of translations, or lack thereof, for the Hebrew, alchemical, and Latinate scripts that comprise the figure. In short, when the object of a potentially iconographic sign is indeterminate, the interpretant's understanding of the broader polysemic relationship between the text's signs shapes the process of semiosis. The relationships between the text's various signs are what allow the table to operate as an icon for those spiritual entities. The pseudowriting of the seals and tables serves an iconographic function due to the polysemic relationships explicitly indicated by the text: the seals and tables are hybrid iconic-symbolic signs. This designation may prove useful for understanding the figures that appear in other grimoires, such as the spirit seals in Aleister Crowley's edited version of *Lesser Key of Solomon the King* (see Crowley, 1997) and the word squares in Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers' translation of *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin* (see Mathers, 1974), because it requires us to contend with the textual context of the sign not just its historicity or translatability or lack thereof. Even in deeply irrational texts, such as *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, there exists an underlying rational semiotic process. Without one, the text would literally be meaningless.

Before moving to a brief discussion of the contemporary uses of the seals and tables of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, I would like to offer one final point regarding the visual rhetoric and semiotics of the images. Though the two example images reproduced in this chapter are white with black text or red with white text,[34] in the 1880 New York edition, the seals and tables are presented with white text against a black background; this visual element yields the appearance of a rubbing obtained from an

etching. By evoking the idea that these tables and figures physically exist somewhere in the world, perhaps on a stone tablet in the Near East, the text visually evokes ideas of archeology that yield further evidence for the supposed antiquity of the work for readers. Furthermore, by visually suggesting the physical existence of tables engraved with mysterious occult text, the seals and tables also evoke the Talmudic stories of Moses' reception and inscribing of the Ten Commandments and the laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, an evocation that serves to further the graphical seals and tables' *ethos*. Further research that directly compares the rubbings published in 19th century texts related to the Near East with those of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* may further clarify this visual signifier of antiquity and unpack whether or not it is part of a broader textual trend.

Finally, in terms of the actual beliefs and practices associated with *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, the use of the graphical seals and tables have persevered through to the present. Though their uses are less attested to in the Hoodoo tradition than the use of "The Magical Uses of the Psalms," the seals are sold as at online spiritual supply shops (e.g., "Moses 'Lucky' Magical Seals," 2020). They are also reproduced in Hoodoo instructional booklets (e.g., Alvarado, 2011) and in brick-and-mortar botanicas. For instance, early in the research for this thesis, I found a packet that comprised an instructional pamphlet, facsimiles of the seals and tables of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, and a green felt pouch (see Figure Six).

Figure 7
The "Talismanic Seals" Packet from Mama Bessie's in Charlotte, North Carolina
Note. Original photograph from March 2020.

The pamphlet assures me that, "[a]ccording to tradition, the designs have many magnificent powers" and that these images "were taken from ancient Hebrew Holy Books [sic] and have been passed down through the ages until today when multitudes of believers carry or use them with faith in their effectiveness to bring results by magical means." The pamphlet also suggests that I purchase the International Import's edition of *The Famous Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. Regardless of the continuity of tradition, the marketing patterns and *ethos*-establishing claims that De Laurence developed have certainly continued through to the present. Though beyond the scope of this investigation, the pamphlet does present uses for all the images present in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, an occurrence that is significantly different from the text itself wherein several images are left without explicit indications of their usages. If anything, the continuity of these images across changes in their significance demonstrates that *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* is part of a living, changing, and evolving tradition.

---

[33] *Barbarous*, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, refers to "Of language: (a) originally not Greek; subsequently not Greek nor Latin; hence, not classical or pure (Latin or Greek), abounding in 'barbarisms'; (b) unpolished, without literary culture;

pertaining to an illiterate people." The use of barbarous phrases is common in Western esoteric practice (e.g., see Crowley, n.d.).

[34] The first appears related to computer editing. The other's color palette may be related to the text's insistence that dove's blood should be used to draw the magical circle (2.37); however, as noted in Chapter 2, inconsistencies abound within the text, and "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses" proper do not specify the use of dove's blood for producing the seals or tables. Additionally, the magical circle indicated in "The Seventh Book of Moses" differs from the one that is to be drawn in dove's blood (cf. 1.26 and 2.40).

CONCLUSIONS AND AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis attempts to expand the purview of historical technical communication scholarship beyond the discourse of workplace communities to include magical instructional texts ostensibly designed to facilitate individual spiritual acts. It points toward the technologies of distribution, the fundamental features of the "how-to" genre, and the semiosis of graphics with, at best, opaque meaning. By examining *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* through a technical-communication-oriented framework, we can connect the text to the physical tasks its instructions prescribe and begin to make rhetorical sense of this occasionally-bewildering and -confounding grimoire with its spiritual overtones. In the textual history, the role of printing technologies, copyright laws, and direct mail marketing become significant factors for the text's widespread circulation. Likewise, a genre-critical evaluation of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, *The Long-Lost Friend*, and *The Egyptian Secrets* shows how intertextuality and opaque organization help to explain the text's ability to move between the Pennsylvania Dutch and southern African American cultures and spiritual traditions. Finally, in confronting the graphical seals and tables of "The Sixth Book of Moses" and "The Seventh Book of Moses," the concepts of pseudowriting and hybrid symbolic-iconic semiosis help us to understand how these apparently abstract images become significant to readers. Further research into De Laurence's biography is needed to fully understand how this publisher became an international celebrity through direct mail marketing. Likewise, further research into 19th-century copyright laws may yield interesting findings related to the ephemeral, instructional materials that developed during that century. Finally, a robust comparison of the Greek Magical Papyri with *The Sixth and Seventh*

Books of Moses and other European grimoires may uncover occluded epistemological, rhetorical, and textual circulations.

Regarding textual circulation of ephemeral, instrumental texts, scholars may wish to consider the following questions: How do the current technologies of textual production affect the processes of circulation? Do we privilege one form of circulation over others? How does copyright law affect the instrumental texts that we produce? How has textual circulation been affected by direct mail marketing and its later evolutions on the internet? Do we privilege certain forms of textual transmission, such as digitally-transmitted instructions, over printed instructions? Does this privileging discount groups that may have otherwise used or benefitted from instructional materials?

Regarding the genres of ephemeral, instrumental texts, scholars may wish to consider the following questions: How are technical communicators currently organizing instructional texts, whether printed or digital? Do these organizational schemas account for the remixing of practices? Do these organizational schemas account for the interplay between orality and textuality? How do the technologies that mediate instructional materials affect their organizations? For instance, how do technical communicators account for the user's *pathos* when developing video instructions?

Regarding the signs of these texts, scholars may want to consider how icons come to have significance in instructional material and other questions such as the following: How do technical communicators ensure that icons meaningfully signify to all readers of the text? How can technical communicators stabilize the relationships between icons and objects? How can technical communicators work to ensure that icons signify both locally and globally?

These are merely a handful of the questions that a technical-communication-oriented reading of ephemeral, instrumental texts may yield. Hopefully, they demonstrate the usefulness of this scholarly investigation. However, should they not, this thesis is, at the very least, a compelling case study of one 19th century instructional manual.

REFERENCES

Agrippa, H. C. (1898) *Three books of occult philosophy or magic.* Hahn & Whitehead. https://archive.org/details/cu31924028928236/page/n7/mode/2up

Albertus Magnus: Being the approved, verified, sympathetic, and natural Egyptian secrets: Or white and black art for man and beast. (1900). https://archive.org/details/albertusmagnusbe00albe/page/n5/mode/2up

Alvarado, D. (2011). *Voodoo hoodoo spellbook.* Weiser. Available from https://www.amazon.com/Voodoo-Hoodoo-Spellbook-Denise-Alvarado/dp/1578635136

Aristotle (n.d.). *Politics: A treatise on government.* Gutenberg. https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6762

Atkin, A. (2010). *Peirce's theory of signs*. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/peirce-semiotics/#Aca

Aurand, A. M. (1929). *The "Pow-Wow" book.* Aurand Press. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006257723

Bakhtin, M. M. (1952/1986). "The Problem of Speech Genres." V. W. McGee (Trans.) C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Eds.) *Speech genres and other late essays* (pp. 60–102). Austin: U of Texas P. Retrieved from https://rhetoricreadinggroup.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/bakhtin_speech_genres.pdf

Barrett, Leonard. 1976. *The Sun and the drum*. Kingston: Heinemann Educational Books. Available from https://www.amazon.com/Sun-Drum-African-Jamaican-Tradition/dp/0435894552

Beale, W. H. (1987). *A pragmatic theory of rhetoric*. Southern Illinois UP. Available at https://www.questia.com/library/4709043/a-pragmatic-theory-of-rhetoric

Beck, J. C. (1979). *To windward of the land: The occult world of Alexander Charles*. Bloomington and London: Indiana UP. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Windward-Land-Occult-Alexander-Charles/dp/0253160650

Bergstrom, L. A. (2011). Nigromancy in the later middle ages. *Inquiries, 3*(6). Retrieved from http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/539/nigromancy-in-the-later-middle-ages

Bertin, J. (2011). *Semiology of graphics: Diagrams, networks, maps* (W. Berg, Trans.). Esri Press.

Betz, Hans Dieter (ed.) (1996). *The Greek magical papyri in translation including the demotic spells: Volume 1 texts*. 2nd ed. UP Chicago.

Brown, R. M. (2012). *African-Atlantic cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry*. Cambridge UP.

Burke, K. (1966). Terministic screens. In *Language as Symbolic Action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Available at https://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520001923.

Chrkl. (2005). Veve for the voodoo loa named (Maman) Brigitte [photograph]. Wikimedia. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:VeveBrigitte.png

Chrkl. (2007). Veve for the voodoo loa named Baron Samedi [photograph]. Wikimedia. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:VeveBaronSamedi.svg

Criswell, S. (2016). Dr. Buzzard. In *South Carolina Encyclopedia*. The University of South Carolina. http://www.scencyclopedia.org/

sce/entries/%C2%93dr-buzzard%C2%94/

Crowley, E. A. (n.d.). Chapter IX: Of silence and secrecy and of the barbarous names of evocation. Internet sacred texts archive. https://www.sacred-texts.com/oto/aba/chap9.htm

Crowley, E. A. (Ed.) (1997). *The goetia: The lesser key of Solomon the king: Clavicula salomonis regis* (S. L. MacGregor Mathers, Trans.) (2nd ed.). Weiser.

Das Kloster, weltlich und geistlich, meist aus der ältern deutschen Volks-, Wunder-, Curiositäten-, und vorzugsweise komischen Literatur ... von J. Scheible ... (n.d.). WorldCat. Retrieved April 1, 2020, from https://www.worldcat.org/title/kloster-weltlich-und-geistlich-meist-aus-der-altern-deutschen-volks-wunder-curiositaten-und-vorzugsweise-komischen-literatur-von-j-scheible/oclc/459026766&referer=brief_results

Davies, O. (2009). *Grimoires: A history of magic books*. Oxford UP.

Debrunner, H. (1959). *Witchcraft in Ghana: A Study on the Belief in Destructive Witches and its Effect on the Akan Tribes.* Accra: Waterville Publishing House. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Witchcraft-Ghana-Belief-Destructive-Witches/dp/B001UFXZNS

De Laurence, L. W. (1900). *Hypnotism: A complete system of method, application, and use.* Henneberry. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/hypnotismacompl00laurgoog/page/n13/mode/2up

De Laurence, L. W. (1905). *The sacred book of death Hindu spiritism soul transition and soul reincarnation.* de Laurence, Scott, & Co. Masonic Temple. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/delaurencesacredbookofdeath/mode/2up

De Laurence, L. W. (Ed.) (1910). *The sixth and seventh books of Moses: The mystery of all mysteries: The citation on all spirits, the spirit in the burning bush, "Helmet of Moses and Aaron," healing by amulets: The wonderful magical and spirit arts of Moses and Aaron, and the old wise Hebrews, taken from the Mosaic books of the Cabala and the Talmud, of the good of mankind.* de Laurence, Scott, & Co. https://archive.org/details/sixthseventhbook00dela/page/n6/mode/2up

De Laurence, L. W. (1915). *The great book of magical art, Hindu magic, ceremonial, and talismanic magic*. The de Laurence Company. https://archive.org/details/greatbookmagica00laurgoog/page/n7/mode/2up

Delaurence's mini catalogue no. 25 (n.d.). https://nebula.wsimg.com/8d16325af11792378c3fbc2b19af658f?AccessKeyId=E941996C6FEB5A82661E&disposition=0&alloworigin=1

Dobin, J. D. (1986). *The Jombee dance of Montserrat: A study of trance ritual in the West Indies*. Columbus: Ohio State UP. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Jombee-Dance-Montserrat-Trance-Ritual/dp/0814203922

Drewal, H. J. (1988). Mermaids, mirrors, and snake charmers. *African Arts, 21*(1), 38-45. Available at https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.2307/3336527

Elkins, J. (1999). *The domain of images*. Cornell UP. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv3s8n8p.14

Elkins, W. F. (1986). William Lauron De Laurence and Jamaican folk religion. *Folklore 97*, 215-218. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1259528

Ellis, B. (2000) *Raising the devil: Satanism, new religions, and the media.* Kentucky UP.

Ellis, B. (2004). *Lucifer ascending: The occult in folklore and popular culture*. Kentucky UP.

Field, M. (1960). *Search for Security*. London: Faber and Faber. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Search-Security-Ethno-Psychiatric-Study-Rural/dp/0393005089

Fultz, M. (1995). 'The morning cometh': African-American periodicals, education, and the black middle class, 1900-1930. *The Journal of Negro History*, *80*(3), 97-112. From https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2717550.pdf?casa_token=lBnzNP3SyNQAAAAA:NLy2-4l2JRodNwjxsHJkGkurhAKN-0LpUYJgrbxpjMcaqS8RPRxJ_kZlwiXvVR5uy2BOnUo6XUX-nInulurFBbaAhQ-25SMXKKX2R8g_EaNZW6nDCw

Gallagher, V. J. (2004). Memory as social action: Cultural projection and generic form in civil rights memorials. In P. A. Sullivan & S. R. Goldzwig (eds.), *New Approaches to Rhetoric* (pp. 147-171). Thousand Oaks: Sage. Available at https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/new-approaches-to-rhetoric/book226118.

Gonzalez-Wippler, M. (Ed.) (1991). *The new revised 6th & 7th books of Moses and the magical uses of the Psalms* (2nd ed.). Original Publications, 1991.

Harms, D. (2009). The role of grimoires in the conjure tradition. *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, *1*(5), 2009, 41-69. From https://www.academia.edu/35401191/The_Role_of_Grimoires_in_the_Conjure_Tradition

Hawley, E.H. (2004). Mechanical fingerprints and the technology of nineteenth-century American erotica. *University of Toronto Quarterly, 73*(4), 1036-1051. From https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/518081.

Hazzard-Donald, K. (2013). *Mojo workin': The old African American hoodoo system*. University of Illinois Press.

Herskovits, M. (1947). *Trinidad Village*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Trinidad-Village-Melville-Frances-HERSKOVITS/dp/B005CXZED8

Hill, R. A. (1981). Dread history: Leonard P. Howell and millenarian visions in early Rastafari religions in Jamaica. Available at *https://www.nubian-knowledge.com/drhilephoand.html*

Hogg, D. (1961). Magic and 'science' in Jamaica. *Caribbean Studies*, *1*(2), 1-5. From https://www.jstor.org/stable/25611655

Hohman, J. G. (1850). *The long-lost friend: Or faithful & Christian instruction*. https://archive.org/details/0223252.nlm.nih.gov/page/n4/mode/2up

Hurston, Z. N. (1990). *Tell my horse: Voodoo and life in Haiti and Jamaica* (Perennial Library edition). Harper & Row.

Hyatt, H. M. (1970). *Hoodoo, conjuration, witchcraft, rootwork: Beliefs accepted by many negroes and white persons these being orally recorded among blacks and whites*. Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation. https://archive.org/details/HoodooConjurationWItchcraftRootwork/mode/2up

J. Scheible's Antiquariat in Stuttgart. [Catalogue of books for sale.] (n.d.). WorldCat. Retrieved April 1, 2020, from https://www.worldcat.org/title/j-scheibles-

antiquariat-in-stuttgart-catalogue-of-books-for-sale/oclc/1063701490&referer=brief_results

Jacoby, A. (1931). Die Zauberbucher vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit. *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft fur Volkskunde 31*(32).

Jenkins, E. S. (2014). The modes of visual rhetoric: Circulating memes as expressions. *Quarterly Journal of Speech 100*(4), 442–66. From https://professorstacymoskos.weebly.com/uploads/4/8/4/4/48447715/the_modes_of_visual_rhetoric_circulating_memes_as_expressions.pdf.

Kardec, A. (n.d.). *The spirits' book* (A. Blackwell, Trans.). Federação Espírita Brasileira. http://ssbaltimore.org/resources/e-books/the-spirits-book.pdf

Kavey, A. (2007). *Books of secrets: Natural philosophy in England, 1550-1600*. Illinois UP. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctt1xcfs0

Kędra, J. (2016). Enhancing visual literacy through interpretation of photo-genres: Toward a genre typology of journalistic photographs. *Journal of Media Practice 17*(1), 28–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/14682753.2016.1159451

Kieckhefer, R. (1990). *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge UP.

Kilcher, A. B. (2004). The Moses of Sinai and the Moses of Egypt: Moses as magician in Jewish literature and western esotericism. *ARIES*, *4*(2), 17-29. Available at https://brill.com/view/journals/arie/4/2/article-p148_2.xml

Killingsworth, M. J., & and Gilbertson, M. (1992). *Signs, genres, and communities in technical communication*. Baywood.

Kriebel, D. (2007). *Powwowing among the Pennsylvania Dutch: A traditional medical practice in the modern world*. Pennsylvania State UP.

Láng, B. (2008). *Unlocked books: Manuscripts of learned magic in the Medieval libraries of central Europe.* Pennsylvania State UP.

Lewis, A. H. (1969). *Hex*. Simon & Schuster. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Hex-Arthur-H-Lewis/dp/0671771566

Leonard, S.L. (2015). *Fragile minds and vulnerable souls: The matter of obscenity in nineteenth-century Germany*. University of Pennsylvania Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13x1ngf.5

Mathers, S. L. M., (Trans.) (1974). *The Book of the sacred magic of Abra-Melin*. Causeway.

Mathers, S. L. M., (Trans.) (2017). *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*. Enhanced Media.

Miller, C. R. (1984). Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *70*(2), 151-67. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335638409383686

Miller, C. R., Devitt, A. J., & Gallagher, V. J. (2018). Genre: Permanence and change. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly, 48*(3), 269-277, DOI: 10.1080/02773945.2018.1454194

Missouri Botanical Garden (n.d.). *Vernonia fasciculata*. Missouri Botanical Garden. https://www.missouribotanicalgarden.org/PlantFinder/PlantFinderDetails.aspx?taxonid=277257

Mitchell, W. J. (1998). *City of bits: Space, place, and the infobahn.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Available from https://mitpress.mit.edu/books/city-bits

Moses "lucky" magical seals. (2020). Luckshop.com. Accessed March 24, 2020, from https://www.luckshop.com/moses-lucky-magical-seals

Mowat, B. (2001). Prospero's book. *Shakespeare Quarterly, 52*(1), 1-33. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3648645.

Occult books, spell books lottery dream books, herb magic books, divination books, tarot books, and more. (n.d.). Lucky mojo curio co. Accessed March 24, 2020, from https://www.luckymojo.com/mojocatbooks.html.

Ong, W. J. (2005). *Orality and literacy* Routledge. https://monoskop.org/images/d/db/Ong_Walter_J_Orality_and_Literacy_2nd_ed.pdf

Oxford English Dictionary (2020). Available at https://www.oed.com

Packer, J., and Crofts Wiley, S. B. (2012). Strategies for materializing communication. *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies 9*(1), 107–13. From https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233108563_Strategies_for_Materializing_Communication.

Peel, J. D. Y. (1968). *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*. Oxford UP. Available from https://www.amazon.com/Aladura-Religious-movement-Among-Yoruba/dp/0197241751

Peterson, J. (Ed.) (2008). *The sixth and seventh books of Moses: Or, Moses' magical spirit art known as the wonderful arts of the old wise Hebrews, taken from the Mosaic books of the Kabbalah and the Talmud, for the good of mankind.* Ibis Press.

Peterson, J. (Ed.) (2019). *The sixth and seventh books of Moses* [webpage]. Esoteric archives. http://www.esotericarchives.com/moses/67moses.htm

Polk, P. (1999). Other books, other powers: *The 6th and 7th books of Moses* in afro-Atlantic folk belief. *Southern Folklore*, *52*(2), 115-133. From https://www.academia.edu/11380828/Other_Books_Other_Powers_The_6th_and_7th_Books_of_Moses_in_Afro-Atlantic_Folk_Belief

Polk. P. (n.d.) "Project Report: Exploring Grenada's African Heritage." Unpublished research report.

Probst, P. (1989). The letter and the spirit: Literacy and religious authority in the history of the Aladura movement in western Nigeria. *Africa 59*, 478-495. https://doi.org/10.2307/1159943

Rebiger, B. (2010) Sefer shimmush tehillim – Buch vom magischen gebrauch der Psalmen. Mohr Seibek. Available from https://www.mohrsiebeck.com/buch/sefer-shimmush-tehillim-buch-vom-magischen-gebrauch-der-psalmen-9783161497742.

Regardie, I. (1986). *The Golden Dawn.* (5th ed.). Llewellyn.

"Rich cult house in society district is raided" (1912, November 12). *Chicago Examiner*. https://idnc.library.illinois.edu/?a=d&d=CEX19121112.1.1&e=-------en-20--1--img-txIN-delaurence+--------

Roemer, R. (2018). Mechanization of the printing press in the 19th century [scholarly blog entry]. https://brewminate.com/mechanization-of-the-printing-press-in-the-19th-century/

Seaga, E. (1969). Revival cults in Jamaica: Notes towards a sociology of religion. *Jamaica Journal*, *3*(1), 3-13. Available from https://www.amazon.com/Revival-cults-Jamaica-sociology-religion/dp/B0000EEG3K

Seal of the power angels [photograph] (n.d.). Wikimedia commons. commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sixthandseventhbooks_fig_19_1880.png

Sebald, H. (1978). The 6th and 7th books of Moses: the historical and sociological vagaries of a grimoire. *Ethnologia Europaea*, *18*(1), 53-58. Retrieved from https://ee.openlibhums.org/article/1354/galley/1510/download/

Shores, T. W. (2014). *The conjurer's toolkit 1400-1800: Ciphers, images, and magical cultures of power within the Solomonic grimoires* [Master's thesis, Dartmouth College]. Academia.edu. From https://www.academia.edu/11061452/The_Conjurors_Toolkit_1400-1800_Ciphers_Images_and_Magical_Cultures_of_Power_Within_the_Solomonic_Grimoires_Entire_Dartmouth_Masters_Thesis_

Simpson, G. E. (1965). *The Shango cult in Trinidad*. Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean studies.

Smith, M.G. (1963). *Dark Puritan*. University of the West Indies. Available at https://www.amazon.com/Dark-puritan-M-G-Smith/dp/B0006CL920

Smith, T. H. (1995). *Conjuring culture: Biblical formations of black America.* Oxford UP. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=g3U8DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR15&dq=bible+and+hoodoo&ots=7cEonsOC7p&sig=s2VD7V4zX1T-Qu_QlwBWjEhp9Uc#v=onepage&q=bible%20and%20hoodoo&f=false

Tebeaux, E. (1997). *The Emergence of a tradition: Technical writing in the English Renaissance 1475-1640.* Baywood.

Tebeaux, E. (1998). The voices of English women technical writers, 1641-1700: Imprints in the evolution of modern English prose style. *Technical Communication Quarterly*, *7*(2). Retrieved from search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=EJ569881&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

Tebeaux, E. (2000). Visual texts: Format and the evolution of English accounting texts, 1100-1700. *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, *30*(4). search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2000072794&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

Tebeaux, E. (2004). Pillaging the tombs of noncanonical texts: Technical writing and the evolution of English style. *Journal of Business & Technical Communication*, *18*(2). doi:10.1177/1050651903260738.

Tebeaux, E. (2008). Technical writing in English Renaissance shipwrightery: Breaching the shoals of orality. *Journal of Technical Writing & Communication*, *38*(1). doi:10.2190/TW.38.1.b.

Tebeaux, E. (2010). English agriculture and estate management instructions, 1200-1700: From orality to textuality to modern instructions. *Technical Communication Quarterly*, *19*(4). search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2010302555&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

The secrets of Albertus Magnus: Of the vertues of hearbs, stones, and certain beasts. (1650). London: R. Cotes. https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/ext/dw/2301096R/PDF/2301096R.pdf

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses; Or, Moses's magical spirit art, known as the wonderful arts of the old wise Hebrews, taken from the Mosaic books of the Cabala and the Talmud, for the good of mankind. (1880). New York. https://archive.org/details/1880TheSixthAndSeventhBooksOfMoses/mode/1up

Tompkins, K. (2013). Consider the recipe. *The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists*, *1*(2), 439-445. doi.org/10.1353/jnc.2013.0027

Trachtenberg, J. (1939). *Jewish magic and superstition: A study in folk religion*. Behrman's.

Turner, H. W. (1967). *History of an African independent church.* 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. Available from https://www.amazon.com/History-African-Independent-Church-Turner/dp/B00F8LAE98

Turner, H. W. (1978). The hidden power of the whites. The secret religion withheld from the primal peoples / Le pouvoir caché des blancs: La religion secrète dissimulée aux peuples primitifs. *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions, 46*(1), 41-55. https://www.persee.fr/doc/assr_0335-5985_1978_num_46_1_2156

Turner, H.W. (1979). *Religious Innovation in Africa.* Boston: G.K. Hall. Available from https://www.amazon.com/Religious-innovation-Africa-Collected-religious/dp/0816183031

Véronèse, J. (2010). God's names and their uses in the books of magic attributed to King Solomon. *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, *5*(1), 30-50. doi:10.1353/mrw.0.0165.

Waite, A. E. (1910). *The book of black magic and of pacts: Including the rites and mysteries of goetic theurgy, sorcery, and infernal necromancy, also the rituals of black magic.* (W. De Laurence, Ed.). The de Laurence Co.

https://archive.org/details/A.EWaiteTheBookOfBlackMagicAndOfPacts1910Complete/page/n9/mode/2up

Wall, W. (1996). Renaissance national husbandry: Gervase Markham and the publication of England. *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, *27*(3), 767-785. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2544017

Winship, M. (1986). Publishing in America: Needs and opportunities for research. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 96*(1), p. 133-174. https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44539374.pdf

Yronwode, C. (n.d.). *How to use sachet powders in the hoodoo rootwork tradition*. Lucky Mojo Curio Co. https://www.luckymojo.com/powders.html